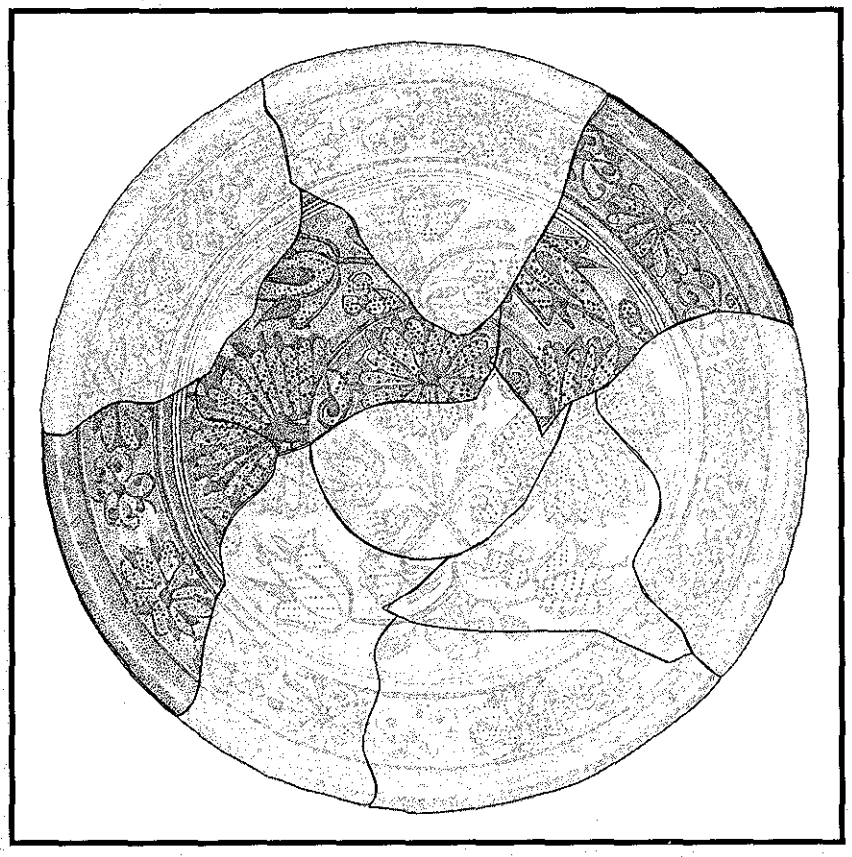
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Jamestown Archaeological Assessment 1992-1996

Documentary History of Jamestown Island

Volume II: Land Ownership

Martha McCartney



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Jamestown Archaeological Assessment
1992-1996

Documentary History of Jamestown Island

Volume II: Land Ownership

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2000

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Table 1.
Correlation of Structure Numbers with Study Units/Tracts

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Structure 3 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B
Structure 4 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B
Structure 5 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D
Structure 6 ..... Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J Lot B
Structure 7 ..... Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J Lot B
Structure 8 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract J Lot B
Structure 9 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract J Lot B
Structure 10 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 11 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 12 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 13 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 14 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 15 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 16 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 17 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract C Lots A and B
Structure 18 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J
Structure 19 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract G
Structure 20 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 21 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 22 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot B
Structure 23 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract G
Structure 24 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A
Structure 25 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J
Structure 26 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract D
Structure 27 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract H
Structure 28 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract D
Structure 29 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A
Structure 30 ..... Study Unit 1 Tracts F and D
Structure 31 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A
Structure 32 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 33 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcel 1
Structure 34 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcel 1
Structure 35 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lots B and E
Structure 36 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C
Structure 37 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E and Lot C Parcel 1
Structure 38 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A
Structure 39 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 40 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 41 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 42 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract B
Structure 43 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract B
Structure 44 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 45 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract G
Structure 46 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 47 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 48 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract G
Structure 49 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract G
Structure 50 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract B
Structure 51 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract B
Structure 52 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract B
Structure 53 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 54 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A
Structure 55 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract G
Structure 56 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lots A and B
Structure 57 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract B
Structure 58 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lots A and B
Structure 59 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A
Structure 60 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot A
Structure 61 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot B
Structure 62 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot B
Structure 63 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot B
Structure 64 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot A or Tract Y
Structure 65 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A
Structure 66 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot A
Structure 67 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract D
Structure 68 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract Y
Structure 69 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E
Structure 70 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot A
Structure 71 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 72 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 73 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A
Structure 74 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 75 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract G
Structure 76 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 77 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract A
Structure 78 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E and Lot C Parcel 1
Structure 79 ..... Study Unit 2 Tract H
Structure 80 ..... Study Unit 2 Tract H
Structure 81 ..... Study Unit 3 Tract H (not mapped)
Structure 82 ..... Study Unit 3 Tract H or Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E (not mapped)
Structure 83 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C
Structure 84 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C
Structure 85 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C
Structure 86 ..... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcel 1
Structure 87 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot C
Structure 88 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot A
Structure 89 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 90 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 91 ..... Study Unit 2 Tract E (44JC900)
Structure 92 ..... Study Unit 2 Tract E (44JC900)
Structure 93 ..... Study Unit 2 Tract E (44JC900)

Table 1 (cont'd).
Correlation of Structure Numbers with Study Units/Tracts

Structure 94 ..... Study Unit 2 Tract E
Structure 95 ..... Study Unit 2 Tract E (44JC900)
Structure 96 ..... Study Unit 2 Tract E
Structure 97 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 98 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot A
Structure 99 ..... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 100 ... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lots A, B and C
Structure 101 ... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 102 ... Study Unit 4 Tract T
Structure 103 ... Study Unit 4 Tract T
Structure 104 ... Study Unit 4 Tract T
Structure 105 ... Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot C
Structure 106 ... Study Unit 4 Tract G
Structure 107 ... Glasshouse Point
Structure 108 ... Glasshouse Point
Structure 109 ... Glasshouse Point
Structure 110.... Study Unit 1 Tract H
Structure 111 .... Study Unit 1 Tract H
Structure 112.... Study Unit 1 Tract H
Structure 113.... Study Unit 1 Tract H
Structure 114.... Study Unit 4 Tract T
Structure 115.... Study Unit 4 Tract K
Structure 116.... Study Unit 4 Tract E
Structure 117.... Study Unit 1 Tract H
Structure 118.... Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot B
Structure 119.... Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot B
Structure 120 ... Study Unit 4 Tract B
Structure 121 ... Study Unit 4 Tract B
Structure 122 ... Study Unit 4 Tract K
Structure 123 ... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C
Structure 124 ... not mapped, Barneys' bungalow
Structure 125 ... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot A
Structure 126 ... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E and Lot B
Structure 127 ... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E
Structure 128 ... Study Unit 1 Tract H
Structure 129 ... Study Unit 1 Tract H
Structure 130 ... Study Unit 1 Tract H or Study Unit 4 Tract K
Structure 131 ... Study Unit 4 Tract F
Structure 132 ... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E and Lot B
Structure 133 ... Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A
Structure 134 ... Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A
Structure 135 ... Study Unit 4 Tract K
Structure 136 ... Study Unit 1 Tract H
Structure 137 ... Study Unit 4 Tract S or Tract O
Structure 138 ... Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B
Structure 139 ... Study Unit 4 Tract O
Structure 140 ... Study Unit 4 Tract P (not mapped)
Structure 141 ... Study Unit 1 Tract D periphery (brick bridge, not mapped)
Structure 142 ... Study Unit 4 Tract V (Church)
Structure 143 ... Study Unit 4 Tract V (cemetery)
Structure 144 ... Study Unit 4 Tract U Lots A and B, Tract W, Tract Q
Structure 145 ... Study Unit 4 Tracts M, N, O, P, S, and V
Structure 146 ... Study Unit 3 Tract J
Structure 147 ... Study Unit 2 Tract L (44JC907)
Structure 148 ... Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B and Tract E (44JC930)
Structure 149 ... Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot D (44JC932)
Structure 150 ... Study Unit 2 Tract N (44JC893)
Structure 151 ... Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot B
Structure 152 ... Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B
Structure 153 ... Study Unit 4 Tract J Lot B
Structure 154 ... Study Unit 4 Tract Q
Structure 155 ... Study Unit 4 Tract C
Structure 156 ... Study Unit 4 Tract C
Structure 157 ... Study Unit 4 Tract F Lots A and B
Structure 158 ... Study Unit 4 Tract ? (not mapped)
Structure 159 ... Study Unit 4 Tract ? (not mapped)
Structure 160 ... Study Unit 4 Tract ? (not mapped)
Structure 161 ... (not mapped)
Structure 162 ... Study Unit 4 Tract ? (not mapped)
Structure 163 ... Study Unit 4 Tracts X and H
Structure 164 ... Study Unit 4 Tract ? (not mapped)

Table 2.
Correlation of Study Units/Tracts with Structures

Study Unit 1

Tract C Lot B ..... Structures 1, 2, 3, 4, 148, 152
Tract C Lot D ..... Structure 149
Tract D ..... Structures 5, 30
Tract D Lot A ..... Structure 31, 38, 54, 59, 65, 73, 133, 141
Tract D Lots A and B .... Structure 56, 58
Tract E ..... Structure 148
Tract F ..... Structure 30, 100
Tract F Lot A ..... Structure 88, 98, 99
Tract F Lot B ..... Structures 32, 44, 53, 89, 90, 97, 101, 138
Tract F Lot C ..... Structure 87
Tract H ..... Structures 110, 111, 112, 113, 117, 128, 129, 136
Tract H or Study Unit 4 Tract K ..... Structure 130

Study Unit 2

Tract E ..... Structures 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96
Tract H ..... Structures 79, 80
Tract L ..... Structure 147
Tract N ..... Structure 150

Study Unit 3

Tract H ..... Structure 81
Tract H or Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E ..... Structure 82 (not mapped)
Tract J ..... Structure 146

Study Unit 4

Tract A ..... Structures 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 39, 40, 41, 46, 47, 71, 72, 74, 76, 77
Tracts A and J Lot B ..... Structures 6, 7
Tract B ..... Structures 42, 43, 50, 51, 52, 57, 120, 121
Tract C Lots A and B .... Structure 17
Tract C Lot B ..... Structures 118, 119
Tract C Lot C ..... Structure 105
Tract D ..... Structures 26, 28, 67
Tract C ..... Structures 155, 156
Tract E ..... Structure 116
Tract F ..... Structure 131
Tract F Lot A ..... Structures 24, 28, 29, 134
Tract F Lots A and B ..... Structure 157
Tract G ..... Structures 19, 23, 45, 48, 49, 55, 75,106
Tract H ..... Structure 27
Tract I Lot A ..... Structures 60, 64, 66
Tract I Lot B ..... Structure 22, 61, 62, 63
Tract J Lot B ..... Structures 8, 9, 153
Tract K ..... Structure 115, 122, 135
Tract L Lot A ..... Structure 70, 125
Tract L Lot B ..... Structure 151
Tract L Lot C Parcel 1 ... Structure 86
Tract L Lot C Parcel 1 and Lot E ... Structure 35
Tract L Lot C ..... Structures 36, 83, 84, 85, 123
Tract L Lot C Parcel 1 and Lot E ... Structure 37
Tract L Lot E ..... Structures 69, 127
Tract L Lots E and B ..... Structures 126, 132
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Tract L Lot C Parcel 1 ... Structures 33, 34
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Tract O or Tract S ..... Structure 137140
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Glasshouse Point ..... Structures 107, 108, 109

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.

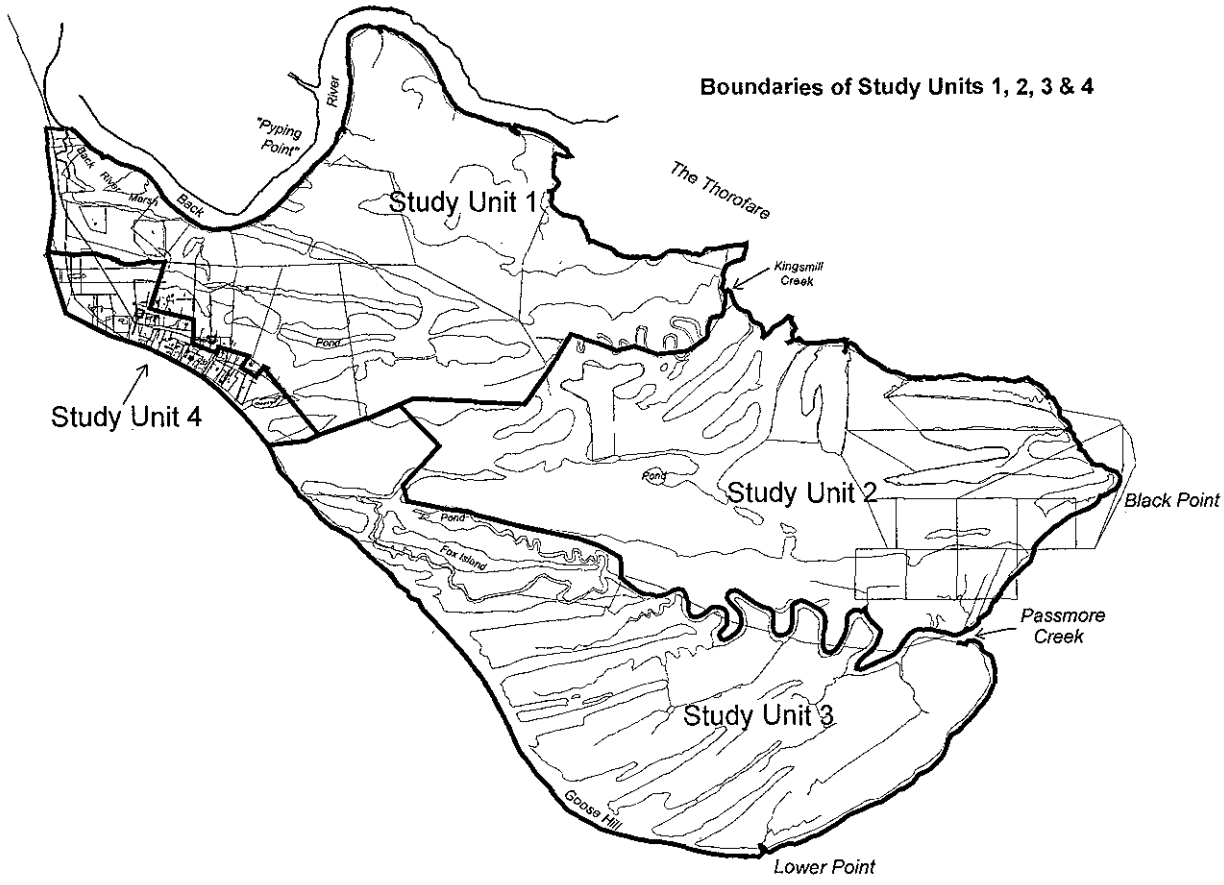


Figure 1. *Boundaries of Study Units 1, 2, 3, and 4.*

General Introduction to Volume II

Spatial Organization

For the sake of discussion, Jamestown Island has been subdivided into four geographically distinct components or Study Units. Each Study Unit 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 abut 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.

Seventeenth century 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 homesteads 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 included portions of 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. This market zone 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.

Research Technique

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 50s.

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 50s were found to correspond with the locations of buildings depicted on two seventeenth century plats. Moreover, 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.

Period I: Initial Settlement (1607-1745)

Synopsis History

When the first colonists arrived, they established a fortified settlement on the banks of the James River in the western end of Jamestown Island, within Study Unit 4. In 1608 they erected a blockhouse in Study Unit 1, at the entrance to the isthmus that led to the mainland, and between 1611 and 1616, when the colony was under martial law, they built another blockhouse in Study Unit 1, at a site overlooking the Back River. Within Study Unit 4 they constructed a wharf, storehouses, forges, barns, and other utilitarian features. Early on, settlers also built homesteads east of Kingsmill Creek and Orchard Run, in the areas designated Study Units 2 and 3. There, more than two-thirds of the plots that have been identified were attributable to ancient planters, people who immigrated to Virginia sometime prior to 1616. Most of these very early homesteads were 12 acres in size. Approximately half were rectangularly-shaped and laid out regularly in rows that flanked the upper side of Passmore Creek.

After surveyor William Claiborne's 1621 arrival in the colony, an area known as the New Towne was laid out along the waterfront, west of Orchard Run. There, acreage was carved up into irregularly shaped lots, some of which boundaries were defined by streets, paths, ditches and rows of mulberry trees. This very early attempt at urbanization occurred within portions of Study Units 1 and 4. Early patents reveal that surveyor William Claiborne also delimited the boundaries of certain ancient planters' plots within Study Unit 2.

In 1625 Sir George Yeardley consolidated some small, contiguous tracts of land within Study Unit 2. By the early 1650s his successors, Walter Chiles I and Edward Travis I, had followed suit. Travis's first land acquisition on Jamestown Island, which occurred in 1652, and the parcels he and his descendants patented and/or purchased, eventually gave rise to an 802 3/4 acre plantation that by the mid-eighteenth century encompassed virtually all of Study Unit 2. Much of the Travis plantation's water frontage was on the Back River, although access to the James was available at Black Point.

During the second quarter of the seventeenth century, certain parcels within Study Unit 3 also were combined into slightly larger entities. Some of these holdings belonged to people who owned New Towne lots. This raises the possibility that those residing in urban Jamestown wanted rural land upon which they could pasture livestock and raise crops. A few of the people who owned land in Study Unit 3 resided across the river in Surry County. By the second half of the seventeenth century, Study Unit 3 was sparsely inhabited, perhaps because it was cut through by broad expanses of marsh and had a limited amount of arable land. In 1745 almost all of Study Unit 3 became part of the Ambler plantation.

Throughout the seventeenth century, the numerous lots within the New Towne and the somewhat larger parcels that lay nearby changed hands frequently. Often, these land exchanges occurred in synch with official efforts to foster urban development. During such attempts, which occurred in 1624, 1636, 1642, 1662, and perhaps more often, lots were assigned to patentees who were obliged to construct buildings upon their property or forfeit it to someone else who would - or promised to.

During Period I, urban development was concentrated along the New Towne's waterfront and the Back Street. Within Study Units 1 and 4 were

the parish church and cemetery; the fortifications built and/or replaced numerous times throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; storehouses for munitions and commodities; warehouses for tobacco collection, inspection and storage; the brick rowhouses built as part of the 1662 building initiative; taverns; mercantile facilities; ferry-landings; and purposefully-built or improvised structures in which the business of government was conducted. Somewhere within this same mileau was a county courthouse, a flaxhouse, a factory or meetinghall for merchants, two or three breweries, and sites at which various types of potentially marketable commodities were produced.

In 1677 William Sherwood (a merchant and practicing attorney) acquired a 1 acre lot in Study Unit 1 Tract D, where he built a brick dwelling (Structure 31). During the next two decades, he amassed approximately 400 acres in Study Units 1 and 4, purchasing or patenting land as it became available. Although Sherwood's property abutted the Back River and the isthmus that led to the mainland, it had very little frontage upon the James. William Sherwood's acreage on Jamestown Island eventually formed the nucleus of the eighteenth century the Ambler plantation. Edward Jaquelin, a merchant, married William Sherwood's widow and moved into her home. In December 1704 he purchased the land in which she had life-rights. Although Jaquelin did little to enhance the size of the Sherwood plantation on Jamestown Island, he acquired the 24 acre Glasshouse tract on the mainland in 1712 and in 1718 he bought an adjacent 27 acre parcel. In 1712 he also leased a 178 acre parcel in the Governor's Land, which he sublet from Philip Ludwell II. This gave Edward Jaquelin a total of 229 acres next to Jamestown Island. These acquisitions and others heralded the development of the mainland farm that traditionally served as a subsidiary to the Jaquelin/Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island. Edward Jaquelin outlived his wives and sons and when he died in 1739, his Jamestown Island property and subsidiary holdings on the mainland descended through his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, wife of Yorktown merchant Richard Ambler, to grandson John Ambler I.

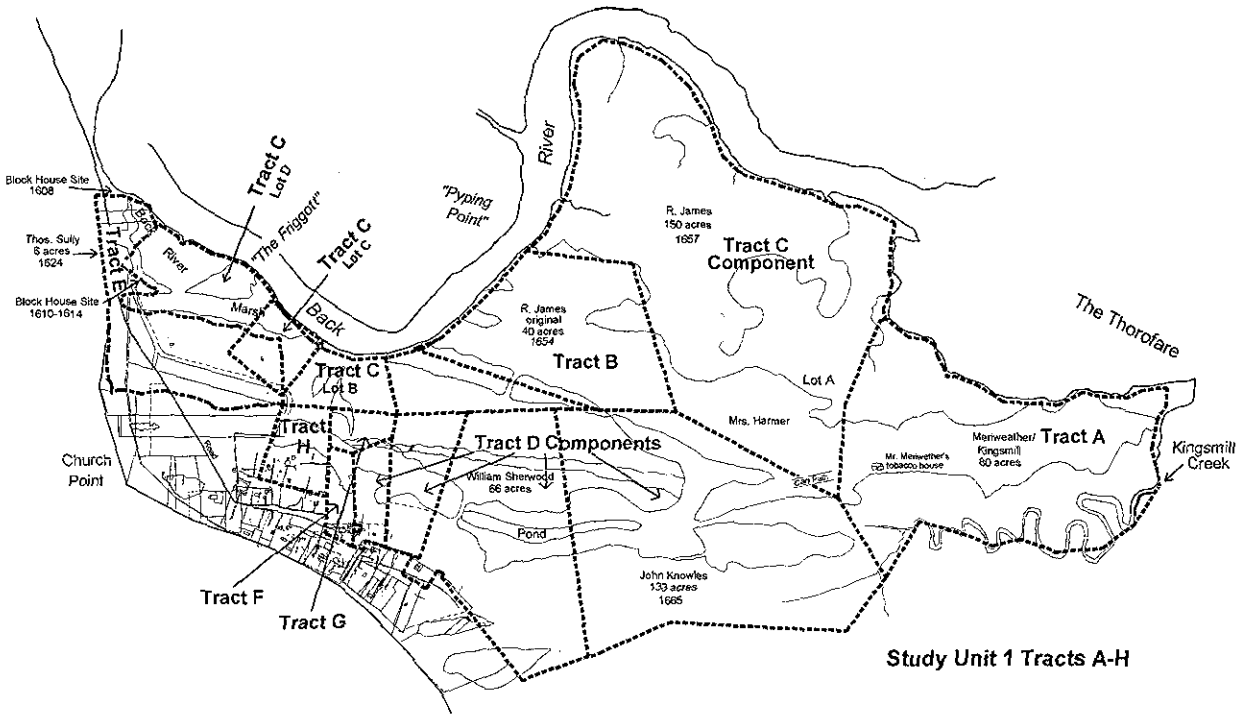


Figure 2. *Study Unit 1 Tracts A-H.*

Through a series of purchases, Richard Ambler substantially enhanced the size of his late father-in-law's plantation. By 1782 the Amblers' Jamestown Island plantation encompassed 900 acres.

Within urban Jamestown were a few lots that didn't become part of the Ambler plantation during Richard Ambler's lifetime. Some of those properties belonged to Philip Ludwell III's heirs and those of Colonel Nathaniel Bacon. Others, which identification awaits discovery, belonged to members of the Custis and Harris families.

Study Unit 1 Tract A

Richard Kingsmill

Richard Kingsmill, an ancient planter, came to Virginia in the *Delaware*, perhaps as early as 1610. He probably was the third son of Sir William Kingsmill of Sidmonton, Hampshire, England, and wife Bridgett Raleigh. In 1619 when Governor George Yeardley made a treaty with the Chickahominy Indians, Richard Kingsmill witnessed the agreement. He was a prominent member of the Jamestown Island community and served as its burgess in the assemblies of 1623-1624, 1625 and 1629. He also was churchwarden of the James City Parish and was especially diligent in reporting inibriants. In 1624 Richard Kingsmill was among those who signed a "Tragicall Relation" that described conditions in Virginia during the government of Sir Thomas Smith. He appeared in court fairly regularly, where he was called upon to serve on juries, inventory estates, present wills and testify. He was involved in settling the estates of several prominent citizens, including cape merchant Abraham Peirsey, Vice Admiral John Pountis, Captain John Martin, and the Rev. Richard Buck. When the Rev. Buck and his wife died (in late 1623 or early 1624) Kingsmill was named one of their minor children's guardians and he was overseer of the deceased clergyman's will. Kingsmill moved his family to the Buck property on the Neck O'Land, where they lived for at least two years. He probably erected buildings upon the Buck patent so that it would be considered seated, thereby securing the Buck's orphans' inheritance. He also would have been entitled to keep some of the profits he could reap from the land. In 1624 Richard and Jane Kingsmill took Peleg Buck into their home because his former guardian, Thomas Alnutt, was dead (Stanard 1965:53-54; McIlwaine 1924:33, 38-39, 55, 58, 86, 103, 117, 143, 150, 183, 190; Ferrar MS 113; Tyler 1907:424; Meyer et al. 1987:36, 385; Withington 1980:80).

In February 1624 when a census was made of the colony's inhabitants, Richard Kingsmill, his wife, a son, a daughter, and four servants (one of whom was African) were residing in the Neck O'Land behind Jamestown Island, on land patented by the late Richard Buck. It was directly across the Back River from Tract A (Hotten 1980:178). In February 1625, when a muster was taken, the Kingsmill household was still living in the Neck O'Land. Richard and Jane Kingsmill shared their home with two young children: Susan (age 1) and Nathaniel (age 5), who reportedly had been born in Virginia. The Kingsmills had 4 indentured servants (Horten Wright, John Jackson, Isabell Pratt, and Edward, an African). The Kingsmill household was credited with 5 houses, a boat, some livestock, and an ample supply of provisions and weaponry (Meyer et al. 1987:36). Jane Kingsmill appeared in court in June 1624 to testify in a breach of promise suit involving one of the Rev. Richard Buck's maid servants (McIlwaine 1924:17).

On January 24, 1625, Captain Ralph Hamor assigned 100 acres of land to Richard Kingsmill, acreage to which Hamor was entitled for transporting two men to the colony in 1617. On May 8, 1626, Kingsmill received a court order for Hamor's 100 acres and 100 acres he had acquired from Thomas Carter, an ancient planter. Kingsmill's aggregate of 200 acres was in Archer's Hope, the territory that straddles College Creek. In May 1625 when a list of patented land was sent to England, Richard Kingsmill, who was identified as an ancient planter, was credited with two parcels in Archer's Hope, neither of which was described as "planted" (or settled). One was 300 acres in size and the other, 200. On May 8, 1626, Richard's 300 acre tract reportedly was "partially seated" whereas his 200 acre parcel was not. He was ordered to seat the latter parcel before 1630

(Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:551, 556; McIlwaine 1924:44, 102).

On April 19, 1625, Mr. Daniel Lacye (Lacy, Lucy, Lucye) was given 4 acres of ground "in the Islande adjoyne on the grounde of Mr Kingsmills, wch is the rather granted for that Mr Kingsmell Doth Desire the same." As Lacye's patent is no longer extant, all that is known about the location of his land is that it adjoined Tract A. Lacye's name was omitted from the 1624 census and 1625 muster, although he was residing in Jamestown in December 1624 when he served on a Jury. Also, he purchased a sow from Robert Marshall, who lived in the eastern end of the island and was associated with Study Unit 2 Tracts C and T. By April 1628 Daniel Lacye was dead, for Richard Kingsmill asked his administrator to return two man servants *the decedent had bought but not paid for* (McIlwaine 1924:38, 44, 54, 173).

In 1628 Richard Kingsmill was arrested by merchant Richard Stephens (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot H) for indebtedness and he and John Jackson (another Buck guardian, Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A) were sued. In July 1630 Kingsmill went to court where he testified that Dr. John Pott (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D) had stolen some cattle. Pott, in turn, declared that Kingsmill was a hypocrit (McIlwaine 1924:160, 479; Hening 1809-1823:I:145). Pott's comment may have been a reference to the way Kingsmill managed the Buck orphans' inheritance, for according to Governor John Harvey, he had coveted the Buck estate and gotten rich from it while serving as a guardian. After Richard Kingsmill's death, which occurred before July 25, 1638, his widow, Jane, married Ambrose Harmer, who immediately sought custody of the Buck estate. The Harmers resided on Jamestown Island, which Ambrose represented in the assembly. It is likely that they occupied Jane's dower share of her late husband's property, 40 acres (Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot A) that were contiguous to the 80 acres Elizabeth Kingsmill Tayloe Bacon inherited (Nugent 1969-1979:I:125; *C. O. 1/10 ff* 65-66). (See the history of Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot A).

Colonel Nathaniel and Elizabeth Kingsmill Tayloe Bacon

Richard Kingsmill's daughter, Elizabeth, who was born in 1624, was omitted from the 1624 census and in 1625 probably was mis-identified as "Susan." She outlived her brother and inherited the bulk of her late father's Jamestown Island acreage sometime prior to September 1638. By that date, she had married York County burgess and councillor, William Tayloe of Chiskiack. It is uncertain whether the Tayloes, who resided at Chiskiack, sometimes occupied Tract A or placed the property Elizabeth had inherited in the hands of a tenant. After William Tayloe's death in 1655, Elizabeth became the second wife of Colonel Nathaniel Bacon of King's Creek Plantation in York County. It is uncertain what use the Bacons made of Tract A. Nathaniel was a councillor from 1656 to 1658 and from 1661 to 1692 and he also served as auditor general. In 1671 he purchased a bay in the rowhouse known as the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Structure 144 on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A Bay 3), which probably was burned during Bacon's Rebellion. In 1676 when the rebel Nathaniel Bacon (nephew of the colonel) built a trench across the isthmus leading into Jamestown Island, his aunt Elizabeth was one of the women he placed upon the ramparts to shield his men from Governor Berkeley's loyalists' attack. In 1680 Colonel Bacon received permission to lease certain ruinous bays of the Structure 115 rowhouse (on Study Unit 4 Tract K), but apparently never rebuilt them, a requirement of all leaseholders. In 1683 Bacon patented a 3.3 acre lot west of the church (Study Unit 4 Tract S), which he developed and passed on to his heirs (McGhan 1993:159; Force 1963:I:9:8; Nugent 1969-1979:I:125; Meyer et al. 1987:385; Stanard 1965:36, 66).

On November 6, 1661, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and his wife, Elizabeth Kingsmill Tayloe Bacon, sold 80 acres of her late father's Jamestown Island plantation (Tract A) to Nicholas Meriwether. The deed cited an agreement made on April 30, 1661, whereby the Bacon couple agreed to ex-

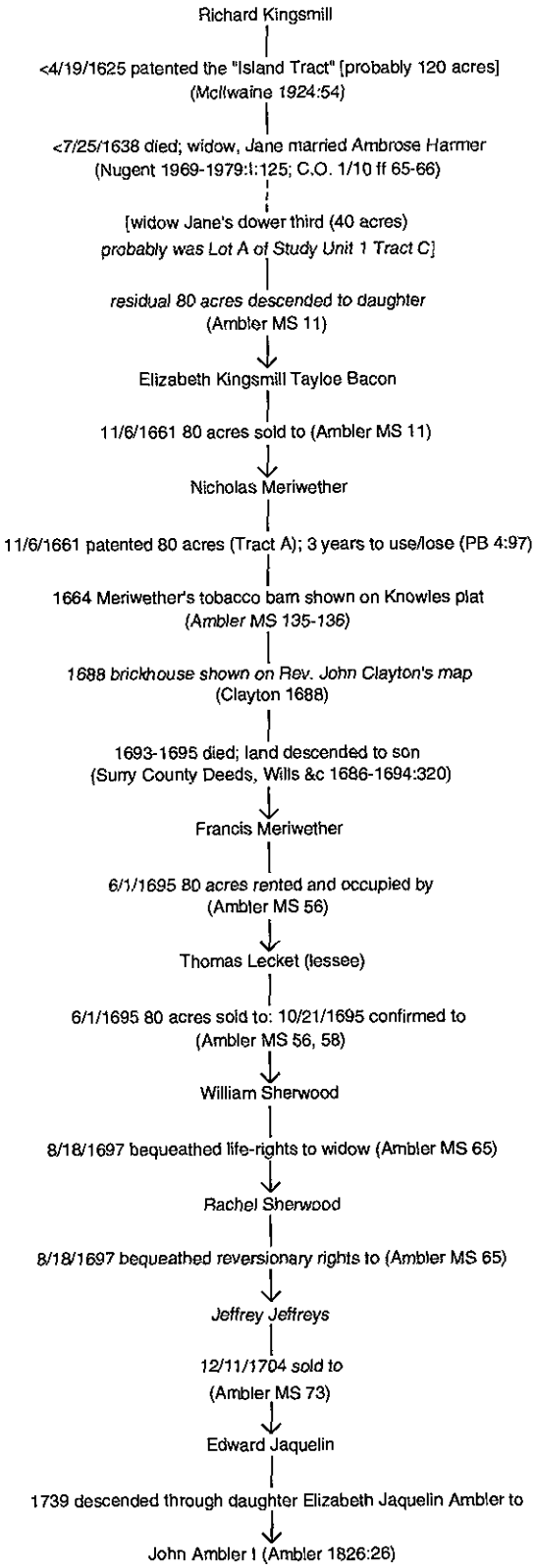


Figure 3. *Land transactions, Study Unit 1, Tract A.*

change "A devident of Land belonginge to us Scituate in James Citty Island comonly called the Iland house" for a certain sum of money (unspecified) and tobacco in caske. The verbal boundary description for the Kingsmill tract proceeded in a clockwise direction. It commenced "Westwardly By or wthout an old Ditch cross ye old ffeild nigh ye greate popler called Mrs Harmers greate popler, Northwardly by the Marsh or Back Creeke, Eastwardly by Back Creeke and Kingsmills Creeke, Southwardly by the marsh or kingsmills Creeke, and by a Branch of Pitch & Tarr Swampe."[1] It was said to be the land "formerly in ye possession of Richard Kingsmill decd & is due unto the sd Elizabeth Bacon as being ye daughter & heyr of the sd Richard Kingsmill" (Ambler MS 11).

On November 6, 1661, when Nicholas Meriwether patented the land he had bought from the Bacons, again it was noted that the acreage was "formerly planted and seated by Richard Kingsmill Deceased" and that Elizabeth Bacon was his "only Daughter and Heir." The verbal boundary description of Meriwether's 80 acre tract "of Land and Marsh" was more simply worded, made no reference to structural improvements, and ran counter-clockwise. The tract was bound "Southerly on Kings Mill Creek and Easterly on the main river & Northerly on the back Creek and Westerly on a small Creek and on Mr. James's Land and thence to the place it began" (Ambler MS 11, 12; Patent Book 4:397; Nugent 1969-1979:I:394; Tyler 1900-1901:202).

When the Meriwether patent (recorded on page 397 of Patent Book 4) was compared closely with a much lengthier transcription included in the Ambler Papers, it was discovered that the latter version contains a building requirement. Specifically, Ambler Manuscript 12 states that "If ye said Nicholas Meiwether, his heyrs or Assignes doe not plant or seate or cause to bee planted or seated upon ue said Land wthin three years next ensueing, yt then it may & shall bee Lawfull for any adventurer or planter to make choice & seate thereupon." Thus, Meriwether had three years in which to improve Tract A or face forfeiture (Ambler MS 11, 12; Patent Book 4:397; Nugent 1969-1979:I:394). The discrepancies between the two versions of the Meriwether patent suggest that when clerk of court Robert Beverley II transcribed the patents in Books 3, 4, and 5, he occasionally summarized the original document. Also, the fuller text's inclusion among the Ambler Papers suggests that William Sherwood was the one who commenced documenting his landholdings, not the Amblers as often is assumed.

Nicholas Meriwether (Merewether, Meriweather)

By November 1661, when 30-year-old Nicholas Meriwether purchased the late Richard Kingsmill's 80 acre Jamestown Island plantation (Tract A) from Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and his wife Elizabeth, he already owned 200 acres on Powhatan Swamp and 297 acres on the Chickahominy River near Hog Neck (Ambler MS 11, 12; Patent Book 4:397; Nugent 1969-1979:I:394; Tyler 1900-1901:202). Meriwether appears to have made personal use of Tract A, for in 1664 when a plat was made of John Knowles's property (Study Unit 1 Tract D), "Mr. Meriwether's tobacco barn" was shown in close proximity to the Knowles tract's northeasterly boundary line. On May 3, 1666, Nicholas Meriwether described himself as a resident of Jamestown Island, but in 1668 he was listed as a tithable member of Southwark Parish. By that time, he was married to Thomas Woodhouse's daughter, Elizabeth, and in 1668 was serving as his father-in-law's executor. In 1688 when the Rev. John Clayton made a schematic map of Jamestown Island, he identified as "The Brick House" a site on the west side of Kingsmill Creek's mouth (Clayton 1688; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1652-1672:270, 315, 351; Nugent 1969-1979:I:338, 341; Ambler MS 134, 135-136). It is probable that "The Brick House" was erected

[1] In 1682, when the boundaries of Edward Travis II's 550 acres were described, his "Devedend of Land & marsh" was said to abutt "the head of Harmans [Kingsmill] Creek (Patent Book 7:228-229).

by Nicholas Meriwether during the 1660s building initiative, for it would have secured his title to Tract A, provided him and his wife with a home, and construction would have been subsidized by the government.

Around 1673 Nicholas Meriwether inherited William May's Jamestown ½ acre lots, Parcels 1 and 2 (and Structure 86) of what became Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C. He retained them for approximately four years and then sold them to Colonel William White. It is probable that Meriwether also inherited William May's 100 acre patent in the southeastern portion of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 3 Tracts A, K and some adjacent ground). Meriwether, who in 1658 was the clerk of the James City County Court, was the former clerk of Surry County, where he also owned land. He patented substantial amounts of land in the Northern Neck and some vast tracts in New Kent, Hanover, Goochland, and King William. He appears to have died between 1693 and 1695 (Ambler MS 11, 12, 25, 36, 56; Nugent 1969-1979:I:252, 257, 316, 394, 556, 566; II:13; III:46, 153, 240, 247, 330-331, 362, 370-371; Hudgins 1994:IV:21, 62, 78; Patent Book 4:397; 7:710; Tyler 1900-1901:202; Smith 1957:60; McIlwaine 1924:331; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:117; Will Book 2:140).

Francis Meriwether (Merewether, Meriweather)

At Nicholas Meriwether's death, his real and personal property (including Study Unit 1 Tract A) descended to his son, Francis, who served as his administrator. Francis Meriwether, despite some disagreements with deputy escheator George Jordan, began patenting substantial quantities of land in Essex County. In 1706 and 1712 he served as burgess for Essex and in 1710 represented New Kent County (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:117; McIlwaine 1924:379; Stanard 1965:97-99; Nugent 1969-1979:II:392; III 53, 87; Tyler 1930:172).

Although the late Nicholas Meriwether had disposed of the New Towne parcels he inherited from William May (part of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C), he may have retained May's 100 acre patent in the southeastern portion of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K). If so, those properties probably descended to his son, Francis, along with Study Unit 1 Tract A. On October 21, 1695, Francis Meriwether conveyed Study Unit 1 Tract A 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 Tract A (Ambler MS 56). Sherwood, by that date, already owned Tracts C, D, E, F, and G and had possession of Tract B.

Thomas Lecket (lessee)

No information is currently available about Thomas Lecket, who on June 1, 1695, was renting Tract A (known as "the Island House tract") from Francis Meriwether (Ambler MS 56). He may have been the Thomas Beckett, who in 1693 submitted a claim for "bricking up the chimney and whitewashing the general courthouse." Beckett also requested compensation for digging a vault under the powder house (McIlwaine 1918:206-208).

William Sherwood

William Sherwood, who had immigrated to Virginia by 1669, sometime prior to October 4, 1675, married Rachel, the widow of Richard James I. Sherwood, who was an attorney and 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). 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 Sherwood, during the conflagration, "the howses belonging to yr. petitioner in right of the said orphant [Richard James II] of the value of one thousand pounds ster-

ling" were among the buildings 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 sought to attach part of the estate of Richard Lawrence, who allegedly set fire to the James/Sherwood home, and told the king's commissioners that such an infusion of funds would enable him "to rebuild in James City" (C. O. 1/41 f 32ro).

In a separate petition, William Sherwood said that several colonists executed "for their late Rebellion" were indebted to him and he asked that he be reimbursed for his losses from the condemned men's estates. 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). In time, William Sherwood alienated Governor William Berkeley and some of his supporters, for he provided legal representation to several men accused of participating in Bacon's Rebellion. Ultimately, Sherwood was forbidden to appear as an attorney in any court in Virginia and he was barred from serving as a burgess (C. O. 1/42 ff 60-61).

It is uncertain whether William Sherwood ever attempted to rebuild the houses that belonged to his stepson. However, on February 6, 1677, he purchased an acre of land in the New Towne, where by April 23, 1681, he had built what was described as a "faire house and appurtenances" (Patent Book 7:98). In October 1677 Sherwood 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 he purchased 3½ acres from John Page (Study Unit 1 Tract F) (Nugent 1969-1979:II:222; Patent Book 7:97; Ambler MS 33, 34). On October 23, 1690, William Sherwood patented 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. As a result, the James acreage (Tract C) escheated to the Crown (Ambler MS 43; Patent Book 8:83). As Sherwood never repatented Richard James I's 40 acre patent (Tract B) but retained it, it probably was the widowed Rachel James' dower share of her late husband's estate. In 1694 Sherwood repatented his aggregate of 308 acres on Jamestown Island, which included Study Unit 1 Tract G (Patent Book 8:384-386; Nugent 1969-1979:II:394).[2] Throughout the 1680s and 90s William Sherwood derived income from renting portions of his home to the government for official meetings. This would have provided him with a regular source of income (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:225, 282, 325, 452).

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, with the exception of 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).

Edward Jaquelin

In ca. 1699 Mrs. Rachel James Sherwood married Edward Jaquelin, a merchant 9 years younger than her deceased son, Richard James II. Jaquelin moved into her home and on December 11, 1704, purchased Jeffrey Jeffreys' legal interest in the late William Sherwood's ca. 400 acre estate (Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F, and G) (Ambler MS 65, 73). This would have included the decedent's interest in his wife Rachel's dower share of Richard James I's estate (probably Tract B). It is uncertain whether the lease for Sherwood's 260 acres in the Governor's Land was still viable.

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,

[2] In 1683 he also had a 260 acre leasehold in interior portion of the Governor's Land (Soane 1683).

Lot A of Study Unit 4 Tract C. 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 parcel 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 to the Jaquelin/Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island. After Rachel James Sherwood Jaquelin's death, Edward Jaquelin married Martha Cary of Elizabeth City County, with whom he had several children. However, Edward outlived Martha and their sons and when he died in November 1739, his three daughters and grandson became his heirs. Edward Jaquelin left a subsidiary farm or quarter on Powhatan Swamp to his spinster daughter, Martha.[3] His Jamestown Island plantation and mainland farm descended through his eldest daughter, Elizabeth (the wife of Yorktown merchant Richard Ambler) to the decedent's four-year-old grandson, John Ambler I (Smith et al. 1745; Meyer et al. 1987:606; Ambler 1826:26).

Richard Ambler

Although Richard Ambler's wife, Elizabeth Jaquelin, technically seems to have inherited her late father's landholdings on Jamestown Island and in the nearby mainland, they clearly were intended for her son John Ambler I. Included in the bequest were Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F, and G and possibly Tract H. In 1745 Richard Ambler purchased his sister-in-laws' reversionary interest in a 2 acre parcel in which he enjoyed a life-interest, and he enhanced the size of the Jaquelin plantation by purchasing a substantial quantity of land from Norfolk merchant Christopher Perkins. Included in that transaction was Study Unit 1 Tract E. This increased the size of the Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island to approximately 698 acres (Smith et al. 1745; Ambler MS 97-98, 106-107; Ambler 1826:26).

[3] Edward Jaquelin's property, Powhatan, was part of a large tract that during the late seventeenth century belonged to William Wormeley. The 375 acres Jaquelin acquired were used for agricultural purposes. The better known local plantation called Powhatan is descended from some some contiguous acreage then owned by the Egglestons.

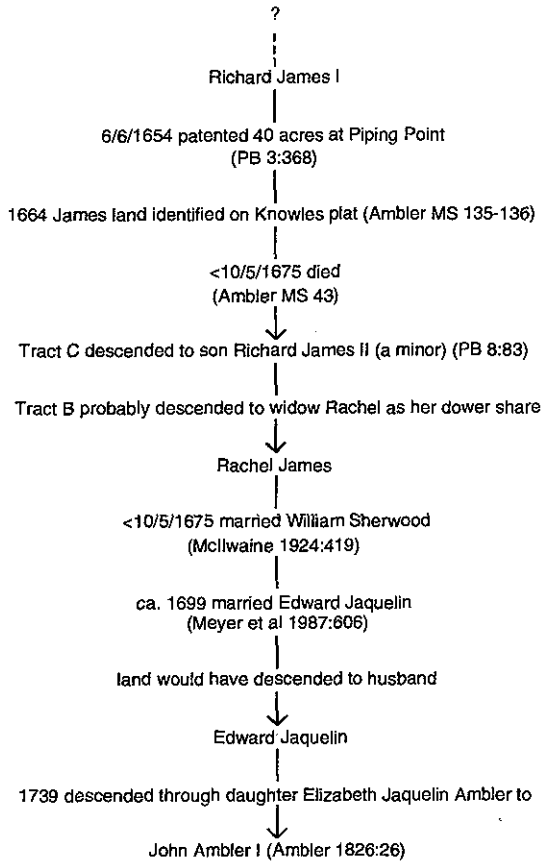


Figure 4. *Land transactions, Study Unit 1, Tract B.*

Study Unit 1 Tract B

Richard James I

On June 6, 1654, Richard James I received a patent for 40 acres of land in Jamestown, on the south side of Back Creek. According to his verbal boundary description, his boundary line began "at pyping point and running up a Marsh East, [then] South East 130 poles [2,145 feet] to a marked poplar, thence by marked trees South West 30 poles [495 feet] to the head of a Small Marsh and downe the said Marsh to the back Creek Westerly 130 poles [2,145 feet] downe the Creek North East by East or Easterly 60 poles [990 feet] to the aforesaid piping poynt." Richard James I received his acreage on the basis of one headright (Patent Book 3:368; Nugent 1969-1979:I:314). He may have resided upon Tract B until he built a more elaborate domestic complex on Tract C, which he purchased three years later.

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 1987:164). 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).

On June 5, 1657, Richard James I patented Tract C, 150 acres that flanked both sides of the property he had claimed in 1654, Tract B. It was on Tract C (which consisted of high land and marsh) that Richard James I built a family home (Structure 1/2) (Patent Book 4:196-197). James, who was a gentleman, seems to have been heavily involved in mercantile operations, for during the 1670s he sued several people in order to recover bad debts (McIlwaine 1924:205, 215, 285). As James' landholdings extended along the Back River for a considerable distance and encompassed Piping Point and "the Friggott," he may have had a landing or wharf at which seagoing vessels docked. Richard James I was a county justice and during the early 1670s he and several other local men were called upon to settle estates and arbitrate disputes (McIlwaine 1924:218, 258, 285, 343). James' association with Richard Auborne, Major Theophilus Hone, Colonel William White, William Coale and William May suggests that he was among Jamestown's more prominent citizens. Richard James I died sometime prior to October 4, 1675, by which time his widow, Rachel, married William Sherwood. The bulk of decedent's property descended to his son, Richard James II, who was not quite 15 years old (McIlwaine 1924:419; Ambler MS 43; Patent Book 8:83). However, his widow, Rachel, would have been eligible for a dower share. (See the history of Study Unit 1 Tract C for a more comprehensive discussion of Richard James I and his landholdings).

Richard James II (orphan) and William Sherwood (guardian)

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. Among the buildings torched by the rebels were "the howses belonging to ... the said orphant" Richard James II, whose goods and livestock also were destroyed. (C. O. 1/41 f 28, 32ro). It is likely that the Sherwood-James household was inhabiting a domestic complex on Tract C, perhaps the building designated Structure 1/2. It is uncertain whether William Sherwood ever attempted to rebuild the houses that belonged to his step-son. On February 6, 1677, he purchased an acre of land in the New Towne, where he built what was described as a "faire house and appur-

tenances" (Structure 31 on Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A) (Patent Book 7:98). He also acquired John Fulcher's 28½ acre tract (Study Unit 1 Tract E), an interest in the rest of John Newell's land (Study Unit 1 Tract D), and 3½ acres from John Page (Study Unit 1 Tract F) (Nugent 1969-1979:II:222; Patent Book 7:97; Ambler MS 33, 34).

William and Rachel James Sherwood

On October 23, 1690, William Sherwood patented 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. As a result, the James acreage (Tract C) escheated to the Crown (Ambler MS 41, 43; Patent Book 8:83). As Sherwood retained Tract B but seemingly never repatented it, the 40 acres may have been the widowed Rachel James' dower share of her late husband's estate. In 1694 Sherwood repatented his aggregate of 308 acres on Jamestown Island (Patent Book 8:384-386; Nugent 1969-1979:II:394).[4]

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, with the exception of a few specific bequests he made to friends and kin. However, he left reversionary rights in 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).

Edward Jaquelin

In ca. 1699 Mrs. Rachel James Sherwood married Edward Jaquelin, a merchant 9 years younger than her deceased son, Richard James II. Jaquelin moved into her home and on December 11, 1704, purchased Jeffrey Jeffreys' legal interest in the late William Sherwood's ca. 400 acre estate (Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F, and G) (Meyer et al. 1987:606; Ambler MS 65, 73). This would have included the decedent's interest in his wife's dower share of Richard James I's estate (probably Tract B). It is uncertain whether Sherwood's lease for 260 acre in the Governor's Land was still viable.

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. 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 parcel 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 to the Jaquelin/Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island. After Rachel James Sherwood Jaquelin's death, Edward Jaquelin married Martha Cary of Elizabeth City County, with whom he had several children. However, Edward outlived Martha and their sons and when he died in November 1739, his three daughters became his heirs. Edward Jaquelin's Jamestown Island plantation and mainland farm descended through his eldest daughter, Elizabeth (the wife of Yorktown merchant Richard Ambler) to the decedent's four-year-old grandson, John Ambler I (Ambler 1826:26; Smith et al. 1745; Meyer et al. 1987:606).

Richard Ambler

Although Richard Ambler's wife, Elizabeth Jaquelin, technically seems to have inherited her late father's landholdings on Jamestown Island and in the nearby mainland, they clearly were intended for her son John Ambler I. Included in the bequest were Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F, G and possibly Tract

[4] In 1683 he also had a 260 acre leasehold in the interior of the Governor's Land (Soane 1683).

H. In 1745 Richard Ambler purchased his sister-in-laws' reversionary interest in a 2 acre parcel in which he enjoyed a life-interest, and he enhanced the size of the Jaquelin plantation by purchasing a substantial quantity of land from Norfolk merchant Christopher Perkins. Included in that transaction was Study Unit 1 Tract E. This increased the size of the Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island to approximately 698 acres (Smith et al. 1745; Ambler MS 97-98, 106-107).

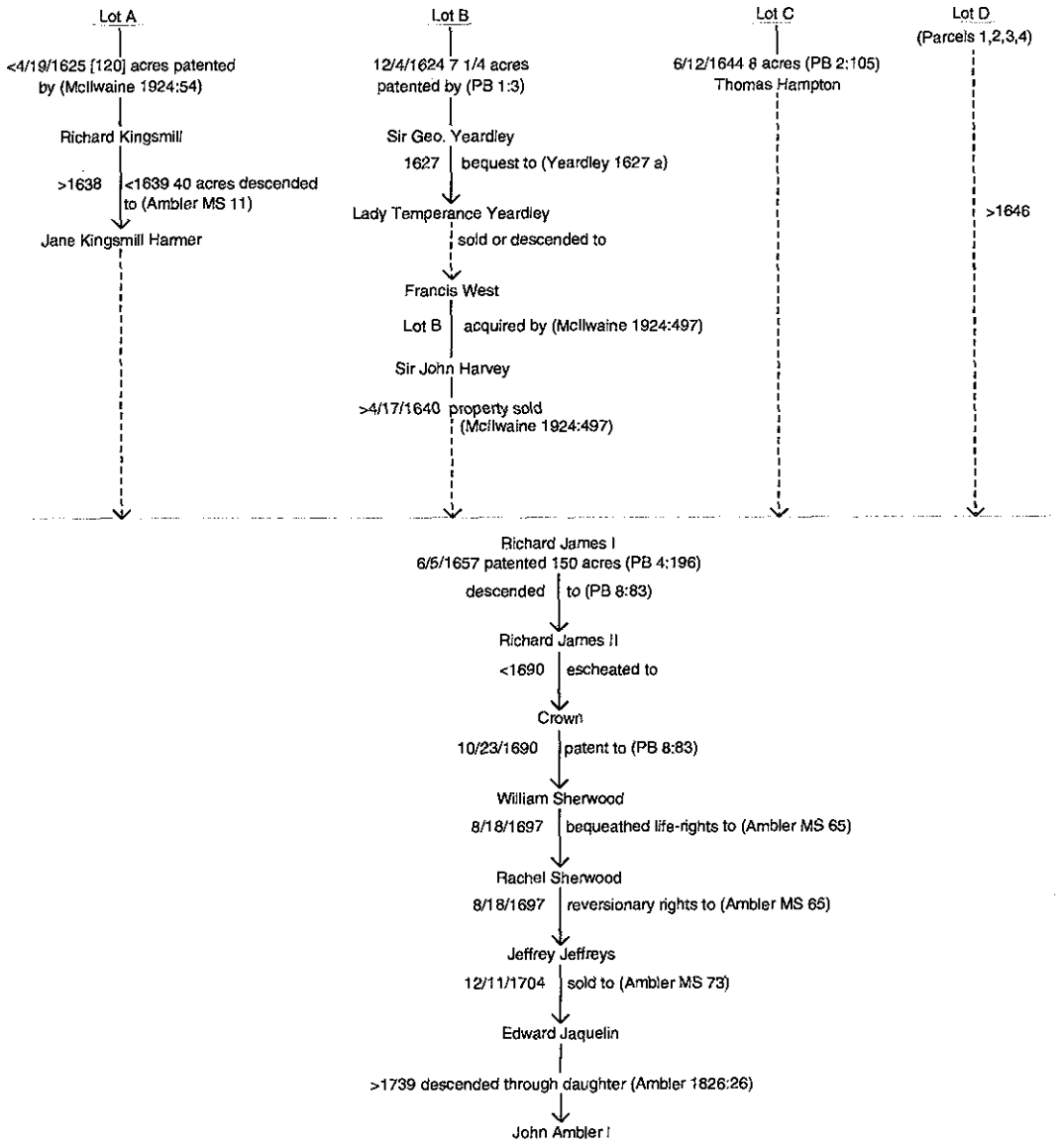


Figure 5. *Land transactions, Study Unit 1, Tract C, Lots A, B, C, and D.*

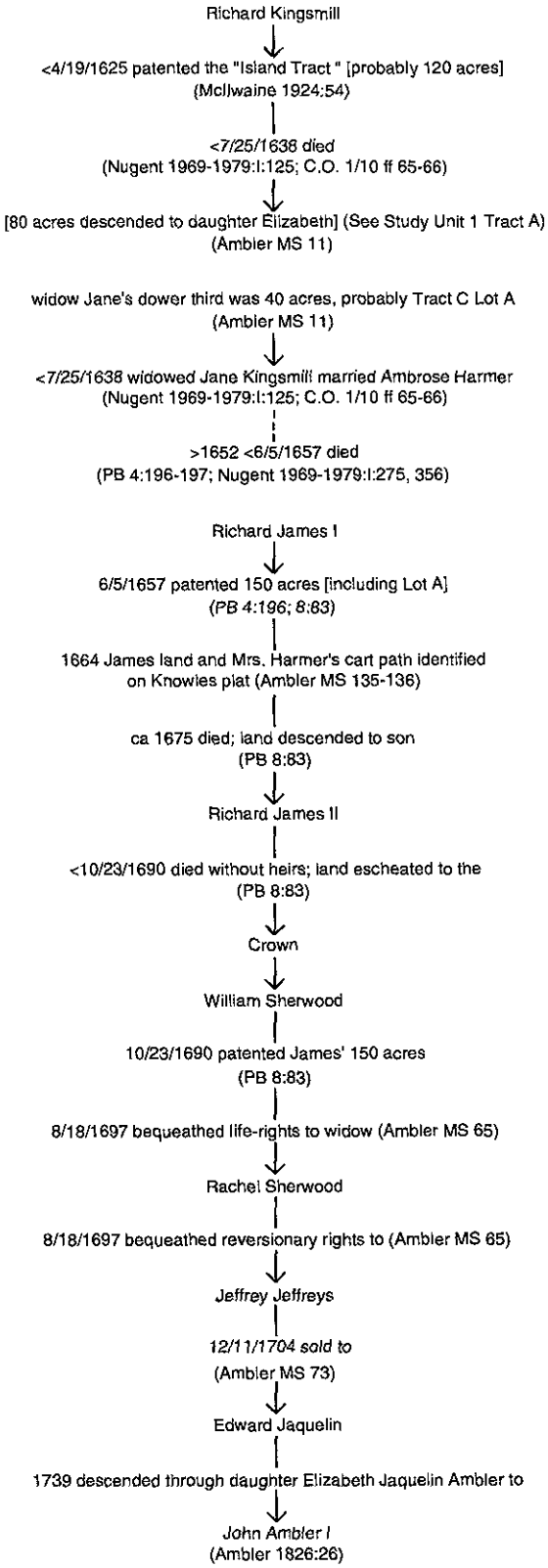


Figure 6. *Land transactions, Study Unit 1, Tract C, Lot A.*

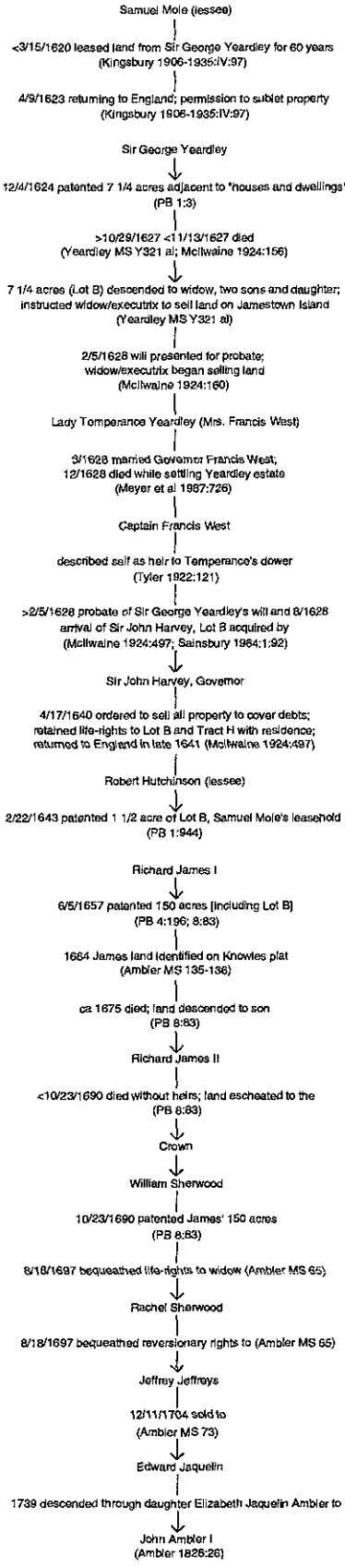


Figure 7. *Land transactions, Study Unit 1, Tract C, Lot B.*

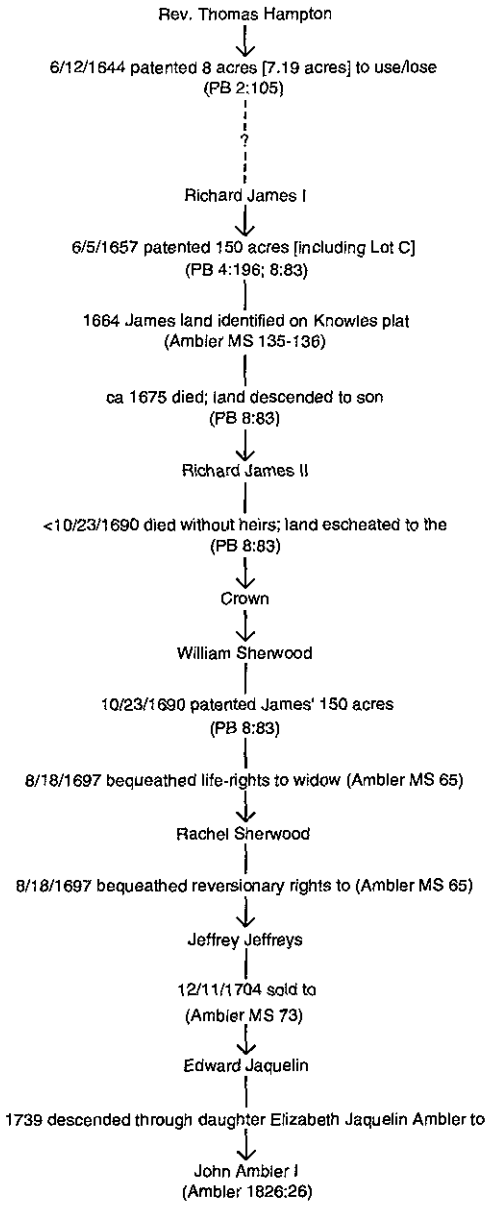


Figure 8. *Land transactions, Study Unit 1, Tract C, Lot C.*

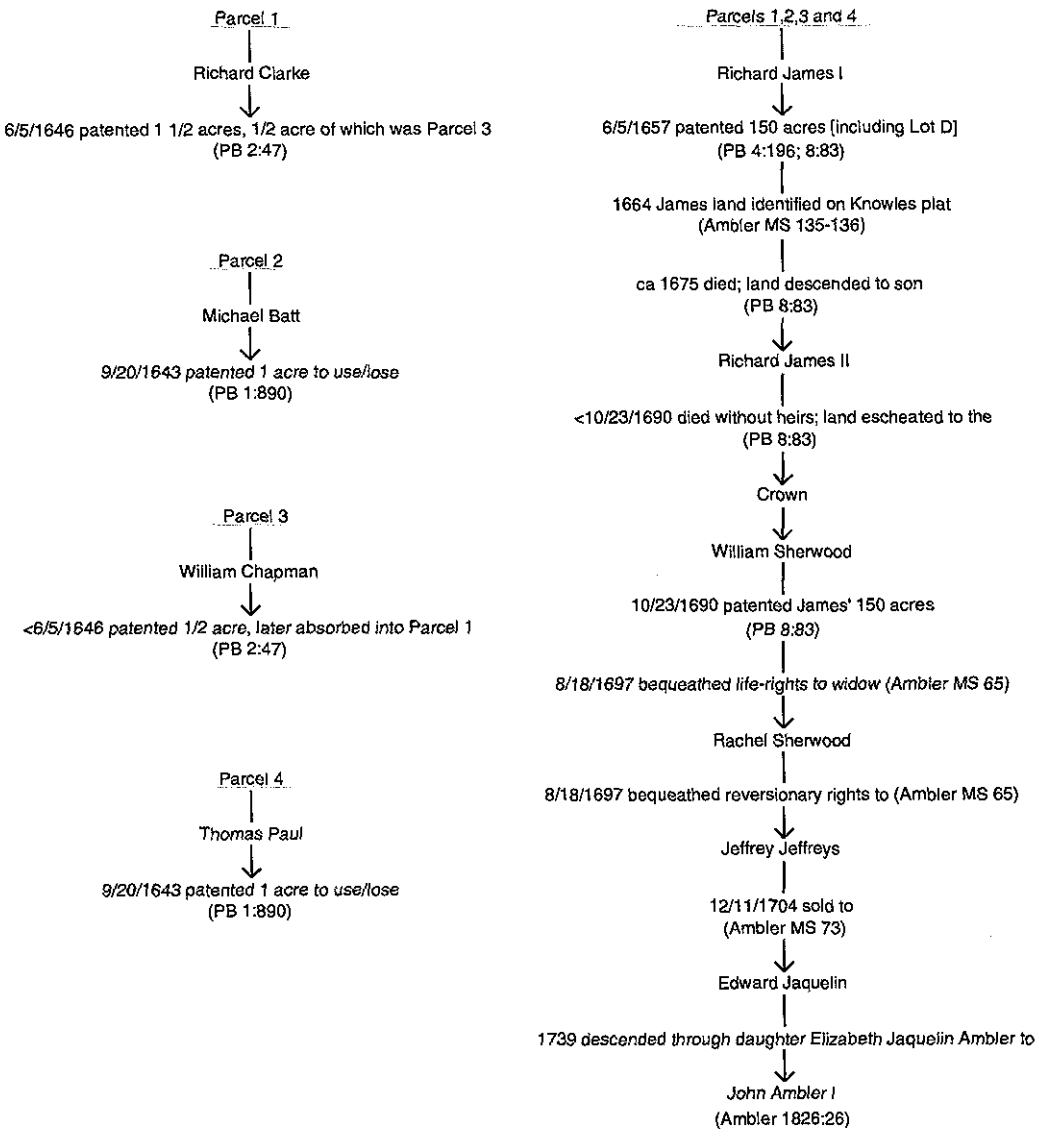


Figure 9. *Land transactions, Study Unit 1, Tract C, Lot D with Parcels 1, 2, 3, and 4 ("The Friggott") and adjacent marsh land.*

Study Unit 1 Tract C

Tract C is comprised of four Lots (A, B, C and D) each of which has a relatively complicated history. Little information is available on the early history of Lot A, which chain of title has been reconstructed from those of adjacent properties. Lot B, originally patented by Sir George Yeardley in 1624, included at least three components: a small leasehold Yeardley rented to Samuel Mole in 1620; a portion of the Rev. Thomas Hampton's 1644 patent; and the unit of land upon which Yeardley's domestic complex was located. Lot C, a 7.2 acre tract the Rev. Thomas Hampton patented in 1644 to use-or-lose, overlapped the northwest corner of Lot B and intruded upon part of Study Unit 1 Tract E. Lot D, a rise of land traditionally known as "the Friggott," which overlooked the Back River, contained at least four small lots that have been designated Parcels 1, 2, 3, and 4. In 1657 when Richard James I patented Tract C, he consolidated all four lots (A, B, C, and D) into a 150 acre entity that flanked both sides of Tract B, 40 acres he already owned.

Lot A

Richard Kingsmill (HYPOTHETICAL)

Richard Kingsmill, an ancient planter who appears to have come to Virginia in 1610, patented at least 80 (probably 120) acres on the west side of Kingsmill Creek. Kingsmill, who was Jamestown's burgess between 1623 and 1629, was churchwarden of the James City Parish. He frequently performed governmental duties, such as serving on juries, inventorying estates, and testifying in court. The Rev. Richard Buck, who died in ca. 1623-1624, made Kingsmill overseer of his will and he was named one of the Buck orphans' guardians. Kingsmill moved his family to the Buck property on the Neck O'Land, where they resided for a year or so, probably in order to secure the orphans' inheritance. In 1626 Richard and Jane Kingsmill took Peleg Buck into their home because former guardian, Thomas Alnutt, was dead. During the 1630s Governor John Harvey alleged that Kingsmill had coveted the Buck children's inheritance and while guardian, got rich at their expense (Stanard 1965:53-54; McIlwaine 1924:33, 38-39, 55, 58, 86, 103, 117, 143, 150, 183, 190; Ferrar MS 113; Tyler 1907:424; Meyer et al. 1987:36, 385; Withington 1980:80).

In February 1624 when a census was made of the colony's inhabitants, Richard Kingsmill, wife Jane, son Nathaniel, daughter Susan (Elizabeth?), and four servants (one of whom was African) were residing in the Neck O'Land, directly across the Back River from Study Unit 1 Tract A. The Kingsmill household was still there in February 1625 (Hotten 1980:178; Meyer et al. 1987:36). Mrs. Jane Kingsmill, who came to Virginia aboard the *Susan*, appeared in court in June 1624 to testify in a breach of promise suit involving one of the late Rev. Richard Buck's servants (McIlwaine 1924:17). (See the history of Study Unit 1 Tract A).

Although Richard Kingsmill's original patent for land on Jamestown Island no longer exists,[5] two patents and a deed for a November 6, 1661, land transaction reveal that his only surviving child, Elizabeth, inherited the 80 acre parcel that has been designated Study Unit 1 Tract A. Meanwhile, contemporaneous references to the boundaries of a contiguous parcel (Lot A within Study Unit 1 Tract C) that belonged to Richard Kingsmill's remarried

[5] On April 19, 1625, Mr. Daniel Lacye (Lacy, Lucy, Lucye) was given 4 acres of ground "in the Islande adjoyne on the grounde of Mr Kingsmills, wch is the rather granted for that Mr Kingsmell Doth Desire the same" (McIlwaine 1924:38, 44, 54, 173).

widow, Jane Kingsmill Harmer, suggest strongly that the land she possessed was her dower third of her late husband's estate on Jamestown Island: 40 acres.

Jane Kingsmill Harmer

Richard Kingsmill died sometime after July 7, 1630 (when he made a final appearance in court) but before July 1638.[6] The widowed Jane Kingsmill married Ambrose Harmer, who immediately sought custody of the Buck estate. The Harmers resided upon Jamestown Island and probably occupied a home located on Lot A, which seems to have been Jane's dower share of her late husband's estate. As Ambrose Harmer represented Jamestown in the colony's assembly in 1645 and 1646 but never personally owned land on the island, wife Jane's acreage would have made him eligible to hold office. It was the only Jamestown Island property with which either of the Harmers was credited. Ambrose Harmer was speaker of the assembly in 1646 and a member of the Governor's Council in 1639 and 1640 (McIlwaine 1924:160, 479; Hening 1809-1823:I:145, 289; Nugent 1969-1979:I:125, 356; C. O. 1/10 ff 65-66; Stanard 1965:34, 64; Ambler MS #11; Patent Book 1:196, 742).[7]

Richard James I's June 5, 1657, patent for Study Unit 1 Tract C makes reference to several features associated with Mrs. Harmer's property, revealing that it formed the eastern part of Tract C. The verbal boundary description for Tract C indicates that Mrs. Harmer's property (Lot A) abutted east upon Elizabeth Kingsmill Tayloe Bacon's Study Unit 1 Tract A, north upon the Back River, south upon Pitch and Tar Swamp and what became Study Unit 1 Tract D, and west upon the rest of the acreage Richard James I patented as Tract C. Specifically, James' property line, which commenced at "the Friggott" and proceeded clockwise, extended eastward along the Back River to "*Mrs. Harmers great marked poplar*, [then] beareth South East by South of the said Creek, so by a South West by South line thence to a branch of Pitch and Tarr Swamp, thence On the South side by Phillips's [Phipps'] line of marked Trees & *Mrs. Harmers Cart path* to the Slash behind Major Holts House [Study Unit 4 Tract T], thence by a Northerly Line to the place it began" (Nugent 1969-1979:I:356; Patent Book 4:196-197).[8] Mrs. Harmer's cart path also was shown and identified on John Underhill's 1664 plat of Study Unit 1 Tract D, which has been digitized (Ambler MS 135-136).[9]

On the other hand, when Mrs. Elizabeth Kingsmill Tayloe Bacon disposed of Study Unit 1 Tract A, her deed indicated that the western line of the property she was selling abutted what had been Mrs. Harmer's land. Specifically, the verbal boundary description for Tract A, which ran clockwise from its southwest corner, made reference to "an old Ditch cross ye old ffeild *nigh ye greate popler called Mrs Harmers greate popler.*"[10] The line then ran "Northwardly by the Marsh or Back Creeke, Eastwardly by Back Creeke and Kingsmills Creeke, Southwardly by the marsh or kingsmills Creeke, and by a Branch of Pitch & Tarr Swampe." It was said to be the land "formerly in ye possession of Richard Kingsmill decd & is due unto the sd Elizabeth Bacon as being ye daughter & heyr of the sd Richard Kingsmill" (Ambler MS 11).

When Elizabeth Kingsmill Tayloe Bacon's Tract A and Richard James I's Tracts B and C

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[6] It was then that Richard Kingsmill's daughter, Elizabeth, and her husband, William Tayloe, repatented a tract on the Chickahominy River. In 1642 the Tayloe couple conveyed the same piece of land to her mother, Jane Harmer, and stepfather, Ambrose (Patent Book 1:600, 742).

[7] Ambrose Harmer made money in the beaver trade and in 1635 sent a large quantity of pelts to England (H. C. A. 13/52).

[8] Emphasis added.

[9] In 1682, when the boundaries of Edward Travis II's 550 acres were described, his "Devedend of Land & marsh" was said to abutt "the head of Harmans [Kingsmill] Creek (Patent Book 7:228-229).

[10] Emphasis added.

were mapped to scale electronically and placed in their respective positions, it was observed that Tract A's westernmost line; Tract D's northeastern line; Tract B's eastern line; one of Back Creek's lesser tributaries; and Back Creek itself cordoned off approximately 40 acres that enveloped all of the reference points associated with Mrs. Harmer. Thus, Mrs. Jane Kingsmill Harmer's land (Lot A of Tract C) seems to have been sandwiched between Richard Kingsmill's 80 acres (Tract A) on the east and Richard James' original 40 acres (Tract B) on the west. It abutted north upon Back Creek and south upon Tract D, the Phipps/Knowles/Sherwood parcel.

On May 6, 1637, Ambrose Harmer asked officials in England to appoint him guardian (or custodian) of Benomi Buck, the Rev. Richard Buck's retarded son, who had just turned 21. Harmer said that there was no provision in the colony's laws for the care of incompetent heirs and said that he'd looked after Benomi and one of his brothers for the past 13 years.[11] He added that although Benomi had inherited very little, he was unable to manage even that. The Court of Wards and Leveries responded by ordering Harmer and two people of his choice to assess Benomi Buck's competency. Afterward, a written report was to be sent to the Court, so that provisions could be made for custodial care, if it were needed (Sainsbury 1964:1:251; C.O. 1/9 f 129).

On July 25, 1638, when Governor John Harvey received an official copy of the order issued by the Court of Wards and Leveries, plus a copy of Ambrose Harmer's petition, he retained both documents. He refused to implement the order, for he believed that as governor, he had the right to appoint custodians for the incompetent. Harmer, upon learning of Harvey's actions, went to England where he filed another petition with the Court of Wards and Leveries. Its justices decided that the governor of Virginia had no right to overrule their decision and asked Sir John Harvey to explain himself. Harvey, on May 20, 1639, replied that because Ambrose Harmer had complained about the cost of caring for Benomi Buck and his estate, he had assigned that task to Richard Kemp. Harvey added that Kemp, whose integrity was impeccable, had found it neither burdensome nor expensive to provide for the youth and his estate. Harvey said that he would comply with the Court of Wards' orders and have Kemp render an accurate account of Benomi Buck's inheritance. He added that he would see that Benomi, the account, and his inheritance were delivered promptly to Ambrose Harmer. Governor Harvey tried to justify his actions by saying that Benomi Buck's coming of age coincided with the death of John Jackson, one of the guardians the late Rev. Buck had appointed. He added that he had merely followed Jackson's recommendations when he handed Benomi and his inheritance over to Richard Kemp. He added that Ambrose Harmer and his wife, Jane, the widow of the Richard Kingsmill (the Buck children's *other* guardian and overseer of Richard Buck's will) had long coveted the orphans' inheritance. He said that Mrs. Harmer's former husband, while guardian, had gotten rich from the estate and that she had encouraged Richard Kemp to do the same. Harvey said that he had arranged for Kemp to keep Benomi for a year and then to let George Donne (another council member) do the same. Harvey felt that the two men, by passing Benomi and his estate back and forth, could share the responsibility and the profits to be derived from providing custodial care. Richard Kemp, upon completing his first year as guardian, delivered Benomi to the county sheriff, as George Donne was out of the colony. Meanwhile, Ambrose Harmer returned from England with his commission for guardianship (C. O. 1/10 ff 65-66).

Governor Harvey closed his letter by saying that in March 1638 an account of Benomi Buck's inheritance was rendered to the Court and that Mrs. Harmer had approved it in June. He indicated that the bulk of the youth's inheritance was in cattle and that the two men Kemp employed as cow-keep-

[11] He probably was making reference to Peleg Buck, who moved to Richard Kingsmill's household in 1624 after guardian Thomas Alnutt died.

ers had given a good account of the animals and their increase. Harvey said that he had delayed in implementing Ambrose Harmer's commission until he received further word from the Court of Wards. He added that Benomi Buck had died recently while in the care of Mrs. Harmer and that he was sending along her account of his estate (C. O. 1/10 ff 65-66).

In 1652, Mrs. Jane Kingsmill Harmer patented 2,000 acres of land in Northumberland County. She may have been widowed by that time. She died or sold her Jamestown Island land sometime prior to June 5, 1657, for it was then that Richard James I patented 150 acres that enveloped Lot A (Nugent 1969-1979:I:275, 356; Patent Book 4:196-197).

Lot B

Tract C Lot B arises from a patent which original text has been lost. However, thanks to a transcription by Lyon G. Tyler, some essential information has been preserved. Between 1902, when Tyler's first edition of *Cradle of the Republic* was published, and 1907 when he produced a revised edition, pages 3 and 4 of the Virginia Land Office's Patent Book 1 were lost. Tyler pointed this out on page 47 (footnote 4) of the 1906 edition, attributing the land records' loss to out-of-state scholars' abuse of the original documents.[12] He therefore included some material he had transcribed when examining Sir George Yeardley's patent for Tract C Lot B and Captain Roger Smith's patent for Tract G.

Lyon G. Tyler's research notes (on file in the Department of Special Collections of the College of William and Mary's Swem Library) were examined carefully. Unfortunately, those notes were found to contain no information beyond what had been included in *Cradle of the Republic*. However, thanks to diligent research by project bibliographer Del Moore, it was learned that a transcription of the Yeardley patent had been published by E.D. Neill in 1890 in the MacAlester College Papers. The pertinent volume was obtained for direct examination, which data have been used in the discussion that follows.

Sir George Yeardley

On December 2, 1624, Sir George Yeardley secured a patent for 7 1/4 acres (7 acres and 1 rood) of land in the western part of Jamestown Island, the acreage that has been designated Lot B. The parcel he received was "for his better conveniency and the more Comoditye of his houses & dwellings." Yeardley's patent "abutteth northerly upon the back river, Southerly upon the ground of Captain Roger Smith [Study Unit 1 Tract G] & Easterly upon the railes and fence which pteth the same from the Land of the Maine Island, and Westerly upon the Parke." Yeardley received his patent as part of his 100 acre personal adventure as an ancient planter. At the end of the text, surveyor William Claiborne noted that "on that side towards the back river it conteyneth thirtie twoe poles [528 feet] there lying a little marsh betweene the same and the backe river, the aforesaid towards Capt Smiths ground is little more than 34 poles [561 feet]" (Neill 1890:32-33). On December 12, 1625, when Captain Roger Smith secured a patent for 4 acres of adjoining ground (Study Unit 1 Tract G), his verbal boundary description made reference to the Yeardley property which lay contiguous and to the north (Nugent 1969-1979:I:2; Patent Book 1:4). As Sir George Yeardley in March 1620 gave Samuel Mole a lease for part of his acreage, it appears that Yeardley may have laid claim of his land at least four years before he patented it.

Sir George Yeardley, who immigrated to Virginia in the *Seaventure*, which wrecked off the coast of Bermuda, was stranded there with Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers. He arrived in Virginia in Spring 1610. In 1613 he married Tem-

[12] Nell M. Nugent, whose first volume of patent abstracts was published in 1934, also noted the loss of pages 3 and 4 of Patent Book 1 (Nugent 1969-1979:I:2).

perance Flowerdew, who arrived in the colony in August 1609 aboard the *Faulcon*. In 1616, when Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, Yeardley was appointed deputy-governor. Yeardley left the colony in late 1617 but returned in April 1619 as governor and a titled nobleman. When a census of the colony's inhabitants was compiled in February 1624, Sir George Yeardley, Lady Temperance and their three children (Elizabeth, Argoll and Francis) were residing in their dwelling in Jamestown, probably within Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B.[13] With them were 8 indentured servants and an uncertain number of men and women who were African. In January 1625 when demographic data again were compiled, the Yeardley household, which resided in 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). In January 1625 the Yeardley couple purchased three parcels of land at Black Point (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, and U) (McIlwaine 1924:44-45, 137).

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 plus "all household stuff, plate, linen, woolen or any other goods, moveable or immovable of whatever nature or quality whatsoever and which now at the time of the date hereof are being and remaining within this house in James City wherein I now reside. Concerning the rest of my whole estate, consisting of goode debts, chattels, servants, negars, cattle or any other thing or things, commodities or profits whatsoever to me belonging ... in this country of Virginia, in England or elsewhere, together with my plantation of 1000 acres of land at Stanley in Warwick River, my will and desire is that the same be all ... sold to the best advantage for tobacco and the same be transported as soon as possible, as my wife shall find occasion, into England to be sold and turned into money, which is to be put into some stock to be divided into 3 equal shares - one part to my wife, one to eldest son Argoll Yeardley and the other unto son Francis Yeardley and Elizabeth Yeardley, to be equally divided betwixt them both." On October 29th, Sir George Yeardley added a codicil to the original document. He stated that "My will is now that my wife shall make sale of all the said lands and houses within the Island of James City to the best advantage and profit and the same to bee added on to the whole sum of my estate as my will directs" (Yeardley 1627a, 1627b; Stanard 1916:445). Yeardley 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).

By February 8, 1628, Lady Temperance Yeardley had begun settling her late husband's estate and making arrangements to sell his property (McIlwaine 1924:166-167). She married interim-Governor Francis West in late March 1628, but died intestate in December 1628. As she hadn't finished settling Sir George's estate, his brother, Ralph Yeardley, became administrator. On February 1, 1630, Francis West, as Temperance's heir, brought suit against Ralph Yeardley in attempt to recover his late wife's dower third of Sir George Yeardley's estate. He contended that Temperance "was to have had a full third part of all the estate of the said Sir George in Virginia or elsewhere, over & above all household stuff being in Sir George's house in James City at the time of his death, which third part so belonging to the complainant amounting to at least L 3,000, the said Sir George's es-

[13] At first, Sir George Yeardley may have lived in the governor's house "in Jamestown first built by Sr. Thomas Gates by the servants of the [Virginia] Company and since enlarged by others," which Yeardley's November 18, 1618, instructions stated was to be the official governor's house "forever" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:98). In 1624 a group of ancient planters described the dwelling as "one wherein the governor always dwelt, an addition being made thereto in the time of Captain Samuel Argoll" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:35).

tate, of which he bequeathed a full third part to his wife, Dame Temperance, being worth L 10,000 at least." West said that "The said third part mainly consisted of tobacco growing in Virginia or transported into England, as also of servants, negroes, &c., and of a plantation of 1000 acres of land with tobacco at Stanley in Warwick River in Virginia, and being all appointed by Sir George's will to be sold for tobacco money or other commodities of that country and to be transported into England to be sold there, a third part thereof was to be delivered to the said Dame Temperance for her own use. This was done partly in Dame Temperance's life time & partly since her death." West claimed that when the tobacco reached England, Sir George Yeardley's brother, Ralph, had kept it all, including Temperance's share. Lot B (like Sir George Yeardley's other Virginia real estate) would have been sold in accord with the terms of his will (Meyer et al. 1987:726; Stanard 1916:445; 1917:101-102; Tyler 1921:121; McIlwaine 1924:156, 160, 166-167).

Sir John Harvey

Governor John Harvey may have purchased Lot B from Temperance Yeardley West shortly after arriving in Virginia in early 1630. If not, he probably bought it prior to the mid 1630s, when Sir George Yeardley's brother, Ralph, finished settling his estate. Harvey may have elected to occupy the Yeardley domestic complex on Lot B while he developed Tract H. On April 17, 1640, Sir John Harvey, who had been replaced as governor and was deeply in debt, was ordered by the General Court to appoint an agent to sell his property so that its proceeds could be used to satisfy his creditors. However, Harvey was given life rights to "his dwelling house at James City with the house adjoining and all the edifices thereunto belonging within the pale and of his orchard ... he enjoying the premises during life as also a parcel of land near, adjacent, lately belonging to Sir George Yeardley," i.e., Lot B. However, despite Harvey's right to use his home tract and Lot B, the reversionary interests in both parcels were to be sold (McIlwaine 1924:497). The northwest corner of the Yeardley/Harvey lot (Lot B) was included in the waterfront acreage the Rev. Thomas Hampton patented in 1644 (Lot C). By that date, the small leasehold Sir George Yeardley conveyed to Samuel Mole in ca. 1620 for 60 years had been patented by Captain Robert Hutchinson. It, too, seems to have been part of Lot B and probably abutted the Back River.

Samuel Mole (Moll) (lessee)

Samuel Mole (Moll), a surgeon, on March 15, 1620, leased some land and a house from Sir George Yeardley for a term of 60 years. On April 4, 1623, when Mole began making plans to return to England, he asked incumbent Governor Francis Wyatt for permission to sell or sublet his leasehold to someone else. He indicated that he had been at great cost "repairing & amending of wch mesuage or tenement" and would like to get the "best benifitt & pffitt" he could "by selling, letting or settling of the sd. mesuage." Mole's petition was granted. On April 30, 1623, while Samuel Mole was still in Virginia, he signed a document refuting the allegations Captain Nathaniel Butler had made about conditions in the colony (Kingsbury 1906-1935:II:381; IV:97). He probably left Virginia shortly thereafter or died, for his name was not included in the 1624 census or 1625 muster.

Captain Robert Hutchinson (the Mole Leasehold)

On February 22, 1643, Captain Robert Hutchinson acquired a patent for a 1½ acre lot on Jamestown Island, acreage "Anciently belonging unto Mr Samll Mole." The property was "bounded South [North?] upon the River, North towards Pasby Hayes, west upon the Land of Jno Osborne & towards the State House." Hutchinson was obliged to develop his lot within six months or face forfeiture (Patent Book 1:944; Nugent 1969-1979:I:151). As the Hutchinson patent was positioned between Pasbehay and the statehouse (which in 1643 prob-

ably was on Study Unit 1 Tract H) and as its origin lay in Samuel Mole's acreage, it appears that Captain Robert Hutchinson was patenting part of the Yeardley property, Lot B of Tract C.

Robert Hutchinson, a mariner, immigrated to Virginia sometime prior to February 1624, at which time he was living upon the Governor's Land. He was a colorful character who during his first few years in the colony had many skirmishes with the law. In August 1626 he was censured for being drunk and disorderly and a few months later, he misbehaved in court and was fined. He was found guilty of committing adultery with the wife of his neighbor, Thomas Jones, one of his favorite drinking companions. In January 1627 Hutchinson asked for permission to leave Pasbehay in order to move elsewhere. At that time he was identified as a planter. During 1629 Hutchinson was jailed for indebtedness and on another occasion was fined for refusing to help the provost marshall carry out his official duties (McIlwaine 1924:107-108, 119, 129, 145, 187, 190, 197).

By 1639 Robert Hutchinson had managed to gain respectability. It was then that he and Thomas Harvey were appointed tobacco viewers (or inspectors) for a region that encompassed Jamestown Island, Pasbehay and the Maine (Bruce 1898:120; Chandler 1924:22). His selection suggests strongly that he resided within the territory he served. Robert Hutchinson's upward mobility seems to have continued, for by 1640 he had become the sheriff of James City County, an indication that he was a local justice of the peace. He apparently found favor with Governor John Harvey, for he was paid generously with some of the goods Harvey seized from the Rev. Anthony Panton of York County. A high point in Captain Robert Hutchinson's political career was his being elected to the assembly in 1641, a post he held until at least November 1647 (McIlwaine 1924:496-497; Stanard 1965:61, 63-64, 66; Hening 1809-1823:I:239, 289; Lower Norfolk County Book B:85).

In May 1642 Captain Robert Hutchinson obtained a lease for a 100 acre parcel in the Governor's Land, adjacent to Sir Francis Wyatt's leasehold. On June 12, 1648, he enlarged his leasehold to 200 acres and obtained a 21 year rental agreement. The following day, he assigned his lease to Sir William Berkeley (Patent Book 1:757, 772; 2:149; Nugent 1969-1979:I:126, 128, 177). The acreage Hutchinson leased appears to have been in the northeastern part of the Governor's land. Robert Hutchinson apparently died sometime prior to July 1650, at which time his sister, Jane, was named his administratrix (Coldham 1987b:31).

Lot C

Rev. Thomas Hampton

On June 12, 1644, the Rev. Thomas Hampton laid claim to a parcel behind the church that purportedly consisted of 8 acres. The parcel, designated Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot C, abutted the Back Creek at "the Friggott" and was said to measure 560 feet on each side.[14] However, as a 560 foot by 560 foot square contains 313,600 square feet (or 7.19 acres) instead of the 348,480 square feet encompassed by 8 acres, the stated size of the Hampton parcel is at odds with its dimensions. The Hampton patent encroached upon the northwest corner of Lot B, which during the 1620s had been owned by Sir George Yeardley. The Rev. Thomas Hampton was obliged to develop his land within six months or forfeit it to another (Nugent 1969-1979:I:154, 169; Patent Book 2:11, 105). On October 4, 1656, approximately half of the Hampton patent was included in the acreage claimed by John Baldwin (Study Unit 1 Tract E) and by 1657 all of Sir George Yeardley's original Lot B (including that portion upon which the Rev. Hampton's patent had intruded) was included in the acreage Richard James I patented (Patent Book 4:88, 196-

[14] Hampton's parcel, "being on a Ridge of Land behind the Church," contained "from the Eastermost bounds Westerly 112 paces five foot to the pace [560 feet] and runing the Same Breadth Northerly to the back river being in quantity 8 acres" (Patent Book 2:105).

197; Nugent 1969-1979:I:338, 356; Ambler MS 5).

In 1636 and 1637, the Rev. Thomas Hampton, rector of James City Parish from ca. 1639 to 1645, patented 1,100 acres of land on the Nansemond River in Upper New Norfolk County, using headrights to assert his claim. It is uncertain whether he was a highly successful planter or had the backing of a wealthy family or in-laws. On November 4, 1639, Hampton patented a long, narrow ridge of land in the western end of Jamestown Island, between two swamps behind the church. He had six months in which to use or lose his property (Patent Book 1:689; Nugent 1969-1979:I:56, 71). Research suggests that the clergyman's 5.5 acre parcel (Study Unit 4 Tract W) enveloped that portion of Tract U upon which the original units of Ludwell Statehouse Group rowhouse were built during the mid-1640s.

The Rev. Thomas Hampton continued to acquire land. In 1654 he patented 550 acres on Diascund Creek, in 1658 enhancing that parcel's size by 400 acres. In 1658 Hampton added 700 acres to his holdings in that vicinity. Cartographer Augustine Hermann (1673) in 1670 labeled the Rev. Thomas Hampton's acreage near Diascund Creek as "Mr. Rampton's" (Nugent 1969-1979:I:285, 379, 387).

Lot D "The Friggott" (Parcels 1, 2, 3, and 4)

Lot D, a rise of land traditionally known as "The Friggott," included at least four small parcels that were assigned to patentees during the early years of Governor William Berkeley's administration. They, like the tiny waterfront lots in Tract E, may have been awarded to merchants and skilled workers as part of Governor Berkeley's attempt to strengthen Virginia's economy through the production of manufactured goods.

Richard Clarke (Clark) (Parcel 1)

On June 5, 1646, Richard Clarke received "a Certain Pcel of Land lyeing in the said James Island Neare the ffriggot Containing 1½ acre." Part of the acreage Clarke patented (½ acre designated Parcel 3) formerly had been granted to William Chapman, from whom Clarke had purchased it. The residual acre was "a younger Grant to Richard Clarke Joyneing Westerley upon the former halfe acre, running South South west 12 poles [198 feet] from the backe river, then west North west 19 poles [313.5 feet], thence North North East 13 poles [214.5 feet] and thence East South East 19 poles [313.5 feet], to the place where it began" (Patent Book 2:47; Nugent 1969-1979:I:160).

Relatively little is known about Richard Clarke. His name first showed up in local records in 1635 as a headright of George Menefie's (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot F). During the early 1670s he made several appearances before the General Court, where he served as the attorney of George Lee, a London merchant who by 1681 had moved to Jamestown (Structure 115 on Study Unit 4 Tract K). Clarke also functioned as the attorney of Sarah Bland, who came to Virginia to tend to the business interests of her husband, John Bland I, a powerful British merchant (McIlwaine 1924:249, 273, 382, 386; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:287; Nugent 1969-1979:I:24, 160; Bodie 1938:II:583).

By the early-to-mid-1670s Richard Clarke had moved to New Kent County and become established in the vicinity of Ware Creek. In 1673 he made a complaint about a fence erected by Colonel Daniel Parke, who owned Mount Folly, and in 1677 he filed a petition with the king's Special Commissioners, alleging that a group of armed men (Berkeley loyalists) came to his house and "took away 4 English servants, 7 negroes and all household goods, beds and linen to a value of about L 400." Among those absconding with Clarke's

goods were Richard Auborne of Jamestown (who leased part of Structure 115 on Study Unit 4 Tract K) and Robert Beverley I (McIlwaine 1924:349; Neville 1976:67).[15] Richard Clarke prepared his will on August 25, 1686, and died a short time later. His daughter, Margaret, the wife of tailor John Howard, served as his administratrix (Withington 1980:60).[16]

Michael Batt (Parcel 2)

On September 20, 1643, Michael Batt was given a patent for 1 acre of land near the Back River. It ran "west North West 13 poles [214.5 feet], North North East 12 1/3 poles [203.445 feet], South South East 13 poles [214.5 feet], and South South West 12 1/3 pte of a pole [203.445 feet]." Batt had to improve his property within 6 months or lose it (Patent Book 1:890; Nugent 1969-1979:I:145).

Batt, who came to Virginia aboard the *Hercules*, in February 1624 was living upon the Governor's Land with his wife. On January 24, 1625, Batt and wife Ellen were still residing there, where Michael was listed as a household head (Hotten 1980:176, 220). On January 10, 1627, Michael Batt requested permission to leave the Governor's Land in order to go to Smith's Mount, near Four Mile Tree in what became Surry (McIlwaine 1924:131). It is uncertain what use he made of his land on Jamestown Island.

William Chapman (Parcel 3)

On June 5, 1646, when Richard Clarke patented 1½ acres near "the Friggott," included was a ½ acre lot he had purchased from William Chapman. The Chapman lot, which had been patented earlier on, was said to contain a cow pen (Patent Book 2:47; Nugent 1969-1979:I:160). The Chapman patent no longer exists and no further information has come to light about William Chapman.

Thomas Paule (Parcel 4)

On September 20, 1643, Thomas Paule, the son of ancient planter Francis Paule and his wife, Mathew, patented a 1 acre lot near "the Friggott." Thomas Paule's patent ran "North by East 13 poles [214.5 feet], East by South 12 1/3 pte [203.445 feet], thence South by West 13 poles [214.5 feet] and thence West by north 12 1/4 poles [202.125 acres]." He had six months in which to develop his land or lose it to another (Patent Book 1:890; Nugent 1969-1979:I:58, 145).

Lots A, B, C and D (Parcels 1, 2, 3, and 4)

Richard James I

On June 5, 1657, Richard James I patented 150 acres that flanked both sides of Tract B, the 40 acre parcel he had claimed in 1654. James' verbal boundary description, which proceeded in a clockwise direction, began "at a marked Gum Tree, by the Friggett Landing on back Creek and bounded thence by back Creek on the North side downwards until Mrs. Harmers great marked poplar, beareth South East by South of the said Creek, so by a South West by South line thence to a branch of Pitch and Tarr Swamp, thence On the South side by Phillips's [Phipps'] line of marked Trees & Mrs. Harmers Cart path to the Slash behind Major Holts House [Study Unit 4 Tract T], thence by a Northerly Line to the place it began." James acquired his 150 acres on the basis of three headrights (Nugent 1969-1979:I:356; Patent Book 4:196-197).

Although the James patent's verbal boundary description lacks detail, it includes several key reference points (certain marked trees, Mrs. Harmer's cart path, and Pitch and Tar Swamp) that also are cited in John Phipps', John Knowles', and William Sherwood's patents for Study Unit 1

[15] Auborne's bay of the Structure 115 rowhouse was put to the torch by Bacon's followers on September 19, 1676.

[16] John Howard owned two lots in urban Jamestown, Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tract M.

Tract D and shown on 1664 and 1681 plats of the Phipps/Knowles/Sherwood property. Moreover, Richard James I's name appears on the Sherwood plat in a location analogous to Tract C. Collectively, these documents indicate that the James and Phipps/Knowles/Sherwood patents shared a common boundary line that formed the southerly boundary of the James patent (Ambler MS 134, 135-136). Likewise, the easternmost boundary line of James' Tract C traced the western boundary line of Tract A (the Kingsmill property), and to the west, the James patent abutted Tract E, which boundary line is depicted upon the plat John Soane (1681) prepared for William Sherwood. Richard James I's Tract C encompassed Piping Point, Mrs. Harmer's property (Lot A), Sir George Yeardley's 7 1/4 acres (Lot B), the northwest corner of the Rev. Hampton's 7.2 acres (Lot C), 4 lots at "the Frigott" (Lot D, with Parcels 1, 2, 3, and 4), the marsh land northeast of Tract E, and probably those portions of Tracts G and H that lay on the upper side of Pitch and Tar Swamp. It was upon Tract C that Richard James I built a family home, probably the brick dwelling designated Structure 1/2, which surveys for Tracts D and E indicate was located within Richard James I's 150 acres.

Records of the colony's General Court, which identify Richard James I as a gentleman, suggest that he may have been involved in some sort of mercantile operations, for during the 1670s he sued several people in order to recover substantial debts (McIlwaine 1924:205, 215, 285) That James' landholdings encompassed both Piping Point and "the Friggott" on the Back River suggests that ships may have docked at a landing or wharf he owned 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 prominent men appraised and settled 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 and William May, suggests that he was one of Jamestown's more prominent citizens.

On May 28, 1673, Richard James I brought suit against bricklayer John Bird, who had built (or was in the process of building or remodeling) 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 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, reference also was made 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, son Richard II who was not quite 15-years-old (Ambler MS 17). The decedent's widow, Rachel, quickly married merchant and attorney William Sherwood, who had Giles Bland arrested because of debts against the late Richard James I's estate. Richard Lawrence, whose property (Study Unit 4 Tract S) was relatively close to James', posted a bond on Bland's behalf. Later, when Giles Bland failed to appear in court, Sherwood obtained a judgement against Lawrence. The matter was brought to the attention of the General Court in March 1676, at which time Richard Lawrence was ordered to pay Sherwood because Bland had failed to come to court (McIlwaine 1924:418-419). These proceedings, which occurred in the presence of Governor William Berkeley, probably angered Lawrence and Bland, who by that time had become avid supporters of the rebel Nathaniel Bacon.

Richard James II (orphan) and William Sherwood (guardian)

On September 19, 1676, the same 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. 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 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). William Sherwood, in a 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 first-hand account 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 residing closeby when combat occurred, perhaps upon 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).

William Sherwood eventually alienated Governor William Berkeley and his supporters, for after the rebellion subsided he served as an attorney for several men required to post bonds to guarantee their loyalty. 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). Although it is uncertain whether William Sherwood ever attempted to rebuild the houses that belonged to his step-son, on February 6, 1677, he purchased an acre of land in the New Towne (Study Unit 4 Tract D Lot A), where by April 23, 1681, he had built what was described as a "faire house and appurtenances" (Structure 31) (Patent Book 7:98). In October 1677 Sherwood 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 the rest of 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). During the 1680s and 90s Sherwood derived income from renting portions of his home to the government for official meetings. This would have provided him with a regular source of income (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:225, 282, 325, 452). 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).

William Sherwood

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. As a result, the James acreage (Tract C) 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 repatented the decedent's 40 acres (Tract B) but retained it, it probably was the widowed Rachel James' dower share of her late husband's estate. In 1694 Sherwood repatented his aggregate of 308 acres on Jamestown Island (Patent Book 8:384-386; Nugent 1969-1979:II:394).[17]

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, with the exception of a few specific bequests he made to friends and kin. However, he left 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).

Edward Jaquelin

In ca. 1699 Mrs. Rachel James Sherwood married Edward Jaquelin, a merchant 9 years younger than her deceased son, Richard James II. Jaquelin moved into her home on Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A and on December 11, 1704, purchased Jeffrey Jeffreys' legal interest in the late William Sherwood's ca. 400 acre estate (Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F, and G) (Ambler MS 65, 73). This would have included his interest in wife Rachel's dower share of Richard James I's estate (probably Tract B). It is uncertain whether Sherwood's 260 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land was still viable.

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. 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 parcel 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 to the Jaquelin/Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island. After Rachel James Sherwood Jaquelin's death, Edward Jaquelin married Martha Cary of Elizabeth City County, with whom he had several children. However, Edward outlived Martha and their sons and when he died in November 1739, his three daughters became his heirs. Edward Jaquelin's Jamestown Island plantation and mainland farm descended through his eldest daughter, Elizabeth (the wife of Yorktown merchant Richard Ambler) to the decedent's four-year-old grandson, John Ambler I (Smith et al. 1745; Meyer et al. 1987:606; Ambler 1826:26).

Richard Ambler

Although Richard Ambler's wife, Elizabeth Jaquelin, technically seems to have inherited her late father's landholdings on Jamestown Island and in the nearby mainland, they clearly were intended for her son John Ambler I. Included in the bequest were Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F, and G and possibly Tract H. In 1745 Richard Ambler purchased his sister-in-laws' reversionary interest in a 2 acre parcel in which he enjoyed a life-interest (part of Tract E), and he enhanced the size of the Jaquelin plantation by purchasing a substantial quantity of land from Norfolk merchant Christopher Perkins. Included in that transaction was the residue of Study Unit 1 Tract E. This increased the size of the Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island to approximately 698 acres (Smith et al. 1745; Ambler MS 97-98, 106-107).

[17] In 1683 he also had a 260 acre leasehold in the interior of the Governor's Land (Soane 1683).

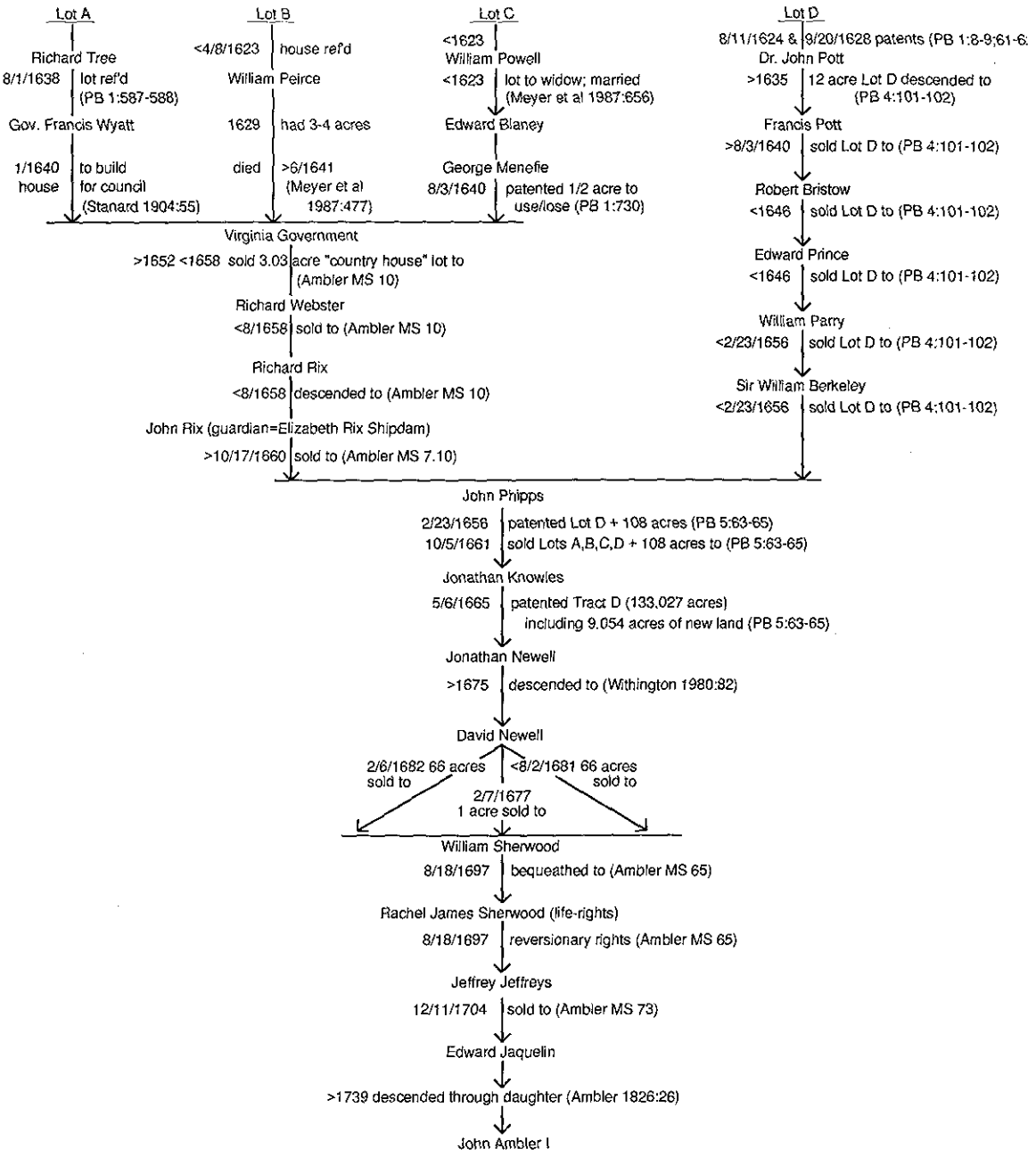


Figure 10. *Land transactions, Study Unit 1, Tract D, Lots A, B, C, and D.*

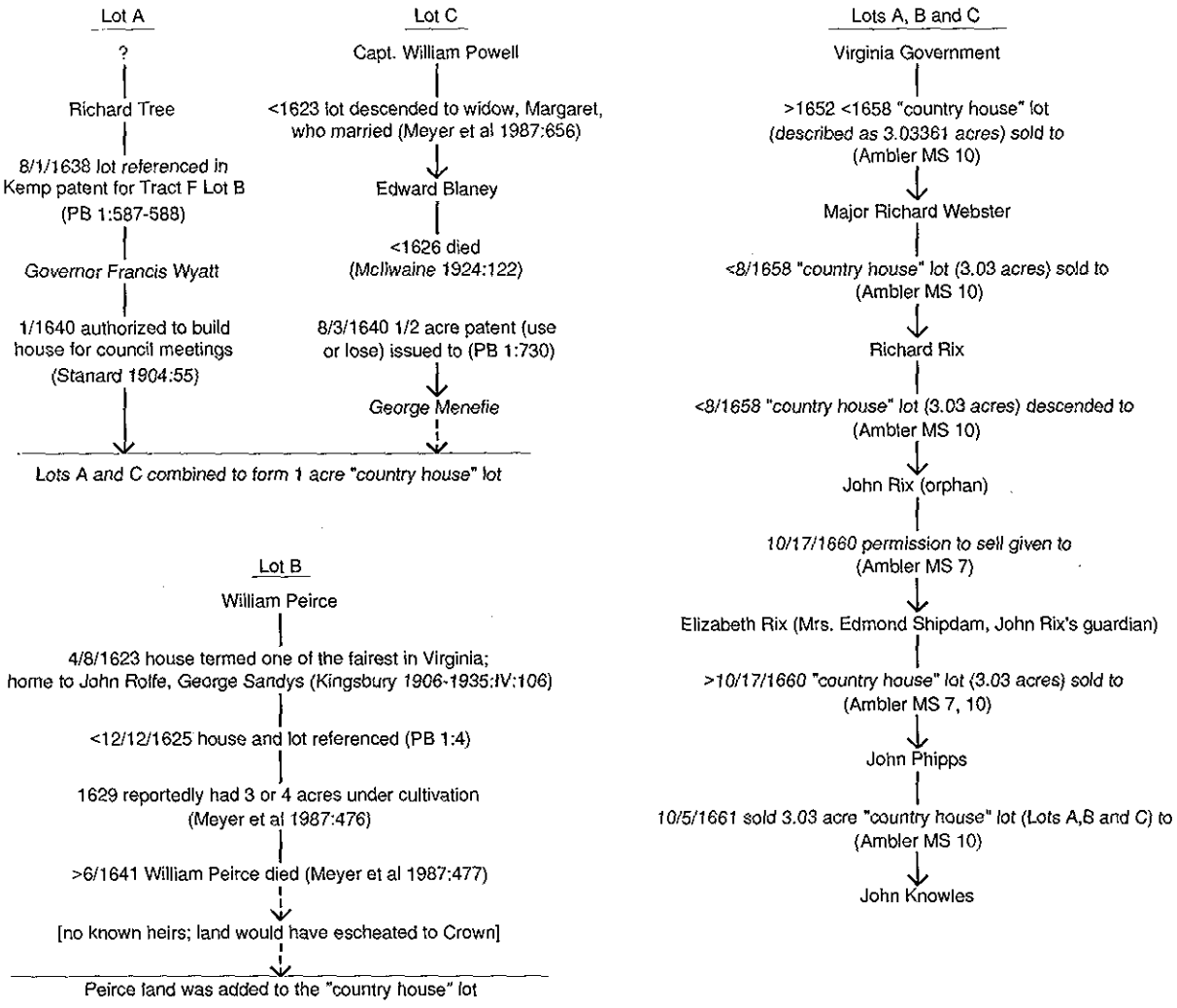


Figure 11. *Land transactions, Study Unit I, Tract D, Lots A, B, and C.*

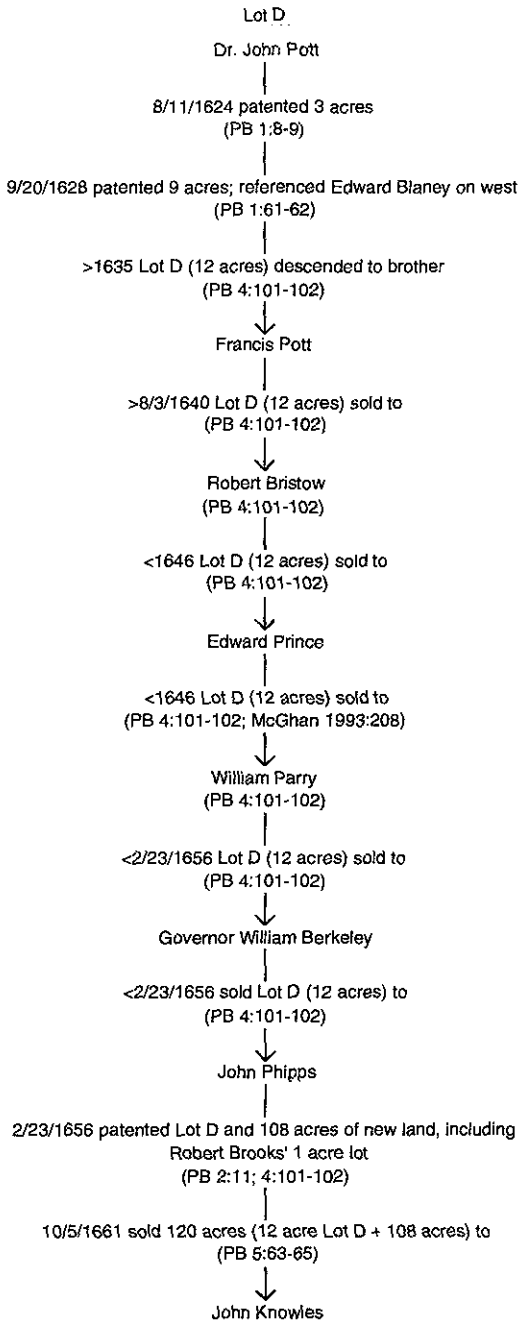


Figure 12. *Land transactions, Study Unit 1, Tract D, Lot D.*

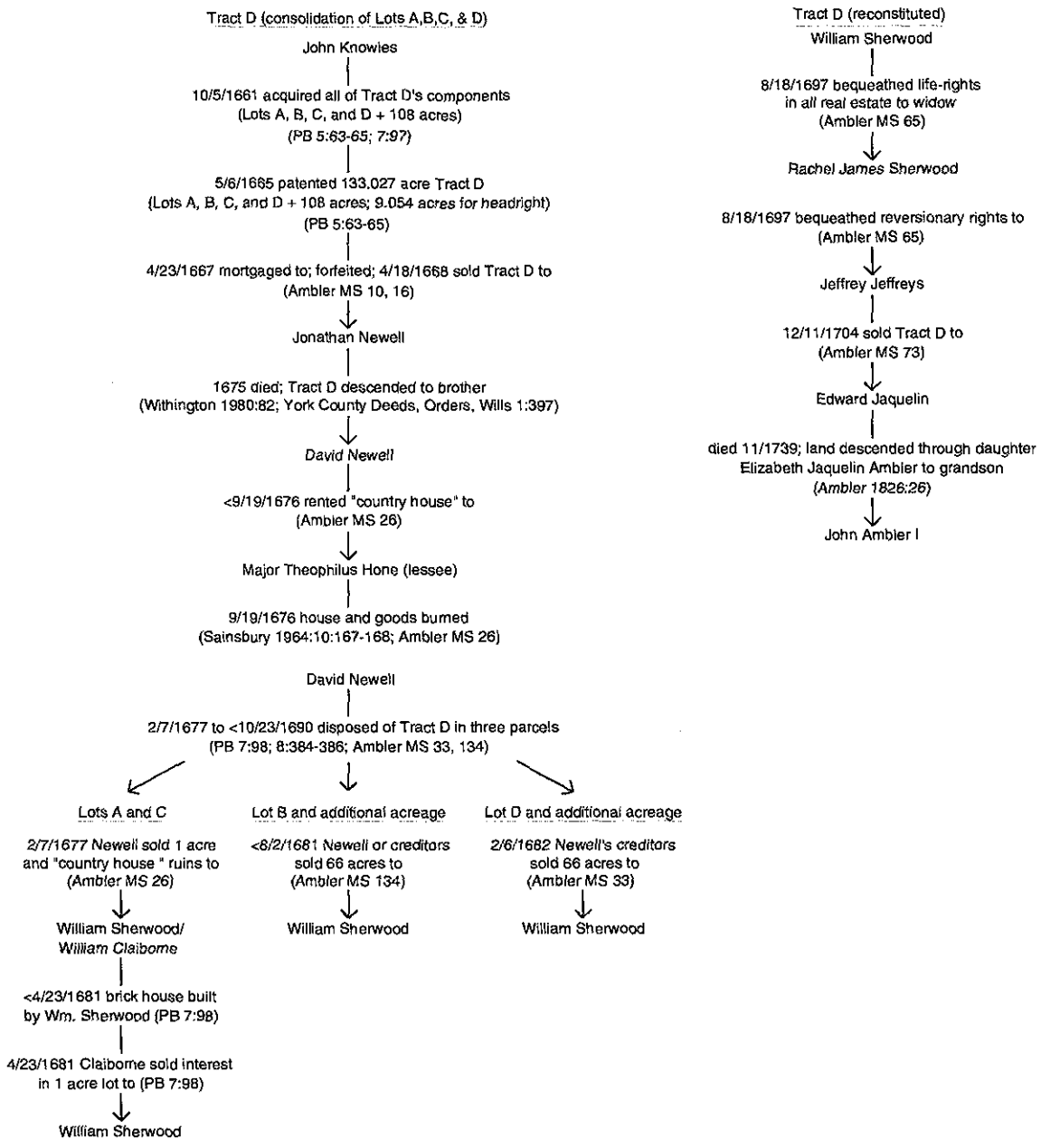


Figure 13. *Land transactions, Study Unit 1, Tract D, Lots A, B, C, and D.*

Study Unit 1 Tract D

Two plats of Tract D and detailed survey data for Tract F provide information critical to the determination of seventeenth century property boundaries within the western part of Jamestown Island. In 1664 John Underhill surveyed Tract D (which Jonathan Knowles had bought from John Phipps) and prepared a crudely drawn plat. Despite Underhill's lack of artistic skills, the reference points he identified (topographic and cultural features, boundary ditches, natural boundaries, and trees) are easily recognized on the more sensitively drawn plat prepared in 1681 by John Soane, who mapped the western half of Tract D for William Sherwood. The Soane plat is readily linked to Jamestown Island's topography.

In order to relate the property boundaries shown on the Underhill and Soane plats of Tract D to features in the cultural and natural environment, both documents were digitized and reproduced to 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 Tract D's internal and external boundary lines were compared with those of nearby tracts, which boundaries had been reconstructed mathematically and then digitized. This was done so that an electronic template or tract map could be created and then superimposed upon an electronic base map of Jamestown Island that includes boundary ditches and other cultural features excavated by archaeologists during the 1930s and 50s.

From the onset, it was evident that Tract D's angular and distinctive southern boundary line bore a remarkable resemblance to the irregularly-shaped northern boundary line of Study Unit 4 Tract L, which is comprised of ten interconnected lots. Moreover, the multi-segmented western boundary line of Tract D seemed to parallel precisely the eastern boundary line of Tract F, another multi-segmented line. Additionally, the western boundary line of Tract F appeared to correspond with the eastern boundary line of Study Unit 4 Tract K, which also had fixed boundaries. As a result of these observations, electronic maps of specific properties, which boundary lines had been reconstructed from the descriptive data found in patents, surveys, and deeds, were reproduced at the same scale as the Underhill/Soane composite. Then, each tract or lot was moved into its respective position and appended to the Underhill/Soane plat.

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 archaeological 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 50s were found to correspond with the locations of buildings depicted on the Soane and Underhill plats of Tract D. Data from the digitized Soane and Underhill plats also proved useful in the identification of cultural features on Tract F; in the northerly part of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C; and on other properties. Moreover, 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.

Tract D includes four relatively small lots (A, B, C, and D) and a large, undeveloped parcel with which they were combined by 1663 into a 133.027 acre entity. This aggregate, along with Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, E, F and G, comprised the bulk

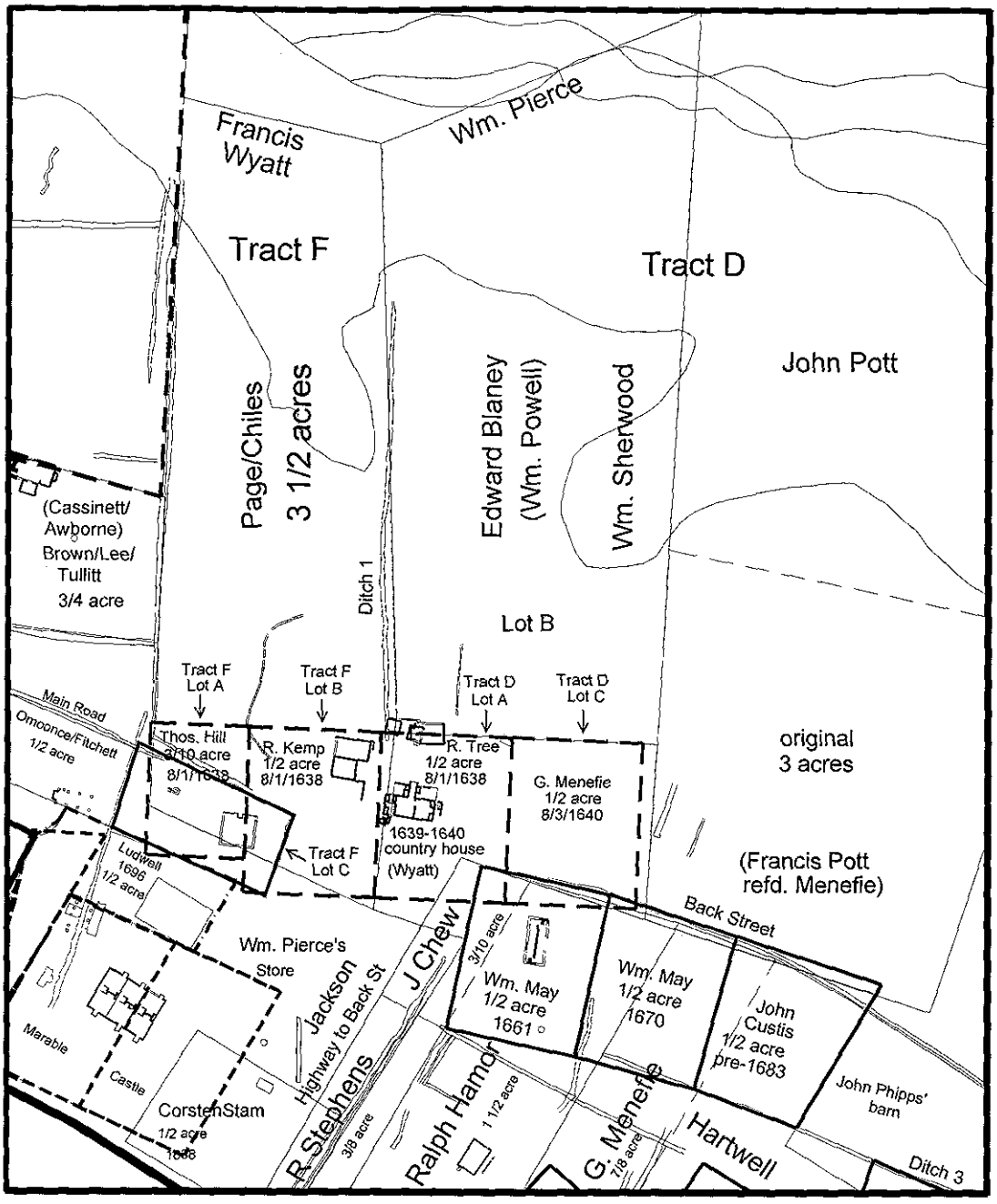


Figure 14. *Study Unit 1, Tracts D and F.*

of the Sherwood plantation. Within the discussion that follows, the histories of Lots A, B, C, and D are addressed individually up to the point each becomes part of Tract D. Subsequently, the parcels unified into Tract D are treated as an aggregate.

Lot A

Richard Tree

Sometime prior to August 1, 1638, Richard Tree, an ancient planter, acquired the ½ acre lot that has been designated Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A. Although Tree's patent no longer exists, Secretary

Richard Kemp's patent for the neighboring lot to the west (Lot B of Study Unit 1 Tract F) reveals that the Tree and Kemp lots shared a common boundary north-south line that was "10 poles [165 feet] in length toward the water side."[18] Kemp had six months in which to improve his ½ acre lot or face forfeiture (Patent Book 1:587-588; Nugent 1969-1979:I:95; Ambler MS 2).[19] Thomas Hill, who on August 1, 1638, patented a 3/10 acre lot on the west side of Richard Kemp's, also had to use or lose his lot within six months (Patent Book 1:588; Nugent 1969-1979:I:95). It is likely that Richard Tree had to meet similar building requirements, especially if he acquired his lot as a result of the 1636 building initiative.

Richard Tree, who came to Virginia with cape merchant Abraham Peirsey in the *George*, was a carpenter and free man. On August 14, 1624, he patented an 8 acre ridge of land in the eastern end of Jamestown Island near Black Point, Study Unit 3 Tract G. Tree also had an interest in some land on the lower side of the James River, in what became the Treasurer's Plantation, and in 42 acres of land about a mile below Blunt Point (Patent Book 1:19; Nugent 1969-1979:I:4; Meyer et al. 1987:34; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:556). In January 1625, Tree was residing in the eastern end of Jamestown Island with his 12-year-old son, John, and an adult male servant. He was credited with two houses and some swine and seems to have been a successful farmer (Meyer et al. 1987:34; Hotten 1980:227; McIlwaine 1924:35, 111-112).

Richard Tree was a respected member of the Jamestown Island community, for he served on juries, participated in one or more inquests, and in 1626 was churchwarden of James City Parish. One of his servants had some medical skills and in 1625 treated a Jamestown resident's cow. By 1628, Tree had relocated to the lower side of the James River, where he was hired to build a frame church for the parishioners of Hog Island. The following year he became that area's burgess. He retained his property in the eastern end of Jamestown Island until at least February 1638 (McIlwaine 38, 85, 107-108, 175; Stanard 1965:54, 57; Hotten 1980:272; Kingsbury 1906-1935:556; Nugent 1969-1979:I:81; Patent Book 1:521). However, it is highly doubtful that he ever developed his New Towne lot, for it became government property during 1640 or 1641.

The "Country House" Lot

In January 1640, when incoming Governor Francis Wyatt received his instructions from the king, he was told to build "a convenient house for the meeting of the council and dispatch of public charge" (Stanard 1904:55).[20] Construction of a "country house" (or publicly-funded building) would have eliminated the need to continue using soon-to-be-ex Governor John Harvey's residence as a statehouse. When Wyatt arrived in Virginia in March 1640, the public monies he needed to implement the king's orders were available, thanks to Governor Harvey' fund-raising efforts.[21] Subsequent land transfers reveal that the "country house" was situated upon a lot which western boundary line was contiguous to the eastern boundary of Richard Kemp's ½ acre lot (Tract F Lot B). Therefore, the "country house" was built upon Lot A, the land that in August 1638 was attributed to Richard Tree, who may have failed to develop his property

[18] That is, perpendicular to the waterfront.

[19] By January 18, 1639, Kemp had constructed a brick house that Governor John Harvey called "the fairest ever known in this country for substance and uniformity" (Sainsbury 1964:1:287-288). It probably was Structure 44.

[20] Wyatt's instructions also stated that "because the buildings at James Town are for the most part decayed and the place found to be unhealthy and inconvenient in many respects, power is given to the governor with advice of the council and assembly to choose some other place for the chief town and rendezvous of the governor, retaining the ancient name of Jamestown" (Stanard 1904:55-56).

[21] On January 18, 1639, then-Governor Harvey reported that "A levye ... is raised for the building of a State howse at James Cittie, and shall wth all diligence be p'formed." Harvey also said that funds had been raised to build a brick church (Sainsbury 1964:1:288).

(Ambler MS 10). In August 1640, when George Menefie patented Lot C (a ½ acre plot on the north site of Back Street between Lots A and D), Sir Francis Wyatt was credited with Lot A, the parcel upon which the "country house" was built (Patent Book 1:730). Eventually, the size of the lot associated with the "country house" (Structure 38) was expanded to 3.03 acres (see ahead).

On August 9, 1641, Virginia's newly appointed governor, Sir William Berkeley, received a set of instructions nearly identical to those Governor Wyatt had been given in January 1640. Berkeley, like Wyatt, was told that the king wanted "at ye publick charge of ye country a convenient house to be built where you and the councill may meet and sitt for the dispatching of public affairs and hearing of causes" (Sainsbury 1964:1:321). This authorization (and perhaps the inadequacy of the "country house") may have prompted Berkeley to build his three-bay brick rowhouse, certain units of which are known to have served as a statehouse. Construction of the so-called Ludwell Statehouse Group was underway by February 1645 and on March 30, 1655, when Berkeley disposed of his rowhouse units individually, he noted that two of its three bays[22] sometimes had served as a statehouse (McIlwaine 1924:503; Hening 1809-1823:I:407; 1905-1915:1619-1660:97). This sequence of events raises the possibility that as soon as Governor Berkeley's brick rowhouse became available for use as a statehouse, the "country house" on Lot A ceased being utilized for government meetings.

A fragmentary legislative record dating to 1652 supports this hypothesis. It states that "John Phipps is ordered to repair the country house and to let the cellars for the public benefit" (McIlwaine 1924:558).[23] This fleeting reference reveals that by 1652 the structural fabric of the "country house" had begun to deteriorate and that it had "cellars." That those cellars were to be placed in the hands of tenants suggests that by 1652 (if not sooner) the "country house" had become surplus government property.[24]

Major Richard Webster

Sometime prior to 1658 Major Richard Webster, a man about whom relatively little is known, purchased from the government "the Brick house comonly called and knowne by the name of the Country house wth all the Land thereto belonginge." Although the assembly's deed to Webster has been lost or destroyed, the sale is known to have occurred between 1652 (when John Phipps was ordered to repair the "country house") and August 5, 1658, by which time the building was in the hands of Webster's successors (Ambler MS 6, 7, 10, 32).

Major Richard Webster may have purchased the "country house" sometime prior to January 1, 1656, at which time he was identified as a resident of Jamestown. Webster probably inhabited the building, for it was the only property he owned in the capital city. Webster, who also had a mill and plantation on Swann's Creek in Surry County, represented James City in the March 1658 session of assembly. By August 1658 he had assigned the "country house" and the lot upon which it stood to Richard Rix (Ricks, Reeks, Reekes) whose widow on October 17, 1660, received official permission to dispose of it (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c

[22] Bays 3 and 4, which are located on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A, were the rowhouse units alternately used as a statehouse. The government probably rented them from Governor Berkeley. (See the history of Study Unit 4 Tract U Lots A and B).

[23] Thomas Jefferson, who transcribed excerpts from the 1652 minutes of the Journals of the House of Burgesses (which volume subsequently was lost or destroyed), made the notation about John Phipps and the "country house" (McIlwaine 1924:558).

[24] The timing of the assembly's decision to have John Phipps repair the "country house" and rent out its cellars coincides with Governor William Berkeley's surrendering the colony to representatives of the Commonwealth government. It is possible that the burgesses were responding to the recommendations of Virginia's new leaders.

1652-1672:76; Hening 1809-1823:I:439; Patent Book 7:98; Nugent 1969-1979:II:222).

Richard Rix (Ricks, Reeks, Reekes)

Sometime prior to August 5, 1658, Richard Rix (Reeks, Reekes, Ricks) purchased from Major Richard Webster the "country house" and the lot upon which it stood. Rix died and the house and lot descended to his son, John. As John Rix was a minor, his property was entrusted to the care of his late father's widow, Elizabeth, who served as his legal guardian.[25] On August 5, 1658, when Edward Hill and his wife disposed of their interest in Richard Kemp's brick house (probably Structure 44 on Study Unit 1 Tract F), reference was made to the Kemp structure's being "ye next house on ye Westward end of Mrs. Rix her house" (Structure 138) (Ambler MS 6, 10). The plats made by John Underhill in 1664 and John Soane in 1681, which have been digitized, suggest strongly that the multi-component site occupied by the "country house" (Structure 38) and William Sherwood's brick dwelling (Structure 31) was in the immediate vicinity of Structures 38/31. This places the Kemp house on Tract F. Archaeological and documentary evidence suggests that the Kemp house was Structure 44 (Ambler MS 6, 10, 134, 135-136; Horning and Edwards 2000:109-110). (See the history of Study Unit 1 Tract F.)

Elizabeth Rix (Ricks, Reekes) (Mrs. Richard) (Mrs. Edm. Shipdam)

Mrs. Elizabeth Rix married Edmond Shipdam after August 5, 1658, but before October 17, 1660. It was on the latter date that she and Edmond sought the General Court's permission to sell "a Brick house att James City" that belonged to John Rix as his father's heir. The Shipdam couple indicated that the house was "ready to fall for want of repairing and ye orphant [John Rix] thereby [was] likely to be much damnified." The court justices agreed that it was "fitt to order yt the sd house be sold by the sd Shipdam and yt the produce and profitt of the same be disposed of to the best benefitt and advantage of the sd orphant" (Ambler MS 7).[26] Shortly thereafter, Elizabeth and Edmond Shipdam sold the "country house" (Structure 38) and the land upon which it was situated to John Phipps, who already owned Lot D and 108 contiguous acres (Ambler MS 7, 10).

On May 6, 1665, when Phipps' property was repatented by its new owner (Jonathan Knowles), included were the "3 acres 44 ch: 37 decimall pts [3.03361 acres] due ye said John Knowles by purchase from Jno Phipps who purchased [it] from ye relict of Rix as land appteyning to a brick howse now in James City" (Ambler MS 15, 16). Thus, in 1661 the "country house" lot occupied approximately 3.03 acres, the result of combining Lots A, B, and C as delimited on the 1664 Underhill and 1681 Soane plats (Ambler MS 134, 135-136). As George Menefie patented neighboring Lot C in 1640 and as Captain William Peirce, the owner of Lot B, seems to have retained his property until around 1647, it appears that the government increased the quantity of acreage associated with the "country house" whenever contiguous escheat land became available (Patent Book 1:730).

Lot B

Captain William Peirce (Pearce, Pierce, Perse)

William Peirce, who left England in 1609 in the fleet bearing Sir Thomas Gates, in February 1624 was residing upon Lot B with his wife, Joan. The Peirces' property (which shared a common boundary with Captain Roger Smith's December 12, 1625, patent for the 4 acres designated Study Unit 1 Tract G) lay on the southeast side of the Smith patent, near

[25] Elizabeth may have had a dower interest in the property.

[26] On December 2, 1662, after the property had changed hands a couple more times, the assembly reaffirmed the court's decision (Ambler MS 13).

"the bridge in the said highway leading into the Island" (Nugent 1969-1979:I:2; Patent Book 1:4; Neill 1890:32-33).[27] A 1629 reference to the Peirces' acreage in urban Jamestown suggests that they occupied a 3 or 4 acre lot. It was just west of the 3 acres Dr. John Pott patented in August 1624 and like Pott's lot (and perhaps the forerunner of Tract F) originally may have bordered the upper side of Back Street (Patent Book 1:8-9).

William Peirce was a wealthy and influential merchant, political official, planter and military man. His dwelling, which was home to Treasurer George Sandys and Peirce's son-in-law John Rolfe, in April 1623 was said to be "one of the fairest in Virginia." During 1621 and 1622 Peirce was the colony's cape merchant and in 1623 he was appointed lieutenant governor and commander of Jamestown Island. He was responsible for the island's two blockhouses and was captain of the governor's guard (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:503; IV:106, 108, 209; Hotten 1980:1624). In 1624 the assembly decided that the tobacco levied as taxes in James City was to be brought "to the new dwelling of Captain William Peirce" and in May 1625 reference was made the structure's "dining hall" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:41).

In 1629 Mrs. Joan Peirce, whom Captain John Smith termed "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 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" (Bruce 1897-1898:120; Meyer et al. 1987:476).

In October 1638 when Derrick and Arent Corstenstam patented a river front lot (Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A), Captain Peirce's store was on Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot B, property that lay contiguous and to the north, toward Back Street (Patent Book 1:603; Nugent 1969-1979:I:98). Peirce's store may have been a mercantile establishment, a storehouse, or a collection facility for tobacco. Peirce, who had property on Mulberry Island, was designated a tobacco inspector for Stanley Hundred and Denbigh Parish in January 1640 (Hening 1809-1823:I:411; Chandler 1924:23).[28]

Captain William Peirce, a member of the Council from 1632 to 1643, was among those who thrust Governor John Harvey from office. As a result, when Harvey gained the upper hand, Peirce was summoned to England and detained, and his personal estate was seized. Peirce returned to Virginia, where he resided until at least June 1643. He died sometime prior to June 22, 1647, seemingly without heirs (Meyer et al. 1987:475-477). By October 1660 much (if not all) of the late William Peirce's home lot (Lot B) and all of neighboring Lot C were included in the 3.03 acre parcel known as "country house" lot, which John Phipps purchased from Elizabeth Rix Shipdam (Ambler MS 10, 134, 135-136; Patent Book 5:63; Nugent 1969-1979:I:451).

Lot C

William Powell

Captain William Powell, who immigrated to Virginia in 1610, was an ancient planter. He served as George Percy's ensign and in October 1617 was appointed captain of Governor Samuel Argoll's guards, the commander of Jamestown and its blockhouses, and lieutenant governor. Many years later, he was criticized for teaching Indians how to use firearms. In 1619 Powell served as a burgess for James City, as did Ensign William Spence, and

[27] According to John Underhill's plat of Jonathan Knowles' property, a bridge was located in this vicinity in 1664 (Ambler MS 135-136). In 1956 archaeologists found some old fill and brick rubble at a site analogous to Knowles' bridge. The feature was designated Structure 141 (Cotter 1958:150, 166).

[28] In August 1633 when the tobacco inspection system was created, an inspector's fee was 1 percent of the tobacco he examined (Hening 1809-1823:I:211).

at the assembly's first session charged his servant, Thomas Garnett, with behaving lecherously toward a maid servant. Powell, at the behest of Deputy Governor Samuel Argoll, had his men clear land in Pasbehay for occupancy by some settlers sent to Virginia by the Society of Martin's Hundred. Later, Powell tried to force the Martin's Hundred people to pay him for the work his men had done, even though Argoll had seated them in the wrong location. Powell in April 1620 made formal complaints about Governor George Yeardley; however, they later reconciled their differences and took communion together, publicly signifying that they had made amends. Captain Powell, sometimes described as Jamestown's gunner, seems to have favored a return to marital law. Early in 1620 he and a colonist named John Smith[29] sought and received some acreage on Hog Island, which use they shared with Samuel Mathews. Powell and his wife, Margaret, had a house on Jamestown Island, probably on Lot C, and it is likely that they were in possession of the southerly part of Lot B, for Dr. John Pott (of Lot D) frequently complained that the Powells' cattle got into his corn field. Late in 1622 Captain William Powell led an expedition against the Chickahominy Indians that apparently cost him his life. Afterward, his widow, Margaret, married merchant Edward Blaney, who took up residence upon the Powell property (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:103, 334; III:74-75, 153, 436, 444; IV:9, 22, 551, 555; Stanard 1965:52; Ferrar MS 244; McIlwaine 1924:28, 40, 58-59, 63, 65; Sainsbury 1964:1:36; Meyer et al. 1987:656).

Edward Blaney

Edward Blaney, a merchant, came to Virginia in 1621 in the *Francis Bonaventure* as the Virginia Company's factor. He was authorized to deal with the Indians for furs and was responsible for the magazine. According to Virginia Company records, Blaney was liked and respected by Sir George Yeardley. On April 11, 1623, Treasurer George Sandys informed his superiors in England that Edward Blaney had married and aspired to being a planter. The woman he wed was Captain William Powell's widow, Margaret, who went to England expressly to assert a claim to part of her late husband's estate (Meyer et al. 1987:31, 656; Hotten 1980:224; Ferrar MS 322, 538; Neill 1996:40; Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:512; III:449, 508, 581, 683; IV:110, 562; McIlwaine 1924:93).

Edward Blaney served as a burgess during 1623 and 1624 and on at least one occasion was identified as the merchant's burgess in the assembly. In January 1624, when Blaney testified in court about a bargain he had witnessed, he gave his age as 28. Later in the year he signed the "Tragicall Relation" that described conditions in Virginia. During 1624 Edward Blaney tried to recover debts owed to the Virginia Company's magazine, including some attributable to the estates of people killed in the 1622 Indian uprising. This was probably one of his obligations as the Company's former factor. In February 1624 when a census was made of the colony's inhabitants, Edward Blaney headed a household that contained 18 people, most of whom appear to have been servants (Stanard 1965:53; Tyler 1907:424; McIlwaine 1924:9, 11, 36; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:450; Hotten 1980:174).

On January 24, 1625, when a muster was taken of Jamestown's inhabitants, Edward Blaney headed a household that included himself and only two servants, Robert Bew and John Russell. Blaney and his men were well provisioned but unarmed. Blaney's herd of livestock was uncommonly large, for it included 20 cattle, 15 goats, and 29 swine. The muster-taker noted that the rest of Blaney's servants (15 people) and livestock were on his property on the lower side of the James River, which research demonstrates actually belonged to the late Captain William Powell's orphans. There were two houses on the acreage Edward Blaney and his household occupied in Jamestown and he was credited with two boats (Meyer et al. 1987:31; Hotten 1980:224, 232; McIlwaine 1924:58, 66).

[29] This individual should not be confused with the famous Captain John Smith.

The property Edward Blaney occupied in urban Jamestown probably was part of the late Captain William Powell's estate or his widow's dower share, for in September 1628, when Dr. John Pott added 9 acres to the 3 he already owned (Lot D), he indicated that his acreage abutted "West upon the ground late in the tenure of Edward Blaney" (Patent Book 1:61-62; Nugent 1969-1979:I:10). In May 1625 when Mrs. Margaret Blaney had a miscarriage, she blamed Dr. John Pott, whom she accused of killing one of her hogs and refusing to share the meat. She also indicated that she had asked Mrs. Joan Peirce to obtain the pork from Pott (McIlwaine 1924:58).

Although Edward Blaney decided to become a planter, he really never ceased being a merchant. It is probable, however, that he conducted business on his own behalf rather than for the benefit of the Virginia Company. In January 1626 Blaney was named to the Governor's Council. However, by early February 1626 he was dead and his widow, Margaret, was named his administrator. Blaney, at the time of his death, still was indebted to the Virginia Company's magazine. Margaret Powell Blaney quickly remarried, this time taking Captain Francis West (the late Lord Delaware's brother) as her husband. She died sometime prior to March 1628, when West (then interim-governor) married Temperance Flowerdew Yeardley, Sir George's widow. Francis West died in Virginia in ca. 1633-1634, probably without a legitimate claim to Lot C (McIlwaine 1924:40, 47, 56, 58, 62, 64-65, 79, 93, 97, 122; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:562; Stanard 1965:28, 31; McIlwaine 1924:93; Meyer et al. 1987:656).

George Menefie

On August 3, 1640, George Menefie, who had immigrated to Virginia in 1622, patented a ½ acre lot on the north side of Back Street. His parcel (Lot C) was described as measuring "10 poles [165 feet] in length [north to south] toward the water side and 8 poles [132 feet] in breadth [east to west], the totall being 80 poles [½ acre] betweene the land of Sr ffrancis Wyatt Kt Governor [on the west] and the Land of Capt. ffrancis Pott [on the east]."[30] George Menefie was obliged to develop his ½ acre lot within six months or face forfeiture (Patent Book 1:730; Nugent 1969-1979:123). By the time Menefie patented Lot C, he had become one of Virginia's most highly successful merchants and planters. He was an attorney and served on the Governor's Council from 1635 to 1644 (Stanard 1965:33).

George Menefie already had at least one lot in the New Towne when he claimed Lot C, a 7/8 acre parcel (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot F) on the waterfront that he patented on February 4, 1624. It was situated between lots owned by Captain Ralph Hamor (Lot G) and Captain John Harvey (Lot E), and therefore was in relatively close proximity to Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot C (Patent Book 1:6). In July 1635, George Menefie patented 1,200 acres at Rich Neck, which he developed into a plantation known as Littletown, confirming its title on February 23, 1636 (Patent Book 4:199; Nugent 1969-1979:I:24, 50). He also acquired land in Charles City County, which he called Buckland and developed into a family seat (Meyer et al. 1987:449).

During the early 1640s George Menefie secured a patent for 3,000 acres on the north side of the York River, part of which later became known as Rosewell (Patent Book 1:740). On December 31, 1645, when he made his will, he bequeathed his land in Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot F) to his daughter, Elizabeth. George Menefie's will was presented for probate in London on February 25, 1646 (Stanard 1907:421; Meyer et al. 1987:449). Sometime after 1646, Elizabeth Menefie married her step-brother, Henry Perry, a possible kinsman of Captain Francis Pott, who by 1632 owned neighboring Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot

[30] The reference to the Wyatt property (west of Lot C) may have pertained to the "country house" lot (Tract D Lot A) Sir Francis Wyatt probably developed earlier in the year or to Richard Kemp's lot (Tract F Lot B), which Wyatt bought sometime prior to October 1641.

D. The Perry couple made their home at Buckland in Charles City County (Meyer et al. 1987:449). It is doubtful that George Menefie improved Lot C in order to secure his title. Lot C may have escheated to the Crown for lack of improvement, for by 1661 it had been incorporated into the 3.03 acre lot upon which the "country house" was located. After John Phipps acquired the enlarged "country house" lot, he may have built a house in its southeast corner, within the ½ acre parcel (Lot C) George Menefie patented in August 1640, or he may have repaired the "country house." "Mr Phipps his house" is identified on John Underhill's 1664 plat of the acreage John Phipps had sold to Jonathan Knowles (Ambler MS 10, 134, 135-136).

John Phipps

When John Phipps patented the "country house" lot on the north side of Back Street on May 20, 1661, included was the parcel designated Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot C. Although Phipps' patent has been lost or destroyed, William May, when laying claim to an adjacent parcel (part of Lot C within Study Unit 4 Tract L) on May 20, 1661, made reference to Phipps' property's abutting his land on the north (Patent Book 4:475; Nugent 1969-1979:I:409). In 1664, when John Underhill made a plat depicting what had been John Phipps' 133.027 acre plantation in urban Jamestown (all of Tract D), he identified "Mr. Phipps his house" within the boundaries of the parcel designated Lot C.[31] Underhill also indicated that a barn was located to the east, on a ½ acre subunit of Tract D that protruded south of Back Street, between Ditches 2 and 3. That structure's long axis seems to have been perpendicular to Back Street (Ambler MS 135-136). John Phipps acquired Lot C (what had been George Menefie's ½ acre) as part of the "country house" lot he purchased from Mrs. Elizabeth Rix Shipdam between October 1660 and May 1661. Lot C was among the parcels Phipps consolidated and then sold to Jonathan Knowles in October 1661 (Nugent 1969-1979:II:222; Patent Book 5:63-65; Ambler MS 10, 15, 16, 134, 135-135).

[31] A tear in the plat has obliterated all but a trace of the sketch of Phipps' house.

Lots A, B, and C

The Enlarged Country House Lot

As noted in the history of Lot A, the parcel upon which the "country house" (Structure 38) was built was the ½ acre lot Richard Tree patented sometime prior to August 1, 1638. It was one in a row of four small lots that in 1638-1640 were aligned along the upper side of the Back Street.[32] In August 1640 George Menefie patented Lot C, a ½ acre parcel between the "country house" lot and Dr. John Pott's Lot D. It was upon Lot C that John Phipps built a dwelling sometime prior to May 1661. Meanwhile, Captain William Peirce, who before 1624 developed Lot B (which consisted of the 3 or 4 acres north of Lots A and C) maintained a residence in Jamestown until 1643-1647. Lot B was the only parcel Peirce seems to have owned other than the one that in 1638 contained his store (Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A).

On October 5, 1661, John Phipps, who owned all of Tract D's components (Lots A, B, C, and D, plus 108 additional acres) sold them to Jonathan Knowles. Phipps' deed to Knowles and the legal confirmations of that transaction, plus John

[32] This tier of lots in Study Unit 1 included Thomas Hill's 3/10 acre parcel (Tract F Lot A), Richard Kemp's ½ acre (Tract F Lot B), Richard Tree's parcel (Tract D Lot A, the "country house" lot) and George Menefie's ½ acre (Tract D Lot C). The Kemp, Tree, and Menefie lots measured 132 feet from east to west and 165 feet from north to south, whereas the Hill lot (oriented on the same axis) was slightly narrower and shorter. The eastern, western, and northern boundaries of the Tree and Menefie lots were reproduced to scale by surveyors John Underhill and John Soane on the plats they made for Jonathan Knowles/John Phipps and William Sherwood (Ambler MS 134, 135-136).

Underhill's and John Soane's plats, indicate that the "country house" lot was 3 acres 44.37 chains (3.03361 acres) in size when Mrs. Elizabeth Rix Shipdam sold it to John Phipps. The deed and confirmations also indicate that the "country house" lot had been that size ever since the assembly sold it to Major Richard Webster (Patent Book 5:63-65; 7:97; Nugent 1969-1979:I:451; II:222; Ambler MS 10, 15, 16, 135-136; McIlwaine 1924:507).

Lot D

Dr. John Pott

On August 11, 1624, Dr. John Pott, a member of the Governor's Council, patented a 3 acre lot "for his better conveniencie and the more Comoditie of his howse by him now erected & builded in the new Towne." Pott's land (Lot D) was said to be "about his said howse in the back streete and abutting Southward upon the said back-streete, Northward upon the swamp behinde the said howse, West upon the bounds and markes there determined & appointed [Lot C], and thence Extending Eastward 25 poles, in all conteyning by measure 3 acres." At the end of the patent, surveyor William Claiborne noted, "This peece of ground was exactly laid out and bounded." On September 20, 1628, Pott's patent was renewed (Patent Book 1:3; Nugent 1969-1979:I:2; Stanard 1965:30).

Dr. John Pott, the colony's Physician-General, came to Virginia in 1621 in the *George*, with Sir Francis Wyatt.[33] He was accompanied by wife Elizabeth, two servants and two surgeons. 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 councillor and as physician-general, he was supposed to receive 500 acres of office land and 20 tenants, who were 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 that was part of the Governor's Land. Demographic records reveal that by 1624-1625 Pott had placed some of his servants on his land 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.[34] Jane Dickinson, a Martin's Hundred widow captured by the Indians during the 1622 uprising and detained, claimed that Dr. Pott, who had redeemed her with some glass beads, kept her in greater slavery than had the Indians. 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 Dr. John Pott was described as unfit to hold office as a councillor because he was held largely responsible for a plot to poison a group of Indians. As a result, he was removed from the council (McIlwaine 1924:3-4, 117; Kingsbury 1906-1935:II:481; III:565; IV:64, 110, 473; C. O. 1/3 f 94).

[33] Dumas Malone concluded that Dr. John Pott was the son of Henry and Grace Pott of Harrop, in Cheshire. He was a master of arts, with knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew (Malone 1935:123).

[34] One of Pott's apothecaries, Joseph Fitch, was killed at the Falling Creek Ironworks in March 1622.

In February 1624, when a census was made of the colony's inhabitants, Dr. John Pott headed a Jamsetown household that included his wife, Elizabeth, and six servants: Richard Townsend, Thomas Leister, John Kullaway, Randall Howlett, Jane Dickinson (the widow from Martin's Hundred), and Fortune Taylor (one of the young maids who came to the colony in 1621) (Hotten 1980:174). In January 1625, the Pott household consisted of Dr. and Mrs. Pott and four servants (Richard Townsend, Thomas Wilson, Osmond Smith, and Susan Blackwood). Dr. Pott was credited with two houses and a herd of livestock that included 1 bovine, 10 swine and 8 goats. The family had a better-than-average supply of provisions and defensive weaponry and attire (Meyer et al. 1987:30).

During 1624 and 1625 Dr. John Pott made several appearances in court. He testified in cases involving other people 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 Mrs. Blaney (of 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 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, on Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E. 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 Tracts B and K in Study Unit 1 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. 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).

On September 10, 1627, Pott obtained a court order that gave him the right to enhance the size of his lot by 9 acres. He was to "have the ground lyeing behind his house in James Citty together wth the swampe & fower acres on the other side of the same added & joined unto his former Patent of 3 acres, wch in all amounteth unto 12 acres." He received his new patent on September 20, 1628. The verbal boundary description of Dr. Pott's 12 acre lot reveals that it abutted "Southward upon the back streete and thence extending Northward through the Swampe by the markes and bounds there appointed, West upon the ground late in the tenure of Edward Blaney [Lot C], and thence extending Eastward 25 poles [412.5 feet]" (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 the measured drawings made by John Underhill in 1664 and John Soane in 1681 (Ambler MS 134, 135-136; McIlwaine 1924:152).

In March 1629 Dr. John Pott's fellow councillors elected him deputy governor, for Captain Francis West, who filled the vacancy created by Sir George Yeardley's death, went to England. Pott

sent William Claiborne into the Chesapeake on a voyage of exploration and authorized him to trade 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. 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).

During the early 1630 Dr. John Pott's relationship with Governor John Harvey continued to deteriorate. According to Richard Kemp, the physician was angry that 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. According to Richard Kemp, 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" (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 he died in 1632, Richard Kemp's eyewitness account of Governor John Harvey's arrest reveals that he was alive in April 1635 and that brother Francis Pott accompanied the deposed Harvey to England (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) contains an error.

Francis Pott

Sometime after May 1635, Dr. John Pott died and his 12 acre lot in Jamestown (Lot D) and 500 acres in the Great Barren Neck near Middle Plantation descended to his brother, Captain Francis Pott. While Dr. Pott was serving as deputy-governor (from March 1629 to March 1630), he appointed his brother Francis captain of the fort at Old Point Comfort. In February 1633, Captain Francis Pott still held that position. According to Secretary Richard Kemp (a staunch supporter of the controversial Governor John Harvey), Francis Pott constantly tried to undermine Harvey and his policies and early in 1635, Harvey stripped him of his command and replaced him with Captain Francis Hook. No doubt, Francis Pott's loss of his captaincy (a lucrative position) fueled his hostility toward Harvey. In April 1635 Francis Pott was instrumental in ousting Harvey from office and he was one of those who accompanied the deposed governor to England. However, Harvey quickly turned the tables, for he had Pott arrested and thrown into prison. Pott petitioned the Privy Council for the right to post a bond that would free him from jail and he claimed that Sir John Harvey owed him money. Pott was tried for attempting to depose the governor, but after he apologized, he was released. By that time, he had been detained in Fleet Prison

for two years. Francis Pott seems to have retained Lot D until at least August 3, 1640, for George Menefie, when patenting Lot C, identified him as owning the neighboring lot to east (Nugent 1969-1979:I:123, 142, 147, Patent Book 1:730; 4:101-102; McIlwaine 1924:484; Sainsbury 1964:1:207, 212, 218, 234; Neill 1996:114, 116, 123, 128, 410 C. O. 1/8 ff 193-194; 1/10 f 190).

One genealogical source indicate that Francis Pott was related to Captain Henry Perry (a merchant) and his wife, whereas another suggests that he was a kinsman of Randall Holt I. Neither relationship is documented. However, it should be noted that Randall Holt I was, for a time, an indentured servant in Dr. John Pott's household. During the latter part of his life, Francis Pott seems to have moved to the Eastern Shore, where he was living in 1647 with his wife, Susanna. He patented 2,000 acres in Northampton County in February 1653, and another 1,000 acres in 1657. One of his sons went on to hold public office there (Nugent 1969-1979:I:248, 344; Tyler 1905-1906:96-100; Meyer et al. 1987:366-367; Whitelaw 1951:I:64).

Robert Bristow (Brestow)

It is uncertain when Robert Bristow acquired Lot D from Captain Francis Pott, for no documentation has come to light that describes their land transfer. However, on February 23, 1656, when John Phipps received a patent for 120 acres, it was noted that Captain Francis Pott, Dr. John Pott's heir, had assigned the decedent's 12 acres (Lot D) to Robert Bristow. Later, Bristow's widow, Jane, transferred the property to Edward Prince (Patent Book 4:101-102; Nugent 1969-1979:I:340). Very little is known about the Robert Bristow who owned Lot D.

Edward Prince

On February 23, 1656, when John Phipps patented a 120 acre tract that included Dr. John Pott's 12 acre lot (Lot D), it was noted that Robert Bristow's widow, Jane, had assigned the Pott parcel to Edward Prince, a gentleman (Patent Book 4:101-102; Nugent 1969-1979:I:340). In February 1645 Prince served as a burgess for Charles City County, where in December 1639 he patented 500 acres of land abutting the Appomattox River. He also owned a watermill and some houses at the head of Lawnes Creek, in Isle of Wight County, where his April 15, 1646, will was presented for probate. He came into possession of a 27 acre parcel on the mainland, near the Governor's Land, sometime prior to 1648 (Patent Book 2:150; Nugent 1969-1979:I:117, 127, 177; Stanard 1965:64; McGhan 1993:208).

William Parry (Perry)

John Phipps' February 23, 1656, patent for the 120 acres that included Lot D noted the fact that Edward Prince had sold Dr. John Pott's 12 acre lot to William Parry, who subsequently had conveyed it to Sir William Berkeley (Patent Book 4:101-102; Nugent 1969-1979:I:340). It is uncertain when the Pott lot was transferred from Prince to Parry. Parry already may have owned the tiny New Towne lot he patented on September 22, 1638, the parcel designated Study Unit 4 Tract D, which contained only 0.15 acre or 6,534 square feet. However, it was waterfront land that abutted south upon the James River and was in what appears to have been a commercial district (Nugent 1969-1979:I:97; Patent Book 1:598). Structure 26, a warehouse, is located upong Parry's lot.

William Parry, by making use of the headright system, in May 1637 patented 350 acres of land on the Nansemond River in New Norfolk County. Sometime prior to 1643 he laid claim to some acreage on Pease Hill Creek (a tributary of Chickahominy River), near property owned by Edward Travis I of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 2). In April 1640 and October 1643 Parry was identified in Northampton and Surry County documents as a resident of Kecoughtan (Elizabeth City). His wife was named Ann. In 1648 William Parry patented 90 acres in Elizabeth City and three years later, he claimed 550 acres on the Potomac River.

These land acquisitions, which were awarded on account of headrights, indicate that Parry was successful in generating income (Nugent 1969-1979:I:57, 175, 221, 224, 340; Patent Book 4:101; Meyer et al. 1987:327; Surry County Deeds, Wills 1652-1672:112). As William Parry seemingly resided in Kecoughtan, he may have used his property in Jamestown for trade or other commercial activities.

Sir William Berkeley

Sir William Berkeley acquired Lot D from William Parry, although neither a deed nor a patent has come to light that details their land exchange. It is certain, however, that on February 23, 1656, when John Phipps received a patent for 120 acres, included were the 12 acres (Lot D) that "Sir William Berkeley [had] assigned unto John Phipps" (Patent Book 4:101-102; Nugent 1969-1979:I:340).

Sir William Berkeley also acquired Tract F, the parcel next door, which he procured from Sir Francis Wyatt's attorney, Captain William Peirce, via a document "uppon record in ye Secretaryes office in James City."[35] As Peirce was identified as Wyatt's attorney, not his executor, Berkeley most likely bought Tract F sometime prior to Wyatt's July 1644 death. A 1649 deed for Tract F indicates that the Wyatt property included "all yt his messuage or mansion house [Structure 44], together wth All gardens, orchardes, yard Backsides, out houses buildings and hereditamts & appurtenances whatsoever to ye sayd messuage or mansion house belonging, or in any wise Apperteyning scitiate lyeing & Being in James Citty, late in ye tenure and occupacon of Richd Kemp esqr and by him Conveyed unto Sr ffrancis Wyatt Kt ... together also wth one Pcell or plott of land granted to ye sd Sr ffrancis by ordr of court Conteyning 3 acres more or Lesse and being in James Citty afforesayd adjoyning to ye Land whereon the sayd messuage standeth" (Ambler MS 4; Withington 1980:625, 632).

[35] Unfortunately, that deed has been lost or destroyed.

Governor William Berkeley, by purchasing Tract D Lot D and Tract F, came into possession of Dr. John Pott's 12 acre lot and Sir Francis Wyatt's 3½ acres, upon which stood the brick house Richard Kemp had built. Berkeley would have had the option of residing in the Kemp house on Tract F (most likely Structure 44) or in the dwelling the government had given him in June 1642 (which research suggests was Sir John Harvey's former home, Structure 112). This would have allowed him to rent one or the other to the government as a statehouse. On the other hand, the "country house" (Structure 38) on Tract D Lot A may have been used for official meetings during this period. These questions may be addressed through sharply focused archaeological and documentary research. By the mid-to-late 1640s, Governor William Berkeley had moved into his manor house at Green Spring and during the late 1640s and/or early 1650s certain bays of his brick rowhouse in Jamestown (the so-called Ludwell Statehouse Group) commenced being used as a statehouse (Ambler MS 4, 10, 24; Clarendon MS 24 f 51; McIlwaine 1924:503; Hening 1809-1823:I:407; 1905-1915:1619-1660:97; Force 1963:II:8:14; III:10:50).

John Phipps

On February 23, 1656, John Phipps received a patent for 120 acres of land in Jamestown. His acreage included a 12 acre parcel (Dr. John Pott's Lot D, which Phipps purchased from Sir William Berkeley) and 108 acres for which Phipps was eligible on the basis of three headrights. The Phipps patent contains two verbal boundary descriptions: one for Lot D and another for the 108 acres of new land. The boundary line for Lot D commenced at the lot's southwest corner "on the North side of the back Street & at a young Mulberry Tree" and ran counter-clockwise "East South East 1/4 South 25 poles [412.5 feet] to a marked persimon tree, thence North North East 70 poles [1,155 feet] to Another young Mulberry tree, thence West 3/8 North 33 poles [544.5 feet] to Another Corner

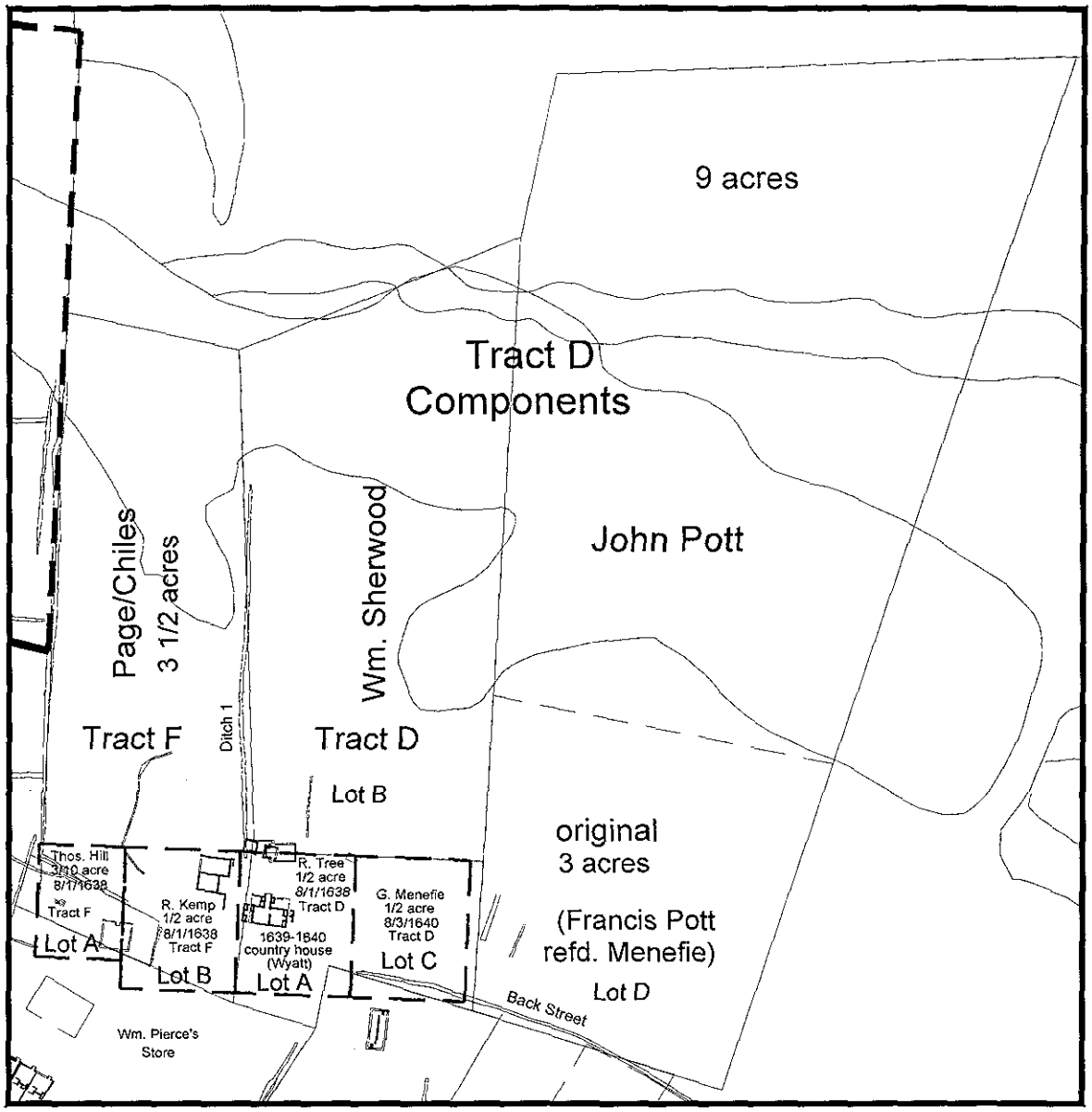


Figure 15. *Study Unit 1, Tract F and part of Tract D.*

Mulberry, Thence South by West Somewhat More Westerly to the place it began." Phipps' 108 acre parcel's boundary line began "at the Easternmost Corner of the first survey [the Pott lot] & bounded by the Land of Mr. Richard James on the North side and the branch of Pitch & Tare Swamp to a marked Pine, thence by marked trees & an Easterly line to a point of high land on Edward Travers's Land [in Study Unit 2] so by said Land On the East and South sides With the Land of Lancelot Elay [Study Unit 3 Tract H], including that part of pitch and Tarr Swamp, lieth before Their said Land to a marked Pursimmon tree on a branch of the said Swamp, thence North West 24 Perches [396 feet] to a Corner of a Ditch so North West by West to the southernmost Corner of the said Survey 15 Perches [247.5 feet] so by the Old Survey of 12 Acres to the place it began" (Patent Book 4:101-102; Nugent 1969-1979:I:340). John Phipps' patent for 120 acres is his first known acquisition of land on Jamestown Island.

The 108 acres that John Phipps received on account of three headrights may have included a 1 acre lot patented by Robert Brooks on August 28,

1644. Brooks' patent contains almost no descriptive information. However, his land abutted "North upon the Doctors Swamp, South upon the Gallowes Swamp toward the back river, and west toward the James River" (Patent Book 2:11). As John Underhill's and John Soane's plats of Tract D reveal that Dr. John Pott's 12 acres (Lot D) extended across a branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp, the "Doctors Swamp" referenced in the Brooks patent may have been a colloquial name for the swamp at the rear of Dr. Pott's property. Moreover, to the south of the swamp traversing Dr. Pott's lot was another branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp, perhaps the "Gallows Swamp" mentioned in the Brooks patent. As the Underhill plat indicates that the two branches of Pitch and Tar Swamp converged at a narrow point of land that extended toward Back Creek, Robert Brooks' patent, which was defined by two swamps, may have been located there.

Sometime prior to September 1655, John Phipps and William Harris purchased the Glasshouse tract from John Fitchett. Afterward, Phipps assigned his interest to Harris (Patent Book 3:367; Nugent 1969-1979:I:313; Ambler MS 78). Harris may have been William Harris I, who prior to 1658 owned a lot in Jamestown (perhaps Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot B) or his son, William Harris II, who in October 1658 patented a ½ acre lot west of his father's house (Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot A) (Patent Book 4:366-367; Nugent 1969-1979:I:388). The 4-year-old son of Mrs. Elizabeth Harris of Surry County was named "John Phipps," suggesting that there was a tie of matrimony or kinship between the two families (Surry County Deeds, Wills, &c 1652-1672:120).

On October 5, 1661, John Phipps sold all of Tract D's components (Lots A, B, C, and D, plus 108 additional acres) to Jonathan Knowles. Knowles repatented his acreage (described as an aggregate of 133 acres 35.9 chains (133.027 acres) on May 6, 1665, shortly after John Underhill surveyed the property and determined its exact size (Patent Book 5:63-65; 7:97; Nugent 1969-1979:II:222; Ambler MS 10, 135-136).

Tract D (including Lots A, B, C, and D)

John Phipps

As noted above, on February 23, 1656, John Phipps received a patent for 120 acres of land in Jamestown. His acreage included a 12 acre parcel (Dr. John Pott's Lot D, which Phipps purchased from Sir William Berkeley) and 108 acres for which Phipps was eligible on the basis of headrights. The Phipps patent's verbal boundary description indicates that the tract extended from the upper side of Back Street, northward across Pitch and Tar Swamp to Richard James I's acreage, and that it ran from the Pott lot's western boundary line, eastward to the Travis plantation (Patent Book 4:101-102; Nugent 1969-1979:I:340). John Phipps' patent for 120 acres is his first known land acquisition on Jamestown Island.

On (or shortly after) October 17, 1660, Edmond and Elizabeth Rix Shipdam sold the 3.03361 acre "country house" lot to John Phipps. They had received the General Court's permission to dispose of "a Brick house att James City" that belonged to John Rix (the orphaned son of Elizabeth's former husband) as the structure was in great need of repair (Ambler MS 7, 10). As part of that transaction, Phipps came into possession of Lot C, the ½ acre George Menefie patented in August 1640 to use-or-lose, which had been incorporated into the "country house" lot. By 1661 John Phipps had constructed or repaired a dwelling upon Lot C or Lot A and a barn upon a small extension of Tract D that protruded south of Back Street. It is likely that Phipps and his wife, Mary, resided in a dwelling he built on Lot C, which is identified as "Mr Phipps his house" on John Underhill's 1664 plat, or he repaired the "country house" (Ambler MS 10, 134, 135-136; Patent Book 4:475; 7:98; Nugent 1969-1979:I:409; II:222). The Phipps' acreage in Tract D reportedly enveloped approximately 123.03 acres (Lots A, B, C, D and 108 acres).

On May 4, 1661, John Phipps acquired a ½ acre waterfront lot in the western end of Jamestown Island, near the church. Although the dimensions of his lot were given, the only geographical reference point mentioned was a ditch. Phipps was obliged to erect improvements upon his land within six months or face forfeiture (Ambler MS 61; Patent Book 4:475; 9:49; Nugent 1969-1979:I:409; III:8-9). He apparently didn't develop his lot, for it escheated to the Crown, a fact that was mentioned in 1696 when Edward Ross claimed a larger parcel (Study Unit 4 Tract R) that included Phipps' ½ acre. John Phipps also laid claim to some land outside of Jamestown Island. In 1665 he patented 600 acres on the south side of the Rappahannock River and in 1674 he purchased 1,100 acres on Powhatan Swamp in Archer's Hope. In May 1671 he brought suit against Captain Francis Kirkman, one of Governor William Berkeley's friends and the high sheriff of James City County. However, the General Court's justices quickly dismissed the case against Kirkman (Nugent 1969-1979:I:440; II:152; McIlwaine 1924:258).

As noted previously, in October 1661, John Phipps sold all of his land in Tract D (Lots A, B, C, and D, plus 108 additional acres) to Jonathan Knowles in 1661. Knowles, who received an additional 9.054 acres of land on the basis of one headright, repatented his acreage (described as an aggregate of 133 acres 35.9 chains (133.027 acres) on May 6, 1665. He did so shortly after John Underhill had surveyed the property and determined its exact size (Patent Book 5:63-65; 7:97; Nugent 1969-1979:II:222; Ambler MS 10, 135-136).

Jonathan Knowles

On October 5, 1661, when John and Mary Phipps of Jamestown, sold "The Brick house comonly called and knowne by the name of the Country house wth all the Land thereto belonging" (Structure 38) to Jonathan Knowles of Jamestown, their deed summarized the parcel's chain of title. On December 13, 1663, Phipps sold Knowles his 120 acre tract, which included the late Dr. John Pott's Lot D and 108 acres of additional land. When Jonathan Knowles repatented his acreage on May 6, 1665, he noted that the "country house" lot contained 3.03 acres. By that date, Knowles had had John Underhill survey his property in Jamestown, which was described as including the 3.03361 acre "country house" lot, Phipps' 120 acres, and 9.054 acres of additional land that Knowles acquired on the basis of a headright.[36] The survey indicates that the tract Knowles owned in Jamestown contained a total of 133.027 acres. Shown prominently at a site near Structures 31/38 was a sketch of a dwelling labelled as "Mr Knowles." Only part of the roof line and two chimneys remain, for the rest of the drawing was on a fold in the plat that has been worn away or torn (Patent Book 5:63-65; Ambler MS 10, 15, 16, 32, 135-136).

Jonathan Knowles' patent's verbal boundary description was based upon the Underwood survey, which it followed point by point. It ran counterclockwise and began "at a Corner Stake by a Ditch near the House formerly belonging to John Phipps, thence along the said ditch East South East 1/3 Southerly 11 chains and 5 primes [379.5 feet] to a Corner Stake 1 Chain [33 feet] short of an Old Corner percimon, thence South West half Westerly 3 Chains [99 feet] to a Corner Stake, thence South East 1/4 Southerly 7 chains [231 feet] to a Corner Stake, thence North East half Easterly 2 chains 8 Primes [92.4 feet] to a Corner Percimon upon the aforesaid Ditch, thence along the same Southeast half Southerly 1 Chain and 46 Decimal parts [48.18 feet] to the Corner of the said Ditch, thence South West 3/4 southerly 1 Chain 38 Decimal parts [45.54 feet] to a Corner Stake, thence along a Ditch South West 3/4 Southerly 10 Chains

[36] John Underhill married the widow of William Felgate Jr., who had inherited the York River plantation called Ringfield from his uncle, Robert Felgate. Underhill appears to have immigrated to Virginia in 1649 and in 1660 married Mary Felgate. Underhill, who was from the city of Worcester, England, died in 1672-1673 (Hatch 1970:21-24).

[330 feet] to a marked Percimon at the end thereof and near a branch of Pitch and Tarr Swamp, thence Over South South East half Easterly 21 Chains 26 Decimal Parts [701.58 feet] to a Corner poplar in Lancelott Ely's line [Study Unit 3 Tract H], thence along the same East 3/4 Northerly 30 chains [990 feet] to Pitch and Tarr Swamp, thence along the same East 1/4 Northerly 13 chains 74 Decimal parts [453.42 feet] to a marked red Oak near a small marsh, thence down the same South East 8 Chains [264 feet] East South East 14 Chains 3 primes [471.9 feet] including a small point formerly in difference but found to belong unto John Phipps, thence upon the edge of the high Land to a marked Saplin red Oak by the side of a marsh gut, thence over the same North East half Northerly 13 Chains 6 primes [448.8 feet] to a marked Percimon upon a point against Mr Nicholas Merywether's Cleared Ground [Study Unit 1 Tract A], thence over a marsh and sharpe point of high Land North West 33 Chains 7 primes [1,112.1 feet] to a marked Hickory upon the High Land, thence West North West 8 Chains [264 feet] to another marked Hickory on the West side of a Cart path, thence along the same south south West, half Westerly 2 Chains [66 feet] to a Corner Saplin red Oak on the same side of the said path, thence West North West 10 Chains [330 feet] West north West half Northerly 10 Chains [330 feet], North north East half Easterly 2 Chains [66 feet] to a marked Saplin White Oak on the North side of a branch of Pitch and Tarr Swamp & near Mr Meriwether's Fence [Study Unit 1 Tract A], thence along the same side of the same branch West North West half Northerly 14 Chains [462 feet] to a Corner White Oak near a small branch, thence Over the same West 2/3 Northerly 45 Chains [1,458 feet] to a Corner stake on the South side of a Cart path to the Island House, thence West 3/8 Northerly 16 Chains 5 primes [544.5 feet] to a Corner Stake on the same side of the same path, thence South by West half Westerly 6 Chains [198 feet] to a Corner Stake on the north side of a branch of Pitch and Tarr Swamp about 3 chains [99 feet] above a bridge, thence Over the said branch West by South 11 Chains [363 feet] to a Corner Stake at the lower end of Mr. Walter Chiles's Ditch [Study Unit 1 Tract F], thence up the same south half Westerly 16 Chains [528 feet] to a Corner Stake near and on the East side of the said Ditch, thence South 2/3 Westerly 4 Chains [132 feet] to a Corner Stake 42 Decimal Links [27.72 feet] from the South West end of Mr Knowles's now dwelling House, thence South by West half Westerly 2 Chains and 21 Decimal parts [72.93 feet] to a Corner Stake near the South West corner of his Old Garden, thence East South East 3 Chains [99 feet] to a Corner Stake at the other Corner next to Mr William May's House [Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcel 1], thence North North East 2 Chains 27 Decimal parts [74.91 feet] to the Corner Stake at the Corner of the Garden next the House formerly John Phipps, thence East by South 1 Chain 16 Decimal parts [38.28 feet] to the place Where it Began" (Patent Book 5:63-65; Nugent 1969-1979:I:451; Ambler MS 15). Thus, Jonathan Knowles' acreage embraced virtually all of what has been designated Tract D.

Jonathan Knowles apparently agreed to build two houses on behalf of Thomas Hunt but never followed through. On November 9, 1666, he was summoned by the assembly which ordered him to complete the work he had promised to do or forfeit the payment he had received. On October 3, 1667, Hunt himself appeared and offered to post a bond "for finishing his three houses and repayment of the tobacco for the two houses Mr. Knowles was to build in the like" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:44, 50).[37] In 1662 and 1663 Knowles and Hunt had accepted payment for bricks to be used in the construction of buildings at Jamestown, and Knowles was compensated for hosting assembly and committee meetings and for

[37] The location of the Hunt/Knowles housing-starts is uncertain. If "Mr. Hunt" was Thomas Hunt, the owner of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J, the buildings may have been on his property. On the other hand, the two men, as contractors, may have agreed to build Structure 105 or Structure 106, both of which are large enough to accommodate three 20 foot by 40 foot bays.

providing accommodations for Indians visiting Jamestown on official business (Clarendon MS ff 275-276).

By February 16, 1667, Jonathan Knowles had moved to Henrico County. On April 23, 1667, he conveyed Tract D to John or Jonathan Newell, a York County merchant. Knowles acknowledged that he owed Newell 500 pounds sterling and that he was selling his 133-plus acre tract in Jamestown to Newell to settle his debt. However, the property was worth more than the debt and Newell was to pay him 150 pounds sterling and 20,000 lbs. of tobacco. Mrs. Bathenia Knowles came into court to indicate that she had agreed to the sale "freely & voluntarily ... without either force or flatery or any other Inducements of her husband" (Ambler MS 10, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20; Patent Book 7:98; Nugent 1969-1979:II:222).

Records of the Virginia Land Office indicate that Jonathan Knowles began investing in property in Henrico County approximately two years after he purchased the 133-plus-acre "country house" tract from John Phipps. On December 20, 1663, a week after he bought Lot D from Phipps, he patented 100 acres on Falling Creek in Henrico (now Chesterfield) County. Less than two years later, he expanded his holdings in that area. Knowles seems to have been associated with Henrico County merchant Thomas Stegg II, whose will he witnessed in 1669 (Nugent 1969-1979:I:450, 537; II:123; Withington 1980:107; P.P.R. Will Register Book 69 Duke).[38]

As noted above, in 1667 Jonathan Knowles deeded his Jamestown property to Jonathan Newell, to whom he was in debt (Ambler MS 10). By that date, Knowles seems to have made a permanent commitment to living in Henrico County. In October 1670 he was residing there when he sued Henry Sherman of Henrico, which judgement was set aside by the General Court. In March 1672 Knowles returned to Jamestown, for one of his maid servants, Mary Blades, was found guilty of stabbing to death Philip Lettis, a fellow servant in the Knowles home. As Mary was accused of a capital crime, she was tried before the General Court which justices sentenced her to be hanged. In 1675 Jonathan Knowles was sued by Colonel Thomas Swann of Surry (Study Unit 4 Tract G, Structure 19A/B). As he was then identified as Captain John Knowles, he may have been a mariner (McIlwaine 1924:329, 411, 419, 351; Palmer 1980:I:8).

John (Jonathan) Newell

John or Jonathan Newell, to whom Jonathan Knowles sold Tract D on April 23, 1667, was a York County merchant to whom Knowles was in debt. As the property was more valuable than the sum that was owed, Newell agreed to pay him some additional funds and tobacco (Ambler MS 10, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20; Patent Book 7:98; Nugent 1969-1979:II:222). Newell himself was plagued with financial problems, and his name frequently appeared in official records as a debtor. He seems to have been residing in Surry County off and on during the 1650s, for in 1653 he asked Surry's justices of the peace for permission to leave Virginia and in 1657 he represented London merchant Joseph Beaman in the Surry County court. Newell was a close associate of William Marriott of Surry (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c 1652-1672:23, 121).

In April 1667 John Newell and Ambrose Clare (Cleare) patented 2,500 acres of land in New Kent County. Four years later they had a major disagreement that was aired before the General Court. In April 1670 Newell admitted that he was indebted to Robert Whitehair and it was on account of his liabilities that he was arrested. He was thrown into York County's jail, but escaped. John Newell died in 1675 and his widow, Elizabeth, was named his administratrix (Nugent 1969-1979:II:26; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1665-1672:17a,b; McIlwaine 1924:211, 235, 237, 247,

[38] Stegg and his partner, Thomas Ludwell, by 1667 had constructed the westernmost unit of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot B Bay 1).

260, 275, 307; Coldham 1987b:41; Withington 1980:82).

As soon as John Newell's creditors learned of his death, they flocked into court. John Page, George Lee, Thomas Bushrod, Stephen Proctor, John Randall, Lieutenant Colonel Cuthbert Potter, and Isaac Foxcraft filed claims against his estate as did London merchants Spencer Piggott and William Davis. On the other hand, there were quite a few people who owed money to John Newell (William Roberts, John Coale, George Distiard, and D. White). Mrs. Elizabeth Newell disputed the claims filed by Mathew Page and Cuthbert Potter and in 1676 Stephen Proctor's widow was still pursuing the sum her late husband was owed. In 1675 Mrs. Newell asked Robert Beverley I to assist her in dealing with Potter. In 1676 the General Court audited the accounts of John Newell's estate, which still wasn't settled, and Richard Littlepage agreed to serve as attorney. Among the properties Newell owned at the time of his death were his 133-plus acres in Jamestown, 500 acres in York's Old Fields, George Gill's mill in York County. The decedent also had a legal interest in the mill at Martin's Hundred (McIlwaine 1924:273, 324, 328, 338, 350, 352, 356-357, 363, 374, 387, 437, 404, 441; Ambler MS 28, 33).

When Jonathan Newell died, his 133.027 acres of land on Jamestown Island, Tract D, descended to his brother and heir-at-law, David, a merchant who owned some acreage in New Kent County. Legal disputes between the decedent's administratrix and widow, Elizabeth Newell, and her brother-in-law, David, spanned a period of two or more years (Ambler MS 29; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1:397; McIlwaine 1924:307, 342, 344, 374; Withington 1980:82; Coldham 1987b:41; Nugent 1969-1979:I:559).

Theophilus Hone (Howne) (lessee)

On June 21, 1670, Major Theophilus Hone (Howne) was described as occupying some property near William May's ½ acre lot (part of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot D, which was near Lot C Parcels 1 and 2). A November 20, 1673, deed for the sale of the late Walter Chiles II's 3½ acre lot (Study Unit 1 Tract F Lots A and B) to York County merchant John Page reveals that Hone had been inhabiting a 37-foot-long brick house Chiles had built upon Lot B of Tract F, probably Structure 138. By 1675 Hone had moved next door to Tract D Lot A, where he was residing in the "country house" (Structure 38) on Jonathan Newell's property. Tract F's sale to John Page may have prompted Hone's move. During Bacon's Rebellion, Hone suffered the loss of his goods, probably because Nathaniel Bacon's followers put the "country house" to the torch (Ambler MS 24, 26; McIlwaine 1924:221; Bruce 1898:68; Wiseman Book of Records [1677]). As Hone was staunchly loyal to Governor William Berkeley and then was high sheriff of James City County, the rebels would have found his dwelling an attractive target.[39]

Theophilus Hone, who was a gentleman, in November 1652 served as a burgess for Elizabeth City County. By 1655 he had commenced representing James City. In 1664 Hone was identified as a James City County justice of the peace and he served as a James City Parish vestryman. From 1666 to 1676 he was Jamestown's representative in the assembly, an indication that he or his wife had a legal interest in some land in Jamestown. Prior to 1671 he had married the twice-widowed Sarah Richardson Edwards, relict of William Edwards I of Surry County. In October 1667 Theophilus

[39] A February 6, 1677, document signed by David Newell, confirming a February 7, 1676, bill of sale for 1 acre of the "country house" lot to William Sherwood and William Claiborne, makes reference to "a certaine messuage or Tenement with the outhouses, Land and appurtenances thereto belonging formerly in ye possession of majr Theop: Hone ... which Land and howse or ruine of ye said howse scittuate in James Citty" had been assigned to David Newell "ye Last Day of October now last past." Newell on February 6, 1677, reassigned "the ruines of the aforesaid howse ... in which ye said Majr Hone formerly lived, with 1 full acre of ground" to William Sherwood. On April 23, 1678, Newell acknowledged the sale in court (Ambler MS 26).

Hone was one of the men fined for building a wharf in front of the town (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:48; Hening 1809-1823:II:159; Charles City Order Book 1:33). This suggests that he owned or had a legal interest in some waterfront property.

During the early 1670s Major Theophilus Hone made several appearances in the General Court. In 1671 he was called upon to inventory Thomas Hunt's estate (Study Unit 4 Tract J). In 1672 Theophilus gave his power of attorney to stepson William Edwards II and William Sherwood to act on his behalf in the monthly court of Surry County (McIlwaine 1924:236, 251, 258, 262, 277; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:20). Over the years, Hone enhanced the size of his holdings in Elizabeth City and he patented a large tract on the north side of the Rappahannock River (Nugent 1969-1979:I:322, 540; Leonard 1976:38; Stanard 1965:70, 72, 79; Hening 1809-1823:II:249-250).

In 1671 Captain Christopher Wormeley, who had wed the widow of James City Parish minister Justinian Aylemer, sued Theophilus Hone and William May for the deceased clergyman's back pay. Hone and May responded by suing Walter Chiles II and Francis Kirkman, their replacements on the parish vestry. In October 1671 Thomas Rabley (a Dutchman who in 1678 purchased Lot B and part of Lot A within Study Unit 4 Tract L) sued Major Theophilus Hone, his former guardian. When Hone's accounts were audited, it was determined that he owed funds to Rabley (McIlwaine 1924:280, 285).

In 1672, when a decision was made to build a 250-foot-long brick fort at Jamestown, Major Theophilus Hone, William Drummond and Mathew Page offered to undertake its construction and Hone agreed to have gun carriages made. In November 1672 he accepted Surry County funds earmarked for the construction of the brick fort. Mathew Page died and Hone and Drummond were ordered to complete the fort, which included replacing some of its cracked and defective brick (Surry County Order Book 1671-1690:13; McIlwaine 1924:342, 344, 367).

It is uncertain whether Theophilus Hone and William Drummond worked together harmoniously on the fort. However, there is no doubt that they were on opposing sides during Bacon's Rebellion. During 1675 and 1676 when Hone was high sheriff of James City County, he seized Nathaniel Bacon (to whom Drummond was loyal) and forcibly took him to Governor William Berkeley (Force 1963:I:8:12). After the rebellion subsided, Hone was responsible for inventorying the property confiscated from the rebels executed for treason. One was William Drummond (Study Unit 4 Tract N). Hone also certified an accounting of the rebel Richard Lawrence's estate (Study Unit 4 Tract S). Theophilus Hone, though not usually identified as a member of the "Green Spring Faction," apparently maintained strong ties to Berkeley's loyalists. In January 1678 he was named as one of Thomas Ludwell's executors (Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot B, which contains Structure 144). Hone's daughter, Catherine, married Robert Beverley II of Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract Q), the son of a Berkeley partisan-turned-vigilante (C.O. 5/1371 f 217, 247; Sainsbury 1964:10:72; Bruce 1895:412; Withington 1980:667).

On February 20, 1677, Major Theophilus Hone asked the assembly for the ruins of the brick rowhouses Richard Auborne and Arnold Cassinett had occupied prior to Bacon's Rebellion (Structure 115 on Study Unit 4 Tract K Lots C and D, Bays 3 and 4). The burgesses agreed but stipulated "that he doe well and substantially att his owne cost rebuild the two houses wherein Mr. Richard Auborne and Arnold Cassinett lately lived in James City." Hone was to receive a 50 year lease, as long as he paid an annual rent of an ear of Indian corn "and that hee or his assignes doe constantly keepe all the sayd buildings in good and sufficient repair" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1659-1693:73, 78). Ultimately, he failed to rebuild the ruinous houses and his conditional agreement with the assembly became null and void.

David Newell

When Jonathan Newell died in 1675, his 133.027 acres of land on Jamestown Island, Tract D, descended to his brother and legal heir, David, a merchant who owned some acreage in New Kent County. However, legal disputes between the widowed Elizabeth Newell and her brother-in-law, David, were spread out over the next several years (Ambler MS 29; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1:397; McIlwaine 1924:307, 342, 344, 374; Withington 1980:82; Coldham 1987:41; Nugent 1969-1979:I:559).

In October 1671 John Hayward (Heyward), who had married Thomas Hunt's widow (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J), successfully brought suit against David Newell as the late Jonathan Newell's heir. He claimed that the decedent owned him a large sum. Hayward also sued the widowed Elizabeth Newell. Although David Newell was arrested and jailed, ultimately he posted a bond and was freed (McIlwaine 1924:280, 293, 308, 315, 321).

On February 7, 1677, David Newell sold 1 acre of the "country house" lot (approximately 1/3 of Lot A, that portion which contained of the ruinous "country house," Structure 38), to William Sherwood and and William Claiborne II. Claiborne's involvement appears to have been minimal, for Sherwood built a brick house and appurtenances on the lot during 1677 (Ambler MS 26; Patent Book 7:98; Nugent 1969-1979:II:222). David Newell already had done business with William Sherwood, for in 1669 he had sold him and Thomas Rabley (of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot B) a 17 acre parcel in Middle Plantation (Nugent 1969-1979:II:261). Newell also had a connection with the Jamestown community, for prior to October 1672 he had married Letitia, the widow and administratrix of John Barber I (of Study Unit 3 Tract K Lot A; Study Unit 4 Tract L Lots A and B), who seems to have been a merchant. In June 1671 when John Page, Jonathan Newell and William Monford met to review the accounts of a merchant who was being sued, they convened at David Newell's house, perhaps that of the late John Barber I. Although the decedent's principal heir was his son, John Barber II, his widow may have had a dower interest in the family home on Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot A (McIlwaine 1924:240, 281, 314; Ambler MS 83).

William Sherwood and William Claiborne II

On February 7, 1676, William Sherwood and William Claiborne II made arrangements to 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 paid for the property) deeded the 1 acre lot "and ruine of said howse" to William Sherwood, exclusively (Ambler MS 17, 26).

William Sherwood

On February 6, 1677, when David Newell deeded 1 acre of the "country house" lot to William Sherwood, he reiterated that he was his brother's sole heir and described the property being conveyed as "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 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 his heires for ever And the said mr William Sherwood hath since new built a faire howse & Appurtenances on the same which said acre of land begins at a stake before Coll Whites dore, thence runing towards his howse West North West 3 Chaines [99 feet], thence South South West 2.27 chaines [74.91 feet], thence West by North 1.16 chains [38.28 feet], thence West by North 1/3 Northerly 4 chaines [132 feet], thence South by West 5.35 chaines [176.55 feet], then East by South 1/8 Easterly 8 Chaines [264 feet], then North by East 1/8 Easterly 4 Chaines [132 feet], then North by East ½ Easterly 2.21 chaines [72.93 feet] to the place it begann" (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. 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 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).

On February 6, 1682, Martin Gardner, an attorney representing the estate of British merchant Stephen Proctor, conveyed Proctor's legal interest in the late Jonathan Newell's acreage to William Sherwood, with the exception of "one acre on which the brick howse [Structure 38] 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). In 1688 the Rev. John Clayton, a dedicated naturalist, informed a friend in England that he had advised William Sherwood to drain his 150 acres of marsh land (which ran diagonally across this property) and convert it into pasture (Force 1963:III:12:23).

In October 1677 Sherwood purchased John Fulcher's 28½ acre tract (Study Unit 1 Tract E) which patent he had confirmed in April 1681. Between 1677 and 1682 he acquired David Newell's land (Study Unit 1 Tract D) and he purchased 3½ acres from John Page (Study Unit 1 Tract F) (Nugent 1969-1979:II:222; Patent Book 7:97; Ambler MS 33, 34). On October 23, 1690, Sherwood patented Tract C, the 150 acres his wife's late 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. As a result, the James acreage (Tract C) escheated to the Crown (Ambler MS 43; Patent Book 8:83). As Sherwood never repatented the decedent's 40 acre patent (Tract B) but retained it, it probably was the widowed Rachel James' dower share of her late husband's estate.

On April 20, 1694, William Sherwood patented a 308 acre aggregate that encompassed Tracts C, D, E, F, and G. The consolidated parcel's external boundaries were described precisely as they had been individually. All of Tract D's boundaries were just 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; Nugent 1969-1979:II:394).[40] Thus, by April 20, 1694, William Sherwood was in possession of virtually all of Tract D.

William Sherwood, who immigrated to Virginia sometime prior to 1669, by October 4, 1675, had married Rachel, the widow of Richard James I. Sherwood, an attorney and 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). On September 19, 1676, the day William Sherwood left for England to report on conditions to the colony, Nathaniel Bacon's men set Jamestown ablaze. Sherwood later said that during the conflagration, "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 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 sought to attach part of the estate of Richard Lawrence (Study Unit 4 Tract S), who allegedly set fire to the James/Sherwood home, and he told the king's commissioners that such an infusion of funds would enable him "to rebuild in James City" (C. O. 1/41 f 32ro). In a separate petition, Sherwood said that several men executed for their role in the rebellion were indebted to him and he asked to be reimbursed for his losses from the condemned men's estates. 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 Tract D Lot A), both of which are depicted and labeled on John Soane's 1681 plat (Ambler MS 134). 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 of Structures 31/38 and his kitchen was in the immediate vicinity of Structure 58.

Throughout the 1680s and 90s William Sherwood (and then 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 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

[40] In 1683 Sherwood also had a 260 acre leasehold in the interior of the Governor's Land (Soane 1683).

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 meeting, 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).

According to historian Robert Beverley II, Governor Francis Howard (Lord Effingham), who held office from 1684 to 1689, when the structure was rebuilt, "created a new Court of Chancery, distinct from the General Court." Beverley said that so "that it might 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 for that use" (Beverley 1947:97). In all probability, the "private House" Howard preferred was the Sherwood dwelling, Structure 31.

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).

Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys (Jeffries, Jeffrys) (reversionary heir)

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. In 1692 he sent 200 stand of arms to Virginia, part of the weaponry that was damaged or destroyed when the statehouse burned in October 1698. When Jeffrey Jeffreys learned that William Sherwood was dead, he authorized Arthur Spicer to take the decedent's estate into custody. By 1704 Jeffreys had been knighted. He 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, Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys sold 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 Tracts A, B, C, D, F and G.

Edward Jaquelin

In ca. 1699 Mrs. Rachel James Sherwood married Edward Jaquelin, a merchant 9 years younger than her deceased son, Richard James II. Jaquelin moved into her home and on December 11, 1704, purchased Jeffrey Jeffreys' interest in the late William Sherwood's estate (Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F, and G) (Ambler MS 65, 73). He also would have had use of wife Rachel's dower share of Richard James I's estate (probably Tract B). It is uncertain whether Sherwood's lease for 260 acres in the Governor's Land was still viable.

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, which included part 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 parcel 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 to the Jaquelin/Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island. After Rachel James Sherwood Jaquelin's death, Edward Jaquelin married Martha Cary of Elizabeth City County, with whom he had several children. However, Edward outlived Martha and their sons and when he died in November 1739, his three daughters became his heirs. Edward Jaquelin's Jamestown Island plantation and mainland farm descended through his eldest daughter, Elizabeth (the wife of Yorktown merchant Richard Ambler) to the decedent's four-year-old grandson, John Ambler I (Smith et al. 1745; Meyer et al. 1987:606).

Richard Ambler

Although Richard Ambler's wife, Elizabeth Jaquelin, technically seems to have inherited her late father's landholdings on Jamestown Island and in the nearby mainland, they clearly were intended for her son John Ambler I. Included in the bequest were Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F, and G and possibly Tract H. In 1745 Richard Ambler purchased his sister-in-laws' reversionary interest in a 2 acre parcel in which he enjoyed a life-interest, and he enhanced the size of the Jaquelin plantation by purchasing a substantial quantity of land from Norfolk merchant Christopher Perkins. Included in that transaction was Study Unit 1 Tract E. This increased the size of the Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island to approximately 698 acres (Smith et al. 1745; Ambler MS 97-98, 106-107).

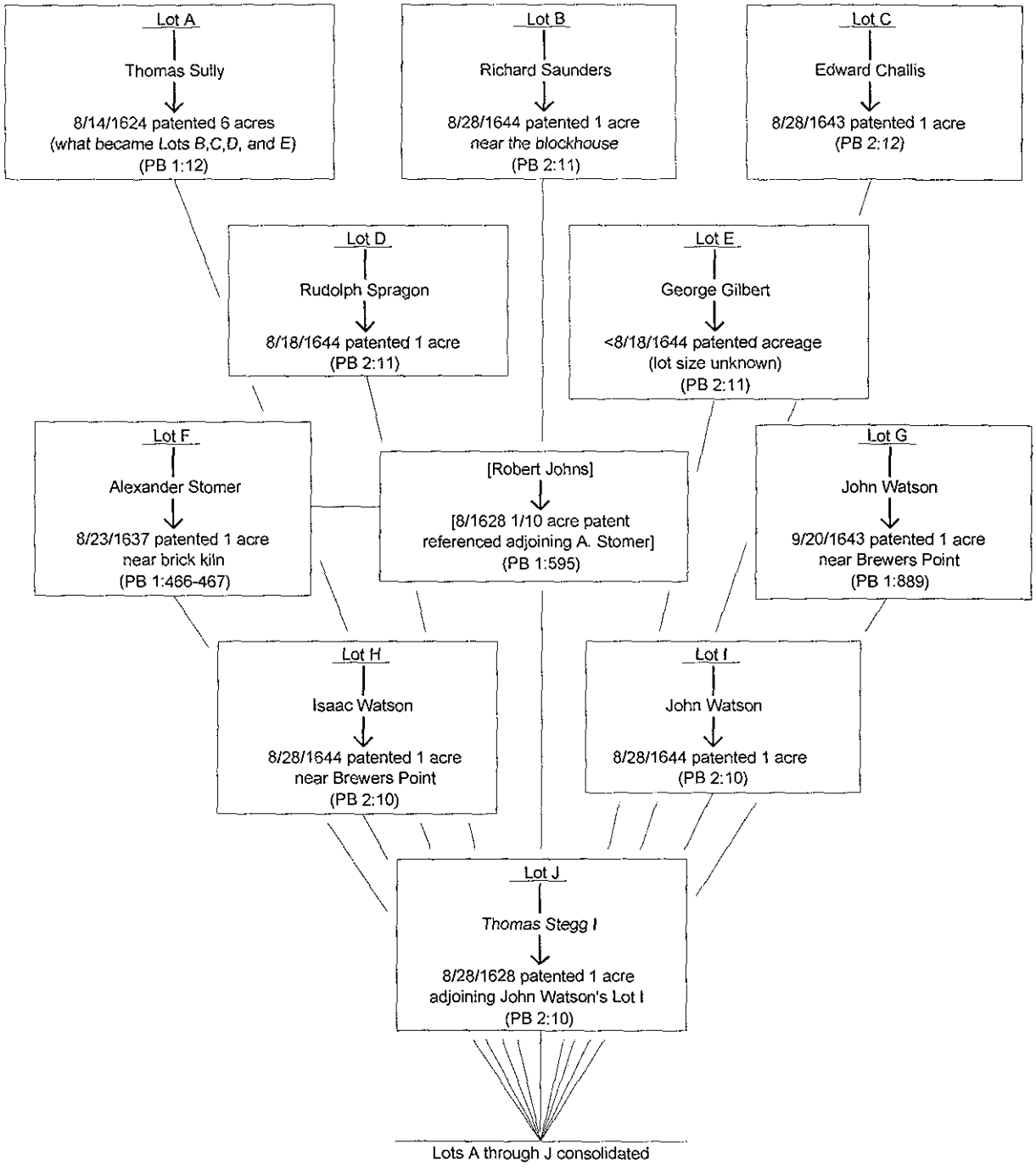


Figure 16. *Land transactions, Study Unit 1, Tract E.*

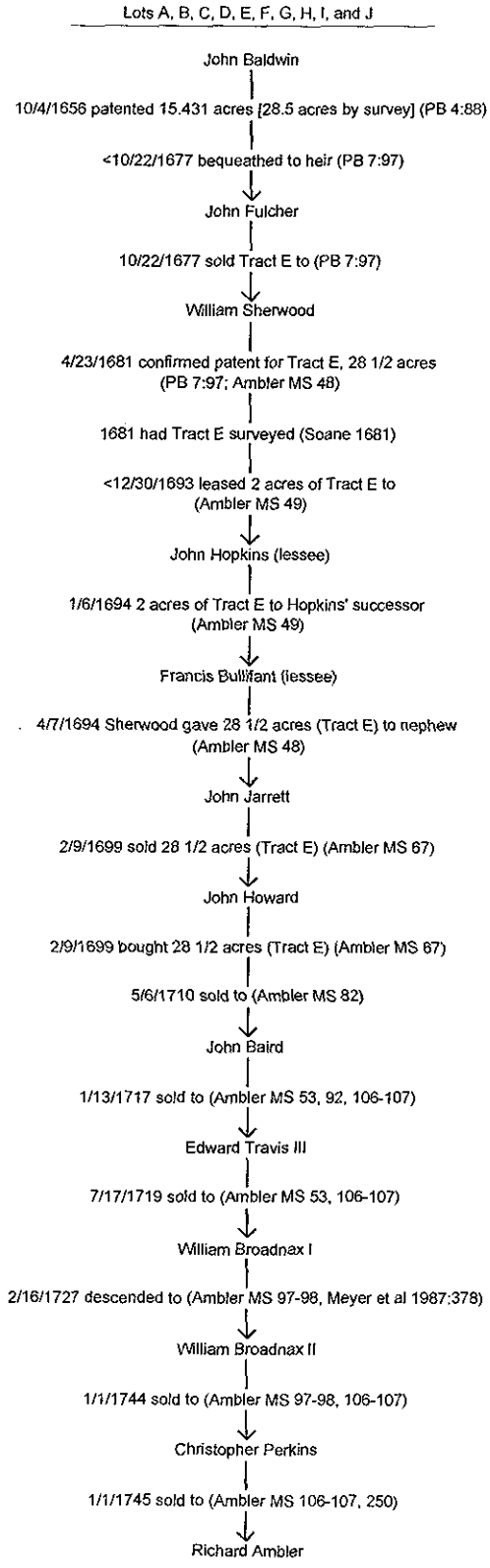


Figure 17. *Land transactions, Study Unit 1, Tract E, Lots A through J.*

Study Unit 1 Tract E

The earliest known patentee of acreage within Tract E is Thomas Sully (Sulley), who in 1624 laid claim to 6 acres that abutted north upon the blockhouse land at the entrance to Jamestown Island, west upon the James River, and extended east into the marshes that flanked the lower side of the Back River. Sully retained his 6 acres until at least 1628, after which point its history is uncertain. As he was permitted to double the size of his Jamestown Island patent, he may have extended his landholdings into the southerly part of what became Tract E. By the late 1630s and early 1640s, the Sully patent had come into other hands.

During 1643 and 1644 Richard Sanders (Saunders), Radulph Spragon, Alexander Stomer, and Edward Challis patented 1 acre lots near the isthmus that connected Jamestown Island to the mainland. George Gilbert's patent abutted Spragon's and Robert Johns' abutted Stomer's. John Watson acquired two 1 acre lots near Brewers Point, in the same vicinity. Merchant Peter Knight's storehouse defined the extreme western end of Jamestown's market zone and a brick kiln and a brew house were located there. All but two of these lots were awarded to patentees during the first two or three years of Sir William Berkeley's governorship and almost all of them were 1 acre in size.

Tract E, thorough which passed the road to the mainland, seems to have been a focal point of industrial and commercial activities during the late 1630s and early 1640s. Certain men (notably, bricklayer Alexander Stomer and perhaps Edward Challis, who seems to have been associated with pottery-making) were artisans and a brewery was located nearby. Eight of the patents for lots in Tract E plus four others in Tract C (at or near the rise of land known as "the Friggott") were issued around the same time. These 12 lots and four neighboring ones for which no patents exist may have been awarded to skilled workers and merchants as part of Governor Berkeley's attempt to strengthen Virginia's economy through the production of manufactured goods.

A small portion of the 8 acre (actually, 7.19 acre) patent near "the Friggott," assigned to the Rev. Thomas Hampton on June 12, 1644, overlaps the eastern end of Tract E and part of Tract C's Lot B. Hampton was obliged to use his land within six months or lose it (Nugent 1969-1979:I:154, 169; Patent Book 2:11, 105). The Hampton parcel's chain of title is included in the history of Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot C.

Cartographic works and physical evidence indicate that erosion has taken a severe toll upon the west side of Tract E, undoubtedly impacting whatever cultural resources were present in that vicinity. In 1688 the Rev. John Clayton commented 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. In 1734, some of Jamestown's inhabitants and freeholders asked the assembly 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." The petitioners' funding request was denied, but they raised the issue two years later, alleging that "the road leading into the said island and to the public ferry over James River to Swans Point is so

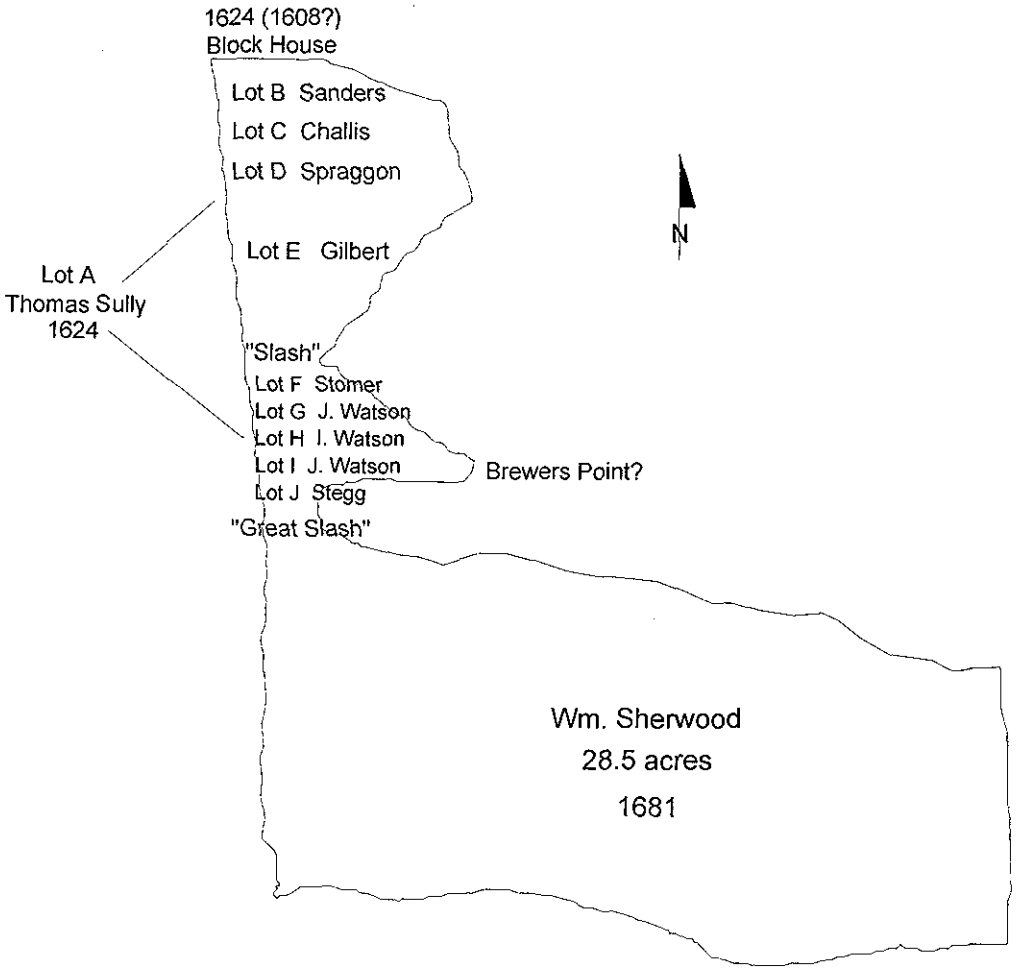


Figure 18. *Study Unit 1, Tract E.*

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." Again, the petitioners' funding request was denied (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1727-1740:216, 276). In 1748 several local citizens informed the assembly that "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 insisted that "keeping up the causeway will be of little service to any others than those who cross the ferry at Jamestown (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1742-1749:300, 305, 310).

In mid-September 1769 a severe hurricane struck eastern Virginia. It reportedly caused severe flooding (Purdie-Dixon, September 14, 1769). The storm probably exacerbated the erosion of the isthmus, for in November 1769 a group of local inhabitants asked to be relieved of maintaining the causeway that traversed Sandy Bay and provided access to the Jamestown ferry. Their petition was rejected (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1766-1769:258). Finally, in 1779, when the state assembly moved the Jamestown ferry to the mainland, it was noted 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 that it hath washed a breach of consider-

able width and depth" (James City County Legislative Petitions, November 9, 1779). During the 1790s the Amblers built a stone and log causeway to the mainland. Later, the causeway was replaced by a series of bridges.

Lot A

Thomas Sully (Sulley)

On August 14, 1624, when Thomas Sully (Sulley) patented 6 acres in the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, he was described as an ancient planter, yeoman and resident of the Neck O'Land, who received his patent as part of his personal adventure. Sully's patent abutted "Eastward upon a peece of ground called the blocke house feild Cleared in the time of the Governmt of Sr Thomas Gates, Westward extending toward the path leading to the new blocke howse lately built, Northward upon a great marsh of the back river, and Southward unto the markes and bounds there appointed, Close to the highway by the Swampe" (Nugent 1969-1979:I:3; Patent Book 1:12). When the verbal boundary description of Thomas Sully's patent is compared with William Sherwood's 1681 plat of Tract E, it is evident that Sully's 6 acres enveloped the northerly component of the tract patented by John Baldwin and his successor William Sherwood. That subunit of the Baldwin-Sherwood tract was presumed to be 5 acres 69 perches (or 5.431 acres) but was demonstrated by survey to include 8 acres. It enveloped the protruding point of land that extends in an eastward direction toward the rise of land called "the Friggott," probably the site upon which a blockhouse was built during Sir Thomas Gates' government (Ambler MS 134).

Sometime prior to receiving his 6 acres in the western end of Jamestown Island, Thomas Sully acquired a patent for 6 acres at Black Point (Study Unit 1 Tract U), which he sold to Sir George Yeardley on January 24, 1625. Sully, an ancient planter, came to Virginia in 1611 aboard the *Sarah*, at age 22. On February 16, 1624, he was living in the Neck O'Land behind Jamestown Island with his wife. However, by January 1625 when a muster was made of the colony's inhabitants, Thomas Sully (age 36) and wife Maudlyn (age 30) had moved to Elizabeth City where they were residing in the household of William Julian. On November 30, 1628, when Sully (described as an Elizabeth City planter) patented 94 acres near the head of the Hampton River, it was noted that his 6 acre patent on Jamestown Island was to be doubled. Thus, he appears to have retained Study Unit 1 Tract E Lot A even though he disposed of his 6 acres at Black Point (Hotten 1980:178; Meyer et al. 1987:54; Nugent 1969-1979:I:3, 10; Patent Book 1:12, 65; McIlwaine 1924:45). As Thomas Sully and his wife were residing in the Neck O'Land in 1624 and within a year moved to Elizabeth City, where they remained, it is doubtful that they ever occupied Lot A.

During November 1624 Thomas Sully made two appearances before the Governor's Council: one in which he testified that he and his wife had witnessed John Phillimore's will and another when he was censured (and fined) for hunting on Sunday (McIlwaine 1924:27, 33). As Phillimore lived on the lower side of the James, in what became Surry County, and as churchwarden Richard Kingsmill reported Sully's infraction of ecclesiastical law, both episodes probably occurred before the Sullys moved to Elizabeth City.

In November 1673 a Thomas Sully was said to have rented Richard Kemp's house (Structure 44 on Tract F of Study Unit 1) from the Rev. James Wadding, who had married Walter Chiles II's widow. As the Thomas Sully who patented Lot A of Tract E would have then been age 84, it is likely that the tenant Thomas Sully was an unrelated individual or perhaps a son of the Lot A's patentee (Ambler MS 24).

Lot B

Richard Sanders (Saunders)

On August 28, 1644, Richard Sanders received a patent for a 1 acre lot near the block house. It was

bound on the "west upon the river, East upon ye Marsh, North upon the blockhouse land, and South upon the Land of Edward Challis [Lot C]" (Patent Book 2:11; Nugent 1969-1979:I:154). No building requirements were cited in Sanders' patent, which was on the waterfront, near the isthmus that led to the mainland. His acreage also extended eastward into the marsh abutting the Back River.

Sanders may have been the Richard Sanders (Saunders) who came to Virginia aboard the *Francis Bonaventure* sometime prior to February 17, 1624, and took up residence upon the Governor's Land. On January 30, 1625, Sanders was residing in Pasbehay, where he was described as one of the governor's indentured servants. He was then age 25 (Hotten 1980:177, 219).

Lot C

Edward Challis (Challice)

On August 28, 1643, Edward Challis (Challice) received a patent for a 1 acre lot in Jamestown that abutted "west upon the river, East upon the Marsh, North upon the blockhouse Land and South toward the Land of Radolph Spraggon." Thus, Challis's land, which was south of Richard Sanders's Lot B, was on the waterfront near the isthmus that led to the mainland, extended eastward into the marsh abutting the Back River and abutted south upon the lot of Radollph Spraggon (Lot D). No building requirements were included in Challis's patent (Patent Book 2:12; Nugent 1969-1979:I:154). Challis had arrived in Virginia by 1639, when he was listed as a headright in Edward Sanderson's patent for some land on the Chickahominy River (Nugent 1969-1979:I:112).

In 1683, when James City County's official surveyor, John Soane, prepared a plat of the Governor's Land, Edward Challis was credited with a 65 acre leasehold, a parcel that lay in the western part of that 3,000 acre tract and abutted the river (Soane 1683). Archaeologists have identified a substantial quantity of shards of a distinctive coarseware within the 65 acre Challis leasehold. Numerous wasters were present, but no kiln, probably because it had been eroded into the James (V.D.H.R. 1974).[41] On May 12, 1693, Edward Challice was authorized to receive compensation for delivering official messages (McIlwaine 1918:143). It is unclear whether Edward Challis or one of his servants was a potter. However, additional documentary research may shed light upon that issue.

Lot D

Rudolph (Rudalph, Radolph, Radulph) Spragon (Spraggon, Spragling)

On August 18, 1644, Rudalph (Radulph) Spraggon received a patent for 1 acre of land in Jamestown bounded "south upon the land of Geo. Gilbert [Lot E], North towards the way Leading toward the Mayne, west upon the river, and East Towards the land of Mr. Hampton [Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot C] (Patent Book 2:11; Nugent 1969-1979:I:154). No building requirements were cited in Spraggon's patent, which was on the waterfront and extended eastward toward the Rev. Thomas Hampton's patent (Tract C Lot C). The name of Rudolph Spragon "of James City" was entered into the records of the Surry County court on April 17, 1649, for he was indebted to someone named R. Compton (Surry County Deeds, Wills, &c. 1652-1672:108). Spragon's presence in Jamestown raises the possibility that he developed Lot D, perhaps making it his permanent home.

The patentee of Lot D probably was the 37-year-old Radulph Spragling (Spragon, Spraggon), who on June 23, 1635, set sail for Virginia in the *America*, which was under the command of William Barker.[42] Immigration records note that all of

[41] Challis's name is used in connection with this particular type of pottery.

[42] This William Barker may have been the mariner named Captain William Barker, who in February 1639 patented Study Unit 4 Tract Y.

the men and women aboard the *America* had been given a certificate by the minister of Gravesend, attesting to their conformity to the Church of England's precepts (Hotten 1980:95). They probably were indentured servants.

Lot E

George Gilbert

Sometime prior to August 18, 1644, George Gilbert laid claim to a lot that abutted north upon the acreage of Rudolph Spraggon (Lot D) (Patent Book 2:11; Nugent 1969-1979:I:154). Although Gilbert's patent has been lost or destroyed, it is known to have been located south of the 1 acre Spraggon lot (Lot D), which was located upon the waterfront. On September 29, 1643, George Gilbert patented 50 acres in the mainland, near Walter Cooper's land and the bridge across Powhatan Creek. He secured his patent on the basis of one headright (Patent Book 1:905; Nugent 1969-1979:I:147).

Lot F

Alexander Stomer (Stoner, Stonar, Stonnar, Stommer)

On August 23, 1637, Alexander Stoner, a brickmaker, received from Governor John Harvey a patent for a 1 acre lot "neare the brick kill [kiln] being 24 perches [396 feet] in length and 7½ perches [123.75 feet] in breadth, being bounded on the west end with James River, on the North side with a little Swampe, on the East end with the Back River, and on the south side with twoe persimmon trees." The "little Swampe" mentioned in Alexander Stomer's patent description probably was a low-lying area between Lots E and F, where the marsh bordering the Back River came close to the James River. Stomer's ability to retain his patent depended upon his developing it within six months (Nugent 1969-1979:I:68; Patent Book 1:466-467). On August 31, 1638, when Robert Johns patented a tiny parcel (1/10 acre) that abutted south upon the James River, Alexander Stomer's patent was said to be on his west (Patent Book 1:595; Nugent 1969-1979:I:96). The Johns patent probably contains one or more errors in transcription, for its verbal boundary description is incompatible with that of the Stomer patent.

Alexander Stomer on June 22, 1635, patented 350 acres that abutted the glebe or home farm of the James City Parish minister. Stomer, who had married John Cooke's widow, Jane, laid claim to the 100 acres to which she was entitled as her late husband's heir. Stomer's patent reveals that Cooke (a Virginia Company servant) on June 20, 1620, received from Governor George Yeardley a certificate that entitled him and his heirs to 100 acres when he fulfilled his term of indenture. Besides Cooke's entitlement, Stomer and his wife, Jane, were eligible for 50 acres apiece as their own personal adventure and an additional 150 acres for the transportation of three servants.[43] In February 1638 Alexander Stomer mortgaged his 350 acres to Jamestown merchant John Chew (Study Unit 4 Tract L); however, he eventually was able to redeem his property and regain an unencumbered title. Stomer also had 27 acres contiguous to the Governor's Land and Glasshouse Point (land he acquired from Captain William Peirce) and some acreage along the Chickahominy River. Eventually, he was obliged to forfeit his 27 acres in the mainland and he sold his acreage on the Chickahominy (Nugent 969-1979:I:28, 47, 33, 97, 101, 177; Patent Book 1:595; 2:150).

[43] In 1638 John Jackson and Elizabeth Kingsmill listed Stomer as a headright when patenting some land along the Chickahominy River (Nugent 1969-1979:I:97). Although his connection with them is tenuous, it may be significant that John Jackson and Richard Kingsmill (Elizabeth's father) were the guardians of the Rev. Richard Buck's children and that Buck's patent and the James City Parish glebe were close to some acreage Stomer claimed in that vicinity in 1635.

Lot G

John Watson (Wattson)

On September 20, 1643, John Watson received a patent for 1 acre of ground in Jamestown "neare the Brewers Point." His land was bound "along the side of Mr. Knights North by East 13 poles [214.5 feet], East South East 12 1/4 poles [202.125 feet], South by West 13 poles [214.5 feet], and West North West 12 3/4 poles [210.375 feet] upon the river" (Patent Book 1:889; Nugent 1969-1979:I:145). Watson's patent, which was nearly square, was bound upon the west by the James River. As it reportedly abutted northeast upon Mr. Knight's property (probably the land of Mr. Peter Knight, whose storehouse near Sandy Bay in 1649 marked the western end of Jamestown's market zone), Lot G probably was just south of Alexander Stomer's Lot F (Hening 1809-1823:I:362). In August 1644 John Watson acquired a second 1 acre patent "neare the Brewere poynt" and abutting the James River, the parcel designated Tract H. It probably lay to the south of (but not contiguous to) Lot G (see ahead).

In 1625 a John Watson (age 24) was living in Elizabeth City, where he was an indentured servant in the home of the Rev. Jonas Stockton (Hotten 1980:256). A decade later, on July 11, 1635, a John Watson patented 150 acres in Elizabeth City in "the New Poquoson," using himself, wife Elizabeth and a man servant as headrights. Watson's property abutted that of Christopher Stokes, a former resident of Jamestown Island (Nugent 1969-1979:I:26; Patent Book 1:225).

Lot H

Isaac Watson

On August 28, 1644, when John Watson patented a 1 acre lot (Lot I) "neare the Brewere poynt," his land extended "North by East along the Land of Isaac Watson [Lot H] 26½ poles [437.25 feet]" before turning south toward the land of Thomas Stegg I [Lot J] (Patent Book 2:10; Nugent 1969-1979:I:154). As Isaac Watson's patent no longer survives, its precise location is uncertain. Very little is known about Isaac Watson other than the fact that in 1655 he acquired Richard Codsford's acreage in Westmoreland County and that he and a partner patented some land on Aquia Creek in 1662 (Nugent 1969-1979:I:312, 512).

Lot I

John Watson (Wattson)

On August 28, 1644, John Watson patented a 1 acre lot (Lot I) "neare the Brewere poynt bounded for breadth upon the river from the land of Mr. Thomas Stegg [I] west north west 6 poles [99 feet] (for length North by East along the Land of Isaac Watson 26½ poles [437.25 feet], thence East South East 6 poles [99 feet] and thence South by west to the place where it began 26½ poles [437.25 feet]" (Patent Book 2:10; Nugent 1969-1979:I:154). As neither Thomas Stegg I's nor Isaac Watson's patents survive, the exact location of Lot I is uncertain. However, John Watson's patent description for Lot I reveals that Isaac Watson's land (Tract H) lay to the north and Thomas Stegg I's (Lot J) to the south.

Lot J

Thomas Stegg I

On August 28, 1644, when John Watson patented a 1 acre lot (Lot I) "neare the Brewere poynt," his land extended "East South East [from Isaac Watson's land for] 6 poles [99 feet] and thence South by west [along Thomas Stegg's property] to the place where it began 26½ poles [437.25 feet]" (Patent Book 2:10; Nugent 1969-1979:I:154). As Thomas Stegg I's patent no longer survives, nothing more is known about his land.

Thomas Stegg I was a Jamestown merchant and avid supporter of Governor John Harvey, who

in 1640 ran afoul of the authorities by helping Secretary Richard Kemp leave Virginia with some public documents. Later, Stegg went on to become a burgess, speaker of the assembly, and councilor. He also was one of the Parliamentary commissioners to whom Governor William Berkeley surrendered the colony in 1652. He died at sea, leaving a widow (Elizabeth) and son (Thomas Stegg II) (McIlwaine 1924:482, 492, 495; Hening 1809-1823:I:239; Nugent 1969-1979:I:154; Stanard 1965:35, 63; Lower Norfolk County Book A:191; Force 1963:II:9:19).

Lots A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I and J

John Baldwin (Baldwine)

On October 4, 1656, John Baldwin patented Study Unit 1 Tract E, which was presumed to be 15 acres and 69 perches (15.431 acres) of land. His parcel was located in the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, adjacent to the isthmus that led to the mainland, and was described in two contiguous but distinct components. The southern section, which purportedly included 10 acres, occupied the western end of the large ridge of land just north of the brick rowhouse known as the Ludwell Statehouse Group, Structure 144. It was bound "Eastly upon Mr. James's Land [Study Unit 1 Tract C], North upon the back river & the Land hereafter mentioned, West upon the [James] river, and South upon the Slash which lyeth between the State House & the said Mr. James." The northerly section of John Baldwin's patent, which included 5 acres and 69 perches (5.431 acres) "at the Old Block House," began "at the head of a Marsh Swamp, issuing into the back River but runing to the block house, North 34 West down behind Marsh belonging to the back River, Southerly to a red Oak on a point near the first Mentioned Land, thence South 3/4 West [blank] perches, so West half Past North 36 perches [594 feet] to the place it began at" (Nugent 1969-1979:I:338; Patent Book 4:88; Ambler MS 5). Baldwin's verbal boundary description reveals that the northerly part of his patent enveloped the 6 acres (Tract A) that Thomas Sully patented in August 1624.

John Baldwin, who immigrated to Virginia in the *Tyger* in 1622, was a free man with ties through friendship or kinship to settlers in Bermuda. During 1624 and 1625 he resided on the lower side of the James River on the Treasurer's Plantation, a tract that belonged to George Sandys (Hotten 1980:180, 234; Lefroy 1981:264; Meyer et al. 1987:42; Patent Book 1:12, 16; Nugent 1969-1979:I:3-4). A letter John Baldwin wrote to a friend in Bermuda in ca. 1623 sheds a great deal of light upon the living conditions he endured while residing upon the Treasurer's Plantation. Baldwin said that even though he was free, George Sandys "hath dealt unkindlie with us, he makes us serve him whether wee will or noe, and how to helpe yt wee doe not knowe for he bearith all the sway." He indicated that four men were killed by Indians, who ambushed them, and others had succumbed to ill treatment or lack of food. Baldwin said that one man, who was ill, was beaten until he fell, "and then they caryed him to bed, and there he lay sixe dayes and neither eat nor dranke" even though there was plenty of food. He said that "Yf a man be sicke, [they] putt him in a new house and there lett lie down and starve, for noebody will come at him." He closed his letter by saying that "It hath been a verye hard tyme wth all men they had like to starve this yeare: there was them that paid fortye shillings a bushell for sheld Corne. But howsoever, they dye like rotten sheepe no man dies, but he is as full of maggotts as he can holde. They rott above ground" (Lefroy 1981:264-265). On May 20, 1637, when John Baldwin sold a 16 acre parcel (Study Unit 2 Tract P) to John Radish, he was described as a gentleman who lately had resided upon Jamestown Island (Patent Book 1:423; Nugent 1969-1979:I:56). It is uncertain whether he had been occupying Study Unit 2 Tract P or had a home in urban Jamestown. On July 12, 1653, the assembly decided that John Baldwin would be allowed to serve as a burgess (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:88). As James City County and

Surry seem to have had their full complements of burgesses, Baldwin may have represented Jamestown. In May 1656 the Surry County justices noted that John Baldwin was then involved in a law suit with Griffith (Griffin) Dickenson. Dickenson, it should be recalled, in 1667 was fined for building a wharf in front of his property in Jamestown (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:100; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:48).

John Baldwin, upon patenting Tract E, retained it. When he made his will, he bequeathed his 15-plus acre tract to John Fulcher and his heirs. As Baldwin's will no longer survives, it is uncertain when Fulcher inherited it. On October 22, 1677, John Fulcher, who had extensive holdings in Norfolk and Princess Ann Counties, sold Tract E to William Sherwood (Patent Book 7:97; Nugent 1969-1979:II:222; III:27, 42, 118-119).

William Sherwood

As noted above, on October 22, 1677, William Sherwood, a Jamestown merchant and attorney, purchased the late John Baldwin's land from John Fulcher, Baldwin's heir. In 1681 Sherwood had the Baldwin tract surveyed by James City County's official surveyor, John Soane, who discovered that Tract E contained 28½ acres, not 15.431. Like John Baldwin's patent, Sherwood's was delineated as two components of a whole. The northerly portion's boundary line ran counter-clockwise. It began "at James River at the head of a great slash issuing into the back river and [ran] downe the said slash East ½ a point Southerly 18 chains [594 feet], thence [headed] North 3/4 point Easterly [across a sharp point of land] 4 chains [132 feet] to the back river Marsh, and [skirted the edge of the land] up the same to a markt persimon tree under block howse hill point, thence [extended in a straight line] under the said hill West 6 chaines [198 feet] to James river and downe it againe to the first menconed slash, including 8 acres." The boundary of the second (or southerly) component commenced where the first left off. It ran in a clockwise direction "again downe the said slash 43 chaines [1,419 feet] to Mr. Richard James land [Study Unit 1 Tract C] and along it South 23 chains [759 feet] to a branch of pitch and Tarr swamp [by the Ludwell Statehouse Group, Structure 144], thence [ran west] up the said branch to James River and [north] up the river to the place it begann, conteyning 20½ acres" (Patent Book 7:97; Nugent 1969-1979:II:222).

When William Sherwood patented the land he had purchased from John Fulcher, it was said to be the same property John Baldwin had patented in October 1656, presumed to be approximately 15 acres and 69 perches, which when surveyed was found to contain 28½ acres (Patent Book 7:97; Nugent 1969-1979:II:222). John Soane's plat (1681) of the Sherwood property is highly detailed and identifies the site of blockhouse hill, the persimmon trees used as a reference point in the patent, and the main road into Jamestown Island. The Soane plat also identifies the boundary line between William Sherwood's 28½ acres and Richard James I's property (Study Unit 1 Tract C). John Soane's plat was digitized and rendered to scale so that the Sherwood property's boundary lines and features could be superimposed upon an electronic map of Jamestown Island as it exists today.

On January 6, 1694, William Sherwood agreed to lease part of Tract E to Francis Bullifant, who also resided upon Jamestown Island. The land in question, which was 2 acres in size, extended along the waterfront. It was 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, with all priviledges, proffitts, comodityes & Aptenences thereto belonging (except one halfe acre of Land for a Landing & a Store if the Sd. Wm. Sherwood or his Assignes Shall have Occasion for ye Same next to the block howse Slash)." Bullifant and his assignees were entitled to retain Sherwood's 2 acres "Dureing the Natural Lives of the Sd. ffran. Bullifant & Joyce his wife, and William Hopkins his son-in-Law" in exchange for an annual rent of "foure good

fatt Capons ... & 10 Dayes work Either in harvest time or Otherwise Yearly." Bullifant and his assignees also were obliged to keep all of their swine "rung on penalty of paying tenn Shillings for Every such hogg" to Sherwood and his heirs. Bullifant was obliged to plant an orchard of at least 50 apple trees within the next three years, and to leave the property "well ffenced with ye howses that Shall be built on the Sd Land in good & tenantable repr" (Ambler MS 49).

On April 7, 1694, William Sherwood acknowledged that he had given his loving nephew, John Jarrett, the 28½ acres he had bought from John Fulcher in 1677 and confirmed by patent on April 23, 1681. He mentioned that he had previously leased 2 acres to John Hopkins and that the Hopkins leasehold now was in the possession of Francis Bullifant (Ambler MS 48).

John Hopkins (lessee)

Sometime prior to December 30, 1693, John Hopkins commenced leasing a 2 acre lot from William Sherwood, part of Study Unit 1 Tract E. He also acquired a 100 acre tract in the southeastern portion of Jamestown Island, the same acreage the late William May patented in 1667. It is perhaps significant that Hopkins and his successor (son-in-law or brother-in-law, Francis Bullifant) were in possession of Tract E, William Sarson's 107 acres (Study Unit 3 Tracts, B, C, D, E, F, and G), and William May's 100 acres of marsh (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K). The men's apparent preference for low-lying marshy areas raises the possibility that they were trappers (Ambler MS 48, 49, 77, 106-107).

Francis Bullifant (lessee)

Francis Bullifant, who in May 1693 was paid for delivering messages for the colony's assembly, was a resident of Jamestown. On December 30, 1693, he commenced renting 2 acres from William Sherwood, part of the 28½ acre parcel designated Study Unit 1 Tract E, which Sherwood had leased to John Hopkins for three lifetimes. Bullifant was obliged to plant apple trees on Sherwood's property, maintain its buildings and ring his hogs. He also had to allow Sherwood to use ½ acre as a landing, if he so desired. Francis and Joyce Bullifant already were in residence upon the Sherwood property when they commenced renting it (Ambler MS 48, 49; McIlwaine 1918:143). It is uncertain how they used their leasehold other than as a home tract.

Francis Bullifant acquired William Sarson's 107 acre patent in Study Unit 3 (Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G) between April 1667 and April 1736, perhaps through his marriage to Joyce Hopkins whose husband or father, John, by January 1702 owned 100 acres of contiguous land (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K and other acreage along the south side of Passmore Creek, near its mouth). In 1736 Bullifant sold the Sarson tract to William Broadnax II (Ambler MS 77, 106-107; Patent Book 6:42; Nugent 1969-1979:II:12).

John Jarrett (Jarratt)

On April 7, 1694, William Sherwood gave his nephew, John Jarrett, the 28½ acre plot he owned in the western end of Jamestown Island, the parcel designated Study Unit 1 Tract E. John Jarrett retained the gift parcel until after his uncle's death, but on February 9, 1699, sold it to John Howard, a tailor, who owned Study Unit 4 Tract M. On May 6, 1700, Mrs. Joannah Jarrett waived her dower interest in the Sherwood property (Ambler MS 48, 67). In light of William Sherwood's active role in trade and John Jarrett's connection with one of England's most prominent mercantile families, the two men may have devoted a portion of Tract E to commercial endeavors.

Neither Sherwood nor Jarrett ever resided upon Tract E. Prior to Bacon's Rebellion Sherwood occupied the property his wife, Rachel, retained on behalf of her late husband's son (Structure 1/2 on Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B). Later, the couple relocated to a 1 acre lot abutting Back Street, where they built a new brick home (Structure 31

on Study Unit 1 Tract D). Jarrett, meanwhile, resided upon Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot A, in Bay 1 of Structure 17 which he rented from his wife's uncle, British merchant Micajah Perry (Ambler MS 48, 62, 65, 101).

John and his wife, Joannah Lowe Jarrett, apparently were favorites of William Sherwood. In August 1697 when Sherwood made his will, he left his clothing to John and he bequeathed his history books to Joannah. Sherwood also bequeathed a small sum of money to the Jarrett couple's daughters, Elizabeth and Elir, and John's unmarried sister, Mary Jarrett (Ambler MS 65; McGhan 1993:873; Price 1992:65; Withington 1980:43; Tyler 1908-1909:264).

John Howard

On February 9, 1699, John Jarrett sold his 28½ acres (Study Unit 1 Tract E) to John Howard. At the time the land changed hands, Jarrett noted that Francis Bullifant still held a lease for 2 acres. The property's boundaries were described just as they had been in 1681, after William Sherwood had had the tract surveyed (Ambler MS 67). In May 1699 John Howard appeared before the assembly where he protested the election of Bartholomew Fowler as Jamestown's burgess. Fowler withdrew and was replaced by Robert Beverley II (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1695-1702:139, 141; Stanard 1908:438).

John Howard, a tailor, by 1686 was married to Margaret, the daughter and administratrix of Richard Clarke (Tract C Lot D Parcel 1). In April 1671 Howard proved the will of Jamestown lot-owner Thomas Hunt (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J). John Howard may have been the man of that name who, with Robert Beverley I, was charged with trespassing in the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion (McIlwaine 1924:247, 520; Withington 1980:60). This raises the possibility that he (like Beverley) was one of Sir William Berkeley's loyalists-turned-vigilante.

On April 10, 1694, John Howard of James City County patented a 1.75 acre lot in Jamestown, the parcel designated Study Unit 4 Tract M, which extended along the rails that delimited the north side of the church yard and abutted east upon the "great old road." At the conclusion of the patent, General Court clerk William Edwards II made a notation that "The Governor wou'd not sign this patent of John Howard" (Patent Book 8:82, 320; Nugent 1969-1979:II:350; Ambler MS 50).

On May 6, 1710, John Howard, who described himself as a tailor, sold his two parcels of Jamestown Island land to John Baird: Study Unit 1 Tract E (his 28½ acres in the western end of the island) and Study Unit 4 Tract M (his 1.75 acre lot next to the church) (Ambler MS 82).

John Baird

On May 6, 1710, John Baird, a carpenter, purchased two parcels of land from tailor John Howard: Study Unit 1 Tract E (his 28½ acres in the western end of the island) and Study Unit 4 Tract M (Howard's 1.75 acre lot by the church yard). Both parcels were on the main road into Jamestown and therefore would have been advantageous to a working artisan. Tract M's southern boundary line extended along the rails that delimited the church yard and its western boundary traced Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's easterly line. The lot line extended east from Bacon's land to the "great old road," which it followed back to the corner of the church yard (Ambler MS 82). On January 13, 1717, John Baird sold both of his Jamestown parcels (Tract M and Study Unit 1 Tract E) to Edward Travis III. On December 9, 1717, Baird's wife, Margaret, relinquished her dower rights to the property (Ambler MS 92).

Edward Travis III

Edward Travis III, who on January 13, 1717 purchased Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tract M from John Baird, retained the Baird parcels very briefly. On July 17, 1719, he sold them to William Broadnax I (Ambler MS 53, 92, 106-107).

William Broadnax I

William Broadnax I, who acquired Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tract M from Edward Travis III on July 17, 1719, eventually married Travis's widow, Rebecca. William Broadnax I had both tracts at the time of his death in February 1727. They, like his other landholdings on Jamestown Island (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J and some adjacent land) descended to his son, William II (Meyer et al. 1987:378; Ambler MS 97-98, 106-107).

William Broadnax II

William Broadnax II inherited his late father's landholdings in rural Jamestown Island (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J) and some acreage within the limits of urban Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O and Q). He also inherited at least one town lot from ferryman Edward Ross (Study Unit 4 Tract R). He purchased 100 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island from Philip Ludwell II (the William May patent, Study Unit 3 Tracts A, K, and some additional land) and on April 22, 1736, he bought the 107 acre Sarson tract (Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G) from Francis Bullifant (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250).

Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen, with 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, he controlled virtually all of the frontage on the James River east of Orchard Run and land at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the road that led to the mainland. Perkins also had the lots traditionally used for the Jamestown ferry.

Christopher Perkins

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 it 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).

Richard Ambler

Although Richard Ambler's wife, Elizabeth Jaquelin, technically seems to have inherited her late father's landholdings on Jamestown Island and in the nearby mainland, they clearly were intended for her son John Ambler I. Included in the bequest were Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F, and G and possibly Tract H. In 1745 Richard Ambler purchased his sister-in-laws' reversionary interest in a 2 acre parcel in which he enjoyed a life-interest (what appears to have been the Hopkins/Bullifant leasehold in Tract E), and he enhanced the size of the Jaquelin plantation by purchasing a substantial quantity of land from Norfolk merchant Christopher Perkins. Included in that transaction was Study Unit 1 Tract E. This increased the size of the Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island to approximately 698 acres (Smith et al. 1745; Ambler MS 97-98, 106-107; Ambler 1826:26).

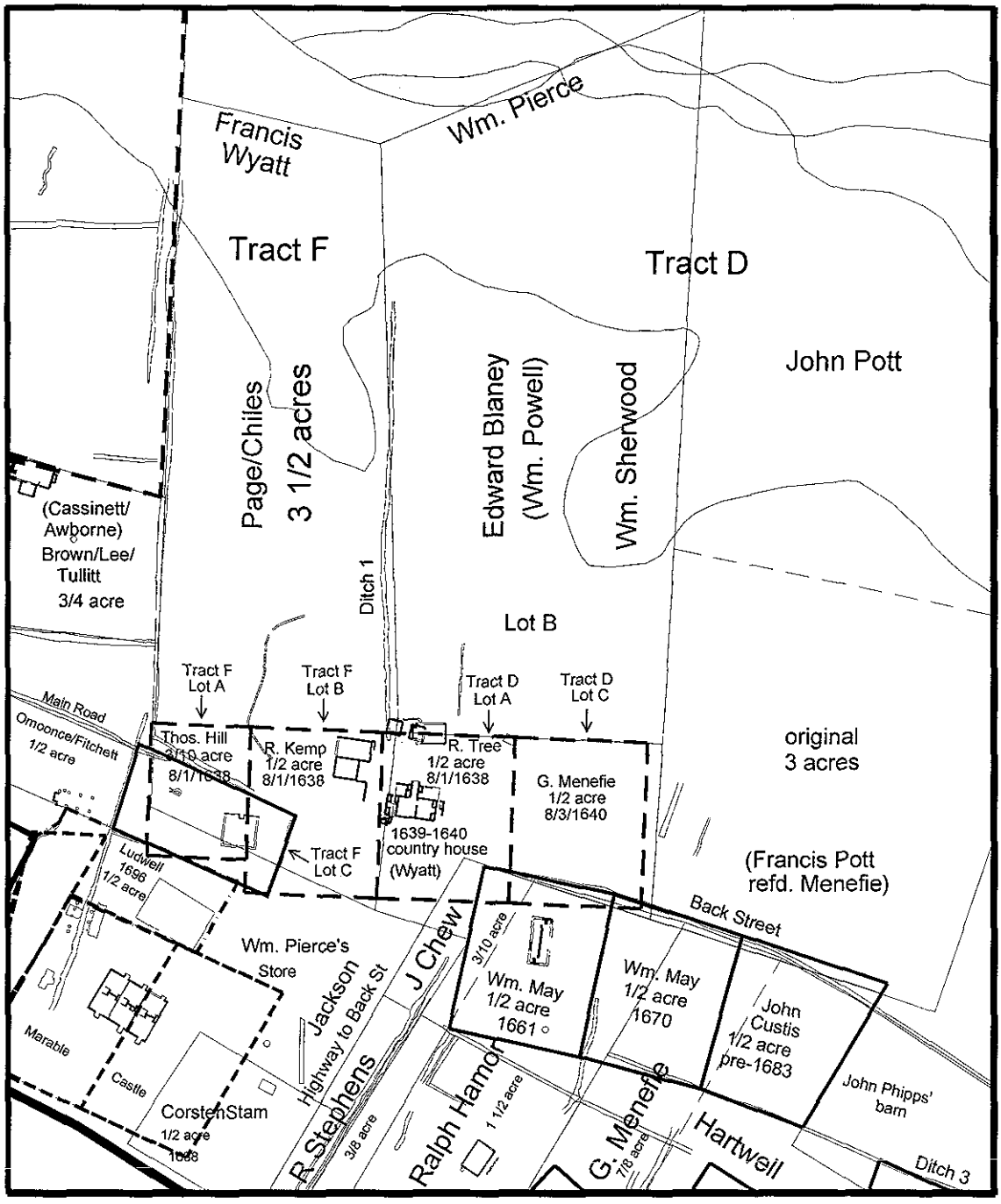


Figure 19. *Study Unit 1, Tract F and adjacent properties.*

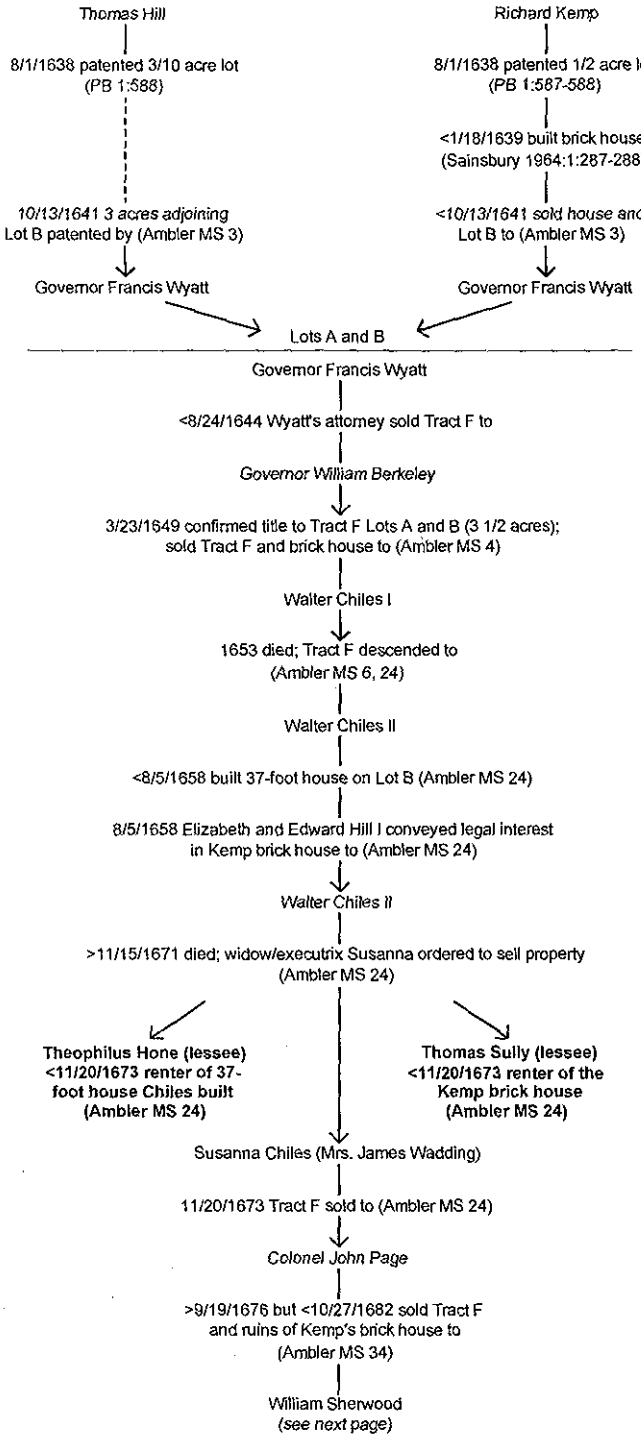


Figure 20. *Land transactions, Study Unit 1, Tract F, Lots A, B, and C.*

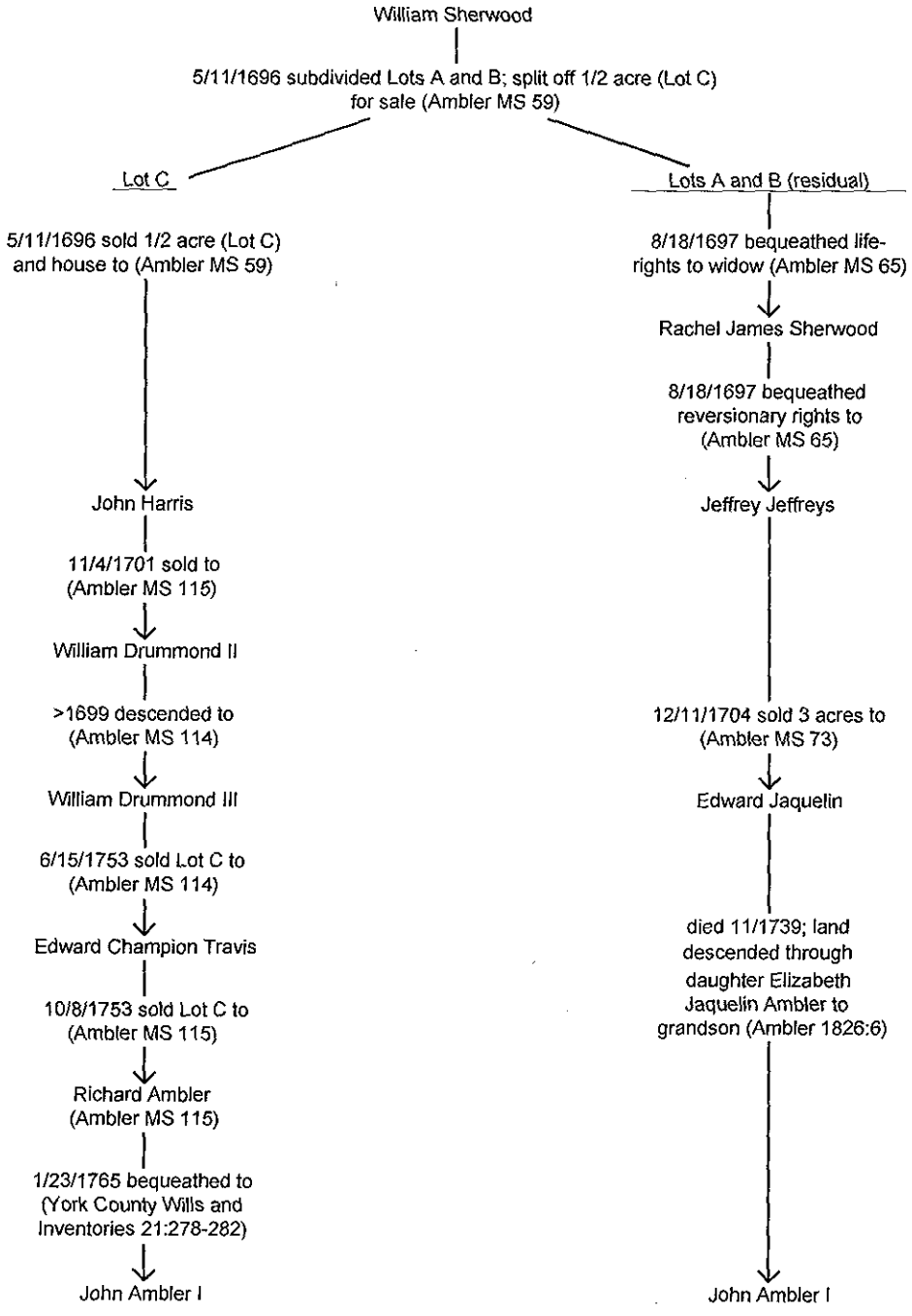


Figure 20 (cont'd). *Land transactions, Study Unit 1, Tract F, Lots A, B, and C.*

Study Unit 1 Tract F

Tract F, a 3½ acre parcel William Sherwood purchased sometime prior to October 1682, contains the remains of a brick house (Structure 44) constructed by Richard Kemp, Secretary of the Colony. In 1639 Governor John Harvey said that Kemp's dwelling was "the fairest ever known in this country for substance and uniformity." The structure stood until at least 1673 but was gone by 1682. An affidavit signed by James City County's official surveyor, John Soane, on October 27, 1682, provides a verbal boundary description of William Sherwood's 3½ acres and indicates that it contained the ruins of the Kemp house.

The boundary lines of William Sherwood's 3½ acres (Tract F) were reconstructed to scale electronically, using the survey data contained in the Soane affidavit. It was then discovered that the multi-segmented eastern boundary line of Tract F had precisely the same length and declination as the multi-segmented western boundary line of Tract D, a Sherwood property to which it adjoined. Moreover, the western boundary line of Tract F was found to correspond to the eastern boundary line of Study Unit 4 Tract K, which is perpendicular to the north wall of the Structure 115 rowhouse. These boundary line configurations were found to match ditch patterns and features shown on the Jamestown Island archaeological base map.

Lot A

Thomas Hill

On August 1, 1638, Mr. Thomas Hill secured a patent for a lot in Jamestown that measured "6 poles [99 feet] in breadth and 8 poles [132 feet] in length," encompassing 48 square poles or 3/10 of an acre. Hill's lot adjoined "in a direct line on the west side of the Land of Richard Kemp Esqr" (Patent Book 1:588; Nugent 1969-1979:I:95). Thus, Hill's eastern lot line formed the western boundary of Kemp's lot. Hill reportedly received his Jamestown lot as part of the February 20, 1636, building initiative. He had six months in which to commence developing his lot or potentially forfeit it to another.

Thomas Hill, a gentleman and merchant, conducted business with many of Virginia's most prominent families. However, relatively little is known about him personally. In November 1629, while he was in England, he witnessed the will of Francis West, Lord Delaware' brother. Hill was in Virginia during the 1630s and was among those who sided with Governor John Harvey during his dispute with his councillors. In 1637, Harvey, having been reinstated as governor, returned to Virginia, where he had some of his old enemies' property seized. Secretary Richard Kemp reportedly gave Thomas Hill some of Samuel Mathews' goods. This prompted Mathews to seek redress in England and led to Hill's being ordered to return Mathews' belongings. As some of the disputed property was from Abraham Peirsey's estate and Governor Harvey had married Peirsey's widowed daughter, the disagreement may have involved both personal and political issues. It was during this period that Thomas Hill patented Lot A. In January 1641 he served a term as James City's burgess (Withington 1980:52; Principal Probate Register 3 Seager; Sainsbury 1964:1:281; P. C. 2/50 f 428; C. O. 1/9 ff 289, 543; 1/10 ff 73-74; Stanard 1965:61).

In April 1643 Thomas Hill acquired 600 acres of Richard Kemp's 4,332 acre Rich Neck tract, a parcel of land that is delineated on Kemp's plat of his property. In April 1648 Hill, who was described as a gentleman and planter, assigned the 3,000 acre Upper Chippokes tract (on the lower side of the James River) to Edward Bland. A few years later, he patented some land near the head of the

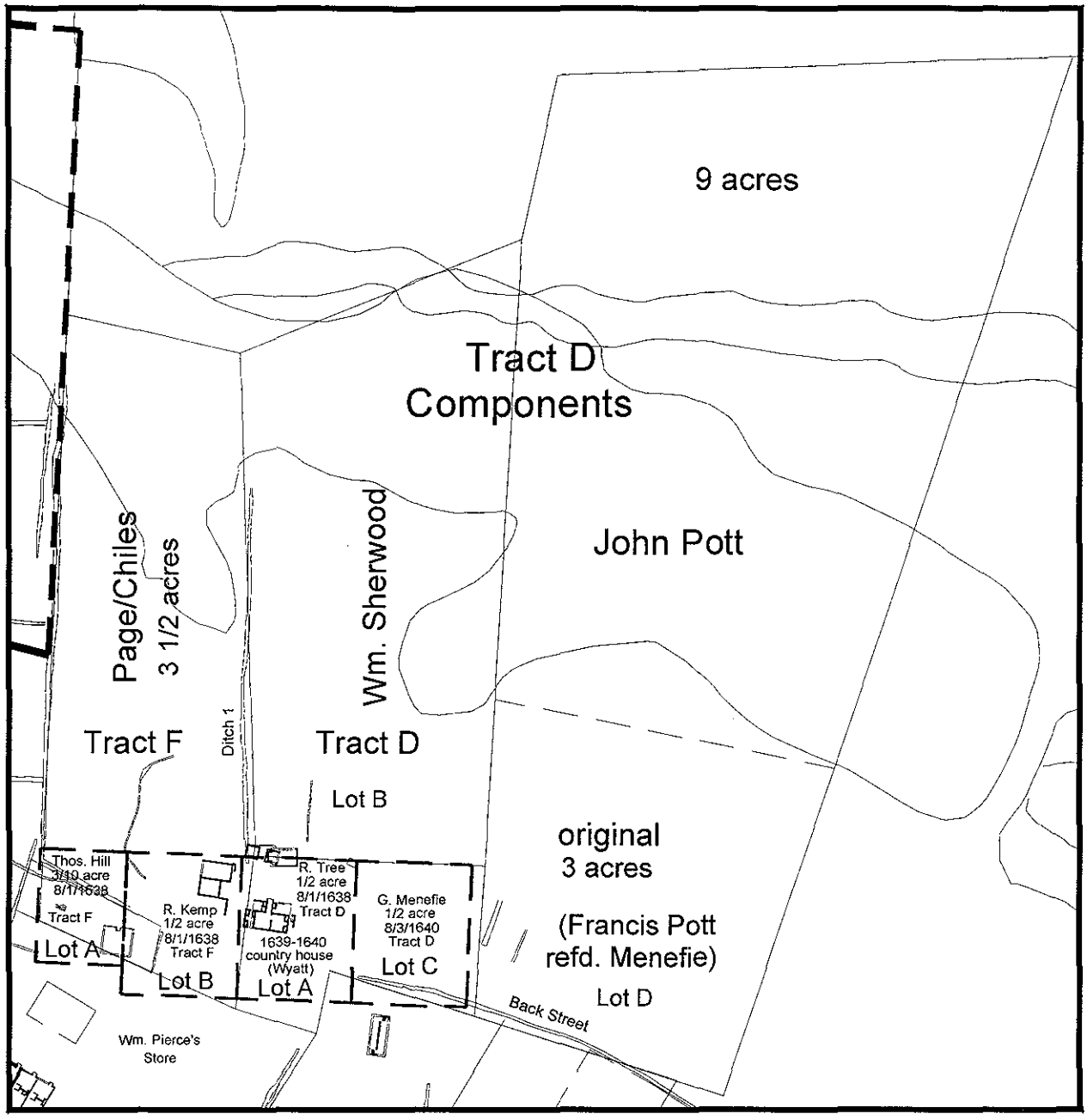


Figure 21. *Study Unit 1, Tract F and part of Tract D.*

Potomac River (Nugent 1969-1979:I:143, 159, 175, 353).

Lot B

Richard Kemp

On August 1, 1638, the day on which Thomas Hill secured his patent for Lot A, Richard Kemp patented the parcel next door, Lot B. Kemp's lot measured "10 poles [165 feet] in length toward the water side and 8 poles [132 feet] in breadth, the totall being 80 poles betweene the Land of Mr. Thomas Hill [Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot A] and Richard Tree [Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A]." Kemp had six months in which to commence building improvements upon his ½ acre lot. If he failed to do so, someone else could claim it (Patent Book

1:587-588; Nugent 1969-1979:I:95; Ambler MS 2). By January 18, 1639, Secretary Richard Kemp had constructed a brick house that was "the fairest ever known in this country for substance and uniformity." It stood upon his lot on the north side of Back Street (Sainsbury 1964:1:287-288; Ambler MS 34).

It should be noted that when the widths of the Hill and Kemp lots are combined (99 feet + 132 feet) they total 231 feet, the distance between Ditches 9 and 1, which form Tract F's side lines. Moreover, the Kemp lot's 165-foot-long eastern boundary line precisely traced the course of the western boundary of the 1 acre "country house" lot, which is depicted on John Underhill's and John Soane's plats of Tract D. As the Underhill and Soane plats indicate that the site occupied by the "country house" and William Sherwood's brick dwelling was in the immediate vicinity of Structures 38/31, the Kemp house, which in August 1658 was described as "ye next house on ye Westward end of Mrs. Rix her house [the 'country house']" most likely was at a site analogous to Structure 44 (Ambler MS 6, 10, 134, 135-136). On October 13, 1641, when Governor Francis Wyatt obtained a patent for 3 acres said to adjoin "unto ye land formerly granted unto Mr Richd Kemp, and Since conveyed unto ye Sd Sr Francis Wyat by ye Sd Mr Kemp" all of the acreage designated Study Unit 1 Tract F was consolidated into a 3½ acre parcel (Ambler MS 3).

Richard Kemp, a native of Gilling in Norfolk, England, was named a councillor and Secretary of the Colony in August 1634. He was married to Elizabeth, the daughter of Christopher Wormeley and niece of Ralph Wormeley, one of Virginia's wealthiest and most influential planters. In September 1634 Kemp dispatched a petition to the king, asking to be assigned some office land as part of his stipend. Later, he asked for indentured servants and livestock (Withington 1980:323; McGhan 1993:775; Coldham 1980:34; C. O. 1/8 f 90; Stanard 1965:21, 32; Sainsbury 1964:1:191, 207).

Secretary Richard Kemp's official correspondence indicates that he was steadfastly loyal to Governor John Harvey during the 1630s, when Harvey was at odds with his council. He clashed with York County clergyman Anthony Panton, who held him up to public ridicule and made fun of the way he wore his hair. On May 17, 1635, Kemp dispatched a letter to the king's commissioners in which he described Governor Harvey's April 28th ouster from office. He held Dr. John Pott largely responsible for Harvey's problems with his Council and said that Pott had instigated his removal. Kemp also reported that Captain John West had been chosen interim governor (C.O. 1/8 ff 164-169; McIlwaine 1924:481).

While Sir John Harvey was in England lobbying for reinstatement as governor, Richard Kemp continued to serve as Secretary and promoted some of Harvey's policies. On April 11, 1636, Kemp asked that Virginia merchants be allowed to export commodities freely and that incoming goods be sent to three stores. He also proposed that a customhouse be established in Virginia. After Governor Harvey was back in power, Kemp was made customs officer, a position that yielded handsome fees (Sainsbury 1964:1:232, 263, 287-288).

On November 14, 1637, Secretary Richard Kemp obtained a patent for 600 acres of land in Archer's Hope, in James City County. It was part of his stipend as secretary (and that of "his successors forever"), not personally owned land.[44] Cited was an October 5, 1631, court order, which stated that "600 acs. scituate as neare James Citty as might be conveniently be found" was to be set aside for the secretary. During February 1638 Kemp sought to obtain the 20 indentured servants and the cattle he claimed were part of the Secretary's stipend (Nugent 1969-1979:I:75; Patent Book 1:496; Sainsbury 1964:1:263).[45]

[44] Kemp received a neck of land overlooking College Creek.

[45] That had been the policy established while the colony was under the control of the Virginia Company of London.

Sir John Harvey was back in office on January 3, 1638, when Secretary Richard Kemp purchased George Menefie's 1,200 acre plantation called Littletown. When Kemp patented the Menefie acreage, he called it the Rich Neck and noted that in addition to the 1,200 acres he had bought from Menefie, he had acquired 100 acres near the Middle Plantation palisade. Two months later Kemp patented 840 acres of contiguous land called The Meadows, which abutted the horse path at Middle Plantation and the land he had bought from George Menefie (Nugent 1969-1979:I:104-105). Richard Kemp's acquisition of The Meadows gave him a total of 2,140 contiguous acres. He already was in possession of the 600 acres called the Secretary's land, which he had patented on November 14, 1637 (Nugent 1969-1979:I:75). Kemp's claim that the Secretary's Land was unproductive is supported by its description as "The Barren Neck." Within a year of the time Richard Kemp purchased Rich Neck, he constructed a "fair brick house" on Tract F's Lot B, next door to Thomas Hill's Lot A (Ambler MS 2, 3; Sainsbury 1968:I:288; Patent Book I:II:587-588; Nugent 1969-1979:I:95).

Richard Kemp continued to correspond with officials in England and to lend strong support to Governor Harvey. In April 1638 he sent word that while Virginians still were planting too much tobacco, people were building good houses, raising cattle and hogs and planting gardens and orchards. He said that that money was being raised to build a statehouse and tobacco was being sent to England to procure workmen to construct it. He added that the Indians were standing by, ready to do them injury at every opportunity. Kemp's report on the status of the colony was certified by the council (Sainsbury 1964:1:263, 268; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:126; C. O. 1/9 ff 228ro, 242ro).

In early April 1639 Kemp informed Secretary Windebank (a Harvey supporter) that he wanted to go to England and that a new governor, Sir Francis Wyatt, was expected daily. After Wyatt arrived and a new council took office, Kemp was suspended as secretary. Kemp claimed that the Wyatt administration "persecuted" the old councillors and he said that Harvey's estate had been seized. With Thomas Stegg I's help, Richard Kemp slipped away to England, where he arrived on August 1640. He angered Wyatt and other Virginia officials by absconding with some of the colony's legal records. Kemp asked Lords Baltimore and Maltravers (two of the king's favorites) to help him defend himself against allegations made by the controversial Rev. Anthony Panton (Sainsbury 1964:1:263-264, 268, 274, 289, 293, 310-311, 314; McIlwaine 1924:482-483, 495; C. O. 1/10 f 160). It was after Richard Kemp's return from England that he sold Lot B, the ½-acre parcel upon which his brick house was situated, to Governor Francis Wyatt. Wyatt received a patent to Kemp's lot and 3 adjoining acres in October 1641 (Ambler MS 3, 4).

In 1643, after Governor William Berkeley took office, Richard Kemp became a member of his council and again was made Secretary of the Colony. In June 1644, only two months after a major Indian uprising claimed nearly 400 lives, Kemp was made acting governor. He held office while Berkeley was in England, seeking assistance for the colony. In February 1645, Kemp informed Sir William Berkeley that the construction of his brick houses at Green Spring and Jamestown were progressing well. He also reported upon the construction of blockhouses or forts on the frontier, to keep the Indians out of the colonized area (Lower Norfolk County Book A:178,246; Stanard 1965:15; McIlwaine 1924:501, 562-563; Kemp 1645). After Sir William Berkeley returned to Virginia, he granted Secretary Richard Kemp the privilege of appointing all county clerks of court and the right to set their rate of pay. As Kemp drew part of his compensation from clerks fees, the privilege Berkeley bestowed upon him was a very lucrative one. Kemp continued to serve as a councillor through 1649. It was then that he acquired 3,500 acres on Mobjack Bay from Ralph Wormeley I (Lower Norfolk County Book B:6, 37, 70, 87, 112; Nugent 1969-1979:I:182). RW bottle seals, perhaps attributable to Ralph

Wormeley, have been found in association with Structure 44 (Cotter 1958:79).

On April 17, 1643, Richard Kemp repatented Rich Neck and his other holdings and laid claim to an additional 2,192 acres, to which he was entitled on the basis of 44 headrights. This gave him an aggregate of 4,332 acres (Nugent 1969-1979:I:143). Kemp's April 1643 patent stated that 600 of the 1,200 acres he had acquired from George Menefie had been granted to Mr. Thomas Hill (the patentee of Lot B), who was to pay whatever quitrent was due. It also was noted that 50 acres had been assigned to Captain Francis Pott (of Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D) on June 13, 1642, which Pott had conveyed to William Davis (Nugent 1969-1979:I:143). On October 10, 1645, when Thomas Hill patented his 600 acres, he acknowledged that the tract was part of the 1,200 acres Richard Kemp had purchased from George Menefie (Nugent 1969-1979:I:160, 242).

On January 4, 1649, when Richard Kemp made his will, indicating that he was "sick and weak," he stated that he was residing at Rich Neck. He instructed his executrices (his wife and daughter, both of whom were named Elizabeth) to sell his plantation to the best advantage and to "make good" (implement) his sale of 50 acres in the Barren Neck on the "other side of the creeke" to George Read, his choice for deputy-secretary and a well connected longtime friend.[46] Kemp told his widow to dispose of "my parte of the house Att Towne" and said that he wanted her to leave Virginia with their daughter.[47] Richard Kemp died sometime prior to October 24, 1650, and probably was buried at Rich Neck. It is likely that Kemp's will was entered into the records of the General Court or the court of James City County; however, it didn't reach authorities in England until December 6, 1656 (McGhan 1993:775).

By October 1650 Richard Kemp's widow, Elizabeth, had married Sir Thomas Lunsford, a hotheaded Royalist and friend of Sir William Berkeley. Elizabeth Kemp Lunsford retained Rich Neck until at least July 1654, for Lady Lunsford's property was a frequently-used reference point in neighboring patents (Nugent 1969-1979:I:229, 282, 294, 298, 428, 465, 473; (McGhan 1993:775).[48] Richard and Elizabeth Kemp's daughter, Elizabeth, died prior to December 6, 1656, at which time Elizabeth Kemp Lunsford, when presenting the late Richard Kemp's will to authorities in England, indicated that she was the surviving executrix (Withington 1980:323; McGhan 1993:775).

Lots A and B

Sir Francis Wyatt, Governor

On October 13, 1641, Governor Francis Wyatt obtained a patent for 3 acres that adjoined "unto ye land formerly granted unto Mr Richd Kemp, and Since conveyed unto ye Sd Sr Francis Wyat by ye Sd Mr Kemp" (Ambler MS 3). Wyatt, by acquiring this 3 acre parcel (which included Thomas Hill's Lot A) and by purchasing Richard Kemp's ½ acre parcel (Lot B) and brick house, consolidated all of the acreage that has been designated Study Unit 1 Tract F.

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 mar-

[46] Read credited Kemp with his survival in the colony and said that the Secretary had done many favors for him (C.O. 1/9 f 209; Sainsbury 1964:1:264).

[47] Although Kemp conveyed his brick house and ½ acre lot to Sir Francis Wyatt sometime prior to October 3, 1641, when Wyatt repatented it and 3 acres of adjacent land, it appears that Kemp still had a legal interest in the property. Such would be the case if Wyatt (or his estate) had not paid Kemp in full, thereby obtaining an unencumbered title to the property.

[48] Elizabeth Kemp Lunsford eventually married Major-General Robert Smith and probably moved to his plantation in Gloucester County. Some scholars believe that it was after Elizabeth's marriage to Smith that she sold Rich Neck to Thomas Ludwell (of Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot B).

ried Sir Samuel Sandys' daughter, Margaret. She was the niece of Virginia Company Treasurer, Sir Edwin Sandys, and the Virginia colony's Treasurer George Sandys (Withington 1980:625, 632). On January 29, 1621, Sir Francis Wyatt was chosen governor of Virginia. Afterward, the Virginia Company agreed to provide him with funds to become established in the colony. When Wyatt set out for Virginia in the *George*, he was accompanied by his wife and his brother, the Rev. Hautt (Haute, Hant) Wyatt. Governor Wyatt also brought along a set of detailed instructions the Virginia Company expected him to implement. One was having William Claiborne perform surveys of Virginia land. 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. Sir Francis Wyatt arrived in Virginia and took over as governor on November 18, 1621. Thus, he took office only months before the March 22, 1622, Indian uprising. Contemporaries agreed that Wyatt responded to the crisis forcefully and effectively (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:415, 437, 452, 486, 512; III:468; IV:40; Hening 1809-1823:I:3-5, 114).

During Sir Francis Wyatt's first term as governor (November 1621-May 1626) he and his family resided in Jamestown. They may have lived in the 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, it is probable that Wyatt, like his predecessor, Sir George Yeardley, acquired and developed some property of his own, perhaps Study Unit 1 Tract H. 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. He added, however, that the Indian massacre had put a stop to those plans. He said that a fort was being built at Warresqueak and that he had required everyone to plant a sufficient amount of corn. He indicated that he had placed Lieutenant William Peirce in charge of Jamestown and was making plans to initiate a series of marches against the Indians (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:98; IV:6, 104, 129, 172, 209, 480, 556, 562; C.O. 1/ 2ff 145-146; Sainsbury 1964:1:69; Meyer et al. 1987:28; McIlwaine 1924:72, 83, 161).

Lady Margaret Wyatt, who set sail for Virginia on October 12, 1622, wrote to her family in England, shortly after arriving in Jamestown. Her letters reveal that she was a woman of keen wit, intelligence and considerable forbearance. She described the misery of her voyage aboard the *Abigail* and spoke of the women who had been captured during the March 1622 Indian uprising and then detained. In April 1623 she informed her mother and sister about the numerous deaths at Jamestown and in June she told them that she was in the process of starting a garden and asked her mother to send her some good malt (Kingsbury 1906-1935:II:9; III:690; IV:228).

On February 16, 1624, when a census was made of the colony's inhabitants Governor Francis Wyatt was residing in Jamestown with his wife, brother, and ten servants. In January 1625 Wyatt 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 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 had an African named Brass, probably one of his own servants. Wyatt appears to have accompanied the Virginia Company's magazine ship to Virginia. On April 19, 1626, Sir George Yeardley received a new commission as governor, replacing Sir Francis Wyatt who returned to England (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:98; IV:6, 104, 129, 172, 209, 480, 556, 562; C. O. 1/2 f 145-146; Hotten 1980:173; Sainsbury 1964:1:69; Meyer et al. 1987:28; McIlwaine 1924:72, 83, 161).

On January 8, 1639, Sir Francis Wyatt was designated Governor John Harvey's successor. In January 1640 he was given a lengthy list of instructions, which included promoting manufactures. He had the same amount of authority that Harvey had had and he had the right to relocate the capital city, if the assembly agreed. He also was authorized to build a special house for the Council's use (Stanard 1904:55; C.O. 5/1354 f 212; Sainsbury 1964:1:286). Research suggests that the structure Wyatt built for official use was the "country house" (Structure 38) erected upon Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A. Sir Francis Wyatt, a year or so into his second term as governor, purchased Richard Kemp's ½ acre lot and brick house (Structure 44) on Lot B of Tract F. On October 13, 1641, he patented 3 acres of land (Lot A) that adjoined the ½ acre Kemp lot (Lot B) and was next door to the parcel upon which the "country house" stood (Tract D Lot A) (Ambler MS 3). On August 3, 1640, when George Menefie patented a ½ acre New Towne lot (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B), his property reportedly lay between that of Sir Francis Wyatt (on the west, Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B, with the Kemp house) and that of Francis Pott, Dr. John Pott's heir (on the east, Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D) (Patent Book 1:730; Nugent 1969-1979:I:123).

After Sir William Berkeley arrived in the colony and assumed the governorship, Sir Francis Wyatt was named a councillor. He served in that capacity until his 1644 return to England. It may have been around the time of his departure from Virginia that he sold Tract F to Governor William Berkeley. On August 6, 1644, Sir Francis Wyatt, who was then in England, made his will. He was buried on August 24th (Stanard 1965:35; McIlwaine 1924:498; Ambler MS 3, 4; Withington 1980:625, 632).

Sir William Berkeley

Sir Francis Wyatt's attorney, Captain William Peirce, conveyed Tract F to Sir William Berkeley via a document "uppon record in ye Secretaryes office in James City." Although that court record no longer exists, the transaction probably occurred prior to Wyatt's August 1644 death, for Peirce acted as his attorney, not as executor. A March 23, 1649, deed for Tract F indicates that the Wyatt property consisted of "all yt his messuage or mansion house, together wth All gardens, orchardes, yard Backsides, out houses buildings and hereditamts & appurtenances whatsoever to ye sayd messuage or mansion house belonging, or in any wise Apperteyning scitiate lyeing & Being in James Citty, late in ye tenure and occupacon of Richd Kemp esqr and by him Conveyed unto Sr ffrancis Wyatt Kt ... together also wth one Pcell or plott of land granted to ye sd Sr ffrancis by ordr of court Conteyning 3 acres more or Lesse and being in James Citty afforesayd adjoyning to ye Land whereon the sayd messuage standeth" (Ambler MS 4; Withington 1980:625, 632). Through this means, Governor William Berkeley came into possession of Richard Kemp's brick house (Structure 44) and ½ acre lot, plus Sir Francis Wyatt's 3 acres, or 3½ acres in all. He retained the property until March 23, 1649, when he sold it to Walter Chiles I (Ambler MS 4).

It is quite possible that after Sir William Berkeley bought Tract F from Sir Francis Wyatt's attorney, he moved into the brick house Richard Kemp had built. He may have stayed there until the mid-to-late 1640s, when his newly-built Green Spring mansion was ready for occupancy. On the other hand, Berkeley also had the option of taking up residence in "all that capital, messuage or tenement now used for a court house late in the tenure of Sir John Harvey Knt.," probably Structure 112, which the assembly had presented to him in June 1642 (Hening 1809-1823:I:267; McIlwaine 1924:497-498).[49] If Berkeley occupied the Kemp house, he could have rented the Harvey dwelling to the government as a statehouse, a tradition established by Governor John Harvey. Of course, the possibility also exists that Berkeley decided to

[49] Research suggests that the property the assembly gave Berkeley was Study Unit 1 Tract H, which contains Structure 112.

utilize the "country house" (Structure 38) on Tract D Lot A as a statehouse, for it was public property until at least 1652. It is certain, however, that by the early 1650s Governor William Berkeley had begun using various units of his new brick rowhouse (Structure 144, the Ludwell Statehouse Group) as a statehouse (Kemp 1645; Ambler MS 4, 10, 24; McIlwaine 1924:503; Hening 1809-1823:I:407; 1905-1915:1619-1660:97; Force 1973:II:8:14; III:10:50). Sharply focused archaeological and documentary research on Study Unit 1 Tract F and H and Study Unit 4 Tract U should help in sorting out this chronology.

Walter Chiles I

On March 23, 1649, Governor William Berkeley sold the 3½ acre Kemp-Wyatt lot (Tract F) and its improvements to Walter Chiles I. At that time, the property's chain of title was recapitulated. It was noted that "Sr W Berkeleys deed of sale to Mr Chiles" included "the Brick house formrly Mr Secry Kemps" (Ambler MS 4). Afterward, Walter Chiles I and his wife, Elizabeth, resided upon his property in urban Jamestown, probably in the Kemp house (Ambler MS 4; Stanard 1910:122; Meyer et al. 1987:410). Chiles was a merchant and on at least one occasion, his ship, the *Leopaldus*, was involved in trading with the Dutch, contrary to law. This led to his being censured (Hening 1809-1823:I:382; Tyler 1892-1893:75; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:28).

Sometime prior to March 10, 1653, Walter Chiles I acquired 70 acres at Black Point, which included Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P, and U. Chiles' 70 acre parcel was used as a reference point when Edward Travis I patented some land that lay to its north (Nugent 1969-1979:I:231; II:112; Patent Book 3:8; 6:413). Chiles, a Charles City County burgess and planter, commenced serving as a James City burgess in November 1645 (Stanard 1965:61,63-64). This raises the possibility that he had acquired his Black Point acreage by that date. When Walter Chiles I died in 1653, all of his landholdings descended to his eldest son, Walter Chiles II. However, a subsequent land transaction reveals that Elizabeth and Edward Hill I had a legal interest in the Kemp dwelling on Tract F (Ambler MS 6, 24).

Elizabeth and Edward Hill I (lessees or holders of interest)

In August 1658 Elizabeth and Edward Hill I of Charles City County conveyed their legal interest in a brick dwelling on Tract F to Walter Chiles II of James City. The couple's August 5th indenture states that they were conveying "All the right title and Interest that they or either of them have to One Brick house (Structure 44) Scituate in James citty aforesaid being ye next house on ye Westward end of Mrs. Rix her house (Structure 38, the "country house"), and now in the possession of ye said Edward Hill, as alsoe all ye right title & Interest they have to all the outhouses and Land belonging to ye above said house" (Ambler MS 6). While it is possible that the Hills were leaseholders and that Walter Chiles II was nullifying a rental agreement his father had made, it is perhaps more likely that Elizabeth Hill was the widow of Walter Chiles I and therefore had a dower interest in the property (Withington 1980:323; McGhan 1993:775; Ambler MS 6).

Walter Chiles II

By 1656, Walter Chiles II, who had inherited his father's property on Jamestown Island, moved there. He and his wife, Mary, the daughter of Colonel John Page, probably occupied the Kemp house on Tract F. Chiles' land in that vicinity was used as a reference point in 1660 when John Fitchett patented a neighboring property, Study Unit 4 Tract E. In October 1656, Walter Chiles II was described as a resident of Jamestown when a Surry man sent him a sail for his boat. From 1660 through 1666 he served as Jamestown's burgess and during at least part of that period he was a James City County justice of the peace (Meyer et al. 1987:410; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:84; Nugent

1969-1979:I:339; Ambler MS 6; Hening 1809-1823:I:506-507; II:196-197; Stanard 1965:74, 77; Charles City County Order Book:33; Leonard 1976:38).

On May 20, 1670, Walter Chiles II patented a 70 acre tract at Black Point that he had inherited from his father. Within the Chiles patent's boundaries lay Tracts N and U, along with Tracts M, O and P, which were laid out regularly in a row, directly above Tracts B, C, and D (Patent Book 6:413; Nugent 1969-1979:II:112; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1652-1672:84; Hening 1809-1823:I:506- 507). Chiles probably placed some of his indentured servants upon his 70 acres and his leasehold in the Governor's Land. One of his maid servants was Mary Hewes, whom Chiles purchased from Henry Smith (McIlwaine 1924:217).

Walter Chiles II was a respected member of the community and in 1671 he was a member of the James City Parish vestry. He was called upon to inventory the estate of the late Thomas Hunt (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J) and was named Hunt's executor and the guardian of his orphan. In April 1671 Chiles patented 1,500 acres in Westmoreland County for his sons, John and Henry, whose ages are unknown. His name appeared for the last time in the May 25, 1671, minutes of the General Court, when he was asked to arbitrate a dispute (McIlwaine 1924:247, 259, 285).

Walter Chiles II prepared his will on November 15, 1671, and designated his second wife, Susanna, as executrix. He died later in the year and Susanna began implementing the terms of his will, which stipulated that she was to sell all of his property (Ambler MS 24). A deed executed on November 20, 1673, by Susanna and her new husband, the Rev. James Wadding, reveals that Walter Chiles II, upon inheriting the Kemp house and Tract F, "entered into the Said Messuage, outhowses, land & premisses with the appurtenances, and by himself & his tennants quietly held & enjoyed the same, & built a Brick howse or tenement conteyning in length 37 foote [Structure 138], neere adjoyneing to the aforesaid messuage" (Structure 44). In 1673 the Kemp house was said to have been "late in the possession of Thomas Sully" whereas the "other Messuage or tenement built by the said Walter Chiles [II] the son, lately [was] in the tennure & occupacon of Majr Theophilous Hone" (Ambler MS 24).

Thomas Sully (Kemp house lessee)

No information has come to light about the Thomas Sully who during the early 1670s rented the Kemp house from Walter Chiles II. It is unlikely that he would have been the ancient planter Thomas Sully, who in 1625 was 36 years old (Meyer et al. 1987:54).

Theophilus Hone (Howne) (Chiles house lessee)

Theophilus Hone (Howne), a gentleman, who during the early 1670s rented a dwelling on Tract F, in November 1652 served as a burgess for Elizabeth City County. Three years later, he commenced representing James City. In 1662 he functioned as attorney for Elizabeth Perkins, the owner of a parcel on the mainland near Jamestown Island, and in 1664 he was identified as a James City County justice of the peace. From 1666 to 1676 Hone served was Jamestown's representative in the assembly; therefore, he may have owned a Jamestown lot or been married to someone who did. In October 1667 he was one of those fined for building a wharf in front of the town, which implies that he was in possession of a parcel abutting the James River (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:48; Hening 1809-1823:II:159; Charles City Order Book 1:33). Over the years, Theophilus Hone enhanced the size of his holdings in Elizabeth City County and he patented a large tract on the north side of the Rappahannock River (Nugent 1969-1979:I:322, 540; Leonard 1976:38; Stanard 1965:70, 72, 79; Hening 1809-1823:II:249-250).

On June 21, 1670, Major Theophilus Hone was described as the occupant of some property near William May's acreage (Parcels 1 and 2 of

Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot D). Specifically, Walter Chiles II's widow's November 20, 1673, deed for the sale of his 3½ acre lot (Study Unit 1 Tract F) to York County merchant John Page reveals that Hone had been living in the 37-foot-long brick house Chiles built upon Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B (Structure 138). By 1675 Hone had moved next door and was residing in the "country house" on Jonathan Newell's property (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A), Structure 38. The building Hone occupied reportedly was burned during Bacon's Rebellion and resulted in the loss of his goods (Ambler MS 24, 26; McIlwaine 1924:221; Bruce 1898:68; Wiseman Book of Records [1677]). The 1673 sale of Tract F to John Page may have prompted Hone to move next door to the "country house," (Structure 38).

During the early 1670s Major Theophilus Hone made several appearances in the General Court. In 1670 he acknowledged a debt to Captain John Whitty's estate and in 1671 he, William May (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcels 1 and 2) and some others were ordered to go to Tabitha Summers Underwood's house to examine a will. In 1671 Hone (like Walter Chiles II) was called upon to inventory Thomas Hunt's estate (Study Unit 4 Tract J) and like Chiles, he was a James City Parish vestryman. Hone also served as county sheriff, a position that rotated among local justices of the peace. By May 1671 he had married William Richardson's executrix, Sarah, who also was the widow of William Edwards I of Surry County. Theophilus Hone in 1672 gave his power of attorney to stepson William Edwards II and William Sherwood to act on his behalf in the monthly court of Surry County (McIlwaine 1924:236, 251, 258, 262, 277; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:20).

In 1671 Captain Christopher Wormeley, who had wed the widow of James City Parish minister Justinian Aylemer, sued Theophilus Hone and William May for the deceased clergyman's back pay. Hone and May responded by suing Walter Chiles II and Francis Kirkman, their replacements on the parish vestry. In October 1671 Thomas Rabley (a Dutchman who in 1678 purchased Lot B and part of Lot A within Study Unit 4 Tract L) sued Major Theophilus Hone, his former guardian. When Hone's accounts were audited, it was determined that he owed funds to Rabley (McIlwaine 1924:280, 285).

In 1672, when a decision was made to build a 250-foot-long brick fort at Jamestown, Major Theophilus Hone, William Drummond I and Mathew Page offered to undertake its construction. Hone also agreed to see that gun carriages were built. In November 1672 he accepted Surry County funds earmarked for the construction of the brick fort. Mathew Page died and Hone and Drummond were ordered to complete the fort, which included replacing some of its cracked and defective brick (Surry County Order Book 1671-1690:13; McIlwaine 1924:342, 344, 367).

It is uncertain how effectively Theophilus Hone and William Drummond I (Study Unit 4 Tract N) worked together on the fort project. However, there is no doubt that they were on opposite sides during Bacon's Rebellion. During 1675 and 1676 Hone was high sheriff of James City County and as an official duty, he seized Nathaniel Bacon (to whom Drummond was loyal) and forcibly took him to Governor William Berkeley (Force 1963:I:8:12). After the rebellion subsided, Hone was responsible for inventorying the property confiscated from the rebels executed for treason. One was William Drummond I. Hone also certified an account of Richard Lawrence's estate (Study Unit 4 Tract S). Theophilus Hone, though not usually identified as a member of the "Green Spring Faction," apparently remained loyal to Berkeley's supporters. In January 1678 Hone was named as one of Thomas Ludwell's executors. Hone's daughter, Catherine, was married to Robert Beverley I, a Berkeley partisan-turned-vigilante (C.O. 5/1371 f217, 247; Sainsbury 1964:10:72; Bruce 1895:412; Withington 1980:667).

On February 20, 1677 Major Theophilus Hone appeared before the House of Burgesses where he asked for the ruins of the brick rowhouses Richard Auborne and Arnold Cassinett had occupied prior to Bacon's Rebellion (Structure 115 on

Study Unit 4 Tract K Lots C and D, Bays 3 and 4). Hone's request was granted, provided "that he doe well and substantially att his owne cost rebuild the two houses wherein Mr. Richard Auborne and Arnold Cassinett lately lived in James City." Hone was to receive a 50 year lease, as long as he paid an annual rent of an ear of Indian corn "and that hee or his assignes doe constantly keepe all the sayd buildings in good and sufficient repair" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1659-1693:73, 78). Ultimately, Hone failed to rebuild the ruinous houses, which were assigned to others, and his conditional agreement with the assembly became null and void.

Susanna Chiles (Mrs. Walter II) (Mrs. James Wadding)

As noted previously, Walter Chiles II's widow, Susanna, remarried a relatively short time after his decease. She and her new husband, the Rev. James Wadding, rector of James City Parish, continued settling the decedent's estate. On August 7, 1672, the Wadding couple sold the late Walter Chiles II's 70 acres at Black Point (Tracts M, N, O, P, and U) to Edward Travis II (Nugent 1969-1979::I:252; Patent Book 7:228-229). Then, on November 20, 1673, they disposed of his 3½ acre New Towne lot (Tract F) and its improvements, which they conveyed to Colonel John Page, a York County merchant. The Waddings' deed to Page mentioned that the late Walter Chiles II had "built a Brick howse or tenement conteyning in length 37 foote [Structure 138], neere adjoyneing to the aforesaid messuage," the Kemp house, Structure 44. In 1673 the Kemp house was "late in the possession of Thomas Sully" whereas the "other Messuage or tenement built by the said Walter Chiles [II] the son, lately [was] in the tennure & occupacon of Majr Theophilous Hone." The Waddings' deed to Colonel Page noted that "the said two Messuages belonging or in any wise pertaining" to the land were included in the bargain. An endorsement at the end of the Chiles-Page conveyance states that it was the "Deed for the brick howses at James City" (Ambler MS 24).

John Page

John Page, who was born in England in 1627, immigrated to Virginia around 1650. Within two years he patented some land in the upper reaches of the York River, at which time he identified himself as a merchant. In 1655 and 1656 Page served as a burgess for York County. He continued to acquire land and in 1656 patented 2,700 acres in Lancaster County. He frequently filed suits in the General Court, attempting to collect funds he was owed and he continued to acquire land. Among Jamestown residents who owed Page money were Jonathan Newell (Study Unit 1 Tract D), Thomas Swann (Study Unit 3 Tract H, Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A Bay 4, and probably Study Unit 4 Tract H), Thomas Warren (Study Unit 4 Tract X) and Thomas Hunt (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J) (McIlwaine 1924:224, 247, 257, 260, 266, 288, 300, 328, 338-339, 350; Stanard 1965:41, 72; Meyer et al 1987:409; Nugent 1969-1979:I:279, 340; II:30).

On October 29, 1673, bricklayer John Bird of Surry County brought suit against Colonel John Page as the executor of his brother, Mathew Page. It was only three weeks later that John purchased the late Walter Chiles II's 3½ acre lot (Tract F) from his remarried widow, Susanna Chiles Wadding. At that time, Page was identified as a merchant and resident of Bruton Parish. He frequently served as an attorney and in 1676 was called upon to audit the estate of Jonathan Newell, the York County merchant who had owned Tract D (McIlwaine 1924:350, 358, 364, 370, 434, 441; Ambler MS 24).

When the colony was in the throes of Bacon's Rebellion, Colonel John Page, a councillor, remained loyal to Governor William Berkeley. As a result, Nathaniel Bacon proclaimed him a traitor. Later, Page's home was plundered and his wife, Alice, was one of the women Bacon seized and used as a shield while building his defensive trench at the entrance to Jamestown Island (Force 1963:I:9:8; Wiseman Book of Record [1677]; Aspinall et al. 1871:172).

Documents on file in the British Public Records Office reveal that during the mid-1670s Colonel John Page was functioning as the factor of London merchant and alderman John Jeffreys (Jeffries). They also demonstrate that at the onset of Bacon's Rebellion, Page had for sale some Africans and a shipment of wine that belonged to Jeffreys. In September 1676, Jeffreys had 83 pipes and hogsheads of fial wine stored in Page's cellars (Structure 53) in Jamestown. Governor William Berkeley reportedly confiscated 20 pipes of wine and the rest was destroyed by fire on September 19th, when Nathaniel Bacon's followers set the capital city ablaze. Afterward, John Page filed a claim on John Jeffreys' behalf, in an attempt to recover the value of the wine. The burgesses decided to award him half of its estimated the value, for they believed that whatever Berkeley hadn't seized would have been destroyed by fire (C.O. 1/12 f 115; 1/41 f 218; 5/1355 ff 200-203; Sainsbury 1964:10:167; Withington 1980:51).

John Jeffreys wasn't satisfied and on October 18, 1677, appeared before the Committee for Trade and Plantations, where he attempted to obtain what he considered adequate compensation the wine he lost. He said:

> *That your petr having a considerable store of Fial wine at Jamestown in Virginia, the right honorable Sr. Wm. Berkeley governor by virtue of an order did impress for his majesties' service 20 pipes thereof, which were accordingly delivered at the lowest rate they had been sold at, vizt 8 L sterling p. pipe. That after the said 20 pipes of wine were expended in the service aforesaid and above 63 pipes more utterly lost to your petr. by the Rebells burning the Towne, your petr's correspondent Mr. John Page was fain [willing] to petition the last Grand Assembly for payment. Whereupon by report of a committee confirmed by assembly they have allowed full 8 pounds for 2 pipes of the said wine delivered to Sr William Berkeley and would allow but half pay (that is, 4 pounds per pipe) for the other 18 pipes, alleging this reason for abatement, that they were taken from town, disposed on the public account and soe saved from the fire which happened suddenly after upon the Governors leaving James-Town.*

Jeffreys added that:

> *Now for that the Grand Assembly have by their Public Order owned the delivery and disposal of the 20 pipes of wine and ordered payment here in England for 2 pipes at full price and the other 18 at half price, yet because the reason alleged is very unjust as well as ridiculous as the honorable, his majesty's commissioners for Virginia have truly observed in their report of the premises upon the sight of the petition and order of assembly herewith doe ready to be produced [C. O. 5/1355 f 202].*

John Jeffreys accompanied his petition with a statement from his agent, John Page. Page stated that Governor Berkeley, on the day before he abandoned Jamestown, had ordered him to deliver 20 pipes of fial wine for the king's service. Page said he had sold some of Jeffreys' wine to gentlemen at 8 pounds per pipe and:

> *Now soe it is that the Grand Assembly have ordered payment for 2 pipes of ye said wine at 8 pounds per pipe, which was spent in the Towne, but 4 pounds per pipe for the 18 pipes which were put aboard the ships, saying if it had not been taken away it would have been lost, which the gentlemen I sold to at 8 pounds per pipe might also plead if any reason for it.*

He added that:

> *There was noe caution given to remove what was then left in the cellars of the said John Jeffries' wine, being 63 pipes, one hogshead and one quarter cash of Fial wine, which to your petitioner seems strange that wine should be taken at half price and so much wine lost that timely notice to secure the same might have presented.*

Page said that he also had "delivered to the sd Sr Wm Berkeley 4 men negroes for 100 pounds sterling," and that he had yet to receive payment (C.O. 5/1355 f 202).

The special commissioners sent to Virginia to investigate the causes of Bacon's Rebellion agreed with John Page and John Jeffreys. They expressed their opinion that:

Since the pipes within mentioned were delivered by order of the right honorable governor, two pipes for his own and 18 for the public use and for his majesty's service, the first 2 pipes being allowed for at the full rate of 8 pounds per pipe as by the sd order of assembly herewith produced doth appear there is the same reason that they should pay for the other 18 pipes of wine after the same rate which themselves have Induced and set upon the 2 pipes for the Governor's use. And that it is a most ridiculous and unjust evasion, which in their order is alleged, for allowing but half price for the other 18 pipes because they were taken from Jamestown the day before it was left, and by that means saved from the fire and drunk out by them, while at the same time there was 63 pipes one hogshead and quarter cask of Fial wine lost by the fire for most want of due notice for removal. Wherefore we are also of opinion that it is most just and reasonable that John Jeffreys Esq., true owner of all the said wine soe expended and lost, should receive payment and satisfaction pro rata, as the assembly have themselves valued the first two pipes for the governors use and the other 18 pipes expended and owned by them out of the public money out of the countrys here in England, it being only public account delivered [C.O. 5/1355 ff 203-205].

In mid-February 1677 the assembly authorized John Page to find land at Middle Plantation that was suitable for the king's soldiers' use in planting corn. He also was to oversee construction of a powder house and guardhouse. In 1678 Page donated the land at Middle Plantation upon which Bruton Parish Church was built and later, much of his acreage in that vicinity became part of the city of Williamsburg. In 1681 Colonel John Page was named to the Governor's Council and in 1682, while he was serving in that capacity, it was decided that the colony's military stores should be taken to his house in Middle Plantation. By 1686 Page had begun serving as the colony's escheator and in 1690 he was ordered to inventory the military stores in the fort at Jamestown. When Page died in 1692 he left a widow and four children. He was interred at Bruton Parish Church (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:71-72; 1925-1945:I:25, 117; Nugent 1969-1979:II:261; Meade 1992:I:146; Stanard 1965:41; Palmer 1968:I:21; Ambler MS 37; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 3:103; C. O. 5/1358 f 77; Meyer et al. 1987:410; Smith 1957:67).

Sometime after Bacon's Rebellion but before October 27, 1682, Colonel John Page sold his 3½ acre lot in Jamestown (Tract F) to William Sherwood. Although the deed effecting the transaction has been lost or destroyed, on October 27, 1682, when James City County surveyor John Soane delimited the property for Sherwood, he recorded detailed boundary data and noted that the 3½ acre lot was the land "bought of Coll. Page."[50] The verbal boundary description for the 3½ acres Sherwood purchased (Tract F) commenced at the southwest corner of the 1 acre lot upon which he resided (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A) and ran clockwise. The boundary line began "at ye SW Corner of his Acre of Land & runing N 58 degrees 0 minutes Wly 7.4 chains [244.2 feet], [then] N 10 degrees 0 minutes E 19.5 chains [643.5 feet] to Pitch & Tarr Swamp & down it S 70 degrees 0 minutes E 6.28 chains [207.24 feet] to his formr Land & along ye Same S 5 degrees 30 minutes Wly 15 chains [495 feet], S 12 degrees 45 minutes W 4 chains [132 feet], S 16 degrees 45 Wly 2.21 chains [72.93 feet] to ye place it began, Including ye Ruins of Sqr Kemps old Brick house" (Ambler MS 34).

When the boundaries of William Sherwood's newly purchased 3½ acre lot were reconstructed to scale electronically using John Soane's survey data, it was found that the multi-segmented eastern boundary line of Tract F mirrored that of the western boundary line of Tract D, a Sherwood property to which it adjoined. The western boundary line of Tract F was found to correspond to the eastern boundary line of Study Unit 4 Tract K. These boundary line configurations were found to

[50] If Soane prepared a plat based upon his survey data, it seems to have been lost.

match ditch patterns and features shown on the Jamestown Island archaeological base map. Moreover, the northernmost boundary line of Tract F and that of Tract D's Lot D formed the southerly boundary line of Tract G, Captain Roger Smith's patent.

William Sherwood

William Sherwood, who had immigrated to Virginia by 1669, married Rachel, the widow of Richard James I (Study Unit 1 Tracts B and C), sometime prior to October 4, 1675. Sherwood, an attorney and 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). 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 Sherwood, during the conflagration, the buildings his stepson, Richard James II, was to inherit among the structures (Structure 1/2) burned. Afterward, Sherwood sought compensation for the damage that was done (C. O. 1/ 41 ff 31, 32ro). On February 6, 1677, he purchased an acre of land in the New Towne, where by April 23, 1681, he had built what was described as a "faire house and appurtenances [Structure 31]" (Patent Book 7:98). In October 1677 Sherwood 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 (the rest of Study Unit 1 Tract D), as well as the 3½ acres he purchased from John Page (Tract F). He also acquired part of Study Unit 1 Tract G (Nugent 1969-1979:II:222; Patent Book 7:97; Ambler MS 33, 34).

On October 23, 1690, William Sherwood patented 150 acres of escheat land, Tract C, the acreage his stepson had inherited from his father. The land was available for patenting because young Richard James II had died unmarried and without heirs (Ambler MS 43; Patent Book 8:83). Sherwood also retained Tract B, probably his wife's dower share of her former husband's estate. In 1694 Sherwood repatented his aggregate of 308 acres on Jamestown Island (Patent Book 8:384-386; Nugent 1969-1979:II:394).[51] Throughout the 1680s and 90s William Sherwood derived income from renting portions of his brick house on Lot A of Tract D (Structure 31) to the government for official meetings. This would have provided him with a regular source of income (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:225, 282, 325, 452).

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, with the exception of a few specific bequests he made to friends and kin. However, he left the reversionary rights to all of his property to Jeffrey Jeffreys of London. 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).

Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys (Jeffries, Jeffrey) (reversionary heir)

Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys, whom William Sherwood named his reversionary heir, was a London merchant in partnership with his brother John Jeffreys. Both men were actively invloved in the Royal African Company. The Jeffreys' mercantile firm traded actively in Virginia and William Sherwood and John Page probably were its local factors. As previously noted, in September 1676 when Nathaniel Bacon's men set Jamestown ablaze, a large quantity of John Jeffreys' wine, which was being stored in John Page's cellars, was destroyed. In 1692 Jeffrey Jeffreys reportedly sent 200 stand of arms to the colony, weapons that were damaged when the statehouse burned in October 1698. Jeffrey Jeffreys, who seems to have been highly influential in English politics, in 1704 was asked to do what he could to assist Jamestown's inhabitants in regaining their assembly representation. On Decem-

[51] In 1683 he also had a 260 acre leasehold in the interior of the Governor's Land (Soane 1683).

ber 11, 1704, Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys deeded his legal interest in the late William Sherwood's estate to Edward Jaquelin, who had married the widowed Rachel James Sherwood (Ambler MS 65, 73; Withington 1980:52; McGhan 1993:873; McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:426; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 9:49; Sainsbury 1964:17:170; 22:105).

Edward Jaquelin

In ca. 1699 Mrs. Rachel James Sherwood married Edward Jaquelin, a merchant 9 years younger than her deceased son, Richard James II. Jaquelin moved into her home (Structure 31) and on December 11, 1704, purchased Jeffrey Jeffreys' legal interest in the late William Sherwood's ca. 400 acre estate (Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F, and G) (Ambler MS 65, 73). This would have included the decedent's interest in wife Rachel's dower share of Richard James I's estate (probably Tract B). It is uncertain whether Sherwood's lease for 260 acres in the Governor's Land was still viable.

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. 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 parcel 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 to the Jaquelin/Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island. After Rachel James Sherwood Jaquelin's death, Edward Jaquelin married Martha Cary of Elizabeth City County, with whom he had several children. However, Edward outlived Martha and their sons and when he died in November 1739, his three daughters became his heirs. Edward Jaquelin's Jamestown Island plantation and mainland farm descended through his eldest daughter, Elizabeth (the wife of Yorktown merchant Richard Ambler) to the decedent's four-year-old grandson, John Ambler I (Smith et al. 1745; Meyer et al. 1987:606; Ambler 1826:26).

Richard Ambler

Although Richard Ambler's wife, Elizabeth Jaquelin, technically seems to have inherited her late father's landholdings on Jamestown Island and in the nearby mainland, they clearly were intended for her son John Ambler I. Included in the bequest were Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F, and G and possibly Tract H. In 1745 Richard Ambler purchased his sister-in-laws' reversionary interest in a 2 acre parcel in which he enjoyed a life-interest, and he enhanced the size of the Jaquelin plantation by purchasing a substantial quantity of land from Norfolk merchant Christopher Perkins. Included in that transaction was Study Unit 1 Tract E. This increased the size of the Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island to approximately 698 acres (Smith et al. 1745; Ambler MS 97-98, 106-107; Ambler 1826:26).

Lot C

John Harris

On May 11, 1696, William Sherwood sold a portion of the 3½ acre parcel he had purchased from John Page (Tract F) to John Harris. He noted that the ½ acre he was selling (Lot C) was "late in ye Occupation of Mr Secretary Wormeley." The verbal boundary description for the new lot commenced at its southwest corner and ran counterclockwise. It began "at a stake in ye Line on Omoonces Land formerly ffitchetts Land (Study Unit 4 Tract E), & runing along on ye South side of ye Mulberry trees 90 foot, thence N'ly towards ye maine road [Ditch 24] 40 foot, thence NW near ye sd Maine Road to ye Corner of Omoonces

Land 100 foot, & so along ye line of Omoonces Land to ye place or stake it first began." Harris was "To have and to hold ye sd parcel or quantity of Land wth all & singular its rights members Jurisdictions & appurtenances, together wth one dwelling house in & upon ye same erected wth a brick chimney, & all ways, easmts, enclosures, profits & commodities thereon" (Ambler MS 59). On November 12, 1696, when George Marable II disposed of a contiguous parcel (Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot B) he made reference to its abutting "northerly towards the howse & land of John Harris Taylor" (Ambler MS 62). That structure awaits identification.

Very little is known about John Harris other than the fact that he was a tailor. He may have been the indentured servant of that name whom Richard Young in March 1672 was ordered to free and provide with corn and clothes (McIlwaine 1924:297). John Harris retained Lot C until November 4, 1701, then selling it to William Drummond II (Ambler MS 114).

William Drummond II

William Drummond II, who purchased Lot C from John Harris, was the son of William Drummond I, the owner of Study Unit 4 Tract N and a man executed for his participation in Bacon's Rebellion. William Drummond II took over his father's leasehold in the Governor's Land and seems to have played an active role in the community. In March 1693 he was ordered to serve as an officer in attendance at assembly meetings, which suggests that he was sergeant-at-arms. Two years later he was designated an official messenger for the House. Drummond appears to have been a respected member of the community and in 1699 he commenced serving as a James City County justice of the peace. He also was designated to serve as Thomas Meriwether's guardian and to oversee William Broadribb's will. At William Drummond II's death, his property (including Lot C) descended to his son, William Drummond III (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:413; 1695-1702:60; Ambler MS 114; Sainsbury 1964:17:309; McGhan 1993:676; Smith 1957:27).

William Drummond III

On June 15, 1753, William Drummond III, who had inherited Lot C from his father, sold it to Edward Champion Travis. At that time, it was mentioned that William Sherwood had sold the ½ acre lot to John Harris on May 11, 1696, and that Harris on November 4, 1701, had conveyed it to William Drummond II of James City County, father of the grantor. The verbal boundary description for Lot C cited the same metes and bounds that had been used to define the parcel in 1696. The boundary line ran counter-clockwise from the lot's southwest corner and began "at a Stake on the Line on Omoonce's Land [Study Unit 4 Tract E] and running along on the South Side of the Mulberry Trees 90 Foot, thence Northerly towards the Main Road 40 Foot, thence North-West near the said Main Road to the Corner of Omoonce's Land 100 Foot and so along the Line of Omoonce's Land to the Place or Stake it first began" (Ambler MS 114). No reference was made to the presence of structures on Lot C.

Edward Champion Travis

It appears that Edward Champion Travis was speculating in real estate when he purchased Lot C, for he bought it on June 15, 1753, and sold it to Richard Ambler on October 8, 1753. Again, the deed recounted the lot's descent from William Sherwood and again, its metes and bounds were described in precisely the same way (Ambler MS 114, 115). The timing of Travis's sale is significant, for it predated by only three months Richard Ambler's formal acquisition of the neighboring properties owned by Christopher Perkins and Edward Jaquelin's heirs.

Edward Champion Travis, who was born in 1721, married Susannah Hutchings, with whom he produced sons Champion, Edward IV, and John and daughter Susannah. In 1745, when Edward

Jaquelin's daughters transferred part of their late father's property to Richard Ambler, Edward Champion Travis witnessed the deed, and in 1750, Travis, while functioning as executor for William Nugent, assigned a 105 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land to Ambler. By 1750 Edward Champion Travis had become involved in the slave trade, and his sloop, the *Jamestown*, commenced bringing Blacks to Virginia from Barbados. He conducted business as Edward C. Travis and Company and was involved in the slave trade until at least 1758. In 1752 Travis began serving as burgess for Jamestown, which seat he retained through 1765. He became a James City County justice in 1752, but in 1772 was deemed unqualified for office, perhaps because he had relocated to York County (Tyler 1907-1908:142; Smith et al. 1745; Minchinton 1984:145, 159; Stanard 1965:128-170; McIlwaine 1925-1945:5:391; 6:512).

Richard Ambler

Richard Ambler purchased Lot C from Edward Champion Travis on October 8, 1753. Richard, when preparing his January 23, 1765, will, left Lot C and the rest of his Jamestown Island property to his son, John Ambler I, who already had inherited the late Edward Jaquelin's holdings on the island and in the mainland (Ambler MS 115; York County Wills and Inventories 21:278-282).

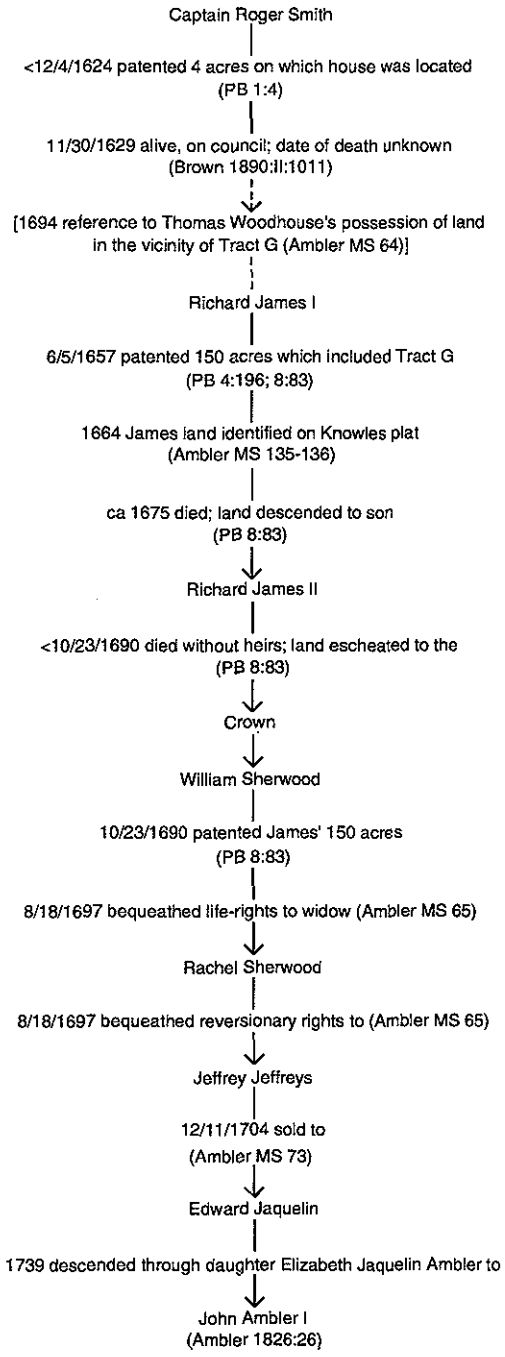


Figure 22. *Land transactions, Study Unit 1, Tract G (later part of Tract C).*

Study Unit 1 Tract G

Tract G arises from a patent which original text has been lost. However, thanks to a transcription by Lyon G. Tyler, some essential information has been preserved. Between 1902, when Tyler's first edition of *Cradle of the Republic* was published, and 1907 when he produced a revised edition, pages 3 and 4 of the Virginia Land Office's Patent Book 1 were lost. Tyler pointed this out in footnote 4 on page 47 of the 1907 edition, attributing the land records' loss to out-of-state scholars' abuse of the original documents.[52] He therefore included some material he had transcribed when examining Sir George Yeardley's and Captain Roger Smith's patents on pages 3 and 4 of Patent Book 1.

Lyon G. Tyler's research notes (on file in the Department of Special Collections of the College of William and Mary's Swem Library) were examined carefully. However, they were found to contain no information other than what had been included in *Cradle of the Republic*. Thanks to diligent research by project bibliographer Del Moore, it was learned that a full transcription of the Yeardley and Smith patents had been published in 1890 in the MacAlester College Papers. The pertinent volume was obtained for direct examination, which data have been used in the discussion that follows.

Captain Roger Smith

On December 12, 1625, Captain Roger Smith patented 4 acres that were bound "South upon the pale of the Governor's Garden [possibly Tract H], north upon the ground of Sir George Yeardley [Tract C Lot B], divided by the highway eastward upon the bridge in the said highway leading into the Island and also upon the yard of Captain William Peirce [Tract D Lot B], and west upon the highway leading into the parke" (Nugent 1969-1979:I:2; Patent Book 1:4; Neill 1890:32-33). Court testimony dating to December 12, 1625, reveals that Smith developed his property prior to the time he patented it (see ahead). His acreage abutted that of his father-in-law, Captain William Peirce (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B).

Captain Roger Smith, who was commander of an infantry company in the Netherlands in 1592 and was associated with Lord Delaware, served there for 12 or 13 years. He came to Virginia sometime prior to 1616 and was an ancient planter. As Smith was convinced that the colony needed strong leadership, he disapproved of Governor George Yeardley's more lenient management style. Therefore, he set sail for England in November 1619 and in March 1620 presented his complains about Yeardley to the Virginia Company's Council for Virginia. Several years later, however, Smith's views seem to have mellowed, for he testified against Captain John Martin, who was part of the Virginia Company's more militant faction (Brown 1890:II:1011; McIlwaine 1924:30, 79; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:231; IV:228; Ferrar MS 571).

Roger Smith was anxious to return to the colony and in December 1620 persuaded Virginia Company officials to outfit him for the journey and place him in charge of the 50 Company tenants who were to be placed upon the Company Land at the mouth of the Chickahominy River. He wanted to take along a young preacher and he was accompanied by Thomas Bunn, a surgeon. As soon as Captain Roger Smith returned to Virginia, he began serving on the Governor's Council (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:429, 512; III:482; Stanard 1965:30; Ferrar MS 215).

Less than a month after the March 22, 1622, Indian uprising occurred, Captain Roger Smith was

[52] Nell M. Nugent, whose first volume of patent abstracts was published in 1934, also noted the loss of pages 3 and 4 of Patent Book 1 (Nugent 1969-1979:I:2).

ordered to evacuate the inhabitants of Henrico Island and Coxendale and he was given absolute power over those who resided in Charles City. In May 1622 he was placed in command of Pasbehay's population. Smith's military expertise apparently was highly valued, for he was given the authority and the means to build a fort on the lower side of the James River, in Warresqueak. By April 1623 construction had gotten underway and reportedly was going well. Although Treasurer George Sandys informed Company officials that Smith, as a councillor, was of more value for action than advice, it generally was agreed that he was doing a good job on the Warresqueak fort (Kingsbury 1906-1935:II:481; III:609, 611, 623; IV:102, 110, 129, 188, 228, 450).

On February 16, 1624, when a census was made of Jamestown Island's inhabitants, Captain Roger Smith headed a Jamestown household that included his wife, three young children (Elizabeth Rolfe, Sarah Macocke, and Elizabeth Salter),[53] Christopher Lawson and his wife, and three other males, Francis Fouller or Fowler, Charles Waller, and Henry Booth. All four of the latter men were Virginia Company servants. In January 1625 the Smith household included Roger Smith and his wife, Joane, and the same three children. Two of the four servants who had been present in 1624 (Henry Booth and Charles Waller) were still with the Smiths in Jamestown, whereas the Lawson couple and Francis Fowler had moved to Captain Roger Smith's plantation on the lower side of the James River (Meyer et al. 1987:30, 416, 478; Hotten 1980:174, 232; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:482). Although in January 1625 no buildings at Jamestown were attributed to the Smiths, it has been demonstrated that structures which existence is well documented sometimes were omitted from the muster.

During 1624 and 1625 Captain Roger Smith played an active role in the Virginia government. In 1624 he was among those who signed the "Tragical Relation," a document highly critical of how the colony was managed during Sir Thomas Smith's government. In July 1624 Captain Roger Smith led an expedition against the Pamunkey Indians, one of the retaliatory marches undertaken each summer with the objective of to destroying the Natives' food supply. In October 1624 Captain Roger Smith, Dr. John Pott and surgeon Thomas Bunn (all of whom had parcels in the Governor's Land) were given permission to seat land in Henrico that had been set aside for the College. There is no evidence, however, that they did. By late 1624 and early 1625 Captain Roger Smith began receiving the compensation to which he was entitled for building the Warresqueak fort. He appears to have assisted in settling people's debts and he sometimes resorted to litigation to collect sums he was owed. In May 1625 when a list of patented land was sent back to England, Captain Roger Smith was credited with 100 acres in Archer's Hope, which he had received by means of a court order. On December 12, 1625, when Smith's acreage was mentioned in the minutes of the General Court, it was noted that 4 acres of the land to which Smith was entitled were on Jamestown Island (Study Unit 1 Tract G) and the remainder was in Archer's Hope, just east of the James City Parish glebe. Significantly, both of Smith's parcels were "allreadie seated and planted" (Tyler 1907:424; McIlwaine 1924:20, 25, 32, 36, 45, 79; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:551, 556; Nugent 1969-1979:I:2; Patent Book 1:4).

Captain Roger Smith and his father-in-law, Captain William Peirce, owned some acreage near Blunt Point. On January 10, 1627, they came into court to certify that if some acreage Governor George Yeardley wanted in that area intruded upon their holdings, they would be content to have a comparable amount of land elsewhere (McIlwaine 1924:130).

Sometime prior to January 3, 1626, one of Captain Roger Smith's servants, Henry Booth, was

[53] Elizabeth Rolfe was the daughter of Joan Peirce Rolfe Smith and her late husband, John Rolfe, and the Maycock child was the daughter and heir of councillor Samuel Maycock (Macock), who had been killed during the 1622 Indian uprising.

injured by a gun that Jamestown gunsmith John Jefferson had repaired improperly and delivered to Smith's house. Jefferson was ordered to pay Booth's medical bills and provide money for his maintenance, as he was "a poore man and A Tenant to the Company" (McIlwaine 1924:84). In late January 1627, when the defunct Virginia Company's servants were assigned to government officials, to complete their terms of indenture, Captain Roger Smith received Francis Fowler, Christopher Lawson and Stephen Webb, who already were employed upon his plantation on the lower side of the James River (McIlwaine 1924:84, 136).

In March 1629 Captain Roger Smith testified that Captain William Peirce, the overseer of Abraham Porter's estate, had arranged for John Jackson, the gunsmith, to take over that duty. Therefore, Jackson was named Porter's administrator. Captain Smith's date of death is uncertain, but he was still alive in June 1629 (McIlwaine 1924:187; Stanard 1965:30; Brown 1890:II:1011). If Captain Roger Smith left no living heirs, Tract G would have escheated to the Crown.

Thomas Woodhouse

During the seventeenth century the name of Thomas Woodhouse was associated with Tract G, although neither a deed nor a patent for the property seems to exist. Woodhouse, who by 1655 was residing in Jamestown, patented and developed some land in Surry County, where he secured his first patent in 1640. On October 17, 1655, he patented a 1 acre lot in the New Towne, Study Unit 4 Tract C, and on September 1, 1657, sold the western half of it (Lot B) to Mrs. Ann Talbott. In March 1655 Thomas Woodhouse agreed to purchase from Governor William Berkeley Bay 4, then the easternmost unit of Structure 144, the Ludwell Statehouse Group rowhouse, which formerly had been used as a statehouse. During 1656 Woodhouse was compensated for hosting two sessions of the General Court and a committee meeting and in 1660 he was paid for council meetings that were held at his house. He seems to have prospered, for in May 1658 he patented 6,000 acres of land on the Potomac River and in 1659 he acquired 100 acres in Isle of Wight County. His land in Isle of Wight abutted that of two other members of the Jamestown community: John Moone (O'Moonce) (the owner of Study Unit 4 Tract E) and John Upton (lessee of Study Unit 2 Tract M) (Ambler MS 18; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:6, 23, 63; Patent Book 3:380; 5:253; Nugent 1969-1979:I:317, 375, 391; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:96, 101; 1660-1693:8; Hening 1809-1823:I:424).

On July 21, 1657, Thomas Woodhouse and William Hooker patented 100 acres of land in the southeastern end of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 3 Tracts A, K and adjacent ground). Their acreage, which was east of the Goose Hill House, abutted north upon parcels attributed to Major Holt and John Pinhorne (Patent Book 4:100; Nugent 1969-1979:I:347). Woodhouse and Hooker apparently abandoned or failed to develop their 100 acres, which escheated to the Crown, and sometime prior to 1671 Woodhouse also lost or disposed of his interest in Bay 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Ambler MS 18; McIlwaine 1924:514).

In 1694 Thomas Woodhouse was described as the former owner or lessee of a parcel in the immediate vicinity of Study Unit 1 Tract G. It was then that the property he used to own was cited as a reference point in the verbal boundary description of William Sherwood's Study Unit 1 Tract D. Sherwood's boundary line, which began south of Study Unit 1 Tract E, followed Pitch and Tar Swamp to a ditch that marked the southern boundary line of Study Unit 1 Tract C (escheat land Sherwood acquired that originally was part of Richard James I's estate) and separated it from "the land formerly belonging to one Thomas Woodhowse." At that point Sherwood's boundary ditch headed "South, 10 degrees Westerly, over the Said branch of pitch and tarr Swamp, to the 3½ acres which the said William Sherwood purchased of John Page Esqr [Study Unit 1 Tract F]

and along the Same, the Said course, in all, 23 chaines [759 feet] to a Mulberry tree neere the land of John ffitchett [Study Unit 4 Tract E], thence South 74 degrees Easterly, 1 chaines and 85 hundredeth parts of a chaine [61.05 feet] to another Mulberry tree, South 61 degrees Easterlye, 5 chaines and 55 hundredth parts of a chaine [183.15 feet], to the acre of land William Sherwood purchased of David Newell [Study Unit 1 Tract D]" (Ambler MS 64). This boundary line description mirrors precisely the property lines shown on John Soane's plats of Study Unit 1 Tracts D and E and described in his verbal boundary description of Study Unit 1 Tract F. Therefore, it reveals that by 1694, Tract G, which "formerly belonged to one Thomas Woodhowse," had been incorporated into William Sherwood's property, perhaps as part of Tract C (Ambler MS 64, 134, 135-136).

William Sherwood

William Sherwood, who immigrated to Virginia around 1669, sometime prior to October 4, 1675, married Rachel, the widow of Richard James I. Sherwood, who was an attorney and 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). The James/Sherwood household seems to have lived upon the late Richard James I's 150 acres (Study Unit 1 Tract C), probably occupying Structure 1/2, which was burned during Bacon's Rebellion. Afterwards, Sherwood asked for compensation for damages, indicating that he needed the funds "to rebuild in James City" (C. O. 1/41 ff 31-32ro). On February 6, 1677, William Sherwood purchased an acre of land in the New Towne, Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A, where by April 23, 1681, he had built what was described as a "faire house and appurtenances [Structure 31]" (Patent Book 7:98). In October 1677 Sherwood 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 all of John Newell's Jamestown land (Study Unit 1 Tract D) and he purchased 3½ acres from John Page (Study Unit 1 Tract F) (Nugent 1969-1979:II:222; Patent Book 7:97; Ambler MS 33, 34). On October 23, 1690, William Sherwood patented Tract C, the 150 acres Richard James I 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. As a result, the James acreage (Tract C) escheated to the Crown (Ambler MS 43; Patent Book 8:83). As Sherwood never repatented the decedent's 40 acre parcel (Tract B) but retained it, it probably was the widowed Rachel James' dower share of her late husband's estate. In 1694 Sherwood repatented his aggregate of 308 acres on Jamestown Island (Patent Book 8:384-386; Nugent 1969- 1979:II:394).[54] It was then that Thomas Woodhouse's name was associated with Tract G. It is uncertain whether William Sherwood acquired Tract G as part of Tract C, or in a separate land transaction for which documentation no longer survives.

Edward Jaquelin

In ca. 1699 Mrs. Rachel James Sherwood married Edward Jaquelin, a merchant 9 years younger than her deceased son, Richard James II. Jaquelin moved into her home and on December 11, 1704, purchased reversionary heir Jeffrey Jeffreys' legal interest in the late William Sherwood's ca. 400 acre estate (Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F, and G) (Ambler MS 65, 73). This would have included his interest in wife Rachel's dower share of Richard James I's estate (probably Tract B). It is uncertain whether the lease Sherwood's 260 acres in the Governor's Land was still binding.

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. However, he ac-

[54] In 1683 he also had a 260 acre leasehold in the interior of the Governor's Land (Soane 1683).

quired 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 parcel 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 to the Jaquelin/Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island. After Rachel James Sherwood Jaquelin's death, Edward Jaquelin married Martha Cary of Elizabeth City County, with whom he had several children. However, Edward outlived Martha and their sons and when he died in November 1739, his three daughters became his heirs. Edward Jaquelin's Jamestown Island plantation and mainland farm descended through his eldest daughter, Elizabeth (the wife of Yorktown merchant Richard Ambler) to the decedent's four-year-old grandson, John Ambler I (Ambler 1826:26; Smith et al. 1745; Meyer et al. 1987:606).

Richard Ambler

Although Richard Ambler's wife, Elizabeth Jaquelin, technically seems to have inherited her late father's landholdings on Jamestown Island and in the nearby mainland, they clearly were intended for her son John Ambler I. Included in the bequest were Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F, and G and possibly Tract H. In 1745 Richard Ambler purchased his sister-in-laws' reversionary interest in a 2 acre parcel in which he enjoyed a life-interest, and he enhanced the size of the Jaquelin plantation by purchasing a substantial quantity of land from Norfolk merchant Christopher Perkins. Included in that transaction was Study Unit 1 Tract E. This increased the size of the Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island to approximately 698 acres (Ambler 1826:26; Smith et al. 1745; Ambler MS 97-98, 106-107).

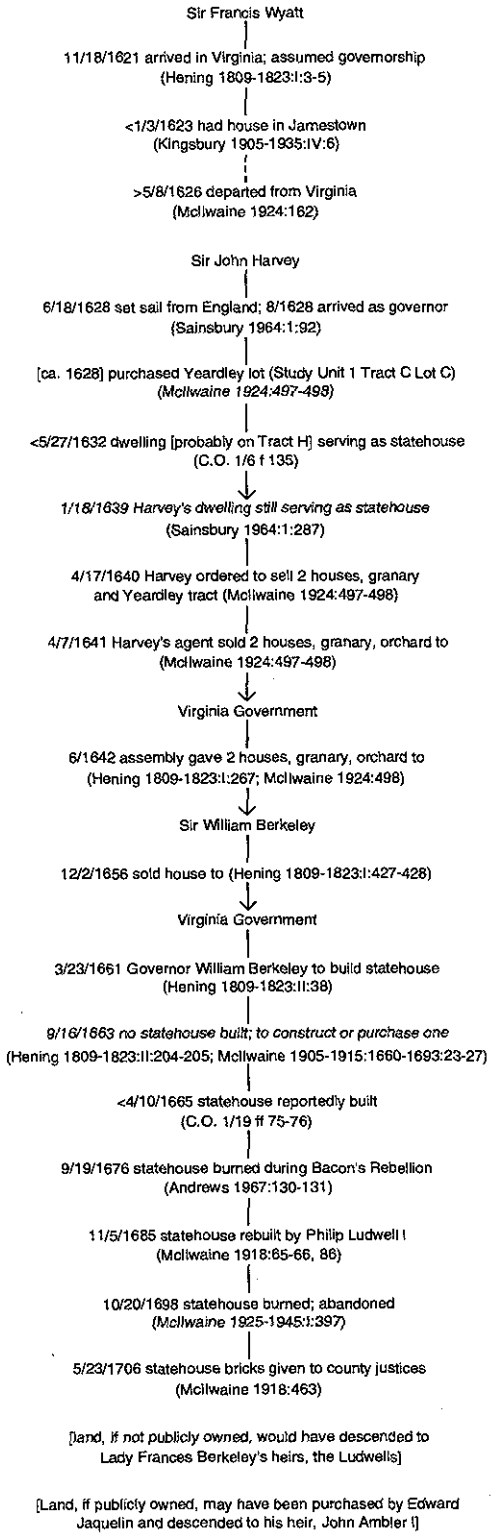


Figure 23. *Land transactions, Study Unit 1, Tract H (hypothetical).*

Study Unit 1 Tract H

Neither patents nor deeds have come to light for the acreage designated Study Unit 1 Tract H, probably because they have been lost or destroyed. Virginia's pre-1683 patents are transcriptions of original documents maintained in the Secretary's Office as loose leaves suspended upon a string. Deeds could be registered in the General Court or presented to the James City County court.[55] In 1829 when Conway Robinson made a list of the colonial records kept in the General Court building in Richmond, he noted that they included bound volumes of deeds and wills, order books, and bundles of deeds and other loose papers stored in barrels (McIlwaine 1924:537-544). In April 1865, the records Robinson inventoried and those of James City County taken to Richmond for safekeeping, were destroyed when the Confederate capital was put to the torch.

Taking into account these massive record losses, a **hypothetical** chain of title has been devised by piecing together data from a variety of other sources. These include historical documents (such as records generated by the legislative and executive branches of government, maps, private papers and contemporary narratives), archaeological and architectural evidence, the verbal boundary descriptions of contiguous properties, and neighboring tracts' chains of title.

Utilizing electronic mapping techniques, the boundary lines of contiguous parcels were used to delimit Tract H's perimeters. For example, Sir George Yeardley's 7 1/4 acre patent (Lot B of Tract C), Captain Roger Smith's 4 acres (Tract G), and the 3½ acre Chiles/Page lot (Tract F) provide boundary definition on Tract H's northern and eastern sides. On the other hand, much of Tract H's southerly boundary line from the 1660s, on was defined by the fixed northern boundary line of Study Unit 4 Tract K: the north wall of the Structure 115 rowhouse.[56] To the northwest of Tract H was Study Unit 1 Tract E, the acreage of John Baldwin and his successor, William Sherwood, for which a plat exists. To the southwest was the property Major [Robert] Holt owned during the mid-seventeenth century (Study Unit 4 Tract K), which abutted Tract C. Due west of Tract H was the long, narrow ridgeback that the Rev. Thomas Hampton patented in 1638 (Study Unit 4 Tract W), later site of the Ludwell Statehouse Group. Collectively, the boundary lines of these contiguous properties seem to have formed the perimeters of Tract H, embracing approximately 7.4 acres, slightly more than the quantity of land included in Sir George Yeardley's home lot (Lot B within Tract C), which lay to the north.

Central to the history of Tract H is whether the colony's first purposefully-built statehouse was erected there on land formerly owned by Governor John Harvey. Although Nathaniel Bacon's followers set the statehouse ablaze in September 1676, by 1686 it had been rebuilt and restored to use. In October 1698, however, it succumbed to a final, destructive fire. In 1706, the justices of the local court were given permission to use the old statehouse's bricks in the construction of a new county courthouse. By that date, the colony's capital had been moved to Williamsburg.

"The Parke" and "The Governor's Garden"

On December 2, 1624, when Sir George Yeardley secured a patent for his 7 1/4 acre home lot (Study

[55] It would have been especially easy for Virginia governors to have their deeds entered into the records of the General Court, for they presided over its sessions.

[56] Earlier on, Tract H may have extended south to the common road.

Unit 1 Tract C Lot B), reference was made to the land of Captain Roger Smith (Study Unit 1 Tract G), which lay to the south. To the west and southwest, Yeardley's acreage abutted "the Parke," perhaps some uncleared or unclaimed land in the upper parts of Tracts H and E. To the east, it bordered a fence that set it apart from the rest of Jamestown Island (Neill 1890:32-33). In December 1624, Captain Roger Smith patented 4 acres that abutted "South upon the pale of the Governor's Garden [probably the northern parts of Tracts F and H], north upon the ground of Sir George Yeardley [Tract C Lot B] divided by the highway, eastward upon the bridge[57] in the said highway leading into the Island and also upon the yard of Captain William Peirce [Tract D Lot B], and west upon the highway leading into the parke" [Tract H] (Nugent 1969-1979:I:2; Patent Book 1:4). Collectively, these patents suggest that in 1624-1625 the northerly part of Tract H was part of "the Parke" and the "Governor's Garden." Whether that acreage consisted of undeveloped woodland or pasturage or a tract that belonged to the incumbent governor, Sir Francis Wyatt, is open to conjecture. It is certain, however, that Wyatt, who held office from 1621 to 1626, was governor in December 1624 when the term "the Governor's Garden" was used in Captain Roger Smith's patent's verbal boundary description (Stanard 1965:14).

Sir Francis Wyatt (HYPOTHETICAL)

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 and the Virginia Company provided him with the funds he needed to become established in the colony. 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 Polt and two apothecaries; John Bliss, A Smith; 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." Wyatt was responsible for supplying beer to the Dutchmen[58] sent to build sawmills. Sir Francis Wyatt arrived in Virginia on November 18, 1621, and assumed the governorship. Thus, he took office only months before the March 22, 1622, Indian uprising. Wyatt reportedly responded to the crisis forcefully and effectively (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:415, 437, 452, 486, 512; III:468-482, 485-492; IV:40-104; Hening 1809-1823:I:3-5, 114).

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. He also was to take charge of the men sent to build sawmills. Later, Sandys was asked to assume responsibility for the Frenchmen sent to produce silk and plant grapes for making wine (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:541-572; IV:22, 64, 106).[59]

[57] In 1664 when John Underhill made a plat of Tract D, he indicated that John Knowles had a bridge in this vicinity (Ambler MS 135-136). In 1956 archaeologists found some old fill and brick rubble in a location analogous to Knowles' bridge. The feature was designated Structure 141 (Cotter 1958:150, 166).

[58] Philip Barbour and other students of Captain John Smith's writings have concluded that these "Dutch" actually were Poles.

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 Tract C Lot B) may have acquired and developed some property of his own, perhaps Tract H. On January 3, 1623, when Governor Francis Wyatt authorized 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, although the Indian massacre had put a stop to those plans. He said that a fort was being built at Warresqueak and that he had required everyone to plant a sufficient amount of corn. He had placed Lieutenant William Peirce in charge of Jamestown and was making plans to initiate a series of marches against the Indians (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:98; IV:6-8, 104, 129, 172, 209, 480, 556, 562; C.O. 1/2 ff 145-146; Sainsbury 1964:1:69; Meyer et al. 1987:28; McIlwaine 1924:72, 83, 161).

Lady Margaret Wyatt, who set sail for Virginia on October 12, 1622, corresponded with her parents and sisters while living in Jamestown. Her letters reveal that she was a woman of keen wit, intelligence and considerable stamina. She described the misery of her voyage aboard the *Abigail* and spoke with compassion of the women captured during the March 1622 Indian uprising and then detained. In April 1623 Lady Margaret wrote her sister and mother about the numerous deaths at Jamestown and in June she told them that provisions in Virginia were expensive and of poor quality. She said that approximately half of their own cattle had died and roughly a third of their men. Lady Margaret said that she was in the process of starting a garden and asked her mother to send her some malt "which is put into good casks and must not be ground" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:II:9; III:690; IV:228).

On February 16, 1624, when a census was made of the colony's inhabitants Governor Francis Wyatt was residing in Jamestown with his wife, brother, and ten servants. In January 1625 Wyatt 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 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. He appears to have accompanied the Virginia Company's magazine ship to Virginia. On April 19, 1626, Sir George Yeardley received a new commission as governor. Sometime after May 8, 1626, Sir Francis Wyatt departed for England (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). It is uncertain whether he planned to return.

Sir John Harvey (HYPOTHETICAL)

Court records dating to April 1640 suggest that Sir John Harvey then owned Tract H, for Harvey was in possession of the late Sir George Yeardley's home lot (Lot B of Tract C), which adjoined the acreage he developed into a personal estate. Specifically, in 1640 the court justices decided that Harvey's "dwelling house at James City with the house adjoining and all the edifices thereunto be-

[59] While George Sandys resided in Jamestown, he occupied a room in Lieutenant William Peirce's home, which he termed "the fairest in Virginia" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:106). Peirce and his wife were in possession of Lot B, part of Study Unit 1 Tract D.

longing within the pale and of his orchard is to be sold, he enjoying the premises during life as also a parcel of land near, adjacent, lately belonging to Sir George Yeardley" (C. O. 1/10 ff 160-161; McIlwaine 1924:496-497). (See ahead).

On March 22, 1628, Sir John Harvey was named governor of Virginia and successor to the recently deceased Sir George Yeardley. By that time, Yeardley's widow and executrix, Lady Temperance, had married interim Governor Francis West and had begun disposing of her late husband's real estate (Sainsbury 1964:1:88, 982; Stanard 1916:445; McIlwaine 1924:156, 160, 166-167). Thus, Lady Temperance had acreage to sell at a time when incoming Governor John Harvey was a prospective buyer. It probably was shortly after Harvey's arrival in Virginia in early 1630 that he purchased the Yeardley home lot, which adjoined Tract H. The Yeardley domestic complex would have provided Harvey with housing while he acquired and began developing his own personal residence, probably Structure 112 (Stanard 1917:101-102; Tyler 1921:121).[60]

John Harvey, the brother of Sir Simon Harvey of London, was a native of Lyme Regis, Dorsetshire, England, and a sea captain who had spent three years in Guiana.[61] In 1617 he returned to Guiana with 70 men 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. On July 3, 1622, the Virginia Company included Captain John Harvey in a list of patentees, who were eligible 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 John Harvey informed Virginia Company officials that he was planning to undertake a fishing voyage to Virginia and would willingly gather information on conditions in 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 collect information for the king. When he set sail for Virginia sometime after October 24, 1623, he brought a lengthy list of queries he and three other commissioners (Samuel Mathews, Abraham Peirsey, and John Pory) were to address. These questions dealt with demographics, relations with the Indians, the colonists' ability to defend themselves, and many other basic issues. They required detailed responses that were to be gathered by visiting every plantation in the colony. The February 16, 1624, census was compiled by Harvey in response to one of 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, and procured a patent for 6½ acres in the New Towne on January 12, 1624, it is likely that he arrived in Virginia during December 1623 or very early January 1624. It is uncertain whether he had made previous visits to the colony (Patent Book 1:7).

Shortly after Captain John Harvey and the *Southampton* arrived in Virginia, a dispute he had with the master, mate and crew of the ship ended up in court. The disagreement seems to have revolved around Harvey's insistence on staying in Virginia and the crew's belief that they were going to New England to procure fish that could be sold profitably in Europe. As owner of the *Southampton*, Harvey insisted that he had a right to overrule the ship's officers and crew. They, on

[60] In May 1632 Governor John Harvey said that he had been serving as Virginia's official host for three years and that his dwelling was being used as a statehouse (C. O. 1/6 f 135). Therefore, he probably acquired the land upon which he built his home around 1630.

[61] 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).

the other hand, threatened a mutiny and claimed that he had signed on as a passenger, not a person of authority. Ultimately, the *Southampton* went to Canada for fish and Harvey stayed on in Virginia (McIlwaine 1924:13-14; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:459-463, 471-472).

Harvey's correspondence reveals that he was closely aligned with Sir Nathaniel Rich, the Ferrars, Nathaniel Butler, and other "hard-liners" who favored a return to martial law and a military form of government. In time, Harvey's partisanship and managerial style earned him the animus of those who preferred a more flexible type of leadership. In June 1625 some of the defunct Virginia Company's former officials, who opposed Harvey's views, termed him "an accomplished liar" (P.R.O. 30/15/2 f 400; Kingsbury 1906-1935:II:388; IV:476, 562). However, Captain John Harvey's professed eagerness to assist the king and Privy Council paid handsome dividends. He was knighted and in August 1624 he was named to the Governor's Council. Also, if acting-Governor George Yeardley died in office, Sir John Harvey was supposed to succeed him as governor. This decision was reprised in March 1626 (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:501, 504; Sainsbury 1964:1:58, 69, 77; C.O. 5/1354 f 248; Stanard 1965:31).

Court testimony that dates to January 31, 1625, a time when Captain John Harvey was away from Virginia, suggests that he had a tendency to be obstinate and hot-headed. When one of his indentured servants, William Mutch, demanded his freedom dues, Harvey scolded and threatened him and then struck him over the head with his truncheon. This event reportedly occurred at Harvey's house in Jamestown, probably one of the structures he built on the parcel designated Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E (McIlwaine 1924:46). John Harvey also seems to have had a tendency to let his debts accumulate. In January 1627 when a London merchant's representative demanded immediate payment of a L 20 bond, the General Court awarded him "the house and land of Capt. Harvey in James Citty" so that funds generated by placing the property in the hands of tenants could be used to retire his debt. The wages Harvey owed to John Barnard for services also were to be taken from the rent monies. The court stipulated that if Harvey (who had left for Cadiz in 1625) returned to Virginia and paid his debts (or had another do so) he would regain legal possession of his property (McIlwaine 1924:130-131).

Shortly after Governor John Harvey's arrival in the colony in early 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 that could be sold in England. Harvey capitalized upon the situation by purchasing ironwares from Joshua Foote and Richard Nicholas that could be sold profitably in Virginia and he persuaded galley-potmaker Christian Whithelme to join him in investing in the manufacture of soap ashes and pot-ashes.[62] Harvey expected to receive all Quarter (or General) Court fines in compensation for his duties of office. This, in essence, made him dependent upon his Council members, who served as justices of the General Court and therefore imposed fines (Sainsbury 1964:1:88, 92, 94-95, 100, 125; Withington 1980:159; C.O. 1/4 f 84; 1/5 f 71).

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, salt peter, pot-ashes and iron ore to

[62] Christian Whithelme, who was from the Netherlands, immigrated to England as a married adult. He then described himself as a vinegar-maker. Sometime prior to 1618 he began producing tin-glazed earthenware and making aqua vitae. On March 8, 1629, when Whithelme made his will, he indicated that his son and namesake was then in Virginia. By 1635 his son-in-law Thomas Townsend had come to the colony (Withington 1980:159; Coldham 1987:122; Tait 1960:36-37). As both of the younger men were involved in the elder Christian Whithelme's pottery-manufacturing business in England, they may have had a hand in the pottery production operations that occurred in association with the Structure 111 complex.

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. 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, 210-211).

In 1631 and 1632 Governor John Harvey tried diligently to strengthen the colony's economy. He sent Nathaniel Basse on a trading expedition to "other parts of North America" and he authorized William Claiborne to go on a voyage of discovery. 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,[63] and that seven or eight trading vessels had been sent out, including some to New England. Harvey also indicated that the colonists were in dire need of shoes, which were being offered for sale at an exorbitant rate, and he said that ship-building had gotten underway. He reported that he had been spending his own time planting English grain and vines. Later, he said that he had sent home great quantities of salt peter and pot-ashes (McIlwaine 1924:484; 1905-1915:1619-1660:124; C.O. 1/6 ff 135-136). It was during 1632, when Governor Harvey was in office, that a law was passed requiring all incoming vessels to break bulk at Jamestown (Hening 1809-1823:I:166).

By 1631 Governor John Harvey and his Council had begun having serious disagreements. In May 1632 he informed one of his superiors that he lived very poorly and hadn't been paid in three years. He said that his home in Jamestown (Structure 112) was serving as the colony's statehouse and that he had been Virginia's official host for three years. David DeVries, who in mid-March 1633 was a houseguest of Harvey's, later spoke of the governor's welcoming him "with a Venice glass of sack" and said that he had shared a meal at his home with several other visitors. It was during late August 1633 that Governor John Harvey traded a 500 acre parcel in Archer's Hope for 500 acres at Powhatan Swamp, near Powhatan's Tree. This raises the possibility that he possessed part of what during the early 1640s became Green Spring plantation, which then-Governor William Berkeley first patented in 1642 (Sainsbury 1964:1:129, 133, 138, 151, 160; C.O. 1/6 ff 135, 195; Murphy 1857:34-35; McIlwaine 1924:480).

In time, the differences between Governor John Harvey and his Council became so pronounced that ultimately the councillors thrust him from office. They were highly critical of Harvey's willingness to assist Lord Baltimore (a Catholic) in colonizing Maryland, territory many Virginians considered theirs, and they claimed that he leaned toward popery. 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.[64] Yonge cited Governor John

[63] A 1659 patent includes a reference to the iron mine meadow, which was located on the west side of Powhatan Creek. Eventually, it became part of Green Spring (Nugent 1969-1979:I:389; Lee MS 51 ff 206-214). This may have been part of the land Harvey patented in August 1633.

[64] Henry Woodhouse, who lived in Lower Norfolk County (later, Princess Anne) and was governor of Bermuda from 1623-1626, also expressed an interest in becoming governor (Neill 1996:101).

Harvey's numerous accomplishments, such as building a palisade across the peninsula and fortifying Old Point Comfort, and said that settlement in Virginia had been greatly strengthened, thanks to his efforts. Yonge said that Harvey wanted to seek a silver mine at the head of the James and he supported the governor's contention that he was the colony's unofficial host (Aspinall et al. 1871:102, 107-108, 111-112).

In February 1634 Governor Harvey sent word to the Privy Council that a custom 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. There was an abundance of livestock and corn was so plentiful that 5,000 bushels had been sent to New England. Harvey said that he planned to take a muster of Virginia's population.[65] In mid-July Governor Harvey dispatched a letter to his superiors, again describing his more important accomplishments, such as strengthening the colony's defenses and improving its 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.[66] In early April 1635 Harvey informed the Privy Council that his life was in danger and that 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, Harvey angrily confronted George Menefie, whom he accused of treason. According to John Zouch, 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." 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 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; Murphy 1857:74).

As soon as Sir John Harvey reached England, he had the two men who brought him there (councillors Francis Pott and Thomas Harwood) arrested and then began formulating his own defense. He claimed that his Council conspired against him and that Sir John Wolstenholm and others who favored reviving the Virginia Company had contributed to the mutiny against him. He said that he had alienated Dr. John Pott by replacing his brother as captain of the fort at Old Point Comfort and that Samuel Mathews, John Uty, William Claiborne, and Thomas Harwood were insurgents. He said that he had implemented the king's orders with regard to Lord Baltimore and as a result, 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 Sir Thomas Hinton, struck Captain Richard Stephens in the mouth, seized some councillors' private property, and had other gentle-

[65] He did. It listed the number of settlers within each of the colony's corporations and on the Eastern Shore.

[66] Ironically, Harvey, when assisting Baltimore, was obeying the king's orders.

men 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. Despite the seriousness of these allegations, the Privy Council reinstated Sir John Harvey as governor, for the consensus was that it was preferable 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 received an older, leaky vessel with an overly large 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 both lengthy and expensive for Harvey and he was liable for the seamen's wages for the abortive trip. Finally, in October 1636 Harvey boarded the ship 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 for implementing the explicit instructions he had received from the king (C. O. 5/1359 ff 383-388; Sainsbury 1964:1:153). Understandably, 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 some 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 seized 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 return 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).

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. In January 1638 Harvey informed the Privy Council that he hoped each county would build its own storehouse where tobacco could be inspected and stored. The assembly supported the concept of inspecting tobacco in order to regulate its quality. 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, by whose example others have undertaken to build framed howses to beautifye the place." Harvey sought a stipend for 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, a highly placed English official. Governor John 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).[67]

Governor John Harvey alienated councillor Ambrose Harmer in 1638 by interfering with his plans to take custody of 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 and 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 responded by ordering the Virginia governor to comply with its decision. On May 20, 1639, Harvey explained that he had placed Benomi and his estate in the hands of Richard Kemp, and had planned to let him and councillor George Donne share custody. 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, Sir John Harvey no longer was governor.

On December 8, 1638, Sir Francis Wyatt was appointed Governor Harvey's successor. The lengthy list of instructions he was given in January 1639 included the authority to move the capital if the assembly so desired. Wyatt also was authorized to build a house for the Council to use. This would have eliminated the need to use former governor John Harvey's personal residence for official meetings. Wyatt's instructions probably served as the impetus for his building a brick structure that became known as "the country house," Structure 38, which stood upon Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A (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 arrived and took over as governor, the General Court ordered Sir John 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 had life-rights in both parcels, the reversionary interest in each was to be sold to the highest bidder. 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 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; McIlwaine 1924:496-497).

[67] Digges owned Bellfield.

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, also 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 in June and July, when 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).

George Ludlow, with the authority of Sir John Harvey's power- of-attorney, on April 7, 1641, conveyed "unto the governor, council and burgesses for the consideration of 15,700 pounds of tobacco to be paid the first of January following, of 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" (McIlwaine 1924:497-498). Through this means, the title to Sir John Harvey's home lot (in all likelihood Tract H) was transferred to the Virginia government.[68]

It was probably around 1640 or 1641 that Sir John Harvey's 24 acre tract known as the Glasshouse was sold. He also lost his York Plantation, on Wormeley Creek in York County, which he had mortgaged to George Menefie and then defaulted, thereby losing his collateral (Ambler MS 78; Patent Book 3:367; Nugent 1969-1979:I:161, 164; Withington 1980:588). The Yeardley tract also would have been sold.

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 L 2,000 and that he was due L 5,500 pounds in back pay, as governor. Harvey acknowledged that he still owed funds to Mr. 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).

Sir William Berkeley (HYPOTHETICAL)

Sir William Berkeley, the son of Maurice Berkeley of Bruton, in Somerset, England, was the brother of Sir John Berkeley. He was a member of a family

[68] On August 28, 1644, John White patented the 1 acre lot designated Study Unit 4 Tract H. It was "bounded west upon the Church Yard, East upon the Land appertaining to the State house, North towards the land of mr. Thomas Hampton, and south upon the James River" (Patent Book 2:10-11; Nugent 1969-1979:I:154). Thus, White's patent places the statehouse in the vicinity of Study Unit 1 Tract H. Captain Robert Hutchinson's February 22, 1643, patent for part of Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B (a 1½ acre lot on Jamestown Island "Anciently belonging unto Mr Samll Mole") also made reference to its proximity to the statehouse. The Hutchinson patent extended "North towards Pasby Hayes, west upon the Land of Jno Osborne & towards the State House" (Patent Book 1:944; Nugent 1969-1979:I:151). As the Hutchinson patent was between Pasbehay and the statehouse and appears to have been part of Tract C Lot B, Tract H appears to have contained Sir John Harvey's dwelling that was used as a capitol building.

that for several centuries had enjoyed great influence at the English court. He was a graduate of Oxford University and Merton College and while he was young, held a seat on the Privy Council. He was a skilled playwright and was known as a polished courtier. He was knighted on July 27, 1639, by Charles I and was appointed a commissioner of Canadian affairs. In late 1641 he was made Virginia's governor (Malone 1935:217).

By February 1642, Sir William Berkeley had arrived in Virginia. In June the assembly presented him with "the orchard with two houses belonging to the collony ... as a free and voluntary gift in consideration of many worthy favours manifested toward the collony." When the burgesses convened in March 1643, an act was passed which stated "that the said orchard and houses be confirmed to the said Sr. William Berkeley, Governor, and to his heirs forever" (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.... 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," Tract H, for the assembly had purchased Harvey's property from his attorney, George Ludlow, on April 7, 1641, and had agreed to pay for it on January 1, 1642 (McIlwaine 1924:497-498). Therefore, by the time Governor Berkeley arrived in Virginia, the government held the title to Sir John Harvey's house tract, probably by the parcel upon which Structure 112 is situated.

Research suggests strongly that there were only three government-owned parcels of land on Jamestown Island in June 1642, when the assembly gave Governor Berkeley some acreage with two houses: the church lot (Study Unit 4 Tract V), the recently-bought Harvey property (Study Unit 1 Tract H), and the "country house" that stood upon Lot A of Study Unit 1 Tract D. As the church lot continued to serve James City Parish, and as the "country house" on Tract D Lot A remained government-owned until sometime after 1652, the only public property the assembly seemingly had at its disposal was Harvey's.

Sometime prior to July 1644, Governor William Berkeley purchased a 3½ acre lot (Tract F) that contained the brick house Richard Kemp had built (probably Structure 44), procuring it from Sir Francis Wyatt's attorney, William Peirce.[69] Berkeley's acquisition of Tract F would have given him the option of residing in Richard Kemp's brick house or in the dwelling the government bestowed upon him in June 1642, probably Structure 112. Either choice would have allowed him to rent the other building 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),on Tract D for government meetings. Sharply focused archaeological and documentary research may answer some of these questions. By 1645 Governor William Berkeley had begun building a three-bay brick rowhouse in Jamestown (Structure 144, the so-called Ludwell Statehouse Group). His March 1655 deeds for the sale of that property reveal that two of its 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 1973:II:8:14; III:10:50).[70]

[69] Berkeley also bought the late Dr. John Pott's 12 acre lot (Tract D Lot D), which was close-by and seems to have been vacant. (See the history of Study Unit 1 Tract D).

[70] The building that early twentieth century antiquarians dubbed the Ludwell Statehouse Group was known as "the statehouse" throughout the second half of the seventeenth century, probably because certain units had served in that capacity during the 1650s. In 1656 when John Baldwin patented Study Unit 1 Tract E (and in 1681 and 1694 when William Sherwood repatented the same property), a branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp that separated it from "the statehouse" formed the tract's southerly boundary line. Likewise, in March 1695 when the Governor's Council made reference to the old gun battery on the waterfront, they identified it as being "near the statehouse" (Nugent 1969-1979:I:338; II:222; Patent Book

At the onset of the English civil war, the salary of Virginia's royal governor was suspended. The burgesses reacted by passing legislation authorizing Berkeley to receive compensation from locally generated taxes on tobacco, wheat, malt, pork, beef, poultry, butter and other commodities. On June 4, 1643, Governor Berkeley received a patent for 984 acres "by the name of Green Spring" on the basis of headrights. His property abutted directly upon the Governor's Land and bordered Powhatan Swamp. On February 27, 1645, 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] 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 acreage he had received in 1643, noting that when his property was surveyed it was found to contain 1,090 acres in all. Simultaneously, Berkeley received a 21 year lease for 70 acres contiguous to Green Spring: part of the Governor's Land. This would have enabled him to retain use of his leasehold until 1667, whether or not he was in office (Nugent 1969-1979:I:160; McIlwaine 1924:480). By 1649 Governor Berkeley had moved into his residence at Green Spring, which became his country estate.[71] However, it is likely that he maintained some accommodations in Jamestown[72] (Force 1973:II:8:14; III:10:50).

Governor William Berkeley, like Governors Harvey and Wyatt, strongly promoted the development of staple commodities. In 1649 one writer said that in Virginia, prosperity was to be seen everywhere. The colonists had plenty of barley and excellent malt and generally "brew their owne Beere, strong and good" although "they have Six publike Brewhouses." He claimed that trade was brisk and that "above 30 saile of ships" bearing at least 700-800 mariners visited the colony annually. Virginia reportedly offered 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, and fishermen. There also was an abundance of ore that could be made into iron (Force 1963:II:8:3-9). A 1649 law designated the entire western end of Jamestown island (from Orchard Run to Sandy Bay) as an official marketplace. The area was open for business from 8 A.M. to 6 P.M. Wednesdays and Saturdays. All transactions that occurred there were recorded by a special clerk and were legally binding. Within this ample area (within which Tract H is located) merchants and vendors could haggle with their customers over produce, meat, livestock and a variety of other commodities and exchange tobacco for imported goods (Hening 1809-1823:I:362). John Stirring in 1650 said that there had been "two or three bru [brew] houses" formerly at Jamestown" but they "went out of business because their customers refused to pay their bills (Stirring 1650).

After the civil war in England came to an end, a Parliamentary fleet set sail for Virginia to assert its authority over a colony known as a Royalist stronghold. In April 1652 Sir William Berkeley, who had governed Virginia since 1641, was obliged to surrender the colony and relinquish his office. He signed a document that acknowledged Virginians' rights as citizens of the Commonwealth of En-

(cont'd from previous page)
4:88; 7:97; Ambler MS 5, 49; McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:322). By that date, the three central bays of the Ludwell Statehouse Group were in ruins (as they probably had been since Bacon's bombardment in 1676) and it is very likely that the "country house" built by Thomas Stegg II and Thomas Ludwell had suffered the same fate. The only unit likely to have been standing in 1695 was the easternmost bay, built by Robert Beverley II sometime after April 20, 1694 (Study Unit 4 Tract Q) (Patent Book 8:315).

[71] In May 1650 Berkeley was sharing his home with his first wife, whose identity is uncertain (Ferrar MS 1168). Scholars surmise that Berkeley initially built a home of relatively modest proportions at Green Spring, which he enlarged in ca. 1652-1660 during his temporary retirement from office, or more probably, in ca. 1670 when he married a second time (see ahead).

[72] He was doing so during the mid-1670s (see ahead).

gland. Although it stated that the terms of the surrender had not been imposed by force, the colonists were obliged to relinquish all publicly-owned arms and ammunition. The assembly could conduct business as usual although the laws that were passed had to conform with those of the Commonwealth. The colony's charter and the legality of its land patents were to be upheld. No taxes, customs or imposts could be imposed upon Virginians without their assembly's consent and they had the right to free trade. Berkeley and his councilors had to subscribe to the articles of surrender or leave Virginia within a year (Hening 1809-1823:I:363-368).

Although Sir William Berkeley decided to stay on the colony, in 1655 he elected to dispose of his three-bay brick rowhouse at Jamestown (Structure 144 on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A), conveying one unit to the new governor, Richard Bennett, for 27,500 pounds of tobacco, and the other units to Francis Moryson and Thomas Woodhouse. Berkeley then retired to Green Spring, where he channeled his energies into agricultural and industrial experimentation. It was at Green Spring that he had his workers cultivate flax, cotton, rice and fruit crops. He also encouraged the production of silk and manufactures such as pottery and glass. Berkeley set about enlarging his landholdings in the Green Spring neighborhood, in 1651 acquiring 5,062 acres that lay between the head of Powhatan Swamp and Jones Creek. In October 1652 Berkeley repatented Green Spring, and added another 1,000 acres that he bought from Robert Wetherall. His land title was confirmed during 1661 and 1662. In 1674 the assembly acknowledged Berkeley's title's validity, noting that he "hath expended a great summe of mony in building and likewise on the land" (Nugent 1969-1979:I:173, 390, 415; McIlwaine 1924:503; 1905-1915:1619-1660:96). This latter building campaign probably was associated with Berkeley's 1670 marriage to Frances Culpeper Stephens, a wealthy and genteel widow nearly half his age.[73]

Surviving archival records suggest that during Sir William Berkeley's 35 years in Virginia,[74] he owned four pieces of property in Jamestown: Study Unit 1 Tract F (the 3½ acre Chiles/Page lot); Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D (the 12 acre parcel that originally belonged to Dr. John Pott); Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A (the lot upon which Berkeley built a three-bay brick rowhouse); and the acreage the assembly gave him in June 1642 ("the orchard with two houses belonging to the collony"), which research suggests was Study Unit 1 Tract H. By December 1656 Berkeley had rid himself of 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 sold simultaneously on March 30, 1655. Finally, he deeded 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 Tract H has been correctly identified as the gift parcel, it was the only Jamestown acreage Berkeley retained.

A brief excerpt from the December 1, 1656 minutes of the assembly 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 was willing to pay Sir William

[73] Sir William Berkeley disposed of Bay 2 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group and almost simultaneously, Lady Frances sold Boldrup, the Warwick County plantation she had received under a premarital agreement with her late husband, Samuel Stephens. (See the history of Study Unit 4 Tract U).

[74] Berkeley arrived in 1642 and left in 1677, never to return.

Berkeley 4,500 pounds of tobacco and cask for a house in James City, probably in Jamestown.[75] As the issue of purchasing a building to use as a statehouse was still being debated in September 1663, it is doubtful that the sale being discussed in 1656 had occurred.

On October 11, 1660, Sir William Berkeley, whom the burgesses elected as governor upon the death of Commonwealth Governor Samuel Mathews, was authorized to see that a statehouse was constructed. Berkeley was to "take into his care the building of a statehouse and what agreements he shall make, or shall be by his order expended for the same, it is ordered to bee paid out of the publique levie, and to bee raised by act of Assemblye" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:8; Hening 1809-1823:II:13). Official records suggest that Berkeley took no immediate action, perhaps because he was awaiting instructions from the recently restored King Charles II.

On March 23, 1661, when the assembly convened, the burgesses, "taking into serious consideration the great charge brought yearly upon the country and the severall inhabitants by want of a State house for the Right Honourable the Governour and councell to keep courts and future Grand Assemblies to meet in and consult of the weighty affaires of the country, have thought fitt that a State house be erected & built & that the same will be less burthensome by a free and charitable subscription then by a generall leavie, In pursuance whereof the right honorable governour, councell and burgesses of this present grand assembly have voluntarily subscribed several considerable summes and quantityes of money and tobaccoe to be paid by them or their heirs at the next crop to such person or persons as shall be appointed, It is ordered that the commissioners of the severall county courts subscribe and take such subscriptions as shall be willingly made and that the said several courts send orders to the severall vestreys for the like subscriptions from the other inhabitants which subscriptions to be delivered by the said vestreys to the clerks of the severall county courts, who are to returne them to the next quarter court" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:13; Hening 1809-1823:II:38). In other words, funds were to be raised to build a statehouse via private subscriptions rather than through a public levy.[76]

On September 12, 1662 the Privy Council instructed royal 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 instructions and who built houses in response to their directive (C.O. 5/1354 ff 273-274). In December 1662 the Grand Assembly passed an act promoting the development of a town in the colony. As the burgesses preferred to enhance Jamestown's development rather than beginning anew, they enacted legislation specifying that 32 brick houses be built there of proscribed size and characteristics. They were to be placed side-by-side in a square or whatever form Governor Berkeley deemed appropriate.[77] The rates paid workers were fixed and public levies were earmarked to underwrite the cost of construction. Each of Virginia's 17 counties was responsible for building a house and private individuals were encouraged to do so. No frame buildings were to be erected in Jamestown nor could older ones be repaired. County justices were ordered to have workmen ready to commence construction "within twenty daies *after they have notice from the governour*

[75] This price is equivalent to only 16.36 percent of what Berkeley got for Bay 2 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group the previous year.

[76] Such private subscriptions may have been loaned money (the equivalent of modern revenue bonds) rather than donated funds.

[77] Assuming that Berkeley owned Tract H, it is likely that he permitted the Structure 115 rowhouse to be built upon his property.

that the bricks and shells are readie."[78] This implies that Governor Berkeley was responsible for furnishing the bricks and mortar to be used in construction (Hening 1809-1823:II:172-176).

In September 1663 when the assembly convened, the burgesses decided to compensate the counties that had erected brick houses in Jamestown and to discharge their legal obligation to build.[79] Reference was made to "the particular houses already built" and the fact that "the next year four houses more [should] be built and so yearly four houses untill the number of houses undertaken by the counties be accomplished," at which point each county was to be assigned a house. But until all of the counties' brick houses were erected, those that existed were considered common land. The speaker of the House was authorized to make agreements with private individuals who would build houses "with good sufficient bricks, lime and timber." They were to be paid only after their work was completed and approved (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1659-1693:28).[80]

Fragmentary assembly minutes for September 16, 1663, suggest that by that date little or no progress had been made toward building a statehouse. The minutes state that "Since it is evident that the charge the countrie is at yearly for the houses of sessions for the General Courts and Assemblies, besides the dishonor of our Lawes being made and judgements being given in ale-houses, would in two or three years defray the charge of a statehouse, it is ordered that there be a statehouse built of such dimensions as the honorable governor who hath been pleased to undertake it shall find convenient for the reception of general courts and assemblies and accommodation of the committees" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:27). An official summary of the same meeting states that the burgesses considered "the charge the country is yearly at for houses for the quarter courts and assemblys to sit in would in two or 3 years defray the *purchase of a statehouse*,[81] Whether it were not more profitable to purchase for that purpose then continue forever at the expense, accompanied with the dishonour of all our laws being made and our judgements given in alehouses." 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).[82] Whether Berkeley sold his property to the government or renovated/replaced an existing building that the government used is open to conjecture. Preliminary research suggests that the structure he was authorized to erect constituted the colony's first purposefully-built statehouse, one designed to accommodate the assembly and the General Court.[83]

[78] Emphasis added.

[79] There may have been a ground-swell of popular resentment against the requirement to build, for on September 13, 1663, the burgesses decided that "there appears at present an emergent necessity for raising a guard for the governor, councel and assembly." As a result, Governor Berkeley was to choose 20 men to serve as guards, who were to protect him at all times. However, whenever the assembly was in session, half of the guards were to protect the burgesses (Hening 1809-1823:II:200).

[80] Officials sometimes ignored this safeguard against would-be builders' accepting payment without following through.

[81] Emphasis added. On September 9, 1663, the committee for laying the levy recommended that Governor Berkeley be paid 3,000 pounds of tobacco "for a statehouse to be built" (Clarendon MS 82 f 275). This was a reduction of the sum that was proposed for the purchase of Berkeley's house in 1656: 4,500 pounds of tobacco. It also is much less than that what was paid to counties that built a prototypical brick house.

[82] The committee seems to have consisted of Colonel William Barber, Colonel Gerard Fowke, Lieutenant Colonel Kendal, Thomas Warren (who was excused on account of illness), Rawleigh Travers, and Thomas Lucas (Hening 1809-1823:II:205).

[83] In October 1666 when Secretary Thomas Ludwell informed the assembly that numerous patents for large parcels were not among his records, he pointed out that some clerks were not conscientious record-keepers and that some losses undoubtedly were attributable to "the casualty of two severall fires whereby many of those rights with other papers were destroyed" (Hening 1809-1823:II:245).

The Virginia Government (lessee)

(HYPOTHETICAL)

By law every Virginia county had to have a pillory, stocks and whipping post near its courthouse; a ducking stool also had to be available. As the General Court and James City County's justices shared a courtroom and jail throughout much of the mid-to-late seventeenth century, they probably used the same accouterments for corporal punishment. All of these facilities would have been in relatively close proximity to the statehouse (Hening 1809-1823:II:75, 123; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1659-1693:25).[84]

On April 10, 1665, Secretary of the Colony Thomas Ludwell informed his superiors in England that in obedience to the king's wishes, they 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" (C.O. 1/19 ff 75-76; Sainsbury 1964:15:975).[85] The only other pre-Bacon's Rebellion reference to this statehouse is found in the October 20, 1673, minutes of the assembly, which state that, "Mr. Secretary was assigned the eastern garrett over the statehouse to make an office of" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:60).

During the popular uprising known as Bacon's Rebellion the statehouse became a focal point of activity when Nathaniel Bacon and his followers challenged Governor William Berkeley's authority. Thomas Mathews, a Northern Neck burgess, penned an eyewitness account of the events of June 23, 1676, which sheds light upon the location of the colony's statehouse and the layout of its interior. 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.[86] He also 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 wthout being withstood, and form'd a body upon a green, not a flight shot[87] 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[88] 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).

William Sherwood (whose widow and stepson owned Study Unit 1 Tracts B and C) also re-

[84] In 1668 James City County's justices asked for (and received) the right to use one of the newly built "country houses" as a prison. A 1680 reference suggests that Bay 2 of Structure 115 served as a jail (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:53, 152). (See the history of Tract 4 Lot K).

[85] 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).

[86] Mathews, when speaking of a June 1676 visit that Cockacoeske, the Queen of the Pamunkey Indians, made to the statehouse to attend a meeting of the Committee for Indian Affairs, said that "She walk'd up our long room to the lower end of the table, where after a few intreaties she sat down" (Force 1963:I:8:14). As Mathews was a burgess, when he referred to "our long room," he probably meant the chamber in which the assembly met.

[87] That is, the distance a light arrow could be shot.

[88] A quoit's cast is approximately 45 feet.

corded the events of June 23, 1676.[89] In a June 28th letter he sent to England, he said that when it was rumored that Bacon and 500 supporters were approaching the capital city, Governor Berkeley had guns moved to the entrance to Jamestown Island. However, Bacon and an estimated 440 of his followers arrived before a barricade could be erected. When Bacon learned that the governor, council and burgesses were in the statehouse, he left "a p'ty to secure ye passage [isthmus], then he marched into Towne, sends p'tyes to the ferry, River & fort, & draws his forces ag't the statehouse, where the Govern'r, counsell & Burgesses were sitting." At gunpoint he sought (and received) a commission to fight the Indians. Bacon and his supporters also forced the enactment of legislation that became known as "Bacon's Laws" (Bruce 1894:170-174).

In mid-September 1676 Nathaniel Bacon and his rebel army returned to Jamestown. This time, they took up a position on the isthmus connecting Jamestown Island to the mainland, not far from Glasshouse Point, and constructed a "French work," a deep ditch shielded by earth, trees and brush piled up to form a steep embankment. Meanwhile, Governor Berkeley's men took refuge behind the palisades they had erected on the island side of the isthmus.[90] The next day, Bacon commenced his siege upon Jamestown. On September 14th, Governor Berkeley's loyalists made a sally against Bacon's men, but were obliged to withdraw because of the rebels' withering gunfire. Next, Bacon's men commenced firing their two great guns at Jamestown, "playing som calls itt, that takes delight to see stately structurs beated downe, and Men blowne up into the aire like Shutle Cocks" (Andrews 1967:71). At that point, the aging governor and his supporters boarded a ship that transported them to safety on the Eastern Shore.[91] On September 19th, in the wake of Berkeley's withdrawal, Bacon and his men entered Jamestown, which they put to the torch. Richard Lawrence (Study Unit 4 Tract S) and William Drummond I (Study Unit 4 Tract N) reportedly set fire to their own dwellings, considered among the finest in the town. An estimated 16 to 18 houses consumed by the conflagration, which also claimed the church (Structure 142) and the statehouse (Structure 112) (Washburn 1957:80-83; Billings et al. 1986:94; Andrews 1967:130-131; Force 1963:I:11:24; III:8:21).[92]

After Nathaniel Bacon became mortally ill, Governor Berkeley's supporters set about quelling the popular uprising and they tried the captured rebels for treason before a military tribunal. In early 1677 the three special commissioners appointed by the king arrived with 1,000 royal troops, who were prepared to put down the rebellion. Several of the people who had lost buildings when Jamestown burned sought compensation from the government. Berkeley informed the king's commissioners that Bacon "burned five houses of mine and twenty of other gentlemen's and they say a very commodious church." Oddly, Berkeley failed to mention the destruction of the statehouse, raising the possibility that he included it in his list of five structures (Force 1963:I:9:10;10:4; Washburn

[89] If Sherwood was residing in Structure 1/2, he would have been in an excellent position to observe the events that occurred on the isthmus and at the statehouse.

[90] Another account 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). The opposing fortifications were an estimated 100 to 150 paces [500 to 750 feet] apart (Force 1963:I:11:24).

[91] They went to Colonel John Custis's plantation, Arlington, in Northampton County.

[92] According to the special commissioners the king sent to investigate the underlying causes of Bacon's Rebellion, the colony's official records escaped destruction thanks to William Drummond I, who reportedly "had privately convey'd thense [from the statehouse] and preserved from Burning." 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).

1957:84-91; C.O. 1/41 ff 28, 32ro; Sainsbury 1964:10:167-168; Stanard 1908:200).

When the burgesses convened in February 1677, they deliberated about where to build a new statehouse to replace the one "now Burnt downe by that Arch Rebell and traiter Nathaniel Bacon the younger, and allso the houses in James City." Some consideration was given to erecting the new building at Tindall's (Gloucester) Point. On February 20, 1677, the assembly decided to build "a good strong sufficient storehouse for securing the powder sent in by his most sacred Majesty and that the said store be boarded within and without and well filled up with clay or mortar, and double covered." Another storehouse was to be built "which may be capable for the reception of the other stores of goods and that the same be double covered and that there be also built a guardhouse of 60 foot in length with two outside chimneys." Major John Page was to oversee construction and carpenters were to be pressed into service (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:71, 78). The magazine at Middle Plantation was to be used as a temporary storage area and the new facilities were to also be there. In October 1677 payment was made for "making a sufficient ditch about the magazine" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:116).[93]

On May 31, 1677, the Governor's Council acknowledged the need to build or repair a house for the governor to live in "and also a statehouse" (McIlwaine 1924:516; Hening 1809-1823:II:405). Lady Frances Berkeley's cousin, Thomas Lord Culpeper, became governor in 1677 and sometime prior to June 1678 took up residence at Green Spring, which mansion had been restored to habitable condition. It appears that very little was done about building a statehouse while Governor Culpeper held office. In September 1683, Culpeper informed his superiors 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... . But there being an apprehension in many persons that there are other places in the country more proper for a metropolis.... There hath not till now of late been any great advance therein." Culpeper said that as for the proposal that councillors build houses, "Mr. Auditor Bacon hath lately built two very good ones and Coll. 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).[94]

Because the statehouse had been destroyed, the colony's highest ranking officials were obliged to find other facilities in which to meet.[95] 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

[93] Structure 113, on Tract H, tentatively has been identified as a powder magazine (Carson et al. 1992:n.p.). On March 18, 1683, Thomas Lord Culpeper reported that lightening set the woods on fire and wind carried the blaze to the "corps de garde, wch was burnt in two hours to the ground, from thence sparkes flew to the two houses about 40 yards distant where the arms 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." He added that exploding granades and a mortar shell killed two horses and the soldiers were "frightened out of their wits" (Culpeper, March 18, 1683). Afterward, it was decided that "Ye brick windmill att Green Spring is ye securest place for ye Powder and all other his Majesties stores, to be kept in & yt a Court of Guard be built adjoining to ye same" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:40). In May 1691 Colonel William Browne, the owner of Study Unit 4 Tract K Lots C and D, was paid for "storehouse room for ammunition of the fort at James City" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1693-1702:187).

[94] Bacon's houses probably were located in Study Unit 4 Tract S, which Colonel Nathaniel Bacon patented in 1683, and William Sherwood could have erected new improvements upon Tracts B, C, D and F in Study Unit 1. He also may have chosen to rebuild Structure 1/2, on Tract C.

[95] In 1682 there were 11 men on the Governor's Council, plus the Governor. There were 40 burgesses (McIlwaine 1918:19).

City.[96] The assembly met at Green Spring in 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,[97] 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 and the Council met at Henry Gauler's ordinary (Study Unit 4 Tract C, Bay 2 of Structure 17). In June 1680 funds were given to William Sherwood and Thomas Rabley "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 an assembly room, whereas Thomas Clayton (perhaps of Study Unit 4 Tract A) and George Lee (of (Study Unit 4 Tract K Lots C and D, Structure 115) hosted committee meetings.[98] In April 1684 Mrs. Ann Mason[99] 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).[100]

Commencing in October 1676, the justices of James City County, who traditionally had held their monthly court sessions in the statehouse, utilizing the General Court room, were obliged to find other accommodations in which to convene. Official records reveal that the 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 the James City County courthouse was located; however, by law it had to be somewhere in Jamestown, the county seat. In April 1684 Jamestown blacksmith William Briscoe was paid for irons and other services that involved the restraint of criminals, but it is uncertain where they had been detained (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:256). In May 1684 a proposed act for building county prisons was amended to require "pales or pallasadoes and to be but 120 feet square." 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 Tract H was publicly owned property, the prison may have been built within its bounds.

Shortly after Francis Howard, Lord Effingham, assumed the governorship, plans got underway to rebuild the statehouse. In mid-May 1684 a committee of six burgesses was appointed to see what it would cost to rebuild the structure

[96] 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 the Hot Water plantation, near 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. Later, they met at Westover, at the York Plantation, in Hampton, and at Mathew Page's in Gloucester.

[97] The location of the Fisher dwelling is unknown. She may have been a tenant.

[98] In 1682 Thomas Clayton was the burgess for Jamestown (McIlwaine 1918:19). It is uncertain where his Jamestown property was located.

[99] 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).

[100] Renting meeting rooms was costly for the government. In 1685 1,500 lbs. of tobacco was paid in rent for a room large enough to accommodate a committee. 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) cost 25 pounds sterling a year (McIlwaine 1918:88-89, 93).

and how to finance construction. There was debate over where to build the new statehouse, which was 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 James City. 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. Plans also were made for how the building should be decorated and furnished. Later, Captain William Armiger (Study Unit 1 Tract J) was paid "for a picture of the Kings Arms for the General Court and making the chair and mending it" and Henry Hartwell (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C and Structure 86) in November 1686 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 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 enough assembly members were 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[101] and to ask him 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 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 asked him to reconsider. They contended that the Secretary's office was "both inconvenient and incommodious," for anyone having business there could hear plainly whatever 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 said 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

[101] The cost of rebuilding the statehouse exceeded by 25 percent what Lady Frances Berkeley spent in 1678 to restore Green Spring to habitable condition after Bacon's rebels had occupied it. On the other hand, William Sherwood claimed a loss of 1,000 pounds, thanks to the rebels burning his stepson's buildings in Jamestown (Structure 1/2 and several others' losses ran as high as 1,000 to 1,500 sterling (Neville 1976:372-378).

ye Records as it's possible any other place." They closed by saying that they were forwarding 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 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)[102] 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 courts' 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." 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). During the 1680s and 90s the

[102] Both men resided in Jamestown and had within Study Unit 4 Tract L. Edwards also owned Study Unit Tract O, where one of Jamestown's ferry-landings.

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[103] (McIlwaine 1918:35; 1925-1945:I:11; 1905-1915:1660-1693:452).

According to historian Robert Beverley II, Governor Francis Howard "created a new Court of Chancery, distinct from the General Court," and so "that it might 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 for that use" (Beverley 1947:97).[104] The "private House" Howard seems to have preferred was the Sherwood dwelling, Structure 31.

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"[105] 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 didn't have time to deal with the requests. They said, 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 had some modifications made to the building. On June 23, 1692, Nicholson informed the Council that for lack of room in the Secretary's Office, "the Records in that 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, justifying 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 high-handedness was at the root of a dispute with the burgesses, who flatly refused to pay for the work that was 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," which the House had rejected. They found the charge valid, for the building was "extremely decayed and rotten." 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

[103] The location of the Hallett dwelling is uncertain. It may not have been in Jamestown.

[104] Beverley's statement explains why the statehouse was called the "General Courthouse" while Governor Howard was in office. Doing so recognized the distinction between the General and Chancery Courts.

[105] 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."

public expense. They said that Thomas Beckett's[106] claim should be allowed by the assembly, as should that of Ms. 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 repair was a public responsibility, but they still objected to paying Thomas Lun (Lunn) for his work, which they insisted amounted to "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 claim for "digging a Vault under the Powder house" which they did not perceive as a justifiable charge to the country. They also rejected Ms. 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 done by Thomas Lunn under orders from the General Court "was for the necessary reparation of the court house, being extremely rotten and decayed." When the assembly finally acquiesced and made provisions for Lunn to be paid in tobacco, the Council insisted that he be compensated with 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 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. No action apparently was taken until October 26, 1696, when it was resolved that it was "necessary 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).

On October 20, 1698, the colony's statehouse was destroyed by a fire believed to have been deliberately set. There was circumstantial evidence suggesting that Arthur Jarvis, a James City County yeoman and convicted felon, had started the blaze.[107] However, the attorney general reported that there was insufficient evidence to warrant prosecution (Sainsbury 1964:16:513, 946; McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:397). According to Governor Edmund Andros, "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."[108] He said that because the fire occurred during court-time, when many people were there, "all records and papers were saved and on being sorted and listed are found undamnified."[109] Andros said that the records would be moved to a brick house in Jamestown and that he had issued a proclamation for "bringing in the books and papers scattered owing to the burning of the statehouse." The Council felt that "the Most Secure & Convenient place for the present Lodging the said Records" was Mrs. Sherwood's brick house, Structure 31. Therefore, the clerks of the assembly and General Court asked for "the use of her

[106] Thomas Beckett may have been the Thomas Leckett, who in 1695 was renting Study Unit 1 Tract A from Francis Meriwether (Ambler MS 56).

[107] Jarvis had been sentenced to death for burglary, but had his sentence commuted to transportation. Some people's depositions cast Jarvis in a suspicious light, but nothing could be proved.

[108] This suggests that the prison, statehouse and another building were in close proximity.

[109] The records reportedly were thrown from the building and landed in heaps.

Porch Chamber & Chamber Adjoyning in her said house for the said papers." She agreed and it also was decided that the Sherwood house was where "the General Court should now be held ... the same [to] be held in the Great Hall." Later, Governor Francis Nicholson said that "When the state house was burnt they saved all the records, but ecclesiastical, civil and military were all intermingled. They have since been sorted and methodized" (Sainsbury 1964:16:951; 17:579; McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:392).

The colony's military materiel didn't fare as well. On February 1, 1699, Edward Ross, gunner of the fort at Jamestown and owner of Study Unit 4 Tract R,[110] reported upon the military equipment in his possession that had been "removed from the state house, which had been burned." Included were "burnt barrels of Musket at ye statehouse 197; burnt locks from do. 180; burnt hammer hatchets 77; burnt hoops, swivel and springs of Granado pouches 99; burnt spears of halberts 3; burnt spears of sweet feathers 445; and baskets of wch 4 broke in bringing burnt locks from ye statehouse 20" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:II:40). The Council minutes for April 26, 1699, indicate that "No arms had been sent into the colony since 1692, when 200 were sent in by Jeffrey Jeffreys, which were all burnt last fall in the statehouse" (Sainsbury 1964:17:306).[111]

Because "the statehouse by an unhappy Accident was lately burnt down," Governor Nicholson and the Council summoned the burgesses to a meeting in William Sherwood's Great Hall. It was likely then that a decision was made to hold assembly meetings at John Tullitt's house (the easternmost bay of Structure 115, Study Unit 4 Tract K Lot D Bay 4), for on May 11, 1699, he was authorized to receive compensation for "fitting the House where the burgesses now sit." That authorization came approximately two weeks after the April 27, 1699, proposal to relocate the colony's capital inland to Middle Plantation (Williamsburg). That decision received fund approval on June 8, 1699, but, until the move occurred, the Council continued to meet at the Sherwood house (then Edward Jaquelin's). They convened there through 1700 (McIlwaine 1918:257-276; 1693-1702:219; Sainsbury 1964:17:378).

On May 23, 1706, three James City County justices (Robert Beverley II, George Marable II and John Geddes) asked the assembly for "ye bricks of ye old statehouse at Jamestown" so that they could use them to build a new county courthouse. The burgesses agreed and it was ordered that "No person presume to make use of the said bricks on any other account whatsoever" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1702-1712:204; 1918:463). No additional references to the old statehouse have been found and the site of the new county courthouse awaits discovery by archaeologists.

Due to the destruction of some critical court documents and the ambiguity of the records that exist, it is uncertain whether the acreage upon which the statehouse was located was publicly or privately owned. If it was government property, it probably was considered surplus. If it belonged to Sir William Berkeley and his heirs, the property would have descended to Lady Frances Berkeley and then

[110] Ross had the concession for the ferry that ran from Tract R to Swann's Point, in Surry County.

[111] In January 1693, a decision was made to build a vaulted powder room at Jamestown, in which the colony's ammunition could be stored. That project had been completed by July, when Governor Edmund Andros informed his superiors that "a magazine and store house have been built" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1693-1702:275; C. O. 5/1308 f 150). The Rev. James Blair, a outspoken critic of Governor Andros, in 1697 told officials in England that he had "thrown away a great deal of money in raising [razing] an old fort at Jamestown, & in building a powder house.... 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). Andros' powder magazine was on the banks of the James, at the southwest corner of Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot B. The nearby fort's gunner, Edward Ross, complained periodically about the magazine's dampness and the need to re-hoop barrels of powder (James City County Plat Book 2:6).

Philip Ludwell I (whom she married) and his descendants.

Lady Frances Berkeley *(HYPOTHETICAL)*

Frances Culpeper Stephens, the widow of Albemarle governor Samuel Stephens and cousin of Thomas Lord Culpeper, was 36-years-old when she married Governor William Berkeley, who was then 64. Throughout Bacon's Rebellion, Lady Frances Berkeley was fiercely loyal to her husband and when he died in England in 1677 he left her "all my lands, houses, and tenements, whatsoever." Therefore, she would have inherited Tract H, if it were among her late husband's properties (Hening 1809-1823:II:319-325, 558-560; McIlwaine 1924:514-515; Stanard 1925:352). Three years after Sir William Berkeley's death, Lady Frances married Philip Ludwell I of Rich Neck. She moved into his home and began renting Green Spring to Virginia's incumbent governors (Shepperson 1942:454; Morton 1956:238; Bruce 1899-1900:356).

Philip Ludwell I *(HYPOTHETICAL)*

In October 1680, Lady Frances Berkeley married Philip Ludwell I, one of her late husband's staunchest supporters. As Lady Frances and Philip produced no living children, at her death her real and personal estate descended to him and his son by marriage to Lucy Higginson Burwell (Shepperson 1942:454; Morton 1956:238; Bruce 1899-1900:356). Philip Ludwell I's connection with Lady Berkeley probably led to his selection to rebuild the statehouse.

Philip Ludwell II *(HYPOTHETICAL)*

In 1694, the widowed Philip Ludwell I retired to England and Philip II came of age. He relocated to Green Spring, which he made his permanent home. In 1716 Philip II as his father's heir, inherited his landholdings and those of his stepmother, Lady Frances Berkeley. In 1697 Philip II married Hannah, the daughter of Benjamin Harrison, a member of the Governor's Council. The couple produced three children, including a son, Philip Ludwell III (Bruce 1890-1900:356; Morton 1956:238; Shepperson 1942:454). Philip Ludwell II, like his father, took an active role in political affairs and held a number of public offices. He died on January 11, 1727, leaving as his primary heir 11-year-old Philip Ludwell III (Bruce 1899-1900:356; Morton 1956:238). If Philip II was in possession of Tract H, it would have descended to his son.

Philip Ludwell III *(HYPOTHETICAL)*

Philip Ludwell III, who was born at Green Spring on December 28, 1716, was his parents' only son and heir. He was orphaned at the age of 15. A few months before he attained his majority, married Frances Grymes of Morattico. The couple made their home at Green Spring plantation, where their three daughters were born. Philip III, like his forebears, took an active role in public life, serving as a burgess, councillor, and vestryman (Stanard 1911:289; 1913:395-416; Shepperson 1942:18-19). After Philip Ludwell III was widowed in 1753, he moved to London, leaving the management of his James City County properties in the hands of a farm manager. Ludwell's health gradually deteriorated and he died in March 1767. His eldest daughter, Hannah Philippa, inherited his two lots in Jamestown: one that contained improvements and one that was vacant (Stanard 1911:288-289; 1913:395-416). As the "improved" lot probably was the one enveloping the east end of Structure 115 (which property was Ludwell-owned during much of eighteenth century) and as the land upon which stood the central units of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (patented by Philip Ludwell I in 1694) contained ruins and therefore was inimproved, it is likely that Tract H had been abandoned or was in other hands (Stanard 1911:288-289;1913:395-416; Morton 1956:244; Lee et al. 1771). In time, Tract H may have been absorbed into Edward Jaquelin's plantation (which abutted it on the north and east) or that of Jaquelin's successors, son-in-law Richard Ambler and grandson John Ambler I.

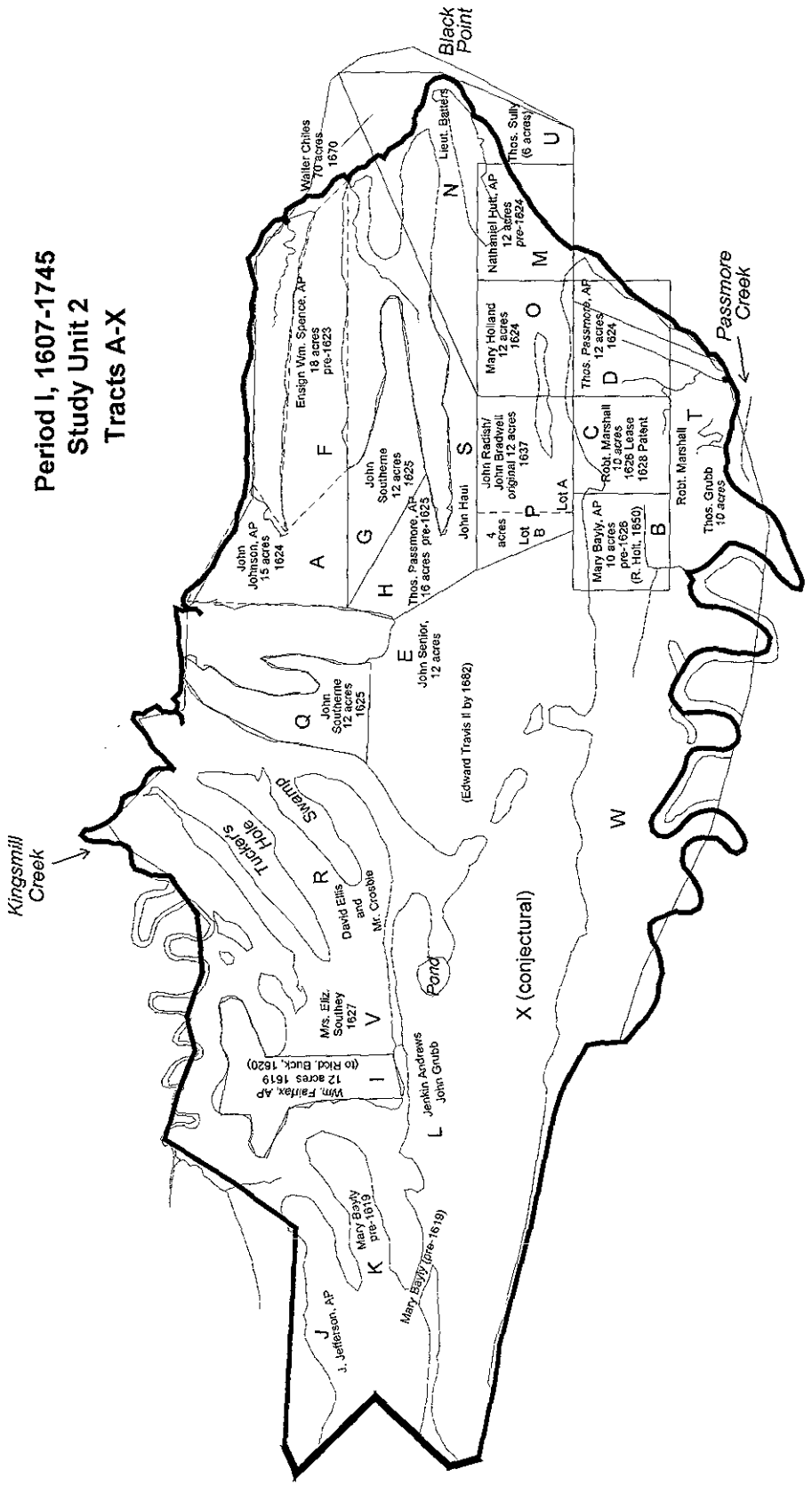


Figure 24. *Study Unit 2 Tracts A-X.*

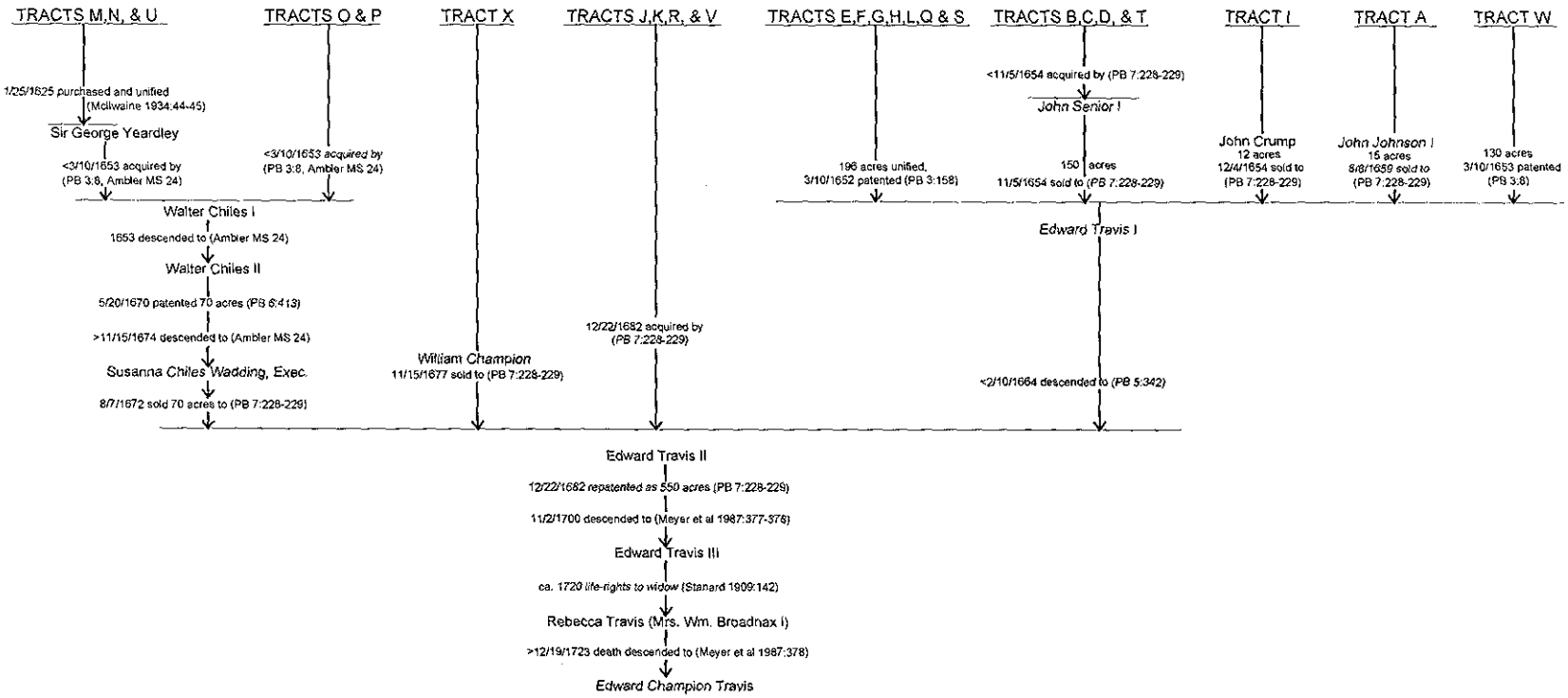


Figure 25. *Study Unit 2: the Travis Plantation.*

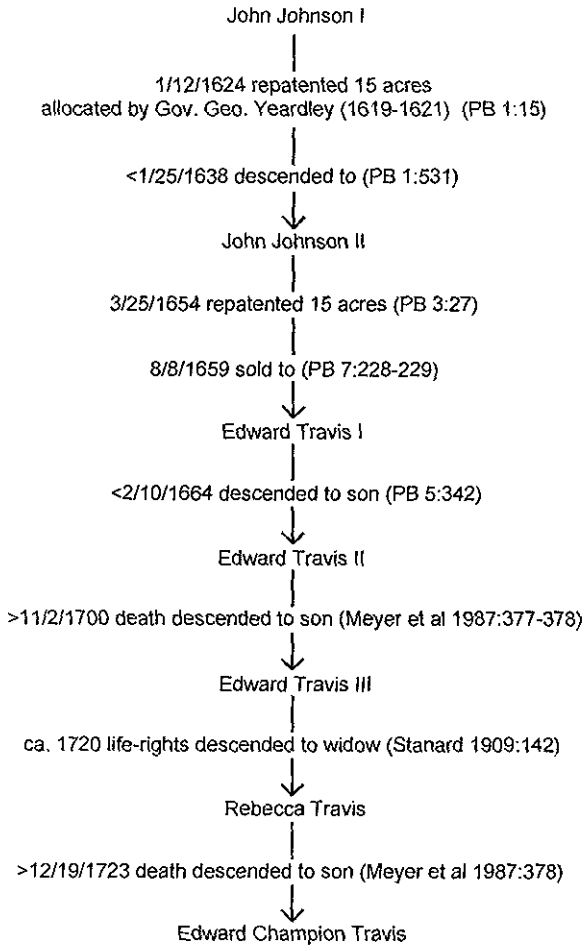


Figure 26. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract A.*

Study Unit 2 Tract A

John Johnson I

John Johnson I, whom Virginia Company records describe as an ancient planter, on January 12, 1624, patented 15 acres abutting the Back River, in the northeastern portion of Jamestown Island (Tract A). His property, which contained his house, reportedly abutted "Eastward on the Land of Ensign William Spence deceased [Tract F], Westward upon a Marsh neare adjoyning, Northward upon the back river, and Southward upon the bounds and markes there appointed and determined." Simultaneously, Johnson received 85 acres of land in Archer's Hope, which subsequent patents reveal lay west of College Creek. Johnson had received the initial title to his 15 acres from Governor George Yeardley, who held office during 1619-1621 (Nugent 1969-1979:I:4; Patent Book 1:15; Kingsbury 1906-1935:4:556). On February 16, 1624, when a census was taken of the colony's inhabitants, John, wife Ann, and their two children (a boy and a girl) were living on rural land in Jamestown Island, probably upon John's 15 acres (Hotten 1980:178).

During 1624 John Johnson I made several appearances before the General Court. On April 12 he acknowledged being indebted to John Hall for some clothing and for Hall's serving as his substitute during a march against the Indians (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:474). On August 16, 1624, Johnson was ordered to put a new roof upon the dwelling of the late Ensign William Spence (former owner and occupant of neighboring Study Unit 2 Tract F), and he was told to repair Spence's fence (McIlwaine 1924:19). On December 13, 1624, John Johnson I went to court, alleging that John Hall had killed his hog. Testimony reveals, however, that Johnson previously had slain four of Hall's swine (McIlwaine 1924:35).

On January 24, 1625, when a muster was made of the Virginia colony's inhabitants, John Johnson I, wife Ann, daughter Ann (age 4), and son John II (age 1) were living on Jamestown Island, where a maid servant named Ann Kean was part of the household (Hotten 1980:228; Meyer et al. 1987:35-36). In May 1625 when a list of land patents was sent back to England, John Johnson was credited with 200 acres. A contemporary document indicates that he had received his acreage on the basis of a court order (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:551,556).

During January and March 1629 John Johnson I served on juries summoned by the General Court and on April 8, 1629, he was sued by Edward Waller (McIlwaine 1924:183, 190, 194). John died sometime prior to January 25, 1638, at which time his son and daughter were described as his legitimate heirs. Ultimately, John Johnson I's property descended to his son, John II, who on March 25, 1654, repatented his father's acreage on Jamestown Island and on August 8, 1659, sold it to brother-in-law Edward Travis I (Nugent 1969-1979:I:241; II:252; Patent Book 1:531; 3:27; 7:228-229).

John Johnson II

On March 25, 1654, when John Johnson II repatented his late father's 15 acres on Jamestown Island, it was described as abutting "Eastward on the land of William Spence or Spencer." He also repatented the decedent's 135 acres in Archer's Hope, on the west side of College Creek (Nugent 1969-1979:I:241; Patent Book 3:27). As John Johnson II was then residing in Surry County, his 15 acres on Jamestown Island probably were occupied by servants or tenants. On August 8, 1659, John Johnson II sold Tract A to his brother-in-law Edward Travis I, who by that date already owned

Study Unit 2 Tracts E, F, G, H, I, L, S, T, and marsh and arable land north of Passmore Creek (Patent Book 3:8, 158; Nugent 1969-1979:I:270-271, 531; II:252; Meyer et al. 1987:224).

Edward Travis I

Sometime prior to January 25, 1638, John Johnson I's daughter, Ann, married Edward Travis I (Patent Book 1:531). On March 10, 1652, Travis patented 196 acres on Jamestown Island: Study Unit 2 Tracts E, F, G, H, Q, and S, plus some acreage south and west of Tract E. His 196 acres "Near black Poynt" were bounded "North upon the back river and East upon the Same, South upon the Land of Mr. Chyles [Tracts M, N, O, P, and U] and Goose hill Marsh and west upon David Ellis his land and Mr. Crosbys Land [Tract R]." Included were 24 acres formerly granted to John Southern (Tracts G and Q), 16 acres that had belonged to Thomas Passmore (Tract H), and 12 acres patented by John Senior (Tract E) 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 this 196 acre tract that Edward Travis I built his dwelling (Patent Book 3:8; Nugent 1969-1979:I:231).

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, 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 some 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.

Edward Travis II

On February 10, 1664, Edward Travis II repatented his late father's 396 acres, which included the 196 acres Edward I acquired in March 1652 and the 130 acres he procured in March 1653. This time, the 196 acre component was described as abutting "North upon the back River and East upon the same, South upon the Land of Mr. Chiles and Goose Hill marsh and West upon David Elliott's Land and Mr. Crosbie's Land." The remaining 130 acres, part of which was marsh land, lay "Southerly from his now dwelling House" and included a "dividend of high Land Bounded by Parsmores Creek and Cocketts neck, the remainder being high Land lying Westerly from his said House and dividend, and bounded on the Westward side with the Land of Lansolet Eley, Northerly with a swamp, Easterly with his said former dividend of the said Mrs. Traverse" (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 1969-1979:II:252; Patent Book 7:228-229). The 70 acres included Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P, and U. On November 15, 1677, Travis acquired 12 acres from William Champion, who probably was his brother-in-law

(Nugent 1969-1979:II:252). Although the precise location of the Champion parcel is uncertain, its inclusion in one of Travis's subsequent patents for land on Jamestown Island reveals that it became part of his plantation.

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's 150 acres (Study Unit 2 Tracts B, C, and D 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 some land that lay along the east side of Kingsmill Creek (Study Unit 2 Tracts J, K, R, and V) (Patent Book 7:228-229). This gave him and his descendants approximately 802 acres that encompassed the area east of Kingsmill Creek and north of Passmore Creek. Thus, the Travis plantation embraced virtually all of Study Unit 2.

In 1682 the boundaries of Edward Travis II's 550 acres were described as a whole. His "Devedend of Land & marsh" began "on James River att Black Poynt & runing up the river to the mouth of pasmore Creek & up it to cockets Neck Fork & up the northermost Branch thereof to the head, & thence to the mouth of the next Northermost Branch of the Marsh of the sd Creek & up the sd Branch to the head, thence by marked Trees S 82½ degrees Ely 9 chaine [297 feet] to a white oake, thence North 3 degrees Wly 22 & 1/4 Chain [734.25 feet] by another line of Marked Trees to a pine on pitch & Tarr Swamp and downe it to a marked oake on the upper side of the next Branch Issueing out of the sd Swamp, thence No: 42 degrees Ely 8 Chains [264 feet] to the head of Harmans [Harmer's or Kingsmill] Creek & downe it to back River & down the same to the place it began." Also included within the 550 acres' bounds were 12 acres belonging to Mr. Holliday which Travis had acquired from William Champion on November 15, 1677. The Travis patent included 326 acres that Edward Travis I had obtained earlier on, plus several other parcels: 150 acres that had been bought from John Senior on November 5, 1654; 12 acres that had been purchased from John Crumfort (Crump) on December 4, 1654; 15 acres acquired from John Johnson (II) on August 8, 1659; 70 acres bought from Mrs. Susanna Chiles on August 7, 1672; and 12 acres received from William Champion on November 15, 1677 (Patent Book 7:228-229).

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently didn't attempt to enhance the size of his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her son, Edward Champion Travis, a minor, inherited the family's plantation on Jamestown Island (Meyer et al. 1987:377-378; Tyler 1907-1908:142). William Broadnax I and his stepson may have shared the family home until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). Travis's other James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

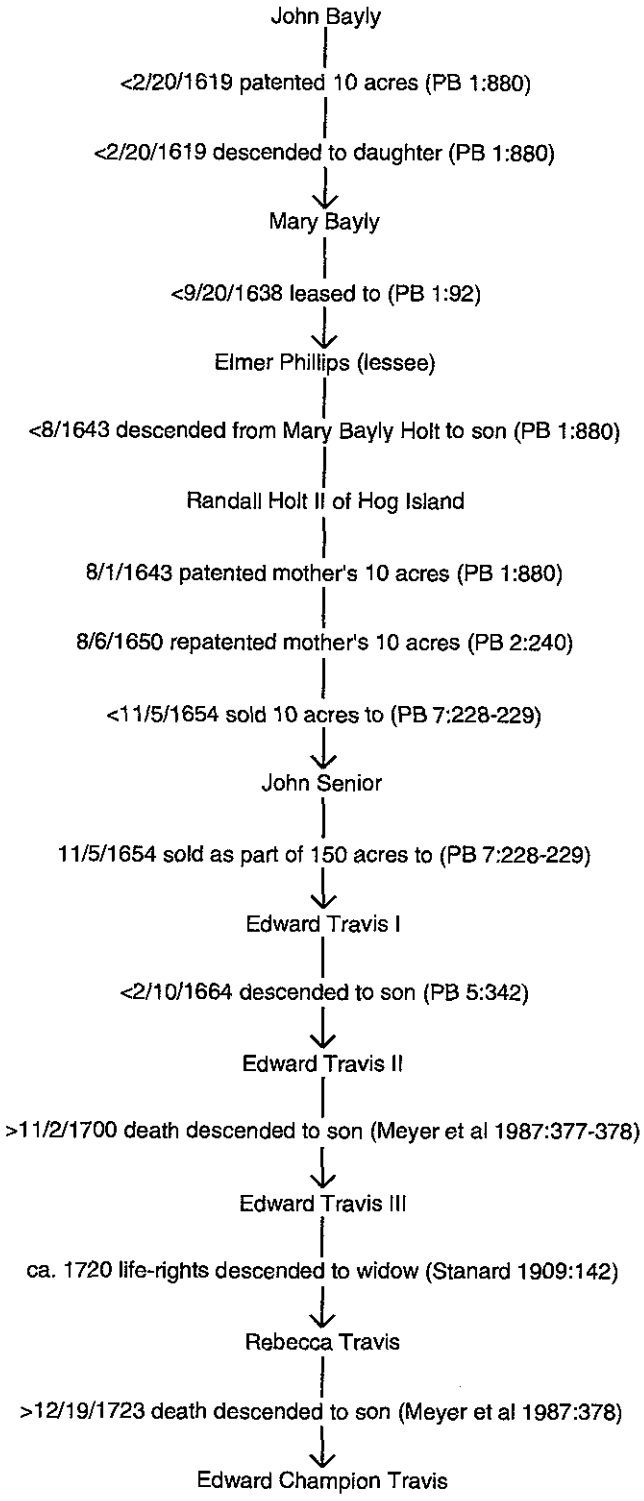


Figure 27. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract B.*

Study Unit 2 Tract B

John Bayly (Bailey, Bayley, Baley, Bailye)

Ancient planter John Bayly of Hog Island acquired acreage in this vicinity before 1618. At his death (sometime prior to February 20, 1619) his Virginia land descended to his daughter, Mary, also an ancient planter and eventual resident of Hog Island (Patent Book 1:880; Nugent 1969-1979:I:143; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:556).

Mary Bayly

Ancient planter Mary Bayly, the daughter and heir of John Bayly, inherited her father's Jamestown Island acreage (Study Unit 2 Tracts B and K) sometime prior to 1620 (Patent Book 1:92, 880; Nugent 1969-1979:I:12, 143). Young Mary also fell heir to her late father's 490 to 500 acres on the lower side of the James River at Hog Island (McIlwaine 1924:17,122).[112]

Although the late John Bayly's original patents no longer exist, the eastern and southern boundary lines of daughter Mary's Tract B were referenced in a claim for neighboring Study Unit 2 Tract C, a 10 acre parcel that during the mid-to-late 1620s was occupied by leaseholder Robert Marshall.[113] A road that separated the Bayly and Marshall properties comprised their common boundary line, whereas another road that extended along the north side of Passmore Creek formed both tracts' southerly boundaries (Patent Book 1:92; Nugent 1969-1979:I:12).

Mary Bayly's guardians, Robert Evers and Richard Bailye (and Bailye's surrogate, Edward Grindon), preserved her legal interest in her late father's real estate by placing it in the hands of tenants. Although Evers personally occupied one of Mary's patents on Jamestown Island (Study Unit 2 Tract K), in September 1628 a tenant named Elmer Philips (Phillips) was living upon Tract B (Nugent 1969-1979:I:12; Patent Book 1:92).

Elmer Philips (Phillipps) (lessee)

Elmer Philips (Phillipps) left relatively little imprint upon official records, but his selection for jury duty on at least two occasions during 1629 indicates that he was free and considered a respectable citizen. Philips appeared in the General Court twice during 1626 to testify in cases that were under consideration and in 1627 and 1629 he vouched for the authenticity of two Jamestown Island men's wills. On August 21, 1626, Philips testified that Robert Allford (an indentured servant) owed work to his neighbor, Robert Marshall, the leaseholder and occupant of Tract C, which lay contiguous and to the east (McIlwaine 1924:107, 113, 153, 183, 187, 190; Nugent 1969-1979:I:12; Patent Book 1:92).

Randall Holt I

The heiress Mary Bayly married Randall Holt I sometime prior to 1629. Holt, who immigrated to Virginia in 1621 and in February 1624 was an indentured servant in Dr. John Pott's household on Jamestown Island, was age 18 in 1625. According to a determination made by the General Court,

---

[112] In February 1624, a John Bayly was listed among the dead on Jamestown Island (Hotten 1980:191). As Mary Bayly in February 1619 was described as her father's sole heir, it is unlikely that they were siblings (Patent Book 1:880).

[113] The Marshall patent abutted "Westerly on the land of Mary Bayly, Easterly on the land of Thomas Pasmore Carpenter, Southerly up on the highway adjoyning to the Marshes of Goose hill, and Westerly likewise upon the highway that parteth the same from the Land now in the occupacon of Elmer Phillipps" (Patent Book 1:92). The common boundary line between Tracts B and C was 660 feet long and was oriented on a north-south axis.

Holt was to serve Pott until January 8, 1628, at which time he was to be given his freedom dues: a suit of clothes and three barrels of corn (Meyer et al. 1987:367; Hotten 1980:174; McIlwaine 1924:98).

Randall I and Mary Bayly Holt resided on Hog Island, on part of the acreage that she had inherited from her father. At Mary's death, which occurred prior to August 1, 1643, the Bayly land descended to her son, Randall Holt II (Meyer et al. 1987:367; Nugent 1969-1979:I:143; Patent Book 1:880).

Randall Holt II

Randall Holt II, who by 1650 had come of age, repatented his late mother's acreage on Jamestown Island and on the lower side of the James River. Sometime prior to November 5, 1654, he sold Tract B to John Senior I, who combined it with some marsh land and three other parcels that bordered Passmore Creek (Study Unit 2 Tracts C, D, and T) into an aggregate of 150 acres. Holt resided on Hog Island until his death in 1679 (Meyer et al. 1987:367; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1671-1684:222; Patent Book 7:228-220; Nugent 1969-1979:II:252).

John Senior I

John Senior I, an ancient planter, patented 12 acres on Jamestown Island (Study Unit 2 Tract E) sometime prior to 1624 (Patent Book 1:158). However, he moved to what became Surry County, which he seems to have made his permanent home. Senior surveyed the Rich Neck tract for Richard Kemp in 1643 and produced a relatively detailed plat. Between 1644 and 1652 he patented three tracts of land in Surry County (two of which were opposite Jamestown) and he acquired some acreage along the north side of the Piankatank River, in what is now Middlesex County. For a time, he owned the Glasshouse tract on the mainland adjacent to Jamestown Island (Nugent 1969-1979:I:190,221,225,279; Ambler MS 78; Senior 1643; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1652-1672:112). The quantity of acreage Senior owned suggests that he was a successful planter of somewhat more than middling means. On November 5, 1654, John Senior I sold Edward Travis I his 150 acre parcel on the north side of Passmore Creek (Patent Book 7:228-229; Nugent 1969-1979:II:252).[114]

Edward Travis I

Edward Travis I, by purchasing John Senior I's 150 acre parcel on the north side of Passmore Creek, significantly enhanced the size of his plantation (Patent Book 7:228-229; Nugent 1969-1979:II:252). At Edward I's death prior to February 1664, Study Unit 2 Tract B and his other Jamestown Island properties descended to his son and heir, Edward Travis II (Patent Book 5:342; Nugent 1969-1979:I:503).

Edward Travis II

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 from William Champion, who probably was his brother-in-law (Nugent 1969-1979:II:252). All of these proper-

[114] No patent for Senior's 150 acres has come to light. However, it is certain that his property was one of the several parcels encompassed by the 550 acres Edward Travis II patented in 1682. As all but one of those parcels have been linked to specific locations, it has been determined through the process of elimination that the Senior patent included high land and marsh that extended along the upper side of Passmore Creek.

ties 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, Q, and S); the 70 acres he bought from Susanna Chiles (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U); John Senior'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). The boundaries of Edward Travis II's 550 acres were described as a whole. His "Devedend of Land & marsh" began "on James River att Black Poynt & runing up the river to the mouth of pasmore Creek & up it to cockets Neck Fork & up the northermost Branch thereof to the head, & thence to the mouth of the next Northermost Branch of the Marsh of the sd Creek & up the sd Branch to the head, thence by marked Trees S 82½ degrees Ely 9 chaine [297 feet] to a white oake, thence North 3 degrees Wly 22 & 1/4 Chain [734.25 feet] by another line of Marked Trees to a pine on pitch & Tarr Swamp and downe it to a marked oake on the upper side of the next Branch Issueing out of the sd Swamp, thence No: 42 degrees Ely 8 Chains [264 feet] to the head of Harmans [Harmer's or Kingsmill] Creek & downe it to back River & down the same to the place it began." Also included were 12 acres belonging to Mr. Holliday which Travis had obtained from William Champion on November 15, 1677 (Patent Book 7:228-229).

Edward Travis II 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 acres that extended from the east side of Kingsmill Creek to the north side of Passmore Creek, encompassing virtually all of Study Unit 2.

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently didn't attempt to enhance the size of his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax, Sr., who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

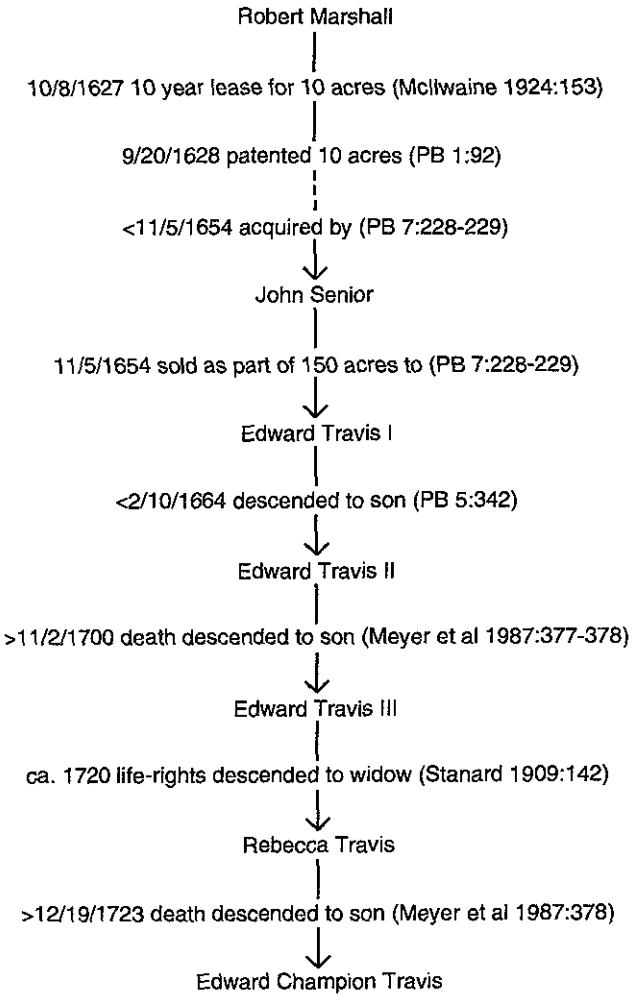


Figure 28. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract C.*

Study Unit 2 Tract C

Robert Marshall

Robert Marshall, who left England in May 1619 aboard the *George*, was brought to Virginia by Captain John Bargrave (Nugent 1969-1979:I:226). On February 16, 1624, he was residing upon the Governor's Land in John Carter's household. By January 24, 1625, he had moved to the eastern end of Jamestown Island, where he and his wife shared a plot (Study Unit 2 Tract T) with a joiner named Thomas Grubb (Hotten 1980:176; Meyer et al. 1987:35). During April 1625 Marshall asked the General Court to resolve a disagreement with Grubb over how much acreage each of them was entitled to. Although the justices agreed that Marshall should have half of the land, the rift with Grubb may have impelled him to seek his own leasehold, abandoning the arrangement with Grubb (McIlwaine 1924:56).[115]

In 1626 Robert Marshall secured a lease for 10 acres of land in the eastern end of Jamestown Island: Tract C. His property was located between the parcels owned by Thomas Passmore (Study Unit 2 Tract D) and Mary Bayly (Study Unit 2 Tract B). Specifically, the Marshall patent abutted "Westerly on the land of Mary Bayly, Easterly on the land of Thomas Pasmore Carpenter, Southerly up on the highway adjoyning to the Marshes of Goose hill, and Westerly likewise upon the highway that parteth the same from the Land now in the occupacon of Elmer Phillipps" (Patent Book 1:92). The western boundary line of Thomas Passmore's Tract D, which was 660 feet in length from north to south, formed the eastern boundary line of Robert Marshall's Tract C. Likewise, John Radish and John Bradwell's Tract P, which southern boundary line was 792 feet long, formed the northern boundary of Tract C (Patent Book 1:10, 423). On October 8, 1627, when the General Court confirmed Marshall's lease, it was noted that he was entitled to retain his land for 10 years (McIlwaine 1924:153). On September 20, 1628, Marshall patented the 10 acre leasehold upon which he was then residing (Nugent 1969-1979:I:12; Patent Book 1:92). In August 1626 Robert Marshall sued Robert Allford (Alforde), one of Captain Roger Smith's servants, whom he'd hired. As Allford owed him 11 days labor, Marshall sought justice before the General Court. Mary Bayly's tenant, Elmer Philips (Phillips), who in 1628 occupied Study Unit 2 Tract B, came into court to attest to the validity of Marshall's claim (McIlwaine 1924:108).

During January 1628 Robert Marshall made two court appearances: one when he sued Robert Wright (Study Unit 3 Tract E) for indebtedness and another when he, himself, was arrested and sued by Gabriel Holland (McIlwaine 1924:158). The following January Marshall was sued by merchants Thomas and Edward Mayhew, who succeeded in having him jailed for not supplying a specific quantity of tobacco (McIlwaine 1924:182-183). It is uncertain how much longer Robert Marshall lived or whether he produced any heirs.

John Senior I

Sometime prior to November 5, 1654, ancient planter John Senior I acquired Tract C, which he combined with some marsh land and three other parcels bordering Passmore Creek (Study Unit 2 Tracts B, D, and T) into an aggregate of 150 acres (Patent Book 1:158; 7:228-229; Nugent 1969-1979:II:252).[116]

[115] When Thomas Grubb made his will, which was proved on May 21, 1627, he bequeathed his interest in Tract T to two other men, who in October 1628 had the property transferred into their own names (Hotten 1980:176; McIlwaine 1924:148, 154). No reference was made to Robert Marshall's interest in the property.

Senior, who patented 12 acres on Jamestown Island (Study Unit 2 Tract E) sometime prior to 1624, eventually moved to what became Surry County, which he seemingly made his permanent home (Patent Book 1:158). Senior surveyed the Rich Neck tract for Richard Kemp in 1643 and produced a relatively detailed plat. Between 1644 and 1652 he patented three tracts of land in Surry County (two of which were near Jamestown) and he acquired some acreage along the north side of the Piankatank River, in what is now Middlesex County. For a time, he owned the Glasshouse tract on the mainland adjacent to Jamestown Island (Nugent 1969-1979:I:190,221,225,279; Ambler MS 78; Senior 1643; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1652-1672:112).

The quantity of acreage John Senior I owned suggests that he was a successful planter of somewhat more than middling means. On November 5, 1654, he sold Edward Travis I his 150 acre parcel on the north side of Passmore Creek (Study Unit 2 Tracts B, C, D, and T and some marsh land) (Patent Book 7:228-229; Nugent 1969-1979:II:252).

Edward Travis I

Edward Travis I, by purchasing John Senior I's 150 acre parcel on the north side of Passmore Creek, significantly enhanced the size of his plantation (Patent Book 7:228-229; Nugent 1969-1979:II:252). At Edward I's death prior to February 1664, Study Unit 2 Tract C and his other Jamestown Island properties descended to his son and heir, Edward Travis II (Patent Book 5:342; Nugent 1969-1979:I:503).

[116] No patent for Senior's 150 acres has come to light. However, it is certain that his property was one of the several parcels encompassed by the 550 acres Edward Travis II patented in 1682. As all but one of those parcels have been linked to specific locations, it has been determined through the process of elimination that the Senior patent included the high land and marsh that extended along the upper side of Passmore Creek.

Edward Travis II

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 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, Q, and S); the 70 acres he bought from Susanna Chiles (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U); John Senior'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). The boundaries of Edward Travis II's 550 acres were described as a whole. His "Devedend of Land & marsh" began "on James River att Black Poynt & runing up the river to the mouth of pasmore Creek & up it to cockets Neck Fork & up the northermost Branch thereof to the head, & thence to the mouth of the next Northermost Branch of the Marsh of the sd Creek & up the sd Branch to the head, thence by marked Trees S 82½ degrees Ely 9 chaine [297 feet] to a white oake, thence North 3 degrees Wly 22 & 1/4 Chain [734.25 feet] by another line of Marked Trees to a pine on pitch & Tarr Swamp and downe it to a marked oake on the upper side of the next Branch Issueing out of the sd Swamp, thence No: 42 degrees Ely 8 Chains [264 feet] to the head of Harmans [Kingsmill] Creek & downe it to back River & down the same to the place it began." Also included were 12 acres belonging to Mr. Holliday which Travis had ob-

tained from William Champion on November 15, 1677 (Patent Book 7:228-229).

Edward Travis II 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.

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who appears not to have enhanced the size of his property holdings on the island. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island plantation, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels on the west side of Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 II and his stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

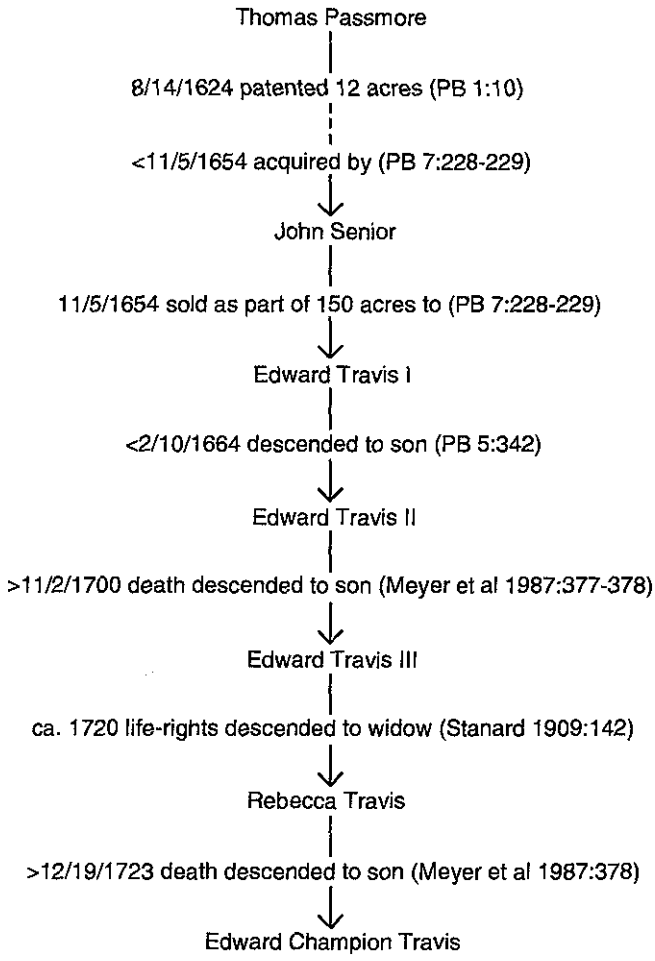


Figure 29. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract D.*

Study Unit 2 Tract D

Thomas Passmore

On August 14, 1624, Thomas Passmore (Parsemore), a carpenter who immigrated to Virginia prior to 1618, patented 12 acres that abutted west upon Robert Marshall's 10 acres (Study Unit 2 Tract C), north upon Mary Holland's 12 acres (Study Unit 2 Tract O), and east upon the James River. Specifically, the boundaries of Passmore's patent abutted "Northward upon the Land of Mary Holland, Westward upon the bounds and limitts there determined & apponted, Southward upon the high way runing close to Goose hill marsh, and thence extending Northward 40 poles [660 feet], the said 40 pole being the breadth of the said 12 acres and the length from East to West 48 poles [792 feet] conteyning the just measure of 12 acres" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:359; Nugent 1969-1979:I:3; Patent Book 1:10-11).[117] Passmore also owned 16 acres (Study Unit 2 Tract H) that lay to the northwest, between the patents of John Senior I (Study Unit 2 Tract E) and John Southern (Study Unit 2 Tract G). Passmore resided on one of his patents and may have placed one or more indentured servants or a tenant upon the other.

On May 23, 1620, Thomas Passmore made his first known appearance in court when he testified about Captain Edward Brewster's court martial hearing, which was held by Deputy Governor Samuel Argoll in 1618. Twice during 1623 Passmore sought Governor Francis Wyatt's assistance in resolving problems that involved his purchasing an indentured servant named Valentine Osserby from a dying man's estate (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:359; IV:95, 284).

On February 16, 1624, Thomas Passmore was living in urban Jamestown in a household headed by John Southern, an experienced artisan the Society of Southampton Hundred sent to Virginia in 1620 to establish an ironworks and take charge of the plantation Society investors intended to establish (Hotten 1980:175; Ferrar MS 449; McIlwaine 1924:73). By June 24th, Passmore had married or his wife had joined him in the colony, for Mrs. Passmore was mentioned in a court case (McIlwaine 1924:15). In August Thomas Passmore testified in court and in late December 1624 he, John Southern (the owner of Study Unit 2 Tracts G and Q), and some other residents of eastern Jamestown Island took part in an inquiry into a local youngster's drowning death (McIlwaine 1924:18-19, 38). These events suggest that between February and December 1624 Passmore moved to one of his patents: Study Unit 2 Tracts D and H.

On January 24, 1625, when a muster was made of the colony's inhabitants, Thomas Passmore and his wife, Jane, were residing in rural Jamestown Island (as opposed to urban Jamestown) in a household that included three male servants in their early 20s: Thomas Kerfitt, Robert Julian, and John Buckmuster. The only personal information the muster-taker recorded about Thomas and Jane Passmore is that they had come to Virginia aboard the *George*. Thomas Passmore, as household head, was credited with a dwelling, 3 neat cattle, 10 swine, and an ample supply of corn, meal, peas, beans, and fish. Neither weapons nor defensive attire was on hand (Meyer et al. 1987:34).

In August 1625 Thomas Passmore and Christopher Hall aired a dispute before the General Court. John Southern testified that he had been

[117] Robert Marshall's patent for Tract C confirms the location of Passmore's land. Marshall's property abutted "Westerly on the land of Mary Bayly, Easterly on the land of Thomas Pasmore Carpenter, Southerly up on the highway adjoyning to the Marshes of Goose hill, and Westerly likewise upon the highway that parteth the same from the Land now in the occupacon of Elmer Phillipps" (Patent Book 1:92).

present when the litigants agreed to divide their tobacco crop into seven shares, with Passmore's receiving four. However, Passmore later demanded a larger share of the crop, alleging that Hall had contributed considerably less labor. Passmore indicated that instead of additional compensation, he would be satisfied with "a little peece of grounde to himselfe for his weife and his boy to plant and tend."[118] Hall, meanwhile, insisted upon holding to the original agreement. Ultimately, the court justices decided that Hall should receive his three shares of the year's tobacco crop and retain his land but that Passmore should have "the little hill now planted with pease and pompions" and some additional compensation if Hall failed to do his share of work (McIlwaine 1924:69).

On January 30, 1626, Thomas Passmore went to court to recover a debt from John Haul, who since August 22, 1625, had been in possession of Study Unit 2 Tract S. As the names of John and Christopher Hall (Haul) are intermingled in the court records involving Passmore, John and Christopher have been kin and/or sharing a piece of ground. On January 15th, John Hall signed a document, acknowledging that he owed a substantial quantity of tobacco to Thomas Passmore, whom he agreed to repay by November 1, 1626. Hall posted his dwelling and 4 acre patent as collateral, agreeing to forfeit them if he failed to repay Passmore. Hall died less than a month after signing the agreement and on February 6, 1626, his widow, Bridgett, signed her late husband's house and land over to Passmore. Hall's 4 acres (in a location analogous to Study Unit 2 Tract S) reportedly adjoined Passmore's land (Tract H) (McIlwaine 1924:69, 92-93). The unification of Tracts S and H gave Thomas Passmore an aggregate of 16 acres, which entity was mentioned in a land transaction that occurred 26 years later (Patent Book 1:158). Meanwhile, Passmore retained (but seemingly did not enhance the size of) his 12 acres (Tract D) near Passmore Creek.

[118] This is the only indication that Passmore had a son.

During late August 1626 Thomas Passmore's then wife, Joanne, went to court to confirm the indenture of a servant named Jeremy White (McIlwaine 1924:110). No further references to the Passmores have been found that postdate Thomas's January 24, 1629, appointment to a jury (McIlwaine 1924:110).

John Senior I

Sometime prior to November 5, 1654, ancient planter John Senior I acquired Tract D, which he combined with some marsh land and three other parcels bordering Passmore Creek (Study Unit 2 Tracts B, C, and T) into an aggregate of 150 acres (Patent Book 7:228-229; Nugent 1969-1979:II:252).[119] Senior, who prior to 1624 patented 12 acres on Jamestown Island (Study Unit 2 Tract E), eventually moved to Surry County, which he appears to have made his permanent home. In 1643 he surveyed the Rich Neck tract for Richard Kemp and produced a relatively detailed plat. Between 1644 and 1652 he patented three tracts of land in Surry County (two of which were near Jamestown) and he acquired some acreage along the north side of the Piankatank River, in what is now Middlesex County. For a time, he owned the Glasshouse tract on the mainland adjacent to Jamestown Island (Senior 1643; Nugent 1969-1979:I:190,221,225, 279; Ambler MS 78; Senior 1643; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1652-1672:112). The quantity of acreage Senior owned suggests that he was a successful planter of somewhat more than middling means. On November 5, 1654, John Senior I sold Edward Travis I his 150 acre parcel on the north side of Passmore Creek (Patent Book 7:228-229; Nugent 1969-1979:II:252).

[119] No patent for Senior's 150 acres has come to light. However, it is certain that his property was one of the several parcels encompassed by the 550 acres Edward Travis II patented in 1682. As all but one of those parcels have been linked to specific locations, it has been determined through the process of elimination that the Senior patent included the high land and marsh that extended along the upper side of Passmore Creek.

Edward Travis I

Edward Travis I, by purchasing John Senior I's 150 acre parcel on the north side of Passmore Creek, significantly enhanced the size of his plantation (Patent Book 7:228-229; Nugent 1969-1979:II:252).[120] At Edward I's death prior to February 1664, Study Unit 2 Tract D and his other Jamestown Island properties descended to his son and heir, Edward Travis II (Patent Book 5:342; Nugent 1969-1979:I:503).

Edward Travis II

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 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, Q, and S); the 70 acres he bought from Susanna Chiles (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U); John Senior'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). The boundaries of Edward Travis II's 550 acres were described as a whole. His "Devedend of Land & marsh" began "on James River att Black Poynt & runing up the river to the mouth of pasmore Creek & up it to cockets Neck Fork & up the northermost Branch thereof to the head, & thence to the mouth of the next Northermost Branch of the Marsh of the sd Creek & up the sd Branch to the head, thence by marked Trees S 82½ degrees Ely 9 chaine [297 feet] to a white oake, thence North 3 degrees Wly 22 & 1/4 Chain [734.25 feet] by another line of Marked Trees to a pine on pitch & Tarr Swamp and downe it to a marked oake on the upper side of the next Branch Issueing out of the sd Swamp, thence No: 42 degrees Ely 8 Chains [264 feet] to the head of Harmans [Harmer's or Kingsmill] Creek & downe it to back River & down the same to the place it began." Also included were 12 acres belonging to Mr. Holliday which Travis had obtained from William Champion on November 15, 1677 (Patent Book 7:228-229).

Edward Travis II 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 acres that extended from the east side of Kingsmill Creek to the north side of Passmore Creek, encompassing virtually all of Study Unit 2.

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently did not enhance the size of his property holdings on the island. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island plantation, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson Edward Champion

[120] Senior's deed conveying his 150 acres to Travis is no longer extant. However, the transaction is cited in Edward Travis II's 1682 patent (see ahead).

Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

Study Unit 2 Tract E

John Senior

Sometime prior to 1652 John Senior I patented 12 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 2 Tract E) to the south of John Southern's 12 acres (Study Unit 2 Tract Q) and west of the 16 acres owned by Thomas Passmore (Study Unit 2 Tract H) (Patent Book 1:158; Nugent 1969-1979:I:270-271). Senior eventually moved to Surry County, which he appears to have made his permanent home.

John Senior I was literate and in 1643 he surveyed the Rich Neck tract for Richard Kemp and produced a relatively detailed plat.[121] Between 1644 and 1652 he patented three pieces of land in Surry County (two of which were opposite Jamestown) and he acquired some acreage along the north side of the Piankatank River, in what is now Middlesex County. For a time, he owned the Glasshouse tract on the mainland adjacent to Jamestown Island (Senior 1643; Nugent 1969-1979:I:160, 190, 221, 225, 279; Ambler MS 78; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:112). The quantity of acreage Senior owned suggests that he was a successful planter of more than middling means.

Edward Travis I

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. 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. It was located "Near black Poynt" and was bounded "North upon the back river and East upon the Same, South upon the Land of Mr. Chyles [Tracts M, N, O, P, and U] and Goose hill Marsh and west upon David Ellis his land and Mr. Crosbys Land [Tract R]." Included were 12 acres patented by John Senior I (Tract E), 24 acres formerly granted to John Southern (Tracts G and Q), and 16 acres formerly 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 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-

[121] In 1646 he and another surveyor produced plats of the Governor's Land and Green Spring. Senior's Rich Neck plat is in the collections of the Virginia Historical Society, whereas his Governor's Land and Green Spring plats appear to have been lost or destroyed.

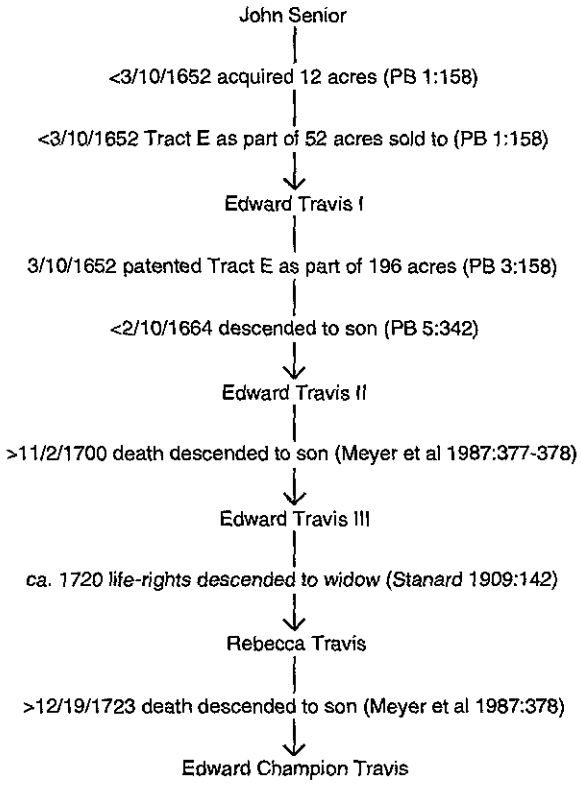


Figure 30. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract E.*

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).

Edward Travis II

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.

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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 his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

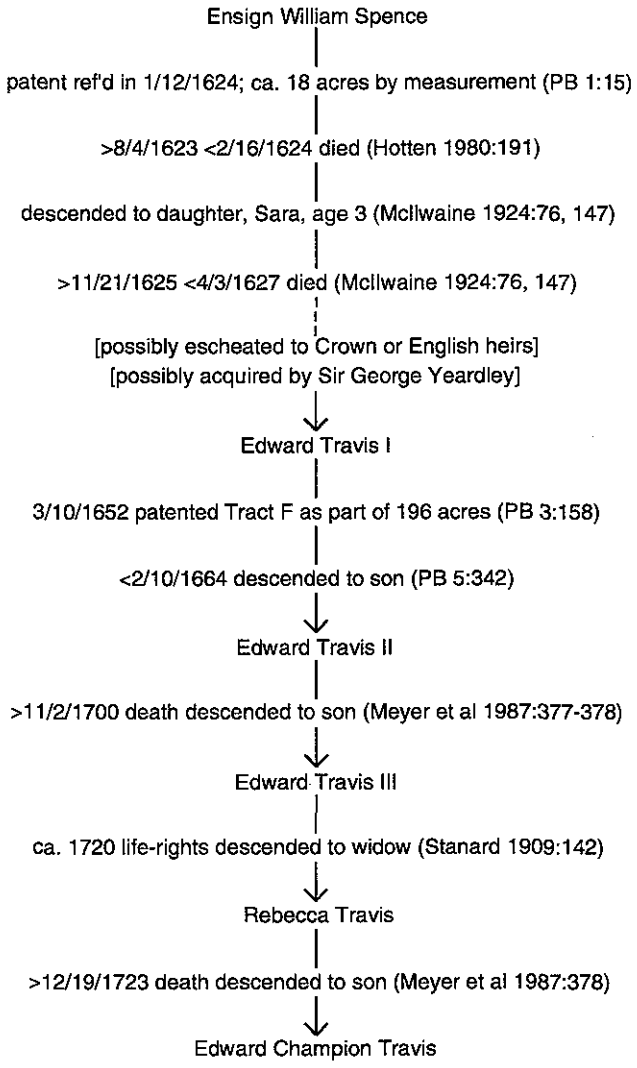


Figure 31. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract F.*

Study Unit 2 Tract F

William Spence

William Spence, an Ancient Planter, arrived in Virginia in 1608 in the First Supply. Captain John Smith variously described him as a laborer, farmer, and gentleman. In 1611, when the colony came under the leadership of Sir Thomas Dale, Spence reportedly was the first farmer to go forth to his own ground, which was located on Jamestown Island (Smith 1986:I:223,247; II:161). As Tract F is the only acreage with which Spence's name is associated, it may be the land he seated at a very early date. In January 1624 when yeoman John Johnson I secured a patent for the 15 acres he already occupied (Tract A),[122] reference was made to its abutting east upon Ensign William Spence's land (Nugent 1969-1979:I:4; Patent Book 1:15).[123] Therefore, the Spence property would have abutted north upon the Back River and extended east toward the James.

In July 1619 Ensign William Spence, who reputedly was honest and valiant, joined Captain William Powell in representing Jamestown in Virginia's first legislative assembly. Later in the year, Spence served as a tobacco-taster; that is, he was designated to sample the tobacco crop to evaluate its quality (Stanard 1965:52; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:153, 228).

In January 1619 (or 1620) Ensign William Spence and a partner named John Fowler secured a patent for 300 acres between Glebe and College Creeks, in Archer's Hope. Spence continued to reside upon Jamestown Island and probably placed indentured servants upon his acreage on the mainland, perhaps in a household headed by partner John Fowler. During the March 22, 1622, Indian uprising, five people at Spence's house in Archer's Hope reportedly were slain, including John Fowler. In May 1625 when a list of Virginia land patents was sent back to England, Ensign William Spence was still credited with 300 acres in Archer's Hope (Nugent 1969-1979:I:161; Patent Book 1:53; Smith 1986:II:302; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:570; IV:556).

On February 16, 1624, when a census was made of the colony's inhabitants, Ensign William Spence, his wife, and their infant were residing upon Jamestown Island. However, shortly thereafter Spence and his wife reportedly were "lost" and their names were included among those who perished during the year. The Spence couple's daughter, Sara, who survived, was entrusted to the care of a guardian, Mrs. Susan Bush, a 20-year-old widow and resident of Elizabeth City (Hotten 1980:178,191). In August 1624 John Johnson I (who then owned and occupied Tract A) was ordered to replace the roof of the late Ensign Spence's house and to repair his fences, in accord with an agreement the two men had made earlier on. Three months later, the General Court ordered Sara Spence's guardians to have her Archer's Hope property surveyed; Thomas Farley (a tenant) was in residence upon that property by late November 1625. The guardians apparently were slow to respond, for in October 1626 they were instructed to have the land laid out or be fined (Hotten 1980:249; McIlwaine 1924:19,27,42,76).

By April 3, 1627, six-year-old Sara Spence was dead and her legal guardians were ordered to inventory her estate (McIlwaine 1924:147). As she had neither siblings nor heirs, the late Ensign Will-

[122] Johnson's acreage, which contained his house, reportedly abutted "Eastward on the Land of Ensign William Spence deceased [Tract F], Westward upon a Marsh neare adjoyning, Northward upon the back river, and Southward upon the bounds and markes there appointed and determined."

[123] Direct measurement via AutoCAD suggests that Spence had a tract that encompassed at least 18 acres. The Spence patent has been lost.

iam Spence's landholdings on Jamestown and in Archer's Hope very probably escheated to the Crown. It is possible that Sir George Yeardley, who in 1625 gained possession of Study Unit 2 Tracts M and N at Black Point, managed to acquire the Spence property, which was very close at hand. Sara Spence's land in Archer's Hope was reassigned prior to 1646 (Nugent 1969-1979:I:161).

Edward Travis I

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. 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. It was located "Near black Poynt" and was bounded "North upon the back river and East upon the Same, South upon the Land of Mr. Chyles [Tracts M, N, O, P, and U] and Goose hill Marsh and west upon David Ellis his land and Mr. Crosbys Land [Tract R]." Included were 24 acres formerly granted to John Southern (Tracts G and Q), 12 acres patented by John Senior I (Tract E), and 16 acres formerly 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 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, 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 some 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).

Edward Travis II

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 1969-1979: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 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, Q, and S); the 70 acres he bought from Susanna Chiles

(Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U); John Senior'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.

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently didn't attempt to enhance the size of his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

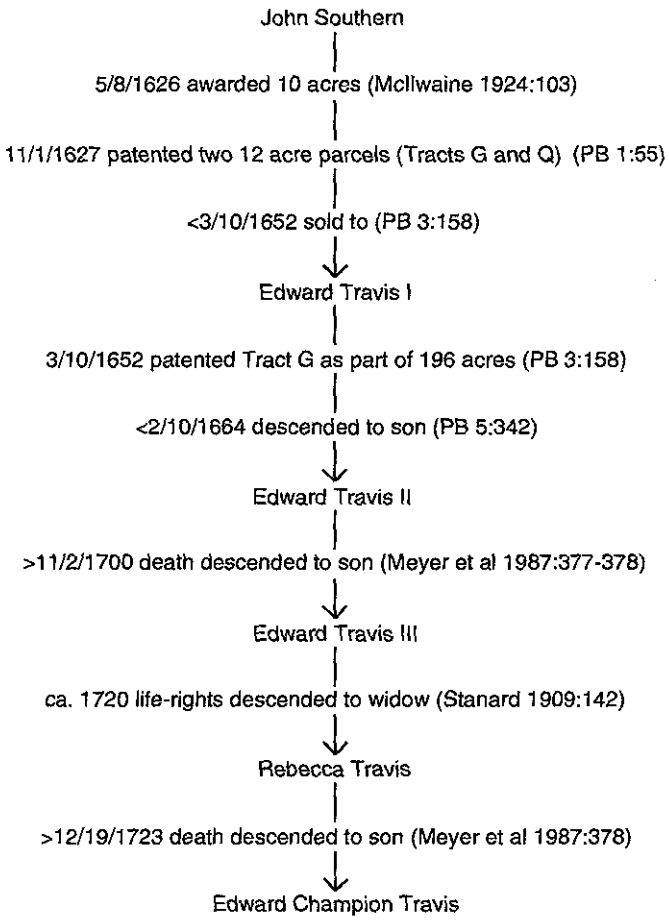


Figure 32. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract G.*

Study Unit 2 Tract G

John Southern

On May 8, 1626, the General Court awarded John Southern 50 acres of land under the headright system, for he had transported a man servant named William Soane to the colony in 1622. Southern indicated that he intended to take 10 of his 50 acres on Jamestown Island, using the remainder to patent 40 acres in Elizabeth City at Blunt Point (McIlwaine 1924:103).[124] By November 1, 1627, Southern had used half of his headright for William Soane to patent two 12 acre tracts on Jamestown Island: Tracts G and Q of Study Unit 2. John Southern's Tract G abutted "Southward on the land of Mary Holland the wife of Gabriel Holland [Tract O] and Northward on the land of John Johnson [Tract A], Eastward on a small marshe, and Westward coming neare unto the land of Thomas Passmore [Tract H]" (Patent Book 1:55; Nugent 1969-1979:I:8).

John Southern, who was from Tichfield, in Southampton County, England, was an experienced artisan. In 1620 he was sent to Virginia by the Society of Southampton Hundred to take charge of the plantation the Society's investors intended to establish (Hotten 1980:175; Ferrar MS 449; McIlwaine 1924:73). When he arrived in the colony, the governor sent him to the ironworks at Falling Creek, where he received several severe wounds.[125] Therefore, in August 1624 the adventurers of the Society of Southampton Hundred asked the Virginia's governing officials to allow John Southern, who was described as "old and weak," to return to England where he had a wife and children (McIlwaine 1924:74).

On February 16, 1624, John Southern was residing in urban Jamestown, where he headed a household that included two other males (Thomas Passmore and Andrew Ralye).[126] He was still there in January 1625 when a muster was made of the colony's inhabitants and was sharing his home with Thomas Crust, a man servant (Hotten 1980:175; Meyer et al. 1987:32). Southern may have begun developing his property in the eastern end of Jamestown Island by the Spring of 1625, for during the following summer he went to court several times to testify about events that had occurred there (McIlwaine 1924:55-56, 65, 69, 79, 102, 115). For example, in August 1625, he witnessed an agreement made by Thomas Passmore and Christopher Hall, who were associated with Study Unit 2 Tracts H and S. Southern, who was literate, frequently was called upon to serve as an attorney or administrator and sometimes he was ordered to inventory people's estates. As a burgess he represented the corporation of James City during 1623-1624, and in 1630 and 1632 (McIlwaine 1924:102, 117, 125, 143, 150, 165, 184, 198; Stanard 1965:53, 55-56). A March 1629 reference to John Southern's dwelling in urban Jamestown indicates that it was situated near the stocks, which were located close to (or perhaps within) the fort (McIlwaine 1924:190). Therefore, it is likely that by that date he had placed indentured servants upon his property in the eastern end of Jamestown Island or leased it to tenants.

Edward Travis I

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

[124] In May 1625 John Southern was credited with 40 acres below Blunt Point (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:551).

[125] These injuries may have occurred during the March 22, 1622, Indian uprising.

[126] Passmore, a carpenter, was associated with Study Unit 3 Tracts D and H and Ralye (Rawleigh) leased Study Unit 2 Tract T.

Chiles I. 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. It was located "Near black Poynt" and was bounded "North upon the back river and East upon the Same, South upon the Land of Mr. Chyles [Tracts M, N, O, P, and U] and Goose hill Marsh and west upon David Ellis his land and Mr. Crosbys Land [Tract R]." Included were 24 acres formerly granted to John Southern (Tracts G and Q), 12 acres patented by John Senior I (Tract E), and 16 acres formerly 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 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 some 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).

Edward Travis II

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 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, Q, and S); the 70 acres he bought from Susanna Chiles (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U); John Senior'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 acres that extended from the east side of Kingsmill Creek to the north side of Passmore Creek, encompassing virtually all of Study Unit 2.

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Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

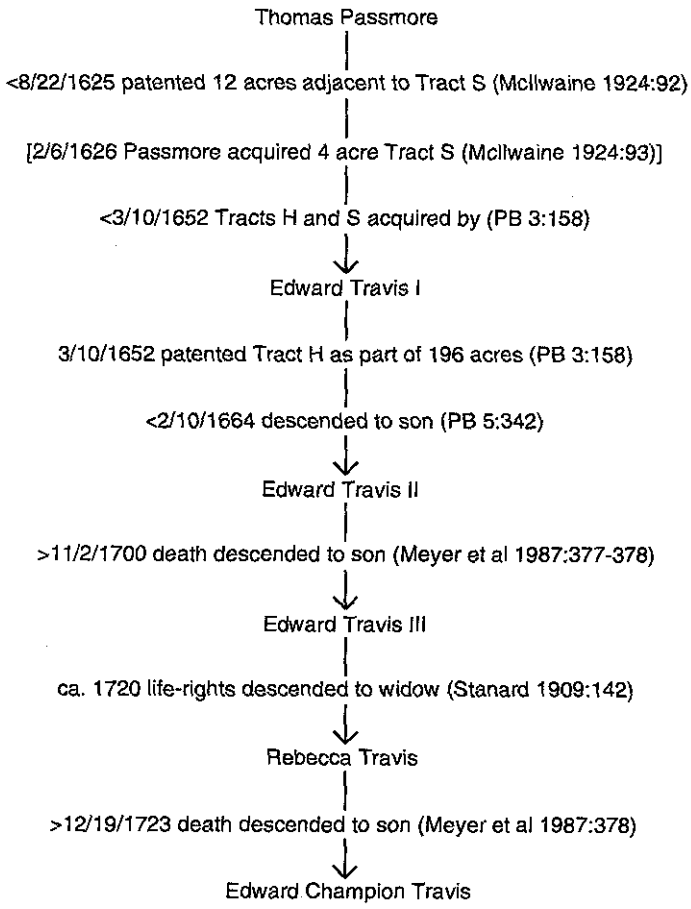


Figure 33. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract H.*

Study Unit 2 Tract H

Thomas Passmore

Thomas Passmore (Parsemore), a carpenter who immigrated to Virginia sometime prior to 1618, acquired 12 acres (Study Unit 2 Tract H) that lay between the patents of John Senior I (Study Unit 2 Tract E) and John Southern (Study Unit 2 Tract G).[127] Southern's Tract G abutted "Southward on the land of Mary Holland the wife of Gabriel Holland [Tract O] and Northward on the land of John Johnson [Tract A], Eastward on a small marshe, and Westward coming neare unto the land of Thomas Passmore [Tract H]" (Patent Book 1:55; Nugent 1969-1979:I:8). On August 14, 1624, Passmore patented 12 acres (Study Unit 2 Tract D) that lay to the southeast, property that abutted west upon Robert Marshall's 10 acres (Study Unit 2 Tract C), north upon Mary Holland's 12 acres (Study Unit 2 Tract O), and east upon the James River (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:359; Nugent 1969-1979:I:3, 271; Patent Book 1:10-11; 3:158).

On May 23, 1620, Thomas Passmore made his first known appearance in court when he testified about Captain Edward Brewster's court martial hearing, which was held by Deputy Governor Samuel Argoll in 1618. Twice during 1623 Passmore sought Governor Francis Wyatt's assistance in resolving problems that involved his purchasing an indentured servant named Valentine Osserby from a dying man's estate (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:359; IV:95, 284).

On February 16, 1624, Thomas Passmore was living in urban Jamestown in a household headed by John Southern, an experienced artisan the Society of Southampton Hundred sent to Virginia in 1620 to establish an ironworks and take charge of the plantation Society investors intended to establish (Hotten 1980:175; Ferrar MS 449; McIlwaine 1924:73). By June 24th, Passmore had married or his wife had joined him in the colony, for Mrs. Passmore was mentioned in a court case (McIlwaine 1924:15). In August Thomas Passmore testified in court and in late December 1624 he, John Southern (the owner of Study Unit 2 Tracts G and Q), and some other eastern Jamestown Island residents participated in an inquiry into a local youngster's drowning death (McIlwaine 1924:18-19, 38). These events suggest that between February and December 1624 Passmore moved to one of his patents: Study Unit 2 Tracts H and D.

On January 24, 1625, when a muster was made of the colony's inhabitants, Thomas Passmore and his wife, Jane, were residing in rural Jamestown Island (as opposed to urban Jamestown) in a household that included three male servants in their early 20s: Thomas Kerfitt, Robert Julian, and John Buckmuster. The only personal information the muster-taker recorded about Thomas and Jane Passmore is that they had come to Virginia aboard the *George*. Thomas Passmore, as household head, was credited with a dwelling, 3 neat cattle, 10 swine, and an ample supply of corn, meal, peas, beans, and fish. Neither weapons nor defensive attire was on hand (Meyer et al. 1987:34).

In August 1625 Thomas Passmore and Christopher Hall aired a dispute before the General Court. John Southern, who then owned Study Unit 2 Tracts G and Q, testified that he had been present when the litigants agreed to divide their tobacco crop into seven shares, with Passmore's receiving four. However, Passmore later demanded a larger share of the crop, alleging that Hall had contributed considerably less labor. Passmore indicated that instead of additional compensation, he would be satisfied with "a little peece of grounde to himselfe for his weife and his boy to plant and

[127] Passmore's original patent has been lost but its size and configuration are inferred by the boundary descriptions of adjacent properties.

tend."[128] Hall, meanwhile, insisted upon holding to the original agreement. Ultimately, the court justices decided that Hall should receive his three shares of the year's tobacco crop and retain his land but that Passmore should have "the little hill now planted with pease and pompions" and some additional compensation if Hall failed to do his share of work (McIlwaine 1924:69).[129]

On January 30, 1626, Thomas Passmore went to court to recover a debt from his neighbor, John Hall (Haul), who since August 22, 1625, had been in legal possession of Study Unit 2 Tract S.[130] Court testimony dating to January 30, 1626, reveals that Hall, a year or more prior to receiving a legal title to the property, had used it as collateral when securing a debt to his neighbor, Thomas Passmore, whom he promised to repay by November 1, 1626. As Hall died before paying what he owed, on February 6, 1626, his widow, Bridgett, was obliged to assign her late husband's house and land to Passmore (McIlwaine 1924:69, 92-93). The unification of Tracts H and S gave Thomas Passmore an aggregate of 16 acres, which entity was mentioned in a land transaction that occurred 26 years later (Patent Book 1:158).

During late August 1626 Thomas Passmore's then wife, Joanne,[131] went to court to confirm the indenture of a servant named Jeremy White (McIlwaine 1924:110). No further references to the Passmores have been found that postdate Thomas's January 24, 1629, appointment to a jury (McIlwaine 1924:110).

Edward Travis I

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. 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. It was located "Near black Poynt" and was bounded "North upon the back river and East upon the Same, South upon the Land of Mr. Chyles [Tracts M, N, O, P, and U] and Goose hill Marsh and west upon David Ellis his land and Mr. Crosbys Land [Tract R]." Included were 24 acres formerly granted to John Southern (Tracts G and Q), 12 acres patented by John Senior I (Tract E), and 16 acres formerly belonging to Thomas Passmore (Tracts S and 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.

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[128] This is the only indication that Passmore had a son.

[129] By 1627 Christopher Hall had married and moved to Archer's Hope, where he and his volatile wife, Amy, had angry and physically violent disagreements with his partner, William Harman. One official termed Hall a "Newgate bird" and his wife, "a Bridewell whore" (McIlwaine 1924:153,166).

[130] As the names of John and Christopher Hall (Haul) are intermingled in contemporary court records involving Passmore, John and Christopher may have been kin and/or sharing a piece of ground.

[131] It is uncertain whether Thomas Passmore's wife, Jane, to whom he was wed in January 1624, was mis-identified as Joanne or whether he had remarried.

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).

Edward Travis II

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 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, Q, and S); the 70 acres he bought from Susanna Chiles (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U); John Senior'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.

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently did not enhance the size of his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

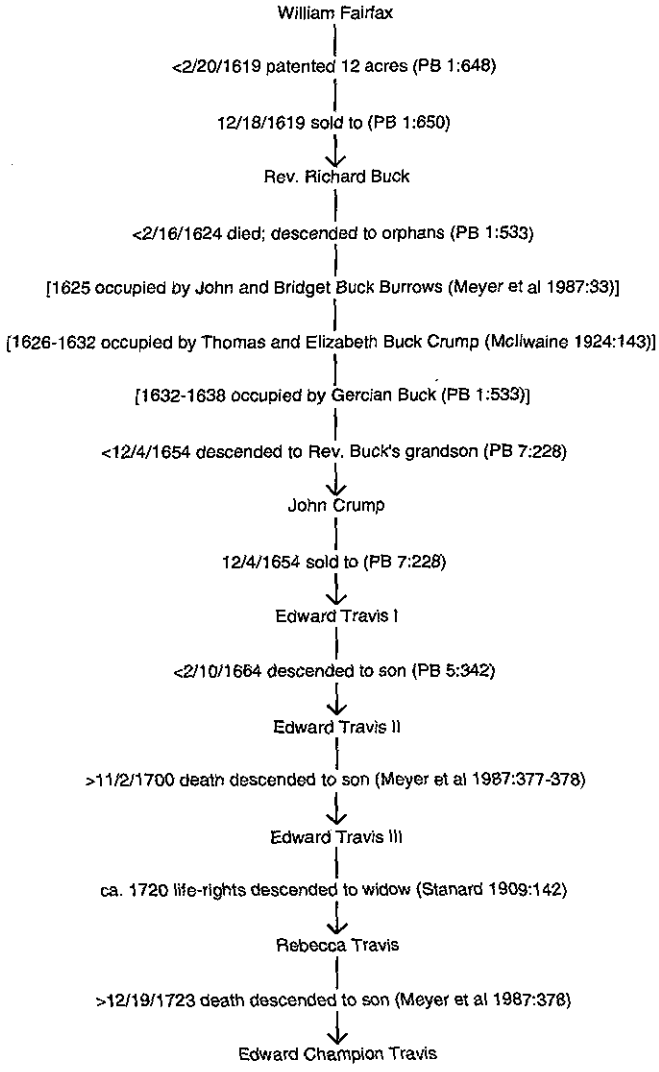


Figure 34. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract I.*

Study Unit 2 Tract I

William (Winster) Fairfax (Fierfax, Fairefax, Fax)

Ancient planter William Fairfax, who immigrated to Virginia in 1611, was a yeoman farmer. He built a house upon a 12 acre parcel in the eastern part of Jamestown Island, land for which he received a patent on February 20, 1619. Fairfax's 12 acres "about the now Mansion howse," abutted "East upon Tuckers hole, west upon a greene Thickett parting Mary Baylys land now in the possession of Robert Evans [Study Unit 2 Tract K],... South upon a narrow swamp which devideth from the same the Land of Joakim Andrews and John Grubb [Study Unit 2 Tract L], and North upon Richard Kingsmills Creeke" [the eastern boundary of Study Unit 1 Tract A]." Fairfax and his wife, Margery, as ancient planters, together were entitled to 200 acres of land as their first dividend. William Fairfax's February 20, 1619, patent indicates that he and his wife came to Virginia as a married couple (Nugent 1969-1979:I:109; Patent Book 1:648-649).

According to Captain John Smith, one Sunday in 1617, while William Fairfax was at church, some fugitive Indians paid a visit to his house, where they killed three children and a youth. Mrs. Fairfax, who had left home and gone to meet her husband, was spared. Smith indicated that the Fairfax dwelling was a mile from Jamestown (Smith 1986:II:265). As Tract I is approximately a mile from the church at Jamestown and as it is the only parcel attributable to the Fairfaxes during the 16-teens, the Indians may have ventured onto Jamestown Island to make their attack.[132]

On December 18, 1620, William Fairfax sold his 12 acres on Jamestown Island to the Rev. Richard Buck, rector of the church at Jamestown, noting that the land being conveyed contained "my dwelling howse and my other little howse thereto adjoining." Fairfax, who had gone to Kicoughtan, promised to send his original patent to Buck (Nugent 1969-1979:I:109-110; Patent Book 1:650).

On March 22, 1622, when the Indians of the Powhatan Chiefdom made a concerted effort to drive the colonists from their territory, William Fairfax was killed. As his death occurred at Ensign William Spence's house in Archer's Hope, where Fairfax had patents of 100 acres and 200 acres, Fairfax may have moved to that area after selling Tract I to the Rev. Richard Buck (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:570; IV:551, 556).

Rev. Richard Buck

The Rev. Richard Buck, who left England in June 1609 in the Third Supply of new colonists, was with Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers aboard the *Seaventure* when it wrecked in Bermuda. In May 1610 Buck arrived at Jamestown, where he replaced the late Rev. Robert Hunt as rector. In July 1619 when the colony's first assembly was held, Buck served as chaplain (Meyer et al. 1987:140; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:153; Lefroy 1981:I:694).

As rector of the church at Jamestown, Buck had use of the James City Parish glebe, which contained 100 acres and was laid out during 1619. However, Buck, as a private citizen, patented 750 acres in Archer's Hope, part of which accrued to him and his wife as ancient planters (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:555). Even so, the Bucks apparently preferred to live on Jamestown Island, for on December 18, 1620, they purchased William Fairfax's 12 acres (Tract I), which had two houses (Patent Book 1:650; Nugent 1969-1979:I:109-

[132] According to Captain John Smith, the assault was made in retaliation for some duplicity on the part of traders. Thus, the Fairfax household probably was not singled out deliberately.

110). While the Buck couple resided on Tract I, their household included their four young children and however many indentured servants they had (Meyer et al. 1987:32-33).

During 1621 and 1622 the Rev. Richard Buck informed officials in England that he hadn't received his pay as rector. He also indicated that all but one of his servants' contracts had expired and that he needed funds to procure more workers. References to Buck's business transactions reveal that he was a successful planter, who derived income from the cultivation of tobacco (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:597; III:443, 461; McIlwaine 1924:36; Ferrar MS 241).

The Rev. Richard Buck and his wife died sometime after February 1622 but before April 1623, unless their names were omitted from a list of those who perished after the latter date. On February 16, 1624, when a census was made of the colony's inhabitants, all of the Bucks' minor children were living in Jamestown in a foster home: that of the widowed Mary Astomb (Ascomb) (Hotten 1980:175). Some of the deceased minister's servants may have continued to occupy his 12 acres on Jamestown Island (Tract I).

From ca. 1623 to 1654 the Rev. Richard Buck's estate was kept intact, seemingly on account of the terms of his will. Documents associated with a 1655 court case reveal that although Buck's daughters, Bridget and Elizabeth, had life-rights in their father's property, sons Benomi, Gercian, and Peleg were his reversionary heirs (Hening 1809-1823:I:405). In late 1654, when the last of the Buck brothers died, the Rev. Richard Buck's only grandson became his ultimate heir (Patent Book 1:306).

The Buck Heirs

John and Bridget Buck Burrows (Burrowes)

On January 24, 1625, the Rev. Richard Buck's married daughter, Bridget, and her husband, ancient planter John Burrows, were living in Jamestown with Bridget's 13-year-old sister, Mara, and seven servants. Records of the General Court suggest that Mara Buck was mentally retarded or had a serious learning disability. However, as a young heiress, she was a sought-after marriage partner (McIlwaine 1924:15). Some of the Burrows' servants (or servants of the late Rev. Richard Buck) probably were in residence upon Bridget's parents' Jamestown Island farmstead (Tract I), for the Buck orphans owned a large herd of livestock that included were 30 cattle and 23 goats. In January 1625 John Burrows (Mara Buck's legal guardian) was credited with two houses, perhaps those which stood upon Tract I (Meyer et al. 1987:33).[133]

John Burrows, who was considered a gentleman, by January 24, 1625, had patented and seated a 150 acre tract he called Burrows Hill, which was located in what became Surry County (Meyer et al. 1987:38). In August 1626 he sought (and received) permission to relocate to the Neck O'Land so that he could tend to the orphaned Mara Buck's cattle (McIlwaine 1924:109). It may have been then that the Burrows' vacated Tract I.[134]

Thomas and Elizabeth Buck Crump (Crompe, Crumfort, Crampe)

The Rev. Richard Buck's daughter, Elizabeth, who may have immigrated to Virginia a year or so after

[133] Richard Kingsmill, another Buck guardian, then occupied the orphans' property on the Neck O'Land, where he was credited with their five houses (Meyer et al. 1987:36).

[134] Late in 1628 John Burrows succumbed to a stab wound he received during an altercation with a servant boy at Blunt Point (McIlwaine 1924:183). His widow, Bridget Buck Burrows, married William Davis sometime prior to March 27, 1643, and after his death wed John Bromfield (Patent Book 4:31; Meyer et al 1987:143; Hening 1809-1823:I:405). In 1655, after Bridget's decease, her widower, John Bromfield, brought suit against her sister, Elizabeth Buck Crump, in an attempt to recover her legal interest in the late Rev. Richard Buck's property in the Neck O'Land. It was then determined that Bridget had had only a life estate (Hening 1809-1823:I:405).

her parents' death,[135] married Sergeant Thomas Crump around 1625 (Meyer et al. 1987:224). Although Crump in February 1624 was living on the Eastern Shore, by January 24, 1625, he had moved to Jamestown Island, where he shared a dwelling with John West.[136] It was around that time that Crump began taking an active role in public life (Hotten 1980:188; Meyer et al. 1987:34; McIlwaine 1924: 44, 143, 153, 183, 187, 189-190, 201).

At least one of the Rev. Richard Buck's structures on Tract I was still standing in September 10, 1627. When Henry Soothey's widow, Elizabeth, was assigned some land in Jamestown Island (Study Unit 2 Tract R), her acreage was described as being "in the garden near James City adjoining to Mr. Buck's house" (McIlwaine 1924:152). As Thomas Crump and his wife, Elizabeth, were residents of Jamestown Island from the mid-1620s until early 1632 and apparently did not own land there, the possibility exists that they occupied Tract I, which was still part of the Rev. Richard Buck's estate. Crump represented Jamestown in the assembly's February 1632 session, but in September commenced serving as the Neck O'Land's delegate (Nugent 1969-1979:II:252; Patent Book 7:228; Stanard 1965:56-57; McIlwaine 1924:143).

Gercian (Gercyon) Buck

Gercian Buck, who was approximately 8-years-old when his parents died, spent almost all of his life on Jamestown Island. In February 1624 he was residing in Mrs. Mary Ascomb's home and by January 1625 he was living with blacksmith John Jackson, one of his guardians and the owner of Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A (Hotten 1980:175; Meyer et al. 1987:32). In 1636, when Gercian turned 21, his brother-in-law Thomas Crump, sold him 500 acres in the Neck O'Land. At that time, Gercian Buck was described as a resident of Jamestown Island (Patent Book 1:533; Nugent 1969-1979:I:83). This raises the possibility that Gercian occupied Tract I after the Crumps relocated to the Neck O'Land. Gercian Buck died sometime prior to May 29, 1638, at which point his brother and heir, Peleg, repatented his property in the Neck O'Land (Patent Book 1:532; Nugent 1969-1979:I:83).

John Crump (Crampe, Crumfort)

On December 4, 1654, Thomas and Elizabeth Buck Crump's son, John, sold his late grandfather's 12 acre parcel on Jamestown Island (Tract I) to Edward Travis I (Nugent 1969-1979:II:252; Patent Book 7:228).[137] By that date, all three of the Rev. Richard Buck's sons (Benomi, Gercian, and Peleg) were dead and John Crump, as his grandson and the only surviving male heir, would have been legally able to dispose of the property (Nugent 1969-1979:I:299; Patent Book 3:306).

Edward Travis I

Edward Travis I, who on December 4, 1654, purchased the late Rev. Richard Buck's 12 acre parcel on Jamestown Island, added to the size of his plantation. By that date, Travis already owned Tracts B, C, D, E, F, G, H, L, Q, S, T, and W (Nugent 1969-1979:II:252; Patent Book 7:228-229).[138] At Edward Travis I's death prior to February 1664, Study Unit 2 Tract I and his other Jamestown Island properties descended to his son and heir, Edward Travis II (Patent Book 5:342; Nugent 1969-1979:I:503).

[135] Elizabeth's name is not included in the 1624 census, the 1625 muster or extant records predating those tabulations.

[136] This individual should not be confused with Lord Delaware's brother, John West.

[137] This transaction was cited in Travis's patent but no further information was provided.

[138] On March 10, 1652, he patented 196 acres on Jamestown Island: Study Unit 2 Tracts E, F, G, H, Q, and S, plus some acreage south and west of Tract E. (Patent Book 3:158; Nugent 1969-1979:I:270-271). It was on this 196 acre tract that Edward Travis I built

Edward Travis II

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 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, Q, and S); the 70 acres he bought from Susanna Chiles (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U); John Senior'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.

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently didn't enhance the size of his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca 1780]).

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his home (Patent Book 3:8; Nugent 1969-1979:I:231). On March 10, 1653, Travis 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." (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 (Crumfort) (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 some marsh and arable land north of Passmore Creek) purchased Tract A (Patent Book 3:8, 158; Nugent 1969-1979:I:270-271, 531; II:252; Meyer et al. 1987:224).

Study Unit 2 Tract J

John Jefferson

John Jefferson, a gunsmith, came to Virginia aboard the *Bona Nova* as a servant of the Virginia Company of London. On February 16, 1624, he was living in Elizabeth City (Hotten 1980:183; McIlwaine 1924:57,136-137).[139] By January 24, 1625, John Jefferson and Walgrave Marks (who appears to have been free) were residing together on Jamestown Island, perhaps on the fringe of the urbanized area (Hotten 1980:226; Meyer et al. 1987:33). In January 1625 Marks testified about an agreement he had witnessed between Thomas Passmore and John Hall, who were associated with Study Unit 2 Tracts H and S, in the eastern end of Jamestown Island (McIlwaine 1924:92).

On May 2, 1625, a warrant was issued for John Jefferson's arrest because he allegedly had eloped with Captain Ralph Hamor's (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot G) maid servant. In early January 1626 Jefferson was hauled into court, where he was censured for the deficiencies of his work as a gunsmith. Jefferson was ordered to pay Dr. John Pott (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D) for providing medical treatment to Henry Booth, whose gun barrel he'd repaired, and to contribute toward Booth's maintenance during convalescence from an eye injury. The justices noted that they had been lenient in punishing Jefferson because the gun barrel was defective to begin with and he was "a poore man and A Tenant to the Company" (McIlwaine 1924:84).

In mid-January 1627, when the Governor's Council decided what to do with the defunct Virginia Company's indentured servants whose contracts hadn't expired, John Jefferson was assigned to Captain Francis West, a councillor (McIlwaine 1924:136-137). It is uncertain when Jefferson was freed. No other information about John Jefferson has come to light. However, in 1664 when a plat was made of John Knowles' acreage abutting Back Street (Study Unit 1 Tract D), the name "Jno Jefferson" was inscribed at a location just east of Orchard Run, analogous to Study Unit 2 Tract J (Ambler MS 135-136).[140] This raises the possibility that he acquired land there (and perhaps set up shop) after gaining his freedom.

Edward Travis II

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's 150 acres (Study Unit 2 Tracts B, C, and D 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 some land that lay along the east side of Kingsmill Creek (Study Unit 2 Tracts J, K, R, and V) (Patent Book 7:228-229). This gave him and his descendants approximately 802 3/4 acres that encompassed the eastern end of Jamestown Island, to the east of Kingsmill Creek and to the north of Passmore Creek. Thus, the

[1] This individual should not be confused with the John Jefferson, who was an ancient planter, burgess, and gentleman. Burgess John Jefferson was awarded a 250 acre patent in Archer's Hope, which he abandoned upon moving to the West Indies (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:551,556; McIlwaine 1924:173). When his will was presented for probate in October 1647, he was described as a boyer or member of the upper class (Withington 1980:412).

[140] During the 1680s a blacksmith named William Briscoe had a smithery at the mouth of Orchard Run (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:174; Ambler MS 134).

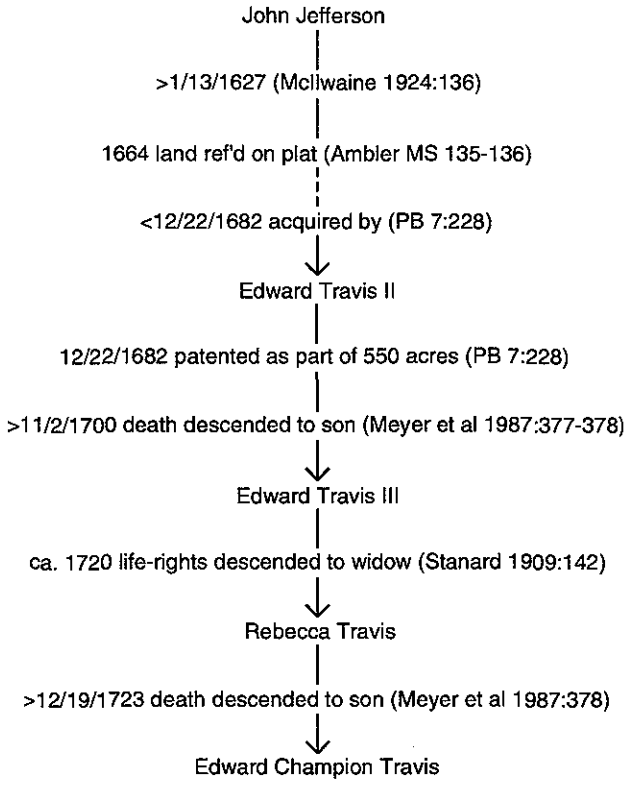


Figure 35. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract J.*

Travis plantation embraced virtually all of Study Unit 2.

In 1682 the boundaries of Edward Travis II's 550 acres were described as a whole. His "Devedend of Land & marsh" was bounded "on James River att Black Poynt & runing up the river to the mouth of pasmore Creek & up it to cockets Neck Fork & up the northermost Branch thereof to the head, & thence to the mouth of the next Northermost Branch of the Marsh of the sd Creek & up the sd Branch to the head, thence by marked Trees S 82½ degrees Ely 9 chaine [297 feet] to a white oake, thence North 3 degrees Wly 22 & 1/4 Chain [734.25 feet] by another line of Marked Trees to a pine on pitch & Tarr Swamp and downe it to a marked oake on the upper side of the next Branch Issueing out of the sd Swamp, thence No: 42 degrees Ely 8 Chains [264 feet] to the head of Harmans [Kingsmill][141] Creek & downe it to back River & down the same to the place it began." Also included were 12 acres belonging to Mr. Holliday which Travis had acquired from William Champion on November 15, 1677. The Travis patent included 326 acres that had been acquired earlier on, plus several other parcels: 150 acres that had been bought from John Senior I on November 5, 1654; 12 acres that had been purchased from John

[141] The name "Harmans" or Harmer's may be derived from that of Ann Soothey Harmer, who stood to inherit Study Unit 2 Tract V, or Jane Kingsmill Harmer of Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot A.

Crumfort (Crump) on December 4, 1654; 15 acres acquired from John Johnson (II) on August 8, 1659; 70 acres bought from Mrs. Susanna Chiles on August 7, 1672; and 12 acres procured from William Champion on November 15, 1677 (Patent Book 7:228-229).

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently didn't enhance the size of his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson may have shared the family home until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, what during the eighteenth century was known as the Piney Grove tract (Thompson [ca.1780]).

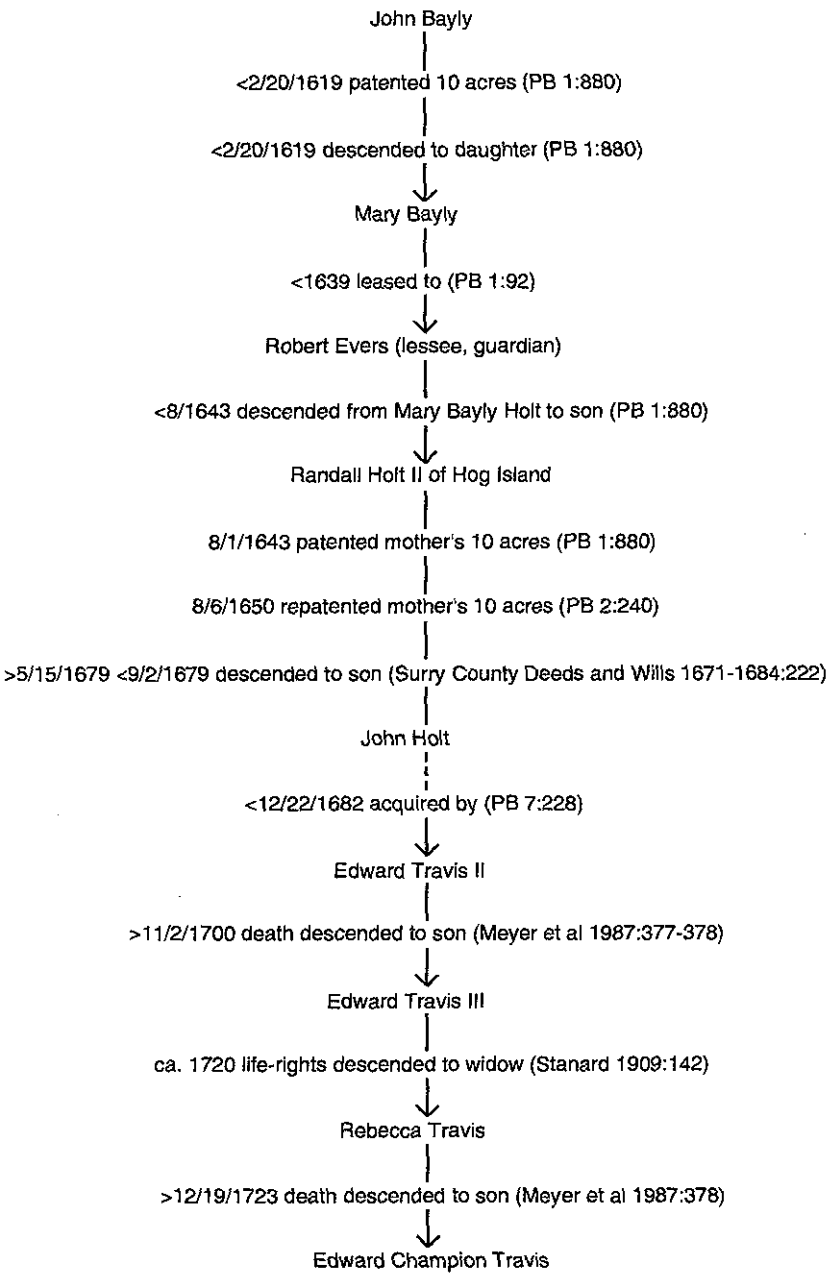


Figure 36. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract K.*

Study Unit 2 Tract K

John Bayly (Bailey, Bayley, Baley, Bailye)

Ancient planter John Bayly of Hog Island acquired acreage in this vicinity before 1618. At his death (sometime prior to February 20, 1619) his Virginia land descended to his daughter, Mary, who also was an ancient planter and resident of Hog Island (Patent Book 1:880; Nugent 1969-1979:I:143; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:556). Although the late John Bayly's original patent no longer exists, in 1619 daughter Mary's eastern boundary line was referenced in a claim for neighboring Study Unit 2 Tract I (Patent Book 1:648, 880; Nugent 1969-1979:I:109, 143).

Mary Bayly (Mrs. Randall Holt I)

The land inherited by Mary Bayly, a minor and the daughter of the late John Bayly, was managed successively by her guardians, Robert Evers and Richard Bailye, and Bailye's successor, Edward Grindon, who placed it in the hands of tenants. The patent of William Fairfax, who in 1619 owned Study Unit 2 Tract I, reveals that Robert Evers was then in residence upon Mary Bayly's Tract K, which abutted Fairfax's western boundary line. Likewise, the August 1, 1643, patent of Randall Holt II (Mary Bayly's son) for Study Unit 2 Tract K notes that Robert Epers (Evers) lately had occupied a dwelling house on the property (McIlwaine 1924:17, 122; Patent Book 1:648, 880; Nugent 1969-1979:I:109, 143).

The heiress Mary Bayly married Randall Holt I sometime prior to 1629. Holt, who immigrated to Virginia in 1621 and in February 1624 was an indentured servant in Dr. John Pott's household in Jamestown, was age 18 in 1625. According to a determination made by the General Court, Holt was to serve Pott until January 8, 1628, at which time he was to be given his freedom dues: a suit of clothes and three barrels of corn (Meyer et al. 1987:367; Hotten 1980:174; McIlwaine 1924:98).

Randall I and Mary Bayly Holt resided upon Hog Island, on part of the acreage that had descended to her from her late father. At Mary's death, which occurred prior to August 1, 1643, her son, Randall Holt II, inherited the land that had descended to her from her father (Meyer et al. 1987:367; Nugent 1969-1979:I:143; Patent Book 1:880).

Randall Holt II

On August 1, 1643, Randall Holt II repatented the land he had inherited from his mother and on August 6, 1650, renewed his entitlement to the property. Holt's 1650 patent renewal made reference to the dwelling lately occupied by Robert Epers (Evers), which was located upon the property (Nugent 1969-1979:I:197; Patent Book 2:240. Randall Holt II died between May 15 and September 2, 1679, at which point all of his land descended to his eldest son, John Holt I (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:222).

John Holt I

John Holt I, who was born in ca. 1664, was only 15-years-old when father died in 1679 (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:222). Like his parents, he resided on the lower side of the James River in Surry County. A December 22, 1682, patent for some acreage that enveloped Tract K suggests that by that date John (or a guardian) had disposed of his acreage on Jamestown Island (Nugent 1969-1979:II:252; Patent Book 7:228-229).

John Holt I matured and married but seems to have suffered from mental illness, for official records note that he "labour'd long under a very

great Indisposition of Mind." Ultimately, in 1705 he "layd violent hands upon himself" and took his own life. Although a Surry County coroner's jury noted that under the law John Holt I's estate should escheat to the Crown, Governor Edward Nott interceded on behalf of the decedent's five orphaned children. As a result, on January 7, 1706, Queen Anne restored the late John Holt I's estate to his heirs (Meyer et al 1987:368).

Edward Travis II

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's 150 acres (Study Unit 2 Tracts B, C, and D 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 some land that lay along the east side of Kingsmill Creek (Study Unit 2 Tracts J, K, R, and V) (Patent Book 7:228-229). This gave him and his descendants approximately 802 3/4 acres that encompassed the eastern end of Jamestown Island, to the east of Kingsmill Creek and to the north of Passmore Creek. Thus, the Travis plantation embraced virtually all of Study Unit 2.

In 1682 the boundaries of Edward Travis II's 550 acres were described as a whole. His "Devedend of Land & marsh" was bounded "on James River att Black Poynt & runing up the river to the mouth of pasmore Creek & up it to cockets Neck Fork & up the northermost Branch thereof to the head, & thence to the mouth of the next Northermost Branch of the Marsh of the sd Creek & up the sd Branch to the head, thence by marked Trees S 82½ degrees Ely 9 chaine [297 feet] to a white oake, thence North 3 degrees Wly 22 & 1/4 Chain [734.25 feet] by another line of Marked Trees to a pine on pitch & Tarr Swamp and downe it to a marked oake on the upper side of the next Branch Issueing out of the sd Swamp, thence No: 42 degrees Ely 8 Chains [264 feet] to the head of Harmans [Kingsmill] Creek & downe it to back River & down the same to the place it began." Also included were 12 acres belonging to Mr. Holliday which Travis had acquired from William Champion on November 15, 1677. The Travis patent included 326 acres that had been acquired earlier on, plus several other parcels: 150 acres that had been bought from John Senior on November 5, 1654; 12 acres that had been purchased from John Crumfort [Crump] on December 4, 1654; 15 acres acquired from John Johnson (II) on August 8, 1659; 70 acres bought from Mrs. Susanna Chiles on August 7, 1672; and 12 acres procured from William Champion on November 15, 1677 (Patent Book 7:228-229).

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently didn't enhance the size of his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson may have shared the family home until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, what during the eighteenth century was known as the Piney Grove tract (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

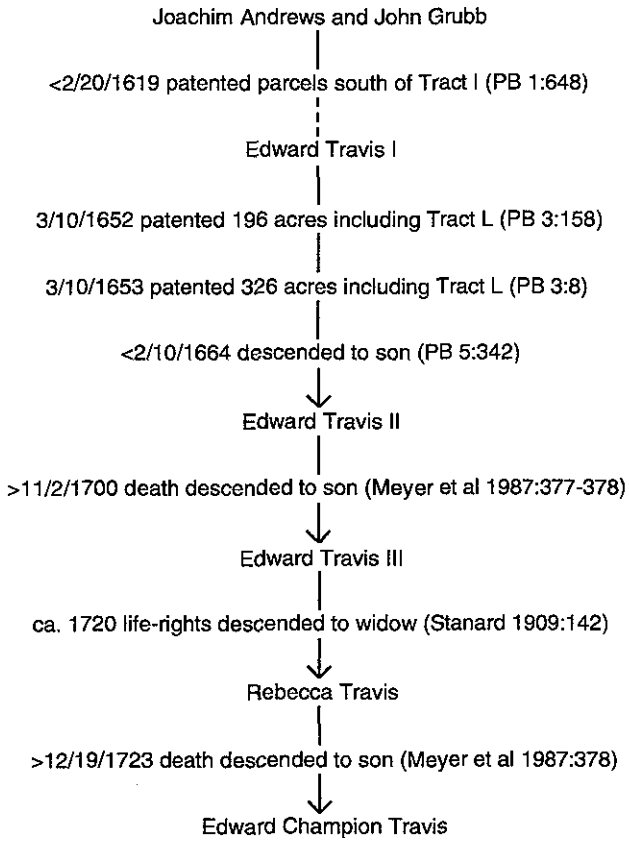


Figure 37. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract L.*

Study Unit 2 Tract L

Joachim (Jocomb, Joakim, Jockey, Jenkin) Andrews (Anndrews)

Joachim Andrews, an ancient planter, patented acreage to the south of William Fairfax's land claim (Tract I) sometime prior to February 20, 1619, perhaps sharing his property with John Grubb. Although Andrews' patent no longer is extant, Fairfax's February 20, 1619, claim stated that his 12 acres "about the now Mansion howse" abutted "East upon Tuckers hole, west upon a greene Thickett parting Mary Baylys land now in the possession of Robert Evans [Study Unit 2 Tract K],... South upon a narrow swamp which devideth from the same the Land of Joakim Andrews and John Grubb [Study Unit 2 Tract L], and North upon Richard Kingsmills Creeke [the eastern boundary of Study Unit 1 Tract A]" (Nugent 1969-1979:I:109; Patent Book 1:648-649; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:552).

Joachim Andrews and John Grubb each had 100 acre patents in the area known as Archer's Hope (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:551). Joachim (or "Jockey") Andrews' acreage there eventually became known as Jockey's Neck. On February 16, 1624, Andrews and his wife were living in Jamestown's New Towne, where they were members of Captain William Peirce's household (Hotten 1980:174). In 1625, the name of Joachim Andrews was included among those who had died in Pasbehay (Meyer et al. 1987:28). There is no evidence that Andrews or his wife produced heirs. However, an August 1650 patent for an adjacent piece of property (Tract K), made reference to William Fairfax's patent (Tract I) and the land "lately belonging to Jenkin Andrews (Tract L) (Nugent 1969-1979:I:197; Patent Book 2:240).

Edward Travis I

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. Travis's 196 acres included Study Unit 2 Tracts E, F, G, H, Q, and S, plus some acreage to the south and west of Tract E that enveloped Tract L. It was located "Near black Poynt" and was bounded "North upon the back river and East upon the Same, South upon the Land of Mr. Chyles [Tracts M, N, O, P, and U] and Goose hill Marsh and west upon David Ellis his land and Mr. Crosbys Land [Tract R]." Included were 24 acres formerly granted to John Southern (Tracts G and Q), 12 acres patented by John Senior I (Tract E), and 16 acres formerly 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 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 Novem-

ber 5, 1654, Travis patented 150 acres that he had acquired from John Senior, 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 some 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).

Edward Travis II

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 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, Q, and S); the 70 acres he bought from Susanna Chiles (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U); John Senior'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 acres that extended from the east side of Kingsmill Creek to the north side of Passmore Creek, encompassing virtually all of Study Unit 2.

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently didn't enhance the size of his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake

Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

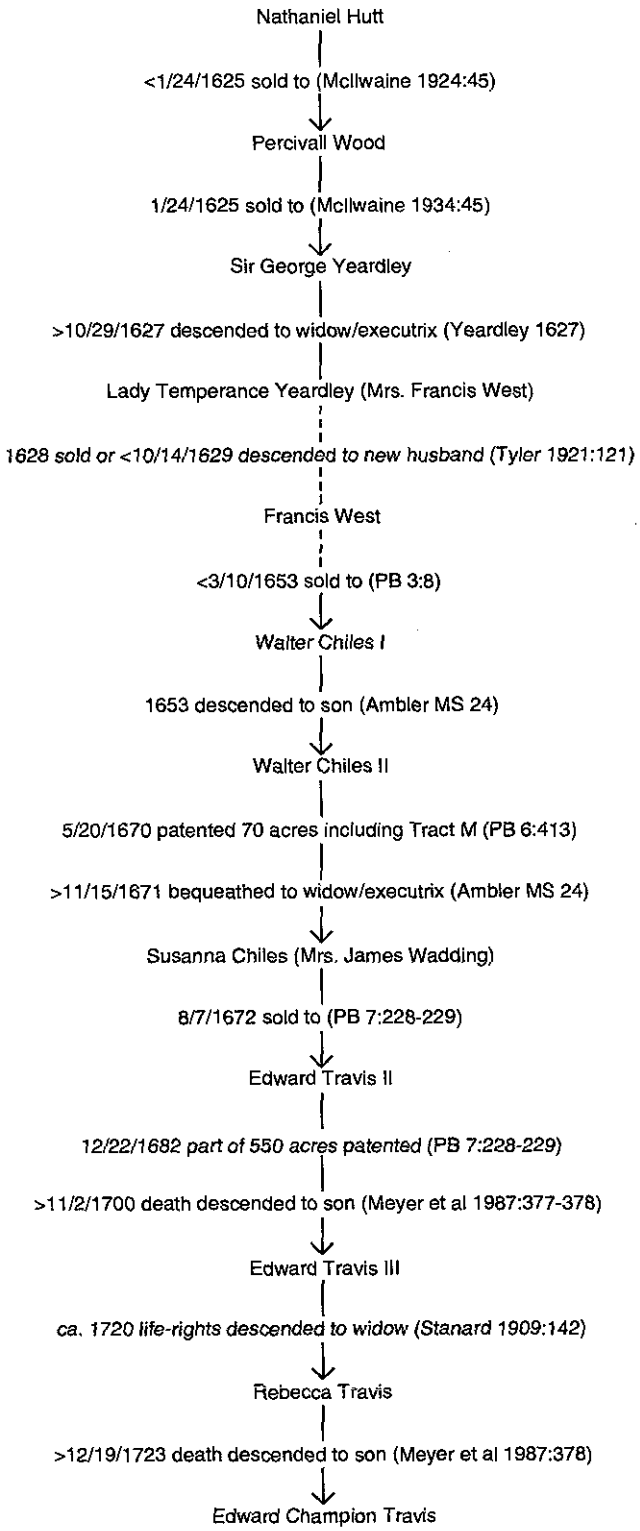


Figure 38. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract M.*

Study Unit 2 Tract M

Nathaniel Hutt

Sometime prior to August 14, 1624, ancient planter Nathaniel Hutt received a patent for 12 acres of land at Black Point. His acreage abutted west upon a 12 acre tract owned by Mary Holland and east upon the James River. The eastern boundary line of Mary Holland's Tract O, which was 660 feet in length from north to south, formed the western boundary line of Nathaniel Hutt's Tract M.[142] Hutt may have relocated to his 200 acre patent near Mulberry Island, for sometime prior to January 24, 1625, his acreage and tenement on Jamestown Island came into the hands of Percival Wood and his wife, Ann (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:556; Patent Book 1:11; Nugent 1969-1979:I:3; McIlwaine 1924:45).

Percival Wood

Percival and Ann Wood came to Virginia in the *George*. The date of their arrival is uncertain. However, on February 16, 1624, they were residing on the lower side of the James, to the west of Gray's Creek. By January 24, 1625, they had relocated to Mulberry Island. It was then that the Woods sold Tract M, "one Tenement and 12 Acres of grounde lyinge at Black poynte, late nathaniell Hutts," to Sir George Yeardley (Hotten 1980:179, 240; McIlwaine 1924:45).

Sir George Yeardley

Sir George Yeardley simultaneously acquired three tracts of land at Black Point: 12 acres he bought from Percival and Ann Wood (Tract M), 6 acres he procured from Thomas Sully (Tract U), and an unspecified amount of acreage he obtained from John Radish (Tract N). At the time the sales were consummated, only the improvements on Tract M were mentioned (McIlwaine 1924:45).

In April 1626 Sir George Yeardley's wife, Lady Temperance, was approached by John Upton who wanted to rent Tract M. At the January 13, 1627, session of the General Court, Kelinet Hitchcock (who in February 1624 was a member of the Yeardley household) testified that Upton had asked to have the house and ground at "a reasonable rent because of ye repairing of the house & ye fense, & agreed to pay 100 waight of Tobacco, & repair ye house & ye fense" (Hotten 1980:173; McIlwaine 1924:137). Upton, who immigrated to Virginia in 1622 in the *Bona Nova*, in February 1624 and January 1625 was an indentured servant in Abraham Peirsey's household at Flowerdew Hundred. By April 1625 he had gained his freedom (Hotten 172, 217; Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:605; McIlwaine 1924:54). Therefore, he probably was looking for land he could rent while waiting to qualify for acreage of his own.[143]

[142] Mary Holland's property abutted "Eastward upon the ground of Nathaniell Hutt [Tract M], Southward upon the ground of Thomas Passmore [Tract D] and Westward upon a small Swamp, Northward also upon another such like Swamp" (Patent Book 1:11; Nugent 1969-1979:I:3). The northern boundary line of Thomas Passmore's Tract D, which ran from east to west, was 792 feet in length and formed the southern boundary line of Mary Holland's Tract O. John Radish and John Bradwell's patent for Tract P reveals that the side lines of the Holland patent (along a north-south axis) were 660 feet in length (Patent Book 1:423).

[143] Upton may have been living on Jamestown Island (perhaps on Tract M) when he made arrangement to procure corn from Richard Tree (Study Unit 3 Tract G). By February 1633 John Upton had acquired land in Isle of Wight, which area he represented as a burgess through 1647. He attained the rank of captain and died in Isle of Wight in 1652 (Stanard 1965:59-66; McGhan 1993:156, 212; McIlwaine 1924:111-112; Nugent 1969-1979:I:25, 69, 71).

On October 12, 1627, when the ailing Sir George Yeardley made his will, he bequeathed to his widow and executrix, Lady Temperance, life-rights to the house they occupied in Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B) and its contents. His executors were to see that the rest of his real and personal property was sold and that the proceeds were distributed among his heirs. Lady Temperance Yeardley was to receive her dower third and the couple's three children (Elizabeth, Argoll and Francis) were to share the remainder. However, on October 29th, Sir George Yeardley added a codicil to his will. He then stipulated that his Jamestown Island property was to be sold and that the yield was to be dispensed to his heirs (Stanard 1916:445; Yeardley 1629a, 1629b). Sir George Yeardley died within two weeks and on November 13, 1627, he was interred at Jamestown. His will was presented for probate on February 5, 1628 (McIlwaine 1924:156, 160).

Lady Temperance Yeardley by February 8, 1628, had begun settling her late husband's estate and making arrangements to sell his property (McIlwaine 1924:166-167). She married interim-Governor Francis West in late March 1628, but died intestate within a year. As she hadn't finished settling Sir George Yeardley's estate, his brother, Ralph Yeardley, became administrator. On February 1, 1630, Francis West, as Temperance's heir, brought suit against Ralph Yeardley in attempt to recover his late wife's dower share of Sir George Yeardley's estate (Stanard 1917:101-102; Tyler 1921:121). It is likely that Tract M (like Sir George Yeardley's other Virginia real estate) was sold in accord with the instructions in his will. However, when and by whom it was offered for sale is uncertain.

Walter Chiles I

Sometime prior to March 10, 1653, Walter Chiles I acquired 70 acres at Black Point, which included Tracts M, N, O, P, and U. Chiles' acreage then was used as a reference point when Edward Travis I patented some land that lay to the north (Nugent 1969-1979:I:231; II:112; Patent Book 3:8; 6:413). Chiles, a Charles City County burgess and planter, commenced serving as a James City burgess in November 1645 (Stanard 1965:61, 63-64). This raises the possibility that he acquired his Black Point acreage sometime prior to that date.

In March 1649 Walter Chiles I bought a 3½ acre lot in urban Jamestown, acreage that contained a brick house (probably Structure 44) built by Richard Kemp a decade earlier (Study Unit 1 Tract F). Chiles and his wife, Mary, the daughter of Colonel John Page, resided upon their Jamestown property (Ambler MS 4; Stanard 1910:122; Meyer et al. 1987:410). Walter Chiles I was a merchant and his ship, the *Leopaldus*, allegedly was involved in illegal trade with the Dutch (Hening 1809-1823:I:382; Tyler 1892-1893:75; Surry Deeds, Wills, &c. 1652-72:28). When he died in ca. 1653, his landholdings descended to his eldest son, Walter Chiles II (Ambler MS 24).

Walter Chiles II

On May 20, 1670, Walter Chiles II of Jamestown, a burgess and vestryman, patented the 70 acres at Black Point that he had inherited from his father (Patent Book 6:413; Nugent 1969-1979:II:112; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:84; Hening 1809-1823:I:506-507). He probably placed some of his indentured servants upon his property and his 200 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land. Chiles' patent, which faced east upon the James River, was "knowne by the name of black poynt." Its verbal boundary description, which ran clockwise from the northwest corner, extended "East 30 chaynes [990 feet], [then] E. N. E. 72 Ch. [2,376 feet] to the River, So. 20 Ch. [660 feet] and so. so. W 30 Ch. [990 feet] to a Marsh, thence along the Marsh west 83 Ch. [2,739 feet, and N. N. W. 22 Ch. [726 feet] to the place it began, including 70 acres." The Chiles patent's boundaries were reconstructed electronically with AutoCAD and then superimposed upon an 1856 topographic map of Jamestown Island that had been digitized. The electronic maps were then positioned

so that the easternmost end of the patent reconstruction overlaid Black Point, as depicted on the topographic map (U.S. Coast Survey 1856).[144] At that time it was noted that the reconstructed Chiles patent's boundary lines along an east-west axis were 660 feet apart, precisely the distance spanned by the side lines of Tracts O and P. When Tracts M, O and P were reconstructed to scale and laid out regularly in a row (in accord with their patent descriptions), they were found to fit snugly within the boundaries of the southerly part of the Chiles patent.[145] The easternmost portion of the Chiles patent (which enveloped Black Point) was assigned to Tracts N and U, both of which properties were associated with that distinctive landscape feature.

When Walter Chiles II prepared his November 15, 1671, will, he instructed his widow and executrix, Susanna, to sell all of his real estate. Chiles died in late 1671 and his widow commenced implementing the terms of his will (Ambler MS 24).

Susanna Chiles (Mrs. Walter II) (Mrs. James Wadding)

Although Mrs. Susanna Chiles remarried shortly after her late husband's death, she continued settling his estate. On August 7, 1672, she and her new husband, the Rev. James Wadding of James City Parish, sold the late Walter Chiles II's 70 acres at Black Point (Tracts M, N, O, P, and U) to Edward Travis II (Nugent 1969- 1979:I:252; Patent Book 7:228-229).

Edward Travis II

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). He already was in possession of his late father's 396 acres, which he had repatented on February 10, 1664 (Patent Book 5:342; Nugent 1969-1979:I:503). On November 15, 1677, Travis added Tract X to his holdings (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, Q, and S); the 70 acres he bought from Susanna Chiles (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U); John Senior'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). The boundaries of Edward Travis II's 550 acres were described as a whole. His "Devedend of Land & marsh" was bounded "on James River att Black Poynt & runing up the river to the mouth of pasmore Creek & up it to cockets Neck Fork & up the northermost Branch thereof to the head, & thence to the mouth of the next Northermost Branch of the Marsh of the sd Creek & up the sd Branch to the head, thence by marked Trees S 82½ degrees Ely 9 chaine [297 feet] to a white oake, thence North 3 degrees Wly 22 & 1/4 Chain [734.25 feet] by another line of Marked Trees to a pine on pitch & Tarr Swamp and downe it to a marked oake on the upper side of the next Branch Issueing out of the sd Swamp, thence No: 42 degrees Ely 8 Chains [264 feet] to the head of Harmans [Kingsmill] Creek & downe it to back River & down the same to the place it began." Also included were 12 acres belonging to Mr. Holliday which Travis had procured from William Champion on November 15, 1677 (Patent Book 7:228-229).

Edward Travis II 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

[144] This particular map was chosen because it is the earliest dated topographically sensitive rendering that shows the eastern end of Jamestown Island.

[145] To the south of the Chiles patent and directly below Tract O was Tract D, with which O shared a common boundary line. The same was true with Tracts C and B, which abutted north upon Tract P's southern boundary.

acres that extended from the east side of Kingsmill Creek to the north side of Passmore Creek, encompassing all of Study Unit 2.

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently didn't enhance the size of his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

Study Unit 2 Tract N

Lieutenant Batters

Lieutenant Batters, an ancient planter, was assigned some acreage at Black Point by Deputy-Governor Samuel Argoll, who held office from 1617 to 1618. According to court testimony dating to January 24, 1625, "Sr. Samuell Argall gave Livt. Batters Certen land in James Island, And that Livt. Batters did sell ye same land to David Ellis for betwixt thirty or fortie pownd Ster." (McIlwaine 1924:44).

David Ellis

David Ellis, who immigrated to Virginia in 1608 in the Second Supply of new colonists, was described by Captain John Smith as both a tradesman and a soldier (Smith 1986:I:241, 244). In February 1624 Ellis and his wife were residing in the Governor's Land, in a household headed by his brother-in-law John Carter. By January 24, 1625, Ellis was heading his own household there. It was then that the General Court, upon hearing testimony that Lieutenant Batters had sold his land to David Ellis, issued Ellis "A pattent of the same lande, thereby to enable him to make good his assignment to John Radishe [Radish, Reddish]" (Hotten 1980:176, 220; McIlwaine 1924:44, 96-97).

John Radish (Reddish)

John Radish, a feather-maker from Northamptonshire, England, came to Virginia in 1619 as an indentured servant. In February 1624 he was residing on Jamestown Island in the home of Robert Fitts. On January 24, 1625, Radish conveyed the acreage he had purchased from David Ellis (Tract N) to Sir George Yeardley (Ferrar MS 295; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:104; Hotten 1980:178; McIlwaine 1924:44). At the time the transaction occurred, Radish was living in the Neck O'Land in his own house (Hotten 1980:230). In May 1637 Radish purchased Tract P, 16 acres located to the north of Goose Hill Marsh and to the southwest of Tract N (Patent Book 1:423).

Sir George Yeardley

Sir George Yeardley simultaneously acquired three tracts of land at Black Point: 12 acres he bought from Percival and Ann Wood (Tract M), 6 acres he procured from Thomas Sully (Tract U), and an unspecified amount of acreage he obtained from John Radish (Tract N). Sometime prior to 1653, Tracts M, O, P and U were united into a 70 acre aggregate. Therefore, as Tracts M and O consisted of 12 acres apiece, as Tract P contained 16 acres, and as Tract U consisted of 6 acres, Tract N would have been 24 acres in size (McIlwaine 1924:44-45). In April 1626 Sir George Yeardley's wife, Lady Temperance, was approached about placing Tract M in the hands of a tenant, John Upton. This raises the possibility that the Yeardleys elected to use Tracts N and U as rental properties (McIlwaine 1924:137).

On October 12, 1627, when the ailing Sir George Yeardley made his will, he bequeathed to his widow and executrix, Lady Temperance, life-rights to the house they occupied in Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B) and its contents. His executors were to see that the rest of his other real and personal property was sold and that the proceeds were distributed among his heirs. Lady Temperance Yeardley was to receive her dower third and the couple's three children (Elizabeth, Argoll and Francis) were to share the remainder. However, on October 29th, Sir George Yeardley added a codicil to his will. He then stipulated that his Jamestown Island property was to be sold and that the yield was to be dispensed to his heirs (Stanard 1916:445; Yeardley 1627a, 1627b). Sir George

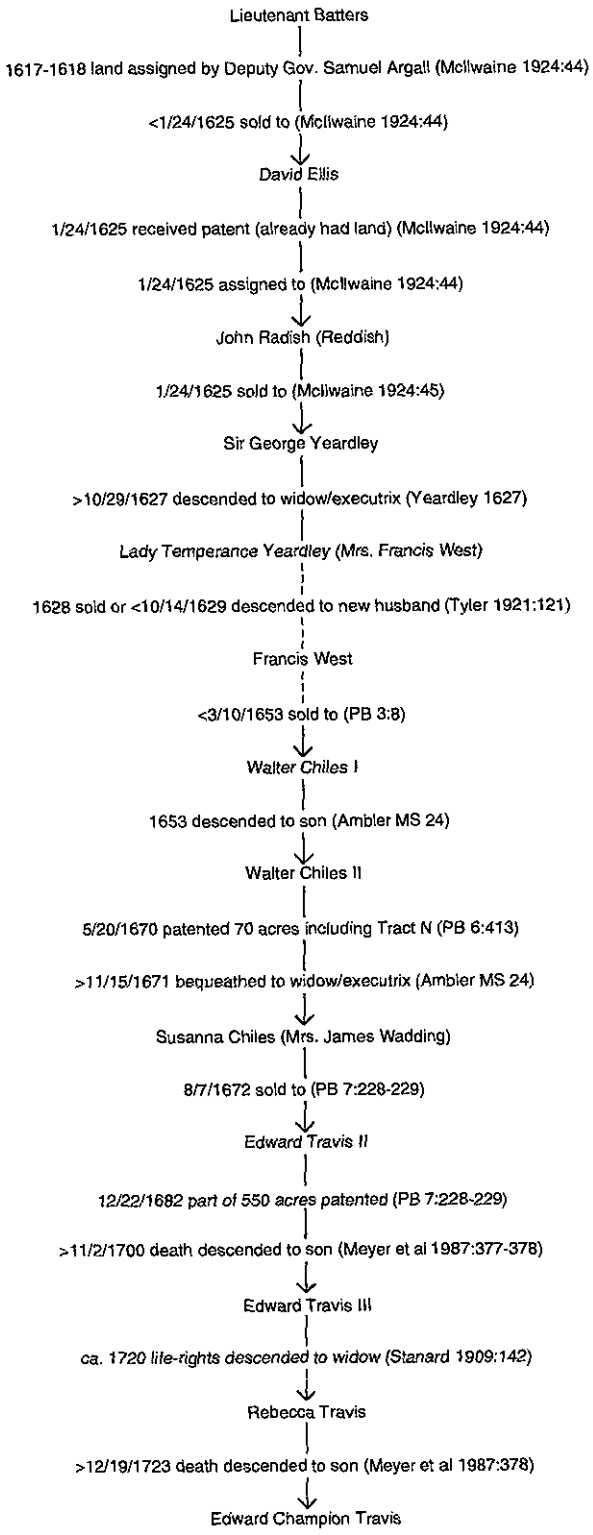


Figure 39. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract N.*

Yeardley 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).

Lady Temperance Yeardley by February 8, 1628, had begun settling her late husband's estate and making arrangements to sell his property (McIlwaine 1924:166-167). She married interim-Governor Francis West in late March 1628, but died intestate within a year. As she hadn't finished settling Sir George Yeardley's estate, his brother, Ralph Yeardley, became administrator. On February 1, 1630, Francis West, as Temperance's heir, brought suit against Ralph Yeardley in attempt to recover his late wife's dower share of Sir George Yeardley's estate (Stanard 1917:101-102; Tyler 1921:121). It is likely that Tract N (like Sir George Yeardley's other Virginia real estate) was sold in accord with the instructions in his will. However, when and by whom it was disposed of is uncertain.

Walter Chiles I

Sometime prior to March 10, 1653, Walter Chiles I acquired 70 acres at Black Point, which included Tracts M, N, O, P, and U. Chiles' acreage was then used as a reference point when Edward Travis I patented some land that lay to the north (Nugent 1969-1979:I:231; II:112; Patent Book 3:8; 6:413). Chiles, a Charles City County burgess and planter, commenced serving as a James City burgess in November 1645 (Stanard 1965:61, 63-64). This raises the possibility that he acquired his Black Point acreage prior to that date.

In March 1649 Walter Chiles I bought a 3½ acre lot in urban Jamestown, acreage that contained a brick house built by Richard Kemp a decade earlier (Structure 44 on Study Unit 1 Tract F). Chiles and his wife, Mary, the daughter of Colonel John Page, resided upon their Jamestown property (Ambler MS 4; Stanard 1910:122; Meyer et al. 1987:410). Walter Chiles I was a merchant and his ship, the *Leopaldus*, allegedly was involved in illegal trade with the Dutch (Hening 1809-1823:I:382; Tyler 1892-1893:75; Surry Deeds, Wills, &c. 1652-72:28). When he died in ca. 1653, his landholdings descended to his eldest son, Walter Chiles II (Ambler MS 24).

Walter Chiles II

On May 20, 1670, Walter Chiles II of Jamestown, a burgess and vestryman, patented the 70 acres at Black Point that he had inherited from his father (Patent Book 6:413; Nugent 1969-1979:II:112; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1652-1672:84; Hening 1809-1823:I:506-507). He probably placed some of his indentured servants upon his property and his 200 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land. Chiles' patent, which faced east upon the James River, was "knowne by the name of black poynt." Its verbal boundary description, which ran clockwise from the northwest corner, extended "East 30 chaynes [990 feet], [then] E. N. E. 72 Ch. [2,376 feet] to the River, So. 20 Ch. [660 feet] and so. so. W 30 Ch. [990 feet] to a Marsh, thence along the Marsh west 83 Ch. [2,739 feet, and N. N. W. 22 Ch. [726 feet] to the place it began, including 70 acres." The Chiles patent's boundaries were reconstructed electronically with AutoCAD and then superimposed upon an 1856 topographic map of Jamestown Island that had been digitized. The electronic maps were then positioned so that the easternmost end of the patent reconstruction overlaid Black Point, as depicted on the topographic map (U.S. Coast Survey 1856). At that time it was noted that the reconstructed Chiles patent's boundary lines along an east-west axis were 660 feet apart, precisely the distance spanned by the side lines of Tracts O and P. When Tracts M, O and P were laid out regularly in a row (in accord with their patent descriptions), they were found to fit snugly within the boundaries of the southerly part of the Chiles patent. Tracts N and U (which were known to have been at Black Point) were placed within the northeastern part of the Chiles patent, which enveloped that distinctive landscape feature.

When Walter Chiles II prepared his November 15, 1671, will, he instructed his widow and executrix, Susanna, to sell all of his real estate. Chiles died in late 1671 and his widow commenced implementing the terms of his will (Ambler MS 24).

Susanna Chiles (Mrs. Walter II) (Mrs. James Wadding)

Although Mrs. Susanna Chiles remarried shortly after her late husband's death, she continued settling his estate. On August 7, 1672, she and her new husband, the Rev. James Wadding of James City Parish, sold the late Walter Chiles II's 70 acres at Black Point (Tracts M, N, O, P, and U) to Edward Travis II (Nugent 1969- 1979:I:252; Patent Book 7:228-229).

Edward Travis II

Edward Travis II purchased 70 acres from Walter Chiles II's widow, Susanna, which he patented on August 7, 1672 (Nugent 1969-1979:II:252; Patent Book 7:228-229). He already was in possession of his late father's 396 acres, which he had repatented on February 10, 1664 (Patent Book 5:342; Nugent 1969-1979:I:503). On November 15, 1677, Travis added Tract X to his holdings (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, Q, and S); the 70 acres he bought from Susanna Chiles (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U); John Senior'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 (Tract X) (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.

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently didn't enhance the size of his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

Study Unit 2 Tract O

William Pinke-alias-Jonas

William Pinke, an ancient planter also known as William Jonas, acquired a 12 acre parcel in this location (Tract O) sometime prior to 1623. He and his wife, Mary, made their home upon the property. At his death, Mary inherited "his devident of Land of 100 acres," including their 12 acre homestead near Black Point (Patent Book 1:11; Nugent 1969-1979:I:3).

Mary Pink-alias-Jonas Holland

Mary Pinke-alias-Jonas, upon falling heir to her late husband's property, repatented it. On August 14, 1624, when she secured her title to Tract O, she indicated that she had married Gabriel Holland, a yeoman. Mary's property abutted "Eastward upon the ground of Nathaniell Hutt [Tract M], Southward upon the ground of Thomas Passmore [Tract D] and Westward upon a small Swamp, Northward also upon another such like Swamp" (Patent Book 1:11; Nugent 1969-1979:I:3).[146] The northern boundary line of Thomas Passmore's Tract D, which was 792 feet in length from east to west, formed the southern boundary line of Mary Holland's Tract O. Likewise, the eastern boundary line of John Radish and John Bradwell's Tract P, which was 660 feet long, formed the western boundary line of Tract O (Patent Book 1:10, 423). Mary Pink-alias-Jonas Holland died between August 14, 1624, and January 24, 1625, at which point her land (which she owned outright) would have descended to her new husband, Gabriel.

[146] Robert Marshall's patent for Tract C also places Thomas Passmore in the location analogous to Tract D.

Gabriel Holland

Gabriel Holland remarried promptly after Mary's decease and by January 24, 1625, he and his new wife, Rebecca, were in residence in rural Jamestown Island, probably on Tract O, where they had a dwelling and six swine. The Hollands, who had come to the colony in the *John and Francis*, had an ample supply of corn, peas, beans and fish, and he was in possession of a coat of male and 4 guns or "peeces" (Meyer et al. 1987:35).

During 1623-1624, Gabriel Holland served as a burgess and in 1624 he signed a document describing the hardships of living in Virginia prior to Sir George Yeardley's taking office. In February 1624 Holland was in residence upon the College tract in Henrico and on January 2, 1625, he testified that he formerly had lived at Shirley Hundred, where he held the rank of sergeant and was responsible for 15 of Berkeley Hundred's male servants (Stanard 1965:53; Tyler 1907:424; Hotten 1980:169; McIlwaine 1924:42).

Gabriel Holland, a respected member of the Jamestown Island community, made several appearances in the General Court during 1627 and 1628. He testified about financial matters involving Jamestown Island inhabitants, and in late January 1627 he was described as a resident of the island. One of Holland's household members was Ann Behoute, an indentured servant who had come to Virginia in 1625 (McIlwaine 1924:42, 127, 143, 158, 173). Gabriel Holland was still alive in 1632 and may have been residing upon Tract O (Charles City County Order Book 1655-1695:1).

Walter Chiles I

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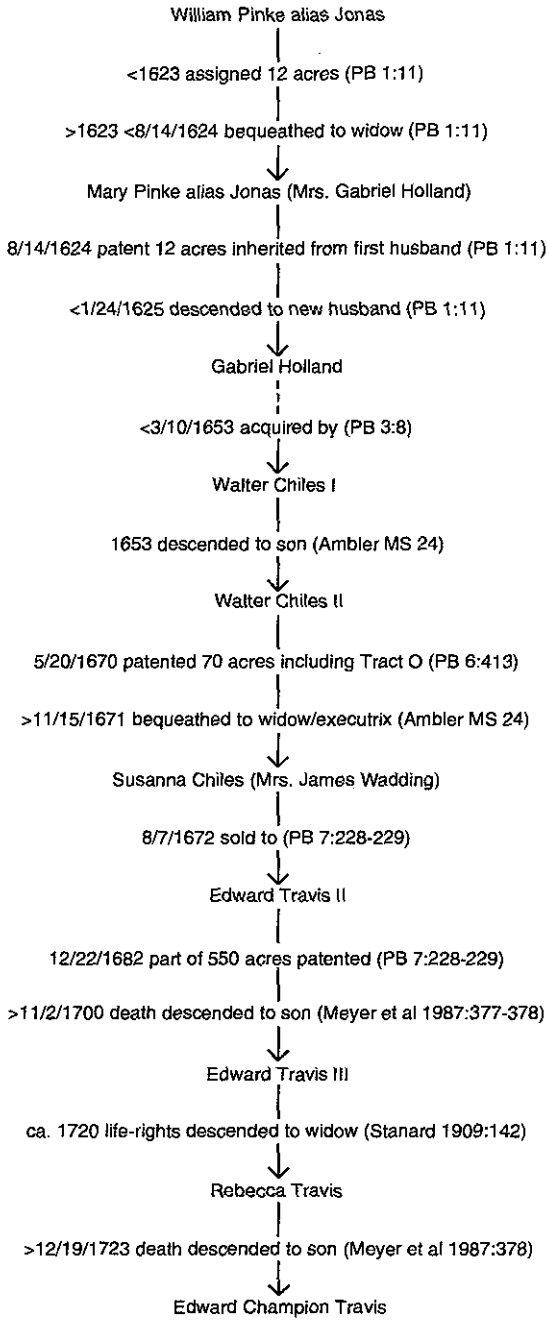


Figure 40. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract O.*

I patented some land that lay to the north (Nugent 1969-1979:I:231; II:112; Patent Book 3:8; 6:413). Chiles, a Charles City County burgess and planter, commenced serving as a James City burgess in November 1645 (Stanard 1965:61, 63-64). This raises the possibility that he acquired his Black Point acreage prior to that date.

In March 1649 Walter Chiles I bought a 3½ acre lot in urban Jamestown, acreage that contained a brick house built by Richard Kemp a decade earlier (Structure 44 on Study Unit 1 Tract F). Chiles and his wife, Mary, the daughter of Colonel John Page, resided upon their Jamestown property (Ambler MS 4; Stanard 1910:122; Meyer et al. 1987:410). Walter Chiles I was a merchant and his ship, the *Leopaldus*, allegedly was involved in illegal trade with the Dutch (Hening 1809-1823:I:382; Tyler 1892-1893:75; Surry Deeds, Wills, &c. 1652-72:28). When he died in ca. 1653, his landholdings descended to his eldest son, Walter Chiles II (Ambler MS 24).

Walter Chiles II

On May 20, 1670, Walter Chiles II of Jamestown, a burgess and vestryman, patented the 70 acres at Black Point that he had inherited from his father (Patent Book 6:413; Nugent 1969-1979:II:112; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1652-1672:84; Hening 1809-1823:I:506-507). He probably placed some of his indentured servants upon his property and his 200 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land. Chiles' patent, which faced east upon the James River, was "knowne by the name of black poynt." Its verbal boundary description, which ran clockwise from the northwest corner, extended "East 30 chaynes [990 feet], [then] E. N. E. 72 Ch. [2,376 feet] to the River, So. 20 Ch. [660 feet] and so. so. W 30 Ch. [990 feet] to a Marsh, thence along the Marsh west 83 Ch. [2,739 feet, and N. N. W. 22 Ch. [726 feet] to the place it began, including 70 acres." The Chiles patent's boundaries were reconstructed electronically with AutoCAD and then superimposed upon an 1856 topographic map of Jamestown Island that had been digitized. The electronic maps were then positioned so that the easternmost end of the patent reconstruction overlaid Black Point, as depicted on the topographic map (U.S. Coast Survey 1856).[147] At that time it was noted that the reconstructed Chiles patent's boundary lines along an east-west axis were 660 feet apart, precisely the distance spanned by the side lines of Tracts O and P. When Tracts M, O and P were reconstructed to scale and laid out regularly in a row (in accord with their patent descriptions), they were found to fit snugly within the boundaries of the southerly part of the Chiles patent.[148] The easternmost portion of the Chiles patent (which enveloped Black Point) was assigned to Tracts N and U, both of which properties were associated with that distinctive landscape feature.

When Walter Chiles II prepared his November 15, 1671, will, he instructed his widow and executrix, Susanna, to sell all of his real estate. Chiles died in late 1671 and his widow commenced implementing the terms of his will (Ambler MS 24).

Susanna Chiles (Mrs. Walter II) (Mrs. James Wadding)

Although Mrs. Susanna Chiles remarried shortly after her late husband's death, she continued settling his estate. On August 7, 1672, she and her new husband, the Rev. James Wadding of James City Parish, sold the late Walter Chiles II's 70 acres at Black Point (Tracts M, N, O, P, and U) to Edward Travis II (Nugent 1969- 1979:I:252; Patent Book 7:228-229).

Edward Travis II

Edward Travis II purchased 70 acres from Walter Chiles II's widow, Susanna, which he patented on

[147] This particular map was chosen because it is the earliest dated topographically sensitive rendering that shows the eastern end of Jamestown Island.

[148] To the south of the Chiles patent and directly below Tract O was Tract D, with which O shared a common boundary line. The same was true with Tracts C and B, which abutted north upon Tract P's southern boundary.

August 7, 1672 (Nugent 19769- 1979:II:252; Patent Book 7:228-229). He already was in possession of his late father's 396 acres, which he had repatented on February 10, 1664 (Patent Book 5:342; Nugent 1969-1979:I:503). On November 15, 1677, Travis added Tract X to his holdings (Nugent 1969-1979:II:252). All of these properties became part of the Travis family's plantation on Jamestown Island.

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Edward Travis II 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 acres that extended from the east side of Kingsmill Creek to the north side of Passmore Creek, encompassing all of Study Unit 2.

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently didn't enhance the size of his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels on the west side of Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

Study Unit 2 Tract P

John Baldwin

John Baldwin, who immigrated to Virginia in the *Tyger* in 1622, was a free man with ties to people in Bermuda. During 1624 and 1625 he resided on the lower side of the James River on the Treasurer's Plantation, a tract that belonged to Treasurer George Sandys (Hotten 1980:180, 234; Lefroy 1981:264; Patent Book 1:12, 16; Nugent 1969-1979:I:3-4). On May, 20, 1637, when Baldwin sold a 16 acre parcel to John Radish, he was described as a gentleman "late of Jamestown Island" (Patent Book 1:423; Nugent 1969-1979:I:56). A 637 patent reveals that Baldwin's 16 acres was Tract P. On October 4, 1656, John Baldwin patented what was presumed to be a 15½ acre parcel in the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, adjacent to the isthmus (Study Unit 1 Tract E) (Nugent 1969-1979:I:338; Patent Book 4:88).

John Radish (Reddish) and John Bradwell

John Radish, a feather-maker from Northamptonshire, England, came to Virginia in 1619 as an indentured servant. In February 1624 he was residing on Jamestown Island in the home of Robert Fitts. By January 24, 1625, Radish had moved to the Neck O'Land behind Jamestown Island and was living in a house of his own. It was then that he sold Tract N at Black Point (which he had purchased from David Ellis) to Sir George Yeardley (Ferrar MS 295; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:104; Hotten 1980:178, 230; McIlwaine 1924:44).

On May 20, 1637, John Radish purchased 16 acres near Goose Hill Marsh (Tract P) from John Baldwin of Jamestown Island. The parcel consisted of two adjoining pieces of land. One, which was 12 acres in size (Lot A), abutted "Eastward upon the Land formerly in the possession of Mary Holland [Tract O], Westward upon the bounds & limitts there determined and appointed, Southward upon the high way running close to Goose hill marsh, and thence extending Northward 40 poles [660 feet], the said 40 poles being the breadth and the length from East to West 48 poles [792 feet]." Adjoining the west side of the 12 acres was a 4 acre parcel, Lot B. The May 20, 1637, verbal boundary description for Tract P states that the land of "Edward Travis [I] [was] abutting Northerly upon it" (Patent Book 1:423). This suggests that by 1637 Edward Travis I was in possession of Tract S. John Radish, upon receiving a legal title to his 16 acres, quickly conveyed a half-interest to John Bradwell (Patent Book 1:423; Nugent 1969-1979:I:56). Nothing further is known about Bradwell or how the two men utilized their property.

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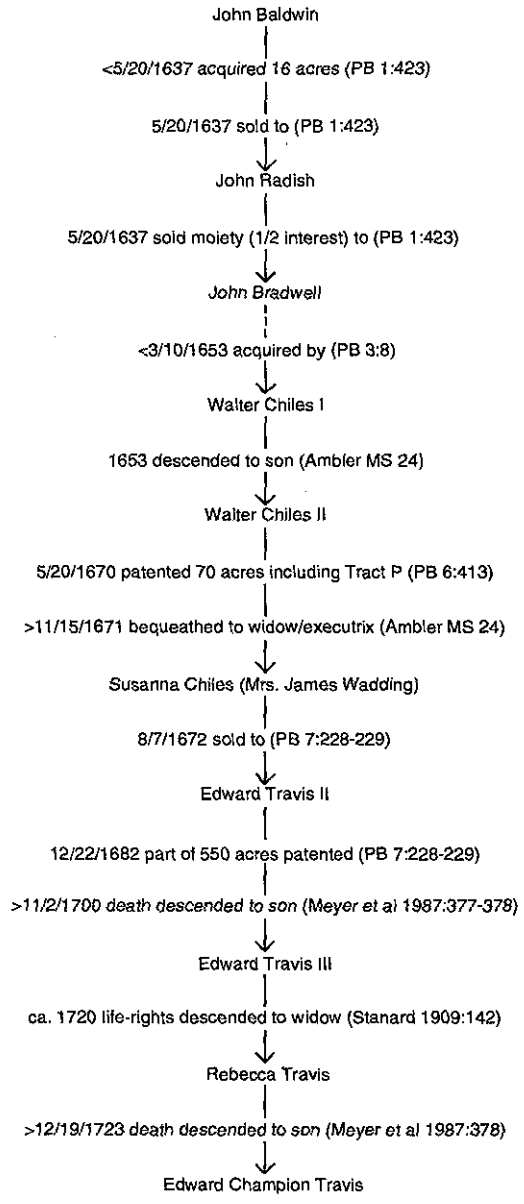


Figure 41. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract P.*

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[149] This particular map was chosen because it is the earliest dated topographically sensitive rendering that shows the eastern end of Jamestown Island.

[150] To the south of the Chiles patent and directly below Tract O was Tract D, with which O shared a common boundary line. The same was true with Tracts C and B, which abutted north upon Tract P's southern boundary.

Branch to the head, thence by marked Trees S 82½ degrees Ely 9 chaine [297 feet] to a white oake, thence North 3 degrees Wly 22 & 1/4 Chain [734.25 feet] by another line of Marked Trees to a pine on pitch & Tarr Swamp and downe it to a marked oake on the upper side of the next Branch Issueing out of the sd Swamp, thence No: 42 degrees Ely 8 Chains [264 feet] to the head of Harmans [Kingsmill] Creek & downe it to back River & down the same to the place it began." Also included were 12 acres belonging to Mr. Holliday which Travis had procured from William Champion on November 15, 1677 (Patent Book 7:228-229).

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Study Unit 2 Tract Q

John Southern

On May 8, 1626, the General Court awarded John Southern 50 acres of land under the headright system, for he had transported a man servant named William Soane to the colony in 1622. Southern indicated that he intended to take 10 of his 50 acres on Jamestown Island, using the remainder to patent 40 acres in Elizabeth City at Blunt Point (McIlwaine 1924:103).[151] By November 1, 1627, Southern had used half of his headright for William Soane to patent two 12 acre tracts on Jamestown Island: Tracts Q and G of Study Unit 2. John Southern's Tract Q abutted "Eastward wth a Marshe parting the same from the land of John Johnson [Tract A], Westward on a Marshe called Tuckers hole [within Tract R], Northward on the back river, and Southward on the highway leading to black point" (Patent Book 1:55; Nugent 1969-1979:I:8).

John Southern, who was from Tichfield, in Southampton County, England, was an experienced artisan. In 1620 he was sent to Virginia by the Society of Southampton Hundred to take charge of the plantation the Society's investors intended to establish (Hotten 1980:175; Ferrar MS 449; McIlwaine 1924:73). When he arrived in the colony, the governor sent him to the ironworks at Falling Creek, where he received several severe wounds.[152] Therefore, in August 1624 the adventurers of the Society of Southampton Hundred asked the Virginia's governing officials to allow John Southern, who was described as "old and weak," to return to England where he had a wife and children awaiting him (McIlwaine 1924:74).

On February 16, 1624, John Southern was residing in urban Jamestown, where he headed a household that included two other males, Thomas Passmore and Andrew Ralye.[153] He was still there in January 1625 when a muster was made of the colony's inhabitants and was sharing his home with Thomas Crust, a man servant (Hotten 1980:175; Meyer et al. 1987:32). Southern may have begun developing his property in the eastern end of Jamestown Island by the Spring of 1625, for during the following summer he went to court several times to testify about events that occurred there (McIlwaine 1924:55-56, 65, 69, 79, 102, 115). For example, in August 1625, he witnessed an agreement made by Thomas Passmore and Christopher Hall, who were associated with Study Unit 2 Tracts H and S. Southern, who was literate, frequently was called upon to serve as an attorney, an administrator and sometimes he was ordered to inventory people's estates. As a burgess he represented the corporation of James City during 1623-1624, and in 1630 and 1632 (McIlwaine 1924:102, 117, 125, 143, 150, 165, 184, 198; Stanard 1965:53, 55-56). A March 1629 reference to John Southern's dwelling in urban Jamestown indicates that it was situated near the stocks, which were located close to (or perhaps within) the fort (McIlwaine 1924:190). Therefore, it is likely that he had placed indentured servants upon his property in the eastern end of Jamestown Island or leased it to tenants.

Edward Travis I

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

[151] In May 1625 John Southern was credited with 40 acres below Blunt Point (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:551).

[152] These injuries may have occurred during the March 22, 1622, Indian uprising.

[153] Passmore, a carpenter, was associated with Study Unit 3 Tracts D and H and Ralye (Rawleigh) leased Study Unit 2 Tract T.

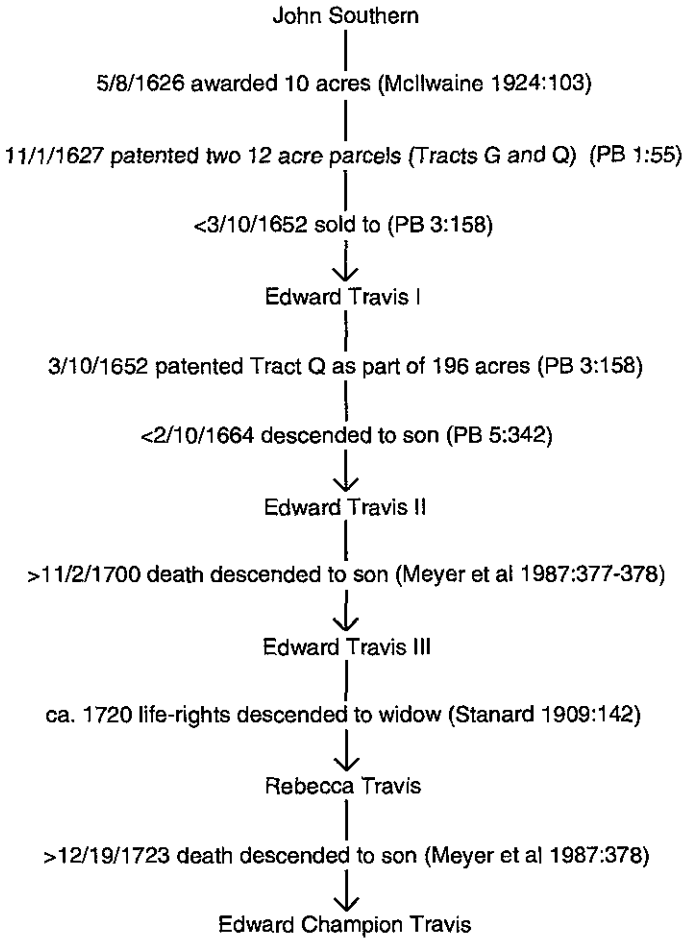


Figure 42. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract Q.*

Chiles I. 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. It was located "Near black Poynt" and was bounded "North upon the back river and East upon the Same, South upon the Land of Mr. Chyles [Tracts M, N, O, P, and U] and Goose hill Marsh and west upon David Ellis his land and Mr. Crosbys Land [Tract R]." Included were 24 acres formerly granted to John Southern (Tracts G and Q), 12 acres patented by John Senior (Tract E), and 16 acres formerly 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 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, 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 some 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).

Edward Travis II

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 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, Q, and S); the 70 acres he bought from Susanna Chiles (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U); John Senior'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 acres that extended from the east side of Kingsmill Creek to the north side of Passmore Creek, encompassing virtually all of Study Unit 2.

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently didn't enhance the size of his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels on the west side of Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

Study Unit 2 Tract R

Captains William and Daniel Tucker

(HYPOTHETICAL)

Tract R, which abuts west upon a swamp known as Tucker's Hole, may be part of an area once assigned to or occupied by Captain Daniel Tucker or Captain William Tucker. It should be noted, however, that to date, no one named Tucker has been linked to a specific piece of land on Jamestown Island. Captain Daniel Tucker, who was associated with the government of Thomas Lord Delaware, set out for Virginia in 1609. In 1610 he served as provost marshal, truck-master, and vice-admiral, as well as master of the store. Later, he became governor of the Bermuda Islands (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:421; III:231; Brown 1890:I:402; Stanard 1965:29). Captain William Tucker also had a distinguished career. During 1622 and 1623 he was in command over the people at Kichoughtan and went on many important trading missions in the Chesapeake. He also was a Virginia Company investor and considered a great merchant (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:535, 623, 664; 4:9, 190; Withington 1980:367). Both men would have been frequent visitors to Jamestown Island and Captain Daniel Tucker would have lived there while serving as provost and master of the store.

David Ellis and Mr. Crosbie

David Ellis, who immigrated to Virginia in 1608 in the Second Supply of new colonists, was described by Captain John Smith as both a tradesman and a soldier (Smith 1986:I:241, 244). In February 1624 Ellis and his wife were residing in the Governor's Land, in a household headed by his brother-in-law John Carter. By January 24, 1625, Ellis was heading his own household there. It was then that the General Court issued David Ellis a patent for some acreage at Black Point (Tract N) so that he could legally assign it to another (Hotten 1980:176, 220; McIlwaine 1924:44, 96-97).

On March 10, 1652, when Edward Travis I patented 196 acres on Jamestown Island (the land he gradually developed into a manor plantation) he noted that his acreage abutted "west upon David Ellis his land and Mr. Crosbys Land [Tract R]" (Patent Book 3:158; 5:342; Nugent 1969-1979:I:270-271, 503). Although the identity of Mr. Crosbie (Crosby) is uncertain, the only Crosbie whose name has been found in contemporary Virginia records predating 1650 is that of Thomas Crosby of Curles, in Henrico County. On January 16, 1637, Crosbie and Jamestown merchant Arthur Bayly (Study Unit 4 Tract B) jointly patented 800 acres in Henrico County. Two years later, Crosbie sold his 400 acres to Bayly (Nugent 1969-1979:I:78, 121).

Edward Travis I

Edward Travis I, who on March 10, 1652, patented 196 acres on Jamestown Island, acquired the acreage that has been designated Study Unit 2 Tracts E, F, G, H, Q, and S, plus some acreage south and west of Tract E. Travis's 196 acres "Near black Poynt" was bounded "North upon the back river and East upon the Same, South upon the Land of Mr. Chyles [Tracts M, N, O, P, and U] and Goose hill Marsh and west upon David Ellis his land and Mr. Crosbys Land [Tract R]." Included were 24 acres formerly granted to John Southern (Tracts G and Q), 16 acres formerly belonging to Thomas Passmore (Tract H), and 12 acres patented by John Senior (Tract E) 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 this 196

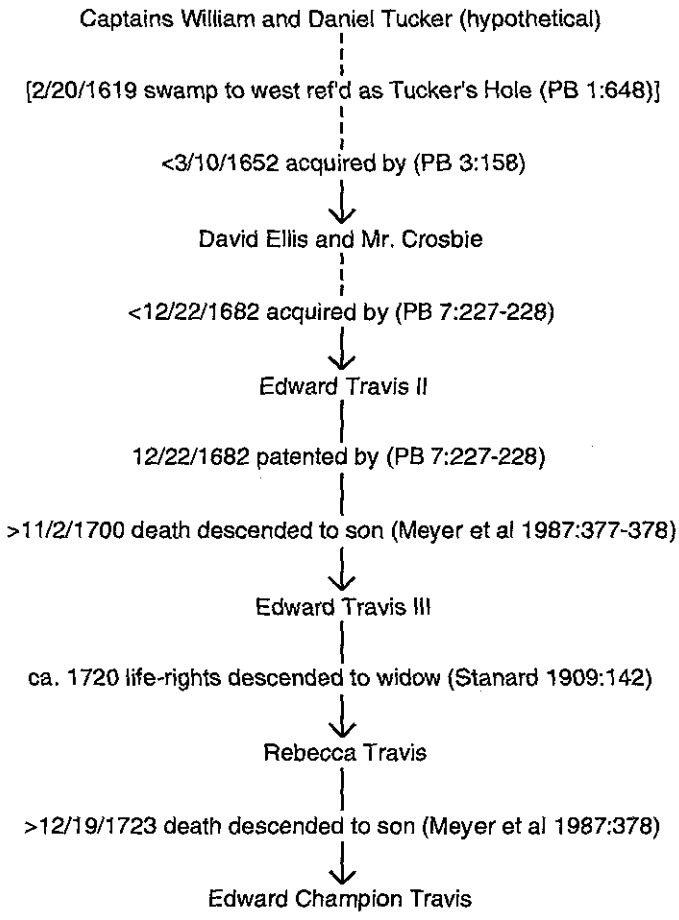


Figure 43. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract R.*

acre tract that Edward Travis I built his dwelling (Patent Book 3:8; Nugent 1969-1979:I:231).

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/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.

Edward Travis II

On February 10, 1664, Edward Travis II repatented his late father's 396 acres, which included the 196 acres Edward I acquired in March 1652 and the 130 acres he procured in March 1653. This time, the 196 acre component was described as abutting "North upon the back River and East upon the same, South upon the Land of Mr. Chiles and Goose Hill marsh and West upon David Elliott's Land and Mr. Crosbie's Land." The remaining 130 acres, part of which was marsh land, lay "Southerly from his now dwelling House" and included a "dividend of high Land Bounded by Parsmores Creek and Cocketts neck, the remainder being high Land lying Westerly from his said House and dividend, and bounded on the Westward side with the Land of Lansolet Eley, Northerly with a swamp, Easterly with his said former dividend of the said Mrs. Traverse" (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 1969-1979:II:252; Patent Book 7:228-229). The 70 acres included Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P, and U. On November 15, 1677, Travis acquired 12 acres from William Champion, who probably was his brother-in-law (Nugent 1969-1979:II:252). Although the precise location of the Champion parcel is uncertain, its inclusion in one of Travis's subsequent patents for land on Jamestown Island reveals that it became part of his plantation.

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's 150 acres (Study Unit 2 Tracts B, C, and D 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 some land that lay along the east side of Kingsmill Creek (Study Unit 2 Tracts J, K, R, and V) (Patent Book 7:228-229). This gave him and his descendants approximately 802 3/4 acres that encompassed the eastern end of Jamestown Island, to the east of Kingsmill Creek and to the north of Passmore Creek. Thus, the Travis plantation embraced all of Study Unit 2.

In 1682 the boundaries of Edward Travis II's 550 acres were described as a whole. His "Devedend of Land & marsh" was bounded "on James River att Black Poynt & runing up the river to the mouth of pasmore Creek & up it to cockets Neck Fork & up the northermost Branch thereof to the head, & thence to the mouth of the next Northermost Branch of the Marsh of the sd Creek & up the sd Branch to the head, thence by marked Trees S 82½ degrees Ely 9 chaine [297 feet] to a white oake, thence North 3 degrees Wly 22 & 1/4 Chain [734.25 feet] by another line of Marked Trees to a pine on pitch & Tarr Swamp and downe it to a marked oake on the upper side of the next Branch Issueing out of the sd Swamp, thence No: 42 degrees Ely 8 Chains [264 feet] to the head of Harmans [Kingsmill] Creek & downe it to back River & down the same to the place it began." Also included were 12 acres belonging to Mr. Holliday which Travis had acquired from William Champion on November 15, 1677. The Travis patent included 326 acres that had been acquired earlier on, plus several other parcels: 150 acres that had been bought from John Senior on November 5, 1654; 12 acres that had been purchased from John Crumfort [Crump] on December 4, 1654; 15 acres acquired from John Johnson (II) on August 8, 1659; 70 acres bought from Mrs. Susanna Chiles on August 7, 1672; and 12 acres procured from William Champion on November 15, 1677 (Patent Book 7:228-229).

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently didn't enhance the size of his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

Study Unit 2 Tract S

John Hall (Haul)

John Hall (Haul), who came to Virginia in the *John and Francis*, by February 16, 1624, was living with his wife in the eastern end of Jamestown Island. Approximately a year later (on January 24, 1625) the Halls were still there. The 1625 muster reveals that Mrs. Susan Hall came to the colony aboard the *London Merchant* (Hotten 1980:178,227; Meyer et al. 1987:35).

In April 1624 John Hall sued his neighbor, John Johnson I (Tract A), for failing to pay him 10 pounds sterling for serving as Johnson's substitute in a March 1623 retaliatory expedition against the Indians. Johnson also owed Hall some money for clothing Hall's servant had made for him (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:474). Later in the year, Johnson broke the law by selling Hall a young, unmarked hog (McIlwaine 1924:35).

On August 22, 1625, the General Court conferred upon John Hall (Haul) 4 acres of land and the house he then occupied. The property, which abutted Thomas Passmore's northerly patent (Tract H), was in a location analogous to Study Unit 2 Tract S (McIlwaine 1924:69).[154] Court testimony dating to January 30, 1626, reveals that Hall, a year or more prior to receiving a legal title to the property, had used it as collateral when securing a debt to his neighbor, Thomas Passmore, whom he promised to repay by November 1, 1626. As Hall died before paying what he owed, on February 6, 1626, his then wife, Bridgett, was obliged to assign her late husband's house and land to Passmore (McIlwaine 1924:69, 92-93).[155] The unification of Tracts S and H gave Thomas Passmore an aggregate of 16 acres in one location. The 16 acre parcel, cited as Passmore's, was attributed to him in a land transaction that occurred 26 years later (Patent Book 1:158).

Thomas Passmore

Little is known about the use to which Thomas Passmore put Tract S. However, it is likely that he incorporated it into the agricultural operations he carried out on the adjoining Tract H. No references to Thomas Passmore or his then wife, Joanne, have been found that postdate Thomas's January 24, 1629, appointment to a jury (McIlwaine 1924:110). John Radish and John Bradwell's May 20, 1637, patent for Tract P, which verbal boundary description states that the land of "Edward Travis [I] [was] abutting Northerly upon it," suggests that by that date Tract S was in Travis's control (Patent Book 1:423).

Edward Travis I

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. 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. It was located "Near black Poynt" and was bounded "North upon the back river and East upon the Same, South upon the Land of Mr. Chyles [Tracts M, N, O, P, and U] and Goose hill Marsh and west upon David

[154] Specifically, it was ordered "Yt John Haule shall have his howse and fowre Acres of land joining to the land of Thomas Passmoure scytuate in James Cyttie Island where he hath now built & seated."

[155] Passmore and Christopher Hall (perhaps John's kinsman) went to court in August 1625 to settle a dispute over how the year's tobacco crop should be divided (McIlwaine 1924:69). The intermingling of John Hall's and Christopher Hall's names in contemporary court records and both men's problems with Thomas Passmore raises the possibility that the Halls were sharing a piece of ground.

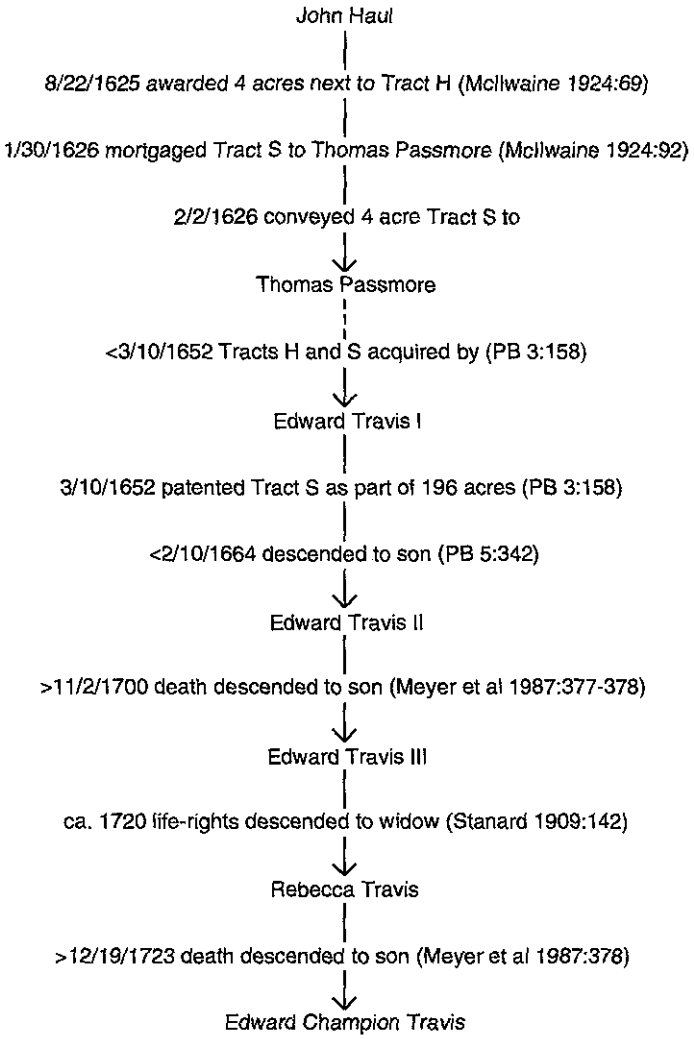


Figure 44. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract S.*

Ellis his land and Mr. Crosbys Land [Tract R]." Included were 24 acres formerly granted to John Southern (Tracts G and Q), 12 acres patented by John Senior (Tract E), and 16 acres formerly 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 in the vicinity of Tract E probably are associated with the Travis domestic complex.

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Edward Travis II

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 1969-1979: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 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.

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Edward Champion Travis

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(Williamsburg-James City County Tax Lists 1768-1769). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

Study Unit 2 Tract T

Robert Marshall and Thomas Grubb

On February 16, 1624, Robert Marshall, who came to Virginia in May 1619 aboard the *George*, was living on the Governor's Land just west of Jamestown Island, where he was a member of John Carter's household (Hotten 1980:176; Nugent 1969-1979:I:226). In June, Marshall, who was free, became engaged to Edward Blaney's maid servant, Eleanor Sprad, who broke the law by simultaneously agreeing to marry another man (McIlwaine 1924:15, 17). Robert Marshall quickly found another woman to marry, for by January 24, 1625, when a muster was made of the colony's inhabitants he and wife Ann were living together on Jamestown Island, probably on Tract T (Meyer et al. 1987:35).

Thomas Grubb, whom the muster-taker listed right after the Marshalls, was credited with a house and two barrels of corn, whereas the Marshalls had a swine and four barrels of corn (Meyer et al. 1987:35). Grubb, who on October 31, 1622, had agreed to serve Treasurer George Sandys a given period of time, on November 1, 1624, was hauled into court by Sandys who convinced the justices that he should serve another four months (McIlwaine 1924:28). Thus, Thomas Grubb would not have gained his freedom until March 1, 1625.

Grubb's obligation to Sandys may have kept him from investing a substantial amount of labor in improving the leasehold he shared with Robert Marshall. At any rate, on April 24, 1625, Marshall asked the General Court to partition the ground in which he and Thomas Grubb had a joint interest. The justices decided that Marshall was entitled to half of the land, noting that both men recently had enclosed the property with a fence (McIlwaine 1924:56).

The 1625 rift with Grubb may have impelled Robert Marshall to strike out on his own, for during 1626 he commenced leasing a nearby parcel (Study Unit 2 Tract C) that he patented on September 20, 1628 (Patent Book 1:92; Nugent 1969-1979:I:12). Meanwhile, when Thomas Grubb (a joiner) made his will, which was proved on May 21, 1627, he bequeathed his leasehold (Tract T) to Robert Wright and Andrew Rawleigh. On October 10, 1628, the General Court transferred Grubb's leasehold to Wright and Rawleigh for a period of 10 years (McIlwaine 1924:148, 154). No reference was then made to Robert Marshall's formerly having a legal interest in the property.

Robert Wright and Andrew Rawleigh

Robert Wright, an ancient planter, came to Virginia in 1609 aboard the *Swan*. During 1624 and 1625 he and wife Jane (an ancient planter, midwife, and the first Virginia colonist known to have been accused of witchcraft) were living in Elizabeth City with their young children (Hotten 1980:183, 261). By 1626 the Wrights had moved to what became Surry County. However, rumors about Jane Wright's supernatural powers followed her to her new location and resulted in the Wrights' being hauled before the General Court (McIlwaine 1924:111-113). The Wrights' problems with their Southside neighbors may have given rise to Robert's January 13, 1627, request for permission to relocate to Jamestown Island and for land upon which he could build a dwelling (McIlwaine 1924:137, 152). The General Court's justices agreed and on August 27, 1627, gave Robert Wright a patent for a 12 acre waterfront parcel known as Labour in Vain, which physical description reveals that it comprised the parcel designated Study Unit 3 Tract E (Nugent 1969-1979:I:8; Patent Book 1:54). A few months later, when Wright inherited part of Thomas Grubb's 10 acre leasehold (Tract T), he gained some additional acreage to use. The Grubb tract

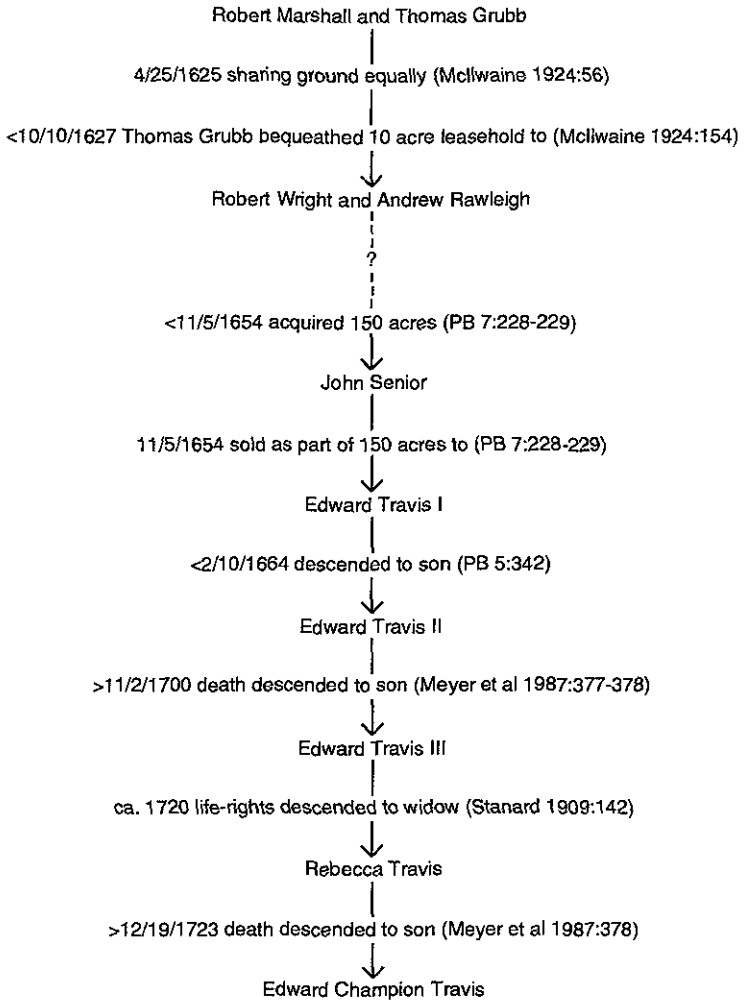


Figure 45. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract T.*

also would have provided Andrew Raleigh with some land of his own.

Relatively little is known about Andrew Rawleigh (Ralye, Railey) other than the fact that on February 16, 1624, he and Thomas Passmore (the owner of Study Unit 2 Tract D) were living in urban Jamestown in the household of John Southern, the experienced artisan the Society of Southampton Hundred sent to Virginia in 1620 to establish an ironworks and take charge of the plantation the Society's investors intended to build (Hotten 1980:175; Ferrar MS 449; McIlwaine 1924:73).

The leasehold Andrew Rawleigh and Robert Wright inherited from Thomas Grubb in 1627, to which they secured a 10 year lease in October 1628, appears to have been the only land in which Rawleigh had a legal interest. The two men's lease for Tract T would have expired in October 1638 (McIlwaine 1924:148, 154).

John Senior I

Sometime prior to November 5, 1654, ancient planter John Senior I acquired Tract T, which he combined with some marsh land and three other parcels bordering Passmore Creek (Study Unit 2 Tracts B, C, and D) into an aggregate of 150 acres (Patent Book 7:228-220; Nugent 1969-1979:II:252).[156] Senior, who prior to 1624 patented 12 acres on Jamestown Island (Study Unit 2 Tract E), eventually moved to Surry County, which he appears to have made his permanent home. In 1643 he surveyed the Rich Neck tract for Richard Kemp and produced a relatively detailed plat. Between 1644 and 1652 he patented three tracts of land in Surry County (two of which were opposite Jamestown) and he acquired some acreage along the north side of the Piankatank River, in what is now Middlesex County. For a time, he owned the Glasshouse tract on the mainland adjacent to Jamestown Island (Senior 1643; Nugent 1969-1979:I:190, 221, 225, 279; Ambler MS 78; Senior 1643; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1652-1672:112). The quantity of acreage Senior owned suggests that he was a successful planter of somewhat more than middling means. On November 5, 1654, John Senior I sold Edward Travis I his 150 acre parcel on the north side of Passmore Creek (Patent Book 7:228-229; Nugent 1969-1979:II:252).

Edward Travis I

Edward Travis I, by purchasing John Senior I's 150 acre parcel on the north side of Passmore Creek, significantly enhanced the size of his plantation (Patent Book 7:228-229; Nugent 1969-1979:II:252). At Edward I's death prior to February 1664, Study Unit 2 Tract T and his other Jamestown Island properties descended to his son and heir, Edward Travis II (Patent Book 5:342; Nugent 1969-1979:I:503).

Edward Travis II

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 1969-1979: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 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, Q, and S); the 70 acres he bought from Susanna Chiles (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U); John Senior'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). The boundaries of Edward Travis II's 550 acres were described as a whole. His "Devedend of Land & marsh" began "on James River att Black Poynt & runing up the river to the mouth of pasmore Creek & up it to cockets Neck Fork & up the northermost Branch thereof to the head, & thence to the mouth of the next Northermost Branch of the Marsh of the sd Creek & up the sd Branch to the head, thence by marked Trees S 82½ degrees Ely 9 chaine [297 feet] to a white oake, thence North 3 degrees Wly 22 & 1/4 Chain [734.25 feet] by another line of Marked Trees to a pine on pitch & Tarr Swamp and downe it to a marked oake on

[156] No patent for Senior's 150 acres has come to light. However, it is certain that his property was one of the several parcels encompassed by the 550 acres Edward Travis II patented in 1682. As all but one of those parcels have been linked to specific locations, it has been determined through the process of elimination that the Senior patent included the dry land and marsh that extended along the upper side of Passmore Creek.

the upper side of the next Branch Issueing out of the sd Swamp, thence No: 42 degrees Ely 8 Chains [264 feet] to the head of Harmans [Harmer's or Kingsmill] Creek & downe it to back River & down the same to the place it began." Also included within the 550 acres were 12 acres belonging to Mr. Holliday which Travis had acquired from William Champion on November 15, 1677. The Travis patent included 326 acres that Edward Travis I had acquired earlier on, plus several other parcels: 150 acres that had been bought from John Senior on November 5, 1654; 12 acres that had been purchased from John Crumfort (Crump) on December 4, 1654; 15 acres acquired from John Johnson (II) on August 8, 1659; 70 acres bought from Mrs. Susanna Chiles on August 7, 1672; and 12 acres received from William Champion on November 15, 1677 (Patent Book 7:228-229).

Edward Travis II 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 acres that extended from the east side of Kingsmill Creek to the north side of Passmore Creek, encompassing all of Study Unit 2.

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently didn't enhance the size of his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

Study Unit 2 Tract U

Thomas Sully (Sulley)

Thomas Sully, a yeoman and ancient planter, who immigrated to Virginia in 1611, received a patent for 6 acres in the western end of Jamestown Island at Blockhouse Hill (Study Unit I Tract E) on August 14, 1624. He was entitled to 6 acres of additional land once his original property was seated. Sully seems to have acquired his supplementary acreage at Black Point (Tract U) (Meyer et al. 1987:54; Patent Book 1:12, 65; Nugent 1969-1979:I:3, 10). On February 16, 1624, Sully and his wife were living in the Neck O'Land behind Jamestown Island. By January 1625 Thomas Sully (age 36) and wife Maudlyn (age 30) had moved to Elizabeth City, where they were residing in the home of William Julian. On January 24, 1625, Sully sold his 6 acres at Black Point to Sir George Yeardley, but retained his acreage near Blockhouse Hill until at least 1628 (Meyer et al. 1987:54; Hotten 1980:178; Nugent 1969-1979:I:3, 10; Patent Book 1:12, 65; McIlwaine 1924:45). It is uncertain whether Thomas Sully ever occupied his land at Black Point. If so, he probably resided there at a very early date, for his presence is well document in the Neck O'Land during 1624 and from 1625 on, he lived in Elizabeth City (McIlwaine 1924:27, 33).

Sir George Yeardley

On January 24, 1625, Sir George Yeardley simultaneously acquired three tracts of land at Black Point: 6 acres he bought from Thomas Sully (Tract U), 12 acres he procured from Percival and Ann Wood (Tract M), and an unspecified amount of acreage he obtained from John Radish (Tract N) (McIlwaine 1924:45). In April 1626 Sir George Yeardley's wife, Lady Temperance, was approached about placing Tract M in the hands of a tenant, John Upton. This raises the possibility that the Yeardleys elected to use Tracts N and U as rental properties (McIlwaine 1924:137).

On October 12, 1627, when the ailing Sir George Yeardley made his will, he bequeathed to his widow and executrix, Lady Temperance, life-rights to the house they occupied in Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B) and its contents. His executors were to see that the rest of his real and personal property was sold and that the proceeds were distributed among his heirs. Lady Temperance Yeardley was to receive her dower third and the couple's three children (Elizabeth, Argoll and Francis) were to share the remainder. However, on October 29, Sir George Yeardley added a codicil to his will. He then stipulated that his Jamestown Island property was to be sold and that the yield be dispensed to his heirs (Yeardley 1627a, 1627b; Stanard 1916:445). Sir George Yeardley died within two weeks and on November 13, 1627, he was interred at Jamestown. His will was presented for probate on February 5, 1628 (McIlwaine 1924:156, 160).

Lady Temperance Yeardley by February 8, 1628, had begun settling her late husband's estate and making arrangements to sell his property (McIlwaine 1924:166-167). She married interim-Governor Francis West in late March 1628, but died intestate within a year. As she hadn't finished settling Sir George Yeardley's estate, his brother, Ralph Yeardley, became administrator. On February 1, 1630, Francis West, as Temperance's heir, brought suit against Ralph Yeardley in attempt to recover his late wife's dower share of Sir George Yeardley's estate (Stanard 1917:101-102; Tyler 1921:121). It is likely that Tract U (like Sir George Yeardley's other Virginia real estate) was sold in accord with the instructions in his will. However, when and by whom it was sold is unclear.

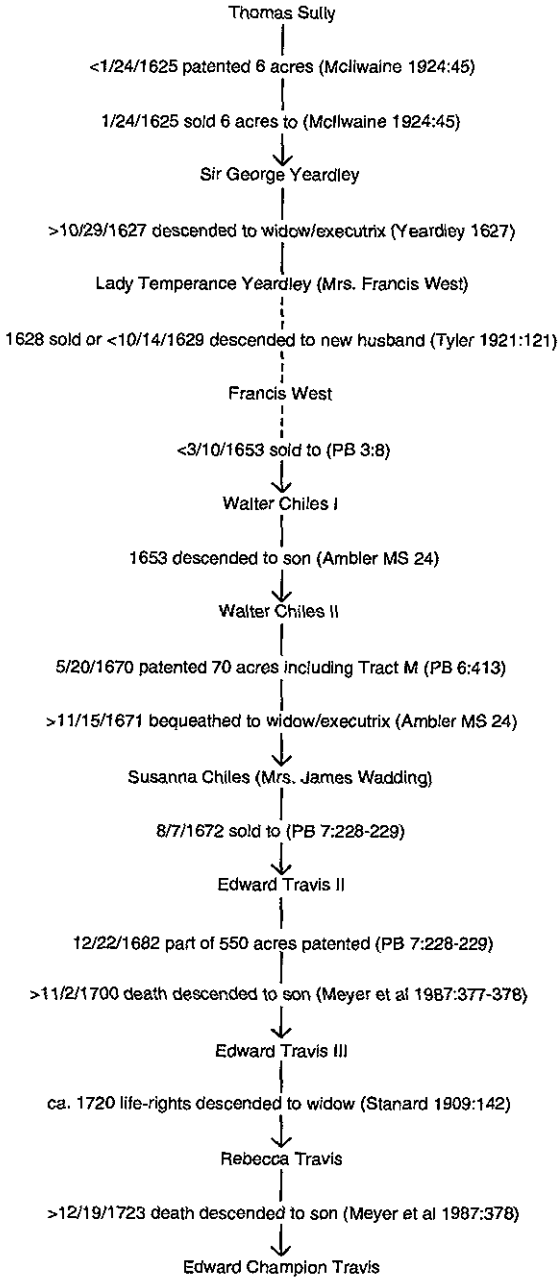


Figure 46. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract U.*

Walter Chiles I

Sometime prior to March 10, 1653, Walter Chiles I acquired 70 acres at Black Point, which included Tracts M, N, O, P, and U. Chiles' acreage was then used as a reference point when Edward Travis I patented some land that lay to the north (Nugent 1969-1979:I:231; II:112; Patent Book 3:8; 6:413). Chiles, a Charles City County burgess and planter, commenced serving as a James City burgess in November 1645 (Stanard 1965:61, 63-64). This raises the possibility that he had acquired his Black Point acreage prior to that date.

In March 1649 Walter Chiles I bought a 3½ acre lot in urban Jamestown, acreage that contained a brick house built by Richard Kemp a decade earlier (Structure 44 on Study Unit 1 Tract F). Chiles and his wife, Mary, the daughter of Colonel John Page, resided upon their Jamestown property (Ambler MS 4; Stanard 1910:122; Meyer et al. 1987:410). Walter Chiles I was a merchant and his ship, the *Leopaldus*, allegedly was involved in illegal trade with the Dutch (Hening 1809-1823:I:382; Tyler 1892-1893:75; Surry Deeds, Wills, &c. 1652-72:28). When he died in ca. 1653, his landholdings descended to his eldest son, Walter Chiles II (Ambler MS 24).

Walter Chiles II

On May 20, 1670, Walter Chiles II of Jamestown, a burgess and vestryman, patented the 70 acres at Black Point that he had inherited from his father (Patent Book 6:413; Nugent 1969-1979:II:112; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:84; Hening 1809-1823:I:506-507). He probably placed some of his indentured servants upon his property and his 200 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land. Chiles' patent, which faced east upon the James River, was "knowne by the name of black poynt." Its verbal boundary description, which ran clockwise from the northwest corner, extended "East 30 chaynes [990 feet], [then] E. N. E. 72 Ch. [2,376 feet] to the River, So. 20 Ch. [660 feet] and so. so. W 30 Ch. [990 feet] to a Marsh, thence along the Marsh west 83 Ch. [2,739 feet, and N. N. W. 22 Ch. [726 feet] to the place it began, including 70 acres." The Chiles patent's boundaries were reconstructed electronically with AutoCAD and then superimposed upon an 1856 topographic map of Jamestown Island that had been digitized. The electronic maps were then positioned so that the easternmost end of the patent reconstruction overlaid Black Point, as depicted on the topographic map (U.S. Coast Survey 1856).[157] At this time, it was noted that the reconstructed Chiles patent's boundary lines along an east-west axis were 660 feet apart, precisely the distance spanned by the side lines of Tracts O and P. When Tracts M, O and P were laid out regularly in a row (in accord with their patent descriptions), they were found to fit snugly within the boundaries of the southerly part of the Chiles patent.[158] Tracts N and U (which were known to have been at Black Point) were placed within the northeastern part of the Chiles patent, which enveloped that distinctive landscape feature.

When Walter Chiles II prepared his November 15, 1671, will, he instructed his widow and executrix, Susanna, to sell all of his real estate. Chiles died in late 1671 and his widow commenced implementing the terms of his will (Ambler MS 24).

Susanna Chiles (Mrs. Walter II) (Mrs. James Wadding)

Although Mrs. Susanna Chiles remarried shortly after her late husband's death, she continued settling his estate. On August 7, 1672, she and her new husband, the Rev. James Wadding of James City Parish, sold the late Walter Chiles II's 70 acres at Black Point (Tracts M, N, O, P, and U) to Edward Travis II (Nugent 1969- 1979:I:252; Patent Book 7:228-229).

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[157] This particular map was chosen because it is the earliest dated topographically sensitive rendering that shows the eastern end of Jamestown Island.

[158] To the south of the Chiles patent and directly below Tract O was Tract D, with which O shared a common boundary line. The same was true with Tracts C and B, which abutted north upon Tract P's southern boundary.

Edward Travis II

Edward Travis II purchased 70 acres from Walter Chiles II's widow, Susanna, which he patented on August 7, 1672 (Nugent 1969-1979:II:252; Patent Book 7:228-229). He already was in possession of his late father's 396 acres, which he had repatented on February 10, 1664 (Patent Book 5:342; Nugent 1969-1979:I:503). On November 15, 1677, Travis added Tract X to his holdings (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, Q, and S); the 70 acres he bought from Susanna Chiles (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U); John Senior'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). The boundaries of Edward Travis II's 550 acres were described as a whole. His "Devedend of Land & marsh" was bounded "on James River att Black Poynt & runing up the river to the mouth of pasmore Creek & up it to cockets Neck Fork & up the northermost Branch thereof to the head, & thence to the mouth of the next Northermost Branch of the Marsh of the sd Creek & up the sd Branch to the head, thence by marked Trees S 82½ degrees Ely 9 chaine [297 feet] to a white oake, thence North 3 degrees Wly 22 & 1/4 Chain [734.25 feet] by another line of Marked Trees to a pine on pitch & Tarr Swamp and downe it to a marked oake on the upper side of the next Branch Issueing out of the sd Swamp, thence No: 42 degrees Ely 8 Chains [264 feet] to the head of Harmans [Harmer's or Kingsmill] Creek & downe it to back River & down the same to the place it began." Also included were 12 acres belonging to Mr. Holliday which Travis had procured from William Champion on November 15, 1677 (Patent Book 7:228-229).

Edward Travis II 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 acres that extended from the east side of Kingsmill Creek to the north side of Passmore Creek, encompassing virtually all of Study Unit 2.

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently didn't enhance the size of his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

Study Unit 2 Tract V

Mrs. Elizabeth Soothey (Southey, Sothey) (Mrs. Henry I)

Elizabeth and Henry Soothey I immigrated to Virginia in the *Southampton* in 1622, accompanied by their six children and ten servants. Mr. Soothey (a gentleman from Rimpton, in Somerset, England) and some associates planned to bring 100 people to Virginia to establish a particular plantation and were expecting Virginia Company officials to give them a patent. However, between April 1623 and February 16, 1624, while the Sootheys were residing in urban Jamestown, Mr. Soothey and all but one of his children (a daughter) became ill and died. Mrs. Elizabeth Soothey and daughter Ann were still there on January 24, 1625, when a muster was made of the community's inhabitants (McIlwaine 1924:102, 152; Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:574; Hotten 176, 191, 226).

In May 1626 the General Court, which was unaware that Henry Soothey I's son and heir, Henry II, had died, authorized him to take up 900 acres, the quantity of land his late father was entitled to claim on behalf of 18 headrights (McIlwaine 1924:102). In September 10, 1627, after it had become known that Henry II also was dead, the General Court awarded Mrs. Elizabeth Soothey a parcel of land in right of her late son. The acreage (which size wasn't specified) reportedly was "in the garden nere to James Citty adjoyning unto Mr. Bucks house," a dwelling that was located upon Study Unit 2 Tract I. As Kingsmill Creek and the Andrews-Grubb patent (Tract L) formed Tract I's boundaries on the north and south, and as Mary Bayly's Tract K abutted the west side of Tract I, only the land to the east of Tract I that was available for assignment to Mrs. Soothey was the acreage that has been designated Tract V.

Ann Soothey (Southey, Sothey)

(HYPOTHETICAL)

Henry Soothey I's daughter, Ann, who reached maturity, married Charles Harmer (Lady Elizabeth Dale's overseer) and then Nathaniel Littleton, both of whom resided in Northampton County. On October 20, 1643, Ann Soothey Harmer was issued a certificate that entitled her to 900 acres on behalf of her late parents, Elizabeth and Henry Soothey I, and brother Henry II (Withington 1980:573; Meyer et al. 1987:577). Tract V, if retained by Mrs. Elizabeth Soothey, may have descended to daughter Ann Soothey Harmer through inheritance. This hypothesis is supported by Kingsmill Creek's identification as Harmer's Creek in a 1682 patent (Patent Book 7:228-229).[159]

Edward Travis II

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 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,

[159] On the other hand, the widow of Richard Kingsmill (Study Unit 1 Tract A) married Ambrose Harmer.

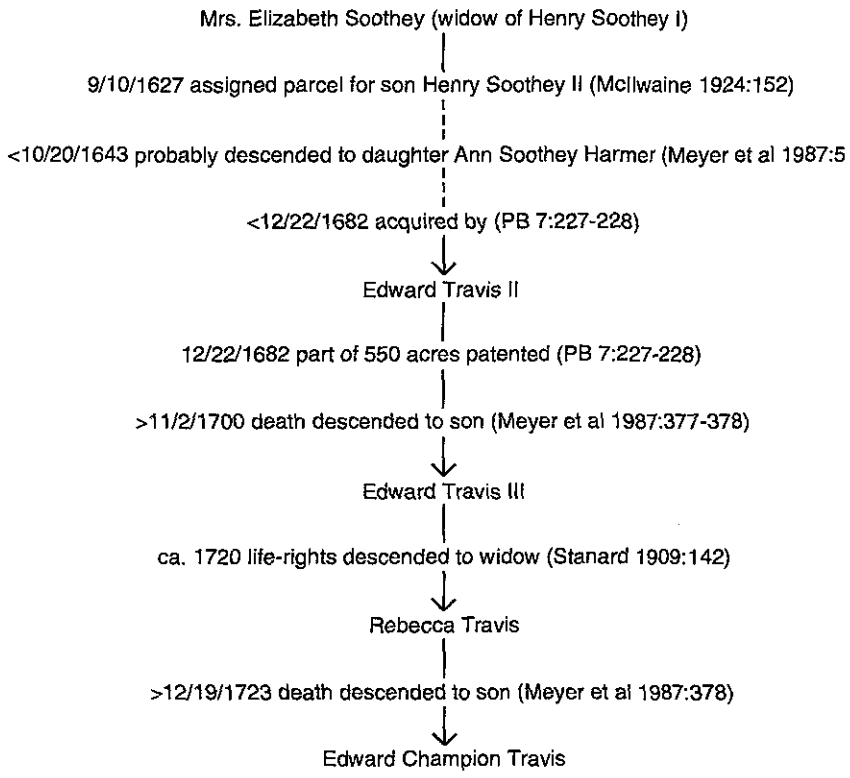


Figure 47. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract V.*

and Q); the 70 acres he bought from Susanna Chiles (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U); John Senior's 150 acres (Study Unit 2 Tracts B, C, and D 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 some land that lay along the east side of Kingsmill Creek (Study Unit 2 Tracts J, K, R, and V) (Patent Book 7:228-229). This gave him and his descendants approximately 802 3/4 acres that encompassed the eastern end of Jamestown Island, to the east of Kingsmill Creek and to the north of Passmore Creek. Thus, the Travis plantation embraced virtually all of Study Unit 2.

In 1682 the boundaries of Edward Travis II's 550 acres were described as a whole. His "Devedend of Land & marsh" was bounded "on James River att Black Poynt & runing up the river to the mouth of pasmore Creek & up it to cockets Neck Fork & up the northermost Branch thereof to the head, & thence to the mouth of the next Northermost Branch of the Marsh of the sd Creek & up the sd Branch to the head, thence by marked Trees S 82½ degrees Ely 9 chaine [297 feet] to a white oake, thence North 3 degrees Wly 22 & 1/4 Chain [734.25 feet] by another line of Marked Trees to a pine on pitch & Tarr Swamp and downe it to a marked oake on the upper side of the next Branch Issueing out of the sd Swamp, thence No: 42 degrees Ely 8 Chains [264 feet] to the head of Harmans [Harmer's or Kingsmill] Creek & downe it to back River & down the same to the place it began." Also included were 12 acres belonging to Mr. Holliday which Travis had acquired from William Champion on November 15, 1677. The Travis patent included 326 acres that had been acquired earlier on, plus several other parcels: 150 acres that had been bought from John Senior on November 5, 1654; 12 acres that had been purchased

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Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

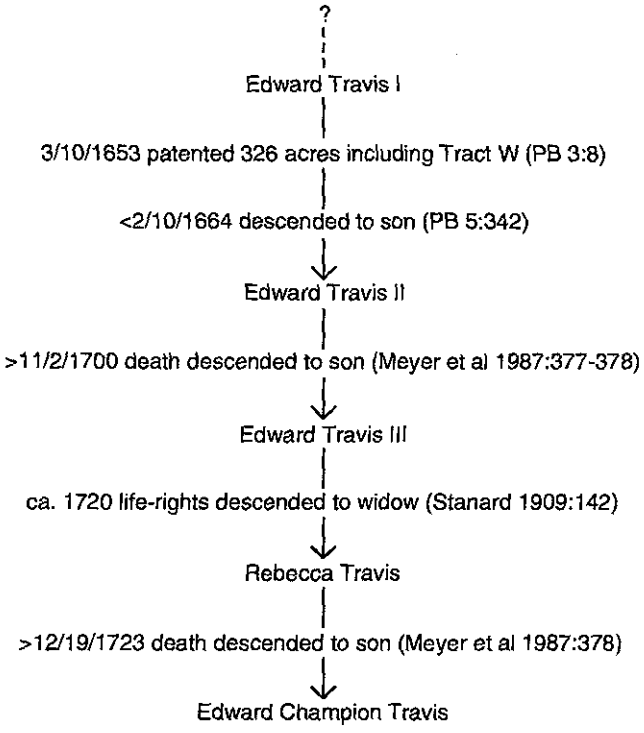


Figure 48. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract W.*

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. During Sir Thomas Dale's government (1611-1616), planter households began occupying small homesteads that were scattered throughout the eastern end of Jamestown Island. It is therefore likely that some of the families listed in the 1624 census and 1625 muster, who were attributed to rural Jamestown Island but whose patents have been lost, were living in this vicinity.

Edward Travis I

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. 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 that enveloped Tracts L and W. It was located "Near black Poynt" and was bounded "North upon the back river and East upon the Same, South upon the Land of Mr. Chyles [Tracts M, N, O, P, and U] and Goose hill Marsh and west upon David Ellis his land and Mr. Crosbys Land [Tract R]." Included were 24 acres formerly granted to John Southern (Tracts G and Q), 12 acres patented by John Senior (Tract E), and 16 acres formerly 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 in the immediate vicinity of Tract E probably are associated with the Travis domestic complex.

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," along the upper side of Passmore Creek. It included much (if not all) of the area that has been designated Tract W. Specifically, Travis's "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/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, 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 some 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).

Edward Travis II

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 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, Q, S, and W); the 70 acres he bought from Susanna Chiles (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U); John Senior'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.

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently didn't enhance the size of his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

Study Unit 2 Tract X

William Champion

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 (Nugent 1969-1979:II:252; Patent Book 7:228-229). Nothing else is known about Tract X, including its precise location. However, because it became part of the Travis family's plantation in the eastern end of Jamestown Island and was included in the land Edward Travis II repatented in 1682, it is certain that Tract X was located north of Passmore Creek and east of Kingsmill Creek, within the Travis plantation.

Edward Travis II

On February 10, 1664, Edward Travis II repatented his late father's 396 acres, which included the 196 acres Edward I acquired in March 1652 and the 130 acres he procured in March 1653. This time, the 196 acre component was described as abutting "North upon the back River and East upon the same, South upon the Land of Mr. Chiles and Goose Hill marsh and West upon David Elliott's Land and Mr. Crosbie's Land." The remaining 130 acres, part of which was marsh land, lay "Southerly from his now dwelling House" and included a "dividend of high Land Bounded by Parsmores Creek and Cocketts neck, the remainder being high Land lying Westerly from his said House and dividend, and bounded on the Westward side with the Land of Lansolet Eley, Northerly with a swamp, Easterly with his said former dividend of the said Mrs. Traverse" (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 1969-1979:II:252; Patent Book 7:228-229). The 70 acres included Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P, and U. On November 15, 1677, Travis acquired Tract X, 12 acres he acquired from William Champion, who probably was his brother-in-law (Nugent 1969-1979:II:252). Although the precise location of the Champion parcel is uncertain, its inclusion in one of Travis's subsequent patents for land on Jamestown Island reveals that it became part of his plantation.

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, Q, and S); the 70 acres he bought from Susanna Chiles (Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P and U); John Senior's 150 acres (Study Unit 2 Tracts B, C, and D and some marsh land north of Passmore Creek's mouth); and William Champion's 12 acres (Tract X) (Nugent 1969-1979:II:252; Patent Book 7:228-229). Edward Travis II also acquired some land that lay along the east side of Kingsmill Creek (Study Unit 2 Tracts J, K, R, and V) (Patent Book 7:228-229). This gave him and his descendants approximately 802 acres that encompassed the eastern end of Jamestown Island, to the east of Kingsmill Creek and to the north of Passmore Creek. Thus, the Travis plantation embraced virtually all of Study Unit 2.

In 1682 the boundaries of Edward Travis II's 550 acres were described as a whole. His "Devedend of Land & marsh" was bounded "on James River att Black Poynt & runing up the river to the mouth of pasmore Creek & up it to cockets Neck Fork & up the northermost Branch thereof to the head, & thence to the mouth of the next Northermost Branch of the Marsh of the sd Creek & up the sd Branch to the head, thence by marked Trees S 82½ degrees Ely 9 chaine [297 feet] to a white oake, thence North 3 degrees Wly 22 & 1/4 Chain [734.25 feet] by another line of Marked Trees to a pine on pitch & Tarr Swamp and downe

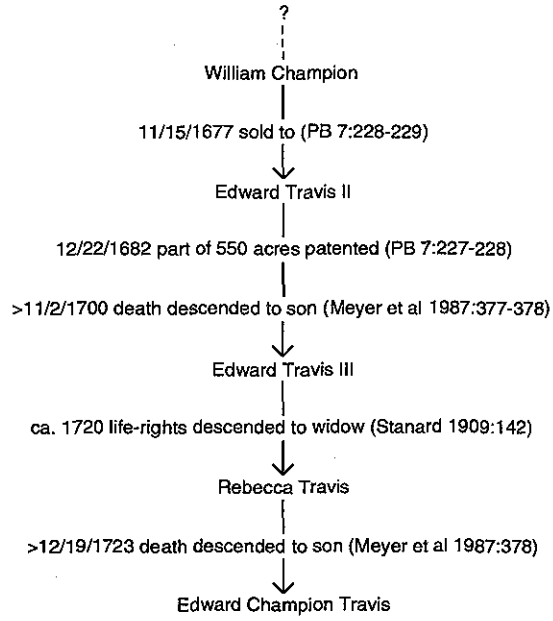


Figure 49. *Land transactions, Study Unit 2, Tract X.*

it to a marked oake on the upper side of the next Branch Issueing out of the sd Swamp, thence No: 42 degrees Ely 8 Chains [264 feet] to the head of Harmans [Harmer's or Kingsmill] Creek & downe it to back River & down the same to the place it began." Also included were 12 acres belonging to Mr. Holliday which Travis had acquired from William Champion on November 15, 1677. The Travis patent included 326 acres that had been acquired earlier on, plus several other parcels: 150 acres that had been bought from John Senior on November 5, 1654 (Tracts B, C, D, and T); 12 acres that had been purchased from John Crumfort (Crump) on December 4, 1654 (Tract I); 15 acres acquired from John Johnson (II) on August 8, 1659 (Tract A); 70 acres bought from Mrs. Susanna Chiles on August 7, 1672 (Tracts M, N, O, P, and U); and 12 acres procured from William Champion on November 15, 1677 (Tract X) (Patent Book 7:228-229).

Edward Travis III

At Edward Travis II's November 2, 1700, death, his landholdings on Jamestown Island descended to his son, Edward III, who apparently didn't enhance the size of his plantation. When Edward Travis III died in ca. 1720, his widow, Rebecca, inherited life-rights in his Jamestown Island property, which contained the family home. Rebecca Travis, upon being widowed, married William Broadnax I, who owned three parcels near Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her 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 stepson Edward Champion Travis may have shared the family home on Jamestown Island until Broadnax's death in 1727.

Edward Champion Travis

Edward Champion Travis, who was born the year his father died, came of age in 1741. 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). The other half of Travis's James City County land was situated between Deep Creek (now Lake Pasbehay) and the mouth of the Chickahominy River, a plantation that during the eighteenth century was known as Piney Grove (Thompson [ca. 1780]).

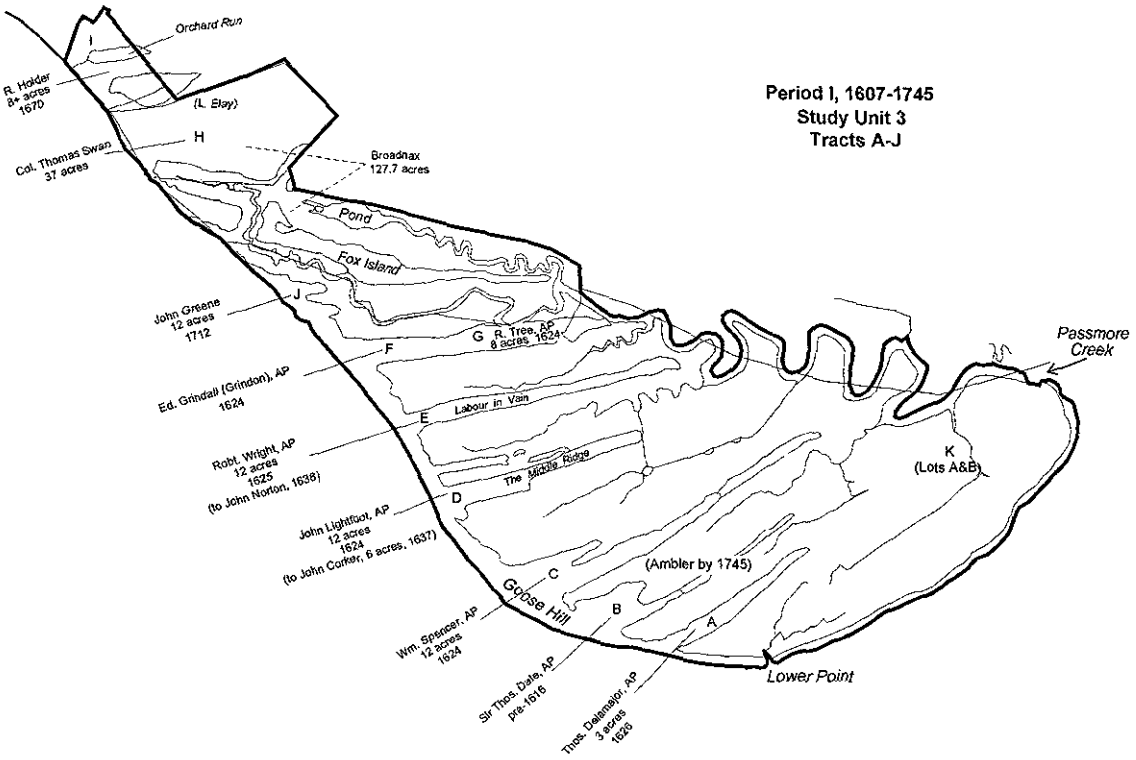


Figure 50. *Study Unit 3, Tracts A-J.*

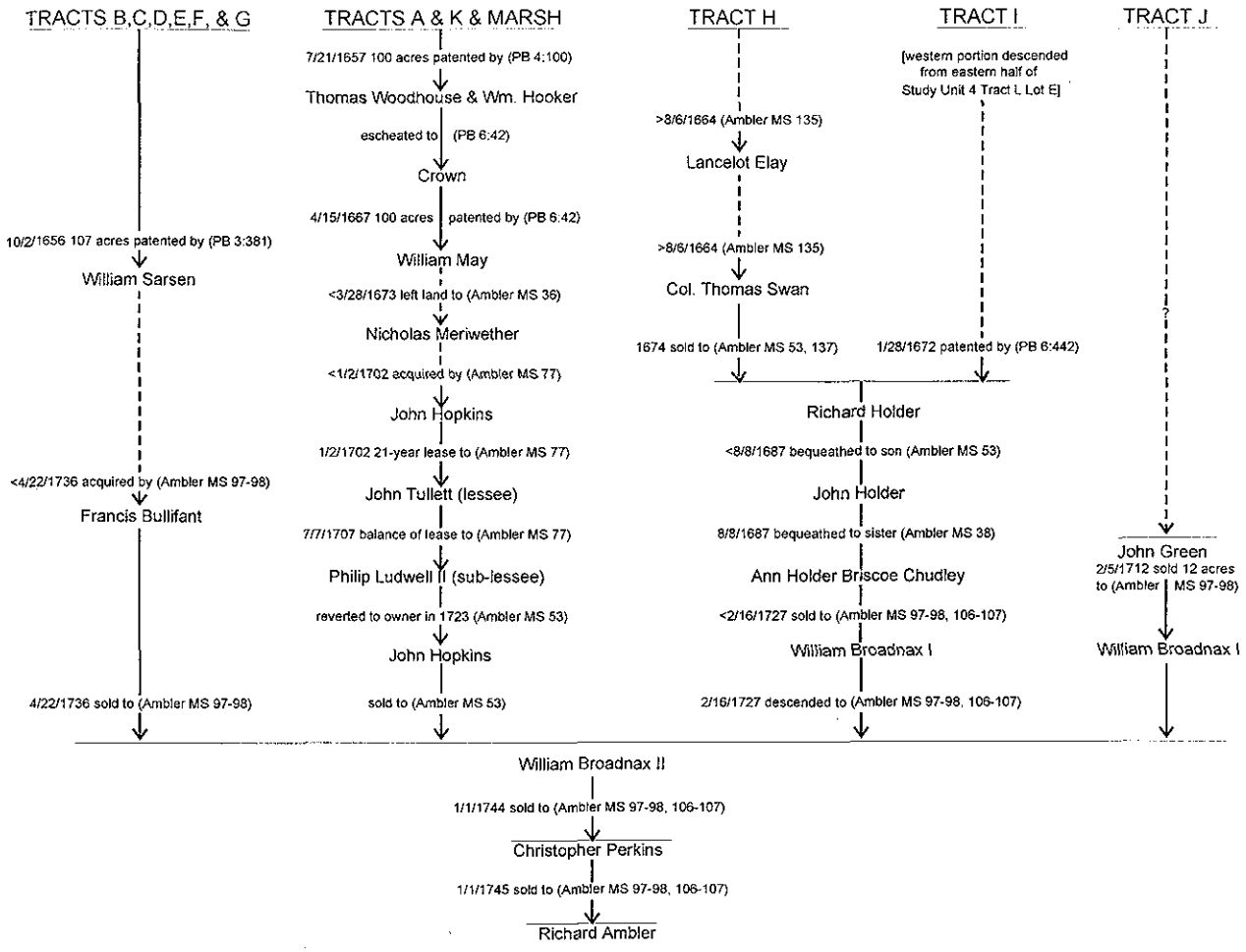


Figure 51. *Study Unit 3: eastern part of the Ambler Plantation.*

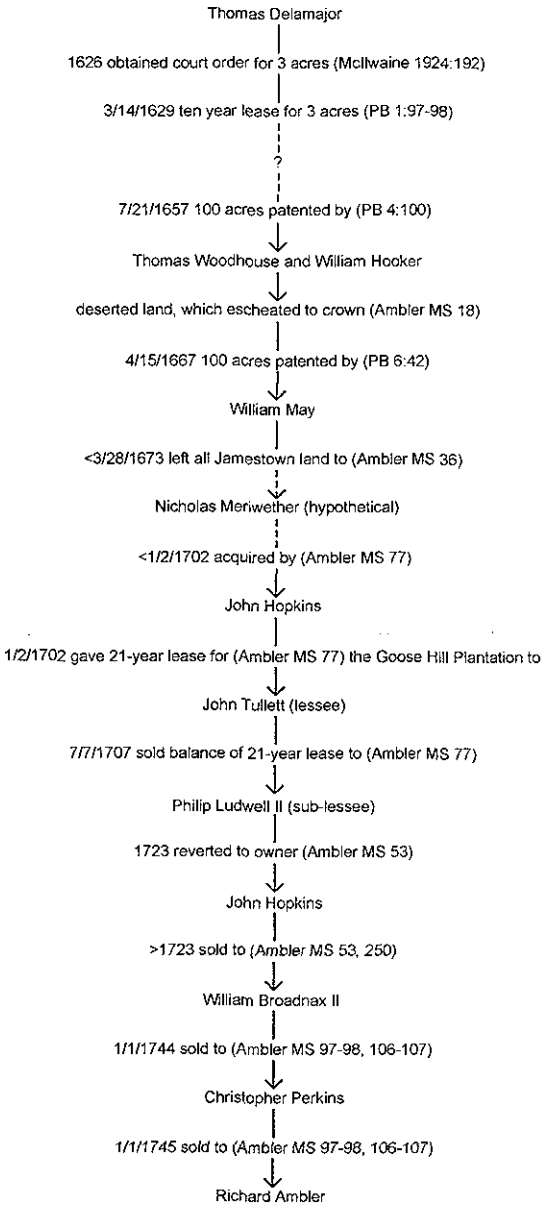


Figure 52. *Land transactions, Study Unit 3, Tract A.*

Study Unit 3 Tract A

Thomas Delamajor (Delemajor, Dillimager)

On February 16, 1624, Thomas Delamajor, a joiner, was living at Flowerdew Hundred where he was included in a list of Sir George Yeardley's servants. By June 24, 1624, Delamajor had relocated to Jamestown, where he was still a member of the Yeardley household. It was then that he and another man were reported seen near the "country house"[160] on the night someone broke into cape merchant Abraham Peirsey's store (Hotten 1980:171; McIlwaine 1924:15).

On January 24, 1625, when a muster was made of Jamestown Island's inhabitants, Thomas Delamajor was residing in the eastern end of the island, perhaps on Tract A (Meyer et al 1987:35; Hotten 1980:228). During 1626 he made several appearances before the General Court to settle or collect debts. On one occasion he testified about two drunken people he and Richard Dilke had seen while walking to Mrs. Soothey's house, a structure located on Study Unit 2 Tract R. All four individuals involved in the court testimony (inebriants and witnesses) lived in the eastern end of Jamestown Island (McIlwaine 1924:94, 115, 167).

On March 14, 1629, Thomas Delamajor was granted a 10 year lease for 3 acres, "a small slip of land lying and being at Goose Hill." His land abutted "Westerly upon the land of Daime Elizabeth Dale [Tract B], Easterly upon goose hill Marsh, [and] Southerly towards the maine river and Northerly on the Island." It was the same property the General Court had awarded him in 1626 (Patent Book 1:97-98; Nugent 1969-1979:I:13; McIlwaine 1924:192). As Delamajor was living in the eastern end of Jamestown Island as early as January 1625, it is probable that he developed his land before obtaining a legally-binding lease.

[160] This may have been the dwelling built by Sir Thomas Gates for use by the colony's governors or another publicly owned building.

Thomas Woodhouse and William Hooker

On July 21, 1657, Thomas Woodhouse and William Hooker patented 100 acres of land in the southeastern end of Jamestown Island. Their acreage, which was east of the Goose Hill House, abutted "Northerly on the Land formerly Major Holts [probably Major Robert Holt, who owned Study Unit 3 Tract K Lot A and Study Unit 4 Tract T] now in the possession of John Barber [I], Northerly On John Pinhorne, North East on Parchmores Creek, South East on the Main River, South West and South East on William Sarsnett [Sarsen, Sarsenet] & South East on the Main River." William Sarsen, by 1657, had patented and unified Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G of Study Unit 3 (Patent Book 4:100; Nugent 1969-1979:I:347).

Much more is known about Thomas Woodhouse than his fellow patentee, William Hooker. By 1655 Woodhouse, who described himself as a resident "of James City," was actively involved in his home community. However, he also patented and developed some land in Surry County, where he secured his first patent in 1640. On October 17, 1655, Woodhouse patented a 1 acre lot in the New Towne (Study Unit 4 Tract C), which he subdivided and sold within a few years. In March 1655 Woodhouse agreed to purchase Bay 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Structure 144 on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A) from Sir William Berkeley. The bay Woodhouse bought (the easternmost of the building's three original units) had seen use as a statehouse and during 1656 he was compensated for hosting two sessions of the General Court and a committee meeting. In 1660 Woodhouse was paid for providing meeting space

to the Council. Woodhouse seems to have prospered, for in May 1658 he patented 6,000 acres of land on the Potomac River and in 1659 he acquired 100 acres in Isle of Wight County. His acreage in Isle of Wight abutted that of two other members of the Jamestown community: John Moon (O'Moonce) (the owner of Study Unit 4 Tract E) and John Upton (lessee of Study Unit 2 Tract M) (Ambler MS 18; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1652-1672:6,23,63; Patent Book 3:380; 5:253; Nugent 1969-1979:I:317, 375, 391; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:96,101; 1660-1693:8; Hening 1809-1823:I:424).

Thomas Woodhouse and William Hooker apparently failed to erect improvements upon Study Unit 3 Tract A, which eventually escheated to the Crown and in 1667 was patented by William May (Ambler MS 18). Woodhouse also lost or disposed of his interest in Bay 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group sometime prior to 1671 (McIlwaine 1924:514). He apparently owned or leased another parcel in Jamestown, for in 1694 he was mentioned in connection with Study Unit 1 Tract G (Ambler MS 64).

William May

William May, who on April 15, 1667, patented 100 acres that encompassed Tracts A and K, was a resident of urban Jamestown. At the time May secured his patent, the 100 acre tract to which he laid claim was described almost precisely as it had been in 1657, when Thomas Woodhouse and William Hooker acquired it. That is, it consisted of 100 acres "below Goose Hill, bounded Northerly on the Land formrly Majr Holts now in the possession of John Barbar, northerly on Jno Pinhorne, North East on Parchmores Creeke, south East on the maine Rivr, south west and south East on Will Sarsnett & south West on the maine Rivr" (Nugent 1969-1979:II:12; Patent Book 6:42; Ambler MS 18). May probably erected improvements upon his property, for it does not seem to have escheated to the Crown.

On May 20, 1661, William May patented a ½ acre lot in Jamestown. He took advantage of the 1662 legislation that subsidized the construction of brick houses in the capital city by building a dwelling upon his property, Structure 86. On June 21, 1670, May acquired a ½ acre lot that abutted the east side of the one he patented in 1661. Both parcels (1 and 2), which lie within Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C, were in his possession at the time of his death in ca. 1672. During the 1670s, the General Court called upon William May to arbitrate disputes, audit accounts and inventory estates. In 1671 he was a member of the James City Parish vestry, the same year he designated Nicholas Meriwether to serve as his attorney. May seems to have been associated with Richard Woodward (Woodard), a Bristol merchant for whom he served as attorney in Virginia. At Woodward's decease he took custody of his estate (Ambler MS 9, 37; Patent Book 4:475; Nugent 1969-1979:I:409; McIlwaine 1924:218, 221, 236, 238, 247, 258-259, 277, 285, 290, 331; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1652-1672:386).

On March 7, 1672, when William May prepared his will, he named Nicholas Meriwether (Study Unit 1 Tract A) as his executor and sole heir. May died sometime prior to March 18, 1673, by which time Meriwether was serving in that capacity. On February 6, 1677, Nicholas Meriwether, as both executor and heir, sold the late William May's New Towne lots to William White (Ambler MS 25, 35, 36; McIlwaine 1924:331).

Nicholas Meriwether (HYPOTHETICAL)

If William May still had his 100 acre tract in the eastern end of Jamestown Island at the time of his ca. 1673 decease, it would have descended to Nicholas Meriwether as his sole heir (Ambler MS 25, 35, 36; McIlwaine 1924:331). Meriwether, who in 1658 was the clerk of the James City County Court, had been the Surry clerk in 1655. It was around that time that he began patenting a substantial amount of land in the Northern Neck and

some vast tracts in New Kent, Hanover, and King William. On November 6, 1661, Meriwether purchased the late Richard Kingsmill's 80 acre Jamestown Island plantation (Study Unit 1 Tract A) from his daughter, Elizabeth. In May 1666 he described himself as a resident of Jamestown Island. He was married to Thomas Woodhouse's daughter, Elizabeth, and in 1668 served as his late father-in-law's executor (Ambler MS 11, 12, 56; Nugent 1969-1979:I:252,257,316,394,556; II:13; III:46,153; Patent Book 4:397; Tyler 1900-1901:202; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1652-1672:270,351).

John Hopkins

Sometime prior to January 2, 1702, John Hopkins acquired the 100 acres the late William May patented in 1667. It is perhaps significant that Hopkins' son-in-law or brother-in-law, Francis Bullifant, came into possession of a neighboring property, William Sarson's 107 acres (Tracts, B, C, D, E, F, and G), and that Hopkins and Bullifant were mentioned in connection with a 2 acre leasehold in Study Unit 1 Tract E. The two men's preference for low-lying marshy areas raises the possibility that they were trappers. On January 2, 1702, John Hopkins leased the May tract (then identified as the Goose Hill Plantation) to John Tullitt (Ambler MS 48, 49, 77, 106-107).

John Tullitt (Tulitt, Tullit, Tullett) (lessee)

John Tullitt, though not an office-holder, took an active role in public affairs. In June 1695 he was paid for leveling the old brick fort that had been constructed at Jamestown during the early 1670s and for mounting the capital city's guns upon new carriages (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:331). On June 6, 1698, he purchased Dyonysia Ravenscroft Hadley's 3/4 acre lot and improvements (Bays 3 and 4 of Structure 115) within Study Unit 4 Tract K and in February 1699 he was compensated for outfitting his house to accommodate the assembly. Later in the year, Tullitt was paid for hosting assembly meetings. In 1700 Tullitt was hired to supply brick for the new capitol building to be constructed in Williamsburg and in 1709 he offered to erect the college's main building, if he were provided with workmen from England (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:410; 1905-1915:1695-1702:160, 175; Hadley 1698; Sainsbury 1964:17:209; Byrd 1941:99).

At the onset of the eighteenth century John Tullitt began acquiring more land. In 1702 he bought a 27 acre tract in the mainland near Jamestown Island, which he promptly sold to Philip Ludwell II, to whom he also conveyed his rowhouse bays in Study Unit 4 Tract K. Tullitt patented 391 acres at the head of Kings Creek in York County and in 1705 acquired 17,653 acres near Falling Creek, in what was then Henrico County. On July 7, 1707, while living in Henrico, Tullitt assigned several leaseholds to Philip Ludwell II. Three were in the Governor's Land, one was for William Broadribb's mill, and another was for the 100 acre "Plantation in James Town Island Commonly Called Goose Hill." Tullitt, as grantor, noted that on January 2, 1702, John Hopkins had given him a 21 year lease for the Goose Hill tract, which he was conveying to Ludwell (Tullitt [1698-1718]; Ambler MS 77; Nugent 1969-1979:III:80, 109).

Philip Ludwell II (sub-lessee)

All of the mainland leaseholds Philip Ludwell II acquired from John Tullitt would have functioned as subsidiaries of his plantation, Green Spring, which he had inherited from his father. However, the benefits to be derived from possession of the Goose Hill tract are less obvious. Philip Ludwell II died in 1727, four years after his lease for Goose Hill expired (Ambler MS 53, 77; Shepperson 1942:455). The property may have been used to pasture livestock.

William Broadnax II

On April 22, 1736, William Broadnax II purchased Francis Bullifant's 107 acres in the southeastern end of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G). Broadnax already had inherited his late father's rural landholdings (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J) and some acreage within the limits of urban Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O and Q) and ferryman and fort-gunner Edward Ross had bequeathed him a ferry lot (Study Unit 4 Tract R). William Broadnax II purchased the 100 acre Goose Hill plantation (Study Unit 3 Tract A and probably part of Tract K) from owner John Hopkins sometime prior to 1744 (Ambler MS 53, 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250).

Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen with 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 Jamestown Island property (both rural and urban) to Christopher Perkins, a Norfolk County merchant. He also conveyed to Perkins 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; Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, Q, and R. Thus, he controlled virtually all of the frontage on the James River east of Orchard Run and land at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the main road that led to the mainland. Perkins also had the lots traditionally used for the Jamestown ferry.

Christopher Perkins

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 it 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. William May's 100 acres called Goose Hill, which encompassed Tract A, was in a list of the Broadnax properties Ambler acquired (Ambler MS 53, 97-98, 106-107, 250).

Study Unit 3 Tract B

Sir Thomas Dale

Sir Thomas Dale, who arrived in Virginia in May 1611 and departed in May 1616, acquired 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 (Tract C) pinpoints its position, as does a patent issued to Thomas Delamajor in 1629 (Tract A). The Spencer patent for "a narrow ridge of Land towards Goose hill betweene twoe Marshes" was bound "on the Easterly side Pting it from the Land of Sr. Thomas Dale" and on the "Westerly side parting it from the land of John Lytefoot." On the other hand, the Delamajor patent abutted "Westerly upon the land of Daime Elizabeth Dale, [and] Easterly upon goose hill Marsh." Both patents abutted south upon the James River and extended northward into the island (Nugent 1969-1979:I:3, 13; Patent Book 1:9, 97-98; McIlwaine 1924:192). In 1656 when Captain Dowglass, the administrator of Sir Thomas Dale's widow, Lady Elizabeth, disposed of her property, the same locational information was cited (Nugent 1969-1979:I:319; Patent Book 3:391). As many of the early patents in the eastern end of Jamestown Island were 12 acre plots that belonged to ancient planters, 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. When Sir Thomas Dale died in August 1619, his widow, Lady Elizabeth, inherited all of his landholdings in Virginia (Hamor 1957:33; Brown 1890:873).

Lady Elizabeth Dale

Elizabeth Throgmorten, who was related to the Berkeleys, married Sir Thomas Dale in February 1611, shortly before he set sail for Virginia. He was absent throughout much of their marriage and the couple failed to produce heirs. After Sir Thomas's death in 1619, Lady Elizabeth began taking an active role in managing the property she had inherited. She had a plantation called Coxendale in the corporation of Henrico, some land in Bermuda Hundred and on Shirley Hundred (Eppes) Island in Charles City, and a massive tract on the Eastern Shore. Thus, her parcel at Goose Hill (Tract B) was a small component of what was a vast estate. During the early 1620s Lady Elizabeth sought Virginia Company officials' help in seeing that her tenants paid their rent and that her servants received shipments of goods and equipment. She employed local overseers to manage her property (Brown 1890:873; Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:486; II:9; Ferrar MS 322; McIlwaine 1924:11, 48, 179, 192).

On July 25, 1638, when James Knott of Nansemond identified Sir Thomas Dale's holdings in Virginia, he indicated that Dale "made his plantacon at Coxendale, Charles Hundred als. Bermudy hundred, West and Sherley Hundred and at Goose Hill nere Jamestowne" and "at Magotey [Magothy] Bay on the Eastern Shore. He added that "after the death of the sd. Sr. Thomas Dale the sd places were for the most part preserved and mantayned at the Cost and charges of Elizabeth the ladie Dale" (Banks 1926:51).

On March 14, 1629, when Thomas Delamajor was granted a 10 year lease for Tract A (3 acres that consisted of "a small slip of land lying and being at Goose Hill"), his land reportedly abutted "Westerly upon the land of Daime Elizabeth Dale [Tract B] [and] Easterly upon goose hill Marsh (Patent Book 1:97-98; Nugent 1969-1979:I:13). On July 4, 1640, when Lady Elizabeth Dale made her will, she enumerated her Virginia properties, almost all of which she bequeathed to her kin. The exception was her land at Goose Hill,

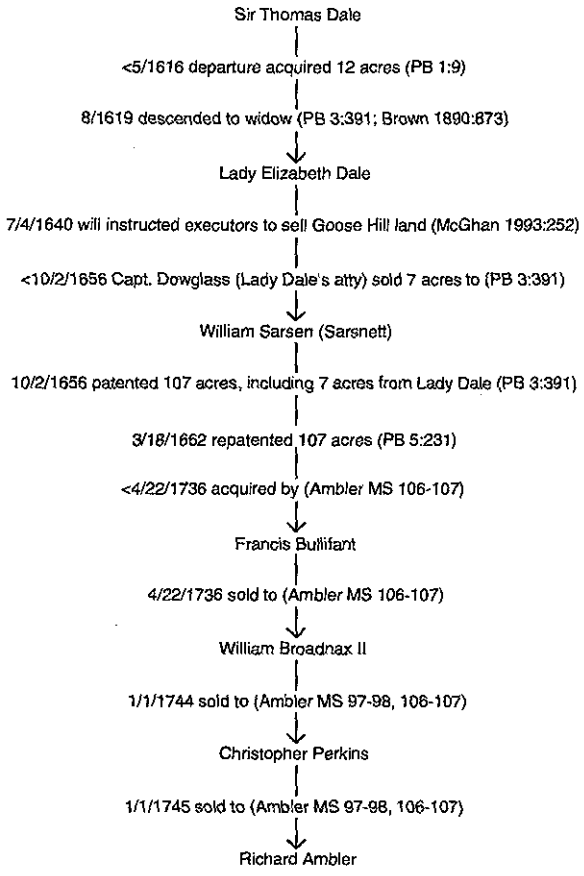


Figure 53. *Land transactions, Study Unit 3, Tract B.*

which she instructed her executors to sell. Lady Elizabeth's will was presented for probate on December 2, 1640 (McGhan 1993:252).

Shortly thereafter, Lady Elizabeth Dale's agents began distributing her estate in accord with her instructions. Sometime prior to October 2, 1656, Lady Elizabeth Dale's attorney and administrator, Captain Dowglass, sold 7 acres of Tract B to William Sarson, who added it to some adjacent land he had claimed under the headright system (Patent Book 3:391; Nugent 1969-1979:I:319).

William Sarson (Sarsnett)

On October 2, 1656, William Sarson patented 107 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island: 100 acres on the basis of two headrights and 7 acres he purchased from Captain Dowglass, Lady Elizabeth Dale's attorney and administrator. Sarson's 107 acre patent abutted the James River. It was located "on the South side of Parchmores [Passmore] Creek, bounding Northerly on Goose Hill house, [and] Easterly, Southerly and Westerly on the main River." Land transactions for contiguous parcels demonstrate that the Sarson patent included Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G of Study Unit 3. On March 18, 1662, William Sarson renewed his 107 acre patent (Nugent 1969-1979:I:319, 469; Patent Book 3:391; 5:145). His doing so suggests that he hadn't yet erected improvements upon his property in order to secure his claim.

On May 3, 1658, a Surry County man testified that he and another individual went by boat

"over unto a store at goose hill and the petr. went over with him and he brought over goods with him" (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:119). The wording of the court document fails to reveal whether goods were being brought to - or retrieved from - the store at Goose Hill. It may have been the "Goose Hill House" used as a reference point in William Sarson's 1656 and 1662 patents.

William Sarson arrived in Virginia sometime prior to May 1638, at which time he was used as a headright by Indian interpreter-and-trader John Fludd (Flood) of Westover, in Charles City County (Nugent 1969-1979:I:86; Patent Book 1:548; Meyer et al. 1987:290). In July 1657 the Sarson (or Sarsnett) patent was described as being northwest of 100 acres then owned by Thomas Woodhouse and William Hooker, which included Tracts A and K (Patent Book 4:150; Nugent 1969-1979:I:347). William Sarson was still in possession of his 107 acres in April 1667, when the Woodhouse-Hooker tract was acquired by William May (Ambler MS 18).

Francis Bullifant

Sometime between April 1667 and April 1736 Francis Bullifant of Jamestown came into possession of William Sarson's 107 acre patent (Ambler MS 106-107). Although when and how he acquired it is uncertain, it may have been through his marriage to Joyce Hopkins whose husband or father, John, by January 1702 owned 100 acres of contiguous land (William May's acre patent: Tracts A and K and other acreage along the south side of Passmore Creek, near its mouth) (Ambler MS 77; Patent Book 6:42; Nugent 1969-1979:II:12). On April 22, 1736, Francis Bullifant sold William Broadnax II the 107 acres that formerly belonged to William Sarson (Ambler MS 106-107). Included were Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G.

Francis Bullifant, who in May 1693 was paid for delivering messages for the colony's assembly, was a resident of Jamestown. On December 30, 1693, he commenced renting 2 acres from William Sherwood (part of the 28½ acre parcel designated Study Unit 1 Tract E), which Sherwood had leased to John Hopkins for three lifetimes. Bullifant was obliged to plant apple trees on Sherwood's property, maintain its buildings and see that his hogs had nose-rings. Sherwood had the right to use ½ acre as a landing, if he so desired. Francis and Joyce Bullifant already were in residence upon the Sherwood property when they commenced renting it (Ambler MS 48 and 49; McIlwaine 1918:143). It is uncertain how they used their property in the eastern end of Jamestown Island.

William Broadnax II

On April 22, 1736, Francis Bullifant sold his 107 acres in the southeastern end of Jamestown (Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G) to William Broadnax II, who by that date had inherited his late father's landholdings (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J) and some acreage within the limits of urban Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O and Q). William Broadnax II also inherited at least one town lot from the ferryman Edward Ross (Study Unit 4 Tract R) and he purchased 100 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island from John Hopkins (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250).

Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen with 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; Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, Q, and R. Thus, he controlled virtually all of the frontage on the James River east of Orchard Run and land

at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the main road to the mainland. Perkins also had the lots traditionally used for the Jamestown ferry.

Christopher Perkins

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 them 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 (Ambler MS 106-107, 250).

Study Unit 3 Tract C

William Spencer

William Spencer was an ancient planter and yeoman who came to Virginia in the *Sarah*. On August 14, 1624, he secured a patent for a 12 acre ridge of land that abutted the James River and was located between John Lightfoot's Tract D and Sir Thomas Dale's property at Goose Hill, Tract B. William Claiborne made an official survey of the Spencer property, which verbal boundary description stated that it was "a narrow ridge of Land towards Goose hill betweene twoe Marshes, the one on the Easterly side Pting it from the Land of Sr Thomas Dale and another on the Westerly side parting it from the land of John Lytefoote, at the Southerly end it abutteth on the Maine river and extendeth Northerly unto the end of the said ridge of Land." Although it is uncertain where Spencer was living in February 1624 when a census was taken of the colony's inhabitants, by January 24, 1625, he was residing upon his property in rural Jamestown Island, where he shared a home with his wife and daughter, both of whom were named Alice. Spencer was credited with two houses, some cattle, swine and goats, and a boat (Hotten 1980:228; Patent Book 1:9; Nugent 1969-1979:I:3).

From 1620 until at least 1626 William Spencer served as overseer of Captain William Peirce's servants, first in the mainland west of Jamestown Island (the Governor's Land) and then at the late John Rolfe's plantation in Surry. In 1622 Rolfe's, Peirce's and Spencer's servants were living upon Rolfe's holdings on the lower side of the James. In 1633 William Spencer served as burgess for Mulberry Island (another area in which Peirce had an extensive investment). During the early 1630s Spencer patented 1,350 acres of land abutting Lawnes Creek's mouth and in 1640 he served as official tobacco viewer for the territory that extended from there to Hog Island. He was still conducting business on Captain William Peirce's behalf in January 1655 (McIlwaine 1924:98; Stanard 1965:58; Chandler 1924:22; Nugent 1969-1979:I:16,28; Surry Deeds and Wills 1652-1672:116). Spencer apparently retained his Jamestown Island property until around 1637-1638, at which time it was used as a reference point when John Corker patented part of Tract D (Nugent 1969-1979:I:81; Patent Book 1:521).[161]

William Sarson (Sarsnett)

On October 2, 1656, William Sarson patented 107 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island: 100 acres on the basis of two headrights and 7 acres he purchased from Captain Dowglass, Lady Elizabeth Dale's attorney and administrator. Sarson's 107 acre patent abutted the James River. It was located "on the South side of Parchmores [Passmore] Creek, bounding Northerly on Goose Hill house, [and] Easterly, Southerly and Westerly on the main River." Land transactions for contiguous parcels demonstrate that the Sarson patent included Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G of Study Unit 3. On March 18, 1662, William Sarson renewed his 107 acre patent (Nugent 1969-1979:I:319, 469; Patent Book 3:391; 5:145). This suggests that

[161] John Corker's February 10, 1638, patent for 6 acres called "the Middle Ridge" abutted the James River. Cited as reference points were William Spencer's patent (Tract C), which lay to the south, and the marsh extending northward toward the property of Richard Tree (Tract G). Specifically, the patent's verbal boundary description indicated that it was "a ridge of Land called by the name of the midle ridge, bounded Westerly upon James river, Easterly into the Island, Northerly wth a Marsh next to the Land of Richard Tree, Southerly wth a marsh next to the Land of William Spencer" (Patent Book 1:521; Nugent 1969-1979:I:81).

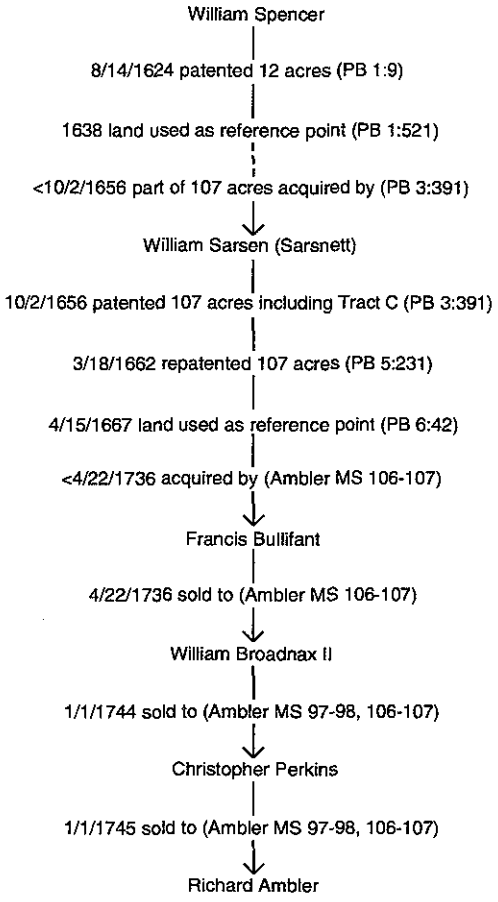


Figure 54. *Land transactions, Study Unit 3, Tract C.*

he hadn't yet erected improvements upon his property in order to secure his claim.

William Sarson arrived in Virginia sometime prior to May 1638, at which time he was used as a headright by Indian interpreter-and-trader John Fludd (Flood) of Westover, in Charles City County (Nugent 1969-1979:I:86; Patent Book 1:548; Meyer et al. 1987:290). In July 1657 the Sarson (or Sarsnett) patent was described as being northwest of 100 acres then owned by Thomas Woodhouse and William Hooker, which included Tracts A and K (Patent Book 4:150; Nugent 1969-1979:I:347). William Sarson was still in possession of his 107 acres in April 1667, when the Woodhouse-Hooker tract was acquired by William May (Ambler MS 18).

Francis Bullifant

Sometime between April 1667 and April 1736 Francis Bullifant of Jamestown acquired William Sarson's 107 acre patent (Ambler MS 106-107). Although it is uncertain when and how it came into his possession, it may have been through his marriage to Joyce Hopkins whose husband or father, John, by January 1702 owned 100 acres of contiguous land (William May's acre patent: Tracts A and K and other acreage along the south side of Passmore Creek, near its mouth) (Ambler MS 77;

Patent Book 6:42; Nugent 1969-1979:II:12). On April 22, 1736, Francis Bullifant sold William Broadnax II the 107 acres that formerly belonged to William Sarson (Ambler MS 106- 107). Included were Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G.

Francis Bullifant, who in May 1693 was paid for delivering messages for the colony's assembly, was a resident of Jamestown. On December 30, 1693, he commenced renting 2 acres from William Sherwood (part of the 28½ acre parcel designated Study Unit 1 Tract E), which Sherwood had leased to John Hopkins for three lifetimes. Bullifant was obliged to plant apple trees on Sherwood's property, maintain its buildings and ring his hogs. Sherwood had the right to use ½ acre as a landing, if he so desired. Francis and Joyce Bullifant already were in residence upon the Sherwood property when they commenced renting it (Ambler MS 48 and 49; McIlwaine 1918:143). It is uncertain how they used their property in the eastern end of Jamestown Island.

William Broadnax II

On April 22, 1736, Francis Bullifant sold his 107 acres in the southeastern end of Jamestown (Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G) to William Broadnax II, who by that date had inherited his late father's landholdings (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J) and some acreage within the limits of urban Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O and Q). William Broadnax II also inherited at least one town lot from the ferryman Edward Ross (Study Unit 4 Tract R) and he purchased 100 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island from John Hopkins (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250).

Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen, with 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:IV: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; Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, Q, and R. Thus, he controlled virtually all of the frontage on the James River east of Orchard Run and land at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the main road to the mainland. Perkins also had the lots traditionally used for the Jamestown ferry.

Christopher Perkins

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 it 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 (Ambler MS 106-107, 250).

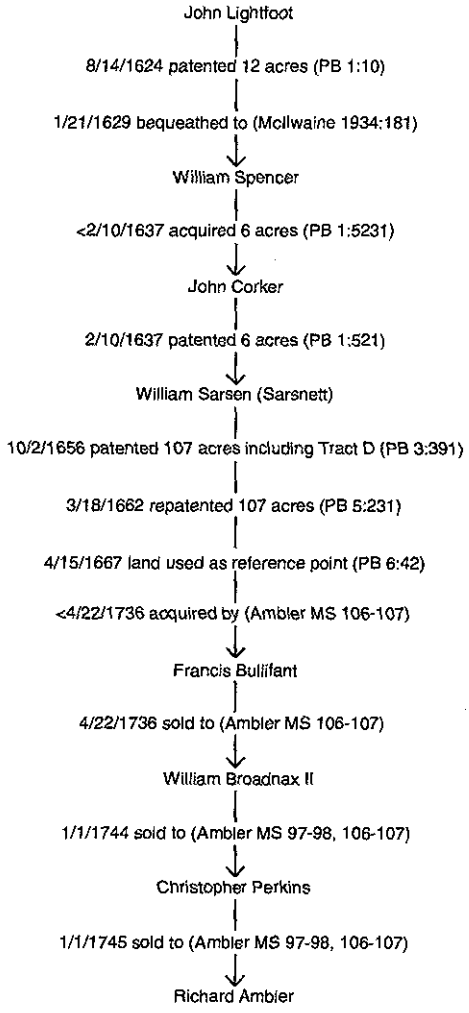


Figure 55. *Land transactions, Study Unit 3, Tract D.*

Study Unit 3 Tract D

John Lightfoot (Lytefoot, Lytefoote)

John Lightfoot, an ancient planter who left England with Sir Thomas Gates in 1609 and was stranded with him in Bermuda, arrived in Virginia in 1610. On February 16, 1624, Lightfoot was living in Jamestown in the home of Captain William Peirce (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B), where he was a servant. On August 14, 1624, John Lightfoot patented Tract D. His 12 acres consisted of "a narrow ridge of land towards Goose hill betweene twoe marshes, the one on the Easterly side parting it from the Land of William Spencer [Tract C], the other on the Westerly side and Pting it from another such little ridge of ground, at the Southerly end lyeth the maine river and soe runneth in length Northward 85 poles [1,402.5 feet] and endeth at a market pokehiccory tree." John Lightfoot continued to reside in urban Jamestown and on January 24, 1625, when a muster was made of the colony's inhabitants, he was listed as an indentured servant in Ralph Hamor's household (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot G) (Meyer et al. 1987:30; Hotten 1980:174; Patent Book 1:10).

It is uncertain whether Lightfoot ever erected improvements on Tract D. He did, however, own a house and some land near Dr. John Pott's dwelling in urban Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D), which in December 1624 he began making plans to rent or sell (McIlwaine 1924:36). This raises the possibility that he intended to move to Study Unit 3 Tract D as soon as he gained his freedom. On January 21, 1629, John Lightfoot, who was mortally ill, summoned William Spencer, Nicholas Atwell and Edward Willmoth, in whose presence he made his will. He bequeathed his entire estate (which included some cattle and tobacco) to his next door neighbor, William Spencer, then owner of Tract C (McIlwaine 1924:181; Nugent 1969-1979:I:3; Patent Book 1:9). Through this means, William Spencer unified Tracts C and D.

William Spencer

John Lightfoot's sole heir, William Spencer, was an ancient planter who came to Virginia in the *Sarah*. In August 1624 he patented the 12 acre ridge of land that has been designated Tract C, which was located between John Lightfoot's Tract D and Sir Thomas Dale's property at Goose Hill (Tract B). Spencer, a yeoman, by January 24, 1625, was residing upon his property in rural Jamestown Island, where he shared a home with his wife and daughter. He was credited with two houses, some livestock, and a boat (Hotten 1980:228; Patent Book 1:9; Nugent 1969-1979:I:3).

From 1620 until at least 1626 William Spencer served as overseer of Captain William Peirce's servants, first in the mainland west of Jamestown Island (the Governor's Land) and then at the late John Rolfe's plantation in Surry. In 1622 Rolfe's, Peirce's and Spencer's servants were living upon Rolfe's holdings on the lower side of the James. In 1633 William Spencer served as burgess for Mulberry Island (another area in which Peirce had an extensive investment). During the early 1630s Spencer patented 1,350 acres of land abutting Lawnes Creek's mouth and in 1640 he served as official tobacco viewer for the territory that extended from there to Hog Island. He was still conducting business on Captain William Peirce's behalf in January 1655 (McIlwaine 1924:98; Stanard 1965:58; Chandler 1924:22; Nugent 1969-1979:I:16,28; Surry Deeds and Wills 1652-1672:116). Spencer may have disposed of his Jamestown Island property around the time he began developing his plantation at Lawnes Creek.

John Corker

On February 10, 1637, John Corker obtained a patent for 6 acres called "the Middle Ridge," the

western half of the late John Lightfoot's parcel, Tract D, which abutted the James River. Cited as reference points were William Spencer's patent (Tract C), which lay to the south, and the marsh extending northward toward the property of Richard Tree (Tract G). The patent's verbal boundary description indicated that it was "a ridge of Land called by the name of the midle ridge, bounded Westerly upon James river, Easterly into the Island, Northerly wth a Marsh next to the Land of Richard Tree, [and] Southerly wth a marsh next to the Land of William Spencer" (Patent Book 1:521; Nugent 1969-1979:I:81).

During 1632 John Corker represented Pasbehay in the assembly and the following year he attended on behalf of Jamestown Island, Pasbehay and the settlements along the Chickahominy River. In 1645 Corker served as burgess for James City, the same year he became clerk of the assembly. He held the position of clerk until the close of 1653. In April 1652 John Corker was named clerk of the General Court, at which time he began identifying himself as a resident of Surry County. The following year he commenced representing Surry in the assembly and he became clerk of that county's monthly court. In 1656 Corker was chosen a Surry County justice of the peace. In 1657 he increased his landholdings in Surry County by patenting 1,150 acres near Gray's Creek. His business dealings in Surry reveal that he interacted with Jamestown lot owners Richard Webster (who was then in possession of the "country house" lot, Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot C and Structure 38) and Thomas Woodhouse (who owned Bay 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group, Structure 144, in Study Unit 1 Tract 2 Lot B). In 1670 John Corker and William Thompson I (Thomson), who rented Colonel Thomas Swann's ordinary in Jamestown (probably Structure 19A/B on Study Unit 4 Tract G), proved the will of Thomas Warren (Study Unit 4 Tract X). Corker's wife was named Dorothy (Leonard 1976:23-31; Stanard 1965:57-58; Chandler 1924:161; Nugent 1969-1979:I:374; Hening 1809-1823:I:202, 222, 289, 370, 377; McIlwaine 1924:213; Surry County Deeds, Wills 1652- 1672:6, 13, 31, 76, 98). John Corker's political career and business dealings suggest that he was associated with the Jamestown area during the 1630s and 40s, but moved to Surry during the early 1650s.

William Sarson (Sarsnett)

On October 2, 1656, William Sarson patented 107 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island: 100 acres on the basis of two headrights and 7 acres he purchased from Captain Dowglass, Lady Elizabeth Dale's attorney and administrator. Sarson's 107 acre patent abutted the James River. It was located "on the South side of Parchmores [Passmore] Creek, bounding Northerly on Goose Hill house, [and] Easterly, Southerly and Westerly on the main River." Land transactions for contiguous parcels demonstrate that the Sarson patent included Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G of Study Unit 3. On March 18, 1662, William Sarson renewed his 107 acre patent (Nugent 1969-1979:I:319, 469; Patent Book 3:391; 5:145). This suggests that he hadn't yet erected improvements upon his property in order to secure his claim.

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Francis Bullifant

Sometime between April 1667 and April 1736 Francis Bullifant of Jamestown came into possession of William Sarson's 107 acre patent (Ambler

MS 106-107). Although when and how he acquired it is uncertain, it may have been through his marriage to Joyce Hopkins whose husband or father, John, by January 1702 owned 100 acres of contiguous land (William May's acre patent: Tracts A and K and other acreage along the south side of Passmore Creek, near its mouth) (Ambler MS 77; Patent Book 6:42; Nugent 1969-1979:II:12). On April 22, 1736, Francis Bullifant sold William Broadnax II the 107 acres that formerly belonged to William Sarson (Ambler MS 106-107). Included were Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G.

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William Broadnax II

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Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen, with 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; Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, Q, and R. Thus, he controlled virtually all of the frontage on the James River east of Orchard Run and land at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the main road that led to the mainland. Perkins also had the lots traditionally used for the Jamestown ferry.

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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 it 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 (Ambler MS 106-107, 250).

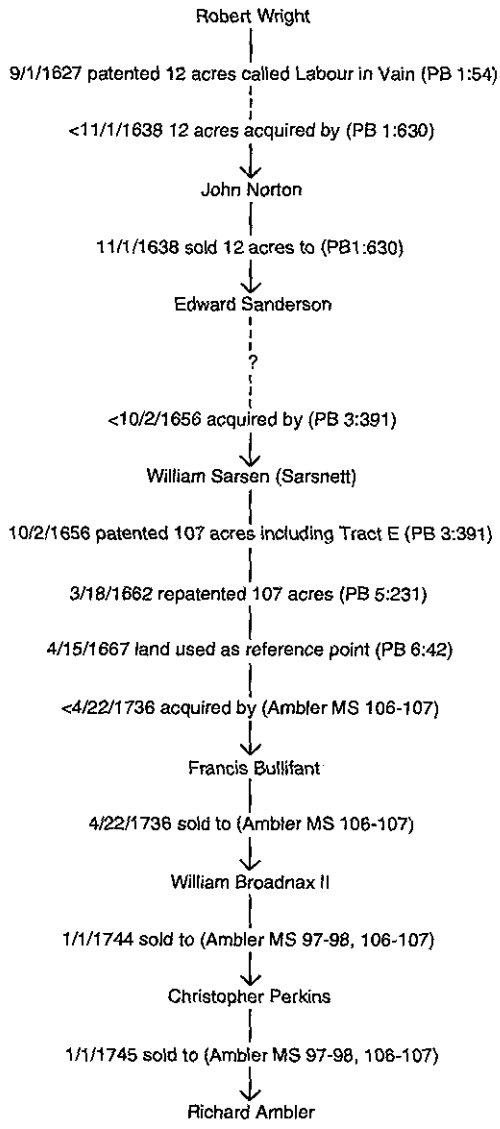


Figure 56. *Land transactions, Study Unit 3, Tract E.*

Study Unit 3 Tract E

Robert Wright

Robert Wright, an ancient planter and a sawyer, came to Virginia in 1609 aboard the *Swan*. During 1624 and 1625 he and his wife, Jane or Joane, also an ancient planter, were living in Elizabeth City with their two young children. Official records reveal that the Wrights got married in 1610. It was between 1611 and 1616, when the colony was entrusted to the care of Sir Thomas Dale, that Jane was flogged for hemming a shirt improperly (Hotten 1980:183,261; McIlwaine 1924:62,111).

Jane Wright, who was a midwife, is the first Virginia colonist known to have been accused of witchcraft. By 1626 the Wrights had moved from Elizabeth City to what became Surry County. Rumors about Jane Wright's supernatural powers (which had originated in England at Hull) persisted and resulted in the Wrights' repeatedly being hauled before the General Court. That Jane was left-handed aroused some people's suspicions (McIlwaine 1924:111-113). The Wrights' problems with their neighbors in Surry may have prompted Robert's January 13, 1627, request for permission to relocate to Jamestown Island. He also asked for land upon which he could build a dwelling (McIlwaine 1924:137, 152). The General Court's justices agreed and on August 27, 1627, gave Robert Wright a patent for a 12 acre ridge of land known as Labour in Vain, which physical description reveals that it abutted south upon the James River and west upon a marsh that separated it from the land of Edward Grindon, who was then in possession of Tract F. Robert Wright's patent description stated that his land abutted "Westward on a Marsh and Pting the same from the land lately in the possession of Edward Grindon [Tract F], Eastward upon another marshe, Southward upon the maine river & Northward stretching along the ridge of land betweene the twoe Marshes aforesaid." Wright's patent was confirmed on September 1, 1627. Robert Wright and a partner named Andrew Rawleigh were given a 10 year lease for a parcel of land in Jamestown Island (Study Unit 2 Tract T), 10 acres they had inherited from Thomas Grubb, a joiner (Nugent 1969-1979:I:8; Patent Book 1:54; McIlwaine 1924:152,154). Court testimony recorded in 1626, 1628 and 1629 suggests that Robert Wright was jailed one or more times as a debtor. During 1626 he had a man servant to help him with his work (McIlwaine 1924:97, 101, 158, 187).

John Norton

By November 1, 1638, Robert Wright's 12 acre ridge of land had come into the possession of John Norton, a smith. The property was then described as "abutting Westward on a Marsh and Pting the same from the land lately in the possession of Edward Grindon [Tract F], Eastward upon another Marshe, Southward upon the maine river & Northward stretching along the ridge of land betweene the twoe Marshes aforesaid." On November 1, 1638, Norton sold Tract E and its improvements (a house) to Edward Sanderson, a merchant. It was then that the 12 acre parcel was described in detail (Patent Book 1:630; Nugent 1969-1979:I:105).

Edward Sanderson

Relatively little is known about Edward Sanderson, who purchased Tract E from John Norton, other than the fact that he was a merchant (Patent Book 1:630; Nugent 1969-1979:I:105). In February 1638 he patented 200 acres near Piney Point, at the mouth of the Chickahominy River. By August 1639 he had enlarged his holdings in that vicinity to 2,000 acres. Part of the land Sanderson acquired formerly had belonged to Edward Morecroft (a

merchant) and it was near that of Major Robert Holt, who also was a merchant. These merchants' persistent interest in an area on the Chickahominy that until the late 1640s was densely populated by Natives, raises the possibility that they were involved in Indian trade. In 1650 Edward Sanderson added 200 acres to his former holdings and by September 1665 had amassed 3,000 acres there. Sanderson's 1665 patent cites its proximity to Checkerous (Gordon's) Creek and Berkeley's trees, revealing that his 3,000 acres lay immediately above Green Spring (Nugent 1969-1979:I:101, 112, 123, 205, 524, 527). It is possible that additional information about Edward Sanderson's mercantile activities is included in the records of outlying counties or in England.

William Sarson (Sarsnett)

On October 2, 1656, William Sarson patented 107 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island: 100 acres on the basis of two headrights and 7 acres he purchased from Captain Dowglass, Lady Elizabeth Dale's attorney and administrator. Sarson's 107 acre patent abutted the James River. It was located "on the South side of Parchmores [Passmore] Creek, bounding Northerly on Goose Hill house, [and] Easterly, Southerly and Westerly on the main River." Land transactions for contiguous parcels demonstrate that the Sarson patent included Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G of Study Unit 3. On March 18, 1662, William Sarson renewed his 107 acre patent (Nugent 1969-1979:I:319, 469; Patent Book 3:391; 5:145). This suggests that he hadn't yet erected improvements upon his property in order to secure his claim.

William Sarson arrived in Virginia sometime prior to May 1638, at which time he was used as a headright by Indian interpreter-and-trader John Fludd (Flood) of Westover, in Charles City County (Nugent 1969-1979:I:86; Patent Book 1:548; Meyer et al. 1987:290). In July 1657 the Sarson (or Sarsnett) patent was described as northwest of 100 acres then owned by Thomas Woodhouse and William Hooker, which included Tracts A and K (Patent Book 4:150; Nugent 1969-1979:I:347). William Sarson was still in possession of his 107 acres in April 1667, when the Woodhouse-Hooker tract was acquired by William May (Ambler MS 18).

Francis Bullifant

Sometime between April 1667 and April 1736 Francis Bullifant of Jamestown came into possession of William Sarson's 107 acre patent (Ambler MS 106-107). Although when and how he acquired it is uncertain, it may have been through his marriage to Joyce Hopkins whose husband or father, John, by January 1702 owned 100 acres of contiguous land (William May's acre patent: Tracts A and K and other acreage along the south side of Passmore Creek, near its mouth) (Ambler MS 77; Patent Book 6:42; Nugent 1969-1979:II:12). On April 22, 1736, Francis Bullifant sold William Broadnax II the 107 acres that formerly belonged to William Sarson (Ambler MS 106-107). Included were Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G.

Francis Bullifant, who in May 1693 was paid for delivering messages for the colony's assembly, was a resident of Jamestown. On December 30, 1693, he commenced renting 2 acres from William Sherwood (part of the 28½ acre parcel designated Study Unit 1 Tract E), which Sherwood had leased to John Hopkins for three lifetimes. Bullifant was obliged to plant apple trees on Sherwood's property, maintain its buildings and ring his hogs. Sherwood had the right to use ½ acre as a landing, if he so desired. Francis and Joyce Bullifant already were in residence upon the Sherwood property when they commenced renting it (Ambler MS 48 and 49; McIlwaine 1918:143). It is uncertain how they used their property in the eastern end of Jamestown Island.

William Broadnax II

On April 22, 1736, Francis Bullifant sold his 107 acres in the southeastern end of Jamestown (Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G) to William

Broadnax II, who by that date had inherited his late father's landholdings (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J) and some acreage within the limits of urban Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O and Q). William Broadnax II also inherited at least one town lot from the ferryman Edward Ross (Study Unit 4 Tract R) and he purchased 100 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island from John Hopkins (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250).

Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen, with 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; Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, Q, and R. Thus, he controlled virtually all of the frontage on the James River east of Orchard Run and land at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the main road that led to the mainland. Perkins also had the lots traditionally used for the Jamestown ferry.

Christopher Perkins

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 it 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 (Ambler MS 106-107, 250).

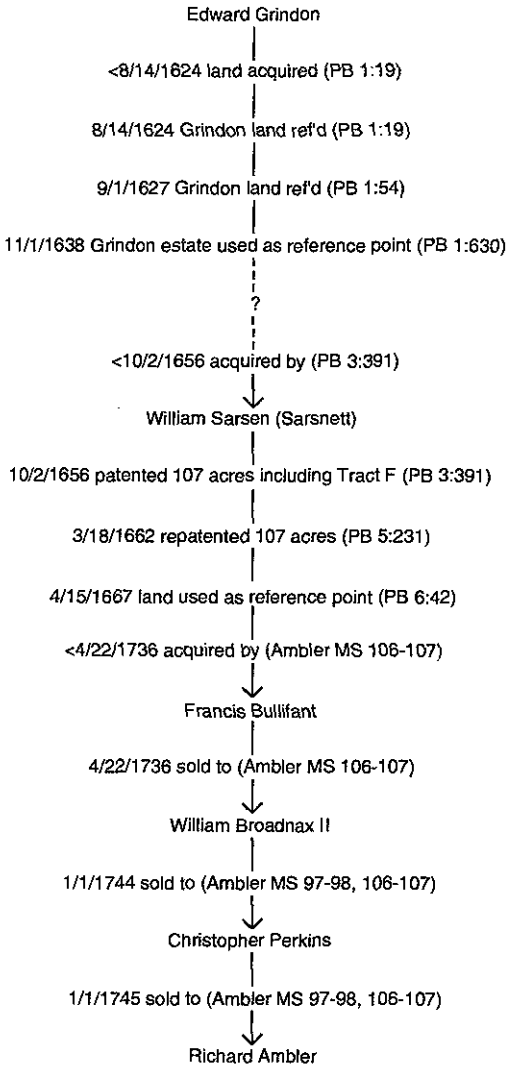


Figure 57. *Land transactions, Study Unit 3, Tract F.*

Study Unit 3 Tract F

Edward Grindon (Grendon, Grindall)

Edward Grindon, an ancient planter, immigrated to Virginia between 1611 and 1616, when Sir Thomas Dale was serving as deputy- governor. He took an active role in public life and seems to have been much respected. In 1622 he was awarded 150 acres on the south side of the James River on account of services he performed on behalf of the colony. He returned to England briefly and returned in July 1622 with his wife and two of his three children (Patent Book 4:316; Kingsbury 1906-1935:II:40, 93, 95; IV:555; Ferrar MS 113, 400)

Sometime prior to August 14, 1624, Edward Grindon came into possession of the ridge of land designated Tract F, which was used as a reference point when Richard Tree received a patent for Tract G.[162] In September 1627 and November 1638 Grindon's patent was described as lying to the west, across a marsh from Robert Wright's patent (Tract E) (Patent Book 1:19, 54; Nugent 1969-1979:I:4, 8).[163] Collectively, Tree's and Wright's patent descriptions pinpoint the location of Edward Grindon's parcel in the eastern end of Jamestown Island.[164]

In late 1624 Edward Grindon successfully sought to acquire some acreage in Archer's Hope, near the James City Parish glebe and the patent of Ensign William Spence. Grindon also purchased 400 acres of land on the east side of College Creek, in what during the eighteenth century became Kingsmill Plantation. Grindon made several appearances before the General Court to testify about events that occurred during the Dale administration and to serve as a witness. In October 1626 Grindon received permission to make use of the late John Bayly's land (which had descended to his underage daughter, Mary) or to place it in the hands of tenants. At that juncture, Grindon executed a 3 year lease with Sir George Yeardley. Court documents fail to indicate where the land Yeardley leased was located (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:551; Nugent 1969-1979:I:168; Patent Book 2:100; McIlwaine 1924:27-28, 44, 162, 122, 162, 176).[165]

Edward Grindon developed his land on the lower side of the James River into a plantation he called Grindon Hill, where he was residing in February 1624. His land was next to the Treasurer's Plantation (later known as Pleasant Point), which was then owned by George Sandys. Grindon Hill (which consisted of 150 acres) lay directly across the James River from Tract F, Edward's acreage on Jamestown Island (McIlwaine 1924:159, 163; Hotten 1980:180). In 1627 Edward Grindon was second in command in an expedition against the

[162] Tree's patent description stated that his land abutted "Southward upon the land of Edward Grindall [Grindon], Westward & Northward neare unto the highway leading to black point, Eastward upon the markes and bounds there sett out and appointed, being a multitangled peece of ground" (Patent Book 1:19; Nugent 1969-1979:I:4).

[163] Wright's patent description for Tract E stated that his land abutted "Westward on a Marsh and Pting the sme. from the land lately in the possession of Edward Grindon [Tract F], Eastward upon another marshe, Southward upon the maine river & Northward stretching along the ridge of land betweene the twoe Marshes aforesaid." (Nugent 1969-1979:I:8; Patent Book 1:54).

[164] The Grindon patent was used as a reference point in John Norton's November 11, 1638, patent for Tract E. The property was then described as "abutting Westward on a Marsh and Pting the same from the land lately in the possession of Edward Grindon, Eastward upon another Marshe, Southward upon the maine river & Northward stretching along the ridge of land betweene the twoe Marshes aforesaid" (Patent Book 1:630; Nugent 1969-1979:I:105).

[165] It may have been at Hog Island, part of which had descended to Mary Bayly.

Tappahanna Indians. He died during 1628 and in December his will was presented to the General Court. He was survived by his wife, Elizabeth, who was then living in Virginia, and Thomas, an adult, who was his principal heir and a resident of England. In 1649, when Thomas Grindon disposed of his late father's property on the lower side of the James, no mention was made of his Jamestown Island acreage (McIlwaine 1924:151, 163, 179; Patent Book 4:316). During the 1650s Tract F became part of the 107 acre tract patented by William Sarsen.

William Sarson (Sarsnett)

On October 2, 1656, William Sarson patented 107 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island: 100 acres on the basis of two headrights and 7 acres he purchased from Captain Dowglass, Lady Elizabeth Dale's attorney and administrator. Sarson's 107 acre patent abutted the James River. It was located "on the South side of Parchmores [Passmore] Creek, bounding Northerly on Goose Hill house, [and] Easterly, Southerly and Westerly on the main River." Land transactions for contiguous parcels demonstrate that the Sarson patent included Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G of Study Unit 3. On March 18, 1662, William Sarson renewed his 107 acre patent (Nugent 1969-1979:I:319, 469; Patent Book 3:391; 5:145). His doing so suggests that he hadn't yet erected improvements upon his property in order to secure his claim.

William Sarson arrived in Virginia sometime prior to May 1638, at which time he was used as a headright by Indian interpreter-and-trader John Fludd (Flood) of Westover, in Charles City County (Nugent 1969-1979:I:86; Patent Book 1:548; Meyer et al. 1987:290). In July 1657 the Sarson (or Sarsnett) patent was described as being northwest of 100 acres then owned by Thomas Woodhouse and William Hooker, which included Tracts A and K (Patent Book 4:150; Nugent 1969-1979:I:347). William Sarson was still in possession of his 107 acres in April 1667, when the Woodhouse-Hooker tract was acquired by William May (Ambler MS 18).

Francis Bullifant

Sometime between April 1667 and April 1736 Francis Bullifant of Jamestown came into possession of William Sarson's 107 acre patent (Ambler MS 106-107). Although when and how he acquired Tract E is uncertain, it may have been through his marriage to Joyce Hopkins whose husband or father, John, by January 1702 owned 100 acres of contiguous land (William May's acre patent: Tracts A and K and other acreage along the south side of Passmore Creek, near its mouth) (Ambler MS 77; Patent Book 6:42; Nugent 1969-1979:II:12). On April 22, 1736, Francis Bullifant sold William Broadnax II the 107 acres that formerly belonged to William Sarson (Ambler MS 106-107). Included were Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G.

Francis Bullifant, who in May 1693 was paid for delivering messages for the colony's assembly, was a resident of Jamestown. On December 30, 1693, he commenced renting 2 acres from William Sherwood (part of the 28½ acre parcel designated Study Unit 1 Tract E), which Sherwood had leased to John Hopkins for three lifetimes. Bullifant was obliged to plant apple trees on Sherwood's property, maintain its buildings and ring his hogs. Sherwood had the right to use ½ acre as a landing, if he so desired. Francis and Joyce Bullifant already were in residence upon the Sherwood property when they commenced renting it (Ambler MS 48 and 49; McIlwaine 1918:143). It is uncertain how they used their property in the eastern end of Jamestown Island.

William Broadnax II

On April 22, 1736, Francis Bullifant sold his 107 acres in the southeastern end of Jamestown (Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G) to William Broadnax II, who by that date had inherited his late father's landholdings (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J) and some acreage within the limits of ur-

ban Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O and Q). William Broadnax II also inherited at least one town lot from the ferryman Edward Ross (Study Unit 4 Tract R) and he purchased 100 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island from John Hopkins (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250).

Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen, with 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; Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, Q, and R. Thus, he controlled virtually all of the frontage on the James River east of Orchard Run and land at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the main road that led to the mainland. Perkins also had the lots traditionally used for the Jamestown ferry.

Christopher Perkins

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 it 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 (Ambler MS 106-107, 250).

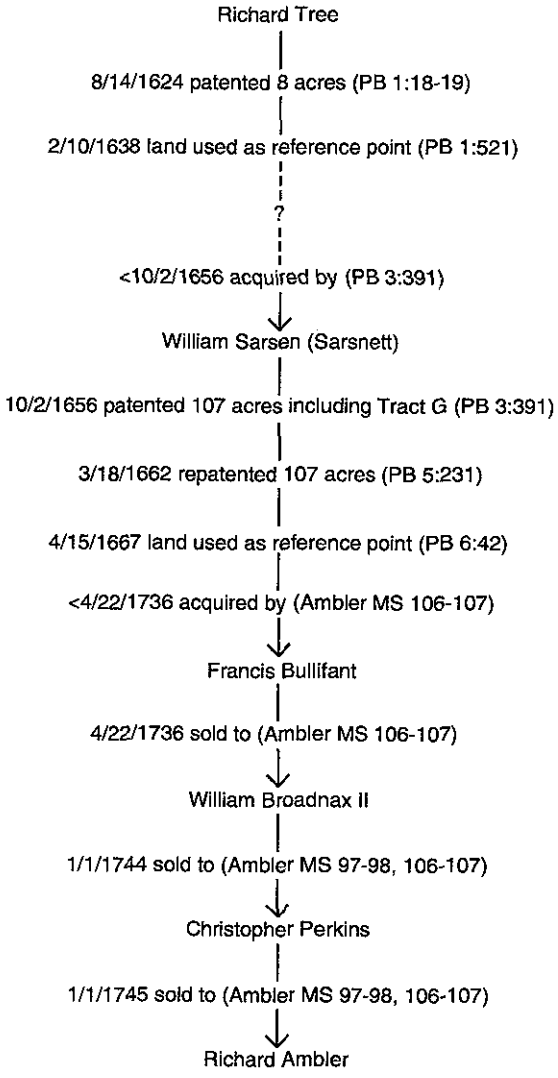


Figure 58. *Land transactions, Study Unit 3, Tract G.*

Study Unit 3 Tract G

Richard Tree

Richard Tree, an ancient planter who came to Virginia with cape merchant Abraham Peirsey in the *George*, was a carpenter and free man. On August 14, 1624, he patented the 8 acre ridge of land that has been designated Tract G. Tree's land reportedly abutted southwest upon that of Edward Grindon (Grindall), who was in possession of Tract F and like Tree, had an interest in land at what became the Treasurer's Plantation. Tree's 8 acre patent also was near the road to Black Point. His patent description states that his land abutted "Southward upon the land of Edward Grindall, Westward & Northward neare unto the highway leading to black point, Eastward upon the markes and bounds there sett out and appointed, being a multitangled peece of ground." Richard Tree also received 42 acres of land about a mile below Blunt Point (Patent Book 1:19; Nugent 1969-1979:I:4; Meyer et al. 1987:34; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:556).

On January 24, 1625, Richard Tree was residing in rural Jamestown Island with his 12-year-old son, John, and Silvester Bullen, an adult male servant. In 1625 Tree was credited with two houses and some swine. His household was well provisioned and outfitted with military equipment. He apparently was a successful farmer, for he had excess corn to sell. He previously had had a boat, which some men had borrowed and then lost (Meyer et al. 1987:34; Hotten 1980:227; McIlwaine 1924:35, 111-112).

Richard Tree apparently was a respected member of the Jamestown Island community. He served on juries, participated in at least one inquest, and in 1626 was church warden of James City Parish. One of his servants (perhaps Silvester Bullen) had some medical skills and in 1625 treated a Jamestown resident's cow, that of Thomas Alnutt. In May 1625 Richard Tree was credited with a patent for 50 acres of land at Blunt Point. As he had relocated to the lower side of the James River by 1628, it is uncertain whether he ever developed that property. In October 1628 Tree was hired to build a frame church for the parishioners of Hog Island. A year later he commenced serving as that area's burgess (McIlwaine 38, 85, 107-108, 175; Stanard 1965:54, 57; Hotten 1980:272; Kingsbury 1906-1935:556).

Richard Tree appears to have retained Tract G until at least February 1638, at which time his property was referenced as being to the north of (and across a marsh from) the 6 acres John Corker was patenting, part of Tract D (Nugent 1969-1979:I:81; Patent Book 1:521).[166] In August 1638 Tree also owned a ½ acre lot in Jamestown: Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A. Tree's New Towne lot, which he was oblige to use or lose, abutted south upon the Back Street and abutted west upon the lot on which Richard Kemp built a brick house (Patent Book 1:587-588; Nugent 1969-1979:I:95). Research has demonstrated Richard Tree's lot in the New Towne was the site upon which Sir Francis Wyatt later erected a government-owned structure known as the "country house," Structure 38. (See the history of Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A.)

[166] John Corker's February 10, 1638, patent for 6 acres called "the Middle Ridge" cited as reference points William Spencer's patent (Tract C), which lay to the south, and the marsh extending northward toward the property of Richard Tree (Tract G). Specifically, the patent's verbal boundary description indicated that it was "a ridge of Land called by the name of the midle ridge, bounded Westerly upon James river, Easterly into the Island, Northerly wth a Marsh next to the Land of Richard Tree, Southerly wth a marsh next to the Land of William Spencer" (Patent Book 1:521; Nugent 1969-1979:I:81).

William Sarson (Sarsnett)

On October 2, 1656, William Sarson patented 107 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island: 100 acres on the basis of two headrights and 7 acres he purchased from Captain Dowglass, Lady Elizabeth Dale's attorney and administrator. Sarson's 107 acre patent abutted the James River. It was located "on the South side of Parchmores [Passmore] Creek, bounding Northerly on Goose Hill house, [and] Easterly, Southerly and Westerly on the main River." Land transactions for contiguous parcels demonstrate that the Sarson patent included Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G. On March 18, 1662, William Sarson renewed his 107 acre patent (Nugent 1969-1979:I:319, 469; Patent Book 3:391; 5:145). This suggests that he hadn't yet erected improvements upon his property in order to secure his claim.

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Francis Bullifant

Sometime between April 1667 and April 1736 Francis Bullifant of Jamestown came into possession of William Sarson's 107 acre patent (Ambler MS 106-107). Although when and how he acquired it is uncertain, it may have been through his marriage to Joyce Hopkins whose husband or father, John, by January 1702 owned 100 acres of contiguous land (William May's acre patent: Tracts A and K and other acreage along the south side of Passmore Creek, near its mouth) (Ambler MS 77; Patent Book 6:42; Nugent 1969-1979:II:12). On April 22, 1736, Francis Bullifant sold William Broadnax II the 107 acres that formerly belonged to William Sarson (Ambler MS 106-107). Included were Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G.

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William Broadnax II

On April 22, 1736, Francis Bullifant sold his 107 acres in the southeastern end of Jamestown (Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G) to William Broadnax II, who by that date had inherited his late father's landholdings (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J) and some acreage within the limits of urban Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O and Q). William Broadnax II also inherited at least one town lot from ferryman Edward Ross (Study Unit 4 Tract R) and he purchased 100 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island from John Hopkins (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250).

Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen, with 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; Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, Q, and R. Thus, he controlled virtually all of the frontage on the James River east of Orchard Run and land at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the main road that led to the mainland. Perkins also had the lots traditionally used for the Jamestown ferry.

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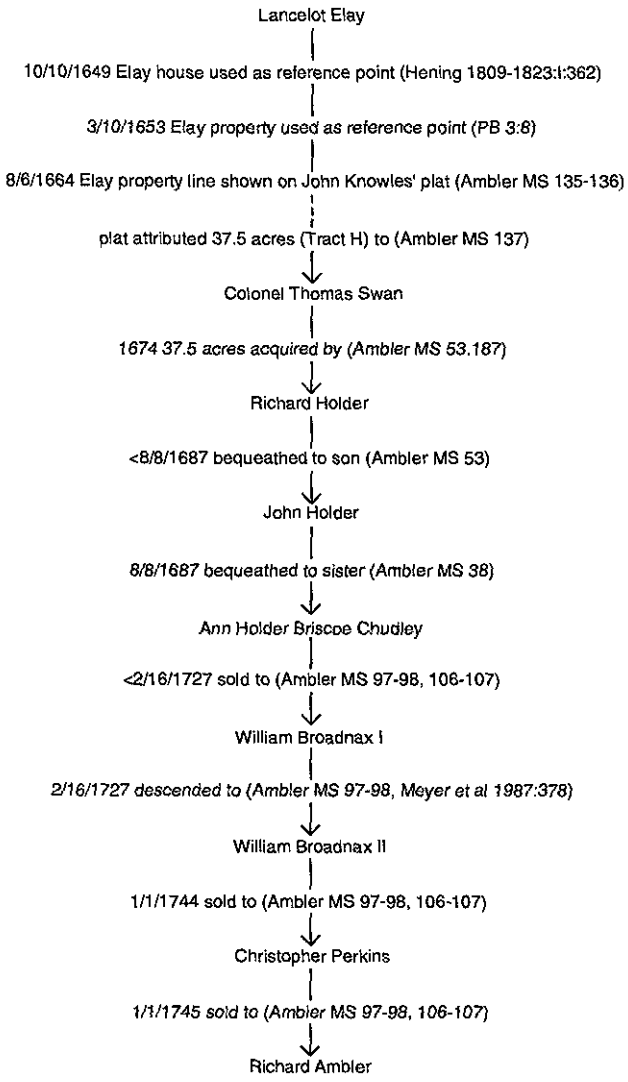


Figure 59. *Land transactions, Study Unit 3, Tract H.*

Study Unit 3 Tract H

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 not well documented. However, a topographically sensitive 1674 survey of Tract H, plats depicting adjacent property in 1664 and 1681, and three patents and deeds make it possible to reconstruct a partial chain-of-title for the seventeenth century. This line of descent is corroborated by an eighteenth century summary of Richard Ambler's landholdings on Jamestown Island.

Lancelot Elay

On March 10, 1653, when Edward Travis I patented 326 acres in the northeastern portion of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 2), and on March 10, 1663, when Travis repatented his acreage, reference was made to Lancelot Elay's land near Orchard Run, which formed part of Travis's southwestern boundary line (Patent Book 3:8; 5:342; Nugent 1969-1979:I:231, 503). Similarly, on February 23, 1656, when John Phipps acquired 120 acres that included some New Towne lots along the north side of Back Street (Study Unit I Tract D), Lancelot Elay's boundary line was used as a reference point for the area analogous to Study Unit 3 Tract H (Patent Book 4:101; Nugent 1969-1979:I:340). In 1664 when John Underhill prepared a plat of the Phipps property, which was purchased by John Knowles in 1663, he placed Lancelot Elay's name upon an area corresponding to Tract H (Ambler MS 135-136). On May 6, 1665, when Knowles secured a patent for his newly acquired land, Elay's property line was a component of the verbal boundary description (Ambler MS 15, 16; Patent Book 5:63-65; Nugent 1969-1979:I:451). Separately and collectively, each of these documents links Lancelot Elay to acreage in the immediate vicinity of Tract H.

Relatively little is known about Lancelot Elay except that he seems to have been respected member of the Jamestown community. In November 1647 he was entrusted with the task of collecting public levies from the inhabitants of urban Jamestown, Jamestown Island, the mainland to the west of Jamestown Island, and the area along Powhatan Creek (Hening 1809-1823:I:342-243). In October 1649 when the parameters of Jamestown's market zone were set by law, the vending area's easternmost boundary line was the gut near Lancelot Elay's house, the stream that became known as Orchard Run (Hening 1809-1823:I:362). This places Elay's dwelling upon Tract H.

Colonel Thomas Swann

An undated but topographically sensitive plat for a 37½ parcel that fronted upon the James River and was defined by wetlands on the east and west bears the notation "Col Swanns figure in James City Island, 37½ acres" (Ambler MS 137). When the Swann plat was digitized and superimposed upon an electronic base map of Jamestown Island, its shape was found to conform with the parcel that has been designated Tract H. Moreover, a list of the Jamestown Island parcels accumulated by Richard Ambler and his kin includes "37½ a. granted by pat. to Coll. Swann & by Coll. Swann assigned to Richd Holder 1674" (Ambler MS 53).

Colonel Thomas Swann I, who resided at Swann's Point, served several terms as a burgess during the 1640s and 50s, representing James City and then Surry County (Hening 1809-1823:I:298, 358-359). He was named to the Council in 1659, during Governor William Berkeley's administration, and he served through the late 1660s. In 1671 Swann purchased a bay of Structure 144, the Ludwell Statehouse Group, on Study Unit 4

Tract U Lot A, from his son-in-law, Henry Randolph, and in 1672 he was named to the commission established to build a brick fort at Jamestown. The popular tavern Swann owned in Jamestown (Structure 19A/B on Study Unit 4 Tract G) was burned on September 19, 1676, when the rebel Nathaniel Bacon put the capital city to the torch. However, Swann seems to have sympathized with some of Bacon's views and his son was married to the daughter of executed rebel William Drummond I. After Governor Berkeley vacated office, Swann regained his Council seat. He died in September 1680 (Hening 1809-1823:II:568; Bruce 1898:68; Surry County Order Book 1671-1690:9, 179-180; Stanard 1965:38; McIlwaine 1924:491, 514; Withington 1980:535; B.P.R.O.:C.O. 5/1371 f 268). It is uncertain how Colonel Thomas Swann used Tract H before selling it to Richard Holder in 1674.

Richard Holder (Holden)

On January 28, 1672, Richard Holder patented the land that has been designated Study Unit 3 Tract I, a parcel that straddled Orchard Run and included 8 acres, 1 rood and 5 perches. Holder's patent states that it consisted of some waste land granted to him by means of an October 12, 1670, court order.[167] Included within Richard Holder's ca. 8.3 acre patent was a 1 acre lot that Thomas Hunt had patented in August 1655 (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J) (Patent Book 6:442; Nugent 1969-1979:II:122; Ambler MS 22, 63; McIlwaine 1924:227, 247, 258, 293).

During 1674, Richard Holder purchased a 37½ acre river front tract from Colonel Thomas Swann: Tract H. Although the men's deed has been lost or destroyed, the transaction and the year it occurred are mentioned in an undated summary of Richard Ambler's land acquisitions. Moreover, the 37½ acre parcel, which was surveyed and drawn to scale, by 1727 had become part of a 127.7 acre parcel that belonged to William Broadnax I and was described in detail in deeds executed January 1, 1744, and January 1, 1745 (Ambler MS 53, 97-98, 106-107, 137).

The verbal boundary description of William Broadnax I's 127.7 acres ran clockwise from a point on the James River. It commenced "at a Ditch adjoining to the Market Place in James Town, thence North 31 Degrees East 6 Chains and 1/4 part of a Chain [206.25 feet] to the Garden Pales of the said Ambler (formerly of Edward Jaquelin), thence South 76 degrees East 6 Chains and 1/4 part of a Chain [206.25 feet] along the said Pales, thence South 20 Degrees west 2 Chains and 3/4 Parts of a Chain [90.75 feet] to three Mulberry Trees marked inwards at the End of a double Ditch, thence along the said last mentioned Ditch Southwardly 15 Chains and 3/4 Parts of a Chain [519.75 feet] according to the Meanders thereof, to a Gum Tree, thence South 46 Degrees East 4 Chains and 1/4 part of a Chain [140.25 feet] to another Gum Tree, thence South 88 Degrees East 9 Chains [297 feet] to a Poplar Tree, thence North 75 Degrees East 9 Chains [297 feet] to a Gum Tree on the Edge of Pitch and Tar Swamp, thence South 73 Degrees East 12 Chains and ½ part of a Chain [412.5 feet] to a corner Stake between Edward Champion Travis and the said Jaquelin), thence South 6 Degrees East 8 Chains and a half of a Chain [280.5 feet] to a corner Stake, thence North 86 Degrees East 4 Chains and ½ of a Chain [148.5 feet] to a Stake at the Head of a Marsh, thence along the said Marsh to a Bridge over the same, thence South 71 Degrees East to the head of a small Gut making out of Parchmore's [Passmore's]

[167] The verbal boundary description of Holder's ca. 8.3 acre patent ran clockwise. It began "at A stake standing at High Water marke on James River side, at the mouth of A smale Runn Entring there into, thence Runing No. Easterly 21 Degrees 27 poles [445.5 feet], thence so: Easterly 62 Degrees 22 poles [363 feet], thence south Easterly 36 Degrees 18 poles [297 feet] to A Perseman tree neere the Corner of the orchard, thence South Easterly 19 Degrees 24 poles [396 feet] to A tall forked poplar, thence South Westerly 70 Degrees 25 poles [412.5 feet] to A stake on the Banke neare James River side, thence North Westerly 36 Degrees 38 poles [627 feet] along the River side to the place where it first Began."

Creek, thence down the said Gut to the Mouth thereof, thence up the said Creek to the Fork, thence South to James River aforesaid and thence up the said River to the Beginning." Also included was "that other Tract or Parcel of Land situate lying and being in the said Island of James Town... called and known by the Name of Thorny Ridge, containing by Estimation 12 Acres" (Ambler MS 106-107).

Sometime prior to August 1687, when Richard Holder made his will, he bequeathed Tract H (the 37½ acres he bought from Colonel Swann) and Tract I (the ca. 8.3 acres he patented in 1672) in Study Unit 3 and Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot D (8/10 acre) to his son, John. John, who was unmarried, on August 8, 1687, left the property he had inherited from his father to his own sister, Ann Holder Briscoe, along with almost all of his personal property. John Holder's will, presented to the General Court on August 8, 1687, reveals that he was indebted to Ann's father-in-law, blacksmith William Briscoe (Ambler MS 38, 53, 57).

Ann Holder Briscoe Chudley (Chudleigh)

Thanks to her brother John's bequest, Ann Holder Briscoe came into possession of Study Unit 3 Tracts H and I in 1687. Between then and 1695, she inherited some additional land near Orchard Run, for her father-in-law, blacksmith William Briscoe, left her three lots in Study Unit 4 Tract L (the eastern and western halves of Lot A [a total of ½ acre] and Lot B [which consisted of ½ acre], plus a 12 acre parcel of escheat land on the east side of Orchard Run, acreage that formerly belonged to William Penn or Pin (Ambler MS 35, 38, 133; Patent Book 7:328).

On July 10, 1695, Ann, who by then had wed James Chudley, repatented the western 1/4 acre of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot A, supplementing it with 0.156 acre of new land she claimed on the basis of a headright. This increased Lot A's size to 0.656 acre (Ambler MS 57). On February 5, 1697, Ann and her husband, James Chudley, sold the late William Briscoe's Jamestown lots (Lots A and B of Study Unit 4 Tract L) to William Edwards II, who already owned Lot C. The Chudley couple was then residing upon the ca. 8.3 acre tract that had descended to Ann from her father and brother (Study Unit 3 Tract I) (Ambler MS 63). They probably occupied Structure 18. The Chudleys eventually sold Tract H to William Broadnax I (Ambler MS 106-107).

William Broadnax I

Sometime prior to February 16, 1727, Ann and James Chudley sold Tracts H and I of Study Unit 3 to William Broadnax I. He already owned Tract J, which he acquired prior to the time he married Rebecca, the widow of Edward Travis III. A subsequent description of Broadnax's landholdings on the James River (which includes detailed boundary information that has been plotted electronically) reveals that he accumulated 127.7 acres of land that extended from the east side of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot D eastward to a point just east of the mouth of the creek encircling Fox Island. Thus, Broadnax not only acquired Tracts H and I (approximately 45.8 acres), but also 81-plus additional acres that included Fox Island and probably the 12 acre tract of escheat land (William Pinn's) that William Briscoe left to daughter-in-law Ann (Meyer et al. 1987:378; Ambler MS 106-107).

William Broadnax II

After William Broadnax I's February 16, 1727, decease, William Broadnax II 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 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 100 acre William May patent (which included Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) from John Hopkins (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250).

Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen with 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; Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, and Q. Thus, he controlled virtually all of the frontage on the James River east of Orchard Run and land at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the road to the mainland. Perkins also had the lots traditionally used for the Jamestown ferry.

Christopher Perkins

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 it 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 (Ambler MS 106-107, 250).

Study Unit 3 Tract I

Sir John Harvey (Governor)

Study Unit 3 Tract I is descended from the eastern portion of a 6½ acre New Towne lot that Captain John Harvey patented on January 12, 1624 (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E). The Harvey lot abutted "westward upon the Land of Mr Georg Menefye, Eastward upon the Swamp lying on the East side of the said New Towne [Orchard Run], Southward upon the highway close to the banke of the Maine river, Northward upon the back Streete in part opposite Mr Doctor Pott." By the time Harvey secured the patent for his 6½ acre lot, he already had built some houses upon it (Nugent 1969-1979:I:2; Patent Book 1:7).

During the late 1630s then-Governor John Harvey encountered financial problems that finally became insuperable. As a result of his numerous debts, on April 17, 1640, he was ordered to sell all of his Virginia property. However, he was permitted to retain life-rights in his personal residence which stood upon one of two contiguous tracts he owned in urban Jamestown (McIlwaine 1924:482). As historical documentation and archaeological evidence combine to suggest that Harvey's dwelling (Structure 112) was located upon the parcel designated Study Unit 1 Tract H and that he kept the adjoining Yeardley tract (Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B), it is likely that his 6½ acre lot abutting Orchard Run (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E) was one of the properties sold in response to the April 1640 court order. Although chains-of-title are available for most of the parcels that descended from the western half of John Harvey's 6½ acre lot, there is little information about the acreage in its eastern half. An exception is the 1 acre lot Thomas Hunt patented on August 1, 1655 (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J). It included ½ acre formerly owned successively by Mrs. Elizabeth Fleet, her children, and Thomas Wilkinson (Patent Book 3:367; Nugent 1969-1979:I:313). (See the history of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J for additional information on Hunt and his predecessors' use of that acreage, which was located in the New Towne).

Richard Holder (Holden)

On October 12, 1670, Richard Holder received permission to delimit and patent some wasteland that lay between his orchard and some nearby marsh land (McIlwaine 1924:227). On January 28, 1672, he patented the acreage that has been designated Study Unit 3 Tract I, a parcel that straddled Orchard Run and included 8 acres, 1 rood and 5 perches (8.28125 acres). Holder's patent states that it was the same land granted to him by means of an October 12, 1670, court order. The Holder patent's verbal boundary description ran clockwise. It began "at A stake standing at High Water marke on James River side, at the mouth of A smale Runn Entring there into, thence Runing No. Easterly 21 Degrees 27 poles [445.5 feet], thence so: Easterly 62 Degrees 22 poles [363 feet], thence south Easterly 36 Degrees 18 poles [297 feet] to A Perseman tree neere the Corner of the orchard, thence South Easterly 19 Degrees 24 poles [396 feet] to A tall forked poplar, thence South Westerly 70 Degrees 25 poles [412.5 feet] to A stake on the Banke neare James River side, thence North Westerly 36 Degrees 38 poles [627 feet] along the River side to the place where it first Began." Included within Richard Holder's 8.28125 (ca. 8.3) acre patent was the 1 acre lot Thomas Hunt patented in August 1655 (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J). Holder may have purchased Lot J from Hunt or from his executors, who in April 1671 commenced settling his estate (Patent Book 6:442; Nugent 1969-1979:II:122; Ambler MS 22, 63; McIlwaine 1924:227, 247, 258, 293). The western part of Holder's patent, which has been designated Study

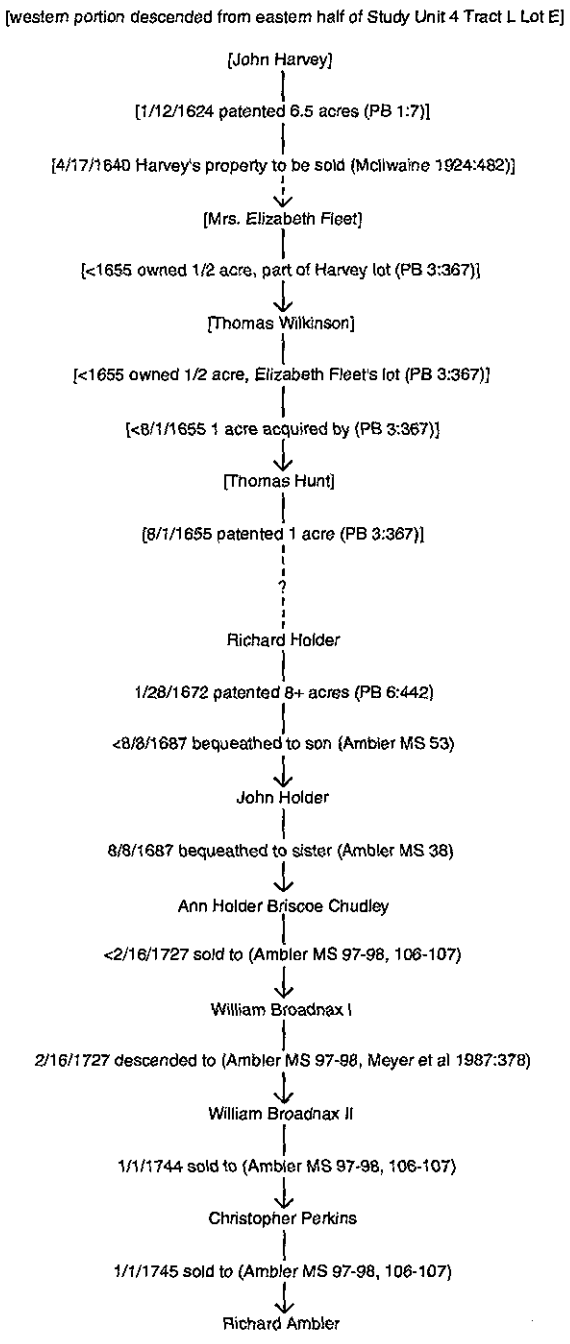


Figure 60. *Land transactions, Study Unit 3, Tract I.*

Unit 3 Tract I, included the eastern part of the 6½ acres John Harvey patented in 1624 (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E). Richard Holder obtained his 8.28125 acres on the basis of one headright and he was obliged to develop his land within three years. He renewed his title to the property in January 1672 (McIlwaine 1924:227; Patent Book 6:442; Nugent 1969-1979:II:122; Ambler MS 21, 22, 53, 63). He probably resided in Structure 18.

Sometime prior to August 1687, when Richard Holder made his will, he bequeathed Tract I and Tract H (the 37½ acre parcel he bought from Colonel Thomas Swann in 1674) in Study Unit 3 and Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot D (8/10 acre) to his son, John. John, who was unmarried, on August 8, 1687 left the property he had inherited from his father to his own sister, Ann Holder Briscoe, along with almost all of his personal property. John Holder's will, presented to the General Court on August 8, 1687, reveals that he was indebted to Ann's father-in-law, blacksmith William Briscoe (Ambler MS 38, 53, 57).

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Thanks to her brother John's bequest, Ann Holder Briscoe came into possession of Study Unit 3 Tracts H and I in 1687. Between then and 1695, she inherited some additional land near Orchard Run, for her father-in-law, blacksmith William Briscoe, left her his lots in Study Unit 4 Tract L (the eastern and western halves of Lot A [a total of ½ acre] and Lot B [which consisted of ½ acre), plus a 12 acre parcel of escheat land on the east side of Orchard Run, acreage that formerly belonged to William Penn or Pin (Ambler MS 35, 38, 133; Patent Book 7:328).

On July 10, 1695, Ann, who by then had wed James Chudley, repatented the western 1/4 acre of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot A, supplementing it with 0.156 acre of new land she claimed on the basis of a headright. This increased Lot A's size to 0.656 acre (Ambler MS 57). On February 5, 1697, Ann and her husband, James Chudley, sold the late William Briscoe's Jamestown lots (Lots A and B of Study Unit 4 Tract L) to William Edwards II, who already owned Lot C. The Chudley couple was then residing upon the ca. 8.3 acre tract that had descended to Ann from her father and brother (Study Unit 3 Tract I) (Ambler MS 63). They probably occupied Structure 18. The Chudleys eventually sold Tract I to William Broadnax I.

William Broadnax I

Sometime prior to February 1726, Ann and James Chudley sold Tracts H and I of Study Unit 3 to William Broadnax I. He already owned Study Unit 3 Tract J, which he acquired prior to the time he married Rebecca, the widow of Edward Travis III. A subsequent description of Broadnax's landholdings on the James River (which includes detailed boundary information that has been plotted electronically) reveals that he accumulated 127.7 acres of land that extended from the east side of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot D eastward to a point just east of the mouth of the creek encircling Fox Island. Thus, Broadnax not only acquired Tracts H and I (approximately 45.8 acres), but also 81-plus additional acres that included Fox Island and probably the 12 acre tract of escheat land (William Pinn's) that William Briscoe left to daughter-in-law Ann (Meyer et al. 1987:378; Ambler MS 106-107).

The verbal boundary description of William Broadnax I's 127.7 acres ran clockwise from a point on the James River. It commenced "at a Ditch adjoining to the Market Place in James Town, thence North 31 Degrees East 6 Chains and 1/4 part of a Chain [206.25 feet] to the Garden Pales of the said Ambler (formerly of Edward Jaquelin), thence South 76 degrees East 6 Chains and 1/4 part of a Chain [206.25 feet] along the said Pales, thence South 20 Degrees west 2 Chains and 3/4 Parts of a Chain [90.75 feet] to three Mulberry Trees marked inwards at the End of a double Ditch, thence along the said last mentioned Ditch Southwardly 15 Chains and 3/4 Parts of a Chain [519.75 feet] according to the Meanders thereof, to a Gum

Tree, thence South 46 Degrees East 4 Chains and 1/4 part of a Chain [140.25 feet] to another Gum Tree, thence South 88 Degrees East 9 Chains [297 feet] to a Poplar Tree, thence North 75 Degrees East 9 Chains [297 feet] to a Gum Tree on the Edge of Pitch and Tar Swamp, thence South 73 Degrees East 12 Chains and ½ part of a Chain [412.5 feet] to a corner Stake between Edward Champion Travis and the said Jaquelin), thence South 6 Degrees East 8 Chains and a half of a Chain [280.5 feet] to a corner Stake, thence North 86 Degrees East 4 Chains and ½ of a Chain [148.5 feet] to a Stake at the Head of a Marsh, thence along the said Marsh to a Bridge over the same, thence South 71 Degrees East to the head of a small Gut making out of Parchmore's [Passmore's] Creek, thence down the said Gut to the Mouth thereof, thence up the said Creek to the Fork, thence South to James River aforesaid and thence up the said River to the Beginning." Also included was "that other Tract or Parcel of Land situate lying and being in the said Island of James Town... called and known by the Name of Thorny Ridge, containing by Estimation 12 Acres" (Ambler MS 106-107).

William Broadnax II

William Broadnax II 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 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).

Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen with 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; Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, R, and R. Thus, he controlled virtually all of the frontage on the James River east of Orchard Run and land at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the road to the mainland. Perkins also had the lots traditionally used for the Jamestown ferry.

Christopher Perkins

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 it 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 (Ambler MS 106-107, 250).

Study Unit 3 Tract J

John Green

On December 5 and 6, 1712, John Green and his wife sold William Broadnax I a 12 acre parcel known as the Thorny Ridge (Tract J), which was contiguous to Tracts H and I. Because a detailed verbal boundary description was given for Tracts H and I (which in 1712 were unified into a 127.7 acre parcel) and Tract J was known to adjoin its east side, the Green acreage's location is inferred and therefore has been assigned hypothetically (Ambler MS 97-98, 106-107). In 1712 no references were made to the property's prior history. Likewise, early land records shed no light upon who may have owned or occupied Tract J during the 17th century.[168]

During the mid-1650s a John Green of Lawnes Creek Parish in Surry County verified clergy exemptions from local taxes and he was part of the "giddy-headed multitude" that congregated at the Lawnes Creek church in 1673 to protest tax policy. In 1691 John Green of Lawnes Creek Parish in Surry went to England (Hening 1809-1823:I:424; Surry Deeds and Wills 1671-1684:40, 145). He may have been the same man who sold Tract J to William Broadnax I in 1712.

William Broadnax I

William Broadnax I owned Tract J when he married Rebecca (the widow of Edward Travis III, deceased in ca. 1720) and he bought Tracts H and I from Ann Holder Briscoe Chudley and her husband, James, sometime prior to 1726. A verbal description of the Jamestown Island land Broadnax owned (which has 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 Tracts H and I (approximately 45.8 acres), but also 81-plus additional acres that enveloped Fox Island and terminated at Tract J, which he also owned (Meyer et al. 1987:378; Ambler MS 106-107).

Rebecca Travis Broadnax, who held life-rights to the Travis manor plantation on Jamestown Island, died on December 19, 1723. At that time her two-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 in February 1727 (Tyler 1907-1908:142; Tyler 1897-1898:60-61; Meyer et al. 1987:378).

William Broadnax II

William Broadnax II 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 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).

Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen with landholdings on the south side of the James,

[168] There is no known connection between John Green, the grantor, and the John Green, who in February 1624 was residing in Jamestown in the household of Randall Smallwood (Hotten 1980:176).

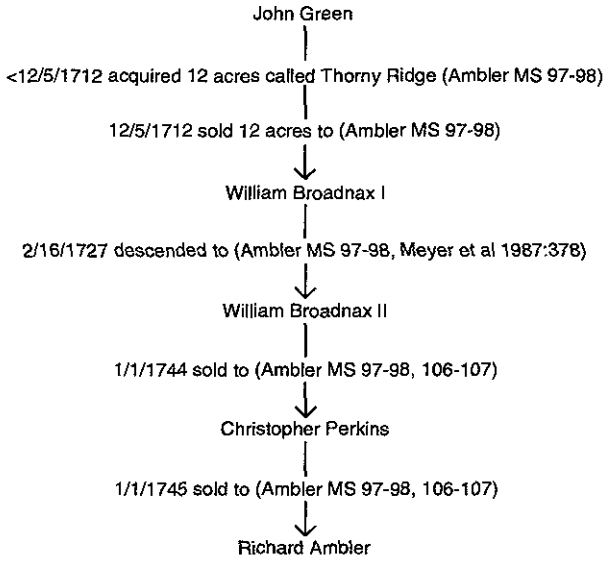


Figure 61. *Land transactions, Study Unit 3, Tract J.*

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; Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, R, and R. Thus, he controlled virtually all of the frontage on the James River east of Orchard Run and land at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the main road that led to the mainland. Perkins also had the lots traditionally used for the Jamestown ferry.

Christopher Perkins

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 it 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 (Ambler MS 106-107, 250).

Study Unit 3 Tract K

Patents that date to 1657 and 1667 make reference to parcels that belonged to Major Holt (and his successor, John Barber I) and to John Pinhorne. All that is known about these two parcels is that they lay near the mouth of Passmore Creek, east of the Goose Hill House, and to the north of Tract A, which became part of the 100 acres patented by Thomas Woodhouse and William Hooker in 1657 and William May in 1667. As it is certain that the Holt and Pinhorne patents were separate entities, they have been designated Lots A and B.

Lot A

Major [Robert] Holt

On July 21, 1657, when Thomas Woodhouse and William Hooker patented 100 acres of land in the southeastern end of Jamestown Island (Tract A), their acreage, which was east of the Goose Hill House, abutted "Northerly on the Land formerly Major Holts, now in the possession of John Barber, Northerly On John Pinhorne [Lot B], North East on Parchmores Creek, South East on the Main River, South West and South East on William Sarsnett [Sarsen, Sarsenet] & South East on the Main River." William Sarsen (Sarsenet), by 1657, had patented and unified Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G of Study Unit 3 (Patent Book 4:150; Nugent 1969-1979:I:347; II:12). Neither patents nor deeds are available for the Holt/Barber and Pinhorne tracts to assist in establishing their chains-of-title and precise placement.

It is likely that the Major Holt who owned land near the lower side of the mouth of Passmore Creek was Major Robert Holt, who in 1655 and 1656 served as a burgess for James City and in 1657 had a dwelling upon Tract T of Study Unit 4. Holt, as a colonel led in the defense of Jamestown in 1676, when it came under attack from Nathaniel Bacon's followers. Later, he brought in the grievances of James City County's freeholders. Robert Holt's wife, Alice, in 1681 was accused of detaining a steer that belonged to Jamestown tavernkeeper John Everett, whose name has been tentatively linked with Structure 19, which is situated upon Study Unit 4 Tract G, not far from Tract T (Stanard 1965:72; Patent Book 4:196; Nugent 1969-1979:I:356; Sainsbury 1964:10:44; Bruce 1894:171; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1671-1684:297). Robert may have been related to Major Randall Holt II, whose mother, Mary Bayly, inherited Hog Island and two parcels of land in the northeastern portion of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 2 Tracts B and K). In 1818 when J. G. Swift (1818) prepared a map identifying some of the sites affected by the Revolutionary War, he indicated that a ferry ran from the lower side of Passmore Creek's mouth to the west side of Hog Island. It may have been in used only during wartime.

John Barber I

John Barber I, who sometime prior to 1656 purchased a ½ acre New Towne lot (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot A), which patent he renewed in April 1664, came into possession of Major Holt's acreage sometime prior to July 21, 1657. Although Barber is known to have erected a dwelling upon half of his New Towne lot and resided there, it is uncertain how he utilized his portion of Tract K. In April 1667 when William May patented the 100 acre tract Thomas Woodhouse and William Hooker had claimed in 1657, John Barber I's name was still attributed to the acreage to its north (Ambler MS 18, 27; Patent Book 4:150; 6:42; Nugent 1969-1979:I:347; II:12).

John Barber I may have been a merchant, for in October 1667 he was fined for building a wharf "before the town" contrary to law (McIlwaine

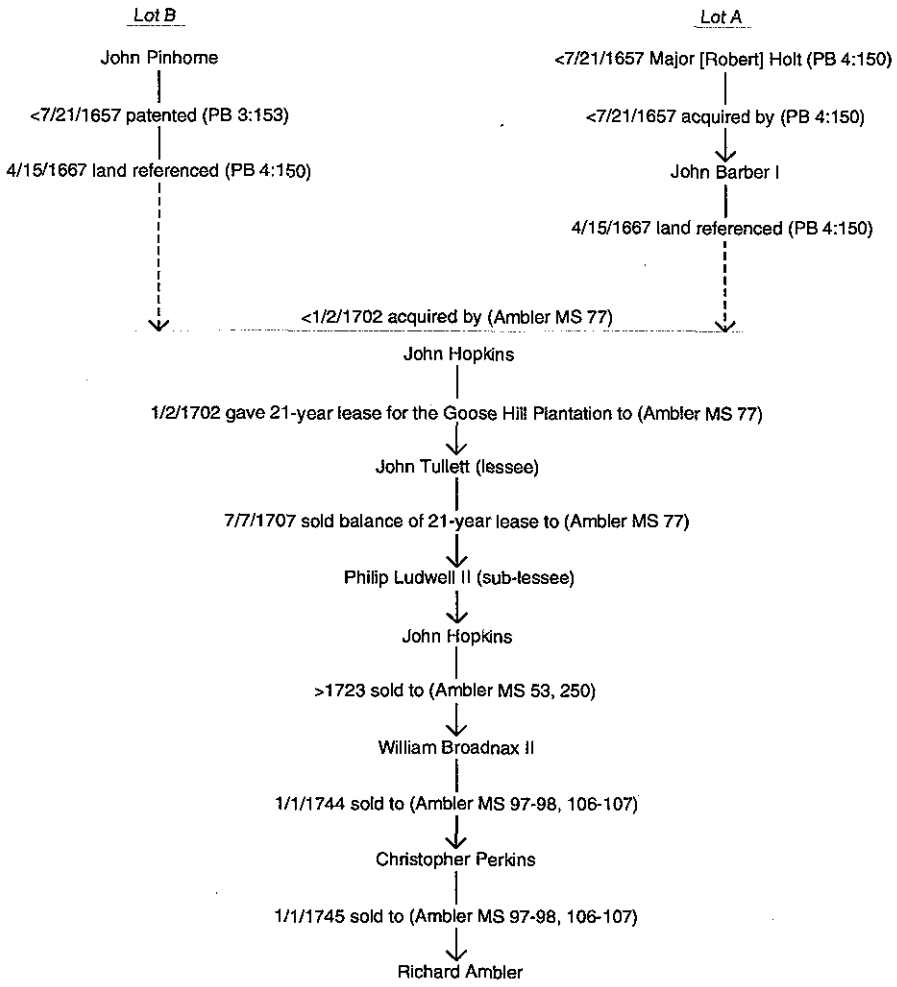


Figure 62. *Land transactions, Study Unit 3, Tract K, Lots A and B.*

1905-1915:1660-1693:48). He died sometime prior to October 3, 1671, at which time his widow and administratrix, Letitia, appeared in court while settling his estate. By October 1672 Letitia Barber had married David Newell, who during the early 1680s was in possession of John Knowles' plantation on the upper side of Back Street (Study Unit 1 Tract D). The late John Barber I's heir was his son, John Barber II. Although John II disposed of his father's house and lot in the New Towne, it is uncertain what disposition was made of his land in the southeastern portion of Jamestown Island (McIlwaine 1924:240, 281, 314; Ambler MS 83).

Lot B

John Pinhorne

Almost nothing is known about John Pinhorne, who by 1657 was in possession of some land to the north of the Woodhouse-Hooker patent and in 1667 was still attributed to that area. In 1652

Pinhorne was listed as a headright in Nicholas George's patent for 700 acres on the Corotoman River (Nugent 1969-1979:I:270, 347; II:12; Patent Book 3:153; 4:150; 6:42; Ambler MS 18).

Lots A and B

Lots A and B, which were near the mouth of Passmore Creek and northeast of Tract A, gradually were absorbed into the Goose Hill plantation, which John Hopkins leased to John Tullitt and then sold to William Broadnax II (Ambler MS 53). It is certain that Tracts A and K were separate entities as late as April 15, 1667 (Patent Book 6:42; Nugent 1969-1979:II:12). Historical maps that have been digitized demonstrate that erosion and inundation took a severe toll upon Tracts A and K during the third quarter of the nineteenth century (U. S. Coast Survey 1856, 1873-1874).

William Broadnax II

On April 22, 1736, Francis Bullifant sold his 107 acres in the southeastern end of Jamestown (Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G) to William Broadnax II, who by that date had inherited his late father's landholdings (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J) and some acreage within the limits of urban Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O and Q). William Broadnax II also inherited at least one town lot from ferryman and fort-gunner Edward Ross (Study Unit 4 Tract R) and he purchased the 100 acre Goose Hill plantation, in the eastern end of Jamestown Island, from John Hopkins (Study Unit 3 Tract A and probably Tract K) (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250).

Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen, with 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; Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, Q, and R. Thus, he controlled virtually all of the frontage on the James River east of Orchard Run and land at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the road to the mainland. Perkins also had the lots traditionally used for the Jamestown ferry.

Christopher Perkins

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 it 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. William May's 100 acre marsh called Goose Hill, which included Tract K, was in a list of Broadnax properties Ambler acquired (Ambler MS 53, 97-98, 106-107, 250).

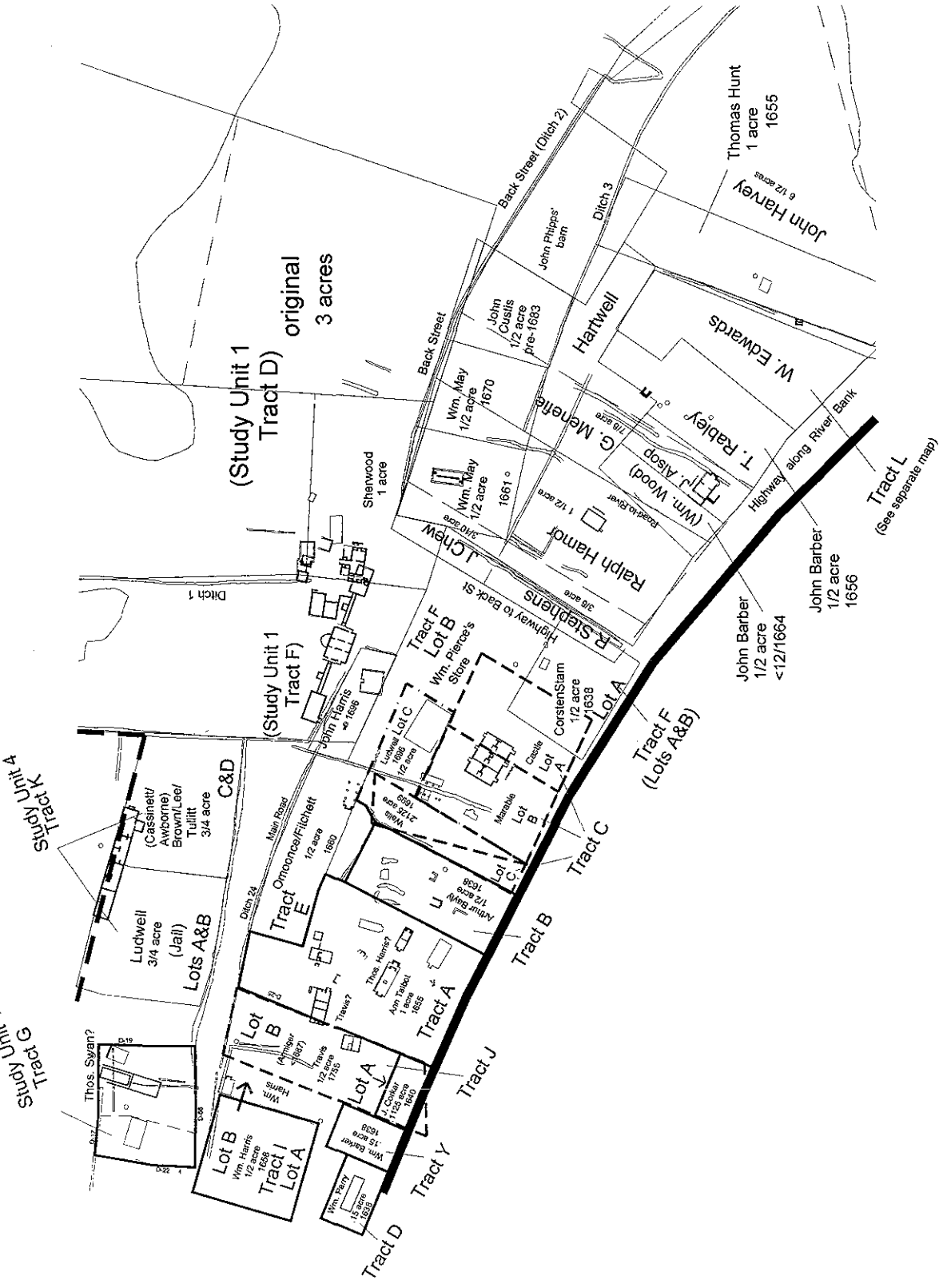


Figure 63. *Study Unit 4 with part of Study Unit 1.*

Study Unit 4 Tract A

Mrs. Ann Talbott

On March 1, 1655, Mrs. Ann Talbott patented a 1 acre lot that abutted "Easterly with the Land of Thomas Bayly [Study Unit 4 Tract B], Westerly with the land of Mr. Watson [Study Unit 4 Tract J], Southerly with the main river and from thence Northerly to the path leading to Captain Moones house [Study Unit 4 Tract E]" (Patent Book 3:331; Nugent 1969-1979:I:305). Although Mrs. Talbott's patent lacks a detailed boundary description, her eastern lot line abutted that of Arthur Bayly's ½ acre lot, which west side was 6 poles or 99 feet long and delimited by a boundary ditch; her western lot line abutted Mr. Watson's lot (the 0.1125 acre lot formerly owned by John Corker, which east side was 3 poles or 49.5 feet long), and her northerly boundary line abutted the path to Captain Moone's (Omoonce's) house (Ditch 24/10, Back Street).[169] Mrs. Ann Talbott's patent made no mention of building requirements, raising the possibility that she already had developed her property. The quitrent for Tract A was 1 capon a year.

On September 1, 1657, Mrs. Talbott purchased a ½ acre lot (Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot B) from Thomas Woodhouse, part of the land upon which Structure 17 eventually was built. Mrs. Talbott died sometime prior to February 25, 1663, and her legal heirs disposed of her ½ acre lot (Tract C Lot B). Although it is uncertain what happened to Study Unit 4 Tract A after Mrs. Talbott's demise, her heirs may have disposed of it around 1665, the same time they sold Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot B (Patent Book 5:253; Nugent 1969-1979:I:488).

[169] Moone's/Fitchett's ½ acre lot (Study Unit 4 Tract E) had fixed boundaries and abutted north upon Back Street.

Possible Owners, ca. 1663 to 1755

(HYPOTHETICAL)

At least five individuals are known to have had houses and/or acreage in 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 these individuals may have succeeded Mrs. Ann Talbott as the owner of Tract A. One candidate is councillor Colonel Joseph Bridger of Isle of Wight County, who in 1683 reportedly was building two "very good houses" in Jamestown and who in November 1692 played host to the Governor and Council (C. O. 5/1356 #68; McIlwaine 1918:35). Another possible owner of Tract A is Thomas Clayton, who in November 1682 served as Jamestown's burgess and hosted meetings of assembly committees (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:174; 1918:19). A third is Miles Cary II of Warwick County, who became Jamestown's burgess in 1693[170] and was the colony's surveyor general from 1692 to 1708. He became Register of the Admiralty Court in 1698 (Leonard 1976:52; Stanard 1965:26, 88; Meyer et al. 1987:604-605; C. O. 5/1309 f 100). A fourth (who succeeded Miles Cary II as both husband and burgess) is the Rev. James Blair's brother, the renowned physician Dr. Archibald Blair, who married Miles Cary II's widow, Mary Wilson Roscoe, in ca. 1709 and represented Jamestown from 1718 to 1734. Dr. Archibald Blair's son, John, finished his father's term as burgess in 1734 (Meyer et al. 1987:604-605; Byrd 1942:51, 67; Leonard 1976:69, 74). The fifth is Mrs. Susanne Fisher, who in June 1680

[170] Miles Cary I's estate had an interest in Bay 3 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group, Structure 144 on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A. However, by 1683 that structure and land was in the hands of Philip Ludwell I (Patent Book 7:294).

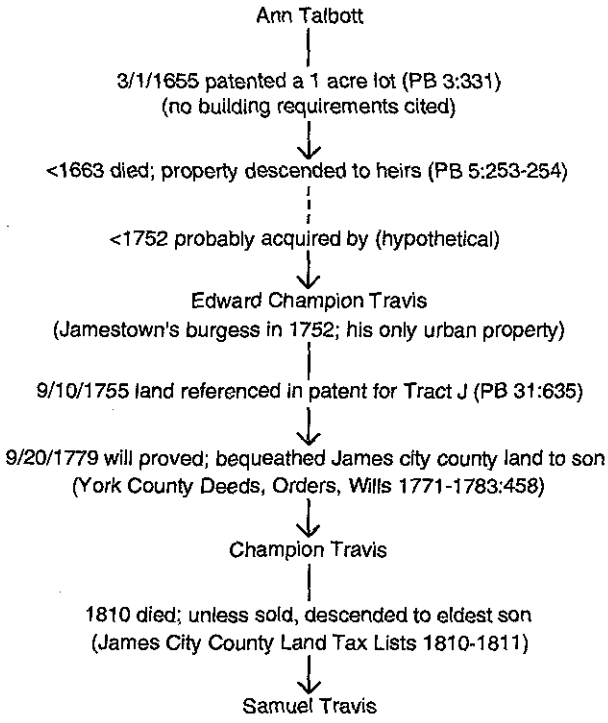


Figure 64. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract A.*

hosted an assembly meeting and by July 1681 married William Armiger of Study Unit 4 Tract J (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:119; McGhan 1980:421).

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. It is possible that one of Travis's forebears (for example, Edward Travis II, who died in 1700, or Edward Travis III, who died in ca. 1720) owned Tract A and left it to Edward Champion Travis (Tyler 1907-1908:142).

Edward Champion Travis

On September 10, 1755, Edward Champion Travis patented a ½ acre waterfront lot in Jamestown that lay west of and contiguous to his garden plot. The verbal boundary description of Travis's newly acquired lot indicates that it was at a location analogous to Study Unit 4 Tract J (Patent Book 31:635).[171] Thus, Edward Champion Travis's September 10, 1755, transaction reveals that prior to that date he had come into possession of Study Unit 4 Tract A (or at least the western portion of it) which contained his garden plot and his townstead (Structure 6).

Edward Champion Travis, who was born in 1721, married Susannah Hutchings, with whom he produced sons Champion, Edward IV, and John, and daughter Susannah. In 1745, when Edward Jaquelin's daughters transferred some of their property to Richard Ambler, Edward Champion Travis

[171] The boundary line for Edward Champion Travis's patent for Tract J, which ran clockwise, commenced "at high water mark on James River where a stone is to be planted, then running North 20 degrees East 19½ poles [321.75 feet], then South 80 degrees East 6 poles [99 feet], then through Travis's garden South 20 West 18 poles [297 feet] to the river, then up the river North 70 degres West 6 poles [99 feet] to beginning (Patent Book 31:635).

witnessed the deed, and in 1750, while functioning as executor for William Nugent, he assigned a 105 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land to Ambler. By 1750 Edward Champion Travis had become involved in the slave trade, and his sloop, the *Jamestown*, commenced bringing Africans to Virginia from Barbados. He conducted business as Edward C. Travis and Company and was involved in the slave trade until at least 1758. He may have done business on the waterfront in Jamestown, for he owned two lots that abutted the James River (Tracts A and J). In 1752 Travis began serving as burgess for Jamestown, which seat he retained through 1765. He also became a James City County justice in 1752, but in 1772 was deemed unqualified for office, probably because he had relocated. In 1753 he bought and then sold Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot C to Richard Ambler, who was accumulating land in Jamestown. In September 1769 when a hurricane struck eastern Virginia, Travis's schooner reportedly was ripped from its moorings and driven ashore on the other side of the river (Tyler 1907-1908:142; Smith et al. 1745; Minchinton 1984:145, 159; Stanard 1965:128-170; Dixon, September 14, 1769; McIlwaine 1925-1945:5:391; 6:512).

By the 1770s Edward Champion Travis had purchased and developed a plantation on the York River at Timson's Neck (on the west side of Queen's Creek's mouth, in modern Camp Peary), leaving his Jamestown Island property to the occupancy of his sons, Edward IV and Champion (Purdie, October 31, 1777; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1771-1783:458).

In April 1772 when Edward Travis IV's marriage to Miss Betsy Taite was announced in the *Virginia Gazette*, he was described as a resident "of Jamestown" (Purdie and Dixon, April 2, 1772). This raises the possibility that he was residing in his father's townstead, the only property the Travises seemingly owned in urban Jamestown.

In April 1780 Edward Travis IV (by then a captain in the Virginia Navy) was residing "at Jamestown" when he advertised some real estate for sale in York County (Dixon, April 1, 1780). As he had commenced renting Mrs. Mary Ambler's Jamestown Island plantation (Structure 101) in January, it is uncertain whether he had moved into her mansion or was occupying the Travis family townstead (Structure 6), which (like the rest of Edward Champion Travis's James City County property) had descended to elder brother, Champion (Ambler MS 129). However, in June 1777 when Ebenezer Hazard visited Jamestown, he commented that the Ambler house was "decaying fast," but that "The other houses in Town are wooden, and all in Ruins" (Shelly 1954:414-415). Thus, unless Hazard was exaggerating, the Ambler house may have been Captain Edward Travis's only choice. On the other hand, Dr. James Thatcher, an American, stated that in 1781 there were "two houses standing on the banks of the river" and French cartographer Nicholas Desandrouins (1781) indicated that several buildings were located in close proximity to the James (Thatcher 1862:278).

Champion Travis

At Edward Champion Travis's death in 1779, son Champion inherited virtually all of his James City County property, including his plantation and townstead on Jamestown Island and at Piney Grove, near the mouth of the Chickahominy River (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1771-1783:458). Champion was residing on Jamestown Island at the onset of the American Revolution and may have been occupying the ancestral home in the northeastern end of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 2) or sharing the Travis townstead with his brother, Edward.

According to a news item in the November 17, 1775, edition of the *Virginia Gazette*, the chimney of Champion Travis's kitchen was struck when Jamestown was shelled by British vessels. Champion later claimed that his dwelling and offices "at Jamestown" were damaged severely by Virginia troops in 1776, when the buildings were used as guardhouses (Purdie, November 17, 1775; Hatch 1942:32). As the Americans had

erected a small battery a relatively short distance west of Study Unit 4 Tract A and were garrisoned on Jamestown Island during 1775 and 1776, it probably was the Travis townstead on Tracts J and A and not the plantation that sustained wartime damage.

Samuel Travis

Champion Travis died in 1810 and his Jamestown Island property descended to his eldest son, Samuel (James City County Land Tax Lists 1810-1811). As no tax rolls exist for Jamestown's lots, the fate of the family's urban holdings is open to conjecture.

Study Unit 4 Tract B

Arthur Bayly *(HYPOTHETICAL)*

On September 22, 1638, Arthur Bayly, a highly successful Henrico County merchant with headquarters in London, patented Tract B, a half-acre water front lot in Jamestown. Bayly's patent description indicates that his lot measured 6 poles (99 feet) in width (east to west) by 14 poles (231 feet) in length (north to south) (Patent Book 1:598; Nugent 1969-1979:I:97). When an electronic map of the Bayly patent was created, its dimensions and directional orientation were found to conform precisely with the right-angled figure created by the convergence of Ditches 64 and 65, as portrayed on the Cotter site plan. Moreover, on March 1, 1655, when Mrs. Ann Talbott patented Study Unit 4 Tract A, her patent was said to abut east upon the lot of Thomas Bayly, Arthur Bayly's kinsman (Patent Book 3:331; Nugent 1969-1979:I:305).

Arthur Bayly, who during the late 1630s resided in Curles Neck, may have been the son of ancient planter William Bayly. In March 1643 Arthur served as a burgess for Henrico County. On August 3, 1658, however, he identified himself as a merchant and trader to Virginia. He did business under under the name of Arthur Bayly and Company and was considered a prominent London merchant with strong connections to Virginia (Stanard 1907:191; 1910:158; Tyler 1905-1906:172; 1908-1909:76; 1927:11; Hening 1809-1823:I:239).

Thomas Bayly (Bailey) *(HYPOTHETICAL)*

On March 1, 1655, when Mrs. Ann Talbott acquired a 1 acre lot abutting the James River, it was noted that Thomas Bayly's land lay to her east and Mr. Watson's to her west (Patent Book 3:331; Nugent 1969-1979:I:305). As Thomas Bayly of Henrico was a kinsman of merchant Arthur Bayly, he may have inherited his lot. No other records have come to light that disclose what subsequently happened to Thomas Bayly's lot, Study Unit 4 Tract B. Sometime after October 1660 but before April 7, 1671, Thomas Bayly occupied Bay 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Structure 144 on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A) (McIlwaine 1924:514-515). He may have been a tenant of Thomas Woodhouse or Henry Randolph, who like Bayly, was from Henrico County. In 1704 a Thomas Bayly was credited with 251 acres of land in Henrico County (McIlwaine 1924:514; Smith 1957:4; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:96, 101; 1660-1693:8).

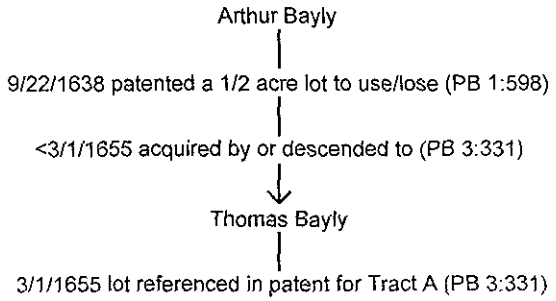
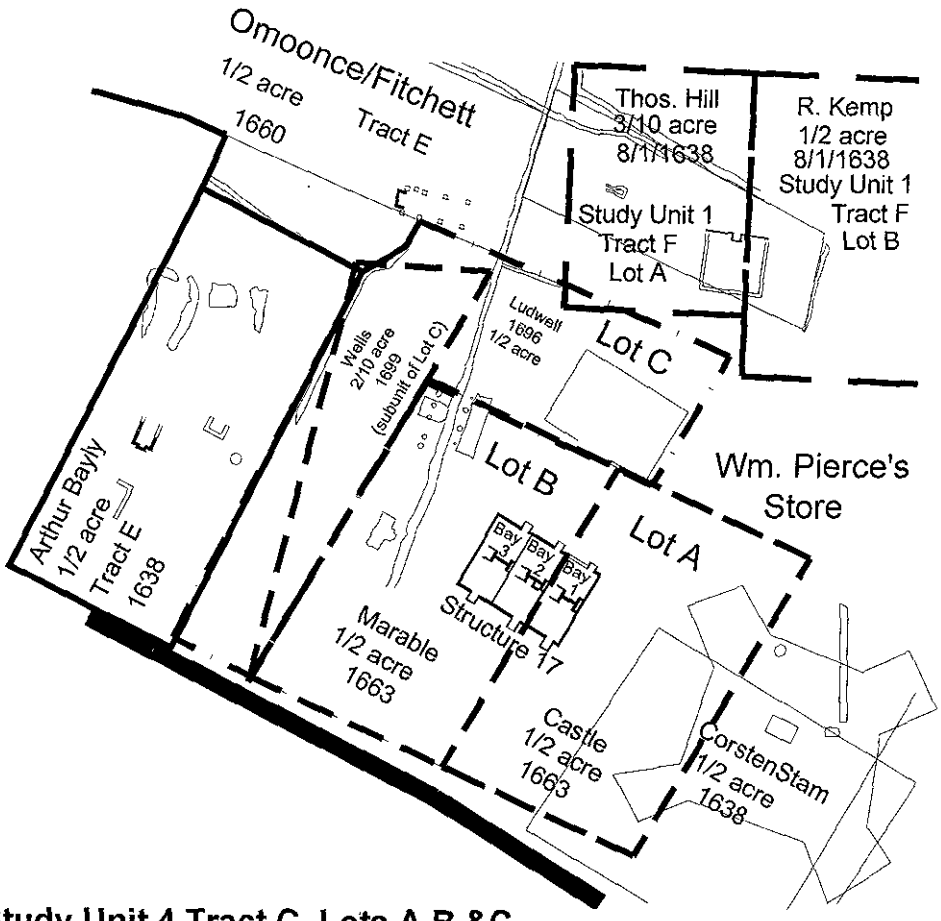


Figure 65. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract B.*



Study Unit 4 Tract C, Lots A,B,&C

Figure 66. *Study Unit 4, Tract C, Lots A, B, and C.*

Study Unit 4 Tract C

Tract C (a 1 acre lot) is problematic, for when the original patentee acquired it, it was square and measured 209 feet on each side. Less than two years later, the same individual subdivided his lot into two parcels of equal size. Afterward, each of the new lots was described as measuring 115.5 feet by 188.57 feet, not 104.5 feet by 209 feet as might be expected when a 209 foot by 209 foot square is halved.

Land ownership records fail to reveal who sought to have the boundaries of Tract C modified. However, the 1662 building initiative probably was the impetus for the change, which occurred in 1663. That the newly-shaped lots were surveyed and both of them were re-patented on the same date suggests that the modification was purposeful and carefully executed.

Lots A and B

Thomas Woodhouse

On October 17, 1655 Thomas Woodhouse patented a 1 acre river front lot that measured 209 feet on each side. His patent boundaries, which ran counter-clockwise, began "at the Mulberry Tree by the waterside and runing downe ye river South East ½ point Southerly 12 poles 11 feet [209 feet] and thence from high water mark towards Mr. Chiles his Orchard North East ½ point Easterly 12 poles and 11 feet [209 feet] and thence North West ½ point Northerly Parrellell [parallel] to the river line 12 poles 11 feet [209 feet] and thence to the place wee began South West ½ point Westerly with markes at Each Station" (Patent Book 3:380). It is doubtful that Thomas Woodhouse developed his property, for when he halved and disposed of it, no improvements were mentioned.

On March 24, 1655, several months prior to the time Thomas Woodhouse patented Tract C, Sir William Berkeley sold him the easternmost unit (Bay 4 of Structure 144) of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A). Berkeley then referred to Bay 4 as the "late statehouse." Whether Berkeley had been leasing Bay 4 to the government as a statehouse, had built it for the government's use, or had converted a dwelling into a statehouse is unclear. In 1656 Thomas Woodhouse was paid for renting his house to the Governor's Council and the Quarter Court on two occasions and on October 11, 1660, he was compensated for hosting Council meetings. The assembly also convened at Woodhouse's from time to time. He probably kept a tavern, for it was during this period that the burgesses decided to build a statehouse because of "the dishonor of our Lawes being made and judgements being given in alehouses" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:96, 101; 1660-1693:8, 27).

Thomas Woodhouse, who in 1640 patented and developed some land in Surry County near Gray's Creek, seems to have moved to Jamestown around 1655. He apparently prospered, for in July 1657 he and a partner, William Hooker, patented 100 acres of land in the southeastern end of Jamestown Island (in Study Unit 3) and during 1658 and 1659 he laid claim to 6,000 acres of land on the Potomac River and 100 acres in Isle of Wight County. Woodhouse's land in Isle of Wight abutted that of two other members of the Jamestown community: John Moone (O'Moonce) (owner of Study Unit 4 Tract E) and John Upton (lessee of Study Unit 2 Tract M) (Ambler MS 18; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1652-1672:6,23,63; Patent Book 3:380; 4:100; 5:253; Nugent 1969-1979:I:317, 347, 375, 391; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:96,101; 1660-1693:8; Hening 1809-1823:I:424). Thomas Woodhouse seemingly had more success in acquiring property than retaining it. The 100 acres he owned in Study Unit 3

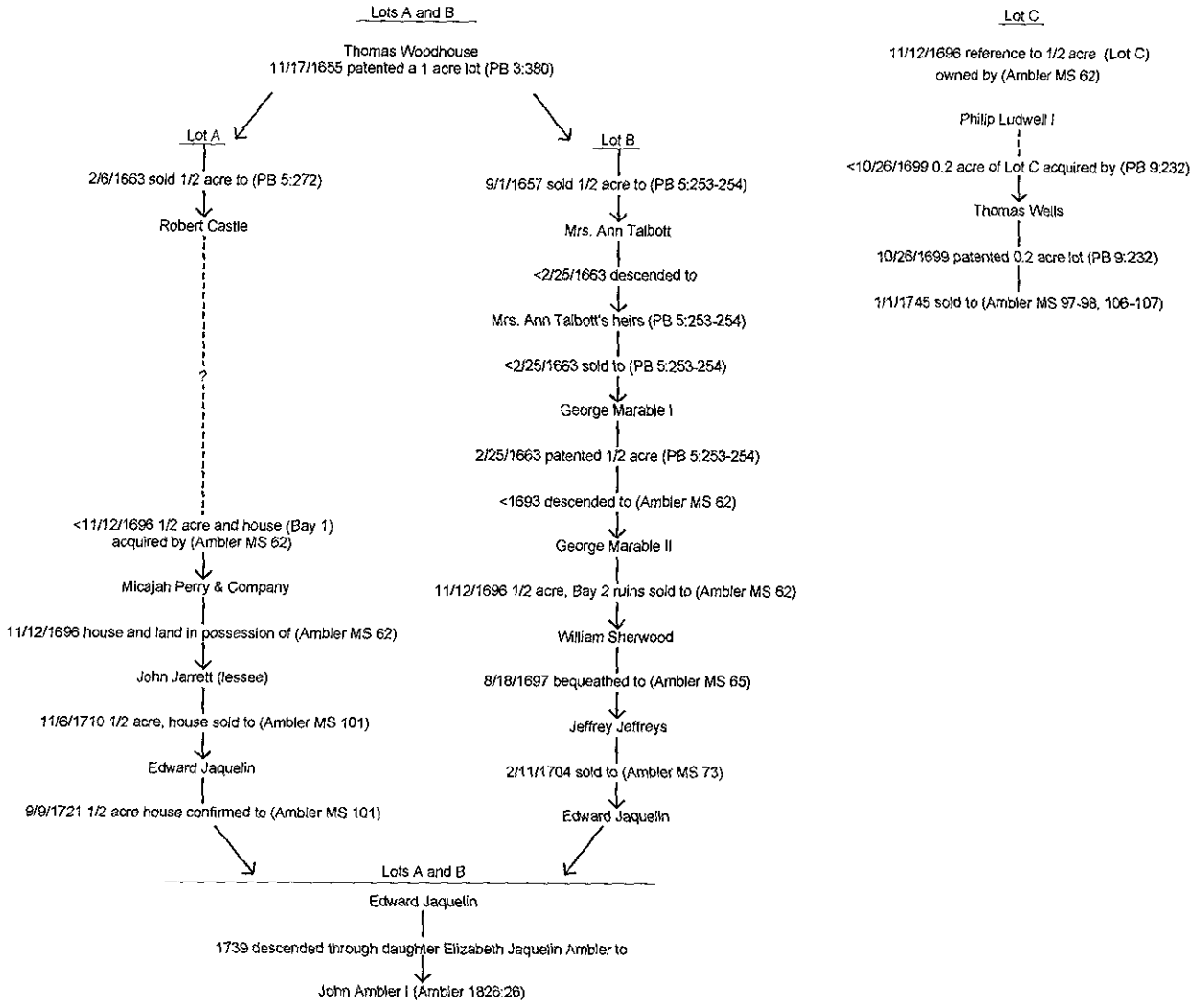


Figure 67. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract C, Lots A, B, and C.*

escheated to the Crown sometime prior to 1667 and he lost or disposed of Ludwell Statehouse Group's Bay 4 by 1671 (Ambler MS 18; McIlwaine 1924:514). In 1694 Woodhouse was mentioned as the former owner of acreage in the immediate vicinity of Study Unit 1 Tract G (Ambler MS 64).

Lot B

Mrs. Ann Talbott

On September 1, 1657, Thomas Woodhouse subdivided his 1 acre lot and sold the western half (i.e., Lot B) to Mrs. Ann Talbott. He retained Lot A, the residual ½ acre. Sometime prior to February 25, 1663, Mrs. Ann Talbott's heirs sold her ½ acre

lot to George Marable I (Patent Book 5:253-254). When he repatented it, it still contained ½ acre. However, the lot's overall shape and dimensions had been changed. Instead of measuring 104.5 feet wide and 209 feet long (as might be expected when a 209 foot by 209 foot lot is halved), it measured 115.5 feet wide and 188.57 feet long.

Very little is known about Mrs. Ann Talbott except that on March 1, 1655, she patented the 1 acre lot that has been designated Study Unit 4 Tract A. The wording of her patent for Tract A, a waterfront lot to the west of Tract C, suggests that she was not obliged to develop her land in order to secure its title (Patent Book 3:331; Nugent 1969-1979:I:305). This raises the possibility that one or more buildings already stood upon her property.

George Marable I

George Marable I, when repatenting his ½ acre lot (Lot B) on February 25, 1663, noted that he had purchased it from Mrs. Ann Talbott's heirs and that Mrs. Talbott had bought her acreage from Thomas Woodhouse on September 1, 1657. Marable also stated that his lot was part of the land Woodhouse had patented on October 17, 1655. A verbal boundary description of the Marable lot indicates that the property line, which ran clockwise, began at its southwest corner, "at a Corner stake at high Water mark near the Mulberry." It then ran "between the Mulberry and the said Marables now dwelling House North East by North 5 & 5/7 chains [188.57 feet] to a Corner Stake within the Garden." At that point it proceeded "South East by East 3½ chains [115.5 feet] to a Corner Locust stake in the paled fence." Then it turned back toward the James, running "south West by south 5 5/7 chains [188.57 feet] to the River aforesaid, thence North West by West 3½ chains [115.5 feet] to the place Where it began." It should be noted that George Marable I's 1663 patent made reference to his "now dwelling house," which research suggests strongly was Bay 2 of Structure 17 (Patent Book 5:253-254; Ambler MS 62). On October 31,1673, the General Court authorized George Marable I to take up some waste land adjacent to his house in Jamestown, as long as he did not impinge upon another's grant (McIlwaine 1924:359).

George Marable I died sometime prior to July 1683 and his widow and executrix, Catherine, married Henry Gawler (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:409; Charles City County Order Book 1685:5). In 1684 and 1685, the assembly paid Gawler for providing the Governor's Council and the General Court with a meeting room and and on one occasion they compensated him for allowing the assembly to convene on his premises. These rentals would have occurred before the statehouse was restored to usable condition. In 1682 and 1684 the House of Burgesses reimbursed Henry Gawler for providing room and board to some tributary Indians who had come to Jamestown on official business. On December 7, 1685, Gawler was described as an ordinary-keeper, who was obliged to find accommodations for his guests because he had provided meeting-space to government officials. In June 1689 William Byrd I instructed his agent to "send mee a hds. of claret wine more in bottles to 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 1926:27; McIlwaine 1905-1915:256-257; 1918:88-89).[172] Henry and Catherine Gawler probably occupied the rowhouse unit that belonged to her late husband, George Marable I, as the Gawler surname isn't associated with any other property on Jamestown Island.

In 1691 Henry Gawler was paid for some work he performed at the statehouse, which was then being used as a General Courthouse. Two years later, Gawler, while sheriff of James City County, was paid for duties he performed on behalf of the General Court. It is likely that he was serving as sergeant-at-arms, a post traditionally held

[172] 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.

by the local sheriff who always was a James City County justice of the peace (McIlwaine 1918:143, 151).

George Marable II

George Marable I's son, George II, eventually inherited his late father's acreage (Lot B) and brick rowhouse (Bay 2 of Structure 17) in Jamestown, probably after Catherine Marable Gawler's life-rights expired. He may have been living there in late 1692 or early 1693, for he was compensated for hosting a government committee meeting "at his brick house" in Jamestown. George Marable II was married to John Hartwell's daughter, Mary, with whom he produced two sons (George III and Henry Hartwell Marable). George Marable II became a James City County justice in 1693 and in 1697, while sheriff, he attended sessions of the General Court, probably serving as sergeant-at-arms. That he was called upon to investigate what caused the October 1698 statehouse fire suggests that he was considered an intelligent, responsible member of the community (McIlwaine 1918:179, 181, 459; 1925-1945:I:363, 392-393; III:141, 316; Sainsbury 1964:18:728; 21:285; Palmer 1968:I:45).

On November 12, 1696, George Marable II sold his late father's Jamestown lot (Lot B) and the ruins of the decedent's brick house (Bay 2) to William Sherwood. The east wall of the late George Marable I's house was "abutting on and joyneing Easterly to the brick howse and land now in the possession of John Jarrett," William Sherwood's nephew. However, the structure Jarrett occupied (Bay 1) was owned by Micajah Perry and Company. The west wall of the Marable house reportedly abutted "westerly on the ruins of the brick howse & halfe acre of land belonging to phillip Ludwell Esqr." In 1697 when William Sherwood made his will, he made a bequest to George Marable II and named him an executor (Ambler MS 62, 65).

George Marable II and his brother, William, fell heir to their late father's 117 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land. Later, George acquired a 422 acre parcel there. In 1707 he and some other Governor's Land tenants ran afoul of the law by refusing to pay rent while the governorship was vacant. In 1699 George Marable II patented 135 acres of escheat land in Jockey's Neck (Soane 1683; Nugent 1969-1979:III:33; McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:141; Ambler MS 167).

Between 1700 and 1718 George Marable II served intermittently as a burgess for James City County. In 1706 he was among the local justices who asked the assembly for brick from the old statehouse so that they could use it in building a new county courthouse in Jamestown. In 1712 George Marable II, who was then a burgess, was accused of malfeasance and removed from office (McIlwaine 1918:179, 181, 459; 1925-1945:I:363, 392-393; III:141, 316; Palmer 1968:I:146; McGhan 1993:873, 875; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 3:38; Leonard 1976:60; Stanard 1965:94-95, 100-102; Sainsbury 1964:18:728; 21:285).

William Sherwood

William Sherwood, through his November 1696 purchase of Tract C, Lot B, gained important river front access, for his extensive holdings on the north side of Back Street had no frontage upon the James (Ambler MS 62). It was on part of that northerly property ("the country house lot," Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A) that he built a brick house in the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion (Ambler MS 65). In 1695 Sherwood became the Royal African Company's representative in Virginia. Therefore, he probably sold newly-arrived Africans on his employers' behalf (H.C.A., T 70/57 f 120). A waterfront lot would have been useful.

Sherwood, who immigrated to Virginia sometime prior to 1669, by October 4, 1675, had married Rachel, Richard James I's widow. He took charge of the real and personal estate his teenage stepson, Richard James II, stood to inherit upon attaining his majority, and he was a merchant and practicing attorney (Ambler MS 17; McIlwaine

1924:418-419). On September 19, 1676, the day William Sherwood left for England to report on conditions in the colony, Nathaniel Bacon's men set Jamestown ablaze. Sherwood later said that during the conflagration, the houses of his orphaned stepson were among the buildings burned. The focal point of Sherwood's complaint very probably were Structures 1/2, the buildings situated upon Study Unit 1 Tract C, the late Richard James I's 150 acres. Sherwood sought to attach part of the estate of Richard Lawrence, who allegedly set the James/Sherwood home ablaze, and he told the king's commissioners that such an infusion of funds would enable him "to rebuild in James City" (C. O. 1/41 f 32ro).[173] In a separate petition, Sherwood said that several men executed for their role in the rebellion were indebted to him and he asked to be reimbursed for his losses from the condemned men's estates. Some of the debts Sherwood attempted to collect were owed "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 would have enabled him to construct the brick dwelling (Structure 31) and a kitchen (Structure 58) that he erected upon part of the "country house" lot (a third of Tract D Lot A), both of which are depicted and labeled on John Soane's 1681 plat (Ambler MS 134).

Throughout the 1680s and 90s William Sherwood (and later, his widow, Rachel) derived income from renting portions of the family home to the government for official meetings. The Governor's Council convened at the Sherwoods' in June 1680, perhaps for the first time, and afterward meeting there became a regular occurrence. 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. After William Sherwood's death, his widow also rented meeting space to government officials (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 wife, Rachel, a life interest in all of his real and personal estate, with the exception of a few modest bequests he made to friends and kin. However, he left reversionary rights in his property to London 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).

Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys (Jeffries, Jeffrys) (reversionary heir)

Jeffrey Jeffreys, William Sherwood's reversionary heir, was the brother and business partner of John Jeffreys, who lost a substantial quantity of wine when Jamestown burned in September 1676. In 1692 Jeffrey Jeffreys sent 200 stand of arms to Virginia, part of the weaponry that was damaged or destroyed when the statehouse burned in October 1698. When he learned that William Sherwood and his widow were dead, he authorized Arthur Spicer to take the decedent's estate into custody. By 1704 Jeffreys had been knighted. His interest in Jamestown apparently was well known, for in April 1704 Stephen Fouace asked him to use his influence in seeing that the community was allowed representation in the assembly. On December 11, 1704, Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys sold the late William Sherwood's land (described as 400 acres) to Edward Jaquelin, who had married the widowed Rachel Sherwood (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 transaction would have included Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot B.

Edward Jaquelin

In ca. 1699 Mrs. Rachel James Sherwood married Edward Jaquelin, a merchant 9 years younger than her deceased son, Richard James II. Jaquelin

[173] This document, though undated, is in a 1677 context.

moved into her home and on December 11, 1704, acquired Jeffrey Jeffreys' interest in the bulk of the late William Sherwood's estate (Study Unit 1 Tracts A, B, C, D, F, and G) (Ambler MS 65, 73). Even without the purchase, he 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 260 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land was still viable.

Edward Jaquelin did little to enhance the size of the Sherwood plantation on Jamestown Island, other than buying Lot B of Study Unit 4 Tract C from Jeffrey Jeffreys on February 11, 1704, and neighboring Lot A on November 6, 1710 (Ambler MS 73, 101). However, he did acquire 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 parcel 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 to the Jaquelin/Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island. After Rachel James Sherwood Jaquelin's death, Edward Jaquelin married Martha Cary of Elizabeth City County, with whom he had several children. However, Edward outlived Martha and their sons and when he died in November 1739, his three daughters became his heirs. Edward Jaquelin's Jamestown Island plantation (including Study Unit 4 Tract C Lots A and B) and his mainland farm descended through his eldest daughter, Elizabeth (the wife of Yorktown merchant Richard Ambler) to the decedent's four-year-old grandson, John Ambler I (Smith et al. 1745; Meyer et al. 1987:606).

Richard Ambler

Although Richard Ambler's wife, Elizabeth Jaquelin, technically seems to have inherited her late father's landholdings on Jamestown Island and in the nearby mainland, they clearly were intended for her son John Ambler I. In 1745 Richard Ambler purchased his sister-in-laws' reversionary interest in a 2 acre parcel in which he enjoyed a life-interest (part of Study Unit 1 Tract E), and he enhanced the size of the Jaquelin plantation by purchasing a substantial quantity of land from Norfolk merchant Christopher Perkins. This increased the size of the Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island to approximately 698 acres (Smith et al. 1745; Ambler MS 97-98, 106-107).

Lot A

Robert Castle

Thomas Woodhouse, having sold Lot B to Ann Talbott in 1657, deeded his remaining half-acre (Lot A) to Robert Castle on February 6, 1662. On February 25, 1663, Castle repatented his lot and George Marable I repatented Lot B. It was then that both lots' boundaries were redefined.

Robert Castle's patent makes reference to the common boundary line his property shared with his westerly neighbor, George Marable I, the owner of Lot B. A verbal boundary description of the Castle lot indicates that the property line, which ran clockwise, began at its southeast corner, "at a Corner stake at high Water mark near the south East ['East' interlined] end of a 15 foot house,[174] thence [ran] up James River North West by West 3½ chains [115.5 feet]." Castle's line then extended "North East by North 5 & 5/7 chains [188.57 feet] to a corner Locust stake in the paled fence." At that point it turned "south East by East 3½ Chains [115.5 feet] to a Corner stake against Mr. Fitchets House,"[175] and then headed back toward the James,

[174] It is unclear whether the house was on the property Castle was patenting or next door on Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot A. If the latter, it may have been obliterated by the construction of a turf fort in the 1660s.

[175] This structure and the 15 foot house would have been on Tract F.

running "south West by south 5 5/7 chains [188.57 feet] to the place Where it Began" (Patent Book 5:272; Nugent 1969-1979:I:154). The rowhouse unit designated Structure 17 Bay 1 was constructed upon Lot A, perhaps during Robert Castle's period of ownership.

Very little is known about Robert Castle except that in March 1656 he patented an island of marsh land in the Chickahominy River. In September 1664 he was identified as the guardian of William Gray, a Surry County orphan (Nugent 1969-1979:I:327; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1652-1672:240). Within two years of the time Robert Castle secured his patent for Lot A, plans got underway to build a fort on the acreage that adjoined his eastern lot line. The fort's construction and its use as a licensing center for trading vessels probably influenced the manner in which Lot A was developed and used.

John Jarrett (Jarratt) (lessee)

On November 12, 1696, when George Marable II sold Lot B and his father's dwelling (Bay 2 of Structure 17) to William Sherwood, he made reference to the building's "abutting on and joyneing Easterly to the brick howse and land now in the possession of John Jarrett," William Sherwood's nephew. The structure Jarrett occupied (Bay 1) was owned by Micajah Perry and Company, a mercantile firm better known as Perry, Lane and Company. The Perry firm disposed of its lot and dwelling on November 12, 1710, by which date John Jarrett was dead. Afterward, the widowed Joannah Jarrett gained employment as housekeeper to William Byrd II of Westover (Ambler MS 48, 62, 65, 101; Tyler 1908-1909:264).

John and his wife, Joannah Lowe Jarrett, apparently were favorites of William Sherwood. In August 1697 when Sherwood made his will, he left his clothing to John and he bequeathed his history books to Joannah, the niece of London merchant Micajah Perry. Sherwood also bequeathed a small sum of money to the Jarrett couple's daughters, Elizabeth and Elir, and John's unmarried sister, Mary Jarrett (Ambler MS 65; McGhan 1993:873; Price 1992:65; Withington 1980:43; Tyler 1908-1909:264).

William Sherwood previously had demonstrated his affection for his nephew, John Jarrett, by giving him a 28½ acre plot in the western end of Jamestown Island, the parcel designated Study Unit 1 Tract E. On April 7, 1694, when Sherwood deeded Tract E to John, he indicated that Francis Bullifant had leased 2½ acres of it, and that Sherwood had reserved the right to build a wharf there if necessary. John Jarrett retained the gift parcel until after his uncle's decease, but on February 9, 1699, sold it to John Howard, a tailor. On May 6, 1700, Joannah Jarrett waived her dower interest in the Sherwood property (Ambler MS 48, 67). In light of William Sherwood's active role in trade and John and Joannah Jarrett's connection with one of England's most prominent mercantile families, both men may have devoted a portion of the property Jarrett was renting (and perhaps his 28½ acres at the western end of Jamestown Island) to commercial endeavors.

Micajah Perry and Company (Perry, Lane and Company)

Sometime prior to November 12, 1696, when George Marable II sold Lot B and Bay 2 to William Sherwood, the London mercantile firm of Micajah Perry and Company (Perry, Lane and Company) came into possession of Lot A and Bay 1. In 1696 when the Marable-Sherwood sale occurred, John Jarrett was occupying Lot A and Bay 1. He and his wife, Joannah, who was Micajah Perry's niece, may have been residing there. On November 6, 1710, the Perry firm disposed of its lot and dwelling. By that date, John Jarrett was dead and his widow, Joannah, was living elsewhere (Ambler MS 48, 62, 65, 101; Tyler 1908-1909:264).

The firm known as Perry, Lane and Company was comprised of Micajah Perry and his brother, Richard, and Thomas Lane. Micajah's brother, Peter Perry, a York County merchant and

Micajah Lowe, a Charles City County merchant, also were tied into the trading network. Lowe's sister, Joannah, was the wife of John Jarrett, William Sherwood's nephew. Another member of this familial trading network probably was William Edwards IV of Surry, who married Micjah Lowe's widow, Sarah (Tyler 1908-1909:264).

Micajah Perry's selection as attorney and/or administrator to wealthy Virginians such as Edward Hill of Shirley, Francis Eppes, Thomas and Mary Swann, Henry Hartwell, and others attests to his trustworthiness and capability as a trader. In 1697 William Sherwood authorized Perry to make decisions about his bequest to the poor of a London parish. Among the records of Perry's transactions in Virginia is one for the sale of cloth to Jamestown lot owner Richard Holder (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot D and Study Unit 3 Tracts H and I) (Coldham 1987:20, 28; Withington 1980:507; McGhan 1993:873; P.R.O. Auditor 15/93 f 162).

In 1688 and 1689 Micajah Perry used his influence with the Privy Council to free Edward Davis, Lionel Delawafer and Andrew Hinson, who were accused of piracy and detained at Jamestown. Perry's complaint was that the men's "plate, money, jewells and goods" had been illegally seized when their vessel was captured by a Maryland ship and brought in (C.O. 5/1305 ff 9, 12-19). While the alleged pirates were incarcerated at Jamestown, they were in the custody of the James City County sheriff, George Marable II, who ultimately inherited his late father's brick rowhouse (Bay 2 of Structure 17) but in 1688 probably lived elsewhere, perhaps in Bay 1. When the prisoners were released they were forced to pay Marable for the cost of their "entertainment," an indication that the sheriff was responsible for providing them with room and board (Palmer 1968:I:45; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1695-1702:68; 1925-1945:I:363).

In April 1704 a Virginia man expressed his hope that Micajah Perry would urge the Council of Trade to restore Jamestown's representation in the assembly, something Governor Francis Nicholson adamantly opposed (Sainsbury 1964:22:105). In October 1721, when Micajah Perry died in London, his obituary was published widely throughout the North American colonies. According to the *Boston Gazette*, Perry had been Virginia's greatest merchant. His brother, Peter Perry, was a resident of York County (*Boston Gazette*, January 29-February 5, 1729; Tyler 1908-1909:264-265).

Edward Jaquelin

On November 6, 1710, John Clayton of Williamsburg, as attorney for Micajah Perry and Company, sold Lot A to Edward Jaquelin. The deed noted that the land being conveyed consisted of "that Messuage or Tenement and ½ acre of Land... formerly in the possession of John Jarret Dec'd and bounded on the South by the River James, East on the Old ffort, North on the Land where the Mansion house of the Said Edward Jaquelin now Stands and West on the Land late in the possession of William Marable, All which said Messuage and ½ of Land now are in the Actual possession of him the Said Edward Jaquelin." Perry had his attorney affix his seal to the deed on September 9, 1721, and on September 11, 1721, it was acknowledged before the justices of the James City County court (Ambler MS 101). It should be noted that the western boundary line of Lot A was contiguous to the half-acre that contained the ruins of the late George Marable I's brick house (Bay 2), which property in 1696 came into the hands of William Sherwood and by 1704 was owned by Edward Jaquelin (Ambler MS 62, 73).

Edward Jaquelin, a successful merchant and planter, was in possession of Lots A and B when he died in November 1739. He bequeathed his Jamestown Island property to his grandson, John Ambler I, through daughter Elizabeth Jaquelin Ambler (Ambler 1826:26).

Richard Ambler

Although Richard Ambler's wife, Elizabeth Jaquelin, technically seems to have inherited her late father's landholdings on Jamestown Island and in the nearby

mainland, they clearly were intended for her son John Ambler I. In 1745 Richard Ambler purchased his sister-in-laws' reversionary interest in a 2 acre parcel in which he enjoyed a life-interest, and he enhanced the size of the Jaquelin plantation by purchasing a substantial quantity of land from Norfolk merchant Christopher Perkins. This increased the size of the Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island to approximately 698 acres (Smith et al. 1745; Ambler MS 97- 98, 106- 107).

Lot C

Philip Ludwell I

George Marable II's November 12, 1696, sale of Lot B to William Sherwood reveals that Philip Ludwell I (a wealthy planter and high-ranking government official) was then in possession of what has been designated Lot C (Ambler MS 62).[176] It is not known when Ludwell acquired his property. Structure 17's Bay 3 and the housing start labeled Bay 4 probably are attributable to the Ludwell period of ownership.

Philip Ludwell I, a native of Bruton in Somerset County, England, immigrated to Virginia around 1661, where he joined his brother, Thomas, then Secretary of the Colony. In 1667, the same year Philip Ludwell I was made a captain of the James City County militia, he married Lucy Higginson Burwell Bernard, a wealthy widow. She was the daughter of Captain Robert Higginson and successively had outlived Major Lewis Burwell II and Colonel William Bernard. Lucy and Philip Ludwell I resided at Fairfield, the Burwell home on Carter's Creek in Gloucester County, and were living there in 1672 when son Philip II was born. The couple's daughter, Jane, married Daniel Parke II, the notorious rake and governor of the Leeward Islands. Between 1673 and 1675 Lewis Burwell III (Lucy's son by her first husband) most likely took possession of Fairfield, for Lucy died and young Burwell (his father's sole heir) came of age and married for the first time. It was likely then that Philip Ludwell I vacated Fairfield and moved to James City County, perhaps joining his brother, Thomas, at Rich Neck (Meyer et al. 1987:237-238; Shepperson 1942:453; Bruce 1894b:175; Stanard 1965:21, 40; Parks 1982:225).

During the mid-1670s Philip Ludwell I assumed an increasingly prominent role in public life. In November 1674, when Thomas Ludwell set sail for England, he authorized Philip to serve as deputy secretary of the colony. In 1675 Philip was named to the Govenror's Council, which office he retained until 1677. The Ludwell brothers were two of Governor Berkeley's most loyal supporters throughout Bacon's Rebellion and its turbulent aftermath. Philip Ludwell I died in 1716 (Meyer et al. 1987:237-238; Shepperson 1942:453; Bruce 1894b:175; Stanard 1965:21, 40; Parks 1982:225).

Thomas Wells

On October 26, 1699, a fractional portion of Philip Ludwell I's half-acre lot (34 perches or 0.2125 acre), which abutted east upon the old Marable lot (Lot B), was patented by Thomas Wells, a Henrico County planter with holdings on the James and Appomattox Rivers (Patent Book 9:232; Nugent 1969-1979:II:114, 181, 547). Reference was then made to Marable's kitchen. The Wells patent's verbal boundary description, which runs counterclockwise, states that the lot line ran "from an old Corner Stake Capt. Marables uper bounds on James River, along his land and through his kitchen north 33 and 3/4 degrees Easterly 7 and 9/10 2 poles chaine [260.7 feet] to a stake on the south side of the mill Roade and along it north 69 degrees westerly 2 and 2/10 Chaine [72.6 feet] to another stake neare the Cross Roade and thence by the East side thereof South 17½ degrees Westerly 7 and 17 Chaine [236.61 feet] to the first stake" (Patent Book 9:232).

It should be noted that mathematically, the boundaries of this three-sided lot fit within the

[176] For convenience of reference, Philip Ludwell I's ½ acre has been designated Lot C and his rowhouse unit, Bay 3.

Ludwell lot's perimeters. However, if the boundary lines are drawn to scale and oriented in accord with the compass bearings cited in the patent description, they do not create a closed figure. Therefore, the Wells patent has been reconstructed with lines of the proper length drawn in synch with the verbal boundary description. Then, its lines were articulated to create a closed figure. The Wells patent's shape should be considered hypothetical.

Study Unit 4 Tract D

There were at least three males named William Parry or Perry involved in the Jamestown community during the first half of the seventeenth century. Captain William Perry or Parry, a gentleman of wealth and prominence, was named to the Governor's Council in 1677, and was residing near Westover at the time of his death on August 6, 1637. His widow married George Menefie (Meyer et al. 1987:486). The date of this Captain William Parry's death excludes him from consideration as the patentee of Tract D. The second William Parry or Perry was the brother of cooper John Parry. As he was only 19 when Tract D was patented, he was a minor and therefore would have been unable to conduct business on his own behalf (Coldham 1987:44, 158; Withington 1980:78). Therefore, the third (and most likely) candidate for patentee of Tract D is William Parry of Kecoughtan.

William Parry (Perry)

On September 22, 1638, William Parry patented a tiny lot in the New Towne. The Parry patent's verbal boundary description indicates that it measured "six pole in breadth [99 feet] and fower pole [66 feet] in length bounding Southerly upon the James River and Northerly up into the said Island." Thus, the Parry lot was 99 feet wide (from east to west) and 66 feet long (from north to south) (Nugent 1969-1979:I:97; Patent Book 1:598). Parry's lot contained only 0.15 acre or 6,534 square feet. He was to pay 1 capon in quitrent. The closing words of the patent were "Provided always &c," an indication that Parry probably was obliged to develop his land or face forfeiture.

William Parry, by making use of the headright system, in May 1637 patented 350 acres of land on the Nansemond River in New Norfolk County. Sometime prior to 1643 he laid claim to some acreage on Pease Hill Creek (a tributary of Chickahominy River), near property owned by Edward Travis I of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 2). In April 1640 and October 1643 Parry was mentioned in Northampton and Surry County documents as a resident of Kecoughtan (Elizabeth City). His wife was named Ann. In 1648 William Parry patented 90 acres in Elizabeth City and three years later, he claimed 550 acres on the Potomac River. These land acquisitions, which were awarded on account of headrights, indicate that Parry was successful in generating income. The patentee of Tract D probably was the same William Parry who during the 1640s bought and then sold Dr. John Pott's 12 acre New Towne lot (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D) (Nugent 1969-1979:I:57, 175, 221, 224, 340; Patent Book 4:101; Meyer et al. 1987:327; Surry County Deeds, Wills 1652-1672:112).[177] As Parry seemingly remained in Kecoughtan, he may have used his lot in Jamestown (then the colony's sole port of entry) for commercial purposes. If so, he may habe erected the warehouse designated Structure 126.

The Blands (HYPOTHETICAL)

The presence of Structure 26, a mid-seventeenth century warehouse, raises the possibility that Tract D was associated with the trading operations carried on by the Bland family in Virginia. John Bland I (a Virginia Company investor) was a London merchant and it is certain that during the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century his son, John Bland II, owned a lot in urban Jamestown. In

[177] In March 1659 a William Parry petitioned the assembly for public relief, citing the losses he had suffered due to fire, infirmity and age. The assembly rejected his petition (Hening 1809-1823:I:512). There is no indication that the man seeking welfare was the William Parry who patented Tract D.

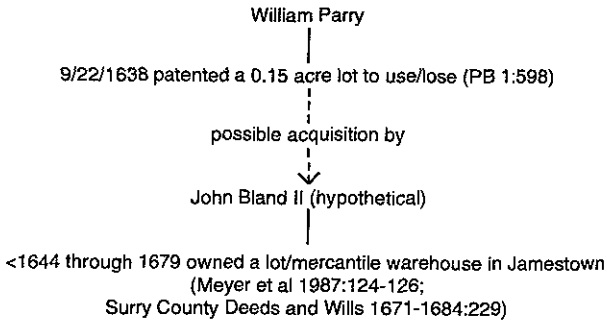


Figure 68. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract D.*

1644 John Bland II's brother, Adam, received a large shipment of goods at Jamestown, which were described in detail in his bill of lading. Another Bland brother, Theodorick, in 1663 received high praise from the assembly for working closely with John II in obtaining substantial quantities of essential goods for the colony. John Bland II was still in possession of his Jamestown lot in 1679, when his wife, Sarah, came to Virginia to conduct business on his behalf and identified the various properties he owned. However, neither patents, deeds nor other documentary records have come to light that reveal precisely where in Jamestown John Bland II's lot was located (Meyer et al 1987:124-126; Parks 1985:173; Hening 1809-1823:II:199; Williams 1964:30-40).

Given the scope of the Bland family's mercantile operations, it is probable that they had a waterfront lot and a warehouse or storehouse of some sort. The possibility also exists that there was some connection between William Parry and the Bland family's trading enterprises. Additional archival research may shed light upon these issues.

Study Unit 4 Tract E

John Moone (Moon, Omoonce, O'Moon)

John Moone was born at Berry (near Gosport) in Stoak Parish, Hampshire, England (Isle of Wight County Deeds, Wills, Guardian Accounts Book A:81). On April 30, 1621, he asked the Virginia Company of London to assign his late brother Nicholas's bill of adventure to him (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:452). This would have made him eligible to claim the land to which his brother was entitled as a Virginia Company investor. The disposition of the Moone request is uncertain.

In 1623 John Moone came to Virginia aboard the *Return*. By January 30, 1625, he was seated in Pasbehay, upon the Governor's Land. With Moone (who was free and therefore renting the parcel he occupied) were three young male servants (Julian Hallers, Giles Martin, and Clinton Rush) who reportedly had come to the colony in the *Truelove*, which arrived right after the March 22, 1622, Indian uprising (Meyer et al. 1987:26). Little is known about John Moone's activities during this period, except that in early January 1626 he was ordered to pay a debt he owed to Captain William Peirce of Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B) (McIlwaine 1924:87). Moone's identification as "Mr." indicates that he was considered a gentleman.

By early 1629 John Moone had moved to Warresqueak (Isle of Wight), which he made his permanent home. In February 1629 he was summoned to appear before the General Court, which attempted to settle his dispute with Mrs. Rachel Polentine, whose land was on the west side of Pagan Creek in Isle of Wight. Court testimony reveals that Moone had ordered Mrs. Polentine's servants to work in his tobacco fields, without seeking her approval. As the General Court partitioned Mrs. Polentine's land and awarded Moone a three year lease for half of her acreage, it appears that her late husband, John Polentine, was indebted to Moone or was his business partner. On the other hand, Moone was ordered to compensate Mrs. Polentine and to allow her possession of the dwelling and tobacco house on the property (McIlwaine 1924:186). On March 7, 1629, Moone again ran afoul of the law, for he was accused of insulting Warresqueak's militia commander, Captain Nathaniel Basse of Basses Choice (McIlwaine 1924:192).

On March 6, 1633, John Moone, who was identified as a planter, secured a patent for 200 acres in Warresqueak. He acquired his land on the basis of four headrights: his own and the three male servants with whom he was living in January 1625 (Nugent 1969-1979:I:17). In October 1635 Moone patented an additional 900 acres in Warresqueak, which by then had become Isle of Wight County, using as a headright his wife, Susan. Two years later, he acquired an additional 550 acres adjacent to his previous patent (Nugent 1969-1979:I:32,77).

By January 1639 John Moone had begun representing Isle of Wight in the colony's assembly. He also fulfilled two terms as a burgess in 1640. Moone was re-elected to the assembly and served as one of Isle of Wight's delegates in 1652 and 1654 (Stanard 1965:61,68,71; McIlwaine 1924:465; Hening 1809-1823:I:386-387). By the time of Moone's death in 1655, he had attained the rank of captain in the militia (Isle of Wight County Deeds, Wills, Guardian Accounts Book A:81).

It may have been during the years John Moone served as an Isle of Wight burgess that he acquired a lot in Jamestown's New Towne, for on March 1, 1655, Mrs. Ann Talbott, when patenting a neighboring one acre lot (Study Unit 4 Tract A) made reference to "the path leading to Captain Moone's house" (Back Street, Ditch 24/10), which formed

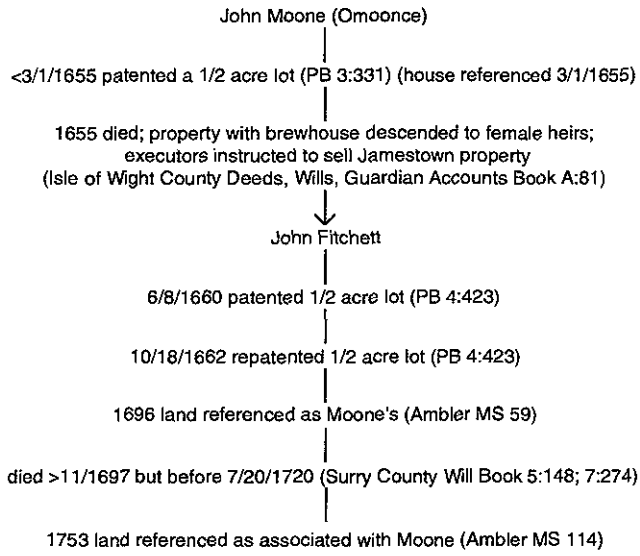


Figure 69. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract E.*

her northerly boundary line (Patent Book 3:331; Nugent 1969-1979:I:305). In 1696, when William Sherwood sold John Harris a ½ acre lot that abutted north upon Back Street (Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot C), reference was made to the lot's common boundary line with the Fitchett (formerly Omoon or Omooce) property, which abutted the Harris lot's west side (Ambler MS 59). Similarly, in June 1753, when William Drummond III sold the Harris lot to Edward Champion Travis, reference was made to its old westerly boundary line abutting the Omoonce property (Ambler MS 114). Although John Moone's patent has been lost, the boundary lines of the Talbott and Harris lots (which abutted Moone and Ditches 24/10, 8, and 25) suggest that Tract E was ½ acre in size. Moreover, the intersection of Ditches 8 and 11 seem to have formed the southeastern corner of the Moone lot.

When Captain John Moone made his will, he instructed his executors to sell "my Brew House and Land belonging to it at James Town," using the proceeds to cover his debts (Isle of Wight County Deeds, Wills, Guardian Accounts Book A:81). He left his beloved wife, Prudence, a fourth of his personal estate, noting that the remainder was to be divided among his three daughters. Daughter Sarah was to inherit his dwelling called Bethlehem and some land on Pagan Creek and he bequeathed to daughter Susanna his acreage called Bethsaida, on the east side of Bethlehem Creek. Daughter Mary was to receive his land at Red Point. John Moone also made bequests to his step-daughter, Joan Wilson Garland, and her husband, Peter, and to his step-son, William Wilson. He indicated that he was entitled to 900 acres of new land, of which he wanted his widow, Prudence, to have a third. He noted that he had mortgaged his land in England, near Berry and Alvenstoak, and instructed his executors to sell it, distributing the proceeds among his three daughters. Moone made philanthropic bequests to his home parishes in England and in Isle of Wight County. Captain John Moone's will was entered into the records of Isle of Wight County on August 12, 1655 (Isle of Wight County Deeds, Wills, Guardian Accounts Book A:81). His land at Jamestown probably was sold within a relatively

short time, for no further reference was made to his heirs' claiming the property.[178]

John Fitchett

On June 8, 1660, John Fitchett secured a patent for a ½-acre lot in the New Towne. The starting point of the Fitchett patent's verbal boundary description was the lot's northwest corner, which was on the north side of Back Street ("the path that goes to Mr Chiles next to the Office"). From that point it proceeded clockwise, "Northeast by North [along Back Street, probably Ditches 24/10] to the next path that goes to Mr Chiles next unto the office" (probably Ditch 11). The boundary line then followed that path south before turning "Northwest by West for his length [i.e., lengthwise] and thence to the aforesaid place where it first began." John Fitchett's verbal boundary description and Walter Chiles II's ownership of Study Unit 1 Tract F places the Fitchett patent at the location designated Study Unit 4 Tract E. On October 18, 1662, John Fitchett renewed the patent for his ½ acre lot (Nugent 1969-1979:I:232; Patent Book 4:423). It is uncertain what use John Fitchett made of his lot in the New Towne. However, in 1696, when William Sherwood sold a ½ acre lot to John Harris (Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot C), it was noted that the transaction involved land that abutted west upon the property of Omoone or Fitchett (Ambler MS 59).

John Fitchett immigrated to Virginia sometime prior to November 11, 1642, when he leased a 32 acre parcel in the Governor's Land for 21 years. In June 1654 Fitchett obtained an 8½ acre leasehold on the mainland, near the site of the old blockhouse that guarded the isthmus to Jamestown Island. Sometime prior to September 1655 he purchased the glasshouse tract from Anthony Coleman's heirs. Later he sold it to John Phipps and William Harris. In February 1662 when Robert Castle patented Tract C's Lot B, reference was made to the house of a Mr. Fitchett, which was near the northeast corner of Castle's lot. This structure would have been in a location analogous to Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot B (Patent Book 1:853; 3:367; 5:272; Nugent 1969-1979:I:139, 154, 232, 313; Ambler MS 78). In 1671 John Fitchett and three other men obtained a patent for 2,600 acres of land in what became Stafford County and he and Thomas Gully received a patent for some land on Dragon Run, in what became King and Queen (McIlwaine 1924:246,270).

John Fitchett may have moved to Surry County, for on December 16, 1697, a man of that name witnessed George Foster's will (Surry County Will Book 5:148). In July 1720 Jamestown lot owner William Browne (who from 1682 to 1685 was in possession of the easternmost bays of Structure 115 (Study Unit 4 Tract K Lots C and D) presented the late John Fitchett's inventory to the justices of Surry County court (Surry County Will Book 7:274). At that time, no reference was made to any property the decedent may have owned at Jamestown.

[178] The widowed Prudence Moon, who survived until March 1663, died intestate (Isle of Wight County Administrations and Probates:7).

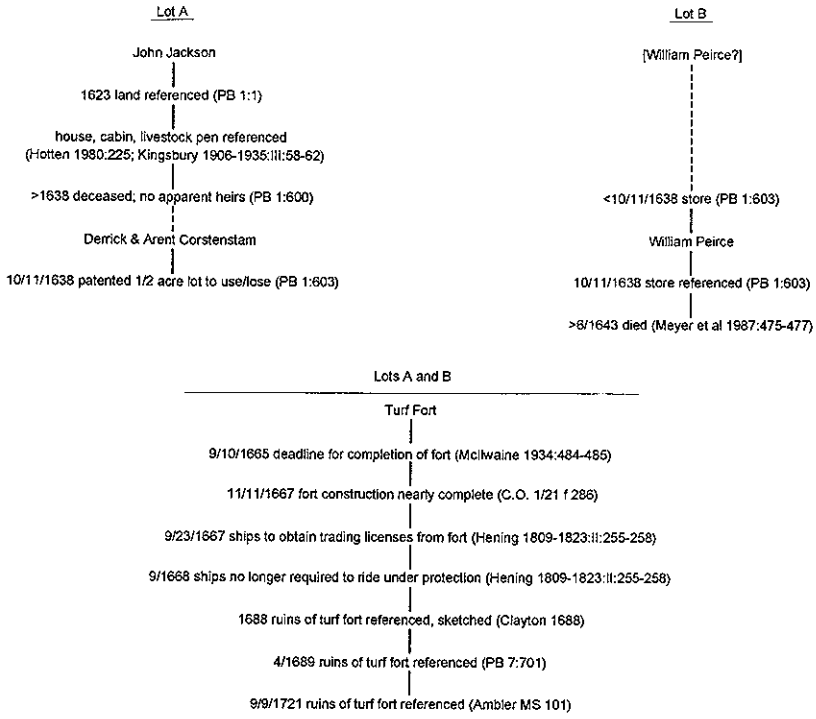


Figure 70. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract F, Lots A and B.*

Study Unit 4 Tract F

Lot A
(Southern Portion of Tract F)

John Jackson (Jaxon)

In 1623, when Richard Stephens patented a 3/8 acre waterfront lot in the New Towne, upon which stood his "convenient dwelling house," his land reportedly abutted west upon that of John Jackson (Patent Book 1:1). Jackson and his wife were residents of Jamestown in 1623 when they befriended Richard Frethorne of Martin's Hundred, a young servant in the household of community leader William Harwood. In April, Frethorne informed his parents that whenever Mr. Harwood sent him and his fellow servants to Jamestown, he stayed with the Jacksons, who had built a "cabin" to shelter him. Otherwise, he (like Harwood's other servants) would have had to spend the night huddled in an open boat, regardless of the weather. Frethorne indicated that the Jacksons treated him like a son and provided him with food, including some he could take home to Martin's Hundred, where living conditions were harsh (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:58-60).

The connection between Goodman John Jackson of Jamestown and Richard Frethorne has potential significance archaeologically, for at Martin's Hundred was Jackson's kinsman, John Jackson, the master of potter Thomas Ward. Thus, when Frethorne and his companions came up to Jamestown on business, there would have been an opportunity for pottery (and perhaps other items produced by skilled workers at Martin's Hundred) to be introduced into the Jackson household. Conversely, items from Jamestown could have reached Martin's Hundred.[179]

In February 1624, when a census was made of the colony's inhabitants, John Jackson of Jamestown, his wife, and an adult male named Ephriam Jackson were living together, probably upon John's waterfront lot. William Jackson, who died between April 1623 and February 16, 1624, also had been living at Jamestown, perhaps in the same household (Hotten 1980:175, 192). In February 1624 John Jackson's next door neighbor, Richard Stephens (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot H), had in his employ a Virginia Company servant named John Jackson, who in 1627 was assigned to Sir George Yeardley (Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B) (Hotten 1980:175; McIlwaine 1924:136).

On January 24, 1625, when a muster was made of Jamestown's inhabitants, John Jackson headed a household that included himself, his 9-year-old son John, and 10-year-old Gercian Buck, the orphaned son of the late Rev. Richard Buck. In January 1625 Jackson had in his possession 3 cattle, 4 swine (2 of which were young), 3 young goats, plus a modest quantity of food stuffs, a gun and ammunition (Meyer et al. 1987:32).

Minutes of the General Court reveal that John Jackson of Jamestown was actively employed as a gunsmith, perhaps in partnership with George Clarke, who plied the same trade. In a March 1623 court case, reference was made to the fact that

[179] Research on John Jackson of Martin's Hundred reveals that his family was from the Westminster area of London, where his father, William, was a gardener. John immigrated to Virginia aboard the *Warwick* in 1619, the same year he represented Martin's Hundred in the colony's first assembly. Later, he relocated to the Society's land grant, where he established a home. His sister, Ann, who came to Virginia in 1621 as one of the young maids sent as prospective wives for the colonists, was captured by the Indians, probably during the 1622 uprising. John Jackson's signature exists on a document he signed at Martin's Hundred in May 1625, identifying himself as a bricklayer. Unfortunately, more is known about this John Jackson than the one who lived in Jamestown (McCartney 1995:141-145).

"Jackson the smith was at work in the shop" when he and Clarke witnessed a theft (McIlwaine 1924:4). Clarke died at Jamestown during mid-to-late 1624 (Hotten 1980:229).

Between 1624 and 1626 John Jackson of Jamestown served as one of the Rev. Richard Buck's orphans' guardians, which explains Gercian Buck's presence in the Jackson household in January 1625. John also participated in a coroner's inquest, performed jury duty, and in 1626 authenicated a Jamestown neighbor's will. In 1629 he was named substitute administrator of Abraham Porter's estate, replacing his neighbor, Captain William Peirce.[180] John Jackson's appointment to that position, which was done at Peirce's request, and his selection as one of the Buck children's guardians, suggests that he was a respected member of the community (McIlwaine 1924:4, 16, 53, 108, 161, 169, 184, 188). In 1629 Jackson served as a James City Parish church warden and in 1632 and 1633 he represented Jamestown in the assembly (McIlwaine 1924:197; Stanard 1965:57-58). In 1637 and 1638 Jackson patented acreage in Charles River (York) County and on the Chickahominy River (Nugent 1969-1979:I:97). At that point in time, his name disappeared from official records. As he seemingly died without heirs, his property probably escheated to the Crown.

Lot A (Southern Portion of Tract F)

Derek (Derrick) and Arent (Aron) Corstenstam (Corsten Stan, Correstam, Van Corensten, Costeance)

On October 11, 1638, Derek and Arent Corstenstam patented a ½ acre lot that abutted south upon the James River and north upon the land containing Captain William Peirce's store, which abutted the Back Street. The Corstenstam lot measured 10 poles (or 165 feet) along its east-west axis and 8 poles (or 132 feet) from north to south (Patent Book I:603; Nugent I:340). When its boundaries were reconstructed electronically and the lot's southeast corner was appended to the southern terminus of Ditch 7, with the lot's south boundary line extending 165 feet west up the James, the southwest corner of Tract F was found to interface with the the eastern boundary line of Study Unit 4 Tract C, as it was constituted in 1655.[181] The text of the Corstenstams' patent (which cites a 1636 legislative act intended to promote the development of Jamestown) indicates that they were obliged to improve their property within 12 months or face forfeiture (Patent Book I:603; Nugent 1969-1979:I:340). Whether or not they erected buildings is open to conjecture.

On October 23, 1639, Derrick and Arent Corstenstam received a patent for 860 acres on the basis of an October 4, 1638, court order. The men's acreage, which was in Elizabeth City County, abutted south upon the James River, west upon Newport News Creek and north upon the land of Bartholomew Wethersby, whose acreage extended toward Salters Creek (Nugent 1969-1979:I:104-105; Patent Book 1:629). Thus, the two men's patent lay between Newport News Point and Salters Creek.

According to Adriaen Van der Donck's July 2, 1649, narrative, Arent Van Corensten was a Dutch merchant who in 1646 transported mineral samples from New Netherland to Holland, aboard Captain George Lamberton's ship (Jameson 1967:229). In September 1664 a Derrick Costence (perhaps Derrick Corstenstam) was listed among

[180] Peirce was associated with Study Unit 4 Tract F Lot B and Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot B.

[181] In 1655, Tract C measured 209 feet on each side and contained 1 acre. In 1663, after Tract C was subdivided and reconfigured, it was 231 feet wide (from east to west) and 188.57 feet long (Patent Book 5:253-254). Therefore, it had gained 22 feet of additional frontage on the James. As a result, in 1663 the eastern boundary line of Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot A protruded across the western boundary of Tract F Lot A, as it had been defined in 1638.

the headrights of John Dolby, who patented land in Accomac County, Virginia (Nugent 1969-1979:I:455).

Lot B
(Northern Portion of Tract F)

William Peirce (Pearce, Pierce, Perse)

William Peirce, who immigrated to Virginia in 1609 with Sir Thomas Gates, by February 1624 was residing on Study Unit I Tract D Lot B with his wife, Joan. He was a wealthy and influential merchant, planter and military man. His dwelling, which was home to George Sandys and Peirce's son-in-law John Rolfe, was said to be "one of the fairest in Virginia." During 1621 and 1622 Peirce was the colony's cape merchant and in 1623 he was appointed lieutenant governor and commander of Jamestown Island. He was responsible for the island's two blockhouses and was captain of the governor's guard (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:503; IV:108, 209; Hotten 1980:174; Meyer et al. 1987:31). Peirce, a member of the Council from 1632 to 1643, joined with those who thrust Governor John Harvey from office. As a result, when Harvey gained the upper hand, Peirce was summoned to England and detained, and his personal estate was seized. Peirce returned to Virginia, where he resided until at least June 1643 (Meyer et al. 1987:475-477).

According to the text of Derrick and Arent Corstenstam's October 11, 1638, river front patent (Lot A), Captain Peirce's store was located upon a parcel that was contiguous and to the north, abutting Back Street (Patent Book 1:603; Nugent 1969-1979:I:98). Peirce's "store" could have been a mercantile establishment or a storehouse for goods. However, it probably was one of the government-sanctioned facilities where all tobacco to be used as a medium of exchange for goods could be inspected, weighed on official scales, and then repacked for shipment. In August 1633 when the assembly decided that seven of these special stores (or weighing stations) were to be established, one was to be at James City, which was to serve planters who lived between Weyanoke and Stanley Hundred. Every store was to include at least one examiner (or inspector) who was a member of the Governor's Council and had a house nearby. William Peirce, who in 1633 was a councillor and had a home on Tract D Lot B in Study Unit 1, fit that description perfectly (Hening 1809-1823:I:211). In January 1640 he was named a tobacco inspector for Stanley Hundred and Denbigh Parish (Chandler 1924:23).

Mr. [John?] Fitchett

On February 6, 1662, Thomas Woodhouse sold Lot A of Study Unit 4 Tract C to Robert Castle, who on February 25, 1663, repatented the acreage he had just purchased. The verbal boundary description of Castle's patent proceeds clockwise from his lot's southeast corner, on the bank of the James River. It began "at a Corner stake at high Water mark near the south East ['East' interlined] end of a 15 foot house, thence [ran] up James River North West by West 3½ chains [115.5 feet]." Castle's line then extended "North East by North 5 & 5/7 chains [188.57 feet] to a corner Locust stake in the paled fence." At that point it turned "south East by East 3½ Chains [115.5 feet] to a Corner stake against Mr. Fitchets House," before heading back toward the James, running "south West by south 5 5/7 chains [188.57 feet] to the place Where it Began" (Patent Book 5:272; Nugent 1969-1979:I:154). Robert Castle's 1663 patent description, which indicates that the northeast corner of his lot was "against Mr. Fitchets House," places the Fitchet (or Fitchett) dwelling on Lot B.

"Mr. Fitchet" may have been John Fitchett, who on June 8, 1660, patented the ½ acre lot designated Study Unit 4 Tract E and renewed his claim on October 18, 1662 (Nugent 1969-1979:I:232; Patent Book 4:423). Study Unit 4 Tract E's eastern boundary line abutted the west side of the Chiles/Page property (Study Unit 1 Tract F),

whereas Study Unit 4 Tract F abutted north upon the Chiles/Page land.

Tract F: Lots A and B

On June 3, 1665, Governor William Berkeley received orders to ready the colony's defenses and to see that ships trading in Virginia were secure from attack. Berkeley and his council convened on June 21st to devise their strategy. All county militia regiments were mustered and placed on alert and ship captains were ordered to bring their vessels to specific sites, where they could gather for mutual protection. One of these four rallying points was Jamestown.[182] At each of the sites near which seagoing vessels were to congregate, local men were to "build a platform for battery and lines for small shot to defend the ships." Work on these defensive structures was supposed to commence by September 10, 1665. Governor Berkeley had the Old Point Comfort fort's ordnance brought up to Jamestown by ship and sent word to England that the colony was in dire need of arms and ammunition (McIlwaine 1924:484-485).

The October 1665 minutes of the Virginia assembly suggest strongly that by that date, the strategy for defending the colony had been revised somewhat. Governor Berkeley was authorized to decide precisely where the defensive works should be built and William Bassett was designated to oversee their construction. Carpenters, laborers and other workmen were to be pressed into service and Bassett was given the right to confiscate as many pine trees as were needed for the forts' construction. The militiamen of James City and Surry Counties were ordered to contribute six days labor apiece toward building a fort at Jamestown (Hening 1809-1823:II:220-221). Minutes of the Governor's Council reveal that the men from James City and Surry Counties were "to give so much work as might fill up the works with earth" (McIlwaine 1924:487). Bassett's authorization to cut pine trees for use in fort construction and the local militia's orders to "fill up the works with earth" collectively suggest that the fort to be built at Jamestown in 1666 was to have earthen walls supported by a wooden framework (McIlwaine 1924:486-488).

While preparations to erect an earthen fort were underway at Jamestown, a group of Bristol merchants persuaded King Charles II to order Governor Berkeley to built a fort at Old Point Comfort, which they considered a strategically superior location. The king's November 5, 1665, command reached Virginia shortly before the governor and council convened in late March 1666. Council minutes reveal that Virginia officials yielded to the king's authority and commenced making plans to fortify Old Point Comfort. However, they openly questioned the wisdom of strengthening a site where the channel's breadth would enable enemy ships to elude cannon situated on shore. Also, they noted that seagoing vessels anchored under the protection of a fort at Old Point Comfort would be vulnerable to high winds from three directions. Council minutes fail to indicate how much progress was made on fortifying Jamestown between October 1665 and late March 1666. It is certain, however, that the artillery pieces transported from Old Point Comfort to Jamestown were to be returned to their original location "at the sole and proper costs of the ships trading into the said river" (McIlwaine 1924:487).

By July 10, 1666, fort construction had gotten underway at Old Point Comfort. However, an enemy man-of-war entered Virginia waters and captured two ships. At that juncture, Governor Berkeley placed local militia units on alert and dispatched an urgent message to the king, requesting a frigate that could be stationed in the Chesapeake Bay to warn of an enemy's approach. Simultaneously, the 20 men stationed at Old Point Comfort were ordered to bury their cannon and if necessary, defend their position with their guns (McIlwaine 1924:488-489). Shortly thereafter,

[182] The others were on the York River "on the south side over against Tyndall's Point," on the Rappahannock River, and on the Eastern Shore at Pungoteague.

Berkeley and his council sent word to officials in England that they had "designed a fort at James Town in the center of the country" and brought 14 great guns there at considerable expense (C.O. 1/20 ff 199-200). In a separate communique, Secretary Thomas Ludwell said that only one fort was being built because the cost of constructing more was prohibitive. Also, there were enough people on hand at Jamestown to form a garrison on short notice (C.O. 1/20 ff 218-219). Ludwell's verbiage implies that construction of a fort at Jamestown already was underway. It was, perhaps, a continuation of the work that had commenced there in Autumn 1665.[183]

A June 5, 1667, Dutch attack upon the tobacco fleet off Newport News Point led to the loss of 20-some ships. In September 1667, when the assembly convened, the burgesses authorized the construction of forts on the James River at Jamestown, on the York at Tindall's Point, on the Rappahannock at Corotoman, on the Potomac at Yeohocomico, and on the Nansemond. Each fort was to have walls at least 10 feet high, capable of accommodating 8 great guns; the wall facing the river's channel was to be at least 10 feet thick. Each fort was to have a gunner and four others, who could receive assistance if an alarm were sounded. The burgesses noted that fortifying Old Point Comfort was futile and that they had embarked upon what they considered the best course of action.[184] Ships were to commence riding under the forts' protection as soon as possible and the masters of all incoming vessels were to obtain trading licenses from the nearest fort (Hening 1809-1823:II:255-258; C.O. 1/21 ff 226-229).

In November 1667 Governor William Berkeley asked Lord Arlington for powder and shot for the Jamestown fort, which construction was nearly complete (C.O. 1/21 f 286). By July 1668 all five forts had been built (C.O. 1/23 ff 31-32). Their usefulness as defensive structures was extremely short-lived, for within two months the injunction requiring ships to ride under their protection was lifted (Hening 1809-1823:II:265). Official records make no subsequent mention of the old turf fort after its use as a defensive structure became obsolete. It is possible that the fort continued to serve as the facility at which trading licenses were issued to incoming ships.

During the early 1670s, when international tensions again increased, a 250-foot-long semi-circular brick fort was constructed in a vale at the western end of Jamestown Island (McIlwaine 1924:334, 342). It was located upstream from the parish church, where a branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp entered the James River. The brick fort was functional for approximately 20 years.[185]

In 1688 when James City Parish rector, the Rev. John Clayton, penned a description of Jamestown Island, he indicated that there were two forts and enclosed a crude sketch showing their approximate locations. In the south-central portion of the island, abutting the banks of the James, was what Clayton labeled "ye old fort," which was shaped like a tetragon and had a bastion at each of its four corners. Upstream was the crescent-shaped brick fort constructed in the early 1670s. Although the Clayton sketch is schematic, it indicates that the front and back walls of the tetragonal fort paralleled the river bank and suggests that the fort's shortest wall was on the water front. Clayton, in his text, noted that:

> *There was indeed an old Fort of Earth in the Town, being a sort of Tetragone with something like four Bastions at the four corners, as I remember; but the channel lying further off to the middle of the River there, they let it be demolished and built that new one... of Brick, which seems little better than a blind*

[183] 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).

[184] All five river front forts were to be completed by April 30, 1668.

[185] Edward Chilton's 1683 patent (Study Unit 4 Tract P) pinpoints the brick fort's location, which now lies beneath the waters of the James or has been lost to erosion.

Wall to shoot wild Ducks or Geese [Force 1963:III:12:24].

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, north 37 degrees and a half eastward 18 statute poles and 92 parts (of a pole in one hundred such parts divided) where it buts on Line of ye Land now or late of Mr. Sherwood [Patent Book 7:701].*

A plat made for William Sherwood in 1681 delimits the Hartwell patent's northerly boundary, part of which also is shown on a 1664 survey of John Knowles' property (Patent Book 7:701; Ambler MS 134, 135-136). Together, these surveys establish the Hartwell patent's northwest corner and westerly boundary line. Thus, the southerly part of Hartwell's western boundary line (which lay just east of the turf fort's eastern side) seems to have followed Ditch 7 on the Jamestown Archaeological Base Map.

In 1710 when Micajah Perry's agent, John Clayton, sold a neighboring half-acre lot (Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot A) to Edward Jaquelin, it was noted that the property contained the late John Jarrett's tenement, abutted north upon the land upon which Jaquelin's mansion stood and "East on "the old ffort" (Ambler MS 101). This is the latest dated reference to the turf fort constructed during the mid-1660s. Archaeological features associated with the turf fort have been designated Structure 157.

Study Unit 4 Tract G

No archival records have come to light specifically pertaining to Tract G, the land upon which Structures 19A/19B and 45 are situated. John Cotter and his colleagues, on the basis of archaeological evidence, concluded that Structure 19A was built during the third quarter of the seventeenth century and that it was replaced by Structure 19B during the fourth quarter of the century. They also surmised that Structure 45 was a kitchen associated with Structures 19A/19B, which they concluded served as a tavern (Cotter 1958:53-57). The possibility exists that one of the buildings in the Structure 19A/19B complex was erected in response to the 1662 building initiative. Moreover, it should be noted that Ditches 17, 19, 22 and 66 delimit a ½ acre plot, the quantity of land received by those who participated in the 1660s building program. Structure 106, a housing start within Tract G, also may be a product of the government-subsidized building program.

If John Cotter correctly identified the buildings on Tract G as components of a tavern complex dating to the second half of the seventeenth century, the structures may have been the facility Colonel Thomas Swann of Surry County owned during that period. Swann is known to have built a tavern in Jamestown sometime prior to Bacon's Rebellion and he reportedly lost one or more houses in the September 19, 1676, fire that consumed the town (Bruce 1897-1898:68). Afterward, Surry County bricklayer John Bird and carpenter John Smith restored Swann's tavern to usable condition or built a replacement upon his land.

Besides his tavern lot, Colonel Thomas Swann owned two other properties on Jamestown Island. Sometime prior to 1674 he acquired and then sold 37½ acres on the east side of Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tract H) (Ambler MS 53, 137). In 1671 Swann bought the easternmost bay of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Study Unit Tract U Lot A, Bay 4 of Structure 144) from his son-in-law, Henry Randolph, and he still may have owned it on September 14, 1676, when rebel Nathaniel Bacon's men bombarded Jamestown, or five days later when they put the capital city to the torch. By 1694 the ruins of Swann's rowhouse unit (Bay 4) and Bays 2 and 3 were owned by Philip Ludwell I (McIlwaine 1924:514-515; Patent Book 8:315).

Colonel Thomas Swann I, who resided at Swann's Point, served successive terms as a burgess during the 1640s and 50s, representing James City and then Surry County (Hening 1809-1823:I:298, 358-359). He was named to the Governor's Council in 1659, while Governor Berkeley held office, and he retained that post through the late 1660s. In 1672 he was named to the commission established to build a brick fort at Jamestown. Swann, despite occasional brushes with the law, served as sheriff of Surry County. One of his 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. Swann's son, Samuel, was married to the daughter of the rebel William Drummond I and both father and son seem to have sympathized with Nathaniel Bacon's views (Tyler 1902:81).[186] In January 1677 when a group of special commissioners came to Virginia to investigate the underlying causes of Bacon's Rebellion, they stayed at Colonel Thomas Swann's home in Surry. After Governor William Berkeley withdrew to England, Swann regained his council seat. He died in September 1680 (Hening 1809-1823:II:568; Tyler 1902-1903:81; Bruce 1898:68; Surry County Order Book 1671-1690:9, 179-180; Stanard 1965:38; McIlwaine 1924:491, 514; Withington 1980:535; C.O. 5/1371 f 268).

[186] Drummond was executed for treason and was considered one of Bacon's chief lieutenants.

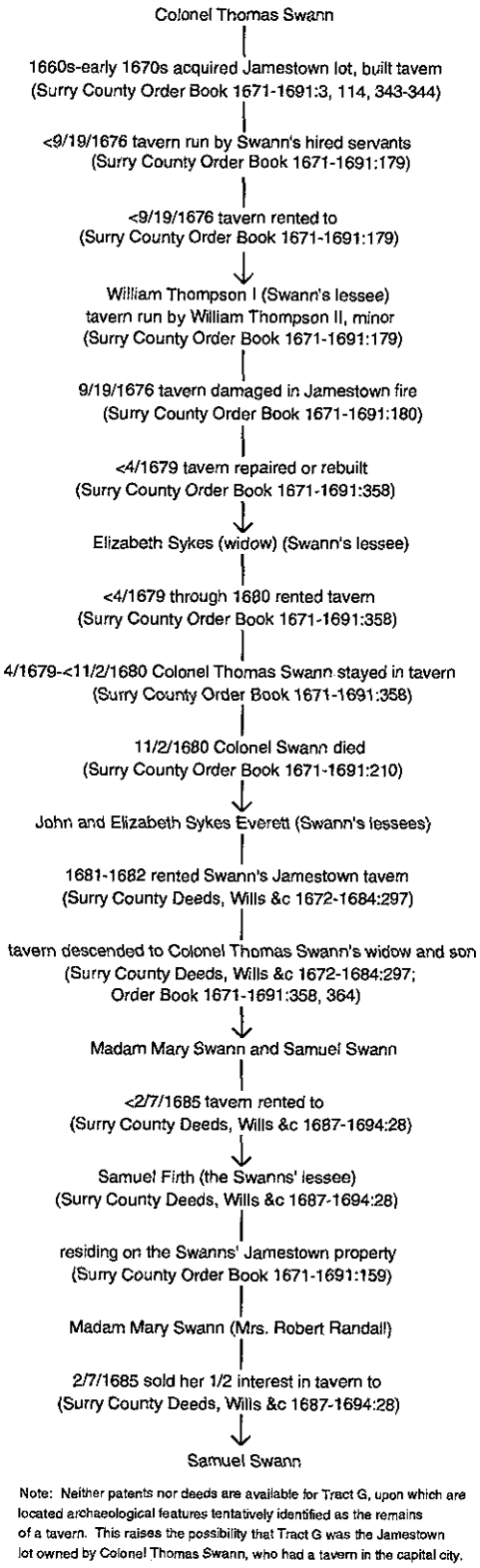


Figure 71. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract G (hypothetical).*

The following **HYPOTHETICAL** chain of title recounts the sequence of developmental events associated with Colonel Thomas Swann's tavern lot in Jamestown. It probably pertains to Tract G.

Colonel Thomas Swann (owner)

On March 5, 1672, Colonel Thomas Swann obtained a judgement against Surry County bricklayer John Bird (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:3). Nearly two years later (on February 1, 1674), Bird gave two bonds to Swann, guaranteeing that he would complete some work he had started (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:343). The nature of Bird's obligation was not described in the records compiled by the clerk of the county court. On January 26, 1675, Colonel Thomas Swann, who was still trying to get Bird to finish his work, sought - and received - a new judgement against him (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:114). Bird, it should be recalled, was the bricklayer Richard James I sued in May 1673 for failing to finish building his brick house in Jamestown (probably Structure 1/2 on Study Unit 1 Tract C) (McIlwaine 1924:344).

Colonel Thomas Swann's tavern in Jamestown was open for business sometime prior to Bacon's Rebellion. At first, his hired servants ran the establishment. Eventually, however, Swann made a rental agreement with Surry County tavern-keeper William Thompson I, who turned the facility's day-to-day management over to his underage son, William II (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:179).

William Thompson I (lessee prior to Bacon's Rebellion)

On November 17, 1677, Colonel Thomas Swann sued William Thompson I for failing to cover his share of debts incurred by son William Thompson II "in ye sd Col Swanns Ordinary at James City." William II also refused to deliver the account books in which records of those debts were kept, "including some [liabilities] authorized by Swann's hired servants before Thompson Jr. kept ye sd Ordinary." The matter, which was aired before the Surry County monthly court, was referred to a jury (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:179).

After a lengthy discussion, the jury agreed that William Thompson I should give Swann a just and honest account of "what he or his son William Thompson [II] hath done in concerning Coll Swann's Ordinary at Towne." The elder Thompson was to do so by February 24, 1678, and to deliver the account books, or pay a fine. On the back of the Surry County document summarizing the jury's verdict, someone noted that the suit between Swann and Thompson was "presented on the other side" (a probable reference to the General Court, which convened regularly at Jamestown and sometimes served as an appellate body) and that "Coll. Thos. Swann sued William Thompson Sr. to recover bond guaranteeing that his son would perform a condition made between him and ye sd. Coll Swann concerning ye sd Coll Swann's ordinary at Jamestown, most of which branches in ye sd condition have been broken." The matter was referred to a jury, which found that "by reason of ye late rebellion yt Mr. Thompson and his son was incapacitated to act and perform the articles of his agreement wth ye honorble Coll Swann." However, the elder Thompson was to give Swann a full account by February 24, 1678, or forfeit his bond (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:180).

Swann's and Thompson's business dealings not only pertained to Swann's tavern in Jamestown, they also involved a Surry County tavern at Wareneck. Again, Swann was the owner and Thompson, the licensed tavern-keeper. On January 2, 1678, William Thompson I sued Colonel Thomas Swann over matters concerning the Wareneck tavern. Surry County's justices decided that although there was little basis for the suit, the dispute should to be subjected to arbitration by a committee of jurors (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:210). On July 2, 1678, a jury was selected and its members were ordered to meet at Wareneck on July 22nd to examine the differences between Colonel Thomas Swann and William Thompson I,

who agreed to abide by their decision (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:210). Three months later, on November 5, 1678, the county court deliberated whether a conditional judgement the jury granted to Swann, against Thompson, should be revived (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:210). Despite the on-going disagreements between Colonel Thomas Swann and William Thompson I, Swann's son, Thomas II, and Thompson's daughter, Eliza, eventually wed (Withington 1980:535).

Elizabeth Sikes (Sykes) (lessee ca. 1679 through 1680)

A court case tried after Colonel Thomas Swann's 1680 death reveals that despite Bacon's Rebellion and the fire that occurred on September 19, 1676, his tavern at Jamestown was back in business by April 1679, for Swann resided there while the legislature was in session. The tavern was then run by the widowed Mrs. Elizabeth Sikes (Sykes), who within a year married John Everett. In January 1681 Swann's widow and son sued Everett for 26 pounds sterling "for the rent of a House leased by the above said Elizabeth Sikes whilst she was a widow." Everett, on the other hand, contended that "the sd Tho Swann dec'd did accept what he [Swann] expended at the said house as part of the rent for the said House" (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:358). Mrs. Elizabeth Sikes Everett apparently had trouble collecting funds from another patron, Colonel Edward Hill of Charles City, for in July 1680 she filed a complaint against him in the General Court (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:10).

John and Elizabeth Sikes (Sykes) Everett (lessees, 1681-1682)

In January 1681 tavern-keeper John Everett (who was then renting Swann's tavern) sued Mrs. Holt of Jamestown for "unlawfully detaining a steer of his, pretending to pasture it" (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c 1672-1684:297). As the verbal boundary description of Richard James I's June 5, 1657, patent for Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B makes reference to the presence of Major Holt's house near its southwest corner (and therefore, in relatively close proximity to Tract G) the possibility exists that the woman Everett sued was the major's wife and his own near-neighbor (Patent Book 4:196).[187] John and Elizabeth Sikes Everett continued to rent and operate Colonel Thomas Swann's tavern until ca. 1682 (Surry County Deeds, Wills, &c 1672-1684:297).

Mary Swann (Mrs. Thomas Swann) and Samuel Swann (co-owners)

Colonel Thomas Swann died in September 1680 and on November 2, his widow, Madam Mary Swann, informed the justices of the Surry County court that she was unable to find his will. At that time, she was given temporary custody of his estate (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:210). Madam Mary Swann, as her late husband's administratrix, brought suit against bricklayer John Bird on July 5, 1681, and sought to collect punitive damages equal to double the amount of Bird's February 1, 1674, bonds. Mrs. Swann's action followed in the wake of a September 7, 1680, counter-suit John Bird filed against Colonel Swann. Bird insisted that he had paid one part of his debt with tobacco and the other with work he had done. Four men were to meet at Mrs. Swann's to examine the accounts of Bird's work (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:314, 343).

By November 1, 1681, Mary Swann had obtained a judgement against John Bird for 22,118 lb. of tobacco, the penalty on his two bonds. Bird, on the other hand, swore under oath that "he was to have 8,000 lb. of tobacco and cask for two

[187] The Holt acreage has been designated Study Unit 4 Tract T. During the mid-1650s Major Robert Holt served as Jamestown's burgess and he owned land on the island during the late 1650s. On March 16, 1677, he was identified as Colonel Robert Holt when he presented James City County's grievances to the special commissioners investigating the underlying causes of Bacon's Rebellion (Stanard 1965:72; Patent Book 6:42; Sainsbury 1964:10:44).

months work of a bricklayer for building a brick house in Jamestown for the said Thomas Swann Esq. dec'd." He admitted, however, that he owed the balance of his debt to Colonel Swann's estate (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:352). As the late Colonel Thomas Swann lived until September 1680, it is unclear whether the brick house Bird agreed to build for him at Jamestown was erected before Bacon's Rebellion or afterward, perhaps as a replacement for a structure that burned.

On February 25, 1682, Madam Mary Swann released her dower interest in all of her late husband's property to her stepson, Samuel, except for her "right and title of dower of, in and to the housing and land that my sd. husband was seized of in James City, lately in the possession of John Everett, excepting also my right and title of dower of the house and land at Wareneck" where tavern was kept (Surry County Deeds, Wills, &c 1672-1684:297). Thus, the widowed Mary Swann decided to retain her interest in her late husband's taverns in Jamestown and at Wareneck, in Surry. Mrs. Swann appointed William Edwards II (whom she described as her brother) to serve as her attorney (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:304). Whether they were related by blood or marriage is unclear.

As noted above, in January 1681 Madam Mary Swann and her stepson Samuel, as co-heirs of the late Colonel Thomas Swann, brought suit against tavern-keeper John Everett in attempt to recover 26 pounds sterling in rent money. Everett, on the other hand, contended that Swann's room-and-board at the tavern were to be deducted from that sum. On January 3, 1682, the plaintiffs were awarded a judgement of 26 pounds sterling against John Everett "for the rent of a House leased by... Elizabeth Sikes whilst she was a widow." The defendant Everett, however, was given the right to prove that "the sd Tho Swann dec'd did accept what he expended at the said house as part of the rent for the said House." Therefore, John Everett summoned John Smith (who then lived near the Blackwater River) to Surry County's monthly court to testify whether or not the late Colonel Thomas Swann's keep was to be deducted from Everett's rent. Swann's widow and son had the right to be present when Smith was questioned (Surry County Deeds, Wills, &c 1672-1684:297; Order Book 1671-1691:358).

On February 25, 1682, John Smith, who was identified as a carpenter, appeared before the justices of the Surry County court, where he was interrogated by John Everett. Everett asked Smith whether he had made an agreement with Colonel Swann to perform carpenters work "to be done to the house I rented of him [Swann] in James City." Smith said that he had. Everett then inquired whether Smith had come to Jamestown "to view ye sd house or at least pretended to view ye same and ye Infirmities thereof which you were to agree with Coll Swann to repair." Smith admitted that he had. Everett asked Smith whether he ever heard Swann "mention anything of his [Swann's] expense at ye sd house at ye last assembly or of any other his expenses with me." Smith replied that he had heard Swann say that he "had spent at James Town 11 pounds in [an] ordinary, but whether at Mr Everets or not he knoweth not." When Everett asked Smith whether he had ever told him or his wife that Swann "had spent half ye yrs rent in his own house, or some pte of it, and wt part thereof," he said that he couldn't recall (Surry County Deeds, Wills, &c 1672-1684:304).

On March 7, 1682, the justices of Surry County noted in their minutes that Major Samuel Swann (as heir of Thomas Swann Esq.) had been awarded a judgement against Mr. John Everett for 26 pounds sterling, and that Everett had been given the right to prove what the decedent "had expended in the said House, he did accept in part of the rent for the said House. And the sd. Everett now appearing but not proving the same, and only discounting 8 pounds sterling," Major Samuel Swann was awarded the residual 18 pounds sterling (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:364).

Samuel Firth (lessee through and perhaps beyond 1685)

Samuel Firth, who by 1677 was conducting business in Surry County, in July 1685 was residing in Jamestown on the Swann property (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:159). No documentary records have come to light suggesting that Firth owned land in Jamestown or on Jamestown Island. He may have used the buildings on Colonel Swann's acreage as a domestic complex, commercial establishment, or both. It is uncertain how long Firth was associated with the property.

Samuel Swann (owner)

On July 7, 1685, Robert Randall and his wife, Mary, who identified herself as the widow of the Honorable Thomas Swann, relinquished to her stepson, Samuel Swann, her dower interest "in a certain house and all the land thereunto belonging situate and being in James City and now is in the possession of Mr. Samuel Firth, merchant." She received 20 pounds sterling in exchange for surrendering her property rights (Surry County Deeds, Wills, &c 1687-1694:28).

Samuel Swann, who was born in 1653 and was Colonel Thomas Swann's eldest son, in 1673 married William Drummond I's daughter, Sarah. He became high sheriff of Surry County in 1675 and two years later commenced serving as burgess. The trust the widowed Sarah Drummond placed in her son-in-law, Major Samuel Swann, is evidenced by her giving him a power of attorney. Samuel also was the nephew of Rachel, the wife of William Sherwood (Study Unit 1 Tract D). Samuel Swann, whom Governor Francis Nicholson intensely disliked, moved to Carolina, where he married a local woman (Sainsbury 1964:22:158; Withington 1980:534-535; Surry County Deeds, Wills, &c 1671-1684:115, 165, 272; Deeds, Wills, &c 1687-1694:28; Order Book 1671-1691:28, 358; Stanard 1965:82, 84, 88, 89; McIlwaine 1918:93).

When and how Samuel Swann disposed of his late father's property in Jamestown is open to conjecture. He may have done so around the time he moved to Carolina, for he got rid of the ancestral plantation at Swann's Point in 1710 (Withington 1980:42). If Samuel did sell his tavern lot, his aunt, Rachel Sherwood, and her new husband, Edward Jaquelin, who had begun accumulating land in the west-central portion of Jamestown Island, may have been prospective buyers.

Study Unit 4 Tract H

John White I

On August 28, 1644, John White I received a patent for a 1 acre lot in Jamestown that was "bounded west upon the Church Yard, East upon the Land appertaining to the State house, North towards the land of Mr. Thomas Hampton, and south upon the James River." White's lot was 23 poles (379.5 feet) in length (along its north-south axis) and "7 poles almost" (slightly less than 115.5 feet) in breadth (from east to west). It was noted that "if the said John White his heires or assignees doe not build upon the said parcell of Land within the Terme of Six months after the Date of these presence that then it shall be Lawfull for any other to make Choice and build upon the Same" (Patent Book 2:10-11; Nugent 1969- 1979:I:154).

John White I, a London merchant living in Virginia, represented "James City" (James City County or Jamestown) in the January 12, 1641, session of the colony's assembly. That he was eligible to hold office in 1641 indicates that he (or his wife, if he was married) owned land win Jamestown at least three years before he patented Tract H (House of Lords Record Office 1625-1641:113; Stanard 1965:61). In June 1640 Richard Popeley (who had land in Middle Plantation) and Thomas Harvey (whose property lay just west of the Governor's Land) were ordered to pay their debts to John White (McIlwaine 1924:471). He apparently had business dealings with the prominent Virginia merchant and councillor, George Menefie (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot F), who in his December 31, 1645, will left "to Jo: White, Merchant, L 50, provided he continue one year longer in Virginia and collect my debts as formerly" (Withington 1980:180; Meyer et al. 1987:448). The on-going relationship between Menefie and White suggests that they may have been tied into the same trading network.

On September 14, 1646, John White, who was then in London serving as factor for Robert Shepperd of Chippokes, in Surry County, informed him that 17 Dutch ships and 8 larger ones were then enroute to Virginia with goods to trade (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:60). In 1654, Shepperd's widow, Elizabeth, signed a marriage contract with Thomas Warren, agreeing that he was "to have and enjoy all the estate of Major Robert Sheppard, deceased, now in the possession of the said Elizabeth, his relict" with certain minor exceptions (Meyer et al. 1987:582). This may explain how John White and Thomas Warren (of Study Unit 4 Tract X) came to be next door neighbors.[188] On October 17, 1654, John White, who was then in England, asked official permission to send some merchandize to Virginia on a Dutch ship. Again, he was described as a merchant (C.O. 1/12 f 74).

In December 1649, John White I "of James Parish in Virginia, merchant," disposed of some land at the falls of the James River, acreage that eventually was owned by Thomas Stegg I, William Byrd I and his descendants. As all three of the men who witnessed White's deed were recently-arrived royalists Sir William Berkeley had befriended, John White may have been closely aligned with the governor (Withington 1980:149).

At the present time, there is very little reliable genealogical information about John White I, the patentee of Tract H. He may have been a sibling of London haberdasher William White, who leased a wharf at White-Fryers Dock in St. Brides Parish and in 1676 left L 10 to his brother, John, who was then in Virginia (Withington 1980:194). On the

[188] Structure 163, which has been dated to the period 1630-1650 by APVA archaeologists, sits aside the common boundary line between Tracts H and X. It may represent a collaborative building effort by business partners John White and Robert Sheppard or Sheppard's successor, Thomas Warren.

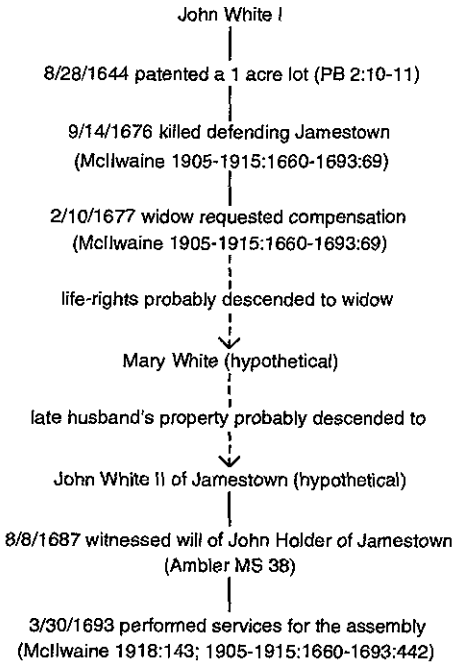


Figure 72. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract H.*

other hand, John-the-patentee may have been related to the late Captain John White of Surry County whose daughter, prior to 1675, married Captain Robert Spencer (McIlwaine 1924:407).[189]

Official records reveal that John White I was killed at Jamestown in 1676, during Bacon's Rebellion, probably when Nathaniel Bacon's men attacked the capital city in mid-September. It was then that the rebel army fortified a position on the isthmus leading to Jamestown Island, facing the palisades Governor Berkeley's men had erected 100 to 150 paces away. On September 14th, Berkeley's loyalists made an assault upon Bacon's men, but were obliged to withdraw from the rebels' withering gunfire. Afterward, Bacon's men commenced firing their two great guns at Jamestown, "playing som calls itt, that takes delight to see stately structurs beated downe, and Men blowne up into the aire like Shutle Cocks" (Andrews 1967:71). Several of Berkeley's men were killed in the September 14, 1676, foray. On February 20, 1677, Mrs. Mary White, asked the assembly for compensation because her late husband, John, had lost his life at Jamestown while in service to the king (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:69; Force 1963:I:11:24-25). White, when defending Jamestown, would have been under the command of his near-neighbor, Colonel Robert Holt of Study Unit 4 Tract T.

[189] In 1675 Spencer sued Captain William Corker to recover "a feather bedd & firniture According to the Will of Captain White Decd" (McIlwaine 1924:407). The 1679 will of a John White of Surry, who identified Lucy Corker and Mary White as his sisters, raises the possibility that Captain John White's widow formerly was married to Captain William Corker. This hypothesis is supported by the February 26, 1676, will of Captain Corker, who left his widow "all of his estate on the north side of the James River" and mentioned his youngest daughter, Lucy (Surry County Will Book 2:140, 203). Captain Corker may have been related to John Corker, who in 1640 patented Study Unit 4 Tract J Lot A.

John White II (HYPOTHETICAL)

The John White who died during Bacon's Rebellion may have had a son and heir who bore his

name, for on August 8, 1687, a John White witnessed the will of John Holder, the owner of Study Unit 3 Tract I (Ambler MS 38). According to records of the Governor's Council, on May 12, 1693, John White was paid for ringing the bell that summoned members to meetings. Two months later (in March 1693) White asked to be appointed door-keeper for the assembly (McIlwaine 1918:143; 1905-1915:1660-1693:442). John White's availability to perform these duties, which would have required his presence at Jamestown on a regular basis, raises the possibility that he was residing there, perhaps on Tract H.

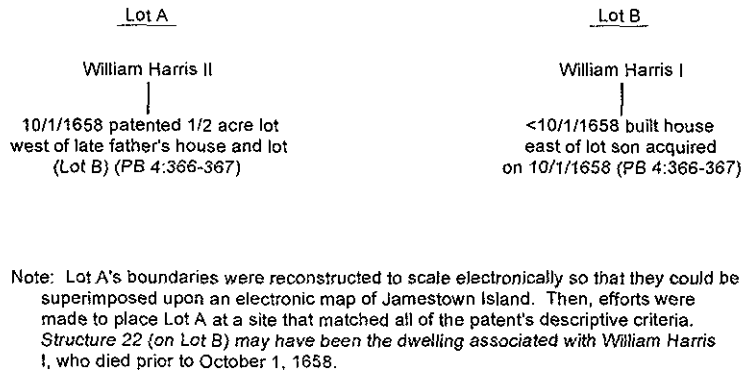


Figure 73. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract I, Lots A and B.*

Study Unit 4 Tract I

In 1658 William Harris II received a patent for a ½ acre lot in Jamestown. The land he patented 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. Both parcels' placement is hypothetical. Structure 22, a possible mid-seventeenth century building, is on Lot B.

Lot A

William Harris II (HYPOTHETICAL)

On October 1, 1658, "William Harris, Son of William Harris late Deceased of James City" (that is, William Harris II, son of the late William Harris I of Jamestown) patented a ½ acre lot. The lot's verbal boundary description, which ran counter-clockwise from its southwest corner, began "at a little above the dwelling house of the said Harris & runing into the Island southeast by east 9 poles wanting 1 inch and a half [147 feet]; thence Northeast by north 9 poles [148.5 feet] as aforesaid; thence parallel with the first line & parallel with the second line where it began." The wording of the Harris patent implies that William Harris II's land was situated just west of William I's dwelling.[190] The patent for the Harris lot stated that it had "Artificeal marked Bounds," suggesting that boundary ditches or other man-made features (such as stakes) were used to define its perimeters (Patent Book 4:366-367; Nugent 1969-1979:I:388). No building requirements were cited in the patent issued to William Harris II.

In an attempt to place the Harris lot within the cultural landscape, it was reconstructed to scale electronically so that it could be superimposed upon an electronic base map of Jamestown Island. Then, efforts were made to find a site within urban Jamestown that matched all of the patent's descriptive criteria. That is, a location that had no water frontage, lacked natural boundaries, and did not overlap acreage that in 1658 was known to be in the possession of others. Through the process of elimination, the reconstructed Harris lot has been tentatively placed on the south side of Ditch 24, at the site designated Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot A. While this placement is conjectural, it should be noted that Lot A is "a little above" (or west of) Structure 22, a dwelling perhaps associated with William Harris I, who died sometime prior to 1658.

Lot B

William Harris I (HYPOTHETICAL)

On October 1, 1658, when William Harris I's son, William II patented a ½ acre lot in Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract I Lot A), which measured 147 feet by 148.5 feet, his acreage was described as being "a little above [upstream from] the dwelling house of the said Harris" (Patent Book 4:366-367; Nugent 1969-1979:I:388). A location contiguous to and east of Lot A, containing the remains of a building archaeologists have dated to the mid-to-late seventeenth century (Structure 22), has been designated Lot B.

At least four men named William Harris resided within the James River's drainage during the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century.[191] However, only one reportedly was from

[190] Previous research has demonstrated that whenever the term "above" was used in describing lots at Jamestown, it meant "west of" or "upstream from."

[191] One lived near Blunt Point and owned acreage abutting the Warwick River. Another was from Henrico County, where he served as a burgess and held the rank of captain and then major. A third William Harris (Thomas Harris's only son) was a resident of Surry County.

James City (Jamestown) (Nugent 1969-1979:I:12, 50, 388, 492; II:141; Surry Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:176; Stanard 1965:71). This individual (who may have been the father of William Harris II, the owner of Tract I Lot A) allegedly pilfered goods from a ship at Jamestown in July 1637 (H. C. A. f 249).

On September 6, 1655, when Francis Moryson (Morrison) patented the 24 acre Glass House tract, he recapitulated its chain of title, noting that he had purchased it from William Harris. He said that John Phipps and William Harris (probably William I) had held joint ownership of the Glass House tract and that Phipps subsequently had assigned his interest to Harris, who later had sold it to Moryson (Nugent 1969-1979:I:313; Patent Book 3:367; Ambler MS 78). In 1657 Elizabeth Harris of Surry County (a widow) apprenticed her four-year-old son, John Phipps, to a local man (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:120). This connection, and John Phipps' and William Harris I's partnership in the Glass House tract, raise the possibility that the William Harrises of Jamestown were related to the Harrises of Surry County.

Study Unit 4 Tract J

Lot A

John Corker

On August 3, 1640, John Corker patented a 0.1125 acre lot that measured 6 poles (99 feet) in width (east to west) and 3 poles (49.5 feet) in length (north to south) and abutted south upon the James River. He was obliged to develop his property with six months or forfeit it (Patent Book 1:730-731; Nugent 1969-1979:I:124). Whether or not Corker (a successful planter and resident of Surry County) chose to improve his lot is uncertain. In February 1637 or 1638 he patented 6 acres near Goose Hill, the parcel designated Study Unit 3 Tract D (Patent Book 1:521; Nugent 1969-1979:I:81).

During 1632 John Corker represented Pasbehay in the assembly and the following year he attended on behalf of Jamestown Island, Pasbehay and the settlements along the Chickahominy River. In 1645 Corker first served as burgess for James City, the same year he became clerk of the assembly. He was in office until the close of 1653. In April 1652 John Corker became clerk of the General Court, at which time he began identifying himself as a resident of Surry County. The following year he represented Surry in the assembly and he became clerk of Surry's monthly court. In 1656 Corker became a Surry County justice of the peace. He increased his landholdings in Surry County and in 1657 patented 1,150 acres near Gray's Creek. His business dealings in Surry reveal that he interacted with Jamestown lot owners Richard Webster (who was in possession of the "country house" lot, Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A and Structure 38) and Thomas Woodhouse (who owned Study Unit 1 Tract G; Study Unit 3 Tract A; Study Unit 4 Tract C; and Bay 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group, Structure 144 in Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A). In 1670 John Corker and William Thompson I (Thomson), who rented Colonel Thomas Swann's ordinary in Jamestown (probably Structure 19A/B on Study Unit 4 Tract G), proved the will of Thomas Warren (probably Structure 163 on Study Unit 4 Tract X). Corker's wife was named Dorothy (Leonard 1976:23-31; Stanard 1965:57-58; Chandler 1924:161; Nugent 1969-1979:I:374; Hening 1809-1823:I:202, 222, 289, 370, 377; McIlwaine 1924:213; Surry County Deeds, Wills 1652-1672:6, 13, 31, 76, 98). John Corker's political career and business dealings suggest that he was associated with the Jamestown area during the 1630s but moved to Surry during the 1640s or early 1650s.

Lots A and B

Mr. Watson

On March 1, 1655 when Mrs. Ann Talbott patented her 1 acre waterfront lot (Study Unit 4 Tract A), a Mr. Watson was in possession of the property contiguous on the west, i.e, Tract J, which John Corker had patented in 1640 (Nugent 1969-1979:I:305; Patent Book 3:331). Although it is uncertain who Mr. Watson was, his identification as "Mr." indicates that he was a gentleman.

Although at least three adult males with the Watson (Wattson) surname were associated with Jamestown during the mid-seventeenth century, only one seems to have been classified as a gentleman: Mr. Abraham Watson, who served as a James City (or Jamestown) burgess from 1652 through 1654 (Stanard 1965:69-71; Hening 1809-1823:I:386-387). This raises the possibility that around the time John Corker moved to Surry and began serving as one of its burgesses, he sold Tract J to Abraham Watson, who commenced repre-

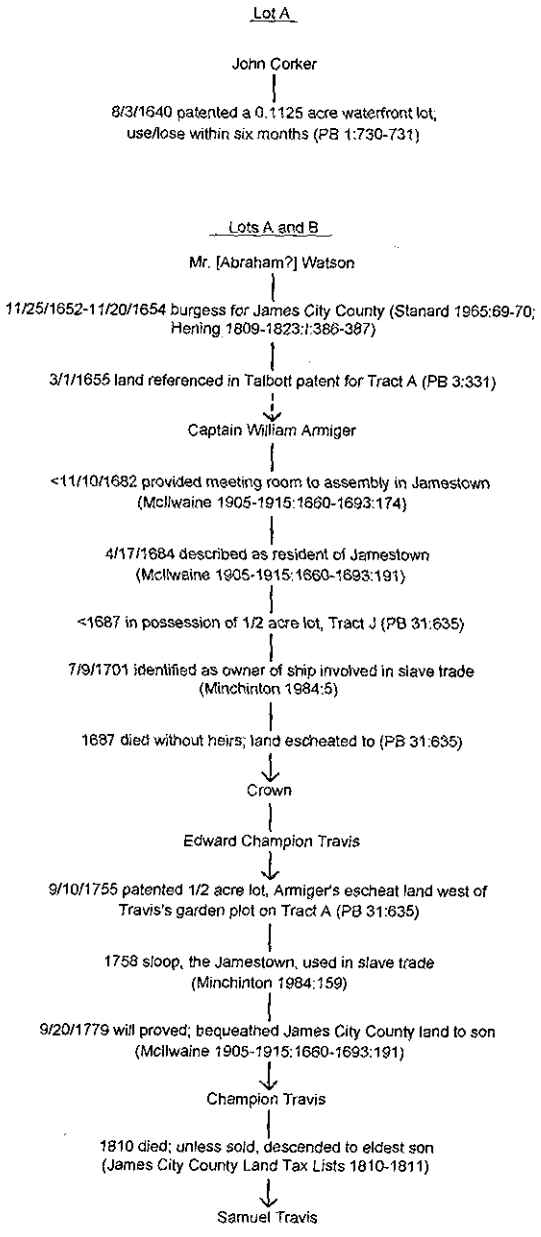


Figure 74. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract J.*

senting James City. This hypothesis is strengthened by the knowledge that Abraham Watson did not secure a patent for James City County land until 1657, five years after he had begun representing "James City" in the assembly. As office-holders were required to own land in the area they represented, Watson would not have been eligible to represent James City County until after 1657.

William Armiger

Edward Champion Travis's patent for a half-acre lot (which corresponds with Study Unit 4 Tract J) notes that he was acquiring escheat land that prior to 1687 had belonged to William Armiger (Patent Book 31:635). Although it is uncertain when Armiger first arrived in Virginia, he came to the

colony sometime prior to 1680, and was an ensign in Lord Culpeper's company of foot (Neville 1996:222). Sometime prior to July 1681, he married the widowed Mrs. Samuel Fisher of Jamestown, who in June 1680 hosted an assembly meeting at her home (McGhan 1980:421; McIlwaine 1905-195:1660-1673:119).

In 1681 and 1682, as Captain William Armiger, he brought suit against some prominent Jamestown landowners and others in the court of York County and he officiated in the settling of two or more estates (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 6:302, 353, 367, 393, 412, 417).[192] On November 10, 1682, he was paid for furnishing candles and for providing the assembly and council with a meeting room. On April 16, 1684, Armiger was compensated for having some furniture mended for the government and for obtaining a picture of the king's arms for display in court. Armiger in 1682 was sheriff of James City County (which meant that he was a justice of the peace) and on April 17, 1684, he was described as a resident of Jamestown (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:174, 191, 256). In 1682 Armiger attested to Jamestown's legal limits (Ambler MS 23). John Soane's 1683 plat of the Governor's Land reveals that Armiger was then in possession of a 102 acre tract that abutted the James River (Soane 1683).

Documentary records pertaining to the Virginia slave trade reveal that Captain William Armiger owned a ship, the *Two Brothers*, that was used to import Africans directly from Africa. Maritime records indicate that in 1701 Yorktown was Armiger's ship's port of call (Minchinton 1984:5). Besides his lot in urban Jamestown and his leasehold in the Governor's Land, Captain William Armiger owned a 225 acre tract in Charles City County, that escheated to the Crown in 1729 (Nugent 1969-1979:III:361). The eighteenth century dwelling known as Eagle's Lodge was built upon that property.

[192] Armiger sued Richard Auborne (Study Unit 4 Tract K), and after his death, sued his widow and his estate. He also obtained judgements against William Fitzhugh, William Lennon, Thomas Rabley (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot B and part of Lot A) and George Brent.

Edward Champion Travis

On September 10, 1755, Edward Champion Travis patented a ½ acre waterfront lot in Jamestown that lay west of and contiguous to his own garden plot (Patent Book 31:635). The verbal boundary description of Travis's newly acquired lot indicates that it was at a location analogous to Tract J. The boundary line of Tract J, which ran clockwise, commenced "at high water mark on James River where a stone is to be planted, then running North 20 degrees East 19½ poles [321.75 feet], then South 80 degrees East 6 poles [99 feet], then through Travis's garden South 20 West 18 poles [297 feet] to the river, then up the river North 70 degres West 6 poles [99 feet] to beginning (Patent Book 31:635). Travis's 1755 patent reveals that he already was in possession of at least the western portion of Study Unit 4 Tract A, which contained his garden plot. It also had his townstead (Structure 6).

Edward Champion Travis, who was born in 1721, married Susannah Hutchings, with whom he produced sons Champion, Edward IV, and John, and daughter Susannah. In 1745, when Edward Jaquelin's daughters transferred some of their property to Richard Ambler, Edward Champion Travis witnessed the deed, and in 1750, while functioning as executor for William Nugent, he assigned a 105 acre leasehold in the Governor's Land to Ambler. By 1750, Edward Champion Travis, like Captain William Armiger who formerly owned Tract J, had become involved in the slave trade. It was then that his sloop, the *Jamestown*, commenced bringing Africans to Virginia from Barbados. He conducted business as Edward C. Travis and Company and was involved in the slave trade until at least 1758. He may have sold slaves on the waterfront, on which his townstead abutted. In 1752 Travis began serving as burgess for Jamestown, which seat he retained through 1765. He also became a James City County justice in 1752, but in

1772 was deemed unqualified for office, probably because he had moved away. In September 1769 when a hurricane struck eastern Virginia, Travis's schooner reportedly was ripped from its moorings and driven ashore on the other side of the river (Tyler 1907-1908:142; Smith et al. 1745; Minchinton 1984:145, 159; Stanard 1965:128-170; Dixon, September 14, 1769; McIlwaine 1925-1945:5:391; 6:512).

By the 1770s Edward Champion Travis had purchased and developed a plantation on the York River at Timson's Neck (on the west side of Queen's Creek's mouth, in modern Camp Peary), leaving his Jamestown Island property to the occupancy of his sons, Edward IV and Champion (Purdie, October 31, 1777; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1771-1783:458).

In April 1772 when Edward Travis IV's marriage to Miss Betsy Taite was announced in the *Virginia Gazette*, he was described as a resident "of Jamestown" (Purdie and Dixon, April 2, 1772). This raises the possibility that he was residing in his father's townstead (Structure 6) on Tracts A and J, the only property the Travises seemingly owned in urban Jamestown.

In April 1780 Captain Edward Travis (by then an officer in the Virginia Navy) was residing "at Jamestown" when he advertised some real estate for sale in York County (Dixon, April 1, 1780). As Edward had commenced renting Mrs. Mary Ambler's Jamestown Island plantation in January 1780, it is uncertain whether he had moved into her mansion (Structure 101) or was occupying the Travis family townstead (Structure 6), which by that date had descended through inheritance to his brother, Champion (Ambler MS 129). However, in June 1777 when Ebenezer Hazard visited Jamestown, he commented that the Ambler house was "decaying fast," but that "The other houses in Town are wooden, and all in Ruins" (Shelley 1954:414-415). Thus, unless Hazard was exaggerating, the Ambler house may have been Captain Edward Travis's only choice. On the other hand, Dr. James Thatcher, an American, stated that in 1781 there were "two houses standing on the banks of the river" and French cartographer Nicholas Desandrouins (1781) indicate that several buildings were located in close proximity to the James (Thatcher 1862:278).

Champion Travis

At Edward Champion Travis's death in 1779, son Champion inherited virtually all of his James City County property, including his plantation and townstead (Structure 6) on Jamestown Island and at Piney Grove, near the mouth of the Chickahominy River (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1771-1783:458). Champion was residing on Jamestown Island at the onset of the American Revolution and may have been occupying the ancestral home in the northeastern end of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 2) or sharing the Travis townstead with his brother, Edward.

According to a news item in the November 17, 1775, edition of the *Virginia Gazette*, the chimney of Champion Travis's kitchen was struck when Jamestown was shelled by British vessels. Champion later claimed that his dwelling and offices "at Jamestown" were damaged severely by Virginia troops in 1776, when the buildings were used as guardhouses (Purdie, November 17, 1775; Church 1984:27; Hatch 1942:32). As the Americans had erected a small battery a relatively short distance west of Study Unit 4 Tract A and were garrisoned on Jamestown Island during 1775 and 1776, it probably was the Travis townstead and not the plantation that sustained wartime damage.

Samuel Travis

Champion Travis died in 1810 and his Jamestown Island property descended to his eldest son, Samuel (James City County Land Tax Lists 1810-1811). As no tax rolls exist for Jamestown's lots, the fate of the family's urban holdings is open to conjecture.

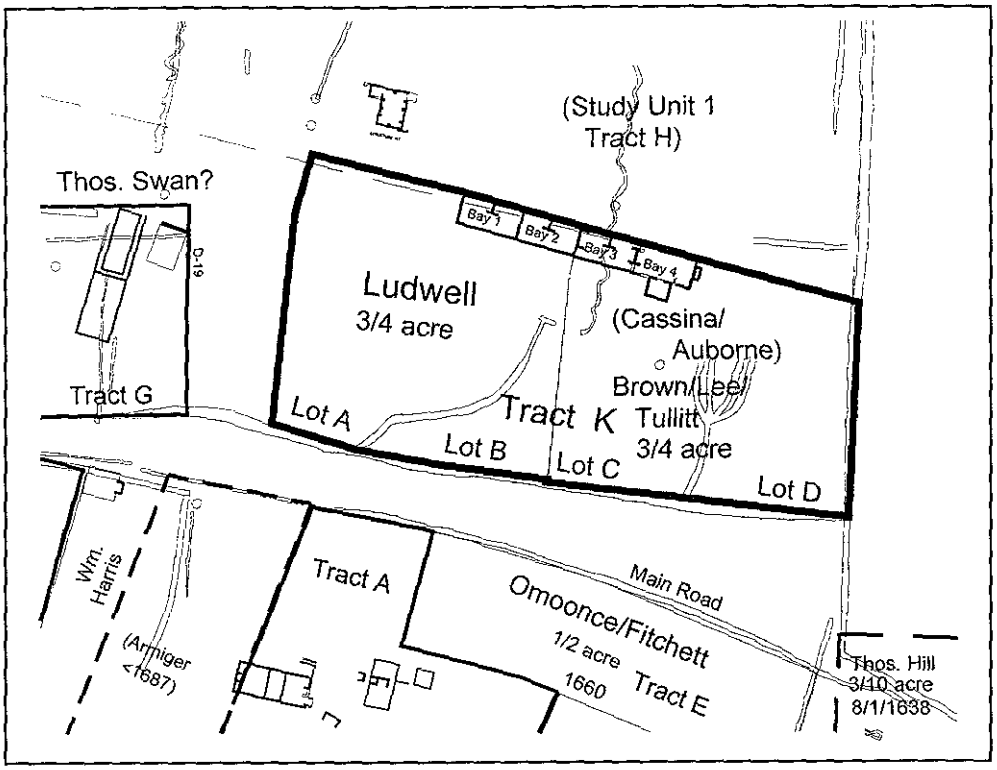


Figure 75. *Study Unit 4, Tract K.*

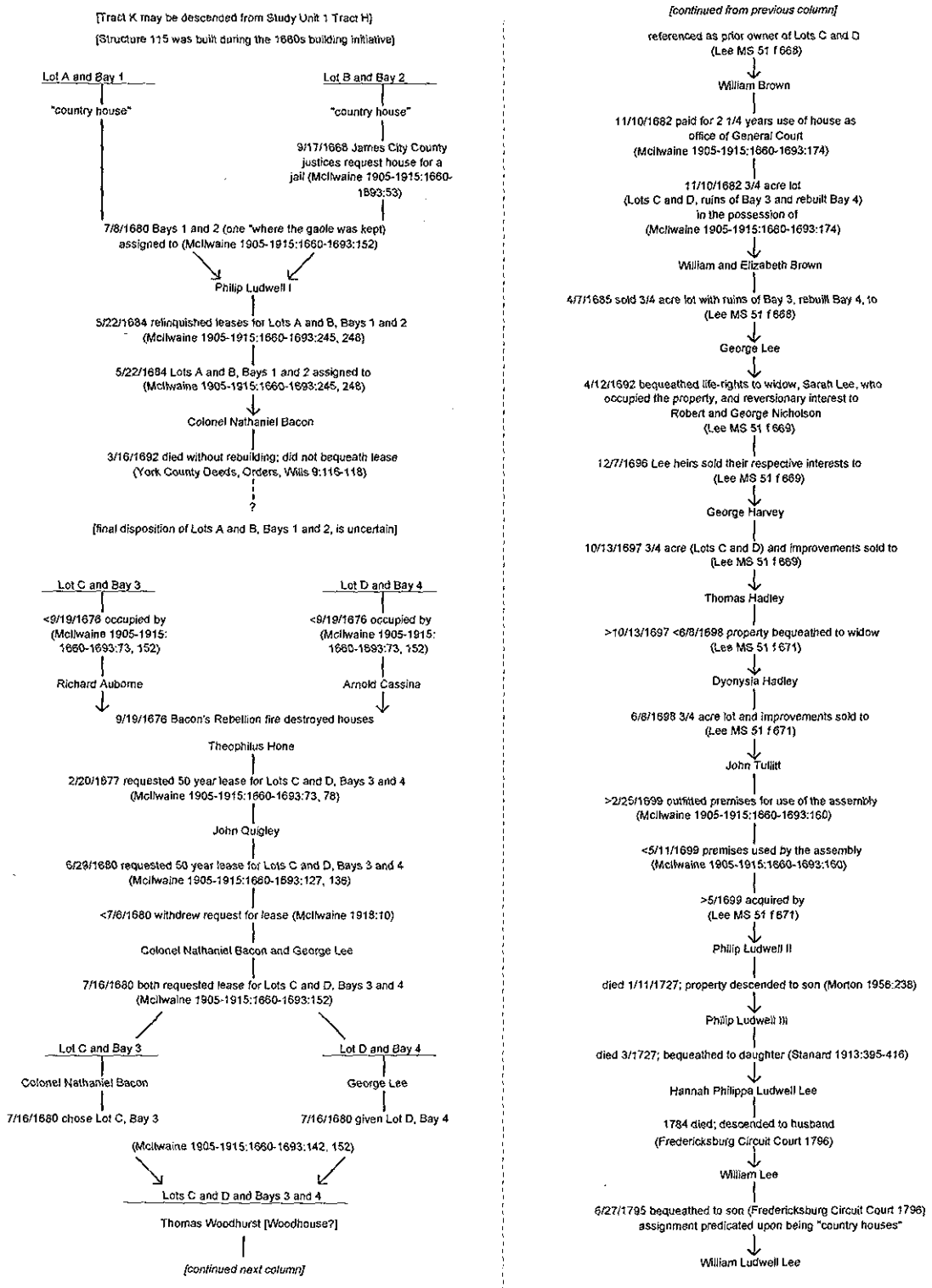


Figure 76. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract K, Lots A, B, C, and D; Structure 115 Rowhouse Bays 1, 2, 3, and 4.*

Study Unit 4 Tract K

The acreage upon which Structure 115 (a four-bay brick rowhouse) is situated has been designated Study Unit 4 Tract K. Through documentary research, Tract K's northern, eastern and southern boundary lines have been identified. It also has been determined that the westernmost units of Structure 115 (Bays 1 and 2) were "country houses," that is, they were built by the government with public funds, and that the easternmost units of Structure 115 (Bays 3 and 4) were erected by private individuals who would have received a subsidy from the government. The physical characteristics of Structure 115 suggests strongly that it is a product of the governmentally-supported building program authorized in December 1662. The architectural attributes of its bays conform with the structural specifications proscribed in the December 1662 legislation and they predate Bacon's Rebellion, during which they were burned (Hening 1809-1823:II:172-176).

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 set. 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, 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 who built a prototypical house in Jamestown was entitled to receive 10,000 lbs. of tobacco, "provided the same be completely finish within two years after subscription to build." All 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 (Hening 1809-1823:II:172-176).

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 [should] be built and so yearly four houses untill the number of houses undertaken by the counties be accomplished." At that point each county was to be assigned a house. But until all of the counties' brick houses were erected, those already built were to be considered common land. The speaker of the House (Captain Robert Wynne) was authorized to make agreements with private individuals who were willing to build houses "with good sufficient bricks, lime and tim-

ber." 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 1905-1915:1659-1693:28). 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 York County's justices to build that area's obligatory brick house and 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). Isle of Wight and Nansemond Counties made arrangements to have theirs built and James City County undertook the construction (Clarendon MS f 276) (see ahead).

On April 4, 1665, Colonel Philip Ludwell I informed Lord Arlington that in obedience to king's instructions they had "begun a town of brick and already built enough to accommodate the affairs of the country and to begin a factory for merchants" (Sainsbury 1964:7:975). That fall, the burgesses agreed that "the selling or disposing of any publique house in James City" should be "referred to the honorable governor and council." In October 1667 the burgesses censured two men (John Knowles and Thomas Hunt) who had accepted public funds for house-construction but failed to follow through (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:30, 50).

Within the discussion that follows, the history of each lot and bay of the Structure 115 rowhouse bay is described chronologically. Although relatively little historical information is available on Bays 1 and 2, the late seventeenth century histories of Bays 3 and 4 are relatively complete. Notably, a land transaction that occurred in April 1685 reveals that Bays 3 and 4 then shared a 3/4 acre lot. The back (or north) wall of Bays 3 and 4 demarcated the northern boundary line of that 3/4 acre lot, whereas the party wall between Bays 2 and 3 defined the lot's western boundary line. As there is no indication that the 3/4 acre lot associated with Bays 3 and 4 was subdivided, it appears that they shared a common yard. It is likely that Bays 1 and 2 also occupied (and shared) a lot of comparable size and shape.

Lot A and Bay 1

Philip Ludwell I

On July 8, 1680, Colonel Philip Ludwell I, a wealthy and influential member of the Governor's Council, requested a 50 year lease "for the two houses in James City now lying in ruines, the One that house where the gaole was kept and the other that next adjoyning to it, together with the lands belonging to them." Ludwell's request was granted without further discussion. As the burgesses had just assigned George Lee and Colonel Nathaniel Bacon the houses "on the East End of those lately granted to Coll. Phillip Ludwell," Ludwell received Bays 1 and 2, the western half of Structure 115. Ludwell's lease, like Lee's and Bacon's, was conditional, for he was obliged to commence construction within a year and keep the buildings in good repair (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1659-1693:152).

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon

On May 22, 1684, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon presented a petition to the Governor, Council and assembly, in which he requested the "stack of building belonging to the Country, formerly granted to Philip Ludwell Esq. for 50 years." At that point, "the Honble Phillip Ludwell coming into this house and declaring that he did voluntarily relinquish the said lease or grant... [it was] Resolved that the said Building or ruine of two houses be leased to the Honble Nathaniell Bacon esq. for 50 years now to come under the same conditions and limitations and provisions as are contained or intended in or by order of June 1680 or in ye order thereupon made at ye assembly ye 10th of November 1682" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1659-1693:245, 248).

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and Philip Ludwell I privately may have agreed to swap parcels that contained ruinous rowhouses, for in April 1671 Bacon had purchased from Henry Randolph an in-

terest in Bay 3 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Structure 144), which ruins were transferred to Ludwell prior to 1683 (McIlwaine 1924:514). As there is neither documentary nor physical evidence that Colonel Bacon exercised his right to rebuild Bays 1 and 2 of Structure 115 within the proscribed time, the conditional lease he received in July 1684 would have become null and void.

The lease Colonel Nathaniel Bacon obtained in 1684 for the rowhouse bays formerly assigned to Colonel Ludwell was his second attempt to procure part of Structure 115. In July 1680 he and George Lee independently had tried to lease Bays 3 and 4. Ultimately, each man was assigned a bay, with the understanding that he would rebuild within a proscribed time. However, there were doubts about whether the property the men wanted to lease was governmentally-owned, and Bacon's and Lee's agreements were deemed valid "provided that they [Bays 3 and 4] be the countries houses." As it turned out, they were not. They were privately owned. Lee eventually purchased the two rowhouse units from their rightful owner and Colonel Nathaniel Bacon seems to have let the matter drop (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:142-143, 152; 1918:10). Bacon probably lost interest, because on May 29, 1683, he patented Study Unit 4 Tract S, a 3 3/8 acre river front lot that he apparently developed and retained (Patent Book 7:300).

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, the son of an English clergyman, was born in 1620 and was a cousin of the rebel Nathaniel Bacon. Upon immigrating to Virginia, he rose in wealth and prominence and in 1657 became a member of the Governor's Council, a position he retained for approximately 30 years. From 1675 to 1687 Colonel Bacon was the colony's Auditor General. Through successive marriages to two wealthy widows (Mrs. Ann Smith and Elizabeth Kingsmill Tayloe), he enhanced his personal wealth. Also, his success as a planter and large landowner and the fees he received as a high-ranking government official added to his fortune. His steadfast loyalty to Governor William Berkeley eventually put him at odds with those who sympathized with the rebel Nathaniel Bacon (McGhan 1993:159; Stanard 1965:22, 37, 73; Isle of Wight Book A:93; Force 1973:I:9:8; I:11:41; Bruce 1898:64; McIlwaine 1924:52). (See Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A for a more comprehensive description of Colonel Bacon's life and career).

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, who outlived his wife, Elizabeth Kingsmill Tayloe, prepared his will on March 15, 1692, the day before he died. He made numerous bequests and left all of his otherwise undesignated real and personal property to his niece, Abigail Smith Burwell of Gloucester County, with the understanding that it was pass from her to her sons, Nathaniel and James Burwell. Bacon also made a bequest to 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). Thanks to Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's bequest, the Burwell heirs inherited Study Unit 4 Tract S, which ownership made them eligible to represent Jamestown in the House of Burgesses.

It is uncertain what became of Lots A and B and Bays 1 and 2 after Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's conditional lease expired. There is no indication that anyone else attempted to lease the property from the government.

Lot B and Bay 2

James City County Justices

(HYPOTHETICAL)

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 county court. The local justices' request was approved, but the burgesses stipulated that James City County had to cover the cost of converting the house into a jail and that when the county's seven year lease ex-

pired, the building had to be left "in sufficient repaire" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1659-1693:53).

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 one of the western bays of Structure 115 in 1680 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, 14 feet north of the party wall between Bays 2 and 3 (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1659-1693:152; Cotter 1958:127, 157).

Philip Ludwell I

On July 8, 1680, Colonel Philip Ludwell I procured a 50 year lease "for the two houses in James City now lying in ruines, the One that house where the gaole was kept and the other that next adjoyning to it, together with the lands belonging to them." Ludwell's request was granted without further discussion. As the burgesses had just assigned to George Lee and Colonel Nathaniel Bacon the houses "on the East End of those lately granted to Coll. Phillip Ludwell," it is evident that Ludwell received Bays 1 and 2, the western half of Structure 115 (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1659-1693:152).

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon

As noted in the history of Lot A and Bay 1, on May 22, 1684, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon asked for "the stack of building belonging to the Country, formerly granted to Philip Ludwell Esq. for 50 years." Ludwell, at that juncture, formally relinquished his claim to both rowhouse units and the burgesses assigned them to Bacon. Bacon, like Ludwell, was given a 50 year lease that was contingent upon his rebuilding the ruinous houses within a proscribed time (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1659-1693:245, 248). As there is neither documentary nor physical evidence that Bacon ever exercised his right to rebuild Bays 1 and 2 of Structure 115, the conditional lease he received in July 1684 predictably would have become null and void. Bacon's March 15, 1692, will makes no reference to any rowhouse units in which he then had an interest (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 9:116-118).

It is uncertain what became of Lots A and B and Bays 1 and 2 after Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's lease became obsolete. It appears, however, that no one else attempted to lease the property from the government.

Lot C and Bay 3

Richard Auborne (Awborne)

Official records dating to 1677 and 1680 reveal that Richard Auborne (Awborne) was residing in Bay 3 of Structure 115 on September 19, 1676, when Nathaniel Bacon's rebels put Jamestown to the torch. Auborne was then clerk of the General Court, a position he had held since April 1667 (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1659-1693:73, 78, 142-143, 152; 1924:513; Ambler MS 16).

Richard Auborne owned land on the west side of Lawnes Creek, in Surry County, and further south, on the Blackwater River. In 1670 he and Richard James I (of Study Unit 1 Tracts B and C) patented 1,000 acres of land in Northumberland County. A year later, Auborne and John Winsloe acquired 2,000 acres in the upper part of New Kent County. In 1673 he patented 300 acres of waste land near the French Ordinary, in York County. Much of the acreage Richard Auborne acquired was escheat land. Thus, he appears to have taken full advantage of what he learned while serving as clerk of the general court (McIlwaine 1924:225, 264, 276, 318, 341, 513; Ambler MS 10, 16; Nugent 1969-1979:II:71).

During the early 1670s Richard Lawrence (a Jamestown innkeeper known for his eloquence, and the owner of Study Unit 4 Tract S) appeared before the justices of the James City County court where he claimed that Richard Auborne was responsible for the death of John Senior I (Study Unit 2 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G). As Auborne stood accused of a capital crime, he was placed under arrest and required to post a bond guaranteeing his appearance before the General Court. In Oc-

tober 1672, when the case against Auborne was presented by the attorney general, the General Court's justices considered and then dismissed Lawrence's allegations. The consensus was that that there were no grounds for an indictment (McIlwaine 1924:313). Two men who seem to have been on good terms with Richard Auborne were James City County sheriff, Francis Kirkman, and Colonel William White, who owned a Jamestown lot near Orchard Run (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcels 1 and 2). Both were his partners in a real estate venture in Surry County and Auborne and Kirkman jointly patented some land in Archer's Hope (McIlwaine 1924:318, 360). Both also were supporters of Governor William Berkeley.

In May 1673 the General Court sided with Richard Auborne and overturned a James City County court decision in favor of Richard Lawrence. A few months later, Auborne had Charles Brian of New Kent arrested for indebtedness (McIlwaine 1924:344, 360). In August 1675 one of Auborne's indentured servants, Anthony Hatch, was declared a runaway (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 5:121).

In September 1676 when Nathaniel Bacon's rebels set Jamestown ablaze, Richard Auborne's home (Bay 3 of Structure 115) would have been a likely target, thanks to Auborne's clashes with Richard Lawrence and his loyalty to Governor William Berkeley. After Bacon's Rebellion was quelled, several people sought to lease the ruins of the house Richard Auborne had occupied, a structure eventually discovered to have been privately owned. That Auborne was still alive, yet failed to assert a claim to the building, suggests strongly that he was someone's tenant (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:73, 152).

Richard Auborne's devotion to Governor William Berkeley evolved into his turning vigilante and he was one of those accused of raiding and plundering the homes of paroled Bacon supporters. Even so, Auborne was popular enough to be chosen clerk of the assembly in June 1680, at which time he also was appointed clerk for the Committee for Propositions and Grievances. In 1680 he was paid for recording legislation (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:122; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 6:23; C. O. 1/40 f 5).

By January 24, 1681, Richard Auborne, who in 1679 had become clerk of the York County court, was in failing health. He died three months later in York County. His widow, Mary, surrendered the official records that were in his possession and in January 1682 was named her late husband's administrator. She made arrangements for his estate to be appraised and set sail for England shortly thereafter. Among those who presented claims against the late Richard Auborne's estate were William Armiger (Study Unit 4 Tract J) and William Sherwood (Study Unit 1 Tracts B, C, D, E, and F), both of whom were property owners and residents of urban Jamestown (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 6:82, 282, 302-303, 345, 365, 367, 393).

Theophilus Hone

On February 20, 1677, Major Theophilus Hone (Howne) appeared before the House of Burgesses and asked to lease the ruins of the houses Richard Auborne and Arnold Cassinett had occupied. Hone's request was granted, provided "that he doe well and substantially att his owne cost rebuild the two houses wherein Mr. Richard Auborne and Arnold Cassinett lately lived in James City." Hone's 50 year lease was valid as long as he commenced rebuilding within a year, paid an annual rent of an ear of Indian corn "and that hee or his assignes doe constantly keepe all the sayd buildings in good and sufficient repair" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1659-1693:73, 78). However, as Hone failed to restore the ruinous houses to habitable condition, they eventually were assigned to others and his conditional agreement with the assembly became null and void.

Theophilus Hone, a gentleman, in November 1652 served as a burgess for Elizabeth City County. Three years later, he commenced representing James City. In 1662 he served as attorney for Elizabeth Perkins, who was in possession of a parcel on the mainland, and in 1664 he was identified as a

James City County justice of the peace. From 1666 to 1676 Theophilus Hone served as Jamestown's representative in the assembly; therefore, he owned a Jamestown lot or was married to someone who did. In October 1667 he was one of those fined for building a wharf in front of the town (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:48; Hening 1809-1823:II:159; Charles City Order Book 1:33). This suggests that he had a legal interest in a parcel of waterfront land. Over the years, Theophilus Hone enhanced the size of his holdings in Elizabeth City and he patented a large tract on the north side of the Rappahannock River (Nugent 1969-1979:I:322, 540; Leonard 1976:38; Stanard 1965:70, 72, 79; Hening 1809-1823:II:249-250).

From June 1670 (or before) until November 1673, Major Theophilus Hone occupied a 37-foot-long brick dwelling (probably Structure 138) that Walter Chiles II built upon his 3 acre lot, Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot B. Chiles' widow sold the lot to John Page in November 1673 and Hone moved next door to the "country house" (Structure 38) on Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A, where he was living in 1675. That structure (then owned by Jonathan Newell) reportedly burned during Bacon's Rebellion, resulting in the loss of Hone's goods (Ambler MS 24, 26; McIlwaine 1924:221; Bruce 1898:68; Wiseman Book of Records [1677]).

During the early 1670s Major Theophilus Hone made several appearances before the General Court. In 1670 he acknowledged a debt attributable to Captain John Whitty's estate and in 1671 he, William May (Structure 86 on Study Unit 4 Tract C) and some others were ordered to go to Tabitha Summers Underwood's house to examine a will. In 1671 Hone was called upon to inventory the estate of Thomas Hunt of Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract J). Hone apparently was considered a respectable citizen, for he was a James City Parish vestryman, a James City County justice of the peace, and sheriff. By May 1671 he had married William Richardson's executrix, Sarah, who also was the widow of William Edwards I of Surry County. Theophilus Hone in 1672 gave his power of attorney to stepson William Edwards II (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot D) and to William Sherwood (Study Unit 1 Tracts B, C, D, E, and F), who were to conduct business on his behalf in the monthly court of Surry County (McIlwaine 1924:236, 251, 258, 262, 277; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:20).

In 1671 Captain Christopher Wormeley, who wed the widow of James City Parish minister Justinian Aylemer, sued Theophilus Hone and William May for the deceased clergyman's back pay. Hone and May responded by suing Walter Chiles II (Study Unit 1 Tract F) and Francis Kirkman, their successors on the parish vestry. In October 1671 Thomas Rabley (a Dutchman who in 1678 purchased Lot B and part of Lot A within Study Unit 4 Tract L) sued Major Theophilus Hone, his former guardian. When Hone's accounts were audited, it was determined that Rabley's claim was valid (McIlwaine 1924:280, 285).

In 1672, when a decision was made to build a 250-foot-long brick fort at Jamestown, Major Theophilus Hone, William Drummond I and Mathew Page offered to undertake its construction. Hone also agreed to see that gun carriages were built. In November 1672 he accepted Surry County funds earmarked for the construction of the brick fort. Mathew Page died and Hone and Drummond were ordered to complete the fort, which included replacing some cracked and defective brick (Surry County Order Book 1671-1690:13; McIlwaine 1924:342, 344, 367).

It is uncertain how well Theophilus Hone and William Drummond I worked together on the fort. However, there is no doubt that they were on opposing sides during Bacon's Rebellion. During 1675 and 1676 Hone was high sheriff of James City County and in that capacity he seized Nathaniel Bacon (to whom Drummond was loyal) and forcibly took him to Governor William Berkeley (Force 1963:I:8:12). After the rebellion subsided, Hone was responsible for inventorying the property confiscated from the rebels executed for treason. One was William Drummond I. Hone also certified an accounting of Richard Lawrence's estate. Theophilus Hone, though usually not identified as a

member of the "Green Spring Faction," apparently maintained his ties to the past. In January 1678 he was named as one of Thomas Ludwell's executors (C.O. 5/1371 f 217, 247; Sainsbury 1964:10:72; Bruce 1895:412; Withington 1980:667).[193]

John Quigley

On June 29, 1680, Mr. John Quigley submitted a petition to the House of Burgesses in which he asked for "80 foot of the countreys houses." The burgesses agreed to award him a 50 year lease "upon condition that he beginnes to repair the same within one year and finish the same in two years and pay 1 ear of Indian corn annually for an acknowledgement and constantly keep the same in goode repaire" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:127, 136). Meanwhile, the Governor and Council received petitions from George Lee and Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, who were interested in leasing the same property. Lee and Bacon seem to have been given preferential treatment and sometime prior to July 6, 1689, John Quigley withdrew his request (McIlwaine 1918:10).

Very little is known about John Quigley other than a June 8, 1680, reference to his being asked to provide medical supplies to the surgeon of the Rappahannock garrison, a group of armed men stationed on the Rappahannock River frontier to protect settlers (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:150). Quigley also requested payment for powder and shot he had provided to Stafford County and items he had furnished to Westmoreland County. In the latter two instances, his charges were deemed excessive (McIlwaine 1918:8, 10).

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon

On July 6, 1680, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and George Lee asked the assembly for a 50 year lease for "the ruins of two brick houses burnt in the late Rebellion" along with "the lands belonging to them." Both men expressed a preference for the houses formerly occupied by Council Clerk Richard Auborne and Arnall or Arnold Cossina (Cassinett) (Bays 3 and 4). The Council, which had discussed the matter in June, felt that "there is more reason that Coll. Bacon have the house than Mr. Lee, as being more likely speedily to build it," concluded that "Its most fit Mr. Auditor Bacon should have his decision [choice] in the said houses and Mr. Lee the other House." When Bacon was asked to choose between the two, he selected "the same which did belong to Mr. Auborne." The leases Bacon and Lee were to be given were contingent upon their commencing to rebuild their respective bays within a year and they were obliged to keep their structures in good repair. Both men's leases would be valid "provided that they [the properties Bacon and Lee wanted] be the countries houses." As it turned out, both were privately owned. Lee eventually purchased both rowhouse units from their rightful owner and Colonel Nathaniel Bacon seems to have let the matter drop (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:142-143, 152; 1918:10, 56).

When the burgesses convened on July 8, 1680, they acted upon the Council's recommendation and gave Colonel Nathaniel Bacon a 50 year lease for one of the ruinous houses and assigned the other one to Mr. George Lee. The burgesses probably allocated the Auborne house to Colonel Bacon, in accord with the Council's recommendations, and gave George Lee the dwelling formerly belonging to Arnold Cossina (Cassinett). The burgesses stipulated that Bacon's and Lee's leases would be valid as long as "such conditions, limitations and covenants" were performed "as is usual in such cases" and noted that both properties could be transferred by the lessees' executors, administrators or assignees (McIlwaine 1905-1915: 1659-1693:152). There seem to have been some doubts about whether the properties Bacon and Lee wanted was governmentally-owned, for the two men's leases were deemed legitimate "provided that they [Bays 3 and 4] be the countries houses." As it turned out, both were privately owned. Deeds on file at the Virginia Historical Society re-

[193] Hone's daughter, Catherine, was married to Robert Beverley I, another Berkeley partisan-turned-vigilante (Bruce 1895:412).

veal that in 1685 George Lee purchased both rowhouse bays and the land upon which they stood from William and Elizabeth Brown, the rightful owners. Colonel Nathaniel Bacon seems to have let the matter drop (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:142-143, 152; 1918:10; Lee MS 51 ff 669, 671). From 1685 on, Lots C and D and Bays 3 and 4 were treated as a single entity and shared a common chain of title (see ahead).

Lot D Bay 4

Arnold (Arnall) Cossina (Cassinett, Cassina)

Although very little is known about Arnold Cossina, official records indicate that at the time of Bacon's Rebellion he was residing in the easternmost unit (Bay 4) of the Structure 115 rowhouse, which was destroyed by fire on September 19, 1676 (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1659-1693:73, 78, 152). That several people sought to lease the ruins of the house Cassina had occupied (a structure later discovered to have been privately owned) indicates that he was a tenant.

On March 6, 1675, Cossina (Cassina or Cassinett) was ordered to free Edward Rawlins, an indentured servant he had obtained from innkeeper Richard Lawrence of Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract S). According to the minutes of the General Court, "Edwd Rawlins Did bind himselfe an Apprentice to a Shipp Carpenter and the Carpenter assigning him to Mr. Laurence who Assigned the said Rawlins to Arnold Cassinett, and It Appearing that the said Rawlins hath beene Imployed as a Common Servant," he was to be freed. Arnold Cossina was ordered to give Rawlins his freedom dues and release him immediately (McIlwaine 1924:407). Little more is known about Rawlins other than the fact that during the late 1680s and early 1690s he served as gunner of the fort at Jamestown, for which he was compensated on a fairly regular basis (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:187, 255).

Theophilus Hone

On February 20, 1677, Major Theophilus Hone (Howne) appeared before the House of Burgesses, where he asked for the right to rebuild "well and substantially att his owne cost" the "two houses wherein Mr. Richard Auborne and Arnold Cassinett lately lived in James City." He was allocated a 50 year lease with the provision that he had to rebuild the houses within a proscribed time and leave them in good repair when his lease expired (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1659-1693:73,78). But subsequent legislation reveals that Hone failed to uphold his end of the bargain by rebuilding the houses, with the result that his lease became null and void. (See the history of Lot C and Bay 3 for a more detailed treatment of Hone and his association with Structure 115).

John Quigley

In June 1680 Mr. John Quigley submitted a petition to the House of Burgesses, requesting "80 foot of the countreys houses." The burgesses agreed to award him a 50 year lease "upon condition that he beginnes to repair the same within one year and finish the same in two years and pay 1 ear of Indian corn annually for an acknowledgement and constantly keep the same in goode repaire" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:127, 136). Meanwhile, the Governor and Council received petitions from George Lee and Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, who also were interested in leasing the property and rebuilding. Lee and Bacon seem to have been given preferential treatment and ultimately, Quigley withdrew his request (McIlwaine 1918:10).

Very little is known about John Quigley. However, a June 8, 1680, reference indicates that he was asked to provide medical supplies to the surgeon of the Rappahannock garrison, a group of armed men stationed on the Rappahannock River frontier to protect settlers (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:150). Quigley later requested payment for powder and shot he had provided to

Stafford County and items he had furnished to Westmoreland County. In both cases, his charges were deemed excessive (McIlwaine 1918:8, 10).

George Lee

As noted in the history of Lot C Bay 3, on July 6, 1680, George Lee and Colonel Nathaniel Bacon asked the assembly for a 50 year lease for "the ruins of two brick houses burnt in the late Rebellion" along with "the lands belonging to them. Both men were expressed a preference for the houses formerly occupied by Council Clerk Richard Auborne and Arnall or Arnold Cossina (Cassinett) (Bays 3 and 4). When Bacon was asked to choose between the two, he selected "the same which did belong to Mr. Auborne." The leases Bacon and Lee were given were contingent upon their commencing to rebuild their respective bays within a year and "provided that they [the properties Bacon and Lee wanted to lease] be the countries houses." As it turned out, both were privately owned. George Lee eventually purchased both rowhouse units from their rightful owner and Colonel Nathaniel Bacon seemingly let the matter drop (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:142-143, 152; 1918:10).

Lots C and D and Bays 3 and 4

Thomas Woodhurst (Woodhouse?)

On April 7, 1685, when William and Elizabeth Brown of Surry County sold their 3/4 acre lot and its improvements (Lots C and D and Bays 3 and 4) to George Lee, their property was described as "one part of a certain tract of land lying in James City being formerly the estate of Thomas Woodhurst." The northern and western boundaries of the Browns' property ran "as far as the two houses extend of the said George Lee, the one being by him built and inhabited the other ruinous being westerly" (Lee MS 51 f 668). This indicates that Lee improved the Browns' land prior to the time he purchased it. It is uncertain whether the late Thomas Woodhurst owned the eastern half of Tract K before or after Bacon's Rebellion. If he owned it beforehand, he would have been Richard Auborne's landlord. As the Browns' deed to George Lee is the only documentary reference to Thomas Woodhurst that has come to light, the possibility exists that he was Thomas Woodhouse, whose name is associated with at least four other properties on Jamestown Island and like the Browns, had ties to Surry County.

Thomas Woodhouse, who in 1640 patented and developed some land in Surry County near Gray's Creek, by 1655 was residing in Jamestown, where he took an active role in community life. In March 1655 Woodhouse purchased one of the original units of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Structure 144 on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A Bay 4) from Sir William Berkeley, a housing unit formerly used as the statehouse. During 1656 Woodhouse was compensated for hosting two sessions of the General Court and a committee meeting and in 1660 he was paid for council meetings that were held at his house, which probably was a tavern. On October 17, 1655, Woodhouse patented a 1 acre New Towne lot (Study Unit 4 Tract C), which he subdivided and sold between 1657 and 1662. Woodhouse seems to have prospered, for in July 1657 he and a partner (William Hooker) patented 100 acres of land in the southeastern end of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 3 Tracts A, K and some additional land). During 1658 and 1659 Woodhouse patented 6,000 acres of land on the Potomac River and 100 acres in Isle of Wight County. His land in Isle of Wight abutted that of two other members of the Jamestown community: John Moon (O'Moonce) (owner of Study Unit 4 Tract E) and John Upton (lessee of Study Unit 2 Tract M) (Ambler MS 18; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1652-1672:6,23,63; Patent Book 3:380; 4:100; 5:253; Nugent 1969-1979:I:317, 347, 375, 391; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:96,101; 1660-1693:8, 27; Hening 1809-1823:I:424).

Thomas Woodhouse seems to have had more success in acquiring property than retaining it. The

100 acres he owned in Study Unit 3 escheated to the Crown sometime prior to 1667 and he had lost or disposed of Ludwell Statehouse Group's Bay 4 by 1671 (Ambler MS 18; McIlwaine 1924:514). In 1694 Woodhouse was mentioned as a former owner of acreage in the immediate vicinity of Study Unit 1 Tract G (Ambler MS 64).

William Brown

On April 7, 1685, William and Elizabeth Brown of Surry County sold George Lee "one part of a certain tract of land lying in James City being formerly the estate of Thomas Woodhurst, bounding upon the land of Mr. William Sherwood easterly; and as far as the two houses extend of Mr. George Lee, the one being by him built and inhabited the other ruinous being westerly; as farre as the Common road Southerly & to the outside of the two houses Northerly, ye whole containing three quarters of an acre more or less situate lying and being by the gross" (Lee MS 51 f 668). Thus, the western and northern walls of the westernmost building (Bay 3, which in 1685 still was ruinous) defined the western and northern boundary lines of the 3/4 acre lot and the Sherwood property and the common road marked its eastern and southern bounds.

Using an electronic map and the descriptive information contained in the Browns' deed to George Lee, an attempt was made to identify the boundaries of the 3/4 acre lot that changed hands. Using the northwest corner of Bay 3 as a reference point, a straight line was extended along the north wall of Structure 115 to the boundary ditch (Ditch 9) known to define the west side of William Sherwood's property, Study Unit 1 Tract F. When this distance (the 3/4 acre parcel's northern boundary line) was measured, it came to just under 181 feet. That having been ascertained, plane geometry was used to calculate the length of the 3/4 acre parcel's western boundary line, i.e., the distance from the northwest corner of Bay 3 to the common road. As the area of a rectangle is found by multiplying the length of its base times its height (a=bh), and as 3/4 of an acre of ground is equivalent to 32,670 square feet, the length of the northern boundary line (181 feet) was divided into the lot's square footage (32,670 square feet). The result was 180.497 feet, almost precisely the distance from the northwest corner of Bay 3 to Ditch 66 (181 feet). This simple exercise in plane geometry not only reveals that the 3/4 acre parcel the Browns sold to George Lee was nearly square, it also identifies Ditch 66 as the edge of the common road that was in use in 1685, when the Browns sold their lot to George Lee.

As the text of the Brown-Lee deed makes reference to George Lee's two houses, "the one being by him built and inhabited the other ruinous being westerly," Lee appears to have rebuilt the easternmost rowhouse unit (Bay 4), in accord with the conditional lease he received from the assembly in July 1680, nearly five years before he actually purchased the land upon which it and the ruinous Bay 3 stood. Moreover, in November 1682 William Brown requested 2 1/4 years' compensation for renting his house to the General Court as an office (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1659-1693:174). This sequence of events suggests that George Lee rebuilt Bay 4 of Structure 115 shortly after obtaining a 50 year lease from the assembly (perhaps before he learned that the property was privately owned) or that he undertook construction before he had secured an unencumbered title to the Browns' land.

George Lee

As noted above, on April 7, 1685, George Lee purchased a 3/4 acre parcel (Lots C and D) from William and Elizabeth Brown of Surry County, land upon which he already had undertaken construction activities. Lee, it should be recalled, had acquired a conditional lease for Lot D and its rowhouse ruins in July 1680 (Lee MS 51 f 668; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:152). He or a subsequent owner may have rebuilt Bay 3 at a later date.

George Lee appears to have arrived in Virginia during the mid-1650s. By August 1660 he

had taken up residence in Charles City County, where he stayed for approximately a decade and then moved to Surry. He was heavily involved in mercantile activities and at times was identified as a London merchant. During the very early 1670s John Bowler served as Lee's Virginia factor, "selling & buying of goods and Servants" on his behalf and at times he functioned as Lee's attorney. During the early-to-mid 1670s Lee sued John Newell (Study Unit 1 Tract D), William Sherwood (Study Unit 1 Tracts B and C), and Richard Clarke (Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot D), all of whom were in possession of land in the western end of Jamestown Island (Middlesex County Record Book 1:29-30; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:379; 1671-1684:287; McIlwaine 1924:249, 273, 327, 382, 386, 432; Nugent 1969-1979:I:160).

On July 5, 1681, George Lee notified the justices of Surry County that he had moved from their jurisdiction to Jamestown. The court records state that, "Whereas George Lee hath beene for these severall years last past an inhabitant in the county of Surry but now testifies is a resident of James City County, these are to inform anyone that hath any commerce, business or accounts against him that at James Towne in James City County he will and willingly answer their concerns." In the court records Lee occasionally was identified as a doctor (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:287).

In January 1682 George Lee was paid for providing accommodations to some Indians who came to Jamestown on official business and in November he was compensated for hosting one of the assembly's committees. In April 1684 Lee again was paid for entertaining Indians (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:395; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:174, 256). It is likely that when George Lee moved to Jamestown, he took up residence in Bay 4 of Structure 115, the only Jamestown Island property with which his name is associated. It is highly probable that Lee accommodated his Indian visitors and assembly committees in Bay 4.

On April 12, 1692, when George Lee prepared his will, he left his 3/4 acre lot in Jamestown "and all houses and appurtenances thereto belonging" to his wife, Sarah, "for the rest of her natural life and the remainder or reversion in fee [simple] unto Robert and George Nicholson and their heirs" (Lee MS 51 f 671). Thus, Sarah had a life interest in her late husband's property in Jamestown, after which time it would descend to the Nicholsons, his reversionary heirs. George Lee left his wife, Sarah, outright ownership of all of his personal property, but none of his real estate, which included his Jamestown lot (Study Unit 1 Tract K Lots C and D), acreage in the mainland and 100 acres on the Chickahominy River (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c 1694-1709:70).

Sarah Lee (Mrs. George Lee, then Mrs. Smith) (life-rights)

The widowed Sarah Lee apparently continued to reside in the rowhouse bay she and her late husband had occupied. Four years after his death (and her remarriage to someone named Smith), reference was made to the suitability of "the house where Mrs. Sarah Lee alias Smith lately lived" as a meeting place for the assembly (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:410). On December 7, 1696, Sarah Lee Smith and her late husband's reversionary heirs, Robert and George Nicholson, sold their respective interests in the late George Lee's house and lot in Jamestown to George Harvey, who kept it until October 1697 (Lee MS 51 ff 669, 671).

George Harvey

As noted above, on December 7, 1696, Sarah Lee Smith and the Nicolsons' sold their respective interests in the late George Lee's property to George Harvey. Very little is known about Harvey other than his being hired in December 1695 to make a "platform for the great guns at Jamestown" to replace the old brick fort, which had been torn down earlier in the year. He apparently had completed his work by April 1696, when Edward Ross, "gun-

ner of the fort at James City," requested small guns that could be used in firing salutes (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:322, 339, 342). George Harvey kept the eastern half of Tract K until October 13, 1697, at which time he conveyed the land and its improvements to Thomas Hadley (Lee MS 51 ff 669, 671).

Thomas Hadley

Thomas Hadley, who purchased George Harvey's 3/4 acre lot and buildings on October 13, 1697, may have become ill shortly after purchasing the property. At the close of 1697 he "by his last will in writing of December [he] gave and bequeathed unto his wife Dyonysia Hadley all his real estate and personal." Shortly thereafter, Mrs. Dyonysia Savage Ravenscroft Hadley commenced serving as her late husband's executrix (Lee MS 51 ff 669, 671).

Dyonysia Savage Ravenscroft Hadley (Mrs. Thomas)

Mrs. Dyonysia Savage Ravenscroft Hadley, having inherited fee simple ownership of the eastern half of Tract K Lots C and D, disposed of the property on June 8, 1698. It was then that she sold the late Thomas Hadley's property (which she described as "houses in Jamestown") to John Tullitt (Tullett) of James City Parish and County. Mrs. Hadley identified herself as "executrix and legatee of Thomas Hadley." On the outside of the Hadley-Tullitt deed was written "For houses in Jamestown" (Lee MS 51 ff 669, 671).

John Tullitt (Tullett)

John Tullitt (Tullett), having purchased the eastern half of Tract K from Mrs. Dyonysia Hadley on June 6, 1698, began living upon the property (Lee MS 51 f 671). On February 25, 1699, the Governor's Council decided that "the house where Mrs. Sarah Lee alias Smith lately lived now in the possession of Mr. John Tullitt is the most convenient" place for the assembly to meet. Therefore, it was "ordered that the said Tullitt do repair and fit up the said house, as he shall be directed by his Excellency, and that he lay his claim for the charge thereof before the next assembly." On May 11, 1699, John Tullitt requested compensation for having outfitted his house to accommodate the assembly and for providing its members with a place in which to meet. He was dissatisfied with the sum that was offered and on May 22 asked for more (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:410; 1905-1915:1695-1702:160, 175; Sainsbury 1964:17:209).

Although relatively little is known about John Tullitt as a private individual, governing officials frequently called upon him to undertake construction projects. In June 1695 he was paid to raze the old brick fort built in the 1670s and he was compensated for mending the carriages and mounting the guns upon the new platform that was built. In 1700 Tullitt was authorized to supply brick for the new capitol building that was to be erected in Williamsburg. In October 1709 he offered to erect the college's main building for 2,000 pounds sterling, as long as he was allowed to take wood from the college land and workmen would be brought from England. Tullitt received permission to proceed with work on the college and in November 1711 received a payment of 500 pounds. Two months later he was paid 400 pounds for building the college hall. Apparently, he had problems maintaining accurate business records, for he and Auditor William Byrd II of Westover reviewed them several times. The two men appear to have become friends, for they continued to keep in touch after they ceased being involved in government projects (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:331; Byrd 1942:99, 116, 286, 351, 384, 434, 476, 522, 551-552).

In October 1702 John Tullitt purchased 27 acres near Jamestown Island, adjacent to the Governor's Land. He sold that tract to Philip Ludwell II between 1702 and 1718 (Ambler MS 99). In 1703 while he was renting William Broadribb's mill near Jamestown, he patented 391 acres on the south side of the head of King's Creek in York County. In 1704 Tullitt paid quitrent upon

625 acres in James City County (evidence that he either owned or rented the property) and in November 1705 he patented 17,653 acres in Henrico County, near Falling Creek. Within two years, John Tullitt moved to Henrico, at which point he seems to have divested himself of his local property. In July 1707 he conveyed to Philip Ludwell II the 16 years that remained of his 21 year lease for the Goose Hill plantation in the eastern end of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K and some additional land); three leaseholds in the Governor's Land; and his lease for William Broadribb's mill. It may have been around 1707 that John Tullitt disposed of the eastern half of Study Unit 4 Tract K (McGhan 1993:676; Nugent 1969-1979:III:80, 109; Ambler MS 77; Smith 1957:90).

Undated notations on the back of the June 8, 1698, deed from Dyonysia Hadley to John Tullitt indicate that the eastern half of Tract K passed from "Tullitt to Ludwell" at a subsequent but undisclosed date. The words "Conveyances of this are Col. Brown to Lee by will to Nicholson, by Nicholson to Harvey, Harvey to Hadley and Hadley to Tullett" and "For houses in Jamestown" also were jotted upon the back of the deed (Lee MS 51 f 671). As John Tullitt was in possession of Lots C and D until at least 1699, the Ludwell who came into possession of the Tullitt property would have been Philip Ludwell II, for Philip I and Thomas Ludwell already were dead.

Philip Ludwell II

Philip Ludwell II was born at Fairfield in Gloucester County in 1672 and was the son of Lucy Higginson Burwell. He and his father, Philip Ludwell I, moved to Rich Neck around 1678 and were in residence there when Philip I married Lady Frances Berkeley and became her heir. In 1694, around the time Philip Ludwell I retired to England and Philip II came of age, he relocated to Green Spring, which he made his permanent home. Philip Ludwell II as his father's heir, inherited his landholdings and those of his stepmother, Lady Frances Berkeley. In 1694 he received a patent for 1½ acre lot that enveloped Bays 2, 3, and 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Study Unit Tract U Lot A). In 1697 Philip II married Hannah, the daughter of Benjamin Harrison, a member of the Governor's Council, and produced three children, including a son, Philip Ludwell III (Bruce 1899-1900:356; Morton 1956:238; Shepperson 1942:454).

Philip Ludwell II, like his father, took an active role in political affairs and held a number of important public offices. In 1696 he was elected to the assembly and later became speaker; in May 1702 he was named to the Governor's Council. In 1709 he and his friend, William Byrd II of Westover, were commissioned to run the boundary line between Virginia and Carolina. The following year, Lt. Governor Alexander Spotswood appointed Philip Ludwell II deputy auditor-general. Later, when the two men's relationship became strained, Spotswood laid claim to part of Green Spring, which he alleged had encroached upon the Governor's Land (Bruce 1897-1898:19-20, 42, 383-387; Stanard 1965:91). In 1715 Philip Ludwell II became a county lieutenant and justice of the James City County court. He was elected to the vestry of Bruton Parish and was named a trustee of the College of William and Mary, of which he served as rector. For more than a decade Ludwell and Commissary James Blair were at odds with Governor Francis Nicholson. Ultimately, this cost Ludwell his Council seat and job as deputy-secretary. Philip Ludwell died on January 11, 1727, leaving as his primary heir 11-year-old Philip Ludwell III (Bruce 1899-1900:356; Morton 1956:238).

Philip Ludwell III

Philip Ludwell III, who was born at Green Spring on December 28, 1716, was his parents' only son and heir. He was orphaned at the age of 15 and a few months before he attained his majority, married Frances Grymes of Morattico. The couple made their home at Green Spring plantation, where their three daughters were born. Philip III, like his forebears, took an active role in public life, serving as a burgess, councillor, and vestryman. He was a

highly valued assistant to Governor Robert Dinwiddie, during whose term (1751-1756) he leased a large parcel in the Governor's Land. (Stanard 1911:289; 1913:395-416; Shepperson 1942:18-19).

After Frances Grymes Ludwell's death in 1753, Philip III and his daughters moved to London, leaving the management of his James City County properties in the hands of overseer Cary Wilkinson. Philip Ludwell III's health gradually declined and on February 28, 1767, he made his will. His death occurred less than a month later. He distributed his real and personal estate in Virginia among his three daughters, only one of whom was an adult. The remarkably detailed inventory of Philip Ludwell III's estate groups his belongings in accord with the property at which they were located. Although household furnishings, agricultural equipment, livestock and slaves were attributed to Green Spring and its subsidiaries or quarters, no personal belongings were credited to Jamestown, where he had one lot that reportedly contained improvements and another that was vacant (Stanard 1911:288-289; 1913:395-416).

Because Philip Ludwell III's daughter, Frances, died while his estate was being settled, her share was apportioned between her sisters, Hannah Philippa and Lucy. Hannah Philippa (the eldest daughter) married London merchant William Lee, who took on the responsibility of managing the property she had inherited and ultimately, became her heir. The couple produced a son, William Ludwell Lee (Stanard 1911:289; 1913:395-416; Morton 1956:244).

Hannah Philippa Ludwell and William Lee

William Lee reportedly relished the opportunity to manage the property his wife inherited from her father, Philip Ludwell III. William sought the assistance of his brother, Richard Henry Lee of Westmoreland County, in seeing that the Ludwell estate was settled in a timely and equitable manner. At issue was how the inheritance of Hannah Philippa's late sister, Frances, was to be divided. On July 7, 1770, Richard Henry Lee informed his brother that the Ludwell estate had been partitioned. Hannah Philippa not only received Green Spring (as her late father had intended), she also fell heir to some real estate in Williamsburg and "one improved and one unimproved lot in Jamestown" (Stanard 1929:293-294). In 1771 Hannah Philippa and William Lee placed her Jamestown lots and some other Ludwell land in the hands of trustees, who were authorized to lease them to tenants for up to 21 years or three lives (Stanard 1911:288-289; 1913:395-416; Lee et al. 1771). As there is no evidence that the Ludwell/Lee-owned rowhouse ruins in the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Bays 1, 2, 3, and 4) ever were rebuilt after their destruction during Bacon's Rebellion, Hannah Philippa and William Lee's "improved" lot in Jamestown may have been the 3/4 acre that enveloped the easternmost end of Structure 115, which is located upon Study Unit 4 Tract K.

After the close of the American Revolution, William and Hannah Philippa Ludwell Lee began making plans to move to Virginia to take up residence at Green Spring. However, in 1784 Hannah Philippa succumbed to a fatal illness and William inherited all of her property, including her lots in Jamestown. The couple had produced two daughters (Cornelia and Portia) and a son, William Ludwell Lee. William Lee died at Green Spring on June 27, 1795, and was buried in the church yard at Jamestown, near the Ludwell tombs. He left to his 22-year-old son, William Ludwell Lee, "all that estate real, personal and mixed, lying in James City County, James Town, and the City of Williamsburg, which descended to his mother, my late dear wife, Hannah Philippa Lee, as coheiress and legatee of her late father, the Honorable Philip Ludwell." By that date, the 21 year lease William and Hannah Philippa had signed with their trustees in 1771 would have just expired (Stanard 1911:289; 1913:395-416; 1930:36; Carson 1954:7; Fredericksburg Circuit Court 1796).

William Ludwell Lee

William Ludwell Lee, who was born abroad and immigrated to Virginia right after the American Revolution, resided at Green Spring with his father. In 1796, shortly after he had inherited the plantation, he asked noted architect Benjamin Latrobe to draw up plans for a new dwelling he intended as a replacement for the old mansion. By the time Latrobe returned to Green Spring in 1797, Lee had torn down the old manor house and was going forward with his plans to build a new one. Although Lee did not take as active a role in public life as his forebears had, in 1789 he headed a local militia company (Carson 1954:7-8; Palmer 1968:VIII:497,507).

It is uncertain what became of the Jamestown lots William Ludwell Lee inherited. He may have disposed of them around the time he was raising the funds he needed to build a new home at Green Spring or he may have abandoned them. This issue is clouded by the fact that real estate tax rolls for James City County do not include lots at Jamestown, which by that date had lost its representation in the assembly.

William Ludwell Lee died at Green Spring on January 24, 1803, and was buried near his father in the church yard at Jamestown. He had never married. When he made his will, he bequeathed his slaves their freedom and made provisions for their future support. With the exception of a few special bequests (including one to the College of William and Mary), the bulk of his real and personal estate descended to his sisters, Cornelia Hopkins and Portia Hodgson. 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 were aired before Virginia's Supreme Court in 1818 (Mumford 1921:VI:163-164). It is likely that if Lee hadn't sold his Jamestown lots prior to his death, Hodgson did. Edward Jaquelin (or his successor Richard Ambler) may have purchased them, perhaps for back-taxes.

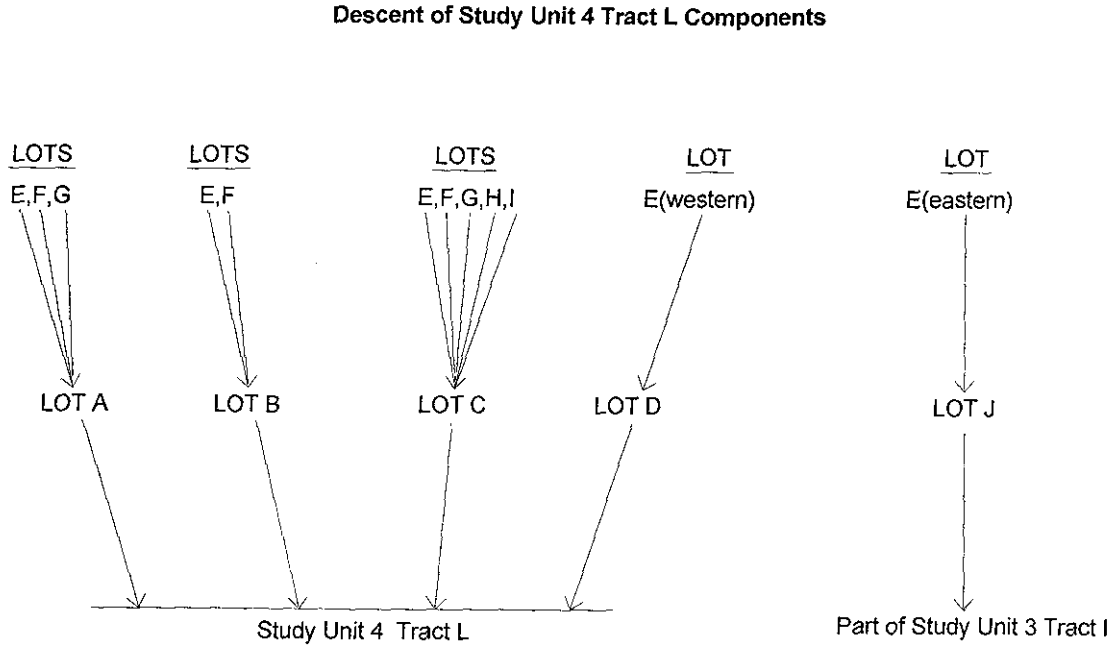


Figure 77. *Descent of Study Unit 4, Tract L components.*

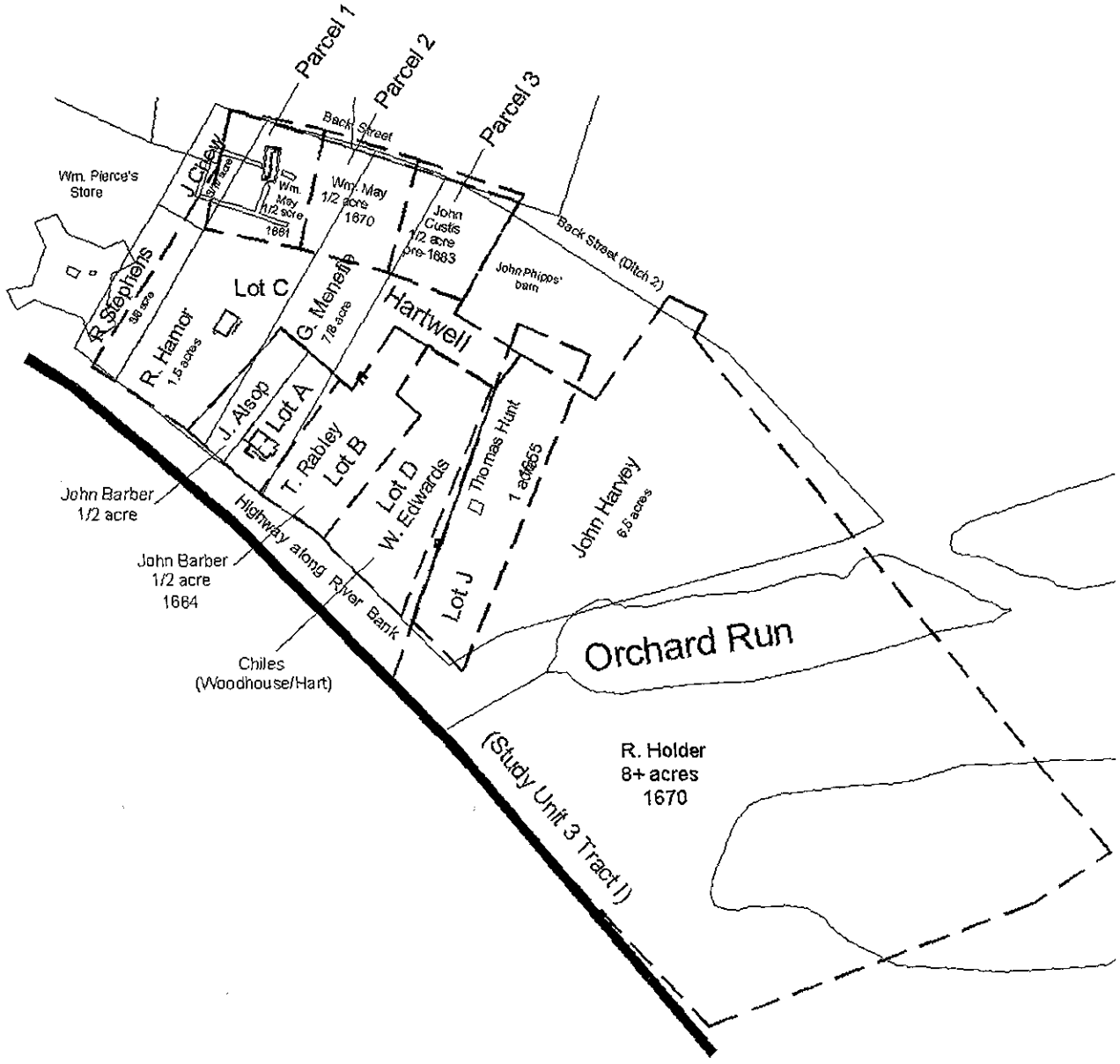


Figure 78. *Study Unit 4, Tract L, Lots A, B, C, D, and J.*

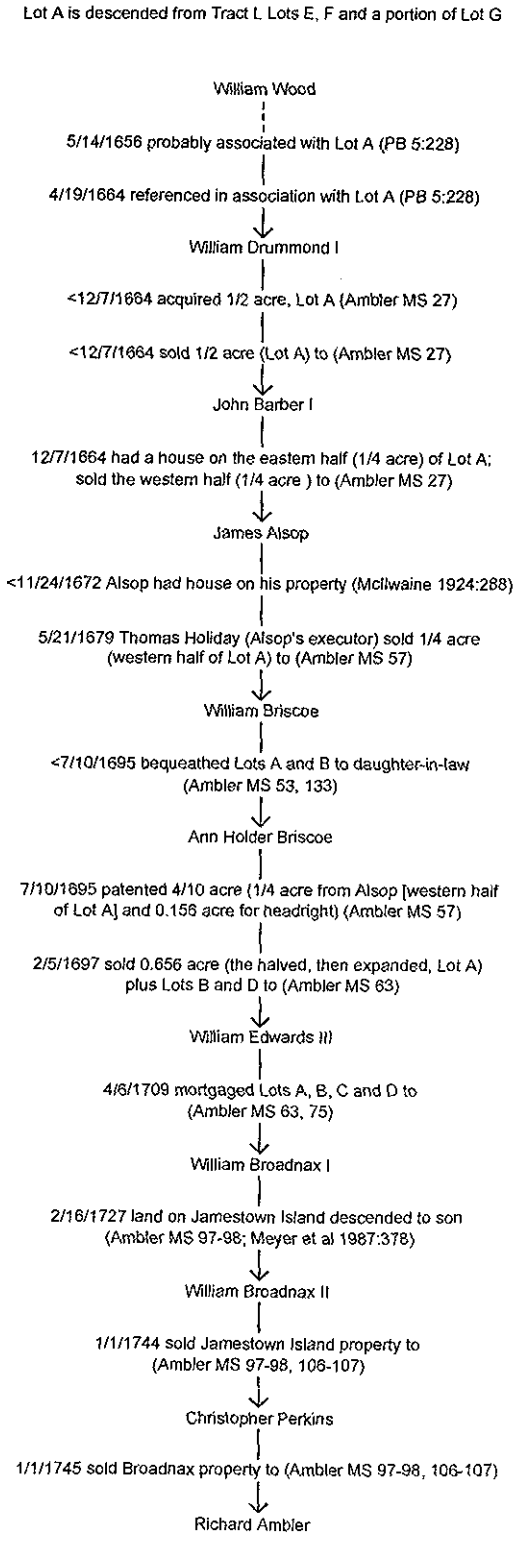


Figure 79. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract L, Lot A.*

Study Unit 4 Tract L

Tract L is comprised of ten lots that were reconfigured and consolidated between 1623 and the mid-seventeenth century. Lot A is derived from Lots E, F and a portion of Lot G, whereas Lot B originated in Lots E and F. Lot C descended from Lots F, G, H, and I, plus a small portion of Lot E. Lots D and J came exclusively from Lot E.

Patents are available for all of the lots in Tract L, but only four patents' verbal boundary descriptions contain dimensional and directional details. Fortunately, because Lots C and D share a short but common boundary line and abut the James River, they create a template that delimits the external boundaries of Lots A and B. Moreover, the description of one of Lot C's boundaries pinpoints the common (internal) boundary line between Lots A and B. This makes it possible to recreate the boundaries of Lots A, B, C, and D through electronic mapping.

The boundary lines of two properties adjacent to Tract L make it possible to place Lots A, B, C, and D within the landscape. The distinctive characteristics of Lot C's northern boundaries (including the distance between Lot C's northeast and northwest corners) were found to replicate the irregularly-shaped southern boundary line of Study Unit 1 Tract D. To verify this interpretation, two plats of Tract D were digitized, refined in accord with their verbal boundary descriptions, and then superimposed upon one another. Next, the Tract L lot cluster was recreated electronically. When the electronic maps of Study Unit 1 Tract D and Study Unit 4 Tract L were moved into their respective positions, it was evident that they shared a common, distinctive boundary line.

The fixed boundaries of Study Unit 3 Tract I, which is contiguous and to the east, make it possible to position the Tract L lot cluster properly upon the waterfront. It was observed that the westernmost boundary line of Study Unit 3 Tract I had precisely the same length and directional orientation as the easternmost boundary of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot D. This common boundary line and the one shared by Study Unit 1 Tract D and Study Unit 4 Tract L link all three groups of lots together. This, in turn, makes it possible to superimpose their boundaries upon the Jamestown archaeological base map and the natural environment.

Lot A

Lot A's roots lie in Lots E, F and a portion of Lot G. Lot E was patented in January 1624 by Captain John Harvey, who had built two or more houses upon his property. In April 1640 he was obliged to sell his landholdings on account of debt (Patent Book 1:7; McIlwaine 1924:482). The southwest corner of Lot E became part of Lot A. Lot F was patented by George Menefie in February 1624, by which time it contained at least one house. In December 1645 Menefie bequeathed all of his Jamestown property to his daughter, Elizabeth (Patent Book 1:6; Meyer et al. 1987:449). Ralph Hamor patented Lot G in August 1624, by which time it had at least one house. His widow and sole heir, Elizabeth Fuller Clements Hamor, bequeathed all of her real and personal property to her son, Jeremiah Clements, who left his estate to his son, John, and daughter, Anna Clements Perry (Patent Book 1:5-6; 2:4; McIlwaine 1924:117; Meyer et al. 1987:198-199, 487).

William Wood

On May 14, 1656, when John Barber I first patented Lot B, reference was made to William Wood's possession of the land corresponding to

Lot A (Patent Book 5:228; Nugent 1969-1979:I:468). No other information has come to light about this William Wood. He still may have owned Lot A on April 19, 1664, when John Barber repatented Lot B.

William Drummond I

Sometime after April 19, 1656, when John Barber I repatented Lot B, William Drummond I (a man executed for treason during Bacon's Rebellion) came into possession of the ½ acre river front parcel designated Lot A. Drummond, a Scotsman, was governor of Carolina during the 1660s. He also was a successful planter and accumulated considerable wealth. He had a leasehold and domestic complex in the Governor's Land, which he acquired in 1648 and significantly enlarged and improved in 1672. In 1662 William Drummond I's wife, Sarah, patented a ½ acre lot (Study Unit 4 Tract N) that she inherited from Edward Prescott. There, near the church, the couple built a house termed one of the finest in Jamestown (Ambler MS 27; Soane 1683; Patent Book 2:150; 5:228; 6:389; Nugent 1969-1979:I:177, 468; II:103).

In 1661 William Drummond I patented 4,750 acres of land in Westmoreland County and a year later he laid claim to 1,200 acres on the east side of the Chickahominy River, near the mouth of Warrany Creek. In 1668 William purchased 700 acres of James City County land from Mathew Edloe and in 1672 he patented 960 acres in Lower Norfolk County. Two years later, he acquired 461 acres on the Chickahominy (McIlwaine 1924:315, 512; Soane 1683; Force 1963:I:9:7; Nugent 1969-1979:I:403; II:103, 123, 140; Patent Book 6:389).

William Drummond I conveyed Lot A to John Barber I sometime prior to December 7, 1664. This purchase gave Barber (who already owned Lot B) two adjoining waterfront parcels that totaled 1 acre (Ambler MS 27; Soane 1683; Patent Book 5:228; Nugent 1969-1979:I:468).

John Barber I

By the time John Barber I purchased Lot A from William Drummond I, he already owned Lot B, which he first patented on May 14, 1656. On December 7, 1664, Barber sold the western half of Lot A (1/4 acre) to James Alsop but retained the easternmost half, upon which he had a personal residence (Ambler MS 27, 83; Patent Book 5:228; Nugent 1969-1979:I:468).[194] This left him with a 3/4 acre parcel: the 1/4 acre that contained his house (on the eastern part of Lot A) and ½ acre that extended to the east (Lot B).

It is likely that John Barber I was engaged in commerce, for in October 1667 he was fined for building a wharf "before the town" contrary to law (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:48). His dock probably was located in front of the eastern half of Lot A (which Barber retained) or in front of Lot B.

Besides his land in the New Towne, John Barber I owned some acreage in the extreme eastern end of Jamestown Island, in Study Unit 3 Tract K Lot A. He acquired his rural property (part of Major Robert Holt's acreage) sometime prior to July 21, 1657, and was still in possession of it in 1667. Barber probably utilized his acreage in Tract K for agricultural purposes (Ambler MS 18, 27; Patent Book 4:150; 6:42; Nugent 1969-1979:I:347; II:12).

John Barber I died sometime prior to October 3, 1671, at which time his widow and administratrix, Letitia, appeared in court to conduct business on his behalf. By October 1672 Letitia Barber had married David Newell, who during the late 1670s was in possession of John Knowles' plantation on the upper side of Back Street (Study Unit 1 Tract D). The late John Barber I's principal heir was his son, John Barber II (McIlwaine 1924:240, 281, 314; Ambler MS 83).

[194] On February 7, 1678, John Barber I's son, John II, sold the eastern half of Lot A to Thomas Rabley, "that part or parcell of land my decd ffather Lived on" (Ambler MS 83). The Barber home may have been in the vicinity of Structure 125, a brick house built by Rabley (see ahead).

James Alsop (Alsopp)

James Alsop, who on December 7, 1664, purchased the western half of Lot A from John Barber I and his wife, Letitia, probably developed his newly bought acreage (Ambler MS 27).[195] On November 24, 1671, the vestry of James City Parish was authorized to compensate him for providing room and board to the Rev. Samuel Jones, James City Parish's new rector. John Page (who two years later came into possession of Study Unit 1 Tract F) also received part of the Rev. Jones' living allowance (McIlwaine 1924:288).

On August 16, 1670, James Alsop purchased a tract of land in Surry County, acreage he and his wife, Judith, sold to Edward Howell on March 16, 1674 (Surry County Deeds and Wills 1671-1684:73). In 1675 Alsop went to court in Surry, where he won a judgement against bricklayer John Bird. This raises the possibility that he undertook some construction activities on Alsop's behalf. James Alsop was involved in settling Bennett Marjoram's estate in Surry (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:193; McIlwaine 1924:403). However, there is no doubt that Alsop was in possession of his Jamestown lot at the time of his death and it is highly probable that he resided there.

In early March 1674 a Surry County man took another's boat to Jamestown "to James Alsop to be trimmed." This raises the possibility that Alsop had a sail loft or boat repair facility on his waterfront lot. Court testimony taken in Surry in the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion suggests strongly that James Alsop sympathized with the rebel Nathaniel Bacon and was among those who seized Governor Berkeley's goods and stashed them at Richard Lawrence's house in Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract S) (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:46, 130).

On May 21, 1679, James Alsop's executor, Thomas Holiday (Holliday), sold the decedent's ¼ acre lot (the western portion of Lot A) to William Briscoe, a blacksmith. Holliday's deed to Briscoe states that the land being sold was "one halfe of the halfe acre of Land neare adjoyning to the howse of John Barber [I] in James Citty." In July 1695, when the Alsop lot was resold, its eastern boundary line was described as being "one foot off of ye N:W: end of [Thomas] Rableys brick house" (Ambler MS 27, 57, 133). Therefore, John Barber I's dwelling, like Thomas Rabley's, was on the eastern half of Lot A (see ahead).

William Briscoe

William Briscoe's May 1679 purchase of the western half of Lot A is his first appearance in the surviving documentary records associated with Jamestown (Ambler MS 27, 57). In November 1681, Briscoe, who indicated that he was a resident of Jamestown, appointed an attorney to represent him in Surry County's monthly court (Surry County Deeds and Wills 1671-1684:295). Earlier in the year, when William Sherwood had John Soane make a plat of his landholdings in Jamestown, "Briscoe's Orchard" was shown prominently, astride Orchard Run (Ambler MS 134).[196] In April 1682 when Jamestown's landowners sought to have the community's legal limits defined, the easternmost boundary line was "ye run or slash by Wm. Briscoe ye smith" (Ambler MS 23).

In November 10, 1682, the assembly authorized payment to William Briscoe, the smith, for the work he had performed at the prison at Jamestown, and for his work in connection with the criminals incarcerated there. Two years later he was paid for the irons he had provided for securing prisoners (McIlwaine 1905-1915: 1660-1693:174, 256). On September 20, 1686, Briscoe was called upon to testify before escheator John Page about whether Colonel William White had

[195] It is doubtful that he was the scribe named James Alsop, who in 1656 witnessed a will in London (Stanard 1906:408).

[196] "Briscoe's Orchard" was located upon part of Study Unit 3 Tract I, which belonged to Richard Holder. Holder's daughter, Ann, was married to Briscoe's son (Ambler MS 35, 53, 57).

disposed of his Jamestown lots (Parcels 1 and 2 in the northwest corner of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C) prior to his death (Ambler MS 37).

In September 1683 William Briscoe patented 12 acres in James City County, acreage that formerly had belonged to the late William Penn (Pinn) but had escheated to the Crown.[197] In October 1691 Briscoe patented 153 acres in Middlesex County, again acreage that had been granted to another and then abandoned (Patent Book 7:328; Nugent 1969-1979:II:269, 372; Ambler MS 35).

When William Briscoe of Jamestown made his will, sometime prior to July 10, 1695, he bequeathed all of his property in the capital city to his widowed daughter-in-law, the former Ann Holder.[198] Briscoe indicated that he was leaving her "all my Land in James City adjoyning to Mr Henry Hartwell"[199] (that is, Lots A and B), including "that Land that was Mr Thomas Rableys, now in ye tenure of Mr Joseph Toping as Marrying Elizabeth ye Daughter of ye sd Rabley, being about a quarter of an Acre, be it more or less ye which Land I purchased of Mr Thomas Holyday," that is, the eastern half of Lot A, which in 1695 contained Rabley's brick house, Structure 125. Thus, William Briscoe left his daughter-in-law, Ann, Lot B plus both halves of Lot A (Ambler MS 53, 133).

Ann Holder Briscoe Chudley (Chudleigh)

On October 12, 1670, Ann Holder Briscoe's father, Richard Holder, patented 8.28125 (ca. 8.3) acres of land in Jamestown near "the orchard" (Orchard Run) that included both marsh and waste land. The western part of Holder's patent, which has been designated Study Unit 3 Tract I, included the eastern part of the 6.5 acres John Harvey patented in 1624 (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E). Holder obtained his ca. 8.3 acres on the basis of one headright and was obliged to develop his land within three years. He renewed his title to the property in January 1672 (McIlwaine 1924:227; Patent Book 6:442; Nugent 1969-1979:II:122; Ambler MS 21, 22, 53, 63). As Richard Holder eventually bequeathed his land to his son, John, without citing the need to improve it, one or more buildings probably had been erected upon the property. John Holder, who inherited his father's acreage at Jamestown, bequeathed it to his sister, Ann Holder Briscoe in August 1687.[200] Included were John's 37½ acres on the east side of Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tract H) and his ca. 8.3 acres that straddled Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tract I). John Holder's will, presented to the General Court on August 8, 1687, indicates that he was indebted to his sister's father-in-law, William Briscoe (Ambler MS 38).

Thanks to her brother's August 1687 bequest, Ann Holder Briscoe already was in possession of Study Unit 3 Tract H and Study Unit 3 Tract I when her father-in-law, William Briscoe, left her the two halves of Lot A (totalling ½ acre) and Lot B (½ acre) (Ambler MS 38, 133). On July 10, 1695, Ann Holder Bricoe, who by then had wed James Chudley, repatented the western half of Lot A, which she supplemented with 0.156 acre of new land she claimed on the basis of a headright. This increased the reconstituted Lot A's size to 0.656 acre. The Chudleys' patent's verbal boundary description, which runs counter-clockwise, states that their boundary line commenced at "a Stake on

[197] Briscoe's patent states that his 12 acres was in "James City and County," raising the possibility that it was on Jamestown Island. He may have patented Study Unit 3 Tract J, a 12-acre parcel whose seventeenth-century history is unknown.

[198] A copy of Briscoe's will, certified as a "copia vera" or true copy, is included in the Ambler Papers. However, the text of the will is undated. Briscoe's heir repatented part of her land on July 10, 1695 (Ambler MS 57, 133).

[199] Hartwell then owned Lot C (Ambler MS 55).

[200] Surry County records reveal that Captain William Corker (whose brother, John, owned a small waterfront lot in Jamestown, Study Unit 4 Tract J) was indebted to Richard Holder (Surry County Deeds and Wills 2:140). Holder, on the other hand, dealt with London merchant Micajah Perry (Study Unit 4 Tract C Lot A) and failed to pay for some of his purchases (Perry 1697).

James River bank North 42 degrees Ely one foot off of ye N:W: End of Rablys brick house [and then ran] 11 and 68 hundredths parts of a pole [192.72 feet] to a Stake in Mr Edwards line: & along it North 45 degrees Wly 11 & 4/10 of a pole [188.1 feet] to a stake on ye River bank & down it South 42 degrees Ely 5 & 72 hundredth parts of a pole [94.38 feet] to ye first stake" (Ambler MS 57).

On February 5, 1697, Ann Holder Briscoe Chudley and her husband, James, sold the reconstituted and expanded Lot A (0.656 acre), Lot B (0.5 acre), and Lot D (0.8 acre of her 8.28125 acre tract) to William Edwards III, whose father had purchased Lot C in 1695. The Chudley couple then was residing upon the residue of the ca. 8.3 acre tract that Ann had inherited from her father and brother (Study Unit 3 Tract I) (Ambler MS 63).

William Edwards III

On February 5, 1697, William Edwards III purchased from Ann Holder Briscoe Chudley and her husband, James the expanded Lot A (0.656 acre), Lot B (0.5 acre), and Lot D (0.8 acre of her ca. 8.3 acre tract). William's father was then in possession of Lot C, which he had bought from Henry Hartwell in 1695 (Ambler MS 63).

William Edwards III, like his forebears, took an active role in public life and worked toward enhancing his wealth. In 1699 he served as a James City County justice of the peace (Sainsbury 1964:17:309). He patented increasing amounts of land, sometimes expanding his horizons into frontier counties. He resided in Surry County and between 1703 and 1706 served successive terms as a burgess (Nugent 1969-1979:III:37,44; Stanard 1965:95-97). He eventually began to have financial problems and became increasingly indebted to William Broadnax I. Finally, on April 6, 1709, he deeded to Broadnax some land he had repatented in 1698 (Lot D), noting that if he repaid his debt he had the right to recover the acreage he had used as collateral (Ambler MS 63, 75). He never did, and when William Broadnax I died in 1727, he was in possession of Tract L in its entirety (Lots A, B, C, and D). Tract L and the rest of the late William Edwards III's Jamestown Island properties descended to his son, William Broadnax II (Ambler MS 97-98, 106-107).

William Broadnax I

As noted above, on April 6, 1709, William Edwards III used his land as collateral when securing a debt to William Broadnax I. As Edwards never repaid what he owed, Broadnax came into possession of Tract L in its entirety (Lots A, B, C, and D). The Edwards property on Jamestown Island and William Broadnax I's other landholdings (including Study Unit 1 Tract E; Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, J and some adjacent land; and Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, and Q) descended to his son, William Broadnax II, in February 1727 (Ambler MS 63, 75, 97-98, 106-107; Meyer et al. 1987:378).

William Broadnax II

On April 22, 1736, Francis Bullifant sold his 107 acres in the southeastern end of Jamestown (which included Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G) to William Broadnax II, who by that date had inherited his late father's landholdings (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J) and some acreage within the limits of urban Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tracts L, M, O and Q). William Broadnax II also received as a bequest at least one town lot from the ferryman Edward Ross (Study Unit 4 Tract R) and he purchased 100 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island from Philip Ludwell II (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250).

Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen, with 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

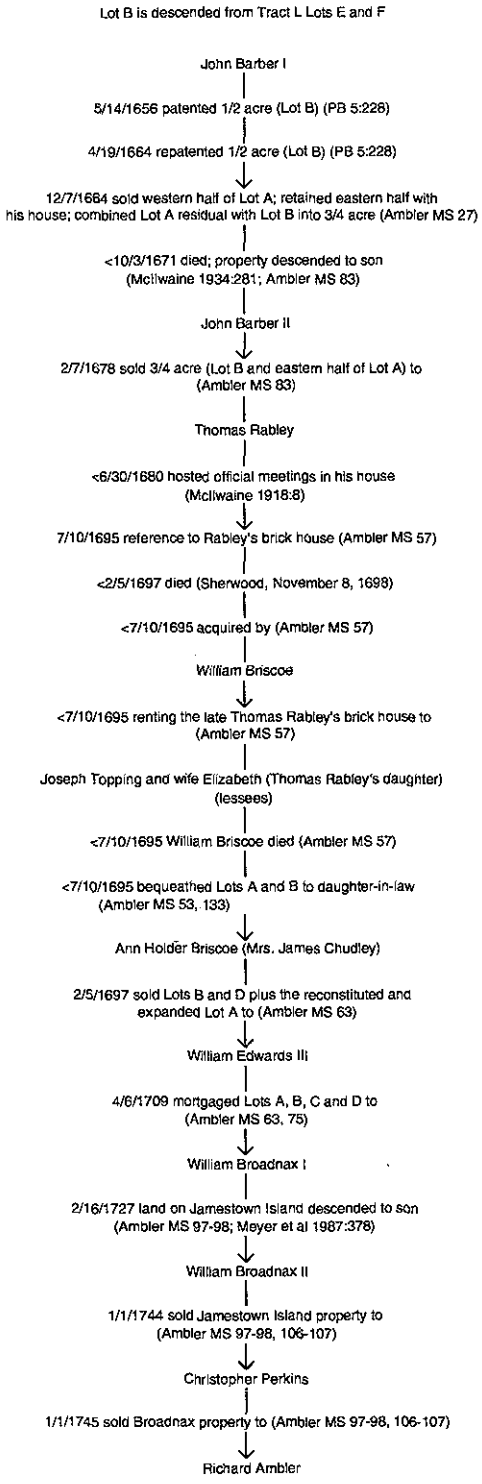


Figure 80. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract L, Lot B.*

Island (both rural and urban) to Christopher Perkins, a Norfolk County merchant, along with 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 L, M, O, Q, and R. Thus, he controlled virtually all of the frontage on the James River between Orchard Run and Passmore Creek, some waterfront land west of Orchard Run, and a large parcel at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the road to the mainland. Perkins also owned the lot or lots then used for the Jamestown ferry.

Christopher Perkins

Christopher Perkins, upon purchasing all of William Broadnax II's landholdings on Jamestown Island, kept his acreage for precisely a year. On January 1, 1745, he conveyed it 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 William Liverpool, whom he had bought from William Broadnax II (Ambler MS 106-107, 250).

Lot B

Lot B's origins lie in Lots E and F. Lot E was patented by Captain John Harvey in January 1624, who had two or more houses upon his property. In April 1640 he was obliged to sell his landholdings on account of debt (Patent Book 1:7; McIlwaine 1924:482). Lot F was patented by George Menefie in February 1624, by which time it contained at least one house. In December 1645 Menefie bequeathed all of his Jamestown property to his daughter, Elizabeth (Patent Book 1:6; Meyer et al. 1987:449).

John Barber I

On May 14, 1656, John Barber I patented a ½ acre waterfront lot in the New Towne, the acreage designated Tract L Lot B. Although Barber's 1656 patent has been lost, when he renewed his land claim on April 19, 1664, it was noted that his ½ acre abutted south upon the James River, "easterly on Mr Childres [probably Mr. Chiles, Lot D], Northerly on John Phipps [Study Unit 1 Tract D] and west upon William Wood [Lot A] (Nugent 1969-1979:I:468; Patent Book 5:228). On December 7, 1664, when John Barber I sold the western half of Lot A to James Alsop (Alsopp), he retained the eastern half, upon which his dwelling then stood. Thus, at that point in time, the eastern half of Lot A (1/4 acre that contained Barber's house) was united with Lot B (the ½ acre he first patented on May 14, 1656) to create a 3/4 acre home lot (Patent Book 5:228; Nugent 1969-1979:I:468; Ambler MS 27).

As noted in the history of Lot A, John Barber I probably was engaged in commerce, for in October 1667 he was fined for building a wharf "before the town" contrary to law (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:48). His dock probably was in front of the eastern half of Lot A (where his home was located) or Lot B. John Barber I died sometime prior to October 3, 1671. By October 1672 the widowed Letitia Barber had married David Newell, who during the early 1680s was in possession of John Knowles' plantation on the upper side of Back Street (Study Unit 1 Tract D). The late John Barber I's principal heir was his son, John Barber II (McIlwaine 1924:240, 281, 314; Ambler MS 83).

John Barber II

John Barber II inherited his late father's landholdings, which included the original ½ acre Lot B plus the eastern half of Lot A. As the widowed Letitia Barber (Mrs. John I) remarried around 1672, she probably vacated the dwelling she had shared with her late husband. This would have made it available to John Barber II. In April 1670 John Barber II (also known as Captain John Barber), who had wed Captain Edward Streeter's widow, Elizabeth, brought suit against Thomas Bowler because of

debts Bowler owed to the Streeter estate. John Barber II initiated litigation even though Elizabeth was deceased and eventually won the case against Bowler. On February 7, 1678, John Barber II sold his late father's 3/4 acre parcel to Thomas Rabley (McIlwaine 1924:206, 240, 251; Ambler MS 83).

Thomas Rabley

On February 7, 1678, Thomas Rabley purchased the late John Barber I's 3/4 acre parcel from his son, John Barber II. Included in the transaction was the eastern half of Lot A (1/4 acre, "that part or parcell of Land my deced ffather John Barber [I] lived on") and Lot B (the ½ acre that John Barber I first patented in 1656). The 3/4 acre parcel Rabley purchased was "bounded on ye east with [Richard] Holders Land [Tract L Lot D], on the North wth major [William] White [which eventually became part of Lot c] & Newell [Study Unit 1 Tract D] & on ye West on Holliday [the late James Alsop's ¼ acre (the eastern half of Lot A, which was in the hands of his executor, Thomas Holliday] & on ye South Upon the River being by Estimacon three: Quarters of an Acre of Land together with all the demolishments Ruines Houses Orchards Gardens, & other ye Appertenences thereto belonging" (Ambler MS 83). Thomas Rabley was living in Jamestown in December 1679 when he appointed William Edwards II to act as his attorney in the Surry County court (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:243).

Thomas Rabley, a Dutchman, immigrated to Virginia sometime prior to 1669. A suit he filed in 1671 against his former guardian, Major Theophilus Hone, reveals that he was a minor when he arrived in the colony, and that Hone had misappropriated some of his funds. Thomas Rabley and William Sherwood, as business partners, invested in a small tract of land at Middle Plantation upon which they built three houses designed for public use. The buildings were used to garrison troops and to store ammunition. The structures were still being used for military purposes in November 1682 (Nugent 1969-1979:II:261; McIlwaine 1924:280, 285, 289; 1905-1915:1660-1693:140, 174).

During the 1670s Mr. Thomas Rabley brought suit against several Surry County residents to recover funds or otherwise settle disputes. In 1674 he represented his daughter, Elizabeth, in a suit against Henry Webb, in an attempt to recover part of her deceased mother's land. He also aired a dispute in court that involved his purchase of a sloop (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:15, 18, 211, 236, 288, 290, 294, 302-303, 309; McIlwaine 1924:379, 412). It is uncertain whether Rabley's dealings in Surry were attributable business interests, kinship, or both.

Sometime prior to June 30, 1680, Thomas Rabley (like William Sherwood) began hosting official meetings at his house (probably Structure 125) in Jamestown. He and Sherwood were paid "for the Reparations of their houses besides the allowance for Rent, the houses being very much impaired." While it is uncertain which group of officials was convening in Rabley's house, the concurrent presence of the Governor's Council at William Sherwood's (Structure 31) raises the possibility that Rabley played host to the assembly (McIlwaine 1918:8; Hening 1809-1823:III:562). A Surry County court document indicates that Robert Penny served as Thomas Rabley's bookkeeper during the early 1680s. In 1682 Rabley was paid for the use of his sloop in transporting prisoners to Jamestown and for taking bedding to the men garrisoned at a fort on the frontier. He was an innkeeper and in 1682 requested compensation for the "Indians accommodations at Rabley's." Thomas Rabley was described as a resident of Jamestown in 1682 when he appeared as a witness in a case involving Robert Beverley I, and when he joined William Armiger (of Study Unit 4 Tract J) in a suit against George Brent of the Northern Neck (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:174; Hening 1809-1823:III:562; Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:309, 395; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 6:353).

On July 10, 1695, when James and Ann Holder Chudley repatented the western portion of

Lot A, reference was made to their boundary line's being one foot from "ye N:W: End of Rablys brick house." Thomas Rabley died sometime prior to February 5, 1697, by which date he had sold William Sherwood his interest in their jointly-owned acreage at Middle Plantation (Ambler MS 57, 63; Sherwood, November 8, 1698). Thomas's wife, Jane, apparently died during the late 1680s, for son-in-law Joseph Topping and Francis Mason of Surry served as her executors (Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:682: York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 9:74).[201]

The connection between the Rabley and Mason families is potentially significant, for it raises the possibility that some of the official meetings hosted by Mrs. Ann Mason of Jamestown in ca. 1684 occurred in Thomas Rabley's brick house. This is feasible if Mrs. Mason was one of Thomas Rabley's daughters or stepdaughters. In April 1684 Mrs. Mason was paid for providing meeting space to the assembly, the Governor's Council, the General Court, and a committee. Reference was made to her providing "the assembly room, the two chambers over it for the clerks office, the council chamber, [and] two courts candles &c." (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:256-257).

William Briscoe

Between 1691 and 1695, when blacksmith William Briscoe of Jamestown made his will,[202] he bequeathed his Jamestown property to his widowed daughter-in-law, the former Ann Holder. Briscoe indicated that he was leaving her the ¼ acre he had purchased from Thomas Holliday (James Alsop's executor), the western part of Lot A. He also was giving her the eastern half of the Alsop parcel, which he indicated had belonged to Thomas Rabley and was "now in ye tenure of Mr Joseph Toping as Marrying Elizabeth ye Daughter of ye sd Rabley, being about a quarter of an acre." In addition to both halves of Lot A, William Briscoe left Lot B in its entirety to his daughter-in-law, Ann. Briscoe noted that the parcels abutted the land of Henry Hartwell, whom land records indicate then owned Lot C (Ambler MS 53, 133).

Ann Holder Briscoe Chudley (Chudleigh)

Ann Holder's father, Richard, on October 12, 1670, patented ca. 8.3 of land in Jamestown. The parcel he acquired was near "the orchard" (by 1681, William Briscoe's) and included both marsh and waste land. Holder was obliged to develop his property within three years or lose it. He renewed his title in January 1672 (McIlwaine 1924:227; Patent Book 6:442; Nugent 1969-1979:II:122; Ambler MS 21, 22, 53, 63). When Richard Holder died, his acreage at Jamestown descended to his son, John, who in August 1687 bequeathed it to his sister, Ann. She inherited John's 37½ acres to the east of Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tract H) and his ca. 8.3 acres that straddled Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tract I), plus almost all of his personal estate. John Holder's will, presented to the General Court on August 8, 1687, indicates that he died indebted to William Briscoe (Ambler MS 38).

Thanks to her brother John's August 1687 bequest, Ann Holder Briscoe already was in possession of Study Unit 3 Tracts H and I when her father-in-law, William Briscoe, left her the two halves of Lot A (totalling ½ acre) and Lot B (½ acre) in its entirety (Ambler MS 38, 133). On July 10, 1695, Ann, who by then had wed James Chudley, repatented the western half of Lot A, which she supplemented with 0.156 acre of new land she claimed on the basis of a headright. This increased the size of Lot A's western half to 0.40625 acre (Ambler MS 57).

[201] Bottle seals (attributed to Francis Nicholson) have been recovered from the vicinity of Structure 125, Thomas Rabley's brick house. This raises the possibility that Nicholson stayed in that dwelling during the 1690s when occupying rented accommodations in Jamestown (Cotter 1958:41; Perry 1969:I:28; McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:360).

[202] Briscoe failed to affix a date to his will.

On February 5, 1697, Ann Holder Briscoe Chudley and her husband, James, sold the reconstituted and expanded Lot A (0.656 acre), Lot B (0.5 acre), and Lot D (0.8 acre of her ca. 8.3 acre tract) to William Edwards III, whose father had purchased Lot C in 1695. The Chudley couple was then residing upon the residue of the ca. 8.3 acres that had descended to Ann from her father and brother (Study Unit 3 Tract I) (Ambler MS 63).

William Edwards III

As noted in the history of Lot A, William Edwards III bought Lots A, B and D from James and Ann Holder Briscoe Chudley on February 5, 1697 (Ambler MS 63). He patented large quantities of land, sometimes expanding his horizons into frontier counties. He resided in Surry County and between 1703 and 1706 served as its burgess (Nugent 1969-1979:III:37,44; Stanard 1965:95-97). Edwards eventually began to have financial problems and became increasingly indebted to William Broadnax I. Finally, on April 6, 1709, he deeded to Broadnax the land he had repatented in 1698 (Lot D), noting that if he repaid his debt he had the right to recover his acreage (Ambler MS 63, 75). He never did, and in 1727, when William Broadnax I died, Edwards' Tract L in its entirety (Lots A, B, C, and D) became part of the decedent's estate (Ambler MS 97-98, 106-107).

William Broadnax I

On April 6, 1709, William Broadnax I accepted William Edwards III's Tract L (Lots A, B, C, and D) as collateral in order to secure a debt. As Edwards never repaid what he owed, Broadnax came into possession of Tract L in its entirety. The Edwards property on Jamestown Island and William Broadnax I's other landholdings (including Study Unit 1 Tract E; Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, J and some adjacent land; and Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, and Q) descended to his son, William Broadnax II, in February 1727 (Ambler MS 63, 75, 97-98, 106-107; Meyer et al. 1987:378).

William Broadnax II

On April 22, 1736, William Broadnax II acquired Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G. By that date he already had inherited his late father's landholdings (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J) and some acreage within the limits of urban Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O and Q). William Broadnax II also inherited at least one town lot from the ferryman Edward Ross (Study Unit 4 Tract R) and he purchased 100 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island from Philip Ludwell II (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250). As noted in the history of Lot A, Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen who served as Jamestown's burgess in 1728 and as a James City County justice (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 (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 L, M, O, Q, and R. Thus, he controlled much of the river front land within urban Jamestown and virtually all of it between Orchard Run and Passmore Creek.

Christopher Perkins

Christopher Perkins, upon purchasing all of William Broadnax II's landholdings on Jamestown Island, kept his acreage for precisely a year. On January 1, 1745, he conveyed it 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).

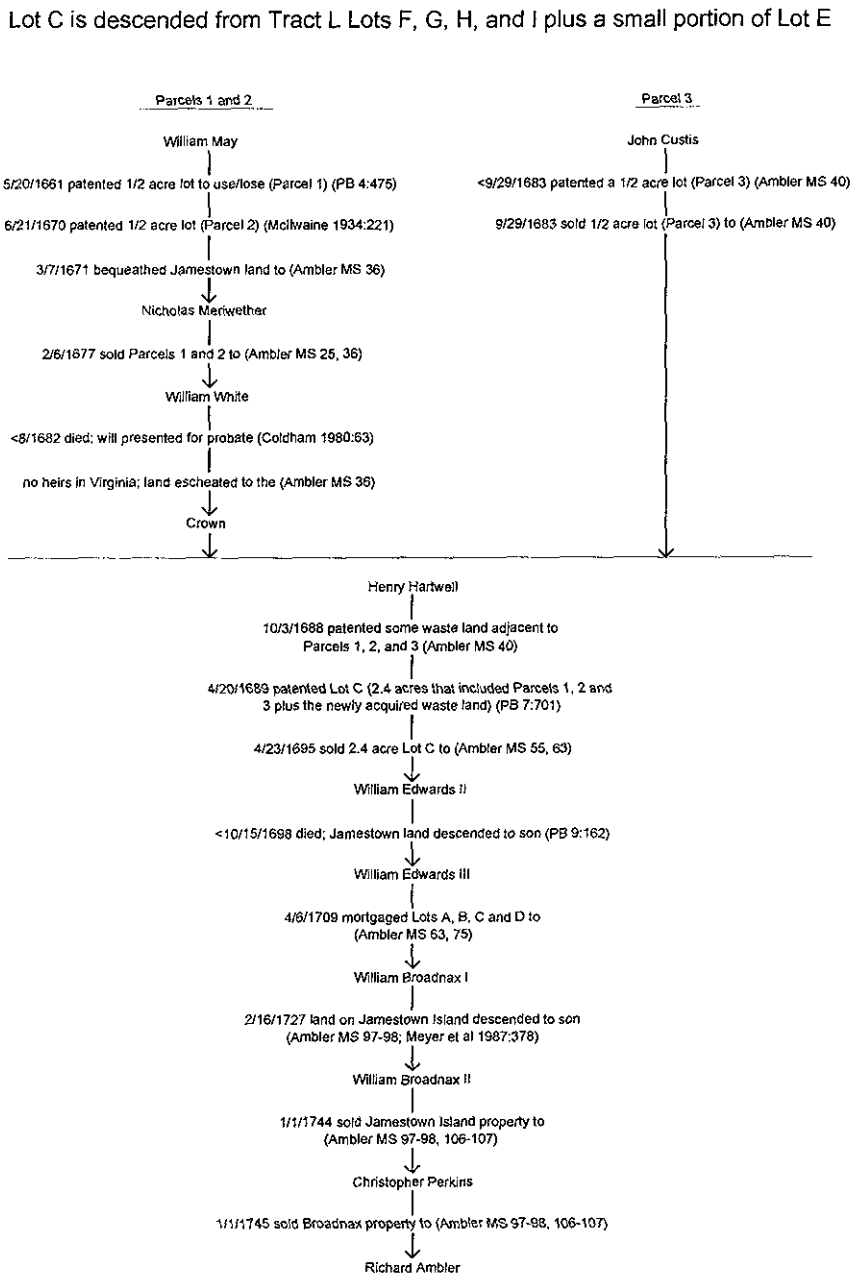


Figure 81. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract L, Lot C with Parcels 1, 2, and 3.*

Lot C (with Parcels 1, 2, and 3)

Lot C is descended from Lots F, G, H, and I, plus a small portion of Lot E. Lot F was patented by George Menefie in February 1624, by which time it contained at least one house. In December 1645 Menefie bequeathed all of his Jamestown property to his daughter, Elizabeth (Patent Book 1:6; Meyer et al. 1987:449). Ralph Hamor patented Lot G in August 1624, by which time it had at least one house. His widow and sole heir, Elizabeth Fuller Clements Hamor, bequeathed all of her real and personal property to her son, Jeremiah Clements, who left his estate to his son, John, and daughter, Anna Clements Perry (Patent Book 1:5-6; 2:4; McIlwaine 1924:117; Meyer et al. 1987:198-199, 487). In May 1661, when William May patented a ½ acre New Towne lot (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcel 1) that abutted north upon Back Street and west upon John Phipps, Mr. Chiles' property lay to the south, where the Hamor family formerly had owned land (Patent Book 4:475; Nugent 1969-1979:I:409; Ambler MS 37).

In 1623 Richard Stephens, a merchant and government official, patented Lot H, a 3/8 acre parcel that contained his dwelling. In 1636 Stephens bequeathed his real estate to his son, Samuel, who in ca. 1653 married Frances Culpeper, later the wife of Sir William Berkeley. Between 1662 and 1667 Samuel Stephens was the commander (or governor) of Albemarle. He used his Warwick County plantation called Boldrup as his home in Virginia (Patent Book 1:1; Meyer et al. 1987:587). In 1624, when Captain John Harvey patented Lot E, he already had two more houses upon his property. In April 1640 he was obliged to sell his landholdings on account of debt (Patent Book 1:7; McIlwaine 1924:482). John Chew, a merchant, secured a patent for Lot I in August 1624. By that date he had built a house upon his property. He indicated that he intended to build a store. During the 1620s Chew resided on Hog Island, but later he moved in York County. John Chew's son, Joseph of York County, was his principal heir. Around 1659 Joseph Chew relocated to Maryland (Patent Book 1:7-8; Meyer et al. 1987:177-178). The northerly portion of Lot F, the northwest corner of Lot E and almost all of Lots G, H, and I became part of Lot C.

William May (Parcels 1 and 2)

On May 20, 1661, William May patented a ½ acre New Towne lot (Parcel 1) that he was obliged to improve within 6 months or forfeit (Patent Book 4:475; Nugent 1969-1979:I:409; Ambler MS 37). May's lot, which measured 8 poles (132 feet) along its east-west axis, and 10 poles (165 feet) from north to south, abutted north and west upon John Phipps' land, south upon Mr. Chiles' acreage, and east upon some waste land. A crudely drawn plat of Study Unit 1 Tract D, prepared in 1664 for John Knowles, who had bought John Phipps' land, identifies a dwelling on the south side of Back Street as "Mr Mays." Thus, it is certain that William May erected a house upon his ½ acre lot. Moreover, when the Knowles plat and William Sherwood's 1681 survey (which contains a sketch of the same building) were digitized and superimposed upon an electronic map of the study area, William May's house was located at a site analogous to Structure 86 (Ambler MS 134, 135-135).

On June 21, 1670, William May patented a ½ acre New Towne lot (Parcel 2) that lay contiguous and to the east of the one he had acquired in 1661.[203] Although May wasn't required to erect a building upon his new lot (which in 1661 had been considered waste land), he was ordered to plant an orchard there (Ambler MS 37; McIlwaine 1924:221).

On April 15, 1667, William May patented 100 acres of marsh land in the eastern end of Jamestown Island below Goose Hill, in the area designated Study Unit 3 Tract A. The acreage May claimed had been assigned to Thomas Woodhouse and William Hooker in 1657, but they had deserted

[203] The new lot also adjoined land that was in the possession of Major Theophilus Hone, who at one point rented part of John Knowles' Study Unit 1 Tract D (McIlwaine 1924:221).

it (Patent Book 6:42; Nugent 1969-1979:II:12; Ambler MS 37). It is uncertain how William May probably used his rural property for agricultural purposes.

William May apparently was a much respected citizen of the Jamestown community. During the late 1660s and early 1670s, the justices of the General Court called upon him to arbitrate disputes, inventory estates and conduct audits of debtors' accounts. He served as the attorney and then the administrator of Richard Woodward, a Bristol merchant. William May also was a member of the James City Parish vestry, an indication that he was a respected member of the community (McIlwaine 1924:218, 236, 238, 247, 251, 258-259, 277, 285, 290, 331).

William May made his will on March 7, 1671, approximately two years before his demise. He bequeathed his land on Jamestown Island to his attorney, Nicholas Meriwether, whom he named his executor. By March 18, 1673, William May was dead (McIlwaine 1924:331; Ambler MS 36).

Nicholas Meriwether (Parcels 1 and 2)

Nicholas Meriwether, upon inheriting William May's Jamestown lots (Parcels 1 and 2), retained them for approximately four years. He also may have received as a bequest May's 100 acre patent in the southeastern portion of Jamestown Island (Study Unit 3 Tracts A, K and some adjacent ground). Meriwether, who in 1658 was clerk of the James City County Court, had been the Surry clerk in 1655. He began patenting a substantial amount of land in the Northern Neck and some vast tracts in New Kent, Hanover, and King William. On November 6, 1661, Meriwether purchased the late Richard Kingsmill's 80 acre Jamestown Island plantation (Study Unit 1 Tract A) from Kingsmill's daughter and heir, Elizabeth. In May 1666 Meriwether described himself as a resident of Jamestown Island. He was married to Thomas Woodhouse's daughter, Elizabeth, and in 1668 served as his father-in-law's executor. On February 6, 1677, Nicholas Meriwether sold both of the late William May's New Towne lots to Colonel William White, whom he described as his brother-in-law (Ambler MS 11, 12, 25, 36, 56; Nugent 1969-1979:I:252, 257, 316, 394, 556; II:13; III:46, 153; Patent Book 4:397; 7:710; Tyler 1900-1901:202; 1930:171; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:270, 351).

William White (Parcels 1 and 2)

On February 6, 1677, William White purchased the late William May's two half-acre lots abutting Back Street, Parcels 1 and 2 (Ambler MS 25, 36). In 1681 when surveyor John Soane made a plat of William Sherwood's property, he depicted White's house, which he indicated was at a site analogous to Structure 86 (Ambler MS 134). As William White commenced residing in Jamestown sometime prior to 1673, he may have begun renting the late William May's dwelling shortly after his demise.

William White, who appears to have been a highly successful merchant and planter, during the 1660s, 70s and early 80s patented literally thousands of acres of land in counties throughout eastern Virginia. Among his purchases were substantial quantities of land on the lower side of the James River, in Surry, Lower Norfolk, and Isle of Wight Counties. By 1668 he had wed the widow of William Barbribb of Surry (Nugent 1969-1979:I:510, II:24, 64, 225, 233; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1652-1672:351; 1671-1684:180; McIlwaine 1924:252, 271, 318, 335).

William White, like William May, took an active role in public life, especially in the Jamestown community. In 1671 he was ordered to inventory the estate of Thomas Hunt (the owner of Lot J within Study Unit 4 Tract L) and in 1672 he received funds for the construction of a brick fort at Jamestown (Surry County Order Book 1671-1690:13). In November 1673 Hubert Farrell and Mrs. Tabitha Bowler, who reportedly were visiting William White's house (Structure 86) in Jamestown, began squabbling and exchanging insults. Later, Mrs. Bowler's husband sued Farrell for defaming her.

During 1674 some runaway servants absconded from Jamestown after stealing William White's boat (McIlwaine 1924:368, 382).

In 1677, Major William White was ordered to recover and inventory the estate of the absconded rebel, Richard Lawrence (Study Unit 4 Tract S), if at all possible (C.O. 5/1371 f 247). By 1680 White, who had been designated a colonel, had begun serving as a burgess (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:120). As church warden of James City Parish, he requested funds from the assembly so that its church (torched by Bacon's rebels) could be rebuilt (McIlwaine 1905-1925:1660-1693:128,151).

In August 1682 the will of Colonel William White of Jamestown was presented for probate. As his widow, Jane, had left Virginia, her attorney, Micajah Perry, was named administrator of Colonel White's Virginia estate (Coldham 1980:63). On September 20, 1686, escheator John Page held an inquisition for the purpose of determining whether the late Colonel William White's Jamestown lots should escheat to the Crown. The jury impaneled to investigate the matter decided that since White had not specifically disposed of his lots through sale or bequest, and as he had no heirs living in Virginia, they should be considered abandoned property. For that reason, both parcels were declared to escheat (Ambler MS 36).

Colonel John Custis (Parcel 3)

On April 20, 1689, when Henry Hartwell secured a patent for Lot C (2.4 acres), it was noted that the late William May's escheat land (Parcels 1 and 2) and a lot Hartwell bought from Colonel John Custis (Parcel 3) lay within its boundaries. Hartwell reportedly purchased Custis's ½ acre lot on September 29, 1683 (Patent Book 7:701; Ambler MS 40). Neither Custis's patent nor the deed from Custis to Hartwell have come to light. However, it should be noted that when William May's two half-acre lots were reconstructed to scale electronically and the lot he acquired first was positioned where his house is shown on a digitized plat of Study Unit 1 Tract D (in the northwest corner of Lot C), there is just enough room for a third ½ acre lot between the easternmost boundary of May's Parcel 2 and the northeast corner of Lot C. If this hypothetical placement is accurate, Colonel John Custis's ½ acre lot, like those of William May, abutted north upon Back Street.

Colonel John Custis was born in the Netherlands in 1630. His parents, who were from England, had a victualling house in Rotterdam, where his father reportedly entertained many of the Royalists who visited the city. In October 1653 when John Custis secured his first patent, which was for 100 acres of land in Northampton County, he was identified as a merchant. In March 1658, when he and his brother William were naturalized, he indicated that he had been in Virginia for four years. By 1649, the Custis brothers' sister, Ann, had married Argol Yeardley (son of Sir George Yeardley) and was living on the Eastern Shore. In November 1663 John Custis assisted the General Court's justices by translating a Dutch document and in 1677 he was named to the Governor's Council (Stanard 1965:41; Force 1963:III:10:49; Nugent 1969-1979:I:251; Hening 1809-1823:I:499; McIlwaine 1924:584).

In February 1669, Colonel John Custis patented some additional land in Northampton County. In 1674 he was identified as a surveyor and later in the year he was called upon to audit two people's accounts. As time went on, Custis continued to acquire land, sometimes in massive quantities (McIlwaine 1924:385, 518; Nugent 1969-1979:II:69, 207, 230, 242-243, 268). During 1676, while the colony was in the throes of Bacon's Rebellion, Governor William Berkeley and some of his loyalists withdrew to Arlington, Major-General John Custis's house on the Eastern Shore. While Berkeley was there, Major Robert Beverley I seized Bacon supporter Sands Knowles and his servants and delivered them to the Custis plantation (Hening 1809-1823:II:552; McIlwaine 1924:531).

On April 17, 1684, two days after Governor Francis Howard took office, John Custis was or-

dered not to leave Jamestown. Surviving assembly records fail to explain why he was detained. Later, he was reported dead and was replaced as a councillor. Custis responded to the situation by dispatching an April 30, 1685, letter to England in which he professed his loyalty to the Crown. He also pointed out that during Bacon's Rebellion, he had entertained Governor Berkeley and 50 men for a period of 5 months and that he had had a ship and two sloops in the king's service. He said that he had served the colony as a councillor, surveyor and major-general. Although John Custis disposed of his Jamestown lot in September 1683, he continued to patent land on the Eastern Shore. He died on January 29, 1696, and was interred at his Northampton County plantation, Arlington (Hening 1809-1823:II:552; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:191; C.O. 1/57 f 265-266; Nugent 1969-1979:II:364; Stanard 1965:41; Ambler MS 40).

Henry Hartwell (Parcels 1, 2, 3 and additional land)

In February 1688 the General Court awarded Henry Hartwell 1 acre of land: the two ½ acre lots that formerly had belonged to Colonel William White (Parcels 1 and 2), which had escheated. Hartwell, who had married Jane Meriwether White, Colonel White's widow, already owned Colonel John Custis's ½ acre lot on the south side of Back Street (adjoining White's easternmost lot), which he had purchased from Custis on September 29, 1683. On April 20, 1689, Hartwell obtained a patent for 2 acres 1 rood 24½ poles of land (2.4 acres), a tract that included Colonel White's dwelling (Structure 86) and both of his lots, the Custis lot, and some waste land he patented on October 3, 1688 (Nugent 1969-1979:II:331; Patent Book 7:701; Ambler MS 40). The northerly part of the Hartwell patent fits snugly within the irregular southerly line of Study Unit 1 Tract D. The perimeters of the Hartwell patent also serve to define certain portions of the boundary lines of Lots A, B, and D.

The boundary line of Henry Hartwell's patent ran clockwise. It commenced "at a Stake fixed in ye Bank of ye River and thence by a Line passing along by ye angular points of ye trench, which faceth two of ye Eastern Bastions of an old Ruin'd Turf fort [Structure 157], north 37 degrees & half Eastward 18 statute pole and 92 parts of a pole (in 100 such parts divided) [312.18 feet] where it buts on a Line of ye Land now or late of Mr. Sherwood [Study Unit 1 Tract D], thence along that Line 56 such parts of a pole [9.24 feet] East south East thence along one other Line of ye same Land North north East 4 pole and 54 parts [74.91 feet], thence along one other Line of ye same Land, east 15 degrees and one quarter southerly 2 pole and 32 parts [38.28 feet], thence along ye other line of ye same Land East south East 15 pole [247.5 feet], & south southwest 8 pole [132 feet], & East 35 degrees south 6 pole, & 68 parts [110.22 feet] where it butts on ye Land now or Late of Holder [Lot D and J], thence along Holders south southwest 3 pole & 12 parts [51.48 feet], thence by ye Land now or late of Tho. Rabley [Lot B], along ye Northern side of an old ditch west 30 degrees & quarter North 8 pole & 26 parts [136.29 feet], and thence along ye Western side of ye same Land late of Rabley south 37 degrees ½ west 6 pole & 32 parts [104.28 feet], thence along ye land Late of James Alsop [Lot I], northwest 7 pole & 80 pts [128.7 feet] & thence along ye bank side ye River up west 37 degrees & half north 7 pole & 72 parts [127.38 feet] to ye stake whereat it began." The Hartwell patent reportedly encompassed William May's (William White's) lots (Parcels 1 and 2), which had escheated to the Crown, and another ½ acre lot (Parcel 3) that Hartwell had bought from Colonel John Custis in September 1683 (Nugent 1969-1979:II:331; Patent Book 7:701; Ambler MS 40).

On October 12, 1691, a 50 acre piece of Henry Hartwell's land in Surry County, on the lower side of Gray's Creek, was chosen as the site of a planned town: what became known as Cobham (Surry County Deeds and Wills 1687-1694:233; Hening 1809-1823:III:60). Hartwell's sale of this property would have produced a modest infusion of wealth. In 1692, a year after the assembly passed

a new town act, the Privy Council sent word to Virginia that since Jamestown was going to continue as the seat of government, "their majesties will take it well if the gentlemen of the council will each of them build a house in it." Moreover, the monarches wanted to know who obeyed their command and who didn't (McIlwaine 1925-1945:1:269). Although the historical record fails to indicate how councillor Henry Hartwell responded to the directive, he may have felt compelled to erect a building of some sort upon his property. In April 1695, Henry Hartwell sold his 2.4 acre parcel (Lot C) and its improvements to William Edwards II (Ambler MS 55, 63).

William Edwards II

William Edwards II, who on April 23, 1695, purchased Lot C from Henry Hartwell, was the son of William Edwards I, who represented Surry County in the assembly sessions of 1652, 1653, and 1658 and served as a county justice (Ambler MS 55, 63; Stanard 195:69-70,73; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:28). The Edwards' owned the plantation called Pleasant Point, directly across the James from Jamestown Island (Nugent 1969-1979:II:216).

William Edwards II inherited the bulk of his family's wealth, which he steadily enhanced through the acquisition of new land. In time, he was named to three or more public offices that generated lucrative fees. In 1679 William Edwards II became clerk of the General Court. He held that position and that of clerk of the Governor's Council until May 26, 1693. In August 1687 Edwards became clerk of the James City County court, a position that would have required him to make monthly visits to Jamestown of several days duration (Ambler MS 38). Edwards' need to attend Council and General Court meetings and sessions of the monthly court may have led him to acquire a house (Structure 86) and lot in Jamestown (Palmer 1968:I:12,38; McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:81,287; 1918:143; C.O. 5/1407 f 81).

As the brother-in-law of Mary Swann, Colonel Thomas Swann's wife, William Edwards II was connected with one of Virginia's most influential families (Surry County Deeds and Wills 1671-1684:304). In 1682 he received permission to operate a ferry between Jamestown and Crouches Creek, replacing James Ellis. Edwards retained the ferry concession until at least 1696 (Palmer 1968:I:51). It (like his political offices) would have provided him with a steady source of income. On April 21, 1690, Edwards patented a long, narrow waterfront lot (Study Unit 4 Tract O) in the western end of Jamestown Island between the lots owned by Colonel Nathaniel Bacon (Tract S) and Joseph Copeland (Tract P). It was only 0.459 acre in size (Patent Book 8:42; Nugent 1969-1979:II:342). As Edwards' newly acquired lot lay opposite the mouth of Crouches Creek, he probably used it as a ferry landing. On October 12, 1691, Edwards was identified as trustee of the Surry County planned town known as Cobham (Surry County Deeds and Wills 1687-1694:233; Hening 1809-1823:III:60).

William Edwards II and William Sherwood were friends as well as neighbors and in 1697 when Sherwood (Structure 31 on Study Unit 1 Tract D) made his will, he chose Edwards as one of his executors. He also bequeathed his law books to Edwards and a small parcel of land adjoining their common boundary line, where Edwards had a garden (Ambler MS 65). In October 1698 the assembly authorized payment to Mrs. William Edwards for hosting a meeting of the House of Burgesses' Committee for Public Claims. This and genealogical sources suggest that William Edwards II was dead McIlwaine 1905-1915:1695-1702:124; Kornwolf 1976:98-100).

William Edwards III

William Edwards III bought Lots A, B and D of Tract L from James and Ann Holder Briscoe Chudley on February 5, 1697, and he stood to inherit Lot C from his father, William II (Ambler MS 55, 63). On October 15, 1698, he secured a

patent for Lot D, a 8/10 acre lot. The descriptive information in the Chudley-Edwards deed and the patent's verbal boundary description are almost identical, except for the fact that the patent attributes Lot C to William Edwards III's father, not William III himself. This, and Mrs. William Edwards II's compensation for hosting an assembly committee in October 1698 raises the possibility that William II's widow had life rights in Lot C and its improvements (Structure 86).

William Edwards III, like his forebears, took an active role in public life and tried to enhance his wealth. In 1699 he served as a James City County justice of the peace (Sainsbury 1964:17:309). He patented increasing amounts of land, sometimes expanding his horizons into frontier counties. He resided in Surry and between 1703 and 1706 served successive terms as a burgess (Nugent 1969-1979:III:37,44; Stanard 1965:95-97). However, he eventually began having financial problems and became increasingly indebted to William Broadnax I. Finally, on April 6, 1709, he deeded his land to Broadnax, noting that if he repaid his debt he had the right to recover his acreage. He never did, and when William Broadnax I died in February 1727, he was in possession of Tract L in its entirety (Ambler MS 63, 75, 97-98, 106-107).

William Broadnax I

On April 6, 1709, William Broadnax I accepted William Edwards III's Lots A, B, C, and D as collateral in order to secure a debt. As he never repaid what he owed, William Broadnax I came into possession of Tract L. The Edwards property on Jamestown Island and William Broadnax I's other landholdings (including Study Unit 1 Tract E; Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, J and some adjacent land; and Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, and Q) descended to his son, William Broadnax II, in February 1727 (Ambler MS 63, 75, 97-98, 106-107; Meyer et al. 1987:378).

William Broadnax II

On April 22, 1736, William Broadnax II acquired Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G. By that date he already had inherited his late father's landholdings (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J) and some acreage within the limits of urban Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tracts L, M, O and Q). William Broadnax II also inherited at least one town lot from ferryman Edward Ross (Study Unit 4 Tract R) and he purchased 100 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island from Philip Ludwell II (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250). As noted in the history of Lot A, Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen who served as Jamestown's burgess in 1728 and a James City County justice (Stanard 1965:107; McIlwaine 1925-1945:IV: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 (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 L, M, O, Q, and R. Thus, he controlled much of the river front land within urban Jamestown and virtually all of it between Orchard Run and Passmore Creek.

Christopher Perkins

Christopher Perkins, upon purchasing all of William Broadnax II's landholdings on Jamestown Island, kept his acreage for precisely a year. On January 1, 1745, he conveyed it 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).

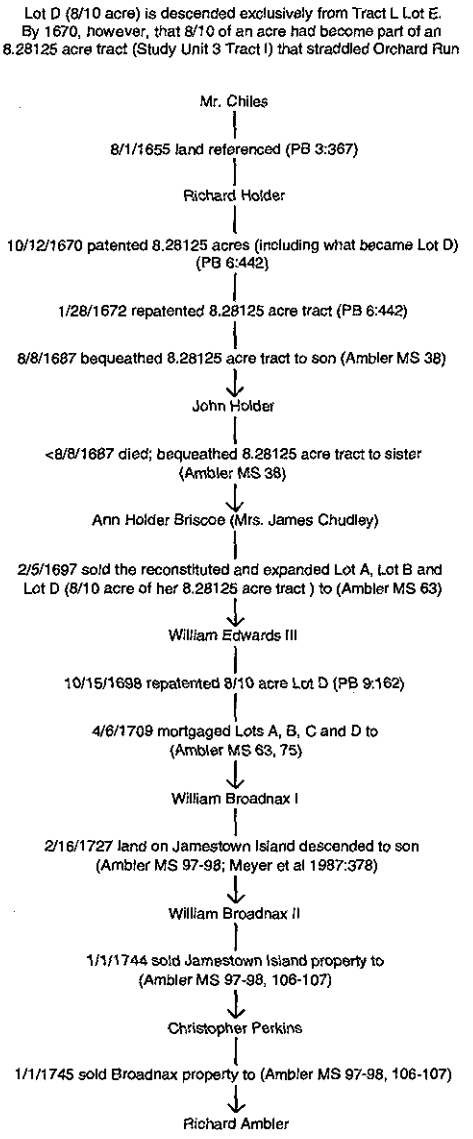


Figure 82. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract L, Lot D.*

Lot D

Lots D is derived exclusively from Captain John Harvey's waterfront acreage, Lot E. When Harvey patented his 6½ acre lot in January 1624, he already had built two or more houses upon his property. In April 1640 he was obliged to sell his landholdings on account of debt (Patent Book 1:7; McIlwaine 1924:482).

Mr. Chiles

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 (Patent Book 3:367; Nugent 1969-1979:I:313).

Richard Holder

On October 12, 1670, Richard Holder patented 8.28125 (ca. 8.3) acres of land in Jamestown near "the orchard" (Orchard Run) that included both marsh and waste land, the only acreage he seems to have owned on the James River. The verbal boundary description of Holder's patent ran clockwise. It began "at A stake standing at High Water marke on James River side, at the mouth of A smale Runn Entring there into, thence Runing No. Easterly 21 Degrees 27 poles [445.5 feet], thence so: Easterly 62 Degrees 22 poles [363 feet], thence south Easterly 36 Degrees 18 poles [297 feet] to A Perseman tree neere the Corner of the orchard, thence South Easterly 19 Degrees 24 poles [396 feet] to A tall forked poplar, thence South Westerly 70 Degrees 25 poles [412.5 feet] to A stake on the Banke neare James River side, thence North Westerly 36 Degrees 38 poles [627 feet] along the River side to the place where it first Began." The western part of Holder's patent, which has been designated Study Unit 3 Tract I, included the eastern part of the 6.5 acres John Harvey patented in 1624 (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E). Richard Holder obtained his 8.28125 acres on the basis of one headright and was obliged to develop his land within three years. He renewed his title to the property on January 28, 1672 (McIlwaine 1924:227; Patent Book 6:442; Nugent 1969-1979:II:122; Ambler MS 21, 22, 53, 63). As Richard Holder bequeathed his land to his son, John, without citing the need to build improvements, some structural development probably had occurred.

John Holder

John Holder, upon inheriting his father's acreage at Jamestown, bequeathed it to his sister, Ann in August 1687. Included were his 37½ acres to the east of Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tract H) and the ca. 8.3 acres that straddled Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tract I). John Holder's will, presented to the General Court on August 8, 1687, indicates that he was indebted to William Briscoe (John's sister's father-in-law) at the time of his death (Ambler MS 38).

Ann Holder Briscoe Chudley (Chudleigh)

Thanks to her brother John's August 1687 bequest, Ann Holder Briscoe already was in possession of Study Unit 3 Tracts H and I when her father-in-law, William Briscoe, left her the two halves of Lot A (totalling ½ acre) and Lot B (½ acre) in its entirety (Ambler MS 38, 133). On July 10, 1695, Ann, who by then had wed James Chudley, repatented the western half of Lot A, which she supplemented with 0.156 acre of new land she claimed on the basis of a headright. This increased the size of Lot A's western half to 0.40625 acre (Ambler MS 57).

On February 5, 1697, Ann Holder Briscoe Chudley and her husband, James, sold the reconstituted and expanded Lot A (0.656 acre), Lot B (½ acre), and Lot D (8/10 acre of her ca. 8.3 acre tract) to William Edwards III, whose father had bought Lot C from Henry Hartwell in 1695. The Chudley couple was then residing upon the residue of the ca. 8.3 acre tract that had descended to Ann from her father and brother (Study Unit 3 Tract I), which consisted of 7.48125 acres (Ambler MS 63; Patent Book 9:162).

William Edwards III

As noted above, William Edwards III bought Lots A, B and D from James and Ann Holder Briscoe Chudley on February 5, 1697, and he stood to inherit Lot C, which his father had purchased in 1695 (Ambler MS 55, 63). On October 15, 1698, William Edwards III secured a patent for Lot D, his 8/10 acre lot. The descriptive information in the Chudley-Edwards deed and the patent's verbal boundary description are identical except that in 1698 Lot C was attributed to William Edwards II, not William III. Lot D's verbal boundary description commenced at the lot's southwest corner, from which point the property line proceeded clockwise,

interfacing with the eastern side of Lot B and part of Lot C. The lot line of William Edwards III's 8/10 acre (127 square poles) commenced at "a stake at James River bank along the Land late of Tho: Rabley deced [Lot B] [and ran] north 42 degrees Easterly, 11 and 95 hundred parts of a pole [197.175 feet] to the Land his father William Edwards [II] purchased of Henry Hartwell Esq. [Lot C] and [then] along it south 47½ degrees westerly 6 and 32 hundredth parts of a pole [104.28 feet] to a stake and [then] south 59 and 3/4 degrees Easterly 5 and 3/10 of a pole [87.45 feet] to the Land Mr. James Chudley Lives on [Study Unit 3 Tract I] late belonging to Richard Holder deced by patent dated ye 25th day of Janry 1672 and [then] along the said land south 21 degrees westerly 21 and 4/10 of a pole [353.1 feet] to a stake at ye mouth of the orchard Run on James River and thence north 42 degrees westerly up the River 9 poles [148.5 feet] to the first stake" (Ambler MS 63; Patent Book 9:162).

William Edwards III, like his forebears, took an active role in public life and tried to enhance his wealth. In 1699 he served as a James City County justice of the peace (Sainsbury 1964:17:309). He patented increasing amounts of land, sometimes expanding his horizons into frontier counties. He resided in Surry and between 1703 and 1706 served successive terms as that area's burgess (Nugent 1969-1979:III:37,44; Stanard 1965:95-97). He eventually began having financial problems and became increasingly indebted to William Broadnax I. Finally, on April 6, 1709, he deeded to Broadnax the land he had repatented in 1698 (Lot D), noting that if he repaid his debt he had the right to recover his acreage. He also mortgaged the rest of his Jamestown property to Broadnax. He never satisfied his creditor and when William Broadnax I died in February 1727, Tract L in its entirety became part of his estate (Lots A, B, C, and D) (Ambler MS 63, 75, 97-98, 106-107).

William Broadnax I

On April 6, 1709, William Broadnax I accepted William Edwards III's Lots A, B, C, and D as collateral in order to secure a debt. As Edwards never repaid what he owed, William Broadnax I came into possession of Tract L in its entirety. The Edwards property on Jamestown Island and William Broadnax I's other landholdings (including Study Unit 1 Tract E; Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, J and some adjacent land; and Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, and Q) descended to his son, William Broadnax II, in February 1726 (Ambler MS 63, 75, 97-98, 106-107; Meyer et al. 1987:378).

William Broadnax II

On April 22, 1736, William Broadnax II acquired Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G. By that date he already had inherited his late father's landholdings (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J) and some acreage 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 at least one town lot as a bequest from the ferryman Edward Ross (Study Unit 4 Tract R) and he purchased 100 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island from Philip Ludwell II (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250). As noted in the history of Lot A, Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen who served as Jamestown's burgess in 1728 and as a James City County justice (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 (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 L, M, O, Q, and R. Thus, he controlled much of the river front land within urban Jamestown and virtually all of it between Orchard Run and Passmore Creek.

Christopher Perkins

Christopher Perkins, upon purchasing all of William Broadnax II's landholdings on Jamestown Island, kept his acreage for precisely a year. On January 1, 1745, he conveyed it 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).

Lot E

John Harvey

On January 12, 1624, Captain John Harvey patented a 6½ acre lot in the New Towne "for the more Comoditie of his howses and building and the better conveniency of gardining and planting of Sundry fruits and trees by him hereafter intended." Harvey's patent abutted "westward upon the Land of Mr Georg Menefye [Lot F], Eastward upon the Swamp lying on the East side of the said New Towne, Southward upon the highway close to the banke of the Maine river, Northward upon the back Streete in part opposite Mr Doctor Pott" (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D). Harvey 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*. He was entitled to take the residual acreage elsewhere, "hee haveing not as yett made choice of any." Surveyor William Claiborne made a note that "This ground was laid out by mee" and that the west side of Harvey's lot was 26 poles (429 feet) in length (Patent Book 1:7; Nugent 1969-1979:I:2). When the Harvey patent was reconstructed to scale electronically so that its western line was 429 feet in length and its eastern side abutted Orchard Run (the swamp on the east side of the New Towne), it was found to extend northward to Ditch 2.

Captain John Harvey, the brother of Sir Simon Harvey of London, was a native of Lyme Regis, Dorsetshire, England. He spent three years in Guiana, left, and then returned there in 1617 with 70 men 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. On July 3, 1622, Captain John Harvey's name was included in a list of Virginia Company patentees. He and the others in the list 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 would be 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 status of the colony. 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 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 responses to the Privy Council's queries (Kingsbury 1906-1935:II:463; IV:87, 294; Sainsbury 1964:1:53-54; C.O. 5/1354 f 199-200).

As Captain John Harvey left England after October 24, 1623, but procured a patent for 6½ acres in the New Towne (Lot E) on January 12, 1624, it is likely that he arrived in Virginia during December 1623 or early January 1624. It is uncertain whether he had made previous visits to the colony (Patent Book 1:7).

Shortly after the *Southampton* arrived in Virginia, Harvey became involved in a dispute with the ship's master, mate and crew that ended up in court. The disagreement seems to have revolved

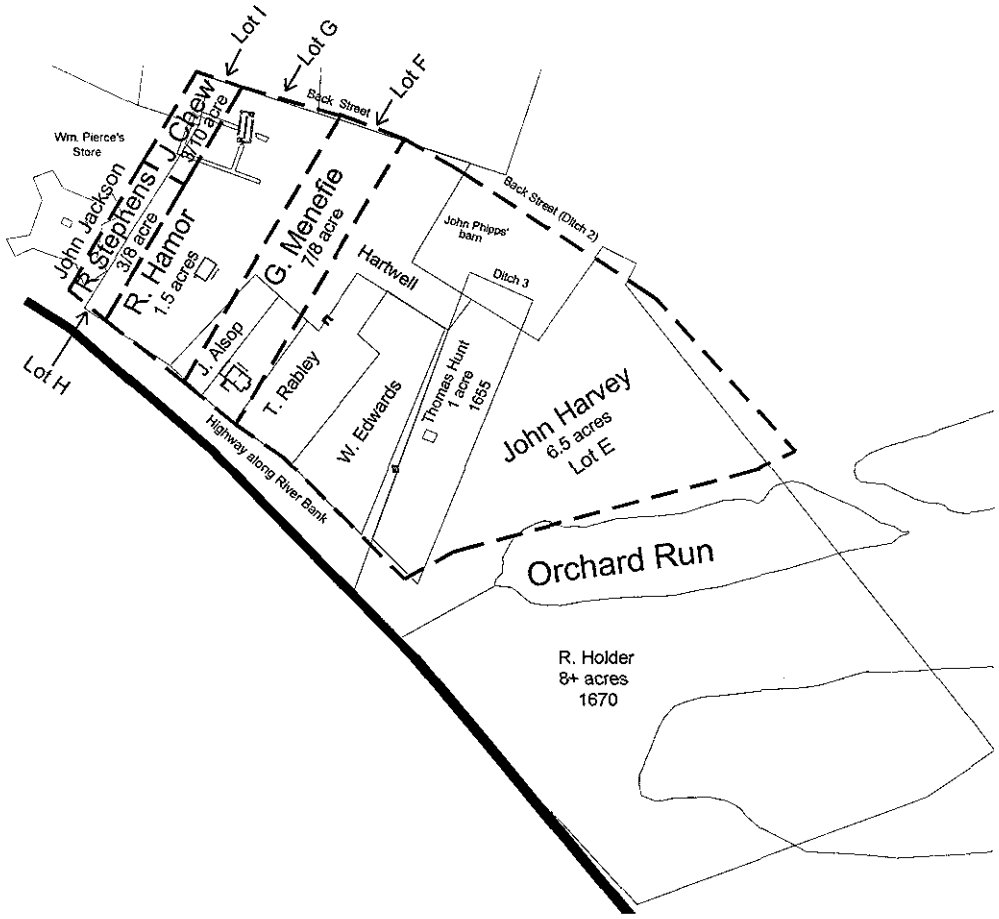


Figure 83. *Study Unit 4, Tract L, Lots E-I.*

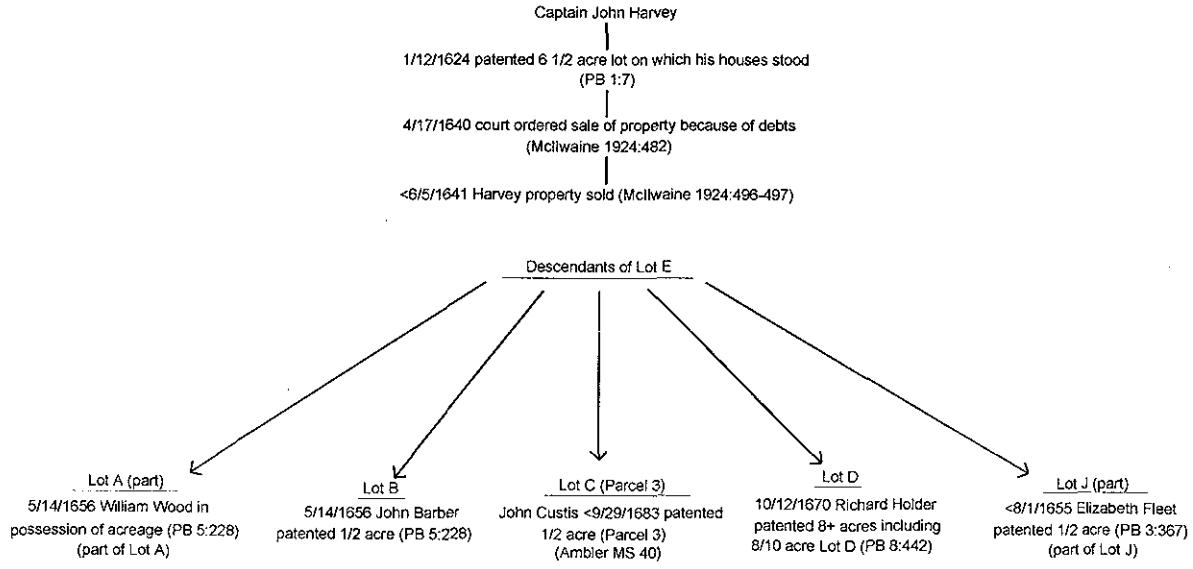


Figure 84. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract L, Lot E.*

around Harvey's insistence upon staying in Virginia instead of going to New England to procure a cargo of saleable 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).

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 martial law and a military government. In time, Harvey's partisanship earned him the animus of those who preferred a more flexible style of leadership. Some of his detractors termed him "an accomplished liar" (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 paid handsome dividends. 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 Lot E of Study Unit 4 Tract L, the only land he seems to have owned at such an early date (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 L 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). At that point in time, the only land John Harvey owned in Virginia was Lot E.

On March 22, 1628 Sir John Harvey was designated Governor George Yeardley's successor and in June he set sail for Virginia (Sainsbury 1964:1:88, 92). Soon after his arrival in early 1630, he probably acquired Study Unit 1 Tract H and began making plans to build a personal residence worthy of a governor and titled nobleman. By mid-1628 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 (see the histories of Study Unit 1 Tract H and Tract C Lot B).

Among the instructions Governor John Harvey received from the king were orders to produce marketable commodities such as oils, pot-ashes, and soap that were of good quality and could be sold in England. As someone who had spent some time in Virginia, Harvey was familiar with what the colony did—and didn't—have to offer. Therefore he made preparations to capitalize upon the situation. He purchased ironwares from Joshua Foote and Richard Nicholas that could be sold profitably in Virginia and he persuaded galley-potmaker Christian Whithelme to invest with him in the manufacture of soap ashes and pot-ashes. As Governor John Harvey was supposed to receive all Quarter (or General) Court fines as part of his salary, he was dependent upon his Council, which members served as justices of the General Court (Sainsbury 1964:1:88, 92, 94-95, 100, 125; Withington 1980:159; C.O. 1/4 f 84; 1/5 f 71). In time, this arrangement proved problematic.

Soon after his arrival in Virginia, Governor John Harvey requested a shipment of powder and ammunition from officials in England and told them that the colonists were at war with the Indians. In May 1630 he sent samples of rape seed, salt peter, pot-ashes and iron ore to England as proof that he was carrying out the Privy Council's instructions and he said that people were planting potatoes and rape seed. Harvey outlined his plans for the colony's future, which included further expansion into Native-held territory and sending out trading vessels. He also hoped to build a fort at Old Point Comfort (Sainsbury 1964:I:113, 116-118, 124; C.O. 1/5 f 176-177, 195, 203, 210-211).[204]

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.[205] Harvey also indicated that the colonists were in dire need of shoes, which were only available at a greatly inflated rate, and he said that ship-building 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 f 135-136). It was during 1632 that a law was passed requiring all incoming vessels to "break bulk" or open their cargoes at Jamestown (Hening 1809-1823:I:166). Throughout the late 1620s and early-to-mid-1630s 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. In May 1632 he informed his superiors that he hadn't been paid in three years and that his residence in Jamestown was functioning as the colony's statehouse. He also said that he had served as Virginia's official host for three years. In time, the breach between Governor John Harvey and his Council became so broad that ultimately he was thrust from office. The councillors were highly critical of Harvey's willingness to assist Lord Baltimore (a Catholic) in colonizing territory many Virginians considered theirs and they disputed with him on other policy issues. Finally, on April 28, 1635, he was thrust from office and forcibly transported to England. As soon as Sir John Harvey arrived there, he began devising his own defense. Ultimately, he was reinstated as governor (Sainsbury 1964:1:129, 133, 138, 151, 160, 208, 212, 216; C.O. 1/6 ff 135, 195; 1/8 f 170ro; McIlwaine 1924:480; Aspinall et al. 1871:102, 107-108, 111-112, 150). (See the history of Study Unit 1 Tract H for a more detailed description of Governor John Harvey's problems with his Council).

On January 22, 1637, within four days of his returning to Virginia, Governor John Harvey angered the members of his Council by giving one of the king's favorites a patent for a vast tract of land on the lower side of the James that included Nansemond and Norfolk Counties, part of Isle of Wight and Carolina. Again, Harvey received harsh criticism for implementing the king's orders (C.O. 5/1359 ff 383-388; Sainsbury 1964:1:153). Harvey lost no time in taking revenge upon those who had ousted him from office and had several men sent to England as prisoners. They included three men who owned acreage near his waterfront property, Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot E: next door neighbor George Menefie (of Lot F) and William Peirce and Francis Pott (of Study Unit 1 Tract D Lots B and D). Earlier on, Harvey had come to blows with Richard Stephens (of Lot H) and dislodged several of his teeth. In 1638 Harvey married Stephens' widow,

[204] An early kiln, Structure 127, probably is associated with Harvey's ownership.

[205] The "iron mine hill meadow" was on the west side of Powhatan Creek, beside Green Spring. Sir William Berkeley eventually added it to Green Spring (Nugent 1969-1979:I:389; Patent Book 4:267; Lee MS 51 f 208).

Elizabeth, thereby gaining control of a neighboring (but non-contiguous) waterfront parcel (Sainsbury 1964:1:252, 281; Meyer et al. 1987:481; C.O. 1/9 f 134; 1/10 f 190).

On February 20, 1637, 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. In January 1638 Governor John Harvey told the Privy Council that he hoped each county would build a storehouse where tobacco could be kept and inspected, in order to regulate its quality. On January 18, 1639, when Harvey responded to a list of official queries, 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, "there are 12 howses and stores built in the Towne, [including] one of brick by the Secretarye, the fairest that ever was knowen in this countrye for substance and uniformitye, by whose example others have undertaken to build framed howses to beautifye the place." The storehouses that had been built (probably near the waterfront) reportedly would accommodate "far more goods than have been sent this year." Harvey said 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 contended that only by restricting trade to one place would merchants and tradesmen be encouraged to live together in an urban setting. He noted, however, that the idea of limiting trade to Jamestown was unpopular with Virginia planters, who felt that the practice would be disadvantageous and costly. Harvey quickly pointed out that only imported goods had to be unloaded at Jamestown and that outbound cargo could be loaded aboard vessels elsewhere in the colony. Harvey sent the king some silk that had been produced on the York County plantation of Edward Digges (Sainsbury 1964:1:245, 260, 262-264, 266, 287-288, 302; C.O. 1/9 ff 97, 188, 198, 202, 209; 1/10 f 8-14).[206] By the time Harvey dispatched his January 18, 1639, letter to the Privy Council, he already had been replaced as governor, for Sir Francis Wyatt received his commission on December 8, 1638.

During 1639 Sir John Harvey entered a period of decline from which he never recovered. His problems were manifold, for by August he was physically ill, deeply in debt, and had lost his political power (P. C. 2/50 f 572). On April 17, 1640, after Sir Francis Wyatt had taken office, the General Court ordered Sir John Harvey to appoint an agent to dispose of his real and personal property so that his creditors could be satisfied. 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 [Study Unit 1 Tract H] as also a parcel of land near, adjacent, lately belonging to Sir George Yeardley [Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B]." Although Harvey was to have life-rights in both parcels, the reversionary interest was to be sold to the highest bidder. All of Harvey's personal estate was to be disposed of "at the best advantage," with the exception of some livestock and furniture he was allowed to retain until returning to England (C. O. 1/10 ff 160-161; McIlwaine 1924:496-497).

At the May 6, 1640, session of the General Court, Sir John Harvey gave George Ludlow his power-of-attorney and authorization to sell "his estate in James city or elsewhere in Virginia." Sir John Harvey's financial plight worsened during the summer, for he was held liable for the salary and personal estate of York County minister, Anthony Panton, whose property he had seized. Those to whom Sir John Harvey was indebted were ordered to present their claims to the court on June 5, 1641 (McIlwaine 1924:496-497).

[206] Digges owned Bellfield, on the York River.

It was probably between May 1640 and June 1641 that the 6½ acre Lot E was carved up and sold to new owners. By August 1, 1655, Mr. Chiles (Childss) (probably Walter Chiles I) had come into possession of what became Tract I, which was then in the hands of his tenants, Samuel Hart and Thomas Woodhouse. Simultaneously, Mrs. Elizabeth Fleet acquired the acreage designated Lot J. On May 14, 1656, John Barber I patented Lot B. John Custis, on the other hand, patented a ½ acre that in 1683 became part of Lot C. The eastern part of John Harvey's 6½ acres became part of Richard Holder's ca. 8.3 acres, Study Unit 3 Tract I (Patent Book 3:367; 5:140, 228; 7:701; 8:442; Nugent 1969- 1979:I:313, 468; Ambler MS 40).

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 Glass House tract also was sold, as was his plantation on Wormeley Creek in York County (Ambler MS 78; Patent Book 3:367; Nugent 1969-1979:I:161, 164; Withington 1980:588). The Yeardley tract (Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B) also would have been conveyed to a new owner. When Sir John Harvey made his will on September 15, 1646, having long since returned to England, he made no reference to owning real or personal property in Virginia, although he indicated that people in the colony owed him 2,000 pounds sterling and that he was due 5,500 pounds sterling in back pay as governor (Withington 1980:281; Stanard 1910:305-306; McGhan 1993:206; McIlwaine 1924:497-498).

Lot F

George Menefie

On February 4, 1624, George Menefie, who immigrated to Virginia in 1622, received a patent for Lot F, a 3 rood and 24 pole (7/8 acre) New Towne lot "for the better conveniencie of his howse by him now erected." His acreage abutted "westward

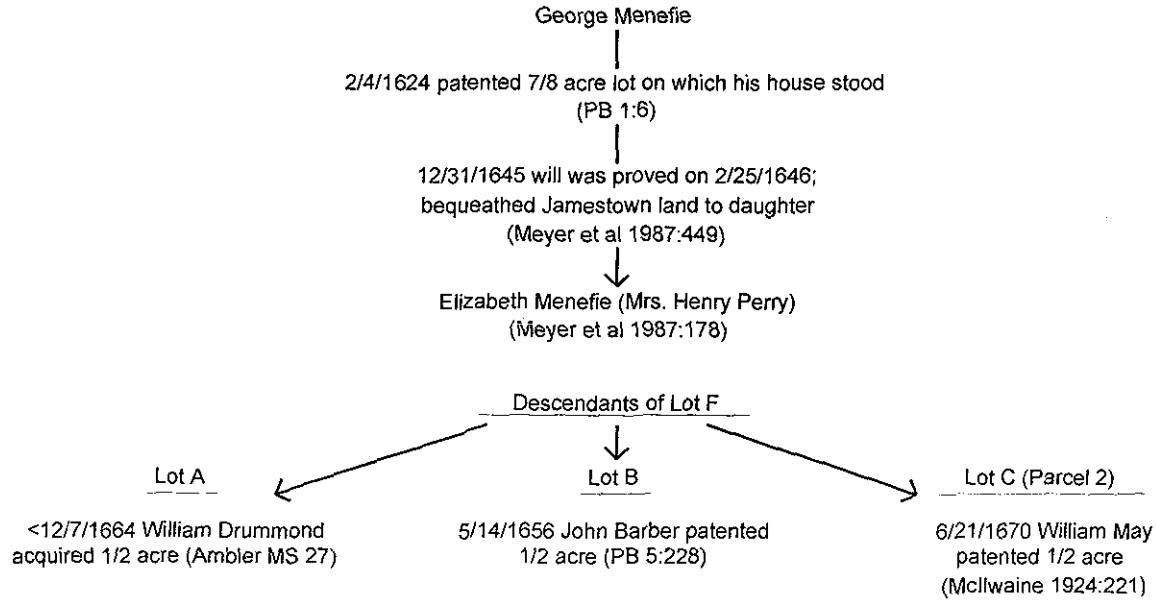


Figure 85. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract L, Lot F.*

upon the highway parting it from the ground of Capt. Ralph Hamor [Lot G], Eastward upon the ground of Capt. John Harvie [Lot E], Southward upon the highway close to the bank of the Maine River, [and] Northwards upon the bounds even along to the ground belonging to the backe street" [Ditch 2] (Patent Book 1:6). William Claiborne noted that he had laid out the Menefie lot.

Around 1637 George Menefie married Isabella Smith Pace Perry, the widow of Richard Pace and William Perry (Meyer et al. 1987:472). She was Menefie's second wife.

In July 1635, George Menefie patented 1,200 acres at Rich Neck, which he developed into a plantation known as Littletown, confirming its title on February 23, 1636 (Patent Book 4:199; Nugent 1969-1979:I:24, 50). He also acquired land in Charles City County, which he called Buckland and developed into a family seat. On August 3, 1640, Menefie patented a ½ acre lot in Jamestown, on the north side of Back Street (Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot C) (Patent Book 1:730). During the early 1640s he secured a patent for 3,000 acres on the north side of the York River, part of which later became the plantation known as Rosewell (Patent Book 1:740). George Menefie, one of Virginia's most highly successful merchants and planters, was a member of the Governor's Council from 1635 to 1644 (Stanard 1965:33). On December 31, 1645, when he made his will, he bequeathed his land in Jamestown to his daughter, Elizabeth. Menefie's will was presented for probate in London on February 25, 1646 (Stanard 1907:421; Meyer et al. 1987:449).

Elizabeth Menefie

Elizabeth Menefie married her step-brother, Henry Perry, sometime after 1646. The couple made their home at Buckland, the Menefie plantation in Charles City County (Meyer et al. 1987:449). The Perrys disposed of the southerly part of Lot F some time prior to 1656. By that date ½ acre of their 7/8 acre lot was in the possession of William Drummond I (Ambler MS 27; Patent Book 4:228; Nugent 1969-1979:I:468). (See the history of Lot C).

No contemporaneous information has come to light about the disposition of the northerly portion of the Menefie lot: the residual 3/8 acre. However, on May 20, 1661, when William May patented ½ acre that enveloped the northerly part of Lot G, the land contiguous and to his east was described as waste (or unclaimed) land (Patent Book 4:475). On June 21, 1670, May secured a patent for ½ acre of that vacant property: the upper part of the old Menefie lot (McIlwaine 1924:221). (See the history of Lot C).

Lot G

Ralph Hamor

On August 14, 1624, Ralph Hamor received a patent for a lot that measured approximately 1½ acres in size. Hamor's acreage was "for the better conveniencie and more Commoditie of his howses by him Erected and builded in the New Towne within the precincts of James Citty 1 and ½ acre of ground lying and being about his said house." Hamor's lot abutted "Southward upon the highway along the banke of the maine river, Northward upon the back streete [Ditch 2], Eastward upon the highway which pteth it from the ground of Georg Menefey Merchant [Lot F], Westward partly upon the ground of Richard Steephens Merchant [Lot H], and upon the ground alsoe of John Chew Merchant [Lot I]." Claiborne noted that "the said ground of 1 acre and a halfe [was] partly belonging to his [Hamor's] aforesaid howse already built & Ptly unto a howse hereafter to bee built by him in the back street." The west side of the lot (toward Lots H and I) was 19 poles long (313.5 feet) and the west side (abutting Lot E) was 22 poles (363 feet) long. Ralph Hamor's lot was 11 poles (181.5 feet) in width throughout its length. Surveyor William Claiborne noted that Lot G contained 14 poles (or 0.0875 acre) less than the 1½ acres with which Ralph Hamor was being credited (Patent Book 1:5-6). In June 1624 reference was

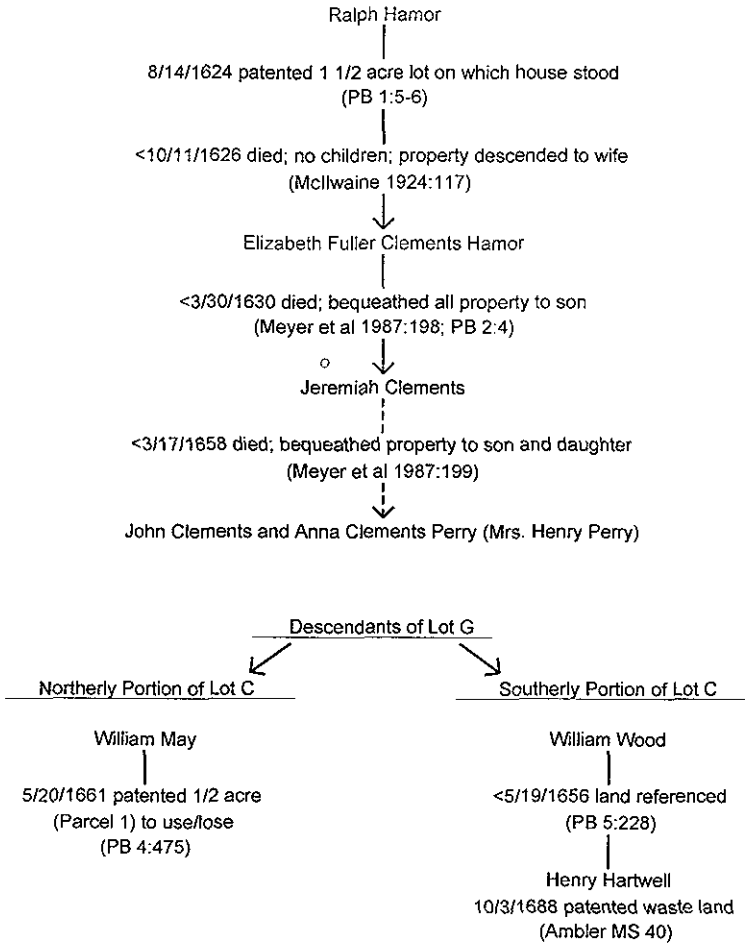


Figure 86. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract L, Lot G.*

made to Captain Ralph Hamor's house in Jamestown (McIlwaine 1924:17).

Ralph Hamor in 1611 became a member of the Governor's Council, which office he held intermittently for the rest of his life. He served as Secretary of the Colony from 1611 to 1614 during which period he wrote a treatise on the status of the colony (Stanard 1965:21, 28. As an ancient planter, he laid claim to 250 acres of land on Hog Island and 500 acres at Blunt Point (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:556). In April 1622, in the wake of the Indian uprising, Captain Ralph Hamor was given absolute command over the settlers at Martin's Hundred. He also was ordered to move those who survived in Warresqueak to Jamestown. During the following months he embarked upon a number of trading expeditions, to procure corn.[207] He also participated in retaliatory raids against the Indians and in October 1623 he updated Virginia Company officials on conditions in the colony. Later, he was authorized to go on a trading expedition in the Chesapeake Bay (Kingsbury 1906-1935:II:110; III:610, 622, 696; IV:447).

On February 16, 1624, Ralph Hamor and his wife were residing in urban Jamestown in a

[207] In 1623 he testified about giving 1,000 or more blue beads to Ensign Savage for use in trading (McIlwaine 1924:11).

household that included her children, Jeremy and Elizabeth Clements, and 6 servants. On January 24, 1625, Ralph and Elizabeth Hamor and the Clements children were still there, with three servants. The remainder of the Hamors' servants were living on Hog Island (Hotten 1980:174; Meyer et al. 1987:30). The Hamor household presumably occupied Lot G, the only Jamestown property with which Ralph Hamor was credited. The Hamors were actively involved in the Jamestown community's goings-on and appeared in court from time to time.

During Spring 1624 Ralph Hamor became involved in a dispute with Ralph Evers, the guardian of Mary Bayly, an orphan. At the center of the disagreement was some acreage on Hog Island that Hamor had cleared and seated. Later in the year, Hamor and his wife, Elizabeth, testified about some boastful (perhaps illegal) comments they had overheard Captain John Martin make. Early in 1625 Ralph Hamor, as guardian of Walter Davis's son, John, sought to claim funds owed to the decedent's estate. He also served as security for Mrs. Susan Bush, the guardian of the orphaned Sarah Spence. However, some of Ralph and Elizabeth Hamor's actions were of questionable legality. For example, he was accused of price-gouging and she was said to have been selling alcoholic beverages, contrary to law. In 1625 Ralph Hamor was authorized to arrest gunsmith John Jefferson, who had eloped with Hamor's maid servant (McIlwaine 1924:21, 27, 32, 37, 39-40, 42, 57, 132, 134).

Elizabeth Fuller Clements Hamor (Mrs. Ralph)

Ralph Hamor died before October 11, 1626, leaving his widow and executrix, Elizabeth, as his only heir. His estate, however, was placed in merchant George Menefie's custody (McIlwaine 1924:117, 170). Elizabeth died sometime prior to March 30, 1630, having bequeathed virtually all of her Virginia property to Jeremiah Clements, a son by her first marriage (Meyer et al. 1987:198-199; Patent Book 2:4).

Jeremiah Clements

As Jeremiah Clements inherited all of his mother's property, he probably came into possession of Lot G. Clements, who became a Surry County burgess, was a highly successful planter, who owned a substantial quantity of land along Upper Chippokes Creek. If he retained whatever acreage he inherited from his mother, it would have descended to his son, John, and daughter Anna Clements Perry. By 1658, when Ann inherited part of her father's property, she had married merchant Henry Perry of Buckland, Elizabeth Menefie's widower (Meyer et al. 1987:199, 487).

Although the disposition of Ralph and Elizabeth Fuller Clements Hamor's 1½ acre lot in Jamestown is open to conjecture, on May 20, 1661, William May patented ½ acre that enveloped the northerly part of Lot G (Patent Book 4:475). Sometime prior to April 19, 1664, when John Barber I patented Lot A, William Wood came into possession of the southerly part of Lot G. In 1688 when Henry Hartwell patented 2.4 acres (Lot C) the southerly part of the old Hamor lot was considered waste land (Patent Book 7:701). (See the history of Lot C).

Lot H

Richard Stephens

Richard Stephens, a merchant, secured a patent for 3 score rods of ground (3/8 of an acre) on the waterfront in Jamestown during 1623 "for his better conveniency &c that others may bee the more encouraged by his example to build and enclose some ground about their howses for gardining and planting and other profitable uses." His acreage reportedly was "about a convenient dwelling howse which hee hath lately builded and erected in James Citty, the which land lyeth South upon the Way [highway] along the great River, East upon the land of Capt. Ralph Hamor [Lot G], West on the land of John Jaxon [Tract F Lot A], [and] North extending itselfe [blot] pole" (Patent Book 1:1). Thus,

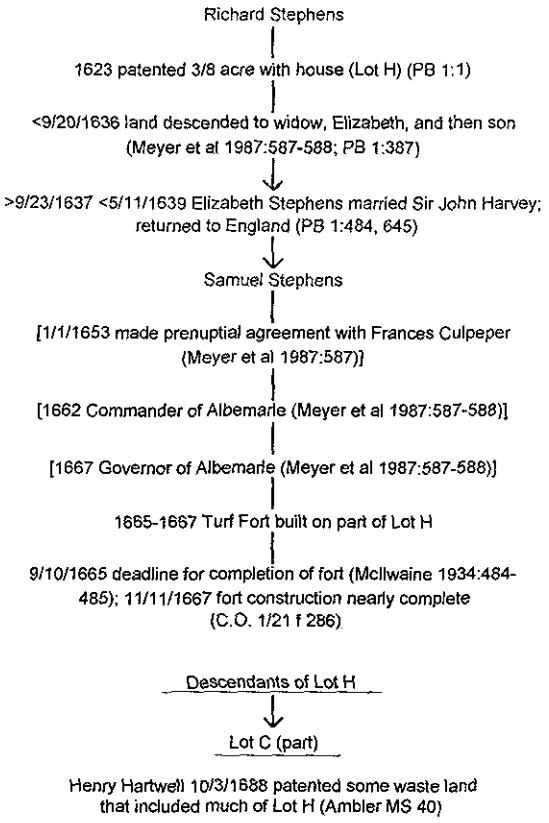


Figure 87. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract L, Lot H.*

the Stephens lot lay between John Chew's Lot I and the James River, and it was flanked by the acreage of Ralph Hamor (Lot G) on the east and John Jaxon (Jackson) (Tract F Lot A) on the west.

Richard Stephens, a painter-stainer, was an investor in the Virginia Company, who in 1622 obtained one share of land from Lady Ciseley Delaware (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:622). Shortly thereafter, he outfitted himself with 21 hogsheads of goods and two servants and set sail for Virginia (Meyer et al. 1987:585; Ferrar MS 400; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:245,257,269).

In February 1624 when a census was made of the colony's inhabitants, Stephens and seven servants (including Mr. and Mrs. Wassell Rayner) were residing together in Jamestown. By January 1625, when a muster was taken, Stephens, the Rayner couple, and two other servants comprised a household. Richard Stephens was credited with three houses, which may have been on Lot H, the only property he owned in Jamestown. He also owned a boat (Hotten 1980:175; Meyer et al. 1987:33). One of Richard Stephens' servants, Wassill Raynor, was a distiller, who came to the colony in 1619 (Ferrar MS 107, 109).

In 1623 Richard Stephens was elected a burgess and in 1625, while he served in that capacity, he signed a document in which he formally acknowledged representing the merchants' interests (Stanard 1965:53; Meyer et al. 1987:586). During the 1620s Stephens made several appearances before the General Court, where he participated in an inquest, inventoried decedents' goods, and sued to collect debts (McIlwaine 1924:38, 45, 56, 101, 160, 163).

Around 1628 Richard Stephens married Elizabeth Peirsey, the daughter of cape-merchant Abraham Peirsey. As her father's heir, in 1636 she

inherited the 1,000 acre Charles City County plantation known as Flowerdew, which she repatented in her own name. The couple produced two sons: Samuel and William (Meyer et al. 1987:481; Nugent 1969-1979:I:48, 50).

Richard and Elizabeth Stephens retained their property in Jamestown, perhaps distributing their time between there and Flowerdew. Throughout the 1620s and into the 1630s Richard was described as a merchant. In 1630, during Sir John Harvey's administration, he was named to the Governor's Council, on which he served until 1636. In 1632 he was made a commissioner of the local court that settled minor disputes among the colonists living in what became Warwick River County (Stanard 1965:32; Meyer et al. 1987:586).

Richard Stephens clashed openly with Governor John Harvey and was among those who sought to have him ousted from office. In 1635 the two men came to blows and the enraged Harvey knocked out some of Stephens' teeth. Richard Stephens died in ca. 1636. He left his widow, Elizabeth, his 500 acre Warwick River plantation called Boldrup, which she repatented in her own name in September 1637. Elizabeth Peirsey Stephens went on to marry Sir John Harvey in 1638 (Meyer et al. 1987:481,586; Nugent 1969-1979:I:72). At Elizabeth's death in ca. 1646, the land in which she had life rights descended to her son, Samuel Stephens.

Samuel Stephens

Samuel Stephens, who was born in ca. 1629, as his father's primary heir, would have inherited his home lot in Jamestown. When Samuel matured, he married Frances Culpeper (later, Lady Berkeley), with whom he signed a marriage contract on January 1, 1653, agreeing to give her Boldrup in the event of his decease (Hening 1809-1823:II:321-325). In October 1662 Samuel Stephens was made commander of Albemarle (in Carolina) and five years later, he commenced serving a three year term as that region's governor (Meyer et al. 1987:587). Although it is uncertain whether Stephens retained his lot in Jamestown after his interests shifted to Carolina, it was during his governorship that the western part of his lot was used for the construction of a turf fort (Structure 157). Samuel Stephens died sometime prior to March 1670, leaving no heirs. At that juncture, his landholdings descended to his widow, Frances, who in June 1670 married Sir William Berkeley (Meyer et al. 1987:588). In April 1688 the eastern part of the Stephens lot became part of the 2.4 acres Henry Hartwell patented (Patent Book 7:701). (See history of Lot C).

Lot I

John Chew

John Chew, a merchant, immigrated to Virginia in 1622. On August 14, 1624, he received a patent for Lot I, one rood and 9 poles of ground (3/10 of an acre). His acreage was "for the better conveniencie and more comoditye of his howse by him now erected and builded in the New Towne" and was "about the said house." His lot abutted "Northward upon the said back streete [Ditch 2], Southward upon the Land of Mr. Richard Stephens Merchant [Lot H], Eastward upon the ground of Captain Hamor [Lot G], and Westward upon the highway leading up into the said back street" (Patent Book 1:7-8). Although John Chew's patent lacks dimensions, its boundaries have been reconstructed electronically on the basis of contiguous property lines. In December 1624 Chew's lot contained a store (McIlwaine 1924:37).

John Chew and his wife, Sarah, resided upon their landholdings at Hog Island, where they were living when demographic information was compiled in 1624 and 1625 (Hotten 1980:237; Meyer et al. 1987:44). However, he took an active role in the community at Jamestown. Chew was the business representative of the Bennett family in Virginia and after Robert Bennett's decease in 1623, settled his estate. Chew represented Warresqueak (the Bennett plantation) in the 1624 assembly and

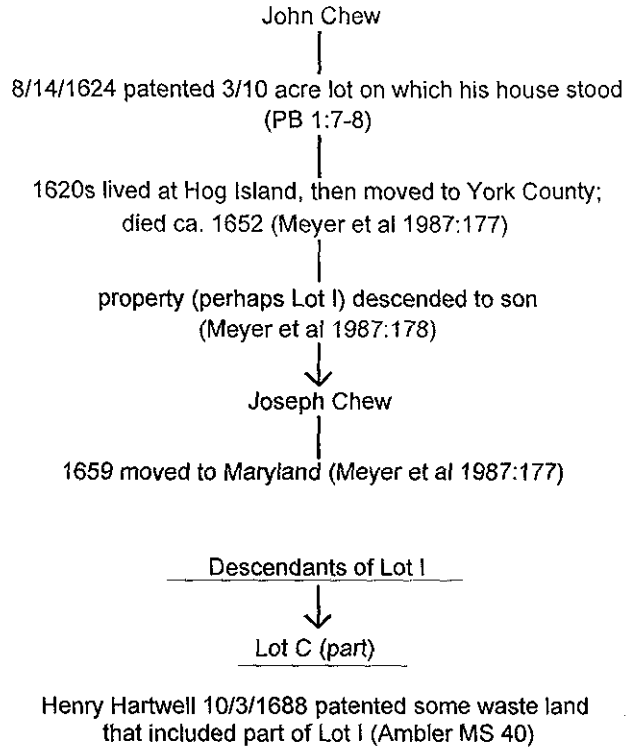


Figure 88. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract L, Lot I.*

served on behalf of Hog Island in 1625, 1628, and 1629. He was made commander of Hog Island in 1629. In 1636 Governor John Harvey described John Chew as one of the "ablest merchants in Virginia" (Meyer et al. 1987:176).

In 1630 John Chew was one of those who established a plantation at Chiskiack, on the York River. He eventually acquired more land in that area and by the late 1630s had moved there. John Chew died around 1652. His son, Samuel, born ca. 1626, was his principal heir. By 1659 Samuel Chew was living in Maryland (Meyer et al. 1987:176-177). It is uncertain what became of Lot I immediately after John Chew and/or his family relinquished it. However, by February 1656 some of the Chew lot had become part of John Phipps' 120 acre patent and in April 1688 the remainder was included in Lot C, the 2.4 acres of escheated property and waste land to which Henry Hartwell laid claim (Patent Book 4:401; 7:701; Nugent 1969-1979:I:340).

Lot J

John Harvey

Lot J is derived exclusively from Lot E, which Captain John Harvey patented in January 1624. He then had two or more houses upon his property. In April 1640 Harvey, who had served a lengthy term as governor, was obliged to sell his landholdings on account of debt. That was accomplished in a year (Patent Book 1:7; McIlwaine 1924:482).

Mrs. Elizabeth Fleet

Very little is known about Mrs. Elizabeth Fleet, who came into possession of half of Lot J sometime prior

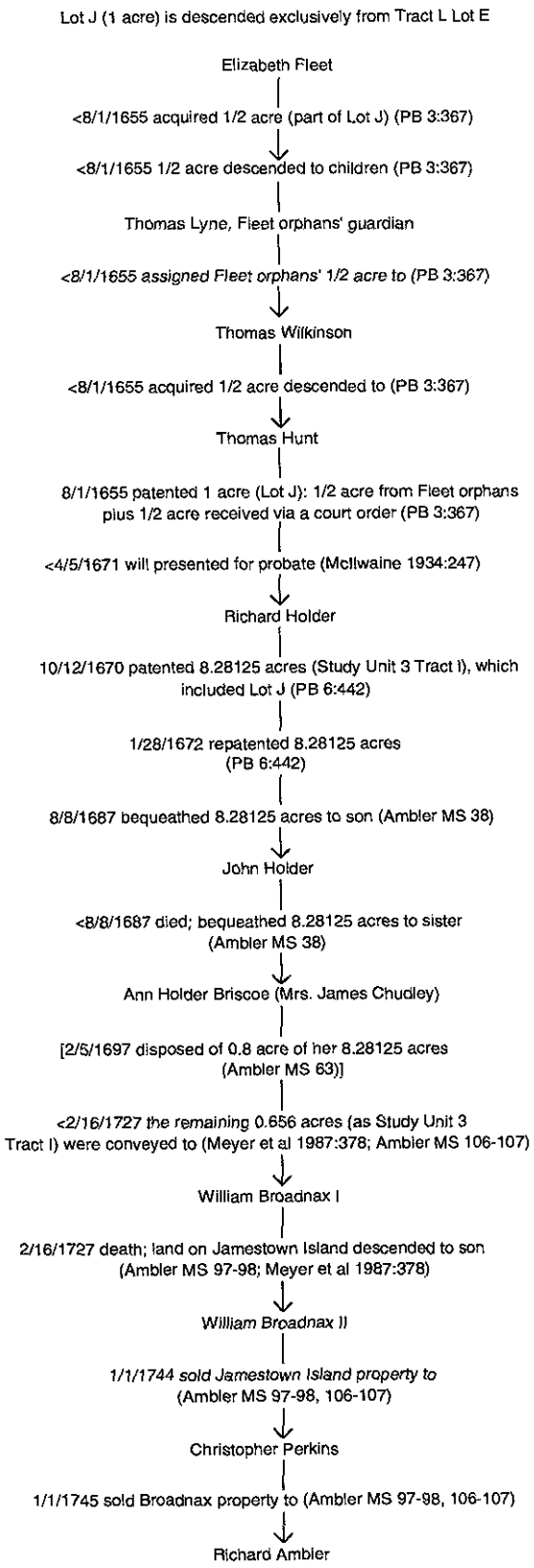


Figure 89. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract L, Lot J.*

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 ½ acre lot (part of Lot J) to Thomas Wilkinson (Wilkenson) (Nugent 1969-1979:I:313; Patent Book 3:367).

Thomas Wilkinson (Wilkenson)

Relatively little is known about Thomas Wilkinson other than the fact that he seems to have been wealthy and successful. He was assigned Mrs. Elizabeth Fleet's lot sometime prior to August 1, 1655, when it was patented by Thomas Hunt. In 1650 Wilkinson patented 500 acres on the Potomac River and three years later he claimed 320 acres on the Rappahannock. Finally, in 1658 he patented 6,000 acres on Potomac Creek on the basis of 120 headrights. By 1673 Thomas Wilkinson had married the widow of Griffeth Dickeson, a James City County landowner who in October 1667 was censured and fined for building a wharf "before the town" contrary to law (Nugent 1969-1979:I:201, 240, 313, 335, 378; Patent Book 3:367; McIlwaine 1924:344; 1905-1915:1660-1693:48).

Thomas Hunt

On August 1, 1655, Thomas Hunt patented a 1 acre lot in Jamestown that abutted south upon the James River, "westerly upon the land of Mr. Chiles now in the tenure and occupation of Sam'l Hart and Thomas Woodhouse [Lot D], northerly upon the Path that leadeth from Capt. Websters to ye said Mr. Chiles [probably Ditch 3], Easterly upon a line equall with the Mullberry T." It was noted that ½ acre of the lot Hunt was patenting formerly had been granted to Mrs. Elizabeth Fleet and that after her death, her acreage had descended to her children. Thomas Lyne, the Fleet children's guardian, had subsequently assigned their property to Thomas Wilkinson, whom Thomas Hunt had succeeded as owner. Hunt acquired his additional ½ acre by means of a court order (Nugent 1969-1979:I:313; Patent Book 3:367). Although no building requirements were cited in Thomas Hunt's patent, it commenced with the words, "Whereas for the building &c.," thereby suggesting that construction of improvements was expected.

Although the Hunt patent's locational information lacks specificity, it can tentatively be linked to the cultural landscape. Hunt's lot abutted south upon the James River. It also abutted north upon the "Path that leadeth from Capt. Websters [Structure 38, the "country house" on Lot D of Study Unit 1 Tract D] to ye said Mr. Chiles [Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot D]," a probable reference to Ditch 3 (Ambler MS 10, 32; Patent Book 7:98; Nugent 1969-1979:II:222; Surry Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:76; Hening 1809-1823:I:439).[208] In light of these data, when Thomas Hunt's 1 acre patent was recreated electronically, it was positioned so that it abutted south upon the James, north upon Ditch 3, and west upon Lot D. If this interpretation is correct, Lot J was part of the 8.28125 acres that Richard Holder patented on October 12, 1670, which Holder, his son John, and his daughter, Ann Holder Briscoe Chudley, occupied sequentially (McIlwaine 1924:227; Patent Book 6:442; Nugent 1969-1979:II:122; Ambler MS 21, 22, 53, 63).

During the 1660s and 70s Thomas Hunt's name appeared many times in official records. In October 1660 and December 1662 he was paid for having allowed the assembly to meet at his house, probably Structure 18. As this was the period during which the burgesses complained about "the dishonor of our Lawes being made and judgements being given in ale-houses," Hunt may have

[208] Mr. Chiles' property lay south of Parcel 1, the lot William May patented on May 20, 1661 (Patent Book 4:475; Nugent 1969-1979:I:409; Ambler MS 37). It was on the south side of Ditch 3, not far from Captain Webster's house, within Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot D. John Barber I's May 1656 patent for Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot B also makes reference to "Mr Childss" whose property lay to Barber's east at a site analogous to Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot D (Nugent 1969-1979:I:468; Patent Book 5:228).

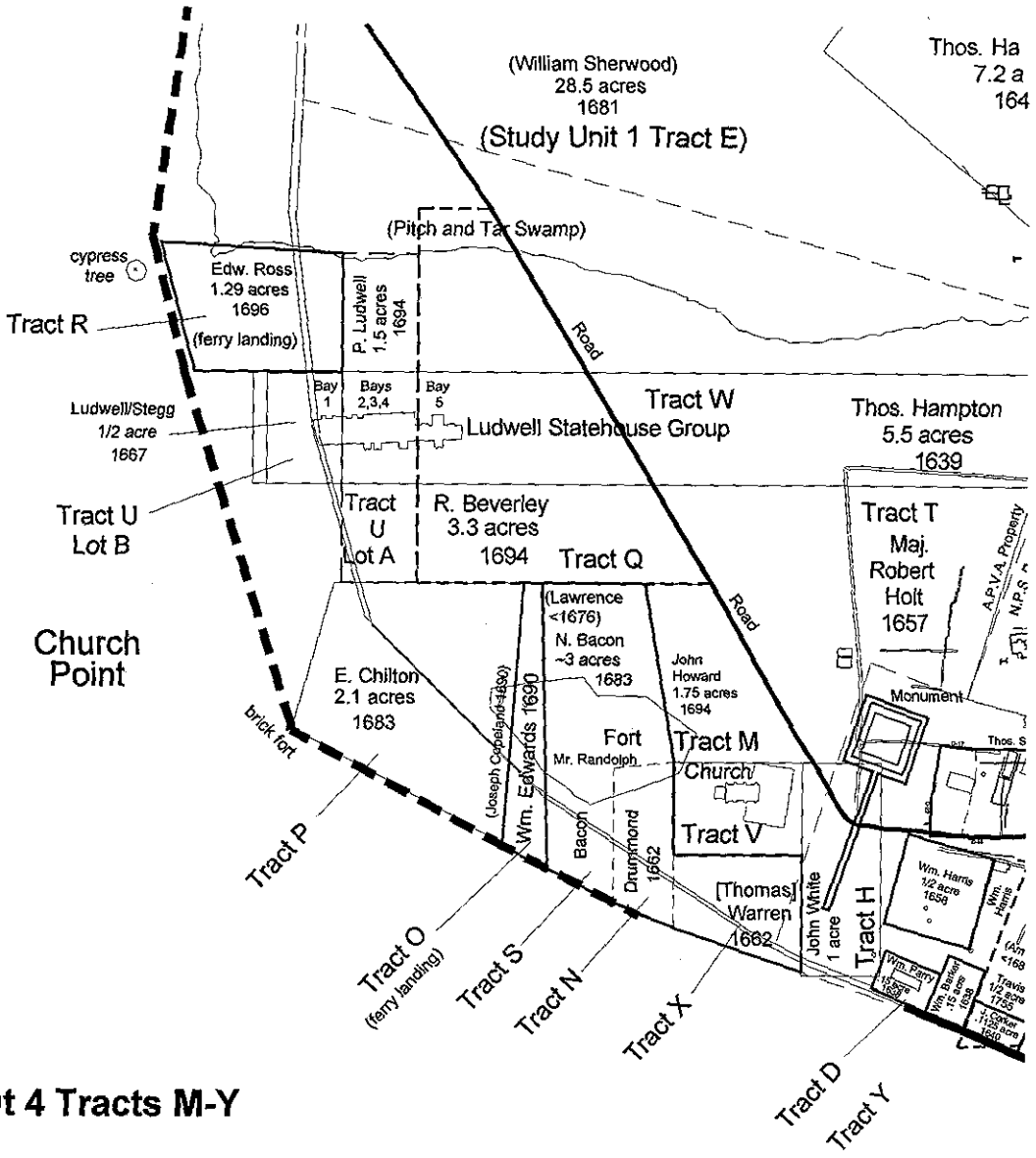
kept a tavern in his home. Thomas Hunt was awarded an 8 year contract for keeping the bridge and horseway over his mill dam (the Powhatan Mill) in good condition. In 1662 he was identified as a Jamestown resident when he made a claim against the estate of James Mills of Surry County, who had purchased some household goods from Hunt and John Richards. Four years later, Hunt patented 836 acres in Surry (Hening 1809-1823:II:12; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:8, 27; 1924:218, 513; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1655-1672:210-211; 1671-1684:69; Nugent 1969-1979:I:12; Clarendon MS 82 f275).

In December 1662 the assembly's committee for rasising the levy recommended that Thomas Hunt be paid for producing bricks and lime for use in the construction of Nansemond County's obligatory brick house and for agreeing to provide 200,000 additional bricks. In September 1663 Hunt was authorized to be paid for building the Nansemond house. John Knowles also was compensated for providing bricks.

On November 9, 1666, the assembly censured Mr. Thomas Hunt for accepting payment for building three houses, but failing to do so. He was ordered to complete his work no later than August 1667. On October 3, 1667, Hunt was summoned again, at which time he "offers caution [bond] for finishing his three houses and repayment of the tobacco for the two houses Mr. Knowles was to build in the like to which the burgesses before advise with your honor and the council tho it was not fit for them to assent" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:44, 50). This suggests that Hunt intended to complete construction of the three houses he had agreed to build but was going to return the tobacco he had accepted on Mr. Knowles' behalf. Thomas Hunt apparently was a respected member of the community, for William Edwards II (of Lot D) named him as guardian of his orphans (McIlwaine 1924:216; Clarendon MS 82 ff275-276).

Thomas Hunt died in 1670 or early 1671 and on April 5, 1671, his will and a codicil were presented to the General Court. At that time it was noted that his widow, Bridget, had custody of his real and personal estate, as well as the estate of Captain Hayes' child who was in her household. Two Jamestown neighbors, Walter Chiles II (Structure 138, Study Unit 1 Tract F and Study Unit 2 Tracts M, N, O, P, and U) and William May (Structure 86 on Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C Parcels 1 and 2), and two non-island residents were ordered to inventory Hunt's estate and that of Captain Hayes. Meanwhile, John Howard (Study Unit 4 Tract M) and Abraham Sapcoate proved Hunt's will. The General Court decided that the codicil to Hunt's will was authentic, which contained instructions "about the Sale of the brick houses." Hunt, at the time of his death, was indebted to William Sherwood. On May 24, 1671, William May, William White, Richard James I and Major Theophilus Hone (all of Jamestown) were ordered to inventory the late Thomas Hunt's estate. The widowed Bridget Hunt married John Heyward sometime prior to March 22, 1672. The estate of her late husband, Thomas Hunt, remained unsettled as late as April 1674 (McIlwaine 1924:247, 258, 293, 319, 327, 350, 370; Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:1). The late Thomas Hunt's leasehold in the Governor's Land was identified by surveyor John Soane (1683) on his plat.

Thomas Hunt's Lot J became part of the 8.28125 acres that Richard Holder patented on October 12, 1670, which Holder left to his son, John. John, in turn, bequeathed it to his sister, Ann Holder Briscoe Chudley. It appears that the Holder men and the Chudleys occupied the property sequentially (McIlwaine 1924:227; Patent Book 6:442; Nugent 1969-1979:II:122; Ambler MS 21, 22, 53, 63). Sometime prior to February 16, 1727, Mrs. Ann Holder Briscoe Chudley's 8.28125 acre tract (Study Unit 3 Tract I) came into the possession of William Broadnax I, through whom it descended to his son, William Broadnax II. (See the history of Study Unit 3 Tract I). The Hunts, Holders, and Chudleys may have occupied Structure 18, successively.



Study Unit 4 Tracts M-Y

Figure 90. *Study Unit 4, Tracts M-Y.*

Study Unit 4 Tract M

John Howard

On April 10, 1694, John Howard of James City County patented a 1.75 acre lot in Jamestown, the parcel designated Tract M. The boundary line of Howard's patent ran clockwise from the northeast corner of the rails that delimited the church yard and followed that course north 87 degrees west for 3.93 chains (129.69 feet) to Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's eastern lot line (i.e., the east side of Tract S). At that point Howard's lot line turned north and traced Bacon's boundary for 6.8 chains (224.4 feet) "to the Corner thereof." Howard's line then made an abrupt turn to the east and ran "south 85½ degrees easterly" for 1.5 chains (49.5 feet) to the "old Great road," which it followed back to the beginning point at the northeast corner of the church yard. On the bottom of the patent, General Court clerk William Edwards II noted that "The Governor [Edmund Andros] wou'd not sign this patent of John Howard" (Patent Book 8:82, 320; Nugent 1969-1979:II:350; Ambler MS 50). Even so, Howard's patent was considered valid and was referenced in subsequent land transactions. The identity of Tract M's earlier owners is uncertain. It is possible that Tract M (like Tract S) had its origin in the acreage of Richard Lawrence, who fled from the colony rather than face prosecution for his role in Bacon's Rebellion.

John Howard, who by 1686 was married to Margaret, Richard Clarke's daughter and administratrix, was a tailor.[209] In April 1671 he proved the will of Jamestown lot-owner Thomas Hunt (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot J). He may have been the Howard who joined Robert Beverley I in taking revenge against those who had sided with the rebel Nathaniel Bacon (McIlwaine 1924:247, 520; Withington 1980:60). This raises the possibility that Howard (like Beverley) was one of Sir William Berkeley's loyalists-turned-vigilante. On February 9, 1699, John Howard purchased 28½ acres (Study Unit 1 Tract E) from John Jarrett, the late William Sherwood's nephew and one of his heirs. With the deed came an acknowledgment that Francis Bullifant's long-term lease for 2 acres was still valid (Ambler MS 67). In May 1699 John Howard appeared before the assembly to protest Bartholomew Fowler's election as Jamestown's burgess. Fowler withdrew and was replaced by Robert Beverley II (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1695-1702:139, 141; Stanard 1908:438).

On May 6, 1710, John Howard, who still described himself as a tailor, sold his two parcels of urban Jamestown land to John Baird: Study Unit 4 Tract M and Study Unit 1 Tract E (Ambler MS 82).

John Baird

On May 6, 1710, John Baird, a carpenter, purchased two parcels of land from tailor John Howard: Tract M, his 1.75 acre lot by the church yard, and Study Unit 1 Tract E, his 28½ acres in the western end of the island, near the isthmus that led to the mainland. Both parcels were on the main road into Jamestown and therefore would have been advantageous to a working artisan. They were described precisely as they had been in 1694. Tract M's southern boundary line extended along the rails that delimited the north side of the church yard and its western boundary traced Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's easterly line. The lot line then extended east from Bacon's land to the "great old road," which it followed back to the corner of the church yard (Ambler MS 82). On January 13, 1717, John Baird sold both of his Jamestown parcels (Study Unit 4 Tract M and Study Unit 1 Tract E) to Edward Travis III. On December 9, 1717, Baird's

[209] Richard Clarke patented Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot D Parcel 1 in 1646.

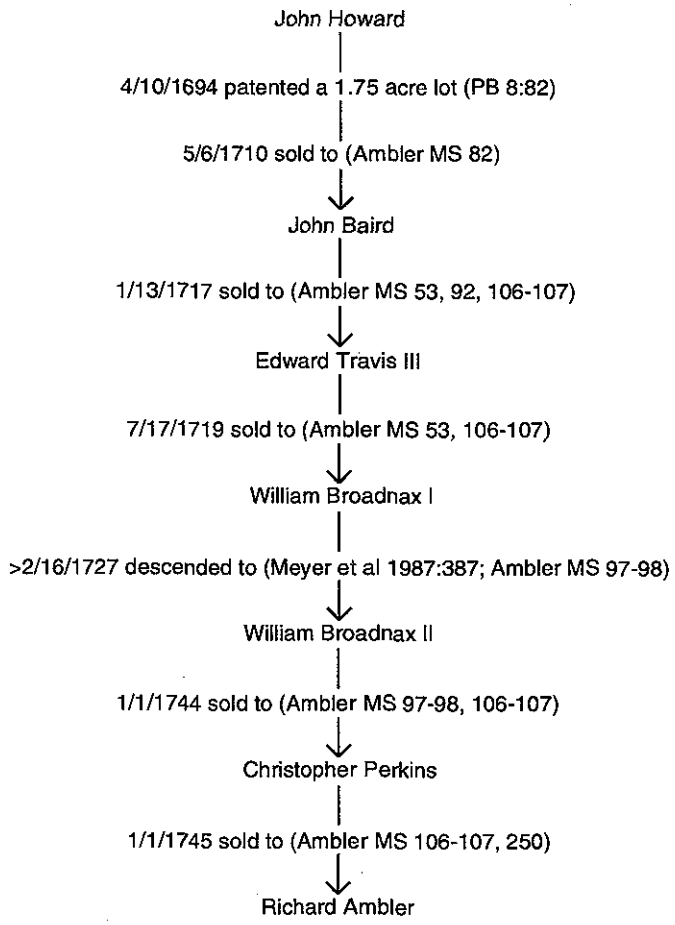


Figure 91. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract M.*

wife, Margaret, relinquished her dower rights to the property (Ambler MS 92).

Edward Travis III

Edward Travis III, who on January 13, 1717 purchased Study Unit 4 Tract M and Study Unit 1 Tract E from John Baird, retained the Baird parcels very briefly. On July 17, 1719, he sold both to William Broadnax I (Ambler MS 53, 92, 106-107).

William Broadnax I

William Broadnax I, who acquired Study Unit 4 Tract M and Study Unit 1 Tract E from Edward Travis III on July 17, 1719, eventually married Travis's widow, Rebecca. Wiliiam Broadnax I had Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O and Q and Study Unit 1 Tract E at the time of his death in February 1727. Those lots, like his other landholdings on Jamestown Island (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J and some adjacent land) descended to his son, William Broadnax II (Meyer et al. 1987:378; Ambler MS 97-98, 106-107).

William Broadnax II

William Broadnax II inherited his late father's landholdings in rural Jamestown Island (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J) and some acreage within the

limits of urban Jamestown (Study Unit 1 Tract E and Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O and Q). He also received at least one town lot as a bequest from ferryman Edward Ross (Study Unit 4 Tract R). Broadnax purchased 100 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island from Philip Ludwell II (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) and on April 22, 1736, he bought 107 acres in the southeastern portion of Jamestown Island from Francis Bullifant (Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G) (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250).

Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen with landholdings on the south side of the James, in Brunswick County. He represented Jamestown in the February 1, 1728, session of the assembly 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, to whom he also conveyed 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, he controlled virtually all of the frontage on the James River east of Orchard Run and land at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the road that led to the mainland. Perkins also had the lots traditionally used for the Jamestown ferry.

Christopher Perkins

Christopher Perkins, upon purchasing William Broadnax II's acreage on Jamestown Island, kept it 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).

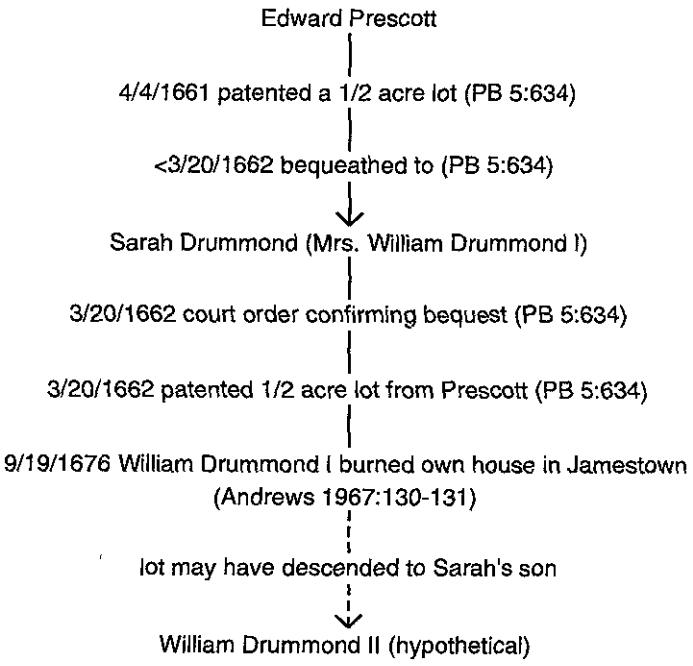


Figure 92. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract N.*

Study Unit 4 Tract N

Edward Prescott

On April 4, 1661, Edward Prescott patented ½ acre of land in the western end of Jamestown Island (Patent Book 5:634; Nugent 1969-1979:I:560). Little is known about Prescott except that in December 1659 he obtained a court judgement against William Andrews, who reportedly owed him 420 pounds sterling (Hening 1809-1823:I:549). In October 1660 Edward Prescott was fined for failing to pay export duties to the customs officer on the Eastern Shore and he was arrested because he uttered "severall scandalous mutinous and seditious words... against this assembly." He also was suspended "from his place in the commission," an indication that he was a county justice (Hening 1809-1823:II:15).

Sometime prior to Edward Prescott's decease, which occurred in late 1661 or early 1662, he bequeathed his land to William Drummond I's wife, Sarah, who may have been his daughter. Prescott's lot abutted east upon the yard of the parish church, southwest upon the James River, southeast on the land of Mr. Warren (probably James City burgess Thomas Warren), and northwest upon Mr. Randolph's property (Patent Book 5:634; Nugent 1969-1979:I:560).

Although the Prescott-Drummond patent lacks linear dimensions, a figure containing ½ acre was created electronically and placed at a site meeting all of the patent's descriptive criteria. It should be noted, however, that this hypothetical lot could be reshaped, elongated or broadened, as long as it were to contain no more than ½ acre and abutted all of the critical reference points.

Sarah and William Drummond I

On March 20, 1662, Mrs. Sarah Drummond received a patent for the ½ acre lot that had been bequeathed to her by Edward Prescott. It was then noted that the legitimacy of her patent had been confirmed by means of a court order (Patent Book 5:634; Nugent 1969-1979:I:560).

William and Sarah Drummond were in possession of her lot in December 1662 when the assembly enacted legislation subsidizing the construction of brick houses of certain specifications. Under the law, all who built the prototypical brick houses within two years would be compensated. Private individuals who intended to construct such buildings were ordered to inform the authorities by March 1663 (Hening 1809-1823:II:172-176). William Drummond I and his wife very probably took advantage of the building initiative, for on September 19, 1676, when Nathaniel Bacon's rebels torched Jamestown, Drummond had a house there that he reportedly set ablaze. It was described by some of Drummond's contemporaries as one of the best in town (Force 1963:I:8:21). Tract N was the only urban lot that William and Sarah Drummond owned at the time of Bacon's Rebellion.

William Drummond I, a Scotsman, was governor of Carolina during the 1660s. He was a successful planter who managed to accumulate a substantial amount of wealth. He had a leasehold and domestic complex in the Governor's Land, which he acquired in 1648 and significantly enlarged and improved in 1672. He also procured a parcel in urban Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lots A and B) which he sold to John Barber between May 1656 and December 1664 (Patent Book 2:150; 6:389; Nugent 1969-1979:I:177; II:103; Ambler MS 27). In 1661 Drummond patented 4,750 acres of land in Westmoreland County and a year later he laid claim to 1,200 acres on the east side of the Chickahominy River, near the mouth of Warrany Creek. In 1668 he purchased 700 acres of James

City County land from Mathew Edloe and in 1672 he patented 960 acres in Lower Norfolk County. Two years later, he acquired 461 acres on the Chickahominy (McIlwaine 1924:315, 512; Soane 1683; Force 1963:I:9:7; Nugent 1969-1979:I:403; II:103, 123, 140; Patent Book 6:389).

In 1672 William Drummond I, Mathew Page, and Theophilus Hone agreed to construct gun carriages and a 250 foot long brick fort at Jamestown and accepted payment in advance. Page died, leaving Drummond and Hone to finish the project. Ultimately, both men were hauled into court where they were ordered to complete the job and to replace the cracked and otherwise defective brick they'd used in constructing the fort (McIlwaine 1924:342, 512, 544; Surry County Order Book 1671-1609:13).

During the 1660s and 70s William Drummond I had conflicts with several members of Virginia's ruling class, such as Theodorick Bland and Bryan Smith. He also was involved in law suits with merchants in England and Scotland and at least two mariners. He ran afoul of the law when he failed to respond to a summons issued by James City County sheriff Francis Kirkman, a friend of Governor William Berkeley (Hening 1809-1823:I:549; II:158; McIlwaine 1924:312, 227, 229, 360, 365, 420). These encounters, which placed him at odds with some of Berkeley's more ardent supporters, may have led him to espouse the rebel Nathaniel Bacon's cause and become one of the popular uprising's principal ringleaders. Despite Drummond's role in the destruction of the colony's capital city, he is credited with removing the government's records from the burning statehouse (probably Structure 112), thereby enabling them to be saved. One of the buildings Drummond set ablaze was his own house (Andrews 1967:130-131, 135).

William Drummond I's active involvement in Bacon's Rebellion led to his being executed for treason. He was hunted down and captured in the Chickahominy Swamp, tried at Middle Plantation, and then hanged there. Because Drummond had been convicted of a capital crime, his estate automatically reverted to the Crown. Governor Berkeley, as the colony's highest ranking official, confiscated Drummond's personal property and had it inventoried (McIlwaine 1924:454,527; Force 1963:I:8:23; I:9:9; I:10:4; I:11:22; Sainsbury 1964:9:414; 10:67; 11:195; C.O. 1/41 f 208; 5/1355 ff 186-188; C.O. 1371 f 218).

Sarah Drummond, as William's administrator, made vigorous attempts to recover her late husband's personal property, which after Sir William Berkeley's departure for England in early 1677, remained in the custody of Lady Frances. Sarah sent several letters to the Lords of Trade and Plantations and went to England to plead her case in person. She said that she had five children to support and claimed that Berkeley had acted cruelly and illegally when seizing her husband's goods. She also filed suit against Lady Frances Berkeley, whom she alleged had had her servants seize and detain the Drummonds' corn, crops, claret, brandy, and fabric. In addition to the return of her late husband's belongings, Sarah Drummond demanded his pay as burgess (Coldham 1980:19; C.O. 1/41 ff 205-212; 1/42 ff 290-291; 5/1355 f 186; 5/1371 ff 264-269; Sainsbury 1964:10:258; McIlwaine 1924:519, 521, 534; Surry County Deeds and Wills 1671-1684:165)

Sarah Drummond was successful in retaining her late husband's leasehold in the Governor's Land, which descended to son William II and grandson William III. It is also likely that she kept her lot next to the church yard (Tract N), which belonged to her personally. However, no documents have come to light that disclose who owned Tract N during the mid-eighteenth century, when much of the western end of Jamestown Island was in the hands of Richard Ambler.

Study Unit 4 Tract O

William Edwards II

On April 21, 1690, William Edwards II of Surry County patented Study Unit 4 Tract O, a small waterfront lot containing 73.5 perches (or 0.459 acre) in the western end of Jamestown Island. It was situated between the parcels that belonged to Colonel Nathaniel Bacon (Tract S) and Joseph Copeland (Tract P) and lay opposite the mouth of Crouches Creek. Tract O, which dimensions and directional orientation were given in Edwards' patent, was long and slender and its frontage upon the James River was more than twice the width of its back line. "Joseph Copelands Great Gum on James River" marked the southwest corner of Edwards' patent. From that gum tree, Edwards' westerly boundary line proceeded north 4½ degrees east for 12½ chains (412.5 feet) along Copeland's lot line and then turned east and ran for 9/10 of a chain (29.7 feet). It then turned back toward the James River, tracing the westerly boundary line of Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's plot (Tract S) for 13 2/3 chains (450.78 feet). Upon reaching the river, Edwards' lot line headed upstream for 2 1/4 chains (74.25 feet) to the starting point at Mr. Copeland's gum tree (Patent Book 8:42; Nugent 1969-1979:II:342). The identity of Tract O's earlier owners is unknown.

In 1682 William Edwards II 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). It would have provided him with a steady source of income.

On April 23, 1695, William Edwards II purchased Henry Hartwell's 2.4 acre New Towne lot (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C) and the brick house that stood upon the property, Structure 86. On February 5, 1697, he bought Lots A, B, and D of Study Unit 4 Tract L from Ann Holder Briscoe Chudley (Ambler MS 63). William Edwards II was the son of William Edwards I, who represented Surry County in the assembly sessions of 1652, 1653, and 1658 and served as a county justice (Ambler MS 55, 57; Stanard 1965:69-70,73; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:28). The Edwards family owned the plantation called Pleasant Point, directly across the James from Jamestown (Nugent 1969-1979:II:216).

William Edwards II inherited the bulk of his family's wealth, which he enhanced through the acquisition of new land. In time, his political accomplishments surpassed those of his late father, and he held three or more public offices that generated fees. In 1679 William Edwards II became clerk of the General Court, serving in that capacity (and as clerk of the Governor's Council) until May 26, 1693 (Palmer 1968:I:12,38; McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:81, 287; 1918:143; C.O. 5/1407 f 81). As brother-in-law of Colonel Thomas Swann's wife, Mary, he was connected with one of Virginia's wealthiest, most powerful families (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:304).

In August 1687 William Edwards II became clerk of the James City County court, a position that would have required him to make monthly trips to Jamestown that spanned several days at a time (Ambler MS 38). Edwards' need to attend council and General Court sessions and monthly court meetings may have prompted him to acquire a lot in Jamestown. On October 12, 1691, William Edwards II was identified as a trustee of the Surry County planned town known as Cobham (Surry County Deeds and Wills 1687-1694:233). Genealogical sources indicate that Edwards died during 1698 (Kornwolf 1976:98-100).

William Edwards III

William Edwards III, like his forebears, took an active role in public life and worked toward en-

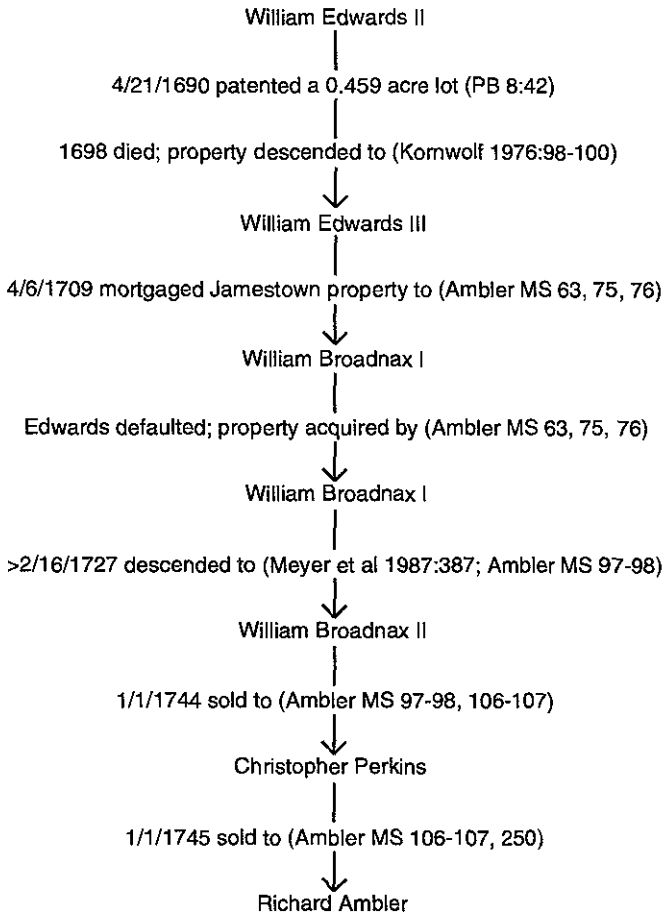


Figure 93. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract O.*

hancing his wealth. In 1699 he served as a James City County justice of the peace (Sainsbury 1964:17:309). He patented increasing amounts of land, sometimes in outlying counties. He resided in Surry County and between 1703 and 1706 served successive terms as a burgess (Nugent 1969-1979:III:37,44; Stanard 1965:95-97). As a ferry continued to ply the James between Jamestown and Crouches Creek, Edwards most likely was its proprietor throughout the years he was in possession of Tract O (Hening 1809-1823:III:219, 470).

William Edwards III eventually began having financial problems and became increasingly indebted to William Broadnax I. Finally, in April 1709, he deeded to Broadnax the Jamestown Island acreage he had inherited from his father, noting that if he repaid his debt he had the right to recover his property (Ambler MS 63, 75, 76). He never did and when William Broadnax I died in February 1727, Edwards' lots were included in his estate (Ambler MS 53, 97-98, 106-107).

William Broadnax I

As noted above, on April 6, 1709, William Edwards III of Surry County borrowed money from William Broadnax I and used Tract O (and his other Jamestown Island property) as collateral. As Edwards never repaid his debt, Broadnax acquired Tract O by default. On January 13, 1717, Broadnax purchased Tract M and on July 17, 1719, he bought Study Unit 1 Tract E from Edward Travis III. Finally, in May 1718 he acquired Robert Beverley II's ca. 3.3 acre lot (Study Unit 4 Tract Q) (Ambler MS 53, 63, 92, 97-98, 106-107).

William Broadnax I also owned a considerable amount of rural land in the eastern end of Jamestown Island. In 1712 he bought John Green's 12 acres (the Thorny Ridge, Study Unit 3 Tract J) and he eventually purchased Ann and James Chudley's land (Study Unit 3 Tracts Tracts H and I). In all, he succeeded in accumulating 127.7 acres of land 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 (Meyer et al. 1987:378; Ambler MS 53, 97-98, 106-107).

William Broadnax II

William Broadnax II inherited his late father's landholdings on Jamestown Island, which included Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O and Q; Study Unit 1 Tract E; and Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, J, and some adjacent land. He also received Study Unit 4 Tract R as a bequest from ferry-proprietor Edward Ross. This gave Broadnax control of Jamestown's two ferry lots: Tract O, from which the ferry ran to Crouches Creek, and Tract R, from which the ferry ran to Swann's Point. Broadnax purchased 100 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island from Philip Ludwell II (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) and he bought a neighboring 107 acre parcel from Francis Bullifant in 1736 (Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G) (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250).

Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen with landholdings on the south side of the James, in Brunswick County. He represented Jamestown in the February 1, 1728, session of the assembly 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) and a slave named William Liverpool to Christopher Perkins, a Norfolk County merchant (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; Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, Q, and R. Thus, he 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 road that led to the mainland. Perkins also had the lots that traditionally served as Jamestown's ferry landings, Tracts O and R.

Christopher Perkins

Christopher Perkins, upon purchasing William Broadnax II's acreage on Jamestown Island, kept it 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).

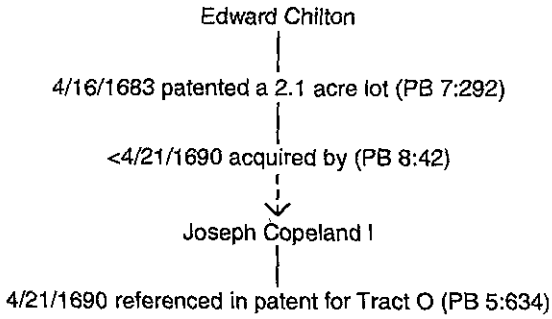


Figure 94. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract P.*

Study Unit 4 Tract P

Edward Chilton

On April 16, 1683, Edward Chilton patented 2 acres and 17 chains of land (2.1 acres) in the western end of Jamestown Island, procuring his acreage on the basis of one headright. Chilton's patent's highly detailed verbal boundary description ran clockwise from the southwest corner of Colonel Philip Ludwell I's lot, Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A. The boundary line commenced at "Colo Philip Ludwells corner stake south 88 degrees, easterly partly along his Honors line 9.4 chaines [310.2 feet], thence south 4 degrees, and a halfe westerly, partly along an old ditch 12 chains and ½ [412.5 feet] down James river bank and along under ye said Hill to a stake neer ye brick fort, thence north 16 degrees, easterly 7 chains and ½ [247.5 feet] to ye first stake." More simply, Chilton's lot line commenced at the southwest corner of Philip Ludwell I's long, rectangular lot (Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A) and ran eastward for 310.2 feet. It then turned south and followed an old ditch for 412.5 feet, until it reached the James River. Chilton's line followed the river bank "under ye said Hill" until it reached a stake near the brick fort (the structure built during the 1670s, which the Rev. John Clayton in 1688 likened to a duck blind). The boundary line then headed in a northeasterly direction and returned to the starting point (Nugent 1969-1979:II:263; Patent Book 7:292).

Edward 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. In 1682 Chilton 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).

During the 1680s and 90s Edward Chilton began patenting escheat land in New Kent County, probably making use of information he was privy to while working in the secretary's office. In 1697 Edward Chilton, Henry Hartwell and James Blair prepared a report on the status of the colony, a published work that describes the colony's economic and political attributes. Chilton was a strong advocate of the admiralty court, of which his father-in-law, Edward Hill III, served as judge (Nugent 1969-1979:II:284, 293; Sainsbury 1964:15:655; C.O. 5/1309 f 100).

Joseph Copeland I

On November 21, 1690, when William Edwards II patented Tract O, a 0.459 acre lot that abutted south upon the James River, "Joseph Copelands Great Gum on James River" demarcated the southwest corner of Edwards' land (Patent Book 8:42; Nugent 1969-1979:II:342). Edward Chilton's residency in Charles City County and the reference to the "great gum" tree as Joseph Copeland's suggest that he had replaced Chilton as the owner of Tract P. However, neither public nor private records have come to light providing further information on that period of Tract P's history.

Joseph Copeland I 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; Boddie 1938:214-215). Other than possession of 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 situated upon Study Unit 4 Tract A (Cotter 1957:59).

The Brick Fort (near the southwest corner of Tract P)

Commencement of the third Anglo-Dutch war prompted the assembly in September 1672 to order the construction of brick forts on all of the colony's major rivers (C.O. 129 ff 72-75). William Drummond I,[210] Major Theophilus Hone,[211] and Mathew Page were hired to build a 250-foot brick fort at Jamestown, but in April 1673 Drummond and Hone were censured by the governor and council for failing to live up to their agreement.[212] The two men were ordered to complete the task as soon as possible or 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." When the commissioners assigned to oversee the fort's construction inspected it, they determined that little had been done. Moreover, the bricks "& other things" were "very bad and altogether Insufficient." In June the commissioners were instructed to determine the value of the timber and bricks that Drummond and Hone had prepared and to see that the project was completed in accord with the specifications originally agreed upon (McIlwaine 1924:334, 342; Stanard 1912:26).

In July 1673, when the Dutch attacked the tobacco fleet near Old Point Comfort, 19 ships were burned or captured. At Jamestown, the brick fort apparently was functional, for a number of ships "got above the fort... and were safe" (McIlwaine 1925- 1945:533; C.O. 1/30 ff 169-170). In early April 1674 William Drummond I and Theophilus Hone were ordered to repair the fort and replace all cracked and faulty brick (McIlwaine 1924:367).

In 1688 the Rev. John Clayton of James City Parish described the fort 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 earthen fort that was too far from the river's channel to be effective. Clayton claimed that the brick fort was "little better than a blind Wall to shoot wild Ducks or Geese" because it "stands in a vale" or low spot where its guns were likely to lodge their shot in the rising embankment. He said that "Ships passing 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 confusion, as to have free passage enough" (Force 1963:III:12:23-24).

In January 1693 high-ranking officials decided to build a vaulted powder room at Jamestown, where ammunition could be stored, and in July, Governor Andros informed his superiors in England that "a magazine and store house have been built" (C.O. 5/1308 f 150; Sainsbury 1964:14:132). In Spring 1695 when Colonels William Byrd and Edward Hill inspected "the platforme or ould fort near the statehouse,"[213] they concluded that it would cost more to repair than replace. At that juncture, the council decided to raze the old brick fort and replace it with a platform upon which "great guns" could be mounted. Work was complete sometime prior to August 1696, when a shipment of ammunition and other stores of war arrived from England

[210] Drummond and his wife owned Study Unit 4 Tract N.

[211] Hone rented dwellings (Structures 138 and 38) on Study Unit 1 Tracts F and D and sought to lease Lots C and D of Study Unit 4 Tract K and Bays 3 and 4 of Structure 115.

[212] By that time Page was dead.

[213] The Ludwell Statehouse Group (Structure 144) was known as "the statehouse" decades after it ceased to function as such (see the histories of Study Unit 1 Tract H and Study Unit 4 Tracts U and Q).

(McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:117, 275, 322, 331, 344, 349-350; Sainsbury 1964:14:517). In 1697 the Rev. James Blair declared that the new gun platform would be utterly useless if it became necessary to defend Jamestown. He added that "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). Edward Ross (owner of nearby Tract R) was gunner of Jamestown's fortifications and had charge of its munitions (see ahead).

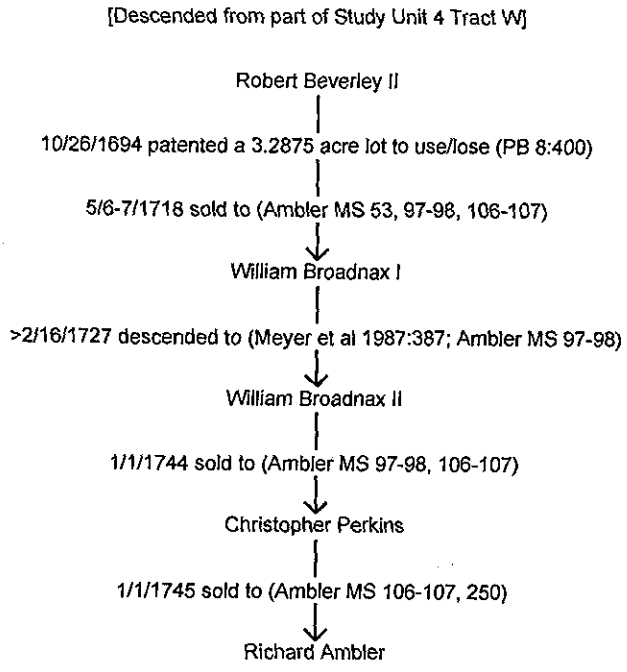


Figure 95. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract Q, Bay 5 of Ludwell Statehouse Group.*

Study Unit 4 Tract Q

Robert Beverley II

On October 26, 1694, Robert Beverley II, whose narrative history of the Virginia colony was published in 1705, secured a patent for 3 acres 1 rood 6 poles of land (3.2875 acres) in Jamestown. The patent's boundaries and those of contiguous properties reveal that Beverley's ca. 3.3 acres abutted west upon the east end of the ruinous three-bay brick rowhouse Governor William Berkeley commenced building in 1645, Structure 144, the Ludwell Statehouse Group. Robert Beverley II's patent's verbal boundary description ran clockwise from a point near his lot's southwest corner. It began "at the Southermost End of the Ditch which Divides this from the western Side of the Lands late of Lawrence Collo Bacon or one of them [Tract S] at the road Side." It then extended "Northward along the Ditch 36 poles and 2/5 of a pole [600.6 feet] to a Slash called Pitch and Tarr Slash or Swamp, then Along Up that Slash till it Come to the Maine Cart road westward makeing good in a right line 3.3 pole [54.45 feet], then down that Cart road South Eastwards as it Windeth but makeing good in a right line 61 poles [1,006.5 feet] to the place it begun" (Ambler MS 51; Nugent 1969-1979:II:396; Patent Book 8:400; Robert Beverley Title Book).[214] The locations of Pitch and Tar Swamp, the Bacon patent and the main cart road make it possible to place Beverley's patent within the cultural landscape.

On April 20, 1694, approximately six months before Robert Beverley II secured his patent for Tract Q, Philip Ludwell I patented 1½ acres of land "adjoyning to the Ruins of his three Brick houses between the State house and the Country house," the acreage designated Tract U Lot A. The Ludwell lot's boundary line commenced "neare Pitch and Tarr swamp 8 cheynes [264 feet] of [off] the Eastrmost End of the said houses and runing by the said End south 2 degrees westerly 16 cheynes [528 feet], thence North 88 degrees westerly 3 3/4 chains [123.75 feet], thence North 2 degrees easterly 16 cheynes [528 feet] by the other End of the said houses and thence south 88 degrees Easterly 3 3/4 cheynes [123.75 feet] to the place it begun" (Patent Book 8:315). Thus, Ludwell's lot, which was 123.75 feet wide, enveloped Bays 2, 3, and 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group, Structure 144. While Ludwell's verbal boundary description indicates that his acreage lay between the "country house" (Bay 1, at the west end of the Ludwell Statehouse Group) and "the State house," implying that Ludwell's ruinous housing units were sandwiched between the two, it should be noted that documentary, archaeological and architectural research suggest strongly that in 1694 another building (Structure 112, which is situated to the east) was then serving as the colony's statehouse. (See the history of Study Unit 1 Tract H).[215]

Robert Beverley II was obliged to develop his property within three years or lose it. He apparently erected Bay 5 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group rowhouse within the proscribed time, for subsequent land transactions reveal that he retained his property until 1718 and then sold it. Moreover, someone (probably Beverley, who by 1698 was secretary of both the James City County court and the General Court and was residing in Jamestown) noted on the obverse side of the patent for Tract Q

[214] The distance along the road and that of the line abutting Bacon have been combined to create a closed figure of the proper size.

[215] Structure 112 probably served as the colony's statehouse during the 1630s and from the early 1660s until 1698, with a hiatus from 1676 to 1686. Two units of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (those built by Governor William Berkeley) were used as a statehouse from post-1645 to 1655.

that it was the "land on which ye house is built adjoining thereto near the Church" (Ambler MS 51; Nugent 1969-1979:II:396; Patent Book 8:400; Robert Beverley Title Book).

Robert Beverley II, son of the assembly secretary Robert Beverley I, was born in 1673. He was educated in England and when he returned to Virginia, became a volunteer scrivener in the office of the Secretary of the Colony. By April 4, 1694, Robert Beverley II had been appointed clerk of the James City County court. Thus, he was clerk of the local court when he patented Tract Q. As his father died in 1687, he already had inherited 300 acres in Gloucster County and 6,500 acres in King and Queen and Essex Counties. He began acquiring land on his own and in 1696 patented 2,359 acres between the Rappahannock and Mattaponi Rivers and 5,000 acres in New Kent. Two years later, he laid claim to 570 acres in Elizabeth City County. Between 1700 and 1729 he patented a massive quantity of land, including 813 acres in Elizabeth City County; 4,254 acres in King and Queen; 1,650 acres in King William and Spotsylvania; and 24,000 acres in Spotsylvania (Beverley 1947:xiv; Ambler MS 48; Nugent 1969-1979:II:377,395; III:6,9,22, 34, 205, 233, 285, 360, 395).

In 1697, three years after patenting Tract Q, Robert Beverley II married 16-year-old Ursula Byrd, the daughter of William Byrd I and sister of William Byrd II of Westover. Robert and Ursula were living in Jamestown in 1698, when their son, William, was born. Ursula died in childbirth and was interred in the church yard at Jamestown. Robert never remarried (Beverley 1947:xiv; Sully 1845; Stanard 1935:244). Although Robert Beverley II retained Tract Q until May 1718, it is uncertain how long he lived in Jamestown after his wife's demise. However, his increasingly active role in public life, which would have required his occasional but regular presence in Jamestown for extended periods, would have made a local residence useful.[216]

After the burning of the statehouse on October 20, 1698, Robert Beverley II, as clerk of the General Court and his kinsman, Peter Beverley, as clerk of the assembly, were ordered to ask Mrs. Rachel Sherwood if she would rent her porch room and an adjoining room to the government for the storage of official records (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:392-393). Robert, as an experienced clerk and son of a former clerk, would have been keenly aware of the type of facilities needed. On October 21, 1698, Governor Edmund Andros ordered those who'd retrieved some of the documents thrown from the burning statehouse to take them to Mrs. Sherwood's brick house (Structure 31) "or to the clerk of the county court where [if] they live by him" (C. O. 5/1309 f 19). He probably resided in Bay 5 of Structure 144.

Between 1699 and 1706 Robert Beverley II served several terms as Jamestown's burgess. In 1699, when he first was elected, he unseated Bartholomew Fowler. A year later, when a new election was held, Beverley and Benjamin Harrison received an equal number of votes. When the House of Burgesses was called upon to decide who should represent Jamestown, Beverley was chosen. In 1702 Beverley's compensation as a burgess was at the center of a controversy over whether James City County citizens who lived in Williamsburg were obliged to contribute toward the allowance of Jamestown's delegate to the assembly (Leonard 1976:59-60, 64; Stanard 1965:94-95, 97; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1695-1702:141; Sainsbury 1964:20:333, 737).

From time to time, Robert Beverley II clashed with Governor Francis Nicholson, whom he openly criticized. As a result, in 1703 Nicholson dismissed him as clerk of the King and Queen County court. At the heart of the two men's disagreement was Beverley's opposition to Nicholson's moving the seat of government from Jamestown to Williamsburg (Beverley 1947:xv, xxix).

[216] Even though the colonial capital moved to Williamsburg, the seat of the James City County court, which met monthly, stayed on in Jamestown for more than a decade.

In May 1706 Robert Beverley II was one of the James City County justices, who asked the House of Burgesses for permission to salvage bricks from the ruinous statehouse to use in building a county courthouse in Jamestown. Their request was approved (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1702-1712:204; 1918:459). However, sometime after 1715, but before 1721, a James City County Courthouse was erected in Williamsburg, which justices shared the building with those of the county.

On May 6 and 7, 1718, Robert Beverley II, who by then was a resident of King and Queen County, sold his ca. 3.3 acre lot (Tract Q) and "All his the said Robert's Houses and Land in Jamestown, as by the said Deeds now remaining of Record in the Court of James City County" to William Broadnax I. The selling price was 110 pounds sterling (Ambler MS 53, 97-98, 106-107). This transaction, which implies that his property in Jamestown contained one or more standing structures, is Beverley's last known association with Tract Q.

William Broadnax I

William Broadnax I, who in May 1718 purchased Robert Beverley II's ca. 3.3 acre lot (Tract Q) and its improvements, already held the deed to Tract O, which he had acquired from William Edwards III, his mortgagor, sometime after April 6, 1709. Broadnax also owned Tract M and he purchased Study Unit 1 Tract E from Edward Travis III on January 17, 1719 (Ambler MS 53, 63, 92, 97-98, 106-107).

Besides his lots in the western end of Jamestown Island, William Broadnax I owned a considerable amount of rural acreage in the eastern end of the island. In 1712 he bought John Green's 12 acres (the Thorny Ridge, Study Unit 3 Tract J) and he eventually purchased Ann and James Chudley's land (Study Unit 3 Tracts H and I). In all, he succeeded in accumulating 127.7 acres of rural land that extended from the east side of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot D, eastward to a point just beyond the mouth of the nameless creek encircling Fox Island (Meyer et al. 1987:378; Ambler MS 53, 97-98, 106-107).

William Broadnax II

Sometime after William Broadnax I's February 1727 decease, his son, William II, inherited his urban and rural property on Jamestown Island. The decedent's urban holdings included Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O and Q and Study Unit 1 Tract E, and his rural property in eastern Jamestown Island included 127.7 acres that enveloped Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J. William Broadnax II also inherited a town lot (Study Unit 4 Tract R) from ferryman Edward Ross. William Broadnax II purchased 100 acres in the eastern end of Jamestown Island from Philip Ludwell II (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) and 107 acres from Francis Bullifant (Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G) (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250).

William Broadnax II was a wealthy and prominent citizen with 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, Broadnax sold all of his Jamestown Island property (both rural and urban) and a slave named William Liverpool to Christopher Perkins, a Norfolk County merchant (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, he controlled virtually all of the frontage on the James River east of Orchard Run and land at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the road that led to the mainland. Perkins also had the lots traditionallyused for the Jamestown ferry.

Christopher Perkins

Christopher Perkins, upon purchasing all of William Broadnax II's landholdings on Jamestown Is-

land, kept the acreage for precisely a year. On January 1, 1745, he conveyed it 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 (Ambler MS 106-107, 250).

Study Unit 4 Tract R

John Phipps

On May 4, 1661, John Phipps received a patent for ½ acre of land in Jamestown. The verbal boundary description of Phipps' lot, which ran counter-clockwise, indicates that it began "on a Ditch side and running South West ½ a point Southerly 4 chains [132 feet], thence Southeast half a point Easterly 5 chains [165 feet], thence parallel to the first and Second Lines to the place it Began." Although the only geographical reference point mentioned in Phipps' patent was a ditch, the verbal boundary description of his successor, which is much more explicit and makes reference to the inclusion of John Phipps' ½ lot, reveals that it lay in the western end of Jamestown Island, within Study Unit 4 Tract R. Phipps was obliged to erect improvements upon his lot within six months or face forfeiture (Patent Book 4:475; Nugent 1969-1979:I:409).

John Phipps already owned a 120 acre tract in Jamestown, most of which was on the north side of Back Street within Study Unit 1 Tract D, and he had a legal interest in the Glass House, just across the isthmus, on the mainland. In 1660 he had purchased the 3.03 acre lot that contained the "country house" (Structure 38 and Study Unit 1 Tract D Lots A, B and C) from Elizabeth Rix Shipdam and her husband, Edmond (McIlwaine 1924:558; Nugent 1969-1979:I:313, 340; Patent Book 3:367; 4:101; Ambler MS 10, 78).

Relatively little is known about John Phipps or his background. He and his wife, Mary, probably occupied the "country house" (Structure 138) on Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A, on the upper side of Back Street, or they may have erected a dwelling as part of the 1662 building initiative. The Phipps' dwelling and barn were shown and identified on a plat prepared in 1664 for John Knowles of Henrico County, who was in the process of purchasing John Phipps' 120 acres (Ambler MS 10, 135-136; Patent Book 7:98; Nugent 1969-1979:II:222). Phipps also laid claim to some land outside of Jamestown. In 1665 he patented 600 acres on the south side of the Rappahannock River and in 1674 he purchased 1,100 acres on Powhatan Swamp in Archer's Hope (Nugent 1969-1979:I:440; II:152).

Because John Phipps failed to improve his ½ acre lot in the western end of Jamestown Island (part of Tract R), ultimately it escheated to the Crown. In October 1696 Tract R was patented by Edward Ross (Ambler MS 61; Patent Book 9:49; Nugent 1969-1979:III:8-9).

Edward Ross

On October 29, 1696, Lieutenant Edward Ross patented a 5 rood 7 pole (1.29 acre) lot in the western end of Jamestown Island. His patent stated that it enveloped the ½ acre of land John Phipps had patented on May 4, 1661, and deserted. Edward Ross's 1.29 acre lot abutted west upon the James River and north upon the low-lying area where Pitch and Tar Swamp reached the James. His property's verbal boundary description, which proceeded counter-clockwise, began at "a Stake in the Corner of an old Ditch near ye head of Pitch & tarr Swamp Partly a Long the sd Ditch North 68 & 3/4 degrees Westerly 9 (two pole) chaines [297 feet] to James River Banck and Down it South 2 Degrees Easterly 6 chaines and 52 hundredth parts [215.16 feet] to a stake thence south 68 and a half Degrees Easterly 7 and 3/10 chaines [240.9 feet] to a stake in ye first mentioned Ditch and a Long it North 18 Degrees Easterly 6 chains and 44 hundredth parts [212.52 feet] to the first stake, one halfe of the sd Land was fformerly granted unto Jno Phips by Patent bearing Date ye 4th Day of May 1661." Edward Ross reportedly was living upon Tract R at the time he received his patent and

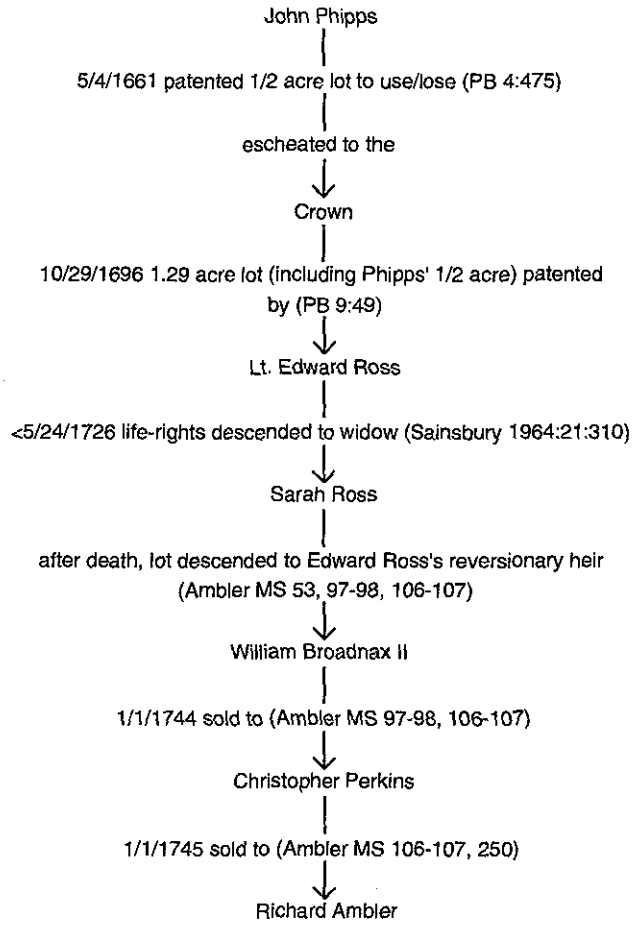


Figure 96. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract R.*

sometime prior to 1702 he began operating a ferry from Jamestown to Swann's Point (Nugent 1969-1979:III:8-9; Patent Book 9:49; Ambler MS 61; Sainsbury 1964:21:310; Hening 1809-1823:III:319).

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 and the assembly were engaged in a pay dispute (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:191; 1918:143; 1925-1945:I:345, 356; Stanard 1903:236; 1916:401).

By June 1695 Edward Ross had been designated gunner of Jamestown's fortifications (which by that date consisted of a platform with "great guns") and he 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 Tract R, near the southwest corner of Edward Chilton's patent (Tract P). The military stores for which Edward Ross was responsible were kept in a magazine or powder house, which according to

the Rev. James Blair, "stands all alone without any Garrison to defend it, and is a ready prey for any foreign or domestic enemy." Mid-nineteenth century paintings by Robert Sully (1854) and his descriptive notes suggest that it stood upon a bluff overlooking the river, about 120 feet above the brick fort, and an early twentieth century plat of the A.P.V.A property indicates that it was near the southwest corner of Bay 1 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Structure 144) on Lot B of Study Unit 4 Tract U (James City County Plat Book 2:6). Edward Ross served as the Jamestown fort's gunner until ca. 1708 and he performed related duties such as having powder barrels re-hooped and accounting for the military stores that were on hand at Jamestown. Around 1708, when the French posed a threat to the colony, the military stores at Jamestown were moved to Williamsburg, then considered a safer location (C. O. 5/1308 f 150; 5/1309 ff 223-224; Sainsbury 1964:14:132; 15:454; 17:51; 18:263; Perry 1969:I:14; McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:331, 344, 349, 410, 423; II:208, 276; III:13-14, 102, 202; Stanard 1916:401).

Throughout the years Edward Ross was gunner of the Jamestown fort, he was proprietor of the ferry to Swann's Point. In 1703 he requested an increase in the fare he was allowed to charge. 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).

William Broadnax II

William Broadnax II inherited at least one town lot from the ferryman Edward Ross, Tract R. He also received his late father's land through the right of descent: Study Unit 1 Tract E; Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O and Q; and Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, J and some neighboring acreage. This gave William Broadnax II control of both Jamestown lots from which ferries ran: Tract O, which carried passengers to Crouches Creek, and Tract R, which provided service to Swann's Point. Broadnax purchased a 107 acre tract in the eastern end of Jamestown (which included Study Unit 3 Tracts B, C, D, E, F, and G) from Francis Bullifant and he bought 100 acres of nearby property from Philip Ludwell II (Study Unit 3 Tracts A and K) (Ambler MS 77, 97-98, 106-107, 250).

Broadnax was a wealthy and prominent citizen, with landholdings on the south side of the James, in Brunswick County. He represented Jamestown in the February 1, 1728, session of the assembly 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) and a slave named William Liverpool to Christopher Perkins, a Norfolk County merchant (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; Study Unit 4 Tracts M, O, Q, and R. Thus, he controlled virtually all of the frontage on the James River east of Orchard Run and land at the extreme western end of Jamestown Island, over which passed the main road that led to the mainland. Perkins also had the lots that traditionally served as Jamestown's ferry landings, Tracts O and R.

Christopher Perkins

Christopher Perkins, upon purchasing all of William Broadnax II's landholdings on Jamestown Is-

land, kept the acreage for precisely a year. On January 1, 1745, he conveyed them 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).

Study Unit 4 Tract S

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's 1683 patent is at the core of Tract S's chain of title, for it provides a detailed verbal boundary description of his property and makes reference to its origin in a somewhat larger tract formerly owned by Richard Lawrence, a major actor in Bacon's Rebellion. Colonel Nathaniel Bacon died in 1692, a childless widower. He left a substantial part of his estate to his sister's daughter, Abigail, naming her sons Nathaniel and James Burwell and grandson Lewis Burwell III as reversionary heirs.

As Lewis Burwell II, son Nathaniel, and grandson Lewis III successively represented Jamestown in the House of Burgesses between 1710 and 1744, and land ownership was prerequisite to office-holding, it is very likely that the property they inherited from Colonel Nathaniel Bacon formed the basis of their eligibility for election. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that the Burwells cannot be linked to any other property in Jamestown. Moreover, Bacon, at the time of his death, no longer had a legal interest in the rowhouses situated upon Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A (Structure 144) or Study Unit 4 Tract K (Structure 115).

Mr. Randolph

In 1662, when Mrs. Sarah Drummond patented Tract N, a ½ acre lot abutting east upon the church yard, a Mr. Randolph was said to own the acreage at her northwest corner (Patent Book 5:634; Nugent 1969-1979:I:560). This description places Mr. Randolph within the boundaries of Tract S. Although Randolph's identity is open to conjecture, he may have been merchant Henry Randolph, who from 1656 to 1673 served as clerk of the House of Burgesses and in 1661 became deputy escheater general (Leonard 1976:34-37; Hening 1809-1823:I:424; II:456; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:35,98; McIlwaine 1924:507).

By 1670 Henry Randolph of Henrico County had purchased the three central units of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Bays 2, 3, and 4 of Structure 144, located upon Tract U Lot A), which he disposed of within a year (McIlwaine 1924:514). Members of Henrico's Randolph family were wealthy merchants and planters who took an active role in public life. During the 1650s, 60s and 70s Henry Randolph patented substantial quantities of land on the Appomattox River and in the Northern Neck, on both the Potomac and Rappahannock. He was closely associated with merchant Thomas Stegg I of Henrico (formerly of Jamestown) and in 1668 witnessed his will. Henry Randolph died in 1673 while still clerk of the assembly and his widow was appointed his administratrix. Randolph, at the time of his death, was indebted to William Drummond I and Colonel Thomas Swann (Stegg 1668; Nugent 1969-1979:I:347, 376, 499; II:57, 84, 100, 102; McIlwaine 1924:225, 264, 360, 372; Hening 1809-1823:II:456).

Richard Lawrence

Richard Lawrence, best known as a confederate of the rebel Nathaniel Bacon, reportedly acquired his property in Jamestown by marrying "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 Businesse Called to that Town." Mrs. Lawrence may have been related to the Mr. Randolph who in 1662 owned Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A, the land adjoining the northwest corner of Sarah Drummond's patent (Study Unit 4 Tract N). Contemporary accounts indicate that Richard Lawrence attended Oxford University and was a charismatic man known for

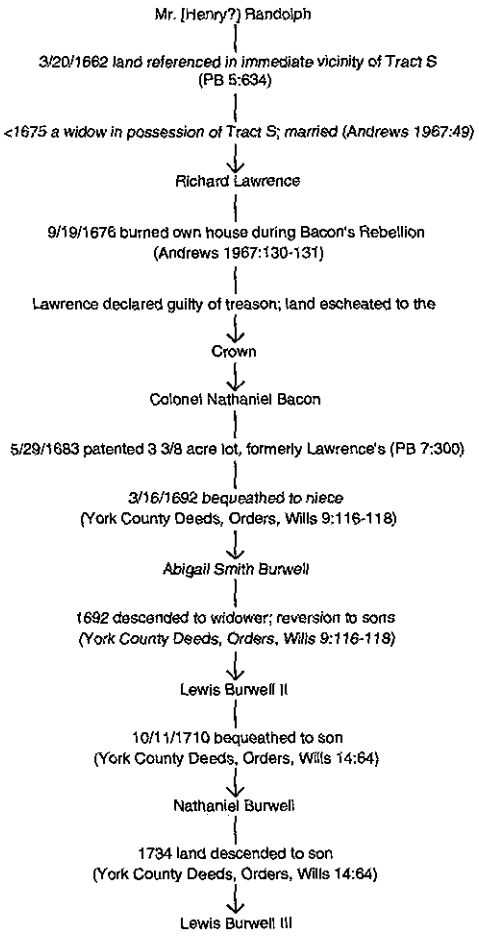


Figure 97. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract S.*

his intelligence and eloquence. Upon marrying, he became an inn-keeper. His contact with those who patronized his tavern, which was located near the ferry-landing on Tract O, would have given him an opportunity to broadcast his views. He represented Jamestown in the colony's assembly in 1676 and therefore would have been in a position to further Bacon's objectives. In the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion, some of Lawrence's detractors claimed that he was an atheist and that had a black slave as a concubine (Force 1963:I:8:15, 25; I:11:46; Andrews 1967:49; Aspinall et al. 1871: 9:4:170; C. O. 5/1371 f 247).

During the 1660s, Richard Lawrence began patenting land along the Rappahannock River, an area that had a substantial Native population. In February 1667 he identified himself as a resident of Jamestown. Lawrence made numerous appearances before the General Court during the early-to-mid 1670s, often seeking to recover debts, and he filed suits against several people in the Surry County court, including Thomas Clarke, a bricklayer. Richard Lawrence was a skillful surveyor and in July 1672 he prepared a plat of Richard Lee's plantation, Paradise, in Gloucester County. In March 1675 he was authorized to survey Thomas Senior's land in Old Rappahannock County (Nugent 1969-1979:I:441,478; II:22; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:301, 297, 307; McIlwaine 1924:218, 222, 228, 236, 238,

297, 408; Surry County Order Book 1671-1691:1, 5, 8; Lawrence 1672).

By the early 1670s Richard Lawrence (while a burgess) began to clash with some of Governor William Berkeley's supporters and he had some frustrating experiences with the General Court. In October 1672 Lawrence accused General Court clerk Richard Auborne of causing John Senior's death. All three were associated with Jamestown Island, for Auborne occupied one of the bays in the Structure 115 rowhouse (situated upon Study Unit 1 Tract K) and John Senior owned property in the eastern end of the island (Study Unit 2 Tracts B, C, and D and some marsh land north of Passmore Creek's mouth). General Court minutes fail to shed light upon the basis of Richard Lawrence's allegations. In early 1673 the General Court reversed the James City County court's decision in a law suit that involved Lawrence vs. Auborne. Several months later, the General Court decided to let one of Lawrence's servants (John Bustone) serve less time than he'd agreed to. Then, in April 1674 the General Court fined Richard Lawrence for entertaining Governor Berkeley's servants and forced him to contribute toward the brick fort being built at Jamestown. Later in the year, when three of Lawrence's male servants (Jeremiah Mathewes, Evan Wood, and John Bustone) absconded with his shallop, which they lost in their attempt to flee, only two were ordered to serve some extra time. In 1675 the General Court freed an indentured servant (an apprentice to a ship's carpenter) whom Richard Lawrence assigned to Arnold Cossina (Cassinet) in exchange for a debt. These court decisions undoubtedly heightened Lawrence's resentment of Governor William Berkeley and his Council (the General Court's justices) and they probably provoked him to post bail for Giles Bland, who was jailed for slandering Secretary Thomas Ludwell. When Bland fled to avoid standing trial, William Sherwood sued Richard Lawrence to recover the bail money (McIlwaine 1924:313, 344, 348, 372, 382-383, 407, 418, 452).

As soon as the popular uprising known as Bacon's Rebellion got underway, Richard Lawrence became an active participant. Most contemporary sources describe him as Nathaniel Bacon's friend and trusted advisor. Lawrence also lived next door to Bacon supporter William Drummond I, who had a dwelling on Tract N. In June 1676, when Nathaniel Bacon brought his followers to Jamestown, he slipped ashore to met with Richard Lawrence. Afterward, Berkeley had Lawrence's dwelling searched, in an attempt to capture Bacon. When Berkeley and his loyalists eventually abandoned Jamestown, Bacon's men seized the governor's goods and stashed them at Lawrence's house (Force 1963:I:8:15-17; Wiseman Book of Records [1677]; Sainsbury 1964:9:414; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:130).

On September 19, 1676, when Nathaniel Bacon and his followers put Jamestown to the torch, Richard Lawrence reportedly set fire to his own house, which was said to be one of the best in town. Some writers credited him with setting ablaze the church (Structure 142 on Study Unit 4 Tract V) and the statehouse (Structure 112 on Study Unit 1 Tract H). Lawrence also is said to have burned the houses that belonged to William Sherwood's orphaned stepson, Richard James II (Structure 1/2 on Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B). Afterward, Lawrence fled with four men, taking a pile of tobacco notes but abandoning "a cupboard full of plate." Governor William Berkeley considered Lawrence's crimes so grievous that he declared him a traitor exempt from the king's pardon. Richard Lawrence, upon leaving Jamestown, never was seen again. Some claimed that he was sighted in New Kent County; others said that he died in the snow. Because Lawrence was considered a traitor, all of his real and personal property escheated to the Crown. In 1677 an inventory was made of his estate and Major William White of Jamestown (whose New Towne home was located in Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C) was ordered to recover whatever was left (Hening 1809-1823:II:370, 461; Force 1963:I:8:21-23; I:11:22; C. O. 5/1371 ff

218-219, 247; 1/39 f 65; 1/41 f 32; Wiseman Book of Records [1677]; Andrews 1967:67; Beverley 1947:96; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:121; Nugent 1969-1979:II:265; Patent Book 7:300; Purdie and Dixon, February 23, 1769).

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon

On May 29, 1683, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, a member of the Governor's Council, patented 3 3/8 acres of land, "part of a parcel of land formerly belonging to Richard Lawrence, who being guilty of high Treason agt. his Majesty, not daring to abide a legal tryal, fled for ye same, whereby all his goods, chattels, lands & tenements became forfeited to his Majesty." The boundary line of Bacon's lot commenced "att ye Eastermost Corner of ye said Lawrences old ditch on a branch of Pitch and Tarr swamp"[217] and ran "south 16½ degrees westerly 7.6 chains [250.8 feet]." It proceeded "south 50 degrees westerly 1.4 chaines [46.2 feet]" before turning "south 2 degrees easterly 4 chains [132 feet]," then "north 85½ degrees westerly 2.62 chains [86.4 feet]." It extended "south 16 1/4 degrees 2.25 chains [74.25 feet], near ye end of a little rising (or ridge of earth) and [ran] over it north 81½ degrees westerly 5.75 chains [189.75 feet] to ye west side of ye aforesaid Ditch." At that point it headed down the ditch "to ye aforesaid branch of Pitch and Tarr Swamp and down the said branch and ditch to ye first corner" (Patent Book 7:300; Nugent 1969-1979:II:265).

The verbal boundary description of Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's lot indicates that it was irregularly-shaped and abutted north upon a branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp. However, it contains very little information that links the patent to recognizable topographic features. Instead, it is the verbal boundary descriptions of three adjoining lots (Tracts M, O and Q), which abut and post-date the Bacon patent, that make it possible to place Tract S within the cultural landscape. For example, the eastern boundary line of Tract O (the ferry lot William Edwards II patented on April 21, 1690) traced the western boundary line of Tract S for 450.78 feet, as it headed toward the James River (Patent Book 8:42; Nugent 1969-1979:II:342). On the other hand, the western boundary line of Tract M (the 1.75 acre lot John Howard patented on April 10, 1694) followed the eastern boundary of Colonel Bacon's Tract S for 224.4 feet (Patent Book 8:82, 320; Nugent 1969-1979:II:350; Ambler MS 50). Robert Beverley II's ca. 3.3 acre lot (Tract Q), which adjoined the eastern end of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Structure 144), also abutted Colonel Bacon's Tract S: Beverley's southerly lot line traced part of Tract S's northerly boundary line (Ambler MS 51; Patent Book 8:400; Nugent 1969-1979:II:396). Collectively, these three patents reveal that Tract S was located between the yard of the James City Parish church (Structure 142 on Tract V) and the ferry lot (Tract O), and that it lay south of Robert Beverley II's Tract Q, which adjoined the eastern end of the Ludwell Statehouse Group, and west of Tract M. It is probable (but not certain) that Tract S originally fronted upon the James River. It seems to have bordered the west and north sides of Tract N.

Sometime prior to September 20, 1683, Thomas Lord Culpeper filed an official report on the progress that had been made in rebuilding Jamestown. He indicated that council members and the community's chief inhabitants were more likely to build houses if provided with incentives, such as profit and advantage. He added, "However Mr Auditor Bacon hath lately built two very good ones and Colonel Bridger [Joseph] and one Mr [William] Sherwood are going about several wch will be finished this or next year." He also said that "there are several others marked out for building" (C.O. 5/1356 f 68). Culpeper's statement about Auditor Nathaniel Bacon's recent construction of two "very good" houses raises the possibility that he erected them upon Tract S.

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, the son of an English clergyman, was born in 1620 and was a cousin

[217] This branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp probably terminated in the low-lying swale or valley where the 1670s brick fort was located.

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. At her decease he wed Elizabeth, the daughter and heir of ancient planter Richard Kingsmill and the widow of Richard Tayloe of York County (McGhan 1993:159; Stanard 1965:37; Isle of Wight Book A:93). Bacon, through marriages to two wealthy widows, his position as a high-ranking government official, and his success as a planter, managed to enhance his fortune significantly. In 1653 he renewed his patent for 1,075 acres in Isle of Wight County and in 1666 he claimed 1,000 acres in New Kent and 700 acres in Nansemond. Bacon also owned the King's Creek plantation in York County and in 1660 served as a burgess. In 1661 Nathaniel and Elizabeth Bacon sold the late Richard Kingsmill's Island House tract (Study Unit 1 Tract A) to Nicholas Meriwether. From the 1660s through the 1680s Bacon was a member of the Governor's Council and from 1675 to 1687 he was the colony's auditor general (Stanard 1965:22, 73; Nugent 1969-1979:I:478, 486; II:2; Hening 1809-1823:II:568; McIlwaine 1924:484, 486, 491, 516, 518).

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. By 1683 the rowhouse unit had come into the hands of Philip Ludwell I. Bacon was a successful planter and was part-owner of the ship *Lady Frances*. During the early 1670s he made numerous appearances in the General Court to recover debts and to report upon estates he'd audited. It was there that he aired a dispute with Colonel Thomas Swann (Structure 19A/B on Study Unit 4 Tract G) and audited William Drummond I's (Study Unit 4 Tract N) account of claims against another man. Some of these issues and Bacon's steadfast loyalty to Governor William Berkeley eventually put him at odds with those who sympathized with the rebel Nathaniel Bacon (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 1676 when Virginia was in the thros of the popular uprising known as Bacon's Rebellion, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's plantation at King's Creek, in York County, was plundered of his goods and in September he was detained there by the rebel Thomas Whaley. Meanwhile, his wife, Elizabeth, was one of the women seized and used as a shield when the rebel Nathaniel Bacon's men erected defensive works at the entrance to Jamestown Island (Wiseman Book of Records [1677]; Force 1963:I:9:8; I:11:41; Bruce 1898:64; McIlwaine 1924:52).

In July 1680 Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and George Lee presented a petition to the Governor's Council and the assembly, asking for a 50 year lease for "the ruins of two brick houses burnt in the late Rebellion" and the land upon which they were situated. Both men expressed a preference for the same houses: part of Structure 115, which is located within Study Unit 4 Tract K. One bay formerly had been occupied by clerk of the council Richard Auborne and the other by Arnall or Arnold Cossina (Cassinet). When Bacon was asked to choose between the two structures, he selected the Auborne house. When Bacon and Lee were given leases for their respective properties, which comprised the eastern end of the Structure 115 rowhouse, they were reminded of the need to rebuild within a year and to keep the buildings in good repair. They also were told that their leases were valid "provided that they [the structures being leased] be the countries houses." As it turned out, both were privately owned and George Lee acquired both lots and rowhouse units from their owner, William Brown of Surry. Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, on the other hand, seems to have let the matter drop (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:142-143, 152; 1918:10).

Throughout the latter part of his life, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon continued to play an active role in government affairs. In October 1680 he was paid for supplying food and military stores to one of the

frontier forts built as a defense against the Indians. The Governor's Council convened at Bacon's house once in July 1686 and another time in March 1689. However, it is unclear whether the meetings were held on his property in Jamestown (on Tract S) or at the King's Creek plantation. In 1687 Bacon served as president of the Governor's Council (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 6:258; McIlwaine 1918:86; 1925-1945:I:78, 110).

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, who had outlived his wife, Elizabeth Kingsmill Tayloe, made his will on March 15, 1692. Among the people to whom he made bequests were Lady Frances Berkeley and her husband Philip Ludwell I; Lt. Governor Francis Nicholson; Elizabeth Pettus; and several members of the Burwell family. Bacon died on March 16, 1692, and shortly thereafter his will was presented to the justices of York County. Colonel Bacon left all of his otherwise undesignated real and personal property to his niece Abigail Smith Burwell of Gloucester County (his sister's child and Lewis Burwell II's wife), with the understanding that it would 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).

Abigail Smith Burwell (Mrs. Lewis Burwell II)

Abigail Burwell outlived her uncle, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, by only a few months, dying on November 12, 1692 (Meyer et al. 1987:145). At that point, the property she had inherited from him would have descended into the custody of her husband, Lewis Burwell II, and afterward, to sons Nathaniel and James.

Lewis Burwell II

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. Burwell resided at King's Creek in York County and owned vast quantities of land in York and several other Tidewater counties. It is uncertain what use he made of the Bacon property in Jamestown. Burwell was named to the Governor's Council in 1702 (Byrd 1941:28; Stanard 1965:44).

By Autumn 1710 Lewis Burwell II had begun having medical problems. They became so acute that on October 11, 1710, he made his will and two days later he asked to be relieved from his duties as councillor. According to William Byrd II of Westover, Burwell received medical treatment from Dr. Archibald Blair, a highly respected physician. Even so, Lewis Burwell II died on December 19, 1710 (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 14:64; C. O. 5/1312 f 105; Byrd 1941:265; Stanard 1964:44).

Lewis Burwell II's will was proved on February 19, 1711, in the court of York County. Mentioned were his sons Nathaniel and James; four daughters; grandson Lewis III (Nathaniel's son); and brother-in-law Philip Ludwell. The testator distributed his landholdings to his sons and grandson and he indicated that Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's estate was to be divided among his children (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 14:64).

Nathaniel Burwell

Nathaniel Burwell, the son of Lewis II and Abigail Burwell, resided on Carter's Creek in Gloucester County. By 1692 he had matured and was married to Elizabeth, the daughter of Robert Carter of Corotoman. As one of his parents' principal heirs, he inherited part of Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's estate (Byrd 1941:7, 29; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 14:64). From 1710 to 1712 Nathaniel Burwell served as Jamestown's burgess (Leonard 1976:65). This indicates that he owned property within the community, in all likelihood Tract S, which was part of the late Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's estate. Nathaniel Burwell died in 1734 (Meyer et al 1987:146).

Lewis Burwell III

Lewis Burwell III, the son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth Carter Burwell and great-nephew of Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, inherited a portion of the Bacon property (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 9:116-118; 14:64). In 1736, within two years of his father's death, he became Jamestown's burgess and he served in that capacity through 1740. His eligibility to represent Jamestown indicates that he owned land in there. This raises the possibility that he inherited Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's Tract S. Lewis Burwell III also was a James City County justice. In 1744 he was elected a burgess for James City but he died before taking office (Leonard 1976:76; Stanard 1965:108, 110, 112, 116; McIlwaine 1925-1945:IV:413).

It is uncertain what happened to the Burwell family's Jamestown property at Lewis Burwell III's decease. However, it should be noted that his death coincided with Richard Ambler's purposeful acquisition of substantial quantities of land on Jamestown Island, which he developed into a family estate.

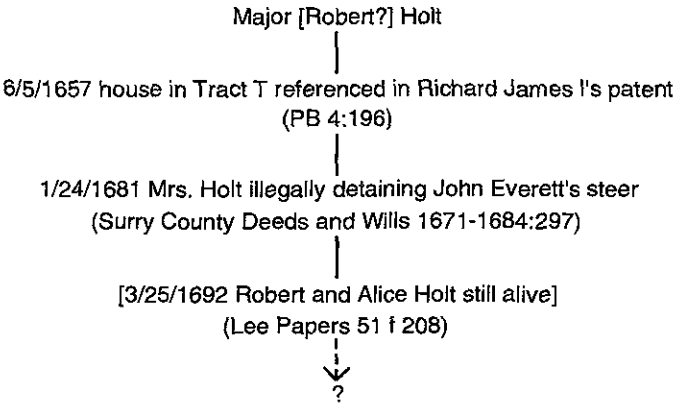


Figure 98. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract T.*

Study Unit 4 Tract T

Major [Robert] Holt

The verbal boundary description of Richard James I's June 5, 1657, patent for Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot B makes reference to "the Slash behind Major Holts house," a branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp that was located near the James property's southwest corner (Nugent 1969-1979:I:356; Patent Book 4:196). Although land ownership records pertaining to the Holt acreage have been lost or destroyed, in January 1681 John Everett, who was renting and operating Colonel Thomas Swann's tavern in Jamestown (probably Structure 19A/B on Study Unit 4 Tract G) accused Mrs. Holt of "unlawfully detaining a steer of his, pretending to pasture it" (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1671-1684:297). As Tracts T and G are in close proximity, the woman about whom tavern-keeper John Everett complained probably was Major Robert Holt's wife, Alice (Lee Papers 51 f 676).

On July 21, 1657, when Thomas Woodhouse and William Hooker patented Study Unit 3 Tract A, 100 acres of land in the southeastern end of Jamestown Island, their acreage, which was east of the Goose Hill House and extended northeast toward Passmore Creek, abutted north upon two parcels that collectively have been designated Study Unit 3 Tract K. One (Lot B) was attributed to John Pinhorne. The other (Lot A) in 1657 belonged to Major Holt (Patent Book 4:100; 6:42; Nugent 1969-1979:I:347; II:12; Ambler MS 18).

It is very likely that the Major Holt associated with Study Unit 4 Tract T and part of Study Unit 3 Tract K was Robert Holt, who in 1655 and 1656 served as a burgess for Jamestown and held the rank of major. In 1676, Holt, as a colonel, rallied 30 men and led the defense of Jamestown when the capital city came under attack from Nathaniel Bacon's followers. On March 16, 1677, Colonel Robert Holt presented the grievances of James City County's freeholders to the king's special commissioners, who were appointed to investigate the underlying causes of Bacon's Rebellion. In 1670 he owned some land near Green Spring, Governor William Berkeley's plantation in James City County (Stanard 1965:72; Patent Book 4:196; Sainsbury 1964:10:44; Bruce 1894:171; Lee Papers 51 f 208).

The date of Colonel Robert Holt's death is uncertain. 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.

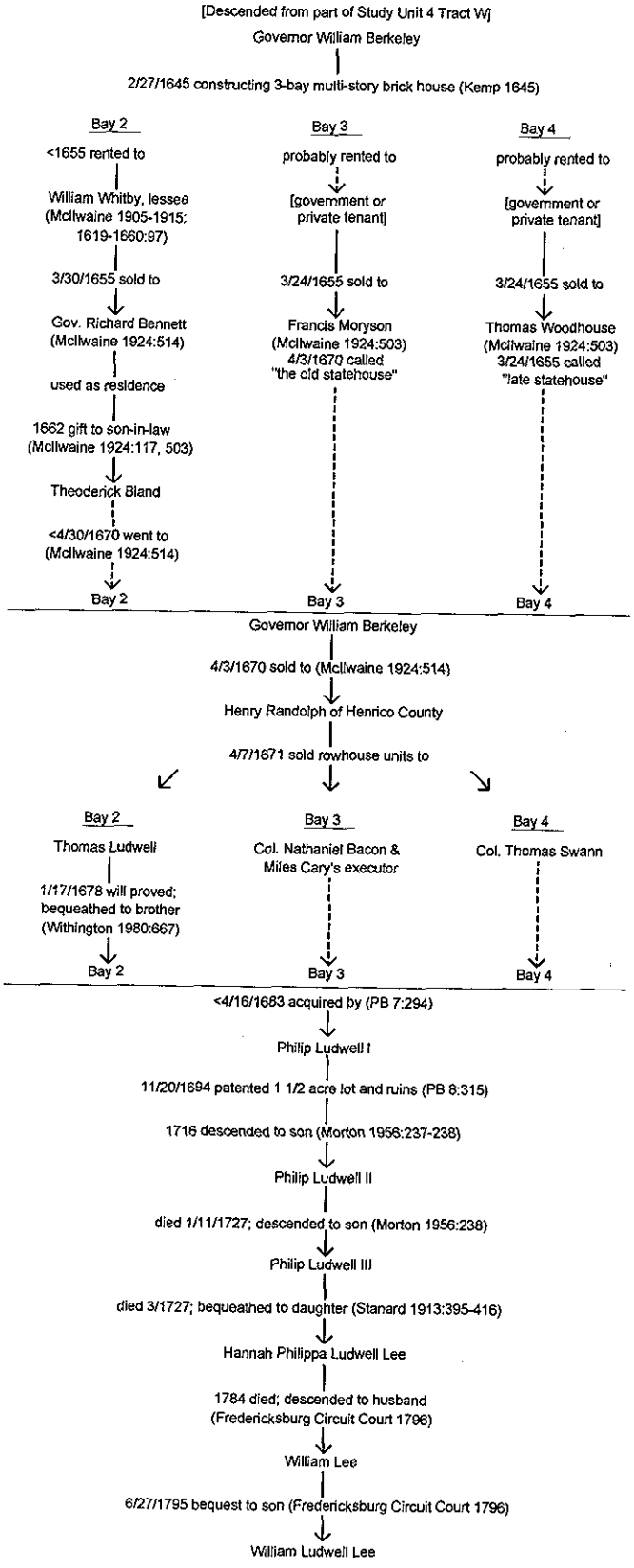


Figure 99. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract U, Lot A, Bays 2, 3, and 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group.*

Study Unit 4 Tract U

The Rev. Thomas Hampton, minister of James City Parish, patented a 5.5 acre tract of land (Study Unit 4 Tract W) on November 4, 1639. Hampton's patent description indicates that his acreage was located in the western end of Jamestown Island upon a narrow ridge of land behind the church; was oriented on an east-west axis; measured 1,353 feet in length; and was 180 feet in width. Hampton had six months in which to develop his property or face forfeiture (Patent Book 1:689; Nugent 1969-1979:I:56, 71). Topographic features and the Hampton patent's verbal boundary description together suggest that his 5.5 acre parcel (Study Unit 4 Tract W) occupied much of the ridge upon which the original units of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Structure 144) were built in 1645. As the width and directional orientation of Tract W are identical to those of the western terminus of Tract U (Lot B), it is probable that Tract W was the forerunner of Tract U.

By February 1645 Governor William Berkeley had commenced construction of the three adjoining houses that formed the central block of the Ludwell Statehouse Group. John Baldwin's October 4, 1656, patent for the river front acreage designated Study Unit 1 Tract E made reference to the presence of the statehouse, which lay on the opposite side of Pitch and Tar Swamp, where the Ludwell Statehouse Group is located (Patent Book 4:88). This suggests that when Governor William Berkeley was ordered to see that a statehouse was built for the colony, he erected a structure himself and leased it to the government. A survey made of Study Unit 1 Tract E in 1681, which makes reference to the old statehouse, corroborates this interpretation.

During the mid-1650s, when Sir William Berkeley disposed of Bays 2, 3, and 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group, Bay 3 was described as "the old statehouse." In October 1660, when Berkeley was told to see that a statehouse was built, and its cost and construction were left to his discretion, he appears to have converted a structure he owned into a government facility or allowed a new building to be erected on the site (see the history of Study Unit 1 Tract H). Even so, the Ludwell Statehouse Group continued to be known as "the statehouse" or "old statehouse" until the close of the seventeenth century. Around 1667 Secretary Thomas Ludwell and Henrico County merchant Thomas Stegg II added a unit (Bay 1) to the westernmost end of the Ludwell Statehouse Group and patented the lot that enveloped it.

In June 1676, when the rebel Nathaniel Bacon's men, who were positioned at the entrance to Jamestown Island, aimed two great guns at the capital city, the Ludwell Statehouse Group was a conspicuous target, at relatively close range. Also, virtually all four of the rowhouse's existing units (Bays 1, 2, 3, and 4) were owned by Governor Berkeley and members of his council. One eyewitness said, "Playing som calls itt, that takes delight to see stately structurs beated downe, and Men blowne up into the aire like Shutle Cocks" (Andrews 1967:71). If the brick rowhouse survived the bombardment, it surely sustained extensive damage on September 19, 1676, when Jamestown was deliberately burned. After peace was restored, Governor William Berkeley asked for compensation on account of his "houses burnt in James City" (Andrews 1967:136).

No archival information has come to light suggesting that Bays 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group ever were rebuilt. However, in ca. 1694 Robert Beverley II added a new unit (Bay 5) to the easternmost end of the old central block. Within the discussion that follows, Bays 2, 3, and 4 (the original rowhouse units) and Tract U Lot A (the land upon which they stood) are treated as components of a single entity. Bay 1 (and Tract U

Lot B) and Bay 5 (and Tract Q), which arise from different traditions, are addressed independently.

A mid-nineteenth century painting and cartographic works produced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveal that Bay 1 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group was subjected to severe erosion and finally yielded to the river. The construction of a seawall along the river bank eventually checked this process but necessitated the removal of protruding brickwork (see ahead).

Lot A Bay 2

Sir William Berkeley

No documentary records have come to light that reveal precisely when Governor William Berkeley acquired Lot A of Tract U and whether he did so by purchasing it or securing a patent. However, research on Tract W suggests strongly that Berkeley claimed the western portion of the same 5.5 acre tract that the Rev. Thomas Hampton patented in November 1639 and had six months to develop. Thus, he may have allowed his patent to lapse.

On February 27, 1645, acting-governor Richard Kemp wrote Governor William Berkeley (who was then in England) that construction of his brick house at Green Spring was then underway and that the one "att towne for want of materials is yet no higher than ye first storye above ye cellar" (Kemp, February 27, 1645, Clarendon MS 24 f 51).

William Whitby (Whittby) (lessee)

A land transaction that occurred on March 30, 1655, reveals that William Whitby previously had rented Bay 2 from Sir William Berkeley. It is uncertain when Whitby commenced leasing the property and when he ceased (McIlwaine 1924:503; Hening 1809-1823:I:407; 1905-1915:1619-1660:97).

William Whitby, who may have arrived in Virginia during the late 1640s, patented literally thousands of acres of land in Warwick County and in the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck. In July 1653, while he was a Warwick County burgess, he replaced Walter Chiles I as speaker of the assembly and it was during the same period that he rented Bay 2 from Sir William Berkeley. Whitby died sometime prior to April 1670, leaving a widow, Katherine, and a teenage son, William II (Nugent 1969-1979:I:229, 258; Sheppard 1980:7; Hening 1809-1823:I:353, 375, 378, 386-387, 407; McIlwaine 1924:215, 262, 415, 425; 1905-1915:1619-1660:92, 97; Stanard 1965:70).

Richard Bennett

On March 30, 1655, Sir William Berkeley sold to then-Governor Richard Bennett "the westernmost of the three brick houses which I... built" in Jamestown. Berkeley noted that the dwelling Bennett had purchased formerly had been rented to William Whitby (McIlwaine 1924:503; Hening 1809-1823:I:407; 1905-1915:1619-1660:97). The previous summer, Richard Bennett had sold the 24 acre Glass House tract to Francis Moryson, who (like Bennett) on March 30, 1655, purchased part of Structure 144, the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Bay 3) from William Berkeley (Ambler MS 78; McIlwaine 1924:503).

Richard Bennett, who was a nephew of British merchant Edward Bennett, came to Virginia during the late 1620s and settled within Warresqueak: what became Isle of Wight County. In 1629 he commenced serving as that area's burgess. He became a successful merchant and planter and during the 1630s, as his wealth and power increased, 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. He also was closely associated with Jamestown merchant George Menefie (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot F) and in 1645 served as the overseer of his will (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).

In 1639 when Richard Bennett was named to the Governor's Council, he was residing in Nansemond County. Official records reveal that he was a council member until 1651. In 1652 when Governor William Berkeley surrendered the Virginia colony to a Parliamentary fleet, Richard Bennett, Thomas Stegg I, and William Claiborne were among those representing the Commonwealth government. On March 24, 1652, Bennett was elected Virginia's governor. The last patent he signed was dated March 1655. Bennett was known for taking a strong stand against religious dissenters (Stanard 1965:15, 34; McIlwaine 1924:498, 503; 1905-1915:1619-1660:92; Lower Norfolk County Book A:246; B:70, 87, 174; Hening 1809-1823:I:370; Force 1973:II:9:14, 19; III:14:23).

After the Commonwealth era ended, Governor William Berkeley appointed Richard Bennett to his 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).

According to some notes made by nineteenth century historian Conway Robinson, in 1660 Richard Bennett's daughter, Anna, married merchant Theodorick Bland of Westover, to whom Bennett reportedly conveyed his rowhouse unit (Bay 2 of Structure 144) in 1662 (McIlwaine 1924:117, 503). On March 15, 1674, when Bennett prepared his will, he bequeathed money to several people, including his daughter Anna Bennett Bland. He also left a charitable bequest to his parish and some land in Virginia and Maryland to his grandchildren. Richard Bennett died within a year of making his will which on April 12, 1675, was presented for probate in England (McIlwaine 1924:516; McGhan 1993:197, 672).

Theodorick Bland

Theodorick Bland of Berkeley plantation in Charles City County, like his father-in-law, ex-governor and council member Richard Bennett, was a wealthy and powerful merchant. He alternately represented Charles City and Henrico Counties in the assembly and in 1660 served as speaker. Theodorick was praised for obtaining imported goods for the colony by working with his brother, London merchant John Bland, who owned a lot in Jamestown until at least 1678 (Parks 1985:173). In 1662 Theodorick Bland was designated to receive the impost on imported tobacco. A year later, when he became a councillor, he was authorized by his fellow Charles City County justices to make an agreement with Governor Berkeley about the construction of Charles City's obligatory brick house in Jamestown. In 1660 and 1670 Bland brought suit against William Drummond and Richard Lawrence, two of the principal participants in Bacon's Rebellion (Hening 1809-1823:I:549; II:9, 199; Stanard 1965:73; McIlwaine 1924:222, 484, 488, 507; Charles City County Order Book:34).

Theodorick Bland died on April 23, 1671. By that date, he already had disposed of the rowhouse unit his father-in-law, Richard Bennett, had bought from Sir William Berkeley in 1655, which by April 1670 was back in Berkeley's hands. In June 1675 Anna Bennett Bland was named administratrix of Theodorick's estate (Stanard 1965:39; McIlwaine 1924:117, 409, 503; Hening 1809-1823:I:407; 1905-1915:1619-1660:97).

William Berkeley

Sir William Berkeley, who by April 3, 1670, had regained possession of Bay 2, the rowhouse unit he had conveyed to Richard Bennett in 1655, sold it and the land upon which it stood to Henry Randolph of Henrico County. It was noted that the house, which had been burned, was built of brick and measured 20 feet by 40 feet. It was identified as the westernmost of the buildings adjoining to the old statehouse and was said to have formerly been in the occupancy of Richard Bennett (McIlwaine 1924:514).

Henry Randolph

According to nineteenth century historian Conway Robinson's notes, on April 7, 1671, Henry Randolph, who had become proprietor of all three of Sir William Berkeley's rowhouses, disposed of them in separate deeds, all of the same date. He sold the westernmost house, Bay 2, which measured 20 feet by by 40 feet, to Secretary of the Colony Thomas Ludwell (McIlwaine 1924:514-515). Thus, Ludwell purchased the house just east of the "country house" (Bay 1) he and Thomas Stegg II had built prior to obtaining their January 1667 patent for ½ acre of river front land (Lot B). Stegg's will, prepared in 1669, indicates that he, too, had an investment in Bay 2. In 1671 the middle house, Bay 3, which also measured 20 feet by 40 feet, was identified as "the old statehouse." Bay 3 and the land upon which it sat were deeded to Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and the executor of Colonel Miles Cary, a councillor. The easternmost house (Bay 4) and the land upon which it was situated were sold to Colonel Thomas Swann I of Surry County. Bay 4, which measured 20 feet by 40 feet, formerly had been occupied by Thomas Bayly (McIlwaine 1924:514-515).

Thomas Ludwell

On March 31, 1669, when Thomas Stegg II made his will, he left his Jamestown property to Thomas Ludwell, noting that he was including his interest in the house, furniture and land he and Ludwell had purchased from Henry Randolph, i.e., Bay 2 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (McIlwaine 1924:514-515; Withington 1980:107; P.P.R. Will Register Book 69 Duke).

Thomas Ludwell and his brother, Philip, were from Bruton in Somerset County, England. Thomas immigrated to Virginia during the 1640s and in 1648 secured a patent for a large tract of land on the Chickahominy River. He also obtained a leasehold in the Governor's Land and some land in Henrico County. In 1661 Thomas Ludwell became Secretary of the Colony, taking over from William Claiborne, and he briefly served as interim treasurer. On April 10, 1665, Thomas Ludwell, in the capacity of Secretary, updated the Privy Council on the progress that had been made in building brick houses in Jamestown and in producing marketable commodities. It was then he reported that a structure had been erected for conducting the business of government and another as a factory (or meeting-house) for merchants. In 1666 Ludwell filed an official account, discussing the fort that had been built at Jamestown and the disadvantages of constructing one at Old Point Comfort. A year later, he informed his superiors why it had been necessary to abandon the fort at Old Point Comfort, and he described a June 5, 1667, Dutch attack upon the colony's shipping. Secretary Thomas Ludwell also reported upon the August 27, 1667, hurricane's impact upon Tidewater Virginia, and a year later he notified English officials that five forts had been built to defend the colony (Coldham 1980:37; McIlwaine 1924:492, 507; Hening 1809-1823:II:39; Nugent 1969-1979:I:145, 178, 429; Stanard 1965:21, 38; C.O. 1/19 ff 75, 213; 1/20 f 218; 1/21 ff 37, 113, 116, 282-283; 1/23 f 31; Sainsbury 1964:5:#975, #1250, #1410, #1506, #1508; McIlwaine 1924:484, 486, 488)

In April 1667 Thomas Ludwell, as Secretary, was authorized to see that ships entering Virginia were cleared before proceeding elsewhere. This appointment came on the heels of his securing a patent for Tract U Lot B and constructing Bay 1 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Structure 144), in partnership with Henrico merchant Thomas Stegg II. During the 1670s Ludwell participated in numerous law suits that involved merchants trading in Virginia, litigation that pertained to personal rather than official interests. In June 1667, while serving as secretary, Thomas Ludwell was named the colony's escheator. Later, he became deputy surveyor and council president and he succeeded Henry Randolph as clerk of the General Court (McIlwaine 1924:217-218, 239, 241, 290, 490-491, 510, 512, 515-516, 519; Hening 1809-1823:II:456).

The trust Governor William Berkeley placed in Secretary Thomas Ludwell is evidenced by the considerable authority he vested in him. Perhaps because of the lucrative fees Ludwell earned as a government official, he was able to acquire substantial quantities of land, including Rich Neck plantation in James City, and acreage in Henrico and Westmoreland Counties (McIlwaine 1924:205, Nugent 1969-1979:II:84, 92).

During the early 1670s Thomas Ludwell kept in close touch with officials in England, updating them on conditions in the colony. In 1673 he reported upon a Dutch attack on Virginia ships that led in the loss of several vessels (C.O. 1/25 f 85; 1/30 f 120). In 1671 Ludwell appeared before the General Court, seeking to recover debts from William May and Thomas Hunt, both of whom were residents of Jamestown (Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C and Tract J) (McIlwaine 1924:247, 331

In 1674 a heated disagreement between Thomas Ludwell and Giles Bland at Ludwell's house, culminated in slanderous insults, the threat of a duel and Bland's being arrested and fined. Bland, the son of influential merchant British John Bland, went on to become one of the rebel Nathaniel Bacon's staunchest supporters and as a result of his partisanship, was hanged (McIlwaine 1924:390, 399, 518; C. O. 5/1355 ff 60-64). Thomas Ludwell went to England, leaving his brother, Philip I, to serve as deputy-Secretary of the Colony. When Bacon's Rebellion got underway, Thomas urged the king to send troops to quell the popular uprising. Thomas's loyalty to Governor Berkeley probably fueled Bacon's rebels' desire to steal his livestock and destroy some of his personal property. Fortunately, at the time Bacon's men set Jamestown ablaze, the General Court's and Secretary's records were at Ludwell's home, Rich Neck (Wiseman Book of Records [1677]; McIlwaine 1924:396, 518; Aspinall 1871:9:1:175; Hening 1809-1823:II:404).

In June 1676, when the rebel Nathaniel Bacon's men, who were positioned at the entrance to Jamestown Island, fired two great guns at the capital city, the Ludwell Statehouse Group was a conspicuous target and at relatively close range. If the brick rowhouse weathered the bombardment, it surely sustained extensive damage on September 19, 1676, when Jamestown deliberately was burned. Thomas Ludwell did business with London merchant John Jeffreys (Jeffries), who lost 83 pipes of wine when Bacon's men put Jamestown to the torch (C.O. 5/1355 ff 200, 202-203). No archival information has come to light suggesting that Bays 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group were rebuilt.

Thomas Ludwell became ill during 1677 and died in the latter half of 1678. When he made his will on November 10, 1676, he named two Jamestown residents (Major Theophilus Hone of Study Unit 1 Tract D Lot A and Henry Hartwell of Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C) and Thomas Thorp as his Virginia executors and London merchant John Jeffreys as his executor in England. He bequeathed the bulk of his estate to his brother, Philip I, naming his sister (Jane) and nephew (Philip Ludwell II) as additional heirs. Thomas Ludwell's will was presented for probate in early 1678 (McIlwaine 1924:519, 521; C. O. 1/41 f 35; Hening 1809-1823:II:456; Coldham 1980:37; Withington 1980:667).

Philip Ludwell I

The verbal boundary description of Edward Chilton's April 16, 1683 patent for Tract P (a contiguous parcel within Study Unit 4) reveals that Philip Ludwell I acquired Tract U Lot A sometime prior to that date. The Chilton patent's northerly boundary commenced at "Colo Philip Ludwells corner stake," from which point it ran clockwise, tracing Ludwell's southerly lot line (Patent Book 7:294; Nugent 1969-1979:II:263). Therefore, Ludwell had come into possession of Lot A by April 16, 1863.

On April 20, 1694, Philip Ludwell I secured a patent for 1½ acres of land "adjoyning to the Ruins of his three Brick houses between the State house and the Country house," the acreage designated Tract U Lot A. The Ludwell lot's boundary

line commenced "neare Pitch and Tarr swamp 8 cheynes [264 feet] of [off] the Eastrmost End of the said houses and runing by the said End south 2 degrees westerly 16 cheynes [528 feet], thence North 88 degrees westerly 3 3/4 chains [123.75 feet], thence North 2 degrees easterly 16 cheynes [528 feet] by the other End of the said houses and thence south 88 degrees Easterly 3 3/4 cheynes [123.75 feet] to the place it begun" (Patent Book 8:315). Ludwell received his patent on the basis of one headright. At Philip Ludwell I's death in 1716, his landholdings descended to his only son and heir, Philip Ludwell II (Shepperson 1942:455).

Philip Ludwell I, a native of Bruton in Somerset County, England, immigrated to Virginia around 1661, where he joined his brother, Thomas, who was Secretary of the Colony. In 1667, the same year Philip Ludwell I was made a captain of the James City County militia, he married Lucy Higginson Burwell Bernard, a wealthy widow. She was the daughter of Captain Robert Higginson and successively had outlived Major Lewis Burwell II and Colonel William Bernard. Lucy and Philip Ludwell I resided at Fairfield, the Burwell home on Carter's Creek in Gloucester County. They were living there in 1672 when son Philip II was born. The also had a daughter, Jane, who married Daniel Parke II, the notorious rake and governor of the Leeward Islands. Between 1673 and 1675 Lewis Burwell III (Lucy's son by her first husband) most likely took possession of Fairfield, for Lucy died and young Burwell (his father's sole heir) came of age and married for the first time. It was likely then that Philip Ludwell I vacated Fairfield and moved to James City County, perhaps joining his brother, Thomas, at Rich Neck (Meyer et al. 1987:237-238; Shepperson 1942:453; Bruce 1894b:175; Stanard 1965:21, 40; Parks 1982:225).

During the mid-1670s Philip Ludwell I assumed an increasingly prominent role in public life. In November 1674, when Thomas Ludwell set sail for England, he authorized Philip to serve as deputy secretary of the colony. In 1675 Philip was named to the Govenror's Council, which office he retained until 1677. The Ludwell brothers were two of Governor Berkeley's most loyal supporters throughout Bacon's Rebellion and its turbulent aftermath (Meyer et al 1987:237-238; Shepperson 1942:453; Bruce 1894b:175; Stanard 1965:21, 40; Parks 1982:225).

Philip Ludwell II

Philip Ludwell II was born at Fairfield in Gloucester County in 1672. He and his father, Philip Ludwell I, probably moved to Rich Neck around 1674, when his uncle Thomas left for England, and he was in residence there when his father, Philip I, married Lady Frances Berkeley and became her heir. In 1694, around the time Philip Ludwell I retired to England and Philip II came of age, he relocated to Green Spring, which he made his permanent home. Philip Ludwell II as his father's heir, inherited his landholdings and those of his stepmother, Lady Frances Berkeley. In 1697 Philip II married Hannah, the daughter of councillor Benjamin Harrison, and produced three children, including a son, Philip Ludwell III (Bruce 1899-1900:356; Morton 1956:238; Shepperson 1942:454).

Philip Ludwell II, like his father, took an active role in political affairs and held a number of public offices. In 1696 he was elected to the assembly and later became its speaker; in May 1702 he was named to the Governor's Council. In 1709 he and his friend, William Byrd II of Westover, were commissioned to run the boundary line between Virginia and Carolina. In 1710 Lt. Governor Alexander Spotswood appointed Philip Ludwell II deputy auditor-general. Later, when the two men's relationship became strained, Spotswood laid claim to part of Green Spring, which he alleged had encroached upon the Governor's Land (Bruce 1897-1898:19-20, 42, 383-387; Stanard 1965:91). In 1715 Philip Ludwell II was appointed a county lieutenant and a justice of the James City County court. He was elected to the vestry of Bruton Parish and became a trustee of the College of William and Mary, serving as rector in 1716.

For more than a decade he and Commissary James Blair were at odds with Governor Francis Nicholson. Ultimately, Ludwell was dismissed from his council seat and job as deputy-secretary. Philip Ludwell II died on January 11, 1727, leaving as his primary heir 11-year-old Philip Ludwell III (Bruce 1899-1900:356; Morton 1956:238).

Philip Ludwell III

Philip Ludwell III, who was born at Green Spring on December 28, 1716, was his parents only son and heir. He was orphaned at the age of 15 and a few months before he attained his majority, married Frances Grymes of Morattico. The couple made their home at Green Spring plantation, where their three daughters were born. Philip III, like his forebears, took an active role in public life, serving as a burgess, councillor, and vestryman. He was a highly valued assistant to Governor Robert Dinwiddie, during whose term (1751-1756) he leased a large parcel in the Governor's Land (Stanard 1911:289; 1913:395-416; Shepperson 1942:18-19).

After Frances Grymes Ludwell's death in 1753, Philip III and his daughters moved to London, leaving the management of his James City County properties in the hands of overseer Cary Wilkinson. Philip Ludwell III's health gradually declined and on February 28, 1767, he made his will. His death occurred less than a month later, for he was buried on March 25, 1767. He distributed his real and personal estate in Virginia among his three daughters, only one of whom was an adult. The remarkably detailed inventory of Philip Ludwell III's estate groups his belongings in accord with the property upon which they were located. Although household furnishings, agricultural equipment, livestock and slaves were attributed to Green Spring, no personal belongings were cited as being at Jamestown, where he had one lot that contained improvements and another that was vacant (Stanard 1911:288-289; 1913:395-416).

Because Philip Ludwell III's daughter, Frances, died while his estate was being settled, Frances's share was divided between her sisters, Hannah Philippa and Lucy. After Hannah Philippa (the eldest daughter) married London merchant William Lee, he took on the responsibility of managing the property she had inherited and ultimately, became her heir. The couple produced a son, William Ludwell Lee (Stanard 1911:289; 1913:395-416; Morton 1956:244).

William Lee

William Lee reportedly relished the opportunity to manage the property his wife inherited from her father, Philip Ludwell III. William sought the assistance of his brother, Richard Henry Lee of Westmoreland County, in seeing that the Ludwell estate was settled in a timely and purposefully equitable manner. At issue was how the inheritance of Hannah Philippa's late sister, Frances, was to be divided. On July 7, 1770, Richard Henry Lee informed his brother that the Ludwell estate had been partitioned. Hannah Philippa not only received Green Spring (as her late father had intended), she also fell heir to some real estate in Williamsburg and "one improved and one unimproved lot in Jamestown" (Stanard 1929:293-294). In 1771 Hannah Philippa and William Lee placed her Jamestown lots and some other Ludwell land in the hands of trustees, who were authorized to lease the parcels to tenants for up to 21 years or three lives (Stanard 1911:288-289; 1913:395-416; Lee et al. 1771). As there is no evidence that the Ludwell/Lee-owned rowhouse ruins in the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Structure 144 Bays 1, 2, 3, and 4) ever were rebuilt after their destruction during Bacon's Rebellion, Hannah Philippa and William Lee's "improved" lot in Jamestown may have been the 3/4 acre that enveloped the easternmost end of Structure 115, which is located upon Study Unit 4 Tract K.

After the close of the American Revolution, William and Hannah Philippa Ludwell Lee began making plans to move to Virginia and take up residence at Green Spring. However, in 1784 Hannah Philippa succumbed to a fatal illness and William

inherited all of her property, including her lots in Jamestown. The couple had produced two daughters (Cornelia and Portia) and a son, William Ludwell Lee. In February 1789 when William Lee prepared his will, he left his son, William Ludwell Lee, "all that estate real, personal and mixed, lying being and situate in James City County, James Town, and the city of Williamsburg." Although he later made modifications to his will, that portion pertaining to his property in Jamestown was unchanged. William Lee died at Green Spring on June 27, 1795, and was buried in the old church yard at Jamestown, near the Ludwell tombs. William Ludwell Lee, at age 22, inherited all of his father's real estate. Part of the landholdings he received were the lots in Jamestown, which the elder man had mentioned in his will (Stanard 1911:289; 1913:395-416; 1930:36; Carson 1954:7; Fredericksburg Circuit Court 1796; Ford 1968:950).

William Ludwell Lee

William Ludwell Lee, who was born abroad and immigrated to Virginia with his father right after the American Revolution, resided at Green Spring. In 1796 he asked noted architect Benjamin Latrobe to draw up plans for the new dwelling he wanted to build as a replacement for the old mansion. By the time Latrobe returned to Green Spring in 1797, Lee had torn down the old manor house and was going forward with his plans to build a new one. Although he did not take as active a role in public life as his forebears had, in 1789 he headed a local militia company (Carson 1954:7-8; Palmer 1968:VIII:497,507).

It is uncertain what became of the Jamestown lots William Ludwell Lee inherited. He may have disposed of them around the time he was trying to raise the funds he needed to build a new home at Green Spring or he simply may have abandoned them. This issue is clouded by the fact that real estate tax rolls for James City County do not include lots at Jamestown, which by that date had lost its representation in the assembly.

William Ludwell Lee died at Green Spring on January 24, 1803, and was buried near his father in the church yard at Jamestown. He had never married. When he made his will, he bequeathed his slaves their freedom and made provisions for their future support. With the exception of a few special bequests (including one to the College of William and Mary), the bulk of his real and personal estate descended to his sisters, Cornelia Hopkins and Portia Hodgson. Brother-in-law William Hodgson, who served as the decedent's executor, commenced settling his relatively large and complex estate, which complications were aired before Virginia's Supreme Court in 1818 (Mumford 1921:VI:163-164). It is likely that if Lee hadn't sold his Jamestown lots, Hodgson did. Edward Jaquelin (or his successor Richard Ambler) may have purchased them, perhaps for back-taxes.

Lot A Bay 3

Sir William Berkeley

On February 27, 1645, acting-governor Richard Kemp wrote Governor William Berkeley (who was then in England) that construction of his brick house at Green Spring was then underway and that the one "att towne for want of materials is yet no higher than ye first storye above ye cellar" (Kemp, February 27, 1645, Clarendon MS 24 f 51).

No documentary records have come to light that reveal precisely when Governor William Berkeley acquired Lot A of Tract U and whether he did so by purchasing it or securing a patent. However, it appears that Berkeley claimed the western portion of Tract W, the same 5.5 acre tract the Rev. Thomas Hampton patented in November 1639 and probably allowed to lapse.

Francis Moryson (Morrison)

On March 24, 1655, Sir William Berkeley sold Francis Moryson Bay 3, "the middle house" within his block of three adjoining rowhouse units, Structure 144. On April 3, 1670, when the westernmost

unit (Bay 2) was sold, Bay 3 was identified as "the old statehouse" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:96; 1924:514; Hening 1809-1823:I:407).

Francis Moryson, a royalist who had been living in Holland, immigrated to Virginia in August 1649, with Sir William Berkeley's kinsman, Henry Norwood, who chronicled their 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. 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 Glass House tract, which he bought from William Harris II, the owner of Study Unit 4 Tract I. A few months later, in March 1655, Moryson purchased from Sir William Berkeley Bay 3 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group, 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).

Francis Moryson went on to become speaker of the assembly and a colonel, which rank he enjoyed for many years. In April 1661 he was designated deputy governor while Sir William Berkeley was in England. When Moryson went to England in 1663 he continued to receive his salary as the captain of the fort at Old Point Comfort and in 1665 he became the master of ordnance. As spokesman for the assembly, he communicated the colonists' concerns to Lord Arlington. He reported that the burgesses knew that the king wanted towns built and admitted that they had made a poor try, having succeeded in building only four or five structures (Stanard 1965:16, 51; McIlwaine 1924:492, 507; 1905-1915:20; C. O. 1/17 f 42; 1/33 f 289; 5/1355 ff 33-35; Withington 1980:321; Hening 1809-1823:I:426; Clarendon MS 110).

In 1676, while Virginia was in the throes of Bacon's Rebellion, Francis Moryson, Herbert Jeffreys and Sir John Berry were appointed special commissioners and tasked with investigating the causes of the popular uprising. Moryson arrived in Virginia in late January 1677 and shortly thereafter prepared a report on conditions in the colony. He praised Governor Berkeley and said that Bacon's men had burned Jamestown. Francis Moryson died sometime after 1678 (Sainsbury 1964:10:10, 13; C.O. 5/1355 f 83; 5/1371 f 19; Stanard 1965:35).

Henry Randolph

On April 7, 1671, Henry Randolph, who had become proprietor of all three of Sir William Berkeley's rowhouses, disposed of them in separate deeds, all of the same date. He sold the westernmost house, Bay 2, which measured 20 feet by by 40 feet, to Secretary of the Colony Thomas Ludwell. Thus, Ludwell purchased the house just east of the "country house" (Bay 1) he and Thomas Stegg II had built prior to obtaining their January 1667 patent for ½ acre of river front land (Lot B). In 1671 the middle house (Bay 3, which also measured 20 feet by 40 feet) was identified as "the old statehouse." Bay 3 and the land upon which it sat were deeded to Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and the executor of Colonel Miles Cary. The easternmost house (Bay 4) and the land upon which it was situated were sold to Colonel Thomas Swann of Surry County. Bay 4, which measured 20 feet by 40 feet, formerly had been occupied by Thomas Bayly (McIlwaine 1924:514-515).

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and Miles Cary's Executors

On April 6, 1671, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and the executors of Colonel Miles Cary I of Warwick County (a council member) purchased Bay 3 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group from Henry Randolph. By 1683 the rowhouse unit had come into the hands of Philip Ludwell I (McIlwaine 1924:514; Patent Book 7:294; Nugent 1969-1979:II:263). It is unclear why Miles Cary I's executors would have been involved in Bacon's 1671 purchase, unless Randolph was indebted to Cary's

estate or Bacon and Cary had been in the process of buying Bay 3 when Cary died.

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, the son of an English clergyman, was born in 1620 and was a 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. At her decease he wed Elizabeth, the daughter and heir of ancient planter Richard Kingsmill and the widow of Richard Tayloe of York County (McGhan 1993:159; Stanard 1965:37; Isle of Wight Book A:93). Bacon, through marriages to two wealthy widows, his position as a high-ranking government official, and his success as a planter, was able to enhance his fortune significantly. In 1653 he renewed his patent for 1,075 acres in Isle of Wight and in 1666 he claimed 1,000 acres in New Kent and 700 acres in Nansemond. Bacon also owned the Kings Creek plantation in York County and in 1660 served as a burgess. In 1661 Nathaniel and Elizabeth Bacon sold the late Richard Kingsmill's Island House tract (Study Unit 1 Tract A) to Nicholas Meriwether. From the 1660s through the 1680s Bacon was a member of the Governor's Council and from 1675 to 1687 was the colony's auditor general. It was in 1683 that he patented Study Unit 4 Tract S (Stanard 1965:22, 73; Nugent 1969-1979:I:478,486; II:2; Hening 1809-1823:II:568; McIlwaine 1924:484,486,491, 516, 518).

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon was a successful planter and was part-owner of the ship *Lady Frances*. During the early 1670s he made numerous appearances in the General Court to recover debts and to report on estates he'd audited. It was there that he aired a dispute with Colonel Thomas Swann and audited William Drummond I's account of claims against another man. Some of these issues and his steadfast loyalty to Governor William Berkeley eventually put him at odds with those who later sympathized with the rebel Nathaniel Bacon (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 1676 when Virginia was in the throes of the popular uprising known as Bacon's Rebellion, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's plantation at King's Creek, in York County, was plundered of his goods and in September he was detained there by the rebel Thomas Whaley. Meanwhile, his wife, Elizabeth, was one of the women seized and used as a shield when the rebel Nathaniel Bacon's men erected a fortification at the entrance to Jamestown Island (Wiseman Book of Records [1677]; Force 1963:I:9:8; I:11:41; Bruce 1898:64; McIlwaine 1924:52).

In July 1680 Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and George Lee presented a petition to the Governor's Council and assembly, asking for a 50 year lease for "the ruins of two brick houses burnt in the late Rebellion" and the land upon which the rowhouse units were situated. Both men were expressed a preference for the same dwellings: two units of Structure 115, located within Study Unit 4 Tract K. One formerly had been occupied by clerk of the council Richard Auborne and the other by Arnall or Arnold Cossina (Cassinet). When Bacon was asked to choose between the two buildings, he selected the Auborne house. When Bacon and Lee were given leases for their respective properties, which comprised Bays 3 and 4, the eastern end of the Structure 115 rowhouse, they were reminded of the need to rebuild within a year and to keep the buildings in good repair. They also were told that their leases were valid "provided that they [the structures being leased] be the countries houses." As it turned out, both were privately owned and George Lee acquired both lots and rowhouse units from their owner, William Brown of Surry. Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, on the other hand, seems to have let the matter drop (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:142-143, 152; 1918:10).

Throughout the latter part of his life, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon continued to play an active role in government affairs. In October 1680 he was paid for supplying food and military stores to one of the forts built on the frontier as a defense against the

Indians. The Governor's Council convened at Bacon's house once in July 1686 and another time in March 1689. However, it is unclear whether the meetings were held at his home in Jamestown (probably on Tract S) or at his King's Creek plantation. In 1687 Bacon served as president of the Governor's Council (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 6:258; McIlwaine 1918:86; 1925-1945:1:78, 110).

Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, who outlived his wife, Elizabeth Kingsmill Tayloe, made his will on March 15, 1692. Among the people to whom he made bequests were Lady Frances Berkeley and her husband Philip Ludwell I; Lt. Governor Francis Nicholson; Elizabeth Pettus; and several members of the Burwell family. Bacon died on March 16, 1692, and shortly thereafter his will was presented to the justices of York County. Colonel Bacon left all of his otherwise undesignated real and personal property to his niece Abigail Smith Burwell of Gloucester County (the testator's sister's child and Lewis Burwell II's wife), with the understanding that her sons, Nathaniel and James Burwell were reversionary heirs. Bacon also made a bequest to 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 June 1676, when the rebel Nathaniel Bacon's men, who were positioned at the entrance to Jamestown Island, fired two great guns at the capital city, the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Structure 144) was a conspicuous target and at relatively close range. If the brick rowhouse survived the bombardment, it surely sustained extensive damage on September 19, 1676, when Jamestown was deliberately burned. No archival information has come to light suggesting that Bays 2, 3, and 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group ever were rebuilt.

Philip Ludwell I

The verbal boundary description of Edward Chilton's April 16, 1683, patent for Tract P (a contiguous parcel within Study Unit 4) reveals that Philip Ludwell I acquired Tract U Lot A sometime prior to that date. The Chilton patent's northerly boundary commenced at "Colo Philip Ludwells corner stake," from which point it ran clockwise, tracing Ludwell's southerly lot line (Patent Book 7:294; Nugent 1969-1979:II:263). Therefore, Ludwell had come into possession of Lot A by April 16, 1683. As noted in the history of Bay 2, in April 1694 Philip Ludwell I secured a patent for 1½ acres of land "adjoyning to the Ruins of his three Brick houses between the State house and the Country house," the acreage designated Tract U Lot A (Patent Book 8:315). As Miles Cary II, son of the man whose executors co-owned Bay 3 with Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, served as Jamestown's burgess in 1693, it is conceivable that the Cary heirs retained a legal interest in Bay 3 until 1694, when Philip Ludwell I repatented Lot A (Leonard 1976:52; Stanard 1965:88).

As stated in the history of Bay 2, Philip Ludwell I immigrated to Virginia around 1661, joining his brother, Thomas, then Secretary of the Colony. In 1667, he married Lucy Higginson Burwell Bernard, a wealthy widow, and produced two children, Philip II and Jane. The family resided at Fairfield, the Burwell home on Carter's Creek in Gloucester County. Around 1674, after Lucy's death and stepson Lewis Burwell III had come of age and taken control of Fairfield, Philip Ludwell I moved to James City County, perhaps joining his brother, Thomas, at Rich Neck. During the mid-1670s Philip assumed an increasingly prominent role in public life and in 1674 commenced serving as deputy secretary of the colony. In 1675 he was named to the Governor's Council, which office he retained until 1677. Philip Ludwell I was one of Governor Berkeley's most loyal supporters throughout Bacon's Rebellion and its turbulent aftermath. At his death in 1716, his landholdings descended to his son and heir, Philip Ludwell II (Shepperson 1942:453, 455; Meyer et al 1987:237-238; Bruce 1894b:175; Stanard 1965:21, 40; Parks 1982:225).

Philip Ludwell II

As noted in the history of Bay 2, Philip Ludwell II was born 1672 and was the son of Lucy Higginson Burwell and Philip Ludwell I. As Philip Ludwell I married Lady Frances Berkeley, who produced no living children, he and his descendants became her heirs. In 1694, around the time Philip Ludwell II came of age, he moved to Green Spring, making it his permanent home. It is uncertain what use he made of his property at Jamestown (Bruce 1899-1900:356; Morton 1956:238; Shepperson 1942:454).

Philip Ludwell II, like his father, took an active role in public life and held a number of offices. He became a burgess, councillor, deputy auditor-general, county justice, vestryman, militia lieutenant and trustee of the College of William and Mary. In 1709 he was involved in running the boundary line between Virginia and Carolina. Philip Ludwell II died on January 11, 1727, leaving as his primary heir 11-year-old Philip Ludwell III (Bruce 1897-1898:19-20, 42, 383-387; 1899-1900:356; Stanard 1965:91; Morton 1956:238).

Philip Ludwell III

On February 28, 1767, when Philip Ludwell III prepared his will, he left his Virginia property to his three daughters, Hannah Philippa, Lucy, and Frances, to be divided in accord with his own specifications. Frances, a young unmarried woman, died shortly after her father's decease and so her share of Philip Ludwell III's estate had to be apportioned between her sisters. Although Philip Ludwell III's will made no reference to his lots in Jamestown, papers filed in 1771 by Hannah Philippa and her husband, William Lee, make reference to the decedent's owning two: one that was improved and one that was vacant. The Lees, who were living abroad, placed their lots and some other Ludwell land in the hands of trustees, who were authorized to lease them to tenants for up to 21 years or three lives (Stanard 1911:288-289; 1913:395-416; Lee et al. 1771).

William Lee

In 1789, when William Lee prepared his will, having outlived his wife and inherited her property, he left it (including lots in Jamestown and Williamsburg) to his only son, William Ludwell Lee (Fredericksburg Circuit Court 1796).

William Ludwell Lee

The fate of the Jamestown lots William Ludwell Lee inherited is uncertain. He may have sold them during the mid-1790s when he was trying to raise money to raze and replace the ancient Green Spring mansion. Lee died in 1803 without marrying and producing legal heirs. He bequeathed his real estate to his married sisters, Cornelia Hopkins and Portia Hodgson. If Lee hadn't already disposed of his Jamestown lots, they would have descended to his sisters or been absorbed into the Ambler family's landholdings, especially if the property were abandoned and its taxes left unpaid.

Lot A Bay 4

Sir William Berkeley

On February 27, 1645, acting-governor Richard Kemp wrote Governor William Berkeley (who was then in England) that construction of his brick house at Green Spring was then underway and that the one "att towne for want of materials is yet no higher than ye first storye above ye cellar" (Kemp, February 27, 1645, Clarendon MS 24 f 51).

No documentary records have come to light that reveal precisely when Governor William Berkeley acquired Lot A of Tract U and whether he did so by purchasing it or securing a patent. However, it appears that Berkeley claimed the western portion of the same 5.5 acres (Tract W) that the Rev. Thomas Hampton patented in November 1639 and probably allowed to lapse.

Thomas Woodhouse

On March 24, 1655, Sir William Berkeley sold Thomas Woodhouse the easternmost unit (Bay 4) of the Ludwell Statehouse Group's central block. At that time, Berkeley referred to Bay 4 as the "late statehouse." Whether Berkeley had been leasing Bay 4 to the government, had built it at the government's request, or had converted a dwelling to public use is unclear. Twice in 1656 Thomas Woodhouse was paid for renting his house to the Governor's Council and the Quarter Court. On October 11, 1660, Woodhouse again was paid for hosting one or more meetings of the Governor's Council. The House of Burgesses also convened at Woodhouse's from time to time. (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:96, 101; 1660-1693:8). His rental fees in 1656 and 1660 indicate that Bay 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group was used by the government until the latter date.

Beside owning Bay 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group, Thomas Woodhouse also owned a one acre waterfront lot in the New Towne, Study Unit 4 Tract C. Woodhouse patented Tract C on October 17, 1655, but appears to have sold it rather than developing it (Patent Book 3:380) (see the history of Study Unit 4 Tract C Lots A and B).

Henry Randolph

On April 7, 1671, Henry Randolph, who had become proprietor of all three of Sir William Berkeley's rowhouses on Lot A, disposed of them in separate deeds, all of the same date. He sold the westernmost house, Bay 2, which measured 20 feet by by 40 feet, to Secretary of the Colony Thomas Ludwell. Thus, Ludwell purchased the house just east of the "country house" (Bay 1) he and Thomas Stegg II had built prior to obtaining their January 1667 patent for ½ acre of river front land (Lot B). In 1671 the middle house (Bay 3, which also measured 20 feet by 40 feet) was identified as "the old statehouse." Bay 3 and the land upon which it sat were deeded to Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and the executor of Colonel Miles Cary. The easternmost house (Bay 4) and the land upon which it was situated were sold to Colonel Thomas Swann of Surry County. Randolph indicated that Bay 4 (which measured 20 feet by 40 feet) formerly had been occupied by Thomas Bayly (McIlwaine 1924:514-515).

Thomas Bayly (Bailey) (lessee)

Thomas Bayly, who by March 1, 1655, was in possession of a ½ acre lot abutting the James River (Study Unit 4 Tract B), was from Henrico County. He was a kinsman of merchant Arthur Bayly, from whom he may have inherited Tract B (Patent Book 3:331; Nugent 1969-1979:I:305). It was after October 1660 but before April 7, 1671, that Thomas Bayly occupied Bay 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group. It is uncertain whether he was a tenant of Thomas Woodhouse or Henry Randolph, who like Bayly, was from Henrico. In 1704 a Thomas Bayly was credited with 251 acres of land in Henrico County (McIlwaine 1924:514; Smith 1957:4; McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:96, 101; 1660-1693:8).

Colonel Thomas Swann

On April 4, 1671, Colonel Thomas Swann bought the easternmost bay of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Tract U Lot A Bay 4 of Structure 144) from his son-in-law, Henry Randolph, and he probably still owned it in September 1676 when rebel Nathaniel Bacon's men bombarded Jamestown and then put the capital city to the torch. In 1677 Swann was one of those described as sustaining significant losses during the rebellion, at which time one or more of his buildings was destroyed, along with his goods. By 1683 the ruins of the late Colonel Thomas Swann's rowhouse unit and two adjoining ones (Bays 2 and 3) were owned by Philip Ludwell I, who in 1694 patented the 1½ acre of land upon which they stood (McIlwaine 1924:514-515; Patent Book 8:315).

Colonel Thomas Swann is known to have owned two other properties on Jamestown Island.

Sometime prior to 1674 he acquired (and sold) 37½ acres on the east side of Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tract H) (Ambler MS 53, 137). He also had acreage in the New Towne, where he had Surry County bricklayer John Bird construct a tavern (probably Structure 19A/B), which was in operation both before and after Bacon's Rebellion (see the history of Study Unit 4 Tract G).

Colonel Thomas Swann I, who resided at Swann's Point, served several terms as a burgess during the 1640s and 50s and represented James City and then Surry County in the assembly (Hening 1809-1823:I:298, 358-359). He was named to the governor's council in 1659, during Governor Berkeley's administration, and he held that post through the late 1660s. Despite occasional brushes with the law, he served as sheriff of Surry County. One of Swann's detractors, who dubbed him "ye great Toad," claimed that he "did sitt in ye council of war for burneing ye town" and later went to Jamestown to join Bacon (Tyler 1902:81). In 1672 Swann was named to the commission established to build a brick fort at Jamestown. Swann's son was married to the daughter of executed rebel William Drummond I and Swann seems to have sympathized with some of Nathaniel Bacon's views. After Governor William Berkeley vacated office, Colonel Thomas Swann was restored to his council seat. In January 1677 when a group of special commissioners came to Virginia to investigate the underlying causes of Bacon's Rebellion, they stayed at Swann's home in Surry. Swann died in September 1680 (Hening 1809-1823:II:568; Tyler 1902-1903:81; Bruce 1898:68; Surry County Order Book 1671-1690:9, 179-180; Stanard 1965:38; McIlwaine 1924:491, 514; Withington 1980:535; C.O. 5/1371 f 268).

In June 1676, when the rebel Nathaniel Bacon's men, who were positioned at the entrance to Jamestown Island, fired two great guns at the capital city, the Ludwell Statehouse Group was a conspicuous target and at relatively close range. If the brick rowhouse survived the bombardment, it surely sustained extensive damage on September 19, 1676, when Jamestown was deliberately burned. No archival information has come to light suggesting that Bays 2, 3, and 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group ever were rebuilt.

Philip Ludwell I

The verbal boundary description of Edward Chilton's April 16, 1683, patent for Tract P (a contiguous parcel within Study Unit 4) reveals that Philip Ludwell I acquired Tract U Lot A sometime prior to that date. The Chilton patent's northerly boundary commenced at "Colo Philip Ludwells corner stake," from which point it ran clockwise, tracing Ludwell's southerly lot line (Patent Book 7:294; Nugent 1969-1979:II:263). Therefore, Ludwell had come into possession of Lot A by April 16, 1863. As noted in the history of Bay 2, in April 1694 Philip Ludwell I secured a patent for 1½ acres of land "adjoyning to the Ruins of his three Brick houses between the State house and the Country house," the acreage designated Tract U Lot A (Patent Book 8:315).

Philip Ludwell I immigrated to Virginia around 1661, joining his brother, Thomas, then Secretary of the Colony. In 1667, he married Lucy Higginson Burwell Bernard, a wealthy widow, and produced two children, Philip II and Jane. The family resided at Fairfield, the Burwell home on Carter's Creek in Gloucester County. Around 1674, after Lucy's death and stepson Lewis Burwell III had come of age and taken control of Fairfield, Philip Ludwell I moved to James City County, perhaps joining his brother, Thomas, at Rich Neck. During the mid-1670s Philip assumed an increasingly prominent role in public life and in 1674 commenced serving as deputy secretary of the colony. In 1675 he was named to the Governor's Council, which office he retained until 1677. Philip Ludwell was one of Governor Berkeley's most loyal supporters throughout Bacon's Rebellion and its turbulent aftermath. At Philip Ludwell I's death in 1716, his landholdings descended to his son and heir, Philip II (Shepperson 1942:453, 455; Meyer et al 1987:237-238; Bruce 1894b:175; Stanard 1965:21, 40; Parks 1982:225).

Philip Ludwell II

Philip Ludwell II was born 1672 and was the son of Lucy Higginson Burwell and Philip Ludwell I. As Philip Ludwell I married Lady Frances Berkeley, who produced no living children, he and his descendants became her heirs. In 1694, around the time Philip Ludwell II came of age, he moved to Green Spring, making it his permanent home. It is uncertain what use he made of his property at Jamestown (Bruce 1899-1900:356; Morton 1956:238; Shepperson 1942:454).

Philip Ludwell II, like his father, took an active role in public life and held a number of offices. He became a burgess, councillor, deputy auditor-general, county justice, vestryman, militia lieutenant and trustee of the College of William and Mary. In 1709 he was involved in running the boundary line between Virginia and Carolina. Philip Ludwell died on January 11, 1727, leaving as his primary heir 11-year-old Philip Ludwell III (Bruce 1897-1898:19-20, 42, 383-387; 1899-1900:356; Stanard 1965:91; Morton 1956:238).

Philip Ludwell III

On February 28, 1767, when Philip Ludwell III prepared his will, he left his Virginia property to his three daughters, Hannah Philippa, Lucy, and Frances, to be divided in accord with his own specifications. Frances, a young unmarried woman, died shortly after her father's decease and so her share of Philip Ludwell III's estate had to be apportioned between her sisters. Although Philip Ludwell III's will made no reference to his lots in Jamestown, papers filed in 1771 by Hannah Philippa and her husband, William Lee, make reference to the decedent's owning two: one that was improved and another that was vacant. The Lees, who were living abroad, placed their lots and some other Ludwell land in the hands of trustees, who were authorized to lease them to tenants for up to 21 years or three lives (Stanard 1911:288-289; 1913:395-416; Lee et al. 1771).

William Lee

In 1789, when William Lee prepared his will, having outlived his wife and inherited her real and personal estate, he left his property (including lots in Jamestown and Williamsburg) to his only son, William Ludwell Lee (Fredericksburg Circuit Court 1796).

William Ludwell Lee

The fate of the Jamestown lots William Ludwell Lee inherited is uncertain. He may have sold them when he was trying to raise money to replace the ancient Green Spring mansion. Lee died in 1803 without having married and produced heirs. He bequeathed his real estate to his sisters, Cornelia Hopkins and Portia Hodgson. If Lee didn't disposed of his Jamestown lots prior to his death, they would have descended to his sisters or been absorbed into the Ambler family's landholdings, especially if the property were abandoned and its taxes left unpaid.

Lot B Bay 1

Thomas Ludwell and Thomas Stegg II

On January 1, 1667, Thomas Ludwell and Thomas Stegg II obtained a patent for ½ acre of land "for building a house adjacent to the westernmost of the three houses which jointly and formerly were called the old statehouse." The Ludwell-Stegg lot's boundary line, which commenced at the point where the southeast corner of their house adjoined to the southwest corner of Bay 2, extended south for 67 feet. It then made a right-angle turn and ran west for 120 feet until it terminated at the James River's high water mark. At that point the lot's boundary line made a right-angle turn and ran northward for 181.5 feet. Then it headed in an easterly direction for 120 feet, before turning south again and running for 114.5 feet. Thus, the eastern boundary line of Lot B, upon which sat Bay 1, the house Thomas Ludwell and Thomas Stegg II built, comprised the

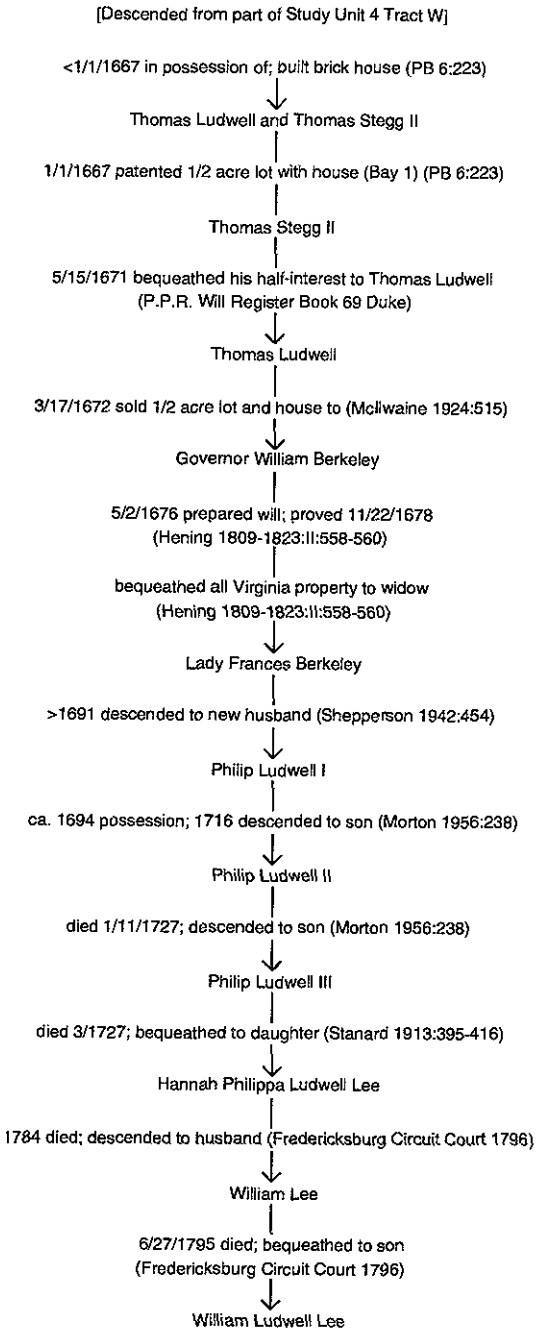


Figure 100. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract U, Lot B, Bay 1 of Ludwell Statehouse Group.*

western boundary line of Lot A and extended through the westernmost wall of Bay 2, one of the Structure 144 rowhouse's original units (Patent Book 6:223; Nugent 1969-1979:II:57).[218] It is likely that Ludwell and Stegg were taking advantage of the 1662 building initiative, which offered land and a government subsidy to those constructing a prototypical brick house in Jamestown.[219] Building a brick house also gave the two men the right to erect a store. The rowhouse unit Ludwell and Stegg constructed (Bay 1) comprised the westernmost component of the Ludwell-Statehouse Group. By the early twentieth century much of Bay 1 had been severely eroded by the James River (James City County Plat Book 2:6).[220]

Thomas Stegg II, who collaborated with Thomas Ludwell in building Bay 1 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group, was the son of the controversial Thomas Stegg I, a Jamestown merchant and Harvey supporter who in 1640 ran afoul of the authorities by helping Secretary Richard Kemp leave Virginia with some public documents. Later, Thomas Stegg I went on to become a burgess, speaker of the assembly, and councilor. He also was one of Parliamentary commissioners to whom Governor William Berkeley surrendered the colony in 1652. He died at sea, leaving a widow (Elizabeth) and son (Thomas Stegg II) (McIlwaine 1924:482, 492, 495; Hening 1809-1823:I:239; Nugent 1969-1979:I:154; Stanard 1965:35, 63; Lower Norfolk County Book A:191; Force 1973:9:19).

Thomas Stegg II inherited some Charles City County land from his father and as soon as he matured, began patenting land in Henrico County. He married George Harris's widow, Sarah, of Henrico. In 1663 he was named to the Governor's Council and from 1664 to 1667 served as auditor general. It was while he was auditor general that Thomas Stegg II and Secretary Thomas Ludwell built a river front house (Bay 1) onto the Ludwell Statehouse Group. On March 31, 1669, when Stegg made his will, he left his Jamestown property to Thomas Ludwell, noting that he also was including his interest in the house, furniture and land he and Ludwell were purchasing from Henry Randolph, i.e., Bay 2 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group. However, Stegg bestowed upon William Byrd I his property near the falls of the James River. The widowed Sarah Harris Stegg later married Thomas Grindon of Charles City and during Bacon's Rebellion took a stance that drew the wrath of Governor Berkeley (McIlwaine 1924:507; Stanard 1935:229; 1965:22, 39; Nugent 1969-1979:I:230, 425, 478, 537; II:69; Patent Book 6:223; Withington 1980:107; Stegg 1669).

Thomas Ludwell

Thomas Stegg II died in 1670 and his will was proved on May 15, 1671. As noted above, he bequeathed to Thomas Ludwell his half-interest in the house they had bought from Henry Randolph, Bay 2 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Tyler 1907:171). Stegg also left Ludwell the jointly-owned river front lot upon which they had built a brick dwelling (Bay 1 and Lot A). Thanks to Stegg's bequest, by June 1671 Thomas Ludwell had become sole proprietor of Bays 1 and 2, plus the land associated with them. On March 17, 1672, Thomas Ludwell sold Bay 1 ("the country house")

[218] Literally, the verbal boundary description, which proceeds clockwise, commenced "on the South side of the said house close to the wall where the said westernmost house joynes to the middle house, thence runing S. wly 34 degr 67 feet to high water marke, thence N. wesly 56 degr up the river side 120 feet, thence N. Ely 34 degr 181 ffeet & halfe, thence S. Ely 56 degr 120 feet thence S. Wly againe 34 degr through the said old State house and the partition wall dividing the sd westernmost house and middle house 114 feet & halfe to the place where it first began: The said Courses being Correspondent and agreable to the Azimuthes of the foure side walls of the house and including the quantity aforesaid."

[219] Structures built with government funds usually were known as "country houses," probably because they were financed wholly or in part by Virginia tax revenues.

[220] Thomas Ludwell, on April 10, 1665, informed his superiors in England that a "factory for merchants" had been built (C. O. 1/19 f 75). He may have been referring to Bay 1 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group.

and its ½ acre lot to Governor William Berkeley for 150 pounds sterling (McIlwaine 1924:515; Stegg 1669).

Sir William Berkeley

On March 17, 1672, Thomas Ludwell sold a house and ½ acre lot in Jamestown to Governor William Berkeley. He was disposing of the "country house" he and Thomas Stegg II had built (McIlwaine 1924:515). Berkeley seems to have owned Bay 1 at the time of Bacon's Rebellion.

In June 1676, when the rebel Nathaniel Bacon's men, who were positioned at the entrance to Jamestown Island, fired two great guns at the capital city, the Ludwell Statehouse Group was a conspicuous target and at relatively close range. If the brick rowhouse survived the bombardment, it surely sustained extensive damage on September 19, 1676, when Jamestown was deliberately burned. Afterward, Governor Berkeley claimed that he had "no sooner quitted the Towne but Bacon enter'd it burned five houses of mine and 20 of other gentlemen" (Washburn 1957:412). No archival information has come to light suggesting that Bays 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group ever were rebuilt.

Lady Frances Berkeley

Throughout Bacon's Rebellion, Lady Frances Berkeley was fiercely loyal to her husband and when he died in England in 1677 he left her almost all of his estate. He bequeathed to Lady Frances "all my lands, houses, and tenements, whatsoever." Therefore, she would have inherited Bay 1, the rowhouse he purchased from Thomas Ludwell on March 17, 1672, the "country house" he and Thomas Stegg II had built (Hening 1809-1823:II:558-560; McIlwaine 1924:515). While Lady Frances is known to have expended funds on refurbishing Green Spring, there is no evidence suggesting that she rebuilt her unit of the Ludwell Statehouse Group.

Frances Culpeper Stephens, the widow of Albemarle governor Samuel Stephens, was 36-years-old when she married Governor William Berkeley, who was then 64. She was the cousin of Sir Thomas Culpeper and reportedly was intelligent, high-spirited and shrewd. Frances and her husband-to-be signed a prenuptial agreement whereby he agreed to provide her with a life estate of 600 pounds sterling as annual income. On April 20, 1671, Lady Frances and Sir William Berkeley conveyed her plantation, Boldrop, to Colonel William Cole, noting that she had inherited the property from her late husband, Samuel Stephens. This infusion of income, when combined with the proceeds of Sir William's sale of Bay 2 of the Ludwell Statehouse Group, would have provided the Berkeleys with the wealth they needed to significantly improve Green Spring (Hening 1809-1823:II:319-325; McIlwaine 1924:514; Stanard 1925:352).

In October 1680, three years after Sir William Berkeley's death, Lady Frances married Philip Ludwell I, one of her late husband's staunchest supporters, and moved to his home at Rich Neck. She continued to identify herself as Lady Frances Berkeley. As Lady Frances produced no living children, when she died in 1691 her real and personal estate descended to her husband, Philip Ludwell I, and his heir, a son by his marriage to Lucy Higginson Burwell (Shepperson 1942:453-454; Morton 1956:238; Bruce 1899-1900:356; Carson 1954:6).

Philip Ludwell I

The verbal boundary description of Edward Chilton's April 16, 1683, patent for Tract P (a contiguous parcel within Study Unit 4) reveals that Philip Ludwell I acquired Tract U Lot A sometime prior to that date. The Chilton patent's northerly boundary commenced at "Colo Philip Ludwells corner stake," from which point it ran clockwise, tracing Ludwell's southerly lot line (Patent Book 7:294; Nugent 1969-1979:II:263). Therefore, Ludwell had come into possession of Lot A by April 16, 1683. Philip Ludwell I moved to England in ca. 1693-1694, where he died in 1710 (Morton

1956:237-238). At that juncture his property descended to his son. As noted in the history of Bay 2, in April 1694 Philip Ludwell II secured a patent for 1½ acres of land "adjoyning to the Ruins of his three Brick houses between the State house and the Country house," the acreage designated Tract U Lot A (Patent Book 8:315).

Philip Ludwell II

Philip Ludwell II was born 1672 and was the son of Lucy Higginson Burwell and Philip Ludwell I. As Philip Ludwell I married Lady Frances Berkeley, who produced no living children, he and his descendants became her heirs. In 1694, around the time Philip Ludwell II came of age, he patented Lot A and moved to Green Spring, which he made his permanent home. It is uncertain what use he made of his property at Jamestown, which contained ruinous brick rowhouses. Sometime after 1699 he acquired the eastern end of Study Unit 2 Tract K, which contained Bays C and D of Structure 115. By that date, Bay D had been rebuilt (Bruce 1899-1900:356; Morton 1956:238; Shepperson 1942:454; Lee MS L51 f 671).

In January 1693 a decision was made to build a vaulted powder room at Jamestown, where the colony's ammunition could be stored. That project had been completed by July, at which time Governor Edmund Andros informed his superiors that "a magazine and store house have been built" (C.O. 5/1308 f 150). 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:349-350; Sainsbury 1964:14:517). The Rev. James Blair, a outspoken critic of Governor Andros, in 1697 informed officials in England that he had "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.... 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). A plat of Jamestown Island prepared during the early twentieth century reveals that the old magazine was located in the southwest part of Lot B and that erosion had taken a major toll its environs (James City County Plat Book 2:6). As early as May 1699, fort gunner Edward Ross (Study Unit 4 Tract R) complained to the Council that "The Magazeen house in James City the vault of wch being digged between two slashes & so near to ye water is ye only Occasion not so much ye Hooping ye barrels of Powder yearly but likewise a meanes to impair the Strength thereof" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:II:153).

Philip Ludwell II, like his father, took an active role in public life and held a number of offices. He became a burgess, councillor, deputy auditor-general, county justice, vestryman, militia lieutenant and trustee of the College of William and Mary. In 1709 he was involved in running the boundary line between Virginia and Carolina. Philip Ludwell died on January 11, 1727, leaving as his primary heir 11-year-old Philip Ludwell III (Bruce 1897-1898:19-20, 42, 383-387; 1899-1900:356; Stanard 1965:91; Morton 1956:238).

Philip Ludwell III

On February 28, 1767, when Philip Ludwell III prepared his will, he left his Virginia property to his three daughters, Hannah Philippa, Lucy, and Frances, to be divided in accord with his own specifications. By March 25, 1767, he was dead. Frances, a young unmarried woman, died shortly after her father's decease and so her share of Philip Ludwell III's estate had to be divided between her sisters. Although Philip Ludwell III's will made no reference to his lots in Jamestown, papers filed in 1771 by Hannah Philippa and her husband, William Lee, make reference to the decedent's owning two: one that was improved and one that was vacant. The Lees, who were living abroad, placed their lots and some other Ludwell land in the hands of trustees, who were authorized to lease them to tenants for up to 21 years or three lives (Stanard 1911:288-289; 1913:395-416; Lee et al. 1771).

William Lee

In 1789, when William Lee prepared his will, having outlived his wife and inherited her property, he left his land (which included Green Spring and lots in Jamestown and Williamsburg) to his only son, William Ludwell Lee. William Lee died on June 27, 1795 (Fredericksburg Circuit Court 1796).

William Ludwell Lee

The fate of the Jamestown lots William Ludwell Lee inherited is uncertain. He may have sold them during the mid-1790s when he was trying to raise money to replace the ancient Green Spring mansion. Lee died unmarried in 1803 without having produced legal heirs. He bequeathed his real estate to his sisters, Cornelia Hopkins and Portia Hodgson. If Lee didn't disposed of his Jamestown lots prior to his death, they would have descended to his sisters or been absorbed into the Ambler family's landholdings, especially if the property was abandoned and its taxes left unpaid.

Study Unit 4 Tract V

James City Parish

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 they decided to establish their settlement, they built a fort and then fabricated a make-shift 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:II:957].*

By autumn 1607 the colonists had finished constructing their first houses. However, in early January 1608, when the First Supply of new settlers arrived, a devastating fire spread through the fort. It rapidly consumed the colonists' insubstantial buildings that were "but thatched with reeds" and it "burnt their pallizadoes (though 10 or 12 yards distant) with their armes, bedding, apparell, and much private provision." Afterward, the colonists, with the assistance of Captain Christopher Newport and his mariners, set about repairing their homes, church and fortified compound (Smith 1910:II:xxxvi, 612).

Captain John Smith, who became president of the colony in September 1608 and served for a year, indicated that during his government, 20-some new houses were built; a new roof was put on the church; and a blockhouse was built at the entrance to Jamestown Island. The settlers (whose ranks were swelled by the arrival of a Second Supply) excavated a new well in the fort, "produced a tryall of glass," planted 30-40 acres in corn, and saw that the Jamestown fort was "reduced to a five-square form" (Smith 1910:I:154, 397). Throughout this period, the church appears to have been inside the fort.

During the fall and winter of 1609-1610, conditions in the colony deteriorated dramatically and those who managed to stay alive struggled to do so. In May 1610, Sir Thomas Gates, who had been shipwrecked in Bermuda, arrived in Virginia. On May 23rd, when he reached Jamestown, he found the colonists starving and scarcely clinging to life. Gates, "first visiting the church, 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 Bucke, made a zealous and sorrowful prayer" (Strachey 1964:63). Gates commented that the settlement "appeared raither as the ruins of some auntient [for]tification, than that any people living might now inhabit it: the pallisadoes... tourne downe, the portes open, the gates from the hinges, the church ruined and unfrequented, empty howses... rent up and burnt" and "the Indian as fast killing without as the famine and pestilence within." As Gates lacked the resources he needed to revive the colony, he decided to evacuate the survivors to Newfoundland, where they could secure sustenance and safe passage back to England. It was only the timely arrival of Thomas West, Lord De La Warr, on June 10th that averted the colony's abandonment. According to William Strachey, when De La Warr arrived at Jamestown, he "fell upon his knees and before us all made a long and silent prayer to himself, and after marched up into the town." He then "passed on into the chapel, where he heard a sermon by Master Bucke"

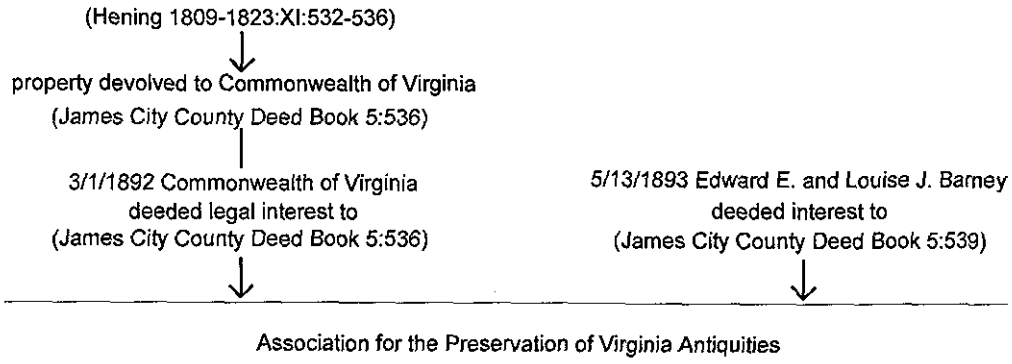


Figure 101. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract V.*

(Strachey 1964:84). De La Warr had his men unload their ships and he set people to work cleansing the town. Captain John Smith later recalled that the houses built while Lord De La Warr was in the colony were "as warme and defensive against wind and weather as if they were tiled and slated, being covered above with strong boards, and some matted round with Indian mats" (Smith 1910:502-503; Brown 1890:I:404-406, 415). It is likely that the church was of similar construction.

William Strachey, who had accompanied Sir Thomas Gates to Virginia and shared in his Bermuda adventure, on July 10, 1610, dispatched a letter to a friend in England in which he described conditions in Jamestown. He provided information about the size of the triangular fort that offered protection to the settlers and indicated that "In the midst is a market place, a storehouse, and a corps de guard, as likewise a pretty chapel though (at this time when we came in) as ruined and unfrequented." He said that Lord De La Warr

> *... hath given order for the repairing of it, 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].*

Although ill health eventually forced De La Warr to leave Virginia, during his 10 months in the colony, he and Sir Thomas Gates succeeded in placing it on a much firmer footing (Tyler 1907:212-214; Brown 1890:I:404-406, 415). Gates left Virginia only two weeks before Sir Thomas Dale's May 1611 arrival. At Jamestown, Dale found that little effort had been put into cultivating corn or gardens. He put the settlers to work planting food crops and he set them about "the reparation of the falling Church and so of the Store-house." He also had them build other structures he considered essential (Brown 1890:I:491-492). Dale's correspondence with officials in England reveals that he considered the settlers indolent and he attributed the colony's woes to a lack of strong leadership (Smith 1986:II:239). His solution to the problem was to impose martial law, a strict code of justice that frequently invoked the death penalty. Many of the *Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall*, which were backed up by force, had to do with religion and morality (Force 1963:III:2:33).

In November 1618, when the officers of the Virginia Company of London enacted its Great Charter, the colony's governing officials were ordered to see that churches and glebes were established in each of the four corporations that were being 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).

On April 17, 1619, when Sir George Yeardley arrived in Virginia to assume the governorship, 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 each of the four corporations 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 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 [1624]:80; Brydon 1947:83).

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). 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 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). 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, 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).

During Governor John Harvey's administration, 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, it was noted that 12 houses and stores had been built in Jamestown, including one brick dwelling, and that the colonists "have largely contributed to the building of a brick church" (Sainsbury 1964:1:287-288). Harvey failed to indicate whether church construction had gotten underway. A suscinct synopsis of the General Court's minutes for March 29, 1642, makes reference to discussion "Concerning the building a church at James City" (McIlwaine 1924:449). 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 church district'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:347). It may have been around that time that a brick church was built at Jamestown at the site of Structure 142, for it is certain that one was erected sometime prior to Bacon's Rebellion.[221]

[221] Architectural historian Dell Upton noted that, "It has long been asserted that the 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-

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: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).

At Jamestown, the boundaries of the church's grounds apparently were a matter of tradition. On August 28, 1644, when John White 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). In 1662 when Elizabeth Drummond patented the ½ acre river front lot she had inherited from 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 (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.[222] When the perimeters of the church yard were reconstructed to scale electronically, using the boundary data provided by the patents for Tracts H and M, a rectangle was created that contained 1.1298 acres.

In March 1652, when Virginia fell under the sway of the Commonwealth government, ecclesiastical law in the colony was suspended. Use of the 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. When 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

(cont'd from previous page)
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). Records quoted in NPS archaeologist John Cotter's report tend to 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).

[222] According to tradition, Anglican churches were oriented on an east-west axis, with an altar in the eastern end. Church yards typically paralleled the walls of the church.

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).

A contemporary account of Bacon's Rebellion states that Jamestown "is built much about the midle of the South line, close upon the river, extending east and west, about 3 quarters of a mile; in which is comprehended some 16 or 18 houses, much as is the church built of brick, faire and large" (Force 1963:I:11:25). It was that structure Nathaniel Bacon's men put to the torch on September 19, 1676. According to two of the Special Commissioners that King Charles II sent to investigate the underlying causes of the popular uprising, "James City was totally burnt to the ground by Bacon who with his own hand set fire to the church" (Sainsbury 1964:9:13). Afterward, the structure was rebuilt. On June 21, 1680, Colonel William White, churchwarden of James City Parish and the owner of two parcels and a house (Structure 86) in Study Unit 4 Tract L Lot C, presented a petition to the assembly on behalf of his parish. In response, the assembly authorized a levy of 14,000 pounds of tobacco for "finishing the church at James City." The funds that were raised were to be given to Colonel White (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:128).[223]

In May 1699 church wardens William Broadribb and Edward Travis II (Study Unit 2) 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 assembly 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).

In 1724 when the Bishop of London queried Virginia clergy about their parishes, the Rev. William LeNeve reported that James City Parish 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 Mulberry Island Parish one Sunday a month and he lectured in Williamsburg on Sunday afternoons. Because the James City Parish glebe lacked a dwelling, the vestry paid LeNeve a housing allowance. 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: 264-266).

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 Greater Williamsburg area (Meade 1992:I:113; Desandrouins 1781; St. Simone 1781).

[223] In 1856 Bishop William Meade stated that "a new and better church, whose tower still remains, was built at Jamestown" (Meade 1992:I:94).

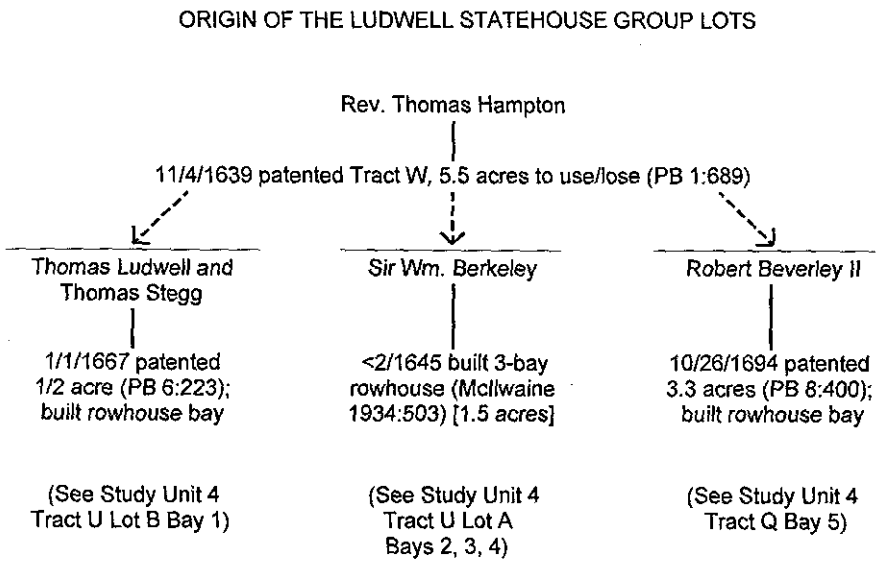


Figure 102. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract W.*

Study Unit 4 Tract W

Rev. Thomas Hampton

The Rev. Thomas Hampton, rector of James City Parish from ca. 1639 to 1645, patented 1,100 acres of land on the Nansemond River in Upper New Norfolk County in 1636 and 1637, using headrights to assert his claim. It is uncertain whether he was a highly successful planter or had the backing of a wealthy family. On November 4, 1639, Hampton patented a long, narrow ridge of land in the western end of Jamestown Island, "betweene twoe swamps behind the Church conteyning in length west and Easterly eightie twoe poles [1,353 feet] and in breadth Northerly and Southerly thirty six paces (Vizt) five foote to every pace) [180 feet]." That is, it measured 1,353 feet from east to west and only 180 feet from north to south, enclosing 5.5 acres. Hampton had six months in which to develop his property or face forfeiture (Patent Book 1:689; Nugent 1969-1979:I:56, 71).

The boundaries of the Rev. Thomas Hampton's 5.5 acre patent have been reconstructed to scale electronically and compared with a topographically sensitive electronic map of Jamestown Island. The long, narrow patent's outline was then superimposed upon the topography of a long, narrow ridge of land that runs on an approximately east-west axis behind the church. Together, topographic features and the Hampton patent's verbal boundary description suggest that the clergyman's 5.5 acre parcel (Tract W) enveloped that portion of Tract U upon which the so-called Ludwell Statehouse Group later was built. As both tracts are oriented identically and the width of their westernmost termini is the same, it is probable that Tract W was the forerunner of Tract U.[224] This raises the possibility that in 1645 when Sir William Berkeley commenced building Structure 144, a three-bay brick rowhouse on Tract U, he used part of the land originally allocated to, and perhaps abandoned by, the Rev. Thomas Hampton.

On June 12, 1644, the Rev. Thomas Hampton laid claim to a parcel behind the church that purportedly consisted of 8 acres. That acreage, designated Study Unit 1 Tract C Lot C, abutted the Back Creek at "the Friggott," measured 560 feet on each side and contained 7.19 acres rather than 8. Hampton's patent was mentioned in Radulph Spraggon's August 18, 1644, land claim (Nugent 1969-1979:I:154, 169; Patent Book 2:11, 105).

The Rev. Thomas Hampton's acquisitive nature affected his conduct as rector of James City Parish. In October 1640 he complained to the Governor's Council that the parish vestry had provided him with a glebe that contained only 100 acres, not the 200 required by law. In 1646, shortly after the Rev. Thomas Hampton's departure from Jamestown, the justices of York County censured him for obtaining guardianship of John Powell's orphans and then misappropriating the decedent's estate. As the orphaned William Powell was left destitute, without what the court considered minimal provisions and clothing, the residue of the Powell estate was seized and entrusted to a substitute guardian (McIlwaine 1924:471; McGhan 1993:481-482).

The Rev. Thomas Hampton continued to acquire land. In 1654 he patented 550 acres on Diascund Creek, a tract he enlarged by 400 acres in 1658. Later in the year, Hampton added 700 acres to his holdings in that vicinity. Cartographer Augustine Hermann (1673) in 1670 labeled the Rev. Thomas Hampton's land near Diascund Creek as "Mr. Rampton's" (Nugent 1969-1979:I:285, 379, 387).

[224] Tract W contained 5.5 acres, whereas the lots that enveloped the Ludwell Statehouse Group's five bays totalled 5.3 acres.

Sir William Berkeley

Sometime prior to February 1645, Governor William Berkeley came into possession of part of the westerly portion of the Rev. Thomas Hampton's 5.5 acre patent (Study Unit 4 Tract W). It was there that Berkeley erected a three-bay brick rowhouse, Structure 144 (see the history of Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot A).

Thomas Ludwell and Thomas Stegg II

On January 1, 1667, Thomas Ludwell and Thomas Stegg II were awarded a ½ acre patent for building one of the prototypical brick houses which construction was subsidized as part of the 1662 building initiative. Their lot enveloped the westernmost portion of the Rev. Thomas Hampton's patent and abutted west upon the James River (Patent Book 6:223; Nugent 1969-1979:II:57). (See the history of Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot B).

Robert Beverley II

On October 26, 1694, Robert Beverley II, who in ca. 1705 produced a narrative history of the Virginia colony, secured a patent for ca. 3.3 acres of land that abutted west upon the easternmost end of Bay 4, part of the three-bay brick rowhouse Governor William Berkeley built in 1645. Beverley was obliged to develop his property within three years or lose it. He erected Bay 5 and someone (perhaps Beverley, who was employed in the secretary's office) noted on a copy of his patent that it was the "land on which ye house is built adjoining thereto" (Ambler MS 61; Nugent 1969-1979:II:396; Patent Book 8:400; Robert Beverley Title Book). (See the history of Study Unit 4 Tract Q).

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 an April 4, 1661, patent for some contiguous property (Study Unit 4 Tract N, the Prescott-Drummond lot). In all likelihood, he was Thomas Warren, the only person of that surname associated with Jamestown during the mid-to-late seventeenth century.

Thomas Warren

On April 4, 1661, Edward Prescott patented ½ acre of land in the western end of Jamestown Island, the lot designated Study Unit 4 Tract N. When he died in late 1661 or early 1662, he bequeathed his land to William Drummond I's wife, Sarah, who may have been his daughter. Prescott's lot abutted east upon the yard of the parish church (Tract V), southwest upon the James River, southeast on the land of Mr. Warren (Tract X) and northwest upon Mr. Randolph's property (Tract S). Mrs. Sarah Drummond on March 20, 1662, repatented Edward Prescott's ½ acre lot in her own name. It was then noted that the legitimacy of her title had been confirmed in court (Patent Book 5:634; Nugent 1969-1979:I:560).

Because the Prescott-Drummond patent (Tract N) lacks dimensions, a figure containing ½ acre was created electronically and placed at a site that meets all of the patent's descriptive criteria. It should be noted, however, that this hypothetical lot could be reshaped, elongated or broadened, as long as it contained no more than ½ acre and abutted (but did not intrude upon) all of the critical reference points. The same technique has been employed in positioning Tract X, which is known to have abutted northwest upon the Prescott-Drummond parcel and therefore lay between the church yard and the James River.

In 1644 and 1645 Thomas Warren served as a burgess for James City. However, as official records for those years collectively attribute the burgesses for Jamestown and James City County (which then included territory on the lower side of the James) to "James City," it is unclear which area Warren actually represented. In 1654 Thomas Warren of Smith's Fort plantation in Surry County married Elizabeth, the daughter and heir of ancient planter William Spencer, who in 1637 owned Study Unit 3 Tract C plus some land on the lower side of the James. Elizabeth was the widow of Major Robert Shepperd of Chippokes, a Surry County burgess who had a business relationship with London merchant John White (Meyer et al. 1987:582; Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:60). White, it should be recalled, in 1644 patented Study Unit 4 Tract H, a 1 acre lot located next door to Tract X. Structure 163, tentatively identified as a circa 1630-1650 dwelling or warehouse, straddles the line between Tracts H and X. It may represent a collaborative building effort by Robert Shepperd and John White.

On September 23, 1654, the widowed Elizabeth Spencer Shepperd signed a marriage contract with Thomas Warren in which she agreed that he was "to have and enjoy all the estate of Major Robert Sheppard, deceased, now in the possession of the said Elizabeth, his relict" with the exception of certain pieces of personal property (Meyer et al. 1987:582). This raises the possibility that Thomas Warren acquired Tract X via his marriage to Major Robert Shepperd's widow.[225]

In 1660 Thomas Warren served on the commission charged with seeing that a statehouse was built. He died sometime prior to April 21, 1670, at which time his will was proved by John Corker

[225] On the other hand, the property may have descended to Mrs. Warren from her late father, William Spencer.

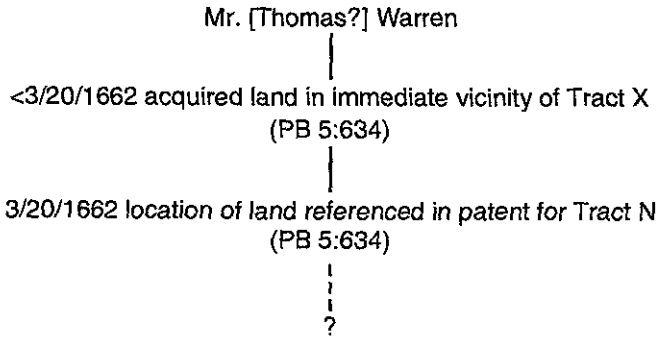


Figure 103. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract X.*

(Study Unit 4 Tract J and Study Unit 3 Tract D) and William Thomson I (Thompson) (Study Unit 4 Tract G), both of whom had ties to Jamestown and Surry County. Warren is thought to have fathered children with each of the three women he married (Stanard 1965:63- 64; Maxwell 1849:2:3; Meyer et al. 1987:581-582).

Surviving records fail to indicate what happened to the Warren lot in Jamestown. As Thomas Warren bestowed some of his property upon his Shepperd stepchildren, the lot may have descended to Elizabeth Spencer Shepperd Warren's grandson, Thomas Hart II, who in 1702 was authorized to keep a ferry from Swann's Point to Jamestown (Surry County Order Book 1691-1713:232; Meyer et al. 1987:583).

Study Unit 4 Tract Y

William Barker

On February 27, 1639, William Barker, a mariner, received a patent for a lot that was 0.15 acre in size. It abutted west upon the 0.15 acre lot of William Parry (Study Unit 4 Tract A) and east upon the 0.1125 acre lot of John Corker (Study Unit 4 Tract J Lot A). Its side lines (from north to south) were 99 feet long and its breadth (east to west) along the waterfront was 66 feet. Thus, Lot Y was precisely the same size as its westerly neighbor, Tract D, the Parry lot, but its long axis was oriented in the opposite direction. Barker's patent states that his lot contained "twentie fower pole square butting upon the land of John Corker Easterly 6 pole [99 feet] in length, Southerly fower pole [66 feet] in breadth, westerly upon the Land of William Parry and Northerly into the Island." William Barker, like William Parry, had to pay 1 capon a year as quitrent. The closing words of the patent were "Provided always &c," an indication that Barker probably was obliged to develop his land or face forfeiture (Patent Book 1:622; Nugent 1969-1979:I:103).

Although it is uncertain to what extent William Barker developed his property, he was tied into a mercantile network that would have made it very desirable to own a piece of waterfront land in Jamestown, the colony's capital city and sole port of entry. During the late 1620s and the 1630s, William Barker served as captain of ships that brought tobacco and beaver skins from Virginia to England. Two documents identify him as being from Ratcliffe in Middlesex, England (SR 3012, 4001).

On November 26, 1635, Barker, who identified himself as a mariner, joined merchants John Sadler and Richard Queyney in patenting 1,250 acres they called Merchants Hope, in Charles City County. Then, in August 1637 Barker patented 600 acres called Bikars, which he added to the Merchants Hope acreage in February 1638 (Patent Book 1:320, 475, 609; Nugent 1969-1979:I:35, 475, 609). The patentee of Tract Y may have been the William Barker who on January 14, 1628, was arrested by Lady Temperance Yeardley on account of indebtedness and the William Barker who in January 1629 recovered 12 tobacco notes from William Greene (McIlwaine 1924:158, 184).

Between June and December 1654, Captain William Corker (John Corker's son) sold William Barker 150 acres of land "between Smiths Fort old field and the Divell's Woodyard Swampe and all houses, etc. being due unto the said [Thomas] Rolfe by Guift from the Indyan King." Barker quickly conveyed the parcel to Roger Gilbert (Surry County Deeds, Wills &c. 1652-1672:54-55; Kornwolf 1976:112). As John Corker and William Barker owned adjoining waterfront lots in the New Towne (Tract J Lot A and Tract Y) that they acquired during 1639 and 1640, the Corker and Barker families may have had a long-standing relationship or perhaps had a kinship tie.

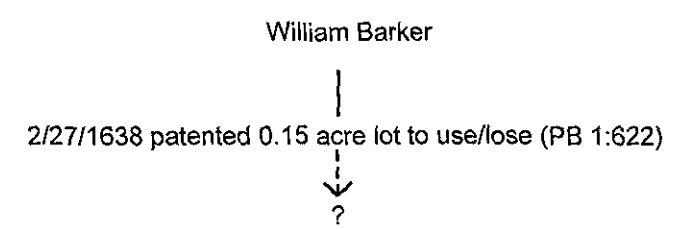


Figure 104. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract Y.*

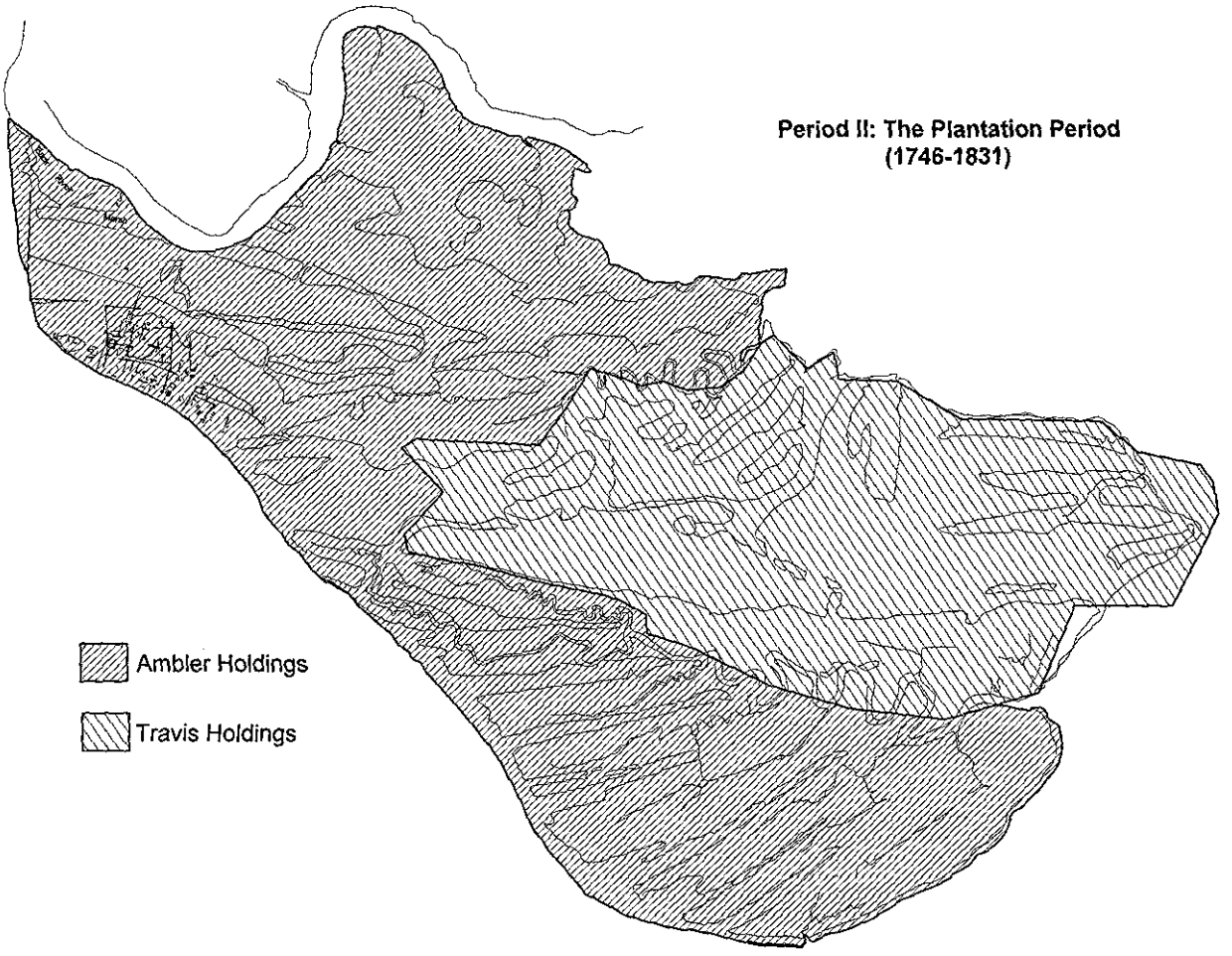


Figure 105. *Period II: the Plantation Period.*

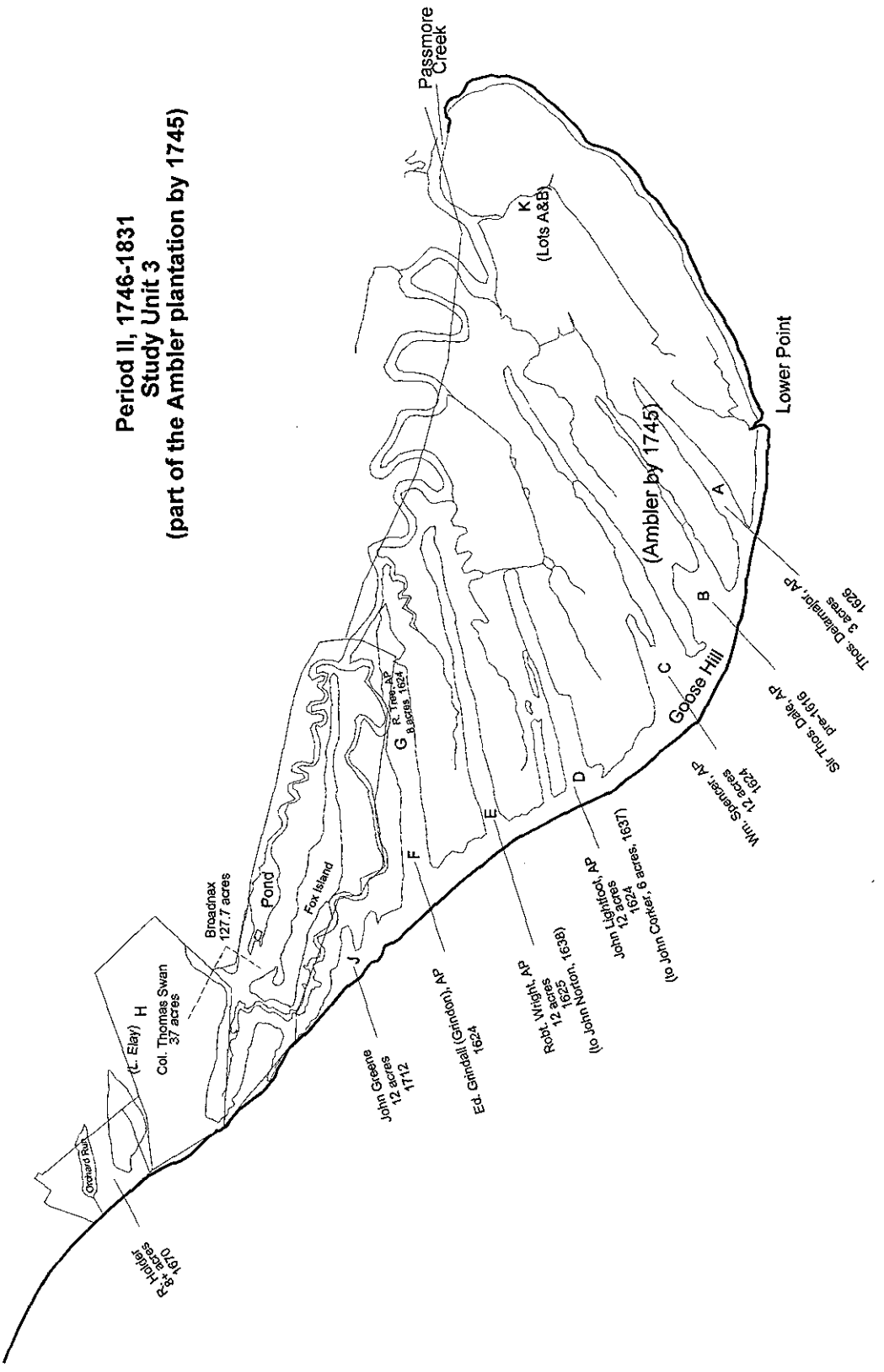


Figure 106. *Period II: Study Unit 3.*

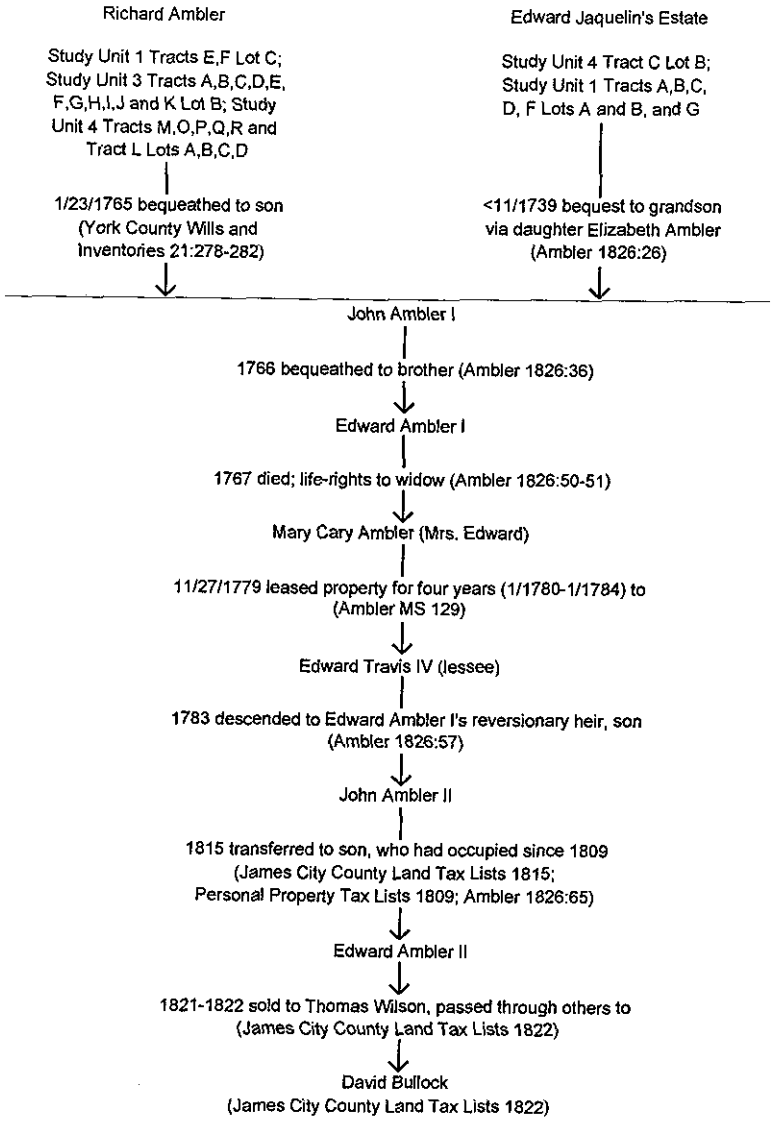


Figure 107. *Land transactions, Period II: the Ambler Plantation.*

Period II: The Plantation Period (1746-1831)

Synopsis History

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. They also had property on the mainland. 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 others.

The Ambler Plantation (Study Units 1, 3, 4)

Richard Ambler

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 half of the frontage on the Back River.

Richard Ambler, the son of John and Elizabeth Birkard Ambler of York, England, was born on December 23, 1690. He immigrated to Virginia in 1716 and became established at Yorktown. In 1729 he married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward and 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). Ambler's ability to accumulate wealth attests to his business acumen.

In November 1739 Richard Ambler's father-in-law, Edward Jaquelin, died at Jamestown, at the age of 71. By that time, he had outlived two wives and all of his sons. Jaquelin was survived by three daughters: Elizabeth, the wife of Richard Ambler; Martha, a spinster; and Mary, who wed John Smith in November 1739. Thus, the only grandchildren Jaquelin had at the time of his death were the offspring of his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, and her husband Richard Ambler. 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 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, Edward Jaquelin left his landholdings on Jamestown Island to his grandson, John Ambler I. On the other hand, a slightly different family history 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 son John (Ambler 1826:26, 1828:25).[226] It appears that the 1826 version more accurately reflects what occurred, for when Elizabeth Jaquelin Ambler died in 1756, her son John Ambler I, who

[226] 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).

had just come of age, took possession of his grandfather's Jamestown Island property.[227] It is uncertain whether the Amblers made occasional use of the late Edward Jaquelin's dwelling (Structure 31, the brick house constructed by William Sherwood right after Bacon's Rebellion) or simply placed it in the hands of a tenant.[228]

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."[229] 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 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 Manuscript 123; York County Wills and Inventories 21:278-282).[230] 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 (Ambler MS 123).

In 1745 Richard Ambler systematically began purchasing a number of parcels that abutted the plantation of his late father-in-law, Edward Jaquelin. On January 1, 1745, Ambler 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 entitled him to fee simple ownership of the 2 acres to which he had life-rights, very probably 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. Thus, he controlled almost all of the river frontage on the James and more than half of the land bordering the Back River.

On October 6, 1753, Richard Ambler purchased a ½ acre lot (Lot C of Study Unit 1 Tract F)

[227] Any property Elizabeth inherited normally would have descended to her husband, Richard Ambler. His will indicates that he did not own his late father-in-law's estate (see ahead).

[228] 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). Although it is uncertain where the justices convened, they may have assembled at the late Edward Jaquelin's house or perhaps in the Travis townstead.

[229] The reference to ferryman Edward Ross, who owned Study Unit 4 Tract R and operated ferries from Tracts R and O to Surry County, suggests strongly that the gift parcel was in the western end of Jamestown Island. The presence of a slash (which formed the western boundary of Tract R and the eastern boundary of Tract E) reveals 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).

[230] Fortunately, a copy of this deed has been preserved by the New-York Historical Society.

from Edward Champion Travis. It was situated in front of the site upon which Ambler built a large brick mansion (Structure 101) and dependencies (Ambler MS 115).[231] 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.[232] 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).

In 1748 several local citizens 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, belonging to Richard Ambler" and said that there were "several responsible freeholders of the lands adjoining the ferry" 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).

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 (which appears to have been 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, and to brother-in-law John Smith would have had considerable commercial potential.[233]

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 1758 he commenced serving as the community's burgess, an indication that he owned land there (Leonard 1976:89).[234] 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 Jamestown on the land of John Ambler, Esq."[235]

[231] 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 extends across Ditch 9 (the northerly boundary ditch for Study Unit 1 Tract F Lot C) and the southwest corner of Structure 101 rests upon Ditch 9, Richard Ambler may not have commenced construction of his mansion until after October 1753, when he purchased Lot C from Edward Champion Travis. However, by 1758 John Ambler I was living at Jamestown.

[232] 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).

[233] 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.

[234] The only acreage he would have owned outright (prior to his father's death) would have been that of his grandfather, Edward Jaquelin.

[235] 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 continued to be rejected (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1761-1765:72, 97).

That the property was identified as John's rather than his father's suggests that 25-year-old John Ambler then had actual possession of the plantation and its improvements (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1758-1761:223,231; 1761-1765:72, 97).

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 and Jaquelin. Although Edward, as the eldest, was the principal heir, Richard left John, "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 bestowed upon 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."[236] 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 land his father had bought from Christopher Perkins and the Jaquelin heirs in 1745 and from Edward Champion Travis in 1753, which parcels were contiguous to the late Edward Jaquelin's property. He also received his father's leasehold in the mainland and privately owned his quarter on Powhatan Swamp.

Richard Ambler died in February 1766, having outlived his wife, Elizabeth, by nearly a decade. 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 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 in the mainland, and 14 more (13 adults and a child), who were at his plantation on Powhatan Swamp. 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. One of those appointed to inventory the decedent's estate was Edward Champion Travis of Jamestown (Study Unit 2) (York County Wills and Inventories 21:386-391).

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 throughout Europe and reportedly became the master of seven languages. He returned to Virginia, where he represented Jamestown in the

[236] This was the property for which Richard had obtained a quit claim in 1745, part of Study Unit 1 Tract E.

House of Burgesses from 1759 to 1761. It was during that period that building a tobacco inspection warehouse on his land at Jamestown was proposed. In November 1762 John Ambler I obtained a lease for some acreage in the Governor's Land, property that formerly had been in Edward Jaquelin's possession. He served as Collector of Customs for the York District and as Jamestown's burgess in 1765 and 1766. According to John Jaquelin Ambler's family history (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).[237]

John Ambler I, who contracted consumption (tuberculosis), withdrew to Barbados, where he hoped to recover his health.[238] 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).

Edward I and Mary Cary Ambler

Edward Ambler I, who was born in 1733, was 18 years old when he married Wilson Cary's daughter, Mary, of Ceeley's in Elizabeth City County. Although Edward inherited his father's Yorktown mansion and was living there at the time of 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 was fond of wearing scarlet suits of cut velvet, trimmed with gold lace. Both Edward and Mary Cary Ambler revered Jamestown for its historical significance and they 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, "after a tedious illness" (Stanard 1925:187). He was survived by his widow, Mary Cary, and their three young children. Two months later, Mary Cary Ambler was faced with another loss. In late December one of the outbuildings on the Ambler plantation at Jamestown caught fire and burned to the ground. According to the *Virginia Gazette*, "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. 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 I's estate was credited with 49 tithables but no wheels (Williamsburg-James City County Tax Lists 1768-1769).

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. It also indicates that his agricultural operations at Jamestown and on the mainland were run

[237] 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).

[238] According to John Jaquelin Ambler, John I became ill because he was so studious (Ambler 1826:37)

in tandem and that his slaves moved back and forth between the two properties. A room-by-room inventory of the Ambler 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, bookpresses and articles of clothing. There was a storeroom on the premises that contained household items. References to a "Nursery,[239] Closet & Covered Way," a kitchen, and a "Kitchen covered way and Closet" most likely pertain to the archaeological features identified in the 1950s as dependencies that flanked the main house and were linked to it by walkways.[240] The Ambler plantation's outbuildings included a coach house that had a heated chamber, a wash house, and a dairy.[241] 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 some of his mercantile activities at Jamestown Island. The inventory of his estate listed by name the slaves who were at Jamestown, on the mainland and at Powhatan (Ambler 1769).

Mrs. Mary Cary Ambler and her children, who were 6, 8 and 10 years of age, continued to occupy the family home on Jamestown Island after Edward's death, and they were still living there when the Revolutionary War began.[242] However, the island's proximity to the James River's channel made it strategically important and therefore brought combat to the Ambler plantation. In early November 1775 two British tenders fired upon the American sentinels stationed at Jamestown. The only damage that occurred was "driving two or three small balls through the ferry-house" of Mr. Leister,[243] a structure probably located on Tract R, in Study Unit 4 (Dixon, November 4, 1775).[244] Nearly two weeks later, British ships were thwarted in an attempt to discharge a landing party at Jamestown. As military maps and diarist Ebenezer Hazard indicated that the Americans had erected a small, curvilinear battery in a low-lying area west of the church[245] and the ferry house was nearby, it

[239] A few items were attributed to the "Nursery Cellar." As a pair of andirons was included, the structure may have been heated. It may have been a conservatory in which plant specimens were propagated or an area devoted to child care and education. School teacher Philip Fithian provided instruction in one of the dependencies at Nomini, which the family called "the nursury." He indicted 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). On the other hand, teacher John Harrower was provided with a 20 foot by 12 foot dependency in which to conduct classes (Harrower 1963:68).

[240] That is, Structures 30 and 87 (outbuildings) and Structures 98 and 99 (walkways).

[241] The Amblers' house servants probably had sleeping accommodations in the kitchen, nursery, coach house and other dependencies.

[242] 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. 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).

[243] 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).

[244] In 1772 the Jamestown ferry to Crouch's Creek, which ran from Study Unit 4 Tract O, was discontinued. A new route was established that ran from Jamestown to Cobham, on Gray's Creek. It replaced an older ferry route that ran from Study Unit 4 Tract R to Swann's Point (Hening 1809-1823:VIII:354-355). Therefore, unless a new ferry-landing was established specifically to accommodate the ferry to Gray's Creek, it probably ran from Tract R, which was almost directly across the river from its destination.

[245] The Desandrouins map (1781) suggests that the battery was located in a swale or slash, where a curved

would have been a likely target (Purdie and Dixon, November 17, 1775; Shelley 1954:411).[246] During 1775 and 1776 American soldiers were garrisoned on Jamestown Island and 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). As the property that sustained damage was "at Jamestown," it probably was his townstead on Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J, which was located a relatively short distance to the east of the American battery.

Ebenezer Hazard, who first visited Jamestown Island on June 10, 1777, described the community 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. "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. However, it gave him an opportunity to explore the town. He said that Jamestown, though small, once had been a flourishing county seat, although "only one Family at present lives in it." "A fine orchard of apple trees, cherries & apricots" attracted Hazard's attention, although it lacked fencing and was badly neglected. He said that wild grass and weeds grew abundantly, but no crops were to be seen. "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."[247] 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.[248] 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, also commented on Jamestown's desolate appearance during this period and said that what once "was a large city" was "completely ruined now" (Selig, personal communication, March 18, 1993). 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).

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 that it hath washed a breach of considerable width and depth [James City County Legislative Petitions November 9, 1779].*

(cont'd from previous page)
brick fort had stood from 1673 to 1698, i.e., near the southwest corner of Study Unit 4 Tract P.

[246] The British also shelled the ferry-house at Burwell's Landing and the militia stationed nearby.

[247] This indicates that sometime after the November 1775, when the British shelled the ferry house, but before Ebenezer Hazard's June 1777 visit, the ferry was moved 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 actually was "the nursery" that served that purpose. A map by French cartographer Nicholas Desandrouin (1781) and one done by James Kearney (1818) 20 years later, depicting military sites, suggest that during at least part of the Revolutionary War the ferry landed just west of the Ambler house. Several buildings were perched along the river bank in that vicinity.

[248] He made a sketch of the wheat machine.

In accord with the petitioners' request the ferry landing was moved to the Ambler farm on the mainland.

Captain Edward Travis IV (lessee)

On November 27, 1779, Mrs. Mary Ambler, who had withdrawn to the family home called The Cottage, in Hanover County, which she considered a position of greater safety, leased her late husband's Jamestown Island plantation to Edward Travis IV for a period of four years.[249] He was a naval officer and Edward Champion Travis's son. She agreed to give him 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 decision to move the ferry landing to the mainland.[250] 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 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.[251] He was prohibited from converting forested land into open fields and the only timber he was allowed to cut 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 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 year and if Edward Travis IV agreed to fence it, he could have half of the annual yield. He was to pay all of the taxes on the plantation while renting it and he was prohibited from subletting the property to others without Mrs. Ambler's written permission (Ambler MS 129).

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,

[249] When Mrs. Mary Ambler departed from Jamestown, she took along a collection of manuscripts accumulated by her late husband's family, William Sherwood, and Edward Jaquelin. These documents, commonly known as the Ambler Papers, which were augmented by later additions, are now at the Library of Congress. They comprise the most complete source of information on Jamestown Island's land ownership patterns. 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 been accumulating for half a century. Mrs. Mary Ambler died in 1781 while living in Hanover. After the war, her remains were removed to Jamestown for interment. Her eldest son, Edward C. Ambler, and her daughter, Sarah, died in 1782 (Ambler, October 10, 1796; Ambler 1826:51).

[250] Emphasis added. Mrs. Ambler retained her property on the mainland and probably left it in the hands of an overseer.

[251] 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 (Cox 1907:30).

which included annoying British ships that entered Virginia waters, led to his being captured by the enemy frigate *Thames* (Burgess 1929:1149; 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).[252] He apparently had no intention of moving there, for on August 21, 1779, he offered for sale his 1,800 acre plantation and slaves in Brunswick (Dixon, August 21, 1779). Only three months later, he signed the lease with Mrs. Ambler.

Captain Edward Travis IV'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 Tracts A and J) to the occupancy of his sons, Edward IV and Champion. In April 1772 when Edward married Miss Betsy Taite, he was described as a resident "of Jamestown," raising the possibility that he was occupying the townstead.[253] Meanwhile, his 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 of the Virginia Navy married Clarissa Waller of Williamsburg (Dixon, February 26, 1779).[254] As Edward, 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 (Dixon, April 1, 1780).[255] In light of Ebenezer Hazard's June 1777 comment that the Ambler house was large and elegant but "decaying fast," and that "the other houses in Town are wooden, and all in Ruins," Captain Edward Travis may have moved into Mrs. Mary Ambler's dwelling as soon as he commenced renting it (Shelley 1954:411). Another factor that may have influenced his decision about where to live is that by 1779 the Travis family townstead (Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J), like the rest of the late Edward Champion Travis's James City County property, had descended to the decedent's eldest son, Champion (Ambler MS 129).

Early in July 1781 the British Army encamped upon the mainland, where they occupied the Ambler farm, and they took possession of Jamestown Island, which they planned to use as a point of embarkation. Cornwallis's men on the mainland were positioned to provide coverage to "a ford into the island of James-town," a probable reference to the isthmus (Maxwell 1853:186).[256] When the British withdrew from Jamestown, they left behind 23 American soldiers wounded in the Battle of Green Spring (Hatch 1945:170-196). The Chevalier d'Ancteville, who arrived on Jamestown Island shortly after the British departed, credited them with destroying "this small city," where he found "burned debris, tombs opened, other beautiful monuments broken to pieces, a temple partly knocked down." He said that "the houses still existing breathed a cadaverous odor and enclosed cadavers" and claimed that "all means of devastation had been employed to the city and to the countryside" (Ancteville 1781).

In September 1781 when the Allied Army was at Jamestown, awaiting an opportunity to cross the James, the Marquis de St. Simone inspected the island. He noted that "The bridge of Cornwallis

[252] Travis had been living in Brunswick in 1774 when he advertised for the recovery of a runaway servant (Purdie and Dixon, August 25, 1774).

[253] 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, who was Edward Travis IV's only heir (see ahead).

[254] Clarissa was Benjamin Waller's daughter (Travis n.d.:69).

[255] Of course, he may have left her in Williamsburg, then a much safer location in which to live.

[256] It was while Cornwallis's army was at Jamestown that the Allies was lured into the disastrous encounter known as the Battle of Green Spring.

had been destroyed," implying that the British had erected a span that connected the island with the mainland. Later, shipments of arms, baggage and tools were sent by the Allies to Jamestown Island, which was used as a distribution center for supplies (Bruce 1894:9; Hatch 1942:37-38). A prisoner- exchange cartel (negotiated by General Nathanall 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 July 1781 and November 1782 (Hatch 1942:35).

Maps produced by 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 these 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 and Thomas Harris.[257] The French maps indicate that development was concentrated between the Ambler mansion (Structure 101) and the church (Structure 142). Two structures were perched upon the river bank. They may have been associated with the ferry landing and/or the Amblers' mercantile operations. Directly behind these buildings on the waterfront were three other structures, perhaps components of the Travis townstead.[258] Two more buildings were located on the east side of the main road, in an area analogous to Study Unit 4 Tract G and Study Unit 1 Tract 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 (Structure 101), in an area analogous to Study Unit 1 Tract D, and another was situated on the north side of Pitch and Tar Swamp, within Study Unit 1 Tract C. One or more of these buildings may have been barns or living accommodations provided to the Amblers' overseer. To the west of the church (Structure 142), at a location comparable to Study Unit 4 Tract Q, was a building. It may have been associated with the improvements Robert Beverley II erected upon 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 (Desandrouins 1781; D'Abboville 1781).

John Ambler II

John Ambler II, Mary Cary and Edward Ambler I's son, was born on September 25, 1762. As their only surviving male child, he inherited his father's vast ancestral estate, which included land and slaves in several counties.[259] These properties were the plantation on Jamestown Island, the Maine farm, and the Powhatan quarter in James City 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).

[257] John Parke Custis also had two or more lots in Jamestown (Purdie-Dixon, July 2, 1772; Harbin 1986:269).

[258] A watercolor by Louis Girardin, published in *Amoenitates Graphicae* in 1805, shows a large, 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. This may have been the townstead owned by the Travis family, Structure 6 on Tracts A and J.

[259] John II's elder brother, Edward C. Ambler, died unmarried in 1782.

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). Excluded was Powhatan, which may have been in the hands of a tenant, who probably paid whatever taxes were owed upon the acreage. In 1782 the tax assessor listed John Ambler II as the 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).

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 church) upon the College of William and Mary, along with authorization to 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 the 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).

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 produced a daughter (Mary Cary II) and a son (Edward II). Frances died and John Ambler II married Lucy Marshall, with whom he produced a son, Thomas Marshall Ambler. Lucy, and Frances 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). It was Catherine Bush Norton and John Ambler II's son, John Jaquelin Ambler, who chronicled the 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, footwear, yard goods, furniture and equipment from London. However, he relied heavily upon merchants in Richmond, Williamsburg and Cobham for household necessities, alcoholic beverages, and other everyday items.[260] 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 and he paid local men, such as his neighbor, William Wilkinson Jr., for repairing his saddle, mending farming equipment and making a wheat machine. His household's medical needs, such as dentistry and smallpox vaccinations, were met by local practitioners. Wheat and pork produced on

[260] He ordered ½ crate of Queensware from London.

Jamestown Island and at the Ambler farm on the mainland were sold in bulk to local customers. John Ambler II's business records reveal that at Jamestown, he operated a thriving and productive working plantation (Ambler Family 1770-1860).

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, mares and mules).[261] 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.[262] 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.[263] In 1790 he commenced paying taxes upon a stud horse and a second passenger vehicle. 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). In 1797 Captain John Ambler of Jamestown was in command of the local cavalry, which military office he still held in 1801. Ambler 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).[264]

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, near the mouth of Sandy Bay, where it was subject to tidal flooding (Ambler 1828).[265] In October 1798 four of Ambler's friends, enroute from Williamsburg to the Church on the Maine and Jamestown, found upon reaching the "gulph 'twixt the Holy house and the House of our intended Host," that the causeway was inundated. According to Dr. Philip Barraud, who chronicled the excursion, Bishop James Madison climbed out of the coach and insisted on crossing the causeway on foot. However, before he had gone very far, he toppled into the river and had to be rescued. Later, after a good meal and an ample supply of John Ambler II's wine, one of the Bishop's companions waggishly remarked that "his Holiness received this correction as a Lesson not to assume so broad a Bottom for the Mother Church" and reminded him that he was as subject to the forces of gravity as any other mortal (Barraud 1798).

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 cir-

[261] It is uncertain whether Chick lived upon the mainland, occupying the farm called Amblers, or had a dwelling on the island.

[262] Comparative research in Tidewater's census records and personal property tax rolls indicates that approximately half of a typical slaveholder's slaves were age 12 or older and therefore tithable.

[263] 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).

[264] In December 1797 John Ambler II hired a Mr. Weyley or Weylie as tutor for his children. Weyley, who lived in the Ambler home at Jamestown, was paid a stipend of 60 pounds a year and was allowed to keep the fees "of as many Scholars as he can get." He was to take up his post in mid-January 1798 (Stanard 1930:232-239).

[265] It may have followed the trace of the old causeway, built by Richard Ambler sometime prior to 1748, about which local freeholders complained.

cumstances 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). The wording of Henry Taylor's contract implies that Ambler expected to spend less time at Jamestown.[266]

If John Jaquelin Ambler's family history is accurate, John Ambler II's decision to spend less time 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). In 1806 John Ambler II reportedly purchased an elegant house in the Shockoe section of Richmond and moved his family there. However, the Amblers continued to spend their winters at Jamestown and in Williamsburg (Ambler 1826:59-60).

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, 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). Another man stated that "Many yards of the palisades erected by the first settlers are yet to be seen at a low tide standing at least 150 to 200 paces [375 to 500 feet] from the present shore" (Tyler 1899-1900:222).[267] A topographic engineer at the turn of the twentieth century estimated the rate of erosion at the western end of the island as approximately twice that described in 1807 (Yonge 1926:26).

Personal property tax rolls reveal that Edward Ambler II commenced residing at Jamestown in 1809, 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).[268] According to John Jaquelin Ambler, when his half-brother, Edward II, matured 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). 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 on Jamestown Island (James City County Land Tax Lists 1815).[269]

[266] 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).

[267] The palisades that were visible in 1807 probably were those erected by Spotswood in 1711 to thwart a possible French invasion.

[268] No tax assessment records were compiled for Virginia counties in 1808.

[269] In 1815 the assessor noted that 900 acres "was deeded to Edward Ambler by John Ambler" along with 375 acres by Powhatan Creek, William Wilkinson and William Hodgson (James City County Land Tax Lists 1815). The 375 acre tract was the farm on the mainland.

John Ambler II was a colonel in the War of 1812 and was stationed at Camp Bottoms Bridge in New Kent County and at Frazier's Tavern in Henrico. Son Edward II reportedly resided at Jamestown until the War of 1812 began. He apparently was eager to defend his country, for he persuaded his father to approach the governor on his behalf, to ask for a major's commission or a captaincy in the cavalry. However, John Ambler II was frank with the governor and 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 in as first lieutenant in the Williamsburg Troop" (James City County Executive Papers, February 20, 1813).[270] On July 1, 1813, a British raiding party came ashore at Jamestown and "after plundering the plantation, destroyed Lieut. Ambler's Household furniture of every description." According to Ambler's son, John Jaquelin Ambler, the British carried off whatever they could and laid waste to everything they were unable to move (Palmer 1968:X:240; Ambler 1826:59-60, 66).[271]

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, eventually giving use of it to his daughter, Mary, the wife of Williamsburg attorney John Hill Smith (James City County Land Tax Lists 1814-1820; Ambler 1826:70).[272]

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).

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. The appearance of Edward's name in the tax rolls coincided with John'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 or 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).[273]

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

[270] The disposition of the matter is uncertain.

[271] It is uncertain whether the Amblers made any attempt to repair the damage to their property or restore their house to a habitable condition.

[272] According to John Jaquelin Ambler, John Ambler II had the graveyard of the abandoned Jamestown Church enclosed with a brick wall and in 1818 he 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).

[273] 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 1815-1816 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

are now the only memorials of its former inhabitants" (Strobia 1817).

In 1818, when English diarist Henry Beaumont and some others aboard a schooner from New York visited 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.[274] An old orchard adjoined and 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[275] 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).

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 the island and developing it. They also talked about how to raise the capital they needed to purchase the island. Henry Beaumont, 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).[276]

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 be-

(cont'd from previous page)
tax commissioners made note of those whose houses were worth $300 or more, Wilson was credited with a dwelling worth $3,000, a value comparable to the manor house at Carter's Grove (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1815-1816).

[274] This probably was the Ambler house and its flanking dependencies.

[275] Beaumont probably saw some buildings on the east side of Kingsmill Creek, perhaps the Travis plantation..

[276] As the bulk of James City County's antebellum court records have been destroyed, real estate tax rolls are the only public documents available to chart real estate transactions for this period. Edward Ambler II was credited with 900 acres at Jamestown through 1821 and the late Samuel Travis's estate was credited with his 802 3/4 acres through 1829. Therefore, it appears that the Beaumont brothers and Seaward never actually bought Jamestown Island. It should be noted, however, that assessors typically postponed transferring property into a new owner's name until the former owner had been paid and signed a deed of release (James City County Land Tax Lists 1818-1829). Thus, the buyers may have attempted to make the purchase but were unable to concummate the sale.

tween 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 ad 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 comments about his family's attempt to purchase land on Jamestown Island, Edward Ambler II of Lynchburg was credited with the plantation from 1815 through 1820 and in 1821 he was described as a resident of Henrico County. 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,[277] Edward Ambler's 900 acre Jamestown Island plantation was said to contain buildings which collective worth was $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 the Seaward, Beaumont and Company, whose advertisement also made reference to the presence of "Stables." There may have been a dwelling that accommodated a resident farm manager and perhaps slaves. In stark contrast to the costly structures on Jamestown Island, John Ambler's 375 acres on the mainland had $200 worth of buildings (James City County Land Tax Lists 1815-1820). 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 Ambler sold his 900 acre farm to Thomas Wilson, who quickly deeded it to another man, whose executor conveyed it to David Bullock of Richmond. Meanwhile, John Ambler II retained his 375 acres on the mainland until the 1830s (James City County Land Tax Lists 1821-1832).

David Bullock

David Bullock resided in Richmond throughout the years he owned land on Jamestown Island. The 900 acre Ambler farm's improvements retained their assessed value of $3,600 (James City County Land Tax Lists 1821-1836). Bullock, as an absentee owner, probably placed the Ambler tract in the hands of a tenant or farm manager that had his own slaves and livestock.[278] 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 posi-

[277] 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.

[278] James City County personal property tax rolls do not include Bullock's name.

tively forbid[den] sending their boats ashore" (*Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald*, December 2, 1822).

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).[279] 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 Jaquelin/Ambler Farm on the Mainland[280]

Throughout the eighteenth century, agricultural operations on the Jaquelin/Ambler plantation on Jamestown Island were run in tandem with those of the Ambler 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.

It should be noted that until after the American Revolution, the Governor's Land was publicly-owned property that was conveyed from lessee to lessee by the incumbent governor. However, the Glasshouse Tract and Perkins/Woodward parcel were privately-owned and were transferred by deeds backed up by patents. By 1783, "Amblers" had gone from ca. 360 acres to 375 acres, the size it remained until at least 1861 (James City Land Tax Lists 1783-1861).

Further supplementing the Amblers' agricultural productivity was their quarter known as Powhatan. Edward Jaquelin, who had acquired the property, left it to his unmarried daughter, Martha, who sold it to Richard Ambler. Edward Ambler I's 1769 estate inventory attributed 9 slaves to Powhatan, but very little else is known about the property (Ambler 1769). In 1815 John Ambler II gave use of his Powhatan quarter and mainland farm to his daughter, Mary, the wife of John Hill Smith (James City County Land Tax Lists 1815).

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; Zuniga 1608).

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 were collected for use by some Italian artisans, their families and their helpers, who immigrated to Virginia during 1621. According to Treasurer of the Colony George Sandys, who oversaw the glassworks operation after the death of its leader, Bernardo and Vincentio (Vicencio) built a furnace that was destroyed shortly after its construction. It was repaired by Spring 1623, but the

[279] Bullock bought the Travis plantation between 1829 and 1830 (James City County Land Tax Lists 1829-1830).

[280] By the early to mid-twentieth century, part of this property became known as "Amblers on the James."

artisans complained that their sand would not run properly.[281] Sandys informed Virginia Company officials that he had sent men to the head of the James River and to the seashore in search of sand the artisans deemed suitable for glassmaking, but 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 (Hotten 1980:180, 235; Harrington 1972:7-12; Hudson 1957:23).

Sir John Harvey, Virginia's governor from 1632 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 Lot D) and his partner, William Harris II (of Study Unit 4 Tract I Lots A and B), who in June 1654 deeded it to Colonel Francis Morrison (Moryson). Morrison 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, 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).

[281] The sponsors of the glassmaking project sent soda and other materials to Virginia with the Italians (Ferrar MS 290, 301, 370).

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. 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 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).[282] Soane indicated that a dwelling was near the banks of Powhatan Creek, not far from the site later occupied by the Ambler farm's domestic complex. However, he failed to reveal who then owned or leased the land upon which it stood.

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). 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 recently had purchased the Glasshouse Tract (Ambler MS 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

[282] William Sherwood then had a 260 acre leasehold that was located to the northwest and further inland (Soane 1683).

Ambler I, 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.. John Ambler II on June 16, 1762, 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 synch 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 and Inventories 21:278-282; Smith et al. 1745; Ambler 1826:26; Williamsburg-James City County Tax Lists 1768-1769).

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 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, and succeeded his brother as Jamestown's burgess. But Edward's life, like John's, was cut short and he died in October 1768, leaving a widow and three young children (Ambler 1826:26, 50-51). In 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'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 that acreage in its entirety to his married daughter, Mary Ambler Smith, the wife of John Hill Smith, a Williamsburg lawyer. John Jaquelin Ambler claimed that, when the Smith couple fell upon hard times, they were obliged to sell their property (Ambler 1826:50-51). However, tax rolls reveal that it did not leave John Ambler II's possession until 1839. At that point, it passed out of the family. Until at least 1861 local tax assessors described the Ambler farm on the mainland as consisting of 375 acres (James City County Land Tax Lists 1783-1861).

Miscellaneous New Towne Lots (Study Unit 4)

Within Study Unit 4 were a few lots that were possessed by neither the Amblers nor the Travises. Virginia's colonial government owned the James City Parish Church (Structure 142) and its churchyard (Structure 143 in Study Unit 4 Tract V) and after the Disestablishment, the property passed to

the state. Also, at least three families (and possibly a fourth) owned lots in the New Towne: Philip Ludwell III's heirs, John Parke Custis, Thomas Harris, and probably 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 most of the lots that belonged to absentee owners (except for the parish churchyard) eventually became part of the Ambler plantation.

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 patented a 1½ acre lot that enveloped the ruinous central bays of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (Bays 2, 3 and 4, on Lot A of Study Unit 4 Tract U). 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). Thus, both properties 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 to trustees who were authorized to lease the properties to tenants for up to 21 years or three lives (Lee et al. 1771). William Lee, having returned to Virginia, outlived his wife and inherited her property. He prepared his will in 1789. He died at Green Spring on June 27, 1795, after which time 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 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 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 were aired before Virginia's Supreme Court in 1818 (Palmer 1968:VIII:497,507; Mumford 1921:VI:163-164). It is likely that if William Ludwell Lee hadn't sold his Jamestown lots prior to his death, 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.

Thomas Harris's Lot or Lots

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).

As the deceased William Davis had a sloop and boat, it is likely that the property he was renting had access to (or was on) the waterfront. As the Amblers and Travis 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. 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 Tract S, 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 1748-50, 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; St. Simone 1781).

Ebenezer Hazard, who first visited Jamestown in 1777, commented upon the ruinous church there and its unenclosed graveyard, noting that some tombstones were still intact (Shelley 1954:411,414-415). The Chevalier d'Ancteville, who arrived at Jamestown in 1781, shortly after the British departed, credited his enemies with destroying "this small city." He said that he found there "burned debris, tombs opened, other beautiful monuments broken to pieces, a temple partly knocked down." He claimed that "all means of devastation had been employed to the city and to the countryside" (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 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 make a small enclosure 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).

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 the place "exhibits nothing of its former grandeur to satisfy the eye of the curious Traveller except one or two private houses, its arsenal [powderhouse] in a ruinous condition, the steeple of the church, and sepulchral monuments erected by a pious posterity to the memory of their worthy ancestors" (Palmer 1968:X:134).

The Travis Plantation (Study Unit 2) and the Travis Townstead (Study Unit 4 Lots A and J)

By 1682, the Travis family owned 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 on Tracts A and J, within Study Unit 4. The Travises' minimal amount of frontage on the James (exclusively within the New Towne) may have been at the root of Edward Champion Travis's decision to develop a new family seat at Timson's Neck, on the York River, where he would have had direct access to deep-water shipping lanes.

Edward Champion Travis

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 three parcels on the east side of Orchard Run (Study Unit 3 Tracts H, I, and J). Rebecca Travis Broadnax died on December 19, 1723, at which time her young son, Edward Champion Travis, fell heir to his father's Jamestown Island plantation (Stanard 1909:141-145; Meyer et al 1987:377-378). William Broadnax I and his stepson may have occupied the Travis family seat until Broadnax's death on February 16, 1727.

Edward Champion Travis came of age in ca. 1741-1742 and married Susannah Hutchings, with whom he produced sons Champion, Edward IV, and John and daughter Susannah. 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 (Williamsburg-James City County Tax Lists 1768-1769). His plantation on Jamestown Island encompassed 802 3/4 acres, approximately half of the land he owned in James City County. His other acreage was a tract known as Piney Grove, which 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).

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. In 1752 Travis

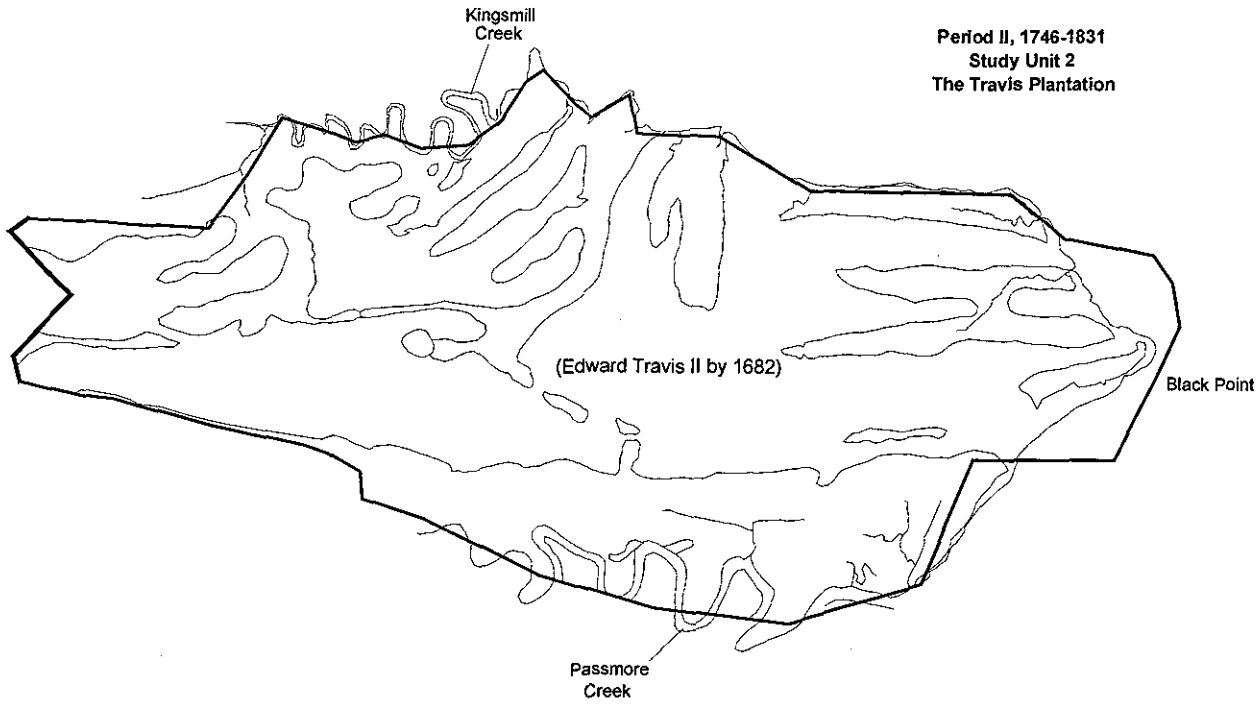


Figure 108. *Period II: Study Unit 2, the Travis Plantation.*

began serving as burgess for Jamestown, which seat he retained through 1765. He also became a James City County justice in 1752, but in 1772 was deemed unqualified for office. He probably was deemed ineligible because he had moved to York County, where he had taken up residence upon his recently-purchased plantation on the York River at Timson's Neck.[283] When Major Travis vacated his Jamestown Island property, he left it to the occupancy of his sons, Edward IV and Champion. However, he refrained from giving them outright ownership of it (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 the 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." A vessel from Norfolk, laden with coal for Williamsburg, also "was drove up to Jamestown, and stove to pieces" (Purdie and Dixon, September 14, 1769).[284]

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).[285] In late October 1777 Travis, who indi-

[283] Timson's Neck is located on the west side of Queen's Creek's mouth, in what is now Camp Peary.

[284] 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.

[285] The only available copy of this issue of the *Virginia Gazette* is fragmentary and much of Travis's ad is missing.

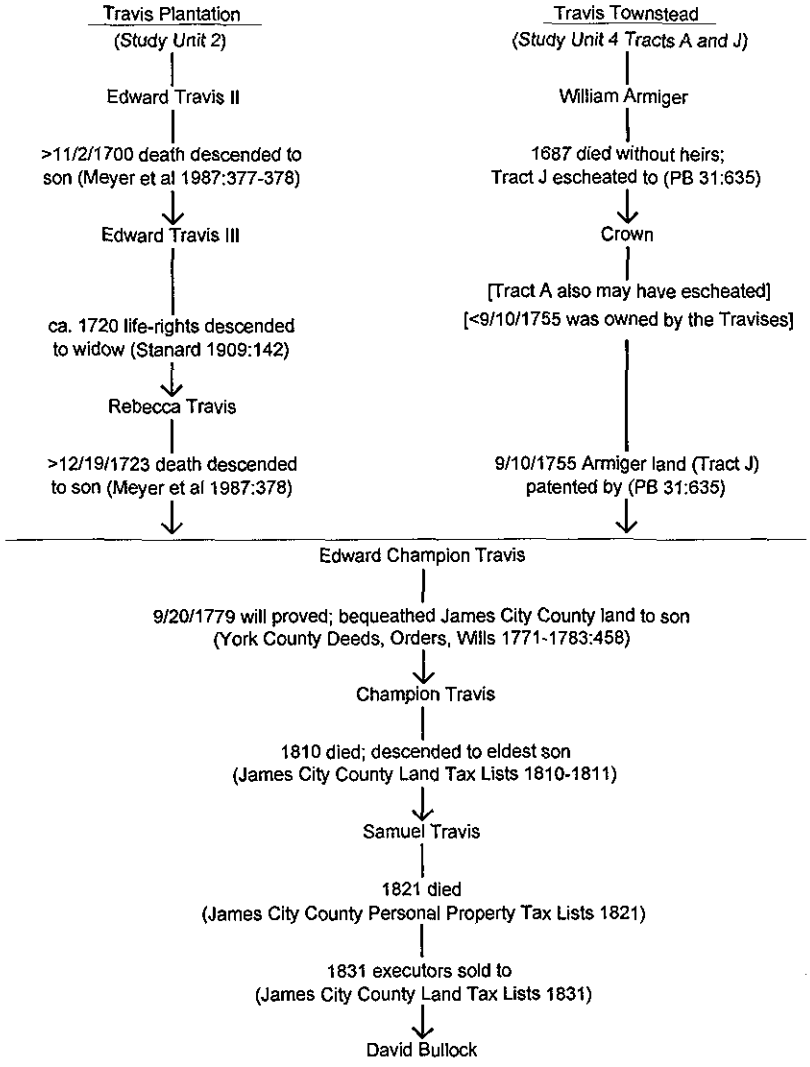


Figure 109. *Land transactions, Period II, the Travis Plantation and Townstead.*

cated 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, "Run away from my plantation at Jamestown, sometime this last August, a likely mulatto man named Jessee, 17 or 18 years 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).

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). Thus, he may have been occupying his father's townstead in urban Jamestown (Structure 6 on Study Unit 4 Tracts A and J). 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.

By late summer 1775 the breach between Great Britain and her American colonies had become irreparable and King George III declared that the colonies were in "open and avowed rebellion." This announcement came a few days 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. In mid-November 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 sent a shot through the kitchen chimney (Purdie, November 17, 1775). It probably was the Travis townstead, not the plantation, that was shelled, for the townstead was located upon the bank of the James, just east of the American battery.

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. It was under the command of Captain Edward Travis, whose brother Champion then lived upon Jamestown Island (James City County Legislative Petitions 1775). In 1776 Champion Travis informed the Virginia Convention that "his dwelling-house and offices thereunto belonging *in the town of Jamestown*[286] 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). The wording of Travis's statement suggests strongly that he was speaking of his townstead, not his plantation house.

Throughout 1776 there was a considerable amount of military activity on Jamestown Island. In July 1776 a Surry County man passed several counterfeit bills in the American camp at Jamestown. He was apprehended, given a hasty trial, and then released. Two black slaves, who offered their services to men aboard what they believed was a British tender, were executed at Jamestown by the Americans they mistakenly had approached (Dixon, April 13 and August 3, 1776).

Shipments of salt, fruit and other supplies were landed at Jamestown and a ship load of Scottish Highlanders, who were captured while enroute to join Lord Dunmore, were brought ashore there. Ammunition, cannon, flour, tobacco and other commodities were sent to Jamestown during 1776, where they were loaded aboard outbound ships. Naval vessels also were repaired and outfitted on the island throughout 1776 and supplies and equipment were brought in from Warwick's rope walk and from Portsmouth and Cabin Point. Captain Edward Travis IV used Jamestown Island as a base of military operations and the several naval vessels under his command were dispatched to various points in the Chesapeake (Clark 1966:5:386, 686, 688, 720, 1147; 6:132, 174-175, 727).[287] A British brigantine captured by a privateer was offered for sale at Jamestown, as was a newly outfitted

[286] Emphasis added.

[287] Captain Edward Travis died during 1784, sometime after March 6 (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1784).

sloop that belonged to a Surry County man (Purdie, November 8, 1776; July 4, 1777).

In January 1780, when the James River was choked with ice, the privateer brig *Jefferson* sank off Jamestown and two boats went down between there and Swann's Point (Dixon, January 15, 1780). A Revolutionary War cartographer's map indicates that in 1781 there was a French army encampment in the eastern end of Jamestown Island, within what appears to have been Study Units 2 and 3, and that ships were congregated nearby in the James (Brown et al 1972:II:Plate 84). The French probably pitched camp on Jamestown Island immediately prior to setting out for College Landing and Williamsburg. D'Abboville's map (1781) indicates that much of the Travis plantation was then wooded.

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 20th. 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 any personal possessions he may have had on Jamestown Island.

Champion Travis

As noted above, in 1779 when Edward Champion Travis died, all of his James City County property (including his plantation and townstead on Jamestown Island and his Piney Grove acreage) descended to his son, Champion (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1771-1783:458). Champion Travis was married to Elizabeth Boush, the daughter of Captain Samuel Boush of Norfolk and his wife, Alice Mason. Champion and Elizabeth Travis produced seven children: John, Champion Jr., Robert, Samuel, Susan, Catherine and Elizabeth (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) (Structure 6) or the Ambler house (Structure 101) with his brother, Edward. He also could have been living in 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. "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 domestic work, with two healthy children, a boy and a girl" (*Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, March 6, 1784). Travis died during 1784 and on July 1, 1804, his son, Joseph H. Travis, sought to obtain 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 participated in the conventions of 1774 and 1775.[288] Travis was a colonel in the state regiment and in 1776 was appointed a naval commissioner (Stanard 1910:141-145).

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

[288] 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 upon the lot that measured at least 12 feet square (Hening 1809-1823:VIII:306).

Jamestown Island and Piney Grove.[289] 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 1782-1787).[290]

In May 1793 Nelly and Daphney, two of Champion Travis's slaves, who were ploughing his fields on Jamestown Island, attacked and killed their overseer, Joel Gathright. According to official testimony, Gathright berated the women for allowing sheep to devour the corn crop and then struck one of them for making an impertinent response. As he persisted in beating her, she began to fight back and her companion joined in the fray. Finally, one of the women dealt the overseer a mortal blow. Both slaves were tried, found guilty of murder and sentenced to hang. A group of neighboring landowners petitioned the governor to spare one woman's life, as she was pregnant, whereas another group (led by William Lee of Green Spring, who owned lots in Study Unit 4) urged him to proceed with the hanging, as an example to other slaves. In the end, Governor Henry Lee postponed her execution only long enough for her to deliver the child she was carrying (Palmer 1968:VI:461-465, 521, 532-533, 543). The circumstances surrounding this emotionally-charged case are open to conjecture.

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 on his 802 3/4 acres. In 1810 Champion Travis 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 and Samuel com-

[289] 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]).

[290] 1787 and 1794 were the only years that two groups of slaves and livestock were listed under Champion Travis's name.

menced being credited with approximately a dozen slaves (James City County Land Tax Lists 1782-1821; Personal Property Tax Lists 1782-1818).

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.[291] 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, which suggests that the dwelling the Travises had occupied for successive generations no longer was considered habitable. The buildings occupied by the 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 never added taxable improvements to their property (James City County Land Tax Lists 1818-1831; Personal Property Tax Lists 1818-1821).

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 his father had left him, he did not mention his property at Jamestown. 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 (Travers n.d.:69; James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1820-1821).

In 1822, a celebration was held on Jamestown Island to commemorate the arrival of Virginia's first colonists. According to Ambler family historian John Jaquelin Ambler, literally thousands of visitors flocked to Jamestown for the event. However, 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). A newspaper reporter stated that five steamboats, 35 other vessels and an infinite number of small boats brought tourists to Jamestown Island in even greater numbers than had attended the 1807 celebration. There were no formal ceremonies or speeches, however, and the throngs of visitors who came to the island dispersed to go picnicing. The reporter interrupted his narrative to say, "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* 1822; Tyler 1899-1900:222). In 1854 the artist Robert Sully sketched the towering ruins of the Travis mansion (see ahead).

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 parcel had been "conveyed by C. S. Wingfield and formerly [was] charged to Samuel Travis estate" (James City County Land Tax Lists 1831).

[291] As no tax rolls exist for Jamestown's lots, the fate of the late Champion Travis's townstead is open to conjecture.

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 old Ambler property, he never developed that portion which had belonged to the Travises (James City County Land Tax Lists 1821-1835). There is some evidence that Bullock placed Jamestown Island in the hands of tenants, Goodrich Durfey and William Edloe (see Period III).

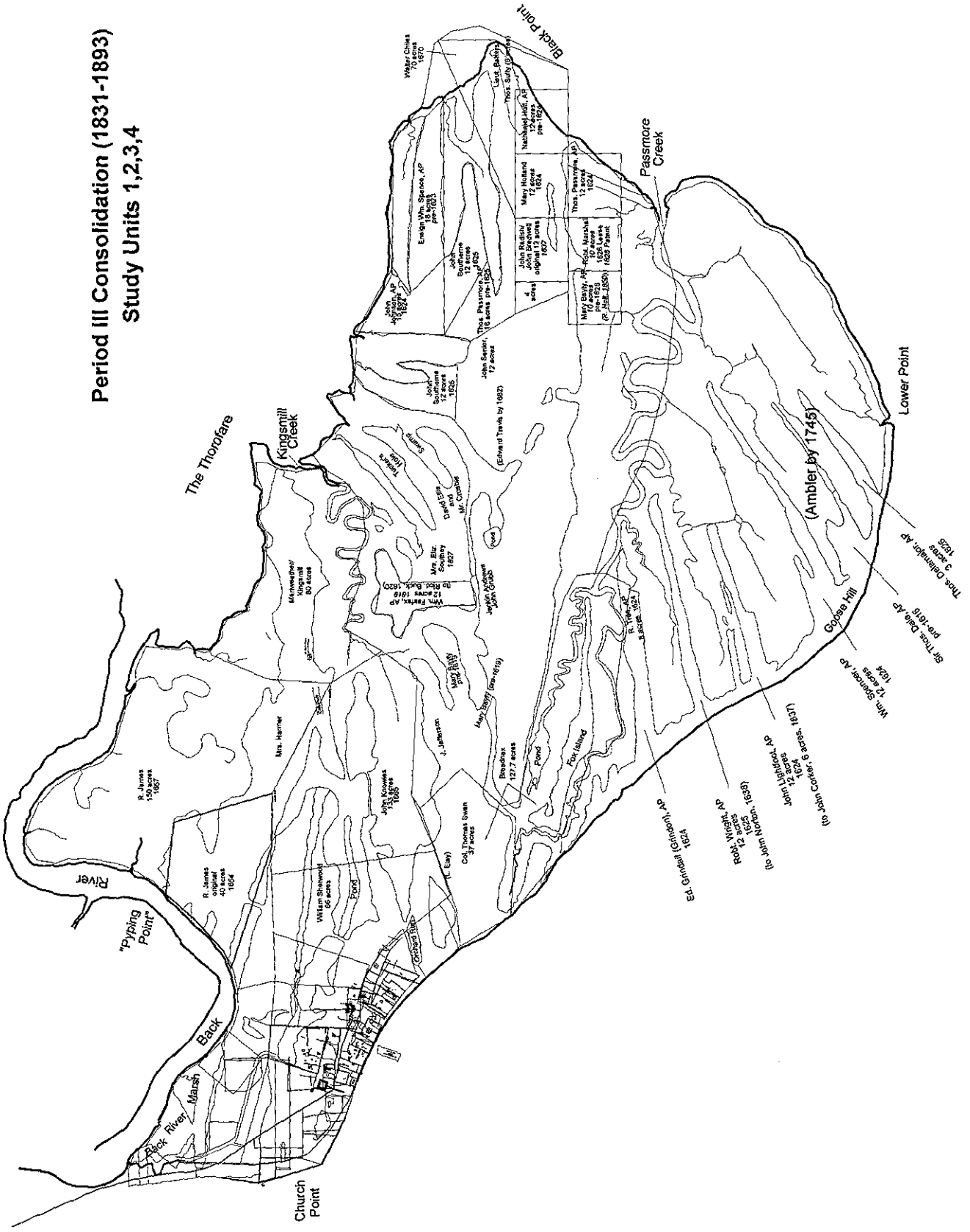


Figure 110. *Period III: Consolidation.*

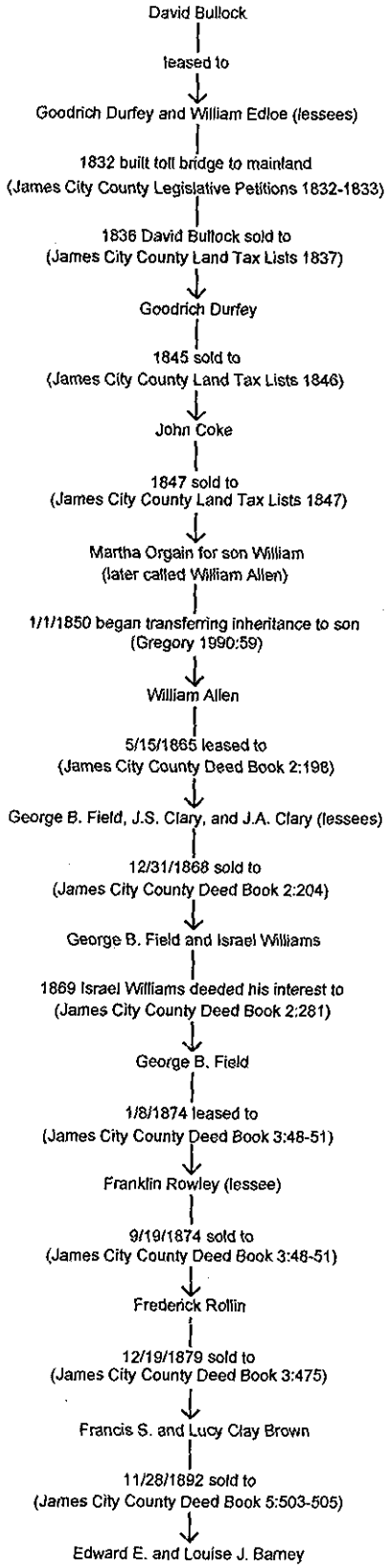


Figure 111. *Land transactions, Period III, Jamestown Island, excluding the Church Yard.*

Period III: Consolidation (1832-1892)

Synopsis History

By 1832, the Ambler and Travis plantations had been consolidated into a 1,702 3/4 acre entity that encompassed almost all of Jamestown Island. The lot associated with the defunct James City Parish church (Structure 142 on Study Unit 4 Tract V) was an exception, for it had devolved to the Commonwealth of Virginia in 1786, when Virginia's state church was disestablished. Also, there may have been a few urban lots that had been abandoned by their owners. However, in essence, throughout Period III each individual who owned or leased Jamestown Island was in possession of Study Units 1, 2, 3 and 4 except for the churchyard.

Jamestown Island's Owners

David Bullock

David Bullock, a prominent Richmond attorney and former mayor, who in 1822 purchased the 900 acre Ambler plantation (Study Units 1, 3 and most of 4), in 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; Lancaster 1946:234).[292] Bullock placed his property in the hands of tenants.

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 said that the river bottom near the Ambler farm was shoal-covered and that it was difficult for passengers to get to and from the shore. They contended 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, linking the public roads on the mainland and island, and said that they would like proprietorship of the toll bridge for 10 years. They said that the owner of Jamestown Island approved of what they proposed to do. The two men submitted a crude sketch, showing where they wanted to construct the toll bridge.

Four days later, Williamsburg attorney John H. Smith, husband of John Ambler II's daughter, Mary, who had been given use of the Ambler farm and ferry-landing on the mainland, voiced his objections. 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 there

[292] 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.

had been no house to accommodate steamboat passengers until he had built one on his farm and that 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 is on the Island of Jamestown 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). Thus, the petitioners did not own the land they proposed to use.

Despite John H. 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 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. It reportedly stood at the same site John Ambler II had built his stone-and-log causeway during the 1790s (James City County Legislative Petitions 1832-1833).[293] As David Bullock never moved to Jamestown Island or placed his slaves or livestock upon the property, he may have leased the entire tract to Goodrich Durfey and William Edloe, the proprietors of the toll bridge and ferry.

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,[294] the Newport Mills (which consisted of both saw and grist mills),[295] Piney Grove (between Deep Creek and the mouth of the Chickahominy River)[296] 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).

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."[297] He added that

[293] In 1857 Bishop William Meade commented that only the pilings of Durfey's bridge remained (Meade 1992:I:110).

[294] These purchases occurred in 1848 and 1849.

[295] Durfey and John Coke purchased the Newport Mills in 1855 and kept the property until after the Civil War.

[296] Durfey and a partner, Andrew H. Bennett, purchased Piney Grove in 1838 and resold it two years later.

[297] 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

> *... 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.*

Randolph noted that "In digging the foundation of a house in the Island some time since 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* 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 after our departure, Col. William Allen built the wharf below his [overseer's] residence." 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 advertised that the tract consisted of nearly 2,000 acres of land,[299] approximately half of which was arable and "in a high state of improvement and cultivation," having been marled and limed. He indicated that the farm was considered "the best wheat soil in the state, one of the fields having produced last year, by actual measurement, over 30 bushels to the acre, mostly on a heavy clover fallow." He said that the property also was "one of the best stock farms in Eastern Virginia" and had ample pasturage for 300 head of cattle. On the property were "a substantial three story brick house, 40 by 60, with 4 rooms on a floor, in good repair" and "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." Durfey added that, "Since the draining of the fresh water ponds on this place, it has been very healthy for white

(cont'd from previous page)
it" both "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 early twentieth century reveals that the powder magazine was close to west end of the Ludwell Statehouse Group (James City County Plat Book 2:6).

[298] Bacon was referring to a wharf that by the 1870s was just east of Orchard Run (Donn 1873-1874).

[299] This figure, 300 acres more than Durfey was taxed upon, probably extended to the mean low water mark and included some marsh land.

persons, never having been otherwise for negroes." He said the farm had "a young apple and peach orchard of the best improved fruit from Baltimore and Richmond nurseries," a ferry that produced $300 a year in revenues, and a steamboat wharf that brought in $300 in rent annually (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).

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.[300] A mid-nineteenth century account indicates that he and his household took up residence on Jamestown Island in the Ambler house. In 1846 John Coke was taxed upon 47 slaves over the age of 12 and 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 Jamestown Island ferry-landing to Williamsburg (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1844-1848).

When Benjamin Lossing visited Jamestown Island in 1848, he stayed with John Coke, whom he said owned "all the soil that is left unsubmerged on which the English built their first town in America." Pausing on the western bank of Sandy Bay, Lossing made a sketch of the distant island, remarking that "what was once a marsh" had become "now a deep bay, 400 yards wide." He depicted "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:II:240-241).[301] 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).

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.[302] She was the mother and guardian of

[300] Earlier, his name was not included in the personal property tax rolls for James City County.

[301] These were likely the same off-shore palisades that were visible in 1807.

[302] Mrs. Orgain was the daughter of William Allen's sister, Anne Armistead Allen, and her husband, John Edloe. William Allen died in November 1831 (Goodwin 1958:lxii).

Allen's principal heir, William Griffin Orgain, and the widow of Richard Griffin Orgain (James City County Land Tax Lists 1847).[303] 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 in 1832 when he became his great-uncle's heir. He and his parents were then residing in Petersburg, where his father was a successful businessman. Meanwhile, 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. However, life-rights to the bulk of Allen's wealth were to go to his great-nephew, William Griffin Orgain, "upon condition that he take the name of William Allen."[304] Richard Griffin Orgain lost no time 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. There also is evidence that the Orgains hastily moved from Petersburg to Claremont, which they made their family home. The Orgains were living there in 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,[305] 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 Coke in 1847. By that time, 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 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

[303] John 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).

[304] Another Allen nephew, Carter H. Edloe, was supposed to inherit some James City County property on the west side of the road between Williamsburg and Yorktown. Young Edloe died in 1843, with the result that his cousin, William Griffin Orgain, fell heir to the acreage (Gregory 1990:64).

[305] The decedent had owned property in the Neck O'Land behind Jamestown Island and in Kingsmill Neck.

Land Tax Lists 1849). The land Mrs. Orgain purchased on her young son's behalf had a significant advantage over the acreage he had inherited from his great-uncle: it was unencumbered by legal restrictions. The late William Allen's will had stipulated that virtually all of the property he was leaving to William Griffin Orgain was to descend to the boy's eldest male heir.[306] Thus, William Griffin Orgain did not receive outright (fee simple) ownership of the land he inherited, merely life-rights. This meant that the Allen estate had to be kept intact, no matter what (Goodwin 1958:lx). In contrast, the land Mrs. Orgain purchased on her son's behalf could be sold at will.

Mrs. Martha Orgain may have acted quickly in placing an overseer and slaves upon Jamestown Island.[307] By 1849, a farm manager named Joseph C. Gibson was in charge of the farming operations there.[308] 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 had $425 worth of agricultural equipment to use in his farming operations. The livestock herd on Jamestown Island, which was worth $1,750, included 1 horse, 12 asses,[309] 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 sheep yielded 175 lbs. of wool and the dairy cattle produced 100 lbs. of butter. During 1849, $150 worth of animals had been slaughtered for consumption (James City County Agricultural Census 1850).[310] In 1850 William Allen's estate was taxed upon 95 James City County slaves, who were age 16 or older. However, it is uncertain how many of those individuals actually resided upon Jamestown Island (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1849-1850). Instead, they may have been shifted from farm to farm, as needed.

William Allen (born William Griffin Orgain)[311]

On January 1, 1850, Mrs. Martha Orgain commenced giving custody of her late uncle's estate to her son, William, who was about to come of age (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 took control of two other James City County planta-

[306] In the event that William Griffin Orgain produced no sons, the Allen estate was to go to another nephew's descendants.

[307] Eve S. Gregory reported that Mrs. Orgain placed an overseer upon Jamestown Island during 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).

[308] Gibson, as agent or farm manager, participated in the agricultural censuses of 1850 and 1860. He 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).

[309] Many Tidewater Virginia farmers favored the use of asses and mules in the fields, for they had a greater tolerance to heat.

[310] 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.

[311] William Griffin Orgain's name was changed to "William Allen" in 1832. Within the discussion that follows, he is identified as William Allen, except when it is necessary to distinguish him from his great-uncle William Allen.

tions: his late great-uncle's Neck O'Land farm (just across the Back River) and the three tracts that made up Kingsmill Plantation.[312] Thus, William Allen's river frontage on the James extended from Grove Creek to the western end of Jamestown Island (James City County Land Tax Lists 1847-1855). He, like his parents and great-uncle, elected to reside at Claremont. On December 22, 1852, William 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. Throughout William Allen's adulthood, he 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 William Allen's name 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, William Allen's taxable personal property within James City County was clustered according to location. At Jamestown, Allen had 19 slaves age 16 or older, 21 who were age 12 to 16, 12 horses, asses and mules, 213 cattle, and $25 worth of household and kitchen furniture. Meanwhile, at Kingsmill, he had 88 slaves age 16 or older, 22 horses, asses, and mules, 206 cattle, and $25 worth of household and kitchen furniture. On his Neck O'Land plantation were 58 slaves age 16 or older, 17 horses, asses, and mules, 167 cattle and no household furniture. William Allen paid no poll taxes upon free white males in James City County during 1855. Thus, his farm manager, Joseph C. Gibson, seems to have paid his own taxes or resided outside of the county (James City County Personal Property Tax Lists 1851-1855).

Between 1852 and 1853 William Allen substantially improved the value of the existing buildings on Jamestown Island or he added some new structures, for their aggregate value 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).[313] Meanwhile, the value of the buildings on William 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). The improvements Allen made at Jamestown during 1856 perhaps preceded those undertaken the following spring in preparation for the relatively elaborate commemorative celebration that was held on the island in 1857 (Tyler 1899-1900:222).

Richard Randolph, who had visited Jamestown Island in 1837, returned at mid-century, a year or so before the property was transferred into William Allen's name. Randolph concluded 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*

[312] 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 Littletown, which had a mill. The Neck O'Land tract contained 2,000 acres. 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).

[313] 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.

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].

Artist Robert Sully penned a written description of his 1854 visit to Jamestown Island and made pencil sketches and watercolor renderings of features he considered interesting. He depicted the ruins of the Travis house, the church tower, and a cypress tree that was located further west and an estimated 60 yards off shore. He also drew a picture of what he labelled as "the site of the old fort," which he indicated was "two hundred yards above the church, on an elevated point." He surmised that the fort was located in that vicinity because he examined the ruins of a brick magazine, the foundation of which was "still in good preservation."[314] He said that the magazine was built "of the same kind of bricks as the church" and stood 40 yards behind the fort site. It had a 10- foot-square powder pit that extended to a depth of "about 5 feet."[315] Sully said that his host, William Allen's overseer, gave him an old musket barrel that had been recovered from the fort point and said that he also had "some blue beads, Indian arrow heads, a stone hatchet, Indian pipe bowls, &c." 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 water to its lower branches" and said that "in the recollection of the living, Carriages once drove around this tree." 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). 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 erected by Governor Edmund Andros during the mid-1690s.[316]

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 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 the area 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, William Allen, began making preparations for the May 13th cel-

[314] This magazine was located at the southwest corner of on Study Unit 4 Tract U Lot B, which contains part of the Ludwell Statehouse Group. Its ruins were depicted by an early twentieth century surveyor (James City County Plat Book 2:6).

[315] Sully sketched the church tower and estimated that it was then 35 to 40 feet tall and 10 feet square. His comments about the similarity of the bricks used in the construction of the powder magazine and church, while purely speculative, may have contained 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).

[316] A hydrographic map made in 1856 reveals that an extension of land called Church Point then protruded from the western portion of Jamestown Island, reaching the James River's channel (U. S. Coast Survey 1856). When that map was digitized and superimposed upon an updated rendering produced in 1892, it was evident that in 1856, Church Point was a site approximately 600 feet west of the church tower. Therefore it probably was the Fort Point artist Robert Sully mentioned (U. S. Coast Survey 1892). Also shown on the 1892 map was a remnant of the brick magazine Sully saw. An 1873-1874 topographic map demonstrates that between then and 1856 erosion had taken a severe toll (Donn 1873-1874).

ebration. 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." 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 would take 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 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). 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. This hypothesis is supported by Strother's sketch of the double-trunked cypress tree, which according to two arborists, was a large specimen plant located near the site at which antiquarian George C. Gregory believed the first fort was built (Lodewick et al. 1931:13).[317] On the other hand, Civil War historian David F. Riggs has surmised that a commemorative ceremony was held near the Travis graveyard (Riggs 1997:13).

During the late 1850s William Allen seemingly made few changes to his Jamestown Island property. Between 1857 and 1861 the value of his buildings remained constant, at $4,200, and the assessor failed to note that significant changes had occurred. 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 (James City County Land Tax Lists 1857-1861; Personal Property Tax Lists 1857-1861).

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 unimproved. The cash value of the property had risen

[317] That is, the Swann-Elay tract, Study Unit 3 Tract H.

from $20,000 in 1850 to $40,000 in 1860.[318] 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, for despite an increase of less than 10 percent in the quantity of acreage tilled, 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).

An 1862 court record reveals that James A. Graves, 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 than they'd been previously, 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).

Shortly before war broke out between North and South, 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, a volunteer group he moved to Jamestown Island, a site of recognized strategic importance. Allen and his men began constructing a battery there and ordered eight 32-pounder cannon from Norfolk. Later, Allen's earthworks were replaced by an 18-gun battery constructed by Captain Catesby ap Roger Jones of the Virginia Navy, who was assigned to Jamestown on May 3 and promptly started work. Allen promised Jones 250 hands to assist in building the battery, which was to be extensive, "owing to the course of the [river's] channel." It was to have five faces and 18 guns. While construction was underway, artillery and infantry units were stationed on the island. Work progressed swiftly and on May 16, Jones reported that eight guns had been mounted, one of which lacked a sight (Riggs 1997:14-15, 22; Jones 1861a, 1861b).

Within two weeks eight guns had been mounted in the newly built battery and 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, one in the western end of the island toward Back River, a square redoubt in the south-central part of the island, one at Goose Hill and one in the southeastern end of the island at Black Point (Humphreys 1862; Donn 1873-1874). Others were built on 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[319] were of the utmost importance. All of these features were considered an integral part of Richmond's defenses (Rawson 1898: Series 1:6:698-712, 722, 737).

The 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 (and no evidence that either had previously existed), 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

[318] 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).

[319] Tuttey's (Tutty's) Neck overlooks Kingsmill Neck and is on the east side of College Creek.

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, as 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. In July, cannon not bearing directly upon the main channel were shifted to the Spratley farm on the mainland and other locations. An 8-inch Columbiad that protected the bridge was replaced by a lighter gun. In September 1861, 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).

On October 12, 1861, Catesby ap Roger 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 and shielded with various types of iron (Jones 1861c). 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, which batteries were considered part of the defences of Richmond (U. S. W. D. 1891: Series I:9:38-39, 43, 49, 61).

During late May 1862, after Union General George B. McClellan's men had swept up the peninsula beyond Williamsburg, a local woman noted in her diary 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. In June 1862, the crew of the U. S. gunboat *Aroostook* burned the buildings, magazines and carriages associated with the Confederate gun batteries at Jamestown Island. They also spiked all of the guns not already disabled. The only military structure spared was a barracks in the rear of the large battery on the western end of the island, then 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 (McClellan 1989:265; Michie 1915:256, 275).

Major William Allen resigned from the Confederate Army on August 19, 1862. He cited the necessity of attending to his business needs, for he had suffered severe financial losses since the beginning 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).

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. An eyewitness account later was provided by one of the participants. On Monday, October 20th, Joseph A. Graves,[320] Graves' nephew George, Jacob M. Shriver (a Canadian citizen), a black named Littleton (Shriver's slave), and a free black named Gilbert Wooten set out from Four Mile Tree, in Surry

[320] Graves was a Surry County Commonwealth Attorney.

County, and headed for the Neck O'Land farm. Upon reaching Jamestown Island about 5 P. M., the group "landed near the old ruins" and "began walking toward the Great House," probably the old Ambler residence. When they arrived at the bridge that connected Jamestown Island with the Neck O'Land, they were confronted by seven of William Allen's slaves, all of whom were male and armed.[321] The visitors were seized and then marched across the Back River bridge to the Neck O'Land plantation's main house, where an estimated 100 black men, women and children had congregated. A slave named Windsor, whom some of the others called "the Judge," deliberated briefly and then ordered the armed men to return their prisoners to the bridge.[322] Along the way, Joseph A. Graves antagonized his captors by demanding to know why they hadn't threshed the wheat. He also commented upon their needless "burning of the houses of Jamestown" and said that "he was sorry to see the property destroyed."[323] As soon 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 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,[324] a free black at Green Spring. Cassidy helped Wooten cross the river to Surry, where he reported the incident to local officials.[325] 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 or the influence of the "contrabands" who in June 1862 reportedly took refuge on Jamestown Island. It is also possible that they were caught up in the anarchy that prevailed on the lower peninsula after the Union Army passed through.

According to Union Army Captain David E. Cronin, as of August 1863, 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. 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

[321] They were George Thomas, Norborne Baker, William Parsons, Henry Moore, Jesse, Alick and Mike.

[322] 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).

[323] 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).

[324] Census records list Cassidy's name as Cassaday.

[325] It is Gilbert Wooten's testimony, preserved in official records, that provides us with insight into what occurred. Wooten described Windsor as a slave from the neighborhood. However, a newspaper account identified him as a runaway from Allen's Surry County home, Claremont.

Jamestown Island with the mainland, to prevent the pickets from being overtaken from the rear.[326] 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).

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. Military records, however, provide another 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).[327]

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. Although they entertained lavishly, 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 required" 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 and sell his Jamestown Island property.[328]

By January 1866 an estimated 70,000 blacks (mostly former runaway slaves) had fled to the Union Army stronghold at Fort Monroe. The monumental task of providing for these refugees was assigned to a federal agency known as the Freedmen's Bureau, which initially distributed food and clothing. Bureau officials sometimes assigned refugees private property that had been abandoned or confiscated. Such farm land typically was subdivided into small plots that were leased to refugees in exchange for crop-shares. A map of the lower peninsula's Government Farms reveals that

[326] According to David F. Riggs (1997:100), Cronin had been transferred to Petersburg by this time and was repeating hearsay.

[327] The latter citation was provided by David Riggs of the National Park Service.

[328] After the Civil War, when times were hard, the restrictions imposed by the late William Allen's 1831 will were a considerable hindrance, for his great-nephew, William Allen couldn't sell any of the property he had inherited, despite urgent financial needs.

two of William Allen's properties were subdivided into parcels that were placed in the hands of black refugees: Kingsmill and the Neck O'Land farm. At Kingsmill, freedmen rented the mill for a third of its earnings. The confiscated property was restored to its owners in 1867 (Bureau of Refugees 1866; Freedman's Bureau Records 1865-1867).

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, for $10,000. 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.[329] Mrs. Frances Jessup Allen waived her dower interest in the property. The clerk of 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).[330]

Israel A. Williams 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, which 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).

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 his partner, then a resident of New York. At that time, reference was made to "the dwellings, paper mill and improvements" on Jamestown Island. This is the only known reference to a paper mill on Jamestown Island. 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, indicating that Field had repaid his debt ($6,000) and interest for the purchase of Jamestown Island (James City County Deed Book 2:426). Field, however, appears to have been exchanging one creditor for another. On November 10, 1871, George B. Field of Norfolk 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 had three years in which to repay his debt (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

[329] 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 have been unsuccessful.

[330] William Allen died on May 19, 1875, at Claremont of a "congestive chill." He was 46 (Gregory 1990:69).

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 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. 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 the square redoubt and then continued on toward Black Point. 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).

Franklin Rollin

On September 19, 1874, George B. Field of New York sold Jamestown Island (which he described as 1,600 acres) to Frederick Rollin of Brooklyn, New York. Field indicated that he was selling 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 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 a 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).[331]

[331] Although numerous contemporary issues of this newspaper have been examined, the advertisement has not been located. However, many issues have not been preserved.

Francis S. and Lucy Clay Brown

On December 19, 1879, James S. Apperson, George B. Field's trustee, sold 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, Virginia. The Browns 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 3:475-477; 5:503-505). 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.

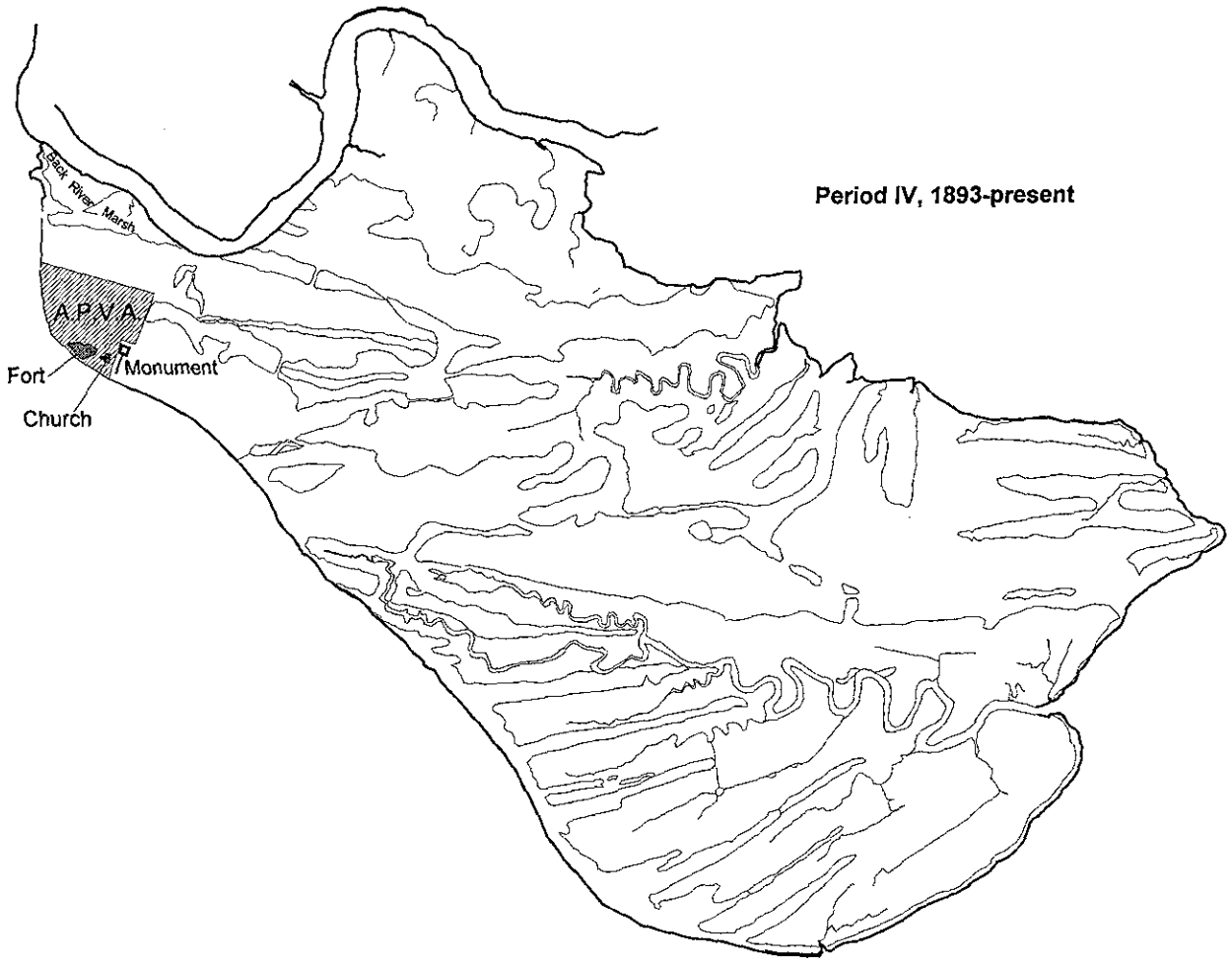


Figure 112. *Period IV: 1893-present.*

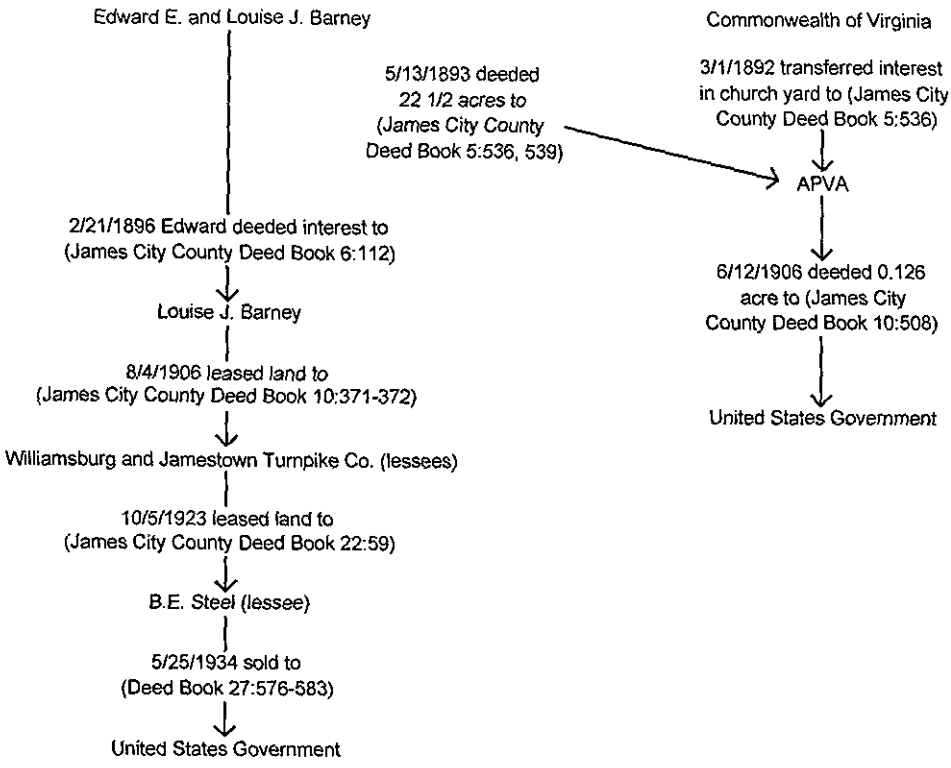


Figure 113. *Land transactions, Period IV, Jamestown Island.*

Period IV: The Closing Century (1893-1998)

Synopsis History

Jamestown Island, with the exception of the chruch ruins (Structure 142) and the church yard (Structure 143 on Study Unit 4 Tract V), was purchased by an Ohio couple, Edward E. and Louise J. Barney. During 1893 they deeded to the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (the APVA) a 22½ acre tract that enveloped the church ruins and church yard, which the state had given that organization in 1892. As a result of these transactions, the APVA acquired Study Unit 4 Tracts M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X and Y. In 1934 the United States Government acquired the rest of the island (Study Units 1, 2, and 3, plus Study Unit 4 Lots A through L).

Jamestown Island's Owners

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 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 to 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 APVA." The Barneys' deed to the APVA was accompanied by a plat that depicted the 22½ acre plot's bounds (James City County Deed Book 5:536, 539).

Special articles of agreement accompanied the Barneys' deed to the APVA It was stipulated that the APVA "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 APVA will give the Barneys preference in furnishing transportation for all excursions gotten up or controlled by the APVA 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 wall would be erected as soon as it was deemed expedient and that the Barneys and the APVA would share the cost. The APVA agreed not to construct upon its property "any hotel, ordinary, restaurant or booth for public entertainment" (James City County Deed Book 5:540-542).

The Barneys, despite using Dayton, Ohio, as their legal address, were no strangers 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. Simultaneously, Louise J. Barney purchased two other parcels that adjoined the 2,300 acre Hog Island estate, which she called Homewood. 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 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.

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 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.[332] However, on September 4, 1888, Edward E. Barney left his position with the family company and moved to Virginia permanently. 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 (Trostel 1989:65-66; Virginia Navigation Company 1903:4; *Virginia Gazette*, August 30, 1895).[333]

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*].

[332] After the death of founder Eliam Barney in 1880, the Smith and Barney Car Company's financial position began to wane. None of his sons had his business acumen or interest in the business (Trostel 1989:65).

[333] The Virginia Navigation Company's palace steamer, *Pocahontas*, made regular stops at Jamestown Island. The company advertised that the vessel 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).

Two months later, the Barneys' farm manager, George W. Bedell, informed the press that no hotel or electric railway would be built until until there was a demand for it. Bedell implied that Barney would proceed with his plans for a railroad 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*].

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 in which the improvements the Barneys had made to Jamestown were praised and construction of the electric rail line was urged (*Virginia Gazette*, January 26, 1894; February 9, 1894). In May 1894 the *Gazette's* editor published an interview with George W. Bedell, who was then sharing 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).[334] 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 encroaching

[334] It is unclear what Bedell meant by "old reservoir."

waters and he recommended 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).

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 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, 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. 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 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*].

In late April, an African American worker named Wiley was killed at Jamestown by Jim Smith, another African American. 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 loss that was suffered was attributable to the Barneys, not Dr. Potts (Surry County Deed Book 27:156).

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

deeded 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 their Surry County tract called Homewood. All three deeds were notarized for a second time in Richmond, on February 29, 1896 (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 aware of what her husband was doing, for none of the deeds he signed required her signature. She did, however, know that their money problems were serious. On April 22, 1896, Edward E. and Louise J. Barney 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 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, for he committed suicide. His obituary, which was published in the *Dayton Evening Herald*, described the circumstances surrounding 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 a gift of the same amount 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).[335] 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 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).

Louise J. Barney stayed on in Virginia a decade or more after her husband's death and resided at her Chesterfield County farm called 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). She 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 realized some of his goals.

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.

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 between Jamestown and Yorktown, utilizing the most practical route. Also, a spur line could be run from the main line to the wharf at Kingsmill. 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 does not appear that the proposed rail line ever was built.

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, was still in existence but deteriorating. A cluster of buildings was

[335] A facsimile of Edward E. Barney's will, obtained from the Montgomery County, Ohio, circuit court, does not bear a book and page number.

located at its terminous. 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 the result of the Barneys' efforts to improve the island. Some acreage in the northwest portion of the island, which during the 1870 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).

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 and his family were residing upon Jamestown Island, which Beebe agreed to lease for one year. Beebe was to pay as rent one-third of all the crops 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 the island on a fairly regular basis.[336]

Correspondence between Mrs. Barney and 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).

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 African American 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. recalled that the Barneys moved from Surry to Jamestown Island and stayed there until around 1920.[337] 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).

[336] 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).

[337] This statement is refuted by Mrs. Barney's letters, which were dispatched from Meadowville and Ohio (Barney 1900-1901).

In 1903, the Jamestown Exposition Company received a $200,000 appropriation from the General Assembly, to develop a site at Sewell's Point in Norfolk for the 1907 celebration (O'Bannon 1902:21;1904:264). 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. The marker was to be patterned after the Washington Monument. 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. Meanwhile, the Virginia Historical Society began preparing to exhibit important documents that would be put on display at the Jamestown Exposition grounds at Sewell's Point (James City County Plat Book 2:6; 10:508-511; Stanard 1907:xvii-xxii).

As preparations for the Jamestown Exposition moved forward at Sewell's Point, the General Assembly appropriated funds for the construction of buildings and displays. 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).

Some of the people involved in preparations for the 1907 celebration found Mrs. Louise J. Barney difficult to deal with. In 1905 the man responsible for building a new dock on the island informed one official that he was weary of her "unreasonable demands" and "outrageous rent" and therefore, had leased a small plot on a neighboring farm upon which he had erected a small building to house his dock-workers (Parrott 1905).

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). The opening of access to the APVA property was part of the preparations that got underway for the 1907 tercentennial celebration (James City County Deed Book 5:536- 542; 6:112; 10:371-372, 508-511).

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).

B. E. Steele 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 (Steel) 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 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 Scotland in Surry County. In exchange, Jester was allowed joint use of the wharf and the access road. 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 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).

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 as his agent the Rev. W. A. R. Goodwin. On March 3, 1928, Goodwin responded to a query from Mrs. Barney about the possibility 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, "Where 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 felt it better 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 Barney apparently replied hastily, for Goodwin wrote to her again on March 10th and two days later, she responded. She said that she and her 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 said , "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). 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). 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, a banker in New York wrote to Goodwin, urging him to reconsider. He said that Mrs. Barney was not wealthy, and that part of the purchase price would go to the tenant then leasing the island (Gale, October 2, 1928). Goodwin responded that the price per acre set by Mrs. Barney, which amounted to $1,000 per acre, was many times higher than comparable land near Williamsburg and that perhaps the government would be interested in purchasing Jamestown Island (Goodwin, October 11, 1928).[338]

[338] 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).

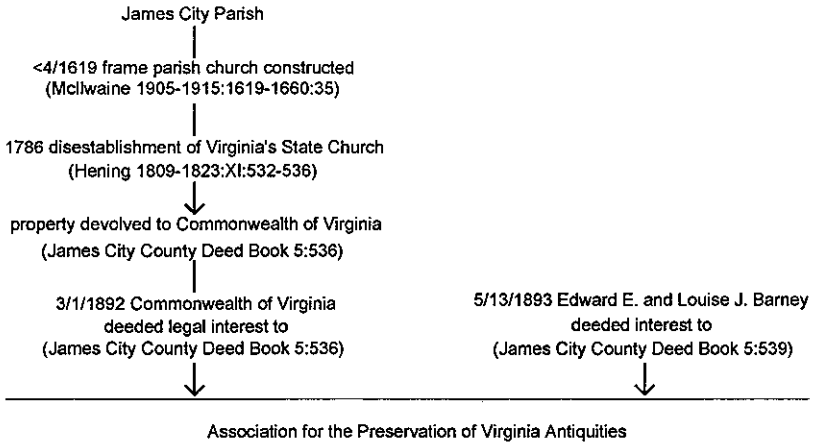


Figure 114. *Land transactions, Study Unit 4, Tract V.*

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 steamship company whose vessels stopped at Jamestown drilled a 287 foot deep artesian well on the river bank. During early 1931 students from the Riordon Boys School of Highland, New York, attended classes aboard the steamship *Southland*, which the school leased from the Norfolk and Washington Steamship Company and anchored at Jamestown's "government dock." The school paid for the construction of a platform and shelter at the well, which provided drinking water. During 1931 an estimated 36,000 tourists visited Jamestown Island. Steamships from as far away as Baltimore continued to dock regularly at Jamestown, and commemorative events were held every spring. Dirigibles from Langley Field were assigned to take aerial photographs of Jamestown and Williamsburg (*Virginia Gazette*, July 18, 1930; August 15, 1930; September 13, 1930; September 19, 1930; October 24, 1930; NPS Land Records File 8-126).

In 1930 an Act of Congress and a Presidential Proclamation heralded the creation of the Colonial National Monument and the acquisition of all of Jamestown Island except the property owned by the the APVA. As Mrs. Louise J. Barney refused to part with her land, it was condemned and a lawsuit was undertaken in the United States District Court. Ultimately, in May 1934 Mrs. Barney was obliged to sell her property, for which she received $165,000 in compensation. 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). (See ahead).

Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities

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 acquired 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 publication of *The Site of Old James Towne* in 1904 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). 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. 1906; Craighill 1890-1891; James City County Plat Book 2:6). 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 manuscripts, a collection of family papers now at the Library of Congress, 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 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 (Structure 144) and conducted some excavations there in 1903. In 1897 A.P.V.A founder Mary Jeffrey 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 1958:45, 219-225). In June 1906 the APVA conveyed to the United States government a 0.126 acre parcel for the construction of a granite historic monument (James City County Deed Book 10:508-511).

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 was anchored at the new "government dock." 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).

United States Government

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, linking 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."[339] 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 the Colonial National Monument (*Virginia Gazette*, February 14, June 6, June 20, June 27, July 11, 1930).

[339] 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).

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. 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. 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 and other distant points. Small commemorative events were held on the island every spring (*Virginia Gazette*, June 20, July 11, 1930).

In 1930 an Act of Congress and a Presidential Proclamation heralded creation of 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, ultimately it was acquired through condemnation. On May 25, 1934, Mrs. Barney relinquished her property after a bitterly contested law suit. The United States Department of 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 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).

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 veterans of any age also were eligible. Each CCC enrollee earned a dollar a day, $25 of which monthly income 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. 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 blacks was limited to 10 percent. African American 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 black, were quartered in Williamsburg. 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 the 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 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 1956; *Virginia Gazette*, March 9, 1934).

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 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. 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; Horning and Edwards 2000:7-10).

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).

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 highly successful agreement has been in force ever since (*Virginia Gazette*, October 25, 1957).

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 Main 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).

During the latter part of World War II, the Colonial Parkway tunnel was designated an air raid shelter for Williamsburg. But it was not until 1949, when the tunnel was furnished with paving, lights and ventilation, that 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*, November 13, 1931; November 17, 1933; July 10, 1942; January 15, 1943; April 2, 9 and 30, June 11, October 22, 1954; October 25, 1957; October 29, 1965; Cotter, 1956; Salmond 1967:1-12).

From 1954 to 1956 a 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 a historical context. In addition to the archaeological research conducted at Jamestown in conjunction with the 1957 celebration, 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, 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).

The early 1950s brought a resurgence of interest in Jamestown, with the approach of the 350th anniversary of the first colonists' arrival. The Glass

Crafters of America offered $1,000 toward 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 visitor center known as Jamestown Festival Park was opened to the public. 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 black 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. Mary-le-Bow Church in London in a ceremony attended by the Queen Mother (*Virginia Gazette*, November 3, November 24, 1950; August 23, 1957; May 13, 1960).

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, took place within 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 shed new light upon Jamestown Island's cultural resources in time for Jamestown's 400th anniversary celebration.