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~~PRELIMINARY HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE~~ LAWRENCE  
AND BEVERLEY TRACTS, JAMESTOWN ISLAND

By: Charles E. Hatch, Jr. Aug. 15, 1941

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DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
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THE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

October 9, 1941.

MEMORANDUM for the Superintendent,  
Colonial National Historical Park.

Junior Historical Technician C. E. Hatch's "Preliminary Historical Study of the Lawrence and Beverley Tracts, Jamestown Island," conforms to the very high standard of scholarship that has characterized his work in the past. We are enthusiastic at the thought of completely excavating a site with such rich possibilities.

Structure 19A and B has especially excited our curiosity. We have studied the evidence suggesting that it may have belonged to John White, Thomas Woodhouse, Richard Lawrence, or perhaps George Lee. To the evidence on page 77 favoring George Lee as the owner should not the bottle seal "G. L." found in the ruin be added? While George Lee might give a bottle of his brandy to any neighbor, he need not do so in a bottle or decanter carrying his own initials; and, in any case, the chances of the seal turning up in his own home would seem to be greater than the probability of running into it elsewhere. Dr. Porter would like to know if the H. H. (Henry Hartwell) bottle seals have been found in more than one building site. In other words, do bottle seals of the same person turn up in widely separated places? If our experience at Jamestown should indicate that the bottle with the seal was something of a personal decanter, such seals might prove to be a useful means of identifying early structures.

Again, we wish to congratulate Mr. Hatch on his splendid research paper.

(SGL) HERBERT E. KANLER

Acting Supervisor of Historic Sites.

cc: Region One,  
Mr. Appleman (I),  
Dr. Porter.

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PRELIMINARY HISTORICAL STUDY  
OF THE  
LAWRENCE AND BEVERLY TRACTS  
JAMESTOWN ISLAND

Charles E. Hatch, Jr.  
Junior Historical Technician.  
August 15, 1941.

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## INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

This report on the Lawrence and Beverley tracts at Jamestown has been prepared in conformity with the established National Park Service policy that in areas where archeological excavation and study is scheduled, or contemplated, the areas are first to be studied historically.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of the preliminary historical report is to collect all possible data, to study, analyze, and evaluate it, and to present the data and conclusions in convenient form. This information becomes available to the archeologist in charge of the excavation. Historical reports, also, are designed to furnish data and material for a later interpretative and educational program for the particular area involved.

The unit covered in this report is defined in the title as the Beverley and Lawrence tracts. This includes the area covered by the patent to Robert Beverley in 1694, that to Nathaniel Bacon in 1683, and the area between the Bacon patent and the Wyatt tract of 1641. Neither the exact nor even the general bounds of the Lawrence tract

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See Recommendations of the Historical Technicians Conference, Region One, National Park Service, Richmond, Virginia, April 25-27, 1940, and "Regional Office Memorandum HI-A-61. Subject: Recommendations Historical Technicians Conference, Region One, April 25-27, 1940", dated November 23, 1940. Copies of both items in the files of Colonial National Historical Park (hereafter cited as C.N.H.P.).

can be determined from the known land records. However, the land patented by Bacon, it is stated in the records, constituted a part of it. It seems by implication that Lawrence's property included and extended beyond Bacon's tract to the east --- just how far is not clear. Because of this, and to connect with areas already studied (the Wyatt tract and Unit A), the area between the Bacon and Wyatt tracts has been included in this study.<sup>2</sup>

It should be noted that when studies of other areas adjoining, or near, the Beverley and Lawrence tracts --- the area to the south and west, the church, and the area along the river between the church and the Hartwell property --- are made, facts and conclusions regarding these areas may affect the area discussed in this study. However, because of the time that would be necessary, it is not feasible to prepare all of these studies at present. Although admitting its limitations, the customary method of study has been used here --- that of study by individual unit.

At the outset it should be pointed out that by necessity much of this report will appear sketchy, with frequent speculations. This cannot be avoided since the record for this area is very incomplete.

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2

Charles B. Hatch, Jr., "A Preliminary Historical Study--Unit A--Northwestern End of Jamestown Island in Colonial National Historical Park" (study hereafter cited as Hatch, "Unit A"); Charles B. Hatch, Jr., "A Preliminary Historical Study of the Wyatt Tract of 1641 (Including a Grant to Richard Kemp in 1638) on Jamestown Island in Colonial National Historical Park" (study hereafter cited as Hatch, "Wyatt Tract").

It is not until 1683 that there is a patent that can be defined on the ground with some measure of assurance.

I. 1607-1680.

The first problem to arise in a study of the Lawrence and Beverley tracts is in what way, if any, the first town affected the area. It is not the purpose of this study to discuss the site of the first landing, or the location, size, shape and character of the first fort and town. This belongs to a later study. It is sufficient here to relate that Col. Samuel N. Yonge and others believe that the first landing was at, or near, Church Point somewhat up river from the old Church Tower, the site itself having since been washed into the river. Assuming that the fort was not built at the exact spot of landing because of the nature of the ground, Col. Yonge reasons that the original triangular fort was placed on the "Fourth" Ridge between the old Church Tower and the point of landing. He believes that the first fort was supplemented by a four acre tract cleared for some unspecified purpose in January, 1608. This he concludes was probably that area referred to as: "...a pale enclosing the Towne, to the quantity of foure acres within which these buildings that were erected, could not in any man's judgement, neither did stand above five yeares & that not without continual reparations". This he feels constituted the enlarged town limits referred to by Smith when he spoke of reducing the town to a "five-square form", after September, 1608. For the

town at this stage Col. Yonge has suggested boundaries.<sup>3</sup>

If Col. Yonge's assumptions are correct, and that portion of his "Map of James City" that relates to this problem is correct, then the northeastern part of this area enclosed by a "pale" may lie within the area under consideration. Such a pale and other remains of an early use could be visible to the archeologist who excavates the area. If such is found it should be in the southern section of the Beverley and Bacon tracts.

Another problem of a similar nature is what relation, if any, the church and particularly the churchyard and burial ground had to this area. A study of the church site, like that of the first landing, is not a part of this report, yet the fact that it may have had some relation to the area under discussion needs to be pointed out.

In a report to the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities on the excavations made at Jamestown in 1901 and 1902, it was recorded that:

...then continued the excavation to try to establish the extent of the Churchyard, through these excavations conducted by Mr. William Leal, we found remains that proved that the Churchyard on the South extended to the river; on the north and on the east we found nothing to justify us, in supposing that it extended further than the enclosure; to the west, I am informed on good authority, that when the Confederate Fort was thrown up, that

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<sup>3</sup> Yonge, The Site of Old "James Towne", 1607-1698, 31-4.

numbers of skeletons were found, showing that the Churchyard must have extended as far as the fort to the west.<sup>4</sup>

From this it would seem that the burial ground did not extend into the area under consideration. Moreover, it is a fact that late in the eighteenth century, many years after the abandonment of the town of Jamestown, William Lee, of Green Spring, and John Ambler, of Jamestown Island, reportedly using brick from the ruins of the church, erected a wall around a part of the churchyard. If this brick wall is along the northern and eastern extremities of the site, then it apparently never extended into the Bacon tract of 1683 or that of Beverley in 1694.<sup>5</sup>

Despite these facts, it may be that the exact limits of this site have yet to be fixed. At least one burial and possible evidence of others north of the brick wall and present iron fence have been reported.<sup>6</sup> The possibility of a churchyard site larger than believed

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4

Mary Winder Garrett, "Report on Excavations made at Jamestown in 1901 and 1902", December 18, 1906. Copy of this report in files of C.N.H.P., Jamestown file No. A-7, "Misc. Corresp."

5

Mary Jeffery Galt, "Jamestown--1694-1901--A Report to the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities." Copy in Jamestown file No. A-7, "Misc. Corresp."; Lyon Gardiner Tyler, Cradle of the Republic, Jamestown and James River, 128 (hereafter cited as Tyler, Cradle of the Republic); Bishop Meade, Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia, I, 112.

6

Recollections of Arthur Ayers, Jamestown, Virginia, as of June 12, 1941: Given verbally to J. C. Harrington and Charles W. Hatch, Jr.

at present should be kept in mind at least until archeological, or other, evidence is found to prove or disprove it.

When Jamestown outgrew the original fort and town, people by necessity were forced outside into other areas. There is data regarding the town, its population, and some of its characteristics, yet the exact location and direction of its growth as it applies to the ground today is a topic that has not been worked out in complete detail. It was not until some years later, in fact about 1619-1625, that there is definite mention of a "New Towne". Through a series of existing land grants a section of this new town can be fixed with a reasonable degree of accuracy. It extended from a point below, at, or near, the Orchard Run area, up river to a point opposite or beyond the present Jacquelin-Ambler House Ruins and into the island to points beyond these same ruins. In this area there were streets and houses apparently laid out according to plan. Yet obviously the patents that describe this section do not tell the whole story.

According to the "Lists of Persons Living in Virginia in February 1623/4" there were 182 persons living in "James Cittye and wth the Corporacon thereof" and 39 in "Jame island".<sup>7</sup> There is more precise infor-

7

John Camden Hotten, The Original Lists of Persons of Quality, Emigrants; ...who went from Great Britain to the American Plantations, 1600-1700, 173-8 (w~~er~~ hereafter cited as Hotten, Lists). Apparently the term "James Cittye and wth the Corporacon thereof" meant Jamestown only, for areas that normally would be in the corporation of James City in the general sense are listed separately, such, for example, as "Jame island", "in the maine", "Ye need of land", etc.

mation in the muster of James City in January, 1624/5, when 125 persons are listed as residing in the town. This list appears to represent at least twenty-six families or groups, the largest group consisting of Sir George Yeardley, his wife, three children, sixteen servants, and eight negroes. This tabulation lists twenty-two houses, and three stores.<sup>8</sup> The General Assembly in reply to a declaration on the state of the colony under "Sr Thomas Smiths Government" boasted that in 1623-24 the "Corperation of James Cyttie" had "4 [houses] for ever one that were there" before the end of Smith's government. Besides, they were "forty times exceedinge in Goodnesse". The number of known land patents and grants, references to houses and other buildings, or individual activity in the town, in no sense measures

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<sup>8</sup> Hotten, Lists, 221-6; "The Virginia Census, 1624-1625" in The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, VII, 364-7 (April, 1900). (The magazine hereafter cited as Va. Mag.)

up to the numbers given in these statistics.<sup>9</sup>

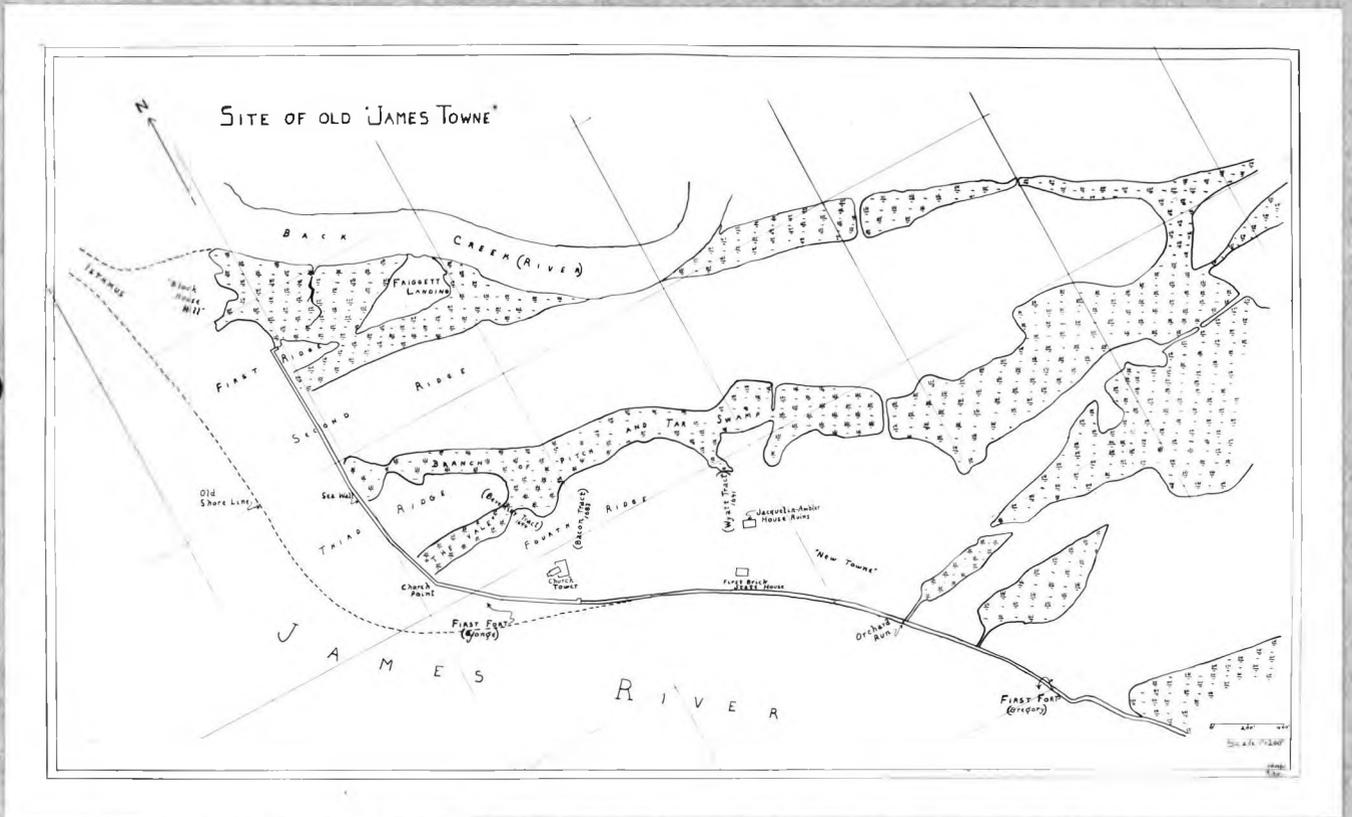
The obvious question to arise is, Where were the other persons living and where were their homes located? The field narrows to two possibilities. They were in the old town or in another section much larger than the "New Towne" defined in the existing patents.

It appears only logical that even before the first known "New Towne" patent development extended beyond the first town site. The area of the first site was small and even the enlargement that Smith mentions was not great in size. In 1608 Hatcliffe's projected "Palace"

9

James town: Land Patents, Typescript of land patents relating to James town that are in the State Land Office, Richmond, Virginia, pp. 1-52 (hereafter cited as James town: Land Patents); H. R. McIlwaine, Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia 1619-1658/9, 21-2.

Using the muster of James town taken in January, 1624/5, it could be asked, Where were Abraham Peirse, his two daughters and four servants, Robert Peole, James Riccott and wife, Randall Shalewood, Edward Cadge, Nath Jeffreys, Thomas Almutt, wife and servant, Peter Languan, wife, daughter, son, two children and two servants, John Burrowes, wife, child and seven servants, John Jefferson, Walgrave Marts, William Hatch and wife, and John Burnett living? The same could be asked in regard to Edward Blaney and two servants, George Grave, wife, son and two daughters, and Elizabeth Soethey and daughter. At least eight of the houses (dwellings) and two of the stores specifically mentioned are not spoken of in the known existing records. Hotten, Lists, 221-6; J-165 (Photostat of the muster of the Corporation of James City from the British State Paper Office, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.) Much of the research data assembled by former part-employees working on the James town project has been assembled in card form for the part-files. It has been divided into three classifications, namely, J (Information specifically about James town), V (Information about seventeenth century Virginia with some relation to James town), and L (Information relative to land holding at James town). Documentation of these cards here is as above. The letter classification is given, followed by the number of the card, and by the documentation given on the card.



Map No. 1.  
The Site of Old "James Towne"

CNMP #8975

was without the limits of the palisaded town. There seemed to be little hesitation in leaving the fort, for settlements sprang up elsewhere without the island. As early as 1608 the glass works were erected beyond the isthmus. Certainly the work initiated by Sir Thomas Dale could not have been entirely confined by the palisades of the old town, for this area was too small to accommodate it all --- the black-houses by necessity and purpose were some distance away. Then, too, the governor's residence used by Gates and Argall apparently was not in the town proper. With increasing security from attack by the natives there was little reason to remain huddled together in a closely bounded area. Evidently this security grew with the years, particularly during and after the administration of Sir Thomas Dale. After the reforms regarding the ownership and private use of land the normal tendency was for each man to have his own area.<sup>10</sup> This is known, for in January, 1619/20 John Rolfe wrote Sir Edwin Sandys:

All the Ancient Planters being sett free have chosen places for their dividendes according to the Comysion. Weh giueth all greate content, for now knowing their owne landes, they strive and are prepared to build houses & to cleere their groundes ready to plant...<sup>11</sup>

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10

For a compilation of facts see Henry Chandler Forman, Jamestown and St. Marys, Buried Cities of Romance, 47-60 (hereafter cited as Forman, Jamestown and St. Marys).

11

Susan Myra Kingsbury, Records of the Virginia Company of London, III, 245.

If some, or all, of the persons listed as residents of Jamestown and not covered by land patents were not living in the old town, what section did they occupy? Apparently the town did not expand down river below the "New Towne" patents --- at least there is nothing to indicate any newly developed section. Negative evidence as well as natural limits would tend to support this, as well as a definite statement in the patent to George Harvey in 1624 prescribing the eastern limits of the "New Towne". The limit of the town on the south was the James River and to the north there is little that indicates town use of the area that lay across the branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp opposite, and down the island, from the John Pott grant of 1624. Moreover, a later patent speaks of this section as outside of the city limits.<sup>12</sup>

The most natural area for expansion would have been that section between the known grants of the "New Towne" period and the church area possibly extending from James River to Back River, at least running back from the James as far as the branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp. That this may have been the area is more than a supposition. At least one known holding, although not definitely located, apparently

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12

Jamestown: Land Patents, 9-10, 112-13.

was in this general area --- that of Samuel Moll (Mole ?) in 1620.<sup>13</sup>

There are other grants about this period that have not been definitely bounded that certainly affected the area. Then, too, the excavating that has been done in this area, despite the fact that it has touched only a very limited portion of the area between the first brick state ~~state~~ house and the churchyard, has revealed numerous foundations or fragments of them. These foundations have not been identified or dated, yet the major portion of them would appear to have supported

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13

In a petition to Governor Wyatt from Samuel Moll in 1623 it is stated that on March 15, 1620 the Governor, by "Indenture of Lease", granted to Moll for 60 years, "one messuage or tenement in James Citty". Due to excessive "repairing & amending" of this building Moll was "at great Cost & Charges". As he, in 1623, planned to return to England, he petitioned for permission to recover some of his expenses "by selling letting or settling of the sd messuage". His petition was granted. Twenty years later, on February 22, 1643, Captain Robert Hutchinson patented 1 1/2 acres at Jamestown bounding south on the James, north toward Pasbehagh, west on the land of John Osborne " & towards the State Howse". This last bound normally would have applied to the east bound. Assuming "towards the State Howse" as the east bound, this would place the tract west of the first brick state house. Even if the literal interpretation is followed the tract would be east of the state house, yet still west of the new town patents. It seems very probable that Samuel Moll and Samuel Mole were one and the same person. Jamestown Land Patents, 60; Kingsbury, Records of the Virginia Company of London, IV, 97.

frame houses of an early date.<sup>14</sup>

If these assumptions are correct, then the area under study must have played its part in the Jamestown of the "New Towne" period, or even in an earlier period --- at least that section between the Wyatt and Bacon tracts.

Captain Roger Smith had land at Jamestown --- four acres. This tract bounded north on the ground of Sir George Yeardley, south on the "pale of the Governor's [government's] Garden", and on the east by the bridge in the highway leading into the island and on the yard of William Pierce. Evidently Smith's four acres were in, or near, the Wyatt tract. However, since the four acres constituted a larger area than the Wyatt tract, since it did not extend as close to the river as did the Wyatt tract, and since both tracts were bounded on the north by marsh, then by necessity Smith's holding crossed the east,

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14

See "Index to Structures, Wells, Ditches, Field Note Books, Areas excavated (by Lets) Reports". This forms part of the archeological record at Jamestown.

It may be significant here to note the first known patent in the so-called "New Towne" section of Jamestown. It was a grant to Richard Stephens in 1623. The location of his 60 rod parcel was on the west side of the "New Towne" patents that followed in 1624. It states that Stephens had "lately builded and Erected in James City" "a convenient dwelling house". In the patent there is direct mention of "James City", yet no reference to "New Towne". More than this, there is mention of property on the east and on the west, proving that this was not an isolated patent on the fringe of a development. The occupant to the east patented his holding as a part of "New Towne" in 1624. There is no other land record relating to the occupant on Stephen's western side. This certainly suggests town area west of the "New Towne" site. Jamestown: Land Patents, 7-8.

the west, or both the east and west boundaries of the later Wyatt tract of three and one-half acres. If it crossed the west boundary, as seems to have been the case, then it extended into the area under discussion. Apparently on this property Smith had a residence and other accommodations, for it was necessary that he care for himself, his wife, three children, and four servants. There is no word to indicate that he had other property and these persons are listed in his muster taken for "James Cittie" in January, 1624/5.<sup>15</sup>

Smith's southern boundary was the "pale of the Governor's Garden". If it is assumed for the present that in 1624 the Governor's residence was on the location of the later Country House, then this would abut very conveniently with a part of the governor's garden extending west from the governor's house into the southern part of the Wyatt tract, possibly across and beyond its western boundary, thus forming the southern line of Smith's four acres. West of Smith, and possibly west of the garden, too, was the government "parke". Just what the park

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15

Janestown: Land Patents, 8a; Hatch, "Wyatt Tract", 5-12; Hotten, Lists, 221-8; Tyler, Cradle of the Republic, 47.

Apparently there were roads in and around the Smith property. Lyon G. Tyler reports that he copied the Smith patent, since destroyed, and gives the bounds of this property, which was divided by a highway, as east "upon the bridge in the said highway leading into the Island", and west "upon the highway leading into the Parke". The fragment of Smith's patent in the State Land Office reads: "This Parcell of ground is devided into twee peeces by the high way which Parteth it the said high way being about three pole broad".

was is not clear except that it was government land, possibly it was used for military drill and training. At the moment there seems slight possibility of determining the extent of the "part". There is little reason to assume that it extended to the river, for even the area directly in front of the governor's house did not. How long the government part and government garden maintained their identity is not known, yet as early as 1627 parts of the garden were parceled out as private grants. Richard Kemp's grant, more than a decade later, as did other grants, probably included a part of this area reserved earlier for the government.<sup>16</sup>

Beginning before 1636 there appears to have been a concerted drive to improve, to develop, and to enlarge Jamestown. This drive on the part of the governors, Assembly, and the home authorities in England, apparently lasted until 1644 or later. In 1636 the Assembly by act attempted to stimulate building through grants of land large enough to accommodate a house and garden to all of those who would undertake to build, irrespective of former undeveloped patents. Consideration of moving the capital to a new location had been proposed, yet this was dropped and in 1639 the Assembly enacted that Jamestown

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16

H. H. McIlwaine (ed.) Minutes of the Council and General Court of Virginia 1622-1632, 1670-1676, 154-5 (hereafter cited as McIlwaine, Minutes): Hatch, "Wyatt Tract", 28-34.

should be the "chief town" and the place of the governor's residence.<sup>17</sup>

Again in 1642/3 the Assembly sought to provide additional stimulation for growth and to give security of title to those already beginning development through legislation, enacting:

Whereas much ground intended for James Citty hath layen long deserted by the antient prepietors who neither build themselves nor suffer others,...that all such who have built decent houses vpon ground so deserted towards the making of a Towne since January 1640 or shall add more to them after publication of these acts shall hold them without interruption...<sup>18</sup>

This drive to make Jamestown the principal town, although it failed in its broad purpose, did achieve results. In this period the colony had its first brick state house, a brick church, and at least one brick residence. Numerous other frame houses were reported built or under construction. At one time in 1638 word was sent to England that, "There was not one foete of ground for half a mile together by the Rivers syde in James Towne but was taken up and undertaken to be built before yer Lerpps order arrived..."<sup>19</sup>

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17

Jamestown: Land Patents, 69-70; William Waller Hening, Statutes at Large Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia, I, 226 (hereafter cited as Hening, Statutes); "Instructions to Sir Francis Wyatt 1638/9" in Va. Mag., XI, 54-6 (July, 1903).

According to Wyatt's instructions: "Every onshaving 500 acres of land [was] to build a House of brick 24 ft. long and 16 ft. broad with a cellar to it and so proportionably for larger or lesser grants".

18

Hening, Statutes, I, 252.

19

"Virginia under Governor Harvey" in Va. Mag., III, 30 (July, 1895).

It may be significant that the distance given here checks approximately with the distance from Orchard Run to the "vale" west of the church.

It is known from the existing patents that a wide area was affected. The records that do remain for the 1637-1644 period cover grants near the isthmus and the adjoining western tip of the island, along the James for some distance down from the church, Friggett Landing, the "Second" Ridge across the branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp, the Wyatt tract (1641), as well as other areas in and adjoining to the areas covered by the existing grants for the earlier 1619-1625 period. There is little reason to believe that all of the grants for this period have been preserved and for this reason the picture is not complete. Obviously grants were made over a wide area from the James to Back rivers and from east of the Jacquelin-Ambler House Ruins to the isthmus. Certainly it would have been most unusual if the area under consideration was not patented, providing it was not already in use at this time. Some of the area was high ground, as suitable for building as that known to have been patented elsewhere. It did not have river frontage, yet in this it did not differ from some of the known patents.<sup>20</sup>

Even though it seems reasonable to suppose that the Lawrence and Beverley tracts, in fact all of the area under consideration, was in use during this period, there is little more that can be said about

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<sup>20</sup>

Jamestown: Land Patents, 59-92.

the area at this date. This is worthy of note, however, since any normal use seemingly would leave evidences of fences, roads, wells, or structures of various types.<sup>21</sup>

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Perhaps there may be evidence of some public use. Apparently the "Parve", or part of it, was in this area. The presence of steeple remains, or other enclosing devices, would be of been interest.

## II. Known and Possible Land Grants and Land Holdings in the Area.

After the government inspired building boom of 1636-1644 there were other and later attempts to improve and to develop Jamestown, such as the act of the Assembly in 1662, the rebuilding of at least part of the town after Bacon's Rebellion, and others. The results of these efforts, as well as the results of such moves as that to eliminate the use of wood as a building material, were not too great. However, since the record of actual holdings at Jamestown is fragmentary, the full story of the area under consideration is difficult to determine. Despite this, in the last half of the century several patents, clear references to other holdings, and records of actual development in the area of the Beverley and Lawrence tracts have been preserved.

### 1. Nathaniel Bacon, Senior, and Robert Beverley, II.

On May 29, 1683 Nathaniel Bacon, Senior, was given a grant for "three Acres and three Eigh<sup>t</sup>hs of land, in James City". The patent for this grant gives its bounds through the use of actual survey bearings together with landmarks. On October 26, 1694 Robert Beverley was granted "three Acres one Rood and six pole of Land lying and being in James City". The rough bounds for this tract are defined in the patent (see Appendix B I). Since these properties have one common boundary they form a continuous block of property --- approximately seven acres. Beverley was bounded on the east, a distance of 36.4 poles, by a "Ditch which Divides this from the Western side of the

Lands Late of Lawrence Celle Bacon or one of them at the road side". The reference to Lawrence and Bacon as owners of the property to the east of Beverley tends to fix this as Bacon's grant of 1683, for Bacon secured it after forfeiture by Lawrence for the latter's activity in Bacon's Rebellion.

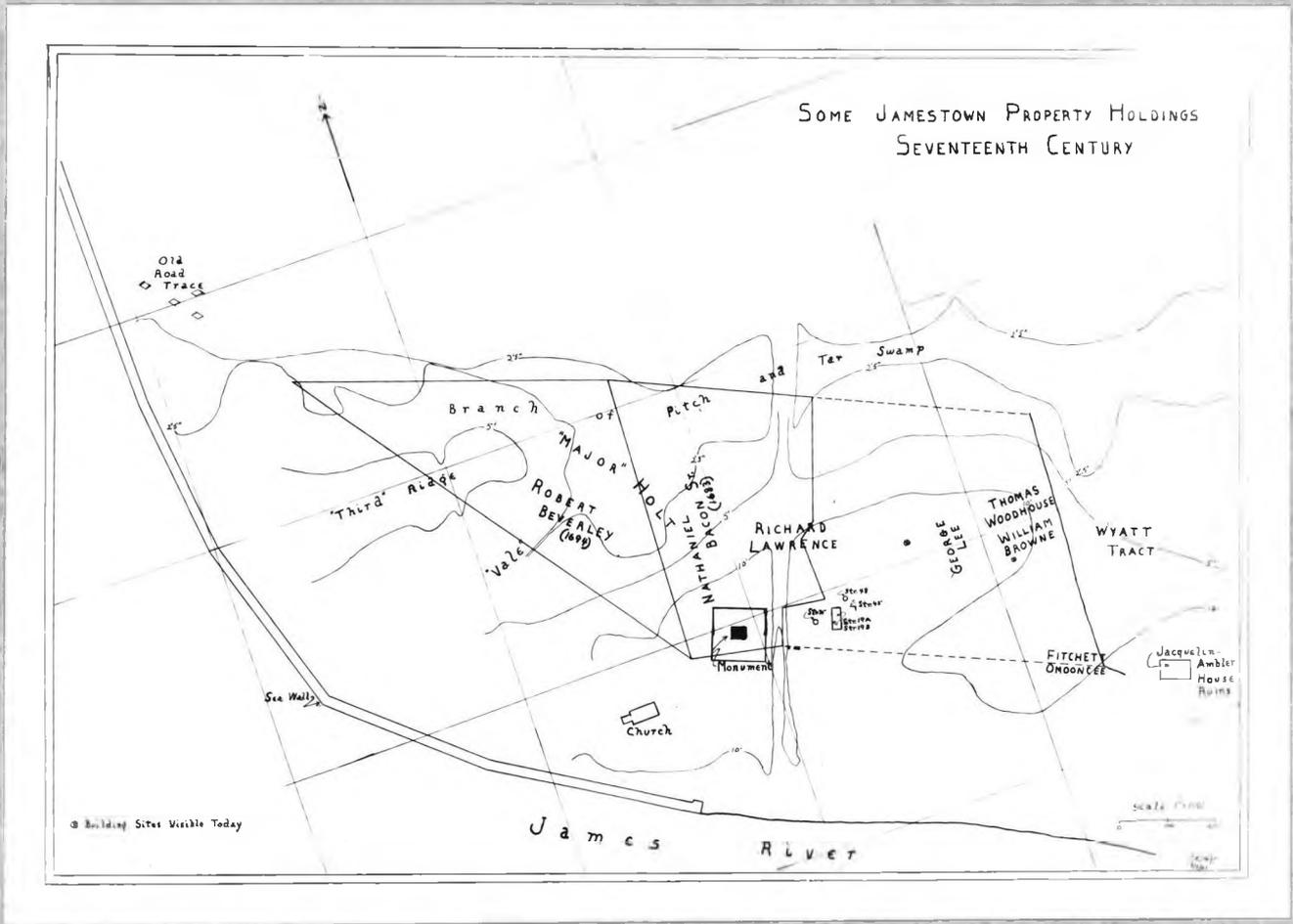
For the Beverley and Bacon block of property the east and part of the south boundary is given by survey and the western and south-western line is stated to be "the Mains Cart road westward". On the north both tracts were bounded by the "slash Called Pitch and tar slash or Swamp". The two tracts were divided by a ditch running northwards. Beverley's grant was a triangular area bounded by Bacon's property, the slash, and the road. Bacon's grant to the east of Beverley was of more irregular shape. Applied to the ground the best location for these properties seems to be that shown on Map No. 2, page 22. The locations shown here check with the given acreage, conform more or less to the survey bearings given in the patents, and seem in agreement with other evidence gleaned from previous historical and archeological study and the contours of the ground.<sup>22</sup>

Apparently the highway to the mainland at this period ran from below the church, continued north of it, and ran in a northwesterly

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Jamestown: Land Patents, 144-5, 154-5.



Map No. 2.

Some Jamestown Property Holdings, Seventeenth Century.

CHHP #8976

direction across the Branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp toward the isthmus. The course of the highway as it left the "Third" Ridge, crossed to the "Second" Ridge, and continued west is shown on a survey plat made for William Sherwood in 1680. Archeological evidence of a roadway has been found on the "Second" Ridge, conforming to "Roads" given on the plat. North of the present church and churchyard the contours of the ground suggest the possibility that a road at one time passed here. Moreover, the patent to John Howard south of the road in 1694 gives proof of a road here, at least at that date. When Beverley's property is plotted against a line drawn from the depression north of the church to the old road trace found through archeological means, the results satisfy the other bearings, that is, the slash on the north, and the north line of 36.4 poles running from the road to the slash. It was to the east of this northward running line that Bacon patented his property in 1683. This property was bounded on the west and north by a ditch dating at least from the ownership of Richard Lawrence.<sup>23</sup>

The east and west limits of Bacon's holding are tied down by means of the Beverley tract, but the north and south limits are more difficult to determine. The difficulty lies in the fact that the north end

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23

Jamestown: Land Patents, 144-5, 154-5, 170. J. G. Harrington, "Archaeological Report Exploratory Excavations in Unit A, Jamestown Island, Virginia", March 20, 1941, pp. 24-29 (report hereafter cited as Harrington, "Unit A"); Hatch, "Unit A", pp. 51-5.

of both the east and west lines is the slash, or "branch of Pitch and Tarr swamp". The definite point of beginning at the marsh, in the marsh, or near the marsh is difficult to fix. The location shown is drawn largely from the wording given in the Beverley patent. Apparently the ditch separating the Beverley and Lawrence tracts began at the road, and this ditch by implication formed the full western boundary of Bacon's tract. This would fix the most southern point in the Beverley tract at the same point as the southern end of Bacon's western boundary. It is evident that the location of the ditch separating the Beverley and Bacon tracts and forming the northern boundary of Bacon's grant would go far towards fixing their exact location.

## 2. Richard Lawrence.

Now that the later, better defined tracts have been discussed, it will be well to turn to earlier holdings of which less is known. This approach, although not following chronology, seems to be the best. In Bacon's patent it is stated that the  $3 \frac{3}{8}$ ths acres patented by him in 1663 was but:

...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 obvious question to arise here is, Where was the other "part" of the "parcel of land" that belonged to Lawrence? It appears unlikely

that it extended across the marsh to the north, or even toward the west. Lawrence's ditch could have been his north and west boundaries. Then, too, when Beverley received his grant, there is no mention that Lawrence's ownership ever extended over this, while there is direct mention of Lawrence's former ownership of the Bacon grant. Eliminating the west and north the remainder of the "parcel of land" must have been to the east or southeast. Since Lawrence's patent is missing and all of his boundaries are not known, the problem will have to remain unsolved at present. The exact date on which he took up this property is undetermined. He was in Virginia at least as early as 1643. In 1670 he was practicing law before the General Court and within the decade became a person of influence and prominence in the government of the colony.<sup>24</sup>

### 3. Mrs. Lawrence:

Richard Lawrence married a "wealthy widow", apparently a resident of Jamestown and a property holder there. Her identity has not been established, yet prior to Bacon's Rebellion she maintained "a large house of public entertain't" there. Whether or not she owned this in her own right or had inherited from her father or former husband is not known. In fact, the location of the inn and property associated with it is unknown. However, the possibility that this may have been

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Jamestown: Land Patents, 144-5. See biographical sketch of Richard Lawrence in Appendix A III.

later thought of as part of the property of Richard Lawrence necessitates its mention here.<sup>25</sup>

#### 4. Major Molt.

In a patent to Richard James on June 5, 1657 for 150 acres of "Land and Marsh" in James City Island, chiefly on the "Second" Ridge, it is stated that his line began at a "Cun Tree, by Friggett landing on back Creek" and extended down the island where it crossed over to the "branch of Pitch and Tarr Swamp", and ran back up the island on the south side of the branch until it reached "the Slash behind Major Molts House". Then by "a Northerly Line" it continued to the place it began. In other words a line drawn from a point on Friggett Landing south across the second Ridge and the branch of Pitch and Tarr Swamp should end at the rear of the house of Major Molt. It may be that this line has been fixed, if not then it can be located approximately with some degree of assurance.<sup>26</sup> By doing this it would appear that Molt's house was on the "Fourth" Ridge in the northern section of the area under consideration, possibly in the Beverley tract of 1694/--- that is, if the house faced south. Here the slash referred to could have been the "vale", a branch of the main branch of Pitch and

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Peter Force (ed.), Tracts and Other Papers, I, Tract No. 8, p. 25.

26

Harrington, "Unit A", 19-20, 35-6, particularly Figure 12; Hatch, "Unit A", 16-27; Jamestown: Land Patents, 114. See biographical sketch of Robert Molt in Appendix A IV.

Tar Swamp separating the "Third" and "Fourth" Ridges. If, on the other hand, Holt's house faced west, then its logical position would have been on the island end on the "Third" Ridge, the slash behind the house being again the "vale".

Who was Major Holt? Here again the land records do not provide complete information. Perhaps he was Robert Holt, who in 1656, a year before the James patent, sat in the Assembly from "James City" as Major Robert Holt. There is data available to show that his larger holdings were in James City County on, or near, the Chickahominy River. However, fragments of information indicate that for the years before this and afterwards, he was closely connected with Jamestown. It should not be overlooked that it is possible that Major Holt may have been Randall Holt, who owned property in the island (see biographical sketch, Appendix A IV).

The patent mentions only "Major Holts House", yet does not state that he owned land around it. To be exact, it does not state that he actually owned the house itself. In view of the lack of a clear statement, it appears that either he owned the house with land near it, or else he was a long time lessee --- long enough to establish the house as a place where he managed affairs. Of these two possibilities the first seems the better conclusion.

##### 5. John Fitchett.

In the area between the Bacon and Wyatt tracts there is evidence that John Fitchett owned property west of, and adjoining, the southern part of the Wyatt tract. This is determined, in part, from the patent to William Sherwood in 1694 when the southwestern corner of this Wyatt tract was given as "Neere the Land of John Ffitchett". Two years later, when Sherwood sold to William Harris a small tract that seems to have been the southwest corner of the Wyatt tract, there is evidence in this patent, or deed, that fixes "Omeones Land formerly Ffitchetts Land" as adjoining on the west. Beyond this there is little that can be said regarding this tract, even as to its size and boundaries.<sup>27</sup>

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Ambler Papers, a transcript of the Ambler Papers in the Library of Congress prepared for Colonial National Historical Park in 1935, pp. 128-34, 147-80, 233-6 (hereafter cited as Ambler Papers); Hatch, "Wyatt Tract", 39-41.

In 1622 John Fitchett received a renewal of a patent for 1/2 acre in James City issued in 1660. The whereabouts of this 1/2 acre is not clear from the patent, yet it was obviously near the house of Walter Chiles, since it lay between two paths leading to "Mr Chiles", who lived on the Wyatt Tract. There is nothing here to identify this with the property mentioned above. However, it does give an approximate date for Fitchett's holdings at Jamestown.

As for Omeence (Omeone), there is little that can be said. The closest approach to that name given in the land records is Meene. Captain John Meene (Meon) had a house at Jamestown in 1655 apparently south, or southeast, of the Wyatt Tract. By will recorded August 12, 1655 his "Brew house and land at James Town were to be sold for the payment of" his debts. If the chronology given in the later patents is correct, that is, if Omeence's ownership followed that of Fitchett, then it would seem that Omeence and Meene were not the same. Jamestown: Land Patents, 106, 121; William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, First Series, VII, 222 (April, 1899). (The magazine hereafter cited as Wm. and Mary Quart.)

6. Thomas Woodhouse.

In 1694 William Sherwood's patent for 308 acres on Jamestown Island states that west of the Wyatt tract and separated from it by a "ditch" was "the land formerly belonging to one Thomas Woodhouse". Here again there is nothing to indicate the size or boundaries of the Woodhouse property, yet by implication it would appear that it lay across from the northern, or northern and central, portions of the western boundary of the Wyatt tract.<sup>28</sup> The period of his ownership probably was contemporary with his other holdings elsewhere in Virginia --- from about 1642 until at least 1666. Actual holdings at Jamestown, or mention of his activity there, extends from 1654 to 1662.<sup>29</sup>

7. William Browne.

On April 7, 1685 William Browne and Elizabeth, his wife, for a stipulated \$19 sold to George Lee three-fourths acre of land:

...in James Citty being formerly estate of Thomas Woodhurst decess bounding upon the land of Mr. William Sherwood Easterly; And as farre as the two houses extend of the said George Lee the one being by him built & inhabited the other ruinous being Westerly; As farre as ye Common road Southerly & to the outside

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Ambler Papers, 128-133.

29

Hell Marion Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers; Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants 1623-1800, I, et passim (vert hereafter cited as Nugent, Abstracts).

of the said two houses Northerly...

Thomas Woodhurst apparently was another spelling for Thomas Woodhouse (Woodhowse), or at least if this assumption is made, it would check with what is known about the Woodhouse grant discussed above. That is to say, both the Woodhouse and the Browne-Lee ownerships seem to cover the same area. If this is true, then possibly Woodhouse had the same acreage of three-fourths acre, since it is described as the "estate of Thomas Woodhurst deced". The bounds given in the Browne to Lee sale are:

north to the outside of Lee's two houses  
south to "ye Common road"  
east on land of William Sherwood  
west as far as the extent of Lee's two houses.<sup>30</sup>

The property of Sherwood on the east apparently was the Wyatt tract. It would be difficult to locate this grant in the town with Sherwood to the east in any other locality. To fix the north and west boundaries, it would seem that Lee's two houses would have to be located. Moreover, the road on the south needs to be fixed. The known records indicate that in the latter part of the seventeenth century a "maine" road cut diagonally across the southwest corner of the Wyatt tract, running in a northwesterly direction. In fact, a "path" mentioned as early as 1662 possibly followed the same course. This "maine" road mentioned in 1696 may have extended west from the Wyatt tract and could

have been the "Common road" mentioned in the Browne to Lee sale. The possible terminus for such a road could have been the "Second" Ridge and Friggett Landing, or it could have connected with the highway from the island across the isthmus. It is significant that archeological evidence of a roadway has been uncovered in the southern section of the Wyatt tract that conceivably could be the remains of the 1696 "maine" road, or the 1685 "Common road". However, a full archeological report on this awaits preparation.<sup>31</sup>

When George Lee died, he bequeathed a life interest in this property to his wife, Sarah Lee. Eventually it passed to Robert and George Nicholson, who deeded their interest to George Harvey. In December, 1696 Sarah Lee likewise deeded her interest to Harvey. On October 23, 1697 Harvey sold it to Thomas Hadley, who by will of December, 1697 bequeathed it to his wife Dyonesia Hadley. On June 6, 1698 Dyonesia Hadley for a stipulated £100 sterling disposed of the three-fourths acre to John Tullet.<sup>32</sup>

#### 8. George Lee.

In 1685 the deed from Browne to Lee states that George Lee owned two houses apparently directly west of the three-fourths acre, in fact, adjoining it. One of these had been built and used by Lee before 1685.

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See Hatch, "Wyatt Tract", 62-3; Conrad B. Bentsen, "Progress Report on Archeological Field Work, Jamestown Island, 1940", Figures 1 and 2.

32

L-139A (Va. Hist. Soc., Ludwell Papers, I, No. 94).

Obviously, it would seem Lee built on land which he owned. However, there seems to be no existing record of his patent, or deed. The extent of his holding and date of acquisition have not been determined.

The properties already discussed are all that can be safely connected with the area under consideration. However, there is little reason to think that this is a complete list of the property holders in the area. As in a study of property in other Jamestown areas, incomplete records prevent the full story. It should be noted that the line from the southern part of the Bacon tract to the southwest corner of the Wyatt tract is an arbitrary one used for convenience in this study. Since it is an arbitrary line, there is strong evidence that known grants along, or near, the river may have extended north of it. These patents have not been discussed in detail since they more appropriately belong to a later study of the area along the river extending down-stream from the church.

### III. Use and Development of the Area.

Now that the known land grants and land patents located, or possibly located, in the general area covered by this study have been discussed, it will be interesting, as far as possible, to determine the physical development carried out by individual owners and occupants. Here again, perhaps, it is best to deal first with the later owners.

#### 1. Richard Lawrence.

Richard Lawrence, at the time of Bacon's Rebellion, was a resident and prominent citizen of Jamestown. Just when he took up residence there is not known, yet presumably he had been living there for some time before 1676, possibly a decade or more. At Jamestown he had a fine residence with servants to care for it. Here he could entertain and make use of his "fair cupboard of plate". Since he was a lawyer, and a prominent official, entertaining at the capital would have been necessary.

It was to the "house of one Mr. Lawrence" that Nathaniel Bacon, Junier, went at midnight one night in June, 1676, when he quietly sought to confer with two of his ablest supporters - Richard Lawrence and William Drummond. When the Rebellion actually broke out these

two men actively worked for his cause.<sup>33</sup> After the occupation of Jamestown by Bacon in September, it was reported that:

...Mr. Laurence and Mr. Drumond owning the two best houses save one, set fire each to his own house, which example the souldiers following laid the whole town (with church and Statehouse) in ashes, saying, the regnes [Berkeley and his forces] should harbour no more there.<sup>34</sup>

For his part in Bacon's Rebellion Laurence lost his position, his estate, and apparently his life. In 1683 Nathaniel Bacon, Senior, patented a part of Laurence's holding at Jamestown after it had been declared forfeited because of "High Treason agt his Majesty".

Where was Richard Laurence's dwelling? In the absence of reference to more than one holding, it is assumed that it was located either on the area patented by Bacon in 1683, or else on the part of the parcel

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Mollwaine, Minutes, 372, 382; "Philip Ludwell's Account of Bacon's Rebellion" in Va. Mag., I, 182 (October, 1893); Thomas Jefferson Wertemberger, Torchbearer of the Revolution, The Story of Bacon's Rebellion and Its Leader, 158.

34

"Bacon's Rebellion" in Virginia Historical Register, III, 129-130 (July, 1850).

Jamestown in 1676 has been described as a town of "som 16 or 18 houses, most as is the church built of bric, faire and large". Another account states that "The towne consisted of 12 new bric Houses besides a considerable number of fframs houses with bric chimneys,..." From such accounts and from the statement that Laurence owned one of the best houses, the inference is that his dwelling was a bric-building "faire and large". "Narrative of Bacon's Rebellion" in Va. Mag., IV, 149, 154 (October, 1896); Force, Fracts and Other Papers, I, Fract No. 11, pp. 24-25.

not patented by him. Assuming the location of the Bacon tract to be as shown on Map No. 2, then the most suitable portion of the Bacon tract for building was the southern section on the "Fourth" Ridge. If the undefined area of Lawrence's tract was to the east or southeast of Bacon, then the most suitable section of this would have been again the southern part. This section was near the highway, near the church, closer to the river, and most important of all it was high ground suitable for building. Besides, in this area foundations and building ruins have been noted.<sup>35</sup>

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Although Samuel H. Yonge locates Richard Lawrence's tract northwest of the church, on his map he notes northeast of the church "Traces of house foundations. Probable site of Richard Lawrence's dwelling about 1676". Lyon G. Tyler located Lawrence in 1876 as on the "Third" Ridge, inland from the last state house group. Forman places Lawrence's dwelling, as does Tyler, on the "Third" Ridge. Both Yonge and Tyler indicate the presence of old foundations northeast of the church, and the map prepared by Desandrouins of Jamestown in 1781 shows a house, or a ruin, here. Forman, Jamestown and St. Marys, front end piece; Tyler, Cradle of the Republic, map opposite page 22; Yonge, Site of Old "James Towne", map opposite page 16.

It may be of value to note here that the building act of 1662 among other things specified houses 40' x 20' within the walls. This act, and other encouragement for building, did have some effect at Jamestown, for it is stated that Bert-ely had expended "at least three thousand pounds sterg in brick buildings" "at James Towne". Hening, Statutes, II, 172-5; "Virginia's Deplered Condition" in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 4th Series, IX, 184 (Boston, 1871).

## 2. Mrs. Lawrence.

For the same reason that mention of Mrs. Lawrence's inn has been made earlier in this study, it is mentioned again here. The location is not known, it is true, yet it may have been on, near, or associated with the area later identified as Lawrence's property. In any case Lawrence married a "wealthy widow" who maintained a large house of public entertainment at Jamestown, "unto which resorted those of the best quality, and such others as businessse called to that town,..."<sup>56</sup>

## 3. Nathaniel Bacon, Senior.

Nathaniel Bacon, Senior, was a prominent figure in colonial Virginia. As a member of the Council for many years and as Auditor General for the colony, there was every reason that he spend much time at Jamestown. There are indications that he lived here at least part of the time. However, there is no reason to suspect that his residence was in the area under consideration. He did not acquire property in this locality until 1683. Since he had been active in government affairs for a long time before this, it would seem that he had already established himself elsewhere --- perhaps he lived on his holdings west of the church. After Bacon's Rebellion he, apparently, took a great interest in the rebuilding that took place at Jamestown. In June, 1680, he petitioned for the "ruines of two brick houses burnt

in the late Rebellion" --- houses formerly possessed by Richard Anborne and Arnall Cossina. He secured this lease "with lands belonging to them". Again in May, 1684 he secured a lease formerly given to Philip Ludwell for two houses "now lying in ruines, the One that house where the gaole was kept And the other that next adjoyneing to it". There is nothing that gives definite indication that either of these structures was located in the area here considered.<sup>37</sup>

It was on May 29, 1683 that he acquired the three and three-eighths acre section of Lawrence's tract, together with any improvement upon it. If he acquired the site of Lawrence's dwelling, it seems obvious that he must have acquired a fire-gutted building, for Lawrence himself had burned it during the rebellion. Four months later, September 20, Lord Culpeper wrote that "Mr. Auditor Bacon hath lately built two very Good" houses. This came at a time when the authorities were trying to have the town rebuilt. It is interesting to speculate about these two houses. In 1680 Bacon acquired by lease two ruined brick-houses and in May, 1683 he acquired the Lawrence property. It seems very likely that his two new houses could have been on one of these newly acquired properties. Perhaps it could be that he rebuilt these leased in 1680, or again it could be that he rebuilt, or built, two houses on his three and three-eighths acres, despite the fact that

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Mollwaine, Journals of the House of Burgesses...1659/60-1693, 142-3, 152, 245.

the time between the patent and the reference to the structures is very short --- about four months. <sup>38</sup>

#### 4. Robert Beverley, II.

Robert Beverley patented three acres, one rood, and six poles of land at Jamestown in 1694. After this date, in fact before this date, Beverley was a resident of Jamestown. During a number of sessions he represented Jamestown in the House of Burgesses. He sat on committees and rendered other service as a burgess. Apparently his house was near the center of state affairs on, or near, the lot which he patented in 1694. At the end of his patent of 1694 was penned this note: "Robert Beverley pat 3. acr. 1. r. 6 po. James. City Ex R Land on which ye house is built adjoining thereto near the Church". From this phraseology one interpretation is that "ye house" was on a lot adjoining near the church the area patented in 1694. If this is true, and if this is reference to his residence, perhaps this is where he lived prior to 1694. In any case, this house and lot, if not the same as his patented area, would have been across the highway --- possibly on the "Fourth" Ridge. It should be noted that the body of the 1694 patent makes no mention of property across the road. Besides, the patent has no reference to buildings on the patented area. In fact, it stipulates that Beverley must "Seat or plant" on

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J-208 (Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers, Series 5, transcripts, L. O. 1355, p. 326 ff.).

it within three years. It appears that he fulfilled this provision for he did not forfeit the area, and when he disposed of the tract in 1718, a good many years after the removal of the seat of government, it netted him £110 sterling. This price was a good one and certainly implies developed property. In fact, it was stated in the deed of transfer that it included "All his the said Robert's [Beverley] Houses and Land in James Town".<sup>39</sup>

On the Beverley tract were two possible building sites --- one the small area of high ground back of the church, and the other on the island end of the "Third" Ridge, across from the last state house group. There seems to be no proof to establish either as the site, although there has been much discussion in favor of the latter.<sup>40</sup>

#### 5. Major Holt.

Major Holt, possibly Major Robert Holt, either owned or had use of a house at Jamestown in June, 1657. Apparently it stood on the island end of the "Third" Ridge, or directly south of Friggett Landing across the Branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp on the "Fourth" Ridge. If it were standing in 1676 it was probably burned during Bacon's Rebel-

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Ambler Papers, 137-8, 211-2, 251.

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Tyler, Cradle of the Republic, 78; Yonge, Site of Old "James Town", map opposite page 16; Fernan, Jamestown and St. Marys, front end piece.

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6. Thomas Woodhouse.

As early as 1644 Thomas Woodhouse patented 200 acres in James City County, yet the first record of his holding property at Jamestown was in 1654/5 when he was given an order of the Assembly to take "Livery & Seizen of the late State house". In August, 1655, together with Samuel Hart he was "in tenure and Occupation" of land of "Mr Chiles", which was west of the one acre patented by Thomas Hunt. On October 17, 1655 he patented a one acre tract that may have been the one that he was occupying. This one acre tract bordering on the river included and extended east of the middle and eastern houses of the first brick state house group. On September 1, 1657 Woodhouse sold the western half of this lot, including the two buildings of the state house group. On February 6, 1662 he disposed of the eastern half. The property mentioned here and that undefined area west of the Wyatt tract mentioned in William Sherwood's patent of 1694 constitute all of the known references to Woodhouse's property at Jamestown, although he did own other property in the Island. For the property west of the Wyatt

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See earlier discussions of this question.

tract there is no deed or patent.<sup>42</sup>

Just what Woodhouse had at Jamestown in the way of physical development is hard to determine. It is known that he had a house, possibly a tavern or inn, since it appears that he may have been an innkeeper. On December 1, 1656 the House of Burgesses allowed him 2,500 pounds of tobacco out of the public coffers for "the quarter courts setting at his house two courts and for the committee's accommodation". Again in October, 1660, he was allowed 4,000 pounds of tobacco "out of the levye the next yeare, for the Governor and Councell setting att his house". The first of these orders came in the interval between the so-called first and second state houses and the second order between the "second" and "third" state houses. Admitting that the "house", tavern, or inn, could have been located on leased property, it seems more logical to assume that it was on land actually owned by Woodhouse. In 1656 he owned an acre lot on the river, including the middle and eastern buildings of the first brick state house group, and possibly the area west of the Wyatt tract. In 1660 he owned the eastern half of his one acre tract and possibly the area adjoining the Wyatt tract. The latter area was connected with his name as late as 1694. In 1685, after his death, it was still known as his estate.

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Hugent, Abstracts, I, et passim; McIlwaine, Journal of the House of Burgesses...1619-1658/9, 96; Jamestown Land Patents, 107, 110, 125-8, 131-1.

There seems to be a strong probability that his house, tavern, or inn, occasionally rented for public use, may have been located here, yet the case is not too conclusive.<sup>43</sup>

#### 7. The "Second" State House.

The first brick state house at Jamestown was located near the river. Apparently it ceased to function as such at least by the end of 1654 or early in 1655, for about this time the order was granted to Thomas Woodhouse to take "Livery & Seizen" of it --- the "late State house". In December, 1656 rent was paid to Woodhouse for the use of "his house" for court and committee meetings. In October, 1656 there was specific mention of another "State House". A patent issued at that time for land on the "Second" Ridge spoke of a "Slash" that separated "the State House & the [land of] said Mr James". Apparently Mr. James was Richard James and the land that which he patented on June 5, 1657. This was partly on the "Second" Ridge eastward of a line extending south from Friggett Landing. This would place the "Second" State House on the "Fourth" Ridge across the Branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp from the "Second" Ridge. This is about all that can be said regarding the location. A present day map with the contours of the town site clearly defines an area of high ground extending eastward from the

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McIlwaine, Journal of the House of Burgesses...1619-1658/9, 101; McIlwaine, Journal of the House of Burgesses...1659/60-1693, 8.

area of the Tercentenary Monument, gradually narrowing into a strip about 200 feet wide at its end near the marsh. On the north end at the end of this strip is the Branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp. Beginning at the marsh and extending south of this high ground is a low area that gradually rises until it approaches the present National Park Service museum. Archeological data tends to support the fact that this low area originally extended closer to the James River than it does now. In any case, this high ground was certainly a suitable area from the point of elevation. Apparently somewhere in this area stood the "second" state house. The eastern end of it seems to have been the location of the Woodhouse tract.<sup>44</sup>

"This "second" state house was in use only a few years. Apparently it burned, or was found unsuitable, before October, 1660. At that time the Assembly again ordered payment for the use of private buildings in which to conduct the affairs of the government. In 1666 mention was made of two fires that destroyed some of the records of the secretary's office. This may explain the fate of both the first brick state house and the "second" state house. Even though a movement began very soon to make ready another state house, the matter seems to have been delayed.<sup>45</sup> The Journal of the House of Burgesses for

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Jamestown: Land Patents, 111, 114.

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Hening, Statutes, II, 204-5.

The short interval between the "first" and "second" state houses suggests that a building already built may have been bought or made available.

September 16, 1663 contains this statement:

Since the charge the country is yearly at for houses for the quarter courts and assembly to sit in would in two or 3 years defray the purchase of a state house.

Whether it were not more profitable to the purchase for that purpose then continue for ever at the expence, accompanied with the dishonor of all our laws being made and our judgments given in alehouses.<sup>46</sup>

Apparently private buildings were used until another state house was built about 1665.

#### 8. John Fitchett and Omencee.

There is no data describing the use of, or any physical development on, the Fitchett-Omencee tract that may have been west of the southwest corner of the Wyatt tract. There is evidence that Fitchett had a house located elsewhere.<sup>47</sup>

#### 9. William Brewne.

On November 10, 1682 the Assembly, in its "Orders of publique charge and levy" for "James Citty County", included an item of 4,860 pounds of tobacco "To Sell William Brewne for 2 yeares and 1/4 Rent for the General Court office". On April 16, 1684 he was granted another 3,240 pounds of tobacco "for One year and halfe Rent for the Secretaries Office". Both of these items were to be paid by Harry

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46

McIlwaine, Journal of the House of Burgesses...1659/60-1693, 24.

47

Tyler, Cradle of the Republic, 65.

County. Apparently both of these items refer to space rented as a place for the meetings of the colonial secretary and general court during their meetings at Jamestown. The next question is, Where at Jamestown did Col. William Browne have space available to accommodate these meetings?<sup>48</sup>

The only known holding of William Browne at Jamestown was the three-fourths acre west of the Wyatt tract that he disposed of to George Lee on April 7, 1685. The sale price of £19 sterling does not suggest heavy development, yet this may not tell the whole story.<sup>49</sup>

#### 10. George Lee.

George Lee in 1685 owned two houses "in James City", one "ruinous" and "one being by him built & inhabited". The identity of the first is obscure. Possibly it stood before Bacon's Rebellion and was destroyed during the burning of the town. The other building was erected by Lee, possibly after Bacon's Rebellion. In November, 1682 the Assembly ordered that he be paid 1,000 pounds of tobacco "for a Chamber for ye Coutae". Presumably his house was standing and in use then. As early as 1675 the Assembly paid him 800 pounds of tobacco

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48

McIlwaine, Journal of the House of Burgesses...1659/60-1693, 174, 177, 254.

49

L-114A.

for some unspecified purpose and in 1684 he received 1,360 for the "Entertainment of Indians &c".<sup>50</sup>

On June 8, 1680 Lee had secured a lease for two houses on the east end of those lately granted to Col. Philip Ludwell. These were described as "now lying in ruins". It is not known what distribution he made of these, or whether any of the references above could have been a record of use relating to them.<sup>51</sup>

In 1685 he acquired the Browns three-fourths acre. The deed giving this conveyance does not specifically mention houses, yet it appears that Browne had a residence at some point in Jamestown. Lee purchased this property for £19. He died in 1692, leaving a life interest in the area to his wife, Sarah, and ultimate ownership to Robert and George Nicholson. When Mrs. Lee and Robert and George Nicholson disposed of the property there were buildings referred to as "Appurtes". Robert and George Nicholson derived £40 from the sale of their interest. Evidently Lee was responsible for some, or all, of this increase in sale value. It could have represented new

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McIlwaine, Journal of the House of Burgesses...1659/60-1693, 51, 174-5, 256.

51

Ibid. 142-3, 152.

He tried to lease the "ruines of two brick houses burnt in the late Rebellion", houses formerly "possessed" by Richard Amborne and Arnall Cossina. This lease, however, went to Nathaniel Bacon, Senior, and the location of this property is difficult to determine.

construction, or repair of old structures. Since Lee owned the property until 1692 and his wife had a life interest in the tract until she disposed of it to George Harvey in 1696, it would appear that Robert and George Nicholson would have had little incentive to do much in the way of improvement. These men do not seem to have been active in the affairs of James City.<sup>52</sup>

#### 11. Nicholson, Harvey, and Hadley.

Apparently Sarah Lee and Robert and George Nicholson conveyed the Browne three-fourths acre tract "with its Appurtenances" to George Harvey at the same time --- December 7, 1696. Harvey disposed of the property within less than a year. On October 23, 1697 he conveyed the area "with its appurtenances" to Thomas Hadley. The sale price for this transaction is now known. Two months later Hadley, by will, bequeathed the property to his wife Dyonesia Hadley. On June 6, 1698 she sold it to John Tallet for £100 sterling. The increase in price from £40 to £100, at first glance, suggests development and improvement. However, this does not seem to be the case. From December, 1696 until June, 1698 the property changed hands four times. Certainly this would not allow much time for extensive building by any party. The £40 mentioned in the deed of December, 1696 was payment to Robert and George Nicholson

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52

L-114A; L-132A (Virginia Historical Society, Indwell Papers, I, 92);  
L-139A

and there is nothing to indicate that this in any way compensated Sarah Lee. Perhaps, the value she received for her life interest equalled or exceeded that paid to the Nicholsons. In this case the sale price of 1696 would have been closer to that of June, 1698.<sup>53</sup>

#### 12. John Tullet.

The three-fourths acre tract with its buildings is the only known holding that John Tullet had at Jamestown. Apparently he lived outside of the island, above Glass House Point near the river. Evidently after the burning of the last state house at Jamestown he equipped a house at Jamestown, presumably a residence or another building on the Browns property, as a place of meeting for the House of Burgesses. In this house the Burgesses discussed and acted upon the measure that moved the seat of government from Jamestown to Middle Plantation. By virtue of this, this house was the last meeting place for the Burgesses at Jamestown. This last session of the Assembly took place with the Burgesses meeting in Tullet's house, the Governor and Council meeting in the house of Mrs. Rachel Sherwood (Widow of William Sherwood) and various committees of both branches of the legislature meeting in other available houses.

On May 11, 1699 Tullet's petition for compensation was brought before the House of Burgesses and referred to the Committee of Claims:

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53

L-114A; L-132A; L-139A.

The Petition of John Tullett referred by his Excellency and Council to this house wherein he claims allowance for fitting House, where the Burgesses sit for the Accomodation of the present Assembly read...<sup>54</sup>

On June 6, the treasurer was ordered to pay John Tullett £50 sterling, at the same time that Mrs. Sherwood was receiving £20.<sup>55</sup>

At this point it may be of interest to note that today there are two house sites on the strip of land extending eastward from the monument and separated from the Jacquelin-Ambler House Ruins by a low, marshy area. There are evidences that these remains may have been of seventeenth century origin, although a study of them awaits preparation. Some of the structures, or ruins, indicated on the Desandrevains map of 1781 may apply to this area, as well as some shown by Tyler on his chart of Jamestown Island.

The existence of a residence, inn or tavern does not mean simply an isolated, separate structure. From the archeological work that has been done at Jamestown, and from what is known of seventeenth century Jamestown, when a dwelling or house site is found it is customary in many cases to find associated structures or development, depending on the size or use of the structure. Such quite often includes a well, kitchen, fences, hedges, paths, etc. No mention has been made of this

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McIlwaine, Journal of the House of Burgesses...1695-1702, 160.

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Ibid., 175, 198; McIlwaine, Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, I, 262.

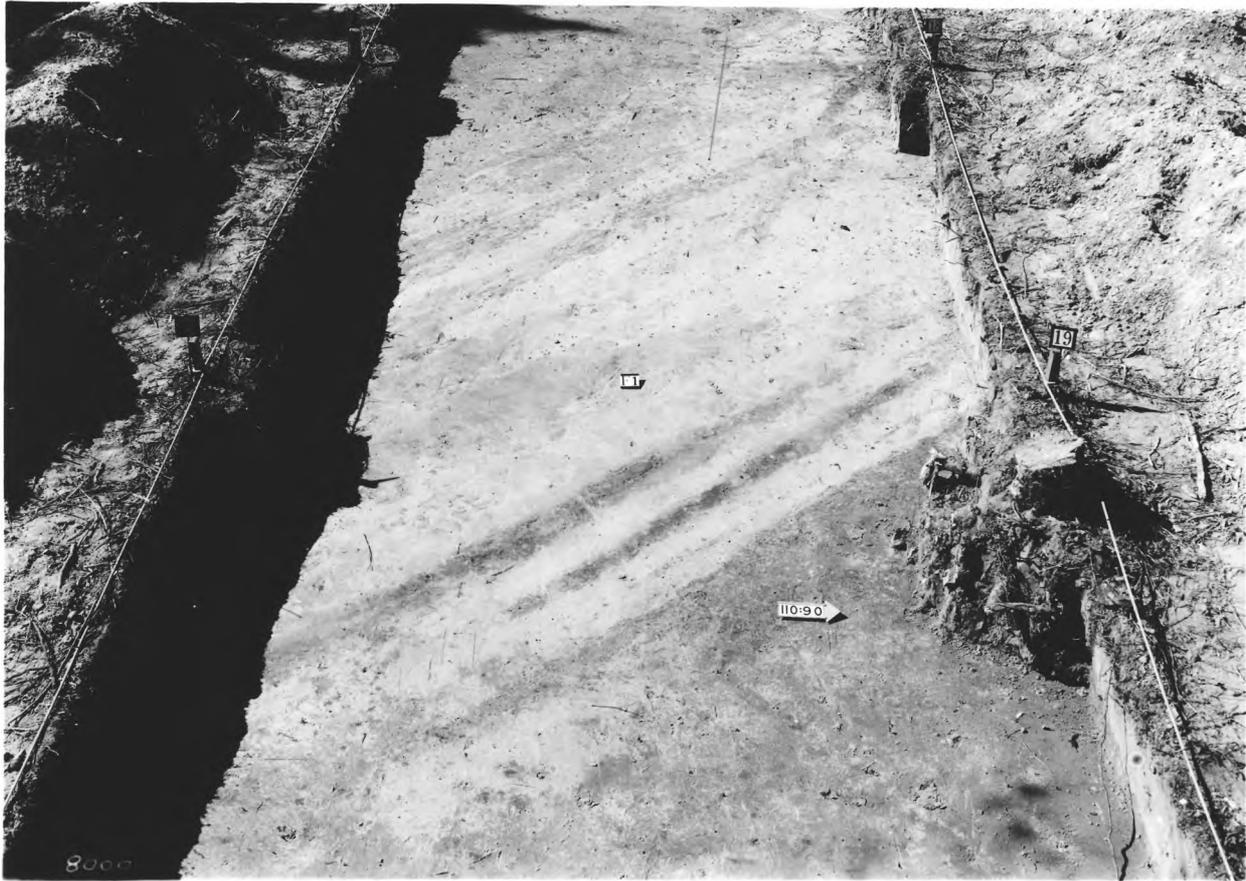
during the discussion of individual structures and holdings, chiefly because there is a lack of record of them. Despite this, such residences as that of Richard Lawrence, described as one of the best at Jamestown, could be expected to fit the general picture.

### 13. Property Lines.

A casual reading of the land patents relating to Jamestown and a review of the archeological findings there show that the town must have abounded with marked property lines taking the form of natural features, ditches, fences, and even hedges. The area under consideration included several such lines known by actual reference. The Bacon patent mentions a ditch on the north and west sides, and the ditch along the west side of the Wyatt tract has already been partly excavated. The area probably contains other marked lines of which there is no record.

### 14. Roads.

One section of the "great old Road", the principal Jamestown highway, ran from north of the church, evidently touching the "Railes" of the churchyard toward the isthmus, following a northwesterly direction "as it Windeth" to the "Second" Ridge. This formed one of the boundaries of the Beverley grant of 1694. Obviously this road did not follow a straight line, for the patent described it as a winding road. For



Photograph No. 1

View showing streets of old road in floor of trench. For location of this road trace see Map No. 2.

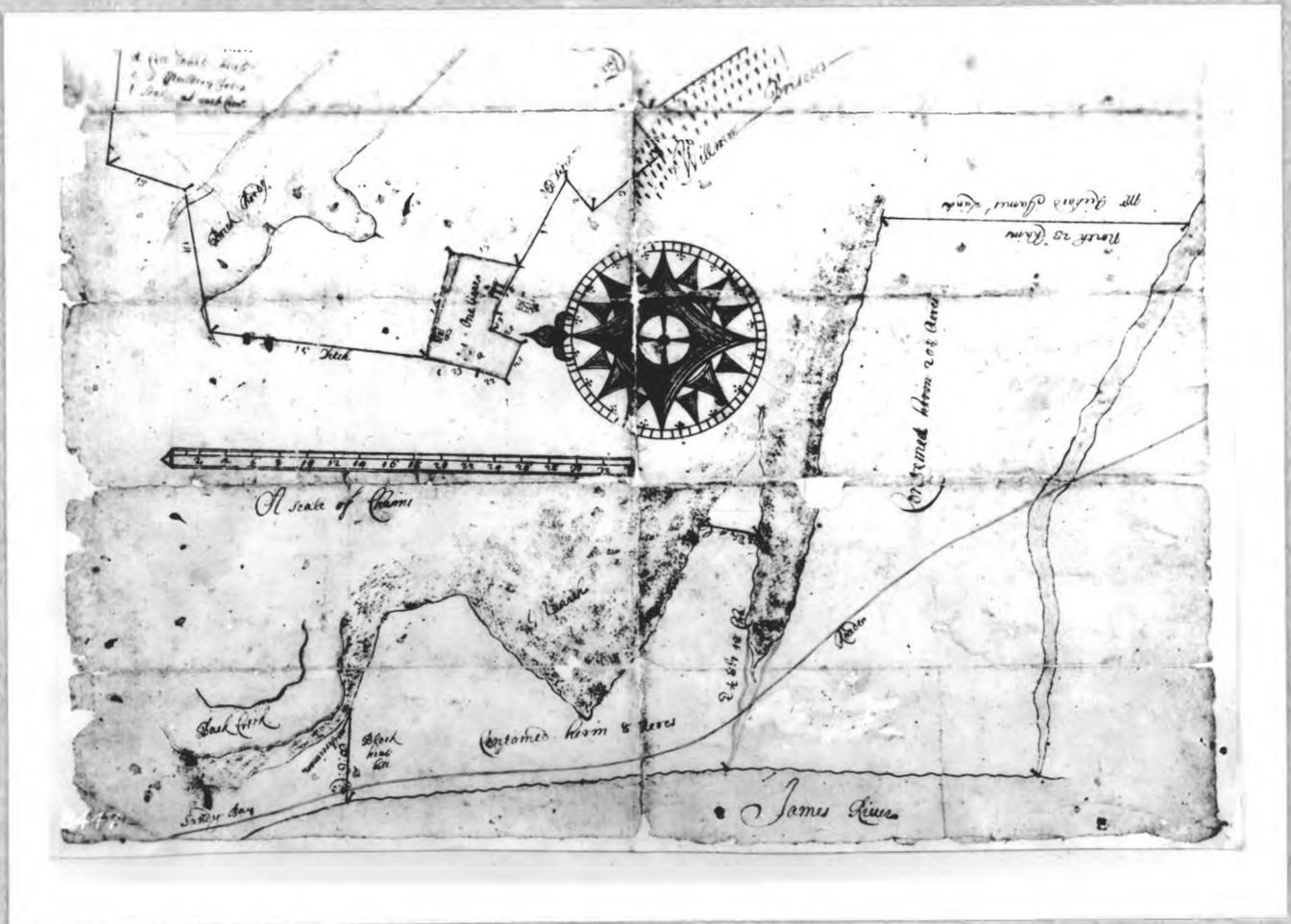
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Photograph No. 2

View showing section through old road.

GNP #8022



Photograph No. 3

Photograph of a portion of Snerwood Survey of 1680 (Ambler Paper #134) including the northwest tip of the Island. Note "Rendez".

CHMP #8446

this reason it is not surprising to find the bearing given in the John Howard patent of 1694 which was south of the highway and touched the churchyard. Although supporting evidence is not strong, it seems that the highway throughout the seventeenth century followed this same general course north of the church, or that at least it was here some time before 1694. The descriptions "great old Road" and "Maine Cart road westward" imply antiquity and importance. Perhaps the present day contours along the "Third" and "Fourth" Ridges will eventually constitute supporting evidence for the exact route of this road. <sup>56</sup>

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56

Jamestown: Land Patents, 154-5, 170.

For a description of the road from the "Second" ridge to the isthmus see Harrington, "Unit A", 24-27, 37-40; Hatch, "Unit A", 51-8; Back Street, as far as the Wyatt tract is discussed in Hatch, "Wyatt Tract", 34-8.

The course of the highway east of the church is difficult to fix because of a lack of data. The question arises, did the earlier highway along the river, spoken of as far west as the first brick state house, follow the river west and then turn to go north of the church? Did Back Street, or a road following its general course continue westward running north of the church? Did both of these highways exist throughout the century, or did they exist independently at various dates? Both were in use eastward in the "New Towne" section at the same time. Present data will not answer all the questions noted above. Perhaps archeological research may provide the missing data. Many of those who have studied this problem have concluded that an extension of Back Street west from the Jacquelin-Ambler House Ruins was the principal highway. See Yonge, Site of Old "James Towne", map opposite page 16; Tyler, Cradle of the Republic, map opposite page 22; Fernan, Jamestown and St. Marys, front end piece; George C. Gregory, Miscellaneous maps concerning Jamestown; rough drafts of his work. Material and copies in the files of OHP; F. P. Farris, "Progress Map Showing Status of Excavations, Unit B, Jamestown Island, September 1936", C.N.H.P. Map No. NHP Col. 1183, dated September 21, 1936.

The Cannon Road has been discussed already, as have been the possible roads in and about the western section of the Roger Smith grant of 1624.

#### IV. Jamestown and the Revolution.

The removal of the capital from Jamestown to Williamsburg at the end of the seventeenth century ultimately proved the death blow for Jamestown.<sup>57</sup> This eliminated the primary reason for the many attempts that had been made to make the town one of first rank. Decline set in immediately, yet the old town did not disintegrate at once. Throughout the eighteenth century, until the Revolution, there were some residents, some houses, and some business activity in the town. There were the church, two ferries, a landing place for freight and passenger vessels, and other things. Until 1723 a gunner was maintained for Jamestown, for in that year the post was abolished. The town was included in the port act of 1705. In the same year arrangements were made for a market at Jamestown. Until the Revolution Jamestown retained its seat in the Assembly. This, however, in no sense meant that the representation was required or deserved because

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57

The research that has been done for Jamestown has emphasized the seventeenth century. Much of the work regarding the town, town site, and island in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries has yet to be done. The short statement on Jamestown from 1700 to 1775, given here, is based on the limited research that has been completed.

of the size of the town.<sup>58</sup>

Later in the century a petition for a new ferry to Jamestown was rejected, as was a petition to establish a tobacco inspection center there. Even petitions to give the shoreline protection along the isthmus at public expense were rejected (1734-1736). All of this seems to indicate a very marked decline. Descriptions of the old town in this period do not agree as to its size, yet there seems to be agreement that by 1775 the number of habitable houses was small. Some of the French maps prepared during the military activities of 1781 show quite a number of structures --- at least they indicate the presence of dwellings, houses, buildings, ruins, or building sites. It is doubtful if all they show actually were serviceable structures.<sup>59</sup> One writer of the period commented that there were

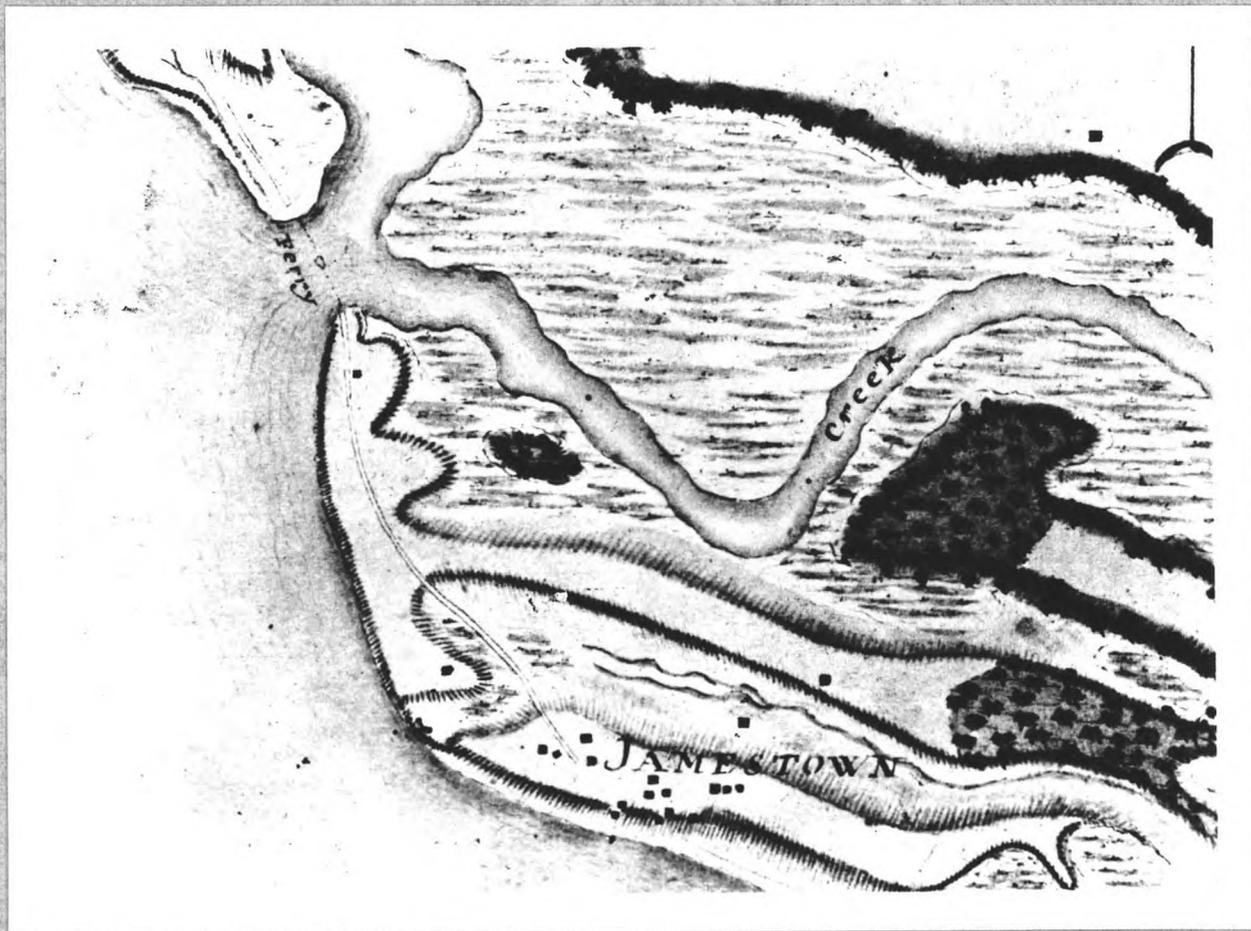
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Hening, Statutes, III, 415, 416, 470; "Personal Notices from the Virginia Gazette" in Wm. & Mary Quart., First Series, V, 243 (April, 1897); "Diary of Charles Copland" in Wm. & Mary Quart., First Series, XIV, 222 (April, 1906); "The Journey of Francis Louis Michel... to Virginia" in Va. Mag., XXIV, 22, 25 (January 1916); "Notes on Green Spring" in Va. Mag., XXXVII, 293-4 (October, 1929); J-14 (Campbell, G. L., London Magazine, Volume XV, p. 572); J-219 (Calendar of State Papers, Colo. Series, 1700, p. 92); J-223 (Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers, Series 5, transcripts, L.C. 1314, number 13 (a)); J-235 (Ferry, William Stevens, editor, Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Virginia, A.D. 1650-1776, pp. 264-5, 246).

59

Mellwaine, Journal of the House of Burgesses...1727-1740, 216; Mellwaine, Journal of House of Burgesses...1761-1765, 97, 114; J-281 (Maury, Ann, Memoirs of a Huguenot Family, pp. 270-1); J-283 (Calendar of State Papers, Colo. Series, America and West Indies, August 1717-December 1718, p. 429); J-242 (Smyth, John F. D., A Tour in the United States of America, Volume 1, pp. 14-15).



Photograph No. 4.

A section from Desandrouin's "Plan du terrain a la Rive Gauche de la Riviere de James vis-a-vis Jamestown en Virginia, ou s'est line le Combat du 6 juillet 1781..."

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"but two houses standing on the banks of the river."<sup>60</sup> Despite this, Jamestown did play its part in the story of the Revolution.

In 1775 the military forces in Virginia maintained a post at Jamestown; in fact, in November, 1775 there was a guard of 16 men there. In May and June of 1776 there is reference to heavy artillery at the post, pieces ranging from 4- to 24-pounders. On June 22 it was recommended that three companies of "minute men" be sent there. The life, strength, and service of this post has not been determined.<sup>61</sup>

In April, 1781 there is record that several armed British vessels and 15 flat boats landed troops at Jamestown. A month later, May, 1781, a cartel was arranged between General Greene and Cornwallis, specifying means and terms for exchanging prisoners, and Jamestown was designated as one of the points of exchange. On May 26, Cornwallis in a letter to Lafayette offered an exchange under the new cartel. Apparently Jamestown was a satisfactory point. On September 6, 130 prisoners from South Carolina were ordered sent to Jamestown "to be exchanged for Americans", and earlier, in August, there was mention of

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60

James Thatcher, A Military Journal During the American Revolutionary War from 1775 to 1783, p. 269.

61

William P. Palmer, et al. (eds.), Virginia Calendar of State Papers, VIII, 165, 183, 187, 216, 218.

a "Cartel vessel" stopping there.<sup>62</sup>

When Cornwallis withdrew from the inland section of Virginia toward the coast in the summer of 1781, a movement that ended in his surrender at Yorktown, he marched north of the James River, contemplating a crossing of the river at "the Island of James-Town". On July 4, he left Williamsburg to set up a camp near the site of the old isthmus that gave access into the island --- "to a Camp which covered a Ford into the Island of James-Town". According to the account given by Cornwallis, the crossing of his army to Cobham began that evening.<sup>63</sup>

On the 6th the Marquis de Lafayette, commanding a force of Americans too weak to offer battle to the whole British army, thinking that Cornwallis in crossing might leave his rear exposed, ventured too close to the British camp. The bulk of Cornwallis's force was still there. A brisk encounter known as the Battle of Green Spring followed. Lafayette managed to extricate his command and withdrew to a more secure

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62

Ibid., II, 59-60, 304, 398; "Articles of a Cartel for the exchange and relief of prisoners of War taken in the Southern Department..." May 3, 1781 in Washington Papers, Library of Congress, Vol. 172; Lord Cornwallis to Marquis de Lafayette, May 26, 1781, Washington Papers, Vol. 175; "James City Petitions" in Tylers Historical and Genealogical Quarterly Magazine, II, 187-8 (January, 1921).

63

Benjamin Franklin Stevens, (ed.), The Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy II, 58-9.

"The Queen's Rangers passed the River that Evening; on the 5th, I sent over all the Wheel Carriages, & on the 6th the Bat-Horses, & baggage of every kind, intending to pass with the Army on the 7th."

position.<sup>64</sup> Following this action Cornwallis continued his crossing. On July 8 he wrote, "We finished our passage yesterday, which has been an operation of great labour and difficulty, as the River is three miles wide at this place;..."<sup>65</sup> The rear guard passed over the river late on the 7th.<sup>66</sup>

As the British moved out, American troops under General Muhlenberg occupied Jamestown Island:

At 1 o'clock A. M. General Muhlenberg, with a party of Volunteer Horse, joined us, and we marched 3 miles farther, and halted till daylight; then proceeded to James Town, where we found an officer & 22 men which were wounded in the action [Green Spring] and fell into the hands of the enemy, but not being able to carry them off, left them on parole. Col. Vose provided an elegant dinner at this place, to which he invited the officers of his Regiment and others that were in the detachment. At 5 o'clock we paraded. Marched for the meeting house we left last evening,..."<sup>67</sup>

Another account of this occupation of Jamestown states that the Americans took over a number of horses that the British did not move

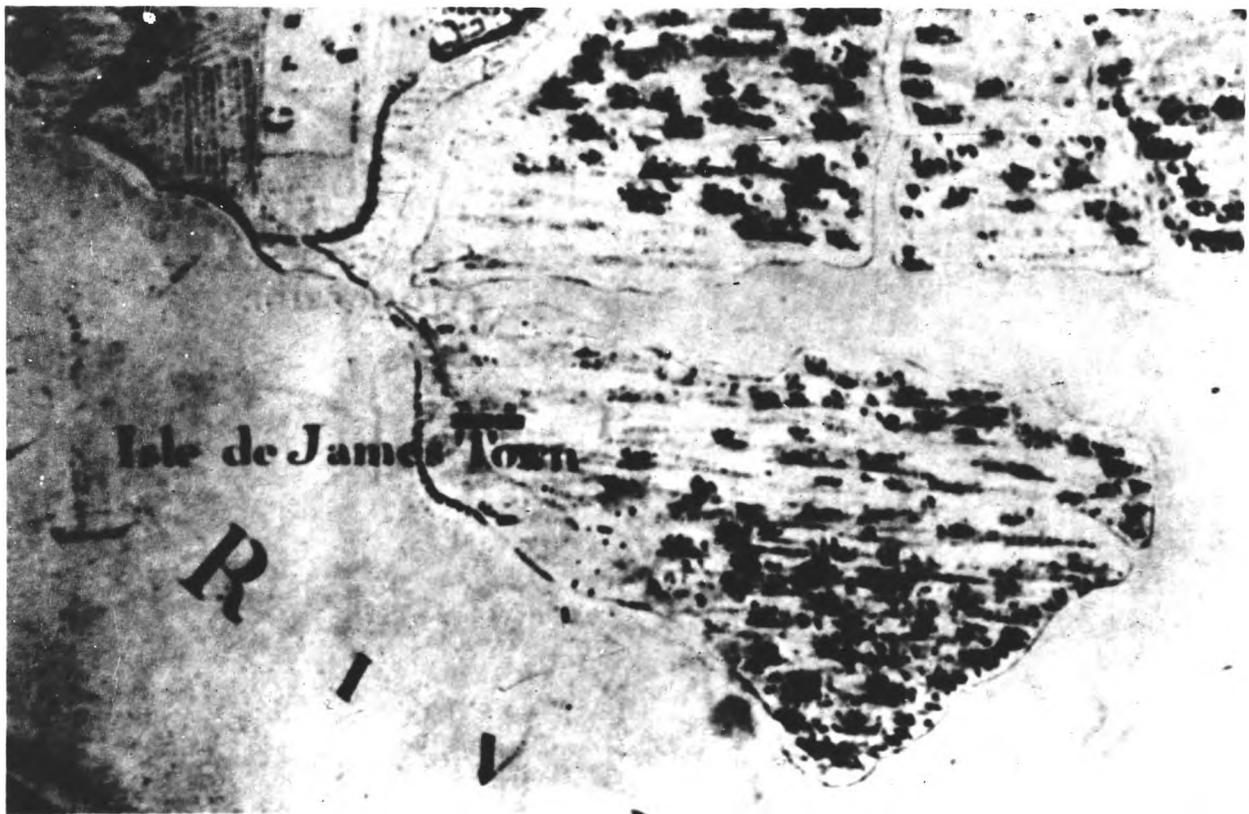
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64. Henry P. Johnston, The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis, 1781, 60-67.

65. Stevens, Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy, II, 38-39.

66. Banastre Tarleton in his History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America, 362-8, gives an account of the crossing.

67. "Journal of Ebenezer Wild" in Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Second Series, VI, 144 (Boston, 1891).



Photograph No. 5

A section from "Carte de la Campagne de la Division aux Ordres du Mes de St Simon en Virginie depuis le 27bre 1781 jusqu'a la Reddition d'York de 19 8bre meme annee." The solid blocks denote encampment position. The numeral 1 apparently denotes the point of landing.

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over the river. Apparently Lafayette followed the British withdrawal and set up a post, at least a temporary one, on the island, for on August 17 he was attempting to have his wounded at Jamestown moved to Richmond.<sup>68</sup>

About two months after the British withdrawal through Jamestown the French troops under St. Simon were to disembark there for eventual participation in the siege of Yorktown. With the French troops was the Chevalier d'Ansteville, who wrote:

The enemy [the British] a short time before had quitted this post and had left there ineffacable vestiges of his presence. This little town, one of the oldest in America, had been destroyed for the most part. One finds there ruins, the debris of conflagrations, tombs overturned, other fine monuments broken, a church partly thrown down, the houses still standing exhaling a ghastly odor and smoky with corpses. All means of devastation had been employed in the town and in the fields.<sup>69</sup>

This is a vivid picture of destruction wrought by Cornwallis, written in a clear, matter-of-fact style. This is the only description of this that has come to light.

The French fleet under the Comte de Grasse that came up from the West Indies to participate in the siege of Yorktown brought about 3,000

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68

Sarah Redwood Lee and Elisabeth S. Kite, A Sidelight on History Being the Letters of James McHenry Aide-de-Camp of the Marquis de Lafayette ...26-7; Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 298.

69

Chevalier d'Ansteville, "Journal of the Chesapeake Campaign", p. 8.

troops commanded by the Marquis de St. Simon. These troops were to participate in the land operations of the siege. On September 1, these troops appeared in the James river in a number of boats, reported by Cornwallis as 40, in preparation for the landing:<sup>70</sup>

The Marquis de St. Simon went ashore there, while the boats remained lying to, to reconnoitre this position. Having observed that this place formed an island which presented certain difficulties in emerging from it, he reconnoitred the terrain above the mouth of the swamp which formed this island, but not finding sufficient draft of water for the boats he returned to the first place examined, where the disembarking of the whole army took place without any opposition [September 2]. There they camped, the left wing resting on the James River, facing the swamp which separated this place from Meer [a plantation near Glass House Point]. They remained there until the morning of the 4th. As early as the 3rd, the Marquis de Lafayette came to the French camp and there conferred with the Marquis de St. Simon....The army decamped from Jamestown the morning of the 4th, the artillery being transported by hand to the mouth of the swamp, the water coming up to the waist. (The bridge of Cornwallis had been destroyed). The boats had discovered a point of disembarkation and transported the troops there.<sup>71</sup>

A camp was made on the mainland not far from Glass House Point where the troops remained until the 8th of the month.

Beginning on September 3, the American forces south of the James ---

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70

Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 380; Stevens, Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy, II, 151, 155; "Journal of Captain John Davis of the Pennsylvania Line" in The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 5, p. 299.

71

Chevalier d'Anstoville, "Journal of the Chesapeake Campaign", pp. 4-5.

some regular troops and some militia --- crossed from Swan's Point and Cobham. They crossed in the same long boats that had landed the French troops the day before. It is not certain that all of the Americans landed on the island, yet it does seem that some of them did, for there is reference to the church and the "James town plains". In any case the stop at the point of landing was brief. The troops rested during the day and that night moved to Green Spring.<sup>72</sup>

For a time after the troops left Jamestown, there was activity there. Arms were ordered and sent there, baggage was crossed and "Intrenching Tools", newly repaired and ground, sent there. In short the island seems to have served as a sub-supply depot.<sup>73</sup>

Several of the maps drawn during and after the siege of Yorktown given information about the French encampment on Jamestown Island. The point of landing appears to have been down the island beyond the church area, perhaps beyond Orchard Run. It is doubtful that an exact point could be fixed from the general treatment given on the maps. The camp site is indicated by three parallel symbols with one behind

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72

Chevalier d'Anseville, "Journal of the Chesapeake Campaign," p. 5; "Journal of Captain John Davis", p. 299; "General Richard Butler's Journal of the siege of Yorktown" in Historical Magazine (March, 1864), 102-3; "The Journal of Lieut. William Feltman..." in Pennsylvania Historical Society Collections (May, 1858), p. 312; Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II. 385.

73

Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II. 384, 409.

the three. Apparently a part of the encampment was east and north of the road, while the remainder was south and west of it. The maps indicate that the encampment may have been on the "Second" Ridge, yet it appears more likely that it affected the church area, the western part of the "Fourth" and probably the "Third" Ridge. If this were the case, then the French encampment at Jamestown from September 2 to September 4 was partly in the area under consideration. <sup>74</sup> To get a true picture of the area at this time it would be necessary to learn something of the nature of temporary army camps at this period. <sup>75</sup>

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74

"Plan du débarquement et de la Marche de la division Commandée par le Mes de St Simon, et reunion avec le Corps du Mes de la Fayette, et celle de l'Armee combinee de Washington et de la Rochambeau, et le siege d'York. 1781"; "Carte de la Campagne de la Division aux Ordres du Mes de St Simon en Virginie depuis le 27bre 1781 Jusqua la Reddition d'York le 19 Sbre meme annee; and "Carte Generale des camps et marches en Amerique de l'Armee de Mr le Ote de Rochambeau". Copies of these maps are in the library of C.N.H.P.

75

Jamestown played its part, although small, in some of the wars later than the Revolution. In 1813 Jamestown was raided by British troops. During the Civil War troops were garrisoned on the Island and fortifications constructed at several points. However, it has not been determined that these events were associated with the area under consideration. Perhaps it should be noted that Lieutenant-Colonel Emmett M. Morrison, named adjutant of the Confederate post at Jamestown in June, 1861, reported that:

"When I arrived in Jamestown considerable dirt had been moved towards the Fort--now near the church...". Except for the statement that it was taken locally, he does not mention the source of the dirt. Calendar of Virginia State Papers, I, 240 and II, 195, 238; "Diary of Miss Harriette Cary" in Tylers Quarterly, IX, 111 (October 1927); "Jamestown Island in 1861" in Wm. & Mary Quart., First Series, I, 38-9 (July, 1901); Record of interview with Emmett M. Morrison in Jamestown file No. 2-7, "Misc. Corresp. A.P.V.A.", C.N.H.P.

## V. Archeological and Other Exploration.

There has been some archeological excavation and exploration in the area treated by this study, as well as archeological observation and general searching for old landmarks. This is discussed generally below.

### 1. The Old Road Traces.

The old road traces that have been located on the "Second" Ridge have a direct bearing on the area being discussed here. This has been considered earlier in this study.<sup>76</sup>

### 2. The "vale".

The "vale", or marsh, that separates the "Third" and "Fourth" Ridges originally extended from the Branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp to the James River. The nature of the "vale" has been changed in more recent years, with and after the construction of the seawall. In 1939 archeological observations were made when a small ditch was cut across this area during the laying of a pipe line. The results confirmed the general belief that in the seventeenth century this area was a very low one.

From the Belic House to the Yearly House, across the old "vale", no artifacts were found to the writer's knowledge. This section was carefully observed because

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76

Harrington, Archeological Report Exploratory Excavations in Unit A, 24-30, 37-40.

it is of importance to learn the nature of the soil here and to note whether this area had been extensively built upon in early times. The trench confirmed what documentary evidence there is, namely that this section was low, marshy ground and was not occupied by buildings. The clay line, about six to eight inches below the surface at the Kelle House, became deeper and deeper as the trench progressed to the north, and then became shallower again toward the "Third" ridge. At the lowest point clay was not yet reached at a depth of two feet. The soil in this low ground is typical of that found in marshy ground, and quite unlike the top-soil on higher, dryer ground. There were absolutely no evidences of occupation - no brick chips, bits of shell and mortar, and the other indications<sup>77</sup> which are always found in the vicinity of old foundations.

The presence of the "vale" cutting through the Beverley tract, possibly the Holt tract, and other properties limit the space that would have been suitable for building sites. It seems very unlikely that building would have been done in the "vale" area even at its present level, and its present level is higher than it was in the seventeenth century.

### 3. The "Third" Ridge.

At the same time that the ditch was opened across the "vale" there was work of a similar nature on the "Third" Ridge as well. The results were reported by the observing archeologist:

Strangely enough, no artifacts or foundations were encountered in the trenches on the "Third" Ridge. The

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77

J. G. Harrington, "Memorandum for the Superintendent", December 5, 1939 in the files of C.W.E.P.

top-soil here was the normal six to eight inches, except along the trench to the service buildings, where it was somewhat deeper, and contained infrequent pieces of brick, shell and pottery. At the point where the water line branches off toward the west to the service buildings, a ditch was noted. It seemed to be running approximately northeast, although too short a section was observed to determine its direction accurately. It was about two feet deep at this point, and appeared to be early.

The extensive series of trenches for the filter bed on the "Third" ridge revealed no features or structures, and no artifacts. Several dark areas noted on the sides of the narrow trenches appeared to be old tree root discolorations.<sup>78</sup>

From a study of these observations the tentative conclusion reached was that there had been little building activity on the "Third" Ridge east of the present Yeardley House.

#### 4. Structures 19A and B, 45, 48 and 75.

There has been considerable speculation regarding structures 19 A and B excavated over a period from December, 1934 until late in 1936. These two structures were located about 375 feet north of the shoreline of James river and 180 feet east of the base of the Tercentenary Monument. The remains of S-19A were made up of a two-section cellar, one with a vaulted ceiling, probably a brick house with a chimney at one end approximately 17' x 43'. S-19B was a larger frame structure over

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78

J. C. Harrington, "Memorandum for the Superintendent", December 5, 1939 in the files of C.N.H.P.

and around S-19A approximately 23' x 90'. The tentative conclusion that has been advanced is that S-19A was the earlier house, or residence. It may have been burned and rebuilt. S-19B was built later using the cellar of S-19A, possibly adding the vault, and being used as an inn or residence group.

A. Structure 19A.

The remains of S-19A consist of two rooms, one larger and one smaller. The smaller at the present time is a vaulted room, yet this does not seem to have been the case when the building was first constructed. Rather, it seems that the vault was added at some period of rebuilding or when S-19B was erected. As a vaulted room it probably served as a "strong" room, or storage for things of special value. There is clear evidence in the walls of the vault that two building periods are represented. The upper portions are not of the same period or quality of workmanship as the lower. There is nothing to indicate that there was other than a dirt floor, and apparently the vault was not plastered.

The walls of the main room in S-19A are preserved and here again there is evidence of two building periods. The mortar below the line of rebuilding has been described as: "Greyish white in color, clean sand used with well burned oyster shells. Mortar is now in good condition, very hard and is similar to the mortar of the elder part of Str. 17, the first brick state house." The mortar above the line of



**Photograph No. 6**

**A view of Structures 19 A and B showing principally  
Structure 19A with its brick vaulted cellar room.**

**CHP #5157**

rebuilding was described as: "Poor quality of mortar, yellow in color, clay in sand with less quality of oyster shells and not well burned. Mortar crumbles easily." The lever brick work was chiefly in English bond. There were evidences of fire, as bits of charred wood were found all about. Inside on the floor were found charred wood, a cannon ball, spigot, bowl, bottle, part of a casement frame, and a bottle seal with the initials "G. L.". At one point on the floor were fragments of about 16 or 17 bottles.

B. Structure 19B.

Only fragments of the walls and partitions of S-19B were located. Of the walls found in place there was no great variation in brick work or brick sizes. This structure was built over S-19A, using the existing cellar at its original size, and the small room of S-19A may have been converted into a vault at this time. It would appear that a chute through the east wall was built, probably to give access to the handling of heavy boxes, barrels, or chests to be stored in the vault.

One conjecture has been advanced that S-19B was a four room (four on the first floor) house possibly used as a four family house, an



**Photograph No. 7**

**Photograph, looking northeast, showing Structures 19A and B. Structure 19B is in the foreground. The fragment of a foundation entering the picture on the right is a part of Structure 45.**

**OWHP #2950**

ordinary, hostelry, or inn.<sup>79</sup>

C. Structure 45.

Structure 45, east of Structures 19 A and B, apparently was a frame structure representing a witchan or outbuilding. It is not clear whether it was used in connection with S-19A, or S-19B, or both. It does seem to have a relationship with one or both of these structures.<sup>80</sup>

D. Structure 48.

Structure 48 was a round brick-enclosed well in good condition. It was about 11' 6" deep, having almost three feet of water. The well had a sand bottom with "clear, fast flowing water". Although it was

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Archeological Drawings for Lots B23 and B35 of the Jamestown Island Archeological Project in C.N.H.P.; "Archeological Report-Structures 19 A and B, 45, 48" in file No. A-7, "Miscel. Corresp", Jamestown area of C.N.H.P. This report is in preparation.

Some of the observations and speculations relative to S-19 A and B include:

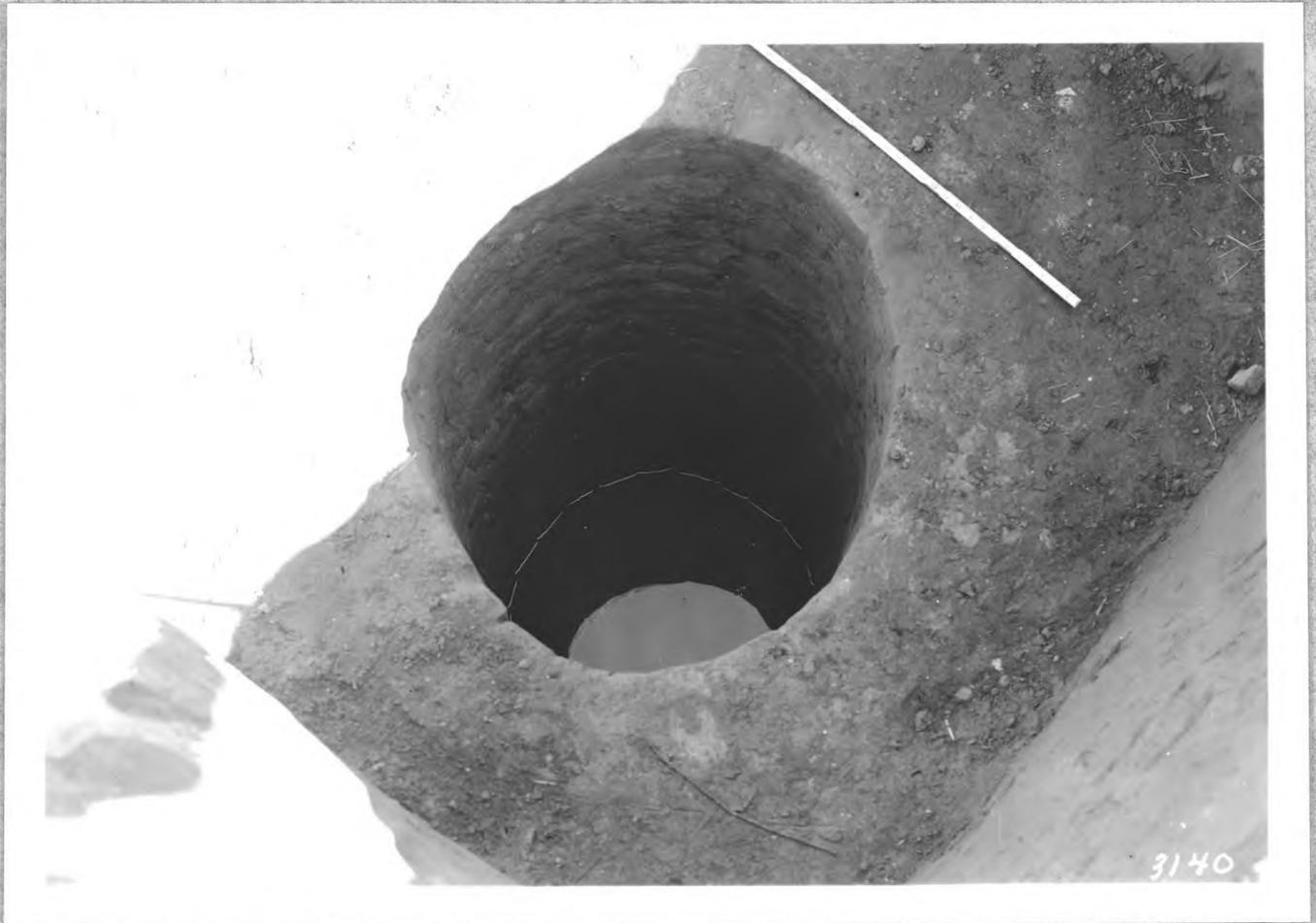
1. The north end, that is the east, west, and south walls of the large room of S-19A form a basement 16' x 24', which checks with the building size authorized in 1641.

2. There is some indication that all of the small room (later vaulted) may have been added to S-19A after the building was erected.

3. S-19B may have been rebuilt, yet there is no evidence of destruction by fire.

80

Archeological Drawings for Lots B23 and B35; "Archeological Report-Structures 19 A and B, 45, and 48".



Photograph No. 8

Structure 48

CHRP #3140

sometime in the seventeenth century, the date when it was dug has not been fixed. Presumably it was used in connection with S-19A, S-19B, or both.<sup>81</sup>

### B. Structure 75.

Structure 75 was a well with a barrel bottom. The bottom was of clean yellow sand with the barrel resting on a brick floor foundation. The depth to the top of the barrel was about 15' 6". About midway the well was a fill of brick, nails, charcoal, pottery, slate and bones. The date of use is not known. Perhaps this was in use before S-48.<sup>82</sup>

In and around Structures 19 A and B there were other soil disturbances and ditches of one type or another; in fact, part of S-19B rests over an earlier trench. Perhaps when more excavating is done some uniform pattern will develop.

The actual identification of the owner or occupant of S-19A or S-19B has been a matter of much speculation. The answer is still not known. Three possibilities have been suggested --- John White, Thomas Woodhouse, and Richard Lawrence.<sup>83</sup> Its location seems too far from

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See f.n. 80.

82

Ibid.

83

Charles S. Marshall to Fred P. Farris, October 20, 1936 in Jamestown file No. 6.12, C.N.H.P.

the river to have been the residence of John White, despite the fact that his grant may be drawn to include it. The name of Thomas Woodhouse has been suggested largely because S-19B may have been an inn or ordinary, and because at one time he had land west of the Wyatt tract. Unless his holding is larger than seems to have been the case, certainly larger than the three-fourths acre that Browne sold to Lee, then Structures 19 A and B were outside of his western boundary. The last suggestion made is that of Richard Lawrence. Here again it can be pointed out that the structures were not within the Bacon tract, yet Lawrence owned more than this three and three-eighths acres, with the evidence indicating that the remainder was in the direction of Structures 19 A and B. Perhaps to this list should be added the name of George Lee, since he owned property to the west of the Woodhouse tract. However, even the Lee property may not have extended far enough west to include Structures 19 A and B.

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If Thomas Woodhouse had development, dating from his, or an earlier, ownership on his property west of the Wyatt tract and this with the land passed to William Browne, as seems to have been the case, if the structures were burned before or during Bacon's Rebellion, were partially rebuilt, or completely rebuilt by Browne, later enlarged and further repaired by Lee, and still later repaired by Tullet for the last assembly meeting at Jamestown, then this complex building arrangement in some respects would conform to the numerous building periods evidenced in S-19 A and B, even though these structures appear to be too far west to have been on the Browne property. This is mentioned since S-19 A and B do show several building periods.

5. Other Foundations, Ruins, or Buildings Noted.

In the area under consideration observers at Jamestown have noted ruins, foundations, and old buildings on the town site. In a good many cases these observations have been recorded in graphic form, and some of them have been located in the Beverley and Bacon tracts, or in the area between the Bacon and Wyatt tracts. They include:

A. 1781 Military Maps.

- (1) Desandrouins on his "Plan du terrain a la Rive Gauche de la Riviere de James vis-a-vis James-Town en Virginie ou s'est line le Combat du 6 juillet 1781. entre l'armee Americaine Commandee par le Mes de la Fayette et L'armee angloise aux ordres du Lord Cornwallis" gives a number of symbols indicating buildings, ruins, or foundations. As already noted, some of these are in the area covered by this report.<sup>85</sup>
- (2) "A Plan of the Entrance of Chesapeake Bay with James and York Rivers..." by an officer, presumably British, indicates something of a town at Jamestown. However, the symbols are crowded and it is difficult to locate, or interpret them.<sup>86</sup>

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85

A copy of this map is in the library of C.N.H.P.

86

This map was published by William Faden, Charing Cross, November 26, 1781. Copy in library of C.N.H.P.

B. The United States Coast and Geodetic Survey for 1905 shows one ruin east of the church that falls in this area.<sup>87</sup>

C. Lyon G. Tyler in the Cradle of the Republic notes a number of foundations which he titled "Ancient house foundations", apparently known to him. Several of these fall in the area discussed here.<sup>88</sup>

D. Samuel H. Yenge shows a foundation east of the church which he suggests may have been the house site of Richard Lawrence.<sup>89</sup>

E. Arthur Ayers, long-time resident of Jamestown, from memory reports that he has seen parts of several foundations; namely, a small one north of the present church near the "vale", and one in the northeast corner of the Yeardley House garden. In addition he has observed soil disturbances that may indicate foundations east of the residence cottage and west of the monument shaft under the walk. He also recalls that probing in the marshy area, the "vale", revealed no evidence of building use. He is quite positive that there were no foundations directly under the monument shaft, nor under the Yeardley House. He states that the area around the monument and between

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87

Sheet No. 2693a registered in the Archives at Washington, D. C.  
Copy in library of C.N.H.P.

88

Tyler, Cradle of the Republic, map opposite page 21.

89

Yenge, Site of Old "James Towne", map opposite page 15.

the monument and the river has been graded.<sup>90</sup>

F. Ray Z. Mallory, an employee of the A.P.V.A., has reported that when a pit was dug in 1934 for the burial of a mule, a house site was encountered. According to his report the pit entered and passed through the "tile floor" of a house and that at least one of the walls of the structure was visible. The spot that he identified as the location is back of and somewhat northwest of the monument shaft on the slope of ground between the monument and the "vale".

G. Other persons have been interested in old Jamestown foundations and reports indicate that a number of foundations have been discovered, partly excavated, or exposed. Apparently some of these were east of the monument area; however, the record is incomplete and identification is lacking.<sup>91</sup>

#### H. Foundations partly visible today.

East of the monument, on the strip of land separated from the Jacquelin-Ambler House Ruins by a low marshy area, are two sites partly visible today. These sites contain ruins of houses that appear to be early --- possibly seventeenth century. Near the Yeardlet House is an old well, the date of origin of which is not known.

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90

Recollections of Arthur Ayers.

91

Elbert Cox, "Memorandum to Mr. Chatelain", June 4, 1934 in File No. A-7, "Miscel. Corresp. A.P.V.A.", Jamestown file, C.N.M.P.

Although it is old, supporting data is necessary to fix its age. 92

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92

At this point it may be mentioned that the activities of the A.P.V.A. in 1895 and later were stated to include: "...we remade the road, planted more trees, sowed grass, planted flowers and had some filling in and evening up of the ground done." This is mentioned since it may explain some of the fills or contours that may be noted on the ground today. See "Report to the A.P.V.A. covering the period 1894-1901", by Mary Jeffery Galt of Williamsburg. Copy in File No. A-7, Jamestown area, C.E.H.P.

## **VI. Some of the Things that an Archeological Study may Reveal.**

According to the historical data, there are a number of interesting and significant things that an archeological study of the Beverley and Bacon tracts, and the area between them and the Wyatt tract, may reveal:

1. Possible evidences of early use of the area, including the north and northeast limits of the burial ground associated with the old church site.
2. The course of a section of the main highway at Jamestown.
3. Known and unknown property lines that will provide means for definitely locating known properties.
4. The location of individual house and residence sites, together with the normal development usually found on such sites.
5. Possibly the location of the "second" state house site.
6. The foundation of the house in which the last session of the House of Burgesses convened at Jamestown.
7. Information that may help in checking, or establishing, seventeenth century topography on part of the old town site.
8. Artifact material that will further increase the knowledge concerning seventeenth century life at Jamestown.
9. Possible evidence of military use in 1781 or later.

Appendix A --- Biographical Sketches.

I. Robert Beverley, II.

Robert Beverley, the younger, the second son of Major Robert Beverley, was born about 1673 at his father's plantation in Middlesex County. Educated in England he returned to Virginia when he was about 19 years of age and became volunteer scrivener in the office of the colonial secretary of State. Soon he became active on his own behalf. In 1694 he patented land at Jamestown, apparently so that he could be near the center of political affairs.<sup>1</sup> After this he became clerk of the General Court, clerk of the Assembly, look-out at Point Comfort, represented Jamestown in the House of Burgesses, and rendered other services in public life. In official capacity in 1695 he requested payment for transcribing "several Ancient and Defaced Records of Patents into one book"; two years later he asked compensation for "repayreing the Secretaries Office & payeing ye Court yard". It was he, with Peter Beverley, who was instructed to "Sort & put in order" the records of the secretary's office and the Assembly after the state

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Beverley established his residence at Jamestown. In 1698 he buried his wife, Ursula Byrd, there. In 1699, 1700-1702, and in 1705-1706 he represented the town in the Assembly. Apparently during this last session he still lived at Jamestown, for he stated that he was not residing at "Beverley Part", his large estate in King and Queen County. The fact that he stood for the Assembly seat for Jamestown in 1715 may indicate that he was living there at that time. It is clear that he moved away before he sold his property there in 1718. For notes, see f.n. 2, this sketch.

house fire in 1698. In 1701 he received £45:10:00 for "Seventy daies Spent in attendance at the Committee for Revisal of the Laws and in going & returning from thence". Perhaps he received his background training here for his later published Abridgment of the Public Laws of Virginia.

In June, 1703 litigation over a disputed land title led him to England where he remained for eighteen months. Here he meddled in politics and became involved with the royal authorities because of his biting sarcasm and free tongue and pen. On return to Virginia he was not in good favor and appeared less in public office, giving his energies to his estate "Beverly Park" in King and Queen County. Here he followed his interests of increasing his landed estate, stimulating the productiveness of his land, entertaining, hunting, fishing, observing nature, and otherwise pursuing the life that has become associated with an eighteenth century Virginia gentleman. In 1710, when advised that he had been selected clerk of the committee of propositions and grievances in the House of Burgesses, he replied that "he was allways Ready to Serve The Country and This House".

Apparently he grew friendly with Governor Spotswood when Spotswood came to Virginia and accompanied him on his journey to the Blue Ridge in 1718. In 1720 Beverley returned to the House of Burgesses as a representative from King and Queen County, yet his term was cut short by his death in 1722. His estate passed to his son, William, born to

Beverley and Ursula Byrd, whom he married in 1697.

In 1705 appeared Beverley's History and Present State of Virginia, written in four parts and published in London. It contained a history of the colony, a discussion of its government, a description of the Indians, and an account of its natural history written "with verve, clarity, and a shrewd sense of humor". It showed clearly that the author believed in Virginia and that he possessed wide knowledge. In this work he felt free to speak his mind and to wield a sharp, cutting pen. The work attracted considerable attention in England and created some excitement at home. In 1707 a French translation appeared, and in 1707 and in 1712 pirated editions appeared at Amsterdam. In 1722 Beverley released a second edition of this work, much less bitter than the first. Evidently he grew mellow with age.<sup>2</sup>

Louis B. Wright, author of The First Gentlemen of Virginia, has written of "Robert Beverley II: Historian & Iconoclast":

In Robert Beverley Virginia had a native son whose originality and iconoclastic views sometimes irritated his contemporaries; but in this vigorous writer the colony had a voice that proclaimed her dawning intellectual and political maturity. Robert Beverley and his brother-in-law, William Byrd of Westover, were the most

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McIlwaine, Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1695-1702, et passim; Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1702-1713, et passim; Lyon G. Tyler, Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography, I, 185-6; Louis B. Wright, The First Gentlemen of Virginia, pp. 286-311 contains a sketch of Beverley's life; Fairfax Harrison, "Robert Beverley, The Historian of Virginia", in Va. Mag. XXXVI, 333-44 (October, 1928). Harrison's sketch contains a brief summary of Beverley's literary work.

vigorous writers that Virginia produced in the pre-Revolutionary period.<sup>3</sup>

Fairfax Harrison paints this picture of the historian:

If, for lack of a portrait, we cannot conjure Beverley's appearance, the records enable us to estimate his character. Of his intellectual parts his writings leave no doubt, but the public maniments do not flatter him in his human contacts. Evidently he did not have the robust conviviality of his father, certainly he lacked the amiability and reticence which carried both his elder brother and his own son further on the colonial cursus honorum than his greater ambition was able to take him.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Wright, First Gentlemen of Virginia, 311.

<sup>4</sup> Harrison, "Robert Beverley, The Historian of Virginia", 341-2.

## II. Nathaniel Bacon, Senior.

Nathaniel Bacon, Senior, was baptized August 29, 1620. He was the son of Reverend James Bacon of Burgate, Suffolk, and the grandson of Sir James Bacon of Friston Hall, Suffolk. Educated in England, possibly at Cambridge, he traveled in France in 1647 and came to Virginia about 1650. Perhaps, the fact that he could not anticipate inheriting wealth or position at home influenced his decision to migrate to America.

...Nathaniel Bacon would not have found Virginia the Utopia it was represented, had he not brought with him the chief attributes for success. He was hard working, thrifty, prudent, tactful; a man of education and good family in a land where both were at a premium.

In Virginia Bacon became a man of wealth and influence. He patented considerable land in New Kent and Isle of Wight counties and established his residence on a plantation on King's Creek near the York River. His fortune was augmented by his marriage to Elizabeth Kingsmill, daughter and heir of Richard Kingsmill of James City County. Eventually Bacon became interested in real estate at Jamestown where, apparently, he had a residence. Here he patented, bought, and leased land and houses. In 1683 there is direct reference to the fact that he had recently built or rebuilt two good houses at Jamestown. In addition to his

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Vertenbaker, The Story of Bacon's Rebellion and Its Leader, 6.

land and plantation ventures he engaged in trade, using his own ships. At his death in 1692 he left no direct heirs. His estate passed to a niece, Abigail Smith, who married Major Lewis Burwell.

As a man of public influence and position, Bacon came to prominence not many years after his arrival in the colony. In York County he became a justice of the peace, and a representative to the House of Burgesses. In 1656 he was given a seat on the Council, and for many years he served as councilor. In 1675 he succeeded Edward Digges as auditor of the public accounts. On two occasions, in 1684 and 1687, he was the acting head of the colony while the governor was absent from the post. As president of the council he became acting governor when Lord Effingham returned to England in October, 1688, and continued in that capacity until the arrival of Francis Nicholson in October, 1690. His interest and activity were wider than politics and wealth. He was one of the supporters of the College of William and Mary and a warm advocate of the Established Church.

During the course of Bacon's Rebellion he did not waiver from support of the government despite the fact that a cousin actually led the rebellion. Had the younger Bacon retained his position in the government as councilor and not broken with Berkeley, it appears that he would have been the sole heir of the elder Bacon. This, however, did not deter the younger man. In fact, Nathaniel Bacon, Senior, was one of the heaviest sufferers in the rebellion. It is estimated

that he was plundered to the extent of at least £1,000 sterling. His wife was one of those seized when Nathaniel Bacon, Junior, was advancing across the isthmus toward Jamestown in September, 1676.<sup>2</sup>

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Wertenbaker, The Story of Bacon's Rebellion and Its Leader, 5-6; Margaret Jewell Smith, Virginia 1492-1892: A History of the Virginia Executives, 128-9; Forman, Jamestown and St. Marys, 107, 170; Edward D. Neill, Virginia Carolana, 243, 372; William Armstrong Crozier, Virginia Heraldica, being a Registry of Virginia Gentry Entitled to Coat of Arms with Genealogical Notes of the Families, 58-9; Alexander Wilburne Weddell (ed.), Virginia Historical Portraiture 1585-1880, 116; Nugent, Abstracts, I, 275, 381, 547; McIlwaine, Minutes, 412, 516; McIlwaine, Journals of the House of Burgesses 1619-1650, xxii, xxiv, 99, 109, 116; Wm. & Mary Quart., First Series, VII, 162 (January, 1899), I, 268 (April, 1902), XI, 29 (July, 1902); Va. Mag., III, 412 (April, 1896), V, 64 (July, 1897), XXV, 271 (July, 1917), XXXVII, 163 (April, 1929).

A facsimile of Bacon's signature and the mark of his wife are given in Tyler, Cradle of the Republic, 162, 257.

### III. Richard Lawrence.

Richard Lawrence, an Oxford graduate, favorably known "for wit, learning, and sobriety" was in Virginia as early as March, 1663 when he and George Bryer patented 3,000 acres of land in Rappahannock County. In fact, a head right was claimed for a Richard Lawrence as early as 1658. His first patent was followed by others in Rappahannock and Lancaster counties. There is little doubt as to why he secured holdings at Jamestown and maintained his residence there. He was a practicing lawyer and some of the best business was in pleading before the General Court. In addition to law he was a practicing surveyor, and apparently gave some time to the cultivation of tobacco.

The records of the General Court, preserved in part, show that between 1670 and 1675 Lawrence had numerous cases before the court. He maintained one of the best residences at Jamestown where he had a "fair cupboard of plate", servants, and sufficient accommodations for guests and entertainment. His entertainment included even "the Honorable Governours Servants". For entertaining the latter, however, he was fined 400 pounds of tobacco. It has been suggested that he maintained an ordinary at the capital. In any case he found that his servants were not always content to do his will. On one occasion three of them took his "shallop" and fled, only to be captured and returned to fill out their unexpired term, plus additional time imposed as a penalty for their attempted escape.

In 1675 Lawrence represented "James City" in the assembly. During this time he became a close friend of Nathaniel Bacon, Junior, and openly hostile to Governor Berkeley. True or false, one explanation for this hostility has been suggested --- that Berkeley, obliging "a corrupt favorite", deprived him of considerable estate. Thomas Mathews, who knew him well, names him as one of the principal instigators of Bacon's Rebellion. Mathews declared that he had heard him discuss the possibility of the uprising. He continued that he knew Lawrence to be a thinking man, honest, affable, and of excellent conversation. He had much interest in rectifying the abuses of the government from the avarice and French despotic methods of the governor. Living at Jamestown where people met from all over the colony, he found opportunity to "instill his notions" in other men's minds. Be this as it may, it is a fact that Lawrence became one of Bacon's staunchest supporters.<sup>1</sup>

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The author of "The Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia in the Years 1675 and 1676", wrote of Lawrence: "...myself have heard him (in his familiar discourse) insinuate as if his fancy gave him prospect of finding (at one time or another) some expedient not only to repair his great losses, but therewith to see those abuses rectified that the country was oppressed with through (as he said) the forwardness avarice and French despotic methods of the govern'r. and likewise I know him to be a thinking man, and tho' nicely honest, affable, and without blemish, in his conversation and dealings, yet did he manifest abundance of uneasiness in the sense of his hard usages, which might

[f.n. continued on page 92.]

[f.n. 1 continued from page 91.]

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prompt him to improve that Indian quarrel to the service of his animosities, and for this the more fair and frequent opportunities offered themselves to him by his dwelling at Jamestown, where was the concourse from all parts to the govern'r. and besides that he had married a wealthy widow who kept a large house of publick entertain't. unto which resorted those of the best quality, and such others as businesse called to that town, and his parts with his even temper made his converse coveted by persons of all ranks; so that being subtile, and having these advantages he might with lesse difficulty discover mens inclinations, and instill his notions where he found those would be imbib'd with greatest satisfaction. Force, Tracts and Other Papers. I, Tract No. 8. p. 25.

In June, 1676, when Berkeley called the Assembly, Hearise sent Nathaniel Bacon, Junior, as a Burgess. On reaching Jamestown he repaired to Lawrence's house for a conference that lasted well into the night. After Bacon's withdrawal from the Assembly and after Berkeley learned that he was planning armed resistance, one of the first moves of the governor was to have "Lawrence's residence ransacked from top to bottom". Lawrence, with William Drummond, another of Bacon's supporters, met with Bacon at Middle Plantation. In September when Berkeley returned from the eastern shore of Virginia to Jamestown he offered pardon to all who had opposed him except Lawrence and Drummond. Before Berkeley landed Lawrence mounted his horse and rode away not even stopping to collect his valuables.

When Bacon moved down to attack the capital in September, Lawrence and Drummond entered the town with him and led the methodical destruction of the town. Each man began with his own house, that "the regnes should harbour no more there". Lawrence was credited with much of the destruction, including the burning of the state house.

Lawrence and Drummond were both at Bacon's death bed. Neither could take over the leadership of the rebellion, since both were ignorant of military affairs. The last meeting of the leaders of the uprising took place in New Kent. The cause seemed lost and the troops were disbanded. Lawrence, with two other of Bacon's men, was last heard

of from a plantation on the extreme frontier. Armed with pistols and urging their horses forward they disappeared through the snow into the forest. Their fate is unknown. They may have starved to death, drowned, or fallen to the Indians. One rumor was later current that they escaped to New England. Had Lawrence been captured, his fate probably would have been as that of Drummond, who was taken on the Chickahominy, then tried and executed without delay.

Lawrence was judged a "grand accomplice of Bacon's a most stubborn desperate & resolved Rebel".<sup>2</sup> With feelings still intense the Assembly in February 1676/77 enacted:

And whereas Richard Lawrence, Thomas Whaley and John fforth, three of the most notorious ayders and assisters of the said Nathaniel Bacon in the said horrid rebellions and treasons, and three of the principall asters in continuing of the same, are fled from justice, not daring to abide a legall tryall; See it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said Richard Lawrence, Thomas Whaley and John fforth, and either of them, shall by vertue of this act be adjudged to be convicted and attainted of high treason to all intents and purposes.

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Nugent, Abstracts, 367 et. seq.; Vertenbater, The Story of Bacon's Rebellion and its Leader, et passim; Tyler, Cradle of the Republic, 105; Nicoll, Virginia Carolerum, 358; McIlwaine, Journals of the House of Burgesses 1659/60-1693, xxii, 75; McIlwaine, Minutes, 207 et seq.; J-198 (Sainsbury, Calendar, 1677-1680, v. 114); Va. Mag., I, 182 (October, 1893), IX, 31 (July, 1901), XI, 64 (July, 1903), XXI, 361-2 (October, 1913); Wm. & Mary Quart., First Series, IV, 5 (July, 1895), V, 111 (October, 1896), XVIII, 123 (October, 1909); The Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advertiser, III, 129-30 (July, 1850).

and that all and every the messuages, lands, tenements,  
rents, remainders, interests and all other the heredit-  
aments, chattles, reall goods, debts and other princi-  
pall estate, and other things of that nature whatsoever  
...shall stand and be forfeited to the Kings most  
sacred majestie,...<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>

Hening, Statutes, II, 376.

#### IV. Major Helt.

The mention of "Major Helts House" at Jamestown in a land patent of 1657 leads to speculation as to the identification of "Major Helt". It appears that he could have been Major Robert Helt, yet the possibility that it was Randall Helt cannot be overlooked.

##### 1. Robert Helt.

The first mention of Robert Helt, a merchant, is dated March, 1638. At this time he and Richard Bell patented 500 acres on the Chickahominy river in James City County. Robert Helt, "merchant", renewed this patent in 1640. In 1651 and 1654 he patented 470 acres and 1,080 acres, respectively, in the same locality. This was due him for the transportation of persons into Virginia. In the latter patent he is named as Major Robert Helt. In 1662 his patent for 1550 acres was a renewal of former patents. In 1665 he still held land on the Chickahominy.

The first record of his appearance in public life was in 1647. On April 27 he was one of four justices present at the meeting of the James City County Court. In the Assembly of 1655/56-1656 he was a representative from James City, presumably from James City County. There is nothing to indicate that Jamestown had special or individual representation at this time. He performed committee work on the "Committee for the Levies" and the "Committee for Private Causes". At this time, and in the land patent of 1654, he is spoken of as

Major, in one instance as "Major Holt". In 1658 Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Holt was sponsor for William Henry born "at James City" September 12, 1658. A decade later, in 1667, Col. Robert Holt sat as chairman of the committee for private causes. In 1677 William Sherwood and "Col Robt. Holt" were appointed to present the grievances of James City County to the royal commissioners investigating Bacon's Rebellion.<sup>1</sup>

2. Randall Holt.

In January, 1624/25 Randall Holt was listed as a servant of Dr. John Pett "in the Maine". Eighteen years of age, he came to Virginia in 1620 in the ship George. On March 20, 1625 the General Court ordered him to remain with Dr. Pett until Christmas. At that time Pett was to deliver up his "indentures", make him a free man, and give him one suit of clothing and three barrels of Indian corn.

It appears likely that this Randall Holt married Mary Bayly, daughter of John Bayly of Hog Island. Apparently Mary Bayly's father died shortly after February, 1623. It would seem that Mary and

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Wigent, Abstracts, I, 103 et seq.; Tyler, Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography, I, 240; Hening, Statutes, I, 422; Jamestown: Land Patents, 99-101, 115; McIlwaine, Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1619-1656/9, xx, 95, 99; McIlwaine, Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1659/60-1693, 47, 107; Wm. & Mary Quart., First Series, IV, 125 (October, 1895); Va. Mag., V, 186 (October, 1897), VIII, 108 (July, 1900), XVII, 239 (October, 1909).

Randall had a son, named as his father, Randall Holt. (To confuse the picture there is mention in the records of a Randolph Holt that may have been the same as Randall Holt, Sr. and another Randolph Holt that may have been the same person as Randall Holt, Junior.) The first clear mention of the younger Holt is in a patent, or the renewal of a patent, for 10 acres at Jamestown (on the island) and for 700 acres on Hog Island. It is plainly stated that he inherited it from his mother, who in turn had inherited it from her father. As there is no mention of Mary Bayly's husband, possibly he died before this time, perhaps before the court action of 1641 on which the grant of 1643 was based. If this is true, it is still not clear whether it was father, or son, that patented land on "Chippocots" Creek in 1636 and again in 1639 for transporting immigrants into Virginia. It is still not clear which of them had sold "2 Negroes" to George Manly before 1639. Presumably this was the father, for the son would have been quite young.

On August 6, 1650 Holt renewed his patent, or grant, of 1643, this time for 10 acres at Jamestown and 1,022 acres on Hog Island (the entire island). Seemingly this Randall Holt is the same as the person by that name who was justice in Surry County in 1668. He may have married Elizabeth Mansford of York County after the death of her first husband, Christian Wilson. In 1668 Holt was listed as having two tithables in Lawson Creek Parish, Surry County. In 1673

he was a party to court action before the General Court. He died prior to May 15, 1679, leaving at least three sons and three daughters.

The question arises, was he the owner of the house spoken of as Major Helt's house in 1657? There is nothing to suggest that he had military rank. In fact, when he was listed as a commissioner of the peace in 1668, it seems clear that he did not, for those with rank were spoken of with proper titles, whereas he was listed as "Mr.". It should be noted, however, that William Heeter and Thomas Woodhouse patented 100 acres of marsh land in Jamestown Island in 1657 and their land was bounded north on land "Formerly Major Helts"; although it is not too clear, land that may have been the 10 acres of Randall Helt in 1643 and 1650. It was in the same year that reference was made to "Major Helts House" in the town.<sup>2</sup>

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Neill, Virginia Genealogy, 39-40; Nugent, Abstracts, I, 48 et seq.; McIlwaine, Minutes, 98, 353; Jamestown: Land Patents, 99-101, 115, 192-4; Va. Mag., II, 185 (October, 1894), V, 452 (April, 1898), XII, 236 (July, 1911); Wm. & Mary Quart., First Series, VII, 261, 310 (April, 1899), VIII, 161, 162 (January, 1900); Tylers Quarterly, VII, 277-85 (April, 1926).

V. George Lee.

On February 20, 1676 the Assembly ordered that "Mr. George Lee" be paid 800 pounds of tobacco. In 1782 on November 10 another payment of 1,000 pounds was authorized for a specific purpose --- "To Mr George Lee for a Chamber for ye Centes". On December 15, 1682 a reference in the Legislative Journal of the Council of Colonial Virginia implies that "Doctor George Lee" was in the House of Burgesses, or at least appearing before that body, for John Farrer in going from the House of Burgesses to the Council reported that George Lee was engaged in "Debate" in the House. On April 16, 1684 "Doctor Lee" was named as the recipient of 1,360 pounds of tobacco due "for Entertainment of Indians &c.". Apparently these references apply to the same person. It must have been the same "Geo: Lee of James City County" that purchased the three-fourths acre at Jamestown from William Browne in April, 1685. It extended "as farre as the two houses extend of the said George Lee the one being by him built & inhabited the other ruinous being". Just when he built and inhabited the residence at Jamestown is not clear. Apparently by 1682 when he received compensation for the use of one of the rooms in his house. Later records show that he died in 1692. His will, dated April 12, 1692, left a life interest in the three-fourths acre to his wife. In 1696 she sold this interest, yet there is no record of Lee's houses west of this property.

It is of interest to learn more of George Lee, "Mr.", or "Doctor", or both. In July, 1635 a George Lee aged 16 was scheduled to leave London for Virginia. On September 9, 1636 a headright was claimed for a "Georg Lee" in Virginia; in fact, from 1636 to 1658 four headrights were claimed for George Lee --- one of them in 1648 by Richard Lee who patented land on the York River. There is strong indication that George Lee, himself, took out land in the York River area. Apparently he was a riasman of the Lees that came to Virginia in this period. He must have returned to England at least by 1660. Here he followed mercantile pursuits. As a merchant he sent George Underwood, "brother", to the colony in that year to act as his attorney to collect his debts and dues then in the hands of his "Brother William Lee" and others. Over a period of years he had a number of agents in the colony --- in 1661 Robert Whitehare, later Daniel Parke, James Bray, and in 1674 Captain Richard Johnson. In 1671 Richard Clark was acting as his attorney, and in 1672 John Bowler was described as his factor. As "Citizen and Grocer of London" Lee traded largely with Virginia, sending in goods and servants and receiving in exchange tobacco. His agents and factors bought and sold in the Virginia market, yet not without financial complications requiring court action.

Did this George Lee return to Virginia after 1674, and is he the same that is mentioned in 1676 and later, first as "Mr." and later as "Doctor"? Such seems possible and it could have been the same

George Lee of Surry to whom John Grassens of London, a merchant, granted power of attorney in 1678. If this is the case then Lee moved to James City later, for in 1685 he is described as a resident of James City County. In the spring of 1684 he must have been in London, for on May 18, 1684 there is record that he empowered his son, Francis, to collect the money due him.<sup>1</sup>

(NOTE: More research is needed to clear up the missing links in this sketch. If the material given above relates to a single George Lee then more proof is required. If George Lee, merchant, Doctor George Lee, George Lee of Surry, and George Lee of James City County are not the same then this needs to be established.)

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Hotten, Lists, 114; Nugent, Abstracts, I, 46, 56, 178, 366; McIlwaine, Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, I, 48; McIlwaine, Minutes, 249, 327, 394; McIlwaine, Journals of the House of Burgesses 1659/60-1693, 81, 174-5, 254; Vm. & Mary Quart., First Series, VII, 231 (April, 1899), XI, 23, 37 (July, 1902); XVII, 229 (January, 1909), XXIV, 47 (July, 1915); Va. Mag., XIV, 180 (October, 1906).

VI. William Browne.

William Browne was of the Browne family of Surry County --- a family that grew in influence and importance in the seventeenth century. His ancestry has not been fixed definitely, although there are quite numerous references to persons bearing the same name and to the family. These begin as early as 1623. Possibly he was the son or a relative of Captain William Browne of Surry, who died in 1648 leaving an estate inventoried at £8,249 in Surry and Isle of Wight counties.

Colonel William Browne married first, Mary, daughter of Henry Browne, long time member of the council and the owner of many acres including "Four Mile Tree" in Surry County. William Browne succeeded Henry Browne at "Four Mile Tree". William's second wife appears to have been Elizabeth, widow of Nicholas Meriwether.

William Browne's name appears as a member of a coroner's jury in 1659. In 1668 he was made justice of the peace for Surry County and apparently continued as a member of the court most of the time until his death in 1705. In 1687 he was presiding justice. Among other things he was sheriff of his county in 1674 and 1687. In 1668 he was listed among the tithables of "Southwart" parish, as "Captain Browne" with five tithables. Obviously he rose by promotion in the local militia. In 1672 he was a major, in 1679 lieutenant-colonel, and later colonel. In 1673, 1676/77, 1677, 1679, 1681 and in 1682 he represented Surry County in the House of Burgesses. Possibly he sat

in the Assembly as early as 1659/60, although it is not clear that this is the same person that is being discussed here. It was probably during the years 1673-1682, while he was in attendance at the Assembly, that he acquired his three-fourths acre at Jamestown. In 1685, when he was no longer a Burgess, he may have decided to dispose of his property in the town. Whatever the reason, he sold it at this time. As a member of the Assembly Browne saw service on the Committee for Private Causes. As a landholder in James City County he was one of the signers of the grievances of that county presented to the commissioners sent to Virginia to investigate the causes of Bacon's Rebellion.

According to the Virginia quit rent rolls in 1704 Colonel Browne, owned 2,510 acres of land in Surry. At the time of his death in 1705 his son William was in England, yet he was named as executor of the estate. Col. Browne's will shows that he was a man of some wealth. It called for the disposition of his land in James City County as well as about 1210 sterling to be divided among his children and grandchildren. William Browne, son, inherited the major portion of the estate. There is mention of a single slave in the will, yet earlier references indicate there were a good many more than this.<sup>1</sup>

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Hotten, Lists, 114, et seq.; Tyler, Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography, I, 197; McIlwaine, Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1659/60-1693, vii, viii, ix, 106; McIlwaine, Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, I, 19, 30; Va. Mag., I, 246, 371, 457 (January-April, 1894), III, 149-151 (October, 1895), V, 75 (July, 1897), VIII, 107 (July, 1900), XXII, 19 (January, 1921); Wm. & Mary Quart., First Series, III, 65 (July, 1896) VIII, 163 (January, 1900), XVI, 226-32, 288 (April, 1900).

VII. Thomas Woodhouse.

Limited research has revealed very little concerning the identity of Thomas Woodhouse (Woodhouse). He has not yet been connected with the prominent Woodhouse family of Princess Anne County that sprang from Henry Woodhouse, one time governor of Bermuda. It has been suggested that Thomas Woodhouse was one of the millwrights sent to Kent Island in 1634 by William Claiborne. If so, it appears that he was born about 1608 in the parish of Malden in the County of York, England. In 1640 it seems that Thomas Woodhouse was residing at Smith's Fort across the river from Jamestown.

In 1640 Thomas Woodhouse patented 200 acres in James City County on the south side of the James, and in 1644 he renewed this patent. In 1648 he took out 400 acres on Smith Fort Creek for the transportation of 8 persons. In August, 1655 there is record that he was in possession of land at Jamestown. Two months later he was granted an acre at Jamestown. In 1657 he, with William Hester, patented 100 acre of land in the island. Also in 1657 Thomas Woodhouse owned land on the Potomac River, and, the next year, he and John Wood patented 6,000 in this vicinity, claiming transportation for 120 persons. In 1666 he still owned land in Surry County.

It may be that Woodhouse had a daughter Elizabeth who married Nicholas Meriwether, the immigrant. It appears that Woodhouse, himself, died about 1667. Apparently, at his death he left holdings at

scattered points including the area at Jamestown that was known as his estate in 1685.

The house of Thomas Woodhouse at Jamestown must have been one of the better houses, for on occasion it was rented for government use. In 1656 he was awarded 2,500 pounds of tobacco for having the quarter court meet at "his house" for two meetings, and for the accommodation of committees, presumably committees of the Assembly. In 1660 he was allowed 4,000 pounds of tobacco for the use of "his house" as a point of assembly and meeting for the "Governor and Councill". At the same time the Assembly met in the "house" of Thomas Hunt. It is generally assumed that Thomas Woodhouse was an innkeeper and that the building used by the government was his inn. The case for this is not too clear. It seems odd that in paying Woodhouse the orders specified "his house" without reference to his inn, if he had one. It is true that two years later the Assembly complained of using "Ale-houses" for law making, yet no innkeepers or ordinary keepers were mentioned at the time of the complaint.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Jamestown; Land Patents, 110, 115; Nugent, Abstracts, et passim; Hening, Statutes, I, 425; Mollwaine, Journals of the House of Burgesses 1659/60-1693, 81; Forman, Jamestown and St. Marys, 188; Va. Mag., XVI, 40 (January, 1918); Va. & Mary Quart., First Series, II, 202 (January, 1901), XII, 60 (July, 1903); Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary, I, 140 (c. 1695-1696).

VIII. John Tullet.

John Tullet owned and repaired the house in which the last session of the House of Burgesses convened at Jamestown. On May 11, 1699 he petitioned for payment of the rent, receiving £50 sterling on June 6. Whether or not he actually resided at Jamestown is now known. It is a fact that in 1712 a house stood on the mainland above Glass House Point described as "Tullits ol house" on land that he held under lease before 1707.

In a deed drawn in 1707 between John Tullet and Philip Ludwell, it is stated that Tullet at that time owned 25 acres in James City County, another 75 acres and a third 75 acres in the same county, which he held by lease as a part of the governor's land, a plantation in Jamestown, commonly called "Goose Hill", which he leased in 1702 for 21 years, and a water mill with land adjoining in James City County, leased for 21 years from 1698. All of this he disposed of to Philip Ludwell for a stipulated £100 sterling. The principal reason for the sale may have been the removal of Tullet from the vicinity of Jamestown to Henrico County. In 1704 he had owned, or was accredited with, 625 acres of land in James City County.

Among other things Tullet was a brick-maker and in August, 1700, he contracted to make 600,000 bricks for the "Capitol [at Williamsburg] at twenty Shillg. a thousand". Col. Miles Cary was given £600 sterling "to be by him from time to time paid the said Tullet..."

In 1702 Tullet petitioned the Assembly for compensation for "an out-lawed Negro killed".

Some time after his removal to Henrico, Tullet, in 1718, again petitioned the Assembly. This time he presented a proposal for "the Setting up an Iron Work in this Colony". This was rejected. There is record of Tullet's land holdings in Henrico as late as 1726.<sup>1</sup>

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McIlwaine, Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, I, 262 and II, 613; McIlwaine, Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1695-1702, 160, 175, 198, 278, 287, 388; McIlwaine, Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1712-1726, 186-8; Ambler Papers, 173-177; Va. & Mary Quart., First Series, X, 80-1 (October, 1901), XIV, 36 (July, 1905), XV, 68 (July, 1916), Second Series, XI, map opposite page 476 (October, 1940); Va. Mag., XIX, 161 (April, 1923).

In 1703 Tullet was a member of the vestry of James City and attended a meeting of the vestry on July 25.

**IX. Roger Smith.**

A biographical sketch of Roger Smith is given in Hatch, "Wyatt Tract", pp. 5-6, f.n. 5.

**X. Other.**

Limited research has not rendered sufficient data for the preparation of biographical sketches, or notes, for the other persons directly related to this study.

Appendix B --- Land Records.

For ready reference several of the land records pertinent to this study are given below:

I. Grant to Robert Beverley - 1694.

Jamestown: Land Patents, pp. 184-5 (From Virginia State Land Office, Patents 8, p. 400).

...give and grant unto Robert Beverley three Acres one Rod and six pole of Land lying and being in James City bounded as ffolloweth begining 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 at the road side Extending Northward along the Ditch thirty six poles and two fifths of a pole 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 thirty three pole then down that Cart road south Eastwards as it Windeth but makeing good in a right line sixty one poles to the place it began the said Land being due unto the said Robert Beverley by and for the Importation of one person into this Colony whose Name is in the records mentioned under this patent.

...

II. Grant to Nathaniel Bacon, Senior - 1683.

Jamestown: Land Patents, pp. 144-5 (From Virginia State Land Office, Patents, 7, p. 300).

...Give and Grant unto Natha: Bacon Esq three Acres and three Rights of land, in James Citty, bounded as followeth, Beginning att ye Eastermost Corner of ye said Lawrences old ditch on a branch of Pitch and Farr swamp, and running south sixteen & an halfe degrees, westerly seven and six tenths chaines, south fifty degrees, westerly one and four tenth chaines, south two deg: Easterly four cha: north Eighty five and an halfe deg: westerly two and sixty two hundreth's chaines, south sixteen and a quarter deg: westerly two and one quarter cha: neer ye end of a little rising (or ridge of Earth) and over it north eighty one and an halfe deg: westerly five and seaventy five hundreth's cha: to ye west side of ye aforesaid Ditch, and down it to ye aforesaid branch of Pitch and Farr Swamp, and down the said branch and ditch to ye first corner, being 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, and by me therefore ye said Thomas Culpeper &c, by deed of bargain and saile, under my hand and ye seale of ye Colony, bearing date with these presents, assigned and made over to ye said Natha: Bacon Esq his heires and

assignes for ever, as by the said deed recorded in the Secretaries  
office may more fully appear;...

III. William Browne to George Lee - 1685.

Card L-114A (Virginia Historical Society, Ludwell Papers, I, No. 109).

One part of a certaine tract of land lying in James Citty being formerly estate of Thomas Woodhurst decess bounding upon the land of Mr William Sherwood Easterly; And as farre as the two houses extend of the said George Lee the one being by him built & inhabited the other ruinous being Esterly Westerly; As farre as ye Common road Southerly & to the outside of the said two houses Northerly & to the south extent of the said land ye whole containeing three quarters of an acre more or less Scituate lying & being as aforesaid....

2. Later conveyances of this same property.

a) Nicholson to Harvey - 1696.

Card L-132A (Virginia Historical Society, Ludwell Papers, I, No. 92).

...whereas Wm Brown of Surry Count Gent & Elisa his wife by their deed of Sale by them signed [torn] beareing date ye 7th day of Aprill Anno Dom: 1685 did bargaine sell & make over unto Geo: Lee of James City County & his heires in fee a certaine parcel of Land situate & lying in James City containeing three quarters of an [one word illegible]...whereas further ye sd Geo: Lee by his Last Will & testant beareing date ye twelveth day of Aprill 1692 did give & bequeath ye same unto Sarah his wife for & during her natural life,

and ye Remainder...unto ye abovenamed Robert Nicholson & George Nicholson...Do...sell...unto ye sd Geo: Harvey...ye abovesd three quarters of an Acre of Land.

b) Hadley to Talbot - 1698

Card L-139A (Virginia Historical Society,  
Ludwell Papers, I, No. 94).

...whereas Wm Brown of Surry County gent & his Elisth his wife by their Deeds of Sale by them signed & sealed Dated the 7th Day of April 1688 Did bargain sell & make over unto Geo: Lee of James City County & his heirs &c. a certain peell of Land Lying in James City containing three quarters of an Acre...whereas further ye sd Georg Lee by his last will [torn] Writing Dated ye 12th of April 1692. Did give & bequeath ye same unto Sarah his wife for & During her Natural life & the Remainder or Reversion in ffee of in & to ye same with its Appurtes unto Robert & George Nicholson & their heirs &c. and the Said Robert & George by Deed under this heands & seals Dated ye [blotted] Day of December [torn] Did bargain & Convey the same with its Appurtes unto Georg Harvey & his heires F[torn] And ye sd Sarah wife of the sd Georg Lee haveing an Estate to life therein by the [torn] did by Deed under her hand & seal Dated ye sd 7th Day of December 1696 Convey & make [torn] sd Estate for life unto ye sd Georg Harvey, and the sd Georg Harvey Did by his Deed bearing [torn] ye

234 Day of October 1697. bargain & Convey ye same with its appar-  
tenances unto The [torn] above Named for Ever & the sd Thomas Had-  
ley by his last will in writing [torn] of December 1697 Give &  
bequeath unto nehis wife Dyenesia Hadley Exrx & Legat [torn] sd  
Will amongst other things therein Contained all his Estate both  
Reall & pers [torn] ...Doe ...sell... ye above three quarters of  
an Acre of Land....

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