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A GIS ANALYSIS OF THE DYNAMICS OF POWER: AN EXAMPLE FROM 18TH-CENTURY PIEDMONT VIRGINIA

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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Crystal Lynn Ptacek entitled "A GIS ANALYSIS OF THE DYNAMICS OF POWER: AN EXAMPLE FROM 18TH-CENTURY PIEDMONT VIRGINIA." I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Anthropology.

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A GIS ANALYSIS OF THE DYNAMICS OF POWER: AN EXAMPLE FROM 18TH-CENTURY PIEDMONT VIRGINIA

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ABSTRACT

The neighborhood surrounding historic Indian Camp plantation located in Virginia's eastern piedmont provides an opportunity to examine past identity formation and power dynamics. Using public records and ArcGIS, I researched this historical community to explore networks in which these individuals were involved. Historic land patents and transactions surrounding the Indian Camp property were given a geographical context, and based on resulting maps, research has identified a dynamic neighborhood whose members were deeply entangled in one another's lives. Many who patented lands around Indian Camp did not do so because of a lack of opportunity in their home counties or due to failure in business or agriculture. Instead, these patentees were successful early on. Through the 1720s and 1730s, powerful, influential men with existing social, political, and economic connections in the tidewater were establishing themselves as piedmont neighbors whose plantations increased their wealth. These individuals were prominent public office holders and slave owners who were connected to each other with complex networks of kinship and social, political and economic alliances. My study supports previous Chesapeake scholarship in that it shows how a particular neighborhood's influential citizens helped create a Virginia identity and how greatly land contributed to that identity. A more-populated group whose members owned fewer acres than their wealthy neighbors also emerged over the course of this thesis. Their participation in the landed community was significant, as well, and this group too impacted the developing Virginia society.

Within the frameworks of material culture analysis, microhistory, cultural geography, status and class, placemaking, and network analyses focusing on community and neighborhood, I interpret the formation of a new Virginia identity whose society was based on tobacco.

Recognized by their elite status, influential citizens created a new Virginia identity defined by the combination of ownership of a substantial enslaved workforce and the ongoing participation in a landed community. Through my observations, a dynamic neighborhood will emerge, one which actively used land ownership to legitimize its place in society.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION, THEORY

In 1730, Francis Eppes patented 2,400 acres of land in Virginia's eastern piedmont, which came to be known as Indian Camp. This parcel takes on meaning only by embedding it in its historical and social contexts. When Eppes' patent is viewed with others surrounding it, when the lives of the patentees are pursued, when the biographies of the land are tracked through time, when social, political, and economic connections between and among land owners are traced, when a neighborhood and a community surface, and when this land is viewed through the lens of material culture, what emerges is a contextualized, layered, complex interpretation of the meanings of people's interactions with one another and with this place. My thesis integrates public records and ArcGIS, and my interpretations center on land ownership, identity formation, and relationship negotiation. The neighborhood surrounding historic Indian Camp plantation provides a context for interpreting past self-fashioning, power dynamics, and community interactions. By mapping historic land patents surrounding Indian Camp using GIS, my research has identified a dynamic community, its social networks, and the underlying power dynamics of influential individuals in the 1720s and 1730s. Families with existing social, political, and economic connections in the tidewater established themselves as piedmont neighbors whose plantations increased their wealth. Relying on material culture analysis, my study supports previous Chesapeake research as it shows how a neighborhood's citizens created a Virginia identity and how greatly land contributed to this identity.

My thesis is part of a larger project called "Engaging the Piedmont: Transitions in Virginia Slavery 1730-1790," which uses archaeology to locate quarter sites and slave networks with ties to Thomas Jefferson. This research is funded by the National Endowment for the

Humanities through their "We the People" initiative and is being carried out by historical archaeologists directed by Dr. Barbara Heath at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. We have completed three field seasons of testing with one more to follow at a piece of property Jefferson owned from 1773 until 1777 called Indian Camp, which lies approximately fifty miles west of Richmond in what is now Powhatan County and about seventy miles southeast of the Jeffersons' home at Monticello (**Figure 1.1: Location of Indian Camp in Powhatan County, Virginia.**.1).

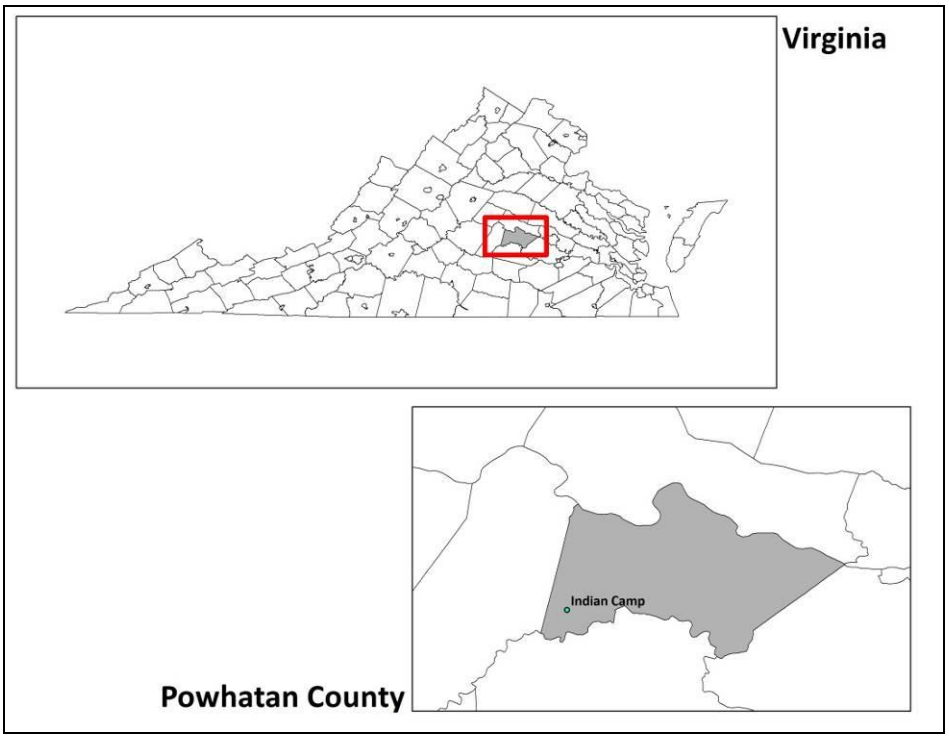

Figure 1.1: Location of Indian Camp in Powhatan County, Virginia.

Francis Eppes, whose granddaughter Martha married Thomas Jefferson, was an early patentee in the Indian Camp area. Eppes patented a parcel of 2,400 acres in 1730 (LOP 13:482-483). Never having lived there himself, he launched an agricultural endeavor on his new property. In his 1733 will, he divided this plantation into two halves, giving his daughter Ann 1,200 acres, or the "lower moiety," while his other daughter Martha received the remaining

1,200 acres, the "upper moiety" (HCDWB 1725-1737 No.2, Part 1:459-460). Following Eppes' 1734 death, Martha inherited her portion of the Indian Camp property. She married her second husband, John Wayles, in 1746 and had a daughter Martha two years later (Thomas Jefferson Encyclopedia 2003). Mother Martha died shortly after childbirth, and daughter Martha was entailed the property. Wayles managed the property until Martha married Jefferson in 1772.[1] The Jeffersons owned the land for four years until selling it to Martha's step-brother-in-law, Henry Skipwith (CCDB5:488-489). The county in which Indian Camp was located changed names and geographical extent several times, seen in **Table 1**.1. It is on this property's earliest history that my research is focused.

Table 1.1: The changing counties of Indian Camp.

Year	**County**
1728-1749	Goochland (formed from Henrico County)
1749-1777	Cumberland
1777-present	Powhatan

Thesis Format

Relying on ArcGIS and historical research, my thesis is an attempt to reconstruct the historic neighborhood and broader community surrounding this Indian Camp property. My study expands previous Chesapeake research which uses network, community, and neighborhood analyses, and supports and affirms this prior scholarship in that it shows how a particular neighborhood's influential citizens helped create a Virginia identity. In the following chapters, I will discuss how the families who owned land situated around Indian Camp both participated in and benefitted from a newly emerging Virginia identity as informed by historic public records and secondary historical publications. My thesis achieves five objectives: introducing theoretical perspectives about the nature of historical archaeology, material culture, microhistory,

[1] Wayles technically was a "tenant by courtesy," which meant that he administered Martha's land until he died and passed it on to his daughter (Thomas Jefferson to Jerman Baker 1824).

placemaking, neighborhood- and community-scale networks, identity, gender, and class that I employ in my study (this chapter and Chapter 2); summarizing the historical record relevant for understanding the Indian Camp community (Chapter 2); interpreting the newly emerging Virginia identity and how greatly tobacco and land itself, land ownership, and participation in the landed community contributed to that identity (Chapter 2); outlining the methodology I used to conduct spatial analysis grounded in GIS (Chapter 3); and presenting a culturally and historically situated analysis of the results from the maps (Chapters 4 and 5). The conclusions I draw, summarized in Chapter 6, contribute to our understanding of the historic development of the eastern piedmont and of colonial Virginian society. After piecing together various strands of court documentation, what emerges are glimpses of a complex network of individuals who forged friendships through interactions with one another. The pattern of landownership is otherwise static and largely silent about important social relationships. By focusing on individuals who patented land across the fall line[2] and observing how they transformed space into place by establishing institutions like courts and churches, and positions like surveyors of highways and vestrymen, the Indian Camp neighborhood becomes a case study for better understanding the growth and expansion of Virginia's tobacco culture. The piedmont's growth from a frontier prior to the 1720s into an active part of Virginia's plantation economy was aided by the wealth and power of the elite and the labor of enslaved Africans who were imported into the region. The families in this area who form the focus of my research emerge as an influential group of citizens in their communities of their home plantations and in defining Virginia society.

[2] Virginia's fall line is the geomorphologic division between the clay soils to the west and the more coastal, sandier soils to the east. Virginia's rivers are no longer navigable west of the fall line. The division roughly follows Interstate 95 today.

Theoretical Frameworks

Historical Archaeology and Engaging with Historical Documents

With a discerning eye, historical archaeologists are in a unique position to engage historical documents in increasingly sophisticated ways. Employing a documentary archaeology can result in new insights into the past (Beaudry 1988:2; Wilkie 2006:33). As John Moreland defines the field, "[H]istorical archaeology is a practice which recognises that artifacts and texts are more than just sources of evidence about the past; that they had efficacy in the past; and which seeks to determine the ways in which they were used in the construction of social relationships and identities in historically specific circumstances" (Moreland 2001:111). My own interpretations were facilitated by the synthesis of multiple forms of public records with ArcGIS. Text was important to people in the past. Text and objects should not be treated merely as evidence for or reflections of past historical processes, structures, or group identities (Moreland 2001:79). Rather, we should bear in mind that texts "were produced, and had efficacy in the production and reproduction of structures of power, *in the past* itself" (Moreland 2001:26).

Text-based archaeology creates an interpretive context within which to understand archaeological findings (Little 1992a:5). During the field's early years, people set out to discover whether or not archaeological evidence complemented the documentary record (Beaudry 1988:1; Moreland 2001:17). This approach undermines the nature of text as material culture, making it reflective or supportive of rather than actively creating and maintaining culture. Archaeologists should see text as a "principal informant" (Little 1992b:217) but should not depreciate the value of other forms of material culture. *Both* objects and text "…form the context for enculturation, which entails absorbing the normative rules of cultural human sense" and are subject to people's various motives (Little 1992b:219). These words affirm the power of text.

Barbara Little also identifies text as material culture. As such, any document is a product of the culture that produced it. Documents are formed and constrained by certain cultural expectations. Even my own reading is an *interpretation* of a writer's perceptions. To avoid discounting all text as too biased, however, Ann Yentsch notes that because documents are created with words, the documentary record can be approached from emic *and* etic perspectives (Yentsch 1988:152-153).[3] By using both perspectives, the words that people used in documents and the reasons why they documented things reveal more than if we were to read their words at face value (Yentsch 1988:153). Historian Richard Beeman echoes this sentiment and seeks to join "…the contextual richness and subtlety of the emic tendency with some of the analytic boldness and comparative potential of the etic orientation" (Beeman1977:433). Using emic *and* etic approaches, we can better understand the meaning of text as it would have been significant to the writers or readers.

Emic analysis is best informed by context. I will discuss situatedness later, but for now it is sufficient to say that cultural context is essential in interpreting these texts since their meanings are neither fixed nor universal (Little 1992b:219). If we derive our interpretations from historic documents by scrutinizing them in a culturally sensitive way, we can bring attention to individuals' motivations, actions, and responses and to our own use of the text in constructing our interpretation (Beaudry et al. 1996:283). Without creating a context using primary documents (Little 1992a:5), it would have been impossible to reveal what connections among people who owned land in the Indian Camp neighborhood meant to those involved. Documentary analysis is essential for constructing context.

[3] Emic analysis considers things in terms of their meaning to the people who used them; etic analysis represents a generalized classification system imposed by an observer to facilitate sorting observations into categories (Beeman 1977:430; Yentsch 1988:153).

Material Culture Analysis, or Understanding Land as Material Culture

Although historical archaeologists have recently undertaken many studies regarding objects (Warner 2011; Gary 2012; Naunheimer 2012; Lee 2012; Voss 2012) and the cultural landscape as material culture (Kelso and Most 1990; Heath 2001, 2010a; Ireland 2003; Reeves 2003; DeCunzo and Ernstein 2006; Chan 2007; Flick 2009; Pyzska 2012), land (not landscaped gardens), land policies, and resulting court documentation have not been explicitly studied as such. I used ideas from two notable exceptions. Julie Ernstein's 2004 dissertation focuses on constructing a context in which to situate five historic terraced gardens from Prince George County, Maryland. I will later discuss her use of *placemaking*. The second is Christa M. Beranek's 2012 study that uses a piece of land's cultural biography to explore and discuss issues of ethnicity, masculinity, and lineage (Beranek 2012). Historians have addressed land and its court documentation in several studies (Seiler 1949; Hughes 1979; Keim 1968; Beeman 1984; Langhorne and Babits 1988), although they have not engaged with it explicitly through the lens of material culture, nor have they integrated their findings with GIS. As a way of understanding the emerging Maryland or Virginia colonies, historians have placed land patents on the landscape (Eaton 1942; Kelly 1979; Perry 1990; Carr et al. 1991). Their studies relate to community formation in the Chesapeake, although none employ material culture analysis. It is important to assume the lens of material culture with regards to land. They do employ network analysis, an important component of analysis of the cultural landscape.

Archaeologists have also begun to incorporate past social networks into GIS analyses. As a way of observing individuals and their relationships with one another, Luke Pecoraro includes GIS to project property boundaries onto the 17th-century landscape in what is now Suffolk, Virginia (Pecoraro 2010:50), and to trace the changing property boundaries of George

Washington's Mount Vernon estate by incorporating findings from his map research into GIS (Pecoraro 2012). Scott Strickland's 2012 master's thesis explores the spatial and environmental properties of Late Woodland native sites on the Potomac River in Southern Maryland. Using spatial statistics and GIS, Strickland developed a model for settlement for Late Woodland peoples and demonstrated the value of joining archaeology and GIS (Strickland 2012).

Elmer Gish[4] placed patents surrounding Indian Camp onto a paper topographic map in the book *Hobson's Chapel* (Gish 1997:70-71), and historian B. Bernetiae Reed in her own book generated maps probably using Gish's patent placements (Reed 2007:480-481). However, neither Gish nor Reed provides reasons as to each patent's placement. My thesis, then, attempts to solidly place patents and people around Indian Camp and to increase our understanding of the development of Virginia's eastern piedmont through the lens of material culture and network analysis, using land as the focal point.

J. Edward Hood underscores the importance of studying land:

> …[S]ince the physical landscape is the context for the learning of culture and the material reproduction of society, it should be viewed as an important part of social relations. The landscape is "cultural" in that it physically embodies the history, structure, and contexts of human behavior in such a way that they are not readily separable from each other. Any understandings of the physical landscape, therefore, cannot be separated from the culture of the people who utilize it (Hood 1996:121).

[4] Gish owned and lived at French's Tavern from 1971 until his death. Executors sold the property in 1993.

He argues that landscapes can provide information about social relations and should not be viewed as "passive or uninformative residues of human behavior" (Hood 1996:121). Spaces created by human activity, whether intentionally created or otherwise, can provide useful insight into the relationship between social relations and material culture.

Historical archaeologists can understand and use land as a form of material culture. In reviewing past material culture scholarship, I affirm Ann Smart Martin's words: "…[O]bjects do not merely reflect culture but also are the means by which it is created. They symbolize and communicate intangible ideas, build relationships, and proffer pleasure" (Smart Martin 2008:9). Land *is* material culture. The idea of using land as material culture - how individuals move and navigate throughout the landscape, how they interact with it, how they perceive it, and how their actions are affected by the land - is not a new one. James Deetz (1977b) argued for the extension of what was a somewhat narrowly defined concept of material culture to include things like landscape and behavior. Not only are they a culturally defined set of manifestations of material culture, but they *are* material culture. Deetz extended the definition of material culture to include "…that segment of man's physical environ which is purposely shaped by him according to culturally dictated plans" (Deetz 1977b:10). In this sense, the processes staking out parcels of land, putting boundaries around that land, applying for patents, and mandating laws regarding the land involve an individual modifying real world material according to culturally-prescribed ideas. Humans indeed shape their surroundings in culturally dictated ways, and both the process of modification and the end result are valid forms of material culture (Deetz 1977b:10). Regarded as "…a medium of communication and expression that can condition and at times

control social action" (Beaudry et al. 1996:275), material culture plays an active role in the manifestation of cultural beliefs.

Deetz also expanded previously defined technologies of additive (involving accumulation of raw materials) and subtractive categories (material removal) to include a third category, manipulative, in which an object is reshaped (Deetz 1977b:11). Examples of manipulative artifacts include objects like knots as well as the ways in which an individual uses his or her body to communicate, as Deetz explains: "The proxemic use of the human body as a unit of material culture may go beyond simple considerations of what is usually called cultural space, to the entire range of ways in which man, in numbers, creates culturally patterned phenomena…" (Deetz 1977b:11). In this broad definition, I argue that people patenting land is a valid form of material culture (Deetz 1977b:10).

Jules Prown similarly acknowledges humans' transformation of an object as a legitimate form of material culture. He defined material culture as "the study of material, raw or processed, transformed by human action as expressions of culture" (Prown 1996:21) and differentiated between hard and soft material culturists, both of whom seek reality, although they find it located in different places. For the scientifically-minded hard material culturists, reality is in the facts, as in historical events or statistical data; for soft material culturists, reality is in the underlying belief structure of the culture that produced an object (Prown 1996:24). Prown argued for the corroboration of both (1996:26). Following his lead, my thesis integrates the hard material culturist data of official records with the soft material culturist's desire to interpret the underlying system behind that data.

Mary Beaudry, Lauren Cook, and Stephen Mrozowski observe that the connection between behavior and the material world is an active one, as "artifacts are tangible incarnations of social relationships embodying the attitudes and behaviors of the past" (Beaudry et. al 1996:272). These authors turn from the reductionist, "positivist legacy" of archeologists that produced a mostly descriptive, empiricist literature (Harrington 1954; Noël Hume 1969 for instance) and instead seek to understand and interpret the "cognitive aspects of artifact use in the past" (Beaudry et al. 1996:273). Such an approach encourages the interpretation and explanation of social differentiation rather than reducing historical archaeology to an impersonal, disconnected history (Beaudry et al. 1996:273-274). The authors advocate for the blending of "…an interpretive approach, normally applied to the "symbolic" aspects of culture, with the archaeologist's necessary focus on things material and particular" (Beaudry et al. 1996:274), a methodology similar to Prown's hard versus soft material culturists.

Smart Martin similarly uses a broad definition of material culture. She operates under the assumption that the study of material culture is about the way people live, grounded on the fact that artifacts are "integral to cultural behavior" (Smart Martin 1996:5). We use artifacts, including land, to create, learn, and mediate social interaction and relationships. As Hood writes, "By viewing the landscape as not just a reflection of culture, not just a means for signaling status, and not just a functional arrangement of artifacts for articulating humans within their environ, one may take the stance that the landscape itself plays an important role in constituting human society" (Hood 1996:125).

Accepting land as material culture, then, means that we must also accept that colonists understood land as saturated with associations and had values that were determined in multiple

ways (Smart Martin 2008:10). Yentsch calls landscapes "multivocal" (Yentsch 1996:xxv), as they assume flexible meanings, depending on one's interpretation. While cultural meanings are complexly layered, they can and should be identified and studied. While all who lived in the Chesapeake would not have appreciated land in the same way, depending on one's gender, race, social status, or occupation, all would have recognized the way that land was organized.

Affirming multiple meanings that colonists placed on land, Smart Martin acknowledges that there are various ways to determine value, as "…[O]bjects are complex bundles of meanings, both cultural and personal" (Smart Martin 2008:10). Herein lies the power of material culture analysis, as evidence of human relationships emerges (Smart Martin 2008:202). As Yentsch has written, "Good historical archaeology is focused on people" (Yentsch 1996:xxv). Smart Martin points out that relationships between humans and their use of objects are at the core of material culture analysis (Smart Martin 1996:7). Humans use objects to create and navigate social relationships. She writes that because objects possess complex cultural and personal meanings, "Nowhere does the sheer magnitude of the power of objects become more obvious than in pressing for their meanings. They work as signifiers of status and prestige…" (Smart Martin 2008:202). Material culture analysis is powerful, then, because it carries with it "expressions of human caring and evidence of relationships" (Smart Martin 2008:202). My study seeks to find free people in the Indian Camp neighborhood, discover and interpret their relationships through their involvement in the landed community, and understand the underlying belief system behind those data (Prown 1996:6; Smart Martin 2008:202). Such an approach allows the materiality of land to provide a suitable basis for evaluating how ideas about land on

Virginia's frontier were linked to people's perspectives about identity, community, neighborhoods, and networks.

Microhistory and the Importance of Context

In this thesis, I use a microhistorical framework. Practitioners of what is referred to as microhistory are interested in extracting meanings from small-scale examples by using detailed analysis: "…[M]icrohistory underscores the need for local perspective in understanding global patterns and wider narratives, as well as offering unique insights into phenomena and patterns that may lie outside of macrohistorical narrative or flatly contradict them" (Walton et al. 2008:4). Less a method than an orientation, microhistory is a strategy employed to discover meaning in small worlds by revealing general truths and wider patterns or to draw analogy to other cases (Walton et al. 2008:5). A microhistorical approach involving Indian Camp and the area around it should elucidate on a small scale how "larger processes operate, how the case serves as a useful hypothesis for exploring other cases" (Walton et al. 2008:5). The use of a "localized, contextual approach" to "mediat[e] between an overly-particularistic and overly-general level of analysis" (Ernstein 2004:12) allows both a synchronic and diachronic approach, as the small-scale can provide insight into broader historical trends across time and space (Gleason 1994:20). I account for these approaches.

By reconstructing the neighborhood surrounding Indian Camp, I gave Francis Eppes' 2,400 acre property a culturally and spatially situated context. Through this exercise, the importance of land to the colonists becomes clear. Yentsch writes that "Situatedness…denote[s] the experiential relationships that exist between a person and his or her social/physical space" (Yentsch 1996:xxvii), bringing attention to individuals and their interactions with the land and with one another. Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski urge archaeologists to create a situated

cultural and historical context for data, to prevent treating meaning and context as static, because cultural facts as observations should be subject to multiple interpretations (Beaudry et al. 1996:274). Attention to the practical and ideological roles of an object like land prevents treating meaning as static.

Context, then, is important. Meaning can only be interpreted after context is constructed, because context links meaning to situations, events, and people. Meanings cannot exist in the absence of context (Beaudry et al. 1996:281). Attention to historical and cultural context also allows humans an active role in creating meaning and in shaping their world rather than simply reacting to their environment (Beaudry et al. 1996:275). It gives us insight into how people thought about their world and allows us to interpret the past in a critical, interpretive, culturally sensitive way. Interpretive analysis of primary official documents offers a complex historical context to recover meaning (Beaudry et al. 1996:281). This interpretive approach is also open to multiple perspectives as it rejects rigid theoretical perspectives, including the dominant ideology thesis. As Deetz remarks, the relationship between human behavior and material culture is a reciprocal one (Deetz 1977b:11), and it is the manifestation of this behavior documented in county court records that my thesis seeks to understand.

Placemaking, Cultural Geography, Distinguishing between Space and Place

As another way to evaluate how individuals organized themselves socially in the Indian Camp neighborhood, Ernstein's notion of *placemaking* is a useful framework. She defines *placemaking* as the denotation of local and social identity in relation to a geographic area and its resources:

> Placemaking is an active process of negotiation by which those with greater economic, political, and/or social capital stake, and later reinforce their claims via formal conventions associated with, among other things, the transfer of title and limitations placed upon access to land and important resources in the landscape… Placemaking is likewise a process in which those with fewer, or even no social or economic capital are identified and their roles as payers of rents, interest, and deference are codified (Ernstein 2004:37).

Acts such as land patenting and processioning, and positions such as justices and vestrymen contributed to a sense of place, all of which will be addressed in Chapter 5. This definition of placemaking will also fit into my following discussion of space and place.

Ernstein's adoption of an explicit community focus also allows land ownership or access to land, through leasing or renting, to be a relevant category of community that was considered to be significant by historical stakeholders and not just those who study them. This focus thus reflects both an emic and etic perspective. I offer my own findings about the historical and social context of the tidewater and the piedmont as a backdrop against which to understand smaller-scale observations about the Indian Camp neighborhood (Ernstein 2004:57-58). By contextualizing land, a community can be interpreted as an active group of individuals as opposed to an abstract concept. It is only by integrating public records with maps produced with GIS that connections forged through such proceedings reveal people (Ernstein 2004:79). Acquisition of land and involvement in the landed community allowed local placemaking: "Transactions recorded and relationships forged and reinforced in the county land records

constitute a social network known as the landed community and the process of *placemaking* on both personal and regional scales" (Ernstein 2004:54). Over time, land was used to negotiate social identity as part of one's social currency.[5]

Using Prince George County records, Ernstein documents acquisition, valuation, improvement, and access of and to land. It is a more empirically-based approach than I take, although my reliance on GIS maps employs a similar rigor. Both methods record the frequency of participation in the landed community, identify networks created among the members of this community, and offer the findings as a backdrop against which to understand smaller-scale observations (Ernstein 2004:57-58). This approach offers a comprehensive way of recognizing the contribution to local placemaking of individuals, regardless of their place in society. I will later discuss a population of families who owned 400 acres, the most commonly patented acreage around Indian Camp. While they owned fewer acres than the landowners who owned great parcels, their participation in the landed community was significant.

After a proper historical and cultural context has been given, cultural geography is a useful lens through which to evaluate the Indian Camp neighborhood. Social or cultural geographers study "the processes and patterns involved in understanding socially defined populations in a social setting" (Jones 1972:19) and "…begins with the spatial patterns and processes of society" (Jones 1972:22). The integration of historic documents with GIS helps realize this definition. How individuals interact with their cultural landscape is also important: "Landscape denotes the interaction of people and place: a social group and its spaces, particularly the spaces to which the group belongs and from which its members derive some part of their shared identity and meaning" (Groth 1997:1). This definition associates people with their

[5] See Chapter 5 for a definition of social currency.

spatial distribution and their resulting interactions. Social geography cannot be understood apart from social context (Jakle et al. 1976:2, 7), emphasizing the importance of situatedness.

In studying the social dimension of people's interactions with their surroundings, Yi-Fu Tuan and other cultural geographers seek to differentiate between space and place (Tuan 1977; Jakle et al. 1976; Crang 1998; Olwig 2001; Pauls 2006). They argue an actual difference exists between space as a geographic, bounded territory and place as a center of felt value where biological needs are satisfied (Tuan 1977:4). As Heath has written in a discussion about quarter sites, "…[T]he term "space" is used in reporting physical dimensions or characteristics of architecture and landscape, while "place" references the constructed meaning of space through individual experiences, memories, and the specificity of landscape" (Heath 2010b:159). Space is thought of as the relative location of objects or places, the distances that separate or link places, and the area defined by a network of places (Tuan 1977:12); place refers to experiences and how humans interact with and understand the world (Tuan 1977:5). What begins as undifferentiated space become place as one begins to "endow it with value" (Tuan 1977:6). Because of this value associated with place, Olwig sees the two as opposed: "[Place] constitutes a substantial dialectical opposite to the cosmic emptiness of space" (Olwig 2001:93). It is this idea of place, the places that the individuals in my study occupied, and the interactions surrounding these places, that I identify as objects to be studied.

Tuan remarks that the sentiment of place does not exist organically but occurs only if and when experience influences it (Tuan 1977:170-171). Locations or buildings in and of themselves do not create place, but when individuals develop a larger place consciousness, they transform space into place. As humans attach themselves to place, they meld together in a cohesive unit.

Place can acquire deep meaning for anyone who becomes attached to such an entity (Tuan 1977:33). An important concept of place is permanence and a commitment to human bonds, no matter what the scale might be, whether as local as a church or as regional as a country (Tuan 1977:140). When space feels familiar and known, it has become place (Tuan 1977:73).

My project affirms the distinction between space and place. Understanding the gradual transformation of a space into a place can be seen through the negotiation of relationships in the neighborhood surrounding Indian Camp. Simply identifying who owned a particular parcel of land is only the beginning of understanding this neighborhood. Plotting patents and transactions in ArcMap has allowed me to see that the act of establishing a piedmont plantation and subsequent land sales, divisions, transfers, and consolidations depends on a complex network of individuals who formed a neighborhood and a meaningful place in their geographical space.

Community and Neighborhood; Network Analysis

As archaeologist James G. Cusick writes, community study can be beneficial to historical archaeologists. It shares "…a concern for the in-depth analysis of people and culture in social context; it deals… with issues of ethnicity, acculturation, and social structure; and its research strategy requires the comparison of household level data" (Cusick 1995:59). My work is guided by a key element of community analysis: "…[I]ts ability to position people and their material world in geographical and social space – in their relation to territory and to each other – as a basis for researching the past" (Cusick 1995:60).

For the purposes of my study, community must be defined as more than a geographically-bounded or defined grouping of individuals who are granted membership based on their shared occupational, ethnic, religious, or socioeconomic status, or a different attribute (Ernstein 2004:39-40). Deetz points out that communities and families fall under the above-mentioned

broad definition of material culture. The culturally-patterned grouping of family members in a household and the resulting distribution of households into communities is another basis for my thesis. Communities are composed of people. Deetz makes the case that "Behavior is reflected in material culture to be sure, but material culture… is reflected in behavior as well" (Deetz 1977b:11). It is the manifestation of this behavior that defines community and neighborhood networks which my thesis seeks to understand.

In their study of the lives of the residents of 17th-century Middlesex County, Virginia, Darrett and Anita Rutman (1984a:25-27) formulated five assumptions about networks which are valid for my research, as well: people inevitably associate in groups; associations among people are not chaotic but are ordered as people relate to each other through defined nodal points; associations between individuals are to some extent related to land form, distance, and technology; associations are related to the social topography (in other words, hierarchical social ordering); and finally that relationships among people form observable networks . Using public records, the Rutmans established linkages between and among individuals and created-biographies of community members. My study accomplishes similar objectives.

I differentiate between a community and a neighborhood. The entities are not the same, although defining what specifically constitutes each is difficult. The matter becomes an issue of scale. In the early 18th-century Chesapeake, communities formed at the county level, whereas neighborhoods were more geographically constricted. Chapter 2 will address a newly emerging *community* of tobacco planters, bound by both their commonality and sense of belonging, although the community I am addressing here focuses at the county level through public records. Monthly gatherings of court days spoke of the reverence for community. It is easy to use the two

terms, community and neighborhood, interchangeably, but I separate them during my discussions.

As Darrett Rutman observes, "Community is real – the concurrence of group and place – but so diverse a social phenomenon as to defy every attempt to define it terms of specific behavioral characteristics or values" (Rutman 1980:31; Rutman and Rutman 1984a:25). Two extremes of community definitions include researchers that reify the concept of community, treat it as a tangible entity, and assume that it is synonymous with a particular group of people able to be placed on a map, and researchers that abstractly define it out of existence by equating it with any pattern of social interaction (Beeman 1977:437-438; Rutman 1980:29). I view the neighborhood as a "special kind of community" (Kulikoff 1986:206, n2) with networks of social relationships that are geographically bounded and operate on a smaller, more local, day-to-day scale. Beeman points out that discrete, local communities provided the primary contexts for the organization of family life, economics, and society (Beeman 1977:423). In some instances, researchers have access to the community's records, including wills, inventories, deed books, tax lists, and church records as arranged by locale, making community studies "…the most obvious and efficient research strategy" (Beeman 1977:423-424). Cusick defines community broadly as "locale linked with social interaction" (Cusick 1995:61); the Rutmans accept the definition as "that aspect of the structure of social systems… observable and analysable with reference to location as a focus of attention" (Rutman and Rutman 1984a:25) – in other words, social networks that can be linked to a *place*.

Chesapeake scholars have previously defined community from historic examples (Kelly 1979; Blake Smith 1980; Rutman 1980; Beeman 1984; Rutman and Rutman 1984a, 1984b;

Kulikoff 1986; Graham 1988; Walsh 1988; Perry 1990; Carr et al. 1991; Cheek and Seifert 1994; Horn 1994; Walsh 1997; Nelson 2007; Pecoraro 2012). The Rutmans convey an evolving *web of associations* (Rutman and Rutman 1984a:12) and emphasize the importance of families: "Rooted in families, the web of relationships and friendships that, in sum, made up this society spiraled upward and outward – an expanding helix. Families were linked to other families by ties of kinship and friendship to form neighborhoods. Neighborhoods were linked as their men came together for periodic militia musters and as families gathered for [church] services…" (Rutman and Rutman 1984a:120). Similarly invoking the social "web," in his study of Virginia's Eastern Shore, historian James R. Perry writes of social networks, "…[S]tudies depict local society bound together by geographically restricted neighborhood networks, which were supported by kin networks and institutional bonds of church and state… These interpersonal and institutional networks – which formed the societal network, or web – provided cohesion" (Perry 1990:7). This is an effective image when envisioning how neighborhood networks work.

Other elements could structure the community, as well. Historian Rhys Isaac identifies the central defining factor of community as the "occasion" in which leaders and other participants in Virginia's dispersed communities gathered and strengthened their shared bonds (Isaac 1982:113; Ernstein 2004:41). Development of community in the Chesapeake happened in stages, as historian Allan Kulikoff postulates that community development passed from small settlements in the wilderness to denser neighborhoods over time, until intermarriage in the neighborhood led to a large percentage of the population that was interrelated through blood and/or marriage (Kulikoff 1986:206). It is this combination of a geographically-defined area with

the occasion, placemaking, and a web of relations that can be used to interpret the area around Indian Camp.

Lorena Walsh argues that early Maryland court records demonstrate that the function of neighborhoods was social in the broadest sense (Walsh 1988:232). Familiarity and frequent contact were defining characteristics. Each family was familiar with others' reputation and economic and social positions and would have participated in neighborhood news and gossip. In addition, informal neighborhood activities such as extending a loan, bearing witness on a will, and serving as a jury member contributed to the smooth functioning of the community. Those neighbors who were charged with processioning property boundaries or laying out a new road probably internalized these legal contracts and the cultural landscape better than any official land patent or area map could (Walsh 1988:232; Carr et al. 1991:140-141).

The foundation for a neighborhood, then, was the increasingly dense network of kin relations: "…[T]ies of kinship probably constituted the most meaningful basis of association within the fragile network of community relations within the county" (Beeman 1984:202). As Beeman and others have noted, individuals who already had kin ties in areas where land was still available were more likely to patent or purchase land near relatives, ensuring at least one familial and familiar link was nearby (Beeman 1984:202-203; Walsh 1988:227-228). A neighborhood itself cannot be specifically pinned to a location on a map unless the social networks of the individuals are recreated. There was no central point where the "neighborhood" gathered, but this rather occurred around the houses, fields, roads, churches, courthouses, barns, bedsides, and tables of its members. Events which took place within a spatially-restricted area define a

neighborhood. When people are placed onto maps produced with ArcGIS and when connections between them are realized, a neighborhood appears.

Occasionally, this neighborhood worked towards a common goal, which is where the importance of public records comes into play (Rutman and Rutman 1984a:121). Organized events included land processioning, surveying, militia musters, and surveying roads, all of which will be discussed in Chapter 5. Some of these occurred at the neighborhood level, while others took place at the community level. For example, surveyors of highways were chosen based on the neighborhood in which they lived. Additionally, it was common for marriages to occur inter-neighborhood: the Rutmans plotted in Middlesex County how far apart two individuals marrying lived, and found that thirty-six percent of all marriages in a five-year span at the turn of the 17th century were between people living within half a mile of one another and ninety-five percent between people living no more than five miles apart (Rutman and Rutman 1984a:121). Distance constrained social movement and served as an effective limit on its occupants.

Some scholars emphasize that distance played a role in social networks. Geography (such as wide rivers, hilly terrain, and muddy swamps), travel limitations (including poor roads or young children), proximity, and familiarity prompted settlers to limit their social interactions to households within their neighborhood cluster (Walsh 1988:227-228). Historian James Horn estimates that five to six miles was the usual extent of local communities in Virginia and Maryland, since regular interaction was difficult much further, but more frequently, people interacted regularly between two and three miles, corresponding to the neighborhood (Horn 1994:237). Walsh estimates the distance of the radius of a community to be five miles (Walsh 1988:227-228), and the Rutmans put the estimate at two to three miles (Rutman and Rutman

1984a:120-121). Where the Rutmans and Walsh use the word "community," I would substitute the word "neighborhood." Individuals on the "edge" of a neighborhood will inevitably have contact with people next door and will result in perpetually overlapping series of networks (Rutman and Rutman 1984a:120). Rather than focusing on putting measurable barriers on these neighborhoods or communities, I pay attention to the more numerous historic records that "…attest to neighborhood as recognized (and used) by larger society simply for the familiarity of their members with each others' lands and business" (Rutman and Rutman 1984a:121-122). While people are identified in both approaches, I find it more useful to explore neighbors based on the depth of their interactions and relationships rather than by trying to determine who belonged to which neighborhood based on distance.

A network approach to community and neighborhood study allows a researcher to identify the links which bind a locale to the broader society, as places are never truly isolated (Rutman 1980:32). Community study links people, places, and time to "interpret relationships between social and material patterning in the context of localized ethnography" (Cusick 1995:60). We can begin to delineate the local structure within which people lived in a particular time and place and relate that structure to the larger society (Rutman 1980:34). By comparing between times and places, we can begin to see variations or similarities between entities.

With these multiple frameworks established, several points should be noted before progressing on to Chapter 2. I frequently use court records to show various instances of local *placemaking* on the landscape. In some cases, I use figures in the text. When I do not include a figure, Appendix I provides a year-by-year series of maps for the Indian Camp neighborhood. These maps match numbers in a corresponding key, which can be found in Appendix II.

Additionally, I use Old and New Style dates by including the New Style year in brackets. For example, 1743[4] refers to 1743 as recorded in the court record, but the New Style date would read 1744. Finally, I have retained the spelling of most names as they appear in historic records, except for a few instances, such as Eppes' last name, in which case I have standardized the spelling.

CHAPTER 2: A NEW VIRGINIA IDENTITY EMERGES

Identity formation as it relates to land ownership provides the focus of this chapter. I will first address how archaeologists have recently thought about identity, specifically gender and class, which are both relevant for my thesis; then, I will explore the historical context and cultural milieu of the late 17th- and early 18th-century Chesapeake, the time period during which individuals and families were patenting and settling the land around Indian Camp. Finally, I will address the legislative and social reasons why land was so important to the construction of a newly-emerging Virginia identity of which individuals in the eastern piedmont were a part.

Identity

Historical archaeologists began writing about identity during the 1960s and 1970s following the civil rights and women's movements (Goodwin 2002:312; Mullins 2011:115). They were not specifically pursuing identity but were rather writing about race and gender to better understand enslaved African Americans and women. With a theoretical shift to post-processualism, archaeologists became interested in discrete expressions of identity seen through individuals. Studies subsequently emphasized agency, individuality, and group affiliation. Identity studies have thus expanded from recognition of identity markers on a site to a focus on individual and group agency and the complexities of social interaction through the study of identity construction, domination and resistance, and negotiation (Goodwin 2002:312; Insoll 2007).

Identity has been used by historical archaeologists as an analytical category in multiple ways, as a way to recognize "particular self-understandings, mark collective categorical unity (e.g., ethnic groups), fashion hyper-contextualized senses of selfhoods, or simply to refer to an analytical group constructed for archaeological convenience" (Mullins 2011:115). Individuals

and/or groups simultaneously assume multiple identities at several scales, as identity defines people as both part of a group and as an individual (White 2008:17-18, 2009:5; White and Beaudry 2009:210). For example, identity can be defined through multiple memberships, such as kinship, religious belief, and ancestry (King 2006:311). In pursuing many aspects of identities, researchers strive for a high resolution study (Loren and Beaudry 2006:256). While identity is a "complex, multifaceted, dynamic and cultural construct, and is negotiated and recreated through language, material culture and other symbols" (Goodwin 2002:313), identity is also a "social fact" (Durkheim 1895[1938]:1). Evidence of identity appears in the archaeological record.

Material culture can be used to understand historical identities. Historical archaeologists have studied class (Leone 1984; McGuire and Paynter 1991; McGuire 1993; Wurst 1999, 2010; Leone et al. 2005; Dell et al. 2000; Shackel and Palus 2006; Andrews and Fenton 2007; Shackel 2009); ethnic identities (Franklin and Fesler 1999; Weisman 2007; Voss 2008); race (Ewen 2000; Orser 2001, 2007; Shackel 2011); occupation (Silliman 2006); regional identity (Shields 2009); gender (Little 1994; Claney 2004:80-99; Young 2004; Voss 2008; Krofft 2010); and material consequences of identity formation (Nassaney 2008), including personal adornment and consumer choice (Heath 1999; Fisher and Loren 2003; Thomas and Thomas 2004; King 2006; Mann 2007; White 2008; White and Beaudry 2009; Mullins 2001, 2011:105-145; Galke 2012; Rivers Cofield 2012). The ability to create, choose, and modify identity is a form of agency that individuals possess, and the way in which individuals convey identity interests historical archaeologists (Goodwin 2002:312). To best interpret identity, approaches to identity must be contextualized and comprehensive, as individual's agency is in a constant dialectic relationship

with structuring forces in society, which work to constrain choice and creativity (Deetz 1977; Bourdieu 1994).

Archaeologists have used categories including gender, ethnicity, race, class, economic status, social status, occupation, religion, or political affiliation to categorize people and their associated artifacts into groups for analysis (Goodwin 2002:312).These categories, rather than constant, are fluid and variable. Rather than assigning an artifact to a specific identity, such as gender, a more productive line of inquiry results in trying to understand how people used and were affected by material culture as resources in ordinary routines to "both stabilize and transform their identities" (Voss 2008:12). Identity, then, is the "multiscalar" (Voss 2008:13), "temporary and relational" (Casella and Fowler 2005:8), "mediated" (Beaudry et al. 1996:276) process through which "social subjects are constructed into relationships of taxonomic similarity and difference in comparison with other subjects" (Voss 2008:13). Voss uses passive tense in her definition, but individuals are active agents in constructing their own identities. While socially negotiated, identities have real objective results for individuals (Durkheim 1938:1; Voss 2008:15). Archaeologists are left to deal with the resulting multiple forms of materiality.

Historical archaeologists are in a unique position to interpret identity because of their strong ties with interpreting and reading material culture. By considering the "social archaeology" or "social biographies" of artifacts, archaeologists are well situated to examine issues of identity (Cochran and Beaudry 2006:199; Hoskins 2006:74; Krofft 2012:68). Archaeologists have interpreted "small finds," for example, because they are able to connect these items to individuals through their ownership and use of objects (Cochran and Beaudry 2006:199). However, the study of material culture with land as a focus should not create an

essentializing, dichotomous, binary link between land ownership and a man's wealth. Many more lines of evidence are necessary to assert a connection to identity. Individuals belong to multiple identity groups at any given moment. These groups are characterized as having "plural and changing social identities," depending on the context (Casella and Fowler 2005:2; Shackel 2011:162). While people adopt practices affiliated with a particular group, that adoption does not signal automatic membership in that group. Just as race, gender, or religion do not solely constitute identity, neither does class affiliation based on land ownership, as it is only one thread that contributes to the composition of human society.

Any type of material culture contributes to identity construction in countless ways (Beranek 2012:75). While I would like to avoid assigning land to a singular part of identity, such as class or gender, through my study, it is clear that wealthy men acquired large parcels whereas poorer and middling individuals had fewer acres. With a more contextualized, layered approach to cultural identity at a particular point in history, my study affirms that parts of social identity should not be so neatly categorized (Beranek 2012:76). I later define class and gender separately, but I only do so for classificatory purposes. Even ownership of small amounts of land allowed individuals access to local governmental and ecclesiastical positions, which could increase their social standing in the neighborhood. Additionally, while all of the land around Indian Camp was in title owned or overseen by men, the ways in which they acquired or maintained control of their lands were through wives and daughters in some cases, as discussed below. Just as "…identities cannot be easily disentangled into discrete components" (Beranek 2012:75), parts of social identity interact with and are connected to one another (Fisher and Loren 2003; Casella and Fowler 2005). These interactions result in a negotiated, diachronic process in which

identities emerge at different scales. The process of assuming any identity, whether Virginian, American, woman, adult, planter, or white "…should be understood as identity formations that emerged out of shifting contexts" (DiPaolo and Beaudry 2006:256)

In the following chapters, I highlight certain individuals and their formation of and benefit from a new cultural identity. I use land sales and inheritance to elucidate issues of power, lineage and status maintenance, and identity construction. In doing so, I avoid what Loren and Beaudry identify as "the essentializing trap of linking artifacts to particular ethnic or gender groups" (Loren and Beaudry 2006:256). By approaching identity as multitiered, permeable, and variable, and by avoiding "the essentializing trap," I highlight land ownership as playing an important role in the construction of an evolving Virginian identity.

Gender

Recognized as an important part of identity, gender has also been addressed by historians and historical archaeologists in the archaeological record as a structuring force in the creation of culture (Heath 2004:19). Studies involving gender have included household analyses (Gibb and King 1991; Barile and Brandon 2004); engendering African Americans (Galle and Young 2004); gendered spaces and/or activities such as brothels and saloons (Seifert 1991; Seifert and Balicki 2005; Holder Spude 2005), fraternity houses (Wiklie 2010) and cidering activities (Meachem 2009); places of institutional confinement (Casella 2008); how gendered activities like sewing contributed to one's identity and structured social relationships (Beaudry 2006; Krofft 2010); life cycles of gender (Gilchrist 2000; Joyce 2007; Sofaer 2007; Smith 2013); and the social relations and negotiations of class, gender, and ethnicity (Rotman 2005). Gender has been accepted as a social construct rather than defined along biological lines and seen as changing in individuals through time and space (Goodwin 2002:282) within varying cultural institutions. Since the mid-

1980s, gender studies in archaeology have primarily focused on the experiences of women, although studies of masculinity have also been undertaken (Alberti 2006; Williams 2008; Wilkie 2010; Torres-Rouff 2011; Beranek 2012).

Engendered work in historical archaeology typically has one of three themes: to understand how contemporary gender roles and inequality are defined by evaluating how actors have dynamically negotiated roles in the past; to demonstrate the fluid nature of gender ideologies and roles and to challenge notions of normative gender roles using the family or household structure; and to use feminist theoretical lenses to interpret and present past gender roles (Wilkie and Howlett Hayes 2006:243-244, 248). Archaeologists have also incorporated first, second, and third wave feminist theory into their research (see Conkey and Gero 1997, Spencer-Wood 2002:246-247, and Wilkie and Howlett Hayes 2006:248-250 for a review of these theories), but I will not deal with these theories in my thesis.

Rather, as gender relates to my study, although I largely connect land ownership to the identity of elite men, this possession was facilitated by strategic marriages to women who were entailed with their own lands. All of the land in the extent of my study was legally patented and the majority was owned by men, and men were the ones to appear in court documents, highlighting their participation in the county community.[6] In several cases, though, women provided the means by which land was acquired, usually through inheritance or marriage. Martha Eppes Wayles' inheritance of her half of Indian Camp helps explain both instances. Martha's father, Francis Eppes, willed and entailed both her and her sister half of his lands on Swann's Creek (HCDWB 1725-1737 No. 2, Part 1:459-460). Since the land was entailed through Martha, upon her death in 1748, the land passed to her only child, her daughter, Martha Wayles, who

[6] Wayles was a "tenant by courtesy" (see Footnote 1). There might have been additional exceptions to outright legal ownership in the neighborhood, as well.

married Thomas Jefferson. The Jeffersons sold this land to Henry Skipwith in 1777. In order for the Jeffersons to sell this land, the couple traveled to Williamsburg to dock the entail on the land (JHB 1774[1905]:83). Land acquisition for men, then, was facilitated by strategic marriage. It was beneficial for men to look for potential wives whose inheritance included tract(s) of land, as Jefferson might have when he married Martha. No explicit evidence exists for this factor contributing to the Jeffersons' marriage; however, we can reasonably assume that this was a contributing factor. While women provided access to, they did not necessarily have control of their lands, an important differentiation. Women could display and use their own wealth through their inheritance or dowry (Spencer-Wood 2002:246) to attract a worthy mate. Some widows in the neighborhood remained unmarried although owning a substantial amount of land, as did Martha Eppes Wayles' sister, Ann Eppes Harris. In sum, rather than allowing land ownership to be linked solely to a man's identity, in some cases, women as wives and daughters played a large part in the acquisition or transmission of land. Therefore, linking land ownership strictly to a man's identity can be problematized when the history of a land parcel is pursued.

Status and Class

Another form of identity has to do with the social organization of humans (Tuan 1977:33). Historical archaeologists have written about social classes since the 1970s, primarily by focusing on material difference between households (Deetz 1977a; Miller 1980; Horn 1988). Recent archaeologies of class have problematized this approach and have moved away from interpretations linking certain types of artifacts with particular social classes (Veech 1998). Archaeologists have approached class using landscapes (Leone 1984; McGuire 1988; Delle 1999; Ernstein 2008); faunal remains (Reitz 1987; Schmidt and Zeir 1993; Hatch 2013; Lamzik and Wilkins 2013); African American consumption patterns (Mullins 1999); class relations and

negotiations in work settings (Van Bueren 2002; Walker 2008) and in urban environments and articulations with capitalism (Mrozowski 2006); and poverty (an entire issue of *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* was dedicated to the archeology of poverty in 2011). As LuAnn Wurst writes, archaeologists should not strive to identify as many classes as they can, but rather, should aim to understand the "lived experiences" of the past (Wurst 1999:17). I view class as having a "relational character" (Mrozowski 2006). While extensive land ownership indeed contributed to the identity of the elite, in parsing historical records, it appears that any amount of possession increased one's social standing and access to governmental and ecclesiastical positions. Women also provided the means by which men could acquire property. There are many social, economic, and historic factors to take into consideration in defining land ownership.

Historical archaeologists have interpreted class in one of two ways: "…[C]lass as an objective entity, thing, or structural location based on a graduated scale, and class as a relation or formation" (Wurst 2010:326). The first definition sees class as static, where class represents a group of individuals who shares a particular quality. A classificatory unit thus defines admittance into a discretely ranked social group, such as income. However, class as an objective entity cannot account for human agency or the complexity of social relations, as Wurst argues: "This socio-economic status approach in historical archaeology is a gradational view that sees class as a static, unchanging classification of reified persons and social roles" (Wurst 2010:327).

A relational view of class is a more productive avenue of inquiry for archaeologists. In this view, class indicates underlying social relations, where the networks of social relations constitute the whole (Wright 1994:89 as cited in Wurst 2010:328). When class is viewed using

this dialectic rather than gradational view, the internal relation defines society, and it is not possible for society to exist without the underlying social relation. Class, then, is the "surface appearance of the complex web of social production" (Wurst 2010:329). This approach examines each part of society to see where it fits and how it functions within the whole.

Instead of categorizing individuals into narrowly defined, objective groups of class, then, class should be viewed as a relational, analytical, complex category. The characteristics of class - such as the number of classes - change based on the scale at which a group is viewed in an actual historical context. Recognizing that class can be defined differently allows us to understand social relations at the local level and the broader level of Chesapeake society, as production of social relations differed depending on the situation. I view class and status, then, not as fixed positions but as a complex web of social relationships characterized by temporal and spatial processes. I use class as an abstraction for analytic purposes to understand the dynamic formations defined by social relations. As Wurst (2010:330) promotes, a dialectical approach emphasizes that all social relations are linked in a complex web.

To account for the relationships and agency present between social classes in the past, I follow Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski's promotion of a class-based model of relations (Beaudry et al. 1996:279-280). A framework using "cultural hegemony," conceived by Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, achieves this objective by acknowledging complex interactions between groups. This model is grounded on control through consensus rather than coercion. Members of different classes assert ideologies based on their interests, sometimes conflicting with other groups' ideologies. The negotiation of these ideologies thus forms the basis for class relationships (Beaudry et al. 1996:280). Negotiation allows room for give-and-take among

opposing groups and for active roles in society for those who are not in political or economic power rather than viewing ideology as dictated by and distilled from ideologies of those in power (Beaudry et al. 1996:286). The resulting prevailing consciousness changes as individuals internalize, refute, and accept ideology to varying degrees. This day-to-day negotiation is a form of communication, an important part of material culture. I use the idea of cultural hegemony and land as it communicates material culture and class to frame my discussion of class.

Objects communicate culture, define groups, and maintain boundaries. Just as acceptance and group formation and maintenance are consequences of this process, so too are exclusion and othering consequences of this process. Construction of cultural identity can thus be understood by analyzing the use of material culture such as land in enabling group formation and self-expression (Beaudry et al. 1996:280). While taking multiple meanings of land into account has already been considered, archaeologists should likewise not immediately essentialize ownership of large acreage with a wealthy individual. Land ownership permitted access to local positions, though, and governmental and ecclesiastical service was important to this society.

Though the interactions and material experiences of 18th-century Virginians differed depending on aspects like class, gender, ethnicity and race, most people understood the existing social strata. Distance, then, can be measured in hierarchical terms, as space is a “matrix” that sorts people in both social and physical ways (Smart Martin 2008:127). Although people from one class could never completely understand lived experiences of another group, colonists recognized the groupings of members of society in a similar way.

That humans classify others happens on a subconscious, although innate, level. This classificatory system defines and reinforces status and class, both terms that I will frequently

mention during my discussion. It is important to note that while my study focuses on those who wielded the most social, economic, and political power, I refute the dominant ideology thesis (Marxist-derived critical theory), which supports Louis Althusser's 1971 essay on how dominant groups in society force their ideology onto subaltern groups (Beaudry et al. 1996:278). This view denies non-elites the ability to form their own ideologies and the ability to recognize ideologies put forward by elites as politically motivated, and in so doing, denies them any agency they possess. Through my analysis, I found that individuals who purchased even small amounts of land were able to obtain local government and/or ecclesiastical positions and influence their neighborhood. They achieved these positions by forming social or business alliances with neighbors, through marriage with neighbors, and by remaining in this area for several generations. This sort of upward mobility was easier to achieve due to this area's initial frontier location. Supported by instances such as these, I disagree with the dominant ideology thesis.

Small landowners counter theoretical arguments because of their participation in the landed, freeholding community. Robert Thompson provides a good example of an individual with a smaller amount of land than his more landed neighbors. Thompson purchased 150 acres from Richard Parker's 400 acre patent in 1750 (CCDB1:342-344) (see Appendix I, Figure A.19). In 1755, he successfully petitioned for an ordinary license for this property (CCOB3:252), perhaps because of this piece of land's strategic location at the intersection of Clement Mill Road, which led to the Appomattox River, with Buckingham Road, a main thoroughfare in the area. He again applied in 1756 (CCOB3:393) and 1758 (CCOB3:511). Robert sold this property to his son Bartlett[7] in 1758 (CCDB2:442), and then Bartlett sold the parcel to Josiah Thomson in 1760 (CCDB3:19-20). Josiah purchased an additional seventy-six acres later that year from part

[7] The relationship between Bartlett and Josiah is uncertain beyond the fact that they are both Thompsons.

of Richard Parker's original 400 acres (CCDB3:123-125) (see Appendix I, Figure A.29), applied for an ordinary license in 1763 (CCOB5:153), and renewed the license in 1765 (CCOB6:220), 1770 (CCOB8:77), and 1772 (CCOB9:42). The Thompsons owned many fewer acres than some of their neighbors, but their efforts at running an ordinary in the neighborhood could increase social currency[8] among their peers.

The social relations of class must be embodied in real people in a real context. Virginia's county governments and churches operated as a series of personal networks composed of individuals. These individuals' quotidian behaviors were materialized by official documentation. Relationships are the crucial element in these institutions, as they are "institutional arrangement[s] of social practices" (Mountz 2010:xxv). For my study, the emerging Virginia identity is knowable through the formation and maintenance of these networks, the negotiation of classes, and their combination with maps produced with GIS.

Construction and Emergence of a New Society: A Review

The historic neighborhood around Indian Camp plantation helps to clarify aspects of identity formation and the emergence of a culture identified as Virginian. This identity can be recognized as resulting from the tobacco culture (Middleton 1953; Isaac 1982; Breen 1985; Kulikoff 1986), which I will discuss in the next section. Social formation in the Chesapeake depended on the family and on a complex web of interrelationships (Horn 1994:203, 234). As James Horn has written, awareness of place, a sense of history, and shared experiences were important aspects of formation of local culture (Horn 1994:433-434). Chesapeake scholarship has summarized contrasts between an unstable, adaptive frontier in the 17th century populated by a homogenous group of middling men trying to make a new start and the "golden age" of 18th-century planter elite, gentry whose accumulation of resources included enslaved Africans (Carr

[8] See Chapter 5 for a definition of social currency.

et al. 1991; Pogue 2001:41, 44; Parent 2003; Walsh 2010:394-423). While oversimplified, in that this time was not a "golden age" for enslaved people, the poor, or many middling people who lost ground, this explanation reveals that by the 1680s, with changing demographics and the increase of shared experiences like court days[9] and land processioning[10], colonists identified as Virginian rather than English (Horn 1994:436-437).

Early in the colony's history, kin ties were limited to members of the same household and rarely linked separate households to one another (Carr et al. 1991:158-159). Demographic instability and the Chesapeake's dispersed settlement pattern prevented the development of dense kinship networks for the first several decades of settlement. As children born in Virginia came of age and formed their own families, households were bound together through increasingly dense kinship networks, obvious and concrete to those whose lives they structured (Walsh 2010:401). Neighborhoods acquired new meaning, familiarity, and cohesiveness as they were built on elaborate kin ties and long-term friendships (Carr et al. 1991:158-159). Neighborhoods became solid units, with neighbors assuming responsibility for a wide range of concerns. By the early 18th century, white individuals lived among people they knew intimately as a result of lifelong contact. The following analysis provides a historical framework in which I situated the neighborhood surrounding Indian Camp.

Society in the Chesapeake between the 1620s and the 1690s was based on English laws, government, and economic organization (Morgan 1975:149; Horn 1994:436). By the turn of the 18th century, though, with changing demographics and shared ritual experiences like court days and land processioning; networks with international markets; and the formation and

[9] Court days provided venues for transacting personal business, renewing acquaintances, and participating in events which affected the community (Lounsbury 2005:5). See Chapter 5.
[10] During processioning, neighbors formally determined and agreed on the boundaries between property owners by walking around, examining, agreeing on, and renewing property boundaries (Blomquist 2006:xiii). See Chapter 5.

solidification of a group of elite planters, colonists no longer identified as English and instead as Virginian or Marylander (Horn 1994:437). Through socialization, new generations embodied and sustained new cultural values. The historic neighborhood and the individuals involved in those networks surrounding Indian Camp help show how this was the case in Virginia and serve as an example of the efficacy of microhistory.

The men and their families who lived in the tidewater and the families who established themselves in the piedmont helped develop and benefitted from a newly emerging Virginia society. To explain how and why English culture was transformed into a distinct Chesapeake culture and how these men played an active part, I consider Chesapeake scholarship regarding the transformation of cultural norms. Dennis Pogue argues that archaeological and documentary evidence supports the theory of a consumer revolution. Demographic imbalances, an immigrant majority, short life spans, and the inability to increase natural population impacted the development of a 17th-century native born Chesapeake society and kept that early society fluid and open (Pogue 2001:43; Carr et al. 1991:143, 166). By the end of the 17th century, though, conditions were characterized by a more stable society with increasingly dense and elaborate kinship networks, stronger family bases, a higher proportion of native born, a developing native gentry class, a slowing English immigration rate to the Chesapeake, an increasing birthrate, and a reduced gender imbalance (Pogue 2001:43). In turn, these developments had a profound impact on wealth distribution and inheritance, on group consciousness among the great planters, and on public life (Carr et al. 1991:166). A series of economic depressions caused by fluctuating tobacco prices led to steadily declining profits, which required an increase in plantation size and labor. These factors reduced opportunities for freed servants and people of minimal wealth to

advance (Pogue 2001:43). Immigration from England, an important source of indentured servants, declined during this period (Walsh 2010:192), as economic conditions had improved in England (Morgan 1975:299). To deal with the shortage of white servants, planters began importing larger numbers of African slaves (Pogue 2001:44). Some planters experienced unprecedented economic prosperity: longer life spans and more developed family units allowed the acquisition of political power and social status and the ability to pass it on to heirs. Accumulation of resources led to a relatively small planter elite, which led to the formation of a gentry class and a more rigidly hierarchical society (Pogue 2001:44; Evans 2009). Pogue concludes that by the last quarter of the 17th century, a clearly defined, native-born Chesapeake gentry sought to reinforce class boundaries and assert its social and political legitimacy (Pogue 2001:54; Carr et al. 1991:164).

This complex transformation to a gentry-dominated, slave-based patriarchy did not simply replace the yeoman planter society of the early colonial period, but rather emerged gradually as the result of farm building, which allowed families to accumulate wealth if they raised successful tobacco crops (Carr et al. 1991:xvi, 161). Wealth enabled the purchase of additional land and slaves. While other factors (such as legal ones) played into the changing world, planters were able "to finance the Africanization of the Chesapeake work force" (Carr et al. 1991:161). After 1670, there were shifts in the distribution of labor and in types of servants. When servants dominated the work force, all ranks of society owned enslaved individuals and integrated them into their families; however, labor shortages caused the price of servants to increase, and slaves were likewise too expensive for small planters to handle, which led to the concentration of enslaved workers in the hands of the wealthy (Carr et al. 1991:162). While

historian John Coombs argues for an earlier date of slavery for the elite (see Chapter 4), the rise of slavery accompanied growth of large plantations and eliminated small planters as labor owners by the late 17th century (Carr et al. 1991:162). The earliest families who patented land around Indian Camp came of age in this cultural context.

Tobacco and the Land

As Barbara Voss writes, "The relationship between social identity and landscape is a recursive one" (Voss 2008:147). For many living in Virginia, this relationship manifested itself through tobacco production. Although I will not address the specific economics behind the crop (see Breen 1985; Carr and Menard 1989; Walsh 1999, 2012), I will consider how tobacco was a driving force behind the social transformation. I attempt to explain why the regional pattern of growing tobacco in the piedmont required large amounts of land (Walsh 1999, 2001; Hardin 2006) and why more land (in addition to large slaveholdings) could mean more profit. Attempts at explaining these processes help to reveal why people patented land in the Indian Camp neighborhood.

By the 1650s, Chesapeake planters recognized two distinct types of tobacco: Oronoco and sweet-scented (Hardin 2006:138). The two were differentiated by their leaves (Hardin 2006:139), although cultivation methods also varied between the two. While both plants were "topped," or cut, sweet-scented leaves were topped lower than Oronoco (Hardin 2006:146), which prevented the plant from supplying nutrients for flowering. Growth was instead devoted to the leaves, creating a dense structure, mild taste, and possibly a higher amount of nicotine characteristic of sweet-scented tobacco (Hardin 2006:147). Oronoco was planted and smoked widely in Virginia and Maryland but was not as valued as sweet-scented and received a lower price (Hardin 2006:139). Planters in Virginia and Maryland found a ready market for Oronoco

tobacco in continental Europe, especially France and the Netherlands (Hardin 2006:139). Sweet-scented tobacco was grown only in certain soils of Virginia and was favored by English markets. Because of their denser leaves, fewer plants were required to reach the same weight of Oronoco, which meant fewer hogsheads needed to be shipped, in turn reducing shipping costs and export duties (Morgan 1975:302; Hardin 2006:139). Regions producing sweet-scented tobacco in Virginia included counties concentrated in the lower Rappahannock, York, and James Rivers on the Middle and Lower Peninsulas and smaller areas on the Northern Neck and south of the James River (Hardin 2006:140). This geographic concentration is not coincidental and has implications for what planters grew in the piedmont.

As geographer and earth scientist David S. Hardin explains, the production of sweet-scented tobacco was determined by the available, suitable soils. Using historical sources and the geomorphology of the Chesapeake, Hardin determines that piedmont soils were outside of the boundaries of the sweet-scented region (Hardin 2006:140-141). The soils in which sweet-scented tobacco grew were "loams, silts, or other finely textured soils high in organic matter. Therefore, sweet-scented soils could have been found only in alluvial deposits on the low terraces close to the major Inner Coastal Plain watercourses" (Hardin 2006:143). In terms of both yields and profits, Virginia's sweet-scented region, while geographically limited, produced the highest (Hardin 2006:150). During the course of my own research, I was unable to locate any primary documentation from owners of plantations around Indian Camp indicating which strain they grew. However, by process of elimination, Hardin determines the soils of the piedmont to be better suited for Oronoco tobacco production (Hardin 2006:145-146).

Planters needed large amounts of land for growing Oronoco tobacco, and to increase their income, planters needed to increase production levels (Walsh 1999:60). While Maryland and Virginia had separate historic trajectories, Carr, Menard, and Walsh's *Robert Cole's World* provides a useful discussion of the process of growing tobacco in the Chesapeake, as the basic tasks were the same. Plantation work was structured around the needs of tobacco and corn cultivation (Morgan 1975:141-142; Carr et al. 1991:55). Early Chesapeake planters exported tobacco as their staple crop and grew corn as the staple food, in part because neither needed plowing, which meant that little equipment was needed for initial land clearing or for cultivation (Carr et al. 1991:33-35). Neither crop required much capital per laborer or smaller startup costs and offered opportunities for the poor as well as rich (Morgan 1975 1975:302-202; Carr et al. 1991:151). Both crops quickly exhausted the soil, and fields required long rotations to again become fertile land.

How much land a planter needed to clear for tobacco depended on the number of plants he planted, and the number of plants he planted depended on how many he, along with his workforce, could tend (Carr et al. 1991:36). Spacing between tobacco plants was uniform across the Chesapeake and determined how much land was used (Hardin 2006:149). Depending on soil fertility or depletion, plants were laid out with three or four feet both between and within rows (Hardin 2006:149). Six thousand plants set four feet apart would take up about two and a half acres, so three workers (a man and two servants or slaves, for instance) needed six or seven acres for tobacco (Carr et al. 1991:36). Planters in the 18th century expected their workers to produce 10,000 tobacco plants each on about three acres (Carr and Menard 1989:416). A farmer needed a minimum of about fifteen acres when including land for an orchard, pasture, and vegetable

garden, although if a father wanted to provide an inheritance for multiple children, he needed much more (Carr et al. 1991:36).

As diminishing production was a result of soil exhaustion, 18th-century laborers generated fewer shares than they had in the 17th century (Hardin 2006:152; Walsh 2010:Appendix I). Consequently, the amount of income a plantation generated was determined by the scale of the labor force. Since sweet-scented tobacco generated higher profits than Oronoco, sweet-scented producers were able to purchase enslaved individuals and create a larger work force. A decline in production per laborer meant that smaller planters were not able to generate as much income, so only plantations with large numbers of slaves would be able to generate any substantial profit (Hardin 2006:152-153). The amount of land a planter owned determined the number of field hands he employed (Carr et al. 1991:39). Oronoco tobacco could be grown on the sandier Chesapeake soils for about three years before exhausting the soil and decreasing yields, quantity, and profit (Hardin 2006:148). Hardin has suggested that sweet-scented tobacco could be grown for several seasons longer on more fertile soils near river terraces, and the fact that they were topped sooner than Oronoco plants means that more nutrients were left in the soil for subsequent years (Hardin 2006:148). Thus, planters needed less land for sweet-scented plants. Corn was planted on the same plot for another three years since it relied on a deeper level of soil, but then the plot then had to lie fallow for twenty years. To prevent overuse, a planter needed a minimum of twenty acres per hand, yet he could not have more than one hand for every twenty acres of "plantable" soil, or he would run out of land before his old fields had finished their twenty year rotation (Carr et al. 1991:52-53).

As the first white settlers in a region, farmers chose land according to agricultural needs: tobacco required well-watered, well-drained soil, and the planter sought waterfront for access to ships that took the crop to European markets. Early settlement patterns consisted of scattered farms situated along the banks of rivers and creeks (Smolek 1984; Carr et al. 1991:124). After all of the best-suited land for growing tobacco was claimed, the only properties left were small, often land-bound parcels under one hundred acres, barely enough for a farm (Carr et al. 1991:135), which prompted migration elsewhere.

Despite initially low population density, informal neighborhood networks quickly developed on frontier areas. These associations supplemented the more official institutions of church and county and provincial government and were essential to a frontier region in structuring and regulating daily life (Carr et al. 1991:142). Neighbors relied on each other for aid in time of sickness or in case of Indian alarms, for help with heavy work, borrowing when supplies ran low or when lacking certain tools, as well as for having someone to talk to and to share important personal and family events. The wide availability of land on the frontiers, continued population growth, and a degree of social stability allowed some middling families upward social and economic mobility (Carr et al. 1991:128-129), especially since many of the well-established tidewater families who patented land in the piedmont did not move west, creating openings in local leadership.

By the 1680s, a slave-based society and a changing composition of the population led to a somewhat stabilized life for whites. Over the 17th century, the number of English servants going to the Chesapeake decreased, resulting in a labor shortage and change in the work force as planters purchased slaves to replace servants (Carr et al. 1991:159-160). Changing demographics

also had significant results. Families were larger; fewer women were pregnant before marriage; orphanhood was less common; and native born adult males (creoles) lived longer than their immigrant forebears. Also, the sex ratio among those born in the colonies was approximately equal, although men still outnumbered women. Creole women married at younger ages than had women before them, allowing more time to have children and ensure population growth. All of these demographic, social, economic, political, and cultural changes meant more durable and certain family lives and were accompanied by an improvement in material and emotional consequences (Carr et al. 1991:157-158). A mentality existed in which people believed in a set of personal attributes that ultimately determined the quality of a man's crop, which is why colonial planters came to regard their tobacco as an extension of self (Breen 1985:60). While accidents might occasionally ruin a crop, a crop master demonstrated an ability to make good judgments about each stage of production (Breen 1985:62). These values help define a new Virginia identity, of which tobacco and land were two very important elements.

Tobacco Culture

New cultural values centered on tobacco, and new generations embodied and sustained these values. Tobacco demanded large amounts of land, labor, and time, affecting every aspect of Chesapeake life (Carr et al. 1991:18). Tobacco shaped planters' lives as they had to decide where and when to cultivate, harvest, cure, store, and pack tobacco (Walsh 2010:94). The culture (used as a verb) of tobacco determined Virginia's tobacco culture (used as a noun). Tobacco was a means for establishing public identity, a way to locate oneself within a web of human relations. Timothy Breen sees the lives of the tidewater planters, of which the men surrounding Indian Camp were a part, arranged by personal, meaningful relationships (Breen 1985:xi-xii). Tobacco's shared work process as explained above promoted social cohesion and a "collectivity

of producers" (Breen 1985:58). The crop served as an index of worth and standing (Breen 1985:23), particularly after the 1730 Tobacco Act. As they grew wealthy off of their crop, planters purchased conspicuous material goods. Tobacco shaped these planters' society and defined their place within it (Breen 1985:82, 83).

Competition among great planters for reputation as superior grower became intense when the House of Burgesses passed the Tobacco Act in 1730 (Hening IV 1730:247-273), the purpose of which was to raise prices by removing bad tobacco from the export market (Breen 1985:62; Kulikoff 1986:109). No tobacco could be exported from the colony, used to settle private debts, or paid as taxes unless it had been officially inspected in a warehouse. Tobacco had to pass through one of forty public warehouses located on major streams and rivers throughout Virginia (Hening IV 1730:266-268). During official inspection, inspectors opened the hogsheads, graded the leaves, destroyed the trash, and issued receipts, providing Virginians with a kind of paper currency and offering a fairly objective measure of worth of a man's tobacco quality (Walsh 2010:424). The Act led to an annual ritual reinforcing the tobacco mentality (Breen 1985:62-63). A gentleman's good tobacco crop demonstrated that he was morally sound and his judgment and leadership could be trusted, especially in political matters (Breen 1985:89).

The centrality of tobacco in lives of Virginians created a system of social ranking (Breen 1985:64). Planters' self-esteem in part depended upon the quality of a planter's tobacco, although this was a somewhat subjective measure. Planters were obsessed with the price they received for their tobacco for cultural and economic reasons (Breen 1985:70). The price a man received validated or discredited him as a crop master. Virginia gentlemen[11] equated complete

[11] I use the term "gentlemen" and "gentleman" frequently throughout my thesis. In a ranked society such as Virginia's, "gentleman" was a contemporary term used to convey someone recognized by his peers as a person of distinction having achieved a level of social, economic, political, and/or ecclesiastical prominence.

personal independence with moral soundness (Breen 1985:89). Their large estates, ownership of substantial property, and possession of external trappings validated their independence (Breen 1985:88, 90). This personal autonomy was at the heart of the tobacco mentality, as planters strove to achieve personal and financial freedom (Breen 1985:93). Isaac identifies this sentiment as leading to what he refers to as "liberality," or "a certain disposition in the soul that all these freedoms made possible – the disposition to undertake important responsibilities in the community at large" (Isaac 1982:131). As their wealth increased from this crop, these great planters fed the consumer revolution. Their resulting lifestyle generated a "tobacco mentality" (Breen 1985:22), as a planter's situation demanded that he spend a large percentage of his income on conspicuous goods (Breen 1985:106). Tobacco provided a medium through which the planter negotiated his public reputation and self-worth as an agricultural producer.

Breen sees the lives of the tobacco planters of Virginia, of which the men surrounding Indian Camp were a part, structured as a series of highly personal, value-laden relationships rather than simply as an effort to maximize financial returns (Breen 1985:xi-xii). Planters' sense of "liberality" meant they rarely declined to help a neighbor financially despite being locked in competition with him. Planters were very concerned with their tobacco and debt (Breen 1985:16), as they lived in a society dominated by agriculture and the cultivation and marketing of this single staple crop.

Personal debt was a condition that after 1750 seemed to be an inevitable consequence of exporting tobacco from the Chesapeake to a world market (Breen 1985:23). Debt involved the highly personal exchange of values as well as money (Breen 1985:29, 122). Credit was a form of communication, friendship, and connections (Isaac 1982:132; Breen 1985:29-30). In the

colonies, great planters were willing and obliged to assist worthy friends (Breen 1985:105). A man's visible estate became an index to his virtue and moral standing in the community. The planter who wanted to preserve his credit, honor, and claim to personal autonomy found himself under pressure to seem prosperous. As they grew increasingly wealthy, the planters needed to appear solvent to attract the credit that they needed to do business. Consumption was a necessary, albeit expensive, form of "showing off." Consequently, the great planter's situation demanded that he spend a large percentage of his income on conspicuous goods (Breen 1985:106). Additionally, to keep up with the consumer revolution, planters required additional slaves, which were expensive investments (Breen 1985:131). By the late 1760s, many great planters were very concerned with their increasing debt (Breen 1985:132; Walsh 2010:410).

Perfect independence was impossible, so planters established a culturally-sanctioned system of rules that told planters to whom they should offer credit and in what amounts. Planters of 18th-century Virginia generally agreed that debt compromised a person's independence; their concern was more an expression of deeply-held cultural values than of threatened legal proceedings. A financially indebted man knew that he had become dependent and had lost a measure of personal liberty, which conflicted with the imperatives of the tobacco mentality (Breen 1985:93). Credit offered a means of structuring social relationships within the white community (Breen 1985:94). Almost all of the colony's freemen were involved in this informal network of giving and receiving credit. Rules governing these exchanges varied according to the borrower's standing within the planter community so that personal judgments and friendships governed transactions in the elaborate culture of debt (Breen 1985:95). Local, oral agreements,

probably sealed with a handshake, developed within neighborhoods. Credit represented a favor, a kind of patronage that great planters were expected to provide to worthy neighbors and peers.

Although the great planters occasionally pressed local debtors, they sometimes carried these accounts for years without receiving repayment (Breen 1985:96). Many of the county records I examined contained cases involving only nominal fees. Many debt cases might have been settled out of court as parties settled the matters privately and cases were dismissed. County courts, then, served as a means of officially recording a debt while reinforcing the tobacco culture with the affirmation of local credit networks.

During the 1680s and 1690s, the wealth of large planters increased dramatically due in part to their accumulation of enslaved workers (Walsh 2010:237). As the values of poor and middling estates stagnated, the gap between the rich and poor increased (Breen 1985:35). Those individuals with cash could invest it or purchase slaves on credit. As this rising elite gained greater economic security, its members took over as leaders in the government. These men meted out justice for their less wealthy neighbors and used positions in the House of Burgesses to patent huge tracts of western lands (Breen 1985:35-36; Lounsbury 2005). As land speculators, these planters held on to property for their children to grow tobacco but also resold it at a profit. Agriculture, specifically tobacco, was the means through which planters acquired wealth, and as such, enslaved workers were the most valuable asset of a planter (Walsh 2010:233) as seen in nearly all of the inventories from the counties of which Indian Camp was a part. Participation in land speculation also provided supplemental income.

Land

To earn greater profits, a planter needed more land. Tobacco was a crop that earned few returns to scale: a planter was as efficient working by himself as a planter with a large work force

(Carr and Menard 1989:409; Carr et al. 1991:15, 90). Because of the system of crop rotation tobacco required and the absence of returns to scale described above, a planter could increase his income by opening a quarter farm[12], although this was a risky and expensive venture (Carr and Menard 1989:411-412). Only the wealthy had the resources and capital to purchase slaves and expand production, which could increase profit. Profit accumulated through an increased labor force and an increased production of tobacco.

Tobacco touched nearly every aspect of social existence (Breen 1985:41). It was the source of the colony's prosperity, a medium for commercial transactions, and payment of local taxes. The cultivation of tobacco largely determined the planters' sense of time, as the crop required a specific series of events to ensure profit. Common work experiences helped highly individualistic planters share a common body of rules and assumptions that bound them together (Breen 1985:56), resulting in a tobacco culture. Because there were such few returns to scale in 18th-century tobacco cultivation, planters produced more tobacco by possessing more laborers.

Land was one of the most inexpensive, abundant resources in the colonies, essentially free except for surveying and patenting fees (Morgan 1975:158; Hughes 1979:17). Land records support land's centrality to the development of a new Virginia identity (Hughes 1979:38). From Virginia's earliest days, laws distinguished between landowners and landless (Ernstein 2004:49). Land acquisition was an incentive to colonization of the Chesapeake, achieved by the headright system, in which a claimant proved in court the transportation of a person into Virginia to obtain his right to and reward of fifty acres (Hening III 1705:304; Colonial Land Office Patents 2012). This system was replaced in 1705 by the "treasury right," where anybody could survey and

[12] A quarter farm in this context refers to an outlying plantation on which laborers lived and worked. Its production contributed to the economic unit of the plantation as a whole. "Quarter" could also refer to the individual houses or cabins that masters assigned to slaves or to the groups of houses that the enslaved occupied (Heath 2010:159)

patent fifty acres of land at a cost of at five shillings to the auditor (Hening III 1705:305, 330; Walsh 2010:369). The wealthy quickly and easily acquired large parcels through land speculation, as surveyors' fees as regulated by the courts were proportionately smaller for patenting large plots (Keim 1968:585; Hughes 1979:111, 65). Combined with the importation of servants and, increasingly, slaves, vast land holdings helped define the gentry.

The most important and significant difference between the acquisition of land in the colonies and in England was the scarcity of land in England and the almost limitless, nominally free supply in the colonies (Walsh 2010:630). As the population moved westward, acquiring land became an obsession for those who could afford it (Keim 1968:585). Patents and deed conveyances reveal this development (Hughes 1979:38). The decrees of the Virginia Company beginning in 1607 and the statutes of the Virginia when it became a royal colony in 1624 specified that all lands should be surveyed prior to a patent's issue (Hening I 1623[4]:125). All land issued by Virginia's royal governor was done in the name of the Crown (Colonial Land Office Patents 2012). Landowners were to pay an annual quitrent, or land tax (OED 2013), to the Crown for every fifty acres owned, in addition to seating the land with "one house of wood, […] being at least twelve foot, and in breadth, twelve foot and clearing planting and tending at least one acre of land, shall be, and is hereby declared to be a good and sufficient seating and planting of land" (Hening III 1705:312-313).

In order to gain title to land, a claimant paid fees to the clerk, surveyor, and secretary of state. After proving a claim in court, the clerk issued the claimant a certificate to be used anywhere in the colony and authorized a county surveyor to measure the amount of land specified (Hening II 1661[2]:245, Morgan 1972:362; Hughes 1979:62). The surveyor then

charted the land after the claimant presented him with that certificate. Surveyors plotted the land into a variety of shapes and sizes, as topography, boundaries of adjacent patents, and desires of claimants dictated (Hughes 1979:123). The client received a survey description and plat from the surveyor (Hening I 1623[4]:335). These were entered with the original warrant in the secretary's office in Williamsburg (Virginia's capital), where a patent was issued, signed by the governor, and marked with the seal of Virginia (VMHB 1666[1913]:41-42; Hening III 1705:305-306; Morgan 1972:362). The surveyor entered a second copy of the description and plat in the county survey book (Hening III 1705:330; VI 1748:35-36).

The wealthy also participated in extensive land speculation. Although I will specifically consider surveyors in Chapter 5, their position provides a good example to address land speculation. Acquiring land was the easiest path to wealth available to an ambitious surveyor. Speculation was practically built into the definition of the role of surveyor, who tended to be among the more affluent in society. Time spent in the field allowed surveyors to find fertile parcels they could patent, as they made exploratory trips before undertaking fieldwork necessary to convert a claim to a patent (Hughes 1979:74). Their desire to control extensive amounts of land, in addition to importing servants and slaves, helped define their role. The surveyor was codified as a man of wealth and political leadership (Hughes 1979:64), and the possession of land contributed to his identity.

There were limits to the amount of land individuals could patent, but gentlemen justices, who sometimes were the ones applying for these large patents, undermined this legislation (Hughes 1979:107). Planters used their positions as gentlemen justices to patent huge tracts of western lands for themselves and their wealthy peers (Breen 1985:35-36). Applicants could only

patent five hundred acres at a time, although they were allowed to petition for an additional two hundred acres for every tithable[13] over five that they owned; however, there was an upper limit of 4,000 acres (Hening III 1705:306). Frequently, the wealthy were able to retain larger parcels because they had a work force large enough to divide between their many plantations. Planters could hold on to optimal pieces of property which provided their children with land on which to grow more tobacco, but they could also resell the land at a profit. The affluent had an advantage over less-well-off peers in acquiring land, as surveyors' fees in the 18th century were scaled according to size of the tract measured and to the distance from the eastern coast where crops were marketed (Hughes 1979:111): in other words, fees were proportionately smaller for patenting large parcels.

The authors of *Robert Cole's World* use probate inventories, reconstructed censuses, and lists of residents (excluding enslaved) for a Maryland manor and divide the free adult male population into four groups: gentry, ordinary landowners (yeoman planters), tenants, and inmates (Carr et al. 1991:23). They base their definition of gentry on a combination of political position and wealth. This group included justices of the peace, sheriffs, burgesses, councilors, and other important provincial officeholders, and would have owned 1,500 acres or more of land. However much their movable property totaled, most members of the gentry were distinguished by large property holdings. Gentlemen hoped to profit from farming *and* from speculative sales or from leasing land to tenant farmers. Mean and median landholdings for the ordinary planters were 300 acres (Carr et al. 1991:23-25). Some ordinary planters acquired additional tracts, either as a

[13] The term "tithable" referred to a person who was taxed by Virginia's General Assembly to help financially support the functioning of the government (LOV 2012). In 1658, Virginia passed a law, "What Persons are Tithable" (Hening I 1657[8]:454-455), identifying a tithable as a "member of the potentially productive labor force" (LOV 2012). With subsequent acts, tithables included free white males sixteen and older, "all negroes imported" over the age of sixteen (which essentially meant "all negros" by the 18th century) and "Indian servants," including all males and females in these groups at least sixteen years of age (Hening I 1657[8]:455), mulattoes (Hening III 1705:258), and all free negroes and Indians above sixteen and their wives (Hening IV 1723:133).

speculative investment or as an intended inheritance for their children; however, they did not buy more land than what they or their heirs would develop. The Rutmans develop a similar typology for 17th-century Middlesex County, Virginia (Rutman and Rutman 1984b:133-64). Based on seven variables, including personal property, acreage, labor owned, age at which the individual left the county, honorifics, military rank, and occupation, the Rutmans use a scale of Low, Low Middle, Middle, High Middle, and High to rank Middlesex's citizens. While Virginia and Maryland did not follow exact histories, the ways of linking land with wealth are similar between the two colonies.

Conclusion

By understanding identity as a negotiated, constructed process and by setting the historical and cultural scene out of which Indian Camp was patented, we can progress to the neighborhood itself. What follows in Chapter 3 will explain my methodology for reconstructing the historic neighborhood around historic Indian Camp plantation.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Why Reconstruct a Historic Neighborhood?

The goal of my thesis is to use historical research to reconstruct the broader neighborhood surrounding the Indian Camp plantation. To understand the relationships, interactions, and social and business networks in this area, it is necessary to recreate the surrounding area to give Francis Eppes' property a context. The findings give static information a dynamic, more human quality. Names become people; people become neighbors; neighbors become a network interacting with each other frequently and intentionally. Together, these networks help us to understand how land owners perceived themselves and their neighbors, and how the practice of defining, claiming, dividing, or maintaining land contributed to the emergence of a Virginian identity. While it is my goal to locate only one node of this network, a more layered understanding of the past, including power relationships, can be gained by contextualizing the larger setting of which these people were a part.

Public records make clear that residents of this neighborhood were entangled in each other's lives. Planter families intermarried, went to court with one another over boundary disputes, served in public and church offices together, and sold slaves to neighbors. One way in which people participated in their neighborhood was through land transactions, be it a sale, lease, or bequest. My research focuses on lands patented immediately surrounding the 1730 Eppes property in addition to patents within close proximity where social or business interactions might have still been common. The patents extend approximately eight miles from east to west and approximately six miles from north to south. With the maps that I produced (see Appendix I), it looks as if Eppes' land is at the center of the neighborhood. While this is a skewed perspective, for inhabitants on Eppes' land to reach neighbors, the distance they would have traveled was

between approximately one and three miles. This distance fits into the one to three mile neighborhood definition range I mentioned in Chapter 1. The first patent in the area was entered by Henry Clay in 1724 (LOP 12:5-6). An end point for this research is 1777, a point during the American Revolution when Virginia was enmeshed in the transition from colony to state. After 1781, the legal framework of landownership shifted as Virginia became part of a new country.

GIS

I relied on a geographic information system, or GIS, to address the questions that I posed in Chapter 1. Briefly, a GIS is "a set of computer-based systems for managing geographic data and using these data to solve spatial problems" (ESRI 2011). Another way of thinking about the purpose of GIS is as a "spatial toolbox," as GIS are "computer systems whose main purpose is to store, manipulate, analyse and present information about geographic space" (Wheatley and Gillings 2002:8). One reason for its utility is that it integrates hardware, software, and data for capturing, managing, analyzing, and displaying geographically referenced information. With this format, it easily allows us "to view, understand, question, interpret, and visualize data in many ways that reveal relationships, patterns, and trends in the form of maps, globes, reports, and charts" (ESRI 2011). A GIS helps to answer questions and solve problems by looking at data in a way that is quickly comprehended and easily shared and distributed. Here, it allows me to answer questions about interpersonal relationships using a geographical approach.

ESRI (Environmental Systems Research Institute) is the principal international provider of GIS software. Of ESRI's ArcGIS suite, I used ArcMap to create my map images. This is the central application of ESRI's program and is used to view, edit, create, and analyze geospatial data. The interactivity of the program allowed me to transfer data from the historical records and organize it in such a way to produce maps. I arranged my data into layers in the map's table of

contents, which lists all of the map's layers displayed on the map and shows how features in each layer are symbolized. Each layer represents the mechanism used to display geographic datasets in ArcMap (ESRI 2012). Layers reference a dataset and specify how that dataset is portrayed using symbols and text labels. Feature classes comprise the layers, including points, polygons, and lines. As feature classes are dependent on the scale of any given map, for my map document, points indicate places such as Cumberland Courthouse, polygons form the patents and land deeds, and lines represent features like creeks and roads. The purpose of different symbologies is to make types of information easily distinguishable. Another benefit of the program is that data can be spatially projected, so that they can be linked with points on the real world landscape. Using a GIS, then, can facilitate understanding spatial relationships as they existed historically on the landscape. As Scott Strickland (2012:71) showed, GIS can be used to better understand "basic archaeological questions in regards to relationships to subsistence resources, the environmental characteristics of pre-defined site typologies, and to infer patterns of settlement and subsistence based on observed statistical correlations." Archaeologists are able to engage with their data using GIS in increasingly sophisticated ways.

Methodology

I first used the online resource, "The Library of Virginia's Land Office Patents and Grants," (LOP 2005) to search for land patents. Using this website, I searched for keywords, including geographical features like "Deep Creek," and individuals' names, such as "Francis Eppes." After downloading a TIF image and transcribing a patent into Microsoft Word, I recorded adjacent landowners' names to begin the search for another patent, which would hopefully lead to another, and so on.

I used ESRI's ArcGIS 9.3 to generate maps and maintained the data using the upgraded 10.0 version. I spatially projected the map document in feet using the NAD83 UTM[14] Zone 17N, the zone in which Indian Camp is located. I set up a base map using georeferenced[15] United States Geological Survey (USGS) topographic maps and aerial imagery from the University of Virginia Library's Virginia Gazateer website (USGS 1968, 1969, 1994a, 1994b, 1996a, 1996b), onto which I digitized relevant patents. I used the 7.5 minute digital raster graphics (DRGs), or topographic maps at the 1:24,000 scale, and digital orthophoto quarter quadrangles[16] (DOQQs), which are infrared aerial images. I digitized the patents onto the actual landscape with spatially projected coordinates to allow easier visual conversion in addition to the benefit of thus having real world coordinates. I created one shapefile in which I digitized all of the patents, although there are other ways to create the same visual based on a matter of preference in ArcMap. While an attribute table's columns depend on the user's preferences, I found it useful to include in this shapefile's attribute table a brief description including the patentee, the year in which the land was patented, the patented acreage and the actual acreage in ArcMap, and a hyperlink column linked to any pertinent documentation files. Appendix III records my data elements, such as data description, creator, sources, and spatial extent.

I evaluated property boundaries listed in the handwritten patent to see where other patents would lie and then pieced the patents together on top of the base map. For example, in Eppes' patent, Henry Anderson's line is mentioned, so I searched for his patent next. Overall, I changed

[14] UTM, or Universal Transverse Mercator, is a "coordinate system based on the Transverse Mercator projection. The UTM grid extends north-south from 84°N to 80°S latitude. It is divided at the 180° meridian eastward into 60 six-degree zones" (Lo and Yeung 2007:512).
[15] Georeferenced imagery are images that have been "tied to the Earth's coordinate system using latitude and longitude" (USGS 2013).
[16] DOQQ is a "United States national mapping program which aims to cover the lower 48 states at a 1-m ground resolution using monochrome air photographs in digital format with a 1:12,000 equivalent ground extent" (Lo and Yeung 2007:500).

and fine-tuned the patents' locations several times as I added more information after I had conducted more research. Finally, to evaluate the accuracy of the patent, I measured the acreage in GIS and included both the actual and digitized totals in the shapefile's attribute table. Some patents had substantial error (further explained below), although many, including Eppes', were close enough to the original acreage to consider reliable (**Figure 3.1**).[17]

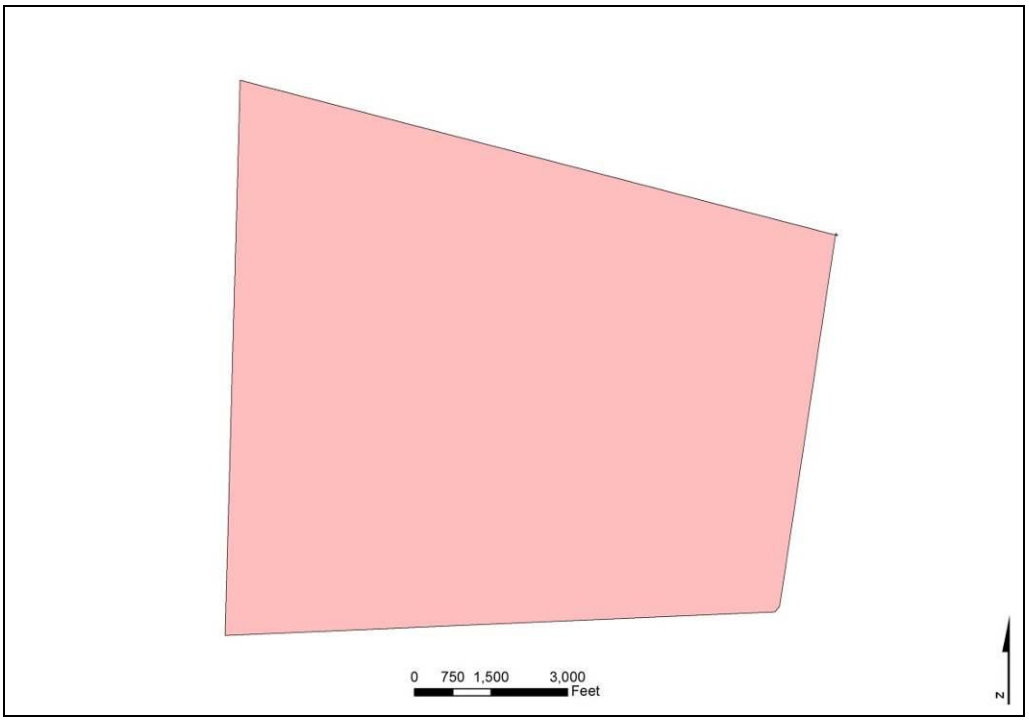

Figure 3.1: Francis Eppes' patent in ArcGIS.

Part of the digitization process of the patents involved converting historical measurements to modern ones (Gregory 1978:57). In the 18th century, land surveyors typically used a compass and a Gunter's Chain which consisted of linked chains (Eaton 1942:25; Hughes 1979:29). Surveyors measured distances using this chain, which measured in chains, poles, and links. A chain consisted of 100 links, and it was four poles long, or sixty-six feet, with each tenth

[17] Eppes' patent provides an example for the accuracy of these patents. When I digitized his 2,400 acre patent, the actual measured acreage using the measure tool in GIS is 2,388.55 acres. This is remarkably accurate.

marked by a brass ring (Hughes 1979:29; Clock 2011). One pole, or twenty-five links, was sixteen and a half feet.

As a default setting, ArcMap locates 0º as east, and positive angles are measured counterclockwise. This setting can be adjusted to reference 0º as north and 90º as east. Additionally, the direction units by default are in decimal degrees, which requires either conversion or changing the settings in ArcMap. For this project, I used all of the default settings. Using this information, if a patent reads "West seventeen degrees North seven hundred and thirty four poles," the bearing it means is seventeen degrees north of west and 12,111 feet. Using east as 0º and north as 90º, seventeen degrees north of west requires subtracting 17º from 180º, resulting in an angle of 163º.

Magnetic declination also had to be taken into account, as the earth's magnetism is constantly changing (Eaton 1942:25; Gregory 1978:57). The compass varies from the true meridian from area to area and year by year, meaning that magnetic declination must be applied to correct for these differences (Hughes 1979:34). A website maintained by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration identifies the estimated value of historic magnetic declination (NOAA 2013), which, in other words, informed me how many degrees to rotate the polygon (land parcel). The dates this website covers extend only as far back as 1750, so in order to account for the dates from 1724 (the date of the first patent in the area) through 1749, I subtracted 1° 4' from the declination from 1750 (Greg March 2012, pers. comm.). I did the same for every value until I arrived at 1724. While not a foolproof method, the process seemed to work for my purposes.[18] I made a table with each year's separate calculated magnetic declination for easy reference. I then had to individually apply these numbers to the patents. Positive

[18] The values of the declination vary from 1° 4' to 1° 3' and vary between east and west. However, to account for the declination in this part of the piedmont from 1724-1750, my method seemed to have worked.

numbers were rotated in the clockwise direction; negative numbers were turned counterclockwise. Once this was accomplished, patent boundaries fit together more snugly both on paper and on the modern landscape, mostly seen through alignment with remnant tree lines.

Through this process, patents in the Indian Camp vicinity were digitized and pieced together. Fitting a patent onto the base map in the best possible relation to its neighboring patents did not come without its own set of issues, and was perhaps one of the most challenging and frustrating parts of the process. One of the issues was that the various pre-georectified, spatially referenced imagery that I downloaded from the Virginia Gazateer did not line up with one another. Specifically, the topographic maps were not consistent with the DOQQs. The placement of the same tree lines, creeks, structures, and roads, for instance, were slightly inconsistent with one another. One reason for this disjuncture could be that the imagery on the websites from which I obtained the data were created at different times. The DOQQs date to 1994, while the topographic maps were last photoinspected in the 1970s. While the differences between the two images were minimal, in trying to compare where creeks began or ran, which were commonly referenced geographic markers in the patents, small differences could result in large differences later on. It was important, then, to be consistent with which images were used as a basemap. In the case of this project, I primarily relied on the DOQQ imagery, but the topographic maps were useful in certain instances, such as identifying a particular creek name.

In most cases, it was easy to see how a patent fit in relation to its neighbors; pinning a patent to a specific point on the georectified imagery, however, was more difficult. I used control points, mostly branches of creeks and their intersection with patent boundaries, to establish the most accurate location to place a patent on the landscape. Assigning a creek as mentioned in a

patent to a creek on an aerial image or a topographic map was initially problematic, especially if the modern creek had not maintained its historic name. By looking at multiple references to the same creek over time, I was able to match historic creek names with modern ones. In addition, multiple government (local, regional, and national) agencies were contacted in an attempt to identify smaller creeks not identified on modern maps with no success (Virginia Water Resources Research Center; National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration; United States Geological Survey; all 2010, pers. comm.). Educated guesses placed creek names with modern creeks, then. For example, Henry Cary's 1734 patent was "on Bent Creek of Appamattox River" (LOP 15:272). However, research was unable to locate a modern day Bent Creek. An 1825 map showing canals along the Appomattox River identified Bent Creek (Crozet 1825), in addition to an 1886 plat from a Powhatan County Chancery Case (PCCRI 1900[2009]:71). I georeferenced this map and plat with the current aerial and topographic maps. Other creeks were not so easily identifiable, although this did not prevent their successful identification. The accuracy of the patent placement depends on the correctness of stream names, making this a significant step in the process for recreating the spatial dimensions of the neighborhood around Indian Camp.

Another issue that caused much exasperation resulted from using aerial imagery. In some cases, a patent's placement on the landscape lined up with parts of modern property boundaries, visible mostly in tree lines. Once all of the patents were digitized and placed on the landscape, however, if one patent was shifted to try to better align it with a modern property boundary, all of the patents would likewise have to slightly shift, which would cause patents which initially lined up with a modern property boundary to shift off of that boundary line. This problem seems to be an issue inherent with using imagery on the small scale that archaeologists use (Ryan O'Connor

2012, pers. comm.). Imagery is taken from airplanes or by satellites in space from thousands of miles away (Wheatley and Gillings 2002:66-70; Lo and Yeung 2007:52), and to expect the absolute accuracy of all imagery might be asking too much for the archaeologist's fine-grained analysis. In addition, topographic maps are scanned images (Lo and Yeung 2007:84). Error is inherent in this scanning process, however small it might be. For the goals of this project and for archaeologists, in using imagery such as this, it is encouraging that the margin of error was within feet, not hundreds of feet. While the patents' placements are not absolutely perfect, more accurate placement would not have changed the broader findings of my thesis. Archaeologists should not let this small error rate deter them from using imagery in this way. They need only to be mindful of the limitations during analysis.

Historic roads referenced in land transactions were also identified. Many times, when a parcel was divided, an adjacent road, if present, served as a boundary. In other instances, if a division's boundary line crossed over a road, the road would be mentioned in the deed, such as "crossing Buckingham Road." These roads were historically important to establish routes to waterways along with access to other plantations. Buckingham Road was commonly referenced in the transactions, as was Clementown Road and Clements Mill Path or Road. Roads, however, were more difficult to map, even more so than creeks. Some roads have retained their historic names but not necessarily their historic course, which makes the reliance on roads problematic. This can be seen in comparing the course of the modern Buckingham Road with several historic maps. Today's course is more meandering. Some of the roads, such as Roberts' Race Path or Coll^{o} Eppes' Path, may have been nothing more than a footpath that has since disappeared through disuse. I created two separate line shapefiles for the creeks and roads to more easily

switch them on and off in the Table of Contents in ArcMap. I traced the creek and roads from the rectified topographic maps that I added to my map document and updated their names in the Attribute Table. To double check their accuracy, I also added hydrology (water) TIGER/Line shapefiles from the United States Census Bureau (USCB) for Powhatan and Cumberland Counties (USCB 2011a, 2011b). The combination of these roads and creeks help recreate the landscape as people would have been familiar with it in the 18th century (**Figure 3.2**). In the end, I exported a map showing all of the land patents in the Indian Camp neighborhood for the extent of this research (**Figure 3.3**). It is important to note that at no point would land and its owners have looked like this. Rather, this map can show who patented land where and when.

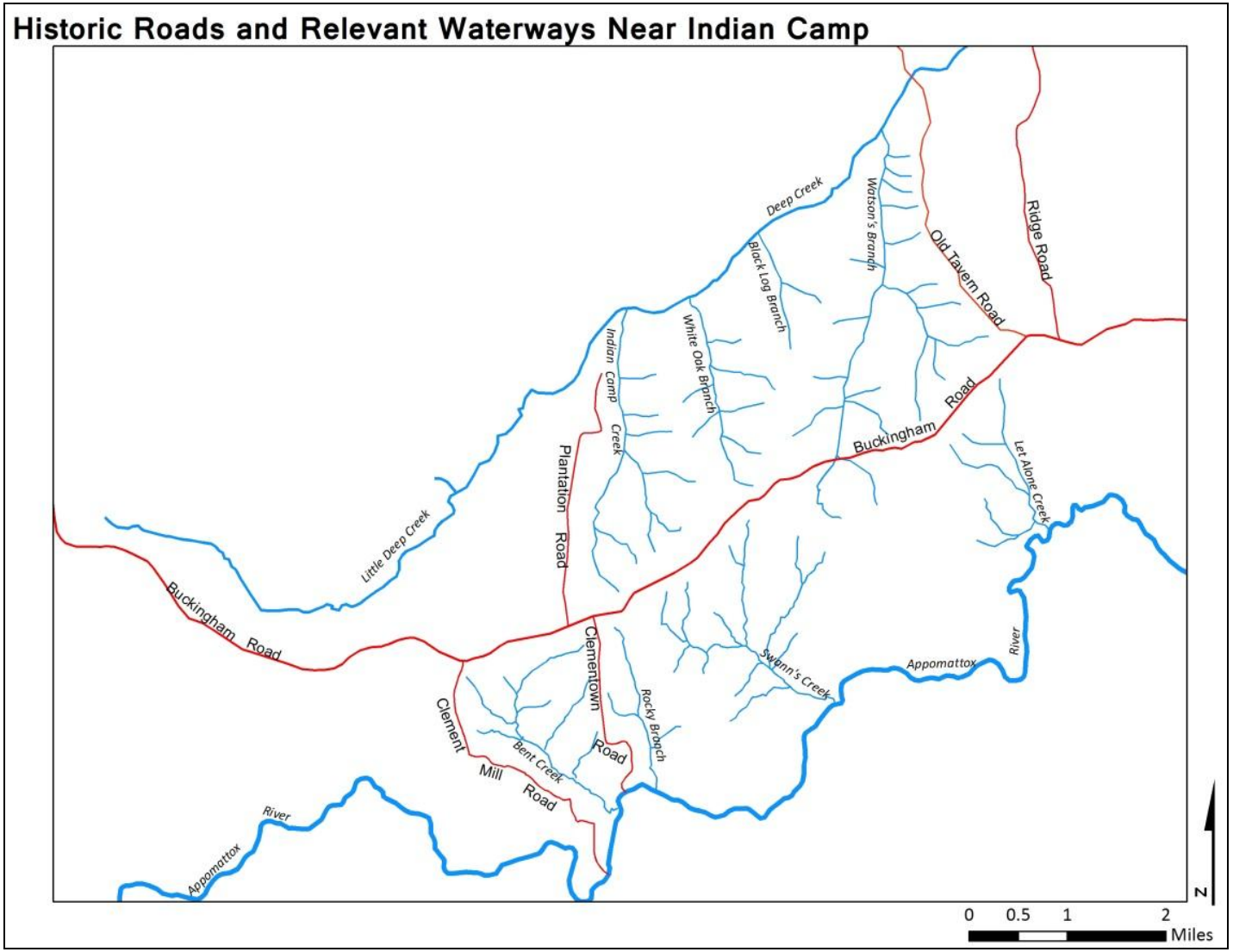

Figure 3.2: Roadways and waterways near Indian Camp.

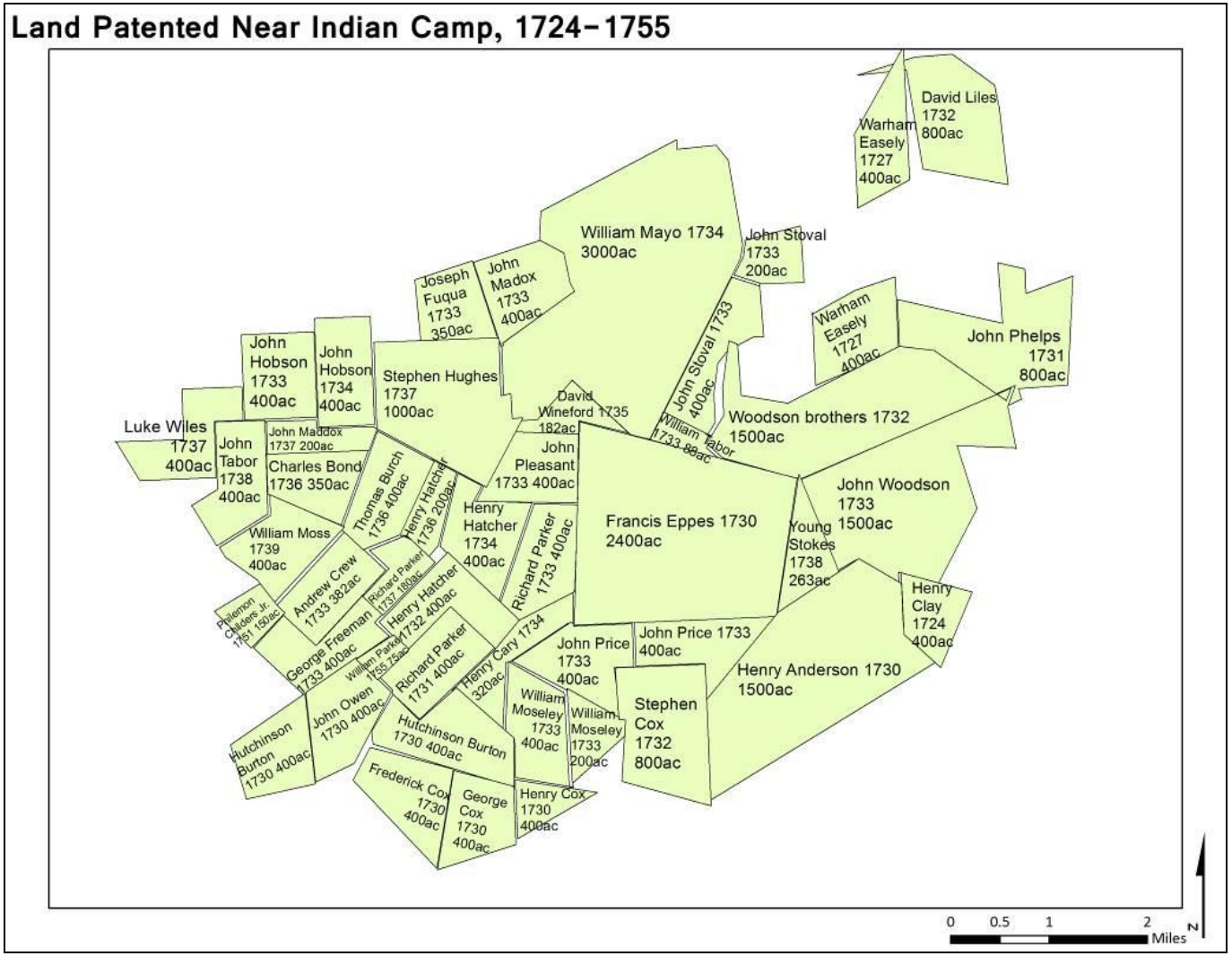

Figure 3.3: Neighborhood surrounding Eppes' patent.

In addition to land patents, I also traced land transactions in order to obtain a synchronic view of the land. Deed and will books, processioners' lists, and marriage records from Goochland, Cumberland, and Powhatan Counties were searched. It was necessary to search all of these counties' deed books due to the division of the counties over time (see Table 1.1). I added my findings to ArcMap by creating additional polygons in the patent shapefile in addition to including a brief description in the Attribute Table and the citation/reference for the transaction.[19] By updating and changing the symbology and by progressing year by year, updating the labels for each patent in Layout View, and changing the year in each title, I exported maps for the years between 1730 and 1777. I also created a master key to correspond with each progressing year (Appendix II). In this list, I included the patentee or grantor/grantee, total number of acres involved, the date of the transaction, the cost, and the citation.

Using the historic roads and creeks as a base layer, each patent and transaction was updated by year by changing colors. All of these maps can be seen in Appendix I. Pink represents the original Eppes patent, yellow is a new patent, grey is the default, and blue is a land transaction. Dotted lines represent an estimated division. I made these estimations after pulling all of the different lines of reasoning and historical research together. Some are very rough estimations, although others were more confidently assigned. Again, with no maps or plats of the area until 1825, I could only make informed guesses about some of these divisions based on later transactions.

Knowing a patent's history and its division over time could help fine-tune a patent's placement, particularly when specific geographic markers were used, like mouths of creeks, in

[19] All of this information can also be put in an Excel file and linked to the attribute table with the "Join" function, but I preferred working within the attribute table itself.

particular. Part of the overall complexity resulted from the difficulties of keeping track of the changing land owners. Land was frequently divided, and a few landowners sold land within a year of purchasing it. Divisions impacted property boundaries, as they were constantly changing, and land sales and bequests meant land ownership was also constantly changing.

Eighteenth-century land records as a whole are more descriptive and coherent than some earlier 17th-century examples (Gregory 1978:56-57), but these records were still not without their own sets of problems. As with any set of historical records, inconsistencies and errors within the patents and deeds themselves (either from the actual survey or the clerk's transcription of it), in addition to illegible handwriting and missing parts of pages, sometimes complicated this process. Several patents were simply incorrect, while others were impossible to digitize into ArcMap due to their lack of specificity, like the omission of a distance or direction. This part of the process has already been noted by scholars (Eaton 1942:26; Kelly 1979:192, n16; Perry 1990:29). In many patents and transactions, the phrase "down the Branch according to the Meanders" was used, which provides no distance or direction. Assuming the creek could be identified where this land lay, it could be possible to digitize the patent. However, two statements referencing creeks without giving direction or distance resulted in the inability to confidently put the patent onto the map. A related problem was a lack of specificity in the documents. Mentioned rocks and dead trees were of little help. One of the goals of this project was to determine how Eppes divided his patent in his will. In it, he indicated that his daughter Ann was to receive the lower moiety, while Martha was to receive the upper end (HCDWB 1725-1737 No.2, Part 1:459-460). What Eppes meant by lower and upper was initially unclear, yet by keeping track of boundary references over time, this issue could be partially resolved to discover he meant an east-west division rather than

a north-south one. Another inconsistency arose which involved incorrect statements in the transactions. Property boundaries provide a good example. For instance, in a land transaction between William Woodson and Tendy Walker in 1737, one boundary line was referred to twice as “Anderson’s line” (GCDB3:38) but this is not possible, because no one named Anderson ever owned this boundary line in 1737 or at any other point throughout the scope of this research.

Occasionally, I searched online to try and locate wills, deeds, and/or family histories. Many of these sources came in the form of family genealogy web pages. While I was initially reluctant to use them, being unsure of their reliability, these websites were sometimes a helpful starting point. References could be confirmed (or not) in historical documents. Although issues like these complicate the process, more often than not, patents and transactions from 1730-1777 in the Indian Camp neighborhood were successfully digitized into ArcGIS.

Once all of the historical documents are taken into consideration and the land transactions are applied in GIS, the resulting series of maps provides important information regarding land ownership. Employing what Moreland (2001:83) calls a “close and detailed engagement with data” and using these maps generated from the historical resources, I could start to identify patterns. Combined with additional research, issues of power are made clearer. The results of my analysis follow in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE INDIAN CAMP NEIGHBORHOOD

ArcGIS helps visualize neighborhood and community relationships. In order to give meanings to the landscape within and around Indian Camp, it is necessary to understand the relationships between local residents and the context within which they settled the piedmont. Connections between neighbors were rooted in the tidewater, which many of these individuals called home. Many of the families who patented lands around Indian Camp did not do so because of a lack of opportunity in their home counties or due to failure in business or agriculture. Instead, many patentees were quite successful prior to acquiring land in the piedmont. Examining public records from both the home counties in the tidewater and the counties in which Indian Camp was located shows how this neighborhood is a good example of the cultural processes that contributed to the growth and development of the piedmont. This chapter will "unpack" the local landscape, captured in the previous chapter's maps produced with GIS, through the addition of the research I conducted based on these neighborhood connections. By researching court records from Henrico, Goochland, Cumberland, and Powhatan Counties, I have been able to reconstruct the social, political, and economic networks that male (and to a much lesser extent, female) landowners established in their home counties as a way of proving and highlighting their connections in those locations. I found evidence of networks in court records including county court order books, marriage records, deed books, will books, land patents, processioning records, and tithable lists. My research shows that this region was part of a westward moving frontier, crucial to the development of Virginia's piedmont. I have included payment from the county levies to show not only positions in which these individuals served, but

also to emphasize how these positions enabled men to earn additional money.[20] Chapter 5 will address the responsibilities of each of the positions that I discuss below and their importance in regards to land acquisition.

Virginia's Eastern Piedmont: The Expansion of a Society and Its Economic System

Virginia's piedmont lies between the clay soils of the Blue Ridge Mountains to the west and the sandy soils of the tidewater to the east of the fall line, which roughly follows Interstate 95 today. Families who patented land surrounding Indian Camp, along with their slaves, were the first non-natives to settle what was the frontier west of this fall line. Steady settlement of the piedmont came nearly a century after the settlement of Jamestown. The first three predominantly piedmont counties were authorized in 1721; within ten years, the piedmont claimed about eight percent of Virginia's population, and after another decade, the proportion rose above twenty-five percent (Morgan and Nichols 1989:215). Numerous demographic and economic forces in the tidewater contributed to the piedmont's swift growth (Kulikoff 1986:131; Morgan and Nichols 1989:216). These forces included the growth of the tidewater's white population, stressing local resources and reducing the quantity of land available in addition to increasing its price; younger sons searching for new prospects; the relatively easy acquisition of land from the crown which led to land speculation; a rise in the European demand for tobacco increasing from 1710 onward which drove up tobacco prices; and finally, that piedmont soils were well suited to Oronoco tobacco cultivation (Morgan and Nichols 1989:216). These forces also required the expansion of slavery to the piedmont to supply the labor essential to growing and processing tobacco. This

[20] I cite the entire payment in the cases where given, typically in pounds of tobacco, and occasionally, also cask. What "cask" exactly means is unclear, but it probably was a hogshead. Research was unable to confirm if cask referred to an empty or full hogshead. If casks meant hogsheads filled with tobacco, the amount of tobacco packed into a hogshead, or cask, would have varied according to location and time (Morgan 1975:416, n41; Walsh 2010:344, n48; OED 2013). If the planters received empty hogsheads, planters would still probably have found them useful to use for their own packaging of tobacco. Furthermore, I do not think that the specified amount of tobacco listed in the records related to the given number of casks also in the record.

influx of enslaved individuals was essential to the growth of the area. The presence of a bound work force *and* extensive land ownership support the idea of a wealthy group of people committed to reinforcing their image of power, stability, and affluence (Smart Martin 2008:96).

Residents of older tidewater counties such as Gloucester, James City, and Charles City pushed to the western boundaries of Stafford, Essex, King and Queen, King William, New Kent, Henrico, and Prince George Counties.[21] In 1720, Spotsylvania and Brunswick Counties formed, followed by Hanover County in 1721(Hughes 1979:74). In 1728, the formation of Goochland County from Henrico opened the middle piedmont, and the creation of Prince William in 1730 and Orange in 1734, along with Augusta and Frederick in 1738, the first counties to be opened west of the Blue Ridge, continued westward expansion until delayed by the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1754 (Hughes 1979:84). If sons of the gentry moved west, they usually found themselves in top ranking government positions, thus perpetuating the political power of these families. Between 1720 and 1754, surveyors subdivided the lands of the entire piedmont, much of the Southside, and part of the Shenandoah Valley to form twenty-five new counties.

While I do not address slavery directly in my study, it was an important part of the development of the piedmont and will be briefly noted here. Slavery expanded into the piedmont during the 1720s, and in fifty years, the majority of slaves in Virginia lived west of the fall line (Morgan 1988:433; Morgan and Nicholls 1989:215, 217). **Figure 4.1** shows the consistent increase in tithables in the counties of which Indian Camp was a part from 1728 until 1777.

[21] See Walsh 2010:132 Map 5; 2010:206 Map 7; and 2010:400 Map 10 for the formation of new counties in Virginia through 1679, 1729, and 1763.

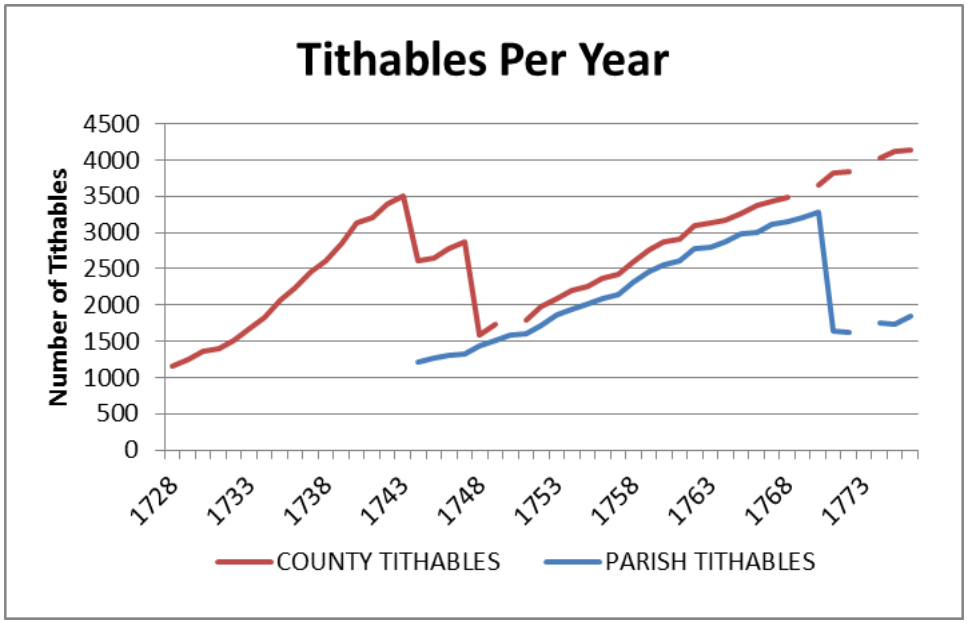

Figure 4.1: Tithables in Goochland and Cumberland Counties. See Appendix IV, Table A.4 for number of tithables, payments, and citations. Where the number of tithables decrease is when new counties were formed. Breaks in the lines represent missing data for those years. There was not data collected in 1774.

That piedmont planters were buying large numbers of children suggests that planters were being economical, as the expenses associated with establishing a new frontier plantation and increasing transportation costs because of distances cut into funds for purchasing adult slaves (Morgan 1988:444-445; Morgan and Nicholls 1989:219). The work of historian Philip Morgan points out that by midcentury, although almost all Africans who were brought to Virginia were moved to the piedmont, native-born creole slaves quickly dominated slave life in the piedmont (Morgan 1988:443-444). Morgan and historian Michael Nicholls conclude that large planters kept more male slaves at their tidewater plantations or quarters to fulfill artisanal needs required for diversification into small-grain agriculture that was being established in the tidewater; they tended to transfer female and children slaves to newly opened tobacco fields in the piedmont (Morgan and Nicholls 1989:222-223). Women and children, then, were important to production

from the beginning in the piedmont rather than in the tidewater, where equal numbers of men and women were not as quickly achieved. Morgan (1988:483) argues that in most ways, the expansion of slavery into the piedmont should be conceived of in terms of extension, not replication in that many of the social and demographic constraints that had existed in the tidewater counties for generations disappeared in a few decades on the frontier.

Governmental and religious institutions necessary to support the lives of the piedmont's new free residents soon developed. County governments established bureaucratic systems that left public records pertaining to their day-to-day proceedings; a similar situation took place in churches. Neighborhood can be located, identified, and studied by parsing these records. Planter families' interactions with one another, including marriages, land sales and bequests, deaths, boundary disputes, and debts to one another show the entanglements of individuals in this neighborhood. The following discussion highlights the families I was able to locate and follow through the formation of the area surrounding Indian Camp. What emerges is a group of families who invested themselves in either the piedmont or tidewater and used land ownership as a way of creating and benefiting from a newly emerging Virginia identity. Land ownership created opportunities for social advancement, and these families quickly capitalized on their chances.

Land in the Indian Camp Neighborhood

Once I completed mapping the area with ArcGIS and historical records, I started to identify patterns. **Figure 4.2** and **Figure 4.3** show how many patents were issued from 1724 to 1777 with the average amount of land in those years. There is an obvious spike in patents from 1730 until about 1738, suggesting an initial patenting and/or settlement period in this area. In addition, the most frequent patent size issued (the mode) was 400 acres. By examining the number of land deeds (**Figure 4.4**), the continuity of land transactions becomes obvious.

Combined with additional research, issues of how landownership equated with social, political, and economic power are made clearer.

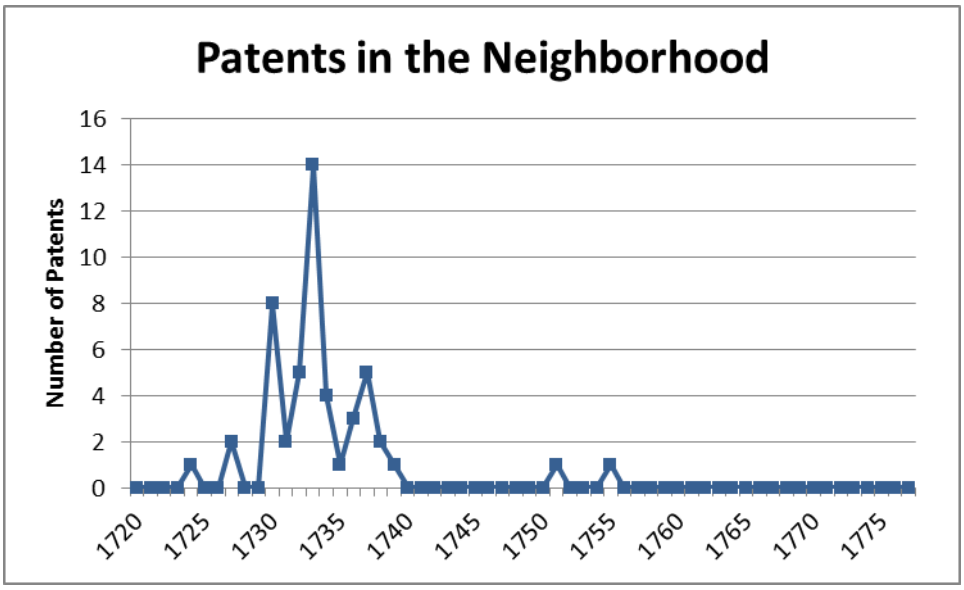

Figure 4.2: Patents in the Indian Camp neighborhood, 1724-1777.

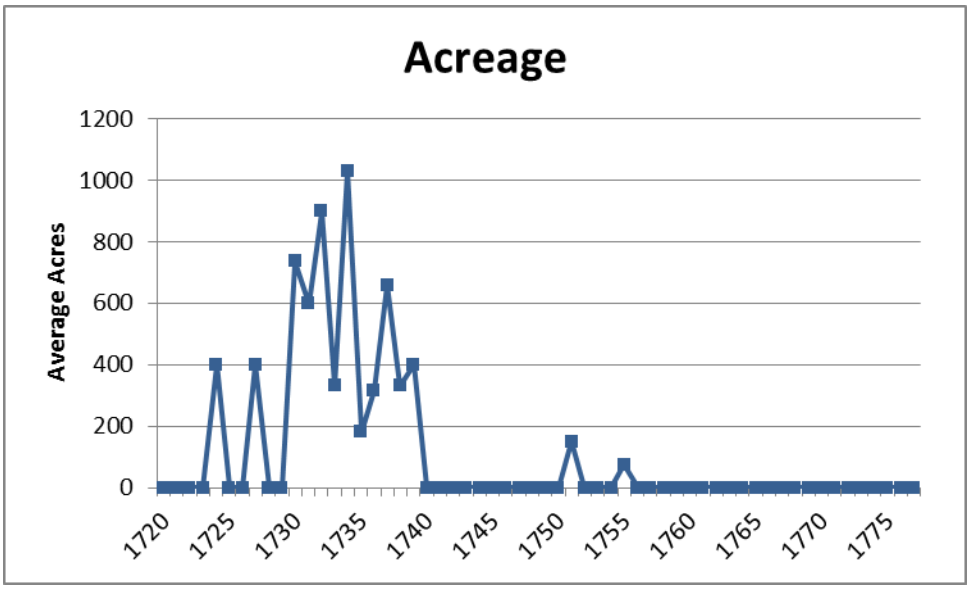

Figure 4.3: Acreage of patents in the Indian Camp neighborhood, 1724-1777.

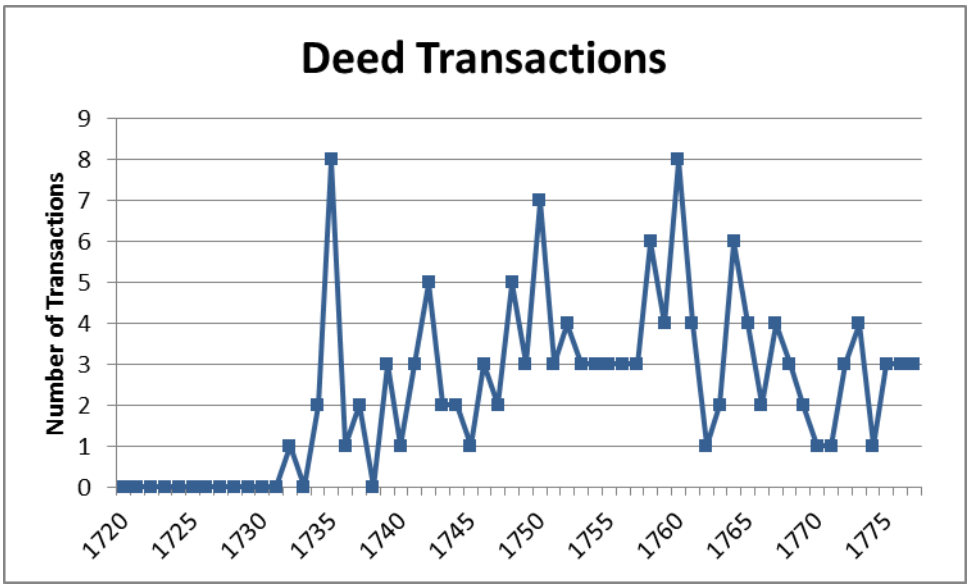

Figure 4.4: Deed transactions in the Indian Camp neighborhood, 1724-1777.

I was able to conduct a simple analysis based on locational and quantitative information, including total acreage, access to navigable waterways and streams providing good tobacco land, and access to roads. These factors contribute to who were the more influential and powerful members of the neighborhood. Another important factor to consider involves the social roles of landowners. Many prominent members of the Indian Camp neighborhood owned land in other counties, and many of them resided in tidewater Virginia. Assessed diachronically, how long a piece of land stayed in a given family can be evaluated. While not an absolute rule, it seems the "400 acre" families kept a parcel in their families for as long as they could. If a son or daughter lived on the land, the family typically became involved in the government and/or church, increasing their visibility and social currency[22] between and among neighbors. Finally, it is important to include the smaller land patentees and owners in any consideration of local power structures. While they might have owned less land and fewer slaves than their more affluent

[1] See Chapter 5 for a definition of social currency.

neighbors, their participation in the landed community was no small matter. Land ownership allowed people access to governmental roles, for one, and they were not part of the landless, enslaved, or servant classes. Serving in a local position increased one's social visibility, which was a way of increasing social currency. Land possession, then, no matter what amount, was important to this society. I establish categories in which I grouped land owners, but many individuals were involved in multiple groups. These bounded categories, then, are permeable, and are not rigidly demarcated.

Power in Size and Location

Sheer acreage, access to navigable waterways and creeks, and access to roadways are useful assessment tools in evaluating how land equated with power. The initial top patentees in terms of acreage were William Mayo with 3,000 acres; Francis Eppes with 2,400; John Woodson with 1,500; Henry Anderson with 1,500; the five Woodson brothers with 1,500, and Stephen Hughes with 1,000 (Figure 4.5). All of these pieces of property were either on a navigable waterway - the Appomattox River or Deep Creek - or creeks ran through their property, providing good tobacco grounds, as tobacco seedlings grew best in the flood plains of creeks. In other words, these early patentees with large parcels and access to water held a significant productive agricultural advantage over those with limited access. Eppes had an additional advantage, as Buckingham Road ran through his property. This early road provided a convenient transportation route for crops and placed his property along a prominent east-west route that many people used. The patent of the five Woodson brothers was also located along this roadway.

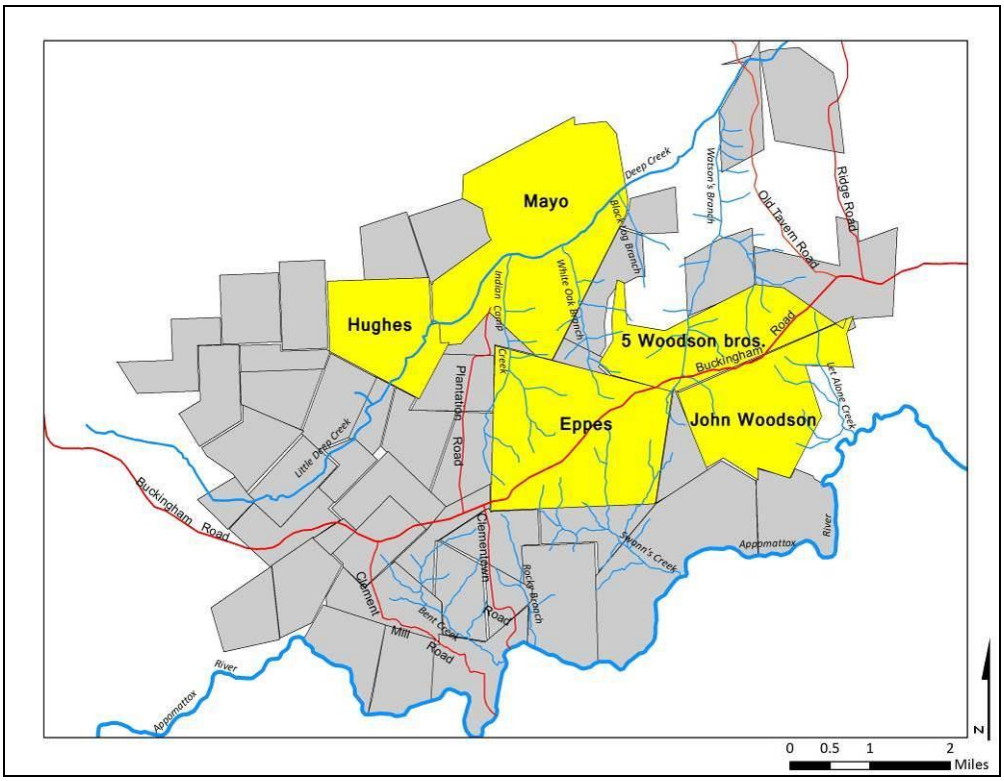

Figure 4.5: Early patentees with large acreages.

Several sources, while somewhat dated, further the argument that these families actively selected this piedmont land due to its strategic location. Historical archaeologists in both Maryland and Virginia have considered known 17th- and 18th-century archaeological sites with aspects of the physical and social environment which could have affected settlement – soil type (including soil fertility, good drainage, and a gentle slope), access to drinking water, waterfront location, navigable water, public roads, and the nearest neighbor (Smokek 1984; Lukezic 1990:15, Table 4). Despite social factors, both Mike Smolek and Craig Lukezic maintained that prime tobacco soils were the most alluring factor when considering where to locate one's settlement (Smolek 1984:4; Lukezic 1990:1, 15). Smolek summarized that areas of good soils were patented first and changed ownership the least: 17th-century colonists identified, occupied,

and cultivated the best land that was available to them to raise a profitable tobacco crop (Smolek 1984:16). This makes sense knowing that the 17th-century Chesapeake economy was based on the success (or failure) of tobacco production. Based on land patents on Virginia's Eastern Shore, James R. Perry comments that there was an "overwhelming preference for patenting contiguous acreages with access to water" (Perry 1990:42), in addition to the settling of land in proximity to kin for the development of a social network. Equally important were modes of transportation that facilitated travel and determined the range of personal contacts. Thus, James Horn states that economic depressions affected everyone but hit people on marginal soils, in the interior, or on the frontier much harder than planters possessing the best land by major rivers (Horn 1994:144). Using my results, it seems that early patentees in the area were taking advantage of the physical benefits of being situated along water or a main road; however, I would rank social factors as equally important as soil type for some of the later-arriving families.

It is unclear just how profitable lands of the absentee owners were or how economically or agriculturally invested they actually were here. Absentee owners certainly owned large, profitable tracts elsewhere, so they might not have been under as much pressure to have optimal yields on their lands around Indian Camp. Additionally, largely absentee owners probably were not spending significant amounts of time on their piedmont lands. Therefore, while fertile tobacco grounds were essential to a good crop, in some cases, the wealthy used these lands strategically to either pass on to heirs or sell as speculations.

Powerful Landowners Speculating on Large Acreages: Timing is Everything

Numerous families who patented land surrounding Indian Camp had successful histories that extended for several generations both back and forward in time. I address the top several patentees surrounding Indian Camp in terms of sheer acreage. All of the families with the largest

acreages were absentee landowners who were socially and economically successful in their home counties. Their families knew each other from their estates in the tidewater (**Figure 4.6** and **Figure 4.7**), where they served in the government and served and worshipped in churches together. It was too early in the development of the piedmont to entice them to leave their comfortable estates in the tidewater for the sparser frontier environment. However, acquisition of western lands for growing Oronoco tobacco (Isaac 1982:116) would have increased their social currency.

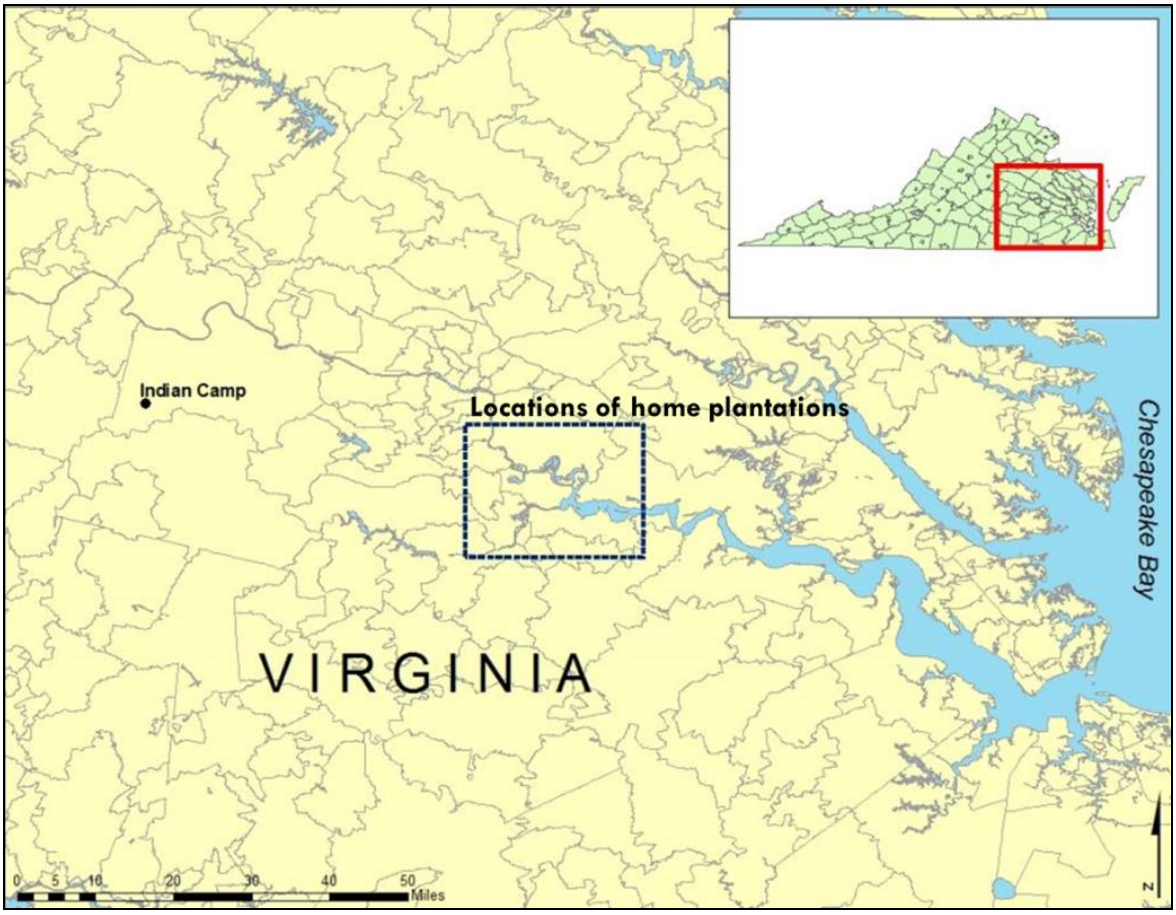

Figure 4.6: Location of home plantations for several families who owned land near Indian Camp (USCB 2000, 2009).

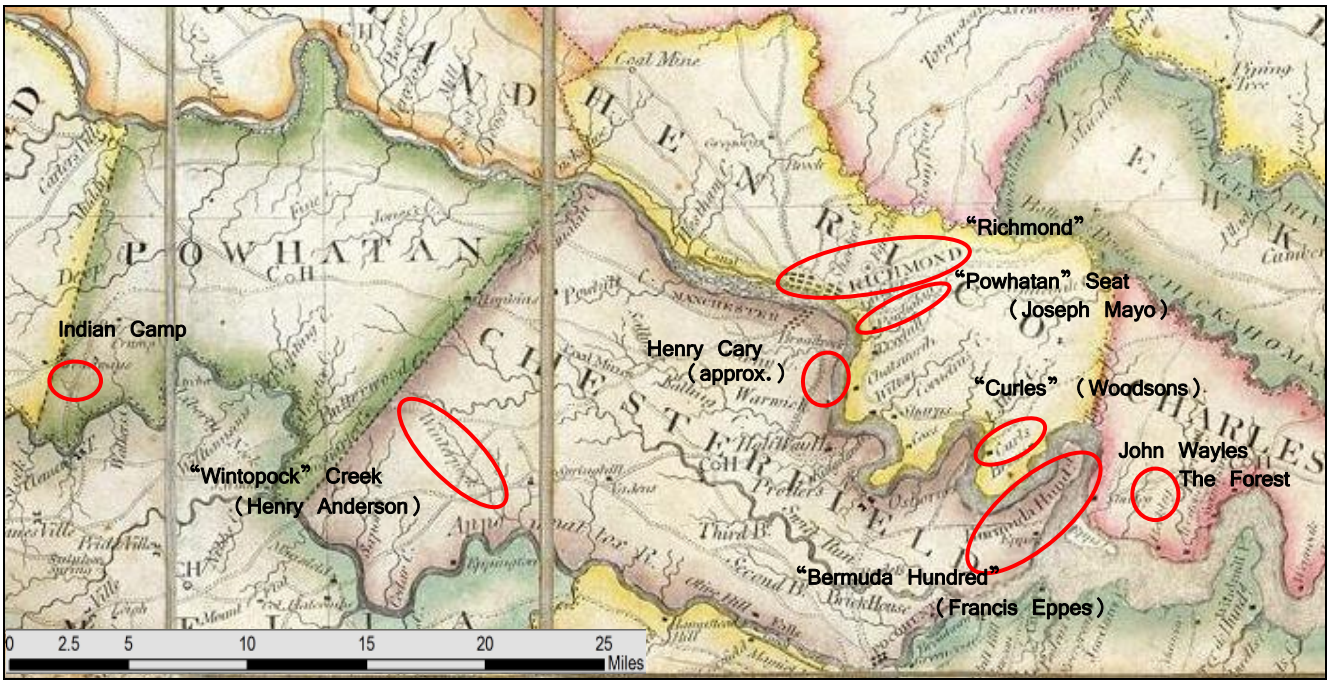

Figure 4.7: Location of home plantations for several families who owned land near Indian Camp (Madison 1807). Names in quotation marks are found on the map itself.

During the 1730s and 1740s, many Virginians participated in land speculation (Evans 2009:108). An assessment of twenty-one leading families in Virginia who had established their presence by 1680 indicated that the landholdings of seventeen families averaged 11,572 acres (Evans 2009:14-15, Table 2). Wealthy planters laid claim to these best lands in new counties, which helped consolidate their political power (Horn 1994:199). The land around Indian Camp was used for land speculation by some of Virginia's wealthy tidewater families.

To illustrate, Francis Eppes' speculatory endeavors with Indian Camp provides a good example of how the wealthy were able to take charge of local offices and hold on to those offices for several generations (**Table 4.1**). The first Eppes[23] to arrive in Virginia, William, might have encouraged his younger brothers Francis and Peter to also emigrate after his arrival in 1618

[23] "Eppes" was also spelled "Epes" "and "Epps," but for the sake of consistency, I use the first spelling. Francis used this spelling in his will (HCDWB 1725-1737 No.2, Part 1:459-460).

(Horning 2004:43 [Dorman 1992]). By 1635, William Eppes had also managed to acquire thirty-four headrights by financing the passage of himself, his three sons, and thirty others to Virginia, meaning he had earned 1,700 acres in a 1635 patent (Horning 2004:44). He claimed five "Negroes" as headrights, also. Historical archaeologist Audrey Horning characterized William's brother, Francis I, as an "ambitious member of the nascent Virginia colonial gentry" and concluded "…[H]e appears to have consistently positioned himself for political and social advancement" (Horning 2004:44). His great grandson Francis Eppes IV, the patentee of Indian Camp, was similarly ambitious. He owned close to 23,000 acres[24] of land in both the tidewater as well as in the piedmont at the time of his death in 1734 (HCDWB 1725-1737 No.2, Part 1:459-460). Eppes may have established Indian Camp as a halfway point between his Henrico County home and one plantation further west near the Blue Ridge Mountains (HCDWB 1725-1737 No.2, Part 1:459-460).

[24] Actual amount is 22,338 acres

Table 4.1: Positions of Francis Eppes IV' ancestors.

Name	County, Year	Position	Citation
Francis Eppes I, the emigrant	Charles City County, 1625	Burgess, Captain and then Lieutenant-Colonel in militia, court commissioner[25] [of Chas. City and Henrico], imported Africans into the colony for servitude, sat on Governor's Council [1652]	Horning 2004:44; Standard 1896a:281
	Charles City	Commissioner	Standard 1896a:281
	Henrico	Commissioner	Standard 1896a:281
Francis Eppes II	Charles City, 1658	Justice; Captain [1660]	Dorman 1992:107
	Henrico, 1664[5]	Justice	Dorman 1992:107
	Henrico, 1670-1676	Burgess	Dorman 1992:107
Francis Eppes III	Henrico, 1683	Justice	Dorman 1992:116
	Henrico, 1685	Sheriff	Dorman 1992:116
	Henrico, 1688	Captain	Dorman 1992:116
	Henrico; 1691-2, 1693, 1702[3]-5, 1705-6	Burgess	Dorman 1992:116
	Henrico, 1710; 1711-1712[26]	Sheriff	HCRO1710-1714:12; 79
Francis Eppes IV, patentee of Indian Camp	Henrico	Justice	Standard 1896b:395
	Henrico; 1711-1712[27]; 1712-1714	Burgess	Standard 1896b:395; Dorman 1992:150
	Henrico, 1708, 1710	Surveyor	Dorman 1992:150; HCRO1710-1714:12

[25] A court commissioner was also known as a justice.

[26] As sheriff, Colonel Francis Eppes received at the same levy of 350 pounds of tobacco for "Summoning Several persons to give bonds for Orphans" in addition to 100 pounds of tobacco for a wolf's head he purchased from an Indian (HCRO 1710-1714:115).

[27] Eppes was compensated for thirty-nine days Burgesses pay totaling 5070 pounds of tobacco 406 cask and for forty-two days Burgesses pay, earning 5460 pounds of tobacco 437 cask at Henrico County court's levy in 1711(HCRO 1710-1714:115, 266).

For their first one hundred years in Virginia, then, members of the Eppes family were "prominent offices holders and people of substantial means" (Torrence 1916:210), positioning themselves strategically in the government and purchasing large amounts of land.

Another well-established tidewater family who had land close to Indian Camp was the Woodson family. The first Woodsons to arrive in Virginia, John and his wife Sarah, came in 1619 and settled at Flowerdew Hundred (Tyler 1901a:254; Miller and Miller 1980:85). Like the Eppeses, John Woodson had six slaves registered under his name at Flowerdew (Woodson 1915:11). The Woodson family intermarried with other leading citizens in the tidewater and the piedmont. While most of the first three Woodson generations lived at Curles, five of the fourth generation Woodson brothers seemed to have made their homes on the land around Indian Camp. **Table 4.2** shows their birth order:

Table 4.2: Woodson brothers who owned land near Indian Camp.

Woodson Brother's Name	**Birth (approx.)**	**Citation**
William	1690 in Henrico	Woodson 1915:37
Benjamin	1692 in Henrico	Woodson 1915:38
Joseph	1694 in Henrico	Woodson 1915:38
John	1696 in Henrico	Woodson 1915:38-39
Robert	1698 in Henrico	Woodson 1915:39

Local positions that men held helped to create bonds of friendship. For example, one John Woodson was John Woodson was assistant surveyor under Francis Eppes in the 1720s (Tyler 1901b:44) and again under again under William Mayo in the newly-formed Goochland County in 1729 (GCOB1:138). This office office provided him with additional income: he was paid 2000 pounds of tobacco[28] "for running the county the county line" during Henrico County's levy in 1722 and another 2000 pounds of tobacco for his attendance

[28] The funds that were paid to residents during the end-of-the-year county levy were from money (early on, in pounds of tobacco) that were collected from the yearly county tax. These funds were then redistributed to residents during the county levy for their services.

his attendance at "running the County lines" between Goochland and Henrico (GCOB1:158) with William with William Mayo. This process would have been a social event, as other men accompanied the surveyors: surveyors: when John Woodson ran the county line in 1722 for Henrico, two future neighbors, Nicholas Cox Nicholas Cox and Edward Scot, were compensated for their service in marking the line, and Major Thomas Major Thomas Randolph and Captain Richard Randolph were paid the same amount as Woodson for their Woodson for their attendance (HCMB 1719-1724:224).

Table 4.3 shows other references to important local roles in their county government by these Woodson men.[29]

[29] Benjamin Woodson seems to have died in 1735 (GCDB2:133), which explains his absence from public office.

Table 4.3: Positions of the Woodson brothers and payments received.

Name	**County, Year**	**Position**	**Payment, if known**	**Citation**
Capt. John Woodson	Henrico, 1723	Took list of titahbles[30]		HCMB1719-1724:261
John Woodson	Henrico, 1722	Surveyor		HCMB 1719-1724:224
	Henrico [1720s], Goochland [1729]	Assistant surveyor		Tyler 1901b:44; GCOB1:138
	Goochland, 1728, 1729	Took list of tithables		GCOB1:4, 97
	Goochland, 1734	Surveyor of the road		GCOB3:294
	Goochland, 1746, 1747, 1748	"ferryman"; keeping the courthouse	1000 pounds of tobacco and cask [1746] (amount was 1040 in 1747 and 1748); also 300 pounds of tobacco for keeping the courthouse	GCOB6:250, 397, 500
	Goochland, 1746, 1747, 1748	Ordinary keeper		GCOB6:159, 319, 427
Robert Woodson, Jr.	Henrico, 1724	Counted 901,875 tobacco	600 pounds of tobacco	HCMB 1719-1724:366

[30] Taking a list of tithables was a process through which all taxable laborers were enumerated in the area. See Chapter 5 for a more in-depth discussion.

		plants		
Joseph Woodson	Goochland, 1729	"ferry keeper"	500 pounds of tobacco	GCOB1:158
	Goochland, 1731	Surveyor of the road		GCOB2:117
	Cumberland, by 1755	Lieutenant	CCOB3:277	
William Woodson	Goochland, 1743	Surveyor of the road		GCOB5:117, 274
	Goochland, 1747	Captain		GCOB6:371

Stephen Hughes, another one of the top landholders in the Indian Camp neighborhood, took over Woodson's surveyor position "from the Courthouse to the ferry Landing" in a December 1731 Goochland County Court (GCOB3:21). Additional roles of Hughes can be seen in **Table 4.4**.

Table 4.4: Positions of Stephen Hughes and payments received.

Position	**County, Date**	**Citation**	**Payment, if known**	**Citation**
Surveyor of a highway[31]	Goochland, 1731	GCOB3:21	2377 pounds of tobacco [1732]	GCOB3:118
Ferry keeper	Goochland, 1735, 1736[7], 1737	GCOB4:17, 131, 248	1600 pounds of tobacco, 64 cask [all three years]	GCOB4:17, 131, 248
Laid out prison bounds and made report to the court	Goochland, 1731	GCOB2:195, GCOB3:10	150 cask tobacco [1731]	GCOB3:18
Quaker	Goochland, 1730	GCOB1:198		

Other top patentees in the neighborhood had prior connections to other important men in the neighborhood, as well. The Mayo brothers, Joseph and William, emigrated from Barbados to Virginia about 1723 (Burton 1904:163-165; Hughes 1979:86, 89) (**Error! Reference source not found.**). William surveyed and laid out the grid for Richmond (Byrd 1736); surveyed Barbados

[31] Hughes took over this position, which had been John Woodson's.

and drew one of its earliest maps (Mayo 1722); helped survey the North Carolina-Virginia boundary line (Wright 1966:41), and probably taught Peter Jefferson how to survey (Kern 2010:163). William owned a huge amount of land even by 18th-century standards: between 1730 and his death in 1744, he patented over 30,000 acres of land (LOP 2005).

Table 4.5: Mayo brothers' positions.

Name	**County, Year**	**Position**	**Citation**
William and Joseph		Surveyors	Burton 1904:165; Wright 1966:41, 48
	Henrico, 1726	Justices[32]	Drysdale 1726[1940]:145
Joseph	Henrico, 1731	Vestryman[33]	Burton 1904:5
William	Goochland, 1730	Churchwarden[34] of St. James' Parish	GCOB2:17

In the Indian Camp neighborhood, the Mayo brothers' move from Barbados emphasizes the importance of connections outside of the colonies, which served to increase a planter's prominence. Men who constructed social networks with international reach were more prestigious than their neighbors who relied solely on locally constructed networks of peers. William and Joseph Mayo emigrated from Barbados, as did Joseph's brother-in-law by marriage, George Carrington (Brown 1895:157; Hughes 1979:85). Carrington was another prominent local individual, due in part by his marriage to William's daughter, Ann. William Mayo had an established reputation when he arrived in Virginia about 1723 (Hughes 1979:86). Nearly forty, Mayo had emigrated from England as a young man to Barbados where he gained renown as a

[32] Joseph and William Mayo were Justices along with Francis Eppes and Henry Anderson.
[33] Joseph Mayo was a vestryman along with Francis Eppes at St. John's Church of Henrico Parish.
[34] As a Churchwarden, William would have served as one of the "chief executive officers of the vestry" (Blomquist 2006:iv).

surveyor, publishing a map of the island before he set out for Virginia (Mayo 1722). While he may have worked as an assistant or undertaken private surveys in his first years in Virginia, the earliest record of him in his profession is the Council's 1727 appointment of "John Allen, Gent. and Mr. Mayo Surveyors" to assist the Virginia commissioners in running the boundary with North Carolina (VMHB 1727[1924]:241-2). Carrington, Mayo's son-in-law, obtained a surveyor's commission, began working as an assistant surveyor under his father-in-law in 1734, and was recommended on the same day as Peter Jefferson as a gentleman justice (Brown 1895:157; GCOB3:298). After fifteen years as an assistant surveyor, Carrington was appointed first surveyor of Cumberland County when it formed in 1749 and continued for many years as justice for Cumberland (CCOB6:352, for example). Family connections which had developed in Barbados were transplanted into Virginia. Social networks were increased as a result. Connections outside of the colonies could also serve to increase a planter's social currency.

The sugar boom in 17th-century Barbados produced a relatively rapid rise of a unified, powerful master class in Barbados. Planters became rich overnight as a result of the sugar crop and lived grand, status-conscious lives. The social and political milieu of Barbados, which included large discrepancies in wealth, particularly manifested through land and slave ownership, serving in elite offices, and having strong family connections (Dunn 1972:67, 98). The economic and social template from Barbados was soon transplanted into Virginia as thousands of free and enslaved people moved to Virginia (Hatfield 2004:86). Since Barbados had the same basic institutions as the American colonies, including a hierarchical pattern of office holding and a slave-based plantation society (Dunn 1972:xiii, 98; Hatfield 2004:151, 147), the

social and economic transition for the wealthy or well-connected, as for the Mayos, would have been relatively smooth.

Henry Anderson, the final top patentee in terms of acreage, also had his home in the tidewater. His interactions with Francis Eppes in particular are apparent in public records. Anderson lived near one of Eppes' properties on Wintopock Creek (HCDWB 1725-1737 No.2, Part 1:233, 422, 459-460) and attended church at St. John's along with Eppes and Mayo (Burton 1904:13). Anderson fulfilled important neighborhood duties alongside Eppes: in 1729, the men were to view the road where a woman had petitioned the court to allow her to alter the course of an existing road (HCMB 1719-1724:7). Anderson served as a surveyor of the highways at the same time as Eppes in 1729 (HCMB 1719-1724:192). Anderson and Eppes were also to take the list of tithables on the south side of the James River in Henrico Parish in 1721 and 1723 (HCMB 1719-1724:102, 261), again suggesting Anderson's involvement in his local community (**Table 4.6**). Anderson owned his piece of land in the Indian Camp neighborhood for only just over two years; however, the relationships that he fostered with his peers in Henrico County were enough for him to patent land near them in the piedmont.

Table 4.6: Positions of Henry Anderson and payments received.

Position	**County, Date**	**Citation**	**Payment, if known**	**Citation**
Sheriff	Henrico, 1722	HCMB 1719-1724:187	480 pounds of tobacco	HCMB 1719-1724:224
Captain[35]	Henrico, 1720, 1721	HCMB 1719-1724:19, 102; Burton 1904:10		
Justice of the Peace	Henrico, 1729[30]	HCMB 1719-1724:6		
Surveyor of the highways	Henrico, 1722, 1729[36]	HCMB 1719-1724:192		

[35] This was in reference to when Anderson was appointed to view a road, not the actual Captain appointment itself.

Took list of tithables on south side of James River in Henrico Parish	Henrico, 1721, 1723	HCMB 1719-1724:102, 261		
Certified several wolves' heads[37]	Henrico, 1724	HCMB 1719-1724:367		

The correlation between the early presence of these families across the fall line combined with the time of their arrival to Virginia is not a coincidence. Historian John Coombs reevaluated a chronology for the rise of slavery in early Virginia by scrutinizing who owned slaves when and in what quantities. In doing so, he refutes the widely-accepted date of 1680 as the turning point of the work force of Virginia from indentured servitude to bound labor. Coombs emphasized *early* prominent men who secured slaves through their own efforts and their ability and willingness to pay the price, arguing, "In every source that can be used to measure the social distribution of labor through the 1660s—land patent and certificate records, inventories, and tax lists—officeholders controlled between two-thirds and three-quarters of all enslaved bondspeople" (Coombs 2011:345, 350-1). This observation is interesting knowing that the Eppeses and Woodsons, for instance, had arrived in Virginia by 1625 and seemed to have quickly consolidated their status. Coombs (2011:348) finds that most of these early prominent men had achieved the conversion from white indentured servants to enslaved labor by the end of the 1650s, making them early and prolific proponents of the institution of slavery. While neither the Eppeses nor the Woodsons were in what Coombs might consider the economic top tier, they nevertheless had an abundance of social currency in the form of government and ecclesiastical positions, land, slaves, and material goods, as seen in Eppes' will (HCWDB 2, part 1:459-460).

[36] Anderson served in this role at the same time as Eppes.
[37] See discussion about certifying wolves' heads below in the section entitled "Other Important Forms of Neighborhood Participation."

Land Owners with "Small" Acreages

Beyond the large landowners, another group can be identified from these maps. These were what I call the "400-acre families," the people who purchased smaller amounts of land and started a working plantation. Some of these individuals seemed to eventually invest themselves in the neighborhood. While this was a society that favored landowners with large parcels, owning any amount of land permitted free white men access to political rights and economic benefits enjoyed by the landed community. In 1742[3] in Goochland, the court dismissed the presentments of the Grand Jury made the previous November, as one of the jury members was not a freeholder (GCOB5:211). As defined by the Oxford English Dictionary, a freehold was "Permanent and absolute tenure of land or property with freedom to dispose of it at will" (OED 2013). While living in a hierarchical society where rank was intimately tied up with the size of landholdings, men such as Robert Thompson and Frederick Hatcher were able to participate in the affairs of their neighborhood often because, in part, of their land ownership, despite their smaller holdings.

The most frequent parcel size patented in the Indian Camp neighborhood was 400 acres, an important number. Other studies have commented on the amount of land that constituted an optimal farm size. In 1659, the median land holding in St. Mary's County, Maryland, was 250 acres. By about 1700, it was still 200 acres (Carr et al. 1991:33-35), which suggests an upper limit to an efficient farm in that area of the Chesapeake. Across England, by contrast, in 1700, sixty-five acres was the average farm size (Allen 1994:99). Land in the colonies was plentiful and cheap, and an owner could potentially generate a greater profit with extra labor. Average tract size in Albemarle County, Virginia, between 1745 and 1754 measured slightly less than 160 acres (Hughes 1979:239). During a similar time, median holdings in Lunenburg, Amelia,

Charlotte, and Mecklenburg were all less than 360 acres[38] (Kulikoff 1986:156, Table 17), and in Surry County during the 1660s and 1680s, divided parcels averaged 233 acres (Kelly 1979:191). All of the counties and years mentioned represent the initial decades of settlement in either Southern Maryland and Virginia's piedmont or Southside.[39] Many men in the Indian Camp area who patented 400 acres were exceeding efficient farm size. Land was abundant in this place and time in the frontier piedmont, so patentees and subsequent purchasers might have been acquiring the land with the intent of later dividing it to pass on to sons or daughters or selling it at a profit. George Freeman, a 400-acre patentee, patented his land in 1733 (LOP 15:107-108), but he deeded two of his sons each half of the patent (GCDB2:121-122). His will was proved in 1736 (HCDWB 1725-1737 No.2, Part 1:518). Some of these 400-acre men, then, patented land with the intention of passing it directly on to heirs.

Of course, there were exceptions to this 400-acre, "ordinary planter" limit. For instance, John Pleasants patented 400 acres in the Indian Camp neighborhood in1733[40] (LOP 15:146), but court records suggest that he was no middling planter. His father, John Pleasants, came to America from England in 1665 (Miller and Miller 1980:1, 8). Pleasants the immigrant became "…an enormously wealthy, highly respected man" in Virginia (Miller and Miller 1980:1). A "zealous" Quaker, Pleasants had the Curles Meeting House built on his property (Miller and Miller 1980:2). John Pleasants, Sr., who patented the 400 acres adjacent to Indian Camp, and John Jr., his son, were "Merchants and Partners" (CCOB4:13), suggesting a wide range of friends and connections. While John, Jr., preceded his father in death (CCOB6:80), John, Sr.,

[38] The median number of acres per freeholder in Lunenburg in 1764 was 340; for Amelia in 1768, it was 250; Charlotte in 1764 was 360; and Mecklenburg in 1764 was 320 (Kulikoff 1986:156, Table 17).
[39] See Walsh 2010:132 Map 5; 2010:206 Map 7; and 2010:400 Map 10 for the counties' locations.
[40] It is unclear exactly what happened to this parcel. By 1760, John Wayles must have acquired it, perhaps by purchasing it from Pleasants the patentee, for it was included Wayles' St. James parcel (Appendix I, Figure A.29).

continued to be actively engaged in transactions through at least the early 1770s (CCOB8:319). The family was well established in Henrico County and continued appearing in court records from Cumberland County through the 1770s. It is unclear why Pleasants patented land in the piedmont and why he chose only 400 acres unlike his other well-established peers, such as Eppes, Mayo, and the Woodsons.

One way that families might make a name for themselves in the community was to establish and run an ordinary, even when that ordinary was on a small piece of land, such as discussed in Chapter 2 regarding the Thompsons. Social currency could also be increased by serving in local positions, as many of the men who owned 400 acres did, as I will explain further in Chapter 5.

Land Owners with Expanding Acreages

A third group of families who staked out land in this area began with one patent and expanded their holdings to include multiple contiguous patents, a process which resulted in a much larger piece of land. Land sales reflect land acquisition for actual settlement and plantation use rather than for speculation, particularly when a parcel was divided (Kelly 1979:190). In looking at 398 land patents granted in Surry County from the 1620s to the 1690s and 533 land deeds recorded in the court from 1652 to 1700, Kevin Kelly found that ten percent of sales involved the purchase of land adjacent to property already owned by the buyer. In the Indian Camp neighborhood from 1724 until 1777, acquiring a contiguous piece of property also happened frequently. The location of land involved in these sales shows not speculation, but the process of enlarging existing plantations (Kelly 1979:191). While such consolidation made a planter's movement between his several tobacco fields easier, large parcels also maintained distance between neighbors (Kelly 1979:202).

John Wayles, Henry Hatcher, and Henry Cary can be included in this group of land owners pursuing expansion for the Indian Camp neighborhood. Wayles, while managing the plantation for his daughter Martha, doubled her 1,200 acres to eventually include an adjacent tract of 2,500 acres, known as St. James (Bear and Stanton 1997:329, 330, 354). Purchasing land west and south of his wife's property, Wayles shifted and enlarged the property to include land abutting Deep Creek. The creek provided both access to the James River with a canoe or small bateaux and fertile agricultural grounds. Although Wayles' personal papers have disappeared and many of the transactions have been lost, using extrapolations based on maps, I was able to narrow down when Wayles had to have obtained land adjacent to Indian Camp. His presence in the neighborhood was significant in terms of acreage and prestige, and when combined with Ann [Eppes] Harris' sons and daughters who remained in the neighborhood or purchased land nearby, the Eppes' family presence on the landscape lasted at least seventy-five years and probably longer (see Appendix I, Figure A.42 for Wayles' total St. James property in blue).

As a King's Attorney in Cumberland County, among several other counties, Wayles may have lodged at this Indian Camp property, as the Cumberland County Courthouse was located only approximately eight miles from the original Indian Camp land, at the intersection of what is now Route 60 with Old Tavern Road. At a meeting of the July 1746 Goochland County Court, Wayles took the oath of attorney along with neighbors James Meredith, William Battersby, and Gideon Marr (GCOB6:197). Wayles also took the oath to practice as the King's Attorney in Cumberland County in 1751 (CCOB2:326).

Henry Hatcher, a rather elusive man in the documentary record, also expanded his holdings. At the height of his land ownership, Hatcher owned 1,000 acres, and his son Frederick

remained in the neighborhood and married Sarah Woodson, John Woodson's daughter (Woodson 1915:65-66). Henry seems to have struggled financially for much of his life, as his name appears in court records frequently either being pressured to pay money or demanding money from a peer. He seems to have left no will, nor does a probate exist for him. His appearances in court records identify him as a land processioner in Henrico County (Burton 1904:22), a builder of a bridge over Four Mile Creek in 1720, which paid him 1000 pounds of tobacco 80 cask for his service, and as a Grand Jury foreman in 1724 (HCMB 1719-1724:55, 339). Interestingly, also sitting on this particular jury were future neighbors Stephen Cox, Robert Thompson, and John Hobson. During another Henrico County grand jury in 1724, there was a complaint against Henry Hatcher for "absenting" himself from Church (HCMB 1719-1724:370). He was entangled in many legal proceedings with piedmont neighbors John Pleasants (GCOB5:40, for example) and John Coles (GCOB5:394, for example). While I could not quite pinpoint his troubles or standing in the Indian Camp neighborhood, his increasing holdings show how an individual could start with one parcel and gradually patent adjoining lands.

Henry Cary, Jr., on the other hand, certainly left his legacy. The Cary family established themselves prominently in Virginia in the 17th century (**Table 4.7**). As building contractors, Henry Cary and his son, Henry Cary, Jr., were responsible for many public buildings in and around Williamsburg. Henry's son, Archibald, also was influential, as he has been called "the wheelhorse of the [American] revolution" (Brock 1937:1) and "progressive" in local community affairs (Harrison 1919:91). Henry, Jr., was a 320-acre patentee in the Indian Camp area and eventually expanded his holdings to include 1,520 acres (see Appendix I, Figure A.7), but it seems that Henry purchased these lands for speculative purposes.

Table 4.7: Four generations of the Carys' positions.

Name	**Positions**	**Citations**
Miles Cary (immigrant)	Five-year member of House of Burgesses [Warwick County], lieutenant-colonel, colonel, county lieutenant, member of Governor's Council	Harrison 1919:34
Henry Cary (Miles' son)	Undertaker[41]; building contractor[42]	Harrison 1919:86; Lounsbury 2005:38
Henry Cary, Jr. (Henry's son; owned land near Indian Camp)	Undertaker; building contractor[43]; Justice of the Peace [Warwick County]; Vestryman[44]; keeper of Williamsburg's magazine; sheriff of Henrico County [1733-1734]	VMHB1727[1924]:254 ; Harrison 1919:88; Lounsbury 2008:206; Drysdale 1726[1940]:142
Archibald Cary (Henry, Jr.'s son)	Justice of the Peace [Goochland, 1747]; Commissioner of the Peace for Cumberland 1747[45]; Burgess; Colonel	GCOB6:299; Brock 1937:7; Harrison 1919:91

Both Henry Cary, Jr., and Archibald were educated at the College of William and Mary (Harrison 1919:88, 91). Completed in 1732, Ampthill estate was built by Henry Cary, Jr., six

[41] An undertaker is "One who undertakes to carry out work or business for another; a contractor" (OED 2013).
[42] Henry built the first capital and palace at Williamsburg, York County's courthouse in 1697, and the College of William and Mary after a 1705 fire (Harrison 1919:86; Lounsbury 2008:38).
[43] Henry Cary, Jr., built the chapel at William and Mary, the President's House, Brafferton Hall, and numerous churches and courthouses (VMHB 1727[1924]:254; Harrison 1919:88; Lounsbury 2008:206).
[44] Henry Cary, Jr., served as vestryman at Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg.
[45] Archibald was recommended as Commissioner for Cumberland County when Goochland was preparing to split off Cumberland, in addition to peer Peter Jefferson.

miles south of Richmond on the James River (see Figure 4.7). The estate was on a tract of land he purchased from another prominent citizen, William Byrd of Westover (Harrison 1919:85, n2). Archibald, Henry Cary, Jr.'s son, inherited twenty acres of his father's lands near Indian Camp (GCDB4:50-51; Harrison 1919:172-173). With Archibald's marriage to Mary Randolph, daughter of Richard Randolph of Curles (Harrison 1919:93), Archibald solidified his place in the colony's elite. The Cary family, then, is a good example of the expansion of original land holdings for speculative purposes.

(Probable[46]) Upward Mobility on the Frontier through Deeds and Marriage

Continued connections between family members through land ownership have been made clear through this research. For instance, the five Woodson brothers patented 1,500 acres together in 1732 on the same day at court (LOP 14:440-441); one of those brothers patented another property contiguous to the brothers' property on that same day, also (LOP 14:423-424). William Mayo sold to his father-in-law, John Pirratt, 2,000 acres of his 3,000 acre patent (GCDB2:159-160) less than a year after patenting the property in 1734 and granted his son John the remaining 1,000 acres in his 1744 will (GCDB4:448). George Freeman evenly divided a piece of land and gave each parcel to his sons, George and Holman, in his will, two years after patenting his property (GCDB2:121). John Pleasants sold his grandson Charles Woodson, Jr., one of his properties (CCDB4:233-235), who in turn sold it to Robert Pleasants (PCDB1:9-10), one of John's sons and Charles' relative (Miller 1980:8) (**Figure 4.8: Examples of family connections in the Indian Camp neighborhood**8).

[46] I use the word "Probable" here, because I was unable to locate many examples of the Cox family in their home county of Henrico. While I am confident that upward mobility was more possible on the frontier than in the tidewater, I am unsure of what social roles the Cox family held in their former location.

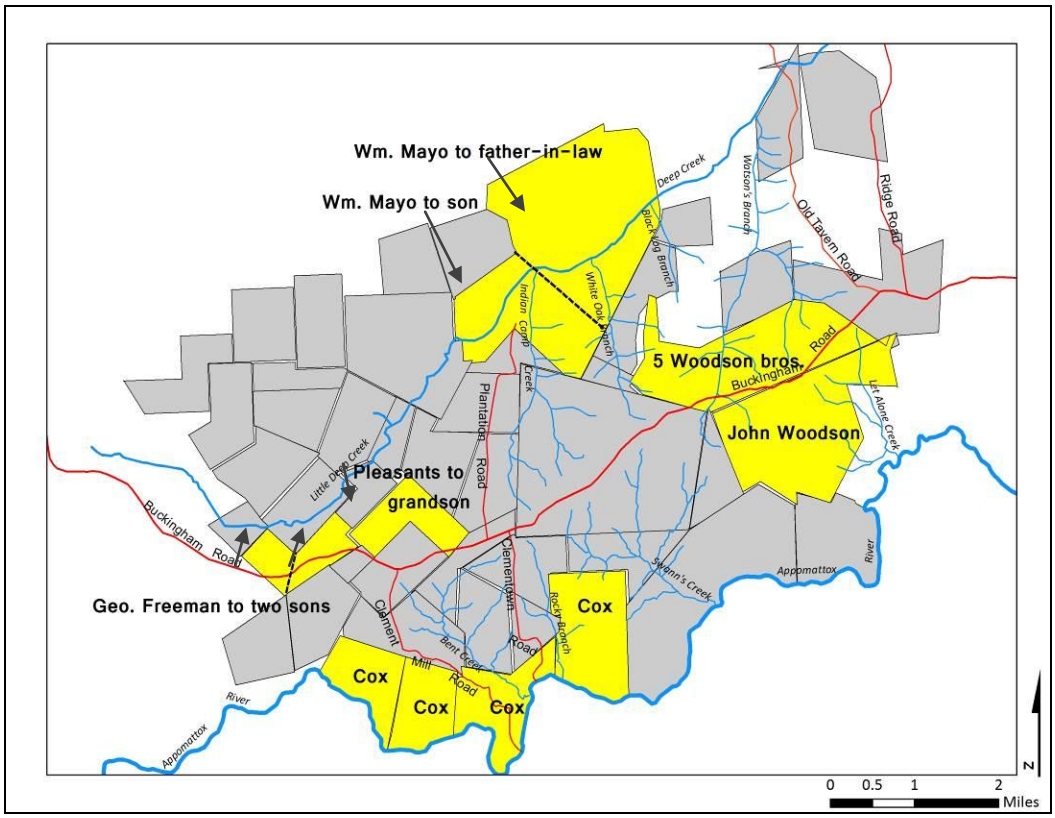

Figure 4.8: Examples of family connections in the Indian Camp neighborhood.

The land transaction maps can be used to show the length of time that land stayed in a family and the ways in which families dominated portions of the neighborhood by acquiring land in proximity to other family members. Members of the Cox family, for example, achieved consolidation through marriages and land bequests. Six Cox relatives (Henry, George, Frederick, Stephen, Nicholas, and later, William) patented or owned land near or adjacent to one another (Figure 4.8**: Examples of family connections in the Indian Camp neighborhood**8), and Stephen married Judith Woodson, a first cousin of the five Woodson brothers (Woodson 1915:32; GCDB5:86). Continued connections were a consequence of the expansion of family ties through marriages. The Cox family provides a good example of a family's continued presence on the landscape. In 1732, Stephen Sr. patented 800 acres of land (LOP 14:420-421). He purchased 200

acres from neighbor William Moseley in 1739 (GCDB3:244) and 763 acres from Young Stokes in 1742 (GCDB4:134-135), totaling 1,763 acres. In 1745, Stephen sold his 200 acre purchase to Henry Cox (GCDB5:95-96). He also left his son, Stephen Jr., his 800-acre patent in his will (CCWB1:typewritten page in between 103 and 104), who in turn willed this land to his brother William in 1758 and stayed on the land at least another twenty years (CCWB1:165-166). The Cox family made their presence known on the landscape over many years, then. This family was frequently involved as surveyors of the highways, as seen in **Table 4.8**. Consolidation of land through marriages with other members of the neighbors can be seen in the maps. Although the Coxes usually patented 400 acres, which could group them into the "400 acre" category, they can also fit into the above category of expanding acreages, as landowning men acquired nearby land. These men, then, while not holding prominent offices or large amount of land (except for Stephen), filled minor offices and staked their claim in the neighborhood by marrying women who lived nearby.

Table 4.8: Positions of the Cox relatives.

Name	**County, Year**	**Position, Location**	**Citations**
Frederick	Goochland, 1740	Surveyor of the road "from Solomon's Creek to Fine Creek"	GCOB4:450
	Goochland, 1741	"gangs" under Frederick were ordered to "joyne & Grub the road from the Chapple road to Deep Creek road"	GCOB5:6
	Goochland, 1746	Surveyor of the road "from John Bates to fine Creek"	GCOB6:157
Stephen	Goochland, 1731	Surveyor of the road "from the ferry unto the main road"	GCOB2:127
William	Goochland, 1748[9]	"granted leave to turn the road to the place where it formerly went at John Cox's plantation"	GCOB6:509
John	Goochland, 1740; 1741	Ferry keeper; ordinary keeper	GCOB4:455; GCOB5:98

Other marriages took place between neighbors, as well, seen in **Table 4.9** and

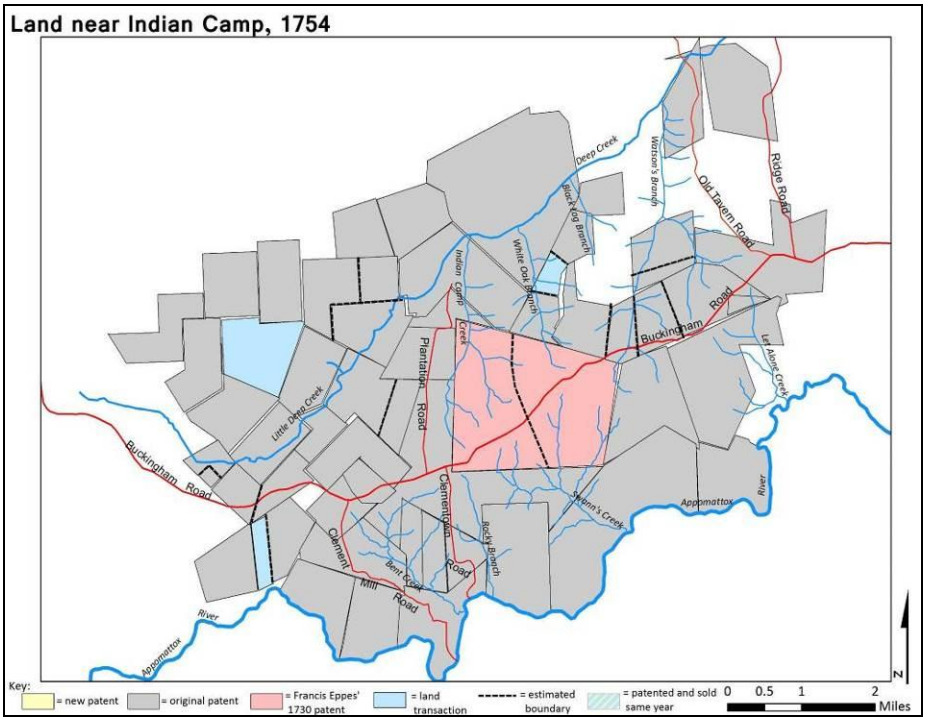

Figure 4.9: William Clark and Martha Meridith marriage. Martha and her daughter were willed the pink starred properties in 1751 from Martha's husband, James. See Appendix II, year 1751.

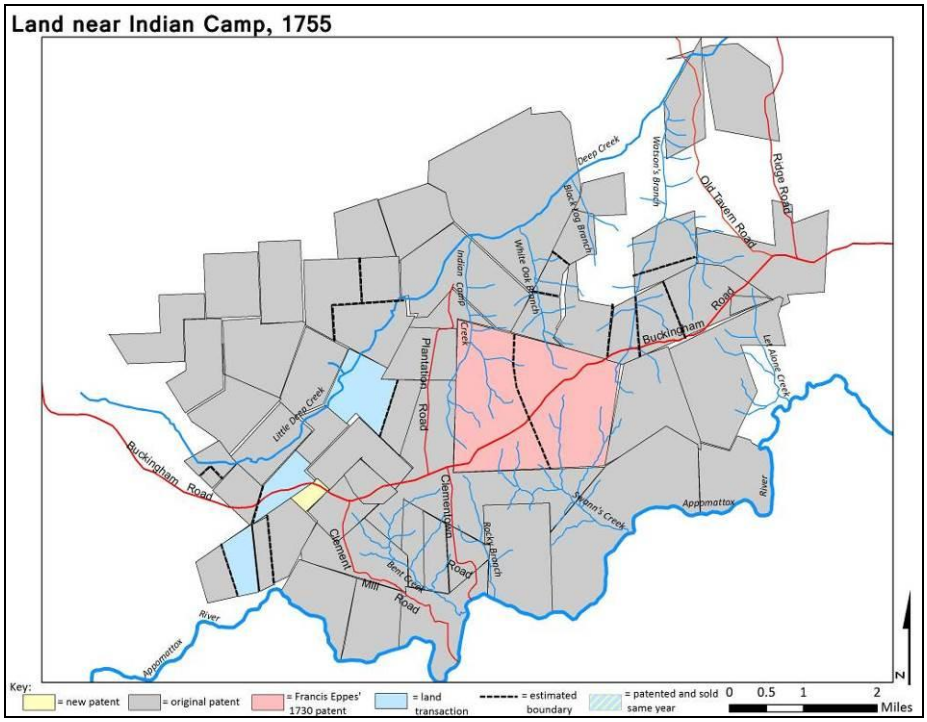

Figure 4.10: Josiah Thompson and Mary Swann marriage.

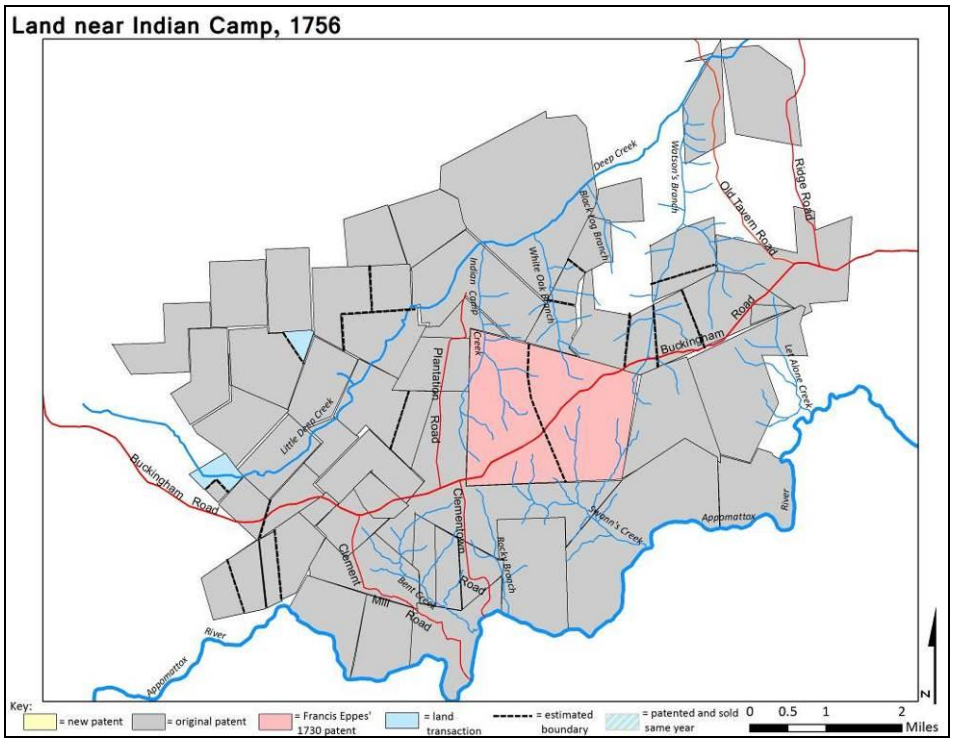

Figure 4.11: Frederick Hatcher and Sarah Woodson marriage.

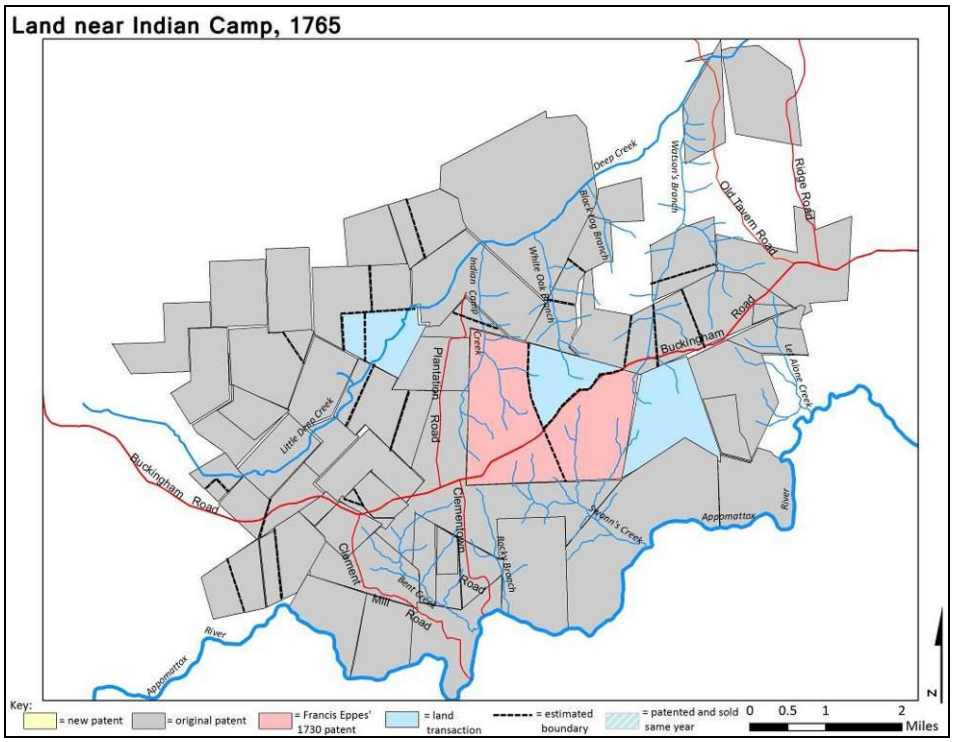

Figure 4.12: Henry Cox and Ann Harris marriage.

9, Figure **4.10**0, Figure **4.11**1, and Figure **4.12**2. As historical archaeologist J. Edward Hood (1996:124) writes, uninterrupted, continued use of the landscape by its creators and their descendants generates "social continuity" over several generations. As new generations attach new values and purposes to the landscape, existing social relationships are justified through this stability or tradition (Hood 1996:124). In the area around Indian Camp, continued connections made through marriages were a way that the social landscape changed and yet, at the same time, stayed the same.

Table 4.9: Examples of marriages between neighbors.

Date	**Marriage Partner 1**	**Marriage Partner 2**	**In the Neighborhood?**	**Citation**

1754	William Clark[47]	Martha Meridith[48]	Probably	Shepard 1927:282; WMQ 1911:26
1755	Josiah Thompson	Mary Swann[49]	Yes	Shepard 1927:289; WMQ 1911:26
1756	Frederick Hatcher[50]	Sarah Woodson[51]	Yes	Shepard 1927:289; WMQ 1911:24; Woodson 1915:66
1765	Henry Cox[52]	Ann Harris[53]	Yes	WMQ 1911:25

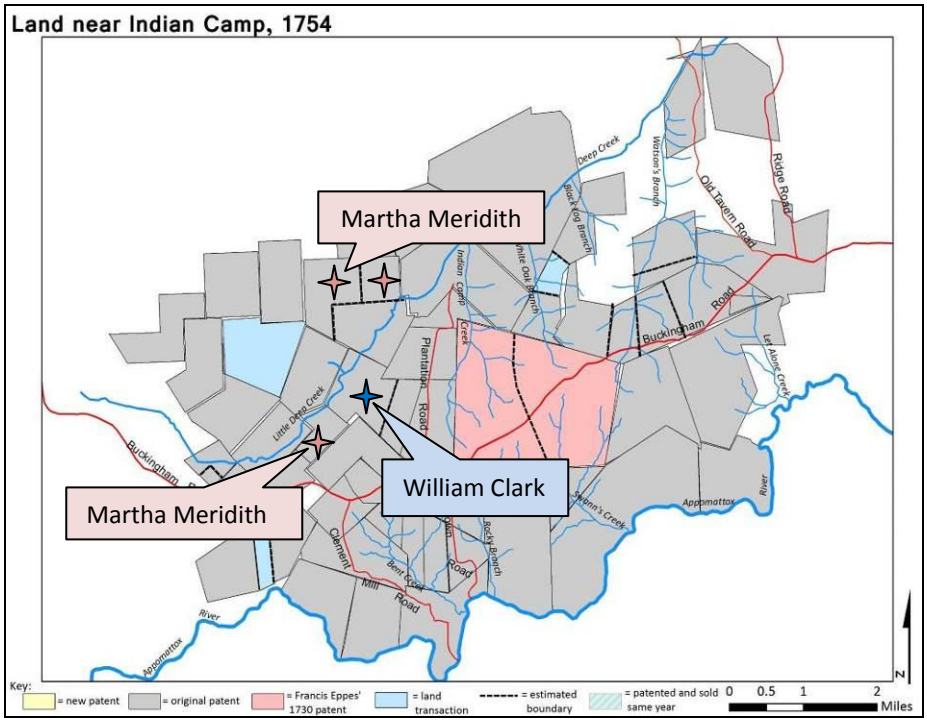

Figure 4.9: William Clark and Martha Meridith marriage. Martha and her daughter were willed the pink starred properties in 1751 from Martha's husband, James. See Appendix II, year 1751.

[47] It is unclear when Clark purchased property in the Indian Camp neighborhood, but I estimated he did so in 1755 from Jacob Poindexter. Clark *could* have purchased the land in 1754 or could have been leasing and living on the land before 1754. This explains why I listed "Probably" instead of "Yes."
[48] Martha was the widow of James Meredith, whose will was proved in 1751 (CCWB1:31-33).
[49] Mary was probably a daughter of Thompson Swann.
[50] Frederick was the son of Henry Hatcher (Woodson 1915:67).
[51] Sarah's father was John Woodson (Woodson 1915:65).
[52] This is probably not the same Henry Cox that patented land, but rather a descendant.
[53] Ann was the "infant daughter of Benjamin and sister of Joseph" (WMQ 1911:25), or Martha Eppes Wayles' niece. See also PCWB1:15-17 for mother Ann Harris' will, in which she mentions her daughter, Ann.

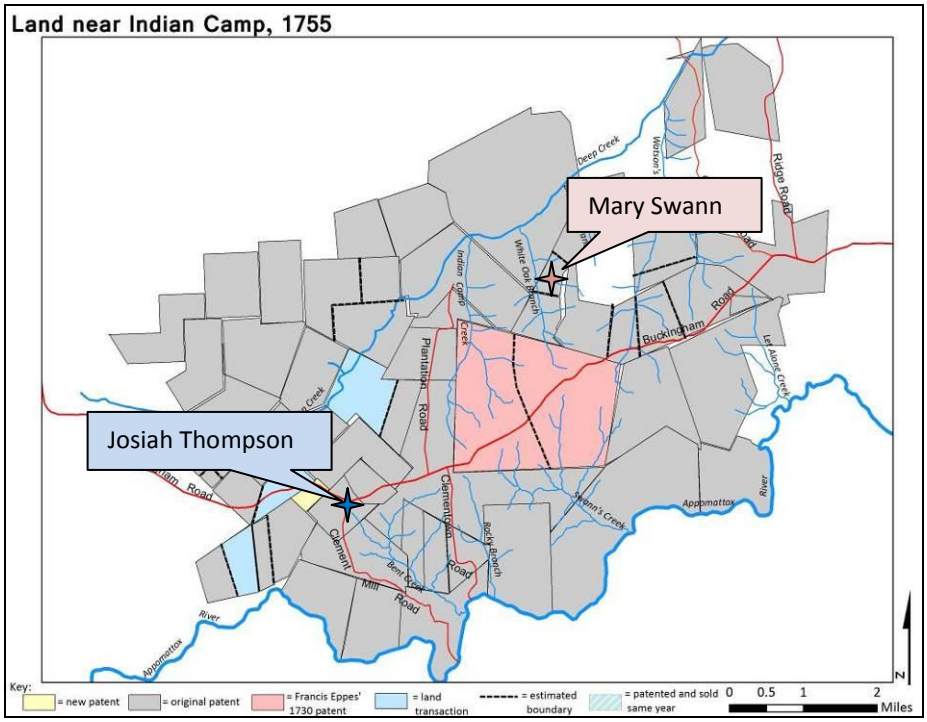

Figure 4.10: Josiah Thompson and Mary Swann marriage.

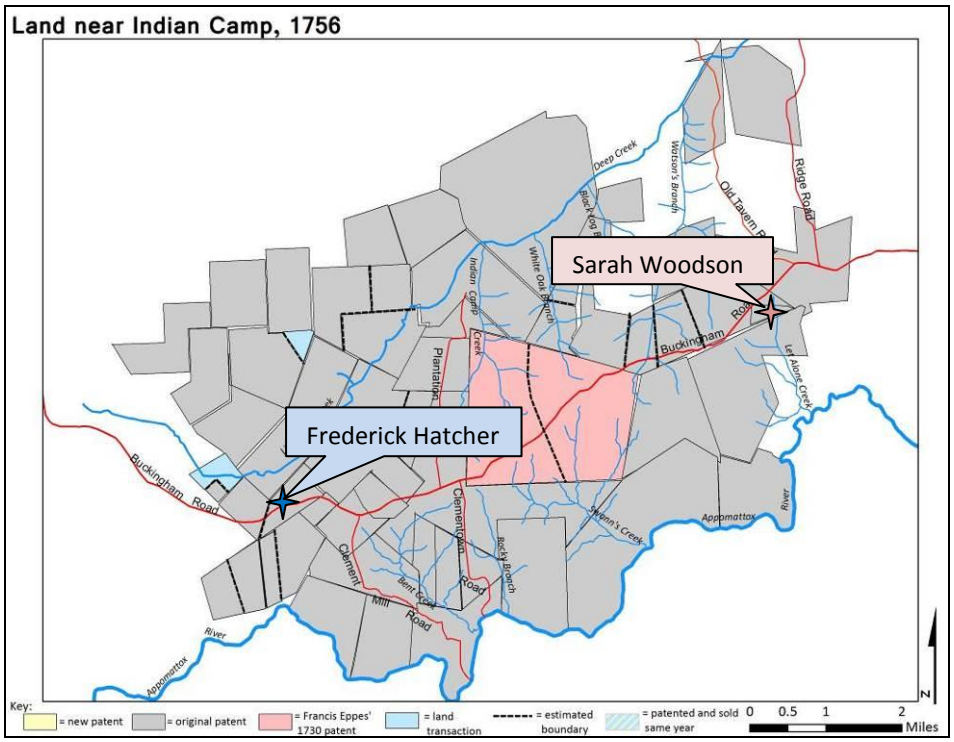

Figure 4.11: Frederick Hatcher and Sarah Woodson marriage.

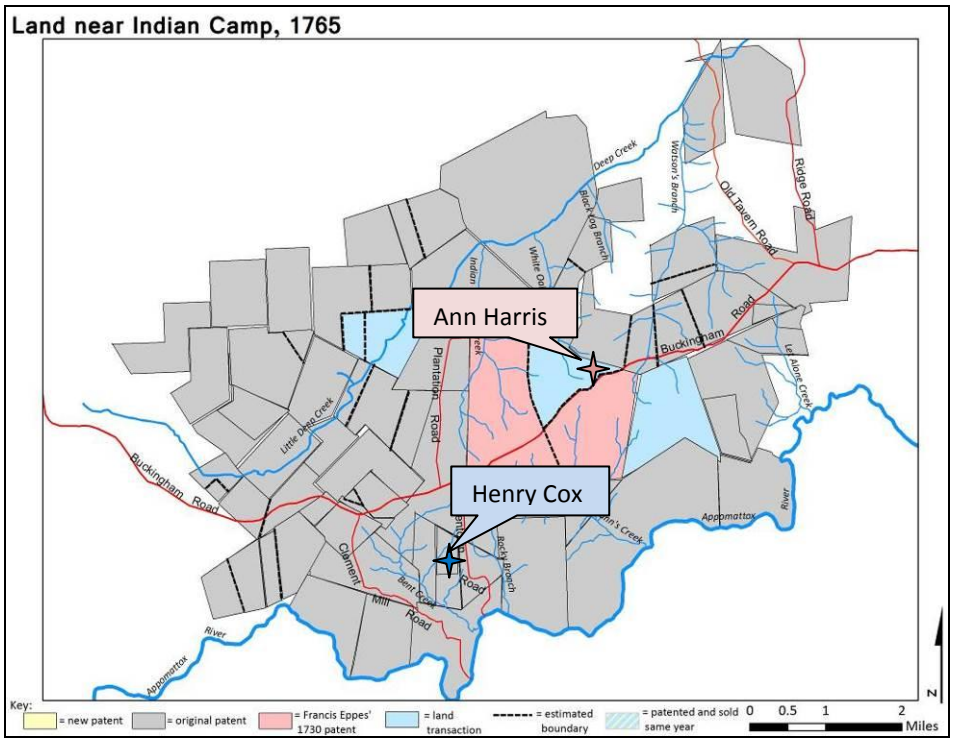

Figure 4.12: Henry Cox and Ann Harris marriage.

Other Important Forms of Neighborhood Participation

Eighteenth-century society rewarded participation in local neighborhoods and the larger communities. Men and women were compensated for their services during the yearly county levies, validating and rewarding their participation. These services included bridge building, summoning a jury, acting as constable, performing the duties of sheriff, and testifying as a witness in court. A brief discussion with accompanying examples will further elucidate the importance of active neighborhood and community involvement.

If a man petitioned to build a water mill, the sheriff was to summon a jury of twelve freeholders who lived nearby to meet on and examine the lands on both sides of the waterway which might be affected by the construction of the mill. The jury then had to submit a report to the next court. When in 1766, Littleberry Mosby wished to erect a water grist mill, on a "tract of land on the south side of Watsons branch" and wanted an acre of John Cardwell's land on the

other side of the branch to do so, the sheriff went through the summoning process to determine if Cardwell's land would be negatively affected by Mosby's mill (CCOB6:266-267).

Neighbors also passed judgment on each others' slaves in court. In April of 1770, Jacob, a slave belonging to Joseph Harris, was brought before the court and charged with stealing two hogs belonging to neighbor Robert Moore (CCOB7:503). When Jacob confessed his crime, the sheriff was ordered to "…take the said Jacob to the common whipping post and there give him thirty nine lashes on his bare back." In 1775, members of the Cumberland County Court examined "William Cox['s] mulattoe on suspicion of his feloniously breaking & entering the house of Henry Skipwith[54] and stealing corn" valued at twenty shillings (CCOB10:333). Neighbors Littleberry Mosby and John Mayo were present as gentlemen justices. The prisoner denied the crime, and with no evidence offered against him, was discharged.

Freeholders in positions of leadership also were given special privileges to do things like store and distribute salt, as Charles Woodson (John Pleasant's grandson) was permitted to do in 1776 (CCOB10:389). In 1777, Robert Hughes was appointed and sworn in as "inspecter of flower" (CCOB10:401). Other men such as Robert Burton, Jr., a relative of Hutcheson Burton, were appointed to "view and inspect the package and weight all pork and beef pack'd for sale or exportation" (GCOB5:112, 536). In Henrico County in 1761 court, a Mayo relative was "appointed to try the Weights at Shockoes and Byrds Warehouses" (HCMB 1755-1762:537). These various tasks kept local society functioning.

During the county levy, men were rewarded for killing wolves and submitting the heads to designated officials. Collecting a payment for killing a wolf was intended to decrease the

[54] Henry Skipwith lived at Hors du Monde at this point, which was located further west in Cumberland County (Biller 1963:22-26). He purchased Indian Camp from the Jeffersons in 1777.

threat of this dangerous animal to the colonists' livestock (Proebsting 2012:50). For example, Joseph Woodson earned 800 pounds of tobacco for four wolves heads, which were certified by John Woodson (HCMB 1719-1724:311). Francis Eppes received 100 pounds of tobacco for one wolf that he bought from an Indian (HCRO 1710-1714:115). John Scruggs earned 600 pounds of tobacco for certifying three wolves that he presented to William Mayo (GCOB1:34). During a 1733 Goochland County court levy, Mayo certified two young wolfs heads for Joseph Woodson and four for Young Stokes, each at 100 pounds of tobacco per head (GCOB3:215).

Neighbors served as witnesses for one another in court. During a 1756 Henrico County Court, it was acknowledged that "Warham Easely… is allowed for Attending the Court three days as a Witness for Hutchings Burton… and for coming & returning forty miles three times for which it is order'd that the said Burton do pay him four thousand & thirty five pounds of tobacco…" (HCMB 1752-1762:22). Burton was also to reimburse neighbor Henry Clay, who also testified on Burton's behalf (HCMB 1752-1762:22). In another example, Benjamin Harris and John Scruggs proved a deed transferring land from Tandy Walker to Edmund Epps, in Goochland County court in September of 1748 (GCOB6:489).

Neighbors also brought suit against one another about trespassing or outstanding debts, for instance. Several interesting trespassing cases appear in the court records, including one between William Mayo and the executors of Francis Eppes in a 1735 court (GCOB3:369). The details of the case are not spelled out in the records, so it is unclear if the charges were against Eppes himself or a family member. The Mayo/Eppes suit was dismissed in a 1736 court (GCOB4:87). Perhaps they resolved their issues outside of court.

Another case of trespass between John Brumskill, the plaintiff, and John Scruggs, the defendant, shows that Brumskill sought fifty pounds for damages "by means of the Defts. Rideing and Abusing a horse belonging to the plt…", but the jury's verdict found for the defendant (GCOB6:263). Several Indian Camp neighbors testified in the case: Henry Hatcher for John Brumskill, David Wineford for Brumskill, and Joseph Woodson for Scruggs, (GCOB6:263).[55] Each man was paid in tobacco for his attendance.

Neighbors also passed judgment to view both improvements and places to conveniently locate ferry landings. In a 1734 court for Goochland County, three men out of individuals including Joseph Woodson and Richard Parker were to be "…sworn before some Justice of the Peace do value the Improvements on John Woodson's at a Branch of Deep Creek called Watsons Creek & report the same to the next Court" (GCOB3:314). Woodson reported at Goochland's March 1734[5] court "an account of the Improvements on his land at a branch of Deep Creek called Watson's Creek. Young Stokes makes Oath that they were not heretofore valued & the same is admitted to Record" (GCOB3:338). Interestingly, Stokes was later appointed surveyor of the road in the room[56] of Joseph Woodson in April of 1742 (GCOB5:28). Neighbor Stephen Cox was then appointed surveyor of the road in the room of Young Stokes (GCOB5:274). In a 1743 court for Goochland County, three men were "…appointed to view the Landings on both sides the River at Mosbys ferry and Report to the next Court which is the most Convenient place"

[55] Many other cases also exist: John Pleasants and Henry Hatcher (GCOB5:40, for example); Henry Cary and Richard Parker (GCOB5:184); Henry Cary and William Cox (GCOB5:185); Benjamin Harris and Henry Hatcher (GCOB5:186); John Coles and Henry Hatcher (GCOB5:394); John Brumskill and John Scruggs (GCOB6:120); John Owen and Richard Parker (GCOB6:276); and John Pleasants and John Scruggs (GCOB6:360), for example. While there is no indication whether these cases were malicious or undertaken to formalize and record a received payment of debt, it seems that most people were in court at some point during their lives.

[56] A room in this context refers to "A piece of rented land; a farm holding" (OED 2013).

(GCOB5:310). Official positions resulting from landownership then helped to define the landscape, as many places were referred to by the name of the official.

Neighbors tried to better facilitate transportation, which I will further discuss in Chapter 5. They either rebuked neighbors for not fulfilling their duties regarding transportation or motioned to improve the routes in various ways. In a 1742 Goochland County court, a grand jury including Hutchins Burton presented[57] the "Justices of Goochland Court for not making an order for Clearing Rivers & Creeks" (GCOB5:159).

Finally, neighbors were there for one another in death as well as life. In a 1762 court, four men, including Henry Hatcher, Josiah Thompson, and Henry and George Cox, were asked to appraise the slaves and personal estate of their deceased neighbor, John Scruggs, and return their appraisement to court (CCOB4:449). Joseph Woodson proved the will of neighbor John Phelps in a Goochland County court in 1747[8] (GCOB6:411). In 1776, Jacob McGehee, the executor of David Winniford and Winniford's next-door neighbor (CCWB2:203-204), exhibited Winniford's last will and testament, and it was proved by Thompson Swann (CCOB10:353), who entered into bond with William Clarke. These men all owned property near one another. Additionally, two Hobson men were instructed to assess Winniford's estate (CCOB10:353). In 1752 in Henrico County, George Freeman, orphan of George Freeman, chose Holeman Freeman as his guardian, who might have been his brother (HCMB 1752-1762:19). Family and friends, then, provided support both in life and in death.

Conclusion

In sum, the many forms of participation in the landed community were ways in which families contributed to local placemaking. For those who had abundant wealth, purchasing a

[57] When one is presented before a court, it means that they are introduced in front of or to the court (OED 2013).

western plantation was another potential source of income and another form of social currency. Establishing piedmont lands as a quarter farm could contribute to a family's supplemental income. The land could also be sold at a profit if a property was purchased with speculative interests in mind. Another form of participation in the landed community occurred when men patented one parcel and expanded it by purchasing or patenting additional, contiguous land. Few of the men who expanded their holdings in this way retained that large acreage. One way to dispose of additional land was to bequeath it or sell it to a relative for a nominal fee. The continued landholdings made possible because of family ties were a third way in which people could participate in their neighborhood. Finally, a group of families, those who owned smaller amounts of property, are important. Land allowed these men access to government appointments and the power that came with them. These families became rooted in their neighborhood. Chapter 5 will further clarify and emphasize various local roles in many men in the Indian Camp neighborhood served. This discussion will supplement and complete my examination of how land served a crucial role in identity formation in colonial society.

CHAPTER 5: SOCIAL CURRENCY IN THE INDIAN CAMP NEIGHBORHOOD

Several local government positions, which I argue were based on the significance of land, underscore the importance of landowners' involvement in those roles. The newly emerging Virginia identity was reinforced by serving in these positions, usually for multiple years. The concept of social currency is useful in understanding the importance of these positions. My discussion is limited to roles of individuals in the Indian Camp neighborhood confirmed through court documents. The central theme linking all of these roles is the fact that those positions related to land, some explicitly, such as surveyors, and others more indirectly, such as sheriffs. These positions directly affected access to, possession of, and control over the land in addition to society's reification of the land. My attempts at explaining several positions, with the aid of

maps produced with GIS, will clarify the importance of land and how archaeologists can continue to engage with it as a form of material culture. In addition, while some positions were more high-profile than others (i.e., gentleman justices versus sheriffs), that small planters had access to these positions at all is important. Standings such as gentleman justice, surveyor, or land processioner contributed to an individual's sense of personal and neighborhood identity (Isaac 1982:109). Through these exchanges, social roles were established, reinforced, and affirmed. I progress through this chapter beginning with the positions that wielded the greatest amounts of social currency and work my way to those with lesser amounts of power.

Social currency stems from Pierre Bourdieu's "The Forms of Capital," in which he differentiates between cultural, social, and economic capital. He defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the back of the collectivity-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various sense of the words" (Bourdieu 1986:249). He goes on to say that "The reproduction of social capital presupposes an unceasing effort of sociability, a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed" (Bourdieu 1986:250). His emphasis on the maintenance of group networks and "credentials" is relevant for my arguments.

Gentlemen Justices

Perhaps the best location where those with social and economic power were literally elevated was on court day, as "gentlemen justices," a contemporary phrase used in court records, climbed the steps to their positions on the bench. In the Chesapeake, the county court was the center of local government and determined local policies (Horn 1994:188). The court worked as

an executive and judicial body run by justices of the peace who were appointed by the governor through names recommended by existing justices (Lounsbury 2005:18). Gentlemen justices in turn selected and appointed members of the community to fill every other local office I later address. Justices decided local rules: they granted tavern licenses and set the amount owners could charge for drink and food, assigned men to oversee the maintenance of public roads, assigned a price for a night's lodging in a clean bed, and raised money to build bridges (Lounsbury 2005:25-26). Leading landowners and prominent merchants assumed the role of justices, as they were socially well-connected and assumed positions because of family networks (Horn 1994:188; Lounsbury 2005:20).

Justices had virtually unrestricted legislative, executive, and judicial powers in their counties. The court was deeply involved in many aspects of the community's lives and was tasked with keeping social order (Lounsbury 2005:22). Courts were local institutions directed by leading citizens but facilitated by a range of people such as clerks, constables, jurymen, and freeholders. Justices chose nearly every other county official – clerk, sheriff, coroner, tobacco inspectors, and militia officers. These men were entrusted to maintain the moral code, an ideal responsibility of those setting standards of virtue and gentility in their communities (Beeman 1984:44). This was a self-perpetuating position: once a man was appointed justice, he usually kept this position unless he resigned. Historian Emory G. Evans argues (2009:90) that the basis of their power was wealth, estates, and land.

Men who owned land in the Indian Camp neighborhood sat as gentlemen justices in their home counties or the county of which Indian Camp was a part. This role allowed for additional opportunities to serve their community or neighborhood and to become more socially connected.

While conducting official county business, justices encountered new social opportunities. For example, one duty required of justices by a 1745 law was to examine the condition of the clerk's office and of the county records (Hening V 1745:344). In accordance with this law, in Cumberland County in 1771 through 1775, Littlebury Mosby and John Woodson were among justices appointed to inspect the clerk's office and report back to the next court the condition in which they found the records (CCOB8:331; CCOB9:32, 390; CCOB10:278, 245). Justices were also involved in initiating and overseeing the start and end result of the public building process, including structures such as the prison (CCOB7:265) and courthouse (GCOB2:20). Sometimes, the duties of a justice required meeting justices of other counties to discuss county division (GCOB4:508) or bridge building (GCOB6:428).

Gentlemen justices were the ones that took the lists of tithables[58] (**Table 5.1**). This role was also one that was self-perpetuating. In both 1773 and 1776, Cumberland County ordered that "The same justices that took the lists of tithables last year are appointed to take them this year in their respective precincts" (CCOB9:171; CCOB10:365). The same pronouncement was made in Goochland in 1739, 1740, 1743, and 1747 courts (GCDB4:404, 464; GCOB5:221; GCOB6:301) and in Henrico County in 1722 and 1756 (HCMB 1719-1724:178; HCMB 1755-1762:26).

Table 5.1: Sampling of Gentlemen Justices appointed to take lists of tithables.

Name	**County, Year**	**Notes**	**Citations**
John Woodson	Henrico, 1723	"in King William Parish & that part of St. James's parish lying on the South side James River"	HCMB 1719-1724:261
"Captn. Henry Anderson & Colo. Francis Epes"	Henrico, 1723	"on the South sides James River in Henrico parish"	HCMB 1719-1724:261
John Mayo	Cumberland,	Took over for Littleberry	CCOB5:176, 378;

[58] See Chapter 4, note 1, for the definition of a tithable.

	1763-1765; 1768	Mosby in his precinct	CCOB6:118; CCOB7:154-155
Archibald Cary	Goochland, 1746	Was added to previous list of gentlemen justices	GCOB6:301

The court heard misdemeanors and minor violations ranging from public drunkenness and disturbing the peace, to petty theft that disrupted the community (Lounsbury 2008:25). Neighbors served on grand juries together and heard cases involving community members. Individuals might be presented to the grand jury for swearing oaths (Richard Parker was presented in Henrico County in 1720 by a grand jury consisting of future neighbors Nicholas and William Cox and Warham Easly) (HCMB 1719-1724:141), "prophaning the Sabbath" (GCOB2:106), or "absenting" oneself from church (HCMB 1719-1724:370), for instance. Subpoenas were presented against miscreants, and they had to appear at the following month's court (GCOB2:107, for example). Justices meted out sentences, including fines and physical punishments, as they saw fit. As Smart Martin wrote about the frontier counties of Bedford and Franklin, disputes among citizens found in court records strongly argue against assertions that the "backcountry" had a lawless culture (Smart Martin 2008:133). Observed boundaries of decent behavior existed, and people used the courts as mediators. The same could be said of Goochland, Cumberland, and then Powhatan Counties.

Surveyors

Gentlemen justices selected a county surveyor and assistants to conduct the county's surveying. The knowledge surveyors possessed to measure and control access to land, manipulate space, and settle boundary disputes were skills that were held in high regard in colonial Virginia and facilitated westward movement (Hughes 1979:7; Ernstein 2004:49). Until land was measured and bounded, it could not be converted to private property and potential

economic gain (Hughes 1979:1). Boundaries needed to be surveyed because of the English notion of exclusive property rights (Isaac 1982:19). In Virginia, colonial surveyors handled every stage of the patenting process except issuing the patent or title, which was done in Williamsburg in the Secretary of the Colony's office (Hughes 1979:130). The position of surveyor, an appointed public office, was usually reserved for a gentleman (Hughes 1979:3, 75). Land measurement was crucial for the stability of a society committed to rapid development of that resource (Hughes 1979:55).

The position of surveyor was established in Virginia in 1621 by the appointment of a surveyor general (Hughes 1979:8). In 1655, the Virginia Assembly passed legislation giving county courts the power to appoint their own surveyors (Hening I 1654[5]:404), officially linking surveyors with the county. The position of surveyor allowed men to have access to good land if they came across it on a surveying expedition (Evans 2009:9). Land speculation and acquisition (and opportunities to become wealthy) were inherent to the role of surveyor. No one knew better than the surveyor what lands in his district remained unpatented, were likely to escheat[59] through failure to comply with requirements for clearing and building on patented acreage, or had been abandoned by absentee heirs who might want to sell the land (Hughes 1979:158).

The colonial surveyors' political contributions were primarily those of local statesmanship (Hughes 1979:162-163). While not the most prominent politicians or speculators, 18th-century surveyors formed a group of secondary leaders in their counties. This group of men served in multiple offices[60] and had wealth and family connections. Surveyors were integrated into the structure of the local government (Hughes 1979:17) and were recognized neighbors and

[59] Escheat is the legal term for when the landowner died without leaving a successor (OED 2013). The land would be returned to the Crown in early Virginia.
[60] Other surveyors' offices included magistrate of the local court, burgess, sheriff, coroner, tobacco agent, and clerk.

leaders who knew the land and its occupants well. As such, they controlled access to who might obtain title to land and were called on by the courts to settle boundary disputes (Hughes 1979:7, 133). A surveyor needed to have sharp surveying skills, as a prospective owner selected the piece of land to be patented (Hughes 1979:4). The land could be any shape and size and include better watered land or more fertile soil, making the surveyor's task more difficult (Hughes 1979:5). An experienced surveyor could advise a client on the quality of the soil in fields, as surveyors were required to indicate on plats how much of each tract was "plantable" or "barren and unfit for present cultivation," all watercourses in the tract, and boundaries of and names of adjacent plantations (Hening III 1705:330-331; IV 1713:38). Errors in chaining, surveying, or the clerk's transcription of a patent were not uncommon, but mistakes could be later corrected by appeal or resurvey (Hening I 1623[4]:125).

Patents and land records, both of which were conducted by surveyors, reveal the formation and development of the colony as a whole (Hughes 1979:38). In 1623[4], land was required to be surveyed (Hening I 1623[4]:125), and an act was passed in 1646 requiring surveyors to produce a plot of the land surveyed (Hening I 1642:335). Surveyors recorded the plat and a written description, including the date of the survey; name of the client; total acreage; location of the land by county jurisdiction and topographical features; history of the original patent and changes in ownership if any or type of warrant authorizing the survey; metes and bounds of the survey which noted beginning trees or stone markers, compass bearings and linear distances of each course, names of trees, watercourses, and adjacent owners along the boundary lines and at the corners; and the surveyor's signature (Hughes 1979:52). Each year, surveyors

had to compile a list of the surveys made in his office, one copy of which was submitted to the county clerk (Hening III 1705:331-2; VI 1713:35-6).

Recognition of the level of error inherent and acceptable in surveying practices came in a 1710 law, which regulated resurveying of patented land. The law stated that "an allowance shall be made to the patentee or possessor, of five acres for every hundred, for the variation of instruments." This clause assured surveyors that a five percent margin of error was tolerable (Hening III 1710:530; V 1748:423). A later act, passed in 1772, required that surveyors revise their surveys to be oriented to true, rather than magnetic, north (Hening VIII 1772:526-7). The law was meant to correct errors resulting from failure to note the declination of the compass. The survey description and plat had to be copied within six months so these documents could be given to the client when the surveying fee was paid (Hening III 1710:330-331). Then, the surveyor entered another copy of the description and plat in the county survey book (Hughes 1979:125-126).

As Virginia's population shifted westward, opportunities for surveyors also expanded (Hughes 1979:72). The Mayo brothers, William and his younger brother Joseph, might have emigrated from Barbados to Virginia around 1723 to take advantage of these opportunities (Brown 1895:34, 157; Burton 1904:163-165). These brothers were both surveyors (Burton 1904:165). William was Goochland County's first surveyor and served from 1728 (GCOB1:1) until his death in 1743 (GCOB5:508). He helped survey dividing lines between Henrico and Goochland counties for which he was paid 3450 pounds of tobacco (GCOB1:4, 158); surveyed and laid out Richmond (Byrd 1736); and surveyed and drew one of the earliest maps of Barbados (Mayo 1722; Hughes 1979:85, 141; Wright 1966:48, 171). William and Joseph both helped

survey the border between North Carolina and Virginia in 1728 (VMHB 1727 [1924]:241-242; Wright 1966:171). The Mayo brothers were justices of Henrico County along with Francis Eppes (Drysdale 1726[1940]:145), and William was a justice of Goochland County when the county was founded in 1728 (GCOB1:1) and achieved the status of Captain (GCOB4:461). He also was appointed to take the first list of tithables in 1728 in Goochland County for "that part of St. James's parish on the South Side James River" (GCOB1:4) and was reappointed the following two years (GCOB1:97; GCOB3:67). The Mayo brothers' involvements in local affairs were meaningful, then.

During William's tenure as Goochland's surveyor, Goochland was a huge territory, out of which nine counties would eventually form (Hughes 1979:86-87). While he only conducted forty-nine surveys in his first two years, within a few years, the pace of settlement quickened, and he hired several assistants to keep up with his increasing workload (Brown 1895:39). Among them were George Carrington, Mayo's son-in-law; William Cabell, Mayo's first cousin; and Peter Jefferson, one of Mayo's close friends who succeeded him in the county surveyorship in December of 1744 (GCOB5:533), a month after Mayo's wife Anne presented her husband's last will and testament to the court (GCOB5:533). Surveying partnerships are telling of the value of the right associations in this period of Virginia's expansion (Kern 2010:172). The middle piedmont surveyors were connected by familial and kinship ties (Hughes 1979:90). The Mayos-Cabells-Carringtons were an important family grouping, while friendship linked Mayo and Peter Jefferson. Mayo's employment of his relatives in Goochland launched them into positions in Albemarle and Cumberland counties, which both formed from Goochland.

The surveying dynasty begun by Mayo consolidated the family's power. William Cabell I and II and George Carrington owned at least 25,000 acres each. From 1730 to his death in 1744, William had patented over 30,000 acres (LOP 2005). To situate this information historically, forty-eight and a half percent of white males in the piedmont owned no land, eleven and a half percent owned more than 500 acres, and only three percent owned both over 500 acres and twenty or more slaves, while the average farm in the region was 260 acres (Hughes 1979:160). Therefore, these men joined the ranks of Virginia's elite, in no small part due to their roles as surveyors and the strength of their family connections.

During their boundary expedition to North Carolina, William Byrd documented in his *History of the Dividing Line* that he and William Mayo "…laid the foundation of two large cities: one at Shacco's to be called Richmond, and the other at the point of the Appomattox River, to be named Petersburg…" (Wright 1966:388). In 1736, Mayo and James Wood laid out Richmond (Byrd 1736), which was established as a town in 1742 and Virginia's capital in 1780. Petersburg was not surveyed, however, until after Mayo's death. Surveyors, then, were crucial to the spread of Virginia's population west of the fall line.

Surveyors[61] of Highways

Many men in the Indian Camp neighborhood served as surveyors of the highways. This position was charged with the maintenance of roads by surveying the routes, determining new courses, keeping roads clear of debris, constructing and maintaining bridges, and discontinuing roads when newer ways were more convenient (GCOB5:132). The court could also order that men reopen roads through their properties that they had closed to traffic (GCOB6:223, 509).

[61] The term "surveyor" in this context is different that the previously discussed surveyor. Surveyors of highway or roads – the terms were used interchangeably – supervised the upkeep of local roads (OED 2013) more than they went out with surveying equipment as did land surveyors.

Justices appointed surveyors of the highways to lay out the most convenient ways to church, court, Jamestowne (in the 17th century, as the colony's capital), and from county to county (Hening II 1661[2]:103). Construction of highways helped to overcome problems arising from dispersed settlement by expediting interactions with neighbors. To ensure road maintenance, men of recognized authority who lived nearby and knew the landscape well were appointed surveyor of a road. If roads were not maintained, grand juries noted this in their presentments and summoned the guilty surveyor to the next court. Men as surveyors were held accountable for facilitating transportation throughout the colony.

Although we know that roads other than Buckingham Road were important arteries in the early development of the piedmont around Indian Camp (such as Ridge Road, Chappel Road, the Middle Road), it is difficult to determine if these roads correspond with modern ones and when the historic roads actually came into existence. There were various kinds of roads, such as bridle ways and cart paths (GCOB6:105, 509), that might have been merely insignificant paths through a plantation. With no existing contemporary maps, even the most detailed description of the part of the land for which a surveyor was responsible presents an incomplete picture.[62] However, my attempts at piecing together these orders for surveyors help to further reconstruct the Indian Camp neighborhood and show how familiarity with the landscape was rewarded.

The area around Indian Camp saw road development that was necessary for increasing settlement. The numbers of surveyors of highways consequently increased. The position

[62] Thomas Jefferson himself drew a map of the lands between the James and Fluvanna Rivers (Jefferson [1780]). It is undated, and while he includes several plantations, names of landowners (like "Mrs. Harris," referring to his wife's aunt), and distances between certain points, the map is not to scale. He does not include Indian Camp, so he might have drawn the map shortly after selling the property. Furthermore, he drew several main roads through the neighborhood, such as "Ridge Road" and "Buckingham Road," but provides no information of smaller arteries across the land.

communicated authority, as men were empowered to order parishioners to send tithables on designated days to help with road maintenance that was punishable by fine of tobacco if parishioners refused. Surveyors of highways had to know the land well, including its occupants and those who were enslaved to work it. During a 1721 court in Henrico County, the justices (including George Freeman and Francis Eppes) wrote "The Court considering the roads and creeks in this County do want clearing and repairing, do therefore appoint the following Surveyors…" (HCMB 1719-1724:130). The entry concludes, "The Court considering the great neglect of Surveyors in clearing and repairing the roads do therefore order that every Surveyor clear and grub the road of which he is Surveyor and also make causways [sic] over all Slashes and wet Sunken places on pain of being prosecuted according to Law" (HCMB 1719-1724:131).

Men in the Indian Camp neighborhood were frequently appointed as surveyors of highways. In 1747, Joseph Woodson was appointed "Surveyor of the Road from Swans Creek to Letalone", in addition to Benjamin Harris and Joseph Woodson being "…appointed to view the ground for making a Road from John Woodsons plantation to strike the new Road from the Chapel Road to Strattons" and to report their findings to the following court (GCOB6:377) (**Figure 5.1**). The men mentioned lived in the neighborhood and would have been familiar with the plantation through which the proposed road was to run, occupants of adjoining properties, and tithables along the road. In 1764, three men including Joseph Woodson, William Daniel, Jesse Carter, and Joseph Harris were to view the way proposed by "Judith Cox for a Road from her House into the Main Road by Bowkers Plantation" and report their findings to the next court (CCOB5:378). In 1750, tithables of Richard and William Parker, Henry Hatcher, David Winnefred, and John Wayles, with their male laboring tithables were to "…Clear lay open &

keep in repair a road from the Buckingham Road at Murray's Plantation to Mayo's old Road at the plantation of Francis Stegar," of which David Winnefred was appointed surveyor (CCOB2:170) (**Figure 5.2**).

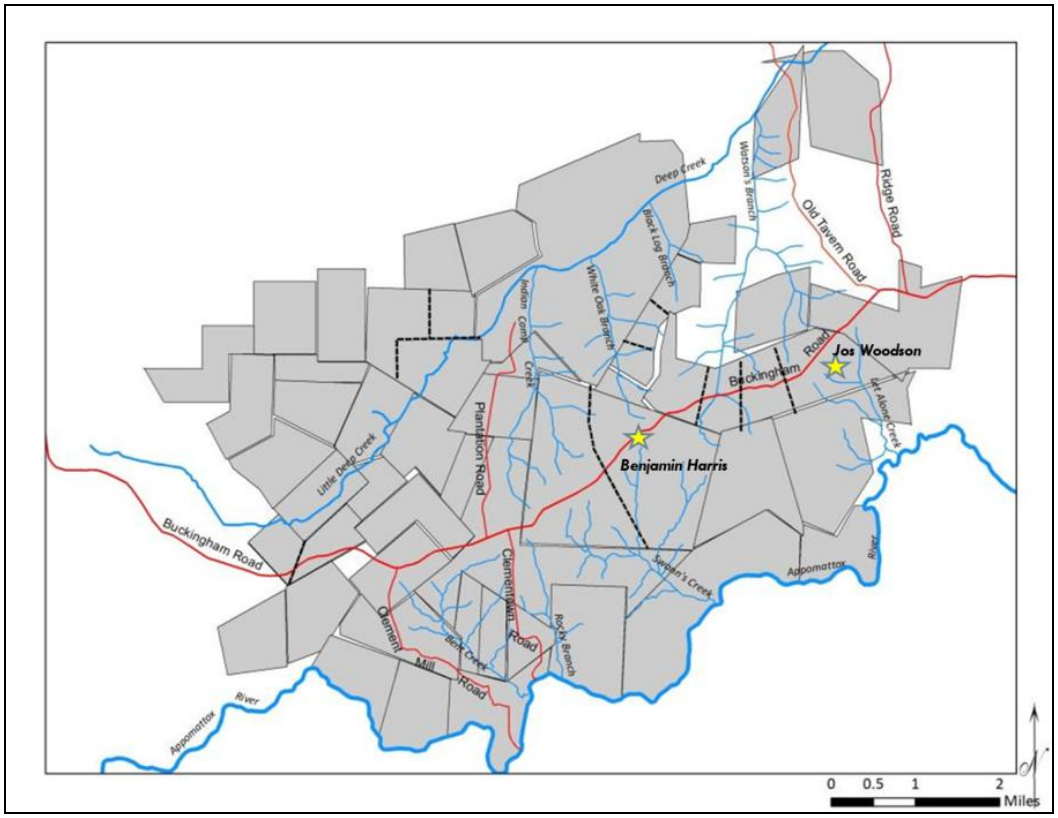

Figure 5.1: Indian Camp neighborhood, 1747, with Benjamin Harris and Joseph Woodson appointed to view a road.

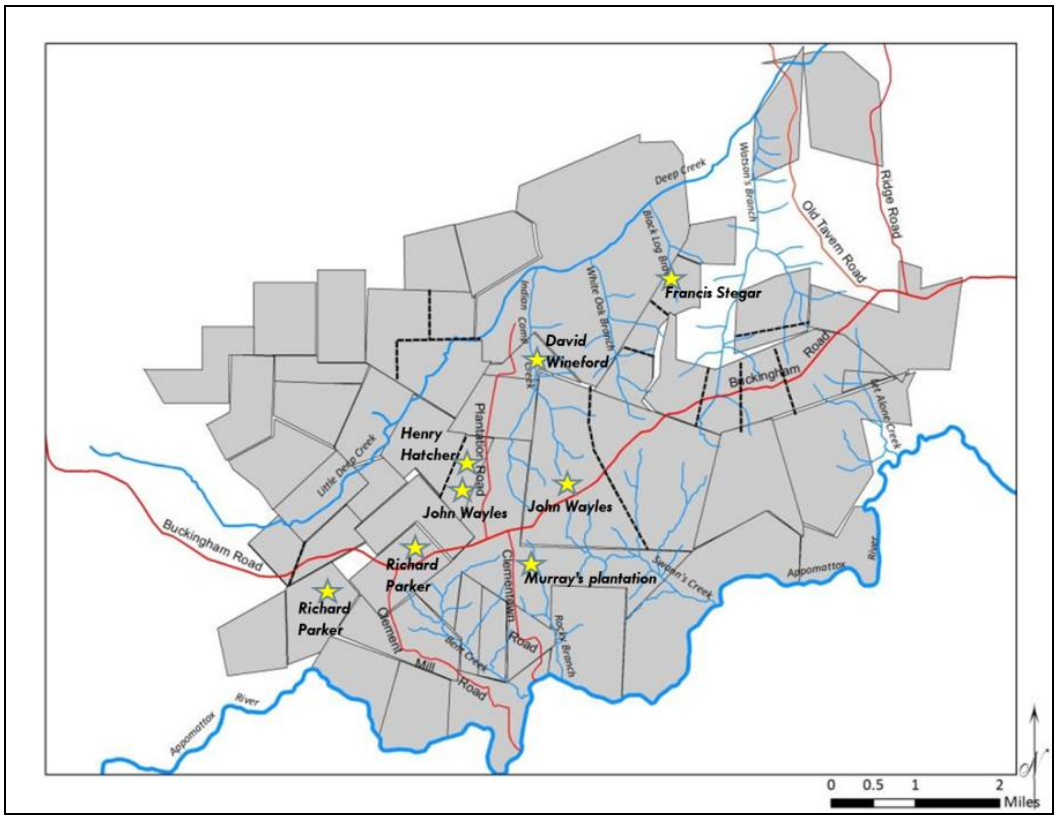

Figure 5.2: Indian Camp neighborhood, 1750, with tithables ordered to help clear a road.

In two court orders from Goochland County in 1731 is the phrase "…and all others within that neighborhood do assist in clearing the said road" (GCOB2:106). The phrase "within that neighborhood" is an telling insight into contemporary, local affirmation of a neighborhood. Here also were active citizens who sought prestige by facilitating the maintenance of these routes. In 1752, the court ordered that Stephen Cox, Richard Parker, William Parker, and William Allen, along with their male laboring tithables, attend to the road where Robert Thompson was surveyor (CCOB3:17). Also in 1752, the court established that Robert Thompson was appointed surveyor of Buckingham Road from Swann's Creek to Guinea Road and that Isaac Hughes, Henry Cox, George Cox, and John Scruggs' tithables work on the road (CCOB1:11).

The position of surveyor of highways was self-perpetuating, as the surveyor was reappointed for another year or was replaced with neighbors. For example, Isaac Hughes was appointed surveyor of the road where neighbor Robert Thompson was the late surveyor in 1754 (CCOB3:196) (**Figure 5.3**). In 1772, Cumberland County agreed that "The several surveyors of the roads in this county are continued as surveyors of roads in their several and respective precincts with their respective usual gangs" (CCOB9:1), with the same pronouncement made in 1774, 1775, and 1776 (CCOB10:274, 332, 3377). In Henrico County in 1722, the same persons who were selected as surveyors of the roads the previous September were reappointed, in addition to Henry Anderson near where he lived (HCMB 1719-1724:192-193). This role reinforced neighborhood ties and preserved the prestige that the position commanded.

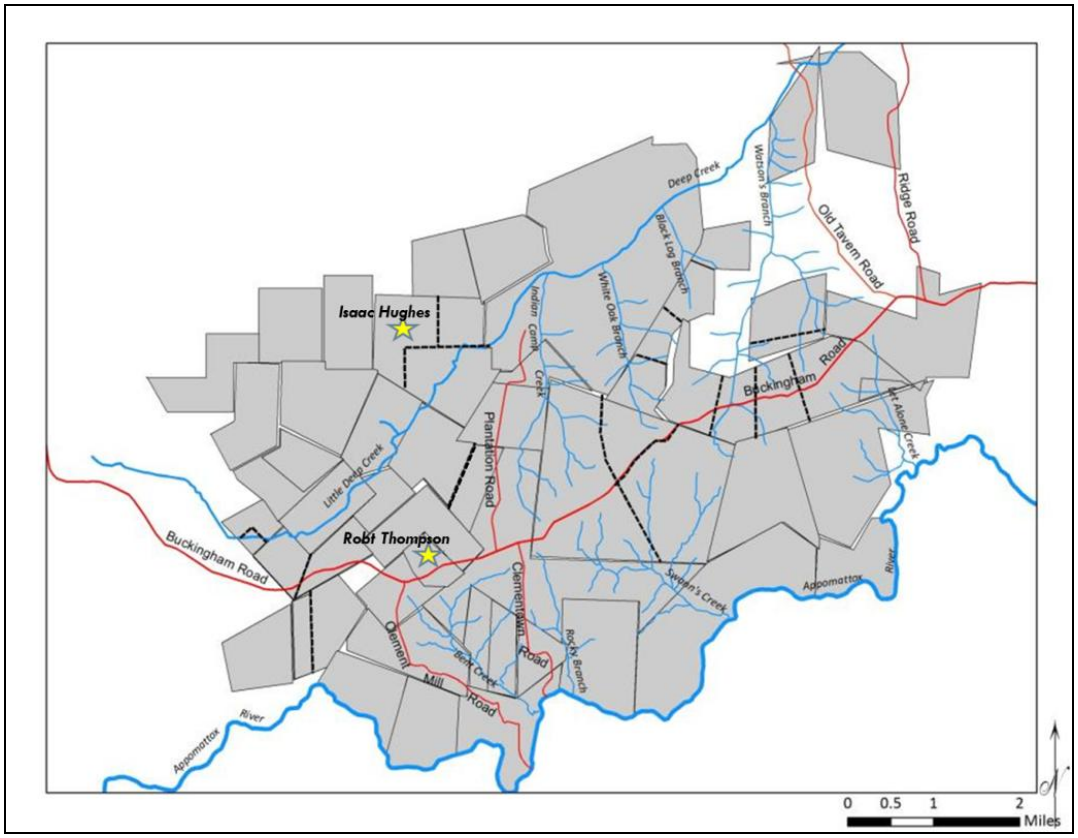

Figure 5.3: Indian Camp neighborhood, 1754, with Isaac Hughes and Robert Thompson

To hold their neighbors accountable and ensuring clear transportation routes, grand jury presented surveyors of highways for not fulfilling their duties. As part of their responsibilities, surveyors were to erect "where two or more cross roads or highways meet… a stone or post, with inscriptions thereon, in large letters, directing to the most noted place, to which each of the said joining roads leads" (GCOB4:378; Hening V 1738:33-34). In a November 1759 court, a grand jury in Cumberland County, on which Henry and George Cox, William Hobson, Joseph Woodson, and Francis George Stegar sat, presented nine surveyors of local roads for not maintaining the sign posts (CCOB4:127). In a 1759 court in Cumberland County, seventeen men presented nine of their neighbors for "not keeping a Sign Post at the Fork of the Road" (CCOB4:127). In court the following January, all were fined fifteen shillings and the costs of the prosecution for failing to post the said sign (CCOB4:141-142). A 1746 Goochland County Court presented the surveyors of a bridge being "impassible" and roads remaining "uncleared" (GCOB6:162). In 1774, a surveyor of a road in Cumberland County, was "presented to the grand jury for not keeping his road in lawful repair" (CCOB10:204), although after failing to appear, the man had to pay fifteen shillings and costs of the prosecution.

Surveyors of roads were recorded in court order books. Sometimes entries were specific and listed tithables and listed tithables that were to help on the road, a useful way to determine the neighborhood social social landscape (

Table 5.2):

Table 5.2: Local surveyors of highways.

Name	**County, Date**	**Surveyor of:**	**Citation**
Stephen Hughes	Goochland, 1728	"from the Court house ferry down the South side of James River the most convenient way for the lower Inhabitants to come to Court, and it is ordered that the Inhabitants between the main road the River clear the said road"	GCOB1:49
Richard Parker	Goochland 1735	"from Watson's Qtr to Coll^{o}. Eppes's path"	GCOB3:381
Samuel Allen Son of William Allen	Goochland, 1735	"in the room[63] of Nicholas Cox"	GCOB4:34
Henry Clay	Goochland, 1735[6]		GCOB4:51
William Allen	Goochland, 1737	"the cross leading from the Court House to Appomattox River beginning at the Church road and thence to Mr. Carys road. Colo. Randolph's two Quarter where Scruggs and Lee are overseers are to be added to his gang"	GCOB4:148
John Owen	Goochland, 1743	the road to Lyles's ford in the room of Robert Thompson	GCOB5:329
Holeman Freeman	Goochland, 1746[7]		GCOB6:267
John Pleasants	Henrico, 1754	"from Curles Church and Four Mile Creek Warehouse to the Road that Leads from Col Richard Randolph to Turkey Island and the Mile [illegible] Tythables of Cap Richard Randolph of Curles Bowler Cocke of Bremo The Honble Peter Randolph at Turkey Island, John Pleasants, Mary Pleasants and Robert Pleasants are Ordered to Assist him on Clearing and keeping the said Road in Repair…"	HCMB 1752-1762:257
Poindexter Mosby	Cumberland, 1760	Buckingham Road from Joseph Woodson's to Hudspeth's Creek, and the "hands" of men including Henry Clay, Hutchins Burton, and John Phelps, among others,	CCOB4:152

[63] A room in this context refers to "A piece of rented land; a farm holding" (OED 2013).

		were to work on that part of the road	

Table 5.3: Local surveyors of highways cont.

Name	County, Date	Surveyor of:	Citation
Charles Clay	Cumberland, 1760	"Buckingham Road from Mrs. Harris's to the lower end of Joseph Woodsons Plantation, and Hands of John Hughes, Mrs. Harris, James Bradby, Mrs. Eppes'[64], and John Wayles's under Collins Gooding work on that Part of the Road"	CCOB4:152
Josiah Thompson	Cumberland, 1760	"from Mrs. Harris's to Thomas Merrymans in the room of Richard Parker with the usual Gang"	CCOB4:284

Several examples show how involved the local neighbors were in viewing and then approving or rejecting a proposed road. When neighbors requested that a road be constructed, as Francis Stegar did in a 1773 Cumberland County Court, neighbors had to view the land through which the road was to run. The description appears to be the north boundary line of Eppes' 1730 patent, yet without any existing contemporary sources, it is difficult to confirm. The entire entry is worth recounting because of the specificity it provides:

> On the petition of Francis Stegar for a road the most convenient way from his house to the Buckingham road by John Mayo's and thence by Joseph Harris's[,] Jesse Carter[,] Robert Moore[,] and Robert Biscoe[,] three of the persons appointed by an order of the last court to view the said way this day made their report there upon in these words to wit "We the subscribers agreeable to order of court have this 6th day of Novr. 1773 viewed the way from Francis Stegar to the Bucking rode [sic] & are of opinion that a rode to run on the line between the Francis Stegars & John Mayo to a corner Pine thence along the

[64] Mrs. Eppes is referring to Martha Wayles in this citation.

> line between Mayo & Harris to Wayles corner thence along the usual way to Mrs. Harris fence thence round the sd. fence to Buckingham rode may be a good rode & as near a way as any without being a hurt or damage to any person… (CCOB9:487).

Men could also oversee the "turning" of a road on account of disadvantages and low traffic. For example, in March, 1776, two men set forth a petition to "turn the said road from the place where it now runs" on account of it being "very inconvenient to the petitions and runs through their lands so that they suffer many disadvantages that the said road is frequented by very few people and that it would be as convenient to the publick and relieve them from a considerable burden to turn the said road from the place where it now run and let it pas [sic] on or near their land lines and praying releif in the premisses…" (CCOB10:364).

The court also replaced surveyors of the roads when they were no longer able to serve. For instance, an entry from Henrico County in 1729 reads, "The Court considering that some of the persons formerly appointed to Survey the highways in this County are dead and other removed from their former habitations do therefore appoint Collo. Francis Epes in the room of his father Deced. Capt. Henry Anderson in the room Of John Tillit deced…" (HCMB 1719-1724:7). These surveyors of highways, or roads, were important local figures who knew the land, its inhabitants, and the enslaved very well.

Vestrymen, Land Processioning

Land processioning required a similar familiarity with the social and physical neighborhood landscape as did the position of surveyors of the highways. A land processioner would not have been the most eminent local position nor wielded the most social currency in their neighborhood, yet this was a position that was based on knowledge of the neighborhood

and its inhabitants' property boundaries. Vestrymen were the ones to select land processioners. As part of their local parish church, vestrymen were regarded as valuable because of the significance of the role of the church in local moral, ecclesiastical, and social affairs. Both the land processioners and the vestrymen were aided by their awareness of the surrounding lands.

The parish was the most important subdivision below the county level. Its geographical extent included both the body of people who attended a church and the area for which a parish minister was responsible (OED 2013). Table **5.4: Indian Camp parishes** shows the parishes of which Indian Camp was a part that are relevant to my discussion. Families living around Indian Camp were located in Southam Parish and would have attended Peterville Church, located at the corner of what was Chapel Road (now Route 60) and Askew's Path (now Bell Road) (Blomquist 2006:v).

Table 5.4: Indian Camp parishes (from Blomquist 2006:ii).

Year	Parish	County	Approximate Geographic Extent
1728	St. James - Southam[65]	Goochland	Modern Cumberland and Powhatan Counties
1745	Southam	Goochland	Modern Cumberland and Powhatan Counties
1749	Southam	Cumberland	Modern Cumberland and Powhatan Counties
1772	Southam (Littleton[66] removed)	Cumberland	Modern Powhatan County
1777	Southam Parish	Powhatan	Modern Powhatan County

The vestry was an important feature of local society, serving as the parish's governing body. Twelve vestrymen served each parish (Seiler 1949:420). Modeled on precedent established by the Church of English, the vestry had several main duties: to secure ministers, organize the

[65] St. James Parish was divided into St. James Northam and St. James Southam. In 1728, Goochland County encompassed modern Powhatan and Goochland Counties, among other counties. Northam Parish was north of the James River, while Southam Parish was south of the river.
[66] The boundary of Littleton Parish aligns with modern Cumberland County (UVA 1777).

construction and maintenance of churches, oversee the moral welfare of the congregation, provide for the elderly, sick, and poor, and set the parish tax for tasks such as repairing the parish church and providing for the poor or infirm (Isaac 1982:65; Kulikoff 1986:232-240; Horn 1994:195-196; Blomquist 2006:iv). The church was an important location for community assembly (Isaac 1982:58). Historian Rhys Isaac points out that the form and tone of the liturgy reinforced the hierarchical nature of the physical setting (Isaac 1982:64). In addition, the church was a venue in which to hear the county's laws, and Churchwardens were reprimanded by grand juries if they did not read Virginia's laws twice every year (GCOB2:106-107).

The vestry also facilitated processioning property boundaries, an important local ritual that extends far back in time, as geographer Yi-Fu Tuan describes:

> In the time of republican Rome the head of a household preserved the borders of his domain by circumambulating the fields, singing hymns, driving sacrificial victims before him. In Britain, the ancient custom of "beating the bounds" required the parish priest to walk around the parish and strike certain markers with a stick. In the Netherlands the village of Anderen is a deeply rooted community. As late as 1949, village elders and teenaged youths continued the annual practice of inspecting the boundary markers. The elders, to ensure that the young would not forget the exact location of the markers, boxed the youngsters' ears (Tuan 1977:166).

Virginia's land processioning was thus based on England's ritual, although it was far less ceremonial. During England's medieval period, the surveyor and his assistant walked the manor

bounds, estimated the tracts' sizes, and priced parcels of land by classifying it by quality (Hughes 1979:29). Village elders showed, observed, and affirmed old boundaries as children followed to learn them. As Tuan writes, "The integrity of place must be ritually maintained" (Tuan 1977:166), and whether in republican Rome or in piedmont Virginia, boundary processioning is one process that contributed to local placemaking by men literally acting out these boundaries.

Processioning was one of the most important affirmations of property to occur in the neighborhood. The 1662 act established that "all the inhabitants of every neck and tract of land adjoining shall goe in procession and see the marked trees of every mans land in those precincts to be renewed, and the same course to be taken once every fower [sic, four] years…" (Hening II 1661[2]:102). Men asserted and affirmed their neighborhood knowledge by processioning boundaries. Owners of adjoining lands walked around, examined, agree on, and renewed property boundaries. Facilitated by the vestry (Seiler 1949:420) and grounded in English practice, the act required vestries to "devide the parishes into soe many precincts as they shall think necessary for the neighbors to joyne and see each others markes renewed" (Hening II 1661[2]:101-102). The law, then, affirmed the precinct in the parish as the smallest unit of official administration (Seiler 1949:420), equivalent to a neighborhood. Justices changed the number of precincts in Southam Parish during each procession, increasing the number from thirty-four precincts in 1747 to forty-three in 1771 (Blomquist 2006:xiii). Vestry minutes contain these orders and the resulting returns that were recorded once the procession was complete. Not frequently done in the 17th century, land processioning is recorded regularly in vestry books following 1705 (Seiler 1949:434). Land processioning also emphasized that distance played a

role in social networks, as I discussed in Chapter 1. An individual's land was included in a precinct if he or she was recognized as part of that neighborhood.

In colonial Virginia, processioning was an act of "collective recollection" (Hughes 1979:29) and was one of the most important secular duties of the vestry, as it emphasized their position, influence, and familiarity with the local social landscape (Seiler 1949:435-436). Vestries assigned several men to supervise the processioning for a precinct in which they lived, and processioners defined boundaries of those precincts by naming the property holders or selecting natural limits like trees (Seiler 1949:428; Blomquist 2006:272). At least "two intelligent honest freeholders" were to supervise the processions with the land owners (Hening III 1705:325), although the number of processioners varied according to parish needs (Seiler 1949:427). Thus, those that supervised the processioning were to be freeholders, or anyone in possession of land. Several of the men who owned land near Indian Camp were vestrymen in the parishes of the county of which Indian Camp was a part, such as Thompson Swann, who was nominated and appointed as vestryman of Southam Parish in 1756 (CCOB3:386) and Littleberry Mosby, who began to serve the same he purchased land in the Indian Camp neighborhood in 1758 (Blomquist 2006:113, 268; CCOB2:403-406). Other men who owned land near Indian Camp were vestrymen in the parishes of their home plantations, including Francis Eppes, who served at Henrico Parish in Henrico County (Burton 1904:5).

When the processioners' returns from the vestry book of Southam Parish are combined with county order books and maps produced with ArcGIS, an active yet imperfect picture emerges of land processioning. The event of processioning happened every four years in the parish beginning in 1747, with a few exceptions, confirming that legislation was never

completely successful in imposing regular compliance (Hughes 1979:50; Blomquist 2006:xiii). When processioning lists are used in conjunction with the neighborhood maps, some boundaries are affirmed, yet several discrepancies appear, also (**Figure 5.4: Processioners' return near Indian Camp.**). In the neighborhood map that I created for 1756, for which there is an existing processioners' return, sometimes landowners' names appear on parcels of land that had been sold several years earlier. The reasons why the names appear on certain property either too late or too early are unclear. People could have been occupying the land prior to officially purchasing it. An alternative explanation is that the people who recorded the processioning information were not the ones processioning, and their own knowledge of land inhabitants was not current. Absentee owners presented a problem, yet given that these men's home plantations were located not far away, they might have stayed overnight on their property located near Indian Camp in anticipation of their land being processioned. If the return listing represents the order in which the procession took place, then these men spent an inefficient amount of time traversing the landscape.

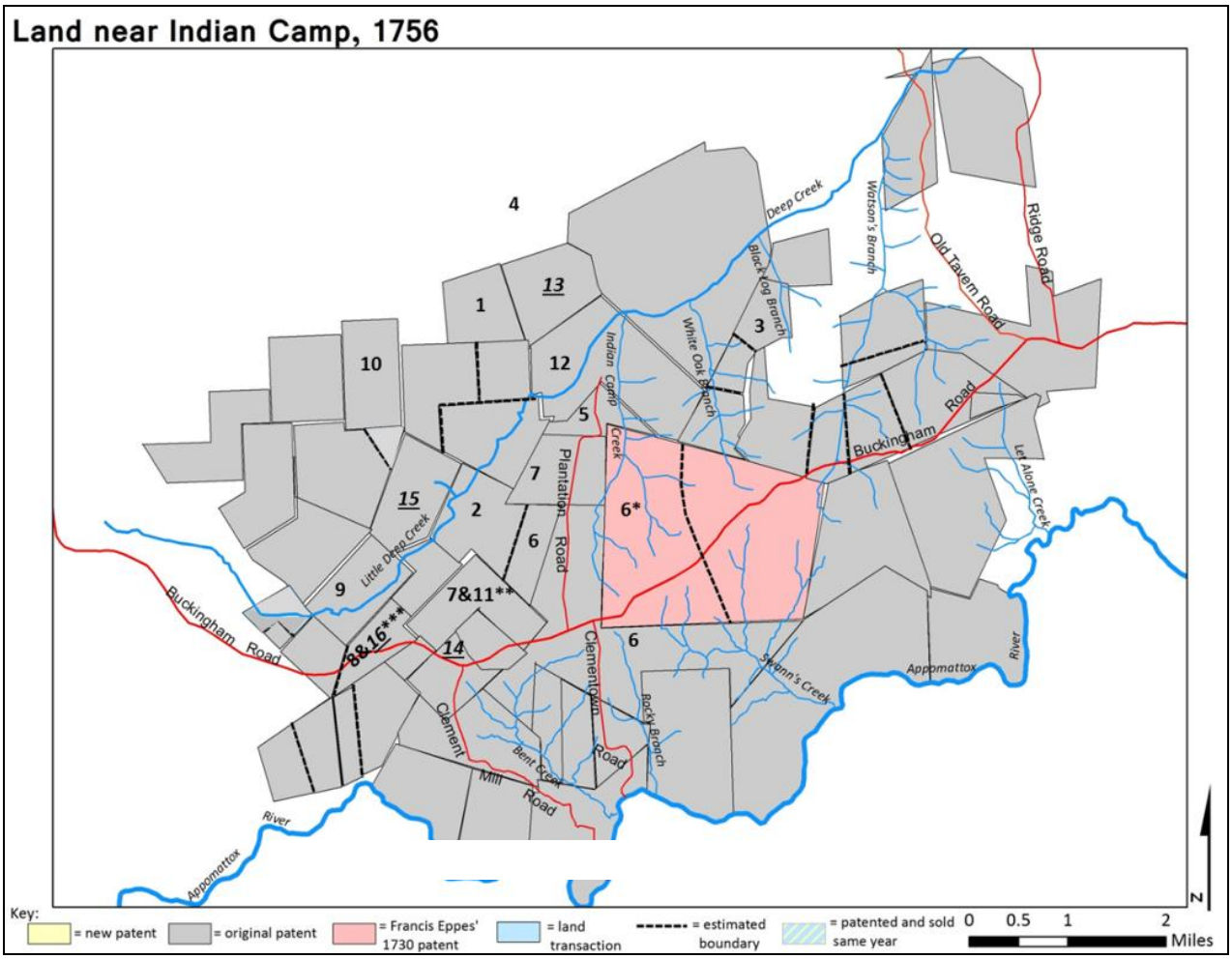

Figure 5.4: Processioners' return near Indian Camp. 1, Joseph Fuqua; 2, William Clark; 3, Francis George Steger; 4, Nicholas Cox (patent not on map but is where number 4 is located); 5, David Winneford; 6, John Wayles[67]; 7, John Pleasants; 8, Robert Thom[p]son; 9, Frederick Hatcher; 10, William Hopson; 11, Henry Hatcher[68]; 12, John Mayo; 13, John Madock [sic, Maddox]; 14, William Battersby; 15, John Brumskil; 16, Holeman Freeman[69]. Men numbered 12 through 16 did not attend. Their numbers are underlined. See Footnotes 67-69.

In May of 1747, Goochland court ordered that processioning take place between the last day of September and the last day of May of the following year (GCOB6:328), dates within the range specified by the 1661[2] law (Hening II 1661[2]:102). In June of 1759, Cumberland did

[67] Wayles did not own Martha's half of Indian Camp but administered it for her, which explains the * on the map.
[68] Hatcher sold this land to Pleasants in 1741 (GCDB3:530) but might have still been living on the property, which explains the ** on the map. Hatcher seems to have mortgaged this piece of land.
[69] Freeman had owned this piece of land but sold it in 1752 (CCDB1:474-476), which explains the *** on the map.

the same (CCOB4:68). Processioners were responsible for notifying each property owner of their attendance on his boundaries (Hening III 1705:326, V 1748:427), requiring interaction and familiarity with neighbors.

Individuals and entire vestries were brought to court when they avoided processioning. The 1756 processioners' return from the Indian Camp neighborhood indicates that John Maddox, William Battersby, John Brumskil, and Holeman Freeman did not attend (Blomquist 2006:104) (Figure 5.4**: Processioners' return near Indian Camp.**). These men should have been fined 500 pounds of tobacco (Hening III 1710:532, V 1748:428). In a 1742 Goochland County Court, a grand jury including Hutchins Burton presented the "vestry of Saint James's parish for not processioning according to law" (GCOB5:159). Bad weather could delay the process but not cancel it (GCOB6:355-356). In a 1747 Goochland County Court, two freeholders who had been appointed by the vestry of St. James Northam to procession lands reported to the court that one landholder refused to "suffer" his land to be processioned. Because of this refusal, a jury and surveyor were to undertake the process, at the recalcitrant landowner's expense (GCOB6:391). Land processioning, then, was another form of interaction both socially with neighbors and physically with the land and property boundaries. The role that processioners fulfilled affirmed local boundaries.

Sheriffs

Land ownership also positioned individuals for service in the role of sheriff. Several men in the Indian Camp neighborhood held this position (**Error! Reference source not found.**). While responsible for a wide range of tasks[70], sheriffs appear in my discussion due to the

[70] Judging from court records, particularly the county levies, sheriffs were responsible for a variety of tasks, including removing a prisoner to the public gaol (jail) (HCMB 1719-1724:361); going to and returning from Williamsburg for a commission of oyer and terminer (HCMB 1719-1724:361); constructing a gallows and executing

importance of land in their duties; they collected the county levies that residents paid on tithables. This was an act that reified the importance of land. Tithables were valued in this 18th-century Virginia society because tobacco had no economies of scale, as discussed in Chapter 2. In sum, the more tithables a landowner held, the greater the chance the owner would earn a profit from his or her tobacco crop than if a landowner worked the land without help.

The county court divided the county into "convenient precincts, and annually appoint[ed] one of the justice for each of the said precincts, to take a list of tithables" (Hening III 1705:259) to facilitate the calculation of the county's taxable individuals.[71] Before the tenth of June, the justice was to notify his precinct of his appointment and of the place he was to accept the lists of tithables by "setting up a note thereof, at the church or chapel door of the precinct he is appointed for." He was to deliver the lists taken by him to the following August court to the county's clerk (Hening III 1705:259-260). Importantly for my discussion, the sheriff was the individual assigned to collect the public and county levies (Hening III 1705:264), which meant he collected the pounds of tobacco for tithables. At the end of every year's county's levy, the sheriff was ordered to collect the fixed amount of tobacco per poll (or tithable) and was compensated for his work (GCOB3:18-19, for example). The sheriff, then, was in a powerful position since he was the vehicle through which tobacco was collected. The order for a sheriff, say, John Woodson, to collect the tobacco for each tithable person would read: "Ordered that John Woodson Gent. Sheriff do collect of every titheable person in this Cty [sic] thirty pounds of tobacco p [per] poll and that in case of refusal or non payment thereof he levy the same by

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a "negro" (CCOB3:141-142); constructing a "Ducking Stool" (GCOB3:337); both buying a lock for the county courthouse and procuring courthouse windows (GCOB6:279); and mending bridges (CCOB9:500-501).

[71] The geographical coverage of these precincts is unclear, but what is certain is that parishes encompassed precincts in land processioning (Hening II 1661[2]:101-102). Whether or not the extent of the precinct for collecting tobacco was or was not the same is not known.

distress and that he also make payment of the sevearll [sic] sums of tobacco to the respective Creditors for whom the same is leveyed…" (GCOB3:118). The sheriff was paid for his services in collecting the tobacco (GCOB3:18-19). Sheriffs, then, were figures who upheld the tobacco culture and importance of land.

Table 5.5: Indian Camp neighbors appointed as sheriffs and payments received.

Name	**County**	**Position**	**Citation**	**Payment, if known**	**Citation**
John Woodson	Goochland, 1732, 1733	Sheriff	GCOB3:85	1000 pounds of tobacco, 40 cask [each year]	GCOB3:117, 215
John Phelps	Goochland, 1732	Sheriff	GCOB3:90		
John Woodson, Jr.	Goochland, 1741[2]	Undersheriff, Justice of the Peace	GCOB5:20		
	Goochland, 1742, 1744, 1745[6], 1746, 1747	Undersheriff	GCOB5:157, 455, 536; GCOB6:215, 488		
	Cumberland, 1750	Undersheriff	CCOB2:139		
John Woodson, Frederick Hatcher	Cumberland, 1752, 1754, 1756, 1760	Undersheriff	CCOB1:22; CCOB3:207, 415; CCOB4:258		
Littleberry Mosby	Cumberland 1762	Sheriff	CCOB5:8	£1248	CCOB6:67
John Mayo	Cumberland, 1766, 1768	Sheriff	CCOB6:301; CCOB7:219		
John Woodson	Cumberland, 1772, 1774, 1776**	Sheriff	CCOB8:516; CCOB10:273, 363, 365		
Joseph Calland	Cumberland 1776	Sheriff	CCOB10:367		

**Woodson refused this appointment for unknown reasons.

Tobacco Inspectors

As a freeholder, individuals could also serve as tobacco inspectors. The position both reaffirmed the new Virginia identity and the importance of land that had produced the tobacco coming into the warehouses. In addition, it also created another form of social currency for those in the position. The men who served in the roles of either sheriff or tobacco inspector, at least in the Indian Camp neighborhood, were not among the largest landowners (except for John Mayo and John Phelps). The position of tobacco inspector was formally created with the passage of Virginia's Tobacco Act in May of 1730 (Hening 1730 IV:251). As the law reads, "three fit and able persons, who are reputed to be skillful in tobacco" were to be appointed by the governor or with the advice and consent of the council. They were to "break every hogshead, cask, or case of tobacco, and diligently view and examine the same; and if they, or any two of them shall agree, that the same is good, sound, well-condition, and merchantable, and free from trash, sand, and dirt; and if in leaf, tied up with a leaf of equal goodness, then such tobacco shall be weighed in scales with weights of the lawful standard…" (Hening IV 1730:251). One of the inspectors was to stamp the weight and the name of the warehouse on every hogshead, cask, or case (Hening IV 1730:251). Since these inspectors determined how much of a planter's crop needed to be destroyed, if any, planters were concerned with the selection of tobacco inspectors (Kulikoff 1986:291). One of the early Indian Camp neighbors, John Price, was a tobacco inspector at Shockoe's Warehouse in Richmond. In a1756 Henrico County court, Price was appointed tobacco inspector at Shockoe's and was reappointed at least twice in 1760 and 1761 (HCMB 1755-1762:46, 441, 523). As tobacco inspector, Price wielded a form of social currency not enjoyed by many others. It was a position that reaffirmed the productivity of the tobacco planter and their tobacco culture of Virginia, which valued various forms of social currency.

Conclusion

Gentlemen justices, surveyors, surveyors of highways or roads, vestrymen and land processioners, sheriffs, and tobacco inspectors were roles that affirmed the local neighborhood, the larger community, and the newly emerging Virginia identity in which one's relationship to land played a central role. Roles such as these provided access to and participation in the local government for people who might not otherwise have been admitted to such roles in more hierarchical, established tidewater communities. These positions also allowed those who already had existing social currency to further affirm and improve their standing. People were compensated for their services during the yearly county levy, providing an additional source of income. Men in the Indian Camp neighborhood served in local and county roles near Indian Camp and in the location of their home plantations. Land was reified through local governmental and ecclesiastical positions.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

If we use the social roles of the prominent families who owned land around Indian Camp and account for their interactions in their home counties in the tidewater, it is less surprising that they patented land contiguous to one another in the eastern piedmont. Before patenting their piedmont lands, several men who lived near to what is now Richmond, Virginia, previously knew each other from living in close proximity to one another there (see Figure 4.7) and serving in multiple governmental and ecclesiastical positions. For example, Francis Eppes and Henry Anderson served in several governmental positions together in Henrico County, including as surveyors of the highways and collector of tithables lists on multiple occasions (see Chapter 4). Anderson and Eppes also served as Gentlemen Justices of Henrico alongside brothers William and Joseph Mayo. Henry Cary, who patented and purchased land contiguous to Eppes' patent, also had his home plantation, Ampthill, located six miles south of what is now Richmond on the James River. While many of these early patentees were absentee owners and sold their piedmont properties within a few years as speculatory measures, others seemed to patent land with the intention of passing it on to sons or daughters for their future uses, as did William Mayo and Francis Eppes. Eppes, for instance, patented his piedmont property in 1730, wrote his will in 1733, when daughters Ann and Martha were still underage (Ann was eighteen in 1730, and younger sister Martha was twelve, Dorman 1992:151-152), and died in 1734. Eppes probably patented his property with the intention of bequeathing it to his heirs, then. Men like Eppes, Anderson, Cary, and the Mayos regularly interacted with one another as they served in local

roles. Land ownership both permitted them access to the title of freeholder and was a way to increase one's wealth with a profit from tobacco production or from selling the land as speculation. Land was another form of social currency and a way that families constructed, affirmed, and benefitted from a new Virginia identity.

If we look to families who expanded their single patent to include multiple adjacent properties, we see the results of generations of friendship and kinship systems. Returning to Henry Cary, he patented a parcel of land in 1734, purchased two parcels from John Price in 1735 and one from Richard Parker in 1736, and then repatented all of the land in 1737, totaling 1,520 (see Appendices I and II). He sold this parcel to James Murray in 1742, except for twenty acres, which his son Archibald inherited. Archibald retained these twenty acres until selling to Henry Skipwith in 1779 (PCDB2:115-116). How Archibald used the acreage is unclear, but the land might have been a halfway point between where his father lived at Ampthill near Richmond and where Archibald lived further west in Cumberland County before inheriting his father's tidewater estate. The Cary family, then, had a presence on the landscape for forty-five years.

Henry Hatcher is another good example of an individual acquiring land by outright purchase or by patenting additional contiguous acreage. His story also speaks to the continued presence of a family on the landscape. None of Hatcher's three parcels was above 400 acres, but together, they totaled 1,200. Hatcher's son Frederick married Sarah Woodson, a daughter of John Woodson. As Henry seemed to be plagued by frequent debt, he mortgaged one of his pieces of land to John Pleasants, who already owned 400 acres nearby. Pleasants sold this property to his grandson Charles Woodson in 1768. Henry sold another piece of land to John Wayles in 1750. At this time, Wayles was beginning his own accumulation of property, which eventually

included 2,500 acres of land, a property given the name St. James. In addressing just one individual, it is surprising to see just how quickly he and his properties become entangled with others in the neighborhood. Histories and biographies of the land and its owners in the Indian Camp neighborhood constantly overlap.

If we consider what I call the "400-acre" people, those families who patented lands in this part of the piedmont, settled here, and became invested in their new home county, what emerges is a neighborhood whose residents expanded Virginia's westward moving frontier, an agricultural system based on the institution of slavery, and a new identity in which land played a central role. Many of the first men to patent 400 acres in the first wave of settlement did not seem to establish plantations until there was a local infrastructure capable of supporting them. However, the Indian Camp neighborhood took off during the 1750 and 1760s, as Cumberland County separated from Goochland, as the 400-acre parcels were divided into smaller, more manageable plantations and were bequeathed or sold to sons, daughters, and grandchildren, and as social networks began organically surfacing. The Thompson's family story, which I told in Chapter 2, shows how even small amounts of land could result in forms of social currency and contribute to local placemaking. Robert Thompson purchased a piece of land from Richard Parker's 400-acre patent. Thompson obtained an ordinary license for the property, and sold the land to his son Bartlett, who sold the land to Josiah Thompson and continued the ordinary. The fact that the Thompsons acquired a divided parcel, added to that land with an additional purchase, and ran an ordinary on the property speaks to many levels of neighborhood and familiar interactions.

While my study favors the landed, in this location on the frontier, there was room for social fluidity, as opportunities for local placemaking were frequent. Families that I was unable to locate in what I suspect was their home county (Henrico) surfaced in the Indian Camp neighborhood. This does not mean that they were absent from public service in their home county; I might have been searching the incorrect county of origin. However, families like the Mosbys (which included Benjamin, Littleberry, and Poindexter) both purchased parcels in the Indian Camp neighborhood and served in their neighborhood and county. They worked as sheriff and Gentlemen Justice in Cumberland, as did Littleberry (CCOB5:8, CCOB10:76, for example); helped the courthouse run smoothly by building benches, cleaning it, and guarding it, as did Benjamin and Poindexter (CCOB3:53, 141 and CCOB4:441 for example); ran an ordinary, as did Benjamin (CCOB4:517, for example); and were appointed as surveyors of important roads, as Poindexter was at least once appointed surveyor over a portion of Buckingham Road (CCOB4:152), the main thoroughfare through this area. Families such as the Pleasants and the Woodsons were very involved in both counties. Their presence on the social and physical landscape was significant. The nature of this location in the piedmont as a frontier might show that the tidewater had a more hierarchical society while the frontier allowed for greater social mobility for those that owned land, at least initially during settlement and the first and second generations while the land was still being settled. Additionally, my study shows that the hierarchical power structures of the tidewater were transplanted and continued through families such as the Eppeses, Woodsons, and Mayos in these western frontier locations. These families continued to dominate local positions in whatever county they were located.

Positions such as gentlemen justices, land surveyors, surveyors of highways, vestrymen and land processioners, sheriffs, and tobacco inspectors also controlled access to, allocated, and affirmed the importance of land, whether directly or indirectly. Gentlemen justices, such as Francis Eppes, Littlebury Mosby, and John Woodson, appointed all other local positions, such as the county land surveyor. Justices benefitted from holding large land parcels: both the number of parcels and the aggregate acreages in each parcel increased their social currency. Land surveyors, such as William Mayo, were the ones to control direct access to land, as they were directly involved in patenting parcels for interested parties. The knowledge they possessed to control access to lands was held in high regard in 18th-century Virginia. Surveyors of highways seemed to be in charge of road oversight and facilitated the maintenance of the roads rather than assuming the tasks of laying out a road as a land surveyor would lay out a piece of land. The surveyor of the road was a position which required intimate familiarity with the physical and social landscape, as men were given the power to lay out roads and call on tithables to help with the clearing of such roads. Sheriffs, such as Henry Anderson, were the ones to collect the tobacco levied on tithables. The role of sheriff upheld the productive nature of tobacco plantations. The more tithables an owner held, the more he was taxed; however, the more tithables he held, there was a greater chance that he would earn a profit. The tobacco inspector reviewed all hogsheads of tobacco that came through a given warehouse. John Price, a tobacco inspector, would have been in charge of judging tobacco and destroying any of poor quality. His position was one that affirmed a planter's work. This was a society, then, which revered the land. A profitable tobacco crop - and those individuals enslaved to work the land - could make a planter rich.

The spread of slavery, a crucial part of the new Virginia identity, to the piedmont was enabled by individuals in the Indian Camp neighborhood. In January of 1759, an inventory was taken of Stephen Cox, Jr's., estate (CCDB1:177). Less than a year before, he had written his will, in which he gave his brother William the plantation where he lived with an adjoining 800 acres of land (see Appendix I, Figure A.29). In Stephen's inventory were listed "four negros… Jack, Hannah, Lucy and Nanney…" (CCDB1:177). Stephen's father, Stephen, included twenty-one slaves in his will (CCWB1:typewritten page in between 103 and 104). In another Cox will, that of Frederick Cox's[72] from 1754, he gave his "Negro Boy Jack" to his son John, lent Philis and Sarah to his wife during her life, and specified that their increase was to be equally divided between his five daughters (CCWB1:90-91). While the various Coxes' relationships around Indian Camp to one another remain vague, the men were probably brothers, cousins, or other close relatives. The point remains that at least three Cox relatives held slaves at the time of their deaths while they lived near Indian Camp. The spread of slavery into this part of the piedmont was facilitated and encouraged by these families.

Land ownership permitted people access to serve in governmental and ecclesiastical positions in their local neighborhood and larger community. Possession of land made men eligible for offices to which they otherwise not have had access. The tenacity with which men held onto their roles and served for multiple years is apparent through my research. These positions offered important opportunities for social interaction. Each interaction with a neighbor was a chance to solidify a social connection, flirt with the pretty daughter of a landed neighbor in

[72] It is unclear whether this Frederick was the Frederick Cox that patented land near Indian Camp on the Appomattox in 1730. Additionally, he cites Elizabeth as his wife in his will (CCWB1:90-91). This might have been a Woodson, but rather brief online research was unable to confirm or deny this.

hopes of marriage, or foster some sort of economic relationship. The interactions of landowners around Indian Camp show how a neighborhood developed from building these connections.

Future Research Directions

To expand on this research, it would be worth pursuing religious connections, as I did not address much beyond how the vestry was an important local institution along with mentioning a few men who were Quakers in the Indian Camp neighborhood. Additionally, it would be beneficial to conduct further research regarding the Cox, Woodson, and Pleasants families, as there were many contemporary relatives with repeating names or with confusing family connections (i.e., multiple John Woodsons and John Pleasants). Trying to tease out some of the more obscure names in the neighborhood could help fill in some gaps with my research. Furthermore, research into these lands themselves to determine, for example, if any plantation account books exist for the owners, or trying to better mesh data from inventories or wills, could help create further nuances in the connections between and among individuals. Understanding land owners' international ties to other places besides Barbados, such as their time spent in England, other West Indian connections, or any other information regarding their enslaved population, would add to my research. The networks that were established between and among the enslaved population living and working on the piedmont plantations would be a challenging line of inquiry, but one that might prove fruitful with some effort. Whether the ties in the enslaved community mirrored those of the white community is unclear but would be interesting to attempt to reconstruct slave interactions. Finally, further research could include expanding information on marriage ties in the white community and map the ties further on the landscape.

Conclusion

As Daniel Miller explains his central argument of his book *Stuff*, "…[T]he best way to understand, convey and appreciate our humanity is through attention to our fundamental materiality" (Miller 2010:4). This thesis sought to reconstruct the property boundaries surrounding Indian Camp and emerges as a material culture study of the centrality of land to a newly emerging Virginia identity. Land allowed me to better, in Miller's words, understand, convey, and appreciate, and subsequently interpret the lives of these families and the time period in which they lived. Communication using material culture is about interpersonal relationships. Although these relationships are real but not explicitly visual, my thesis has been an attempt to reconstruct, represent, and visualize these networks and relationships as they historically existed on the landscape.

The social, historical, and cultural contexts that I created can help interpret the resulting organization of neighbors in the Indian Camp neighborhood. As cultural geographer James Duncan and his colleagues point out, emphasis on the "symbolic dimension of human activities, the relevance of historical understanding of societal processes, and a commitment to an interpretative epistemology" challenge the reductionism of a positivist human geography (Duncan et al. 2004:1). My goal was to humanize and populate the past and discover meanings of individuals' interaction, not just recount events. In my analysis, I tried to go beyond ordinary records of daily life in order to examine and interpret meanings of land as material culture (Beaudry et al. 1996:294). Archaeologist John Moreland writes that "The reality is that people in the past […] made and manipulated objects (and texts) as projections of their views about themselves and their place in the word. Products of human creativity and invention were not simply essentialist reflections of an inner (given) reality. Rather, they were *actively* used in the

production and transformation of identities…" (Moreland 2001:80). Using both text and land as material culture and affirming the difference between space and place, we can agree with Olwig's comment that "The landscape is thus contested both as an actual place and as the figurative site of an ongoing sociopolitical discourse concerning the relations between community, self, and place" (Olwig 2001:94). Landscape facilitates recognizing these relations and shifts attention to individuals.

Land was transformed by its inhabitants from an abstract space into a concrete place as it acquired definition and meaning (Tuan 1977:199, 136). From my research, one can see that a historic neighborhood's interactions can be partially recreated through analysis of public records. In understanding documents as "active in the production, negotiation and transformation of social relations" (Moreland 2001:31) and using GIS, relationships are able to be visualized on the landscape as they existed in the 18th century. Connections could be made after evaluating families, their histories, and their networks with their neighbors. Neighborhood dynamics elucidate issues of power. As one cultural geographer writes about repeated, patterned behavior associated with particular places and newcomers being "socialized," the result is that "…[P]laces provide an anchor of shared experiences between people and continuity over time. Spaces become places as they become 'time-thickened'. They have a past and a future that binds people together round them" (Crang 1998:103). Shared experiences, networks, relationships, and connections make sense when viewed with maps produced with ArcGIS and augmented with documentary sources. Tools such as GIS can help archaeologists better understand the social relationships, historic movements of individuals, and power dynamics of the past.

Historical archaeologists Mary Beaudry, Lauren Cook, and Stephen Mrozowski assert that, for the purposes of my study, land can be viewed as part of a hegemonic discourse: "The material adds a texture, a *reality*, to the surfaces of the past that are revealed in print… Material is not seen here as just a passive product of economic behavior, but as an instrumental component of symbolic actions" (Beaudry et al. 1996: 293-4). Paying attention to cultural, social, economic, and historical contexts from etic and emic perspectives makes us aware of the multiple meanings of land in the past (Beaudry et al. 1996:294). As my thesis has shown, using multiple frameworks such as material culture analysis, microhistory, placemaking, network analysis, status and class, and cultural geography and integrating public records with ArcGIS, historical archaeologists are uniquely equipped to interpret the past.

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APPENDIX I

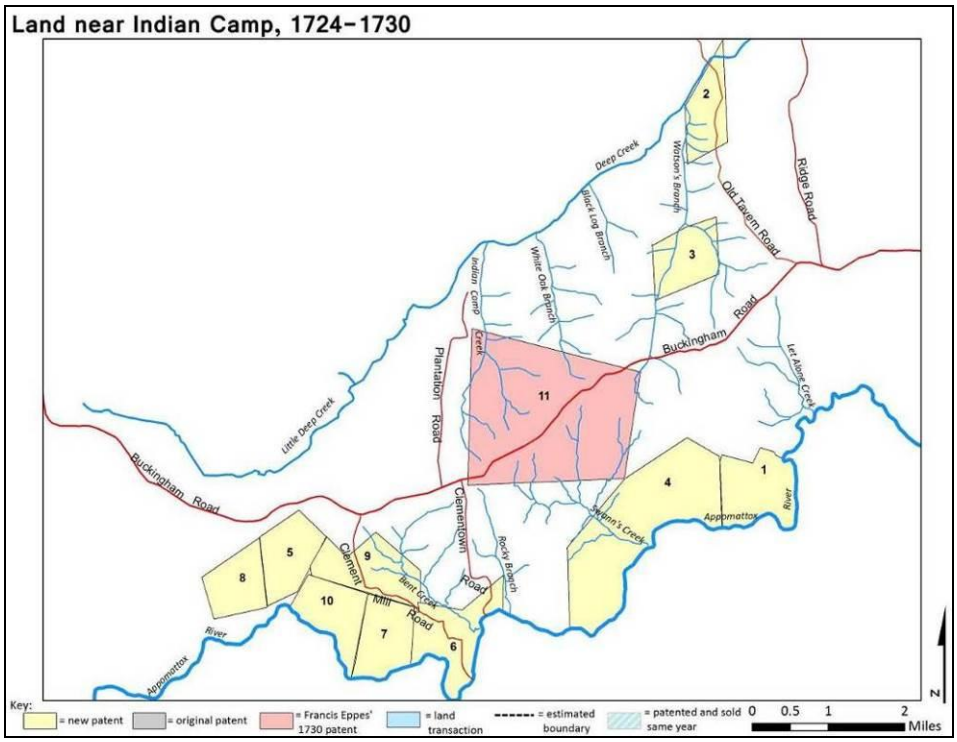
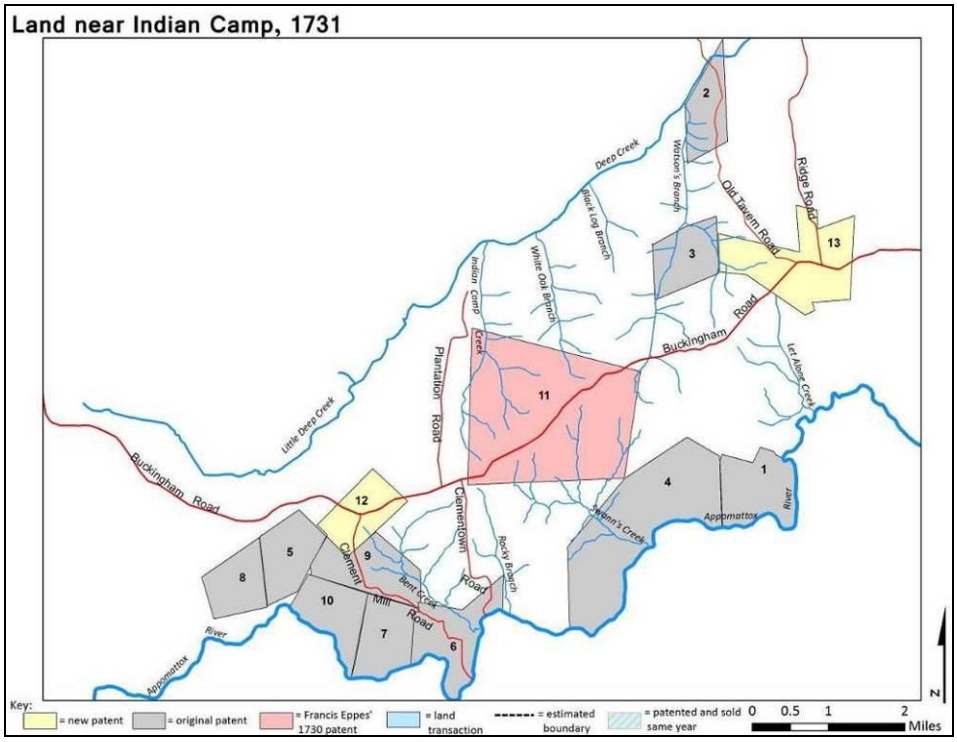


Figure A.1: Land near Indian Camp, 1724-1730.



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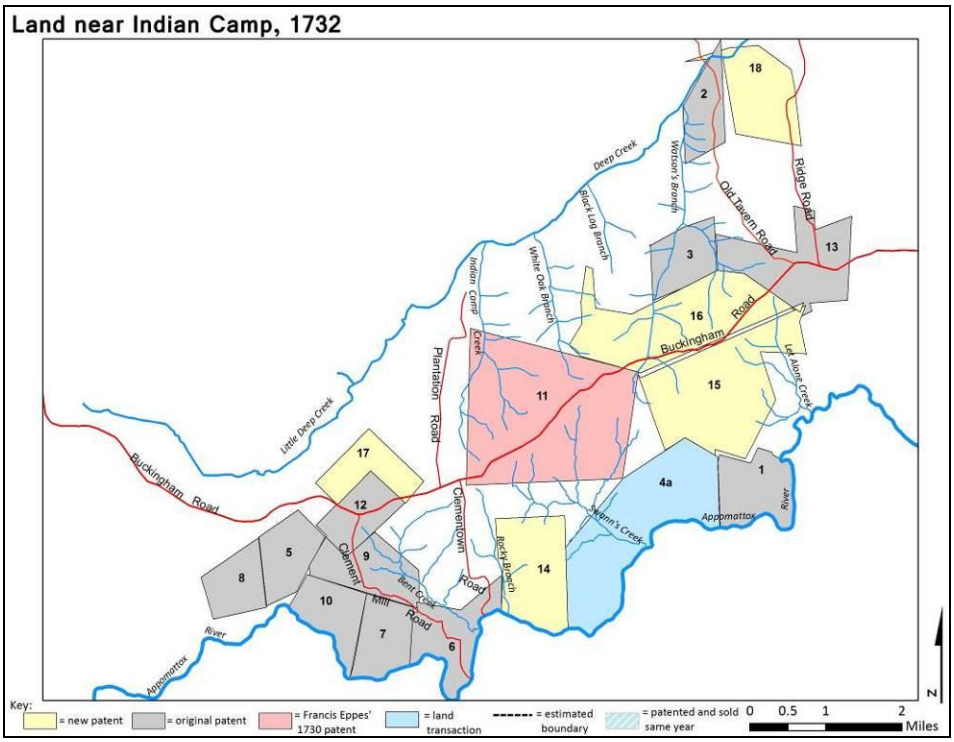

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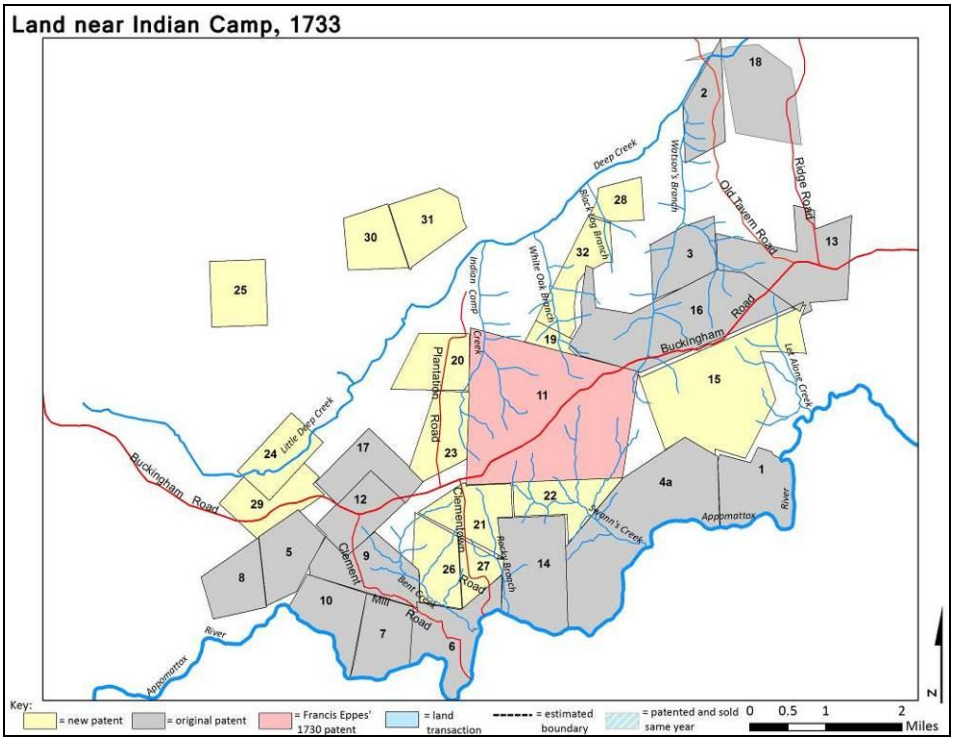

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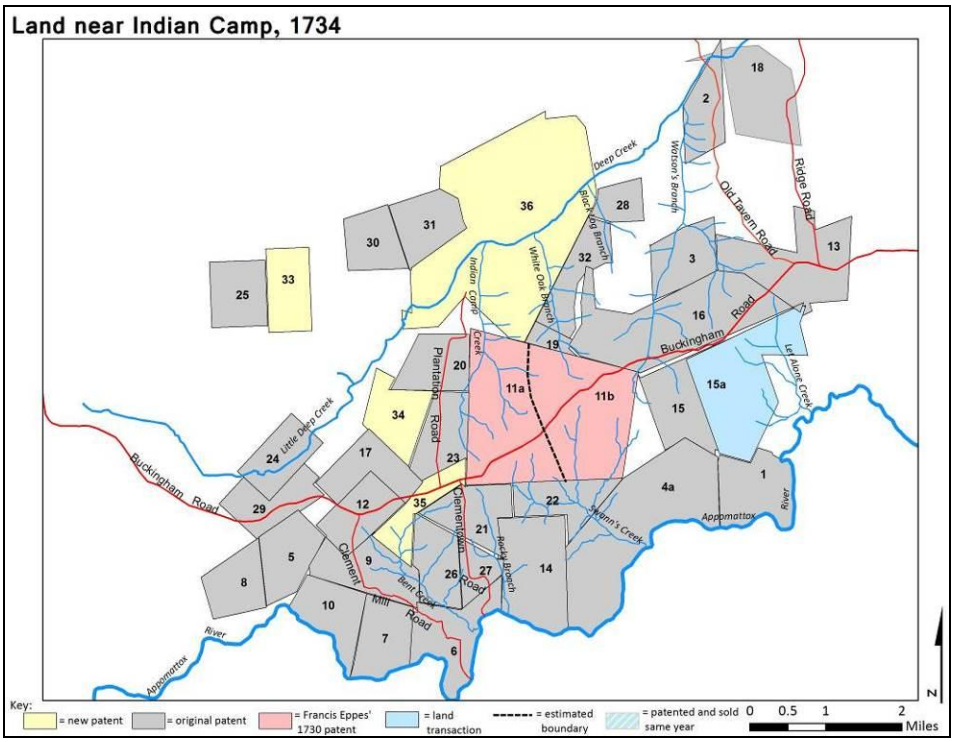

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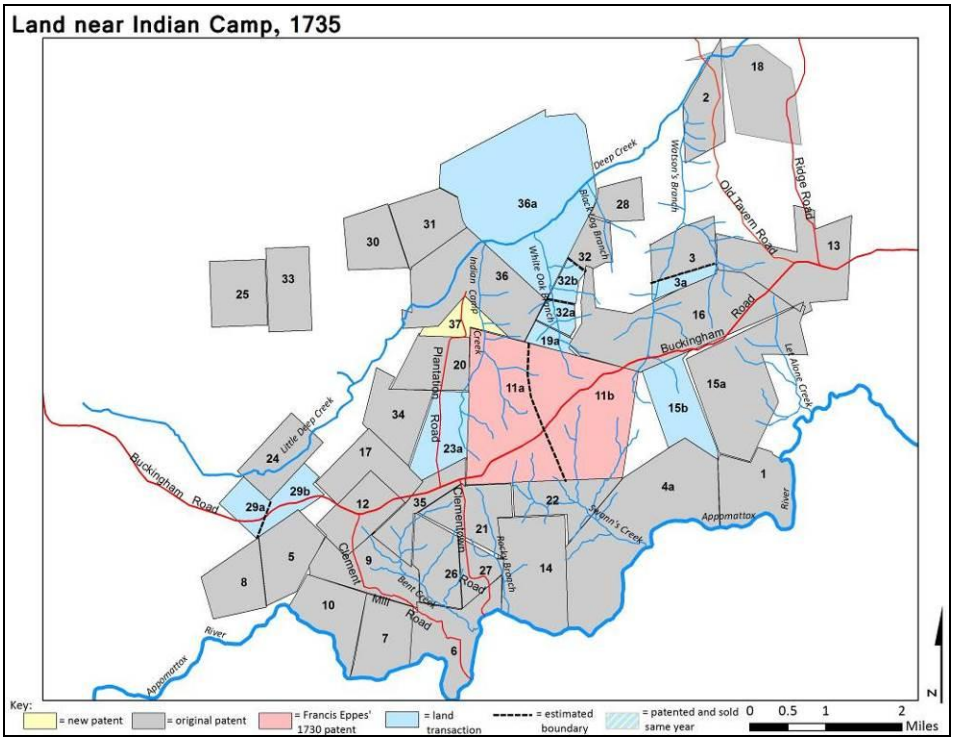

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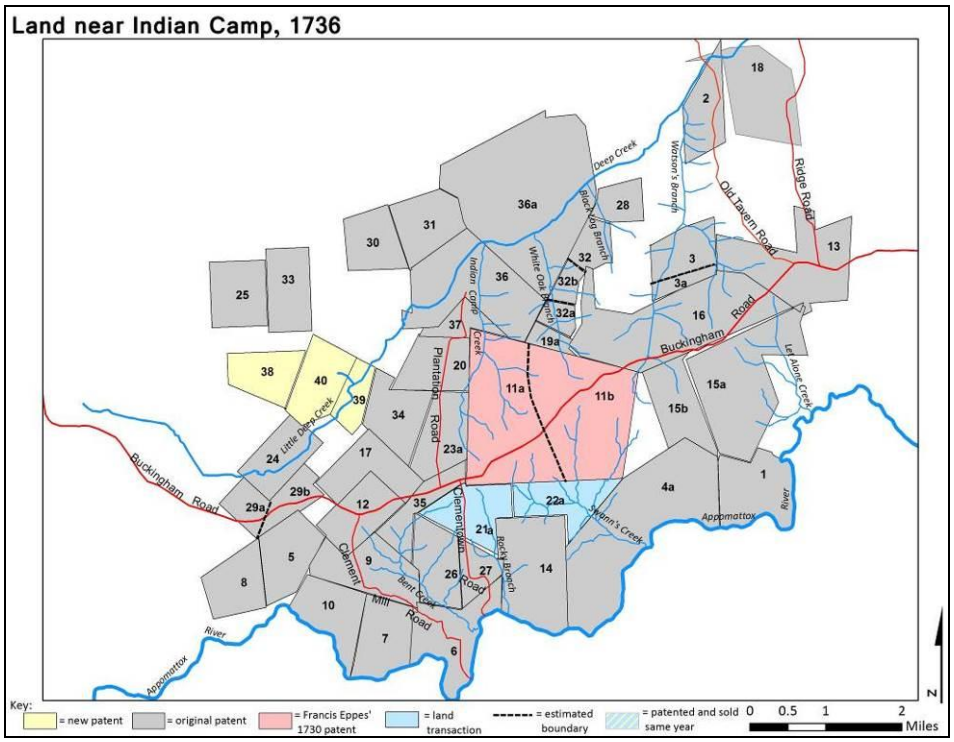

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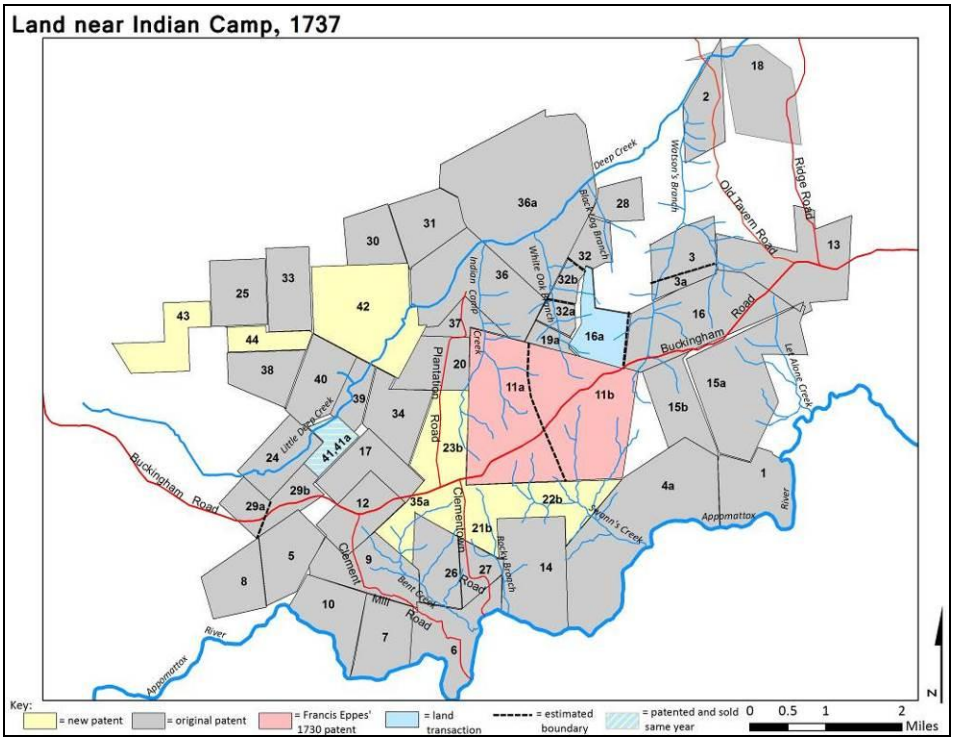

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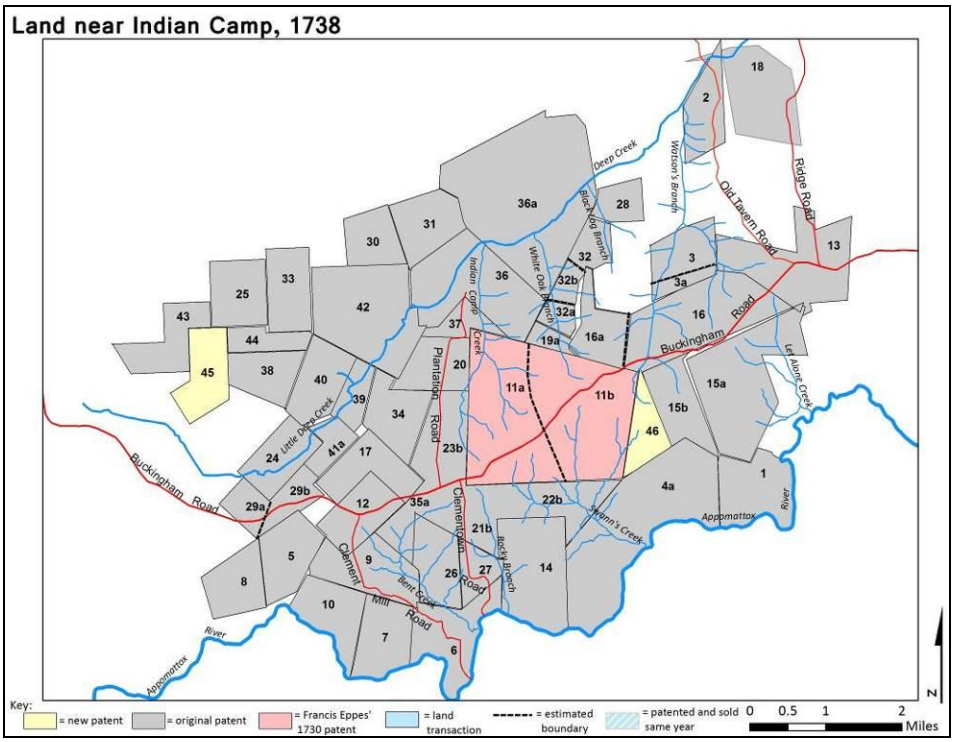

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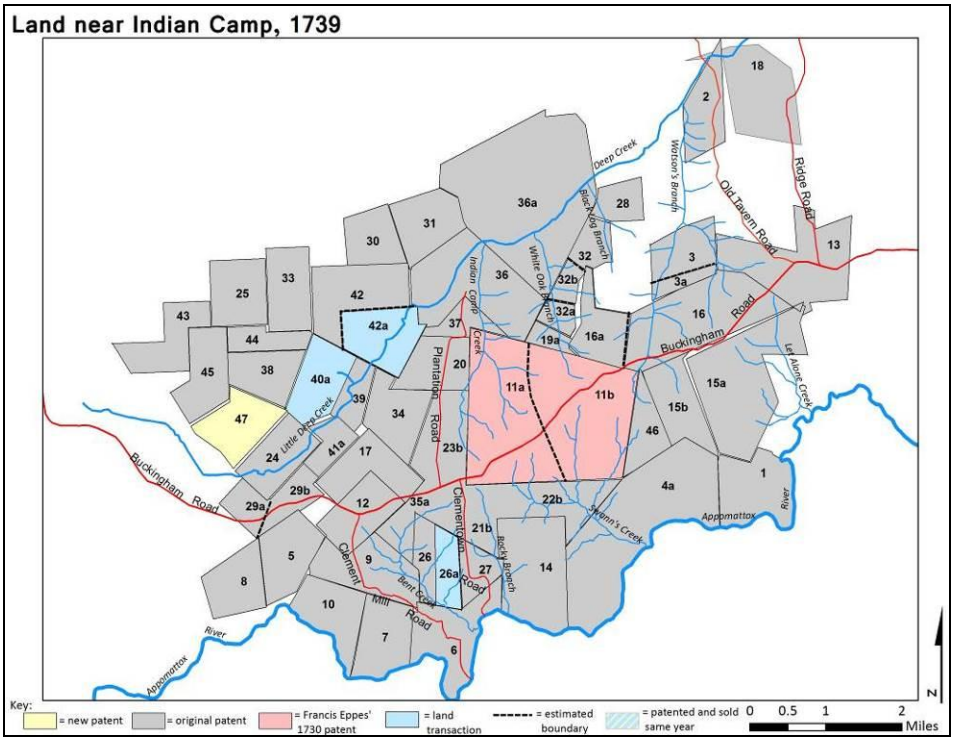

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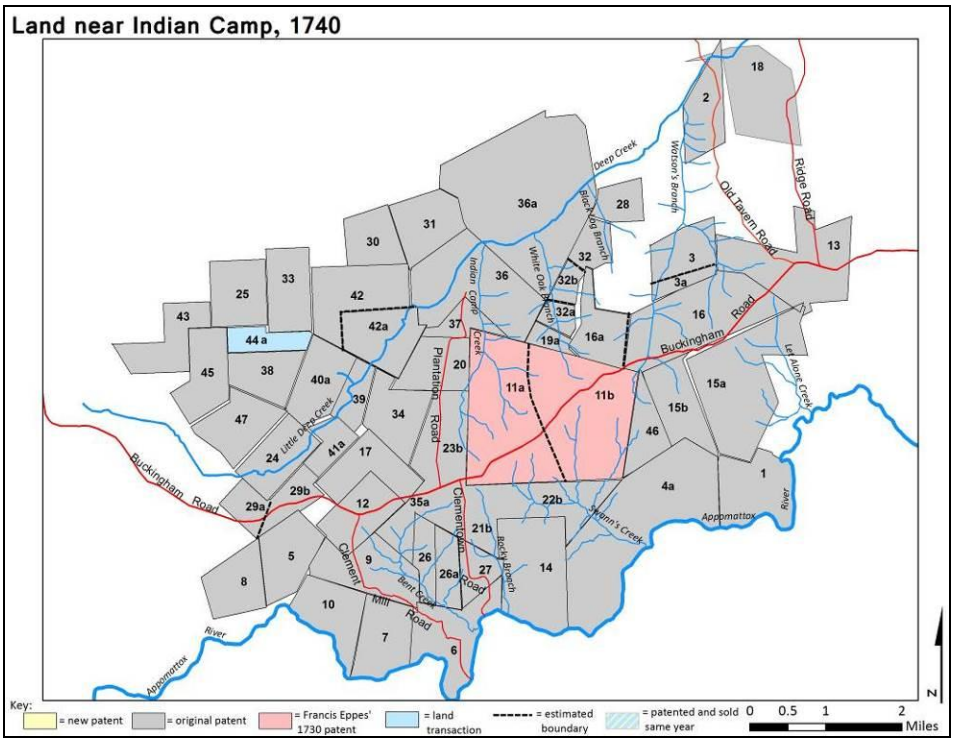

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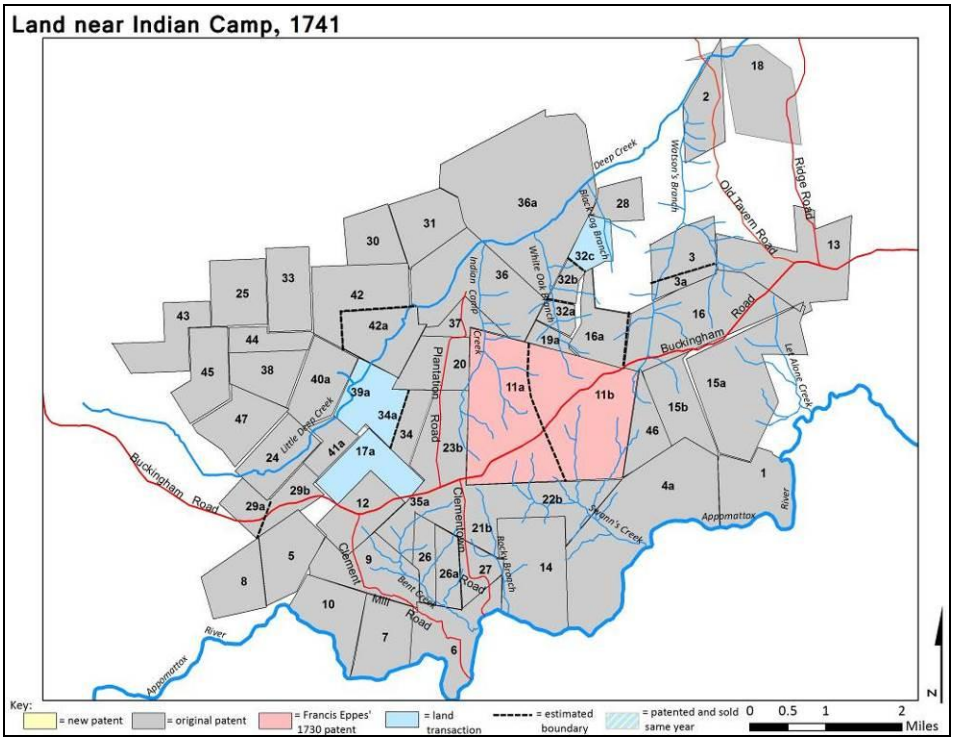

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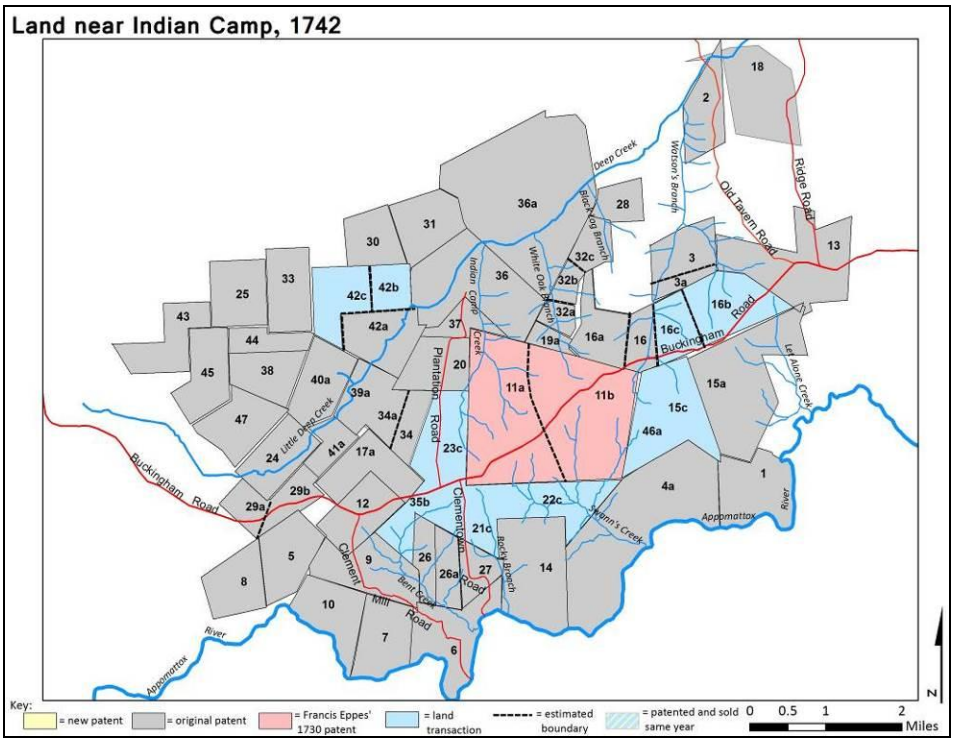

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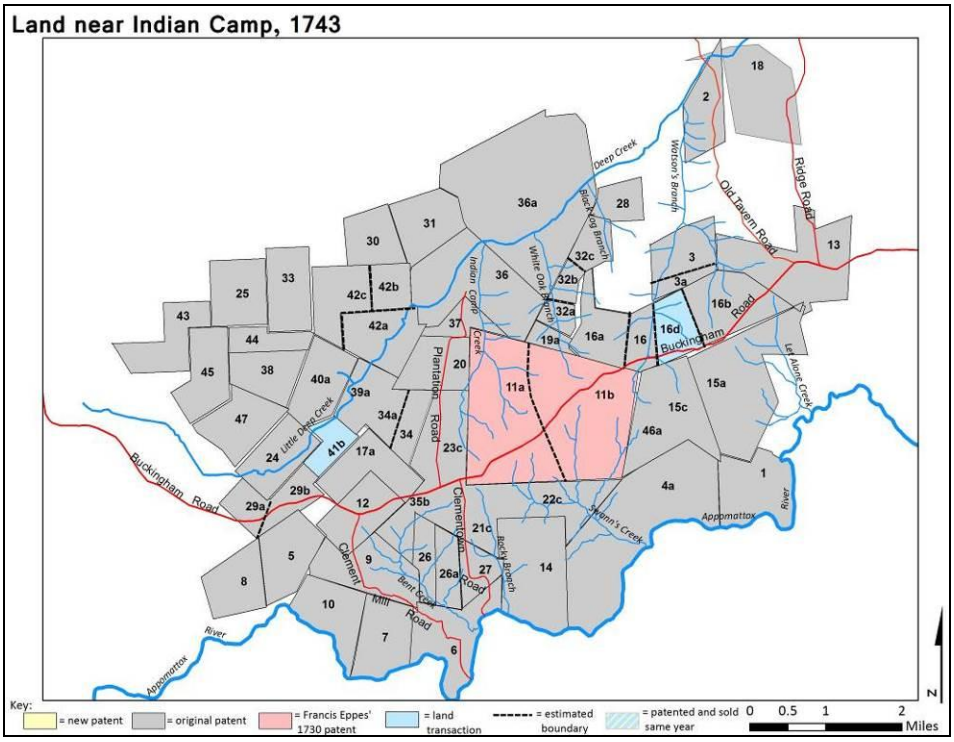

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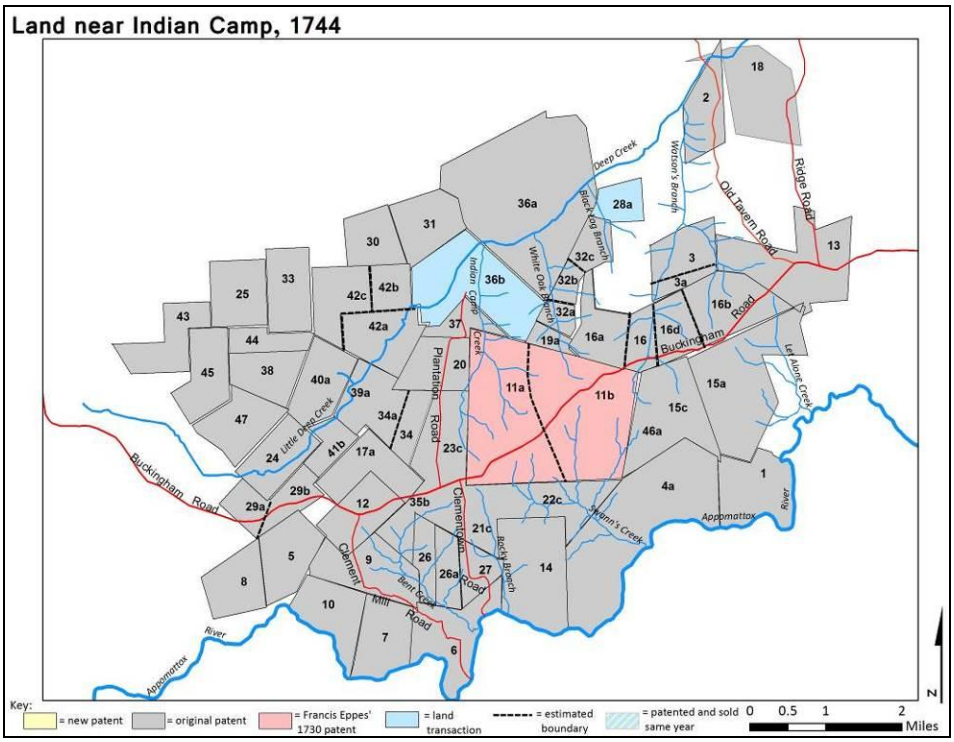

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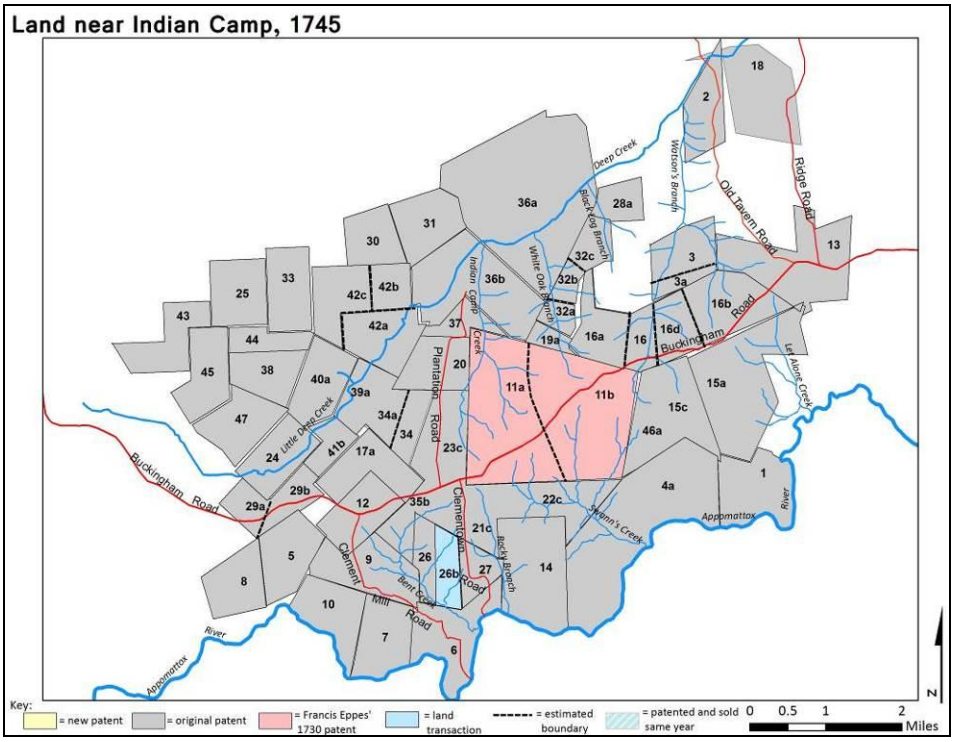

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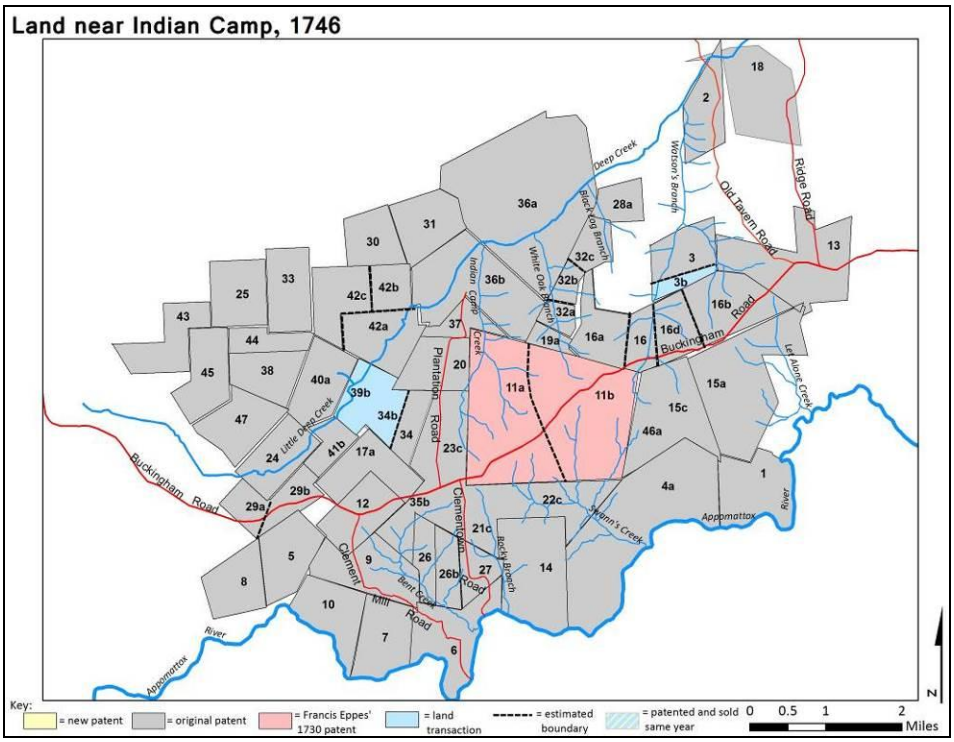

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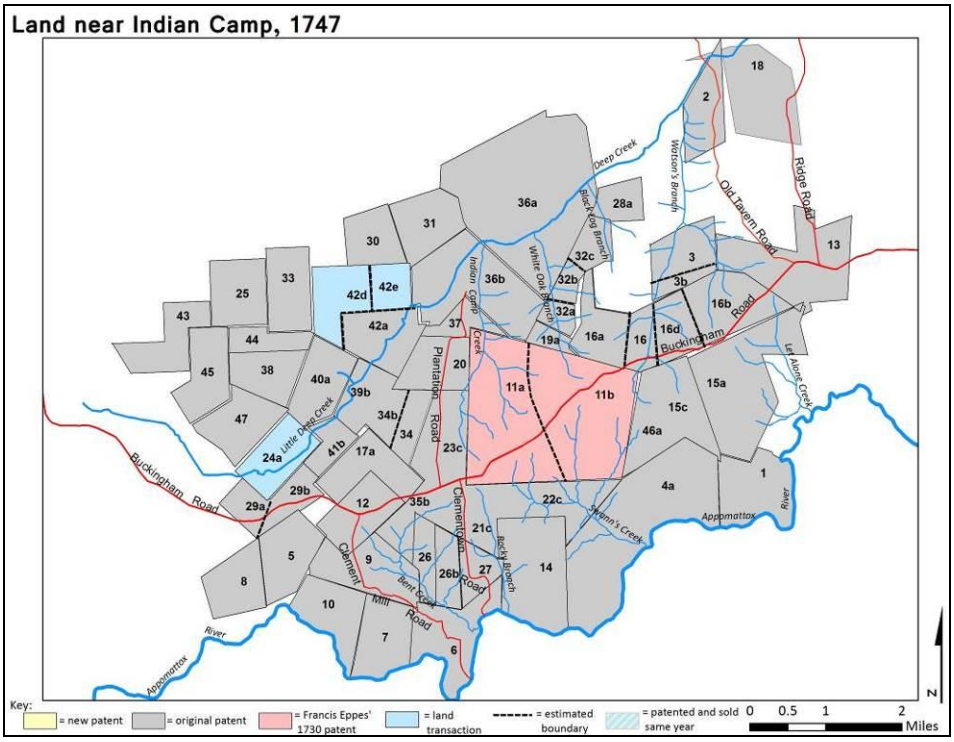

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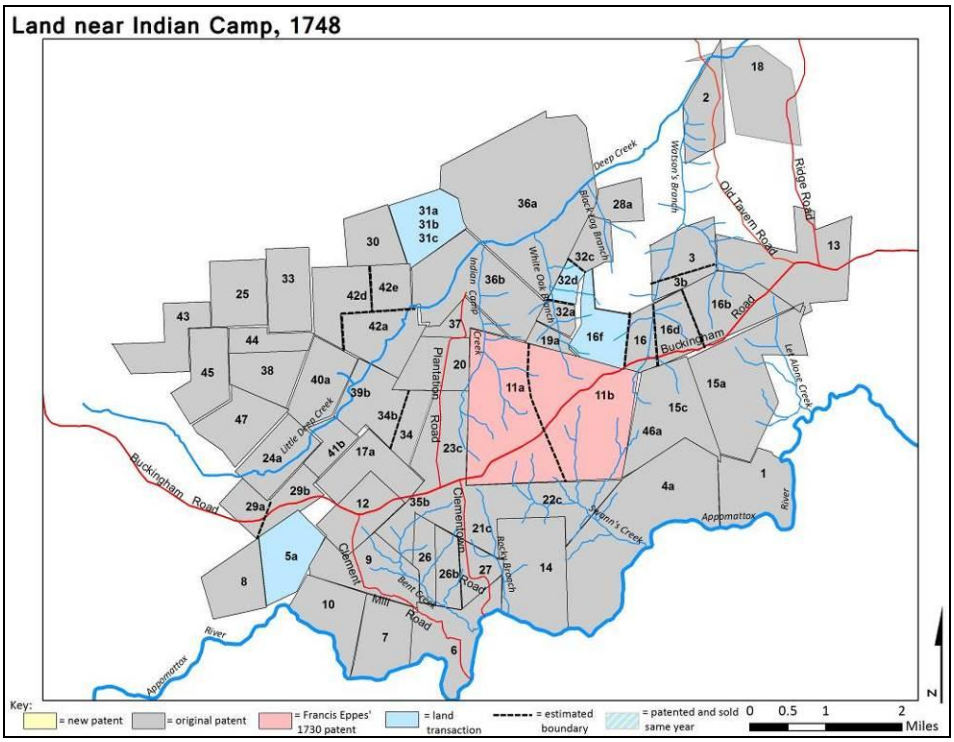

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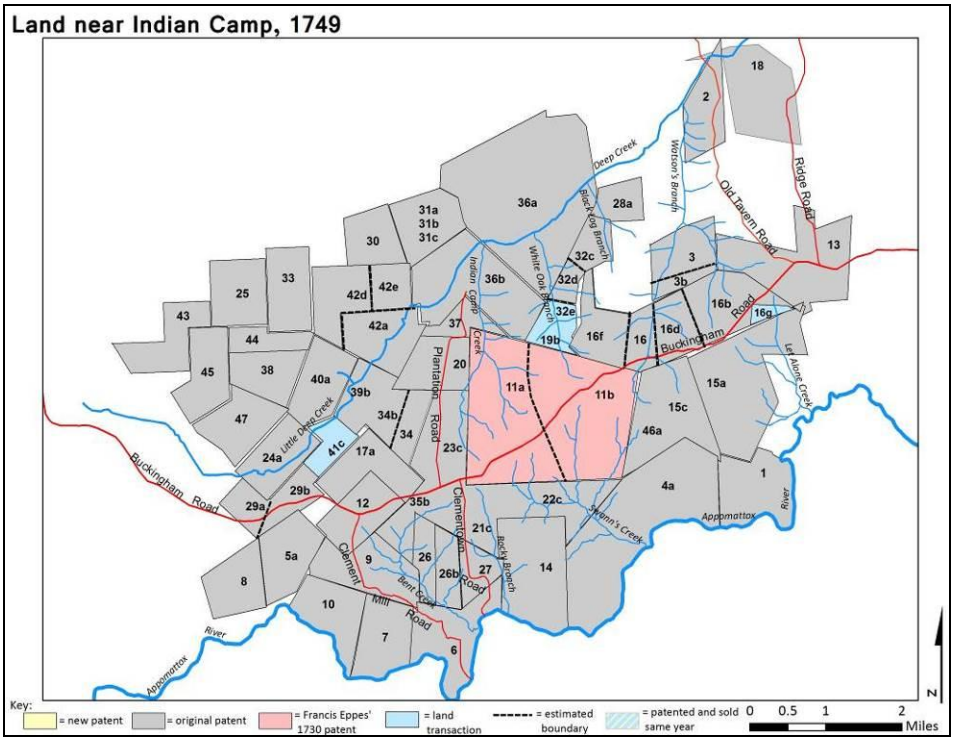

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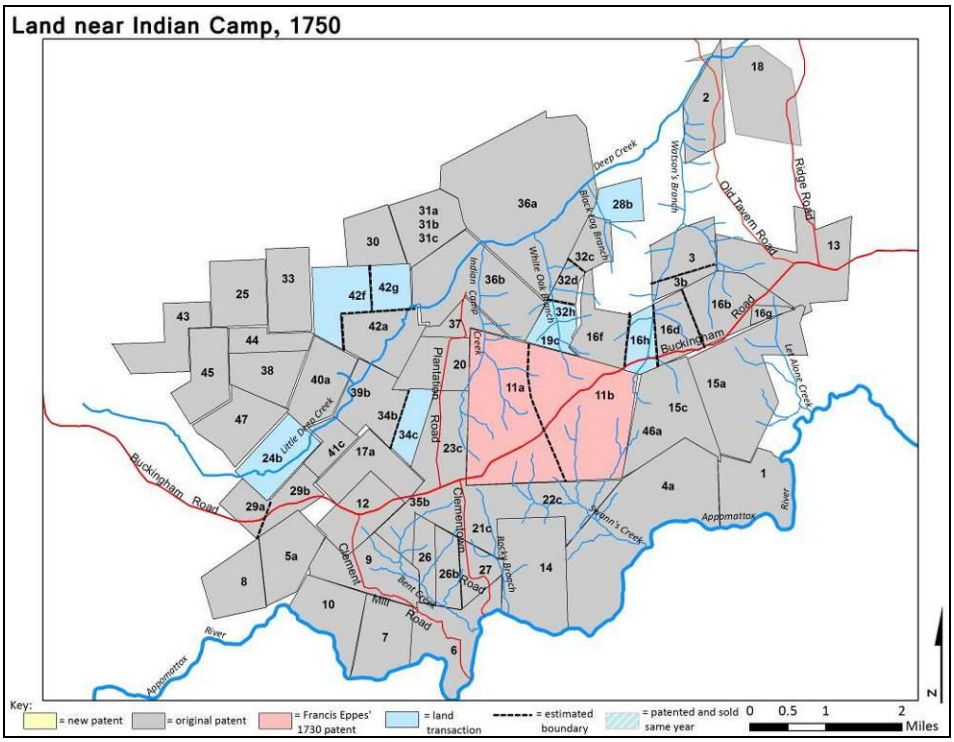

Figure A.21: Land near Indian Camp, 1750.

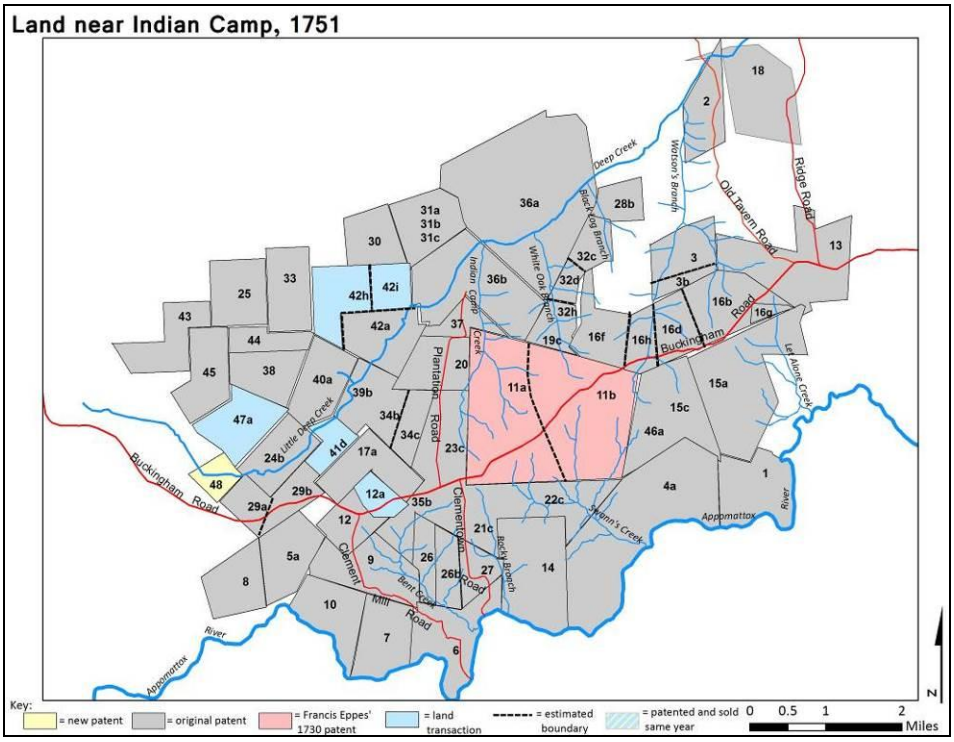

Figure A.22: Land near Indian Camp, 1751.

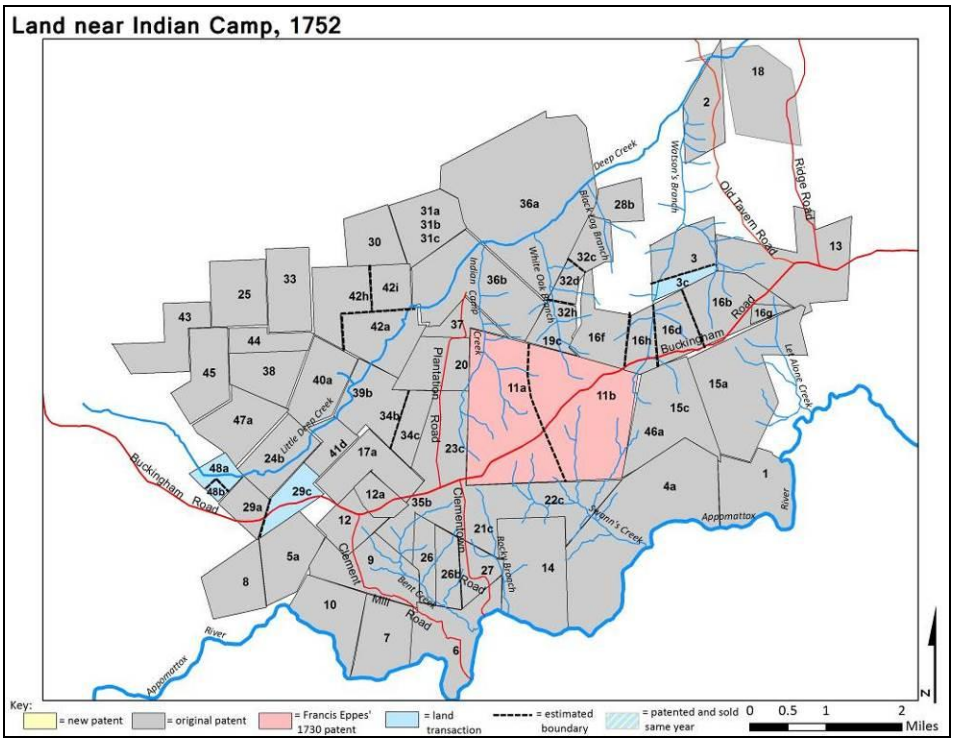

Figure A.23: Land near Indian Camp, 1752.

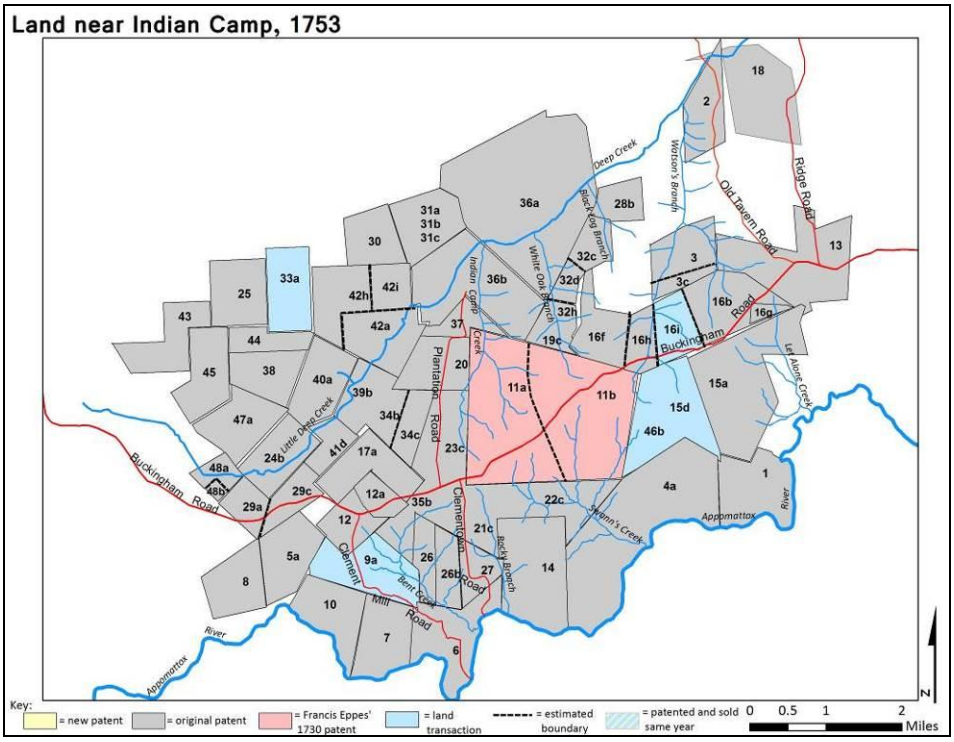

Figure A.24: Land near Indian Camp, 1753.

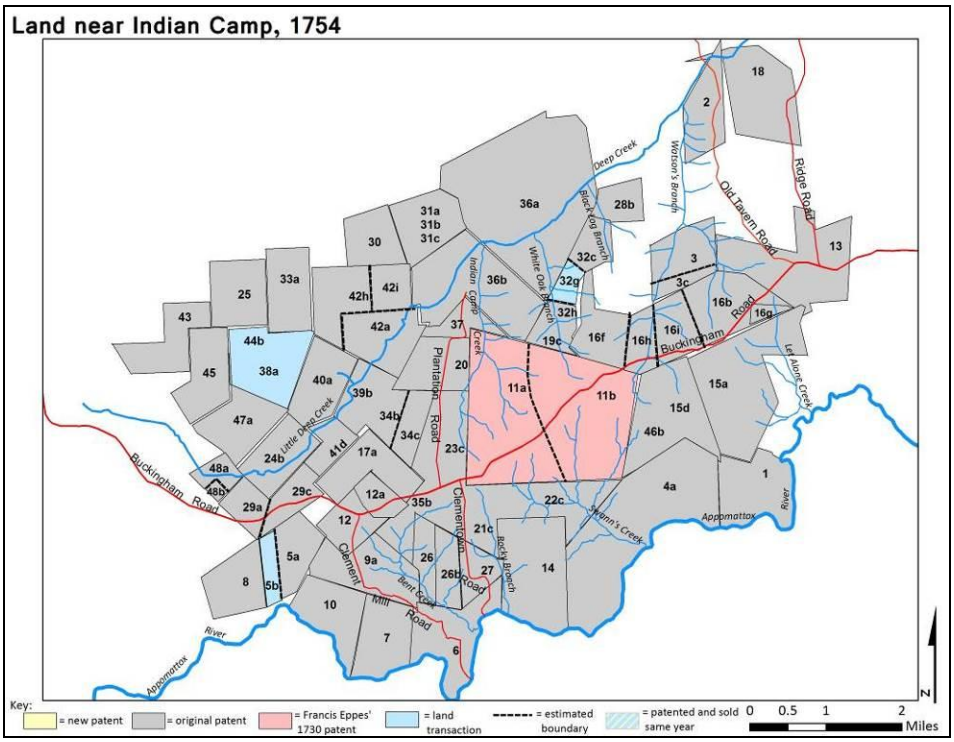

Figure A.25: Land near Indian Camp, 1754.

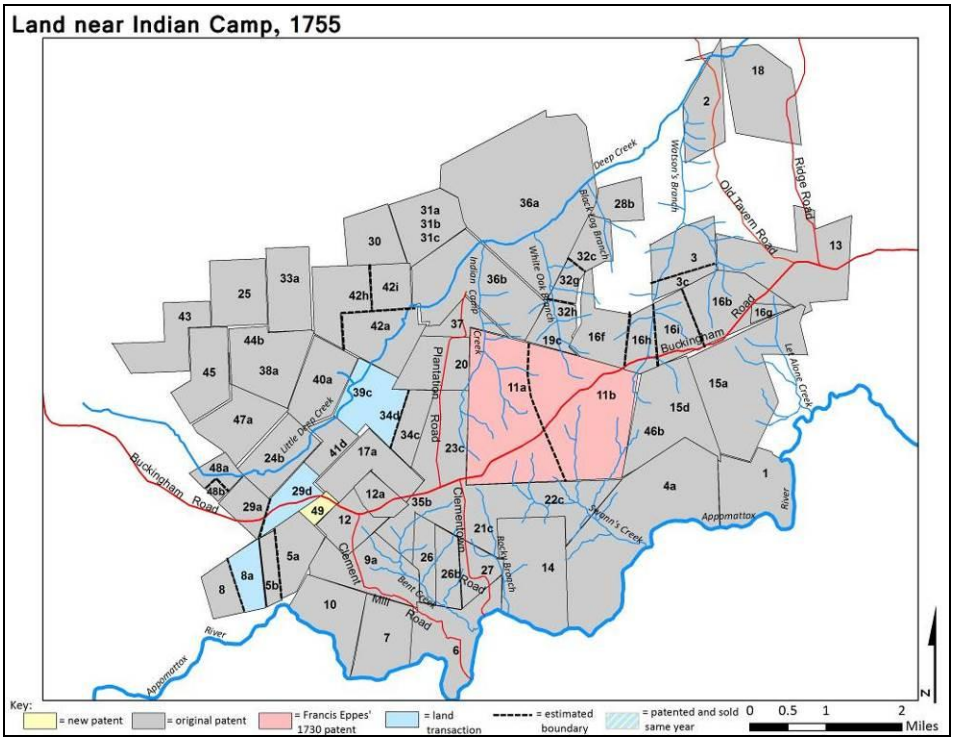

Figure A.26: Land near Indian Camp, 1755.

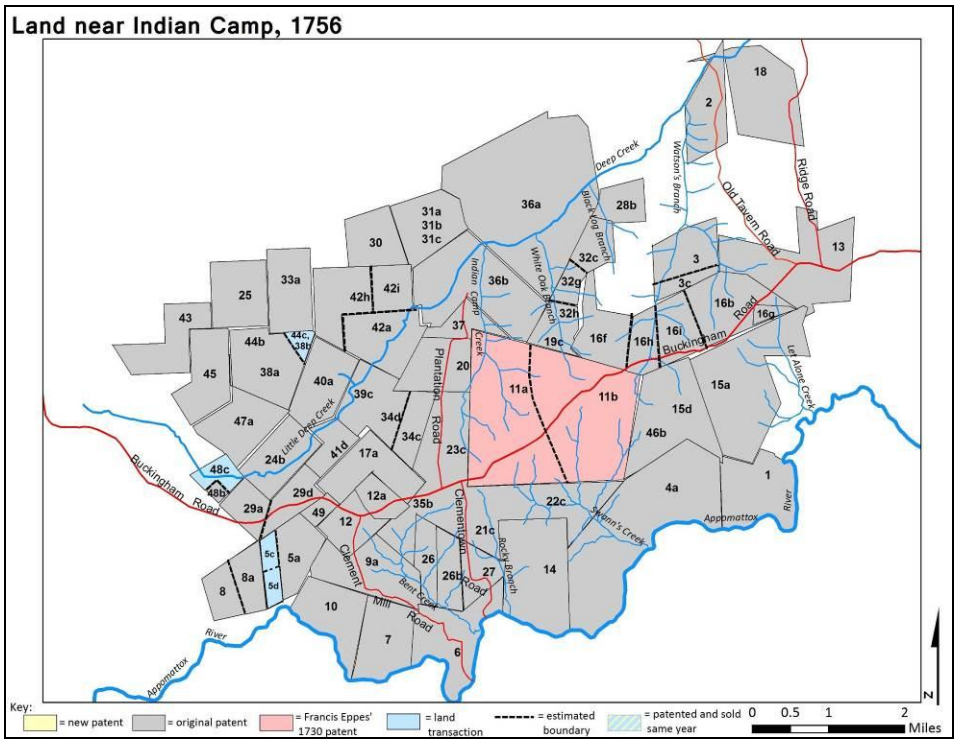

Figure A.27: Land near Indian Camp, 1756.

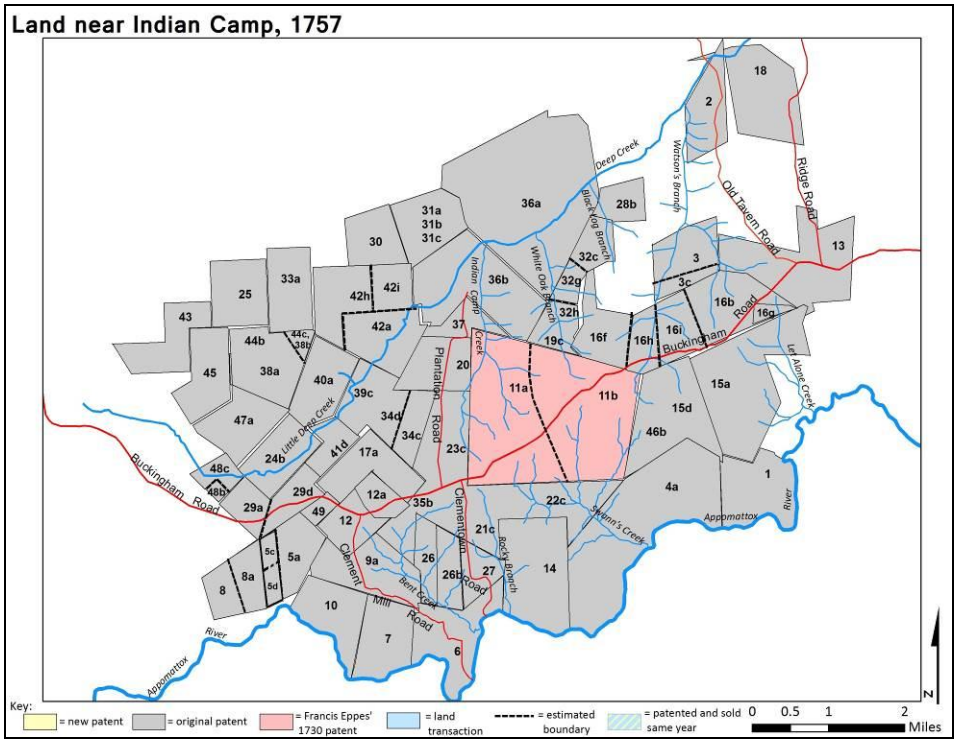

Figure A.28: Land near Indian Camp, 1757.

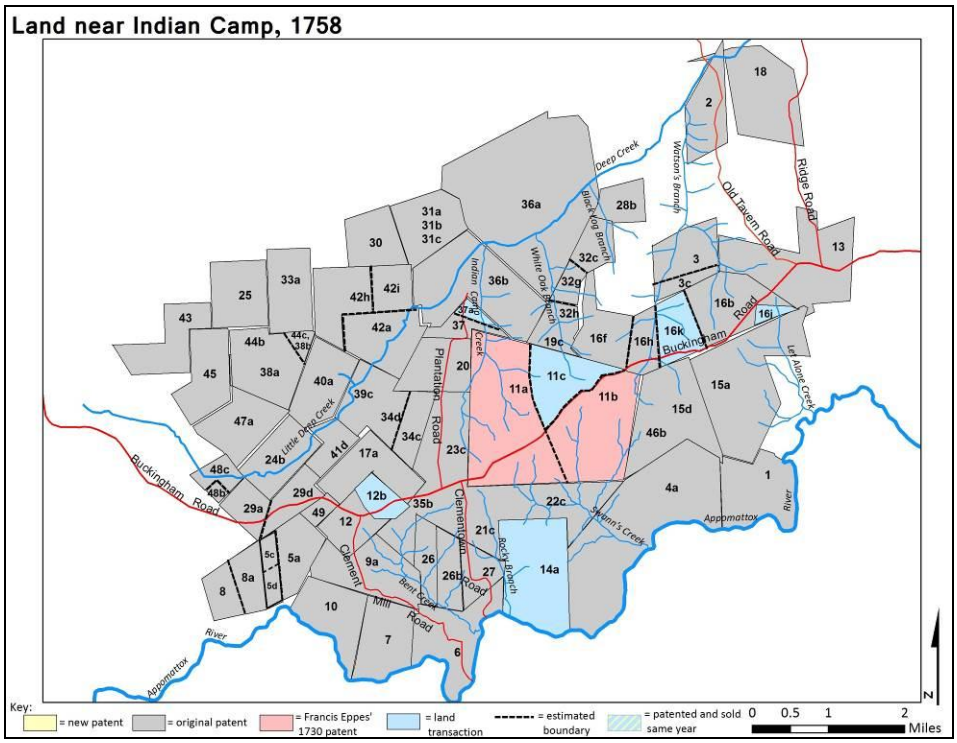

Figure A.29: Land near Indian Camp, 1758.

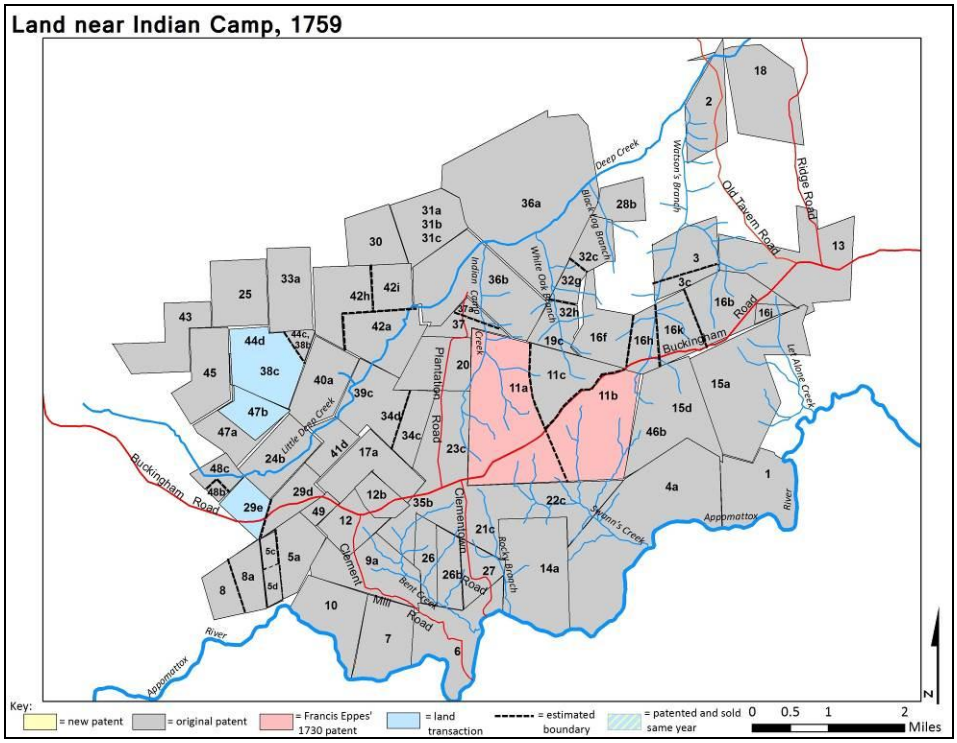

Figure A.30: Land near Indian Camp, 1759.

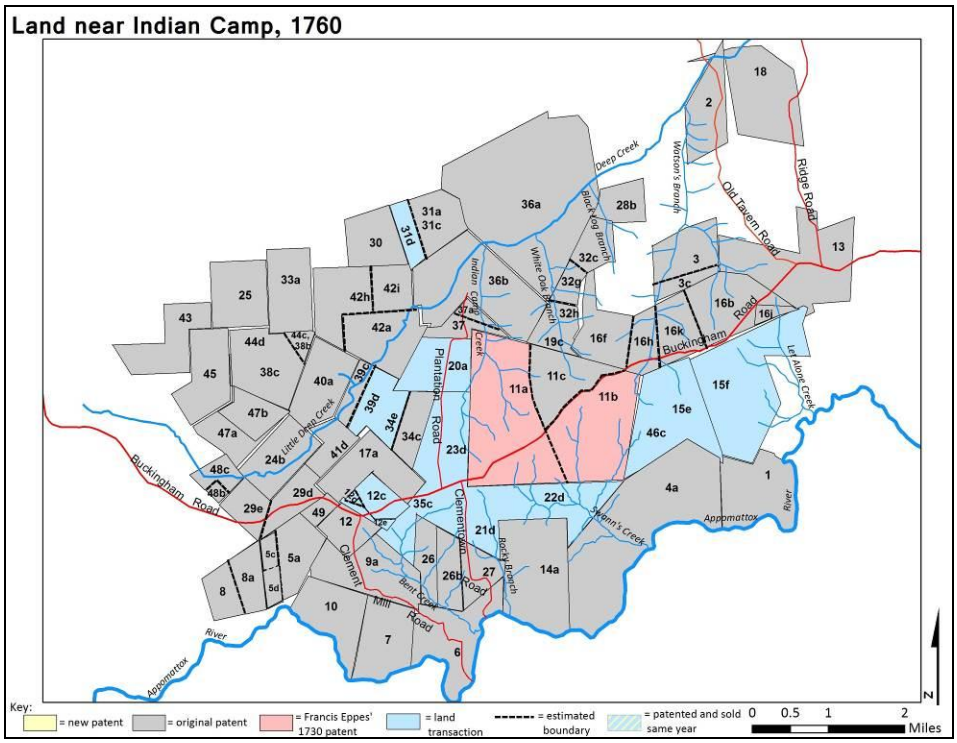

Figure A.31: Land near Indian Camp, 1760.

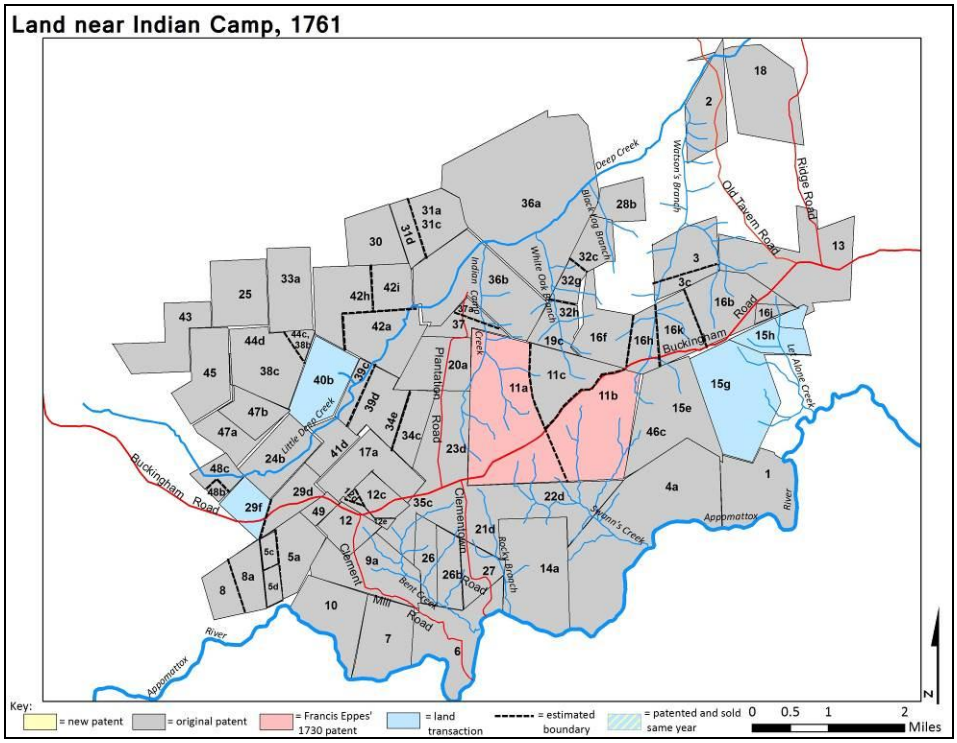

Figure A.32: Land near Indian Camp, 1761.

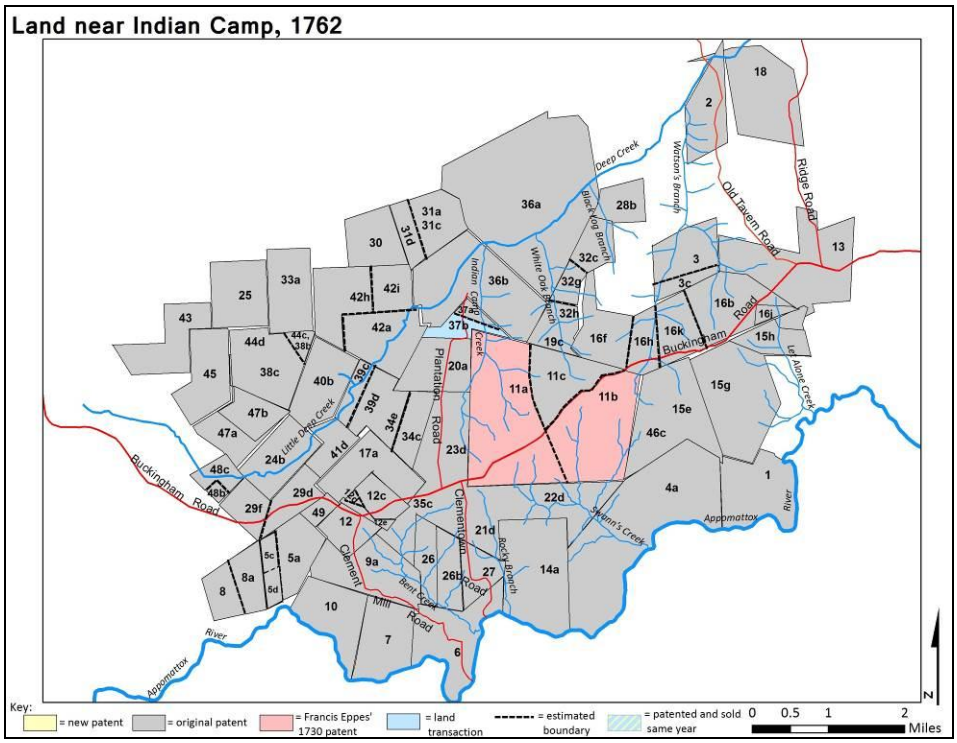

Figure A. 33: Land near Indian Camp, 1762.

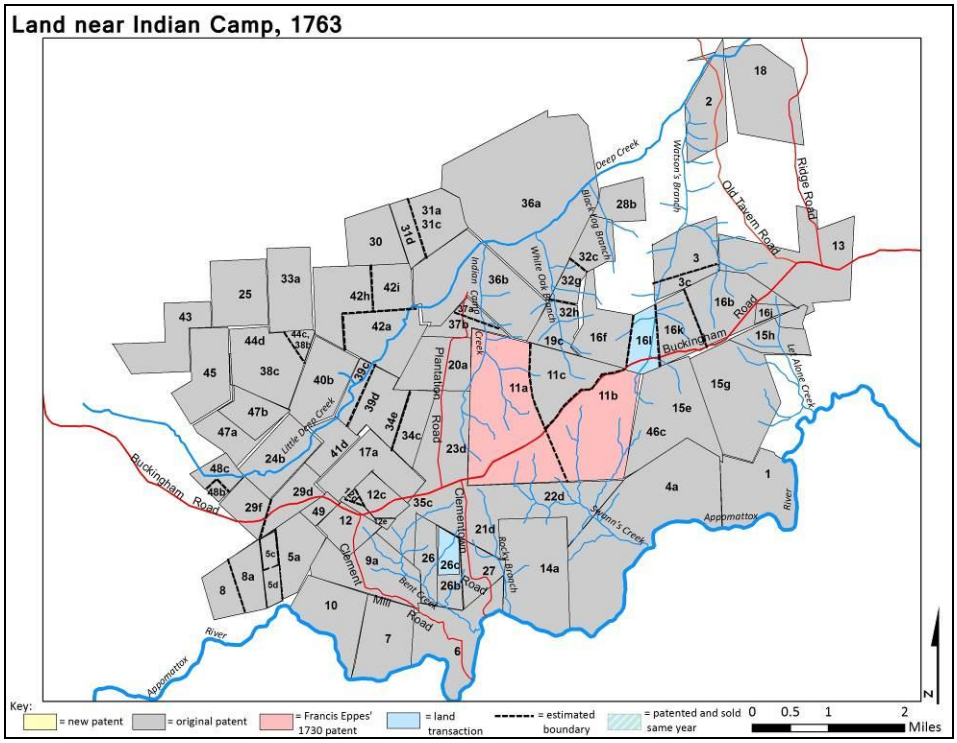

Figure A. 34: Land near Indian Camp, 1763.

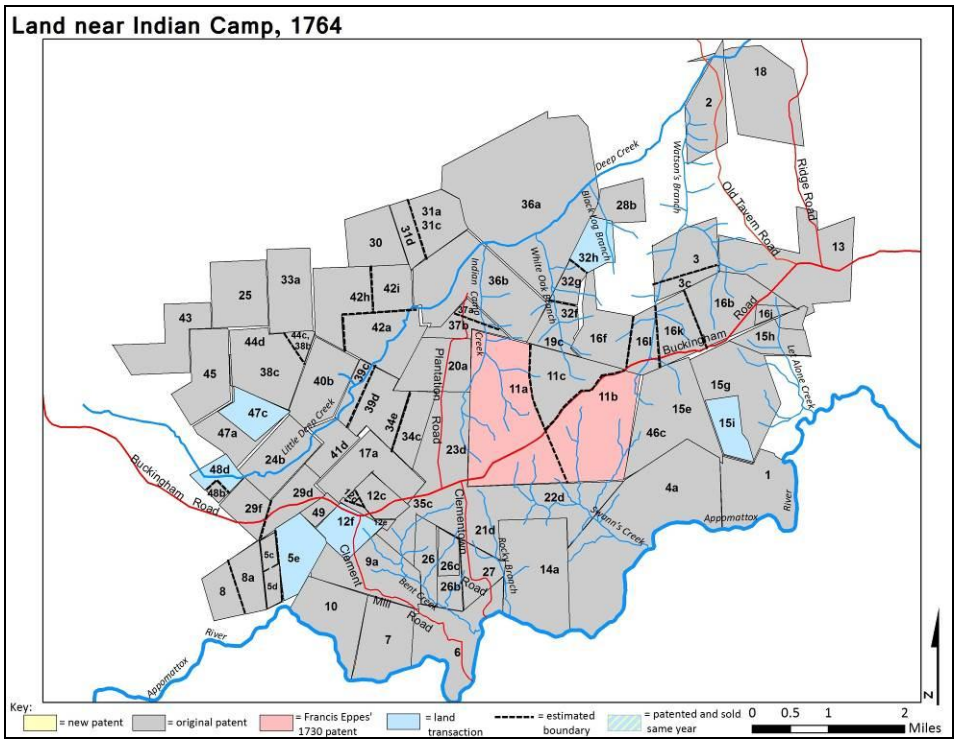

Figure A.35: Land near Indian Camp, 1764.

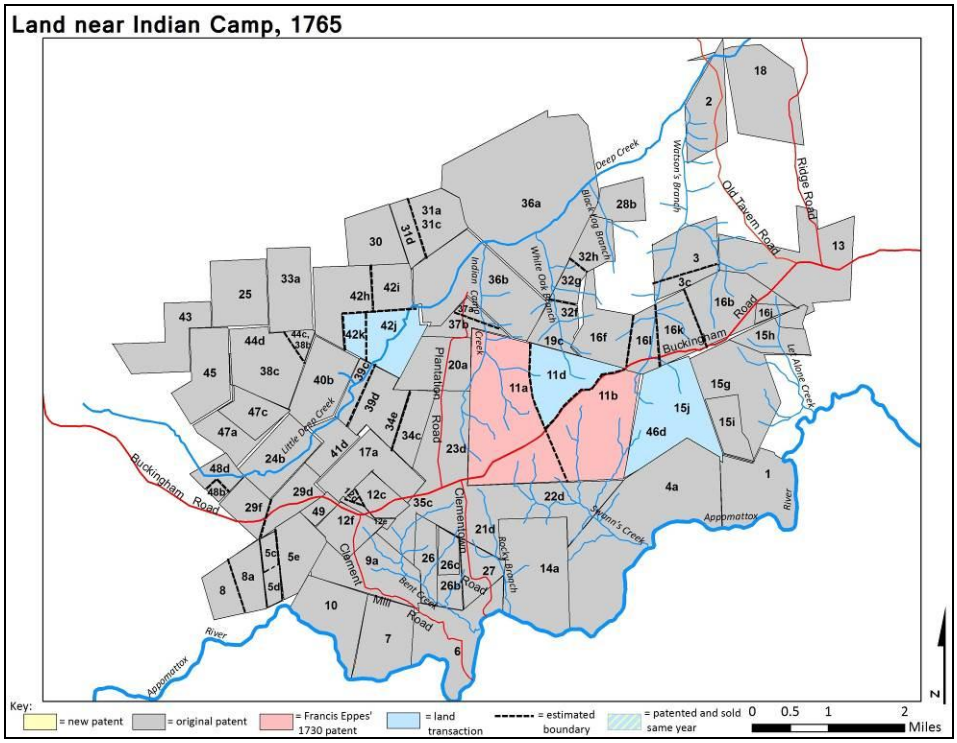

Figure A.36: Land near Indian Camp, 1765.

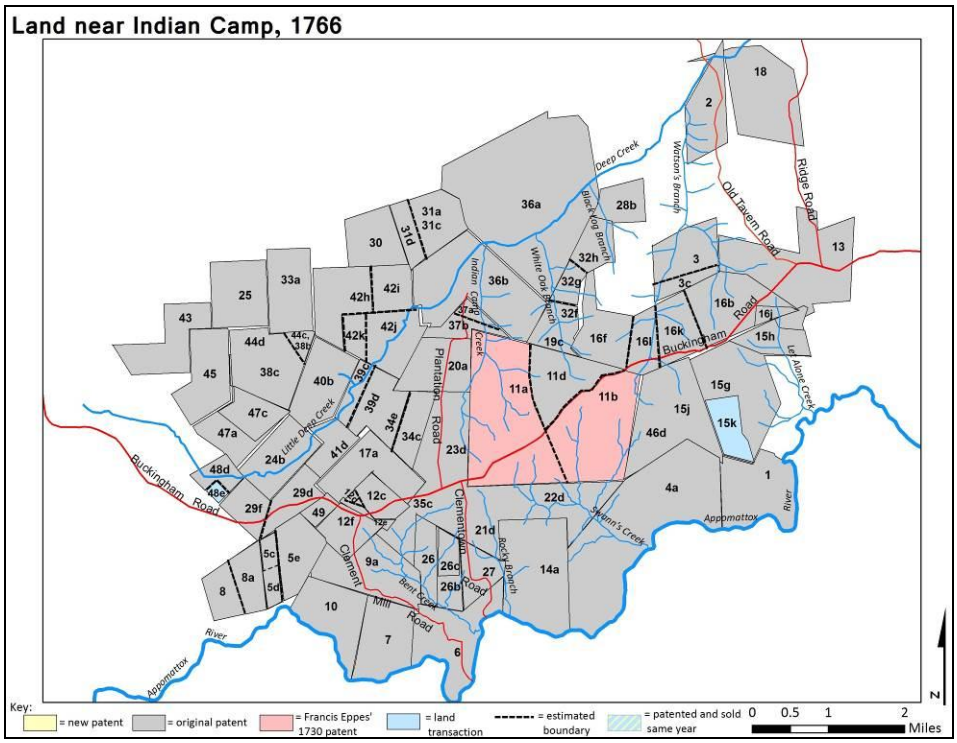

Figure A.37: Land near Indian Camp, 1766.

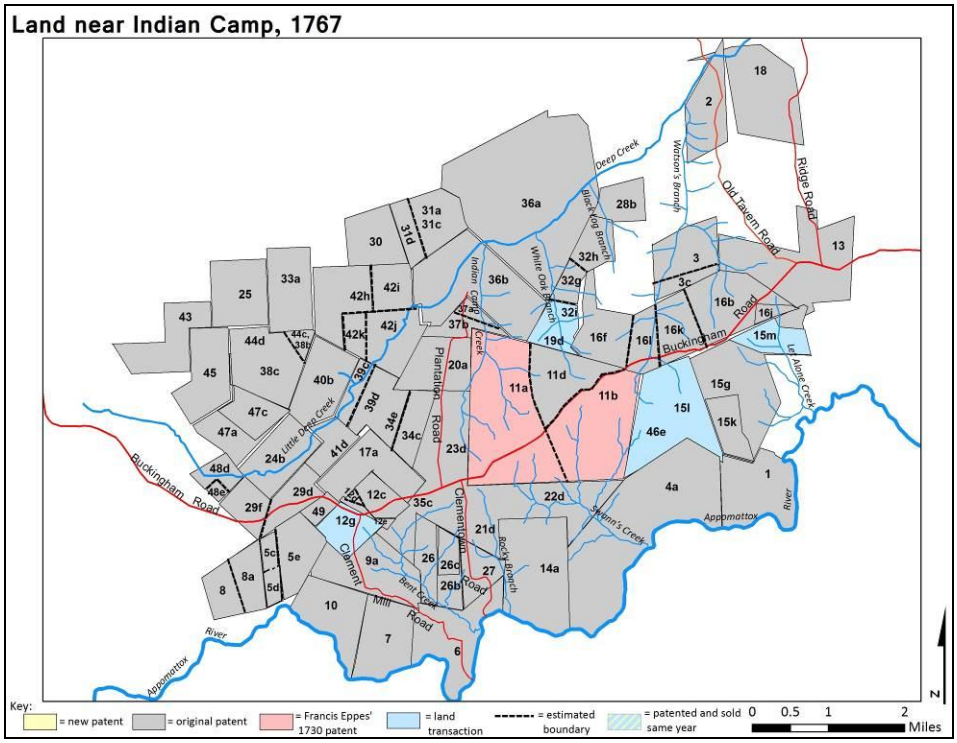

Figure A.38: Land near Indian Camp, 1767.

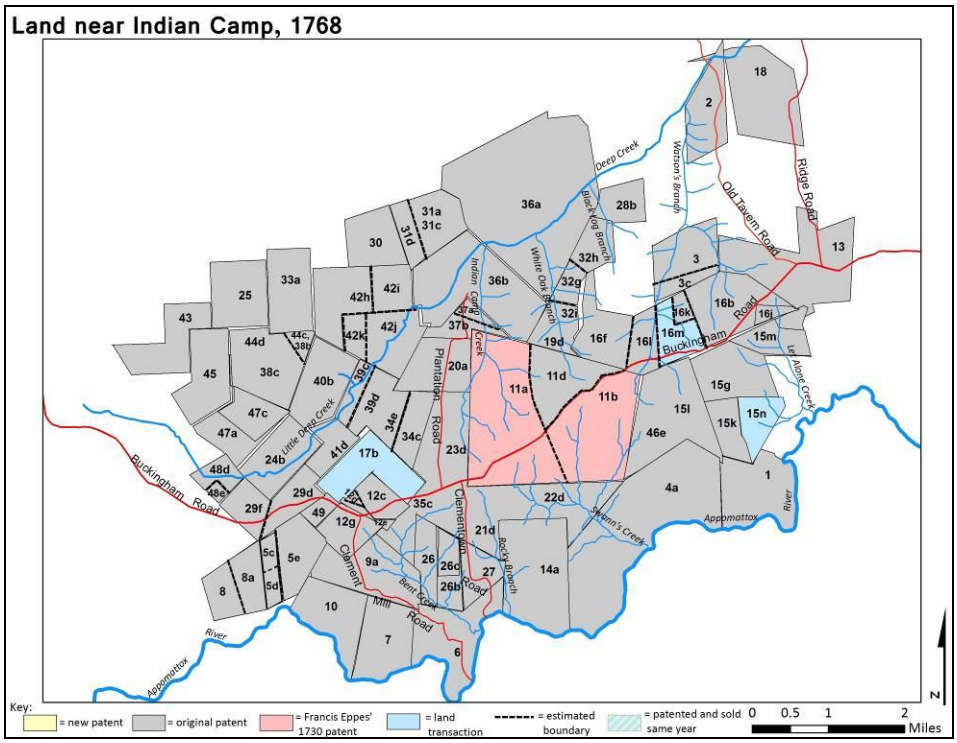

Figure A.39: Land near Indian Camp, 1768.

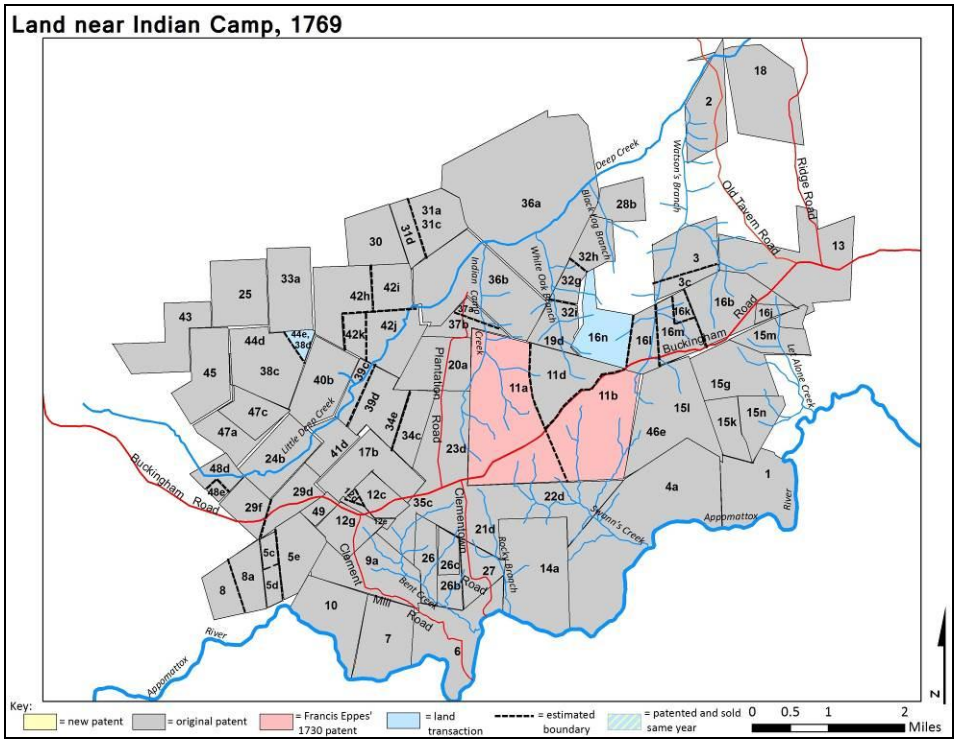

Figure A.40: Land near Indian Camp, 1769.

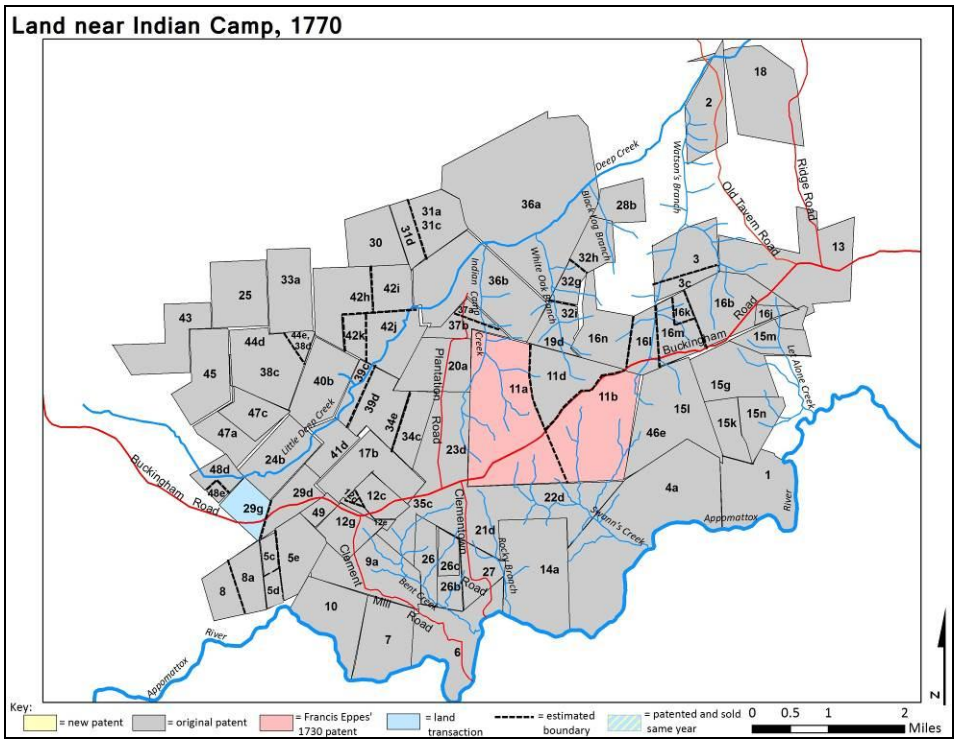

Figure A.41: Land near Indian Camp, 1770.

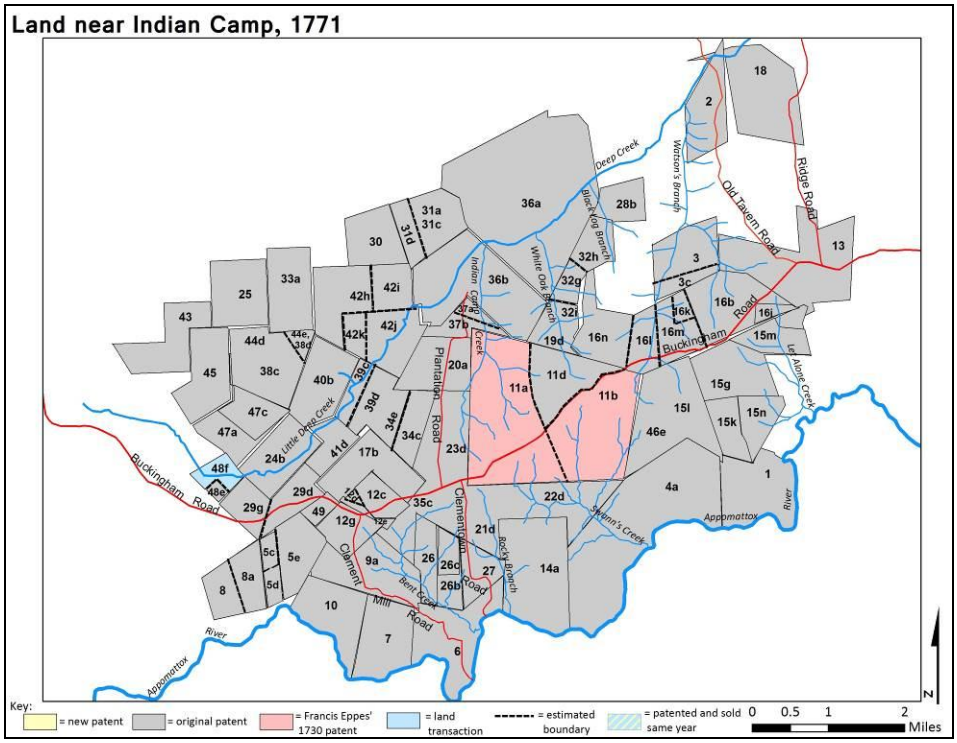

Figure A.42: Land near Indian Camp, 1771.

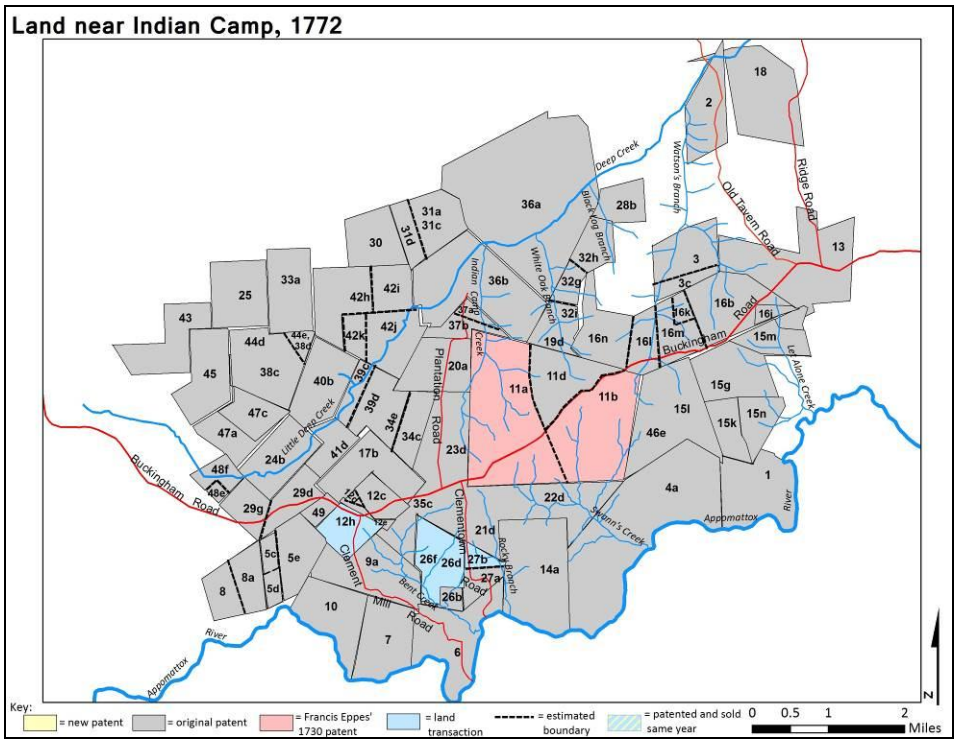

Figure A.43: Land near Indian Camp, 1772.

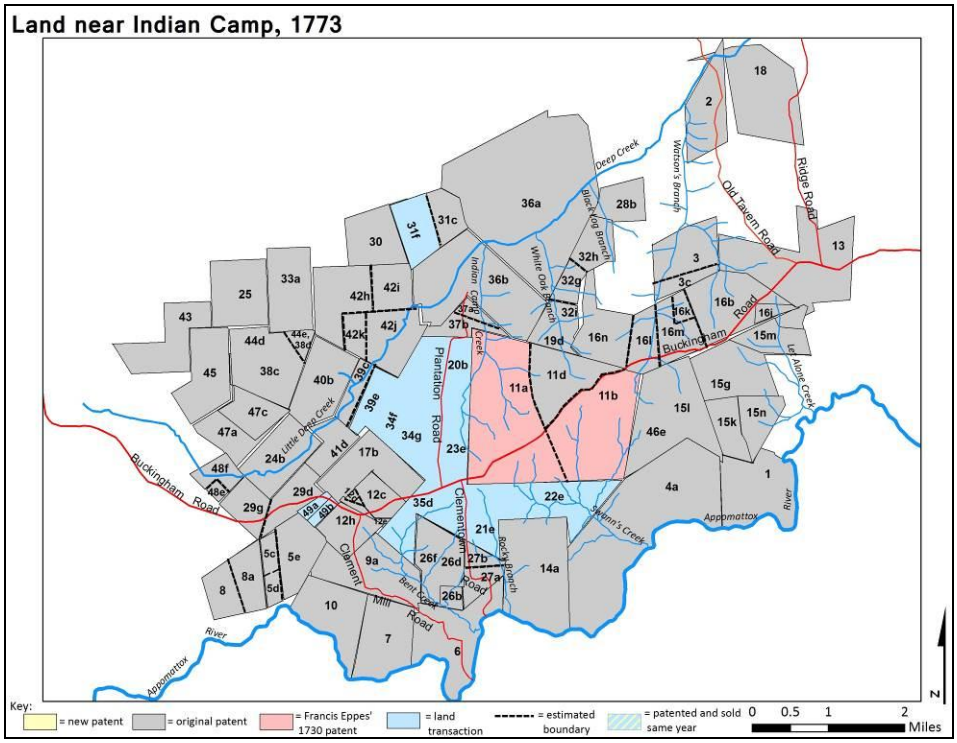

Figure A.44: Land near Indian Camp, 1773.

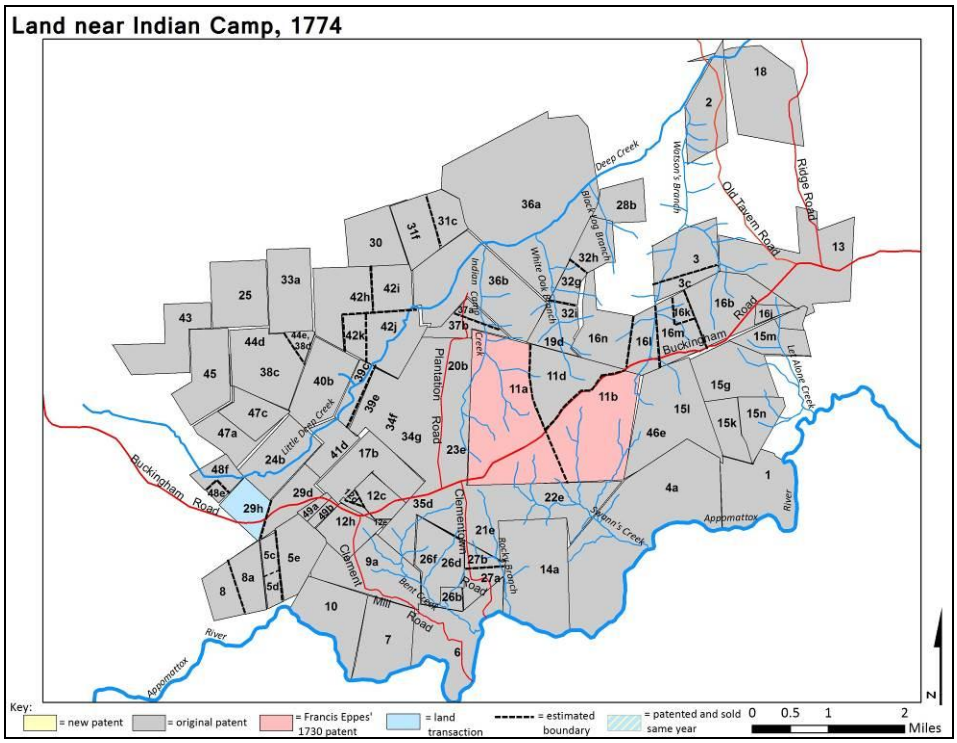

Figure A.45: Land near Indian Camp, 1774.

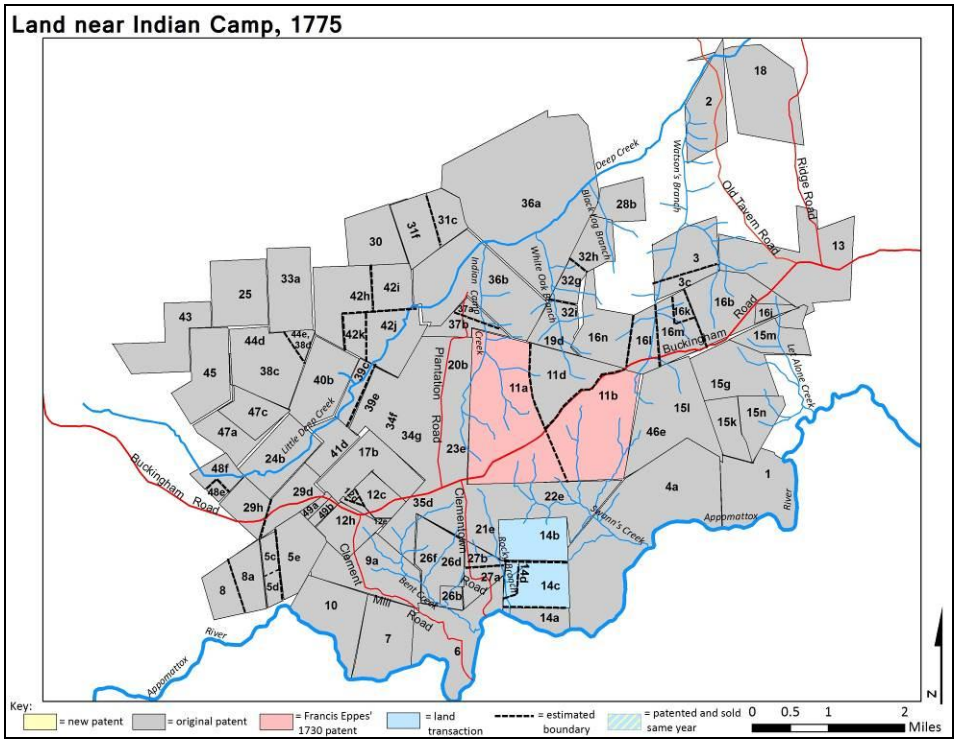

Figure A.46: Land near Indian Camp, 1775.

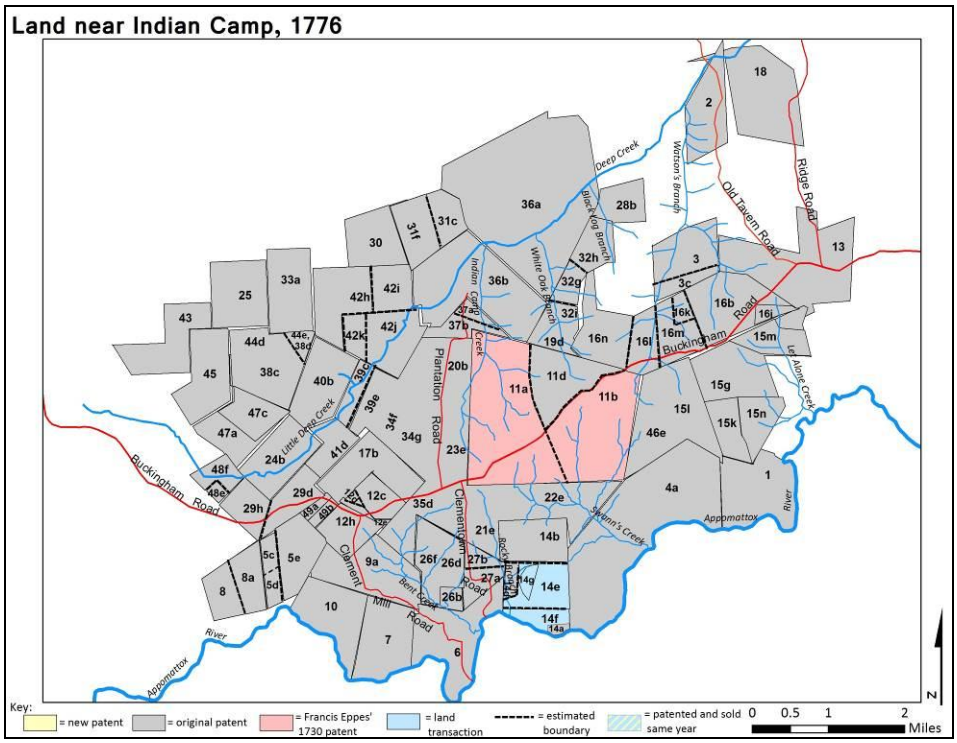

Figure A.47: Land near Indian Camp, 1776.

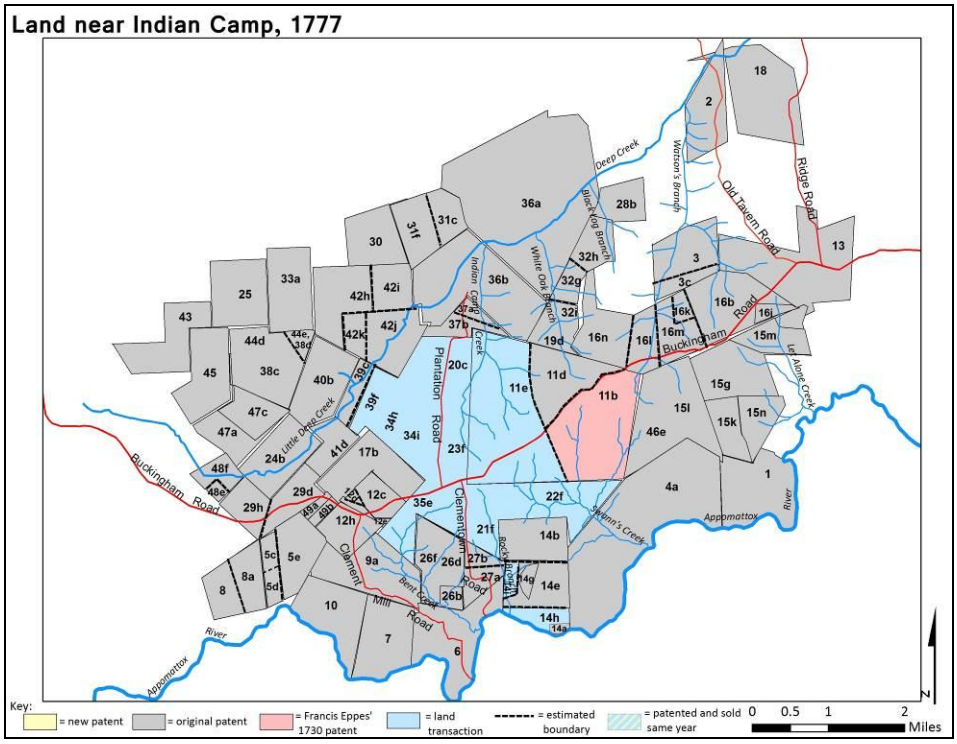

Figure A.48: Land near Indian Camp, 1777.

APPENDIX II

Table A.1: Key for Indian Camp neighborhood maps in Appendix I.

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
1724-1730	1	Crown	Henry Clay	9 July 1724	400	40 shillings	LOP 12:5-6	
	2	Crown	Warham Easely	12 Oct. 1727	400	40 shillings	LOP 13:218-219	
	3	Crown	Warham Easely	12 Oct. 1727	400	40 shillings	LOP 13:221	
	4	Crown	Henry Anderson	6 May 1730	1500	£7/ 10 shillings	LOP 13:463	
	5	Crown	John Owen	20 June 1730	400	40 shillings	LOP 13:394	
	6	Crown	Henry Cox	28 Sept. 1730	400	"for and in Consideration of the Importation of Seven persons…" and 5 shillings	LOP 14:48-49	
	7	Crown	George Cox	28 Sept. 1730	400	40 shillings	LOP 14:49	
	8	Crown	Hutchinson Burton	28 Sept. 1730	400	40 shillings	LOP 14:49-50	
	9	Crown	Hutchinson Burton	28 Sept. 1730	400	40 shillings	LOP 13:537	
	10	Crown	Frederick Cox	28 Sept. 1730	400	40 shillings	LOP 14:50-51	
	11	Crown	Francis Eppes	28 Sept. 1730	2400	£12	LOP 13:482-483	
1731	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		400			
	4		Henry Anderson		1500			
	5		John Owen		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	11		Francis Eppes		2400			
	12	Crown	Richard Parker	26 June 1731	400	40 shillings	LOP 14:177	
	13	Crown	John Phelps	17 Sept. 1731	800	£4	LOP 14:340	
1732	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		400			
	4a	Henry Anderson	James Bradby	20 June 1732	1500	£125	GCDB1:331-332	
	5		John Owen		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11		Francis Eppes		2400			
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14	Crown	Stephen Cox	11 April 1732	800	£4	LOP 14:420-421	
	15	Crown	John Woodson	11 April 1732	1500	£7/ 10 shillings	LOP 14:423-424	
	16	Crown	William, Benjamin, Joseph, John, and Robert Woodson	11 April 1732	1500	£7/10 shillings	LOP 14:440-441	
	17	Crown	Henry Hatcher	27 Sept. 1732	400	40 shillings	LOP 14:463	
	18	Crown	David Liles	28 Sept. 1732	800	£4	LOP 14:465	
1733	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		400			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	5		John Owen		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11		Francis Eppes		2400		HCDWB No. 2, Part 1:459-460	wills ½ to daughter Ann, ½ to Martha; will proved Dec. 1734
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox		800			
	15		John Woodson		1500			
	16		William, Benjamin, Joseph, John, and Robert Woodson		1500			
	17		Henry Hatcher		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19	Crown	William Tabor	28 Jan. 1733	88	10 shillings	LOP 15:139	
	20	Crown	John Pleasant	28 Jan. 1733	400	40 shillings	LOP 15:146	
	21	Crown	John Price	23 March 1733	400	40 shillings	LOP 15:174	
	22	Crown	John Price	23 March 1733	400	40 shillings	LOP 15:179-180	
	23	Crown	Richard Parker	20 June 1733	400	40 shillings	LOP 15:14	
	24	Crown	Andrew Crew	20 June 1733	382	40 shillings	LOP 15:18-19	
	25	Crown	John Hobson	20 June 1733	400	40 shillings	LOP 15:74-75	
	26	Crown	William Mosely	17 Aug. 1733	400	40 shillings	LOP 15:101-102	
	27	Crown	William Mosely	17 Aug. 1733	200	20 shillings	LOP 15:102	
	28	Crown	John Stoval	17 Aug. 1733	200	20 shillings	LOP 15:106-107	

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	29	Crown	George Freeman	17 Aug. 1733	400	40 shillings	LOP 15:107-108	
	30	Crown	Joseph Fuqua	12 Sept. 1733	350	35 shillings	LOP 15:121	
	31	Crown	John Maddox	12 Sept. 1733	400	40 shillings	LOP 15:121-122	
	32	Crown	John Stoval	3 Dec. 1733	400	40 shillings	LOP 15:135	
1734	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		400			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5		John Owen		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Eppes		1200			
	11b		Ann Eppes		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox		800			
	15		John Woodson		500			
	15a	John Woodson	James Skelton	21 Jan. 1734	1000	£100	GCDB2:45	
	16		William, Benjamin, Joseph, John, and Robert Woodson		1500			
	17		Henry Hatcher		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19		William Tabor		88			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21		John Price		400			
	22		John Price		400			
	23		Richard Parker		400			
	24		Andrew Crew		382			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		400			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28		John Stoval		200			
	29		George Freeman		400			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31		John Maddox		400			
	32		John Stoval		400			
	33	Crown	John Hobson	24 March 1734	400	40 shillings	LOP 15:471-472	
	34	Crown	Henry Hatcher	25 May 1734	400	40 shillings	LOP 15:208	
	35	Crown	Henry Cary	20 Aug. 1734	320	35 shillings	LOP 15:272	
	36	Crown	William Mayo	20 Aug. 1734	3000	£15	LOP 15:284	
1735	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3a	Warham Easely	Thomas Dupra	14 Jan. 1735	100	£5	GCDB2:154	
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5		John Owen		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Eppes		1200			
	11b		Ann Eppes		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15b	John Woodson	Young Stokes	19 Aug. 1735	500	£100	GCDB2:131	
	16		William, Joseph, John, and Robert Woodson		1500			Benjamin Woodson died 1735 (GCDB2:133)
	17		Henry Hatcher		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19a	William Tabor	John Hughes	10 March 1735	88	£6	GCDB2:179	
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21		John Price		400			
	22		John Price		400			
	23a	Richard Parker	Henry Cary	18 Nov. 1735	400	"for one negroman Slave named Toney"	GCDB2:204-205	
	24		Andrew Crew		382			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		400			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28		John Stoval		200			
	29a	George Freeman	George Freeman	1735	200	"for natural affection love and good will…"	GCDB2:121	George Freeman wills his two sons his 400 acre parcel to divide

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	29b	George Freeman	Holman Freeman	1735	200	"for natural affection love and good will…"	GCDB2:121	George Freeman wills his two sons his 400 acre parcel to divide
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31		John Maddox		400			
	32		John Stoval		200			
	32a	John Stovall	John Hughes	12 Feb. 1735	100	£6	GCDB2:178	
	32b	John Stovall	Thomas Dupra	9 March 1735	100	£5	GCDB2:181	
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34		Henry Hatcher		400			
	35		Henry Cary		320			
	36		William Mayo		1000			
	36a	William Mayo	John Pirratt	17 Jan. 1735	2000	£110	GCDB2:159-160	Pirratt is Mayo's father-in-law
	37	Crown	David Wineford	7 July 1735	182	20 shillings	LOP 16:25-26	
1736	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3a		Thomas Dupra		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5		John Owen		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Eppes		1200			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	11b		Ann Eppes		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15b		Young Stokes		500			
	16		William, Joseph, John, and Robert Woodson		1500			
	17		Henry Hatcher		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19a		John Hughes		88			
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21a	John Price and wife Hannah	Henry Cary	5 April 1736	400	£25 total	GCDB2:202-203	combined with 400 acres from 22a in actual deed; totals 800 acres
	22a	John Price and wife Hannah	Henry Cary	5 April 1736	400	£25 total	GCDB2:202-203	combined with 400 acres from 22b in actual deed; totals 800 acres
	23a		Henry Cary		400			
	24		Andrew Crew		382			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		400			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28		John Stoval		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29b		Holman Freeman		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	31		John Maddox		400			
	32		John Stoval		200			
	32a		John Hughes		100			
	32b		Thomas Dupra		100			
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34		Henry Hatcher		400			
	35		Henry Cary		320			
	36		William Mayo		1000			
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38	Crown	Charles Bond	17 March 1736	350	35 shillings	LOP 17:237-238	
	39	Crown	Henry Hatcher	17 March 1736	200	20 shillings	LOP 17:250-251	
	40	Crown	Thomas Burch	7 Sept. 1736	400	40 shillings	LOP 17:165	
1737	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3a		Thomas Dupra		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5		John Owen		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Eppes		1200			
	11b		Ann Eppes		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15b		Young Stokes		500			
	16		Joseph, John, and Robert Woodson		1040			
	16a	William Woodson	Tendy Walker	21 June 1737	460	£40	GCDB3:38	
	17		Henry Hatcher		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19a		John Hughes		88			
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21b	Crown	Henry Cary	2 Oct. 1737	400*	none listed	LOP 17:424-425	Repatented land including 21b, 22b, 23b, 35a; totals 1520 acres
	22b	Crown	Henry Cary	2 Oct. 1737	400*	none listed	LOP 17:424-425	Repatented land including 21b, 22b, 23b, 35a; totals 1520 acres
	23b	Crown	Henry Cary	2 Oct. 1737	400*	none listed	LOP 17:424-425	Repatented land including 21b, 22b, 23b, 35a; totals 1520 acres
	24		Andrew Crew		382			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		400			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28		John Stoval		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29b		Holman Freeman		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	31		John Maddox		400			
	32		John Stoval		200			
	32a		John Hughes		100			
	32b		Thomas Dupra		100			
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34		Henry Hatcher		400			
	35a	Crown	Henry Cary	2 Oct. 1737	320*	none listed	LOP 17:424-425	Repatented land including 21b, 22b, 23b, 35a; totals 1520 acres
	36		William Mayo		1000			
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38		Charles Bond		350			
	39		Henry Hatcher		200			
	40		Thomas Burch		400			
	41	Crown	Richard Parker	10 June 1737	180	20 shillings	LOP 17:316-317	
	41a	Richard Parker	Andrew Crew	21 Dec. 1737	180	£11	GCDB3:197	
	42	Crown	Stephen Hughes	10 June 1737	1000	£5	LOP 17:339	
	43	Crown	Luke Wiles	10 June 1737	400	40 shillings	LOP 17:353-354	
	44	Crown	John Maddox	15 Aug. 1737	200	20 shillings	LOP 17: 383	
1738	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3a		Thomas Dupra		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5		John Owen		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Eppes		1200			
	11b		Ann Eppes		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15b		Young Stokes		500			
	16		Joseph, John, and Robert Woodson		1040			
	16a		Tendy Walker		460			
	17		Henry Hatcher		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19a		John Hughes		88			
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21b		Henry Cary		400*			*1520 acres total
	22b		Henry Cary		400*			*1520 acres total
	23b		Henry Cary		400*			*1520 acres total
	24		Andrew Crew		382			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		400			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28		John Stoval		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	29b		Holman Freeman		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31		John Maddox		400			
	32		John Stoval		200			
	32a		John Hughes		100			
	32b		Thomas Dupra		100			
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34		Henry Hatcher		400			
	35a		Henry Cary		320*			*1520 acres total
	36		William Mayo		1000			
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38		Charles Bond		350			
	39		Henry Hatcher		200			
	40		Thomas Burch		400			
	41a		Andrew Crew		180			
	42		Stephen Hughes		1000			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44		John Maddox		200			
	45	Crown	John Tabor	16 June 1738	400	40 shillings	LOP 18:9	
	46	Crown	Young Stokes	20 July 1738	263	30 shillings	LOP 18:61-62	
1739	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3a		Thomas Dupra		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5		John Owen		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Eppes		1200			
	11b		Ann Eppes		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15b		Young Stokes		500			
	16		Joseph, John, and Robert Woodson		1040			
	16a		Tendy Walker		460			
	17		Henry Hatcher		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19a		John Hughes		88			
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21b		Henry Cary		400*			*1520 acres total
	22b		Henry Cary		400*			*1520 acres total
	23b		Henry Cary		400*			*1520 acres total
	24		Andrew Crew		382			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Moseley		200			
	26a	William Moseley	Stephen Cox	22 May 1739	200	£10	GCDB3:244	
	27		William Mosely		200			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	28		John Stoval		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29b		Holman Freeman		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31		John Maddox		400			
	32		John Stoval		200			
	32a		John Hughes		100			
	32b		Thomas Dupra		100			
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34		Henry Hatcher		400			
	35a		Henry Cary		320*			*1520 acres total
	36		William Mayo		1000			
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38		Charles Bond		350			
	39		Henry Hatcher		200			
	40a	Thomas Burch	John Brunskill	10 Oct. 1739	400	£30	GCDB3:309	
	41a		Andrew Crew		180			
	42		Stephen Hughes		600			
	42a	Stephen Hughes	Abraham Mcgehe	17 Sept. 1739	400	£40	GCDB3:246	
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44		John Maddox		200			
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46		Young Stokes		263			
	47	Crown	William Moss	22 Sept. 1739	400	40 shillings	LOP 18:475-476	
1740	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3a		Thomas Dupra		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5		John Owen		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Eppes		1200			
	11b		Ann Eppes		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15b		Young Stokes		500			
	16		Joseph, John, and Robert Woodson		1040			
	16a		Tendy Walker		460			
	17		Henry Hatcher		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19a		John Hughes		88			
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21b		Henry Cary		400*			*1520 acres total
	22b		Henry Cary		400*			*1520 acres total
	23b		Henry Cary		400*			*1520 acres total
	24		Andrew Crew		382			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Moseley		200			
	26a		Stephen Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28		John Stoval		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29b		Holman Freeman		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31		John Maddox		400			
	32		John Stoval		200			
	32a		John Hughes		100			
	32b		Thomas Dupra		100			
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34		Henry Hatcher		400			
	35a		Henry Cary		320*			*1520 acres total
	36		William Mayo		1000			
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38		Charles Bond		350			
	39		Henry Hatcher		200			
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41a		Andrew Crew		180			
	42		Stephen Hughes		600			
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44a	John Maddox	Charles Bond	15 Dec. 1740	200	no payment recorded	GCDB3:468-469	

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46		Young Stokes		263			
	47		William Moss		400			
1741	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3a		Thomas Dupra		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5		John Owen		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Eppes		1200			
	11b		Ann Eppes		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15b		Young Stokes		500			
	16		Joseph, John, and Robert Woodson		1040			
	16a		Tendy Walker		460			
	17a	Henry Hatcher	John Pleasants	15 March 1741	400	£80	GCDB3:530	
	18		David Liles		800			
	19a		John Hughes		88			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21b		Henry Cary		400*			*1520 acres total
	22b		Henry Cary		400*			*1520 acres total
	23b		Henry Cary		400*			*1520 acres total
	24		Andrew Crew		382			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Moseley		200			
	26a		Stephen Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28		John Stoval		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29b		Holman Freeman		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31		John Maddox		400			
	32a		John Hughes		100			
	32b		Thomas Dupra		100			
	32c	John Stovall	Frances Steger	30 Nov. 1741	200	£20	GCDB3:518-519	
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34		Henry Hatcher		200			
	34a	Henry Hatcher	John Coles	10 April 1741	200**	£28/ 16 shillings	GCDB3:506	**400 acres total. This seems to be the western half (34a) of Hatcher's 1734 patent, along with Hatcher's 1736 patent (39a).
	35a		Henry Cary					
	36		William Mayo		1000			
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38		Charles Bond		350			
	39a	Henry Hatcher	John Coles	10 April 1741	200**	£28/ 16 shillings	GCDB3:506	**400 acres total. This seems to be the western half (34a) of Hatcher's 1734 patent, along with Hatcher's 1736 patent (39a).
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41a		Andrew Crew		180			
	42		Stephen Hughes		600			
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44a		Charles Bond		200			
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46		Young Stokes		263			
	47		William Moss		400			
1742	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3a		Thomas Dupra		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5		John Owen		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	11a		Martha Eppes		1200			
	11b		Ann Eppes		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15c	Young Stokes	Stephen Cox	15 March 1742	500***	£76	GCDB4:134-135	***763 acres total
	16		John Woodson		260			
	16a		Tendy Walker		460			
	16b		Joseph Woodson	1742	520		GCDB3:544	"Joseph (16b) and Robert Woodson (16c) prays that a Dividing line between them in a tract of Land lying upon the Branches of Deep Creek may be recorded"
	16c		Robert Woodson	1742	260		GCDB3:544	See notes for 16b
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19a		John Hughes		88			
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21c	Henry Cary	James Murray	18 Sept. 1742	400*	£75 total	GCB4:50-51	"Except Twenty acres [removed from 35b] part of the same Tract which is reserved to the said Cary and is laid off and bounded adjoyning to the lands of Martha Eppes and on the Right

								hand of the road going up the Country"; *1500 acres total
Year	**Number**	**Grantor**	**Grantee**	**Date**	**Acres**	**Payment**	**Citation**	**Notes**
	22c	Henry Cary	James Murray	18 Sept. 1742	400*	£75 total	GCB4:50-51	See notes for 21c; *1500 acres total
	23c	Henry Cary	James Murray	18 Sept. 1742	400*	£75 total	GCB4:50-51	See notes for 21c; *1500 acres total
	24		Andrew Crew		382			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Moseley		200			
	26a		Stephen Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28		John Stoval		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29b		Holman Freeman		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31		John Maddox		400			
	32a		John Hughes		100			
	32b		Thomas Dupra		100			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34		Henry Hatcher		200			
	34a		John Coles		200**			**400 acres total
	35b	Henry Cary	James Murray	18 Sept. 1742	300*	£75 total	GCB4:50-51	See notes for 21c. Removed 20 acres from the original 320 acre patent, but this is a guess. *1500 acres total
	36		William Mayo		1000			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38		Charles Bond		350			
	39a		John Coles		200**			**400 acres total
	40a		John Brunkskill		400			
	41a		Andrew Crew		180			
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42b	Stephen Hughes	John Scrug	Approx. 1742	200	?	Did not find record of this transaction	
	42c	Stephen Hughes	Isaac Hughes	31 March 1742	400	£40	GCDB3:539	
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44a		Charles Bond		200			
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46a	Young Stokes	Stephen Cox	15 March 1742	263***	£76	GCDB4:134-135	***763 acres total
	47		William Moss		400			
1743	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3a		Thomas Dupra		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5		John Owen		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Eppes		1200			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	11b		Ann Eppes		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15c		Stephen Cox		500***			***763 acres total
	16		John Woodson		260			
	16a		Tendy Walker		460			
	16b		Joseph Woodson		520			
	16d	Robert Woodson	John Curd	21 June 1743	260	£35	GCDB4:273-274	
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19a		John Hughes		88			
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21c		James Murray		400			*1500 acres total
	22c		James Murray		400			*1500 acres total
	23c		James Murray		400			*1500 acres total
	24		Andrew Crew		382			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Moseley		200			
	26a		Stephen Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28		John Stoval		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29b		Holman Freeman		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	31		John Maddox		400			
	32a		John Hughes		100			
	32b		Thomas Dupra		100			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34		Henry Hatcher		200			
	34a		John Coles		200**			**200 acres total
	35b		James Murray		300*			*1500 acres total
	36		William Mayo		1000			
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38		Charles Bond		350			
	39a		John Coles		200**			**400 acres total
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41b	Andrew Crew	Samuel Apperson	20 March 1743	180	no payment recorded	GCDB4:308-309	
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42b		John Scrug		200			
	42c		Isaac Hughes		400			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44a		Charles Bond		200			
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46a		Stephen Cox		263***			***763 acres total
	47		William Moss		400			
1744	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	3a		Thomas Dupra		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5		John Owen		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Eppes		1200			
	11b		Ann Eppes		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15c		Stephen Cox		500***			***763 acres total
	16		John Woodson		260			
	16a		Tendy Walker		460			
	16b		Joseph Woodson		520			
	16d		John Curd		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19a		John Hughes		88			
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	22c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	23c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	24		Andrew Crew		382			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Moseley		200			
	26a		Stephen Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28a	John Stoval	Philip Poindexter	5 January 1744	200	£55	GCDB4:328-329	
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29b		Holman Freeman		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31		John Maddox		400			
	32a		John Hughes		100			
	32b		Thomas Dupra		100			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34		Henry Hatcher		200			
	34a		John Coles		200**			**400 acres total
	35b		James Murray		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b	William Mayo	John Mayo	1744	1000	land was willed	GCDB4:448	will written Feb. 1743[4], proved Nov. 1744
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38		Charles Bond		350			
	39a		John Coles		200**			**400 acres total
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41b		Samuel Apperson		180			
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42b		John Scrug		200			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	42c		Isaac Hughes		400			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44a		Charles Bond		200			
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46a		Stephen Cox		263***			***763 acres total
1745	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3a		Thomas Dupra		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5		John Owen		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Eppes		1200			
	11b		Ann [Eppes] Harris		1200			unclear when Ann marries Benjamin Harris but had done so by 1745 (Dorman 1992:151)
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15c		Stephen Cox		500***			***763 acres total
	16		John Woodson		260			
	16a		Tendy Walker		460			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	16b		Joseph Woodson		520			
	16d		John Curd		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19a		John Hughes		88			
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21c		James Murray		400*			*1520 acres total
	22c		James Murray		400*			*1520 acres total
	23c		James Murray		400*			*1520 acres total
	24		Andrew Crew		382			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Moseley		200			
	26b	Stephen Cox	Henry Cox	18 March 1745	200	£20	GCDB5:95-96	
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28a		Philip Poindexter		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29b		Holman Freeman		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31		John Maddox		400			
	32a		John Hughes		100			
	32b		Thomas Dupra		100			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34		Henry Hatcher		200			
	34a		John Coles		200**			**400 acres total
	35b		James Murray		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38		Charles Bond		350			
	39a		John Coles		200**			**400 acres total
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41b		Samuel Apperson		180			
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42b		John Scrug		200			
	42c		Isaac Hughes		400			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44a		Charles Bond		200			
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46a		Stephen Cox		263***			***763 acres total
	47		William Moss		400			
1746	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3b	Thomas Dupra	William Stone	1 May 1746	100	£25	GCDB5:173	
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5		John Owen		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha [Eppes] Wayles		1200			Martha married John Wayles in 1746

								(Dorman 1992:152)
Year	**Number**	**Grantor**	**Grantee**	**Date**	**Acres**	**Payment**	**Citation**	**Notes**
	11b		Ann Harris		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15c		Stephen Cox		500***			***763 acres total
	16		John Woodson		260			
	16a		Tendy Walker		460			
	16b		Joseph Woodson		520			
	16d		John Curd		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19a		John Hughes		88			
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21c		James Murray		400*			*1520 acres total
	22c		James Murray		400*			*1520 acres total
	23c		James Murray		400*			*1520 acres total
	24		Andrew Crew		382			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Moseley		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28a		Philip Poindexter		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29b		Holman Freeman		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	31		John Maddox		400			
	32a		John Hughes		100			
	32b		Thomas Dupra		100			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34		Henry Hatcher		200			
	34b	John Coles	Jacob Poindexter	14 May 1746	200**	5 shillings	GCDB5:109-110	**400 acres total
	35b		James Murray		300*			*1520 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38		Charles Bond		350			
	39b	John Coles	Jacob Poindexter	14 May 1746	200**	5 shillings	GCDB5:109-110	**400 acres total
	40a		John Brunkskill		400			
	41b		Samuel Apperson		180			
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42b		John Scrug		200			
	42c		Isaac Hughes		400			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44a		Charles Bond		200			
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46a		Stephen Cox		263***			***763 acres total
	47		William Moss		400			
1747	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3b		William Stone		100			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5		John Owen		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15c		Stephen Cox		500***			***763 acres total
	16		John Woodson		260			
	16a		Tendy Walker		460			
	16b		Joseph Woodson		520			
	16d		John Curd		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19a		John Hughes		88			
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	22c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	23c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	24a	Andrew Crew	Joseph Hopson	10 Sept. 1747	362	£43	GCDB5:336	Andrew Crew retained 20 acres

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Moseley		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28a		Philip Poindexter		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29b		Holman Freeman		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31		John Maddox		400			
	32a		John Hughes		100			
	32b		Thomas Dupra		100			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34		Henry Hatcher		200			
	34b		Jacob Poindexter		200**			**400 acres total
	35b		James Murray		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38		Charles Bond		350			
	39b		Jacob Poindexter		200**			*400 acres total
	40a		John Brunkskill		400			
	41b		Samuel Apperson		180			
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42d	Isaac Hughes	Merry Webb	3 Oct. 1747	400	£75	GCDB5:359-360	
	42e	Stephen Hughes	Merry Webb	5 Oct. 1747	200	£45	GCDB5:350	
	43		Luke Wiles		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	44a		Charles Bond		200			
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46a		Stephen Cox		263***			***763 acres total
	47		William Moss		400			
1748	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3b		William Stone		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5a	John Owen	Richard Parker	16 Aug. 1748	400	£100	GCDB5:463	
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			Martha Wayles died (Dorman 1992:152); land to daughter Martha; father John administered until Martha married Thomas Jefferson in 1772 (see Footnote 1)
	11b		Ann Harris		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15c		Stephen Cox		500***			***763 total acres
	16		John Woodson		260			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	16b		Joseph Woodson		520			
	16d		John Curd		260			
	16f	Tandy Walker	Edmond Eppes	19 March 1748	460	£127	GCDB5:469-471	
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19a		John Hughes		88			
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	22c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	23c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	24a		Joseph Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28a		Philip Poindexter		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29b		Holman Freeman		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a, b, c	John Maddox	Benjamin, Jacob, James Maddox	15 April 1748	400	land was willed	Virginia Will Book 6:112	will of John Maddox; sons to divide 400 acres evenly (133 each)
	32a		John Hughes		100			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	32d	Philip Poindexter	William Leak	21 June 1748	100	£24	GCDB5:431	
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34		Henry Hatcher		200			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	34b		Jacob Poindexter		200**			**400 acres total
	35b		James Murray		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38		Charles Bond		350			
	39b		Jacob Poindexter		400**			**400 acres total
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41b		Samuel Apperson		180			
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42d		Merry Webb		400			
	42e		Merry Webb		200			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44a		Charles Bond		200			
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46a		Stephen Cox		263***			***763 acres total
	47		William Moss		400			
1749	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3b		William Stone		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5a		Richard Parker		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox,Jr.		800		typewritten copy of will in between CCWB1:103 and 104	Land is willed from father Stephen Sr. to son Stephen Jr. but missed before I made maps so letter does not change
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15c		William Cox		500***		typewritten copy of will in CCWB1: between 103 and 104	***763 acres total; Land is willed from father Stephen Sr. to son William but missed before I made maps so letter does not change
	16		John Woodson		260			
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16d		John Curd		260			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16g	Joseph Woodson	John Woodson	28 Aug. 1749	50	£10	CCDB1:48-50	
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19b	John Hughes	Gregory Mathews	Aug. 1749	88****	£80	CCDB1:59-62	****188 acres total
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	22c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	23c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	24a		Joseph Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28a		Philip Poindexter		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29b		Holman Freeman		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		Benjamin Maddox		133			
	31b		Jacob Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	32d		William Leak		100			
	32e	John Hughes	Gregory Mathews	Aug. 1749	100****	£80	CCDB1:59-62	****188 acres total
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34		Henry Hatcher		200			
	34b		Jacob Poindexter		200**			**400 acres total
	35b		James Murray		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38		Charles Bond		350			
	39b		Jacob Poindexter		200**			**400 acres total
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41c	Samuel Apperson	James Meredith	27 November 1749	180 + 20	£45	CCDB1:71	180 acres plus 20 acres on “upper [western]

								line” (see 24a, 1747)
Year	**Number**	**Grantor**	**Grantee**	**Date**	**Acres**	**Payment**	**Citation**	**Notes**
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42d		Merry Webb		400			
	42e		Merry Webb		200			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44a		Charles Bond		200			
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46a		William Cox		263***		typewritten copy of will in CCWB1: between 103 and 104	***763 acres total; See notes for 15c.
	47		William Moss		400			
1750	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3b		William Stone		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5a		Richard Parker		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		400			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox,Jr.		800			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15c		William Cox		500***			***763 acres total
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16d		John Curd		260			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16g		John Woodson		50			
	16h	William, Joseph, John Woodson	Jacob Woodson	1750/1	260	5 shillings	CCDB1:389-392	Jacob is "son and heir" of Benjamin Woodson
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19c	Gregory Mathews	John Hughes	Jan. 1750	88****	£26 and 298 acres in Albemarle County	CCDB2:238-239	****188 acres total
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	22c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	23c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b	Joseph Hopson	William Hopson	1750/1	362	no payment listed	CCDB1:336	Joseph is William's father
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b	Philip Poindexter	George Nicholas	27 Aug. 1750	200	£120	CCDB1:192-195	
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29b		Holman Freeman		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	31a		Benjamin Maddox		133			
	31b		Jacob Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	32d		William Leak		100			
	32f	Gregory Mathews	John Hughes	Jan. 1750	100****	£26 and 298 acres in Albemarle County	CCDB2:238-239	****188 acres total
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34b		Jacob Poindexter		200**			**400 acres total
	34c	Henry Hatcher	John Wayles	26 Sept. 1750	200	£8	CCDB1:350-352	
	35b		James Murray		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38		Charles Bond		350			
	39b		Jacob Poindexter		200**			**400 acres total
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41c		James Meredith		180			
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42f, 42g	Merry Webb	James Meredith	3 Jan. 1750	400, 200	£175	CCDB1:254-258	
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44a		Charles Bond		200			
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46a		William Cox		263***			***763 acres total
	47		William Moss		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
1751	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3b		William Stone		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5a		Richard Parker		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		250			
	12a	Richard Parker	Robert Thompson	16 April 1751	150	£52/ 10 shillings	CCDB1:342-344	
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox,Jr.		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15c		William Cox		500***			***763 acres total
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16d		John Curd		260			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16g		John Woodson		50			
	16h		Jacob Woodson		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19c		John Hughes		88****			****188 acres total

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	22c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	23c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29b		Holman Freeman		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		Benjamin Maddox		133			
	31b		Jacob Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	32d		William Leak		100			
	32f		John Hughes		100****			****188 acres total
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34b		Jacob Poindexter		200**			**400 acres total
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	35b		James Murray		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38		Charles Bond		350			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	39b		Jacob Poindexter		200**			**400 acres total
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41d	James Meredith	Martha or Christina Meredith	will proved March 1751	180 + 20	land was willed	CCWB1:31-33	Will proved March 1751; James is husband of Martha and father of Christina; If Martha remarried, land to go to Christina. See 41d, 1754
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42h, 42i	James Meredith	Martha or Christina Meredith	will proved March 1751	400, 200	land was willed	CCWB1:31-33	See notes for 41d
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44a		Charles Bond		200			
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46a		William Cox		263***			***763 acres total
	47a	William Moss	Anthony and Hezekiah Colquit	25 Nov. 1751	400	£200	CCDB1:432-435	
	48	Crown	Philemon Childers, Jr.	20 Sept. 1751	150	16 shillings	LOP 31:55-56	
1752	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c	William Stone	William Phelps	25 Aug. 1752	100	£50	CCDB2:16-17	
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5a		Richard Parker		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9		Hutchinson Burton		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		250			
	12a		Robert Thompson		150			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox,Jr.		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15c		William Cox		500***			***763 acres total
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16d		John Curd		260			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16g		John Woodson		50			
	16h		Jacob Woodson		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19c		John Hughes		88****			***188 acres total
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	22c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	23c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29c	Holeman Freeman	Robert Thompson	25 May 1752	200	£35	CCDB1:474-476	
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		Benjamin Maddox		133			
	31b		Jacob Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	32d		William Leak		100			
	32f		John Hughes		100****			****188 acres total
	33		John Hobson		400			
	34b		Jacob Poindexter		200**			**400 acres total
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	35b		James Murray		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38		Charles Bond		350			
	39b		Jacob Poindexter		200**			**400 acres total
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41d		Martha or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42h, 42i		Martha or Christina Meredith		400, 200			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44a		Charles Bond		200			
	45		John Tabor		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	46a		William Cox		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Anthony and Hezekiah Colquit		400			
	48a	Philiman Childers	Robert Thompson	18 March 1752	125	£100	CCDB1:437-439	
	48b	Philemon Childers	Gideon Marr	3 Jan. 1752	25?	£4	CCDB2:4	Acreage not specified in deed
1753	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5a		Richard Parker		400			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9a	Hutchins Burton	William Allen Burton	10 June 1753	400	£50	CCDB2:57	
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		250			
	12a		Robert Thompson		150			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox,Jr.		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15d	William Cox	Achilles Bowker [Booker]	26 March 1753	500***	£250	CCDB2:32-33	***763 acres total
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16g		John Woodson		50			
	16h		Jacob Woodson		260			
	16i	William, John Woodson, Joseph Woodson	John Curd, son and heir of John Curd late	28 May 1753	260	5 shillings	CCDB2:49-51	John and Joseph Woodson are both referred to as "the younger"
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19c		John Hughes		88****			****188 acres total
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	22c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	23c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29c		Robert Thompson		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		Benjamin Maddox		133			
	31b		Jacob Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	32d		William Leak		100			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	32f		John Hughes		100****			****188 acres total
	33a	John Hobson	William Hobson	26 Nov. 1753	400	£200	CCDB2:78-79	
	34b		Jacob Poindexter		200**			**400 acres total
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	35b		James Murray		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38		Charles Bond		350			
	39b		Jacob Poindexter		200**			**400 acres total
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41d		Martha or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42h, 42i		Martha or Christina Meredith		400, 200			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44a		Charles Bond		200			
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46b	William Cox	Achilles Bowker [Booker]	26 March 1753	263***	£250	CCDB2:32-33	***763 acres total
	47a		Anthony and Hezekiah Colquit		400			
	48a		Robert Thompson		125			
	48b		Gideon Marr		25			
1754	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5a		Richard Parker		300			
	5b	Richard Parker	William Parker	25 March 1754	100	5 shillings	CCDB2:114-115	Richard is William's father
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		400			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		250			
	12a		Robert Thompson		150			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox,Jr.		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15d		Achilles Bowker		500***			***763 acres total
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16g		John Woodson		50			
	16h		Jacob Woodson		260			
	16i		John Curd, Jr.		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19c		John Hughes		88****			****188 acres total
	20		John Pleasant		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	21c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	22c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	23c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29c		Robert Thompson		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		Benjamin Maddox		133			
	31b		Jacob Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	32f		John Hughes		100****			****188 acres total
	32g	William Leak	Thompson Swann	late 1754/early 1755	100	£50	CCDB2:188-190	
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34b		Jacob Poindexter		200**			**200 acres total
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	35b		James Murray		320*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38a	Charles Bond	John Hobson, Jr.	22 Dec. 1754	350*****	£60	CCDB2:128	*****550 acres total

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	39b		Jacob Poindexter		200**			**400 acres total
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			Martha married William Clark 1754 (Shepard 1927:282; WMQ 1911:26). See notes for 41d, 1751
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			Martha married William Clark 1754 (Shepard 1927:282; WMQ 1911:26). See notes for 41d, 1751.
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44b	Charles Bond	John Hobson, Jr.	22 Dec. 1754	200	£60	CCDB2:128	*****550 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46b		Achilles Bowker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Anthony and Hezekiah Colquit		400			
	48a		Robert Thompson		125			
	48b		Gideon Marr		25			
1755	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5a		Richard Parker		300			
	5b		William Parker		100			
	6		Henry Cox		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a	Hutchins Burton the elder	James Patterson	20 May 1755	200	£140	CCDB2:195-197	
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		250			
	12a		Robert Thompson		150			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox,Jr.		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15d		Achilles Bowker		500***			***763 acres total
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		260			
	16g		John Woodson		50			
	16h		Jacob Woodson		260			
	16i		John Curd, Jr.		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19c		John Hughes		88****			****188 acres total
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	22c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	23c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29d	Robert Thompson	Frederick Hatcher	1755	200	£40	CCDB2:204-205	
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		Benjamin Maddox		133			
	31b		Jacob Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	32f		John Hughes		100****			****188 acres total
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	34d	Jacob Poindexter	William Clarke	Approx. 1755	200**	?	did not find record of this transaction	**400 acres total
	35b		James Murray		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38a		John Hobson, Jr.		350*****			*****550 acres total
	39c	Jacob Poindexter	William Clarke	Approx. 1755	200**	?	did not find record of this transaction	**400 acres total
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751

			Christina Meredith					
Year	**Number**	**Grantor**	**Grantee**	**Date**	**Acres**	**Payment**	**Citation**	**Notes**
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44b		John Hobson, Jr.		200*****			*****550 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46b		Achilles Bowker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Anthony and Hezekiah Colquit		400			
	48a		Robert Thompson		125			
	48b		Gideon Marr		25			
	49	Crown	William Parker	13 June 1755	75	10 shillings	LOP 32: 603	
1756	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5a		Richard Parker		300			
	5c	William Parker	Obediah Parker	22 March 1756	50	Land is willed	CCWB1:112-113	William is Obediah's father; will written Aug. 1755, proved March 1756
	5d	William Parker	William Parker	22 March 1756	50	Land is willed	CCWB1:112-113	William is William's father; will written Aug. 1755, proved March 1756
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		250			
	12a		Robert Thompson		150			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox,Jr.		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15d		Achilles Bowker		500***			***763 acres total
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16g		John Woodson		50			
	16h		Jacob Woodson		260			
	16i		John Curd, Jr.		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19c		John Hughes		88****			****188 acres total
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	22c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	23c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		Benjamin Maddox		133			
	31b		Jacob Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	32f		John Hughes		100****			****188 acres total
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	34d		William Clarke		200**			**400 acres total
	35b		James Murray		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38a		John Hobson, Jr.		325*****			*****500 acres total
	38b	John Hopson	William Meanley	Probably 1756	25******	£7	CCDB2:264-65	******50 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		200**			**400 acres total
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44b		John Hobson, Jr.		175*****			*****500 acres total
	44c	John Hopson	William Meanley	Probably 1756	25******	£7	CCDB2:264-65	******50 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46b		Achilles Bowker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Anthony and Hezekiah Colquit		400			
	48b		Gideon Marr		25			
	48c	Robert Thompson	Randolph Johnson	23 Feb. 1756	125	£40	CCDB2:262-263	
	49		William Parker		75			
1757	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5a		Richard Parker		300			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5d		William Parker		50			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		1200			
	12		Richard Parker		250			
	12a		Robert Thompson		150			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14		Stephen Cox,Jr.		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15d		Achilles Bowker		500***			***763 acres total
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16g		John Woodson		50			
	16h		Jacob Woodson		260			
	16i		John Curd, Jr.		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19c		John Hughes		88****			****188 acres total
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	22c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	23c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		Benjamin Maddox		133			
	31b		Jacob Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	32f		John Hughes		100****			****188 acres total
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	34d		William Clarke		200**			**200 acres total
	35b		James Murray		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37		David Wineford		182			
	38a		John Hobson,Jr.		325*****			*****500 acres total
	38b		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		200**			**400 acres total
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44b		John Hobson,Jr.		175*****			*****500 acres total
	44c		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	46b		Achilles Bowker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Anthony and Hezekiah Colquit		400			
	48b		Gideon Marr		25			
	48c		Randolph Johnson		125			
	49		William Parker		75			
1758	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5a		Richard Parker		300			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5d		William Parker		50			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		900			
	11c	Benjamin Harris	Joseph Harris	27 Nov. 1758	300	1 shilling	CCDB2:444-446	Benjamin is Joseph's father
	12		Richard Parker		250			
	12b	Robert Thomson, Sr.	Bartlett Thomson	12 Oct. 1758	150	no payment listed	CCDB2:442	Robert is Bartlett's father

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a	Stephen Cox,Jr.	William Cox	12 June 1758	800	land is willed	CCWB1:165-166	Stephen is William's brother
	15a		James Skelton		1000			
	15d		Achilles Bowker		500***			***763 acres total
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16h		Jacob Woodson		260			
	16j	John Woodson	Benjamin Mosby	24 April 1758	50	£60	CCDB2:430-432	
	16k	John Curd	Poindexter Mosby	16 May 1758	260	£62	CCDB2:403-406	
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19c		John Hughes		88****			****188 acres total
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	22c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	23c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29a		George Freeman		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		Benjamin Maddox		133			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	31b		Jacob Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	32f		John Hughes		100****			****188 acres total
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	34d		William Clarke		200**			**400 acres total
	35b		James Murray		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37		David Wineford		132			
	37a	David Winneford	John Wood	23 Oct. 1758	50	£15	CCDB2:435-437	
	38a		John Hobson, Jr.		325*****			*****500 acres total
	38b		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		200**			**400 acres total
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44b		John Hobson, Jr.		175*****			*****500 acres total
	44c		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46b		Achilles Bowker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Anthony and		400			

			Hezekiah Colquit					
Year	**Number**	**Grantor**	**Grantee**	**Date**	**Acres**	**Payment**	**Citation**	**Notes**
	48b		Gideon Marr		25			
	48c		Randolph Johnson		125			
	49		William Parker		75			
1759	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5a		Richard Parker		300			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5d		William Parker		50			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		900			
	11c		Joseph Harris		300			
	12		Richard Parker		250			
	12b		Bartlett Thomson		150			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		800			
	15a		James Skelton		1000			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	15d		Achilles Bowker		500***			***763 acres total
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16h		Jacob Woodson		260			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19c		John Hughes		88****			****188 acres total
	20		John Pleasant		400			
	21c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	22c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	23c		James Murray		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29e	George Freeman	Thomas Merryman	23 May 1759	200	£60	CCDB2:480-481	
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		Benjamin Maddox		133			
	31b		Jacob Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	32f		John Hughes		100****			****188 acres total

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	34d		William Clarke		200**			**200 acres total
	35b		James Murray		300*			**1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37		David Wineford		132			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	38b		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	38c	John Hobson	Richard Alderson	1 Feb. 1759	325*****	£120	CCDB2:494-496	*****500 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		200**			**400 acres total
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44c		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	44d	John Hobson	Richard Alderson	1 Feb. 1759	175*****	£120	CCDB2:494-496	*****500 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46b		Achilles Bowker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47b	Anthony Colquitt	Robert Scruggs	19 May 1759	200	£60	CCDB2:471-472	
	48b		Gideon Marr		25			
	48c		Randolph Johnson		125			
	49		William Parker		75			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
1760	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5a		Richard Parker		300			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5b		William Parker		50			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		900			
	11c		Joseph Harris		300			
	12		Richard Parker		166			
	12c	Bartlett Thomson	Josiah Thomson	18 March 1760	150	£190	CCDB3:19-20	
	12d	Richard Parker	William Batter[s]by [sic]	Nov. 1760	8?	£3/ 10? shillings	CCDB3:115-116	Probably 8 acres; not listed in deed
	12e	Richard Parker	Josiah Thompson	23 Nov. 1760	76	£26/ 10 shillings	CCDB3:123-125	
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		800			
	15e	Achilles Bowker	Ralph Bowker	26 May 1760	500***	land is willed	CCWB1:197-198	***763 acres total; will written 8 Nov. 1758, proved 26 May 1760

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	15f	James Skelton	Thomas and Salley Jones	at least by 1760	1000	?	did not find record of this transaction	Salley is Skelton's daughter, who married Thomas Jones
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16h		Jacob Woodson		260			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19c		John Hughes		88****			****188 acres total
	20a	John Pleasant	John Wayles	Approx. 1760	400	?	no surviving record	
	21d	James Murray	John Wayles	Approx. 1760	400*	?	no surviving record	*1500 acres total
	22d	James Murray	John Wayles	Approx. 1760	400*	?	no surviving record	*1500 acres total
	23d	James Murray	John Wayles	Approx. 1760	400*	?	no surviving record	*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29e		Thomas Merryman		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a	Benjamin Maddox	William Maddox	Before 1760	133	?	Did not find record of this transaction; reference from CCDB3:95-97 and	Did not change letter on the maps as did not realize this transaction took place until after

							CCDB:245-246	making them
Year	**Number**	**Grantor**	**Grantee**	**Date**	**Acres**	**Payment**	**Citation**	**Notes**
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31d	James Maddox	William Maddox	Date blurred but at Court 22 Sept. 1760	133	£35?	CCDB3:95-97	
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	32f		John Hughes		100****			****188 acres total
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	34e	William Clark	John Wayles	Approx. 1760	200**	?	no surviving record	**300 acres total
	35c	James Murray	John Wayles	Approx. 1760	300*	?	no surviving record	*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37		David Wineford		132			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	38b		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39d	William Clark	John Wayles	Approx. 1760	100**	?	no surviving record	**300 acres total
	40a		John Brunskill		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44c		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	44d		Richard Alderson		175*****			*****500 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46c	Achilles Bowker	Ralph Bowker	26 May 1760	263***	land is willed	CCWB1:197-198	***763 acres total; will written 8 Nov. 1758, proved 26 May 1760
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47b		Robert Scruggs		200			
	48b		Gideon Marr		25			
	48c		Randolph Johnson		125			
	49		William Parker		75			
1761	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5a		Richard Parker		300			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5d		William Parker		50			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		900			
	11c		Joseph Harris		300			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	12		Richard Parker		166			
	12c		Josiah Thomson		150			
	12d		William Battersby		8			
	12e		Josiah Thompson		76			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		800			
	15e		Ralph Bowker		500***			***763 acres total
	15g	Thomas Jones and wife Salley	Jesse Carter	6 May 1761	1000	£600	CCDB3:176-180	
	15g		Jesse Carter		800			
	15h	Jesse Carter and wife Mary	Henry Clay, Jr.	26 Oct. 1761	200	£120	CCDB3:218-220	
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16h		Jacob Woodson		260			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		400			
	19c		John Hughes		88****			****188 acres total
	20a		John Wayles		400			
	21d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	22d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	23d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		200			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29f	Thomas Merryman	John Brown	11 Nov. 1761	200	£200	CCDB3:237-238	
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		William Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31d		William Maddox		133			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	32f		John Hughes		100****			****188 acres total
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34c		William Clarke		200			
	34e		John Wayles		200**			**300 acres total
	35c		John Wayles		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37		David Wineford		132			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	38b		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39d		John Wayles		100**			**300 acres total
	40b	John Brunskill	Richard Booker	1761	400	"love and affection"	CCDB3:534-535	John is Richard’s father-in-law
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44c		William Meanley		25			******50 acres total
	44d		Richard Alderson		175			*****500 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46c		Ralph Bowker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47b		Robert Scruggs		200			
	48b		Gideon Marr		25			
	48c		Randolph Johnson		125			
	49		William Parker		75			
1762	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5a		Richard Parker		300			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5d		William Parker		50			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		900			
	11c		Joseph Harris		300			
	12		Richard Parker		166			
	12c		Josiah Thomson		150			
	12d		William Battersby		8			
	12e		Josiah Thompson		76			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		800			
	15e		Ralph Bowker		500***			***763 acres total
	15g		Jesse Carter		800			
	15h		Henry Clay, Jr.		200			
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16h		Jacob Woodson		260			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19c		John Hughes		88****			****188 acres total
	20a		John Wayles		400			
	21d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	22d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	23d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	26b		Henry Cox		200			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29f		John Brown		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		William Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31d		William Maddox		133			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	32f		John Hughes		100****			****188 acres total
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	34e		John Wayles		200**			**300 acres total
	35c		John Wayles		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	37b	David Wineford	John Mayo	18 Feb. 1762	132	£80	CCDB3:246-247	
	38b		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39d		John Wayles		100**			**300 acres total
	40b		Richard Booker		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44c		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	44d		Richard Alderson		175*****			*****500 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46c		Ralph Bowker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47b		Robert Scruggs		200			
	48b		Gideon Marr		25			
	48c		Randolph Johnson		125			
	49		William Parker		75			
1763	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5a		Richard Parker		300			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5d		William Parker		50			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		900			
	11c		Joseph Harris		300			
	12		Richard Parker		166			
	12c		Josiah Thomson		150			
	12d		William Battersby		8			
	12e		Josiah Thompson		76			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		800			
	15e		Ralph Bowker		500***			***763 acres total
	15g		Jesse Carter		800			
	15h		Henry Clay, Jr.		200			
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		260			
	16l	Jacob Woodson	Robert Moore	14 Feb. 1763	260	£100	CCDB3:383-384	
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19c		John Hughes		88****			****188 acres total
	20a		John Wayles		400			
	21d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	22d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	23d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	26b		Henry Cox		100			
	26c	Henry Cox	Richard Pringle	25 April 1763	100	£100	CCDB3:365-366	
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29f		John Brown		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		William Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31d		William Maddox		133			
	32c		Frances Steger		200			
	32f		John Hughes		100****			****188 acres total
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	34e		John Wayles		200**			**300 acres total
	35c		John Wayles		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		100			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	37b		John Mayo		132			
	38b		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39d		John Wayles		100**			**300 acres total
	40b		Richard Booker		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751

			Christina Meredith					
Year	**Number**	**Grantor**	**Grantee**	**Date**	**Acres**	**Payment**	**Citation**	**Notes**
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44c		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	44d		Richard Alderson		175*****			*****500 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46c		Ralph Bowker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47b		Robert Scruggs		200			
	48b		Gideon Marr		25			
	48c		Randolph Johnson		125			
	49		William Parker		75			
1764	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5d		William Parker		50			
	5e	Richard Parker, Sr.	William Allen Burton	20 Oct. 1764	300	£400	CCDB3:516-517	
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen		400			

			Burton					
Year	**Number**	**Grantor**	**Grantee**	**Date**	**Acres**	**Payment**	**Citation**	**Notes**
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		900			
	11c		Joseph Harris		300			
	12c		Josiah Thomson		150			
	12d		William Battersby		8			
	12e		Josiah Thompson		76			
	12f	Richard Parker, Sr.	William Hobson	20 Oct. 1764	166	£80	CCDB3:517-518	
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		800			
	15e		Ralph Bowker		500***			***763 acres total
	15g		Jesse Carter		600			
	15h		Henry Clay, Jr.		200			
	15i	Jesse Carter and wife Mary	Frances Muse	28 May 1764	200	£120	CCDB3:469-470	
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		260			
	16l		Robert Moore		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19c		John Hughes		88****			****188 acres total
	20a		John Wayles		400			
	21d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	22d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	23d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		100			
	26c		Richard Pringle		100			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29f		John Brown		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		William Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31d		William Maddox		133			
	32f		John Hughes		100****			****188 acres total
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	32h	Francis George Stegar and wife Anna Barbara	Thompson Swann	9 May 1764	200	£120	CCDB3:442-443	
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	34e		John Wayles		200**			**300 acres total
	35c		John Wayles		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	37b		John Mayo		132			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	38b		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39d		John Wayles		100**			**300 acres total
	40b		Richard Booker		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42a		Abraham Mcgehe		400			
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44c		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	44d		Richard Alderson		175*****			*****500 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46c		Ralph Bowker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47c	Robert Scruggs and wife Mary	Thomas Nash	6 Oct. 1764	200	£85	CCDB4:13-14	
	48b		Gideon Marr		25			
	48d	Randolph Johnson	Alexander Banks	9 March 1764	125	£78	CCDB3:465-466	
	49		William Parker		75			
1765	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	5d		William Parker		50			
	5e		William Allen Burton		300			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		800			
	11d	Ann Harris	Joseph Harris	21 June 1765	400	"for her love and affection"	CCDB4:18-19	Ann is Joseph's mother; appears to be same as what Benj. Harris gave to Joseph in 1758 plus 100 acres
	12c		Josiah Thomson		150			
	12d		William Battersby		8			
	12e		Josiah Thompson		76			
	12f		William Hobson		166			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		800			
	15g		Jesse Carter		600			
	15h		Henry Clay, Jr.		200			
	15i		Frances Muse		200			
	15j	Ralph Booker	Alexander Speirs, John Bowman and Co.	29 Oct. 1765	500***	£310/ 9 shillings	CCDB4:73-74	***763 acres total; mortgage

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		260			
	16l		Robert Moore		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19c		John Hughes		88****			****188 acres total
	20a		John Wayles		400			
	21d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	22d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	23d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		100			
	26c		Richard Pringle		100			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29f		John Brown		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		William Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31d		William Maddox		133			
	32f		John Hughes		100****			****188 acres total
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	32h		Thompson Swann		200			
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	34e		John Wayles		200**			**300 acres total
	35c		John Wayles		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37a		John Wood		132			
	37b		John Mayo		50			
	38b		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39d		John Wayles		100**			**300 acres total
	40b		Richard Booker		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42j	Abraham McGehee	Jacob McGehee	Approx. 1765	400	?	Did not find record of this transaction	
	42j		Jacob McGehee		300			
	42k	Jacob McGehee	William McGehee	1765	100	5 shillings	CCDB4:51-52	
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44c		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	44d		Richard Alderson		175*****			*****500 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46d	Ralph Booker	Alexander Speirs, John Bowman and	29 Oct. 1765	263***	£310/9 shillings	CCDB4:73-74	***763 acres total; mortgage

			Co.					
Year	**Number**	**Grantor**	**Grantee**	**Date**	**Acres**	**Payment**	**Citation**	**Notes**
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47c		Thomas Nash		200			
	48b		Gideon Marr		25			
	48d		Alexander Banks		125			
	49		William Parker		75			
1766	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5d		William Parker		50			
	5e		William Allen Burton		300			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		800			
	11d		Joseph Harris		400			
	12c		Josiah Thomson		150			
	12d		William Battersby		8			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	12e		Josiah Thompson		76			
	12f		William Hobson		166			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		800			
	15g		Jesse Carter		600			
	15h		Henry Clay, Jr.		200			
	15j		Alexander Speirs, John Bowman and Co.		500***			***763 acres total
	15k	Robert Biscoe and wife Frances	John Scott	25 Aug. 1766	200	£120	CCDB4:102-103	Francis Muse (15i) married Robert Biscoe
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		260			
	16l		Robert Moore		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19c		John Hughes		88****			****188 acres total
	20a		John Wayles		400			
	21d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	22d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	23d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		100			
	26c		Richard Pringle		100			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29f		John Brown		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		William Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31d		William Maddox		133			
	32f		John Hughes		100****			****188 acres total
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	32h		Thompson Swann		200			
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	34e		John Wayles		200**			**300 acres total
	35c		John Wayles		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	37b		John Mayo		132			
	38b		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39d		John Wayles		100**			**300 acres total
	40b		Richard Booker		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	42j		Jacob McGehee		300			
	42k		William McGehee		100			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44c		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	44d		Richard Alderson		175*****			*****500 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46d		Alexander Speirs, John Bowman and Co.		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47c		Thomas Nash		200			
	48d		Alexander Banks		125			
	48e	Gideon Marr	Alexander Banks	25 June 1766	25	£20	CCDB4:270-271	
	49		William Parker		75			
1767	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5d		William Parker		50			
	5e		William Allen Burton		300			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen		400			

			Burton					
Year	**Number**	**Grantor**	**Grantee**	**Date**	**Acres**	**Payment**	**Citation**	**Notes**
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		800			
	11d		Joseph Harris		400			
	12c		Josiah Thomson		150			
	12d		William Battersby		8			
	12e		Josiah Thompson		76			
	12g	William Hobson	Richard Pringle	27 April 1767	166	£125	CCDB4:162-163	
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		800			
	15g		Jesse Carter		600			
	15k		John Scott		200			
	15l	Alexander Speirs, John Bowman and Co.	Ralph Booker	Approx. 1767	500***		Did not find record of this transaction	***763 acres total; part of the mortgage
	15m	Henry Clay and wife Rachel	Poindexter Mosby	23 Feb. 1767	200	£250	CCDB4:152-153	
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		260			
	16l		Robert Moore		260			
	17a		John Pleasants		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19d	John Hughes	Joseph Harris	16 Oct. 1767	88****	£150	CCDB4:213-214	****188 acres total
	20a		John Wayles		400			
	21d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	22d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	23d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		100			
	26c		Richard Pringle		100			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29f		John Brown		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		William Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31d		William Maddox		133			
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	32h		Thompson Swann		200			
	32i	John Hughes	Joseph Harris	16 Oct. 1767	100****	£150	CCDB4:213-214	****188 acres total
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	34e		John Wayles		200**			**300 acres total
	35c		John Wayles		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	37b		John Mayo		132			
	38b		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39d		John Wayles		100**			**300 acres total
	40b		Richard Booker		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42j		Jacob McGehee		300			
	42k		William McGehee		100			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44c		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	44d		Richard Alderson		175*****			*****500 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46e	Alexander Speirs, John Bowman and Co.	Ralph Booker	Approx. 1767	263***		Did not find record of this transaction	***763 acres total; part of the mortgage
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47c		Thomas Nash		200			
	48d		Alexander Banks		125			
	48e		Alexander Banks		25			
	49		William Parker		75			
1768	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	5d		William Parker		50			
	5e		William Allen Burton		300			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		800			
	11d		Joseph Harris		400			
	12c		Josiah Thomson		150			
	12d		William Battersby		8			
	12e		Josiah Thompson		76			
	12g		Richard Pringle		166			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		800			
	15g		Jesse Carter		400			
	15k		John Scott		200			
	15l		Ralph Booker		500***			***763 acres total
	15m		Poindexter Mosby		200			
	15n	Jesse Carter and wife Mary	Samuel Hobson	25 July 1768	200	£140	CCDB4:271-272	
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16f		Edmond Eppes		460			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		50			
	16l		Robert Moore		260			
	16m	Poindexter Mosby	Benjamin Netherland	9 Jan. 1768	210	£116	CCDB4:245-246	
	17b	John Pleasants the elder of Henrico County	Charles Woodson, Jr., of Cumberland County	9 Jan. 1768	400	£175	CCDB4:233-235	Pleasant's grandson was Charles Woodson, Jr.
	18		David Liles		800			
	19d		Joseph Harris		88****			****188 acres total
	20a		John Wayles		400			
	21d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	22d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	23d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		100			
	26c		Richard Pringle		100			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29f		John Brown		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		William Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31d		William Maddox		133			
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	32h		Thompson Swann		200			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	32i		Joseph Harris		100****			****188 acres total
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	34e		John Wayles		200**			**300 acres total
	35c		John Wayles		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	37b		John Mayo		132			
	38b		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39d		John Wayles		100**			**300 acres total
	40b		Richard Booker		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42j		Jacob McGehee		300			
	42k		William McGehee		100			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44c		William Meanley		25******			******50 acres total
	44d		Richard Alderson		175*****			*****500 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46e		Ralph Booker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47c		Thomas Nash		200			
	48d		Alexander Banks		125			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	48e		Alexander Banks		25			
	49		William Parker		75			
1769	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5d		William Parker		50			
	5e		William Allen Burton		300			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		800			
	11d		Joseph Harris		400			
	12c		Josiah Thomson		150			
	12d		William Battersby		8			
	12e		Josiah Thompson		76			
	12g		Richard Pringle		166			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		800			
	15g		Jesse Carter		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	15k		John Scott		200			
	15l		Ralph Booker		500***			***763 acres total
	15m		Poindexter Mosby		200			
	15n		Samuel Hobson		200			
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		50			
	16l		Robert Moore		260			
	16m		Benjamin Netherland		210			
	16n	James Eppes and Mary his wife	Littleberry Mosby	23 Oct. 1769	532	£399	CCDB4:368-369	James Eppes is Edmond Eppes' son (Dorman 1992:183-184), who died by 1755 and previously owned the property; not sure from where extra 72 acres came
	17b		Charles Woodson, Jr.		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19d		Joseph Harris		88****			****188 acres total
	20a		John Wayles		400			
	21d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	22d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	23d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		100			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	26c		Richard Pringle		100			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29f		John Brown		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		William Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31d		William Maddox		133			
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	32h		Thompson Swann		200			
	32i		Joseph Harris		100****			****188 acres total
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	34e		John Wayles		200**			**300 acres total
	35c		John Wayles		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	37b		John Mayo		132			
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total
	38d	William Meanley	Richard Alderson	23 Feb. 1769	25******	£25	CCDB4:319-321	******50 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39d		John Wayles		100**			**300 acres total
	40b		Richard Booker		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42j		Jacob McGehee		300			
	42k		William McGehee		100			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44d		Richard Alderson		175*****			*****500 acres total
	44e	William Meanley	Richard Alderson	23 Feb. 1769	25******	£25	CCDB4:319-321	******50 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46e		Ralph Booker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47c		Thomas Nash		200			
	48d		Alexander Banks		125			
	48e		Alexander Banks		25			
	49		William Parker		75			
1770	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5d		William Parker		50			
	5e		William Allen Burton		300			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen		400			

			Burton					
Year	**Number**	**Grantor**	**Grantee**	**Date**	**Acres**	**Payment**	**Citation**	**Notes**
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		800			
	11d		Joseph Harris		400			
	12c		Josiah Thomson		150			
	12d		William Battersby		8			
	12e		Josiah Thompson		76			
	12g		Richard Pringle		166			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		800			
	15g		Jesse Carter		400			
	15k		John Scott		200			
	15l		Ralph Booker		500***			***763 acres total
	15m		Poindexter Mosby		200			
	15n		Samuel Hobson		200			
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		50			
	16l		Robert Moore		260			
	16m		Benjamin Netherland		210			
	16n		Littleberry Mosby		532			
	17b		Charles Woodson, Jr.		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19d		Joseph Harris		88****			****188 acres total
	20a		John Wayles		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	21d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	22d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	23d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		100			
	26c		Richard Pringle		100			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29g	John Brown	Joseph Calland	7 May 1770	200	£220	CCDB4:463-464	
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		William Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31d		William Maddox		133			
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	32h		Thompson Swann		200			
	32i		Joseph Harris		100****			****188 acres total
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	34e		John Wayles		200**			**300 acres total
	35c		John Wayles		300*			**1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	37b		John Mayo		132			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total
	38d		Richard Alderson		25******			******50 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39d		John Wayles		100**			**300 acres total
	40b		Richard Booker		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42j		Jacob McGehee		300			
	42k		William McGehee		100			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44d		Richard Alderson		175*****			*****500 acres total
	44e		Richard Alderson		25******			******50 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46e		Ralph Booker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47c		Thomas Nash		200			
	48d		Alexander Banks		125			
	48e		Alexander Banks		25			
	49		William Parker		75			
1771	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5d		William Parker		50			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	5e		William Allen Burton		300			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		800			
	11d		Joseph Harris		400			
	12c		Josiah Thomson		150			
	12d		William Battersby		8			
	12e		Josiah Thompson		76			
	12g		Richard Pringle		166			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		800			
	15g		Jesse Carter		400			
	15k		John Scott		200			
	15l		Ralph Booker		500***			***763 acres total
	15m		Poindexter Mosby		200			
	15n		Samuel Hobson		200			
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		50			
	16l		Robert Moore		260			
	16m		Benjamin		210			

			Netherland					
Year	**Number**	**Grantor**	**Grantee**	**Date**	**Acres**	**Payment**	**Citation**	**Notes**
	16n		Littleberry Mosby		532			
	17b		Charles Woodson, Jr.		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19d		Joseph Harris		88****			****188 acres total
	20a		John Wayles		400			
	21d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	22d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	23d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26		William Mosely		200			
	26b		Henry Cox		100			
	26c		Richard Pringle		100			
	27		William Mosely		200			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29g		Joseph Calland		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		William Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31d		William Maddox		133			
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	32h		Thompson Swann		200			
	32i		Joseph Harris		100****			****188 acres total
	33a		William Hobson		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	34e		John Wayles		200**			**300 acres total
	35c		John Wayles		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	37b		John Mayo		132			
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total
	38d		Richard Alderson		25******			******50 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39d		John Wayles		100**			**300 acres total
	40b		Richard Booker		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42j		Jacob McGehee		300			
	42k		William McGehee		100			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44d		Richard Alderson		175*****			*****500 acres total
	44e		Richard Alderson		25******			******50 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46e		Ralph Booker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47c		Thomas Nash		200			
	48e		Alexander Banks		25			
	48f	Alexander Banks	Job Johnson	1771	125	£65/ 5 shillings	CCDB4:494-495	
	49		William Parker		75			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
1772	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5d		William Parker		50			
	5e		William Allen Burton		300			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Wayles		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		800			
	11d		Joseph Harris		400			
	12c		Josiah Thomson		150			
	12d		William Battersby		8			
	12e		Josiah Thompson		76			
	12h	Richard Pringle	Josiah Thompson	27 Jan. 1772	160	£170/ 9 shillings	CCDB5:42-43	deed is for 160 acres but might mean 166
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		800			
	15g		Jesse Carter		400			
	15k		John Scott		200			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	15l		Ralph Booker		500***			***763 acres total
	15m		Poindexter Mosby		200			
	15n		Samuel Hobson		200			
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		50			
	16l		Robert Moore		260			
	16m		Benjamin Netherland		210			
	16n		Littleberry Mosby		532			
	17b		Charles Woodson, Jr.		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19d		Joseph Harris		88****			****188 acres total
	20a		John Wayles		400			
	21d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	22d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	23d		John Wayles		400*			*1500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26b		Henry Cox		100			
	26d	Richard Pringle	Thomas Mumford	24 Feb. 1772	100 *******	£400	CCDB5:29-30	*******300 acres total
	26f	Richard Pringle	Thomas Mumford	24 Feb. 1772	200 *******	£400	CCDB5:29-30	*******300 acres total; missed the sale from William Moseley (26) to Richard Pringle
	27a		George and Henry Cox?		125			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	27b	George and Henry Cox	William Daniel	23 March 1772	75	£25	CCDB5:35-36	missed the transaction from Moseley (27) to a Cox
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29g		Joseph Calland		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31a		William Maddox		133			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31d		William Maddox		133			
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	32h		Thompson Swann		200			
	32i		Joseph Harris		100****			****188 acres total
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34c		John Wayles		200			
	34e		John Wayles		200**			**300 acres total
	35c		John Wayles		300*			*1500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	37b		John Mayo		132			
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total
	38d		Richard Alderson		25******			******50 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39d		John Wayles		100**			**300 acres total
	40b		Richard Booker		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	42h, 42i		Martha or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42j		Jacob McGehee		300			
	42k		William McGehee		100			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44d		Richard Alderson		175*****			*****500 acres total
	44e		Richard Alderson		25******			******50 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46e		Ralph Booker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47c		Thomas Nash		200			
	48e		Alexander Banks		25			
	48f		Job Johnson		125			
	49		William Parker		75			
1773	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5d		William Parker		50			
	5e		William Allen Burton		300			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen		400			

			Burton					
Year	**Number**	**Grantor**	**Grantee**	**Date**	**Acres**	**Payment**	**Citation**	**Notes**
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Jefferson		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		800			
	11d		Joseph Harris		400			
	12c		Josiah Thomson		150			
	12d		William Battersby		8			
	12e		Josiah Thompson		76			
	12h		Josiah Thompson		160			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		800			
	15g		Jesse Carter		400			
	15i		Frances Muse		200			
	15k		John Scott		200			
	15l		Ralph Booker		500***			***763 acres total
	15m		Poindexter Mosby		200			
	15n		Samuel Hobson		200			
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		50			
	16l		Robert Moore		260			
	16m		Benjamin Netherland		210			
	16n		Littleberry Mosby		532			
	17b		Charles Woodson, Jr.		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19d		Joseph Harris		88****			****188 acres total

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	20b	John Wayles	Martha and Thomas Jefferson	1773	400*	Inheritance?	no surviving record	*2500 acres total; Wayles died 1773 (Dorman 1992:153), so Martha *possibly* given the land
	21e	John Wayles	Poss. Martha and Thomas Jefferson	1773	400*	Inheritance?	no surviving record	*2500 acres total; see notes for 20b
	22e	John Wayles	Poss. Martha and Thomas Jefferson	1773	400*	Inheritance?	no surviving record	*2500 acres total; see notes for 20b
	23e	John Wayles	Poss. Martha and Thomas Jefferson	1773	400*	Inheritance?	no surviving record	*2500 acres total; see notes for 20b
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26b		Henry Cox		100			
	26d		Thomas Mumford		100 *******			*******300 acres total
	26f		Thomas Mumford		200 *******			*******300 acres total
	27a		George and Henry Cox?		125			
	27b		William Daniel		75			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29g		Joseph Calland		200			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31f	William Maddox Sr.	William Maddox Jr.	26 Dec. 1773	280	£50	CCDB5:245-246	Unsure from where extra 12 acres came
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	32h		Thompson Swann		200			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	32i		Joseph Harris		100****			****188 acres total
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34f	John Wayles	Poss. Martha and Thomas Jefferson	1773	200*	Inheritance?	no surviving record	*2500 acres total; see notes for 20b
	34g	John Wayles	Poss. Martha and Thomas Jefferson	1773	200*	Inheritance?	no surviving record	*2500 acres total; see notes for 20b
	35d	John Wayles	Poss. Martha and Thomas Jefferson	1773	300*	Inheritance?	no surviving record	*2500 acres total; see notes for 20b
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	37b		John Mayo		132			
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total
	38d		Richard Alderson		25******			******50 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39e	John Wayles	Martha and Thomas Jefferson	probably 1773	100**	Inheritance	no surviving record	*2500 acres; see notes for 20b
	40b		Richard Booker		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42j		Jacob McGehee		300			
	42k		William McGehee		100			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44d		Richard Alderson		175*****			*****500 acres total
	44e		Richard Alderson		25******			******50 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46e		Ralph Booker		263***			***763 acres total

	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47c		Thomas Nash		200			
	48e		Alexander Banks		25			
	48f		Job Johnson		125			
	49a	Drucilla and son Daniel Parker	Josiah Thomson	5 April 1773	37½	£12/ 10 shillings	CCDB5:161-162	Drucilla is widow of William Parker (49)
	49b	Drucilla and son Daniel Parker	Frederick Hatcher	5 April 1773	37½	£12/ 10 shillings	CCDB5:162-164	Drucilla is widow of William Parker (49)
1774	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5d		William Parker		50			
	5e		William Allen Burton		300			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Jefferson		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		800			
	11d		Joseph Harris		400			
	12c		Josiah Thomson		150			
	12d		William Battersby		8			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	12e		Josiah Thompson		76			
	12h		Josiah Thompson		160			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		800			
	15g		Jesse Carter		400			
	15k		John Scott		200			
	15l		Ralph Booker		500***			***763 acres total
	15m		Poindexter Mosby		200			
	15n		Samuel Hobson		200			
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		50			
	16l		Robert Moore		260			
	16m		Benjamin Netherland		210			
	16n		Littleberry Mosby		532			
	17b		Charles Woodson, Jr.		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19d		Joseph Harris		88****			****188 acres total
	20b		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		400*			*2500 acres total
	21e		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		400*			*2500 acres total
	22e		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		400*			*2500 acres total
	23e		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		400*			*2500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26b		Henry Cox		100			
	26d		Thomas Mumford		100 *******			*******300 acres total
	26f		Thomas Mumford		200 *******			*******300 acres total
	27a		George and Henry Cox?		125			
	27b		William Daniel		75			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29h	Joseph Calland	William Calland	9 Sept. 1774	225	£225	CCDB5:294-295	not sure where the extra 25 acres came from; every other previous reference is for 220 acres for this parcel
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31f		William Maddox, Jr.		280			
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	32h		Thompson Swann		200			
	32i		Joseph Harris		100****			****188 acres total
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34f		Martha and Thos. Jefferson		200*			*2500 acres total
	34g		Martha and Thos. Jefferson		200*			*2500 acres total
	35d		Martha and Thos. Jefferson		300*			*2500 acres total

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	37b		John Mayo		132			
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total
	38d		Richard Alderson		25******			******50 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39e		Martha and Thos. Jefferson		100*			*2500 acres total
	40b		Richard Booker		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42j		Jacob McGehee		300			
	42k		William McGehee		100			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44d		Richard Alderson		175*****			*****500 acres total
	44e		Richard Alderson		25******			******50 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46e		Ralph Booker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47c		Thomas Nash		200			
	48e		Alexander Banks		25			
	48f		Job Johnson		125			
	49a		Josiah Thomson		37½			
	49b		Frederick Hatcher		37½			
1775	1		Henry Clay		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5d		William Parker		50			
	5e		William Allen Burton		300			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Jefferson		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		800			
	11d		Joseph Harris		400			
	12c		Josiah Thomson		150			
	12d		William Battersby		8			
	12e		Josiah Thompson		76			
	12h		Josiah Thompson		160			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		180			
	14b	William Cox	William Powell	23 Oct. 1775	311	"love and affection and 5 shillings"	CCDB5:384-385	Cox and Powell were brothers-in-law
	14c	William Cox	Thomas Smith	10 April 1775	309	?	CCDB5	

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	14c		Thomas Smith		258			
	14d	Thomas Smith	Edward Mumford	27 Nov. 1775	51	£50	CCDB5:400	
	15g		Jesse Carter		400			
	15k		John Scott		200			
	15l		Ralph Booker		500***			***763 acres total
	15m		Poindexter Mosby		200			
	15n		Samuel Hobson		200			
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		50			
	16l		Robert Moore		260			
	16m		Benjamin Netherland		210			
	16n		Littleberry Mosby		532			
	17b		Charles Woodson, Jr.		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19d		Joseph Harris		88****			****188 acres total
	20b		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		400*			*2500 acres total
	21e		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		400*			*2500 acres total
	22e		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		400*			*2500 acres total
	23e		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		400*			*2500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26b		Henry Cox		100			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	26d		Thomas Mumford		100 *******			*******300 acres total
	26f		Thomas Mumford		200 *******			*******300 acres total
	27a		George and Henry Cox?		125			
	27b		William Daniel		75			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29h		William Calland		225			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31f		William Maddox, Jr.		280			
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	32h		Thompson Swann		200			
	32i		Joseph Harris		100****			****188 acres total
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34f		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		200*			*2500 acres total
	34g		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		200*			*2500 acres total
	35d		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		300*			*2500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	37b		John Mayo		132			
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	38d		Richard Alderson		25******			******50 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39e		Martha and Thos. Jefferson		100*			*2500 acres total
	40b		Richard Booker		400			
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42j		Jacob McGehee		300			
	42k		William McGehee		100			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44d		Richard Alderson		175*****			*****500 acres total
	44e		Richard Alderson		25******			******50 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46e		Ralph Booker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47c		Thomas Nash		200			
	48e		Alexander Banks		125			
	48f		Job Johnson		25			
	49a		Josiah Thomson		37½			
	49b		Frederick Hatcher		37½			
1776	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	5d		William Parker		50			
	5e		William Allen Burton		300			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11a		Martha Jefferson		1200			
	11b		Ann Harris		800			
	11d		Joseph Harris		400			
	12c		Josiah Thomson		150			
	12d		William Battersby		8			
	12e		Josiah Thompson		76			
	12h		Josiah Thompson		160			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		51			
	14b		William Powell		311			
	14d		Edward Mumford		51			
	14e	Thomas Smith	Edward Harris	13 Sept. 1776	249	404 acres in Bedford County and £50	CCDB5:432-434	Not sure from where Smith got extra acres; owns 258 acres in 1775
	14f	William Cox	William Clement	15 May 1776	129	10 shillings	CCDB5:428-429	157 acres total
	14g	Thomas Smith	William Cox	26 Feb. 1776	39¾	5 shillings	CCDB5:401	See notes for 14e, 1776
	15g		Jesse Carter		400			
	15k		John Scott		200			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	15l		Ralph Booker		500***			***763 acres total
	15m		Poindexter Mosby		200			
	15n		Samuel Hobson		200			
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		50			
	16l		Robert Moore		260			
	16m		Benjamin Netherland		210			
	16n		Littleberry Mosby		532			
	17b		Charles Woodson, Jr.		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19d		Joseph Harris		88****			****188 acres total
	20a		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		400*			*2500 acres total
	21d		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		400*			*2500 acres total
	22d		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		400*			*2500 acres total
	23d		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		400*			*2500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26b		Henry Cox		100			
	26d		Thomas Mumford		100 *******			*******300 acres total
	26f		Thomas Mumford		200 *******			*******300 acres total
	27a		George and Henry		125			

			Cox					
Year	**Number**	**Grantor**	**Grantee**	**Date**	**Acres**	**Payment**	**Citation**	**Notes**
	27b		William Daniel		75			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29h		William Calland		225			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31f		William Maddox, Jr.		280			
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	32h		Thompson Swann		200			
	32i		Joseph Harris		100****			****188 acres total
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34f		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		200*			*2500 acres total
	34g		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		200*			*2500 acres total
	35d		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		300*			*2500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	37b		John Mayo		132			
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total
	38d		Richard Alderson		25******			******50 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39e		Martha and Thomas Jefferson		100*			*2500 acres total
	40b		Richard Booker		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42j		Jacob McGehee		300			
	42k		William McGehee		100			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44d		Richard Alderson		175*****			*****500 acres total
	44e		Richard Alderson		25******			******50 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46e		Ralph Booker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47c		Thomas Nash		200			
	48e		Alexander Banks		25			
	48f		Job Johnson		125			
	49a		Josiah Thomson		37½			
	49b		Frederick Hatcher		37½			
1777	1		Henry Clay		400			
	2		Warham Easely		400			
	3		Warham Easely		300			
	3c		William Phelps		100			
	4a		James Bradby		1500			
	5c		Obediah Parker		50			
	5d		William Parker		50			
	5e		William Allen Burton		300			
	6		Henry Cox		400			
	7		George Cox		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	8		Hutchinson Burton		200			
	8a		James Patterson		200			
	9a		William Allen Burton		400			
	10		Frederick Cox		400			
	11b		Ann Harris		800			
	11d		Joseph Harris		400			
	11e	Thomas Jefferson and wife Martha	Henry Skipwith	15 April 1777	1200	£1251/18 shillings/4 pence	CCDB5:488-489	
	12c		Josiah Thomson		150			
	12d		William Batterby		8			
	12e		Josiah Thompson		76			
	12h		Josiah Thompson		160			
	13		John Phelps		800			
	14a		William Cox		51			
	14b		William Powell		311			
	14e		Edward Harris		249			
	14g		William Cox		39¾			
	14h	William Clement	Benjamin Harris	12 June 1777	157	£150	CCDB5:492-493	Clement owned 129 acres the year before; not sure from where extra 28 acres came
	14i	Edward Mumford and wife Angelica	Benjamin Harris	20 June 1777	51	£65	CCDB5:485-486	
	15g		Jesse Carter		600			
	15i		Frances Muse		200			
	15k		John Scott		200			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	15l		Ralph Booker		500***			***763 acres total
	15m		Poindexter Mosby		200			
	15n		Samuel Hobson		200			
	16b		Joseph Woodson		470			
	16j		Benjamin Mosby		50			
	16k		Poindexter Mosby		50			
	16l		Robert Moore		260			
	16m		Benjamin Netherland		210			
	16n		Littleberry Mosby		532			
	17b		Charles Woodson, Jr.		400			
	18		David Liles		800			
	19d		Joseph Harris		88****			****188 acres total
	20c	Martha and Tho. Jefferson	Henry Skipwith	By 1777	400*	?	no surviving record	*2500 acres total
	21f	Martha and Tho. Jefferson	Henry Skipwith	By 1777	400*	?	no surviving record	*2500 acres total
	22f	Martha and Tho. Jefferson	Henry Skipwith	By 1777	400*	?	no surviving record	*2500 acres total
	23f	Martha and Tho. Jefferson	Henry Skipwith	By 1777	400*	?	no surviving record	*2500 acres total
	24b		William Hopson		362			
	25		John Hobson		400			
	26b		Henry Cox		100			
	26d		Thomas Mumford		100 *******			*******300 acres total
	26f		Thomas Mumford		200 *******			*******300 acres total
	27a		George and Henry		125			

			Cox?					
Year	**Number**	**Grantor**	**Grantee**	**Date**	**Acres**	**Payment**	**Citation**	**Notes**
	27b		William Daniel		75			
	28b		George Nicholas		200			
	29d		Frederick Hatcher		200			
	29h		William Calland		225			
	30		Joseph Fuqua		350			
	31c		James Maddox		133			
	31f		William Maddox, Jr.		280			
	32g		Thompson Swann		100			
	32h		Thompson Swann		200			
	32i		Joseph Harris		100****			****188 acres total
	33a		William Hobson		400			
	34h	Martha and Tho. Jefferson	Henry Skipwith	By 1777	200*	?	no surviving record	*2500 acres total
	34i	Martha and Tho. Jefferson	Henry Skipwith	By 1777	200*	?	no surviving record	*2500 acres total
	35e	Martha and Tho. Jefferson	Henry Skipwith	By 1777	300*	?	no surviving record	*2500 acres total
	36a		John Pirratt		2000			
	36b		John Mayo		1000			
	37a		John Wood		50			
	37b		John Mayo		132			
	38c		Richard Alderson		325*****			*****500 acres total
	38d		Richard Alderson		25******			******50 acres total
	39c		William Clarke		100			
	39f	Martha and Tho. Jefferson	Henry Skipwith	By 1777	100*	?	no surviving record	*2500 acres total
	40b		Richard Booker		400			

Year	Number	Grantor	Grantee	Date	Acres	Payment	Citation	Notes
	41d		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		180 + 20			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42h, 42i		Martha Clark or Christina Meredith		400, 200			See notes for 41d, 1751
	42j		Jacob McGehee		300			
	42k		William McGehee		100			
	43		Luke Wiles		400			
	44d		Richard Alderson		175*****			*****500 acres total
	44e		Richard Alderson		25******			******50 acres total
	45		John Tabor		400			
	46e		Ralph Booker		263***			***763 acres total
	47a		Hezekiah Colquit		200			
	47c		Thomas Nash		200			
	48e		Alexander Banks		25			
	48f		Job Johnson		125			
	49a		Josiah Thomson		37½			
	49b		Frederick Hatcher		37½			

Note: In many cases, patents were combined with others over time and were conveyed as one deed. I have indicated the combination of patents with others using asterisks, as seen in the “Acres” and “Notes” columns. If there is one asterisk by acreage, it had been combined in the deed with any other acreages that have one asterisk for that year. The total amount of acres conveyed by deed is in the “Notes” column.

APPENDIX III

Table A.2: Metadata

Folder	Subfolder	Subfolder	File Name	Type	Description	Accuracy	Source
Indian Camp GIS – feet NEW	GIS Features	Water	Cumberlandwater	Polyline shapefile	Waterways in Powhatan County	6 decimal places	USCB 2011a
			Powhatanwater	Polyline shapefile	Waterways in Cumberland County	6 decimal places	USCB 2011b
			Creeks_feet	Polyline shapefile	Waterways digitized off of USGS topographic maps		Self-digitized
			Roads_feet	Polyline shapefile	Roadways digitized off of USGS topographic maps		Self-digitized
			Places	Point shapefile	Historic locations important to the Indian Camp community		Self-digitized
			Declination Patents_feet	Polygon shapefile	Patented lands and deed transactions		Self-digitized
	DOQQ	BallsvilleNEquad	BvilleNEft.tif	Raster dataset	Aerial photograph, digital orthophoto; Ballsville northeast quadrangle	1-meter ground resolution	USGS 1996a
		BallsvilleNWquad	Bville NWft.tif	Raster dataset	Aerial photograph, digital orthophoto; Ballsville northwest quadrangle	1-meter ground resolution	USGS 1994a
		CumberlandNEquad	CmbrlndNE_ft.tif	Raster dataset	Aerial photograph, digital orthophoto; Cumberland northeast quadrangle	1-meter ground resolution	USGS 1996c
		TrenholmSEquad	TrenholmSE_ft.tif	Raster dataset	Aerial photograph, digital orthophoto; Trenholm southeast quadrangle	1-meter ground resolution	USGS 1996b
		TrenholmSWquad	TrenholmSW_ft.tif	Raster dataset	Aerial photograph, digital orthophoto; Trenholm southwest quadrangle	1-meter ground resolution	USGS 1994b
	Topos	BallsvilleTopo	Bslvle_ft.tif	Raster dataset	Ballsville topographic map	1:24,000	USGS 1968

Table A.3: Metadata cont.

Folder	Subfolder	Subfolder	File Name	Type	Description	Accuracy	Source
		CumberlandTopo	Cmbrlnd_ft.tif	Raster dataset	Cumberland topographic map	1:24,000	USGS 1967
		PowhatanTopo	Powhatan_feet.tif	Raster dataset	Powhatan topographic map	1:24,000	USGS 1963
		TrenholmTopo	Trenholm_ft.tif	Raster dataset	Trenholm topographic map	1:24,000	USGS 1969
GIS Census Shapefiles	Virginia Census Data 2000		co51_d00	Polyline dataset	Virginia counties		USCB 2000
			tl_2009_51_zcta5	Polyline shapefile	Virginia five-digit zip code tabulation area		USCB 2009

Notes: The files listed are the files used for this thesis in the creation of the figures in the text. All files were digitized or downloaded using the spatial projection of NAD83 UTM Zone 17N coordinate system in feet.

APPENDIX IV

Table A.4: Tithables in Goochland and Cumberland Counties and in Southam Parish (see Figure 4.1).

YEAR	**COUNTY TITHABLES**	**PAYMENT per poll** (in pounds of tobacco, unless noted)	**TOTAL** (in pounds of tobacco, unless noted)	**CITATION**	**PARISH TITHABLES**	**PAYMENT per poll** (in pounds of tobacco)	**TOTAL** (in pounds of tobacco)	**CITATION**
1728	1132	20	22640	GCOB1:35				
1729	1165	29	33785	GCOB1:158				
1730	1259	32	40288	GCOB2:48				
1731	1359	56	76104	GCOB3:20				
1732	1395	30	41350	GCOB3:118				
1733	1518	20	30360	GCOB3:217				
1734	1685	15	25375	GCOB3:308				
1735	1824	17	31800	GCOB4:19				
1736	2072	6	12432	GCOB4:122				
1737	2236	7	15652	GCOB4:249				
1738	2464	8	19712	GCOB4:368				
1739	2613	8	20904	GCOB4:446				
1740	2847	17	48889	GCOB4:514				
1741	3130	7	24102	GCOB5:17				
1742	3204	17	54465	GCOB5:155				
1743	3397	5	16985	GCOB5:308				
1744	3512	9	31608	GCOB5:532				
1745	2608	9	23472	GOCB6:143	1207	33	39831	Blomquist 2006:274, Appendix III
1746	2656	6	15936	GCOB6:252	1267	27	34209	Blomquist 2006:274

Table A.5: Tithables in Goochland and Cumberland Counties and in Southam Parish cont.

YEAR	**COUNTY TITHABLES**	**PAYMENT per poll** (in pounds of tobacco, unless noted)	**TOTAL** (in pounds of tobacco, unless noted)	**CITATION**	**PARISH TITHABLES**	**PAYMENT per poll** (in pounds of tobacco)	**TOTAL** (in pounds of tobacco)	**CITATION**
1747	2773	7	19619	GCOB6:400	1306	35	47600	Blomquist 2006:274
1748	2872	11	31070	GCOB6:501	1325	35	46375	Blomquist 2006:274
1749	1577	9	14193	CCOB2:41	1428	37	52836	Blomquist 2006:274
1750	1729	4	6187	CCOB2:202	1517	30	45510	Blomquist 2006:274
1751					1579	27	43033	Blomquist 2006:274
1752	1792	13	23396	CCOB3:53	1609	29	47465	Blomquist 2006:274
1753	1969	8	15752	CCOB3:142	1725	25	43125	Blomquist 2006:274
1754	2098	8	16784	CCOB3:219	1872	23	43056	Blomquist 2006:274
1755	2204	7½	16530	CCOB3:339	1947	16	31152	Blomquist 2006:274
1756	2263	10	22630	CCOB:435	2013	20	40260	Blomquist 2006:274
1757	2377	6	14262	CCOB3:507	2098	19	39862	Blomquist 2006:274
1758	2418	1	2472	CCOB4:27	2145	19	40755	Blomquist 2006:274
1759	2591	4	10364	CCOB4:136	2310	17	39270	Blomquist 2006:274

Table A.6: Tithables in Goochland and Cumberland Counties and in Southam Parish cont.

YEAR	**COUNTY TITHABLES**	**PAYMENT per poll** (in pounds of tobacco, unless noted)	**TOTAL** (in pounds of tobacco, unless noted)	**CITATION**	**PARISH TITHABLES**	**PAYMENT per poll** (in pounds of tobacco)	**TOTAL** (in pounds of tobacco)	**CITATION**
1760	2760	6	16560	CCOB4:282	2463	17	41871	Blomquist 2006:274
1761	2874	8	22992	CCOB4:441	2560	18	46080	Blomquist 2006:274
1762	2909	5	14545	CCOB5:128	2606	19	49514	Blomquist 2006:274
1763	3096	8	24768	CCOB5:351	2780	16	44480	Blomquist 2006:274
1764	3126	6	18756	CCOB6:68	2806	28	78568	Blomquist 2006:274
1765	3170	8	25360	CCOB6:249	2865	9	25795	Blomquist 2006:274
1766	3259	5	16445	CCOB6:359	2988	15	44820	Blomquist 2006:274
1767	3369	4	13276	CCOB7:74	3000	15	45000	Blomquist 2006:274
1768	3440	8	27520	CCOB7:276	3116	13	40508	Blomquist 2006:274
1769	3492	9	31428	CCOB7:463	3146	14	44044	Blomquist 2006:274
1770					3213	12	38556	Blomquist 2006:274
1771	3661	9	32949	CCOB8:367	3288	15	49320	Blomquist 2006:274
1772	3828	2	7646	CCOB9:75	1638	20	32760	Blomquist 2006:274

Table A.7: Tithables in Goochland and Cumberland Counties and in Southam Parish cont.

YEAR	**COUNTY TITHABLES**	**PAYMENT per poll** (in pounds of tobacco, unless noted)	**TOTAL** (in pounds of tobacco, unless noted)	**CITATION**	**PARISH TITHABLES**	**PAYMENT per poll** (in pounds of tobacco)	**TOTAL** (in pounds of tobacco)	**CITATION**
1773	3847	9d c.	144..5..3	CCOB9:501	1628	33	53724	Blomquist 2006:274
1774	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1775	4032	6d	100..16..0	CCOB10:311	1755	20	35100	Blomquist 2006:274
1776	4116	7 pence half penny	128..12..6	CCOB10:357	1742	21	36582	Blomquist 2006:274
1777	4143	6 pence	103..11..6	CCOB10:397	1841	3	5520	Blomquist 2006:274

*No records were taken in 1774.

VITA

Crystal Lynn Ptacek was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, November 21, 1985. She was raised in the North Hills of Pittsburgh, where she graduated from North Allegheny High School in 2004. She then attended Allegheny College in Meadville, Pennsylvania, where she received a Bachelor of Arts Degree majoring in History and minoring in Music History in May of 2008. For two years, she worked as a field archaeologist at George Washington's Mount Vernon Estate and Gardens in Mount Vernon, Virginia. She began her Master's degree program within the Anthropology Department at the University of Tennessee in 2010. Her Master of Arts degree was awarded in May of 2013 with a focus in historical archaeology.