Statements in Brick and Timber:
The Eighteenth-Century Middling Planter Housing of Accomack County, Virginia

Edward Miles Barnes
Onancock, Virginia

B.A., University of Virginia, 2008

A Thesis Presented to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of Master of Architectural History

School of Architecture
Department of Architectural History
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

December, 2021

Thesis Committee:
Louis P. Nelson, Chair
Richard Guy Wilson
Bernard L. Herman

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Table

Figure

14. Map of tobacco soil types in Tidewater Virginia. From Hardin, "'The Same Sort of Seed in Different Earths,'" 145.

15. Ground-floor plan of Bacon's Castle, Surry County, built 1665. From Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture," 322. Room labels added by author.

16. Perspective drawing of a typical seventeenth-century Virginia house. From Carson et al., "Impermanent Architecture," 143.

17. Conjectural elevation drawing of Arlington, Northampton County, built c. 1670. From Luccketti et al., *Archaeology at Arlington*, 28.

18. Ground-floor plan of Mason House, Accomack County, built 1729. Detail from David Bell, "Mason House, Accomack County – First Floor Plan," measured drawing, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1971, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-GIL.V,1- (sheet 1of 5); https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/hhh.va0021.sheet.00001a/?co=hh accessed March 7, 2014). Room labels added by author.

19. Hall at Shepherd's Plain, Accomack County, built c. 1765. Photo by author.

20. View of paneled end wall in the hall at Arbuckle Place, Accomack County, built 1774. Photo by author.

21. View of plain fireplace moldings in the chamber at Mister Place, Accomack County, built. c. 1780. Photo by author.

22. View of the stair in the northwest corner of the hall at Mister Place, Accomack County, built c. 1780. Photo by author.

23. View of the southeast corner of the hall showing the stair at Leatherbury Farm, Accomack County, 1769. Photo by author.

24. View of the paneled end wall of the hall at Chandler-Drummond Place, Accomack County, built c. 1765. Photo by author.

25. View of the stair in the passage at Shepherd's Plain, Accomack County, built c. 1765. Photo by author.

26. View of the stair in the passage at The Hermitage, Accomack County, built c. 1769. Photo by author.

27. View of the stair in the passage at Corbin Hall, Accomack County, built 1787 (demolished). Photo by Frances Benjamin Johnston, c. 1930-1939, reprinted in Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 291.

28. East view of Pitt's Neck, built c. 1735. Photo by author.

29. Northwest view of Shepherd's Plain, Accomack County, built c. 1765. Photo by author.

30. West view of Corbin Hall, Accomack County, built 1787 (demolished). From the Doran S. Callahan Photograph Collection, Eastern Shore Public Library, Accomac, Virginia.

31. East view of Pear Valley, Northampton County, built c. 1740. Photo by author.

32. Northwest view of Pear Valley. Photo by author.

33. Plan of Pear Valley. From Herman and Lanier, *Everyday Architecture*, 13.

34. North view of Pear Valley showing brick end. Photo by author.

35. Detail of wall framing post and plate at Pear Valley. Photo by author.

36. Southeast view of the Brick House at Machipongo, Northampton County, constructed before 1736. Photo by author.

37. Chestnut Vale, Accomack County, built c. 1725-1750 (demolished). From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 861.

38. Glenn Farm, Accomack County, built before 1744 (demolished). From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 767.

39. Broadwater Place, Accomack County, built before 1745 (demolished). From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 238.

40. Fisher House, Northampton County, built before 1746 (destroyed by hurricane, 1944). Photo by HABS: "Fisher House, Holly Grove Cove,

Wardtown, Northampton County, VA," photograph, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, n.d., from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,66-WARD.V,1--1; https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/hhh.va0806.photos.164104p/?co=hh accessed January 23, 2011).

41. Plan of Fisher House. Drawing from HABS: "Fisher House," written historical and descriptive data, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, n.d., from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,66-WARD.V,1; https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/master/pnp/habshaer/va/va0800/va0806/supp/va0806supp.pdf accessed January 23, 2011).

42. West view of Rochester House, Westmoreland County, built c. 1745. From "096-0087 Rochester House," Westmoreland County, Historic Registers, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, accessed February 6, 2014, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/096-0087/.

43. Northwest view of the Rochester House. From Camille Wells, "The Eighteenth Century Landscape of Virginia's Northern Neck," *Northern Neck of Virginia Historical Magazine* XXXVII (1987): 4243.

44. View of the interior of the roof of the Ball-Sellers House, Arlington County, built c. 1750-1775. From Upton, *Holy Things and Profane,* 111.

45. Northeast view of Mears Place, Accomack County, built between 1741 and 1766. Photo by author.

46. South view of Mears Place. Photo by author.

47. Perkinsons, Chesterfield County, built c. 1750-1775. From Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 112.

48. Plan of Wilson Farm, Chesterfield County, built c. 1775-1800. From Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 113.

49. Isham Edwards House, Isle of Wight County, built c. 1775-1800. From Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 211.

50. Plan of Isham Edwards House. From Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 211.

51. West House, Accomack County, built between 1761 and 1785 (demolished). From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1074.

52. Detail of West House showing well-executed Flemish bond brickwork. From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 281.

53. Plan of West House and sketch of the interior showing built-in cupboards and paneled wainscot. From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 282.

54. View of Flemish-bond brick end at Thomas Abbott House, Accomack County, built c. 1778 (demolished). From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 312.

55. Sketch of the paneled end wall in the hall at Thomas Abbott House showing molded board-and-batten paneling and built-in cupboards—two with glazed doors. From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 210.

56. Copes Place, Accomack County, c. 1786-1789 (demolished). From Whitelaw, *Virignia's Eastern Shore*, 857.

57. View of the brick end at Copes Place. From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 312.

58. Runnymede, Accomack County, built 1797 (demolished). Photo by HABS: "Runnymede, Walston Creek, Accomac, Accomack County, VA," photograph, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1960, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-AC.V,4--2; https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/va0012.photos.159653p/resource/ accessed February 6, 2013).

59. Southeast view of kitchen at The Hermitage, Accomack County, built c. 1820. Photo by author.

60. South view of kitchen and main house at Walston Place, Accomack County. Photo by author.

61. Southeast view of The Folly showing the two-story c. 1816 section and the kitchen wing with connecting 'colonnade.' Photo by HABS: "The Folly, Folly Creek, Accomac, Accomack County, VA," photograph, Historic

American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1960, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-AC.V,2—3; https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/va0008.photos.159639p/resource/ accessed February 10, 2013).

62. East view of Boman's Folly, Accomack County, c. 1815. Photo by HABS: "Bowman's Folly, Folly Creek, Accomac, Accomack County, VA," photograph, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1960, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-AC.V,1—5; https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/va0005.photos.159630p/resource/ accessed February 10, 2013).

63. The "Downing hut" near Craddockville, Accomack County. Photo taken December 17, 1896. From the Doran S. Callahan Photograph Collection, Eastern Shore Public Library, Accomac, Virginia.

64. Barnes House, Accomack County, built c. 1793 (demolished). From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1106.

65. Royal Rest, Northampton County, built c. 1778 (demolished). From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 526.

66. Walnut Grove, Northampton County, built c. 1760 (demolished). From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 85.

67. Andrews House, Northampton County, built c. 1750 (demolished). From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 182.

68. Thomas House, Northampton County, built c. 1775 (demolished). From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 448.

69. West House, Accomack County, built c. 1725-1750 (ruinous). Photo by HABS: "Revell West House, Deep Creek, Chesconessex, Accomack County, VA," photograph, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1940, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-____,7--1; https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/hhh.va0018.photos.159737p/?co=hh accessed February 12, 2011).

70. Ground-floor plan of West House, Accomack County, built c. 1725-1750 (ruinous). Drawing from HABS: "Revell West House, Accomack County, Virginia," written historical and descriptive data, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1940, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-____,7-; https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/master/pnp/habshaer/va/va0000/va0018/data/va0018data.pdf accessed February 12, 2011). Room labels added by author.

71. Shabby Hall, Accomack County, built c. 1789. From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 311.

72. Ground-floor plan of Shabby Hall, Accomack County, built c. 1789. From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 310.

73. Starve Gut, Accomack County, built c. 1750 (demolished). From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1172.

74. Ground-floor plan of Starve Gut, Accomack County, built c. 1750 (demolished). From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 237. Room labels added by author.

75. North view of Dahl Swamp House, Accomack County, built c. 1792 (demolished). Photo by L. Floyd Nock III.

76. Ground-floor plan of Dahl Swamp House, Accomack County, built c. 1792 (demolished). Drawing from HABS: "Topping House, Cashville vicinity, Accomack County, Virginia," written historical and descriptive data, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, n.d., from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-CASH.V,1-; https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/master/pnp/habshaer/va/va0000/va0013/data/va0013data.pdf accessed February 7, 2011). Room labels added by author.

77. West view of Long Place, Accomack County, built c. 1779. Photo by author.

78. Ground-floor plan of Long Place, Accomack County, built c. 1792, a double-pile hall-chamber house. Drawing by author.

79. West view of Brick House, Accomack County, built c. 1765. Photo by author.

80. Last Shift, Accomack County, built c. 1750 (demolished). From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 794.

81. Wessells House, Accomack County, built 1768 (demolished). From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1270.

82. View of the hall-end at Stran Place, Accomack County, built c. 1760. Photo by author.

83. View of the chamber-end at Stran Place, Accomack County, built c. 1760. Photo by author.

84. View of hall-end at Benjamin Aydelotte House, Worcester County, Maryland, built 1786. Photo by author.

85. View of the chamber-end at Benjamin Aydelotte House, Worcester County, Maryland, built 1786. Photo by author.

86. View of the hall-end at Arbuckle Place, Accomack County, built 1774. Photo by author.

87. View of the chamber-end at Arbuckle Place, Accomack County, built 1774. Photo by author.

88. View of the paneled end wall and enclosed stair in the hall at Long Place, Accomack County, built c. 1779. Photo by author.

89. Northeast view of Arbuckle Place, Accomack County, built 1774. Photo by author.

90. Ground-floor plan of Arbuckle Place. Drawing by author.

91. Conquest House, Accomack County, built c. 1750 (demolished). From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 252.

92. Ground-floor plan of Evergreen, Accomack County, built c. 1766-1772. Drawing by author.

93. Ground-floor plan of Marino, Accomack County, built 1796 (demolished). Drawing by L. Floyd Nock III, 1982. Room labels added by author.

94. Captain James Walker House, Accomack County (demolished). From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 897.

95. Northeast view of Martin Place, Accomack County, built for Peter Martin before 1761. Photo by author.

96. Ground-floor plan of Martin Place. Drawing by author.

97. Northeast view of Poplar Grove, Accomack County, built for George Douglas c. 1728-1758 (destroyed by fire, 1944). Photo by HABS: "Poplar Grove, Mosquito Creek, Horntown, Accomack County, VA," photograph, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1940, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-HORT.V,2--1; https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/va0025.photos.159694p/resource/ accessed January 23, 2011).

98. Ground-floor plan of Poplar Grove (destroyed by fire, 1944). Drawing from HABS: "Poplar Grove," written historical and descriptive data, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1940, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-HORT.V,2-; https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/master/pnp/habshaer/va/va0000/va0025/data/va0025data.pdf accessed January 23, 2011). Room labels added by author.

99. View of the justices' bench, Chowan County courthouse, Edenton, North Carolina, built 1767-1768. Photo by author.

100. Paneled end wall in the dining room at Shepherd's Plain, Accomack County, built c. 1765. Photo by author.

101. View of the passage at Pitt's Neck, Accomack County, built c. 1735. Photo by author.

102. View of the paneled end wall in the hall at Corbin Hall, Accomack County, built 1787 (demolished). Photo by Frances Benjamin Johnston, "Chincoteague Farm, Horntown, Accomack County, Virginia," photograph, Carnegie Survey of the Architecture of the South, 1930-1939, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (LC-J7-VA- 1009 [P&P]; https://www.loc.gov/item/2017889750/ accessed January 27, 2014).

103. View of the altarpiece, Aquia Church, Stafford County, Virginia, built 1754-1757. From Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 127.

104. View of paneled pews and pulpit, Christ Church, Lancaster County, Virginia, built c. 1732-1735. From Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 134.

105. View of the interior of Christ Church, Lancaster County, Virginia, built c. 1732-1735. From Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 178.

106. South view of the brick end on the original south section of Northam Place, Accomack County, built c. 1750. Photo by author.

107. Ground-floor plan of Northam Place. From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 248. Room labels added by author.

108. South view of Leatherbury Farm, Accomack County, built 1769. Photo by author.

109. Ground-floor plan of the original 1769 section of Leatherbury Farm. Drawing by author.

110. Clayton House, Accomack County, built c. 1778 (demolished). From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1106.

111. Clayton House (demolished). Clayton family photo, 1942.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I offer my sincere thanks to my thesis committee, Louis Nelson, Richard Guy Wilson, and Bernie Herman, whose thoughtful insights and criticisms have helped me to refine my argument and prompted me to think deeper about the subject. Their own scholarship has inspired my interest in historic buildings and the stories they tell.

In the course of my research for this thesis, many people graciously opened their homes to me and allowed me to roam freely for hours with my camera and measuring tape: Michael Hart, Morty Bennett, Dick Surran, David Bundick, Thomas Wescott, Kristine Marcy, Chris and Shannon Gordon, Dr. Ashby Taylor, Rhet and Cathy Tignor, Herbert Watson, Charles and Patricia Richardson, Col. Christopher Needels, and Wayne Williams. I am extremely grateful for their generosity and time. I would also like to thank Andrew Fosque for helping me measure Rogers Place, and Dennis Custis and Gordon Lohr for negotiating access to Shepherd's Plain, a building that had eluded me for years.

The late Anne Nock was exceedingly generous in allowing me free rein with the files of her late husband, architectural historian L. Floyd Nock III. I uncovered many wonderful photographs and drawings that filled gaps in my knowledge of buildings long gone. The late Rev. Kirk C. Mariner helped me first get my bearings when digging in the 'old books cabinet' in the bowels of the County Clerk's Office in Accomac. I miss our many lengthy and interesting discussions of Eastern Shore history at my parents' dinner table, and I will always be grateful for his thoughtfulness and encouragement.

My research was made a great deal easier due to the many historians and genealogists who have, over the last several decades, done the tedious and underappreciated work of transcribing, abstracting, compiling, indexing, and interpreting a wide variety of the historic records of Accomack and Northampton Counties. I am especially thankful for the work of

M. K. Miles, Barry Miles, Jean Mihalyka, Gail Walczyk, Nora Miller Turman, Parker Barnes, Joann Riley McKey, Stratton Nottingham, Frances Latimer, Anne Floyd Upshur, Ralph T. Whitelaw, Susie Ames, and Allen Hamilton. I would also like to thank the staff at the Accomack County Clerk of Court's Office, the Eastern Shore of Virginia Historical Society, the Virginia Historical Society, the Library of Virginia, and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources for their assistance.

I am tremendously grateful for my parents, Anne and Miles Barnes. Their unwavering support, encouragement, and love carried me through to the end of this long and tortured process.

Finally, I want to thank Katie for her unending patience. She has always believed in me, and that has helped me believe in myself.

INTRODUCTION

Historians of eighteenth-century Virginia and its architecture have long argued that houses were a material manifestation of their owners' wealth and position in society—that the size of a planter's dwelling, how it was built, the materials used to build it, and the quality of its decorative finishes together served as a public statement of the planter's economic success while simultaneously communicating his claims to social status and personal refinement, and asserting his authority over the intentionally ordered landscape of the plantation with its various subordinate buildings, including kitchens, dairies, smokehouses, barns, and quarters for enslaved laborers.[1] Treating houses as representations of planter wealth and status has allowed architectural historians to identify and categorize eighteenth-century Virginia houses as products of particular classes of planters according to house size, form, materials, and finishes. But our understanding of class-based developments in Virginia's eighteenth-century housing has suffered from the predominance of an interpretive perspective of the built landscape that is overly broad in scope. In general, the development of the Virginia plantation house over the course of the eighteenth century as a discrete architectural type has been portrayed as having occurred in virtually the same manner throughout Virginia. The tendency has been to explain the evolution of aspects of Virginia

[1] See Edward A. Chappell and Julie Richter, "Wealth and Houses in Post-Revolutionary Virginia," in *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture VII*, ed. Annmarie Adams and Sally McMurry (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 6; Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia: 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 34-39, 71-79; Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1997), 206-213; Dell Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia" in Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1986), 320; Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia" *Places* Vol. 2, No. 2 (1984), 63-66; Lorena S. Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit: Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607-1763* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 239-242, 414-418; Camille Wells, "The Planter's Prospect: Houses, Outbuildings, and Rural Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia" *Winterthur Portfolio* Vol. 28, No. 1 (Spring, 1993), 14-15, 26-31; Ashli White, "The Character of a Landscape: Domestic Architecture and Community in Late Eighteenth-Century Berkeley Parish, Virginia" *Winterthur Portfolio* Vol. 34, No. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn, 1999), 117-118.

housing such as the development of architectural expressions of planter class in terms of general Virginia-wide trends. Groups of buildings that exist in opposition to these trends and thus cast doubt on generalized interpretations of the development of the Virginia house type have not been sufficiently studied. This thesis is an examination of one of these outlier groups of buildings—the houses built by members of the middling class of planters in Accomack County on the Eastern Shore of Virginia in the eighteenth century. Through an analysis of these houses that places them in their local context—one that takes into account the unique geographic and economic conditions of the place they were built, along with the effects of those conditions on the local social structure—they are shown to represent the emergence of a distinct class-based architectural expression divergent from patterns of architectural development that occurred elsewhere in Virginia. These buildings challenge standard assumptions of the ways in which planter class was expressed in domestic architecture in eighteenth-century Virginia and prompt us to reevaluate generalized approaches to the interpretation of a built landscape that was likely more varied and diverse than previously thought.

During the third quarter of the eighteenth century, four plantation owners in Accomack County on Virginia's Eastern Shore built four very similar houses. Solomon Glading, Charles White, Edmund Bayly, and William Bagge each erected one-and-one-half-story wood frame buildings with chimneys at the gable ends, entrance doors centrally located in the long sides, and dormer windows lighting the upper level (figs. 1, 2, 3, 4). Each of these houses also had at least one gable end wall that was entirely constructed of brick. From the exterior, one of the few noticeable differences between these buildings apart from fenestration was that Edmund Bayly's house, known as The Hermitage, and William Bagge's house, traditionally called Rogers Place, were each slightly larger than Solomon Glading's

Stran Place and Charles White's White Place in terms of ground-floor area.[2] Indeed, if one were to view these buildings from the side, looking toward their brick gable ends, they would be practically indistinguishable, as they all measured nearly the same depth and each brick end exhibited neat, well executed masonry work (figs. 5, 6). The interiors of the four houses featured finishes of similar quality typical to their period of construction. Each had plastered walls, molded window and door surrounds, carved and molded mantels, and paneled wainscoting in the best rooms. Of the four houses, it is fair to say that The Hermitage likely had the finest interior finishes, best exemplified by the hall, the largest and best-appointed room on the ground floor, which features an elaborate molded cornice with two rows of carved dentils and an end wall with raised-panel wainscoting, paneled overmantel with crossettes, and, on either side of the fireplace, matching built-in cupboards with twenty-pane glass doors (fig. 7). Though now ruinous, the hall at Rogers Place also appears to have been adorned with similar high quality finishes. The brick gable end wall, which remains standing, shows evidence of having been covered from floor to ceiling with paneled wainscoting (fig. 8). At Stran Place, the original interior finishes were largely replaced in the early nineteenth century but those original eighteenth-century elements that do remain, including four- and six-panel doors and a molded cornice with carved dentils similar to the one at The Hermitage, represent some of the finer examples of eighteenth-century interior carpentry work extant in Accomack County (fig. 9). The interior of the now-demolished White Place was likely the plainest of the four buildings; however it was still described as having paneled

---

[2] All four houses are between nineteen and twenty-five feet deep but The Hermitage and Rogers Place are about ten feet longer than Stran Place and White Place, making them approximately thirty to forty percent larger by ground-floor area. The original section of Stran Place measures nineteen feet by thirty-seven feet (703 ft.^{2}). The Hermitage measures twenty-five feet by forty-seven feet (1,175 ft.^{2}). Rogers Place is now a ruin but it is possible to measure the dimensions of the building from the existing foundation walls; it was twenty-two feet by forty-five feet (990 ft.^{2}). White Place was demolished at least sixty years ago and no traces of the building remain above ground. Surviving photographs indicate that it was probably about twenty feet deep and most certainly at least thirty-five feet long (700 ft.^{2}).

wainscoting in the ground-floor rooms as well as built-in cupboards adjacent to the fireplace mantels.[3] The use of different ground-floor plans is the only aspect of these buildings that could serve as a reasonable basis for differentiating them into separate categories or types of houses. The original sections of Stran Place and White Place both featured two-room ground-floor plans that consisted of a well-adorned public room called the hall and directly adjacent a slightly smaller and more private room called the chamber (fig. 10). Rogers Place and The Hermitage utilized three- and four-room ground-floor plans that also contained a hall and chamber with a narrow unheated stair passage between them (fig. 11).[4]

Since Solomon Glading, Charles White, Edmund Bayly, and William Bagge all built houses of similar size, with the same materials, and exhibiting a similar quality of craftsmanship and level of finish, it would stand to reason that these were planters of similar economic means and who occupied similar positions in the local social hierarchy. But in actuality, the similarities between their houses obscure the fact that eighteenth-century Virginians would have recognized Edmund Bayly and William Bagge as members of an entirely different class of planters than Solomon Glading and Charles White, separated by a significant gap in wealth, authority, and prestige. Bayly and Bagge stood at the pinnacle of Accomack society as members of the ruling elite planter class. Comprised of the largest landowners and slaveholders in the county, this group dominated the local civil and ecclesiastical power structures. Occupying a position between the elites at the apex of white society and the landless poor and micro-sized freeholders at the lower end of the spectrum were the middling planters like Glading and White. This class emerged in Virginia in the early decades of the eighteenth century and was made up of planters who possessed some

[3] Ralph T. Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore: A History of Northampton and Accomack Counties* (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1968), 1095.
[4] The incorporation of the passage in Rogers Place and The Hermitage accounts for the fact that they were slightly larger in terms of overall size than Stran Place and White Place.

land and perhaps a few enslaved laborers but who were substantially poorer than their elite neighbors and who were largely excluded from holding positions of authority at the county or provincial levels. Scholars vary somewhat in their definitions of the amount of property owned by typical middling planters in eighteenth-century Virginia.[5] However, the discussion of landownership in Chapter II will show that in Accomack County the middling class was comprised of those planters who owned between one hundred and five hundred acres of land. In addition to "middling," historians of eighteenth-century Virginia have used various terms to describe this intermediate group of planters, including "ordinary," "small," "common, and "yeoman." Throughout this paper, I will use "middling" to refer to these planters because it is a less ambiguous term that best illustrates their position in the social hierarchy of eighteenth-century Accomack County, and because surviving documents show that "middling," "middle sorts," and other similar terms were commonly used by period commentators to describe them.[6]

Surviving records show that the gulf in wealth and resources between elite planters Bayly and Bagge and middling planters Glading and White was considerable. At the time they built their houses, Bayly owned a 700-acre plantation and Bagge possessed landholdings

---

[5] For descriptions and definitions of middling planters see T. H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of the Revolution* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985), 36-39, 58; Chappell and Richter, "Wealth and Houses," 4; Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 56, 132; Kevin P. Kelly, "A Portrait of York County Middling Planters and Their Slaves, 1760-1775" *Colonial Williamsburg Interpreter* Vol. 24, No. 2 (2003), 2-5; Kevin P. Kelly, "Was There an American Common Man? The Case in Colonial Virginia," in *Common People and Their Material World: Free Men and Women in the Chesapeake, 1700-1830*, ed. David Harvey and Gregory Brown (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1995), 107-113; Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 9-10, 128, 262-263, 281, 301; D. Alan Williams, "The Small Farmer in Eighteenth-Century Virginia Politics" *Agricultural History* Vol. 43, No. 1 (January, 1969), 92-94. Chappell and Richter define middling planters broadly as "the group of free people located between landless tenants and wealthy plantation owners on the economic ladder." Kulikoff describes them as planters "who owned just a couple of hundred acres of land and a few slaves." Kelly and Williams are more specific; they define middling planters in terms of landownership figures. According to Kelly, data contained in tax lists made in Essex, James City, and Gloucester Counties in the 1760s and 1770s suggests that middling planters owned "more than one hundred but (usually) less than five hundred acres." Williams describes the middling ground as owning "at least 50 acres and less than 500 acres of land."

[6] See Kelly, "A Portrait," 2.

that totaled approximately 1000 acres, while Glading and White, on the other hand, each owned only 100 acres.[7] We do not know if Solomon Glading was a slave owner but it appears that Charles White was not since no enslaved laborers are mentioned in his will or listed in the probate inventory of his personal estate recorded following his death in 1786.[8] By contrast, eleven enslaved laborers are listed in Edmund Bayly's probate inventory and twenty-one in the inventory of William Bagge.[9] Furthermore, the probate inventories show that the total value of White's personal property did not exceed £42, while Bayly's movable estate was valued at £899 and Bagge's at £1018.[10]

But the class divide between middling and elite went beyond simple economics; these were people who performed different societal roles and structured their daily lives in very different ways. It is useful to think of Accomack's middling planters as 'working planters.' Men like Charles White who owned few or no enslaved workers led lives characterized by the near-constant performance of manual labor. Because White owned no bound laborers, it was the sole responsibility of White and his family to handle all of the varied tasks involved in operating his plantation. Not surprisingly, middling planters like White were less likely than elites to have received an education or to have served in offices or positions in the local governmental structure. White was typical of Accomack middling planters in that he was illiterate and the only position of local authority that he held in his lifetime was serving as one of twelve overseers of roads for the county—practically the least

---

[7] Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 636-637, 818, 833-834, 841, 1093-1095, 1101-1103.
[8] Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1784-1787: 262 (Probate Inventory of Charles White, 25 July 1786), County Clerk's Office, Accomac.
[9] Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1772-1777: 28-31 (Probate Inventory of William Bagge, 1 October 1772), County Clerk's Office, Accomac; Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1798-1800: 385-393 (Probate Inventory of Edmund Bayly, 19 September 1799), County Clerk's Office, Accomac.
[10] Accomack Co., Va., Wills, Vol. 1772-1777: 28-31; Accomack Co., Va., Wills, Vol. 1784-1787: 262; Accomack Co., Va., Wills, Vol. 1798-1800: 385-393.

significant and least demanding position in county government.[11] Many more middling planters were like Solomon Glading who never served in any public office of any kind. The characterization of Accomack middling planters as working people is borne out by surviving records which show that middling planters frequently engaged in a number of hands-on, labor-intensive activities to earn extra money. Solomon Glading is a notable example, as court records indicate he supplemented his agricultural income by working as a brick mason.[12]

If middling planters were people whose livelihoods were made through active participation in labor-intensive activities, elites took on much more of an administrative role with respect to agricultural production and income generation in general—they were the managers and directors of labor rather than participants in it. Edmund Bayly and William Bagge each possessed enslaved labor forces of such size that it was unlikely that either of them were ever called upon to do much, if any, real physical work on their plantations. Control of labor provided elite planters with free time which they spent in developing and managing extra-agricultural passive income streams and in participating in local governmental systems which served to consolidate and substantiate elite authority. William Bagge, for instance, was thoroughly enmeshed in the structures of local authority—civil, ecclesiastical, and military. He served in the highest positions in the county court as a justice of the peace and sheriff, he was a decision-maker in the religious realm as a vestryman and churchwarden for St. George's Parish, and he held the rank of captain in the Accomack

---

[11] Joann Riley McKey, ed., *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volumes 21, 22, & 23: 1765-1769* (Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2012), 211; Joann Riley McKey, ed., *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volumes 24 & 25: 1769-1773* (Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2016), 26.

[12] Joann Riley McKey, ed., *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volume 17: 1737-1744* (Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2009), 306; Joann Riley McKey, ed., *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volume 18: 1744-1753* (Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2010), 404; Joann Riley McKey, ed., *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volume 19: 1753-1763* (Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2011), 51, 277, 294.

County Militia.[13] Bagge's activities outside of public service were also typical of Accomack elite planters who could depend on bound labor to keep their plantations operational and profitable. Unlike his middling neighbors who pursued labor-intensive side occupations, records suggest that Bagge made supplementary income through investments in real estate and in trading import-export goods.[14] Bagge also practiced law which meant that his wealth afforded him access to a level of education that was unattainable to all but the very wealthiest planters in the county.[15] Edmund Bayly's public service career was no more distinguished than that of middling planter Charles White—he, too, never held an office more influential than that of overseer of roads.[16] But while Bayly's participation in the local governmental power structure may have been limited, customs records show that he was heavily involved in commercial shipping, an extra-agricultural activity that in Accomack County was almost exclusively an elite pursuit, most likely due to the amount of investment capital needed to purchase vessels and goods and hire crews. During his lifetime, Bayly was part or sole owner of at least three shipping vessels that traded between the Eastern Shore of Virginia and ports on the east coast of North America and the Caribbean.[17] With the physical labor and investment of time involved in loading, unloading, and transporting goods left to hired crews and captains, shipping provided a passive income stream for Bayly and other elite planters who owned the vessels.

---

[13] Marilyn Semuta Melchor, "The Accomack County, Virginia, Justices of the Peace in the Revolutionary Era, 1750-1784" (Master's thesis, Old Dominion University, 1977), 74-76; Joann Riley McKey, *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volume 16: 1731-1736* (Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2009), 188; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 17*, 68, 391, 395, 399, 403; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 18*, 34, 280, 419; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 78, 137, 170, 198, 226; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 24 & 25*, 173.

[14] Bagge owned two lots and a storehouse in the port town of Onancock and at least one sloop. See Melchor, "Accomack County, Virginia, Justices of the Peace," 75; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 16*, 244; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 908.

[15] Melchor, "Accomack County, Virginia, Justices of the Peace," 76; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 833.

[16] McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 21, 22, & 23*, 212.

[17] Accomack County Miscellaneous Records, Port Entry Book, 1778-1788, Local Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia (Entries: 24 April 1781, 13 April 1782, 19 August 1783); Port of Accomack, Naval Officer's Book of Entries and Clearances, 1780-1787 (Clearance: 23 September 1781).

Because Solomon Glading and Charles White occupied a significantly lower plane than William Bagge and Edmund Bayly when it came to individual wealth and resources, patterns of daily life, and societal roles, the fact that these four planters built exceedingly similar houses is significant in that it reveals a development in eighteenth-century Virginia vernacular architecture that heretofore has not been adequately investigated. Scholars of eighteenth-century Virginia buildings most often discuss middling housing in broad terms without addressing specific regional variations or developments that may complicate an overall characterization of middling houses as clearly and unmistakably inferior to elite dwellings. The tendency has been to emphasize that the disparity in resources and status between middling and elite planters was, in nearly every instance and in nearly every locality, plainly stated in housing.[18] Scholars who do note the existence of middling buildings that exhibited a level of quality approaching that seen in contemporary elite housing claim that such well-built middling houses were relatively rare and only began to appear in significant numbers in the years following the American Revolution.[19] But these general interpretations of Virginia's eighteenth-century middling architecture need to be reconsidered, as they fail to account for the existence of groups of buildings that challenge conceptions of middling housing as small, crude, or otherwise unsophisticated.

One such group of middling buildings is the subject of this thesis—the high-quality, solidly-constructed houses built by Accomack County middling planters like Solomon Glading, Charles White, and many others starting as early as the second quarter of the eighteenth century. These houses resulted from a coalescence of environmental, economic, and geographic conditions and circumstances particular to Accomack County which brought

---

[18] See Chappell and Richter, "Wealth and Houses," 3; Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 33, 74, 79, 305; Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 210-213; Upton, "White and Black Landscapes," 61, 63; Walsh, *Motives*, 242, 416-417; Wells, "The Planter's Prospect," 6, 29.
[19] See Chappell and Richter, "Wealth and Houses."

about the emergence of a sizable and prosperous class of middling planters who employed architecture to announce their ascendance. Remarkably, the same local conditions and circumstances that enriched Accomack's middling planters served to put a sort of cap on elite prosperity, preventing the wealth gap between middling and elite from growing nearly as wide as it was on the western shore of the Chesapeake Bay. This narrowing of the middling-elite wealth divide when combined with the limitations of local vernacular building traditions is what accounts for the similarities of size and quality between the houses of middling planters Solomon Glading and Charles White and those of elite planters Edmund Bayly and William Bagge. But this thesis will show that these similarities should not be considered evidence that Glading and White were building the same types of houses as Bayly and Bagge. Nor were the existence of similar middling and elite houses evidence that middling and elite housing existed on a sort of continuum of size and quality in eighteenth-century Accomack County with no distinguishing characteristics that fundamentally differentiated middling houses from elite. On the contrary, Glading and White's use of the hall-chamber floor plan should be viewed as a conscious choice to build houses that would have been clearly identifiable as middling buildings to eighteenth-century residents of Accomack County. It is in Accomack middling planters' continued use of the hall-chamber plan and their corresponding wholesale rejection of the more fashionable passage-plan forms adopted by their elite neighbors that we encounter a fascinating architectural expression of the development of middling class consciousness, cohesion, and collective self-assertion, the likes of which occurred perhaps nowhere else in eighteenth-century Virginia. Their burgeoning prosperity gave Accomack middling planters the means to use architecture to make claims on elite status through the cooption of the passage-plan house had they desired. But sure in themselves and confident in their status, together they chose instead to build

houses that would be solid, permanent, but also forceful and unambiguous statements of middling identity, a phenomenon that challenges standard assumptions of what historian Dell Upton terms as, "the predictable emulation of the elite by middling social groups."[20]

This thesis charts the emergence of the middling planter class and their particular housing type in eighteenth-century Accomack County, Virginia. Through a focused study and comparison of eighteenth-century Accomack houses and their original owners, the use of the hall-chamber or center- and side-passage plans is shown to have been explicitly tied to planter class, and is thus at the root of the divergence of middling and elite housing into parallel but distinctly separate architectural expressions. In Chapter I, the reader is introduced to the unique geographic, demographic, agricultural, and economic circumstances present on the Eastern Shore of Virginia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that led to the rise of a large and prosperous class of middling planters. Chapter II contains an overview of the history of the Eastern Shore's early architecture which illustrates how the locally-specific circumstances discussed in Chapter I were reflected in the built landscape, particularly in the small but well-constructed houses of the Eastern Shore's wealthy middling planters who were able to access costly building materials and decorative treatments that served to distinguish their houses from those of their poorer neighbors, a development which marked a significant divergence from mainland Virginia trends in middling planter housing. Chapter III uses a detailed analysis of forty-six houses built by both middling and elite planters in Accomack County in the eighteenth century to discuss the middling house as a distinct local housing type. When these forty-six buildings are subjected to a comprehensive comparison that takes into account not only their architectural features but also the wealth and social standing of their original owners, we find compelling evidence that

[20] Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture," 317.

Accomack's middling planters, through their commitment to the hall-chamber floor plan, intentionally sought to differentiate their houses from those of their elite planter neighbors, and in so doing generated their own unmistakably distinct architectural expression that would serve as a permanent and public statement of their emergence as a prosperous and established social group.

It is worth mentioning here that this thesis is born of personal observation and experience, specifically my frequent encounters with the numerous small eighteenth-century houses—the tangible legacy of the middling planters—spread across the landscape of my childhood on the Eastern Shore of Virginia. As my interest in Virginia's early architecture grew and I became better acquainted with Virginia's eighteenth-century buildings and with scholars' interpretations of them, I became increasingly convinced that the small eighteenth-century houses of the Eastern Shore, much like the peninsula itself, existed in something of a space apart, and that the story of their development had yet to be told. As the reader will soon discover, the telling of that story has involved a significant amount of research; buildings were photographed, measured, and drawn, and various primary sources—parish vestry minutes, county court proceedings, deeds, wills, probate inventories, plats of survey, port entry and clearance books, etc.—were consulted and analyzed before patterns revealed themselves and the story took shape. I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to the many historians and genealogists who, like me, have found the early history of this interesting little corner of the Commonwealth to be irresistibly attractive, and who have left behind an impressive set of resources, including scholarly narratives as well as abstracted court records and, in the case of Ralph T. Whitelaw and Anne Floyd Upshur, an exhaustive and highly accurate history of land divisions, that together represent possibly the largest collection of resources on local history in existence for any of Virginia's rural counties. Finally, while

anyone could write the story of these buildings, I do not think it a stretch to suggest that this study benefits from the proximity and access that has been my privilege to enjoy as an Eastern Shore native.

CHAPTER I:
The Rise of the Middling Planter on the Eastern Shore of Virginia

About seventy-five miles long and ten miles wide, the Eastern Shore of Virginia forms the southern portion of the Delmarva Peninsula. The Eastern Shore is bordered on the north by the Maryland counties of Somerset and Worcester, on the west and south by the Chesapeake Bay, and on the east by the Atlantic Ocean (fig. 12). The peninsula was not physically connected to mainland Virginia until 1964 when the seventeen-mile-long Chesapeake Bay Bridge-Tunnel was constructed between the southern tip of the Eastern Shore and the city of Norfolk, Virginia. The landscape of the peninsula is remarkably low-lying and flat (fig. 13). Elevation seldom varies more than a few feet per mile and few places on the peninsula are higher than fifty feet above sea level.[1] Major features on the landscape are the numerous shallow, marshy tidal creeks that indent the coastline on both bayside and seaside, most navigable only by small vessels. On the seaside, these creeks drain into shallow bays and expanses of salt marsh separating the mainland from a thin chain of barrier islands that provide protection from Atlantic storms.

The climate and geology of the Eastern Shore of Virginia are well-suited to agriculture. The growing season lasts approximately seven months, and the summers, while hot and humid, generally do not suffer from droughts. In winter, the surrounding waters of the Chesapeake Bay and Atlantic Ocean moderate the temperature, ensuring that snowfall is a rare event and decreasing the likelihood of frost.[2] The Eastern Shore encompasses approximately 436,480 acres (682 square miles), of which 288,064 acres (450 square miles)

---

[1] E. H. Stevens, *Soil Survey of Accomac and Northampton Counties, Virginia* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), 9. Stevens notes that the only locations on the Eastern Shore where elevations exceeding fifty feet may be recorded are at the tops of some of the large sand hills along the bayside beaches at the lower end of the peninsula.
[2] Stevens, *Soil Survey*, 12-13.

contain arable soils. Sassafras sandy loam and Sassafras fine sandy loam are the dominant soil types on the peninsula, comprising fifty-seven percent of the total arable land. These soils are composed primarily of sand and silt. They till easily without clumping, they drain exceedingly well, and they support a wide variety of crops—from fruit trees to grains to various truck crops.[3]

Not long after a permanent English colony was established at Jamestown in 1607, the Eastern Shore began to attract attention from English explorers who noted that the peninsula contained favorable conditions for settlement. On his exploration of the Chesapeake Bay in 1608, Captain John Smith noted the Eastern Shore's "pleasant fertile clay soyle" and "good Harbours."[4] In 1621 John Pory, Secretary of Virginia and the first Speaker of the Virginia House of Burgess, visited the peninsula and later wrote that "such a place to live…the like is scarce to be found againe in the whole country."[5] The plentiful natural resources of the region were of special interest to Captain Samuel Argall who "found abundance of fish there, and very great Cod" on his exploration in November 1612.[6] A later visitor, Colonel Henry Norwood, owed his survival to the abundance of waterfowl and shellfish he encountered after being abandoned on one of the barrier islands in 1650. The natural bounty of the peninsula and the hospitality of his Native American and English rescuers led a grateful Norwood to write that the Eastern Shore was "the best of the whole [of Virginia] for all sorts of necessaries for human life."[7] But these explorers were quick to

---

[3] Stevens, *Soil Survey*, 33, 36-43. The Eastern Shore's 148,416 unproductive acres include beaches, swamps, and 127,808 acres of tidal marsh.
[4] John Smith, *Travels and Works*, ed. by Edward Arber (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910), II: 413.
[5] William S. Powell, *John Pory, 1572-1636: The Life and Letters of a Man of Many Parts* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977), xiii, 97.
[6] James R. Perry, *The Formation of a Society on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1615-1655* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 13.
[7] Henry Norwood, "A Voyage to Virginia," in *Tracts and other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America from the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776*, comp. Peter Force (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 1999), III: 48.

note the region's deficiencies as well as its assets. Smith wrote that the peninsula's harbors, while "good," were only suitable "for small Barks, but not for Ships," while Pory noted "the incommodity of Musquitos" which continues to plague the Eastern Shore to the present.[8]

Positive descriptions of the Eastern Shore likely persuaded the Lieutenant Governor of the Virginia Colony, Sir Thomas Dale, to dispatch a party of seventeen colonists to the peninsula in 1614 to establish a fishing camp and salt works. Within a few years, the venture had failed, and another attempt at establishing a permanent settlement on the Eastern Shore would not be made until 1620.[9] In the fall of that year, a group of ten men from Jamestown under the authority of the Virginia Company landed at a small bayside neck at the lower end of the peninsula between King's Creek and Cherrystone Creek where they began to clear land and start small plantations. In the first few years, with the arrival of female colonists in 1622 and the construction of a church in 1624, the young settlement achieved some semblance of English society. By 1625, the white population of the Eastern Shore totaled fifty-one people dispersed among nineteen houses.[10] A high mortality rate and a degree of out-migration resulted in a slow rate of population growth for the settlement in its first decade of existence.[11] By 1634, the white population of the peninsula numbered 396 and the settlement was deemed significant enough to be formed as Accomack County, one of Virginia's eight original shires.[12]

The settlement of the Eastern Shore in the seventeenth century followed a pattern influenced by geography and access to transportation. Development was driven by the

---

[8] Smith, *Travels and Works*, 413; Powell, *John Pory*, 97.
[9] Perry, *The Formation of a Society*, 15.
[10] Nora Miller Turman, *The Eastern Shore of Virginia, 1603-1964* (Onancock, Virginia: The Eastern Shore News, Inc., 1964), 5-10; Jennings Cropper Wise, *Ye Kingdome of Accawmacke or the Eastern Shore of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (Richmond, Virginia: The Bell Book and Stationery Company, 1911), 27-33.
[11] T. H. Breen and Stephen Innes, *"Myne Owne Ground": Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 44-45; Turman, *The Eastern Shore*, 10.
[12] Susie M. Ames, *Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century* (Richmond, Virginia: The Dietz Press, 1940), 6.

headright system, a policy adopted by the governing Virginia Company in 1618, by which land was granted to individual planters in the form of patents in return for financing the transportation of settlers to the colony. The most desirable tracts of land along the sheltered bayside creeks to the north and south of the original settlement were the first lands to be patented. The last choice of patentees were often the lands on the interior of the peninsula inaccessible to navigable bayside creeks, or seaside tracts where water access was restricted by salt marsh and inlets containing hazardous and ever-shifting shoals. Over the course of the seventeenth century, land was patented from south to north along the bayside creeks, and then eastward into the interior and towards the seaside.[13] At mid-century the spread of settlement northward put a strain on the processes of government, necessitating in 1663 the division of the peninsula into two counties—Accomack in the north and Northampton in the south.[14]

Initially, like the rest of Virginia, Eastern Shore planters were primarily devoted to the cultivation of tobacco for shipment abroad. In the 1640s public warehouses for the storage of tobacco prior to shipment were established at selected bayside landings, and by midcentury Eastern Shore tobacco was being shipped to England, Holland, New Netherland, and New England.[15] However, it soon became apparent that the Eastern Shore's natural environment was unsuitable for tobacco cultivation. Virginia soils produced two varieties of tobacco—sweet-scented and Oronoco. Of the two, sweet-scented was the more valuable; its nicotine content was probably higher, it produced a milder smoke, and it was denser than Oronoco, resulting in greater weight per plant. Sweet-scented tobacco

---

[13] Perry, *The Formation of a Society*, 24, 36-37.
[14] Turman, *The Eastern Shore*, 41-43, 64. Accomack County had been renamed 'Northampton' in 1642 when popular sentiment had led the General Assembly to abandon Native American place-names. When the county was divided in 1663, the northern portion took the old name.
[15] Ames, *Studies*, 43-48.

thrived in the nutrient-rich alluvial soils along the James, York, and Rappahannock Rivers on the Western Shore, while elsewhere in the Chesapeake planters could only produce Oronoco tobacco. Moreover, owing to the high sand content in the soil, some areas on the outer coastal plain were unsuitable for even Oronoco production. In these so-called "marginal" areas, as classified by geographer David S. Hardin, tobacco planters saw notable decreases in yields and quality within the first few seasons of cultivation due to the rapid leaching of nutrients from the soil. With the exception of a narrow band of slightly better soil located along the spine of the peninsula in Accomack County, the entirety of the Eastern Shore falls within the marginal category (fig. 14).[16] Evidence for the diminished productivity of the peninsula's soil can be seen in price and production statistics collected by colonial authorities. In 1664 the Eastern Shore produced 7.9 percent of Virginia's tobacco crop. Ten years later, that figure had fallen to 5.8 percent, and by 1687 it was 4.2 percent.[17] Statistics collected during the 1720s show the Eastern Shore to be little more than a bit player in the colony's tobacco economy. Between 1723 and 1725, peninsula planters produced only 1.7 percent of the colony's total tobacco crop and their leaf received the lowest prices of Virginia's six tobacco regions.[18]

The tobacco plantations of the Western Shore were not only more productive and produced tobacco of higher quality, they were also more accessible to the large ocean-going vessels that delivered the crop to European markets. As noted by John Smith and later by Captain Samuel Argall in 1613, the Eastern Shore had "many small Rivers…and very good harbours for Boats and Barges, but not for ships of any great burthen."[19] The tidal creeks

---

[16] David S. Hardin, "'The Same Sort of Seed in Different Earths': Tobacco Types and Their Regional Variation in Colonial Virginia," *Historical Geography* 34 (2006): 137, 139-140, 142, 145-148.
[17] Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery—American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1975), 415.
[18] Hardin, "'The Same Sort of Seed in Different Earths,'" 150-151.
[19] Breen and Innes, *"Myne Owne Ground,"* 38.

with their shifting channels and frequently silted inlets proved too shallow to be safely navigated by vessels over seventy tons. This required Eastern Shore planters to engage in the dangerous task of transporting their product in small boats from creekside plantations to larger ships anchored in the Chesapeake Bay. If the weather was poor, the process could be delayed by several days, leaving ship captains frustrated with the amount of time wasted to load an inferior product. Not surprisingly, in the latter half of the seventeenth century the tobacco fleets began to skip over the peninsula in favor of the safety and convenience of the Western Shore's rivers. This trend was deplored by Eastern Shore planters who complained to the General Assembly in 1677 that "our Shore is Incompassed with Shoales Insomuch that no Ships but of small burden can com to Trade and those that com but few and Inconsiderable."[20]

Confronted with decreasing tobacco prices in the mid-seventeenth century and saddled with an inferior and undesirable product, Eastern Shore planters considered alternate sources of income.[21] By the 1660s, the Eastern Shore began to produce commodities that could be delivered to regional markets in small shallow-draft vessels. Livestock farming began to supplement tobacco in the 1670s and quickly became the region's principal source of profit. During the seventeenth century, Eastern Shore planters practiced a free-range system of animal husbandry whereby a planter simply marked his herds of hogs, cattle, sheep, goats, and horses before releasing them into the woods. With the total human population on the peninsula not exceeding 5,000 until the 1690s, such a 'hands off' system was needed to conserve human labor for the cultivation of tobacco, grains, and subsistence crops. Moreover, considering that the average Eastern Shore landholding totaled around nine hundred acres in the 1660s and that very little of that land

[20] Breen and Innes, *"Myne Owne Ground,"* 38.
[21] Ames, *Studies*, 49-50.

was in crops owing to the continued use of the Native American system of agriculture by which fields were planted repeatedly until exhausted and then left fallow for long periods, the herds were never for want of forage.[22] The development of livestock husbandry initiated a rush to patent the long-neglected barrier islands. Between 1671 and 1705, nearly all of the islands were snatched up by settlers who recognized that islands provided perfect natural pasture for their expanding herds.[23] The registration of cattle marks for 236 individuals in Northampton County between 1665 and 1669 when there were only 177 households in the entire county bears witness to the speed with which Eastern Shore farmers embraced a more diversified agricultural model.[24]

As livestock farming intensified, so too did the production of grain for export. Grain—primarily corn and wheat—remained the region's secondary market commodity until the second quarter of the eighteenth century when it surpassed livestock in importance.[25] The rise of grain agriculture on the Eastern Shore was part of a greater trend toward the increased production of cereal crops throughout the colony of Virginia. Between 1737-42 and 1768-72, a period when Virginia experienced a 250% increase in population, the colony's total corn exports increased 462%, from 122,433 bushels to 566,672 bushels. Likewise during the same period, wheat exports experienced a tremendous 1,114% increase, from 36,199 bushels to 403,328 bushels. By contrast, tobacco production only increased by 160% during the period. The mid-century escalation of Virginia's grain production was caused by the transfer of resources away from tobacco cultivation in the wake of declining productivity coupled with increased settlement in the Piedmont region where soils and climate were

---

[22] Ames, *Studies*, 23-25; Morgan, *American Slavery—American Freedom*, 141, 413.
[23] Brooks Miles Barnes and Barry R. Truitt, eds., *Seashore Chronicles: Three Centuries of the Virginia Barrier Islands* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 7. The famous Chincoteague Ponies and Hog Island Sheep are undoubtedly the descendants of these early livestock populations.
[24] Morgan, *American Slavery—American Freedom*, 138.
[25] Peter V. Bergstrom, *Markets and Merchants: Economic Diversification in Colonial Virginia, 1700-1775* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985), 143.

better suited to cereal crops.[26] On the Eastern Shore, however, the shift to grain occurred roughly a quarter century earlier due to the pressures of a growing population. Beginning in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the division of farms into smaller and smaller parcels through inheritance gradually put an end to the wasteful slash-and-burn agricultural system by forcing planters to supplement tobacco cultivation with other crops that could be planted year after year in the same soil without thoroughly destroying its productivity.[27] The widespread abandonment of tobacco as the peninsula's primary cash crop and its subsequent replacement with livestock in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and grain in the first quarter of the eighteenth century is reflected in Accomack County's unsuccessful petition to the Virginia General Assembly in 1715 requesting permission to pay taxes in meat and grain rather than tobacco. It is important to note, however, that while tobacco diminished in importance on the peninsula throughout this period, it continued to be produced for the market and used as a form of currency well into the eighteenth century.[28]

Eastern Shore planters found markets for their meat, hides, and grain in many of Britain's Atlantic colonies. New England and New York, previously markets for Eastern Shore tobacco, also proved to be eager consumers of the Eastern Shore's new cash crops. Trade links between the peninsula and Massachusetts are recorded in correspondence from 1687 between wealthy Northampton County planter John Custis and Boston merchant John Ushur detailing the shipment of "one hundred Bushlls. of Wheat and 27 Oxe-hides"[29] The British sugar colonies of the West Indies were another important destination for Eastern Shore commodities in the second half of the seventeenth century. Historians Douglas M.

---

[26] David Klingaman, "The Significance of Grain in the Development of the Tobacco Colonies," *The Journal of Economic History* 29, No. 2 (June, 1969): 270-273, 277.
[27] Brooks Miles Barnes, "Old Plantation Neck: The Long Prelude, 1607-1884" (unpublished manuscript, 2007), 15.
[28] Ames, *Studies*, 52.
[29] John Custis, "Letters of John Custis, 1687," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 19 (1917): 367-370.

Bradburn and John C. Coombs note that previous scholarship has failed to acknowledge the existence of an extensive trade network in foodstuffs between peripheral areas of the Chesapeake and the West Indies prior to the first quarter of the eighteenth century.[30] Court records show that Eastern Shore planters were engaged in trade with the West Indies as early as the 1660s. Robert Pitt, a mariner and landowner possessing a 4,000-acre tract in upper Accomack County, made several voyages to Barbados during the decade carrying barrels of Eastern Shore pork that were exchanged for cash, rum, and sugar. Pitt's journeys were not an isolated phenomenon. Court records in both counties contain numerous accounts of vessels loaded with Eastern Shore pork, beef, grain, flour, and tobacco making similar trips to Bermuda, Barbados, Jamaica, and elsewhere in the West Indies in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.[31]

Colonial shipping records bear witness to the fact that by the 1730s, the Eastern Shore was firmly integrated into regional trade networks as a supplier of food commodities. Between June 1735 and March 1736 fifteen outgoing ships cleared customs at Accomack County ports. Eight ships were headed to Boston, two to Rhode Island, and one each to Jamaica, New Hampshire, North Carolina, New York, and Maryland. All fifteen vessels were described as either sloops or schooners, and none weighed in excess of thirty tons. Indian corn was the predominant cargo, with a total of 12,864 bushels listed between the ships. Other grains listed include 1,407 bushels of wheat, ninety bushels of rye, and 814 bushels of oats, a grain that would become the peninsula's principal export crop by the 1780s and remain so until the Civil War. Animal products enumerated in the cargo lists include 209 barrels of beef and pork, several hundredweight of bacon, 300 hogsheads of

---

[30] Douglas M. Bradburn and John C. Coombs, "Smoke and Mirrors: Reinterpreting the Society and Economy of the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake," *Atlantic Studies* 3, No. 2 (October, 2006): 139-140.
[31] Ames, *Studies*, 62-64.

lard, some living stock, five hundred pounds of feathers, and 166 assorted wild animal skins. Conspicuously absent from the cargo lists is any mention of tobacco, further evidence of the commodity's decreased importance to the peninsula economy.[32]

The limitations of the Eastern Shore's natural environment caused more than just an early agricultural diversification; it also greatly affected land ownership and settlement patterns. With the exception of a handful of patents for tracts encompassing one thousand acres or more, the average patent size on the Eastern Shore in the first few years of colonization was relatively small at around one hundred acres. By 1637 the size of the average patent had increased to 482 acres, and between 1660 and 1666 the average had further increased to 847 acres.[33] Historian Susie Ames attributes the dramatic increase of the 1660s to a scramble to patent the last tracts of unclaimed land that followed the division of the peninsula into two counties and the creation of the colony of Maryland to the north. Recognizing that opportunities in land speculation were soon to disappear, a number of the peninsula's residents quickly secured tracts in northern Accomack County that encompassed upwards of one thousand acres. For many settlers, this was an opportunity to add to their already substantial holdings. One such resident, Ann Toft, amassed nearly 20,000 acres of land by the end of the decade, much of it lying on the seaside in upper Accomack County.[34]

The large tracts acquired by Toft and others in the 1660s and 1670s did not remain intact for long. The last quarter of the seventeenth century saw the steady division of large tracts into smaller parcels, a trend in land distribution on the Eastern Shore that would

---

[32] Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Virginia Shipping Returns, 1735-1756, South Potomac and Accomack Districts. No. 1445, Short Ref. CO5/1445.
[33] Ames, *Studies*, 23-25. James R. Perry notes that the 1637 average used by Ames is slightly misleading due to the occurrence of a mini-boom in land speculation from 1635 to 1637. However, Perry confirms that the upward trend in patent size from colonization to the last quarter of the seventeenth century demonstrated by Ames' figures is correct (See, Perry, *The Formation of a Society*, 48). Also, Ames' figure for the 1660s omits the few landholders who possessed tens of thousands of acres.
[34] Ames, *Studies*, 22-25.

continue through the following century. A number of factors contributed to the breakup of large estates. For some landowners, a patent was a purely speculative venture that was to be later divided into smaller parcels and sold for profit. These individuals found eager buyers in the substantial numbers of English immigrants who continued to arrive on the Eastern Shore in the closing decades of the seventeenth century. Other large estates were divided and sold following the death of an heirless owner or as a means of settling debts, but the primary factor contributing to the partition of large estates was the division of land between heirs. The Eastern Shore's rejection of the English law of primogeniture meant that estates were usually divided more or less equally among the spouse and children of a deceased landowner. A marked decrease in the average size of landholdings on the Eastern Shore in the last quarter of the seventeenth century—from approximately nine hundred acres in 1675 to about five hundred acres in the first decade of the eighteenth century—provides evidence that division by inheritance began to affect patterns of land ownership. However, while a degree of leveling with respect to land holdings did occur in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, land distribution on the Eastern Shore remained skewed toward a few wealthy colonists. For instance, a mere four percent of Accomack County's taxable individuals owned forty-three percent of the land in 1703-1704.[35]

Nevertheless, large estates continued to be divided in the eighteenth century, resulting in a distribution of land that while still far from equitable, was more so than much of mainland Virginia.[36] The disparity between the Eastern Shore's largest landholders who at mid-century owned less than five thousand acres, and their mainland contemporaries, many of whom possessed tens of thousands of acres, demonstrates the extent to which division by

[35] Ames, *Studies*, 26-31.
[36] Walsh, *Motives*, 577.

inheritance narrowed the gap between large and small landowners.[37] By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Eastern Shore was largely a patchwork of small farms of five hundred acres or less owned by members of a growing class of middling planters. The proliferation of small farms on the Eastern Shore gave the region a well-populated appearance. Englishman Edward Kimber remarked on a journey down the Delmarva Peninsula in 1742 that "in leaving these Lowlands of *Maryland*, and passing into *Virginia*, you find the Scene greatly alter'd; and Hills and Dales, with more frequent Plantations, seem, entirely, to take off the Rudeness of the Country's Aspect."[38]

The aesthetics of the landscape aside, by the 1830s negative aspects of population growth were becoming evident. In 1835 agricultural reformer Edmund Ruffin wrote of Northampton County that "the people are too many for the land, as it now produces, and the demand for land, both on purchase and rent, is as high as the profits of cultivation will permit."[39] A few years earlier, United States Congressman and Eastern Shore native Thomas M. Bayly, used the peninsula as an example for the need to expand male suffrage beyond freeholders. "Territory is small," wrote Bayly, "and the tracts of twenty-five acres which are necessary to make the qualification [to vote] are not easily obtained at any price."[40] The high land prices caused by over-population could have been somewhat alleviated with a healthy rate of out-migration. However, as Ruffin noted,

> the people are in an uncommon and remarkable degree...attached to the place of their nativity, and seldom think of emigrating to the far west, or even to the 'Western Shore.' It may be said truly that the people of the Eastern Shore only, of all the inhabitants of Virginia, as a community, feel they are *at home*—that they and their

---

[37] Barnes, *Old Plantation Neck*, 23.
[38] Edward Kimber, *Itinerant Observations in America*, ed. by Kevin J. Hayes (Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1998), 56.
[39] Edmund Ruffin, "Sketch of a Hasty View of the Soil and Agriculture of Part of the County of Northampton," *Farmers' Register* 3 (1835): 236.
[40] Robert P. Sutton, *Revolution to Secession: Constitution Making in the Old Dominion* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1989), 93.

> children are to live and die where they were born, and have to make the best of their situation.[41]

Despite exorbitantly high land prices and a population that rose more than four hundred percent between 1699 and 1790, Eastern Shore residents chose not to emigrate because their situation remained altogether agreeable.[42] The small landowners of Accomack and Northampton Counties could not hope to achieve the level of material wealth enjoyed by elite plantation owners on the Virginia mainland. But, blessed with a favorable climate, fertile soil, and the "greatest delicacies for the table which salt water yields," peninsula planters were able to live comfortably even on modest holdings.[43]

While nature's abundance certainly did much to sway would-be emigrants, the comfortable lifestyle enjoyed by the Eastern Shore's growing class of middling farmers in the eighteenth century could not have been realized if agricultural diversification had not occurred. No longer forced to abandon fields that tobacco had destroyed, the grain farmer was able to place more land into cultivation. Moreover, the sandy soil and the level topography made plowing easier, thus conserving time and labor. These factors combined with predictable rainfall and the soil's suitability to a wide range of subsistence crops contributed to middling planters' prosperity.

Agricultural diversification encouraged economic development on the Eastern Shore beyond merely increasing agricultural productivity. Eastern Shore residents were quick to take advantage of a number of economic opportunities that arose in the latter decades of the seventeenth century. The establishment of regional trade networks for Eastern Shore grain and livestock products required the existence of a means of transporting those goods to

---

[41] Ruffin, "Sketch of a Hasty View," 236.
[42] Bergstrom, *Markets and Merchants*, 37. The population of the peninsula increased from around 5,000 in 1699 to nearly 21,000 in 1790.
[43] Ruffin, "Sketch of a Hasty View," 233.

market. Already dependent on water travel for basic transportation and communication, many Eastern Shore farmers easily assumed the triple roles of planter, mariner, and merchant.[44] Other residents found a source of income in supplying the demand for the small shallow-draft vessels used in the trade. Bradburn and Coombs note that more than one-third of the ships that traveled from the Chesapeake to Barbados in the late seventeenth century were registered in Chesapeake ports.[45] Some of those boats were constructed on the Eastern Shore at least as early as the 1670s when Ann Toft is known to have had a team of shipbuilders on her land on the seaside in upper Accomack County.[46] The industry was certainly thriving on the peninsula by 1735 as three of the fifteen outgoing vessels in the previously mentioned customs documents were recorded as having been built on the Eastern Shore within the previous three years.[47] Two other industries that saw substantial development on the Eastern Shore due to the late seventeenth-century increase in livestock farming were tanning and its subsidiary, shoemaking. As exemplified by Nathaniel Bradford of Accomack County, tanning could be a very lucrative enterprise. In the space of about thirty years between the 1660s and 1690, Bradford turned his small, seasonal one-man operation into a large tanning and shoemaking business that employed five indentured servants and four enslaved laborers.[48]

Another benefit of the shift to livestock and grain agriculture was increased access to African enslaved laborers resulting from the establishment of trading links with the West Indies. English indentured servants made up the bulk of the peninsula's labor force in the

---

[44] Ames, *Studies*, 65-66.
[45] Bradburn and Coombs, "Smoke and Mirrors," 143.
[46] David Bundick in discussion with the author, January 12, 2011. The remains of a dry dock that was excavated out of the side of a creek bank can still be seen on land formerly belonging to Toft near Modest Town.
[47] Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Virginia Shipping Returns, 1735-1756, South Potomac and Accomack Districts. No. 1445, Short Ref. CO5/1445.
[48] Bradburn and Coombs, "Smoke and Mirrors," 146.

seventeenth century. Indentured servants agreed or were forced to be transported to Virginia by planters who paid for the costs of their transportation and in return owned the labor of the servant for a number of years. Life as an indentured servant could be difficult; they were often overworked, and the court records abound with tales of exploitation and maltreatment at the hands of merciless masters.[49] Enslaved Africans were present on the Eastern Shore as early as 1635 when eight were listed on a headright claim made by planter Charles Harmar. However, for much of the seventeenth century enslaved workers constituted but a small proportion of the labor force only attainable by the wealthiest planters. For instance, in Northampton County in 1665, enslaved persons made up only 13.4 percent of dependent workers and only 13.5 percent of households owned enslaved persons. During the last quarter of the seventeenth century those percentages steadily increased, and by 1725 over twenty-five percent of households owned enslaved persons and enslaved workers outnumbered indentured servants in the labor force.[50] While the peninsula's labor transition from white servants to enslaved Africans was concurrent with mainland Virginia, it is likely that enslaved workers were more easily attained by a wider socioeconomic proportion of planters on the Eastern Shore than in the tobacco-producing centers of the mainland. In the 1660s, faced with a reduced stock of indentured servants and the passage of the Navigation Acts which established an English monopoly on all trade with the colonies, Virginia turned to the West Indies to supply its demand for labor. According to Bradburn and Coombs, peripheral foodstuff-producing areas like the Eastern Shore were critical links in Virginia's slave labor supply chain due to their integration in West Indian trade networks. Involvement in the trade seems to have resulted in greater access to

---

[49] Breen and Innes, *Myne Owne Ground*, 59-67.
[50] J. Douglas Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia: Indians, Englishmen, and Africans on the Eastern Shore During the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993), 166, 173-175.

slave labor as these peripheral areas exhibited higher rates of ownership of enslaved persons among a wider range of planters than did tobacco-producing areas where ownership of enslaved persons was concentrated within a small class of elite landowners.[51]

Between 1650 and 1750, the Eastern Shore underwent a significant economic and demographic transformation. The division of large estates by inheritance, the adoption of an agricultural system that maximized the productive potential of the land, and a plentiful supply of food and labor contributed to the development of a sizable middling planter class that came to enjoy a modest, but comfortable standard of living. Although Eastern Shore residents remained backward and unsophisticated in the eyes of their Western Shore contemporaries who called them "*Buckskins*, alluding to their Leather Breeches," visitors to the peninsula could not help but notice the region's growing prosperity. In 1742, Edward Kimber noted that, compared to Maryland, the Eastern Shore of Virginia exhibited "greater, and more considerable Marks of Opulency." "Trade," he observed, "seems to flow in a brisker Channel, and the Stores of the Merchants to be better provided."[52] As the economic fortunes of the peninsula continued to improve during the course of the eighteenth century, the Eastern Shore's middling planter class sought out domestic architecture as a means of proclaiming their rise to prosperity and prominence. Employing a specific set of forms and finishes that remained remarkably unchanged for more than fifty years, middling planters developed a distinctive architectural expression that marked the emergence of a cohesive middling class identity.

---

[51] Bradburn and Coombs, "Smoke and Mirrors," 142-143.
[52] Kimber, *Itinerant Observations in America*, 56-57.

CHAPTER II:
The Early Architecture of the Eastern Shore and the Emergence of the Middling House Type

Archaeology has shown that the architectural landscape of the seventeenth-century Chesapeake was characterized by a remarkable inconsistency of form. Indeed, the century was one of wide variability and experimentation in domestic architecture as colonists of disparate origins adapted their Old World notions of housing to suit their New World circumstances. Despite the challenges of interpretation caused by the presence of a wide variety of house forms in the archaeological record, scholars have detected patterns of architectural change that developed over the century in response to factors including the shortage of skilled artisans in the building trades, the increasing importance of the house as a statement of refinement and status, and the changing relationship between the planter and his dependent labor force.[1] Due to the fact that no seventeenth-century buildings survive on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, an analysis of the early architecture of the peninsula must rely heavily on written descriptions of buildings contained in court records from the period. An examination of these written records reveals that, in general, the seventeenth-century domestic architecture of the Eastern Shore reflected mainland patterns of change.

The first written account of an Eastern Shore dwelling is a proposal for a parsonage house found in the 1635 parish vestry minutes. The house is described as being forty feet long by eighteen feet wide with exterior chimneys placed at either gable end. The primary entrance was contained within a projecting enclosed porch located on one of the long sides, and the interior was divided into two principal rooms and two smaller ancillary chambers—a

[1] See Willie Graham, Carter L. Hudgins, Carl R. Lounsbury, Fraser D. Neiman, and James P. Whittenburg, "Adaptation and Innovation: Archeological and Architectural Perspectives on the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake" *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d Series, Vol. LXIV, No. 3 (July, 2007).

buttery and a study.[2] With its core two-room plan and end chimneys, the parsonage was typical of houses constructed in Virginia in the seventeenth century. Derived from traditional English farmhouse forms, the two-room plan consisted of a main chamber, called the hall, and a smaller secondary chamber, called the parlor (fig. 15). The principal entrance from the exterior usually opened into the hall. This was the primary living space in the house; it was the center of food preparation and consumption, a work space for the performance of chores, a storage room for a variety of tools and personal belongings, and a sleeping space for servants. The parlor was a higher status room where guests were entertained and where the head of household kept his or her sleeping quarters, its importance signified by the fact that access to the space was commonly restricted to a single door opening from the hall. Often, smaller subsidiary chambers like the buttery and study mentioned in the description of the parsonage were incorporated into the basic hall-parlor plan, or appended to it. These spaces were most often used for the storage of food, tools, or other goods. The enclosed entry porch offered yet more storage space and an additional level of protection from the elements. Archaeological data shows that two-room houses like the parsonage were the most common dwelling type constructed in the Chesapeake between 1607 and 1720, appearing in forty percent of domestic sites. Moreover, at the time of the parsonage's construction in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, the two-room form was even more prevalent. Forty-eight percent of the dwellings recorded by archaeologists at sites dating from between 1625 and 1649 featured hall-parlor plans.[3]

---

[2] Turman, *The Eastern Shore*, 29. The description of the dwelling in the parish vestry minutes reads:

> It is agreed by this vestry that a parsonage house shall be built upon the Glebe Land by Christmas next, and that said house shall be 40 feet long and 18 feet wide, and 9 feet to the wall plates, and that there shall be a chimney at each end of the house, and upon each side of the chimney there shall be a room, the one for a study, the other for a buttery. Also, there shall be a partition near the midst of the house with a door. And there shall be an entry [enclosed porch] and two doors, the one to go into the kitchen and the other into the chamber.

[3] Graham et al., "Adaptation and Innovation," 494, 503, 505, 517.

According to archaeological data, a general increase in house size occurred during the second half of the seventeenth century. Only sixteen percent of house sites dating from between 1625 and 1649 contain dwellings that featured four or more rooms. For house sites dating from between 1650 and 1674, that figure jumps dramatically to sixty-eight percent. The percentage only decreases slightly to sixty-five percent for house sites dating from between 1675 and 1699 before dropping to eighteen percent for sites dating from the first two decades of the eighteenth century.[4] Written records corroborate the archaeological evidence. A sample of 162 probate inventories recorded in various Virginia counties between 1649 and 1720 suggest that average house size began to increase in the 1660s and peaked in the 1680s.[5] Scholars attribute this increase in house size to the arrival of a substantial number of indentured servants in the Chesapeake between the 1630s and the 1660s. At midcentury, the relationship between Virginia planters and their servants followed traditional English precedent. Servants were considered part of the household; they ate, worked, and slept under the same roof as the master and his family. The more servants a planter acquired, the more cramped his house became. In response, Chesapeake planters began to construct larger houses that contained dedicated lodging spaces for servants.[6]

Probate inventories recorded in the middle decades of the seventeenth century show that multi-room houses with dedicated servant accommodations were being constructed on the Eastern Shore. A 1655 inventory of the estate of Argoll Yeardley, a prominent Northampton County planter, describes a dwelling that contained six rooms in total. Four of the rooms were located on the ground floor—a hall, a parlor, and two smaller rooms

---

[4] Graham et al., "Adaptation and Innovation," 517. 'Rooms' do not include servants' quarters or "circulation spaces, porches, stair towers, closets, cellars, [or] garrets."
[5] Dell Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture in Southeastern Virginia" (PhD diss., Brown University, 1980), 155, 158.
[6] Grahman et al., "Adaptation and Innovation," 494-495, 519; Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 158-174.

described as 'little chambers.' Based on the items contained in each room, it seems that Yeardley may have slept in one of the little chambers while his wife and children slept in the parlor. The other little chamber contained four beds and likely housed servants.[7] Encompassing only three rooms, the dwelling of Northampton County planter John Severne was a good deal smaller than Yeardley's house. However, like Yeardley, Severne appears to have set aside one of his rooms exclusively for the use of his servants. In Severne's 1665 probate inventory, one of the chambers is labeled "the Roome where the Servants lye."[8] Another probate inventory recorded in Accomack County in 1680 describes the sprawling house of planter Southy Littleton. Littleton's dwelling stood two stories in height and contained eight rooms not including the garret and entry porch.[9] Houses this large were not unusual in the Chesapeake in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Forty percent of archaeological sites dating from this period feature dwellings that contained six or more rooms.[10]

Size was but one aspect of early Eastern Shore housing that developed in concert with the mainland. Eastern Shore houses constructed in the early and middle decades of the seventeenth century also followed regional trends with respect to building materials and technology. The timber-frame parsonage of 1635 was an example of a pervasive housing type that emerged in the first decades of the seventeenth century in response to a plentiful supply of timber and a shortage of skilled labor in the building trades. Known as 'Virginia houses,' these dwellings are classic examples of the adaptation of Old World construction techniques to meet the challenges of the New World (fig. 16). The first houses constructed

---

[7] Turman, *The Eastern Shore*, 59.
[8] Marlene A. Groves and Howard Mackey, eds., *Northampton County, Virginia Record Book: Court Cases, Volume 9, 1664-1674* (Rockport, Maine: Picton Press, 2003), 21-23.
[9] Turman, *The Eastern Shore*, 82.
[10] Graham et al., "Adaptation and Innovation," 517.

by Chesapeake settlers were crude cottages derived from the traditional impermanent buildings that still housed members of the English peasantry in the early seventeenth century. These structures consisted of a framework of slender earthfast poles walled over with woven sticks and mud and covered with a thatched roof. Though quickly and easily constructed, settlers soon found these insubstantial buildings ill-suited to the extremes of the Chesapeake climate.[11] Seeking a housing form that combined solidity with ease of construction, settlers utilized the region's plentiful supply of old-growth oak trees to develop the Virginia house framing system, a simple but sturdy variant of the English box frame. In the interest of reducing the time and expense of construction and owing to an absence of skilled labor, complex English joinery was eliminated in favor of simple mortise-and-tenon and lap joints. Wall framing was reduced to a standardized assembly of earthfast posts connected by sills and plates, and complicated English roof framing was replaced with a lightweight system of common rafters stabilized by collar ties. An exterior sheathing of riven oak clapboards nailed to the walls and roof served to add a degree of rigidity to the structure. The simplicity of the design enabled a small crew of workers to transform living trees into a finished house in less than a month at a fraction of the cost of an English dwelling of comparable size. Though a step up from the more insubstantial buildings that preceded them, Virginia houses were still impermanent earthfast structures. They were a

[11] It is possible that some rather insubstantial dwellings continued to be constructed by segments of white society on the Eastern Shore in the middle decades of the seventeenth century. On February 28, 1661 John Wise and John Drowmand testified in Northampton County Court that the "hight of John Allfords house wch hee now dwelleth in is five foot and one half wanting a quarter of an Inch and ye Dore is foure foot high nine Inches & a quarter." The testimony gives no indication of how the building was framed, and it is possible that the height referred to the distance from the ground to the top of the wall plates and not from the ground to the peak of the roof. But even so, the house must have been fairly small. See Marlene A. Groves and Howard Mackey, eds., *Northampton County, Virginia Record Book: Court Cases, Volume 8, 1657-1664* (Rockport, Maine: Picton Press, 2002), 219.

sturdy but ultimately temporary means of shelter constructed by a colonial populace primarily concerned with the immediate challenge of survival.[12]

While most planters constructed impermanent earthfast buildings that reflected the uncertainty of life in the Chesapeake, a small segment of seventeenth-century society chose to build with more permanent materials that proclaimed their economic power and social status. Brick buildings first appeared on the Virginia landscape in the 1640s and 1650s but shortages of bricklayers and masons made brick construction expensive, preventing most colonists from gaining access to the material. The majority of brick dwellings erected in Virginia in the first three quarters of the seventeenth century were constructed by wealthy colonists fresh from England who wished to mark their arrival with a forceful architectural statement of their wealth and influence.[13] The vast majority of native-born Virginians were simply not wealthy enough to marshal the resources or labor necessary to construct a large brick dwelling.[14] One of these wealthy immigrants, John Custis II, arrived on the Eastern Shore around 1650. Custis accumulated land and quickly inserted himself into the ranks of the colonial elite, eventually becoming a Major General in the Colonial Militia and a member of the Governor's Council. Between 1665 and 1676, Custis built Arlington, his large brick 'statement house' on the south side of Old Plantation Creek in lower Northampton County (fig. 17). It was truly an impressive structure. Arlington stood a full three stories in height and measured fifty-four feet long by forty-four feet wide. It featured four massive exterior

---

[12] Cary Carson, Norman F. Barka, William M. Kelso, Garry Wheeler Stone, and Dell Upton, "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies" *Winterthur Portfolio* Vol. 16, No. 2/3 (Summer – Autumn, 1981), 135-160; Graham et al., "Adaptation and Innovation," 465-469; Gary Wheeler Stone, "The Roof Leaked, But the Price Was Right: The Virginia House Reconsidered" *Maryland Historical Magazine* Volume 99, No. 3 (Fall 2004), 313-328; Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 75-78.

[13] Bacon's Castle in Surry County, Virginia [constructed 1665] is the only surviving example of the large brick houses built by wealthy newcomers to the colony in the seventeenth century.

[14] Graham et al., "Adaptation and Innovation," 475-479.

end chimney stacks, elaborate plaster and molded brick decoration, and perhaps Virginia's earliest example of a double-pile floor plan with a formal center passage.[15]

According to some scholars, Arlington was a typical brick building of the seventeenth century in that it was an exceptional structure built for an exceptional individual. Graham et al. dismiss David Brown's contention that the late-century rise in brick construction resulted from increased prosperity caused by economic diversification.[16] Rather, they assert that the phenomenon can be attributed to the arrival of wealthy immigrants who called on architecture to announce their presence in elite colonial society. "Obscure men," they claim, "never built brick houses."[17] While this may have been true on the mainland, the use of brick on the Eastern Shore does not seem to have been confined to the economic or political elite. Court records indicate that the agricultural diversification that occurred on the peninsula in the second half of the seventeenth century created sufficient prosperity to allow more wide-ranging access to prestige materials like brick. Arlington shared the landscape with sizable brick dwellings built by self-made planters and artisans who found success under the Eastern Shore's new economic system. Probate inventories and wills from the last quarter of the century list brick buildings among the possessions of men such as Accomack County tanner and shoemaker Nathaniel Bradford who owned a two-and-a-half-story brick house when he died in 1690.[18] A brick house also appears in the 1697 will of tanner and miller Francis Roberts, Bradford's neighbor and a

---

[15] Nicholas M. Luccketti, Edward A. Chappell, and Beverly A. Straube, *Archaeology at Arlington: Excavations at the Ancestral Custis Plantation, Northampton County, Virginia* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Company Foundation and The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 1999), 8-9, 15, 25.
[16] See David A. Brown, "Domestic Masonry Architecture in 17th-Century Virginia" *Northeast Historical Archaeology* Vol. 27 (1998), 98.
[17] Graham et al., "Adaptation and Innovation," 479-484.
[18] Bradburn and Coombs, "Smoke and Mirrors," 146.

possible business rival.[19] Additionally, a number of lawsuits concerning unfulfilled building contracts bear witness to the growth of the peninsula's brickmaking industry and to the construction of large brick dwellings. In 1673 and 1678, cases involving the non-payment of 40,000 and 35,000 bricks were brought before the Accomack and Northampton County courts. These figures represent the approximate number of bricks needed to build a two-story, single-pile house.[20]

Further evidence for the relative prevalence of brick construction on the Eastern Shore in the latter decades of the seventeenth century is found in an examination of the peninsula's public buildings. Graham et al. contend that the paucity of brick churches and courthouses in Virginia in the second half of the seventeenth century proves that brick was a rarely-used building material. "Only a few counties and parishes had built brick courthouses and churches by the end of the century," they write, and "outside the capital brick churches existed in no more than five or six parishes that bordered the James and York Rivers."[21] It is true that brick churches were scarce in seventeenth-century Virginia. Dell Upton notes that by 1700 Virginia's fifty parishes contained only six brick churches.[22] However, not all of these brick buildings were located in the tobacco-producing centers of Virginia along the James and York Rivers, as Graham et al. suggest. Two of the six were constructed on the Eastern Shore in the late 1680s and early 1690s—one at Magothy Bay in Northampton County and another at Assawoman in Accomack County.[23] The fact that a third of Virginia's seventeenth-century brick churches were located on the Eastern Shore—an isolated peripheral area that operated on the fringes of the tobacco economy—speaks to the

---

[19] Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 588, 590. In addition to a brick dwelling and "a large tan house," Roberts' 500-acre tract also included a "Mill and Shop."
[20] Bradburn and Coombs, "Smoke and Mirrors," 147.
[21] Graham et al., "Adaptation and Innovation," 481-482.
[22] Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, xiv, 13.
[23] Turman, *The Eastern Shore*, 86; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 106, 1236.

level of wealth generated by the peninsula's late-century agricultural diversification. Though evidence is limited, the documentary record suggests that brick construction was more widespread on the Eastern Shore in the latter half of the seventeenth century than on the Virginia mainland. It is in the use of brick, then, that the peninsula first displays a divergence from mainland patterns of architectural development. Later, in the eighteenth century, the use of this material becomes a key component in the formation of the specific architectural expression of the peninsula's middling planters.

The domestic architecture of the Chesapeake underwent a significant transformation between 1675 and 1725 in response to a number of economic, social, and cultural changes. During the course of the seventeenth century, farmers in England abandoned traditional farmhouse plans that integrated service and cooking spaces within the main body of the house. Servant access to living spaces became restricted and food preparation activities were removed to independent structures. Increasingly, rooms like the parlor began to be used for social ritual and display. These developments were transferred to the Chesapeake and contributed to the reduction of house size that occurred in the final decades of the seventeenth century. The shift from indentured servants to African enslaved laborers hastened the movement of servants' lodgings from the master's house to independent quarters buildings. Food preparation and storage facilities were also relocated to dedicated structures, and the plantation complex grew to encompass a number of dependent buildings. The plantation landscape became ever more segregated into two separate spheres—that of the planter and his family and that of the servants and enslaved persons. The latter group found themselves less welcome in the master's house which gained importance as a stage for the enactment of genteel activities that affirmed the planter's elevated position in society.[24]

---

[24] Graham et al., "Adaptation and Innovation," 497-499, 506-508.

During this period the planter's house underwent a number of changes in form and finish that served to distinguish it from the lower-status dependent structures of the plantation complex and reflected its increasing importance as a vehicle for the display of the planter's refinement and prestige. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, growing prosperity and reduced mortality in the Chesapeake lessened planters' uncertainties for the future and led to the construction of more permanent dwellings. The earthfast framing system of the Virginia house was replaced by a box frame system that featured a framework of vertical posts supported by horizontal timber sills elevated on a masonry foundation. The new system—the 'English frame'—retained the standardization of the Virginia house, but was more substantial, more complex, and more versatile than its predecessor. With regard to finishes, the English-framed house presented a more orderly and more refined appearance. On the exterior, a wall sheathing of sawn siding replaced the Virginia house's irregular riven clapboards. The interior utilized a wall framing system called 'flush framing' that rose in popularity around the turn of the eighteenth century whereby posts and studs were sawn to uniform thickness and concealed from view behind lath and plaster, presenting an even unobstructed wall surface.[25]

Changing floor plans and façades reflected the adoption of the English 'Georgian' house form, part of the overall development of an ordered plantation landscape based on social hierarchy. Following the expulsion of servants from the house in the latter decades of the seventeenth century, the two-room hall-parlor plan re-emerged as the standard house form in the Chesapeake. However in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, wealthy planters exchanged the enclosed entry porch for an entrance passage that extended the depth of the house. With the addition of this new room, enslaved workers, servants and guests no

[25] Graham et al., "Adaptation and Innovation," 469-470, 510-511; Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 96.

longer entered directly into the primary living spaces of the house from the exterior. In this way, the passage served as a social filter, allowing the planter to control access to rooms that increasingly gained importance as settings for the performance of genteel social rituals (fig. 18). The hall remained the primary public room, but it became a formal space principally used for entertainment. The finest architectural finishes—paneled surfaces and classically-derived ornament—were reserved for the hall (figs. 19, 20). Here, the planter displayed an array of objects that expressed his cultural fluency and social status. The parlor, which was most often called the chamber in the eighteenth century, retained its function as a more private living space. It became the setting for the variety of household activities that formerly took place in the hall (fig. 21). The eighteenth century also saw the emergence of the dining room, a new semipublic space that appeared in larger center-passage-plan houses (fig. 11). Falling between the hall and chamber in the hierarchy of spaces, the dining room often featured an exterior door that provided communication with the kitchen and other food preparation areas in the service yard. The inclusion of the passage elevated the importance of the stair. Previously a simple utilitarian feature tucked in a corner of the hall or chamber, the stair was relocated to the passage where it was enlarged and elaborated, serving as a powerful symbol of the planter's wealth (figs. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27). The exterior of the center-passage-plan house also conveyed messages about the inhabitant. The façade, with its classical cornice and symmetrical arrangement of openings, set the dwelling apart from the surrounding service structures and suggested that the owner was conversant in the language of classical architecture (figs. 3, 28, 29, 30).[26]

---

[26] Graham et al., "Adaptation and Innovation," 499-502, 511-512, 516-517; Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 265-285; Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," 323-332; Mark R. Wenger, "The Central Passage in Virginia: Evolution of an Eighteenth-Century Living Space" in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture II*, ed. Camille Wells (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 137-140.

It is important to recognize that only the wealthiest Virginians possessed the resources needed to construct center-passage-plan houses in the eighteenth century. However, the same factors that led to the development of this new form of elite housing also initiated changes in the houses of average Virginians. Like their wealthier neighbors, many small and middling planters removed cooking and work spaces from the house in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. With fewer household work activities taking place in the hall, the room's role as an entertainment space began to assume greater importance. Another change followed the adoption of the English framing system which allowed for the construction of wider buildings that contained increased usable living space in the second-story loft. This led many planters to view the two-room plan as superfluous to needs, leading to the construction of dwellings that combined the functions of hall and parlor into a single space. Beginning in the early decades of the eighteenth century, the one-room house began to supplant the hall-parlor house as the dominant house form in the Chesapeake.[27]

An examination of one of the Eastern Shore's oldest extant buildings bears witness to the processes of change that transformed the architectural landscape of the Chesapeake in the early decades of the eighteenth century and provides evidence for the concurrent emergence of a distinct architectural expression of the peninsula's middling planter class. Pear Valley, located at the head of Wilsonia Neck on the Northampton County bayside, is a one-room, one-and-one-half-story frame house with a single brick end containing a massive exterior chimney stack (figs. 31, 32, 33, 34). The three frame sides of the dwelling were originally sheathed in riven clapboards and pierced by two doors and two windows.[28] The chimney and brick end are laid in Flemish bond, and the gable features a decorative scheme

---

[27] Graham et al., "Adaptation and Innovation," 516-517.
[28] See Virginia B. Price, "Pear Valley" (National Historic Landmark Nomination Form, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2013).

of glazed headers arranged in an inverted **V**, or chevron, pattern. Two diminutive windows located on either side of the chimney give light to the second-story. On the interior, chamfered posts and plates featuring lamb's tongue stops protrude from the plastered wall surfaces (fig. 35). The ceiling joists are also exposed and received the same decorative treatment. The six-foot-wide fireplace opening indicates that meals may have been prepared in the house instead of in a separate kitchen building. A stair opposite the hearth provides access to an unheated loft space.[29] Pear Valley's date of construction has long been the subject of debate, with various scholars suggesting dates between 1672 and 1750.[30] However, dendrochronology shows that the house was constructed around 1740 by Robert Nottingham, a middling planter who served as a county tobacco inspector and shared ownership of a 150-acre farm with his brother, Addison.[31]

With respect to size and plan, Pear Valley was typical of the buildings that housed Virginia's small landowners in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Measuring sixteen feet by twenty feet and containing a single room on the ground floor with an accessible loft above, Pear Valley is a characteristic example of the one-room or hall-plan house. In the eighteenth century, the one-room dwelling was a ubiquitous feature on the Chesapeake landscape. The pervasiveness of the type is illustrated by the fact that it accounted for approximately eighty-five percent of the housing stock of the lower Eastern

---

[29] Chappell and Richter, "Wealth and Houses," 5, 13; H. Chandlee Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore and its British Origins: History, Gardens & Antiquities* (Easton, Maryland: Eastern Shore Publishers Associates, 1975), 49-51; Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 517-518; Walsh, *Motives*, 417-418. Pear Valley was altered after 1837 by then-owner Maria Widgeon. Widgeon constructed an addition that has since been removed and she divided the loft space into two separate finished rooms. At some juncture, the size of the fireplace opening was also reduced.

[30] Pear Valley has long been of interest to scholars of early Chesapeake architecture. For more information, see Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore,* 48-54; Bernard L. Herman and David G. Orr, "Pear Valley et al.: An Excursion into the Analysis of Southern Vernacular Architecture," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 39 (1975), 307-327; Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 517-518; Walsh, *Motives*, 417-418; and Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 329-331.

[31] Chappell and Richter, "Wealth and Houses," 5, 19; Walsh, *Motives*, 417; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 329.

Shore of Maryland at the end of the eighteenth century.[32] One-room structures housed everyone from enslaved laborers to small landowners and, as a result, displayed great variability in construction quality. Unfortunately, very few eighteenth-century one-room dwellings survive to the present and those that do are often hidden within the layers of later additions. The few extant freestanding examples owe their survival to the fact that they were constructed by individuals who could afford to build solid, permanent dwellings that featured English framing with masonry foundations and masonry chimney stacks.

Pear Valley is one of only two extant eighteenth-century houses on the Eastern Shore that can be definitively determined to have been originally constructed as one-room freestanding dwellings. Thanks to documentary efforts undertaken on the peninsula in the mid-twentieth century by Ralph T. Whitelaw, H. Chandlee Forman, and the Historic American Buildings Survey, it is possible to identify an additional thirteen one-room, eighteenth-century houses that have since been lost.[33] These fifteen houses are listed in Table 1 in chronological order by their approximate dates of construction. The houses in this sample group share the same basic form despite the fact that a span of approximately fifty years separates the oldest and youngest examples. Besides containing a single room on the ground floor, each house stood one-and-one-half stories in height and featured a single chimney stack on one of the gable ends. Building materials used, exterior dimensions (if known), and acreage possessed by owners at the time of construction are also listed in the table.[34] Table 2 lists the same set of information for a sample group of nineteen one-room eighteenth-century houses that were constructed on the eastern Virginia mainland. The

---

[32] Bernard L. Herman and Gabrielle M. Lanier, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 12-16.

[33] See Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore* and Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*. Forman and Whitelaw describe eleven other houses which also may have contained a single room on the ground floor. However, these buildings are not included in this discussion because there is too little evidence to determine if they were originally constructed as freestanding dwellings.

[34] Whitelaw's *Virginia's Eastern Shore* was used to determine owners and acreage. See Table 1.

comparable size of the two sample groups should not be viewed as an indication that the one-room form was more prevalent on the Eastern Shore. Rather, it is a testament to the lack of architectural documentation on the mainland prior to the latter decades of the twentieth century when Dell Upton, Edward Chappell, Willie Graham, and others began recording the fast-disappearing smaller dwellings of the early Virginia landscape. With the exception of the Rochester House and Oakland, all of the extant structures listed in Table 2 survive because they are embedded within a larger building. Some of the remaining mainland houses may still be standing although most were vacant and deteriorating when examined by Upton in the 1970s.[35] A comparison between the one-room eighteenth-century houses on the Eastern Shore and their counterparts on the Virginia mainland would benefit from a larger, more comprehensive sample of mainland buildings that represent more than just a handful of counties. However, useful conclusions can be drawn despite the limitations of the mainland sample.

At first glance, the data presented in Tables 1 and 2 suggests that the Eastern Shore's one-room houses were not much different from the one-room houses constructed on the eastern Virginia mainland in the eighteenth century. On average, the mainland houses are only slightly smaller than the peninsula houses at 328.6 square feet versus 353.8 square feet. Also, the mean acreage held by the owners of the mainland houses is not substantially greater than the mean acreage held by the owners of the Eastern Shore houses, with Eastern Shore owners possessing 216.2 acres to the mainland owners' 280.8 acres.[36] The only significant difference between the two groups as presented in the tables is evident in a comparison of building materials. One of the Eastern Shore houses was built entirely of

[35] For sources on each of the mainland houses see Table 2.

[36] The four houses that appear to have been constructed by landlords for their tenants were not included in the calculations for the mean acreage of the Eastern Shore sample. When these buildings are included with assumed values of zero, the mean acreage possessed by Eastern Shore owners drops to 158.5.

brick and ten featured brick ends—together seventy-three percent of the peninsula sample group. By contrast, only one of the mainland houses was constructed entirely of brick and only one contained a brick end. These clear differences in construction quality suggest a divergent pattern of architectural development was taking place on the Eastern Shore in the eighteenth century. A more thorough comparison of the houses in the two sample groups and their owners provides evidence for this divergence.

A comparison of the oldest buildings in each sample group shows that the Eastern Shore's unique economic, geographic, and demographic circumstances had a significant impact on its built environment. Pear Valley is one of five dwellings in the Eastern Shore group that were constructed in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, concurrent with the rise of grain agriculture on the peninsula. Like Pear Valley, the other four houses (Chestnut Vale, Glenn Farm, Broadwater Place, and Fisher House) display a high quality of construction (figs. 36, 37, 38, 39, 40). All four were timber frame structures set on brick foundations with brick gable ends that contained interior or exterior chimneys and featured some form of glazed-brick decoration. Two of these dwellings—Chestnut Vale and Glenn Farm—had large exterior chimneys similar to Pear Valley's. Built on the seaside in lower Accomack County, Glenn Farm's chimney most closely resembled Pear Valley with its long steep shoulders and free-standing stack. The brickwork was executed in Flemish bond with a regular pattern of glazed headers. Located a few miles north of Glenn Farm, Chestnut Vale featured a more elaborate brick end. Laid in Flemish bond with random glazed headers, the chimney stack was T-shaped with two rows of belt courses at the top and bottom of the shoulders. The Fisher House in upper Northampton County and Broadwater Place in upper Accomack County present an alternative strategy with respect to the design of the brick end—they featured brick ends with interior rather than exterior chimney stacks.

An interior chimney placement created an even exterior wall surface that allowed for the application of intricate and expressive glazed-brick designs. The brick end of Broadwater Place was laid in Flemish bond with a complicated chevron pattern of glazed headers in the gable and a checkerboard pattern below. The brickwork in the end wall of the Fisher house was even more elaborate. The entire surface from the ground to the peak of the gable contained glazed headers carefully arranged in a diamond-shaped diaper pattern. A surviving floor plan drawing of the Fisher House shows an additional spatial aspect of the interior chimney arrangement that speaks to the development of the social role of the house (fig. 41). The protrusion of the chimney stack into the living space of the hall created alcoves on either side of the hearth that were converted into cabinets. Here, behind glazed doors, the owner displayed prestige objects that served as markers of wealth and social position.

Each of these four timber-frame brick-ended houses (Chestnut Vale, Glenn Farm, Broadwater Place, and Fisher House) was built by a middling landowner who held three hundred acres or less. Glenn Farm, the dwelling most similar to Pear Valley, was probably built before 1744 by William Lingo, an illiterate planter who owned a 150-acre tract, much of it low and poorly-drained.[37] The Fisher House was probably built before 1746 by Jeptha Johnson I or his son, Jeptha Johnson II. Neither man ever owned more than 250 acres.[38] The identity of Chestnut Vale's original occupant is unclear, but it is likely that the house was built for a landless tenant since the land belonged to Tabitha Bagwell, the wife of a large landowner who did not live at the site.[39] It is likely that Broadwater Place was also built for a

[37] Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1749-1752: 56-57 (Will of William Lingo, 28 January 1749), County Clerk's Office, Accomac; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 763, 766-767.
[38] Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 492-493.
[39] Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 858-860.

tenant. Records indicate that the landowner, William Beavans, Sr., lived on a different portion of his plantation.[40]

The wealth and social position of the men who inhabited these one-room houses is critical to our understanding of how these buildings fit in their local context. Landownership is one of the few consistent ways of measuring the wealth of eighteenth-century Virginians. Yet the measurement is imprecise because, as historian Camille Wells writes, "a planter's economic standing [did] not correspond literally with the number of acres he owned."[41] Nevertheless, scholars have long recognized landownership as an acceptable means of establishing social and economic divisions.[42] Using landownership to categorize individuals as members of particular social or economic groups requires one to first identify these groups and the range of landholdings each contained. Historian Kevin Kelly notes that while eighteenth-century Virginians conceived of their society as divided into three social classes based on property ownership, period commentators give little indication as to how much property qualified an individual for membership in a specific class.[43] Still, many surviving tax records contain property information that modern researchers can use to identify the dividing lines between social classes in a particular locality.

The 1782 Virginia Land Tax and Personal Property Tax records are a valuable tool for identifying class divisions and determining the social position of individual planters on the Eastern Shore in the eighteenth century. Of course, the use of data collected in 1782 to explain patterns of land tenure in the first half of the century is problematic since it assumes consistency over a fifty-year period. Nevertheless, this data is the best available as 1782 was

---

[40] Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 241; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1319-1320, 1325-1326.
[41] Camille Wells, "Social and Economic Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Housing on the Northern Neck of Virginia" (PhD diss., The College of William and Mary, 1994), 123.
[42] See Wells, "Social and Economic Aspects," 122-123.
[43] Kelly, "A Portrait," 2.

the first year that a methodical survey of land and property ownership was made in Virginia. Table 3 shows the 1,531 heads of household listed in Accomack County's 1782 tax records arranged in subsets by the number of acres owned. A disproportionately large segment of Accomack County's population consisted of what eighteenth-century writers described as members of the "lower" or "lesser" class.[44] Scholars define this group as consisting of landless whites, the majority of whom were tenant farmers, and small freeholders who possessed less than 100 acres.[45] The table shows that these individuals made up more than half of Accomack County's total heads of household and one-third of the county's landowners in 1782. Occupying a higher rung on the social and economic ladder were the middling planters. This group is generally considered to be composed of freeholders who possessed at least 100 acres and at most between 500 and 1000 acres depending upon the locality.[46] In Table 3, the significant decrease in the number of individuals belonging to subsets of householders above the 500-acre mark indicates that 500 acres was the upper limit of middling landholdings on the Eastern Shore.[47] These middling planters accounted for nearly sixty percent of Accomack County landowners and just over forty percent of all householders in 1782. Elite planters made up the third and final social class. Consisting of individuals who owned 500 acres or more, these were the county's wealthiest and most powerful planters. In 1782, elite planters accounted for only the top 7.9 percent of Accomack County landowners and 5.3 percent of all heads of household.

---

[44] Kelly, "A Portrait," 2.
[45] Chappell and Richter, "Wealth and Houses," 4; Kelly, "A Portrait," 2.
[46] Chappell and Richter, "Wealth and Houses," 4; Kelly, "A Portrait," 2.
[47] The number of householders who owned between 500 and 599 acres was sixty-eight percent less than the number of householders who owned 400 to 499 acres. While other adjacent subsets of landowners might exhibit greater differences with respect to the actual number of householders they contain, this is the only instance in the table where one subset of landowners is more than two-thirds larger than an adjacent subset.

Generally speaking, we can determine where the owners of the five Eastern Shore pre-1750 one-room houses in Table 1 would have fit within the three planter classes by taking an average of their landholdings. If the acreage associated with Chestnut Vale and Broadwater Place is assumed to be zero, the mean landholding possessed by the five owners is 110 acres. If Broadwater Place and Chestnut Vale are treated as outliers and removed from this calculation, the mean landholding increases to 183.3 acres. A mean landholding of slightly less than 200 acres places these owners solidly within the ranks of the Eastern Shore's middling planters. Therefore, we can reasonably consider the one-room brick-ended house to have been an architectural expression produced by the peninsula's middling planter class.

An interesting counterpoint to these five Eastern Shore houses is made by the four dwellings in the mainland sample group that also date from the second quarter of the eighteenth century—Linden Farm, Glencairn, Rochester House, and Oakland.[48] These houses are located in four counties on the Northern Neck and Middle Peninsula, a region where a small elite class of tobacco planters controlled a disproportionate amount of land. In 1782 less than one percent of householders in the lower Northern Neck counties of Westmoreland, Richmond, Lancaster, and Northumberland owned more than two thousand acres of land, but this minority included men like Robert Carter who possessed 60,635 ½ acres which included large tracts in four mainland counties in the interior of Virginia and 14,056 acres in the lower Northern Neck alone.[49] Fifteen of Virginia's one hundred largest landowners in 1782 resided in the four counties that contain the four sample houses—Essex, King and Queen, Westmoreland, and Richmond. The mean acreage held by these fifteen

[48] See Table 2.
[49] Jackson T. Main, "The One Hundred," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d Series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July, 1954): 374; Wells, "Social and Economic Aspects," Table 1. For data concerning 1782 land ownership in the lower Northern Neck, see Table 4.

planters exceeded 18,000 acres while the mean size of their enslaved labor force numbered 193 persons.[50] By contrast, none of Virginia's one hundred largest landowners lived on the Eastern Shore in 1782. The mean landholding of Accomack County's seven largest landowners in 1782 was only 2,424 acres and their mean slaveholding did not exceed thirty persons.[51] Still, the percentage of householders owning 300 acres or more was virtually the same on the Northern Neck and Accomack County with such planters making up 12.7 percent of Northern Neck householders and 11.9 percent of Accomack County householders. But on the Northern Neck, elite planters controlled a larger percentage of the total acreage, preventing many whites from owning land. Householders who owned between one and 299 acres comprised 45.2 percent of the Northern Neck's total householders in 1782 while the landless accounted for 42.3 percent of the total. In comparison, 55.9 percent of Accomack County householders owned between one and 299 acres and the landless made up 33.2 percent.[52]

With such differences in land distribution between the two regions, it is not surprising that their respective architectural traditions were also dissimilar. The four pre-1750 mainland houses display a noticeable drop in quality of materials when compared to the six Eastern Shore examples. Specifically, none of the four were built of brick or had brick gable ends. The Rochester House in Westmoreland County displays the highest quality of construction of the four (figs. 42, 43). This dwelling was built by William Rochester roughly five years after Pear Valley and greatly resembles the peninsula building in size,

---

[50] Main, "The One Hundred," 369, 372, 374-378, 381-3.
[51] See 1782 Land Tax and Personal Property Tax records for Accomack County, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond, Virginia. Accomack County's seven largest landowners in 1782 were Anne Holden who held 3,759 acres and sixty-three enslaved persons, Samuel Wilson who held 2,300 acres and thirty-seven enslaved persons, Arthur Upshur who held 2,300 acres and thirty enslaved persons, Daniel Mifflin who held 2,280 acres and seventeen enslaved persons, George Hack who held 2,200 acres and sixteen enslaved persons, William Parramore who held 2,100 acres and nineteen enslaved persons, and Skinner Wallop who held 2,029 acres and twenty-seven enslaved persons.
[52] See Tables 3 and 4.

finish, and exterior appearance. The one-and-one-half-story structure has a heavy oak frame that is filled with brick and clay nogging and covered with a sheathing of sawn clapboards. The fenestration pattern is similar to Pear Valley's with a door and window in the primary façade and two small loft windows in the gable. Overall, the interior received a slightly better finish than the Eastern Shore building—both the ground-floor hall and the second-story loft are plastered and fitted with fireplaces and none of the framing was originally exposed. The Rochester House does not have a brick end, but it does have a massive double-shouldered T-shaped chimney stack laid in Flemish bond. Glazed headers arranged in a regular, or checkerboard pattern decorate the chimney and north foundation wall.[53]

Considering the similarities between the two houses, one might expect that the men who built Pear Valley and the Rochester House possessed comparable landholdings. This was not the case, however, as Rochester owned 420 acres—270 acres more than Robert Nottingham—when he died in 1750.[54] The owners of two of the other three mainland houses possessed similar landholdings. Andrew Dew II, the likely builder of Linden Farm in Richmond County, inherited at least 380 acres from his father in 1714.[55] Glencairn, possibly the crudest of the four mainland houses with its small fifteen-by-sixteen-foot footprint and unfinished loft, was built before 1741 for Col. Thomas Waring who owned a 551-acre tract in Essex County.[56] The owners of these three houses possessed a mean landholding of 450 acres, more than 150 acres greater than the mean acreage possessed by the owners of the six

---

[53] Laurie Black, "Rochester House," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1991), Sections 7 and 8.
[54] Wells, "Social and Economic Aspects," 276-282.
[55] Wells, "Social and Economic Aspects," 143.
[56] Dell Upton, "Glencairn," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1978), Sections 7 and 8.

Eastern Shore houses. The 1782 Land Tax records show that a planter who owned 400 acres or more was a member of the top sixteen percent of Northern Neck landholders.[57]

Though not on the same economic level as elites like Robert Carter, Rochester, Waring, and Dew were a good step higher than the seventy-eight percent of Northern Neck landholders who owned between one and 299 acres. Confined by large planters to lands of poor quality and limited accessibility, small landowners did not fare well in the tobacco-producing regions of Virginia.[58] Very few of their dwellings survive due to the fact that they continued to construct small, impermanent, or poorly-built houses well into the eighteenth century. A traveler who passed through the Tidewater mainland in 1793 encountered slaveholding planters whose houses had "no rooms above the stairs and no glass in the windows."[59] Another visitor to mainland Virginia in the late eighteenth century noted that "the chimneys are sometimes of brick, but more commonly of wood, coated on the inside with clay."[60] Historian Ashli White describes a planter in Spotsylvania County in 1798 who owned 188 acres and three enslaved laborers yet lived in a one-story log house which measured only twelve-feet square and had no glass windows or outbuildings.[61] The scarcity of eighteenth-century survivals of poor and middling white housing in the tobacco districts has led some scholars to assume that nowhere in Tidewater Virginia were these groups able to construct buildings of substantial quality. Dell Upton claims that "all surviving colonial

---

[57] See Table 4.
[58] Walsh, *Motives*, 389.
[59] Harry Toulmin, from *The Western Country in 1793: Reports on Kentucky and Virginia*, quoted in Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 347.
[60] John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth, from *A Tour in the United States of America*, quoted in Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 111.
[61] White's study of late eighteenth-century housing in Berkeley Parish, Spotsylvania County shows that even the wealthiest residents of counties in the peripheral areas of the Tidewater mainland could live in rather humble dwellings. In 1798, there was only one all-brick house in all of Berkeley Parish, which encompassed approximately the entire southwestern half of Spotsylvania County. Two of the top twenty wealthiest property holders in Berkeley Parish in terms of the value of their land and buildings owned, individually, 569 acres and 17 enslaved persons and 515 acres and 4 enslaved persons but occupied a twenty-by-sixteen-foot wood frame dwelling and a sixteen-foot-square log dwelling, respectively. See White, "The Character of a Landscape," 120, 122, 138.

houses, even the smallest and plainest, were built by prosperous white Virginians; all but a handful were constructed by people at the level of the county gentry—of the vestrymen and their social peers—or higher."[62] Likewise, Camille Wells writes that the solidity and fine detailing of the Rochester House "reflect labor and expertise available only to the affluent few in early Virginia."[63] However, as shown by the foregoing comparison of one-room houses, this was not true on the Eastern Shore. Here, a unique set of economic, demographic, and geographic circumstances combined to make buildings of such quality accessible to a wider range of society. As early as the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the Eastern Shore's middling planters possessed the resources to erect dwellings that were solidly built, well finished, and even superior to houses built by planters who owned substantially larger tracts of land on the eastern Virginia mainland.

A comparison of the one-room houses from each sample group that were constructed after 1750 provides further evidence for the generation of a divergent architectural expression on the Eastern Shore caused by the significant level of prosperity enjoyed by the Eastern Shore's middling planter class in the eighteenth century. Once again, the ten post-1750 dwellings contained in the Eastern Shore group display a quality of construction that is generally superior to the fifteen post-1750 houses in the mainland group. One of the peninsula houses was constructed entirely of brick, five were timber-frame with brick ends, and another four were timber-frame with brick chimneys. On the mainland, one house was built of brick, one was timber-frame with a brick end, eleven were timber-frame with brick chimneys, one was log with an original mud-and-clay chimney, and one was timber-frame but its chimney was missing when documented. A comparison of the mean acreage of each group is problematic since landholdings have been determined for the

[62] Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 110.
[63] Wells, "Social and Economic Aspects," 62-63.

owners of only six of the fifteen houses in the mainland sample. Still, even with the limitations of the available information, such a comparison indicates that Eastern Shore planters were able to construct buildings that were superior in quality to those built by mainland planters on comparable landholdings. The mean landholding for the mainland houses was 196 acres while the mean landholding for the peninsula dwellings was 228 acres.[64]

The gap in construction quality is illustrated by a closer examination of houses from both samples. Dell Upton describes five of the mainland houses in his book, *Holy Things and Profane*. The Ball-Sellers House in Arlington County is undoubtedly the crudest of these. Built in the third quarter of the eighteenth century by John Ball, the owner of 166 acres, the walls of the sixteen-by-eighteen-foot house are constructed of logs that have been poorly joined at the corners and the roof framing consists of a system of insubstantial rafters split from a single log. A sheathing of riven clapboards gave rigidity to the fragile roof frame, which was left exposed on the interior and coated with whitewash (fig. 44). Mud was packed into the eaves of the building to keep out drafts. The loft was accessed by a ladder stair located in the southeast corner of the ground-floor hall. The interior of the hall was crudely finished. The log walls were covered in mud which was coated with a thin layer of plaster. The rough-hewn joists supporting the loft floor were left exposed to view. The log walls rest on a dry-laid fieldstone foundation and originally a wood-and-mud chimney provided a source of heat and a cooking space.[65]

John Ball's log house appears rough and unsophisticated in comparison to the Mears Place, an Accomack County dwelling constructed around the same time by Baley Hinman

---

[64] The two tenant houses in the Eastern Shore sample group were excluded from the calculation. When the acreage for the two tenant houses is set at zero and included in the calculation, the mean landholding associated with the remaining eight Eastern Shore houses is 182 acres.

[65] Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 347-349; Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 111-112.

who owned 100 acres—sixty-six acres less than Ball.[66] At fourteen by eighteen feet, Hinman's house is slightly smaller than Ball's, but it consists of a substantial timber frame raised on a brick foundation (figs. 45, 46). The chimney of Hinman's house is brick rather than wood, and the interior wall surfaces are finished with lath and plaster in the hall and loft. Both Hinman and Ball would have been considered middling planters in their respective localities. Planters like Hinman who owned between 100 and 199 acres made up the middle third of landowners in Accomack County in 1782 while Dell Upton states that John Ball's "166-acre tract place[d] him slightly above average for mid-eighteenth-century landholders in the Potomac River Basin."[67]

Though they display a higher quality of construction than the Ball-Sellers House, the other four houses Upton describes in *Holy Things and Profane* are nonetheless cruder than contemporary dwellings in the Eastern Shore sample. For example, the John Edwards House in Isle of Wight County was built at roughly the same time as the Mears Place by a planter who also possessed a 100-acre tract. Edwards' dwelling is slightly larger than the Mears Place and it too features substantial timber framing, a masonry foundation, and an exterior brick chimney. But it seems Edwards lacked the resources to give his house the level of interior finish seen at the Mears Place. The wall framing and rafters show no sign of having ever been plastered and a loft floor was never laid, allowing a direct view to the underside of the gable roof from the ground-floor hall. Two of the other three buildings—Perkinsons and Wilson Farm in Chesterfield County—display a comparable quality of construction and finish (figs. 47, 48). At twelve by sixteen feet and fourteen by sixteen feet, the two Chesterfield Houses are two of the smaller buildings listed in either sample group. Both feature the solid timber framing, masonry foundations, and exterior chimneys seen in

[66] Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1194.
[67] Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 111-112.

the Mears Place, but like the John Edwards House, the interior finishes are not up to the same standard. The interior of Perkinsons, the smaller of the two is finished with a sheathing of beaded boards while the framing of the Wilson Farm was left exposed.[68]

With its fully plastered interior, the Isham Edwards House in Isle of Wight County is the only building of the five discussed by Upton that matches the Mears Place with regard to quality of construction (figs. 49, 50). However, it was built a generation after the Mears Place by a planter who owned 237 acres—137 acres more than Baley Hinman.[69] It is more appropriate to compare the Isham Edwards house with four other houses in the Eastern Shore sample—the West House, the Thomas Abbott House, the Copes Place, and Runnymede—that were also built in the last quarter of the eighteenth century by planters who possessed landholdings of similar size to Edwards (figs. 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59).[70] Though Edwards and the owners of these houses possessed comparable landholdings, the four Eastern Shore owners all built houses of significantly better quality than Edwards. Three houses featured brick ends while the fourth was built entirely of brick. The interiors were not only plastered, all four also had one fully wood-paneled end wall. In three of the houses, these paneled end walls contained built-in cupboards.[71]

According to Dell Upton, the four houses from Chesterfield and Isle of Wight Counties that he describes in *Holy Things and Profane* were "the homes of middling, not poor, Virginians."[72] If the four mainland houses and the Eastern Shore houses were built by planters who belonged to the same economic class, what then accounts for the conspicuous

---

[68] Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 112-113.
[69] Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 113-114.
[70] The mean acreage held by the owners of the West House, the Thomas Abbott House, and Copes Place is 227. Runnymeade has been excluded from the calculation because it appears to have been built for a tenant.
[71] Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 210; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 858, 1074, 1060. The three houses were Copes Place, Thomas Abbott House, and West House. Both Thomas Abbott House and West House featured built-in cupboards with glazed doors.
[72] Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 114.

discrepancies in quality of construction and finish? Furthermore, thirteen of the fifteen houses in the mainland sample built in the second half of the eighteenth century are located in the counties of Chesterfield, Isle of Wight, and Southampton, areas that shared similar patterns of economic and demographic development as the Eastern Shore. Settlement of these regions followed a roughly concurrent timeline and, like the peninsula, the three mainland counties were located in peripheral areas containing soils that were only able to support the cultivation of the inferior grade of Oronoco tobacco, where poor returns on tobacco crops discouraged the creation of large tobacco plantations by individual planters and forced economic diversification that provided a comfortable standard of living for the sizable population of small and middling landowners.[73] But despite these similarities, the higher quality displayed by the Eastern Shore houses suggests that the peninsula's middling planters enjoyed a greater degree of prosperity than their contemporaries in the three mainland counties. It is likely that this resulted from differences in geography and topography. Though Southampton, Chesterfield, and Isle of Wight all border on navigable rivers, planters who lived in the interior of these counties were substantially removed from waterways—the highways of commerce in pre-industrial America. By contrast, no Eastern Shore resident lived more than a few miles from a creekside landing. Proximity to navigable waterways allowed peninsula planters constant connection to trade networks that furnished them with markets for their agricultural products. Moreover, the peninsula's flat topography and sandy soil kept labor requirements low and ensured the productive potential of nearly every acre above sea level. Eastern Shore planters did not have to contend with a landscape

[73] Walsh, *Motives*, 365, 386-387. Like Northampton and Accomack, Chesterfield, Isle of Wight, and Southampton were all parts of the original eight shires of Virginia created in 1634. At the time of establishment, Chesterfield was part of Henrico Shire (it would split in 1749) while Southampton and Isle of Wight were part of Warrosquyoake Shire. Additionally, all three areas experienced triple-digit increases in white population between 1699 and 1724, a phenomenon that Lorena Walsh claims is an "indicator of how much economic opportunity a jurisdiction afforded to ordinary planters."

that contained steep hills, deep gullies, large impenetrable swamps, and rocky soils unfit for the plow. Though Baley Hinman of Mears Place owned a smaller acreage than many of the mainland planters with whom he has been compared, it is possible he possessed more arable land than any of them.

This examination of one-room buildings has shown that during the eighteenth century the houses of the Eastern Shore's middling planters featured better materials and finishes than those of both their middling peers in mainland peripheral areas and even some of the low-level elite planters in regions dominated by large-scale tobacco agriculture. More important, these buildings offer compelling evidence for the generation of an architectural expression specific to the peninsula's middling class. Over the course of the eighteenth century, the brick gable end—the primary feature that differentiated Eastern Shore buildings from mainland buildings—became a key component of this middling architectural expression. The Eastern Shore did not 'invent' the brick end, but the peninsula was the only region of the Chesapeake where its use was so widespread and sustained that brick-ended structures make up the overwhelming majority of surviving eighteenth-century timber-frame buildings.[74] The fact that relatively few eighteenth-century brick-ended structures appear on

[74] Southern Maryland—specifically the counties of Calvert, Charles, and St. Mary's—is the only region on the Western Shore where eighteenth-century brick-ended houses can be found in any significant numbers. Culturally and architecturally, Southern Maryland is very much a place unto itself, distinct from the Maryland counties of Prince George and Anne Arundel to the north and the Northern Neck counties of Virginia across the Potomac River to the south. Not surprisingly then, the brick-ended buildings of Southern Maryland are quite different from those on the Eastern Shore. Southern Maryland brick-ended houses typically have a square footprint and a four- or five-room plan on the ground floor. The brick ends usually contain two exterior chimney stacks placed closely together with a pent closet in between. Most often, Southern Maryland brick ends do not have glazed brick decoration. The brick end did not become popular in Southern Maryland until the last decades of the eighteenth century when it began to appear in houses built by the regions elite tobacco planters. Even then, the brick end never achieved the same level of popularity in Southern Maryland as it did on the Eastern Shore. Throughout its period of greatest use in Southern Maryland, the brick end competed with many other building forms and features in what was a relatively varied architectural landscape for the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Chesapeake. For further information see Kirk E. Ranzetta, *I'm Goin' Down County: An Architectural Journey through St. Mary's County* (Crownsville, Maryland: Maryland Historical Trust, 2010) and Richard J. Rivoire, *Homeplaces: Traditional Domestic Architecture of Charles County, Maryland* (La Plata, Maryland: Southern Maryland Studies Center, Charles County Community College, 1990). One of Virginia's earliest brick-ended houses was discovered by archaeologists in James City County in 1989. Possibly

the mainland suggests that the use of brick ends on the Eastern Shore did not result from the imitation of mainland architectural trends. That being said, the brick end should not be thought of as simply a 'standard' local building treatment, used primarily because local building tradition had come to require it. Though the brick end had developed into a popular element within the local vernacular building tradition's vocabulary of architectural forms, the substantial expense involved in building a brick end meant that its use represents a carefully considered choice on the part of the building owner. Furthermore, the fact that most of the peninsula's surviving eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century frame kitchens do not have brick ends suggests that Eastern Shore builders did not believe they offered any practical advantage in terms of fire prevention (figs. 59, 60, 61, 62). Thus, the brick end functioned primarily as a marker of wealth and its adoption and proliferation on the peninsula over the course of the eighteenth century resulted in large part from middling planters' desire to mark their ascendance and distance themselves from their economic and social inferiors.

Over the course of the eighteenth century, middling planters on the Eastern Shore found the brick end to be a versatile and effective signifier of middling prosperity. The brick

---

built around 1650, the hall-parlor building had two brick ends with interior chimneys while the side walls were of timber-frame earthfast construction. See Brown, "Domestic Masonry Architecture," 95-96. A few mainland examples of eighteenth-century brick-ended houses can be found in areas of Southside Virginia and Northeastern North Carolina. The Southside houses are primarily confined to an area along the Blackwater River in Southampton, Surry, and Isle of Wight Counties. These buildings differ from Eastern Shore brick-ended houses in that they were constructed almost exclusively in the last two decades of the eighteenth century by planters who possessed considerable wealth. See Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 369, 373-376. Fifteen eighteenth-century dwellings with brick ends were recorded in the late 1920s in Princess Anne County, Virginia—now the city of Virginia Beach. But like the Southside houses, the majority of these buildings seem to have been constructed just prior to the turn of the nineteenth century by some of the county's largest landowners. Unfortunately, a closer examination of these dwellings is impossible because nearly all have since been demolished. See Sadie Scott Kellam and V. Hope Kellam, *Old Houses in Princess Anne, Virginia* (Portsmouth, Virginia: Printcraft Press, Inc., 1931). In North Carolina, a handful of brick-ended houses dating from the middle decades of the eighteenth century survive in Perquimans, Pasquotank, Gates, Northampton, and Bertie Counties. Like the Southside houses, the great majority of these were built by the region's wealthiest residents. See Catherine W. Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 13, 21-23.

end unmistakably differentiated an otherwise plain house like Pear Valley from the less substantial structures inhabited by the peninsula's enslaved laborers and landless whites. These were the poorest but also the most numerous segments of eighteenth-century Eastern Shore society. By 1744 enslaved persons comprised over seventy percent of Northampton County's dependent labor force while landless whites likely amounted to nearly half of the county's white male population.[75] Not surprisingly, the insubstantial houses that sheltered both groups do not survive. A single photograph taken in lower Accomack County on December 17, 1896 is one of the few pieces of non-archaeological evidence for a housing type once ubiquitous in the Eastern Shore landscape (fig. 63). In the photo, an African American family stands in front of a dilapidated one-room dwelling.[76] The building has a steeply-pitched gable roof sheathed with wood shingles and a wood-and-clay chimney which was only partially intact when the photo was taken. No windows pierce the clapboard walls which appear to extend all the way to the ground, an indication that the house was probably an earthfast structure. In a landscape saturated with buildings like this, it is easy to see how a brick end could make a powerful statement.

A brick foundation and chimney was all that was required for William Rochester of Westmoreland County to distinguish his small dwelling from the houses constructed by the Northern Neck's poor and middling white planters. On the Eastern Shore, where a robust diversified economy enabled even a modest landholder to afford a brick chimney, middling planters adopted the brick end in the second quarter of the eighteenth century as a means of setting themselves apart from their less prosperous neighbors. By the middle of the

---

[75] Deal, *Race and Class*, 175.

[76] It bears mentioning that the photographer most certainly had racist intentions in arranging this scene, and therefore it is likely that the family depicted in the photograph did not actually live in the house. But whatever the motivations of the photographer, the photo does provide us with visual evidence for a type of insubstantial dwelling that no longer exists but formerly permeated the landscape of the Eastern Shore in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.

eighteenth century, Eastern Shore middling planters had developed their own distinct house type—a one-and-one-half-story timber-frame dwelling with brick gable ends containing two rooms on the ground floor. These small but well-built brick-ended houses came to dominate the built landscape of the peninsula in the second half of the century as grain production enabled the accumulation of wealth among the Eastern Shore' middling planters.

CHAPTER III:
The Middling House in Accomack County and the Planters who Occupied Them

As shown in Chapter I, a number of economic, demographic, and geographic factors fostered the growth of a large and prosperous middling planter class on the Eastern Shore of Virginia during the eighteenth century. These planters possessed substantial financial resources that afforded them access to expensive and durable building materials, enabling them to erect dwellings that exhibited a higher degree of finish and construction quality than houses built by their middling contemporaries in the tobacco-producing centers of mainland Virginia. But the historical significance of the Eastern Shore's eighteenth-century middling houses extends beyond their capacity as indicators of middling prosperity on the peninsula. These buildings represent an instance in eighteenth-century Virginia where members of the middling class generated their own specific architectural expression deliberately divergent from the building traditions of the local elites.

The emergence of the middling house type was the most significant architectural consequence of the economic upswing that occurred on the Eastern Shore following the incorporation of lucrative grain production into the region's diversified agricultural economy in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. As middling planters grew more prosperous, they began to erect dwellings that integrated costly embellishments such as paneled interior surfaces and brick gable end walls with modest vernacular forms—one-and-one-half-story elevations and single-cell or hall-chamber ground-floor plans. The focus of this chapter is the two-room hall-chamber middling house and the planters who occupied them. It is these compact and solid hall-chamber structures that represent the Eastern Shore middling house type at its fully mature stage of development.

Eastern Shore hall-chamber houses were built using two general forms of architectural massing which correspond to the interior arrangement of the two ground-floor rooms. The typical form is a single-pile arrangement wherein the hall and chamber are placed side-by-side (figs. 1, 2, 10, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 89, 90, 108, 109). Each room is heated by its own chimney located on opposite sides of the building in the short gable ends. Somewhat less common is the double-pile configuration where hall and chamber are situated back-to-back (figs. 75, 76, 77, 78, 91, 95, 96, 106, 107). In these buildings, chimneys for both hall and chamber are located in the same gable end wall which, in timber-fame examples of the form, is the only wall to feature all-brick construction. The great majority of the Eastern Shore's eighteenth-century hall-chamber houses were timber-frame structures. A few all-brick hall-chamber houses were built, however, and their existence indicates that two-room brick houses were not beyond the means of Eastern Shore middling planters (figs. 79, 80, 81). Those who could not afford to build all-brick houses found the brick end to be an effective communicator of middling prosperity. In many timber-frame examples of the single-pile form, both gable ends containing the chimneys are constructed entirely of brick. If a single-pile hall-chamber house was built with only one brick end, it was almost always located on the hall-end of the building. Thus, the building's exterior finishes served as a representation of the interior hierarchy of spaces—the most expensive exterior feature, the brick end, corresponded with the highest-status interior room, the hall. Even in single-pile houses with two brick ends, the internal spatial hierarchy was sometimes expressed on the exterior by constructing two different types of brick ends. There are some Eastern Shore hall-chamber houses with two brick ends where the brick end on the hall-side has an internal or semi-internal chimney stack and thus presents on the exterior a flat or nearly flat surface, often decorated with glazed brick patterning, while the

chamber-side brick end has an exterior chimney that protrudes from the surface of the wall and has a plainer or more understated decorative treatment (figs. 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87). These buildings reveal an interesting and significant aspect of the Eastern Shore middling house. Exterior symmetry, a hallmark of eighteenth-century Georgian house design, is often suppressed in these buildings in favor of lending emphasis to the importance of the hall as the ultimate architectural manifestation of middling affluence. Eastern Shore middling planters conceived of the hall as a sort of two-sided expression of their financial capacity. The powerful statement made by expensive carefully-executed brickwork and exuberant glazed brick designs on the hall brick end was echoed on the interior in floor-to-ceiling wood paneling, molded mantels, and recessed cupboards with glass doors (figs. 20, 22, 24, 53, 55, 88).

Chapter II's discussion of one-room structures shows that although Eastern Shore middling houses were unpretentious in scale, the use of expensive architectural features like brick ends unmistakably differentiated these buildings from the similar-sized but rough and less solidly-constructed dwellings inhabited by enslaved laborers and poor whites. In the second half of the eighteenth century, timber-frame brick-ended houses began to appear in significant numbers on the Eastern Shore landscape as middling planters recognized that the brick end offered an effective means of advertising their growing wealth while elevating their small and otherwise plain buildings above the impermanent and insubstantial structures of their less prosperous neighbors. But while the brick gable end came to be a characteristic component of the Eastern Shore middling house, it was not a feature exclusive to middling housing. A number of the Eastern Shore's largest landowners and wealthiest citizens also constructed timber-frame houses with brick gable ends in the eighteenth century. Consequently, the presence of a brick end alone cannot be used as a means of accurately

establishing the class identity of the original occupant of a particular house. The elites' use of the brick end also casts doubt on claims that the Eastern Shore middling house should be viewed as a discrete type—a distinct middling architectural expression separate from the domestic buildings constructed by both the peninsula's upper and lower classes. In addition to the joint use of the brick end, the typical middling house shared a number of features with smaller and plainer examples of elite housing including a one-and-one-half-story elevation and similar levels of exterior and interior finishes. These shared features suggest that the middling house should be considered nothing more than a modest version of an elite house—the product of attempts by the Eastern Shore's affluent middling planters to situate themselves on par with local elites by imitating the architectural forms used by their wealthier and more powerful neighbors.

While on the surface it may appear that the Eastern Shore middling house was a derivative of local elite housing, upon a closer look it is clear that any similarities between middling and elite housing should be attributed less to middling pretentions to elite status and more to the limitations of the local architectural vernacular and the narrow gap between the peninsula's upper and middle classes. A thorough examination of a substantial number of eighteenth-century Eastern Shore houses built by both middling and elite planters shows that the similarities between middling and elite housing, rather than binding them together, actually serve to highlight points of divergence. The beneficiaries of a robust local economy, many middling planters were able to obtain access to the same repertoire of high-status materials and finishes used by their elite contemporaries. This offered middling planters the opportunity to erect dwellings of comparable quality to many elite houses, thus diminishing architecture's capacity to communicate class distinctions between middling planters and

elites.[1] However, rather than using architecture to obscure distinctions of social class, the Eastern Shore's middling planters made a conscious effort to articulate class differences by choosing to build houses that contained a certain characteristic that an Eastern Shore native would have immediately recognized as an unambiguous marker of middling rank. The following analysis of Accomack County's eighteenth-century domestic architecture provides evidence that the Eastern Shore's middling planters, as a group, rejected a fashionable architectural form used by their wealthier neighbors in favor of an older form that served to clearly identify their middling status. In so doing, they created their own distinct architectural expression, a development that contradicts a standard model of interpretation for eighteenth-century Virginia architecture that relies on an assumption that members of the middling class were forever emulating their social and economic superiors.

A comprehensive study of a sizable number of eighteenth-century Eastern Shore houses brings to light a difference between middling and elite housing that at first glance may seem subtle and unimportant but at closer view at once becomes clear and substantial. In the interest of assembling a large but manageable group of buildings, the following study is limited to only those eighteenth-century houses constructed in Accomack County. Accomack County was chosen over Northampton County for three principal reasons. First, the body of primary and secondary source material pertaining to Accomack is larger than that pertaining to Northampton. Second, Accomack contains a greater number of documented eighteenth-century houses than Northampton.[2] Finally, and most importantly, a large ratio of Accomack County's documented eighteenth-century architecture consists of

---

[1] It is important to note that this would not have been possible in the tobacco counties of the Western Shore, where the gulf between middling and elite planters was considerable and distinctions of class in housing were much more obvious.

[2] This is not surprising considering that Accomack County is more than two times larger than its southern neighbor.

small one-and-one-half-story houses erected by middling planters. This is not true of Northampton County where most of the documented houses are larger two-story structures built by elite landowners. The uneven distribution of small eighteenth-century houses on the Eastern Shore is likely the result of differences in population density and land tenure in the two counties. Accomack County saw a more accelerated rate of white population growth during the eighteenth century. Although Accomack is only slightly more than double the size of Northampton, it was home to nearly three times as many white residents in 1790.[3] Accomack's higher white population density contributed to the breakup of large landholdings. In general, seventeenth-century land patents underwent fewer divisions in Northampton County than in Accomack where they were often repeatedly subdivided into small freeholds. The division of land into small parcels led to the growth of a sizable middling planter class who erected the small but well-built houses that make up the majority of Accomack County's documented eighteenth-century buildings.

A total of forty-six Accomack County houses were selected for detailed study. Table 5 lists these buildings in ascending order by the size of the landholding possessed by their owners at the time of construction. The table also lists approximate dates of construction and the basic characteristics of each dwelling—plan, elevation, building materials, and exterior dimensions, if known. Of these forty-six houses, twenty-five are extant structures. The remaining twenty-one houses are either completely destroyed or ruinous but were included in the study group based on the existence of photographs, plans, and descriptions made by Ralph Whitelaw, H. Chandlee Forman, L. Floyd Nock III, and researchers associated with the Virginia Landmarks Commission (now the Virginia Department of Historic Resources) and the Historic American Buildings Survey. These forty-six houses

[3] James E. Mears, "Shoreline," *Eastern Shore News*, October 11, 1940. The white population of Accomack County was 8,976 in 1790. In Northampton County, whites numbered 3,181.

include every building in Accomack County that conform to six basic criteria—(1) they were erected before 1800, (2) they were constructed as freestanding dwellings, (3) they contain two or more rooms on the ground floor, (4) they have not been moved from their original site, (5) they were initially occupied by the owner of the land on which they were constructed, and (6) they were built by individuals who appear to have derived a substantial portion of their income from agriculture.

The fourth and fifth criteria are necessary because they provide for the precise identification of the original occupant of each house. This is important because at the center of a class-based analysis of the Eastern Shore's eighteenth-century domestic architecture is the assumption that houses are a tangible expression of the wealth and social status of the owner. In order to derive cogent conclusions from such an analysis, it must be possible to match houses with their original owner-occupiers. In most cases, tracing a chain of title provides the only means of identifying the eighteenth-century owners of particular parcels of land and the buildings they contain.[4] Thus, if it appears likely that a house was moved onto a particular parcel after it was built, one cannot be certain that the individual who owned that parcel at the approximate date of the building's construction was truly the original occupant. Likewise, houses that are known to have not been occupied by the owner of the land on which they were built (e.g., tenant houses) have been omitted from the study because the identity of the original occupants cannot be determined from surviving records.

---

[4] Ralph Whitelaw's *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, a detailed history of land tenure on the peninsula, was an invaluable resource in identifying the buildings to be included in the study group, their original owners, and the amount of land those owners possessed. This landmark work traces the history of Accomack County's 193 original land patents from their seventeenth-century patentees to their nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century owners, carefully noting all divisions and sales documented in the county court records. Also included are descriptions and photographs of any eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century buildings that remained extant when Whitelaw and his collaborator, Anne Floyd Upshur, were conducting their research in the second quarter of the twentieth century.

The sixth criterion—the requirement that the owners of all forty-six houses share agriculture as a substantial source of income—ensures a more accurate appraisal of the relative wealth of the owners. As discussed in Chapter II, scholars have long found landownership to be one of the few consistent means of measuring wealth in an agrarian society like eighteenth-century Virginia where the accumulation of wealth was mainly dependent upon agricultural production. Using landownership to measure wealth assumes that, as a general rule, the more land a planter had available for cultivation, the more agricultural goods the planter was able to produce, and the wealthier that planter became. Hence, landownership cannot be expected to provide an accurate gauge of wealth among a group of individuals unless every member of the group was reliant on agriculture as a major source of income.

Because social status was primarily tied to wealth in eighteenth-century Virginia, a reliable means of measuring homeowner wealth is necessary for the identification of divisions of social class among those owners. This is important because one cannot draw definitive conclusions concerning the architectural markers of class displayed by Accomack County's eighteenth-century houses without first determining where the original occupants of these buildings ranked in the local social hierarchy. In Chapter II, data contained in the 1782 Land Tax records was used to establish landownership criteria for Accomack County's lower, middling, and elite classes.[5] The data shows that the lower class consisted of individuals who owned less than 100 acres of land, the middling planters comprised those who owned between 100 and 499 acres, and the elites were those who owned 500 acres or more. It is important to remember that using landownership to measure wealth fails to take into consideration other factors that contributed to a planter's economic standing such as

[5] See Chapter II, pp. 61-63.

ownership of enslaved laborers and business interests or professional activities outside of agricultural production. Because a planter's position in society was not solely defined by the size of his landholding, it is reasonable to expect that some of the original occupants of the forty-six houses in the study should be categorized as members of one group despite owning acreage that placed them in another group according to the above criteria. It is simply impossible to establish hard and fast divisions between classes at specific definitive acreage figures. However, for the sake of the following discussion, dividing lines must be drawn and those chosen are supported by the available data. The fact that landownership was the one factor that had the greatest impact on an individual's social status in eighteenth-century Accomack County allows us to be confident that in nearly every instance going forward, a planter's landholding can be used to make a reasonably accurate determination of the class group to which he or she belonged.

Readers familiar with eighteenth-century Eastern Shore architecture will likely notice the absence of several houses from Table 5. Buildings were excluded from the study group for various reasons. A few extant buildings were not included because they have additions and alterations that make it difficult to determine the building's original form. Others were omitted because they have been attached as wings to larger structures built in the early decades of the nineteenth century. With these, it can be difficult to determine if the older eighteenth-century portion was the original building on the site or if it was moved to its present location when the nineteenth-century portion was constructed. Also excluded are twelve now-demolished houses that are documented in Ralph Whitelaw's *Virginia's Eastern Shore*.[6] Although these houses appear to conform to the six aforementioned criteria, they

[6] The twelve buildings are Mount Pleasant, Buck Hyslop Place, Ames-Nicholls Place, Locust Grove, Ames Ridge, Goffigon House, Mozambique, Old Custis House, Fletcher Place, Tull Place, Matthews House, and

were not included in the study group because Whitelaw's descriptions fail to supply any information about the division of interior spaces on the ground floor. Five well-documented houses that conform to the six criteria were also omitted from the study group. Three of the five—the jailer's house, locally known as the Debtor's Prison; the Ailworth House; and West View—are located in the town of Accomac, the seat of county government. Built in 1783, the jailer's house was not included in this study because public funds financed its construction and it is not associated with an agricultural landholding or any particular individual.[7] The Ailworth House was excluded because it too does not have an associated agricultural landholding. The original portion of this small structure was erected in 1795 by carpenter Selby Dunton as a means of securing the title to his half-acre lot.[8] The third house, West View, was a large two-story structure built by merchant William Burdett shortly before his death in 1780. Demolished in the 1940s, West View stood directly adjacent to the courthouse on the eastern edge of a ninety-four acre tract. Despite having a significant associated landholding, the house was not included in the study because a plat of survey made in 1786 indicates that Burdett produced few, if any, market crops on his land.[9] Since agricultural production contributed little to Burdett's income, landholding

---

Wallop House. For further information see Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 607-608, 638-639, 673-674, 724-725, 749, 783-784, 873-874, 972-973, 1273, 1308-1309, 1337, 1339.

[7] For further information on the jailer's house see Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 275, 279; Carl R. Lounsbury, *The Courthouses of Early Virginia: An Architectural History* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 254-256, 338; L. Floyd Nock III, *Drummondtown: "A One Horse Town"* (Verona, Virginia: McClure Printing Company, Inc., 1976), 41, 195-196; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1037-1038.

[8] It is likely that the Ailworth House was occupied by tenants during much of its early existence. Selby Dunton, coincidentally, was also the builder of the jailer's house. For further information on the Ailworth House see Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 300, 303-304; Nock, *Drummondtown*, 107-112; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1009-1010.

[9] See Accomack County, Virginia, Surveyors Record, No. 1, 1784-1794: 39 (Plat of ninety-four acres belonging to the heirs of William Burdett, 13 March 1786), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. The plat shows that over half of Burdett's acreage consisted of woodland. Smaller parcels of 'cleared land' were located directly behind the house but no agricultural buildings are shown in the yard. However, Burdett did own a group of buildings clustered around the courthouse including a store, a tannery, and a shop. It seems that Burdett derived the vast majority of his income from commercial pursuits. The large volume of trade goods listed in Burdett's probate inventory provides further evidence of his occupation. See Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1784-1787: 277-289 (Probate Inventory of William Burdett, 27 September 1786), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For

cannot be expected to provide an accurate gauge of his wealth and social standing. The final two excluded houses are Arbuckle Place and Conquest House, both one-and-one-half-story timber-frame structures with hall-chamber plans and brick ends originally built on sizable landholdings in upper Accomack County (figs. 86, 87, 89, 90, 91). Despite the fact that these two buildings are fantastic examples of the eighteenth-century Accomack County middling house type, neither was included in the study group because it seems unlikely that the planters who owned the land on which these buildings were constructed ever occupied them.[10]

Although adherence to the six criteria requires that a number of buildings be excluded from the study, in general the study group contains a large and varied sample of Accomack County's eighteenth-century housing. From a look at the landholding figures listed in Table 5, one can see that houses representing nearly every segment of Accomack County's landowning population are present. However, when landownership data from

---

further information on West View see Nock, *Drummondtown*, 42-44, 298-299; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 998-1000.

[10] Arbuckle Place stands beside the bayside road near the Assawoman crossroads in upper Accomack County. It was erected on a parcel of land belonging to Alexander Stockley, a wealthy planter who owned close to 1000 acres in the northern part of the county and served as vestryman and churchwarden of Accomack Parish. The building has two brick ends. In the east chimney, bricks are marked *T W 1774*, *A S*, and *I S*. It is assumed that *A S* and *I S* were the initials of Stockley and his son, Joseph, who may have been the original occupant. The initials *T W* may have belonged to the mason or master builder who erected the house. Existing records show that Alexander lived on a different portion of his landholding. For further information on Arbuckle Place see Ralph O. Harvard, "Arbuckle Place," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1986), Sections 7 and 8; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1239-1240. Conquest House no longer stands but was an interesting building that appeared to date from around the middle of the eighteenth century. It was a gambrel roofed structure with a hall-chamber plan in a back-to-back, or double-pile, configuration. Curiously, the gambrel roof was built so that the ridge ran perpendicular to the back-to-back room arrangement, allowing for the incorporation of a brick end on one side which contained a single interior chimney stack that served a corner fireplace in each room. There are several hall-chamber houses with double-pile plans and brick ends on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, but this is the only known example of the type with a gambrel roof. Conquest House was built on part of a 400-acre parcel that belonged to a planter named Devorax Godwin. Godwin had inherited the land upon his father's death in 1728, at which time he was already established on a plantation near Eastville in Northampton County that he had inherited from an uncle eight years prior. Existing records give no indication that Godwin ever lived in Accomack County. Conquest House may have been built by Godwin's eldest son, Daniel, who inherited the Accomack plantation when Devorax died in 1792. See Northampton County, Virginia, Wills and Inventories, No. 28, 1788-1792: 339-343 (Will of Devorax Godwin, 15 September 1791), County Clerk's Office, Eastville. For further information on Conquest House see Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 252; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 278-279, 1252-1254.

Table 5 is compared with data taken from the 1782 Accomack County Land Tax Records listed in Table 3, it is apparent that the composition of the study group is not an accurate reflection of land distribution in the county in the eighteenth century. While members of the lower class—individuals who owned fewer than 100 acres—accounted for 53.8 percent of all Accomack County heads of household in 1782, they were responsible for the construction of only one of the forty-six houses (2.2 percent) in the study group. At the other end of the economic spectrum, elite planters, defined as individuals who possessed 500 acres or more, made up just 5.3 percent of Accomack County householders in 1782, yet they built 45.6 percent (twenty-one of forty-six) of the study group houses. The only demographic whose representation in the study group is close to its proportion of the county's 1782 population is the middling planter class—individuals who owned between 100 and 499 acres. Middling planters made up 40.9 percent of Accomack County's total householders in 1782, and they built 52.2 percent (twenty-four of forty-seven) of the study group houses. Still, a closer look reveals that even among the middling houses representation in the study group is skewed toward the larger landowners. Table 3 shows that middling planters who owned between 100 and 199 acres accounted for over one-third (34.7 percent) of all Accomack County landowners and nearly two-thirds (59.1 percent) of all middling heads of household in 1782, yet members of this group were responsible for the construction of only one half of the study group's middling houses (twelve of twenty-four buildings).

Considering that the study group is essentially a collection of buildings that happened to remain extant until at least the middle decades of the twentieth century, it is not surprising that houses built by Accomack County's smallest landowners are underrepresented while those built by the largest landowners are overrepresented. Few examples of lower-class eighteenth-century housing survive as these buildings were often

less substantially constructed and seldom larger than a single room on the ground floor. The typical lower-class house can be thought of as housing at its essence—foremost a structure that satisfied the basic need for shelter. Such buildings had short lifespans; features like earthfast construction accelerated deterioration while their small size made them unattractive to successive generations of occupants. Elite planters erected the county's largest and most substantial dwellings, many of which stood a full two stories in height and featured brick construction in all exterior walls. Brick was a desirable material not only because its high cost effectively communicated economic success; brick was also easy to maintain and resistant to deterioration. Unlike timber-frame walls, brick walls are not susceptible to rot or termite damage and they do not require periodic painting or limewashing to protect them from the weather. Furthermore, the mass and solidity of brick walls enables them to withstand hurricane winds and ensures that demolition is time-consuming and dangerous without the benefit of modern heavy machinery, factors that likely led later generations to adapt eighteenth-century brick buildings to modern uses rather than raze them.

Size and the quality of interior finishes were additional characteristics of elite houses that contributed to their long-term survival. The construction of a rail line down the spine of the peninsula in 1884 ushered in a new era of prosperity that was accompanied by a tremendous construction boom. During this period, many Eastern Shore farmers abandoned or demolished their small one-and-one-half-story eighteenth- or early-nineteenth-century houses and replaced them with new two-story timber-frame dwellings that provided a significant increase in living space. Local newspapers from the period attest to this rebuilding process. In June 1907 the *Peninsula Enterprise* reported that, in the town of Belle Haven in lower Accomack County, "B. T. Stringer has commenced work on the old Trower or Doremus property for Geo. R. Phillips, who contemplates an up-to-date house in place of

the long string of buildings once popular on the Eastern Shore."[11] While many of the Eastern Shore's more modest examples of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century housing were demolished by people like Phillips who found the small buildings incompatible with modern modes of living, a considerable number of eighteenth-century houses built by the peninsula's elite residents managed to escape destruction partly due to the fact that their large size still made them desirable residences. Likewise, while the classical moldings and paneled surfaces that characterized the Eastern Shore's elite eighteenth-century interiors may have been viewed as unfashionable or out-of-date at the turn of the twentieth century, they still were considered worthy of preservation, especially when compared to the plain, unsophisticated mass-produced interior finishes typical of most new construction on the Eastern Shore at that time. The overrepresentation of houses built by elite landowners in the study group does not necessarily have a negative effect on this study. In fact, since the goal of this study is to identify points of divergence between middling and elite housing, the study benefits from a degree of elite overrepresentation as it serves to narrow the gap between the number of elite-built and middling-built houses in the study group, enabling conclusions to be drawn based on a comparison of relatively equal numbers of middling and elite structures.

The twenty-four houses in the study built by middling landowners display a remarkable degree of uniformity. An examination of elevation and ground-floor area measurements shows that these buildings varied little with respect to size. In Table 5,

---

[11] *Peninsula Enterprise*, June 22, 1907. The "long string of buildings" refers to an architectural form that arose on the Eastern Shore around the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Planters began to attach their once-freestanding kitchen buildings to the main house by means of a single-story passage room locally called a 'colonnade.' Because Eastern Shore kitchen buildings were often constructed adjacent to and in line with the main house rather than behind and to the rear, the construction of a connecting colonnade resulted in a linear progression of small buildings, each with a different roof height.

exterior dimensions are listed for fourteen houses erected by middling landowners.[12] The ground-floor area measurements of these fourteen buildings range between 360 and 703 square feet, a difference of 343 square feet (approximately equal to the size of a single large room). Elevation is another aspect of building size that is consistent across the study group's middling houses. Only one of the twenty-four middling buildings in Table 5(Coard Place) stands a full two stories in height. The other twenty-three houses are all one-and-one-half-story structures with gambrel or gable roofs. In addition to size, the study's middling-built houses also exhibit uniformity with respect to building materials and floor plans. Nineteen of the twenty-four houses (79.1 percent) are timber-frame buildings with either one or two brick gable ends. The remaining five buildings consist of three all-brick houses and two timber-frame houses with brick chimneys. The twenty-four middling houses display a similar degree of consistency with regard to the division of interior spaces on the ground floor. Only four middling-built houses in Table 5 contain unheated stair passages. The other twenty middling buildings all feature single-pile (side-by-side) or double-pile (back-to-back) variations of the two-room hall-chamber plan.

Even if landownership data were excluded from Table 5, it would still be possible to identify many of the elite-built houses in the study group due to their size and the materials used in their construction. As one would expect, elite landowners were responsible for the construction of the largest buildings in the study group. The ten largest houses for which exterior measurements are listed in Table 5 were all erected by elite landowners and the mean ground-floor area of the thirteen measured elite buildings is more than two times

[12] Exterior dimensions are listed for twenty-seven of the forty-six houses in Table 5. Exterior dimensions are not listed for the other nineteen houses in the study because either the buildings are no longer extant or it was not possible to gain access to them.

greater than the mean ground-floor area of the fourteen measured middling houses.[13] In addition, while two-story houses account for only ten of the forty-six buildings in the study, nine of those ten were built by elite landowners. It should also come as no surprise that elite landowners were responsible for the construction of a majority of the brick houses in the study group. While only fourteen of the forty-six buildings (30.4 percent) in the study feature all-brick construction, eleven of those were built by planters who owned 500 acres or more. This means that over fifty percent (eleven of twenty-one) of the elite-built houses in the study group were brick structures. By contrast, the three all-brick dwellings built by middling planters account for only 12.5 percent of the total middling houses in the study.

While two-story elevations, brick construction, and large ground-floor areas clearly distinguish a number of the more pretentious examples of elite housing in Table 5 from the study group's middling buildings, not every elite house in the table is a large two-story brick structure. Unlike the relatively homogenous middling houses in the study, the twenty-one elite buildings are a more diverse assemblage. At first glance it appears that several houses built by elite landowners could easily be mistaken for middling houses due to similarities of size, elevation, and materials. In fact, a total of ten elite buildings—Cedar Grove, Leatherbury Farm, Northam Place, Chandler Place, The Hermitage, Mason House, Rose Cottage, Marino, Ravenswood, and Rogers Place—either equal or just slightly exceed the study group's middling houses in terms of size and quality of construction. On average, these ten houses are only marginally larger than the middling houses in the study group. Table 5 lists exterior dimensions for six of these more modest elite houses. The mean ground-floor area of these buildings measures 853.8 square feet. This figure is just 290.3 square feet larger than the mean ground-floor area of the fourteen measured middling

[13] The mean ground-floor area of the thirteen elite houses is 1,212.4 square feet while the mean ground-floor area of the fourteen middling houses is 563.5 square feet.

houses in the table. In addition to comparable ground-floor area measurements, the ten elite houses are also similar to the study group's twenty-four middling buildings with regard to elevation. Like ninety-six percent of the middling-built houses in the study, all ten of these elite houses feature one-and-one-half-story elevations. Building materials offer yet another point of comparison. As previously mentioned, timber-frame houses with one or more brick gable ends make up 79.1 percent of the study group buildings erected by middling landowners. Such buildings also make up a majority of the ten more modest elite houses, accounting for approximately two-thirds of the group (six of ten buildings).

One would expect that the ten elite houses that most closely resemble the middling houses in the study would be constructed by planters whose landholdings placed them at the lower end of Accomack County's elite class. What is surprising, however, is just how closely these buildings resemble each other considering the fact that even a smaller elite landowner possessed significantly more land than the average middling landowner. The aforementioned group of ten elite houses contains buildings erected by eight of the nine smallest elite landowners in the study. These eight landowners possessed landholdings between 500 and 829 acres in size, with a mean landholding of 672.6 acres. While this figure is 38% smaller than the mean acreage held by the owners of all twenty-one elite houses in Table 5 (1,085.5 acres), it is 335% larger than the mean acreage held by the owners of the twenty-four middling houses in the study (202 acres). Looking at these statistics, it is reasonable to expect that a house built by a 700-acre landowner would have more in common with a house built by a 1000-acre landowner than with one built by a 200-acre landowner. However, the study group houses show that when dealing with basic exterior features, most houses built by 1000-acre landowners are distinguishable from those built by 700-acre landowners by virtue of their two-story elevations and all-brick construction, while

often the only thing that differentiates a house erected by a 700-acre landowner from one built by a 200-acre landowner is a slightly larger footprint.

The significant number of architectural features shared by middling and lower elite housing challenges the notion that Accomack County's middling planters produced their own deliberately divergent architectural expression in the eighteenth century. If middling planters sought to construct houses that were perceptibly different from elite dwellings, then we might expect the middling houses in Table 5 to hold in common a set of middling-specific architectural characteristics—features that do not appear in houses whose owners possessed landholdings above the 500-acre dividing line. But we have seen that when it comes to basic architectural features, virtually all characteristics shared by the middling houses in the study are also shared by a large segment of the study's elite houses. The apparent lack of clear-cut architectural markers of middling status could be interpreted as evidence that Accomack County's middling planters did not attempt as a group to differentiate their houses from those of their elite contemporaries. Also, one could argue that the similarities between middling and lower elite housing suggest that middling planters actively imitated elite architectural forms as a means of claiming a degree of social and economic parity with the wealthiest and most powerful members of Accomack County society.

The comparability of middling and lower elite housing in eighteenth-century Accomack County can be explained by the limitations of the local vernacular building tradition combined with unique local economic conditions. Virginia's eighteenth-century vernacular builders drew from a narrow range of design choices. A simplified, standardized framing system paired with a limited catalog of building materials and decorative finishes yielded a built landscape characterized by what Dell Upton terms as "an underlying visual

coherence."[14] Due to the nature of the vernacular design process, the houses of the wealthiest Virginians often shared familiar forms and materials with houses built by small landowners. Although builders of elite and middling houses pulled from the same narrow repertoire of forms and finishes, in most Virginia localities the economic distance separating middling and elite planters was great enough to ensure that a middling building would never be mistaken for an elite one. On the Eastern Shore, however, class distinctions in eighteenth-century architecture are more difficult to identify. Here, the economic gulf between middling and elite planters was much smaller than it was in the tobacco-producing centers of mainland Virginia due to a robust diversified agricultural economy and a more equitable pattern of land distribution. Unlike their mainland counterparts, the Eastern Shore's middling planters were able to attain a level of wealth that was closer to that of the lower elites. The narrow wealth gap separating middling and lower elite planters is reflected in the similarities between the houses built by members of both groups. It is difficult to distinguish a middling house from a lower elite house because the unique economic circumstances in Accomack County in the eighteenth century enabled middling planters to grow wealthy enough to access the same set of costly, high-status materials and finishes found in houses built by many of their elite neighbors.

Although it seems reasonable that economics and vernacular limitations could account for similarities between the middling and lower elite houses in the study, middling imitation of elite architecture must be considered an equally plausible explanation for these similarities unless we can demonstrate that there was a fundamental difference between middling and elite houses that shows that Accomack County's middling planters made a conscious decision to reject aspects of elite architecture, and by doing so created a distinct

[14] Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 102-105.

middling house type. This fundamental difference can be found in the arrangement of interior spaces. We have established that the twenty-four middling houses in the study closely resemble many of the study's lower elite houses with regard to certain architectural characteristics including elevation, footprint size, and building materials, but these are characteristics that primarily affect overall massing and exterior appearance. A comparison of interiors reveals a striking dissimilarity. Aside from all-brick wall construction, ground-floor plan is the only architectural characteristic listed in Table 5 that is clearly divided along class lines. Only four of the twenty-four middling houses in the study (16.6 percent) contain an unheated stair passage on the ground floor. This is a feature present in seventeen of the study's twenty-one elite houses (80.9 percent). The remaining twenty middling houses (83.3 percent) all contain two-room hall-chamber plans on the ground floor.

The elites' use of the stair passage reveals a desire to communicate fluency with new architectural forms that came into fashion on the Virginia mainland in the eighteenth century. As discussed in Chapter II, the early decades of the century saw Virginia's wealthiest planters abandon the hall-chamber floor plan in favor of plans that included a passage. The passage was generally a narrow unheated room that extended the full depth of the house and contained the primary and rear entrances to the building as well as the stair (figs. 11, 18, 92, 93).[15] The addition of the passage greatly changed the functions of the hall and chamber. The removal of the exterior entrances and stair from the hall to the passage was accompanied by the relocation of everyday household activities like working, sleeping,

[15] Two standard floor plans emerged for smaller passage-plan houses that contained only a hall, chamber, and passage on the ground floor. In the rural context, the more prevalent of the two was the single-pile, center-passage plan where the hall and chamber were placed side-by-side with the passage inserted between. The hall and chamber of these buildings were usually heated by chimneys located at either end wall of the building. In the other configuration—the double-pile, side-passage plan—the hall and chamber were arranged back-to-back with the passage running down one side of the house. In these buildings, the hall and chamber were typically heated by chimneys located in the end wall opposite the passage. Two separate chimney stacks could be built to heat either hall or chamber, or a single stack could be erected at the partition of the hall and chamber that heated both rooms using corner fireplaces.

cooking, and eating from the hall to the chamber. The hall continued to be the most important room in the house, but isolated from daily foot traffic and set apart from the workspaces of the building, the room began to take on a more specialized role. No longer a multipurpose living space, the hall gained greater distinction as a formal entertaining space where important guests were received and expensive consumer objects displayed that served to identify the planter as a person of wealth and refinement.[16] Although the passage was often used as a living space in warm months because doors at either end of the room provided for ample ventilation, it primarily functioned as an intermediate space separating the exterior of the building from the principle living areas. With the passage shielding the hall from direct entry from the exterior, the planter was able to receive guests into his house while remaining selective with regard to whom he allowed to enter his best rooms. In the passage, visitors were subject to a silent appraisal of their social status. Those individuals the planter considered to be his social equals were able to progress through the passage and into the formal spaces of the house. The passage made visiting an elite house a kind of social exercise where the visitor was reminded of their position in the local social hierarchy by their ability or inability to access the higher status rooms beyond the passage. The passage, then, can be thought of as an "instrument of social control."[17] It was a tool that wealthy planters used to assert their social authority and emphasize the social distance between the elites and the middling and lower classes.

On either side of the Chesapeake, the presence of a passage in an eighteenth-century house is a reliable indicator that the original occupant was one of the wealthiest individuals in his particular locality. On the Western Shore, passages appear less frequently in middling houses because economic factors prevented the vast majority of middling planters from

[16] Wenger, "The Central Passage in Virginia," 138.
[17] Wenger, "The Central Passage in Virginia," 139.

building houses that were large enough to include them. As shown in Chapter II, it was common for a middling planter who owned 300 acres or more to inhabit a rather crude one-room dwelling on the Virginia mainland.[18] Passage-plan houses could be too expensive even for Western Shore planters who were a step above the middling class in the social hierarchy. Planters that Dell Upton describes as members of the "lesser county elite" typically lived in plain one-and-one-half-story timber-frame buildings with simple brick chimneys in the gable ends and a hall-chamber floor plan.[19] "At best," says Upton, "a small passage intervened between the [hall and chamber]."[20] While Upton notes that the people who occupied these houses "were not members of the stratospheric layer of great planters," he emphasizes that they were still "people at the pinnacle of the social order… [who] were sometimes better off than 95 to 98 percent of their neighbors."[21]

On the Eastern Shore, the absence of the passage in eighteenth-century middling houses was more a consequence of choice rather than economics. Whereas mainland middling and lesser elite planters may have wanted to build passage-plan houses but could not afford them, Eastern Shore middling planters could afford to build them but chose not to.[22] This is evident when looking at the quality of construction exhibited in houses built by

---

[18] See Table 2. According to historian Kevin Kelly, middling planters in the tobacco-producing counties of the Western Shore typically owned between 100 and 500 acres of land. See Kevin Kelly, "A Portrait," 2.
[19] Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 209-212.
[20] Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 212.
[21] Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 212-213. In terms of land wealth, Table 4 shows that in 1782 planters who were better off than ninety-five to ninety-eight percent of all householders in the mainland counties of Richmond, Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Lancaster possessed landholdings that ranged between approximately 600 and 1300 acres.
[22] Clifton Ellis describes a phenomenon that occurred in Halifax County, Virginia in the second half of the eighteenth century which represents an instance of a similar kind of choice being made with respect to floor-plan configuration, though in Halifax the choice was being made by the elites and for reasons of religious ideology. Ellis shows that the wealthiest planters in Halifax built hall-chamber houses when they certainly could have afforded to build houses with unheated stair passages. He attributes the use of the hall-chamber plan by Halifax elites—most of whom were Anglicans—to the powerful social and ideological influence of the small-planter Baptists in that part of Virginia. See Clifton Ellis, "Dissenting Faith and Domestic Landscape in Eighteenth-Century, Virginia," in *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture VII*, ed. Annmarie Adams and Sally McMurry (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1997).

members of Accomack County's middling class. Table 5 shows that all but two of the twenty-five middling-built houses in the study group have at least one brick gable end. Brick, as we have mentioned, was an expensive material, and the additional brick needed to build an entire gable end rather than a timber-frame end with a brick chimney would have caused a considerable increase in the total cost of building a house. Itemized lists of the expenses incurred in the construction of an eighteenth- or early-nineteenth-century building are relatively rare, but a surviving example from Accomack County gives us some sense of the costliness of brick construction. In 1839, Captain James Walker built a small one-and-one-half-story timber-frame addition to his house just south of the town of Accomac. The building no longer stands but a photograph taken by Ralph Whitelaw shows that the addition consisted of what appears to be two adjacent one-room portions, with the larger of the two heated by a single chimney located in one gable end (fig. 94). It is impossible to tell from the photograph if the gable end containing the chimney was a brick end, but it is likely that it was not considering that few brick ends appear in similar Accomack County buildings from the 1830s and 1840s. With or without a brick end, brick accounted for a substantial portion of the construction costs. Walker spent a total of $656.94 on the addition, of which $272, or 41.4 percent, went towards brick and brick-related expenses like transporting brick from the kiln to the building site and hiring a mason. The material cost of the brick alone was over two times greater than the combined cost of all of the other materials used in the building project, and it accounted for over one-third of the total cost of the addition.[23] Considering that Walker's addition was a frame building that contained, at best, one brick end, it is reasonable to expect that brick made up an even larger proportion of the total construction costs of a majority of the middling houses in the study group since fourteen of

[23] Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 897-898. The total cost of materials was $336.29, of which brick accounted for $225 (67 percent).

the twenty-four middling-built houses in Table 5 feature two complete brick gable ends or brick construction in all exterior walls.

With brick so expensive it seems highly unlikely that a planter who could afford to build a brick gable end could not also afford the extra timber needed to extend the length of his house six to ten feet to accommodate a passage. Nevertheless, passages appear in very few brick-ended houses built by Accomack County's middling planters. Table 5 shows that while owners of twenty-two of the study group's twenty-four middling houses could afford to build at least one brick gable end, only four of these twenty-two owners also built unheated stair passages on the ground floor of their dwellings. The near wholesale rejection of the passage by Accomack County's middling planters challenges our standard assumptions of middle-class ambitions. If Accomack's middling planters aspired to elite status, then we would expect that those among them who possessed the means to build passage-plan houses would do so, since the simple addition of a passage would go a long way toward setting their dwellings on par with those built by many of their elite neighbors. The unwillingness of Accomack's middling planters to adopt the passage shows that they were not concerned with making claims of social parity with the local elites. By continuing to use the hall-chamber plan—an architectural form that elites would have considered less prestigious and unfashionable, middling planters together made a conscious decision to differentiate their houses from elite dwellings. In so doing, they created a distinct middling house type that served to mark their emergence as a large and prosperous segment of Eastern Shore society.

The notion that Accomack County's middling planters purposely developed a middling-specific architectural type in order to distinguish their houses from those built by local elites is dependent on Accomack planters possessing a sort of class consciousness; they

had to have been cognizant of the existence of separate lower, middling, and elite segments in white society, and the divisions between these groups could not have been so ambiguous as to make a planter uncertain of his position within the class hierarchy. Thus far, we have used landownership data to establish that 500 acres was the dividing line between middling and elite landowners in Accomack County in the eighteenth century. Though the tidy distribution of hall-chamber and passage-plan houses on opposite sides of the 500-acre line in Table 5 suggests a division in society, it is somewhat of a stretch to assume that a divergence in the use of floor plans is sufficient evidence to prove that planters who owned less than 500 acres truly conceived of themselves as belonging to a separate social class than planters who owned more than 500 acres. The fact that many study-group houses on either side of the 500-acre line are exceedingly similar leads us to wonder if there was simply a sort of nebulous grey scale with regard to wealth and social status in Accomack County that ran from middling to upper elite. This would make 500 acres appear to be an arbitrary dividing line, selected because it conveniently fit the available data. Indeed, without additional evidence to support the existence of distinct middling and elite classes, the near universal use of the hall-chamber plan by the study group's smaller landowners could be dismissed as merely an interesting development rather than an attempt by members of the middling planter class to assert a common identity. But such evidence can be found in a closer examination of the original owners of the forty-seven study group houses. When these owners are compared according to personal property wealth, involvement in local political or ecclesiastical governance, and business activities outside of agricultural production, it is apparent that a landholding of 500 acres truly did mark the boundary between two clearly distinct classes of planters. This, in turn, lends greater credence to the claim that the hall-

chamber and passage-plan houses of eighteenth-century Accomack County represent two separate class-specific architectural types.

While the economic distance separating middling and elite planters was not nearly as great on the Eastern Shore as it was on the Virginia mainland in the eighteenth century, a look at personal property ownership among the original owners of the study group houses shows that there was still a considerable wealth gap between middling and elite planters in Accomack County. The original owners of the study group houses and the personal property held by those owners are listed in Tables 6a and 6b. For the sake of comparison, the study group has been divided into separate middling and elite subgroups according to the size of the original owners' landholding. Table 6a contains those houses whose original owners held fewer than 500 acres of land at the time their buildings were erected. Table 6b contains those houses whose owners held more than 500 acres. The personal property figures listed in both tables are taken from probate inventories recorded following the death of the original owners. Probate inventories are useful documents because they contain a complete record of a decedent's moveable property including appraised monetary values for each item.[24] Unfortunately, inventories were only recorded when certain issues arose with the settlement of an estate that required resolution. For example, if an individual died intestate—that is, without a will, it is likely that an inventory would have been made so that debts could be settled and property distributed to potential heirs. Also, if a will specified that an estate was to be divided equally between four heirs, then an inventory may have been required to ensure that each heir received an equal share of the estate. On the other hand, if a will stated that all property was to be transferred to a single heir, then an inventory was

[24] For further information on the value of probate records as a research tool see Gloria L. Main, "Probate Records as a Source for Early American History," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d Series, Vol. XXXII (January, 1975), 89-99.

usually unnecessary. This explains why probate inventories exist for only eleven of the twenty-five owners in Table 6a and twelve of the twenty-one owners in Table 6b.[25] Nevertheless, it is still possible to draw useful conclusions about personal property wealth from the available data.

Both tables list the total monetary value of each house owner's entire movable estate as well as the number of enslaved persons, horses, and cattle they possessed, and the percentage of their total estate represented by these goods. Enslaved persons, horses, and cattle were isolated for comparison because, taken together, these three categories of goods often accounted for over fifty percent of a planter's material wealth.[26] Also listed in Tables 6a and 6b are the total value of the luxury goods held by each house owner and the percentage of each house owner's total movable estate in luxury goods. According to historian Paul G. E. Clemens, luxury goods were a set of consumer objects that served as "unambiguous markers of status."[27] A mix of imported and locally manufactured goods, these objects were expensive and inaccessible to the vast majority of eighteenth-century Americans. Ownership of these goods served to identify an individual as wealthy, educated, and familiar with current elite fashions popular in Europe and the greater Atlantic world.

---

[25] Some of the holes in the data in Tables 6a and 6b could be filled with property information found in surviving wills. However, information from wills was not used because wills are a much less reliable source of information than probate inventories. For example, if a will directed that three enslaved persons were to be given to one heir while another heir was to receive 'the remainder' of the estate, one cannot be certain that the decedent owned only three enslaved persons.

[26] Enslaved laborers, horses, and cattle were key pieces of movable property that fed agricultural production on a Virginia plantation. Enslaved men and women provided labor, horses provided transportation, and cattle pulled plows, carried crops and their derivative products to market, and were a source of milk and meat for domestic consumption or sale. Enslaved persons, horses, and cattle made up three of the five categories of goods inventoried in the 1782 Virginia Personal Property Tax records—a clear indication of their high value. The other two categories of goods assessed for taxation were carriage wheels and licenses to operate an ordinary, or tavern. Whereas taxes on enslaved persons, horses, and cattle affected a large proportion of white society, a tax on carriage wheels was a tax on the wealthy since slightly less than ten percent of Accomack County heads of household owned a carriage in 1782. An even smaller number of householders possessed ordinary licenses, but, unlike carriages, ownership of such a license did not necessarily mean that an individual was wealthy. It did, however, mean that the license holder could supplement his or her income in ways most citizens legally could not.

[27] Paul G. E. Clemens, "The Consumer Culture of the Middle Atlantic, 1760-1820," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d Series, Vol. LXII, No. 4 (October, 2005), 597.

Only seven specific types of items were counted as luxury goods in this study: carriages and riding chairs, silver and gold objects, porcelain, clocks, watches, desks, and mahogany furniture of all types.[28]

A comparison of the data contained in Tables 6a and 6b shows that, with regard to material property, planters who held elite-level landholdings were significantly wealthier, on average, than their middling counterparts. Of the eleven middling landowners from Table 6a whose probate inventories appear in the court records, only three held movable property valued at over £800. By contrast, ten of the twelve elite landowners from Table 6b whose inventories appear in the records held movable property worth more than £800. The mean value of all personal property held by the twelve elite landowners is nearly two and one half times greater than the mean value of all personal property held by the eleven middling landowners (£1315 versus £532). Likewise, the tables show that, on average, the twelve elite landowners possessed about two-and-one-half times as many enslaved persons (15.9 versus 6.6), two-and-one-half times as many horses (7.3 versus 2.8), and over four times the number of cattle (48.9 versus 11.4) as the eleven middling landowners. Finally, the mean value of all luxury goods held by the twelve elite landowners is just shy of three times greater than the mean value of all luxury goods held by the eleven middling landowners (£55 versus £19).

[28] Exceedingly expensive and solely intended for public display, carriages and riding chairs were the ultimate luxury good on the Eastern Shore in the eighteenth century. Carriage owners were an exclusive group. In 1782 only 9.9 percent of Accomack County heads of household paid taxes on carriage wheels. Silver, gold, and porcelain were costly import goods, as were clocks and watches. Desks were often locally manufactured using local materials, but were usually among the most valuable individual pieces of furniture a planter owned due to the time and skill required of craftsmen to manufacture them. Desks were also valued for role they played as status objects, as they communicated to visitors that the planter possessed some level of education. Like desks, mahogany furniture could be built locally, but the wood itself was not native to Virginia and had to be imported from the tropics. This meant that a mahogany table was more expensive than a similar table made from local woods like walnut or cherry. See Clemens, "Consumer Culture," 593-615.

If landownership is the most reliable gauge of overall planter wealth, then we should expect movable property wealth to demonstrate a positive correlation with acres owned in most instances. Thus, considering that the mean landholding of the twelve elite planters from Table 6b is more than five times greater than that of the eleven middling planters from Table 6a (1045 acres to 200 acres), it is not at all surprising that the twelve elites were also considerably wealthier in terms of movable property. But while there is this substantial disparity in personal property wealth between middling and elite, there is no clearly identifiable class-based split with regard to the ownership of any of the categories of goods listed in the tables. The mean percentages of total movable estate in slaves, livestock (horses and cattle combined), and luxury goods for the eleven middling planters and twelve elite planters are roughly equal, indicating that a planter's ability to possess the most valuable movable goods available in eighteenth-century Accomack County society was dependent only on his or her means to purchase those goods and was not restricted by any notions of class identity. In other words, there is no evidence that middling planters avoided or were discouraged from purchasing certain categories of valuable goods because it was above their station to own them.

This is seen most acutely in the accumulation of luxury goods—objects that were not only expensive but also had specific uses in elaborate genteel social rituals like dining and tea drinking, the performance of which, as stated by Lorena S. Walsh, served to separate members of "polite" society from the "meaner sorts" of people.[29] Predictably, the twelve elite landowners from Table 6b—a group that contains some of eighteenth-century Accomack County's largest individual landholders and wealthiest citizens with regard to material possessions—were eager consumers of luxury goods. Each of these twelve planters

[29] Walsh, *Motives*, 238.

owned an average of ten luxury items.[30] The average number of luxury items held by the eleven middling landowners from Table 6a was half that number. However, the mean percentages of total movable estate in luxury goods for both groups are close to equal, suggesting that middling and elite planters had comparable appetites for costly luxury objects. This may be surprising considering that luxury goods were not productive goods. Unlike enslaved laborers or livestock, they did not have the capacity to increase a planter's agricultural productivity and, in turn, his or her income. While some luxury goods may have had utilitarian uses, they were essentially display items whose most important function was as signifiers of wealth and cultural refinement. In order to purchase luxury goods, a planter had to divert resources that could be spent on productive goods that could increase income. This was not a tremendous concern for a planter who owned several hundred acres and personal property worth several hundreds to thousands of pounds. But for a planter who possessed much more modest land and personal property holdings, we might expect that even a small investment in luxury items had the potential to make a noticeable dent in annual profits.

Consider the case of Peter Martin, one of the smaller middling landowners for whom probate information is listed in Table 6a (figs. 95, 96). When Martin died in 1761, he owned 150 acres of land and movable property worth just sixty-six pounds. He owned no enslaved persons, just one horse, and only seven head of cattle. Martin also owned a single luxury item—a desk worth one pound that accounted for 1.5 percent of the total value of his movable property.[31] We can assume that Martin considered the desk to be among his best

[30] Sets of luxury items like silverware and china that were assigned one monetary value for the whole set in the probate inventory were counted as one item.
[31] Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1761-1767: 62-63 (Probate Inventory of Peter Martin, 30 March 1762), County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

possessions, as it was one of the few individual pieces of property mentioned in his will.[32] But since Martin was illiterate, it is unlikely that he valued the desk for its utility as a writing surface.[33] Instead, its value resided in the messages it communicated to visitors regarding Martin's wealth and education level, even if those messages were not entirely true. One pound was a lot of money for a man of Martin's means to spend on a piece of furniture that he could not use for its intended purpose. With that amount, Martin could have purchased an additional cow or young horse and possibly still have had money left over to buy a few pigs or sheep.[34] Or, if it was labor that Martin lacked, records show that one pound could secure the hire of an enslaved woman or a young enslaved man for an entire year in mid-eighteenth-century Accomack County.[35]

Though Martin may have chosen conspicuous consumption at the expense of expanding his agricultural operation, it is unlikely that he incurred much financial risk by doing so. When comparing Martin to contemporary Accomack planters like George Douglas who lived in a two-story brick house and owned around nine hundred acres of land

---

[32] Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1757-1761: 409 (Will of Peter Martin, 10 May 1761), County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

[33] We know that Martin was illiterate because he signed his will with an '**X**.' When individuals were unable to write their names, they would often sign their wills with an '**X**,' below which the clerk would write, 'his mark.'

[34] At his death, Martin owned seven head of cattle valued at six pounds, five shillings, or eighteen shillings per head. This appears to have been a typical value for the time, as average cattle values taken from five probate inventories (those of Henry Grinalds, William Andrews, George Douglas, William Custis, and Robert Pitt III) recorded in the five years before and after Martin's death range between sixteen shillings and one pound, fourteen shillings per head. Pigs and sheep were worth anywhere from a few pence to ten shillings per head depending upon their size, age, and, in the case of sheep, the quality of the wool they produced. A fully grown horse was worth between two and ten pounds, but expense records contained in the Accomack County Orphans Accounts show that a colt could be purchased for less than one pound in 1761. See Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1757-1761: 257-259 (Probate Inventory of Henry Grinalds, 1 October 1760), County Clerk's Office, Accomac; Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1761-1767: 245-250 (Probate Inventory of William Andrews, 28 February 1764), County Clerk's Office, Accomac; Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1757-1761: 373-381 (Probate Inventory of George Douglas, 29 July 1761), County Clerk's Office, Accomac; Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1767-1772: 259-262 (Probate Inventory of William Custis, 17 December 1768), County Clerk's Office, Accomac; Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1757-1761: 92 -100 (Probate Inventory of Robert Pitt III, 27 February 1759), County Clerk's Office, Accomac; Gail M. Walczyk, comp., *Accomack County Orphans Accounts, 1741-1770* (Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 1999), 52.

[35] The Accomack County Orphans Accounts show that in 1761 one year's hire of an adult enslaved woman cost anywhere from slightly less than one pound to slightly more than six pounds. One year's hire of an enslaved child usually cost between ten shillings and one pound, ten shillings. A year's hire of an adult enslaved man could exceed ten pounds. See Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1741-1770*, 49-56.

and personal property worth £1,223, it is easy to forget that Martin still owned more land than over half of all heads of household in the county (figs. 95, 96, 97, 98).[36] Martin's sturdy two-room, brick-ended house is evidence that an Eastern Shore planter could own no enslaved laborers, little livestock, and an above average but unimpressive landholding, and yet enjoy a comfortable standard of living. If Martin could afford to build a house with a brick end, then purchasing a desk rather than a cow was not a decision that was likely to threaten his financial security. Indeed, Martin may have viewed any profits lost as a consequence of such a decision to be well worth the distinction that the ownership of a luxury item conferred on his person. For Martin and middling planters like him, the acquisition of a few luxury items was not a misguided attempt to claim a level of status they did not deserve, but rather a reasonable, appropriate, and perhaps even an expected action for planters who had achieved their level of economic success.

We have established that Accomack County's middling planters were able to afford the same types of valuable movable goods as their elite contemporaries, but in much smaller quantities. It is in this disparity in quantities of goods owned that we find compelling evidence for clear markers of division between the middling and elite planter classes that served to set them apart as distinctly separate groups. The amount of productive goods a planter owned had significant implications for the ways in which a planter ordered his daily life, and the one category of goods that had by far the greatest impact on planter lifestyle was enslaved laborers. The difference in ownership figures for enslaved laborers between the middling and elite planters in Tables 6a and 6b represents not only a disparity in relative wealth, but more importantly a gap in standard of living.

---

[36] Heads of household who held between one hundred and 199 acres owned more land than 53.8 percent of all householders in Accomack County in 1782 (See Table 3). It is reasonable to assume that the percentage of householders owning less than one hundred acres was even greater at the time of Peter Martin's death in 1761 due to a smaller number of total householders and fewer subdivisions of landholdings.

After land, a planter's greatest need was labor. The control of a labor force was vital to the expansion of a planter's agricultural enterprise. More labor allowed for an increase in acreage put into cultivation and the development of side industries such as shoe making, cloth making, and distilling that, in turn, lead to supplementary income streams. The foundational importance of labor to the Virginia plantation economy is reflected in the high monetary values placed on enslaved laborers. Of the four categories of moveable goods listed in Tables 6a and 6b, enslaved persons were by far the most valuable. On average, enslaved persons accounted for 33.5 percent of the total value of all movable property belonging to the eleven middling landowners in Table 6a, and 43.5 percent of the total value of all movable property held by the twelve elite landowners in Table 6b.[37] If an Accomack County planter owned an enslaved laborer, that enslaved person was almost always the single most valuable piece of movable property he owned. A healthy adult enslaved man could fetch a price as high as £70 in Accomack County in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, a figure greater than the value of the total movable property possessed by two of the middling planters in Table 6a (Charles White and Peter Martin), and just slightly less than that of a third (Henry Grinalds).[38]

As previously mentioned, Tables 6a and 6b show that the mean number of enslaved persons held by the elite planters in the study group was more than two times larger than the mean number of enslaved persons held by the study group's middling planters. Of the twelve elite planters for whom probate information is listed in Table 6b, only two owned ten or fewer enslaved persons and three owned twenty-one or more. By contrast, nine of the

---

[37] The middling figure is somewhat skewed by the fact that four of the eleven planters owned no enslaved persons at all. If these four are removed from the calculation, enslaved persons accounted for an average of 53.2 percent of the total value of the middling planters' movable estate.

[38] The probate inventory of John West of Cedar Grove lists three enslaved men valued at £70 each. See Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1772-1777: 277-279a (Probate Inventory of John West, 27 December 1774), County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

eleven middling planters for whom probate information is listed in Table 6a owned ten or fewer enslaved persons, none owned more than seventeen, and four owned no enslaved persons at all. To see how the slaveholdings of the study group planters would have fit into the larger picture of slave ownership in Accomack County, we can compare the slave ownership statistics in Tables 6a and 6b with statistics derived from the 1782 Virginia Personal Property Tax Records. Overall figures for personal property ownership in Accomack County in 1782 are listed in Table 7. Table 8 contains a more specific breakdown of slave ownership, dividing householders into categories by the number of enslaved persons owned. Table 7 shows that the mean number of enslaved persons owned per household in Accomack County in 1782 was 2.9, essentially amounting to one basic nuclear family—man, woman, and child. It is useful to think in terms of these small family units when looking at slave ownership, as existing probate inventories show that Accomack County slaveholdings were almost always composed of ratios of man to woman and adult to child that are clearly indicative of the presence of family groups. The concept of family units was taken into account when arranging the categories of slaveholders in Table 8. For example, ownership of between one and three enslaved persons often meant that a planter owned up to one small family, while four to ten enslaved persons corresponded with the ownership of one to three families, eleven to twenty enslaved persons with three to six families, and twenty-one to thirty enslaved persons with six to nine families. The mean number of enslaved persons owned by the eleven middling planters in Table 6a is 6.6 which would put these middling planters in the second category of slaveholders in Table 8 (those owning four to ten enslaved persons). Householders in this second category made up thirty-seven percent of all slaveholders and one-fifth of all householders in Accomack County in 1782. The mean slaveholding of the twelve elite planters in Table 6b is 15.9 persons which would place them

in the third category of slaveholders in Table 8 (those owning eleven to twenty slaves). Such planters made up only 11.6 percent of Accomack County's slaveholding population and just 6.3 percent of total householders in 1782.

A comparison of the individual slaveholdings of the middling planters from Table 6a with those belonging to the elite planters from Table 6b indicates that slave ownership had a considerable effect on planter lifestyle. Probate inventories hold valuable information concerning the composition of planters' slaveholdings. Accomack County probate inventories almost always list enslaved persons by name and individual value. Some inventories include descriptive words like 'man,' 'woman,' 'boy,' 'girl,' 'small child,' 'old man,' etc., which are useful for identifying general patterns in the valuations of enslaved persons that can be taken into account when looking at inventories that do not include such descriptors. From information contained in these inventories, it is possible to divide the individual enslaved persons held by each of the nineteen slaveholding planters whose probate information appears in Tables 6a and 6b into four basic categories by sex and value: high-value male, high-value female, low-value male, and low-value female.[39] This is

[39] Categorizing enslaved persons in such a way requires us to establish value ranges for each category. This is difficult because a relatively steady rate of inflation in the prices of enslaved laborers from the mid-eighteenth century through to the beginning of the Civil War caused the value of an adult enslaved male recorded in Accomack County probate inventories to triple between 1760 and 1815. Our nineteen inventories span a seventy-two-year period from 1752 to 1824. In order to be sure that enslaved persons listed in these inventories are placed in the correct categories for analysis, inflation must be accounted for in the organization of the data. This is done by separating the inventories into clusters by date of creation. From there, value ranges for each category of enslaved persons can be developed that are specific to each temporal cluster of inventories, enabling us to make sense of the wide variance in values of enslaved persons between the youngest and oldest inventories in the data set. The following table shows the value ranges for each of the four categories of enslaved persons during five separate time periods which correspond to clusters of inventories. All values are listed in Virginia pounds. In four inventories, slave values were recorded in dollars rather than pounds. For the sake of comparison, these values were converted to Virginia pounds using the standard exchange rate of the time: one dollar = six shillings.

Temporal Period (# of inventories made during this period):	Range of Values, High-Value Male (average maximum value):	Range of Values, High-Value Female (average maximum value):	Range of Values, Low-Value Male:	Range of Values, Low-Value Female:

presented in Tables 9a and 9b. The high-value male and high-value female categories are comprised of enslaved persons who were assigned the highest monetary values for members of their sex in the inventories. Such persons would have been older adolescents and adults who were physically fit and healthy and may have possessed some valuable or useful skills. Sick or disabled adults, children, and the elderly were appraised at much lower values in the inventories and have been placed in the low-value male and low-value female categories. Generally speaking, high-value enslaved persons made up just around half of an Accomack County planter's total slaveholding and planters tended to own male and female high-value enslaved persons in roughly equal numbers. In addition, children typically accounted for over fifty percent of any low-value enslaved persons a planter owned.[40] The eleven middling planters in Table 9a each possessed an average of 2.1 high-value enslaved persons (1 male and 1.1 females) and 3.8 low-value enslaved persons. This indicates that a typical

1752-1764 (four inventories)	≥£36.5.0 (£48.6.6)	≥£26.5.0 (£35)	<£36.5.0	<£26.5.0
1768-1779 (four inventories)	≥£47.10.0 (£63.6.6)	≥£37.10.0 (£50)	<£47.10.0	<£37.10.0
1784-1796 (five inventories)	≥£50.12.0 (£67.10.0)	≥£38.5.0 (£51)	<£50.12.0	<£38.5.0
1806-1814 (three inventories)	≥£56.5.0 (£75)	≥£43.15.0 (£58.6.6)	<£56.5.0	<£43.15.0
1817-1824 (three inventories)	≥£95.12.6 (£127.10.0)	≥£69.7.6 (£92.10.0)	<£95.12.6	<£69.7.6

The dividing point between high-value and low-value enslaved persons of either sex is set at seventy-five percent of the average maximum value listed in the inventories that make up each cluster. Studies have shown that healthy enslaved male and female laborers reached seventy-five percent of prime value in late adolescence (somewhere around fifteen or sixteen years of age). Enslaved persons realized their maximum values in their mid- to late twenties, and values tended to fall below seventy-five percent of prime at around forty-five years of age. See Manuel Moreno Fraginals, Herbert S. Klein, and Stanley L. Engerman, "The Level and Structure of Slave Prices on Cuban Plantations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: Some Comparative Perspectives" *American Historical Review* LXXXVIII (1983), 1213-1216. The above table shows that the average high-value enslaved female was worth about seventy-five percent of the value of the average high-value enslaved male. This was typical of values for enslaved persons in Virginia. See Fraginals et al., "Slave Prices on Cuban Plantations," 1210; Philip D. Morgan and Michael L. Nicholls, "Slaves in Piedmont Virginia, 1720-1790" *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d Series, Vol. XLVI, No. 2 (April, 1989), 230, 233. It is important to acknowledge that the value ranges for the four slave categories listed in the table are based off of scant data (only three to five inventories). No doubt the figures could be refined somewhat if slaveholdings listed in all inventories recorded in Accomack County during the five time periods were taken into account.

[40] Enslaved children were identified in the inventories of thirteen of the twenty-three planters listed in Tables 9a and 9b. 60.5 percent of the low-value slaves in those thirteen inventories were children.

slaveholding for an Accomack County middling planter was composed of one healthy adult couple, two or three children, and one or two elderly or disabled men or women—in essence, one small family unit. Elite planters, on the other hand, owned an average of 7.1 high-value enslaved persons (3.8 males and 3.3 females) and 8.8 low-value enslaved persons, for a typical slaveholding of three to four family units comprised of approximately four healthy adult men, three healthy adult women, five to six children, and three to four elderly or disabled men or women.

These slaveholding figures suggest that middling and elite planters occupied two very different roles when it came to the performance of labor on their plantations. Although Accomack County middling planters could afford to own bound labor, they did not own enough that they and their families were insulated from having to take part in a large share of the day-to-day plantation work. It is unlikely that just one enslaved man and one enslaved woman would have been able to handle all of the many and varied tasks that needed to be accomplished to maintain a typical diversified agricultural operation on the Eastern Shore. Fields needed to be plowed and harrowed and grain sown, cut, carted, threshed, winnowed, and cleaned. Hills needed to be made for tobacco and corn, and the crops weeded with hoes. Tobacco required an initial planting in seedbeds and a later transplanting to fields where the plants then had to be primed, topped, suckered, and wormed throughout the growing season before being cut and hung in the tobacco house to cure. Corn had to be planted, cut, husked, and shelled. There were vegetable gardens and orchards to maintain along with roads, fences, and buildings. There was new ground to clear, ditches to dig, stables to clean, manure to spread, and lumber, firewood, and hay to cut. Livestock herds had to be cared for, sheep sheared, hogs and cattle slaughtered in late fall, and meat salted and smoked. Wool and flax needed to be carded or broken and spun into yarn. There was

cooking, washing, cleaning, milking, butter making, candle making, cidering, distilling, knitting, sewing, and, in some households, weaving.[41] With so much work to do and only a couple adult enslaved laborers to do it, the typical middling planter and his family would have needed to participate in a great deal of the daily field and house work. Though some of the more tedious or unpleasant chores would have likely been left to enslaved workers, middling planters certainly were no strangers to the backside of an ox team, nor their wives to the wash basin or butter churn. This was doubly true for non-slaveholding planters like Charles White, Nathan White, Peter Martin, and Henry Grinalds who were dependent on themselves and their families to satisfy the great majority of their labor requirements. Such planters may have looked to the robust local slave-hiring market for supplemental labor, but given the annual profits these planters could expect to make from their land, it seems unlikely they could afford to hire more than one or two adult enslaved laborers per year, leaving the planters and their families to shoulder much of the labor burden.[42]

---

[41] For a discussion of labor routines in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake, see Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Economic Diversification and Labor Organization in the Chesapeake, 1650-1820," in *Work and Labor in Early America*, ed. Stephen Innes (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 144-188.

[42] Some general figures for annual plantation profits and slave-hiring rates can be derived from information found in the Accomack County Orphans Accounts. In the 1750s and early 1760s, Henry Grinalds and Peter Martin could expect to make annual profits of about 9d. per acre which amounted to total annual profits of around £8.5.0 from 220 acres for Grinalds and £5.12.6 from 150 acres for Martin [Note that these totals represent profits made from the crop productivity of the land only and do not include additional profits the planters likely made through livestock sales, home craft industries, and various other means]. Annual hiring rates for an adult enslaved laborer ranged between £7 and £12 for a man and £3 to £4 for a woman in Accomack County in the 1750s and 1760s. See Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1741-1770*, 18-19, 22, 25-26, 29, 40, 44, 49, 52-53, 55-57, 64, 79, 80, 100. By the 1780s annual plantation profits had increased significantly while slave-hiring rates had fallen slightly from mid-century levels, perhaps making the slave-hiring market a bit more accessible to small planters like Charles and Nathan White. Accomack planters made annual profits of around 30d. per acre in the 1780s and 1790s. Using this figure, Charles White and Nathan White would have earned total annual profits of about £12.10.0 and £17, respectively. One year's hire of an adult enslaved laborer cost between £7 and £10 for men and £2 to £3 for women in the 1780s and 1790s. See Gail M. Walczyk, comp., *Accomack County Orphans Accounts, 1787-1793* (Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 2000), 16-17, 27-29, 42, 87, 93, 106, 121, 124, 132, 134-137, 145. For an analysis of slave-hiring in Elizabeth City County, Virginia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Sarah S. Hughes, "Slaves for Hire: The Allocation of Black Labor in Elizabeth City County, Virginia, 1782 to 1810" *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d Series, Vol. XXXV, No. 2 (April, 1978). Hughes found that the yearly rate of hire for an adult enslaved man amounted to around twenty percent of appraised value. Adult enslaved women were rented out for around ten percent of appraised value. The Accomack County Orphans Accounts show that, in the middle decades of the eighteenth century,

Compared to their middling neighbors, elite planters and their families were responsible for a much smaller share of the daily plantation work. Accomack County elites likely still participated in some field and house work, but they owned enough bound labor that they were largely removed from the worst of the daily toil and drudgery, able to occupy more of a managerial or supervisory role. Importantly, this meant that elites and their families had fewer demands on their time, allowing opportunities for other pursuits. The benefits of increased non-working hours were realized early in life. Unlike middling planters' children who were often thrust into full-time plantation work at early ages to satisfy labor requirements critical to the profitable operation of the plantation, elite children's labor was nonessential and more of their time could instead be devoted to education, the cultivation of refined manners, and instruction in complicated social rituals like dining and tea drinking which, in the words of historian Lorena S. Walsh, "legitimized and enforced distinctions of rank and encouraged deference from social inferiors."[43] Fewer work responsibilities at home also served to expand elite planters' connections with the outside world while helping to assert their elevated status within it. Positions of authority in the local government and church were almost entirely filled by elite planters who, on account of their substantial slaveholdings, possessed the requisite education and free time. Land and livestock could be left in the care of enslaved laborers while the planter traveled to court, county militia musters, or markets to conduct business and serve in elected or appointed offices.[44]

Further evidence for a class-based divergence between Accomack County's middling and elite planters with respect to planter lifestyle and societal roles is found in a comparison

---

Accomack County slave-hiring rates generally corresponded with these ratios of annual rent to appraised value. However, by the end of the century one year's hire of an enslaved adult could be secured at around ten to fifteen percent of appraised value for men and about four to six percent of appraised value for women. See Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1741-1770*, 49, 52-53, 55-56; Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1787-1793*, 87, 121, 132, 134-136, 145.

[43] Walsh, *Motives*, 627.

[44] Walsh, *Motives*, 130.

of the extra-agricultural activities pursued by the original owners of the forty-six study group houses. Business interests and civil, political, ecclesiastical, and military appointments and offices held by the twenty-five middling planters who owned less than five hundred acres at the time their houses were constructed are listed in Table 10a, while those held by the twenty-one elite planters who owned five hundred acres and up are listed in Table 10b. These tables bring up three important issues with regard to class divisions between middling and elite planters in eighteenth-century Accomack County.

First, the tables show that elite planters held a virtual monopoly on Accomack County's governmental and ecclesiastical power structure. Middling planters were almost totally excluded from holding positions that bestowed upon the holder any meaningful measure of local authority. For thirteen of the twenty-five middling planters listed in Table 10a, existing records provide no evidence that they ever held any civil, political, ecclesiastical, or military offices, appointments, or positions. The other twelve middling planters did hold offices, but nearly every position these men occupied was a relatively minor, or lower-level, county appointment, and ten of the twelve never held more than a single position in their lifetimes. The offices, appointments, and positions held by these twelve middling planters include overseer of roads, constable, undersheriff, tobacco inspector, county surveyor, and low-ranking officer positions in the Accomack County Militia and the Continental Army.

Overseer of roads, a position held by four middling planters, was the absolute lowest public office in the county. This was an unpaid position held by several persons at any one time, each having been appointed by the justices of the county court and charged with directing road repairs and maintenance in their particular section of the county. The sole power attached to the office was the ability to petition the county court to order laborers to

be supplied from among the titheables of the parish so that road maintenance and repair work could be carried out.[45]

Only slightly higher on the ladder of county offices were constable and undersheriff, positions held by two middling planters from Table 10a, Elijah Nock and John Carter Bull. Constables and undersheriffs were both law enforcement positions and their duties were similar. Constables, like overseers of roads, were appointed annually by the county court, and several served at the same time, each responsible for a particular district of the county.[46] Constables were expected to aid in the maintenance of public order by reporting to the court incidents of law-breaking in their districts. Other duties included serving on patrols and search parties and administering public punishments.[47] Though constables were bestowed by the court with a degree of authority in their local communities, the amount of power they actually exercised was small. Historian Carl Lounsbury writes that "of all the positions in county government, that of constable was one of the lowest ranking and least prestigious ways of serving the public," and "men who filled the position generally were small landowners or tradesmen who had few connections to the ruling families."[48] Undersheriff was a slightly more prestigious position as it was a county-wide office and there were usually only two or three undersheriffs serving in Accomack County at any one time.[49] Undersheriffs worked directly for the sheriff, assisting during court proceedings, helping to collect taxes, serving warrants, making arrests, transporting and housing prisoners, and

---

[45] In Accomack County in the eighteenth century there were usually somewhere between ten and twenty overseers of roads serving at any one time. See Joann Riley McKey, ed., *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volume 19: 1753-1763* (Berwyn Heights Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2011), 39, 444; also, Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 30, 92; Nathaniel Mason Pawlett, *A Brief History of the Roads of Virginia, 1607-1840* (Charlottesville, Virginia: Virginia Highway & Transportation Research Council, 2003), 3-4.

[46] In the middle decades of the eighteenth century, Accomack County usually had approximately eight to thirteen constables serving at any one time. See McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 63-64, 510.

[47] Lounsbury, *Courthouses of Early Virginia*, 22-23.

[48] Lounsbury, *Courthouses of Early Virginia*, 22.

[49] At a meeting of Accomack County court on 28 September 1762, three new undersheriffs were sworn in along with a new sheriff. See McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 399.

administering punishments.[50] The offices of constable and undersheriff were paying positions; the officeholders were compensated annually for the amount of work they did in the course of fulfilling the duties of the office. But the income one could expect to receive from holding either of these offices was inconsiderable, especially in comparison to that enjoyed by the sheriff—an indication of the gulf in prestige and importance that existed between the sheriff, the chief law enforcement officer of the county, and his subordinate undersheriffs and constables. For example, in 1754 the average annual pay for Accomack County's thirteen constables was only 152 lbs. of tobacco—equal to approximately £0.15.0 (fifteen shillings). That same year, the sheriff's total remuneration amounted to 9,254 lbs. of tobacco, or approximately £46.5.0 (forty-six pounds, five shillings).[51]

Six of the twelve middling planters in Table 10b that held public positions or appointments in their lifetimes served as low ranking military officers—five in the Accomack County Militia and one in the Continental Army. The five militia officers held the ranks of captain (Garrett Topping and Parker Barnes), lieutenant (Abel Garrison and John Milby), and ensign (William Wessells). In the organizational structure of the Virginia county militia, captains commanded companies consisting of approximately fifty rank-and-file militiamen with lieutenants and ensigns as subordinate officers. Several companies together comprised a battalion, each commanded by a colonel with a lieutenant colonel and major subordinate. The commander-in-chief of the county militia was called the county lieutenant, and took the rank of colonel when in the field.[52] In general, the militia structure can be viewed as a

---

[50] Lounsbury, *Courthouses of Early Virginia*, 80, 134, 157, 222.
[51] McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, xiv, 63-64. Ten pounds of tobacco was worth about one shilling (£0.1.0) at the time.
[52] Virginia law required all free men (with some exceptions) to serve in the militia in their county of residence. See Alton Brooks Parker Barnes, *Pungoteague to Petersburg, Vol. I: Eastern Shore Militiamen before the Civil War, 1776-1858* (n. p.: Lee Howard, 1988), 2; "An act for regulating and disciplining the Militia" (5 May 1777), in *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619*, ed. William Waller Henning (Richmond, Virginia: J. & G. Cochran, 1821), 9:267-274; "Virginia's Soldiers in the

reflection of the white social hierarchy in Accomack County, with the landless and small landowners making up the majority of the ordinary militiamen, the middling planters holding the low ranking officer positions at the company-level, and the higher ranking officers at the battalion-level comprised of the county elites. Furthermore, since the lower ranking officers were appointed by the county lieutenant and colonels, the very process of officer selection can be viewed as a hierarchy-affirming exercise—an effort on the part of the elites to publically establish definitions of class among the white males of the county. Muster days—periodic assemblies of the militia for drills, training, and exercise—served as physical manifestations of the local class hierarchy that, according to historian Rhys Isaac, played an important role in "reinforcing social bonds" and "formalizing authority in society."[53] At muster, middling planters holding low ranking officer positions, like the five from Table 10a, would have found themselves participants in an clear-cut public presentation of their position in Accomack County society: at drill they would take orders from the elite landowners who commanded the battalions, and they in turn would give orders to the common soldiers under their command in the companies, some of whom were also middling planters and many more who were landless tenants or small landowners.

The most prestigious positions held by middling planters in Table 10a were those of tobacco inspector and county surveyor, held by Henry Grinalds and Parker Barnes, respectively. Tobacco inspectors were periodically appointed by the governor, following recommendations by the county court, to serve at one of three public tobacco warehouses in Accomack County.[54] Two inspectors were assigned to each warehouse where they

---

Revolution (Continued)," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 22, no. 1 (1914): 57-58; Walsh, *Motives*, 130.

[53] Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 107-108.

[54] The Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730 established three public tobacco warehouses in Accomack County. All three were located on the bayside—at Pitt's landing on the Pocomoke River, at Andrew's warehouse on Guildford Creek, and at Addison's landing on Pungoteague Creek. See "An Act for amending the Staple of

performed the important job of inspecting all tobacco that was produced in the county for export. According to Virginia's Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730 "every hogshead, cask, or case of tobacco" that arrived at the warehouse for shipment was to be opened and two samplings of the contents examined by the two inspectors, who were authorized to immediately destroy any tobacco they deemed not to be "good, sound, well-conditioned, and merchantable."[55] This was a considerable amount of power that tobacco inspectors exercised over the potential incomes of tobacco planters in the county. As a consequence, the selection of tobacco inspectors was given more careful consideration by the county court justices than the appointments of virtually any of the other low-level county officials due to the importance of choosing intelligent and trustworthy inspectors who could be counted on to fulfill their duties with fairness and sound judgement.[56] It should be mentioned that by law tobacco inspectors were entitled to an annual salary of sixty pounds, a large sum of money but also a rather reasonable sum considering that the duties of office made significant demands on the inspectors' time.

Table 10b shows that a substantial majority (fifteen of twenty-one) of the elite planters in the study group held, at some point in their lives, at least one of the highest and most powerful offices or positions in local or provincial civil and ecclesiastical governance. These fifteen elite planters are Edward Ker, Luke Luker, William Andrews, Thomas M. Bayly, Charles Bagwell, George Douglas, Richard Drummond III, Thomas Teackle, Edward Revell, William Bagge, Adam Muir, George Corbin, Robert Pitt III, George Hack, and James Henry. Eight of the fifteen served as justices of the peace for Accomack County (Edward

---

Tobacco; and for preventing Frauds in his Majesty's Customs" (1730), in *The Statutes at Large*, ed. Henning, 4:268. For further discussion of the Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730 and the role of tobacco inspectors, see Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 109-116.

[55] "An Act for amending the Staple of Tobacco," in *The Statutes at Large*, ed. Henning, 4:251.

[56] Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 27-30, 93.

Ker, William Andrews, Charles Bagwell, Richard Drummond III, Thomas Teackle, Edward Revell, William Bagge, and Robert Pitt III). Appointed by the governor, justices of the peace were the chief officers of the county court, in charge of administering all of the court's activities from deciding criminal and civil cases to managing the county's finances, directing improvements to public infrastructure, and appointing lower level county officers such as constables and overseers of roads. Several men were appointed to serve as justices at any one time, forming what was called a 'commission of the peace,' and typically five to six justices were present at each court session. The sheriff for the county was chosen from among the justices and served a term of one or two years. Unlike the justices who were unpaid, the sheriff received significant compensation and the office tended to rotate through the commission.[57] Four of the eight elite planters from Table 10b who served as court justices also served as sheriff at some point.

Describing the type of men that served as court justices, Carl Lounsbury writes that "from the late seventeenth century until the early nineteenth century, the larger planters and prominent merchants in each county dominated the office."[58] Indeed, by and large, the office of court justice was practically closed off to Virginia's middling planters by the 1720s, a development that Lounsbury attributes in part to "disparities in the ownership of land and slaves [which] created an unbridgeable gulf between great planters and small operators."[59] Thus, as the middling and elite planter classes coalesced into more cohesive groups in the early eighteenth century, the office of court justice became more exclusive as elite planters sought dominance over local institutions of power—a dominance readily achieved in the

---

[57] John Gilman Kolp, *Gentlemen and Freeholders: Electoral Politics in Colonial Virginia* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 86; Lounsbury, *Courthouses of Early Virginia*, 6, 18-19; Carl Lounsbury, "The Structure of Justice: The Courthouses of Colonial Virginia," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 3 (1989): 224; Walsh, *Motives*, 128-129.
[58] Lounsbury, *Courthouses of Early Virginia*, 18.
[59] Lounsbury, *Courthouses of Early Virginia*, 19.

case of the county courts due to the longstanding practice of co-optation whereby new justices were appointed by the governor to fill vacancies on the commission of the peace according to recommendations made by the sitting justices.[60] The authority wielded by the justices of the peace found visual emphasis in the architecture of the county courtroom. Justices presided over court proceedings from an elevated wooden semicircular bench along the courtroom's rear wall. The bench featured a high back of paneled wainscot and, at its center, a large built-in armchair for the chief justice, which itself had a high paneled back surmounted by a hood or pediment (fig. 99). A molded wood rail with turned balusters separated the justices in their seats of power from the public in the front of the courtroom who often sat on plain wooden benches.[61] The tenant farmer or small planter attending court perhaps to probate a will or settle a dispute between neighbors would have recognized the plastered walls, paneled surfaces, and classically-derived ornament of the courtroom as the familiar architectural language of power. These were the same forms and finishes he would have encountered in the houses of the elite planters and in the parish church—another realm where authority rested in the hands of the elites (figs. 7, 19, 20, 27, 100, 101, 102).

Ten of the fifteen elite planters who held high-level offices served as vestrymen and churchwardens for the ecclesiastical parishes of Accomack County (Luke Luker, William Andrews, Charles Bagwell, George Douglas, Thomas Teackle, William Bagge, George Corbin, Robert Pitt III, George Hack, and James Henry). Like the office of justice of the peace, these were positions that were not held by any of the middling planters from Table 10a. There were two ecclesiastical parishes in Accomack County in the eighteenth century—

---

[60] Issac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 133; Kolp, *Gentlemen and Freeholders*, 86, 111; Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 427.

[61] For further discussion of the arrangement and furnishing of courtrooms in eighteenth-century Virginia, see Lounsbury, *Courthouses of Early Virginia*, 128-167; Lounsbury, "The Structure of Justice," 220-226.

Accomack Parish in the north and St. George's Parish in the south, each governed by a vestry comprised of twelve laymen who were chosen from among the residents of the parish.[62] As the administrative body of the parish, the vestry had a number of duties, including hiring and paying ministers; managing construction and maintenance of church buildings; overseeing the operation of the parish glebe farm and the construction and maintenance of buildings thereon; providing relief to impoverished residents of the parish; enforcing church attendance and policing the moral behavior of parish residents; overseeing the practice of walking property lines, a symbolic act called 'processioning' which served to maintain and affirm the property rights of the parish's freeholders; and keeping a list of the tithable residents of the parish used to collect the annual parish tax, or levy.[63] The everyday business of the parish vestry was carried out by the churchwarden who was chosen from among the vestrymen and typically served a term of one to two years. The office of churchwarden usually rotated through the vestrymen, as the churchwarden's responsibilities required a significant investment of time and entitled the officeholder to compensation from parish funds.[64] Vestrymen served for life, and vestry membership was tightly controlled by the vestry itself owing to a 1662 Virginia law which granted parish vestries the right to choose new members should a seat become vacant.[65] The result was that seats on Virginia's parish vestries in the eighteenth century were filled exclusively by the largest planters and most prosperous merchants of each parish. In the same way that the architecture of the county courtroom was an expression of elite planters' authority, so too was that of the parish

---

[62] Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 65; Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 6. Accomack Parish was the only ecclesiastical parish in Accomack County until 1763 when it was divided in two and the southern half became St. George's Parish. See Kolp, *Gentlemen and Freeholders*, 85-86.
[63] Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 65; Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 7.
[64] Kolp, *Gentlemen and Freeholders*, 86; Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 6-7.
[65] Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 65; Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 6-7.

church.[66] Parish vestrymen and their elite peers occupied the largest pews closest to the altar and pulpit, while the paneled surfaces and classical forms and fittings ensured, according to Dell Upton, that the "church…was visibly similar to [the] houses of the ruling gentry" (figs. 103, 104, 105).[67]

King's attorney, the county's prosecuting officer for the crown, was a high-level office held by two of the elite planters from Table 10b, William Andrews and George Douglas. A third elite planter, George Corbin, served as a deputy king's attorney. The king's attorney was appointed by the governor on recommendation from the county court justices who selected a candidate from among the licensed attorneys in the county. Since the pursuit of a legal education required an investment of time and money that middling and lower class planters simply could not spare, the king's attorney was typically one of the wealthiest residents of the county. The king's attorney received a salary as well as additional compensation for time spent in prosecuting criminals. In the middle decades of the eighteenth century in Accomack County, the king's attorney could expect total annual compensation of around 2,700 pounds of tobacco, equal to approximately £13.10.0. (thirteen pounds, ten shillings).[68]

The most important and influential positions held by any of the forty-six planters in the entire study group were the elected offices in the Virginia and United States legislatures held by four elite planters from Table 10b (William Andrews, Thomas M. Bayly, George Douglas, and James Henry). William Andrews, George Douglas, and James Henry were elected to represent Accomack County in the Virginia House of Burgesses, which was the law-making body for the colony prior to the achievement of independence from Great

---

[66] Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 64-65.
[67] Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 158, 160, 178-180.
[68] McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, xiv, 63-64, 509-510.

Britain in 1776. Two burgesses represented each county at legislative sessions in Williamsburg, the colonial capital. Though by law any male freeholder in a particular county met the qualification for burgess, in practice the pool of potential candidates in most counties was limited to the members of the leading gentry families.[69] This was certainly the case in Accomack County. As we have seen, some of the same factors that had led to the rise of a large and prosperous middling planter class in Accomack County—a robust level of white population growth and the repeated division of large landholdings into smaller estates—also contributed to the development of a class of elite planters who were relatively on par with one another in terms of economic means. As a result, competition for seats in the House of Burgesses among the county's elite planters was particularly fierce, and middling planters who may have attempted to challenge for a seat stood no real chance of being elected.[70] James Henry represented Accomack County in both the House of Burgesses and, following independence, its successor body, the Virginia House of Delegates, while Thomas M. Bayly, who came of age after the Revolution, served three terms in the House of Delegates, one term in the Virginia Senate, and one term in the United States House of Representatives. Table 10b shows that all four of the elite planters who served in legislative office were lawyers. Legal training was not a requirement for legislators but candidates who possessed it likely had an advantage over planters who did not, as voters may have given legal education consideration when evaluating a candidate's suitableness for office. It is important to note that none of the twenty-five middling planters in Table 10a had received a legal education.

---

[69] Though landownership was the sole qualification, persons who had been appointed by the Crown to profit-making local offices such as tobacco inspector, sheriff, county clerk, county surveyor, and county coroner were not allowed to also serve in the House of Burgesses at the same time. See Kolp, *Gentlemen and Freeholders*, 15-17.
[70] Historian John Gilman Kolp calls Accomack County "the most competitive electoral constituency in eighteenth-century Virginia." See Kolp, *Gentlemen and Freeholders*, 83-84.

Adam Muir, one of the fifteen planters from Table 10b who held high-level positions in local or provincial governance, served as naval officer for the Accomack Naval District. Encompassing Accomack and Northampton counties, the Accomack district was one of six naval districts in the colony of Virginia established by the Commission of Customs to regulate shipping. Each district was headed by a naval officer in charge of granting entrances and clearances, registering cargoes, taking bonds, and collecting duties for all commercial vessels conducting business at ports within the district. During the course of the eighteenth century, naval officers were appointed by the colonial governor, by royal patent, or, after independence, by the General Assembly. Naval officers were not paid an annual salary but they were entitled to various fees collected for clearance, bonding, overland transfer of goods, and permits for trading and loading goods. They also received a percentage of duties paid on tobacco for export, skins and furs, and foreign liquors.[71] Due in part to the insignificant amount of tobacco shipped from Eastern Shore ports, the Accomack district naval officer was the least lucrative of the six naval offices in Virginia. Still, Adam Muir could have expected to receive somewhere around £20 in annual income from the office.[72] While naval officers may not have been particularly well compensated, the office was certainly viewed as a position of prestige. In all of Virginia's naval districts, the naval officer was virtually without exception a member of the local social and economic elite.[73] A factor that contributed to the selection of elites for naval officer was the fact that few but the elites of any locality possessed the level of education requisite for the office. Naval officers needed to be good record keepers; entries and clearances had to be carefully recorded and fees and duties calculated. In addition, elite planters, owing to their more secure economic

[71] Peter Victor Bergstrom, "Markets and Merchants: Economic Diversification in Colonial Virginia, 1700-1775" (PhD diss., University of New Hampshire, 1980), 24-28, 63-64, 68, 73-76, 88-89.
[72] Bergstrom, "Markets and Merchants," 80, 83-84.
[73] Bergstrom, "Markets and Merchants," 60.

situations, were less likely to take bribes from smugglers or be tempted by other types of fraud that were readily available to the unscrupulous.

Five of the fifteen planters from Table 10b who held high-level local positions served in the upper ranks of the Accomack County Militia. Four of these—Thomas M. Bayly, George Douglas, Thomas Teackle, and George Corbin—held the rank of colonel, each commanding a battalion comprised of several companies of militiamen. William Andrews served as a lieutenant colonel, the battalion commander's chief subordinate officer. As discussed previously, none of the middling planters from Table 10a ever attained a militia rank higher than captain, the commanding officer of a company.

The six elite planters from Table 10b who did not hold high-level positions in local governance in their lifetimes offer an interesting point of comparison to the fifteen who did. One of the six, Thomas Evans, never held a single position, appointment, or office, while the other five (Edmund Bayly, Caleb Upshur, William Custis, John West, and Perry Leatherbury) only ever held the low-level positions of overseer of roads or undersheriff. Notably, four of these six planters—William Custis, John West, Perry Leatherbury, and Thomas Evans—were also the only elite-level landowners in the study group that built hall-chamber-plan houses (figs. 106, 107, 108, 109). West, Leatherbury, and Evans were the smallest landowners in the elite group, owning 500, 550, and 600 acres respectively.[74] This, along with their use of the hall-chamber plan and their service in exclusively low-level positions in local governance could indicate that West, Leatherbury, and Evans would have identified as members of Accomack County's middling planter class despite the fact that each possessed an elite-sized landholding. William Custis is a more interesting case. Though

[74] Evans's 600-acre parcel was located in an area of the upper Accomack County bayside that is so low and swampy at present as to be practically uninhabitable. This land was undoubtedly drier in the eighteenth century but it is possible that a significant portion of Evans's acreage consisted of lands that were not arable and therefore suitable only for livestock pasture.

he owned just shy of 1000 acres, Custis was illiterate. His construction of a hall-chamber house can thus be read as a rather clear statement that he identified as a middling planter despite the fact that he was one of the largest landowners in the county.

The second issue that a comparison of Tables 10a and 10b brings to light regarding class divisions between the study group's middling and elite planters is a disparity in educational attainment. A very basic assessment of relative levels of education can be made by a comparison of planter literacy. Extant wills were used to make literacy determinations. A will recorded by the county court required the signature of the individual making the will. When the person was unable to write his name, the will was most often signed with an '**X**,' under or below which the clerk would write, 'his mark.' Planters who signed their wills in such a manner are assumed to have been illiterate. Planters whose literacy status is listed as 'Unknown' in Tables 10a and 10b died intestate—that is, without a valid will. The literacy status of one middling planter who died intestate, Henry Grinalds, is listed as 'Assumed' in Table 10a owing to the fact that he served for a time as tobacco inspector at the Guilford warehouse, an office which required the holder to be literate. Among the middling planters in Table 10a for whom literacy status can be determined, the ratio of literates to illiterates is thirteen to six, meaning that approximately one in three middling planters in the study group was illiterate.[75] By contrast, of the eighteen elite planters from Table 10b whose literacy status can be determined, seventeen were literate and only one, William Custis, was illiterate. The disparity in literacy rates between middling and elite planters indicates that middling planters in Accomack County in the eighteenth century were significantly less likely to have

[75] To the extent that conclusions can be drawn from these small sets of data it seems that the literacy rate among Accomack County's middling planters reflected the general rate of literacy throughout Virginia in the eighteenth century, as studies of ratios of 'signers' to 'mark makers' in public documents indicate that roughly two-thirds of the adult white male population were at least functionally literate. See Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 122.

received some degree of educational instruction than their elite contemporaries. In this sense Accomack County was no different from the rest of eighteenth-century Virginia where education levels usually served as clear markers of class affiliation. Eighteenth-century Virginia was a semiliterate society and educational opportunities were typically available only to those at the top of the social hierarchy.[76] Schools were few and schoolmasters were hard to find, even for those planters who could afford to hire a private tutor to instruct their children.[77] Overall the educational prospects for male children of the middling and lower classes weren't particularly good, and they were even worse for female children.[78] Male children of the common planters typically received only about one to two years of instruction—enough to learn to read and write and get a grasp of basic arithmetic—as that was all that time and money would allow.[79] The large numbers of enslaved laborers held by elite planters meant that less of their children's time was needed to keep the plantation running, while the profits generated by the plantation could provide access to private tutors and fee-paying schools where gentry sons were instructed in English, Latin, Greek, mathematics, and other subjects. Many sons of the elite planters went on to read law or pursue further studies at colleges, including the College of William and Mary and, in the case of some Accomack planters, the College of New Jersey.[80] While there is no evidence that any of the middling planters in the study group ever studied law or attended a college or university, seven of the study group's elite planters (Thomas M. Bayly, George Douglas, William Bagge, George Corbin, James Henry, and William Andrews) did one or the other, or

---

[76] Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 91, 121-123; Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 196.
[77] Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 196.
[78] Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 122; Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 277.
[79] Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 277.
[80] Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 277-278. Two of the elite planters in Table 10b, Thomas M. Bayly and George Corbin, attended the College of New Jersey (renamed Princeton University in 1896). See J. Jefferson Looney and Ruth L. Woodward, Princetonians, 1791-1794: A Biographical Dictionary (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 330-333 ; and James McLachlan, Princetonians, 1748-1768: A Biographical Dictionary (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015), 488-489.

both.[81] The disparity in educational attainment between middling and elite helps to explain the near total control elites exercised over positions and offices of local authority in Accomack County. While roughly two-thirds of Accomack's middling planters may have been able to read and write, it is likely that the great majority of these literate middling planters never received much more than a very rudimentary education which provided them with a sort of minimal, or functional, literacy that proved useful when navigating the world of commerce or interacting with the structures of local authority—the county court, the parish vestry, and the tobacco inspection system—but was insufficient to enable full access to and full participation in these power structures. Because educational attainment corresponded so closely with class in eighteenth-century Virginia, elite planters found they could exploit educational disparities as a means of setting themselves apart from the lower classes and justifying their assertions of authority. Historian Alan Kulikoff writes that "gentlemen…increased the social distance between themselves and yeoman by participating in a written culture closed to less wealthy men."[82] In a place like the Eastern Shore where middling planters were outwardly prosperous and the economic distance between middling and elite was not nearly so great as it was on the Virginia mainland, differences in relative education levels were probably all the more important in helping elites to maintain that social distance.

The third and final piece of evidence presented by Tables 10a and 10b regarding a class-based divergence between middling and elite planters in terms of planter lifestyle is

---

[81] Thomas M. Bayly, George Corbin, William Andrews, and William Bagge were all lawyers and Bayly and Corbin had also attended the College of New Jersey. George Douglas was a lawyer who came to Virginia in 1715, most likely from Scotland. It is possible that he had university training. See Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1344. James Henry was a lawyer and surveyor who had also emigrated from Scotland and had attended the University of Edinburgh. See John Frederick Dorman, comp., *Adventurers of Purse and Person, Virginia: 1607-1624/5* (Baltimore, Maryland: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 2004), 456-457; Kolp, *Gentlemen and Freeholders*, 109; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 883.

[82] Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 277.

found in a comparison of business interests and income-producing activities undertaken by the study group planters. Occupations and business interests of the study group planters who owned less than 500 acres at the time their houses were constructed are listed in Table 10a, while those of planters owning more than 500 acres are listed in Table 10b. 'Planter' is listed first under the occupations and business interests column for the owner of each of the forty-six buildings in the study group since agricultural production was a substantial source of income for all owners. All other occupations and business interests listed in the tables should be viewed as secondary activities that generated supplementary rather than primary income streams.

First, the tables show that elite planters were more likely than middling planters to have engaged in income-producing activities outside of agricultural production. No evidence exists to show that eleven of the twenty-five middling planters (44 percent) in Table 10a pursued any other income-producing activities apart from agriculture. The same is true for only six of the twenty-one elite planters (28.5 percent) from Table 10b. It is reasonable to expect that more elite planters than middling planters would have sought out supplementary income streams when one considers the greater amount of investment capital and available time that elite planters would have had at their disposal. It is in the stark difference between the types of extra-agricultural income-producing activities pursued by middling and elite planters that we find further evidence for the existence of a clear division between class groups according to planter lifestyle and the roles played by members of those class groups in Accomack society. Only one middling planter, surveyor Parker Barnes, pursued a secondary occupation that required any significant amount of education, while seven elite planters did—lawyers William Andrews, Thomas M. Bayly, George Douglas, Willam Bagge, and George Corbin; lawyer and surveyor James Henry; and surveyor Thomas

Teackle. Moreover, other than surveyor Parker Barnes, John Carter Bull who bought and sold enslaved laborers, and John Stringer and Garrett Topping who were involved in small-scale shipping enterprises, the other ten middling planters who pursued secondary occupations all were engaged in either some type of trade or outdoor work. These jobs included carpenter, brick mason, house joiner, wheelwright, cobbler, fisherman, and horse doctor—all types of work that required investments of personal time and, more importantly, physical hands-on labor. Table 10b shows that side occupations that involved hands-on labor were not pursued by any of the elite planters in the study group. Instead, Accomack's elites almost exclusively undertook secondary business ventures that generated passive income streams. Such ventures involved significant financial investments on the planter's part but made few demands on his time and did not compel him to engage in any physical work.

A common secondary business interest of Accomack elites was ownership of a mill. Eight of the elite planters in the study group owned at least half interest in a mill (Perry Leatherbury, Luke Luker, William Andrews, Thomas M. Bayly, Charles Bagwell, Richard Drummond III, Edward Revell, and George Corbin) and one of these planters, Charles Bagwell, owned two. Accomack County, with its many tidal creeks and inlets and small easily dammed streams, was replete with suitable mill sites. Building a mill, however, required a substantial financial outlay. A list of expenses recorded in the Accomack County Orphans Accounts shows that constructing and equipping a saw mill and dam cost in excess of £95 in 1785.[83] Another expenses list records the cost of a new grist mill in 1787 as greater than £43.[84] But the Orphans Accounts also show that mill ownership could be a reliable and lucrative source of income for those planters who could afford the initial investment.

[83] Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1787-1793*, 43.
[84] Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1787-1793*, 1.

Annual profits from mill operations of anywhere from £1.17.0 to £18.0.0 are listed in the records—figures that were likely influenced by the kind of mill that was being operated, the convenience of its location, and the needs of the community for that particular year.[85]

Another typical side business for elite planters was the merchant or shipping trade. Six elites from Table 10b (Edward Ker, Edmund Bayly, Richard Drummond III, Thomas Teackle, George Corbin, and William Bagge) were either sole or part owners of merchant vessels, and one (William Bagge) also owned a storehouse in the port town of Onancock. Like mill ownership, a substantial initial investment was required of a planter looking to get set up in the shipping business. Also required was a willingness to take risks with that investment, as the loss of ship and cargo was always a possibility.[86] Notably, none of the planters who owned merchant vessels are listed in surviving records as also having been the ship masters in charge of sailing those vessels. In Accomack County in the eighteenth century, the owners of merchant vessels were very rarely, if ever, the operators.[87] Most often the role of ship's owner, like mill owner, was that of a passive investor—they provided the capital necessary to build or purchase the vessel or mill but the actual day-to-day work of shipping merchandise or milling grain was left to enslaved or hired laborers.

---

[85] Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1741-1770*, 15, 17, 23-24, 33, 37, 42, 97, 105, 109, 134; Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1771-1780*, 28-29, 97; Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1787-1793*, 43, 96.

[86] Customs records show that Accomack County planters who owned merchant vessels in the eighteenth century often did so as a member of a partnership of two or more planters. This ownership structure may have been intended to mitigate the risk involved in the activity by spreading that risk around. See Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Virginia Shipping Returns, 1735-1756, South Potomac and Accomack Districts. No. 1445, Short Ref. CO5/1445; Accomack County, Miscellaneous Records, Port Entry Book, 1778-1788, Local Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia; Accomack County, Miscellaneous Records, Port of Accomack Entry Book, 1783-1793, Local Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia; Port of Accomack, Naval Officer's Book of Entries and Clearances, 1780-1787, Local Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia.

[87] See Virginia Shipping Returns, 1735-1756, South Potomac and Accomack Districts; Accomack County, Port Entry Book, 1778-1788; Accomack County, Port of Accomack Entry Book, 1783-1793; Port of Accomack, Naval Officer's Book of Entries and Clearances, 1780-1787.

As previously discussed, it is proposed that a disparity in the ownership of enslaved laborers between Accomack's middling and elite planters meant that members of these groups led fundamentally different lives when it came to the daily performance of work. The above comparison of extra-agricultural secondary occupations has provided further evidence for this lifestyle divergence as it shows that the nature of the work involved in the secondary occupations pursued by middling planters was quite different from that of those pursued by elite planters. For the vast majority of Accomack's middling planters, physical labor was an inescapable aspect of everyday existence. Simply put, middling planters worked with their hands, whether that work was part of their agricultural operation or in side occupations like framing houses or shoemaking. It was the ability of their elite contemporaries, through greater control of enslaved labor, to avoid engaging in physical work that set them apart from the rest of white society and served as an explicit marker of elite status.

The preceding comparison of the owners of the forty-six study group houses according to personal property wealth, slaveholding, offices and positions held in civil or ecclesiastical governance, educational attainment, and extra-agricultural income-producing activities has demonstrated that there existed in Accomack County in the eighteenth century distinct middling and elite planter classes, and that ownership of five hundred acres of land was the clear dividing line between middling and elite. The data shows that five hundred acres was the landholding threshold that allowed for a reordering of the structure of plantation work and production which brought about a transformation in the day-to-day working life of the planter. Five hundred acres provided sufficient income so that the planter could afford to purchase more than a couple of enslaved laborers. Increasing his enslaved labor force insulated the planter and his family from having to take part in the

physical work of the plantation, elevating the planter to more of a managerial role wherein he would direct the plantation labor rather than participate in it. With demands on their labor greatly reduced or eliminated altogether, the children of elite planters had time to receive an education which would serve to sharpen the distinctions of their class, differentiating them from the semi-illiterate populace while also preparing them for service in positions of local authority which, as we have seen, were heavily dominated or wholly controlled by the large planters.

But what is most interesting and unique about the eighteenth-century Eastern Shore, and Accomack County in particular, is not the mere existence of distinct middling and elite class groups. Rather, it is that the blend of local dynamics specific to the peninsula—the development of diversified agricultural practices, the fact that almost every acre above sea level was arable and productive, the relatively equitable distribution of farm lands among the free white population, the inability of the wealthiest planters to accumulate landholdings of more than a couple thousand acres, etc.—led to both the emergence of a highly prosperous middling planter class and a narrowing of the wealth gap between middling and elite to such an extent that middling planters were able to build houses that on the surface are often difficult to differentiate from those built by their elite contemporaries. And because these local conditions allowed for such a degree of middling economic success, their well-constructed and well-adorned houses amount to perhaps the largest surviving collection of eighteenth-century middling-produced domestic architecture in any rural county in Virginia.

Furthermore, the preceding analysis of the forty-six study group houses and their owners has brought to light an additional significant architectural development that occurred in Accomack County in the eighteenth century: the emergence of a specific middling housing type that was deliberately divergent from elite housing. Since the examination of

the owners of the forty-six study group houses has demonstrated that these buildings were produced by two distinct class groups, then any identifiable differences between these buildings that occurred along class lines can be reasonably attributed to the local development of divergent class-specific architectural expressions. While we have seen that the middling and elite houses in the study group share many similarities, there is one major characteristic of eighteenth-century Accomack County housing that is clearly divided along class lines, and that is the use of particular ground-floor plans. Though many of Accomack's middling planters were wealthy enough to afford to build houses that incorporated the fashionable unheated stair passages found in the houses of their elite neighbors, middling planters as a group chose not to use the center-passage and side-passage floor plans in favor of the older two-room hall-chamber plan. In so doing, Accomack's middling planters deliberately created a specific local middling house type which served as a proclamation of their emergence as a sizable and prosperous class of planters. The development of this middling housing type is especially noteworthy in the history of vernacular architecture in eighteenth-century Virginia as it is an instance where a lower-status segment of society, possessing the ability to somewhat blur the lines between class groups by adopting the architectural fashions of their economic and social superiors, made the conscious decision to use architecture to set themselves apart from the ruling class, emphasizing differences rather than commonalities, and asserting a separate middling class identity rather than making claims on higher status.

CONCLUSION

In or around 1770, Accomack County planter Charles White set about building a new house for himself and his family. White's new one-and-one-half-story timber-frame dwelling was set on a high brick foundation and featured a two-room hall-chamber plan on the ground floor, gable end walls made entirely of brick, eight glazed sash windows, and interior surfaces that were well-finished with plastered walls and ceilings, paneled wainscoting, and molded mantels (fig. 2). This was an impressive little building for its time. In a landscape dominated by small and insubstantial wood dwellings, many of them supported by earthfast posts, heated by wood-and-mud chimneys, and lacking glazed windows, White's new house stood out as a statement of solidity, permanence, and expenditure. It is even more impressive when we consider that the man who built it was an illiterate planter from the lower middling class who owned no enslaved laborers and only one hundred acres of land. As White's house well illustrates, in eighteenth-century Accomack County even planters of seemingly modest means enjoyed a level of prosperity that enabled access to expensive high-quality construction, both in terms of materials and finishes.

The construction of White's new house was likely undertaken and overseen by a few of White's peers—fellow middling planters who owned small plantations but also worked in the building trades as a means of supplementing their agricultural income. These middling brick masons and carpenters built according to a vernacular design process wherein conceptions of house form and composition were governed and restricted by local tradition.[1]

[1] For more on vernacular/traditional design processes see Catherine W. Bishir, "Good and Sufficient Language for Building," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture IV*, ed. Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 44-52; Thomas Hubka, "Just Folks Designing: Vernacular Designers and the Generation of Form," in *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Dell

Historian Catherine Bishir writes that vernacular designers "begin with an understood tradition and a set of rules that defines both a specific vocabulary of forms and techniques and an accepted syntax or structure for combining them."[2] Part of the Eastern Shore's specific architectural vocabulary was the brick gable end wall. We have seen that this expensive feature appeared in a wide range of buildings from the small one-room dwellings of lower middling planters to large two-story multi-room houses of the wealthiest elites, a clear indication that its use was primarily dependent on a planter's ability to afford it. Since the brick gable end was not explicitly tied to planter class or status, it can be considered an 'accessible' design option within the local vernacular tradition. Certain floor plan arrangements, on the other hand, were closely tied to class and their use was almost entirely dependent on planter identity. We find in the interplay between these two elements of Accomack County's eighteenth-century architectural vernacular—the accessible and the restricted—evidence for the existence of a distinct middling house type, the development of which represents a collective movement on the part of Accomack's middling planters to establish an architectural expression specific to their class group and intentionally divergent from elite architecture.

It is possible and perhaps even likely that the same middling carpenters and brick masons who built White's house were hired a few years later to build a house for Charles Bagwell on a site less than three miles west of White's dwelling (figs. 110, 111). Like White's house, Bagwell's building was also a timber-frame structure set on a high brick foundation with two gable end walls made entirely of brick. But Bagwell's house was significantly larger than White's; it stood a full two stories in height, was five bays long rather than three, and

---

Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 426-432; Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture," 323-324.

[2] Bishir, "Good and Sufficient Language," 45.

had a three-room center-passage floor plan rather than the two-room hall-chamber plan seen at White's building. The exterior and interior finishes were also more elaborate and of a higher quality. Bagwell's house featured a carved modillion exterior cornice and impressive wide entrance doors constructed in an eight-panel arrangement, while White's house had a simple boxed cornice and the typical six-panel doors. Ralph Whitelaw writes that the interior of Bagwell's house exhibited some "excellent woodwork," exemplified by its fully paneled end walls with built-in glass door cupboards.[3] The interior finishes at White's house are described as "plain" but Whitelaw does note that both ground-floor rooms contained paneled wainscot, mantels, and built-in cupboards with solid paneled doors.[4]

The overall differences in size and quality between these two buildings were reflective of the disparity in wealth and status between their owners. As previously mentioned, Charles White was one of the poorer middling planters with his modest 100-acre landholding and no enslaved laborers to work it. Charles Bagwell, on the other hand, was solidly within the exclusive ranks of Accomack County's wealthy elite planter class. Bagwell owned 850 acres of land, a landholding that placed him in the top four percent of all Accomack County landowners in 1782.[5] In addition to his landholdings, Bagwell owned two mills and as many as ten enslaved laborers.[6] Furthermore, as was typical for a planter of his wealth and social position, Bagwell served for a time as a justice of the peace and as a vestryman and churchwarden, the most powerful positions in local civil and ecclesiastical governance.[7] With such a considerable wealth gap separating White and Bagwell, one might expect that distinctions of wealth would be even more plainly discernible in their buildings.

---

[3] Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1106-1107.
[4] Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1095.
[5] See Tables 3 and 5.
[6] See Table 10b; Accomack County Personal Property Tax Records (1782), Microfilm, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.
[7] See Table 10b.

This is not to say that Bagwell's house was not obviously a 'better' building than White's; it was clearly both larger and more finely appointed. But based on how much poorer White was than Bagwell in terms of quantifiable metrics like land and enslaved laborers, it may be surprising that White's house appears to be at its essence simply a smaller and plainer version of Bagwell's building, and not something much cruder and less substantial. White's ability to erect such a soundly-built and well-finished house despite his ostensibly modest means was due to Accomack County's unique combination of demographic, economic, environmental, and agricultural circumstances which engendered a remarkable level of prosperity for members of the middling planter class. White's house is one of many examples of middling houses in Accomack County which challenge standard assumptions of the overall poor quality of Virginia's eighteenth-century middling housing.

Although White was able to build a house that shares a high degree of comparability with the dwelling of his elite planter neighbor, Charles Bagwell, this paper has shown that this does not mean we should think of these two buildings as being essentially the same, as only differentiated by size or by the greater or lesser elaboration of ornament. Nor should this comparability be considered evidence that middling planters were attempting to imitate elite architectural forms in their buildings. Rather, the similarities between the two buildings should be attributed to the constrained nature of the local vernacular building tradition, where builders' conceptions of the proper constituent parts of a house were limited to a rather narrow vocabulary of elements and forms. What is important to take away from a comparison of these buildings is not that they share an architectural vocabulary but that they differ in the ways in which elements of that vocabulary were combined. These differences may seem subtle but they are critical to our understanding of the centrality of planter class in Accomack County's eighteenth-century architectural development, as they show that local

architectural design traditions rigidly adhered to a vernacular syntax, or structure of composition, that was wholly governed by the class identity of the planter-owner.

Evidence to support the notion of the house as an embodiment of planter class identity in eighteenth-century Accomack County is found in an examination of how the brick end, a popular and expensive element of the local architectural vocabulary, was paired with differing floor plan arrangements in the houses of White and Bagwell. Perhaps the most conspicuous element of architectural vocabulary that these two houses share is their brick gable end walls. Brick ends appear in both buildings because the form had developed as an 'accessible' piece of the local architectural vocabulary; it was acceptable within the limits of Accomack's vernacular architecture tradition for builders to offer the brick end as an option to anyone who was building a timber-frame house, with cost being the only potential limitation to its use. The brick end was widely popular for its potency as a symbol of the owner's financial capacity and, as discussed in Chapters II and III, everyone from elite and middling planters to even landless tenant farmers considered it to be appropriate for inclusion in their houses. While local tradition put no class restrictions on white planters' use of the brick end, this paper has shown that the use of certain floor plan arrangements was strictly tied to planter class identity. Elite planters like Charles Bagwell almost exclusively built houses that incorporated an unheated stair passage on the ground floor. The plan of Bagwell's dwelling followed a typical arrangement wherein the principle entrances opened directly into a central passage which served as a sort of social barrier by restricting visitors' access to the higher-status rooms on either side. Accomack's elite planters were closely following mainland trends when they began building passage-plan houses in the early decades of the eighteenth century, a development that historian Mark

Wenger attributes to "a growing desire on the part of planters to distance themselves, in a ceremonial way, from persons outside their closely knit circle of family and social peers."[8] While Accomack elites' adoption of the passage showed they were conversant with mainland fashions in elite housing and the cultural meanings behind them, Accomack's middling planter class continued throughout the eighteenth century to build houses using the older and less fashionable two-room, hall-chamber floor plan. Lacking the social barrier provided by the passage, the hall-chamber plan was a more 'public' room arrangement since, as Charles White's house exemplified, the primary entrance opened directly into the best room of the house. The full significance of middling planters' stubborn commitment to the hall-chamber form is demonstrated by their use of the brick end in conjunction with it. Charles White's two brick gable end walls were by far the most expensive elements of his new house. In fact, brick construction was so much more expensive than building in wood that planters like White who could afford to build a hall-chamber house with a brick end almost certainly could have afforded to also add a passage to their buildings. We should not assume that White and the many other Accomack middling planters who built brick-ended hall-chamber houses failed to incorporate a passage because they were somehow ignorant of passage-plan forms, or that they were unable to understand the uses and meanings behind the forms because they were 'simple' or 'less sophisticated' people. It is quite hard to believe that White would not have been aware of the use of passage plans by his elite neighbors and, if by some slim chance he was not, it is highly unlikely that the middling artisans he hired to build his house would not have had experience in elite house construction. The depth of middling commitment to the hall-chamber plan in Accomack County is evidence that the

[8] Wenger, "The Central Passage in Virginia,"

identification of the hall-chamber plan as a middling form had become thoroughly integrated into the local design syntax used by Accomack's vernacular builders.

Dedication to the hall-chamber plan by Accomack County's prosperous middling planters is a highly significant development in the history of vernacular architecture in eighteenth-century Virginia, as it represents the intentional generation of a distinct middling house type deliberately divergent from elite architectural forms. This intentional divergence is an aspect of Accomack eighteenth-century middling architecture that scholars have heretofore failed to recognize. Too often are middling buildings interpreted simply as derivatives or imitations of elite buildings—an oversight which amounts to a denial of middling agency to create middling-specific forms of architectural expression. We see this in historian Richard Bushman's characterization of the adoption of the stair passage as part of an overall movement toward the cultivation and display of personal refinement that affected middling and elite alike. According to Bushman, the cultural pressure to build passage-plan houses was felt even "by people of modest fortunes and strictly local dignity who nonetheless constructed houses with the requisite formal parlors and open stairways adorned with balusters and newel."[9] Bushman terms the passage-plan houses built by these people of modest fortunes "middling mansions."[10] But Accomack County's middling houses show that the process of adoption and emulation of elite architectural forms by middling groups that Bushman describes was not occurring universally in the eighteenth century. In Accomack there existed planters of modest fortunes who built a different type of middling mansion—one that represents a deliberate effort to use architecture to emphasize and make

[9] Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1993), 116.
[10] Bushman, *Refinement*, 116.

tangible the emergence of a collective middling planter identity separate from that of the elites.

The many solidly-constructed and well-finished hall-chamber houses built by Accomack County's middling planters in the eighteenth century are perhaps the most significant cultural artifacts of Virginia's middling planter class. These houses show that Accomack's middling planters were cognizant of their identity as a separate and distinct group, and that middling identity could be so strongly felt as to warrant permanent physical expression. These buildings also show that the limitations of the vernacular building tradition did not prevent the emergence of multiple distinct typologies, and that differences in the composition of vernacular forms that seem inconsequential may be indicative of meaningful developments. Finally, Accomack's middling houses highlight the inadequacies of generalized interpretations of Tidewater Virginia's eighteenth-century architecture which have failed to acknowledge regional variations and types—like the Accomack middling house—that do not conform to accepted patterns or exist as exceptions to the rule. Such buildings question the very validity of a general approach to the interpretation of eighteenth-century Virginia architecture, as they indicate that Virginia's built landscape was characterized by a degree of variability and diversity that is beyond generalization.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Accomack County Land Tax Records (1782). Microfilm, The Library of Virginia, Richmond Virginia.

Accomack County Personal Property Tax Records (1782). Microfilm, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

Accomack County, Miscellaneous Records: Port of Accomack, Naval Officer's Book of Entries and Clearances, 1780-1787. Microfilm, Local Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

Accomack County, Miscellaneous Records: Port Entry Book, 1778-1788. Microfilm, Local Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

Accomack County, Miscellaneous Records: Port of Accomack Entry Book, 1783-1793. Microfilm, Local Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

Accomack Parish Vestry Records. Microfilm. Eastern Shore Public Library, Accomac, Virginia.

Ames, Susie M. *Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century*. Richmond, Virginia: The Dietz Press, 1940.

Barnes, Alton Brooks Parker. *Pungoteague to Petersburg, Vol. I: Eastern Shore Militiamen before the Civil War, 1776-1858*. N. p.: Lee Howard, 1988.

Barnes, Brooks Miles. "Old Plantation Neck: The Long Prelude, 1607-1884." Unpublished manuscript, 2007.

Barnes, Brooks Miles and Barry R. Truitt, eds. *Seashore Chronicles: Three Centuries of the Virginia Barrier Islands*. Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1997.

Bergstrom, Peter V. *Markets and Merchants: Economic Diversification in Colonial Virginia, 1700-1775*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985.

Bergstrom, Peter Victor. "Markets and Merchants: Economic Diversification in Colonial Virginia, 1700-1775." PhD diss., University of New Hampshire, 1980.

Bishir, Catherine W. "Good and Sufficient Language for Building." In *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture IV*, edited by Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman, 44-52. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1991.

Bishir, Catherine W. *North Carolina Architecture*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

Black, Laurie. "Rochester House." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1991.

Booker, J. Motley, M.D. and James F. Lewis. *Northumberland County, Virginia, Wills, 1793-1816 and Administrations, 1790-1816*. N. p.: Self-published, 1964.

Bradburn, Douglas M. and John C. Coombs. "Smoke and Mirrors: Reinterpreting the Society and Economy of the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake." *Atlantic Studies* 3, No. 2 (October, 2006): 131-157.

Breen, T. H. *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of the Revolution*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Breen, T. H. and Stephen Innes. *"Myne Owne Ground": Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Brown, David A. "Domestic Masonry Architecture in 17th-Century Virginia." *Northeast Historical Archaeology* Vol. 27 (1998): 85-120.

Bushman, Richard L. *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities*. New York: Random House, Inc., 1993.

Carr, Lois Green and Lorena S. Walsh. "Economic Diversification and Labor Organization in the Chesapeake, 1650-1820." In *Work and Labor in Early America*, edited by Stephen Innes. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Carson, Cary, Norman F. Barka, William M. Kelso, Garry Wheeler Stone, and Dell Upton. "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies." *Winterthur Portfolio* Vol. 16, No. 2/3 (Summer – Autumn, 1981): 135-196.

Chappell, Edward A. "Recording and the Open-Air Museum: A View from the Field." In *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture II*, edited by Camille Wells, 24-36. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1986.

Chappell, Edward A. and Julie Richter. "Wealth and Houses in Post-Revolutionary Virginia." In *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture VII*, edited by Annmarie Adams and Sally McMurry, 3-22. Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1997.

Clemens, Paul G. E. "The Consumer Culture of the Middle Atlantic, 1760-1820." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d Series, Vol. LXII, No. 4 (October, 2005): 577-624.

Cox, Virginia D. and Willie T. Weathers. *Old Houses of King and Queen County, Virginia*. Richmond, Virginia: Whittet & Shepperson, Inc., 1973.

Custis, John. "Letters of John Custis, 1687." *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 19 (1917): 367-370.

Deal, J. Douglas. *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia: Indians, Englishmen, and Africans on the Eastern Shore During the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993.

Dorman, Frederick, comp. *Adventurers of Purse and Person, Virginia: 1607-1624/5*. Baltimore, Maryland: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 2004.

Egan, Peter J. J. "The Last Year of Tree Growth for Selected Timbers Within Leatherberry, I and II as Derived by Key-Year Dendrochronology." Unpublished report, Dendrochronology Inc., 1998.

Eldridge, William Henry. *Henry Genealogy: The Descendants of Samuel Henry of Hadley and Amherst, Massachusetts, 1734-1790, and Lurana (Cady) Henry, His Wife. With an Appendix Containing Brief Accounts of Other Henry Families*. Boston, Massachusetts: T. R. Marvin & Son, 1915.

Ellis, Clifton. "Dissenting Faith and Domestic Landscape in Eighteenth-Century Virginia." In *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture VII*, edited by Annmarie Adams and Sally McMurry, 23-40. Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1997.

Forman, H. Chandlee. *The Virginia Eastern Shore and its British Origins: History, Gardens & Antiquities*. Easton, Maryland: Eastern Shore Publishers Associates, 1975.

Fraginals, Manuel Moreno, Herbert S. Klein, and Stanley L. Engerman. "The Level and Structure of Slave Prices on Cuban Plantations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: Some Comparative Perspectives." *American Historical Review* LXXXVIII (1983): 1201-1218.

Graham, Willie, Carter L. Hudgins, Carl R. Lounsbury, Fraser D. Neiman, and James P. Whittenburgh. "Adaptation and Innovation: Archeological and Architectural Perspectives on the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d Series, Vol. LXIV, No. 3 (July, 2007): 451-522.

Groves, Marlene A. and Howard Mackey, eds. *Northampton County, Virginia Record Book: Court Cases, Volume 8, 1657-1664*. Rockport, Maine: Picton Press, 2002.

Groves, Marlene A. and Howard Mackey, eds. *Northampton County, Virginia Record Book: Court Cases, Volume 9, 1664-1674*. Rockport, Maine: Picton Press, 2003.

Hardin, David S. "'The Same Sort of Seed in Different Earths': Tobacco Types and Their Regional Variation in Colonial Virginia." *Historical Geography* 34 (2006): 137-158.

Harvard, Ralph O. "Arbuckle Place." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1986.

Hayden, Horace Edwin. *Virginia Genealogies: A Genealogy of the Glassell Family of Scotland and Virginia: Also of the Families of Ball, Brown, Bryan, Conway, Daniel, Ewell, Holladay, Lewis, Littlepage, Moncure, Peyton, Robinson, Scott, Taylor, Wallace, and Others, of Virginia and Maryland*. Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania: E. B. Yordy, 1891.

Headley, Robert K., Jr. *Northern Neck Wills, Inventories & Other Records, 1800-1825: Probate, Estate, Guardianship & Chancery Records for the Virginia Counties of Westmoreland, Richmond, Northumberland & Lancaster*. Baltimore, Maryland: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 2014.

Heikkenen, Herman J. "The Last Year of Tree Growth for Selected Timbers Within the Mason House as Derived by Key-Year Dendrochronology." Unpublished report, Dendrochronology Inc., 1990.

Heitman, Francis Bernard. *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775, to December, 1783*. Baltimore, Maryland: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1982.

Henning, William Waller, ed. *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619*. Richmond, Virginia: J. & G. Cochran, 1821.

Herman, Bernard L and Gabrielle M. Lanier. *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes*. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Herman, Bernard L. and David G. Orr. "Pear Valley et al.: An Excursion in the Analysis of Southern Vernacular Architecture." *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 39 (1975): 307-327.

Hubka, Thomas. "Just Folks Designing: Vernacular Designers and the Generation of Form." In *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecure*, edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, 426-432. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1986.

Hughes, Sarah S. "Slaves for Hire: The Allocation of Black Labor in Elizabeth City County, Virginia, 1782 to 1810." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d Series, Vol. XXXV, No. 2 (April, 1978): 260-286.

Isaac, Rhys. *The Transformation of Virginia: 1740-1790*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982.

Kellam, Sadie Scott and V. Hope Kellam. *Old Houses in Princess Anne, Virginia*. Portsmouth, Virginia: Printcraft Press, Inc., 1931.

Kelly, Kevin P. "A Portrait of York County Middling Planters and Their Slaves, 1760-1775." *Colonial Williamsburg Interpreter* Vol. 24, No. 2 (2003): 2-5.

Kelly, Kevin P. "Was There an American Common Man? The Case in Colonial Virginia." In *Common People and Their Material World: Free Men and Women in the Chesapeake, 1700-*

1830, edited by David Harvey and Gregory Brown, 107-113. Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1995.

Kimber, Edward. *Itinerant Observations in America*. Edited by Kevin J. Hayes. Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1998.

Klingaman, David. "The Development of the Coastwise Trade of Virginia in the Late Colonial Period." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 77, No. 1 (January, 1969): 26-45.

Klingaman, David. "The Significance of Grain in the Development of the Tobacco Colonies." *The Journal of Economic History* 29, No. 2 (June, 1969): 268-278.

Kolp, John Gilman. *Gentlemen and Freeholders: Electoral Politics in Colonial Virginia*. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Kulikoff, Allan. *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Looney, J. Jefferson and Ruth L. Woodward. *Princetonians, 1791-1794: A Biographical Dictionary*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Lounsbury, Carl R. *The Courthouses of Early Virginia: An Architectural History*. Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2005.

Lounsbury, Carl. "The Structure of Justice: The Courthouses of Colonial Virginia." *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 3 (1989): 214-226.

Luccketti, Nicholas M., Edward A. Chappell, and Beverly A. Straube. *Archaeology at Arlington: Excavations at the Ancestral Custis Plantation, Northampton County, Virginia*. Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Company Foundation and The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 1999.

Main, Gloria L. "Probate Records as a Source for Early American History." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d Series, Vol. XXXII (January, 1975): 89-99.

Main, Jackson T. "The One Hundred." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d Series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July, 1954): 354-384.

Mears, James E. "Shoreline." *Eastern Shore News*, October 11, 1940.

Melchor, Marilyn Semuta. "The Accomack County, Virginia, Justices of the Peace in the Revolutionary Era, 1750-1784." Master's thesis, Old Dominion University, 1977.

McKey, Joann Riley, ed. *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volume 14: 1719-1724*. Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2001.

McKey, Joann Riley, ed. *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volume 15: 1724-1731*. Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2007.

McKey, Joann Riley, ed. *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volume 16: 1731-1736*. Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2009.

McKey, Joann Riley, ed. *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volume 17: 1737-1744*. Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2009.

McKey, Joann Riley, ed. *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volume 18: 1744-1753*. Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2010.

McKey, Joann Riley, ed. *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volume 19: 1753-1763*. Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2011.

McKey, Joann Riley, ed. *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volume 20: 1764-1765*. Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2012.

McKey, Joann Riley, ed. *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volumes 21, 22, & 23: 1765-1769*. Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2011.

McKey, Joann Riley, ed. *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volumes 24 & 25: 1769-1773*. Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2016.

McKey, Joann Riley, ed. *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volumes 26 & 27: 1773-1777*. Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2017.

McKey, Joann Riley, ed. "Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volume 28: 27 May 1777 to 1 March 1780." Unpublished manuscript, 2017.

McLachlan, James. *Princetonians, 1748-1768: A Biographical Dictionary*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015.

Morgan, Edmund S. *American Slavery—American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1975.

Morgan, Philip D. and Michael L. Nicholls. "Slaves in Piedmont Virginia, 1720-1790." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d Series, Vol. XLVI, No. 2 (April, 1989): 211-251.

Munford, Robert B., Jr., contrib. "Rev. John Lyon Tried by a Court Martial in Accomack County, August 8, 1781." *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 2, No. 4 (October, 1922): 285-288.

Nock, L. Floyd, III. *Drummondtown: "A One Horse Town."* Verona, Virginia: McClure Printing Company, Inc., 1976.

Norwood, Henry. "A Voyage to Virginia." In *Tracts and other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America from the Discovery of the*

Country to the Year 1776, compiled by Peter Force. Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 1999.

Nottingham, Stratton. *Revolutionary Soldiers and Sailors from Accomack County, Virginia*. Onancock, Virginia: Stratton Nottingham, 1927.

O'Brien, Sue Morten. *The Register of Americans of Prominent Descent, Volume 1*. Signal Mountain, Tennessee: Morten Publishing Co., Inc., 1982.

Pawlett, Nathaniel Mason. *A Brief History of the Roads of Virginia, 1607-1840*. Charlottesville, Virginia: Virginia Highway & Transportation Research Council, 2003.

Peninsula Enterprise, June 22, 1907.

Perry, James R. *The Formation of a Society of Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1615-1655*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

Powell, William S. *John Pory, 1572-1636: The Life and Letters of a Man of Many Parts*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977.

Price, Virginia B. "Pear Valley." National Historic Landmark Nomination Form. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2013.

Ranzetta, Kirk E. *I'm Goin' Down County: An Architectural Journey through St. Mary's County*. Crownsville, Maryland: Maryland Historical Trust, 2010.

Rivoire, Richard J. *Homeplaces: Traditional Domestic Architecture of Charles County, Maryland*. La Plata, Maryland: Southern Maryland Studies Center, Charles County Community College, 1990.

Ruffin, Edmund. "Sketch of a Hasty View of the Soil and Agriculture of Part of the County of Northampton." *Farmer's Register* 3 (1835).

Shepherd, James F. and Samuel H. Williamson. "The Coastal Trade of the British North American Colonies, 1768-1772." *The Journal of Economic History* 32, No. 4 (December, 1972): 783-810.

Smith, Delos H. "Poplar Grove, Mosquito Creek, Horntown, Accomack County, VA." Photograph, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, 1940. From Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA, 1-HORT.V, 2—1; http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/va0025.photos.159694p/resource/ accessed January 23, 2011).

Smith, Delos H. "Revell West House, Deep Creek, Chesconessex, Accomack County, VA." Photograph, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, 1940. From Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA, 1-___, 7--1;

http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/va0018.photos.159737p/resource/ accessed January 23, 2011).

Smith, John. *Travels and Works*. Edited by Edward Arber. Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910.

Stevens, E. H. *Soil Survey of Accomac and Northampton Counties, Virginia*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1920.

Stone, Gary Wheeler. "The Roof Leaked, But the Price Was Right: The Virginia House Reconsidered." *Maryland Historical Magazine* Vol. 99, No. 3 (Fall, 2004): 312-328.

Sutton, Robert P. *Revolution to Secession: Constitution Making in the Old Dominion*. Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1989.

Taylor, Edward. "Ledger." Microfilm, Eastern Shore Public Library.

Turman, Nora Miller. *The Eastern Shore of Virginia, 1603-1964*. Onancock, Virginia: The Eastern Shore News, Inc., 1964.

Upton, Dell. "Ball-Sellers House." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1975.

Upton, Dell. "Beechwood." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1979.

Upton, Dell. "Early Vernacular Architecture in Southeastern Virginia." PhD dissertation, Brown University, 1980.

Upton, Dell. "Glencairn." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1979.

Upton, Dell. *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1997.

Upton, Dell. "Linden Farm." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1977.

Upton, Dell. "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia." In *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, 315-335. Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1986.

Upton, Dell. "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia." *Places* Vol. 2, No. 2 (1984): 59-72.

Virginia. Accomack County. District Court Wills and Deeds, Vol. 1789-1799. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Surveyors Record, No. 1, 1784-1794. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Surveyors Record, No. 2, 1795-1799. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Surveyors Record, No. 3, 1800-1807. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1749-1752. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1752-1757. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1757-1761. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1761-1767. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1767-1772. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1772-1777. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1777-1780. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1780-1784. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1784-1787. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1788-1794. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1794-1796. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1798-1800. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1800-1804. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1804-1806. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1806-1809. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1812-1814. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1814-1816. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1816-1817. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1817-1818. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1818-1819. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1821-1823. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1824-1825. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1825-1826. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Accomack County. Wills, Vol. 1828-1846. Accomack County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Virginia. Northampton County. Wills and Inventories, No. 28, 1788-1792. Northampton County Clerk's Office, Eastville.

Virginia. Northumberland County. Records, Vol. 17, 1803-1808. Northumberland County Clerk's Office, Heathsville.

Virginia Gazette, March 28, 1771.

Virginia Gazette, January 6, 1774.

Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission. "The Hermitage." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1982.

Virginia Shipping Returns, 1735-1756 (South Potomac and Accomack Districts). Public Records Office, Colonial Office, No. 1445, Short Ref. CO5/1445. The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

"Virginia's Soldiers in the Revolution (Continued)." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 22, no. 1 (1914): 57-67.

Walczyk, Gail M., comp. *Accomack County Fiduciary Accounts, 1780-1787*. Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 2000.

Walczyk, Gail M., comp. *Accomack County Orphans Accounts, 1741-1770*. Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 1999.

Walczyk, Gail M., comp. *Accomack County Orphans Accounts, 1771-1780*. Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 1999.

Walczyk, Gail M., comp. *Accomack County Orphans Accounts, 1787-1793*. Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 2000.

Walczyk, Gail M., comp. *Accomack County Orphans Accounts, 1794-1797*. Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 2001.

Walczyk, Gail M., comp. *Accomack County Orphans Accounts, 1798-1800*. Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 2001.

Walczyk, Gail M., comp. *Accomack County Orphans Accounts, 1800-1802*. Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 2001.

Walczyk, Gail M., ed. *Eastern Shore District Court, 1789-1797*. Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 2002.

Walczyk, Gail M., ed. *Eastern Shore District Court, 1797-1805*. Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 2003.

Walczyk, Gail M., ed. *St. George's Parish, Accomack County, Vestry Book, 1763-1787*. Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 1998.

Walsh, Lorena S. *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit: Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607-1763*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Wells, Camille. "Hills Farm." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2008.

Wells, Camille. "Social and Economic Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Housing on the Northern Neck of Virginia." PhD dissertation, The College of William and Mary, 1994.

Wells, Camille. "The Planter's Prospect: Houses, Outbuildings, and Rural Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia." *Winterthur Portfolio* Vol. 28, No. 1 (Spring, 1993): 1-31.

Wenger, Mark R. "The Central Passage in Virginia: Evolution of an Eighteenth-Century Living Space." In *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture II*, edited by Camille Wells, 137-149. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1986.

White, Ashli. "The Character of a Landscape: Domestic Architecture and Community in Late Eighteenth-Century Berkeley Parish, Virginia." *Winterthur Portfolio* Vol. 34, No. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn, 1999): 109-138.

Whitelaw, Ralph T. *Virginia's Eastern Shore: A History of Northampton and Accomack Counties*. Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1968.

Williams, D. Alan. "The Small Farmer in Eighteenth-Century Virginia Politics." *Agricultural History* Vol. 43, No. 1 (January, 1969): 91-102.

Wise, Jennings Cropper. *Ye Kingdome of Accawmacke or the Eastern Shore of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*. Richmond, Virginia: The Bell Book and Stationery Company, 1911.

Wolf, Thomas A., ed. *Historic Sites in Virginia's Northern Neck and Essex County: A Guide*. Warsaw, Virginia: Preservation Virginia, Northern Neck Branch, 2011.

Table 1: One-room eighteenth-century houses on the Eastern Shore of Virginia arranged in chronological order by approximate construction date. [* denotes an extant structure]

Traditional name of dwelling:	**County:**	**Date of construction:**	**Material:**	**Exterior dimensions (ground-floor area):**	**Acres possessed by owner at time of construction†:**
Chestnut Vale	Accomack	c. 1725-1750	Frame with brick end	Unknown	Tenant‡
Pear Valley*	Northampton	c. 1740	Frame with brick end	16' x 20' (320 ft.^{2})	150
Glenn Farm	Accomack	Before 1744	Frame with brick end	Unknown	150
Broadwater Place	Accomack	Before 1745	Frame with brick end	Unknown	Tenant
Fisher House	Northampton	Before 1746	Frame with brick end	18' x 20' (360 ft.^{2})	250
Mears Place*	Accomack	Between 1741 & 1766	Frame with brick chimney	14' x 18' (252 ft.^{2})	100
Councill-Elsner House	Northampton	Between 1742 & 1781	Frame with brick chimney	Unknown	328
Margaret Groton Place	Accomack	Between 1749 & 1776	Frame with brick chimney	Unknown	250
C. D. Whitehead House	Northampton	c. 1750-1775	Frame with brick end	Unknown	240
Cottingham Place	Northampton	c. 1750-1775	Frame with brick chimney	Unknown	Tenant
Stringer House	Accomack	Between 1750 & 1779	Frame with brick end	Unknown	200
West House	Accomack	Between 1761 & 1785	Brick	21' x 23' (483 ft.^{2})	290
Thomas Abbott House	Accomack	Soon after 1778	Frame with brick end	Unknown	238
Copes Place	Accomack	Between 1786 & 1789	Frame with brick end	Unknown	182
Runnymede	Accomack	1797	Frame with brick end	Unknown	Tenant
				Mean ground-floor area: 353.8 ft.^{2}	**Mean acreage (excluding tenants):** 216.2

† Ralph Whitelaw's *Virginia's Eastern Shore* was used to determine owners and landholdings. For the Brick House at Machipongo see pp. 326, 334, 380-381, 403, 468, 475, 486. For Chestnut Vale see pp. 858-860. For Pear Valley see p. 329. For Glenn Farm see p. 763, 766-767. For Broadwater Place see pp. 1319-1320, 1325-1326.

For Fisher House see pp. 492-493. For Mears Place see p. 1194. For Councill-Elsner House see pp. 134, 153, 156-158, 160. For Margaret Groton Place see pp. 858-859. For C. D. Whitehead House see pp. 75-76. For Cottingham Place see pp. 136, 159. For Stringer House see pp. 594, 596-597. For West House see p. 1072-1074. For Thomas Abbott House see pp. 1176-1177. For Copes Place see pp. 774, 857-858, 876. For Runnymede see pp. 1051, 1060.

‡ Houses marked 'Tenant' were most likely built by landlords for tenant farmers due to the fact that at the probable time of construction the landowner either did not live on site or occupied a larger nearby dwelling.

Table 2: One-room eighteenth-century houses on the eastern Virginia mainland arranged in chronological order by approximate construction date.† [* denotes an extant structure]

Traditional name of dwelling:	**County:**	**Date of construction:**	**Materials:**	**Exterior dimensions (ground-floor area):**	**Acres possessed by owner at time of construction:**
Linden Farm*	Richmond	c. 1725	Frame with brick chimney	16' x 22' (352 ft.^{2})	380
Glencairn*	Essex	Before 1741	Frame with brick chimney	15' x 16' (240 ft.^{2})	551
Rochester House*	Westmoreland	c. 1745	Frame with brick chimney	17' x 20' (340 ft.^{2})	420
Oakland*	King and Queen	Before 1750	Frame with brick chimney	20' x 20' (400 ft.^{2})	Not found
Ball-Sellers House*	Arlington	c. 1750-1775	Log with wood-and-mud chimney	16' x 18' (288 ft.^{2})	166
Perkinsons	Chesterfield	c. 1750-1775	Frame with brick chimney	12' x 16' (192 ft.^{2})	201
John Edwards House	Isle of Wight	c. 1750-1775	Frame with brick chimney	16' x 20' (320 ft.^{2})	100
Woodville*	Essex	c. 1770-1790	Brick	19' x 19' (361 ft.^{2})	Not found
Beechwood*	Southampton	c. 1775-1800	Frame with brick chimney	20' x 20' (400 ft.^{2})	197+
Wilson Farm	Chesterfield	c. 1775-1800	Frame with brick chimney	14' x 16' (224 ft.^{2})	275
Isham Edwards House	Isle of Wight	c. 1775-1800	Frame with brick chimney	16' x 20' (320 ft.^{2})	237
Jones House	Isle of Wight	c. 1775-1800	Frame with brick chimney	18' x 20' (360 ft.^{2})	Not found
Carr House	Isle of Wight	c. 1775-1800	Frame with brick end	18' x 22' (396 ft.^{2})	Not found

Turner House	Isle of Wight	c. 1775-1800	Frame with brick chimney	16' x 20' (320 ft.^{2})	Not found
Powell House	Isle of Wight	c. 1775-1800	Frame with brick chimney	21' x 22' (462 ft.^{2})	Not found
Hill House	Southampton	c. 1775-1800	Frame with brick chimney	15' x 20' (300 ft.^{2})	Not found
Muleshoe	Chesterfield	c. 1775-1800	Frame (chimney missing)	12' x 16' (192 ft.^{2})	Not found
Willifords	Southampton	1790	Frame with brick chimney	19' x 24' (456 ft.^{2})	Not found
Miles Carr House	Southampton	1794	Frame with brick chimney	16' x 20' (320 ft.^{2})	Not found
				Mean ground-floor area: 328.6 ft.^{2}	**Mean acreage:** 280.8

† Information on these buildings is found in variety of sources. For Linden Farm see Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 189-192, 196; Dell Upton, "Linden Farm," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1978), Sections 7 and 8; Wells, "Social and Economic Aspects," 60-61, 143-144. For Glencairn see Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 291, 295, 454; Dell Upton, "Glencairn," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1979), Sections 7 and 8; Thomas A. Wolf, ed., *Historic Sites in Virginia's Northern Neck and Essex County: A Guide* (Warsaw, Virginia: Preservation Virginia, Northern Neck Branch, 2011), 212-213. For the Rochester House see Edward A. Chappell, "Recording and the Open-Air Museum: A View from the Field," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture II*, edited by Camille Wells (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1986): 30-31; Chappell and Richter, "Wealth and Houses," 5-6; Wells, "Social and Economic Aspects," 62-63, 276-282. For Oakland see Virginia D. Cox and Willie T. Weathers, *Old Houses of King and Queen County, Virginia* (Richmond, Virginia: Whittet & Shepperson, Inc., 1973), 171-2. For the Ball-Sellers House see Dell Upton, "Ball-Sellers House," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1975), Sections 7 and 8; Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 347-349; Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 111-112. For Perkinsons see Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 517, 519-520; Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 112. For the John Edwards House see Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 113-114. For Woodville see Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 226, 563-564; Wolf, *Historic Sites*, 222. For Beechwood see Dell Upton, "Beechwood," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1979), Sections 7 and 8; Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 381, 405. For Wilson Farm see Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 555, 557-558; Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 112. For the Isham Edwards House see Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 113-114. For the Jones House see Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 383, 469. For the Carr House see Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 420-421. For the Turner House see Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 548, 550. For the Powell House see Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 523-524. For the Hill House see Chappell, "Recording," 27-28; Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 463-464. For Muleshoe see Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 502, 504. For Willifords see Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 555-556. For the Miles Carr House see Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 290, 388, 385, 420.

Table 3: Landownership among Accomack County heads of household in 1782.

Acres owned:	Number of householders:	Percent of landowners:	Percent of total:	Cumulative percent of total:
0	468	-	30.7	30.7
1-49	124	11.7	8.1	38.8
50-99	230	21.6	15.0	53.8
100-199	369	34.7	24.1	77.9
200-299	151	14.2	9.9	87.8
300-399	55	5.2	3.6	91.4
400-499	50	4.7	3.3	94.7
500-599	16	1.5	1.1	95.8
600-699	13	1.2	0.8	96.6
700-799	13	1.2	0.8	97.4
800-899	12	1.1	0.7	98.1
900-999	6	0.6	0.4	98.5
1,000-1,499	12	1.1	0.7	99.2
1,500-1,999	5	0.5	0.3	99.5
2,000+	7	0.7	0.5	100
Totals	1,531	100.0	100.0	100.0

The information in this table is derived from the 1782 Land Tax Records in the Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

Table 4: Landownership among Northern Neck heads of household in 1782 (Richmond, Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Lancaster Counties).

Acres owned:	Number of householders:	Percent of landowners:	Percent of total:	Cumulative percent of total:
0	1,141	-	42.3	42.3
1-49	128	8.2	4.7	47.0
50-99	331	21.2	12.3	59.3
100-199	521	33.5	19.3	78.6
200-299	239	15.4	8.9	87.4
300-399	97	6.2	3.6	91.0
400-499	50	3.2	1.9	92.9
500-599	45	2.9	1.7	94.6
600-699	30	1.9	1.1	95.7
700-799	18	1.2	0.7	96.3
800-899	10	0.6	0.4	96.7
900-999	12	0.7	0.4	97.1
1,000-1,499	39	2.5	1.5	98.6
1,500-1,999	18	1.2	0.7	99.3
2,000+	20	1.3	0.7	100
Totals	2,699	100.0	100.0	100.0

This information in this table is from Wells, *Social and Economic Aspects*, Table 1.

Table 5: Forty-six eighteenth-century houses in Accomack County arranged in ascending order by the size of the landholding possessed by their owners at the time of construction. [* denotes an extant structure]

Name and photograph of dwelling†:	**Date of construction:**	**Plan (total number of rooms on the ground floor):**	**Elevation:**	**Material:**	**Brickwork:**	**Exterior dimensions (ground-floor area):**	**Acres possessed by owner at time of construction‡:**
Taylor Farm* 	Soon after 1793 (when Jacob Taylor came into possession of the land)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with two brick chimneys	Two exterior chimneys laid in random bond	Could not access	60
Stran Place* 	Between 1747 & 1760 (during Solomon Glading's ownership)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with two brick ends	Flemish bond with regular pattern of glazed headers; west gable has glazed-header chevrons	19' x 37' (703 ft.^{2})	100

White Place 	1771 (dated brick)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with two brick ends	Unknown	Unknown	100
Shabby Hall* 	Soon after 1789 (when Abel Garrison came into possession of the land)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with two brick ends	Flemish bond; glazed patterning unknown	18' x 33' (594 ft.^{2})	100

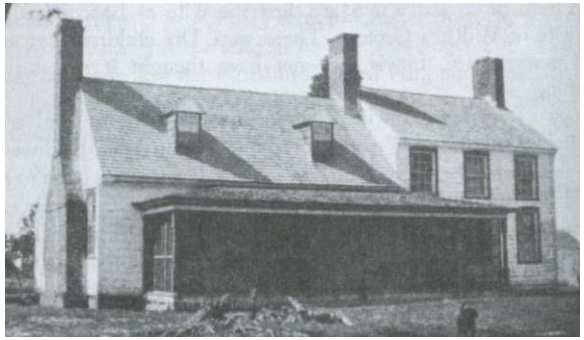
Chandler-Drummond Place* 	Between c.1755 & 1794 (during Nathan White's ownership; architectural features indicate a construction date of c.1775)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with one brick chimney	Large exterior chimney is now covered with stucco	18' x 20' (360 ft.^{2})	136
Sturgis Place 	Between 1754 & 1785 (during Solomon Richardson's ownership; architectural features indicate a construction date of c.1775)	Hall-chamber, double-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with one brick end	Flemish bond with random glazed headers	19' x 20' (380 ft.^{2})	137

Martin Place* 	Between 1730 & 1761 (during Peter Martin's ownership; likely constructed toward the end of the date range)	Hall-chamber, double-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with one brick end	Flemish bond; brickwork now covered with stucco	21' x 26' (546 ft.^{2})	150
Long Place* 	Soon after 1779 (when George Hope came into possession of the land)	Hall-chamber, double-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with one brick end	Flemish bond with random glazed headers	20' x 26' (520 ft.^{2})	150

Bull Place* 	Soon after 1791 (when John Carter Bull came into possession of the land)	Hall-chamber, double-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with one brick end	Flemish bond	Could not access	~150
Dahl Swamp House 	Soon after 1792 (when Garrett Topping came into possession of the land)	Hall-chamber, double-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with one brick end	Flemish bond	16' x 28' (448 ft.^{2})	150

Brick House* 	Between 1764 & 1777 (during William Black Bunting's ownership)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Brick	Flemish bond	20' x 33' (660 ft.^{2})	151
Milby Place 	1799 (dated brick)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with two brick ends	Flemish bond; glazed patterning unknown	Unknown	158 ½

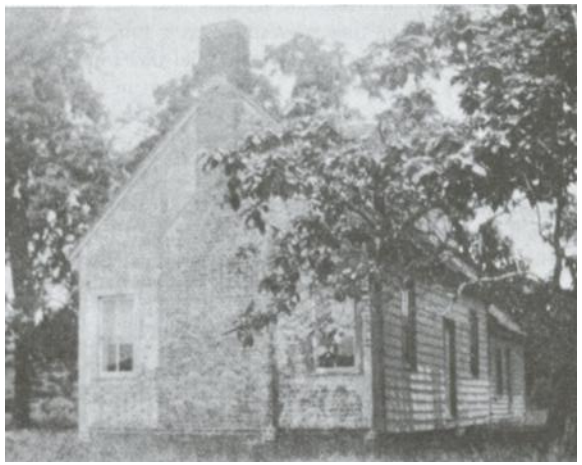
Edmonds Place 	Soon after 1797 (when William Edmonds came into possession of the land)	Center passage, single-pile (3)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with two brick ends	Flemish bond with random glazed headers	Unknown	180
Last Shift 	Between 1740 & 1768 (during Peter Willis's ownership; architectural features indicate a construction date toward the beginning of the date range)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Brick	Flemish bond; glazed patterning unknown	Unknown	200

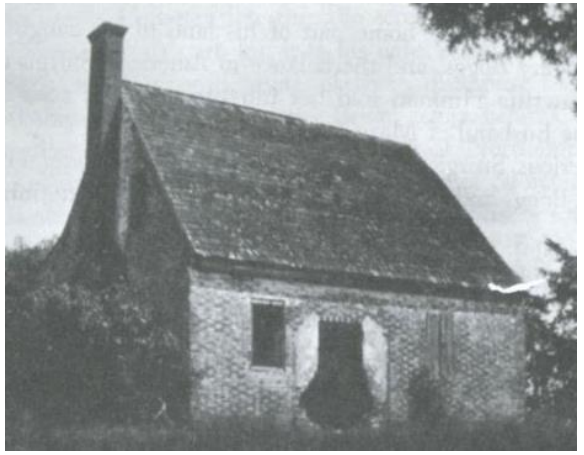
Shrieves Place* 	Between 1742 & 1758 (during Henry Grinalds's ownership)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with two brick chimneys	Unknown	Unknown	220
Wessells House 	1768 (dated brick)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Brick	Flemish bond; glazed patterning unknown	Unknown	225

Bailey Place 	Soon after 1782 (when John Bailey came into possession of the land)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with two brick ends	Flemish bond; glazed patterning unknown	Unknown	242
Mister Place* 	Between 1777 & c.1800 (during John Waltham's ownership)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with two brick ends	Flemish bond with random glazed headers	19' x 32' (608 ft.^{2})	245

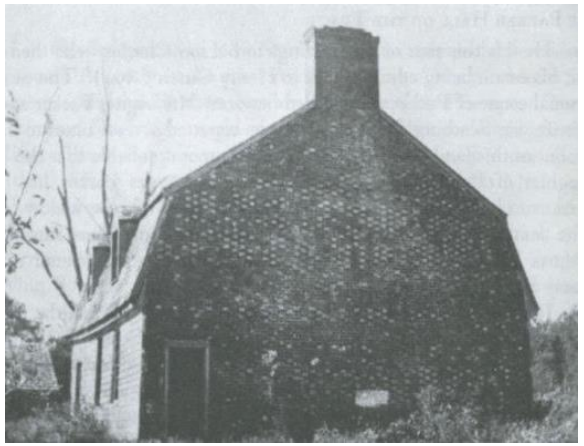
Parker Place* 	Between c.1775 & 1797 (during Levin Bunting's ownership)	Center passage, single-pile (3)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with two brick ends	Five-course American bond	20' x 35' (700 ft.^{2})	246
Starve Gut 	Between 1738 & 1790 (during Elijah Nock's ownership; architectural features indicate a construction date of c.1750)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with one brick end	Flemish bond with regular pattern of glazed headers; glazed-header chevrons in gable	19' x 30' (570 ft.^{2})	250

Coard Place* 	1780 (dated brick)	Side passage, single-pile (2)	Two stories	Frame with one brick end	Flemish bond with regular pattern of glazed headers	20’ x 30’ (600 ft.^{2})	250
Walker Place 	Soon after 1785 (when John Stringer came into possession of the land)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with one brick end	Flemish bond with regular pattern of glazed headers	18’ x 30’ (540 ft.^{2})	~250

Humphrey Place 	Between 1786 & 1800 (during Isaac Warner's ownership)	Center passage single-pile (3)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with two brick ends	Unknown	Unknown	307 ½
Barnes Place 	Soon after 1793 (when Parker Barnes came into possession of the land)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with two brick ends	Flemish bond; glazed patterning unknown	Unknown	350

West House 	Between c.1750 & 1795 (during Anthony West's ownership; architectural features indicate a construction date toward the beginning of the date range)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories (gambrel roof)	Frame with two brick ends	Flemish bond with regular pattern of glazed headers	20' x 33' (660 ft.^{2})	~400
Cedar Grove 	Between 1717 & 1773 (during John West's ownership; architectural features suggest a construction date of c.1740)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Brick	Flemish bond with regular pattern of glazed headers	Unknown	500+

Leatherbury Farm* 	1769 (date determined via dendro-chronological analysis)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with two brick ends	Unknown, brick ends removed	20' x 35' (700 ft.^{2})	~550
Northam Place* 	Between c.1740 & 1762 (during Thomas Evans's ownership)	Hall-chamber, double-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with one brick end	Flemish bond with a somewhat regular pattern of glazed headers	20' x 20' (400 ft.^{2})	600

Shepherd's Plain* 	Soon after 1771 (prior building burned 18 January 1771)	Center passage, double-pile (5)	Two stories	Frame with two brick ends	Flemish bond with raised quoins at corners and around windows	39' x 54' (2,106 ft.^{2})	~600
Chandler Place 	1772 (dated brick)	Side passage, double-pile (3)	One-and-one-half stories (gambrel roof)	Frame with one brick end	Flemish bond with a somewhat regular pattern of glazed headers	Unknown	602

The Hermitage* 	Soon after 1769 (when Edmund Bayly came into possession of the land); addition made in 1787 (an increase in the annual tax rate applied in 1787 indicates that the one-room addition at the southwest corner was made in that year)	Side passage, single-pile original portion with double-pile addition (4)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with two brick ends	Flemish bond with regular pattern of glazed headers and glazed-header chevrons in the gables	25' x 47' (1,175 ft.^{2})	~700
Mason House* 	1729 (date determined via dendro-chronological analysis)	Center passage, single-pile (3)	One-and-one-half stories	Brick	Flemish bond with inset panels and glazed-header diapering	22' x 43' (946 ft.^{2})	800

Rose Cottage* 	Between 1754 & 1778 (during Caleb Upshur's ownership)	Center passage, single-pile (3)	One-and-one-half stories	Brick	Flemish bond with regular pattern of glazed headers	Could not access	800
Marino 	Soon after 1796 (when Thomas M. Bayly came into possession of the land)	Center passage, single-pile (3)	One-and-one-half stories	Brick	Flemish bond	24' x 38' (912 ft.^{2})	829

Clayton House 	Soon after 1778 (when Charles Bagwell came into possession of the land)	Center passage, single-pile (3)	Two stories	Frame with two brick ends	Flemish bond; glazed patterning unknown	Unknown	~850
Poplar Grove 	Between 1728 & 1758 (during George Douglas's ownership)	Center passage, single-pile (3)	Two stories	Brick	Flemish bond with regular pattern of glazed headers	22' x 42' (924 ft.^{2})	~900

Hills Farm* 	1747 (date determined via dendro-chronological analysis)	Center passage with two rooms on one side and one room on the other (4)	One-and-one-half stories	Brick	Flemish bond with regular pattern of glazed headers	30' x 52' (1,560 ft.^{2})	910
Craddock* 	Soon after 1778 (a previous building is purported to have burned in that year)	Center passage, single-pile (3)	Two stories	Frame with two brick ends	Flemish bond with regular pattern of glazed headers	Could not access	950

Ravenswood* 	Between 1739 & 1766 (during William Custis's ownership; architectural features indicate a construction date toward the end of the date range)	Hall-chamber, single-pile (2)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with two brick ends	Flemish bond with random glazed headers	Could not access	~975
Vaux Hall* 	Between c.1725 & 1753 (during Edward Revell's ownership)	Center passage, single-pile (3)	Two stories	Brick	Flemish bond with regular pattern of glazed headers	Could not access	1,000+

Rogers Place 	Between c.1725 & 1772 (during William Bagge's ownership; architectural features suggest a construction date of c.1750)	Center passage, single-pile (3)	One-and-one-half stories	Frame with one brick end	Flemish bond with regular pattern of glazed headers	22' x 45' (990 ft.^{2})	~1,000
Evergreen* 	Between c.1729 & 1772 (during Adam Muir's ownership; architectural features suggest a construction date of c.1760)	Center passage, single-pile (3)	Two stories	Brick	Flemish bond with raised quoins at corners; now covered with a layer of stucco	24' x 55' (1,320 ft.^{2})	1,616

Corbin Hall 	1787 (dated brick)	Center passage, double-pile (5)	Two stories	Brick	Flemish bond	38’ x 60’ (2,280 ft.^{2})	~1,664
Pitt’s Neck* 	Between c.1725 & 1756 (during Robert Pitt III’s ownership)	Center passage with two rooms on one side and one room on the other (4)	Two stories	Brick	Flemish bond with regular pattern of glazed headers; elaborate molded brick pediment over principal entrance	24’ x 52’ (1,248 ft.^{2})	2,180+

Shirley* 	Between 1759 & 1771 (during George Hack's ownership)	Side passage, double-pile (3)	One-and-one-half stories (gambrel roof)	Frame with one brick end	Flemish bond with regular pattern of glazed headers	Could not access	2,270
Sea View 	Soon after 1773 (prior building burned in 1773)	Center passage with two rooms on one side and one room on the other (4)	Two stories	Brick	Flemish bond	24' x 50' (1,200 ft.^{2})	~2,500
						Mean ground-floor area: 876 ft.^{2} (~22' x ~40')	**Mean acreage:** 602.3

† Recent photographs were used when possible. Those of Taylor Farm, Stran Place, Chandler-Drummond Place, Martin Place, Long Place, Brick House, Mister Place, Parker Place, Coard Place, Leatherbury Farm, Northam Place, Shepherd's Plain, The Hermitage, Mason House, Hills Farm, Evergreen, and Pitt's Neck were taken by the author. Photographs of buildings that are no longer extant and buildings that the author was unable to access were found in publications or archival collections. The following photographs were taken from Ralph Whitelaw's *Virginia's Eastern Shore*: White Place, p. 1094; Sturgis Place, p. 575; Milby Place, p. 738; Edmonds Place, p. 597; Last Shift, p.794; Shrieves Place, p. 1098; Wessells House, p. 1270; Bailey Place, p. 830; Starve Gut, p. 1172; Humphrey Place, p. 1257; Barnes Place, p. 1138; Cedar Grove, p. 654; Chandler Place, p. 722; Rose Cottage, p. 864; Marino, p. 1078; Clayton House, p. 1106; Ravenswood, p. 882; Rogers Place, p. 834; Shirley, p. 681; and Sea View, p. 884. Photographs of three buildings were taken from H. Chandlee Forman's *The Virginia Eastern Shore and its British Origins*: Shabby Hall, p. 311; Bull Place, p. 336; and Corbin Hall, p. 289. The photograph of Dahl Swamp House is from the personal collection of L. Floyd Nock III. Photographs of West House and Poplar Grove are from the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS VA, 1-___, 7--1 and HABS VA, 1-HORT.V, 2--1. Photographs of Walker Place and Craddock are housed in the Virginia Department of Historic Resources archives in Richmond, Virginia, and were taken by a researcher for the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission in the summer of 1972.

‡ Ralph Whitelaw's *Virginia's Eastern Shore* was used to determine owners and landholdings. For Taylor Farm see pp. 1067-1068. For Stran Place see pp. 1101-1103. For White Place see pp. 1093-1095. For Shabby Hall see pp. 876-877. For Chandler-Drummond Place see pp. 823-824. For Sturgis Place see pp. 574-575, 798. For Martin Place see p. 799. For Long Place see pp. 1168-1169. For Bull Place see pp. 989-991. For Dahl Swamp House see pp. 811-812. For Brick House see pp. 899-900. For Milby Place see pp. 737-738. For Edmonds Place see pp. 593, 596-597, 893. For Last Shift see pp. 793-794. For Shrieves Place see pp. 1098-1099. For Wessells House see pp. 1268, 1270-1271. For Bailey Place see pp. 829-831. For Mister Place see pp. 613-614. For Parker Place see p. 895. For Starve Gut see pp. 1171-1172, 1207. For Coard Place see pp. 988-989. For Walker Place see pp. 595-596. For Humphrey Place see pp. 1143, 1213, 1255-1257, 1260. For Barnes Place see pp. 1122, 1137-1139. For West House see pp. 962-963. For Cedar Grove see pp. 653-654, 962. For Leatherbury Farm see pp. 832-836. For Northam Place see pp. 1268-1270. For Shepherd's Plain see pp. 536, 608, 664-667, 675, 722, 737, 739, 922, 998, 1003. For Chandler Place see pp. 721-723, 732-733, 846. For The Hermitage see pp. 636-637. For Mason House see pp. 1196-1200. For Rose Cottage see pp. 862-865. For Marino see pp. 1062-1064, 1076-1078. For Clayton House see pp. 885, 1105-1107, 1148. For Poplar Grove see pp. 1164, 1327, 1344-1348, 1353. For Hills Farm see pp. 979-981, 983, 1076-1077, 1253. For Craddock see pp. 644-646. For Ravenswood see pp. 880-882. For Vaux Hall see pp. 801-804. For Rogers Place see pp. 818, 833-834, 841. For Evergreen see pp. 690-692. For Corbin Hall see pp. 1350-1366. For Pitt's Neck see pp. 1295-1302. For Shirley see pp. 678-681. For Sea View see pp. 441, 841, 853, 883-885, 1197, 1207.

Table 6a: Personal property held by the original owners of twenty-five houses listed in Table 5 that were built by individuals who possessed fewer than 500 acres of land at the time the building was constructed. The houses and their corresponding owners are listed in ascending order according to the size of the owner's landholding at the time of construction. Personal property figures are taken from probate inventories recorded following the death of the owner*. Monetary values have been rounded to the nearest pound.

Dwelling (date of construction):	Floor plan type:	Owner:	Acres possessed at time of construction:	Total value of movable estate:	Number of enslaved persons owned:	% of moveable estate in enslaved persons:	Number of horses owned:	Number of cattle owned:	% of moveable estate in livestock (horses and cattle):	Total value of luxury goods†:	% of movable estate in luxury goods:
Taylor Farm (soon after 1793)	Hall-chamber	Jacob Taylor (d. 1800)	60	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Stran Place (between 1747 & 1760)	Hall-chamber	Solomon Glading (date of death unknown)	100	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
White Place (1771)	Hall-chamber	Charles White (d. 1786)	100	£42	0	0%	1	2	20.2%	£0	0%
Shabby Hall (soon after 1789)	Hall-chamber	Abel Garrison (d. 1836)	100	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Chandler-Drummond Place (c.1775)	Hall-chamber	Nathan White (d. 1794)	136	£121	0	0%	1	8	19%	£1	0.8%
Sturgis Place (c.1775)	Hall-chamber	Solomon Richardson (d. 1785)	137	£198	3	47.9%	2	12	10.1%	£1	0.5%
Martin Place (c.1750)	Hall-chamber	Peter Martin (d. 1761)	150	£66	0	0%	1	7	13.6%	£1	1.5%
Long Place (soon after 1779)	Hall-chamber	George Hope (d. 1805)	150	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Bull Place (soon after 1791)	Hall-chamber	John Carter Bull (d. 1837)	~150	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found

Dahl Swamp House (soon after 1792)	Hall-chamber	Garrett Topping (d. 1817)	150	£796‡	8	68.2%	3	12	6.9%	£26	3.3%
Brick House (between 1764 & 1777)	Hall-chamber	William Black Bunting (d. 1777)	151	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Milby Place (1799)	Hall-chamber	John Milby (d. 1804)	158 ½	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Edmonds Place (soon after 1797)	Hall-chamber	William Edmonds (d. 1824)	180	£775‡	9 ⅓¶	58.7%	4	18	8.3%	£6	0.8%
Last Shift (between 1740 & 1768)	Hall-chamber	Peter Willis (d. 1768)	200	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Shrieves Place (between 1742 and 1758)	Hall-chamber	Henry Grinalds (d. 1758)	220	£74	0	0%	2	5	22.9%	£1	1.3%
Wessells House (1768)	Hall-chamber	William Wessells (d. 1803)	225	£595	9	56.5%	4	13	10.8%	£3	0.5%
Bailey Place (soon after 1782)	Hall-chamber	John Bailey (d. 1837)	242	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Mister Place (between 1777 & c.1800)	Hall-chamber	John Waltham (date of death unknown)	245	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Parker Place (between c.1775 & 1797)	Center passage	Levin Bunting (d. 1797)	246	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Starve Gut (c.1750)	Hall-chamber	Elijah Nock (d. 1790)	250	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Coard Place (1780)	Side passage	William Coard (d. 1813)	250	£1,006‡	17	66.1%	4	6	5.4%	£43	4.3%
Walker Place (soon after 1785)	Hall-chamber	John Stringer (d. 1806)	~250	£1,050	10	39%	5	11	9.8%	£60	5.7%

Humprey Place (between 1786 & 1800)	Center passage	Isaac Warner (d. 1800)	307 ½	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Barnes Place (soon after 1793)	Hall-chamber	Parker Barnes (d. 1820)	350	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
West House (c.1750)	Hall-chamber	Anthony West (d. 1795)	~400	£1,136	16	35.7%	4	31	11.6%	£67	5.9%
				Mean value of movable estate: £533	**Mean number of enslaved persons owned:** 6.6	**Mean percentage of movable estate in enslaved persons:** 33.8%	**Mean number of horses owned:** 2.8	**Mean number of cattle owned:** 11.4	**Mean percentage of movable estate in livestock (horses & cattle):** 12.6%	**Mean value of luxury goods:** £19	**Mean percentage of total estate in luxury goods:** 2.2%

* Probate inventories were recorded by the county court. For Charles White see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1784-1787: 262 (Probate Inventory of Charles White, 25 July 1786), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Nathan White see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1794-1796: 200-206 (Probate Inventory of Nathan White, 27 July 1795), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Solomon Richardson see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1784-1787: 368-369, 372 (Probate Inventory of Solomon Richardson, n. d.), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Peter Martin see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1761-1767: 62-63 (Probate Inventory of Peter Martin, 30 March 1762), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Garrett Topping see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1818-1819: 440-448 (Probate Inventory of Garrett Topping, 29 September 1817), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For William Edmonds see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1825-1826: 596-607 (Probate Inventory of William Edmonds, 30 November 1824), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Henry Grinalds see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1757-1761: 257-259 (Probate Inventory of Henry Grinalds, 1 October 1760), County Clerk's Office Accomac. For William Wessells see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1806-1809: 424-432 (Probate Inventory of William Wessells, 28 December 1807), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For William Coard see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1814-1816: 492-499, 546-547 (Probate Inventory of William Coard, 30 August 1814), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For John Stringer see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1821-1823: 354-367 (Probate Inventory of John Stringer, 25 November 1806), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Anthony West see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1794-1796: 147-152 (Probate Inventory of Anthony West, 29 June 1795), County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

† Carriages and riding chairs, silver, gold, porcelain, clocks, watches, desks, and mahogany furniture of all types were counted as luxury goods. This set of goods is taken from Clemens, "The Consumer Culture," 595-600.

‡ The appraised values of goods listed in these three inventories were recorded in dollars rather than pounds. These values have been converted to pounds using the standard exchange rate of the time: one dollar = six shillings.

¶ Edmonds held one-third ownership of an enslaved man, Israel.

Table 6b: Personal property held by the original owners of twenty-one houses listed in Table 5 that were built by individuals who possessed greater than 500 acres of land at the time their house was constructed. The houses and their corresponding owners are listed in ascending order according to the size of the owner's landholding at the time of construction. Personal property figures are taken from probate inventories recorded following the death of the owner*. Monetary values have been rounded to the nearest pound.

Dwelling (date of construction):	**Floor plan type:**	**Owner:**	**Acres possessed at time of construction:**	**Total value of moveable estate:**	**Number of enslaved persons owned:**	**% of moveable estate in enslaved persons:**	**Number of horses owned:**	**Number of cattle owned:**	**% of moveable estate in livestock (horses and cattle):**	**Total value of luxury estate†:**	**% of moveable estate in luxury goods:**
Cedar Grove (c.1740)	Hall-chamber	John West (d. 1773)	500+	£2,394	21	32.9%	5	31	4.9%	£27	1.1%
Leatherbury Farm (1769)	Hall-chamber	Perry Leatherbury (d. 1776)	~550	£239	1	20.9%	3	19	25.1%	£2	0.8%
Northam Place (between c.1740 & 1762)	Hall-chamber	Thomas Evans (d. ~1780)	600	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Shepherd's Plain (soon after 1771)	Center passage	Edward Ker (d. 1790)	~600	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Chandler Place (1772)	Side passage	Luke Luker (d. 1774)	602	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
The Hermitage (soon after 1769; addition made in 1787)	Center passage	Edmund Bayly (d. 1796)	~700	£899	11	52.7%	9	48	29.8%	£27	3%
Mason House (1729)	Center passage	William Andrews (d. 1763)	800	£205	3	24.6%	2	23	21.9%	£3	1.5%
Rose Cottage (between 1754 & 1778)	Center passage	Caleb Upshur (d. 1778)	800	£1,356‡	17	54.9%	6	53	12.7%	£32	2.3%
Marino (soon after 1796)	Center passage	Thomas M. Bayly (d. 1834)	829	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found

Clayton House (soon after 1778)	Center passage	Charles Bagwell (d. 1793)	~850	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Poplar Grove (between 1728 & 1758)	Center passage	George Douglas (d. 1758)	~900	£1,223	27	50.3%	9	94	10.3%	£50	4.1%
Hills Farm (1747)	Center passage	Richard Drummond III (d. 1751)	910	£1,309	17	40.3%	13	53	6.3%	£146	11.2%
Craddock (soon after 1778)	Center passage	Thomas Teackle 1. (d. 1784)	950	£1,390	19	55.9%	11	75	18.7%	£22	1.6%
Ravenswood (c.1760)	Hall-chamber	William Custis (d. 1766)	~975	£1,118	20	55.7%	7	42	12.7%	£17	1.5%
Vaux Hall (between c.1725 & 1756)	Center passage	Edward Revell (d. 1753)	1,000+	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Rogers Place (c.1750)	Center passage	William Bagge (d. 1772)	~1,000	£1,018	21	59.3%	6	40	10.4%	£45	4.4%
Evergreen (c.1760)	Center passage	Adam Muir (d. 1772)	1,616	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Corbin Hall (1787)	Center passage	George Corbin (d. 1793)	~1,664	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Pitt's Neck (between c.1725 & 1756)	Center passage	Robert Pitt III (d. 1756)	2,180+	£1,186	18	45.5%	5	66	9.3%	£17	1.4%
Shirley (between 1759 & 1771)	Side passage	George Hack (d. 1817)	2,270	£3,448¶	16	33.7%	11	43	9.1%	£269	8.6%
Sea View (soon after 1773)	Center passage	James Henry (d. 1804)	~2,500	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
				Mean value of movable estate: £1,315	**Mean number of enslaved persons owned:** 15.9	**Mean percentage of movable estate in enslaved persons:** 43.9%	**Mean number of horses owned:** 7.3	**Mean number of cattle owned:** 48.9	**Mean percentage of movable estate in livestock (horses & cattle):** 14.3%	**Mean value of luxury goods:** £55	**Mean percentage of total estate in luxury goods:** 3.5%

* Probate inventories were recorded by the county court. For John West see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1772-1777: 277-279a (Probate Inventory of John West, 27 December 1774), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Perry Leatherbury see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1777-1780: 441-450 (Probate Inventory of Perry Leatherbury, 26 October 1779), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Edmund Bayly see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1798-1800: 385-393 (Probate Inventory of Edmund Bayly, 19 September 1799), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For William Andrews see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1761-1767: 245-250 (Probate Inventory of William Andrews, 28 February 1764), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Caleb Upshur see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1780-1784: 495-500 (Probate Inventory of Caleb Upshur, 25 May 1784), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For George Douglas see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1757-1761: 373-381 (Probate Inventory of George Douglas, 29 July 1761), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Richard Drummond III see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1752-1757: 98-105 (Probate Inventory of Richard Drummond III, 27 August 1752), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Thomas Teackle see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1784-1787: 181-184 (Probate Inventory of Thomas Teackle, 28 September 1785), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For William Custis see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1767-1772: 259-262 (Probate Inventory of William Custis, 17 December 1768), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For William Bagge see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1772-1777: 28-31 (Probate Inventory of William Bagge, 1 October 1772), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Robert Pitt III's inventory see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1757-1761: 92-100 (Probate Inventory of Robert Pitt III, 27 February 1759), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For George Hack see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1818-1819: 175-179 (Probate Inventory of George Hack, 15 July 1817), County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

† Carriages and riding chairs, silver, gold, porcelain, clocks, watches, desks, and mahogany furniture of all types are counted as luxury goods. This set of goods is taken from Clemens, "The Consumer Culture," 595-600. George Hack's probate inventory lists a pair of 'coach horses' that were valued at three times the amount of average horses. Due to their high value, Hack's 'coach horses' were counted as luxury goods. This is the only instance where an item not belonging to the above list was counted as a luxury good.

‡ The American Revolution caused a considerable increase in the value of everyday goods. Caleb Upshur died during the war and the appraised value of his property is noticeably inflated by a factor of about five. The figures listed under 'total value of movable estate' and 'value of luxury goods' in the table have been adjusted to account for this inflation.

¶ The appraised values of goods listed in George Hack's probate inventory were recorded in dollars rather than pounds. These values have been converted to pounds using the standard exchange rate of the time: one dollar = six shillings.

Table 7: Personal Property held by Accomack County Heads of Household in 1782.

Total number of householders:	1,531	-	
Total number of enslaved persons:	4,495	Mean number of enslaved persons per household:	2.9
Total number of horses:	3,871	Mean number of horses per household:	2.5
Total number of cattle:	15,999	Mean number of cattle per household:	10.5
Number of householders owning carriages:	152	Percentage of householders owning carriages:	9.9%

The information in this table is derived from the 1782 Personal Property Tax Records in the Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

Table 8: Accomack County Slaveholders in 1782.

Enslaved persons owned:	Number of householders:	Percent of slaveholders:	Percent of total:	Cumulative percent of total:
0	698	-	45.6	45.6
1-3	412	49.5	26.9	72.5
4-10	308	37.0	20.1	92.6
11-20	97	11.6	6.3	98.9
21-30	13	1.6	0.9	99.8
31-40	2	0.2	0.13	99.93
41 or more	1	0.1	0.07	100
Totals	1,531	100.0	100.0	100.0

The information in this table is derived from the 1782 Personal Property Tax Records in the Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

Table 9a: Enslaved persons held by eleven middling planters whose probate information appears in Table 6a.

Dwelling (date of construction):	Floor plan type:	Owner:	Acres possessed at time of construction:	Total enslaved persons owned:	High-value males:	High-value females:	Low-value males:	Low-value females:	Low-value persons of unknown sex*:
White Place (1771)	Hall-chamber	Charles White (d. 1786)	100	0	-	-	-	-	-
Chandler-Drummond Place (c.1775)	Hall-chamber	Nathan White (d. 1794)	136	0	-	-	-	-	-
Sturgis Place (c.1775)	Hall-chamber	Solomon Richardson (d. 1785)	137	3	-	1	1	1	-
Martin Place (c.1750)	Hall-chamber	Peter Martin (d. 1761)	150	0	-	-	-	-	-
Dahl Swamp House (soon after 1792)	Hall-chamber	Garrett Topping (d. 1817)	150	8	1	3	3	1	-
Edmonds Place (soon after 1797)	Hall-chamber	William Edmonds (d. 1824)	180	9 1/3	1	-	1 1/3	7	-
Shrieves Place (between 1742 and 1758)	Hall-chamber	Henry Grinalds (d. 1758)	220	0	-	-	-	-	-
Wessells House (1768)	Hall-chamber	William Wessells (d. 1803)	225	9	2	1	2	4	-
Coard Place (1780)	Side passage	William Coard (d. 1813)	250	17	2	5	5	3	2
Walker Place (soon after 1785)	Hall-chamber	John Stringer (d. 1806)	~250	10	3	1	5	1	-
West House (c.1750)	Hall-chamber	Anthony West (d. 1795)	~400	16	2	1	5	1	-

Mean number of total enslaved persons owned: 6.6
Mean number of high-value males owned: 1
Mean number of high-value females owned: 1.1
Mean number of total high-value enslaved persons owned: 2.1
Mean number of total low-value enslaved persons owned: 3.8

Mean number of high-value males owned (non-slaveholders excluded): 1.6
Mean number of high-value females owned (non-slaveholders excluded): 1.7
Mean number of total high-value enslaved persons owned (non-slaveholders excluded): 3.3
Mean number of total low-value enslaved persons owned (non-slaveholders excluded): 6

* These were young children whose sex was not specified in the probate inventories.

Table 9b: Enslaved persons held by twelve elite planters whose probate information appears in Table 6b.

Dwelling (date of construction):	Floor plan type:	Owner:	Acres possessed at time of construction:	Total enslaved persons owned:	High-value males:	High-value females:	Low-value males:	Low-value females:	Low-value persons of unknown sex*:
Cedar Grove (c.1740)	Hall-chamber	John West (d. 1773)	500+	21	8	4	2	4	3
Leatherbury Farm (1769)	Hall-chamber	Perry Leatherbury (d. 1776)	600	1	1	-	-	-	-
The Hermitage (soon after 1769; addition made in 1787)	Center passage	Edmund Bayly (d. 1796)	~700	11	3	2	4	2	-
Mason House (1729)	Center passage	William Andrews (d. 1763)	800	3	-	-	2	1	-
Rose Cottage (between 1754 & 1778)	Center passage	Caleb Upshur (d. 1778)	800	17	7	2	3	5	-
Poplar Grove (between 1728 & 1758)	Center passage	George Douglas (d. 1758)	~900	27	4	6	10	4	3
Hills Farm (1747)	Center passage	Richard Drummond III (d. 1751)	910	17	2	7	5	3	-
Craddock (soon after 1778)	Center passage	Thomas Teackle (d. 1784)	950	19	2	6	5	6	-
Ravenswood (c.1760)	Hall-chamber	William Custis (d. 1766)	~975	20	3	3	6	8	-
Rogers Place (c.1750)	Center passage	William Bagge (d. 1772)	~1,000	21	5	3	8	5	-
Pitt's Neck (between c.1725 & 1756)	Center passage	Robert Pitt III (d. 1756)	2,180+	18	6	3	4	5	-
Shirley (between 1759 & 1771)	Side passage	George Hack (d. 1817)	2,270	16	5	3	5	3	-

Mean number of total enslaved persons owned: 15.9
Mean number of high-value males owned: 3.8
Mean number of high-value females owned: 3.3
Mean number of total high-value enslaved persons owned: 7.1
Mean number of total low-value enslaved persons owned: 8.8

* These were young children whose sex was not specified in the probate inventories.

Table 10a: Business interests and civil, political, ecclesiastical, and military appointments and offices held by the original owners of the twenty-five houses listed in Table 6a.

Dwelling (date of construction):	Floor plan type:	Owner:	Acres possessed at time of construction:	Occupations and business interests*:	Civil, political, ecclesiastical, and military appointments and offices*:	Literacy, if known†:
Taylor Farm (soon after 1793)	Hall-chamber	Jacob Taylor (d. 1800)	60	Planter; carpenter	None	Illiterate
Stran Place (between 1747 & 1760)	Hall-chamber	Solomon Glading (date of death unknown)	100	Planter; brick mason; owned one mill	None	Unknown
White Place (1771)	Hall-chamber	Charles White (d. 1786)	100	Planter	Overseer of roads	Illiterate
Shabby Hall (soon after 1789)	Hall-chamber	Abel Garrison (d. 1836)	100	Planter	Lieutenant in Accomack County Militia	Literate
Chandler-Drummond Place (c.1775)	Hall-chamber	Nathan White (d. 1794)	136	Planter; house joiner	Overseer of roads	Unknown
Sturgis Place (c.1775)	Hall-chamber	Solomon Richardson (d. 1785)	137	Planter; wheelwright	None	Illiterate
Martin Place (c.1750)	Hall-chamber	Peter Martin (d. 1761)	150	Planter; cobbler	None	Illiterate
Long Place (soon after 1779)	Hall-chamber	George Hope (d. 1805)	150	Planter	None	Literate
Bull Place (soon after 1791)	Hall-chamber	John Carter Bull (d. 1837)	~150	Planter; slave dealer	Deputy sheriff	Literate
Dahl Swamp House (soon after 1792)	Hall-chamber	Garrett Topping (d. 1817)	150	Planter; cobbler; engaged in commercial shipping [owned part interest in a 10-ton schooner *Salley*]	Captain in Accomack County Militia	Literate

Brick House (between 1764 & 1777)	Hall-chamber	William Black Bunting (d. 1777)	151	Planter; mariner; owned one mill	Lieutenant in Continental Army [killed in action in New Jersey]	Literate
Milby Place (1799)	Hall-chamber	John Milby (d. 1804)	158 ½	Planter	Lieutenant in Accomack County Militia	Unknown
Edmonds Place (soon after 1797)	Hall-chamber	William Edmonds (d. 1825)	180	Planter	None	Literate
Last Shift (between 1740 & 1768)	Hall-chamber	Peter Willis (d. 1768)	200	Planter	None	Illiterate
Shrieves Place (between 1742 & 1758)	Hall-chamber	Henry Grinalds (d. 1758)	220	Planter; house carpenter	Tobacco inspector at Guilford warehouse	Assumed
Wessells House (1768)	Hall-chamber	William Wessells (d. 1803)	225	Planter; fisherman; cobbler	Ensign in Accomack County Militia	Illiterate
Bailey Place (soon after 1782)	Hall-chamber	John Bailey (d. 1837)	242	Planter	None	Literate
Mister Place (between 1777 & c.1800)	Hall-chamber	John Waltham (date of death unknown)	245	Planter	None	Unknown
Parker Place (between c.1775 & 1797)	Center passage	Levin Bunting (d. 1797)	246	Planter	None	Unknown
Starve Gut (c.1750)	Hall-chamber	Elijah Nock (d. 1790)	250	Planter; horse doctor	Constable; Overseer of roads	Literate
Coard Place (1780)	Side passage	William Coard (d. 1813)	250	Planter	None	Literate
Walker Place (soon after 1785)	Hall-chamber	John Stringer (d. 1806)	~250	Planter; engaged in commercial fishing and shipping [owned a "sloop with tackle & apparel" worth £45, a "large fishing craft" worth £4 ½, and "1 lighter" worth £4 ½]	None	Literate
Humprey Place (between 1786 & 1800)	Center passage	Isaac Warner (d. 1800)	307 ½	Planter; house joiner	None	Unknown

Barnes Place (soon after 1793)	Hall-chamber	Parker Barnes (d. 1820)	350	Planter; surveyor; owned one mill	County surveyor; Captain in Accomack County Militia; Commissioner for the county commodities tax	Literate
West House (c.1750)	Hall-chamber	Anthony West (d. 1795)	~400	Planter	Overseer of roads	Literate

* Various sources were used to determine occupations, business interests, and civil, political, ecclesiastical, and military appointments and offices. For Jacob Taylor see McKey, "Abstracts, Volume 28," 32. For Solomon Glading see McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 17*, 306; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 18*, 404; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 51, 277, 294. For Charles White see McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 21, 22, & 23,* 211; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 24 & 25,* 26. For Abel Garrison see Alton Brooks Parker Barnes, *Pungoteague to Petersburg, Vol. I: Eastern Shore Militiamen before the Civil War, 1776-1858* (n. p.: Lee Howard, 1988), 65, 80. For Nathan White see Accomack Co., Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1794-1796: 200-206; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 17*, 295; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 383; McKey, "Abstracts, Volume 28," 204. For Solomon Richardson see Accomack Co., Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1784-1787: 368-369, 372. For Peter Martin see Accomack Co., Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1761-1767: 62-63. For John Carter Bull see Gail M. Walczyk, comp., *Accomack County Orphans Accounts, 1798-1800* (Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 2001); Gail M. Walczyk, ed., *Eastern Shore District Court, 1789-1797* (Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 2002), 130; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 991-992. For Garrett Topping see Accomack County Miscellaneous Records, Port Entry Book, 1778-1788, Local Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia (Entry: 23 Feb 1786); Barnes, *Pungoteague to Petersburg, Vol. I*, 128; Gail M. Walczyk, comp., *Accomack County Orphans Accounts, 1771-1780* (Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 1999), 56; Gail M. Walczyk, comp., *Accomack County Fiduciary Accounts, 1780-1787* (Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 2000), 55. For William Black Bunting see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1777-1780: 39-40 (Will of William Black Bunting, 20 December 1776), County Clerk's Office, Accomac; Francis Bernard Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775, to December, 1783* (Baltimore, Maryland: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1982), 132-133; Stratton Nottingham, *Revolutionary Soldiers and Sailors from Accomack County, Virginia* (Onancock, Virginia: Stratton Nottingham, 1927), 51; Sue Morten O'Brien, *The Register of Americans of Prominent Descent, Volume 1* (Signal Mountain, Tennessee: Morten Publishing Co., Inc., 1982), 511; Susie Wilkins Walker and Nora Miller Turman, *Accomack County, Virginia, Soldiers and Sailors in America's War for Independence: April, 1775 to December, 1783* (Parksley, Virginia: Eastern Shore Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, 1975); Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 899. For John Milby see Barnes, *Pungoteague to Petersburg, Vol. I*, 50, 57. For Henry Grinalds see Accomack Co., Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1757-1761: 257-259; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 18*, 169, 192, 310, 321; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 95. For William Wessells see Accomack Co., Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1806-1809: 424-433; Barnes, *Pungoteague to Petersburg, Vol. I*, 127; Edward Taylor Ledger, Microfilm, Eastern Shore Public Library. For Elijah Nock see McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 18*, 382; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 17, 213; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 21, 22, & 23*, 120; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 24 & 25*, 216; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 26 & 27*, 243; McKey, "Abstracts, Volume 28," 22, 25; Edward Taylor Ledger, Microfilm, Eastern Shore Public Library. For John Stringer see Accomack Co., Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1821-1823: 354-367; Gail M. Walczyk, comp., *Accomack County Orphans Accounts, 1800-1802* (Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 2001), 81. For Isaac Warner see McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 17*, 46. For Parker Barnes see Barnes, *Pungoteague to Petersburg, Vol. I*, 42, 52; McKey, "Abstracts, Volume 28," 15, 167, 204; Nottingham, *Revolutionary Soldiers and Sailors*, 2, 4; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1137-1139; Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1787-1793*, 83, 133, 137; Gail M. Walczyk, comp., *Accomack County Orphans Accounts, 1794-1797* (Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 2001), 29; Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1798-1800*, 34, 62-63, 74; Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1800-1802*, 41, 46. For Anthony West see McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 24 & 25*, 25, 115; McKey *Abstracts, Volumes 26 & 27*, 164.

† Wills were used to determine whether or not a planter was literate. Wills recorded by the county court were required to be signed. When the individual was unable to write his name, the will was most often signed with an '**X**,' below which the clerk would write, 'his mark.' Planters whose literacy status is listed as 'Unknown' died intestate—that is, without a valid will. For Jacob Taylor see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1798-1800: 411-412 (Will of Jacob Taylor, 7 January 1799), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Charles White see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1784-1787: 206 (Will of Charles White, 19 December 1783), County Clerk's

Office, Accomac. For Abel Garrison see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1828-1846: 210-211 (Will of Abel Garrison, 12 October 1836), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Solomon Richardson see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1784-1787: 154-155 (Will of Solomon Richardson, 21 April 1781), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Peter Martin see Accomack Co., Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1757-1761: 409. For George Hope see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1804-1806: 322-325 (Will of George Hope, 6 November 1804), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For John Carter Bull see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1828-1846: 238-241 (Will of Carter John Bull, 18 December 1836), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Garrett Topping see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1817-1818: 210-211 (Will of Garrett Topping, 22 April 1812), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For William Black Bunting see Accomack Co., Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1777-1780: 39-40. For William Edmonds see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1824-1825: 269-270 (Will of William Edmonds, 7 August 1824), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Peter Willis see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1767-1772: 332-333 (Will of Peter Willis, 21 May 1769), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For William Wessells see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1800-1804: 559-560 (Will of William Wessells, 31 January 1803), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For John Bailey see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1828-1846: 267-268 (Will of John Bailey, 4 September 1837), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Elijah Nock see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1788-1794: 298-299 (Will of Elijah Nock, 15 March 1790), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For William Coard see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1812-1814: 313-314 (Will of William Coard, 1 May 1813), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For John Stringer see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1804-1806: 672-675 (Will of John Stringer, 26 May 1806), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Anthony West see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1794-1796: 102-104 (Will of Anthony West, 5 Feb 1795), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. Plats of survey were used to determine the literacy status of one planter, Parker Barnes, who died intestate but served for many years as the Accomack County surveyor. Many plats drawn and signed by Barnes are still held in the county clerk's office. See Accomack County, Virginia, Surveyors Record, No. 1, 1784-1794, County Clerk's Office, Accomac; Accomack County, Virginia, Surveyors Record, No. 2, 1795-1799, County Clerk's Office, Accomac; Accomack County, Virginia, Surveyors Record, No. 3, 1800-1807, County Clerk's Office, Accomac.

Table 10b: Business interests and civil, political, ecclesiastical, and military appointments and offices held by the original owners of the twenty-one houses listed in Table 6b.

Dwelling (date of construction):	**Floor plan type:**	**Owner:**	**Acres possessed at time of construction:**	**Occupations and business interests*:**	**Civil, political, ecclesiastical, and military appointments and offices*:**	**Literacy, if known†:**
Cedar Grove (c.1740)	Hall-chamber	John West (d. 1773)	~500	Planter	Undersheriff; Overseer of roads	Literate
Leatherbury Farm (1769)	Hall-chamber	Perry Leatherbury (d. 1776)	~550	Planter; owned one mill	Overseer of roads	Literate
Northam Place (between c.1740 & 1762)	Hall-chamber	Thomas Evans (d. ~1780)	600	Planter	None	Unknown
Shepherd's Plain (soon after 1771)	Center passage	Edward Ker (d. 1790)	~600	Planter; merchant with extensive shipping interests [at various times owned a 40-ton sloop *Omara*, a 30-ton schooner *Amity*, and an 18-ton schooner *Diligent*; also owned half interest in a 40-ton schooner *Lisburn*, half interest in a 40-ton schooner *Richmond Paquet*, half interest in a 28-ton sloop *George*, part interest in a 54-ton schooner *Planter's Folly*, part interest in a 100-ton schooner *Freedom*, part interest in a 20-ton schooner *Bravado*, part interest in an 18-ton schooner *Honest Endeavour*, part interest in a 20-ton schooner *Nancy*, part interest in a 15-ton schooner *Lively Buckskin*, part interest in a 12-ton schooner *Razor*, part interest in a 18-ton sloop *Betsey*, part interest in a 15-ton schooner *Honest Taylor*, and part interest in an 18-ton sloop *Friendship*]	Justice of the peace; Overseer of roads	Literate

Chandler Place (1772)	Side passage	Luke Luker (d. 1774)	602	Planter; owned half interest in a mill	Vestryman and churchwarden for St. George's Parish; Lieutenant in Accomack County Militia; Tobacco inspector at Pungoteague warehouse; Inspector of beef, pork, pitch, tar, turpentine, staves, and shingles; Undersheriff; Constable; Overseer of roads	Literate
The Hermitage (soon after 1769; addition made in 1787)	Center passage	Edmund Bayly (d. 1796)	~700	Planter; engaged in commercial shipping [at various times owned a 10-ton schooner *Betsey*, half interest in a 8-ton schooner *Nancy*, and part interest in a 20-ton schooner *Bravado*]	Overseer of roads	Unknown
Mason House (1729)	Center passage	William Andrews (d. 1763)	800	Planter; lawyer; proprietor of Guilford tobacco warehouse; owned an ordinary; owned one mill	Elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1728 and 1741; Justice of the peace; King's attorney for Accomack County; Vestryman and churchwarden for Accomack Parish; Lieutenant Colonel in Accomack County Militia; Tobacco inspector at Guilford warehouse; Surveyor of Guilford Creek; Overseer for delivery of ballast at Guilford Creek; Overseer of roads	Literate
Rose Cottage (between 1754 & 1778)	Center passage	Caleb Upshur (d. 1778)	800	Planter	Overseer of roads	Unknown
Marino (soon after 1796)	Center passage	Thomas M. Bayly (d. 1834)	829	Planter; lawyer; owned one mill	Elected to the United States House of Representatives in 1813; Elected to the Virginia Senate in 1801; Elected to the Virginia House of Delegates in 1798, 1819, and 1828; Delegate to the Virginia Constitutional Convention in 1829 and 1830; Colonel in Accomack County Militia	Literate

Clayton House (soon after 1778)	Center passage	Charles Bagwell (d. 1793)	~850	Planter; owned two mills	Justice of the peace; Vestryman and churchwarden for Accomack Parish; Quartermaster to Accomack County Militia; Member of Accomack County Committee of Safety in 1774; Undersheriff; Overseer of roads	Literate
Poplar Grove (between 1728 & 1758)	Center passage	George Douglas (d. 1758)	~900	Planter; lawyer	Elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1742 and 1752; King's attorney for Accomack County; Vestryman and churchwarden for Accomack Parish; Colonel in Accomack County Militia; Overseer of roads	Literate
Hills Farm (1747)	Center passage	Richard Drummond III (d. 1751)	910	Planter; engaged in commercial shipping [owned one half of a 50-ton sloop *Sally*]; owned one mill	Justice of the peace	Literate
Craddock (soon after 1778)	Center passage	Thomas Teackle (d. 1784)	950	Planter; surveyor; engaged in commercial shipping [owned one half of a 15-ton sloop]	Justice of the peace; Vestryman and churchwarden for St. George's Parish; County surveyor; Colonel in Accomack County Militia; Member of Accomack County Committee of Safety in 1774; Sheriff; Overseer of roads	Literate
Ravenswood (c.1760)	Hall-chamber	William Custis (d. 1766)	~975	Planter	Overseer of roads	Illiterate
Vaux Hall (between c.1725 & 1753)	Center passage	Edward Revell (d. 1753)	1,000+	Planter; owned one mill	Justice of the peace; Captain in Accomack County Militia; Sheriff	Literate
Rogers Place (c.1750)	Center passage	William Bagge (d. 1772)	~1,000	Planter; lawyer; merchant [owned two lots and a storehouse in Onancock and at least one sloop]	Justice of the peace; Vestryman and churchwarden for St. George's Parish; Captain in Accomack County Militia; Sheriff; Overseer of roads	Literate
Evergreen (c.1760)	Center passage	Adam Muir (d. 1772)	1,616	Planter	Naval officer for Accomack District; Tobacco inspector at Pungoteague warehouse; Overseer of roads	Literate

Corbin Hall (1787)	Center passage	George Corbin (d. 1793)	~1,664	Planter; lawyer; engaged in commercial shipping [at various times owned half interest in a 120-ton brigantine *Maria Antonatta* and half interest in a 15-ton sloop *Firebrand*, also owned part interest in a 6-ton schooner *Salley* and part interest in a 15-ton schooner *Friendship*]; owned half interest in a mill	Vestryman for Accomack Parish; County Lieutenant and Colonel in Accomack County Militia; Deputy King's attorney for Accomack County; Member of Accomack County Committee of Safety in 1774; Tax commissioner for Accomack County	Literate
Pitt's Neck (between c.1725 & 1756)	Center passage	Robert Pitt III (d. 1756)	2,180+	Planter; proprietor of Pocomoke tobacco warehouse	Justice of the peace; Vestryman for Accomack Parish; Sheriff; Overseer of roads	Literate
Shirley (between 1759 & 1771)	Side passage	George Hack (d. 1817)	2,270	Planter	Vestryman and churchwarden for St. George's Parish	Literate
Sea View (soon after 1773)	Center passage	James Henry (d. 1804)	~2,500	Planter; lawyer; surveyor	Elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1771; Member of the First Virginia Convention of 1774; Elected to the Virginia House of Delegates in 1776 and 1779; Vestryman and churchwarden for St. George's Parish; Member of the Accomack County Committee of Safety in 1774; Escheator for Accomack County; Overseer for delivery of ballast at Folly Creek; Overseer of roads‡	Literate

* Various sources were used to determine occupations, business interests, and civil, political, ecclesiastical, and military appointments and offices. For John West see Joann Riley McKey, ed., *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volume 14: 1719-1724* (Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2001), 114; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 24 & 25*, 25. For Perry Leatherbury see McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 110, 115; Joann Riley McKey, *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volume 20: 1764-1765* (Berwyn Heights, Maryand: Heritage Books, Inc., 2012), 42; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 21, 22, & 23*, 211; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 24 & 25*, 25. For Edward Ker see Accomack County Miscellaneous Records, Port Entry Book, 1778-1788, Local Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia (Entries: 21 August 1778, 24 April 1781, 7 July 1781, 8 May 1782, 19 June 1782, 18 September 1782, 1 July 1783, 28 July 1783, 21 June 1784, 16 July 1785, 12 August 1786, 4 November 1786, 24 May 1788, 26 September 1788); Accomack County Miscellaneous Records, Port of Accomack Entry Book, 1783-1793 (Entries: 29 May 1787, 8 August 1789); McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 26 & 27*, 9, 82; McKey, "Abstracts, Volume 28," 5, 47, 117; Melchor, "Accomack County, Virginia, Justices of the Peace," 115-116; Port of Accomack, Naval Officer's Book of Entries and Clearances, 1780-1787 (Entries: 31 July 1780, 13 August 1781; Clearances: 25 August 1780, 4 August 1781); Gail M. Walczyk, ed., *St. George's Parish, Accomack County, Vestry Book, 1763-1787* (Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 1998), 48, 67, 79; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 998. For Luke Luker see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1772-1777: 188-190 (Will of Luke Luker, 17 December 1773) County Clerk's Office, Accomac;

Dorman, *Adventurers*, 872; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 18*, 419, 436; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 6, 13, 51, 75, 95, 134, 137, 327, 393, 430; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 21, 22, & 23*, 83; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 24 & 25*, 144, 206; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 26 & 27*, 27; Walczyk, *Vestry Book*, 4, 5, 8-9, 10-13, 17, 21-26, 31-34, 36, 39, 41-42, 46. For Edmund Bayly see Accomack County Miscellaneous Records, Port Entry Book, 1778-1788, Local Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia (Entries: 24 April 1781, 13 April 1782, 19 August 1783); McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 21, 22, & 23*, 212; Port of Accomack, Naval Officer's Book of Entries and Clearances, 1780-1787 (Clearance: 23 September 1781). For William Andrews see Accomack Parish Vestry Records, Microfilm, Eastern Shore Public Library; Dorman, *Adventurers*, 81; Kolp, *Gentlemen and Freeholders*, 90-93, 96-97; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 14*, 44, 95; Joann Riley McKey, *Accomack County, Virginia, Court Order Abstracts, Volume 15: 1724-1731* (Berwyn Heights, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2007), 206, 259; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 16*, 70, 313, 335; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 17*, 10, 21, 60, 160; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 18*, 72, 244, 353; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 8, 213, 225. For Caleb Upshur see McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 21, 22, & 23*, 211. For Thomas M. Bayly see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1828-1846: 146-150 (Will of Thomas M. Bayly, 9 March 1828), County Clerk's Office, Accomac; Barnes, *Pungoteague to Petersburg, Vol. I*, 53, 57, 66, 72, 110; Looney and Woodward, *Princetonians, 1791-1794*, 330-333; Melchor, "Accomack County, Virginia, Justices of the Peace," 80; Gail M. Walczyk, ed., *Eastern Shore District Court, 1797-1805* (Coram, New York: Peter's Row, 2003), 34, 96; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 815. For Charles Bagwell see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1788-1794: 751 (Will of Charles Bagwell, 26 August 1792), County Clerk's Office, Accomac; Accomack Parish Vestry Records, Microfilm, Eastern Shore Public Library; Dorman, *Adventurers*, 104; McKey *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 99, 226; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 24 & 25*, 163, 236, 252; McKey, "Abstracts, Volume 28," 25-26, 46, 109, 145; Melchor, "Accomack County, Virginia, Justices of the Peace," 76-77; Nottingham, *Revolutionary Soldiers and Sailors*, 5; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1148. For George Douglas see Accomack Parish Vestry Records (23 march 1744), Microfilm, Eastern Shore Public Library; Kolp, *Gentlemen and Freeholders*, 87, 92-94, 96-97; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 15*, 377; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 16*, 39, 79, 143, 206, 338; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 17*, xiii, 101, 151, 272; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 18*, 244, 401; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 50, 124; Melchor, "Accomack County, Virginia, Justices of the Peace," 133; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1344. For Richard Drummond III see Accomack Co., Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1752-1757: 98-105; Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1761-1767: 595-596 (Will of Richard Drummond III, April 1744), County Clerk's Office, Accomac; Melchor, "Accomack County, Virginia, Justices of the Peace," 99-100; Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Virginia Shipping Returns, 1735-1756, South Potomac and Accomack Districts. No. 1445, Short Ref. CO5/1445 (Entry: 5 October 1751). For Thomas Teackle see Accomack County Miscellaneous Records, Port Entry Book, 1778-1788, Local Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia (Entry: 16 October 1781); Accomack Co., Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1784-1787: 181-184; Accomack Parish Vestry Records (29 APRIL 1772), Microfilm, Eastern Shore Public Library; Dorman, *Adventurers*, 611; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 124, 348, 408, 453; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 21, 22, & 23*, 23, 119, 165; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 24 & 25*, 3, 38, 115, 160, 245, 253, 257; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 26 & 27*, 8, 80, 205, 241; McKey, "Abstracts, Volume 28," 213; Melchor, "Accomack County, Virginia, Justices of the Peace," 158-160; Nottingham, *Revolutionary Soldiers and Sailors*, 1; Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1741-1770*, 76, 79, 87; Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1771-1780*, 74-75; Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1787-1793*, 115; Walczyk, *Vestry Book*, 49-50, 59-60, 62, 68, 73-74, 83, 93; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 644-646. For William Custis see McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 324. For Edward Revell see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1752-1757: 200-202 (Will of Edward Revell, 22 March 1753), County Clerk's Office, Accomac; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 14*, 178-179, 181-182, 195, 200; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 15*, 45, 64, 134, 213, 219. For William Bagge see McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 16*, 188, 244; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 17*, 389, 391, 395, 399, 403; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 18*, 29, 131, 250, 280, 419; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 39, 106, 137, 170, 198, 226; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 24 & 25*, 173; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 26 & 27*, 181; Melchor, "Accomack County, Virginia, Justices of the Peace," 74-76; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 833, 908, 1031. For Adam Muir see Melchor, "Accomack County, Virginia, Justices of the Peace," 106-107; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 15*, 334; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 17*, 136, 231, 287, 353; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 18*, 371-372, 384, 400; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 26, 59, 95. For George Corbin see Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Virginia Shipping Returns, 1735-1756, South Potomac and Accomack Districts. No. 1445, Short Ref. CO5/1445 (Entries: 27 July 1782, 1 September 1781, 16 October 1785); Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1788-1794: 782-784 (Will of George Corbin, 24 September 1793), County Clerk's Office, Accomac; Barnes, *Pungoteague to Petersburg, Vol. I*, 3; McLachlan, *Princetonians, 1748-1768*, 488-489; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 24 & 25*, vi, 43, 259; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 26 & 27*, 53, 135, 181, 238; McKey, "Abstracts, Volume 28," 11, 145, 173; Melchor, "Accomack County, Virginia, Justices of the Peace," 87-89; Robert B. Munford, Jr., contrib., "Rev. John Lyon Tried by a Court Martial in Accomack County, August 8, 1781," *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 2, No. 4 (October, 1922): 285; Nottingham, *Revolutionary Soldiers and*

Sailors, 5, 37, 40; Port of Accomack, Naval Officer's Book of Entries and Clearances, 1780-1787 (Clearance: 30 November 1780); Walczyk, *Fiduciary Accounts, 1780-1787*, 29, 74; Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1771-1780*, 1. For Robert Pitt III see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1752-1757: 353-355 (Will of Robert Pitt III, 16 October 1755), County Clerk's Office, Accomac; Kolp, *Gentlemen and Freeholders*, 99; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 16*, 206; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 17*, 45, 352; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 18*, 77, 322, 331; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 95; Melchor, "Accomack County, Virginia, Justices of the Peace," 131-132. For George Hack see McKey, "Abstracts, Volume 28," 8; Walczyk, *Vestry Book*, 59, 60, 62-63, 66, 68, 70, 73-74, 77-78, 83-84, 87, 91, 93. For James Henry see J. Motley Booker, M.D. and James F. Lewis, *Northumberland County, Virginia, Wills, 1793-1816 and Administrations, 1790-1816* (N. p.: Self-published, 1964): 89-90; Dorman, *Adventurers*, 456-457; Kolp, *Gentlemen and Freeholders*, 109, 113; William Henry Eldridge, *Henry Genealogy: The Descendants of Samuel Henry of Hadley and Amherst, Massachusetts, 1734-1790, and Lurana (Cady) Henry, His Wife. With an Appendix Containing Brief Accounts of Other Henry Families* (Boston, Massachusetts: T. R. Marvin & Son, 1915): 204-205; Horace Edwin Hayden, *Virginia Genealogies: A Genealogy of the Glassell Family of Scotland and Virginia: Also of the Families of Ball, Brown, Bryan, Conway, Daniel, Ewell, Holladay, Lewis, Littlepage, Moncure, Peyton, Robinson, Scott, Taylor, Wallace, and Others, of Virginia and Maryland* (Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania: E. B. Yordy, 1891): 439; Robert K. Headley, Jr, *Northern Neck Wills, Inventories & Other Records, 1800-1825: Probate, Estate, Guardianship & Chancery Records for the Virginia Counties of Westmoreland, Richmond, Northumberland & Lancaster* (Baltimore, Maryland: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 2014): 223-224; McKey, *Abstracts, Volume 19*, 253, 508, 365, 374, 430; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 21, 22, & 23*, 211, 256; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 24 & 25*, vii, 8, 58; McKey, *Abstracts, Volumes 26 & 27*, 2, 44, 193, 234; McKey, "Abstracts, Volume 28," 11, 72; Melchor, "Accomack County, Virginia, Justices of the Peace," 75, 148-149, 172; Walczyk, *Eastern Shore District Court, 1789-1797*, 1; Walczyk, *Eastern Shore District Court, 1797-1805*, 18; Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1742-1770*, 75, 107; Walczyk, *Orphans Accounts, 1771-1780*, 103; Walczyk, *Vestry Book*, 4-5, 8-10, 12-14, 21; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 853, 883-884, 909-910.

† Wills were used to determine whether or not a planter was literate. Wills recorded by the county court were required to be signed. When the individual was unable to write his name, the will was most often signed with an '**X**,' under or below which the clerk would write, 'his mark.' Planters whose literacy status is listed as 'Unknown' died intestate—that is, without a valid will. For John West see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1772-1777: 137-138 (Will of John West, 29 February 1772), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Perry Leatherbury see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1772-1777: 414-415 (Will of Perry Leatherbury, 17 March 1776), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Edward Ker see Accomack County, Virginia, District Court Wills and Deeds, Vol. 1789-1799: 20-26 (Will of Edward Ker, 17 May 1789), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Luke Luker see Accomack Co., Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1772-1777: 188-190. For William Andrews see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1761-1767: 225-226 (Will of William Andrews, 24 September 1763), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Thomas M. Bayly see Accomack Co., Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1828-1846: 146-150. For Charles Bagwell see Accomack Co., Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1788-1794: 751. For George Douglas see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1757-1761: 18-22 (Will of George Douglas, 9 November 1757), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Richard Drummond III see Accomack Co., Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1761-1767: 595-596. For Thomas Teackle see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1784-1787: 52-53 (Will of Thomas Teackle, 18 September 1781), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For William Custis see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1761-1767: 670-671 (Will of William Custis, 10 November 1765), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Edward Revell see Accomack Co., Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1752-1757: 200-202. For William Bagge see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1767-1772: 657-658 (Will of William Bagge, 3 August 1769), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For Adam Muir see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1772-1777: 18 (Will of Adam Muir, 2 August 1770), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For George Corbin see Accomack Co., Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1788-1794: 782-784. For Robert Pitt III see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1752-1757: 353-355 (Will of Robert Pitt III, 16 October 1755), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For George Hack see Accomack County, Virginia, Wills, Vol. 1816-1817: 348-350 (Will of George Hack, 27 December 1816), County Clerk's Office, Accomac. For James Henry see Northumberland County, Virginia, Records, Vol. 17, 1803-1808: 320 (Will of James Henry, 9 March 1801), County Clerk's Office, Heathsville.

‡ The table lists only those occupations, positions, and offices held by James Henry while he was a resident of Accomack County. Born in Scotland c. 1730 and trained in law in Edinburgh and Philadelphia, Henry settled in Accomack County as a young man where he married the daughter of a prominent local planter and established a

plantation and law practice. Henry sold his house and lands in Accomack County in 1779 or 1780 and moved his family to Northumberland County on the Western Shore of the Chesapeake, from whence he was elected to the Continental Congress in 1780. He was appointed Judge of the Virginia Court of Admiralty in 1782 and became a Virginia General District Court Judge in 1788. When Henry died at Fleet's Bay on December 9, 1804, he owned over 15,600 acres divided among tracts in Northumberland, King and Queen, Halifax, and Pittsylvania Counties, and fifty-nine enslaved laborers.

FIGURES

Figure 1. Southeast view of Stran Place, built for Solomon Glading, c. 1760. Photo by author.

Figure 2. Northwest view of White Place, built for Charles White, 1771 (demolished). From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1094.

Figure 3. Southeast view of The Hermitage, built for Edmund Bayly, c. 1769. Photo by author.

Figure 4. Southwest view of Rogers Place, built for William Bagge, c. 1750 (now ruinous). From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 834.

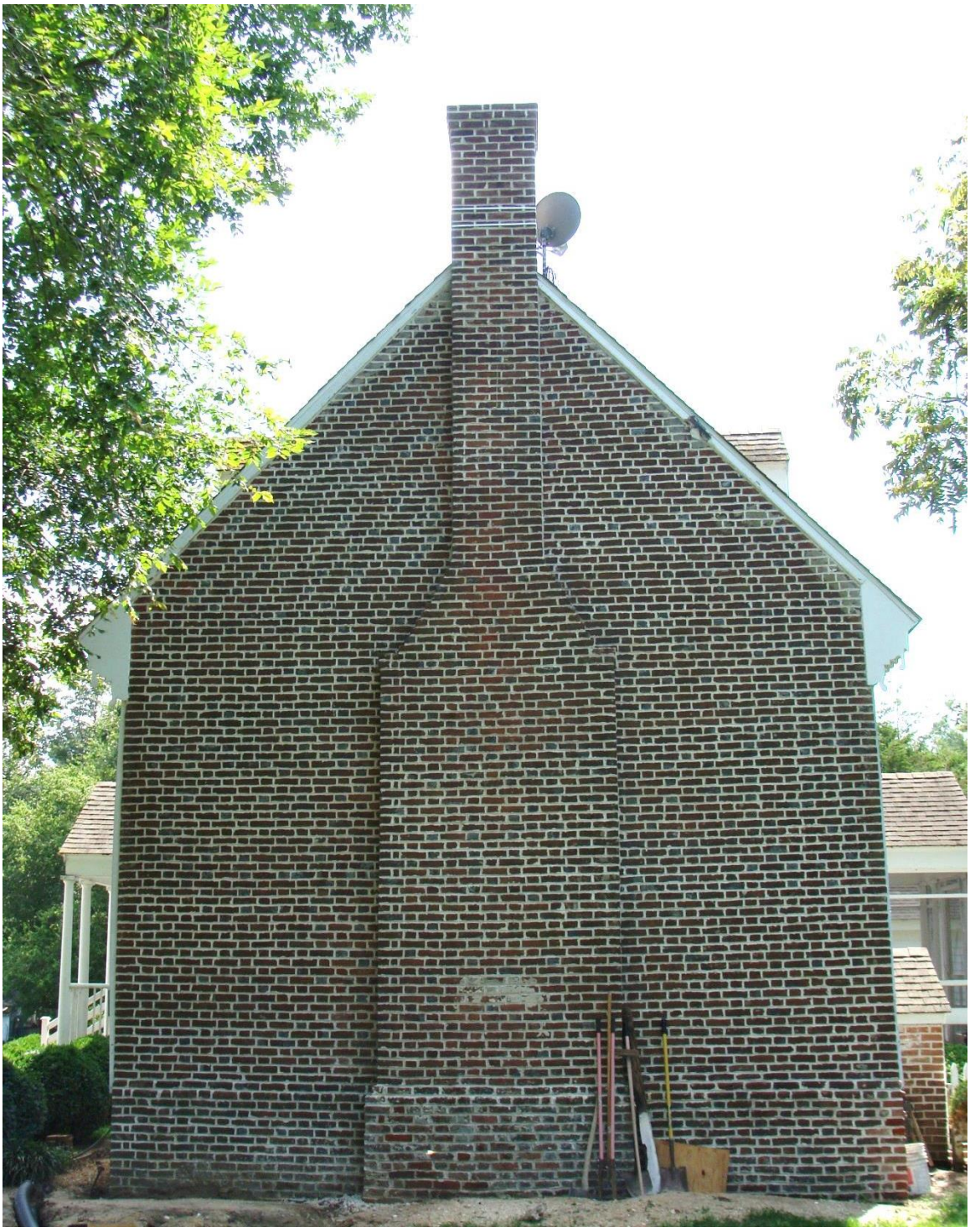


Figure 5. View of the north brick end at The Hermitage, built c. 1769. Photo by author.

Figure 6. View of east brick end at Stran Place, built c. 1760. Photo by author.

Figure 7. Hall at The Hermitage, built c. 1769. Photo by author.

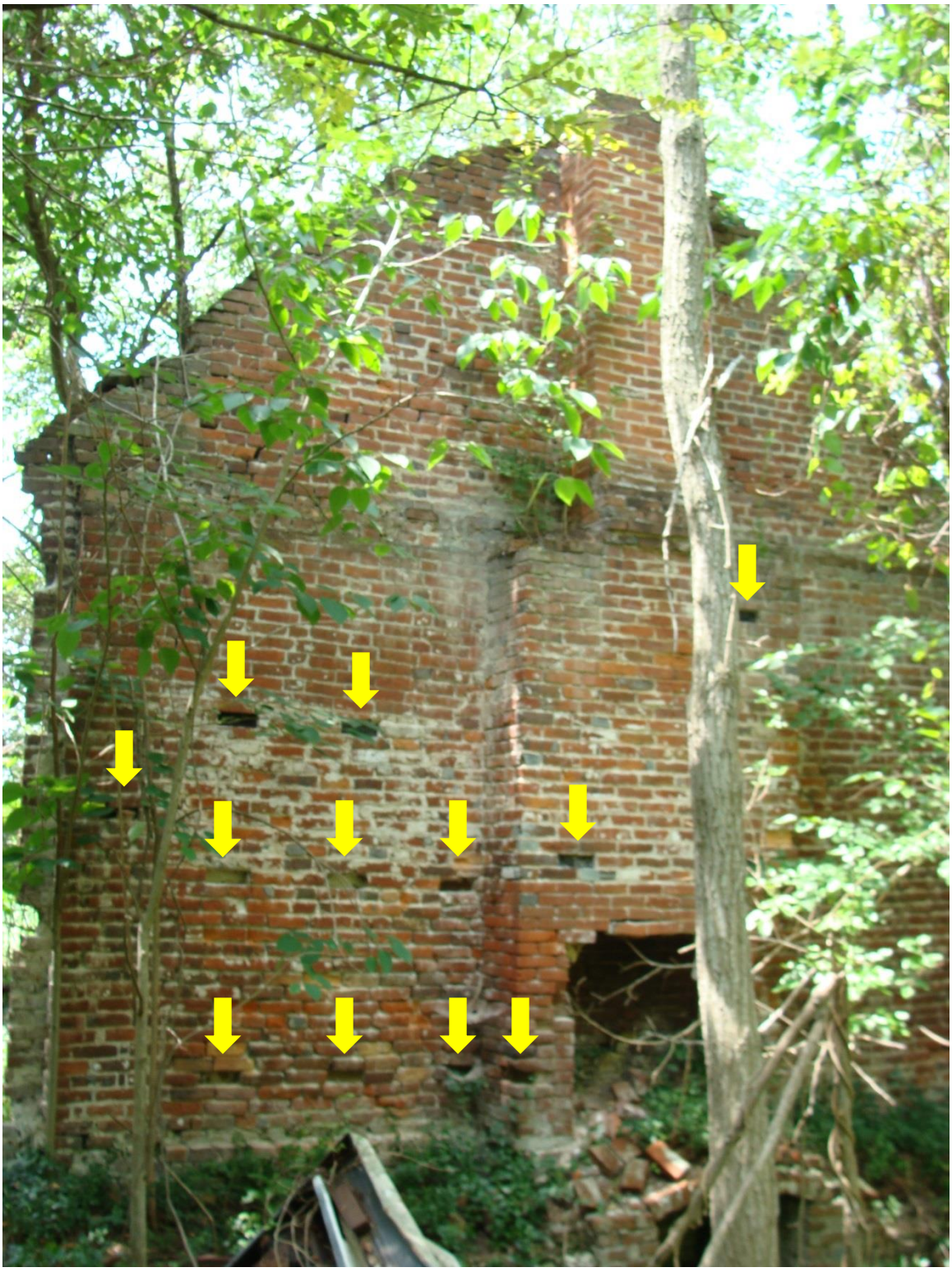


Figure 8. View of the interior surface of the west brick end at Rogers Place. The yellow arrows point to pockets in the masonry that originally held wood nailer boards to which were fastened a floor-to-ceiling wood paneled surface. Photo by author

Figure 9. Cornice in the hall at Stran Place. Photo by author.

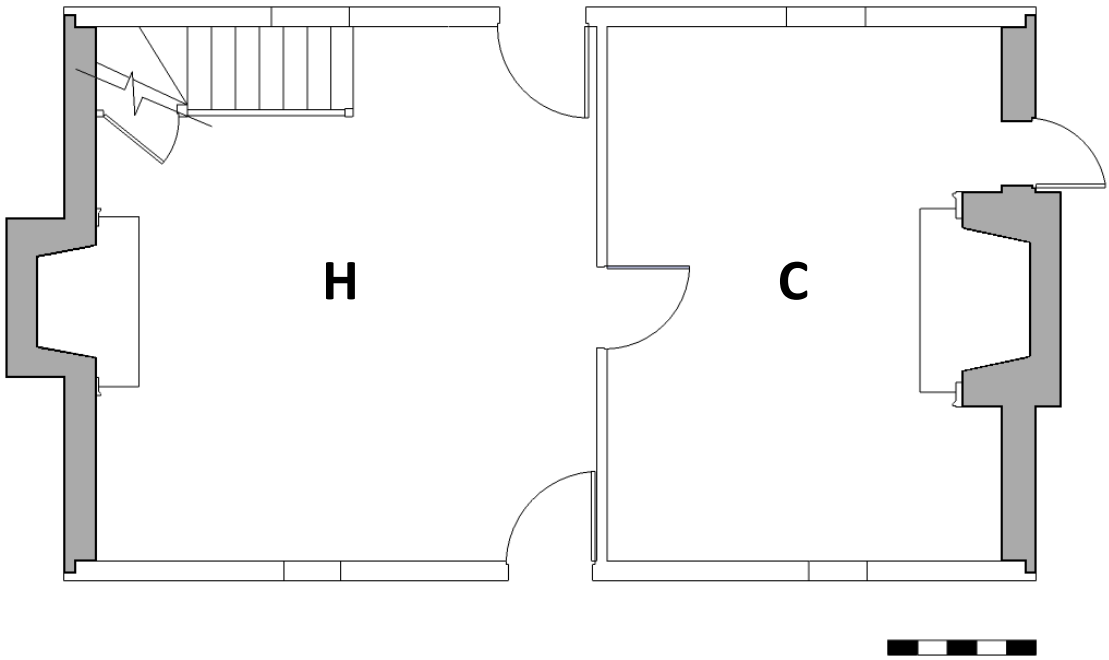


Figure 10. Ground-floor plan of Mister Place, Accomack County, built c. 1780. Mister Place is a typical hall-chamber house of eighteenth-century Accomack County, and is probably the most similar building to White Place that remains extant. Drawing by author.

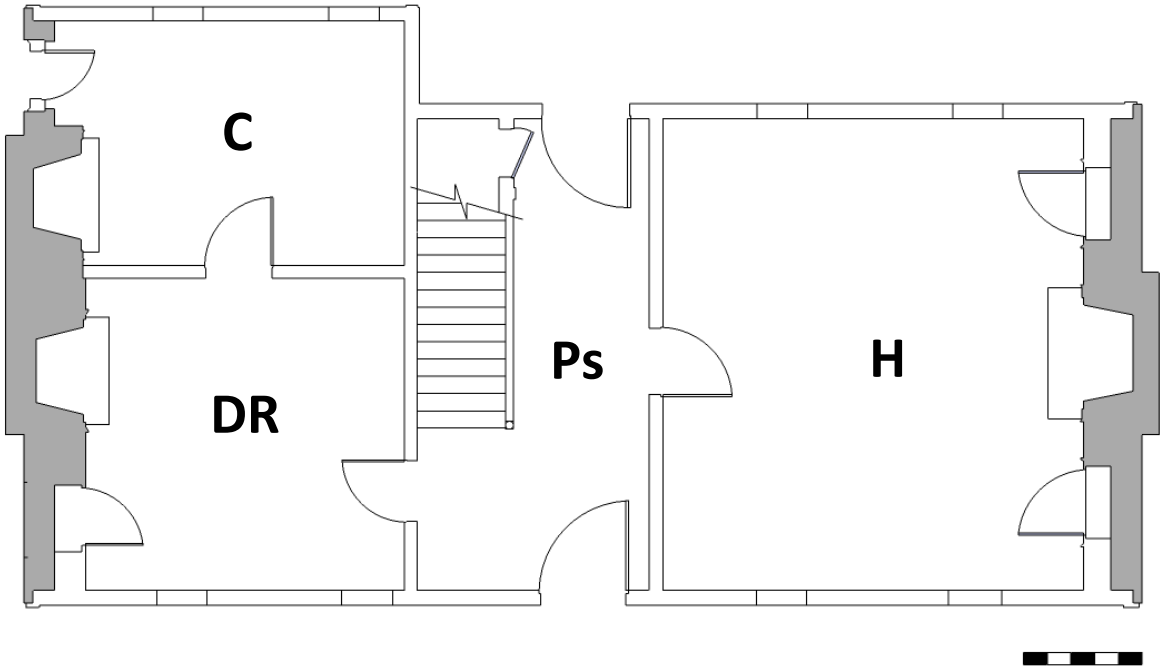


Figure 11. Ground-floor plan of The Hermitage, Accomack County, built c. 1769. Note the unheated stair passage between hall and chamber. The fourth room adjacent to the chamber is the dining room. Drawing by author.

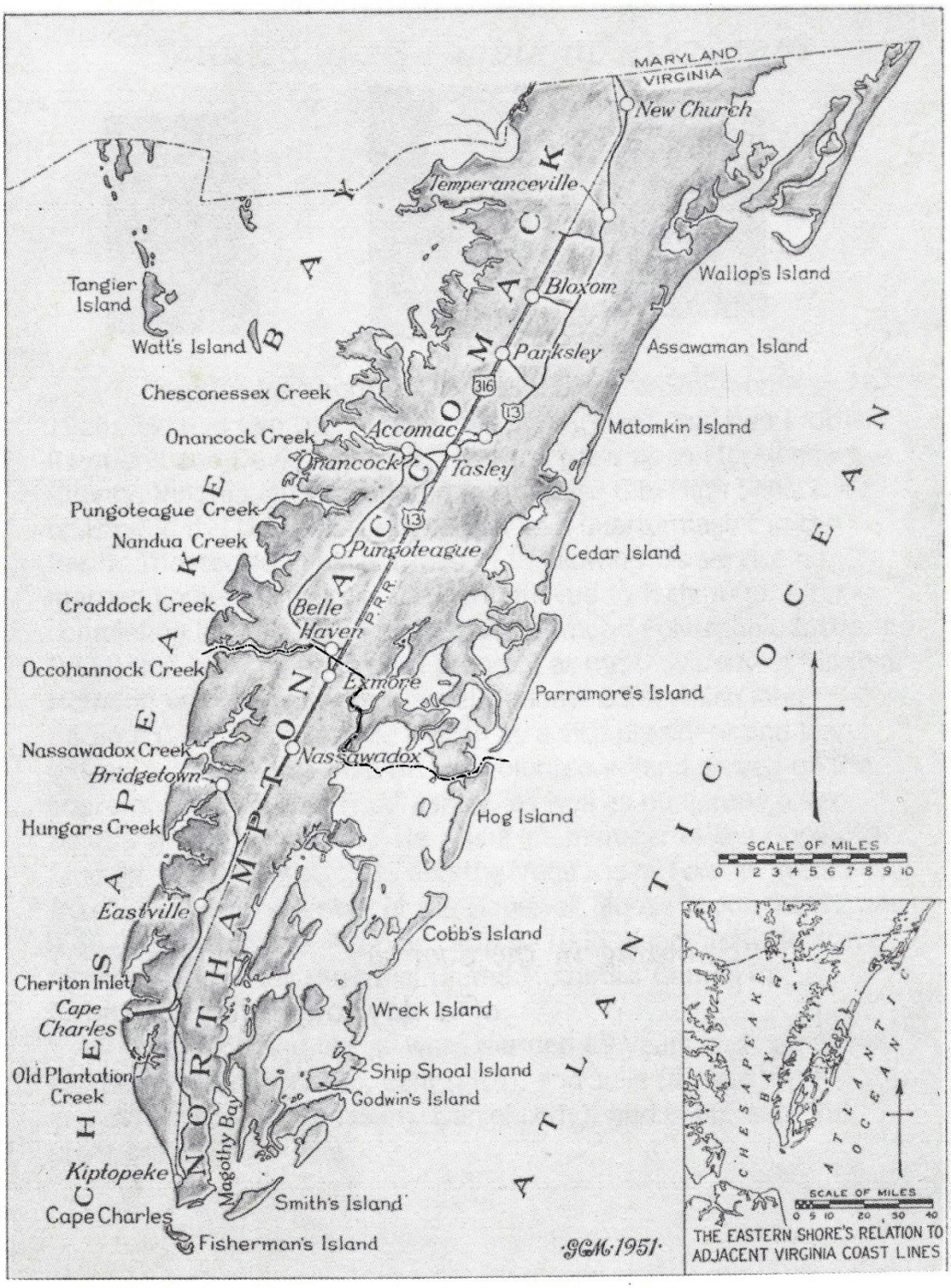


Figure 12. Map of the Eastern Shore of Virginia. From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, frontispiece.

Figure 13. The Eastern Shore landscape near Davis Wharf in lower Accomack County. Photo by author.

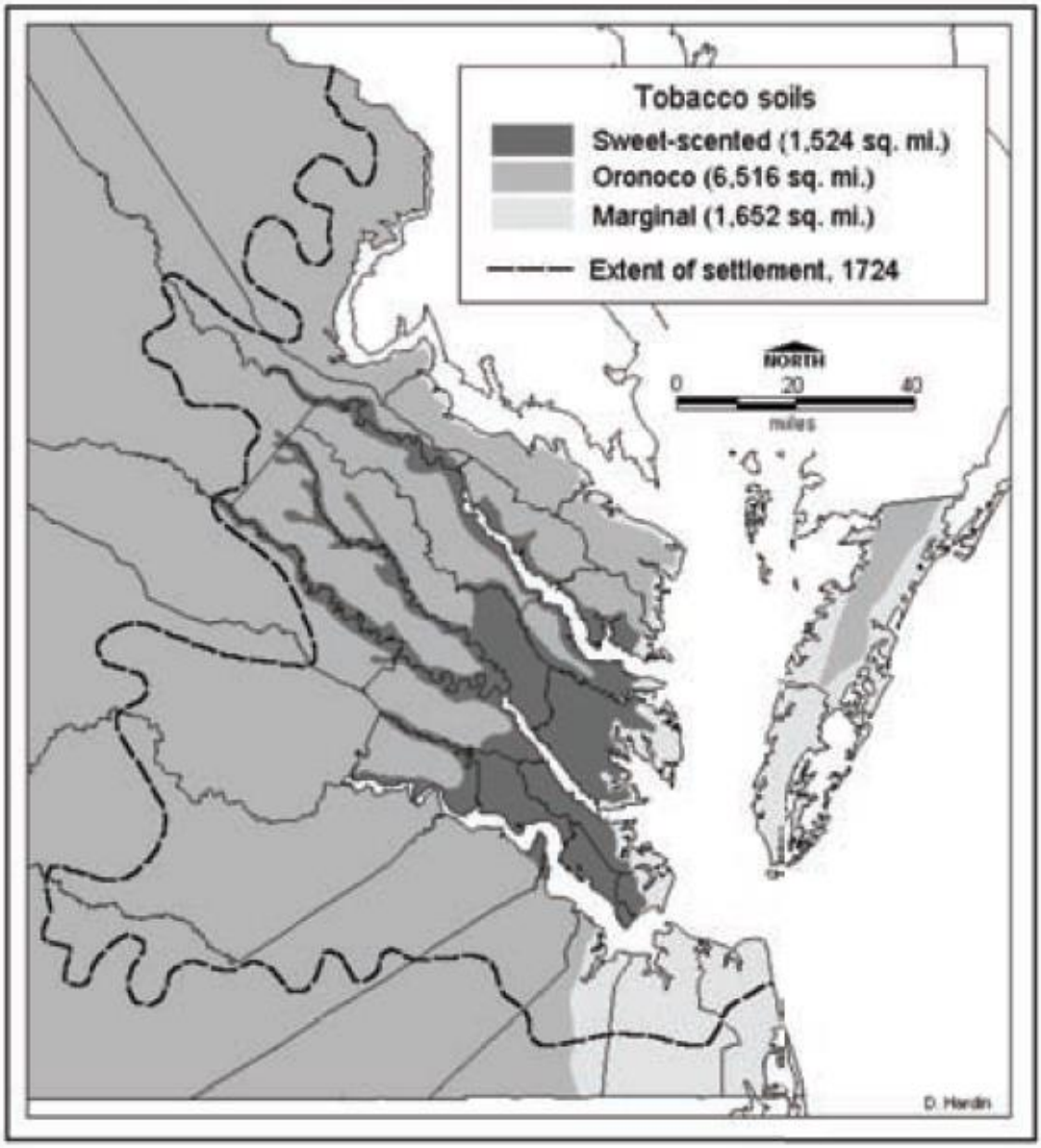


Figure 14. Map of tobacco soil types in Tidewater Virginia. From Hardin, "'The Same Sort of Seed in Different Earths,'" 145.

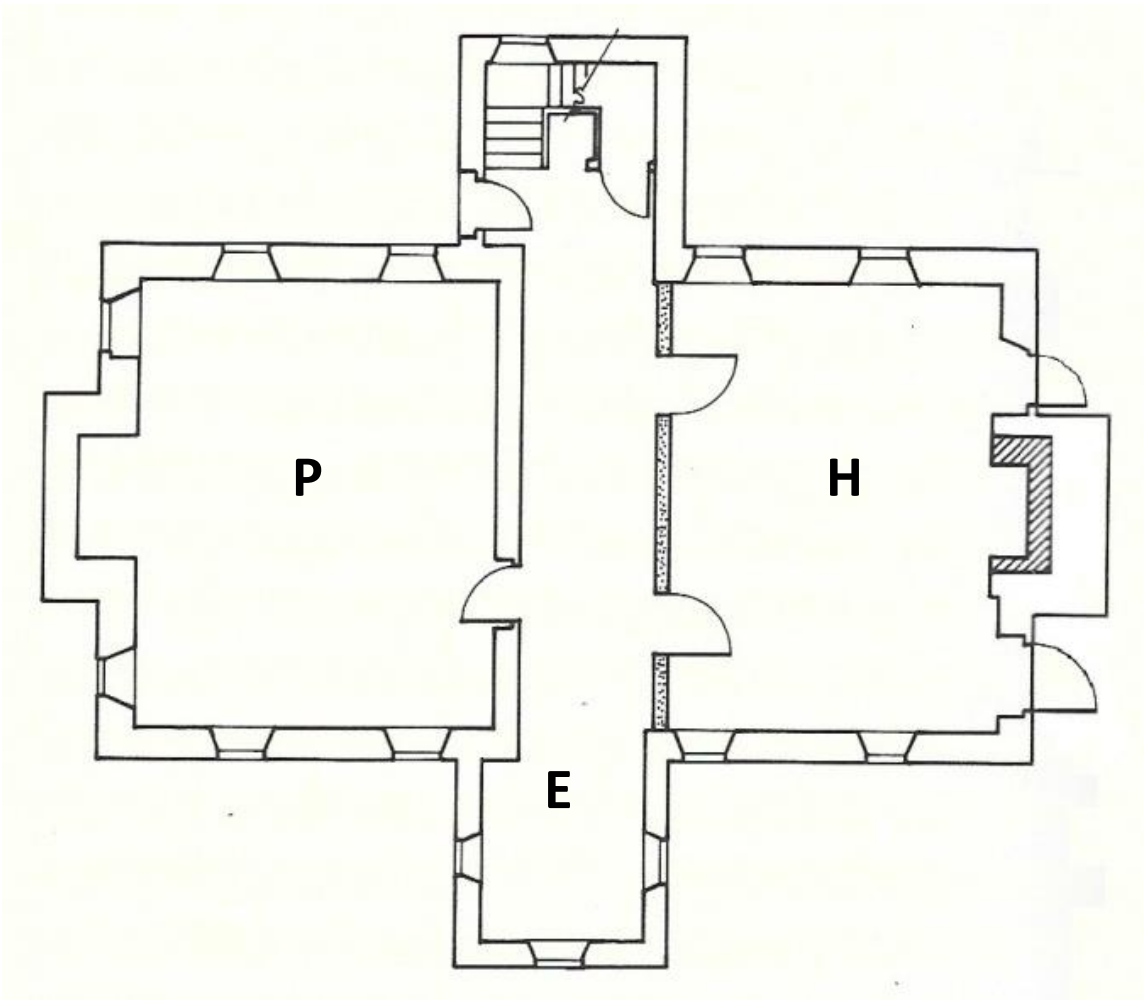


Figure 15. Ground-floor plan of Bacon's Castle, Surry County, built 1665. Bacon's Castle originally had a hall-parlor plan, an entry tower, and a stair tower. The shaded wall was added in the eighteenth century to make an unheated passage. From Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture," 322. Room labels added by author.

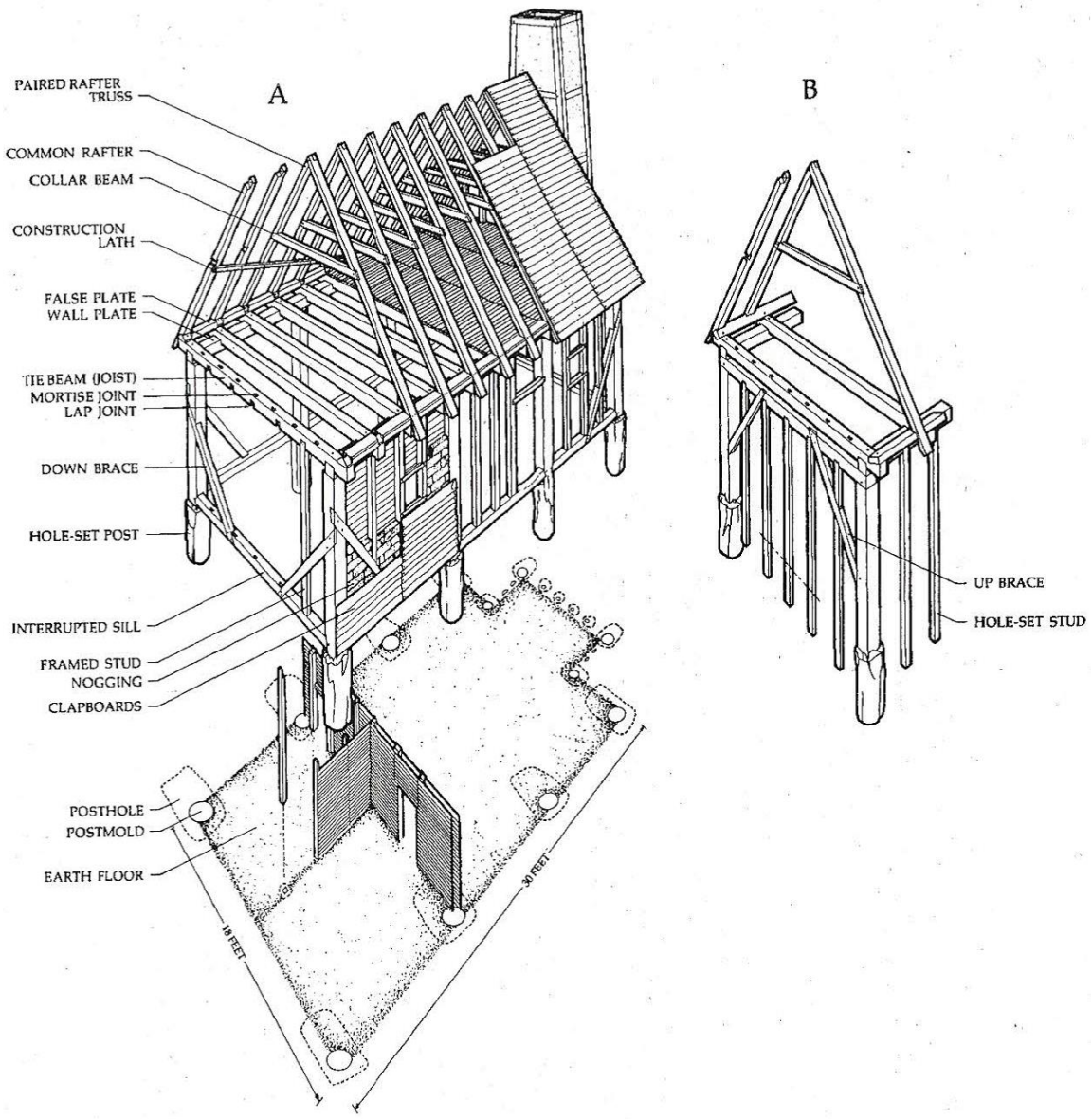


Figure 16. Perspective drawing of a typical seventeenth-century Virginia house. From Carson et al., "Impermanent Architecture," 143.

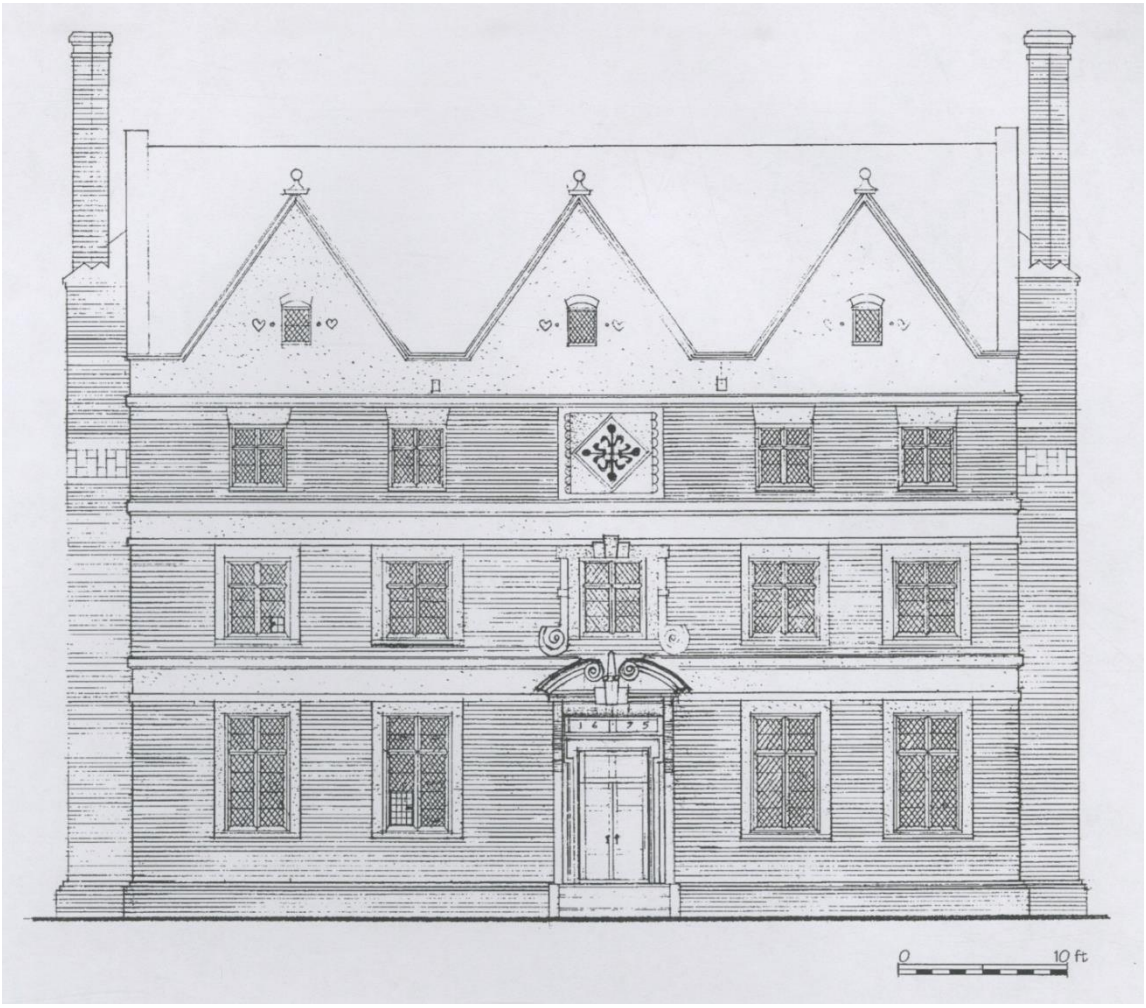


Figure 17. Conjectural elevation drawing of Arlington, Northampton County, built c. 1670. From Luccketti et al., *Archaeology at Arlington*, 28.

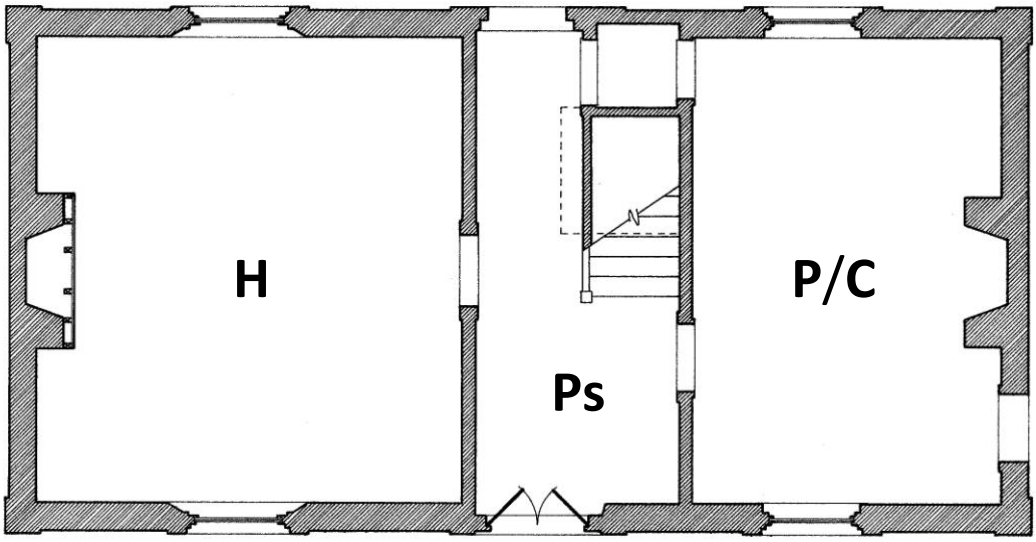


Figure 18. Ground-floor plan of Mason House, Accomack County, built 1729. Detail from David Bell, "Mason House, Accomack County – First Floor Plan," measured drawing, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1971, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-GIL.V,1- (sheet 1of 5); https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/hhh.va0021.sheet.00001a/?co=hh accessed March 7, 2014). Room labels added by author.

Figure 19. Hall at Shepherd's Plain, Accomack County, built c. 1765. Photo by author.

Figure 20. View of paneled end wall in the hall at Arbuckle Place, Accomack County, built 1774. Photo by author.

Figure 21. View of plain fireplace moldings in the chamber at Mister Place, Accomack County, built. c. 1780. Photo by author.

Figure 22. View of the stair in the northwest corner of the hall at Mister Place, Accomack County, built c. 1780. Mister Place has a hall-chamber floor plan (see fig. 10). Photo by author.

Figure 23. View of the southeast corner of the hall showing the stair at Leatherbury Farm, Accomack County, 1769. Leatherbury Farm has a hall-chamber plan. Photo by author.

Figure 24. View of the paneled end wall of the hall at Chandler-Drummond Place, Accomack County, built c. 1765. Note the enclosed stair to the right. Chandler-Drummond Place was originally constructed as a hall-chamber dwelling. Photo by author.

Figure 25. View of the stair in the passage at Shepherd's Plain, Accomack County, built c. 1765. Photo by author.

Figure 26. View of the stair in the passage at The Hermitage, Accomack County, built c. 1769. Photo by author.

Figure 27. View of the stair in the passage at Corbin Hall, Accomack County, built 1787 (demolished). Photo by Frances Benjamin Johnston, c. 1930-1939, reprinted in Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 291.

Figure 28. East view of Pitt's Neck, a center-passage-plan house in Accomack County, built c. 1735. Photo by author.

Figure 29. Northwest view of Shepherd's Plain, Accomack County, built c. 1765. Photo by author.

Figure 30. West view of Corbin Hall, Accomack County, built 1787 (demolished). From the Doran S. Callahan Photograph Collection, Eastern Shore Public Library, Accomac, Virginia.

Figure 31. East view of Pear Valley, Northampton County, built c. 1740. Photo by author.

Figure 32. Northwest view of Pear Valley. Photo by author.

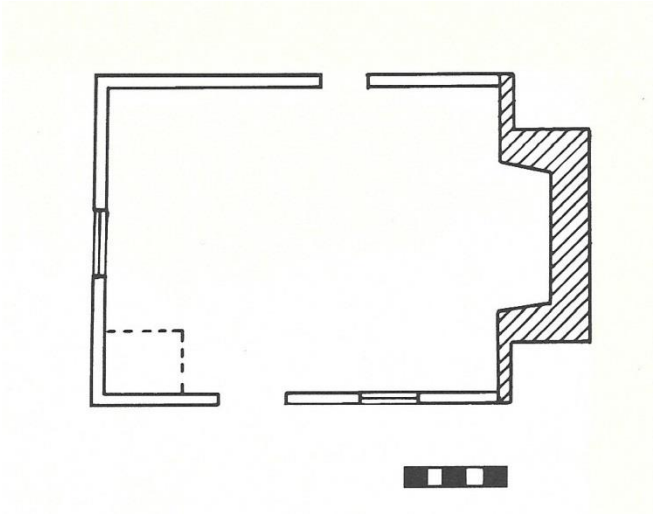


Figure 33. Plan of Pear Valley. From Herman and Lanier, *Everyday Architecture*, 13.

Figure 34. North view of Pear Valley showing brick end. Note the glazed brick patterning in the gable. Photo by author.

Figure 35. Detail of wall framing post and plate at Pear Valley. Note chamfers and lamb's tongue stops. Photo by author.

Figure 36. Southeast view of the Brick House at Machipongo, Northampton County, constructed before 1736. The frame section in the background is a later addition. Photo by author.

Figure 37. Chestnut Vale, Accomack County, built c. 1725-1750 (demolished). From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 861.

Figure 38. Glenn Farm, Accomack County, built before 1744 (demolished). The section of the building in the background was an addition. From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 767.

Figure 39. Broadwater Place, Accomack County, built before 1745 (demolished). From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 238.

Figure 40. Fisher House, Northampton County, built before 1746 (destroyed by hurricane, 1944). The door and chimney in the background are part of a later addition. Photo by HABS: "Fisher House, Holly Grove Cove, Wardtown, Northampton County, VA," photograph, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, n.d., from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,66-WARD.V,1--1; https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/hhh.va0806.photos.164104p/?co=hh accessed January 23, 2011).

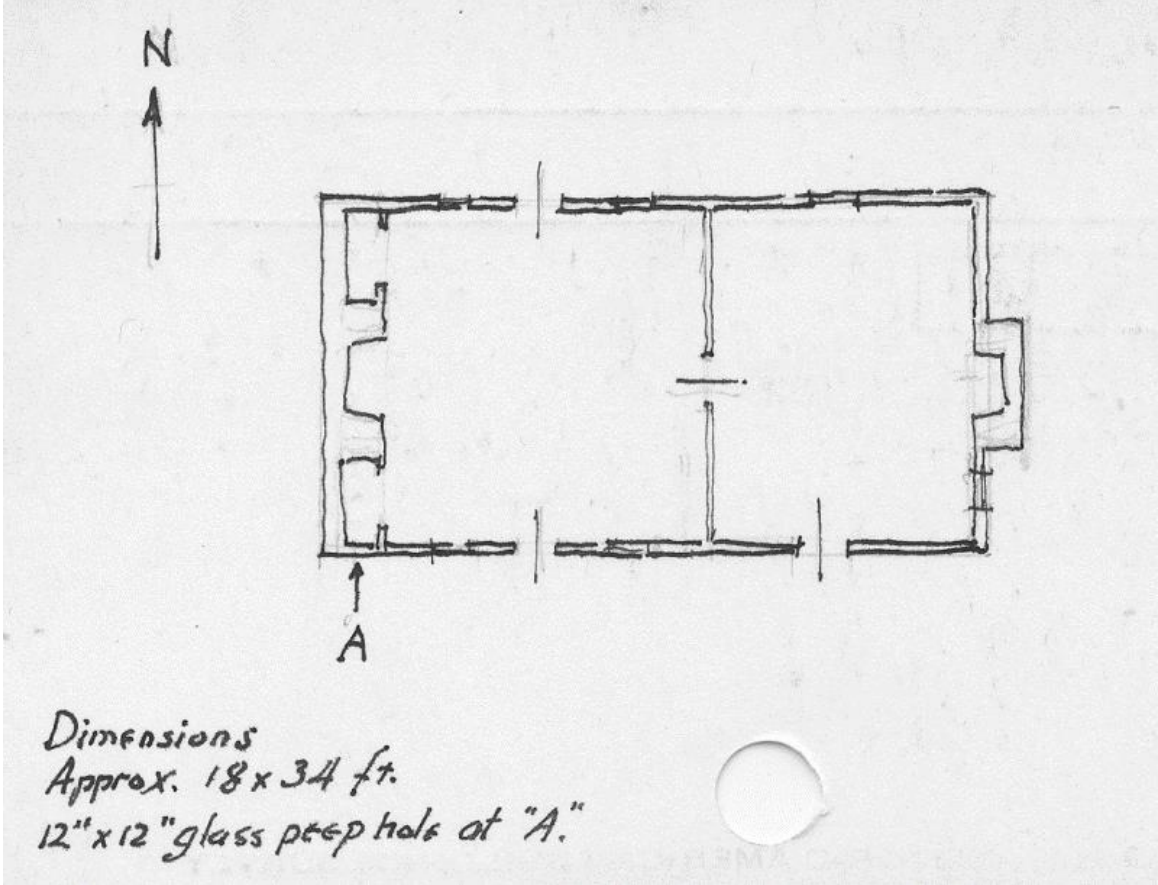


Figure 41. Plan of Fisher House. The east room on the right in the drawing was an addition. Drawing from HABS: "Fisher House," written historical and descriptive data, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, n.d., from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,66-WARD.V,1; https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/master/pnp/habshaer/va/va0800/va0806/supp/va0806supp.pdf accessed January 23, 2011).

Figure 42. West view of Rochester House, Westmoreland County, built c. 1745. From "096-0087 Rochester House," Westmoreland County, Historic Registers, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, accessed February 6, 2014, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/096-0087/.

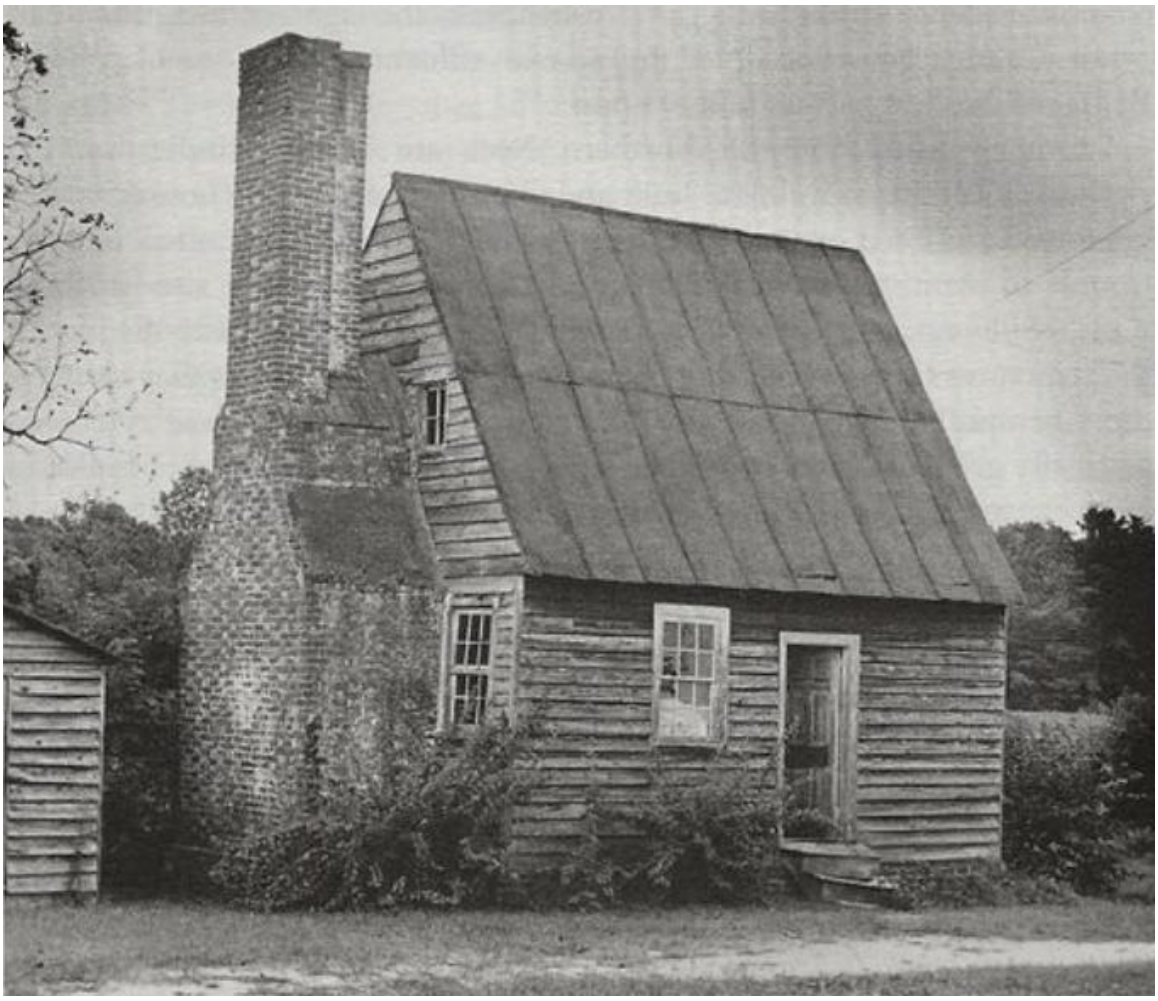


Figure 43. Northwest view of the Rochester House. From Camille Wells, "The Eighteenth Century Landscape of Virginia's Northern Neck," *Northern Neck of Virginia Historical Magazine* XXXVII (1987): 4243.

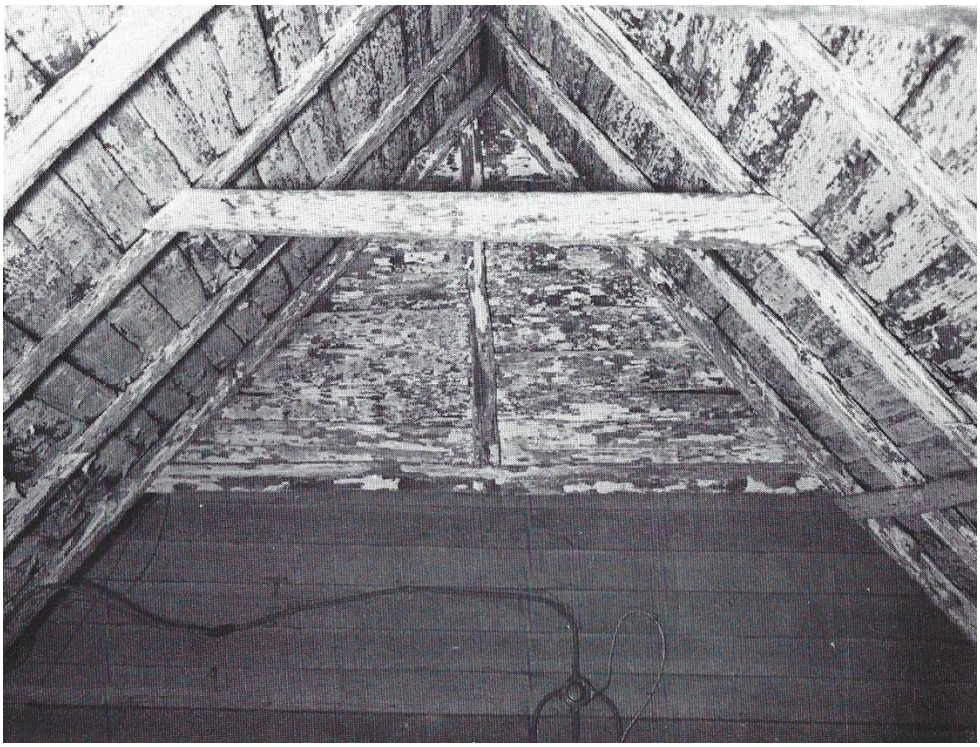


Figure 44. View of the interior of the roof of the Ball-Sellers House, Arlington County, built c. 1750-1775. Note the insubstantial riven rafters and clapboard sheathing. From Upton, *Holy Things and Profane,* 111.

Figure 45. Northeast view of Mears Place, Accomack County, built between 1741 and 1766. The small wing in the foreground and the entry porch are modern additions. Photo by author.

Figure 46. South view of Mears Place. The one-and-one-half-story central section is the oldest. The shed addition on the west dates to the early nineteenth century. The entry porch is from the twentieth century. Photo by author.

Figure 47. Perkinsons, Chesterfield County, built c. 1750-1775. The original section is the smaller one-and-one-half-story structure in the foreground with the large exterior chimney. From Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 112.

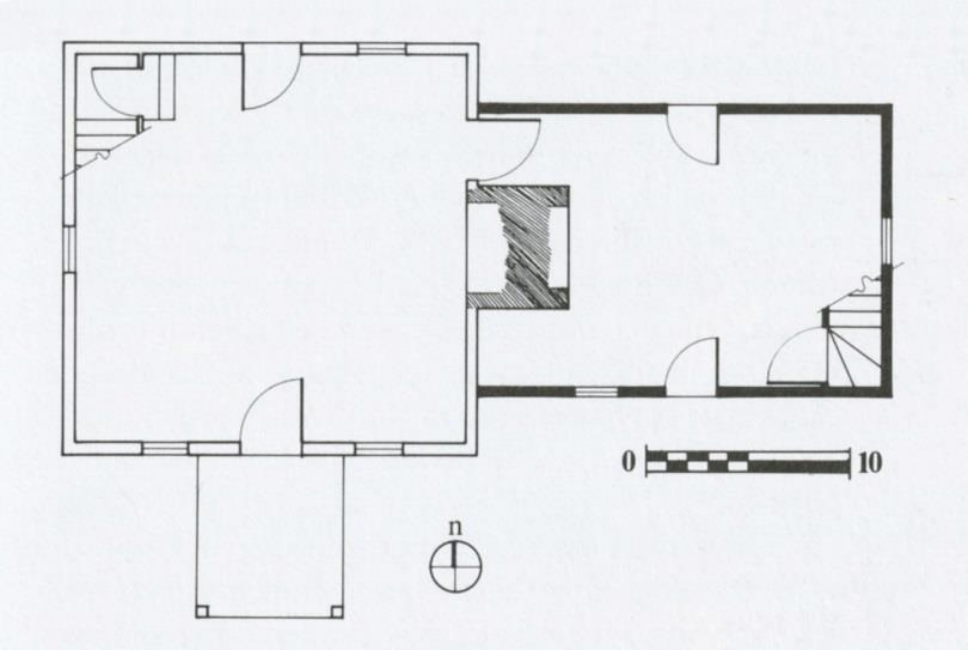


Figure 48. Plan of Wilson Farm, Chesterfield County, built c. 1775-1800. The smaller eastern section is the original building. From Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 113.

Figure 49. Isham Edwards House, Isle of Wight County, built c. 1775-1800. From Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 211.

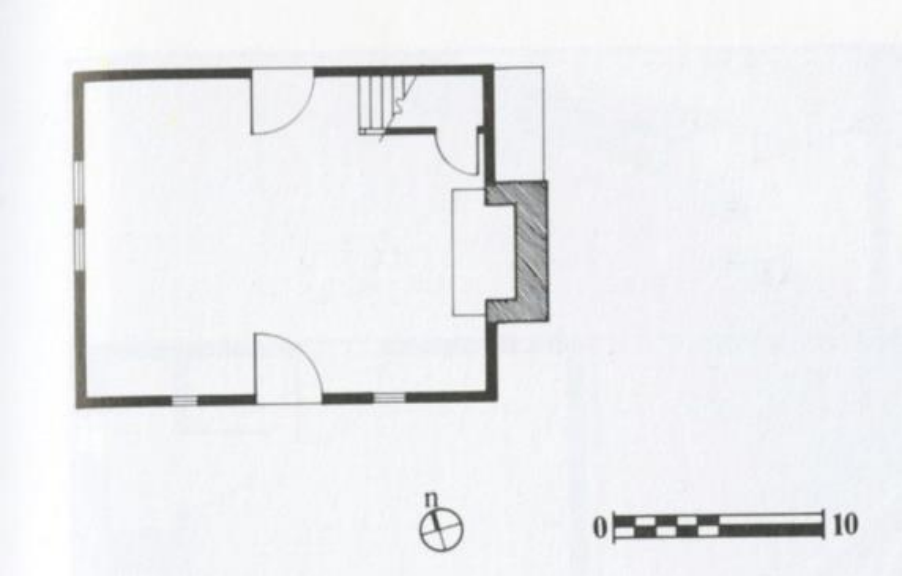


Figure 50. Plan of Isham Edwards House. From Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 211.

Figure 51. West House, Accomack County, built between 1761 and 1785 (demolished). The frame section to the left was a later addition. From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1074.

Figure 52. Detail of West House showing well-executed Flemish bond brickwork. From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 281.

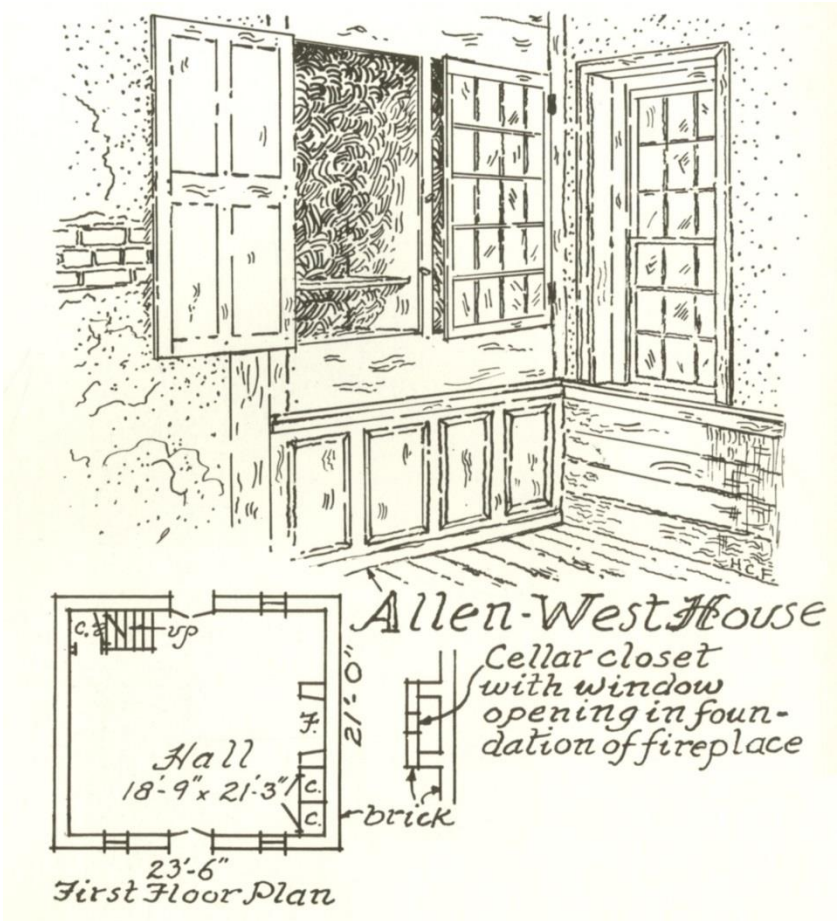


Figure 53. Plan of West House and sketch of the interior showing built-in cupboards and paneled wainscot. From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 282.

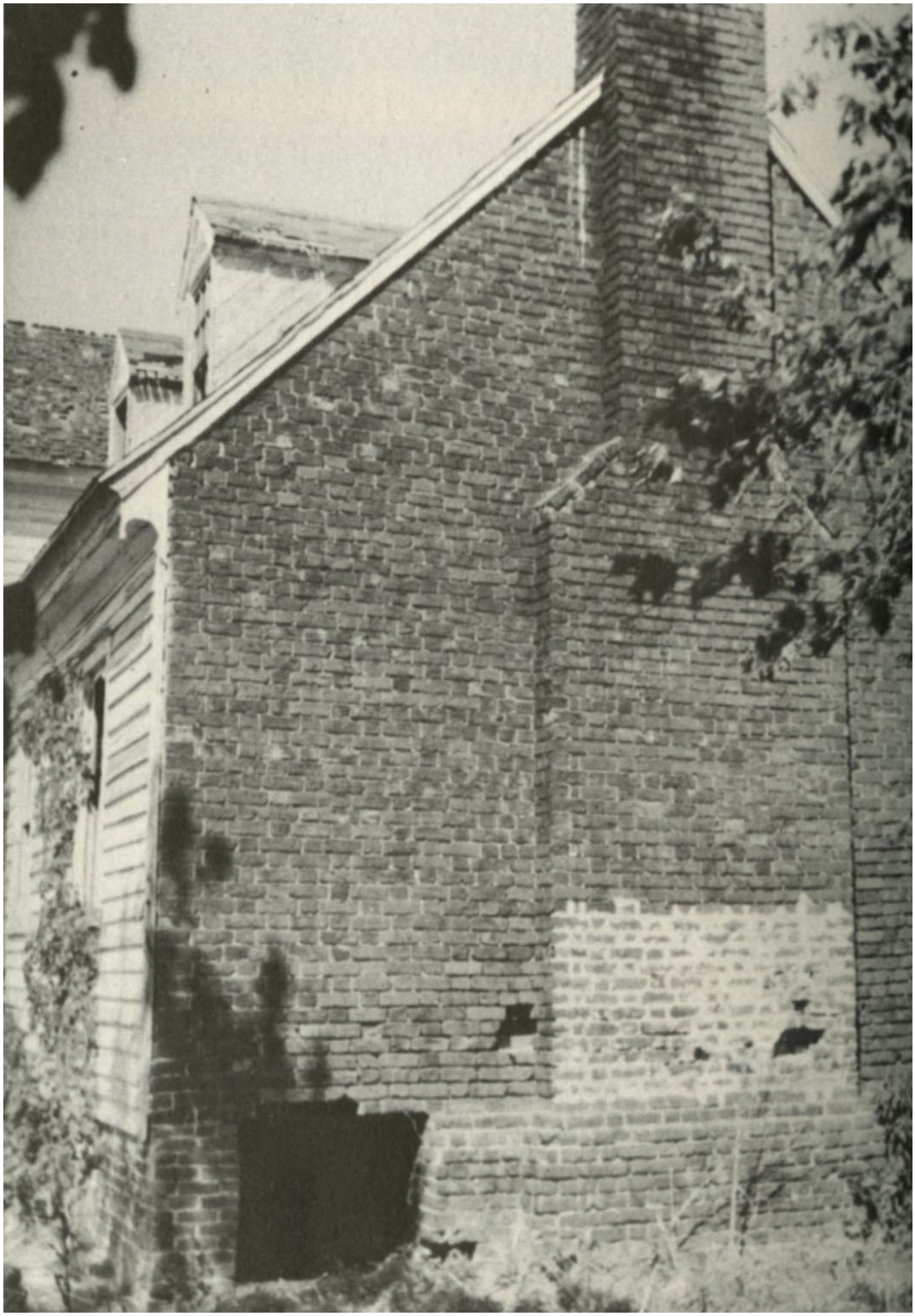


Figure 54. View of Flemish-bond brick end at Thomas Abbott House, Accomack County, built c. 1778 (demolished). From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 312.

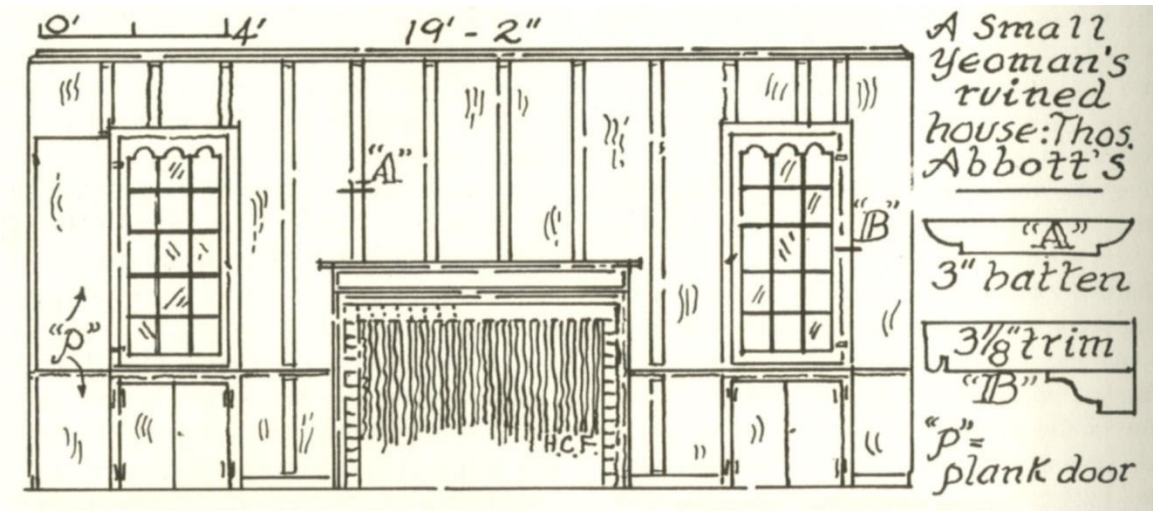


Figure 55. Sketch of the paneled end wall in the hall at Thomas Abbott House showing molded board-and-batten paneling and built-in cupboards—two with glazed doors. From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 210.

Figure 56. Copes Place, Accomack County, c. 1786-1789 (demolished). The original section is the three bays on the right. From Whitelaw, *Virignia's Eastern Shore*, 857.

Figure 57. View of the brick end at Copes Place showing neat Flemish-bond brickwork much obscured by later poorly-executed repointing campaigns. Scars in the brickwork on either side of the chimney stack at the peak of the gable indicate that originally there were two small windows in the gable lighting the upper story. It is possible that the dormers date to the second period of construction and the gable windows were closed up when the dormers were built. From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 312.

Figure 58. Runnymede, Accomack County, built 1797 (demolished). The original 1797 building is the one-and-one-half-story section in the center with the brick end. Photo by HABS: "Runnymede, Walston Creek, Accomac, Accomack County, VA," photograph, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1960, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-AC.V,4--2; https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/va0012.photos.159653p/resource/ accessed February 6, 2013).

Figure 59. Southeast view of kitchen at The Hermitage, Accomack County, built c. 1820. Note that while a section of the chimney brickwork is exposed on the exterior, the kitchen does not have a full brick end. The south brick end of the main house can be seen through the trees to the right. Photo by author.

Figure 60. South view of kitchen and main house at Walston Place, Accomack County. The main house was built in 1802 and is two stories in height with two brick ends and a center-passage plan. The kitchen probably dates to the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Photo by author.

Figure 61. Southeast view of The Folly showing the two-story c. 1816 section and the kitchen wing with connecting 'colonnade.' The Folly is located just outside of the courthouse town of Accomac in Accomack County. The kitchen and two-story section were built at around the same time. Photo by HABS: "The Folly, Folly Creek, Accomac, Accomack County, VA," photograph, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1960, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-AC.V,2—3; https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/va0008.photos.159639p/resource/ accessed February 10, 2013).

Figure 62. East view of Boman's Folly, Accomack County, c. 1815. Note that the kitchen in the foreground to the right does not have a brick end. Photo by HABS: "Bowman's Folly, Folly Creek, Accomac, Accomack County, VA," photograph, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1960, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-AC.V,1—5; https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/va0005.photos.159630p/resource/ accessed February 10, 2013).

Figure 63. The "Downing hut" near Craddockville, Accomack County. Photo taken December 17, 1896. From the Doran S. Callahan Photograph Collection, Eastern Shore Public Library, Accomac, Virginia.

Figure 64. Barnes House, Accomack County, built c. 1793 (demolished), a single-pile hall-chamber house. From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1106.

Figure 65. Royal Rest, Northampton County, built c. 1778 (demolished), a single-pile hall-chamber house. From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 526.

Figure 66. Walnut Grove, Northampton County, built c. 1760 (demolished), a single-pile hall-chamber house. From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 85.

Figure 67. Andrews House, Northampton County, built c. 1750 (demolished), a single-pile hall-chamber house. From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 182.

Figure 68. Thomas House, Northampton County, built c. 1775 (demolished), a single-pile hall-chamber house. The original building is the four-bay, one-and-one-half-story section on the left. From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 448.

Figure 69. West House, Accomack County, built c. 1725-1750 (ruinous), a single-pile hall-chamber house. Photo by HABS: "Revell West House, Deep Creek, Chesconessex, Accomack County, VA," photograph, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1940, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-____,7--1; https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/hhh.va0018.photos.159737p/?co=hh accessed February 12, 2011).

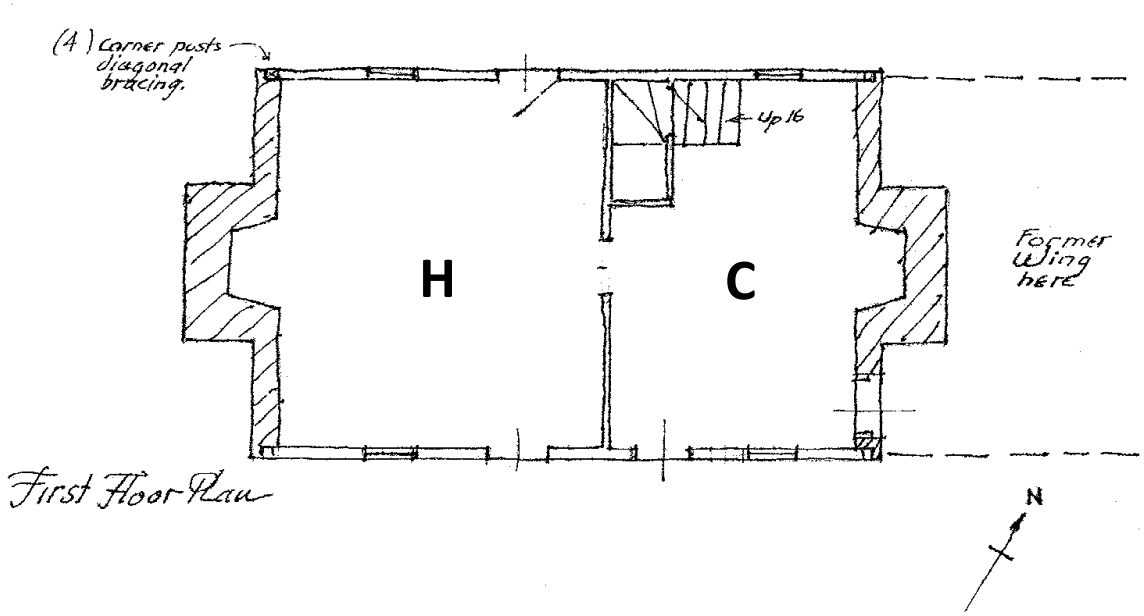


Figure 70. Ground-floor plan of West House, Accomack County, built c. 1725-1750 (demolished), a single-pile hall-chamber house. Drawing from HABS: "Revell West House, Accomack County, Virginia," written historical and descriptive data, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1940, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-____,7-; https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/master/pnp/habshaer/va/va0000/va0018/data/va0018data.pdf accessed February 12, 2011). Room labels added by author.

Figure 71. Shabby Hall, Accomack County, built c. 1789 (a portion of the building was moved to Maryland in the late twentieth century), a single-pile hall-chamber house. From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 311.

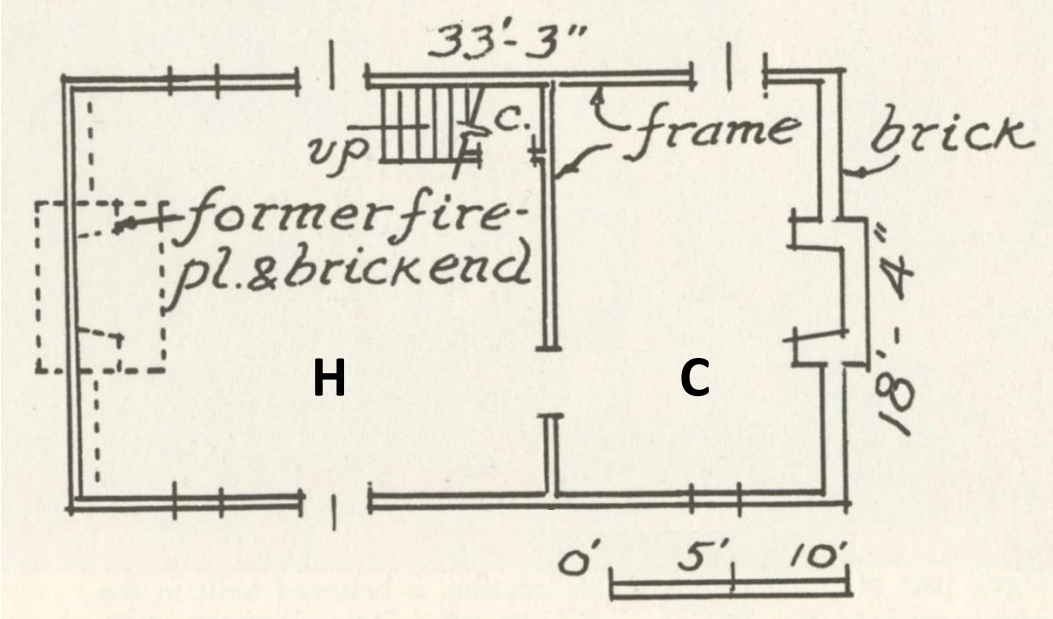


Figure 72. Ground-floor plan of Shabby Hall, Accomack County, built c. 1789 (a portion of the building was moved to Maryland in the late twentieth century), a single-pile hall-chamber house. From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 310. Room labels added by author.

Figure 73. Starve Gut, Accomack County, built c. 1750 (demolished), a single-pile hall-chamber house. From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1172.

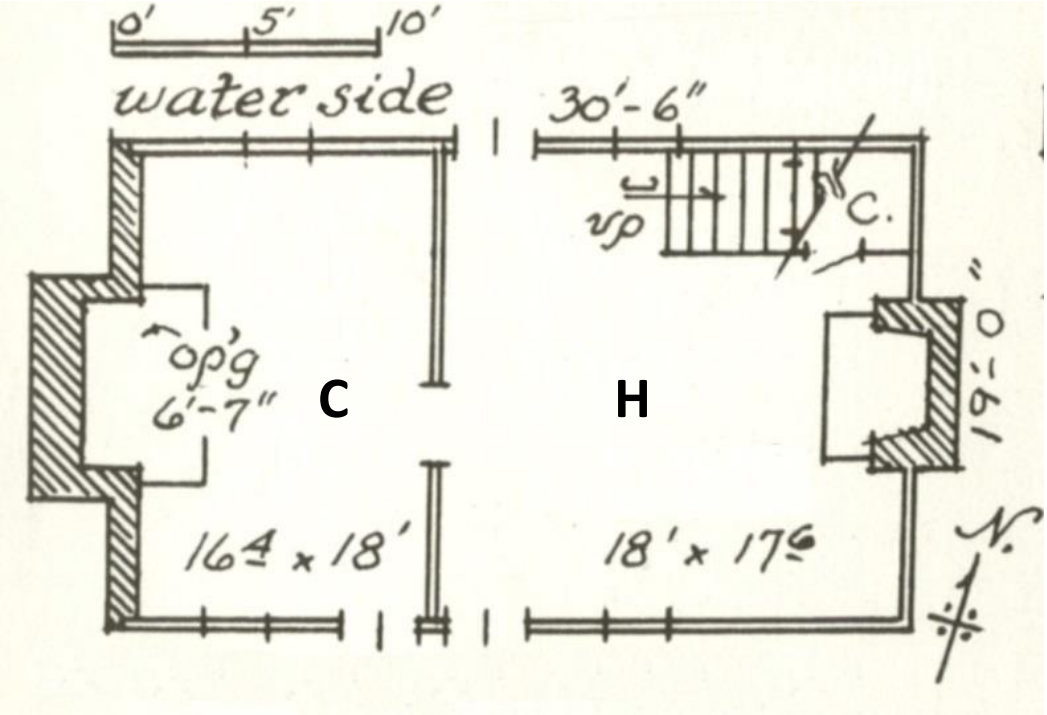


Figure 74. Ground-floor plan of Starve Gut, Accomack County, built c. 1750 (demolished), a single-pile hall-chamber house. From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 237. Room labels added by author.

Figure 75. North view of Dahl Swamp House, Accomack County, built c. 1792 (demolished), a double-pile hall-chamber house. Photo by L. Floyd Nock III.

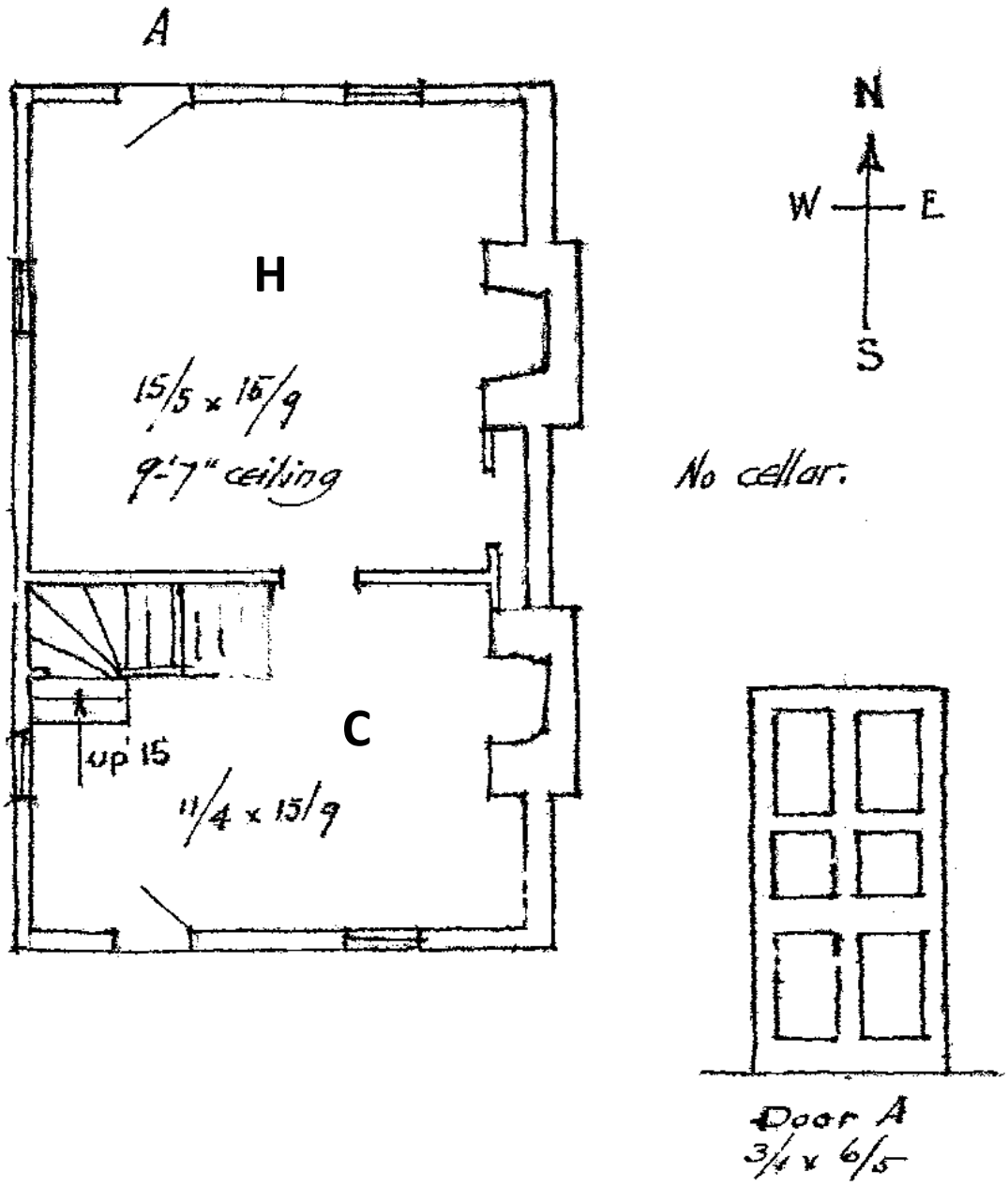


Figure 76. Ground-floor plan of Dahl Swamp House, Accomack County, built c. 1792 (demolished), a double-pile hall-chamber house. Drawing from HABS: "Topping House, Cashville vicinity, Accomack County, Virginia," written historical and descriptive data, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, n.d., from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-CASH.V,1-; https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/master/pnp/habshaer/va/va0000/va0013/data/va0013data.pdf accessed February 7, 2011). Room labels added by author.

Figure 77. West view of Long Place, Accomack County, built c. 1779, a double-pile hall-chamber house. Photo by author.

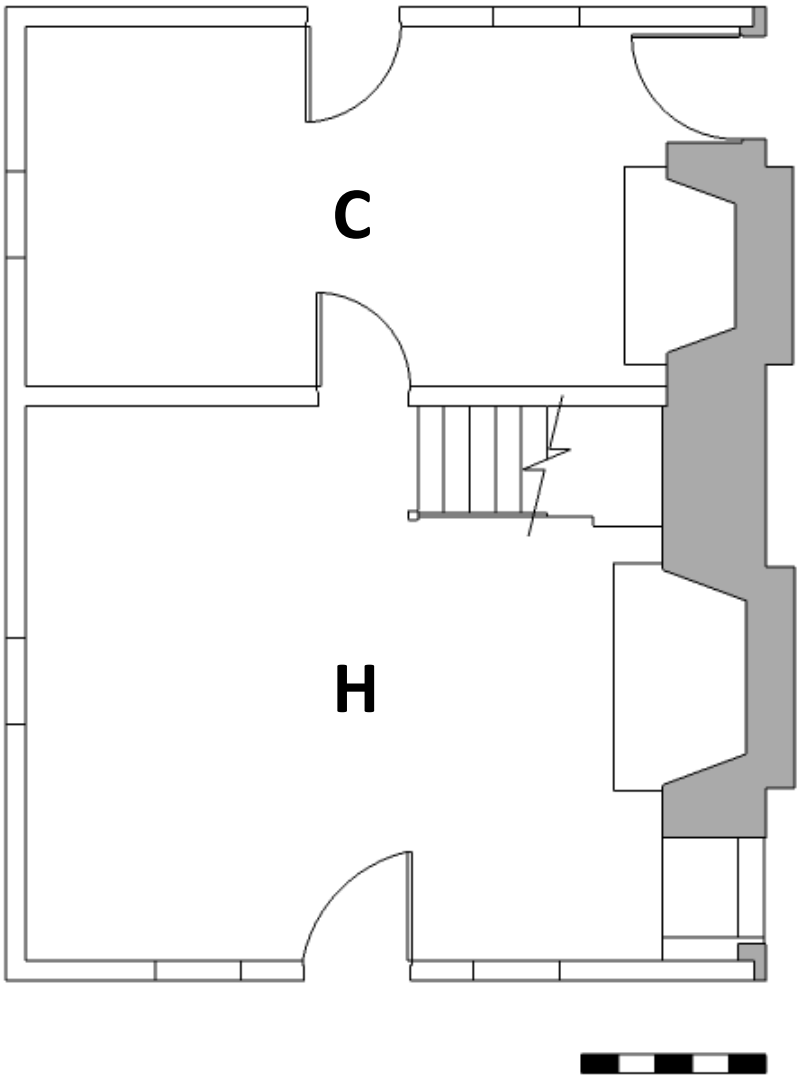


Figure 78. Ground-floor plan of Long Place, Accomack County, built c. 1792, a double-pile hall-chamber house. Drawing by author.

Figure 79. West view of Brick House, Accomack County, built c. 1765, a single-pile hall-chamber house. Photo by author.

Figure 80. Last Shift, Accomack County, built c. 1750 (demolished), a single-pile hall-chamber house. The three-bay frame section in the background was an addition. From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 794.

Figure 81. Wessells House, Accomack County, built 1768 (demolished), a single-pile hall-chamber house. From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1270.

Figure 82. View of the hall-end at Stran Place, Accomack County, built c. 1760, a single-pile hall-chamber house. Photo by author.

Figure 83. View of the chamber-end at Stran Place, Accomack County, built c. 1760, a single-pile hall-chamber house. The chimney stack has been rebuilt above the upper belt course. Photo by author.

Figure 84. View of hall-end at Benjamin Aydelotte House, Worcester County, Maryland, built 1786, a single-pile hall-chamber house. This house was originally located only a couple of miles from the Accomack County border in Worcester County, Maryland. Though built in Maryland, it should be considered an example of the Eastern Shore of Virginia hall-chamber middling house type. Photo by author.

Figure 85. View of the chamber-end at Benjamin Aydelotte House, Worcester County, Maryland, built 1786. Photo by author.

Figure 86. View of the hall-end at Arbuckle Place, Accomack County, built 1774, a single-pile hall-chamber house. The differences between the hall and chamber brick ends at Arbuckle Place are much more subtle than at Stran Place and Benjamin Aydelotte House (figs. 82, 83, 84, 85). Here, the hall-end has a semi-exterior chimney stack and a somewhat regular pattern of glazed headers, while the chamber-end has a fully exterior chimney stack and less glazed-brick decoration (see fig. 87). The fact that the mason carved his initials into bricks in the hall-end is an indication that he considered that end to exhibit a finer quality of work. Photo by author.

Figure 87. View of the chamber-end at Arbuckle Place, Accomack County, built 1774, a single-pile hall-chamber house. There is little glazed-brick decoration on the chamber-end and the brickwork is not as neatly executed as on the hall-end (see fig. 86). The presence of the cellar door in the chamber-end wall is another indication that it was considered to be the less important of the two brick ends. Photo by author.

Figure 88. View of the paneled end wall and enclosed stair in the hall at Long Place, Accomack County, built c. 1779, a double-pile hall-chamber house. Photo by author.

Figure 89. Northeast view of Arbuckle Place, Accomack County, built 1774. Photo by author.

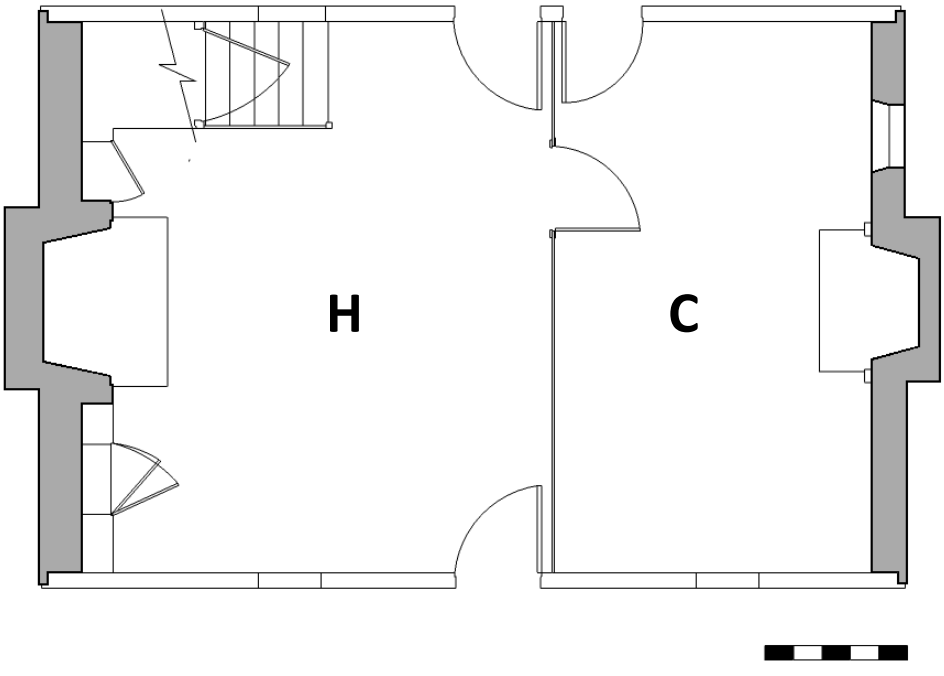


Figure 90. Ground-floor plan of Arbuckle Place. The two rooms are separated by an original board partition wall. Drawing by author.

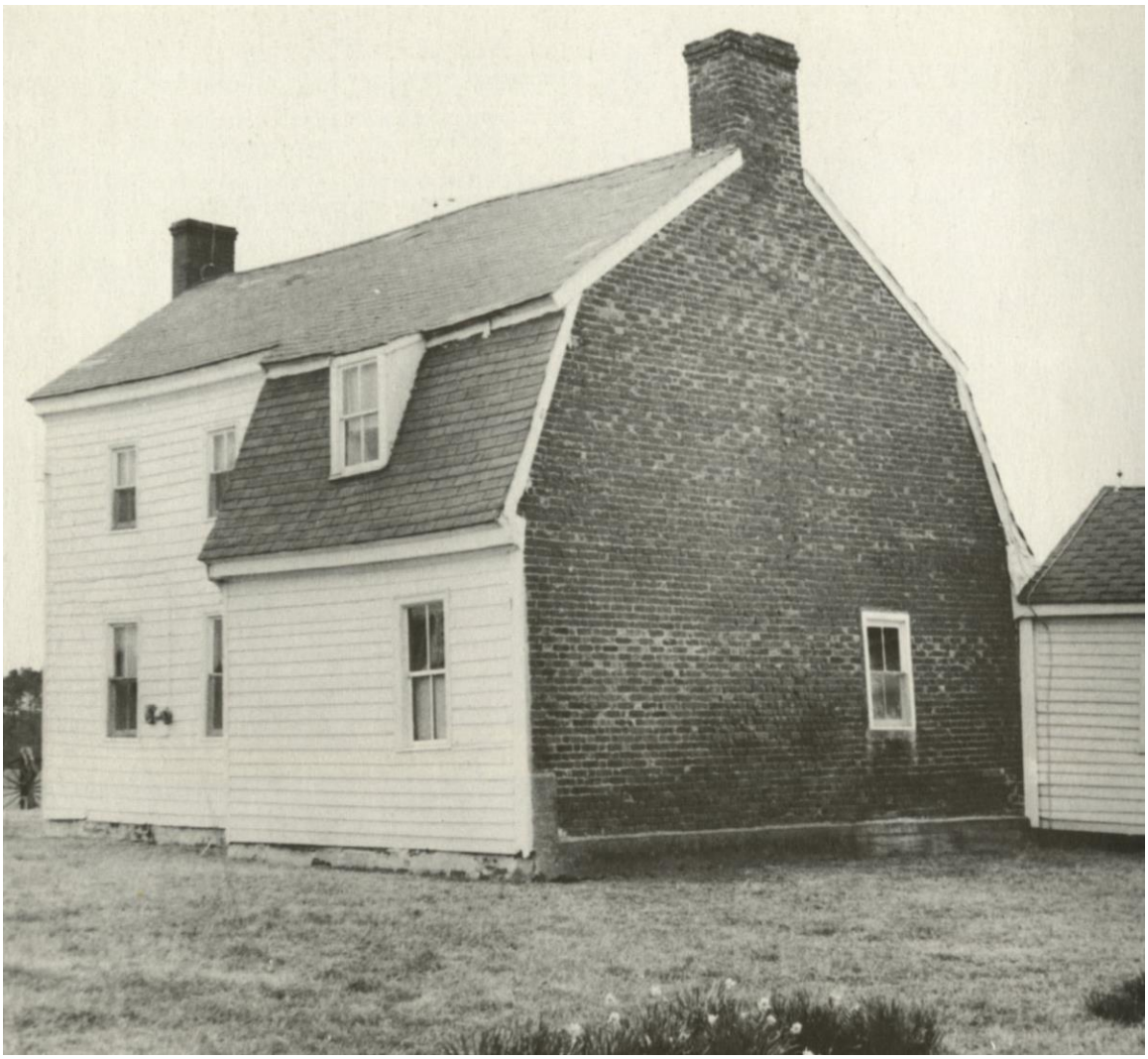


Figure 91. Conquest House, Accomack County, built c. 1750 (demolished). The two-story section in the background was a nineteenth- century addition. From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 252.

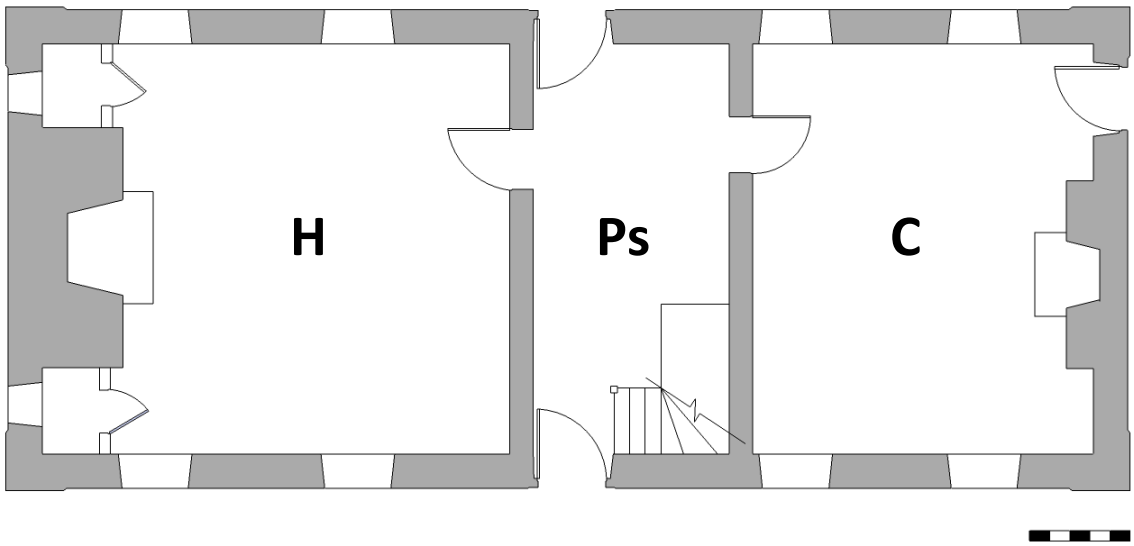


Figure 92. Ground-floor plan of Evergreen, Accomack County, built c. 1766-1772. Drawing by author.

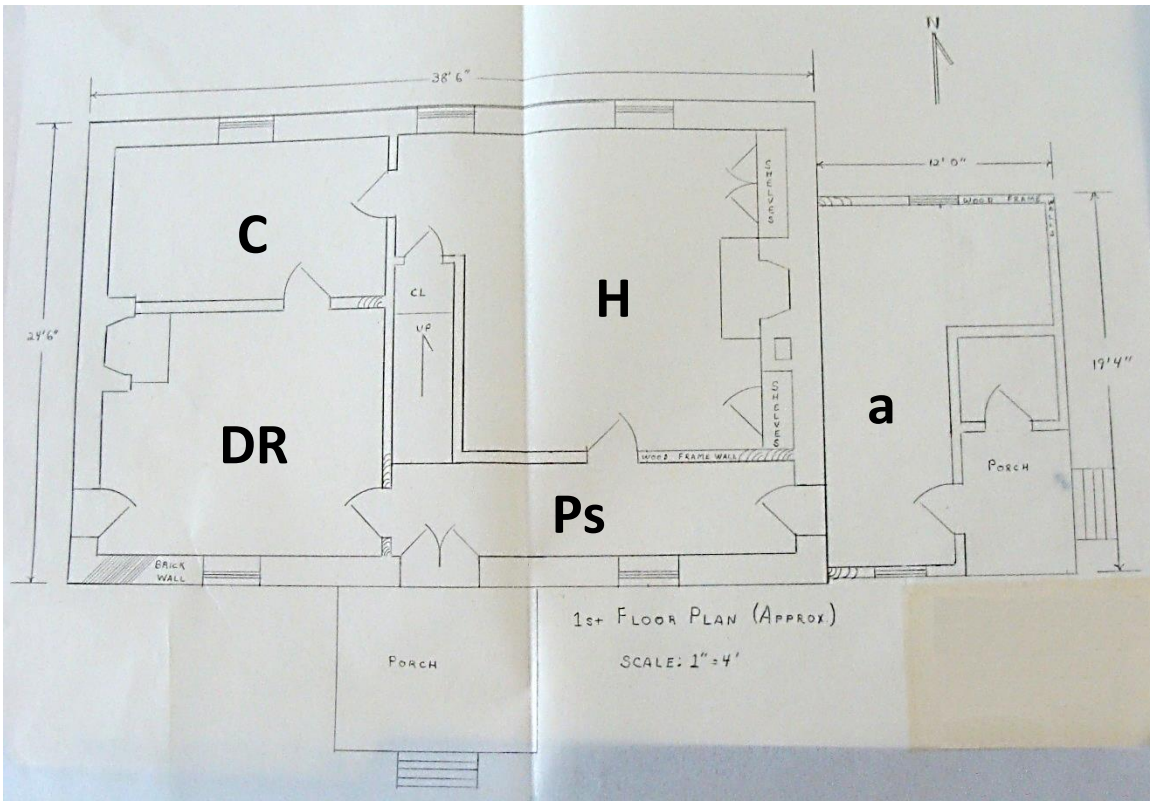


Figure 93. Ground-floor plan of Marino, Accomack County, built 1796 (demolished). This building featured a variation of the passage-plan form that was occasionally used on the Eastern Shore primarily around the turn of the nineteenth century wherein the passage ran laterally across the front of the building. The section labeled '**a**' was a later frame addition. Drawing by L. Floyd Nock III, 1982. Room labels added by author.

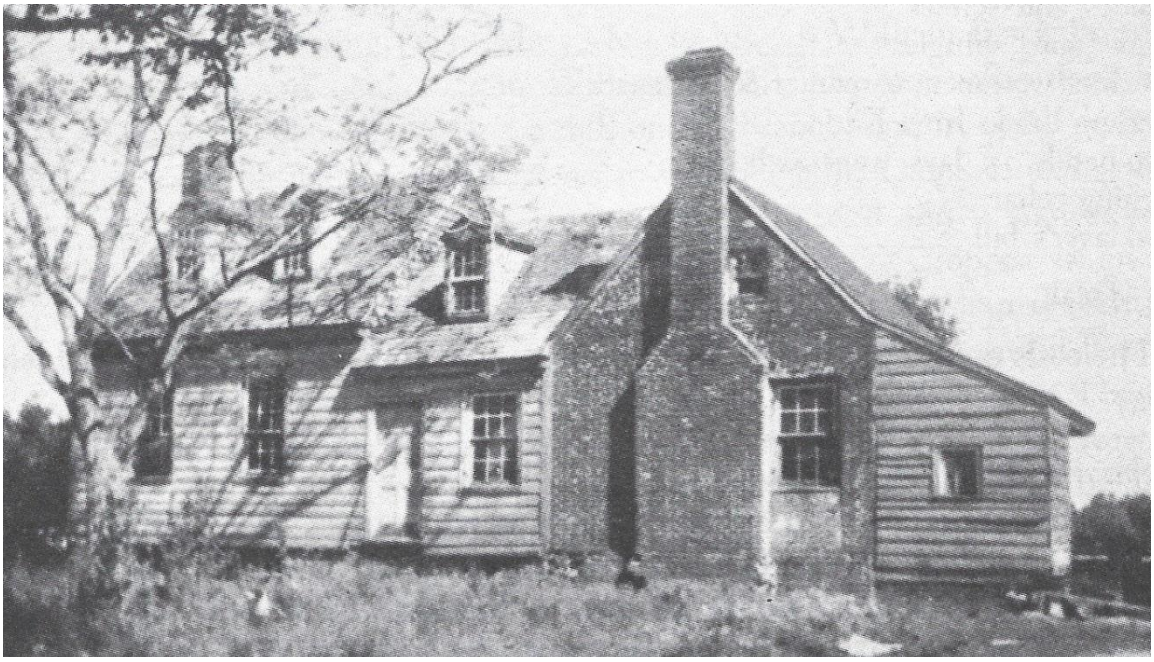


Figure 94. Captain James Walker House, Accomack County (demolished). The brick section to the right was the original building which probably dated to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The new addition built by Captain Walker in 1839 was the two-bay frame portion with chimney on the left as well as the narrow connecting two-bay portion with entrance door. From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 897.

Figure 95. Northeast view of Martin Place, Accomack County, built for Peter Martin before 1761. This little building has been greatly altered from its original appearance. Very few original finishes remain on the interior and, as is evident in this photograph, a layer of cement obscures the masonry of the brick end. The several glazed bricks that are visible in the chimney suggest that the brick end may have been decorated with a glazed brick pattern. The entry porch and the two-story house in the background are twentieth-century additions. Photo by author.

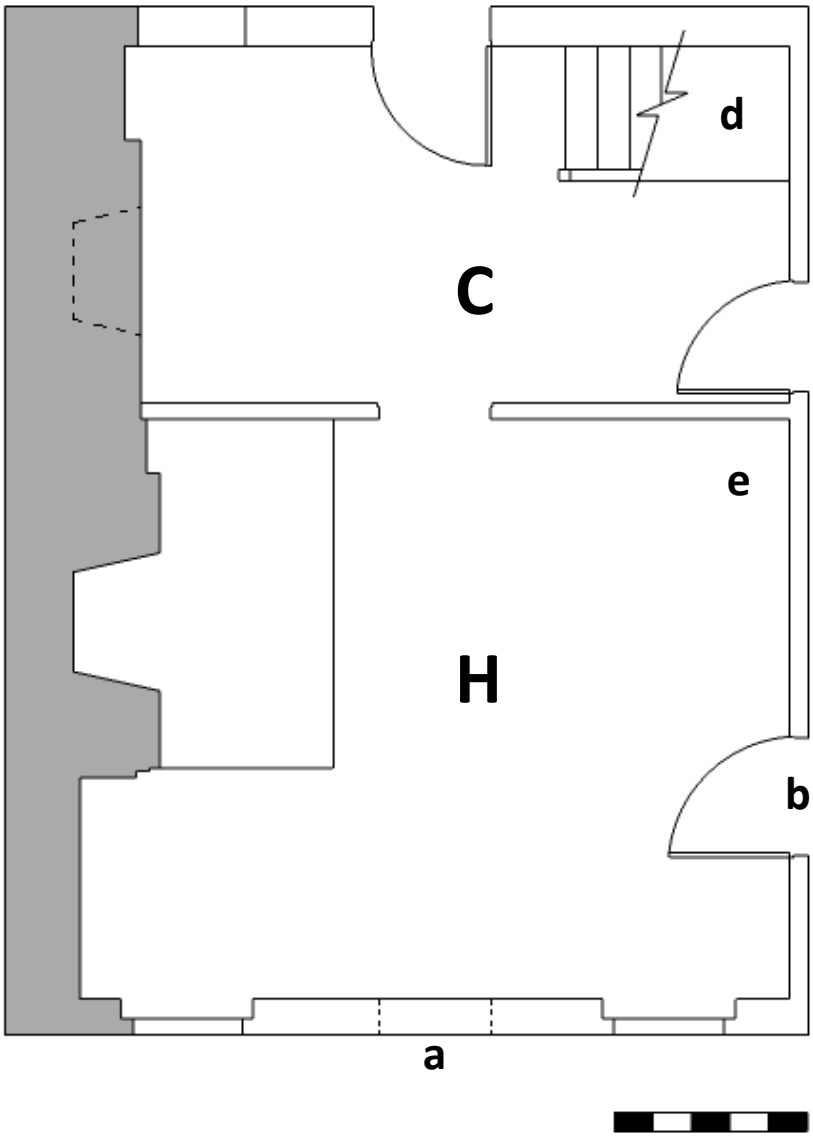


Figure 96. Ground-floor plan of Martin Place. Martin Place is a hall-chamber house with a double-pile, or back-to-back, room configuration. The dashed lines at '**a**' represent the approximate location of an original entrance; '**b**' is presently a door but was probably a window originally. The present stair labeled '**d**' is not from the first period of construction. The stair may have originally been located in the corner of the hall labeled '**e**.' Drawing by author.

Figure 97. Northeast view of Poplar Grove, Accomack County, built for George Douglas c. 1728-1758 (destroyed by fire, 1944). Photo by HABS: "Poplar Grove, Mosquito Creek, Horntown, Accomack County, VA," photograph, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1940, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-HORT.V,2--1; https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/va0025.photos.159694p/resource/ accessed January 23, 2011).

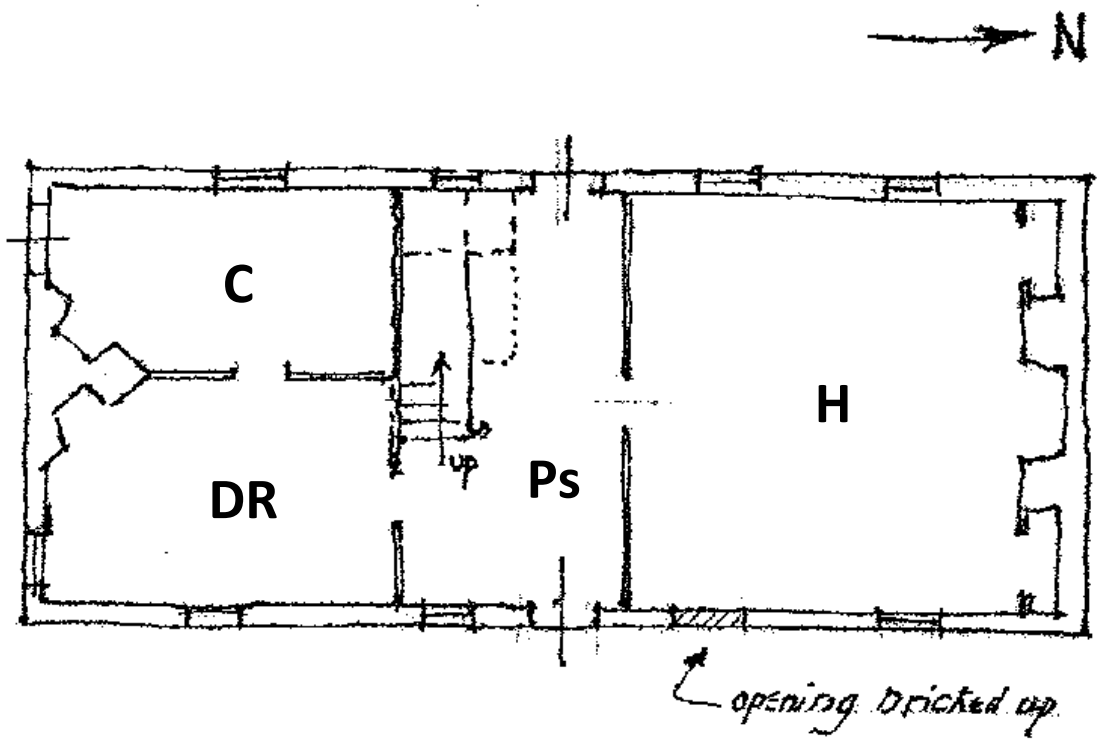


Figure 98. Ground-floor plan of Poplar Grove (destroyed by fire, 1944). Drawing from HABS: "Poplar Grove," written historical and descriptive data, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1940, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS VA,1-HORT.V,2-; https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/master/pnp/habshaer/va/va0000/va0025/data/va0025data.pdf accessed January 23, 2011). Room labels added by author.

Figure 99. View of the justices' bench, Chowan County courthouse, Edenton, North Carolina, built 1767-1768. This building contains likely the best preserved courtroom of any eighteenth-century courthouse in the greater Chesapeake region. Photo by author.

Figure 100. Paneled end wall in the dining room at Shepherd's Plain, Accomack County, built c. 1765. Photo by author.

Figure 101. View of the passage at Pitt's Neck, Accomack County, built c. 1735. Note the floor-to-ceiling wood paneling. Photo by author.

Figure 102. View of the paneled end wall in the hall at Corbin Hall, Accomack County, built 1787 (demolished). Photo by Frances Benjamin Johnston, "Chincoteague Farm, Horntown, Accomack County, Virginia," photograph, Carnegie Survey of the Architecture of the South, 1930-1939, from Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (LC-J7-VA- 1009 [P&P]; https://www.loc.gov/item/2017889750/ accessed January 27, 2014).

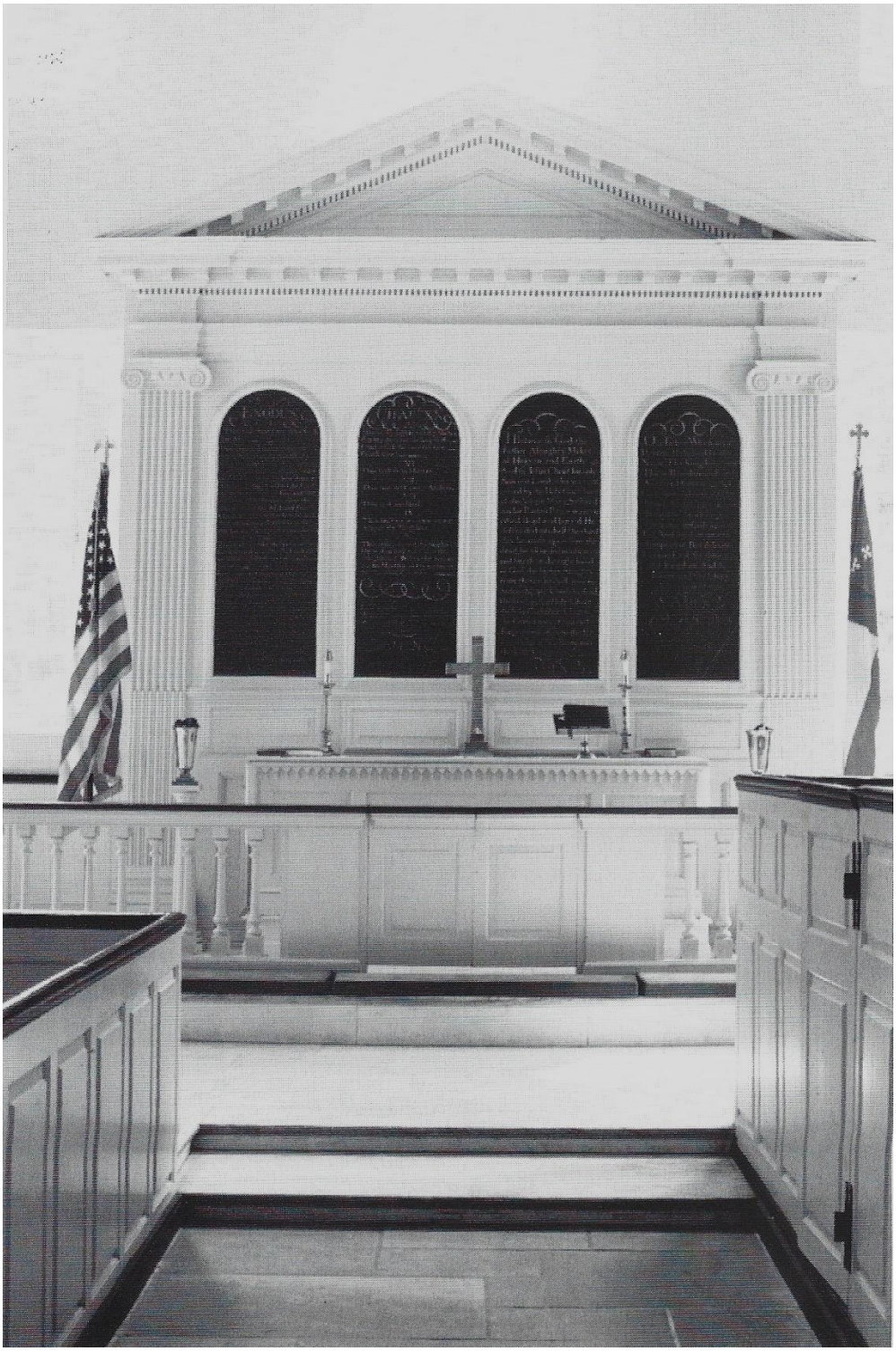


Figure 103. View of the altarpiece, Aquia Church, Stafford County, Virginia, built 1754-1757. Views of mainland churches are included in the images because no eighteenth-century interior finishes survive in either of the eighteenth-century church buildings on the Eastern Shore of Virginia. From Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 127.

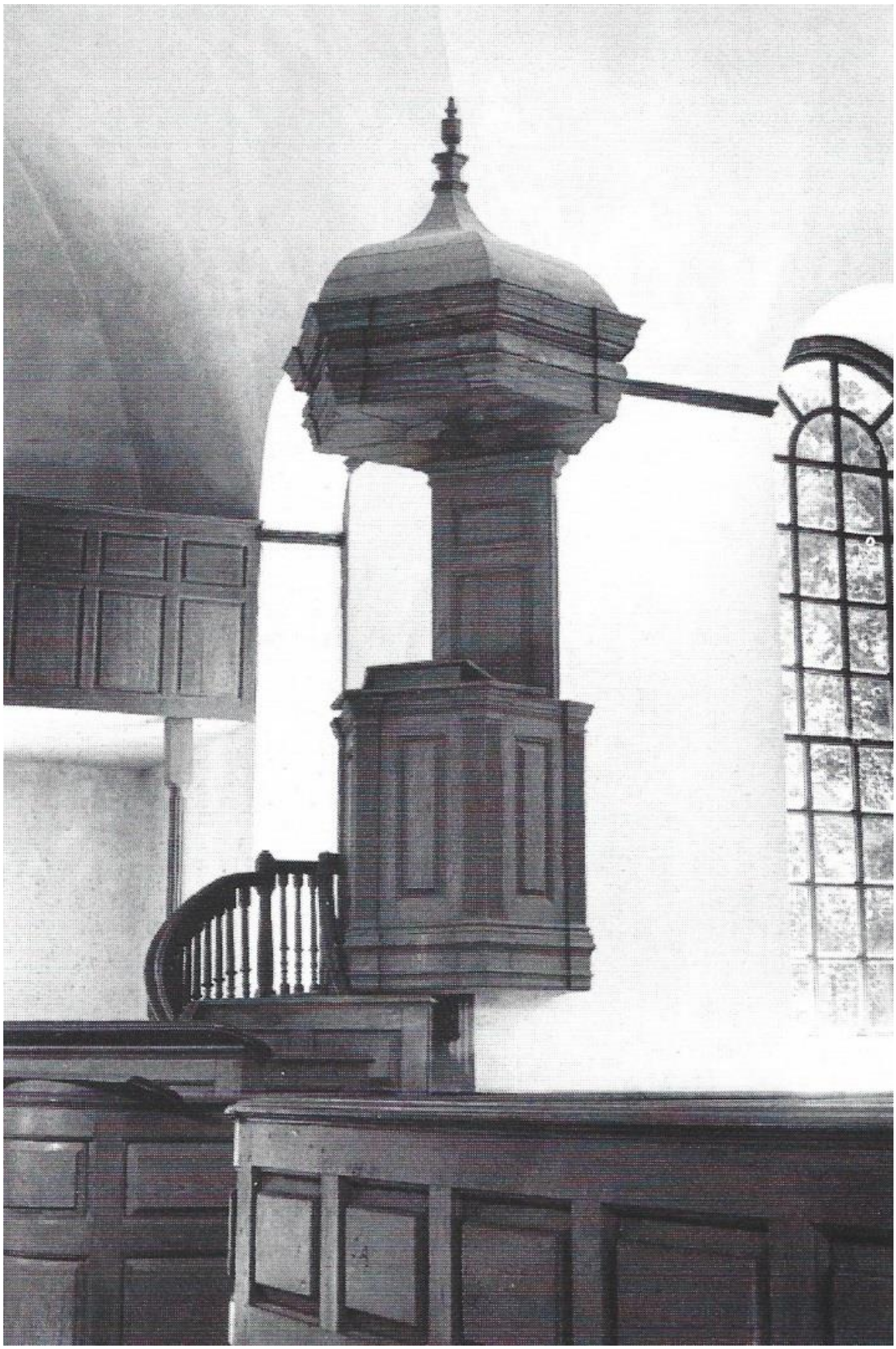


Figure 104. View of paneled pews and pulpit, Christ Church, Lancaster County, Virginia, built c. 1732-1735. From Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 134.

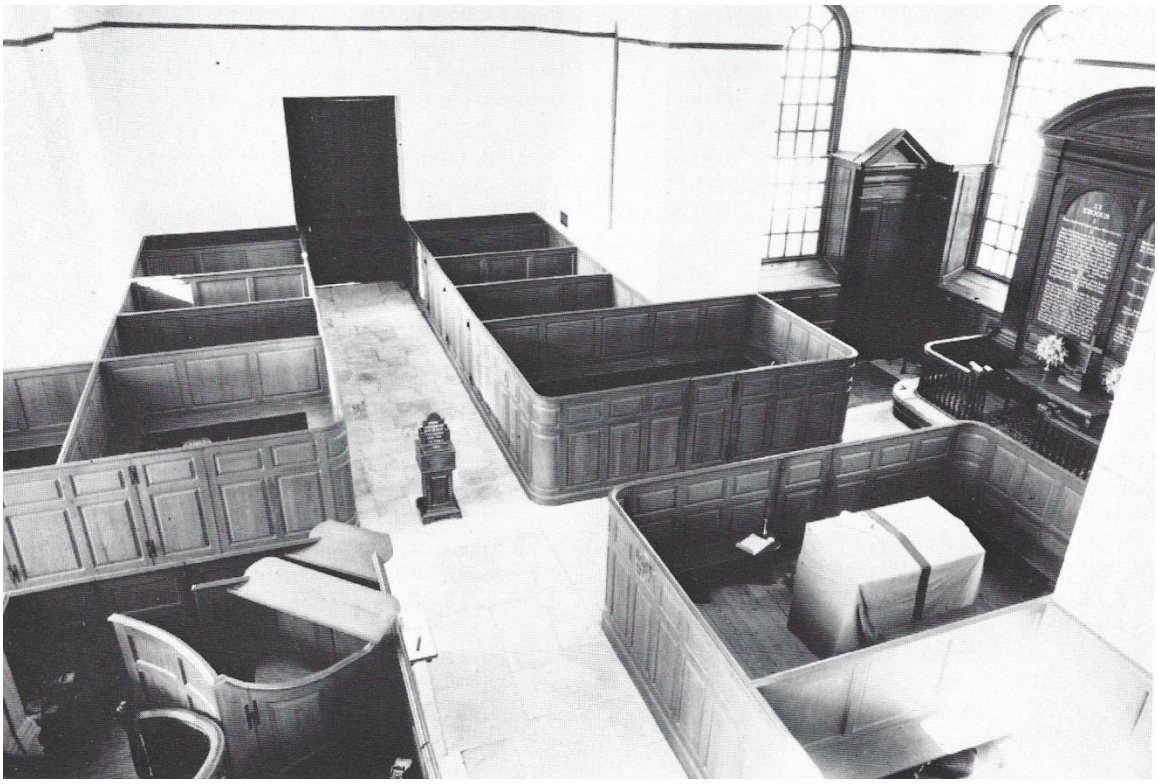


Figure 105. View of the interior of Christ Church, Lancaster County, Virginia, built c. 1732-1735. From Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 178.

Figure 106. South view of the brick end on the original south section of Northam Place, Accomack County, built for Thomas Evans c. 1750. Northam Place has a double-pile hall-chamber plan similar to Martin Place (figs. 95, 96). Red paint makes it difficult to make out the somewhat regular pattern of vitrified headers in the Flemish bond brickwork. Scars in the masonry show that a door was cut in the southeast corner of the wall to provide access to an addition which has since been removed. Photo by author.

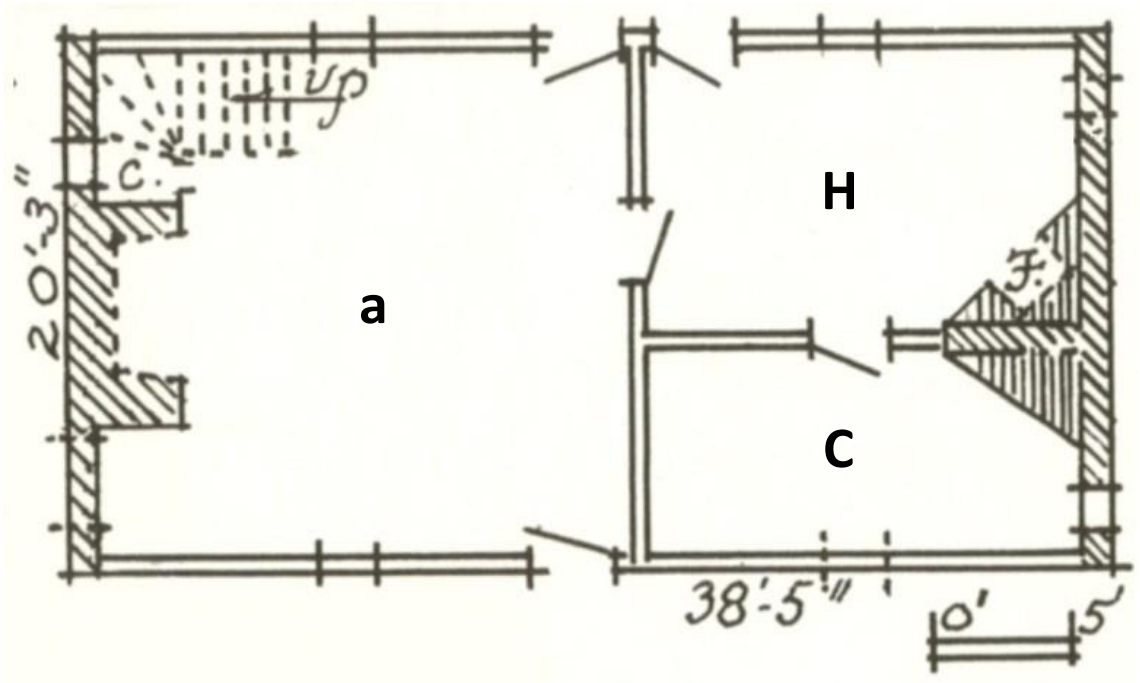


Figure 107. Ground-floor plan of Northam Place. The two-room hall-chamber section to the right is the original building. The large room labeled '**a**' was probably added in the late eighteenth century. The fenestration of the original section was likely different prior to construction of the addition. It is unclear where the original stair was located in the hall-chamber portion. From Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore*, 248. Room labels added by author.

Figure 108. South view of Leatherbury Farm, Accomack County, built 1769. The four-bay section in the middle with the two-dormers in the upper story is the original building. Photo by author.

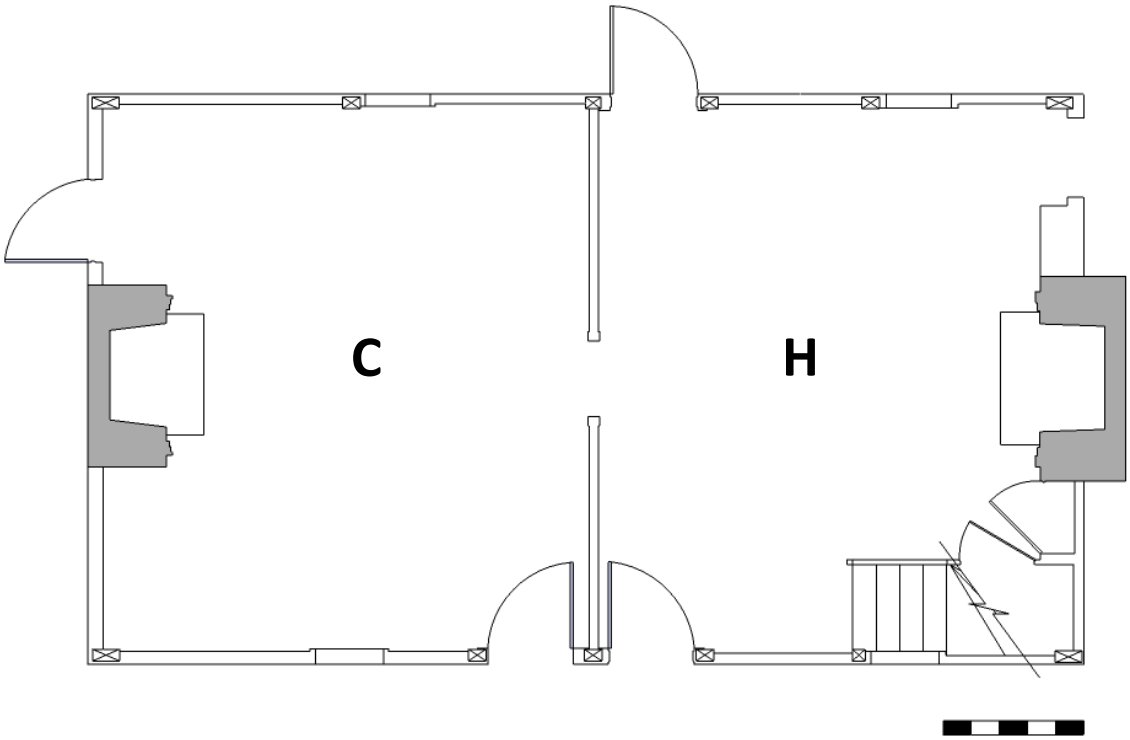


Figure 109. Ground-floor plan of the original 1769 section of Leatherbury Farm. The wall posts, plates, and joists are exposed on the interior and have chamfered edges with lamb's tongue stops. Scars in the joists and plates indicate the building originally had two brick ends with exterior chimneys. The brick ends were removed sometime in the early nineteenth century. Drawing by author.

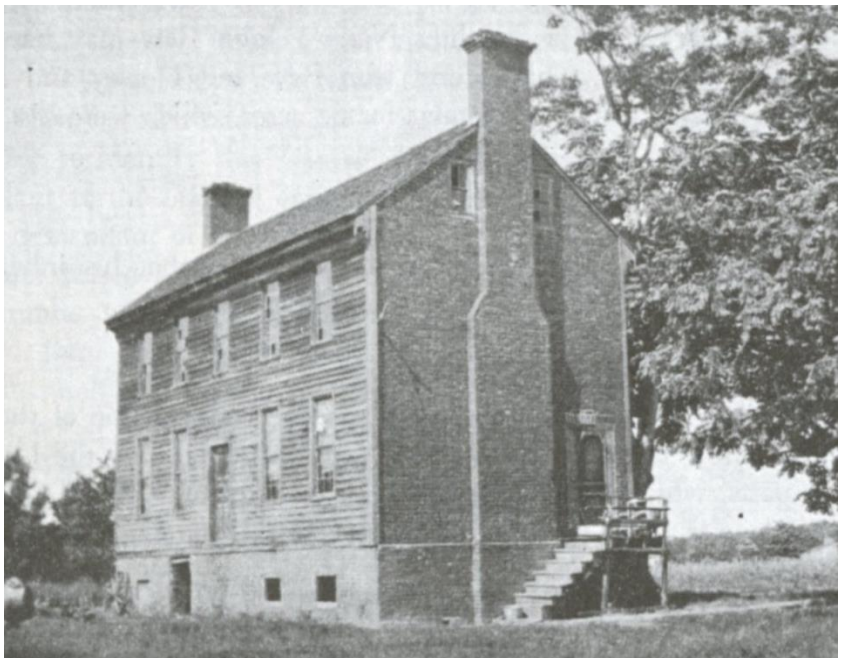


Figure 110. Clayton House, Accomack County, built c. 1778 (demolished). From Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, 1106.

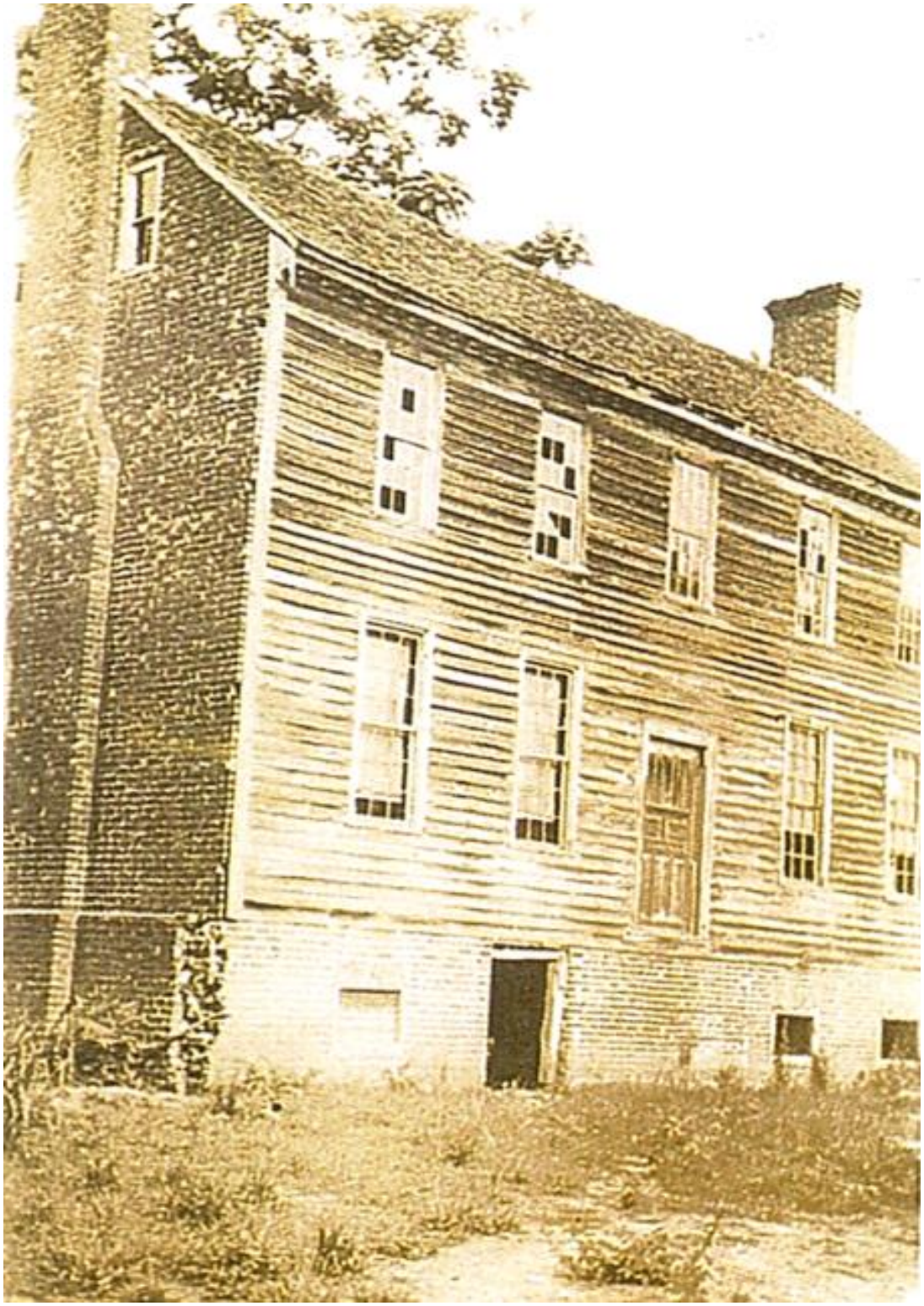


Figure 111. Clayton House (demolished). Clayton family photo, 1942.