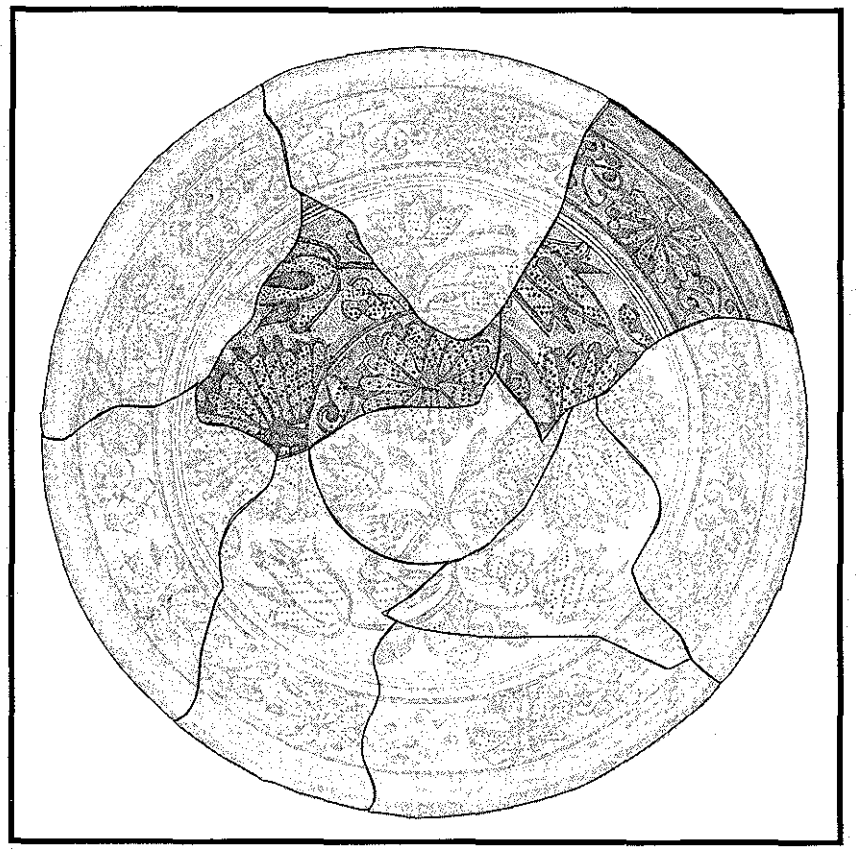
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Jamestown Archaeological Assessment 1992-1996

Documentary History of Jamestown Island

Volume I: Narrative History

Martha McCartney



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To Whom It May Concern:

Colonial National Historical Park is pleased to present to you the attached studies on the Jamestown Archeological Assessment, 1992-1996:

Documentary History of Jamestown Island
Volume I: Narrative History
Volume II: Land Ownership
Volume III: Biographies of Owners and Residents.

The three volumes are part of a ten-volume set. The initial four volumes were sent to you in May 2000. The remaining three volumes will be completed during the coming year. The Jamestown Archeological Assessment was conducted under a cooperative agreement with the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and the College of William and Mary for the National Park Service.

Karen G. Rehm

Attachments (3)

333/D-22e
Colonial

Jamestown Archaeological Assessment
1992-1996

Documentary History of Jamestown Island

Volume I: Narrative History

by

Martha W. McCartney
Historian

Prepared for:
Colonial National Historical Park
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
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Prepared by:
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
College of William & Mary

Marley R. Brown III
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Senior Principal Investigator

Williamsburg, Virginia
2000

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Foreword

Alec Gould, Superintendent, Colonial National Historical Park

The ten-volume Jamestown Archaeological Assessment (JAA) represents the culmination of six decades of archaeology conducted by the National Park Service on one of the most significant sites in North America. In the 1930s, J. C. Harrington, the father of historical archaeology, conducted the first surveys of New Towne that identified the foundations of major buildings from the seventeenth-century capital city. In the 1950s, John L. Cotter developed a grid system for New Towne that resulted in the development of a historical base map, which proved to be invaluable for the JAA team. Then in the late 1980s, James N. Haskett, Assistant Superintendent, identified the need to survey the entire portion of Jamestown Island owned by the National Park Service. The objectives of this survey were to test new methods of locating archaeological sites, evaluate their effectiveness, and ensure a comprehensive and integrated approach. The Assessment included the relationship of the natural environment to the historical events, historical documentation of land ownership and those who lived on Jamestown Island, an analysis of artifacts and skeletal material previously uncovered, and using the latest technology, i.e., Geographical Information Systems, to document the discoveries. As we approach the 400th anniversary of Jamestown in 2007, this assessment will serve as a guiding light for the preservation and interpretation of America's birthplace well into the next century.

I wish to thank for their dedicated service and enthusiasm: James Haskett, Dr. David G. Orr, Jane Sundberg, David Riggs, Diane Stallings, Chuck Rafkind, Karen G. Rehm, and other members of the park staff. The research teams of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, as directed by Dr. Cary Carson and Dr. Marley Brown, III, and The College of William and Mary, under the direction of Dennis Blanton, who prepared the studies, are to be commended for their scholarly and thorough approach. Last but not least, I acknowledge the support of Kate Stevenson, Associate Director, Cultural Resource Stewardship and Partnerships, National Park Service, and the Jamestown Rediscovery project team under the direction of Dr. William Kelso of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities in their roles as partners in preserving and studying Jamestown. The printing of this study is funded in part by the Valley Forge Center for Cultural Resources.

Introduction

The results of the documentary research conducted in support of the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment are presented in three volumes, which comprise one report. Volume I, an overview or narrative history of Jamestown Island, is structured chronologically and contains the bibliography for all three volumes. It includes a discussion of the documentary sources consulted throughout the research process and describes the analytical techniques used in defining land ownership patterns and charting cultural development. It also weaves into whole cloth the common themes that thread through individual property histories, making it possible to discern developmental patterns. Volume I makes reference to some of the men, women and children who lived upon Jamestown Island or played an active role in its history. It contains historical maps and artwork that depict Jamestown Island's natural and manmade environment at various points in time.

Volume II addresses land ownership patterns throughout Jamestown Island, tract by tract, lot by lot. Although it is organized geographically and links the island's history with the terrain, like Volume I it is structured chronologically. Volume II is illustrated with an abundance of electronically generated maps that depict property boundaries and road patterns that have been superimposed upon the late John Cotter's archaeological base map. Volume III contains succinct biographies of people who played a role in Jamestown Island's history and were mentioned in one or more of the primary sources used in determining land ownership patterns. Whenever possible, individuals have been linked with the specific properties with which they were associated.

Acknowledgments

In a multi-disciplinary project of this magnitude, it is impossible to acknowledge all of those who generously shared their time, resources, and expertise. Special thanks are extended to Marley R. Brown III, director of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Department of Archaeological Research, and Cary Carson, the Foundation's Vice President for Research, who gave the project overall direction and kept it on course. Marley and Cary, along with National Park Service project overseer David Orr, provided a tremendous amount of encouragement and logistical support. Jane M. Sundberg, project manager and Cultural Resources Management Specialist at the Colonial National Historical Park, was keenly interested in our work and was highly supportive.

The synergy that resulted from regular communication among members of the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment team, especially interaction with project archaeologist Audrey J. Horning, served as a stimulus throughout the research process and made it possible to address specific questions as they arose. Also, Audrey's responsiveness and appreciation of the historical record made her a joy to assist. In lively study group sessions that included Cary Carson, Audrey Horning, Carl Lounsbury, Willie Graham, Ed Chappell and Mark R. Wenger, data exchanges occurred that gave rise to new ideas and interpretive theories. The drive toward achieving a consensus sometimes pointed the way to new lines of inquiry; however, it never predetermined the outcome.

Christina A. Kiddle, who converted crude pencil drawings into sophisticated electronic maps and never balked at the idea of working with obsolete surveying schemes, deserves a tremendous amount of credit. Whether digitizing historical maps, creating measured drawings, or dealing with tedious mathematical conversions, she exhibited her considerable talent for blending art with science. More recently, Heather M. Harvey capably formatted many of those drawings for use in Volumes I and II of this report.

Project bibliographer Del Moore, whose diligence in locating obscure records and great patience when bombarded with frequent requests for source material, deserves special recognition. He always managed to find an answer, in a timely manner. Other personnel in the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Rockefeller Library contributed their expertise to the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment, notably Susan Shames, Gail Greve and George Yetter, who sought and/or procured facsimiles from foreign repositories. Gregory J. Brown of the Department of Archaeological Research deserves great thanks for refining and formatting this three volume report and preparing their indices. Archaeologist and photographer Andrew C. Edwards, who provided many of the slides used in presenting lectures, helped in communicating the results of our work to the outside world. Dominic Powlesland, Carl Hobbs, Dennis Blanton, Stephen Mrozowski, Gerald Kelso, Bruce Bevan, Gerald Johnson, and other specialists provided useful insights at various stages of the project.

Numerous staff members of the Colonial National Historical Park did much to facilitate our work. Jamestown curator David F. Riggs shared research data that he had accumulated over the years, especially on the Civil War era. He repeatedly (and graciously) provided access to the archival materials entrusted to him and patiently dealt with requests for photocopies of documents and maps. Curt and Peggy Gaul, by providing slides and logistical support, helped immeasurably. Karen Rehm, Jane Sundberg, Diane Stallings and Jim Haskett shared their considerable knowledge and throughout the project, were generous with their encouragement and support. Catherine Correlle Walls of the APVA staff, through a research query, pointed the way to some useful information on the Revolutionary War.

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Chapter 1. Research Design

The Data Collection Process and Its Objectives

One of the principal goals of the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment was to determine how land ownership patterns on Jamestown Island evolved during nearly four centuries of historic period occupation. This is a departure from earlier, more traditional studies, which focused upon Jamestown's very early history and events that impacted the western end of the island. The documentary research conducted in support of the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment was designed to explore the island's historical continuum and cultural landscape holistically. This comprehensive and methodical approach was used because important clues to the past, objectified in the archaeological record, often lie buried within documents only peripherally related to a specific human activity.

Initially, data were compiled from a broad variety of commonly used written records. These sources, as an aggregate, were found to shed a considerable amount of light on the placement and configuration of specific tracts and their inter-relationship over time. As the project progressed and discoveries were made by other members of the assessment team, more specific (and sometimes, relatively obscure) source material was utilized.

Written Queries

At the onset, general query letters were sent to records repositories all over the world. Although numerous institutions responded, very few indicated that they had information on Jamestown. In almost all of the instances in which a positive response was received, the archival materials were well known and readily available. However, as research progressed and became more tightly focused, the assistance of reference librarians proved invaluable.

Cartographic Resources

Archival research undertaken in support of the Jamestown Island archaeological assessment commenced with the examination of historical maps that are on file at the National Park Service archives in Jamestown and Yorktown, the National Archives, the Library of Congress, the Library of Virginia, the Virginia Historical Society, the Army Corps of Engineers Archives, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, the Museum of the Confederacy, the British Museum, the Staffordshire Record Office and the British Public Records Office in Kew. Privately compiled indices to Virginia maps at the Huntington Library, the Southern Historical Society, and the Bermuda Museum were reviewed, as was an index to the Virginia Historical Society's collection of plats in private papers. Certain maps were identified through bibliographical queries. Maps reproduced in published sources such as *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War* and *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army* were studied. All of these sources were utilized in an attempt to pinpoint culturally sensitive areas on Jamestown Island and to discern the land ownership patterns that evolved over nearly four centuries of historic period occupation. Map facsimiles were procured for use by other scholars, such as archaeologists, architectural historians, geologists and those engaged in computer mapping and environmental reconstruction. Copies of especially relevant maps were provided to the National Park Service.

Iconographic Works

Photographic collections at the National Archives and the Library of Congress were examined and accessioning data were compiled so that items not included in the National Park Service collections

at Jamestown could be procured. Original Historic American Buildings Survey (H.A.B.S.) records at the Library of Congress were examined and inventoried and their topically-arranged photographic files were searched. Mutual Assurance Society policy microfilms were utilized at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and the Library of Virginia. Pictorial publications were examined at the Library of Congress, National Archives, Library of Virginia, the College of William and Mary's Swem Library, the Colonial Williamsburg's Rockefeller Library, Virginia Historical Society and the Colonial National Historical Park's facilities in Jamestown and Yorktown.

Governmental Records

Official records generated by Virginia's governing officials, as first a colony and then as a state, were searched carefully for information on urban Jamestown and Jamestown Island as a whole. These ranged from transcriptions of the records generated by the Virginia Company of London to minutes produced by the governor's council and assembly. Legislative records dating to nineteenth and early-to-mid twentieth centuries also were examined. Microfilms of original documents were inspected whenever questions arose about the accuracy of transcribed material. Throughout the research process, a diligent search was made for data pertaining to women and ethnic and cultural minorities, groups that played an integral role in shaping the history of Jamestown Island and the nation, but are under-represented in the written record.

During visits to the James City County courthouse and the Library of Virginia, Jamestown Island's chain of title was traced through the use of locally generated court documents (such as deeds, wills, inventories, plats and court orders) and data were compiled on the numerous individuals who owned, occupied or utilized property on the island at various points in time. The Land Records files maintained at the Colonial National Historical Park's Visitor Center in Yorktown also were searched. The James City County Board of Supervisors Minute Books (which open in 1887) were examined, as were Virginia's legal code books and State Supreme Court records on file in the library of the Marshall-Wythe School of Law. Use was made of material compiled during the production of a book length history of James City County.

Data were gathered from James City County real estate tax rolls, which commence in 1782, and from processioners records, compiled during the early 1890s for the purpose of bridging gaps in antebellum court records. Tax rolls also were used to document the extent to which development had occurred on Jamestown Island during the nineteenth century.[1] Land tax records are based upon an assessor's estimate of a tract's value per acre, taking into account the estimated worth of features in the built environment. Nineteenth century real estate tax rolls typically include the amount of acreage owned by specific individuals, with notations about when and how property was transferred. As time went on, the record-keeping process became increasingly sophisticated and tax commissioners began noting each tract's distance from the county courthouse and the names and geographical positions of neighboring property owners. Virginia's tax commissioners, beginning in 1820, commenced estimating the collective worth of the buildings upon the parcels of real estate they assessed. However, they typically excluded from consideration slave quarters, fences, roads and wells that might have been present. They usually noted whether new buildings had been added to a parcel during the previous year or previously existing buildings had been destroyed or razed, and revised their assessment accordingly. Occasionally, an assessor noted how specific structures met their demise. As might be expected, some assessors were more descriptive than others when recording their observations. Research in numerous Tidewater Virginia counties

[1] No real estate tax rolls exist for Jamestown as an urban community, even though two or more town lots within the former capital city are known to have been in existence as late as 1795 and had not been absorbed into the holdings of the island's principal property owners. Instead, Jamestown Island's acreage was included in the tax rolls for James City County and its lots were overlooked.

suggests that real estate tax assessments usually were updated every five years. However, when a tract changed hands or was appraised on account of an estate settlement, the assessor often used that opportunity to revise his earlier estimate. Generally speaking, during the nineteenth century the assessed value of a tract of land was equivalent to approximately one-half of its fair market value.

Land tax records for the Civil War years were found to be incomplete, in a deteriorated condition, or missing altogether. Given the fact that legal elections were not held until late in 1865, the assessments recorded that year probably were not considered legally binding. Thus, the few figures that were set down probably were based upon earlier-dated records, with few (if any) personal visits being made to properties within the assessor's district. Finally, in 1866, the state's tax assessors commenced performing their duties regularly.

Personal property tax records provide many insights into the socio-economic status of those associated with Jamestown Island during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The types of personal property assessed varied from year to year. For example, sometimes only adult white males and male slaves age 16 or older were taxed, whereas upon other occasions, the assessment for slaves was based upon males and females who were at least age 12. As the same annual criteria were applied to all Virginia taxpayers, such variables do not interfere with the comparative analysis of tax records as status indicators. Research in numerous Tidewater counties suggests strongly that when census records and personal property tax rolls are compared, the number of slaves upon which a property owner was taxed usually comprised approximately half of those in his/her possession. Slave schedules and estate inventories, when available, tend to support that hypothesis and provide supplementary information. Demographic records, probate inventories, and genealogical sources were examined for use in household reconstruction and for analytical purposes.

James City County's agricultural census records (available for the second half of the nineteenth century) were searched for information on land use patterns, such as the types and quantity of field crops grown, how much land was under cultivation or in pasturage, and the extent to which those who occupied Jamestown Island were involved in animal husbandry. The statistics for Jamestown Island were compared with other properties in James City County and other Tidewater Virginia localities.

Several visits were made to the courthouse of Surry County, which prior to 1652 was part of James City County, one of Virginia's original shires. In Surry, records were used that date from 1652 to 1700. This strategy was pursued because Surry County's antebellum court records are intact and many of the individuals who owned lots in urban Jamestown also had plantations there. A preliminary search was made for wills, probate inventories, and other documents that might potentially shed light upon Jamestown Island property owners' holdings and material culture. Abstracts of record books from Isle of Wight, Henrico, Charles City, Lower Norfolk, Accomac, York, Prince George, Chesterfield, and Elizabeth City Counties were utilized. Synopses of York County records, compiled as part of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's York County Records Project, proved to be an extremely helpful finding aid.

Research on Edward E. Barney and his wife was undertaken in the records of Surry County, where they owned and occupied a personal residence while in possession of Jamestown Island. A search also was made for collections of artifacts and papers compiled by the Barneys, who were avid relic hunters and were known to have had excavations done upon their property at Jamestown. Information on the Barneys was gleaned from Chesterfield County court documents, for the family moved there after leaving Surry. Court records in Surry and Chesterfield Counties provided insight into the probable cause of Edward E. Barney's suicide.

Records of the Virginia Land Office (books of land patents) were accessed via the abstracts produced by Nell M. Nugent and Dennis Hudgins. Afterward, microfilmed copies of the original records were examined carefully. Sometimes, in-

dividual patents were compared line-by-line with transcriptions included in the Ambler Papers. This was important, for Virginia's pre-1683 land patents are transcriptions of fragmentary original documents that in some instances were summarized by the transcriptionists: clerks in the office of the Secretary of the Colony. The Ambler Papers, on the other hand, include family members' verbatim transcriptions of original land records. Occasionally, notations on the back of documents were found to provide important clues to the ownership of land and the construction of improvements. Two very early patents (Jamestown lots assigned to Sir George Yeardley and Captain Roger Smith) disappeared prior to the time Nell M. Nugent compiled her abstracts. As Lyon G. Tyler claimed that those particular pages from Patent Book I had been stolen by some people from West Virginia, a diligent search was made for the missing records and Tyler's research notes. Project bibliographer Del Moore discovered that E. D. Neill's transcriptions of both missing patents had been published in the McAlester College Papers in 1890. Therefore, a facsimile was obtained for comparison with Lyon G. Tyler's work and ultimately, for use in the reconstruction of property boundaries.

Virginia Colonial Records Project survey reports for several classes of documents were reviewed for the years 1606-1710, as were abstracts included in the volumes compiled by Sainsbury et al. entitled *The Calendar of State Papers for America and the West Indies* (*Colonial Series*). Once specific documents had been identified and deemed relevant, microfilmed copies (or in some instances, the originals) were examined during a research trip to England.

Documents in Institutional Collections

Useful information unearthed by earlier scholars was culled from the libraries at the National Park Service Visitor Centers in Jamestown and Yorktown. Collections of private papers (fascimiles and originals) at the Library of Congress, the University of Virginia's Alderman Library, the Huntington Library, the North Carolina State University Library, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Rockefeller Library, the Swem Library's Department of Special Collections, and the Virginia Historical Society were examined, after being identified through direct knowledge or queries. Use was made of the Ambler, Ferrar, Hartlib, Rich and Manchester Papers, and other important manuscript collections. During visits to Oxford and Cambridge Universities, the British Public Records office at Kew, the British Library and Museum and the Staffordshire Records Office, original manuscripts were utilized that otherwise would have been unavailable for examination. In several instances, a search was made for documents cited in Virginia Colonial Records Project survey reports, but not microfilmed. During a visit to the Society for the Propogation of the Gospel, Cary Carson checked specific documents pertaining to the Rev. John Clayton of Jamestown.

Narratives and Military Records

The writings of Captain John Smith, John Pory, Sir Thomas Dale, John Rolfe, Ralph Hamor, William Peirce, Sir John Harvey, David Devries, John Clayton, Robert Beverley II, William Byrd II, Bishop William Meade, and numerous others provide a great deal of insight into Jamestown's appearance at various points in time. A facsimile of the Devries narrative, which includes detailed information on Governors John Harvey and William Berkeley, was obtained in the Dutch language so that a NATO translator could compare certain statements in the original with the two English translations that were available. Records associated with the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Civil War were searched for evidence of military activities on Jamestown Island. Research also was done utilizing the official records of the Union and Confederate armies and navies and the narratives written by Revolutionary and Civil War military veterans.

Newspapers

Issues of the *Virginia Gazette* and its successors; the *Richmond Whig*; the *Daily Richmond Exam-*

iner; and the *Lynchburg Daily Virginian* were examined. The indices to *The Virginia Gazette* (1736-1781) and *The Pennsylvania Gazette* were used as an efficient means of accessing material on Jamestown Island. Often, specific editions were sought that were known to contain important material, such as real estate advertisements, obituaries, and accounts of events.

Other Secondary Sources

Specialized secondary sources were reviewed periodically, throughout the research process. Some were accessed through the Swem Index and the Internet. Others were extracted from the data base compiled by project bibliographer Del Moore. More often than not, one source led to another. Several reports produced by the late Charles E. Hatch of the National Park Service were utilized. Genealogical material of varying quality and reliability was provided by several interested parties.

Consultations

Through conversations with scholars such as David and Allison Quinn, Helen Wallis, David Ransome, John Hemphill, Karen O. Kupperman and historians within the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and National Park Service, new lines of inquiry were opened. On-going interaction with Colonial Williamsburg Foundation staff members in the Historical, Archaeological and Architectural Research Departments and the Rockefeller Library was of tremendous value throughout the research process.

Data Presentation

Numerous sources have been used in the production of this three-volume report on Jamestown Island's history, which was prepared in support of the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment. The reader will find some reference material that is well known and readily available. However, many sources have been used that are newly discovered and relatively obscure. Research on Jamestown Island was tightly focused, site-specific. It was designed to facilitate the identification of features within the cultural landscape and to aid archaeologists in interpreting what had been discovered, earlier on. The study of Jamestown Island's history should be considered a work in progress, for much remains to be learned.

References to reliable transcriptions of official records and well known narratives are cited throughout this report. In numerous instances a microfilmed copy of the original text was examined. For example, abstracts of Virginia Land Office records were used as a means of identifying specific patents that pertained to Jamestown properties. Afterward, a microfilmed copy of each patent was examined. In some instances, patents that were maintained as part of the Virginia Land Office's records were compared with land records that were accumulated by William Sherwood, Edward Jaquelin and members of the Ambler family. This was done because Virginia Land Office records that predate 1683 are transcriptions of original documents that sometimes were summarized by the transcriber. Thus, the records maintained by private individuals occasionally were found to be more complete than those maintained by the colony's officials. It should be noted that whenever two or more versions of a specific document were examined, all of those variations have been cited. Conversely, if only one version of a document was used, that is reflected in the annotation.

Because certain collections of documents have been used literally hundreds of times (for example, individual items that are included in the Ferrar Papers or in the collection of Ambler Manuscripts housed in the Library of Congress), elaborate descriptive citations have not been given each time one of those documents is mentioned. Instead, individual items from the Ferrar Papers have been identified collectively as the Ferrar MS and listed with their accessioning numbers. Likewise, whenever a numbered reference to the Ambler MS appears in a citation, it signifies that a document from the Library of Congress's collection of Ambler Papers has been used. Similarly, whenever a numerical reference to the Lee MS appears in the

text, it pertains to an item from the Virginia Historical Society's Lee Family Papers. Occasional use has been made of Ambler family documents that are on file at the University of Virginia's Alderman Library, at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Rockefeller Library or at the Library of Virginia. Those items are cited according to author and date. Therefore, the reader need look only as far as the bibliography to learn where such individual items may be found.

It should be noted that the *Virginia Gazette* was published in Williamsburg by various people during the second half of the eighteenth century. At times, two or three Williamsburg publishers were in business simultaneously and produced competing issues of the *Virginia Gazette*. For example, in November 1775, John Dixon, Alexander Purdie and John Pinckney published editions of the *Gazette* in which they reported upon a British attack on Jamestown Island. Therefore, for the sake of clarity, whenever references are made to eighteenth century editions of the *Virginia Gazette*, the publisher's name is listed, along with the date of publication. This referencing technique is not used in citing nineteenth and twentieth century editions of the *Virginia Gazette*, when solitary publishers were at work.

Block quotations, some of which are lengthy, are found throughout all three volumes of this report. For example, some of the block quotations included in Volumes I and III consist of descriptive information about people, places and events. While it is recognized that seventeenth century prose can be laborious to read, thanks to phonic variations in spelling, unfamiliar terms, and the use of now-obsolete syntactical conventions, these early texts purposefully have not been paraphrased. By providing the reader with a transcription of the original verbiage, he/she has convenient access to primary source material, verbatim. Also, because seventeenth century documents, like Shakespeare's sonnets, are subject to numerous interpretations, it is useful to provide the reader with a transcription of the original text so that he/she can make a personal decision about the text's meaning. Within Volume II, the boundary descriptions of numerous patents have been provided; the modern equivalents of patents' metes and bounds appear in brackets. This has been done in order to provide the reader with reliable transcriptions of the primary resource materials that were used in determining land ownership patterns.

The reader will find that there is considerable variation in the spelling of personal names. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when spelling conventions were less fixed and many Virginians were illiterate, many names were spelled phonically. A comparative study of census records, tax rolls, and official records reveals that among ethnic minorities, spelling variations also were quite common during the nineteenth century.

Occasionally, documents have been cited (or quoted) even though their accuracy is questionable. Although the reader is pointed toward what presumably is a more accurate source, various versions of an event are provided in the interest of thoroughness and scholarly inquiry. In essence, nothing has been withheld from the reader, who is encouraged to read the footnotes that appear throughout the text.

At the end of this volume is an Epilogue that places the Jamestown colony within a broad historical context. It also compares Jamestown's development, as an urban community, with what was going on in England's other American colonies, taking into account the Virginia capital's small population and role as a government center.

Data Limitations

Cartographic Resources

The cartographic works on file in the Library of Congress' Division of Maps and Geography include original works, facsimiles, and atlases. They include seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century maps that provide coverage of the study area. They range from very early schematic representations to sophisticated, topographically sensitive renderings. Also on hand are maps showing alternative routes for the construction of the Colonial Parkway, with alternative links to

Jamestown Island. Dr. Richard Stephenson, former head of the Division of Maps and Geography, compiled an index of the Library of Congress' holdings of Virginia maps. Therefore, works relating to specific regions of the state, or certain counties, may be readily identified. The Library of Congress collection also includes maps associated with public works projects, the development and interpretation of tourist attractions, and those produced by James City County planners and the local Chamber of Commerce. Many of these maps are unavailable elsewhere. The Library of Congress also has a microfilm of the Southern Historical Society's collection of Gilmer maps. The Library's Rare Map Collections include some charts produced by very early explorers; however almost all of its early Virginia holdings have been published. The Library of Congress has an excellent assortment of atlases, some of which include Virginia maps. Of considerable interest was *Atlas Van Kaarten en aanzichten van de Voc en WIC, geoemd Vingboons-Atlas, in het Algemeen Rijksarchief te 's-Gravenhage,* which contains a print of Johann Vingboon's map of the James River, "Caert vande Rivier Powhatan Geleg in Niew Nederlandt," formerly known as "Powhatan, ein groote Rivier in Nieu Nederland in't Noorden van Virginie."

The National Archives collection of Virginia maps includes original works, facsimiles and atlases that encompass the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries. Although many of the facsimiles on file at the National Archives are available at other major repositories, its collection of Civil War era maps is large and unique. Some have been reproduced in the *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War*, but many have not. The National Archives' Civil War map collection includes a few works prepared by Confederate cartographers. However, most were generated by topographic engineers associated with the Union Army. They shed a considerable amount of light upon settlement and development within the James-York peninsula, but provide a minimal amount of information on Jamestown Island. One highly unique set of maps in the National Archives was produced by the Freedmen's Bureau (Bureau of Refugees) in the 1860s, to show tracts that had been assigned to freed blacks for subsistence farming. Some of those properties were in the Neck O'Land, a property that was owned by the same individual who then possessed Jamestown Island. The National Archives' Virginia map collection includes some very early topographic quadrangle sheets and maps produced by the Soil Conservation Service. Both are of great value in identifying old road beds and in the prediction of areas likely to contain subsurface cultural features. However, the strength of the National Archives Cartographic Center's strength lies in its massive assortment of Civil War maps.

The Virginia Historical Society's collection of Civil War maps is exceptionally complete. Original maps produced under the direction of Confederate topographic engineer J. F. Gilmer form the core of this group of documents. Unfortunately, Jamestown Island was not mapped by Confederate cartographers. The Virginia Historical Society maintains a thoroughly cross-referenced card catalog that is extremely useful in accessing its Virginia maps. Among the Society's holdings are facsimiles of many well known maps, such as those produced by Captain John Smith, Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, and some of the plats included in the Library of Congress' Ambler Papers. Use was made of a privately compiled index to the Virginia Historical Society's plats that are accessioned among its collection of private papers. No items were found that shed light upon culturally sensitive areas within Jamestown Island.

The Library of Virginia's map collection, which embraces the entire state, largely consists of facsimiles procured from the Library of Congress and National Archives. However, there are some county maps and sketches that were produced as part of state public works projects, such as turnpikes and canals. No unique maps (facsimiles or originals) were found that provided useful information on Jamestown Island.

The Army Corps of Engineers Archives at Fort Norfolk, which contains a large collection of Virginia maps, often is overlooked by scholars. Although the collection is unindexed, it is organized

by river drainages and therefore is not difficult to use. Most of these maps, which were prepared by highly skilled topographic engineers, were made because of proposed dredging or erosion curtailment projects. Many of the maps are fragile, lack titles or accessioning numbers, and are not preserved in individual folders. The Corps of Engineers map collection is one of the most important in the state of Virginia. Numerous cartographic works are available for the James River basin and good coverage is given to the immediate vicinity of Jamestown. Facsimiles procured from the Corps of Engineers Archives are on file at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Rockefeller Library and in the National Park Service archives in Jamestown.

The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's map collection is large and includes Virginia map facsimiles and originals procured throughout the United States and abroad. As the focal point of the Foundation's interpretative program is the eighteenth century, that is where the strength of its map collection lies. Special emphasis has been placed upon Revolutionary War era maps. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation collection includes single, double-, and triple-oversized facsimiles and small map notebooks. The collection's index minimizes the strength of the Foundation's map holdings, which are voluminous. Facsimiles of mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century topographic and hydrographic maps, procured from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and copies of the Gilmer maps obtained from the United States Military Academy are among the Foundation's holdings. One Gilmer map was obtained from the College of William and Mary's Swem Library and another from the North Carolina Division of Archives and History in Raleigh, North Carolina. Microfilms of Virginia maps in the British Public Records Office, French military archives, and other overseas repositories are available.

The Virginia Department of Historic Resources' map collection includes facsimiles from the Library of Congress, National Archives, Library of Virginia, the Bermuda Archives and Museum, the Huntington Library, the North Carolina State Archives, the United States Military Academy, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, the Virginia Historical Society and county courthouses throughout the state. Four notebooks of small maps (facsimiles from published works) are available for use. Facsimiles in the VDHR (formerly property of the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology, in Williamsburg) were procured for use in cultural resources management work and were intended to supplement the map holdings of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Iconographic Works

The Still Pictures Branch of the Library of Congress has a wide assortment of Civil War photographs and panoramic views. A systematic examination of the Library of Congress' collection resulted in the discovery of aerial views of Jamestown Island, which was photographed by airmen from Langley Field in Hampton. Panoramic views focused upon the church tower and were found to duplicate still pictures that had been published.

The National Archives Still Pictures Branch houses a wide variety of Civil War photographs. However, most (if not all) of these views have been published. The collection is very difficult to use on account of its topical organizational scheme. Among the National Archives' holdings are photographs taken at Jamestown while excavations were underway during the 1930s and 1950s. Most (if not all) of these pictures appear to be duplicates of items that are in the National Park Service photographic collection at Jamestown. In the interest of efficiency, the project bibliographer sent query letters to the Library of Virginia, the Virginia Historical Society, the Museum of the Confederacy, and other records repositories, in order to learn whether there were pictures and photographs of Jamestown Island among their collections.

Governmental Records

Almost all of the antebellum court records of James City County, the jurisdiction within which Jamestown Island lies, were destroyed during the Civil War. The earliest dated local court records

that escaped the burning of Richmond are included in one volume that commences in the 1850s. It should be noted, however, that excerpts a few of local documents were transcribed and entered into the official records maintained by the legislature and other over-arching branches of Virginia's government. Some documents (for example, deeds, wills and estate inventories) have been preserved among collections of papers held by private individuals or institutions such as the New-York Historical Society and the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. In the James City County courthouse are plat books that include surveys of Jamestown Island and the rights-of-way of highways leading to the island.

Land (or real estate) tax rolls and personal property tax rolls, compiled by representatives of the State Auditor's Office commencing in 1782, are available at the Library of Virginia. Microfilms of these documents (1782-1861) are available at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Rockefeller Library.

Many of the early patents for land on Jamestown Island were lost or destroyed, creating numerous gaps in the records. Also, extant patents that predate 1683 are transcriptions of the original documents and sometimes contain obvious errors. Even so, thanks to Jamestown Island's unique place in history and urban Jamestown's role as the colony's seventeenth century capital, a wealth of information was generated by governmental and military officials.

Documents in Private Collections

Land records accumulated by members of the Ambler family, which are on file at the Library of Congress, shed a great deal of light upon land ownership patterns on Jamestown Island, especially during the seventeenth century. Records generated by the Amblers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, preserved at the Library of Congress and at the University of Virginia's Alderman Library, make their plantation at Jamestown one of Tidewater Virginia's most thoroughly documented rural properties. In contrast, relatively little information is available on the Travis family's activities on Jamestown Island.

The Analytical Process

Determining Land Ownership Patterns

Microfilm copies of original patents on file in the Virginia Land Office and deeds and patents among the Ambler Papers at the Library of Congress were examined closely and in many instances, compared word by word. Whenever detailed property descriptions were available, survey data (such as the length of specific boundary lines and compass declinations) were converted mathematically from obsolete measuring schemes into their modern equivalents. Individual patents were sketched by hand and then reconstructed to scale electronically, using AutoCAD. Throughout the research process, close attention was given to the identification of common boundary lines.

Four Jamestown Island plats and a dozen or more historical maps were digitized and reproduced at the same scale. Then, they were "layered" or superimposed upon one another so that common reference points could be reconciled. Once this composite had been created, the length and declination of specific tracts' boundary lines were compared. This was done so that an electronic template or tract map could be produced and then superimposed upon an electronic base map of Jamestown Island that included boundary ditches and other cultural features excavated by archaeologists during the 1930s and 1950s.

Once this multi-component electronic template had been created, the patterns formed by individual property boundaries were compared visually with the ditch patterns shown on the digitized Jamestown Island base map. The numerous "matches" or common reference points that were identified made it feasible to link the electronically-generated tract map to boundary ditches and landscape features shown on the Jamestown Island base map. This, in turn, made it possible to associate specific cultural features with specific properties. For example, certain archaeological sites excavated during the 1930s and 1950s were found to correspond with the locations of buildings depicted on two seventeenth century plats. More-

over, superimposing the electronic template upon the Jamestown Island base map made it possible to link cultural features mentioned in documentary sources (which await discovery by archaeologists) to specific properties.

Historical maps and manuscripts from foreign and domestic repositories and data recovered from the records of several Tidewater Virginia counties, in the overarching branches of Virginia's government, and from abroad, were used to sort out the inter-relationship of specific tracts, synchronously, and to discern the evolution of land ownership patterns over time. Also critical to the research process was working closely with other members of the Project's multi-disciplinary research team.

References to people known to have lived on Jamestown Island but whose property awaits identification, are scattered throughout seventeenth and eighteenth century records. The 1624 census and 1625 muster contain the names of 23 households for whom no land ownership records have come to light. While extant demographic records disclose whether these people were associated with urban Jamestown or rural Jamestown Island, neither patents nor deeds seemingly exist that identify their landholdings. Also, the location of their acreage is not inferred by extant patents, deeds or the boundary descriptions of other properties.

For example, in February 1624 vice-admiral John Pountis, cape merchant Abraham Peirsey, master artisan John Southern, and provost marshall Randall Smallwood headed households in "James Cittye," urban Jamestown. Meanwhile, John Grevett, a carpenter who worked on the fort and court of guard being built at Jamestown in 1622, headed a household in "James Iland." To date, these men's land records have not been found, perhaps because their patents and deeds were lost or destroyed or they rented acreage from others. On the other hand, they simply may have died without producing living heirs, with the result that their land escheated to the Crown and was reissued to another. It is possible, however, that references to some of the "missing" properties are to be found in the relatively complete seventeenth century court records of neighboring counties or in microfilms of documents on file in overseas repositories. The discovery of Isle of Wight County records mentioning the Jamestown brewhouse owned by John Moon and Thomas Stegg II's Henrico County will, which conveyed his legal interest in a rowhouse unit in the New Towne to Thomas Ludwell, argue for the pursuit of this strategy.

Linking People with the Land

The mini-biographies included in Volume III share a common theme. Every person played some sort of role in Jamestown Island's history and was mentioned in one or more primary sources used in determining land ownership patterns. Some of these individuals were important political figures during the years that Jamestown was the capital city. Others, whose contributions were important but more subtle and therefore less abundantly documented, were people of middling or lesser means. Those about whom the least information has come to light were females, members of ethnic minorities, indentured servants, and slaves. Even so, virtually all of these people were involved in Jamestown Island's history and as a result, their names sometimes found their way into official records or other primary sources.

Some of the people known to have traded extensively with Jamestown merchants or who participated in litigation involving Jamestown Island property owners or inhabitants have been included in Volume III. Such connections, though oblique, are likely to facilitate future scholarly investigation of important issues. For example, Jamestown property owners William Sherwood and John Page had strong ties to London merchants John and Jeffrey Jeffreys. Recognition of that fact may be of assistance in studying trade patterns and the distribution of material goods within the Virginia colony. Moreover, knowing that the Jeffreys brothers were principal investors in the Royal African Company and used Sherwood and Page as their local agents may prove useful to those studying the slave trade. Similarly, an awareness that Surry County bricklayer John Bird and carpenter John Smith were involved in the construction of buildings at Jamestown

(probably Structure 1/2 and Structure 19 A/B) may influence the course of architectural and archaeological research undertaken in the future. A few individuals have been included in Volume III because their artistic or literary renderings provide pertinent glimpses of Jamestown Island's cultural landscape at specific points in time.

Whenever possible, those who lived upon Jamestown Island prior to 1832 and its unification under common ownership, have been cross-referenced with specific parcels of land. For example, in 1624 and 1625 Richard Stephens, a prominent merchant, is known to have owned Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot H, a waterfront lot. Wassill Rayner (Raynor), a distiller, and Francis Fowler, who had carpentry skills, were then indentured servants in the Stephens household. All three men's biographies make note of the fact that they occupied Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot H.

Certain biographies link human activities with specific properties. For example, John Howard (Study Unit 4 Tract M and Study Unit 1 Tract E) and John Harris (Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot C) were tailors. Their landholdings and those of Edward Challis (Study Unit 1 Tract E Lot C), whose name is associated with a specific type of locally-made earthenware, abutted the main road that entered urban Jamestown. Likewise, Colonel William White, who occupied Structure 86 on Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcel 1, was involved in the construction of a brick fort at Jamestown in 1672 and Colonel Nathaniel Bacon of Study Unit 1 Tract A and Study Unit 4 Tract S had possession of the Kings Creek Plantation on the Colonial Parkway. It is hoped that such data will assist those undertaking archaeological research on the National Park Service property at Jamestown and elsewhere.

Because serial marriage was commonplace throughout the colonial period, individuals known to have wed more than once have been cross-referenced with their successive marriage partners, who have been listed in order of descent. Because names often were spelled phonically and variations were common, especially during the seventeenth century, the most frequently used version of a person's first and last names is listed first. Less commonly used variations associated with the same individual appear thereafter in parentheses. Successive generations of families, who re-used the same first names, are identified with Roman numerals, in ascending order. For example, Walter Chiles and his son, Walter, owned Study Unit 1 Tract F. They are identified as Walter Chiles I and Walter Chiles II. It should be noted that the genealogical information contained within Volumes I, II and III is neither definitive nor comprehensive, for it was drawn from records compiled for use in the study of land ownership traditions. Whenever primary sources (such as court records) are cited, that genealogical data should be considered reliable. When necessary, the works of genealogists have been used to sort out family relationships and place individuals within a broader historical context. Unfortunately, such secondary sources often provide conflicting interpretations of familial relationships and therefore should not be considered totally trustworthy.

The Structure of Volumes I, II and III

Volume I, an overview of Jamestown Island's history, is organized in accord with spatial and temporal schemes that were devised to facilitate communication. The same organizational strategy also has been employed in Volumes II and III. For example, Volume I indicates that between 1665 and 1667 a turf fort was constructed upon a particular parcel (Structure 157 on Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A) and that the Rev. John Clayton made a sketch of the fort in 1688. Someone interested in learning more about the history of that particular plot of ground (its usage before or after fort construction) would consult the property history in Volume II. On the other hand, someone wanting to learn more about the Rev. John Clayton would consult his biography, which is included in Volume III.

Jamestown Island's lengthy and complicated history has been subdivided into four time periods. Together, they form an organizing theme that is used in Volumes I, II and III. Throughout all three vol-

umes, people and events have been linked with specific properties whenever possible.

Whenever cultural features discovered in the 1930s and 1950s are referenced in Volumes I, II and III, they are cited according to the numbers that appear on the site plan produced by National Park Service archaeologist John Cotter. This has been done for convenience of reference in discussing specific elements of Jamestown's cultural landscape. Environmental/ecological data also have been provided whenever possible, to enhance this report's usefulness to scholars of various disciplines.

At the end of Volume I are eight Appendices. These consist of raw research data transcribed from microfilms or photostats of original records. Tables 1 through 6 are summaries of data collected from local tax rolls and pertain to those who owned land and personal property on Jamestown Island, whereas Table 7 contains agricultural census records. These data, which are presented in chronological sequence, are grouped in accord with land ownership patterns. On the other hand, the records selected for inclusion as Appendices in Volume I are documents that shed light upon specific aspects of Jamestown Island's history. For example, Appendices A and B consist of early demographic records, whereas Appendix H is John Ambler II's contract with one of the overseers he hired to manage his farming operations on Jamestown Island.

Spatial Organization

For the sake of discussion, Jamestown Island has been subdivided into four geographically distinct components or Study Units (Figure 1). Each is comprised of lesser-sized parcels that have been designated Tracts. Some Tracts are made up of smaller subunits that have been styled Lots. This geographically-based organizational scheme has been used in addressing the histories and boundary line configurations of individual properties.

Study Unit 1

Study Unit 1 is bound by Kingsmill Creek on the east, Sandy Bay on the west, and the Back River (or Back Creek) on the north. The westernmost portion of Study Unit 1's south boundary is delimited by the James River, whereas the easternmost portion follows the southern boundary line of Study Unit 1 Tracts D, F and H, which abuts Back Street and the Common Road.

Study Unit 2

Study Unit 2 is defined by the James River on the east, Kingsmill Creek on the west, the Back River on the north, and Passmore Creek on the south.

Study Unit 3

Study Unit 3 abuts the James River on the east, Orchard Run and Kingsmill Creek on the west, Passmore Creek on the north, and the James River on the south.

Study Unit 4

Study Unit 4 abuts east upon Orchard Run, west upon the head of Pitch and Tar Swamp (west of the Ludwell Statehouse Group), north upon the southern boundary line of Study Unit 1, and south upon the James River.

Colonial Jamestown's corporate limits embraced Study Units 1 and 4 in their entirety. Excluded was the territory encompassed by Study Units 2 and 3.

Temporal Organization

The nearly 400 years that have elapsed since Jamestown Island first was colonized have been subdivided into four time periods. Each has been structured in deference to land ownership patterns and pertinent historical events.

Period I: Initial Settlement (1607-1745)

The European settlement occurred in 1607 in the western end of Jamestown Island, within Study Unit 4. From 1611 on, colonists developed small home-

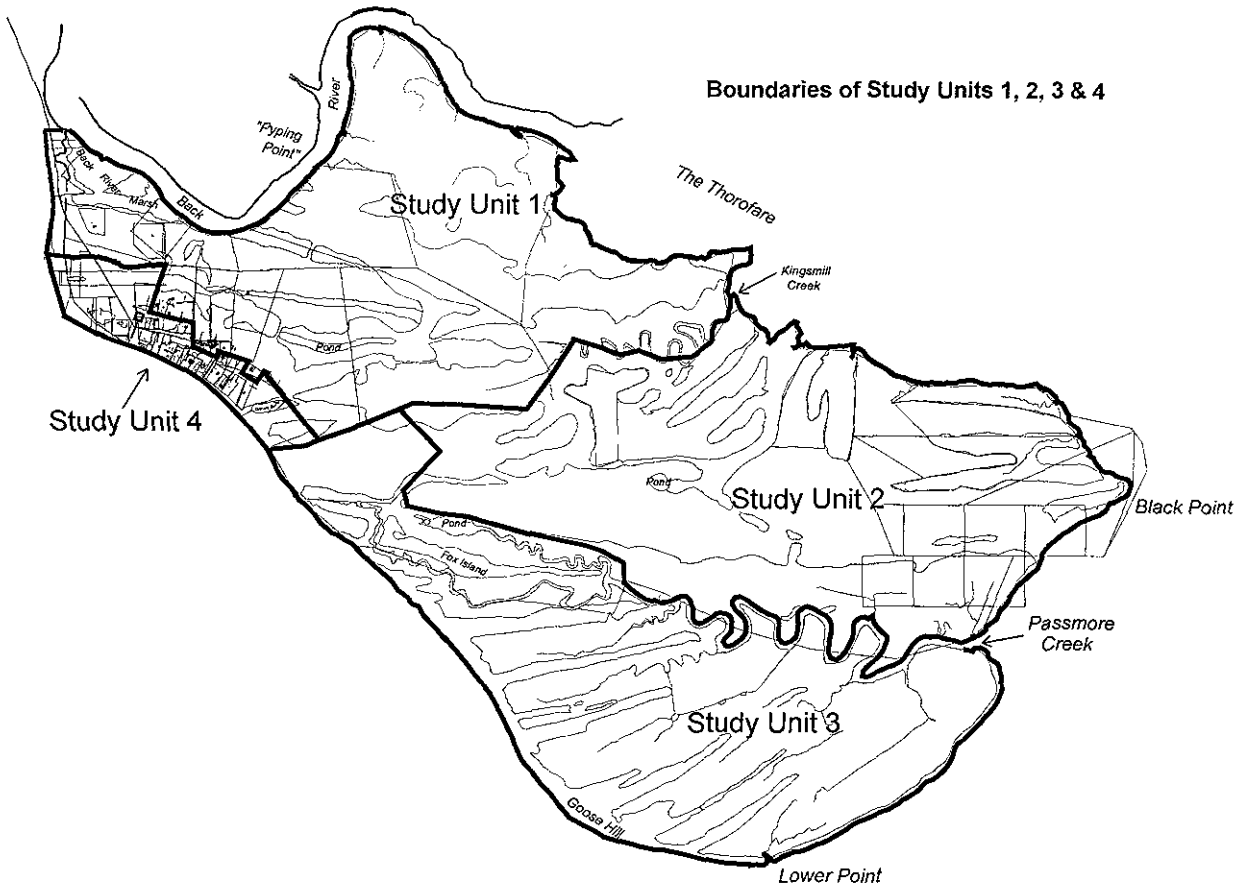


Figure 1. *Boundaries of Study Units 1-4.*

steads to the east of Kingsmill Creek and Orchard Run, within Study Units 2 and 3. Between 1621 and 1624 an area abutting the James River was laid off into streets and lots in what became known as the New Towne, a community that was located within Study Units 1 and 4. In 1649 Jamestown's official market zone was defined as the area between the James and Back Rivers, west of Orchard Run and Kingsmill Creek. That area, in which commercial activity was supposed to occur, was coterminous with urban Jamestown's corporate limits.

Period II: The Plantation Period (1746-1831)

During this period all of Jamestown Island, with the exception of a few town lots and the churchyard, was encompassed by the Ambler and Travis plantations, which were working farms.

Period III: Consolidation (1832-1892)

Commencing in 1832, Jamestown Island in its entirety (with the exception of the churchyard) was owned by a succession of individuals, some of whom were absentees.

Period IV: The Closing Century (1893-1998)

Between 1893 and 1934, Jamestown Island was in the possession of the Barneys, with the exception of the 22½ acres the APVA had in Study Unit 1. In 1934 the Barneys' land was acquired by the federal government and turned over to the National Park Service.

Chapter 2.
Period I: Initial Settlement (1607-1745)

Planting the Colony (1607-1618)

The Voyage to Virginia

On Saturday, December 20, 1606, the *Susan Constant*, *Discovery* and *Godspeed*, set sail from London. They moved slowly down the Thames, catching the outbound tide, and then anchored in the Downs, awaiting favorable winds. Finally, they headed out to sea on an adventure that changed the course of history. Captain Christopher Newport, commander of the fleet, had unrivaled experience in navigating the American coastline. It was with confidence that Virginia Company officials chose him to convey their colonists to Virginia. Bartholomew Gosnold and Gabriel Archer, who had been to New England, were familiar with the Natives and their language. Captain John Smith and others in the group were acquainted with the narratives of the men involved in the attempts to establish a colony on Roanoke Island. Thus, some of the first colonists had an idea of what to expect, once they reached land. That Smith and Newport were able to communicate with the Natives suggests that they had at least a minimal working knowledge of the Algonquian language (Quinn 1977:392-393; Tyler 1907:125-126).

The first colonists sailed south along the coasts of Spain and Portugal to the Canary Islands, where they caught the Canary current, which flows west across the Atlantic Ocean. In March 1607 the men reached the West Indies, where they paused for three weeks. As Newport's fleet approached the North American coast the vessels encountered the Gulf current that swept them northward. The three ships arrived safely in the Chesapeake on April 26, 1607, after a difficult 18-week crossing. The 104 colonists had endured cramped quarters, seasickness, boredom, and food inferior to their usual fare, hardships that probably made them fractious and apprehensive about what lay ahead. Nearly half of Virginia's first settlers were gentlemen, scholars, artisans, and tradesmen, not laborers or sturdy yeoman farmers whose basic skills and physical conditioning would have been invaluable in a wilderness environment. Captain John Smith, an experienced explorer and soldier-of-fortune, was an exception. In time, his survival skills proved invaluable. As soon as Captain Newport reached Virginia, he opened a sealed box that contained the names of the seven men who were to serve as the colony's first council. As the highest ranking local officials, they had the right to elect their own president. The Virginia Company's instructions to its colonists brought to the New World the rudiments of English common law. When the colony's council met, Edward Maria Wingfield was elected president. He became Virginia's first chief executive (Quinn 1977:392-393; Sams 1929:807-810).

During the colonists' first few days in Virginia, they sailed inland to explore the countryside and went ashore from time to time. They found magnificent timber, fields covered with brilliantly colored flowers, lush vegetation, fertile soil and an abundance of wildfowl, game and seafood. George Percy declared that Virginia was a veritable paradise on earth. He saw beech, oak, cedar, cypress, walnut, and sassafras trees, as well as strawberries, raspberries, mulberries and some fruit and berries that were unfamiliar. The Virginia wilderness also had large meadows that would make excellent pasturage for cattle (Smith 1910:lxi-lxii, xc).

As the colonists moved up the broad river called the Powhatan, later the James, they encountered Natives whose bodies were ornamented with brightly colored furs and jewelry of bone, shell and copper, and whose hair was adorned with feathers and animal horns. According to Captain John Smith, some of the Indians welcomed the newcomers hospitably, offering food and entertainment. Oth-

ers discharged arrows and then fled from the colonists' retaliatory gunfire (Quinn 1977:202; Smith 1610; 1910:lxi-lxii, xc, 49-51) (Figure 2).

Newport's fleet explored for nearly three weeks. Finally, on May 12th the ships arrived at a promontory the men called Archer's Hope, where the soil was fertile, game was abundant, and the timber was tall and straight. The colonists considered building their settlement there, but because the water was too shallow for their ships to anchor near the shore, they continued on upstream. The May 13, 1607, landing of the colonists upon a small, marsh-rimmed peninsula almost enveloped by the James River, heralded the establishment of the first permanent English settlement in America.[1] There, within the territory of the Pasbehay (Paspahegh) Indians, the small vessels came to rest at a site where, according to George Percy, "our shippes doe lie so neere the shoare that they are moored to the Trees in six fathom water" (Brown 1890:I:161; Percy 1967:15-16).[2]

Council President Edward Maria Wingfield (1607)

Edward Maria Wingfield was the eldest son of Thomas Maria Wingfield, a member of Parliament for Huntington. He had served as a soldier in Ireland and in the Netherlands and was one of the grantees of the Virginia Company's 1606 charter. According to Captain John Smith, President Wingfield "would admit no exercise at armes, or fortification but the boughs of trees cast together in the forme of a halfe moone by the extrordinary paines and diligence of Captaine Kendall."[3] George



Figure 2. *Detail from* Virginia Discovered and Discribed [sic] *(Smith 1610).*

Percy's account reveals that the Indians gradually became more bold in their interactions with the colonists (Smith 1986:I:206; Percy 1967:16-17).[4]

The First Settlement Takes Form

On May 26, 1607, the Natives attacked the slightly-crafted retreat built by the first settlers, who

[1] Some of the first colonists probably were familiar with Robert Corneweyle's book on the art of constructing fortifications. Positions on mountains, in lakes, in the sea, on top of rocks, and in marshes were considered strong by nature, for they could be strengthened "with mans industrye and art thereunto" (Corneweyle 1972:12).

[2] A fathom is equivalent to 6 feet or 1.8 meters, and is a term measuring depth.

[3] Smith's statement about Wingfield's reluctance to fortify the colonists' position until after a May 26, 1607, Indian attack contrasts sharply with William Strachey's secondhand account of the same event. Strachey said that upon arriving, the first colonists "began to fortify and ... to raise a fortress with the ablest and speediest means they could" (Wright 1964:78-79). Gabriel Archer indicated that construction got underway by May 28th (Barbour 1969:I:95).

[4] On May 21st, Captain Christopher Newport took 24 men on a voyage of exploration toward the head of the river. According to Gabriel Archer, a

had a difficult time defending themselves. Afterward, President Wingfield decided that a new, more substantial fort should be built that had palisades and mounted ordnance.[5] Gabriel Archer noted that on "Thursday [May 28, 1607] We Laboured, pallozadoing our fort."[6] Later, George Percy stated that by "The fifteenth day of June we had built and finished our fort, which was triangle-wise, having three bulwarks at every corner like a half-moon, and four or five pieces of artillery mounted in them."[7] He added that "We had made our selves sufficiently strong for these savages." The colonists worked diligently, cutting down trees "to make place to pitch their Tents,"[8] preparing ground for corn,[9] and fabricating clapboard to be loaded aboard Captain Christopher Newport's ships for a return voyage to England (Smith 1986:I:206; Barbour 1969:I:95; Percy 1967:22). On June 22, 1607, the Council in Virginia prepared a progress report. It said that:

> *Within less than seven weeks, we are fortified well against the Indians. We have sown good store of wheat—we have sent you a taste of clapboard—we have built some houses—we have spared some hands to a discovery, and still as God shall enhable us with strength we will better and better our proceedings [Brown 1890:I:84-85].*[10]

The colony's leaders, when planting the settlement, apparently tried to obey the orders they had been given. They were supposed to seat upon "the strongest, most wholesome and fertile place" they could find on the river they chose, after Captain Newport had explored its navigable waters. They also were instructed to choose a "place so far up as a bark of fifty tuns will float, then you may lay all your provisions ashore with ease, and the better receive the trade of all the countries about you in the land." Although they were advised to avoid

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(cont'd from previous page)
participant, "from James Fort we took our leave about noone" (Barbour 1969:I:81-82). This reference to "James Fort" pertains to the mound of trees and brush fashioned into a sconce, a small defensive work, sometimes curved.

[5] According to Gabriel Archer, Wingfield "(who shewed himselfe a valiant Gentleman) had one [arrow] shott cleane through his bearde yet scaped hurt" (Barbour 1969:I:95).

[6] Archer said that afterward, the Indians came "lurking in the thicketes and long grasse." They killed one of the colonists' dogs. Archer made several references to the "long grasse" and "weedes" outside of the fort (Barbour 1969:I:96).

[7] Unfortunately, Percy's account makes no reference to the first fort's dimensions, the structural characteristics of its walls, or the size of the area it enclosed. According to wood technology specialist Philip A. Araman, if the first colonists impaled their settlement with "small diameter [8 inches or less] freshly cut wood, then the wood would be very susceptible to decay and termite attack." Regardless of species, these relatively small trees "would have a lot of decay-prone sapwood," which would be a major problem. Such wood could be expected to fail in 12 to 18 months (Philip A. Araman, wood technology specialist, personal communication, July 16, 1998). As the wood the first Jamestown colonists used was freshly cut, it would have been "green" or unseasoned.

[8] Tents frequently were included in the lists of the equipment settlers brought to Virginia during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. They would have provided temporary shelter until a crude house could be built. Sometimes, settlers constructed pit-houses by digging a cavity six or seven feet deep, lining it with bark or timbers, and then covering it over with spars and bark or sod. Some people built arbor-like cabins by setting closely-spaced wooden poles in the ground, which they arched over and then covered with bark, Indian-style (Tyler 1907:140-141; Carson et al.1982:140; Smith 1910:127, 140-141; O'Callaghan 1856:5:368).

[9] Probably English wheat, as opposed to the maize the Indians grew.

[10] The Council's statement that the colonists were "well fortified against the Indians" and George Percy's remark that "We had made our selves sufficiently strong for these savages" raise the possibility that the first colonists were more concerned about protecting themselves from the more immediate danger posed by the Natives than from an attack by the Spanish. If so, they may not have been overly concerned about placing the guns of their fort within point blank range of the river's channel.

planting "in a low or moist place because it will prove unhealthfull," they were to judge the wholesomeness of the prospective site on the basis of the aboriginal population's appearance of health. Once the colonists decided upon a seat, they were to separate into three groups, one of which was to fortify the settlement and build its structural improvements. The first and foremost task of all "carpenters and other such like workmen" was to construct a "storehouse for victual" and plant corn and root crops. Only after "other rooms of publick and necessary use" were built were private peoples' accommodations to be constructed. In the interest of orderliness, the colonists were "to set your houses even and by a line, that your streets may have a good breadth, and be carried square about your market place, and every street's end opening into it, that from thence with a few field pieces you may command every street throughout, which market place you may also fortify if you think it need full" (Brown 1890:I:81-82, 84-85). This scheme of spatial organization mirrors that of seventeenth century plantation towns in northern Ireland, whose focal point was the marketplace, a feature known as "the diamond." Often, a stone cross (called a "market cross") was erected in the center of town or placed upon the ground to identify the site of the community's market-place (Robinson 1984:169-170).[11]

By autumn 1607, when the colonists had finished constructing their first houses, disease and food shortages had exacted a severe toll. According to George Percy, in August the settlers began dying in droves. He said that some succumbed to the bloody flux, burning fevers, and swellings, whereas others died of wounds they received from the Indians.[12] Percy added, however, that "for the most part they died of mere famine."[13] He said that "There were never Englishmen left in a foreign country in such misery as we were in this new discovered Virginia." He said that "Our food was but a small can of barley, sod in water, to five men a day, our drink, cold water taken out of the river, which was at a flood, very salt, at a low tide full of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men" (Percy 1967:24-26).

These problems and President Edward Maria Wingfield's style of management eventually were

[11] Picture-maps showing some of Ireland's early plantation towns reveal that market crosses sometimes were cruciform in shape. Occasionally, however, a tall wooden pole with a pendant on top (called a market pole) demarcated the site of a market (Robinson 1984:170). The cross, shown in the center of the fort depicted on the so-called Zuniga map (1608), may signify the location of the the Virginia settlers' market-place, not the church as often is assumed.

[12] Depression and a sense of hopelessness probably added to their misery.

[13] In 1930 Dr. Wyndham B. Blanton pointed out that contrary to popular belief, malaria would not have contributed to the first settlers' high death toll, for as a disease it rarely was fatal (Blanton 1957:54). In 1976 Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman noted that if malaria (which is caused by blood parasites of the genus *Plasmodium*) were not indigenous to the Americas, it could only have been introduced by human hosts who carried it into areas where *Anopheles* mosquitoes breed. They concluded that *Plasmodium vivax*, which causes a relatively mild form of malaria, may have come to the New World from Europe where it was prevalent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, upon being introduced into Virginia, it would have taken a while to develop in the local mosquito population and therefore would not have affected the first colonists. Later, when Africans entered the colony, they may have brought along the more virulent *Plasmodium falciparum* (Rutman et al. 1976:40, 42). Dr. William E. Collins and Ann M. Barber of the Communicable Diseases Center in Atlanta have noted that individuals from southern Europe, where malaria was prevalent, also could have introduced the disease into Virginia (Collins et al., personal communication, July 16, 1998). Such an opportunity would have presented itself during the 1570s, when the Spanish Jesuits attempted to establish a mission in Virginia and several ships from Spain and its colonies visited the local area (Lewis and Loomie 1953:11). If anyone aboard were infected with malaria, the disease could have been introduced into the local mosquito population at that time. The milder forms of malaria, if present, would have made the early colonists quite miserable.

his undoing and in September 1607, he was removed from office and imprisoned. That his family was Roman Catholic may have aroused suspicions that he was sympathetic to Spain. Later, Wingfield was released and sent back to England, where he arrived in May 1608. He authored a document entitled "A Discourse of Virginia," which largely defended his activities in the colony. He retained an interest in the Virginia Company and in 1609 was one of the grantees of its second charter. However, he never returned to the colony (Barbour 1969:II:382; Raimo 1980:454).

The First House of Worship

The first English colonists, who arrived in Virginia in May 1607, were accompanied by the Rev. Robert Hunt, an Anglican clergyman. After they selected the site upon which to establish their settlement, they built a fort and then fabricated a makeshift church. Later, they erected a more permanent structure. According to Captain John Smith, at first:

> *We did hang an awning (which is an old saile) to three or foure trees to shadow us from the Sunne, our walles were railes of wood, our seats unhewed trees, till we cut plankes, our pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighboring trees. In foul weather we shifted into an old rotten tent.... This was our church, till we built a homely thing like a barne, set upon cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge and earth; so was also the walls ....Yet we had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two sermons and every three monthes the holy communion till our minister died" [Smith 1910:957].*

Thus, the practice of religion was an important part of daily life.

Richard Hakluyt and other proponents of colonization fervently spoke of the opportunity to bring the Christian religion to Native peoples in the New World. In fact, the first charter under which the settlement of Virginia began, described as a noble work "propagating of the Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God." Letters written by some of the Anglican clergy who came to Virginia early on reveal that they were filled with a missionary zeal. Of course, in their eyes, Protestantism was the only true faith. However, the Rev. Robert Hunt, the Rev. Alexander Whitaker and their immediate successors focused their attention upon ministering to the colonists, who were struggling to survive in the wilderness. Sir Thomas Dale and other military leaders gave lip service to the idea of bringing Christianity to the Natives, but they also were preoccupied with establishing control and typically used force to do so. Although plans were made to establish a college and university in Henrico where young Indians could be converted to Christianity, and the East Indian Company also contributed funds toward building a school, the March 1622 Indian uprising put an end to any altruistic feelings most colonists had. After the Virginia Company was dissolved, interest in converting the Natives waned. During the early seventeenth century, writers often used Biblical metaphors (particularly those of the Old Testament) to describe their sufferings and days in the church calendar were used to identify secular dates upon which rent and taxes were due and public events occurred. Thus, in many ways, the State Church and religious law permeated daily life (Brydon 1947:51).

Council President John Ratcliffe alias Sicklemore (1607-1608)

John Ratcliffe alias Sicklemore adopted the surname "Ratcliffe" before he set sail for Virginia. He was a member of the Virginia Company and in the December 1606 voyage to Virginia was captain of the *Discovery*. In September 1607, after Edward Maria Wingfield was ousted from office, Ratcliffe was elected president. Within a few months he alienated a number of other leaders, including John Smith, who formerly had been his ally. By mid-1608 Ratcliffe's management practices and his liberal use of the colony's supplies gave rise to a ground-swell of discontent. In July 1608 he was deposed. He was arrested for mutiny and then released. Later, when John Smith became president, John Ratcliffe was restored to his council seat. He

left Virginia in December 1608 with Captain Christopher Newport (Raimo 1980:456).

The First Supply

Early January 1608 brought the arrival of the First Supply of new settlers. Shortly thereafter, a devastating fire, set accidentally by one of the newcomers, swept through the settlement. According to Captain John Smith, the fierce blaze spread rapidly, quickly consuming the colonists' insubstantial buildings that were "but thatched with reeds." It also "burnt their pallizadoes (though 10 or 12 yards distant) with their armes, bedding, apparell, and much private provision."[14] Afterward, the colonists, with the assistance of Captain Christopher Newport and his mariners, set about repairing their homes and fortified compound (Smith 1986:I:219).[15] Ten days after Newport's April 10, 1608, departure from Virginia, Captain Francis Nelson arrived with 40 more settlers. It may have been *after* the January 1608 fire but *before* Nelson's June 1608 return to England that what appears to have been a rectangular walled enclosure (shown on the pre-September 1608 Zuniga map) was added to the west side of the Jamestown fort's northerly bulwark, which feature is comparable in placement and appearance to the one situated on the "occidental" or western side of St. George's Fort at the mouth of the Sagadehoc or Kennebeck River (Brown 1890:I:184-185, 190) (Figures 3 and 4).[16]

The internal spatial organization of the Jamestown and Sagadehoc forts' rectilinear enclosures, which resemble military housing areas, raises the possibility that they were intended to accommodate the colonists' dwellings and perhaps their kitchen gardens. This may have been a fire prevention strategy the Jamestown colonists adopted, for flames escaping from heating and cooking fires (the cause of the disastrous January 1608 blaze) would be less likely to spread throughout the fort, destroying its more important buildings, provisions, and military stores.[17]

Francis Maguel's Account

Francis Maguel, an Irishman loyal to Spain, who in July 1610 was in Madrid, described conditions in Virginia, where he said he had lived for eight months

[14] Francis Perkins, who was in the First Supply, said in a March 28, 1608, letter that "After our landing, which took place on a Monday, there broke out such a fire that growing rapidly, it consumed all the buildings of the fort, and the storehouse of ammunition and provision, so that there remained only three, and all that my son and I possessed was burnt except only a mattress which had not yet been carried on shore. Thanks to God we are at peace with all the neighboring inhabitants of the country and trade with them in wheat and provisions. They attach very great value to copper which looks at all reddish" (Brown 1890:I:175).

[15] No descriptive accounts have come to light that reveal whether the colonists removed the burned posts and rebuilt their fort on precisely the same site, installed new posts close to the old ones, or shifted to a slightly different location within the same general vicinity. In winter, the wood available to the colonists would not have been full of sap. Therefore, it would have been somewhat more durable and less subject to rot than wood harvested in the summertime (Tyler 1907:424).

[16] The so-called Zuniga map was enclosed in a letter that was dispatched from London to Spain on September 10, 1608. Therefore, it left Virginia several weeks or months earlier. Alexander Brown surmised that it may have been carried to England by Francis Nelson on his June 1608 return voyage. Philip Barbour believed that the map was a copy of an original by Captain John Smith (Brown 1890:I:190; Barbour 1969:I:238-239).

[17] This approach was not innovative. The Romans, when erecting a permanent encampment near Hadrian's wall, Walltown Crags at Haydon Bridge, England, utilized a similar strategy. Within an outlying compound were barracks, barns for livestock, and craft areas. A sketch map of Fort Cumberland, built by General Braddock's men during the winter of 1754, reveals that the magazine, guard houses, and the commander's home were inside the fort but the men's barracks were in an extension that was fortified (Anonymous 1754).

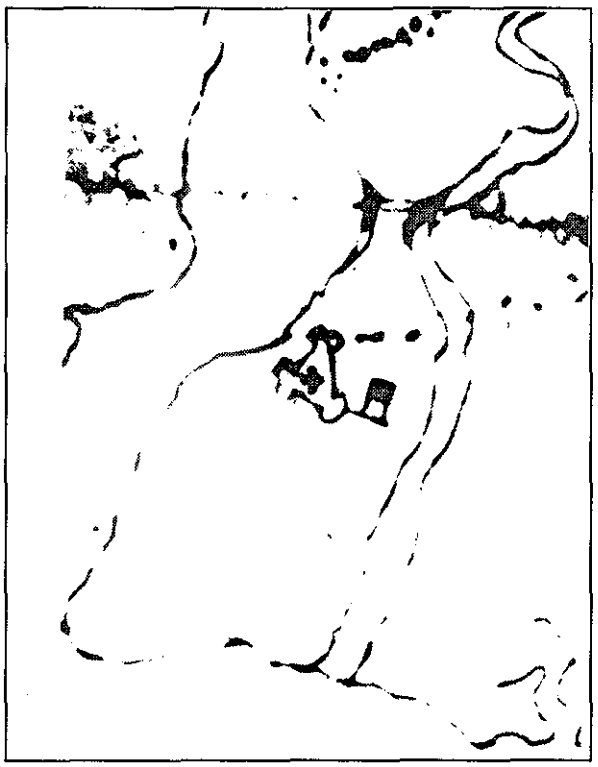


Figure 3. Chart of Virginia *(Zuniga 1608).*

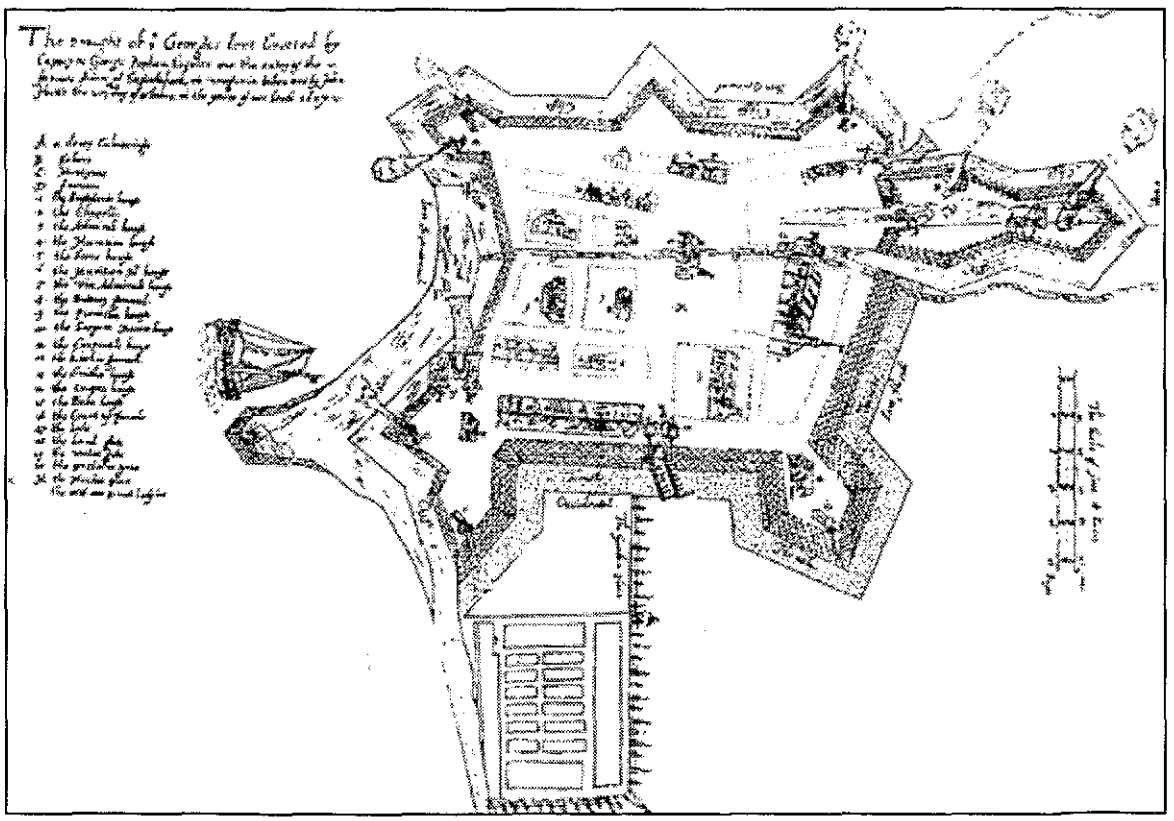


Figure 4. *A 1607 map of St. George's Fort in Sagadehoc (Brown 1890:I:190).*

and seen first hand everything he was recounting.[18] He said that at the site the colonists called Jamesfort, they had

> *...built a walled fort which is on a point that juts out into the river, and the English have decided to cut off the point so that there is water all around it. And in the fort they have installed twenty pieces of artillery, and since then a great deal more artillery has been sent from England [Barbour 1969:I:152].*[19]

A contemporary account published in 1610 under the auspices of the Virginia Council, is reminiscent of Maguel's remarks, for the writer stated that "our fort (that lyeth as a semy-Iland) is most part invironed with an ebbing and flowing salt water, the owze of which sendeth forth an unwholesome & contagious vapour" (Force 1963:III: 1:14).[20] Francis Maguel went on to say that the Virginia colonists were on good terms with the Indians, who "attend a market which the English hold at their fort daily," exchanging "the commodities of their land" for "trinkets the English give them, such as knives, articles made of glass, little bells, and so on" (Barbour 1969:I:153-154).

Acting President Mathew Scrivenor (July to September 1608)

Mathew Scrivenor, who arrived in Virginia in January 1608 in the First Supply of new immigrants, was named a councillor as soon as he came in. In February 1608 he participated in an exploratory trip up the York River.[21] In time, he became part of the faction led by John Smith, who opposed a clique that included President John Ratcliffe, Captain John Martin and Captain Christopher Newport. After Martin and Newport left the colony, only Ratcliffe posed a threat to the alliance Scrivenor and Smith had formed. Ratcliffe was deposed and in July 1608 Scrivenor became acting president of the colony. In September 1608 when John Smith was elected to the presidency, Scrivenor stayed on as a council member. He died early in 1609 in a drowning accident (Brown 1890:II:998; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:12; Raimo 1980:456-457).

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[18] Francis Maguel was not listed among the first settlers who landed in Virginia in May 1607 or in the First Supply, whose names also are known. However, he mentioned the execution of an English Catholic sea captain named Tindall in the fort at Jamestown. Philip Barbour noted that this reference pertained to George Kendall, who was put to death for mutiny in late 1607 (Old Style), not the well known mariner and cartographer Robert Tindall (Brown 1890:I:399; Barbour 1969:I:xxv; Smith 1986:I:xl). That Maguel was in Virginia at such an early date, yet was not listed among the first colonists or as part of the First Supply, raises the possibility that he was a mariner.

[19] Alexander Brown's translator used slightly different verbiage than Philip Barbour's. Brown's stated that the English had "built a well entrenched fort standing on a point which goes out from the land into the river, and the English determined to cut this point so that water should surround them on all sides." He indicated that "in this fort they put 20 pieces of artillery" and "had sent for more" (Brown 1890:394).

[20] The University of Arkansas's recent study of tree-ring data from a bald cypress near Jamestown Island indicates that the Jamestown colonists arrived during a period of severe drought that lasted from 1606 to 1612. It was the driest period in 770 years. Conditions were particularly severe in Tidewater Virginia, near Jamestown. Drought conditions would have created a crisis for both Natives and colonists, for plant materials would not have been readily available for subsistence. Also, water quality would have been at its poorest. Regional drought would have increased the salinity of the lower James River, especially near Jamestown Island, which lies within the oligohaline zone, where the exchange between fresh and salt water in the river would have been minimal (Stahle et al.1998:566).

[21] Peter Wynne, who also was in the First Supply, embarked upon a voyage to the head of the James River, where he learned that the Monacan Indians spoke a language quite different than that of the Powhatans. Wynne said that the land at the head of the James was more conducive to good health "than the place where wee are seated, by reason it is not subject to such fogges and mists as we continually have" (Wynne, November 26, 1608).

Council President John Smith (September 1608 to September 1609)

Captain John Smith, one of America's best known early settlers, was born in 1579 and arrived in Virginia in 1607 in the first group of colonists. As he was implicated in a mutiny, he was kept in irons from February to June 1607. He was admitted to the Virginia Council on June 10, 1607. After John Ratcliffe became president, John Smith served as cape merchant. On December 16, 1607, Smith was captured and detained briefly by the Indians. In September 1608 he became president of the Virginia colony. He was arrested a year later and sent to England, where he stayed from December 1609 to March 1614. Afterward, he went to New England. Captain John Smith's accounts of the colonization of Virginia, though based upon the work of others and embellished with self-agrandizing statements, shed a considerable amount of light upon people and events that otherwise would have escaped notice (Stanard 1910:xvii; 1965:13, 27; Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:463; III:12-24; IV:144; Brown 1890:II:1107-1008; C.O. 1/1 ff 66, 129-130).[22]

Strengthening the Settlement

Captain John Smith, who became president of the colony in September 1608 and served for a year, claimed that during his government, 20-some new houses were built and a new roof was put on the church. A blockhouse was built at the entrance to Jamestown Island, whose garrison traded with the Indians. He said that the settlers (whose ranks were swelled by the arrival of the Second Supply)[23] excavated a new well in the fort, "produced a tryall of glass,"[24] planted 30-40 acres in corn, and saw that the Jamestown fort was "reduced [modified] to a five-square form." Smith indicated that on Saturdays the colonists participated in military exercises "in the plaine by the west Bulwarke, prepared for that purpose" which "we called Smithfield." New acreage also was cleared and planted in corn (Smith 1986:I:180-181, 233-234; Brown 1890:I:184-185, 190).[25]

In another account of the same period, Smith doubled his estimate of the number of houses the colonists built and he indicated that their 40 to 50 dwellings were "invironed with a palizado of fourteene or fifteene foot, and each as much as three or foure men could carrie." The fort "had three Bulwarks, foure and twentie peeces of Ordnance (of Culvering, Demiculvering, Sacar and Falcon), and most well mounted upon convenient platformes." He also claimed that the settlers had planted 100 acres in corn (Smith 1910:612). Smith later said that when he left the colony in the fall of 1609, Jamestown was "strongly Pallizadoed, containing some fiftie or sixtie houses." With characteristic aplomb, he marveled at all he had been able to accomplish with only one carpenter, two blacksmiths, two sailors, a few laborers, Dutchmen and Poles, and some "Gentlemen, Tradesmen, Serv-

[22] According to John Ratcliffe, Smith "is sent home to answer some misdemeanors whereof I persuade me he can scarcely clear himself" (C.O. 1/1 f 66).

[23] In the Second Supply were two women, Mrs. Thomas Forest and Ann Buras (Burrows), her maid. Ann married John Laydon, a laborer, and eventually settled in Elizabeth City (Meyer et al.1987:51; Tyler 1907:160).

[24] A glasshouse was built in the woods on the west side of the isthmus that connected Jamestown Island to the mainland, "neare a mile from Jamestown" (Smith 1910:434, 467). J. C. Harrington, who conducted excavations at Glasshouse Point, concluded that the furnace features he found probably were associated with the first group of glassmakers that came to Virginia: the Poles and Germans who were in the Second Supply. The furnaces may have been reused by the Italians who came later (Harrington 1972:8, 10, 31).

[25] In 1903 topographic engineer and antiquarian Samuel Yonge made a sketch in which he hypothesized about the location and configuration of Smith's five-sided fort. He portrayed the extension Smith built as a feature that was appended to the east side of the triangular fort and showed the extension's easternmost wall cutting across the site upon which a church later was built (Yonge 1903) (Figure 5).

ing-men, libertines and such like" (Smith 1910:471, 486-487).

President John Smith's Term Ends

By early summer 1609 former President John Ratcliffe was back in Virginia, this time as captain of the ship *Diamond*. He engaged in a campaign to oust then-president John Smith from office. On October 4, 1609, Ratcliffe sent a letter to the Earl of Salisbury about conditions in Virginia. He said that Smith had returned to England "to answere some misdemeanors" and that George Percy had been elected president. He indicated that 100 had been seated at the falls, some others were placed upon a champion ground, and the president (Percy) was at Jamestown. Ratcliffe said that the colonists were in great want of victuals and that the Indians tended to raise no more than they needed for themselves. During 1609-1610 John Ratcliffe was killed in an ambush orchestrated by Powhatan (Raimo 1980:456; Withington 1980:485; Coldham 1980:52; C.O. 1/1 ff 66-67; Brown 1890:I:334).[26]

Council President George Percy (1609-1610)

George Percy, the eighth son of Henry, the Earl of Northumberland, and his wife, Catherine, was born on September 4, 1580. He served in the Low Countries and was among the first group of colonists that came to Virginia. It is thanks to George Percy that there is a description of the colonists' first few weeks in Virginia. Percy was president of the Virginia colony from September 1609 to May 1610, when Sir Thomas Gates arrived. Thus, he presided over the colony during what probably was its darkest hour (Raimo 1980:461-462).

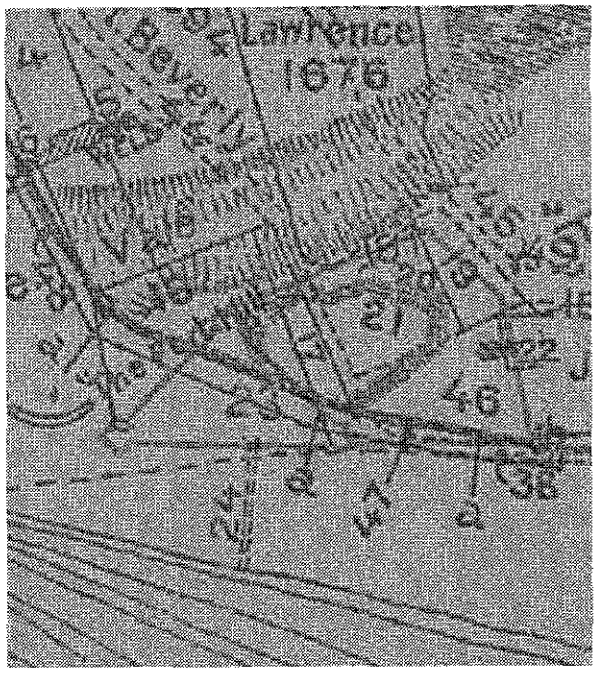


Figure 5. *Untitled map of the western end of Jamestown Island (Yonge 1903). Note the sketch of the reconstructed fort.*

The Starving Time

So much in earnest was the struggle to survive that the winter of 1609-1610 traditionally became known as "The Starving Time." George Percy divided the colonists into three groups and sent two of them abroad to forage for food. But the Indians harassed them continuously and at the end of six weeks, they were obliged to return to Jamestown. By that time, it was too cold for them to wade into the water to gather oysters. Extreme hunger forced them to subsist on roots they dug from the frozen ground and whatever wild and domestic animals they could capture.[27] Some colonists fled to the Indians, considered their mortal enemies. Those who stayed behind were compelled "to devoure those Hogges, Dogges, and horses that were then in the colony, together with rats, mice, snakes or

[26] The Indians, who would have sufferened on account of the severe drought, probably had very little to share.

[27] William Strachey, who arrived during May 1610, said that the Indians and the starving colonists had "killed up all the hogs, insomuch as of five or six hundred (as it is supposed) there was not one left alive." He also said that there was not "an hen nor chick in the fort; and our horses and mares they had eaten with the first" (Wright 1964:86).

what vermin or carrion soever we could light on ... that would fill either mouth or belly." Some survivors claimed that cannibalism occurred. The rigors of "The Starving Time" nearly led to the colony's extinction (Tyler 1922:267-269; Brown 1890:I:392).

Captain John Smith, who had not been in Virginia during the starving time, later contended that the colonists' near starvation was their own fault. He said they were so lazy that they failed to plant crops, and that by the time they understood the consequences, it was too late. Smith claimed that Sir Thomas Gates "had seen some of them eat their fish raw rather than they would go a stone's cast to fetch wood and dress it." He also said that the colonists made no effort to catch and preserve the fish that were so abundant and in fact, had allowed their nets to rot with disuse (Flaherty 1957:xi, xiv-xix; Tyler 1907:212-214; Brown:1890:I:404-406, 415; Wharton 1957:12-13; Smith 1986:I:125, 129; II:232-233, 239, 247). When Sir Thomas Gates arrived in May 1610, in the wake of the starving time, the conditions he found were horrific. The colonists were unaware that they had arrived in a period of severe drought that lasted from 1606 to 1612 (Stahle et al. 1988:566).

Lieutenant Governor Thomas Gates (1610)

Sir Thomas Gates, who was born in Devonshire, England, came to America in 1585-1586 with Drake and Sidney and distinguished himself as a soldier in the fight to take Cadiz. He was knighted in June 1597. Early in James I's reign he enlisted in the army and went to the Netherlands (Brown 1890:894). Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale served together in the Netherlands, where Gates was captain of a company of soldiers based in Oudewater. On April 24, 1608, the Dutch gave Gates a leave of absence to go to Virginia for a year. The group of settlers he took to the colony became known as the Third Supply (O'Callaghan 1856:1:1-2; Force 1963:I:7:9, 11; III:1:9-11, 14, 18, 22; III:2:7; III:3:14; Tyler 1907:212-214; 1922:261-281; Hamor 1957:26, 32; Brown 1890:320, 324, 345, 402-405, 415, 449, 749, 894-895; Stanard 1965:13; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:12-24; Ancient Planters 1871:70-75).

The Third Supply

On July 5, 1608, Sir Thomas Gates left England in a fleet of nine ships and two pinnaces and passengers that included men, women and children. Among the 500 in Gates' party were 100 landmen. Gates brought along provisions, livestock (including some horses), various types of equipment and detailed instructions from the Virginia Company. He was ordered to build towns, see that the colony was adequately defended and produce commodities that could be exported. He also was authorized to exact tribute from the Indians and to build a new capital city at an inland site that was safe. Although Company officials felt that Jamestown was unwholesome and marshy, they believed that it should be retained as a port for shipping. They wanted the colony's principal storehouse for arms, victuals and goods to be in a more secure location, for Jamestown was so vulnerable to attack by sea that "it is not to be expected that anie fortification there can endure an enemy that hath the leisure to sit down before yt" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:12-24; Tyler 1907:191).

Sir Thomas Gates' fleet encountered a hurricane and became scattered. Afterward, eight of the ships limped into Jamestown. One small catch was lost, and on July 28, 1609, the flagship carrying the colony's leaders (the *Seaventure*, which carried Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Christopher Newport) ran aground off the coast of Bermuda.[28] Fortunately, they recovered much of their navigational equipment. Finally, on May 10, 1610, Gates and the ca. 100 to 150 others in his party left Bermuda and made their way to Virginia in the *Patience* and the *Deliverance*, two small but seaworthy vessels they built from the islands' native cedar wood (Ancient Planters

[28] With Gates were certain men who had been involved in the construction of St. George's Fort.

1871:71, 73; Smith 1910:233, 350; Tyler 1922:262; Barbour 1969:II:461).

Gates' Arrival at Jamestown

When Sir Thomas Gates arrived at Jamestown on May 23, 1610,[29] he found the settlement in shambles and 60 colonists who were starving and in dire straits.[30] William Strachey said that Gates immediately went to the church, where he

> *... caused the bell to be rung, at which all such as were able to come forth of their houses repaired to the church, where our minister, Master [Richard] Bucke, made a zealous and sorrowful prayer, finding all things so contrary to our expectations, so full of misery and misgovernment [Wright 1964:63].*

Later, the Council in Virginia reported upon the conditions at Jamestown at the time of Sir Thomas Gates' arrival. In a July 7, 1610, letter they declared that

> *... entering the towne, it appeared raither as the ruins of some auntient fortification, then that any people living might now inhabit it: the pallisadoes he [Gates] found tourne downe, the portes open, the gates from the hinges, the church ruined and unfrequented, empty houses (whose owners untimely death had taken newly from them) rent up and burnt, the living not hable, as they pretended, to step into the woodes to gather other fire-wood; and it is true, the Indian as fast killing without as the famine and pestilence within. Only the block house (somewhat regarded) was the safetie of the remainder that lived; which yet could not have preserved them now many days longer from the watching, subtile and offended Indian, who (it is most certaine) knew all this their weaknes, and forbare too timely to assault the forte, or hazard themselves in a fruitless war on such whome they were assured in short time would of themselves perish [Brown 1890:404-405].*[31]

Sir Thomas Gates, within a day of his arrival at Jamestown, decided to formulate a military code of justice. Those rules, which were dated May 24, 1610, required the colonists to work and they established an inflexible code of conduct. Some regulations pertained to social and moral conduct; others dealt with practicing good hygiene and military discipline (Smith 1910:502-503; Flaherty 1969:9).

As Sir Thomas Gates lacked the provisions he needed to revive the colony, he decided to evacuate the surviving settlers to Newfoundland, where they could secure sustenance and safe passage back to England. George Percy said that Gates put his people to work, "some to make pitch and Tar for Trimminge our shippes, others to Bake breade ... So thatt [within] A Small Space of Tyme fower pinnesses weare fitted and made Reddy." According to William Strachey, Sir Thomas Gates,

> *... having caused to be carried aboard all the arms and all the best things in the store which might to the adventurers make some commodity upon the sale therof at home, and*

[29] Captain John Smith indicated that Gates arrived on May 24th with 150 people, whereas the ancient planters' account states that he came in on May 20th with 100 people. William Strachey's account dates Gates arrival at Old Point Comfort at May 21st (Smith 1910:350; Ancient Planters 1871:71; Wright 1964:61).

[30] George Percy said that out of 500 men, only 60 remained. He also indicated that cannibalism had occurred (Tyler 1922:267, 269). Fred Fausz (1990:55) in his thorough analysis of ship arrivals, deaths, and departures from the colony, concluded that in May 1610 (before Gates's arrival) there were 90 people left alive.

[31] William Strachey, as the colony's secretary and recorder, probably composed the letter the Council sent home to England. In a letter to a woman in England, he expressed himself very similarly. He said, "Viewing the fort we found the palisades torn down, the ports open, the gates from off the hinges, and empty houses (which owners' death had taken from them) rent up and burnt, rather than the dwellers would step into the woods a stone's cast off from them to fetch other firewood. And it is true, the Indian killed as fast without, if our men stirred but beyond the bounds of their blockhouse, as famine and pestilence did within" (Wright 1964:63-64).

burying our ordnances before the fort gate which looked into the river, the seventh of June, having appointed to every pinnace, likewise his complement and number, also delivered thereunto a proportionable rate of provision, he commanded every man at the beating of the drum to repair aboard. And because he would preserve the town (albeit now to be quitted) unburned, which some intemperate and malicious people threatened, his own company he caused to be last ashore and was himself the last of them when about noon, giving a farewell with a peal of small shot, we set sail and that night, with the tide, fell down to an island in the river which our people have called Hog Island [Wright 1964:76].[32]

Only the arrival of Lord Delaware's ships forestalled the colony's abandonment, for when the vessels sailed into the mouth of the James River, they met Gates' departing fleet (Tyler 1922:269; Smith 1910:502-503).

Governor Thomas West, Lord Delaware (1610-1618)

Sir Thomas West, the third Lord Delaware, was the first Lord Governor and Captain General of Virginia, a designation he received on February 28, 1610. He had attended Queens College at Oxford and served as a member of Parliament from Lymington. He was knighted in 1599, at age 22, and in 1602 succeeded to his father's peerage. He went on to become a member of the Privy Council and he was on the Virginia Company's Council. Shortly after Lord Delaware was chosen Virginia's principal leader, he set sail for the colony in a fleet of three ships that carried "many gentlemen of quallety" and 300 land men, plus "greate store of victewles, munícyon and other Prvission." The instructions Lord Delaware received from Virginia Company officials closely resembled those given to Sir Thomas Gates, who was named Lieutenant Governor. He was supposed to see that the settlers planted crops and he was to procure fish and other commodities that could be brought back to England.[33] Delaware's timely arrival in the colony on June 9, 1610, narrowly averted its abandonment by the surviving colonists (Withington 1980:52; Raimo 1980:463-464; Stanard 1965:13; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:24; Smith 1910:233-234, 237, 239; Tyler 1922:270; Barbour 1969:II:462; Brown 1890:I:415, 1047-1048; Meyer et al. 1987:655-656).[34]

On Sunday, June 10, 1610, the colonists returned to Jamestown. According to William Strachey,

[32] William Crashaw, who in 1613 recounted the settlers' abandonment of Jamestown, said that once "every man [was] aboord, their Ordenance and Armour buried, and not an English soule left in James Towne, and giving by their peale of shot their last and wofull farewell to that pleasant land," they set out down the river (Brown 1890:617-618).

[33] Detailed instructions were provided on when raw materials (such as sassafras roots, sarsaparilla, and bay berries) should be harvested and how they were to be prepared for shipment to England. Animal pelts were to be obtained in winter, the time when oak and walnut trees were to be cut down. Sturgeon were to be boiled, salted and packed in casks, although the heads were to be pickled separately. Isinglass was to be made from the scales of sturgeon (Brown 1890:I:384-386).

[34] Artisans and other specialists were recruited to accompany Delaware to Virginia. In a 1610 treatise, ministers, druggists, armorers, gunfounders, iron furnace and hammer men, blacksmiths, sawyers, carpenters, shipwrights, gardners, turners, brickmakers, tilemakers, fishermen, fowlers, sturgeon dressers, saltmakers, coopers, colliers, plowwrights, vine dressers, press-makers, joiners, soapash men, pitch boilers, mineral men, sugar cane planters, silk dressers, pearl drillers, bakers, brewers and collar makers were sought (Brown 1890:I:353). In a Virginia Company broadside, brewers were added to this list (Brown 1890:I:356). Qualified workers who went to Virginia were supposed to be furnished with "houses to live in, vegetable-gardens and orchards, and also food and clothing at the expense of the company of that island and ... they will have a share of all the products and profits that may result from their labor ... and they will also secure a share in the division of the land for themselves and their heirs" (Brown 1890:I:249).

Upon His Lordship's landing at the south gate of the palisade (which looks into the river, our governor caused his company in arms to stand in order and make a guard. It pleased him that I should bear his colors for that time. His Lordship, landing, fell upon his knees and before us all made a long and silent prayer to himself, and after marched up into the town, where at the gate I bowed with the colours and let them fall at His Lordship's feet, who passed on into the chapel, where he heard a sermon by Master Bucke, our governor's preacher, and after that caused a gentleman, one of his own followers, Master Anthony Scot, his ancient [ensign], to read his commission [Wright 1964:84].

Afterward, Lord Delaware upbraided them, "laying many blames upon them for many vanities and their idleness." He also offered the hungry men encouragement by telling them that he had brought enough provisions to serve 400 men for a whole year. As Delaware didn't find "as yet in the towne a convenient house," he "repaired aboard [ship] againe," which he used as his headquarters (Wright 1964:85; Brown 1890:I:407). On June 12, 1610, he approved the military code of justice that Sir Thomas Gates had devised (Smith 1910:502-503; Flaherty 1969:9).

According to George Percy, as soon as Lord Delaware reached Jamestown, he "sett all things in good order selecteinge a Councell and makeinge Captaines over 50 men apiece." In accord with his instructions, he named Gates second in command. Delaware sent Sir George Somers to Bermuda in mid-June to retrieve additional provisions,[35] and in late July he dispatched Sir Thomas Gates to England to bring back more settlers, supplies, and livestock (Tyler 1922:270). During Delaware's ten months in the colony, he accomplished a great deal. At Jamestown, he had the settlers build new houses, and he set a number of other projects afoot. As governor, he chose officers to serve as masters of the ordnance and of the battery works for steel and iron, and he appointed a sergeant major of the fort and clerks for the store. He strengthened the colony's defenses and had some new, more weatherproof houses built. Later, William Strachey declared that the colonists' new dwellings were better constructed than those they replaced, "though as yet in no great uniformity, either for the fas[h]ion or beauty of the streete." They used:

A delicate wrought fine kinde of Mat the Indians make, with which (as they can be trucked for or snatched up) our people do dresse their chambers, and inward roomes, which make their houses so much more handsome. The houses have wide and large Country Chimnies in the which is to be supposed (in such plenty of wood) what fires are maintained; and they have found the way to cover their houses; now (as the Indians) with barkes of Trees.

Strachey said that the newly built houses shielded the settlers from both heat and cold, whereas their first dwellings, which had been "parqueted and plaistered with Bitumen and tough Clay," were "like Stoves" in sultry weather (Wright 1964:81-82).[36]

William Strachey indicated that Powhatan and his people constantly worked toward the colonists' undoing. Sometimes they resorted to overt violence and seized the settlers' weapons and tools.[37] Finally, Lord Delaware sent two men to Powhatan, to demand the return of colonists then held captive, plus all of the items that had been taken. Afterward, Powhatan sent word that "either we should depart his country or confine ourselves to Jamestown only, without searching further up into his land or rivers, or otherwise he would give in command to his people to kill us and do unto us all the mischief which they at their pleasure could and we feared." He reportedly told Lord Delaware's messengers not to return again "unless they brought him a coach and three horses ... as such was the state of great werowances and lords in England."

[35] Somers departed on July 19, 1610 (Wright 1964:87).

[36] Strachey's description suggests that the settlers' houses were made of pieces of wood that were covered or joined together with tar and clay.

[37] Strachey claimed that the Indians had taken more than 200 swords, axes, pole axes, chisels, and hoes, along with "an infinite treasure of copper" (Wright 1964:90).

Strachey said that afterward, Powhatan sent two or three Indians to the fort, to assess the colonists' strength and health and how well the settlement was guarded. The Natives also "would daily press into our blockhouse and come up to our palisade gates, supposing the government as well now as fantastical and negligent as in former times." He added that "Some quarter of a mile short of the blockhouse, the greatest number of them would make assault and lie in ambush about our glasshouse," attacking whoever ventured out to fetch water or food (Wright 1964:90-91, 93).

Ill health forced Lord Delaware to withdraw to the West Indies. He left Virginia on March 28, 1611, only ten months after his arrival and approximately two weeks before Sir Thomas Dale came in. Delaware reached England in June 1611 and continued to promote the colony. He was still governor, though an absentee. He died in the Azores on June 7, 1618, on his way back to Virginia (Withington 1980:52; Raimo 1980:463-464; Smith 1910:237; Stanard 1965:13; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:24; Brown 1890:1047-1048; Meyer et al. 1987:655-656).[38]

The Jamestown Fort's Appearance

William Strachey, who arrived in Virginia in May 1610 and commenced serving as the colony's secretary, described the appearance of the Jamestown settlers' fort in a letter he wrote to a woman in England around July 15, 1610.[39] He said that the first colonists had selected

> *... an extended plain and spot of earth which thrust out into the depth and midst of the channel, making a kind of chersonese or peninsula, for it was fastened only to the land with a slender neck no broader than a man may well quoit a tile shard, and no inhabitants by seven or six miles near it. The trumpets sounding, the admiral struck sail, and before the same the rest of the fleet came to an anchor, and here (as the best yet offered unto their view, supposed so much the more convenient by how much with their small company they were like enough the better to assure it), to lose no further time, the colony disembarked and every man brought his particular store and furniture, together with the general provision, ashore. For the safety of which, as likewise for their own security, ease and better accommodating, a certain canton and quantity of that little half island of ground was measured, which they began to fortify and thereon in the name of God to raise a fortress with the ablest and speediest means they could;*[40]

[38] Thomas West's son, Henry, became the fourth Lord Delaware. Between 1619 and 1623 Henry and his mother, Lady Ceciley, gradually disposed of the late Lord Delaware's shares of land in Virginia. The decedent owned at least 65 shares in his own right and several more he had acquired from other Virginia Company investors. The plantation in which the late Lord Delaware and his father-in-law, Sir Thomas Shirley, had a personal investment was West and Shirley Hundred (Withington 1980:52; Raimo 1980:463-464; Stanard 1965:13; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:24; Brown 1890:1047-1048; Meyer et al. 1987:655-656).

[39] Louis B. Wright has dated this letter to July 15, 1610, on the basis of its heading, which states "A True Repertory of the Wreck and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates ... His Coming to Virginia and the Estate of that Colony Then and After, under the Government of Lord La Warr, July 15, 1610, written by William Strachey." However, internal evidence suggests that a somewhat later date may be appropriate, for Strachey used the past tense when stating that Captain Adams and the *Blessing* "brought" some Indians to Old Point Comfort on July 15th (Wright 1964:94). Wright concluded that Samuel Purchas added excerpts from the Virginia Company's *A True Declaration of Virginia* (published in November 1610) to the end of William Strachey's letter (Wright 1964:95-96).

[40] William Strachey's description of the first colonists' eagerness to build fortifications as soon as they arrived was based on hearsay, for he was not in Virginia at that time. On the other hand, Captain Christopher Newport (who, like Strachey, had been stranded in Bermuda) *was* present in May 1607. It should be noted, however, that Strachey's statements contrast with those of Captain John Smith, who said that Edward Maria Wingfield was

which fort, growing since to more perfection is now at this present in this manner.[41]

A low level of ground about half an acre (or so much as Queen Dido might buy of King Iarbas, which she compassed about with the thongs cut out of one bull hide and therein built her castle of Byrsa) on the north side of the river is cast almost into the form of a triangle and so palisaded. The south side next the river by reason the advantage of the ground doth so require contains 140 yards [420 feet], the west and east sides a hundred [300 feet] only. At every angle or corner, where the lines meet, a bulwark or watchtower is raised and in each bulwark a piece of ordnance or two well mounted.[42] *To every side a proportioned distance from the palisade, is a settled street of houses that runs along, so as each line of the angle hath his street. In the midst is a market place, a storehouse, and a corps de garde,*[43] *as likewise a pretty chapel, ... And thus enclosed, as I said, round with a Pallizado of Plancks and strong Posts, foure foot deep in the ground, of yong Oakes, Walnuts &c.*[44] *... the fort is called, in honor of His Majesty's name, Jamestown. The principall Gate from the Towne, through the Pallizado, opens to the River, as at each Bulwarke there is a Gate likewise to goe forth, and at every Gate a Demi-culverin, and so in the market place (Wright 1964:79-81).*[45]

William Strachey's description of the fort's internal organization indicates that the colonists had obeyed the orders they had received from the king's council, for they had done almost everything that was expected of them. However, there was one notable exception. Contrary to orders, they had planted the colony in a marshy, low-lying area. Strachey admitted,

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(cont'd from previous page)
reluctant to fortify until after a May 26, 1607, Indian attack (Smith 1986:I:206). Moreover, Smith's chronology is supported by Gabriel Archer's statement that fort construction got underway on May 28 (Barbour 1969:I:95).

41 Emphasis added.

42 An isosceles triangle which base is 420 feet long and sides each measure 300 feet encloses 63,000 square feet or nearly 1.45 acre. The amount of additional square footage enclosed by the fort's bastions is open to conjecture, as is whether Strachey included or excluded them when speaking of the walls' length.

43 According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a corps de guard (often corrupted by the English to court of guard) was "the post or station occupied by a small military guard: a guard-room or guard-house." The term also could be applied to a small body of soldiers stationed as sentinels.

44 Red and black oak would have had very little resistance to heartwood decay, whereas walnut would have been very resistant. However, "un treated sapwood of substantially all species has low resistance to decay and usually has a short service life under decay-producing conditions." Wood deteriorates more rapidly in warm, humid areas than in those that are cool and dry (U.S.D.A. 1987:3-22). If the trees used in fort construction had a lot of sapwood (the newly formed wood just inside of the cambium of a tree, which is more active in the plant's nutrition), they would have been much more vulnerable to decay. Leaving the bark on the trees would offer the wood some protection (Philip A. Araman, personal communication, July 16, 1998). The Forestry Department at the University of Missouri found that charring the butts of wooden posts before setting them in the ground extended their serviceable life marginally, i.e., by approximately four months (Carson et al.1982:156).

45 In May 1610, when Gates, Strachey and 100 to 150 new settlers arrived at Jamestown, they found the fort's "palisades torn down, the ports open, [and] the gates from off the hinges." As Gates, within two weeks of his arrival, decided to abandon the settlement, it is doubtful that he did much about rebuilding the fort. However, when Lord Delaware arrived on June 10, 1610, with 250 new immigrants, he decided to strengthen and retain Jamestown. Delaware, who had been in the colony a few weeks when Strachey wrote his letter, would have had a work force of 350 to 400 people, if he decided to rebuild the fort. As the first fort was built by fewer than 100 men within a six week period, Delaware, who was well equipped and had a much larger pool of labor at his disposal, probably would have been able to replace or rebuild the ruinous structure within a lesser amount of time.

> *True it is, I may not excuse this our Fort, or James Towne, as yet seated in some what an unwholesome and sickly ayre, by reason it is in a marish ground, low, flat to the River, and hath no fresh water Springs serving the Towne, but what wee draw from a Well sixe or seven fathom deepe,*[46] *fed by the brackish River owzeing into it.*

Astutely, he attributed many of the settlers' medical problems to the consumption of contaminated water.[47] In another part of his letter, Strachey said,

> *No country yieldeth goodlier corn nor more manifold increase. Large fields we have, as prospects of the same, and not far from our palisade... And we have made trial of our own English seeds, kitchen herbs, and roots and find them to prosper as speedily as in England.*

According to Strachey, Lord De La Warr gave orders for the church to be repaired

> *... and at this instant many hands are about it. It is in length three-score foot [60 feet long], in breadth twenty-four [24 feet wide], and shall have a chancel in it of cedar and a communion table of the black walnut, and all the pews of cedar, with fair broad windows to shut and open, as the weather shall occasion, of the same wood, a pulpit of the same, with a font hewn hollow, like a canoe, with two bells at the west end [Strachey 1964:79-80].*

William Strachey left Virginia in late April 1611 (Brown 1890:I:84-85; 1907:107; Tyler 1907:19; Wright 1964:68, 79-81).

[46] That is, 36 to 42 feet deep.

[47] Carville Earle, a modern Chesapeake scholar, observed that Jamestown's location in the oligohaline zone, which during the summer months has a higher saline concentration and less exchange between fresh and salt water than areas above or below it, would have put its inhabitants at great risk for imbibing brackish and contaminated water (Earle 1979:115). Drought conditions would have exacerbated the problems the colonists faced.

Deputy Governor George Percy (March-May 1611)

When Thomas West, Lord Delaware, left the colony in late March 1611, he named George Percy deputy governor. He was to serve until Sir Thomas Dale arrived. As Dale landed at Jamestown on May 10, 1611, Percy's term in office was very brief. Percy left Virginia in late April 1612 in the *Trial* and reached England in early summer. He probably never returned to Virginia. After Captain John Smith's *General History* was published, Percy (who viewed Smith's work as unjustly critical), wrote "A Trewe Relacyon," which described conditions and events in the colony from 1609 to 1612. In that account, Percy mentioned (but did not describe) his dwelling in Jamestown, spoke of participating in a march against the Chickahominy and Pasbehay Indians, and said that some men that were killed were brought to the fort and buried.[48] He indicated that Captain Daniel Tucker built a large boat that had proved very useful. He also spoke of Captain Adams' arrival in the *Blessing*, with men, supplies and word that Sir Thomas Dale's fleet would come in soon (Brown 1890:161, 402, 500, 964; Force 1963:I:7:13; Stanard 1965:13, 28; Tyler 1922:259-282).

Deputy Governor Thomas Dale (May 1611 to August 1611)

Sir Thomas Dale, who arrived in Virginia on May 10, 1611, was an experienced military officer. He had been captain of an infantry company in service to the Dutch and in 1606 his garrison was based in Oudewater in the Netherlands, where he served with Sir Thomas Gates. On January 20, 1611, Dale obtained a leave of absence from the Dutch, who authorized him to go to Virginia for three years and receive his usual pay while absent. Within a month he married Elizabeth Throgmorten, a relative of the Berkeleys. In March 1611 he set sail for Virginia in three ships that transported 300 men (some of

[48] There is no indication whether they were buried within the fort or outside of it.

whom were artisans and tradesmen), provisions, and a substantial quantity of livestock that included cattle and goats (Smith 1910:239; Brown 1890:I:461-462, 474, 489, 491-492; O'Callaghan 1856:2-3; Barbour 1969:II:463; Ancient Planters 1871:73).[49]

Captain John Smith quoted Ralph Hamor as saying that when Sir Thomas Dale arrived, he found the men of Jamestown "at their daily and usuall works, bowling in the streets" and Dale in his correspondence commented upon the settlers' indolence, attributing the colony's woes to a lack of strong leadership (Smith 1986:II:239; Hamor 1957:26). His solution to the problem is reflected in the course of events that followed, for he began exercising fully the authority his superiors had given him. Within a month of his arrival, he implemented martial law, a strict code of justice that frequently invoked the death penalty.

Five weeks after Sir Thomas Dale arrived in Virginia, he expanded the code of military justice Sir Thomas Gates had drafted and dated May 24, 1610. The additions Dale made to *The Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall*, which he dated June 22, 1611, make reference to the existence of the Jamestown fort's ramparts, trenches and palisades. People entering or leaving "the Campe Town or Fort" were to use its normal entrances rather than going "over the Ramparts, Pallizadoes, Trenches &c." Those standing watch "upon the rampart" were to look "over into the ditches" to determine whether anyone was loitering near the settlements. These statements suggest that the walls of the fort at Jamestown were structurally complex.[50] The marshal (probably the provost marshal) was to make sure that there were "no disorders, breaking up or fiering of houses, of ye store, or roberies [of the] magazine" or "riots or tumult in taphouses or in the streetes or in private houses" at untimely hours (Force 1963:III:2:33, 60-61).

Among the Virginia Company policies Sir Thomas Dale implemented was planting settlements toward the head of the James River, away from Jamestown Island's salt marshes. He also established a plantation on the Eastern Shore. Dale himself resided at Bermuda Hundred much of the time he was in Virginia. It was during his administration that John Rolfe, through experimentation, developed a strain of sweet-scented tobacco that quickly became a highly lucrative money crop. When Sir Thomas Gates left Virginia in 1614, Dale became marshal and deputy-governor, which title he held until his May 1616 return to England. Dale, by instituting martial law, forced the Virginia colonists to work toward their own support, providing their own food and shelter. On May 25, 1611, Dale sent a letter to the Virginia Company Council in which he described how he planned to strengthen the colony. He said that he had ordered the settlers to repair "the falling church and so of the Store-house" and he had them build "a stable for our horses, a munition house, a powder house, [and] a new well for the amending of the most unholsome water which the old afforded." He put men to work making brick, erecting a sturgeon house where fish could be cured, and constructing a blockhouse "on the North side of our back River to prevent the Indians from killing our cattle."[51] Dale had a barn built for cattle and hay planted to feed them. He also set the men to work fabricating a smith's forge,[52] making casks for sturgeon, planting common gardens

[49] Spanish spies were aware of the Virginia Company's plans. On December 31, 1610, Velasco sent word to his superiors that in a month 300 men would go to Virginia, including 60 accompanied by with their wives, and that 1,000 arquebuses, 500 muskets, 300 corselets, 500 helmets, and ammunition would be sent (Brown 1890:I:443).

[50] William Strachey made no reference to trenches, when he described the fort on July 15, 1610. Lord Delaware, who was in Jamestown from June 10, 1610, until March 28, 1611, may have had them dug (Smith 1986:II:233-234, 237).

[51] Although Sir Thomas Dale's statement implies that the blockhouse was on the north side of the Back River in the mainland, a 1624 patent for land in the northwest part of Jamestown Island (in Study Unit 1 Tract E) specifically noted that the parcel's boundary line abutted "the Blockhouse Field cleared in Gates' government." Thus, the blockhouse probably was on the island.

[52] Possibly Structure 139.

for hemp and flax, and constructing "a bridge [wharf] to land our goods dry and safe upon," which latter work was undertaken by Captain Christopher Newport and his mariners. He said that Captain Edward Brewster and his men were to work on the church and Captain Lawson and his crew were to build the stable. He added that "All the Savages I set on work who duly ply their taske," an indication that Indians were among those involved in enhancing Jamestown's improvements. Dale indicated that on May 21st he went to the Pasbehay Indians' old town (a village site at the mouth of the Chickahominy River) because he had been told that it was good ground upon which to plant corn, hemp and flax. He said that "in surveighing it, I found it too much rough now being greene and high [that it] would not be so readily cleansed this year for any service." Dale also said that on May 22nd he had made several proclamations, which he had placed on public view, a reference to the military code of justice he had devised. Dale indicate that he had sent ships to Nova Scotia to combat traders he heard were moving into that region (O'Callaghan 1856:1:1-3, 9, 16-20; Force 1963:II:7:18; III:2:7; Tyler 1922:278-279; Hamor 1957:26, 32; Brown 1890:446, 461, 490-494, 873).

Sir Thomas Dale's Strategy for Strengthening the Colony

In mid-August 1611 Sir Thomas Dale informed Sir Ralph Winwood that if he had 2,000 men he could assure the colony's success. He recommended that the peninsula be secured below the fall line and that towns be built at Jamestown, Kecoughtan, Chiskiack and several other sites. He said that a Spanish vessel had arrived during the summer and that after three men had been put ashore, they took off with his pilot.[53] According to Ralph Hamor and John Rolfe, Dale set up a salt works on the Eastern Shore and at Jamestown, he established a common garden where Virginia Company servants were employed growing food for the colony. They also credited Dale with subduing the Chickahominy Indians. In 1612 and 1613 he established some settlements at the head of the James River. The city of Henrico (Henricus) was situated upon what became known as Farrar Island.[54] Three miles west, another group of settlers was seated at Arrahattock, formerly the site of an Indian village. On the lower side of the James, opposite Henrico, was Hope in Faith or Coxendale. To the east was Rochdale or Rockdale. In 1613 Sir Thomas Dale drove the Appomattox Indians from their habitation at the mouth of the river that still bears their name. By January 1614 he had established a cluster of communities he called the New Bermudas or the Bermuda Incorporation. Initial settlement occurred at Bermuda (Charles) Hundred, where Dale's men built a palisade across what became known as the Bermuda Hundred peninsula. He seated a group of colonists on the east side of the Appomattox River's mouth at a site he called Bermuda City (later, Charles City or City Point). Dale also placed groups of settlers on the north side of the James River at Digges Hundred (opposite Rochdale), the Upper Hundred (Curles), and West and Shirley Hundred. Those three communities (like Bermuda Hundred and Bermuda City) were part of the New Bermudas. West and Shirley Hundred, which included what became known as Shirley Plantation and Eppes Island, derived its name from two Virginia Company investors, Sir Thomas West (Lord Delaware) and his father-in-law Sir Thomas Shirley (Hamor 1957:31- 32; Ferrar MS 40; Rolfe 1971:7-11).

In 1614, Ralph Hamor, who was one of Sir Thomas Dale's most ardent supporters, said that when the colony was first established, "people were fedde out of the common store and laboured jointly in the manuring of the ground and planting corne." As a result "glad was the man that could slippe from his labour, nay the most honest of them in a generall businesse, would not take so much faithful and true paines in a week as now he will do in a

[53] Dale was speaking of John Clark, whom the Spanish took to Cuba and then Spain (see ahead).

[54] Dale said that he would "knock up pales whither he should pleasure" (Ferrar MS 40).

day, neither cared they for the increase, presuming that howsoever their harvest prospered, the generall store must maintain them." Sir Thomas Dale changed all that. He allocated 3 acres of cleared ground to every man, who was responsible for raising his own corn. None of these farmers were to be called upon to serve the colony more than one month a year. However, they were obliged to contribute 2½ barrels of corn to the storehouse every year, which was to be reserved for the sustenance of newly arrived settlers. Hamor said that this strategy would not only save lives, it also would make funds available that could be spent on clothing and outfitting those who came to the colony (C.O. 1/1 ff 94, 113-114; Brown 1980:I:501; Sainsbury 1964:1:12; Hamor 1957:17-18; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:35; Neill 1890:2:51; Ferrar MS 40).

Agriculture, The Key to Prosperity

Early writers often extolled the virtues of Virginia's soil and climate, which they claimed was highly favorable to agriculture. In 1613, the Rev. Alexander Whitaker said that corn planted between the beginning of March and the end of May would reach maturity in five months. He indicated that "Our English seeds thrive very well heere, as Pease, Onions, Turnips, Cabbages, Coleflowers [cauliflowers], Carrets, Time, Parseley, Hysop, Marjoram, and many other whereof I have tasten and eaten." He said that there were many types of trees and that he constantly admired the beauty and richness of the land (Wright 1946:17).

During Sir Thomas Dale's administration John Rolfe, through experimentation, succeeded in developing a strain of sweet-scented tobacco that was highly marketable. It quickly became such a lucrative money crop that it attained acceptance as currency. According to Ralph Hamor, in 1612 John Rolfe began trying to grow tobacco that was as flavorful as West Indian trinidado or cracus.[55] He did so "partly for the love he hath for a long time borne unto it, and partly to raise commodity to the adventurers." Hamor said that during the nearly six years Rolfe had spent in Virginia, "no man hath laboured to his power, by good example there and worthy encouragement into England by his letters, then [than] he hath done, witnes his marriage with Powhatan's daughter." Hamor said that because tobacco was so highly valued in England, everyone in Virginia "may plant, and with the least part of his labor, tend and care will returne him both cloathes and other necessities." John Pory's 1619 statement that at Jamestown, even the wife of a collier wore a beaver hat, attests to the marketability of tobacco.[56] King James, however, viewed tobacco smoking as a "filthie noveltie, so basely grounded" that it was a sin. He declared that it was "A custome lothsome to the eye, hatefull to the Nose, harmefull to the braine, dangerous to the Lungs, and in the blacke stinking fume thereof, neerest resembling the horrible Stigian smoke of the pit that is bottomless" (Hamor 1957:18-19, 23, 32-33; Pory 1977:72; Riley et al. 1955:10).[57] However, tobacco continued to be the colony's money crop and as late as 1626 Virginia's governor and council declared that nothing was more of a hindrance to the production of staple commodities than tobacco "which is our money" (Riley et al. 1955:10).

Diego de Molina

In June 1611 Diego de Molina and two others arrived at Old Point Comfort aboard a Spanish ship caravel. When they went ashore to obtain information, the vessel took off with English pilot John Clark, who had rowed out to confer with its captain. Molina and his companions, whom the colonists considered spies, were kept prisoner at Old

[55] His efforts coincided with the end of a seven year drought (Stahle et al.1998:566).

[56] The means to purchase finery would have blurred one obvious distinction between the social classes. This may have been why the assembly in 1619 passed a law taxing excess in apparel (Tyler 1907:263).

[57] King James made reference to the mythological River Styx, which was said to flow through hell.

Point Comfort for several years. In May 1613 Molina smuggled a letter out of the colony in which he described conditions as he knew them. He said that in Virginia "the fortifications which they have are low level and so fragile that a kick could destroy them, and when they [the enemy] are once supported by walls, those on the outside are better [off] than those within because their beams and loopholes are common to both parts." He claimed that

> *... the men are badly disciplined and not drilled at all, altho' their hopes are based upon one of two colonies, which they have established twenty leagues [60 statute miles] from here, up the river in a turn of the river on a peninsula [Jamestown Island], which is very rough, with a small harbour for landing,*[58] *and they are convinced that there they can defend themselves against the whole world. I have not seen it, but I know that the fortifications are like the others, and that one night the Indians broke in and took the whole place without resistance being made, shooting arrows in at all the doors, so that I do not fear any difficulty in taking this place or Bermuda [Brown 1890:649].*

He said that Virginia's fortifications were made by men of little skill, who fancied themselves military experts because of their experience in the Low Countries.[59]

In another part of the same letter, Diego de Molina indicated that at the mouth of the James were three small forts and that "Twenty leagues higher up [60 miles upstream] is this Colony [Jamestown] with 150 settlers and 6 guns." A comparable distance upstream (probably at Bermuda Hundred) "is another strongly situated settlement, to which all of them will be taken, when the occasion arrives, because there they place their hope." Molina indicated that Sir Thomas Gates wanted him to urge the Spanish to release John Clark, the English pilot captured when he had been taken. In 1616 a prisoner exchange finally occurred (Brown 1890:649, 652, 659, 744; Tyler 1922:278-279).

John Clark's Adventures

John Clark (Clarke), an English pilot who set sail from London with Sir Thomas Dale and 300 other men on March 17, 1611, arrived in Virginia in early May. In June, when a Spanish caravel arrived off Old Point Comfort and sent Diego de Molina and two other men ashore, Clark rowed out to the vessel, to coax its captain to land at Fort Algernon. Instead, the ship weighed anchor with Clark aboard and took him to Havana, Cuba. On July 23, 1611, when he was interrogated, he said that he was from London and was age 35.[60] He described the tonnage of the three vessels in Sir Thomas Dale's fleet and spoke of the well sheltered harbor at the mouth of the river upon which the main settlement was located. He indicated that there were four forts at the mouth of the river, all on its north side, and that they were built "of palisades and timber, without stone or brick." Clark stated that:

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[58] Molina may have been referring to the sheltered area of shoreline located just east of the point where Jamestown Island reached the river's channel.

[59] In an October 5, 1613, letter to King Philip III of Spain, Gondomar said that Virginia's forts were "surrounded with earthworks" on which the colonists "plant their artillery." He indicated that "The commander is now Don Thomas Gates and Marshal Don Thomas Dale; there are about 300 men more or less there; and the majority sick and badly treated, because they have nothing to eat but bread of maize, with fish; nor do they drink anything but water—all of which is contrary to the nature of the English." He said that cattle did not thrive, due to the lack of grazing land, and that relations between the English and the Indians were so bad that no one could "leave his fort without running great risk of his life. When the general *sometimes goes ahunting he takes a guard with* him to protect his person" (Brown 1890:660).

[60] Historical records fail to reveal whether John Clark testified under duress. Transcripts of his testimony are in the Spanish Archives. Clark's statements about the size of Sir Thomas Dale's vessels and their itinerary and cargo; Sir Thomas Gates' experiences in Bermuda; and the description of the forts at Old Point Comfort are consistent with documents written by Dale, Gates and others. Therefore, John Clark's testimony may be very accurate.

The principal settlement, where there is another fortification, is 20 leagues [60 statute miles] up the river from the first fort and in it there are 16 pieces, and it is also surrounded by palisades[61] *and the houses of the settlement are all wood and the cannon of cast iron like the rest, and ships of deep draft go up to the settlement.*[62]

He added that:

In all the settlements and fortifications there are about 1000 persons, 600 of whom fit to bear arms and the rest women, boys and old men.[63] *That he does not know that there is any further trade with England than that for some provisions and clothing and other things have been brought for the people that are settled there, and that on the return voyage they go back laden with wood for hogsheads and ships and sassafras wood, and that also they have brought over 100 cows, 200 pigs, 100 goats and 17 mares and horses... . That the land has been governed by a brother of Conde Nontonborland [Earl of Northumberland], named Perse [George Percy,] who brought his government to an end at the coming of a knight who is called Don Thomas [Dale], who was in the three ships in which the deponent made his voyage, and who governs by the order of the King of England. That in August this year they expect four ships with some people and a quantity of cattle, under the command of Don Thomas Guies [Gates] and that those who sail to these regions and gather there are abandoned people who are accustomed to live by piracy. That he has only once been in Virginia and that at present there were 6 ships there and that 3 went with him, and of the other 3, 2 were made in Bermuda, where one from England came ashore after a storm with more than 150 persons and among them some officials, and taking the iron, pitch and what else was necessary, they made them two years ago, the one of 70 tons and the other of 25, and that the last of the said vessels was a barge of about 12 or 13 tons, made in the said Virginia where they were also making a galley of 25 benches, but that it would not be finished very soon because of having little that is prepared and not having the necessary men [*American Historical Review *1920:470].*

John Clark said that the Indians

*... are sometimes at peace and other times at war, and go clothed in deer skins and with their bows and arrows, which are gusamar [gossamer], and that the produce they gather is maize and walnuts, and on the land there are many deer and the cattle that they have taken from England, and as to fisheries at times there is abundance and at others very little [*American Historical Review *1920:474].*

Later, John Clark was taken to Madrid, Spain, where he was interrogated on February 18, 1613. Again, he spoke of going to Virginia with Sir Thomas Dale and 300 men (not counting mariners), in three ships. This time he indicated that they had brought along 600 barrels of flour and 50 boxes of powder, plus some crates of arquebuses. He spoke of crossing the Atlantic and reaching Point Comfort, where they put some people ashore. Clark said that they then took Dale's three ships

*... up the river to the principal place, which they call Jacobus [Jamestown], where they anchored because the ships could not go up beyond the said port, though ships of 40 or 50 tons, which draw 2 yards and ½ of water can go up 30 leagues [*American Historical Review *1920:476].*

Clark went on to say that he had been at the mouth of the James River when the Spanish ship came in because he had brought some flour from Jamestown to the people garrisoned at Point Comfort.

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[61] Literally, "son fortificados de estacas gruesas muy juntas."

[62] The Duke of Lerma sent Secretary Antonio de Arostegui what purportedly was an accurate transcription of John Clark's testimony in Havana (Brown 1890:519-520).

[63] While this number might seem high, it should be recalled that there were approximately 60-90 colonists in Virginia when Sir Thomas Gates arrived with 150 in May 1610; Lord Delaware came with 250 people in June 1610; Captain Adams brought some men in April 1611; and Sir Thomas Dale brought 300 men in May 1611.

The men interrogating John Clark asked him about the breadth and depth of the main river and what type of fortifications were at Point Comfort. This time, he said that there were three forts at Point Comfort, where there were seven pieces of mounted artillery. He added that all of the forts had "stout palisades well joined together." When he was asked

> *... how many houses there were in the said place called Jacobus [Jamestown] and of what sort and what soldiers and what artillery, he said that there are about 100 wooden houses*[64] *and in them and in the other places that he has mentioned about a thousand men capable of bearing arms, what with traders and soldiers and laborers, and 30 women, and that the place is fortified with palisades in the form mentioned and probably has about 16 pieces of artillery, 10 heavy and the other smaller, the heavy pieces of about 40 or 50 hundred wt., and the others of about 16 or 17, and that he does not know that there is any other settlement besides that [*American Historical Review *1920:476].*

Again, John Clark said that

> *... of the Indians some are friendly and some are not, and that it appears to him that there is no great number of either sort; and that what up to the present time he has seen taken from that region to England by way of merchandize is timber for making different things and sassafras and what they bring from England are provisions of flour and other things and munitions and cattle of different sorts, which do well [*American Historical Review *1920:478].*

Thanks to a prisoner exchange agreement made by the Spanish and English governments, John Clark was released and allowed to return to England and Diego de Molina went to Spain. Some sources indicate that in 1620 Clark came to the New World as pilot of the *Mayflower*. He reportedly made many trips to Virginia on behalf of the Virginia Company and on one occasion transported cattle to the colony from Ireland. John Clark immigrated to Virginia in 1623 and died there shortly thereafter (*American Historical Review* 1920:25:455-456, 470, 476; Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:597).

Sir Thomas Gates' Return to Power (August 1611 to March 1614)

Sir Thomas Gates, who returned to the colony on August 1, 1611, took over as acting governor. In his fleet of nine vessels, he brought to the colony 280 men, 20 women, 200 kine and 200 swine, along with supplies and equipment.[65] According to George Percy, when the men at Old Point Comfort saw a fleet of ships approaching, they sent word

[64] As Captain John Smith reported that there were 50 to 60 houses at Jamestown when he left office in September 1609, and as Delaware, Gates and Dale erected numerous buildings on Jamestown Island, this figure may be reasonably accurate.

[65] Gates was supposed to bring tradesmen to Virginia, including 2 millwrights for iron mills; 4 iron miners; 2 iron finers; 2 iron founders; 2 hammermen for iron; 2 edgetool makers for ironwork; colliers for charcoal; 2 woodcutters; 2 shipwrights; 20 shipcarpenters; 10 calkers; apothecaries; surgeons; 20 fishermen; 30 husbandmen; 10 gardeners; 20 sailors; 10 watermen; 2 spademakers; 10 laborers; 4 brickmakers; 6 bricklayers; 2 limeburners; 15 sawyers; 4 smiths; 2 edgetool makers; 6 coopers; 2 basketmakers; 2 cutlers; 2 armorers; 2 tanners; 2 last-makers; 2 shoemakers; 2 tailors; 10 clapboardmen; 4 potters of earth; 6 netmakers; 10 house carpenters; 2 masons; 2 bakers; 2 brewers; 2 swineherds; 2 spinners of pack thread; 2 cordage makers; 2 bellowsmakers; 2 millers; 2 matmakers; 2 gunpowder makers; 2 saltpeter men; 2 saltmakers; 2 braziers in mettle men; 2 distillers of aqua vitae; 1 saddler; 2 collermakers; 2 furriers; 2 stockmakers for peeces; 6 wheel and plowrights; 2 gunmakers; 2 tylemakers; upholsterers of feathers; hemp planters; hemp dressers; turners; millwrights for water mills; fowlers; 2 pikemakers; leatherdressers; mineral men (Brown 1890:469). It is uncertain how many of these artisans made the trip. As Gates brought 150 men, women and children to Virginia in May 1610; Delaware came with 250 people in June 1610; Adams brought men in April 1611; Dale brought 300 men in May 1611; and Gates transported 300 men and women in August 1611, 1,000 or more new colonists arrived during this 15 month period.

to Sir Thomas Dale, who dispatched 40 men to investigate. As they failed to return as soon as expected, Dale feared that they had been ambushed or defeated. Therefore, "he drewe All his forces into form and order reddy for encownter Callinge A Cowncell to Resolve whether itt weare beste to mete wth them A board our shippes or to maynteine the foarte." Percy told Dale that in his opinion, "Thatt is dowttful whether our men wolde stande unto itt A shoare and Abyde the Brunte, butt A shippboard of necessety they muste for there was no runneinge Away." While preparations were being made for the men to go aboard, those sent to reconnoitre the approaching fleet arrived with news that Sir Thomas Gates had come in (Tyler 1922:278).

Ralph Hamor also described the anxiety the colonists experienced when Gates' fleet appeared. He said that when Gates arrived

> *... about the second of August with sixe good Shippes, men, provisions and cattle, whom as yet not fully discovered, we supposed to be a Spanish fleete, thus induced the rather to beleeve because in company with him were three Caravels, vessels which never before had bin sent thither, and now onely for the transportation of the Cattle.*

Hamor added that:

> *It did mee much good and gave great courage to the whole company to see the resolution of Sir Thomas Dale, now wholy busied (our land fortifications too weake to withstand a forraigne Enemy) in lading our provisions aboard the two good Shippes, the* Starre *and* Prosperous, *and our own* Deliverance, *then riding before Jamestown, aboard which Shippes, he had resolved to encounter the supposed Enemy, animating his people, not onely with the hope of victory if they readily obeied his direction, but also assuring them that if by these meanes God had ordained to set a period to their lives, they could never be sacrificed to a more acceptable service, himselfe promising rather to fire the Spanish shippes with his owne, than either basely to yeelde or to be taken: and in nothing he seemed so much discontent as that we could not possibly lade aboarde all our provisions before (the wind being then very faire) they might have bin with us, whilest therefore the rest were laboring their utmost to lade aboard our provisions, he caused a small shallop to be manned with 30 readie and good shot to discover directly what Shippes they might be, and with all speede to retyurne him certaine word, which within three hours they did, assuring him that it was an English fleete, Sir Thomas Gates Generall thereof [Hamor 1957:28-29].*

While Sir Thomas Gates held office, he undertook the construction of three forts at the mouth of the James River and he also "erected some buildinges in and about James Towne." He and Sir Thomas Dale were in the colony simultaneously from August 1611 to March 1614 (O'Callaghan 1856:1:1-2; Force 1963:I:7:9, 11; III:1:9-11, 14, 18, 22; III:2:7; III:3:14; Tyler 1907:212-214; 1922:261-281; Hamor 1957:26-27, 32; Smith 1910:241, 463; Brown 1890:320, 324, 345, 402-405, 415, 449, 455, 689, 749, 894-895; Stanard 1965:13; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:12-24; Ancient Planters 1871:70-75).

Ralph Hamor credited Sir Thomas Gates with erecting many improvements at Jamestown, which was his usual place of residence. He said that during Gates' government, a new wharf was built, along with an additional blockhouse,[66] a governor's house and several other new buildings. Gates reportedly had a garden at Jamestown, which contained small fruit trees (Brown 1890:449, 473; [Ancient Planters] 1871:73, 75; Patent Book 1:24; Force 1963:I:7:13; Hamor 1957:28, 33).

In June 1613 Sir Thomas Dale informed one of his superiors that he had divided his men into three groups when establishing fortified settlements at the head of the James River. He spoke of requiring his men to plant crops and retain seed for the following year. Despite Sir Thomas Dale's efforts, most of the communities he founded faltered and eventually failed. If a 1624 account by the an-

[66] Sir Thomas Dale took credit for these accomplishments. However, Gates was his superior. A 1624 patent suggests that the new blockhouse was located within Study Unit 1 Tract E, on a narrow ridge that extended toward the Back River (Patent Book 1:12).

cient planters is credible, most of the buildings erected under Dale's supervision had fallen into disrepair by May 1616, when he left the colony (C.O. 1/1 ff 94, 113-114; Brown 1980:I:501; Sainsbury 1964:1:12; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:35; Neil 1890:2:51; Ferrar MS 40).

Sir Thomas Gates returned to England in March 1614, leaving Sir Thomas Dale in command. Although Gates' and Dale's regimes were harshly criticized on account of the forceful means used to compel the colonists to work, both leaders usually are credited with saving the colony from extinction.[67] Dale also concluded an important treaty with the Chickahominy Indians, who agreed to declare themselves subjects of King James. In 1618 Sir Thomas Gates received compensation from the Dutch for the period during which he was absent from the Netherlands. He, like Dale, was credited with developing the Virginia colony into a base of trading operations, thereby enhancing commerce with the Dutch (Ancient Planters 1871:76; Hamor 1957:56-57; Brown 1890:741; O'Callaghan 1856:1:16).[68]

Father Pierre Biard

In 1612 when word reached England that the French were attempting to plant a colony in North Virginia, Captain Samuel Argall was sent out in the *Treasurer* to oust them. Father Pierre Biard, a Jesuit priest from New France, was among those captured by Argall at Mount Desert Island in June 1613. In a personal narrative, he described the circumstances under which he was taken prisoner and the months he spent in captivity.[69] Biard and two other Jesuits, plus the Sieur de la Motte, Captain Flory (a mariner), three artisans, and seven other men were brought to Jamestown where they were detained. Argall reportedly had claimed that Sir Thomas Dale (whom he identified as marshal of Virginia) "was a great friend of the French, having won all of his principal distinctions by the recommendation of the late Henry the Great, and having been his soldier and his pensioner." However, according to Biard, Argall lied, for

> *... this fine Marshall ... when he heard an account of us, spoke of nothing but of ropes and gallows and of hanging every one of us. We were frightened terribly and some lost their peace expecting nothing less but that they would have to mount a ladder ignominiously and dangle miserably by a rope.*

Biard said that Argall resisted the idea of killing the French and displayed documents he had seized, which indicated that they were in North Virginia with the authorization of their king. Biard said that:

> *The General [Gates], the Marshall [Dale], and all the chief officers of Virginia assembled in Council. The result was ... to do worse than ever ... for it was resolved that Captain Argall should with his three ships go back to New France, pillage and raze to the ground all the fortifications and settlements of the French which he might find on the whole way up to Cape Breton and claim the land for England.*

Father Biard and the others who offered no resistance were supposed to accompany Argall to New France, and then be allowed to return home. By November 9, 1613, Argall's mission was complete and he set sail for Virginia. However, a storm scattered the vessels under his command. When he

[67] According to Ralph Hamor, Dale asked Powhatan to give him Pocahontas's sister, whom he "would gladly make his neerest companion, wife and bedfellow," in order to make a natural union between their two peoples. Powhatan declined, for the young woman already was promised to another (Hamor 1957:41). When Dale made this proposal, he already was a married man.

[68] In 1620 Virginia Company officials asked Sir Thomas Gates to provide them with directions for building a fort in Virginia. Instead, he indicated that he could recommend a Frenchman he knew to have such skills, who might be persuaded to move to Virginia. Sir Thomas Gates never returned to the colony. He died in the Netherlands in September 1622 (Kingsbury 1906-1915:I:313, 316; Stanard 1965:28).

[69] Biard said that the surgeon on Argall's ship was a Catholic and treated them kindly.

reached Virginia, Sir Thomas Dale "heard with delight ... all that had happened." Argall continued on to the Azores and in 1614 took the Jesuits and his other prisoners to Wales and then London, where they were released. Father Biard said that he and his companions had been kept captive for nine and a half months.[70] Out of the group of 15 men, "three died in Virginia, and four are still there, everything being done that can be done toward their liberation." Biard said that "if the merchants in whose hands is the administration of Virginia, had had their way, not one foreigner who had ever been found within the said Virginia would ever have been allowed to return to his own country" (Tyler 1906:227-228; Brown 1890:716-717, 720, 723, 725).

Deputy Governor Thomas Dale (March 1614 to May 1616)

In March 1614, when Sir Thomas Gates left Virginia, Sir Thomas Dale again commenced serving as deputy governor. On August 19, 1614, King James asked the Dutch to extend Dale's leave of absence for another two or three years. He added that "in all probability it will be productive of advantage to our Realms." Permission was forthcoming, so that Dale could bring matters in Virginia "into thorough security." In 1617, after Sir Thomas Dale returned home, he sought his back pay. English officials, who in 1614 had interceded on his behalf, said that Dale

> *... hath acquitted himself with reputation and honor to himself, to his Majesty's satisfaction and to the publick advantage, in as much as by signal patience, diligence and valor, he overcame serious difficulties and dangers and finally established a good and permanent settlement all along a river navigable for 70 leagues into the interior.*

On January 26, 1618, Dale wrote Dutch officials that during his leave of absence, he had gone to Virginia "to introduce and plant there the Christian Religion and God's Word, also to establish a firm market there for the benefit and increase of trade." Finally, after several letters were exchanged, Sir Thomas Dale was granted full pay for his absence of seven years (O'Callaghan 1856:9-10, 16-18, 21).

In 1614 John Rolfe, who was one of Sir Thomas Dale's most ardent supporters, reported that there were then 50 people living on Jamestown Island, 32 of whom were farmers. He said that Dale required all farmers to defend their own settlements and the colony, to do 31 days public service a year, to provide their own households with food and clothing, and to contribute 2½ barrels of Indian corn per male household member to the colony's common store. Farmers (and others) were not permitted to plant tobacco until they had placed under cultivation two acres of corn per male household member. Once they had fulfilled that basic obligation, they could raise as much tobacco as they wished (Rolfe 1957:8-10).

In 1614 Ralph Hamor, another Dale champion, stated that Jamestown Island had been thickly wooded when the colonists first arrived, but that with much labor it had been cleared and converted into good ground for both corn and gardens, and impaled. He said that Jamestown, thanks to

> *... the care and providence of Sir Thomas Gates, who for the most part had his chiefest residence there, is reduced into a hansome forme, and hath in it two faire rowes of howses, all of framed Timber, two stories, and an upper Garrett or Corn loft high, besides three large and substantiall store houses, joyned together in length some hundred and twenty foot and in breadth forty, and this town hath been newly and strongly impaled and a faire platforme for ordnance in the west bulwarke raised: there are also without this towne in the island, some very pleasant, and beautifull howses, two Blockhouses, to observe and watch least the Indians at any time should swim over the back river and come into the island, and certain other farme howses [Hamor 1957:33].*

[70] Lyon G. Tyler transcribed a portion of Biard's text, which states that "We remained in captivity during nine months and a half. We were in the ship all the time, except when we landed at Pembroke" (Tyler 1907:233).

Sir Thomas Gates reportedly had "in his garden at Jamestown, many forward apple & pear trees come of ... the kernels set the yeere before." Ralph Hamor, to demonstrate how Sir Thomas Dale's policies had furthered the colony's advancement, said that every new immigrant was to be given

> *... a handsome howse of some foure roomes or more, if he have a family, to repose himselfe in rent free, and 12 English acres of ground adjoining thereto, very strongly impailed, which ground is allotted to him for rents, gardaine hearbs and corne; neither shall hee need to provide himselfe, as were wont the first planters, of a yeers provision of victualls, for that the store there will bee able to affoord him, & upon these conditions he shall be entertained; He shall have for himselfe & family, a competent 12 months provision deliered unto him, in which time it must bee his care to provide for himself and family ever aver, as those already there, to this end he shall be furnished with necessary tooles of all sorts, and for his better subsistence he shall have Poultry, and swine, and if he deserve it, a Goate or two, perhaps a Cow given him [Hamor 1957:19-20].*

The presence of numerous 12 acre farmsteads in the eastern end of Jamestown Island, within Study Units 2 and 3, tracts that were seated at a very early date, may reflect Sir Thomas Dale's strategy for assisting newcomers.

Sometime between Sir Thomas Dale's May 1611 arrival and his May 1616 departure, he acquired Study Unit 3 Tract B, a narrow ridge of land at Goose Hill, in the southeastern end of Jamestown Island. Although the Dale patent has been lost or destroyed, William Spencer's August 1624 title to a neighboring 12 acres (Study Unit 3 Tract C) pinpoints its position, as does a patent issued to Thomas Delamajor in 1629 (Study Unit 3 Tract A) (Nugent 1969-1979:I:3, 13; Patent Book 1:9, 97-98; McIlwaine 1924:192). As many of the early patents in the eastern end of Jamestown Island were 12 acre plots that belonged to ancient planters (Study Unit 2 Tracts D, G, I, M, N, O, Q and Study Unit 3 Tracts C, D, and E), and as Sir Thomas Dale promoted the idea of new immigrants' being furnished 12 acre homesteads for subsistence, he probably had at least 12 acres at Goose Hill.[71] Dale's livestock included cattle (which bore his mark upon their horns) and goats (Hamor 1957:33; Brown 1890:873).[72]

Pocahontas, the favorite daughter of Powhatan, who was captured and detained, was converted to Christianity and adopted the name English name, Rebecca. In April 1614, she married colonist John Rolfe in the church at Jamestown. Their union soothed relationships between the colonists and the Natives. The Rolfes and their baby son, Thomas, accompanied Sir Thomas Dale when he returned to England. Pocahontas was introduced at court, where she was treated as a Native princess. She became ill and died before returning to Virginia. Her death was followed closely by that of her father. With his demise, tensions between the colonists and the Indians increased (Hart 1939:216-218; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:70).

Sir Thomas Dale left Virginia in May 1616 and returned to England, accompanied by John Rolfe, Pocahontas and a dozen or more other Indians. He brought to the Mother Country samples of tobacco, sassafras, pitch and tar, potash, stur-

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[71] On July 25, 1638, James Knott testified that Sir Thomas Dale had plantations at Coxendale, Charles alias Bermuda Hundred, West and Shirley Hundred, "and at Goose hill neare James Towne and at Margateby [Magothy Bay] was granted or confirmed unto the Sd. Sir Thomas Dale by Aramipiam, then King of the Matacooms." He said that after Sir Thomas's death, his plantations were "for the most part preserved and mantayned at the Cost and charge of Elizabeth the ladie Dale." Knott indicated that at the time of the 1622 Indian uprising, Lady Dale had 20 servants at Coxendale, "where she had a faire house strongly Pallisaded," but he didn't indicate how many people she had elsewhere or how her properties were developed (Banks 1928:51).

[72] Ralph Hamor said that in the colony were at least 200 neat cattle, a comparable number of goats, and numerous swine. He also said that private individuals had mares, horses, coats, poultry (probably chickens), turkeys, peacocks and pigeons (Hamor 1957:23).

geon and caviar. According to some estimates, when Dale left Virginia there were 351 colonists, including 65 women and children. He designated George Yeardley as acting governor (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:265, 316, 338, 584; II:40, 396; III:68, 122; IV:116; McIlwaine 1924:28, 73; P.R.O. S.P. 14/87 f 67; Brown 1890:782-783).

Sir Thomas Dale became ill and died on August 9, 1619, in the East Indies, at Masulipatam. Sole heir to his Virginia property was his widow, Lady Elizabeth (Brown 1890:873). Although Sir Thomas's administrative policies, which included the implementation of marital law, were unpopular and controversial, many of his contemporaries credited him with saving the Virginia colony from extinction. Several years after his death, he was criticized for teaching Indians how to use firearms in order to hunt for game (McIlwaine 1924:28).[73]

Acting Governor George Yeardley (May 1616 to May 1617)

George Yeardley, who was born in 1588 in Southwark, England, joined a company of foot-soldiers in the Low Countries, where he became acquainted with Sir Thomas Gates. In June 1609 he set out with Gates and Sir George Somers in the *Seaventure*, which wrecked off the coast of Bermuda. Yeardley arrived in Virginia in the *Deliverance* in spring 1610 and was named captain of Sir Thomas Gates' guard, a position of great trust. Lord Delaware reportedly placed Yeardley in charge of the 150 men he delegated to search for precious metals. In November, Yeardley sent word to England that the colony was in earnest need of husbandmen, supplies, provisions, and agricultural equipment. According to Ralph Hamor, in 1611 Sir Thomas Gates designated Captain George Yeardley his lieutenant. At Bermuda Hundred, he was second in command to Sir Thomas Dale, and in May 1616 when Dale left Virginia, he became acting governor, which position he held until Deputy Governor Samuel Argall's arrival in May 1617 (Meyer et al. 1987:29; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:29; Hamor 1957:32; C. O. 3/21 f 77; Raimo 1980:465; Brown 1890:II:782; Stanard 1965:13, 28; Pory 1977:72).

Deputy Governor Samuel Argall (May 1617 to April 9, 1619)

Sir Samuel Argall, who was from Kent, England, was considered a capable mariner and in March 1610 he transported Lord Delaware to Virginia. He explored the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries during autumn and winter 1610 and left Virginia with Lord Delaware in June 1611. Later, he made an exploratory voyage to the New England coast and eventually undertook several fishing voyages to that area. He assisted Sir Thomas Dale in subduing the Indians and in September 1612 reported that the colony was in good condition. When word reached England that the French were establishing a colony in North Virginia, Argall was dispatched in the *Treasurer* to oust them. He was employed in Virginia from December 1613 to June 1614. He returned to England with the French he had captured in New France. He was sent to Virginia again in February 1615. In early 1617 Samuel Argall was appointed deputy governor and admiral of Virginia and given patents for a plantation. He set sail from England in March 1617 and reached Virginia on May 15th. He was accompanied by the 100 settlers he intended to seat upon his own plantation (Withington 1980:664; Stanard 1965:14, 28; Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:224; P. R. O. 30/15/2 f 205; Brown 1890:437, 640, 814-816).

Argall's Policies

Samuel Argall (Argoll), as deputy governor, favored martial law and he attempted to continue the policies and strict code of justice established by Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale. On June 7,

[73] His policies were deemed harsh because he made liberal use of corporal punishment. For example, in 1625 the General Court noted that Dale had had Joan Wright (Study Unit 3 Tract E) and Ann Buras (Burrowes) Laydon (Virginia's first bride) whipped because some shirts they had hemmed were too short (McIlwaine 1924:62).

1617, he sent a letter to England in which he declared that the colony was in bad condition. According to Captain John Smith, Argall reported that he had found at Jamestown "but five or six houses, the Church downe, the Palizado's broken, the Bridge [wharf] in pieces, the Well of fresh water spoiled." The settlers were using the storehouse as their church, "the market-place and streets and all other spare places [were] planted with Tobacco, and the very Courts of Guard built by Sir Thomas Dale was ready to fall and the Palizado's not sufficient to keep out Hogs." Argall ordered the settlers to repair their houses and remedy "those defects which did exceedingly trouble us" (Smith 1986:II:262; 1910:535-536).[74]

In a June 9, 1617, letter, Argall said that he preferred Jamestown to the Bermudas and intended to strengthen the capital city. He told Virginia Company officials that he was setting out families and intended to expand the colonized territory. He asked for ships carpenters and 100 other men, outfitted with the tools of their trade, clothing and provisions. He said that he expected hemp and flax to thrive in Virginia and claimed that English grains could be grown upon worn-out soil. He also told his superiors that the colony produced excellent wheat and barley and that cattle did well. He recommended that the Company's magazine ship be sent out in September so that it would arrive at harvest season, and he reported that he had given commissions to people to trade. He also confirmed the ownership of cattle to several of the colony's leaders. On May 10, 1618, Argall issued a lengthy proclamation. Church attendance was required and many other activities were forbidden. No one was supposed to go aboard newly arrived ships without the governor's permission or to use hay to "sweat" tobacco. It was illegal to trade or associate with the Indians or teach them how to use firearms, and no one was supposed to pull down palisades or allow hogs to run at large in Jamestown. There was a moratorium on shooting guns (except in self-defense) until a new supply of ammunition arrived. People were to bear arms at all times. Every man (except tradesmen) was supposed to plant 2 acres of corn (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:345; II:400; III:68, 73-74, 76, 78, 92-93; Ancient Planters 1871:78).

Samuel Argall perpetuated Sir Thomas Dale's policy of assigning parcels to individual planters. A 1625 court document makes reference to acreage in the eastern end of Jamestown Island that was assigned to Lt. Batters (Study Unit 2 Tract N) by Deputy- Governor Argall, who distributed "several parcels of land in the island" under the authority of the Virginia Company's third (1612) charter (McIlwaine 1924:44-45). A list of patents compiled in May 1625 also states that "in ye Iland of James Citty, are many parcells of land graunted by patent and order of Courte" and it contains a notation that Sir Thomas Dale and Sir Samuel Argall had distributed some tracts in the mainland, earlier on (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:555). The clustering of ancient planters' farmsteads in the eastern end of Jamestown Island suggests that land in that vicinity was settled between 1611 and 1616.[75] Extant patents reflect the colonists' persistent interest in that area (Figures 6 and 7).

Argall's Term Draws to a Close

After Samuel Argall had been in Virginia for a year, he asked that a replacement be sent. On April 9, 1619, Nathaniel Powell, a councillor, agreed to serve as acting governor until Sir George Yeardley's arrival. Although Samuel Argall declared that during his time in office he had greatly improved conditions in the colony, in time, he was subjected to a considerable amount of criticism. Many of the allegations against him surfaced after he left office. For example, he was given use of the public land known as the Common Garden, which was tended

[74] Argall probably was responsible for building the spacious frame church that Sir George Yeardley found when he arrived in April 1619 (see ahead).

[75] Some of the very early seventeenth century historic sites identified in Study Units 2 and 3 during the recent Phase I archaeological survey of Jamestown Island may be associated with ancient planters' occupation.

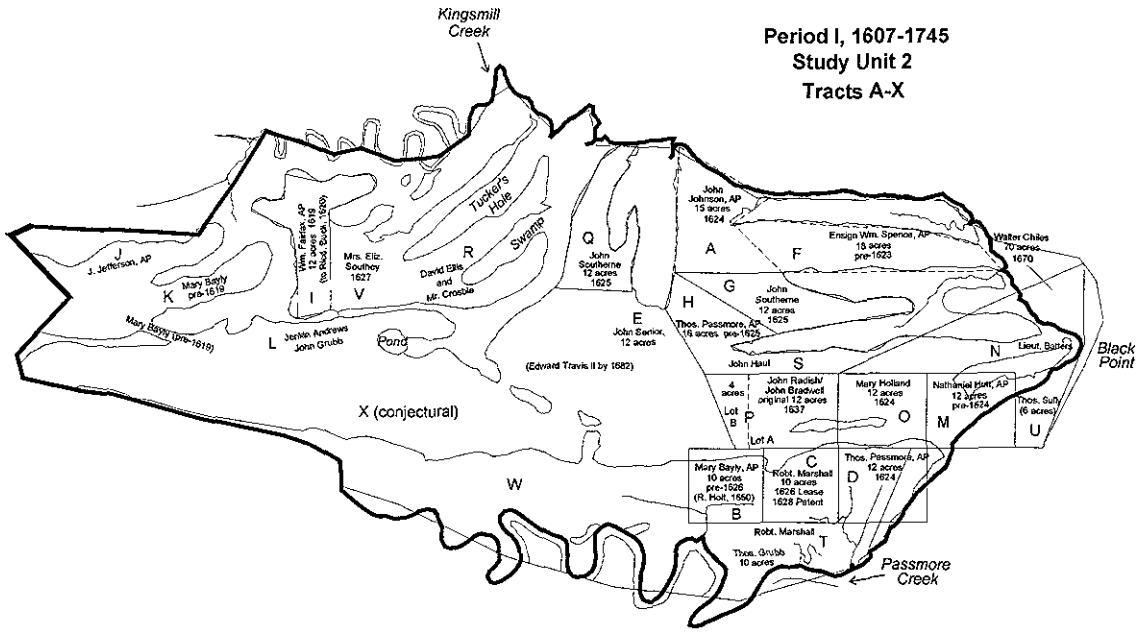


Figure 6. *Period I, 1607-1745, Study Unit 2 Tracts A-X. Many of these tracts belonged to Ancient Planters.*

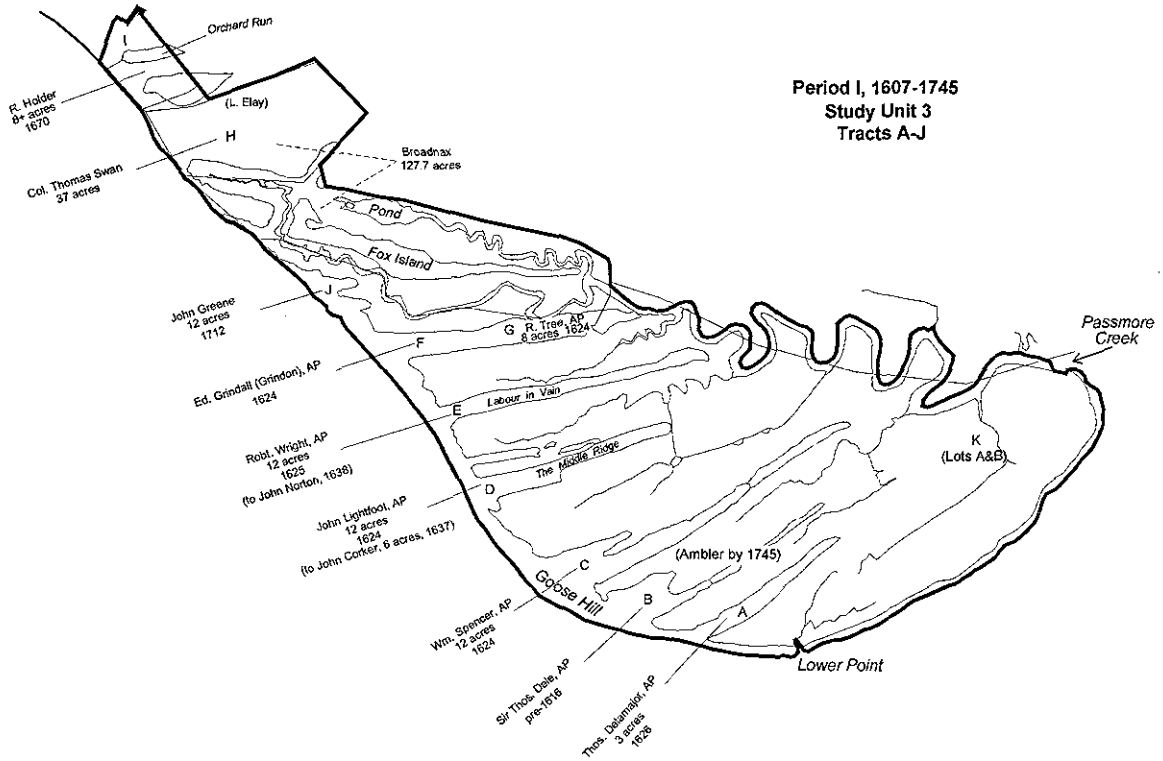


Figure 7. *Period I, 1607-1745, Study Unit 3 Tracts A-J. Many of these tracts belonged to Ancient Planters.*

by Company servants. Later, he was censured for diverting both acreage and servants to his own use. That allegation appears to have been grounded in fact, for Argall placed the Society of Martin's Hundred's settlers upon the property tentatively set aside as the Governor's Land, where he tried to establish a plantation of his own.[76] He allegedly put Lord Delaware's servants to work on his own projects and misappropriated their goods. He was accused of using the Virginia Company's frigate for Indian trade, which he monopolized, and he reportedly sold the Virginia Company's cattle and pocketed the proceeds. He refused to free the ancient planters, even though their time had expired, and he allowed people to ship tobacco and sassafras at the same rates the Company used, making them competitors (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:331, 359, 387; II:27, 40; IV:562; Ferrar MS 522, 523, 524). These actions tarnished Argall's reputation.

Samuel Argall, upon leaving Virginia in the *Treasurer*, embarked upon another questionable activity, for while on the high seas he captured a vessel from the West Indies that had some Africans aboard (see ahead). Argall's actions as a privateer were controversial because the ship he took was Spanish and England and Spain had reached a tenuous peace. Argall was required to account for his behavior and the Company assets under his control. However, he had some highly placed supporters and in 1622 he was knighted at Rochester. In 1625 he took part in the attack on Cadiz. When Argall died in 1639, his reputation, sullied by his activities during the Virginia Company period, still was clouded by suspicion (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:215, 345, 359, 387; II:27, 40; III:92-93, 249, 255; Raimo 1980:468; Pory 1972:80; Brown 1890:816; Ferrar MS 522, 523).

Although late twentieth-century historian Carville V. Earle and others have held Deputy Governor Samuel Argall responsible for concentrating the colony's population within the relatively unhealthy oligohaline zone, where the exchange between fresh water and salt water is minimal, documents associated with a census dated March 1620 reveal that such was not the case (Earle 1979:115; McCartney 1999). Argall, despite his stated preference for Jamestown, established only one new community in that vicinity: Argall Town. Thus, his contribution to the situation was minimal and when he left Virginia, only 32 percent of the colony's population was living in the oligohaline zone (Ferrar MS 138, 139, 159, 178).

Acting Governor Nathaniel Powell (April 9 to April 19, 1619)

Nathaniel Powell, a gentleman, came to Virginia in 1608 in the First Supply of new immigrants. He was an investor in the Virginia Company and was a man of wealth and prominence (Smith 1986:I:208). On April 9, 1619, while Nathaniel (a councillor) was living in Charles City, he was designated acting governor, at Samuel Argall's recommendation. He held office for only ten days, for on April 19, 1619, Governor George Yeardley arrived. In July Nathaniel Powell served as a delegate to the colony's first assembly. He witnessed Henry Spellman's statement about an Indian treaty

[76] A map prepared by Johannes Vingboons in ca. 1630 shows the site of "Argalls Towne" in a location analogous to the Governor's Land. To its east was another structure that probably symbolized that that area also was settled. Jamestown Island, shown with its isthmus intact, was labeled "Blockhouse Jameston" and on the island was a small row of buildings, probably signifying that this was an urban community. Clusters of buildings were shown at Old Point Comfort and Kecoughtan, which was labeled "Charlls fforte." Buildings also were shown at Bermuda Hundred and City and at West and Shirley Hundred. Significantly, Swann's Point was identified as the "Trocking [Trucking] Point," perhaps a site where trade frequently was conducted with the Indians. Michael Jarvis and Jeroen van Driel (1997) have examined and analyzed an original Vingboons map, which has been published in the *Atlas Van Kaarten en aanzichten van de Voc en WIC, geoemd Vingboons-Atlas, in het Algemeen Rijksarchief te 's-Gravenhage.* Its compilers dated the Vingboons map to ca. 1628. Vingboons may have copied a rendering produced by Thomas Dermer in 1619 or a chart that Sir Francis Wyatt sent to his father in 1621 (McCartney 1999).

made during Sir George Yeardley's governorship and on January 21, 1620, he was among those who signed a letter informing Virginia Company officials about the importance of tobacco in the colony's economy. On March 22, 1622, Captain Nathaniel Powell and his wife, Joyce, who was the daughter of Berkeley Hundred proprietor William Tracy, were killed by Indians at his plantation called Powell-Brooke. Nathaniel, whom Captain John Smith described as a valiant soldier, was beheaded by the Natives. His brother, William, was designated to settle his estate (P.R.O 30/15/2 f 290; Ferrar MS 113, 437; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:119; Tyler 1907:360).

The Dispersion of Settlement (1619-1630)

Governor George Yeardley (April 1619-November 1621)

In October 1618 George Yeardley was designated Virginia's governor and shortly thereafter he was knighted by King James I. Plans were made for him to go to Virginia in two ships bearing 300 boys and men, 50 of whom were servants considered part of the governor's stipend. Immediately prior to Yeardley's January 1619 departure from England he received a lengthy set of instructions, plus the Virginia Company's so-called Great Charter, which laid the groundwork for many new and important precedents, such as a means of establishing local representative government. He was told to set up a public store at Jamestown and at Charles (Bermuda) City, like Sir Thomas Dale had done, and to see that gunpowder was stored in the upper rooms, near the roof, where it would stay safe and dry. He was to place the Virginia Company's servants on the colony's Common Land and to use as an official residence a dwelling at Jamestown that had been erected by Sir Thomas Gates as the governor's house.[77] Every tradesman plying his professional skill was supposed to have use of a house and four acres of land, as long as he was employed (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:98).

Governor George Yeardley arrived at Jamestown on April 19, 1619, after a difficult crossing. He reportedly had spent 3,000 pounds sterling of his own money on outfitting his people in order to establish a particular (private) plantation. As he also was an investor in Smythe's Hundred, he had been asked to take a role in its management (Stanard 1965:14; Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:215, 229, 255; III:98; Pory 1977:40, 72; Ferrar MS 91, 92). When Yeardley reached Virginia, he found that there was a shortage of corn and that there were no coastal fortifications to provide a defense against a foreign enemy. At Jamestown were four demiculvern mounted on rotten carriages, but no fort. The only houses in evidence reportedly were ten or twelve that had been built by Sir Thomas Gates, including the governor's house, which Samuel Argall had enlarged. The population then consisted of an estimated 400 people, distributed among eight settlements. Yeardley, within a few months of his arrival, led a march against the Chickahominy Indians. It yielded some corn and confirmation of a peace treaty Sir Thomas Dale had made with the Natives earlier on.

Governor Yeardley, who abandoned martial law, quickly discovered that Deputy Governor Samuel Argall had seated some people upon the 3,000 acre tract near Jamestown Island that had been designated the office land of each incumbent governor. Yeardley later complained that Argall hadn't left behind the full complement of Company servants the governor was supposed to have, although he had obtained two men from the *Marigold*, Captain Christopher Lawne's ship. In June 1619 Virginia Company officials informed Yeardley that later in the summer they were sending him 100 people who were well provisioned: 50 for the Col-

[77] Company officials said that "the governors house in James Cittie first built by Sr. Thomas Gates by the servants of the Company and since enlarged by others by the same means [is] to continue forever as the governor's house" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:98). That structure probably was near the fort. It may have been in disrepair by the time Yeardley arrived.

lege and 50 for the Company Land (Ferrar MS 113; C.O. 3/21:77; P.R.O 30/15/2 f 246; McIlwaine 1924:89; 1905-1915:1619-1660:35; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:122, 146; Ancient Planters 1871:80). Governor George Yeardley presided over the colony during a pivotal period of its history. It was during his administration that the colony's first representative assembly convened (the first body of its kind in the New World), the headright system was established, and the colony was subdivided into four corporations or local political units. The Virginia Company of London ordered Yeardley and his successors to see that churches and glebes were established in each of the four corporations that were to be created. Through this means, the practice of religion became more structured and the church, as an institution, received stronger official support (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:101-102).

The Nascence of Representative Government

On April 19, 1619, Virginia's new governor, Sir George Yeardley, assumed the reins of government. In accord with his instructions, the colony was subdivided into four corporations or boroughs, each of which was vast in size and spanned both sides of the James River.[78] The settlements within those corporations were invited to send delegates or burgesses to Jamestown to convene in an assembly that would formulate the colony's laws. Jamestown's provost marshal (the local law enforcement officer) was supposed to serve as the assembly's sergeant-at-arms, a tradition that endured. When Sir George Yeardley arrived in Virginia in April 1619, he found "a church built wholly at the charge of the inhabitants of that cittie, of Timber, beinge 50 foote in length and 20 foot in breadth." It was there that delegates or burgesses from eleven communities gathered on July 30, 1619, as members of America's first legislative assembly. Some of the laws formulated by that very first assembly gave ministers the duty of reporting those who committed moral or social offenses or broke ecclesiastical law by failing to support the church and clergy or by questioning religious dogma. It also was in 1619 that church wardens (or selectmen) were charged with reporting wrongdoers to ministers. Later, church wardens were authorized to notify local court justices about infractions of religious law (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:35; Ancient Planters 1871:80; Brydon 1947:83).

On July 30, 1619, when members of America's first legislative assembly gathered in the church at Jamestown (Structure 142), present were Governor Yeardley, his six councilors and two burgesses from almost all of the colony's settlements. Captain William Powell and Ensign William Spence attended on behalf of Jamestown Island's inhabitants, who were residents of the corporation of James City. After the Reverend Richard Buck of Jamestown offered a prayer for guidance, the assembly's speaker, John Pory, read aloud excerpts from the Virginia Company's Great Charter and reviewed two of the four books of laws that had been sent to the colony. Then, the burgesses formed two committees to study the remaining books of laws. Their perogative wasn't challenging the rules set down for governing the colony, but to petition for any changes they felt were necessary. Afterward, the burgesses drafted some laws that were subject to the monarch's approval.

At the assembly's 1619 session, laws were enacted against idleness, gambling, drunkenness and "excesse in apparel,"[79] as well as against theft, murder and other criminal offenses. Trade with the Indians was to be regulated by the colony's governing officials and the number of Natives allowed to live and work within the settlements was restricted. The colonists were obliged to provide their households with a year's supply of corn (or maize),

[78] They were James City, Henrico, Charles City and Kecoughtan, whose name later was changed to Elizabeth City and subsequently incorporated into the city of Hampton.

[79] This may have been a reaction to the cowkeeper who strutted about in "flaming silks" and the collier's wife's finery (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:219). Such accoutrements may have been perceived as eroding class distinction.

storing some for use in times of need, and to plant vineyards, mulberry trees, and silk flax. Tobacco growers had to follow certain procedures when preparing their crop for market. No one was allowed to venture faster than 20 miles from home, visit Indian towns, or undertake a voyage longer than seven days without obtaining permission from the governing officials. Ministers were to make note of all christenings, marriages and burials they performed and household heads had to furnish the secretary of the colony with a list of those under their care. The clergy were to report to the authorities anyone suspected of committing moral offenses such as intoxication, fornication or swearing. This is evidence of the close link between church and state while Virginia had an Established Church (Tyler 1907:263-268).

While the assembly was in session, some disputes were aired before the burgesses. One involved a disagreement between two Indian interpreters. Another pertained to a dispute between Captain William Powell of Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot C) and his servant, Thomas Garnett, who allegedly had behaved wantonly with a woman servant.[80] Powell also sought to recover the sum he was owed for clearing some acreage on the Governor's Land for occupancy by the Society of Martin's Hundred's settlers. Captain John Smith reported that by 1622 courts had been set up "in convenient places," perhaps a reference to the right of private plantations' leaders to arbitrate disputes among their people. At Jamestown the governor and his council began to convene regularly as a court. By 1625 there were local courts in two of the colony's corporations and there was one on the Eastern Shore (Tyler 1907:268, 274, 278; McIlwaine 1924:100).

In 1619 when the colony's assembly convened for the first time, the burgesses met in the church. Although historians generally assume that the assembly continued to congregate in the church, no documentary evidence has come to light to support or disprove that hypothesis. On August 4, 1619, when the first assembly adjourned, Governor George Yeardley announced that the next session would be held on March 1, 1619/20 (Tyler 1907:278). Historian Robert Beverley II, who served as clerk of the assembly during the early eighteenth century, indicated that the burgesses met in May 1620 and that the burgesses and councillors convened as one body. However, no records of that session were extant in 1809 when William W. Hening compiled the colonial legislature's records. Hening was certain that the assembly met in November and December 1621, for its acts were mentioned in the records of the Virginia Company of London. He published the minutes of the 1619 assembly meeting and a transcription of the laws enacted at its March 1623/24 session. By February 1623, the Council had commenced serving as a judicial body. However, surviving records fail to disclose where they were meeting. A May 2, 1625, reference to a man's "lewd behaviour and unreverent speche to Mr. Treasurer [George Sandys] in the Counsell Chamber" suggests that they may have been meeting somewhere other than the church (Beverley 1947:35; Hening 1809-1823:I:119-120; McIlwaine 1924:57). This raises the possibility that the council (which members were few in number) convened in the public building (or "country house") purposely erected by Sir Thomas Gates as a governor's residence. On the other hand, council meetings may have been held in a private residence, perhaps the home of the incumbent governor. It should be noted that after Sir John Harvey took office in 1630, his dwelling (on Study Unit 1 Tract H) commenced serving as the colony's statehouse. That tradition may have been established by one or more of Harvey's predecessors.

Arrival of the First Africans

In August 1619 an event occurred that forever changed the course of Virginia history. It was then that a Dutch frigate, fresh from a plundering expedition in the West Indies, sailed into Hampton Roads bearing 20-some Africans. In January 1620 John

[80] Garnett, who had come to the colony in 1610 in the *Swann*, was sentenced to spend time in the pillory. By 1625 he was a free man, heading a household in Elizabeth City (Hotten 1980:255).

Rolfe informed Virginia Company treasurer Sir Edwin Sandys that:

> *About the latter end of August, a Dutch man of Warr of the burden of a 160 tunnes arrived at Point-Comfort, the Commandors name Capt Jope, his pilott for the West Indies one Mr Marmaduke an Englishman. They mett wth the* Trier *[*Treasurer*] in the West Indyes, and determyned to hold consort shipp hetherward, but in their passage lost one the other. He brought not any thing but 20. and odd Negroes, wch the Governor and Cape Merchant*[81] *bought for victualle (whereof he was in greate need as he pretended) at the best and easyest rate they could [Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:243].*

Shortly thereafter, the newly arrived men and women were brought up to Jamestown and sold into servitude.[82]

Rolfe added that three or four days after the Dutch man-of-war left, the ship *Treasurer* came in. He indicated that the governor sent Lieutenant William Peirce (then Rolfe's father-in-law), Mr. Ewens (probably William Ewens), and him to Kecoughtan to meet the *Treasurer*, which set sail before they arrived. Rolfe said that the ship left hastily because Kecoughtan's inhabitants refused to supply its master, Daniel Elfirth, and his crew with victuals they desperately needed (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III: 243; Tyler 1907:337). Afterward the *Treasurer* went on to Bermuda, where the 29 remaining Africans were sold. Bermuda's governor, Nathaniel Butler, commented that "thes *Slaves* are the most proper and cheape instruments for this plantation" (Ives 1984:141-142, 147, 229; emphasis added). The 1625 muster indicates that at least one of the Africans aboard the *Treasurer* disembarked in Virginia. An African woman named Angelo, who on January 24, 1625 was living in William Peirce's household in urban Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B) (Hotten 1980:224).[83]

Although the concept of institutionalized slavery didn't arise until much later, the Africans' distinctive appearance, unfamiliar language and exotic cultural background set them apart from the other colonists and placed them at a decided disadvantage. It is difficult to imagine the pain, anguish, humiliation, and brutality they endured when they were captured, branded, and transported from their homeland. According to surviving accounts, African kings who lived in the interior of the continent sometimes had their agents ensnare other blacks, whom they sold to slavers. These people, who were tied together by the neck with leather thongs, were marched overland to the coast. There, they were sold to traders and then imprisoned and branded with the mark of the slaver who bought them. Next, they were loaded aboard the ships that brought them to the New World. During the "Middle Passage" from west Africa to America, shipboard conditions were cramped and unsanitary, producing an alarming death rate. It has been estimated that only half of the Africans captured and sold to slavers ever lived to reach the New World (Tate 1965:1; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:243; Smith 1910:541-542; Nash 1974:186-187; Rodriguez 1997:I:xiii-xxiii). With

[81] Sir George Yeardley was governor and Abraham Peirsey was the cape merchant.

[82] John Pory, in a September 30, 1619, letter also spoke of the Dutch ship's arrival in Hampton Roads and its consortship with the *Treasurer* (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:222-224). Engel Sluiter and John Thornton have addressed the origin of the Africans aboard these vessels and how they came to be in Virginia (Sluiter, "New Light," 395-398; John Thornton "The African Experience of the '20. and Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia in 1619," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 60 (1998), 421-434 .

[83] In 1625, three Africans were living in Kecoughtan in William Tucker's home and twenty others resided in communities that extended inland to Flowerdew (then Peirsey's) Hundred. Although some of these people's time and means of arrival was recorded, in most instances it was not. In 1620 Sir Nathaniel Rich said that the *Treasurer* left in Virginia "*amongst others of theyr company* one principall member, Masters Mate or Lieftenant behind them" (Hotten 1980: 244; Ives 1984:150; emphasis added). This raises the possibility that some of the "others" were Africans, who were present in March 1620.

them came specialized knowledge of agriculture and other practical skills that made a significant contribution to the developing colony. Among the crops Africans knew how to raise was tobacco.

Land and Labor

One of the most important features of the Virginia Company's Great Charter was making private land ownership possible. This new policy, known as the headright system, lured prospective immigrants to seek their fortunes in Virginia. Groups of investors sometimes absorbed the cost of outfitting and transporting prospective colonists, on whose behalf they would acquire land and establish private or "particular" plantations. The opportunity to reap substantial profits from growing tobacco (then a highly marketable commodity) while accumulating land fueled the spread of settlement (Craven 1957:45; Robinson 1957:21- 22).[84]

Under the headright system, so-called Ancient Planters (those who immigrated to Virginia at their own expense and lived there for at least three years prior to Sir Thomas Dale's 1616 departure) were entitled to 100 acres of land. Those who came later, paid the cost of their own passage, and stayed in the colony for three years, were entitled to 50 acres of land. Anyone who underwrote the cost of another's transportation became eligible for 50 acres on his or her behalf. Thus, successful planters, by importing hired workers for their plantations, could fulfill their need for labor while amassing additional land. Many people owned two or more tracts and circulated among them. Investors in Virginia Company stock were entitled to 100 acres per share and became eligible for a like amount when their first allotment was planted (Craven 1957:45; Robinson 1957:21-22; Tate et al.1979:93).

An indentured servant (or a minor's guardian) usually signed a contract with an agent, agreeing to exchange a certain number of years work for transportation to Virginia. The agent then sold the contract to a planter, upon arriving in the colony. On the other hand, servants could be "ordered" from agents in the Mother Country. In the beginning, many of Virginia's indentured servants were respectable citizens from the English middle class. These men and women represented a broad cross-section of society, including yeoman farmers, husbandmen, artisans, and laborers. Often, they were young males in their late teens or early 20s. At first, males outnumbered females six to one, but eventually the sex ratio became somewhat more balanced (Tate et al.1979:93).

Those who acquired indentured servants had to provide them with food, clothing and shelter and could exact labor under certain conditions, using what the law deemed reasonable discipline. Indentured servants who were field hands usually toiled from dawn to dusk, six days a week, during the growing season. Adults usually served for four years, whereas those under 15 sometimes were bound to seven or more years. Literate servants or those with special skills sometimes could negotiate for shorter terms. Those whose contracts had expired were supposed to be provided with "freedom dues," usually a quantity of corn and clothing. Former servants often leased land until they could acquire some of their own. New immigrants did likewise while fulfilling the headright system's residency requirements (Tate et al. 1979:93).

While the colony was under the control of the Virginia Company of London, high ranking officials were supplied with set numbers of indentured servants as part of their stipend. Company records dating to May 1623 reveal that the governor was supposed to be provided with 100 servants, the treasurer with 50, the secretary with 20, the physician-general with 20 and the vice-admiral with 12. Likewise, servants were part of the clergy's stipend. All of these individuals were assigned specific quantities of land as a privilege of office, acreage that was supposed to descend to the next incumbent (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:183).

Virginia planters, when initially establishing homesteads, typically constructed crude huts they

[84] A list of the items sent to George Harrison in 1623 sheds much light upon what a private individual needed when he set about establishing a plantation (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:278).

occupied while erecting weatherproof but insubstantial frame houses. Building a simple dwelling or "Virginia house" enabled patentees to legitimatize their land claims while fulfilling the need for basic shelter. Renting land to tenants and providing shelter to servants also encouraged the proliferation of impermanent housing. Early architectural descriptions reveal that the settlers built simple frame structures set upon posts in the ground. Such dwellings typically were roofed over with boards (Craven 1957:45; McIlwaine 1924:xvii; Robinson 1957:21-22; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:556; Tate et al. 1979:93; Carson et al. 1982:141, 158, 168-170).

Governor George Yeardley, who arrived in Virginia in mid-April 1619, was eager to pursue his own personal objectives. In July 1619 he told his superiors that he wanted to resign his governorship. By that time, his titles to Weyanoke and Flowerdew (two vast tracts that he intended to develop into particular plantations) had been confirmed. Later in the year he sent word to England that the colonists were happy with the Great Charter (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:255; III:122, 152-154, 241).

Edmund Rossingham, one of Lady Temperance Yeardley's nephews, often conducted business on Sir George Yeardley's behalf. In 1619 Yeardley sent Rossingham into the Chesapeake to trade for corn. In 1620 Yeardley purchased a ship (the *Sampson*) and a pinnace from Captain John Bargrave and Captain George Ward, renamed the ship the *Temperance*, and in 1620 sent Rossingham to Newfoundland to bring back fish. Afterward, Rossingham and John Marten (a servant in the Yeardley home) went from plantation to plantation selling fish, at a handsome profit for Yeardley.[85] In 1621 Rossingham made a trip to Flushing (in the Netherlands) to sell tobacco on Yeardley's behalf. Yeardley also intended to send some walnut planks home in the *Trial* (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:123, 125, 411, 426; Chancery Records, C 24/489 No. 82; 24/560 Part 2 f 84; 24/561 n.p.).

Public Land

One of Sir George Yeardley's tasks as governor was setting aside special tracts of land. The profits derived from these tracts were to be used toward the support of high ranking officials and the clergy and to produce income for Company investors. By 1620 all of the special parcels had been laid out and their boundaries defined. Just west of Jamestown Island was a 3,000 acre tract called the Governor's Land. The incumbent governor could lease it to tenants or place his own servants there to work on his behalf. Immediately upstream was an equally large tract known as the Company Land. The Virginia Company intended to place its own indentured servants and tenants there to earn profits for Company investors. The glebe assigned to the corporation of James City's minister lay just east of Jamestown Island. The clergy, like other public officials, could occupy their land or rent it to others. James City also was supposed to have 1,500 acres of Common Land; its location is uncertain.[86] In January 1620 John Rolfe informed his superiors that Governor Yeardley had had the publicly-owned tracts of land laid out, in accord with the Virginia Company's instructions (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:98-109, 245, 310; Hatch 1957:35-38, 92; Parks 1982:276; Robinson 1957:21-22).

The March 1620 Census

When the colony's assembly met in July and August 1619, plans were made to reconvene on March 1, 1620. It may have been on account of that intended meeting that demographic data on Virginia's population were compiled. By March

[85] John Marten often was identified as "the Persian." Virginia Company records reveal that he was from Persia or Armenia and that he had been one of Samuel Argall's servants before joining the Yeardley household (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:633; II:13; III:423). After he returned to England as a free man, he began making plans to go back to Virginia with servants of his own.

[86] The possibility exists that the eastern end of Jamestown Island designated James City's Common Land, for livestock traditionally was pastured there.

1620, there were 892 European colonists living in Virginia, with males outnumbering females by nearly seven to one. Also present were 32 Africans (17 women and 15 men) and four Indians, who like the Africans, were "in ye service of severall planters." Although it is uncertain where these men and women were living, some probably resided with Sir George Yeardley and Captain William Peirce, whose Jamestown households included African servants four years later. The Virginia colonists had a relatively ample supply of livestock and military equipment, and 222 "habitable houses," not counting barns and storehouses.[87] There were 117 people living in James City, making it the colony's most populous area. Present were 84 men, 24 women and nine children and there were 112 cattle (9 oxen and 1 bull that belonged to the public and 22 bulls and 80 kine that belonged to private individuals) (Ferrar MS 138, 139, 159, 178). The people and livestock attributed to "James City" probably lived upon Jamestown Island and on the mainland, within the Governor's Land and the Neck O'Land. Some also may have been located upon the lower side of the James River, at Hog Island, a relatively short distance across the water.

Settlement spread rapidly during Sir George Yeardley's first term as governor and while Sir Edwin Sandys was Virginia Company treasurer (April 1619 to April 1620). Eighteen or nineteen new plantations were established, the overwhelming majority of which were thinly scattered along both sides of the James, west of the Chickahominy River's mouth.[88] In fact, only four or five of the newly seated properties (or approximately 23 percent) lay within the oligohaline zone, where the exchange between fresh water and salt water is minimal. Yeardley's correspondence suggest that he made sure that investors' holdings did not overlap and that no one's patent impinged upon the special tracts that had been set aside as public property. This raises the possibility that Yeardley, who had been second in command at Bermuda Hundred during Sir Thomas Dale's government, shared Dale's view that the land above Jamestown was the healthiest and therefore the most desirable (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:120, 152, 249).

Conditions in the Colony

In January 1620 Governor George Yeardley wrote to Virginia Company officials, updating them on conditions in the colony. He asked for husbandmen, vignerons, and workers to deal with the cultivation and processing of silkgrass and flax. He said that the vines he had planted were thriving, but that his elderly vigneron was dead. Yeardley said that because Samuel Argall had seated the Martin's Hundred settlers upon the Governor's Land, he had charged them rent to force them to acknowledge that they were in the wrong location. Secretary John Pory added that Yeardley had spent his own funds on the colony's advancement and took only enough corn from the storehouse to provide sustenance for his guard. He said that Yeardley intended to repay himself with profits reaped from the Governor's Land, while diverting the remainder toward the construction of a fort at Old Point Comfort. Pory indicated that Governor Yeardley was among those who opposed some of former Deputy Governor Samuel Argall's actions. Yeardley later alleged that Argall had committed piracy when he had sent the *Treasurer* out to sea. Like many other Virginians, Yeardley believed that

[87] The total population in 1620 and the number of houses then present suggests that there were 4.18 people per dwelling, whereas in 1625 there were 4.43 (see ahead).

[88] On the upper side of the James River were Berkeley Hundred, Smith's (Southampton) Hundred, the College and Arrahattock, Westover, Swinhow's, the Company Land in James City, Flowerdew Hundred, Martin's Hundred, the Neck O'Land in Archer's Hope, and Mulberry Island. On the lower side of the James were Jordan's Journey, Captain Woodlief's plantation, Chaplin's Choice, Powell-Brooke (Merchant's Hope), Martin's Brandon, Falling Creek, Samuel Maycock's, Paces Paines, and Captain Christopher Lawne's plantation. Within the oligohaline zone were Martin's Hundred, the Neck O'Land, Pace's Paines, Captain Lawne's plantation and Mulberry Island (McCartney 1999).

tobacco was extremely important to the colony's economy. In April 1621 he asked permission to withdraw into the countryside for three or four weeks to review the laws discussed at the 1619 assembly meeting (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:249, 255, 319, 334; P.R.O. 30/15/2 ff 279, 290; Pory 1977:80-81).

Governor George Yeardley was conscientious about keeping his superiors informed about conditions in the colony. He said that the boatwright the Virginia Company had sent was dead and he asked for blue and white beads that could be used in trade with the Indians. Later, Yeardley thanked Company officials for sending him books on husbandry and silkmaking. John Pory added that it was difficult to get the colony's planters to contribute work toward erecting an ironworks and he said Governor Yeardley had compelled those on watch at Jamestown to work on building gun platforms for the defense of the capital city and a new bridge (wharf). By September 1619 there was a common warehouse at Jamestown. Like the one to be built at Berkeley Hundred, it probably was "strongly planked on the inside" so that munitions, armor, tools and other imported commodities could be secured (Ferrar MS 184; Pory 1977:83; Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:297, 319, 331, 334, 415; III:153, 209).[89]

In November 1619 Governor George Yeardley sent word to England that men with experience in the Low Countries were needed to build forts in the colony. In March 1620 Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Nathaniel Rich, who were Virginia Company officials, responded by asking a general they knew to recommend an engineer who could be of assistance. He agreed to give them the name of a Frenchman who was highly competent and was willing to go to Virginia. The general said that the Frenchman indicated that there were two types of fortifications: one to withstand assaults and battery (which he doubted would be useful) and the other, which made use of advantageous terrain, "and there to make some Pallisadoes wch he conceiveth the fittest and for wch this ffrenchman is singular good." A short time later, Company officials were told that a man in the Low Countries agreed to send directions on how to build good fortifications (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:255, 316, 326).[90]

The Arrival of New Immigrants

During 1620 and 1621 ship after ship arrived at Jamestown, bearing prospective colonists. Many were sickly and malnourished and unable to fend for themselves in a wilderness environment. Therefore, Virginia Company officials were anxious for a guesthouse to be built at Jamestown, where newly arrived immigrants could recuperate from their ocean voyage and undergo the "seasoning" process, i.e, become acclimated to their new environment.[91] In June 1620 Secretary John Pory informed Company officials that Governor Yeardley was fully aware of the need to build a guesthouse. He added

[89] In January 1623, when John Pory visited the Massachusetts Bay colony, he wrote the Earl of Southampton that "Happy were it for our people in the Southern Colony if they were as free from wickedness and vice as these are in this place! And their industry as well appeareth by their building, as by a substantial palisade about their [town] of 2700 feet in compass, stronger than I have seen any in Virginia, and lastly by a blockhouse which they have erected in the highest place of the town to mount their ordnance upon, and from whence they command all the harbour" (Pory 1977:11).

[90] In 1623 one writer indicated that "The fortifications antientlie used [in Virginia] were by Trench and Pallizado and divers blockhouses made of great Tymber built uppon passages and for scouring the Pallizadoes: all wch are now gone to ruyne" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:259).

[91] Company officials, in a broadside they published in May 1620, described the type of guesthouses they intended to have built in each of the colony's corporations. Each building, which was supposed to accommodate 50 people, was to be 16 feet wide and 180 feet long and have 5 chimneys. It was to contain 25 beds (measuring four feet wide by 6 feet long and raised 2 feet from the floor) that were to be aligned along one wall. A board partition was to be placed between adjacent beds (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:276).

that Yeardley had received their orders during the warm months, when the timber was full of sap, and therefore had had to postpone construction for a time.[92] In 1620-1621 Jabez Whitaker, who was oversaw the large group of Virginia Company servants seated upon the Company Land at the mouth of the Chickahominy River, had an inn or guesthouse built.[93] However, it was not until early 1622 that construction of a comparable facility got underway at Jamestown, during Governor Francis Wyatt's administration (Ancient Planters 1871:78-80; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:375; Pory 1977:83). The location of that structure, which never was completed, is uncertain.

During 1620 and 1621 young, marriageable women were sent to the colony as prospective wives for the male colonists. They were entrusted to the care of vice-admiral John Pountis, a resident of Jamestown. Also, in 1620, the Mayor of London dispatched 100 boys and girls to Virginia. They were sent as servants and were eligible to become apprentices. Plans were made to import another group of children in 1621 (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:301; II:9). The 1624 census reveals that not all of the young women who came to the colony married quickly. On February 16, 1624, a 21-year-old woman named Fortune Taylor, who came to Virginia in 1621 in the *Warwick*, was living in urban Jamestown in the household of Dr. John Pott and his wife (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D), where she appears to have been a servant. Official records reveal that she was sent to Virginia by her uncle from East Summerfield, England, and was of good moral character when she left home (Ferrar MS 309; Hotten 1980:174) (Figure 8).

Yeardley's Accomplishments

The expiration date of Sir George Yeardley's term as governor was November 18, 1621, and he was anxious to leave office as soon as he could. However, it appears that he was conscientious about attending to the colony's needs. During 1621 he informed Company officials that the colonists needed a surveyor and that they were in great want of apparel. In a letter he sent to the new magazine company, he said that he liked its new merchant, Edward Blaney. Yeardley and Captain William Powell had a disagreement, but they reconciled their differences and took communion together to signify that they were making a new beginning. In a March 1621 letter, Yeardley made reference to the mansion house he had built in Southampton Hundred, of which he was captain, and he indicated that he had a vineyard. In June he expressed his concern that few of his councillors were still alive. As the time approached for Governor Yeardley to vacate his office, he was told to leave 100 men on the Governor's Land for his replacement; later, he was accused of failing to do so. He also was criticized for evicting people from land they had seated in Elizabeth City, acreage Virginia Company officials had selected as that corporation's tract of Company Land (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:435, 486; II:40; III:432, 436, 441, 444, 449-450, 468, 477, 482, 581).

During 1622, after Sir Francis Wyatt took office as governor, Sir George Yeardley channeled his energies into developing his own land. He built a windmill at Flowerdew Hundred and received a patent for having taken 300 people to the colony. Later, he claimed that he had lost 2/3 of his estate in service to the colony. In June 1622, three months after an Indian uprising had claimed numerous lives,

[92] Pory apparently was aware of the fact that freshly cut wood would have little resistance to decay and insect infestation. Cornelius Van Tienhoven advised colonists heading for the New Netherlands to arrive in late winter or early spring and plant grain immediately. The following winter, they were to fell trees. Those "suitable for building, for palisades, posts and rails" were to be "prepared during the winter, so as to be set up in the spring" (O'Callaghan 1856:5:367).

[93] That structure, which was frame, measured 20 feet wide and 40 feet long. Whitaker said that the structure was intended for the accommodation of people when they first arrived and that he had "placed an oulde woeman in it to wash their clothes and keep the hous clean." He also indicated that he had set aside "a little roome for ye surgeon [that] he may be ever neere and helpful" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:441-442).

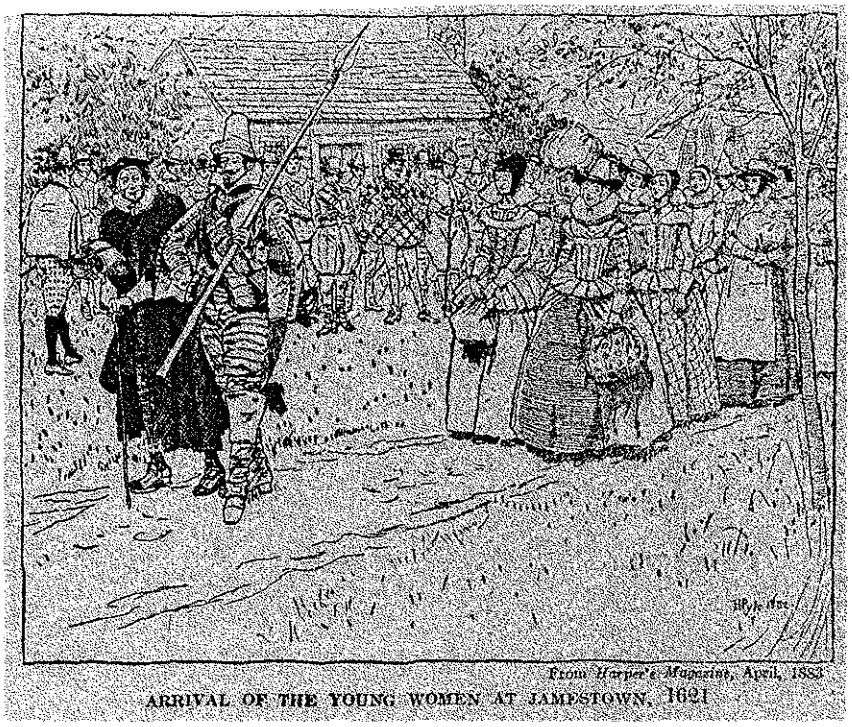


Figure 8. Arrival of the Young Women at Jamestown, 1621 *(*Harper's Magazine, *April 1883).*

Yeardley was authorized to explore the countryside along the Chesapeake Bay, to find a safer site at which the survivors might be seated. Although he was criticized for consulting Opechancanough about some land the paramount Indian chief had given to Pocahontas's and John Rolfe's son, in 1622 he led an expedition against the Natives who lived within the Pamunkey River drainage. He also undertook a trading voyage with William Tucker and afterward, distributed the corn that had been taken from the Indians. During 1623 Yeardley led a march against the Chickahominy Indians, who allegedly had killed ten colonists. He served as a member of the Governor's Council and despite making a substantial investment in outlying properties, continued to reside in Jamestown. He also kept a substantial number of servants there, in his primary residence. Yeardley, while in office, probably developed the 7¼ acre urban estate he and his household occupied (Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B) in urban Jamestown (Patent Book 1:4). He may have issued patents for some neighboring properties, notably Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, E and F.

In 1623 Sir George Yeardley was accused of wrongdoing when he purchased a hogshead of sack from Mr. Bennett and resold it to two Jamestown residents, George Menefie (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot F) and John Stephens (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot H) (Kingsbury 1906- 1935:I:579; II:93, 103, 393, 481; III:579, 581, 656, 678; IV:6, 22, 37, 110, 116; McIlwaine 1924:5, 8, 15, 58).

When a census of the colony's inhabitants was compiled in February 1624, Sir George Yeardley, Lady Temperance and their children (Elizabeth, Argoll and Francis) were residing in their dwelling in Jamestown, most likely within Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B, the 7¼ acres that Sir George Yeardley patented on December 2, 1624 (Figure 9). He received his patent as part of his 100 acre personal adventure as an ancient planter (Neill 1890:II:32-33; Patent Book 1:4). As Yeardley in March 1620 gave Samuel Mole a lease for part of his acreage it appears that he laid claim to his land at least four years before patenting it. With Sir George, Lady Temperance and their children were eight white indentured servants and an uncertain number of men

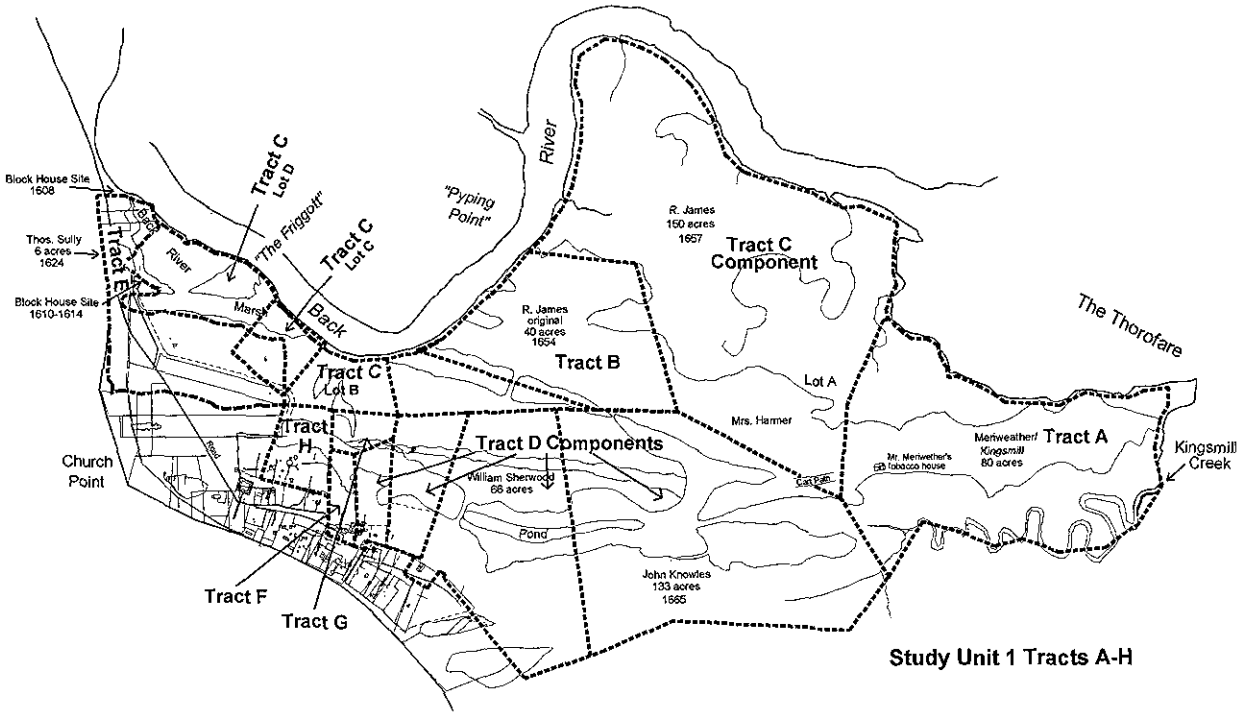


Figure 9. *Study Unit 1 Tracts A-H.*

and women of African descent. In January 1625 when new demographic data were compiled, the Yeardley household, which resided in urban Jamestown, included Sir George's 24 servants. Of these servants, three men and five women were African. Sir George Yeardley was credited with three houses, 50 cattle, 40 swine, and 11 goats and kids, all of which were in Jamestown. He also had a barque, a 4-ton shallop, and a skiff (Hotten 1980:173; Meyer et al. 1987:29, 723-725).[94] By February 1624 Sir George Yeardley had sold his Flowerdew Hundred and Weyanoke plantations to cape merchant Abraham Peirsey. After Sir George's death in November 1627, his widow confirmed both transactions. In January 1625 the Yeardley couple purchased three parcels of land at Black Point (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, and U). In 1627 Sir George patented 1,000 acres near Blunt Point and he acquired 3,700 acres of land on the Eastern Shore (McIlwaine 1924:44-45, 130, 137, 157; Hotten 1980:217; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:556).

During the years Sir Francis Wyatt was in office, Sir George Yeardley continued to take an active role in government and when Wyatt left the colony in 1624, he was designated acting governor. He testified in court from time to time and conducted business on his own behalf. He led another march against the Pamunkey Indians and reportedly insisted that Indian servants surrender their guns. In 1625 he promised to see that ancient planters, who had made improvements to the Company Land, were compensated. Yeardley also oversaw to the settling of the estates of people slain during the 1622 Indian uprising. In June 1625 Virginia Company officials noted that Yeardley was returning to England with an account of Southampton Hundred. He also brought a petition to the king. By that time the Virginia Company had been dissolved and Virginia had become a royal colony (McIlwaine 1924:10, 18-19, 27-28, 36-37, 40-41, 44-45, 47, 51, 55, 61; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:504, 562; C.O. 1/3 f 226; Sainsbury 1964:1:69).

[94] Yeardley's property abutted the Back River.

Governor Francis Wyatt (1621-1626)

Francis Wyatt, who was born in 1588 at Boxley in Kent, was the eldest son of George Wyatt. He attended Oxford and Grays Inn and was knighted on July 7, 1618, around the time he married Sir Samuel Sandys' daughter, Margaret, the niece of Virginia Company Treasurer, Sir Edwin Sandys, and Virginia Treasurer George Sandys (Withington 1980:625, 632). On January 29, 1621, Sir Francis Wyatt was chosen governor of Virginia, at the recommendation of the Earl of Southampton, and the Virginia Company provided him with the funds he needed to become established in the colony. He obtained a bill of adventure from Captain Edward Brewster. When Wyatt set sail for Virginia in the *George*, he was accompanied by his brother, the Rev. Hautt (Haute, Hant) Wyatt; his wife's uncle, George Sandys; Dr. John Pott; and surveyor William Claiborne. Governor Wyatt also brought along a set of detailed instructions the Virginia Company expected him to implement. Many of Wyatt's orders involved enhancing the colony's economic position through the production of marketable commodities, building fortifications and mills, and compiling demographic data. He was told to put the colony's apothecaries to work "distilling hot waters out of your lees of beer and searching after mineral dyes, gums, drugs &c.," and to supply beer to the Dutchmen sent to build windmills and sawmills. He also was ordered to keep Company tenants on the Governor's Land, where they were to build houses and fence their gardens. He was supposed to see that public labor was distributed fairly. He had the authority to use public labor as a mode of punishment, although he could not take punitive action against his councillors. Sir Francis Wyatt reached Virginia on November 18, 1621, and immediately assumed the governorship (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:468-482). His arrival coincided with the end of a year-long drought (Stahle et al.1998:566).

During Sir Francis Wyatt's administration, settlement spread at a rapid rate and at least twelve new plantations were established along the James.[95] Eight of these newly seated properties (or 66.6 percent) lay within the oligohaline zone. This suggests that when it came to expanding settlement within an unhealthy environment, Governor Francis Wyatt was responsible. His strategy of expansion probably was grounded in practicality rather than a preference for Jamestown, for by the time he took office, much of the territory on the lower side of the James River, west of Gray's Creek, had been claimed and seated.[96] However, with the exception of Hog Island and Captain Christopher Lawne's defunct plantation, the land east of Gray's Creek largely was vacant.[97] Likewise, there was a vast expanse of vacant land between Mulberry Island and Kechoughtan. Sir Francis Wyatt took office only months before the March 22, 1622, Indian uprising occurred. According to his contemporaries, he responded to the crisis forcefully and effectively (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:415, 437, 452, 486, 512; III:485-492, 541; IV:40; Hening 1809-1823:I:3-5, 114; Withington 1980:625, 632).

The Indian Uprising and Its Impact Upon Jamestown Island

Despite the years of peace that followed Pocahontas' April 1614 marriage to John Rolfe, after her death and that of Powhatan in 1617-1618 a more militant attitude emerged on the part of the Natives, who were led by the charismatic paramount chief and war captain, Opechancanough. On Friday, March 22, 1622,[98] the Indians of the

[95] They were Causey's Care, Newports News, Thomas Sheffield's, Truelove's, Blunt Point, Basses Choice, the Treasurer's Plantation, Bennett's Welcome, Burrow's Mount, Hugh Crowder's, Edward Blaney's, Roger Smith's, and Samuel Mathews' (McCartney 1999).

[96] In 1624, when a census was taken of the colony's inhabitants, the settlements west of Gray's Creek but east of Upper Chippokes Creek were listed as "Over the River" (Hotten 1980:179).

[97] In 1624 the settlements east of Gray's Creek but west of Hog Island were described as "At ye Plantacon over agt James City" Hotten 1980:179).

[98] Contrary to a popular belief that seems to have originated in the late nineteenth century, the 1622

Powhatan Chiefdom swept down upon the Virginia colonists in a carefully orchestrated attempt to drive them from their land. According to one account, 347 people lost their lives; according to another, 329 (Figure 10).[99] Although no lives seemingly were lost at Jamestown, "a place fortified by the English to protect themselves against the attacks of the Indians,"[100] an account that purportedly was written by a man who came to Virginia in 1620[101] states that

> *... a party of Indians embarked in four boats for Jamestown and the surrounding country, but this hellish plan was frustrated by the disclosure of the project by a converted Indian... . Mr. Pace hastily rowed in a canoe across the river to Jamestown to notify the governor of the impending danger.*[102] *Hardly had we completed our defensive preparations when the boats bearing the savages hove into sight, but as soon as we opened firre upon them with our muskets they retreated in a cowardly manner [Tyler 1900-1901:212].*[103]

Afterward, settlers from outlying plantations were drawn into the eight settlements that were strengthened and held.[104] At Jamestown, the influx of refugees from Martin's Hundred and Warresqueak produced shortages of food and shelter. It also created life-threatening health and sanitation problems, especially during the summer months. Moreover, the almost continuous arrival of ships bearing new immigrants who were weak and infected with contagious diseases resulted in the death of an estimated 500 to 600 persons (Tyler 1907:438).[105] Jamestown Island also was a site to which livestock were brought for safekeeping. Later, confusion arose over the ownership of cattle that were brought there from outlying plantations (McIlwaine 1924:40, 120).

Although some officials in England attributed the Indian uprising to a judgement of God, others blamed it upon "the manie wild and vast projects set on foote all at one time but with a handful of men." Virginia's governor and council resolved to use "their uttermost and Christian endeavors in prosequeting revenge upon the bloody Salvages ... rootinge them out." In the aftermath of the Indian uprising, a series of retaliatory raids were undertaken and Governor Francis Wyatt commissioned Captain William Peirce (Pierce) of Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B to serve as captain of his guard and company and the commander "of James City, of the Island, of the Blockhouses, and of all other places belonging to the same and also of all the people there resident" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:570, 612-613; IV:524; Chandler et al. 1927:209).

(cont'd from previous page)
massacre *did not* occur on Good Friday, for in 1622 (1621 Old Style) Easter was on April 21st.

99 Some people, who at first were presumed dead, later were found to have been captured by the Indians.

100 Governor Wyatt later said that the colonists had been in the process of building fortifications at Jamestown when the Native onslaught occurred (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:104; C.O. 1/2 f 145).

101 The account of sea captain Anthony Chester's 1620 voyage to Virginia aboard the *Margaret and John* was published in 1707. The identity of the account's author is unknown and its origin is uncertain.

102 An Indian named Chanco, William Perry's servant, is credited with warning the colonists (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:98). It is less well known that Natives at Newport News and Elizabeth City also warned the households with whom they were living (Hartlib MS 63/3).

103 At least one author has questioned this document's authenticity as a contemporary account (Mardis 1989:475-476). Many of the writer's ideas are, however, included in the Rev. Joseph Mead's 1622 and 1623 writings, giving it credibility (Johnson 1963:408-410) (Figure 11).

104 They were Kecoughtan, Newports News, Jordan's Journey, Shirley Hundred, Southampton Hundred, Flowerdew Hundred, a cluster of plantations that lay across the James River from Jamestown, and "James Cittie with Pasbehaigh."

105 Some of these individuals may have been buried on the ridge later occupied by the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Structure 144), where numerous graves were discovered by archaeologists during the 1955 excavations (Cotter 1958:23).



Figure 10. *Conjectural view of Jamestown during 1622 Indian uprising (Vander 1707).*

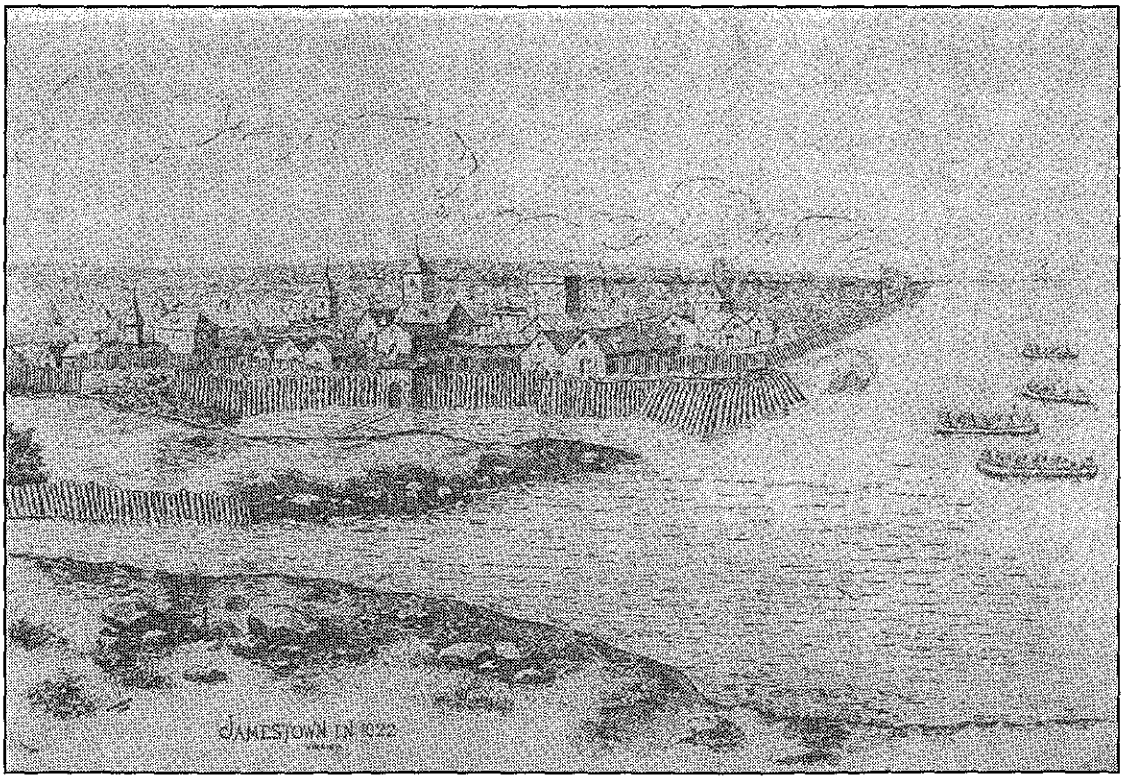


Figure 11. *Conjectural view of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1622 (Vander 1707).*

Virginia Company officials, upon learning of the colonists' plight, were sympathetic and arranged to send them military supplies. They also urged them to return to the plantations they had abandoned, so that Company investors' confidence wouldn't be shaken. But understandably, the Indian uprising generated negative publicity about the colony, which already was becoming known as a death-trap, thanks to its high mortality rates. Factions within the Virginia Company became more overt in their struggle for control as King James toyed with the idea of revoking the Virginia Company's charter. Sir Thomas Smith's supporters favored a return to martial law whereas the Sandys/Southampton group claimed that substantial progress had been made and that the Indian uprising was a mere set-back. Interested parties generated a spate of documents during 1623-1624, which despite their obvious biases, provide useful insights into conditions in the colony during that period (Kingsbury 1906-1935:II:93; Craven 1957:38-56).

In March and April 1623 Governor Francis Wyatt sent word to his father, George, that the Indians wanted peace and had offered to return 20 colonists they had captured (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:75, 98-99).[106] By ca. June 1624 George Wyatt had dispatched a lengthy letter to son Francis, offering advice on how to deal with the Indians from a military perspective, and making recommendations about how the colony's small settlements should be structured and defended. He said that "It wouldbe [sic] good if it were provided that none should have lone and skatered Howses but within convenient distance and vew each of other, no less than 6 or 8 in a Village and within sight of their Beacon, and sounde of a Cornet or like instrument." He suggested that each community have a "faire Green of two Acers square or more." He recommended that "Their Contry howses in their manner of buildinge mightbe as Forts, flankinge them selves without juttings or side windows, the better sort with Bay windows and every of theis each other. Porches voided from the ground would leave the Enimie undefended to his entry. Windows from garrets above, and sellers beneathe would gaule their attemptes of fiering Howses." He added that everyone (including women and children) should be taught self-defense with whatever was at hand (Fausz et al.1977:120-121).

Producing Marketable Commodities

Treasurer George Sandys, who came to Virginia in the *George* in 1621 with Governor Wyatt, was responsible for overseeing some of the revenue-producing projects the Virginia Company's investors had underwritten, such as the glassworks at Glasshouse Point and the ironworks at Falling Creek. The Italians sent to make beads and "round and drinking glasses" were accompanied by their wives and children, plus some other workers. The glassworkers were outfitted with clothing, shoes, and provisions. They also were provided with tools, edgetools, alum, and quicksilver. They were to be compensated with a moiety (share) of the glass they produced, although they were not allowed to sell any to the Indians. When the group arrived in June 1621 they were taken to the Company Land in James City, where they convalesced in Captain Jabez Whittaker's guesthouse. Although Captain William Norton was in charge of the glassworkers, after his death, George Sandys offered to take over. He eventually became responsible for the men the Company of Shipwrights sent to build watercraft and the men who came to construct sawmills. Later, Sandys was asked to assume responsibility for the Frenchmen sent to produce silk and plant grapes for making wine (Ferrar MS 290, 294, 301, 302,

[106] Enclosed with one of Francis Wyatt's letters was a map demonstrating that the colonized area was "drawen out into longe, weake and scattered inhabitation with smale and unapt defences" (Fausz et al.1977:118). In 1977, Fausz and Kukla, when transcribing George Wyatt's letter, noted that the map was not known to be extant. It may have been a source of information included in a map made by Johannes Vingboons in ca. 1628, which shows the settlements that were in existence at the time Sir Francis Wyatt arrived.

370; Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:415, 486, 498, 512; III:541-572; IV:22, 64, 106).[107]

George Sandys had many complaints about the artisans for whom he was responsible. In March 1623 he sarcastically declared that "The ill successe of the glasse workes is allmost equall unto" his experience with the shipwrights, about whom he also complained. When speaking of the glassworkers, he said

> *First the covering of the house, ere fully finished, was blowne downe by a tempest no sooner repaired but the Indians came uppon us, which for a while deferd the proceedinges. Then they [the Italians] built up the furnace, which after one fortnight that the fire was put in, flew in peeces; yet the wife of one of the Italians ... for a more damned crew hell never vomited ... crackt it with a crow of iron; yet dare wee not punish these desperate fellowes least the whole dessigne through theire stubbornness should perish.*

The Italians and the shipwrights were ill during the summer. Afterward, when the glass furnace was rebuilt, nothing was produced (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:498; IV:22, 562).

The Company of Shipwrights sent a group of 20 men and boys to Virginia in 1623. They were to work under the direction of Captain Thomas Barwick and master boatbuilder Thomas Nunn. When the crew of shipwrights arrived, they decided they wanted to settle upon Jamestown Island. In March 1623 George Sandys reported that Captain Barwick and several of his main workmen had died and that those who survived had built homes for themselves and then commenced work on some shallops. As Captain Barwick and Thomas Nunn were dead, Treasurer George Sandys took charge of the remaining workmen (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:9, 22, 106, 144; Hotten 1980:229; McIlwaine 1924:99-100).

Governor Francis Wyatt's Policies

While Sir Francis Wyatt was in Virginia (November 1621-May 1626), serving his first term as governor, he and his family resided in Jamestown. They may have lived in the so-called "governor's house ... in Jamestown first built by Sr. Thomas Gates by the servants of the [Virginia] Company and since enlarged by others," which Sir George Yeardley's November 18, 1618, instructions stated was to be the official residence "forever." On the other hand, Wyatt (like predecessor Sir George Yeardley of Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B) may have acquired and developed some property of his own, perhaps Study Unit 1 Tract H. On January 3, 1623, when Governor Francis Wyatt authorized Captain Isaac Madison and Captain William Tucker to trade with the Indians, he signed Tucker's commission "at my house at James City." In April 1623, when Wyatt dispatched a communique to Virginia Company officials, he said that he had done his best to see that a palisade, guesthouse and court of guard were built at Jamestown and that construction had been underway when the Indian massacre occurred. He stated that Ambrose Griffith and John Gruett, who were Virginia Company servants, were the carpenters/sawyers building the fort and guesthouse. He said that a fort was being erected at Warresqueak by Captain Roger Smith (of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot G) and that everyone was being required to plant a sufficient amount of corn. Wyatt indicated that he had learned that the production of pitch and tar was not feasible, economically, although he favored the exportation of sassafras. He noted that he had placed Lieutenant William Peirce (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B) in charge of Jamestown and was making plans to initiate a series of marches against the Indians. Wyatt also issued proclamations against stealing livestock and he forbade en-

[107] One man, who wrote a treatise on silk-making, said that houses for silkworms could be built in Virginia very easily. He said that they should be built after "the fashion of a Bowling alley Covered broad and high and also covered well with Reeds or other materials which may defend the heate and the raigne, and the Sydes of the walles very close beeing In plaistring or boarding or other thing that one may Ready find." The windows were to be casements of paper. He also said that people could raise silkworms in their own houses, by devoting one corner to that purpose (Hartlib MS 61/1/6a).

grossing commodities, which fueled inflation and created shortages, public drunkenness, swearing, and theft. He tried to improve the quality and consistency of the tobacco exported from Virginia by having bad leaves burned. Although Wyatt had been furnished with Company servants to work the Governor's Land, he claimed that he derived little income from their labor (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:98, 541, 581, 654, 658, 703; IV:6-8, 104, 129, 172, 183, 209, 271, 399, 480, 556, 562; C.O. 1/2 ff 145-146; Sainsbury 1964:1:69; Meyer et al. 1987:28; McIlwaine 1924:72, 83, 161).

On February 16, 1624, when a census was made of the colony's inhabitants Governor Francis Wyatt was residing in Jamestown with his wife (Lady Margaret), brother (the Rev. Haute Wyatt), and ten servants (four females and six males). In January 1625 Governor Wyatt's household included himself and five male servants. He was credited with a house, a store, and some livestock. Listed with him but "Belonging to James Citty" were a church, a large court of guard (probably a fort or guard house) and some military equipment. In May, Wyatt was described as an ancient planter when he was credited with owning 500 acres below Blunt Point. He went to England after his father's death, but returned to Virginia during the latter part of 1625. As governor, he was provided with 20 tenants and 12 boys as servants. He also was allowed to have an African named Brass as a servant. Wyatt probably accompanied the Virginia Company's magazine ship to Virginia (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:98; IV:6, 104, 129, 172, 209, 480, 556, 562; C. O. 1/2 ff 145-146; Hotten 1980:173; Sainsbury 1964:1:69; Meyer et al. 1987:28; McIlwaine 1924:72, 83, 161).

Governor Francis Wyatt appears to have been a vigorous, active leader. In 1624 he recommended that a palisade be run from Martin's Hundred to Chiskiack, a policy that wasn't implemented for nearly a decade, and he authorized Raleigh Crowshaw to trade in the Chesapeake Bay. He also intended to press the offensive against the Indians. He expressed his concern about Secretary John Pory's failure to keep confidential certain documents that were sent to the Privy Council, and he said that Edward Sharples, clerk of the Council of State, had lost his ears for the role he played in the affair. Wyatt was in office in May 1624, when the Virginia Company's charter was revoked and the colony came under royal control. He had been popular with Virginia Company officials, for he was communicative and obedient. The king also found Wyatt acceptable and appointed him royal governor. He continued to be responsive and his even-handedness facilitated the transition that was necessary when Virginia became a crown colony. Just as he had kept Virginia Company officials informed about what was going on in the colony, he communicated regularly with the Privy Council. They, in turn, rewarded him by authorizing him to have as many servants as he had had before. Wyatt saw that prices were set for certain commodities and required the colonists to plant enough corn to feed their families. No one was to go aboard newly arrived ships without official permission. He encouraged trade with the Indians and had some involvement in the magazine. In May 1626 he received a patent for 500 acres of land in Elizabeth City, on Waters Creek (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:470, 480, 501, 562; Sainsbury 1964:1:58; Tyler 1907:424; McIlwaine 1924:83, 93, 103, 116-118, 146, 163; Ferrar MS 539). On April 19, 1626, Sir George Yeardley received a new commission as governor and sometime after May 8, 1626, Sir Francis Wyatt departed for England. He had arrived there by October 12 (C. O. 1/2 ff 145-146; McIlwaine 1924:72, 83, 161). It is doubtful that he ever intended to return.

Captain Nathaniel Butler's Visit: Allegations and Rebuttal

Bermuda's former governor and a supporter of Sir Thomas Smith, Captain Nathaniel Butler, who visited Virginia during the winter of 1622-1623, dispatched to England a scathing description of life in the colony. He said that the mortality rate was so great that many newcomers, who arrived in winter and weren't furnished with shelter, could be seen "dyinge under hedges and in the woods," where

their corpses lay unburied for many days.[108] He also cited the absence of military defenses, noting that he found "not the least peec of Fortification, Three Peeces of Ordinance onely mounted at James City." In February 1623, when a group of Virginia colonists banded together to refute Captain Butler's allegations, they said that although "many dy suddenly by the hand of God [and] wee often see itt to fall out even in this flourishing and plentifull Citty in the middest of our streets," their remains were not left unattended. They admitted that "itt is true ther is as yett no other artificall Fortifications than Pallisadoes whereof allmoste everie Plantation hath one, and divers of them hath Trenches," but they hastened to add that there were four mounted pieces at Jamestown (Tyler 1907:413-416). The colony's governing officials, in turn, responded that although they had "as yet, no fortifications against a foreign enemy ... [that] it hath been endeavored by the Company ... *as also lately by ourselves*," which work was interrupted by last summer's food shortages.[109] They added that they intended to "proceed again, God willing, with all convenient expedition" and noted that at Jamestown were four demi-culverins that were mounted and serviceable. They closed by saying that "almost all our houses are sufficiently fortified against the Indians with strong palisadoes" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:24; Randolph 1970:133).[110] These statements indicate that the construction of fortifications at Jamestown was underway in 1622, which project, though interrupted by the Indian uprising, was to be resumed as soon as possible. Also, the number of houses had proliferated.[111] Another issue raised by Captain Nathaniel Butler was the colony's dearth of industry, which development had been touted in the Virginia Company's promotional pamphlets.[112] He said that "the Iron workes were utterly wasted" and that "the Furnaces for Glass and Pots" were at a standstill and "in a smale hope" (Tyler 1907:416). This statement, though pessimistic, indicates that some glassmakers and potters did indeed respond to the Virginia Company's offers to transport and outfit skilled artisans who were willing to immigrate to Virginia and that *both* pottery-making *and* glassmaking furnaces were built in the colony prior to 1623.[113]

Sir Nathaniel Rich, who favored a return to martial law, during April, May and July 1623, pre-

[108] Another critic claimed that an estimated 3,000 persons had died within three years time, due to lack of food and shelter and the "pestering" (infection) of the ships that brought new immigrants to Virginia (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:174-175).

[109] This refers to the extreme shortages of food and other provisions that occurred in the wake of the 1622 Indian uprising, when settlers who lived on outlying plantations were brought to Jamestown, shortly before several ship loads of sickly and malnourished new immigrants arrived.

[110] The officials also said that whereas there had been only 10-12 houses in the corporation of James City, "at this present time theere are four for every one that were" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:22-23).

[111] A 1624 patent for land near the isthmus to the mainland makes reference to a new blockhouse "lately built," perhaps part of this effort to fortify (Patent Book 1:12).

[112] Broadsides published by the Virginia Company officials in 1609- 1610 advertised for artisans of various types, such as bakers, weavers, gunsmiths, joiners, carpenters, turners, coopers, ironmongers, shoemakers, brickmakers, architects, wool-processors, potters and brewers. At least one advertisement offered prospective colonists "houses to live in, vegetable-gardens and orchards, and also food and clothing at the expense of the company of that island" plus a share of the products and profits that resulted from their labor (Brown 1890:I:248-249, 353, 469).

[113] It is uncertain whether these potters and glassmakers responded to the Smith administration's early broadsides or the Sandys/Southampton administration's 1618-1623 efforts to attract artisans to the colony. It should be noted, however, that Italian glassmakers, French vignerons and silkmakers, and other artisans were brought to Virginia during the latter period and that pottery was being manufactured at Martin's Hundred after potter Thomas Ward's arrival there in early 1620 (Noël Hume 1991:105-107; McCartney 1995:139).

pared three drafts of a document in which he criticized the Sandys/Southampton administration's management of the colony. He said that "the great Bridge [wharf] at James City," had been neglected, which "in Sr. Thomas Smythes tyme at great charge [had been] erected for the landing of goods and saftie of mens lives," but was "now decayed and broken down." He also said that "the fort formerly built have likewise to the great providence of the colony been demolished, the ordnance become unserviceable and generallie all the public works with grat [great] care and charge ... erected are become ruinous" (Rich 1623a). In a July 12, 1623, revision of the same document, Rich said that "the Great Bridge at James Citty" was "broken down & demolished; the fort unfortified; the Ordnance unserviceable" (Rich 1623b).

Mariners, who came to Virginia in 1623 aboard the *Abigail*, supported Rich's views, for they stated that "the landing" at Jamestown "is verrye badd bothe for men and goods." They claimed that they had seen goods from their ship landed "right against the companies store howses, and the governors howse, Armours, swords, musquets, truncks and such like goods, lye a fortnight together uncared for, everie tide beeing overflowed with water and the trunks ready to be swallowed." They claimed that "Likewise Iron bars and sowes of Ledd and milstones and Grinstones and Iron furnaces lye right against the same places sunk and covered with sand, the water dayly overflowing them." The men of the *Abigail* ended by saying that "the ould planters for the most part wish the government had remained in the same state it was in Sr. Thomas Dale his time and Sr. Samuell Argolls time" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:93).

But most (if not all) of the surviving "ould" or "ancient planters," who had come to Virginia prior to Sir Thomas Dale's 1616 departure, vehemently disagreed and in a treatise of their own pointed out that martial law had yielded immense pain with little enduring gain. They contended that in 1619, when Sir George Yeardley arrived, he found "for fortification against a foreign enemie there was none at all; two demyculverin only were mounted upon rotten carriages and placed within James City, fitter to shoot down our houses than to offend an enemy." In Jamestown were "only those houses that Sir Thomas Gates built ... with one wherein the governor always dwelt, and a church built wholly at the charge of the inhabitants of that cittie, of timber, being 50 feet in length and 20 feet in breadth" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:35). The burgesses supported the ancient planters' allegations by acknowledging that during Sir Thomas Smith's government, "the colony for the most parte remayned in great want and misery." They, too, decried the "severe and Crewell lawes sent over in printe" and "mercylessly executed, often times without tryall or Judgment." Both groups contended that the arrival of Sir George Yeardley in April 1619 and the implementation of the Great Charter signaled a new era that was characterized by substantial and enduring progress (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:22-23).

Meanwhile, in England, Virginia Company factions quarreled bitterly and exchanged allegations. One group claimed that during the first 17 years, when Sir Thomas Smith headed the company, efforts were made to convert the Indians to Christianity and that staple commodities (such as iron, sturgeon, caviar, soap and potashes, masts for ships, clapboard, pipestaves, wainscot, wine, pitch and tar, and works of silkworms) were produced and sent to England. Smith's supporters contended that more recently, there were problems with the Indians and that little had been done to further economic growth. Their opponents said that despite the Indian uprising and a "great mortality throughout America," the population of the colony was increasing at little expense to the Company. They also insisted that tobacco and sassafras were the only marketable commodities produced during the Smith government. More recently, an ironworks had been built, vineyards had been planted for winemaking and eight vigneron from Languedock, France had been sent over. Also, silkworm seed had been shipped to the colony, along with skilled German workers to set up sawmills, shipwrights from England, and others for saltworks and other commodities. They claimed that the colonists were much more content than they had been during the

Smith government and that 44 patents had been assigned to adventurers who had transported new colonists to Virginia, in contrast to the six issued previously (Kingsbury 1906-1935:II:348, 373).

The Virginia Company's Demise

Ultimately, politics and insuperable financial problems took their toll and on May 24, 1624, the Virginia Company's third and final charter was revoked. King James cited the high death rate in the colony, due to sickness, famine, and hostility on the part of the Natives, and he noted that if efforts had been made to produce staple commodities, the colony would have thrived. Although there were attempts to revive the Virginia Company, most colonists were convinced that they would fare better under the Crown. By 1626 some of the Virginia Company's land had come into private hands and its indentured servants had been set free (Tyler 1907:413-416; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:24; Randolph 1970:133; Rich, April-May 1623; July 12, 1623; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:93; Nugent 1969-1979:I:19, 33, 36-37, 63, 113, 123-126, 160, 224; Craven 1932:1-23, 1957:57).

Governor Wyatt and the Urbanization of Jamestown

The arrival of surveyor William Claiborne was highly significant, for he laid out numerous parcels of land that promptly were patented. Most already had been seated. At least six patents were issued for acreage within the New Towne, part of what eventually became urban Jamestown. In most instances, the lots' metes and bounds were given and Claiborne was identified as the surveyor who had laid them out. Most of these properties were developed before their owners secured a patent.[114]

Although relatively little is known about how Jamestown was organized functionally as a fledgling urban community, archival records suggest that during the 1620s, public activities (both sacred and secular) were concentrated in the immediate vicinity of the fort and church, in the western part of Study Unit 4. Near the isthmus that led to the mainland (in the western part of Study Unit 1) was the site of "blockhouse hill" (part of Study Unit 1 Tract E Lot A) and another block house may have been located at a site where Tract E extended toward the Back River, also on Tract E Lot A. Meanwhile, urban-style residential and commercial development was intensified within the New Towne, to the west of Orchard Run (and in the eastern part of Study Unit 4), where several lots had been laid out along the water front, abutting south upon a roadway that traced the river bank. It was here that Study Unit 4 Tract L Lots E, F, G, H, and I were located. They belonged to merchants Richard Stephens, John Chew, Ralph Hamor, and George Menefie and John Harvey, a mariner. To the west of Stephens' lot was that of gunsmith John Jackson (Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A) (Figure 12). Forming the back line of these lots was the Back Street, the north side of which also was lined with a row of lots. It was here that Dr. John Pott (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D) and merchants William Powell (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot C), Edward Blaney (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot C), and William Peirce (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B) resided (Figure 13). Almost all of the patents issued in 1624 for New Towne lots cited legislation that had been passed, earlier on "to encourage building" and most of the parcels had been developed prior to the time they were patented (Patent Book 1:1-8).[115] The strategy of enacting legislation purposefully to fuel urban development was a recurring theme at Jamestown throughout the seventeenth century.[116]

[114] Cornelius Van Tienhoven recommended that those settling in New Netherland select a good location on a bay or river when building a hamlet and that the site should be surveyed into streets and lots. He felt that the community should be enclosed "all around with high palisades or long boards and closed with gates, which is advantageous in case of attack by the Natives" (O'Callaghan 1856:5:368).

[115] No other dating information was provided by the patents.

[116] Mid-seventeenth century sketches of Exeter and Dartmouth harbors, in England's West Country, reveal that solitary rows of buildings were clustered along the waterfront and extended a short

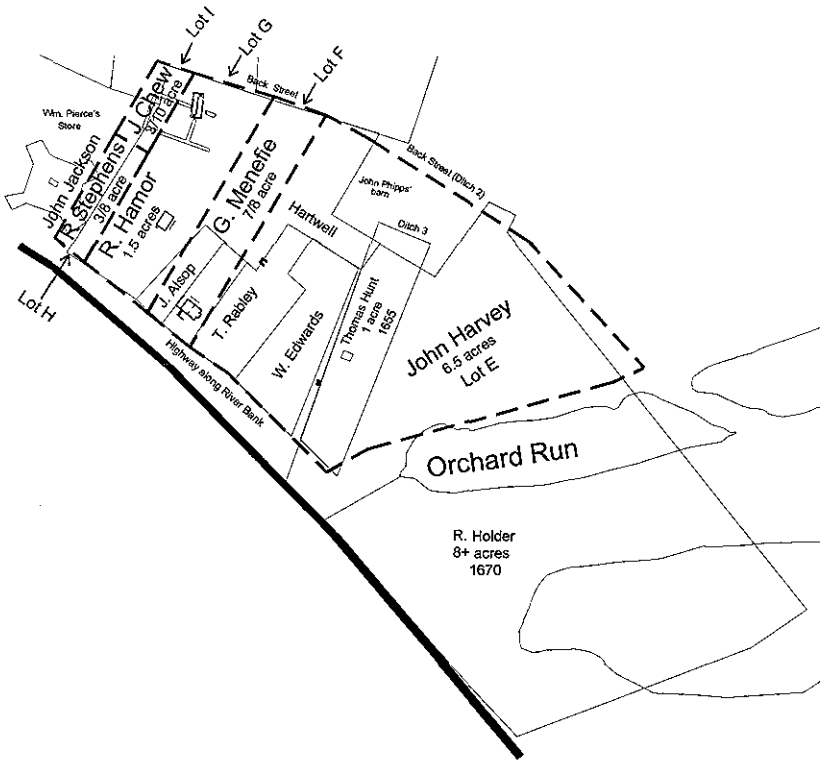


Figure 12. *Study Unit 4 Tract L, Lots E-I. Stephens, Chew, Menefie and Hamor were merchants and Harvey was involved in mercantile activities.*

Almost all of the New Towne's lot owners were well-to-do merchants, prominent public officials, or both (Patent Book 1:3-8). George Menefie (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot G) began serving as the Corporation of James City's official merchant in 1620, which post he retained until at least 1637. His property abutted the James River.[117]

Other prominent individuals who owned (and in most instances, occupied) New Towne lots during the 1620s included merchant Ralph Hamor (Secretary of the Colony during Sir Thomas Dale's administration), merchant Richard Stephens (who was married to cape-merchant Abraham Peirsey's daughter), and merchant John Chew. Demographic records reveal that merchant William Perry, Vice-Admiral John Pountis, and Captain William Holmes (a mariner) also lived in the New Towne, although their patents have been lost or destroyed. The 1625 muster reveals that Southampton Hundred leader John Southern, James Hicmott, Indian language interpreter Robert Poole, provost marshal Randall Smallwood, George Grave, Thomas Alnutt, Edward Cadge, William Mutch, and Peter Langman were living in urban Jamestown; however, no land

distance inland along roads that led into the interior (Foss 1968:86-87). This pattern of development also occurred at Jamestown.

[117] In August 1626 the Council decided that there should be "in every Plantacione one sufficyent man Chosen as merchant or factor to deal and buy for all the People dwellinge in the same Plantatione." Afterward, the principal leader of every settlement was to see that the goods were divided equitably. No one was supposed to go aboard incoming ships without permission from the governor or two councillors. Within a month of the time these policies were adopted, many of the colonists voiced their objections, for as free men they felt that they were entitled to trade freely. In October 1626 the new policy was abandoned. Instead, all goods were to be brought ashore at Jamestown, where they could be sold (McIlwaine 1924:107, 113-114, 121-122).

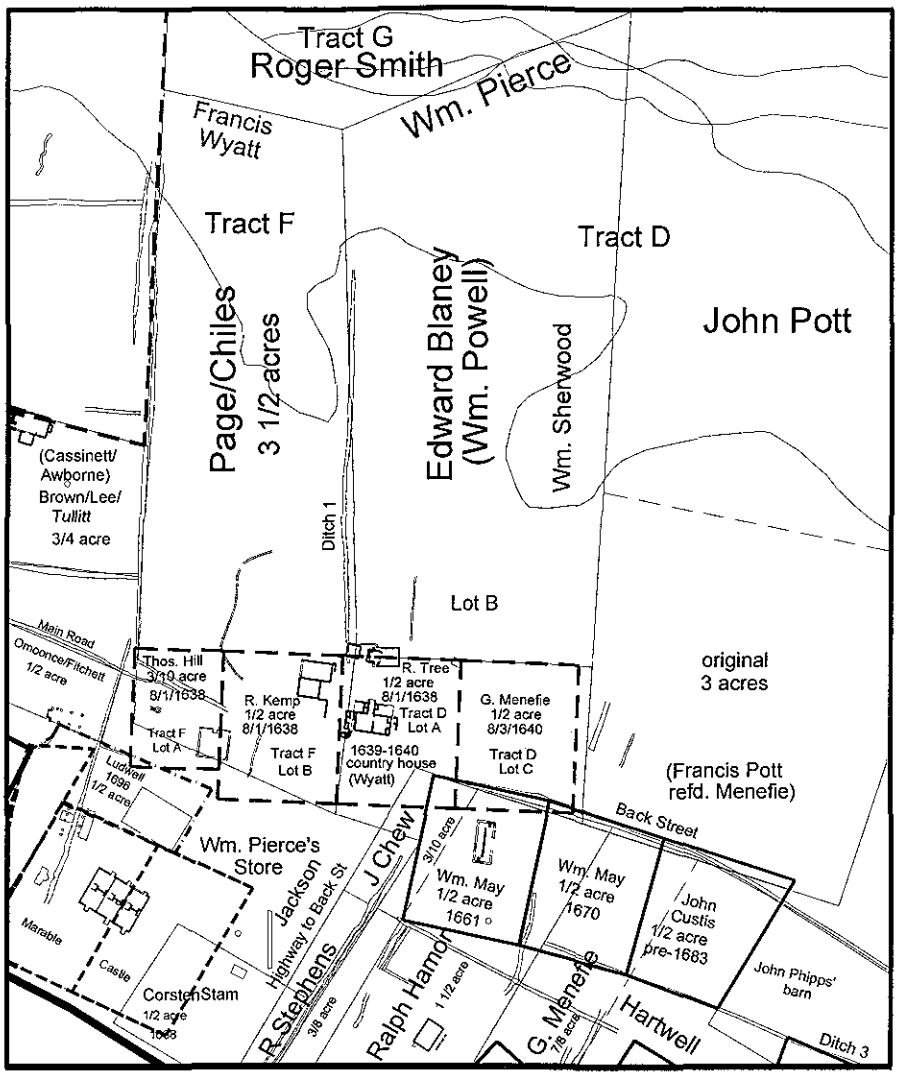


Figure 13. *Study Unit 1 Tract F and Part of Tract D. Pierce, Blaney, Powell, Pott, and Smith were influential members of the Jamestown community.*

records have come to light that pinpoint the location of their property. At least three individuals whose names in 1625 were attributed to urban Jamestown are known to have lived just east of Orchard Run: gunsmith John Jefferson (Study Unit 2 Tract J), the widowed (and wealthy) Mrs. Elizabeth Soothey (Study Unit 2 Tract V), and yeoman John Burrows (Study Unit 2 Tract I). This suggests that Jamestown's limits at first were somewhat vague (Sainsbury 1964:I:256; Patent Book 1:1-8; McIlwaine 1924:486-487; Bruce 1897-1898:120; Meyer et al. 1987:28-36, 476).

Although most of the New Towne's waterfront lots were small, Captain John Harvey (who went on to become a titled nobleman and governor) was in possession of a 6½ acre lot on the west side of Orchard Run's mouth (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E). On the upper side of Back Street was the 12 acre lot (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D) that belonged to Dr. John Pott, the colony's physician general who eventually served as an acting governor. Next door, on Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot C was sometime-cape merchant Edward Blaney, who married the widow of Captain William Powell. To Blaney's west was fort captain William Peirce,

who occupied a 3 or 4 acre lot on the north side of the Back Street, on Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B. In 1624 his "new dwelling" served as the collection point for the tobacco levied as taxes in James City. In 1629 Mrs. Joan Peirce, "an honest and industrious woman," who had lived in the colony for nearly 20 years, reportedly had "a garden at Jamestown containing 3 or 4 acres," from which she had gathered nearly 100 bushels of excellent figs in a year. She was quoted as saying that she could "keep a better house in Virginia for 3 or 4 hundred pounds than in London, yet went there with little or nothing" (Sainsbury 1964:I:256; Patent Book 1:1-8; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:41; 1924:486-487; Bruce 1897-1898:120; Meyer et al. 1987:28-36, 476).

Also within urban Jamestown was the residence of Sir George Yeardley, who had a 7¼ acre urban estate (Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B) on the upper side of Pitch and Tar Swamp, abutting the Back River. It was next to a comparably sized estate which research suggests was owned and occupied by Governor Francis Wyatt (Study Unit 1 Tract H) during the early-to-mid 1620s. Captain Roger Smith also had a substantial parcel (4 acres, Study Unit 1 Tract G) that abutted north upon Yeardley's property and south upon the Government (or Governor's) Garden. An anomaly was the 80 acre farm owned by ancient planter Richard Kingsmill (Study Unit 1 Tract A) whose property abutted the Back River and bordered east and south upon what became known as Kingsmill Creek (Patent Book 1:1, 7-8, 61; Ambler MS 11).

In the eastern half of Jamestown Island, within Study Units 2 and 3, were small farmsteads that might have been considered outlying "suburbs." Here were at least 19 parcels, the majority of which were 12 acres in size. Most were in the hands of ancient planters. Within Study Unit 2 were two rows of rectangular lots that William Claiborne had laid out regularly, between Black Point and Passmore Creek (Tracts B, C, D, M, O, and P). To the north and northwest were irregularly shaped plots that followed natural boundaries largely consisting of marsh land (Tracts A, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, N, Q, S, T, U, and V). Within Study Unit 3 were irregularly-shaped fingers of land that extended inland from the James River's bank. Most of these tracts (ranging from 3 to 12 acres in size) belonged to ancient planters (Tracts A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and J). Living in the eastern end of Jamestown Island were several people who had special skills, notably carpenters Thomas Passmore and Richard Tree, sawyer Robert Wright, midwife Jane Wright, joiner Thomas Delamajor, feathermaker John Radish, joiner Thomas Grubb, smith John Norton, and ironmonger John Southern. Some of these people had been brought to Virginia by the Virginia Company or its investors.

Urban Jamestown's Skilled Workers

Besides the elite, urban Jamestown also had its share of tradesmen and artisans. During the mid-1620s, George Clarke, John Jackson and John Jefferson were actively employed as gunsmiths. Jackson owned a waterfront lot in the New Towne (Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A), a parcel that abutted east upon that of merchants Richard Stephens and John Chew (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lots H and I). A plat that dates to 1664 indicates that John Jefferson's land lay to the east of Orchard Run, but somewhat inland at a site analogous to Study Unit 2 Tract J, whereas blacksmith William Briscoe later owned acreage near the run's mouth (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lots A and B (Patent Book 1:10-11, 423; 1:II:630; McIlwaine 1924:4, 57, 84, 154; Ambler Manuscript #16, 23, 133).

During the years the colony was under the control of the Virginia Company, investors sent groups of workers to Virginia so that they could produce marketable commodities. Some of these individuals, upon obtaining their freedom, would have plied their trades on their own behalf. A 1626 court record made reference to "Mr. Menefres forge" in Jamestown but failed to say where it was located. As George Menefie in 1624 owned a New Towne lot between the James River and Back Street, just west of John Harvey's 6½ acres on the west side of Orchard Run, his forge probably was in that vicinity (McIlwaine 1924:99,107,158). In 1626 Thomas Munn was constructing a small

shallop at Jamestown, under the auspices of the Company of Shipwrights, and a year later, William Bennett was involved in boat-building. In 1624 the Italian glassmakers Bernardo and Vincencio, and three other people were established at Glasshouse Point, where "a tryall of glass" had been made during the colony's earliest years. But by 1625 the glassmakers had withdrawn across the river to George Sandys' plantation and were clamoring to return home (Hotten 1980:180; Meyer et al. 1987:42; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:23-24).

A number of households in urban Jamestown included indentured servants and others with special skills. For example, in Richard Stephens' household (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot H) was Wassill Rayner, a distiller. John Bath, a leatherfellow, also resided there. Vice-Admiral John Pountis's household included Christopher Best, a surgeon. Richard Townscend, who lived with Dr. John Pott (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D), was an aspiring apothecary. Roger Smith (Study Unit 1 Tract G) had a servant capable of constructing buildings: Francis Fowler. Surveyor William Claiborne was supposed to live with Governor Francis Wyatt (probably Study Unit 1 Tract H). Sir George Yeardley (Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B) leased part of his property to surgeon Samuel Mole. John Dyos apparently had veterinary medical skills, for he was paid for treating the Rev. Richard Buck's cattle (probably pastured in Study Unit 2 Tract I) (Meyer et al. 1987:29-35; McIlwaine 1924:102). Others with special skills undoubtedly were present. Under the law, artisans were supposed to be paid 3 or 4 pounds of tobacco per day and laborers earned 1 pound of tobacco a day. Both categories of workers were to be provided with food by their employers (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:64).

In 1624 Captain John Smith, who was then in England, sent a letter to London's Society of Cordwainers, trying to persuade them to send shoes to the colony, for there was a severe shortage. He said that "For want of shooes among the Oyster Bankes wee tore our hatts & Clothes & those being worne, we tied Barkes of trees about our feete to keepe them from being Cutt by the Shelles amongst which wee must goe or starve." He therefore urged them to send shoes, which could be sold in Virginia profitably (Wright 1946:20-21).

Jamestown as a Center of Commerce and Trade

In January 1623 when Governor Francis Wyatt authorized Captain William Tucker to undertake a trading mission to bring back corn, he ordered him to bring it to "the port," James City (i.e., Jamestown). Three or four months later, a young indentured servant from Martin's Hundred wrote a letter in which he indicated that according to law, "there lye all the ships that Come to the land, and there they must deliver their goodes" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:6, 59). That policy was included in a law passed in the March 1624 session of the assembly which stated that no ships were to "break bulk" (open their cargoes) or "make privat sales of any commodity until [they reach] James City, without special order from the governor and counsell" (Hening 1809-1823:I:126). This policy was in effect through the 1660s and would have brought a constant stream of prospective immigrants, visitors, servants and imported goods to Jamestown Island. A 1626 law stipulated that goods be brought ashore at Jamestown; however, nothing was to be sold for ten days, so that people would have an opportunity to learn of the ship's arrival (McIlwaine 1924:121). In 1623, 1624, and 1625 references were made to a "market place" in which there was a pillory and whipping post. They were in close proximity to "the fort," "the countrie house," and Abraham Peirsey's storehouse. All of these features probably were in the vicinity of the church (probably at the site of Structure 142), which in 1624 was in need of repair. A 1627 reference to the "stores" at Jamestown where the tobacco was kept that was collected as taxes may pertain to William Peirce's storehouse near the waterfront (probably on Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot B) or to other structures used for that purpose (Hening 1809-1823:I:126, 191, 245-246; II:135; McIlwaine 1924:14-15, 18-19, 57, 85, 93, 146).

The 1624 Census and 1625 Muster

Demographic records compiled during 1624 and 1625 reflect the colony's growth and attest to some of the advancements that were made between 1619 and 1624, immediately prior to the time that the Virginia Company's charter was revoked. The February 1624 census reveals that 183 people then lived in James City (urban Jamestown) and 39 others resided elsewhere on Jamestown Island. Three blacks (two women and a man) were in the Jamestown households of Sir George Yeardley and Captain William Peirce. The census indicates that a substantial number of James City residents (89) died between April 1623 and February 1624 (Hotten 1980:173-176, 178, 191-192) (Appendix A). On January 24, 1625 when a tabulation was made of those who lived in Jamestown and on the rest of Jamestown Island there were 175 people present, 122 males and 53 females. Out of this total population, there were nine Africans: three men and six women. In urban Jamestown were 22 houses, 3 stores, a church and a large court of guard, whereas elsewhere in the island were 11 houses. The colonists living on Jamestown Island had greater supplies of corn, fish, and meal, and larger quantities of livestock (cattle, swine, horses, and goats) than those who resided elsewhere.[118] There were ten boats and more ammunition, weaponry and body armor on Jamestown Island than anywhere else, except the old Virginia Company settlement on the lower side of the Hampton River, which included the fortifications at Old Point Comfort (Meyer et al. 1987:28-36) (Appendix B).

The 1625 muster indicates that Jamestown then had four mounted pieces of ordnance and a court of guard (or guardhouse), but no mention was made of a fort of any kind.[119] Even so, archival records that span the years 1624-1627 repeatedly make reference to Jamestown's fort, indicating that some semblance of a fortified area did indeed exist, if only as a locational "address."[120] In June 1624 five sentries "at the fort" testified about the nighttime burglary of cape-merchant Abraham Peirsey's storehouse.[121] One man stated that although he did not actually witness the break-in, he saw two men "yt cam close under the countrie howse"[122] around 10 P.M., who claimed they could not get into "Sr. George's howse for that ye dore was lockt" and therefore were trying to enter its [the country house's] back door (McIlwaine 1924:15).[123] These statements not only reveal that a site known as the fort was in existence in June 1624, they also dis-

[118] There were 181 cattle, 1 horse, 209 swine, and 212 goats.

[119] This contrasts with Jordan's Point, the Treasurer's Plantation, and other communities, whose forts were listed in the 1625 muster.

[120] Perhaps the physical remains of the old fortified compound's palisades and trenches still were in evidence, or there may have been a gun platform.

[121] Peirsey came to Virginia in 1616 in the first magazine ship sent to the colony. At Peirsey's store in Jamestown, imported goods were exchanged for tobacco and other Virginia commodities that were shipped abroad. In 1621 Peirsey was assigned a tract of land on the Appomattox River. By 1624 he had purchased Flowerdew Hundred, Sir George Yeardley's plantation. In January 1625, Peirsey was credited with one house and two storehouses in Jamestown (Meyer et al. 1987:31, 478-479). As no patents have come to light that make reference to Peirsey's owning land on Jamestown Island, his buildings may have been close to the fort, within what perhaps was considered a public area.

[122] This term typically was used to identify buildings that had been built with public funds or for public use. In 1618 the king's Council informed new governor George Yeardley that "the Governor's house in Jamestown first built by Sir Thomas Gates" at the charge of the Virginia Company "and since Enlarged by others" was to "continue forever the Governor's house" (King's Council 1618). The men of the *Abigail* in 1623 testified that goods landed beside the governor's house were subjected to tidal flooding (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:93). Their statement suggests that it was close to the water's edge.

[123] One of the men seen lurking about the "Country House" was Thomas Hatch, one of Governor George Yeardley's servants (Meyer et al. 987:29). The dwelling the men were locked out of most likely was Yeardley's private residence which was located on Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B.

close that Peirsey's storehouse and the country house were so close to it that the sentries on duty were expected to have witnessed the break-in that occurred (McIlwaine 1924:15). In February 1626 a man was whipped "from the forte to the gallows"[124] and back before being "sett uppon the Pillory," which (according to a contemporary account) was "in the market place of James City." The fortified area at Jamestown was still in existence in June 1627 when the governor's council decided to have two young child abuse victims whipped "in the fort at James Cittie." Collectively, these statements demonstrate that from at least 1624 to 1627 Jamestown had an area known as "the fort" that contained a pillory, a whipping post and a marketplace. Within or near this fort was Abraham Peirsey's storehouse and "the Country House." In 1627, two of the fort's neglectful sentries were given the responsibility of "cuttinge downe and clearing of such shrubbs and low woodes as are before the towne in the fields" (McIlwaine 1924:14-15, 93, 149-150).

Demographic records compiled during 1624 and 1625 reveal that by that time, family life was firmly rooted in Virginia. Households often consisted a married couple and one or more children, plus a small number of indentured servants. Many families included the children from one or both parents' prior marriages. Thus, step-siblings, half-siblings, and full blooded relatives tended to progress with a parent or step-parent through a series of marriages almost always terminated by death. Orphans, widows, and the infirm received care in the homes of those willing to take them in. The accumulation of wealth through successive marriages and the hardships that were a part of frontier life probably made widows and widowers eager to remarry. As the colony became better established, more women came to Virginia and the number of marriages and births rose.

The James City Parish Church

In March 1624 a law was passed requiring every plantation to have worship facilities and "a place empaled in, sequestered only to the buryal of the dead" (Hening 1809-1823:I:123). It is probable that the inhabitants of Jamestown Island and its environs were worshiping in the frame church Sir George Yeardley found when he arrived in Virginia in April 1619, to assume to reins of government (Ancient Planters 1871:80).[125] On April 17, 1624, when George Harrison made his will, he asked "to be buried at the church at James City" in accord with the instructions he had furnished his overseer (Harrison 1624). Several months earlier, when John Atkins prepared his September 3, 1623, will, he told his executors to see that he was "buried in the usual burying place by James City" (Withington 1980:35-36). Thus, it appears that at Jamestown there was a cemetery at or near the church, at a very early date.

On July 12, 1624, when Thomas Alnutt was found guilty of defaming the minister at Hog Island, he was fined 100 pounds of tobacco, which was to be used "towards reparacons of the church in James Citye" (McIlwaine 1924:18). Likewise, on September 27, 1624, when three Jamestown men were convicted of public drunkenness, the 20 nobles apiece they were fined was to go toward repairing the church (McIlwaine 1924:20).[126] On January 24, 1625, when a muster was compiled, there reportedly was a church at Jamestown (Meyer et al.1987:29). On February 26, 1627,

[124] A 1644 patent for land between the Doctor's Swamp (probably that portion of Pitch and Tar Swamp that cuts through Dr. John Pott's 12 acres, Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D) and the Gallows Swamp, which drained into the Back River, raises the possibility that Jamestown's gallows was—or had been—located near the head of Orchard Run (Patent Book 2:11).

[125] In 1901-1906 excavations at the site of Structure 142 unearthed part of a cobblestone foundation believed to have been associated with an early frame church built in ca. 1614 or ca. 1617 (Cotter 1958:219-222).

[126] A noble is a fifteenth-century English gold coin worth 6 shillings 8 pence or 10 shillings. The court justices may have been using a colloquial form for an angel, an early seventeenth-century coin of comparable value.

Jane Hill, who was to be punished for an illicit sexual liaison, was ordered "during the time of devine service [to] stand up in Church in a white sheete at James City" and afterward to do the same in her home community, Shirley Hundred (McIlwaine 1924:142).

Maintaining Law and Order

As the population increased and loosely defined communities developed, disagreements among neighbors sometimes ended up in court. Those living upon privately-sponsored plantations could seek justice from a local commander or leader, but others had to appear before the governor's council, which convened regularly as a court. Matters aired before the General Court ranged from offenses against religious laws (such as failing to pay church dues or hunting hogs on Sunday) to capital crimes such as murder and treason. In 1626 the Council decided to meet quarterly and those who failed to attend would be fined. The estate of anyone who died was supposed to be inventoried as soon as possible and presented to the General Court. Also, all deeds and other land bargains were supposed to be recorded there within a year and a day of the time the transaction occurred (McIlwaine 1924:116, 121). Many of the punishments the General Court handed down during the 1620s and 30s today would be deemed barbaric. For example, a man's ears might be loped off for perjury and he or a female might be whipped for a sex offense. But it was a brutal and bloody era in which corporal punishments such as hanging, maiming and dismemberment were permissible under the law and belief in witchcraft, omens, apparitions and other supernatural phenomena was common. Virginia's first accused witch, Joan Wright, lived in the east end of Jamestown Island with her husband, Robert (Study Unit 3 Tract E). Mrs. Wright allegedly cast spells that caused one neighbor's chickens to die and made a servant woman "dance starke naked" for stealing a piece of lightwood. She also accurately predicted two people's deaths (McIlwaine 1924:111-112, 114).

Reputation and status were highly prized and successful planters could upgrade their social standing rapidly by accumulating wealth. Sometimes, insults traded by former peers were termed slanderous. One man associated with Jamestown Island, Thomas Alnutt, who was responsible for part of the Buck estate, ran afoul of the law when he made disparaging remarks about a local minister. Another was summoned to court to testify about someone's (Elizabeth Hamor of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot G)calling a neighbor a "Virginia whore." Slanderers usually had to apologize publicly or post a bond guaranteeing good behavior. When high ranking officials insulted one another, they usually knelt in church and took communion together, signifying their willingness to put the matter behind them (McIlwaine 1924:15-16, 61).

One type of suit sometimes brought before the General Court was breach of promise. Mrs. Jane Kingsmill of Study Unit 1 Tract A overheard her neighbor's maid servant, Eleanor Sprage (Spradd) of Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot C, pledge to marry Robert Marshall (Study Unit 2 Tracts C and T). But before the couple's marriage bans could be posted in the parish church, as required by law, Eleanor became engaged to another man. For her improper behavior, she was scolded publicly and then made to apologize to her fellow parishioners. On another occasion, it was rumored that a local minister intended to lure away Mara, the 12-year-old orphan of Jamestown minister Richard Buck (Study Unit 2 Tract I). Although witnesses described her as slow-witted, she was a young heiress at a time when females (especially wealthy ones) were scarce and never remained single for long. The General Court dismissed the allegations against the clergyman, the Rev. David Sandys, whose brother, George, was the colony's Treasurer and a sitting court justice (McIlwaine 1924:15- 18).

Churchwarden Richard Kingsmill of Jamestown Island was zealous about reporting fellow parishioners who got tipsy, swore, or went hunting on Sunday, all of which were infractions of church law. Several local men were censured for being drunk and disorderly at "unseasonable howres of the night." Others were accused of

"nightwalking" (venturing abroad late at night) and "nicknaming houses" (making defamatory remarks about their contemporaries, especially those in the upper ranks of society). Unmarried people who had sexual relations were punished severely, as were those who indulged in inter-racial liaisons. Men and boys usually were whipped, whereas women and girls were shamed publicly. Sometimes, they were made to stand up in church, draped in a white sheet and holding a wand, a symbol of lost innocence. As most of the indentured servants who came to Virginia during the early seventeenth century were young and single and needed their masters' permission to marry, many unauthorized liaisons probably escaped detection. One of the saddest cases heard by the General Court involved three little girls raped by young male servants. Both children were to be "openly whipped in the fort at James City," receiving up to 40 lashes, and one girl's mother was flogged for failing to report the crime promptly. One of the rapists, meanwhile, was executed, and his corpse was put on display. The other man was made to serve as executioner, after which he was whipped at Jamestown and again in his home community (McIlwaine 1924:142, 149-150; Meyer et al. 1987:13).

Sometimes, colonists brought suit over debts and broken promises. John Johnson I of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 2 Tract A), who was found guilty of breach of contract, had to repair the house of his neighbor, the late Ensign William Spence (Study Unit 2 Tract F). John Haule and Thomas Passmoure (of Study Unit 2 Tracts S and H), also island residents, went to court over a debt. Two others accused a neighbor of allowing his swine to uproot their vegetable gardens. Sometimes, people wrangled over the ownership of cattle, which generally roamed at large and bore earmarks. Disagreements between servants and their masters sometimes reached the General Court, usually because one or both parties failed to live up to their contractual obligations. In 1624 when Captain John Harvey (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E) refused to produce ex-servant William Mutch's "freedom dues" (the corn and clothing usually given to newly freed servants) and Mutch made a scornful remark, Harvey brought the argument to a close by clubbing him "over ye pate with his truncheon," a short stick. Disputes over unpaid debts were commonplace (McIlwaine 1924:46).

The General Court sometimes investigated deaths of unknown cause. In 1625 an inquest was held when four-year-old George Pope of Jamestown tumbled into an open well and drowned. Margaret Osborne, who was taking care of the child, said that she often sent him to fetch water, which he scooped up with a dish and poured into a small barrel. Five-year-old Christopher Stokes, a neighbor, testified that George knelt with a dish "and the water beinge muddy," poured it out. When he leaned forward again, he fell in. This case, besides shedding light upon the Pope youngster's death, reveals that nearly twenty years after European settlement first occurred on Jamestown Island, its inhabitants' still were consuming water that was murky and impure (McIlwaine 1924:38).

In 1623 two Jamestown Island men, laborer Daniel Frank (Francke) and gunsmith George Clarke, were accused of stealing a calf from Governor George Yeardley (Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B). Clarke, who claimed that Frank had killed the calf, admitted helping him butcher it. Further investigation revealed that calf- stealing was not Frank's first crime, for he previously had stolen several items from Jamestown's provost marshal, Randall Smallwood. Both of the accused were sentenced to death but Clarke was reprieved, perhaps because of his occupation. There is evidence that crime cut through all ranks of society. Dr. John Pott (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D), a Jamestown resident, the Colony's physician-general, and one-time governor, was found guilty of cattle-rustling, a capital offense. He was censured but punishment was deferred until the king's advice could be sought (McIlwaine 1924:118, 136).

Offending public officials brought dire consequences. In March 1624, Captain Richard Quaile of Jamestown, a ship's captain who penned a "controversial document," was stripped of his command and fined. He also had his ears nailed to the pillory in the market-place. In a further act of degrada-

tion, Quaile's sword was broken and he was given an axe and designated a carpenter, an official reduction of his social status. When Edward Sharples, clerk of the Governor's Council, was found guilty of sending unauthorized writings to the king, his ears were nailed to the pillory and then cut off. He also was banished from Jamestown Island unarmed and made a servant for seven years. On the other hand, Richard Barnes, who criticized the governor, received especially severe punishment, for his arms were broken, his tongue was bored through with a sharp instrument and he was made to run a gauntlet of forty men who were to butt and kick him out of the fort at Jamestown. Peter Martin, who was overheard saying that a man had been wrongfully executed, was "whipped from the fort to the gallows and then back again" after which he was to be "set upon the pillory and there to lose one of his ears." Although he had just completed his term of indenture, he was required to serve another seven years (McIlwaine 1924:93). Sentencing wrongdoers to servitude became increasingly common as the colony's labor shortage worsened. Often, they were required to serve the governor or a member of his council, those who, as general court justices, had handed down the sentence.

Colonists occasionally came into the General Court to legitimatize leases or confirm a real estate transaction. For example, Percival Wood and his wife, Ann, testified that they had sold Sir George Yeardley a dwelling and 12 acres at Black Point (Study Unit 2 Tract M), at the eastern tip of Jamestown Island. The General Court also handled the probate of wills and whenever orphaned children were involved, saw that guardians were appointed to provide them with care and manage their property. When the Rev. Richard Buck of Jamestown died, guardians were appointed to oversee his heirs' real estate, which included 12 acres on Jamestown Island that formerly had belonged to William Fairfax (Study Unit 2 Tract I). Thomas Alnutt, Richard Kingsmill, and Peter Langman, were named guardians of the Buck children, who were placed in foster homes. Later, Kingsmill was accused of misappropriating some of their livestock (McIlwaine 1924:117).

When the governor's council (Council of State) convened as a General Court, decisions could be made that affected the colony as a whole. For example, in 1624 every male household head over the age of 20 was required to plant four mulberry trees and 20 vines and to enclose his garden. Every household had to plant an adequate amount of corn. By the end of the decade, colonists had to plant two acres of corn "for every head that worketh the land" and no more than 2,000 tobacco plants per household member. No one could relocate from one plantation to another without official permission and all men had to keep their firearms in good working order. All vessels entering Virginia waters had to pause at Jamestown before going elsewhere. This facilitated the collection of import duties but it also allowed government officials (many of whom were merchants) first access to the ships' cargoes (Hening 1809-1823:I:126).

By 1628, Virginia authorities had begun trying to control quality and quantity of the tobacco produced in the colony. Inspectors were to examine the tobacco to be shipped abroad and planters were ordered to set their plants at least 4½ feet apart, gathering only twelve leaves from each. Storage warehouses were built upon the riverbanks, where hogsheads of tobacco could be kept until loaded aboard an outbound ship (Hening 1809-1823:I:189, 191, 205-211). Virginians' dependence upon tobacco as their principal money crop created complex economic problems, with alternating "booms" and "busts" in the market. Even so, tobacco was many colonists' principal source of income.

Governor George Yeardley (1626-1627)

Early in 1626, when Sir George Yeardley again became governor, he received detailed instructions that mirrored those given to Sir Francis Wyatt. In the event of his death, Captain John Harvey was to take over as acting governor.[127] One task Gov-

[127] Harvey arrived in Virginia sometime prior to January 1624, at which time he received a patent for a New Towne lot (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E),

ernor Yeardley faced was disposing of the property formerly owned by the defunct Virginia Company. Personally, he continued to seek new land that he could place under cultivation and in October 1626 he made arrangements to lease the orphaned Mary Bayly's Hog Island tract for three years. In January 1627 Governor Yeardley received 18 indentured servants whose contracts formerly were owned by the Virginia Company. However, none of the Company men he was assigned were then at Jamestown. In October 1627 he was given 7 years' use of a group of young male servants known as the *Duty* boys, who already had served seven years for the Company and were supposed to serve a like amount of time as tenants at half-shares (sharecroppers) (Sainsbury 1964:1:77; Stanard 1965:14; McIlwaine 1924:91, 93, 122, 148, 154, 168, 176; C.O. 5/1354 ff 248, 257).

On October 12, 1627, Sir George Yeardley, who described himself as "weak and sicke in body but in perfect minde and memory," made his will. He bequeathed to his wife, Temperance, life-rights to the dwelling they occupied in Jamestown (on Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B) plus their household contents. However, he instructed her (as his executrix) to sell the rest of his property, distributing the proceeds among their children. On October 29th, Sir George Yeardley amended his original will and asked Temperance to sell all of his property (Yeardley 1627a, 1627b; Stanard 1916:445). Sir George died within two weeks and on November 13, 1627, was interred at Jamestown. His will was presented for probate on February 5, 1628 (McIlwaine 1924:156, 160, 166-167).

Acting Governor Francis West (1627 to 1629)

Francis West, who became acting governor on November 14, 1627, when Sir George Yeardley died, was born on October 28, 1586, probably in Hampshire, England. He was the son of Thomas West (the second Lord Delaware) and his wife, Anne Knollys, and the brother of Thomas West, the third Lord Delaware. Francis came to Virginia in 1608 with Captain Christopher Newport and in 1609 was named a grantee of the Virginia Company's second charter. Francis became a member of the Governor's Council in 1609 and went on an expedition to the falls of the James with 140 men. In September 1609, when Captain John Smith was removed as chief executive, Francis, as Council president, served as acting governor for approximately two weeks. In 1611 Francis West was shot in the thigh by the Nansemond Indians, while on an expedition with Sir Thomas Dale and in 1612 he was designated the commander of Jamestown. In 1617 Francis was appointed "maker of Ordnance for life" and in 1622 he was named admiral of New England. On February 16, 1624, he was residing at West and Shirley Hundred Island, in the household of Captain Isaac Madison. However, by January 1625 he had relocated to the lower side of the Hampton River, where he headed a household on the Company Land in Kecoughtan. Francis's sister-in-law, Frances West (the widow of his brother, Nathaniel), shared his home as did her child, Nathaniel. In May 1625 when a list of patented land was sent back to England, Captain Francis West was credited with 500 acres "att Westover."

Francis West, upon becoming Virginia's acting governor in November 1627, served for two years. While in office, he issued two patents for land on Jamestown Island, one in each end (Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 2 Tract V). He married Lady Temperance Flowerdew Yeardley, Sir George's widow, in late March 1628. She died intestate in December 1628. In February 1629 when Francis West was asked to account for Sir George Yeardley's estate, he refused. On February 1, 1630, he, as Temperance's heir, brought suit against substitute-executor Ralph Yeardley in an attempt to recover his late wife's dower third of Sir George Yeardley's estate. Her share included "a full third part of all the estate of the said Sir George in Virginia or elsewhere, over & above all

(cont'd from previous page)
on which there already were buildings (Patent Book 1:7).

household stuff being in Sir George's house in James City at the time of his death." The outcome of the law suit is uncertain. After West ceased serving as acting governor, he became a councillor and held that position until 1633. Francis West married three times in rapid succession. His first wife, Margaret, was the widow of Edward Blaney (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot C). They had two children, Elizabeth and Francis II, his only heirs. In October 1626 he agreed to pay the late Edward Blaney's debt to the magazine (Withington 1980:52; Stanard 1965:13-14, 28; Hotten 1980:172, 257, 268; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:24, 75, 231, 482, 580; McIlwaine 1924:37, 93, 122, 156, 176; Brown 1890:1046-1047; Raimo 1980:460-461; Hamor 1977:33; Meyer et al. 1987:656-657).

Francis West died in Virginia. He made his will, which is dated November 17, 1629, immediately prior to setting sail for England. He authorized his brother, John West, and Dr. John Pott (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D) to act as his attorneys. Francis West died in Virginia in 1633-1634 and was survived by his widow, Jane, Sir Henry Davye's daughter. According to family tradition, he drowned. West's will was presented for probate in England on April 28, 1634 (Meyer et al. 1987:656, 726; Stanard 1916:445; 1917:101-102; 1965:28; SR 3968; Withington 1980:52; Tyler 1921:121; McIlwaine 1924:156, 160, 166-167, 187).

Relations with the Indians, 1627-1629

The Natives' sporadic but persistent attacks throughout the mid-to-late 1620s kept memories of the 1622 Indian uprising alive. In October 1626 the colonists were given six months to build palisades around their homes and plans were made to undertake marches against the Indians. Consideration was given to colonizing Chiskiack (on the York River) and to running a palisade across the peninsula. In April 1627 the governor issued a warning that the Indians were expected to attack at any time. As some of the colony's leaders continued to believe that the Natives' attacks as a punishment from God, all households were commanded to assemble for prayer at least once a day and every plantation had to have a special place for worship services and a fenced-in area as a cemetery. The colonists were forbidden to waste powder by firing weapons during times of celebration, such as weddings and funerals, and to venture out unarmed or alone. Local military leaders had to muster and drill their men on every holiday (Hening 1809-1823:I:140, 126-127; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:38; 1924:189-190, 198).

On April 24, 1628, four Indians brought a message to the governor from several men being detained by the Pamunkey. A decision was made to secure their release, seizing the opportunity to learn where the Indians were planting their corn. This evolved into a dishonorable peace treaty that was made in August. According to the minutes of the Council of State, "a pease is to be made till they [the prisoners] are del'd up *and ye English see a fit opportunity to break it.*" By late January 1629 the governor and council found the excuse they had been looking for. Because

> *... the people and planters of the colony have grown secure and utterly neglected to eyther stand upon their guard or keep their Arms fitt... . The condition of our people being soe wretchedly negligent in this kinde that neither proclamations or other strict orders have remidied the same ... that all the former treaties of peace be utterly extinct.*

It was thought "a safer course for the colony in general (to prevent a second Massacre) utterly to proclayme and maintayne enmity and warres with all the Indians of these partes." Thus, the peace treaty was not broken on account of the *Natives'* treachery but because the settlers were negligent in maintaining their own defenses. There was a moratorium on shooting or killing Indians until February 20th, when they officially became "utter Enemies" (McIlwaine 1924:172, 184-185).

A lone Native, who entered the colonized area before his people had been notified of the treaty's dissolution, was sent home with word that the agreement had been annulled because of the *Indians'* failure to abide by it. Henceforth, official Indian messengers were obliged to come in only "at

the appoynted place, at Pasbehay," west of Jamestown Island. An intriguing reference to a "trucking" or trading point at "old Pasbehay," found in a 1637 patent for land near Bush Neck, on the Chickahominy River, raises the possibility that Natives entering the territory held by the colonists traveled the so-called Chickahominy Path, which probably followed portions of what later became Routes 5 and 614.[128] In March 1629, each of the colony's loosely defined communities was assigned a military commander (McIlwaine 1924:44, 104, 116, 129, 136, 147, 151, 153, 155, 189-190, 198, 484; Hening 1809-1823:I:130, 156; Nugent 1969-1979:I:69).

The Virginia Colony in 1629

Captain John Smith, though absent from the colony, summarized conditions in Virginia in 1629, basing his commentary upon the testimony of several colonists who returned momentarily to England. He spoke of the abundance of livestock, foodstuffs and beverages, and the colonists' preoccupation with growing tobacco. Smith said that most of the plantations toward the falls were "so inclosed with Pallizadoes they regard not the Salvages" and he indicated that there was rarely a man who wasn't furnished with "a peece, a Jacke, a Coat of Maile, a Sword, or Rapier." He said that, "Upon this River [the James] they seldom see any Salvages, but in the woods, many times their fires: yet some few there are, that upon their opportunitie have slaine some few straglers." He said that Governor John Pott and two or three council members then resided at Jamestown, "yet their chief seat." He said that at Jamestown "most of the wood [was] destroyed, little corne [was] there planted, but all converted into pasture and gardens, wherein doth grow all manner of herbs and roots we have in England in abundance, and as good grasse as can be." It was on Jamestown Island that "most of their Cattle doe feed, their owners being most some one way, some another, about their plantations and returne againe when they please, or any shipping comes in to trade." During the winter, "they have hay for their Cattle," whereas "in other places they browze upon wood, and the great husks of their corne, with some corne in them, doth keep them well." The Virginia colonists reportedly had tame geese, ducks and turkeys and trained their servants to shoot deer and fowl. The settlers' peaches, apples, apricots, figs, vines and other fruit grew abundantly, but their pursuit of tobacco-growing often left such orchard crops to be ruined by cattle. Smith said that the colonists "have two brewhouses, but they finde the Indian corne so much better than ours, they beginne to leave [off] sowing it." He commented that Virginia's "Cities and Townes are onely scattered houses they call plantations, as are our Country Villages." He closed by saying that there reportedly was "no Ordnance mounted" and that according to his informants, "the forts Captaine Smith left a bilding, so ruined, there is scarce mention [of] where they were" (Smith 1986:III:215-218).[129]

In 1629 Captain William Peirce of Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B, who said that he was an ancient planter who had been in Virginia for 20 years, produced a narrative in which he described conditions in the colony. He said:

> *First for the quantity of people, men, women and children, there are to the number of but 4 and 5,000 English, being generally well housed in every plantation; most plantations being well stored with head cattle, as likewise with goats and swine in abundance, and great store of poultry, the land abounding all the year long with deer and wild turkeys and the rivers in winter with many sorts of wildfowle and in summer with great variety of wholesome fish. And the soil is so fertile as by the industry of our people they may raise great crops of corn, both Indian and English, Besides all fruits rootes, and herbes out of England doe wonderfully*

[128] The policy of excluding the Indians from the colonized area was included in treaties with the Natives, later on.

[129] No references to the construction or maintenance of fortifications at Jamestown have come to light in documentary records dating to the 1630s, 40s and 50s.

prosper there. The Colony, under the favor of God and of his Majesty hath bene raised to this height of people and provisions, especially by the meanes of tobacco, wch. also they must subsist for a while, until by degrees they may fall upon more staple commodities, as from salte, fish, hemp for cordage, flaxe for linen, and others. And in touching timber for building ships of all sorts and mastes, I have heard many good masters and shipwrights affirme there cannot be found better in all the worlde. The country affords also great quantity of pine trees for making pitch and tar and so may in short time abound with all materials for building and rigging of ships. For our defense against the Natives every plantation is armed with convenient number of musketeers, to the number of 2,000 shot and upwards, but against a foreign enemy there is no manner of fortification (wch is our greatest want) wee of ourselves not being able to undertake the charge thereof. As for the Natives, Sasapen is the chief over all those people inhabiting upon the rivers next to us, who hath been the prime mover of them, that since the massacre have made war upon us. But now this last summer by his great importunity for himself and the neighboring Indians, he hath obtained a truce for the present from the governor and council of Virginia, being forced to seek it by our continuall incursions upon him and them, by yearly cutting down and spoiling their corn [C.O. 1/5 ff 69-70].

Peirce ended his discussion with the statement that, "This being the Summ of the Present State of things in Virginia."

Acting Governor John Pott (1629 to 1630)

In March 1629, when acting governor Francis West went to England on business, Dr. John Pott's fellow councillors elected him deputy governor. He had been in Virginia for nearly a decade and was at best a controversial figure. Dr. John Pott, as the colony's Physician-General, came to Virginia in 1621 in the *George*, with Sir Francis Wyatt. He was accompanied by wife Elizabeth, two servants and two surgeons. One was Joseph Fitch. Dr. Pott, who was described as an expert in the distillation of waters and was "well practiced in surgery and physics," was sent to replace the late Dr. Lawrence Bohunne (Bohune). The Virginia Company furnished him with a chest of medicines, some medical books and some of the provisions and equipment he needed to become established in the colony. Company records reveal that he received a "chest of physick & surgery" along with a rundlet of small shot and rugs and blankets for his servants. Pott was named a provisional councilor and as physician was entitled to 500 acres of office land and 20 tenants, who were supposed to help him build a house as soon as possible. Unfortunately for Pott, no office land had been laid out for the colony's physician and so he was obliged to rent some houses and acreage on part of the Governor's Land. Demographic records reveal that Pott placed some of his servants on the land he occupied at Jamestown and the rest on his leasehold in the Governor's Land (Meyer et al. 1987:30; Ferrar MS 299, 308, 322; McIlwaine 1924:117; Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:512, 516; III:468, 482, 485, 581; IV:183).

Dr. John Pott, despite his credentials as a physician, was described by Treasurer George Sandys as a "pitiful counselor" and "a cipher." Sandys said that he enjoyed the company of his inferiors, "who hung upon him while his good liquor lasted." Pott seems to have had some serious ethical problems. In 1626, one of his indentured servants, Richard Townsend, sued him because Pott was supposed to teach him the apothecary's art but refused to. Jane Dickinson, a Martin's Hundred widow captured by the Indians during the 1622 uprising and detained, claimed that although Dr. Pott, who redeemed her with some glass beads, kept her in greater slavery than had the Indians had. Some indentured servants got into trouble for killing a calf and dressing it in a house belonging to Dr. Pott, seemingly with his knowledge. During 1624 Pott was described as unfit to hold office because he was largely responsible for a plot to poison a group of Indians. As a result, he was removed from his seat on the council (McIlwaine 1924:3-4, 117;

Kingsbury 1906-1935:II:481; III:565; IV:64, 110, 473; C. O. 1/3 f 94).

In February 1624, when a census was made of the colony's inhabitants, Dr. John Pott headed a household that consisted of his wife, Elizabeth, and six servants, including Jane Dickinson (the widow from Martin's Hundred), and Fortune Taylor (a young maid who came to the colony in 1621) (Hotten 1980:174).[130] In January 1625, the Pott household consisted of Dr. and Mrs. Pott and four servants. Dr. Pott was credited with two houses and a herd of livestock that included cattle, swine and goats. The family had a better-than-average supply of provisions and defensive weaponry and attire (Meyer et al. 1987:30). They occupied a 3 acre lot that abutted south upon the Back Street (Lot D of Study Unit 1 Tract D) that Dr. John Pott patented on August 11, 1624, the parcel upon which his house was situated. On September 10, 1627, Pott obtained a court order that gave him the right to enhance the size of his lot by 9 acres. This gave him a total of 12 acres on the north side of Back Street. He received his new patent on September 20, 1628 (Patent Book 1:61-62; Nugent 1969-1979:I:10). The metes and bounds of Dr. John Pott's 12 acre patent (Lot D) were depicted on measured drawings made by John Underhill in 1664 and John Soane in 1681. On September 20, 1628, Dr. Pott renewed his patent (Patent Book 1:3; Nugent 1969-1979:I:2; Stanard 1965:30; Ambler MS 134, 135-136; McIlwaine 1924:152).

During 1624 and 1625 Dr. John Pott made several appearances in court. He testified in law suits and from time to time was obliged to defend himself from charges made by his neighbors. In 1624 he had to resolve a dispute with Captain William Holmes, from whom he'd agreed to buy three chests of physic and in May 1625 he had to address the allegations of his next-door neighbor, Mrs. Blaney (of Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot C), who claimed that he had killed one of her hogs and refused to share the meat. Pott justified his actions by saying that he had approximately 12 acres of corn, planted and enclosed with a fence, and that his neighbors' hogs had damaged it. During 1624 Dr. Pott was given the opportunity to lease some acreage at the College (in Henrico) for five years, if he so desired, and he tried to resolve a dispute between two people over a house (on Study Unit 3 Tract D) that John Lightfoot had for rent. Pott also testified about Roger Dilke and Thomas Wilson, and a confrontation that occurred between Captain John Harvey and an indentured servant at Harvey's house. He went to court to require one of his own servants to stay a little longer: Randall Holt I, who later married the heiress Mary Bayly, through whom he gained possession of Study Unit 1 Tracts B and K and Hog Island. From time to time, Dr. John Pott treated people who were sick or injured and sometimes he had difficulty collecting what he was owed. In July 1625 he had John Chew (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot I) imprisoned for debt and he went to court to recover corn and tobacco from Richard Peirce, another man who lived in Jamestown. One of the people living in the Pott household during 1628 was William Bennett, who agreed to build a boat for Dr. Pott in exchange for room, board and the materials he needed (McIlwaine 1924:12-13, 25, 36, 39-40, 46, 58, 61, 66, 84, 96-98, 115-116, 128, 158).

Dr. John Pott apparently had problems obtaining (and perhaps retaining) the cattle to which he was entitled as part of his official stipend. During 1626, after the dissolution of the Virginia Company, he was required to procure written proof from Treasurer George Sandys or former Governor Francis Wyatt that he was entitled to all of the cattle in his possession. Afterward, he was told that if he surrendered his office or died, his estate would be accountable for replacing them. In 1630, after Pott had become embroiled in a dispute with Governor John Harvey, he was accused of stealing cattle (McIlwaine 1924:118, 136, 161; Hening 1809-1823:I:145).

While Dr. John Pott was deputy governor, he sent William Claiborne into the Chesapeake on a voyage of exploration and authorized him to trade

[130] Fortune, who was age 18 when she came to Virginia, was from East Summerfield. She arrived aboard the *Marmaduke* in 1621 (Ferrar MS 309).

with the Dutch and other English colonies. He also placed Claiborne in command of the forces sent out against the Indians. Pott appointed local commissioners to try cases involving minor disputes and he tried to strengthen the colony's defenses. Pott gradually began to acquire some additional land, securing 200 acres on Skiffs Creek and some acreage in Harrop, seven miles from Jamestown (McIlwaine 1924:182, 190, 479, 484; C. O. 1/5 ff 203, 210, 234; 1/6 ff 36-37; 1/39 ff 114-115, 117-119; Nugent 1969-1979:I:15; Sainsbury 1964:1:116-118, 133; Stanard 1965:14).

In early October 1629, while Dr. John Pott was acting governor, George Calvert (Lord Baltimore) arrived in Virginia with approximately 40 others whom he had evacuated from Newfoundland. Baltimore, who had abandoned his settlement on account of sickness and the harsh winter weather, on August 19, 1629, had dispatched a letter to the king, asking for the right to seat some land in Virginia, with the same privileges he had enjoyed in Newfoundland (Brown 1885:III:16-17; Cell 1982:287). Lady Baltimore already had come to Virginia. In December 1628 Lord Baltimore asked Sir Dudley Carlton to have the Privy Council send Virginia's governor a letter

> *... in favor of my wife now there, that he would afford her his best assurance upon her return to England ... and for recovery of any debts due unto me in Virginia or for disposing of her servants according to the custom of the countrey if she think fitt to leave any behind her [Cell 1982:287].*

On November 30, 1629, Dr. Pott and his councillors sent word to the Privy Council that in accord with their instructions, they had asked Lord Baltimore and his party to sign the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. As he and some of the others refused to do so on account of "making profession of the Romish Religion" and proposed an alternative oath, Pott asked his superiors to continue the policy of allowing "noe papists ... to settle their abode amongst us" (Browne 1885:III:16-17). While religious prejudice surely played a role in the matter, the potential loss of Virginia territory to a proprietorship probably was more threatening (see ahead). Both were emotionally-charged issues and in March 1631 Thomas Tindall was placed in the pillory at Jamestown for calling Lord Baltimore a liar and threatening to knock him down (McIlwaine 1924:480).

When Sir John Harvey first arrived in the colony as governor, he promptly placed Dr. John Pott under house-arrest at Harrop, for Pott, while deputy-governor, had pardoned a known murderer. Pott was charged with "pardoninge willful murther, markinge other men's cattle for his own, and killinge up their hoggs." However, two months later, Harvey asked the king to pardon Dr. Pott on the grounds that he was "skilled in epidemical diseases." It was during this same period that Dr. John Pott was accused of stealing cattle. Mrs, Elizabeth Pott was steadfastly loyal to her husband and went to England to assert a claim that he was innocent (McIlwaine 1924:182, 190, 479, 484; C. O. 1/5 ff 203, 210, 234; 1/6 ff 36-37; 1/39 ff 114-115, 117-119; Nugent 1969-1979:I:15; Sainsbury 1964:1:116-118, 133; Stanard 1965:14). It seems doubtful that he was.

During the early 1630s Dr. John Pott's relationship with Governor John Harvey continued to deteriorate. According to Harvey proponent Richard Kemp, the physician was angry that Sir John Harvey had removed his brother, Francis, as commander of the fort at Old Point Comfort. Captain Francis Pott was among those who rallied support against Governor John Harvey in York County and in April 1635, when Harvey was arrested by his councillors, Dr. John Pott was one of the prime movers. One issue that placed Governor Harvey and Dr. Pott on opposing sides was the fact that Pott was instrumental in bringing the controversial Anglican clergyman, the Rev. Anthony Panton, to Virginia (C.O. 1/8 ff 166-169; Sainsbury 1964:1:207, 212; McIlwaine 1924:480).

It is uncertain when Dr. John Pott and his wife, Elizabeth, died. Although a 1642 patent suggests that his death occurred in 1632, Richard Kemp's eyewitness account of Governor John Harvey's arrest reveals that the physician was alive in April 1635 and participated in his ouster. His brother, Francis, accompanied the deposed Harvey to En-

gland (Nugent 1969-1979:I:142; C. O. 1/8 ff 166-169). As a microfilm of Kemp's original letter and two transcriptions clearly indicate that it was "doctor" Pott who was highly instrumental in deposing Governor Harvey, the 1642 patent (a copy made in 1683) almost certainly is in error. Dr. John Pott, while governor, failed to issue patents for land on Jamestown Island.

The Harvey Era (1630-1639)

Governor John Harvey (1630-1635)

Harvey as a Head of State

If Dr. John Pott was a controversial head of government, Sir John Harvey was more so. On March 22, 1628, Harvey was designated Governor George Yeardley's successor. He stayed on in England, where he lobbied for more clergy to be sent to the colony and workmen to build fortifications and military equipment to outfit them. He also asked for funds to cover the cost of transporting himself and his retinue to Virginia. Finally, on August 13, 1629, Captain Preen, a mariner, received permission to take him to Virginia in the *Friendship*. He arrived sometime prior to March 21, 1630, at which time he called an assembly meeting, and he informed his superiors that he had had "a long and tedious passage" (Sainsbury 1964:1:88, 92, 99-100, 113). Soon after his arrival, he probably acquired Study Unit 1 Tract H and began making plans to build a personal residence worthy of a governor and titled nobleman. If so, he probably erected Structure 112.[131] He also would have had an opportunity to buy the home lot of the late Sir George Yeardley (Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B), whose will required his Jamestown Island property's sale.

By the time Sir John Harvey was chosen governor, he had gained first-hand knowledge of Virginia and was familiar with the workings of its government. He was the brother of Sir Simon Harvey of London and was a native of Lyme Regis, Dorsetshire, England. As a ships captain, he had spent three years in Guiana, left, and then returned there in 1617 in his ship, the *Southampton*. In November 1620 Harvey received three shares of Virginia Company stock from William Litton, by which means he obtained a bill of adventure that entitled him to land in Virginia. On July 3, 1622, Captain John Harvey's name was included in a list of Virginia Company patentees, who were entitled to select land in the colony (Withington 1980:281-282; Sainsbury 1964:1:18; Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:415; II:73, 463; III:62; IV:210; Parks 1982:450).

In April 1623 Captain John Harvey informed Virginia Company officials that he planned to undertake a fishing voyage to Virginia and was willing to compile information on the status of the colony, if the king so desired. Three months later Harvey received a commission to take passengers and goods to Virginia and orders from the Privy Council to gather information on the king's behalf. When he set sail for Virginia sometime after October 24, 1623, he brought along a lengthy list of queries he and three other commissioners (Samuel Mathews, Abraham Peirsey, and John Pory) were supposed to address. These questions dealt with demographics, relations with the Indians, the colonists' ability to defend themselves, and many other basic issues. The queries required detailed responses that were to be gathered by visiting every plantation in the colony. The February 16, 1624, census is one component of Harvey's and his fellow commissioners' responses to the Privy Council's queries (Kingsbury 1906-1935:II:463; IV:87, 294; Sainsbury 1964:1:53-54; C.O. 5/1354 ff 199-200). As Captain John Harvey left England after October 24, 1623, but procured a patent for his New Towne lot on January 12, 1624, it is likely

[131] During the 1950s when archaeologists conducted excavations at Structure 112, they recovered pieces of ornamental plasterwork, including one item the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment architectural research team has identified as the head of a spotted leopard (Carson et al. 1992:n.p.). This artifact potentially links Sir John Harvey with Structure 112, for at least ten branches of English Harvey families used the spotted leopard in their coats of arms (Burke 1967:462-464; Butters 1983:Plate 97 #5).

that he arrived in Virginia during December 1623 or early January 1624 (Patent Book 1:7). It is uncertain whether he had made previous visits to the colony.

Shortly after Captain John Harvey arrived in Virginia aboard the *Southampton*, he became involved in a dispute with its master, mate and crew that ended up in court. The disagreement seems to have revolved around Harvey's insistence upon staying in Virginia instead of continuing on to New England, to procure a cargo of fish that could be sold profitably in Europe. As Harvey owned the *Southampton*, he insisted he had a right to overrule the ship's officers and crew. They, on the other hand, said that he had signed on as a passenger, not its captain. Ultimately, the *Southampton* went to Canada for fish while Harvey remained behind in Virginia (McIlwaine 1924:13-14; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:459-463, 471-472).

On January 12, 1624, Captain John Harvey patented a 6½ acre waterfront lot in the New Towne (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E), upon which houses already had been built. He received his acreage as "a parte of his first dividend of 50 acres" under the headright system for having transported John Simnell to Virginia in the *Southampton*. Harvey was entitled to take his residual acreage elsewhere, "hee haveing not as yett made choice of any" (Patent Book 1:7; Nugent 1969-1979:I:2).

Harvey's personal correspondence reveals that he was closely aligned with Sir Nathaniel Rich, the Ferrars, Nathaniel Butler, and other "hard-liners" who favored a return to Sir Thomas Smith's leadership style and a military form of government. In time, Harvey's partisanship earned him the animus of those who preferred a more flexible mode of leadership. Some of his detractors termed him "an accomplished liar." Others claimed that he leaned toward popery, a serious charge in an era of religious intolerance (P.R.O. 30/15/2 f 400; Kingsbury 1906-1935:II:388; IV:476, 562). However, Captain John Harvey's eagerness to assist the king and Privy Council eventually paid handsome dividends, for he was knighted and in August 1624 he was named to the Governor's Council. He also was designated acting-Governor George Yeardley's successor, if Yeardley were to die in office. This contingency plan was renewed in March 1626 (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:501, 504; Sainsbury 1964:1:58, 69, 77; C.O. 5/1354 f 248; Stanard 1965:31).

General Court testimony dating to January 31, 1625, suggests that Captain John Harvey was volatile and had an explosive temper. When William Mutch, one of his indentured servants, demanded his freedom dues, Harvey called him an idle knave, threatened him, and then struck him over the head with his truncheon. This event reportedly occurred at Harvey's house in Jamestown, probably on Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E (McIlwaine 1924:46).

There is a considerable amount of evidence that Captain John Harvey had a tendency to let his debts accumulate. In January 1627 when a London merchant's representative demanded immediate payment of a £ 20 bond, the General Court awarded him "the house and land of Capt. Harvey in James Citty" so it could be rented out, which proceeds could be used to retire the debt. The wages Harvey owed to John Barnard for services also were to be paid from those rent monies. The court stipulated that if Harvey (who had commanded a ship in the expedition to Cadiz in November 1625) returned to Virginia and paid his debts, or had another do so, he would regain legal possession of his real estate (McIlwaine 1924:130-131; Parks 1982:450). The only land John Harvey is known to have owned in Virginia at that point in time was Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E.

When Governor John Harvey arrived in Virginia in early spring 1630, he began implementing the instructions he had received from the king. Foremost were orders to produce marketable commodities such as oils, pot-ashes, and soap that were of good quality and could be sold profitably in England. Harvey capitalized upon the colonists' need for manufactured goods by purchasing ironwares from Joshua Foote and Richard Nicholas that could be sold profitably in Virginia. He also persuaded galley-potmaker Christian Whithelme to join him in investing in the manufacture of soap ashes and pot-ashes. Harvey expected to receive all Quarter (or General) Court fines as compensation for his

duties of office. This, in essence, made him dependent upon the will of his councillors, who served as the court's justices and therefore were the ones who imposed fines (Sainsbury 1964:1:88, 92, 94-95, 100, 125; Withington 1980:159; C.O. 1/4 f 84; 1/5 f 71). This inter-dependancy may have been at the root of the problems Harvey had with his council, later on.

Although the General Court's records are fragmentary for the 1630s, portions that survive suggest that corporal punishment was relatively common. In July 1630, while Governor John Harvey was presiding over the General Court, William Mathews, Henry Booth's servant, was found guilty of petty treason. As a result, Mathews was sentenced to be drawn and hanged (McIlwaine 1924:479). It is likely that the sentence was carried out at Jamestown. An unmarried couple found guilty of infanticide was sentenced to be hanged and another woman (Margaret Hatch) received an identical sentence for murdering her child. Councillors who failed to attend court meetings were to pay a fine to the governor. In August 1633 Governor John Harvey traded 500 acres in Archer's Hope for 500 acres "at powhatans swamp near Powhatans tree" (McIlwaine 1924:480). Through this land exchange, Harvey came into possession of the southeastern portion of what a decade later became known as Green Spring plantation.[132] In March 1631 the assembly sent word to England that there was a supply of good iron ore nearby. The possibility exists that the ore deposit was on the property Harvey patented, for in 1679 a branch of Powhatan Creek, within the bounds of Green Spring, was known as the Iron Mine Hill Meadow (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:125; Soane 1679).

Governor John Harvey requested a shipment of powder and ammunition from England and told the Privy Council that the colonists were at war with the Indians. In May 1630 he sent samples of rape seed,[133] salt peter, pot-ashes and iron ore to England as proof that he was carrying out the Privy Council's instructions. He also said that people were planting potatoes and rape seed. He indicated that he intended to see that Chiskiack was planted the following spring and said that he had dispatched two vessels into the Chesapeake to trade for corn. He expressed a desire to build a fort at Old Point Comfort and indicated that the colony then had around 2,500 inhabitants and 1,200 neat cattle, swine and goats. Harvey reported to his superiors that Dr. John Pott, while serving as deputy-governor, had freed a convicted murderer. Therefore Harvey had placed the physician under house-arrest in his dwelling in Harrop and removed him from the Council. A few months later, Harvey changed his mind and sought a pardon for Pott (Sainsbury 1964:I:113, 116-118, 124; C. O. 1/5 ff 176-177, 195, 203-204, 210-211).

Conditions in the Colony

During 1631 and 1632 Governor John Harvey tried diligently to strengthen Virginia's economy. He informed the Privy Council that the colony was in great need of tradesmen such as tanners, brickworkers, carpenters, smiths, shipwrights and leatherworkers. He said that iron ore had been discovered nearby, making it feasible to build an ironworks, and that seven or eight trading vessels had been sent out, including some that had gone to New England. Harvey also indicated that the colonists were in dire need of shoes, which were available only at a greatly inflated rate, and he said that shipbuilding had gotten underway. He said that he had been spending his own time planting English grain and vines. Later, he reported that he had sent home great quantities of salt peter and pot-ashes (McIlwaine 1924:484; 1905-1915:1619-1660:124-125; C.O. 1/6 ff 135-136). It was during 1632 that a law was passed requiring all in-

[132] During the late 1630s, Harvey fell into serious financial difficulties and in 1640 the General Court ordered him to sell his property in order to pay his debts (McIlwaine 1924:497). If Harvey still had his Green Spring property, he would have been obliged to dispose of it.

[133] Rape, a Eurasian plant (*Brassica napus*), was cultivated for its seed, which produces a useful oil. Rape also could be used as fodder for livestock.

coming vessels to "break bulk" or open their cargoes at Jamestown (Hening 1809-1823:I:166). Throughout the late 1620s and early-to-mid-1630s Governor John Harvey probably used his waterfront lot to import and export commodities and to undertake industrial and craft activities.

By 1631 Governor John Harvey and his Council had begun having serious disagreements. On May 27, 1632, Harvey told his superiors that he lived very poorly. He said that he had been in Virginia for three years without compensation to cover his great expenses.[134] He added that he "may be as well called the host as governor of Virginia, all the country affairs being presented at my house in James Island (probably Structure 112) where is no other hospitalitie" (C. O. 1/6 ff 135-136). Historical evidence suggests that it was his own fault, for instead of constructing a public building to serve as the colony's capitol or statehouse, as he had been encouraged to do, he chose to have the governing bodies meet in his own home.

Dutch trader David DeVries, who in mid-March 1633 was a houseguest of Harvey's, later spoke of the governor's welcoming him to his home, where he had shared a meal with several other visitors.[135] DeVries said that on March 11th, when he arrived at Jamestown, "the governor stood upon the beach with some halberdiers and musketeers to welcome us. On my setting foot upon the land he came up to me and bid me heartily welcome." Afterward, "He then proceeded with me to his house, where he bid me welcome with a Venice glass of sack" and showed him a map of Delaware Bay. DeVries said that he "remained to sup with the governor and he insisted on my staying the night at his house." On March 18th, when DeVries prepared to leave Jamestown, Governor Harvey "sent half a dozen goats on board to take with us, which he made a present to our governor" (Sainsbury 1964:1:129, 133, 138, 151, 160; C.O. 1/6 ff 135, 195; Devries 1857:34-35).

Despite Governor John Harvey's cordial treatment of David DeVries, his prickly personality and political leanings eventually led to his downfall, for his own council turned him out of office. One divisive issue was Harvey's fierce loyalty to the king, which sometimes led him to endorse policies that undermined the colony's interests. For example, the councillors were highly critical of Harvey's willingness to assist Lord Baltimore (a Catholic) in colonizing Maryland, territory many Virginians considered theirs, and they were uneasy about the king's offering Henry Lord Maltravers a vast amount of land on the lower side of the James River that included Nansemond and Norfolk Counties and part of Carolina. In 1634 when Thomas Yonge paused at Jamestown while on his way to St. Mary's City, he stayed in the home of Governor Harvey. Yonge said that all but two of Harvey's councillors opposed him and that his proponents were relatively weak. Captain Samuel Mathews led the faction opposing Harvey, whereas Mathews' brother-in-law (the son of councillor Sir Thomas Hinton) aspired (and perhaps conspired) to replace Harvey as governor. Yonge cited Governor John Harvey's numerous accomplishments, such as fortifying Old Point Comfort and building a palisade across the peninsula, and he said that settlement in Virginia had been greatly strengthened, thanks to Harvey's efforts. Yonge said that Harvey wanted to search for a silver mine that reportedly was at the head of the James. He added that he supported Harvey's contention that he was the colony's unofficial host (Aspinall et al. 1871:102, 107-108; Sainsbury 1964:1:282). He said that Harvey's was the only house to stay in at Jamestown,

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[134] On the other hand, as Harvey was supposed to receive all Quarter (or General) Court fines as compensation for his duties of office, if his councillors (the court's justices) were annoyed with him, they could reduce the governor's earnings by handing down punishments other than fines or ordering wrongdoers to pay paltry sums.

[135] DeVries said that Virginia was unhealthy during the months of June, July and August and "that their people who have then lately arrived from England die during those months like cats and dogs, whence they call it the sickly season. When they have this sickness they want to sleep all the time but they must be prevented from sleeping by force, as they die if they go to sleep" (Devries 1857:53).

... wherein he is continually at excessive charges in his housekeeping, as well in entertayning the whole councell and their retinewes, which are not small, at all times, whensoever any occasions either of the King's or the Countrye's service requires. Their attendance, and that sometimes for a weeke or a fortnight, nay, sometimes for a month altogether, which meetings grow dayly more and more frequent, as the Colony increases in number and so consequently in businesse both for the State & Country; this house also is the rendezvous of all sorts of strangers, who have any occasion of resort thither upon any businesse, whatsoever insomuch as the Governor's is, as it were, a generall harbor for all comers, which is of incredible charge to him, who by reason of these extraordinary charges and the want of that pension from England, exhausts & lessens his owne private stores; insomuch as he is now inforced to kill even his owne draught oxen for the supply of his house [Aspinall et al. 1871:112-113].

Thomas Yonge closed by saying that Governor Harvey was in dire need of financial relief, for his household expenses "cannot be lesse than one thousand pounds p. annum and his revenues small, little, or nothing" (Aspinall et al. 1871:113).

A summer-long drought during 1632 withered the corn crop and forced the colonists to initiate trade with the Indians.[136] A peace treaty was made with the Pamunkey and the Chickahominy Indians in October 1632, although they were were considered "Irreconcilable enemies." The relentless encroachment of European settlement, which spread inland at a relatively rapid rate, undoubtedly increased tensions. In early 1633 a palisade was built across the James-York peninsula, cordoning off a large area for the exclusive use of the colonists and their livestock. Shortly thereafter, a small settlement sprang up midway between the heads of College and Queens Creeks. It became known as the Middle Plantation, later the site of Williamsburg. The palisade at Middle Plantation was rebuilt during the mid-1640s (McIlwaine 1924:147, 151, 155, 172, 184, 189-190, 198, 484; Hening 1809-1823:I: 208-209; Nugent 1969-1979:I:22, 89, 91, 94, 143, 160-161).

Administering Justice

In 1631 and 1632 some important decisions were made about how the judiciary would function. Intentional or not, they were steps along the path to establishing a system of local government. In October 1631 it was decided that court sessions would be held at Jamestown every two weeks, with the first session of each month beginning on the second Monday. At least one councillor had to be present whenever the local court was in session. The General Court was to meet quarterly in March, June, September and December, on the first day of each month, Sundays excepted. It was to serve as the appellate body for the local courts held on certain plantations. To facilitate the settling of estates, the provost and one other man were supposed to conduct appraisals of the decedent's belongings. They were to receive a 10 percent fee in compensation for their services. Each summer the colony's clergy were supposed to bring their parish registers to Jamestown and present them to the General Court (McIlwaine 1924:480; Hening 1809-1823:I:169, 174, 180, 186-187, 552).

The Establishment of County Government

In 1634 the colony was subdivided into eight shires or counties, each of which had a court.[137] At that juncture, local justices began handling some of the routine matters that previously had overloaded the General Court's docket. Jamestown not only was the colony's capital, it also was the seat of James City County's newly formed government. Local justices usually convened in the same room the General Court used for its quarterly meetings.

[136] Evidence of this lengthy dry spell is apparent in the tree-ring study undertaken at the University of Arkansas (Stahle et al. 1998:566).

[137] They were James City, Charles City, Henrico, Charles River (York), Elizabeth City, Warresqueak (Isle of Wight), Warwick River, and Accomac (Hening 1809-1823:I:224).

Therefore, they may have met at Governor Harvey's house. The man who served as clerk of the General Court traditionally was James City County's clerk of court, although both bodies' records were maintained separately. Likewise, the House of Burgesses' sergeant-at-arms usually was the James City County sheriff. At Jamestown, the General Court shared a jail, pillory, whipping post, stocks and ducking stool with the county court. A gallows near Pitch and Tar Swamp stood silently by, as a grim reminder to potential lawbreakers.[138] The election of local burgesses took place at the county seat, which was at the hub of local life and served as the nerve center of official communications. From 1619 through 1778, Jamestown had its own burgess in the colony's assembly, apart from those who represented James City County (Craven 1970:169-170; McCartney 1997:576-580).

In 1634, when Governor John Harvey appointed the first group of county court justices, he chose men already involved in public life. Little heed was paid to "conflict of interest," for most high-ranking officials held more than one political office at a time and many of Virginia's ruling families were related by blood or marriage. A county justice might serve as a burgess, a member of the governor's council, a tobacco inspector and a military leader. By monopolizing political power, such men typically were able to enhance their personal wealth and secure their family's position in society. For example, George Menefie of Jamestown, simultaneously was a member of the Council of State, a burgess and James City's official merchant. He became immensely wealthy and patented vast amounts of land. By 1652 county courts had jurisdiction over most local affairs (Craven 1970:166-170; Billings 1975:43-44; 1974:228-233; Hening 1809-1823:I:223-224, 287, 290-291, 301-303, 319; McIlwaine 1924:481, 492).[139]

Strengthening the Colony's Capital

During the 1630s extensive efforts were made to improve the colony's capital.[140] In March 1631 Governor John Harvey and his council informed British officials that tradesmen (such as shipwrights, smiths, carpenters, tanners, and other skilled workers, especially those who made and laid brick) were urgently needed. Harvey practiced what he preached, for with the aid of overseas investors, he became involved in the production of pot ashes, soap ashes, rape seed, pottery, medicinals, and other commodities (C. O. 1/6 ff 135-136). Archaeological evidence of his interest in manufacturing has been discovered on two pieces of property he owned on Jamestown Island, Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E and Study Unit 1 Tract H. Governor Harvey also was in possession of Glasshouse Point, just across the isthmus from the entrance to Jamestown Island. As far as it can be ascertained, during Sir John Harvey's first years in office (1630-1635), he issued no patents for land on Jamestown Island.

In 1633 there were five tobacco inspection warehouses in the colony. The warehouse at Jamestown served planters within a vast territory

[138] A 1644 patent to Richard Brooks (a lot within Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D) makes reference to a parcel of land abutting north upon the Doctors Swamp and south upon the Gallows Swamp (Patent Book 2:11). As Dr. John Pott's lot (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D) spanned a branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp, it may have been known as Doctors Swamp. If so, Gallows Swamp probably was the branch that adjoined it to the southeast. Hanging appears to have been a favored mode of execution (McIlwaine 1924:353).

[139] According to an act passed in 1634, the colony's secretary was supposed to handle certain official duties whenever the governor was absent. These included signing official communications and passes and dealings with the Indians. The secretary or his deputy was supposed to be in his office from 8 A.M. to 10 A.M. and 2 P.M. to 4 P. M. daily, except Sundays and holidays (Hening 1809-1823:I:223). This would have required his almost continuous presence in Jamestown. Patents and deeds were recorded and maintained in the secretary's office.

[140] The location of Jamestown's tobacco inspection warehouse is uncertain. It may have been located upon public property, perhaps near the church.

that stretched from Lawnes Creek to Weyanoke Point. As one or more tobacco inspectors per warehouse had to be members of the governor's council and local residents, William Peirce (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B) and Richard Stephens (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot H) of the New Towne probably served as inspectors in Jamestown's warehouse. The official storekeeper was supposed to keep good scales and accurate weights for the weighing of tobacco; inspectors were to receive a 1 percent fee for maintaining their accounts. The tobacco of each crop year was supposed to be brought to Jamestown by December 1 (Hening 1809-1823:I:205, 210-211, 221).[141]

All incoming ships had to land first at Jamestown, where all transactions involving tobacco had to be conducted. Ships' officers were to provide lists of the goods they were bringing in, which were to be presented to officials at Jamestown. All incoming goods (except a ship's passengers' belongings) had to be off-loaded at Jamestown. Imported goods and merchandise were bartered and sold there with the obligatory involvement of the community's merchants and storekeepers. This policy was extremely unpopular with mariners, who filed an official protest in England. Their objections appear to have had little effect. During the 1630s commerce was brisk between the colonists of Virginia and the Dutch in New Amsterdam (New York). David DeVries remarked that "He who wishes to trade here [in Virginia] must keep a house here and continue all the year, that he may be prepared when the tobacco comes from the field, to seize it" (Hening 1809-1823:I:163, 191, 205-206, 210-211, 213; C.O. 1/6 ff 187-188; Sainsbury 1964:1:158, 287-288; Jameson 1967:195-196).

[141] Earlier, Menefie had been hesitant to confront Harvey, for he felt that "it was not fitt to deale so wth his Maties substitute." Menefie was troubled by the events that had transpired and according to John Zouch II, went "to the back river where hee debated wth himselfe, desiringe of God to confirme his resolucon or abolish it." Finally, "hee came, resolved as the rest" (Neill 1996:119).

Governor Harvey's Plans Gone Awry

In February 1634 Governor Harvey sent word to the Privy Council that a customs house was needed badly in Virginia and that the colony lacked the arms and ammunition that were critical to its defense. He said that 1,200 new immigrants had arrived in Virginia and that he planned to take a muster of the population. He added that there was an abundance of livestock and corn was so plentiful that 5,000 bushels had been sent to New England. In mid-July Governor Harvey dispatched a letter to his superiors, again describing what he considered his most important accomplishments, such as strengthening the colony's defenses and improving agricultural productivity. He claimed that Virginia had become the granary of the English colonies. He mentioned the shortage of ammunition and said that he was having great problems with his Council members, who opposed his supporting Lord Baltimore in the controversy over Kent Island. In early April 1635 Harvey informed the Privy Council that his life was in danger and that some of his opponents had rallied support against him in nearby York County (Sainsbury 1964:1:175, 184, 189, 190-191, 207; C.O. 1/8 ff 166-169).

Matters came to a head on April 28, 1635, when Governor John Harvey was thrust from office and Captain John West (a councillor) was made acting governor. According to contemporary accounts, during a council meeting at Harvey's house, he angrily confronted merchant George Menefie, whom he accused of treason.[142] According to John

[142] Secretary Richard Kemp, in a May 17, 1635, letter to the Lords Commissioners for Plantations, said Dr. John Pott was "the incendiary of these broils." He said that after the Council confronted Harvey, "doctor Potts held up his hands which a second man who stood by a neer adjoyning pale tooke as a signall, when straight about 40 musketeers marched up to the door of the Governors house, and a fellow was seen going by with a burden of Muskets, who being rebuked by another for carrying them soe neere the Governors house for discrying, made answere, tis no matter, he shall know we have armes." In a July 1635 letter Harvey said that 50 musketeers had "beset him in his own

Zouch II, a nobleman's son, as soon as Harvey struck Menefie upon the shoulder, "Captain John Uty took him [Harvey] by the middle and arrested him in his Majesty's name." At that point, Harvey, "looking pale, as did Kempe," refused to leave the house "till he saw no resistance," for 40 musketeers under the command of Dr. John Pott were standing by, ready to block an escape attempt. The Council then prepared a petition outlining the charges against Harvey and they released Francis Pott and others whom Harvey had placed under arrest. While awaiting transportation to England, the deposed Governor Harvey was detained at Littletown (later known as Rich Neck), George Menefie's country home near Middle Plantation. On May 17, 1635, a ship bearing Sir John Harvey and some of his accusers set sail from Old Point Comfort (McIlwaine 1924:481; Sainsbury 1964:1:207, 212; C.O. 1/8 ff 166-167; 1/32 f 7; Hening 1809-1823:I:223; Neill 1996:118-120; Aspinall 1871:150; Devries 1857:74).[143]

As soon as Sir John Harvey reached England, he had Francis Pott and Thomas Harwood (the two men who brought him there) arrested and then began formulating his own defense. He alleged that his own Council had conspired against him and that Sir John Wolstenholme and others in England, who favored reviving the defunct Virginia Company, had contributed to the mutiny against him. He said that he had alienated Dr. John Pott by replacing his brother, Francis, as captain of the fort at Old Point Comfort, and that Samuel Mathews, John Uty, William Claiborne, and Thomas Harwood were insurgents. He claimed that when he had implemented the king's orders with regard to Lord Baltimore, the Council had turned against him. Samuel Mathews, on the other hand, wrote a letter in which he was highly critical of Harvey. He claimed that the councillors had had Harvey surrounded with armed men for his own protection, not to restrain him. He spoke of Harvey's fits of rage and his threatening to invoke martial law, under which precepts he could try his opponents without the benefit of a jury. Harvey reportedly jailed Mathews' father-in-law, Sir Thomas Hinton; struck Captain Richard Stephens in the mouth; seized some councillors' private property; and had other gentlemen arrested and clapped into irons. Mathews claimed that Harvey denied his opponents justice and had traded with the Dutch, contrary to law. He also said that Harvey favored Catholicism and was a philanderer (C.O. 1/8 f 170ro). Harvey, on the other hand, informed the Secretary of the Privy Council that his council was so strongly opposed to helping Lord Baltimore's colony that "They would rather knock their cattle in the heads than sell them to Maryland." He said that Samuel Mathews was so angry that, "Scratching his head and in a fury stamping [he] cried a pox upon Maryland" (Sainsbury 1964:1:193).

Acting Governor John West (1635-1637)

In May 1635, when Governor John Harvey was thrust from office, Captain John West (as senior councillor and president) was elected as a temporary replacement. West, who was born on December 14, 1590, in Hampshire, England, and attended Oxford's Magdalen College, was the son of Thomas West (the second Lord Delaware) and his wife, Anne Knollys. He also was the brother of Francis West, who served as acting governor from November 1627 until March 1629, after Sir George Yeardley's demise. John West was an investor in the Virginia Company and in 1618 when he arrived to the colony, he became actively involved in the military. After the March 1622 Indian uprising, he led a company of men on a retaliatory raid against

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(cont'd from previous page)
house, where with Secretary Kemp he expected a meeting of the council" (Sainsbury 1964:1:207, 212).

[143] Elizabeth was then in possession of Boldrup, in Warwick County, near Blunt Point, which she had inherited from her parents, Abraham and Elizabeth Peirsey. Harvey alleged that Samuel Mathews of Denbigh, who had married Elizabeth's step-mother, Frances, had impinged upon the rights of the Peirsey heirs: Harvey's wife and her sister, Mary, who was then married to Thomas Hill (Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot A), a Harvey favorite (Stanard 1903-1904:171-182).

the Tanx Powhatan. As a councillor, in January 1627 he was assigned one Virginia Company tenant. In 1628 he commenced serving as a burgess for the plantations on the lower side of the James River. In 1630 when a decision was made to extend settlement northward to Chiskiack, Colonel John West was among the first to patent land there. His York River plantation, seated by 1632, eventually became the Digges' ancestral home, Bellfield. In 1631 he was named to the Governor's Council and held office until 1659. In 1634 he became a justice of York County.

While acting governor, John West held a council meeting at Littletown, George Menefie's home, and reportedly complained about influential merchants in England. After Governor John Harvey was reinstated, he had John West arrested on a charge of mutiny. In August 1640 West was taken to England, where he was detained until he could stand trial. In his absence, Governor Harvey seized his property. As soon as West was released on bail, he asked for the return of his goods, which had been confiscated. When John West reached to Virginia, his property was restored to him and he was designated muster-master. In 1652 he received a patent for some land in the fork of the York River, a 3,000 acre tract that gave rise to the town of West Point (originally Delaware Town). John West died in the colony in 1659 (Stanard 1965:15, 32; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:9; Withington 1980:52; Sainsbury 1964:1:207-208, 217, 231, 252, 314,321; Raimo 1980:471-472; Brown 1890:1047; McIlwaine 1924:136-137, 481, 491; P.C. 2/50 f 572; C.O. 1/8 f 166; 1/9 ff 13, 132-134; 1/10 f 190; Meyer et al. 1987:656-657).

Governor John Harvey (1637-1639)

Despite the seriousness of the allegations against Sir John Harvey, on December 11, 1635, the Privy Council reinstated him as governor, for it was thought more important to uphold the king's authority than to acquiesce to popular pressure (Sainsbury 1964:1:208, 212, 216; C.O. 1/8 f 170ro). Governor John Harvey spent much of 1636 preparing for his return to the colony. After his formal reinstatement on April 2, 1636, he asked the king for a ship to take him to Virginia. He was given an older, leaky vessel with an exceptionally big crew, which prevented his transporting to Virginia a large group of passengers and a substantial quantity of supplies. After the ship set sail from Portsmouth, it was obliged to return to port because it was unseaworthy. The delay was lengthy and it was costly for Harvey, who was liable for the seamen's wages for the abortive trip. Finally, in October 1636 Harvey boarded the vessel that transported him to Virginia. He arrived in Elizabeth City on January 18, 1637, and promptly had his new commission read (Sainsbury 1964:1:221, 231-233, 236, 238-242; C.O. 1/9 ff 15ro, 64ro-77; Neill 1996:133).

Within four days of his arrival in Virginia, Governor John Harvey thoroughly alienated his council by giving Henry Lord Maltravers (the Duke of Norfolk's son and a favorite of the king) a patent for a vast expanse of land that included Nansemond and Norfolk Counties and parts of Isle of Wight County and Carolina. Again, Harvey's councillors criticized him harshly, although he was merely implementing the explicit instructions he had received from the king (C. O. 5/1359 ff 383-388; Sainsbury 1964:1:153). On the other hand, it is understandable that the development of a vast, independent proprietorship on the south side of the James River would have upset the councillors. It not only threatened to reduce Virginia's tax revenues and political influence, it also would have deprived land-hungry Virginians of the opportunity to expand into new territory.

Governor John Harvey lost no time in taking revenge upon those who had ousted him from office. He had George Menefie, Samuel Mathews, John West, William Peirce, and Francis Pott arrested and sent to England as prisoners, alleging that they had usurped the king's authority. He also confiscated their goods. He seized the stipendiary tobacco paid to one of his most vocal critics, the Rev. Anthony Panton of York County, and had Panton expelled from his pulpit and the colony. Several months later, Harvey was ordered to re-

turn the personal property he had taken from his councillors and Panton. In 1638 Governor John Harvey married the widowed Elizabeth Peirsey Stephens, whose husband's teeth he had dislodged during a 1635 Council meeting (Sainsbury 1964:1:252, 281; Meyer et al. 1987:481; C.O. 1/9 f 134; 1/10 f 190; Neill 1996:135).[144]

Urbanization and Planned Development

Governor Harvey and his council convened in late January 1637 and on February 20th the assembly passed an act intended to strengthen Jamestown as the capital city. Specifically, "all undertakers to build upon Jamestown Island [were to] be encouraged by a convenient portion of ground for housing and a garden plot." The same law was reaffirmed on March 2, 1642, after Governor William Berkeley took office. As a result of the 1637 legislation, at least nine individuals patented lots in urban Jamestown. These rectangular-shaped properties, which were located within Study Units 1 and 4, ranged in size from 0.15 acre to 1 acre. Those who acquired them were obliged to develop them or risk forfeiture. Three of the lots (Study Unit 1 Tract F Lots A and B and Tract D Lot A) were aligned in a row along the north side of Back Street. They belonged to merchant Thomas Hill, secretary Richard Kemp, and Richard Tree (Figure 14). Two others, Study Unit 1 Tract E Lots F and J, were located in the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, near the isthmus that led to the mainland (Figure 15).[145] They were in the possession of bricklayer Alexander Stomer and merchant Thomas Stegg I. The other four lots (Study Unit 4 Tracts B, D, F and Y), which abutted the James River, were acquired by men who were merchants and/or mariners: Arthur Bayly, William Parry, Derrick and Arent Corsten Stam, and William Barker (Figure 16). One tract (Study Unit 2 Tract P) in the eastern end of the island (a 12 acre plot that belonged to John Baldwin) changed hands while Harvey was in office (Patent Book 1:423, 587-588, 598, 603, 622). It is certain that by January 1639 Secretary Richard Kemp had developed his lot (Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B, which contains Structure 44) and it is probable that some of the

[144] In England, a statute enacted in Queen Elizabeth's time was reinstated. Everyone who built a cottage within 20 miles of London was to lay out 4 acres around it, or face a stiff fine (Pory 1977:216).

[145] Much of that area has been lost to erosion.

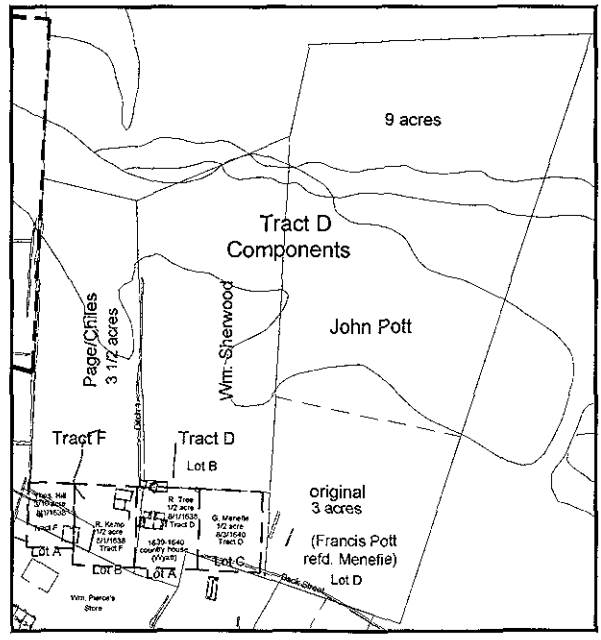


Figure 14. *Study Unit 1 Tract F and part of Tract D.*

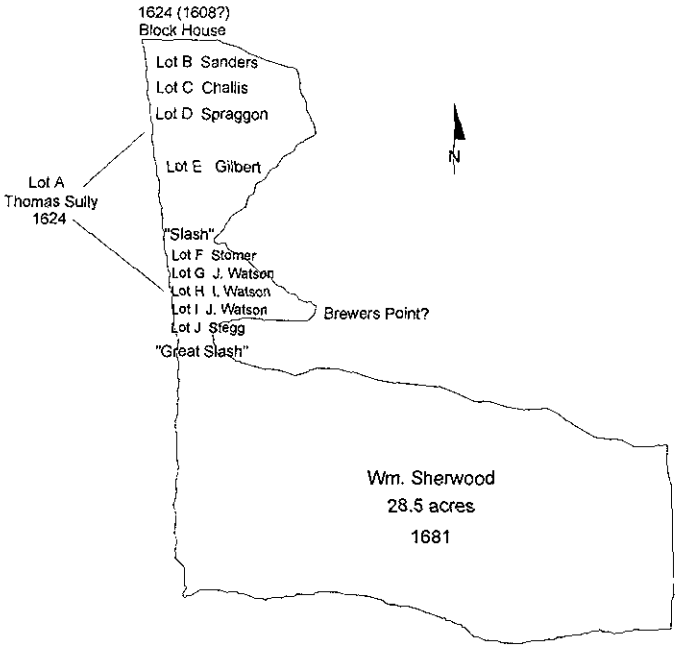


Figure 15. *Study Unit 1 Tract E.*

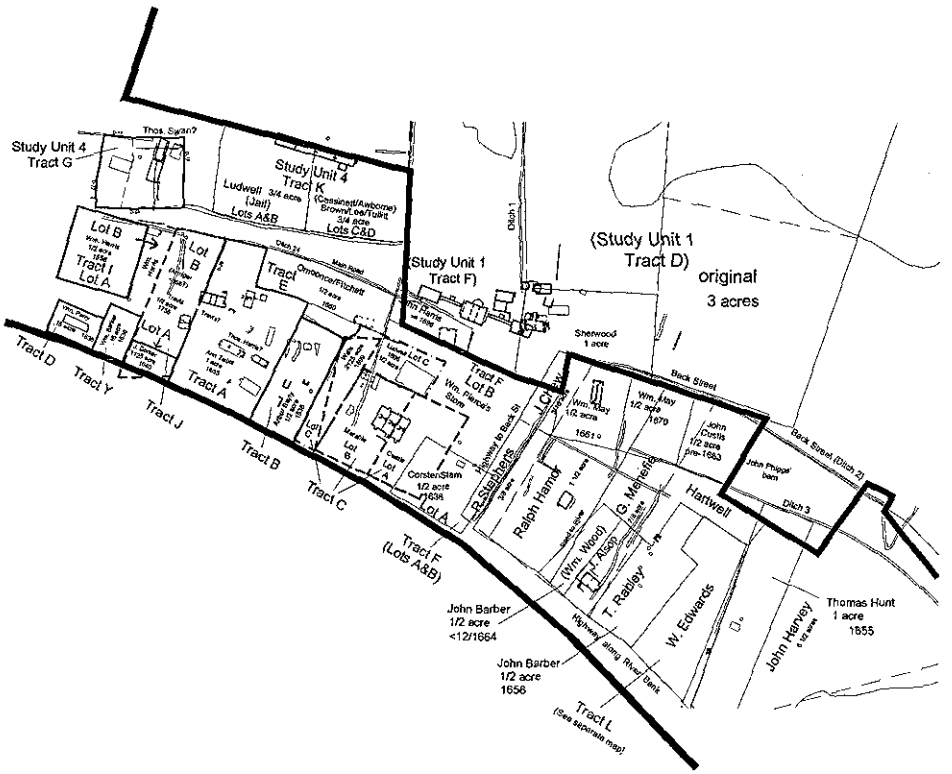


Figure 16. *Study Unit 4 with part of Study Unit 1.*

other patentees (especially the merchants and/or mariners with waterfront property) did, too.

In January 1638 Harvey informed the Privy Council that he hoped each county would build its own storehouse where tobacco could be inspected and kept. The assembly also supported the concept of inspecting tobacco in order to regulate its quality. Six months later, George Sandys and several others told the Privy Council that at Jamestown "the public storehouse is gone to decay." Therefore, Governor Harvey was told to "deal with some private persons to build others" and plans were made to re-enact legislation that provided for "laying out of grounds for merchants, handicraftsmen and tradesmen" in Jamestown Island "whereby the Towne may be peopled—notwithstanding any former rights or interests in the land provided they will build upon the Land or else forfeit to others who will" (Sainsbury 1964:1:268-269).[146] It may have been around 1637-1638 that Elizabeth City County merchant William Parry erected a warehouse (Structure 26) upon his lot, Study Unit 4 Tract D, or that Structure 163 (tentatively identified as a warehouse) was built upon Study Unit 4 Tract X, perhaps by Robert Sheppard in cooperation with merchant John White I of Study Unit 4 Tract H. Many planters complained about Jamestown's being designated the colony's sole port of entry, for they found the location inconvenient and claimed that food and entertainment in the capital city were expensive. Plans were made to build a fort at Old Point Comfort (Sainsbury 1964:1:273, 287-288; C. O. 1/9 ff 98, 291).

On January 18, 1639, Governor Harvey responded to a list of queries he received from the king and described the plans he had put in motion. He said that, "Wee have Largely contributed to the building of a brick church" at Jamestown and that a levy was being raised "for the building of a State howse at James Cittie." He added that since receiving the king's orders to improve the capital city, "there are 12 howses and stores built in the Towne, [including] one of brick by the Secretarye [Richard Kemp], the fairest that ever was knowen in this countrye for substance and uniformitye [Structure 44], by whose example others have undertaken to build framed howses to beautifye the place." Harvey said that the storehouses already built would accommodate "far more goods than have been sent this year" and that "There was not one foote of ground for half a mile altogether by the rivers side in Jamestown but was taken up and undertaken to be built on" before orders were received to develop a town. He added that only by restricting trade to one place would merchants and tradesmen be encouraged to live together in an urban setting (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:126; C.O. 1/2 ff 242ro, 291; Sainsbury 1964:I:287-288).

Governor John Harvey sought a stipend for Richard Kemp, one of his most loyal supporters. Another was George Reade, who lived at Harvey's house from 1637 through at least 1639 and was the brother of Robert Reade, secretary to Privy Council Secretary, Sir Francis Windebank.[147]

[146] This text, which dates to April 1638, is entitled "a Review of the Old Acts of Assembly and Abstracts of Previous Laws Which Are Believed by the Governor and Council Fitt To Be Enacted." Thus, such a law had existed earlier on. Neither the 1638 version nor its predecessor was in existence when W. W. Hening summarized Virginia's colonial laws, nor does it seem that the 1638 laws subsequently have come to light.

[147] George Reade was the son of Robert and Mildred Windebank Reade of England. He came to Virginia with the reinstated Governor John Harvey, arriving in January 1637, and he resided in Harvey's dwelling at Jamestown. George greatly appreciated the assistance he obtained from Governor Harvey and Secretary Richard Kemp and in February 1638 he informed his brother, Robert Reade, that he wouldn't have survived without their numerous favors. George asked Robert to send him some money and servants. He added that Jerome Hawley had promised to provide him with servants, but hadn't. In April 1640 George asked his brother to send him two men completely outfitted for life in the colony. After Sir John Harvey was removed from office, George Reade told his brother that he would have no friends after Richard Kemp's departure. He asked Robert to do what he could to see that he (George) was made Secretary of the Colony, in the event that Kemp left. Robert Reade

Harvey told his superiors that many colonists disliked the idea of limiting trade to Jamestown, which he considered a necessity if the capital was to be urbanized. They, in turn, insisted that it was inconvenient to commute to Jamestown, where the already costly food and entertainment were likely to increase in price. In rebuttal, Harvey pointed out that only goods being imported into Virginia had to be unloaded first at Jamestown and that outbound cargo could be put aboard vessels elsewhere in the colony. Harvey sent a parcel of silk to the king, a commodity produced on the York County plantation of Edward Digges (Sainsbury 1964:1:245, 260, 262-264, 266, 288, 302; C. O. 1/9 ff 97, 188, 198, 202, 209; 1/10 ff 8-14).

Harvey's Problems Accumulate

Governor John Harvey alienated councillor Ambrose Harmer (Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot A) in 1638 by interfering with his plans to take custody of orphan Benomi Buck's inheritance. In 1637 when Benomi (who was mentally retarded) turned 21, Harmer sought—and received—the Court of Wards and Leveries' permission to continue serving as his guardian. But on July 25, 1638, when Harvey received a copy of the court order, he refused to implement it, for he insisted that as governor he had the right to appoint custodians. Harmer went to England, where he filed a formal protest against Harvey's actions. The Court's justices responded by ordering Governor Harvey to comply with its decision and to explain his actions. On May 20, 1639, he sent word to the Court that he had entrusted Benomi Buck and his estate to Secretary Richard Kemp, and had planned to let him and councillor George Donne share custody. Harvey said that he had questioned the intentions of Ambrose Harmer and his wife, Jane, the widow of former guardian Richard Kingsmill (Study Unit 1 Tract A), who reportedly had enriched himself from the Buck estate. By the time Ambrose Harmer returned from England, Benomi Buck was dead and the issue of guardianship was moot (C. O. 1/10 ff 65-66; Sainsbury 1964:1:294). Also, on January 8, 1639, Sir Francis Wyatt had been designated Governor John Harvey's successor (Stanard 1904:55-57; Sainsbury 1964:1:286).

By August 1639 Sir John Harvey had entered a period of decline. His problems were manifold, for he was physically ill, deeply in debt, and almost devoid of political power (P. C. 2/50 f 572). On April 17, 1640, after Sir Francis Wyatt had arrived and taken over as governor, the General Court ordered Harvey to appoint an agent to dispose of his real and personal property so that his creditors could be paid. The court decided that "his dwelling house at James City with the house adjoining and all the edifices thereunto belonging within the pale and of his orchard is to be sold, he enjoying the premises during life." He also had life-rights in a parcel of land near, adjacent, lately belonging to Sir George Yeardley," Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B. Thus, although Harvey retained life-rights in both parcels, the reversionary interest in each was to be sold to the highest bidder (McIlwaine 1924:496-497). All of Harvey's personal estate was to be disposed of

> *... at the best advantage for the payment of debts as aforesaid, reserving for the subsistence of the said Sir John eight cows which*

(cont'd from previous page)
apparently followed through, for on August 27, 1640, George was appointed Secretary of the Colony. Shortly thereafter, he married Elizabeth, Nicholas Martiau's daughter. When Richard Kemp made his will in 1649, he asked his executors to grant George Reade 50 acres in the Barren Neck where he then lived. In 1648 George became clerk of the council and in 1658 he was made a councillor. He was a burgess for James City in 1649 and for York in 1656. In September 1670, when George Reade made his will. a document that was presented for probate in November 1671, he left his home tract in York County (part of which became Yorktown) to his eldest sons George II and Robert, with reversionary rights to sons Francis and Benjamin. However, the late George Reade's wife, Elizabeth, had life-rights in the property (C.O. 1/9 ff 188ro, 209ro-210vo; 1/10 f 176; Sainsbury 1964:1:264, 309, 311, 314; Meyer et al. 1987:419-421; McIlwaine 1924:473; Hening 1809-1823:I:358-359; Withington 1980:323; McGhan 1993:775; Coldham 1980:34).

he is to enjoy during life, with all the increase to him and his assigns forever, he making good the principal stock as also that he shall have and enjoy for the consideration aforesaid all the increase which have or shall fall this year for the whole stock, according to the inventory, as also four breeding sows forever, as also the furniture of the dwelling house during his abode in the country, and in case of his departure for England that he shall have and enjoy such furniture for his accommodation as shall be thought fit by the court [C. O. 1/10 ff 160-161].

Later, Richard Kemp, who remained steadfastly loyal to Harvey, wrote Sir Francis Windebank that Sir John's estate had been sequestered and that those of the "old commission" were being persecuted. Harvey himself told Windebank that he had been denied passage to England and he asked for a mandate to return. He also said that he was being closely watched, had been mistreated, and that Governor Wyatt had seized his estate. Harvey's houseguest, George Reade, informed his brother that Sir John was in dire straits and would have little left after his estate was sold (C. O. 1/10 ff 160-161, 176-179; Sainsbury 1964:1:310).

At the May 6, 1640, session of the General Court, Sir John Harvey designated George Ludlow to act as agent for "his estate in James city or elsewhere in Virginia." Sir John Harvey's financial plight worsened, for in June and July he was ordered to return the Rev. Anthony Panton's personal estate and salary, part of which tobacco he already had used to pay the local sheriff. Therefore, Panton was added to the list of Harvey's creditors to be satisfied out of the proceeds of his estate. Those to whom Sir John Harvey was indebted were ordered to present their claims to the General Court on June 5, 1641. Nineteenth century historian Conway Robinson noted that this distribution date was set "soon after the principal sale by Ludlow" (McIlwaine 1924:496-497).

On April 7, 1641, the Virginia government purchased Sir John Harvey's home lot, which included "all that capital, messuage or tenement now used for a court house late in the tenure of Sir John Harvey Knt, situate and being within James City island in Virginia with the old house and granary, garden and orchard, as also one piece or plot of ground lying and being on the west side of the said capital and messuage as the same is now enclosed" (Structure 112 on Study Unit 1 Tract H). Harvey's 24 acre Glasshouse tract also was sold, as was his plantation on Wormeley Creek in York County, which had been mortgaged to George Menefie (Ambler MS 78; Patent Book 3:367; Nugent 1969-1979:I:161, 164; Withington 1980:588). Harvey's 500 acres on Powhatan Creek would have been liquidated, as well.

Jamestown's First Brick Church

During Governor John Harvey's first years in office, there apparently was interest in building a new house-of-worship. When William Beard prepared his will on December 20, 1636, he bequeathed 500 pounds of tobacco "to a new church at James Cittie" (Withington 1980:30). On January 18, 1639, when Governor Harvey and his Council updated officials in England about the progress that had been made toward establishing towns, they said that the colonists "have largely contributed to the building of a brick church," but failed to indicate whether church construction actually had gotten underway (Sainsbury 1964:1:287-288). A succinct synopsis of the General Court's minutes for March 29, 1642, makes reference to a discussion "Concerning the building a church at James City" (McIlwaine 1924:499). In November 1647, when Southwark Parish was formed from that portion of James City Parish which lay on the lower side of the James River, the new parish's members were ordered to pay to "the minister of James Citty all customary tithes and dues and all rates and taxes allready assessed and to be assessed for and toward finishing and repairing of the church att Ja: Citty" (Hening 1809-1823:I:346-347). It may have been around that time that a brick church was built at Jamestown, for it is certain that one was erected sometime prior to Bacon's Rebellion.[148]

[148] In 1986 architectural historian Dell Upton noted that, "It has long been asserted that the

In January 1640, when the assembly enacted several new pieces of legislation, a 1632 act requiring that there be "a certayne portion of ground appoynted out and impaled or fenced in" for the burial of the dead, was expanded. Thereafter, local justices of the peace were to "lay out a convenient parcel of ground in every plantation for burial of the dead." The parish church wardens were to see that "the sd parcel of ground [was] impaled at the charge of the Inhabitants, and the Churchwardens from time to time are to keep the paling in repair" (Hening 1809-1823:I:161, 227).

In March 1662 the assembly passed a law specifying that "there be in every parish three or four or more places appoynted (according to the greatness or littlenes of the same) to be sett apart and fenced in, for places of publique burial, for that precinct." Then, in September 1667 a new law was enacted stipulating that "two acres of land and no more" be allocated "for the erecting of churches or courthouses" (Hening 1809-1823:II:53, 261).

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Jamestown Church was erected from 1639 to 1647 and repaired after damage by Nathaniel Bacon's supporters in 1676. In fact, no evidence has been offered in support of the 1639-1647 construction date, other than a low appropriation for repairs in 1680." He added that "None of the archaeological explorers has ever found evidence of a fire in the remains. One must conclude that a new church was erected after 1676" (Upton 1986:62). However, records quoted in NPS archaeologist John Cotter's report refute Upton's hypothesis. Cotter indicated that during APVA excavations at the turn of the twentieth century a burn layer was discovered. He quoted from Mary W. Garrett's 1905 report, which states that "There is abundant proof that this church of the cobblestone foundation was destroyed by fire—this is proved by excavations in the chancel and under the brick pavement in the body of the church, where we found heaps of blackened coals, bits of charred wood and other bits of evidence" (Cotter 1958:221). Moreover, an account of Bacon's Rebellion, which describes Jamestown's appearance before the popular uprising, mentions a brick church that Bacon's men put to the torch (see ahead).

At Jamestown, the boundaries of the church's grounds apparently were a matter of tradition. On August 28, 1644, when John White I received a patent for a 1 acre lot (Study Unit 4 Tract H), his western property line, which was 379.5 feet long, reportedly abutted "west upon the Church yard" (Patent Book 2;10-11).[149] In 1662 when Sarah Drummond patented the ½ acre river front lot she had inherited from mariner Edward Prescott (Study Unit 4 Tract N), her boundary line abutted east upon the yard of the parish church and southeast upon the property of Mr. Warren (Study Unit 4 Tract X) (Patent Book 5:634). Therefore, Warren's land lay between the church yard and the river. On the other hand, on April 10, 1694, when John Howard patented his 1.75 acre lot (Study Unit 4 Tract M), the southeast corner of his parcel by the "old Great Road" adjoined the northeast corner of the rails demarcating the church yard. From that point, Howard's southern lot line then ran west, following the church yard fence for 3.93 chains (129.69 feet) to Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's eastern lot line (i.e., the east side of Tract S) (Patent Book 8:82, 320; Nugent 1969-1979:II:350; Ambler MS 50). Thus, the Howard patent reveals that northerly boundary line of the church yard was 129.69 feet long and ran on an east-west axis.

Harvey's Exodus from Virginia

By late 1641 Sir John Harvey had returned to England and on September 15, 1646, when he made his will, he indicated that he was preparing to go to sea. He stated that people in Virginia owed him £ 2,000 and that he was due £ 5,500 pounds in back pay as governor. However, he made no reference to owning real or personal estate in Virginia. Harvey acknowledged that he still owed funds to Mr.

[149] White's lot was "bounded west upon the Church Yard, East upon the land apprtaining to the State house [Structure 112 on Study Unit 1 Tract H], North toward the land of Mr. Thomas Hampton [Study Unit 4 Tract W], and south upon the James River, the length being 23 poles [379.5 feet] and the breadth 7 poles [165.5 feet] almost" (Patent Book 2:10-11).

Nichols, an ironmonger, and he left the bulk of his estate to daughters Ursula and Ann. His will was presented for probate on July 16, 1650 (Starr 1944:380; Withington 1980:281; Stanard 1910:305-306; McGhan 1993:206).

Wyatt's Return

Governor Francis Wyatt (1639-1642)

On January 8, 1639, Sir Francis Wyatt was appointed successor to the reinstated Governor John Harvey. Wyatt's instructions from the king were nearly identical to those of his predecessor, Sir John Harvey. He was told to confirm land to its proper owners and to erect beacons that could be used to alert the colonists to the approach of enemy ships. He was authorized to move the capital city, if the assembly agreed, and was ordered to appoint a muster- master. He also was supposed to allow people to explore and develop trade. One of the instructions given to Governor Wyatt would have been very popular with his councillors. They (and ten of their servants) were absolved from paying all public levies. Wyatt was told to build "a convenient house for the meeting of the council and dispatch of public charge," the type of publicly-owned structure generally known as a "country house" (Stanard 1904:55: 1965:15; Sainsbury 1964:1:286, 310; C.O. 1/10 ff 59-60, 144; 5/1354 f 212; McIlwaine 1924:495; Raimo 1980:469; Lower Norfolk County Book A:59). Subsequent land transfers reveal that the "country house" was situated upon Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A, a parcel whose western boundary line was contiguous to the eastern boundary of Richard Kemp's ½ acre lot (Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B) (Ambler MS 10).[150]

In January 1640, immediately prior to Sir Francis Wyatt's arrival, the burgesses reiterated their preference for Jamestown as "the chief town and residence of the Governor." During the decade that followed local court justices were made responsible for seeing that public graveyards were laid out and enclosed; that roads, bridges and ferries were maintained; and that taverns and mills operated within the law. They were authorized to try most civil cases, probate wills, collect taxes, and to distribute arms and ammunition to the local militia.[151] In October 1649, two men were sentenced to be whipped "from the gallows to the courthouse door," evidence that a scaffold still was in existence in the community (Craven 1970:166-170; Billings 1975:43-44; Hening 1809-1823:I:223-224, 287, 290-291, 301-303, 319; McIlwaine 1924:465, 467, 469, 475, 492; Chandler 1924:16-35).[152]

When Governor Wyatt issued patents for urban properties, he cited the legislation enacted during Sir John Harvey's administration. It was in 1640 that patents were issued for two half-acre lots along the upper side of Back Street (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lots A and C, which were allocated to Richard Tree and George Menefie), and a 0.1125 acre lot that fronted upon the James (Study Unit 4 Tract J Lot A, given to John Corker). Wyatt also assigned a much larger parcel (5.5 acres) to the Rev. Tho-

[150] As the council was supposed to hold its meetings in the "country house" (Structure 38), it is likely that the councillors convened there, too, when sitting as justices of the General Court. The building also may have served as the James City County courthouse. After Sir John Harvey left Virginia, the assembly may have continued to convene in his house, which was government-owned, until Governor Berkeley built his brick rowhouse, Structure 144.

[151] In 1641 an act was passed for the establishment of public ferries (Hening 1809-1823:I:269). At that juncture, one or more official ferry routes probably was established at Jamestown to transport passengers to and from the lower side of the James.

[152] There also was a whipping post at Jamestown during the 1640s. On June 21, 1640, a servant named Thomas Bates was to receive 30 lashes there "in the most public place" because he had committed fornication with Margaret, the wife of his master, William Beard (McIlwaine 1924:475). Bates and Mrs. Beard had been accused of committing adultery on several occasions and when William Beard made his will, he left her some bedding and referred to her as a whore (Nugent 1969-1979:I:28; Patent Book 1:253; Withington 1980:30; McIlwaine 1924:475).

mas Hampton (Study Unit 1 Tract W). All of these patents had to be developed, in order for their owners to secure legitimate titles. Although Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A became the site of the "country house" (Structure 38) erected by Governor Wyatt, Lot C probably was not improved, for by 1661 it had become part of the "country house" lot.

Local Factionalism

On March 20, 1640, Secretary Richard Kemp sent word to England that Governor Francis Wyatt had arrived. He said that Wyatt seemed to be prejudiced against the councillors associated with ex-Governor Harvey. He also indicated that Wyatt promptly had sequestered Harvey's personal estate. On October 13, 1641, Wyatt received a patent for a 3 acre lot adjacent to the parcel upon which the "country house" was built. He also acquired Richard Kemp's ½ acre lot and brick house (Structure 44). This gave him possession of Study Unit 1 Tract F in its entirety. Wyatt obtained a 50 acre leasehold that was part of the Governor's Land.[153] As part of his stipend, he was allowed to keep any stray cattle that were unclaimed by their owners. Governor Wyatt's second term in office, unlike his first, was marred by political factionalism, which eroded his popularity. However, it was during his administration that the Crown officially recognized the role of the Virginia assembly in local affairs and stipulated that the burgesses should convene once a year (C.O. 1/10 f 160; Nugent 1969-1979:I:123; Ambler MS 3; McIlwaine 1924:479; Raimo 1980:469). When Sir William Berkeley arrived in Virginia around February 1642, to assume the governorship, Sir Francis Wyatt became a councillor. He continued to play an active role in government (Hening 1809-1823:I:267; McIlwaine 1924:498-499).

Sometime prior to July 1644, Sir Francis Wyatt's attorney, William Peirce, conveyed to Governor William Berkeley Study Unit 1 Tract F, a 3½ acre lot that contained the Kemp house (Structure 44) (Ambler MS 4). By that date, Wyatt had returned to England. On August 6, 1644, he prepared his will, which was presented for probate less than three weeks later. He was interred with his kin at Boxley Abbey (Withington 1980:625, 632; Stanard 1965:35; Raimo 1980:469).

Berkeley's First Term

Governor William Berkeley (1642-1652)

William Berkeley was born in Somerset, England, in 1606. He was a younger son of Sir Maurice Berkeley of Bruton, an investor in the Virginia Company of London, and was the nephew of John, Lord Berkeley. William completed his studies at Oxford University's Merton College in 1629 and then toured the Continent for a year. He returned to England and was living there in 1632 when he was appointed one of the Royal Commissioners for Canada. He apparently won the personal favor of King Charles I, for he was made a gentleman of the privy-chamber and was named one of Carolina's original Lords Proprietor. Berkeley, who was a complex and erudite man, became an accomplished playwright. His romantic drama, "The Lost Lady," was published in two folio editions and was produced at court and in London theaters. He was knighted on July 27, 1639, and in August 1641, King Charles I appointed him governor of Virginia. He was a member of a family that for several centuries had enjoyed great influence at the English court (Malone 1935:217). Sir William Berkeley, as the Crown's principal agent in Virginia, carried out the king's instructions and worked smoothly with English officials (Billings et al. 1986:49).

In August 1641 King Charles I issued his instructions to Sir William Berkeley, Virginia's new governor. He was required to see that all newcomers to the colony took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and those who refused to do so were to be expelled. With respect to religion, there was to be no deviation from the Church of England.

[153] This meant that Wyatt would have been able to retain the 50 acre leasehold whether or not he was governor.

Justice was to be administered in accord with the laws of England and the colony's assembly was to be summoned at least once a year. The Council of State was supposed to meet quarterly and its meetings were to be open to those desiring to present petitions. Each councillor and ten of his servants were to be exempt from all public charges. John West was designated muster-master. He was to supervise arms and military training and see that all free males age 16 or older were armed. Berkeley, like Wyatt, was authorized to move the colony's capital to another location, if the assembly agreed, "because the Buildings at James Town are for ye most part decayed and ye place found to be unhealthy and inconvenient in many respects." He also was told that he could erect a public meeting-house.[154] The production of staple commodities was to be encouraged, whereas tobacco culture was to be discouraged. Jamestown was to be the sole port of entry[155] and no one was permitted to trade with the Indians without special licenses. Trade with foreign ships was prohibited unless the vessels were bonded to bring their goods to England first.[156] In an attempt to improve the quality of housing in the colony, those who possessed 100 acres were supposed to enclose a quarter-acre garden or orchard and patentees of 500 acres or more were supposed to build at least one brick house that measured 16 feet by 24 feet and had a cellar.[157] People with skills in trades and handicrafts were to be compelled to practice their arts in towns and no one was permitted "to build slight cottages" as had been done earlier, while moving from place to place planting tobacco (C.O. 5/1354 ff 219-236).

By March 8, 1642, Sir William Berkeley had arrived in Virginia as governor. In June the assembly presented him with an "orchard with two houses belonging to the collony ... as a free and voluntary gift in consideration of many worthy favours manifested toward the collony" (Hening 1809-1823:I:267; McIlwaine 1924:498). It is very likely that the government-owned property transferred to Berkeley in June 1642 was "all that capital, messuage or tenement now used for a court house late in the tenure of Sir John Harvey Knt.," Structure 112 on Study Unit 1 Tract H, which the assembly purchased from Harvey's personal representative in April 1641 (McIlwaine 1924:497-498). Governor William Berkeley, by relying heavily upon the advice of Virginia's planter elite when formulating public policy, and by sharing his authority with them, fostered the development of a deferential social order. He endeared himself to the assembly, of which many of the elite were members (Billings et al. 1986:49).

An Attempt to Revive the Virginia Company

The assembly minutes for April 1642 reveal that in 1639 an overt attempt was made to revive the defunct Virginia Company of London. When rumors to that effect reached the colony, George Sandys was sent to England to express Virginians' opposition to that proposal. However, unbeknownst to the colonists, he presented a petition to the House of Commons in which he expressed the opposite view.[158] On April 1, 1642, as soon as the Virginia assembly learned what Sandys had done, they enacted legislation in which they avowed their loyalty to the Crown. To that act, they appended a declaration in which they voiced their opposition to the

[154] This may have been the impetus for Berkeley's building Bays 2, 3 and 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group, Structure 144, which construction was underway in February 1645 (see ahead).

[155] Legislation enacted in March 1643 stipulated that all ships break bulk at Jamestown and stay there for at least 24 hours (Hening 1809-1823:I:245).

[156] If followed to the letter, this rule would have stifled foreign trade and fostered the colonists' dependency upon the Mother Country.

[157] There is no evidence that Berkeley ever attempted to enforce or encourage this requirement.

[158] The assembly probably learned about George Sandys' duplicious behavior when Governor William Berkeley arrived in Virginia. The burgesses' gratitude may have been at the root of their giving him two houses and some land in Jamestown, probably Study Unit 1 Tract H.

Company. They said that while the colony was under the government of the Virginia Company, conditions were intolerable and they cited the numerous calamities, "illegal proceedings and barbarous Treatments inflicted upon divers of his Majesty's Subjects." They also mentioned the hardships created by the Company's proprietary monopoly on trade and the colonists' loss of liberty as citizens. They expressed their appreciation for the right of assemblies to meet annually, the right to trial by jury, and other privileges they currently enjoyed (Hening 1809-1823:I:230-238). On July 5, 1642, King Charles I responded to the Virginia assembly's petition. He indicated that he intended for Virginia to remain under the protection of the Crown and saw no reason to make a change in the way the colony was governed (Purdie and Dixon, April 21, 1774).[159]

Berkeley's Landholdings in James City County

Sometime prior to July 1644, Governor William Berkeley purchased a 3½ acre lot (Study Unit 1 Tract F) that contained the brick house Richard Kemp had built (Structure 44), procuring it from Sir Francis Wyatt's attorney, William Peirce. Berkeley's acquisition of Tract F would have given him the option of residing in Richard Kemp's brick dwelling or in one of the houses the government bestowed upon him in June 1642 (Study Unit 1 Tract H). Either choice would have allowed him to rent one of his properties to a private individual or to the government as a statehouse. On the other hand, Berkeley could have elected to use the "country house" (Structure 38) built by Sir Francis Wyatt (on Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A) for government meetings.[160] By 1645 Governor William Berkeley had begun building a three-bay brick rowhouse in Jamestown (Structure 144, the Ludwell Statehouse Group) on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A. His March 1655 deeds for the sale of that property reveal that at least two of its three units had been used as a statehouse (Ambler MS 4, 10, 24; Clarendon MS 24 f 51; Hening 1809-1823:I:407; McIlwaine 1924:503; 1905-1915:1619-1660:97; Force 1963:II:8:14; III:10:50).

On June 4, 1643, Governor Berkeley received a patent for 984 acres "by the name of Green Spring" on the basis of headrights. The acreage he patented may have included the 500 acres on Powhatan Creek at Powhatan's Tree that Governor John Harvey acquired in 1633. On February 27, 1645, Secretary Richard Kemp informed Berkeley, who was then in England, that construction of his brick house at Green Spring was progressing well, but "that at towne [the Ludwell Statehouse Group, Structure 144 on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A] for want of materials is yet no higher than ye first storye above ye cellar" (Kemp, February 27, 1645). On June 6, 1646, the Council of State reassigned Governor William Berkeley the Green Spring acreage he had received in 1643, noting that when his property was surveyed it was found to contain 1,090 acres in all (Nugent 1969-1979:I:160; McIlwaine 1924:480).

Governor William Berkeley also acquired 1,200 acres on the lower side of the James River, a plantation known as Lower Chipoak. During the early 1640s Berkeley patented the tract, which had escheated from Captain William Powell's late son, George. In 1646 Berkeley conveyed it to Colonel Henry Bishop (Nugent 1969-1979:I:165; Kornwolfe 1976:38-39; Surry County Deeds, Wills, &c. 1652-1672:97, 176-178, 266-267, 338, 387; Hening 1809-1823:II:559).

[159] In 1774 an anonymous writer used the 1642 legislation and a transcription of King Charles I's letter when arguing the merits of free men's right to liberty. It is probable that the *Virginia Gazette* article was written by Thomas Jefferson, who had in his possession a copy of the April 1642 legislation (Hening 1809-1823:I:230; Purdie and Dixon, April 21, 1774).

[160] By 1652 that structure was in need of repair, for John Phipps was ordered to see that it was put into usable condition and its cellars rented out for the benefit of the public. This suggests that it was government surplus property. Sometime prior to 1658 the "country house" (Structure 38) was sold to Major Richard Webster (Ambler MS 10, 32, 67; McIlwaine 1924:558).

Virginia in 1643

In October 1643 Dutch mariner David DeVries returned to Virginia on a ship bearing wines. He met Governor William Berkeley, who said that he

> *... must remain in the winter here, until the ships should leave with tobacco in the spring and that he would provide me with a good ship in which I would be well treated' but I must remain with him until then, and that I should have as good as he had himself ... and that he had heard many speak of me before I came into the country now; that I had treated their nation well and on that account he should use me well and would have my society during the winter, as he was fond of and in need of society. This governor was named Sir William Berkeley, knt.*

DeVries said that he told Berkeley that he would like to accept his hospitality for four or five days at a time, as he already had promised to accompany the mariner who'd brought him to Virginia when he visited plantations along the James. DeVries said that plantations that had been "exhausted by tobacco planting were now sown with fine wheat, and some of them with flax." He noted that "Here were now lying full 30 ships to be laden with tobacco, altogether five English ships of 24 to 28 and 18 guns and also four Holland ships, which make a great trade here every year." David DeVries said that:

> *This river is full of sturgeon... . When the English first began to plant their colony here, there came an English ship from England for the purpose of fishing for sturgeon, but they found that this fishery would not answer, because it is so hot in summer, which is the best time for fishing, that the salt or pickle would not keep them as in Muscovy [DeVries 1857:184-186].*

On April 13, 1644, DeVries bid Governor Berkeley farewell and left Jamestown. He spent the night at the home of Captain Samuel Mathews of Denbigh, who treated him hospitably (DeVries 1857:186).

The Evolving Role of Government

The rise of representative government in Virginia appears to have occurred gradually, thanks to the Crown's failure to interfere with the manner in which it was evolving. The colony's assembly, through trial and error, gradually acquired some fundamental rights, at times gaining more power than its counterpart enjoyed in England. By 1643 Virginia's Grand Assembly had become bicameral, for the burgesses convened apart from the governor and council. Both bodies worked closely with local officials in solving whatever problems arose. Virginia's legal system was based upon English law, although special legislation was enacted from time to time to meet the colony's changing needs (Kukla 1985:289; Force 1963:II:8:8). In November 1645 the assembly decided that henceforth, Jamestown was to be represented by one burgess, whereas each of Virginia's counties was to have four. The assembly also agreed that the probate process would be carried out in county courts (Hening 1809-1823:I:300). This would have lightened the General Court's burgeoning load of responsibilities.[161]

In March 1646 the assembly enacted legislation whereby "no merchant whatsoever shall retayle wine or strong waters within the corporation of James Cittye or the Island." Moreover, no ordinary keepers who were licensed to sell wine or strong liquor could exceed the prices that were set (Hening 1809-1823:I:319). This would have meant that only tavern-keepers could sell alcoholic beverages on Jamestown Island. It is likely that this law generated a great deal of discussion at Jamestown, where tavern-keepers' business would have been helped and merchants' business curtailed.

[161] However, those whose solvency was unquestioned still had the right to have their wills and inventories presented to the General Court.

Intrusion into Native Lands

During the late 1630s and early 1640s there was a considerable amount of interaction between the colonists and the Natives. Settlers were encourage to take Indian children into their homes and rear them in the Christian faith and Natives (both young and old) sometimes became servants in planter households. This generated a certain amount of ill-feeling on the part of tribal leaders, who complained about a shortage of workers. Although it was illegal to sell firearms to the Indians, other trade restrictions were eased somewhat. In 1641 Walter Chiles I of Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract F and Study Unit 2 Tract M, N, O, P, and U) and three others (Walter Aston I, Rice Hooe, and Joseph Johnson) were granted the right to explore the territory beyond the head of the Appomattox River. They hoped to establish trade with the Indians and to discover potentially marketable commodities (Hening 1809-1823:I:239).

Although a new treaty was signed with the Indians in April 1642, steady growth in the colony's population, accompanied by increased encroachment upon Native lands in the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck and along the James River, inevitably gave rise to conflict. It exploded in a second major uprising that occurred on April 18, 1644, and claimed 400 to 500 settlers' lives. Again, Opechancanough was credited with leading the massacre. Hardest hit were colonists who lived along the upper reaches of the York River and on the lower side of the James, near the Nansemond River. Afterward, the Grand Assembly resolved to "forever abandon all formes of peace" with the Indians and "root out those which have in any way had their hand in the shedding of our blood." The colonists embarked upon retaliatory expeditions designed to extirpate the Indians, just as they had in 1622, and April 18th (like March 22nd) was designated a holy day in commemoration of the massacre (McIlwaine 1924:277, 296, 501; Force 1963:II:8:1; Beverley 1947:60-61; Hening 1809-1823:I:237; Stanard 1915:229).

In July 1644 marches were undertaken against the Pamunkey, Weyanoke, Warresqueek and Nansemond Indians, along with two tribes that lived within what eventually became North Carolina. Commander-in-Chief William Claiborne led a large, well-equipped army against the Pamunkey Indians, destroying their villages and corn fields. But afterward, the Indians simply faded into the forest and then dropped out of sight. On February 27, 1645, Richard Kemp informed Governor William Berkeley and his brother, Sir John Berkeley, that:

> *Our war with ye Natives this summer had good success, for besides the burning of their townes, as in their king's own house, and their treasure house, And ye destroying of their Corne, we had ye execution of many of them and took some prisoners the best and many of the services being performed by ye horse[men] commanded by Capt. Ralph Wormeley, who did many gallant services and with his own hands killed two and he brought in one prisoner by ye necke to ye great joy of ye Army and was of great Consequence to them in guiding them to their townes and corn fields, we suffered none of them about us to rest untill our powder failed, wch without doubt they imagined by our lying still, And then they pressed hard upon ye frontiers, killing diverse of our men who traveled negligently as also many cattle and hoggs in so much that ye people cried out aloud for marches, which they should not have needed to do, had I not wanted ammunition, which was not by them considered [Kemp, February 27, 1645].*

Kemp added that if the Indians had realized how little powder and shot they had, they would have been in great jeopardy. He said that Captain Leonard Calvert of Maryland had helped the colonists by taking his ship into the Chickahominy River and attacking the Chickahominies in their homeland (Kemp, February 27, 1645).

Because of the critical shortage of ammunition and the lack of funds to purchase more, the assembly fixed upon a strategy that required fewer armed men: building forts or surveillance points on the colony's frontier. In February 1645 the Grand Assembly ordered the construction of forts at three remote locations considered critical to the colony's defense: Fort Charles near the falls of the James

River, Fort James on the Chickahominy River, and Fort Royall on the Pamunkey River (Kemp, February 27, 1645). Carpenters and other workers were pressed into service, as were the men needed to garrison each stronghold. Fort James was built by Thomas Rolfe, the son of John Rolfe and Pocahontas, in exchange for the land upon which it stood.[162] In 1646 a fourth military outpost was constructed, Fort Henry, which was located at the falls of the Appomattox River. By that date, the colony's governing officials realized that it was almost impossible to eradicate the Indians, who were hiding in the forest. A search party was sent out to capture Opechancanough, the Powhatan Indians' paramount chief, dead or alive. Governor William Berkeley, upon learning that the aged chief's people had been sighted, reportedly rallied a party of armed horsemen and captured him. Opechancanough was brought to Jamestown and jailed, but while he was imprisoned, a soldier shot him in the back (Figure 17). The death of the Native emperor the English called "that Bloody Monster" heralded the Powhatan chiefdom's demise. Afterward, Governor Berkeley was credited with subduing the Indians. He also pressed for strengthening the colony's

[162] E. D. Neill, in 1886, indicated that Margaret Worleigh, who had been captured by the Indians and was being detained by Opechancanough, sent a letter to governing officials in which "she mentioned that he desired a redemption of captives and a treaty of peace." According to Neill, "It was agreed that there should be an armistice and that Margaret Worleigh should be informed that the governor would soon come to Rickahock, or Fort Royall, on the Pamunkey River, and would be pleased there to confer with 12 of the chief's principal men. Captain Henry Fleet was engaged as interpreter, to meet the governor at his estate, the Middle Plantation [Green Spring?], not far from Jamestown" (Neill 1996:188-189). Neill concluded that the conference did not take place, for the construction of another fort (Fort Henry) was authorized in March 1646 (Neill 1996:189). Another possibility is that the conference was held but no agreement was reached.

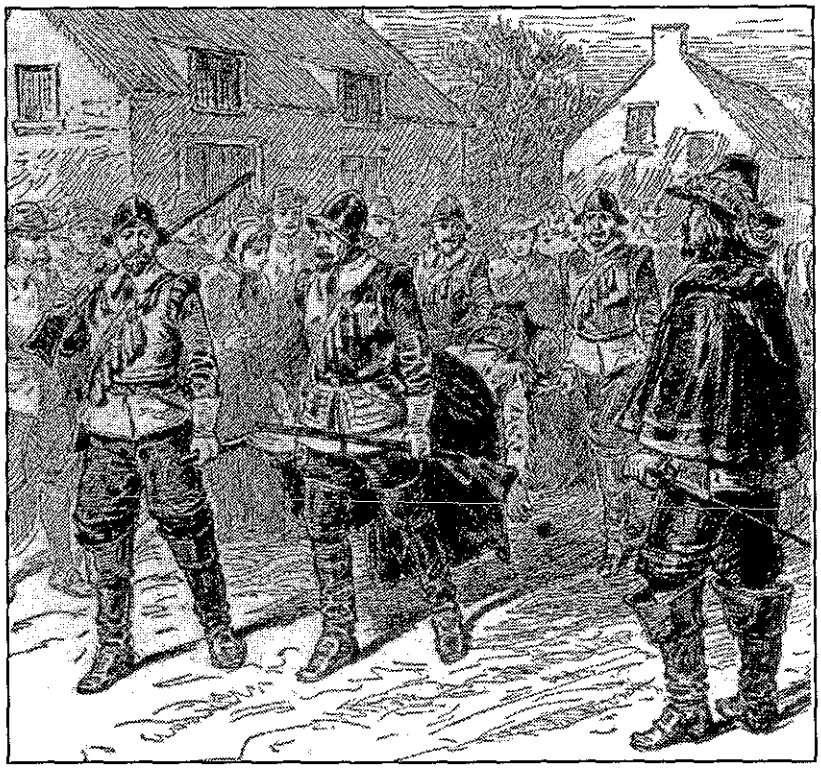


Figure 17. *Conjectural sketch showing Opechancanough at Jamestown (King 1953, in J. Paul Hudson Papers, Colonial National Historical Park).*

defenses against a foreign enemy. These and his other accomplishments were said to have made him the "darling of the people" (Hening 1809-1823:I:237, 239, 277, 290, 293, 296, 315, 318, 323-329, 386, 410; McIlwaine 1924:277, 296, 477-478, 483, 501; Stanard 1902:9:51; 1915:229-231; Nugent 1969-1979:I:131-132, 135, 234; Force 1963:II:7:6; 8:1, 13; Beverley 1947:60-62; Kemp, February 27, 1645; Washburn 1957:17).[163]

The 1646 Treaty

In October 1646 Necotowance, immediate successor to Opechancanough, concluded a formal peace treaty with the Virginia government. The Indians agreed to pay an annual tribute to the Crown's representatives and to let Virginia's governor appoint or confirm their leaders. They consented to withdraw from the James-York peninsula, inland as far as the fall line, and to abandon their land on the south side of the James, south to the Blackwater River. All Natives entering the ceded territory could be slain lawfully, unless they were garbed in "a coate of striped stuff," worn by official messengers as a badge of safe conduct. All Indian trade was to be conducted at the forts built upon the Appomattox and Pamunkey Rivers, where the special coats were to be kept when not in use. In return for these concessions, the Virginia government agreed to protect the tributary Indians from their enemies (Hening 1809-1823:I:323-329).[164]

In March 1648 Necotowance and "five more petty kings attending him" came to Jamestown to deliver a tribute of 20 beaver skins. But many Natives may not have understood the terms of the treaty or the necessity of wearing a striped coat when entering the ceded territory. According to a 1649 account, Necotowance reportedly said "My countrymen tell me I am a liar when I tell them the English will kill you if you goe into their bounds." The writer hastened to add that some Indians, who approached without a badge of safe conduct, were killed. Three Native leaders, whose lands were being engulfed by the rapidly expanding frontier, requested—and received—5,000 acre tracts. In 1652 the assembly agreed that "all the Indians of the collonye shall hold and keep those seats of land that they now have." Settlers were forbidden to encroach upon the Natives' acreage, for the burgesses noted that "wrongs done to the Indians in taking away their lands" often had driven them "to attempt some Desperate course." Thus was born the concept of creating Indian preserves or reservations in Virginia. As racial tensions eased the settlers and their Indian neighbors again began to intermingle (Hening 1809-1823:I:293-295, 325; Force 1963:II:8:13, 25; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 2:289, 328). However, there was ongoing distrust of the Natives and in October 1648 Governor Berkeley was authorized to have an armed guard of ten men because of his frequent dealings with the Indians and "the many disaffections to the government from a schismaticall party, of whose intentions our native country hath had and yet hath too sad experience" (Hening 1809-1823:I:354-355).

[163] October 1644 brought the enactment of legislation that authorized all but those who lived in "places of danger" to return to their homes. Those whose return would place them at risk were allowed to reoccupy their patents as long as there were at least ten able men in the group, equipped with arms and ammunition, and the prior approval of the local military commander was obtained. Some colonists apparently were reluctant to go back to their plantations, for in February 1645 the governor and assembly declared that those who failed to reoccupy their patents would be presumed to have forsaken them. Moreover, those purportedly deserting their patents were prohibited from burning their buildings in order to recover the nails used in construction (Hening 1809-1823:I:285-286, 291-294).

[164] In 1653 one man said that Governor Berkeley had placed the Nansemond and Warresqueak Indians under the rule of the Weyanoke king. As the Nansemond and Warresqueak had refused to obey him, the Weyanoke had attacked their villages. Therefore, the Nansemond and Warresqueak were to meet with the governor and the Weyanoke king at Jamestown to negotiate peace (Ferrar MS 1216).

Civil War in England

Even before England became embroiled in a bloody Civil War, tensions between the Royalists and the supporters of Parliament (dubbed the Roundheads) spilled over upon the colonies. During spring 1644, when Dutch sea captain David DeVries returned to Virginia, he witnessed a hostile encounter between a 12-gun flyboat from Bristol and two London ships. In a sharp engagement that occurred at Newport News Point, all three vessels were damaged and several people were killed. DeVries said that the Bristol men were loyal to the king and the Londoners, to Parliament (DeVries 1857:185-186).

Virginia colonists, by and large, were sympathetic to the monarchy and after they learned that King Charles I had been beheaded, the burgesses met at Jamestown to proclaim his son's right to the throne. They also declared that anyone expressing doubts about Charles II's right of succession would be considered treasonous (Hening 1809-1823:I:359-361).

At the onset of the English civil war, the salary of Virginia's royal governor was suspended. The burgesses responded by passing legislation authorizing Berkeley to receive compensation from locally generated taxes on tobacco, wheat, and other agricultural commodities, such as corn, malt, beef, pork, poultry and certain dairy products. By 1649 Governor Berkeley had moved into his residence at Green Spring, his country estate. However, it is likely that he maintained some accommodations in Jamestown (Force 1963:II:8:14; III:10:50).

In 1649 Colonel Henry Norwood, who was newly arrived in the colony, set out for Jamestown to meet with Governor William Berkeley.[165]

He wrote that the governor

> *... was pleased to receive and take me to his house at Greenspring, and there I pass'd my hours (as at mine own house) until May following; at which time he sent me for Holland to find out the king, and to solicit his majesty for the treasurer's place of Virginia... . He was not only thus kind to me (who had a more than ordinary pretence to his favour by our near affinity in blood) but, on many occasions, he shew'd great respect to all the royal party, who made that colony their refuge. His house and purse were open to all that were so qualify'd. To one of my comrades (Major [Richard] Fox) who had no friend at all to subsist on, he shew'd a generosity that was like himself; and to my other (Major [Francis] Moryson) he was more kind, for he did not only place him in command of the fort, which was profitable to him whilst it held under the king, but did advance him after to the government of the country, wherein he got a competent estate [Force 1963:III:10:49-50].*[166]

Another writer, whose work was published in 1649, stated that at Green Spring:

> *The Governour Sir William [Berkeley] caused half a bushel of Rice (which he had procured) to be sowen and it prospered gallantly, and he had fifteen bushels of it, excellent good Rice, so that all these fifteen bushels will be sowen again this yeere... The Governour in his new Orchard hath 15 hundred fruit-trees, besides his Apricocks, Peaches, Mellicotons, Quinces, Wardens [winter pears], and such like fruits [Force 1963:II:8:14].*[167]

Thus, Berkeley, ever mindful of Virginia's economic potential, was anxious to demonstrate the colony's agricultural diversity. Berkeley also was keenly aware of the importance of westward exploration in quest of minerals, precious metals, and Indian trade goods, and he encouraged expeditions that ventured into what was then unknown

[165] In a 1663 letter, Berkeley described Henry Norwood as his cousin (Berkeley 1663a).

[166] Nearly 30 years later, Francis Moryson was one of three royal commissioners appointed to investigate the causes of Bacon's Rebellion (see ahead).

[167] To the Norwood quotation, Edward D. Neill added that Governor Berkeley resided at Green Spring "in a house of brick, made in the neighborhood, with a spacious hallway, and six rooms" (Neill 1996:204). A microfilm of Henry Norwood's account contains no references to the number of rooms in Berkeley's Green Spring mansion. However, as Neill's work largely has been found to be reliable, the house description has credibility.

territory. In 1648 he assembled a company of 50 mounted men, which he intended to lead personally on a westward expedition.[168] Thanks to Governor William Berkeley's interest in inland exploration, new trade routes were opened and the groundwork was laid for Virginia's claim to the Ohio River valley (Force 1963:II:8:13; Stanard 1902:51,55; Washburn 1957:17).

Governor William Berkeley, who was fiercely loyal to the Crown, opened his home to royalists who sought refuge in Virginia. As a result, the colony became a haven for those in exile. He reportedly "invited many gentlemen and others thither, as a place of security ... where they might live plentifully." According to Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, the governor's life in Virginia, as a gentleman farmer, "was a better subsistence than he could have found anywhere else" (Hudson 1976:6; Carson 1954:Appendix A; Meyer et al. 1987:526-527; Billings et al. 1986:49; Nugent 1969-1979:I:160).[169] One exiled royalist who moved to Virginia was Sir Thomas Lunsford, a former captain of the guard at the Tower of London. He married Richard Kemp's widow, Elizabeth, and took up residence at Rich Neck, in relatively close proximity to Sir William Berkeley's Green Spring plantation. Another was Francis Moryson, whom Berkeley befriended and placed in command of the fort at Jamestown (Force 1963:III:10:49-50; Nugent 1969-1979:I:229, 465).

[168] A little more than two decades later, Berkeley authorized the Batts and Fallom expedition and gave a commission to the German explorer, John Lederer, who was "to go into those Parts of the American Continent where Englishmen never had been." Lederer, in appreciation, named the highest peak he ascended "Mons Guliel Gubern" (Mount William the Governor) (Lederer 1958:5, 75; Beverley 1947:352; Washburn 1957:17).

[169] In May 1650 Virginia Ferrar, who was in England, sent a letter to Lady Berkeley, Sir William's wife, who was in Virginia (Ferrar MS 1168). Lady Berkeley's identity is unknown and the date of her marriage and demise is uncertain. On September 20, 165[-], Sir John Berkeley sent a letter to Edward Hyde, stating that "Will Berkeley is married in Virginia" (Neill 1996:342).

Jamestown's Market Zone: The Town's Boundaries

A law enacted in October 1649 designated as Jamestown's official marketplace all of the area between Sandy Bay and Orchard Run, from the James to the Back River. All transactions that occurred within that market zone between 8 A.M. and 6 P.M., Wednesdays and Saturdays, were to be recorded by an official clerk of the market and were legally binding. The boundaries of the market area were demarcated by Peter Knight's storehouse on the west end of the island at the Sandy Gut (probably on Study Unit 1 Tract E) and Lancelot Elay's house (on Study Unit 3 Tract H) at Orchard Run (Hening 1809-1823:I:362). It may have been in anticipation of this policy that lots were laid out in the western end of the island during the 1640s. The concept of designating waterfront property as trading zones was reintroduced in 1655, when each of Virginia's counties was authorized to establish one or two markets that extended for 1½ to 2 miles along both sides of a navigable waterway (Hening 1809-1823:I:412-414).

The existence of a market zone along the Back River may have been what prompted Richard James I (a merchant and gentleman) to patent 40 acres at Piping Point in 1654 (Study Unit 1 Tract B). In 1657 James added another 150 acres to his holdings in that area "by [the] Frigott Landing on Back Creek" (Study Unit 1 Tract C) (Patent Book 3:368; 4:196-197). James' landholdings on the Back River, which encompassed both Piping Point and "the Frigate," and his involvement in trade, raise the possibility that he may have had a landing or wharf in that area, and a warehouse. It was James who owned the acreage upon which Structure 1/2 was built.[170]

[170] These cultural features, the discontinuous remains of a building, originally were assigned separate numbers as though they were individual structures. They have been redesigned Structure 1/2, as they comprise one building.

Governor William Berkeley and Urban Planning

In response to King Charles I's instructions to Governor Berkeley, the assembly reaffirmed that Jamestown was to be the colony's "chief town" and seat of the governor. Patents that were issued during the 1640s cite March 2, 1642/43, legislation that was designed to promote the capital city's development, offering land for housing and a garden to all who would build there. Those who since January 1640 had "built decent houses" on land deserted by its previous owners were entitled to keep it. Governor Berkeley, during his first term in office, issued 14 patents for land in urban Jamestown. Ten of these lots were 1 acre in size, two contained ½ acre, and one consisted of 1½ acres. The remaining lot encompassed 7.2 acres. Almost all of these lots were issued to patentees in 1643 or 1644 and had to be developed within a 6 month period. Within Study Unit 1 Tract E were seven 1 acre lots (Lots B, C, D, E, G, H, and I) through which passed the road that crossed the isthmus to the mainland. One of these lots belonged to Edward Challis (who also had a leasehold in the Governor's Land and whose name is associated with a particular style of locally-made earthenware) and another was in the possession of brickmaker Alexander Stomer. John and Isaac Watson had lots in the immediate vicinity of Brewer's Point. Thomas Stegg I (a merchant) had Lot J, within Study Unit 1 Tract E, and the storehouse of Peter Knight (another merchant) was nearby (Figure 18). Within Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot D (a rise of land known as "the friggott," which overlooked Back Creek), Berkeley in 1643 and 1646 issued patents for four small plots (Parcels 1, 2, 3, and 4). These patents, like those in Study Unit 1 Tract E, had to be developed within six months or they could be claimed by another. That two clusters of patents with use-or-lose building requirements were issued within Study Unit 1 suggests that a purposeful effort was being made to develop those areas. In 1644 Governor Berkeley also issued a patent for a 1 acre lot

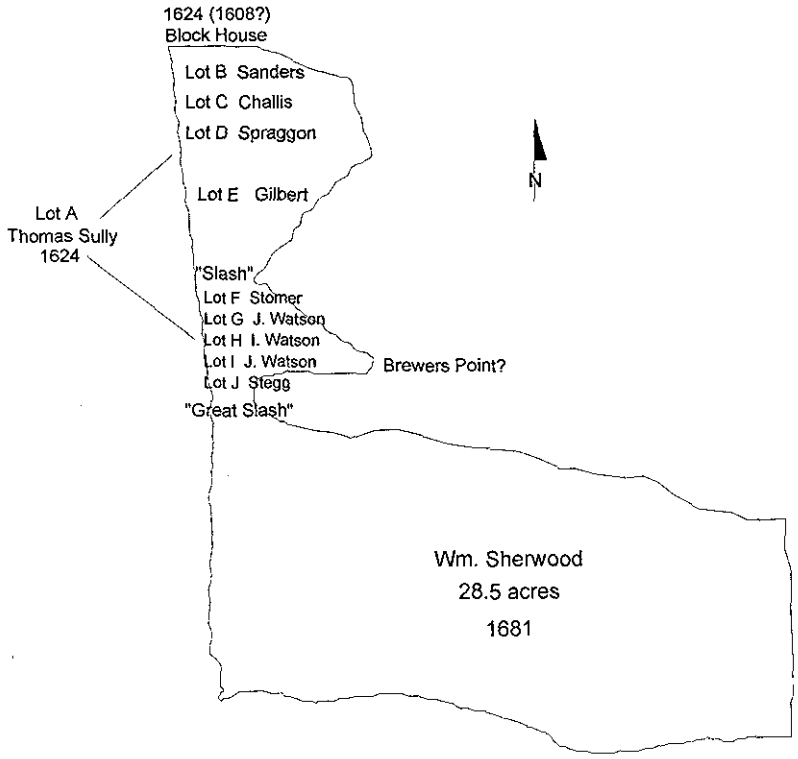


Figure 18. *Study Unit 1 Tract E.*

(Study Unit 4 Tract H) to London merchant John White I, whose long-and-narrow rectangular parcel abutted west upon the churchyard and south upon the James River (Patent Book 1:889-890, 944; 2:10-12, 47). It is probable that White developed his property, for it descended to his heirs.

Economic Enterprises at Jamestown

During the mid-1640s the burgesses decided to establish two public flaxhouses in Jamestown, where a pair of children from each county would be sent to learn how to process raw material into fabric. The flaxhouses, which were of a proscribed size and form, were to be built there by April 1, 1647. Jamestown's two flaxhouses were supposed to measure 20 feet by 40 feet and be 8 feet high "in the pitch." A stack of brick chimneys was to be centrally placed in each house, which was to be lofted with sawn boards and have "convenient partitions" (Hening 1809-1823:I:336).[171] Official encouragement also was given to other types of business enterprises. Twice during the 1640s legislation was passed inviting the Dutch to trade in Virginia. That the Dutch enthusiastically embraced the opportunity to trade freely and legally in the colony is evidenced by a March 1648 narrative which states that "at last Christmas we had trading here ten ships from London, two from Bristoll, twelve Hollanders, and seven from New England" (Hening 1809-1823:I:258; Stanard 1915:246-247; Force 1963:II:8:14).

One description of life in Virginia that was published in 1649 rivals some of the very early promotional literature that was published during the early seventeenth century as an enticement to prospective colonists. The writer spoke of the abundance of domestic livestock of all sorts and the agricultural prosperity that was seen everywhere. He said that the colonists had plenty of barley and made excellent malt. He indicated that "They have Six publike Brewhouses,"but most settlers "brew their owne Beere, strong and good." He stated that trade was brisk and that yearly, "above 30 saile of ships" bearing at least 700-800 mariners came to the colony. Virginia was said to offer excellent opportunities to turners, potters, and coopers "to make all kind of earthen and wooden Vessels" and to sawyers, carpenters, tile-makers, boatwrights, tailors, shoemakers, tanners, fishermen "and the like." The writer also claimed that there was an abundance of ore that could be made into iron very profitably (Force 1963:II:8:3-9).

That Jamestown had its share of beer-making establishments is evidenced by one writer's comment in 1650 that the community had had "two or three bru [brew] houses," which proprietors' businesses failed because their customers would not pay what they owed.[172] Captain John Moon, who moved to Isle of Wight County before his death in ca. 1655, instructed his executors to sell his "brewhouse and land at Jamestown" to pay the debts against his estate. Moon then owned a ½ acre lot, Study Unit 4 Tract E (Ambler MS 59).[173] There probably was a brewhouse in the western end of Jamestown Island on Study Unit 1 Tract E, for a 1643 patent makes reference to "Brewers point" (Patent Book 1:889). One writer in 1651 said that most people who had servants "do brew their own beer" but the poor who lacked servants could not.[174] The livelihood potters and turners

[171] If these flaxhouses were indeed built, their remains have not been identified as such by archaeologists.

[172] During the third quarter of the seventeenth century, military officers sometimes brewed and sold beer and other alcoholic beverages to their men during musters, a practice that was legal but termed "a scandall and Disparragm't to the Militia of ye colony" (McIlwaine 1924:391).

[173] The production of beer at Jamestown was nothing new. In 1625 a Wassell (Wassill) Rayner, who was a servant in the household of merchant Richard Stephens (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot H), was described as a distiller (Ferrar MS 107). Also, in 1621, when Sir Francis Wyatt became governor, he was told to have his servants distill beer for use of the Dutchmen being sent to the colony to erect sawmills (Hening 1809-1823:I:114; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:485). Wyatt may have done so on Study Unit 1 Tract H, where Structure 110 is located.

[174] In 1650 Michael Upchurch reported that good beer could be made with Indian corn (Ferrar MS 1182).

could expect to earn in the colony was promising, for they reportedly could make as much as 10,000 pounds of tobacco a year. Other artisans to whom Virginia offered good opportunities were coopers, carpenters, sawyers, tile-makers, boatwrights, tailors, tanners, shoemakers and fishermen (Ferrar MS 1152, 1204; Tyler 1897-1898:231).[175]

Benjamin Worsley, a Virginia councillor who appears to have been fiercely ambitious, in 1644 asked King Charles I to designate him Virginia's governor.[176] Worsley, like Governor William Berkeley, promoted the production of marketable commodities in Virginia. He was knowledgeable about manufacturing wine and linen and professed to have expertise in agriculture. He said that Berkeley preferred to trade with the Netherlands rather than England, because Dutch goods and shipping costs were cheaper, and that the only clergy Berkeley would support were Anglican. In 1649 and 1650 Worsley urged the Commonwealth government to assert its authority over Virginia, which he felt could be brought under control peacefully (Hartlib Papers 61/5/1A; 61/8/1A; 26/33/7A; 28/2/2A; 43/19A). He and some other merchants expressed their concern that English trade might be disrupted by Virginians' disaffection to the Commonwealth (Sainsbury 1964:1:332, 339).

[175] People in England were anxious to demonstrate that they could make the colony profitable, if they were only given a chance to market their inventions. One English entrepreneur claimed to have invented a wind-powered engine that could be used to grind grain, drive paper mills, press apples for cider, pump water, saw timber, and power a crane used for lifting. The apparatus, which was designed to be placed in a boat, could be moved wherever it was needed. Another individual claimed to have invented a machine that could be used by Virginia planters to clear their land. It purportedly would enable six men "to pull up more trees by their rootes in a month than the same six men can grub up in a yeare" (Hartlib MS 63/6/1A-2B; 62/8A-B).

[176] He claimed that people wanted him to oust Governor Berkeley. After the Roundheads began to gain the upper hand, Worsley became a vocal proponent of their cause.

Class Differences Emerge

As the seventeenth century wore on and the colony's population increased, social and political distinctions between the classes became more apparent. The result was that Virginia became a distinctly stratified society. Servants who fulfilled their terms of indenture often sought to procure land of their own, but lacked the means to do so. This led to a growing number of landless freedmen who leased acreage from larger planters. Some simply became transients. At the pinnacle of Virginia society were the governor and his councilors, who held the colony's top posts and shared some of their power with members of the assembly. Below the burgesses were county justices of the peace and other local officials. At the bottom were the lesser planters and landless freedmen who ranked just above ethnic minorities, such as Africans, African Americans and Indians, whose legal rights and opportunities for advancement were diminishing. Somewhere between the top and bottom rungs of the socio-economic ladder were the Virginians whose landholdings were of modest size. These were the middling farmers, skilled workers, and others with a limited but adequate amount of disposable income. Despite expansion of the colony's territory and population growth, the old ruling families and their kin clung tightly to their power and dominated Virginia's government. They were augmented by new arrivals who came with money and good political connections. By the mid-seventeenth century, settlement was well established throughout Tidewater Virginia east of the fall line, and across the Chesapeake Bay on the Eastern Shore. The colony's mortality rate had begun to level off and by 1649 there were an estimated 5,000 inhabitants of European origin and 300 African and African Americans in Virginia (Billings et al. 1986: 66-68; Washburn 1957:153-166; Kukla 1985:286-287; Bruce 1907:18-20; Neill 1996:203).

The Colony at Mid-Century

Between 1646 and 1650 the Ferrars, Sir John Wolstenholme, and other former investors in the

Virginia Company of London still had hopes of gaining control of the colony, probably as a proprietorship. The Ferrars sent lengthy lists of questions to people in the colony, quizzing them about the population and its health (morally and physically), livestock, agricultural productivity, relations with the Natives, the number of Africans, and the potential for future economic gain. In 1646 one man indicated that there were 19,000 English in the colony and 500 Africans. He said that there were 20,000 cattle, 1,500 sheep, 190 horses, 150 asses and more hogs and goats than could be counted. He reported that Virginia had 10 watermills, two windmills and 30 horsemills. Another individual reported in 1647 that the Africans in the colony "remain in Christian mens hands and are so dispersed that I can make no narrative of them." He said that "the most which is in one man's hands is Capt. Mathews," but he failed to indicate how many. Cows were worth 500 to 600 weight of tobacco and commonly yielded 3 or more quarts of milk at a time. He reported that "Our butter is commonly made for mens winter store about May and so to the middle of June and afterward for cheese until the later end of August and then for butter again." The colony's supply of hogs and sheep was depleted during the 1644 Indian uprising and in 1647 still had not recovered. Wolves caused problems for those who kept livestock. The writer said that good brick and tile was being made in Virginia, as were earthen vessels. He added, however, that there was a shortage of artificers, and expressed his opinion that a tinkerer would do exceptionally well in earning a living. He said that "Our houses are built of wood except it be some particular men of worth, very warm and dry with good conveniency and handsome, of a good pitch and will endure the weather well and make earthen floors and our housing is both board walled and daubed and covered with boards." In 1650 Michael Upchurch, told John Ferrar that a good cow was worth 500 to 600 weight of tobacco in the summer or 300 weight in the winter. There was an abundance of swine and poultry. Most people killed their own cattle and swine and did their own butchering. Upchurch indicated that coopers and tailors were the most successful at making a living and that carpenters, joiners and smiths (if equipped with the tools of their trade) fared well. He estimated that fully 30 to 40 ships visited Virginia each year, bringing the colonists necessities (Ferrar MS 1106, 1121, 1149, 1152, 1182).

The onset of the 1650s brought a number of significant changes that affected Jamestown Island's inhabitants. During the spring of 1652 James City County's territory on the lower side of the James River was split off to form Surry County. This had both political and economic ramifications, for it reduced James City's tax base. James City Parish already had experienced the loss, for in 1647 Southwark Parish was created out of its southerly territory, which meant that the revenues generated as church taxes were diminished (McIlwaine 1924:556, 559; Surry Deeds No. 1:371; Cocke 1964:47-48).

Settlement continued to fan out in every direction and forest lands were converted to cleared fields used for agriculture. Tidewater Virginia was dotted with small and middling farmsteads that were interspersed with the larger plantations of the well-to-do. Generally, when settlers moved into new territory, they vied for waterfront property that had good soils for agriculture and convenient access to shipping. Successful planters usually managed to acquire several small tracts and consolidate them into relatively large holdings.

The Commonwealth Period (1652-1660)

A New Style of Government

After England's civil war came to an end, a Parliamentary fleet set sail for Virginia to proclaim the supremacy of the Commonwealth government. Oliver Cromwell's agents also were eager to assert their authority over a colony known as a royalist stronghold. In April 1652 when the fleet arrived at Jamestown, Sir William Berkeley was obliged to turn over the reins of government. The articles of surrender Berkeley signed acknowledged Virginians' rights as citizens of the Commonwealth

of England and stated that Virginia was under the purview of the Commonwealth's laws, which had not been imposed upon the colonists by force. The burgesses were authorized to conduct business as usual, except for enacting legislation contrary to the laws of the Commonwealth. Virginia's charter was to be confirmed by Parliament and its land patents' legality was to be upheld. The colonists, like all English citizens, were entitled to free trade and no taxes could be imposed upon them without their assembly's consent. All publicly-owned arms and ammunition had to be surrendered. The assembly could conduct business as usual although all new laws had to conform with those of the Commonwealth. The articles of surrender offered many reassurances and the transition in government occurred peacefully. Berkeley and his councillors were obliged to subscribe to the articles of surrender or leave Virginia within a year (Hening 1809-1823:I:363-368). Virginia officials apparently anticipated that the Commonwealth government would assert its authority, for in advance of the fleet's arrival, they made some preparations to offer armed resistance. According to Edward Hill II of Shirley Plantation, his father, Edward Hill I commanded a regiment "in his majties service agst the parliament forces that came to reduce the countrey" (Stanard 1896:9).

One of the Commonwealth's agents said that he had sent a summons to Governor Berkeley and his council on January 19 and that he and his companions were

> *... quickened thereto by a Councel of War then met at James City (for assemblies of Burgesses were discontinued and the Country wholly so governed) and in daily hope of the ship Johns arrivall, we were induced to overlook our own insufficiency and unpreparedness in point of power and directions for such a work ... and to that end we weighed with the fleet and set sail for James City [Stanard 1904:33-35].*

The arrival of the Parliamentary fleet brought about "the calling of an Assembly and this the disbanding of their soldiers (of whom there were about 1000 or 1200 in arms at James City)" (Stanard 1904:35) (Figure 19).

After the Commonwealth government came into power in England, strict navigation acts were passed that affected overseas trade with the Dutch. In 1651 a group of 47 Dutch merchants filed a petition with their government, noting that they had "traded for upwards of twenty years past to all the Caribbean islands and to Virginia" and that through this commerce, the colony had improved greatly. The merchants said that they had been transporting to Virginia "all sorts of domestic manufactures and other articles for the people inhabiting those parts," which they exchanged for tobacco and furs. They indicated that the time limit set for their withdrawal from Virginia trade was unreasonable. Passage of the Navigation Acts eventually led England into the first Anglo-Dutch War, from May 1652 to April 1654 (O'Callaghan 1856:436-437; Wilcoxen 1987:21).

Berkeley's Adaptation to Change

Sir William Berkeley decided to stay on in Virginia, despite the change in government and loss of his official position. He retired to Green Spring, where he channeled his energies into agricultural experimentation and enhancing the amount of acreage he owned in the neighborhood. In 1651 he acquired 5,062 acres that lay between the head of Powhatan Swamp and Jones Creek, a branch of the Chickahominy River. Then, on October 1652 he repatented Green Spring, then described as 1,090 acres, to which he added another 1,000 acres he purchased from Robert Wetherell on May 11, 1652.[177] These properties, as an aggregate of 2,090 acres, were confirmed to Sir William Berkeley on March 7, 1661 (McIlwaine 1924:503, 556; Parks 1982:239, 241; Randolph 1970:150-151; Nugent 1969-1979:I:173,415; Hening 1809-1823:I:366-367).[178]

[177] The Wetherell tract lay to the north of Green Spring and was contiguous to the land Berkeley already owned.

[178] In 1674 the assembly acknowledged the validity of Berkeley's title to Green Spring, noting that he "hath expended a great summe of mony in building and likewise on the land" (Nugent 1969-1979:I:173,

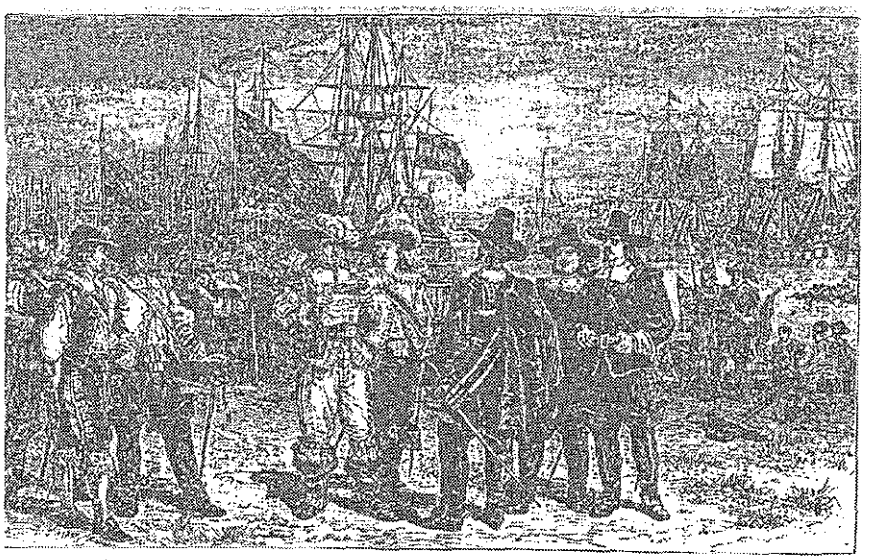


Figure 19. The Surrender of Jamestown *(J. Paul Hudson Papers, COLOJ 47658, Colonial National Historical Park).*

Surviving archival records suggest that Sir William Berkeley owned four pieces of property in Jamestown: Study Unit 1 Tract F (the 3½ acre Chiles/Page lot with Structure 44); Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D (Structure 38 and the 12 acre parcel that originally belonged to Dr. John Pott); Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A (the lot upon which Berkeley built Structure 144, a three-bay brick rowhouse); and Study Unit 1 Tract H, the acreage the assembly gave him in June 1642 (Structure 112 and "the orchard with two houses belonging to the collony"). By December 1656 Berkeley had rid himself of Study Unit 1 Tract F, which he sold on March 23, 1649. Then, he disposed of his rowhouse bays in Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A, which he relinquished simultaneously on March 30, 1655. Finally, he deeded Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D to John Phipps, who repatented it on February 23, 1656 (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:96; 1924:503, 514; Ambler MS 4, 24; Patent Book 4:101-102; Nugent 1969-1979:I:340). This sequence of events makes it highly probable that by February 1656, the only piece of property Sir William Berkeley still owned in Jamestown was "the orchard with two houses" that the assembly had given him in June 1642 (Hening 1809-1823:I:267; McIlwaine 1924:498). Thus, if Study Unit 1 Tract H has been correctly identified as the gift parcel, it was the Jamestown acreage Berkeley retained.

A brief excerpt from the December 1, 1656, minutes of the House of Burgesses states that "Sr. Wm. Berkeley be allowed four thos'd five hundred pounds of tobacco for cask with the tobaccoes upon the sale of his house, It being according to the agreement though omitted by the clerk." The same information was to be entered into the records of the James City County court (Hening 1809-1823:I:427-428; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:104). The wording of this statement suggests that the assembly had agreed to pay Sir William Berkeley 4,500 pounds of tobacco and cask for a house in James City, probably in Jamestown. If so, the government may have purchased Study Unit 1 Tract H and Structure 112 at that time.

Governor Richard Bennett (1652-1655)

In 1652 when Governor William Berkeley surrendered the Virginia colony to a Parliamentary fleet,

(cont'd from previous page)
390, 415; McIlwaine 1924:503; 1905-1915:1619-1660:96). This latter building campaign probably accompanied Berkeley's 1670 marriage to Frances Culpeper Stephens, a wealthy and genteel widow nearly half his age.

Richard Bennett, Thomas Stegg I, and William Claiborne were among those representing the Commonwealth government. On March 24, 1652, Bennett, who was from Isle of Wight County, was elected Virginia's governor. The last patent he signed was dated March 1655, the same month he purchased a rowhouse bay from Sir William Berkeley. Bennett, who was known for taking a strong stand against religious dissenters, eventually became a Quaker (Stanard 1965:15, 34; McIlwaine 1924:181, 498, 503; 1905-1915:1619-1660:92; Lower Norfolk County Book A:246; B:70, 87, 174; Hening 1809-1823:I:297, 370; Force 1973:II:9:14, 19; III:14:23; Withington 1980:180).

Richard Bennett, a nephew of British merchant Edward Bennett, came to Virginia during the late 1620s and settled within Warresqueak: what later became Isle of Wight County. In 1629 he commenced serving as Warresqueak's burgess. He became an increasingly successful merchant and planter and during the 1630s, as he accumulated wealth and power, he began patenting vast tracts of land along the Nansemond and Elizabeth Rivers. He continued to deal with the family-owned mercantile group with which he was connected, but he also was closely associated with Jamestown merchant George Menefie (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot F). In 1639 when Richard Bennett was named to the Governor's Council, he was residing in Nansemond County. Official records reveal that he served until 1651. In 1645 Bennett and Jamestown merchant George Menefie were supposed to import powder and shot into the colony for its defense (McIlwaine 1924:181,187; Stanard 1965:54; Nugent 1969-1979:I:23, 45, 66; H.C.A. 13/52; Hening 1809-1823:I:297; Withington 1980:180).

On March 30, 1655, Sir William Berkeley sold to Governor Richard Bennett, who was retiring from office, "the westernmost of the three brick houses which I ... built" in Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A, Bay 2 of Structure 144, the Ludwell Statehouse Group). Berkeley noted that the dwelling Bennett had purchased formerly had been rented to William Whitby.[179] Simultaneously, Berkeley sold Bay 4 to tavern-keeper Thomas Woodhouse. While Governor Bennett was in office, Woodhouse sometimes hosted meetings of the General Court, the Council, and the assembly.[180] This may be a reason why a 1659 law allowed the burgesses to fine fellow members who were excessively drunk during assembly meetings (McIlwaine 1924:503; 1905-1915:1619-1660:97; Hening 1809-1823:I:366-367, 407, 508; II:204). The previous summer, Richard Bennett had sold the 24 acre Glasshouse tract to Francis Moryson, who (like Bennett) on March 30, 1655, purchased part of the Ludwell Statehouse Group rowhouse (Bay 3) from Sir William Berkeley (Ambler MS 78; McIlwaine 1924:503).

After the Commonwealth era ended and Sir William Berkeley again became a royal governor, Richard Bennett was appointed to the Council. He served in that capacity from 1665 through 1667 and in 1666 he held the rank of major-general. It was then that he joined Governor Berkeley, Thomas Ludwell, Thomas Stegg II and some others in sending word to Lord Arlington that it was futile to build a fort at Old Point Comfort (McIlwaine 1924:484, 488, 490-491; Sainsbury 1964:15:1250; C.O. 1/20 Part I f 199).

Settling with the Indians

During the 1650s relations with the colony's tributary Indian tribes gradually stabilized. The 1652 legislation assigning specific tracts to the Indians (analogous to preserves or reservations) was upheld because officials, through experience, knew that conflict over land was at the root of most of their disputes with the settlers. Also, the land the Indians were assigned lay beyond the fringes of what was then the colony's frontier. However, as increasing numbers of planters ventured into the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck and the territory beyond the fall line, they paid little heed to whether they were intruding upon the acreage as-

[179] Later, Berkeley repurchased Bay 2 (McIlwaine 1924:503, 514-515).

[180] In December 1656 and in December 1662 Woodhouse was paid for hosting two meetings of the General Court and a committee meeting (Hening 1809-1823:I:424; Clarendon MS 82 ff 275-276).

signed to the Indians. Some people blatantly established homesteads on the Indians' preserves. Others tried to trick them into selling part of their land. Meanwhile, the Native population dwindled and that of the colonists increased. These dynamics put pressure upon the Indians, whose hunting and foraging habitat gradually was reduced. Also, their specially-assigned tracts eventually were surrounded by planter homesteads. Despite official policy, influential people sometimes tried to circumvent the law by claiming part of the Indians' acreage, perhaps in anticipation of their dying out or abandoning it. One such individual was Sir Thomas Lunsford of Rich Neck, who married Secretary Richard Kemp's widow. Lunsford secured a patent for land on the lower side of the Rappahannock River within territory set aside for the Nanzattico and Portabago Indians (McIlwaine 1924:41, 227, 365, 400, 493, 517).[181]

During the early-to-mid 1650s the tributary Indians began making use of the colony's legal system and occasionally served as allies of the Virginia government. In March 1656 the Pamunkey and Chickahominy Indians helped the colonists drive off 600 to 700 Natives who were "drawne down from the mountaynes and lately sett down near the falls of the James River." This conflict, the Battle of Bloody Run, claimed the life of Totopotomoy, the Pamunkey Indians' leader. Commencing in 1656, Indians had to carry written authorization whenever they entered fenced plantations to hunt or forage. A 1662 law required those entering the colonized area to wear silver or copper badges inscribed with the name of their tribe; any lacking badges were subject to arrest. Free men were permitted to trade with the Indians in special marts (Hening 1809-1823:I:5, 393, 402, 530, 547; II, 141-142; Force 1963:I:8:14-15; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:4, 74, 95).

Governor Edward Digges (1655-1656)

Edward Digges, the son of Sir Dudley Digges of Kent, England, was born in ca. 1620. He studied law at Gray's Inn in London during the late 1630s and immigrated to Virginia around 1650. He became established on the York River at a plantation that became known as Bellfield. He was appointed to the Governor's Council in November 1654 and the assembly elected him governor of Virginia in March 1655. He was chief executive until the close of 1656. Governor Edward Digges was in office during the period in which several preserves were set aside for tributary Indian groups. He also was governor during the summer of 1656 when Councillor Edward Hill I led an army of 50 militia men and tributary Indian warriors in opposition to some hostile tribesmen (the Richahecrians) who lived near the head of the James River. During that conflict (the so-called Battle of Bloody Run) Many tributary Indians were killed. Hill, who was held responsible for the slaughter of so many Native allies, was obliged to pay the cost of securing peace with the Richahecrians (Hening 1809-1823:I:402-403, 422-423; Force 1963:I:8:14; Raimo 1980:475).

While Governor Digges was in office some significant legislative changes were made. Whereas Jamestown, since the early seventeenth century, had served as the colony's sole port of entry and center of trade, acts passed in March 1655 authorized each county to have two markets in which all foreign vessels were to conduct business. Each county's markets had to be at least 10 miles from those of neighboring jurisdictions and a single market could encompass both sides of the stream upon which it was located. The term "market" was used quite differently than it is today, for each site was a trading zone that spanned 1½ to 2 miles along the waterfront. After a certain amount of time elapsed, unsold goods and merchandise could be removed from the markets and offered for sale elsewhere. This legislation was repealed in March 1656, although it was still permissible to have local markets (Hening 1809-1823:I:397, 412-414).

In December 1656 the assembly asked Governor Digges to serve as the colony's agent to England. At that juncture, he relinquished his office to Samuel Mathews II, whom the assembly elected governor, and set sail. Later, when Digges returned

[181] Lunsford patented part of what became Camden, a Caroline County plantation on Portobago Bay.

to Virginia, he served as a councillor and eventually became auditor general (Raimo 1980:475).

Jamestown Land Use Patterns at Mid-Century

During the mid-1650s patents were issued for several waterfront lots in Jamestown's New Towne, parcels that were acquired through court orders or outright purchases. It was then that Thomas Woodhouse acquired Study Unit 4 Tract C, a one acre lot to the west of Orchard Run that he subdivided and sold, the acreage upon which the Structure 17 rowhouse was constructed. Mrs. Ann Talbott, who in 1657 bought the western half of the Woodhouse lot, already owned a non-contiguous waterfront parcel (Study Unit 4 Tract A) that lay to the west, abutting Mr. Watson's property (Study Unit 4 Tract J) (Patent Book 3:331, 380; 5:253-254, 272). Thomas Hunt had a one-acre lot (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J) that abutted north upon "the path from Mr. Webster's to Mr. Chiles," whose land lay between Ditches 1 and 9, and John Barber I's Lot B. Barber in 1656 patented Lot B and a few years later bought adjoining Lot A (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lots A and B) (Patent Book 3:367; 5:228). All of these parcels were patented during the Commonwealth period.

Land also was patented in the extreme eastern and western ends of Jamestown Island during the 1650s. In 1652 Edward Travis I, who married the daughter and heiress of ancient planter John Johnson I, patented 196 acres in Study Unit 2, in the eastern end of the island near Black Point. He consolidated some of the small tracts that had belonged to ancient planters more than a quarter century earlier and added on acreage he obtained through headrights. Within a year he had expanded his holdings to 326 acres that extended from the north side of Goose Hill Marsh to Black Point (Patent Book 3:8, 158; 7:228-229). Thomas Woodhouse and William Hooker patented 100 acres (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) below the Goose Hill House in 1657, which acreage eventually became part of Richard Ambler's holdings. William Sarson patented 107 acres (Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G) in the same vicinity, including 7 of the 12 acres originally owned by Sir Thomas Dale and his widow, Elizabeth (Patent Book 3:391; 4:150; 5:145; 6:42; Ambler MS 53). This pattern of land consolidation (the absorption of smaller parcels into larger ones) was replicated throughout the Tidewater, as Virginia's more successful planters gained economic and political momentum.

In 1656 John Baldwin patented Study Unit 1 Tract E, which was thought to consist of approximately 15 acres. Twenty-five years later, when William Sherwood repatented the Baldwin land and had it surveyed, it was found to contain 28½ acres. The Baldwin/Sherwood patent absorbed the one acre lots that Edward Challis, Rudolph Spragon, George Gilbert, Richard Saunders, and John and Isaac Watson acquired during the early-to-mid 1640s and perhaps failed to develop (Patent Book 1:II:890; 2:11-12; 4:88; 7:97; Ambler MS 134). Across the isthmus, on the brink of the mainland, the 24 acre tract known as the Glasshouse came into the possession of Colonel Francis Moryson during the 1650s (Patent Book 3:367-368).

Governor Samuel Mathews II (December 1656-January 1660)

Samuel Mathews II, the son of Samuel Mathews I of Denbigh, was born in ca. 1629. His mother probably was Frances Grenville, whom Samuel Mathews I married sometime after March 24, 1628. Samuel II represented Warwick River County in the 1652, 1653 and 1654 sessions of the assembly and was a local justice and a councillor. Samuel Mathews II was elected governor of Virginia at the beginning of 1657 and he held office until his death in January 1660. At times he clashed with the assembly. In 1658 he and his Council tried to dissolve the assembly but the burgesses resisted, claiming that Mathews had exceeded his authority as governor. When his term expired, he was re-elected, probably because he indicated that he was willing to work with the burgesses in seeking "confirmation of their present priviledges" (McIlwaine

1924:505; Stanard 1965:16, 31, 36; Meyer et al. 1987:445; Raimo 1980:476).

The General Court's Schedule

In March 1658 the assembly, with the cooperation of the governor and council, established the dates upon which the General Court would convene and how long it would remain in session. Some types of cases were relegated to county courts. This was necessary because population growth and the burgeoning need to settle disputes had become extremely burdensome to the General Court. Under the new legislation, the General Court's justices would convene on March 20 and meet for 18 days. The next sessions were to begin on June 1 and October 1 and continue for 10 days. The year's final court term was to commence on November 20 and last for 10 days. Whenever a court date fell upon a Sunday, the next day was to be used. County courts were given the authority to try non-capital offenses and to settle suits over £ 16. Local sheriffs were to serve as election officials and report their results to the Secretary of the Colony (Hening 1809-1823:I:461, 475, 477). All of these measures were intended to streamline the processing of legal matters and to reduce the workload of the General Court. It should be noted that the new General Court schedule would have required justices (who were councillors) to be at Jamestown for at least 48 days a year, exclusive of council sessions. Therefore, it is not surprising that so many of these individuals had dwellings in Jamestown even though their principal landholdings were elsewhere.

Religion During the Commonwealth Period

In March 1652, when Virginia fell under the sway of the Commonwealth government, ecclesiastical law in the colony was suspended. The use of the Anglican Church's Book of Common Prayer was allowed for a year, but all references to the monarchial form of government were to be omitted. Likewise, parish vestries were authorized to collect church dues for one more year. By March 1656, people's failure to seek religious instruction and the declining number of ministers in the colony had become a matter of concern to the assembly, for when attending worship services and paying church dues became optional, many Virginians left off doing so. The result was that it became very difficult to attract clergy to the colony. The burgesses tried to solve that problem by establishing new, more convenient parishes. They also enacted new legislation that required all tithable residents of parishes lacking a minister to contribute to a fund earmarked for church construction and clergy support (Hening 1809-1823:I:364, 399-400). Although no information has come to light about how regularly worship services were held in the church at Jamestown during the Commonwealth period, it is likely that there was a minimal amount of interruption. The Rev. Philip Mallory, who was rector of James City Parish, was sent to England in 1660 to plead with officials to send more clergy to Virginia. As soon as the monarchy was restored, ecclesiastical law was reinstated and the church again had the status of a public institution (Brydon 1947:138, 144; Hening 1809-1823:I:418).

Berkeley's Final Years (1660-1677)

Governor William Berkeley (1660-1661)

On October 11, 1660, Sir William Berkeley, whom the burgesses elected as governor upon the death of Commonwealth Governor Samuel Mathews II, was authorized to see that a statehouse was built. Funds for its construction were to be raised via a public levy. However, in March 1661 the burgesses decided to raise the funds through private subscriptions rather than through a public levy, which they felt would be burdensome (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:8; Hening 1809-1823:II:13, 38). Official records suggest that Berkeley took no immediate action, perhaps because he was awaiting instructions from the recently restored king

(McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:13; Hening 1809-1823:II:38). In 1660, when word reached Virginia that the monarchy had been restored and King Charles II was installed upon the throne, Governor William Berkeley issued a proclamation and celebrants marked the occasion with trumpeting, the firing of guns (volleys of joy) and drinking. In fact, one man was paid for providing more than 200 gallons of hard cider to the merrymakers at Jamestown and another was compensated for six cases of drams. Governor William Berkeley furnished a 112 lb. barrel of powder, for which he was reimbursed. On March 23, 1661, he set sail for England to promote the colony's interests in the policy-making decisions of the newly formed Restoration government (Hening 1809- 1823:II:17, 20; Tyler 1892-1893:196). During 1659, the Commonwealth government had strengthened the Navigation Acts in order to restrict Virginia's trade with foreign nations. Therefore, Governor Berkeley went to the Mother Country to remind his superiors that "the privileges granted us by our articles of surrender [are] to have free trade with all nations in amity with the people of England" (Billings et al. 1986:78; Hening 1809-1823:I:540).

Deputy Governor Francis Moryson (Morrison) (1661-1662)

In April 1661 Francis Moryson (Morrison) was designated deputy governor while Sir William Berkeley was in England. He was a royalist, who had immigrated to Virginia from the Netherlands in August 1649, with Sir William Berkeley's kinsman, Henry Norwood. He, like Norwood, had survived being shipwrecked on the Eastern Shore. Governor Berkeley befriended Moryson and made him captain of the fort at Old Point Comfort. He was named to the Governor's Council in 1650. Moryson went on to become speaker of the assembly and a colonel, which rank he enjoyed for many years. In 1654, while Governor Richard Bennett held office and Virginia was under the control of the Commonwealth regime, Major Francis Moryson secured a patent for the 24 acre Glasshouse tract, which he bought from William Harris I, the owner of Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot B. In March 1655, Moryson purchased from Sir William Berkeley Bay 3 of Structure 144, the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A), and in 1656 he began leasing part of the Governor's Land (Force 1973:III:10:3-4, 19, 50; Nugent 1969-1979:I:240, 305, 313, 367, 326; Hening 1809-1823:I:426; II:159; Stanard 1965:35; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:96).

While Francis Moryson was deputy governor, he reportedly donated communion silver to the church at Jamestown. When he went to England in 1663, he stayed for three years. Even so, he continued to receive his salary as the captain of the fort at Old Point Comfort and in 1665 he became the colony's master of ordnance. As spokesman for the assembly, Francis Moryson communicated the colonists' concerns to Lord Arlington. He said that the assembly would like to see Virginia incorporated and that the burgesses were willing to purchase the Northern Neck (Stanard 1965:16, 51; McIlwaine 1924:492, 507; 1905-1915:20; Tyler 1893-1894:173; C. O. 1/17 f 42; 1/33 f 289; 5/1355 ff 33-35; Withington 1980:321; Hening 1809-1823:I:426).

On March 23, 1662, while Sir William Berkeley still was in England, the assembly convened and Virginia's legal code was revised extensively. For the first time, each county could send only two burgesses to the assembly; Jamestown was to have one representative. Each county court was to consist of eight justices, with the first man appointed to office serving as sheriff. Vestries could have no more than twelve members. Tax rates were established by law and for the first time, county courts were authorized to issue marriage licenses. When the assembly formally adopted English common law in 1662, legislation was enacted to regulate local elections and set public officials' fees. Procedures were established for probating estates, determining land ownership, setting the prices tavern-keepers and millers could charge, and formalizing land transfers. These duties added to the workload of the county court, but relieved the General Court's overloaded docket. Other issues the burgesses addressed in 1662 included relations with the Indi-

ans, the treatment of indentured servants, controlling the quality of tobacco, and the proper observance of the Sabbath. Three or four sites in every parish were to be set aside as public burial grounds, where all the dead were to be interred unless prior arrangements had been made. Every four years vestrymen had to procession the boundaries of land within their parishes. They were to renew boundary markers whenever necessary and see that disputed property lines were surveyed. A procedure was established for appointing the surveyors of public highways, whose duties were defined by law (Hening 1809-1823:II:41-162

James City County's monthly court, whose seat was in Jamestown, was to convene on the 6th day of the month, Sundays excepted, and all justices were expected to attend the sessions from beginning to end. Half of each county's eight justices were "of the quorum," that is, one or more of them had to be participants in every court session. All plaintiffs and defendants had to present a written summary of their cases and were guaranteed the right to trial by jury. The General Court continued to serve as an appellate body for the county judiciary. On the other hand, the General Court could forward cases to the county court (Hening 1809-1823:II:70-75).

Fueling Economic Productivity

During the summer of 1661, while Governor William Berkeley was in England, he made many appearances before the Council for Foreign Plantations, where he lobbied against the Navigation Acts. In August 1661 he was asked to produce a written report on the colony's economic situation. He presented an oral account in July 1662, which he followed with a treatise entitled "A Discourse and View of Virginia," published in 1663. Berkeley asserted that the colony needed the Crown's financial and political backing if it were to exploit its abundance of natural resources and he argued that England's best hopes of economic supremacy lay in making Virginia the keystone of the empire. He claimed that the biggest impediment to Virginia's realizing its true economic potential was the lack of skilled workers capable of producing staple commodities such as timber products, silk, flax, lead, pitch, tar, hemp, potashes and iron (Berkeley 1663b:2,4; Washburn 1957:104-105).

Governor Berkeley's Return (1662-1677)

According to early eighteenth century historian Robert Beverley II, as soon as Governor William Berkeley returned to Virginia,[182] he began experimenting with trials of potash, flax, hemp, silk and other products in an attempt to promote Virginia's potential for manufacturing. He also turned his attention to the production of glass and earthenware and exhibited an interest in salt-making.[183] In an April 1663 letter Governor William Berkeley informed an associate that he had

> *... sent home another Tunn of Potashes[184] and if it yields but a reasonable price I shall*

[182] Upon Berkeley's return, it was noted in the General Court records that he "styles himself Governor and Captain Genl. of Virginia and Carolina" (McIlwaine 1924:493).

[183] Archaeological excavations carried out at Green Spring in 1928-1929 revealed that a small glass furnace once stood near some old brick kilns on Powhatan Creek. Two of the furnace's bricks were inscribed "H.A.L." and bore the date "Aug. 6, 1666" (Griesenauer 1956:20; Carson 1954:12). During the excavations conducted by Louis R. Caywood in 1955 the site of a pottery kiln was uncovered in an area to the southeast of Green Spring mansion. Caywood dated the structure to ca. 1665 on the basis of artifacts found in association with fragments of kiln furniture and wasters. He concluded that the earthenwares produced at Green Spring were tangible evidence of Governor Berkeley's attempt to produce marketable commodities (Caywood 1955:13).

[184] In order to produce potash, wood was burned and its ashes were wet down in hoppers. The alkaline liquid that seeped off was collected. This "black lye" was then boiled in cast iron pots until its water content evaporated, yielding lye granules or black salt. After the excess carbon was removed from the black salt, the purified lye could be used

by God's blessing send home 200 Tunns more made by my own family besides what the Country will do when they hear my Labours are successful... . The next year we shall make a visible entrance into those stable commodities as flax and hemp [Berkeley 1663a].

Berkeley also sent to London 49 pieces of black walnut lumber, which he said was enough to wainscot five or six rooms. He indicated that during the previous year he had produced wine and that he "drank as good of my own planting as ever came out of Italy" and he offered to send a friend at court "a Hogshead of Virginia wine" (Berkeley 1663a). Robert Beverley II, whose father was very familiar with Green Spring and Berkeley's interest in horticulture, said that the governor's attempts at viniculture were hindered by his plantation's proximity to the James River's brackish water and his decision to use trees as a trellis for his grapevines (Beverley 1947:135).

The colony's assembly did its part in furthering Virginia's economic development by enacting legislative incentives. One law passed in March 1662 required every county to have a tannery, staffed with tanners, curriers and shoemakers; however, it is uncertain whether local officials opted to build their tannery on Jamestown Island or elsewhere in James City County.[185] County officials were given flax seed to sell to local inhabitants and those who raised and processed it, spun the fibers into yarn, and wove it into cloth a yard wide, were eligible for a bounty. Each county was to set up a loom and weaver to produce fabric for the manufacture of clothing. The weaver (a male) was to be supplied with thread spun by five women or children. He was expected to produce enough clothing for at least 30 people. All counties that failed to comply with these legislative mandates were subject to a fine.[186] Rewards were offered to those who planted mulberry trees or build ships (Hening 1809-1823:II:120-124).

Throughout the 1660s, Jamestown continued to serve as the colony's principal port. The masters of incoming ships, upon arriving at Old Point Comfort, were required to present a manifest, pay customs duties and account for their passengers. Then, they had to proceed to Jamestown to obtain a trading license. This gave the capital city's residents (many of whom were merchants) first access to newly imported goods. Another important piece of legislation legally defined what constituted planting or seating new land. Specifically, anyone who built a house, kept livestock upon his property for a year, or cleared an acre of ground and planted crops, could secure his patent. These patenting-and-seating requirements were reaffirmed in 1666 (Hening 1809-1823:II:135, 244).

Promoting Urban Development

On September 12, 1662, the Privy Council instructed Governor William Berkeley to see that towns were built on each of the colony's rivers, commencing with the James. He was told to "give good example yourself by building some houses there, which will in a short time turn to profit" and to inform his councillors that the king would look very favorably upon it if "each of them build one or more houses there." The Privy Council wanted to know how the assembly responded to their instruc-

(cont'd from previous page)
in the production of soap and glass (Tunis 1972:118). As timber was in short supply in the Mother Country and wooded acreage was being cleared in Virginia for agricultural purposes, the production of potash would have made use of a waste product to fulfill a resource need.

185 During Bacon's Rebellion, Henry Jenkins, a James City County tanner, suffered at the hands of the opposing sides. In March 1677, when Jenkins requested compensation for his losses, he said that Bacon's men had seized a substantial quantity of tanned hides from him and that Berkeley's people had taken his cattle. Although it is uncertain where Henry Jenkins was living during the 1660s and 70s, a 1690 plat reveals that he then possessed and occupied a 76 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land (C.O. 1/40 f 18; Ambler MS 45).

186 If James City County had a cloth production facility, there is no written evidence that it was located at Jamestown.

tions and who built houses in response to the directive (C.O. 5/1354 ff 273-274).[187]

Because the king commanded Virginia officials to build a town in the colony, in December 1662 when the assembly convened, legislation was enacted for the purpose of achieving that goal. It was then decided that the town would "be built at James Citty as being the most convenient place in James River" and that it would "consist of 32 houses, each house to be builded of brick, 40 foot long, 20 foot wide, within the walls, to be 18 foote high above the ground, the walls to be two brick thick to the water table, and a brick and a halfe thick above the water table to the roofe, the roofe to be 15 foote pitch and to be covered with slate or tile." The houses were to "be all regularly placed one by another in a square or other forme as the honorable Sir William Berkeley shall appoint most convenient." Each of the colony's 17 counties was obliged to build one house and county officials were authorized to impress the necessary workmen, whose wages were a set rate. The cost of building materials was fixed and a public levy was to underwrite the cost of construction. County justices were to "have their workmen readie to go to worke within 20 daies after they have notice from the governour that the bricks and shells are readie,[188] and also to beginne their timber worke so timely that it may be all in readiness by the last of May and laid on soe soon as the brickworke is ready for it." Because it was felt that "works of soe publique concernement can hardly bee effectually managed but with great damage of the private undertakers without some contribution to assist them," each county or private individual that built a prototypical house in Jamestown was entitled to receive 10,000 lbs. of tobacco, "provided the same be completely finished within two years after subscription to build." Those interested in undertaking construction had to sign a written agreement at Jamestown prior to the end of March 1663. Anyone who "shall subscribe to build one or more houses, and not perform the same within two years after the subscription, shall be fined 15,000 lbs. of tobacco." Builders were entitled to immunity from arrest during the two year period construction was underway. The December 1662 law stipulated that no new frame houses were to be built in Jamestown and none that already were in existence could be repaired (Hening 1809-1823:II:172-176).[189]

In September 1663 the burgesses decided to compensate counties that had erected brick houses in Jamestown, thereby discharging their legal obligation to build. Reference was made to "the particular houses already built" and the fact that "the next year four houses *more*[190] [should] be built and so yearly four houses untill the number of houses undertaken by the counties be accomplished." When all of the counties' brick houses had been erected, each was to be assigned a dwelling. But until then, the structures already built were to be

[187] Although the destruction of records for this period obscures the names of Berkeley's council, Thomas Ludwell, Francis Moryson and Thomas Stegg II are known members and Miles Cary, Henry Randolph and John Stringer served in capacities that imply their involvement (McIlwaine 1924:507). It is certain that Thomas Ludwell and Thomas Stegg II erected Bay 1 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Structure 144) during the 1660s and that Ludwell owned Bay 2 of the same brick rowhouse and that Francis Moryson and Miles Cary had a legal interest in Bay 3. The possibility exists that some of Berkeley's councillors tried to comply with building requirements by improving property they already owned (McIlwaine 1924:514). If so, it may have been then that the original Ludwell Statehouse Group units (Bays 2, 3, and 4) were elaborated upon by Governor William Berkeley, for all three bays had come back into his possession (McIlwaine 1924:514).

[188] Berkeley probably was responsible for furnishing some of the bricks and mortar to be used in construction or he may have had oversight of that aspect of the preparations for building.

[189] In September 1671 the inhabitants of Jamestown requested (and received) permission to "repaire their old wooden houses but not to build any new ones." Then, in September 1672 the assembly decided that those who lived in Jamestown could "build outhouses of timber, provided they are not adjacent any dwelling house and no fires in them unless brick chimneyed" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:56-58).

[190] Emphasis added.

considered common land. The speaker of the assembly, Captain Robert Wynne, was authorized to make agreements with private individuals who were willing to build houses "with good sufficient bricks, lime and timber." As a safeguard against people's accepting payment in advance of construction, but not following through, no one was supposed to be compensated until his work had been completed satisfactorily (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:28).[191] Although it is uncertain how many counties undertook construction as part of the 1662 building program, it is certain that on December 30, 1662, Joseph Croshaw was authorized by his fellow county justices to build York County's obligatory brick house and likewise that on February 3, 1663, Theodorick Bland was told to build Charles City County's (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 3:183; Charles City County Order Book 1:34).

On December 13, 1662, when the assembly committee "for Laying ye Levy" convened, several people were authorized to receive compensation for work they already had done or pledged to do. Captain Underhill (probably John Underhill, who in 1664 prepared a plat of Study Unit 1 Tract D for Jonathan Knowles), was to be paid "for his extraordinary paines in surveying ye ground for ye towne and employed by ye Honble Governor." Herman Simeon (perhaps an attorney) was to be compensated, for he "hath ben employed in drawing up ye opinion of building a town." When the committee met again on September 29, 1663, authorization was given for Governor Berkeley to be paid a very modest sum (3,000 pounds of tobacco) "for a statehouse to be built." As people who constructed a prototypical brick house received 33,000 pounds of tobacco, Berkeley probably was being paid for the purchase of his property and its deteriorating improvements, Study Unit 1 Tract H and Structure 112. Berkeley's property had declined in value significantly since December 1656, when buying his real estate first was discussed, for it was then said to be worth 4,500 pounds of tobacco. Berkeley was paid 80,000 pounds of tobacco for providing brick and lime for the construction of eight houses. Meanwhile, Thomas Hunt (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J) was authorized to receive compensation for providing bricks and lime and constructing the house that Nansemond County officials were obliged to build. Isle of Wight County's justices were to receive funds for building their county's brick house, and Herman Simone, a private citizen, was paid for building one. Several people were paid for providing accommodations for official meetings, notably Thomas Woodhouse (Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A Bay 4 of Structure 144), Nicholas Meriwether (Study Unit 1 Tract A), Thomas Hunt (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J), Mr. Edwards (probably William Edwards II of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lots B and D), John Knowles (Study Unit 1 Tract D with Structure 38), Mr. May (probably William May of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcels 1 and 2, with Structure 86), James Mason, and Mr. William Stanton. Captain Peter Ashton of Northumberland County was compensated for entertaining a joint meeting of the Councils of Maryland and Virginia in his home (Clarendon MS 82 ff 275-276; McIlwaine 1924:506; Hening 1809-1823:I:427-428).

[191] But apparently this rule was ignored as much as it was obeyed. In November 1666 John Knowles (Study Unit 1 Tract D) and Thomas Hunt (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J) were censured for accepting payment for house construction, without completing their work. Reference also was made to another would-be builder of two houses (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:49-50). It is unclear whether these men had been hired to construct the houses the counties were obliged to erect or whether they were private contractors who undertook work on behalf of themselves or others. In response to the court's censuring action, Thomas Harris agreed to finish the house he was building, whereas Mr. Hunt posted a bond, guaranteeing that he would complete "his three houses," two of which Mr. Knowles had agreed to fabricate (Stanard 1909:345). One of these housing-starts may have been Structure 105. It should be noted that those who received payment as builders were not obliged to improve property they owned personally. Thus, a lot owner could hire someone else to build a house on his land, which construction costs would be subsidized by the government.

In 1662 legislation was passed that required every Virginia county to have a pillory, a pair of stocks and a whipping post near its courthouse; a ducking stool also was to be available (Hening 1809-1823:II:75). Throughout the seventeenth century, James City County's court justices shared the accommodations allocated to the Quarter or General Court and the two judicial bodies utilized a common jail.[192] It is uncertain where in Jamestown the two judicial bodies' stocks, pillory, whipping post and ducking stool were located. Legislation enacted in September 1663 required townspeople to pull up all of the stakes "of the old wharves about the town" which were "soe prejudicial and dangerous to boats landing" and they were enjoined "not to build new ones in the face of the town" (Hening 1809-1823:II:123; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:25). This suggests that wharves or docks then protruded from a number of the lots along Jamestown's waterfront, traditionally its commercial district.[193]

Archaeological and historical evidence together indicate that a number of brick houses were erected in Jamestown as a result of the December 1662 building initiative. For example, Structure 115 (a four-bay brick rowhouse abutting south upon the Common Road) was built during that period. Two of its units (Bays 1 and 2) were erected by county governments and two (Bays 3 and 4) by private individuals. Structure 19,[194] the Structure 17 rowhouse, and Bay 1 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Structure 144) also were built around this time and it is probable that the Structure 105 and 106 housing-starts are a product of the 1662 building initiative. A brick house on Study Unit 1 Tract A, upon which patentee Nicholas Meriwether was obliged to erect improvements, also may date to this period. Rowhouses probably were popular with those who decided to erect buildings as part of the 1662 initiative, for those who did so received a flat fee. Therefore, if a building could be constructed more cheaply (thanks to an existing party wall), the entrepreneur could pocket the extra funds.

On September 17, 1668, the justices of James City County asked the House of Burgesses for the right to use "one of the Countrie Brick houses" as a prison. They pointed out that James City's sheriff was responsible for "fellons and other publique prisoners [that] are frequently brought thither from all parts of the country" for trial in the General Court, as well as those to be tried in the

[192] During 1661 and 1662 a Quaker named George Wilson was incarcerated at Jamestown, where he was "chained to an Indian wch is in prison for murder." Wilson said that they "had our Legs on one bolt made fast to a post with an ox chaine" and he referred to the jail as "that dirty dungeon Jamestown" (Chandler 1925:266-267). In 1657 Quaker ministers Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston also were confined to Jamestown's jail, which they described as "a dirty dungeon where we have not the benefit to do what nature requireth, nor so much as air to blow in at a window, but close made up with brick and lime" (Tyler 1906:61). It is uncertain where they were being detained. One possibility is the cellar of the "country house" (Structure 38).

[193] One man (whose identity is not disclosed in extant court documents) was given permission to build a wharf "before James City" (McIlwaine 1924:508). However, In October 1667, John Barber I, Theophilus Hone, William Stufton, and Griffith Dickenson were fined for having "erected wares [wharves] in the Face of the Town" contrary to the September 10, 1663 act (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:48-49). John Barber I's ½ acre lot (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot A) abutting the James River was in the New Towne and Dickenson had wed the widow of Thomas Wilkinson, the owner of neighboring Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J. Hone rented property on the north side of Back Street, in the same general vicinity (Study Unit 1 Tracts D and F) (Patent Book 5:140).

[194] Colonel Thomas Swann I hired Surry County bricklayer John Bird to do some work for him. Swann's brick ordinary in Jamestown was in business some time prior to 1676 and Bacon's Rebellion. At first, some of Swann's servants operated the ordinary. Then, he commenced leasing it to William Thompson I of Surry, who put his underage son in charge of day-to-day management (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:179-180). Builder John Bird probably was involved in the construction of Structure 1/2, for in 1673 its owner, Richard James I, sued Bird for failing to complete his work (McIlwaine 1924:344).

county court. The local justices' request was approved, but the burgesses stipulated that James City County had to bear the cost of converting the house into a jail and that when the county's seven year lease expired, the building had to be left "in sufficient repaire" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:53). Although it is uncertain which of the brick "country houses" in Jamestown was to be converted into a prison, it should be noted that in July 1680 Bay 2 of Structure 115 was identified as "that house where the gaole was kept." Moreover, during the 1950s archaeologists recovered the left half of a male pelvis and left leg in Well 19 (Structure 130), 14 feet north of the party wall between Bays 2 and 3 (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:152; Cotter 1958:127, 157). Historian Robert Beverley II took a dim view of the 1660s building program. He said that most of the houses the counties built were converted into taverns. He also said that although ships were supposed to break bulk at Jamestown, many did not (Beverley 1947:67-68).

Fragmentary assembly minutes for September 16, 1663, suggest that by that date little, if any, progress had been made toward constructing a statehouse. Then, on September 17, 1663, a committee of burgesses was delegated "to treat with the governor about a statehouse" (Hening 1809-1823:II:204-205; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:23, 25-26). It was to be "of such dimensions as the honorable governor who hath been pleased to undertake it shall find convenient for the reception of general court and assemblies and accommodation of the committees" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660- 1693:27).[195] Whether Berkeley decided to sell some of his own property to the government, or to renovate/replace an existing building that officials were then using is open to conjecture. Research suggests, however, that the property Berkeley selected was Study Unit 1 Tract H, on which Structure 112 was situated. The statehouse Berkeley was authorized to erect constituted the colony's first purposefully-built structure of its kind, designed to accommodate the assembly and the General Court. The payment Berkeley was authorized to receive (a sum recommended by an assembly committee at its September 29th meeting) probably was for the purchase of his property, for it was less than a tenth of the cost of a prototype brick house (Clarendon MS 82 f 275).

Thomas Ludwell in April 1665 informed officials in England that in obedience to the king's wishes, Virginians had "begun a town of brick and have allreddy built enough to accommodate both the publique affairs of ye country and to begin a factory for merchants and shall increase it as there shall bee occasion for it." He indicated that flax, silk, potashes and English grains were being produced and that some small vessels had been fabricated that could be used in trading with neighboring colonies.[196] Another writer during the 1660s estimated that Jamestown then had approximately 20 houses (C.O. 1/19 ff 75-76; 1/21 ff 344-346).[197]

During the mid-1660s, Thomas Ludwell and merchant Thomas Stegg II, both of whom were council members, collaborated in adding a unit (Bay 1) onto the western end of the Ludwell-Statehouse

[195] In October 1673 the secretary of the colony was assigned the eastern garret of the statehouse for use as an office (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:60). When the statehouse was rebuilt, having been destroyed during Bacon's Rebellion, an attempt was made to perpetuate this tradition (see ahead).

[196] The Ludwell letter bears an April 10, 1665, endorsement that states "Have begun a towne, capable at present for ye civill administration, and an introduction to a factoric" (C.O. 1/19 ff 75-76).

[197] During 1665 Francis Moryson sent word to the Earl of Clarendon that "His Majesty's instructions by Sir William Berkeley, though they did not positively enjoyne the building of a towne, yet they soe recommended to us that we must have shown a supine negligence if we had not att least endeavored it. Our poore assay of building fower or five houses lost us hundreds of people wch I hope will wipe out that odium that is thrown upon the government that wee use our people worse than Maryland and therefore they leave us" (Moryson, July 18, 1666). As Moryson seemingly had been in England since his departure from Virginia in 1663, it is uncertain from whom he was obtaining his information or how accurate it was.

Group. By doing so, they became eligible to patent the half-acre lot (Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot B) that enveloped three sides of the rowhouse unit they had just erected, which shared a party wall with Bay 2 (Patent Book 6:223). Governor Berkeley eventually repurchased all three of the original units of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Bays 2, 3, and 4), which he disposed of in 1670, around the time he wed Frances Culpeper Stephens. In 1672 Berkeley bought the rowhouse unit (Bay 1) that Thomas Ludwell and Thomas Stegg II had built around 1667 (McIlwaine 1924:514-515).

Urban Planning

During the 1660s and early 1670s Governor William Berkeley issued five patents for land within the New Towne. All of them lay within Study Unit 4 Tract L, the area that in 1624 was in the hands of merchants and government officials. During the 1660s and 70s, those who patented urban lots were obliged to develop them. It was during the early 1660s that John Barber I acquired and developed Lot A, on the waterfront. Meanwhile, William May patented two ½ acre lots (Lot C Parcels 1 and 2) that abutted north upon Back Street and built a dwelling upon one of them. These land allotments (and John Phipps' on the north side of Back Street) were assigned as part of the 1660s building initiative, for May built a dwelling on Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcel 1 (Structure 86) and Phipps erected one his lot (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot C), a barn a short distance to the east of Structure 31/38. By March 1665 two ferries were being kept in Jamestown (McIlwaine 1924:509) (Figure 20). If the boats plied a route to Gray's and Couches Creeks in Surry County, the ferry landings probably were located in the vicinity of Study Unit 4 Tracts O and R, from which lots ferries ran later in the century (see ahead).

The Turf Fort

On June 3, 1665, Governor William Berkeley received a message from the king, who commanded him to put the colony into a defensive posture, as a Dutch invasion was expected. He also was to secure from attack the ships that were trading in Virginia.[198] When the governor and his council convened on June 21st, they decided to place all county militia regiments on alert and to require all trading vessels to congregate at four sites: at Jamestown; on the York River, "on the south side over against Tyndall's Point;" in the Rappahannock River, on the Corotoman; and on the Eastern Shore at Pungoteague. Some local men were designated to "build a platform for battery and lines for small shot to defend the ships," which work was to be completed no later than September 10, 1665. The ordnance at Old Point Comfort was to be loaded aboard vessels and brought up the James River to Jamestown "with all possible speed," and an urgent request for military stores was dispatched to England (McIlwaine 1924:484-485; C. O. 1/19 ff 200-203).

The October 1665 minutes of the Virginia assembly suggest that by that date, high-ranking officials had altered their defensive strategy somewhat, for the burgesses passed an act authorizing the construction of one fort at a site "the governor shall thinke most convenient." Carpenters, laborers and other workmen were to be pressed into service and William Bassett, who was designated to oversee the work, was authorized to cut pine trees from anyone's land for use in the fort's construction. The militia of James City and Surry Counties were ordered to contribute six days work per man toward perfecting the fort (Hening 1809-1823:II:220-221). Minutes of the Governor's Council for March 1666 reveal that the inhabitants of James City and Surry Counties were "to give so much work as might fill up the works with earth" (McIlwaine 1924:487). Thus, the fort's walls, which were earthen, were to be shored up by (or contained within) a wooden framework. Heavy ordnance was brought up to Jamestown, the site Governor Berkeley selected for the fort's construction (McIlwaine 1924:486-488).

[198] The second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667) had gotten underway.

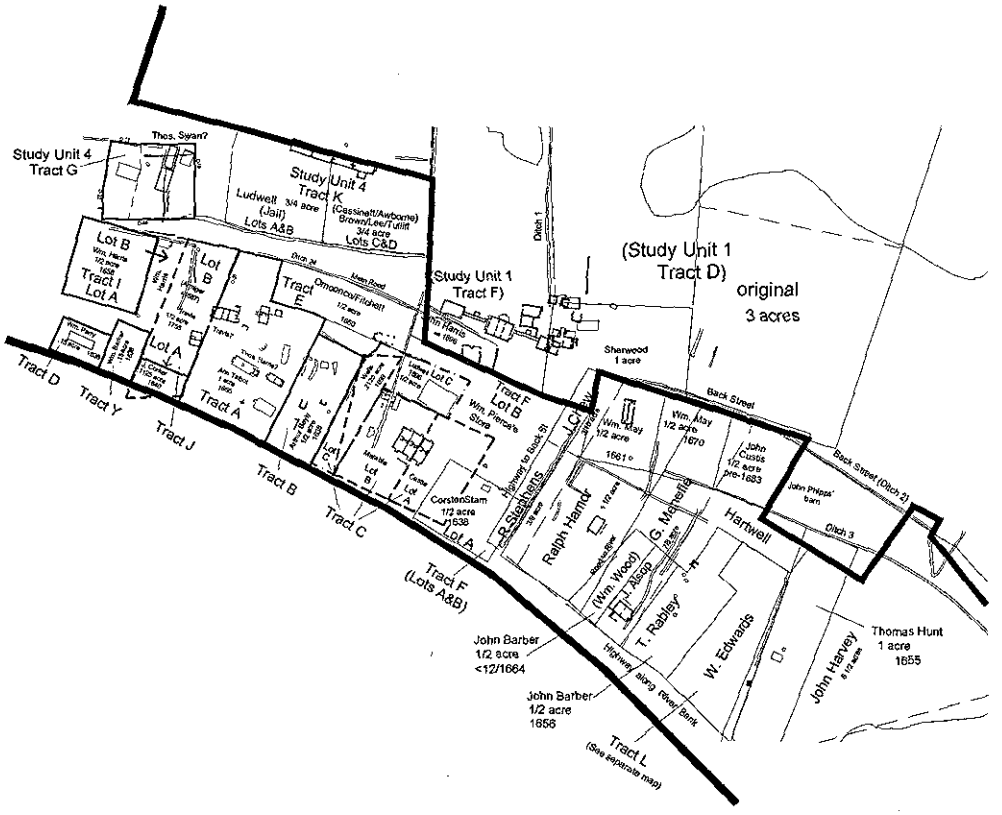


Figure 20. *Study Unit 4 with Part of Study Unit 1.*

However, politics intervened in the Virginia government's plans, for a group of Bristol merchants prevailed upon the king to order Governor Berkeley to build a fort at Old Point Comfort, whose location they considered strategically superior in the defense of shipping. The king's November 5, 1665, command to fortify Old Point Comfort reached Virginia shortly before the governor and his council convened on March 29, 1666. Thus, when they met, they were obliged to yield to the king's authority and they commenced making plans to fortify Old Point Comfort. What the council minutes do not reveal is the extent to which fort construction had progressed at Jamestown between October 1665 and late March 1666. It is certain that artillery pieces already had been transported from Old Point Comfort to Jamestown and therefore had to be returned to their original location. Berkeley and his council specified that the artillery would be relocated "at the sole and proper costs of the ships trading into the said river," an indication that they knew merchants had used their influence upon the king. They also openly questioned the wisdom of fortifying Old Point Comfort, whose broad channel would allow enemy ships to elude on-shore cannon. From experience, they also realized knew that seagoing vessels anchored at Old Point Comfort under the protection of the fort's guns would be vulnerable to high winds from three possible directions. However, they were obliged to obey the king's command and sometime prior to June 10, 1666, fort construction got underway at the mouth of the James. In early July an enemy man-of-war arrived in Hampton Roads, captured two ships, and threatened other damage. Local militia units were alerted and Governor Berkeley dispatched a letter to the king, requesting for a frigate that could be used in the colony's defense. The 20 men then stationed at the fort at Old Point Comfort were ordered to bury its cannon 4-feet-deep and if necessary, to defend their position with their guns (McIlwaine 1924:486-488).

In July 1666, Governor William Berkeley and his council sent word to England that they had "designed a fort at James Town in the center of the country," where 14 great guns had been brought up at great expense (C.O. 1/20 ff 199-200). In a letter that accompanied Berkeley's, Secretary Thomas Ludwell stated that they had decided to construct only one fort because building more would have been too costly; he added that at Jamestown there were enough men to form a garrison without any charge to the government. Ludwell closed by requesting two frigates that could patrol the bay and serve as an early warning system (C.O. 1/20 ff 218-219). Ludwell's verbiage implies that work on the fort at Jamestown was then underway.[199] It probably was a continuation of the project that had commenced late in 1665. By February 1667 a severe storm had destroyed the new fortifications at Old Point Comfort and claimed the lives of several men stationed there (C.O. 1/21 ff 37- 38).

A June 5, 1667, Dutch attack upon the tobacco fleet, which was anchored in the James River off Newport News Point, led to the loss of twenty-some ships. When the colony's Grand Assembly convened the following September, it was decided that fortifications should be built upon each of the colony's major rivers before the end of April 1668.[200] Each fort's walls were to be at least 10 feet high and capable of accommodating 8 great guns and the wall facing the river channel was to be at least 10 feet thick.[201] The burgesses reiterated the fact that it was useless to fortify Old Point Comfort and that the course of action upon which they'd embarked would offer the best protection to the colony's shipping. The five forts were to be completed by April 30, 1668. Ships were to commence riding under their protection as soon as possible. The counties of James City, Surry, Charles City and Henrico were designated to underwrite the cost of constructing the fort at Jamestown (Hening 1809-1823:II:255-258; C.O. 1/21 ff 226-229).

In November 1667, Governor Berkeley sent word to Lord Arlington that Jamestown's fort was nearly finished and he requested a shipment of powder and shot. By July 1668 all five forts reportedly were complete and a law was passed requiring ships to ride under their protection and to obtain their trading licenses there (Hening 1809-1823:II:255-258; C.O.1/21 ff 226-229, 286; 1/23 ff 31-32). The forts' usefulness as defensive works was extremely short-lived, for the threat of a Dutch attack abated and as of September 1668, trading vessels no longer were required to ride under their protection (Hening 1809-1823:II:265).

Archaeological evidence and land records indicate that the turf fort built at Jamestown during the mid-1660s, Structure 157, was located upon Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A. In April 1689 when Henry Hartwell patented a lot that was a little over two acres in size (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C), it was noted that his westernmost property line began "at a Stake fixed in ye Bank of ye River and thence [ran] by a Line passing along ye angular points of ye trench, which faceth two of ye Eastern Bastions of an old Ruin'd Turf fort" (Patent Book 7:701). Thus, the southerly part of Hartwell's western boundary line (which lay just east of the turf fort's eastern side) appears to have followed the feature designated Ditch 7 on the Jamestown Archaeological Base Map. In 1721 when Micajah Perry's agent, John Clayton, sold a nearby half-acre lot to Edward Jaquelin (Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot A), it was noted that the property contained

[199] In a July 18, 1666, letter to the Earl of Clarendon, Ludwell said that the government had levied 80,000 pounds of tobacco to build the fort at Jamestown and had brought the guns there, "but after all this trouble and expenditure, the Bristol men (whose trade lyes about the mouth of the river) brought in a command from the King to build it at Point Comfort." As a result, "our preparations and first charges for a fort were useless" and caused people to complain (Ludwell, July 18, 1666).

[200] Forts were to be situated at Jamestown, Tindall's (Gloucester) Point, Corotoman, Yeohocomico and at a site near the mouth of the Nansemond River.

[201] A gunner and four men were to be on constant guard and incoming ships were not allowed to break bulk until they had obtained a trading license from their nearest fort (C.O. 1/21 ff 226-229). Thus, the fortifications were not only defensive but also had a role in monitoring the flow of trade.

the late John Jarrett's tenement, abutted north upon the land on which Jaquelin's mansion stood and east upon "the old Fort" (Ambler MS 101). This constitutes the latest-dated reference to the turf fort that thus far has come to light. In 1688 the Rev. John Clayton prepared a sketch map on which the turf fort was shown (see ahead).

The 1667 Hurricane

The prospect of foreign invasion was not the only problem that confronted Virginians during the late 1660s, for uncommonly severe weather conditions in 1667 also took their toll. Thomas Ludwell, who had property at Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot B Bay 2 and Lot A Bay 1) and a farm called Rich Neck near Middle Plantation, reported that in April 1667 a storm yielding hail "as big as Turkey Eggs" destroyed the year's bounty of nuts, fruit and grain crops, "brake all the glass windowes and beat holes through the tiles of our houses," and "killed many young hogs and cattle." Mid-summer brought a rainy spell that lasted for 40 days and drowned the summer's crops.[202] Finally, on August 27th, a violent hurricane struck that lasted for 24 hours and destroyed an estimated 10,000 houses.[203] The storm reportedly "began at North East and went round northerly till it came to West and so on till it came to South East where it ceased." Accompanying the strong winds was heavy rain, which caused such severe flooding that many Tidewater families were forced from their homes. Fences were blown down and livestock escaped their pastures and roamed freely, damaging what was left of the year's corn, tobacco and field crops. Thomas Ludwell did not describe specifically the storm's affects on Jamestown Island. However, he said that "the waves [were] impetuously beaten against the shores and by that violence forced and ... crowded up into all creeks, rivers and bays" (Stanard 1911:250-251). Thus, it is very likely that flooding, wind-damage and erosion occurred.[204] When the burgesses convened in 1668, August 27th was declared a day of annual fasting and atonement, for many people felt that the recent hurricane was attributable to "the anger of God Almighty against us" (Hening 1809-1823:II:256-258, 264-265).

The Brick Fort at Jamestown

A resumption of hostilities with the Dutch led the Virginia assembly to pass a September 1672 act ordering the construction of brick forts on all of the colony's major rivers (C.O. 1/29 ff 72-75).[205] The absence of references to the earthen fort at Jamestown suggests that no consideration was given to reactivating it. William Drummond I (Study Unit 4 Tract N), Major Theophilus Hone (lessee of Study Unit 1 Tracts D and F), and Mathew Page were hired to build a 250 foot brick fort at Jamestown. However, in April 1673 Drummond and Hone were censured by the governor and council for failing to live up to their agreement.[206] The two men were ordered to complete the task as soon as possible and to make "new substantial carriages for all the Gunns now in James Citty," or

[202] Evidence of this unusual increase in precipitation is apparent in the tree-ring study undertaken at the University of Arkansas (Stahle et al. 1998:566).

[203] As it is doubtful that there were 10,000 dwellings in Virginia at this time, Ludwell probably included other types of buildings (for example, tobacco houses, barns and storehouses) in his total.

[204] Directly across the river in Surry County, at the plantation known as the College, damage did occur. Local court testimony reveals that "In ye year 1667 ye gust did destroy not only all ye houses standing upon ye plantation except two dwellings—one 30 feet and the other 20 feet—and ye house called Quarter of 15 feet." Most of the trees on the plantation also were blown down (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:368).

[205] This occurred during the third Anglo-Dutch War. (1672-1674).

[206] Page, meanwhile, had died. There is no indication that Mathew Page owned property on Jamestown Island. In 1673, his brother, Colonel John Page, purchased Study Unit 1 Tract F from Walter Chiles II's widow, who was John's daughter, Mary. In June 1670 reference was made to John Page's store at Jamestown (McIlwaine 1924:224).

face severe punishment. In May, the governor ordered them "to goe about the building of the fort ... and to lay the bricks already made until more shalbee reddy burnt." The commissioners assigned to oversee the fort's construction inspected the project and determined that little had been done besides making some bricks and a few other preparations. Moreover, those bricks "& other things" were "very bad and altogether Insufficient." In June the fort commissioners were instructed to determine the value of the timber and bricks Drummond and Hone had prepared and to see that the project was completed in accord with the original specifications (McIlwaine 1924:334, 342; Stanard 1912:26). Fines and tax revenues were set aside to underwrite the cost of fort construction. The people of Surry and James City County were contributors and Surry laborers were supposed to do some of the work. However, it appears that Drummond and Hone made other arrangements, for a group of disgruntled Surry freeholders complained to their county justices that they had gone to Jamestown to work on the fort but were dismissed because they were unneeded (McIlwaine 1924:313, 371-372; Surry County Order Book 1671-1690:13).

In July 1673, when the Dutch attacked the tobacco fleet near Old Point Comfort, 19 ships were burned or captured. Upstream at Jamestown, the brick fort apparently was at least partially functional, because according to one observer, a number of ships "got above the fort ... and were safe" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:1:533; C.O. 1/30 ff 169-170).[207] Men from Surry County apparently were involved in the defense of Jamestown and protecting the ships that had gathered above the fort, for military officers from that area were paid for their services and compensated for the "beef &c." used at Jamestown (Surry County Order Book 1671-1690:33).

In early April 1674 William Drummond I and Theophilus Hone were ordered to "Sufficiently mend the fort" and "take Downe all Such worke as is Craked and insufficient till they Come to A firme foundacon, and [see] that the Coping be Sufficiently mended" (McIlwaine 1924:367). A patent issued to Edward Chilton on April 16, 1683, for Study Unit 4 Tract P (a 2.1 acre tract) reveals that the brick fort, which was perched upon the river bank, was in the western end of Jamestown Island, midway between the church (Study Unit 4 Tract V) and the Ludwell Statehouse Group rowhouse (Structure 144 on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lots A and B). Chilton's property description, which is highly detailed, makes reference to the lot's southwestern corner stake "neer ye brick fort" (Nugent 1969-1979:II:263; Patent Book 7:292).

The Rev. John Clayton's Observations

In 1688 the Rev. John Clayton of James City Parish described the brick sconce[208] at Jamestown as "a silly sort of fort, that is a brick Wall in the shape of a halfe moone, at the Beginning of the Swamp, because the Channel of the River lies very nigh the Shoare." He said that it had replaced "an old fort of earth in the Town, being a sort of Tetragone, with something like Bastions at the four Corners, as I remember," that had been demolished because it was too far from the river's channel to be effective.[209] Clayton declared that the brick fort was "little better than a blind Wall to shoot wild Ducks or Geese" because it "stands in a vale," where its guns were likely to lodge their shot in the rising embankment.[210] He observed that "Ships passing

[207] One official in England observed that the Virginia planters lacked ammunition and made little attempt to defend themselves when the Dutch attacked. He also added that they would have preferred to trade with the Dutch rather than fight. He added that there was some concern about the colonists' "revolting to the Dutch" (C.O. 1/30 ff 197-198).

[208] A sconce is a small defensive work or fort, sometimes curved.

[209] Although the Clayton sketch is schematic, it indicates that the front and back walls of the tetragonal fort (Structure 154) paralleled the river bank and it suggests that the fort's shortest wall was on the water front.

[210] In 1695 the then-ruinous brick fort was described as "near the statehouse," a reference to the

up the River are secured from the Guns of the fort, till they come directly over against" it and that "if a Ship gave but a good broadside, just when she comes to bear upon the fort, She might put the fort into that confusion, as to have free passage enough." Clayton included in his letter a schematic map of Jamestown Island, upon which he identified the brick and earthen forts,[211] a row of houses along the river bank in the New Towne,[212] and "the Brick house" near Back River (Figure 21).[213] Clayton said that:

> *The towne is built much about the middle of the south line [of the island], close upon the River, extending east and west about 3 quarters of a mile ... in which is comprehended*

(cont'd from previous page)
ruinous Ludwell Statehouse Group, Structure 144, the site of the colony's rented statehouse during the 1650s.

[211] The brick fort was located at the southwest corner of Study Unit 4 Tract P, whereas the turf fort was on Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A.

[212] This is the only known seventeenth century map of Jamestown Island that shows the buildings along the waterfront.

[213] The brick house was located upon Study Unit 1 Tract A, the 80 acres Richard Kingsmill's daughter, Elizabeth Tayloe Bacon, and her husband, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, had sold to Nicholas Meriwether in 1661 (Ambler MS 11, 12). Meriwether, who repatented the Kingsmill property, was obliged to erect improvements upon it within three years. As the acreage lay within the limits of urban Jamestown, he may have availed himself of the government subsidy that was available to people building brick houses. Evidence of a brick house was found on Study Unit 1 Tract A, during the Phase I survey conducted as part of the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment.

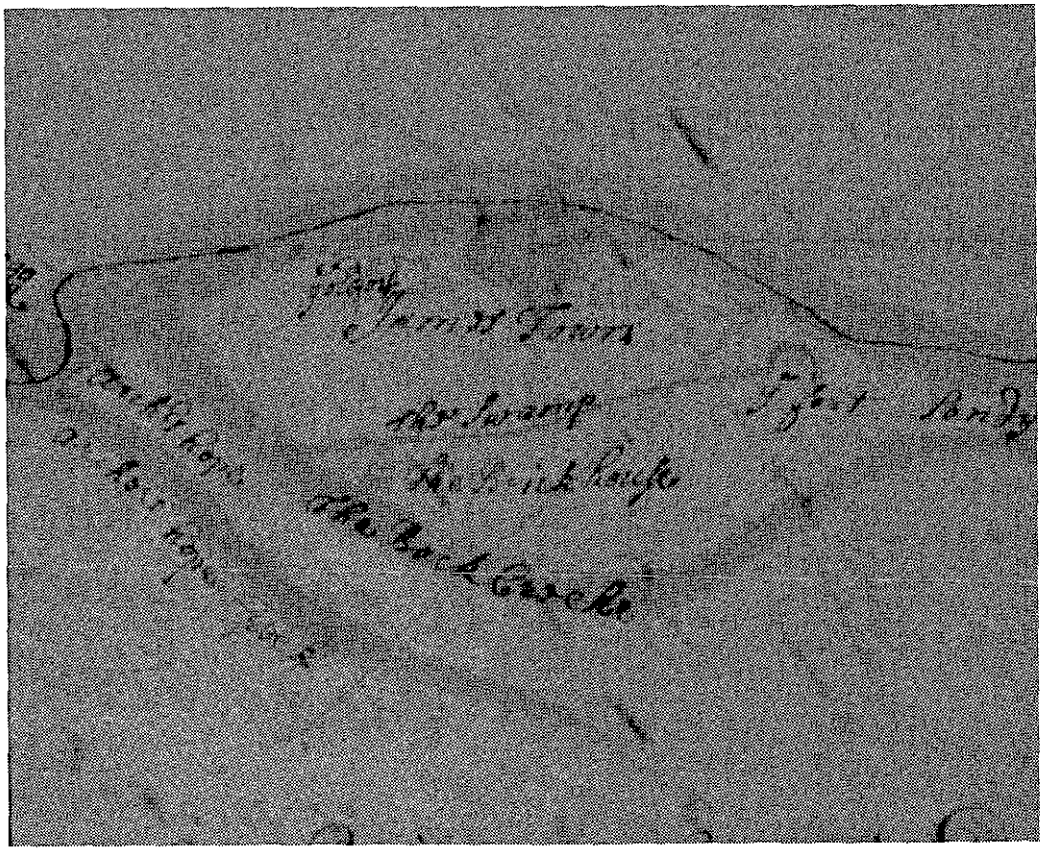


Figure 21. *Jamestown Island (Clayton 1688). South is at the top of the map. Note buildings along the waterfront.*

som [sic] 16 or 18 houses, most as is the church built of brick, faire and large; and in them about a dozen families (for all the howses are not inhabited) getting their liveings by keeping ordinaries at extraordinary rates [Force 1963:I:11:24- 25].[214]

In the text accompanying his map, the Rev. John Clayton noted that Jamestown Island actually was "a Peninsula, being joynd to the Continent by a smal neck of Land, not past 20 or 30 yards over, & which at Spring Tides is overflowd" (Force 1963:III:12:23- 24). The isthmus's vulnerability to tidal flooding and erosion is evident on two plats that were made by James City County surveyor John Soane (1681, 1683) during the 1680s. Clayton indicated that he had recommended that William Sherwood drain his marsh, which cut across Jamestown Island, converting it to pasturage. The idea of pasturing livestock in marsh land apparently was common, for on March 12, 1673, some of Jamestown Island's inhabitants asked that "all the marsh Land unpatented in James Citty Island for ever hereafter be & remaine in Common for a Pasture to the use of those that now or shall hereafter live in the said Island or Towne." Their petition was approved (McIlwaine 1924:324, 517).

The Rev. John Clayton described the types of fencing used in Jamestown. He said that:

They now hedge wth rails of Timber trees wch will not last past 6 or 7 years after all their toile... . They have threy [3] ways [of] raileing in or fencing their ground. By first laying great timber trees at the bottom of the fences all round the field so that piggs may not creep into it and then by making holes on either side the tree and stick stakes therein wch bearing against the tree make a forke to hold a long rail of timber above it. Over this then they make another fork with stakes and lay another raille of timber and so 4 one above another besides the timber tree. This is the most common type of fence... . The second is the worm fence as they call it and is in this sort 8 rails of Cloven timber about 9 foot long apiece wch. placed thus lie upon one another[.] A Lawfull fence is 8 railes high. The third sort of fence is that called the Polony fence used first I think they say by Polands [Clayton 1688].

Clayton included crude sketches of each (Clayton 1688).

Governor William Berkeley Remarries

Between May 19, 1670 and June 21, 1670, when Governor William Berkeley was age 64, he married Frances Culpeper Stephens, the 36-year-old widow of Samuel Stephens, the governor of Albemarle or Carolina and son of Jamestown merchant Richard Stephens (Gaines 1957:31; McIlwaine 1924:514). Frances, a woman who has been described as intelligent, high spirited and fiercely loyal to Berkeley, was the cousin of Sir Thomas Culpeper (Stanard 1925:352; Parks 1982:446). The aging governor and his relatively young bride-to-be executed a prenuptial agreement whereby he conveyed to her a life estate of 600 £ sterling as annual income (McIlwaine 1924:514). On April 20, 1671, Berkeley and his wife sold to Colonel William Cole 1,350 acres of land in Warwick County,[215] a plantation called Boldrup that she had inherited from her late husband, Samuel Stephens. Cited was a marriage contract that Stephens had made with his bride-to-be, whereby he agreed to deed Boldrup to two trustees who at his death would relinquish it to Frances and any children they had together, or in the absence of such heirs, to Frances herself. Thus, it was as Samuel Stephens' widow and heir that Lady Frances Berkeley and her second husband, Sir William, conveyed Boldrup to Colonel William Cole (Hening 1809-1823:II:319-325).[216] On April 7, 1671, Governor William Berkeley disposed of all three units of his brick rowhouse in Jamestown, Struc-

[214] Although Clayton sent his map to England in 1688, more than a decade after Bacon's Rebellion, it may have been based upon the town's appearance, earlier on.

[215] The Stephens plantation, Boldrup, now lies within the corporate limits of Newport News.

[216] In September 1674, the deed between the Berkeleys and Cole was entered into the public record (Hening 1809-1823:II:319-325).

ture 144, the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Meyer et al. 1987:587; McIlwaine 1924:503, 514-515). The sale of Boldrup and the rowhouse in Jamestown would have provided the newly wed Berkeleys with a substantial infusion of wealth that would have enabled them to expand the Green Spring mansion significantly. It appears that they did.

In the autumn of 1674, the Grand Assembly, with the encouragement of the Governor's Council, passed an act, acknowledging Sir William Berkeley's legal entitlement to his enlarged Green Spring plantation (his original 1,090 acres plus the 1,000 he bought from Robert Weatherall in 1652) and extending for 99 years the lease he held for 70 acres in the Governor's Land. The text of the act confirming Berkeley's right to Green Spring noted that he "hath expended a great summe of mony in building and otherwise upon the said land" (Hening 1809-1823:II:319-321; McIlwaine 1924:503).[217]

In 1671 Governor William Berkeley acquired the Surry County plantation called Chippokes (or Lower Chippokes). This time, he purchased it from the estate of John Grove. Colonel Thomas Swann, who was serving as the decedent's administrator, noted in his accounts that he had received 310 pounds "of the Honorable Governor for the Plantation viz Chipoks" (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1672-1684:23). The plantation was in Berkeley's possession at the time of his death and descended to his widow and her heirs.

Berkeley's Support Erodes

Governor William Berkeley's lengthy tenure in office and his advancing age may have made him somewhat intolerant. It also seems to have heightened his sense of possessiveness, for in 1673 he had Benjamin Eggleston, his neighbor's son, hauled before the General Court for having "presumptuously and impudently intrenched upon the perogative and abused the Authority of the Right Honoble the Governor." Although the nature of Eggleston's offence is unclear, he received 39 lashes at Jamestown's whipping post and was fined 3,000 lbs. of tobacco that was to be used toward the purchase of firearms for the colony (McIlwaine 1924:348).[218]

Governor Berkeley also clashed with Giles Bland, a member of one of England's most prominent mercantile families. In about 1674 John Bland sent his son, Giles, to Virginia to represent his interest in some family-owned properties. In March 1676 when Giles, as his father's attorney, asked the General Court to partition the estate of his late uncle, Theodorick Bland, the justices ordered Giles to release several servants he had been detaining, people who had been in the possession of Theodorick for many years (Washburn 1957:92-93; McIlwaine 1924:394, 448-449). The decision likely fueled Giles Bland's animosity toward Governor Berkeley and his councillors, who served as the General Court's justices. Soon, Giles clashed with Secretary Thomas Ludwell. So heated was Giles's anger that he called Ludwell "a Sonne of a whore, [a] mechannick fellow, puppy and coward." He then nailed his glove to the door of the statehouse, and challenged Ludwell to a duel. Giles Bland was arrested and fined (C.O. 5/1355 f 57; Billings 1968:91; McIlwaine 1924:390, 399).[219] Afterward, he embraced the views of young

[217] Berkeley patented 10,000 acres in New Kent County, on the south side of the York River, in April 1674, at which time he presented a survey for that land and requested (and received) a seven year extension of the time he had to seat it (McIlwaine 1924:365). In 1675 later Berkeley appointed his brother-in-law, Alexander Culpeper, the colony's surveyor-general (Bruce 1897-1898:385; Parks 1982:173,446).

[218] The Egglestons owned Powhatan, which abutted Berkeley's property at Green Spring (Nugent 1969-1979:I:160, 228, 295, 465).

[219] Minutes of the General Court suggest that the Secretary's office, for a time, was at Richard Lawrence's house (Study Unit 4 Tract S). On October 8, 1674, it was ordered that "what Receipts of Certificates was Given by any Clarke belonging to Mr. Secretaries Office, before the Removeall of the Said Office from Laurences be Authentique [authenticated], unless they were brought from the Clarkes which they themselves are to make Good" (McIlwaine 1924:390).

Nathaniel Bacon and avidly supported his cause. In time, he became one of Bacon's lieutenants.[220]

The Prelude to Bacon's Rebellion

During the mid-1670s circumstances conspired against Governor William Berkeley, who was then nearly 70-years-old and in declining health. During Berkeley's lengthy term in offices, members of the colony's planter elite gradually solidified their position, with the result that those outside of the circle of privilege became increasingly discontented and began to perceive public officials as opportunists reaping a handsome profit from offices that were a public trust. The colonists also chafed under the restraints of the Navigation Acts, which prohibited them from selling tobacco to countries other than England. Although Berkeley had encouraged Virginia planters to diversify the economy through the production of manufactured goods, and he tried to set a good example himself, few people responded favorably to that idea. Moreover, King Charles II began bestowing grants of Virginia land upon his favorites, along with the privilege of collecting revenues. As taxes soared, there were troubles with the Indians on the colony's frontiers and a genuine fear of foreign invasion, which took form in 1673 when the Dutch invaded Virginia's waters and attacked tobacco fleet a second time (Billings et al. 1986:76; Wertenbaker 1957:7-8).

It was into this scenario that Nathaniel Bacon was thrust when he arrived in Virginia in 1674.[221] As rumors of Indian troubles in the New England colonies spread and sporadic outbreaks of violence occurred on the fringes of Virginia's frontiers, Virginians became increasingly nervous as they waited for their elderly governor to take action. A significant number, especially those in the upper reaches of the Rappahannock River, abandoned their homesteads. In March 1676 Virginia's governing officials declared war on all Natives implicated in the recent attacks on frontier families and ordered the construction of forts at nine sites near the heads of the colony's rivers. Men were pressed into service to garrison the forts and supplies and military equipment were procured through public levies. Many colonists grumbled about paying for the forts, which they likened to expensive "mousetraps" that were relatively useless against roving bands of hostile Indians (McIlwaine 1924:390, 418, 423; McCartney 1984:68; Morgan 1975:250-292; Craven 1970:389; Washburn 1957:18-19, 32-33, 153-166).

Nathaniel Bacon, whose Henrico County plantation, Curles, had been attacked by Natives, with the loss of two lives, eagerly agreed to lead a group of volunteers in an expedition against the Indians. In April 1676 he and his men set out for the southern part of the colony. Although Governor Berkeley sent a message to Bacon, ordering him to cease his military operations and report to Jamestown, Bacon responded by demanding a commission to lead a march against the Indians and continued on his way. This prompted Berkeley to declare Bacon a rebel and to mobilize his own forces in an attempt to intercept him before he reached the colony's frontier. Thus began the popular uprising known as Bacon's Rebellion, which quickly spread throughout Tidewater Virginia and left a bloody imprint upon the region (Washburn 1957:18-19, 46-47; Billings et al. 1986:77-96).[222]

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[220] Doing so cost Giles Bland his life, for on March 27, 1677, he was executed at Green Spring plantation. He was age 29 (Meyer et al. 1987:129-130).

[221] Bacon, who was son of a well-to-do Suffolk gentleman and the cousin (by marriage) of Governor William Berkeley, was said to be quick-witted and ambitious but arrogant, "impatient of labor," and a troublemaker. His father had withdrawn him from Cambridge University in the wake of some undescribed "extravagances," provided him with £ 1,800, and dispatched him to Virginia. Soon after his arrival, he purchased a plantation at Curles, near the head of the falls of the James River, where he constructed a personal residence. In March 1675 Governor Berkeley appointed young Nathaniel Bacon to the Council of State, of which his uncle (Colonel Nathaniel Bacon) already was a member (Washburn 1957:18-19).

[222] Berkeley, who was in failing health, prepared his will on May 2, 1676, naming his wife, Frances, as his heir (Hening 1809-1823:II:559). Exactly a month later, having returned from his pursuit of Bacon,

Nathaniel Bacon, upon returning from his march against the Indians, set out for Jamestown. According to a June 28, 1676, letter Secretary Philip Ludwell I sent to Secretary Joseph Williamson:

> *On the 5th of June the Assembly were to meet, when the Governor and councell & many Burgesses appeared at Jas. City; on Tuesday ye 6th of June Mr. Bacon comes downe ye River in a sloope wth about 50 armed men and in the night lands with 20 of his men at a place called Sandy Bay neer halfe a mile ffrom James towne and marches into the towne about midnight wth his men, where he held a private conference at ye house of one Mr. Lawrence [Study Unit 4 Tract S] with him and one Drummond [Study Unit 4 Tract N] about 3 hours and then departed to his Boates, where they were discovered and an alarme immediately given into the towne on which crie was presently taken to fitt out Boats wth armed men to pursue him [Bruce 1894b:179].*

When Bacon returned to his sloop, he was captured by Captain Thomas Gardner and brought before Berkeley. He was then released on parole and his men were watched. Two days later, Bacon knelt in open court, asked for the governor's forgiveness, and presented him with a written apology. Berkeley responded by pardoning Bacon and restoring him to his Council seat (Washburn 1957:51).[223]

Relations With The Tributary Indians

Governor William Berkeley, who was aware of the resentment generated by the construction of forts along the frontier, sought the assistance of Virginia's Tributary tribes in dealing with the more warlike, outlying Natives who lived above the heads of the colony's rivers. He had been governor in 1646 when Necotowance, king of the Pamunkeys, had signed a treaty with the Virginia government, and during the early 1650s he had dealt with Totopotomoy, Necotowance's successor. Therefore, he summoned Cockcoeske, Queen of the Pamunkey, to Jamestown and asked her to provide guides and warriors to assist the colonists in an expedition against the Natives who were attacking frontier settlements. According to an eyewitness account, Cockcoeske, a descendant of Powhatan and Opechancanough and the widow of Totopotomoy, appeared before the assembly's Committee on Indian Affairs in June 1676.[224] She reportedly

> *... entered the chamber with a comportment gracefull to admiration, bringing on her right hand an Englishman interpreter, and on the left her son a stripling twenty years of age, she having round her head a plat of black and white wampum peague three inches broad in imitation of a crown, and was cloathed in a mantle of dress't deer skins with the hair outwards and the edge cut round 6 inches deep which made strings resembling twisted fringe from the shoulders to the feet; thus with grave courtlike gestures and a majestick air in her face, she walk'd up our long room to the lower end of the table, where after a few intreaties she sat down; th' interpreter[225] and her son standing by her on either side as they had walked up, our chairman asked her what men she would lend us for guides in the wilderness and to assist us against our enemy Indians, she spake to th' interpreter to in-*

(cont'd from previous page)
Berkeley sent word to an official in England that he was "so over wearied with riding into al parts of the country to stop this violent rebellion that I am not able to support myself at this age six months longer and therefore on my knees I beg his sacred majesty would send a more vigorous governor" (Washburn 1957:48). On June 1, 1676, Lady Frances Berkeley set sail for England, intending to serve as her husband's advocate (Carson 1976:7).

223 William Sherwood later indicated that Berkeley also promised Bacon a commission to lead an expedition against the Indians (Neville 1976:71).

224 The assembly "met in a chamber over the generall court" (Force 1963:I:8:12). That is, they met in an upstairs room of the statehouse, in a room above the General Court's chamber.

225 The Queen of Pamunkey's interpreter was Cornelius Dabney of New Kent County.

form her what the chairman said, (tho' we believed she understood him) he told us she bid him ask her son to whom the English tongue was familiar, and who was reputedly the son of an English colonel,[226] yet neither would he speak to or seem to understand the chairman but th' interpreter told us, he referred all to his mother, who being again urged she after a little musing with an earnest passionate countenance as if tears wer ready to gush out and a fervent sort of expression made a harangue about a quarter of an hour often interlacing (with a high shrill voice and vehement passion) these words "Tatapatamoi Chepiack," i.e. Tatapatamoi dead [Force 1963:I:8:14].[227]

The chairman of the Committee for Indian Affairs ignored Cockcoeske's emotional speech and again asked how many warriors she would furnish to assist the English. This time, she looked away and

... sate mute till the same question being press'd a third time, she not returning her face to the board. answered with a low slighting voice in her own language "six," but being further importun'd she sitting a little while sullen, without uttering a word between said "twelve," tho' she then had a hundred and fifty Indian men in her town, and so rose up and gravely walked away, as [if] not pleased with her treatment [Force 1963:I:8:15].

On May 29, 1677, Cockcoeske and several other Native leaders went to Middle Plantation, where they affixed their signature marks to an important treaty. Afterward, special gifts were ordered for the Indian leaders who signed. Cockcoeske, who was singled out for recognition because of her steadfast loyalty to the Crown, was to receive a coronet, an ermine-trimmed robe, a white silk dress, and jewelry.[228] Her son and her interpreter also were to receive special clothing. By 1680 several more Native leaders had signed an expanded version of the original treaty. Under the terms of the Treaty of Middle Plantation, the Indians acknowledged their allegiance to the Crown and conceded that the monarchy had dominion over them and their land. Forts or garrisons also were built at the heads of the Potomac, Rappahannock, Mattaponi, and James Rivers so that horse soldiers could maintain surveillance over the Indians (Jeffreys, June 11, 1677; Anonymous [1680]; Hening 1809-1823:II:433-434; C.O. 1/ 44 f 425).

Bacon's Campaign Begins

On June 23, 1676, Nathaniel Bacon returned to Jamestown, at the head of an estimated 500 to 600 supporters. According to William Sherwood (an eyewitness), as soon as Governor Berkeley learned that Bacon and his men were on their way to Jamestown, he gave orders that "fower great Guns should be drawne from ye fort to sandy Bay (being a narrow passage & the onely in to this island)."[229] But there was not enough time to erect a barricade and the next day, when Bacon and his men reached the isthmus, they found the guns thrown off their carriages and learned that the governor, council and burgesses were in the statehouse. The rebel leader, upon entering town, reportedly sent "p'tyes to the ferry, River & fort." He then ordered his men to the statehouse, where he demanded a commission authorizing him to undertake a march against the Indians.[230] Although Ber-

[226] The 1677 treaty reveals that the youth was named "Captain John West."

[227] The reason Cockcoeske was overcome with anger and grief was that in 1656 Totopotomoy, her late husband, had lost his life during the Battle of Bloody Run, while fighting on the side of the English (Force 1963:I:8:14-15).

[228] A silver frontlet, on display at the National Park Service Visitor Center in Jamestown and bearing the words "The Queene of Pamunkey," most likely is one of the items Cockcoeske received as an official gift.

[229] The men of Colonel Holt (Study Unit 4 Tract T) had been ordered to build a barricade across the isthmus (Bruce 1894b:171).

[230] Literally hundreds of Bacon's supporters streamed into Jamestown, determined to help him if he

keley at first demurred, when Bacon's followers reiterated his demands at gunpoint and threatened to kill members of the Council and assembly if they refused to cooperate, they agreed (Force 1963:I:18:12-21; Bruce 1894b:170-174).[231]

Shortly thereafter, Bacon prevailed upon the burgesses to include some of his ideas in the legislation they were considering. One law extended the corporate limits of Jamestown to encompass the entire island.[232] Another authorized the election of Jamestown's burgess by the majority of freeholders, housekeepers and freemen on the island, who paid their levies there, "and by none other, any custome or usage to the contrary."[233] Jamestown's freeholders also could make bylaws that pertained to their own community, as long as those regulations did not conflict those of the county or the colony as a whole. One of the new laws specified that no alehouses, ordinaries or tipling houses were to be kept in the colony except at Jamestown and on each side of the York River, "at the two great ferries of that river."[234] After these legislative changes were enacted by the assembly and read before the governor, council and burgesses, Bacon departed from Jamestown and Ber-

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needed assistance. Berkeley later proffered that when Bacon learned that "an incredible Number of the meanest of the People were everywhere Armed to assist him and his cause," he was spurred to action (Washburn 1957:51-52; Berkeley, July 1, 1676).

231 Secretary Philip Ludwell I's June 28, 1676, account describes these events very similarly. He said that "On ye 23rd June he [Bacon] came into the towne, there being no fforce to resist him, or could be Gotten in soe short a tyme and presently drawes up his men before the statehouse door where the governor, council and burgesses were sitting; after he had sent his guards out to secure all parts of the island the governor sent out 2 of ye council to demand what they came for, Mr. Bacon replyes they were come for a commission and ... his commission he would have." He then commanded "his men to their armes and runs to ye statehouse door and looking up to the window where ye burgesses were, demanded of them (wth above 100 guns ready cocked and presented at them) if he should have ye commission, telling them withall if they refused he would immediately pull down ye house and have all our blood, all wch being bound wth such dreadfull new coyned oaths of which (as if he thought God was delighted with his ingenuitie in that kind) he was very liberall" (Bruce 1894b:179). Northern Neck burgess Thomas Mathews also described the days events. He said that the assembly "met in a chamber over the generall court," an indication that the burgesses convened in an upstairs room above the General Court's chamber. He spoke of "passing by the court door on my way up to our chamber," which suggests that the stairway was in the back of the building. Mathews said that when Bacon and his men came to Jamestown to confront Governor Berkeley, they arrived around 2 P.M. The rebels "entered the town without being withstood, and form'd a body upon a green, not a flight shot from the end of the statehouse." Bacon's men then "possest themselves of all the avenues, disarming all in town." Half an hour later, when the drum beat signaled that it was time for the assembly to convene, Bacon "came with a file of ffusileers on either hand near the corner of the statehouse where the govern'r and councill went forth to him." Thomas Mathews and his fellow burgesses, who were upstairs in the assembly room, "saw from the window" the confrontation between Bacon and Governor William Berkeley. Berkeley reportedly "stepted down" into the crowd of spectators and within "two minutes, the govern'r walk'd toward his private apartm't a coits cast distance at th' other end of the statehouse." At that moment, Bacon's supporters "presented their ffusils at a window of the assembly chamber." An hour or so later "Bacon came up to our [assembly] chamber" (Force 1963:I:8:12-21).

232 This would have allowed freeholders throughout the island to participate in the election of Jamestown's burgess. If they owned land within the expanded city limits, they also would have the right to hold office.

233 This law introduced what, in essence, was a residency requirement and eliminated the need to own property.

234 This would have put Jamestown innkeeper Richard Lawrence (Study Unit 4 Tract S) and tavern owner Thomas Swann I (Study Unit 4 Tract G) at a considerable advantage, especially when government meetings and court sessions were held.

keley dissolved the assembly (Hening 1809-1823:II:361-362; Washburn 1957:51-53, 58-59, 65, 68; Billings et al. 1986:77-96; Bruce 1894b:186).[235]

On June 26, 1676, Governor Berkeley withdrew to Green Spring. Meanwhile, Nathaniel Bacon and his followers commenced roving about the countryside, attempting to press men into service and trying to acquire ammunition and supplies for use in the Indian offensive. Finally, after some of Gloucester County's inhabitants asked Berkeley for protection against the Indians and questioned the legality of Bacon's pressing men and supplies, the governor was spurred to action.[236] However, when he went to Gloucester and attempted to raise troops, he met with little success, for the county's yeomen were reluctant to oppose Bacon, whom they perceived as their champion against the Indians. Governor Berkeley and some of his followers, suddenly aware of their own vulnerability, withdrew to Northampton County, where they took up residence at Arlington, the plantation of John Custis.[237] Meanwhile, Bacon, upon learning that Berkeley had been unsuccessful in recruiting troops in Gloucester, set out for Middle Plantation.[238] When he arrived on July 29th, he made Captain Otho Thorpe's house his headquarters (Carson 1976:8; Washburn 1957:18-19, 69-72).

Nathaniel Bacon issued a "Declaration of the People," a treatise that leveled charges against Governor William Berkeley, and a "Manifesto" that justified his own actions. He then had his men seize three ships that were anchored in the James River and dispatched them to the Eastern Shore to confront Berkeley in his place of refuge. Bacon began to rally support for a march against the Indians and set out to confront the Natives who lived on the fringes of the colony's frontiers. However, when he met with little success, he reversed his course and vented his wrath upon the Pamunkey Indians, tributaries who recently had signed a peace agreement with Governor Berkeley's government. Bacon and his men pursued the Pamunkeys into Dragon Swamp and then attacked. They reportedly plundered the Indians' goods, took prisoners and killed men, women and children indiscriminately. Meanwhile, in Bacon's absence, Governor Berkeley rallied his supporters and on September 7th returned to Jamestown. He offered a pardon to the men Bacon had left garrisoned there and then reoccupied the capital city.[239] Afterward, he had a palisade erected across the isthmus that connected Jamestown Island to the mainland and then awaited the confrontation he considered inevitable

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235 In February 1677 the laws made while Bacon was in control of the assembly were repealed (Hening 1809-1823:II:380,475).

236 Local magistrates who questioned whether Bacon's actions were legal reportedly were threatened "with plundering and pulling down their houses" (Washburn 1957:69).

237 In June 1676 when Governor William Berkeley fled Jamestown, he reportedly was accompanied by ca. 40 loyalists "of the best quality," who brought their families with them (McIlwaine 1924:458; Washburn 1957:70). In a petition dated April 30, 1685, Custis, who had been deprived of his council seat and erroneously reported dead, stated that he had "been a loyal servant and kept the late Sir Wm. Berkeley with 50 men and entertained them during 5 months during Bacon's Rebellion." He said that he also had "kept a ship of 200 tons and 2 sloops in the king's service" (C. O. 1/57 ff 265-266). Custis was a naturalized Dutch citizen of English parents and owned a ½ acre lot in Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcel 3). His Arlington plantation house, constructed in ca. 1676, was described in a local court record as a three story brick dwelling with garret windows (Parke Executors [1709]). As Benjamin Latrobe's ca. 1796 watercolor rendering of the Green Spring mansion depicts it as a three story brick dwelling with rows of garret windows, the possibility exists that Custis, when constructing his dwelling, was influenced by Berkeley's personal residence.

238 In 1699 Middle Plantation was laid out into a town and renamed Williamsburg.

239 Some sources say that Bacon had 500 supporters at Jamestown. Others disagree. The Burwell manuscript indicates that 700 to 800 were there and Mrs. Ann Cotton claimed that 900 were present (Washburn 1957:80, 208).

when Bacon and his rebels returned (Washburn 1957:72-76, 80-81).[240]

The Assault Upon Jamestown

As Nathaniel Bacon's attack upon the Pamunkeys drew to a close, he learned that the men he had dispatched to the Eastern Shore to confront Governor Berkeley had been captured and that those he had left at Jamestown had surrendered. It was then that Bacon offered liberty to any slaves or bound servants who would join in his popular revolt. He set out upon the lengthy trek to Jamestown, displaying his Pamunkey captives along the way. On September 13th Bacon and his followers reached what one contemporary called Green Spring's old fields, where he paused and told them "that if ever they will fight they will doe it now." Later in the day, the rebels, weary from their march, arrived at the isthmus that led to Jamestown Island. They encamped and Bacon advanced across the isthmus on horseback, approaching the defensive palisades Berkeley's men had built. He had one of his men sound a trumpet and then he discharged his carbine. Bacon concluded that the palisade was strong and that he would have to lure the governor out of his protective lines. As his men's

[240] Close examination of a carefully drawn plat of the Governor's Land, prepared by James City County's official surveyor, John Soane, reveals that the main road to Jamestown Island traversed the sandy beach that abutted the James River at Sandy Bay (Soane 1683) (Figure 22). Thus, Berkeley's strategy was to block the only road into the capital city.

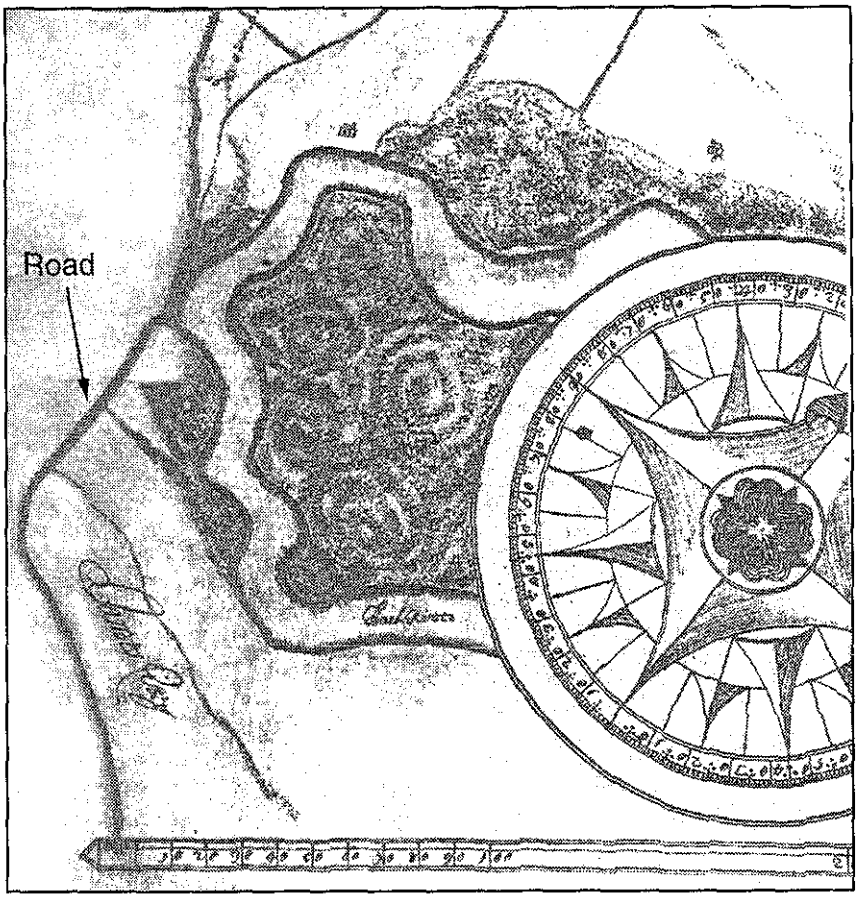


Figure 22. *Survey for his Excellency Thomas Culpeper (Soane 1683). Note road across isthmus.*

provisions were in short supply, he sent some of them to Green Spring, to raid the governor's larder and take his livestock. Bacon had the rest of his followers dig a deep ditch, parallel to Berkeley's palisade, and then fill it with trees and brush. He also had them erect an earthwork flanking the ditch.[241] He took into custody the wives of several loyalist leaders[242] and placed them upon the ramparts of the trench his men were digging, and he put his Pamunkey captives on display to demonstrate his success as an Indian fighter (Force 1963:I:9:8; Tyler 1906:156).[243]

On September 14th, Berkeley's loyalists made a sally against Bacon's men, but the rebels' gunfire was so intense that they fled behind the lines of their palisade.[244] As Bacon had procured two great cannon, he commenced bombarding Jamestown, as one person put it, "playing som calls itt, that takes delight to see stately structures beated downe, and Men blowne up into the aire like Shutle Cocks" (Andrews 1967:71).[245] Several of Berkeley's supporters lost their lives defending Jamestown. Others, who became dispirited or had ambivalent feelings, urged him to abandon the capital city.[246] Reluctantly, Berkeley agreed and boarded the ship that transported him to safety on the Eastern Shore. On September 19, 1676, Bacon entered Jamestown, which he had his men put to the torch.[247] Richard Lawrence I (Study Unit 4 Tract S)[248] and William Drummond (Study Unit 4 Tract

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241 One account indicates that the opposing fortifications were approximately 100 to 150 paces (500 to 750 feet) apart (Force 1963:I:11:24). Another indicates that Berkeley's supporters had erected "a bank not a flight shot long, cast up thwart the neck of the Peninsula there in Jamestown" (Maxwell 1850:130). A "flight shot" was the distance a light arrow could be expected to travel.

242 Among the women used as human shields were Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's wife, Elizabeth (Kingsmill), Colonel James Bray I's wife, Angelica; Colonel John Page's wife, Alice; and Colonel Thomas Ballard I's wife, Anna (Force 1963:I:9:8; Tyler 1906:156). Bacon sent out small parties of horsemen to seize these women, most of whom lived at Middle Plantation.

243 The Pamunkeys were tributaries to the Crown and shortly before Nathaniel Bacon's men attacked them in Dragon Swamp, had signed a new peace agreement with the colonial government. The Pamunkeys, in obedience to their queen's orders, failed to return the rebel army's gunfire (Andrews 1967:123).

244 One eyewitness said that Berkeley's supporters were "like scholers goeing to schoole [who] went out with hevie harts but returned home with light heeles." At least five men lost their lives in the confrontation with Bacon's men at Jamestown: William Senior, William Simkler, John White, Robert Sorrell, and Richard Jones. Hubert Farrell was wounded. One account states that twelve men were slain or injured (Force 1963:I:11:24-25; Maxwell 1850:130; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:69-70).

245 The position of Structure 144, the Ludwell Statehouse Group, on a ridge within sight of the isthmus, would have made it a likely target.

246 Some of the people in Jamestown were former supporters of Bacon, who had been pardoned by Berkeley only a short time earlier.

247 One official account indicates that Jamestown, at the time it was burned, contained 12 new brick houses, a number of frame dwellings with brick chimneys, the statehouse and the parish church (Neville 1976:310; Wiseman Book of Record). A contemporary narrative states that Berkeley "hath expended att least three thousand pound sterg. in brick buildings" (Aspinall et al. 1871:164). Another rendition says that when Bacon entered Jamestown just before daylight, the houses were empty. "Contrary to his hopes, he met with nothing that might satisfie eather himselfe or souldiers desires, except a few horses, two or three cellars of wine, and some small quantity of Indian Corne with a grate many Tanned hides" (Force 1963:I:11:26).

248 Lawrence, according to one contemporary, "had Married a Wealthy Widow who kept a large house of Publick Entertainment at town unto which resorted those of the best quality, and such others as Business Called to that own." He was described as erudite and charismatic (Andrews 1967:49). A Surry County court record reveals that the rebels had sequestered some of Governor Berkeley's goods in Richard Lawrence's house (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c 1671-1691:130; Patent Book 7:300; 8:82).

N),[249] who were near-neighbors, reportedly set fire to their own dwellings, which were considered among the finest in the town (Force 1963:I:8:21). The house William Sherwood possessed on behalf of his stepson, Richard James II, probably Structure 1/2 on Study Unit 1 Tract C, was destroyed, as were the homes owned or occupied by Theophilus Hone (Structure 38 on Study Unit 1 Tract D), Colonel John Page (Structure 53 on Study Unit 1 Tract F), Colonel Nathaniel Bacon (probably Bay 3 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group), Richard Auborne (Bay 3 of Structure 115), and Arnold Cassinett (Bay 4 of Structure 115). Colonel Thomas Swann's ordinary (probably Structure 19A/B on Study Unit 4 Tract G) also was damaged severely and he probably lost his investment in the Ludwell Statehouse Group. An estimated 16 to 18 houses were burned during the conflagration, which also claimed the church (Structure 141 on Study Unit 4 Tract V) and statehouse (probably Structure 112 on Study Unit 1 Tract H). London merchant John Jeffreys, whose wine was stored in John Page's cellars, reportedly lost 63 pipes, some of which was consumed by the fire and some by Governor Berkeley's supporters. One eyewitness reported that Berkeley's men, when retreating to safety, "saw with shame by night the flames of the town which they had so basely forsaken." However, some of Bacon's followers were disturbed by the destruction of the capital city and the colony's state house. This probably made them question their young leader's judgement and ponder what would happen if Berkeley regained the upper hand (Washburn 1957:80-83; Neville 1976:309-310; Wiseman Book of Record; Andrews 1967:130-131; Sainsbury 1964:10:13, 164).

[249] Drummond's wife, Sarah, inherited a half-acre lot from Edward Prescott, Study Unit 4 Tract N (Patent Book 5:634-635). It appears to have been the only property the Drummonds then owned in Jamestown. One official account states that the colony's records escaped destruction when the statehouse burned, thanks to William Drummond I, who "had privately convey'd thence and preserved [them] from Burning" (Andrews 1967:136).

The next day, Nathaniel Bacon went to Green Spring. He drafted a protest against Governor Berkeley, which he asked his supporters to sign. However, many of his men were more interested in action than words, for they were brimming over with confidence and spoiling for a fight. At that juncture, they commenced plundering the estates of those who had remained loyal to Governor Berkeley.[250] Although Bacon attempted to bring his followers under control, he met with little success, for his men had turned into an unruly mob that made little distinction between friend and foe. On October 26, 1676, the popular uprising literally was dealt a mortal blow, for Nathaniel Bacon died of natural causes while at the home of Colonel Thomas Pate of Gloucester County.[251] Bacon's successor, Joseph Ingram,[252] was an uninspiring and more cau-

[250] Colonel Edward Hill II of Shirley later claimed that "my house was plundered of all I had, my sheep all destroyed, wheat, barley, oates and Indian graine, to the quantity of seven or eight hundred bushels and to compleat theire jollity [they] drew my brandy, butts of wyne and syder by payles full, and to ever health, instead of burning their powder, burnt my writings, bills, bonds, accounts... and to finish theire barbarism, take my wife bigg with child prisoner, beat her with my cane, tare [tear] her childbed linen out of her hands, and with her, ledd away my Children where they must live on corne and water and lye on the ground, had it not been for the charity of good people (Washburn 1957:84-85).

[251] Bacon succumbed to the bloody flux and a "lousey disease, so that the swarmes of vermyn that bred in his body he culd not destroy but by throwing his shirts into the fire." Governor Berkeley proffered that Bacon was felled by the hand of Providence, for "his usual oath ... was God damme my Blood and god so infected his blood that it bred lice in an incredible number ... To this God added the Bloody flux and an honest Minister wrote this Epitaph on him: Bacon is Dead I am sorry at my hart That lice and flux should take the hangmans part" (Washburn 1957:85).

[252] One eyewitness to Bacon's Rebellion said of Ingram, "The Lion had no sooner made his exitt, but the Ape (by indubitable right) steps upon the stage" and claimed that he was an utter fool.

tious leader, who lacked Bacon's charisma and sense of purpose. Ingram abandoned Bacon's confrontational style and divided the men into small groups that withdrew into the countryside, particularly in the upper reaches of the York River. There, they fortified themselves against assault (Washburn 1957:84-85).

Berkeley Gains the Upper Hand

Governor William Berkeley's men seized the opportunity to quell the uprising and during November and December 1676, many of the rebel leaders were hunted down and captured in their strongholds.[253] At Green Spring, approximately 100 men and boys under the command of Captain Drew were holed up in the governor's house. Drew had resolved "to keep the place in spite of all opposition," and to help him "better keepe his promise he caused all the Avenues and approaches to the same to be Baracado'd up, and 3 grate Guns planted to beat of [off] the Assailants." One contemporary writer said that Drew was a miller who was heavily indebted to Governor Berkeley. Therefore, he was considered "most likely to keepe him out of his owne Howse." Drew, having made Green Spring "the strongest place in the Country what with grate and small Gunns," stood "upon his gard and refuseth to Surrender, but upon his own terms." Berkeley's men reportedly agreed to those demands and left Green Spring in Drew's hands "til such time as Sir William should, in parson [sic], come and take possession" (Carson 1976:10; Andrews 1967:86, 95).

On January 11 and 12, 1677, four rebel leaders were brought before Governor William Berkeley and the Council of State and tried in a court martial hearing that was held aboard a ship anchored in the York River. All four of the accused men were convicted and sentenced to hang. On January 16th, the rebel commander Joseph Ingram surrendered in his stronghold at West Point. Four days later, court martial proceedings were held at the Middle Plantation home of James Bray I, where two more rebel leaders were tried, convicted and sentenced to death. William Drummond I (Study Unit 4 Tract N) was hanged. Richard Lawrence (Study Unit 4 Tract S) fled and never was seen again. When Governor William Berkeley returned to Jamestown on January 22nd, he discovered that the capital city lay in ruins. He then withdrew to Green Spring, where he found that his plantation "much spoilt and plundered in his absence" (Hening 1809-1823:II:545-547; III:569; Carson 1976:10; Washburn 1957:84-91; Neville 1976:313, 323; Wiseman Book of Record).

On January 24, 1677, several of Bacon's followers were hauled before a military tribunal held at Green Spring, then the interim seat of government. According to Governor Berkeley's own account, James Crewes, William Cookson, and John Digby (a former servant who had been a captain in Bacon's army), were convicted of treason and rebellion against the king, sentenced to death, and hanged. The minutes of the court martial proceedings reveal that it was upon the accusation of James Crewes that Cookson and Digby were tried and condemned, as were William Rookings, William West, and John Turner. Henry West also was found guilty of treason and rebellion, but because "he hath not been so notorious as the rest," he was banished from Virginia for seven years instead of being hanged (Hening 1809-1823:II:547-548;III:569). Mrs. Ann Cotton later wrote her husband, who was then in England, that in "an Assembly convein'd at the Green Spring ... severall were condemned to be executed, prime actors in ye Rebellion, as Esqr. [Giles] Bland, Coll. Cruse [Crewes], and some others [were] hanged at Bacons Trench" (Washburn 1957:84-91; Force 1963 :I:9:10; 10:4).[254] On January 24th, Berkeley

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Another writer said that "the Titmouse ... was becom an Elliphant" (Washburn 1957:85; Andrews 1967:92).

[253] Lady Frances Berkeley, who had gone to England, returned to the colony around this time (Wiseman Book of Record; Neville 1976:241).

[254] It is uncertain how many of the 14 men, who between January and March 1677 were sentenced to death at Green Spring, were executed on the premises. In July 1677 two of the king's commis

ordered his men to confiscate the personal estate of certain suspected rebels and bring it to Green Spring.[255] Later, some of these individuals and/or their heirs claimed that their belongings had been confiscated illegally (Neville 1976:61,93; C.O. 1/39 ff 66-67; Hening 1809-1823:II:548-558).[256]

On January 29, 1667, Sir John Berry and Francis Moryson, two of the three commissioners King Charles II dispatched to investigate the causes and progress of Bacon's Rebellion, arrived in Virginia with 70 of 1,000 royal troops and orders for Governor Berkeley's recall.[257] Herbert Jeffreys arrived shortly thereafter. The commissioners quickly discovered that the statehouse and Jamestown had been destroyed. They also learned that Nathaniel Bacon was dead, the rebellion had been quelled, and that the countryside was desolate. As the governor's home, Green Spring, was "very much ruined by the rebels," they were obliged to seek other accommodations.[258] Governor Berkeley claimed that his financial losses were massive, for his

> *... houses [were] burnt in James City, his dwelling house at Green Spring almost ruined, his household goods and others of great value totally plundered; ... that he had not a bed to lye on, [and] two great beasts, three hundred sheep, seventy horses and mares, all his corn and provisions [had been] taken away [Stanard 1899:143].*

He said that at Jamestown Bacon "burned five houses of mine[259] and twenty of other gentlemen's and they say a very commodious church." He indicated that he had "lost at least Eight thousand pounds Sterling in houses, goods, plantation servants and cattle and never looke to be restored to a Quarter of it. But unlesse some part of it be restored I must Begg or starve" (Washburn 1957:107; C.O. 1/39 f 52; 1/41 ff 28, 32ro; 5/1355 f 83; 5/1371 f 19; Wiseman Book of Record; Neville 1976:60, 255; Force 1963:I:9:10; 10:4; Washburn 1957:84-91; Sainsbury 1964:10:10, 13, 167-168; Stanard 1908:200; 1965:35; Hening 1809-1823:II:552). Lady Frances Berkeley later informed a cousin in England that the house at Green Spring "looked like one of those the boys pull down at Shrovetide, & was almost as much to repair as if it

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sioners reported that a total of 23 men had been executed, eight of whose trials they had attended (Wiseman Book of Record; Neville 1976:315).

255 Later, Henry Jenkins, a James City County tanner, alleged that the governor's men had seized 22 head of his cattle without just cause, and he claimed that he had preserved some of the rawhides Bacon's men had stolen from Green Spring. Jenkins also alleged that Bacon's supporters had confiscated 45-46 pair of shoes that he had made. William Hunt's widow said that the governor's agents had carried her late husband's moveable estate to Green Spring and that he had not participated in the rebellion (Wiseman Book of Record; Neville 1976:368,372).

256 One such person was Sarah, the widow of William Drummond, who had been hanged by Berkeley. She alleged that in June and July 1677, Lady Frances Berkeley's servants had confiscated her tobacco and corn crops and broken down the fences of her plantation (C.O. 1/42 f 291; Neville 1976:90). The Drummonds then had a leasehold in the Governor's Land (Soane 1683).

257 The ratio between the king's soldiers and the colonists was 1:40, for Virginia's population then numbered ca. 40,000 persons. Providing food and shelter for these men was financially burdensome for the colonists (Washburn 1957:99). According to the king's commissioners, there was "not a house in all James City to shelter" the soldiers (Sainsbury 1964:10:22).

258 They made a choice that proved unfortunate for Berkeley, for they stayed at Swann's Point, the home of Colonel Thomas Swann I. Swann, though a member of the Governor's Council, was a signatory to Bacon's "Declaration," which charged Berkeley with malfeasance. His son, Samuel, was married to the daughter of William Drummond I, who had been executed for his role in the rebellion (Washburn 1957:74,217-218). One of Colonel Swann's detractors, who dubbed him "ye great Toad," claimed that during Bacon's Rebellion he "did sitt in ye council of war for burneing ye town" and then went to Jamestown to join Bacon (Tyler 1902:81).

259 He may have been speaking of the buildings associated with Study Unit 1 Tract H.

had beene new to build, & noe signe that ever there had beene a fence about it" (Washburn 1957:102).[260]

The King's Commissioners Investigate

On January 31, 1677, the day after the king's commissioners arrived in Virginia, Governor Berkeley promised them that despite Green Spring's ruinous condition, he would "use all means and diligence possible to the buildinge of houses, and makinge provisions for the receivinge on shore as well those on board also the rest of his Maj. forces not yett arrived" (Neville 1976:23). But as the days wore on, the written dialogue between Berkeley and the king's commissioners became increasingly terse. On February 13th the commissioners warned Berkeley that his servants' alleged seizure of various people's goods (if true) would incur the disfavor of the king. Berkeley responded that if such seizures had indeed occurred, they were without his knowledge or consent. He also said almost all of his neighbors had pilfered his goods, which were "still to be seen in their houses." He added that they had been willing to spare him some corn and hogs in lieu of what they stole. He indicated that he was keeping at least 30 prisoners in his house under a guard of 50 men, and that for the past month he had had to rely upon the charity of people who knew that he "had not a cow or a grain of corn left" (Neville 1976:254).

On February 14th, the king's commissioners sent a message to Governor Berkeley, asking him to provide storehouses for the royal troops' food and ammunition, and carts and draft animals to transport them. He replied that thanks to the rebels' plundering, he had "but one Oxe" and that the six he had borrowed were needed "to Bring wood and Victuals for two hundred men which I have now in my house."[261] He said that he "must feed them al [sic] and God knowes the Rebels left me not one graine of Corne nor one Cow to feed me." In closing, he said, "If you send me word it is lawful for me to presse oxen or Horses for his Majesty's service, having none of my owne, I wil immediately doe it" (Washburn 1957:105-106; Wiseman Book of Record; Neville 1976:256). Later in the day, the commissioners forwarded Berkeley's letters to England.

On February 20, 1677, the assembly convened at Green Spring. Twenty acts were passed, four of which pertained to Bacon's Rebellion. A free pardon was extended to all but the 23 men who already had been convicted of treason.[262] More lenient penalties, such as fines, were established as a suitable punishment for participants in the recent rebellion. The real and personal estate of those executed for treason was to be confiscated. However, plundered goods were to be restored to their rightful owners and those who had suffered losses in the rebellion were given the legal right to sue for damages. The burgesses nullified the legislation that Nathaniel Bacon and his men had forced upon them at gunpoint in June 1676, and they designated two official holy days: May 4th, a fast day in penitence for the late rebellion, and August 22nd, a day of thanksgiving to commemorate the colony's deliverance from the rebellion. Later in the year, the Privy Council disallowed three of the laws enacted during the February session of the assembly: the ones that pertained to free pardon and indemnity, punishment and attainder (Hening 1809-1823:II:366-406, 461; Neville

[260] This document, which is dated June 27, 1678, reveals that the house was restored to livable condition within 18 months of the time it was damaged and that the repairs that were necessary were costly and extensive.

[261] It is likely that some of these individuals were lodged in the main house and its outbuildings and in shelters erected upon Green Spring's grounds.

[262] William West and John Turner, who had been tried and condemned to death, escaped from jail and avoided execution. One man reportedly had died in jail, another had been found guilty but was not sentenced to death, and three others fled before standing trial (Hening 1809-1823:II:461; Neville 1976:61, 66).

1976:60, 62-63, 116-117; C.O. 1/39 ff 72-81; 5/1355 ff 156-164; Force 1963:I:10:1-2).[263]

As a shipment of military stores accompanied the king's troops to Virginia, there was a need for facilities in which they could be stored. Because there were no appropriate buildings for storage at Green Spring, the decision was made to erect some structures at Middle Plantation. On February 20, 1677, the assembly decided that a storehouse should be built "for securing the powder sent in by his most sacred majesty, and that the saide store bee Boarded within and without, and well filled up with Clay or Mortar, and double Covered." A second building was to be constructed for the storage of other goods. It, too, was to be double-covered. A guardhouse at least 60 feet long, with two outside chimneys, was to be built. Colonel John Page was appointed to oversee construction of all three buildings and he was given the authorization to press carpenters into service, if none were available for hire (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:71-73).

Assembly records dating to July 2, 1680, reveal that Page hired two Jamestown residents (Thomas Rabley of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot B and William Sherwood of Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, E, F, and G and Study Unit 4 Tract D) to see that the structures were erected upon their property at Middle Plantation. At that time, both men were compensated for

> *... building one New Sixty foot house twenty food wide, One New twenty foot Square house English frame underpined with brick, flowr'd with Sawen boards, fil'd on ye inside & Sealed and double covered, alsoe one house Sixty foot long New Covered, all at the Countreys charge [McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:140].*[264]

The longer the king's commissioners stayed in the colony, the more cantankerous and uncooperative they found Governor Berkeley.[265] In March 1677, several former ringleaders of the popular uprising were tried in civil tribunals that were held at Green Spring on March 1st, 3rd, 8th, 9th, 10th, 15th, 16th, and 22nd (Hening 1809-1823:II 550-557).[266] Although some of those convicted were fined or subjected to other forms of non-corporal punishment (such as public humiliation or banishment), nine men were sentenced to hang (Hening 1809-1823:II:548-558).[267] On March 25, 1677, Colonel Francis Moryson, one of the king's commissioners and a man Berkeley had befriended when he first came to Virginia, asked Lady Frances Berkeley to intercede with the governor on behalf of a man named Jones, who was accused of rebellion. She replied that she "would rather have worn the canvas the Rebels threatened to make her glad of, than have had the fatal occasion of interceding for mercy." She added, however, that the governor would pardon Jones simply because Moryson had requested it (Neville 1976:276; Wiseman Book of Record).[268]

On April 22, 1677, immediately prior to Sir William Berkeley's departure for England, the king's

[263] William Sherwood, who alternately praised and criticized the governor, later commented that Berkeley was as much to blame for the uprising as anyone else, for "he gave the Commission to Bacon, permitted the whole Country to assist and arme him and never contradicted his proceedings" (Neville 1976:71).

[264] By October 1681 the structures were out of repair and plans were made to refurbish them (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:13). In March 1683 they may have been destroyed by fire (see ahead).

[265] On the other hand, Wilcomb Washburn noted that the commissioners, instead of serving as assistants to the governor, as they were supposed to, told Berkeley how to run his government (Washburn 1957:100-101).

[266] The commissioners later reported that 23 men had been hanged and that all who were tried were found guilty. As almost all of those who stood trial were sentenced to death, some people who were accused of involvement in the rebellion decided to pay an arbitrary fine rather than risk being tried (Neville 1976:315).

[267] The condemned men were Giles Bland, Robert Jones, Anthony Arnold, Richard Farmar, Robert Stoakes, John Isles, Richard Pomfrey, John Whitson, and William Scarborough (Hening 1809-1823:II:548-558).

[268] If the accused man was Robert Jones, he had been sentenced to death on March 15 (Hening 1809-1823:II:550).

commissioners experienced what they considered a major diplomatic and social affront. When the governor's coach transported them from Green Spring to Jamestown, the common hangman served as postilion. The outraged commissioners sent word to Berkeley that they considered the incident "an insult to the Kings Great Seal and to the private persons of the Commissioners as gentlemen" and stated that were going to report the affront to the monarch, personally. Berkeley replied that he was unaware that the hangman was a member of his household and that he was as "innocent in this as the blessed Angels themselves." He also told the commissioners that he had sent them his slave "to be racked, tortured or whipt till he confesses how this dire misfortune happened" (Neville 1976:71; C.O. 1/40 f 62; Stanard 1913:370). Lady Frances Berkeley claimed to know nothing of the matter and said that she was sending the coachman to them for examination (Neville 1976:71-72; Washburn 1957:98-99, 131; C. O. 1/40 f 63; Stanard 1925:352). The commissioners later informed one of their superiors that as they departed in the coach driven by the common hangman, "My Lady went into her Chamber and peeped through a broken quarrel of glass to see how the show looked." They added that "the whole case looks more like a woman's than a man's malice" (Neville 1976:73).

The king's commissioners, as part of their investigation, asked the freeholders of Virginia's counties to list their grievances against the government and Governor Berkeley. The list of complaints compiled by Surry, Isle of Wight and Charles City Counties included allegations that brick houses were built at Jamestown at great expense and that some became ruinous before they were finished. The capital city was perceived as a place where government funds had been spent wastefully and to little avail. As the people of Isle of Wight County put it, "Great quantities of tobacco that was levied upon the poor people to the building of houses at Jamestown, which was not made habitable but fell down again before they were finished" (Sainsbury 1964:10:45; C.O. 1/38 ff 209, 229; 1/42 ff 102-103).

Independently, the king's commissioners concluded that the burgesses were overpaid and that some were compensated even though they failed to attend assembly meetings. They also said that no one should be paid for providing liquor to committee members and they asked for the abatement "of the excessive rates set by ordinary keepers about James City at assembly times" (Sainsbury 1964:10:25).

Sir William Berkeley Leaves Office

After Governor William Berkeley set sail for England, some of his more ardent supporters stoutly resisted the policies of Lt. Governor Herbert Jeffreys, who legally assumed the reins of government.[269] In a letter to a close associate in England, William Sherwood of Jamestown dubbed Berkeley's principal supporters the "Green Spring Faction" and named them: Lady Frances Berkeley, Philip Ludwell I, Thomas Ballard, Edward Hill II, and Robert Beverley I (Neville 1976:90).[270] Although Jeffreys continued bringing accused rebels before the General Court, he had a much more lenient attitude toward convicted offenders and no more death sentences were handed down (Hening 1809-1823:II:557-558). On August 2, 1677, Lady Frances Berkeley sent a letter to Sir William in which she informed him that "As soon as your back was turned, the Lieut. Governor [Jeffreys] said he would lay 100 £ that you would not be permitted to see the King, but would be sent to the Tower." By the time Lady Berkeley's letter reached England, her husband was dead (Hening 1809-1823:II:558; Stanard 1925:352).

[269] Jeffreys was one of the commissioners sent to investigate the rebellion.

[270] Beverley was said to have been "that evil instrument that fomented evil humours between the two Governors [Berkeley and Jeffreys] when they were both in Virginia" and was quoted as having said that he had not plundered enough and that the rebellion had ended too soon for his purpose (Neville 1976:380). Ludwell, on the other hand, said Jeffreys was a worse rebel than Bacon, and heaped other insults upon him (Tyler 1911:210).

Sir William Berkeley prepared his will on March 20, 1677, shortly before he left Virginia. He named his widow as his principal beneficiary. By November 1678 he was dead. He is believed to have died without ever having the opportunity to explain his views to King Charles II (Hening 1809-1823:II:560; C.O. 5/1355 f 230; McIlwaine 1924:494, 521). Berkeley's will was presented for probate on November 22, 1678. He had designated Lady Frances as his executrix and described her as his "deare and most virtuous wife." He bestowed upon her and her legal heirs "all my lands, houses, and tenements, whatsoever," stating that "if God had blest me with a far greater estate, I would have given it all to my Most Dearly beloved wife." He bequeathed 100 pounds sterling to Mrs. Jane Davies upon the condition that his widow was left at least 3,000 pounds sterling to maintain herself in the style to which she was accustomed. He also left the sheriff's wife, Mrs. Sarah Kirkman, "so virtuous a good woman," money to buy a ring and he set aside for his cousin, Francilia, funds to purchase wedding garments. Berkeley's will was witnessed by several of his supporters: Nathaniel Bacon (uncle of the rebel), Thomas Ballard I, William Cole, Joseph Bridger, Robert Beverley I, and Philip Ludwell I (Hening 1809-1823:II:558-560; McIlwaine 1924:494,519). Under the terms of Sir William Berkeley's will, his widow succeeded him as a proprietor of Carolina (Stanard 1925:352).[271]

After Sir William Berkeley's death, Sarah Drummond of Study Unit 4 Tract N, whose husband had been executed for his role in Bacon's Rebellion, sued Lady Frances Berkeley for having her servants seize a substantial quantity of corn from her farm on the Governor's Land.[272] Lady Berkeley, as defendant, responded that she was entitled to the corn, in light of the labor she had bestowed upon the Drummond plantation. In 1809, when W.W. Hening, examined some General Court documents that no longer are extant, he noted that records of the suit of Drummond vs. Berkeley shed much light upon certain events that occurred during Bacon's Rebellion. Hening also stated that the General Court decided the case in favor of the plaintiff, Mrs. Sarah Drummond (Hening 1809-1823:II:558; McIlwaine 1924:521).

So considerable was the damage to Green Spring, as a result of the plantation's being occupied by Bacon's men and the king's troops, that in June 1678 Lady Frances Berkeley wrote her cousin that

> *... it has cost above £ 300 to make it habitable, & if I had not bestowed that money upon it, the Plantation had not beene worth £ 100, & as it is I thinke the finest seat in America & the only tolerable place for a Governour, & from thence I draw my hopes of cominge to live in England, for I doe hope to gett a pension of £ 200 a year for it dureing my life, & soe to remaine the Countrie's home forever, & if this faile I will set up to lead a poore Virginia life [Berkeley 1678].*

Thus, by early summer 1678 Lady Frances had restored the Green Spring mansion to what she considered liveable condition, in hopes that she could rent it to Virginia's future governors, earning enough income to live comfortably in England.[273] In 1680, however, her fortunes took another turn, for she married Secretary of the Colony Philip

[271] Through a peculiar turn of events, she had the good fortune to sell her interest in Carolina twice: in 1682 and again in 1684 (Stanard 1925:352).

[272] William Drummond I was leasing 234 acres near Jamestown (Soane 1683).

[273] Governor William Berkeley, when describing in monetary terms the damage his real and personal property sustained during Bacon's Rebellion, estimated that his losses totalled £ 8,000 (Washburn 1957:107). Thus, if it took only £ 300 to render the Green Spring mansion liveable, it appears that the dwelling itself suffered relatively little damage. Among the property owners who sought compensation for damages were several individuals whose losses were in the hundreds of pounds and some people's losses ran as high as 1,000 to 1,500 pounds sterling. For example, William Sherwood, whose stepson's house in Jamestown was burned by the rebels, estimated that he had lost 1,000 pounds (C.O. 1/40 ff 186- 187). When viewed in light of these contemporary estimates, Lady Berkeley's expenditure of 300 pounds on the Green Spring dwelling suggests that the damage it sustained was serious but not devastating.

Ludwell I, who had inherited Rich Neck from his brother, Thomas. As William and Frances Berkeley produced no living children and as she was his primary heir, at her death in 1691, Green Spring plantation and the rest of the Berkeley property descended into the hands of the Ludwell family (Hening 1809-1823:II:559; Stanard 1925:352).[274]

In 1683 Philip Ludwell I and Lady Frances Berkeley disposed of some of her late husband's property, at which time a deed was entered into the records of the General Court. However, due to the destruction of the volume in which the deed was entered, it is uncertain what acreage they sold (McIlwaine 1924:523). Documents included in the Virginia Historical Society's Lee Family Papers, 1638-1867, suggest that some of Lady Berkeley's property was in the hands of tenants or sharecroppers (Soane 1679).

Closing Out the Century (1678-1699)

Post-Rebellion Jamestown

A description of Jamestown on the eve of Bacon's Rebellion states that the capital city was built close to the James River and consisted of 16 to 18 houses and a brick church. According to two of the Special Commissioners that King Charles II sent to investigate the underlying causes of the popular uprising, thanks to the September 19, 1676, fire, "James City was totally burnt to the ground by Bacon who with his own hand set fire to the church" (Sainsbury 1964:9:13). They said that before Jamestown was set ablaze, "the towne consisted of 12 new brick Houses besides a considerable number of Frame houses with brick chimneys, all which will not be rebuilt (as is computed) for fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco" (Andrews 1967:136).

Among the buildings that lay in ruins were Richard Lawrence's inn (on Study Unit 4 Tract S); William Drummond's house (on Study Unit 4 Tract N); the James house (probably Structure 1/2 on Study Unit 1 Tract C) which William Sherwood possessed on behalf of his stepson; the house occupied by Theophilus Hone (Structure 38 on Study Unit 1 Tract D); Colonel John Page's store (Structure 53 on Study Unit 1 Tract F); a house owned by Colonel Nathaniel Bacon (probably Bay 3 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group) on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A; the rowhouses Richard Auborne and Arnold Cassinett (Cossina) rented (Bays 3 and 4 of Structure 115, on Study Unit 4 Tract K); Colonel Thomas Swann I's brick ordinary (probably Structure 19A/B on Tract G in Study Unit 4); and Swann's unit in the Ludwell Statehouse Group rowhouse (Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A Bay 4). Altogether, an estimated 16 to 18 houses were burned during the conflagration, which also claimed the James City Parish church (on Study Unit 4 Tract V) and the statehouse (probably Structure 112 on Study Unit 1 Tract H). London merchant John Jeffreys, whose wine was stored in John Page's cellars, reportedly lost 63 pipes, some of which was consumed by the fire and some by Governor Berkeley's supporters. Historical documents fail to disclose how much damage was done to the Structure 17 rowhouse and some of the other buildings that stood along the waterfront in urban Jamestown, an area that the Rev. John Clayton's map (1688) suggests was densely developed.

The Slave Trade at Jamestown

British records reveal that London merchants Jeffrey and John Jeffreys and Micajah Perry, who had ties to Jamestown property owners, were involved in the slave trade and Jeffrey Jeffreys and Micajah Perry were the Royal African Company's principal contractors for the sale of Africans in Virginia. John Jeffreys used Jamestown lot owner Colonel John Page (Study Unit 1 Tract F Lots A and B) as his factor during the mid-1670s. In September 1676, the substantial quantity of wine John Jeffreys had stored in Page's cellars in Jamestown was de-

[274] Hening, in 1809, noted that a deed from Ludwell and his new wife identified her as "Dame Frances Berkeley" (Hening 1809-1823:II:559). Thus, she elected to remain publicly linked with her late husband.

stroyed when Nathaniel Bacon's followers set the capital city ablaze. Afterward, when Page filed a compensatory claim on Jeffreys' behalf, in an attempt to recover the monetary value of the lost wine, reference was made to four African men John Jeffreys had sent to the colony, whom Page had sold to Governor William Berkeley (C.O. 1/41 f 221; 5/1355 ff 200- 203; Sainsbury 1964:10:167).

Jeffrey Jeffreys and Micajah Perry had a close working relationship with William Sherwood, who in January 1695 became the Royal African Company's representative in Virginia. Therefore, Sherwood probably sold newly-arrived Africans on the firm's behalf. Micajah Perry, whose niece was married to William Sherwood's nephew, John Jarrett, by 1696 was in possession of Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot A and Bay 1 of the Structure 17 rowhouse. Sherwood owned the lot next door (Lot B) and the ruins of Bay 2 of Structure 17, his only waterfront property in the New Towne. Sherwood also was in possession of Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F and G. In 1697, when William Sherwood made his will, he designated Jeffrey Jeffreys as his reversionary heir, an arrangement suggesting that he may have been indebted to Jeffreys (McGhan 1993:873; Withington 1980:52; Ambler MS 65, 73; H. C. A., T 70/57 f 120).

Documentary records pertaining to the Virginia slave trade reveal that Captain William Armiger of Study Unit 4 Tract J owned a ship, the *Two Brothers*, that was used to import Africans to Virginia, directly from Africa. Maritime records indicate that in 1701 Yorktown was Armiger's ship's port of call and that he brought in 180 Africans (Minchinton 1984:5). Besides his lot in urban Jamestown and a leasehold in the Governor's Land, Armiger owned a 225 acre tract on the Chickahominy River, in what is now Charles City County (Nugent 1969-1979:III:361).

Efforts to Rebuild Jamestown

In the wake of Bacon's Rebellion, efforts were made to rebuild the capital city. King Charles II considered designating Jamestown an Anglican See and having a cathedral built there. This would have secured an episcopate or bishopric for the American colonies.[275] The king also decreed that "Jamestown be from now and henceforth forever a city ... named the City of Jamestown" (Stanard 1928:48-53; Perry 1969:I:536-542).

The parish church apparently was one of the first buildings restored to use after Bacon's Rebellion. On June 21, 1680, Colonel William White, churchwarden of James City Parish and the owner of two parcels and a house (Structure 86) within Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C, presented a petition to the assembly on behalf of the parishioners he represented. In response, the assembly authorized a levy of 14,000 pounds of tobacco for "finishing the church at James City." The tobacco raised as taxes was to be given to Colonel White (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:128).[276]

Sometime prior to September 16, 1680, Colonel Thomas Swann I hired carpenter John Smith to repair or rebuild his ordinary at Jamestown and put it into usable condition. Swann then leased the building (probably Structure 19A/B on Study Unit 4 Tract G) to Elizabeth Sikes (Sykes) and her new husband, John Everett. After Colonel Thomas Swann I's death, his widow and son sued the Everett couple. In 1685 a merchant named Samuel Firth was renting Swann's house and land in Jamestown from his heirs. Court records reveal that Colonel Swann often stayed in the Everetts' ordinary when the assembly was in session and that he had agreed to deduct the cost of his keep from the proprietors' rent (Surry County Orders 1671-1690:180, 352,358; Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1691:28, 304).

During the 1680s there was considerable interest in leasing and rebuilding the four-bay brick rowhouse known as Structure 115 (within Study

[275] Because Bishops were the only Anglican church officials allowed to perform the rite of ordination, clergy educated in the colonies had to go to England for that act of authorization.

[276] In 1856 Bishop William Meade stated that as a result of this effort, "a new and better church, whose tower still remains, was built at Jamestown" (Meade 1992:I:94).

Unit 4 Tract K), which had burned during Bacon's Rebellion. In the late 1670s Theophilus Hone sought to lease two of the building's bays and in 1680 John Quigley, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, George Lee, and Colonel Philip Ludwell I each requested leases for bays in the "brick houses burnt in the late rebellion." Ludwell was awarded the two units in the western end of the Structure 115 block (Bays 1 and 2), including "that house where the gaole was kept," probably a reference to the "country house"[277] that had been assigned to James City County's justices for that purpose in 1668. Colonel Nathaniel Bacon (the colony's auditor general) and merchant George Lee were assigned a unit apiece in the eastern end of the block (Bays 3 and 4), "*provided that they be the countries houses*" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:53, 152).[278] Thus, government officials indicated that they were uncertain whether the rowhouse units in the eastern end of Structure 115 were publicly or privately owned. George Lee's April 7, 1685, deed for the two houses indicates that they were, in fact, privately owned, for he purchased them and the 3/4 acre lot upon which they stood from William Browne of Surry County.[279] By that date, Lee already had rebuilt the rowhouse bays that stood upon the property. The northern and westernmost walls of Lee's housing units formed his northern and western lot lines, whereas the western boundary ditch (Ditch 9) of the Page/Chiles lot, which then belonged to William Sherwood, and the Common Road in front of the houses (Ditch 66) formed his eastern and southern lines (Lee Family Papers MS 1.51 f 668). Significantly, during the years William Browne owned the two easterly units of Structure 115, he was compensated for accommodating an office of the General Court. Later, owner John Tullitt was paid for hosting the House of Burgesses in rooms especially outfitted for that purpose. Tullitt later conveyed his Jamestown property to Philip Ludwell I (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:174; 1695-1702:160).

Although the eastern half of Structure 115 was rebuilt, historical records suggest that Bays 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group rowhouse were not.[280] Land records reveal that on the waterfront in the New Towne, two units in the Structure 17 rowhouse survived the fire that destroyed Jamestown: Bays 1 and 2 on Lots A and B of Study Unit 4 Tract C. George Marable II occupied Bay 2 before Bacon's Rebellion and his widow and her new husband (Henry Gawler) lived there afterward. Next door was the rowhouse unit (Bay 1) that belonged to London merchant Micajah Perry. To the east, on Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot B, was the site of a house John Barber I had occupied prior to Bacon's Rebellion; how it fared in the fire is uncertain. On Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcel 1 was Structure 86, the home William May built during the 1660s. It escaped destruction in the September 1676 fire and came into the possession of Colonel William White. Whether or not the building sustained damage is uncertain. James Alsop, who during the 1660s came into possession of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot A, was a supporter of Nathaniel Bacon, and was among those who seized Governor Berkeley's goods and stashed them at Richard Lawrence's house (Study Unit 4 Tract S) (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:46, 130). It is uncertain whether the buildings on Alsop's lot were spared from destruction (Figure 23). In 1682, when Governor Thomas Culpeper arrived, the need to rebuild became more urgent, for he brought word from England that structures were to be erected at Jamestown as soon as possible (see ahead).

The Need for Public Facilities

Because the statehouse had been destroyed, the colony's highest ranking officials were obliged to

[277] That is, a building that had been erected at public expense and therefore belonged to the government.

[278] Emphasis added.

[279] In May 1691 payment was authorized to Colonel William Browne, who had provided a storehouse for the safe-keeping of the ammunition of Jamestown's fort (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:187).

[280] However, archaeological research is needed to shed light upon this issue.

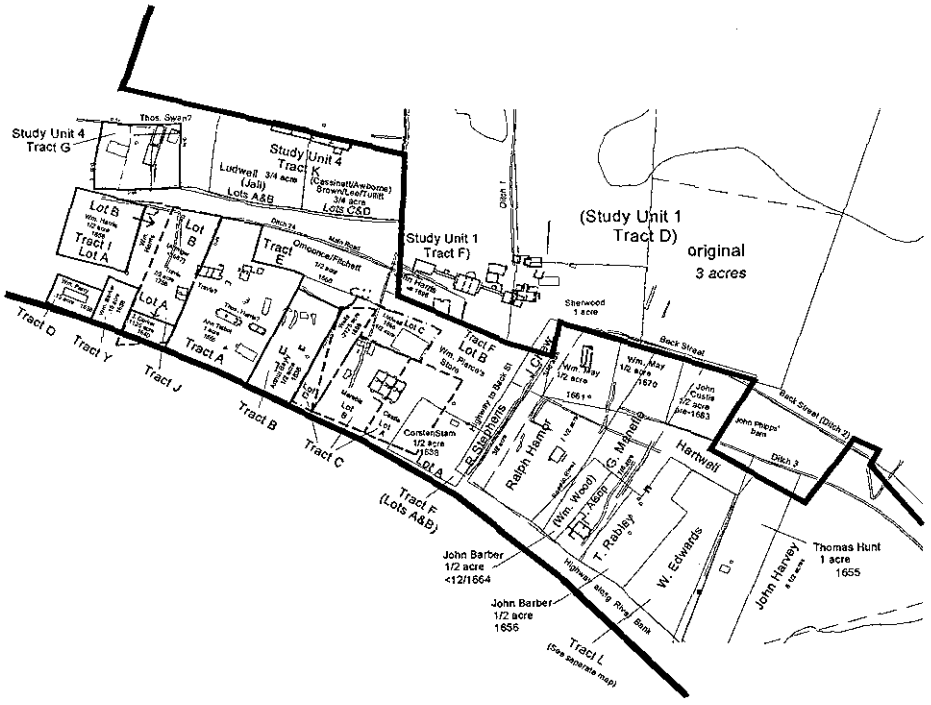


Figure 23. *Study Unit 4 with Part of Study Unit 1.*

find other facilities in which to meet.[281] In 1680 the Council convened at Green Spring and afterward at sites that ranged from James City and Gloucester Counties to New Kent and Charles City.[282] The assembly met at Green Spring during 1677, but by April 1679 had begun meeting in Jamestown in rented accommodations (Hening 1809-823:I:433, 455). In June 1680 the burgesses met at Mrs. Susanne Fisher's house in Jamestown,[283] but the Council convened at William Sherwood's (Structure 31 on Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A). In time, the Council's habit of meeting in William Sherwood's Great Hall became a tradition and the General Court often convened there, too. Sherwood periodically hosted the assembly and its committees. The Council sometimes met at Henry Gauler's ordinary,[284] probably in Bay 2 of Structure 17, on Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot B), for Gawler had married George Marable II's widow.[285]

[281] In 1682 the governor's council had 12 members, counting the Governor. The assembly had 40 burgesses (McIlwaine 1918:19).

[282] In October 1682 the council convened at the home of Samuel Weldon, James City County's high sheriff, who lived a few miles west of Middle Plantation. The council also met at Nicholas Spense's leasehold, the Hot Water plantation, near the James City County crossroads known as Centerville, and in Gloucester at Poropotank, probably in the home of Major General Robert Smith. During the late 1680s the council convened at Nominy (in Lancaster County) and at Rosegill, in Middlesex. Later, they met in Charles City County at Westover, at the York Plantation in York County, in Hampton, and at Mathew Page's in Gloucester.

[283] Sometime prior to July 1681, Mrs. Fisher married William Armiger (Study Unit 4 Tract J) (McGhan 1993:421). Her late husband (or another family member) may have owned land in Jamestown.

[284] In 1685 Henry Gawler protested that he wasn't receiving enough rent for hosting Council meetings and asked for an increase. The assembly decided that the amount he was receiving was adequate, even though "Mr. Gauler [is] keeping an ordinary and thereby obliged to find a room for his guests" (McIlwaine 1918:89).

[285] In June 1689 William Byrd I instructed his agent to "send mee a hds. of claret wine more in botles to

In June 1680 funds were given to William Sherwood (Structure 31) and Thomas Rabley (Structure 125) "for the reparations of their houses besides the allowance made for rent, their houses being very much impaired" by hosting official meetings. In 1682 Captain William Armiger (Study Unit 4 Tract J) provided a room to the assembly, whereas Thomas Clayton (perhaps of Structure 71/74 on Study Unit 4 Tract A) and George Lee (of Structure 115 Bays 3 and 4 on Study Unit 4 Tract K Lots C and D) hosted committee meetings.[286] In April 1684 Mrs. Ann Mason[287] was paid for providing an assembly room, "the two chambers over it for a clerks office, the council chamber, and two courts" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:119, 136, 174, 256, 282; 1918:5, 8, 82, 89; Hening 1809-1823:II:458; C.O. 5/1355 f 386).[288]

Thanks to the September 19, 1676, fire, the justices of James City County, who traditionally had held their monthly court sessions in the statehouse, in the General Court's chamber, were obliged to find other accommodations in which to convene. Official records reveal that the county justices built their own courthouse, a structure that by February 1691 had become "very ruinous" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:161-162). It is uncertain where that structure was located; however, by law it had to be somewhere within urban Jamestown, the county seat.

In 1684 blacksmith William Briscoe (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lots A and B and probably Study Unit 3 Tract I) was paid for irons and other services that involved the restraint of criminals, but it is uncertain precisely where they were detained.[289] Later in the year, a decision was made to rebuild the statehouse[290] and William Sherwood was asked to draft an agreement with Philip Ludwell I, who had agreed to perform the work and then construct a prison.[291] In December 1685 it was resolved that "there be a good, substantial strong publique prison house built in James City att ye charge of ye County" (McIlwaine 1918:82; 1905-1915:1660-1693:221). It is uncertain where the county prison or jail was located. However, if Structure 112 has been identified correctly as the statehouse that burned during Bacon's Rebellion, the prison may have been built within the bounds of Study Unit 1 Tract H.

Rebuilding the Statehouse

Shortly after Francis Howard, Lord Effingham, assumed the governorship, plans got underway to

(cont'd from previous page)
be put on shore at Mr. Gawler's in Jamestown." He also said that he had not yet "sent for wine for the councel" (Stanard 1926:7). Byrd's verbiage implies that he was providing alcoholic beverages to the colony's governing officials, perhaps while they were holding forth at Gawler's ordinary.

286 In 1682 Thomas Clayton was the burgess for Jamestown (McIlwaine 1918:19).

287 The location of Mrs. Mason's home is uncertain. She may have been occupying the late Thomas Rabley's house (Structure 125 on Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot B), for there was a connection between the Rabley and Mason families (Surry County *Order Book 1677-1691*:682).

288 Renting meeting rooms was costly for the government. In 1685 1,500 lbs. of tobacco was paid to rent a room in which a committee met. Henry Gawler received 4,000 lbs. of tobacco for the room he rented to the Governor's Council. The long-term agreement the assembly made with William Sherwood (which included his Great Hall, a back room on the same floor and a cellar, plus fire and candle) amounted to 25 pounds sterling a year (McIlwaine 1918:88-89, 93).

289 In 1678 the Council decided that criminals awaiting trial by the General Court had to be detained by the counties in which they had committed their crimes, for there was no jail in Jamestown in which they could be incarcerated (McIlwaine 1924:519).

290 In 1684 a decision was made to use funds derived from fort duties and the tax on liquor to pay for rebuilding the statehouse (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:206, 225).

291 In 1684 the assembly decided that county prisons should contain 120 square feet and be enclosed with a fence (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:221). According to those specifications, jails would have measured approximately 10 feet by 11 feet.

rebuild the statehouse. In mid-May 1684 a committee of six burgesses was appointed to investigate what it would cost to restore the structure to use and how to finance construction. There was debate over where to build the new statehouse, which was supposed to serve as "a place of judicature for setting of the General Court and meeting of the General Assembly, &c." On May 19th the governor and Council asked the assembly to find someone to undertake construction at Jamestown. On May 22nd it was agreed that Colonel Philip Ludwell I would be hired and attorney William Sherwood was told to draw up a contract with him. There apparently was some discussion about how the building would be decorated and furnished. Later, Captain William Armiger (Study Unit 4 Tract J) was paid "for a picture of the Kings Arms for the General Court and making the chair and mending it" and in November 1686 Henry Hartwell (of Structure 86 on Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C) agreed to provide "for the next assembly a convenient table and turkeywork carpet and three Spanish tables for the office and committee rooms, 2 dozen Russia[n] leather chairs, 6 lanthorns, 6 lg. brass candlesticks and snuffers, and 6 scounces" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:208-210, 235, 244, 256, 283).

The building probably was usable by November 2, 1685, for the governor commanded the burgesses to "repair to ye state house" to determine whether there were enough assembly members in town to elect a speaker. On December 5, 1685, Auditor General Nathaniel Bacon was ordered to pay Colonel Philip Ludwell I 400 pounds sterling for rebuilding the statehouse and he was supposed to ask Ludwell to post a bond, guaranteeing that he would finish his work satisfactorily. At the same session of the assembly, it was resolved

> *... that ye room in ye state house called ye Porch Chamber be kept and appropriated an office for ye Clerk of ye assbly and that Robert Beverley [I] ye present Clerk take possession thereof and therein lodge and place all Records, Books, and Papers belonging to the assembly.*

The burgesses asked for the governor and council's concurrence. They also proposed "yt ye lower room in the state house opposite to ye Court house room be with all possible expedition fitted for ye secretaries office in such manner as his Excellency and ye Counsel shal direct" and that Colonel Ludwell be hired to do the work (McIlwaine 1918:65-66, 86). Governor Howard disagreed. He said that the colony's Secretary had a just claim to the porch room, which had been his office "ever since ye statehouse was first built, until burnt" and that the Secretary justly claimed it by prescription. He added that if the room opposite the court room were made into the secretary's office, those who had business at the General Court would be obliged to wait outdoors despite inclement weather. He also indicated that the downstairs room the burgesses proposed as a secretary's office was "soe neer the ground, notwithstanding all endeavors, will never be fit for records to be kept in, by reason of the great dampeness, wch is there and ever will soe continue." The governor closed by saying that he thought the old clerk's office might be made useable with "a little fitting," but that if the burgesses disagree, they had the liberty to choose any other place in the statehouse, as long as the space wasn't committed to another use (McIlwaine 1918:90-91).

The burgesses acknowledged the governor's point of view but urged him to reconsider. They contended that the Secretary's office was "both inconvenient and incommodious," for anyone having business there could overhear what was being said in the assembly room. They also said that people sometimes congregated outside of the assembly room on the pretext of going to the secretary's office. The burgesses pointed out that these problems would be solved by "using such part of ye room under ye Assembly room as is necessary" for the new secretary's office. As to the governor's concern about dampness, they proposed that by "seeling ye walls and raising ye floor [it] will become as safe & commodious for preservation of ye Records as it's possible any other place." They closed by saying that they were for-

warding to the governor and council their plans for the proposed changes (McIlwaine 1918:92-93).

On December 8, 1685, the governor and council, having reviewed the burgesses' response and remodeling plans, consented to the proposed changes as long as the Secretary had no objections. As to the remodeling plans themselves, they said that "a strong partition [should] be made under ye second Girder, att ye west end of ye said room, ye floor raised two foot from ground, ye walls ceeled with sawen boards smooth'd and battened, and ye windows Iron barred, and shutters or window leaves of halfe inch board with a cross barr to each, with shelves, table and benches to be well done and completely finished before ye next General Court, att ye charge of ye country, to be paid for ye next General Assembly." The Governor and Council also said that they wanted the House to "agree with Mr. Wm. Sherwood for his Hall, small back room and Cellar, for ye use of his Majesties Governor and Councel, for a Councel room, to debate all matters relating to ye Government ... being more convenient, than any yet made use of, for privacy and dignity, his Excellency having lodgings in the same house, and desire you'll treat with Mr. Sherwood accordingly." The Council met regularly in the Sherwood home (Structure 31 on Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A) throughout the 1690s (McIlwaine 1918:92-93; 1905-1915:1693-1702:48, 62, 142, 152).

On December 9, 1685, an assembly committee made an agreement with Colonel Philip Ludwell I "for making and furnishing an office for ye Hon. Mr. Secretary in ye room of ye statehouse opposite to that for holding several courts." He was supposed to "build and furnish an office in ye said room according to proposal of governor and council," which required that "A well made partition be made therein, one part whereof to be for the clerk's writing and receiving persons coming thither and ye other for ye placing ye records and other papers in." An agreement also was made with Ludwell for "railing with railes and banisters of locust and cedar laid double in oyle, and as close as may be ye forepart of ye statehouse of convenient height and att convenient distance from ye house" (McIlwaine 1918:97). Ludwell apparently fulfilled his obligations, for on November 16, 1686, he was paid "for fitting up Mr. Secretary's office in accord with agreement at the last meeting." It is certain that the space was used as planned, for on May 12, 1688, when Francis Page became clerk of the assembly, he was styled keeper of its records, which were to be maintained "in the Room over the porch of the state house particularly appointed an office for that purpose" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:282, 327).

On February 7, 1691, two of James City County's court justices (William Edwards II and Henry Hartwell)[292] asked the governor's council for permission to use the General Court room for their monthly meetings, as the building they had erected after Bacon's Rebellion had become "very ruinous, [and] it will be Great Charge to repair it." They cited a long-standing tradition of the two judicial bodies' sharing accommodations. Lt. Governor Francis Nicholson, in turn, asked the county justices if they would "By a Sufficient Deede in Law Convey the Rts of the aforesaid ruinous House to him." He said that if they would, "He will repair the same and give it for a Schoole house for the Advantage of the Inhabitants of the aforesaid County of James Citty and others who shall send their Children there to be Educated." Ultimately, it was agreed that the justices of James City County could hold their sessions in the chamber in the General Courthouse if they would deed their ruinous building to Nicholson and "keepe the Windows and plaistering of the Roome (in the Generall Court house) where the Court is held in repair, the same being first made soe." The only restriction placed upon the room's use was that the local justices would have to yield to the schedule of the General Court or the Council, whenever the assembly met (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:161-162).[293] During the

[292] Both men had property in Jamestown and successively owned Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C. Edwards also was in possession of Study Unit 4 Tract O, one of Jamestown's ferry-landings.

[293] There is no indication that Nicholson fulfilled his end of the bargain and converted the ruinous James City County courthouse into a school for local children.

1680s and 90s the Governor's Council convened at numerous sites, many of which were away from Jamestown, but they returned to the capital city on a regular basis to hold sessions of the General Court. Committee meetings sometimes were held in private homes, such as William Sherwood's and William Hallett's.[294] On one occasion in 1692 they met in Colonel Joseph Bridger's rooms (McIlwaine 1918:35; 1925-1945:I:11; 1905-1915:1660-1693:452).[295]

Changes to the Statehouse

On March 7, 1691, Lt. Governor Francis Nicholson informed the Council that "the Roome where the General Court is kept wants repairing." Therefore, the sheriff of James City County was ordered to "cause the windows of the room to be glazed, the plastering mended and the walls whitewashed." Also, because of "the inconveniency of the bar in the said room it is ordered that the sheriff cause the same to be altered according to the direction of the lieutenant governor" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:167). Thus, precisely a month after the James City County justices had obtained permission to use the General Court's chamber for their own sessions in exchange for keeping the room's windows and plaster in good condition, they were called upon to make repairs. On May 20, 1691, the Governor's Council asked the assembly to pay Henry Gawler "for Some Small matter done in ye Room where ye Genll Court is held"[296] and to hire someone "to repair the General Courthouse and to rail it in to keep it from those indecencies it is now exposed to." The burgesses responded that they were ready to adjourn and did not have time to deal with the requests. They added, however, that if the Council wanted to have the work done, the assembly would cover the cost (McIlwaine 1918:151-152).

As a result of the assembly's momentary relaxation of its procedural rules, Lt. Governor Francis Nicholson and the Council not only had some repairs made, they undertook some modifications to the building. On June 23, 1692, Nicholson informed the Council that for lack of room, the records in the Secretary's Office were "too much exposed and in great danger of being imbesled by any evill minded person." To prevent such theft, he instructed Secretary Robinson and Henry Hartwell, whom he said was a Jamestown resident, to see that the office was remodeled "by adding to the Office part of the Roome Adjoyning and to put the same into such forme as they see fit." He authorized Robinson and Hartwell to hire workmen and justified his actions by underscoring the importance of the records in the Secretary's Office, which secured to "the Inhabitants of this Colony the Lands they possess" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:251). Nicholson's highhandedness offended the burgesses, who flatly refused to pay for work that had been done without their authorization.

On November 15, 1693, the Council re-examined Thomas Lun's claim "for nails and plank used in and about the General Courthouse," a request for compensation that the House had rejected. The councillors found the charge valid, for the building was "extremely decayed and rotten," and they pointed out that the structure, which "att first [was] built att the charge of the countrye, that all proceedings relating to the government in generall might there be transacted, [and] at the same charge itt was rebuilt," was supposed to be repaired at public expense. They said that Thomas Beckett's claim should be allowed by the assembly, as should that of Alice Goodrick "for building a partition before Mr. Secretaries office doore, & for plank and tymber for doing the same & for plank used about the state house." The next day, the burgesses acknowledged that keeping the building in good re-

[294] The location of the Hallett dwelling is uncertain. It may not have been in Jamestown, or Hallett may have been someone's tenant.

[295] His property awaits identification. It may have been Study Unit 4 Tract A, an area about which very little documentary evidence is available. He was among those who during the early 1680s purportedly were erecting houses (see ahead).

[296] Gawler had employed the workmen and he had "paid for ye plank and nailes with which ye same was done, and found ye workmen Diet" (McIlwaine 1918:151-152).

pair was a public responsibility, but they still objected to paying Thomas Lun (Lunn) for his work, which they considered "changing the same into a different forme, or Adding of New Worke to itt, when there is no Need of present repaire." They agreed to honor Thomas Beckett's claim for "bricking up the chimney and whitewashing the general courthouse, the same being a necessary reparation," but they rejected his charge for "digging a Vault under the Powder house" which they did not perceive as justifiable. They also rejected Alice Goodrick's claim "for building a partition before Mr. Secretaries office doore, & for plank and tymber for it," for "that is a new peice of worke & in no wayes for the repair of the house where itt stands." The Council quickly sent word that the work performed by Thomas Lunn was done in response to orders from the General Court and "was for the necessary reparation of the court house, being extremely rotten and decayed." When the assembly finally acquiesced to the claims for compensation and made provisions for Lunn to be paid in tobacco, the Council insisted that he be given currency (McIlwaine 1918:206-208).

On April 26, 1695, when the Council proposed that the secretary's office be remodeled, the proposition was submitted to the House of Burgesses for consideration and a committee of four was appointed to study the matter. On April 30th, the committee's members reported that it was "an absolute necessity for repairing the same and inlarging it nine foote and a half, with the addition of such other conveniencies within the same as are directed in a scheme delivered to this House." The same four-man committee was ordered to find workmen to repair and enlarge the office and to obtain a cost estimate. Two weeks later they reported that no one was willing to do the work for less than 50 pounds sterling. Action apparently was deferred until October 26, 1696, when it was resolved that "the said Office be repayred." The attorney general was to ask the secretary to get the work done "without further inlargement" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1695-1702:13, 17, 36, 94).

Jamestown and the First Town Planning Act

In 1682 orders were given to Thomas Lord Culpeper, the incoming governor, to see that towns were built on each of the colony's large rivers. As Jamestown was "not only the most antient but the most convenient place for ye Metropolis of our said Colonie," it was to be "rebuilt as soon as possible" (Sainsbury 1964:10:341). As noted previously, by the time Culpeper arrived, quite a few Jamestown property owners had begun constructing new buildings or restoring old ones to usable condition, notably William Sherwood (Study Unit 1 Tracts D and possibly C), Colonel Thomas Swann I (Study Unit 4 Tract G), and George Lee (Study Unit 4 Tract K Lots C and D). Others (Philip Ludwell I and Colonel Nathaniel Bacon) also had expressed an interest in doing so.[297] Governor Culpeper was anxious for construction to proceed quickly at Jamestown. However, in December 1682 he told the council that he felt that there should be no subsidies for rebuilding (McIlwaine 1918:57).

[297] Sometime prior to September 20, 1683, Culpeper noted in the margin of his instructions that he had "given all encouragement possible for the rebuilding of James City, the General Courts, Public Offices and meeting of assemblys, having been always kept there. And [made] Green Spring (the nearest convenient habitation) my place of residence. But there being an apprehension in many persons that there are other places in the country more proper for a metropolis and that the aforesaid act for building towns would make one in the most natural place there hath not till now of late been any great advance therein. As to the proposal of building houses by those of the council and the chief inhabitants it hath been once attempted in vain. Nothing but profit and advantage can doe it and then there will bee no need of anything else. *However Mr Auditor Bacon hath lately built two very good ones and Col. Bridger and one Mr Sherwood are going about several wch will be finished this or next year and there are several others marked out for building*" (C.O. 5/1356 #68) (emphasis added). Bacon in 1683 patented Study Unit 4 Tract S, but the location of Bridger's land is uncertain. He may have been in possession of Study Unit 4 Tract A.

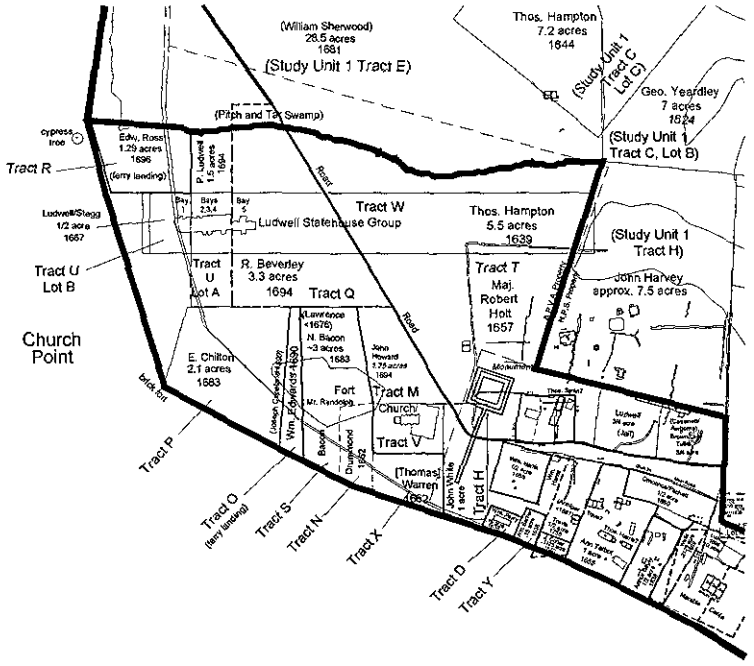


Figure 24. *Study Unit 4 Tracts M-Y, with Part of Study Unit 1.*

Governor Culpeper's instructions, which required Jamestown to be rebuilt as soon as possible as an urban community, prompted some of the old capital's property owners to ask the assembly to define its legal limits. They cited the recent town act, which specified that urban communities should be 50 acres in size, and they pointed out that "according to ancient inhabitants, Jamestown begins at Sandy Bay and includes all ye land between river and creek from thence to ye run or slash by Wm. Briscoe ye smith [Orchard Run] and soe to ye Back Creek," encompassing a much larger area.[298] Moreover, they said that paying 10,000 lbs. of tobacco for each 50 acre town site was inappropriate for Jamestown, where "not one acre there but cost above 5 pounds sterling, besides our great charge in building." The petitioners asked permission to build storehouses in Jamestown, with the understanding that if they failed to do so, others could have their land at a value assigned by the county court. They also requested "that the whole island may be assigned to build on" and suggested that all vacant marsh land be converted to common ownership so that "all nuisances and corruptions of the air" could be eliminated (Stanard 1904:200; Ambler MS 23).

There is no evidence that Jamestown's corporate boundaries were modified from the limits that were set in 1649, or that the 1680 town act produced a flurry of new construction.[299] However, perhaps in response to the renewed official interest in promoting Jamestown's development, several new patents were issued during the 1680s and 90s. All but one of them were for land in the western end of Jamestown Island, near the church. Some of the acreage to which people laid claim had been forfeited by men found guilty of treason during Bacon's Rebellion. While Thomas Lord Culpeper was in office, patents were issued for two parcels of urban land, Study Unit 4 Tracts P and S (Figure 24).

On April 16, 1683, Edward Chilton patented Study Unit 4 Tract P, a 2.1 acre lot he procured on the basis of one headright (Nugent 1969-

[298] That is, several hundred acres.

[299] In fact, in May 1684 the assembly reaffirmed Jamestown's ancient corporate limits, i.e., from Orchard Run to Sandy Bay and from the James River to the Back River (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:251).

1979:II:263; Patent Book 7:292). Chilton by 1682 had begun serving as clerk of the secretary's office, where he entered important public documents into the appropriate record books and saw that the volumes were maintained properly. He was lauded for alphabetizing the records of the secretary's office. He went on to become clerk of the assembly and during the 1690s served as attorney general. During the early 1690s Edward Chilton was a resident of Charles City County. He was married to Hannah, the daughter of Edward Hill III of Shirley Plantation, and sometimes conducted business on his father-in-law's behalf (Hening 1809-1823:III:562; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:174; 1925-1945:I:200, 495, 529; 1918:92; Stanard 1965:25; Charles City County Wills and Deeds 1692-1694:183; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 9:115,124). Chilton appears to have disposed of his property by 1690, at which time it was in the hands of Joseph Copeland (Patent Book 8:42; Nugent 1969-1979:II:342). Joseph was the son-in-law of Thomas Taborer, who during the late seventeenth century owned Basses Choice. Joseph's son, Joseph Copeland II, inherited the Taborer property from his grandfather (McGhan 1993:194, 197; Isle of Wight Deeds and Wills II:350; Bodie 1938:214-215). Other than possession of Study Unit 4 Tract P, the only imprint the Copelands seemingly made upon the history of Jamestown Island was the manufacture of a pewter spoon, dated 1675 and found in the vicinity of Structure 21, which is located on Study Unit 4 Tract A (Cotter 1958:59).

On May 29, 1683, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, a member of the Governor's Council, patented Study Unit 4 Tract S, a 3 3/8 acre parcel that formerly belonged to the rebel and innkeeper Richard Lawrence (Patent Book 7:300; Nugent 1969-1979:II:265). Sometime prior to September 20, 1683, when Thomas Lord Culpeper filed an official report on the progress that had been made in rebuilding Jamestown, he indicated that Auditor Nathaniel Bacon recently had constructed two "very good" houses (C.O. 5/1356 f 68).[300] It is likely that he erected them upon Tract S.

[300] Bacon was the colony's auditor general from 1675 to 1687.

Colonel Bacon, the son of an English clergyman, was an older cousin of the rebel Nathaniel Bacon. Upon immigrating to Virginia, he rose in wealth and prominence and in 1657 began serving as a member of the Governor's Council, a position he retained for approximately 30 years. By 1654 he had married Mrs. Ann Smith and at her decease he wed Elizabeth, the daughter and heir of ancient planter Richard Kingsmill (Study Unit 1 Tract A) and the widow of Richard Tayloe of York County (McGhan 1993:159; Stanard 1965:37; Isle of Wight Book A:93). Bacon, through two propitious marriages, enhanced his fortune significantly. He owned large tracts of land in Isle of Wight, New Kent and Nansemond Counties, as well as the King's Creek plantation in York County. On April 6, 1671, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and the executor of Miles Cary purchased from Henry Randolph Bay 3 of the rowhouse known as the Ludwell Statehouse Group, Structure 144 (Stanard 1965:22, 73; Nugent 1969-1979:I:478, 486; II:2; Hening 1809-1823:II:568; McIlwaine 1924:484, 486, 491, 516, 518). Bacon's steadfast loyalty to Governor William Berkeley eventually put him at odds with those who sympathized with the rebel Nathaniel Bacon. Probably for that reason, Colonel Bacon's Kings Creek plantation was plundered by his cousin's followers in 1676 and his wife was one of the women seized and used as a human shield (McIlwaine 1924:251, 253, 259, 270, 274, 276, 289, 302, 344, 412, 514; Hening 1809-1823:II:560; Patent Book 4:397; Ambler MS 11).

In July 1680 Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and George Lee asked the governor's council and assembly for a 50 year lease for "the ruins of two brick houses burnt in the late Rebellion," part of Structure 115, which is located within Study Unit 4 Tract K. As it turned out, both were privately owned and Lee acquired both lots and rowhouse units from their owner, William Brown of Surry (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:142-143, 152; 1918:10).

In 1692, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, who was a childless widower, left much of his real and personal property to his niece Abigail Smith Burwell of Gloucester County (Lewis Burwell II's wife),

with the understanding that it was pass from her to her sons, Nathaniel and James. Bacon also made a bequest to Abigail's grandson and his great-nephew, Lewis Burwell III (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 9:116-118; McGhan 1993:452; Stanard 1965:17; Meyer et al. 1987:145). In 1698 Lewis Burwell II represented Jamestown in the colony's assembly (Leonard 1976:58). As his wife's heir and his sons' guardian, he would have been in legal possession of the Bacon lot in Jamestown and therefore would have met the eligibility requirements for holding office (Byrd 1941:28; Stanard 1965:44). Lewis Burwell II died on December 19, 1710. His landholdings (which included Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's estate) descended successively to his son, Nathaniel, and grandson, Lewis III, both of whom served successive terms as Jamestown's burgess. Their eligibility to hold office indicates that they owned land in there, probably Study Unit 4 Tract S, which would have descended to them from Colonel Nathaniel Bacon (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 14:64; C. O. 5/1312 f 105; Byrd 1941:265; Meyer et al. 1987:146; Leonard 1976:65, 76; Stanard 1964:44; 1965:108, 110, 112, 116; McIlwaine 1925-1945:IV:413).

Culpeper's Time in Virginia

While Governor Culpeper was in Virginia, he lived at Green Spring, which he rented from his cousin, Lady Frances Berkeley. The colony's assembly met there several times while he was in residence and in August 1680 Culpeper conducted governmental proceedings there. In February 1682 the Council and the House of Burgesses convened at Green Spring and on May 10, 1682, Robert Beverley I (one of Sir William Berkeley's most ardent supporters) was summoned there to appear before Governor Culpeper (Hening 1809-1823:III:561; Stanard 1910:253; 1929:160).

During Governor Culpeper's time in office, a lightening strike set the woods on fire, which ignited the roof of the corps de garde and nearly destroyed the colony's store of ammunition. In a March 18, 1683, letter, Culpeper said:

> *I have had all of his Maj.'s stores not only exactly surveyed but valued and appraised also, I feare you will have a very sorry account, for I have never issued out by my warrant but 11 barrels of powder from the beginning and no other things whatever and I find much wanting. I am heavily glad I surveyed them as I did, for on Friday last towards night a violent storm of wind carried the fire of the adjacent woods, though not nearer than a quarter mile wch at this time of year are sett on fire through the whole country. On the corps de garde, wch was burnt in two hours to the ground from thence the sparkes flew to the two houses about 40 yards distant where the armes and powder was. The first was actually burning, but by God's mercy quenched, and some sparkes caught upon the shingles where the powder was, but by the desperateness of the sergeant and soldiers, forward beyond valour, that was put out also. All things are now as safe as before and the losse is very inconsiderable, not 90:0:0 in all, and there can be no pretence that more was burned than was, for its known to a broken shovel and spade. There were severall granadoes armed and one mortar peece shell wch killed two horses, by whose default I cannot learne. But they made so horrid a fracas and noyse that I heard it 5 miles at least, and all thereabouts, but the soldiers were frightened out of their wits. I am much troubled what to do with the stores. It is folly to sell any of them here and hardly worth the while to send a great part of the Rubbish home. I shall suddenly advise with the counsell what to do. The Brasse Guns, Mortar peeces, the greatest part of the powder and such of the armes as will not be useful to us, I incline to send home, but for the Lumber I am in great paine [Culpeper, March 18, 1683].*

It is unclear where the military stores were located. They probably were at Jamestown, rather than at Middle Plantation in the buildings that were erected by Thomas Rabley and William Sherwood, who were still being paid rent in April 1684. In June 1682 some of the king's troops' military stores at Jamestown were carted to Colonel John Page's house at Middle Plantation. In mid-March 1683 the Council decided that "That ye brick wind mill

att Green Spring is ye securest place for ye Powder and all other his Majesties stores, to be kept in it & yt a Court of Guard be built, adjoining to ye same, for such as shall be employed to take care of same" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:35, 40). On September 20, 1683, when Governor Culpeper drafted a formal report for submission to his superiors, he indicated that he had encouraged the rebuilding of Jamestown and that he had lifted the suspension of the town act. Shortly thereafter, Culpeper returned to England, where he died in 1719 (C.O. 5/1356 #68; Sainsbury 1964:11:497; Stanard 1965:17).

Virginia's First Known Printing Press

Two secondary sources that date to the first half of the twentieth century state that a man named William Nuthead set up his printing press at Jamestown and put it into operation. Primary resource documents tend to refute that claim. On February 21, 1682/3, when the Governor's Council convened, John Buckner, who was summoned

> *... to answer for his presumption in printing ye acts of assembly made in James City in November 1682, and several other papers, without license, acquainted this board that he had several times commanded ye printer not to let anything whatsoever pass his press before he had obtained his Excellencies [Governor Culpeper's] lycense and that no acts of assembly are yet printed, only two sheaves, wch were designed to be presented to his Excellency for his approbation of ye print. This board having seriously considered what ye said Mr. John Buckner has said, in his defense, and well satisfied therewith, but for prevention of all troubles and inconveniences that may be occasioned thorow ye liberty of a presse, doe hereby order that Mr. John Buckner and William Nuthead ye printer entered into bond of one hundred pounds stood with good security that from and after ye date hereof, or any others for them of what nature soever in ye aforesaid presse or any other in this colony until ye signification of his majesties pleasure shall be known therein, which his Excellency hath promised to acquaint his majesty with [C.O. 1/51 ff 98-99].*

An excerpt from official correspondence contains the notation that on February 21, 1682/3, "Mr. John Buckner & all others [were] prohibited printing" (C.O. 5/1405 f 63). As there is no evidence that Buckner ever owned or occupied property on Jamestown Island, and as William Nuthead was his servant, it is likely that the printing episode occurred in Gloucester County where Buckner resided and in 1683 was the county's clerk of court (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 6:483).

Governor Francis Howard and Lt. Governor Francis Nicholson

Francis Howard, Lord Effingham, Virginia's governor from September 1683 to 1692, was born in 1643 and succeeded to his father's title in March 1673. That he was a Roman Catholic set him apart from most of the Virginia colonists he governed. Governor Howard arrived in the colony in February 1684 and took his oath of office. In April 1684 when he first met with the burgesses, he caused controversy by trying to rescind a law that allowed the assembly to serve as an appellate body that could overrule the General Court's decisions. Howard's measure was designed to reduce the assembly's power. Governor Howard created a court of chancery that was distinct from the General Court and he made himself Lord Chancellor. According to historian Robert Beverley II, Howard's new "Court of Chancery" was supposed to have "more the Air of a new Court, he would not so much as sit in the State-House, where all other publick Business was dispatch'd, but took the Dining-Room of a private House[301] for that use" (Beverley 1947:97).[302] Beverley also indicated that the court was unpopular and ceased to exist as

[301] Rent payments suggest strongly that the "private House" Howard preferred was the Sherwood dwelling, Structure 31 (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:127, 131, 225, 257, 282, 325, 452).

[302] Beverley's statement explains why the statehouse was called the "General Courthouse" while Governor Howard was in office.

soon as Howard left office (Stanard 1965:17; Beverley 1947:97; Raimo 1980:480-481).

When Francis Lord Howard came to the colony as governor, he brought orders to rent a suitable house until "a place be built according to our directions" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:517).[303] Howard, like Thomas Culpeper, who had returned to England, decided to live at Green Spring, which he rented from Lady Frances Berkeley and her new husband, Philip Ludwell I. Howard's residency at Green Spring was marked by tragedy, for in October 1686 a French visitor indicated that "last summer during two months of the hot weather, the Governor lost his lady, two pages and five or six other servants and in consequence had removed his residence to the house of Mr. Wormeley in Middlesex," the plantation known as Rosegill (Stanard 1928:100).[304] In 1683, while Governor Francis Howard was residing at Green Spring, the Governor's Council convened there from time to time (Carson 1954:6; Bruce 1893-1894:113,116; 1896:229).

The Act of Toleration

On October 21, 1687, the Council of State decided to proclaim the king's "Declaration for Liberty of Conscience" in Jamestown. This so-called act of toleration, which permitted non-Anglican religious groups to assemble for worship, was announced "with the beat of the drum and the firing of two great guns and with all the joyfulness this collony is capable to express." The day was especially meaningful to those whose religious beliefs differed from those of Virginia's State Church. Durand de Dauphine, a French Huguenot, who visited the colony during the late 1680s, considered bringing a group of Protestant refugees to Virginia where they could enjoy a measure of religious freedom. He commented that Jamestown was Virginia's only city (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1687-1691:70-73; Durand 1924:107-111).

The State of Virginia

In 1690 when Francis Howard was queried about conditions in the colony, he indicated that in 1686 he had had its gun platforms and small arms repaired and had remounted the cannon in James Fort. Howard filed a petition against some accused pirates.[305] He also summoned a sea captain to Jamestown, who was accused of placing his ship and crew in great peril. In February 1688 the king gave Howard a housing allowance instead of authorizing him to build an official residence. He left Virginia in February 1689, at which point Council President Nathaniel Bacon became interim governor. In 1690 Francis Nicholson came to Virginia to serve as lieutenant governor. Francis Lord Howard died in England on March 30, 1695 (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:55, 517; C.O. 5/1306 f 1; Sainsbury 1964:12:372; 13:222).

When the assembly convened at Jamestown in 1691 the burgesses voted to prohibit those who kept ordinaries or tippling houses from extending credit to seamen, who often spent future wages that should be used to support their families. They also forbade the selling of strong drink to anyone not owning at least two servants or having a net worth of more than 50 pounds sterling. However, this act made Jamestown's tavern-keepers an ex-

[303] Howard felt that the cost of building a governor's house should be borne by the colony; the assembly took an opposing view (McIlwaine 1918:83).

[304] Rosegill is near the town of Urbanna.

[305] In July 1688 three accused pirates (Lionel Delawafer, Edward Davis and Andrew Hinson) were captured and brought up to Jamestown, where they were detained until they stood trial. The gold, silver, silk, linen, and other valuables in their possession were seized. Thanks to pressure from British merchant Micajah Perry and others, the men were acquitted and released. Although most of their belongings were returned, they were obliged to pay for the cost of their own incarceration (C.O. 5/1305 ff 13-19; 5/1357 f 228; P.R.O. T 11/12 f 395; Sainsbury 1964:1:21, 45; McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:520). The accused may have been detained in sheriff Henry Gawler's home, Bay 2 of the Structure 17 rowhouse, on Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot B.

ception, for they could extend credit to anyone while the assembly or General Court was in session (Hening 1809-1823:III:45-46). This would have made tavern-ownership in the capital city very lucrative. In 1692 the assembly enacted legislation that required each of Virginia's counties to have a seal for use on official documents. Local magistrates were responsible for purchasing their county's seal (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:398). The whereabouts of James City County's seal (if one, indeed, was purchased) is unknown.

Patents Issued at the Close of the Century

In 1690, while Francis Lord Howard was in office William Edwards II patented Study Unit 4 Tract O, a narrow sliver of land containing less than 0.5 acre. His lot, like Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's neighboring Tract S, originally may have been part of the late Richard Lawrence's property, which contained an inn. Study Unit 4 Tract O served as the landing for the ferry that ran to Crouches Creek, in Surry County. Edwards probably developed his property, as it descended to his son through inheritance. In 1696 Edward Ross, gunner of the fort at Jamestown, patented Study Unit 4 Tract R. He resided there and sometime prior to 1702 began operating a ferry to Swann's Point in Surry County (Nugent 1969-1979:III:8-9; Patent Book 9:49; Ambler MS 61; Sainsbury 1964:21:310; Hening 1809-1823:III:319).

In 1691, when newly enacted town-founding legislation reaffirmed and expanded the 1680 act, Jamestown was redesignated an official port of entry. The 1691 act gave rise to several new communities (such as Yorktown) that became viable. A year later, King William and Queen Mary sent word that since Jamestown was to remain the seat of government, they wanted every council member to build a house there. This produced a flurry of patenting and some new construction occurred along the waterfront.

In 1694, John Howard, a tailor, acquired 1.75 acres of land (Study Unit 4 Tract M) that abutted Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's patent (Study Unit 4 Tract S) and the churchyard fence (bordering Study Unit 4 Tract V). It also adjoined the main road into town. Meanwhile, Robert Beverley II acquired 3.3 acres (Study Unit 4 Tract Q) that abutted what was then the easternmost end (Bay 4) of the ruinous Ludwell Statehouse Group. He, like other new patentees, was obliged to improve his property or face forfeiture. A notation on the back of Beverley's patent for Tract Q states that it was the "land on which ye house is built." Thus, he appears to have erected Bay 5 (the new easternmost end) of Structure 144, the Ludwell Statehouse Group rowhouse.[306] Philip Ludwell I in 1694 patented a long, narrow lot that enveloped his three ruinous rowhouse units, Bays 2, 3 and 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A). Further upstream was Study Unit 4 Tract R, a 1.29 acre lot that Edward Ross patented in 1696. It served as the landing for the ferry that ran from Jamestown to Gray's Creek. Ross probably constructed improvements upon Tract R and secured its title, for he eventually bequeathed it to William Broadnax II (Patent Book 7:292, 300; 8:82, 320, 400; Jameson 1967:67). On Study Unit 1 Tract E, which William Sherwood gave to his nephew John Jarrett, stood improvements erected by leaseholders John Hopkins and Francis Bullifant, who were in possession of two acres. Sherwood, when placing part of his acreage in the hands of tenants in 1694, reserved the right to use the property as a landing. However, two years later he bought a half-acre lot, Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot B, which gave him waterfront access (Ambler MS 48, 62).

To the west of Orchard Run's mouth, Henry Hartwell consolidated and patented the acreage designated Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C, which abutted west upon the "angular points of ye trench, which

[306] Beverley retained his property until 1718 and then sold it. By 1698 he had become secretary of both the James City County court and the General Court and resided in Jamestown (Ambler MS 51; Nugent 1969-1979:II:396; Patent Book 8:400; Robert Beverley Title Book). Archaeological excavations conducted at the site of the Ludwell Statehouse Group could be expected to shed light upon each bay's use and span of occupation.

faceth two of ye Eastern Bastions of an old Ruin'd Turf fort," a reference to Structure 157, the tetragonal earthen fort built during the mid-1660s. Hartwell's property contained at least one dwelling, Structure 86, the brick house William May built upon Parcel 1 (Patent Book 7:701).

The Rev. John Clayton's Observations

The Rev. John Clayton, rector of James City Parish, had a keen interest in natural phenomena and sometimes communicated his observations to friends in England. In 1688, when commenting upon the tide's affect upon Jamestown Island, Clayton said that it ebbed and rose 2 feet vertically. He also indicated that whale fossils had been found along Archers Hope Creek, within four miles of Jamestown. He said that Jamestown Island was roughly oval in shape and actually was a peninsula connected to the mainland by a narrow isthmus that spring tides often inundated. The sketch map the Rev. John Clayton included with his writings indicates that there was a row of houses located in close proximity to the banks of the James. On the west side of Kingsmill Creek's mouth (on Study Unit 1 Tract A) was "the brick house," a structure that was identified prominently (Force 1963:III:12:11, 15, 23) (see Figure 21).

Controlling Livestock in an Urban Setting

According to the Rev. John Clayton, Jamestown Island's inhabitants used several types of fences to demarcate their property boundaries and contain their livestock. In 1688 he wrote of advising William Sherwood to drain his 150 acres of marsh, which ran diagonally across the island, converting it to pasturage. He added that many of those who lived in Jamestown found the marsh a great annoyance. Clayton made sketches of the several types of fences that were used at Jamestown. Enactment of a 1704 law suggests that roving livestock had become a public nuisance. A fine was imposed upon those whose horses trespassed on ground that was enclosed by a 4½ foot high rail fence; a 2 foot hedge or 3 foot fence that had a ditch that was 3 feet wide and 2 feet deep; or a ditch that was 5 feet wide and 3½ feet deep (Force 1963:III:12:23; Winfree 1971:29). The inhabitants of a number of urban communities throughout Tidewater Virginia were bothered by free-ranging livestock, especially hogs, and sought the passage of laws to restrict them. In 1695 Jamestown's inhabitants asked the House to enact legislation that would prohibit swine from running at large and "uprooting and spoilinge the pasturage within the limits of James City." The House complied, but curiously, the Council disapproved the law (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1695-1702:20, 22, 24; Sainsbury 1964:14:471-473; 15:584). Earlier King Charles II gave consideration to designating Jamestown as Anglican See and having a cathedral built there, securing an episcopate for the American colonies. The king decreed that "Jamestown be from now and henceforth forever a city ... named the City of Jamestown" (Stanard 1928:48-53; Perry 1969:I:536-542).

The Capital City's Defenses

Both Francis Lord Howard (Virginia's governor from 1683 to 1692) and his lieutenant governor, Francis Nicholson (who served from 1690 to 1692), independently discovered that the colony's weaponry and fortifications were in disrepair and tried to remedy the situation. In 1690 Colonel John Page was ordered to assess the condition of the military stores at the "James City Fort," which bricks in 1695 were described as old and decayed. The fort he was asked to examine probably was the 1673-1674 brick fort at the southwest corner of Study Unit 4 Tract P that the Rev. John Clayton in 1688 had likened to a duck blind. In January 1693 a decision was made to build a vaulted powder room at Jamestown, for storage of the colony's ammunition. That project had been completed by July, when Governor Edmund Andros informed his superiors that "a magazine and store house have been built" (C.O. 5/1308 f 150).[307] Andros, upon

[307] In September 1692 King William and Queen Mary had informed Governor Andros that they wanted a storehouse for arms built at Jamestown. By

arriving in the colony, had found the guns at Jamestown "lying on the ground" and therefore had had them mounted on carriages (Sainsbury 1964:14:132). In spring 1695 Colonels William Byrd I and Edward Hill inspected "the platforme or ould fort near the statehouse," which they found "wholy ruined, the brick being decayed," and concluded that it would cost more to repair it than "build a regular fortification." At that juncture, the council decided that the old fort "ought to be demolished" and its guns removed temporarily. In June 1695 John Tullitt (of Structure 115 Bays 3 and 4 on Study Unit 4 Tract K Lots C and D) was paid for repairing the gun carriages at Jamestown and remounting the guns; he also was compensated for dismantling or "beating down the Brick work & levelling the Fort att James Citty." In December 1695 Daniel Parke II, the colony's escheator,[308] hired George Harvey (who earlier on had owned Bays 3 and 4 of Structure 115) to make "a platform for the great guns at Jamestown." He apparently had completed his work by April 1696, when Edward Ross, "gunner of the fort at James City," requested small guns that could be used in firing salutes. By August 1696 a shipment of ammunition and other stores of war had arrived from England, which materiel was to be kept at Jamestown (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:117, 275, 322, 331, 344, 349-350; Sainsbury 1964:14:517).

Edward Ross,[309] who by June 1695 had been designated gunner of Jamestown's fortifications (a platform with "great guns"), was responsible for the colony's supply of ammunition, which was kept in a vaulted powder room and storehouse. The fort was located in a swale to the south of Edward Ross's Study Unit 4 Tract R, near the southwest corner of Edward Chilton's patent (Study Unit 4 Tract P). The military stores for which Ross was responsible were kept in the brick magazine or powder house that Governor Andros had had built in 1693. Mid-nineteenth century sketches and paintings by Robert Sully (1854) and his descriptive notes suggest that it stood upon a bluff overlooking the James River, about 120 feet northwest of the fort, whereas a late nineteenth century plat of the APVA property indicates that it was near the southwest corner of Structure 144, the Ludwell Statehouse Group, at the western periphery of Lot B of Study Unit 4 Tract U (James City County Plat Book 2:6; 5:539; C. O. 5/1308:150; 5/1309 ff 223-224; Sainsbury 1964:14:132; 15:454; 17:51; 18:263; McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:331, 344, 349, 410, 423; II:208, 276; III:13-14, 102, 202; Stanard 1916:401) (Figures 25 and 26).[310]

The Rev. James Blair, a outspoken critic of Governor Andros, in 1697 informed officials in England that he had

(cont'd from previous page)
January 1693 plans were being made to build a powder room with a small building over it. In 1696 much of the colony's materiel was being kept in the magazine at Jamestown (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:269, 275, 349).

[308] Parke, who reportedly got along well with Governor Andros and considered him a friend, was known for his volatility and eagerness to duel. In February 1697, when the governors of the College of William and Mary were meeting, Parke got into an argument with Maryland's then-governor Francis Nicholson. According to the Rev. James Blair, Parke struck Nicholson over the head with a horsewhip. Only Nicholson's having left his sword "in a house where he dined at Jamestown, and to which he designed to return to his Lodging at night," kept the two men from dueling (Stanard 1965:43, 88; Perry 1969:I:27-28).

[309] During the early-to-mid 1680s Edward Ross summoned the burgesses to assembly meetings and the justices to the General Court by beating a drum at the appointed hour. He was still official drummer in 1693. Ross occasionally served as a messenger for the government and in 1696 carried some correspondence from the king to Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, and Jersey. In 1696 he was asked to be the General Court's sergeant-at-arms during a period when the James City County sheriff was engaged in a pay dispute (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:191; 1918:143; 1925-1945:I:345, 356; Stanard 1903:236; 1916:401).

[310] Although Sully's sketch depicts the magazine's top as relatively smooth and intact, when he produced a watercolor painting of the same view, he portrayed the same surface as somewhat jagged.

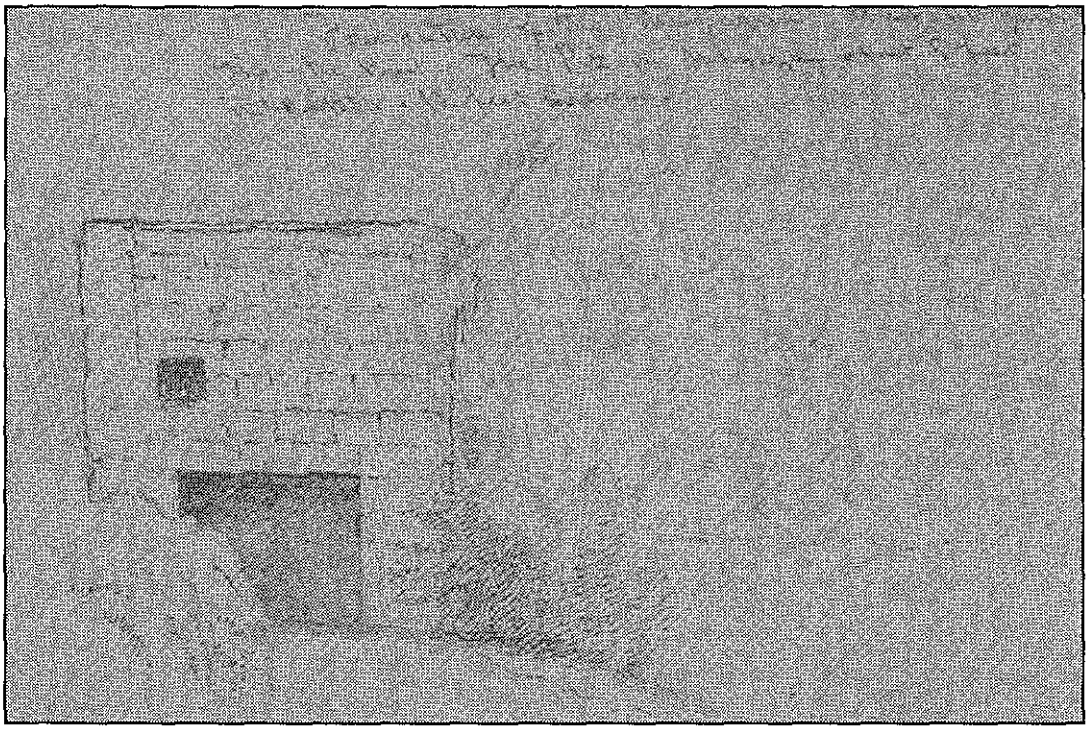


Figure 25. *Foundation of the Magazine (Sully 1854).*

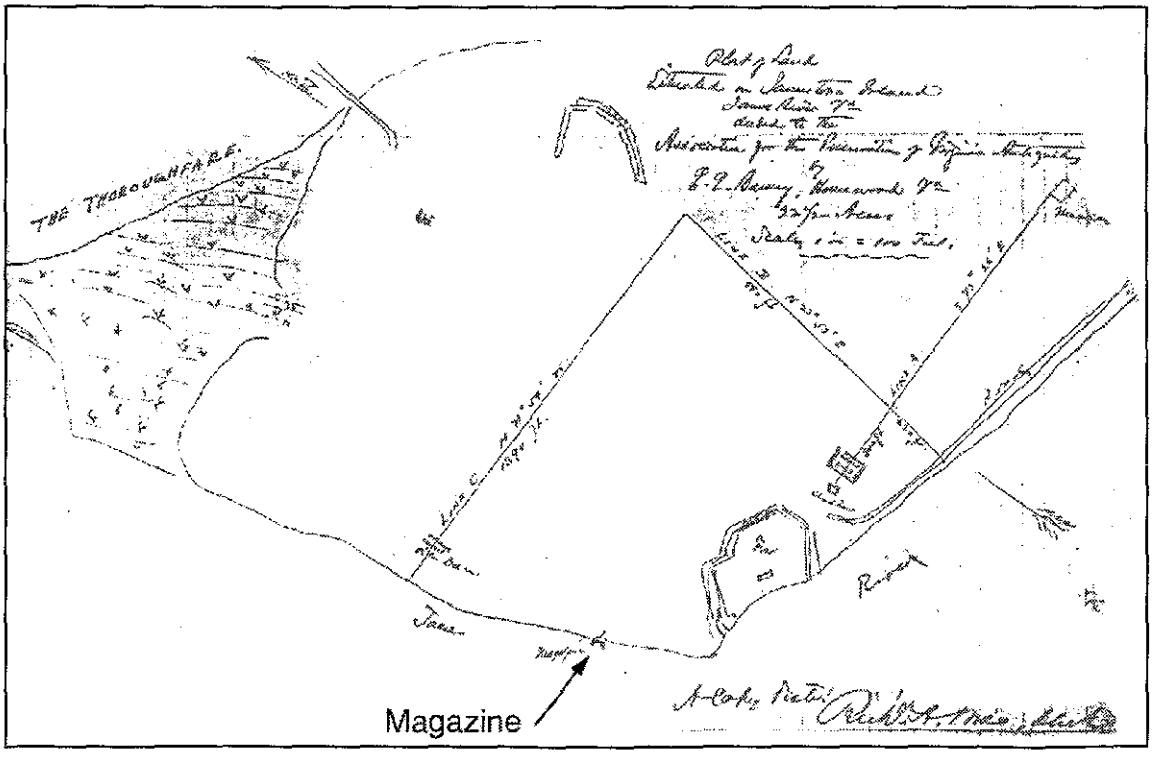


Figure 26. Plat of Land Situated on Jamestown Island, James River, Virginia *(James City County Plat Book 5:539). Note magazine to west of the Confederate fort.*

> *... thrown away a great deal of money in raising [razing] an old fort at Jamestown, & in building a powder house, and in making a platform for 16 great guns there... . I never heard one man that pretended to understand anything of Fortification, that upon sight of these works, did not ridicule & condemn them as good for nothing but to spend money. The Guns at Jamestown are so placed that they are no defence to the town, which being much lower in the river, might be taken by the Enemies shipping, without receiving any the least assistance from those Guns. The powder House stands all alone without any Garrison to defend it, and is a ready prey for any foreign or domestic enemy [Perry 1969:I:14].*

Blair's description of the powder house's location suggests that Robert Sully's painting was a relatively accurate depiction.

Destruction of the Statehouse

On October 31, 1698, the colony's statehouse fell prey to a disastrous fire. Official correspondence that was dispatched to England indicates that "a fire broke out in a house adjoining the State-house, which in a very short time was wholly burnt, and also the prison."[311] The blaze was believed to have been set by a James City County yeoman named Arthur Jarvis, a convicted felon who was jailed and awaiting transportation out of the colony. Fortunately, many of the public records that were stored in the statehouse were removed to safety before flames completely engulfed the building. However, an estimated 200 guns that had been sent to the colony in 1692[312] and were stored in the statehouse, reportedly were burned (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1695-1702:xxx; 1925-1945:392-393, 426; Sainsbury 1964:16:513, 516).[313] The materiel that remained was removed to the magazine that stood upon the river bank. The colony's military stores were inventoried by gunner Edward Ross in February 1699. Among the fire-damaged items recovered from the burned statehouse were musket barrels, bayonet blades and locks (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:426; II:40, 152-153, 286, 432-433; C.O. 5/1309 ff 223-224). Included were some arms that had been brought in from the magazine in Middle Plantation (Appendix C).

After the fire, the governor and council continued to meet in Structure 31, the home of William Sherwood's widow, Rachel, and sessions of the General Court were held in her Great Hall. Her porch chamber and an adjoining room also were rented for the storage of the public records carried from the burning statehouse. After Mrs. Sherwood's marriage to Edward Jaquelin, he collected the payment for use of their rooms. Meanwhile, John Tullitt (Tullett), who then owned both of the easterly units of Structure 115 (Bays 3 and 4), was asked to "repair and fit up" his house in accord with the governor's instructions, so that the burgesses could convene there regularly (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1695-1702:154, 160, 175, 198, 214; 1918:257, 262; 1918:257; 1925-1945:I:392-393, 410).

Nicholson's Dislike of Jamestown

In early 1699 Lt. Governor Francis Nicholson decided not to summon the General Assembly until the following April because "at present James City [Jamestown] is reduced to so mean a condition that it cannot give entertainment to the people attending both a General Assembly and a General

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311 The location of the jail is uncertain.

312 The arms were sent to Virginia by British merchant Jeffrey Jeffreys.

313 Andros later informed the Council of Trade and Plantations that "On the 20th Inst. a fire broke out in a house adjoining the State-house, which in a very short time was wholly burnt, and also the prison. But it being court-time and many people there, all records and papers were saved and on being sorted and listed are found undamnified. They will soon be in good order and they will be kept in a brick house in Jamestown, which has also been appointed for use of the court until further order." Attached was a proclamation for "bringing in the books and papers scattered owing to the burning of the statehouse" (Sainsbury 1964:16:516).

Court together" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:409). But Nicholson's desire to move the capital may have colored his statement, for it was around this time that the Rev. James Blair estimated that Jamestown had between 20 and 30 houses. Blair's description is corroborated by statements made by the Governor of Massachusetts who in 1700 commented that "Jamestown, the only place called a town in Virginia, has not above 20 houses" (Sainsbury 1964:18:92). In 1702 Francis Louis Michel called Jamestown "one of the largest and most beautiful places in the country, although it does not have more than 35 houses." He said that prior to the development of Williamsburg, "the Governor made his residence" there (Stanard 1916:25).

In 1699 Edward Ross, gunner of the fort at Jamestown, who was ordered to inventory of the military stores on hand there, noted that conditions in "the magazeen house in James City, the vault of wch being digged between two slashes & so near to ye water," had led to the deterioration of the materiel he stored. Among the items on hand in the magazine were substantial quantities of musket barrels, bayonet blades and locks that had been burned when the statehouse caught fire. Later in the year, it was decided that the military stores should be divided up among the colony's counties, or possibly sold, and that the defensive platforms at Jamestown, Tindall's (Gloucester) Point and Yorktown should not be repaired (McIlwaine 1925-1945:II:40, 152-153, 432-433).

In May 1699 church wardens William Broadribb and Edward Travis II of James City Parish asked the assembly to "Contribute toward the paying for the Steeple of their church and toward the Repairing of the church." Their petition was rejected by the burgesses on May 17th (McIlwaine 1918:263; Sainsbury 1964:17:227). In 1702 when Francis Louis Michel visited Jamestown, he commented that the church there had a tower and a bell (Stanard 1916:22). In 1716, when the Rev. John Fontaine passed through the area, he noted that Jamestown consisted of "a church, a Court House, and three or four brick houses but now is all gone to ruin" (Fontaine 1972:90).

Tributary Indians at Jamestown

In May 1700 the greatmen of the Nottoway, Meherrin, Nansemond, Chickahominy, Rappahannock and Nanzattico Indians, tribes that were tributaries to the Crown, met with the governor and his council at Jamestown, where they were interrogated about a treaty they wanted to make with some foreign (non-Virginia) Indians. The Indians agreed to deliver to the governor the wampum-peake (or shell) belts they'd receive when the treaty was consummated. He, in turn, would retain the belts until the next time the Indians delivered their annual tribute. The wording of the dialogue between the governor and Indians suggests that Jamestown was the usual site at which the tributary tribes presented their annual tribute (Sainsbury 1964:18:79).[314]

The French Huguenots

Another ethnic group that congregated at Jamestown was approximately 170 French Protestant refugees, who disembarked there in October 1700.[315] The newly-arrived immigrants were supposed to continue on up the James to the old Manakin Town site, where they were to establish a settlement. However, because winter was coming on and the refugees were impoverished and unfamiliar with "the customs of this country," they were given permission to disperse in the vicinity of Jamestown until the following autumn (Sainsbury 1964:18:620).

The James-Sherwood Plantation

Although Study Unit 1 lay within the corporate limits of Jamestown, throughout the second half of the

[314] As late as 1752, Virginia's governor went to Jamestown to confer with groups of Natives (McIlwaine 1925-1945:V:391).

[315] They had fled religious persecution in their homeland. Official records reveal that 205 refugees had expected to make the trip (C.O. 5/1312 Part I f 31; Sainsbury 1964:18:456).

seventeenth century the bulk of that area was rural. On June 6, 1654, Richard James I, a gentleman, received a patent for 40 acres of land in Jamestown, on the south side of the Back River, on the basis of one headright (Patent Book 3:368; Nugent 1969-1979:I:314). He may have resided upon that acreage, Study Unit 1 Tract B, the only property he owned on Jamestown Island at that time.[316] James appears to have been involved in mercantile operations on Jamestown Island, for during the 1670s he sued several people in the General Court in order to recover substantial debts that were owed for goods (McIlwaine 1924:205, 215, 285).

On June 5, 1657, Richard James I patented Study Unit 1 Tract C, a 150 acre parcel that flanked both sides of Tract B, the 40 acre parcel he had claimed in 1654. James acquired his land on the basis of three headrights (Nugent 1969-1979:I:356; Patent Book 4:196-197). That James' landholdings encompassed both Piping Point and "the Friggott" on the Back River, sites that were suitable for a landing or the construction of a wharf, raises the possibility that he had some sort of commercial facilities in that vicinity. In April 1670 Richard James I was appointed a James City County justice of the peace. Between 1670 and 1673 he and several other men were designated to appraise and settle local citizens' estates (McIlwaine 1924:218, 258, 285, 343).

In October 1670 Richard James I and Richard Auborne (then clerk of the General Court) together patented 1,000 acres of land in Northumberland County adjacent to an island that belonged to the Doeg Indians (McIlwaine 1924:225). His association with Auborne, Major Theophilus Hone, Colonel William White, William Coale, William May, and other prominent and respectable Jamestown citizens suggests that he was a member of the upper middle class.

On May 28, 1673, Richard James I brought suit against bricklayer John Bird, who had built (or was in the process of building) a house for him. Five men were appointed to "view the worke and bricks and appraise the same and whatever James can make appear to have paid sd. Bird over and above what his work comes to." James was successful in his suit and won a judgement against Bird (McIlwaine 1924:344). If the brick house John Bird undertook on Richard James I's behalf was situated upon Study Unit 1 Tract C, James' 150 acres near "the Friggott," he probably was involved in the construction of Structure 1/2.

In October 1673 Richard James I appeared in court where he brought suit against Robert Weeke and a year later, he sued Robert Beckinham. In 1674, General Court minutes make reference to "John a negro servant to Mr. Richard James," who had run away with five of Governor William Berkeley's men and one who belonged to Mr. George Loyd (McIlwaine 1924:355, 382). Richard James I died sometime prior to October 4, 1675, leaving as his principal heir a son, Richard II, who was not quite 15-years-old (Ambler MS 17).

By October 4, 1675, the widowed Rachel James married William Sherwood, an attorney from White Chapel, near London, who immigrated to Virginia sometime prior to 1669. When Sherwood left England, his reputation was marred by his having misappropriated funds from Sir Joseph Williamson. In a June 17, 1671, letter to Williamson, Sherwood said he was ashamed of the "fowl act" he had committed, which was a felony, and thanked him profusely for sparing him "three years time," a probable reference to a jail term. Sherwood also promised to turn evil into good. Over the years, he continued to express his gratitude to Williamson and kept him apprised of events in the colony. As Williamson was Lord Arlington's secretary and a major investor in the Royal African Company, he was in a position that enabled him to serve as

[316] Exactly when Richard James I of Jamestown Island immigrated to Virginia is unclear. He may have been the 33-year-old man who in 1635 came to the colony aboard the *George*, which originated in London (Coldham 1987a:164). On the other hand, several other Richard James' came to Virginia during the second quarter of the seventeenth century, including one who in 1640 was listed as a headright of Jamestown merchant Thomas Stegg I (Nugent 1969-1979:I:56, 119, 194).

Sherwood's mentor (Sainsbury 1964:7:564, 801, 1124; C.O. 1/26 f 194; 1/27 f 83; Davies 1957:62). The tone of the men's correspondence suggests that they became friends.

Sometime prior to 1669 William Sherwood and Thomas Rabley (a naturalized Dutchman and the owner of Structure 125 and Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot B) purchased two small parcels in Middle Plantation. Between 1677 and 1680 they erected three buildings upon their 17 acre plot and rented them to the government. Sherwood then may have been a resident of Surry County, for he witnessed court documents there and during the early 1670s served as sub-sheriff. During that period he functioned as John George's attorney, audited a dispute between Thomas Rabley (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot B) and Theophilus Hone (lessee of Study Unit 1 Tract D Lots A, B, C and D and Tract F Lots A and B and would-be lessee of Study Unit 4 Tract K Lots C and D). In 1673 Sherwood wrote Sir Joseph Williamson about the recent Dutch invasion. He also served as an arbitrator in the disputes between James Minge and Ralph Poole, and Thomas Hunt's executors (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J) versus Jordan and Wadding. As an attorney, he conveyed John Salway's Surry County plantation to Colonel Thomas Swann I, the probable owner of Structure 19A/B on Study Unit 4 Tract G. In 1673 William Sherwood alleged that John Price had assaulted him and he claimed to have witnessed Roger Delk threaten another man. He obtained a judgement against Philip Pardoe but was sued by Richard Hill. He represented Robert Jones of Surry in a suit against Robert Beverley I and in October 1675 he issued a warrant for Giles Bland's arrest, after his confrontation with Thomas Ludwell (Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A Bay 2 and Lot B Bay 1). It was around that time that Sherwood and James City County sheriff Francis Kirkman patented 1,200 acres near the head of Gray's Creek in Surry (Nugent 1969-1979:II:261; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1671:354, 378, 383, 385; 1671-1684:27, 41, 44; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:140; 1924:285, 289, 341, 405, 410, 415, 418; Sainsbury 1964:7:1124; C.O. 1/30 f 121).

William Sherwood, who was an attorney and a merchant, took charge of the real and personal estate his teenage stepson, Richard James II, stood to inherit upon attaining his majority (Ambler MS 17; McIlwaine 1924:418-419). Sherwood had Giles Bland arrested because of debts against the late Richard James I's estate, and he obtained a judgement against Jamestown innkeeper Richard Lawrence (Study Unit 4 Tract S), who was obliged to forfeit the bond he had posted as a guarantee Bland would appear in court (McIlwaine 1924:418-419). These proceedings, which occurred in the presence of Governor William Berkeley in October 1675, probably angered Lawrence and Bland, who by that time had become avid supporters of the rebel Nathaniel Bacon.

On September 19, 1676, the day William Sherwood set sail for England to report on conditions in the colony, Nathaniel Bacon's men set Jamestown ablaze. According to a July 1677 petition that Sherwood forwarded to the king, "the howses belonging to yr. petitioner in right of the said orphant [Richard James II], of the value of one thousand pounds sterling" were among the buildings that were burned. The focal point of Sherwood's complaint most likely was Structure 1/2, the remains of which are situated up on Study Unit 1 Tract C, Richard James I's 150 acres. Sherwood also stated that "his goods were plundered and his cattle, sheep and other estate destroyed" and that at his return from England, "he had not a house to put his head in." Sherwood said that "Richard Lawrence [Study Unit 4 Tract S] one of the grand rebells did with his own hands putt fyer to and destroy yr. petitioners howses." He therefore requested compensation from the confiscated estate of Lawrence, who had neither wife nor children and reportedly had fled from Virginia. Sherwood said that if he were granted such a favor, he would be able "to rebuild in James City" (C. O. 1/41 f 32ro).[317] William Sherwood, in a

[317] An official account of Richard Lawrence's activities during the rebellion states that he "first burned his house in James Citty and his household goods being plundered and gone: which was a considerable part of his estate and the rest being in debts

letter he dispatched to Sir Joseph Williamson, said that he was forwarding an account of "the rise, progress and progression of the late troubles here" (C. O. 1/41 f 28). The tone of that document, a narrative of military activity at Bacon's Trench, at the entrance to Jamestown Island, appears to be an eyewitness account. This raises the possibility that William Sherwood was close-by when combat occurred, perhaps residing upon Study Unit 1 Tract C in the dwelling designated Structure 1/2.

In a separate petition to the king, William Sherwood said that several colonists who had been executed "for their late Rebellion" were indebted to him and he asked to be reimbursed for his losses out of the condemned men's estates. He indicated that it was "at his own charge" that he had undertaken the trip to England for no other purpose than "to inform your majesty of the late miserable condition of the colony" and that he "hath for his loyalty been a great sufferer by the rebellion, his houses burnt and other estate plundered and confined which hath almost utterly ruined him." Some of the debts Sherwood attempted to claim were "due to this deponent in right of an orphant [Richard James II] to whom he is guardian" (C. O. 1/41 f 31).

The funds William Sherwood sought may have enabled him to construct the brick dwelling and a kitchen he erected upon part of the "country house" lot (a third of Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A), both of which are depicted and labeled on John Soane's 1681 plat (Ambler MS 134).[318] On February 7, 1676, William Sherwood and William Claiborne II had purchased from David Newell, "the onely Brother & heire of Jonathan Newell ... A certain messuage or Tenemt with the outhowses, Land & appurtenances thereto belonging formerly in ye possession of Majr Theop: Hone, wch he held as tennant to my said decd Brother, which Land & howse, or ye ruine of ye said howse, is scittuate in James Citty." On October 31, 1676, Claiborne and Sherwood deeded the 1 acre lot back to David Newell, who probably was serving as their mortgagee. Finally, on February 7, 1677, Newell (who indicated that he had been fully compensated for the property) deeded the 1 acre lot "and ruine of said howse" to William Sherwood, exclusively (Ambler MS 17, 26). He said that the lot contained "ye ruines of the aforesaid howse scittuate att James Citty on wch ye said Majr Hone formrly lived, with one full Acre of Land lyeing next, & adjoyneing to ye said howse." David Newell's deed to William Sherwood was acknowledged in court on April 23, 1678, by James Alsop (of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot A) and Richard James II, William Sherwood's 17-year-old stepson (Ambler MS 17, 26).

On April 23, 1681, William Sherwood received a patent for the lot he had purchased from David Newell, "one acre of land scituate, lying and being in James Citty on which formerly stood the brick howse formerly called The Country howse which said howse and land formerly belonged to the Country and by the Honorble The Grand Assembly was sold and assigned to Major Richard Webster." The text of the patent then summarized the descent of the property from Webster to John Phipps, Jonathan Knowles and the Newell brothers. It noted that on February 6, 1677, David Newell had sold "the ruins of the said howse and the said acre of land to the said William Sherwood

and bills due unto him: by reports to the ballance of 200 thousand pounds of tobacco and all those bills and books being carried away by himself." High sheriff Theophilus Hone and George Jordan, who were appointed to recover what they could, said that, "It is impossible for us to give any further account of his estate: but we have bin since duly informed that Major William White [Structure 86 on Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcels 1 and 2] hath certain knowledge of some considerable sums of tobacco due to the sd. Lawrence and that he knoweth some persons that Lawrence Interested with some bills to conceal tobacco for him: and it is in our opinion the best way to Impower the sd. Major White to discover and seize what he can: and that he may give a just account of his person ints. therein" (C.O. 5/1371 f247vo).

[318] When the digitized Soane plat was superimposed upon an electronic Jamestown Island base map, the Sherwood home was at a location in close proximity to the site occupied by Structures 31 and 38 and his kitchen was in the immediate vicinity of Structure 58 (Figure 27).

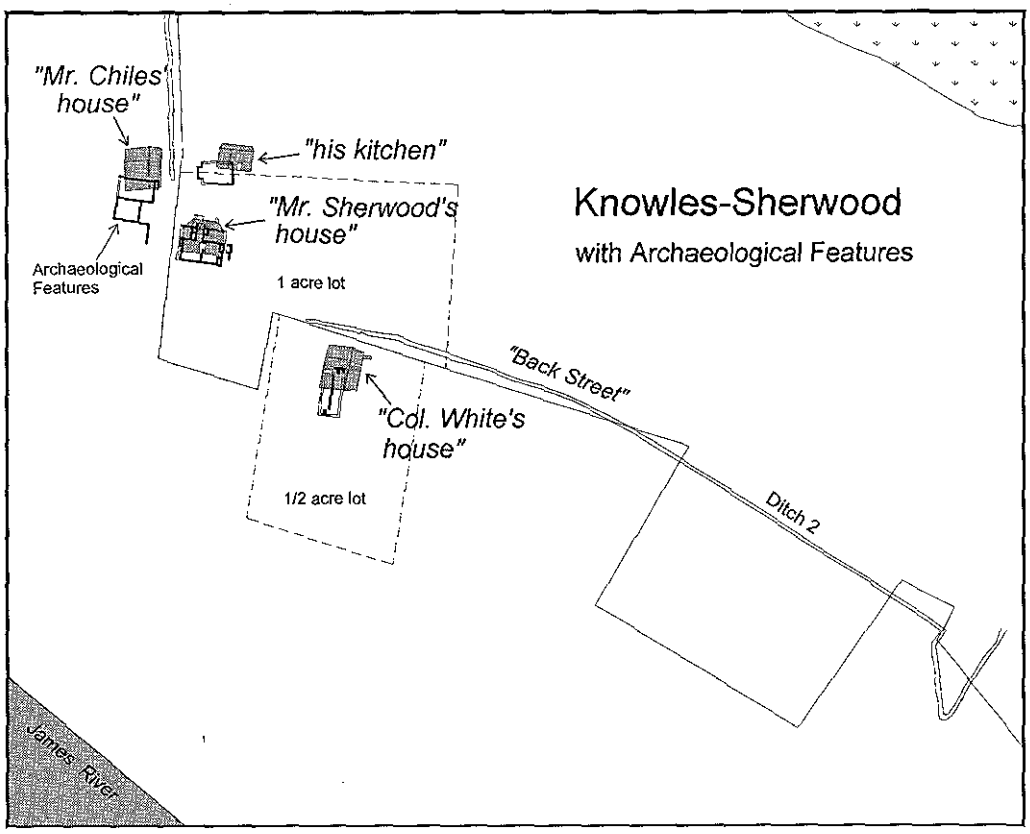


Figure 27. *Buildings shown on the 1664 Knowles and 1681 Sherwood plats, superimposed upon archaeological features shown on the Cotter site plan.*

and his heires for ever And the said mr William Sherwood hath since new built a faire howse & Appurtenances on the same" (Patent Book 7:98; Nugent 1969-1979:II:222). The metes and bounds of William Sherwood's 1 acre lot were expressed precisely as they were given (and depicted) upon John Soane's 1681 survey of Sherwood's 66 acres (Ambler MS 134).

Despite the consummation of this sale, an attorney representing the estate of Stephen Proctor, a deceased British merchant to whom the late Jonathan Newell was deeply in debt, succeeded in placing a lien upon the rest of Newell's land in Jamestown. On July 12, 1680, a jury of local citizens convened to estimate the value of the moiety (or half) of the late Jonathan Newell's acreage. At that time, it was noted that the decedent's acreage, which had descended to his heir-at-law, David Newell, consisted of 132 acres 15.8 chains of land (i.e., 132.02 acres), for 1 acre of the original 133.027 acres had been sold to William Sherwood. The moiety of the late Jonathan Newell's 132.02 acres was 66 acres 7.9 chains (or 66.0059 acres) (Ambler MS 29).

Sometime prior to August 1681, when James City County's official surveyor, John Soane, prepared a plat depicting the western half of Tract D, William Sherwood purchased the 66 acres that were contiguous to his 1 acre lot's northern and eastern boundary lines. Soane noted that "This Fig[ure] Cont[ains] 66 acres of Land." The boundary lines depicted on the Soane plat were precisely the same length and declination as those shown on the 1664 plat by John Underhill.[319] Although neither deeds nor patents are extant that demonstrate precisely when William Sherwood acquired this additional 66 acres, the transaction is known to have occurred after July 12, 1680 (when the value of

[319] Underhill was the same man who in December 1662 was paid for surveying Jamestown (Clarendon MS 82 f275).

the Newell tract's moiety was determined) but before February 6, 1682 (when Sherwood gained possession of Newell's acreage in its entirety) (Ambler MS 29, 33, 134, 135-136) (Figure 28).

On February 6, 1682, Martin Gardner, an attorney representing the estate of British merchant Stephen Proctor, conveyed the decedent's legal interest in the late Jonathan Newell's acreage to William Sherwood, with the exception of "one acre on which the brick howse stood & wch was before sold by ye said David [Newell] to the foresd William Sherwood." The deed stated that Sherwood had satisfied the Proctor estate's lien and was entitled to unencumbered title to the Newell property (Ambler MS 33).

William Sherwood eventually alienated Governor William Berkeley and his supporters, probably because after the rebellion subsided, he served as an attorney for several men accused of being rebels. Ultimately, Sherwood was forbidden to practice law in any court in Virginia and he was barred from serving as a burgess (C. O. 1/42 ff 60-61). In October 1677 he purchased John Fulcher's 28½ acre tract (Study Unit 1 Tract E) which patent he had confirmed in April 1681. During 1682 he acquired an interest in John Newell's land (Study Unit 1 Tract D) and purchased 3½ acres from John Page (Study Unit 1 Tract F) (Nugent 1969-1979:II:222; Patent Book 7:97; Ambler MS 33, 34) (Figures 29 and 30). In September 1683, Governor Thomas Culpeper informed his superiors that certain councillors were building homes in Jamestown and that Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and William Sherwood "are going about several wch will be finished this or next year" (C.O. 5/1356 #68). Sherwood may have been in the process of rebuilding Structure 1/2 (perhaps for use by his stepson, who had come of age) or constructing other improvements upon his property.

On October 23, 1690, William Sherwood patented Study Unit 1 Tract C, the 150 acres his wife's former husband had acquired on June 5, 1657. Sherwood's patent reveals that the late Richard James I's land had descended to his son, Richard II, who had died without heirs, with the result that the decedent's acreage had escheated to the Crown (Ambler MS 43; Patent Book 8:83). Within months, Martin James of Wapping, England, released to William Sherwood the remaining debts and claims associated with the late Richard James I's estate (Ambler MS 41). As Sherwood never purchased or repatented the late Richard James I's 40 acres (Study Unit 1 Tract B) but retained it, it probably was the widowed Rachel James' dower share of her late husband's estate (Patent Book 8:384-386; Nugent 1969-1979:II:394).[320]

On April 20, 1694, William Sherwood patented a 308 acre aggregate that encompassed Study Unit 1 Tracts C, D, E, F, and G. The consolidated parcel's external boundaries were described precisely as they had been individually and as they had been given on John Underhill's 1664 survey. Tract D was said to consist of

> *133 acres 35 chaines and 9 Decimall parts of a Chaine [133.027 acres] (other part of the said 308 acres of land) being hereto fore granted by patent the 6th day of May 1665 to one John Knowles who Conveyed the same to Jonathan Newell aforesaid and his heirs forever, by deed acknowledged and recorded in the General Court the 28th day of Aprill 1668 and since Purchased by the said William Sherwood of David Newell, brother & heir at Law of the said Jonathan [Patent Book 8:384-386].*

Thus, by April 20, 1694, William Sherwood was in possession of virtually all of Study Unit 1 Tract D (Figure 31).

On October 21, 1695, Francis Meriwether, who had inherited Study Unit 1 Tract A, conveyed it to William Sherwood, to whom he owed 100 pounds sterling, noting that he was using the property as collateral. Meriwether, when executing his deed, indicated that a tenant named Thomas Lecket then was occupying the property (Ambler MS 56). Sherwood, by that date, already owned Study Unit 1 Tracts C, D, E, F, and G and had possession of Study Unit 1 Tract B.

[320] In 1683 William Sherwood also had a 260 acre leasehold in the interior of the Governor's Land (Soane 1683).

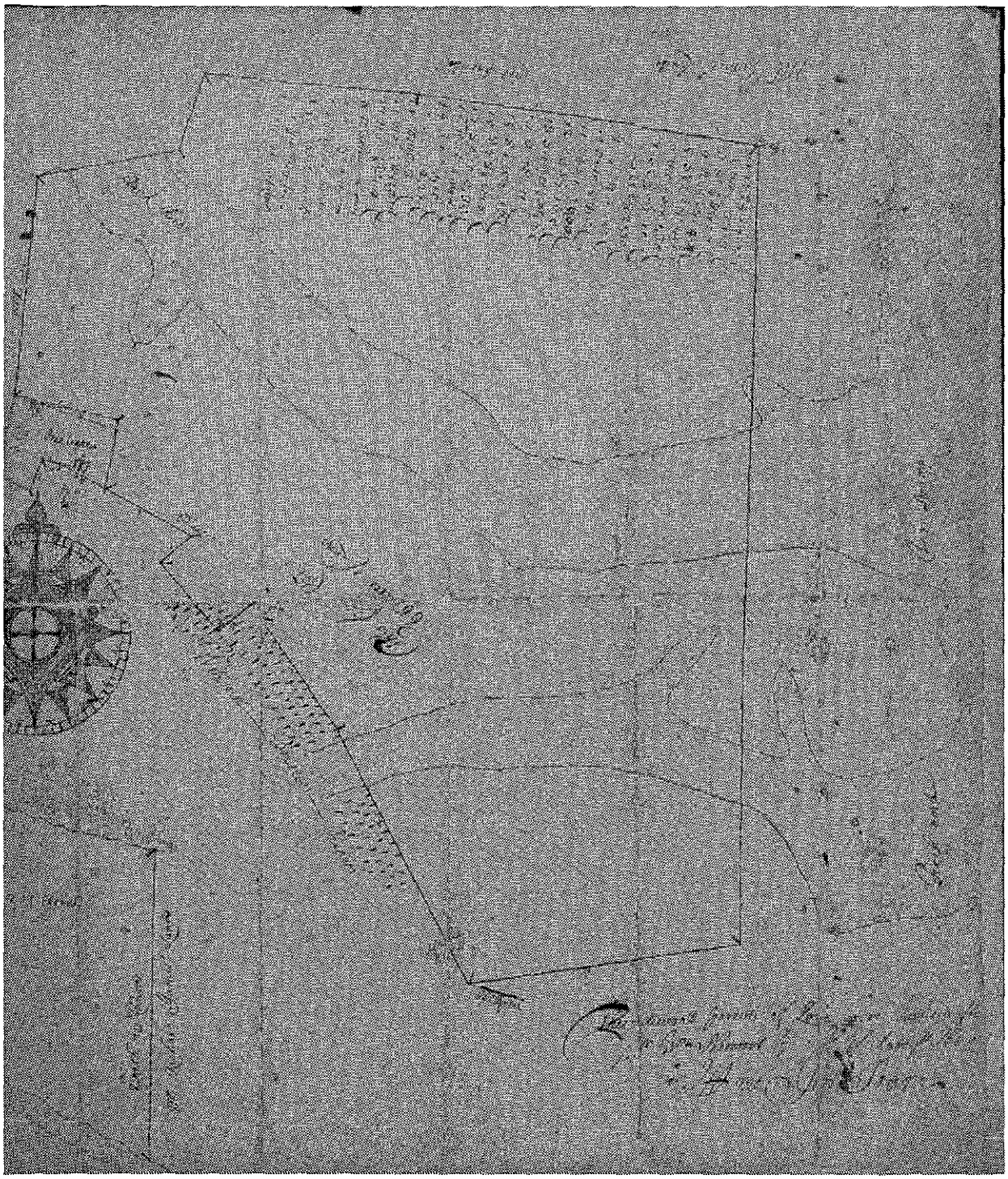


Figure 28. The Severall parcels of Land Surveyed for William Sherwood *(Soane 1681). Sherwood's 66 acres (Study Unit 1 Tract D) appear in the upper part of this plat. His 28½ acres near the isthmus (Study Unit 1 Tract E) appears below.*

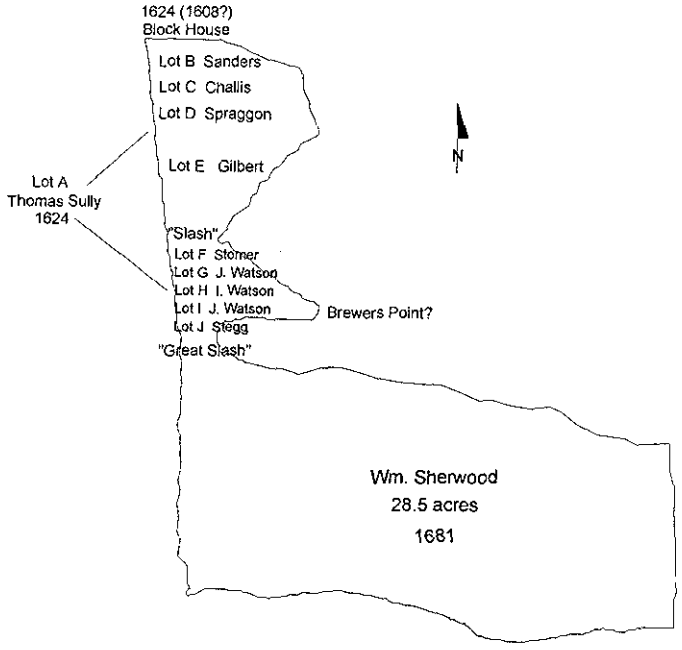
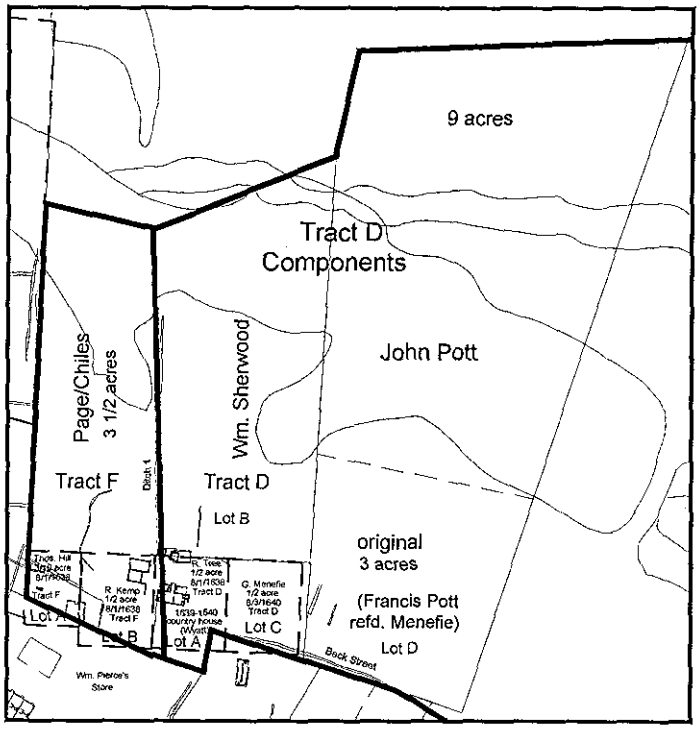


Figure 29. *Study Unit 1 Tract E.*



Study Unit 1 Tract F & Part of Tract D

Figure 30. *Study Unit 1 Tract F after its consolidation, 1641.*

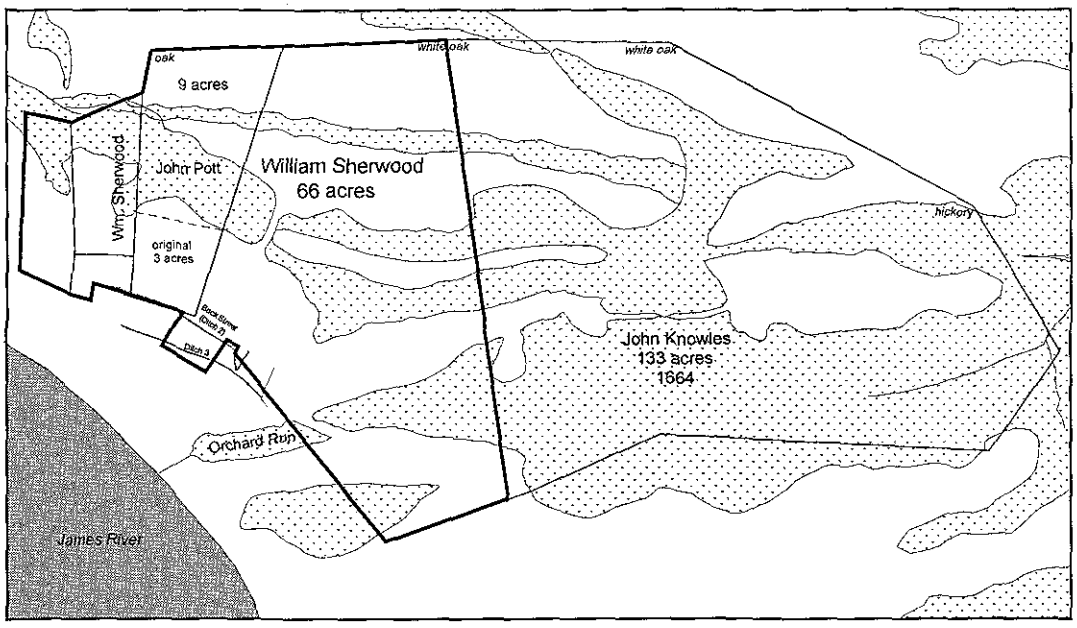


Figure 31. *Electronic reconstruction of John Knowles' 1664 survey showing the 66 acres that belonged to William Sherwood in 1681.*

Throughout the 1680s and 90s William Sherwood, and later his widow, derived income from renting portions of his home (Structure 31) to the government for official meetings. The Governor's Council convened there in June 1680, perhaps for the first time. Afterward, it became a regular occurrence. In April Sherwood was paid for providing a meeting-room to a committee and in December 1685 the Governor and Council asked the burgesses to "agree with Mr. Wm. Sherwood for his Hall, small back room and Cellar, for ye use of his Majesties Governor and Councel, for a Councel room, to debate all matters relating to ye Government ... being more convenient, than any yet made use of, for privacy and dignity, his Excellency having lodgings in the same house." On November 16, 1686, Sherwood was paid "for the use of his great hall, back room on the same floor and cellar &c according to agreement made the last meeting of the assembly being for 1 years rent beginning the next meeting of the governor and council." In May 1688 the assembly agreed to go on renting William Sherwood's Great Hall for the "entertainment of the governor and council" until September 29, 1690. Sherwood also continued to host committee meetings. On May 3, 1695, when the council planned its next get-together, they agreed to convene "in Mr. Sherwood's great Hall, the usuall place for such occasions." After William Sherwood's death, his widow Rachel continued to rent meeting-space to government officials. On May 10, 1699, Mrs. Rachel Sherwood presented a claim "for the use of her house where his excellency and council sit and also for the other roomes since the statehouse was fired, made use of for the secretarys office and assembly records." After Rachel's marriage to Edward Jaquelin in ca. 1699, he commenced making claims on her behalf, submitting a final one on December 16, 1700 (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:127, 131, 225, 257, 282, 325, 452; 1695-1702:8, 22, 48, 62, 124, 142, 154, 198, 214, 219; 1918:92-93).

On August 18, 1697, when William Sherwood made his will, he left his widow, Rachel, a life-interest in all of his real and personal estate except for a few modest bequests he made to friends and kin. However, he left the reversionary rights to his property to British merchant Jeffrey Jeffreys. Sherwood died later in the year and was buried at Jamestown. His will was presented for

probate in February 1698 (Ambler MS 65, 73; McGhan 1993:873).

Jeffrey Jeffreys, the London merchant William Sherwood named as his reversionary heir, was the brother and partner of John Jeffreys, the man who lost a substantial quantity of wine when Jamestown burned in September 1676, and who in 1692 sent 200 stand of arms to Virginia, part of the weaponry damaged or destroyed in the October 1698 statehouse fire. When Jeffrey Jeffreys learned that William Sherwood was dead, he authorized Arthur Spicer to take the decedent's estate into custody. Jeffreys apparently had a long-standing interest in Jamestown, for in April 1704 Stephen Fouace asked for his support in seeing that the community's representation in the assembly was restored. On December 11, 1704, as Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys, he sold his interest in the late William Sherwood's land (described as 400 acres) to Edward Jaquelin (McGhan 1993:873; Withington 1980:52; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 9:49; Sainsbury 1964:1:105, 170; McIlwaine 1925-1945:1:426; Ambler MS 65, 73; Bruce 1894:168). This would have included Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F and G.[321]

The Travis Plantation

At the close of Bacon's Rebellion, the Travis plantation enveloped much (but not all) of Study Unit 2. On March 10, 1652, Edward Travis I patented 196 acres on Jamestown Island, acreage that lay between the Back River and the land of Walter Chiles I, which enveloped Black Point. Travis's 196 acres included Study Unit 2 Tracts E, F, G, H, Q, and S, plus some acreage south and west of Tract E. Included were 12 acres patented by John Senior I (Tract E), 24 acres that had been granted to John Southern (Tracts G and Q), and 16 acres originally belonging to Thomas Passmore (Tract H) or 52 acres in all, plus 144 acres Travis received on the basis of headrights (Patent Book 3:158; Nugent 1969-1979:I:270-271). A land transaction made on March 10, 1653, reveals that it was on part of this 196 acre tract that Edward Travis I built his family's dwelling (Patent Book 3:8; Nugent 1969-1979:I:231). Archaeological features located upon Tract E probably are associated with the Travis domestic complex. On August 8, 1659, Edward Travis I purchased Study Unit 2 Tract A from his brother-in-law, John Johnson II, who had inherited that acreage from his father, John I (Patent Book 3:8, 158; Nugent 1969-1979:I:270-271, 531; II:252; Meyer et al. 1987:224).

On March 10, 1653, Edward Travis I patented 326 acres that included the 196 acres he acquired the previous year plus 130 acres of marsh and arable land "lying southerly from his now dwelling house." His "Devident of high land" was "bounded by Parismores [Passmore] Creek & Cocketts neck, ye remainder being high land lying westerly from his sd house ... and bounded on ye westermost side with ye land of Lancelot Elay [Study Unit 3 Tract H and Study Unit 4 Tract L], northerly with a swampe, Easterly with ye former Devidend of ye said Mr. Edward Travis" (Patent Book 3:8; Nugent 1969-1979:231). On November 5, 1654, Travis patented 150 acres that he had acquired from John Senior I, a parcel that included Study Unit 2 Tracts B, C, D, T and some marsh land north of Passmore Creek (Patent Book 7:228-229; Nugent 1969-1979:II:252). A month later, on December 4, 1654, Travis patented Study Unit 2 Tract I: 12 acres he purchased from John Crump (Crumfort), the late Rev. Richard Buck's grandson (Patent Book 7:228-229; Nugent 1969-1979:II:252; Meyer et al. 1987:224). Finally, on August 8, 1659, Travis (who by that date owned Study Unit 2 Tracts E, F, G, H, I, L, Q, S, T, and marsh and arable land north of Passmore Creek) purchased Tract A from his brother-in-law John Johnson II (Patent Book 3:8, 158; Nugent 1969-1979:I:270-271, 531; II:252; Meyer et al. 1987:224). At Edward Travis I's death, which occurred prior to February 10, 1664, his Jamestown Island landholdings descended to his son, Edward II (Patent Book 5:342; Nugent 1969-1979:I:503).

[321] According to Robert Beverley II, in 1704 the Back River was navigable to a point within 30 yards of Sandy Bay (Beverley 1947:28).

On February 10, 1664, Edward Travis II repatented his late father's 396 acres: 196 acres Edward I acquired in March 1652 and 130 acres he procured in March 1653 (Patent Book 5:342; Nugent 1969-1979:I:503). Edward Travis II purchased 70 acres from Walter Chiles II's widow, Susanna, which he patented on August 7, 1672 (Nugent 19769-1979:II:252; Patent Book 7:228-229). The Chiles parcel included Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P, and U. On November 15, 1677, Travis acquired 12 acres (Tract X) from William Champion, who probably was his brother-in-law (Nugent 1969-1979:II:252). All of these properties became part of the Travis family's plantation on Jamestown Island.

On December 22, 1682, Edward Travis II patented 550 acres: the 326 acres he inherited from his father (Study Unit 2 Tracts E, F, G, H, I, N, and Q); the 70 acres he bought from Susanna Chiles (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U); John Senior I's 150 acres (Study Unit 2 Tracts B, C, D, and T and some marsh land north of Passmore Creek's mouth); and William Champion's 12 acres (Nugent 1969-1979:II:252; Patent Book 7:228-229). Edward Travis II also acquired land that lay east of Kingsmill Creek (Study Unit 2 Tracts J, K, R, and V) some time prior to his November 2, 1700, decease (Meyer et al 1987:377-378). This gave Travis and his descendants approximately 802 3/4 acres that extended from the east side of Kingsmill Creek to the north side of Passmore Creek, encompassing virtually all of Study Unit 2. The family retained the property for nearly a century and a half.

Jamestown's Demise as an Urban Community (1700-1745)

Relocating the Capital

From April 27 to April 29, 1699, the assembly convened at Jamestown. While they were in session, Governor Nicholson sent word that on May 1, 1699, he wanted them to meet at the College of William and Mary. At that time, an act laid before the burgesses called for moving the colony's capital city from Jamestown to Middle Plantation. The proposed legislation stressed the desirable characteristics of the new location, including its more healthful environment and proximity to two navigable creeks, and specified how the new planned community would be laid out (Hening 1809-1823:III:197, 419-424). A group of students from the college appeared before the assembly as part of a carefully orchestrated May Day celebration. At that time, they urged the burgesses to make Middle Plantation the new capital and pointed out that there already were the makings of a city at the site: a church, two mills, several stores, an ordinary and of course, the college. During the first two weeks of May, after a considerable amount of deliberation and the formulation of amendments, the burgesses agreed, and on June 8, 1699, the governor gave his consent to the law that made Williamsburg the new capital (Anonymous 1930:322; Hening 1809-1823:III: 419-424; Reps 1972:141-142; McIlwaine 1905-1915:199; 1918:265, 273-276).[322]

This decision was of momentus importance to those who owned land in urban Jamestown, for it devalued their property. Jamestown lot owner Robert Beverley II (whom research suggests erected Bay 5 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group upon Study Unit 4 Tract Q) said that Governor Francis Nicholson moved the seat of government from Jamestown, "where there were good Accommodations for People, to Middle Plantation where there were none." He said that Nicholson "flatter'd himself with the fond Imagination of being the Founder of a new City" (Beverley 1947:105).

By the close of 1700 the House of Burgesses and Council of State had begun meeting in Williamsburg at the College of William and Mary. Although plans were made for the General Court to convene there, too, its sessions continued to be held at Jamestown, still the seat of the James City County court (Sainsbury 1964:18:204-205;

[322] The assembly convened on April 27, 1699, and id not adjourn until June 8, 1699. However, the entire legislative session is identified as the April 27, 1699 session.

McIlwaine 1925-1945:II:14). Gradually, the colony's official records and military stores were moved from Jamestown to Williamsburg. In December 1700 plans were made to transfer the records of the Secretary's Office and the assembly's records to the College of William and Mary and during 1701 powder, shot, cannon and other materiel were fetched from Jamestown (McIlwaine 1925-1945:II:118; Sainsbury 1964:18:744, 751; Palmer 1968:I:75).

In 1703, nearly four years after a decision had been made to move the colony's capital to Middle Plantation (Williamsburg), word was received that Queen Anne, who came to the throne in 1702, wanted Jamestown to be rebuilt and that the General Court was to convene there, too, just as it had in the past. This occurred after the capital already had been moved. After much deliberation, the colony's officials decided to notify the queen that they already had relocated the capital because neither she nor King William had disallowed the legislation calling for its removal to Williamsburg (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:323, 330).

One critical issue that arose during 1703 was whether Jamestown would have representation in the colony's assembly, a privilege the old capital city had enjoyed since 1619. Because Lt. Governor Francis Nicholson was adamantly opposed to Jamestown's having its own delegate, he refused to permit it. As a result, the old capital's freeholders dispatched petitions to England in which they sought official intervention. Finally, in 1705 when Governor Edward Nott took office, the assembly asked him to allow Jamestown to elect a burgess. At that point, representation was restored after a hiatus of almost three years. Jamestown continued to send a delegate to the assembly until the close of the American Revolution (Sainsbury 1964:21:285, 310-311, 552, 655, 761; 22:41, 105, 625-626; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1702-1712:xxvii; 1925-1945:III:30) (Appendix D).[323]

The 1705 Town Act

Even though Jamestown no longer was the colony's capital, in 1705 when the third in a series of town acts was passed, the community again was designated an official port. All goods entering the colony were to be sold in one of the officially sanctioned ports except servants, slaves and salt. Each town could hold market days twice a week, have an annual fair, and establish a hustings court at which cases of 30 pounds sterling or less could be tried. Jamestown's market days were Tuesdays and Saturdays and its annual fair was to be held from October 12th through 16th, Sundays excepted. In 1705 Jamestown was the only urban center entitled to representation in the assembly. Plans were made to build a tobacco inspection warehouse at Jamestown. One law the House of Burgesses enacted in 1705 required every county seat to have a courthouse, prison, pillory, whipping post, stocks and ducking stool. It is uncertain where the James City County justices held their monthly court after the statehouse was destroyed in October 1698 (Hening 1809-1823:III:404-416, 432, 470; VIII:263). They may have followed the lead of the General Court and met in Mrs. Rachel Sherwood Jaquelin's brick house (Structure 31) on Back Street.[324]

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[323] Nicholson's dislike of Jamestown apparently did not overshadow his appreciation of its historical significance, for in an April 21, 1704, address to the General Assembly, he said that he hoped to hold a centennial jubilee there in two years, to commemorate the colony's first settlement (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1702-1712:43-44).

[324] The Rev. James Blair was a staunch supporter of urban development. In the report that he, Henry Hartwell (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C), and Edward Chilton (Study Unit 4 Tract P) submitted to the Crown in 1697, he said that "In New England they were obliged at their first settlement to settle in Towns and would not permitt a single man to take up land till a certaine number of men agreed together as many as might make a Township, then they layd them out a Town with Home-Lots for Pastures and Orchards, Out-Lots for corn fields and meadows and Countrey-lots for Plantations with overseers and gangs of hands which would have proved an excellent way in such a Countrey as Virginia is. But their opportunity being lost, they seated themselves without any rule or order in Countrey Plantations ... their generall Assemblies have made several attempts to bring the people \

Jamestown's Ferries At The Turn of the Eighteenth Century

Ferries ran from Jamestown to Swann's Point and Crouch's Creek, in Surry County. From 1696 on, Edward Ross, who was gunner of the Jamestown fort, was proprietor of the ferry to Swann's Point, which was located upon his 1.29 acre lot in the western end of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 4 Tract R). In 1703 he requested an increase in the fare he was allowed to charge and in 1726 his widow, Sarah, did likewise (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1712-1726:411). A contemporaneous Surry County record reveals that the proprietors of the Swann's Point ferry were obliged to use a flat-bottomed boat at least 15-feet-long when transporting horses. A foot-boat at least 12-feet-long, with a three-man crew, was required when conveying people across the James (Surry County Order Book 1691-1713:232). On May 24, 1726, Edward Ross's widow, Sarah, who apparently had life-rights in her late husband's property and ferrying concession, requested a rate increase for ferrying man and beast across the James (Sainsbury 1964:21:310; McIlwaine 1905- 1915:1712-1726:411). At Sarah Ross's decease, her late husband's "lots or parcels ... where the Ferry is now kept" descended to his reversionary heir, William Broadnax II (Ambler MS 53, 97-98, 106-107).

In 1682 William Edwards II of Pleasant Point in Surry County received permission to operate a ferry between Jamestown and Crouches Creek, replacing concessionaire James Ellis. He retained the right to operate the ferry until at least 1696 (Palmer 1968:I:51). On April 21, 1690, Edwards patented Study Unit 4 Tract O, a long, narrow waterfront lot containing 0.459 acre. Edwards' newly acquired lot lay opposite the mouth of Crouches Creek (Patent Book 8:42; Nugent 1969-1979:II:342). Control of the ferry concession would have provided Edwards and his heirs with a steady source of income.

(cont'd from previous page)
into Towns, which have prov'd all hitherto ineffectual" (Blair et al. 1940:20-23).

A New County Courthouse

In 1706 James City County's court justices asked the House of Burgesses to allow them to use bricks from the old, burned-out statehouse to construct a new county courthouse at Jamestown (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1702- 1712:204; 1918:463). It is uncertain where the new structure was built or what it was like. However, a description of the courthouse built by the justices of Charles City County in 1688 may shed light upon some of its attributes. The structure erected in Charles City was to be:

> *... 35 foot long, 20 foot broad, and fair staircase, the low room 13 foot pitch and long joine a fair closett or office for the clerk, a partition above made of[f] a lower room lathed and filled and plaistered with lyme and hair, below a good sawd frame and sawd rafters, two large windows at the east end, two barrs, the inward at least nine feet distant from the bench, a large window in the office or closet, 9 windows in the whole building [Charles City County Orders 1687-1695:93].*

In 1715 some of James City County's justices asked Lt. Governor Alexander Spotswood to make Williamsburg the seat of the county court. However, a number of local citizens opposed the change and asked the assembly to allow the county court to stay put. Faced with opposing views, the burgesses appointed a committee to study the situation. George Marable II, a James City County burgess and Jamestown lot owner (Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot B), declared that Williamsburg was inconvenient. Spotswood took umbrage at the tone of Marable's address and declared that he was "as good a Judge as Mr. Marable's Rabble" when it came to selecting a county seat. Sometime after 1715, but before 1721, a James City County Courthouse was erected in Williamsburg. The city and county shared the building for more than 20 years "on courtesie" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1702-1712, 43-44, 204; 1925-1945:II:286, 365; 1918:769; Hening 1809-1823:III:236, 251, 267, 298, 302, 415, 449-459; Gaines 1969:23, 26-27; Palmer 1968:I:169; Barrow 1967:61-62).

Public Holidays

From time to time, the House of Burgesses declared public holidays (that is, holy days), when services were held in parish churches and the colonists were forbidden to perform "all Servile and bodily labour." In 1700, May 3rd was appointed a day of fasting on which prayers were to be offered "for delivering the colony from the great plague of caterpillars;" after the "plague" subsided, a day of thanksgiving was held. August 13, 1701, and March 11, 1702, were solemnized as fast-days in anticipation of war with France and on April 23, 1702, the colonists marked the restoration of peace with a day of thanksgiving (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1702-1712:43-44).

A New Capitol Building

In 1700 John Tullitt of Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract K Lots C and D) was authorized to supply brick for the new capitol building to be erected in Williamsburg. Although relatively little is known about Tullitt as a private individual, it is certain that governing officials frequently called upon him to undertake construction projects. In June 1695 he was paid to raze the old brick fort built at Jamestown in the 1670s and he was compensated for mending the gun carriages and mounting the cannon upon a new platform. In October 1705, when the assembly enacted legislation that described the structural attributes of the new capitol building that was to be constructed, John Tullitt was mentioned as a likely choice as contractor. Ultimately, however, another individual was selected. In October 1709, four years after the College of William and Mary's main building had been destroyed by fire, Tullitt offered to construct a replacement for 2,000 pounds sterling, as long as he was allowed to take wood from the college land and skilled workmen would be brought from England. Tullitt was authorized to proceed and in November 1711 received a payment of 500 pounds. Two months later he was paid 400 pounds for building the college hall. He may have had problems maintaining accurate business records, for he and Auditor William Byrd II of Westover reviewed his accounts several times. The two men apparently became friends, for they continued to keep in touch even after they ceased their mutual involvement in government projects (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:331; Byrd 1942:99, 116, 286, 351, 384, 434, 476, 522, 551-552).

Legalized Racial Discrimination

In 1705 the House of Burgesses updated the legal code to address the colony's changing needs. It was then that several laws were enacted that affected the lives of all non-whites. Enslaved blacks were relegated to the status of personal property that could be bought and sold and Indians were deprived of the legal rights they formerly enjoyed. Ironically, this change occurred at a time when the tributary Indians were making increased use of the colony's judicial system instead of settling disputes on their own. Under the 1705 legal code Indians and other non-whites were prohibited from testifying in court, a restriction that prevented them from collecting debts. It also kept Indian bond servants from suing for their freedom if their masters detained them after their contract expired. Inter-racial marriage became illegal and non-whites were declared ineligible to hold any public office whatsoever. A 1711 law required both tributary and non-tributary Indians to wear badges when they ventured into colonized areas and three years later, a law was passed prohibiting the use of the titles "king" and "queen" in reference to Native leaders. Thus, as Virginia's Indians became increasingly acculturated and assumed a more visible (but less forceful) role in society, and as they declined in population and strength, they became legally susceptible to the same types of discrimination to which blacks and other minorities were subjected (Hening 1809-1823:III:251, 298, 449-459; McIlwaine 1925- 1945:II:286, 365).[325]

[325] From 1699 until 1730, a duty of 2 pounds current money per slave was to be paid by the importer (Bergstrom 1984:5).

An Attempt to Gain Freedom

In March 1710 "a great number" of enslaved blacks "and others"[326] in James City, Isle of Wight, and Surry Counties, planned to make a break for freedom on Easter Sunday, vowing to overcome all who opposed them. However, one of the slaves, a black male named Will, revealed the plot and the uprising was quelled. Among the James City County slaves jailed for complicity in the plot were blacks belonging to the Rev. James Blair, Philip Ludwell I, Sheriff Edward Jaquelin, George Marable II, ferryman and gunner Edward Ross, and John Broadnax, almost all of whom had property in Jamestown.[327] Although most of the accused insurgents were jailed at Jamestown, where they were interrogated and then released into their owners' custody "to receive correction," Jamy (a Broadnax slave) and Essex (a Ross slave) were implicated in the plot and therefore were detained. Warrants also were issued for three York County slaves, two of whose names (Bumbara Peter and Mingo) suggest that they were "new Africans," people who had arrived in the colony relatively recently. Virginia's governor later reported that two slaves were executed so that "their fate will strike such a terror" that others would not attempt an uprising. The two men (one African American and one Indian) were hanged and then quartered. A quarter of the Indian, Salvador, was put on display nea the "great guns" at Jamestown (Stanard 1911:250-254; McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:234-236, 242-243). There, near the ferry landing, the gruesome display would have been a grim reminder of the consequences of rebellion.

[326] Some of the "others" were Indian slaves, but bound servants also may have participated.

[327] Blair was the James City Parish minister and may have occupied rented accommodations at Jamestown. John Broadnax's brother, William I, owned property in rural Jamestown Island and in urban Jamestown.

A Threat of War

In 1705 military stores still were kept in the magazine at Jamestown, under the care of gunner and ferry-keeper Edward Ross of Study Unit 4 Tract R. That autumn a shipment of military stores the queen dispatched to Virginia was placed temporarily in the old magazine at Jamestown, despite the fact that it was deemed "dangerous to this country, it lying upon a navigable river where there are no fortifications nor other defense." Although later in the year some ammunition and arms were moved to Williamsburg for safe-keeping, some "great Shott" were kept at Jamestown for a while. In June 1706 James City's gunner, Edward Ross, was ordered to dig it up, sort it, and perform related duties, such as having powder barrels re-hooped. He also was to make an accounting of the military stores then on hand, which were secured in the magazine at Jamestown (McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:56, 99, 102).

In May 1706 Virginia's burgesses expressed their concern to Lt. Governor Alexander Spotswood that the French were establishing a strong military power-base in the West Indies. They recommended that two sites be fortified in defense of the colony's shipping, one of which was Jamestown, which "may be made so strong, considering the natural advantages of its situation, that no naval force of an enemy could be able to pass by it" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1702-1712:200). The governor and council ultimately concluded that constructing fortifications at Jamestown and Gloucestertown (Tindall's Point) were essential to providing an adequate defense. Council members recommended that a platform be built at both sites, upon which would be placed two guns from each of the ships being protected. They also felt that a ship should be stationed in the channel just above each platform, to prevent enemy vessels from eluding the guns. Spotswood personally observed that "the natural situation of Jamestown amongst marshes and being almost encompassed with water would secure it from being surprised by an enemy by land and that the channel of the river running so nigh the shore, it would be impossible for

any ship to pass by it" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:95-97).

Although the threat of a French attack abated for a time, by August 1711 tensions again had increased to the point that new and more elaborate defensive measures were undertaken. A sloop was to be stationed at the capes to signal the approach of enemy ships, and beacons were to be placed at strategic sites along the colony's rivers.[328] Upon the lighting of the beacons at Jamestown and Yorktown and the firing of two cannon shots, all other beacons were to be lit. This was to alert local militia units throughout Tidewater that there had been an enemy invasion. Batteries to accommodate 16 cannon were to be raised at Jamestown "and a line cast up for covering the same from James River to Back Creek."[329] Lines also were to be marked out from Back Creek to Archer's Hope and from Archer's Hope (College) Creek to Queen's Creek, where palisades could be cast up, if need be, for the protection of Williamsburg.[330] During August and September 1711 Spotswood made six trips to Jamestown to assess the status of the line battery there (McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:283; 1905-1915:1702-1712:xli; Chandler et al. 1923:41). William Byrd II of Westover sent down 2,000 palisades for use in the defense of Jamestown and Williamsburg, and one Surry County man sought payment for "500 pallisadoes delivered to the fortification at Jamestown" (Byrd 1941:401; Surry County Orders 1691-1713:377).

Ultimately, Lt. Governor Alexander Spotswood credited himself with putting the colony into a defensive posture. On October 15, 1711, he informed Lord Dartmouth, who was in England, that in anticipation of a hostile French fleet, he had had forts built on each of the colony's four major rivers and armed with cannon, "not finding at my arrival such a thing as either Parapet, Pallisade or one single piece of ordnance mounted throughout the whole Government" (Spotswood 1973:121). But despite these claims of how well Jamestown was fortified, the Rev. John Fontaine, who visited the area in 1716, found that only "a small rampart with embrasures remained to be seen, which was deserted and gone to ruin" (Fontaine 1972:90). Official records reveal that there was a gunner at Jamestown until at least 1722. In October 1725, when it was reported that he was dead, his position was abolished (McIlwaine 1925-1945:IV:4, 23, 91).

Jamestown's Appearance

According to the Rev. John Fontaine, in 1716 Jamestown contained "a church, a Court House, and three or four brick houses[331] but now is all gone to ruin" (Fontaine 1972:90). The Rev. Hugh Jones, who around 1716 became rector of James City Parish, in 1724 published a description of Virginia in which he said that:

> *The first Metropolis, James Town, was built in the most convenient Place for Trade and Security against the Indians, but often received much Damage, being twice burnt down; after which it never recovered its Perfection, consisting at present of nothing but Abundance of Brick Rubbish, and three or*

[328] In 1641 Sir William Berkeley, as in-coming governor, also had been instructed to erect beacons to warn of a foreign enemy's approach (C.O. 5/1354 f 234).

[329] That is, palisades were to be erected across Jamestown Island.

[330] According to William Byrd II, 25 men from each county were sent to work on the fortified line at Jamestown. In October 1711 some Surry County men submitted a claim for ten days work at Jamestown. One of the men who worked on Jamestown's defenses was an Indian servant from Surry. Some Henrico County men also submitted claims for their labor (Byrd 1941:393; Surry County Order Book 1691-1713:378; Valentine Papers 1930:III:1983).

[331] These probably were the late William Sherwood's brick house (Structure 31); the eastern end of Structure 115, which belonged to the Ludwells; the easternmost unit (Bay 5) of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (on Study Unit 4 Tract Q); and probably one or two structures on the New Towne's waterfront (perhaps on Study Unit 4 Tract A and/or Tract C).

four good inhabited Houses, tho' the Parish is of pretty large Extent, but less than others. When the State House and Prison were burnt down, Governor Nicholson removed the Residence of the Governor, with the Meeting of the General Courts and General Assemblies to Middle Plantation, seven Miles from James Town, in a healthier and more convenient Place, and freer from the Annoyance of Muskettoes [Maxwell 1851:172].

James City Parish

In 1724 the Bishop of London queried Virginia clergy about what their parishes were like. The Rev. William LeNeve of James City Parish reported that the territory he served was approximately 20 miles long and 12 miles wide, had 78 families and neither a school nor a library. Approximately 130 people attended the services he conducted at Jamestown. He also led services in nearby Mulberry Island Parish one Sunday a month and lectured in Williamsburg on Sunday afternoons. Because the James City Parish glebe lacked a dwelling, the vestry paid LeNeve a housing allowance.[332] He worked with Virginia-born black slaves, whom he tried to convert to Christianity, but he felt that newly-arrived slaves, "imported daily," had "so little Docility in them that they scarce ever become capable of Instruction" (Perry 1969:I:264- 266).

Jamestown Island's Rural Landscape

Edward Jaquelin's Plantation

Edward Jaquelin, a French Huguenot and the son of John and Elizabeth Craddock Jaquelin of Kent, England, was born in 1668. He immigrated to Virginia around 1685. Between June 1699 and December 1700, he married a wealthy widow, Rachel James Sherwood, who had outlived two previous husbands (Richard James I and William Sherwood) and inherited life-rights to their property. As Edward was born in 1668, eight years after Rachel had given birth to a son by Richard James I, she was considerably his senior.[333] Jaquelin moved into his new wife's home (Structure 31) and on December 11, 1704, purchased Jeffrey Jeffreys' reversionary interest in the late William Sherwood's estate (Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F, and G) (Ambler 1826; Meade 1966:I:104; Tyler 1895-1896:49; Ambler MS 65, 73), to which Rachel had life-rights. He also would have had use of wife Rachel's dower share of Richard James I's estate (probably Study Unit 1 Tract B). It is uncertain whether Sherwood's lease for 260 acres in the Governor's Land was still viable. In 1699 Edward Jaquelin and wife, Rachel, rented their home to the assembly and they sometimes provided meeting space to the council. This would have brought Edward in contact with the colony's highest ranking officials. He also prepared official correspondence for the assembly (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1695-1702:219).

Edward Jaquelin had a distinguished political career. In April 1701 he became coronet of James City County's troop of horse and in 1702 he became clerk of the assembly's committee of propositions and grievances. By 1710 he had become a county justice and sheriff. In 1712 he was elected Jamestown's delegate to the assembly and he was returned to office in 1714. During the 1720s he also served as James City County coroner. In 1737 Edward Jaquelin again began serving as a James City County justice (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1695-1702:214, 219, 384; 1925-1945:II:132; III:243; IV:xxiii, 413; Meyer et al. 1987:606; Sainsbury 1964:19:162; 20:156; Leonard 1976:67; Stanard 1910:23; 1965:100). In March 1710 Edward Jaquelin's slave named Will joined with several others in planning to make a break for freedom on Easter Sunday, vowing to overcome all opposition. Edward was then a county justice and the sheriff of James City County (McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:234-236; Stanard 1911:250-254).

[332] It is uncertain where LeNeve lived. He probably occupied rental accommodations on Jamestown Island or nearby on the mainland.

[333] Richard James II was born in 1660 (Ambler MS 17).

Edward Jaquelin did little to enhance the size of the Sherwood plantation on Jamestown Island, other than buying a ½ acre lot on the waterfront, Lot A of Study Unit 4 Tract C, with Bay 1 of Structure 17. However, he acquired a substantial amount of acreage on the mainland. In 1712 he purchased the 24 acre Glasshouse tract at the entrance to Jamestown Island and in 1718 he bought an adjacent 27 acre parcel. In 1712 he commenced leasing a 151 acre farm in the Governor's Land, which he sublet from Philip Ludwell II. This gave Edward Jaquelin a total of 202 acres next to Jamestown Island (Ambler MS 45, 77, 84, 86, 99; Soane 1683). These acquisitions seemingly heralded the development of the mainland farm known as "Amblers" that traditionally served as a subsidiary or quarter for the Jaquelin/Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island. In 1706 Edward Jaquelin, who by then was a widower, married Martha, the daughter of Lt. Colonel William Cary of Elizabeth City and the widow of John Thruston of Martin's Hundred. Edward continued to reside at Jamestown and served as the community's representative in the House of Burgesses and as a justice of James City County's court. Edward and Martha Jaquelin produced several children, including daughters Elizabeth (born in 1709), Martha (born in 1711), and Mary (born in 1714), and sons Mathew (born in 1708) and Edward (born in 1716). In ca. 1733 Martha Cary Thruston Jaquelin gave a baptismal font to the church at Jamestown (Meade 1992:I:95; Tyler 1895-1896:49-50; 1896:51-53, 243; Chermaison 1712; Meyer et al. 1987:606; Ambler MS 73, 101).[334]

In 1734, while Edward Jaquelin controlled much of west-central Jamestown Island and the adjacent mainland, some of Jamestown's inhabitants and freeholders jointly petitioned the House of Burgesses for funds that could be used in stabilizing the river banks at Sandy Bay, where the James and Back Rivers converged. They argued that "of late years there have been such great breaches between the river and creek at Sandy Bay that it is now so dangerous to pass that it is become necessary to secure the banks for a great way, on both sides of the bay, against the violence of the river." They closed by saying that the cost of the remedial work exceeded their ability to pay. The petitioners' funding request was denied, but the issue surfaced again two years later. At that time, they informed the legislature that "the road leading into the said island and to the public ferry over James River to Swans Point is so bad at a place called Sandy Bay, occasioned by the frequent tides that flow over the said road, that people cannot pass without difficulty and some danger." But again, the petitioners' request for public funds was denied (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1727-1740:216, 276).[335]

In 1729 20-year-old Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward and Martha Cary Jaquelin of Jamestown Island, married 39-year-old Richard Ambler, a Yorktown merchant, who had immigrated to Virginia in 1716 (Ambler 1798; Ambler 1826; Tyler 1895-1896:50). The Jaquelins' daughter, Mary, married John Smith in November 1739, the same month Edward Jaquelin died. The decedent, who was then age 71, had outlived both of his wives and all of his sons. Edward Jaquelin was survived by three daughters: Elizabeth (Mrs. Richard Ambler), Mary (Mrs. John Smith), and Martha, a spinster. The only grandchildren Jaquelin had at the time of his death were the offspring of Elizabeth and Richard Ambler (Ambler 1828).

The late Edward Jaquelin's obituary, dated November 16, 1739, was published in the *Virginia Gazette*.

> *On Friday night last died at his House at Jamestown in the 71st year of his age, Mr. Edward Jaquelin, who was formerly a representative in the assembly from Jamestown and has been many years a justice of the*

[334] One of Edward Jaquelin's fellow justices was Col. John Eaton , a James City County burgess. In October 1739 Eaton "died at his house" in Jamestown and was mourned as "a tender husband and parent" (Tyler 1896:243). The location of the dwelling Eaton occupied is uncertain. He may have been a tenant rather than a property owner.

[335] The petitioners' names are not listed in the House's minutes.

peace of James City County, a gentleman of very good sense, and endowed with many excellent valuable qualities, which his relations, neighbors, and acquaintances have with pleasure experienced and now as greatly lament the loss of him. His corpse was yesterday interred in a very decent manner in the church yard at Jamestown, accompany'd to the Grave by a great number of persons, many of whom testified how deeply they were affected with the loss of so valuable a friend [Parks, November 22, 1739].

Edward Jaquelin's will was "delv'd, proved & recorded in James City County court the tenth day of December 1739" (Smith et al. 1745; Ambler 1828). Therefore, it was among the volumes of local records destroyed in 1865 when Richmond burned. Fortunately, family accounts and real estate transactions that post-date the settlement of Edward Jaquelin's estate shed some light upon how he disposed of his assets.

According to a family history written by great-grandson John Jaquelin Ambler in 1826, in 1739 Edward Jaquelin left his landholdings on Jamestown Island to four-year-old John Ambler I, his second oldest grandson. On the other hand, a slightly different text (also a family history) that John Jaquelin Ambler produced in 1828 states that the late Edward Jaquelin's Jamestown property descended to his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, who passed it on to her son, John I (Ambler 1826:26; 1828:25).[336] Whatever the case, in 1756 when Elizabeth Jaquelin Ambler died, her son John Ambler I, who had just come of age, took immediate possession of his grandfather's Jamestown Island property.[337] It is uncertain whether the Amblers made occasional use of the late Edward Jaquelin's dwelling at Jamestown (Structure 31, the brick house constructed by William Sherwood in ca. 1677) between the time of Edward's 1739 death and Elizabeth's in 1756, or simply placed it in the hands of a tenant.[338] Edward Jaquelin left his land at Powhatan to spinster daughter, Martha (Meade 1966:I:95; Smith et al. 1745; Meyer et al. 1987:606; Tyler 1895-1896:49-50; Smith 1957:48).

A quitclaim deed executed on April 24, 1745, indicates that Edward Jaquelin gave son-in-law, Richard Ambler, life-rights to a lot or small parcel in the western end of Jamestown Island. It was "bounded on one side by James River, on the other side by the Main Road, to the Eastward by a Slash which separates from the Ferry House Land (formerly belonging to Edward Ross but now in the possession of Captain William Broadnax), to the Westward it Terminates in a point towards the Bay comonly called Sandy Bay."[339] However, "reversion in fee descended upon Mary and Martha and Elizabeth, wife of the said Richard, as Daughters & coheirs." Therefore, on April 24, 1745, the

[336] In 1826 John Jaquelin Ambler noted that his uncle, John Ambler I, "took possession of Jamestown, which estate had been given him by his grandfather Edward Jaquelin" (Ambler 1826:36).

[337] Any real estate Elizabeth inherited personally normally would have descended to her husband, Richard Ambler. His will (executed in 1765) indicates that he owned only a fraction of his late father-in-law's acreage (see ahead).

[338] In December 1747 the local court of oyer and terminer was held at Jamestown because smallpox was rampant in Williamsburg (McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:247). However, it is uncertain where the justices convened. Several dwellings were then in existence, notably those which belonged to the Amblers, the Travises, the Ludwells, and perhaps the Burwells. The church probably was in disrepair (see ahead).

[339] The reference to ferryman Edward Ross, who owned Study Unit 4 Tract R and operated ferries from Tracts R and O to Surry County, reveals that the gift parcel was in the western end of Jamestown Island. The presence of a slash (which formed the upper boundary of Tract R and the lower boundary of Tract E) suggests strongly that Edward Jaquelin left Richard Ambler part of Study Unit 1 Tract E. It probably was the two acres William Sherwood placed in the hands of tenants on January 6, 1694, which were bound "Westerly by James River, Southerly by the Slash or Branch yt Pts. this land & the State howse, Easterly by the great Road, & Northerly by ye Sd. Slash that Pts. this Land and the block howse Land" (Ambler MS 49). (See the history of Study Unit 1 Tract E).

Jaquelin daughters deeded their interest in the parcel to Richard Ambler. The deed was entered into the records of the James City County court on December 1745 (Smith et al 1745; Ambler MS 123).[340] Twenty years later, when Richard Ambler prepared his will, he left to his son, John I, "Two acres of land In James Town Island bounded to the South by the River, to the North by the main road, to the east by a smal Marsh which divides it from the Ferry-house Land, which two Acres was given me by Mr Edwd Jaquelin's Will." He noted that earlier on, he had given his son, Edward, and son-in-law John Smith life-rights in the same two acres (York County Wills and Inventories 21:278-282; Ambler MS 123). Thanks to Richard Ambler's foresight and the purchases he made, the Ambler plantation became a family legacy that was handed down for several generations. It engulfed the bulk of Study Units 1 and 3 and much of Study Unit 4.

The Travis Plantation

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently did not attempt to enhance the size of the ancestral plantation. He did, however, acquire some other land on Jamestown Island. On January 13, 1717, he bought Study Unit 1 Tract E, a 28½ acre parcel at the western end of the island, adjoining the isthmus, and he purchased Study Unit 4 Tract M, John Baird's lot by the churchyard. Both of those parcels were on the road that led to the mainland. On July 17, 1719, Travis conveyed Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tract M to William Broadnax I. That same year, Travis purchased some of John Broadnax's personal property (Ambler MS 92, 106-107; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 15:510). Edward Travis III and his wife, Rebecca, produced a son, Edward Champion Travis, who was born in ca. 1720, the same year his father died. The widowed Rebecca Champion Travis inherited life-rights in her late husband's Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home (Meyer et al. 1987:377-378; Tyler 1907-1908:142).

Rebecca, shortly after being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). She died on December 19, 1723, at age 46. At that time her 3-year-old son, Edward Champion Travis, a minor, inherited the family's plantation on Jamestown Island (Meyer et al. 1987:378; Tyler 1907-1908:142). William Broadnax I and his little stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. He married Susannah Hutchings, with whom he produced sons Champion, Edward IV, and John and daughter Susannah. Although he retained his Jamestown Island property and passed it down to his descendants, in 1765 he built a home in Williamsburg (Tyler 1907-1908:142). In 1768 and 1769 Travis was credited with 1,652 acres of James City County land, approximately half of which was located upon Jamestown Island (Williamsburg-James City County Tax Lists 1768-1769) (see ahead).

The Broadnax Holdings

William Broadnax I was born on February 28, 1676. Around 1720 he married Rebecca, the widow of Edward Travis III of Jamestown Island. Broadnax commenced serving as a James City County justice of the peace in 1706 and was elected Jamestown's burgess in 1718. He served intermittently through 1726 (Stanard 1965:102-103, 105-106; Palmer 1968:I:99; Leonard 1976:70, 72).[341]

William Broadnax I already owned Study Unit 3 Tract J when he married the widowed Rebecca

[340] A copy of this deed has been preserved by the New-York Historical Society.

[341] Some genealogical sources indicate that Rebecca Champion Travis and William Broadnax I produced three children, including William Broadnax II (Ezell 1995:160). However, as they were married for less than three years and William Broadnax II was born in ca. 1705, that is highly unlikely.

Champion Travis and he was in possession of Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tract M, which he had purchased from his new wife's late husband. In 1718 he bought Study Unit 4 Tract Q and he held William Edwards III's mortgage for Study Unit 4 Tracts L and O, eventually acquiring both parcels by default. He acquired Study Unit 3 Tract H (37½ acres that had belonged successively to Lancelot Elay, Colonel Thomas Swann I, and Richard Holder) and Study Unit 3 Tract I (ca. 8.3 acres that had belonged to Ann Holder Briscoe Chudley and her husband, James) sometime prior to 1726. A verbal description of the boundaries of the land Broadnax owned on the James River, which have been plotted electronically, reveals that he accumulated 127.7 acres that extended from the east side of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot D to a point just beyond the mouth of the nameless creek encircling Fox Island. Thus, he not only acquired Study Unit 3 Tracts H and I (approximately 45.8 acres), but also 81-plus additional acres that enveloped Fox Island and terminated at Study Unit 3 Tract J (Meyer et al. 1987:378; Ambler MS 53, 63, 92, 97-98, 106-107) (Figure 32). It is uncertain to what extent William Broadnax I developed his property, much of which fronted upon the James River and probably had commercial potential.

Rebecca Travis Broadnax, who had custody of the Travises' ancestral plantation on Jamestown Island, died on December 19, 1723. At that time her three-year-old son, Edward Champion Travis, inherited an unencumbered title to his late father's property. William Broadnax I and his stepson may have shared the Travis home until Broadnax's death on February 16, 1727 (Tyler 1907-1908:142; Tyler 1897-1898:60-61; Meyer et al. 1987:378).

William Broadnax II, who was born in ca. 1705, inherited his late father's landholdings in the eastern end of Jamestown Island (approximately 140 acres that included Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J and some additional land enveloping Fox Island) plus some property within the limits of urban Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, and Q). William Broadnax II also received via a bequest from ferryman Edward Ross at least one town lot where the ferry was kept (Study Unit 4 Tract R). Sometime prior to April 22, 1736, Broadnax purchased from Francis

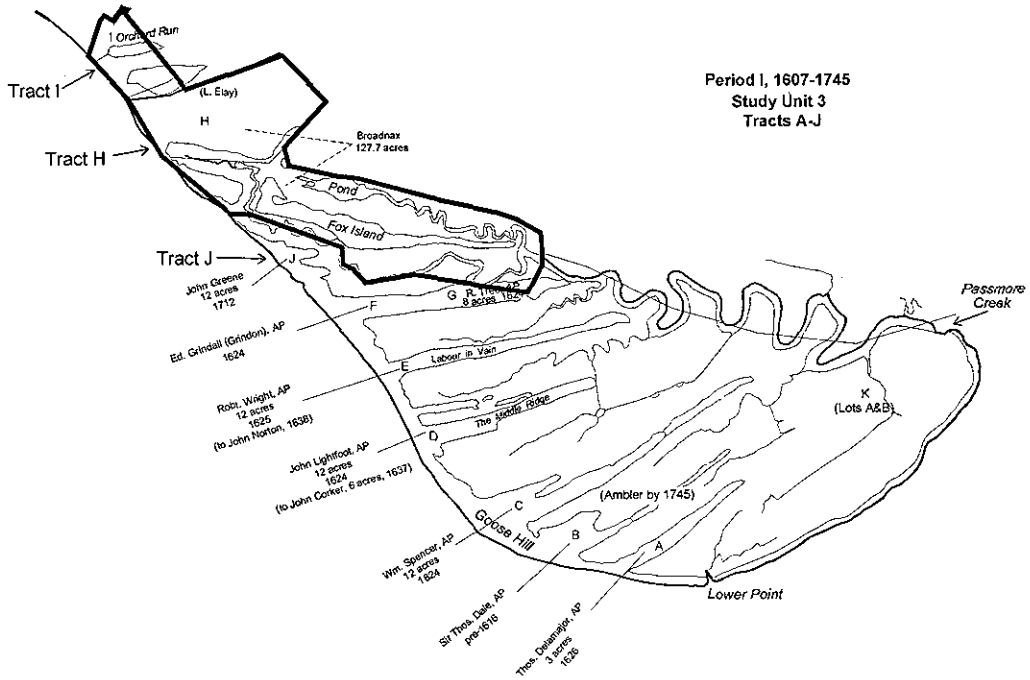


Figure 32. *Study Unit 3 Tracts H and I, recreated from seventeenth-century survey data.*

Bullifant 107 acres in the southeastern end of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G) and he bought the late William May's 100 acre patent (which included Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) from John Hopkins (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250; Ezell 1995:106).

Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen with substantial landholdings on the south side of the James, in Brunswick County. He represented Jamestown in the February 1, 1728, session of the legislature and in 1731 was one of James City County's justices of the peace (Stanard 1965:107; McIlwaine 1925-1945:4:236; Hudgins 1994:V:136). On January 1, 1744, William Broadnax II sold all of his property on Jamestown Island (both rural and urban) to Christopher Perkins, a Norfolk County merchant. He also conveyed to him a slave named William Liverpool (Ambler MS 97-98, 106-107, 250). This gave Perkins possession of Study Unit 1 Tract E; Study Unit 3 Tracts A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, and K; and Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, Q, and R. Thus, Perkins controlled virtually all of the frontage on the James River east of Orchard Run and a large parcel at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the main road that led to the mainland. He also had the lot or lots then used for the Jamestown ferry.

Christopher Perkins, upon purchasing all of William Broadnax II's landholdings on Jamestown Island, kept the acreage for precisely a year. On January 1, 1745, he conveyed the Broadnax property to Richard Ambler, the Yorktown merchant who developed his land on Jamestown Island into a major plantation and family seat. Perkins also sold Ambler the slave named William Liverpool, whom he had bought from William Broadnax II (Ambler MS 106-107, 250). Liverpool probably had special skills, but their nature is uncertain.

Chapter 3.
Period II: The Plantation Period (1746-1831)

During this period, almost all of Jamestown Island was enveloped by the Ambler and Travis plantations, both of which were working farms. The western half of the Ambler plantation lay within the corporate limits of urban Jamestown, where the family's residence was located. The Travises, meanwhile, had a substantial dwelling on their plantation in the eastern end of Jamestown Island and they owned a townstead in urban Jamestown. Also located within Jamestown's corporate limits were a few lots owned by Philip Ludwell III's heirs, John Parke Custis, the Harris family, and perhaps others. Tax rolls suggest that the Ambler and Travis families were of comparable wealth and were members of the planter elite (Figure 33).

The Ambler Plantation on Jamestown Island

Richard Ambler

Richard Ambler, the son of John and Elizabeth Birkard Ambler of York, England, was born on December 24, 1690. He immigrated to Virginia in 1716 and became well established in Yorktown, where he was a merchant. In 1729 he married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward and

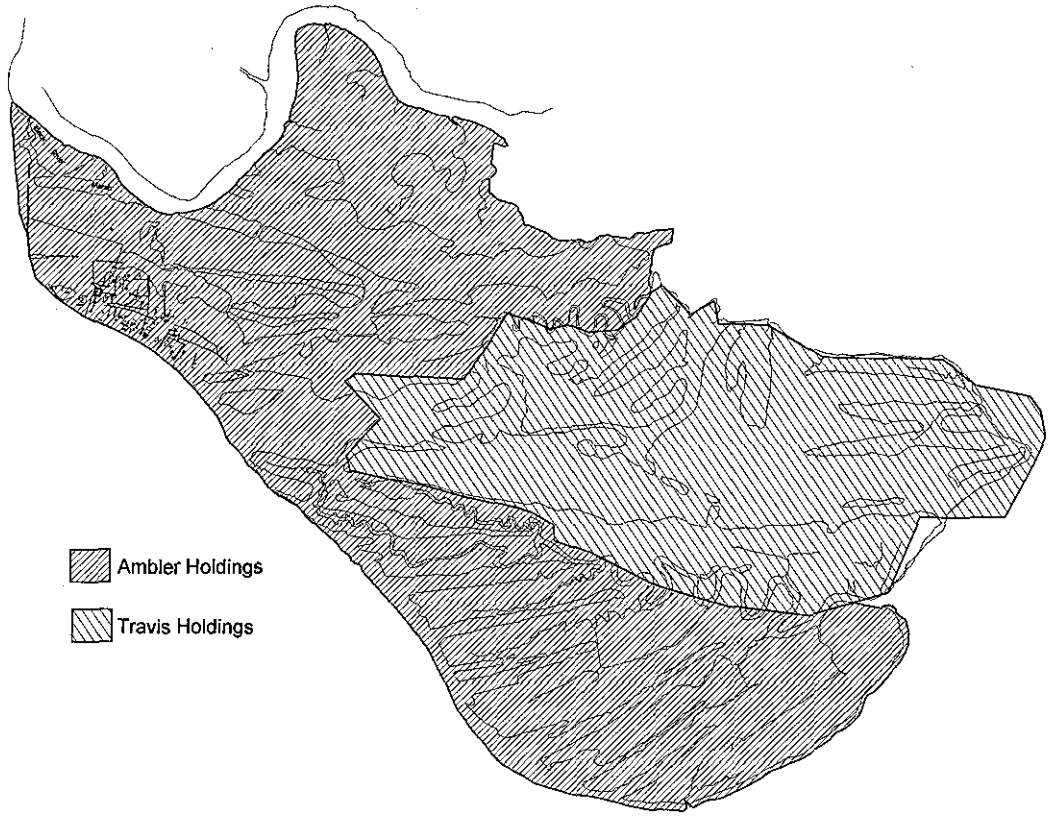


Figure 33. *Period II: The Plantation Period (1746-1831).*

Martha Jaquelin of Jamestown Island. Richard Ambler's family members described him as a highly successful merchant, who was "saving and thrifty" and a "money-getting man." They also said that he was about 5 feet 11 inches tall and "inclined to be fat" (Ambler 1798; Ambler 1826:34). Ambler's ability to accumulate wealth attests to his business acumen.

Richard Ambler, through his 1729 marriage to Edward Jaquelin's eldest daughter and purchases he made in 1745 and 1753, managed to combine the southeastern portion of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 3) with urban lots and rural parcels in the western end of the island (in Study Units 1 and 4). This not only created a large plantation and family seat, it also gave Ambler and his heirs control of almost all of Jamestown Island's frontage on the James and more than half of the land bordering the Back River.

As previously noted, in November 1739 Richard Ambler's father-in-law, Edward Jaquelin, left his landholdings on Jamestown Island to his second oldest grandson, John Ambler I, perhaps giving life-rights to daughter Elizabeth Jaquelin Ambler (Ambler 1826:26, 1828:25). The Amblers, who resided in Yorktown and shared their home with Elizabeth's sister, the spinster Martha Jaquelin, may have made occasional use of the late Edward Jaquelin's brick dwelling at Jamestown, the structure built by William Sherwood right after Bacon's Rebellion. On the other hand, they may have placed the property in the hands of an overseer or entrusted it to a tenant.

In 1745 Richard Ambler systematically began purchasing a number of parcels that abutted the Jaquelin plantation. On January 1, 1745, he bought approximately 298 acres of land from Norfolk merchant Christopher Perkins, who had come into possession of the Jamestown Island acreage that previously had belonged to William Broadnax I and II. Through this acquisition, Ambler came into possession of Study Unit 3 Tracts A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, and Tract K Lot B; Study Unit 2 Tracts M, O, Q, and R; and Study Unit 4 Tract L Lots A, B, C, D; and Study Unit 1 Tract E (Ambler MS 53, 106, 107). Then, on April 24, 1745, he procured a quit-claim deed from his wife's sisters and brother-in-law that gave him fee simple ownership of 2 acres to which he had life-rights, a subunit of Study Unit 1 Tract E (Smith et al. 1745). Richard Ambler, by consolidating the Jaquelin and Broadnax/Perkins landholdings, amassed just over 698 acres of land in the southeast, central and western portions of Jamestown Island, within Study Units 1, 3 and 4, thereby monopolizing the frontage upon the James and Back Rivers.

On October 6, 1753, Richard Ambler purchased a ½ acre lot (Lot C of Study Unit 1 Tract F) from Edward Champion Travis. It was situated in front of the site upon which Richard built a large brick mansion and flanking dependencies (Ambler MS 115).[342] That the grantee was styled "Richard Ambler of Yorktown" in the 1753 deed indicates that he was not then residing at Jamestown. Richard Ambler's purposeful land acquisitions and the construction of a substantial dwelling probably reflect his attempt to provide his second oldest son, John I, with a suitable family seat.[343] Richard's well documented and almost continuous presence in Yorktown from 1745 until his death in 1765 suggests strongly that he never intended to move to Jamestown, personally (Ambler MS 123).

Throughout the eighteenth century, agricultural operations on the Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island were run in tandem with those of the Ambler

[342] The remains of the Ambler mansion and its flanking dependencies are located upon Study Unit 1 Tracts D and E, part of the late Edward Jaquelin's acreage. As a portion of Structure 87 (a dependency) extends across Ditch 9 (the northerly boundary ditch for Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot C) and the southwest corner of Structure 101 (the mansion) rests upon Ditch 9, Richard Ambler may not have commenced construction until after October 1753, when he purchased Lot C from Edward Champion Travis. However, by 1758 John Ambler I was living at Jamestown (see ahead).

[343] As the laws of primogeniture were in effect, Edward Ambler I, as Richard's eldest son and primary heir, stood to inherit the family home in Yorktown. Richard also left Edward and his brother, Jaquelin, his mercantile business in Yorktown (Ambler MS 123).

farm on the mainland. The origin of this farm, commonly known as "Amblers," lies in at least three parcels: the 24 acre Glasshouse Tract; the 25 to 27 acre Perkins/Woodward parcel; and a 310 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land, which was publicly-owned property until the close of the American Revolution. Further supplementing the Amblers' agricultural productivity was their quarter known as Powhatan. Edward Jaquelin, who had acquired Powhatan, left it to his unmarried daughter, Martha, who sold it to Richard Ambler (York County Wills and Inventories 21:386-391). Richard Ambler's descendants' almost continuous presence upon Jamestown Island from the mid-1750s through the early nineteenth century suggests that they made personal use of the mansion and that their overseer resided upon their farm on the mainland.

In 1748 several local citizens[344] asked the House of Burgesses to relocate the Jamestown ferry's landing because "the causeway leading into Jamestown and Sandy Bay is become so out of repair that the same is likely to become a county charge." They contended that "keeping up the causeway will be of little service to any others than those who cross the ferry at Jamestown,[345] belonging to Richard Ambler" and said that there were "several responsible freeholders of the lands adjoining the ferry"[346] who had offered to keep the causeway in repair" if the ferry-landing were moved to their property. The petitioners asked that Ambler be required to repair the causeway or suffer the consequences of the ferry's being moved. Ambler filed a counter-petition and the ferry stayed where it was (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1742-1749:300, 305, 310). A 1755 deed indicates that the ferry-landing was located in the western end of Jamestown Island, probably on Study Unit 4 Tract R, where it had been since at least the 1680s.[347]

On December 13, 1755, Richard Ambler deeded to his 22-year-old son, Edward I, life-interest in 1 acre of land in the western end of Jamestown Island. The tiny lot (a subunit of Study Unit 1 Tract E) was "bound'd [east] by Slash [a branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp] which Separates it from the Ferry house Land [Study Unit 4 Tract R]" and was abutted "on the South by James River, on the North by the main Road, and to the West by the Acre of Land lately conveyed to John Smith Gentm." (Ambler MS 116). As the Jamestown ferry was in use throughout much of the eighteenth century and accommodated a steady stream of travelers, the lots Richard gave to son, Edward I, and to brother-in-law John Smith would have had considerable commercial potential.[348]

John Ambler I, who attained his majority on December 31, 1756, seems to have taken up residence at Jamestown shortly after coming of age. In 1759 he commenced serving as the community's burgess, an indication that he owned land there (Leonard 1976:89).[349] In March 1761 planters in James City and Charles City County asked the House of Burgesses to establish "publick warehouses for the inspection of tobacco ... at

[344] These individuals' names were not listed in the official records that have survived.

[345] This statement raises the possibility that the new parish church, which was built upon the mainland, came into existence sometime prior to 1748.

[346] One such owner may have been Philip Ludwell III, who probably still owned Study Unit 4 Tract U. Another would have been Edward Champion Travis of Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J.

[347] An article in the November 1747 edition of the *London Magazine* reveals that a shallop was used to ferry passengers and their horses from Magothy Bay (on the Eastern Shore) to Yorktown, Jamestown, Norfolk, Gloucester, and other ports (*London Magazine* 1747).

[348] During the mid-1750s Robert Higginson, as keeper of the Jamestown ferry, twice asked the House of Burgesses for compensation for transporting tributary Indians across the James River, so that they could go to Williamsburg on official business (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1752-1758:255, 424). Higginson would have leased the ferry concession from the Amblers or would have been their employee.

[349] The only acreage he would have owned outright (prior to his father's death in 1766) would have been that inherited from his grandfather, Edward Jaquelin.

Jamestown on the land of John Ambler, Esq."[350] That the property was identified as John's rather than his father's suggests that 25-year-old John Ambler I then had actual possession of the plantation and its improvements (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1758-1761:223,231; 1761-1765:72, 97).[351]

On January 23, 1765, when Richard Ambler of Yorktown made his will, he specified how he wanted the land he owned in several Virginia counties to be apportioned among his sons Edward, John I, and Jaquelin. Edward, as the eldest, was his father's principal heir. As such, he inherited Richard's dwelling in Yorktown "wherein I now live" and the lots upon which his outbuildings, stable, and garden were located. Edward and his brother, Jaquelin, fell heir to his father's merchandize and storehouse on the banks of the York River. The testator said that he wanted them "to carry on Trade in partnership" (Ambler MS 123).

To his second oldest son, John I, Richard Ambler left life-rights in "One Acre of Land [in Yorktown] whereon is a Smith's Shop being part of Ten Acres which I bought of Captn Gwyn Reade" and he bequeathed the remaining nine acres to son Jaquelin. Richard bestowed upon son John I "all my Lands in James Town Island which I purchased of Christopher Purkins, also the Ferry house and Land belonging to it, [and] a small piece of Land near his House, which I purchased of Mr Edwd Travis who bought the same of Mr. Drummond, it formerly belonged to John Harris to whom Mr Sherwood sold it being part of 3½ acres which the said Sherwood bought of John Page [i.e., Lot C of Study Unit 1 Tract F]." Richard also gave his son, John, the "Plantation on Powhatan Swamp which I purchased from his Aunt Mrs. Martha Jaquelin," along with all of the slaves and cattle at Powhatan, and "three leases of 310 acres of Land situate in the Main near James Town which I held of the Governor at the yearly rate of 62 bushels of corn." In addition, John was to inherit all of his father's "Negroe Slaves which are employ'd at James Town Island and the Main and also all their Negroe and Molatta Children together with all the Stocks of Cattle, Sheep, Horses, Mules and Hogs and Plantation utensils," and "all the House furniture left in my House at James Town together with the Dairey Woman named Moll Cook, Negore Hannah, Phillis, boy Cupid, The three Carpenters vizt Old Ben, Mark and John." Richard Ambler, in concluding his will, said that he was giving to John "forever Two Acres of Land in James Town Island bounded to the South by the River, to the north by the main road, to the east by a smal marsh, which divides it from the Ferry-house Land, which two Acres was given me by Mr Edwd Jaquelin's Will."[352] He also noted that previously he had given "Mr. John Smith and my Son Edward by Deed their Lives in the said two Acres" (Ambler MS 123; York County Wills and Inventories 21:278-282). Thanks to these bequests, John Ambler I came into possession of the acreage his father had bought from Christopher Perkins and the Jaquelin heirs in 1745 and from Edward Champion Travis in 1753, all of which land was contiguous to the late Edward Jaquelin's property. John I also received his father's leasehold in the mainland and privately-owned quarter called Powhatan.

Richard Ambler died in February 1766, having outlived his wife, Elizabeth, by nearly a decade.

350 The petitioners noted that the Ambler property was "a place very convenient for the planter and shipper, and particularly in the case of relanding tobacco after inspection and shipping, which frequently happens there." Surry County planters supported the petition when it was resubmitted in 1761 and 1762, but it was rejected repeatedly (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1761-1765:72, 97).

351 In April 1765 a French traveler noted in his journal that he had visited Jamestown with a man from Baltimore, Maryland. He said that Jamestown was "situated on a peninsula on the nort[h] side of Jameses or Powhatan river, 42 miles above its mouth; it consists of about 70 houses. The seat of government was here formerly but was caryd to Williamsburg on account of the unhealthyness of this place. Some ships anchor of[f] the town" (Carson 1961:14). It is likely that he included dependencies and other features in the built environment or exaggerated a great deal.

352 This was the property for which Richard had obtained a quit claim in 1745, part of Study Unit 1 Tract E.

An inventory of his personal effects in Yorktown reflects his material wealth and the affluent lifestyle enjoyed by a prosperous merchant and planter. Although the men who appraised the late Richard Ambler's estate failed to make note of any furniture or personal belongings at Jamestown, he was credited with 63 slaves (56 adults and 7 children), who were associated with his property on the island and the mainland. He also had 14 more (13 adults and a child), who were at his plantation on Powhatan Swamp (Appendix E). The total value of Richard Ambler's James City County slaves was £2,549.10.00, a sum comparable to the combined worth of the slaves on his farms in Hanover, Louisa and Warwick Counties. Edward Champion Travis of Jamestown (Study Unit 2), Richard Taliaferro of Powhatan Plantation, and Cary Wilkinson, a leaseholder in the Governor's Land, were appointed to inventory the late Richard Ambler's estate (York County Wills and Inventories 21:386-391).[353]

John Ambler I

John Ambler I, who fell heir to his father's and maternal grandfather's landholdings on Jamestown Island, was born on December 31, 1735. He was educated in Yorkshire, England, where he attended Wakefield Grammar School and Cambridge's Trinity College. He was admitted to the Inner and Middle Temples and obtained his law degree. He also traveled extensively throughout Europe and reportedly became the master of seven languages. He returned to Virginia, where he represented Jamestown in the House of Burgesses from 1759 to 1761. It was during that period that construction of a tobacco inspection warehouse upon his land at Jamestown was proposed. In November 1762 John Ambler I obtained a lease for some acreage in the Governor's Land, property formerly in Edward Jaquelin's possession. He served as Collector of Customs for the York River District and in 1765 and 1766 was Jamestown's burgess. According to the family history John Jaquelin Ambler wrote in 1826, and Bishop William Meade's narrative, while John Ambler I was living at Jamestown, his mansion caught on fire and half of it burned (Stanard 1925:187; 1965:152, 154, 173; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1758-1761:223, 231; 1761-1765:72; 1766-1769:13; Meade 1992:I:104, 11; Ambler 1826:50).[354]

John Ambler I, who contracted consumption (tuberculosis), withdrew to Barbados, where he hoped to recover his health. However, he died there on May 27, 1766, having outlived his father by only three months. John, who was unmarried, named his brother, Edward, as his executor and heir to his real and personal property. Edward, as executor, announced in the *Virginia Gazette* that he intended to sell "before Mr. Trebell's door in Williamsburg, pursuant to the will of John Ambler—2 valuable English stallions and some house servants." John Ambler I was interred in the churchyard at Jamestown. His epitaph described him as a man who was peerless in attending to family and social duties (Stanard 1925:187; Meade 1992:I:104; Ambler 1826:36; Purdie and Dixon, October 17, 1766). It stated that:

> *He was early distinguished by his love of letters, which he improved at Cambridge and the Temple, and well knew how to adorn a manly sense with all the elegance of language. To an extensive knowledge of men and things he joined the noblest sentiments of liberty, and in his own example held up to the world the most striking picture of the amiableness of religion" [Stanard 1925:187].*

Family member John Jaquelin Ambler claimed that John Ambler I became ill because he was overly studious (Ambler 1826:37, 1828).

[353] Richard Ambler's obituary almost certainly appeared in Williamsburg's *Virginia Gazette*. If so, it was in an issue that has not come to light.

[354] John Jaquelin Ambler claimed that "Though half of this structure was destroyed by fire during the lifetime of the first John Ambler, yet the remainder presents as commodious and commanding an appearance as any dwelling house in Virginia" (Ambler 1826:50). Bishop William Meade later drew upon this statement.

Edward Ambler I

Edward Ambler I, who was born in 1733, was Richard and Elizabeth Jaquelin Ambler's eldest son. He was 18-years-old when he married Wilson Cary's daughter, Mary, of Ceeley's in Elizabeth City County. Although Edward I inherited his father's Yorktown mansion and was living there at the time of brother John Ambler I's decease, by 1768 he had decided to move to Jamestown Island, which he made his family seat. Edward Ambler I finished out his brother's term in the assembly session of 1766 and he was chosen to represent Jamestown in the sessions of 1767 and 1768. According to grandson John Jaquelin Ambler, Edward Ambler I was approximately 6 feet tall and had an expensive wardrobe. He was fond of wearing scarlet suits of cut velvet, trimmed with gold lace. Edward I and Mary Cary Ambler revered Jamestown for its historical significance and had a deep appreciation of its natural environment (Ambler 1826:50-51).

Edward Ambler I's life, like that of his brother, was abbreviated and he died on October 30, 1768, in Williamsburg, "after a tedious illness." His obituary, which appeared in the November 3, 1768, edition of the *Virginia Gazette*, stated that he had been "a gentleman of most amiable character, which makes his death much lamented by all who had the pleasure of knowing him" (Stanard 1925:187; Tyler 1899:31). He was survived by his widow, Mary Cary, and their three young children. Twice during December 1768 the executors of Edward Ambler placed notices in the *Virginia Gazette* in which they asked those who were indebted to the decedent, and those to whom he was indebted, to present their claims (Purdie and Dixon, December 15, 1768; December 29, 1768).

Two months later, Mary Cary Ambler was faced with another loss. According to the *Virginia Gazette*, in late December one of the outbuildings on the Ambler plantation at Jamestown "by some accident took fire, and was burnt to the ground. A valuable Negro man, attempting to save some of his effects, perished in the flames" (Purdie and Dixon, December 29, 1768).

In 1768 and 1769, when quitrent rolls were compiled for James City County and Williamsburg, the estate of Edward Ambler I was credited with 1,050 acres of land, which would have included his plantation on Jamestown Island and his land at Powhatan.[355] In 1768 Edward's estate was taxed upon 46 tithables, most (if not all) of whom would have been slaves, and six "wheels," one or two 2- or 4-wheeled passenger vehicles. In 1769 Edward Ambler's estate was credited with 49 tithables but no wheels (Williamsburg- James City County Tax Lists 1768-1769) (Tables 1 and 2).[356]

An inventory of the late Edward Ambler I's personal estate, compiled in 1769, sheds a great deal of light upon his family's material culture and wealth (Appendix F). It also indicates that his agricultural operations at Jamestown and on the mainland were run in tandem and that his slaves moved back and forth between the two properties. It is probable that his quarter at Powhatan was part of this managerial scheme. A room-by-room inventory of the Amblers' Georgian mansion at Jamestown suggests that the first floor contained a parlor and a dining-room (each of which had fireplaces), a passage and a back passage. Upstairs, heated bedrooms were located over the parlor, the dining-room and the back passage, and there was an upstairs passage that contained chairs, trunks, book-presses and articles of clothing. There was a storeroom on the premises that contained household items. References to a "Nursery,[357] Closet &

[355] It is uncertain why the Ambler leasehold in the mainland was omitted, unless acreage in the Governor's Land was excluded from taxation on account of being public property.

[356] On February 23, 1769, the *Virginia Gazette* carried an advertisement for a "very large brown mule" that had strayed from Mrs. Ambler's plantation at Jamestown. It reportedly belonged to the Ambler plantation in Louisa County (Purdie and Dixon, February 23, 1769). This suggests that livestock sometimes was moved from place to place within the Ambler holdings. Choice horses and cattle may have been used as breeding stock.

[357] A few items were attributed to the "Nursery Cellar," a feature that may have been beneath one of the two dependencies that flanked the Ambler

Table 1.
Ambler Plantation Land Tax Assessments, Period III
(Land Tax Lists 1768-1769, 1782-1831)

1768 Edward Ambler I: 1,050 acres

1769 Edward Ambler I: 1,050 acres

1782 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1783 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1787 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1788 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1789 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1790 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1791 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1792 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1793 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1794 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1795 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1796 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1797 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1798 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1799 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1800 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1801 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1802 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1803 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1804 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1805 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1806 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1807 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1809 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1810 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1811 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1812 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1813 John Ambler II: 1,275 acres

1814 John Ambler II of Richmond: 1,275 acres by Back and James Rivers and Champion Travis estate, 7 miles southwest of courthouse

1815 Edward Ambler II of Lynchburg: 900 acres [Jamestown Island] deeded to Edward Ambler II by John Ambler II; 375 acres [on mainland] by Powhatan Creek, William Wilkinson and William Hodgson

1816 Edward Ambler II of Lynchburg: 900 acres

1817 Edward Ambler II of Lynchburg: 900 acres

1818 Edward Ambler II of Lynchburg: 900 acres

1819 Edward Ambler II of Lynchburg: 900 acres

1820 Edward Ambler II of Lynchburg: 900 acres with $3,600 in improvements, by James and Back Rivers and Samuel Travis

1821 Edward Ambler II of Henrico: 900 acres, $3,600 in improvements, by James and Back Rivers and Samuel Travis

1822 David Bullock 900 acres, $3,600 in improvements; deeded to David Bullock by James [illegible] estate and formerly accounted by Edw. Ambler and sold by sd. Ambler to Thos. Wilson

1823 David Bullock of Richmond 900 acres, $3,600 in improvements, by James and Back Rivers and Samuel Travis estate

1824 David Bullock of Richmond 900 acres, $3,600 in improvements, by James and Back Rivers and Samuel Travis estate

1825 David Bullock of Richmond 900 acres, $3,600 in improvements, by James and Back Rivers and Samuel Travis estate

1826 David Bullock of Richmond 900 acres, $3,600 in improvements, by James and Back Rivers and Samuel Travis estate

1827 David Bullock of Richmond 900 acres, $3,600 in improvements, by James and Back Rivers and Samuel Travis estate

1828 David Bullock of Richmond 900 acres, $3,600 in improvements, by James and Back Rivers and Samuel Travis estate

1829 David Bullock of Richmond 900 acres, $3,600 in improvements, by James and Back Rivers and Samuel Travis estate

1830 David Bullock of Richmond 900 acres, $3,600 in improvements, by James and Back Rivers and Samuel Travis estate

1831 David Bullock of Richmond 900 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse; 802 3/4 a by James and Back Rivers and above tract, 8 miles southwest of courthouse. Tracts connected by brackets and labelled Jamestown Island. Notation that the 802 3/4 acre tract was "conveyed by C. S. Wingfield (M) and formerly charged to Samuel Travis estate."

Table 2.
Ambler Plantation Personal Property Tax Assessments, Period II
(James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1782-1831)

1768	Edward Ambler I: 46 tithes; 6 wheels
1769	Edward Ambler I: 49 tithes
1782	John Ambler II, owner: no free white male tithes; 22 tithable slaves; 20 cattle
1783	John Ambler II, owner: no free white male tithes; 14 tithable slaves; 8 non-tithable slaves; 0 horses; 30 cattle; no wheels
1784	John Ambler II, owner: William Chick (overseer); 2 free white male tithes; 26 tithable slaves; 12 non-tithable slaves; 5 horses, colts and mares; 5 cattle; no wheels
1785	John Ambler II, owner: William Chick (overseer); 1 free white male tithe; 29 tithable slaves; 17 non-tithable slaves; 4 horses, colts and mares; 35 cattle; no wheels
1786	John Ambler II, Wm. Chick: 2 free white male tithes 21 or older; 30 slaves 16 or older; 15 slaves under 16; 5 horses; 54 cattle; 0 vehicles
1787	John Ambler II chargeable with tax; John Ambler II and Robert Chancellor: 2 free white males 21 or older; 32 slaves 16 or older; 20 slaves under 16; 11 horses &c; 70 cattle; 1 coach or chariot
1788	John Ambler II chargeable with tax: 37 slaves; 11 horses; 1 coach or chariot
1789	John Ambler II: 36 slaves; 8 horses; 1 coach or chariot; 1 stud horse
1790	John Ambler II Esq.: 39 slaves; 8 horses; 1 coach or chariot; 1 2- wheeled carriage; 1 stud horse; 1 Ban. covering 20 p
1791	John Ambler II: 36 slaves; 12 horses; 1 4-wheeled carriage; 1 2-wheeled carriage; 1 stud horse; 2 Ban. covering 20 pence
1792	John Ambler II: 41 slaves; 9 horses; 1 coach or chaise; 1 stud horse
1793	John Ambler II: 41 slaves; 9 horses; 1 4-wheeled chaise; 1 2-wheeled chaise
1794	John Ambler II: 3 male tithes; 38 slaves 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 or older; 7 horses; 1 coach or chaise; 1 stud horse
1795	John Ambler II: 1 free male tithe; 34 slaves 16 or older; 1 slave 12 or older; 7 horses; 1 4-wheeled coach or chariot; 1 2-wheeled carriage; 1 stud horse
1796	John Ambler II: 3 free white male tithes; 35 slaves 16 or older; 7 horses; 1 chariot; 1 2-wheeled vehicle; 1 stud horse
1797	John Ambler II: 3 free white male tithes; 34 slaves 16 or older; 8 horses; 1 chariot; 1 stud horse
1798	John Ambler II: 3 free white male tithes; 35 slaves 16 or older; 1 slaves 12 or older; 9 horses; 1 chair; 1 stud horse
1799	John Ambler II: 3 free white male tithes; 35 slaves 16 or older; 9 horses; 1 coach or chaise; 1 stud horse
1800	John Ambler II: 3 free white male tithes; 39 slaves 16 or older; 6 slaves 12 or older; 9 horses; 1 coach or chaise; 1 stud horse
1801	John Ambler II: 2 free white male tithes; 38 slaves 16 or older; 5 slaves 12 or older; 10 horses; 1 chariot; 1 stud horse
1802	John Ambler II: 0 free white male tithes; 18 slaves 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 to 16; 29 horses
1803	John Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 18 slaves 16 or older; 4 slaves 12 to 16; 2 horses
1804	John Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 18 slaves 16 or older; 6 slaves 12 to 16; 2 horses
1805	John Ambler II: 2 free white male tithes; 17 slaves 16 or older; 6 horses; 1 stud horse
1806	John Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 18 slaves 16 or older; 1 slave 12 or older; 6 horses
1807	John Ambler II: 0 free white male tithes; 21 slaves 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 to 16; 2 horses
1809	Edward Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 28 slaves 16 or older; 6 slaves 12 to 16; 7 horses

Note: Tax criteria vary from year to year.

Table 2 (cont'd).
Ambler Plantation Personal Property Tax Assessments, Period II
(James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1782-1831)

1810	Edward Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 27 slaves 16 or older; 5 slaves 12 to 16; 7 horses; 1 2-wheeled carriage
1811	Edward Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 25 slaves 16 or older; 5 slaves 12 to 16; 7 horses
1812	Edward Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 23 slaves 16 or older; 5 slaves 12 to 16; 7 horses
1813	Edward Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 0 free blacks 16 or older; 23 slaves 16 or older; 5 slaves 12 to 16; 7 horses
1814	Edward Ambler II: 1 free white male tithe; 18 slaves 16 or older; 5 slaves 12 to 16; 8 horses
1815	Thomas Wilson: 1 free white male over 16; 4 slaves 9-12; 23 slaves over 12; 7 horses, asses or mules; 93 cattle; 1 house worth more than $300. Note: no taxable furniture listed. House was valued at $3,000
1816	Thomas Wilson 1 free white male over 16; 35 slaves over 12; 11 horses
1817-1828	no recognizable listing
1829	Goodrich Durfey [probable Bullock lessee]: 7 slaves 12 or older; 3 horses, asses or mules
1830	Goodrich Durfey [probable Bullock lessee]: 1 free white male 16 or older; 6 slaves 16 or older; 1 slave 12 to 16; 6 horses, asses or mules; 1 coach
1831	Goodrich Durfey [probable Bullock lessee]: 1 free white male 16 or older; 9 slaves 16 or older; 6 horses, asses or mules

Covered Way," a kitchen, and a "Kitchen covered way and Closet" most likely pertain to the archaeological features identified in the 1950s as dependencies (Structures 30 and 87) that flanked the main house (Structure 101) and were linked to it by walkways.[358] The Ambler plantation's outbuildings included a coach house that had a heated chamber, a wash house, and a dairy.[359] If other ancillary structures were present, the appraisers made no mention of them. An inventory of "Sundry New Goods," which included substantial quantities of tools, farming equipment, cloth, fish lines, nails, and other items raises the possibility that the late Edward Ambler I had a storehouse and was carrying on mercantile activities at Jamestown Island or receiving goods there that he transferred to his facilities in Yorktown. The inventory of Edward I's estate listed by name the slaves who were at Jamestown, on the mainland and at Powhatan (Ambler 1769).

(cont'd from previous page)
house. As a pair of andirons was included, the structure may have been heated. The Amblers' nursery may have been a conservatory in which plant specimens were propagated or an area traditionally devoted to child care and education. School teacher Philip Fithian provided instruction in one of the dependencies at Nomini, which the family called "the nursery." He indicated that the structure was comparable in size to the plantation's kitchen and laundry. It was "built with Brick a story and a half high with Dormant Windows; In each Room is a fire." The building measured 27 feet by 45 feet and had three rooms downstairs and two above (Fithian 1965:81). Another teacher, John Harrower, was provided with a 20 foot by 12 foot dependency in which to conduct classes (Harrower 1963:68). In 1779 when Mrs. Mary Ambler rented her Jamestown Island plantation to Captain Edward Travis, she excluded the nursery which was then being used as the ferry house (Ambler MS 129).

[358] That is, Structures 98 and 99.

[359] The Amblers' house servants probably had sleeping accommodations in the kitchen, nursery, coach house and other dependencies.

Mary Cary Ambler (Mrs. Edward Ambler I)

Mrs. Mary Cary Ambler and her children, who in 1768 were 6, 8 and 10 years of age, continued to occupy the family home on Jamestown Island after Edward I's death.[360] Although relatively little is known about conditions at the Ambler plantation during this transitional period, advertisements that occasionally appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* indicate that ferry boats brought a steady stream of visitors to Jamestown Island. This would have provided Mrs. Mary Ambler with a modest but steady source of supplementary income. In 1772 the ferry that ran from Jamestown to Crouches Creek in Surry was discontinued and Cobham (a small urban community at the mouth of Gray's Creek) became the ferry-landing opposite Jamestown. The change occurred at the request of a group of Surry County residents (Hening 1809-1823:VIII:354; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1770-1772:190, 233).[361] In September 1773 William Goosley of Yorktown tried to recover a lost cow that was "supposed to be somewhere between this and Jamestown Ferry" (Purdie and Dixon, September 30, 1773; Rind, September 30, 1773). Three months later, a Richmond man advertised for his "black horse about 14 hands high" that was "strayed or stolen from Jamestown Ferry" (Purdie and Dixon, December 2, 1773). In February 1774, William Smith Jr. of Cobham placed an ad in which he informed the public:

> *... that the ordinary and ferry from Cobham to Jamestown is now opened, where all Gentlemen who please to favour me with their Company may be assured of the best Entertainment; and any who choose to leave their Horses &c at this place, may depend the greatest care will be taken thereof [Purdie and Dixon, December 17, 1774].*[362]

J. F. D. Smyth, who passed through Virginia in 1773, described Jamestown as

> *... now a paltry place, not by any means deserving even the name of a village although once the metropolis of Virginia, and still possessing several privileges in consequence thereof, one of which is sending a member to the assembly or parliament; who is now Champion Traverse, esq., the proprietor of the whole town, and almost all the land adjacent, and I believe there are no more voters than himself.*

Smyth and his companion obtained horses from Travis and continued on to Williamsburg (Maxwell 1853:13).[363]

In mid-September 1779, a powerful hurricane cut a destructive swath through eastern Virginia. According to the *Virginia Gazette*:

> *Last Friday morning, about one o'clock, came on at north east a most dreadful hurricane, attended with rain, which came down*

---

360 Edward I and Mary Cary Ambler lost three daughters and a son (Elizabeth, Mary, Martha and Richard) when they were between the ages of 1½ and 4. In 1768 son Edward C. (born in 1758), daughter Sarah (born in 1760), and son John II (born in 1762) would have been living at Jamestown with their widowed mother (Ambler 1826:5).

361 The ferry that ran from Jamestown to Crouch's Creek utilized Study Unit 4 Tract O as its landing. The new route, which replaced the ferry that ran from Study Unit 4 Tract R to Swann's Point, probably continued to use Tract R (Hening 1809-1823:VIII:354-355).

362 An early twentieth century article in the *William and Mary Quarterly* states that the Ambler house, "according to an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette* in 1774, was 'a very large brick house,' with four rooms above and four below.' There were adjoining a large brick storehouse, a garden, stable, kitchen, wash house" (Tyler 1918:285). That particular issue of the *Gazette* may have been lost or destroyed, for it apparently no longer exists. The Amblers' kitchen, wash house and a coach house (or stable) were mentioned in Edward Ambler's 1769 inventory.

363 Smyth may have paused at the Travis townstead in urban Jamestown. As the Ambler mansion was then a conspicuous part of the landscape and he was surrounded by Ambler-owned land, he may have been privy to erroneous information or he may have disregarded the property held by the widowed Mary Ambler.

in torrents. It blew most violently from that quarter until between 10 and 11 o'clock and then shifted to the northwest, where the storm increased, and continued without any abatement until about dinner time. The damage done in the country must be inconceivable, for the corn is laid level with the ground and much of it is destroyed; the fodder is entirely gone. What tobacco was in the fields is quite spoiled, and that in houses, by their falling and the deluges of rain which poured into them, greatly damaged, which may likewise be said of the wheat. There was not a dry house in town that day, many old houses were blown down and a number of trees. The woods are entirely covered with fallen trees, many of the largest bulk, which has blocked up the roads so that there is no traveling with carriages. The farther up the country the fiercer the storm was and most of the mills are destroyed; upwards of 50 we here, between this and Newcastle.... A vessel from Norfolk, laden with coal, for this city, was drove up to Jamestown, and stove to pieces. A schooner of Major Travis's [on Jamestown Island], lying before his house, was drove from her anchors and went ashore on the other side [Purdie and Dixon, September 14, 1769].[364]

A few years later, war clouds spread through eastern Virginia. This time, Mary Cary Ambler and her children were compelled to leave their home, for Jamestown Island was in the midst of what became a combat zone.[365]

The Revolutionary War's Impact Upon the Ambler Plantation

By late summer 1775 the breach between Great Britain and her American colonies had become irreparable. On November 10, 1775, the *Virginia Gazette* published King George III's August 23rd declaration that the colonies were in "open and avowed rebellion" and his call-to-arms for loyal subjects to suppress the insurrection. A week and a half earlier, two British tenders had fired upon some American sentinels stationed at Jamestown, striking the ferry-house, which was located upon the Ambler plantation. Then, on November 14 the British returned, at which time they were challenged by troops of the Second Virginia Regiment. The "attack" surely frightened members of the Ambler household, whose brick mansion was nearby.

In Williamsburg, each of the printers then publishing the *Virginia Gazette* described what had occurred at Jamestown. According to one account:

> *Last Tuesday afternoon, we were alarmed with a report that the pirates were cannonading Jamestown, an express having arrived in this city, informing us that he heard 9 guns distinctly. A party of our men were immediately ordered to go to that place for its defence, when they discovered two tenders, which in the whole, fired about 26 swivels, without doing any other injury than striking the house (the ferry house) of Mr. Leister, with one ball only [Pinckney, November 2, 1775].*[366]

Another writer said that:

> *A small squadron (commanded, it is said, by Capt. [James Montagu] Montague) a few days since [ago] exchanged some shot with a party of riflemen at Jamestown, without any effect. The frequent depredations committed on the rivers by the tenders have provoked the inhabitants in every part to await their people coming on shore, when they expect to treat them with that rigor due to thieves and rovers [Purdie, November 3, 1775].*

A more detailed account indicated that:

[364] It is uncertain whether Travis's schooner was at his townstead abutting the James or at his plantation bordering the Back River.

[365] The island's proximity to the James River's channel made it strategically important and therefore brought combat to the Ambler plantation.

[366] On November 10, 1775, Francis Eppes sent word to Governor Thomas Jefferson that earlier in the month three British tenders "which came up the length of James Town, and were hailed by some of our riflemen, and not answering, were fired upon by them, another report says the Tenders fired first, and attempted to land some men, but were prevented by eight rifle men, for there are no more station'd at that place" (Boyd 1950:15:572).

Last Wednesday afternoon two tenders came up James River and fired a considerable time upon Jamestown, and at the sentinels placed there from camp, but did no other damage than driving two or three small balls through the ferry-house [Dixon, November 4, 1775].[367]

That structure, which was leased to the ferry's proprietor, Mr. Leister,[368] probably was located upon Study Unit 4 Tract R, where it would have been in relatively close proximity to a small battery the Americans had built at the southwest corner of Study Unit 4 Tract P (Dixon, November 4, 1775).[369] A June 1777 account and a November 1779 lease reveal that sometime after the ferry-house was shelled, the nursery associated with the Ambler house was converted to that use. Contemporary maps suggest that the ferry-landing was moved to a site just west of the mansion (Desandrouins 1781; Kearney 1818) (see ahead). The presence of those who operated the ferry and the arrival and departure of passengers probably made Mrs. Mary Ambler feel somewhat more secure.[370]

Lord Dunmore placed the sloop *Kingfisher* downstream at Burwell's Landing to search all incoming ships and according to one account, when its men attempted to board a small vessel near the shore, they were driven off by some rifle guards posted on the mainland.[371] The *Virginia Gazette* reported that the British vessels at Burwell's Landing had sailed upstream to Jamestown Island and that on November 16 a boat load of British soldiers tried to come ashore, about half a mile east of the American battery.[372] According to the November 17, 1775 edition of the *Virginia Gazette*:

Last night a boat full of men tempted to land near the place where two rifle sentinels were placed by Captain Green on the Jamestown beach, about half a mile below the captain and his men. The sentinels immediately challenged them, but received no answer, upon which they fired at the boat, then about 50 yards distance, and one of them ran off to Capt. Green, to bring him to the place, finding that the boat returned their fire—and was pressing on them. The other sentinel loaded again and fired, the boat still rowing on till within 20 yards of the shore, when he discharged his rifle a third time, upon which he heard a terrible shrieking on board, and found that they tacked about and made off; so that, before Capt. Green could come up, this brave fellow had repulsed a boat crowded with men [Purdie, November 17, 1775].

Shortly thereafter, more fighting occurred. This time, the Americans seized the initiative. The *Virginia Gazette* stated that:

When Colonel [William] Woodford had embarked his men at Sandy Point, to cross over to join the first detachment at Cobham, he was determined to attack a large sloop tender, which had been sent up to prevent his passage; but as soon as the boats were manned and had put off from the shore, the tender tacked about and ran down to Jamestown, where, being sorely mortified at their disappointment and disgrace, the man-of-war and tenders fired for some time with

[367] A rival publisher of the *Virginia Gazette* said that "The tenders which came up to Jamestown the week before last, being hindered by our riflemen from burning the ferryboats at that place, went down the river, and in the night destroyed the boats at Mulberry Island" (Purdie, November 17, 1775).

[368] On November 16, 1776, Dionysius Lester requested compensation from the legislature because his ferry at Jamestown had been pressed into service for the use of American troops in November 1775. His petition was approved (Church 1984:#240).

[369] Study Unit 4 Tract R was almost directly across the river from Cobham, the Jamestown ferry's destination.

[370] The British also shelled the ferry-house at Burwell's Landing and the militia stationed nearby. (Purdie, November 10, 1775; November 17, 1775).

[371] During this period, Dunmore's men, despite the Virginians' resistance, were relatively free to cruise Tidewater's navigable waterways, landing almost anywhere at will.

[372] The Desandrouins map (1781) suggests that the battery was located in a swale or slash, where a curved brick fort had stood from 1673 to 1698, i.e., near the southwest corner of Study Unit 4 Tract P.

great fury at our men stationed there and the next day they all fell down the river to reinforce our late governor at Gosport. This tender in her passage up the river came within 400 yards of the shore; on which Capt. [John] Green and 10 of his men, gave them a salute, which so disconcerted them that they stood away and ran aground on the other shore, where they stuck for some time. Colonel Scott, who was at Cobham, opposite to Jamestown, seeing a flat loaded with oysters endeavoring to go to the Kingfisher, *sent off a boat or two after her to prevent her, on which the man-of-war fired at the boats, but our men forced the flat to pass by, and drove her so near to the Jamestown side that Capt. Green and his men got her within reach of their rifles, and took her, eat the oysters, and skimmed the shells in contempt at the* Kingfisher *and her tenders [Purdie, November 24, 1775].*[373]

In 1776 Lord Dunmore declared martial law in Virginia and signed an Emancipation Proclamation, freeing all slaves and indentured servants, whom he invited to bear arms on behalf of the king. According to the *Virginia Gazette*, two slaves, who "mistook one of our armed vessels at Jamestown for a tender, and expressed their inclination to serve Lord Dunmore, are under sentence of death and will be executed in a few days as an example to others" (Dixon, April 13, 1776). On the other hand, a significant number of African-Americans served on behalf of the American cause and after the war some former slaves were awarded their freedom on account of their meritorious service (Selby 1973:21-23; Van Schreeven et al. 1972:6:9-10; Virginia Legislative Petitions 1775; Hatch, Jamestown, 32).

Throughout 1776 there was a considerable amount of military activity on Jamestown Island. In mid-March a British tender ran aground across the river from Jamestown. According to the *Virginia Gazette*,

> *... the crew not being able to get her off, threw the guns overboard, and went off in their boat, leaving her for our men to take possession of, which was done the next day. She is fitted up for service and will be ready in a few days [Dixon March 23, 1776].*

Then, on June 21, the *Virginia Gazette* reported that:

> *This morning Capt. James Barron came to town from Jamestown, with the agreeable news that he and his brother, in two small armed vessels were safe arrived there, with the* Oxford *transport from Glasgow, having on board 217 Scotch Highlanders, with a number of women and children, which they took last Wednesday evening on her way up to Gwyn's Island, to join Lord Dunmore. The people on board inform that they are part of a body of 3,000 troops which sailed from Glasgow for Boston, but upon hearing that place was in our possession, they steered their course for Halifax.*

Enroute, the *Oxford* was captured by the Continental fleet. Although the ship's crew eventually regained control of their vessel, when it reached Hampton Roads,

> *... the two captain Barrons very fortunately came across them, and moored them safe at Jamestown, where they are now disembarking and are expected in town this day [Purdie, June 21, 1776].*[374]

In July, John Davis of Surry County was arrested, for he was thought to have uttered some counterfeit currency in the American encampment at Jamestown. When put on trial, he established his innocence and was released. As Davis was concerned about damage to his reputation, the officers of the Jamestown Camp placed a notice in the *Virginia Gazette*, stating that they "do cordially certify that he [Davis] fully satisfied them of his having no design to impose counterfeit bills on any person" (Dixon, August 3, 1776).

[373] An analysis of this series of events can be found in David F. Riggs's work (1997:6).

[374] Dixon and Hunter, who also published the *Virginia Gazette*, said that "Capt. Barron took and brought up to Jamestown a transport ship with 220 Highlanders on board, being part of Frazer's battalion, mostly recruits, and part of the 42d. Regiment or Royal Highland Watch" (Dixon and Hunter, June 22, 1776).

During 1776 Jamestown became a staging area for the military. Much of this activity probably occurred in urban Jamestown, in close proximity to the Ambler plantation. Massive shipments of salt, fruit, flour and other supplies were brought ashore there and gunpowder, ammunition, cannon, tobacco and other commodities were sent to Jamestown and loaded aboard outbound ships. Naval vessels also were repaired and outfitted on the island throughout 1776 and 1777, utilizing supplies and equipment that were brought in from Warwick's rope walk and from Portsmouth and Cabin Point (Purdie, September 27, 1776; Clark 1966:5:386, 686, 688, 720, 1147; 6:132, 174-175, 727, 1191, 1242; 7:67; 8:11). Captain Edward Travis was an active participant in the naval operations at Jamestown (see ahead).

The Americans retained control of Jamestown Island throughout much of the war. The *Sarah*, a British brigantine captured by a Maryland privateer, the *Montgomery*, was offered for sale at Jamestown. The vessel, which reportedly was outfitted with sails and rigging, was available for ready money. The *Sarah's* cargo also was to be sold. It consisted of "a large quantity of exceeding good Jamaica rum, Muscovado sugars, coffee, ginger, cotton and sundry other articles, shipped on board the said ship from Jamaica for the London market" (Purdie, November 8, 1776; Dixon, November 8, 1776). Several months later, a Surry County man advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* that he had a large, newly- outfitted sloop at Jamestown that he wanted to sell. He said that it was approximately two years old and would "carry near 100 hhds. of tobacco, has a new suit of sails, with a set half worn, her rigging and all her materials are very good and she is fit for a voyage to Europe or the West Indies" (Purdie, July 4, 1777).

The British continued to harass the navy men stationed on Jamestown Island. On January 29, 1777, St. George Tucker Jr. sent word to his father that:

> *I am sorry to inform you that we were on Tuesday night last under the disagreeable necessity of removing from Jamestown to Westover by an alarm given by a galley and one of the privateers that the men of war were within a few miles of us; we immediately weighed anchor and proceeded as fast as possible to this place [Clark 1966:1061].*

The winter of 1779-1780 was uncommonly harsh and in January 1780, when the James River was choked with ice, two boats went down between Jamestown Island and Swann's Point and the privateer brig *Jefferson* sank off Jamestown. According to the *Virginia Gazette*:

> *Monday last were seen between Jamestown and Swan's Point two boats, one with two, the other with four men on board, in the greatest distress imaginable and not able to reach either shore for the vast quantities of ice then floating in the river. The captain of one of our state ships sent his barge with 12 men to their assistance, who after rowing many hours, until the sun was almost down without getting to them, were obliged to return; and as the boats have not been since heard of, it is feared the poor men perished.*
>
> *The* Tempest *is on shore between Hog Island and Cobham, a brig and a snow are aground near Mulberry Island and the privateer brig* Jefferson *is sunk off Jamestown. She was a fine new vessel, just finished and ready to sail on a cruise. For a week past we have had the most severe weather that has been felt in this country upward of forty years [Dixon, January 15, 1780].*

The *Virginia Gazette's* publisher closed by saying that, "For a week past we have had the most severe weather that has been felt in this country upward of forty years" (Dixon, January 15, 1780).

Conditions at the Ambler Plantation and in Urban Jamestown

Ebenezer Hazard, who first visited Jamestown Island on June 10, 1777, described the former capital city as "a very small deserted Village, in a ruinous state." He said that tenders from British men-of-war had done some damage earlier on and that a dozen men of the Allied army currently were garrisoned there. He noted that "A little above the

town" was "a small Battery with embrasures for six guns, but only two are mounted." Hazard described the Jamestown ferry as dangerous whenever the wind was blowing. When he disembarked on the island on June 22nd, a high tide in Sandy Bay prevented his crossing to the mainland. The need to wait until the waters subsided gave him an opportunity to explore the town. He said that Jamestown, though small, once had been a flourishing county seat, but he erroneously stated that "only one Family at present lives in it." "A fine orchard of apple trees, cherries & apricots" attracted Hazard's attention, although he said that it lacked fencing and was badly neglected. He indicated that wild grass and weeds grew abundantly, but no crops were to be seen, and "In the midst of this Desolation appears a large Brick House (delightfully situated, with large Rooms, well papered, lofty Ceiling, Marble Hearths, and other Indications of Elegance & Taste)" but "decaying fast." He noted that it was the dwelling of "a Mrs. Ambler (who has fled from James Town) & is now the Ferry House [sic]."[375] Ebenezer Hazard said that behind Mrs. Ambler's house were the remains of a horse-drawn threshing machine that reportedly could process 50 to 60 bushels of wheat a day.[376] He closed by saying that other than the Ambler dwelling, "The other houses in Town are wooden, and all in Ruins" (Shelley 1954:411, 414-415).

A German visitor, George Daniel Flohr, who commented on Jamestown's desolate appearance during this period, said that what once "was a large city" and trading center was "completely ruined now" (Selig, personal communication, March 18, 1993) (Figure 34). A contemporary account by Dr. James Thatcher, an American physician, states that "the most ancient settlement in America ... cannot now be called a town, there being but two houses standing on the banks of the river" (Thatcher 1862:278).[377] In December 1777 Alexander Purdie, who was deputy-postmaster as well as a publisher of the *Virginia Gazette*, announced that he had "received instructions to discontinue the Petersburg rider who crosses at Jamestown and proceeds to that place by Cabin Point. The new regulation became effective "immediately after Christmas" (Purdie, December 19, 1777). Perhaps because Jamestown then had few permanent residents and a multitude of people were passing through, at least one runaway slave fled there. According to an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*, there was:

> *Five dollars reward for apprehending a negro fellow named George, late the property of William Hunter of this city. He is about 17 years of age; had on an osnaburg shirt, a negro cotton jacket and an old hat much worn. He has been seen lurking about Jamestown Church" [Dixon, December 5, 1777].*

Relocation of the Ferry-Landing

On November 9, 1779, a group of local citizens asked the state assembly to move the ferry-landing from Mrs. Mary Ambler's property on Jamestown Island to her farm on the mainland. Cited was the prohibitive cost of maintaining the causeway across Sandy Bay and the fact that

> *... at present and for sometime past the said Bay hath become Impassable, occasioned ... from uncommon high tides and heavy rains, by means of which a free passage of the water from the river to the creek hath taken place, and in such a rapid manner*

[375] This indicates that sometime after November 1775, when the British shelled the ferry house used by Dionesius Leister, but before Ebenezer Hazard's June 1777 visit, the ferry was moved from Study Unit 4 Tract R to a site downstream. Although Hazard's account states that the Ambler mansion was being used as a ferry house, a lease Mrs. Mary Ambler signed in November 1779 reveals that it was a dependency called "the nursery" which served that purpose. The ferry probably landed just west of the Ambler house, near Study Unit 4 Tracts B and C. Maps made in 1781 indicate that several buildings were perched along the river bank, in that vicinity.

[376] He made a sketch of the wheat machine.

[377] Thatcher probably saw the Ambler house and the Travis townstead.

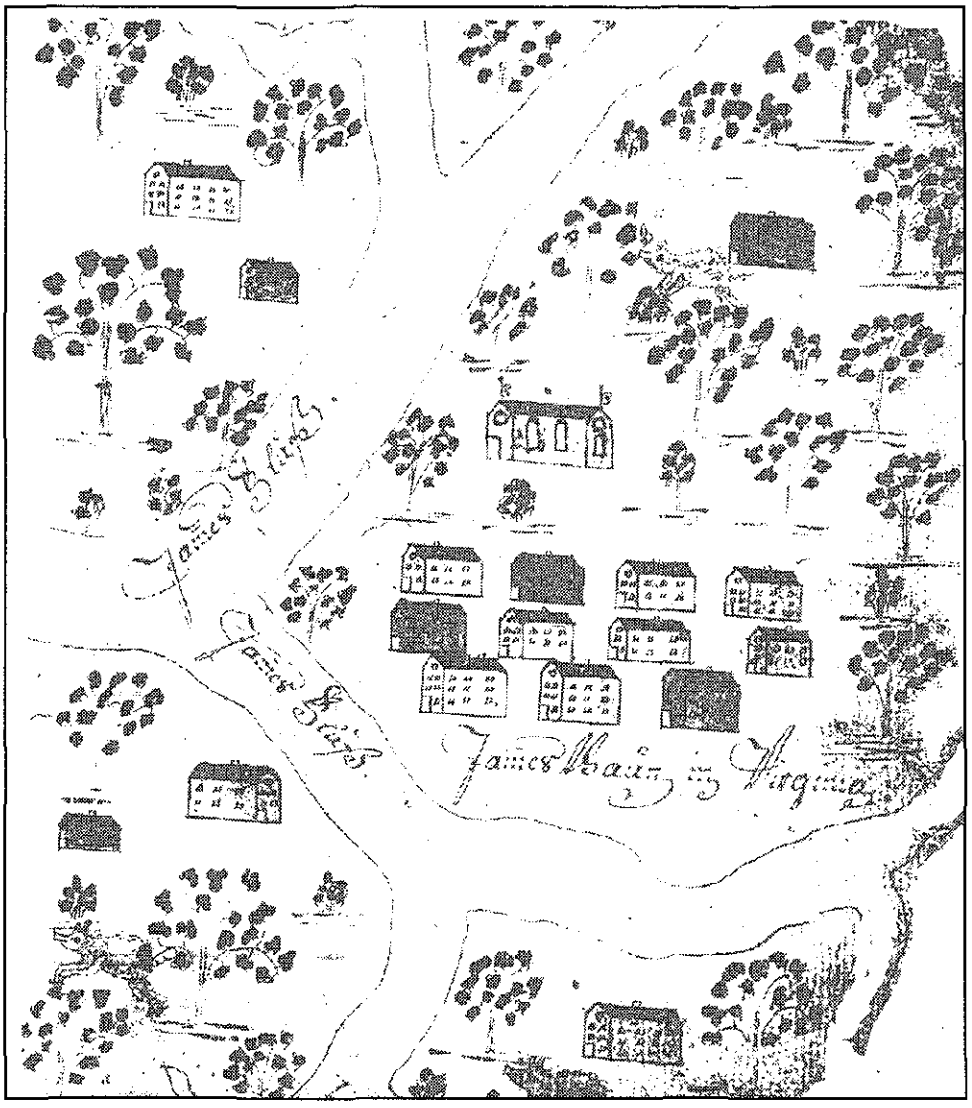


Figure 34. *Detail of* Map of James River, Including Jamestown Island *(Flohr 1781).*

> *that it hath washed a breach of considerable width and depth [James City County Legislative Petitions November 9, 1779].*

In accord with the petitioners' request the ferry landing was moved to the Ambler plantation on the mainland.

The Ambler Household's Flight from Jamestown

Sometime prior to June 1777, when Ebenezer Hazard visited Jamestown Island and walked through the abandoned Ambler house, Mrs. Mary Ambler took her children and withdrew to another family-owned property, The Cottage in Hanover County, then considered a position of greater safety.[378] Mrs. Ambler died in 1781 while living in Hanover. According to Bishop William Meade's account, a detachment of British soldiers ransacked her grave in search of valuables. After the war, Mary

[378] In 1765 Edward Ambler I reportedly inherited a plantation on Taylor's Creek, in Hanover County, plus thirteen slaves, livestock and agricultural equipment. A sketch of The Cottage, which appears on a December 1881 plat, reveals that the dwelling was three stories in height, including the English basement, and had a chimney on each end (Hanover County Historical Society 1983:122).

Cary Ambler's remains were removed to the church yard at Jamestown for interment. Her eldest son, Edward C. Ambler, and her daughter, Sarah, died in 1782 (Ambler, October 10, 1796; Ambler 1826:51; Meade 1992:110).

When Mary Ambler left Jamestown, she took along a collection of manuscripts accumulated by her late husband's family. These documents, commonly known as the Ambler Manuscripts or Ambler Papers, which include legal documents executed by William Sherwood and Edward Jaquelin, were augmented by later additions made by successive generations of the Ambler family.[379] The Ambler Manuscripts, which are among the collections at the Library of Congress, comprise the most complete source of information on Jamestown Island's land ownership patterns.[380] In 1796 Mrs. Ambler's granddaughter, Eliza Jaquelin Ambler, told a friend that the documents were kept in "an antiquated cabinet, a Gothic mossy structure" that filled the entire wall of a room. She said it contained old letters and manuscripts that the family had amassed for at least half a century (Ambler, October 10, 1796; Ambler 1826:51).

Captain Edward Travis IV, Lessee of the Ambler Plantation

On November 27, 1779, Mrs. Mary Cary Ambler signed a rental agreement, leasing her late husband's Jamestown Island plantation to Captain Edward Travis IV for a period of four years. He was a naval officer and Edward Champion Travis's son. Mrs. Ambler agreed to give her lessee use of "all buildings and other appurtenances and advantages" on the property "*except a Nursery adjoining the Mansion House which is to be reserved for the use of the Ferry and the Ferry to the same belonging.*" This suggests that Mary Ambler was unaware of the assembly's recent decision to move the ferry landing to the mainland.[381] The rental agreement, which took effect on January 13, 1780, would have given the Travis family temporary possession of Jamestown Island, with the exception of a few town lots. The lease would have expired in mid-January 1784. Captain Edward Travis was supposed to pay 3,000 pounds of inspected tobacco a year in rent and to subdivide Mrs. Ambler's arable land into three parts, only one of which was to be placed under cultivation at any one time. He was obliged to rotate his crops among the three tracts from year to year, but could only plant wheat or oats where Indian corn had been grown the year before.[382] He was prohibited from converting forested land into open fields and the only timber he was allowed to harvest was for the plantation's use. Travis had to maintain the fences on the property and to leave them intact, but he was obliged to obtain fencing materials elsewhere. Mrs. Mary Ambler was entitled to half of any profits derived from her orchard and in exchange, she agreed to supply half of the labor for "beating &c. the apples." She had the right to gather "Hay from the marshes in such Quantity as she may choose" and to allow her cattle to range on the island. She also was permitted to have a patch of flax every

[379] The inclusion of legal and personal records associated with William Sherwood, a practicing attorney, raise the possibility that he was the one who actually commenced compiling the collection of documents at the Library of Congress that became known as the Ambler Manuscripts or Ambler Papers.

[380] Many of these documents bridge gaps created by the destruction of James City County's court records during the Civil War.

[381] Emphasis added. Mrs. Ambler retained her property on the mainland. She probably left it in the hands of an overseer or farm manager, for her lease implies that she left some of her slaves and livestock locally (see ahead).

[382] This suggests that the Amblers were practicing a form of alternate husbandry in which soil-restoring cover crops were rotated with staple crops on the same fields, in order to maintain soil fertility. These cover crops not only restored some types of soil but also provided abundant fodder for livestock. During the nineteenth century the four field system of agriculture became popular. It involved a four year cycle that included using fields for corn, then oats, then pasturage, so that the ground could be manured. Afterward, it was supposed to lie fallow for a year (Cox 1907:30).

year and if Captain Travis agreed to fence it, he could have half of the annual yield. He was to pay all of the taxes on the Ambler plantation while he rented it and he was prohibited from subletting the property to others without Mrs. Ambler's written permission (Ambler MS 129) (Appendix G).

Edward Travis IV, who was born sometime prior to 1751, had a distinguished military career. In October 1775, he became a first lieutenant in the 2nd Virginia Regiment and by April 1, 1776, had been made a captain in the Virginia Navy. During spring 1776 he was in command of the *Manley* galley and by October was commander of the brig *Raleigh*. The orders he received in early 1777, which included annoying British ships that entered Virginia waters, led to his being captured by the enemy frigate *Thames* (Burgess 1929:1149; Claghorn 1988:314; Clark 1966:6:727, 1409-1410; Purdie, May 9, 1777; Dixon, May 9, 1777). In 1779, Edward Travis IV inherited his father's land in Brunswick and Surry Counties (York County Wills and Inventories 22:458-459). He apparently had no intention of moving there, for on August 21, 1779, he tried to sell his 1,800 acre plantation and slaves in Brunswick (Dixon, August 21, 1779). Three months later, he signed the lease with Mrs. Ambler.

Captain Edward Travis's father, Edward Champion Travis, by the 1770s had moved to Timson's Neck in York County, leaving his Jamestown Island property (a plantation that enveloped Study Unit 2 and a townstead located in Study Unit 4) to the occupancy of his sons, Edward IV and Champion. In April 1772 when Edward IV married Miss Betsy Taite, he was described as a resident "of Jamestown," raising the possibility that he was then occupying his father's townstead.[383] Meanwhile, Captain Edward Travis IV's brother, Champion, seems to have taken possession of the ancestral plantation in the eastern end of Jamestown Island (Purdie, October 31, 1777; Purdie and Dixon, April 2, 1772; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1771-1783:458). In early 1779, the widowed Captain Edward Travis IV of the Virginia Navy married Clarissa Waller of Williamsburg (Dixon, February 26, 1779).[384] As Edward IV, in April 1780, identified himself as living "at Jamestown" when he tried to sell some York County real estate, he and his new wife may have taken up residence there in the Ambler mansion, which he was then renting (Dixon, April 1, 1780).[385] This hypothesis is supported by Ebenezer Hazard's June 1777 comment that the Ambler home was large and elegant but "decaying fast," and that "the other houses in Town are wooden, and all in Ruins" (Shelley 1954:411).[386] Captain Edward Travis IV died sometime after March 6, 1784, when the local tax assessor compiled his records, but before local tax records were gathered for 1785. At that time, the decedent was credited with five slaves of tithable age, seven who were non-tithable, six cattle, and three horses and mules (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1784).[387] By that date, his four year lease for the Ambler property had expired.

The Revolutionary War's Impact Upon the Ambler Plantation

In mid-April 1781 British General William Phillips arrived in Hampton Roads with an army 2,600 strong. On the 21st, American Colonel James Innes informed the governor that the British had come ashore at Burwell's Landing and that 500 infantry-

[383] Betsy (or Elizabeth) Taite Travis died prior to January 28, 1773, at which time her obituary appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon, January 28, 1773). She produced a son, Joseph, Edward Travis IV's only heir (see ahead).

[384] Clarissa was Benjamin Waller's daughter (Travis n.d.:69).

[385] Of course, he may have left her in Williamsburg, then a much safer location in which to live.

[386] Another factor that may have influenced Edward's choice of living accommodations is that by 1779 the Travis family townstead (like the rest of the late Edward Champion Travis's James City County property) had descended to the decedent's eldest son, Champion.

[387] This was the only year in which Edward Travis IV's name appeared in local tax rolls.

men were marching toward Williamsburg. Their unexpected arrival had forced Innes's hasty withdrawal in the middle of the night. While he was composing a message he intended to send to the governor, he received word that 14 British ships had gone above Jamestown and that the enemy's flat-bottomed boats were ascending the Chickahominy River. Meanwhile, British General William Phillips and a large body of troops marched to Barretts Ferry, at the mouth of the Chickahominy, and boarded naval vessels that transported them to the mouth of the Appomattox River. On May 26th, William Constable, General Lafayette's aide-de-camp, sent word to Governor Thomas Jefferson that "Mr. Day, A.Q.M. at Williamsburg, writes informing of a Fleet having passed Jamestown, the 22nd, but of this your Excellency will have the fullest intelligence from Mr. Travers, who view'd them himself." All of these events set the stage for what happened at Jamestown a few months later (Palmer 1968:II:59-60, 123; Simcoe 1844:193).

In late May 1781, Charles Lord Cornwallis and his army of seasoned veterans arrived in Petersburg, where they joined forces with Phillips' men, temporarily under the command of General Benedict Arnold. This union of forces created a British Army of 7,000 men. Cornwallis crossed the James River and set out in pursuit of the Marquis de Lafayette, who had retreated toward Fredericksburg while awaiting reinforcements. The young French general embarked upon a strategy of paralleling the British Army's movements, staying just out of reach (Simcoe 1844:193; Selby 1973:43-44).

Jamestown Island and the Battle of Green Spring

While the British occupied Williamsburg, they visited Jamestown Island where they destroyed some of the Allies' horseboats. Lafayette, meanwhile, moved east to Diascund Creek, a tributary of the Chickahominy River, but maintained a patrol and picket line that extended southeast toward Williamsburg. Both armies parried each other's movements. On June 30, 1781, Cornwallis notified his superiors that he was moving to Jamestown so that his men could cross to the lower side of the James River. By July 4, 1781, the main body of the British Army was encamped on the Ambler farm on the mainland, preparing to evacuate, and they had possession of Jamestown Island, which Cornwallis planned to use as a point of embarkation. His men on the mainland were positioned to provide coverage to "a ford into the island of James-town," a probable reference to the low-lying isthmus (Maxwell 1853:186). Meanwhile, Lafayette moved his advance units east to a point approximately ten miles from Williamsburg. It was then that he heard that the main body of the British Army already had crossed the James. Unaware that he had fallen prey to false intelligence data, he resolved to draw closer to Jamestown so that his men could attack whatever enemy troops remained. He dispatched General Anthony Wayne and a detachment of men to Jamestown, but held the greater part of his force in abeyance. Little did Lafayette know that the British had paid two local men to tell any American troops they saw that the British left the area. As luck would have it, one of the men encountered General Wayne, to whom he imparted the misinformation (Hatch 1945:170-196; Idzerda 1977:IV:234).[388]

Early in the afternoon of July 6, Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line reached Green Spring plantation, where he paused and decided to test the strength of his enemy. Around 2 P. M., a small group of American riflemen and a scouting party advanced across the long, narrow causeway that extended toward Jamestown. They came face to face with a British cavalry patrol, with whom they exchanged fire. Moving on, they encountered a group of British pickets, who fired and then fell back. Through this feigning strategy, the Americans slowly but surely were lured into Cornwallis's carefully contrived trap. When Lafayette arrived at Green Spring, he was informed that the British were con-

[388] Later, Cornwallis said that he had taken "every means to convince them [the Americans] of my weakness, and suffered my piquets to be insulted and driven back" (Maxwell 1853:186).

tinuing to withdraw across the James. But when he moved to a vantage point on the river bank, he realized that he had been duped, for the British hadn't departed at all. Hurrying back to Green Spring, Lafayette ordered two battalions of Virginia troops to assume a position in an open field at the Green Spring causeway's western end, where they could cover General Wayne's troops' retreat (Hatch 1945:170-196).

Meanwhile, Wayne's men, still unaware of the ruse, continued on toward Jamestown. When they followed a British field piece that was slowly being withdrawn, they came face to face with a concentration of enemy troops concealed in the woods. Wayne realized that he had entered a trap, launched a momentary attack to check the British and avert panic among his own troops, and then withdrew. The Americans hastily withdrew to the narrow causeway that led to Green Spring and fled under the cover of the firepower the Virginia troops provided. As darkness fell, both sides retired from the battlefield and Lafayette moved further inland, leaving three companies of light infantry at Green Spring. At daybreak on July 7, British Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton, with 200 dragoons and 80 mounted infantrymen, crossed the Green Spring causeway. He encountered a patrol of mounted riflemen, who dropped back toward their comrades' position. Tarleton also withdrew. That night, the British departed from Jamestown Island and Lafayette took up a position on the mainland, where his enemies had encamped only two days before (Hatch 1945:170-196).

A soldier, who returned to the battlefield after all fighting had ceased, reported that both armies' lines could be traced by trails of empty cartridge boxes on the ground. In September 1781 an American officer informed his superiors that he had "employed a person to collect from the people the arms picked up after the action at Jamestown, which are chiefly State property." Thus, it appears that the fought-over ground was littered with discarded weapons. As late as 1852, traces of the Battle of Green Spring were still visible. Historian Benson J. Lossing, who visited John Coke, then-owner of the Ambler farm on the mainland, said that the dwelling had "many bullet marks, made there during the battle at Jamestown Ford, on the 6th of July, 1781." Lossing also stated that the French had encamped at the Ambler farm when enroute to Yorktown (P.R.O. 30/11/5 ff 1-2; Maxwell 1851:4:186; 1853:202-203; Hatch 1945:170-196; Lossing 1851-1852:240-241).

When the British withdrew from Jamestown, they left behind 23 American soldiers who had been wounded during the Battle of Green Spring (Hatch 1945:170-196). The Chevalier d'Ancteville, who arrived on Jamestown Island shortly after the British departed, said that they had left "indelible traces" of their presence. He said that

> *... this small city, one of the oldest in America, was destroyed for the most part, ruins was found there, burned debris, tombs opened, other beautiful monuments broken to pieces, a temple [church] partly knocked down, the houses still existing breathed a cadaverous odor and enclosed cadavers. All the means of devastation had been employed to the city and to the countryside [Ancteville 1781].*

Ancteville said that when the Allies left Jamestown on the morning of July 4, they had to hand-carry their artillery across the Back River in water that was waist-deep because "Cornwallis' bridge had been destroyed," implying that the British had erected a span that connected the island with the mainland. He indicated that the Marquis de St. Simone decided to have his troops camp upon the mainland, with their right flank abutting the woods and their left next to the road to Williamsburg. According to Ancteville, the huts Cornwallis's troops had built there were still present (Ancteville 1781).[389] In September 1781 when the Allied Army was at Jamestown, awaiting an opportunity to cross the James River, the Marquis de St. Simone inspected the island. He, like Ancteville, noted that "The bridge of Cornwallis had been destroyed." Later, shipments of arms, baggage and tools were sent by the Allies to Jamestown Island, which was used as a distribution center for sup-

[389] Of course, the huts may have been built by the American troops based on the island earlier on.

plies of various sorts (Bruce 1894:9; Hatch 1942:37-38).

A prisoner-exchange cartel (negotiated by General Nathanael Greene and Cornwallis during spring 1781) made provisions for the Southern Department's detainees to be swapped at Jamestown. "Cartel vessels" reportedly landed at Jamestown periodically between mid-July 1781 and November 1782 with exchanged prisoners from Charleston, South Carolina, and other states. Funds were needed to purchase horses as transportation for some of the former prisoners-of-war. Some of those who arrived were wounded and in great pain. On August 7, 1781, Surgeon General Goodwin Wilson sent word to Colonel William Davies that one of General Lafayette's aides wanted a flag of truce so that he could transport the wounded from Jamestown to Richmond, where they would be able to receive medical treatment. He said that "They are suffering at this time, and cannot be relieved in any other manner" (Hatch 1942:35; Palmer 1968:II:298, 304; III:70; Chinard 1928:26, 31).

Letters written by Lafayette between July 10 and July 23, 1781, demonstrate his concern for the sick and wounded and the well-being of exchanged prisoners-of-war. On July 10th he wrote Thomas Nelson that he had had "to go to Jamestown, to Williamsburg, to our Several Hospitals." He told another person with whom he corresponded that the Richmond area would be a good place for exchanged prisoners to be brought, were a smallpox outbreak to occur. He said that the prisoners "are for the present near james town [sic] or Williamsburg where the Hospital is established." If a military or field hospital was set up at Jamestown, or even a field hospital, it probably was located in the church or one of the town's other abandoned buildings. It is also likely that the sick and wounded who died at Jamestown would have been interred in the church cemetery. On July 25th Lafayette asked the British officer in charge of the prisoner exchange for reassurance that an equal number of Americans would be sent to Jamestown Island so that they could be traded for a like number of British. Lafayette indicated that the British prisoners-of-war would remain "in the vicinity of James Town or Williamsburg till fully exchanged." The prisoners of both sides were supposed to remain inactive until their opponents had had enough time to return to military duty. Freed soldiers from South Carolina were supposed to go to Philadelphia for the time being (Chinard 1928:31; Idzerda 1977:IV:242, 276). On August 6, 1781, Lafayette informed General Anthony Wayne that hs was having the sick and wounded moved to Hanover and that the hospital "of James Town with the prisoners is secured" (Lafayette, August 6, 1781).

Jamestown at the Close of the War

Maps produced by three French cartographers during the American Revolution, though schematic, suggest that there were a number of buildings in the western end of Jamestown Island. Although some of those structures presumably were attributable to the Amblers and the Travises, at least two other individuals were in possession of lots that contained improvements, notably William Lee (who inherited Philip Ludwell III's property) and Thomas Harris.[390] All three maps indicate that development was concentrated between the Ambler mansion and the church. According to Nicholas Desandrouins's map, which is topographically sensitive,[391] three structures were perched upon the river bank just west of the Ambler house. They may have been associated with the ferry landing abandoned in 1779 or perhaps with the Amblers' mercantile operations. To the west of these buildings on the waterfront, and somewhat inland, were three other structures, perhaps components of the Travis townstead.[392] Two more buildings were lo-

[390] John Parke Custis also had two or more lots in Jamestown, but a letter he wrote in 1778 suggests that they were vacant (Purdie-Dixon, July 2, 1772; Harbin 1986:269).

[391] Desandrouins depicted the distinctive rises of land (or ridges) at the western end of Jamestown Island in much the same way surveyor John Soane (1681, 1683) had a hundred years earlier.

[392] A watercolor by Louis Girardin (1805), published in *Amoenitates Graphicae* in 1805, shows a large,

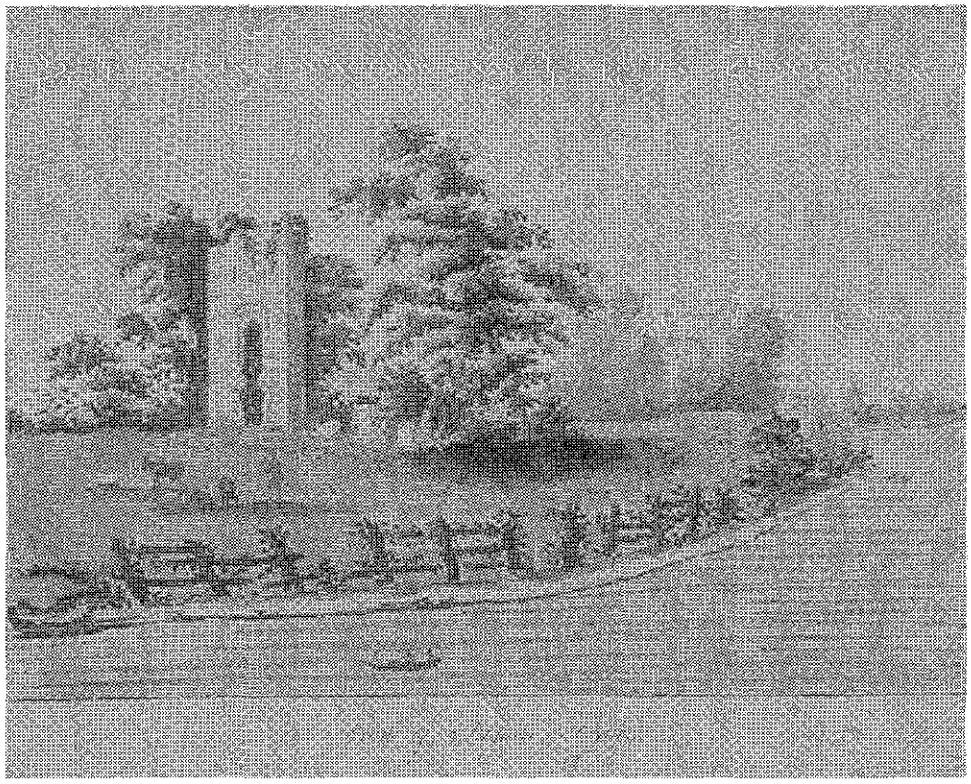


Figure 35. View of James Town *(Girardin 1805).*

cated on the east side of the main road, in an area analogous to Study Unit 4 Tracts G and T. Just east of the church was another building that was located in an area comparable to Study Unit 4 Tract H. A structure was located just north of the Ambler mansion, in an area analogous to Study Unit 1 Tract F or the eastern part of Tract D, and another was situated on the north side of Pitch and Tar Swamp, within Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B. One or more of these structures may have been agricultural buildings such as barns and tobacco houses, and one may have been living accommodations provided to the Amblers' overseer. To the west of the church, at a location comparable to the Ludwell Statehouse Group, was a building. It may have been associated with the improvements Robert Beverley II erected upon Study Unit 4 Tract Q, which he patented in 1694 and was obliged to develop. In the extreme western end of the island, on Study Unit 1 Tract E, was another building. Although it was located upon Ambler property, its function is unknown. The Desandrouins map shows the course of the main road that traversed the isthmus, passed north of the church and then turned toward the waterfront and it includes the Ambler and Travis complexes in urban Jamestown. The small battery built by American troops, early in the war, is shown in the swale, probably where a brick fort was built in 1673. Unfortunately, Desandrouins omitted the eastern part of Jamestown Island, where the Travis plantation was located (Desandrouins 1781; D'Abboville 1781) (Figure 36).

The D'Abboville map, made in 1781-1782, shows the road that led into Jamestown Island from the west and meandered toward the waterfront. Although the cartographer included the entire is-

(cont'd from previous page)
two-story house with a mansard roof that was situated in a position analogous to the site occupied by the Ambler house. To the west and close to the river bank was a story-and-a-half dwelling, oriented on a slightly different axis (Figure 35). This probably was the townstead owned by the Travis family.

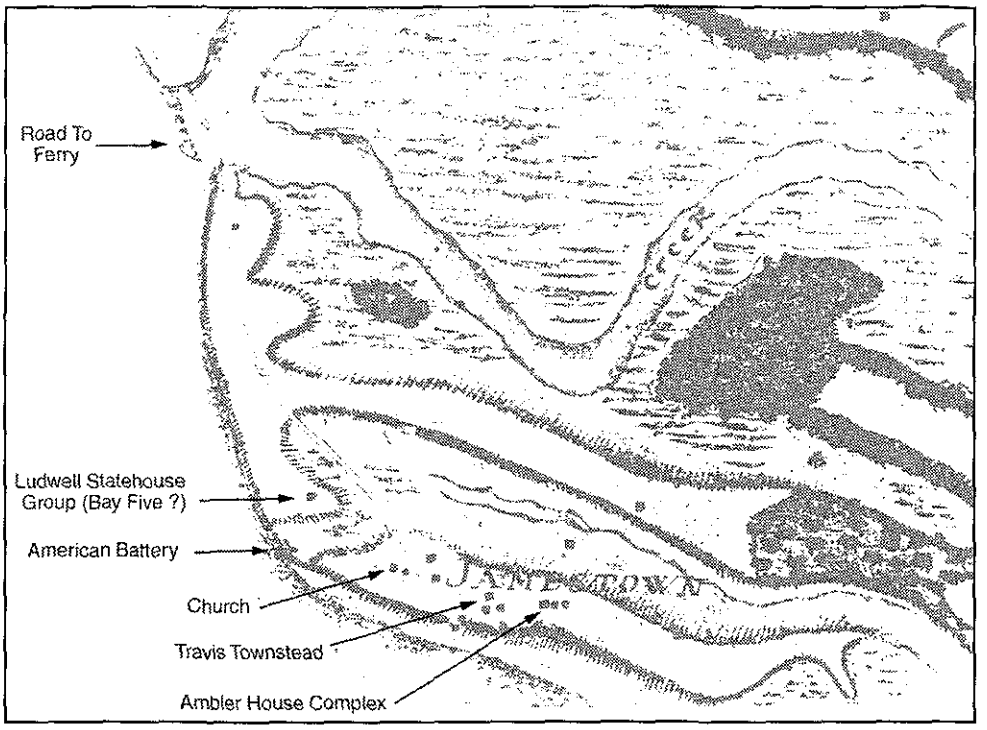


Figure 36. *Detail of* Plan du terein a la Rive Gauche de la Riviere de James *(Desandrouins 1781).*

land, he depicted approximately 90 percent of it as wooded and omitted structures then standing upon the Travis plantation. His rendition of urban Jamestown, though much more schematic than Desandrouins's, includes the Ambler house and two structures to its rear and eight other buildings in the foreground, three of which were perched close to the river bank near a possible boat-landing. As a large-sized structure is shown in the immediate vicinity of the church, the map-maker may have been depicting the enclosed churchyard. Interestingly, most (if not all) of the buildings shown on the Desandrouins map are depicted in comparable positions on the D'Abboville map (Figure 37). Another French map (Anonymous 1781) shows a few buildings close to the waterfront, including the Ambler and Travis complexes, and suggests that Jamestown still resembled an urban community. Angular areas to the north and northwest of what appears to be the Ambler house may represent agricultural fields or schematic urban blocks defined by streets, the cartographer's way of identifying Jamestown as a town (Figure 38).[393] In 1818 James Kearney (1818) indicated that during the Revolutionary War, a ferry ran from the mouth of Passmore Creek to Hog Island (Figure 39). As references to this ferry have not been found in surviving official records, it is uncertain whether it was a military measure undertaken for the transportation of troops or an activity sanctioned by the Virginia government.

In early September 1781 when the Allied Army arrived at Jamestown, the Marquis de St. Simone inspected the island. He ordered his men to encamp near the isthmus, which at low tide provided access to the mainland. When the Allies left Jamestown on September 4th, they waded through waist-deep water and hand-carried their artillery. St. Simone noted that "The bridge of Cornwallis had been destroyed," implying that the British had erected some sort of span that linked the island with the mainland. American officers were asked

[393] A clear copy of this map is not currently available.

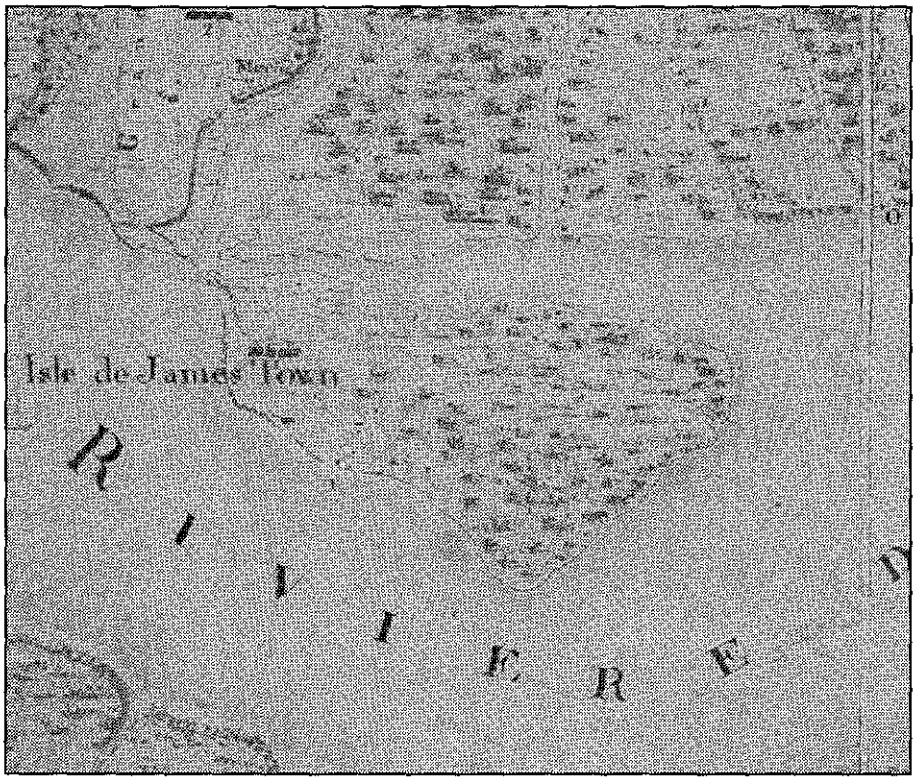


Figure 37. *Detail of* Carte de la Campagne de la division aux ordres du Mr. de St. Simone en Virginie *(D'Abboville 1781)*.

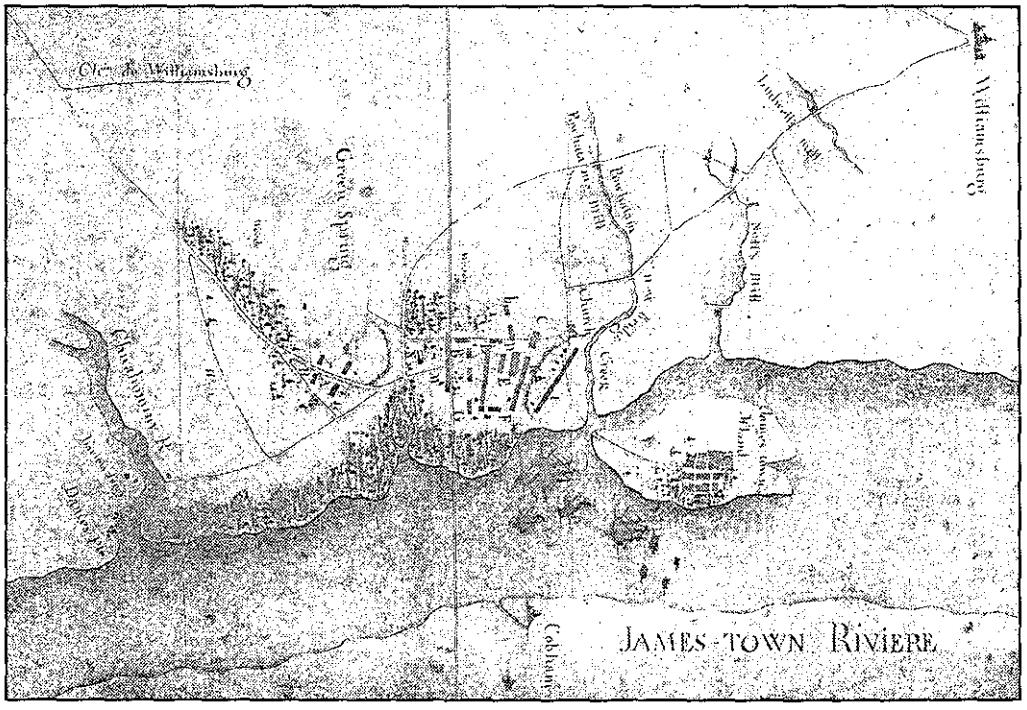


Figure 38. *Detail of* Plan de l'Attaque pres James-town *(Anonymous 1781)*.

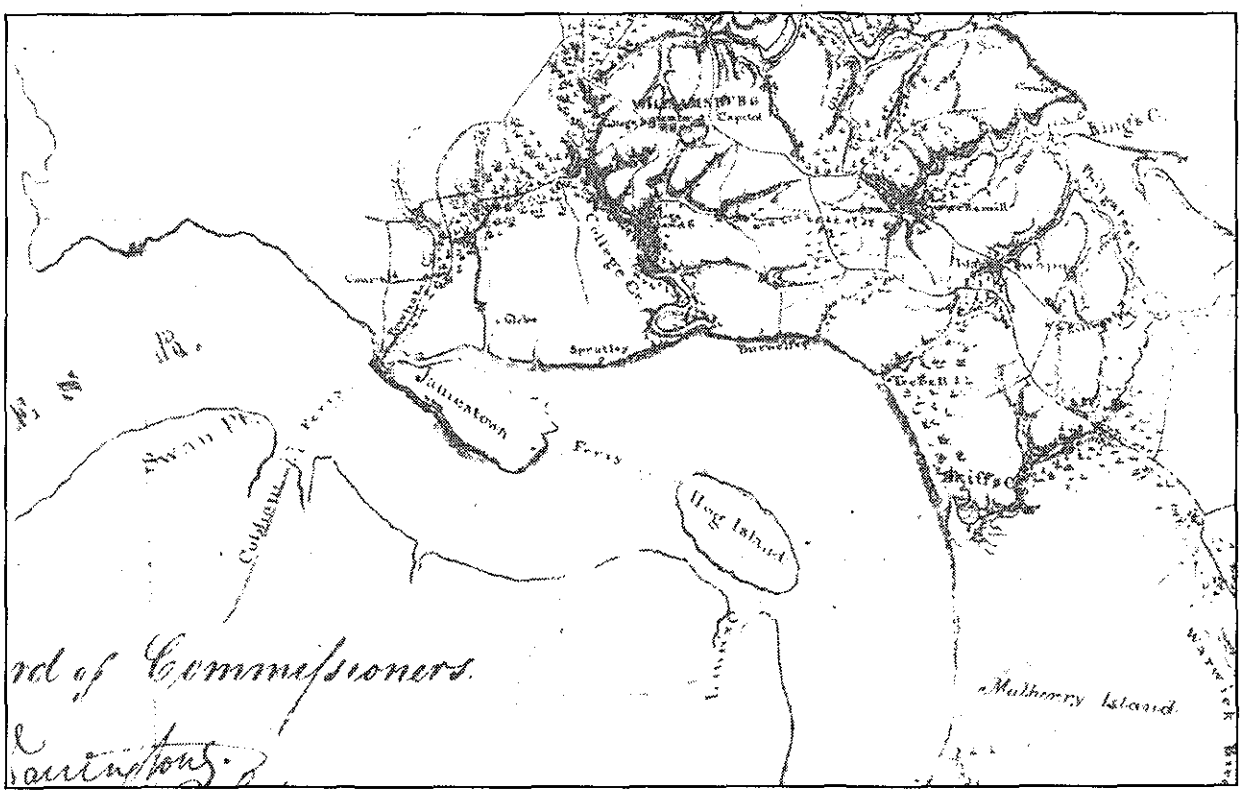


Figure 39. Reconnoitering of Chesapeake Bay *(Kearney 1818). Note the ferry betwen Passmore Creek and Hog Island.*

to supply the French with whatever they could spare to meet their needs, for their provisions were in very short supply. Word was received that Lafayette had requested entrenching tools and men were sent to collect weapons people had picked up after the Battle of Green Spring. On September 28th the Allied Armies marched to Yorktown. Cornwallis abandoned his outer fortifications the following day, and the Allies entrenched to establish formal siege lines. The siege began on October 9th, and on October 17th Cornwallis asked the Allies to parley. The moment of victory came on October 19, 1781, when Cornwallis surrendered to the Allies and the American colonies' independence was won (Ancteville, 1781; Hatch 1942:35-38; Selby 1973:46; 1988:310; Palmer 1968:II:380-381, 384-385, 390, 409, 548; Chinard 1928:56).

In mid-December 1781, Christian Esebeck, an officer in the Zweibrucken Regiment who participated in the Battle of Yorktown and was a member of Viscount William Deux-Ponts' Regiment, was stationed on Jamestown Island with other members of the Brigade of Bourbonnais. On December 12, 1781, he sent word to his brother that he was

> *... here with three companies on a desert island. The dwelling which were here have been almost entirely destroyed by the English, who barely left four walls. We did not find a living soul on the island. Our first care was to make things habitable, and now we are nicely established. This island is situated on the James River, which is generally as broad as the Rhine, and carries frigates well, still further up than this. It is well situated and from it we have wonderful views of the countryside... . Our island, not having been cultivated for several years, is covered with very high grass; and I let my horses run night and day. They come to the house sometimes for maize. When it rains I put them in the stable at night, but they do not like to stay there. Everybody in this country seems to love freedom, even the animals [Esebeck, December 12, 1781].*

It is uncertain exactly where Esebeck's horses were stabled.

John Ambler II

John Ambler II, the son of Mary Cary and Edward Ambler I, was born on September 25, 1762. As their only surviving male child,[394] he inherited his father's vast ancestral estate, which included land and slaves in several counties. These properties were the plantation on Jamestown Island, the farm on the mainland, and the Powhatan quarter in James City County; Hog Island in Surry County; Westham in Richmond; The Cottage in Hanover County; the Mill Farm, Loheland, and Nero's in Louisa County; Glenambler and St. Moore in Amherst County; an estate in Frederick County; 1,015 acres in Piedmont Manor; 10,000 acres in the Manor of Leeds; the Mill Tract in Henrico County; and lots in Yorktown, Manchester and Richmond. The late Edward Ambler I also left his son literally hundreds of slaves, large quantities of livestock, and investments in three banks, the Dismal Swamp Canal, and Richmond Dock (Ambler 1826:57; 1828).[395]

James City County real estate tax rolls first compiled in 1782, the year before John Ambler II came of age, indicate that he owned 1,275 acres of land in James City County. The total included 900 acres on Jamestown Island and 375 acres on the mainland (his forebears' 310 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land, which he had purchased from the government; the 24 acre Glasshouse parcel; the 25-27 acre Perkins-Woodward tract; plus 14 to 16 additional acres) (James City County Land Tax Lists 1782) (see Table 1). Excluded was Powhatan, which may have been in the hands of a tenant, who paid whatever taxes were owed upon the acreage. In 1782 the tax assessor listed 20-year-old John Ambler II as head of a household, while indicating that there were no free white males over the age of 21 then associated with his personal property in James City County. Credited to Ambler were 22 slaves and 20 cattle (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1782) (see Table 2).[396]

After the close of the American Revolution, some of those who leased parcels in the Governor's Land refused to pay their annual rent unless they were absolved from being taxed upon their leaseholds. This occurred at a time when the General Assembly was considering whether to sell the publicly-owned real estate that formerly had belonged to the colonial government. In 1784 the assembly decided to bestow all public land (except that of the state church) upon the College of William and Mary, along with authorization to keep or sell it. The college nullified the leases of those renting portions of the Governor's Land and threatened to sue them if they didn't vacate the premises. This prompted John Ambler II and several others to file a November 1785 petition with the General Assembly, asserting that their rental agreements were legally binding. Ultimately, the lessees were given an opportunity to buy the acreage they had been renting. It was in 1788 that John Ambler II acquired fee simple ownership of the 375 acres he had been renting on the mainland (James City County Land Tax Lists 1785-1786; McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:124; Hening 1809-1823:X:189; XI:406; Sheppherd 1970:I:237; James City County Petitions, November 22, 1813).

Personal property tax rolls for 1783 indicate that household head John Ambler II, who had turned 21, then had 14 slaves of tithable age and 8 who were younger; he also paid taxes upon 30 cattle. In 1784 John and farm manager William Chick (both of whom were listed as tithable males) were attributed to the Ambler household, along with 38 slaves, 5 cattle, and 5 equines (horses, colts,

[394] John II's elder brother, Edward C. Ambler, died unmarried in 1782

[395] Plantation account books on file in the University of Virginia's Alderman Library provide highly detailed information on the Ambler plantation at Jamestown, making it one of the most thoroughly documented properties in Tidewater Virginia.

[396] Comparative research utilizing Tidewater's census and probate records and personal property tax rolls demonstrates that approximately half of a typical slaveholder's slaves were age 12 or older and therefore tithable.

mares and mules).[397] Also present was a wheeled passenger vehicle, a taxable luxury item (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1783-1784). During the 1780s the number of slaves under John Ambler II's control slowly but surely increased, as did the size of his livestock herd. William Chick, John Ambler II's farm manager, stayed on the job until 1787, when he was replaced by Robert Chancellor. By then, Ambler was credited with 52 tithable slaves, 11 horses, 70 cattle and a coach or chariot.[398] In 1790 he commenced paying taxes upon a stud horse and a second passenger vehicle.[399] John Ambler II at age 28 was one of James City County's wealthiest farmers. He prospered during the 1790s and in 1794 his household included two other free white males whose names weren't listed in the tax rolls (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1784-1798) (see Table 1).

In 1797 Captain John Ambler II of Jamestown was in command of the local cavalry, which military office he still held in 1801. He also served as a justice of the peace or court commissioner for James City County (James City County Executive Papers, July 27, 1785; October 8, 1797; August 27, 1801; April 10, 1809). According to John Jaquelin Ambler, his father, John II, used to travel "in a coach and four with a gig and one or two outriders and his fortune was ample enough to allow it" (Ambler 1828).

John Jaquelin Ambler, in his family history, indicated that his father, John Ambler II, married Frances Armistead in 1782 and took up residence at Jamestown during the early 1780s. He would have had to repair whatever wartime damage the family dwelling had sustained. Frances and John Ambler II in 1783 produced a son (Edward II), whose birth was followed by that of a daughter (Mary Cary II). When Frances died, John Ambler II married Lucy Marshall, with whom he produced a son, Thomas Marshall Ambler. Wife Lucy and her predecessor, Frances Armistead Ambler, reportedly "fell martyrs to their attachment to Jamestown, which they could not be prevailed upon to leave, though it was known to be unhealthy during the months of August and September." John Ambler II married for the third time in 1799, taking as his bride the widow Catherine Bush Norton, with whom he had eight children (John Jaquelin, Catherine Cary, Elizabeth, Philip St. George, Sarah Jaquelin, Richard Cary, and William Marshall). John Jaquelin Ambler, born in March 1801, chronicled his family's history in 1826 and 1828 (Ambler 1826:59; 1828).

John Ambler II's plantation accounts reveal that while he and his household resided at Jamestown, he procured much of their clothing,[400] footwear, yard goods, furniture[401] and equipment from London. However, he relied heavily upon merchants in Richmond, Williamsburg and Cobham for household necessities, alcoholic beverages, and other everyday items.[402] A tailor in Richmond fashioned some of the Amblers' wearing apparel but James Galt of Williamsburg repaired and cleaned John's gold watches and mended his incense case. John had his blacksmithing done at Green Spring

[397] It is uncertain whether Chick lived upon the mainland, at the farm called Amblers, or had a dwelling on the island.

[398] Plantation accounts reveal that 12 hogsheads of tobacco were produced on John Ambler II's Jamestown property in 1785. It was inspected across the river at the Gray's Creek warehouse and loaded aboard the *George* on June 18, 1786. When Ambler's shipment left Virginia, it weighed 13,845 pounds, but when the hogsheads arrived in London, they weighed only 11,246 pounds (Ambler 1770-1860).

[399] He was taxed upon a stud horse through 1805 (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1790-1805).

[400] The Amblers appear to have had a fondness for silk, some of which came from Paris, France.

[401] In 1786 John Ambler II ordered from London cabinetmakers a dozen mahogany chairs with nailed seats covered in hair cloth; six large Russian mats; a three-piece dressing-table with French feet; and two 3-drawer dressing-boxes with straight fronts.

[402] On one occasion, he ordered ½ crate of Queensware from a London firm.

and sent payment to William Lee's overseer, Edward Valentine.[403] He also paid local men, such as his mainland neighbor, William Wilkinson Jr., for repairing his saddle, mending farming equipment and making a wheat machine. Sometimes, John sent funds with a servant who was authorized to pay his bills; on one occasion he noted that the funds with which he was paying his bills were derived from betting on horse races. The Ambler household's medical needs, such as dentistry and smallpox vaccinations, were met by local practitioners. Wheat and pork produced on Jamestown Island and at the Ambler farm on the mainland were sold in bulk to local customers, such as Champion Travis and William Weathers. John Ambler II's business records indicate that his jointly-run properties at Jamestown and on the mainland comprised a thriving and productive working plantation (Ambler Family 1770-1860).

At the close of 1797 John Ambler II engaged a man named Weylie, who taught at the College of William and Mary, and brought him to Jamestown as his children's tutor. In a December 20, 1797, letter, one of the teacher's friends said that he "lives with Ambler of James Town [who] gives him £ 60 per annum and the fees of as many Scholars as he can get" (Stanard 1930:235). In 1786, John Ambler II hired Nat, one of builder Humphrey Harwood's men, to do three days work at Jamestown. He also purchased 6 bushels of lime. Harwood noted in his records that in October 1786 he had been paid "by cash of your overseer" (Humphrey Harwood Account Book, 1776-1794:Part I, May 1786).

John Ambler II's Causeway

Before the close of the eighteenth century John Ambler II undertook the construction of a log-and-stone causeway that connected Jamestown Island to the mainland. It was located near the mouth of Sandy Bay, where it was subject to tidal flooding.[404] According to John Jaquelin Ambler, his father "encountered great cost and trouble and personal exposure" building the causeway and failed to complete it "in consequence of ceasing to reside in that part of the country, which he quitted in consequence of the unhealthfulness of the situation" (Ambler 1828). The causeway, though incomplete, was functional.

In late October 1798, Dr. Philip Barraud, Bishop James Madison, Littleton Waller Tazewell, and another man traveled by coach from Williamsburg to the Church on the Maine. Then, they continued on toward Jamestown, where they intended to join John Ambler II, to dine upon venison and fish. According to Dr. Barraud, who chronicled the excursion:

> *But alas! there stands a gulph [Sandy Bay] 'twixt the Holy House and the House of our intended Host. This gulph, as you may know, has built over it, an imperfect causeway complete as to the walls of logs—but those walls partially filled in with stone—Unhappily, there had been a wondrous Tide that had cover'd the whole Surface' and had attached a slimy Matter on the round sides of these very Logs. The Tide was yet very full in the pens—A consultation was had—a majority voted for sticking to the coach—But our holy Pastor, yet replete with Christian fire, declared he would walk on this slippery surface. Nay, he seemed at this Moment as if, like his divine Master, he cou'd have trodden the watery surface. His exultation was great for the first halfway. But let not our Boastings overtake us too soon. At the moment when the work was half over; and too at the spot where the deepest soundings of water lay, plunges our Reverend companion into the gulph—aye, and sorry am I to add, like any other one of us he seemed to be acted on by the commonest Laws of Gravitation—good man—I verily believe he wou'd at this moment been sticking at the Bottom, if like other folks He had not grappled the*

[403] At Green Spring, Ambler had hilling hoes, lynch pins, a railed cart, and a chain made; had points put on plow hoes; had a wheat fan's handle mended; had a new froe made; and bought 3,000 nails. He also had a flat built at Green Spring.

[404] It may have followed the trace of the old causeway attributed to Richard Ambler, about which local freeholders complained in 1748.

wooden walls and finally straddled one of the top pieces until we took him in. For in slipping, I ought to have told you, He fell not into the Causeway but unhappily into the River. In finishing the Tale, with joy do I say, we got him to the House—where dry clothes, one of the best Dinners possible—and wine Equal to the Dinner, we produced a reaction on the cold surface of our Friend that gave him new vigor and cheerfulness. Taze took so full a dose of the last part our fare as to waggishly say, on our return, that his Holiness received this correction as a Lesson not to assume so broad a Bottom for the Mother Church; and that this new Baptism might, he hoped, work a conversion [Barraud 1798].

In 1832, when consideration was given to building a toll bridge linking Jamestown Island with the mainland, reference was made to John Ambler II's causeway, which was described as a "stone bridge a great distance from the old road" (Smith 1832).

Enclosing the Cemetery at Jamestown

John Jaquelin Ambler indicated that "In the churchyard at James Town are laid the remains of all the Ambler family who have died on the western shore of the Atlantic." He said that in 1816, when he was a student at the College of William and Mary, the steeple of the old church at Jamestown was about 80 feet high and in a good state of preservation. He added, "My father had the graveyard enclosed with a new brick wall. At that time, many of the tombs were entire and many of them very costly." John Jaquelin Ambler said that there was a magnificent tombstone erected over the grave of his great-uncle John Ambler I, upon which was a "splendidly sculptured" family coat of arms (Ambler 1828).

John Ambler II Relocates

In January 1800 John Ambler II hired Henry Taylor to oversee his Jamestown Island plantation. Taylor's one year contract required him to have Ambler's slaves "rise early and to do each day as good a days work as the weather and their circumstances permit." He was to take good care of his employer's livestock and crops and if he performed his duties satisfactorily, he was allowed to have 1/12 of all the grain produced on the plantation, with the exception of corn. He also was entitled to 1/12 of all the cider, cotton and tobacco produced on his employer's property (Ambler Family 1770-1860; see Appendix H).[405] The wording of Henry Taylor's contract implies that Ambler expected to spend less time at Jamestown.[406]

If John Jaquelin Ambler's family history is accurate, John Ambler II's decision to take a less active role in the management of his plantation at Jamestown coincided with his 1799 marriage to Catherine Bush Norton. The writer said "Though Jamestown was the home to which the third Mrs. Ambler was carried, the family only passed the winters here. The summers were all spent in the town of Winchester" (Ambler 1826:59). Personal property tax rolls indicate that while there were 3 free white males of tithable age at Jamestown in 1800 and 1801, by 1802 there were none. Likewise, the number of slaves declined from 45 who were age 12 or older, to 21 (James City Personal Property Tax Lists 1800-1802; see Table 2). According to John Jaquelin Ambler, who was born in Williamsburg in March 1801, the family resided in

[405] Plantation account books associated with the Ambler property in Amherst County include copies of two overseers' contracts. They stipulate that the overseer should require the slaves to keep their houses clean and tightly covered (roofed); to keep the Amblers' horses and mules fat and not allow them to be galled by their gear; to refrain from entertaining "unnecessary company" or to allow relatives or friends to reside upon the Ambler property; to provide the slaves with proper clothing and nursing care when sick; to tend the livestock adequately; and to cultivate and improve the land as the Amblers' saw fit (Ambler 1770-1860).

[406] John Ambler II's accounts for 1800 contain a notation that he received funds from the ferry that ran from Jamestown to Swann's Point, which included use of his boat and "Boater Bob, his man, and 2 horses" (Ambler Family 1770-1860).

the city until he was age 5, and then moved to Richmond. He said that in 1806 John Ambler II purchased from Colonel Burwell an elegant house in Shockoe and moved his family there. However, the Amblers continued to spend their winters in Williamsburg and at Jamestown. John Jaquelin Ambler said that he whiled away a great deal of time in the Williamsburg residence of Bishop James Madison, whereas his brothers Edward II and Thomas usually stayed at Jamestown in the family home. While John Ambler II was a widower, his daughter, Mary, lived in Amelia County with an aunt (Ambler 1826:59-60; 1828).

Personal property tax rolls reveal that in 1809 Edward Ambler II commenced residing at Jamestown, where he had 28 slaves age 16 or older and 6 who were between 12 and 16. He also had 7 horses in his possession and by 1810 he was credited with a 2-wheeled carriage (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1809-1810).[407] According to John Jaquelin Ambler, when his half-brother, Edward II, was old enough, he began attending the College of William and Mary. He said that as soon as Edward II came of age, their father gave him the Jamestown plantation and 40 to 50 slaves (Ambler 1826:65; 1828).[408] As real estate tax rolls indicate that John Ambler II retained the title to his family's ancestral estate until 1815, he may have given son Edward II possession but not outright ownership of his acreage, slaves and livestock on Jamestown Island (James City County Land Tax Lists 1815).[409]

[407] No tax assessment records were compiled for Virginia counties in 1808.

[408] That may not be true, for Edward II attained his majority in 1804, five years before the tax assessor began to credit him with slaves (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1804-1809).

[409] In 1815 the assessor noted that 900 acres "was deeded to Edward Ambler by John Ambler" who kept his 375 acres (the farm on the mainland) by Powhatan Creek, William Wilkinson and William Hodgson (James City County Land Tax Lists 1815).

Louis Girardin's Observations

Louis Girardin, who in 1805 published a work entitled *Amoenitates Graphicae*, adorned it with a sophisticated watercolor painting. In a position analogous to the Ambler house ruins was shown a large, two-story dwelling with a mansard roof. To the west and closer to the riverbank, in the vicinity of the Travis townstead, was a story-and-a-half house oriented on a somewhat different axis. The artist depicted the church and graveyard with care and he indicated that the shoreline was rimmed by a dilapidated rail fence. Trees stood upon the edge of the river bank. To the east of the church, the shoreline cut in sharply and then flared out again. The artist's perspective suggests that he was positioned in the extreme western end of the island.

Girardin's text states:

> *In the view now offered to the public, Jamestown is represented as seen from a point on the bank of the river, in the S.S.W. part of the peninsula. The venerable ruins of an old church-steeple, from the top of which serpentine garlands of smilax, ivy, and other climbing and saxatile plants, hang in irregular festoons; the beautiful contrasting groups of trees and shrubs which partly encircle it, and among which the Plantus Occidentalis (Sycamore) and the Liriodendrum tulipifera (Tulip-tree or Poplar) hold a conspicuous rank; the sepulchral monuments beneath their shade; the houses in the back-ground, which seem to peep through the interposing curtain of verdure, and one of which has been fantastically ornamented by nature with a mantle of Bignonia radicans (climbing trumpet flower); the domestic herds wandering here and there, and seeking the support of sensitive life amid the very trophies of death, unconscious of the sadness of the spot; the various birds sailing through the air, unmolested by the hostility of man; the swift barks silently gliding along the lonely shore; and other prominent objects, which it is needless to indicate, form an ensemble highly harmonic and picturesque.*
>
> *We regret that the limits which we have prescribed to ourselves do not permit any botanical digression. James-town is rich in*

aquatic, ripuary, and other plants, extremely curious. We have found there in abundance the beautiful passiflora incarnata [passion flower or may apple], growing among the different sorts of gramina. The martinia, which is described by Linnaeus as an exotic form from Vera-Cruze, also met our eye along the solitary beach.

As monuments of art, and when compared with those superb fragments of a bold and majestic architecture which Egypt, Syria, Greece, Italy and other regions of the Eastern hemisphere, present to admiring travellers the ruins of James- town are humble and inconsiderable; nor whilst exploring its shores do we tread on 'classic ground.' Yet, the emotions which the aspect of those rude national vestiges conveys to the soul, are powerfully enthusiastic, rapturously melancholy. Here, nothing foreign or indifferent.

The contrast between the ravages of time and the fecundity of nature is here particularly striking. Where the one destroys, the other creates. Love nestles, life teems, among those desolate fragments. Several families of the feathered race inhabit the grey clefts of the mouldering steeple; from those clefts and from the fissures in some of the ruinous tombstones issue various shrubs, grasses and creeping plants, which shade or embrace their mossy surfaces, spreading a thick veil over the inscriptions traced by the pious hand of affectionate sorrow. This, however, is not the case with all the sepulchral monuments in the lugubrious group. Some, containing the ashes of the ancestors and friends of neighboring families, are religiously protected against the injuries of time, and any rude violation. Were not a total inclosure of so sacred a spot at the national expense highly commendable?

If thus consecrated by the national veneration, if adorned too with a suitable monument to the memory of the most conspicuous and deserving among the fathers of Virginia, we know enough of the human heart to assert that the cemetery at Jamestown, so impressive even in its present state, could not be viewed without exciting emotions of a patriotic, exalted and virtuous tendency!

Louis Girardin appended to his grandiloquent description of Jamestown a document that was penned by someone he said was knowledgeable in "geological researches, &c." It states that:

> *This place of original settlement (James-Town) has undergone a very considerable alteration by the elementary war which the waters and the winds have unceasingly waged against it. Its diminution, both on the southern and western side may be easily traced. Many yards of the palisade erected by the first settlers, are still to be seen at a low tide, standing at least 150 or 200 paces [375 to 500 feet] from the present shore.*[410] *The pieces of timber, which were fixed perpendicularly in the ground, have decayed until they have become entirely submerged by the gradual advancement of the river upon the land, where the fort originally stood. This fact shows that the land has sustained a great loss on its southern side; on the western the attrition is, perhaps, still more considerable.*[411] *This conjecture acquires a high degree of probability from what we see every day still taking place, and from the very narrow slip of land*[412] *now remaining on that side, as the only obstacle to the force of the water, which threatens soon, unless counteracted by labour, to form a new channel through the island, a denomination which James-Town may shortly assume.*

Girardin ended by adding that Jamestown "was once as populous as Williamsburg, and covered nearly as much ground, from the tradition of some old persons of credit, who have not long since paid the debt to nature" (Girardin 1805). The accuracy of his statement is questionable.

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[410] The palisades visible in 1803 probably were those erected by Lt. Governor Alexander Spotswood in 1711 to thwart a possible French invasion.

[411] At the turn of the twentieth century, Samuel H. Yonge, a topographic engineer, estimated that the rate of erosion at the western end of Jamestown Island was approximately twice that described in 1805 (Yonge 1926:26).

[412] In a footnote Girardin added, "Even this is inundated at the time of high water."

The 1807 Jubilee

In May 1807, while John Ambler II owned his 900 acre plantation on Jamestown Island, a bicentenary celebration or jubilee was held to commemorate the first colonists' arrival. Although relatively little is known about the logistics of "that immense assembly which was convened on the plains of Jamestown," one man indicated that orations were given by a number of distinguished citizens and some students from the College of William and Mary addressed the crowd. According to Robert A. Anderson of Yorktown, who served as grand marshall of the celebration, "a number of vessels were moored in the bay and thousands of people from Norfolk, Petersburg, Williamsburg and elsewhere assembled on the island." He said that "The procession was formed and conducted to the church yard [and] from a tombstone Bishop Madison delivered an eloquent and appropriate discourse. Returning to the mansion house, several orations were given" (*Virginia Gazette*, May 17, 1855).

Bishop William Meade transcribed excerpts from a pamphlet in which the Jamestown Jubilee of 1807 was described. He said that:

> *Due notice having been given of the intended celebration, the preparations commenced on the 10th. A packet, a sloop and schooner had arrived before the 12th, with bands of musicians and a company of artillery and cannon, and with a number of visitors. On the 12th, the beach began to assume the appearance of a regular encampment, from the erection of tents for the sale of various articles; and the scene was agreeably diversified by groups of beautiful women who were every moment passing from the main into the island... . The eye, in surveying the ruin of the church-steeple garlanded to its summit with irregular festoons of smilax and ivy, carried back the mind to the interesting incidents and events of the first settlers.*
>
> *A crowd of pilgrims were discovered on their hands and knees within the churchyard, removing the dust and rubbish from the mouldering and mutilated tombs, and exploring with anxious though patient curiosity the almost effaced characters which affection and piety had sketched there in the vain expectation that they would be immortal... . The pilgrims of 1807 examined every character or fragment that promised to throw light on the character of their fathers and the antiquities of their nation.*
>
> *On the 13th, the dawn was ushered in by a cannon: a second announced the first faint etchings of the sun on the edge of the horizon. During the night, several vessels had arrived, and the eye rested with pleasure on the spectacle of 32 sail at anchor in the cove, boats plying incessantly off and on from the shore.... About 11 o'clock, the long-deserted shores of Jamestown witnessed a spectacle equally picturesque and impressive. It was no longer the mournful image and gloomy silence of depopulation. Thirty-two vessels graced the ancient harbour; upwards of four hundred ladies embellished the scene, which became every moment more animated by the increasing concourse of citizens, and upon which the presence of the military, and a band of music of Captain Nestle and his company of artillerists from Norfolk, reflected no small luster [Meade 1992:II:420-422].*

After a lengthy prayer by Bishop James Madison, "The citizens repaired to a lawn in front of the principal house on the peninsula, for the purpose of hearing the orations and poems prepared for the day." According to Bishop Meade, "After feasting and mirth on the island, the scene transferred to Williamsburg, where another day and night was spent in like manner" (Meade 1992:II:424-425).

The War of 1812 and its Aftermath

During Thomas Jefferson's second term as president, hostilities between Great Britain and France spilled over to the United States. On May 12, 1812, when Governor Phillip Barbour visited Jamestown Island to assess its merits in the defense of the James River and Richmond, he said that:

> *This place rendered illustrious in the annals of America as being the first spot inhabited by our ancestors in the new world,*

and long being the metropolis of Virginia, exhibits nothing of its former grandeur to satisfy the eye of the curious Traveller except one or two private houses, its arsenal in a ruinous condition, the steeple of the church, and sepulchral monuments erected by a pious posterity to the memory of their worthy ancestors. I marked the traces (faint, indeed, and only discovered by being pointed out) of the first fort said to be erected by Capt. Smith.

The Island of James Town is situated directly on James River, somewhat upwards of sixty miles below this place, washed on the south by the river and surrounded by a small estuary of the River. It is three miles in length, containing about 2,000 acres of land, and is separated from the mainland by a stream 200 yards wide in its narrowest part, and in low tide capable of being forded directly at its junction with the river. Tradition states that the Island was once a peninsula, and that by a small canal being cut for the passage of a Fisherman's canoe the tide has extended this small beginning to the width above mentioned. This can readily be believed when it is further stated that the river has advanced upon the island 100 yards. There was a small fort upon this Island during the revolutionary war, the traces of which are still visible. The channel of the river at this place is described to be so near the shore, say 250 yards, that were a fort erected here it would be impossible for a vessel to escape its influence, altho' the river is from two to three miles in width, yet the navigation is impracticable except in the channel, the proximity of which to the shore as above stated would give a fort established there an imposing attitude. Its insular situation would in some degree protect it from all attack by land. On the 24th I left James Town and passing through Williamsburg reached York.

On soundings of the James River. The channel varies from 5 to 8 fathoms [from Point of Shoals, west] until you arrive at Goose Hill Flatts 6 miles below James Town; here at high tide there is a depth of only 16 feet, but in consequence of a soft bottom, a vessel drawing 17 may pass with a favorable wind; thence to James Town from 4 to 10 fathoms, here the channel narrows to 250 yards, one side of which touches the shore to the north; thence to John H. Cocke's estate channel varies from 3 to 6 fathoms [Palmer 1968:134-141].

Despite Governor Barbour's statement that Jamestown Island would be a good site for a fort, no action was taken. Months later, when the British invaded Virginia waters and blockaded Hampton Roads, a sense of uneasiness settled over the Tidewater region. In early February 1813 local infantrymen were sent to Norfolk and Hampton to repel a potential invasion. This, in essence, left the peninsula defenseless. On June 25, 1813, word was received that 900 British troops had landed and were marching toward Williamsburg and that armed vessels in the James River were firing upon people on shore. A regiment from two nearby counties was sent to Williamsburg (Palmer 1968:X:237-240).

By late June, 14 British barges, an armed brig and six or seven tenders were moving freely up and down the James River, plundering waterfront homes and sometimes venturing inland. John Ambler II, who was a militia colonel, was stationed at Camp Bottoms Bridge on July 1, 1813, when the British invaded his home on Jamestown Island.[413] His son, Edward II, was away, too. According to official correspondence, a raiding party landed at Jamestown and "after plundering the plantation, destroyed Lieut. Ambler's Household furniture of every description." The British reportedly carried off whatever they could and laid waste to the rest.[414] On July 5, a British brig, several schooners and eight or ten barges passed by Jamestown Island and continued on upstream. In late April 1814 a high-ranking military officer recommended that a fort and battery be built at Jamestown or further up the James, to prevent the British from

[413] John II also used Frazier's Tavern, in Henrico County, as a base of operations.

[414] It is uncertain whether the Amblers made any attempt to repair the damage to their property after the war or restore their house to a habitable condition.

reaching Richmond. Again, no action was taken (Palmer 1968:X:134, 187, 212, 232, 237, 240, 244, 325-327; Ambler 1826:59-60, 66)

According to John Jaquelin Ambler, Edward Ambler II resided at Jamestown until the War of 1812 began (Ambler 1826:65). He apparently was eager to defend his country, for he persuaded his father to ask the governor to give him a major's commission or a captaincy in the cavalry. However, John Ambler II was forthright when approaching the governor about giving his son a military appointment. He said that although Edward wanted to advance, he was "a strong, active young man without military experience except what he may have acquired in his present station as first lieutenant in the Williamsburg Troop" (James City County Executive Papers, February 20, 1813).[415]

After hostilities ceased, Virginia entered a period of economic stagnation and America experienced its first great depression, the Panic of 1819. Agricultural prices plummeted. Most of the farm land east of the Blue Ridge was exhausted by generations of use without replenishment. As a result, land prices dropped and many Tidewater families moved west. But when farmers learned that lime and marl would restore the fertility of soil acidified by the long-term production of tobacco, local economic conditions began to improve. By the early 1840s land values in the Tidewater had improved significantly and farm income had increased, thanks to advances in agricultural technology (Bruce 1932:6, 12).

In late December 1820, J. D. Steele, who traveled by steamboat from Old Point Comfort to Richmond, commented upon Jamestown's appearance. He said that:

> *I went upon deck to see again the relics of the first settlement made in this country by Europeans ... the second centennial jubilee was celebrated here in 1807. It was at one time a very flourishing town, but owing to the slight manner in which their houses were built no vestiges of them remain. The only objects of interest to be seen are the tombstones of some of the early colonists and the ruined steeple of a church about 30 feet high, covered with ivy [Steele, December 22, 1820].*

The Ambler Plantation Changes Hands

In 1814 the county tax assessor described Colonel John Ambler II as a resident of Richmond and noted that his 900 acre tract on Jamestown Island was bound by the James and Back Rivers. A year later the tax assessor attributed the 900 acre farm to Edward Ambler of Lynchburg and stated that the property had been "deeded to Edward Ambler [II] by John Ambler [II]." Meanwhile, John Ambler II retained his property on the mainland. He eventually gave his eldest daughter, Mary, and her husband, Williamsburg attorney John Hill Smith, possession of both the mainland farm and the quarter at Powhatan (James City County Land Tax Lists 1814-1820; Ambler 1826:70).[416]

In 1815 John Ambler II sold his father's quarter at Powhatan (part of the acreage that belonged to the Wormeleys during the seventeenth century) to Peter Desverges, who quickly conveyed it to William Hewlett. In 1820 Hewlett's farm contained only $20 worth of buildings, a reflection of its use as a subsidiary property. In 1829 William Hewlett added a house of modest but middling value and appears to have moved in (James City County Land Tax Lists 1782-1845).[417]

[415] The disposition of the matter is uncertain. County militia units mustered in their home communities and elected their own officers, whose names were submitted to the county court. The justices, in turn, sought confirmation from the governor, who actually commissioned the officers. This procedure was a holdover from the colonial era.

[416] According to John Jaquelin Ambler, in 1818 John Ambler II received from the justices of James City County an old silver christening vase that during the eighteenth century had been given to the Jamestown church by one of his forebears as a memorial gift (Ambler 1826:62).

[417] The Amblers' Powhatan property was in the immediate vicinity of Edinburgh Drive in what in now the Ford's Colony subdivision.

Edward Ambler II

As noted above, Edward Ambler II commenced residing at Jamestown in 1809, although he did not own the property outright until 1815.[418] The appearance of Edward II's name in the tax rolls coincided with John II's being dropped (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1809; Land Tax Lists 1815). Finally, in 1815 both men's names disappeared from the personal property tax rolls, an indication that neither resided locally nor owned taxable personal property in James City County. Meanwhile, in 1815 Edward Ambler II, who for the first time was credited with his father's 900 acre plantation on Jamestown Island, was identified in the real estate tax rolls as a resident of Lynchburg (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1809-1815; Land Tax Lists 1815) (see Tables 1 and 2).[419]

Visitors to Jamestown Island

John Henry Strobia, who visited Jamestown Island in July 1817, remarked that there remained "few traces of its ancient importance." He said that "Two or three old houses, the ruins of an old steeple, a church yard and faint marks of rude fortifications are now the only memorials of its former inhabitants" (Strobia 1817).

In 1817 or early 1818, when English diarist Henry Beaumont and some fellow passengers aboard a schooner from New York paid a visit to Jamestown:

> *The first then that attracted our attention was an old house built of brick which had part of it fallen down and which appeared to have been abandoned.*[420] *An old orchard adjoined and [there were] some very fine trees in it and no doubt there had been fruit in the proper season but was now too late for it. The house appeared as if it had a long time been abandoned and was all overgrown with weeds and wild berries. Therefore not being satisfied with this our curiosity led us further up the land but we could not see any signs of Inhabitants or Houses. We had walked a long way when all of a sudden we saw about 10 houses but at a considerable distance from us, but being determined to have a look through them we walked on but with great difficulty as we were up to the knees in weeds and prickles. We made for the houses until at length we came to a creek*[421] *but could not pass over it, being rather deep and wide. We rambled along the edge of it through very tall rushes and frequently stumbled over ditches made to carry the water into the creek. At length we reached a place where there were two pieces of timber laid across which we walked over. We proceeded towards the house, which was yet a long distance from us and when we had gone some time we came at another creek. It had a bridge over it made of a few pieces of timber laid across and covered with planks but which appeared old and neglected as if nobody was near to repair it.... When we came up to the first house we found horses in it taking the shade ... we then visited the rest of them which was about 6 in number ... left and abandoned and inhabited by nothing but Horses and B'Birds. One was entirely thrown down and the chimney of another. We [were] nearly 4 miles from the schooner, so turned back [Beaumont 1817-1818:14].*

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[418] Edward II married Miss Sarah Holcomb of Amelia, whom he brought to Jamestown as a bride (Ambler 1828).

[419] Thomas Wilson, whom the real estate tax assessor credited with purchasing—and then losing or selling—the Ambler plantation in 1821-1822, may have moved to the property in 1815. Personal property tax rolls for the years 1815 and 1816 indicate that he was living locally and had 23 to 35 slaves over the age of 12 and 4 who were between the ages of 9 and 12, plus 7 to 11 horses and 93 cattle. In 1815, when Virginia's tax commissioners made note of houses that were worth $300 or more, Wilson was credited with a dwelling worth $3,000, a value comparable to the mansion at Carter's Grove (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1815-1816).

[420] This probably was the Ambler house.

[421] Beaumont may have seen some buildings across Kingsmill Creek or structures associated with the Travis plantation.

Henry Beaumont, his brother Matthew, and a Mr. Seaward from New York City agreed that "old James Town" was "a fine situation for a Town" and discussed the merits of purchasing and developing the island. They also talked about how to raise the capital they needed to do so. Henry Beaumont, in a postscript at the end of his journal, noted that, "Having taken possession of the property Bro. Matt embarked for England for the purpose of bringing our family over, which he did. But when they arrived at Jamestown, finding they could not obtain a Title for the property, they quit it immediately and went to Richmond" (Beaumont 1817-1818:20).

On April 17, 1818, Seaward, Beaumont and Company placed an announcement in the Norfolk *American Beacon*, alerting the public to the existence of their "House of Entertainment at James-Town on James River." The advertisement said:

> *The Subscribers respectfully inform the public, but more particularly those whom pleasure or business may induce to travel in the Steam Boat plying between Norfolk and Richmond, that they have purchased the Island of James-Town, with all its Appurtenances, Stock &c. &c. and have opened in the commodious brick tenement thereon, formerly the residence of Col. Ambler, a House of Entertainment for the accommodation of Travellers, and persons whom business in Williamsburg or the adjacent country or novelty may induce to prefer that route in passing to or from Richmond. Their table will be furnished with the best provisions the neighboring country will afford and nothing that may be calculated to promote the comfort and pleasure of those who may favor them with their company will be omitted. Their Stables will be well provided, and a HACK kept to convey passengers to and from Williamsburg. The Ferry to Surry is kept at James-Town.*

At the bottom of the advertisement it was noted that "Private parties can always be accommodated at short notice." On the front page of the *American Beacon* was an announcement that the steamboat *Pocahontas*, which departed from Norfolk on Mondays and Fridays and from Richmond on Wednesdays and Saturdays, would stop regularly at City Point and Jamestown (*American Beacon*, April 20, 1818).

Despite Henry Beaumont's family's apparent attempt to purchase Jamestown Island, Edward Ambler II of Lynchburg was credited with his family's plantation from 1815 through 1820 and in 1821 he was described as a resident of Henrico County.[422] Meanwhile, from 1818 through 1821 the Travis plantation was attributed to Samuel Travis, and then from 1822 to 1830, to his estate. Throughout that period, no Amblers were listed as the owners of slaves or other taxable personal property in James City County. In 1820 when the state's tax assessors commenced estimating the value of structural improvements that stood upon local property,[423] Edward Ambler II's 900 acre Jamestown Island plantation was said to contain buildings with a collective worth of $3,600, a sum that made it one of the county's most expensively developed properties. As the Ambler mansion was described in 1817 as abandoned and deteriorating, yet by April 1818 purportedly was open to the public as a house of entertainment, it appears that the building had been restored to habitable condition, perhaps by the Seaward, Beaumont and Company, whose advertisement also made reference to the presence of "Stables." There may have been a dwelling on the premises that accommodated a resident farm manager and perhaps slaves (James City County Land Tax Lists 1815-1829).[424]

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[422] The Beaumonts may have been paying for the property in a piecemeal fashion. If so, the tax assessor would have listed Ambler as the plantation's owner until the debt was satisfied and the Beaumonts obtained an unencumbered title.

[423] Tax commissioners recorded the collective value of the buildings that stood upon the property they assessed. They usually omitted slave houses and other simple and relatively inexpensive buildings. Research in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century tax rolls suggests that assessors typically listed improvements at approximately half of their fair market value.

[424] In 1824 when French artist August Plee (1824) made a sketch of the western end of Jamestown

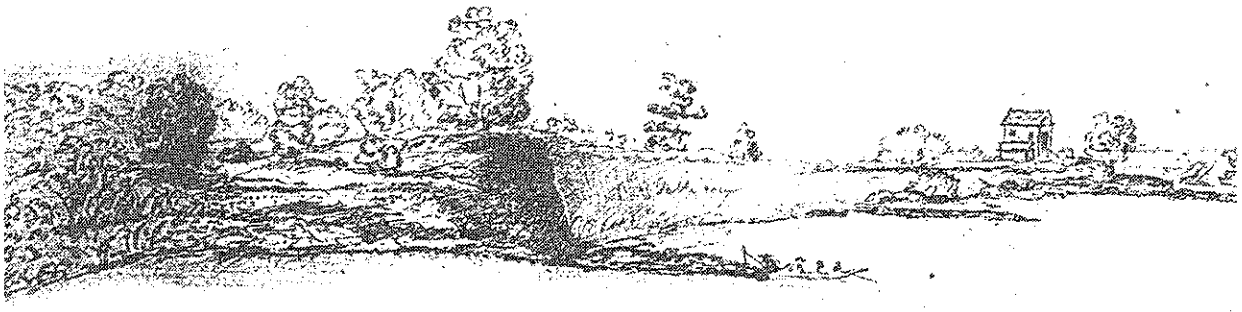


Figure 40. Jamestown, vue de la riviere James, Virginie, Aout 1824 *(Plee 1824)*.

The Ambler Plantation on the Mainland

In stark contrast to the costly structures on Jamestown Island, in 1820 John Ambler II's 375 acres on the mainland had only $200 worth of buildings (James City County Land Tax Lists 1820). Tax assessment books reveal that between 1821 and 1822, Edward Ambler II's Jamestown Island tract changed hands two or more times. In 1822 the assessor noted that Edward II sold his 900 acre farm to Thomas Wilson, who quickly deeded it to another man, whose executor conveyed it to David Bullock of Richmond, a prominent attorney and the city's former mayor. Meanwhile, John Ambler II retained legal ownership of his 375 acres on the mainland until the late 1830s, even though his daughter and son-in-law (Mary and John Hill Smith) had use of the property (James City County Land Tax Lists 1821-1840; Lancaster 1946:234).

David Bullock

Tax rolls indicate that David Bullock resided in Richmond throughout the years he owned land on Jamestown Island and that the 900 acre Ambler farm's improvements retained their assessed value of $3,600 (James City County Land Tax Lists 1821-1836).[425] Bullock, as an absentee owner, probably placed the Ambler tract in the hands of a tenant or farm manager who had his own slaves and livestock.[426] On November 29, 1822, John B. Peachy put an announcement in the December 2, 1822, edition of the *Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald*, indicating that henceforth, "Passengers in the Richmond, Petersburg and Potomac steamboats will no longer be permitted to land on Jamestown Island. All captains of vessels trading up or down James River are most positively forbid[den] sending their boats ashore" (*Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald*, December 2, 1822). This announcement occurred in the wake of the 1822 celebration held on Jamestown Island to commemorate the first colonists' landing.

David Bullock was still in possession of the Ambler plantation in 1836. By that time, he had purchased the Travis family's acreage in the northeastern end of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 2) (James City County Land Tax Lists 1836)

Island, he showed a two story building in the distance and noted that the river bank was reddish-brown (Figure 40).

[425] The constancy of this figure suggests that Bullock maintained, but did not improve, his buildings. In contrast, the value of many other local property owners' improvements fluctuated somewhat.

[426] Local personal property tax rolls do not include Bullock's name.

(Table 1).[427] In 1832 (if not before) he may have begun leasing the island to Goodrich Durfey and William Edloe, two local entrepreneurs who received the state assembly's permission to move the ferry to Jamestown Island and build a toll bridge between the island and the mainland (See Period III).

The 1822 Celebration

In 1822, an elaborate commemorative celebration was held on Jamestown Island. According to Ambler family historian John Jaquelin Ambler, literally thousands of visitors flocked to Jamestown for the event. He said that the celebrants, in their unbridled enthusiasm, "burnt down one of the two large brick houses on the island and broke the tombstones into fragments and scattered them over the face of the earth so that the whole island exhibited one wide field of desolation" (Ambler 1828).

An account published in a Richmond newspaper on May 25, 1822, states that:

> *The scene yesterday was really very pretty and impressive, but except the two orations -- one by Mr. Rogers, son of the professor; the other by young Mr. Saunders of Williamsburg --- and the ode recited by Mr. McCleary, there was nothing like preparation for the occasion. Nor was there any arrangement or system observed in the proceedings of the day. The 'Pilgrims' generally visited the tombs, etc., but there was no procession to the churchyard, no prayers as on the former occasion, and what is more surprising, there were no toasts at the principal table. In fact, though there were certainly more persons present at this than at the former celebration in 1807, yet the company was distributed into several dining parties, and concentration upon a particular point was thus rendered impracticable, I suppose ... Every praise is due to the two young gentlemen (one 17, the other 18 years old) for the animated and pleasing addresses they delivered... . There were, it is said, 35 vessels counted besides the 5 steamboats, which together with the infinite number of small boats gliding to and fro over the beautiful bay before the house, made a fine display... . The most rationally interesting thing for the entertainment of the eyes was the representation of the landing of Smith, etc. at Mr. Warrell's picturesque theatre. Heavens! Just as I am writing this, the old brick building belonging to Colonel Travis' estate has taken fire and the roof is already in a blaze. It was an uninhabitable ruin, to be sure, but I am sorry, as it is one of the few remaining monuments of antiquity here, to see it disappearing from the scene* [Richmond Times-Dispatch, *May 25, 1822*].

Another writer said that the celebration at Jamestown attracted little attention outside of Virginia (Tyler 1899-1900:222).

The Jaquelin/Ambler Farm On The Mainland

As noted previously, throughout the eighteenth century, agricultural operations on the Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island were run in tandem with those of the Amblers' farm on the mainland. The origin of this property, commonly known as "Amblers,"[428] lies in at least three parcels: the 24 acre Glasshouse Tract; the 25 to 27 acre Perkins/Woodward parcel; and a 310 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land. The Glasshouse Tract and the Perkins/Woodward parcel were privately-owned, but until the close of American Revolution, the Governor's Land was publicly-owned property that was conveyed from lessee to lessee by the incumbent governor. By 1783, "Amblers" had gone from approximately 360 acres to 375 acres, the size it remained until at least 1861.

Further enhancing the Amblers' agricultural productivity was their quarter known as Powhatan. In 1684 Christopher Wormeley owned 660 acres called Powhatan, on the south and east sides of

[427] Bullock bought the Travis plantation between 1829 and 1830 (James City County Land Tax Lists 1829-1830).

[428] Today, part of this farm is known as "Amblers on the James" and another portion is called the "Mainland Farm." The principal portion is being developed into a new subdivision, Land Fall.

the Drinking Swamp (a branch of Powhatan Creek), part of a nearly 2,300 acre tract that formerly belonged to Richard Eggleston. In 1690 Wormeley bequeathed his Powhatan acreage to his son, William, who patented a neighboring 100-plus acres on the east side of Powhatan Creek. Later, part of Powhatan came into the hands of Edward Jaquelin, who left it to his unmarried daughter, Martha. She sold it to Richard Ambler. In 1765, when Richard Ambler died, there were 14 slaves on his Powhatan property. Edward Ambler I's 1769 estate inventory attributed 9 slaves to his quarter called Powhatan (Soane 1684; Nugent 1969-1979:I:160, 228, 294, 465; II:4, 21; York County Wills and Inventories 21:278-282, 386-391; Ambler MS 123; Ambler 1769).[429] John Ambler II gave life-rights in his Powhatan property and mainland farm to his daughter, Mary, the wife of Williamsburg attorney John Hill Smith, but sold the property in 1815 (James City County Land Tax Lists 1815; Ambler 1828).

The Glasshouse Tract (24 acres)

In autumn 1608, when Captain John Smith was president of the colony, a small group of men undertook glass production at a site about a mile above Jamestown, on the western end of the isthmus that connected the island to the mainland. There, at Glasshouse Point, some Dutchmen (actually, Germans) and Poles who came with Captain Christopher Newport and the Second Supply of new settlers produced "a tryall of glass," a sample of which was sent back to England at the end of the year. Little else is known about this very early attempt at manufacturing, which efforts likely ceased during the winter of 1609-1610, the infamous Starving Time that nearly led to the colony's extinction (Smith 1986:I:180-181, 233-234).

During the late 16-teens and early 1620s, when Virginia Company officials sought to demonstrate the colony's potential for producing marketable commodities, a group of investors banded together to underwrite the cost of a glass-making operation. Its principal purpose was the production of glass beads that could be used in trading with the Indians. However, the project's sponsors also were authorized to produce drinking glasses and other vessels. Provisions, clothing, tools and other supplies[430] were collected for use by some Italian artisans, their households and helpers, who immigrated to Virginia during 1621. When they first arrived, they spent two months convalescing at the guesthouse built by Captain Jabez Whittaker, upon the Company Land at the mouth of the Chickahominy. According to Treasurer of the Colony George Sandys, who oversaw the glassworks project after the death of its overseer, Captain William Norton, the Italian artisans Bernardo and Vincentio (Vicencio) built a furnace but it was destroyed shortly after its construction. Although it was repaired, after a short time, it blew up. It is unclear whether the furnace simply exploded or was sabotaged so that it would fail. Sandys had the furnace repaired, but no glass was produced during the six weeks it was in operation. Because the artisans complained that their sand would not run properly, in March 1623 Sandys sent men to the head of the James River and to the seashore to search for some that was more suitable. None of it was to their liking. In February 1624, when a census was taken of the colony's inhabitants, the Italians and three others were residing at the Glasshouse, but within a year they had relocated to Treasurer Sandys' plantation opposite Jamestown and reportedly were clamoring to go home. Finally, the Italians were allowed to return to England and the furnace they had built stood idle. The west side of the Glasshouse Tract abutted the Governor's Land, a 3,000 acre tract set aside in 1619 toward the support of the incumbent governor (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:498, 512, 555; IV:23-24; Hotten 1980:180, 235; Harrington 1972:7-12; Hudson 1957:23).

[429] One of the boundary lines of the Amblers' property called Powhatan is identified on a 1770 plat of the Rich Neck tract (Goodall 1770).

[430] The sponsors of the glassmaking project sent soda and other materials to Virginia with the Italians (Ferrar MS 290, 301, 370).

Sir John Harvey, Virginia's governor from 1630 to 1639 and a strong advocate of industrial development, came into possession of the Glasshouse Tract, which was described as 24 acres. Harvey, who resided at Jamestown and owned a 6½ acre lot (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E) and some other acreage (Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B and very probably Study Unit 1 Tract H), sold the Glasshouse Tract to Anthony Coleman whose heirs, Edward and Joseph Knight, assigned it to John Fitchett (Study Unit 4 Tract E). Fitchett conveyed the property to John Phipps (of Study Unit 1 Tract D) and his partner, William Harris (of Study Unit 4 Tract I Lots A and B), who in June 1654 deeded it to Colonel Francis Moryson (Morrison). He repatented the 24 acre tract known as the Glasshouse on September 6, 1655 (Patent Book 3:26, 367-368).

During the mid-1670s, when Nathaniel Bacon led the popular uprising known as Bacon's Rebellion, he marched to Jamestown with his partisans, bent upon a confrontation with Governor William Berkeley. On September 13, 1676, they reached the isthmus that joined Jamestown Island to the mainland. Bacon, upon observing that Berkeley's men had erected a strong and defensible palisade across the island end of the isthmus, had his men build a "French work" near Glasshouse Point. It consisted of a steep embankment mounded from earth, trees and brush, behind which was a deep ditch. One eyewitness estimated that the opposing fortifications were only 500 to 750 feet apart (Washburn 1972:80-83; Andrews 1967:130-131; Force 1963:I:11:24; III:8:21). The next day, when Bacon commenced his siege, he placed several loyalist leaders' wives upon the ramparts of the embankment his men had built and put on display some Indians he had captured, peaceful tributary natives who did not resist his attack. Bacon's supporters prevailed and after the loyalists withdrew, they bombarded Jamestown with cannon they seized, destroying many of the capital city's buildings (Force 1963:I:9:8; Tyler 1906:156; Andrews 1967:71; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1659-1693:69-70).

In January 1677, after the popular uprising had been quelled, several of Nathaniel Bacon's followers were hauled before a military tribunal, convicted of treason and rebellion, and sentenced to death. Some of the condemned men were "hanged at Bacon's Trench" near Glasshouse Point (Hening 1809-1823:II:547-549; III:569; Force 1963:I:9:10;10:4; Washburn 1957:84-91). A map produced by James City County surveyor John Soane (1683) indicates that a road then passed by Glasshouse Point and crossed the periphery of the isthmus to Jamestown Island. By 1702 the Glasshouse Tract had come into the hands of William Broadribb, whose trustees on June 6, 1708, deeded the 24 acre tract to Joseph Chermaison (Chermerson). On January 12, 1712, Charmaison's widow and executor sold the Glasshouse property to Edward Jaquelin (Chermaison 1712; Ambler MS 86).

The Perkins-Woodward Parcel (25-27 acres)

Mrs. Jane Perkins patented 27 acres on September 9, 1648. Her land, which adjoined the Glasshouse Tract (then attributed to Anthony Coleman), was said to have been given to Alexander Stoner (of Study Unit 1 Tract E Lot F) by Captain William Peirce (of Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B and Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot B). The text of the patent indicates that Stoner forfeited it to John Knight, who assigned it to William Edwards I, father of William Edwards II, who owned Study Unit 4 Tract O and Tract L Lot C. One of the William Edwards' conveyed the 27 acre parcel to Edward Prince (of Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D), who assigned it to Robert Miles. It was Miles who transferred it to Mrs. Perkins (Patent Book 2:177).

Jane Perkins' acreage, which abutted the Glasshouse Tract and also lay outside of the Governor's Land's boundaries, escheated to the Crown in 1700. It was described as being 27 acres in size when it was repatented by William Woodward in October 1702 (Patent Book 9:509; Ambler MS 68). Earlier on, when Woodward first acquired the property, he tried to sell or lease it to William

Sherwood, who had it surveyed and determined that it contained only 25 acres (Ambler MS 71). Afterward, Woodward conveyed his purported 27 acres to John Tullitt of Study Unit 4 Tract K Lots C and D and Study Unit 3 Tract A, who in 1707 sold it to Philip Ludwell II. In 1718 Ludwell conveyed the Woodward parcel to Edward Jaquelin as 27 acres (Ambler MS 99).

The Governor's Land Leasehold (310 acres)

In 1683 when James City County's official surveyor, John Soane, made a plat of the Governor's Land, he identified the lessees of some but not all of the parcels that were absorbed into the eighteenth century Ambler plantation on the mainland (Soane 1683).[431] Soane indicated that a dwelling was located near the banks of Powhatan Creek, not far from the site that in 1781 was occupied by the Ambler farm's domestic complex. However, he failed to reveal who then owned or leased the land upon which it stood (Soane 1683; Desandrouins 1781).

By 1690 Henry Jenkins had begun leasing 76 acres in the Governor's Land, the western half of the previously described parcel, which he had surveyed (Ambler MS 45).[432] In 1712 when Philip Ludwell II acquired Henry Jenkins' 76 acre leasehold and an additional 102 acres directly below it, he had both tracts surveyed. At that time, the easterly boundary line of the Jenkins leasehold was said to abut land belonging to "Shermason," presumably the late Joseph Chermaison, owner of the Glasshouse Tract (Ambler MS 84). Ludwell's 1712 plat for his aggregate of 178 acres also contained a notation that he had 25 acres of "free land" that abutted his easternmost boundary. This was a reference to the Perkins-Woodward tract that William Woodwood acquired in 1702 and conveyed to John Tullitt, who in 1707 sold it to Philip Ludwell II (Ambler MS 77). In 1712 Philip Ludwell II conveyed his leasehold in the Governor's Land to Edward Jaquelin, who had just purchased the Glasshouse Tract (Ambler MS 86, 99). Later, Jaquelin or his son-in-law and successor, Richard Ambler, enlarged the leasehold to 310 acres.

Consolidation

In 1718 Edward Jaquelin, who by 1712 had fee simple (or outright) ownership of the Glasshouse Tract (24 acres) and possession of Philip Ludwell II's 178 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land, bought the Perkins-Woodward tract (25-27 acres). This consolidation likely heralded the development of the farm on the mainland into a subsidiary of the Jaquelin plantation on Jamestown Island (Chermaison 1712; Ambler MS 45, 71, 77, 84, 86, 99).

In November 1739, when Edward Jaquelin died, his landholdings on Jamestown Island and in the mainland descended to his grandson, John Ambler I, perhaps through his daughter, Elizabeth. Elizabeth's husband, Richard Ambler, significantly enlarged the Jaquelin plantation on Jamestown Island and developed it into a family seat suitable for the occupancy of his second oldest son, John Ambler I. He also enhanced his family's holdings in the Governor's Land. On July 26, 1743, he renewed the late Edward Jaquelin's lease for 110 acres of the acreage the decedent had sublet from Philip Ludwell II, and on May 31, 1747, he took over the balance of Jaquelin's lease for 105 acres. Then, on June 16, 1762, John Ambler II procured a 21 year lease for 122 acres that formerly had belonged to Edward Jaquelin (Ambler MS 167). The Amblers' agricultural operations on Jamestown Island were run in synchronization with those on the late Edward Jaquelin's leasehold on the mainland, which was treated as a subsidiary farm. The Amblers traditionally entrusted management of their local farming activities to one or two overseers (Ambler MS 53, 106, 107, 123; York County Wills

[431] William Sherwood then had a 260 acre leasehold that was located to the northwest and further inland (Soane 1683).

[432] Jenkins, a tanner, in 1677 claimed that Nathaniel Bacon's followers and Governor William Berkeley's men had absconded with some tanned hides and his cattle (Neville 1976:69, 368).

and Inventories 21:278-282; Smith et al. 1745; Ambler 1826:26; Williamsburg-James City County Tax Lists 1768-1769) (Tables 1 and 2).

In 1765, when Richard Ambler made his will, he bequeathed to his son, John I, the bulk of his James City County property plus his 310 acre leasehold in the mainland, part of the Governor's Land (Ambler Papers, 115, 116, 123; York County Wills and Inventories 21:278-282). Thus, the testator was then leasing 132 acres more than the 178 acres his late father-in-law had procured from Philip Ludwell II in 1712. It is uncertain when the additional 132 acres became part of the leasehold. John Ambler I, who moved to Jamestown around 1756-1758, was an attorney and the burgess for Jamestown. He died in May 1766, having outlived his father by only three months. The land he had inherited from his grandfather and father descended to his elder brother, Edward I, who then resided in Yorktown (York County Wills and Inventories 21:386-391; Stanard 1925:187; McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915: 1766-1769:13).

Edward Ambler I moved to Jamestown Island, which he made his family seat. His life, like his brother's, was cut short and he died in October 1768, leaving a widow and three young children (Ambler 1826:26, 50-51). In late 1779 Mrs. Mary Ambler and her household withdrew to Hanover County to wait out the war. It was around that time that the James River ferry's landing site was shifted from Mrs. Ambler's property on Jamestown Island to her farm on the mainland. The late Edward Ambler I's real and personal estate descended to his son, John Ambler II, who came of age in 1783. Tax rolls for 1783 credited John Ambler II with 375 acres in the mainland. This would have included Richard Ambler's 310 acre leasehold, the 24 acre Glasshouse Tract, the 25-27 acre Perkins/Woodward parcel, plus 14-16 additional acres (James City County Land Tax Lists 1783). In 1788, when the publicly-owned acreage in the mainland John Ambler II's forebears had rented from the colonial government reverted to the state of Virginia, he purchased the leasehold that comprised more than 80 percent of his farm known as "The Maine" or "Amblers." Later he gave life-rights and physical possession of that acreage in its entirety to his married daughter, Mary Ambler Smith, the wife of John Hill Smith, a Williamsburg lawyer. Although family historian John Jaquelin Ambler said that when the Smith couple fell upon hard times, they were obliged to sell their property, real estate tax rolls indicate that John Ambler II never relinquished outright ownership of it. In 1839 it passed out of the family, for it was purchased by John Coke. Until at least 1861 local tax assessors described the Ambler farm on the mainland as consisting of 375 acres (Ambler 1826:50-51; James City County Land Tax Lists 1783-1861).

The Travis Plantation and Townstead

Edward Champion Travis

As previously noted, by 1682, the Travis family had acquired virtually all of Study Unit 2. Their substantial plantation's boundaries were defined by Kingsmill Creek on the west, the Back River on the north, the James River on the east, and Passmore Creek on the south. The Travises also owned a townstead in urban Jamestown, Structure 6 on Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J. Edward Champion Travis, the son of Rebecca and Edward Travis III, was born in 1720. After Edward III's death in ca. 1720, Rebecca married William Broadnax I, who owned Study Unit 1 Tract E; Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J; and Study Unit 4 Tracts L, M, O, and Q. Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time 3-year-old Edward Champion Travis, fell heir to his late father's Jamestown Island plantation (Stanard 1909a:141-145; Meyer et al 1987:377-378).

Edward Champion Travis came of age in ca. 1741-1742 and married Susannah, the daughter of Colonel Joseph Hutchings of Norfolk. They produced three children who died in infancy and four others who attained maturity: sons Champion, Edward IV, and John and daughter Susannah. Susannah Hutchings Travis died on October 28, 1761, at age 32 and was buried in the Travis family graveyard on Jamestown Island. In 1768 and

1769 Major Edward Champion Travis was credited with 44 slaves of tithable age and 1,652 acres of James City County land (Stanard 1909a:142; Williamsburg-James City County Tax Lists 1768-1769). His plantation on Jamestown Island encompassed 802 3/4 acres, which encompassed approximately half of the land he owned in James City County. His other acreage was Piney Grove, a tract that was situated between Deep Creek (now known as Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River (Thompson [1780]). In 1769 the county tax assessor attributed 1,652 acres to Major Edward Champion Travis, along with 33 slaves of tithable age. Son Champion was credited with 10 tithable slaves but no land (Williamsburg-James City County Tax Lists 1768-1769) (Tables 3 and 4).

The Slave Trade at Jamestown

By 1750 Edward Champion Travis had become involved in the slave trade, and his sloop, the *Jamestown*, commenced transporting Africans from Barbados to Virginia. The firm known as Edward C. Travis and Company was involved in the slave trade until at least 1758.[433] Newly arrived Africans may have been sold on the water front, near his townstead.

Changes Affecting the Travis Holdings

In 1752 Edward Champion Travis began serving as Jamestown's burgess, which seat he retained through 1765. He also became a James City County justice in 1752. In 1772, however, he was deemed unqualified to serve as a justice, probably because he had moved to York County and taken up residence upon his recently-purchased plantation at Timson's Neck.[434] Travis's minimal amount of frontage on the James River (two small lots within the New Towne) may have been at the root of his decision to develop a new family seat on the York River, where he would have had direct access to deep-water shipping lanes. When Major Edward Champion Travis vacated his Jamestown Island property, he left it to the occupancy of his sons, Edward IV and Champion. However, he did not give either of them outright ownership of that acreage during his lifetime (Purdie, October 31, 1777; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1771-1783:458; Tyler 1907-1908:142; Smith et al. 1745; Minchinton 1984:145, 159; Stanard 1965:128-170; McIlwaine 1925-1945:5:391; 6:512).

In mid-September 1769 a hurricane struck eastern Virginia, destroying numerous buildings and ruining crops. According to a local newspaper account, many older houses were blown down and roads were blocked with debris and fallen trees, which also obstructed wooded areas. On Jamestown Island, "A schooner of Major Travis's, lying before his house, was drove from her anchors and went ashore on the other side" (Purdie and Dixon, September 14, 1769).[435]

On June 14, 1770, shortly before Edward Champion Travis moved to York County, he offered a sea-going vessel for sale "at Jamestown," indicating that he was there and that the watercraft was available for examination (Purdie, June 14, 1770).[436] In late October 1777 Travis, who indicated that he was living at Timson's Neck in York County, placed an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*, seeking to recover a slave who had fled from his plantation on Jamestown Island. The newspaper notice stated:

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[433] If Travis offered Africans for sale at Jamestown, they probably were sold near his town lots, Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J.

[434] Timson's Neck is located on the west side of Queen's Creek's mouth, in what is now Camp Peary, and abuts the York River. Edward Champion Travis purchased his 578 acres at Timson's Neck from Orlando Jones and some others (Stanard 1909a:143).

[435] It is uncertain whether the schooner was anchored in front of the Travis property in the New Towne (Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J) or near the major's home on the Back River, in Study Unit 2.

[436] The only available copy of this issue of the *Virginia Gazette* is fragmentary and much of Travis's ad is missing.

Table 3.
Travis Plantation Land Tax Assessments, Period II
(Land Tax Lists 1768-1769, 1782-1831)

1768 Major Edward Travis: 1,652 acres

1769 Edward C. Travis: 1,652 acres

1782 Champion Travis: 2,038 acres

1783 Champion Travis: 2,038 acres

1787 Champion Travis: 2,038 acres

1788 Champion Travis: 2,038 acres

1789 Champion Travis: 2,038 acres

1790 Champion Travis: 2,038 acres

1791 Champion Travis: 2,038 acres

1792 Champion Travis: 2,038 acres

1793 Champion Travis: 2,038 acres

1794 Champion Travis: 2,038 acres

1795 Champion Travis: 2,038 acres

1796 Champion Travis: 2,038 acres

1797 Champion Travis: 2,038 acres

1798 Champion Travis: 2,038 acres

1799 Champion Travis: 2,038 acres

1800 Champion Travis: 2,038 acres

1801 Champion Travis: 838 acres

1802 Champion Travis: 838 acres

1803 Champion Travis: 838 acres

1804 Champion Travis: 838 acres

1805 Champion Travis: 838 acres

1806 Champion Travis: 838 acres

1807 Champion Travis: 838 acres

1809 Champion Travis: 838 acres

1810 Champion Travis: 802 3/4 acres
Samuel Travis: 35 acres

1811 Champion Travis estate: 802 3/4 acres

1812 Champion Travis estate: 802 3/4 acres

1813 Champion Travis estate: 802 3/4 acres

1814 Champion Travis estate: 802 3/4 acres by John Ambler

1815 Champion Travis estate: 802 3/4 acres by John Ambler

1816 Champion Travis estate: 802 3/4 acres by John Ambler

1817 Champion Travis estate: 802 3/4 acres by Edward Ambler II

1818 Samuel Travis: 802 3/4 acres. Note: deeded to sd. Travis by Blunt Cole and others and is same land formerly charged to Champion Travis

1819 Samuel Travis: 802 3/4 acres

1820 Samuel Travis: 802 3/4 acres without improvements from Blunt Cole and others

1821 Samuel Travis of Williamsburg: 802 3/4 acres in fee of Blunt Cole and others, without improvements

1822 Samuel Travis estate: 802 3/4 acres without improvements, by David Bullock

1823 Samuel Travis estate: 802 3/4 acres without improvements, by David Bullock

1824 Samuel Travis estate: 802 3/4 acres without improvements, by David Bullock

1825 Samuel Travis estate: 802 3/4 acres without improvements, by David Bullock

1826 Samuel Travis estate: 802 3/4 acres without improvements, by David Bullock

1827 Samuel Travis estate: 802 3/4 acres without improvements, by David Bullock

1828 Samuel Travis estate: 802 3/4 acres without improvements, by David Bullock

1829 Samuel Travis estate: 802 3/4 acres without improvements, by David Bullock

1830 Samuel Travis estate: 802 3/4 acres without improvements, by David Bullock

1831 David Bullock of Richmond: 900 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse; 802 3/4 acres without improvements, by James and Back Rivers and above tract, 8 miles southwest of courthouse. Tracts connected by brackets and labelled Jamestown Island. Notation that the 802 3/4 acre tract was "conveyed by C. S. Wingfield (M) and formerly charged to Samuel Travis estate."

Table 4.
Travis Plantation Personal Property Tax Assessments, Period II
(James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1782-1831)

1768	Major Edward Travis: 44 tithes
1769	Edward C. Travis: 33 tithes Champion Travis: 10 tithes
1782	Champion Travis, owner: 1 free white male tithe; 24 tithable slaves; 10 horses; 32 cattle; 2 wheels
1783	Champion Travis: 15 tithes; 13 non-tithes; 11 horses; 65 cattle; 4 wheels
1784	Champion Travis: 10 free white male tithes; 21 tithable slaves; 10 non-tithable slaves; 47 cattle; 5 horses; 4 wheels Edward Travis estate: 0 free white male tithes; 5 tithable slaves; 7 non-tithable slaves; 6 cattle; 3 horses and mules
1785	Champion Travis: 1 free white male >21; 25 slaves 16 or older; 12 slaves under 16; 8 horses; 69 cattle; 4 wheeled vehicle
1786	Champion Travis's name not listed Edward Travis's name is listed but no information is provided
1787	Champion Travis and Wm. Steiff: 1 free white male 21 or older; 19 slaves 16 or older; 10 slaves under 16; 12 horses; 41 cattle; [also under C. Travis] 6 slaves 16 or older; 2 slaves under 16; 55 cattle
1788	Champion Travis: 25 slaves; 11 horses
1789	Champion Travis: 16 slaves; 7 horses; "ditto" 10 slaves; 2 horses
1790	Champion Travis: 20 slaves; 9 horses
1791	Champion Travis: 23 slaves; 6 horses
1792	Champion Travis: 32 slaves; 9 horses
1793	Champion Travis: 33 slaves; 8 horses; 1 4-wheeled carriage
1794	Champion Travis: 1 free male tithe; 18 slaves 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 or older; 5 horses; ditto 2 free male tithes; 9 slaves 16 or older; 1 slaves 12 or older; 3 horses; 1 coach
1795	Champion Travis: 3 free white male tithes; 30 slaves 16 or older; 5 slaves 12 or older; 9 horses; 1 coachee
1796	Champion Travis: 2 free white male tithes; 26 slaves 16 or older; 7 slaves 12 or older; 7 horses; 1 coach or chaise; 1 coachee
1797	Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 16 slaves 16 or older; 4 slaves 12 or older; 4 horses
1798	Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 19 slaves 16 or older; 4 slaves 12 or older; 7 horses
1799	Champion Travis: 1 free white male tithe; 15 slaves 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 or older; 6 horses
1800	Champion Travis: 1 free white male tithe; 14 slaves 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 or older; 7 horses
1801	Champion Travis: 1 free white male tithe; 16 slaves 16 or older; 4 horses
1802	Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 17 slaves 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 to 16; 1 horse
1803	Champion Travis: 1 free white male tithe; 14 slaves 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 to 16; 4 horses
1804	Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 13 slaves 16 or older; 1 slaves 12 to 16; 4 horses
1805	Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 16 slaves 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 or older; 2 horses
1806	Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 13; slaves 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 to 16; 2 horses
1807	Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 13 slaves 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 to 16; 1 horse; 1 2-wheeled carriage
1808	Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 8 slaves 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 to 16; 1 horse
1810	Champion Travis: 0 free white male tithes; 2 slaves 16 or older; 1 slaves 12 to 16
1811	Samuel Travis: 1 free white male tithe Robert Travis: 1 slaves 16 or older

Note: Tax criteria vary from year to year.

Table 4 (cont'd).
Travis Plantation Personal Property Tax Assessments, Period II
(James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1782-1831)

1812	Robert Travis: 1 free white male tithe; 1 slaves 16 or older [no other Travises listed]
1813	Samuel Travis: 6 slaves 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 to 16; 4 horses
1814	Samuel Travis: 9 slaves 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 to 16; 4 horses
1815	Samuel Travis: 1 slaves 9-12; 9 slaves 12 or older; 14 head of cattle Robert B. Travis: 1 slaves 9-12; 1 slaves 12 or older
1816	Samuel Travis: 16 slaves 12 or older
1817	Samuel Travis: 12 slaves 12 or older; 4 horses
1818	Samuel Travis: 5 slaves 12 or older
1819	Samuel Travis: 6 slaves 12 or older
1820	John Travis: 1 free white male 16 or older; 1 horse Samuel Travis: 6 slaves 12 or older
1821-1828	no recognizable listing
1829	Goodrich Durfey: 7 slaves 12 or older; 3 horses, asses or mules
1830	Goodrich Durfey: 1 free white male 16 or older; 6 slaves 16 or older, 1 slaves 12 to 16; 6 horses; 1 coach
1831	Goodrich Durfey: 1 free white male 16 or older; 9 slaves 16 or older; 6 horses, asses or mules

Run away from my plantation at Jamestown, sometime this last August, a likely mulatto man named Jessee, 17 or 18 year old, tall and slender. I expect he is either enlisted into the army or enlisted on board some vessel as a sailor and freeman. Whoever secures the said slave in any jail so that I get him again or delivers him to me at Queen's Creek in York County, shall have 20 dollars reward [Purdie, October 31, 1777].

Travis may have had a somewhat fiery temper, for the Rev. William Bland, rector of James City Parish, had him arrested for assault. Travis allegedly attacked Bland "with clubs and staves... and did wound and ill treat" him (Bland 1779).

In April 1772 when the marriage of Edward Champion Travis's son, Edward Travis IV, to Miss Betsy Taite was announced in the *Virginia Gazette*, the bridegroom was described as a resident "of Jamestown" (Purdie and Dixon, April 2, 1772). His address raises the possibility that he was occupying his father's townstead in urban Jamestown, on Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J.

The Travis Plantation During the American Revolution

By late summer 1775 the breach between Great Britain and her American colonies had become irreparable and on August 23rd King George III declared that the colonies were in "open and avowed rebellion." This was announced in the *Virginia Gazette* on November 10th, a week and a half after two British tenders fired upon some American sentinels stationed at Jamestown, "driving two or three small balls through the ferry-house." Because Jamestown Island protruded toward the James River's channel, it was strategically important. Therefore, the Travis plantation and townstead were in the midst of what had become a war zone. On November 16, 1775, when a boat load of British soldiers tried to land on Jamestown Island, about half a mile below the American battery (located near the southwest corner of Study Unit 4 Tract P), they were driven off by the men stationed there. It was around that time that a British man-of-war fired upon the Travis family's domestic complex

and one shot went through the kitchen chimney (Purdie, November 17, 1775). It probably was the Travis townstead (Structure 6) that was affected, and Structure 11 that was shelled, for the Travis domestic complex was located upon the bank of the James, in Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J, just east of the American battery, whereas the plantation was at an inland site in Study Unit 2, where it was not as exposed to view.

On January 13, 1780, Edward Travis IV (by then a captain in the Virginia Navy) took possession of Mrs. Mary Ambler's Jamestown Island plantation, for which he held a four-year lease. By that time, the Travis family townstead (like the rest of the late Edward Champion Travis's James City County property) had descended to Edward IV's elder brother, Champion (Ambler MS 129). Also, contemporary narratives (if credible) suggest that most, if not all, of the buildings in urban Jamestown had sustained a considerable amount of damage from the war.

At least one British vessel ran afoul of the local militia posted at Jamestown Island. On a windy night in November 1775, an American sentinel spied two sloops sailing up the James and surmised that they were a British plundering party. When the vessels reversed their course, one ran aground, whereupon the militiamen on Jamestown Island opened fire. The Americans seized the sloop, which later was outfitted for use by Virginia's state navy and placed under the command of Captain Edward Travis, whose brother Champion then lived upon Jamestown Island (James City County Legislative Petitions 1775).

During 1775 and 1776 American soldiers were garrisoned on Jamestown Island. In April 1776 Champion Travis informed his fellow delegates to the Virginia Convention that "his dwelling-house and offices thereunto belonging *in the town of Jamestown*[437] for many months past have been and are now occupied and appropriated by a detachment from the Virginia army as guardhouses" (van Schreeven et al 1972:6:9-10).[438] The wording of Travis's statement suggests strongly that he was speaking of his domestic complex in urban Jamestown, which was located in Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J, near the American battery.

In early autumn 1781, French troops streamed into the area around College Creek and Jamestown, as part of the overall military build-up that preceded the siege of Yorktown. The men of Jean-Francois-Louis, Comte de Clermont-Crevecour, who had set sail from Annapolis on September 20, 1781, and arrived at Jamestown five days later, disembarked near the mouth of College Creek and reportedly set out for Williamsburg as soon as their weapons and supplies had been brought ashore. A Revolutionary War cartographer's map indicates that in 1781 there was a French army encampment in the eastern end of Jamestown Island, within Study Units 2 and 3, and that ships were congregated nearby, in the James (Brown et al 1972:II:Plate 84) (Figure 41). This most likely is one of the sites at which the French pitched camp before setting out for College Landing and Williamsburg. D'Abboville's map (1781) indicates that the eastern end of Jamestown Island was wooded.

The Travis Plantation Descends to the Next Generation

On December 15, 1778, Edward Champion Travis, who was residing upon his York County plantation at Timson's Neck, made his will. He left virtually all of his James City County land to his son, Champion, while giving Timson's Neck to son John and his land in Brunswick and Surry Counties to son, Edward IV, the naval officer. Edward Champion Travis died of dropsy on August 21, 1779, and his will was presented for probate on September 20. He was 59-years-old (York County Wills and Inventories 22 [1771-1783]:458-459; Dixon, August 21, 1779). Unfortunately, the inventory of his estate, filed in York County, omitted

[437] Emphasis added.

[438] On June 15, 1776, Champion Travis asked the state legislature for compensation for the "spoilage or destruction of his dwelling and offices used as guardhouses by Virginia troops" (Church 1984:#96).

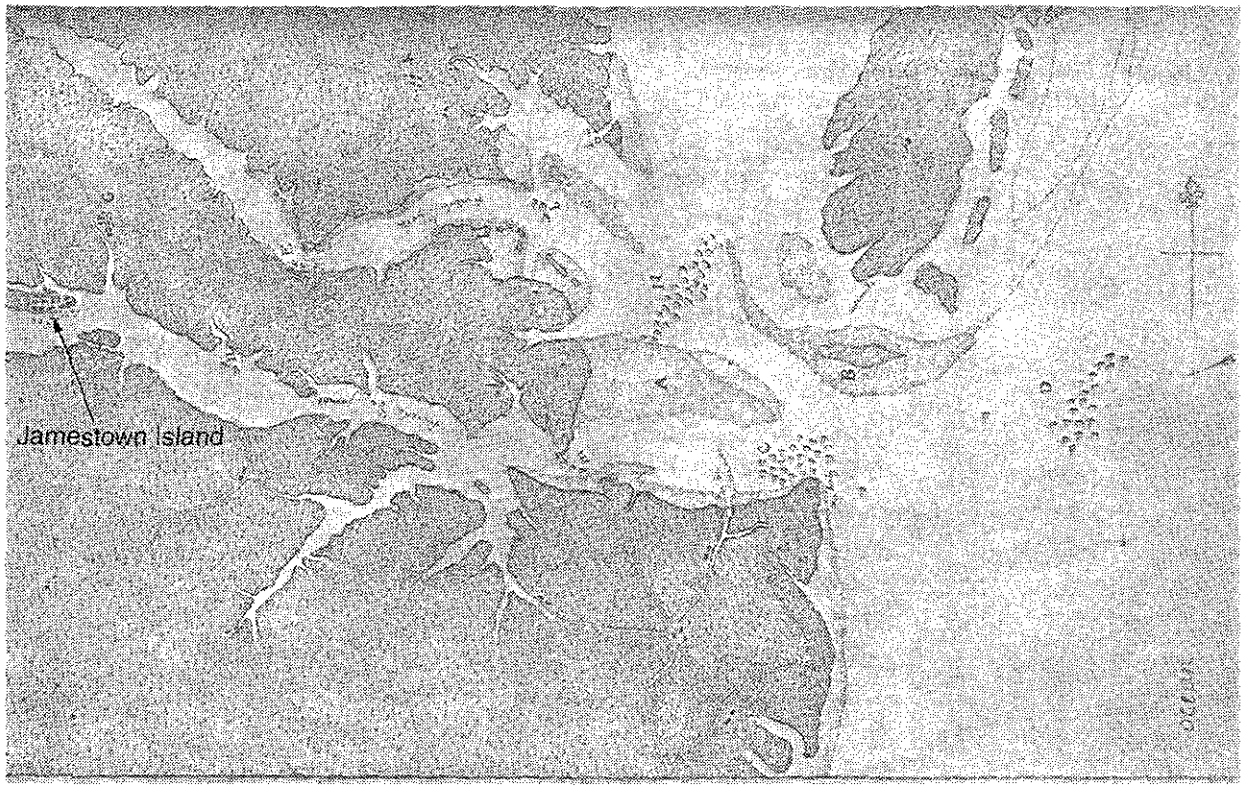


Figure 41. *Detail of* Map Showing Jamestown Island in 1781 *(Rice et al. 1972:II:Plate 84).*

any personal possessions he may have had on Jamestown Island.

Around the time of Edward Champion Travis's death, one of his Jamestown Island slaves, 35-year-old Robert Bowland, fled to the British. In 1783, when the British evacuated from New York the African-Americans who had accepted Lord Dunmore's promise of freedom and acted as loyalists during the Revolution, an estimated 3,000 Virginians participated. One was Robert Bowland, who reportedly fled "about 3½ years ago." He and his fellow passengers aboard the *L'Abondance* were heading for Port Matoon in Nova Scotia (Hodges 1996:208).

Champion Travis

In 1779 Champion Travis inherited all of his late father's James City County property, including his plantation and townstead on Jamestown Island and his Piney Grove acreage (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1771-1783:458). Champion was married to Elizabeth Boush, the daughter of Captain Samuel Boush of Norfolk and his wife, Alice Mason. Together, they produced seven children: John, Champion Jr., Robert, Samuel, Susan, Catherine and Elizabeth (Stanard 1909a:143; Travis n.d.:68).

Champion Travis was residing on Jamestown Island at the onset of the American Revolution and he probably was still living there in 1779 when his father died. It is uncertain whether Champion was occupying his late father's plantation house in Study Unit 2 or sharing the Travis townstead (if habitable) or Ambler house (both of which were in Study Unit 4) with his brother, Captain Edward Travis IV. He also could have been occupying the dwelling the late Edward Champion Travis built in Williamsburg.

Edward Travis IV was living at Jamestown on March 6, 1784, when he advertised that he had "four very likely slaves" to sell. He said that:

> *One [was] a young fellow well acquainted with the business of a house carpenter and cooper; also his wife, a very likely wench of middle age, accustomed to cook and domes-*

*tic work, with two healthy children, a boy and a girl [*Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, *March 6, 1784].*

Edward died later in the year and on July 1, 1804, his son, Joseph H. Travis, sought to obtain and exercise his military warrant for 5,333 1/3 acres of land. Joseph certified "that he is the only heir-at-law of Edward Travis, dec'd, his father, who was a Captain in Virginia State Navy and who died intestate" (Burgess 1929:1148- 1149).

Champion Travis, like his forebears, took an active role in public life. He served as a James City County justice and sheriff, and from 1768 to 1771 he represented Jamestown in the House of Burgesses. He also was Jamestown's delegate to the conventions of 1774 and 1775.[439] During the Revolution, Travis was a colonel in the state regiment and in 1776 he was appointed a naval commissioner. In October 1787 the justices of the James City County court recommended that Champion Travis be made the local militia's lieutenant colonel (Stanard 1910:141-145; James City County Executive Papers, October 8, 1787).

Recovery from the War

After the French and British went home, the people of eastern Virginia were left with the need to rebuild their lives. Some suffered from severe economic hardships thanks to the losses they sustained. Champion Travis of Jamestown Island, who sought compensation from the government for damage to his dwelling and offices at Jamestown, probably lost livestock and field crops to the foraging armies that passed through. According to a July 15, 1781, letter written by Richard Henry Lee, whose brother, William, then owned Green Spring and some lots at Jamestown, Champion Travis lost most of his slaves to the British. He commented that "The enemies Generals here appear to carry on the war much more upon views of private plunder than upon any plan of natural advantage" (Ballach 1911-1914:II:242). Jamestown ferry-keeper Dionysius Lester wanted to be paid for transporting American soldiers across the James and a Surry County woman requested compensation for a slave captured by Lord Dunmore's forces while ferrying Virginia troops. Times generally were hard and William Lee claimed that "a Dutch blanket wrapt round the shoulders and fasten before with a skewer is now ... the most common form of great Coat." John Ambler II and other leaseholders of the Governor's Land refused to pay taxes upon the acreage they rented. Finally, in 1784 the state legislature decided to give almost all publicly-owned land, except church property, to the College of William and Mary whose officials were authorized to sell it (McIlwaine 1925-1945:III, 124; IV, 304; V, 13; Hening 1809-1823:X, 189, 490; XI:406; Church 1984:#161; Sheppherd 1970:I:237; II:314-315; Lee, December 31, 1783).

In 1787 Champion Travis paid builder Humphrey Harwood for building a chimney and "a fabric" (probably a building of some sort) and in February 1790, after Harwood's death, Travis was charged for "turning a large arch; mending a chimney back." A few months later, Travis hired Harwood's men to build a chimney and to mend some plaster. Finally, in 1793 Travis had a room and closet whitewashed (Humphrey Harwood Account Book, 1776-1794:II:120; III:32; IV:7). It is uncertain whether these episodes of construction and repair occurred at Jamestown or on one of Champion Travis's other properties.

Tax records suggest that during the late 1780s and early 1790s Champion Travis's fortunes waned, for the quantity of slaves and livestock he owned decreased markedly. It is probable that he, like many other staunch supporters of the American cause, went deeply into debt during the war. Financial problems appear to have plagued many local families during the post-war period, even though taxes were payable in commodities such as wheat, rye, oats, barley, corn and bacon. In 1785 the James City County sheriff asked the state leg-

[439] Travis was in the legislature when enfranchisement was given to free white adult males who owned at least part of a lot in an officially established town or city and had a house at least 12 feet square (144 square feet) upon their lot (Hening 1809-1823:VIII:306).

islature to dismiss the charges against him for delinquency in collecting local taxes and cited "the hardships of the people due to shortness of crops during the past year as a reason for their not being able to pay taxes promptly." An identical request was put forth the following year because local citizens "were exceedingly poor and unable to pay taxes" (*Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, January 1, 1794; James City County Petitions, November 22, 1813; Palmer 1968:IV:77, 480, 519).

Conditions on the Travis Plantation

In 1782 when real estate tax rolls first were compiled for James City County, Champion Travis was in possession of 2,038 acres of local land. His holdings then included the ancestral plantation on Jamestown Island, Piney Grove and probably his townstead in Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J (James City County Land Tax Lists 1782) (see Table 3).[440] In ca. 1795, when Champion Travis's brother, John, died, his personal effects at Timson's Neck were offered for sale at a public auction. Champion then made several purchases, including two slaves (a man named Nero and a boy named Bob), a phaeton, a bed, a gun and a bullet mold. He may have taken the slaves and some of his other acquisitions to his Jamestown Island plantation (York County Wills and Inventories 23 [1783-1811]:465-471).

In 1782, when personal property tax records were compiled, Champion Travis of James City County was credited with an aggregate of 24 slaves of tithable age, 32 cattle and a two wheeled-vehicle. As he then owned two plantations in the county, it is uncertain how his slaves and livestock were distributed between them. By 1783 Travis was in control of 15 tithable individuals and 13 who were non-tithable, 11 horses, and 65 cattle. In 1784 the assessor identified Champion Travis as a tithable male head of household and he was one of 10 free white male tithes upon whom he paid taxes. He was credited with 21 slaves of tithable age and 10 who were underage; 47 cattle, 5 horses and a four-wheeled carriage. It is very likely that Champion Travis divided his time between Jamestown Island and his home in Williamsburg, for it does not appear that he ever resided at Piney Grove. Personal property tax rolls for 1787 reveal that Champion Travis employed an overseer named William Steiff (a free white male under the age of 21) who assisted with his farming operations. Listed with Travis and Steiff were 19 slaves age 16 or older, 10 who were under 16, 12 horses, and 41 cattle. Also listed under Champion Travis's name were 6 slaves age 16 or older, 2 who were less than 16, and 55 cattle. These slaves and livestock may have been at Piney Grove. Between 1788 and 1793 Champion Travis was credited with 23 to 37 slaves and less than a dozen horses. Also in his possession was a coach (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1782-1794) (Table 4).[441]

The Balance of Power

The balance of power between slave and master was delicate and many whites feared that blacks, who outnumbered them by a substantial two-to-one margin, would rise up in defiance. Occasionally, they did. On May 31, 1793, two of Champion Travis's slaves, Daphne and Nelly, allegedly attacked and killed their overseer, Joel Gathright. The women were ploughing the fields of Champion Travis's plantation on Jamestown Island when Gathright commenced berating them for allowing sheep to get into a corn field. When Nelly hotly denied it, the overseer began flailing her with a small cane. Despite her pregnancy, she fled from his blows. However, she stumbled and fell, whereupon he struck her repeatedly. When Nelly regained her

[440] Piney Grove was larger than had been supposed. During the late eighteenth century James Thompson surveyed the tract for Champion Travis and determined that it consisted of 1,200 acres. It was been subdivided into 27 small parcels, which boundaries conformed to the lay of the land (Thompson [1780]).

[441] 1787 and 1794 were the only years that two groups of slaves and livestock were listed under Champion Travis's name.

footing, she began to fight back, at which point Daphne joined in the fray. The two women then knocked Gathright to the ground and began beating him with sticks and branches. Two young slaves heard Gathright's cries and ran for help, but by the time someone came to his aid, he was almost dead. According to the James City County coroner, the left side of Gathright's skull had been crushed with a large stone. An inquisition was held at Jamestown. The slave women, who were tried by James City County's court justices without legal representation, were allowed to question those testifying against them. Ultimately, they were found guilty of murder and sentenced to hang. Daphne was led to the gallows on July 19th but Nelly's execution was delayed (Palmer 1968:VI:461-465, 521, 532-533, 543).

The circumstances surrounding the case apparently aroused some public sympathy, for in September 1793 a group of neighborhood men asked Governor Henry Lee to commute Nelly's sentence. But simultaneously, another group of citizens filed a counter-petition, recommending that clemency be denied. William Lee of Green Spring, who favored execution, contended that "the alarming commotions in this neighborhood and the dangerous example of such a murder" might inspire other slaves to rise up against their owners. The governor agreed and postponed Nelly's hanging only long enough for her baby to be born. Her death sentence was carried out on October 4th. As was customary in a capital crime, the slaves' owner was compensated for their value as personal property (Palmer 1968:VI:521, 532-533, 543). The circumstances surrounding this tragic and emotionally-charged case are open to conjecture.

The Travis Plantation's Decline

From 1794 through 1796 Champion Travis had a substantial number of slaves on his James City County property, where two or three free white male tithes were located. However, beginning in 1797, the number of slaves in Travis's possession began to dwindle. Even after he disposed of his Piney Grove tract in 1800- 1801, he failed to enhance his investment at Jamestown, where there were no free white males of tithable age upon his 802 3/4 acres. Between 1801 and 1809 Champion Travis served as a James City County justice, an indication that he was respected in his home community. In 1810 Champion died and the following year the names of his sons Samuel and Robert Travis commenced being listed in the personal property tax rolls. Meanwhile, his plantation was attributed to his estate, Finally, in 1813 Robert's name disappeared from the personal property tax rolls and Samuel commenced being credited with approximately a dozen slaves (James City County Land Tax Lists 1782-1821; Personal Property Tax Lists 1782-1818; Executive Papers August 27, 1801; April 10, 1809).

Samuel Travis

In 1818 Champion Travis's executors transferred his Jamestown Island acreage into the hands of his eldest son, Samuel, who was credited with only 5 slaves, age 12 or older.[442] The tax assessor noted that the acreage "was deeded to sd. Travis by Blunt Cole and others and is the same land formerly charged to Champion Travis." Tax rolls for 1820 indicate that there were no buildings on Samuel Travis's Jamestown Island property that were deemed worthy of taxation. This suggests that the Travises' plantation home in Study Unit 2 and their townstead in Study Unit 4 no longer was considered liveable.[443] The buildings occupied by the

[442] The disposition of the late Champion Travis's townstead is open to conjecture. As Louis Girardin's painting indicates that there was a well kept house in that vicinity in 1805, Champion may have restored his townstead to habitable condition or sold his lots to someone else. There are no tax rolls that specifically pertain to urban Jamestown.

[443] When the tax assessor assigned a value to the Amblers' improvements, he considered as an aggregate their mansion in urban Jamestown and their rural acreage elsewhere on the island. Therefore, it is likely that he used the same approach when assessing the Travises' holdings. Thus, when the assessor indicated that the Travises' property on Jamestown Island was

Travis slaves and perhaps any barns or tobacco houses that were present would have been excluded from the tax officials' assessment. Tax records indicate that the Travises retained their plantation until 1831, but never added taxable improvements to their property (James City County Land Tax Lists 1818-1831; Personal Property Tax Lists 1818-1831) (see Tables 3 and 4).

Samuel Travis of Williamsburg was married to Elizabeth Bright of Hampton, the daughter of Captain Francis Bright of the Virginia Navy. Samuel served in the War of 1812 and was a member of the House of Delegates. He made his will on July 21, 1821, which was presented for probate two days later. Although he made reference to some land in Kentucky that he had inherited from his father, he made no mention of his property on Jamestown Island. Samuel's brother-in-law, Jessee Cole, and his own brother, Robert, served as his executors. Samuel Travis was survived by his wife, Elizabeth, and their five children (Susan, Elizabeth, Virginia, Catherine, and Julia). The tax assessor attributed 6 slaves to Samuel Travis in 1820 but none to his estate or his family members in 1821, probably because they were no longer living in James City County (Travers 1954:69; Stanard 1909:143; James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1820-1821).

In May 1822, when a celebration was held on Jamestown Island to commemorate the arrival of Virginia's first colonists, and the crowd dispersed to go picknicking, the Travis house caught on fire and burned. It was then described as having been an "uninhabitable ruin" (*Richmond Times-Dispatch*, May 25, 1822).[444] In 1854 artist Robert Sully sketched the towering ruins of the Travis mansion (see ahead).

(cont'd from previous page)
vacant, it is likely that there were no taxable buildings on any of their acreage, whether rural or urban (James City County Land Tax Lists 1820).

[444] In 1820 and 1821 the county tax assessor probably failed to assign a value to the property because he deemed it uninhabitable.

David Bullock

In 1831 David Bullock of Richmond, who in 1822 purchased the Ambler landholdings on Jamestown Island, bought the late Samuel Travis's estate. It was the first time since Virginia was colonized that Jamestown Island in its entirety was united under a common ownership. The tax assessor clustered the 900 acre Ambler plantation and the 802 3/4 acre Travis plantation, labeling both as "Jamestown Island." He also noted that the Travis property had been "conveyed by C. S. Wingfield and formerly [was] charged to Samuel Travis estate" (James City County Land Tax Lists 1831) (see Table 3).

David Bullock retained his 1,702 3/4 acres on Jamestown Island, which embraced Study Units 1, 2, 3 and almost all of 4, through 1835. Although he appears to have maintained the buildings on the Ambler property, he never developed that portion which had belonged to the Travises (James City County Land Tax Lists 1821-1835). Bullock seems to have placed Jamestown Island in the hands of tenants, Goodrich Durfey and William Edloe (see Period III).

Miscellaneous Jamestown Lots

Within Study Units 1 and 4 were a few lots that were owned by neither the Amblers nor the Travises. Virginia's colonial government held the title to the James City Parish church (Structure 142) and its churchyard (Study Unit 4 Tract V) and after the Disestablishment, the property passed to the state. Also, at least three families (and perhaps a fourth) owned lots in the New Towne: Philip Ludwell III's heirs, John Parke Custis, Thomas Harris, and possibly the Burwells. Although the Ludwell and Burwell lots' locations have been identified, it is uncertain where those belonging to Custis and Harris were situated. It is probable that most of the lots that belonged to absentee owners (except for the parish churchyard) eventually became part of the Ambler plantation or perhaps the Travis townstead.

The Ludwell Lots

In 1771 William Lee and his wife, Hannah Philippa, daughter and heir of the late Philip Ludwell III, came into possession of two lots that her father had owned in Jamestown, only one of which was described as "improved." In 1694 Philip Ludwell I of Green Spring patented a 1½ acre lot that enveloped the ruinous central bays of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A, Bays 2, 3 and 4). During the early eighteenth century Philip Ludwell II acquired the eastern end of Structure 115 (Study Unit 4 Tract K Lots C and D and Bays 3 and 4), which had been rebuilt. Both properties (unless sold) would have descended to Philip Ludwell III and his heirs.

In 1771 William and Hannah Philippa Ludwell Lee, who were living abroad, deeded the lots she had inherited ("all that one lot improved and another unimproved situate, lying and being in Jamestown") to trustees who were authorized to lease the properties to tenants for up to 21 years or three lives (Lee et al. 1771). After the close of the American Revolution, William Lee came to Virginia with his son, William Ludwell Lee. He intended to bring his wife and daughters over, as soon as Green Spring was ready for their occupancy. However, Hannah died in 1784 and William inherited her property. At his death, which occurred on June 27, 1795, his lots in Jamestown and Williamsburg descended to his 22-year-old son, William Ludwell Lee (Fredericksburg Circuit Court 1796). It is uncertain whether young Lee, who razed the Green Spring mansion shortly after his father's death and replaced it with a new dwelling, disposed of his lots in Jamestown. If he didn't, at his death in 1803 the bulk of his real and personal property (with the exception of a few special bequests) would have passed to his married sisters, Portia Hodgson and Cornelia Hopkins. Brother-in-law William Hodgson, who served as the decedent's executor, commenced settling his estate. Some of the will's ambiguities gave rise to disputes that in 1818 were aired before Virginia's Supreme Court (Palmer 1968:VIII:497, 507; Mumford 1921:VI:163-164). It is likely that if William Ludwell Lee had not sold his Jamestown lots prior to his death, executor Hodgson did. The Amblers, whose property was contiguous, would have been likely purchasers.

The Custis Lots

John Parke Custis, who inherited two or more lots on Jamestown Island that he considered useless and likely to decrease in value, in May 1778 sought the advice of his step-father, George Washington, who had a dower interest in the land. Although Washington at first discouraged sale of the property, ultimately he agreed. However, he recommended that Custis swap the lots for real estate rather than currency, which value he considered unstable (Custis, May 12, 1778; Washington 1936:13:56-58). Although the final disposition of the Custis lots is uncertain, John Parke Custis may have sold them to one of the Amblers, whose ancestral landholdings then encompassed much of Study Unit 4.

The Harris Lot or Lots

On April 18, 1766, John Harris offered his "high bred horse Regulus" for stud service at Jamestown, noting that "There is excellent pasturage for the mares and a very careful fellow that attends" (Purdie and Dixon, April 18, 1766). It is uncertain whether Harris owned a Jamestown lot or merely was a tenant.

An advertisement in the July 2, 1772, edition of the *Virginia Gazette* announced that William Davis's personal belongings were to be offered for sale in Jamestown at the late Thomas Harris's house. It stated:

> *To be sold on Wednesday the 15th Instant (July) at the late Dwellinghouse of Thomas Harris, deceased, in Jamestown: All the estate of William Davis, deceased, consisting of household and kitchen furniture, such as beds, chairs, tables &c. Also a Country sloop, with her rigging, sails, &c., one large and one small boat, a negro woman, and sixteen shoats. Credit will be allowed till the 1th of January next for all sums above 25 shillings, the purchasers giving bond,*

with approved security to William Perkinson, administrator [Purdie and Dixon, July 2, 1772].

The late William Davis's possession of a sloop and boat suggests strongly that the property he was renting was on the waterfront or had access to it. As the Amblers and Travises monopolized all of Jamestown Island's frontage on the Back River and almost all of that on the James, it is likely that the Harris property was situated in Study Unit 4, perhaps within the New Towne. However, its location is unknown.[445] In 1782, when real estate tax rolls commenced being compiled, no Jamestown lots were listed.

The Burwell Lot

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, who patented a 3 3/8 acre lot (Study Unit 4 Tract S) in 1683, in 1692 left all of his undesignated real and personal estate to his niece, Abigail Bacon Smith Burwell of Gloucester County, stipulating that it was to descend to her husband, Lewis Burwell II, and her sons, Nathaniel and James. Bacon also made a bequest to his great-nephew, Lewis Burwell III. Abigail outlived her uncle by only a few months. In 1698 Lewis Burwell II represented Jamestown in the assembly. As his wife's heir and his sons' guardian, he would have been in legal possession of property in Jamestown and therefore would have met the eligibility requirements for holding office. Lewis Burwell II died in 1710. His will specified that Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's estate was to be divided among his own children. Son Nathaniel Burwell apparently inherited Study Unit 4 Tract S (Bacon's lot), for he served as Jamestown's burgess from 1710 to 1712. In 1736 Nathaniel's son and heir, Lewis Burwell III, succeeded him in the assembly and represented Jamestown through 1740. He died in 1744 (Leonard 1976:58, 65, 76; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 9:116-118; 14:64; McGhan 1993:452; Stanard 1965:17; Meyer et al 1987:145). It is uncertain what happened to the Bacon/Burwell lot after Lewis Burwell III's decease. However, as his death coincided with Richard Ambler's deliberate acquisition of substantial quantities of land on Jamestown Island, which he developed into a family estate, Study Unit 4 Tract S may have become part of the Ambler plantation.

The Church and Graveyard

Around 1748-1750, a new James City Parish church was built on the mainland, on the road that led to Williamsburg. According to Bishop William Meade, that structure was in use during the second half of the eighteenth century. Its location is shown on Revolutionary War era maps of the area (Meade 1992:I:113; Desandrouins 1781; D'Abboville 1781).

Ebenezer Hazard, who first visited Jamestown in 1777, commented upon the ruinous church (Structure 142) with its unenclosed graveyard, noting that some of its tombstones were still intact (Shelley 1954:411,414-415). The Chevalier d'Ancteville, who arrived at Jamestown in 1781, shortly after the British departed, said that he found there "burned debris, tombs opened, other beautiful monuments broken to pieces, a temple partly knocked down" (Ancteville 1781).

In 1786, the General Assembly passed the Statute of Religious Freedom, which disestablished the State Church, denied it the right of general taxation, and allowed abandoned parish-owned real estate to revert to the Commonwealth of Virginia. Churches that were in continuous use were not threatened. Under the new law, vestries were entitled to retain their parishes' glebe until the incumbent clergyman died or left. Money yielded by the sale of parish-owned real estate was set aside for the education of local children or was given to county Overseers of the Poor, who were responsible for public welfare. During this period, many Anglican churches came into the hands of other denominations or simply fell into disrepair. Although the old parish church on Jamestown Island was in

[445] If Harris owned Study Unit 4 Tract T and neighboring Study Unit 4 Tract H (two lots which chains-of-title are incomplete), he would have had room for pasturage and access to the waterfront.

ruins, it never was sold. Bishop William Meade in 1856 incorrectly stated that "In the year 1785, when the act of Assembly ordered the sale of Church property, it reserved that which was possessed by right of private donation. Under this clause, it was given into the hands of the late Mr. John Ambler, his grandson." Meade was right, however, in saying that during the 1790s John Ambler II and William Lee of Green Spring used "the old brick enclosure, which was mouldering into ruins, and some of the walls of the church" to build a wall around the graves in the church yard. In Meade's opinion, the cemetery once covered ½ acre of ground, although only approximately 1/3 acre was enclosed by the wall Ambler and Lee built. In 1856 Meade remarked that when he last visited Jamestown, the ancient church was "no longer to be seen, except the base of its ruined tower." He stated that the old tower and church ruins were about 50 yards from the river, "which in that place has not yet encroached on the bank" (Meade 1992:I:95, 110-111).

Chapter 4.
Period III: Consolidation (1832-1892)

Jamestown Island's Owners

David Bullock

David Bullock, who in 1822 purchased the 900 acre Ambler plantation (Study Units 1, 3 and most of 4), during 1831 bought the late Samuel Travis's 802 3/4 acre estate (Study Unit 2). It was the first time since Virginia was colonized that almost all of Jamestown Island was owned by one individual. Bullock retained the 1,702 3/4 acre island through 1835. Although tax assessment rolls suggest that he maintained the buildings on the Ambler property, which retained their estimated value of $3,600, he never developed that portion which had belonged to the Travises (James City County Land Tax Lists 1821-1835) (Table 5).[446] It appears that Bullock placed his property in the hands of joint tenants, Goodrich Durfey and William Edloe.

Construction of a Toll Bridge

On January 24, 1832, Goodrich Durfey and Chickahominy River ferry-owner William Edloe asked Virginia's General Assembly to move the ferry-landing from the old Ambler farm on the mainland back to Jamestown Island, where steamboats could dock more conveniently. They contended that the public would benefit if a bridge were built across the creek separating Jamestown Island from the mainland, at a site where one formerly had stood. They indicated that a ferry traveling from Cobham or Swann's Point to Jamestown Island would ply a shorter distance than a route that linked those sites to the mainland. They also said that ever since the ferry-landing had been shifted from the island to the Ambler farm on the mainland, ferry passengers had been inconvenienced because the river bottom was shoal-covered and it was difficult for passengers to get to and from the shore. Durfey and Edloe said that by moving the landing to the island, "steamboats would at all times be able to come alongside a wharf ... at the public landing and load or receive passengers." They added that, "There are also many people who want to see the island out of curiosity and are hindered by the difficulty and uncertainty of getting on or off." Durfey and Edloe requested permission to erect a toll bridge across the Back River and indicated that the owner of Jamestown Island approved of their proposal. The two men submitted a crude sketch, showing where they wanted to construct the toll bridge (Figure 42). They said that it would extend for at least 250 yards, linking the public roads on the mainland and island, and that they intended to use public property on the island as a ferry-landing.[447] Durfey and Edloe requested ten years' proprietorship of the toll bridge (James City County Legislative Petitions 1832-1833:136, 145).

Four days later, Williamsburg attorney John Hill Smith, husband of John Ambler II's daughter, Mary, who had possession of the Ambler farm and ferry-landing on the mainland, voiced his objections to the proposal. He said that "the old road on the Jamestown side has been wholly washed away by the river and the place where it ran is now in the river at a distance of 75 or 100 yards from the present shore." He added that "on the opposite side of the creek the former road is partly covered by water" and said that it had been unusable for more than 50 years. He also pointed out that the ferry-landing had been at the Ambler farm on the mainland for more than 20 years and that there had been no house for the accommodation of

[446] This can be said because the assessor listed the 900 acre and 802 3/4 acre parcels separately, even though they were owned by one individual.

[447] This suggests that they intended to place the ferry-landing upon the church property, the only acreage on the island then publicly-owned.

Table 5.
Jamestown Island Land Tax Assessments, Period III
(James City County Land Tax Lists 1832-1861)

1832 David Bullock of Richmond: 900 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse; 802 3/4 acres by James and Back Rivers and above tract, 8 miles southwest of courthouse. Tracts connected by brackets and identified as Jamestown Island.

1833 David Bullock of Richmond: 900 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse; 802 3/4 acres by James and Back Rivers and above tract, 8 miles southwest of courthouse. Tracts connected by brackets and identified as Jamestown Island.

1834 David Bullock of Richmond: 900 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse; 802 3/4 acres by James and Back Rivers and above tract, 8 miles southwest of courthouse. Tracts connected by brackets and identified as Jamestown Island.

1835 David Bullock of Richmond: 900 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse, and worth $12/acre; 802 3/4 acres by James and Back Rivers and above tract, 8 miles southwest of courthouse, and worth $8/acre. Tracts connected by brackets and identified as Jamestown Island. Note: value per acre includes worth of improvements.

1836 Goodrich Durfey of James City County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse; by deed from Bullock.

1837 Goodrich Durfey of James City County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.

1838 Goodrich Durfey of James City County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.

1839 Goodrich Durfey of James City County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.

1840 Goodrich Durfey of James City County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.

1841 Goodrich Durfey of James City County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.

1842 Goodrich Durfey of James City County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.

1843 Goodrich Durfey of James City County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.

1844 Goodrich Durfey of James City County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse. Note: in 1844 this is the only land with which Durfey is credited.

1845 Goodrich Durfey of James City County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.

1846 John Coke of James City County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse; by deed from Durfey in 1845.

1847 Martha Orgain of Surry County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse; by deed from John Coke in 1846.

1848 Martha Orgain of Surry County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.

1849 Martha Orgain of Surry County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with

Table 5 (cont'd).
Jamestown Island Land Tax Assessments, Period III
(James City County Land Tax Lists 1832-1861)

	$3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.
1850	Martha Orgain of Surry County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,600 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.
1851	Martha Orgain of Surry County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,400 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.
1852	William Allen (1828-1875) of Surry County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,400 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse; by deed from Martha Orgain in 1851. Note: other James City County properties (Kingsmill, Neck O'Land and 145 acres purchased from Wilkinson) on which William Allen (1828-1875) paid taxes were part of the estate of his late uncle until 1859.
1853	William Allen of Surry County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,900 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.
1854	William Allen of Surry County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,900 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.
1855	William Allen of Surry County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,900 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.
1856	William Allen of Surry County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $3,900 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.
1857	William Allen of Surry County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $4,200 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse. Note: no explanation about the elevation in the value of improvements.
1858	William Allen of Surry County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $4,200 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.
1859	William Allen of Surry County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $4,200 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse. Note: the late William Allen's Neck O'Land, Kingsmill and Wilkinson properties were transferred into the name of his great-nephew and heir, William Allen (1828-1875), during 1859.
1860	William Allen of Surry County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $4,200 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.
1861	William Allen of Surry County: 1,702 1/2 acres by Back and James Rivers with $4,200 in improvements, 7 miles southwest of courthouse.

steamboat passengers until he had built one. He said that earlier on, the Amblers had erected "a stone bridge across the creek at a great distance from the old road, which was good as long as it lasted." Smith said that there was little advantage to building a bridge, for "on the Island of Jamestown [there is] no courthouse, no mill, no ferry, public warehouse, market town or church to make it a public resort, that only the petitioners and steamboat owners would benefit." He added that he had rented his ferry and ferry-landing to the petitioners for a year and they also were the tenants of Colonel David Bullock of Richmond, who owned Jamestown Island (James City County Legislative Petitions 1832-1833:137-138).

Despite John Hill Smith's lawyerly protests, the ferry-landing was moved to Jamestown Island and the bridge proposal was approved. On May 14, 1832, at the James City County Court, "On the motion of William Edloe & Goodrich Durfey permission is granted them to erect a Bridge over the creek from the public landing on the main road

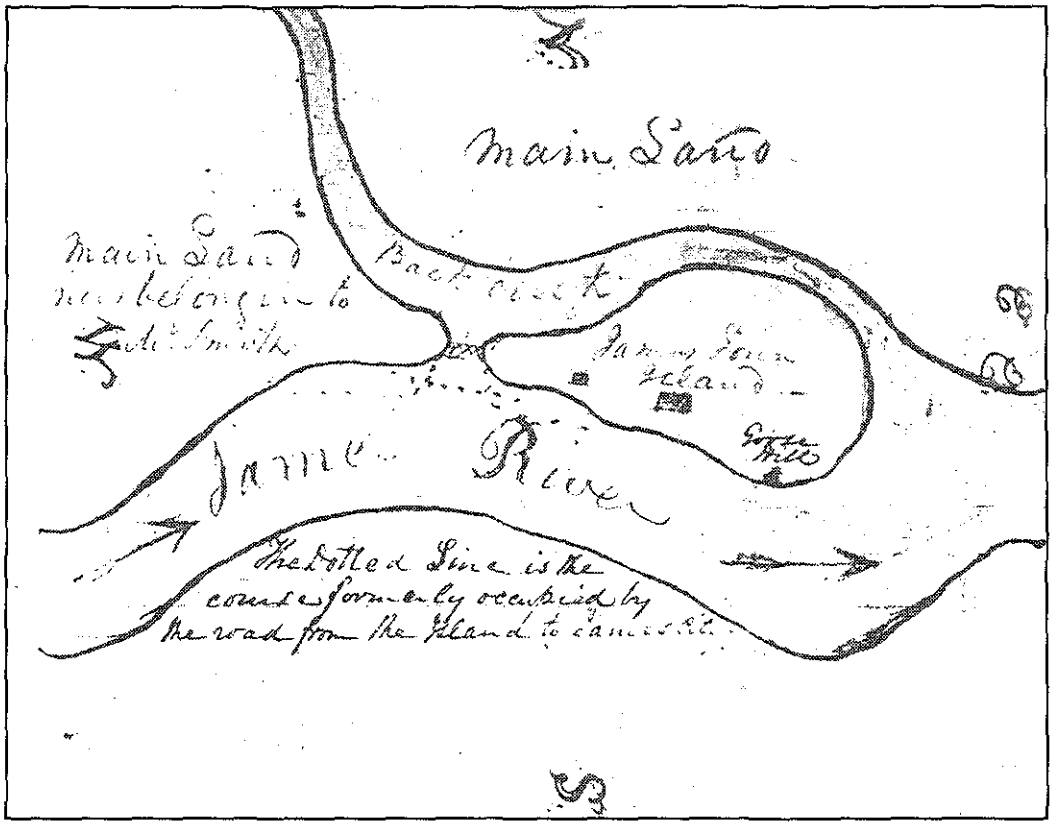


Figure 42. *Sketch map showing proposed toll bridge, 1832 (James City County Legislative Petitions 1833).*

to Jamestown Island in this county at their own proper costs and charges and to keep the same up as long as they may think proper to do so." The new bridge was in place by January 10, 1833, when it was inspected by local officials, who attached Durfey and Edloe's crude sketch map to their report. They said:

> *We the undersigned have seen the Bridge lately erected by Majors Edloe and Durfey, that the sd. Bridge commences at a point of Land on this side (called the Bay) always considered as the main road leading into James Town Island, there can be no other place in our opinion but that the present situation of the Bridge erected or that could be considered as the termination of the main road on this side to that place; there had formerly been a Bridge starting and landing from the same place where the present bridge is now erected [James City County Legislative Petitions 1832-1833:144-146].*

The wording of the inspectors' statement suggests strongly that Durfey and Edloe's toll bridge stood at the same site John Ambler II had built his stone-and-log causeway during the 1790s. When Benjamin J. Lossing visited Jamestown Island around 1850-1851, he made a sketch of the bridge that connected Jamestown Island with the mainland. The structure was ruinous and falling apart (Lossing 1850-1851:240) (Figure 43). In 1856 Bishop William Meade commented that only the pilings of Durfey's bridge remained (Meade 1992:I:110).

Goodrich Durfey

In 1836 David Bullock sold Jamestown Island to toll bridge and ferry proprietor Goodrich Durfey of Williamsburg, a local real estate speculator who at various times invested in the Jockey's Neck and Indigo Dam farms,[448] the Newport Mills (which

[448] These purchases occurred in 1848 and 1849 (James City County Land Tax Lists 1848-1849).

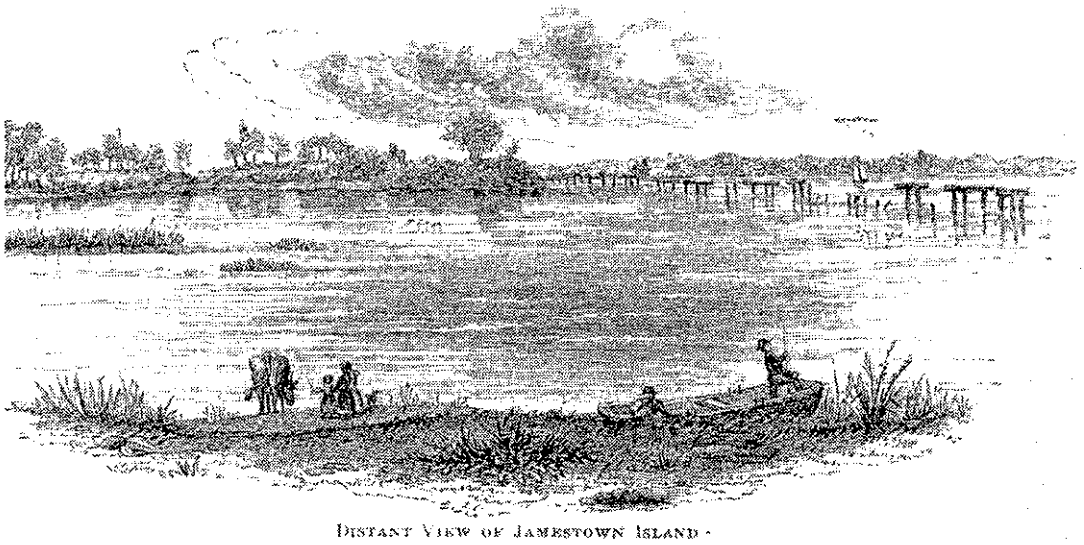


Figure 43. Distant View of Jamestown Island *(Lossing 1850-1851).*

consisted of both saw and grist mills),[449] Piney Grove (between Deep Creek and the mouth of the Chickahominy River)[450] and the Bassett Hall tract, in Williamsburg. Durfey, like David Bullock, maintained the buildings at Jamestown, which retained their assessed value of $3,600. Mid-nineteenth century agricultural census records that document Durfey's farming activities on his other local properties suggest that he was an enlightened farmer, who worked his land with slave labor and had a substantial investment in agricultural equipment. Therefore, he probably kept abreast of the latest advances in scientific farming. Personal property tax rolls indicate that he was a member of the upper middle class and a would-be entrepreneur, who typically had 18-20 slaves over the age of 12 and a dozen horses, asses and mules (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1832-1846) (Table 6).

In 1837, while Goodrich Durfey was in possession of Jamestown Island, historian Charles Campbell made a personal visit there. He said that "The fragment of a wall of the old church, standing solitary in a ploughed field, is all that remains of Jamestown. The water hereabouts is gaining on the land and the time may not be far off when the ground on which it stood shall be submerged" (Tyler 1912-1913:133-138). Richard Randolph, who also came to the island in 1837, spoke of seeing the church ruins, "some of the remains of the walls and mounds of the ancient fortress of Jamestown" and "a small brick building that tradition says was a powder magazine."[451] He added that

[449] Durfey and John Coke purchased the Newport Mills in 1855 and kept the property until after the Civil War (James City County Land Tax Lists 1855-1866).

[450] Durfey and a partner, Andrew H. Bennett, purchased Piney Grove in 1838 and resold it two years later (James City County Land Tax Lists 1838-1841).

[451] Bishop William Meade, when writing his history of Virginia, said that when he visited Jamestown Island, "the old brick magazine and a small frame room near it must soon tumble into the James River" unless preventive measures were taken against erosion (Meade 1992:I:114). A plat that was made in the late nineteenth century reveals that the remains of the powder magazine was close to west end of the Ludwell Statehouse Group, on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lots A and B (James City County Plat Book 2:6). A photograph taken around 1890 shows two men standing upon the powder magazine's walls, which had fallen into the James (Figure 44).

Table 6.
Jamestown Island Personal Property Tax Assessments, Period III
(James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1832-1861)

1832	Goodrich Durfey: 1 free white male age 16 or older; 11 slaves age 16 or older; 6 horses, asses and mules; 1 gig worth $75.
1833	Goodrich Durfey: 1 free white male age 16 or older; 11 slaves age 16 or older; 6 horses, asses, and mules; 1 gig
1834	Goodrich Durfey: 1 free white male age 16 or older; 11 slaves age 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 to 16; 8 horses, asses, and mules
	Goodrich Durfey and William Edloe: 6 slaves age 16 or older
1835	Goodrich Durfey: 1 free white male age 16 or older; 12 slaves age 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 to 16; 8 horses, asses, and mules; 1 gig
	William Edloe and Goodrich Durfey: 2 slaves age 16 or older; 3 horses, asses, and mules
1836	Goodrich Durfey: 1 free white male age 16 or older; 11 slaves age 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 to 16; 9 horses, asses, and mules; 1 gig
	Goodrich Durfey and William Edloe: 14 slaves age 16 or older; 1 horses, asses, and mules
	William Edloe and Goodrich Durfey: 1 slave age 16 or older; 3 horses, asses, and mules
1837	Goodrich Durfey: 1 free white male age 16 or older; 11 slaves age 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 to 16; 14 horses, asses, and mules
	Goodrich Durfey and Bennett: 10 slaves age 16 or older
1838	Goodrich Durfey: 1 free white male age 16 or older; 15 slaves age 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 to 16; 7 horses, asses, and mules
	Goodrich Durfey and Bennett: 10 slaves age 16 or older
1839	Goodrich Durfey: 1 free white male age 16 or older; 14 slaves age 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 to 16; 9 horses, asses, and mules
	William Edloe and Morecock: together with 8 slaves age 16 or older
1840	Goodrich Durfey: 1 free white male age 16 or older; 13 slaves age 16 or older; 2 slaves 12 to 16; 12 horses, asses, and mules
1841	Goodrich Durfey not listed
1842	Goodrich Durfey: 1 free white male age 16 or older; 11 slaves age 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 to 16; 10 horses, asses, and mules; 1 gold watch; 1 silver watch
1843	Goodrich Durfey: 1 free white male age 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 to 16; 11 slaves age 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 to 16; 1 gold watch; 1 silver watch
1844	Goodrich Durfey: 1 free white male age 16 or older; 16 slaves age 12 or older; 11 horses; 1 carriage worth $150; 1 gold watch; 1 silver watch
	John Coke: 0 free white male age 16 or older; 24 slaves age 12 or older; 15 horses
1845	John Coke: 0 free white male age 16 or older; 27 slaves age 16 or older; 1 slave age 12 or older; 14 horses, asses, and mules
	Goodrich Durfey: 0 free white male age 16 or older; 12 slaves age 16 or older; 1 slave 12 to 16; 10 horses, asses, and mules
1846	John Coke: 2 free white male age 16 or older; 44 slaves age 16 or older; 3 slaves 12 to 16; 38 horses, asses, and mules; 1 4-wheeled carriage; 1 patent lever watch; 1 piano worth $350
1847-1853	no records available for Jamestown Island
1854	William Allen [probably estate]: 94 slaves age 16 or older; 101 slaves 12 to 16; 45 horses, asses, and mules; $25 in household furniture
1855	William Allen (1828-1875) (at Jamestown): 0 free white male age 16 or older; 19

Note: Tax criteria vary from year to year.

Table 6 (cont'd).
Jamestown Island Personal Property Tax Assessments, Period III
(James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1832-1861)

slaves age 16 or older; 21 slaves 12 to 16; 12 horses, asses, and mules; 213 cattle; $25 in household or kitchen furniture

William Allen's estate (at Kingsmill): 40 slaves age 16 or older; 44 slaves 12 to 16; 22 horses, asses, and mules; 206 cattle; $25 household furniture

William Allen's estate (at the Neck O'Land): 27 slaves age 16 or older; 31 slaves 12 to 16; 17 horses, asses, and mules; 167 cattle; 0 household furniture

1856 William Allen (1828-1875) (at Jamestown): 0 free white male age 16 or older; 22 slaves age 16 or older; 24 slaves 12 to 16; 12 horses, asses, and mules valued at $1200; 227 cattle value $1096; $25 household and kitchen furniture.

William Allen's estate (at Kingsmill): 38 slaves age 16 or older; 44 slaves 12 to 16; 18 horses, asses, and mules; 206 cattle; $25 household furniture

William Allen's estate (at the Neck O'Land): 26 slaves age 16 or older; 36 slaves 12 to 16; 18 horses, asses, and mules; 167 cattle; 0 household furniture

1857 William Allen (1828-1875) (at Jamestown): 0 free white male age 16 or older; 23 slaves age 16 or older; 25 slaves 12 to 16; 13 horses, asses, and mules; 249 cattle; $25 household and kitchen furniture

William Allen's estate (at Kingsmill): 40 slaves age 16 or older; 42 slaves 12 to 16; 18 horses, asses, and mules; 206 cattle; $25 household furniture

William Allen's estate (at the Neck O'Land): 26 slaves age 16 or older; 36 slaves 12 to 16; 17 horses, asses, and mules; 167 cattle; 0 household furniture

1858 William Allen (1828-1875) (at Jamestown): 0 free white male; 27 slaves age 16 or older; 29 slaves 12 to 16; 18 horses, asses, and mules; 216 cattle; sheep and hogs; $25 household and kitchen furniture

William Allen's estate (at Kingsmill): 43 slaves age 16 or older; 46 slaves 12 to 16; 22 horses, asses, and mules; 206 cattle; $25 household furniture

William Allen's estate (at the Neck O'Land): 24 slaves age 16 or older; 30 slaves 12 to 16; 14 horses, asses, and mules; 167 cattle; 0 household furniture

1859 William Allen (1828-1875) (at Jamestown): 24 slaves age 16 or older; 27 slaves 12 to 16; 14 horses, asses, and mules; 226 cattle; sheep and hogs; $25 household furniture

William Allen's estate (at Kingsmill): 43 slaves age 16 or older; 45 slaves 12 to 16; 17 horses, asses, and mules; 206 cattle; $25 household furniture

William Allen's estate (at the Neck O'Land): 22 slaves age 16 or older; 28 slaves 12 to 16; 15 horses, asses, and mules; 167 cattle; 0 household furniture

1860 William Allen (1828-1875) (at Jamestown): 27 slaves age 16 or older; 28 slaves 12 to 16; 15 horses, asses, and mules; 52 cattle; $25 household furniture

William Allen's estate (at Kingsmill): 43 slaves age 16 or older; 45 slaves 12 to 16; 18 horses, asses, and mules; 206 cattle; $25 household furniture

William Allen's estate (at the Neck O'Land): 21 slaves age 16 or older; 27 slaves 12 to 16; 13 horses, asses, and mules; 167 cattle; 0 household furniture

1861 William Allen (1828-1875) (at Jamestown): 0 free white male age 16 or older; 32 slaves at least 12; 14 horses, asses, and mules; 60 cattle; 70 sheep; 116 hogs; $25 household furniture; $30 worth of personal property taxed elsewhere

William Allen's estate (at Kingsmill): 45 slaves at least 12; 18 horses, asses, and mules; 206 cattle; $25 household furniture

William Allen's estate (at the Neck O'Land): 25 slaves at least 12; 16 horses, asses, and mules; 167 cattle; 0 household furniture

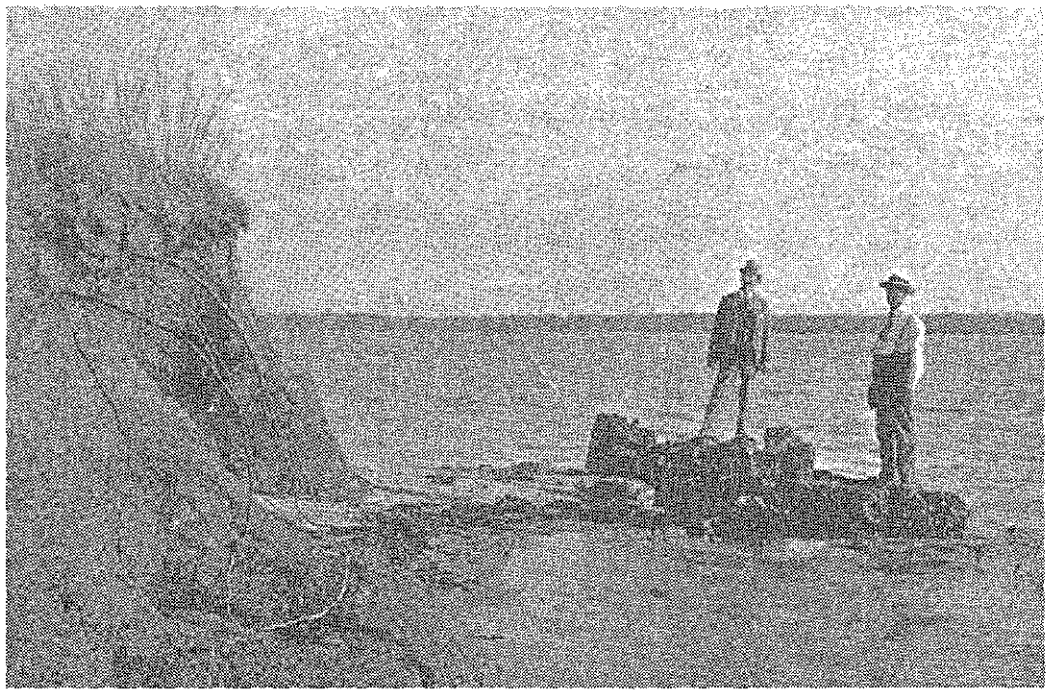


Figure 44. *Photograph of the ruins of the Powder Magazine taken about 1890 (J. Paul Hudson Papers, COLOJ 47658, Box 3 FF70, Colonial National Historical Park).*

> *... at a little distance from this house are the remains ... of a very large building. This was apparently the Governor's or State House. There are similar remains in other places lying on the surface of the ground in regular order in a long, narrow line, which probably indicates the direction and location of the principal streets of the town.*[452]

Randolph noted that "In digging the foundation of a house in the Island some time since [ago] the workmen discovered several human skeletons. Indeed, these may be found in many places near the site of the town." Although Randolph believed that the old Jamestown settlement lay to the west of the fort site, he said that:

> *The part of the Island not embraced within the limits of a town appears to have been apportioned into numerous lots of small size, each one of which was surrounded by a dyke. Many of these ditches are still visible and plainly indicate the extent of the lots they enclosed. On some of these lots are to be found remains of buildings. On one there is an old well, the brick walls of which are quite perfect and sound [Tyler 1900:58-59].*

During the early twentieth century Lyon G. Tyler interviewed two men Goodrich Durfey had employed as carpenters while he owned Jamestown Island. J. R. Bacon, who was born in 1835, in 1900 stated that he had lived with his father, William E. Bacon, "in the powder magazine on Jamestown Island, and though but a small boy at the time, retain lively recollections of the appearance of the place." He said that he used to sit upon the roots of the cypress tree, "now standing many yards in the water, and fish at high tide. At low tide its roots were dry." He also said that he remembered the day that "the boiler of the *Curtisspeck* [*Curtis Peck*] blew up at the wharf while I lived there. The mail was carried to the Island over the causeway across the submerged neck. The pierhead of the wharf stood then about 60 feet from the shore." In 1905 when Mr. Bacon was interviewed again, he said that "When I lived upon the Island the wharf where the steamboat stopped was above the church tower and its site is indicated by some old piles standing out in the water. Some years

[452] Randolph probably saw Structures 17 (Study Unit 4 Tract C), 115 (Study Unit 4 Tract K), and the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Study Unit 4 Tract U Lots A and B).

after our departure, Col. William Allen built the wharf below his residence."[453] Lyon G. Tyler added that he spoke with John Gilliam, whose father (like J. R. Bacon's) had been employed by Goodrich Durfey as a carpenter. He said that "The Gilliams lived in the brick magazine after the Bacons left it" and that Gilliam pointed out the cypress tree, indicating that in 1836-1846 it "stood on the shore about a hundred yards from the magazine" (Tyler 1906:255).

Goodrich Durfey, less than a decade after purchasing Jamestown Island, offered it for sale. On November 26, 1844, he placed an advertisement in a Richmond paper.

> *Old Jamestown for Sale. The undersigned, wishing to change his occupation, now offers this desirable and valuable farm for sale. It is situated immediately on the banks of the lower James River, James City County, Virginia. It contains about 2,000 acres of land,[454] about one half of which is arable, the greatest portion being now in a nigh state of improvement and cultivation; two-thirds of it having been marled and limed. And by this improvement the crops have been greatly increased. This land is, by many who are acquainted with it and consequently competent judges, deemed to be the best wheat soil in the state. One of the fields having produced last year, by actual measurement, over 30 bushels to the acre. There are now seeded on the land nearly 300 bushels of wheat, mostly on a heavy clover fallow, and which from the present prospect bid fair in market [illegible] from any excuse whatever, failed on this farm during the last 15 years. This is one of the best stock farms in Eastern Virginia, having ample pasturage for 300 head of stock.*
>
> *The improvements are a substantial three story brick house, 40 by 60, with 4 rooms on a floor, in good repair, a kitchen, a laundry, an overseer's house, a dairy, a smokehouse, barns and stables; together with negro houses, all of which are new and in good order. Since the draining of the fresh water ponds on this place, it has been very healthy for white persons, never having been otherwise for negroes.*
>
> *There is a young apple and peach orchard of the best improved fruit from the Baltimore and Richmond nurseries, bearing yearly and which has never been known to be injured by frost. This farm has a ferry belonging to it, productive of $300 yearly, as well as a steamboat wharf now paying an annual rent of $300. The terms of sale will be accommodating, only one quarter of the purchase money will be required in cash, and the remainder three quarters in three equal annual installments, with a deed of trust on the property to secure the credit payments. If desired, the purchaser can have about 20 young and likely negroes, together with all the stock and team of every kind, farming utensils, etc*
>
> *In concluding this advertisement, the subscriber would only observe that the river prospect from the plantation is very fine, while it were superrogatory to enlarge upon the multiform interesting associations of all this spot when the planting of Smith and the settlement of the Virginia Colony. Few localities are more celebrated in history than the classic soil of Old James Town. G. Durfey. Williamsburg, November 26 [Durfey 1844].*

According to real estate tax rolls, the buildings located on Durfey's 1,702 3/4 acre farm were worth $3,600 throughout the decade he owned the property (James City County Land Tax Lists 1836-1846).

Artist August Kellner (1845) apparently visited Jamestown Island during 1845, for he executed a sepia drawing that depicted the ruinous church tower and showed a tall brick structure at a site analogous to the Ambler house. To the rear and oriented on a somewhat different axis was what appears to have been a dependency or lesser sized house (Figure 45). George W. Mark's painting, entitled "Jamestown, Virginia," which is believed to predate 1850, depicts the Ambler house as a massive two-story brick dwelling that faced the river and had a mansard roof and an interior chimney on

[453] Allen did not reside upon Jamestown Island.

[454] This figure, 300 acres more than Durfey was taxed upon, probably extended to the mean low water mark and included some marsh land.

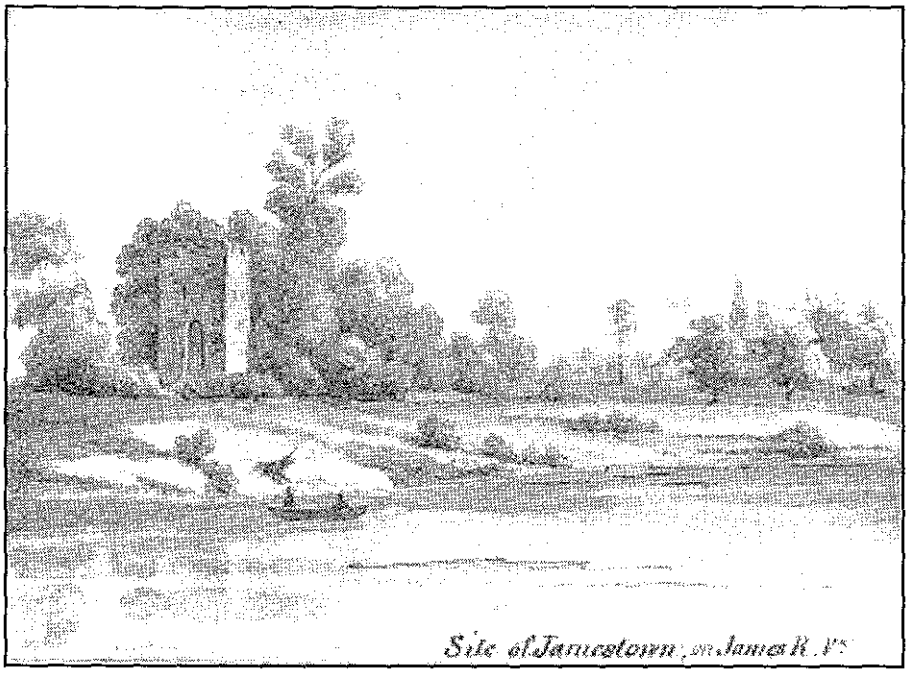


Figure 45. Site of Jamestown, on James I., Va. *(Kellner 1845).*

each end. To the west were four dependencies or slave quarters neatly aligned in a row, on an axis that was perpendicular to the main house. In front of the Ambler house was a ruinous brick building, with date attribution and function uncertain (Mark ca. 1850) (Figure 46).[455] Mark's portrayal of the Ambler house corroborates Louis Girardin's less detailed painting, executed in 1805. Jamestown Island continued to inspire artists of considerable ability. Most, however, focused upon the church tower, which protruded from a clump of trees and entangled vegetation.

John Coke

During 1845 Goodrich Durfey deeded Jamestown Island to John Coke, his business partner in the Newport Mills, who in 1840 had purchased John Ambler's 375 acres on the mainland (James City County Land Tax Lists 1840-1846). Tax records indicate that Coke moved his slaves and household to James City County during 1845.[456] A mid-nineteenth century account indicates that at first, he and his household took up residence upon Jamestown Island and occupied the Ambler house. Later, they moved to the mainland. In 1846 John Coke was taxed upon 47 slaves over the age of 12 and he was credited with a four-wheeled carriage, a watch and a piano worth $350. Besides John himself, the Coke household included another free white male over the age of 16, perhaps a son or farm manager. Between 1847 and 1848 John Coke purchased a stage coach, which he probably used to transport passengers from his ferry-landing to Williamsburg (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1844-1848; Lossing 1851:241) (see Tables 5 and 6).

When Benjamin J. Lossing visited Jamestown Island in 1848, he stayed with John Coke in his home upon the mainland. He said that his host owned "all the soil that is left unsubmerged on which the English built their first town in America."[457] He indicated that Coke was not only a former sheriff and highly influential man, he was "an excellent practical agriculturalist." According to Lossing, he

[455] These ruins may have been the remains of Structure 125.

[456] Coke's name was not included in the James City County personal property tax rolls, earlier on.

[457] He indicated that Coke's brother was Congressman Richard Coke of Accomac.

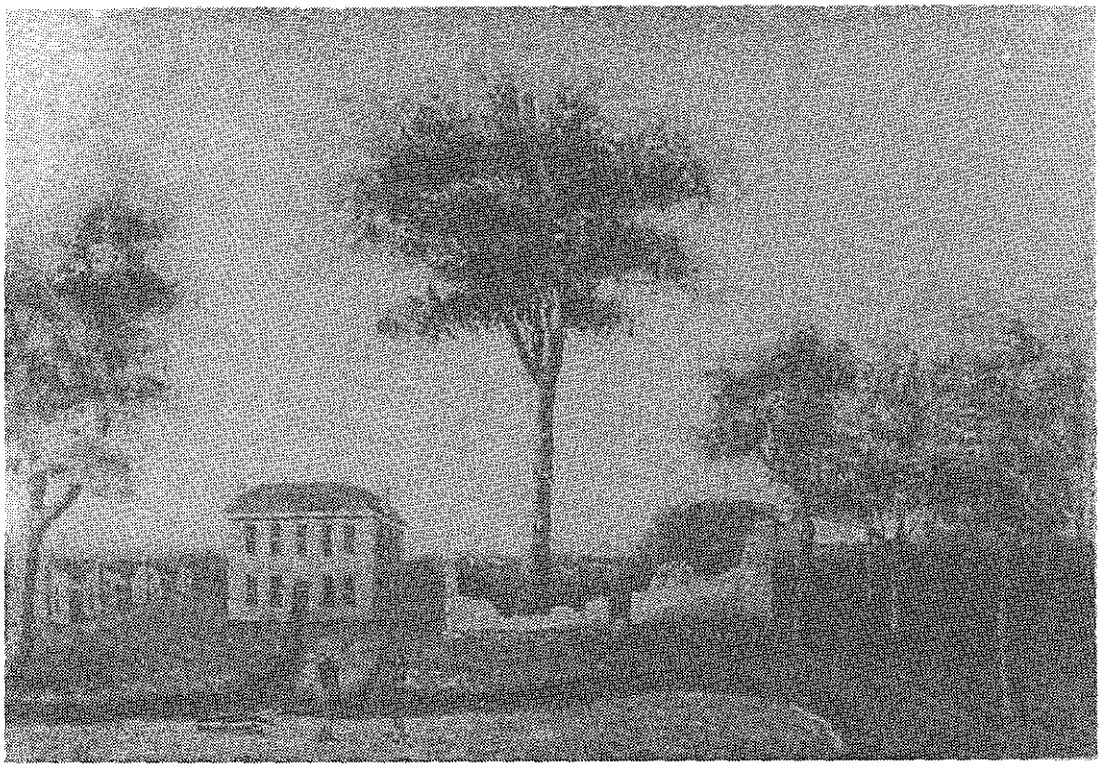


Figure 46. Jamestown, Virginia *(Mark 1850).*

> *... owns a plantation of nineteen hundred acres, nearly one thousand of which is under cultivation. Unlike too many agriculturists of the South, he is his own general overseer, and his family of seventy persons (only eleven of whom are white) receive his daily personal care [Lossing 1850-1851:241].*

He also said that Coke's house on the mainland

> *... has many bullet-marks, made there during the battle at Jamestown Ford on the 6th of July 1781; and in the broad level field in front of his mansion, the French army was encamped when on its way to Yorktown the same year. Within that field a venerable chestnut-oak, riven but not destroyed by lightening, was yet standing, under which a court-martial was held by Cornwallis, and upon its branches a culprit was hanged. It is called the "Council Tree" [Lossing 1850-1851:241].*

Lossing said that he crossed the Back River in a punt[458] and went to Jamestown Island, where he

> *... sat within the shadow of the old church tower, which stands like a sentinel watching the city of the dead at its feet. This crumbling pile, surrounded by shrubbery, brambles, and tangled vines' and the old church-yard wall of English brick, inclosing a few broken monuments, half buried in earth or covered with a pall of ivy and long grass, are all the tangible records that remain of the first planting of an English colony in America [Lossing 1850-1851:241].*

Lossing drew a picture of the old church tower. He said that no one knew when it was built, but he erroneously speculated that it probably was erected between 1616 and 1620.

Returning to the mainland, Benjamin J. Lossing paused upon the western bank of Sandy Bay and made a sketch of the distant island. He remarked that "what was once a marsh" had become "now a deep bay, 400 yards wide." He

[458] A punt is an open, flat-bottomed boat with squared ends that usually is propelled by a long pole and used in shallow waters.

sketched "the remains of a bridge, destroyed by a gale and high tide a few years ago," and said that his host, John Coke, was living "upon the island when the tempest occurred which destroyed the bridge. The island was submerged, and for three days himself and family were prisoners." He said that Coke "was obliged to cut the branches of ornamental trees that were close to his house" in order to have fuel. Coke told Lossing that his father-in-law "well remembered when a marsh, so narrow and firm that a person might cross it upon a fence rail, was where the deep water at the ruined bridge now is." Lossing predicted that within a few years Jamestown Island would "have a navigable channel around it, so great was the encroachment of the waters of the river," and that "already a large portion of it, whereon the ancient town was erected, has been washed away." He added that "a cypress-tree, now many yards from the shore, stood at the end of a carriage-way to the wharf, 60 yards from the water's edge, only 16 years ago." Lossing called upon Virginians to build a wall of masonry to check the river's encroachment and closed by saying that "Some remains of the old fort may be seen at low water several yards from the shore" (Lossing 1850-1851:240- 241).[459] Historian Henry Howe also described Jamestown's appearance during this period. He said that the site of the first fort was "a point of land projecting into the James" and added that "the water is gaining on the shore, and the time will arrive when the waves will roll over it" (Howe 1845:319, 321). Mansfield Lovel, who passed through Tidewater Virginia in 1843 and stopped at Jamestown, said he saw "one brick house, two frame and the ruins of the belfry of an old church, all that is left" (Lovel 1843).

Martha Armistead Edloe Orgain

In 1847 John Coke sold Jamestown Island and its $3,600 worth of improvements to Mrs. Martha Edloe Orgain, the niece of the late William Allen of Claremont, who died in November 1831.[460] She was the mother and guardian of Allen's principal heir, William Griffin Orgain, and widow of Richard Griffin Orgain (James City County Land Tax Lists 1847).[461] By the time Mrs. Orgain purchased Jamestown Island, she had succeeded her late husband as administrator of William Allen's estate and she had become custodian of the immense fortune her young son had inherited (Goodwin 1958:lx).

William Griffin Orgain was little more than three-years-old when he became his great-uncle's primary heir. He and his parents were then residing in Petersburg, where his father was a successful businessman. The late William Allen, an elderly bachelor, had been living in Surry County at his estate called Claremont. He was one of Virginia's wealthiest citizens and his holdings included more than 700 slaves and 26,000 acres of land, spread over five Virginia counties. William Allen's will, which was presented to the justices of Surry County on January 23, 1832, named his niece's husband, Richard Griffin Orgain, as executor. Allen indicated that he wanted his estate to be kept intact for five years so that its earnings would cover the cost of several monetary bequests, some of which were substantial. However, life- rights to the bulk of Allen's wealth were to go to his great-nephew,

[459] These probably were the same off-shore palisades that were visible in 1807.

[460] Mrs. Orgain was the daughter of William Allen's sister, Anne Armistead Allen Edloe, and her husband, John (Goodwin 1958:lxii).

[461] On September 15, 1853, John Coke began trying to sell his mainland farm called "Amblers" and his property in Williamsburg. In an advertisement he placed in the *Virginia Gazette*, he said that he operated a hack service from his wharf to Williamsburg and that he had a comfortable house for the accommodation of passengers and a warehouse for goods (*Virginia Gazette*, September 15, October 6, 1853). Despite their attempts to sell, Coke and his wife retained their 375 acres called "Amblers" until 1856, at which time they sold it to Juliana Dorsey of Petersburg. She agreed not to "run a hack for the conveying of passengers from the wharf of the sd. premises to Williamsburg" while Coke was leasing the Kingsmill Wharf from William Allen, unless Wilmer A. Jones (a neighbor) began operating a competing hack service (James City County Deed Book 1:170, 172).

William Griffin Orgain, "upon condition that he take the name of William Allen."[462] Richard Griffin Orgain lost no time in initiating the probate process. He also acted quickly in seeing that his young son's surname was changed to "Allen," for on February 8, 1832, he petitioned the legislature for permission to do so. Personal property tax rolls and household account books suggest strongly that the Orgains hastily moved from Petersburg to Claremont, which they made their family home. The Orgains were living there in June 1837 when Richard died. Throughout this period, W. C. Rawlings oversaw management of the late William Allen's farmlands (Goodwin 1958:lx; Surry County Will Book 1830-1834:218; Legislative Petitions, February 8, 1832; Gregory 1990:58-59).

A legislative petition Mrs. Martha A. Orgain filed on December 21, 1842, indicates that she sought the General Assembly's permission to invest, on her son's behalf, the considerable profits that had accrued to the late William Allen's estate since 1832. She contended that:

> *The Lands in the County of Surry, on which there are about 200 slaves, are exceedingly poor and unproductive, and the situation of some of them deemed to be unhealthy. That so many slaves cannot be profitably employed in their cultivation. That the said slaves are mostly in families, and in the opinion of your petitioner cannot be hired out to advantage. That if she were authorized, with a portion of the profits already accrued, to purchase more fertile lands in a healthier part of the state for him, and remove a part of the slaves from Surry and James City,*[463] *on the lands so purchased with a view to their more profitable employment, it would promote the true interest of her said son, and greatly add to the health and comfort of the slaves [James City County Legislative Petitions, December 21, 1842].*

It was with the legislature's permission that Mrs. Martha Orgain purchased Jamestown Island from John R. Coke in 1847. By that time, her uncle, William Allen, had been dead for just over 15 years and her son was a youth of 19. Mrs. Orgain also used excess profits from the Allen estate to buy other properties on her son's behalf: 924½ acres at Berkeley in Charles City County and 1,097½ acres at Strawberry Plains in Henrico (James City County Land Tax Lists 1848; Charles City County Land Tax Lists 1846; Henrico County Land Tax Lists 1849).[464]

The land Mrs. Orgain bought with the proceeds of the late William Allen's estate had a significant advantage over the acreage in which her son had inherited life-rights. It was unencumbered by the legal restrictions imposed under the terms of the late William Allen's will, which stipulated that virtually all of the property he was leaving to William Griffin Orgain was to descend to the child's eldest male heir.[465] Thus, young William did not receive outright (fee simple) ownership of the land he inherited, merely life-rights in that property. This meant that the Allen estate had to be kept intact until William Allen (1828-1875) matured and produced a son, who would become his great-uncle's ultimate heir (Goodwin 1958:lx). In contrast, the land Mrs. Orgain purchased on her young son's behalf could be sold, electively.

Mrs. Martha Orgain apparently acted quickly in placing an overseer and slaves upon Jamestown Island.[466] By 1849, a farm manager named Joseph

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462 Another Allen nephew, Carter H. Edloe, was supposed to inherit life-rights in some James City County property on the west side of the road between Williamsburg and Yorktown. As young Edloe died in 1843, his cousin, William Griffin Orgain, inherited life-rights in that acreage as a reversionary heir (Gregory 1990:64).

463 The decedent had owned property in the Neck O'Land behind Jamestown Island and in Kingsmill Neck.

464 The late William Allen had owned 3,201 acres in Henrico County, a plantation called Curles Neck, which consisted of Old Curles, the Woods Farm, Maiden Hall and Tilman's (Gregory 1990:64). After his death, all of that acreage was credited to his estate.

465 In the event that William Griffin Orgain produced no sons, the Allen estate was to go to another nephew's male descendants, those of Carter H. Edloe.

466 Eve S. Gregory has reported that Mrs. Orgain placed an overseer upon Jamestown Island during

C. Gibson was in charge of the farming operations there.[467] Agricultural census records for 1850, a compilation of data from the 1849 crop year, provide a detailed glimpse of land use patterns and the island's productivity. According to the information Joseph C. Gibson provided, 400 acres were "improved" (or under the plow) and 1,300 acres were "unimproved" (i.e., forested, marsh land, or otherwise untilled). The cash (or fair market) value of Jamestown Island in 1850 was $20,000. Gibson then had $425 worth of agricultural equipment to use in his farming operations. The livestock herd for which he was responsible was worth $1,750 and included 1 horse, 12 asses,[468] 11 working oxen, 49 cattle (including 9 milk cows), 89 sheep, and 75 swine. During 1849 a total of 1,900 bushels of wheat; 3,100 bushels of corn, and 250 bushels of oats were produced on Jamestown Island. The plantation's sheep yielded 175 lbs. of wool and its dairy cattle produced 100 lbs. of butter. During 1849 $150 worth of animals had been slaughtered for consumption (James City County Agricultural Census 1850) (Table 7).[469] Accounts associated with the late William Allen's estate indicate that in 1849 funds were expended for building a new barn upon Jamestown Island. In 1850 the Allen estate was taxed upon 95 James City County slaves, who were age 16 or older. However, it is uncertain whether any of those individuals actually resided upon Jamestown Island (Gregory 1990:65; James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1849-1850). Instead, they may have been located upon the Neck O'Land or at Kingsmill and been shifted from farm to farm, as needed.[470]

William Allen (formerly William Griffin Orgain)[471]

On January 1, 1850, Mrs. Martha Orgain commenced giving custody of her late uncle's estate to her son, William, who came of age in July 1849 (Gregory 1990:59). James City County tax assessment records for 1852 reveal that it was during 1851 that Mrs. Orgain transferred Jamestown Island into her son's name. By that date, the buildings on the property had been re-assessed and their value was lowered from $3,600 to $3,400. In addition to Jamestown Island, William Allen (1828-1875) took control of two other James City County plantations: his late great-uncle's Neck O'Land farm (just across the Back River) and the three tracts that together comprised Kingsmill Plantation.[472] Thus, his river frontage on the James ex-

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1846 and made her final payment to John Coke in June 1848 (Gregory 1990:65). She cited as evidence documents associated with the late William Allen's estate (Surry County Fiduciary Accounts 1847-1865:17, 123, 143, 147).

467 Gibson, as agent or farm manager, participated in the agricultural censuses of 1850 and 1860 (James City County Agricultural Census 1850, 1860). He also identified himself as such in 1854, when he placed an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*, seeking the return of two runaway slaves, Gabe Washington and William, who had fled from Jamestown (*Virginia Gazette*, April 6, 1854).

468 Many Tidewater Virginia farmers favored the use of asses and mules in the fields, for they had a greater tolerance to heat.

469 In 1849 John R. Coke, who farmed a comparable amount of acreage on the mainland but used $700 worth of agricultural equipment, produced 2,600 bushels of wheat, 5,000 bushels of corn, and 500 bushels of oats. He also raised Irish and sweet potatoes (James City County Agricultural Census 1850).

470 Gregory has indicated that the late William Allen's James City County property was managed by Hugh Bragg, William Christian, Charles Scarborough and William Ammons, who successively served as overseers (Gregory 1990:65).

471 As William Griffin Orgain legally became "William Allen" in 1832, within the discussion that follows, he is identified as "William Allen (1828-1875)" whenever it is necessary to distinguish him from his great-uncle William Allen, whose estate was credited with James City County property for 20 or more years after the name change occurred.

472 According to the late William Allen's May 31, 1832, inventory, the Kingsmill Plantation consisted of 1,500 acres (the Burwells' Kingsmill property), 923 acres called Tutters Neck, and 1,280 acres called

Table 7.
Agricultural Census Records For Jamestown Island, 1850-1870
(James City County Agricultural Census 1850-1870)

1850 Joseph C. Gibson, overseer: 400 acres improved land; 1300 acres unimproved land; cash value of farm $20,000; $425 worth of farming implements; 1 horse; 12 asses; 9 milk cows; 11 working oxen; 40 other cattle; 89 sheep; 75 swine; $1750 value livestock; 1900 bushels wheat; 3100 bushels corn; 250 bushels oats; 175 lbs. wool; 100 lbs. butter; $150 animals slaughtered.

1860 J. C. Gibson, agent: 430 acres improved land; 1170 acres unimproved land; cash value of farm $40,000; $1600 worth of farming implements; 3 horses; 12 asses; 15 working oxen; 15 milk cows; 36 other cattle; 70 sheep; 150 swine; $4650 value livestock; 3400 bushels wheat; 4500 bushels corn; 800 bushels oats; 275 lbs. wool; 12 bushels Irish potatoes; 10 bushels sweet potatoes; $11 worth orchard products; 625 lbs. butter; 60 tons hay; $1205 value of animals slaughtered.

1870 I. A. Williams, owner: 600 acres improved land; 106 acres wooded land; 700 acres of other unimproved land; cash value of farm $15,000; $700 invested in farm machinery; $4500 paid in wages during the year; 1 horse; 14 mules and asses; 12 milk cows; 10 working oxen; 85 other cattle; 200 sheep; 50 swine; $5695 value livestock; 300 bushels winter wheat; 2000 bushels Indian corn.

tended from Grove Creek to the western end of Jamestown Island (James City County Land Tax Lists 1847-1855) (see Table 5). William, like his parents and great-uncle, elected to reside at Claremont. On December 22, 1852, he married Frances Augusta Jessup, with whom he had several children. In 1854 he joined John A. Selden and Augustus Hopkins in a business venture that involved timber sales and he constructed a railroad on part of his land in Surry County. He always employed farm managers to supervise his agricultural operations (Gregory 1990:66-67). According to Bishop William Meade, Allen's farm manager at Jamestown occupied the Ambler house (Meade 1992:I:114).

In 1852, when the name of William Allen (1828-1875) first appeared in James City County's personal property tax rolls, he was credited with 94 slaves. However, they were not grouped according to age, nor was his livestock herd listed. In 1854, however, the county tax commissioner credited Allen with 94 slaves age 16 or older; 101 slaves who were age 12 or older; 45 horses, asses, and mules; and $25 worth of household furniture. In 1855, when more detailed tax assessment records were compiled, Allen's taxable personal property within James City County was clustered according to location. At Jamestown, there were 19 slaves age 16 or older; 21 who were age 12 or older; 12 horses, asses and mules; 213 cattle; and $25 worth of household and kitchen furniture. Meanwhile, at Kingsmill, there were 88 slaves age 16 or older; 22 horses, asses, and mules; 206 cattle; and $25 worth of household and kitchen furniture. On the

(cont'd from previous page)
Littletown, which had a mill. The Neck O'Land tract contained 2,000 acres and included farms called Broadribbs and Wilkinsons. The buildings at the Neck O'Land were worth $1,200; those at Kingsmill were worth $7,000; and those at Littletown were worth $2,500 (James City County Land Tax Lists 1832-1833; Goodwin 1958:lx-lxi, lxiv).

Neck O'Land plantation were 58 slaves age 16 or older; 17 horses, asses, and mules; 167 cattle and no household furniture. William Allen (1828-1875) paid no poll taxes upon free white males in James City County during 1855. Thus, his farm manager, Joseph C. Gibson, apparently was responsible for his own taxes or resided outside of the county (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1851-1855) (see Table 6).

Between 1852 and 1853 William Allen (1828-1875) substantially enhanced the value of the existing buildings on Jamestown Island or he added some new structures, for the aggregate value of his improvements rose from $3,400 to $3,900. Between the time of the assessor's visit in 1856 and his return in 1857 they increased to $4,200 (James City County Land Tax Lists 1847-1857).[473] Meanwhile, the value of the buildings on Allen's other James City County properties diminished. The improvements on his Neck O'Land plantation dwindled from $1,200 to $1,000 and those at Kingsmill went from $7,000 to only $4,000 (James City County Land Tax Lists 1851-1857). Some or all of the improvements Allen made at Jamestown during 1856 probably were in preparation for the relatively elaborate commemorative celebration that was held on the island in May 1857 (Tyler 1899-1900:222).

Richard Randolph's Return to Jamestown Island

Richard Randolph, who had visited Jamestown Island in 1837, returned at mid-century, a year or so before the property was transferred into young William Allen's name. Randolph said that the island actually was a peninsula with "about two thousand acres of arable land, low at the Eastern end and rising gradually Westward; and several thousand acres of marsh, covered with water at high tide." Recounting the history of Jamestown Island, he quoted from Captain John Smith's writings and then said that in 1641 Sir William Berkeley became governor. He indicated that Berkeley, while governor,

> *... caused thirty-two brick houses to be built at public expense[474] and occupied one himself. He caused also a brick church to be erected, and the burying ground attached to it to be enclosed with a substantial brick wall.[475] It is a fragment of the steeple of this church—or of one subsequently built on its site—that we still see.*

Randolph then spoke of the ancient graves that could be found in that cemetery. He said that in 1660, when the assembly passed an act for building a statehouse,

> *... it was built with bricks made in the town, or at least near it. There is good reason to believe that the Statehouse was adjacent to Sir William Berkeley's residence, and the thirty-two brick houses erected at public expense, as already mentioned. All these houses, however, with the church which was Eastward of them,[476] and a little lower down, was burnt by Richard Lawrence, one of Bacon's men, in 1676; the magazine was the only house left and that is still standing.[477]*

Richard Randolph concluded by adding that:

> *The great body of the town, which however was never very large, was certainly west of the Old Steeple [or church tower] still visible, and is now entirely or very nearly submerged in the river. This is clearly proved by the old deeds for lots in the town, recorded*

[473] The tax assessor failed to comment upon why Allen's assessment was raised. Comparative research suggests that the increase was not the result of a county-wide reassessment.

[474] This was a reference to the 1660s building campaign that was approved by the assembly in December 1662.

[475] If this statement is correct, Berkeley probably erected the first brick wall around Jamestown's graveyard.

[476] This statement suggests that Richard Randolph believed that the brick structures erected as part of the 1662 building initiative were west of the church.

[477] Primary resources demonstrate that the brick magazine was built in 1693, not prior to Bacon's Rebellion (C.O. 5/1308 f 150).

in the office of James City County court, which call for bounds that are now under water; and more palpably, by vast numbers of broken bricks, and other relics of buildings that may still be seen in the Western bank at low tide [Maxwell 1850:2:138-139].

Robert Sully's 1854 Visit

Artist Robert Sully composed a written description of his September 1854 trip to Jamestown Island, where he stayed for several days and made pencil sketches and watercolor wash renderings of natural and man-made features he considered interesting. He had great reverence for the island's history and antiquity. He depicted the ruins of the Travis house,[478] the church tower, and a cypress tree that was located further west, an estimated 60 yards off shore (Figures 47 and 48). He also produced pictures of what he labelled "the site of the old Colonial fort," which he noted was "two hundred yards above the church, on an elevated point," and included the ruinous brick magazine that was nearby. Although in a graphite sketch he indicated that the magazine was roofless, in his considerably more elaborate watercolor, he depicted it with a roof (Figure 49).[479] He surmised that the fort built by the early settlers was located in that vicinity because he had examined the ruins of a brick magazine, the foundation of which was "still in good preservation."[480] He said that the magazine was built "of the same kind of bricks as the Church, small size, hard as granite—admirably put together" and he estimated that it stood 40 yards behind the fort site. Sully said that the magazine had a 10-foot-square powder pit that extended to a depth of "about 5 feet."[481] When he descended into it, he found "sundry old bullets, fragments of what I believe to be Gunlocks." According to Sully, the church ruin consisted of "a square Tower, about 35 or 40 feet high—ten feet square inside. A lofty arch in front & back." He said that immediately behind the tower was "the little ancient grave yard, with its broken walls, the tombs shattered & shivered." Sully's host, overseer of the Jamestown Island plantation, gave him an old musket barrel "of antique, old fashioned shape. This was plowed up near the Fort Point." He also presented the artist with "some blue beads, Indian arrow heads, a stone hatchet, Indian pipe bowls, &c."[482]

Robert Sully said that Jamestown Island was three miles long, one mile wide, and nearly oval-shaped "except the projecting point, where the Settlement stood." He indicated that "the encroachment of the water on the land has been long going on, but of late years, particularly at the point where the Church stands, it has been fearfully rapid." He noted that "A little below the Fort Point, there is some distance from the beach a Cypress Tree, under

[478] He attributed it to the Champion family, probably because of the names he saw on tombstones in the family cemetery. Robert Sully's renderings (one in graphite and the other in watercolor wash) are the only known portrayal of the Travis residence. He indicated that it had two tall chimneys and one or more outbuildings. In his watercolor painting, he included the graveyard in the foreground.

[479] Some of sites Robert Sully described are shown on a 1906 plat of Jamestown Island, which has been digitized. When the distances described by Sully were measured via AutoCAD, the "Fort Point" (site of Jetty #1) was found to be 200 yards above the church tower and the cypress tree was a little more than 60 yards off shore. However, the magazine site (still recognizable in 1906) was found to be 100 yards from the "Fort Point," not 40 as Sully had said (James City County Plat Book 2:6; 5:535).

[480] This magazine was located at the western edge of Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot B, which contained Bay 1 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group. Its ruins were depicted by late nineteenth and early twentieth century surveyors (James City County Plat Book 2:6; 5:535).

[481] Sully's comments about the similarity of the bricks used in the construction of the powder magazine and church, while purely speculative, may contain an element of truth, for it was in 1693 that a brick powder magazine was built at Jamestown and in 1699 that work was done on the church's steeple (C.O. 5/1308 f 150; McIlwaine 1918:263).

[482] Sully gave these relics to Lyman Draper of the Wisconsin Historical Society (Hatch 1942:348).

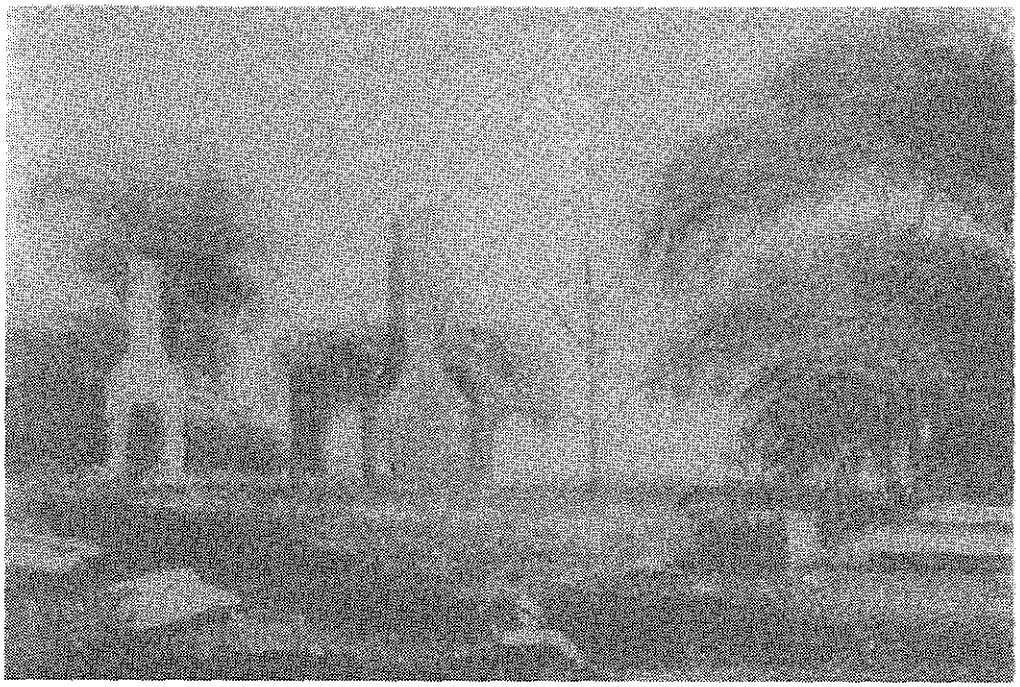


Figure 47. The Travis House Ruins, September 1854 *(Sully 1854)*.

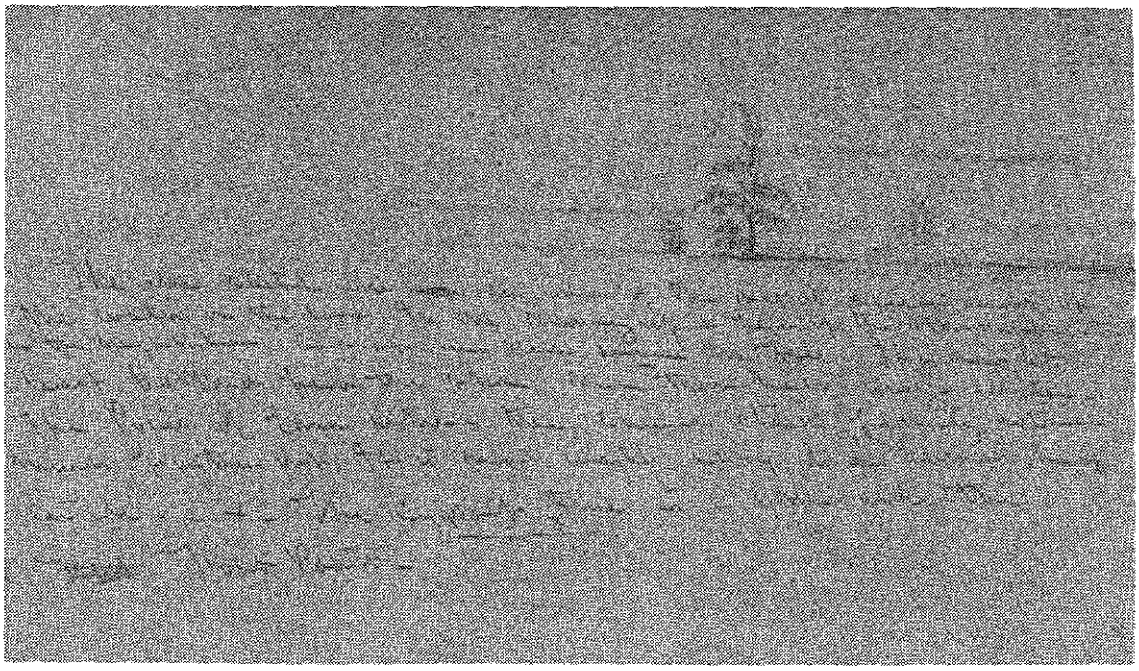


Figure 48. The Old Cypress *(Sully 1854)*.



Figure 49. Site of the Old Colonial Fort, Jamestown Island *(Sully 1854)*.

water to its lower branches" and said that "in the recollection of the living, Carriages once drove around this tree."[483] He said that "A considerable distance from the Beach, at low water, there is distinctly seen the Inclosure of a well Brick'd round in a circle" and proffered that "at a former period, the little tongue of land on which the Church stands projected much further out—a gentle slope. It is now washed away to an abrupt half circle" (Sully 1854) (Figure 50). Although Robert Sully assumed that the magazine and fort site were associated with the colony's earliest English settlers, his portrayal of the ruins of the vaulted building raises the possibility that he was seeing the structure just east of the Ludwell Statehouse Group, the brick powder magazine erected by Governor Edmund Andros during the mid-1690s. In 1856 when the U. S. Coast Survey (1856) produced a hydrographic chart of the James River that included Jamestown Island, the Barney house was shown, as was "Church Point," which protruded prominently, reaching the river's channel (Figure 51).[484] That probably was the "Fort Point" upon which Robert Sully commented.[485]

[483] This statement corroborates that of Benson Lossing, who said that "A cypress tree now many yards from the shore, stood at the end of a carriage-way to the wharf, 60 yards from the water's edge" (Lossing 1850-1851:241).

[484] When the 1856 map was digitized and superimposed upon an updated rendering produced in 1892, it was evident "Church Point" was a site approximately 600 feet west of the ancient church tower (U. S. Coast Survey 1892). Also shown on the 1892 map was the foundation of the brick magazine Sully saw. An 1873-1874 topographic map demonstrates that between 1856 and 1873, erosion took a severe toll upon the western end of Jamestown Island (Donn 1873-1874).

[485] In 1892 when the Corps of Engineers (1892) mapped Jamestown Island, they indicated that the point (which lay a short distance upstream from the massive earthworks built by the Confederates

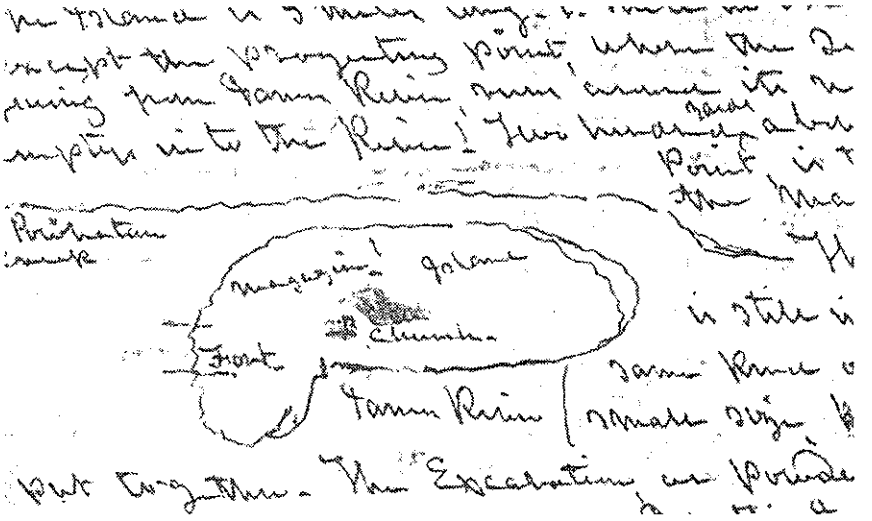


Figure 50. *Sketch of Jamestown Island in Robert Sully's October 1854 letter to Lyman Draper (Sully 1854).*

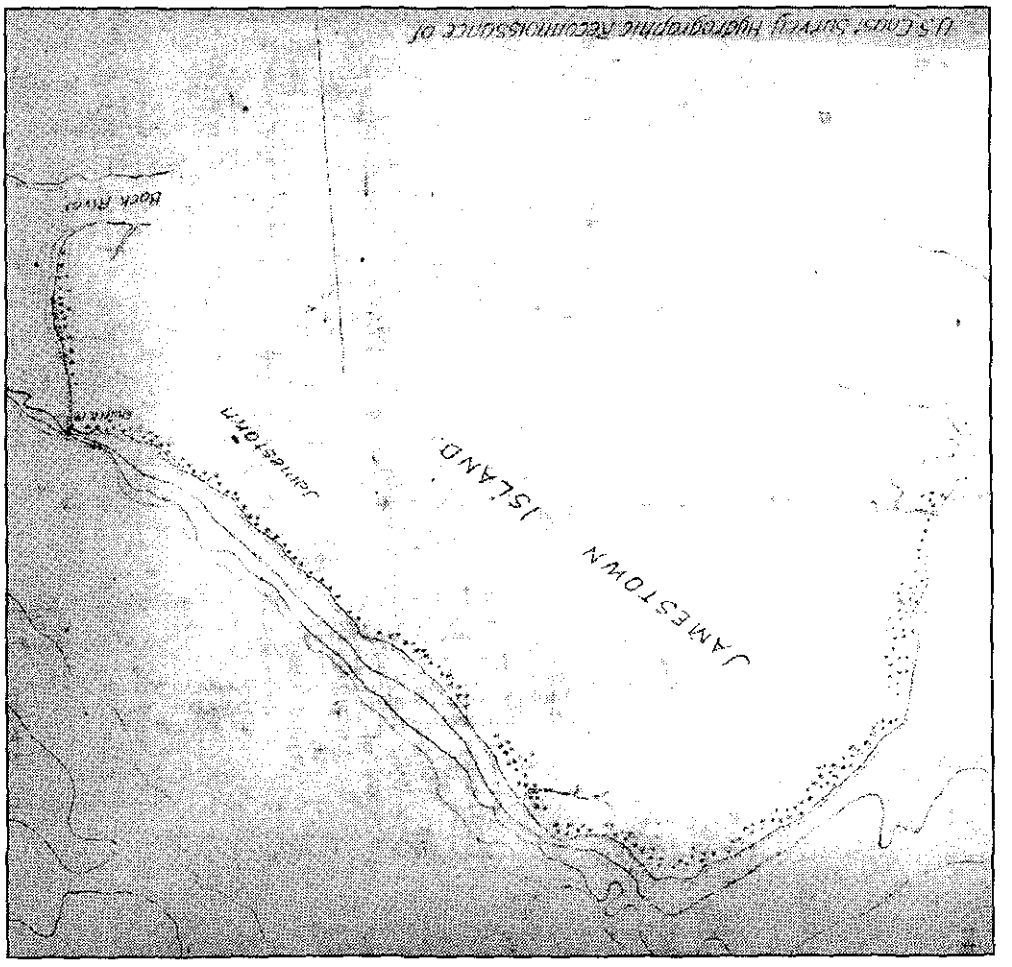


Figure 51. Hydrographic Reconnaissance of James River, Va. *(U. S. Coast Survey 1856), inverted for clarity.*

Bishop William Meade's Visit

On October 26, 1856, Bishop Meade and two other clergymen accompanied Richard Randolph and Goodrich Durfey on a visit to Jamestown Island. Meade said that:

> *We entered the island in a boat, at the upper or western end of it, near to that which was once the neck constituting it a peninsula and uniting it to the mainland. This has long since been overflowed and the peninsula has become an island. About ninety years ago the late Mr. John Ambler [II], then owning the greater part of the island and residing on it, made a causeway on that which had been the neck of land, but which was now covered with water some feet deep. This, after some time, having been overwhelmed with the waves of James River, Colonel Durfey, on becoming proprietor of the whole island, made a bridge over it at some distance from the causeway, over which the stage passed, carrying passengers to the Old Wharf at Jamestown, were the steamboats received them. Only the piles on which the bridge rested now remain and the steamboats receive passengers from Williamsburg and the country around at some other place. The only access at this time to the island from the mainland is by boat across the Back River... While the neck of land stood firm, Back River terminated in this creek. Since the eruption of the waters of James River over this neck, the upper part of the island has lost much of its ancient territory. The neck itself is in some places a third of a mile in the river. A large portion of the town also lies buried in the waves. At low water some signs of it may yet be seen. As this was the highest part of the peninsula, and the most fertile and beautiful, the town was chiefly built on it. The work of destruction has now passed along nearly a mile, from the original connection with the mainland to the lower part of the town, where the public buildings and the old church stood. The bank is giving way within one hundred and fifty yards of the old tower and graveyard; and if some remedy be not applied in time, they also must be immersed in the waters of old Powhatan; for that was the Indian name of James River. As the church was built on the fifty acres of land which is deeded to the authorities of James City for public houses, it is hoped that in due time either those authorities or that of the State will guard the same against destruction.* ***The old tower and the ruins of the church are about fifty yards from the river, which in that place has not yet encroached on the bank; although, as we have said, a hundred and fifty yards above it is rapidly advancing on the island*** *[Meade 1992:I:110-111].*[486]

Bishop Meade went on to describe the ruins of the old church. He said:

> *The grave yard, in the midst of which it stood, contained about half an acre of land, which is covered with old sycamores and mulberries and smaller trees, and shrubberies, which form a dense shade. The old brick enclosure, which was mouldering into ruins, and some of the walls of the church, were used about sixty years ago by Mr. William Lee of Green Spring, and the late Mr. John Ambler [II] of Jamestown, in making a small enclosure around the tombstones which were still remaining. This enclosure covers about one-third of the original one and takes in a part of the spot on which the church stood. The foundation of the old church is still marked by the brick which remain [Meade 1992:I:111-112].*

Meade added that in the graveyard could be found tombstones or their fragments that belonged to Philip and Sarah Ludwell, Ursula Beverley (the wife of Robert Beverley II), Edward Jaquelin, Jaquelin Ambler, B. Harrison and Mrs. Edwards. He mentioned that:

> *At the lower end of the island there are still the remains of a graveyard belonging to the Travis family, which owned that part of the island for some generations. The house is gone. This part of the island became separated from the other by some low and swampy ground [Meade 1992:I:114].*

(cont'd from previous page)
in 1861) was in an area that was being subjected to severe erosion.

[486] Emphasis added.

The Bishop closed by noting that at the time of his visit the island was approximately seventeen hundred acres in size, was between two and three miles long, and three-quarters of a mile wide. He indicated that approximately 1,200 acres consisted of unusable marshland, 100 acres of woodland, and 400 acres of fertile and valuable farmland.[487] He said that within the past thirty years, the island had changed owners several times, at prices ranging from $10,000 to $30,000 (Meade 1992:114-115).

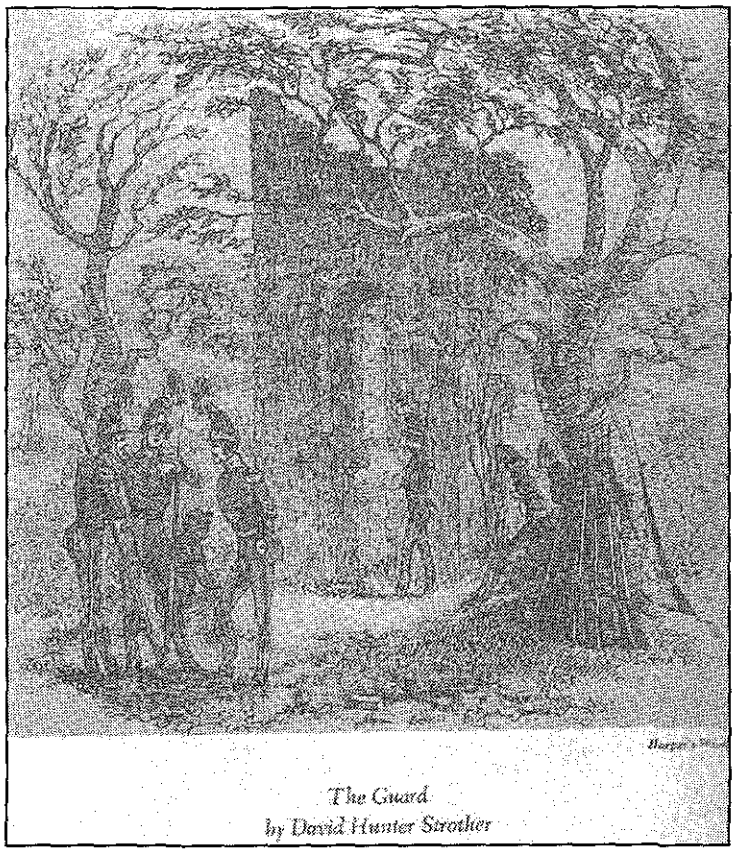
The 1857 Celebration

In 1854, the Jamestown Society of Washington began planning to hold a celebration in 1857 to commemorate the first settlers' arrival. John Armistead, a Society member, prevailed upon William Allen (1828-1875) to allow the celebration to be held on Jamestown Island. As Allen was concerned about damage to his wheat crop, it was agreed that the focal point of the festivities would be to the east of the old church yard and in the area traditionally considered the first landing site. During spring 1857 the Jamestown Society of Washington joined forces with the Virginia Historical Society and with the full cooperation of Jamestown Island's owner, began making preparations for the May 13th celebration. Henry Myers of Richmond reportedly was in charge of seeing that some acreage at Jamestown was readied for use. On May 8, 1857, a newspaper reporter indicated that "Carpenters are on the Island, erecting cabins, of which seven are up, and a large number in course of construction. They are substantially built, and comfortable." He added that "There is a refreshment saloon erected, 175 feet long, and a dining hall, capable of seating 500 persons at meals." A speakers platform was fabricated and "all necessary preparations made for the accommodation of ladies and others." Island owner William Allen was described by one writer as "thoroughly cooperative" (Rachal 1958:261-262; *Virginia Gazette*, February 23, 1854).

As the big day drew near, would-be celebrants from Washington, Baltimore, Norfolk and Richmond boarded steamboats that transported them to Jamestown for the Jubilee. On the morning of May 13, 1857, "a large fleet of bright winged craft of all sizes and characters, jubilant with gay streamers, booming guns and sonorous music" was afloat in the river off Jamestown Island. By noon, 13 steamers, several schooners and a yacht were on hand and several bands were playing. One visitor remarked that "All that remains at Jamestown is a portion of the tower and walls of the old church and a brick magazine, now used as a barn." Another man observed that some souvenir-hunters "cracked off a suitable chunk from one of the old slabs" in the graveyard, while others "contented themselves with a brickbat apiece" from the old church tower. According to one newspaper reporter,"a beautiful grove and wild thicket of underbrush" then surrounded the church ruins. "Beyond the grove, on all sides, the land is cleared and under high cultivation; about two hundred acres nearest the church are in wheat." The celebration included an abundance of patriotic rhetoric, an elaborate military review, dancing, and free-flowing champagne (Rachal 1958:259-271).

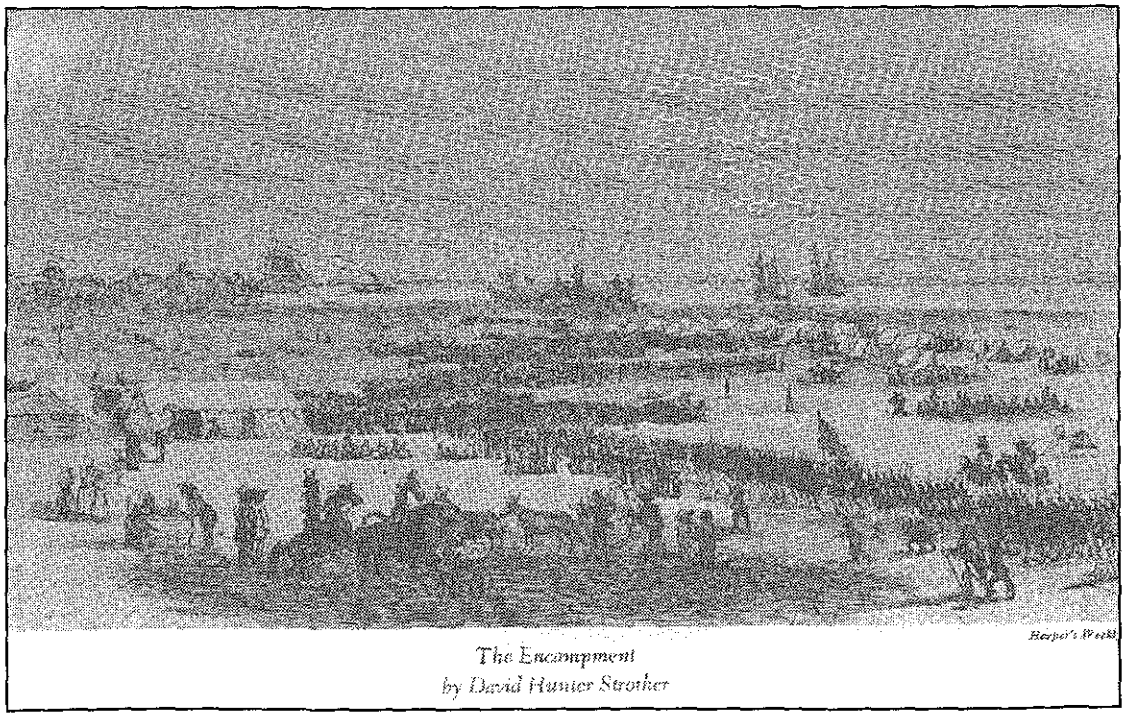
Three illustrations by David H. Strother ("Porte Crayon") that were published in *Harper's Weekly* depict the church ruins, the military encampment overlooking the James, and part of the waterfront with what appears to be a double-trunked cypress tree, under which a prone celebrant imbibed from a jug (Rachal 1958:259, 264-265) (Figures 52, 53, and 54). As the military encampment was at a site that presented a commanding view of the James River, yet was east of the old church yard, it probably was situated in the vicinity of Orchard Run and to its west. This hypothesis is supported by Strother's sketch of the double-trunked cypress tree, which according to two early twentieth century arborists, was a large specimen plant located near the site at which antiquarian George C. Gregory believed the first fort was built

[487] Meade may have gotten these figures from the resident overseer, Mr. Gibson, for they are identical to those he provided during the 1850 agricultural census (James City County Agricultural Census 1850).



The Guard
by David Hunter Strother

Figure 52. The Guard *(Strother 1857).*



The Encampment
by David Hunter Strother

Figure 53. The Encampment *(Strother 1857).*

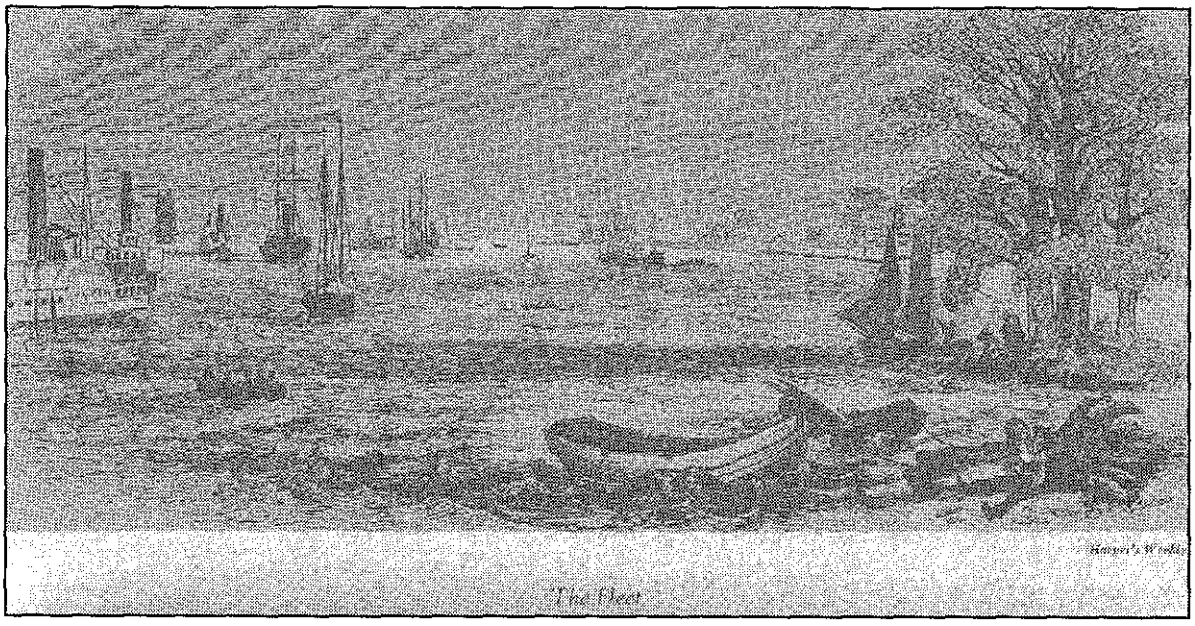


Figure 54. The Fleet *(Strother 1857).*

(Lodewick et al. 1931:13).[488] On the other hand, Civil War historian David F. Riggs has surmised that the commemorative ceremony held in 1857 took place near the Travis graveyard (Riggs 1997:13).

According to David H. Strother, throughout the day of May 13, 1857:

> *Drums were beating, colors flying, pots boiling, and glasses rattling; gallant-looking officers on horseback were galloping about the field' companies of soldiers were marching and manoeuvering; while the great unorganized mass just swarmed about the pavilions without doing anything in particular that we could perceive [Rachal 1958:266].*

He concluded that it was a highly successful celebration at which a good time was had by all.

Jamestown Island as a Farm

During the late 1850s William Allen (1828-1875) seemingly made few changes to his Jamestown Island property. Between 1857 and 1861 the assessed value of his buildings remained constant, at $4,200. Likewise the number of slaves he had at Jamestown varied little from year to year. In 1857 he had 23 slaves who were age 16 or older and 25 who were over 12. In 1860 he had 27 in the older category and 28 who were younger. Throughout this period he had between 13 and 15 horses at Jamestown. In 1861, when Allen's domestic animals on Jamestown Island were listed by species, he was credited with 60 cattle, 70 sheep, and 116 hogs. Throughout the 1850s he paid taxes upon only $25 worth of household and kitchen furniture on Jamestown Island. Significantly, in 1859 James City County's tax assessor transferred the late William Allen's Neck O' Land, Kingsmill, and Wilkinson's tracts into the name of the decedent's heir, William Allen (1828-1875) (James City County Land Tax Lists 1857-1861; Personal Property Tax Lists 1857-1861).[489]

By 1860 the scope of William Allen's Jamestown Island farming operations had changed somewhat. Manager Joseph C. Gibson reported that during the 1859 crop year, 430 acres were under the plough and 1,170 acres were unim-

[488] That is, on Study Unit 3 Tract H.

[489] This raises the possibility that the plantation's overseer, whom Robert Sully (1854) indicated lived in the Ambler house, provided his own furniture.



Figure 55. The Ruins of Jamestown, Va., from Nature *(Hopler 1860).*

proved. The cash value of the property had risen from $20,000 in 1850 to $40,000 in 1860.[490] Gibson, who reportedly had $1,600 worth of agricultural equipment in his possession, was responsible for 3 horses, 12 asses, 15 working oxen, 15 milk cows, 36 other cattle, 70 sheep, and 150 swine. The value of the livestock herd on Jamestown Island was $4,650. The farm's productivity per acre had risen significantly since 1850, despite an increase of less than 10 percent in the quantity of acreage tilled. In 1859 a total of 3,400 bushels of wheat had been produced, along with 4,500 bushels of corn, 800 bushels of oats, 12 bushels of Irish potatoes, 10 bushels of sweet potatoes, and 60 tons of hay. The orchard at Jamestown had yielded only $11 worth of fruit. However, the dairy cattle had produced 625 lbs. of butter. A total of $1,205 worth of animals had been slaughtered (James City County Agricultural Census 1860) (see Table 7).

An 1862 court record reveals that Allen's principal overseer at Claremont was in overall charge of the operation of his employer's Jamestown and Neck O'Land farms, although one or more tenants or farm managers usually were in residence. In 1861 when local tax rolls became slightly more detailed, William Allen was credited with 60 cattle, 70 sheep, 116 hogs, and 14 horses, asses and mules, all of which were attributed to his Jamestown property (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1850-1861; Palmer 1968:XI:233-236). In 1860, artist William C. Hopler produced a watercolor rendering in which he showed the western end of Jamestown Island. Although he focused his attention upon the crumbling church tower and graveyard, he included a distant building that stood in the vicinity of the Ambler house (Hopler 1860) (Figure 55).

[490] On the other hand, in 1860 the local tax assessor valued the island and its improvements at $24,996.37 (James City County Land Tax Lists 1860).

Outbreak of the Civil War

The first shots fired at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, on April 12, 1861, signaled the beginning of the Civil War. Although politicians North and South had been heatedly debating secession for several years, few probably realized that the issues under dispute would culminate in a long, bloody war. On April 17, 1861, Virginia seceded from the Union and several weeks later joined the Confederacy, which was just taking form. In May Richmond became its capital. From then on, the focus of the war in the east was on the territory separating Richmond from Washington, D. C., the federal capital. The result was that Virginia was devastated by the war and bereft of a very large portion of its male population (Catton 1960:59, 62, 75).

Shortly after Virginia passed the Ordinance of Secession, General Robert E. Lee was named military advisor to President Jefferson Davis, and the Armies of the Potomac, the Valley, the Rappahannock, the Peninsula and Norfolk were put into the field. In late summer 1861, the Confederate Army's forces in Virginia were concentrated in the northern part of the state, which left the peninsula open to an advance, especially from the direction of Fort Monroe, the Union Army's stronghold.

In spring 1862, Virginia's Confederate armies on the peninsula and at Norfolk were united under General Joseph E. Johnston's command. Meanwhile, General Lee, who stayed on as advisor to the president, was responsible for seeing that Richmond was well defended. His ability to do so proved far more important than anyone could have predicted, for by the end of the war, a total of seven military campaigns had been launched against the Confederate capital. Initially, the city's approaches were defended by small bodies of strategically-placed troops. Later, Lee fortified the James River by having earthworks built on Jamestown Island, at old Fort Powhatan, and Hardins Bluff, and by erecting water-batteries at Mulberry Island and Day's Point. Collectively, these gun emplacements were intended to prevent Union naval vessels from circumventing any land-based defenses the Confederates built on the peninsula (Miller 1911:X:305-306; National Park Service 1990:5.

Initially, the work of fortifying Richmond progressed so slowly that General Lee expressed his concern. Virginia's General Assembly responded to the growing defense crisis by requiring all free black males between 18 and 50 to participate in public works projects, such as building fortifications. They had to register with their local court and could be called upon to serve up to 180 days at a time. Conscript workers were to receive food, lodging, medical care and compensation in exchange for the tasks they performed. Free blacks, slaves and Confederate troops were involved in the construction of earthworks on Jamestown Island and in front of Williamsburg (U.S.W.D 1891:Series 1:II:Part 3:387; Series 1:IX:13-14; Long 1971:163; Ritchie 1862:61).

Readying Jamestown Island For War

As soon as it became certain that war was inevitable, Jamestown Island's owner William Allen rallied to the Confederate cause and joined a militia regiment in Surry County. In April 1861, four days after Virginia seceded from the Union, Allen organized the Brandon Heavy Artillery of Prince George County, a volunteer group he moved to Jamestown Island, a site of recognized strategic importance.[491] Even before the Confederates set about fortifying Jamestown Island, owner Allen began constructing a battery there and ordered eight 32-pounder cannon from Norfolk. Allen's initial effort was replaced by earthworks constructed by Lieutenant Catesby ap Roger Jones of the Virginia Navy, who was assigned to Jamestown on May 3 and promptly started work on an 18-gun battery. In a May 3, 1861, letter to Captain H. N. Cocke, Jones indicated that:

> *Col. [Andrew] Talcott having selected this as the most suitable point for the lower battery on James River, I have in obedience to orders assumed command and commenced its construction. We are tomorrow promised*

[491] Later, the group became known as the Jamestown Artillery (Riggs 1997:23).

250 hands, Mr. Wm. Allen, who has most generously put all that he has at our disposition, is unable to supply them with meat. They will require 1000 lbs. of meat, which I shall have to rely upon you to obtain it and would respectfully ask for it your earliest attention. We are in want of wheelbarrows and means of transporting and mounting guns. The battery is to consist of 18 guns as laid out by Col. Talcott. I have made arrangements for 6 and expect them in a few days. I should like to be informed when to expect the remainder. I have not heard of a force to protect the battery and man the guns [Jones, May 3, 1861].

In a May 5, 1861, report Jones sent to one of his superiors, he said that:

Mr. William Allen, proprietor of the island, had himself commenced constructing a battery here for which he informs me eight 32 pounders are preparing at Norfolk ... There remains two guns to complete the battery as laid out ... I have assumed command and commenced constructing the battery. The work will, owing to the course of the channel which it is to command, be an extensive one with five faces and 16 guns. We have over 100 negroes but are delayed for want of barrows, tools and provisions. We shall however be ready tomorrow, if the guns arrive, to mount a portion of them temporarily. Mr. Allen and other gentlemen have thus far supplied the negroes but they are short of meat [U.S.W.D. 1898:Series I:VI:699].

As a postscript, Jones added that "Lt. Maury left the tug *Raney* here." In the days that followed, Jones frequently updated his superiors.[492]

Work on the battery near the church tower progressed swiftly and on May 16, Lieutenant Jones reported that eight guns had been mounted, one of which lacked a sight. At that time, three companies of men (214 persons) were stationed on the island. Five defensive works were built on Jamestown Island: one by the old church site (Structure 145), one in the western end of the island toward Back River (Structure 148), a square redoubt in the south-central part of the island (Structure 147), one at Goose Hill (Structure 146),[493] and one in the southeastern end of the island at Black Point (Structure 150). Others were built upon the mainland, across the Back River. Confederate General John B. Magruder later said that he considered Jamestown Island his army's right flank and that the defensive works at nearby Tuttey's Neck on College Creek[494] were of the utmost importance. All of these features were considered an integral part of Richmond's defenses (Riggs 1997:14-15, 22, 131; Humphreys 1862; Donn 1873-1874; Jones 1861a, 1861b; U.S.W.D. 1898:Series 1:6:698-712, 722, 737).

While construction of the fortifications was underway, artillery and infantry units were stationed on the island. The Williamsburg Junior Guard, which was under the command of Major Benjamin S. Ewell, president of the College of William and Mary, served there briefly and in mid-May, Major John M. Patton Jr. was placed in command of infantrymen who were to be trained on Jamestown Island. The Greensville Guard and the Charles City Southern Guards, which were united to form Waddill's Battalion, also came to Jamestown Island in early to mid-May 1861. They were joined by the Hanover Artillery and Bedford Light Artillery. Finally, by May 30, 1861, the garrison strength at Jamestown Island was 1,000 men. Later, the 14th Virginia Infantry arrived. The Cockade Mounted Battery, which came to the island in June 1861, and the 52nd Virginia Militia, which arrived in December 1861, were there until May 3, 1862. The 10th Battalion of Virginia Heavy Artillery were at Jamestown for the last month the island was in Confederate hands (Riggs 1997:117, 130-135).

[492] The Confederates, when erecting Fort Pocahontas, Structure 145, near the church tower, found fragments of armor, sword hilts, a caltrop and several coins. Butts of timber reportedly were seen during excavations (Riggs 1997:25).

[493] The battery at Goose Hill, which was amid the island's marshes and sandy beach, was known as the Sand Battery (Riggs 1997:33).

[494] Tuttey's (Tutty's) Neck overlooks Kingsmill Neck and is on the east side of College Creek.

E.T.D. Myers,[495] the Confederate military engineer responsible for the construction of Jamestown Island's Civil War earthworks, later recalled that because neither a bridge nor a causeway traversed the Back River in 1861, he had been obliged to build one for military purposes. He remembered seeing a mansion that was "not in very good repair, but entirely habitable, and the ruins of the old church" and speculated that, "There may have been, and probably were, some small frame buildings at the shore end of the wharf." He said that the island "was in a very good state of cultivation" and that he recollected General Robert E. Lee's "bemoaning the sacrifice of a promising wheat field to a square redoubt." He added that "the battery, which was built just above the old tower, was not far from the brink of the river bank, which I understand ... has been heavily encroached upon by the river" (Tyler 1901-1902:38-39). A Confederate veteran's widow recalled her husband's saying that "at low tide about 75 yards east of the old church" were "the brick walls of an old house, and from these walls his men obtained bricks for the fireplaces and chimneys of the tents" (Tyler 1901-1902:142).

In late May 1861, the steam tender, *Teaser*, was sent to Jamestown Island to ferry troops to the mainland, for landings in the lower part of the James had become very risky. Magruder ordered Captain Jones to "keep a bright lookout" and if necessary, to spike the batteries' guns and abandon the island. During this period, some of the officers stationed on Jamestown Island used the Ambler house as headquarters. Island owner William Allen took up residence in the house while serving at Jamestown (April 1861 to May 1862) and rented portions of the building to other officers.[496] For a time, the Hanover Artillery and Bedford Light Artillery joined forces with the Jamestown Artillery. The men from Hanover initially found accommodations on the mainland, at Allen's Neck O'Land farm, but later moved to Jamestown Island, where they erected tents, each of which accommodated several men. On July 4 a celebration was held on Jamestown Island and former President John Tyler and other notables joined with local people in holding a formal commemorative ceremony. Afterward, some of the guests retired to William Allen's granary, where they danced and celebrated the occasion. In July 1861, some of the cannon that did not bear directly upon the main channel were shifted to the Spratley farm on the mainland and to other locations. An 8-inch Columbiad that protected the bridge was replaced by a lighter gun. In September 1861, Catesby ap Roger Jones was advised to abandon Jamestown Island unless he had a bombproof to protect his men, for an enemy advance was expected (Rawson 1898: Series 1:6:698-712, 722, 737; *Virginia Gazette*, January 9, 1931; Riggs 1997:38-39, 45).

On October 12, 1861, Jones concluded ordnance experiments on Jamestown Island on behalf of the Confederate Navy, which was preparing to outfit its first ironclad vessel, the *Virginia*. He fired an 8-inch Columbiad and a 9-inch gun at 12-foot-square wooden targets that were 327 feet away, set at a 36 degree angle, and shielded with various types of iron (Jones 1861c). The objective was to determine "the resistance of iron plates to shot and shell." The Confederates also had use of French and English experiments that had been conducted with a similar objective in mind. Many years later, Jones said that S. R. Mallory, secretary of the Confederate Navy, had fixed upon the idea of attaching metal plates to the hulls of wooden vessels

[495] After the war, Myers became president of the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railway Company.

[496] During the 1930s, when Confederate veteran Emmett M. Morrison was interviewed, he recalled that the Ambler house had a wide hall that was lined with sofas, settees, divans and a large buffet. He declared that the venetian blinds at the dwelling's windows were "magnificent" and indicated that he had occupied an unfurnished room, which he also used as an office. Morrison said that the Ambler house had wainscoting that was five feet high, whereas Edward R. Young (another Civil War veteran) described it as seven or eight feet in height. Young also remarked upon a mantle that was "beautifully carved and festooned" (Riggs 1997:150).

because the funds were lacking to construct purposefully built armored vessels (Jones 1941:297-298).

In February 1862 there were 184 Confederate officers and men stationed on Jamestown Island, who were responsible for 15 pieces of heavy artillery and four pieces of field artillery. On March 12, 1862, a report of the Jamestown Island batteries' armament was sent to the Confederate capital. The batteries were considered an important component of the defenses of Richmond (U. S. W. D. 1891: Series I:9:38-39, 43, 49, 61).

Onset of the Peninsula Campaign[497]

Early in 1862, Fort Monroe became the Union Army's base of operations in a drive to capture Richmond and bring the war to a timely end. The offensive became known as the Peninsula Campaign. When Union Major General George B. McClellan arrived at Fort Monroe, he had fewer troops than he had requested. Faced with what he considered a serious shortage of men and the need to commence his campaign, McClellan split his army into two columns to outflank the Confederates at Yorktown. On April 4, 1862, McClellan and his men began advancing up the peninsula. At their approach, many people gathered up their personal belongings and fled. The Union left column paralleled the James River, turning inland at the Warwick Court House. Meanwhile, the right column set out for Yorktown. General McClellan, who was cautious by nature, was hindered considerably by inaccurate maps, adverse weather conditions, and over-estimating the strength of his enemy. Although he quickly discovered that the Confederates had taken elaborate steps to cover their withdrawal up the peninsula, he kept to his original plan. Only later did he learn that he might have prevailed, had he pressed his offensive.

Thanks to the considerable tactical skill of Major General John B. Magruder and the strategic planning of General Joseph E. Johnston, the Union Army's advance was delayed long enough for the Confederate Army to slip away. Magruder initiated the process by erecting three parallel lines of earthworks across the peninsula, taking maximum advantage of its numerous creeks and ridges. Magruder's first line extended from Harwood's and Young's Mills to the heads of the Poquoson and Warwick Rivers, where the intervening solid ground was reduced to a three-mile strip flanked by boggy and difficult swamps and streams. His second line ran from Yorktown to Mulberry Island, following the Warwick River, and his third, which was just outside of Williamsburg, included a string of earthworks that stretched out between College and Queens Creeks. A large redoubt known as Fort Magruder formed the Williamsburg line's centerpiece. Jamestown Island was heavily armed with Dahlgrens, Columbiads and Navy 32-pounders capable of discharging hot shot. Magruder, in anticipation of the Union Army advance, used his authority to declare martial law throughout the region. In mid-April, when General Joseph E. Johnston took command of the Confederate forces on the peninsula, he decided to order a retreat to the outskirts of Richmond, because his 65,000 men (3,000 of whom were sick) were in an untenable position to oppose an army 95,000 men strong. As a result of Johnston's decision, the Confederates abandoned their middle position (the Warwick line) and then fell back toward Williamsburg, their westernmost and final line of defense. From that point, they withdrew up the peninsula (Webb 1881:37-71; U.S.W.D. 1891:Ser. 1:9:13-14, 38-39, 49, 61; Rawson et al. 1898:Ser. 1:7:742; Johnson et al. 1956:II:160-199).

Union Occupation Comes to Jamestown Island

On May 4, 1862, Union Cavalry moved toward Williamsburg along the Yorktown Road and attacked Confederate infantry and cavalry east of King's Creek but were repulsed. General Johnston, whose men had abandoned Yorktown the night before, ordered two brigades to occupy Fort Magruder, which they reached by nightfall amid

[497] Contemporary accounts and some scholars call this the Peninsular Campaign.

cold, drenching rain. At daybreak on May 5th, the Confederates held several of the redoubts that flanked Fort Magruder and controlled the roads to Yorktown and Hampton. Woods and thickets, too dense for artillery to be effective, lined the roads, which the rain had converted into seas of mud. When Union troops attacked the Confederate center and right, the men in gray employed a holding action that temporarily thwarted the advance. Late in the afternoon, the Union Army gained the upper hand on the Confederate left. McClellan's men withdrew, perhaps believing themselves outnumbered. While both sides claimed victory, the Confederates' resistance checked McClelland for the night. The Confederates' staunch resistance at Fort Magruder enabled the army to make good its retreat, but the Battle of Williamsburg cost many lives. Toward nightfall, the Confederates quietly left Williamsburg (U.D.C. n.d.:2-3; U.S.W.D. 1891:Ser. 1:11:1:581; Webb 1881:78-81).

On the morning of May 6th, when the Union cavalry entered Williamsburg, General McClellan learned that the Confederates had just departed. He then realized that the battle fought the day before had given his enemy 24 hours in which to escape with their wagon trains. McClellan sent word to his wife that "The battle of Williamsburg has proved a brilliant victory." Later, he was informed that the rear of the retreating Confederate column narrowly had slipped his grasp. McClellan's error in judgement allowed the Confederates to drop back toward Richmond, strengthening their capital's defenses. This tactical mistake prompted federal officials to launch an inquiry into McClellan's conduct during the battle (U.S. Congress 1863:I:582-586).

On May 20, 1862, Miss Harriette Cary of Williamsburg, who was a fervent supporter of the Confederate cause, noted in her diary that she had "heard a little cheering news this morning, related by a friend who deems it reliable." She said that, "Two Yankee gun boats [were] very much disabled by our batteries on the narrows of James River—Many killed—15 buried at James Town who had died of their wounds on their return" (Tyler 1928:111).

The Union Army, while in control of Williamsburg, occupied Jamestown Island and maintained a telegraph station there.[498] In June 1862, the crew of the U. S. gunboat *Aroostook* burned all of the buildings, magazines and carriages associated with the Confederate gun batteries at Jamestown Island. They also dug up and spiked all of the guns not already disabled and destroyed a large quantity of "spare iron and brass work of gun carriages." The only military structure spared was "the barracks in the rear of the battery on the west end, which [was] partially occupied by contrabands" or runaway slaves. One naval officer recommended posting a guard on constant surveillance at Jamestown Island, to prevent the Confederates from infiltrating what was then Union-held territory. On July 11th, a Union naval officer reported that all of the guns at Jamestown Island, Day's Point and Harden's Bluff had been destroyed (Rawson et al. 1898:Series 1:7:473, 566; McClellan 1989:265; Michie 1915:256, 275).[499]

John M. Gregory of Charles City County informed a friend that, "The Yankees have taken Sandy Point, ... taken the wheat, corn and everything else, the negroes have ceased to work and are destroying the Stock, rather the Yankees are buying the Stock of them." He added that "There is daily communication between Jamestown and that place [Sandy Point]," which he called a rendezvous for runaway slaves. He said that Union gunboats and transports could be seen constantly going up and down the James River (Tyler 1929:188).

Major William Allen resigned from the Confederate Army on August 15, 1862. He cited the necessity of attending to his business needs, for he had suffered severe financial losses since the be-

[498] A telegraph station was re-established on Jamestown Island in May 1864, to facilitate communications between Lt. General U. S. Grant's army and Washington, D. C. (Riggs 1997:152).

[499] In April 1863 three Union naval vessels were sent to Jamestown Island to make sure that the Confederates on the peninsula weren't receiving reinforcements from the lower side of the James (Rawson et al. 1898:Series 1:7:709-710).

ginning of the war. Allen, after leaving Jamestown Island, spent much of his time with his wife and children at Curles Neck, his Henrico County estate, and in Richmond (Gregory 1990:67-68).

A Tragic Event

In October 1862, a few months after Williamsburg came under the control of the Union Army, an event occurred on Jamestown Island that outraged white Virginians and sent a ripple of fear through the countryside. One of the participants later provided an eyewitness account.[500] On Monday, October 20, Joseph A. Graves,[501] the principal overseer of William Allen's holdings; Graves' nephew George; Jacob M. Shriver;[502] an African-American named Littleton (Shriver's slave); and a free African-American named Gilbert Wooten[503] set out from Four Mile Tree, in Surry County, and headed for the Neck O'Land farm.[504] Upon reaching Jamestown Island about 5 P. M., everyone but Wooten "landed near the old ruins" and "began walking toward the Great House," the old Ambler residence. When they were in that vicinity, they were confronted and seized by five of William Allen's slaves, all of whom were male and armed. Meanwhile, two others (George Thomas and Norborne Baker) took Gilbert Wooten into their custody.[505] The visitors were then marched across the Back River bridge to the Neck O'Land plantation's main house. An estimated 100 black men, women and children had congregated on the Neck O'Land (Figure 56). A slave named Windsor, whom some of the others called "the Judge,"[506] deliberated briefly and then ordered the armed men to return their prisoners to the bridge.[507] Along the way, Allen overseer J. A. Graves antagonized his captors by demanding to know why they hadn't threshed the wheat and he commented upon their needless "burning of the houses of Jamestown" and said that "he was sorry to see the property destroyed."[508] As soon as the group reached Back River, the armed men ordered Littleton to step aside and despite the whites' pleas for mercy, shot them and Gilbert Wooten. Then they removed the victims' coats, rifled their pockets for money and threw their bodies into the creek. Wooten, who had been shot in the abdomen, collapsed at the edge of the marsh, where he kept still and pretended to be dead. Shriver, upon being thrown into the river, tried to

[500] Gilbert Wooten's deposition, taken in Surry County on October 25, 1862, was forwarded to Richmond, where it became part of the state's official records (Palmer 1862:XI:233-237). David F. Riggs has determined that there are discrepancies in the way certain people's names were spelled in the state's records, census records, and in Surry County records (Riggs 1997:172-173).

[501] Graves was Surry County's Commonwealth Attorney. Some official records list his first name as "James," others as "Joseph" (Riggs 1997:172). It was "Joseph."

[502] Shriver (Schriver) was the uncle of William Allen's wife, Frances, and, according to his will, was a Canadian citizen (Riggs 1997:11, 83). Records maintained by the state describe him as "a citizen of the Kingdom of Great Britain" (Palmer 1968:XI:233).

[503] Wooten (sometimes spelled Wooton), a Surry County resident, owned 35 acres at Flying Point, land he had bought from William Allen (1828-1875) (Gregory 1990:68).

[504] According to one newspaper account, the men went to Jamestown Island to obtain some tools (*Richmond Whig*, October 24, 1862).

[505] They were William Parsons, Henry Moore, Jesse, Alick (Aleck), and Mike.

[506] One newspaper reporter said that the African-American who led the group was "a slave who had absconded from Claremont some months since and who professed to be a colonel in the Yankee army" (*Richmond Whig*, October 24, 1862). Gilbert Wooten described Windsor as a slave from the neighborhood.

[507] The original group of armed men were accompanied by Robert Cole, Little Henry, Peter, Jeffress, Jim Diggs (an older man and a younger one of the same name) and a hireling described as "a low chunky yellow man" who used to be employed at Jamestown (Palmer 1968:XI:234-235).

[508] Allen's buildings at his Neck O'Land and Kingsmill farms also were destroyed during this period (James City County Land Tax Lists 1860-1865).

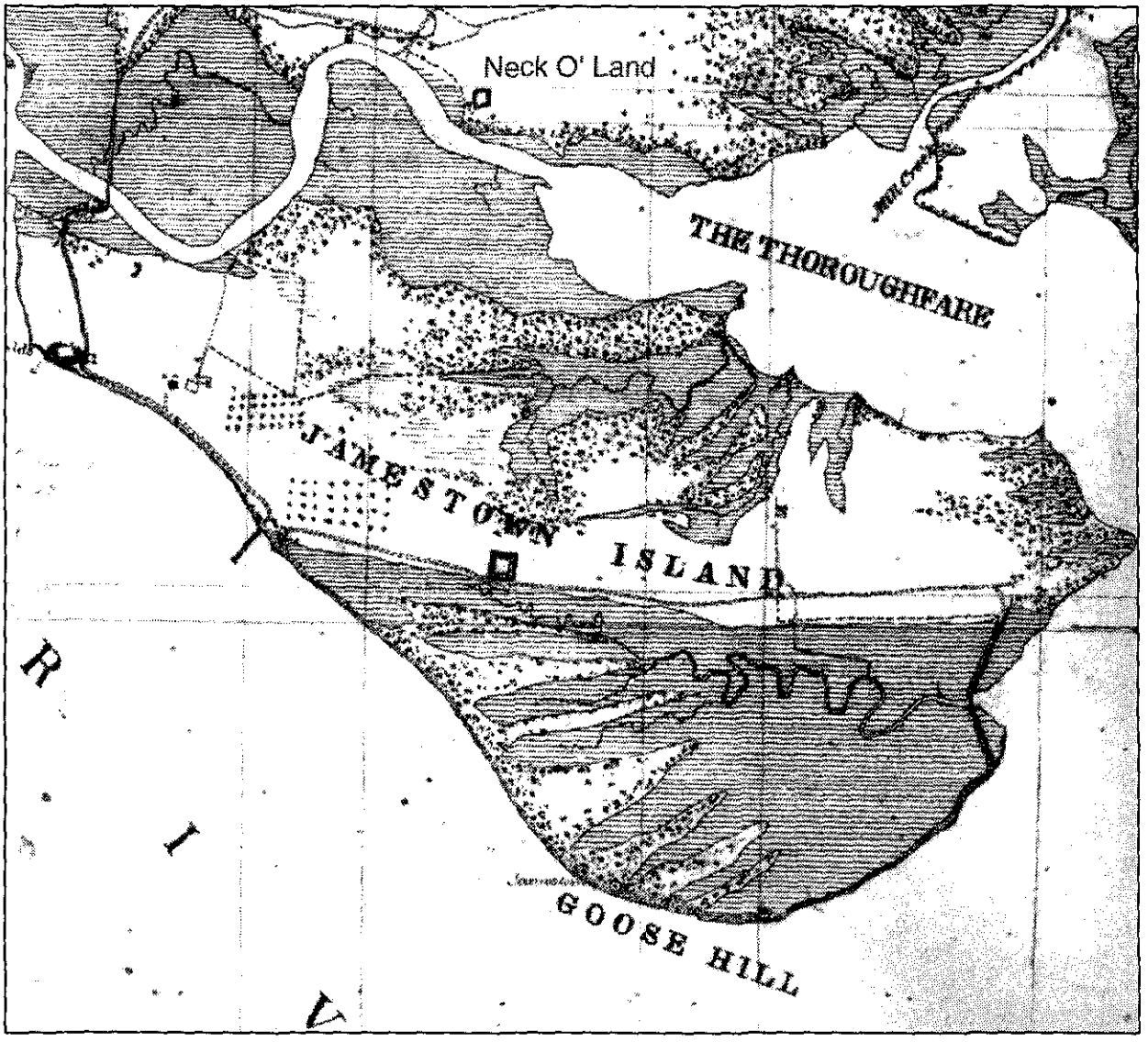


Figure 56. *Detail from* James River from College Creek to the Chickahominy River *(Donn 1873-1874).*

swim away but his attackers reportedly bludgeoned him with an oar. After dark, Wooten crept into the marsh and made his way up Powhatan Creek to the home of John Cassidy (or Cassaday), a free black at Green Spring.[509] Cassidy helped Wooten cross the river to Surry, where he reported the incident to local officials. Neither Union nor Confederate authorities seem to have taken any action in response to this incident, although newspapers in Petersburg, Richmond and Lynchburg demanded justice for what were termed cold-blooded, "fiendish murders" (Palmer 1968:XI:233-236; *Richmond Whig*, October 24, 1862; *Daily Richmond Examiner*, October 24, 1862; *Lynchburg Daily Virginian*, October 27, 1862). Although the records are silent on what caused William Allen's slaves to rebel, they may have been responding to years of ill treatment, to the influence of the "contrabands" who in June 1862 reportedly took refuge on Jamestown Island, or displaying their resentment of the long-standing institution of sla-

[509] James City County census records for 1870 use the spelling "Cassady." However, research on African Americans in nineteenth-century Virginia census records demonstrates clearly that little heed was paid to how these people spelled their names, if indeed they had fixed upon one spelling.

very. It is also possible that they were caught up in the anarchy that prevailed on the lower peninsula after the Union Army passed through.[510]

Jamestown Island During Union Occupation

According to Union Army Captain David E. Cronin, a company of dismounted cavalrymen usually was posted on Jamestown Island, with the support of a mounted reserve on the mainland that maintained contact with army headquarters in Williamsburg. The pickets on Jamestown Island kept a watchful eye upon the river, for it was rumored that two or three newly-built Confederate ironclads were ready to descend from Richmond.[511] Sometimes, the men climbed to the top of the crumbling church tower to gain a more commanding view. But according to Cronin, it was little higher than the nearby Confederate fortifications. Union Army sentries were especially vigilant at night, for spies and smugglers were expected to attempt crossing the James under the cover of darkness. Each evening, a few boards were removed from the plank bridge that connected Jamestown Island with the mainland, to prevent the pickets from being overtaken from the rear. Cronin said that Jamestown was considered a good duty station, for there was an abundance of fish, shell fish, and game, along with fruits and nuts. There was plenty of time for reading and the encampments near Williamsburg "did not lack for books of an entertaining kind, either light or serious, taken from the fine libraries found in the abandoned town mansions" (Cronin [1862-1865]:8, 172-173). Cronin, a highly skilled artist formerly employed by *Harper's Weekly*, made three sketches of sites at Jamestown: the church tower, the nearby cemetery (which he labeled "the neglected graveyard of the first settlers"), and the lone cypress tree at the western end of the island (Figures 57, 58, and 59).[512] Unfortunately, he failed to execute drawings of other portions of the island.

According to Cronin, in 1864 an inexperienced company of black horse soldiers, mounted upon steeds unaccustomed to gunfire, was sent to Jamestown Island to relieve another unit. But near the foot of the bridge, the men were ambushed by a band of Confederate sharpshooters, who quickly drove them back toward Williamsburg. Cronin said that the men regrouped, returned to the bridge with reinforcements, and held the island for several weeks.[513] Military records, however, provide an entirely different view. On September 3, 1864, a Union Army ambulance, sent to Jamestown Island to retrieve three sick men, was escorted by three members of the 20th New York Cavalry. As they approached their destination, they were ambushed by some Confederate guerrillas concealed in the woods. Lt. John D. Lee, who led a party of Union cavalrymen on a retaliatory mission, concluded that the "guerilla party in question was composed of citizens of the neighborhood" (Cronin [1862-1865]:249-250; U.S.W.D. 1891:Series 1:42:II:2:696-697).[514]

Surrender and the Aftermath of War

On April 9, 1865, General Robert E. Lee decided to meet with General Ulysses S. Grant to negotiate the terms of a surrender. The two military leaders

[510] In 1865 the James City County tax assessor made a note by William Allen's Jamestown, Neck O'Land, and Kingsmill properties that there were "buildings burnt" on each (James City County Land Tax Lists 1865). No explanation was given.

[511] The May 20, 1893, edition of the *Virginia Gazette* indicates that a group of people who traveled by sloop from College Landing to Jamestown, to have a picnic, struck a piling in the Back River, an obstruction "put there by the Yankees" to protect their position (*Virginia Gazette*, May 20, 1893).

[512] He also made a sketch of William Ludwell Lee's ruinous house at Green Spring.

[513] Cronin, when writing his memoirs, appears to have confused this event with one that happened in Surry County on August 5, 1864 (Riggs 1997:100). He was living in Petersburg at this time and therefore made the mistake of relying on hearsay.

[514] The latter citation was provided by David F. Riggs of the National Park Service.

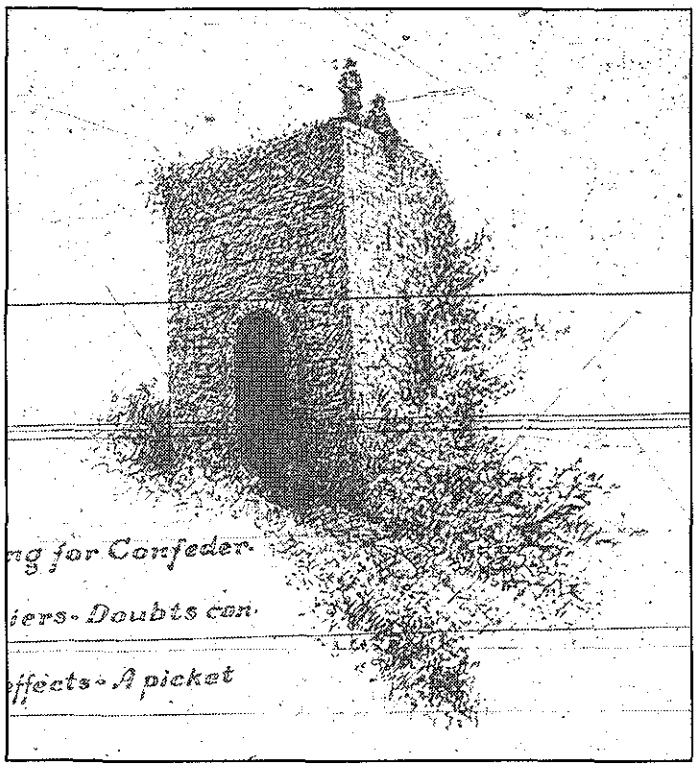


Figure 57. The Church Tower *(Cronin [1862-1865]).*

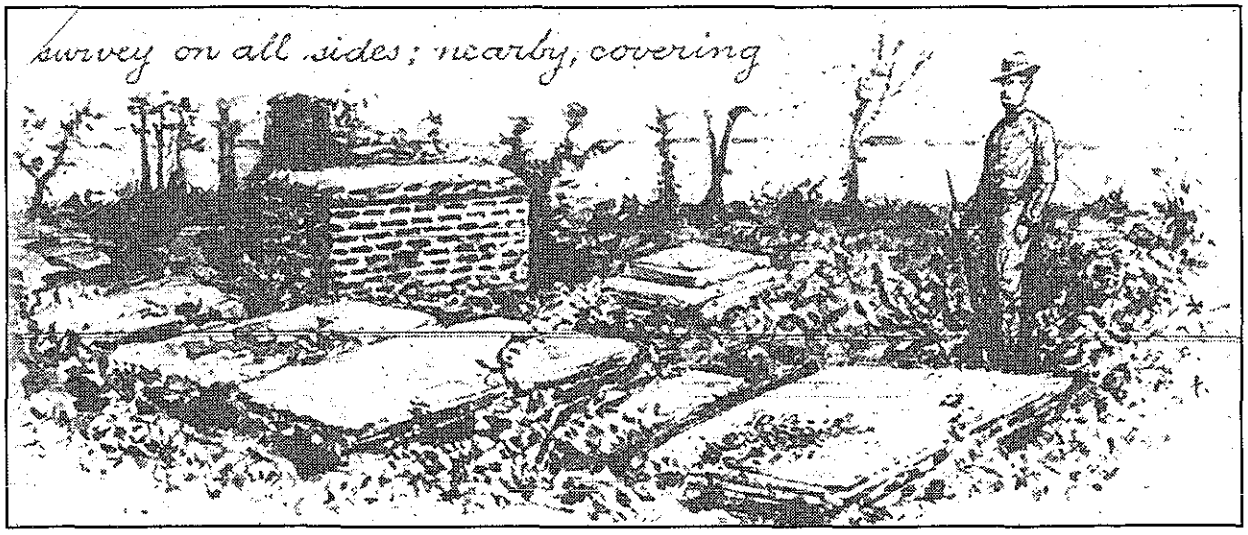


Figure 58. The Neglected Graveyard *(Cronin [1862-1865]).*

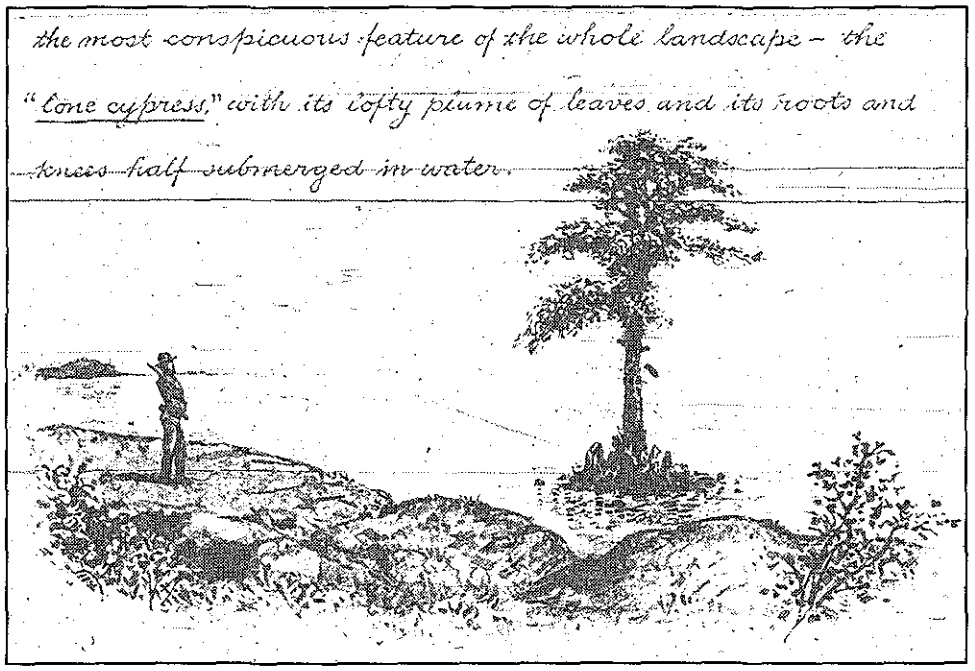


Figure 59. The Lone Cypress *(Cronin [1862-1865]).*

conferred in the McLean house in Appomattox, where they drafted a document they signed at 4 P.M. The Confederates, weary, half-starved and disheartened, subsequently marched through lines of Union infantry and laid down their arms, while Union troops watched or stood guard. Lee's surrender heralded the end of the war (Robertson 1991:31). At that juncture, one form of suffering yielded to another.

The state of Virginia endured the full fury of the Civil War, for more than 200 military engagements occurred within the state and over half a million men became casualties. Most of the state's towns and cities lay in shambles or had deteriorated through neglect. Within the rural countryside, fields were ruined, crops and livestock were gone, bridges and railroads were destroyed and countless homes and businesses were irreparably damaged. An estimated 20,000 to 30,000 Virginia soldiers lost their lives and many thousands of others were permanently maimed as a result of war wounds and disease. Blacks and whites struggled to redefine their roles in society, and the state's economic system was destroyed. Confederate money and bonds were worthless, inflation was at an all time high, and legal tender was almost nonexistent (Robertson 1991:174-176; Majeske 1980:29, 56).

For the first six months after the surrender at Appomattox, at least 25,000 white Virginians subsisted on army rations, not including many of the 360,000 newly freed blacks who lacked food, clothing, shelter and the means to make a living. The 13th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution was ratified, ending slavery and the old social order to which much of the South had been accustomed. Real estate values plummeted and land worth $50 an acre before the war afterward sold for $2. So massive was the damage to Virginia's industrial establishment that it was the only state failing to attain its prewar production levels by 1870. In sum, the war, followed by military occupation and Reconstruction, exacted so great a toll that Virginia was reduced to poverty and despair (Robertson 1991:174-176; Majeske 1980:29, 56).

Undoubtedly, many returning soldiers, already weary, malnourished and saddened by the loss of comrades, were completely demoralized by the conditions they found at home, for they were confronted with what must have seemed like an

insurmountable array of problems. Neglected farmland quickly sprouted dense vegetation and young pines that had to be cleared away before plowing could be done. Game animals (including predators) multiplied in the underbrush and created problems for those fortunate enough to own poultry and livestock. Recovery took time, money, ingenuity and a tremendous amount of hard work (Robertson 1991:174-176).

Census records reveal that a considerable number of households consisted of unrelated individuals who seemingly banded together for mutual support. Many farms were operated by sharecroppers or leaseholders. Sometimes, blacks chose to stay on near the plantations upon which they'd been slaves earlier on. Throughout eastern Virginia, numerous rural landowners were forced to subdivide their farms or relinquish them altogether. Northern speculators with expendable capital sometimes seized the opportunity to purchase cheap land, often for back taxes. Court records demonstrate that often they invested in large farms they quickly resold or subdivided in hopes of turning a quick profit. However, some Northern buyers relocated to the land they purchased (Robertson 1991:174-176; Bradshaw et al. 1989:20-21; Majeske 1980:29, 56).

The Pain of Recovery

At the close of the war, the James-York peninsula had a substantial population of homeless African-Americans, many of whom had fled behind Union lines after General Benjamin F. Butler's announcement that he considered runaway slaves contraband of war. By January 1866 an estimated 70,000 blacks had gathered at Fort Monroe. This influx of people, who often came with only the clothes upon their backs and a few personal belongings, posed a serious health and welfare problem for federal authorities, both during and after the war. On March 3, 1865, the United States Congress established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, a little-known branch of government in the War Department. It was to provide food, shelter, clothing and fuel to "suffering refugees and freedmen and their wives and children," to whom it could allocate private property abandoned by its owners or confiscated for back taxes. There are some indications that property was seized punitively from time to time. Agents of the Bureau of Refugees were entrusted with negotiating labor contracts for ex-slaves and seeing that they were provided with medical care and schooling, often in cooperation with the American Missionary Association and other private agencies (Tindall 1984:672-673).

Because whites left in droves when the Union Army swept up the peninsula, a substantial amount of vacant land was available. Such acreage typically was subdivided into small parcels that were leased to refugees who paid rent in crop-shares. Sometimes, Union officers simply confiscated private property and issued it to black refugees. The buildings on abandoned or confiscated farms probably sustained a considerable amount of damage, for they would have been subjected to scavenging as the refugees sought the building materials they needed to construct simple shanties. A map of the lower peninsula's Government Farms reveals that two properties of William Allen's were subdivided into parcels that were placed in the hands of black refugees: his Kingsmill and Neck O'Land farms. At Kingsmill, freedmen rented the mill for a third of its earnings. The confiscated property was restored to its owners of record in 1867 (Bureau of Refugees 1866; Freedmen's Bureau Record 1867).

Local court records bear mute testimony to the hardships of Reconstruction, some of which lingered for a decade or more. Some people, thanks to the loss of farm income, were unable to finish paying for property they had purchased before the war. Many others became indebted to merchants and other business establishments. Labor shortages, worn out agricultural equipment, and farm land overgrown with brambles, weeds and small trees that defied the plow, were among the numerous problems local farmers faced. They also lacked the funds they needed to buy seed, fertilizer and livestock. As a result, many people fell deeply into debt due to circumstances that were beyond their control. Ultimately, a significant number were obliged to forfeit their real and personal property

or declare bankruptcy. The destruction of almost all of James City County's antebellum court records would have made it difficult for those buying and selling land to substantiate ownership claims (McCartney 1997:348).

George B. Field, J. A. Clary and J. S. Clary (lessees)

During the latter years of the war, William Allen and his family spent much of their time in Richmond. They entertained lavishly, although his fortune dwindled (Gregory 1990:66-67). On May 15, 1865, Allen executed a rental agreement whereby he leased Jamestown Island (described as ca. 1,400 acres) and his Neck O'Land plantation (ca. 4,000 acres) to George B. Field and J. S. and J. A. Clary for a period of five years. The lessees, who were from New York, were supposed to see that the property was cultivated "in a faithful and farmlike manner." Any timber cut from the lands and offered for sale was to be made into lumber and all sales were to be reported to Allen. The lessees were allowed to make improvements to the property as long as such changes were authorized in advance by Allen's agents. Allen agreed to reimburse his tenants for the appraised value of any improvements they erected, as long as the structures remained intact after the lease expired. "The repairing of such tenant buildings and of the brick dwelling which are now standing on the plantation and also the erection of such tenant houses of a cheap and comfortable character as may be absolutely required for the laborers" received advance approval. Allen's tenants also were permitted to transplant trees, vines and shrubs from his Claremont property to the land they were renting (James City County Deed Book 2:198). As it turned out, pressing financial needs forced Allen to break the lease two years before it expired and to sell his Jamestown Island property.[515]

[515] After the Civil War, when times were hard, the restrictions imposed by the late William Allen's 1831 will were a considerable hindrance to his great-nephew, who could not sell any of the property he had inherited, despite pressing financial needs.

George B. Field and Israel Williams

On December 31, 1868, William Allen and his wife, Frances, sold Jamestown Island (then described as 1,391 acres) to George B. Field (one of his lessees) and Israel Williams of New York State, in exchange for $10,000.[516] Reference was made to Field's possession of the original deed and a plat of the island that had been made by Colonel Alfred Rives of Richmond.[517] Mrs. Frances Jessup Allen waived her dower interest in the property. The clerk of the James City County court noted in the margin of the record book that the original deed was sent to Israel Williams on January 11, 1869 (James City County Deed Book 2:204).

Israel A. Williams quickly moved to James City County and commenced farming Jamestown Island. Agricultural census records for 1870 indicate that during the 1869 crop year he placed 600 acres under the plough, from which land he produced 300 acres of winter wheat and 2,000 bushels of Indian corn. Williams was credited with 106 acres of woods and an additional 700 acres that were unimproved. On Jamestown Island was a livestock herd worth $5,695. It consisted of 1 horse, 14 mules and asses, 12 milk cows, 10 working oxen, 85 other cattle, 200 sheep, and 50 swine. Williams had an investment of $700 in farm machinery and he had paid out $4,500 in wages during 1869 (James City County Agricultural Census 1870) (see Table 7).

[516] When William Allen (formerly William Griffin Orgain) died of a "congestive chill" on May 19, 1875, he was living at Claremont and was age 46. He had produced a son and heir, William, born on January 13, 1855, and several other children (Gregory 1990:66, 69).

[517] As the Allens sold their Jamestown Island property in its entirety and were the sole owners, Rives, as surveyor, may have omitted ca. 300 acres of marsh land or acreage between the high and low mean watermarks. Attempts to locate a copy of the Rives map thus far have proven unsuccessful.

George B. Field

Within less than a year of the time George B. Field and Israel Williams purchased Jamestown Island, Williams and his wife, Sarah, conveyed his half-interest to Field, then a resident of New York. At that time, reference was made to "the dwellings, paper mill and improvements" on Jamestown Island.[518] The Williams couple, when selling their property, identified themselves as residents of Beliot, Wisconsin. Again, reference was made to the plat previously prepared by Colonel Alfred Rives of Richmond (James City County Deed Book 2:281).

George B. Field was obliged to borrow the funds he needed to purchase his partner's interest in Jamestown Island. Therefore, on August 13, 1870, he deeded the approximately 1,400 acre island to trustee William A. Camp as collateral in order to secure his loan (James City County Deed Book 2:394). On November 10, 1871, Camp executed a certificate of satisfaction, an indication that Field had paid off his debt ($6,000) and the interest he owed on his loan (James City County Deed Book 2:426). Field, however, appears to have been exchanging one creditor for another, for on November 10, 1871, he conveyed to trustee James L. Apperson, "all that certain tract of land with the dwellings, paper mill and improvements on James River known as Jamestown Island, 1400 acres, containing 1391 acres by survey, the land formerly owned by Wm Allen." Field, who was described as a resident of Norfolk, had three years in which to repay his loan (James City County Deed Book 2:427).

Franklin Rowley (lessee)

On January 8, 1874, George B. Field leased Jamestown Island (which he described as 1,600 acres) to Franklin Rowley. However, within nine months he sold it to Frederick Rollin of Brooklyn, New York (James City County Deed Book 3:48-51). It was during that period that topographic engineers made a relatively sensitive map of Jamestown Island. They indicated that much of the island's higher ground was cleared and they showed the Ambler house and Confederate earthworks prominently. In 1873-1874 there were two large orchards in the western end of the island and a substantial wharf extended toward the James River's channel, just east of Orchard Run, on Study Unit 3 Tract H. A road crossed the marsh bordering the Neck O'Land, reached the land formation that during the seventeenth century was known as "the frigott" and then continued on toward the Confederate fort. It headed eastward along the river bank, reaching the large wharf. From that point a road extended in an easterly direction toward a square redoubt and then continued on toward Black Point.[519] A tiny road also ran northward toward the Travis graveyard. Near the Ambler house was a cluster of small buildings. Roads extended to the northeast, toward the Back River and seemed to define the perimeters of a large field (Donn 1873-1874) (Figure 60).

Franklin Rollin

On September 19, 1874, George B. Field of New York sold Jamestown Island (which he described as 1,600 acres) to his lessee, Frederick Rollin (Rolin, Rollins) of Brooklyn. Field indicated that he was conveying to Rollin all of the buildings, livestock and farming equipment on the property. He also made reference to the January 8, 1874, lease he had signed with Franklin Rowley. Field and Rollin acknowledged that there was a mortgage on the property and that Rollin, through his purchase, had assumed it (James City County Deed Book 3:48-51). Frederick Rollin borrowed his purchase money and like Field, used his equity in the Jamestown Island property as collateral. On September 19, 1874, the same day he bought the 1,600 acre island from George B. Field, he deeded

[518] This is the first reference to the existence of a paper mill on Jamestown Island. Nothing more is known about it.

[519] Donn omitted the military feature at Goose Hill, the so-called Sand Battery.

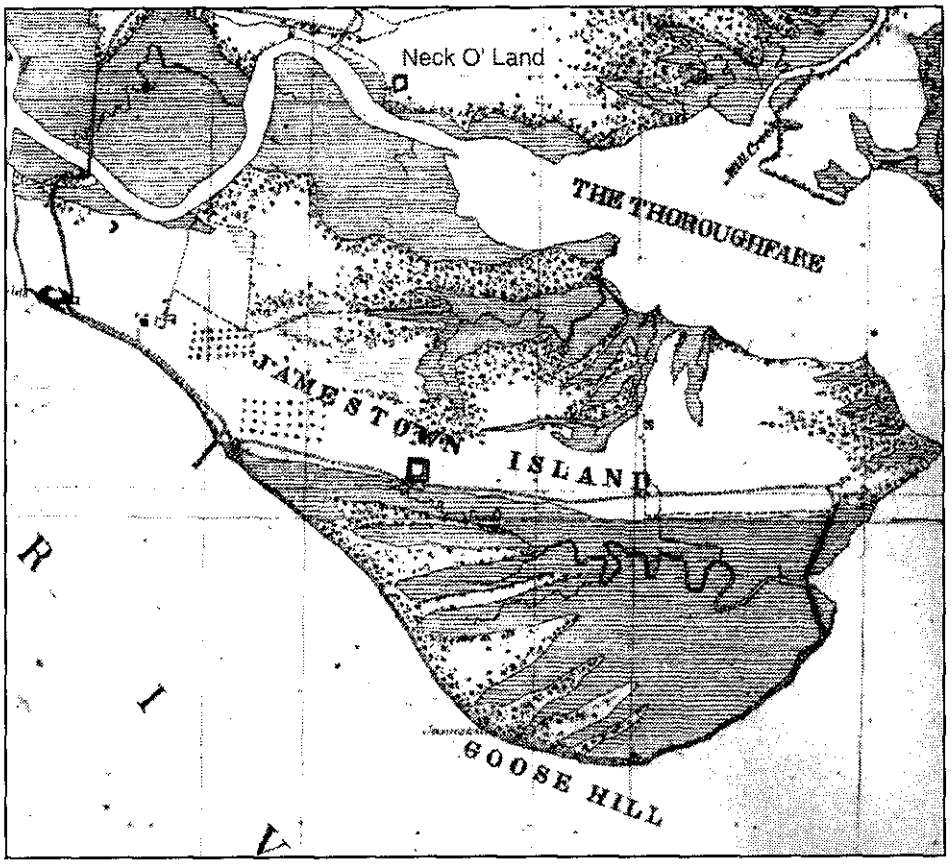


Figure 60. *Detail from* James River from College Creek to the Chickahominy River *(Donn 1873-1874).*

it to William S. Peachy, his trustee (James City County Deed Book 3:51).

On May 15, 1877, Frederick Rollin's wife, Mamie Bishop Rollin, who was living at Jamestown, informed a friend that:

> *We are having warm weather here now, the blossoms have all fallen off the trees and the fruit is getting quite large. We are going to have a large yield of fruit this summer. Katie and I went out in the garden yesterday and picked almost a handful of ripe strawberries, they have been very backward on account of the cool weather but are beginning to ripen very fast now. We have had lettuce, radishes and green onions for quite a long time now. The grass is very high and everything is as far advanced as it is in June.*

She said that:

> *We had quite a jubilee on the island yesterday. There are two boats running every day now, one from Richmond and the other from Norfolk. They both stop at our wharf and yesterday 18 gentlemen came from Norfolk to visit the island and to meet a delegation of merchants from the west, on the return boat from Richmond there was the representative of a paper called the* Norfolk Virginian, *editors, captains, merchants, colonels and I don't known what else. They played on the piano and violin and sang, then they visited the ruins and had a gay time in general until they took their departure on the boat. The boat is going to land excursions here every day during the summer, which will make it very pleasant [Rollin, May 15, 1877].*

An 1879 land transaction reveals that Frederick Rollin defaulted on his mortgage. This meant that not only Rollin's debt went unpaid but also that of George B. Field, which Rollin had assumed. As a result of this chain of events, in late 1879 Jamestown Island was offered for sale to the highest bidder at a public auction. A deed for the

sale of the property to a new owner indicates that an advertisement had been placed in the Richmond *Daily Dispatch* (James City County Deed Book 3:475-477).[520]

Francis S. and Lucy Clay Brown

On December 19, 1879, James S. Apperson, George B. Field's trustee, conveyed Jamestown Island to Mrs. Lucy Clay Brown, the highest bidder at a public auction. At the time Mrs. Brown purchased the property, she and her husband, Francis S., were residents of Fort Monroe (James City County Deed Book 3:475-477). In 1880, when an agricultural census was compiled for James City County, Jamestown Island was omitted. This probably occurred because the property had just changed hands and information about the 1879 crop year wasn't available. While the Brown couple owned Jamestown Island, an artist painted a picture of its western end. It was published in 1891 in a magazine called *The Century*. Shown prominently at the end of a partially submerged extension of land was the cypress tree that Robert Sully had sketched in 1854. Protruding from the embankment east of the cypress tree was the wall of a ruinous brick building, crumbling sections of which gradually were falling into the James River (Anonymous 1891:331). The structure that caught the artist's attention appears to have been at a site analogous to Structure 144, the Ludwell Statehouse Group, on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lots A and B (Figure 61). Some years later, another artist attributed the same ruins to the powder magazine (Anonymous n.d.) (Figure 62). Francis S. and Lucy Clay Brown retained Jamestown Island until November 28, 1892, at which time they sold it to Edward E. Barney and his wife, Louise J., of Dayton, Ohio (James City County Deed Book 5:503-505).

[520] Although numerous contemporary editions of this newspaper have been examined, the advertisement has not been located. However, many issues have not been preserved.

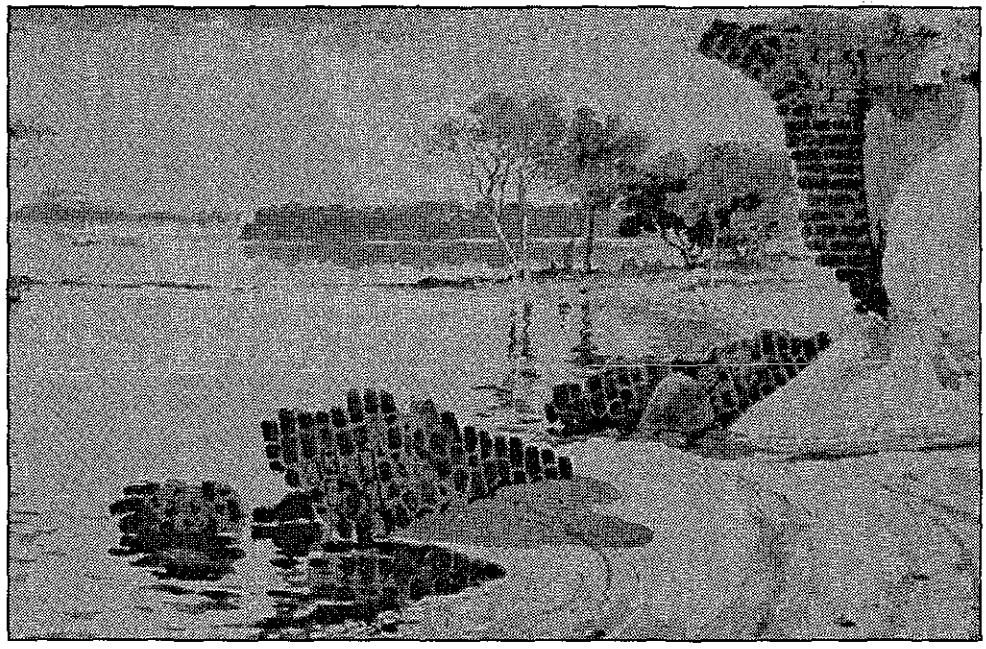


Figure 61. The Old Magazine at Jamestown, The Century magazine *(*Century Magazine *January-February 1891).*

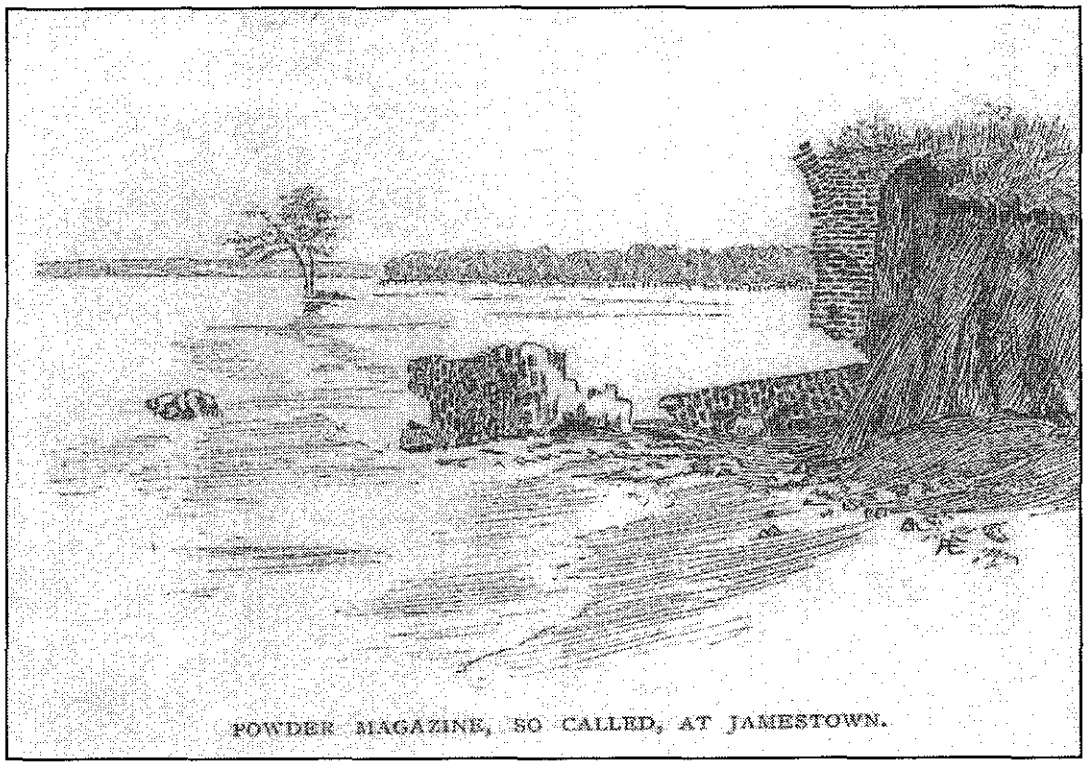


Figure 62. Powder Magazine, So Called, At Jamestown *(J. Paul Hudson Papers, COLOJ 47658, Box 15, FF244, Colonial National Historical Park).*

Chapter 5.
Period IV: The Closing Century (1893-1998)

Jamestown Island's Final Owners

At the close of 1892, Jamestown Island, with the exception of the state-owned church property, came into the hands of Edward E. and Louise J. Barney. During 1893 they deeded a 22½ acre tract that enveloped the church yard to the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (the APVA), which already had been given the state's interest in the church property. In 1934 the United States Government acquired the Barneys' land. Within the discussion that follows, these land ownership traditions will be addressed individually.

Edward E. and Louise J. Barney

On November 28, 1892, Edward E. and Louise J. Barney, who were identified as residents of Dayton, Ohio, purchased Jamestown Island from Francis S. and Lucy Clay Brown of Fort Monroe, Virginia. Included in the transaction were 1,400 acres (1,391 acres by actual survey), "all that tract of land with the dwellinghouse, buildings and other improvements." The Browns noted that the land formerly had belonged to William Allen and had been conveyed to Lucy Clay Brown by James L. Apperson, a trustee (James City County Deed Book 5:503-505). On December 21 and 22, 1892, Shirley Carter prepared a drawing that depicted the church tower and graveyard at Jamestown, identifying the sites at which numbered pegs had been placed to signify the location of graves (Carter 1892). As Carter made his sketch on Edward E. Barney's stationary, he probably undertook his work on the Barneys' behalf.

On March 1, 1892, nearly nine months before the Barneys purchased Jamestown Island from the Browns, the General Assembly enacted legislation whereby the Commonwealth of Virginia conveyed to the APVA the state's rights, title and interest in "the churchyard, church lot and graveyard in and upon Jamestown Island with the right to acquire by condemnation the right to ingress and egress and to erect a bridge if necessary." Through this means, the state conveyed to the APVA its legal interest in the acreage that throughout the colonial period had belonged James City Parish, a unit of Virginia's State Church. On May 13, 1893, Edward E. and Louise J. Barney deeded to the APVA their interest in a 22½ acre plot that enveloped the tiny church lot. Reference was then made to the presence of the graveyard, church tower, Confederate fort and powder magazine that were on the parcel. It was noted that the Barneys were in actual possession of "the property so granted but are willing to cooperate with the A.P.V.A." The Barneys' deed to the APVA was accompanied by a plat that depicted the 22½ acre plot's bounds (Stanard 1904:323; James City County Deed Book 5:536, 539) (Figure 63).

Special articles of agreement accompanied the Barneys' deed to the APVA It was stipulated that the organization "will have free use of the wharfs as are now there or which are constructed and the free use of the bridge now constructed or hereafter; that the A.P.V.A. will give the Barneys preference in furnishing transportation for all excursions gotten up or controlled by the A.P.V.A. for the purpose of visiting Jamestown." Moreover, as it had become necessary to construct a wall or other permanent means "of preventing further washing and caving of the bank on the river side of the property," it was agreed that the structure would be erected as soon as it was deemed expedient and that the Barneys and the APVA would share the cost. The APVA promised not to construct upon its property "any hotel, ordinary, restaurant or booth for public entertainment" (James City County Deed Book 5:540-542).

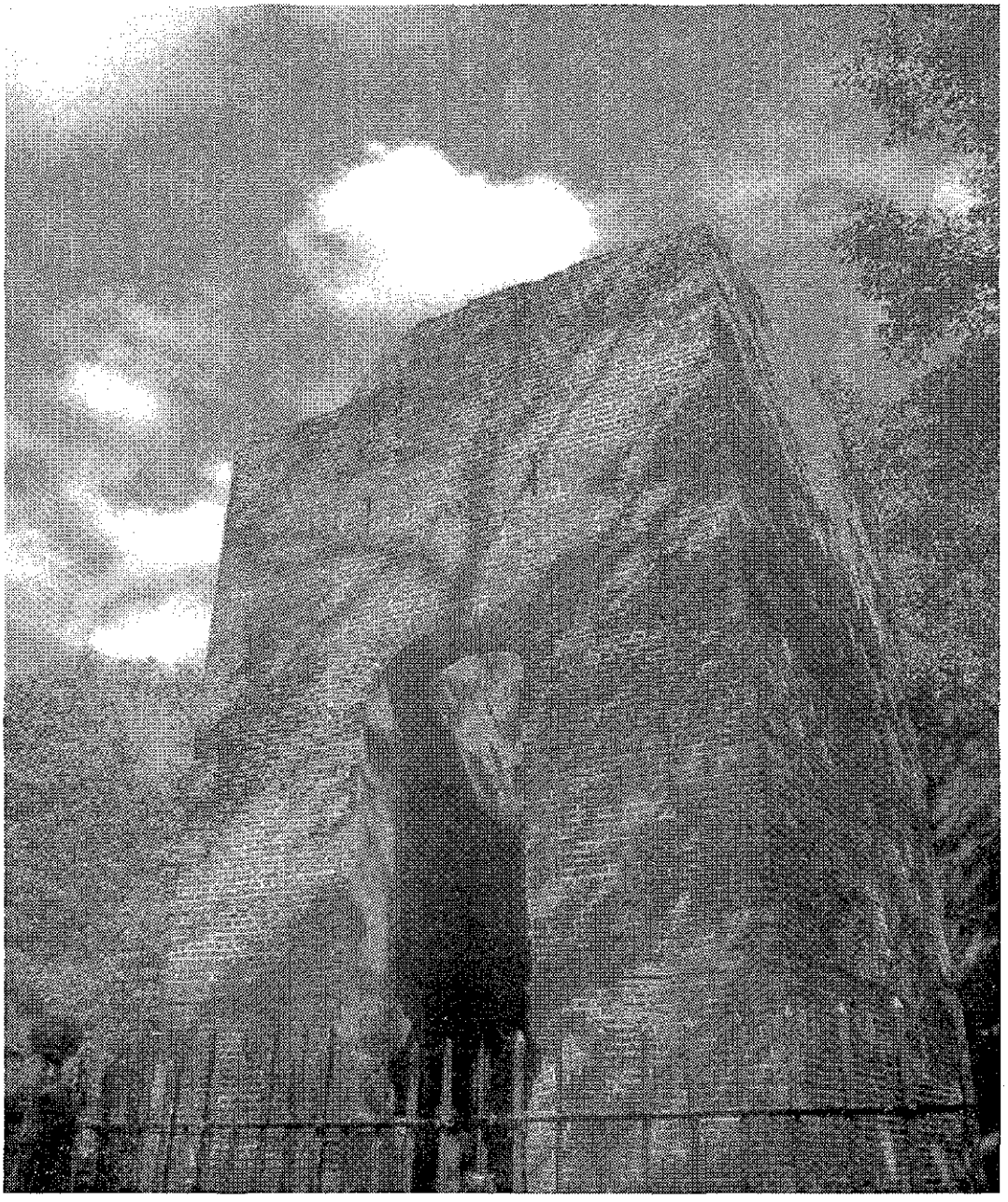


Figure 63. *Old Church tower (photograph by David Hazzard).*

The Barneys, despite using Dayton, Ohio, as their legal address, were not newcomers to Tidewater Virginia. On November 21, 1881, Edward E. Barney and a partner named Patrick S. Gunckel purchased a 2,300 acre Surry County tract called "Hog Island and the main" from George P. Lynch and his wife, who in 1876 had mortgaged their property. In April 1883 Gunckel and his wife sold their interest in the 2,300 acres to Edward E. Barney's wife, Louise J., who called the property "Homewood." Simultaneously, Louise J. Barney purchased two other parcels that adjoined her 2,300 acre Hog Island estate. These land acquisitions gave Edward E. and Louise J. Barney a total of 3,200 acres of land in Surry County at Hog Island (Surry County Deed Book 18:264, 270-271, 774; 19:86, 760; 20:83). When the Barneys first came to Virginia, they resided in a dwelling at Homewood, which was then a working farm. They reportedly expended considerable sums of money

there, building ditches and dikes, constructing buildings, and erecting a deep-water pier (Virginia Navigation Company 1903:70-71).

On September 10, 1887, Edward E. and Louise J. Barney purchased another Virginia property. This time they bought a 2,200 acre Chesterfield County farm known as Meadowville. A year or so after making their purchase, the Barneys built a large dwelling upon the property (Chesterfield County Deed Book 92:274-275; O'Dell 1983:261). Thus, by the time the Barneys purchased Jamestown Island, they had been property-owners in Virginia for more than a decade.

The Virginia Navigation Company and the *Pocahontas*

Edward E. Barney, who inherited a substantial interest in the Smith and Barney Car Company, a manufacturer of railroad cars, was a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He and his brothers reportedly were pressured to follow in the footsteps of their father, a highly successful businessman. Edward E. Barney had a different set of interests. Even so, in 1874 he hired on in his father's company and became a machinist's apprentice. In 1880, when his father died, he became a Company director despite his total lack of experience as a corporate executive.[521] However, on September 4, 1888, Edward E. Barney left his position with the family company and moved to Virginia permanently. Then, in 1892, he resigned from the Smith and Barney Car Company's board of directors. Within a year, he organized the Virginia Navigation Company, a Richmond-based firm that owned the steamboats *Ariel* and *Pocahontas*, which plied the waters between the state capital and Hampton Roads. According to a newspaper advertisement Barney placed, the *Pocahontas* left Richmond at 7 A.M. every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and arrived at Jamestown around noon. The vessel accommodated both passengers and freight. A sketch of the pier was included in the book the Virginia Navigation Company published, called *Afloat on the James* (Trostel 1989:65-66; Virginia Navigation Company 1903:4; *Virginia Gazette*, August 30, 1895) (Figure 64).[522]

Converting the Island into a Tourist Attraction

Local newspaper articles, published during the spring and summer of 1893 reveal that Edward E. Barney had ambitious plans for developing Jamestown Island into a mecca for tourists. On May 27, 1893, the *Virginia Gazette* reported that Mr. Barney,

> *... the young millionaire, promises to open this section to the world... . A hotel of the kind he intends to build at Jamestown and the magnificent style in which it will be conducted can but bring to that famous spot myriads of tourists and pleasure seekers. Then an electric railway connecting the place with Williamsburg will give people an opportunity to visit and see the advantages of our country* [Virginia Gazette, *May 27, 1893*].

Two months later, the Barneys' farm manager, George W. Bedell, informed the press that neither a hotel nor an electric railway would be built until there was a demand for it. Bedell implied that Barney would proceed with his plans for a railroad

[521] After the death of founder Eliam Barney in 1880, the Smith and Barney Car Company's financial position began to wane. None of Eliam's sons seem to have had his business acumen or interest in the business (Trostel 1989:65).

[522] The Virginia Navigation Company's palace steamer, *Pocahontas*, reportedly was 205 feet long, 57 feet wide, had a 2,100 horsepower engine and every imaginable luxury, including "electric orchestrion giving full musical effects of a full band." Guests were invited to partake of water from Jamestown's artesian wells and fresh fruit and vegetables "from this historic place" (Barker 1899). In 1942 *The American Neptune* published an article by Alexander C. Brown, entitled "The Steamboat Pocahontas, 1893-1939," which was reprinted by the Mariners Museum in Newport News, Virginia. Brown described the vessel's history and attributes in a considerable amount of detail.



Figure 64. Jamestown Island *(Virginia Navigation Company 1903).*

if local people were willing to join him as co-investors. Bedell added that:

> *A splendid wharf has been constructed upon which a large warehouse will be built. A storeroom, warehouse and pavilion also are to go up soon. The crops look well on the land, especially corn, of which they have upwards of 300 acres. The bridge crossing the neck of the James is soon to be built, which will greatly facilitate travel to and from Jamestown* [Virginia Gazette, *July 23, 1893].*

In August 1893 the Barneys' farm manager, George W. Bedell, sought publicity for the work his employers were having done at Jamestown. In a letter to the editor, Bedell announced that:

> *The workmen employed on Jamestown Island have recently made some very interesting discoveries on that portion of the island fronting the river and near the church and on which was built the principal portion of the town. The discoveries consist of several subterranean passages leading for quite a distance across the island and are nicely and yet in good state of preservation. These long and narrow bricked passageways were, it is supposed, used as a means of escaping from the Indians and will be preserved as interesting relics of early settlement.*

He added:

> *I would say in digging around the old mansion we found foundations leading northward and southward, which very plainly showed to us that some day the structure standing where the old mansion now stands to have been a much larger structure than the present mansion. Much of unearthing the old foundation is still to be done and many interesting relics may be found* [Virginia Gazette, *August 18, 1893].*[523]

In January 1894 the *Virginia Gazette's* editor reported that Jamestown Island was fast "becoming a thing of beauty with its green fields, long driveways lined with trees and beach free of disfiguring underbrush." Two weeks later the *Gazette* carried an unsigned letter, praising the improvements the Barneys had made to Jamestown Island, and promoting construction of the electric rail line or steam-driven cars (*Virginia Gazette*, January

[523] This may have been the first time that purposeful excavations (other than random relic-hunting) were conducted in the vicinity of the Ambler house.

26; February 9, 1894).[524] Meanwhile, the Barneys socialized with Virginia Governor Charles T. O'Ferrell, who came down from Richmond aboard the *Pocahontas* and stopped off at their Surry County residence, Homewood, where he was lavishly entertained. According to the *Virginia Gazette*, the sixty people then employed at Jamestown were given half-a-day off (*Virginia Gazette*, April 28, 1894).

In May 1894 the *Gazette's* editor published an interview with George W. Bedell, who was then residing in the old Ambler mansion with his family. He indicated that, "The vast wastes of marsh land are being reclaimed. Acres of underwood and briars have given place to velvety grass." Moreover, "There is a new artesian well." Bedell reportedly said that "About 40 men are now employed and twice that number are expected." He added that:

> *Steam pumps are now at work reclaiming land; a dredgeboat and pile driver are at work, the latter opening through the wide stretch of marsh a path through which a new road leading to Williamsburg will be built. It will not be a bridge but a solid road, except where it crosses the arm of the James River that passes around the land, making it an island. This is the first step toward the electric railway... . Jamestown Island will be made into a truck farm. Within the year there will be 60 acres of asparagus in. The potatoes on the farm are looking well.*

Bedell said that he hoped to start cultivating flowers soon and that "An old fort there [on Jamestown Island] will be put under glass." Bedell said that "the gift to the Antiquarian Society was given with the understanding that everything would be put in order." He said that the APVA could have raised the money they needed "by taking pieces of the old reservoir (of which there are plenty) to Chicago during the World's Fair" and selling them for a dollar apiece (*Virginia Gazette*, May 6, 1894).[525] In July the *Gazette* reported that an estimated 5,000 tourists had visited Jamestown between June 1, 1893, and June 30, 1894. Senator John W. Daniel recommended that a sea wall be built at Jamestown to protect the island from the encroaching waters of the James and he suggested that $10,000 be raised to cover the cost of construction. In the same news item, the *Virginia Gazette's* editor said that he believed that Jamestown Island should be made a national park (*Virginia Gazette*, July 20, July 27, 1894).

Destruction of the Ambler House

In early 1895 Edward E. Barney, who had moved from Hog Island to Meadowville, experienced the first in a series of misfortunes that plagued him throughout the year. In mid-February, ice in the James River carried away part of the new wharf he had built at Jamestown Island. Then, on March 31, 1895, a blaze engulfed the recently renovated Ambler house, destroying its contents, including $4,000 worth of furniture from the steamship *Pocahontas* that had been stored in the attic. In April a murder occurred on Jamestown Island and finally, in August one of the buildings at Homewood burned to the ground (*Virginia Gazette*, February 15, April 5, April 26, August 9, 1895).

According to an article in the *Virginia Gazette*:

> *Like the bare walls of a ruined feudal castle stand the blackened fire-cracked walls of the great house on Jamestown Island. For the fourth time since its construction has this historic building been wrapped in the arms of the fire fiend. It was recently overhauled and beautifully furnished. But all the beauty of the place is gone and ruin and confusion stalk where order reigned.*
>
> *The fire that destroyed the building on March 31 was first discovered in the northwest corner and is supposed to have caught from a defective flue. Only a few people were in the house when the fire was discovered,*

[524] Antiquarians speculated that the rectangular holes visible in the ancient church tower actually were gun ports and that the building had served as both a house of worship and place of defense (*Virginia Gazette*, February 23, 1894).

[525] It is uncertain what Bedell meant by "the old reservoir."

Mr. and Mrs. Bedell and Miss Ida Wolcott, Mrs. Bedell's sister, being away. They were just returning from this city, where they had attended church, being Sunday, and saw the flames burst through the roof as they crossed the marsh near the island.

In the garret was $4000 worth of furniture belonging to the steamer Pocahontas *of the Virginia Navigation Company's line. All the furniture, which was very beautiful and belonged to Mr. Bedell, the manager of the farm and Mr. Edward E. Barney, the owner, was destroyed together with valuable silverware, jewelry and personal property of every description. 250 barrels of Irish potatoes stowed in the cellar all cut for planting were a complete loss. Mr. Bedell had $1,000 insurance on his furniture, which does not cover his loss.*

*The house was built of bricks and two stories high with a basement. It contained eight rooms with two large halls. The mansion stood on a beautiful knoll overlooking the turbid waters of the James and [was] surrounded by a well kept lawn. On either side of the house stretched away the island, just beginning to bud and bloom in springtime's beauty. Back of it were acres of truck land as rich as cream. The building and its surroundings, though the former was common and unpretentious, were a sight most pleasing to behold. Many will remember the good times they have had around the old mansion and sigh when they hear of the terrible havoc. Mr. and Mrs. Bedell will come here [Williamsburg] to remain until a house is built for them on the island [*Virginia Gazette, *April 5, 1895].*

The destruction of the Ambler house did not prevent the College of William and Mary and the APVA from jointly hosting a May 13, 1895, gala at Jamestown, an event reportedly attended by 2,000 people (Tyler 1895-1896:66).

Another newsworthy occurrence at Jamestown had tragic consequences. In late April, an African-American worker named Wiley, one of the Barneys' employees, was killed at Jamestown by Jim Smith, a fellow worker. The local newspaper reported that "The murderer was rescued from a mob of his own color by white men." Smith was arrested and claimed that he did the killing in self-defense. Then, in early August 1895, a fire was discovered in one of the buildings at Homewood. According to the *Virginia Gazette*, a Dr. Potts had recently purchased the property from Edward E. Barney and erected a cannery and cheese factory there (*Virginia Gazette*, April 26, 1895; August 9, 1895). Surry County records reveal, however, that Dr. Potts was a tenant of the Barneys, who still owned Homewood. Thus, the Barneys were the ones who suffered a major financial loss, not Dr. Potts (Surry County Deed Book 27:156).

Edward E. Barney's Tragic Death

Edward E. Barney's behavior during early 1896 suggests strongly that the losses he had sustained during the preceding year were beginning to take their toll, emotionally. He went to New York City, where on February 21, 1896, he quietly transferred to his wife, Louise J., his legal interest in the Meadowville tract and its improvements, along with all of its crops and livestock and a sawmill. Simultaneously, he conveyed to Louise their Jamestown Island property and his interest in their Surry County tract called Homewood. All three deeds were notarized for a second time on February 29, 1896, in Richmond (Chesterfield County Deed Book 92:274; James City County Deed Book 6:112; Surry County Deed Book 27:214).

Louise J. Barney may not have been fully cognizant of her husband's actions, for none of the deeds he signed required her signature. It is certain, however, that she was aware that their financial problems were serious. On April 22, 1896, Edward E. and Louise J. Barney jointly borrowed $8,000, which they agreed to repay within a year. When executing a deed of trust, they used their Meadowville and Homewood tracts as collateral. At that time, it was noted that Edward had deeded Meadowville to Louise. However, no mention was made of the fact that he also had relinquished his interest in Homewood and Jamestown Island (Surry County Deed Book 27:214). Thus, he apparently concealed some of his actions from her and their local attorney.

Finally, on August 1, 1896, the depth of 45-year-old Edward E. Barney's despair became apparent: he committed suicide. His obituary, which was published in the *Dayton Evening Herald*, described the circumstances of his death.

> *The body of Edward E. Barney, who was found dead in his business office at Meadowville, Virginia, Saturday morning with a bullet hole in his head and a revolver at his side, arrived here last night at 11:05 o'clock via the Big Four from Cincinnati. The remains were in charge of Mr. E. J. Barney, a brother of the deceased; Miss Martha Perrine, a sister of Mrs. Edward E. Barney; and Mr. O. F. Davisson, all of this city, who were accompanied by Irvin Weisiger, Superintendent of the Virginia Navigation Company of which Mr. Barney was president. The party was met at the depot by friends of the family. The funeral took place at 4 o'clock this afternoon from the residence of Miss Perrine, 129 W 2nd St. The burial was private, the services being of a simple character.*
>
> *The deceased was born in this city 45 years ago. He was a son of the late E. E. Barney, one of the founders of the Barney and Smith Company, and was formerly one of the officers of that company. He retained a business interest in the company to the last. Upon removing his family to Virginia eight years ago, he purchased a considerable amount of property, which he improved and beautified, and at the time of his death was the owner of three elegant plantations—Homewood, James River and Meadowville. It was in a room adjoining his business office at Meadowville that his body was found. The revolver which had evidently been the instrument of death, was not his own, but belonged to a clerk on the Meadowville Farm. The relatives disclaim the theory of suicide, as no definite cause is assigned for such an act.*
>
> *Mr. Barney organized and was president of the Virginia Navigation Company, which runs a line of boats between Richmond and Norfolk, Va. He was in very prosperous circumstances and his home life was a happy one. He leaves a wife, three daughters and a son.*
>
> *Because of the tragic and untimely death of Mr. Barney there are many persons aside from the sorrowing relatives and intimate friends, who feel the keen regret that the loss of a friend brings for Mr. Barney was very popular with all who knew him. His business advice and personal aid were freely given when requested and deserved, and he will be especially remembered with kindly feelings by many whom he advised against payment of the demanded royalty on driven wells several years ago* [Dayton Evening Herald, *August 3, 1896*].

Edward E. Barney's will, dated October 15, 1894, was presented to the Probate Court of Montgomery County, Ohio, on August 5, 1896. The testator named his wife, Louise J. Barney, as his executrix and principal heir and left her all of his real and personal estate "wherever the same may be situated." However, he bequeathed the sum of $2,000 to his daughter, Julia H. Barney, noting that he had received the same amount as a gift from his mother in 1884. If Louise J. Barney were to predecease her husband, his estate was to be divided equally among his children (James P., Agnes P., Louise J., Julia H. and Martha P. Barney), with Julia's getting the additional $2,000 (Barney, October 15, 1884).[526] As soon as the widowed Louise J. Barney returned to Virginia, she presented a copy of her late husband's will to the court justices of Chesterfield County (Chesterfield County Deed Book 123:521).

Louise Johnson Barney

Louise J. Barney not only was left to cope with her husband's tragic death and rearing four children, she also had to deal with pre-existing financial problems. On December 4, 1896, she signed a document in which she agreed to repay by November 22, 1899, the outstanding balance of the $8,000 she and her husband had borrowed in April 1896. However, only Homewood was used as collateral in securing the loan. The ink was scarcely dry on

[526] A facsimile of Edward E. Barney's will, obtained from the Montgomery County, Ohio, circuit court, lacks a book and page number.

that agreement when Mrs. Louise Barney decided to rid herself of both Homewood and her indebtedness. She executed a deed of gift whereby she conveyed Homewood and the lien against it, plus a lot and building in St. Paul, Minnesota, to Adelaide S. Washburn of New York City (Surry County Deed Book 27:402-403, 430-431). Mrs. Barney stayed on in Virginia a decade or more after her husband's death and resided at her Chesterfield County farm, Meadowville. On March 29, 1911, however, she sold Meadowville to Sallie F. Morgan. By that date, Mrs. Barney had returned to Ohio (Chesterfield County Deed Book 123:521).

Making Jamestown Island Profitable

Louise J. Barney retained Jamestown Island, which she placed in the hands of sharecroppers and tenants, and she seems to have taken an active role in managing the property. While the late Edward E. Barney's dream of turning Jamestown Island into a tourist mecca never took form precisely as he envisioned it, his widow brought some of his plans to fruition. In March 1897 the *Virginia Gazette* announced that a tourist line had been proposed that would allow allow visitors to journey by steamboat from Richmond to Jamestown, where they would board a conveyance that would take them to Williamsburg. Upon reaching Williamsburg, travelers could return to Richmond via the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad. Tickets for this round-robin tour were to be sold by the Virginia Navigation Company. The *Gazette's* editor reported that at Jamestown, "The old bridge has been temporarily repaired while the new one is being built, and the road across the marsh will be put in thorough repair as soon as the weather will permit and many of the bad holes and places between Jamestown and Williamsburg will be put in good order, all at the expense of the owner of Jamestown" (*Virginia Gazette*, March 6, 1897). It is uncertain whether tourists were expected to travel by jitney (or hack) from Jamestown to Williamsburg or to board a proposed rail line.

The Jamestown, Williamsburg and Yorktown Railroad Company

In February 1900 a group of James City County men received a charter from the state, establishing the Jamestown, Williamsburg and Yorktown Railroad Company. The new company's board was authorized to issue stock and to acquire (through condemnation, if necessary) land for the purpose of constructing an electric railroad linking Williamsburg, Jamestown and Yorktown, utilizing the most practical route. Also, a spur line could be run from the main line to the wharf at Kingsmill. According to the terms of the railroad's charter, construction was to begin within two years and be completed within five. In April 1902 the Jamestown, Williamsburg and Yorktown Railroad was consolidated with the Jamestown, Poquoson and Hampton Railroad to form the Jamestown and Old Point Comfort Railroad Company (O'Bannon 1900:398; 1902:736). It is doubtful that the proposed rail line ever was built.[527]

Solving the Problem of Erosion

There was a considerable amount of concern over the erosion that was occurring on Jamestown Island, especially at its western end. On April 22, 1897, Henry D. Whitcomb informed Colonel W. E. Cutshaw of the U. S. Engineers Office that he was sending a sketch of a section of the protection wall proposed for the island and a drawing that showed the amount of erosion that had occurred between 1874 and 1892. He said:

[527] In 1903 O. D. Jackson, owner of a real estate and investment firm, tried to purchase Jamestown Island and 6,600 acres nearby. His expressed purpose was to create a capital stock company, the Jamestown Island Park and Land Company, for the purpose of offering Jamestown Island to the government for a public park. He proposed the construction of an electric rail line that would link Jamestown with Old Point Comfort, Yorktown, and Williamsburg. He also hoped to see a Memorial Hall erected on Jamestown Island (Jackson, August 18, 1903).

In making this sketch we had the church tower and the S end of the bridge over Thoroughfare as known points on both the CS [Coast Survey] and Mr. Shirley Carter's map of 1892. Our lines in '94 proved Mr. Carter's work but there had been further abrasion in places. It had advanced to the small building inside the fort [Whitcomb, April 22, 1897].

In 1905 when a team of topographic engineers mapped Jamestown Island, they indicated that the large wharf that had been present in 1873-1874, to the east of Orchard Run on Study Unit 3 Tract H, was still in existence but deteriorating. A cluster of buildings was located at its terminus. To the west, but east of the Confederate fort by the church tower, was another large wharf that belonged to the Barneys. Between 1874 and 1905 the road network on Jamestown Island had become much more complex, undoubtedly as a result of the Barneys' efforts to improve the island. Some acreage in the northwest portion of the island, which during the 1870s had consisted of cleared fields, by 1905 was wooded. In 1905, cartographers labeled sites in the vicinity of Structures 17 and 19 as "ruins." An old wharf protruded from the area near the western edge of the Confederate fort (Wainwright 1905; Anonymous 1905) (Figures 65 and 66).

L. M. Beebe (lessee)

In November 1900 Louise J. Barney informed George L. Beebe of Roxbury, in Charles City County, that she was thinking of placing her Jamestown Island farm in the hands of tenants. She indicated that she then had 75 acres planted in wheat, 30 acres in clover, 30 acres of asparagus, and fields with yellow corn and kale. On the property was a herd of Jersey cows and 30 to 40 swine. By January 1, 1901, L. M. Beebe had become Mrs. Barney's tenant and he and his family were residing upon Jamestown Island, which he had agreed to lease for a year. Beebe was to pay as rent one-third of all the crops he raised, plus some "additional considerations" that weren't spelled out. The farm workers then employed on the island were black. During the year L. M. Beebe had possession of the Jamestown Island Dairy and Fruit Farm, excursion boats and tour groups visited on a fairly regular basis (Barney, November 22, 1900; January 1, 1901).[528]

Correspondence between Mrs. Barney and L. M. Beebe, which was extensive, suggests that she was demanding and played a very active role in how the farm was run. It appears that the disagreements between landlady and tenant were heated, protracted and frequent. Some involved whether Mrs. Barney was entitled to a third of the wharfage fees. Finally, in September 1901 Mrs. Barney decided not to renew Beebe's lease, which expired on January 1, 1902. The decision to allow the lease to lapse seems to have been mutually agreeable (Jamestown Island Dairy and Fruit Farm Records 1900-1901, Colonial National Historical Park).

L. M. Beebe was not the only one who found Mrs. Barney difficult to deal with. In January 1905 Richard Parrott, a dock builder, informed William G. Stanard of the APVA that:

As I have no buildings on Mrs. L. J. Barney's property excepting one small building which is used for living house for colored help, and as Mrs. Barney insist [sic] that I pay her an outrageous rental for that property, and as I can not help myself but comply to her unreasonable demands, unless I can find another location for the aforesaid building, I most respectfully ask you of the privilege of erecting this building in the upper part of your property were [where] it will be in no ways in your road, for which privilege I

[528] On March 4, 1901, Mrs. Barney wrote Beebe that she was "very anxious to find out if there is another foundation corresponding to the one unearthed but on the opposite side of the well. Sometime when you are not busy [I] wish you would try and find out. Someone who has done a good deal of this work has told me that they take an old piece of iron rod about 3 feet long, sharpen it at one end and on the other put a wooden handle. They can then stick it in the ground and find out where to dig. Wish you would try it at that place and just above the well that is uncovered" (Barney, March 4, 1901).

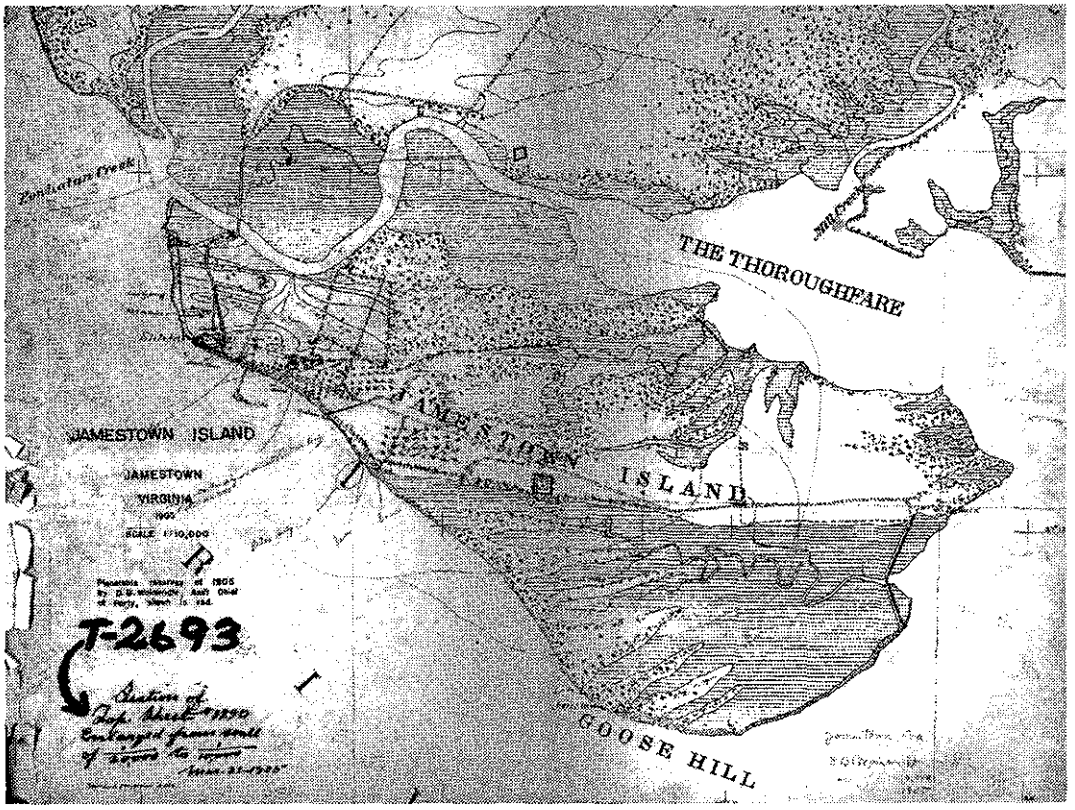


Figure 65. *Detail from* Jamestown Island, Jamestown, Virginia *(Wainwright 1905).*

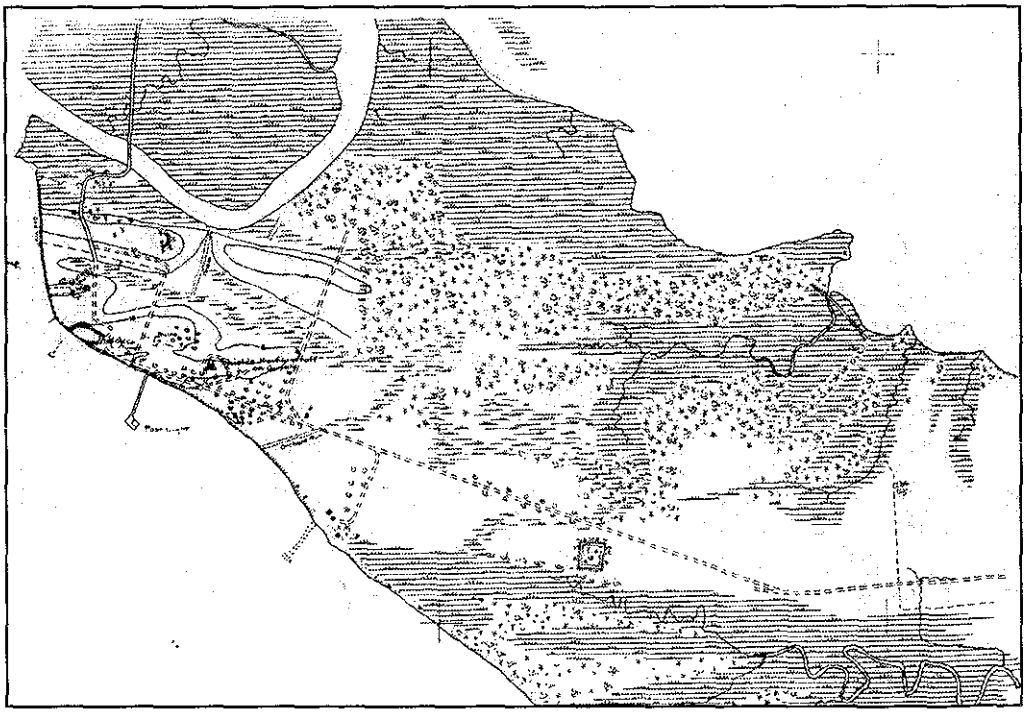


Figure 66. *Detail from Jamestown Island, Jamestown, Virginia (Anonymous 1905).*

would be willing to pay for and I would be willing to locate on any part of your property [Parrott, January 5, 1905].

Thus, it appears that Mrs. Barney was determined to maximize the amount of income she could receive from her property at Jamestown.

Marcellus Rowe, George Wallace, William Robinson (sharecroppers)

Oral history files maintained by the James City County Historical Commission reveal that at the turn of the twentieth century several black sharecroppers were involved in the farming operations on Jamestown Island. Marcellus Rowe's son (also called Marcellus) said that he was born on Jamestown Island in 1907 and that his family farmed the island for the Barneys. He recalled that there were at least five sharecropping families on the island at that time (his father, his uncle, George Wallace, William Robinson, and a Mr. Taylor). However, the Rowes were the only ones who usually lived there. Most of the sharecroppers had 25 acre plots upon which they grew corn, soybeans, peanuts and other crops, giving one-third to Mrs. Barney. The Rowes sold the peanuts they raised but their corn was used for horse-feed. Marcellus Rowe Jr. erroneously recalled that the Barneys moved from Surry to Jamestown Island and stayed there until around 1920.[529] He said that most of the island consisted of farm land and marsh and that his grandmother had been the Barneys' cook when they lived in Surry County (Rowe 1984).

The Jamestown Exposition

As Virginia's 300th anniversary approached, Virginians began discussing how to commemorate the event. In early 1901 the state's General Assembly authorized Governor A. J. Montague to invite Virginia localities to submit proposals on how the occasion should be celebrated. Some business leaders in Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Hampton formed a committee and hired an attorney to draft a charter. In December 1901 the men presented their case to members of the state legislature, asserting that Sewell's Point, in Norfolk, was an ideal setting in which to hold the celebration and that the Hampton Roads harbor would accommodate an impressive naval display. The assembly and governor agreed and on March 10, 1902, the Jamestown Exposition Company was officially titled (Costa [1990]:2-3). In 1903, the Jamestown Exposition Company received a $200,000 appropriation from the General Assembly, to develop a site at Sewell's Point for the 1907 celebration (O'Bannon 1902:21; 1904:264). President Theodore Roosevelt endorsed the exposition in an official proclamation, calling it an "international naval, marine and military celebration" (Costa [1990]:3).

By 1906 plans were underway to erect a ca. 100 foot granite marker at Jamestown, near the old church tower, utilizing 0.126 acre of land that the APVA deeded to the United States government (James City County Deed Book 10:508-511). The marker (an obelisk) was to be patterned after the Washington Monument.[530] Nearby, a wharf was to be built at government expense; it would provide convenient water-access to the island. The Daughters of the American Revolution made plans to erect a colonial-style building and the descendants of Pocahontas and the APVA independently commissioned sculptors to produce bronze statues of Pocahontas and Captain John Smith. The Colonial Dames of America undertook reconstruction of the brick church at Jamestown, carefully preserving the below-ground remains of its foundation walls.[531] Meanwhile, the Virginia Historical Society began preparing an exhibit featuring important documents that would be put on display at the Jamestown Exposition grounds at Sewell's Point. Locally, the James City County Board of

[529] This statement is refuted by contemporary letters written by Mrs. Barney, which were dispatched from Meadowville, Virginia, and then Dayton, Ohio.

[530] In 1984, Virginia Vaiden Bowen, when interviewed by the James City County Historical Commission, recalled that the stones from which the monument was built were brought in by ship (Bowen 1984).

[531] Concrete piers and steel beams were used to protect the old foundations.

Supervisors appropriated funds for the construction of a paved road from Williamsburg to Jamestown. Part of that highway passed through the Neck O'Land (James City County Plat Book 2:6; Stanard 1907:xvii-xxii; Board of Supervisors Record Book 2:206, 213).[532]

As preparations for the Jamestown Exposition moved forward, the General Assembly appropriated funds for the construction of buildings and displays at Sewell's Point. Special legislation permitted "soldiers and sailors of the United States and all foreign governments and all state militias to bear arms and maneuver at the Jamestown Exposition" and all of the guards on the exposition grounds were designated "conservators of the peace." Exhibits featuring Virginia counties' industrial, agricultural, mineral and commercial resources were to be displayed at the exposition. Five-year-old Powhatan Durham, unofficial "mascot" of the Jamestown Exposition, was the son of John Durham, the APVA's first custodian at Jamestown. He appeared at the exposition dressed in Indian garb. Young Durham reportedly had been born "in the old Confederate Fort ... while his parents lived in a house that once stood within those ruined embankments" (*Virginia Gazette*, June 6, 1930).

Williamsburg and Jamestown Turnpike Company (lessees)

On August 4, 1906, Louise J. Barney leased to the Williamsburg and Jamestown Turnpike Company a small plot of ground at the north end of her wharf, plus a 100 foot right-of-way along the shore. The road was to go to the APVA property, making use of Mrs. Barney's road and bridge over the Back River. An 1896 map of the APVA property depicts a large freight warehouse that protruded from the northeast corner of the wharf (NPS Land Records File 8-127; James City County Deed Book 10:371-372, 508-511). The opening of access to the APVA property was part of the preparations that got underway for the 1907 tercentennial celebration.

From the onset, the Jamestown Exposition Company was plagued with problems and only a few of the exhibition buildings at Sewell's Point were near completion by April 26, 1907, the day the exposition officially opened. Even so, President Theodore Roosevelt arrived before noon and gave an impassioned speech. Although each state in the Union had been asked to construct a house at Sewell's Point, only 21 followed through. Many other buildings were constructed on the exhibition grounds. Some were erected by business establishments. Others were built by the state. There were restaurants and small concession stands, as well as an amusement arcade, The Warpath, which was home to a wild animal show, a water slide, oriental dancers and other diversions. The Jamestown Exposition closed on November 30, 1907. Although the seven month long event was a financial failure, its long-term effects were positive for the Norfolk area (Costa [1990]:8, 16-17, 37, 43).

After the Jamestown Exposition was over, its commission was authorized to sell all of the land, furnishings and equipment that had been procured for the celebration. The old exposition grounds later became the Norfolk Naval Base and some of the buildings that were constructed for the 1907 celebration were preserved. On December 12, 1907, after the tercentenary celebration was over, officials of the Williamsburg and Jamestown Turnpike Company returned the narrow strip of land they had bought to Mrs. Barney, as per their agreement (Bottom 1908:242, 565; James City County Deed Book 11:138-139; Corps of Engineers 1906) (Figure 67).

Visitors' Recollections of Jamestown Island

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, visiting Jamestown Island was a long-standing recreational pursuit among locals and tourists alike. Groups of picnickers and sightseers came

[532] In 1984 two local residents recalled that the paved road was built with convict labor and that it was then that Williamsburg's Mill Neck Road (formerly part of Jamestown Road) was straightened (Waltrip 1984; Pederson 1984).

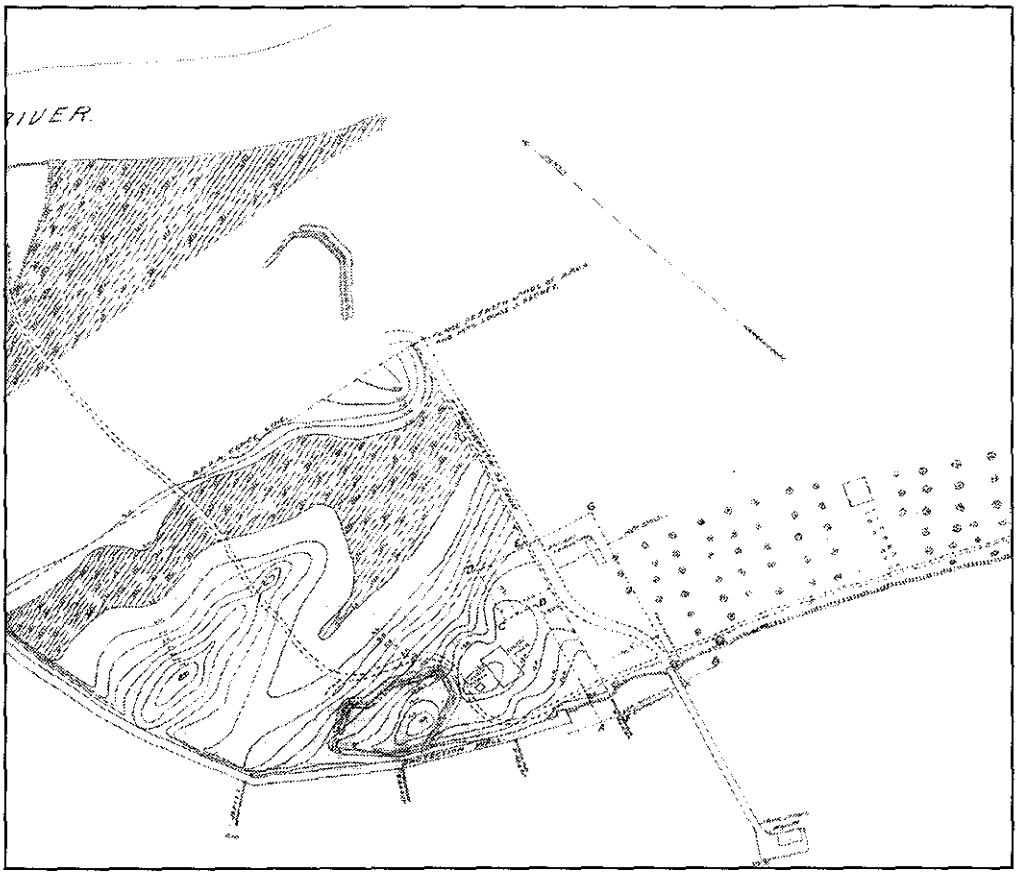


Figure 67. *Detail from* Sketch of Head of Jamestown Island *(Corps of Engineers 1906).*

to the island whenever the weather was nice and enjoyed exploring the ruins or strolling along the riverbank. In the 19-teens there was regular jitney service between Jamestown Island and Williamsburg on Sundays. During Prohibition, two Portsmouth men, whose small plane made a forced landing on Jamestown Island, were carted off to jail as soon as their rescuers discovered that they were transporting liquor (*Virginia Gazette*, July 6, 1916; September 5, 1930).

In 1984 when George Waltrip was interviewed by a member of the James City County Historical Commission, he said that he recalled that there was "lots of liquor on Jamestown Island, a big still there." He added that it was located upon "an island within the island." He indicated that Mr. Steele (Steel) had a large bath-house, a snack bar, and picnic tables. He indicated that most of the activities that occurred were to the east of the granite monument (Waltrip 1984). During the Phase I sruvey conducted as part of the Jamestown Archaeological Assessement, evidence of a large still was found on Fox Island.

B. E. Steele[533] and A. J. Jester (lessees)

On October 5, 1923, Mrs. Louise Barney leased her Jamestown Island property and its buildings and wharf to B. E. Steele for a period of ten years. He was obliged to "cultivate the arable land in a husbandly-like manner and take good care of the buildings and orchards thereon and return [them] in a good state of repair." A year after Steele obtained the lease, he made an agreement with A. F. Jester of Smithfield, who was to repair the wharf at Jamestown, convert it into a ferry landing, and then operate a ferry that traversed the river to Scot-

[533] This gentleman's name sometimes appears in the records as "Steel."

land Wharf in Surry County. In exchange, Jester was allowed joint use of the wharf and access road Steele was leasing from Mrs. Barney. Jester also had the right to construct a building no further than 30 feet from the wharf that could serve as a waiting-room for ferry passengers and guests; however, the waiting-room was not to interfere with the steamboat landing at the wharf. Jester was prohibited from allowing anyone to use the shelter to sell concessions or conduct other mercantile business. He was obliged to keep the ferry slip and the road to the wharf in good repair and to use a "good-sized" ferry (James City County Deed Book 22:59, 61).

Mrs. Thelma Pederson of James City County, who was interviewed in 1984, remembered picnicing on Jamestown Island. She said that people would cross "a little rinky dink wooden bridge that went over to the island and you had to be awfully careful of that bridge because when the tide would come in the water would come up and if you were on the island you couldn't get across." She also said that people would go to the island, just to watch steamboats arrive. Mrs. Peterson indicated that Jamestown Road was paved in time for the 1907 Jamestown Exposition (Pederson 1984).

Mrs. Barney's Attempts to Sell Jamestown Island

By early 1928 Mrs. Louise Barney, who was then living in Dayton, Ohio, heard that philanthropist John D. Rockefeller was buying up historic properties in Williamsburg and that he was using the Rev. W. A. R. Goodwin as his agent. On March 3, 1928, Goodwin responded to a query from Mrs. Barney about the possibility of his sponsor's buying Jamestown Island. He replied that:

> *It is never quite fair to urge upon others the argument that they should expend their money in the interest of patriotism and for the sake of preserving high and noble traditions unless those from whom the purchase would have to be made are themselves willing to enter into negotiations in exactly the same spirit.*

He went on to say that

> *... there is a disposition of owners of historic shrines to capitalize high and noble sentiment and sacred traditions and ask for these prices far in excess of commercial value, and prices which represent immense profits over the original purchase price.*

He expressed his opinion that it was preferable to let such negotiations be made privately. He added that were she to give him a fair and reasonable price, he'd seek a purchaser (Goodwin, March 3, 1928).

Louise J. Barney apparently replied quickly, for Goodwin wrote to her again on March 10th and two days later, she responded. She said that she and her late husband had given the APVA 23 acres in 1893 and that she had given the state a right-of-way for a road. Then, in 1905 or 1906 the federal government had approached her for land on which to build a monument. She told Goodwin that, "I felt I had given enough so the A.P.V.A gave them the ground for which they pay a certain sum each year. During the Tercentennial I refused many offers as I felt the Island ought to belong to the American people." Mrs. Barney closed by saying that if the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation paid nearly $500,000 for the birthplace of one man, "Surely the birthplace of our nation ought to be worth as much" (Barney, March 12, 1928).[534] On March 19, 1928, the Rev. Goodwin responded that he doubted seriously that a purchaser could be found at the price she mentioned (Goodwin, March 19, 1928).[535] Privately, Goodwin informed one of Rockefeller's agents that he would try to obtain the island at a more reasonable price (Goodwin, June 23, 1928). Later, Burton Gale, a New York banker and the husband of Mrs. Barney's granddaughter, wrote to Goodwin, urg-

[534] Mrs. Barney expressed her belief that Jamestown should be restored to its appearance in ca. 1675.

[535] Mrs. Barney had indicated that $400 per acre would be an acceptable price (Barney, October 1, 1928). The Rev. Goodwin replied that land adjacent to Williamsburg usually sold for $75 an acre and that outside of town for $35 to $50 an acre (Goodwin, October 11, 1928).

ing him to reconsider. He said that Mrs. Barney was "just comfortable," not wealthy, and that part of the purchase price would go to the tenant then leasing the island (Gale, October 2, 1928). Goodwin replied that the price per acre set by Mrs. Barney was many times higher than comparable land near Williamsburg and that perhaps the government would be interested in purchasing Jamestown Island. Later, Goodwin told one of Rockefeller's agents that it was improbable that the state would be interested in Jamestown Island at Mrs. Barney's price. Even so, Goodwin contacted Virginia's governor, who indicated that there was little or no chance of finding the funds required to make the purchase (Goodwin, October 11, 1928).

Jamestown Island as a Classroom

In 1929 the state and federal governments joined forces in building a wharf and pier at Jamestown Island and the APVA made plans for excursion boats to land there. The Norfolk and Washington Steamship Company, which vessels stopped at Jamestown, drilled a 287-foot-deep artesian well upon the river bank. During the first few months of 1931 students from the Riordon Boys School of Highland, New York, attended classes at Jamestown aboard the steamship *Southland*, which the school leased from the Norfolk and Washington Steamship Company and anchored at the newly constructed "government dock" (Figure 68). The school paid for the construction of a platform and shelter at the well, which provided drinking water. The school's founder and the president of the College of William and Mary agreed that Riordon students could use laboratory space on campus if one of the school's instructors would teach four college students how to fly. Alexander Harwood, then-owner of nearby St. George's Hundred farm, offered one of his fields as a landing strip for the aspiring aviators. Excerpts from the Riordon Boys School's newspaper, *The Lumberjack*, were published in the *Virginia Gazette* while classes were being held at Jamestown. As a goodwill gesture to their host community, the boys planted a thousand trees sent to Virginia by the New York Conservation Commission (NPS Land Records File 8-126; *Virginia Gazette*, August 15, September 12, October 24, November 7, November 14, 1930).

Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA)

As previously noted, on May 13, 1893, Edward E. and Louise J. Barney formally deeded 22½ acres to the APVA. Included in the transaction were Study Unit 4 Tracts M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X and Y. Reference was then made to an act passed by the General Assembly on March 1, 1892, in which the state's interest in the land that enveloped the church ruins, cemetery and churchyard was conveyed to the APVA, along with the right to acquire a right-of-way by condemnation and to erect a bridge. The Barneys' 1893 deed noted that they were in actual possession of the property bestowed upon the APVA, but had pledged their cooperation when donating the 22½ acres. In a separate deed, the Barneys and the APVA agreed to share in the cost of constructing "a wall or some other permanent means of preventing the further washing and caving of the bank" (James City County Deed Book 5:536). Colonel Samuel H. Yonge of the United States Corps of Engineers, who oversaw the construction of Jamestown's concrete seawall, was not only a skillful engineer, but also a diligent scholar whose antiquarian interests led him to study the island's history and explore its archaeological features. His 1904 publication of *The Site of Old James Towne* provided many unique and informative insights into the ancient settlement's history.

The College of William and Mary and the APVA joined forces on May 13, 1895, in holding a commemorative celebration at Jamestown. An estimated 2,000 people attended special events that marked the occasion (Tyler 1895-1896:66). The following year, the APVA held its second annual pilgrimage to Jamestown. The steamship *Pocahontas* arrived from Richmond and there were "exercises of the day in the old fort opposite

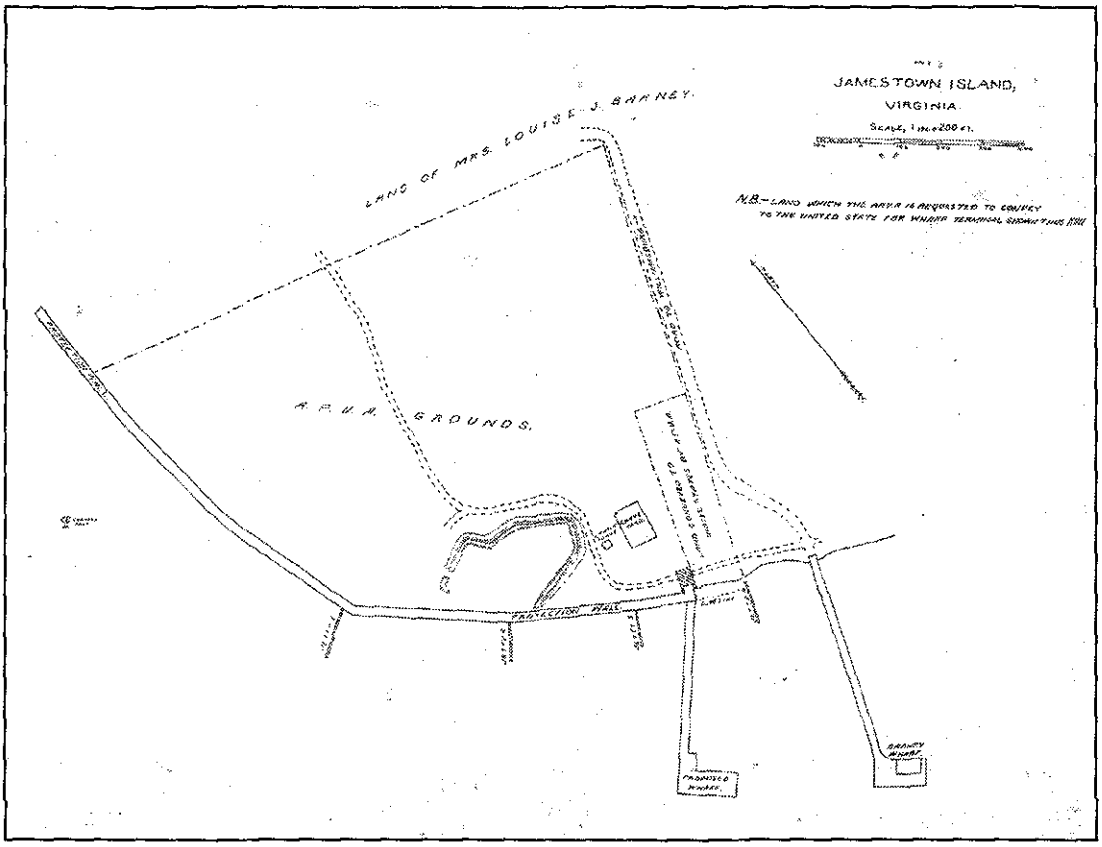


Figure 68. *Detail from* Sketch Map Showing Approximate Proposed Location of United States Wharf at Jamestown Island *(Anonymous n.d.).*

the church tower." The governor gave an address (*Virginia Gazette*, May 16, 1896). In 1898 the Order of Jamestown 1607 was established by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church and delegates made a pilgrimage to Jamestown Island. Early in 1901 the Order of Jamestown 1607 was incorporated for the expressed purpose of stimulating interest in the beginnings of the Episcopal Church in America. The organization intended to erect a monument to the Rev. Robert Hunt of Jamestown and to restore Bruton Parish Church, which had inherited the Jamestown Church's baptismal font and communion silver. In October 1900, when the APVA met in Richmond, plans were made for celebrating the tercentennial. A fence of wire netting was to be erected to keep visitors away from the church tower and grave yard and a caretaker was to be hired (O'Bannon 1901:285; *Virginia Gazette*, January 28, 1899).

The construction of a seawall at the western end of Jamestown Island was an extremely important milestone in preserving cultural features that were of recognized importance in the history of the nation. The U.S. government provided $40,000 for the project, which was administered by the APVA (Stanard 1907:xvii-xxii; C.O.E. 1894; Craighill 1890-1891; James City County Plat Book 2:6). One of the most important by-products of the seawall project was the mapping of the western end of Jamestown Island by skillful topographic engineers (Figures 69 and 70). Lyon G. Tyler in 1900 published his first edition of *Cradle of the Republic*, in which he provided an overview of Jamestown Island's history. But the discovery of the Ambler Papers led him to make extensive revisions to his work, which he re-published under the same title in 1906 (Tyler 1900, 1906).

As antiquarian interest in Jamestown grew during the nineteenth century, relic hunters took an

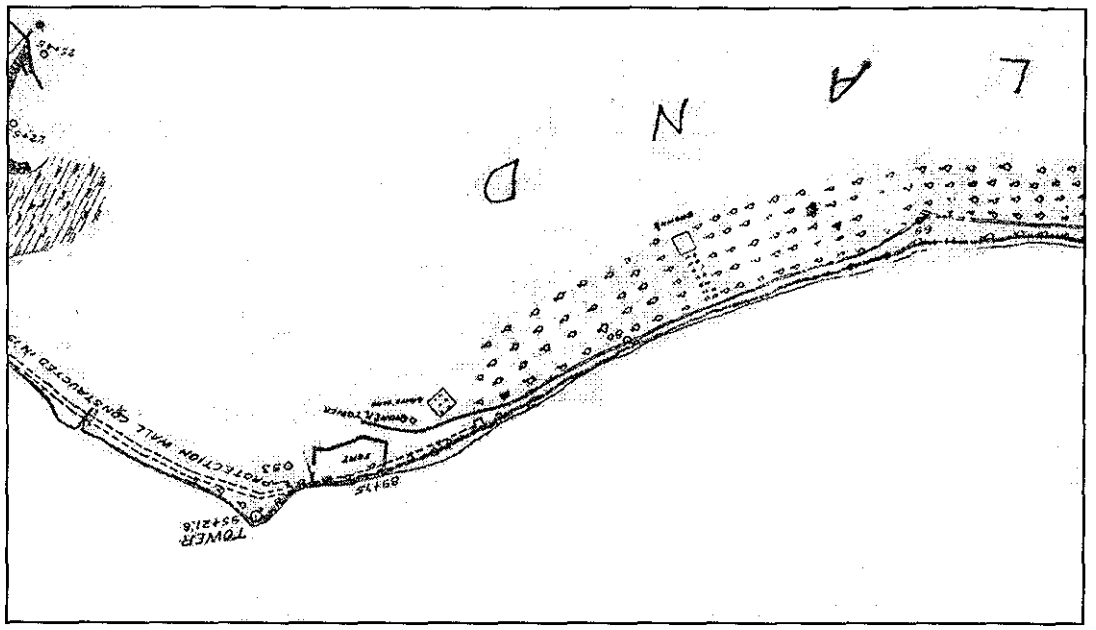


Figure 69. *Detail from* Map of James River, Virginia, from Jordan's Point to Hog Island *(Craighill 1890-1891)*.

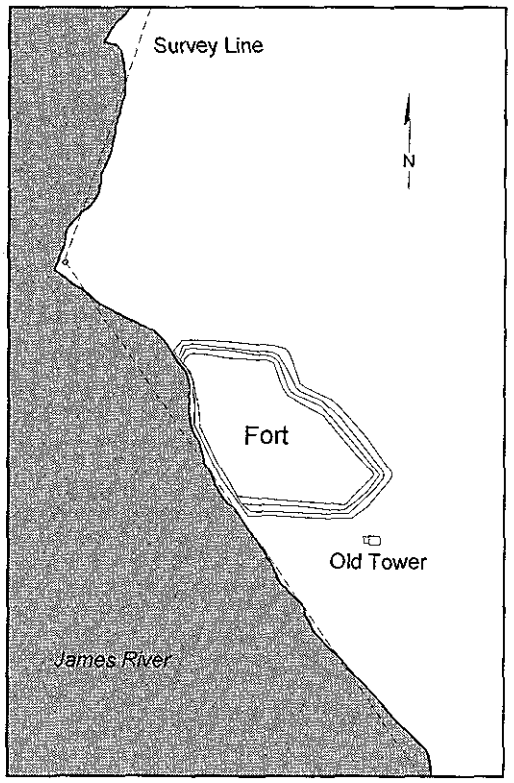


Figure 70. *Detail from* Western End of Jamestown Island *(Corps of Engineers 1894)*.

increasingly active interest in what lay beneath the surface of the soil. During the 1890s, when the Barneys owned Jamestown Island, workmen were employed to excavate some of the old brick foundations in the New Towne area and Mrs. Barney encouraged one of her tenants to search for foundations. Colonel Samuel H. Yonge of the Corps of Engineers, who built Jamestown Island's seawall, located the ruins of the rowhouse known as the Ludwell Statehouse Group and conducted some excavations there in 1903. In 1897 A.P.V.A founder Mary Jeffery Galt supervised excavations at the site of the old church tower and attempts were made to delimit and mark the graveyard. Members examined a number of graves, retrieved artifacts that caught their attention, and attempted to decipher and preserve whatever burial markers were in evidence. They also sought the advice of Lyon G. Tyler, president of the College of William and Mary, who in June 1901 prepared a written report of his excavations at the church site. During the late 1920s another individual who dug and interpreted archaeological features at Jamestown was George C. Gregory, a Richmond banker and antiquarian (Cotter 1958:219-225).[536]

United States Government

Creation of Colonial National Monument

In January 1930 Congressman Louis C. Crampton introduced a bill into the House of Representatives, giving the Secretary of the Interior the authority to designate historic sites in Jamestown, Yorktown and part of Williamsburg as Colonial National Monument and to link all three areas with a scenic boulevard. The Crampton Bill was debated hotly by local citizens, many of whom viewed it as a major intrusion of "big government."[537] In early February 1930 the James City County Board of Supervisors made their opposition to the bill part of the public record. Congressman Crampton contacted local officials in an attempt to assure them that his bill was intended to foster cooperation. In June Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur made a personal visit to the area to promote the establishment of Colonial National Monument (*Virginia Gazette*, February 14, June 6, June 20, June 27, July 11, 1930).

By July 1930 Congress had passed a modified version of the Crampton Bill, which designated land in Jamestown and Yorktown part of the monument. Plans were made to build a breakwater around Jamestown Island, drain some of its marshes, and plant shrubs and trees to retard erosion. Consideration also was given to restoring some of the island's historic buildings. During the late summer, an army dirigible from Langley Field began taking aerial photographs of Williamsburg and Jamestown on behalf of the Colonial National Monument Commission.[538] In August the state authorized the Eastern Virginia Bridge Company (a private group of investors) to raise funds to build a bridge from Jamestown Island to Scotland Wharf. However, the project languished for lack of public support. During 1931 an estimated 36,000 tourists visited Jamestown Island. The improvement of roads in Surry County led to increased visitation and Jamestown Ferry Captain A. F. Jester, in a promotional ploy, offered a color picture of Captain John Smith to the driver of every passenger vehicle he took across the river on Sunday, February 28. Steamships continued to dock regularly at Jamestown, some of which came from Baltimore

[536] In 1936 George C. Gregory founded the Jamestowne Society. Papers associated with that organization, 1930-1966, are on file in the College of William and Mary's Department of Special Collections, along with some of the material he accumulated while theorizing about Jamestown's development.

[537] One local man, who remembered people's objections to building a tunnel through Williamsburg, said that when someone complained to the Park Service, "The Park Service man said, 'Well you've got the Williamsburg Police at your disposal, 2 or 3 hands, we've got the whole U. S. military service at our disposal. Who do you think is going to win a battle like that?'" (Belvin 1984).

[538] Some (if not all) of these photographs are on file at the National Archives.

and other distant points. Small commemorative events were held on the island every spring (*Virginia Gazette*, June 20, July 11, July 18, August 15, September 13, September 19, October 24, 1930; NPS Land Records File 8-126).

In 1930 an Act of Congress and a Presidential Proclamation heralded creation of the Colonial National Monument. Plans were made for the government to purchase all of Jamestown Island except that portion owned by the APVA. As Mrs. Louise J. Barney refused to part with her land, the government acquired it by means of condemnation.[539] After a bitterly contested lawsuit, which was aired in the United States District Court, the federal government won. Mrs. Louise J. Barney was obliged to sell her property and received $165,000 in compensation.[540] The deed for the transaction was recorded on May 25, 1934 (James City County Deed Book 27:576-583; *Virginia Gazette*, January 17, 1930; March 9, 1934).

The United States Department of the Interior, upon acquiring the bulk of Jamestown Island, placed it under the control of the National Park Service. In 1936 the name Colonial National Monument was changed to the Colonial National Historical Park and surveyors laid out a boulevard that linked Yorktown with Jamestown and passed through Williamsburg. During the decade that followed, a tunnel was built beneath the town center of colonial Williamsburg. Civilian Conservation Corps workers were highly instrumental in developing Jamestown Island into a park (*Virginia Gazette*, January 17, February 14, May 16, June 6, June 20, June 27, July 11, July 18, August 25, September 26, 1930; January 2, May 15, June 19, 1931; January 1, February 5, February 26, May 6, September 23, 1932; March 9, 1934; February 21, 1936; James City County Deed Book 27:576-583; Cotter 1958:1).

The Yorktown Sesquicentennial and Jamestown Island

In autumn 1930 elaborate plans were made to commemorate the sesquicentennial of the British surrender at Yorktown and local governments appropriated funds toward the celebration. Plans were made to have the *Constitution* ("Old Ironsides") make a stop at Jamestown Island, but that event was cancelled because the ship had too deep a draft. The *Virginia Gazette* published a special Yorktown Sesquicentennial edition, just as they did 27 years later in honor of Jamestown's 350th anniversary. At the close of the Sesquicentennial celebration, Virginia officials claimed that it was the most successful commemorative event ever held in the state (James City County Board of Supervisors Minutes 1926-1930:201; *Virginia Gazette*, June 19, August 6, October 23, 1931).

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and Jamestown Island

In 1929, when the country began to suffer from the severe economic crisis that became known as the Great Depression, Americans everywhere struggled for economic survival. It is estimated that by 1932 unemployment had reached 25 percent and another 25 percent worked only part-time. One of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's government assistance programs was the Emergency Conservation Work Program or Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), which undertook public works projects. It was designed for single males between the ages of 18 and 25 whose families were receiving welfare; however, unemployed World War I

[539] In July 1930 a survey was made of Jamestown Island, which then consisted of 725 acres of high land and 812 acres of marsh, or a total of 1,537 acres. On the east side of Orchard Run, where a pier had been constructed during the nineteenth century, were rows of old pilings, and on shore there was an "old chimney." The Travis graveyard was identified, as was the old farm road that led to Black Point and the square Confederate redoubt (James City County Plat Book 6:24). Because the only facsimile of the July 1930 plat that is available in the James City County courthouse is of extremely poor quality, it has not been selected for reproduction in this report.

[540] She had asked for $500,000 (*Virginia Gazette*, March 9, 1934).

veterans of any age also were eligible. Each CCC enrollee earned a dollar a day, $25 of which was sent home to his family. The CCC was intended to relieve unemployment and to perform conservation work. Although it was a branch of the Department of the Interior, the War Department was responsible for managing its workers (Hunter 1990:1-8).

CCC enrollees, chosen by city and county welfare officials and the U. S. Employment Service, were processed by the Army Recruiting Service, which gave them a physical examination and issued them World War I surplus clothing. Each 200-man CCC company was under the command of military personnel. Racial segregation was practiced, although the maximum enrollment of African-Americans was limited to 10 percent. Black CCC companies were assigned to work in federal or state forests and parks (Hunter 1990:1-8).

In July 1933 William and Mary administrators requested CCC workers who could develop part of the college's woods and lake into a park. By early fall the tents of Camp Matoaka (or Camp SP- 9) had been pitched on the William and Mary campus. Before Thanksgiving the CCC had erected frame buildings that provided shelter and other support. The 200 CCC workers, who were African- American, were quartered in Williamsburg, where they were under the supervision of 16 local white men hired as field foremen and clerks. One of the CCC's first tasks was repairing some of the damage done by the 1932 hurricane. Next, its workers constructed roads, trails, picnic areas and a large outdoor amphitheater in the college woods (Hunter 1990:1-8; Salmond 1967:1-12).

CCC workers were assigned to cleaning up Jamestown Island and undertaking erosion control projects there. During the CCC's four years at Jamestown, workers were trucked-in daily from the college campus and at night and on weekends they served as watchmen. CCC units assigned to Colonel J. P. Barney, whose parents once owned Jamestown Island, performed tasks associated with maintenance and conservation. One of the CCC's most important contributions at Jamestown Island was the construction of rip-rap from the eastern end of the seawall to a point just east of Orchard Run (Cotter 1958; *Virginia Gazette*, March 9, 1934). During 1940 and 1941 the CCC planted trees and grass along the Colonial Parkway from Yorktown to Williamsburg and placed fill dirt over the newly completed tunnel beneath the city's Historic Area. On April 15, 1942, Williamsburg's CCC camp was closed and its enrollees and equipment were sent to the Yorktown Naval Mine Depot. After the United States entered World War II, Congress denied President Roosevelt's request for CCC funding. Local projects closed down on February 20, 1943 (Hunter 1990:1-8; Salmond 1967:1-12).

During the latter part of World War II, the Colonial Parkway tunnel was designated an air raid shelter for Williamsburg. However, the tunnel was not furnished with paving, lights and ventilation until 1949, at which time it was opened to traffic. Although the tunnel was at the terminus of the Yorktown segment of the Colonial Parkway, completed in 1938, it was not until 1957, when the Jamestown segment was finished, that all three historical attractions were linked (Hunter 1990:1-8; *Virginia Gazette*, October 25, 1957).

On December 18, 1940, the significance of the Jamestown National Historic Site formally was recognized by Congress. A special order declared that a cooperative agreement had been made by the APVA and the United States government. Both groups agreed to provide a uniform program of development and to jointly administer the island. This agreement has been in force ever since (*Virginia Gazette*, October 25, 1957).

CCC Archaeologists at Jamestown Island

Between 1934 and 1936 John T. Zaharov, H. Summerfield Day, Alonzo W. Pond, and W. J. Winter examined cultural features within what served as the CCC's camp and eventually became the NPS's Jamestown Visitor Center parking lot. They also conducted excavations in portions of the New Towne. Architectural historian Henry Chandlee Foreman, who then directed the CCC

dig, forbade the archaeologists from excavating closer than three feet to the foundations they identified, for he felt that only a specialist in his field was qualified to examine colonial construction. In time, a considerable amount of antagonism developed between Foreman and the trained archaeologists, who approached the project quite differently. Field crews recovered an abundance of artifacts that were cleaned and catalogued. Unfortunately, they were sorted by type rather than being kept together for comparative study. Work ceased and in fall 1936 a new team of excavators, headed by J. C. Harrington, arrived at Jamestown. An archaeologist with experience in recording historic structures, he studied the artifacts that were excavated from the sites he examined in the New Towne and elsewhere and he advocated the public interpretation of archaeology. The onset of World War II brought his work to a close. In 1948 and 1949 Harrington conducted excavations at Glasshouse Point, where he unearthed the remains of four stone furnaces and several other features (Harrington 1972:14-15).

Glasshouse Point

In 1928 Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad agricultural agent C. J. Jehne purchased 5½ acres at Glasshouse Point, just west of Jamestown Island, the land upon which glassmaking operations were carried out during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Jesse Dimmick, then-owner of the Mainland farm or Amblers-On-The James, discovered portions of four furnaces in which glass had been manufactured during the early seventeenth century. Mr. Jehne donated his land at Glasshouse Point to the James City County 4-H program, whose club members used it until the 1940s, when it was acquired by the National Park Service. The NPS conducted archaeological excavations at Glasshouse Point in 1948 and 1949 (*Virginia Gazette*, July 7, 1972).

The James City County Bible and Agricultural Training School

In 1936 black evangelist Elder Lightfoot Solomon Michaux and his followers purchased a 1,000 acre farm near Jamestown Island upon which they intended to establish a school for delinquent children and a museum commemorating the arrival of Virginia's first Africans. However, a lack of funding curtailed construction and the property became known as the Gospel Spreading Farm. Special prayer services were held at the farm on holidays and other occasions. The National Memorial Park, a wayside amusement area that contained a small museum honoring Elder Michaux, was situated on the riverbank. Many decades later the National Memorial Park property became part of the Colonial Parkway's right-of-way (*Virginia Gazette*, July 30, 1965; July 7, 1972).

The Common Glory and The Founders

In 1947 the Jamestown Corporation, a non-profit educational group, built an amphitheater at Lake Matoaka in nearby Williamsburg and began staging Paul Green's outdoor drama, the *Common Glory*, which featured the American Revolution. The play, which received support from the College of William and Mary and the Commonwealth of Virginia, was put on nightly every summer from 1947 to 1976, and was a favorite with locals and tourists. In 1957, *The Founders*, another historical drama by Paul Green, which focused upon Jamestown, was added to the theater company's repertoire. It played during 1957-1958 and 1964. Attendance declined during the 1960s and in 1976 production of the outdoor dramas ceased (*Virginia Gazette*, October 7, 1960; August 7, 1970; June 26, 1964; December 31, 1976).

Jamestown's 350th Birthday

The early 1950s brought a resurgence of interest in Jamestown, with the approach of the 350th an-

niversary of the first colonists' arrival. The Glass Crafters of America pledged $1,000 toward the cost of moving Pocahontas's remains from an unmarked grave in a church cemetery in Gravesend, England, to Virginia. The proposal fizzled, as did a campaign to rebuild the Gravesend Parish Church, whose rector was unalterably opposed to disintering Pocahontas, if indeed her grave could be identified (*Virginia Gazette*, November 3, November 24, 1950).

In 1957 an elaborate celebration called the Jamestown Festival was held to commemorate the landing of Virginia's first settlers. Large crowds of visitors attended, including Queen Elizabeth II and her consort, Prince Philip, and Vice President Richard M. Nixon. Extensive archaeological excavations were undertaken by the National Park Service on both the National Park Service and APVA properties and a state-run facility known as Jamestown Festival Park was opened to the public.[541] NPS archaeologists also excavated Green Spring plantation's manor house, Governor William Berkeley's home. The Colonial Parkway was extended, linking Williamsburg to Jamestown, and a causeway was built at Glasshouse Point that connected Jamestown Island with the mainland. To commemorate the arrival of Virginia's first Africans, a special ceremony was held at the Jamestown Festival Park where African-American military officers were honored and a salute was fired in recognition of World War II naval hero Dorie Miller. In 1960 a statue of Pocahontas was installed at the St. George's Church in London in a ceremony attended by the Queen Mother. Also, Native Americans from several states began holding an annual Fall Festival at the Jamestown Festival Park (*Virginia Gazette*, November 3, November 24, 1950; August 23, 1957; May 13, October 28, November 4, 1960; Billings 1990:110-111).

Archaeological Work Sponsored by the National Park Service

From 1954 to 1956 an NPS archaeological team conducted excavations at Jamestown in preparation for the 1957 anniversary celebration. The project was headed by National Park Service archaeologist John L. Cotter, with the assistance of Louis Caywood, Edward B. Jelks, Bruce Powell, and Joel Shiner. Charles E. Hatch Jr., J. Paul Hudson, Stanley Abbott, A. Lawrence Kocher, and Sidney E. King provided interpretive support. Emphasis was placed upon the discovery of new buildings and features that would aid in park interpretation. Artifacts were recovered in a manner that made possible their association with an historical context. In addition to the archaeological research conducted at Jamestown, a new visitor center was built by the NPS, museum exhibits were prepared, historical booklets were published, and paintings were produced by Virginia artist Sidney E. King. Within the town site, the archaeological sites were put on display with interpretive signs and paintings to show what the excavated buildings may have looked like (Cotter 1958:1, 11-22, 219-225; Harrington 1972:14-15).

During 1992-1996 the National Park Service conducted an archaeological assessment of Jamestown Island to inventory and evaluate the cultural resources on the park property. This interdisciplinary study, which acknowledged the interdependence of natural and cultural factors, utilized a cooperative agreement with specialists from the National Park Service, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, and the College of William and Mary. On the western end of the island, an archaeological study was begun in 1994 by the APVA, with emphasis upon locating the remains of the first fort the colonists built in 1607. Both studies have shed new light upon Jamestown Island's cultural resources in time for Jamestown's 400th anniversary celebration.

[541] In 1990 Jamestown Festival Park was replaced by Jamestown Settlement, the Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation's new museum facility.

Chapter 6. Epilogue

The Prelude to Colonization

As David Quinn and others have pointed out, England's route to Virginia was a long and tedious one. From the onset of the Age of Discovery until the mid-sixteenth century, Englishmen stayed home while other European countries ventured into unfamiliar territory in Africa, Asia and the Americas. Preoccupied with troubles on the home front—the Hundred Years' War, the Wars of the Roses, factional struggles for the Crown, and King Henry VIII's break with the Church of Rome—it was only when Elizabeth I ascended to the throne that the realm became relatively calm. During Queen Elizabeth I's reign, England's economy, social order, politics and religion changed markedly. Improved agricultural practices resulted in greater productivity and diversification. Industry grew and trade expanded. The establishment of royally chartered trading companies enabled merchants to garner capital, influence and manpower that allowed them to venture into distant lands. All of these experiences paved the way for the colonial expansion that came later.

The fabric of English society also changed considerably during the sixteenth century, a period of tremendous population growth. Although England's economy expanded, it was unable to meet the needs of these new people. As a result, during Queen Elizabeth's day, England was dangerously overcrowded. Many of those who lacked the means to earn a living simply roved about the countryside. Elizabethans, who believed that order and rank were essential to society, found such footloose people threatening. Queen Elizabeth, by seeking peace with her nation's foes and authorizing England's merchants to venture into the New World, encouraged overseas expansion. Through her judicious policies and diplomacy, she spared her people religious strife, civil war, and problems with foreign powers. As a result, England's adventurers were provided with an opportunity to turn their attention toward the New World. As stories of the Indies' wealth, exotic plants and animals, and "strange people" reached England, the Richard Hakluyts and others began to promote colonization. They fervently believed that Protestant England had as much right to reap the rewards of discovery as Spain and Portugal did. To their way of thinking, America held forth limitless possibilities. Therefore, they began to publicize the value of colonization, in an attempt to popularize it (Quinn 1974:197-198, 250-254; Billings et al. 1986:4-7).

Early English Attempts at Colonization

Elizabethans gradually accumulated the experience that later was helpful in colonization. Fishermen and explorers had gained some knowledge of the North American coast. English experience in the attempts to plant settlements in Ireland, amid a hostile native population, was also of considerable value. It was apparent that if England wanted to establish New World colonies, it would be necessary to challenge Spain's claim to the entire region. Martin Frobisher attempted to find the Northwest Passage and to plant a colony upon Baffin Island, and in 1578 Sir Humphrey Gilbert tried to settle Newfoundland. Both failed. Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Humphrey Gilbert's half-brother, succeeded in obtaining a renewal of Gilbert's patent, authorization to establish a colony in North America. However, he decided to plant a settlement a considerable distance to the south of Newfoundland, where the climate was supposed to be more favorable. He dispatched a small survey party to investigate and then followed up with a group of colonists that included specialists in botany, cartography, and other useful skills. Although Raleigh made repeated attempts to plant

a colony on Roanoke Island, his efforts failed. The threat of the Spanish Armada (finally defeated in 1588) resulted in the Roanoke colonists' failure to receive the logistical support upon which their lives depended (Billings et al. 1986:8-11).

The Anglo-Spanish War that followed the defeat of the Spanish Armada essentially brought England's colonizing ventures to a halt, although Captains Bartholomew Gosnold and Bartholomew Gilbert made a modest attempt to settle what is now New England and Captain Samuel Mace visited the Virginia coast in 1602. However, the death of Queen Elizabeth I in 1603 brought King James I to the throne, and by 1604 Spain and England were at peace. By that time, those who were interested in colonization had developed different ideas about how it could be achieved. Whereas Frobisher, Gilbert and Raleigh had been courtiers, who used their influence to secure their monarch's financial support, English merchants began weighing the merits of investing in overseas expansion. They found the prospect of increased trade and potential riches very appealing. It was then that Richard Hakluyt, Sir John Popham, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Thomas Gates, Edward Maria Wingfield, and others began making plans to plant a new colony. On April 10, 1606, King James I granted them letters patent. The Virginia Company charter divided the North American continent in two, allocating the northern half to West Country patentees and the southern half to the Londoners. Two privately funded joint-stock companies were established, one that was based in London and the other in Plymouth. The organizational structure of the Virginia Company permitted capital, knowledge and talent to be pooled. The same strategy had been effective in developing trade with eastern Europe and the Orient. People who lacked money could invest in the Virginia Company by contributing their labor in exchange for a share of profits that were expected. Company officers hoped that emigrants could be recruited from the ranks of those whose economic opportunities were limited. Within eight months time, men and supplies were accumulated by the Virginia Company of London and dispatched to the Chesapeake. The Virginia Company of Plymouth also sent a group of settlers to their territory. By August 1607, they had seated themselves at Sagadehoc on the Kennebec River, in what became Maine, and built St. George's Fort. After a harsh winter, problems with the Native population, and a shortage of supplies, they were forced to abandon their settlement. Meanwhile, the colonists who set sail for Virginia in December 1606 established Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in North America (Billings et al. 1986:12-15; Barbour 1969:I:13; Tindall 1984:49).

The Virginia Experience

Once the first colonists arrived in Virginia, their struggle to survive began in earnest. Although fish and game were abundant and the colonists were equipped with nets and guns, they met with little success, for few were accustomed to fending for themselves. Also, the Native population resisted the invasion of their homeland and were far more culturally complex than the colonists had anticipated. Although many of Captain John Smith's contemporaries found him abrasive, his survival skills proved invaluable. Virginia Company officials had hoped to turn a quick profit, but as time went on, their prospects dimmed. The colonists had great difficulty in establishing a thriving settlement. During the winter of 1608-09, Company officials evaluated the situation and decided to make some revisions. They secured a new charter from the king in 1609 and were authorized to sell stock publicly, in order to generate capital. A treasurer and council, elected by the stockholders, were responsible for overseeing the Company's operations. Company officials selected Virginia's governor, who picked his own councillors and other subordinate officers. Thomas West, Lord De La Warr, was chosen governor. It was expected that his military experience in the Low Countries and his political acumen would bring stability to the colony. A substantial number of prospective colonists (including men, women and children) were recruited and sent to Virginia in May 1609. Others followed in their wake.

The struggle to survive proved arduous and many people perished. Only recently has it been

learned that the colonists arrived during a prolonged and severe drought that lasted from 1606 to 1612, the driest period in 770 years. In 1618, when Sir Thomas Dale tried to persuade the United Provinces to compensate him for the years he spent in Virginia, he claimed that he had been intent upon developing "a firm market there for the benefit and increase of trade." This occurred at a time when Amsterdam was a dominant trade center in Europe and there was interest in expanding overseas markets. Ironically, it wasn't until John Rolfe conducted his tobacco experiments and developed a marketable strain that the Virginia colony became a profitable enterprise (Billings et al. 1986:33, 37, 39; Owens 1980:57; Stahle et al. 1998:556).

Although Virginia Company officials were unenthusiastic about tobacco and, in fact, tried to discourage its culture, in 1616 they unwittingly contributed to a tobacco-based economy when they declared a dividend in land, not cash. That was followed by the institution of the headright system, which stimulated immigration but also gave rise to what was termed a straggling mode of settlement. With it came isolation and vulnerability to attacks by the Natives. However, the opportunity to reap a reward from planting increasing amounts of new land in tobacco fueled the spread of settlement and quickly led to overdependence upon a single crop. Within a matter of years, tobacco became Virginia's principal money crop. As it was labor-intensive, successful planters imported indentured servants to work their land and used the servants' headrights to acquire more acreage (Billings et al. 1986:40-41). Ultimately, these developments charted the course of Virginia's future, for they gave rise to the plantation economy and eventually culminated in a dependence upon slave labor.

The Virginia Company's bankruptcy led to withdrawal of its charter and Virginia became a Crown colony. By that time, England had gained a toehold in North America that led to the transplantation of English government and law (Billings et al. 1986:40-41, 45).

In 1634, ten years after Virginia became a royal colony, Maryland, a proprietary colony, was established on the north side of the Potomac River. Eleven years earlier, Sir George Calvert (the first Lord Baltimore) tried to establish a settlement in Newfoundland. In 1629, after a severe winter there, he brought his family and some of his followers to Virginia. They received a chilly reception because of their Roman Catholic religion and refusal to take the Oaths of Allegience and Supremacy. As a result, Calvert and his group were ordered to leave Virginia. Afterward, Calvert sought the right to plant a colony in the New World, where English Catholics could live without the discrimination to which they were subjected at home. King Charles authorized the colonization of Maryland in 1632. As the first Lord Baltimore was dead, his successor, Ceilius Calvert, founded St. Mary's City in Maryland. The charter Lord Baltimore received gave him proprietary rights. Although he brought Catholic gentlemen to Maryland as landholders, a majority of their servants were Protestants. Under Maryland's charter, Calvert had the right to make laws with the consent of the freemen, those who owned land. By the time Maryland was seated, the marketability of tobacco was well established. Although it was anticipated that Maryland's colonists would rely on mixed farming, they, like their fellow colonists in Virginia, soon came to depend upon tobacco as a money crop (Tindall 1984:55- 56). Again, a pattern of dispersed settlement evolved.

Settling New England

The English experience in New England was quite different. Although the Virginia Company of Plymouth never attempted to revive its settlement at Sagadechoc, in 1620 the Pilgrims (a group of Puritan Separatists) established a colony in what became Massachusetts. Although they stemmed from a congregation that moved to Holland in 1607 to escape religious persecution, they wanted to resume life under the English flag. King James did not promise outright toleration, but he agreed to leave them alone. The Leydon group secured the support of London merchants, who obtained a patent from the Virginia Company. In July 1620 one group of Pilgrims set out from Leydon. As their ship was leaky, they joined another group of Pil-

grims who were setting sail from Southampton, England, aboard the *Mayflower*. The overcrowded ship arrived in Cape Cod Bay in 1620. Its passengers established a settlement at Plymouth. Like the Virginia colonists, many of those who settled at Plymouth died. However, local Indians befriended the survivors, and by autumn 1621, the Plymouth colonists had a bumper crop of corn, a flourishing fur trade and a supply of lumber ready for shipment to England. The Plymouth colony obtained a land patent from the Council for New England and within two years, gave up its original communal economy, to the extent that each settler was supposed to provide for his family from his own land. In 1630 Governor William Bradford secured a new title from the Council for New England. This put the Plymouth colony into the unusual position of holding a land grant but no charter of government from an English authority. The Plymouth colony remained small. After ten years it was overshadowed by its larger neighbor, the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which was established in 1623 at a fishing post that developed into Gloucester, Massachusetts. As shiploads of Puritan settlers arrived, communities were established at Salem, Mystic, Newton, Watertown, and Dorchester. Boston became the chief city and capital. Between 1630 and 1640 an estimated 40,000 to 50,000 English immigrants came to the New World, fleeing persecution and economic depression at home. They not only came to New England and the Chesapeake, they also went to new English settlements in the Lesser Antilles: St. Christopher (1624), Barbados (1627), Nevis (1632), Montserrat (1632), and Antigua (1632). The West Indian islands started out growing tobacco, but quickly turned to the more profitable business of producing cane sugar (Tindall 1984:58-61).

More by accident than design, Massachusetts gave rise to other New England colonies, thanks to religious quarrels within the Puritan community of faith. Roger Williams, who was banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony on account of his beliefs, in 1636 established the village called Providence, at the head of Narragansett Bay. It was the first permanent settlement in what became Rhode Island. Connecticut had its origin in groups of Puritans who sought better land and access to the fur trade farther west. In 1633 they settled at a site they called Windsor, not far from Fort Good Hope, which already had been seated by the Dutch. Meanwhile, the region that became New Hampshire and Maine were granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason, who in 1629 divided their territory at the Piscataqua River. During the 1630s Puritan immigrants began drifting in (Tindall 1984:64-66).

Early Influences Upon Patterns of Settlement and Development

In 1611, when Sir Thomas Dale came to Virginia, he purposefully established the City of Henrico, Bermuda City and Hundred, and other fortified communities near the head of the James River. He was trying to shift settlement into what he perceived as a more wholesome environmental setting. However, it is unlikely that he was deliberately trying to create a dispersed pattern of living. Thanks to John Rolfe's tobacco experiments, which yielded a highly marketable agricultural commodity, and the Virginia Company's introduction of the headright system, Virginia colonists and overseas investors constantly sought to acquire and seat new land: plantations upon which they could raise tobacco. Within a relatively short time, sparsely populated settlements were scattered along both sides of the James River inland to the falls and colonists established homesteads on the Eastern Shore. The development of a wholly agrarian economy stifled the potential growth of urban communities. While the Virginia Company and the Calverts might have expected stable, hierarchical societies to develop in the Chesapeake, those hopes never were fulfilled. Indentured servants attained their freedom, acquired land and began planting tobacco. They lived scattered along the banks of streams, rather than in towns and villages where their social superiors could monitor their behavior. The rapidly expanding market for Chesapeake tobacco created substantial opportunities for freed servants and new immigrants. As Russell R. Menard has pointed out,

between 1620 and 1680 the price of tobacco fluctuated wildly, but planters sought new ways to increase productivity and more people were enticed to grow tobacco. The annual output of tobacco per hand rose from about 710 pounds in the 1620s to approximately 1,600 pounds in the 1670s. Although tobacco prices plummeted during the 1620s and fell slowly, but steadily, from the 1630s through the 1660s, shipping cost declined and planters still were able to make a profit because they produced more of the crop with the same amount of labor. Lower tobacco prices also fueled greater consumption in Europe. Planters' insatiable demand for servants quickly siphoned off England's excess population (Kulikoff 1986:30-33). By the close of seventeenth century, many Virginia plantations had become relatively self-sufficient. This offered planters a measure of protection against fluctuating tobacco prices.

In the New England colonies, the situation was quite different. There, settlements were established largely by people who came to the New World in pursuit of religious freedom. They tended to congregate in communities and town life was the norm. Most of the nucleated settlements that were established during the 1620s and 1630s gave rise to dynamic urban communities that included one or more churches, schools and a focal point government activity. New England villages and towns, like their counterparts in the Old Country, also constituted local markets where husbandmen could exchange their produce for consumer goods and craft workers could ply their trades (Kulikoff 1986:25).

The Dutch, like officials in England, favored urban development. Cornelius Van Tienhoven advised those who intended to settle in New Netherland to build a hamlet at a good location on a navigable waterway. He recommended that as soon as a site was selected, it should be surveyed into streets and lots (O'Callaghan 1856:5:368).

In 1697, when the Rev. James Blair, Henry Hartwell, and Edward Chilton submitted an official report to the Crown, they pointed out that:

> *In New England they were obligated at their first settlement to settle in Towns and would not permitt a single man to take up land till a certaine number of men agreed together as might make a Township, then they layd them out a Town with Home-Lots for Pastures and Orchards, Out-Lots for corn fields and meadows and Countrey-lots for Plantations with overseers and gangs of hands which would have proved an excellent way in such a Countrey as Virginia is. But their opportunity being lost, they seated themselves without any rule or order in Countrey Plantations ... their generall Assemblies have made several attempts to bring the people into Towns, which have prov'd all hitherto ineffectual [Hartwell et al. 1940:20-23].*

The comments made by Blair, Hartwell and Chilton were right on the mark and nowhere were their observations better exemplified than at Jamestown, where numerous attempts were made to jump-start urban development.

Jamestown, A Failed Urban Experiment

In 1621, when incoming Governor Francis Wyatt arrived in the colony, he brought along surveyor general William Claiborne. At Jamestown, Virginia's capital city, Claiborne laid out numerous lots along both sides of the small and primitive paths or streets that paralleled the banks of the James River. This area was known as the New Towne. Those who patented urban lots were required to develop them in order to secure legally binding titles to their land. At Jamestown, land repeatedly was offered as an incentive to development. Artisans and other skilled workers also were encouraged to settle at Jamestown. Archaeological evidence demonstrates that some industrial and craft activities did indeed occur in the capital city and on the mainland at Glasshouse Point. At Jamestown, pottery, tobacco pipes, bricks, and roofing tiles were made, and a brewer, apothecaries, gunsmiths, blacksmiths, boat-builders, distillers, carpenters, and tailors plied their trades. Early court records reveal that some indentured servants had medical skills. Dr. John Pott was a trained physician. In the eastern end of the island, an area traditionally used

for agriculture, were a few other artisans, most of whom worked with wood.

During the 1630s Governor John Harvey tried to strengthen the colony's capital city. He sought skilled workers, for he was convinced that economic development was the key to prosperity. Through his own entrepreneurial endeavors, he tried to demonstrate that there was money to be made from the production of pot-ashes, soap ashes and other marketable commodities. However, most Virginians were preoccupied with raising tobacco. In 1636 new legislation was passed that was intended to stimulate development in Jamestown and all incoming ships were obliged to land there first. Newly arrived goods had to be off-loaded at Jamestown, where imported goods and merchandise was to be bartered and sold with the obligatory involvement of Jamestown's merchants and storekeepers. All transactions involving tobacco were supposed to be carried out in the capital city. This policy was extremely unpopular with mariners, who made their displeasure known in England. It was during Governor Harvey's administration that Secretary Richard Kemp built a fine brick house at Jamestown.

In 1643, during Sir William Berkeley's first term as governor, purposeful attempts were made to make Jamestown the colony's "chief town." This was done in response to specific instructions from King Charles I. Patents issued during the 1640s for lots in urban Jamestown made reference to legislation that was designed to promote the capital city's development. Land for housing and a garden was offered to all who would build there. During Governor Berkeley's first term in office, fourteen patents were issued for land in urban Jamestown. Near the isthmus that led to the mainland were several lots that were granted to artisans and craft workers. Likewise, several small lots were laid out in an area known as "the friggott," which overlooked the Back River.

Perhaps the most obvious manifestation of Berkeley's attempts to urbanize Jamestown was his construction of a multi-story brick rowhouse there in 1645. Then, in October 1649 legislation was passed that designated all of the area between Sandy Bay and Orchard Run as Jamestown's official marketplace. Plans were made to construct two public flaxhouses at Jamestown. At his manor plantation, Green Spring, Sir William Berkeley undertook agricultural and industrial experiments, in an attempt to showcase Virginia's economic potential. Virginia planters seemingly weren't impressed, at least not enough to follow suit.

The most aggressive attempt to urbanize Jamestown came in 1662, for the Privy Council instructed Governor Berkeley to see that towns were built on each of the colony's rivers, commencing with the James. Each councillor (and Berkeley himself) was supposed to build one or more houses in Jamestown. In December 1662, when the assembly convened, legislation was enacted that required each of Virginia's seventeen counties to build a brick house of certain specifications. Ultimately it was expected that thirty-two brick houses would be built. The cost of building materials and workmen's wages were fixed and public funds were supposed to cover the cost of construction. The 1662 building initiative did indeed foster development in urban Jamestown, but the tax increase that was essential to funding construction was highly unpopular and some people claimed that many colonists moved to Maryland, to escape increased taxation.

When Nathaniel Bacon and his followers put the old capital city to the torch in 1676, it was urban Jamestown's undoing. Although the assembly enacted legislation in 1680, 1691 and 1705 specifically for the purpose of promoting urban development, and numerous incentives were offered to those who would purchase and develop lots, very few of the proposed towns developed into viable communities. Thus, Virginia planters repeatedly demonstrated that they had little or no interest in urban living. Thanks to the development of Virginia's tobacco economy, the land use pattern established during the early seventeenth century endured for nearly a century. One of the legacies of decentralization was a lack of public schools.

Seventeenth-Century Jamestown's Inhabitants

When the first colonists planted a settlement upon Jamestown Island, the population of the fledgling capital city was more homogeneous than at any other time in its history. It consisted of white males, almost all of whom were of English origin. The arrival of two women in autumn 1608 added a modicum of diversity, but it really wasn't until the Third Supply came in with men, women and children that the population of Jamestown became a little more like that of a "normal" urban community. According to John Rolfe, in 1614 Jamestown Island was home to 50 people, 32 of whom were farmers. Of course, Native Americans were present from time to time, as were people of French, Italian, Dutch, German and Spanish extraction. The Church of England was the officially sanctioned denomination (or state church) but Roman Catholics were present from time to time, more often than not as prisoners!

The arrival of the first Africans in August 1619 was a turning point in the colony's history. Although documentary records contain little information about their presence in Jamestown, it is certain that they were there. In 1621, when surveyor William Claiborne arrived and began defining lots within the New Towne, Jamestown's population largely consisted of merchants, government officials, and indentured servants. Family life was firmly rooted and records generated by the Virginia Company and the colony's governing officials reveal that a significant number of nuclear families resided in Jamestown. In the wake of the March 1622 Indian uprising, the population of Jamestown Island was inflated by an influx of refugees from outlying plantations. Shiploads of new immigrants, many of whom were sick, malnourished and suffering from contagious diseases, arrived regularly and contributed to the local population's woes.

Detailed demographic records compiled in 1624 and 1625 provide a relatively clear picture of who was residing upon Jamestown Island, whereas court records yield insight into the lives and material culture of these men, women and children. Jamestown was populated with white males who were government officials, merchants, or both, plus their spouses and children. There were a good many indentured servants of both sexes and various ages. A few Africans were present.

By the early 1620s, most of the free men (and an occasional woman) who lived in the colony's capital city owned large outlying rural properties: tobacco plantations. Thus, Jamestown's most financially successful inhabitants circulated between their urban and rural property. One example is Sir George Yeardley, who had an urban estate in Jamestown but also was in possession of Flowerdew Hundred, a major plantation. William Peirce, a councillor and Jamestown resident, had a tobacco plantation on Mulberry Island. Treasurer George Sandys, who resided in the Peirce household at Jamestown, had a well developed plantation on the lower side of the James River. Merchants John Chew, George Menefie, Richard Stephens and Edward Blaney divided their time between their urban and rural property. Of course, those at the lower end of the economic scale had fewer opportunities to become prosperous.

Records generated by the Governor's Council reveal that in the beginning, councillors convened almost monthly as a court. Although by 1624, the leaders of some plantations were authorized to mediate minor disputes, Virginia's councillors were obliged to be in Jamestown a substantial portion of the year. Even though the Governor's Council began convening four times a year, as justices of a quarter court, their presence was necessary for several days at a time. In 1658 it was decided that the General Court would meet four times a year. As one session was 18 days long and each of the other three sessions lasted for 10 days, Virginia's councillors, whose attendance at court was required, had to be in Jamestown at least 48 days a year. They also had to attend council meetings. Therefore it is not surprising that during much of the seventeenth century, most of those who served as councillors had residences in urban Jamestown: a place to stay when they came to the capital city on government business. It also is significant that from 1619 until the time of the American Revolu-

tion, Jamestown had the right to representation in the colony's assembly. Those who owned real estate in the capital city were eligible to hold office.

As Jamestown served as Virginia's port of entry throughout much of the seventeenth century, and as most councillors were highly successful planters, having urban property (especially along the waterfront, where ships could dock) would have been highly advantageous. This pattern of land acquisition and retention is evident in the urban holdings that belonged to notables such as Sir John Harvey, Richard Kemp and Thomas Hill during the 1630s; Sir Francis Wyatt, Sir William Berkeley and John White during the 1640s; Richard Bennett, Miles Cary and Walter Chiles during the 1650s; Thomas Swann, Thomas Ludwell, Thomas Stegg I, Nicholas Meriwether and others during the 1660s; and Philip Ludwell I, Nathaniel Bacon and John Page during the 1670s. In the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion, people like Henry Hartwell, William Edwards II and Robert Beverley II acquired (and retained) property in Jamestown. As Jamestown's population increased significantly whenever the assembly was in session, and probably whenever foreign ships arrived, innkeepers such as Richard Lawrence, Thomas Woodhouse and Henry Gawler were able to enhance their income. Colonel Thomas Swann also owned a tavern that he placed in the hands of tenants. To paraphrase Robert Beverley II, most of Jamestown's residents kept ordinaries that charged extraordinary rates.

Thomas Rabley (a builder), William Sherwood (an attorney), Alexander Stomer (a bricklayer), James Alsop (who outfitted seagoing vessels) and William Briscoe (a blacksmith) were also able to make a living in urban Jamestown. Several property owners—notably William Armiger, Edward Champion Travis, William Sherwood, and John Page—were involved in the slave trade. The London-based mercantile firm Perry and Lane owned a rowhouse unit on Jamestown's waterfront and the Blands, who were also prominent English merchants, had a lot in urban Jamestown. It appears that the eastern end of Jamestown Island remained rural throughout the seventeenth century.

Jamestown as a Seat of Government

As Jamestown served as Virginia's capital city from 1607 to 1699, government officials convened on a fairly regular basis to conduct business. Sir Thomas Gates built a governor's house while he was in Virginia and in 1619, the first meeting of the colony's assembly was held in the church. However, many decades passed before a statehouse was purposefully built. During Governor John Harvey's administration, official meetings were held in his home (probably Structure 112), which he indicated served as a make-shift capitol. When Governor Francis Wyatt arrived, he obeyed orders by erecting a building in which the council could meet, probably Structure 38, which traditionally was known as the "country house." During the mid-1640s, then-Governor William Berkeley constructed a three-bay brick rowhouse. Although he placed his rowhouse units in the hands of tenants, sometime prior to 1655, certain units (notably, Bays 3 and 4 of Structure 144) sometimes served as a statehouse. Official records suggest strongly that throughout this period, the assembly convened in taverns and that much government business was conducted by officials who were under the influence of alcohol. Although it is unclear where the James City County monthly court convened during this period, official records indicate that the county justices shared whatever accommodations were used by the General Court. Meanwhile, the "country house" built by Governor Wyatt during the late 1630s had fallen into disrepair and was sold.

As a result of the 1662 building initiative, a statehouse was purposefully erected. After its destruction by fire in September 1676, the Council of State, the assembly, the General Court, and various government committees met in rented accommodations. For a brief period, the Council convened at plantations that were scattered throughout Tidewater Virginia; however, General Court sessions were held at Jamestown, the capital city. After the burned-out statehouse was restored to usable condition, the assembly commenced con-

vening there, as did the county court. However, the Council preferred to met in the brick house that belonged to William Sherwood (Structure 31), where records of the Secretary's Office also were kept. According to Robert Beverley II, Governor Francis Howard, who arrived in 1684, was intent upon establishing a Chancery Court whose decisions could not be overruled by the assembly, which traditionally served as an appellate body. To call attention to the new court, of which he was chancellor, and to set it aside from the General Court, Governor Howard began holding the chancery court's sessions in a private home, probably the Sherwood residence, Structure 31.

After the statehouse at Jamestown was destroyed by fire in October 1698, the eastern end of the Structure 115 rowhouse was outfitted so that it could accommodate assembly meetings. However, the council continued to convene in the Sherwood home, which had come into the possession of Sherwood's remarried widow, Rachel, the wife of Edward Jaquelin. In 1706 James City County's justices asked for brick from the old statehouse, so that they could erect a county court. The location of that building, which was in urban Jamestown, awaits discovery. Between 1715 and 1722, when the seat of James City County was shifted to Williamsburg, Jamestown ceased to function as a government center. That move, though much less significant that the relocation of the colony's capital, hastened Jamestown's demise as an urban community. From that point on, much of Jamestown Island was enveloped by two relatively prosperous working plantations. Ironically, in 1817, when some tourists paid a visit to Jamestown Island, they remarked that it would be a wonderful place to build a town. They also marveled that it hadn't been tried.

Chapter 7. Recommendations

One of the most important tasks of the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment team is to provide detailed recommendations for future work. In the case of the historical record, particularly as in relates to the physical manifestations of life in the form of buildings and landscape, it is not difficult to find many worthwhile research projects. This work, it is hoped, will provide a valuable base upon which this essential further work can take place.

General Recommendations

1. An interactive data base should be developed that makes full use of the historical information compiled during the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment. This information should be supplemented with new data taken from the seventeenth century court records of Virginia's original shires and their immediate descendants. **Justification**: Development of a "user-friendly" data base would make historical information on Jamestown Island and its historic sites and personages accessible to NPS personnel and other professionals, such as archaeologists, architectural historians, and historians, and to the general public.

2. Historical research should be undertaken in support of archaeological projects on Jamestown Island whenever archaeologists excavate or test historic and Contact period sites. Use should be made of information compiled during the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment, supplemented with data taken from the seventeenth-century court records of Virginia's original shires and their immediate descendants. However, more tightly focused research should be done that addresses specific sites that were identified during Phase I testing. **Justification**: The work of historical archaeologists and prehistorians (when excavating Contact period sites) is enhanced and refined significantly whenever full use is made of documentary records. (See **Property Specific Recommendations).**

3. Documentary research on Jamestown Island should be expanded, building upon the work that already has been done. Use should be made of archival materials identified during the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment but not subjected to direct examination. For example, a systematic study should be made of microfilmed copies of original documents targeted by reviewing Virginia Colonial Records Project survey reports and local court records that were identified through the use of abstracts. **Justification**: Many of these sources can be expected to yield data that are of considerable value to the general public, NPS personnel and other professionals, such as archaeologists, architectural historians, and historians. It also would be of great benefit to the NPS interpretive program for Jamestown Island.

4. Intensive archival research utilizing the seventeenth- century records of Surry County, which territory from 1619 to 1633 lay within the bounds of the Corporation of James City and from 1634 to ca. 1652 within the limits of James City County. A preliminary examination of the Surry County records reveals that there are a significant number of references to Jamestown Island, for Surry residents and landowners quite often were called upon to support officially sanctioned projects (such as the construction of churches and forts) and activities (such as retaliatory expeditions against the Indians, the operation of ferries, and tobacco storage/inspection facilities). Moreover, in what became Surry County were at least 10

plantations that were settled during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Some belonged to individuals who resided in Jamestown but developed property they owned on the other side of the James River. George Sandys, Edward Blaney, John Rolfe, and Captain William Powell are among those individuals. This pattern continued throughout the seventeenth century, for James Alsop, Henry Hartwell, William Browne, and others owned property in both places. This same line of inquiry should be extended into the records of Charles City, Elizabeth City, York, Henrico, Warwick, Isle of Wight, Accomac and Northampton Counties. **Justification**: During the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment it was learned that a number of people (for example, Abraham Peirsey and George Menefie), who eventually left Jamestown Island, retained their property there and left it to their heirs.

5. Systematic archival research on Jamestown Island should be undertaken in the seventeenth-century court records of virtually all of Virginia's eight original shires, even those which antebellum records were destroyed during the Civil War. For example, Charles City and Warwick Counties' records include some early survivals and Henrico County has a significant number, including some which relate to the Native American population. Isle of Wight, Accomac, Northampton, York and Surry Counties' records are nearly intact, as are those of the extinct Norfolk County. **Justification**: This approach potentially could fill gaps that exist in James City County's records. There is also the potential to learn a great deal about numerous aspects of seventeenth-century life. A number of those who owned or occupied land on Jamestown Island had plantations or patented land in the Northern Neck and Old Rappahannock County, which records are nearly intact. Those records should also be explored.

6. A limited number of the plantations established during the fourth quarter of the seventeenth century should be subjected to intensive archival research that would culminate in the production of succinct but formal property histories. A chronological approach could be employed, utilizing thematic research parallels. For example, using the Gates/Dale years as a temporal framework, the history of the settlements at Eppes Island (West and Shirley Hundred Island) and Shirley; Bermuda City and Hundred (Bermuda Hundred and City Point) could be studied. Exemplifying the period of rapid expansion, 1616-1622, two or more particular plantations, such as Berkeley, Southampton Hundred, Carter's Grove and/or one of the plantations on the Eastern Shore could be investigated. Representing the post-uprising years (1622-1625), Basses Choice and Westover could be studied. **Justification**: All of these early communities were constantly interacting with Jamestown, which waxed and waned as governmental philosophies evolved. Archaeological research and architectural studies could shed light upon the early years of colonization.

7. More extensive archival research should be done utilizing British Public Records Office documents and those on file in other overseas repositories which records were examined by Virginia Colonial Records Project (VCRP) personnel. Despite the index produced by John Kneebone and Jon Kukla, there is no easy or efficient way to access the BPRO documents. Moreover, the survey reports (despite internet access) are highly subjective. The survey reports of the Colonial Office records and other selected records groups should be examined, systematically. Then, selected groups of records should be examined on microfilm. **Justification**: Direct examination of these records groups is likely to yield research data pertinent to Jamestown Island's history and its development.

8. Comparative archival research should be undertaken that focuses upon the development and evolution of Virginia and Bermuda as sister colonies. Issues such as interaction between the two colonies (on an official and unofficial

level), the development of government and social systems, land use patterns, trade, agriculture, material culture, servitude, and religion should be explored. **Justification**: An overarching study of this kind should shed a considerable amount of light upon Jamestown's role in history and the Virginia colony's development.

9. Archival research that compares the colonization efforts that occurred at Roanoke Island, Jamestown and some of the other early English colonies should be undertaken. **Justification**: This could expect to shed light upon very early attempts to plant a settlement upon Jamestown Island. Much could be learned about architectural forms, agricultural practices, and societal development.

10. The issue of foreign and domestic trade in seventeenth century Virginia should be studied. This might be linked to a study of artifact collections (especially ceramics) from seventeenth-century sites in Virginia and perhaps Maryland. Indian trade also should be addressed. **Justification**: The issue of trade played a critical role in the social and political development of the Virginia colony. The data gleaned from such studies would be important to the NPS's interpretive program.

11. An underwater survey should be undertaken in areas that have not been plagued by severe erosion and dredging. **Justification**: Given the amount of maritime activity known to have occurred on the island during the Revolutionary War, the Back River offers considerable potential for future study.

12. A bibliography of iconographic materials and maps that include Jamestown Island should be compiled and published. **Justification**: Such information should be of considerable interest and benefit to the general public and professional community.

13. The bibliographical data base established during the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment should be expanded to include the materials identified during research on Jamestown Island's history. **Justification**: The expansion of this data base would make full use of research materials identified during the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment.

14. References to people known to have lived upon Jamestown Island but whose property awaits identification, are scattered throughout seventeenth-and eighteenth-century records. The 1624 census and 1625 muster contain the names of 23 households for whom no land ownership records have come to light. While extant demographic records disclose whether these people were associated with urban Jamestown or rural Jamestown Island, neither patents nor deeds seemingly exist that identify their landholdings. Also, the location of their acreage is not inferred by extant patents, deeds or the boundary descriptions of other properties. As references to some of the "missing" properties may be found in the relatively complete seventeenth century court records of neighboring counties or in microfilms of documents on file in overseas repositories, this line of inquiry should be explored. **Justification**: Through such research, significant gaps in our research data might be bridged.

15. A systematic study of Jamestown Island's very early history should be undertaken. This would involve some of the sources used during the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment, but would be expanded to include documents identified through VCRP reports and collections of private papers. **Justification**: This would enhance significantly the NPS's interpretive program, by providing staff members with reliable information.

16. A series of thematic studies should be done, focusing upon cultural resources known to have been on Jamestown Island. For example, efforts should be made to learn more about the presence of Indians on Jamestown Island during the historic period, and attempts should be made to learn more about the flow of trade to Jamestown, the colony's capital city and at

times, Virginia's sole port of entry. Other thematic studies might involve the slave trade, industrial activities such as pottery-manufacturing and flax-processing, foodways, and early agricultural practices. **Justification**: Little is known about many aspects of Jamestown's early history and cultural development.

Property Specific Recommendations

Study Unit 1 Tract A

Phase II level historical and archaeological research should be undertaken on Tract A, with the goal of identifying and delimiting the domestic complexes utilized by ancient planter Richard Kingsmill, Daniel Lacye, and Kingsmill's daughter, Elizabeth, and her successive husbands. Further attention should be given to the brick dwelling probably constructed by Nicholas Meriwether in order to secure his patent. As his house probably was erected as part of the 1662 building program, it should be compared with contemporary architectural features such as Structure 19 A/B, Structure 1/2 and the Structure 17 and 115 rowhouses. Meriwether's tobacco house should be identified archaeologically and compared with others discovered within the Tidewater region. More should be learned about Nicholas Meriwether, lessee Francis Lecket, and the Meriwether heirs, with emphasis upon how they used Tract A. Efforts should be made to learn whether William Sherwood, Edward Jaquelin and the Amblers erected improvements upon Tract A.

Study Unit 1 Tract B

Additional archival research should be done on on Richard James I, a large property owner about whom relatively little is known. As James appears to have been associated with Surry County and his wife, Rachel, was related to the Swann family, that records court records should be explored further. Efforts should be made to identify archaeological features associated with Richard James I's domestic complex and mercantile activities. Efforts should be made to learn whether William Sherwood erected one or more new structures upon Tract B after Bacon's Rebellion, and how Edward Jaquelin and the Amblers utilized Tract B.

Study Unit 1 Tract C

Within Lot A, a search should be made for archaeological features potentially associated with the period during which the Kingsmills and Harmers occupied the property. If such features are located, they should be compared with data recovered from the site occupied by Kingmill on the Neck O'Land. Within Lot B, a diligent search should be made for Sir George Yeardley's domestic complex, which is known to have included at least three buildings. Further documentary research should be done utilizing British probate records and chancery records. A search should be made for Sir George Yeardley's estate inventory, cited in records dating to the 1630s. It should be noted that some of Jamestown's first known Africans resided in the Yeardley household. Efforts should be made to determine how Sir John Harvey used the Yeardley property, once it came into his possession. The site of ancient planter and surgeon Samuel Mole's house should be identified, if possible, along with archaeological features associated with Captain Robert Hutchinson's period of ownership. Within Lot D ("The Friggott"), a search should be made for boundary ditches that might have delimited Parcels 1, 2, 3 and 4. Emphasis should be placed upon learning more about the artisans and tradesmen associated with those plots of ground. Efforts should be made to learn how Richard James I, William Sherwood, Edward Jaquelin and the Amblers utilized Tract C.

Study Unit 1 Tract D

Archaeological testing should be undertaken in an attempt to located early dated features within Tract D. Specifically, a search should be made for any improvements erected by Richard Tree within Lot A; Captain William Peirce's domestic complex within Lot B; William Powell's and Edward Blaney's

dwellings within Lot C; and Dr. John Pott's domestic complex within Lot D. It should be noted that some of Jamestown's first known Africans resided in the Peirce household. More should be learned about the "country house" within Lot A and the site's usage by the government and private individuals. John Phipps' domestic complex and barn should be identified archaeologically and more should be learned about Phipps and John Newell through the study of court records in Henrico and York Counties. Efforts should be made to learn more about how Robert Bristow, Edward Prince, William Parry (Perry), Sir William Berkeley, and Theophilus Hone utilized Tract D. Modern excavation techniques may shed new light upon the house William Sherwood erected on top of the ruins of the "country house."

Study Unit 1 Tract E

Although erosion, inundation and land modification have taken a severe toll upon the western and northern faces of Tract E, evidence of early historic period occupation may still survive within Lots A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and J. A blockhouse built during Captain John Smith's presidency probably has been lost to erosion, but another that was constructed while Sir Thomas Gates was in office was located at the tip of a sharp point of land that extended from ancient planter Thomas Sully's Lot A. During the mid-1640s several people (including artisans and merchants) were assigned Lots B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and J, which encompassed the northerly half of Tract E. A brick kiln was located in this area, as was a probable brewhouse. Edward Challis, upon whose leasehold in the Governor's Land was found evidence of pottery manufacturing, was in possession of Lot C, and brick-maker Alexander Stomer had a kiln upon Lot F. Stomer also was in possession of property upon the mainland, near modern Lake Powell, where early dated cultural features have been identified archaeologically. A search should be made for archaeological features potentially associated with John Baldwin, a gentleman who owned Tract E during the 1650s and 60s, or John Fulcher, to whom Baldwin bequeathed his property. Efforts should be made to learn more about Baldwin and Fulcher and the use they made of Tract E. William Sherwood, who acquired Tract E in 1677, leased it to a tenant but reserved the right to use ½ acre for a landing site or store. The tenant and his successors were supposed to plant an orchard upon the property and maintain any buildings they erected. In April 1694, William Sherwood gave Tract E to John Jarrett, who sold it to tailor John Howard, who later conveyed it to a carpenter named John Baird. The property eventually passed through the hands of Edward Travis III, William Broadnax I and II, Christopher Perkins, and finally became part of the Ambler plantation. Efforts should be made to learn more about Jarrett, Howard, and Baird and how they used the property, and how William Broadnax I and his successors utilized Tract E.

Study Unit 1 Tract F

During the 1630s two tiny lots were laid out along the north side of Back Street. Although Richard Kemp is known to have built a brick house upon Lot B, it is uncertain to what extent his next-door neighbor Thomas Hill developed Lot A. By 1641 Governor Francis Wyatt had come into possession of the Kemp property and 3 adjoining acres. It was next door to the "country house" Wyatt had been authorized to build for the government's use. Through archaeological testing and archival research, more should be learned about how Richard Kemp, Thomas Hill, Sir Francis Wyatt, and Sir William Berkeley used Tract F. Sharply focused archaeological and documentary research on Study Unit 1 Tracts F and H and Study Unit 4 Tract U should help in sorting out how Governor Berkeley used his various Jamestown properties and to what extent they were linked to his activities at Green Spring. Walter Chiles I purchased Tract F from Berkeley and bequeathed it to son Walter Chiles II. As the Chiles' owned land in the eastern part of Jamestown Island, they may have resided upon Tract F while using their outlying property for agricultural purposes. More should be learned about

Walter Chiles I and II through the study of Charles City County court records and sources identified via Virginia Colonial Records Project (VCRP) survey reports. Efforts also should be made to learn more about the use of Tract F by lessees Thomas Sully and Theophilus Hone. As John Page, who acquired Tract F from Walter Chiles II's widow, was involved in the slave trade, and as he served as factor to London merchants John and Jeffrey Jeffreys, Tract F holds considerable research potential. A search should be made for the dwelling that tailor John Harris occupied upon Lot C, a subunit of Tract F. Efforts also should be made to learn how Tract F was used by William Sherwood and his successors, the Jaquelins and Amblers.

Study Unit 1 Tract G

An attempt should be made to located Captain Roger Smith's domestic complex within Tract G, which was settled during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Archaeological tests should be done to determine what use subsequent owners (notably, Thomas Woodhouse, William Sherwood, Edward Jaquelin and Richard Ambler) made of the property. Archaeological work should be undertaken in conjunction with tightly focused documentary research.

Study Unit 1 Tract H

More should be learned about "the parke" and "the governor's garden," which in 1624 are mentioned in the descriptions of contiguous properties. More archival research should be done on Sir Francis Wyatt, making use of collections of Wyatt family papers and items identified through VCRP survey reports. As Wyatt was ordered to enhance the colony's economic position through the production of marketable commodities, a search should be made for evidence of his involvement in such enterprises. Efforts should be made to learn more about the Wyatts' probable use of Tract H, including peripheral portions of the property that await exploration. Similar lines of inquiry should be pursued for Sir John Harvey's ownership and occupancy of Tract H. Use should be made of York County records, for Harvey owned a plantation on Wormeley Creek. A search also should be made for his possible connection with the land that became Green Spring plantation. Through the use of records identified through VCRP survey reports, efforts should be made to learn more about Tract H's association with the Berkeleys, Ludwells and Lees.

Study Unit 2 Tract A

Efforts should be made to learn more about how ancient planter John Johnson I and his immediate descendants developed Tract A. This work should include learning more about the Johnson family's role in community life and its kinship ties. As John Johnson II sold Tract A to his brother-in-law, Edward Travis I, in 1659, an attempt should be made to determine how Tract A was used once it became part of the Travis plantation.

Study Unit 2 Tracts B and D

As ancient planter John Bayly acquired Tract B sometime prior to 1618, an attempt should be made to identify the site or sites developed during his ownership and that of his daughter and heir, Mary Bayly Holt, when lessee Elmer Philips occupied the property. Sometime prior to November 1654 Mary Bayly Holt's son sold Tract B to John Senior I, who combined it with some marsh land and three other parcels that bordered Passmore Creek (Tracts C, D, and T) and then sold his acreage to Edward Travis I. A search should be made for the domestic complex of Thomas Passmore, a carpenter who came to Virginia prior to 1618 and settled upon Jamestown Island, probably upon Tract D. Efforts should be made to determine how John Senior I and the Travises used the land after it became theirs. This should be done through the examination of York and Surry County records and VCRP survey reports.

Study Unit 2 Tracts C, T and E

The site of the domestic complex occupied by Robert Marshall and his wife, who moved to Tract C or neighboring Tract T sometime prior to January 1625, should be identified. If feasible, more should be learned about the Marshalls and joiner Thomas Grubb, who shared a legal interest in Study Unit 2 Tract T. In 1625 Grubb was credited with a house. In 1627 Tract T came into the hands of Robert Wright and Andrew Rawleigh, who probably resided upon the property. Sometime prior to 1652 John Senior I patented Tract E. He combined it with Tracts C and T, which in 1654 (like Tracts B and D) became part of Edward Travis I's plantation. A search should be made for the domestic sites occupied by the Marshalls, Wright and his wife (Virginia's first accused witch), Rawleigh and Grubb and more should be learned about them as individuals. More should be learned about the use John Senior I and the Travises' made of their property. As Senior eventually moved to Surry County, more may be learned about his activities by studying that area's court records.

Study Unit 2 Tract F

Ancient planter William Spence patented Tract F at a very early date and made it his family's home. Therefore, the Spences' domestic complex should be identified archaeologically. Sir George Yeardley, who in 1625 gained possession of Study Unit 2 Tracts M and N at Black Point, may have gained use of the Spence property, which was near at hand. By 1652 Tract F had become part of the Travis holdings. Efforts should be made to learn about the Travises' land use practices and how they managed their property. This may be accomplished through the study of York County records and documents accessed via VCRP survey reports.

Study Unit 2 Tracts G and Q

John Southern, an experienced artisan, patented Tracts G and Q during the mid-1620s. As he resided in urban Jamestown, he probably placed indentured servants or tenants upon his rural property. More should be learned about John Southern, who was actively involved in projects sponsored by the Virginia Company of London. By 1652 Tracts G and Q had become part of the Travis holdings. Efforts should be made to learn about the Travises' land use practices and how they managed their property. This may be accomplished through the study of York County records and documents accessed via VCRP survey reports.

Study Unit 2 Tract H

Thomas Passmore, a carpenter who came to Virginia prior to 1618, patented Tract H. In January 1625 he and his wife and servants were living in the eastern end of Jamestown Island upon Tract H. Their domestic complex and another dwelling upon their property should be identified archaeologically. By 1652 Tract H had become part of the Travis holdings. Efforts should be made to learn about Thomas Passmore's background and activities on Jamestown Island. More should be learned about the Travises' land use practices and how they managed their property via a search for Travis family papers and the use of York County records.

Study Unit 2 Tract I

Ancient planter William Fairfax, a yeoman farmer who came to Virginia in 1611, patented Tract I at a very early date and made it his family's home. In 1617 the Fairfax home was attacked by hostile Indians, with the loss of four lives. On December 18, 1620, William Fairfax sold his 12 acres on Jamestown Island to the Rev. Richard Buck, rector of the church at Jamestown. The Fairfax and Buck domestic complex, which contained at least two houses, should be identified archaeologically. Tract I descended to the Buck heirs, who retained it until 1654, at which point it was purchased by Edward Travis I and became part of his holdings. Efforts should be made to learn about the Travises' land use practices and how they managed their property. Supplementary archival research should

be done on the Fairfax and Buck families and early seventeenth century agricultural practices.

Study Unit 2 Tract J

John Jefferson, a gunsmith, came to Virginia as a servant of the Virginia Company of London. He and another man occupied a home that probably was located upon Tract J. Jefferson's domestic site should be identified and a search should be made for archaeological evidence of gunsmithing activities. More should be learned about John Jefferson and his housemate, Walgrave Marks. By 1652, Tract J had become part of the Travis holdings. Efforts should be made to learn about how the Travises utilized their property on Jamestown Island.

Study Unit 2 Tract K

As ancient planter John Bayly acquired Tract K sometime prior to 1618, an attempt should be made to identify the site or sites developed during his ownership and that of his daughter and heir, Mary, whose guardian and tenant, Robert Evers, occupied the property. Sometime prior to November 1654 Mary Bayly Holt's son sold Tract K to Edward Travis II. Efforts should be made to determine how the Travises used the land after it became theirs.

Study Unit 2 Tract L

Very little is known about Tract L, which was patented by ancient planter Joachim Andrews. By 1652 it had become part of Edward Travis I's landholdings and was part of his plantation. Efforts should be made to learn more about Joachim Andrews' use of Tract L and a more intensive search should be made for land records pertaining to the property. Efforts also should be made to determine how the Travises used the land after it became theirs.

Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U

Sometime prior to August 14, 1624, ancient planter Nathaniel Hutt received a patent for Tract M, 12 acres of land at Black Point. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Batters was in possession of Tract N, William Pinke alias Jonas acquired Tract O, and Thomas Sully came into possession of Tract U. All of these individuals, who owned neighboring tracts of land at Black Point, were ancient planters and may have acquired their property prior to Sir Thomas Dale's May 1616 departure from Virginia. Their homesteads should be identified and more should be learned about them and the manner in which they developed their property. Likewise, more should be learned about Mary Holland's use of Tract O and John Radish and John Bradwell's use of Tract P. In 1625 Sir George Yeardley purchased Tracts M, N and U, which he seems to have placed in the hands of tenants and servants. As Yeardley was living in the western end of Jamestown Island on Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B, similar land management practices may have been applied in both areas. Sometime prior to 1653 Walter Chiles I, who resided in urban Jamestown on Study Unit 1 Tract F, acquired Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U, which he consolidated into a 70 acre plantation. This rural property may have provided the Chiles household with food crops, pasturage for livestock and land upon which to grow tobacco. More research should be done on each of the ancient planters who were in possession of Tracts M, N, O, P and U and attempts should be made to identify their homesteads. More should be learned about Walter Chiles I and II through studying the court records of Charles City County, where the Chiles' had substantial landholdings. Tightly focused documentary research should be done on Sir George Yeardley and his household, which activities in Virginia appear to have been relatively well documented. As Yeardley was a onetime owner of Flowerdew Hundred, comparative research should be undertaken in order to determine whether commonalties existed in terms of land management practices, the use of servants, and property development. Efforts also should be made

to determine how the Travises used Tracts M, N, O, P and U after the land became theirs.

Study Unit 2 Tract R

Very little is known about Tract R, which may have been associated with Captains William and Daniel Tucker, whose surname is linked with a swamp that abuts the property. Sometime prior to 1652, Tract R was acquired by David Ellis and a Mr. Crosbie. A more intensive search should be made for land records associated with Tract R and the individuals who appear to have been its owners or occupants. Efforts also should be made to determine how the Travises used Tract R after it became theirs.

Study Unit 2 Tract S

John Hall and his wife probably were residing upon Tract S sometime prior to February 1624. Later the property came into the hands of Thomas Passmore, through whom it passed to Edward Travis I. Little is known about the use to which Thomas Passmore put Tract S. Efforts also should be made to determine how the Travises used Tract S after it became theirs.

Study Unit 2 Tract V

More should be learned about Henry and Elizabeth Soothey who immigrated to Virginia in 1622, with their children and ten servants. Although most members of the Soothey family perished early on, daughter Ann matured and successively married two men who resided upon the Eastern Shore. Research on Ann Soothey Harmer Littleton should be conducted in the records of Northampton and Accomac Counties in order to determine whether there is information on Ann's family's Jamestown Island property. Archaeological testing should be done in order to identify whatever improvements the Sootheys and their heirs made to Tract V. As Edward Travis II in 1682 patented 550 acres that included Tract V, efforts should be made to learn how he and his descendants used the property.

Study Unit 2 Tract W

No documentary records dating to the first and second quarters of the seventeenth century have come to light that disclose who owned acreage within Tract W, a large expanse of land on the north side of Passmore Creek, near its head. Additional research should be carried out in an effort to achieve that goal. As Edward Travis I in 1652 patented 196 acres that included Tract W, efforts should be made to learn how he and his descendants used the property after it became theirs.

Study Unit 2 Tract X

On November 15, 1677, William Champion deeded a 12 acre tract on Jamestown Island to Edward Travis II, who probably was his brother-in-law. Nothing else is known about Tract X, including its boundaries. Tightly focused research should be done on William Champion in order to discover when and how he came into possession of Tract X and to establish Tract X's boundary lines. Attempts should be made to reconstruct a chain of title for Tract X.

Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K

By February 1624, Thomas Delamajor, a joiner, was living in the eastern end of the island, probably on Tract A. It is uncertain what became of Tract A after his demise. In 1657 Thomas Woodhouse and William Hooker patented 100 acres that included Tract A and some land that lay to its north and east, which formerly belonged to Major Robert Holt his successor, John Barber I, and to John Pinhorne. John Hopkins also was in possession of the property. By 1667 Tracts A and K had come into the hands of William May. During the early eighteenth century May's 100 acre tract, then known as the Goose Hill Plantation, was leased successively by two Jamestown lot owners, John Tullitt and Philip Ludwell II. Richard Ambler purchased the property in 1745. As very little is known about Tracts A and K, supplementary research should be done in the records of Surry County,

where the Holts, Barbers and Ludwells had property, and in documents identified via VCRP survey reports. Efforts should be made to learn about the Amblers' use of this property and how it related to their land in the western end of Jamestown Island.

Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, andG

Sometime prior to 1616 Sir Thomas Dale acquired Tract B. It descended to his widow, Lady Elizabeth, whose executors were authorized to dispose of it during the early 1650s. Meanwhile, ancient planter William Spencer patented Tract C, upon which he built two houses, and ancient planter John Lightfoot acquired Tract D; when Lightfoot died, he named Spencer as his heir. Ancient planters Robert Wright and Edward Grindon patented Tracts E and F, whereas ancient planter and carpenter Richard Tree acquired Tract G. By October 1656 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G had come into the hands of William Sarson (Sarsnett). Francis Bullifant acquired Sarson's property sometime prior to 1736. In 1745 it became part of the Ambler plantation. The sites developed by ancient planters within Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G should be identified and attempts should be made to learn more about each of those individuals. During the late 1630s portions of Tracts D and E had come into the hands of John Corker and John Norton, a smith. Later, merchant Edward Sanderson acquired Norton's land. Supplementary documentary research should be done on Corker, Norton, Sanderson, William Sarson and Francis Bullifant, utilizing the records of nearby counties and documents identified via VCRP survey reports. The Corker family is known to have been active in the affairs of Surry County.

Study Unit 3 Tracts H and I

Thanks to the destruction of local court records and those of the General Court for the years 1633 to 1670, the early history of Tract H is poorly documented. However, a partial chain-of-title exists. Lancelot Elay, who seems to have been respected member of the Jamestown community, had a dwelling upon Tract H. Its location should be identified and more should be learned about Elay. As Tract H came into the hands of Colonel Thomas Swann I of Surry County sometime after 1664 but before 1674, more should be learned about his property on Jamestown Island through study of his activities in Surry. By 1687 Tracts H and I had come into the possession of Richard Holder, who passed it on to his descendants. In 1745 the Holder property became part of the Ambler plantation. Efforts should be made to learn more about the Holders and the Amblers' use of Tracts H and I and how they related to the property they owned in the western end of Jamestown Island.

Study Unit 3 Tract J

In December 1712, John Green sold 12 acres known as the Thorny Ridge (Tract J) to William Broadnax I. By 1745 it had come into the hands of Richard Ambler, who was in the process of establishing a plantation. As no information has come to light about Tract J's early history and very little is known about John Green, efforts should be made to learn about this parcel and the individuals who owned it. Toward this end, tightly focused research should be done in the records of nearby Surry, Isle of Wight, Lower Norfolk, Henrico, Charles City and York Counties. VCRP survey reports also should be utilized.

Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J

In 1655, Mrs. Ann Talbott patented Tract A, a 1 acre lot that abutted west upon the land of Mr. Watson, who was in possession of Tract J. Mrs. Talbott's patent made no mention of building requirements, raising the possibility that she already had developed her property. Although it is uncertain what happened to Study Unit 4 Tract A after Mrs. Talbott's demise in ca. 1663, her heirs may have disposed of it around the same time they sold her other property, Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot B.

At least four people are known to have had property in urban Jamestown during the fourth quarter of the seventeenth century and early-to-

mid eighteenth century, for whom no land ownership records exist. One or more of those individuals may have succeeded Mrs. Ann Talbott as the owner of Tract A. One likely candidate is councillor Colonel Joseph Bridger of Isle of Wight County, who in 1683 built one or more houses in Jamestown. Another is Thomas Clayton, who in November 1682 served as Jamestown's burgess and hosted meetings of assembly committees. A third is Miles Cary II of Warwick County, who became Jamestown's burgess in 1693. The fourth (who succeeded Cary as both husband and burgess) is Dr. Archibald Blair. Additional archaeological and documentary research may determine who owned Tract A after Mrs. Ann Talbott's demise, but before its acquisition by Edward Champion Travis sometime prior to 1755. Travis may have inherited Tract A from one of his forebears (for example, Edward Travis II, who died in 1700, or Edward Travis III, who died in ca. 1720). Tract J, which Edward Champion Travis patented in 1755, abutted east upon Tract A, which then contained his garden plot. Much remains to be learned about how the Travises used Tracts A and J. During the 1640s (and possibly the 1630s) John Corker owned the southerly part of Tract J, which by the 1650s was in the possession of a Mr. Watson. Sometime prior to 1682 Tract J was in the hands of William Armiger, who during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was involved in the slave trade and sometimes held official meetings in his home. It is likely significant that Edward Champion Travis also was involved in the slave trade. As he moved from Jamestown Island to York County, its court records may contain useful information on his activities in his former location. Archaeological testing and the analysis of architectural features associated with Tracts A and J may shed a considerable amount of light upon the character and attributes of the Travis family's townstead in urban Jamestown. Moreover, the possibility exists that Tracts A and J contain evidence of slave-trading activities. More documentary research needs to be done on Ann Talbott, John Corker, William Armiger, and the Travises. If possible, Mr. Watson should be identified more specifically.

Study Unit 4 Tract B

Very little is known about Arthur Bayly, a prominent London merchant who in 1638 patented Tract B and took an active role in Virginia trade. By 1655, Tract B was in the hands of Thomas Bayly of Henrico County, Arthur's kinsman. More should be learned about the Baylys through study of Henrico County court records.

Study Unit 4 Tract C

In 1657 when Thomas Woodhouse subdivided the 1 acre lot he first patented in 1655, he modified its boundary lines for reasons that are unclear. Very little is known about Mrs. Ann Talbott, who purchased Tract C's Lot B, other than the fact that by 1655 she had acquired Study Unit 4 Tract A. More should be learned about Mrs. Talbott and her heirs, to whom Lot B descended. Likewise, more research should be done of the Marables and Gawlers, who came into possession of Lot B. As information on these individuals is included in Surry County court documents, that jurisdiction's court records should be examined systematically. As Henry Gawler is known to have provided meeting space to Tributary Indian groups and government officials during the 1680s, and as he interacted with William Byrd I, additional research should be done on Gawler utilizing VCRP survey reports and collections of papers generated by William Byrd I. If possible, more should be learned about the use William Sherwood and his successors made of Lot B. A minimal amount of information is available on Robert Castle, who purchased Lot A in 1662 and patented it a year later. As he had business dealings in Surry County, that area's records (and perhaps those of York County) should be explored. Because William Sherwood's nephew, John Jarrett, rented Lot A and Bay 1 of Structure 17 from Micajah Perry and Company, a British mercantile firm, and as Joannah Jarrett, John's wife, was related to a partner in the Perry firm, more should be learned about these individuals and how Lot A was used. As trade may have been conducted at the site, more should be learned about the scope of

the Perrys' commercial enterprises. As Lots A and B came into the hands of the Jaquelins and Amblers, more should be learned about their use of the property, which may have retained its commercial function.

Very little is known about Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot C other than the fact that Philip Ludwell I owned it in November 1696 and that someone undertook a housing start upon the lot, probably during the 1660s. By 1699 Thomas Wells had acquired a fractional portion of the Ludwell lot. Additional documentary research should be conducted on Lot C in an attempt to reconstruct its chain of title more fully and to learn more about Thomas Wells. As he may be the Henrico County planter of that name, records of that area should be searched thoroughly, use should be made of documents identified through the use of VCRP survey reports, and the Lee Manuscripts should be examined more thoroughly.

Study Unit 4 Tract D

In 1638 William Parry or Perry patented Tract D. By that date he already owned property in Norfolk County. Abstracts of Surry and Northampton County records indicate during the early 1640s he was a resident of Kecoughtan, in Elizabeth City. A study of those jurisdictions' records should prove fruitful. The presence of Structure 26, which archaeologists have identified as a warehouse, raises the possibility that Tract D was associated with the trading operations established by the Bland family at Jamestown, for John Bland II (for whom no property ownership records exist) owned a lot in urban Jamestown during the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century. The possibility also exists that there was some connection between William Parry and the Bland family's trading enterprises. Archival research in the court records of Charles City and Isle of Wight Counties, where the Blands had business interests, and an examination of documents identified via VCRP survey reports may shed light upon this issue.

Study Unit 4 Tract E

Sometime prior to 1655, John Moon or Omoonce acquired some land at Jamestown. Although he had been living upon the Governor's Land during the mid-1620s, by 1629 he had relocated to Warresqueak or Isle of Wight, which he made his permanent home. Tightly focused documentary research in the records of Isle of Wight County may shed light upon John Moon's use of Tract E and provide substantive information about its chain of title. By 1660 John Fitchett had secured a patent for Tract E. In 1662 he owned or rented a dwelling within the boundaries of Study Unit 4 Tract F. During the 1670s he and some partners patented a large quantity of land in what became Stafford County and in the Middle Peninsula. By the close of the century he appears to have moved to Surry County. Documentary research utilizing the records of Old Rappahannock and Westmoreland (later, Stafford) Counties and in Surry and King and Queen Counties may shed light upon John Fitchett and his usage of his property in urban Jamestown.

Study Unit 4 Tract F

In February 1624, John Jackson of Jamestown, a gunsmith, was in possession of the southerly part of Tract F. In 1637 and 1638 he patented acreage in Charles River (York) County and on the Chickahominy River, in what became Charles City County. Research in the records of those counties and in documents identified via VCRP survey reports may shed new light upon John Jackson and his activities in Jamestown. By 1638 Jackson's lot had come into the hands of Derek and Arent Corstenstam, Dutch merchants and traders who also owned property in Elizabeth City County. English transcriptions of Dutch documents, especially those associated with New Amsterdam (New York), and Elizabeth City, York and Norfolk Counties' court records may contain information on the Corstenstams' activities in Jamestown and elsewhere in the colony. William Peirce, who owned Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B, had a store or storehouse on Lot B, the northerly portion of Tract F.

Efforts should be made to locate Peirce's facilities, the site at which James City's tobacco was to be inspected, weighted and repacked for shipment abroad. Additional research should be done on William Peirce, utilizing the records of Warwick County, for he owned property on Mulberry Island. Documents should be examined that are identified via VCRP survey reports. By 1662 John Fitchett, the owner of Study Unit 4 Tract E, was occupying a house on Tract F Lot B. During the mid-1660s a turf fort was built upon Tract F. It was not only used for defensive purposes, it was the site at which licenses were issued to ship captains wishing to trade in Virginia. Supplementary research should be done on the turf fort, utilizing records identified via VCRP survey reports.

Study Unit 4 Tract G

Although no archival records have come to light specifically pertaining to Tract G, if archaeologist John Cotter correctly identified Structures 19A/19B and 45 as components of a tavern complex that dates to the second half of the seventeenth century, those structures probably belonged to Colonel Thomas Swann I of Surry County, who owned a Jamestown tavern during that period. Swann and his tenant, William Thompson I, were associated with Surry County, as was John Bird, the bricklayer who probably was involved in Swann's tavern's construction. Moreover, Swann's widow Mary and son Samuel, who inherited the tavern, resided in Surry. Therefore, documentary research utilizing Surry County court records is likely to be productive. Research also should be done on Elizabeth Sikes, John Everett, and Samuel Firth, who at various times leased the property. Use should be made of documents identified via VCRP survey reports. As Samuel Swann's aunt was Rachel Sherwood, and her husband acquired substantial quantities of land in the western end of Jamestown Island, Surry records should be examined for evidence of such a land transaction.

Study Unit 4 Tract H

More should be learned about London merchant John White I, who in 1644 patented Tract H. As he had business dealings with Thomas Stegg I, William Byrd I and others who owned plantations in Henrico County, and as he was the factor of Robert Shepperd of Surry County (his probable next door neighbor), more should be learned about White's activities as a trader. At the present time, there is very little reliable genealogical information about John White I. As there were several individuals of that name living near Jamestown during the third quarter of the seventeenth century, more should be learned about him and his business activities.

Study Unit 4 Tract I

Very little is known about William Harris II, who in 1658 patented a 1/2 acre lot in the area analogous to Tract I. His property reportedly was "a little above" (or west of) a dwelling that belonged to his late father, William Harris I. At this point, no other references to the Harrises' Jamestown lots have come to light. Therefore, both parcels' placement is hypothetical and additional research needs to be done to reconstruct its chain of title and boundary lines. In 1655, a William Harris (probably William I) was identified as a former owner of the Glasshouse tract, in partnership with John Phipps. As Phipps had business interests in Henrico, York and Surry Counties and some of his dealings were with the Harrises, more research should be done in the records of those areas. VCRP survey reports also ought to be used to identify references to William Harris I and II and their kin.

Study Unit 4 Tract K

Tract K contains Structure 115, a four-bay brick rowhouse built during the 1660s. While the chains of title for Bays 3 and 4 are relatively complete, little information is available on Bays 1 and 2. Although Philip Ludwell I, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, and the James City County's justices of the peace

sought to lease Bays 1 and 2, which were government-owned, little is known about how they were used before being destroyed during Bacon's Rebellion. More should be learned about Richard Auborne, Theophilus Hone, John Quigley, George and Sarah Lee, Arnold Cassina, Thomas Woodhurst (Woodhouse?), William Brown, and Thomas and Dyonysia Hadley, whose names are closely associated with Bays 3 and 4. As Auborne, Hone, and Brown did business in Surry County, an examination of that jurisdiction's records may shed new light upon their usage of Tract K. Likewise, the Hadleys were involved in activities in Middle Plantation and therefore may be mentioned in York County records.

Study Unit 4 Tract L

Tract L is comprised of ten small lots that were reconfigured and consolidated between 1623 and the mid-seventeenth century. Because Lots E, F, G, H, and I were settled during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, a careful search should be made for archaeological evidence of sites dating to that period. More should be learned about John Harvey and the activities he carried out on Lot E (domestic, industrial and commercial), which probably was in his hands until ca. 1640, and about Ralph Hamor, John Jackson, Richard Stephens, George Menefie, and John Chew, who developed Lots F, G, H, and I. As all but one of these men were merchants, one or more stores or storehouses may have been present on their property and wharfs probably lined the waterfront. A search also should be made for the domestic complexes they occupied. As Stephens had a distiller in his household, he may have had a brewhouse on his property. Preliminary research indicates that Lots G, H, and I descended from the original patentees to their heirs. As merchant John Chew, the owner of Tract I, owned property at Hog Island and in Chiskiack, supplementary research should be conducted in the records of Surry and York Counties in an attempt to learn more about his activities at Jamestown and his connections within Virginia's trading network. George Menefie, a councilor and highly successful merchant and planter, who owned and occupied Lot F during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, patented a tract in Charles City County called Buckland, 1,200 acres near Middle Plantation at Rich Neck in 1635 and in the 1640s acquired the 3,000 acre tract that became Rosewell Plantation. In 1640 he patented a lot on the north side of Back Street. Because George Menefie left his Jamestown property to his daughter Elizabeth in 1645, research should be done in order to determine how she used the land she inherited. As she and her husband, Richard Perry, lived in Charles City County, records may exist that shed light upon the use they made of George Menefie's property in Jamestown. Documents described in VCRP survey reports also should be examined. Because the Menefies and Perrys were prominent mercantile families, efforts should be made to learn more about their activities at Jamestown and the trading network of which they were part. More should be learned about Ralph Hamor, who patented and occupied Lot G. As Hamor and his widow and sole heir Elizabeth Fuller Clements Hamor owned property in Surry County and she left all of her real and personal property to her son, Jeremiah Clements and his heirs, research should be done in the records of Surry County. Use also should be made of documents described in VCRP survey reports.

Very little is known about Mrs. Elizabeth Fleet, who came into possession of half of Lot J sometime prior to August 1, 1655. Even less is known about her orphans to whom the property descended. Thomas Lyne, who served as the children's guardian, in 1641 was named an heir of Anthony Barham of Elizabeth City. At some point prior to 1655, Lyne conveyed the late Elizabeth Fleet's 1/2 acre lot (part of Lot J) to Thomas Wilkinson (Wilkenson). Later, Lot J came into the hands of Thomas Hunt, a prominent citizen. More should be learned about all of these individuals and their activities at Jamestown by searching the records of Elizabeth City, Surry and Charles City Counties and documents described in VCRP survey reports.

By the mid-1650s, several of the lots within Tract L had changed hands. Little is known about some of the people who had acquired them, notably William Wood. As William Drummond I, who owned a lot near the church and a leasehold in the Governor's Land, was in possession of Lot A, comparative research should be done involving all of those properties. Relatively little is known about John Barber I who acquired Lots A and B. James Alsop, who purchased part of Lot A, was heavily involved in activities in Surry County. Therefore, that area's court records should be searched for supplementary information. As Alsop appears to have been involved in repairing or outfitting boats on his property, a search should be made for archaeological evidence associated with that type of activity. Thomas Rabley, a Dutchman, who purchased another part of the Barber property, also had connections with Surry County. He and William Sherwood erected some buildings at Middle Plantation that were used by the government. During the 1690s blacksmith William Briscoe had possession of the property, which he left to his widowed daughter-in-law, the former Ann Holder.

Within Lot C were two parcels patented by William May in 1661. A plat made three years later reveals that he erected a dwelling upon his property. By 1677 William White purchased the May lots and dwelling. In February 1688 Henry Hartwell patented the May-White lots and a neighboring parcel that had belonged to John Custis. Hartwell, like White and May, was heavily involved in the affairs of Surry County. The same was true of William Edwards II, who on April 23, 1695, purchased Lot C from Henry Hartwell. On August 1, 1655, when Thomas Hunt patented Lot J, the acreage of Mr. Chiles (probably Walter Chiles I) reportedly lay contiguous, along Lot J's western boundary line. Chiles' land (part of Lot D) was then in the hands of Samuel Hart and Thomas Woodhouse, who were described as tenants. A search for supplementary information should be made in the records of Surry County and the Eastern Shore. VCRP survey reports also should be utilized to identify pertinent sources.

Study Unit 4 Tract M

John Howard, a James City County tailor, patented Tract M in 1694. His property was next door to the church, but more importantly, it abutted the main road into Jamestown. The Howard lot (like Study Unit 4 Tract S) formerly may have belonged to the rebel Richard Lawrence, who abandoned his property. The identity of Tract M's earlier owners is uncertain. It is possible that Tract M (like Study Unit 4 Tract S) had its origin in the acreage of Richard Lawrence, who supported the rebel Nathaniel Bacon. As a John Howard was accused of being overzealous in his support of Governor William Berkeley, Tract M may have been a reward for his loyalty. In 1699, Howard purchased Study Unit 1 Tract E, another parcel on the main road to town. In 1710 John Howard sold both of his lots to John Baird, a carpenter. Later both lots came into the hands of Edward Travis III, William Broadnax I and II, real estate speculator Christopher Perkins and Richard Ambler. An attempt should be made to learn more about John Howard and John Baird and how they used Study Unit 4 Tract M (a site where remote sensing equipment detected subsurface features) and Study Unit 1 Tract E. Archaeological testing could be expected to yield information on the boundaries of Tract M and Tract V (the church lot), the course of the main road, and structural features on Tract M.

Study Unit 4 Tract N

In 1661 Edward Prescott, a mariner, patented Tract N, which he bequeathed to Sarah Drummond. Little is known about Prescott except that he was involved in transporting tobacco from Virginia to Germany, Scandinavia, and the Netherlands and that he had a business relationship with John Washington I, the great-grandfather of America's first president. As Sarah Drummond and her husband, William I, had a brick house in Jamestown at the time of Bacon's Rebellion, it may have stood upon Tract N, which has sustained damage from erosion along the banks of the James. Archaeological testing should be undertaken on

Tract N, in conjunction with tightly focused archival research.

Study Unit 4 Tract O

In 1690, William Edwards II of Surry County patented a long, narrow waterfront lot, Tract O, which was situated a short distance west of the church. Earlier on, he had received permission to operate a ferry between Jamestown and Crouches Creek. Edwards retained the right to operate the ferry until at least 1696. Edwards, who was a councilor, became clerk of the General Court and the James City County court. He was related to Colonel Thomas Swann I by marriage and had a house and lot on the east side of Orchard Run. Edwards' son, William III, inherited his property in Jamestown, but resided in Surry County. More should be learned about the Edwards' and their activities in Jamestown through a systematic examination of the Surry records. Tract O eventually came into the hands of the Broadnaxes and Amblers. Research should be done to determine what use they made of the property. As Jamestown's ferries played an important role in the community's social and commercial life, more should be learned about what colonial ferries were like. This could be done through the study of documentary records.

Study Unit 4 Tract P

In 1683 Edward Chilton, who was clerk of the Secretary's Office and became clerk of the assembly, patented Tract P. His property was near the brick fort built during the 1670s. He was a resident of Charles City County and was married to the daughter of Edward Hill III of Shirley Plantation, for whom he sometimes conducted business. During the 1680s and 90s Edward Chilton began patenting land in New Kent County. By the mid-1690s Joseph Copeland of Isle of Wight had come into possession of Tract P. Supplementary research should be undertaken on Tract P, utilizing the records of Charles City and Isle of Wight Counties. More also should be learned about the brick fort that stood near the southwest corner of Tract P and the role it played in the third Anglo-Dutch war. Important information may be gleaned by studying records associated with William Drummond I, Major Theophilus Hone, and Mathew Page, all of whom were involved in the fort's construction. Pertinent documents may be identified through an examination of VCRP survey reports. Similarly, more should be learned about the vaulted powder house that was built around 1693.

Study Unit 4 Tract R

In 1661, John Phipps patented 1/2 acre within what became Tract R. Phipps, who had ties to Henrico, Surry, Old Rapppahannock and York Counties, already owned property in urban Jamestown. As relatively little is known about John Phipps and his wife, Mary, supplementary research should be undertaken utilizing the records of those areas. In 1696 Tract R was patented by Edward Ross, who used his property as a ferry-landing and served as gunner of Jamestown's fortifications. He was responsible for the fort's munitions, which were kept in a magazine near his property. As a drummer, Ross summoned the General Court's justices and at times he carried official messages to other colonies. More should be learned about Edward Ross and his wife, Sarah, who continued to operate a ferry after his demise and was still in business in the 1720s. Later, Tract R descended to William Broadnax II through inheritance. It eventually came into the hands of the Amblers. As the Rosses and Broadnaxes had ties to Surry County, the records of that area should be examined for pertinent references.

Study Unit 4 Tract S

In 1662, when Mrs. Sarah Drummond patented Tract N, a Mr. Randolph was said to own the acreage at her northwest corner, at a site analogous to Tract S. Although Randolph's identity is open to conjecture, he may have been merchant and politician Henry Randolph of Henrico County. Therefore, the county records of that area warrant investigation. Innkeeper Richard Lawrence, best known as a cohort of the rebel Nathaniel Bacon,

reported acquired his property at Jamestown by marrying a wealthy widow. Therefore, archival research should be undertaken in order to determine her identity and more should be learned about Richard Lawrence, who had attended Oxford University and was one of the most colorful figures involved in Bacon's Rebellion. Research also should conducted on Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and his heirs, the Burwells, who were in possession of the Lawrence property after the rebellion was quelled. As buildings stood Tract S while it was owned by Lawrence, and structures were erected there during Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's period of ownership, archaeological tests should be conducted to determine whether any evidence of their presence remains.

Study Unit 4 Tract T

A 1657 patent makes reference to the house and land that belonged to Major Holt, probably Robert Holt, a burgess for Jamestown during the mid-1650s. Holt, a Berkeley-supporter, took an active role in defending the governor during Bacon's Rebellion. He probably was related to Randall Holt II of Surry County and Jamestown Island, who inherited Study Unit 2 Tracts B and K from his mother, Mary Bayly Holt. Extensive efforts should be made to learn more about Tract T and the Holt family, who resided in Surry County for several generations.

Study Unit 4 Tracts W, U, and Q

Supplementary archival research should be undertaken on the Rev. Thomas Hampton, who patented Study Unit 4 Tract W in 1639. Although it is certain that Hampton was the rector of James City Parish and a real estate speculator, more should be learned about the source of his wealth and his activities in England and elsewhere in Virginia. As he was actively acquiring land in Norfolk County during the 1630s, the records of that area should be investigated. More also should be learned about Sir William Berkeley, who constructed Bays 2, 3, and 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group around 1645; Thomas Stegg II and Thomas Ludwell, who erected Bay 1 in the 1660s; and Robert Beverley II, who added a new unit (Bay 5) to the easternmost end of the old central block. Some of the individuals who at various times leased or owned units in the Ludwell Statehouse Group also warrant further investigation. They include William Whitby, who owned land in Warwick County, the Middle Peninsula and the Northern Neck; Richard Bennett of Nansemond County and Theodorick Bland of Charles City and Henrico Counties, whose families were heavily involved in mercantile activities in England and Virginia; wealthy merchant and planter Henry Randolph of Henrico County; and Thomas and Philip Ludwell I and Philip's heirs. Others include Francis Moryson, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, Miles Cary, Thomas Swann I, Thomas Woodhouse, Thomas Bayly, and William Broadnax I. All of these men had business dealings in other Tidewater Virginia counties and their names appear in those records, which should be examined. Moreover, excavation records pertaining to previous archaeological research on the Ludwell Statehouse Group should be examined and viewed in light of the work that was done during the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment. Afterward, supplementary archaeological work should be done in conjunction with architectural and documentary research.

Study Unit 4 Tract V

Excavation records pertaining to previous archaeological research on the James City Parish Church and graveyard should be examined and viewed in light of the work done during the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment. Afterward, supplementary archaeological and archival work should be undertaken.

Study Unit 4 Tract X

Neither deeds nor patents are available that provide a chain of title for Tract X. However, the name of one owner, Mr. Warren, was mentioned in a 1661 patent for some contiguous property, Tract

N. It is probable that he was Thomas Warren, the only person of that surname associated with Jamestown during the mid-to-late seventeenth century. In 1654 Thomas Warren of Surry County married Elizabeth, the daughter and heir of ancient planter William Spencer of Jamestown Island. She was the widow of Major Robert Shepperd of Surry County, who had a business relationship with London merchant John White of Study Unit 4 Tract H. When Elizabeth Spencer Shepperd married Thomas Warren, she signed a marriage contract in which she agreed that he was entitled to use of the real estate she had inherited from her late husband. This raises the possibility that Thomas Warren acquired Tract X via his marriage to Major Robert Shepperd's widow. As a building excavated by APVA archaeologists is located upon Tracts H and X, it is possible that Robert Shepperd and John White I collaborated on use of their neighboring properties, in much the same way that those who owned bays in the Structure 17 rowhouse shared use of the ground upon which their units were located. Documentary research in the records of Surry County and in sources identified via VCRP survey reports may shed light upon Tract X's ownership and use. A comparative analysis of the newly discovered building's architectural attributes also should prove useful.

Study Unit 4 Tract Y

Very little is known about how William Barker, who in 1639 patented Tract Y, developed his property. As he was a mariner who was tied into a successful trading network and invested in substantial quantities of land in Charles City and Surry Counties, the records of those areas should be examined. As there appears to have been a link between Barker and John Corker, who owned an adjoining waterfront lot in the New Towne, the two men may have had a long-standing relationship or perhaps had a kinship tie. That issue should be investigated in an attempt to learn more about Tract Y and how it was developed.

Study Units 1, 2, 3 and 4

As the Ambler plantation (which embraced much of Study Units 1, 3 and 4) is one of the most abundantly documented properties in Tidewater Virginia, research should be undertaken in order to trace its history and to learn more about its built environment. In contrast, the Travis family appear to have kept relatively few records of their activities on their plantation in Study Unit 2. Therefore, an extensive search should be made for Travis family papers and comparative research should be undertaken in the records of York County, where the Travises also owned property. Information may be gleaned from archaeological and architectural research that has been carried out on Travis property in the city of Williamsburg and on the Piney Grove tract in James City County. More should be learned about how those who owned Jamestown Island in its entirety utilized their property. Toward that end, more should be learned about the activities of John Coke, Goodrich Durfey, William Allen (formerly William Orgain), the Clays, Barneys and others who owned Jamestown Island.

Appendix A. The 1624 Census

The February 16, 1624, census includes lists of both the living and the dead. When the list of the living was compiled, groups of people were clustered within specific communities. When John Camden Hotten transcribed these lists, he used the same means of identifying closely associated groups of people (Hotten 1980:173-176, 191-192).

Living at James Cittye

Sr. Frances Wyatt, Governor
Margaret Lady Wyatt
Hant Wyatt minister
Kathren Spencer
Thomas Hooker
John Gather
John Matheman
Edward Cooke
George Nelson
George Hall
Jane Burtt
Elizabeth Pomell
Mary Woodwood

Sr. George Yeardley, Knight
Temperance Lady Yeardly
Argall Yeardley
Francis Yeardley
Elizabeth Yeardley
Kilibett Hichcocke
Austen Combes
John Foster
Richard Arrundell
Susan Hall
Ann Grimes
Elizabeth Lyon
[ ] Younge
negro women
negro men
Alice Davison vid.
Edward Sharples
Jone Davis
George Sands Treas.
Capt. Wm. Perce
Jone Perce
Robert Hedges
Hugh Wms. [Williams]
Thomas Moulston
Henry Farmor

John Lightfoote
Thomas Smith
Roger Ruese
Allexander Gill
John Cartwright
Robert Austine
Edward Bricke
William Ravenett
Jocomb Andrews
ux. Andrews
Richard Alder
Ester Evere
Angelo a negro

Doc. John Pott
Elizabeth Pott
Richard Townsend
Thomas Leister
John Kullaway
Randall Howlett
Jane Dickinson
Fortune Taylor

Capt. Roger Smith
Mrs. Smith
Elizabeth Salter
Sara Macock
Elizabeth Rolfe
Chris. Lawsoin
uxor eius Lawson
Frances Fouller
Charles Waller
Henry Booth

Capt. Raph Hamor
Mrs. Hamor
Jereme Clement
Elizabeth Clement
Sarah Langley

Sisley Greene
Ann Addams
Elkinton Ratclife
Francis Gibson
James Yemanson

John Pontes
Christopher Best
Thomas Clarke
Mr. Reignolds
Mr. Hickmore
Sara Riddall

Edward Blaney
Edward Hudson
ux Hudson
William Hartley
John Shelley
Robert Bew
William Ward
Thomas Mentis [Meutis]
Robert Whitmore
Robert Chantree
Robert Sheppard
William Sawier
Lanslott Damport
Math. Loyd
Thomas Ottway
Thomas Crouch
Elizabeth Starkey
Elinor

Mrs. Perry
infans Perry
Frances Chapman
George Graves
ux Graves
Rebecca Snowe
Sara Snowe
John Isgrave
Mary Ascombe vid
Benamy Bucke
Gercyon Bucke
Peleg Bucke
Mara Bucke
Abram Porter
Bridgett Clarke
Abigall Ascomb
John Jackson

ux Jackson
Ephriam Jackson

Mr. John Burrows
Mrs. Burrows
Anthony Burrows
John Cooke
Nicholas Gouldsmith
Elias Gaile
Andrew Howell
Ann Ashley

John Southern
Thomas Pasmore
Andrew Ralye

Nath. Jefferys
ux Jefferys
Thomas Hebbs

Clement Dilke
Mrs. Dilke
John Hinton

Richard Stephens
Wassell Rayner
ux Raynor
John Jackson
Edward Price
Osten Smith
Thomas Spilman
Bryan Cawt

George Minify
Moyes Ston

Capt. Holmes
Mr. Calcker
Mrs. Calcker
infans Calcker
Peceable Sherwood
Anthony West
Henry Barker
Henry Scott
Margery Dawse

Mr. Cann
Capt. Hartt
Edward Spalding

ux Spalding
puer Spalding
puella Spalding
John Helin
ux Helin
puer Helin
infans Helin

Thomas Graye et ux
Jone Graye
William Graye
Richard Younge
ux Younge

Jone Younge

Randall Smalwood
John Greene
William Mudge

Mrs. Sothey
Ann Sothey
Elin Painter

Goodman Webb

Living in James Island

John Osbourn
ux Osbourn
George Pope
Robert Cunstable

William Jones
ux Jones
John Johnson
ux Johnson
infant Johnson
infant Johnson
John Hall
ux Hall
William Cooksey
ux Cooksey
infant Cooksey
Alice Kean

Robert Fitts
ux Fitts
John Reddish

John Grevett
ux Grevett

John West
Thomas West
Henry Glover

Goodman Stoiks (Stocks, [Stoaks])
ux Stoiks
infant Stoiks
Mr. Adams
Mr. Leet

William Spence
ux Spence
infant Spence
James Tooke
James Roberts
Anthony Harlow

Sara Spence
George Shurke
John Booth
Robert Bennett

Living at the Glasshouse

Vincencio
Bernardo
Ould Sheppard his son
Richard Tarborer
Mrs. Barnardo

Dead at James Cittye ... during April last, Feb. 16, 1623/4

Mr. Sothey
John Dumpont
Thomas Browne
Henry Sothey
Thomas Sothey
Mary Sothey
Thomas Clarke
Margaret Shrawley
Richard Walker
Vallentyn Gentler
Petter Brishitt
Humphry Boyse
John Watton
Arthur Edwards
Thomas Fisher
William Spence and Mrs. Spence - lost
George Sharks
John Buth
Mr. Collins
ux
Mr. Pegden
Petter De Main
Goodman Ascomb
Goodman Witts
William Kerton
Mr. Atkins
Thomas Hakes
Petter Gould
Robert Raffe
Ambrose Fresey
Henry Fry
John Dinse
Thomas Tindall
Richard Knight*
John Jeffreys*
John Hamun*
John Meridien*
John Countwane*
Thomas Guine [or Gunie]*
Thomas Somersall
William Rowsley
a maid of theirs
Robert Bennett
Thomas Roper
Mr. Fitziefferys
Mrs. Smith
Petter Marttin
James Jakins
Mr. Crapplace
John Lullett
Ann Dixon
William Howlett
Mr. Furlows child
Jacob Prophett
John Reding
Richard Atkins his child
John Bayly
William Jones his servant
John Mr. Pearns servant
Josias Hartt
Judith Sharp
Ann Quaile
Reynold's
William Dier
Mary Dier
Thomas Sexton
Mary Bawdrye
Edward Normansell
Henry Fell
Enims [Euims]
Roger Turnor
Thomas Guine [or Gunie]*
John Countway*
John Meriday*
Beniamine Usher*
John Haman*
John Jefferyes*
Richard Knight*
John Walker
[ ] Hoseir
William Jackson
William Apleby
John Manby
Arthur Cooke
Stephen

* names are repeated in the list of the living in James City and 5 of them also appear in the list of people "against James City."

Appendix B. The 1625 Muster

The January 24, 1625, muster was transcribed by John Cameron Hotten and published in 1874 (Hotten 1980:221-229). A more comprehensive transcription, which includes personal possessions and buildings, was published by Annie Lash Jester and Martha Woodroof Hiden in 1956 and has been republished by Virginia M. Meyer and John A. Dorman in 1987 (Meyer et al. 1987:28-36).

Below, certain households within urban Jamestown and Jamestown Island have been linked to the Study Units, Tracts and Lots with which the head of household is known to have been associated.

THE MUSTER OF JAMES CITY (URBAN JAMESTOWN)

Muster of Sir Francis Wyatt (Study Unit 1 Tract H, hypothetical)

Sir Francis Wyatt, governor, came in the *George*, 1621

Servants

Christopher Cooke, 25, came in the *George*, 1621
Georg Hall, 13, came in the *Supply*, 1620
Jonathan Giles, 21, came in the *Trial*, 1619
John Matheman, 19, came in the *Jonathan*, 1619
Jane Davis, 24, came in the *Abigail*, 1622

Provisions/Supplies

10 barrels corn
4000 fish
20 lb. powder
180 lb. lead and shot
6 snaphance peeces
6 armors
6 swords

Livestock

6 cows
1 bull
3 calves and yearlings
6 sows
14 young swine

Buildings

1 dwelling house
1 store

Belonging to James City

1 church
1 large court of guard
4 peeces of mounted ordnance
16 quilted coats
77 coats of male

Muster of Sir George Yeardley (Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B)

Sir George Yeardley, came in the *Deliverance*, 1609
Temperance, Lady Yeardley, came in the *Falcon*, 1608
Argall Yeardley, 4, born here
Francis Yeardley, 1, born here
Elizabeth Yeardley, 6, born here

Servants at Jamestown

Richard Gregory, 40, came in the *Temperance*, 1620
Anthony Jones, 26, came in the *Temperance*, 1620
Thomas Dunn, 14, came in the *Temperance*, 1620
Thomas Phildust, 15, came in the *Temperance*, 1620
Thomas Hatch, 17, came in the *Duty*, 1619
Robert Peake, 22, came in the *Margaret and John*, 1623
William Strange, 18, came in the *George*, 1619
Roger Thompson, 40, came in the *London Merchant*, 1620
Ann, his wife

Richard Arrundell, came in the *Abigail*, 1620
George Deverill, 18, came in the *Temperance*, 1620
Thomas Barnett, 16, came in the *Elsabeth*, 1620
Theophilus Beriston, 23, came in the *Treasuror*, 1614
3 negro men
5 negro women
Susan Hall, came in the *William and Thomas*, 1618
Ann Willis, came in the *Temperance*, 1620
Elizabeth Arrundell, came in the *Abigail*, 1620

Notation that other servants were at Hog Island

Provisions/Supplies

20 barrels corn
12 bushels peas and beans

Livestock

50 neat cattle
40 swine
8 goats and 3 kids

Buildings

3 houses

Watercraft

1 barque of 40 tons, 7 men belonging to it
1 shallop of 4 tons
1 skiff

Muster of Doctor John Pott (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D)

Dr. John Pott, came in the *George*, 1620
Mrs. Elizabeth Pott, came in the *George*, 1620

Servants

Richard Townshend, 19, came in the *Abigaile*, 1620
Thomas Wilson, 27, came in the *Abigaile*, 1620
Osmond Smith, 17, came in the *Bona Nova*, 1620
Susan Blackwood, came in the *Abigaile*, 1622

Provisions/Supplies

20 barrels corn
½ hogshead meal
700 fish
10 lb. powder
10 peeces
2 coats of male
3 armors
6 swords

Livestock

1 neat cattle
4 goats and 2 kids
2 swine and 8 pigs

Buildings

2 houses

Muster of Capt. Roger Smith (Study Unit 1 Tract G)

Capt. Roger Smith, came in the *Abigaile*, 1620
Mrs. Joane Smith, came in the *Blessinge*
Elizabeth Salter, 7, came in the *Seaflower*
Elizabeth Rolfe, age 4, born in Virginia
Sarah Macock, 2, born in Virginia

Servants

Charles Waller, 22, came in the *Abigaile*, 1620
Christopher Bankus, 19, came in the *Abigaile*, 1622
Henry Booth, 20, came in the *Duty*
Henry Lacton, 18, came in the *Hopewell*, 1623

Provisions/Supplies

20 bushels corn
1 hogshead meal
500 fish

Livestock

24 neat cattle, young and old
27 goats
2 swine and 9 pigs

Notation that the rest of Smith's men, provisions and arms are"over the water."

Muster of Capt. Ralph Hamor (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot G)

Capt. Ralph Hamor
Mrs. Elizabeth Hamor
Jeremy Clement, her child
Elizabeth Clement, her child

Servants

John Lightfoote, came in the *Seaventure*
Francis Gibbs, a boy, came in the *Seaflower*
Ann Adams

Livestock

8 neat cattle
10 swine

Notation that the rest of his servants, provisions, arms, etc. at Hog Island

Muster of Capt. William Pierce (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B)

Capt. William Pierce, came in the *Seaventure*
Mrs. Joan Pierce, came in the *Blessing*

Servants

Thomas Smith, 17, came in the *Abigaile*
Henry Bradford, 35, came in the *Abigaile*
Ester Ederife, came in the *Jonathan*
Angelo, a negro woman, came in the *Treasuror*

Livestock

20 neat cattle
20 goats
9 swine and 7 pigs

Buildings

1 house

Note: the rest of his provisions, arms and munitions are at Mulberry Island

Muster of Mr. Abraham Peirsey, merchant (storehouse was in Study Unit 4, near the church and fort)

Mr. Abraham Peirsey, came in the *Susan*, 1616
Elizabeth, his daughter, 15, came in the *Southampton*, 1623
Mary, his daughter, 11, came in the *Southampton*, 1623

Servants

Christopher Lee, 30, came in the *Southampton*, 1623
Richard Serieant, 36, came in the *Southampton*, 1623
Alice Chambers, came in the *Southampton*, 1623
Annis Shaw, came in the *Southampton*, 1623

Provisions/Supplies

50 bushels corn
180 fish
6 powder
200 lead
3 fixt peeces
2 swords

Livestock

2 neat cattle
3 goats

Buildings

1 dwelling house
2 storehouses

Note: the rest at Peirseys Hundred [Flowerdew]

Muster of Mr. Edward Blaney (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot C)

Mr. Edward Blaney, came in the *Francis Bonaventure*

Servants

Robert Bew, 20, came in the *Duty*
John Russell, 19, came in the *Bona Nova*

Provisions/Supplies

30 barrels corn
½ hogshead meal
9 bushels oatmeal and peas
2000 fish

Livestock

20 neat cattle, young and old
10 goats and 5 kids
21 swine and 8 pigs

Buildings

2 houses

Watercraft

2 boats

Note: the rest of his servants, arms, etc. are at his plantation Over the Water

Muster of Robert Poole (resided in urban Jamestown, location unknown)

Robert Poole

Provisions/Supplies

1 bushel corn
2 peeces

Muster of James Hicmott (resided in urban Jamestown, location unknown)

James Hicmott, came in the *Bonaventure*
Mrs. Hicmott

Provisions/Supplies

3 bushels corn
1 peece
1 pistol

Livestock

2 swine and 7 pigs

Muster of John Southern
(resided in urban Jamestown, location unknown; owned Study Unit 2 Tracts G and Q)

John Southern, came in the *George*, 1620

Servants

Thomas Crust, came in the *George*, 1620

Provisions/Supplies

2 barrels corn
3 bushels meal
200 fish

½ lb. powder
1 peece
1 armor

Livestock

4 swine

Muster of Randall Smalewood
(resided in urban Jamestown, location unknown)

Randall Smalewood

Provisions/Supplies

2 barrels corn
2 peeces

Muster of George Grave
(resided in urban Jamestown, location unknown)

George Grave, came in the *Seaventure*
Eleanor Grave, his wife, came in the *Susan*
John Grave, 10, their son
Rebecca Snow, her daughter
Sara Snow, her daughter

Provisions/Supplies

2 bushels corn
100 fish

1 peece
1 pistol

Livestock

2 swine

Buildings

1 house

Muster of Edward Cadge and Nathaniel Jeffreys
(resided in urban Jamestown, location unknown)

Edward Cadge, came in the *Marmaduke*
Nathaniel Jeffreys, came in the *Gift*

Provisions/Supplies

2 bushels corn
½ bushel peas
200 fish
2 peece
3 swords
1 pistol

Livestock

1 swine and 7 pigs
2 goats

Buildings

1 house

Muster of John Jackson (Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A)

John Jackson
John Jackson, 9, his son
Gercian Buck, 10

Provisions/Supplies

2 bushels corn
1 fixt peece
½ lb powder

Livestock

3 neat cattle
2 swine and 2 pigs
3 kids

Muster of Thomas Alnutt (resided in urban Jamestown, location unknown)

Thomas Alnutt, came in the *Gift*
his wife, came in the *Marigold*

Servants

Roger Roeds, 20, came in the *Bony Bess*

Provisions/Supplies

7 barrels corn
2 lb. powder
100 lb. lead
5 peeces
1 pistol

Livestock

3 neat cattle
1 kid
7 swine

Buildings

1 house

Watercraft

1 boat

Muster of Peeter Langman (resided in urban Jamestown, location unknown)

Peter Langman, came in the *William and Thomas*
Mary Langman, his wife
Peter Ascam, 1, her son
Abigaile Ascam, 4, her daughter
Benomy Buck, 8
Peeg Buck, 4

Servants

Abraham Porter, 36
Thomas Sawier, 23

Provisions/Supplies

9 barrels corn
4 peeces
1 lb. powder

Livestock

3 neat cattle
11 swine and 3 pigs

Buildings

1 house

Muster of John Burrowes (in custody of Study Unit 2 Tract I)

John Burrowes
Bridget Burrowes
Mara Buck, 13

Servants

John Cooke, 27
Nicholas Gouldfinch, 19
John Bradston, 18 [lined out]
Thomas Thorowgood, 17
Ellias Gaile, 14
Andrew Howell, 13
Ann Ashley, 19

Provisions/Supplies

12 barrels corn
1200 fish
4 peeces
150 lb. shot
4 armors

Livestock

4 neat cattle
4 swine
2 kids

Buildings

2 houses

Watercraft

1 boat

Note: the cattle belonging to Mr. Buck's children: 30 young and old; 18 goats and 5 kids

Muster of Elizabeth Soothey (Study Unit 2 Tract V)

Elizabeth Soothey, came in the *Southampton*
Ann Southey, her daugher

Provisions/Supplies

2 bushels corn
1 bushel meal
100 fish

Livestock

1 swine

Muster of John Jefferson and Walgrave Marks (Study Unit 2 Tract J)

John Jefferson, came in the *Bona Nova*
Walgrave Marks, came in the *Margaret and John*

Provisions/Supplies

3 barrels corn
2 lb. powder
3 peeces

Muster of William Mutch (resided in urban Jamestown, location unknown)

William Mutch, came in the *Jonathan*
Margery Mutch, his wife, came in the *George*, 1623

Provisions/Supplies

5 barrels corn

Muster of Richard Stephens (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot H)

Richard Stephens, came in the *George*, 1623

Servants

Wassell Rayner, 28
Joane Rayner, wife of Wassell Rayner
Thomas Spillman, 28, came in the *George*, 1623
Edward Prise, 29, came in the *George*, 1623

Provisions/Supplies

2 barrels corn
½ hogshead meal
12 lb. powder
34 lb. shot
8 peeces

Livestock

3 swine

Buildings

3 houses

Watercraft

1 boat

Muster of George Menefie (Minifie) (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot F)

George Menefie, came in the *Samuell*, July 1623

Servants

John Griffin, 26, came in the *William and John*, 1624
Edward Williams, 26, came in the *William and John*, 1624

Provisions/Supplies

6 barrels corn
1 hogshead peas
300 fish, butter
cheese, oyle, etc.
6 lb. powder
20 lb. shot
3 peeces
1 pistol
3 armors
3 swords

Livestock

1 swine

Buildings

2 houses

Watercraft

1 boat

Muster of John Barnett
(resided in urban Jamestown, location unknown)

John Barnett, 26, came in the *Jonathan*, 1620

Provisions/Supplies

2 barrels corn
100 fish
1 lb. powder
1 fixt peece

Livestock

3 neat cattle
8 swine and 6 pigs
5 goats and 3 kids

Buildings

1 house

THE MUSTER OF JAMES ISLAND (RURAL JAMESTOWN ISLAND)

Muster of John Stoaks
(resided in rural Jamestown Island, location unknown)

John Stoaks, came in the *Warwick*
Ann Stoaks, wife of John, came in the *Warwick*

Provisions/Supplies

1 bushel corn
1 bushel meal
28 fish

Muster of Richard Tree
(Study Unit 3 Tract G)

Richard Tree, came in the *George*
John Tree, his son, 12

Servants

Silvester Bullen, 28

Provisions/Supplies

7 barrels corn
200 fish
6 peeces

2 armors
2 swords

Livestock

6 swine and 7 pigs

Buildings

2 houses

Muster of William Lasey
(resided in rural Jamestown Island, location unknown)

William Lasey, came in the *Southampton*, 1624
Susan Lasey, wife of William, came in the *Southampton*, 1624

Provisions/Supplies

3 barrels corn
1 bushel meal

½ hundred biscuit
1 barrel peas
200 fish
2 pieces
2 swords

Livestock

2 swine

Buildings

1 house

Muster of John West (resided in rural Jamestown Island, location unknown)

John West, came in the *Bony Bess*
Thomas Crompe

Provisions/Supplies

5 barrels corn
3 bushels peas and beans
2 bacon flitches
1 peece
2 swords

Buildings

1 house

Muster of John Greevett (resided in rural Jamestown Island, location unknown)

John Greevett
Ellin Greevett

Provisions/Supplies

1 peece
1 armor
1 sword

Livestock

3 swine

Muster of Thomas Passmore (Study 2 Tracts D, H, and S)

Thomas Passmore, came in the *George*
Jane Passmore, wife of Thomas, came in the *George*

Servants

Thomas Kerfitt, 24, in the *Hopewell*
Robert Julian, 20, in the *Jacob*
John Buckmuster, 20, in the *Hopewell*

Provisions/Supplies

16 barrels corn
1 hhd. meal
2½ bushels peas and beans
1 hhd. fish
400 dry fish

Livestock

3 neat cattle
6 swine and 4 pigs

Buildings

1 house

Muster of Christopher Hall
(resided in rural Jamestown Island, location unknown)

Christopher Hall

Provisions/Supplies

4 lb. powder
20 shot
4 peeces
2 pistols
2 armors

Muster of Robert Fitt
(resided in rural Jamestown Island, location unknown)

Robert Fitt, came in the *George*
Ann Fitt, Robert Fitt's wife, came in the *Abigail*

Provisions/Supplies

1 barrel corn
1½ bushels peas
3 peeces
1 sword

Livestock

1 swine, 5 pigs

Buildings

1 house

Muster of George Onion
(resided in rural Jamestown Island, location unknown)

George Onion, came in the *Francis Bonaventure*
Elizabeth, wife of George Onion, came in the *Francis Bonaventure*
Francis Pall, a boy, age 6
Thomas Pall, a boy, age 4

Provisions/Supplies

1 bushel corn
1 peece
1 sword

Muster of John Hall
(Study Unit 2 Tract S)

John Hall, came in the *John and Francis*
Susan Hall, wife of John Hall, came in the *London Merchant*

Provisions/Supplies

1½ barrel corn
1 bushel peas
1 lb. powder
1 peece
1 armor
1 sword

Buildings

1 house

Muster of Robert Marshall (Study Unit 2 Tracts C and T)

Robert Marshall, came in the *George*
Ann Marshall, wife of Robert Marshall, came in the *George*

Livestock

1 swine

Provisions/Supplies

4 barrels corn

Muster of Thomas Grubb (Study Unit 2 Tract T)

Thomas Grubb, came in the *George*

Provisions/Supplies

2 barrels corn

Buildings

1 house

Muster of John Osborn (resided in rural Jamestown Island, location unknown)

John Osborn
Mary Osborn, wife of John Osborn

Provisions/Supplies

½ barrel corn
½ lb. powder
1 peece
1 armor

Muster of William Spencer (Study Unit 3 Tracts C and D)

William Spencer, came in the *Sarah*
Allice Spencer, wife of William Spencer
Allice Spencer, 4, daughter of William and Allice Spencer

Livestock

12 swine
3 goats and 2 kids

Provisions/Supplies

10 barrels corn
200 fish
4 lb. powder
8 lb. shot
3 peeces

Buildings

2 houses

Watercraft

1 boat

Muster of Thomas Graye (resided in rural Jamestown Island, location unknown)

Thomas Graye
Margaret Graye, wife of Thomas Graye
William Gray, 3, son of Thomas and Margaret Graye
Jone Gray, 6, daughter of Thomas and Margaret Graye

Provisions/Supplies

11 barrels corn
2 lb. powder
10 lb. shot
1 fixt peece
1 armor

Livestock

5 swine

Muster of Gabriel Holland (Study Unit 2 Tract O)

Gabriel Holland, came in the *John and Francis*
Rebecca, wife of Gabriel Holland, came in the *John and Francis*

Provisions/Supplies

7 barrels corn
2 bushels peas and beans
100 fish
4 peeces
1 coat of male

Livestock

6 swine

Buildings

1 house

Others Listed in the Island, But Not Grouped in Households

Josias Tanner, 24
Andrew Railey
William Cooksey
Thomas Baglen
William Carter

John Johnson (Study Unit 2 Tract A)

John Johnson
Ann Johnson, John Johnson's wife
John Johnson, 1, son of John Johnson
Ann Johnson, 4, daughter of John Johnson
Alice Kean, a maid servant

Thomas Delamajor (Study Unit 3 Tract A)

John Hitchy
Thomas Delamajor

Dead at James City and in the Island

Richard Mumford
George Clark
Bartholomew Blake
William Wanerton
Sibil Royall
Goodwife Jeffreys
Thomas Popkin
Thomas Sides
Thomas West
William Spencer, a child
a servant of Mr. Keth's
Mrs. Peirse
John Gee
a servant of Peeter Langman, Phinloe
Mrs. Susan Keth

Appendix C. An Account of the Jamestown Fort's Military Stores

On February 1, 1699, three months after the statehouse fire, an inventory was made of the military stores at Jamestown (C.O. 5/1309 ff 223-224). These items were stored in the magazine that stood near the western end of Study Unit 4 Tract U and were under the care of gunner Edward Ross of Study Unit 4 Tract R. The fort for which Ross was responsible stood at the southwest corner of Study Unit 4 Tract S.

An account of stores in his Majesties magazine in James City taken this first day of February 1698/9.

powder in barrels there wants to be hooped 10 barrels: 115

match 8 lb. wt. culverin shot: 1840

culverin demi do.: 1000

ladles and sponges for culverin: 10, 10

ditto for demi culverin: 8, 8

funnels of plate: 3

sheet lead: 4 lb. wt.

forelockeys: 32: per

iron crowes: 51

hand crow levers of which 5 are broake: 60

spikes: 300

tan'd hides: 7

budg barrels: 2

cartridge paper rhm: 6

lanthorns - dark: 1

lanthorns ordinary: 2

muscovy lights: 3

baskets of which 4 broke in bringing burnt locks from ye statehouse: 20

formers: 10

powder horns: 20

linstocks: 10

wadd hooks: 8

marlin: 12 lb.

twine: 3 lb.

wire: 6 lb.

hand screws which one broake: 2

thread: 4 lb.

needles: 6 doz.

nayles:
20d: 200
10d: 300
6d: 1000
2d: 1200

burnt snaphance match, locks and carbine barrels from Middle Plantation: 270

burnt locks for ditto from Middle Plantation: 336

old broake muskets: 135

old swords: 18

old cutlasses: 12

old pistolls: 8

culverin on field carridges of which axeltree two & wheels broke quite down, ye other ten ye wheels broak one being cramp & one carridge bolted with an iron bolt but all unfit for service by reason they stand on a line of loose ground only peeces of old plank under ye wheels to keep them from sinking - having noe platform nor breastwork: 12

Demi-culverin on do. of wch two broake down ye wheels of ye other two being broak and standing as aboves'd are altogether unfit for service:4

Minion on old ship carridges without trucks and standing as abovesaid are alike also: 4

Faultt on do. and standing as do. are also alike: 2

aprons of lead: 10

granado shells: 200

mortar piece shells: 117

seeker shott: 80

small barrel of musket, carbine and pistol bullets: 21

loose ball pickt up and in boxes about barrels: 4

good muskets: 3

conductors for culverin cartridges: 14

do. for demi culverins: 15

pickaxes: 65

crosscut saws: 24

old hand saws: 3

old hand bills: 24

four inch hauser fathom: 3

do. old junk fathom: 25

burnt barrels of muskets at ye statehouse: 197

burnt locks from do.: 180

burnt bayonet blades: 97

burnt lead of barrels of muskets: 18

burnt hammer hatchets: 77

burnt swivells, hoops, springs of granado pouches: 99

burnt spears of halberts: 3

burnt spears of sweed feathers: 445

iron bolts for carridges: 15

The magazine house in James City the vault of wch. being digg'd between two flashes & soe near to ye water is only occasion soe much ye hooping ye barrels of powder yearly but likewise a means to impare the sd. strength thereof.

Errors excepted.

Edward Ross, gunner

Cover: Account of stores, ammunition &c. in ye magazean in James City Febry. 1st, 1698/9 transmitted by Coll. Nicholson in his ltr. of Febry. 1698/9

Recd. April 3rd, May 19, 1699

Appendix D. James City's Burgesses

Prior to 1632 Jamestown sometimes was represented by two burgesses. As there are many gaps in the records 1619-1642 and the names "James City" and "Jamestown" at times were used interchangably, all of the individuals attributed to "James City" have been listed. However, some of those people would have been James City County representatives. It also should be noted that between 1634 and 1652 some of the individuals attributed to James City County lived in what became Surry (Stanard 1965; Leonard 1976).

The names of those known to have owned property in Jamestown, a requirement for serving as the community's burgess, appear in bold type.

1619 **Capt. William Powell, Ensign William Spence** (Jamestown)

1623-1624 **Richard Kingsmill, Edward Blaney** (Jamestown)

1629 **George Menefie, Richard Kingsmill** (Jamestown)

1629-1630 **John Southern,** Robert Barrington (Jamestown)

1631-1632 **John Southern, Thomas Crampe (Crump)** (James City)

1632 **John Jackson** (Jamestown)

1632-1633 **John Corker** (Jamestown, Chickahominy and Pasbehay)

1641 **Captain Robert Hutchinson,** Francis Fowler, **John White, Thomas Hill,** Richard Richards, Ferdinand Franklin, **Jeremie Clement,** Thomas Follis, William Butler (James City)

1642-1643 **Captain Robert Hutchinson,** Rowland Sadler, Henry Filmer, Captain John Fludd, Stephen Webb, William Davis (James City)

1644 **Captain Robert Hutchinson,** Stephen Webb, **Edward Travis,** Thomas Loving, George Jordan, John Shepherd, **Thomas Warren** (James City)

1644-1645 **Ambrose Harmer, Captain Robert Hutchinson,** William Barrett, **John Corker,** Peter Ridley, George Stephens, John Rogers (James City)

1645 John Flood, **Walter Chiles I, Thomas Swann I,** Robert Weatherall, **Ambrose Harmer, Thomas Warren,** Peter Ridely, George Stephens (James City)

1646 **Ambrose Harmer, Walter Chiles I,** Captain Robert Shepheard, George Jordayne, Thomas Loving, William Barrett (James City)

1647 **Captain Robert Hutchinson,** Captain Bridges Freeman, Captain Robert Shepheard, George Jordan, William Davis, Peter Ridley (James City)

1649 **Walter Chiles I, Thomas Swann I,** William Barrett, George Read, William Whittaker, John Dunston (James City)

1652 Robert Wetherall, Lt. Col. John Fludd, Henry Soane, Daniel Mansill, George Stephens, William Whittakere (James City)

1652 Robert Wetherall, William Whittaker, **Abraham Wattson,** Henry Soane (James City)

1653 **Col. Walter Chiles I,** William Whittaker, Herny Soane, **Abraham Wattson** (James City)

1654 Thomas Dipnall, **Abraham Watson,** William Whitaker, Henry Soane (James City)

1655-1656 Lt. Col. William Whittaker, **Theophilus Hone,** Col. John Flood, **Robert Holt,** Robert Ellyson (James City)

1657-1658 Henry Soane, **Maj. Richard Webster,** Thomas Loveinge, William Corker (James City)

1658-1659 **Walter Chiles II,** Capt. William Whittacre, Capt. Thomas Foulke, Capt. Mathew Edloe (James City)

1659-1660 Henry Soane, Capt. Robert Ellison, Richard Ford, William Morley (James City)

1663 Capt. Robert Ellyson, **Walter Chiles II,** Capt. Edward Ramsey (James City)

1666 **Theophilus Hone** (Jamestown)

1685 Col. Thomas Ballard (James City)

1688 **William Sherwood** (Jamestown)

1692-1693 **Capt. Miles Cary** (Jamestown)

1696 **Philip Ludwell II** in place of **William Sherwood,** deceased (Jamestown)

1702 James Bray II, **George Marable II, Robert Beverley II** (James City)

1710 **Nathaniel Burwell** (Jamestown)

1712 **Nathaniel Burwell** (Jamestown)

1714 **Edward Jaquelin** (Jamestown)

1718 **Archibald Blair** (Jamestown)

1720-1722 **William Broadnax I** (Jamestown)

1723 **William Broadnax I** (Jamestown)

1726 **William Broadnax I** (Jamestown)

1727-1728 **Archibald Blair,** John Clayton (James City)

1736 **Lewis Burwell III** (Jamestown)

1738 **Lewis Burwell III** (Jamestown)

1740 **Lewis Burwell III** (Jamestown)

1742 **Philiip Ludwell III** (Jamestown)

1744 **Philip Ludwell III** (Jamestown)

1745 **Philip Ludwell III** (Jamestown)

1746 **Philip Ludwell III** (Jamestown)

1747 **Philip Ludwell III** (Jamestown)

1748 **Philip Ludwell III** (Jamestown)

1749 **Philip Ludwell III** (Jamestown)

1752 **Edward Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

1753 **Edward Travis III** (Jamestown)

1754 **Edward Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

1755 **Edward Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

1756 **Edward Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

1757 **Edward Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

March 1758 **Edward Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

Sept 1758 **Edward Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

Nov 1758 **Edward Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

Feb 1759 **Edward Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

Nov 1759 **John Ambler I** (Jamestown)

1760-1761 **John Ambler I** (Jamestown)

1761 **Edward Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

1762 **Edward Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

1763 **Edward Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

1764 **Edward Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

May 1765 **Edward Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

Oct 1765 **John Ambler I** (Jamestown)

1766 **Edward Ambler I** replaced **John Ambler I,** dec. (Jamestown)

1767 **Edward Ambler I** (Jamestown)

1768 **Edward Ambler I** (Jamestown)

1769 **Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

1770 **Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

1771 **Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

1772 **Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

1773 **Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

1774 **Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

1775 **Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

1776 **Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

1777 **Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

1778 **Champion Travis** (Jamestown)

Appendix E. Richard Ambler's Slaves in James City County, February 15, 1768

At Jamestown Island and the Main

Abell (Sarah's child) at 15 £
Aberdeen at 45 £
Alice at 50 £
Alice (a girl) at 25 £
Amy at 30 £
Ben valued at 15 £
Ben (carpenter) at 35 £
Ben at 25 £
Betsey (Sarah's child) at 22.10 £
Betty at 25 £
Betty at 30 £
Billy at 40 £
Bob at 30 £
Bridget at 25 £
Chubby and [torn] at 50 £
Cupid at 60 £
Dick at 45 £
Dinah at 15 £
Dinah at 40 £
Doll at 20 £
Duncan at 50 £
Edith (Chubby's child) at 10 £
Fanny (Lydia's child) at 10 £
Grace and her child Jacob at 50 £
Hannah at 25 £
Hannah (Sarah's child) at 25 £
Hannah and her child Charles at 40 £
Harry at 25 £
Jack at 25 £
Jacob at 40 £
Jeffrey at 60 £
Jeremy at 60 £
Joe at 50 £
Johnny (York) at 60 £
Johnny at 50 £
Judah at 20 £
Jupiter at 50 £
Kate at 25 £
Lawrence at 60 £
Lucy at 40 £
Lydia at 45 £
Mark at 50 £
Moll at 15 £
Moll at 30 £
Nan at 20 £
Phill at 35 £
Rachel at 40 £
Sall at 45 £
Sam at 40 £
Sarah at 60 £
Suky at 40 £
Sylva and her child Tom at 50 £
Tom at 60 £
York at 15 £
Young Hannah and child Sarah at 60 £

At Powhatan

Amy at 55 £
Betty and her young child at 50 £
Clara at 7 £
Harry at 50 £
Jenny at 30 £
Nancy at 25 £
Nanny at 50 £
Nell at 10 £
Nelly at 35 £
Peter at 40 £
Phillis at 40 £
Robert at 60 £
Sharper at 40 £

Source: York County Wills and Inventories 21:386-388

Appendix F. An Inventory Of Edward Ambler's Estate at Jamestown, 1769

Cash found in the house £234:3:10½

In the dining Room.

12 Mahogony Chairs	15:00:00
1 Smoaking Blk Walnut do	1:00:00
3 Mahogony Tables	10:00:00
1 Mahogony library Desk	15:00:00
1 ditto Rum Case	3:00:00
1 Tea Table & broken Sett of China	3:00:00
1 Gilt Peir Glass	4:00:00
1 Old Carpet	0:05:00
1 Trevett Shovel Tongs Poker & Bellows	0:17:06
1 Iron Fender	0:10:00
3 Cases Knives & Forks	19:04:00
1 Case Instruments 40/	2:00:00
1 Pair Scales and Weights 40/	2:00:00
	310:00:4½

In the Parlour

1 Mahogony Desk and Book Case	12:00:00
15 do. Chairs	24:00:00
2 do. Elbow Chairs	6:00:00
2 do. Card Tables & cover	6:00:00
1 do. dining Table	6:00:00
1 do. Tea Table	2:00:00
1 Carpet	8:00:00
1 Gilt Peir Glass	5:00:00
Grate shovel Tongs Poker & Fender	8:00:00
2 Glass Lamps	1:00:00
2 China candlesticks & Brackets	6:00:00
1 Mahogony Tea Tray	1:10:00
Sundry Peices ornamental China	2:10:00
2 Brooms	0:05:00
1 ps damask Napkaning £ 5½ ps, dimothy 40/	7:00:00

In the Passage

8 Mahogony Chairs	12:00:00
3 do. dining Tables with 2 Covers	13:10:00
1 do. Tea Table	1:10:00
1 do. Desk	5:00:00
1 Spy Glass	2:00:00
1 Screen	2:00:00

Source: Ambler 1769

1 Trunk 0:10:00
1 Glass Lanthorn 2:00:00

In the Back Passage

2 blk walnut desks 5:00:00
1 Beaufait 3:00:00
Sundry China & glass in do 20:00:00
3 Mahogony Slides 0:07:06
1 do. Tea board 0:05:00
1 do. Wash Stand 0:15:00
1 Copper Fire Pan 1:00:00
2 Cheese Toasters 0:03:00
Carving Knife & Fork 0:02:06
11 Candle Sticks 2:15:00
3 pr. Snuffers 0:02:00
1 brass Plate Warmer 1:00:00
1 Pewter wash bason 0:01:03
1 small Lamp 0:01:03
1 Plate basket 0:01:03
3 Leather bottom chairs 0:15:00
1 Close Stool 0:15:00
1 Turks Head Broom 0:02:06
4 Japan Waiters 0:12:00
1 do. Bread Basket 0:10:00
1 Case Rasors 1:00:00

In the House at Williamsburg

3 Painted bedsteads & 1 with Posts 3:00:00
3 Pair cast dogs 1:10:00
1 pr. wrought Kitchen And Irons 0:07:06
1 Brass Shovel 0:02:06
1 Old Iron shovel & Tongs 0:01:03
1 Broom & scouring Brush 0:06:03
6 blue & white china deep plates 0:12:00

In the Coach House

1 Coach £ 50:0:0 with Harness 50:00:00
1 Chariot & 4 Harness 50:00:00
1 Single chair & Harness 5:00:00

In the Chamber

1 Black Walnut Press 8:00:00
2 do. Bedsteads Beds & furniture 20:00:00
2 small beds & furniture 3:00:00
1 Carpet 0:10:00
2 Small Tables 1:10:00
1 dressing Glass 0:10:00

1 Small Walnut Press 4:00:00
1 Pine sugar Case 0:10:00
3 Small Chairs 0:06:00
1 pr And Irons shovel & Tongs 2:00:00
1 pr. Bellows 0:02:06
1 small Trunk 0:10:00
1 Umbrella 20/ 1:00:00

In the Nursery, Closet & covered Way

11 Stone Butter Pots 33/ 3 floor cloths 5/ 1:18:00
1 Bed Pan 5/... 1 Cask Nails £ 3:0:0 ..... 3:05:00
1 Pine Press 20/ 1:00:00
3 Firkins Butter 45/ 2:05:00
4 Shovels & 1 Spade 16/ 0:16:00
3 Bedsteads & beds & 1 pr. Curtains 15:00:00
1 desk & book Case 40/ 2:00:00
1 Table 5/ 0:05:00
6 Chairs 15/ 0:15:00
1 pr. And Irons 15/ 0:15:00
17 Chairs 40/ 2:00:00
3 Old Tables 15/ 0:15:00
1 Chest drawers 10/ 0:10:00
1 dressing Glass 15/ 0:15:00
1 Bed Matrass &c £ 5:0:0 ..... 5:00:00
8 Pictures 40/ 2:00:00
2 Hogsheads Loafsugar 33:00:00
4 mules £ 45:00:00 Regulus £ 100:00:00 ..... 145:00:00
Britain £ 30:00:00 4 Chariot horses £ 50:00:00 ..... 80:00:00
4 Mares £ 35:00:00 2 Colts £ 12:00:00 ..... 47:00:00
70 old Sheep & 37 Lambs 32:02:00
52 head of Cattle & 7 Calves 78:00:00
8 Draft Steers 20:00:00
45 Hogs & Shoats & 50 Pigs 19:18:00
6 Weathers 6:00:00
1 fatned Steer 6:00:00

In the Kitchen

1 doz: hard metal soup plates 26/.....1:06:00
1 doz: Shallow ditto £ 3 ..... 3:00:00
1 Sett Hard Metal dishes £ 3 ..... 3:00:00
2 Fish dishes 30/., a parcel old pewter £ 3 ..... 4:10:00
4 Pewter dish Covers 30/., a tin kitchen 2/6 ..... 1:12:06
Sundry Peices Tin ware 40/., 2 Water Plates 5/ 2:05:00
5 Spits 16/., 1 Copper fish kettle 30/. 1 stew Pan 25/ 3:11:00
1 Preserving Pan 15/., 1 Sauce do 5/., 2 Pots 15/ 1:15:00
1 Coffee Pot 8/., 2 tea kettles 16/ 1:04:00
3 Chaffing dishes 15/ 0:15:00
a parcel of old Copper 10/, 2 dripping pans 20/ 1:10:00
3 Frying Pans 12/6, 2 flesh forks & skimmers 7/6 ..... 1:00:00

3 Wash tubs 5/, 5 Iron Pots & furniture £ 3 ..... 3:05:00
1 Grid Iron 7/6, 1 Cleaver 2/6, 4 Skillets 40/ 2:10:00
2 brass Mortars & pestils 10/ 0:10:00
2 Marble'd do. £ 3 ..... 3:00:00
3 Shovels & 2 pr. tongs 15/, 1 kettle £ 4 ..... 4:15:00
1 Plate rack 7/6, 1 hand Mill £ 5 ..... 5:07:06
1 Table 10/, 1 Search 2/ 0:12:00
2 Coffee mills & roasters 15/ 0:15:00

In the Kitchen covered way and Closet

9 Stone Butter pots 45/, 3 do. 15 ..... 3:00:00
4 doz. China Plates £ 5, 2 do. Bowles 40/ 7:00:00
15 China dishes £ 5, A parcel soap 10/ 5:10:00
100 lb. Butter £ 3:02:06, 4 Jugs 12/ 3:14:06
a Chest of drawers 5/ 0:05:00
Wheat seive 6/, 2 Spits 15/ 1:06:00
a Childs bedstead 7/6, 1 Table 7/6 ..... 0:15:00
3 Old copper kettles, 1 pr. tongs & Iron Pot 40/ 2:00:00
a trunk contg oznabrigs valued @ 4:05:00
1 Marble Mortar 10/ 0:10:00

In the Nursery Cellar

1 Still £ 3, 2 sad Irons 5/, 1 Table 2/6 ..... 3:07:06
1 Wash Tub 2/ 0:02:00

Sundry Peices of Plate

2 Cases Knives & Forks £ 18 ..... 18:00:00
4 Silver Cans £ 18, 1 Tankard £ 17:10 ..... 25:10:00
2 Salvers £ 6., 1 Puddg dish & cross £ 25 ..... 31:00:00
3 doz Tea Spoons, a strainer, 2 pr. Tongs & marrow spoon 8:05:00
2 Porringers & Tumbler £ 6:06:08 ..... 6:06:08
1 Punch strainer 25/., 2 ladles 40/ 3:05:00
1 pr. Silver snuffers & stand £ 9:06:08 ..... 9:06:08
17 Table & 2 Soup spoons £ 17:17 ..... 17:17:00
8 Salts £ 10:10 ..... 10:10:00
2 Candle Sticks £ 9:12 ..... 9:12:00
2 Rims & Castors £ 30 ..... 30:00:00
1 Small Tea Pot 6/, 2 Gold Watches & Trinkets £ 55 ..... 55:06:00

Sundry Peices of Table Linnen

14 Damask Table Cloths 13:00:00
[blot] diaper do 1:10:00
9 do 2:05:00
11 & half Pair of Sheets 50. pr 28:15:00
4 & half Pair Coarse do 20/ pr 4:10:00
13 damask napkins 3/ ps 1:19:00
11 small do.....2/ 1:02:00
12 Towels 2/ 1:04:00

1 pr. small Curtains 10/. 19 Pillow Cases £ 4:15 ..... 5:05:00
1 pr. Large do. 30/, 4 Counterpanes £ 4 ..... 5:10:00
5 Counterpanes £ 6:10:00, 2 do. 20/, 2 do. 10/ 8:00:00
3 Window Curtains 7/6. 6 Chair covers 35/ 1:12:06
Sundry Peices of Glass valued @ 3:00:00
Sundry Peices of China valued @ 8:00:00
A Tureen & sundry other peices of do. 5:00:00

In the Wash House

3 Pot Racks 24/, 3 Copper kettles £ 15 ..... 16:04:00
1 Table 5/, 4 Tubbs 12/, 3 sad Irons 8/ 1:05:00

In the Dairy

23 Pewter dishes £ 4, 1 Safe 30/, 1 Still 10/ 6:00:00
9 Pewter Basons 18/, Milk Pails 13/ 1:11:00
1 Stone Pan 2/6, 1 Wheat Seive 6/ 0:08:00
Sundry old Tubbs 10/ 0:10:00

In the Room over the Parlour

2 Beds bedsteads & furniture 35:00:00
1 Table 30/, 1 dressing glass 25/ 2:15:00
6 Chairs £ 6, 1 Carpet £ 3 ..... 9:00:00
a grate shovel tongs Poker & Fender 3:00:00

In the Room over the dininq Room

2 Beds bedsteads & Furniture 23:00:00
1 Sett new Cotton curtains 18:00:00
1 do. 40/, 2 Pillows 10/, Bottle & bason 18d 2:11:06
1 grate Poker tongs & Fender 2:10:00
1 Suit Chintz Curtains 7:00:00
1 Suit Small do 20/ 1:00:00
6 pr. Blankets 12:00:00

In the Passage up Stairs

12 Chairs £ 3/, 6 Trunks & a chest £ 3 ..... 6:00:00
2 Book Presses with the Books therein 40:00:00
65 Ozrs. Shirts 13:00:00
2 Carpets £ 4/ 2 Rugs 40/ 6:00:00

In the Room over the back Passage

1 bedstead & furniture 7:10:00
1 Easy Chair £ 3. 2 Bed Quilts 40/ 5:00:00
a Close stool chair & Pan 20/ 1:00:00
1 Table 30/ 1:10:00
a grate And Iron & Fender 50/ 2:10:00
Carpet & Trunk 5/ 0:05:00

In the Store Room

42 Ozrs. Shirts 8:08:00
2 Carboys 8/, 1 Lanthorn 3/, 5 pots 10/ 1:01:00
2 Mugs & a Jug 5/, Sundry Peices of China £ 4 ..... 4:05:00
Sundry Peices Glass 20/, do. Tin 15/ 1:15:00
Sundry drinkg Glasses 40/ 2:00:00
1 Warming Pan 15/ 0:15:00
2 Shovels & Tongs 20/, 7 lasts 7/, 3 Brushes 4/6 ..... 1:11:06
a Brass dial & Stand £ 6 ..... 6:00:00
1 Pewter Cullender 7/6 ..... 0:07:06
1 Box Tobo 5/, 3 Guns £ 10 ..... 10:05:00
2 pr. Pistols & 2 Swords 15:00:00
1 Case with 4 rasors & hone 10/ 00:10:00
1 Saddle 45/, 10 Cannisters 10/, 1 hammer 1/ 2:16:00
Sund: Leather Trunks & boxes 2:10:00
1 Copper Sauce Pan 7/6, Trumpet 1/ 0:08:06
1 Sword & Cutlass 5/ 0:05:00
2 Boxes Spermae Ceti Candles 7:08:085
1 Box soap 2:06:01
2 large Stone Jugs 7/ 0:07:00

Negroes in the Island

Spark £ 60, House James £ 25 ..... 85:00:00
Ned £ 40, George £ 60, Lewis £ 60 ..... 160:00:00
Zeb £ 60, Lawrence £ 60, Dick £ 30 ..... 150:00:00
Old Ben £ 5, Sharper (carpenter) £ 60 ..... 65:00:00
Jupiter £ 20, Gardener Tommy £ 60 ..... 80:00:00
Dean £ 60, Mark £ 30 (carpenter) 90:00:00
Old Ben the Carpenter £ 15 ..... 15:00:00
Billy £ 25, Phil £ 40 ..... 65:00:00
Bob, Chubby's son £ 35 ..... 35:00:00
Jacob, Sylvia's Son £ 40, Hannah £ 20 ..... 60:00:00
Amy, Hannah's daughter £ 40 ..... 40:00:00
Moll do. £ 35, Charles do. son £ 15 ..... 50:00:00
Pegg £ 40, Hannah £ 30 ..... 70:00:00
Edith £ 15, Mingo £ 10, Hannah £ 40 ..... 65:00:00
her Infant Child £ 5, Mary £ 20 ..... 25:00:00
David £ 20, Lydia £ 40 ..... 60:00:00
Betty £ 30, Fanny £ 15 ..... 45:00:00
Old Hannah £ 10, Moll £ 10, Alice £ 15 ..... 35:00:00
Old Dinah £ 2, Little Sarah £ 40, Old do. £ 40 ..... 82:00:00
Hannah £ 30, Betsey £ 25, Sal and Child Ned £ 50 ..... 105:00:00
Phillis £ 40, Duncan £ 40, Jenny £ 40 ..... 120:00:00
Liverpool £ 15, Young Ben (carr.) £ 60 ..... 75:00:00
Jenny £ 10 ..... 10:00:00

Sundry Carpenters tools 2:10:00
1 Ox Cart and geer £ 8 ..... 8:00:00
1 Horse Cart & geer £ 5, 1 Wheat Fan £ 3 ..... 8:00:00

1 Tumbrel £ 2, 1 pr Old chair wheels 10/ 2:10:00
2 Spades 5/, 2 Plowshares 20/ 1:05:00
6 harrow & 1 fluke hoe 12/, 1 Seine 40/ 2:12:00
18 Old hoes 38/, 8 New do. 32/, 6 axes 20/ 4:10:00
2 Wedges 5/, X-cut saw 20/, 3 Rakes & 2 hoes 2/ 1:07:00

30 gals. Spirits valued @ 6/ 9:00:00
78 Bottles claret l 19:10, 64 Beer 58s/8d 22:08:08
72 do. Rum £ 5, 74 Cyder 20/ 6:00:00
2 Carboys of Spirit & 1 do. of Rum 4:00:00
1 Pipe M. Wine 60:00:00
2 qr. Casks of ditto 30:00:00
2 Casks Brandy Qty abt 50 Gallons 4:10:00
2 do. Rum abt 50 Gals 12:10:00
3 Jugs Brandy 1:10:00
1 Carboy of Wine 1:05:00
6 doz: French Brandy 8:00:00
13 doz: & 4 bottles of sack & Mountain Wine 12:00:00
2 doz: Old Wine 6:00:00
60 Gals or thereabouts of Molosses 6:00:00
4 Casks bro: Sugar 21:07:06
3 Carboys & Wine therein 3:00:00
17 Cyder casks 45/, a parcel coal £ 8 ..... 10:05:00
2 Earthen Jars 5/, 4 Oil Jugs 8/ 0:13:00
a Sett Bowls 5/, 1½ Grose bottles 50/ 3:15:00
a jar & oil 30/, Physick, Phials &c 20/ 2:10:00
1 Table Bell 3/6, 1 dressing Table 30/ 1:13:06
Trunk 5/, 1 Mourng sword 15/ 1:00:00
Sundry Books Valued @ 300:00:00
57 Bots. old Spirits & French brandy 5:00:00
a parcel old Iron & Lead 2:00:00
do. of Wool & Spun Yarn 3:10:00
1 pr. And Irons 20/, Seine & rope £ 15 ..... 16:00:00
1 Boat 30/ 1:10:00
of Corn valued @.10/
of Wheat14/
4 hds of Tobo Qty 4533 lb @ 22/6 ..... 51:00:00

N.B. The corn and wheat made at Jamestown the year the Testator died was partly used before his death and the rest used in the Family so that the Quantity is unknown.

In the Maine

1 Negro Tom £ 60, 1 do. John £ 40 ..... 100:00:00
1 do. Jeffery £ 60, 1 do. Joe £ 50 ..... 110:00:00
1 do. Sam £ 50 ..... 50:00:00
1 woman Silvy and Child Sukey 50:00:00
1 do. Sukey £ 30, 1 do. Lucy & child Ben £ 50 ..... 80:00:00
1 do. Joanna & child Sarah 60:00:00
1 do. dinah & child Fanny 45:00:00

1 Girl Rachel £ 45, 1 do. Betty £ 40 ..... 85:00:00
1 ditto Cate £ 35, 1 do. Bridgett £ 25 ..... 60:00:00
1 ditto Doll £ 20, 1 ditto Alice £ 20 ..... 40:00:00
1 ditto Judith £ 20, 1 do Edith £ 20 ..... 40:00:00
1 boy Jack £ 30, 1 do. Harry £ 30 ..... 60:00:00
1 do. Ben £ 30, 1 do. Scipio £ 25 ..... 55:00:00
1 do. Ned £ 25, 1 do. York £ 20 ..... 45:00:00
I do. Tom £ 20, 1 do. Billy £ 15 ..... 35:00:00
1 Woman Chubby & Child John 45:00:00
1 Negro Man Harry 50:00:00
10 draft Steers 25:00:00
56 head Cattle & 12 Calves 76:10:00
25 Shoats £ 6:5, 25 Piggs 25/ 7:10:00
35 Sheep & 18 Lambs 17:12:06
1 White Horse £ 5, 1 Young mare £ 5 ..... 10:00:00
1 Bay Mare & bay Colt 15:00:00
1 Bay Mare & Sorrel coalt (Jamestown) 12:00:00
3 Mules £ 20, 1 ox cart & gear £ 6 ..... 26:00:00
1 horse cart & gear £ 4, 1 Still & Worm £ 20 ..... 24:00:00
2 plowshares 20/, 4 Iron Wedges 15/ 1:15:00
9 broad hoes 27/, 7 old Scythes 5/ 1:12:00
a parcel old Iron 20/, 1 Pot 1/3 ..... 1:01:03
1 Stone Jug 2/6, 2 Wheat sifters 5/ 7:06:00
10 Reap hooks 10/, 3 harrow Teeth 15/, 1 Grind Stone 5/ 1:10:00
167 Barrels of Corn @ 10/ 83:10:04
4 Hds. Tobo. Qty. 4802 lb @ 22/6 7 ..... 54:00:00

At Powhatan

1 Negroe Bob £ 60, 1 Woman Betty £ 40 ..... 100:00:00
1 Woman Nanny £ 45, 1 do. Amey £ 45 ..... 90:00:00
1 Girl Nanny £ 30, 1 do. Edith £ 40 ..... 70:00:00
1 do. Clary £ 15, 1 Boy Peter £ 40 ..... 55:00:00
1 Boy Billy £ 20, 1 ox cart & gear £ 3 ..... 23:00:00
7 draft oxen £ 14, 2 Cows & Calves & 2 Young Bulls 80/ 18:00:00
1 Bay horse £ 4 ..... 4:00:00
2 harrows & 3 Teeth & 1 Hook 30/ 1:10:00
a parcel old Iron 5/, 3 Wedges 10/ 0:15:00
7 broad hoes 24/, 2 Saws 30/ 2:14:00
1 Grindstone 5/, 138 barl. corn £ 69 ..... 69:05:00

The Negro Woman Duncan long Hannah & all her children except Amey & Nanny a child of Graces were on the Maine Plantation at the time of the Testator's death. Chubby and all her qhild@en were within the Island at that time.

The several debts due to & from the estate when khe same are settled, collected and paid shall be brought into an Acct current

Inventory of Sundry New Goods

34 Plane Irons, 8 Algars [augers], 34 Small Gimblets
12 Spike Gimblets, 5 Claw Hammers, 15 Chissels
6 pr. Compasses, 3 Iron Squares, 10 Curry Combs & brushes
1 Curryg lmoge. 23 Narrow Axes, 24 Grubbing Hoes
6 Broad Axes, 10 Mo 20d Nails, 250 Coach Nails
106 Broad & Narrow hoes, 3 pr. Iron Traces,
3 Iron Back Bands, 11 large Staples, 8 hooks & do.
25 Mo 6d 6d Nails, 3 frying Pans, 4 Iron Potts, 8 Spades
6 Split bone knives & Forks, 4 Adzes, 26 Reap hooks
7 Mo 20d Nails, 1 Cask Fire do., 600 lb Bro: Sugar
9 Stone butter pots, 10 sweet meat do.
13 White Stone chamber Potts, 4 Tin Kettles
3 Tin Saucepan, 1 Bell Metal Skillet, 24 lb Shoe thrd
3 Tin Graters, 1 do. pepper Box, 12-3/8 yd blue broad Cloth
22 hempen fish lines, 7 Snaffle Bridles 6 pr Stirrup leas.
2 Cruppers, 3 Surcingles, 29 Girths, 4 Stock Locks
70 Tobacco Knives, 21 X & Whip saw Files, 10 pr Shutter Hinges
4 Brass Cocks, 2 two foot Rules, 3 Scrubbing Brushes
4 dbbl bolted Padlocks, 6 pr extra Shutter Hinges
4 pr Negroes Shoes, 2 Cart Bridles, 1 Horse Collar
1 ps. Half Thick, 2 Tin Kettles, 2 large Pewter dishes
8 small do., 2 doz Shallow Plates, 1 doz soup do.
6 pr Sheep shears, 1 leather Cap, 1 Box Scythe Stones
1 dove tail saw, 1 Man's saddle, 1 pr Scales & Weights
4 sacks salt, 3 yds black Velvet, 1 Calf Skin
6 peices Russia Lace, 4 lb Oz Thread, 18½ yds Cotton Holland
1 ps. White, 1 do Red Flannell, 4½ ps Irish Linnen
2 hard Metal dishes, 4 damask Table Cloths
6 Blue & White Pocket Handkerchiefs, 2 ps Barr'd Holland
1 ps Fine Sheeting Linnen, 6½ lb Twine, 4 Horse Brushes
28 Yds Russia Sheeting Linnen, 4 Horse Collars,
9 Horse Haltars, a Remnant Green Cloth, 5 Brooms
2 Scrubbg Brushes, 6 ps hempen Roles, 1 ps strip'd Flannel
5 ps Oznabrigs, 2 M 20d Nails, 4 pr Cotton Cards
1 M 6d Nails, 4 broad Hoes, 6 Testaments, 1 Prayer Book
2 Remnants Kersey, A bundle Scythes, 1 Hay Knife
5 pr X Garnet Hinges, 12 Gro: bottle Corks, 8 pr Sheepskin breeches, 1 Black Velvet Cap, 8 yds Vir: Cloth
1 lb Sewing Silk, 2 Remnants Thickset, ½ ps Callico
a remnant diaper, 17 Packs Cards, a remt Irish Linnen
a do. Camblet, a small do. Blue Tammy, ½ ps White Tammy
4 ps Silk binding, 2 half peices Ribbon, 10 Cramba Combs
6 bed Cords, 2 Gro: Wire buts, 1 doz pr yarn hose
9 felt hats, 2 ps Blue Plaines, 3 do. Kendall Cotton, 3 remts white plains, 7 Shoe lasts, 3 tin Sheets
25 Bird Shot, 1 Box Soap, 1 do. Candles, 6 Chaffg dishes
6 Girths, 1 Iron Rim Lock, 1 stock do., 1 Iron bolt
a remt bed Tyck, 1 brass cock, 5 pad Locks, 3 small Hoes
1 Pruning knife, 2 Tin Funnels, 1 do. Lamp lighter

2 Curry Combs, 6 dish Matts, 7 loaves Sugar, 1 Tin Pan
1 pr Sheep sheers, 3 lbs white & brown Thread
2 lb Twine, 14 Oz Blue Thread, 6 Gro: Coat & Brest buttons
120 lb Coffee, 1 Gun

Appendix G. Contract Between Mrs. Mary Ambler and Captain Edward Travis IV

This indenture made this twenty-seventh day of November in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy nine Between Mary Ambler of the County of Hanover of the one part and Capt: Edward Travis of the City of Wmsburg of the other Part Witnesseth that the said Mary for and in Consideration of five Shillings to her by the said Edward in Hand paid at or before the Sealing and Delivery of these Presents the Receipt whereof she doth hereby acknowledge Hath Demised Granted and to Farm let, and by these Presents Doth Demise Grant and to Farm let unto the said Edward all that Messuage and Plantation in James Town Island where she the said Mary lately resided together with all Buildings and other Appurtenances and Advantages except a Nursery adjoining to the Mansion house which is to be reserved for the Use of the Ferry and the Ferry to the same belonging or in anywise appertaining To have and to hold all & singular the premises unto the said Edward his Executors & Administrators for and during the Term of four Years from the thirteenth day of January next fully to be completed and ended. Rendering thereout to the said Mary her Executors Administrators and Assigns the yearly Rent of three Hoggsheads of inspected Tobacco containing at the least three thousand pounds weight and to be delivered at any of the publick Warehouses on the River Appomattox or on James River above its Confluence with the aforementioned River as a Satisfaction for all the Premises exclusive of the Ferry. And the said Edward for himself, his Ex[ecutor]s, Admrs doth covenant with the said Mary, that he will lay off all the arable Land within the Bounds of the said plantation into three Divisions & that neither he nor they will make a Crop on more than one of the said Divisions in any one Year, but will crop them one after in regular Rotation; except that he & they shall be at Liberty to make a Crop of Wheat or Oats from the Land which had the year before produced a Crop of Indian Corn. And the said Edward doth in like manner covenant with the said Mary that neither he nor his Exors nor Admrs shall convert any Woodland into arable within the Bounds of the said Plantation, & that not for the purpose of Fencing, as he hereby agrees to furnish the Materials for Fences from another Quarter & to leave all the Fencing which [missing] Plantation at the End of [missing] Term. And the said Edward doth farther covenant with the said Mary, as followeth, That she the said Mary shall have one half of the profits of the Orchard she supplying one half the Labour of beating &c the Apples or allowing to the said Edward for such part thereof as he shall supply above one Moiety. That the said Mary shall be at Liberty to get Hay from the Marshes in such Quantity as she may choose & her Stock of Cattle to range on the Island, that she shall also have the Liberty of having yearly a Patch of Flax on the premises, allowing to the said Edward, if he shall fence the same in one half of the Crop of Flax and permitting him to poi[nt] out such Ground as he shall think proper for the same. That he the said Edward, his Executors and Administrators shall pay all the Public Taxes to which the premises or any part thereof may be liable during the Continuance of this Lease without any Abatement for the same in any of the Rents aforesaid: And lastly that neither the said Edward, his Executors or Administrators shall assign the premises or any Part thereof or the Lease to any Person whatsoever without Leave in Writing previously obtained from the said Mary her Executors or Administrators In Witness whereof the Parties to these Presents have hereunto interchangeably set their Hands and affixed their Seals the Day & Year first above written.

Sealed & delivered
in presence of
Edm: Randolph Mary Ambler
Elizabeth Harrison Edward Travis
Lewis Nicholas

Source: Ambler MS 129

Appendix H. Contract Between John Ambler II and Overseer Henry Taylor

Articles of agreement entered into this 25th day January 1800, Between John Ambler and Henry Taylor, both of James City County, Witnesseth, that the said Taylor obliges himself to serve the said Ambler as an overseer on the plantation of the said Ambler, known by the name of the James Town plantation, and to perform the following Duties during this year before mentioned.

First the said Taylor obliges himself to pay the most constant and unremitted attention to the Labourers, which may be put under him, and cause them to rise early and to do each day as good a days work as the weather and their circumstances will permit. The said Taylor also obliges himself to take the greatest possible care of every kind of stock which may be put under his care. The said Taylor also obliges himself to obey all orders which may from time to time be given him by the said Ambler during the aforesaid year. The said Taylor also agrees that if in the term of the year any of the produce on the said plantation should be lost or destroyed through the neglect of the said Taylor, in that case with opinion on both sides the said Ambler and Taylor agree, that the matter in his part will be left to the decision of two respected men within four miles of the said plantation, the said Ambler to make choice of one of the two men and the said Taylor of the other, and in case of their disagreement, the said two men are to draw a straw to determine between them, and if in the opinion of the men so chosen the said Ambler has lost anything by the neglect of the said Taylor, then the said Taylor agrees to make good the loss according to the estimate of the men so chosen, out of his proportion of the crop.

The said Taylor also obliges himself never to leave the said plantation without the approbation of the said Ambler. The said Ambler also agrees to find the said Taylor his provisions.

The said Taylor complying with all and every part of the above agreement, then the said Ambler obliges himself to give the said Taylor one twelfth part of all grain made on the said plantation in the aforesaid year (with corn excepted) and also the same proportion of cyder, cotton and tobacco. In witness thereof we affix our hand and seals in the presence of

John Ambler
Henry Taylor
G. Glass

Source: Ambler, January 25, 1800

Appendix I: Informal Chronology of Events on Jamestown Island

1603: King James I (James VI of Scotland) ascended to the throne.

1606: King James I granted a charter to the Virginia Company of London, authorizing its investors to establish a colony in Virginia.

May 13, 1607: first settlement and capital city were established on the western end of the island.

1607: Captain John Smith was captured by the Indians and detained for several months.

January 1608: Captain Christopher Newport arrived with the First Supply; the fort burned.

Fall 1608: the first women arrived in the Second Supply; genesis of family life.

1608: a blockhouse was built at isthmus to Jamestown Island (Study Unit I Tract E); improvements during government of Captain John Smith.

Fall 1609: Captain John Smith wounded and left the colony, never to return.

Winter 1609-1610: the "Starving Time."

May 1610: Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers arrived, later decided to evacuate surviving settlers.

June 1610: Virginia's governor, Lord De La Warre, arrived; colonists reoccupied Jamestown Island.

1610: blockhouse built overlooking Back River (Study Unit I, Tract E).

March 1611: Lord De La Warre departed from the colony.

May 1611: Sir Thomas Dale arrived, instituted martial law; with Gates, built many improvements on the island; established 12 acre farmsteads in Study Units 2 and 3; new communities established further up the James and on the Eastern Shore.

1611-1613: John Rolfe conducted tobacco experiments.

1612: Virginia Company was issued its third and final charter.

1613: Samuel Argall captured Pocahontas, who converted to Christianity.

April 1614: John Rolfe and Pocahontas were married.

1614-1616: John Rolfe and Ralph Hamor described Deputy Governor Dale's policies, which included making the colonists work toward their own support; laid out 12 acre farmsteads for new immigrants to occupy, with ground enclosed for agriculture; small plots were issued to settlers, who contributed to the common store but were allowed to retain the rest of their profits.

May 1616: Sir Thomas Dale departed from Virginia, accompanied by Pocahontas and John Rolfe.

1617: Sir Samuel Argall, deputy governor, continued martial law, though not as severely as Dale; issued small plots of ground to colonists; some reportedly were on Jamestown Island.

1617: Pocahontas died in England.

1618: Powhatan died; replaced by Itopatin and then Opechancanough.

April 1618: Sir George Yeardley arrived as governor; abolished martial law.

November 1618: Virginia Company officials draft their Great Charter, under which the colony divided into 4 corporations, representative government and headright system were established, and tracts of public land were designated and defined.

1619: Opechancanough replaced Itopatin as werowance and began making plans to drive the colonists from his homeland; the

Virginia Company began recruiting young women to become the male colonists' wives.

July-August 1619: the beginning of representative government.

August 1619: the first Africans arrived at Old Point Comfort; later they were brought up to Jamestown Island.

November 1619: a group of 90 young maids arrived at Jamestown.

March 1620: 117 people were living in James City.

1621: surveyor William Claiborne, Dr. John Pott, and the Italian glassmakers arrived with incoming Governor Francis Wyatt; lots laid out and developed within the New Town (in Study Unit 4 and part of Study Unit 1) prior to 1624; streets were laid out; parcels were surveyed in the eastern end of Jamestown Island; Wyatt instituted quarterly court sessions; 38 "maids for wives" arrived.

March 22, 1622: the first Indian uprising occurred; there apparently was no direct impact upon Jamestown Island.

1622-1623: people were evacuated to Jamestown Island, which caused food shortages and the spread of disease; problems were exacerbated by a constant influx of new immigrants; cattle pastured on island for safety.

1624: colonists were required to palisade their homes; the Virginia Company charter was revoked by King James I; Virginia became a Crown colony; legislation was passed to foster the development of Jamestown; some monthly courts were established to try petty civil cases.

February 1624 census: 183 people were living in urban Jamestown, including 3 Africans (2 women and 1 man); 39 other people resided elsewhere on Jamestown Island.

1625: King Charles I, King James I's son, ascended to the throne; Sir Francis Wyatt became Virginia's first royal governor.

January 1625 muster: 175 people on Jamestown Island as a whole; there were 9 Africans (6 women and 3 men); there were 22 houses, 3 stores, a church and a court of guard in urban Jamestown and 11 houses in the remainder of the island.

1626: King Charles I appointed Sir George Yeardley to succeed Sir Francis Wyatt as governor.

1627: Governor George Yeardley died; the Council of State elected Francis West to serve as acting governor.

1630: Sir John Harvey arrived in Virginia as governor; his dwelling (in Study Unit 1 Tract H) became statehouse.

1632: the assembly undertook a revision of the colony's statute law.

1634: colony was divided into 8 shires or counties; one was James City, which extended from Skiffs Creek (on the east) upstream just above the mouth of the Chickahominy River, and spanned both sides of the James River, taking in what is now Surry County; establishment of local government and local courts.

1635: Governor John Harvey was turned out of office.

1636: legislation passed to foster development of Jamestown; development was aligned along the waterfront.

1637: Governor John Harvey returned to Virginia.

1639: Governor Francis Wyatt replaced Harvey; house built in which council could meet (probably Structure 38); Harvey went bankrupt; government bought his house (probably Structure 112).

1641: Sir William Berkeley was made governor.

1642: Governor William Berkeley arrived in Virginia and took office; he was given property in urban Jamestown, probably Sir John Harvey's, Study Unit 1 Tract H; legislation was passed to foster the development of Jamestown; small lots laid out in the extreme western end of Jamestown Island in Study Unit 1 Tract E

and part of Tract C; 2 flaxhouses were supposed to be built.

1642-1649: England was embroiled in a civil war in which Parliament (dubbed the Roundheads) opposed the king and his supporters (the Royalists).

1643: the assembly completed a second revision of the colony's laws.

1644-1645: the second Indian uprising on April 18, 1644; no known impact upon Jamestown Island except for a possible influx of refugees from the lower side of the James or upper reaches of the York; reprisals against the Indians; Opechancanough was captured and detained at Jamestown, where he was shot by one of his guards.

1645: Governor Berkeley built a 3-bay brick rowhouse at Jamestown (Structure 144, traditionally known as the Ludwell Statehouse Group) and a brick mansion at Green Spring.

1645-1646: forts or garrisons were built at fall line; October 1646 treaty signed with Natives.

1649: a market zone was established at Jamestown, within an area that extended from Orchard Run to Sandy Bay and between James and Back Rivers (Study Units 1 and 4); future limits of urban Jamestown.

1649: King Charles I was beheaded; Virginia's assembly expressed its support for the monarchy and recognized the exiled Charles II as king.

1649-1660: the Commonwealth government was in power in England.

1650: Parliament forbade English trade with Virginia, to force the colonists to accept the Cromwellian government.

1651: Parliament adopted a navigation act that was intended to regulate trade between England and her colonies.

1652: Governor William Berkeley surrendered the colony to Parliamentary fleet; armed men at Jamestown; Richard Bennett became governor; the colony's laws were revised by the assembly.

1652: Edward Travis I, who married the daughter of ancient planter John Johnson, commenced consolidating tracts in the eastern end of Jamestown Island, east of Kingsmill Creek and north of Passmore Creek, within Study Unit 2. This gave rise to the Travis plantation.

1652-1654: the first Anglo-Dutch War.

1652-1660: during the Interregnum, many Virginians favored the royalists rather than the Commonwealth government; the power of Virginia's assembly increased; Virginia's laws were revised again in 1658.

1653: Surry County was established and James City lost its territory on the lower side of the James River.

1660: Sir William Berkeley was elected governor by the assembly.

1660: the monarchy was restored in May and King Charles II took the throne; a celebration was held at Jamestown; King Charles II recommissioned Berkeley as governor; Parliament enacted a group of navigation laws that were disadvantageous to the colony.

1661: Governor Berkeley went to England, to advocate the diversification of Virginia's economy; assembly elections were held.

1662: legislation passed, requiring and subsidizing the construction of brick houses at Jamestown; one to be built by each county; lots were patented in Jamestown; Virginia's laws were revised and updated.

1663: construction of colony's first purposefully built statehouse was authorized; left to the discretion of Governor Berkeley, who probably erected it upon Study Unit 1 Tract H.

1665-1667: the Second Anglo-Dutch War; the Dutch threaten the colony; a turf fort built on west side of Orchard Run, on Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A.

1667: destructive hurricane and hail storm; the Dutch attacked Virginia tobacco fleet and sink several ships.

1670-1672: Edward Travis II added to his landholdings in the eastern end of the island, within Study Unit 2.

1672-1674: the Third Anglo-Dutch War.

1672-1673: a curved brick fort built in western part of Jamestown Island, on the river bank near the southwest corner of Study Unit 4 Tract P.

1673: Dutch attacked shipping again; military action occurred off- shore from Jamestown Island; ships reportedly reached safety above the fort.

1675: frontier settlers attacked; uneasiness about the manner in which the Berkeley government addressed the problem.

1676-1677: Bacon's Rebellion occurred; Bacon proposed that entire island be considered corporate limits of Jamestown; a trench and fortifications constructed across isthmus; Jamestown shelled by Bacon's men; Jamestown burned by rebels September 19, 1676; church, statehouse and other buildings were destroyed; the rebellion was crushed.

1677: Governor Berkeley left Virginia; a treaty was made with the Indians at Middle Plantation.

1680: town-founding legislation was enacted; Jamestown officially was designated an urban community; efforts were made to rebuild the town, largely destroyed during Bacon's Rebellion; the Treaty of Middle Plantation was expanded to include more tribes.

1682: a proposal was made that the entire island be considered corporate limits of Jamestown; Major Edward Travis II amassed 550 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island east of Kingsmill Creek and north of Passmore Creek.

1683: new construction undertaken at Jamestown and the statehouse was rebuilt; several lots patented and developed near the church.

1685: King James II came to the throne.

1687: the Act of Toleration took effect, but support of the Church of England still was obligatory.

1689: the Glorious Revolution occurred; King William and Queen Mary were place upon the throne as joint sovereigns; Queen Mary died in 1694.

1691-1693: second town founding act was passed; Jamestown officially designated an urban community; the statehouse was remodeled.

1695: a battery platform and magazine were built near the church and Ludwell Statehouse Group; the old brick fort was torn down.

1696: there were operational ferry-landings on Study Unit 4 Tracts O and R.

1698: William Sherwood died; his widow, Rachel, married Edward Jaquelin.

October 31, 1698: the statehouse burned.

1699: capital shifted to Middle Plantation (Williamsburg); Jamestown's decline began; the seat of James City County government remained at Jamestown.

1700: there was official abandonment of battery platform and magazine near church; the greatmen of several Indian tribes convened with governor at Jamestown; French Huguenots arrived and were dispersed in the local area, for the winter.

1702: Queen Anne ascended to the throne.

1704: Governor Nicholson acknowledged that the 100th anniversary of first colonists' arrival was drawing near; no evidence that anything was done to commemorate that event; legal code updated conferring upon

enslaved Africans and African-Americans the status of personal property.

1705: town founding legislation was enacted.

1706: James City County justices asked for brick from the burned statehouse, so that they could build a county courthouse in Jamestown; a battery platform was built at Jamestown.

1707: adoption of England's Act of Union with Scotland.

1710: enslaved Africans, Indians and others planned to rebel; some of those involved belonged to Jamestown Island property owners; two men drawn and quartered; one man's remains were put on display on Jamestown's waterfront.

1711: a line battery was built at Jamestown because of a French threat and a line of palisades was erected from James River to Back River (location uncertain); tributary Indians required to wear badges of identification.

1714: at the death of the childless Queen Anne, her cousin, George I, Elector of Hanover, became heir to the throne.

1715-1721: during this period the seat of James City County government moved to Williamsburg.

ca. 1720: William Broadnax I, who owned land on Jamestown Island, married Edward Travis III's widow, Rebecca, briefly consolidating their landholdings.

1727: King George II ascended to the throne.

1734: Jamestown residents complained about erosion of isthmus; wanted money to pay for work securing the river bank.

1736: the road across isthmus to the public ferry at Jamestown was described as dangerous.

1739: Edward Jaquelin, who owned much of Study Unit 1 and one or more lots in Study Unit 4, died; he left his Jamestown Island plantation to his daughter, Elizabeth Ambler, and her son, John I.

1745: Richard Ambler consolidated the Sherwood-Jaquelin landholdings (Study Unit 1) with those of Christopher Perkins (in Study Units 3 and 4) to establish a plantation. Meanwhile, the Travis plantation, which belonged to Edward Champion Travis, extended along Back River, encompassing Study Unit 2.

1748: The causeway to Jamestown Island was out of repair; some Jamestown lot owners offered to repair it if ferry is removed from Ambler property to their land; voted down. Ferry remained on the island until 1779, but a new church was built on the mainland by mid-century.

1753: Richard Ambler continued to add to his landholdings and probably began building mansion; wife, Elizabeth Jaquelin, died in 1756; developed plantation at Jamestown, which his son John I was occupying by 1759; eldest son Edward I got Richard's York County holdings.

1756-1763: The Seven Years War, a struggle between France and Britain for control in North America and India.

1758: John Ambler I commenced serving as Jamestown's delegate to the House of Burgesses.

1760: King George III comes to the throne.

1766: Richard Ambler died; Jamestown Island plantation descended to son John I, who died within months. The plantation descended to John I's brother, Edward I.

1768: Edward Ambler I died, leaving widow and young son, John II; outbuilding burned, killing a slave.

1769: destructive hurricane; Travis sloop ripped from moorings; causeway eroded.

Early 1770s: Edward Champion Travis moved to Timson's Neck in York County, leaving his Jamestown Island plantation in the hands of son Champion.

1770: the Boston Massacre occurred.

1773: the Boston Tea Party occurred.

1775: the battles of Lexington and Concord occurred.

1775-1776: The British attacked Jamestown Island; Americans built a small battery near church; the Travis townstead was shelled and then damaged when occupied by American troops; the Amblers' ferry house shelled; the British came ashore.

1779: Mary Cary Ambler (Edward I's widow) signed a 4 year lease with Captain Edward Travis IV of the Virginia Navy; she moved to Hanover County, where she died; John Ambler II inherited the Ambler plantation; Champion Travis inherited his family's ancestral home on Jamestown Island; Jamestown lost the right to send a delegate to the House of Burgesses.

November 1779: ferry landing moved to the mainland, as the isthmus was eroded away.

1781: battle of Green Spring was fought; maps indicate much of Travis plantation was wooded; much of the Amblers' land was cleared; buildings on the island reportedly were deteriorated and the land was described as desolate; the French encamped in the eastern end of Jamestown Island within Study Units 2 and 3; October 19, 1781, British surrender at Yorktown.

1783: the Treaty of Paris was signed; Great Britain recognized the independence of its 13 former colonies.

1786: The disestablishment of the State Church occurred.

1789: John Ambler II, who came of age, established his home at Jamestown; made dwelling habitable and restored agricultural productivity; built a stone and log causeway to the mainland.

1799: John Ambler II moved to Richmond, returning to Jamestown Island during the winter months.

1807: a major celebration on Jamestown Island for the bicentennial of Jamestown's founding; probable impact to the Ambler plantation.

July 1813: during the War of 1812, the British came ashore on Jamestown Island and raided the Ambler plantation.

1815: John Ambler II gave his Jamestown Island plantation to son Edward II, who was living there by 1814.

1821: Edward Ambler II sold the Jamestown plantation to Thomas Wilson and another man, who deeded it to David Bullock of Richmond.

1822: a celebration held on Jamestown Island; the Travis house, which was described as uninhabitable, was burned.

1831: David Bullock, owner of the Ambler plantation, purchased the Travis plantation from Samuel Travis's heirs.

1832: Goodrich Durfey and William Edloe were authorized to build a toll bridge to the mainland; ferry to be moved from the mainland to the island; bridge built by 1833.

1833: Goodrich Durfey purchased Jamestown Island from David Bullock; built a steamboat wharf, ran a ferry, made the farm highly productive.

1844: Durfey sold Jamestown Island to John Coke, who owned a farm on the mainland.

1847: Coke sold Jamestown Island to Martha Orgain who purchased it on behalf of her young son, William, the heir of William Allen of Claremont.

1848: Benson Lossing, when visiting the island, mentioned a severe storm "a few years ago" that inundated much of the island; much erosion at western end.

1850s: several visitors to Jamestown Island described its appearance; good agricultural productivity.

1857: an elaborate celebration was held on Jamestown Island on May 13th to mark the 250th anniversary of Jamestown's

founding; elaborate facilities were constructed in the west-central part of the island, bordering the James River.

1861: William Allen began erecting a battery on Jamestown Island; Confederate military arrived; began building others; Confederate troops stationed on Jamestown Island; munitions experiments conducted.

1862: Union Army swept up the peninsula, taking Williamsburg; Union Army telegraph station on Jamestown Island; Union gunboat destroyed Confederate defenses but left old barracks behind the fort (near the church) in which former slaves had taken refuge.

October 1862: rebelling Allen slaves killed several whites, including a visiting overseer; burned the Ambler house.

1864-1865: Union troops were stationed on Jamestown Island, which was used as a surveillance post.

1865: William Allen, whose finances were depleted, leased Jamestown Island to 3 men from New York.

1868: William Allen sold Jamestown Island to George B. Field and Israel Williams of New York.

1871-1874: Williams defaulted on his mortgage; Field leased island to Frank Rowley

1874: Field sold island to Franklin Rollin of N. Y.

1879: Rollin defaulted on his mortgage and his Jamestown Island farm was sold at auction; purchased by Lucy Clay Brown of Fort Monroe.

March 1892: General Assembly deeded church yard, ruins and cemetery to A.P.V.A.

November 1892: Browns sold Jamestown Island to Edward E. and Louise Barney of Dayton, Ohio.

May 1893: The Barneys deeded 22 1/2 acres to the A.P.V.A.; included was the state's property (the old church yard),

1893-1894: The Barneys cleared underbrush, reclaimed marsh land, converted island to truck farm; hired excavators to "pot-hunt;" built new causeway; tried to develop island into tourist attraction.

February 1895: the Barneys' new wharf partially destroyed by ice.

March 31, 1895: the Ambler house burned.

February 1896: Edward E. Barney deeded island to wife Louise; in August he committed suicide at Meadowville, their Chesterfield County home.

1900: a charter was issued to the Jamestown, Williamsburg and Yorktown Railroad.

1906: Mrs. Louise Barney allowed the Williamsburg and Jamestown Turnpike Company access to her wharf.

1907: a commemorative celebration was held on Jamestown Island; the Jamestown Exposition was held at Sewell's Point.

1918: the bridge and causeway to island were deemed unusable; funding was made available for the construction of a replacement.

1923: Mrs. Barney leased Jamestown Island to B. E. Steele for 10 years; her wharf was converted into a ferry landing

1926: a bill was introduced into Congress, proposing the purchase of Jamestown Island.

1929: state and federal governments collaborated to construct a wharf and pier at Jamestown.

1930: Jamestown Island designated part of Colonial National Monument.

1931: Riordan Boys School conducted classes at Jamestown; planted trees.

1934: Louise Barney's land on Jamestown Island was acquired through condemnation.

1934-1941: CCC crews on Jamestown Island perform conservation work and excavations under Henry C. Foreman, Summerfield Day and then J. C. Harrington.

1948: J. C. Harrington excavated the glasshouse area and found furnaces.

1954-1957: John Cotter conducted excavations; commemorative celebration held; new NPS visitor center built; Jamestown Festival Park built; parkway segment completed between Williamsburg and Jamestown Island; causeway built.

1992-1996: Jamestown Archaeological Assessment was conducted.

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