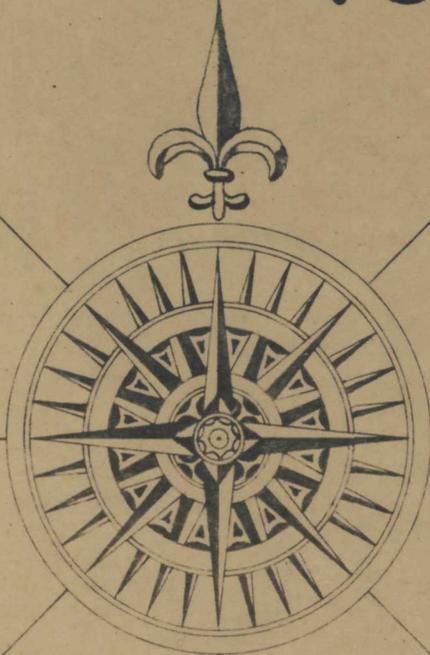


THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF
HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS

ENGLISH EXPLORATION
AND SETTLEMENT
TO 1700



UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings

Theme VI

English Exploration and Settlement to 1700

1960

**United States Department of the Interior
Fred A. Seaton, Secretary**

**National Park Service
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PREFACE

The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings is a resumption of the Historic Sites Survey begun in 1937, under the authority of the Historic Sites Act of 1935. During World War II, and the emergency following, it was necessary to suspend these studies. The Survey has now been resumed as part of the National Park Service MISSION 66 program.

The purpose of the Survey, as outlined in the Historic Sites Act, is to "make a survey of historic and archeologic sites, buildings, and objects for the purpose of determining which possess exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States." In carrying out this basic directive, each site and building considered in the Survey is evaluated in terms of the Criteria for Classification, which are listed on page 54 of this report.

When completed, the Survey will make recommendations to the Director of the National Park Service and the Secretary of the Interior as to the sites of "exceptional value." This will assist the National Park Service in preparing the National Recreation Plan, including sites which may be administered by the National Park Service to fill in gaps in the historical and archeological representation within the National Park System. It will also recommend and encourage programs of historical and archeological preservation being carried out by state and local agencies.

Each theme study prepared in the course of the Survey will consist of two parts: a brief analysis of the theme itself, and a discussion of the sites and buildings which were considered in connection with the study. The historians who prepared this report made personal visits to the more important sites in 1959.

This study is the result of a joint effort by two historians of the National Park Service: Frank B. Sarles, Jr., Region One Office, and Charles E. Shedd, Jr., Region Five Office, in consultation with the Branch of History in the Washington Office of the National Park Service. The historical summary of the theme was written by Mr. Sarles, who coordinated and assembled the report.

After completion, the study was presented to the Consulting Committee for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. The Committee consists of Dr. Waldo G. Leland, Director Emeritus of the American Council of Learned Societies; Dr. S. K. Stevens, Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission; Dr. Louis Wright, Director of the Folger Shakespearean Library; Mr. Earl H. Reed, Chairman Emeritus of the Committee on the Preservation of Historic Buildings, American Institute of Architects; Dr. Richard H. Howland, President of the National Trust for Historic Preservation; Mr. Eric Gugler, Member of the Board of Directors of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society; Dr. J. O. Brew, Director of the Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology, Harvard University; and Mr. Frederick Johnson, Curator of the Robert S. Peabody Foundation for Archeology, Phillips Academy.

The over-all Survey, as well as the theme study which follows, is under the general direction of John O. Littleton, Chief, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, who works under the general supervision of Herbert E. Kahler, Chief Historian, Branch of History, and Daniel B. Beard, Chief, Division of Interpretation, of the National Park Service.

Conrad L. Wirth
Director

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The work of the National Survey profits from the experience and knowledge of a considerable number of persons and organizations. Every effort is made to solicit the considered opinion of as many qualified persons as possible in reaching final selection of the most significant sites. Assistance in the preparation of this study from the following is gratefully acknowledged:

Mr. E. O. Baum, President, Pasquotank County Historical Society, Elizabeth City, North Carolina; Mrs. Gordon C. Berryman, Directress, Thomas Rolfe Branch, Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, Surry, Virginia; Mrs. Peter Bolhouse, Executive Secretary, Newport Historical Society, Newport, Rhode Island; Mr. Frederick A. Bonsal, Resident Director, Saugus Iron Works Restoration, Saugus, Massachusetts; Dr. Ernest A. Connally, Associate Professor of Architecture, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois; Mr. Orin M. Bullock, Jr., Supervisor of Architectural Research, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia; Dr. Walter L. Creese, President, Society of Architectural Historians, Urbana, Illinois; Mr. Abbott L. Cummings, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston, Massachusetts; Miss Elizabeth Dawson, Curator, Adam Thoroughgood House Foundation, Norfolk, Virginia; Mrs. Walter Kyers, Whitman House - Farmington Museum, Farmington, Connecticut; Mr. Mason Foley, Town Historian, Hingham, Massachusetts.

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ENGLISH EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT TO 1700

A Summary of the Theme

THE FLAME OF SETTLEMENT

English seamen came early to the New World, but Spain was long entrenched in the Caribbean before the first feeble English colony was planted in the North American wilderness. Myriad calamities -- disease, starvation, Indian attacks -- caused that dim flame of English settlement to flicker and nearly die out. But it grew stronger as the 17th century passed, until, by century's end, it was a bright beacon light of future promise. An important phase of our national history had been recorded -- the story of the founding of "an English world in America."¹

PAVING THE WAY

In 1497, only five years after the Italian-born Christopher Columbus made his epochal discovery for Spain,² another Italian-born seaman laid the basis for England's claim to a share in the exploitation of the New World Columbus had found. John Cabot, commissioned by Henry VII to search for new lands to the west, north, and east, sailed westward to make a landfall somewhere in the vicinity of the Gulf of St. Lawrence -- the first white man of record to see the North American continent since Leif Ericsson in 1000 A. D. On a second voyage in 1498,

¹ Charles M. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History (4 vols., New Haven, 1934-38), I, xiii.

² The activities of Spain in the New World are detailed in Theme IV, Spanish Exploration and Settlement.

Cabot may have skirted the coastlands of the present United States; but the hungry sea claimed him, and he left no record of what he had seen.

For two generations after Cabot's time, his achievement had no sequel in England. The eyes of the nation were turned inward upon the politico-religious struggles of the Reformation, which provided excitement enough and to spare.

The gradual rise of a prosperous mercantile class had, by the middle of the 16th century, again turned the nation's attention to the possibilities of foreign trade. In the last half of the century, a number of overseas trading companies were chartered by the English Crown.³ Most were permanent joint-stock companies, pooling the resources of a number of investors to raise the sums necessary for their extensive operations.

More dramatic were the exploits of the "Elizabethan sea dogs," of whom the most noted were the kinsmen, Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake. Hawkins began his career in 1562 as a peaceable slave trader to the Spanish colonies in the Caribbean; but, from the day in 1567 a Spanish fleet at Vera Cruz treacherously attacked the vessels which he and Drake commanded, the two men held an undying hatred of all things Spanish. Hawkins returned to England to build up the navy, while Drake became the scourge of the Spanish Main, seizing treasure ships, sack-
ing towns, and by other means effectually disproving the Spanish claims

³ They included the Muscovy Company, 1555; the Cathay Company, 1577; the Levant Company, 1581; the African Company, 1588; and the well-known East India Company, 1600.

to a monopoly in the New World.

Drake's most conspicuous exploit occurred in the years 1577-80, when he boldly sailed around the tip of South America to ravage the Pacific coast of New Spain. Seeking a northern passage home, Drake coasted up to the latitude of present-day Oregon before cold and bad weather turned him back. Landing on the coast of California (which he called New Albion) to refit his ship, Drake then sailed westward around the world to England.

The legendary Northwest Passage to the Far East, which had drawn Cabot and others before him, continued to lead English seamen into the stormy waters of the North Atlantic. Martin Frobisher, in a series of voyages between 1576 and 1578, discovered Frobisher Sound in Baffin Land and entered the Hudson Strait, but the "gold-bearing" rock he brought back proved to be worthless. He was followed by John Davis, who in three voyages between 1585 and 1587 reached Davis Strait but got no farther.

FIRST ATTEMPTS AT SETTLEMENT

The English first sought to colonize the New World in 1583. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, having secured a charter from Queen Elizabeth on behalf of a group of Devonshire men, tried to plant a colony in Newfoundland. The settlement failed, however, and Gilbert was lost at sea on his return voyage.

Among the legatees of Gilbert's patent was his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh. Raleigh, in 1584, sent two vessels under Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe to locate a suitable place for settlement. Sailing by way of the West Indies to the mainland of North America, the two

men entered Pamlico Sound and landed on Roanoke Island. After a stay
of two months, they returned to England to report to Raleigh.⁴

Early the next year Raleigh sent a second expedition, this time with a party of settlers headed by Ralph Lane. Scavenging their way through Puerto Rico and San Domingo, seizing a couple of Spanish ships on the Caribbean, the Englishmen leisurely made their way to Roanoke Island. There Lane debarked with 100 men, and the fleet, commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, returned to England.

The new settlers soon ran into difficulties with the natives. When Lane ordered them to bring food for his colonists, they retaliated by attacking the Englishmen. A few days later, Sir Francis Drake happened by fresh from a successful attack on Cartagena, and the settlers decided to accompany him to England. They had scarcely left when Grenville appeared with a relief ship. Pausing only long enough to leave a token garrison of fifteen men, he sailed away.

Raleigh formed a group of associates to plant a permanent colony in America, and in May, 1587, John White sailed with three shiploads of men, women, and children. Heading for Chesapeake Bay, they, too, landed on Roanoke Island. No trace of Grenville's fifteen men was to be found. White saw the settlers safely ashore -- among them his daughter and son-in-law, soon to become the parents of the first English child born in North America, Virginia Dare. Then he sailed home for supplies.

⁴ Elizabeth, pleased by their glowing reports, allowed the new land to be named Virginia after herself, the "Virgin Queen."

Troubles with Spain, which had begun in 1585, reached a crisis soon after White's return to England and prevented his return to Roanoke Island until 1591. He found the settlement deserted. Only the word, "Croatoan," carved on a nearby tree, hinted at their possible fate.⁵

While Elizabeth lived, war with Spain kept her adventurous subjects fully occupied. When she died in 1603, her successor, James I, made peace with Spain and so set the stage for colonization.

JAMESTOWN

In 1606, James issued a charter aimed at the settlement of North America. The one document authorized two rival groups of merchants to undertake it: the London Company, consisting of investors from that city, was given the territory between the 34th and 38th parallels of north latitude, while the Plymouth Company, organized in western England, received that between the 41st and 45th parallels. The land between could be settled by either group, so long as they stayed at least fifty miles apart. The companies were given economic management of their colonies, but the Crown retained political control, to be vested in a royal council for Virginia.

The Plymouth Company sent an expedition, led by George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert, to settle at the mouth of the Sagadahoc (now the Kennebec) River in Maine. Arriving in August, 1607, the colonists built

⁵ The word was believed to have reference to the friendly Croatoan Indians, who lived on the Outer Banks. No trace of the "Lost Colony" was ever found.



Sabino Head, in the foreground at the mouth of Maine's Kennebec River, is believed by some historians to be the site of the abortive Popham Colony of 1607-1608. The remains in the foreground are of Fort Baldwin, a World War I coastal fortification. Shown in the center of the photograph are the remains of Fort Popham, erected in 1861 but never completed.

November 2, 1959

National Park Service Photograph

Fort St. George and settled down to endure a severe New England winter. At length, discouraged by the forbidding environment and by poor management, they gave up and sailed home.

To the south, meantime, the London Company had begun what was to be the first permanent English settlement in North America. Three small vessels, the Susan Constant, the Godspeed, and the Discovery, led by Captain Christopher Newport, left England early in 1607. After brief stops in the Canary Islands, Nevis, and Mona, they hove to off the Virginia capes on May 6. Landing briefly to explore Cape Henry, the colonists then sailed up a great river to a swampy island, where they landed and built a triangular fort. The river and the settlement they named in honor of King James.

Jamestown occupied an unhealthful site, and the colonists had neither the leadership nor the skill to wrest a living from the wilderness. In consequence, the colony had a precarious existence for the first few years.

The impossible system of dual control was eliminated in 1609 by the issuance to the renamed Virginia Company of a new charter, which gave the company political as well as economic control. Before the resident governor, Lord de la Warr, arrived, the colony went through its most tragic period.

Additional colonists, arriving in the fall of 1609 without supplies, ushered in the terrible "starving time," during which the wretched settlers were reduced to eating snails, snakes, Indians, and even one

another. The next spring, they abandoned Jamestown and were sailing down the James when they met the new governor coming in with supplies and reinforcements. Returning to Jamestown, they re-established the colony on June 16, 1610.

So far, the colony had been a constant drain on the resources of the stockholders. Attempts to put Virginia on a paying basis were fruitless until 1612, when John Rolfe successfully grew tobacco of a marketable quality. Tobacco rapidly became established as a staple crop, and Virginia's permanence was assured.

In 1619, control of the company passed to a liberal faction led by Sir Edwin Sandys, who launched a three-point program for the development of the colony. Sandys' group sought, first of all, to make Virginia self-governing; secondly, to stimulate emigration and establish a system of landed proprietors by making generous land grants to those who would bring in settlers; and, finally, to secure for the company a monopoly of the tobacco trade.

In pursuance of his first aim, Sandys had Governor Yeardley call a legislative assembly at Jamestown on July 30, 1619 -- the birth of representative government in the New World. The second part of his program greatly increased the flow of settlers to Virginia, though disease and other factors kept the net increase within very modest bounds for a number of years. By 1624, Virginia had a population of some 1,300 scattered in nineteen separate villages. Jamestown had

175 residents and Elizabeth City, the largest, had only 257.⁶

Sandys failed to achieve his third aim of securing a monopoly of the tobacco business. Failure to secure that monopoly dealt a heavy financial blow to the company. An Indian massacre on March 22, 1622, added to their woes by causing the colonists to complain bitterly about the company's neglect of defensive measures. The Crown decided in 1624 that the company had done a poor job of managing the colony. Consequently its charter was revoked and Virginia became a royal colony.

In her new status, Virginia entered upon a period of "slowly growing contentment and prosperity."⁷ The population by 1635 reached some 5,000; and by 1648, despite a second Indian massacre in 1644, which killed between 300 and 500 settlers, the total stood at 15,000.⁸

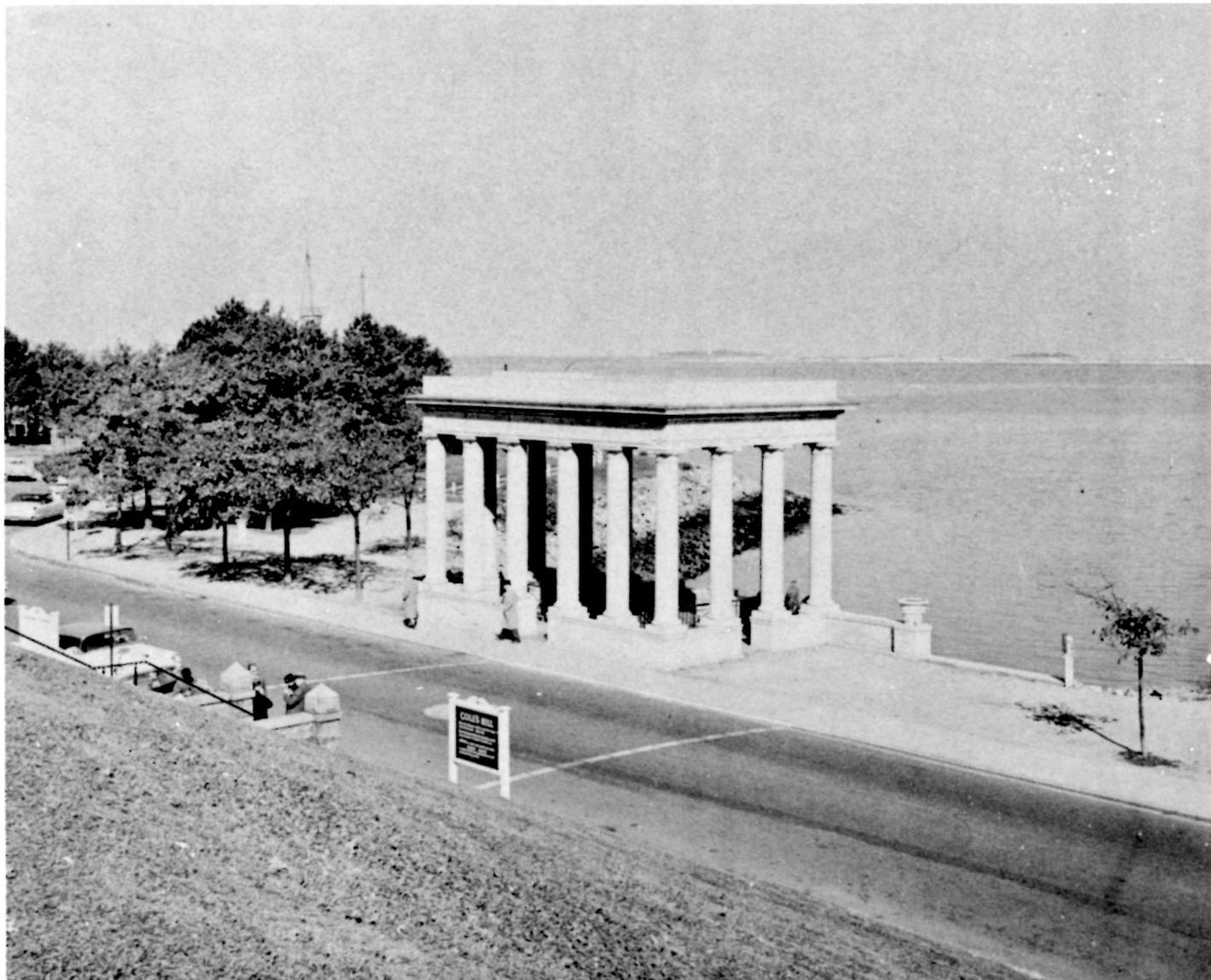
NEW PLYMOUTH

Captain John Smith, prominent in the first years at Jamestown, played an important part in the settlement of the Plymouth Company's grant. Leaving Jamestown in 1609, he spent several years exploring

⁶ Edward Channing, A History of the United States (6 vols., New York, 1932-36), I, 207. From 600 in 1618, the colony had grown only to some 1,200 by 1622, though 3,600 persons had emigrated during that period. Ibid., I, 205.

⁷ Ibid., I, 227.

⁸ Justin Winsor, ed., Narrative and Critical History of America (8 vols., Boston and New York, 1889), III, 147.



Cole's Hill, Plymouth, Massachusetts, was the burial place of the settlers who died in the first grim winter of 1620-21. Between the Hill and Plymouth Bay is the memorial housing Plymouth Rock, legendary landing site of the colonists. Above the trees in the left background appear the masts of Mayflower II, a faithful replica of the original vessel.

October 29, 1959

National Park Service Photograph

the coast of the territory he named New England. The results of his painstaking survey of the rocky coast were published in a book in 1616 and greatly influenced the subsequent settlement of that land.

After the failure of the Popham colony in 1608, no further attempt at colonization was made until Smith's book had been widely read in England. Even then, it was religious rather than economic motives which impelled the first successful settlement.⁹

In September of 1620, the Mayflower sailed from Plymouth with 102 Pilgrims. Many had spent a dozen years in exile in the Netherlands, and all wanted to settle, under the English flag, where they would not be required to conform to the Anglican religion.

Their financial backers were London merchants who had a grant from the Virginia Company, and the ship was destined for the Delaware region. Its landfall, however, in November, was Cape Cod in the territory of the Plymouth Company.¹⁰ The Pilgrims tried to coast south to their original destination, but they came upon dangerous shoals and turned about. Being outside the jurisdiction of the Virginia Company, they signed a solemn agreement -- the "Mayflower Compact" -- to form a government. Then, in the latter part of December, they came ashore on the rocky coast and planted their colony of New Plymouth.

⁹ Settlement of Newfoundland had begun in 1610, but the harsh climate prevented any significant development of that region. Among the proprietors was Sir George Calvert, father of the founder of Maryland. Max Savelle, The Foundations of American Civilization (New York, c. 1942), 105.

¹⁰ About the time the Pilgrims reached Cape Cod, the Plymouth Company was re-incorporated as the Council of New England. See Winsor, op. cit., III, 295.

The colonists built crude shelters, but the rigorous New England climate killed half of them before the winter was out. The survivors soon found that the soil was unsuited for agriculture and that their London backers were not going to keep them properly supplied with food. The Indians, fortunately, were friendly, else the colonists would have starved the first year.

The London merchants hastened to secure a grant from the Council for New England; but in 1624, dissatisfied with the lack of return on their investment, they terminated the partnership. Tortuous negotiations ended in 1626 with the sale of the merchants' title to the Pilgrims for 1,800 pounds. The Council issued the colony a new charter in 1630.

After the death of the first governor, John Carver, in 1621, William Bradford succeeded to the post he was to hold for 28 of the next 35 years. Under his leadership the colony experienced a healthy though unspectacular growth. In 1630, New Plymouth contained some 300 settlers. By 1641, it had grown to 2,500 persons and eight separate settlements, reaching fifty miles along the coast and twenty-five miles inland.¹¹

With no charter prescribing its form of government, New Plymouth adapted its church structure to fit political necessities. Church members were given citizenship rights, voting directly for a governor and assistants. As the colony grew, the individual town meetings began to elect representatives to the general court in Plymouth Town.

¹¹ Ibid., III, 276, 279.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Other small settlements were made in New England soon after the Pilgrims landed,¹² but not until 1630 was another major colony planted in that region. The Massachusetts Bay Company, having secured a patent from the Council for New England in 1628, had sent a few settlers to found the town of Salem, north of New Plymouth. During the next year, control of the company had passed from commercial interests to a group of religious dissenters called Puritans, led by John Winthrop. At a lively stockholders meeting, the majority had decided to take the charter and the entire government of the colony to New England. In March of 1630, a fleet of eleven ships left England, reaching Salem Harbor on June 12. It was the beginning of the Great Migration, which was to bring 20,000 Englishmen to America in a single decade.

The beginning was not auspicious. Affairs were so grim at Salem that Winthrop decided to make his settlement at Boston Harbor. The first year of the infant settlement of Boston was a hard one: 200 settlers died before winter, and the rigors of that harsh season took many more. For several years the food supply barely sufficed to prevent starvation, and the colonists had a miserable lot.

These early hardships and the stern discipline of the "Bible Commonwealth" discouraged immigration at first, but by 1634 the tide

¹² They included Weymouth, 1622; Nantasket and Mount Wollaston, 1625; and Thompson's Island, 1626. *Ibid.*, III, 311. Mount Wollaston, soon after its founding, became a public nuisance; renamed Merry Mount, it became a center of riotous living under Thomas Morton, and in 1628 the outraged Pilgrims shipped him back to England.

had set in. An estimated 4,000 persons were in the colony in May of that year;¹³ and by 1643, despite an exodus to England which began with the outbreak of the struggle between Charles I and Parliament, the colony had a population of 16,000 -- more than the rest of British America combined.¹⁴

The booming colony soon swallowed the smaller settlements within its boundaries and loomed over New Plymouth.¹⁵ Besides Salem and Boston, major settlements were made at Charlestown, Dorchester, Roxbury, Watertown, and Newtown. The latter town, intended as the colonial capital, never assumed that function; but under the new name of Cambridge it became, in 1636, the seat of Harvard College, first institution of higher learning in America.

Government of the "Bible Commonwealth" was similar to that of New Plymouth, with the franchise restricted to church members. In Massachusetts Bay, however, church membership was so small that government was controlled by a religious minority. At first the council of assistants elected the governor, but in 1632 the voters secured the right to elect both governor and assistants. Two years later the General Court was given the sole power of taxation, and the court itself became a representative body. In 1642 the court was divided into

¹³ Channing, op. cit., I, 332.

¹⁴ Ibid., I, 335.

¹⁵ Among those absorbed was Merry Mount, which the indefatigable Morton had reoccupied and restored to its old, riotous ways. The Puritans, characteristically thorough, chopped down the maypole which symbolized the settlers' pagan ways and shipped Morton off to England for good. Savelle, op. cit., 131-32.

two houses, each having veto power over the actions of the other.

In local government, the unit of action was the town meeting, in which voters chose their local selectmen and their representatives to the General Court. In Massachusetts Bay it was not pure democracy, since only the religious minority could vote for members of the general government; but it was subsequently adopted throughout New England, and the religious qualification was not everywhere imposed.

CONNECTICUT

Both New Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay contributed to the further expansion of New England settlement. A primary attraction was the rich Connecticut River valley, which New Plymouth traders first visited in 1632. Dutch traders from New Amsterdam had been operating there for years, and in 1633 they built a fort at the site of the present Hartford to forestall the English.¹⁶ The Pilgrims promptly built one of their own a few miles upstream, at Wethersfield. In the summer of 1635, Massachusetts Bay colonists began settling around the Pilgrim fort.

The newcomers -- mainly from Newtown, Dorchester, Watertown, and Roxbury -- also settled around the Dutch at Hartford, much to the indignation of the latter. The Puritans started new settlements at Windsor and Springfield, later discovering that the second was within the boundaries of Massachusetts Bay.

¹⁶ The activities of the Dutch in the New World are detailed in Theme VII, Dutch and Swedish Exploration and Settlement.

Meanwhile, under a grant from the president of the Council for New England, a group of Puritan noblemen sent John Winthrop, Jr., to plant the town of Saybrook at the mouth of the river. Winthrop got there just in time to prevent a Dutch occupation of the site.

This influx into the Connecticut valley caused the first Indian war in New England. The resident Pequot Indians incurred the wrath of the English, who marched against them in the summer of 1637 and extinguished the tribe.

With the Indians eliminated, representatives from the Connecticut River towns in 1639 drew up a framework of government, the "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut." This document, "the first written political constitution in which the functions of government are formulated in detail,"¹⁷ provided for a General Court which would meet twice a year; a group of magistrates to serve as an upper house and as an executive body, to be elected by the court; and a governor, also to be elected by the General Court. The franchise was given to anyone who was acceptable to a majority of the voters in his town. In view of the composition of the colony, this was to have the effect of a religious qualification for many years.

The neighboring colony of New Haven began in the spring of 1638, when the Rev. John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton brought a Puritan group to the shores of Long Island Sound, west of Saybrook. Restricting the franchise to church members, the settlers operated with a

¹⁷ Channing, op. cit., I, 404.

governor and seven magistrates, all elected. Soon several other towns were established, including Stamford and Greenwich on the mainland and Southold on Long Island, and a general government was instituted in 1643. Church membership remained the basis of the franchise, and trial by jury was eliminated. Unlike Massachusetts Bay, which prohibited non-freemen from voting in general elections only, New Haven barred them from town elections as well.

RHODE ISLAND

Dissent from the Massachusetts way of life gave rise to several other settlements before 1640. The most noted was the "Providence Plantations" which Roger Williams established on the shores of Narragansett Bay after his banishment from Massachusetts in the winter of 1635-36. Williams secured Indian title to the land and at first was sole proprietor, but in 1638 he deeded his holdings to thirteen associates, including himself. The government adopted in 1640 was the most liberal in any of the colonies, providing for a wide franchise and complete religious toleration.

Another group of exiles from Massachusetts, led by William Coddington and Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, settled Portsmouth on Rhode Island in Narragansett Bay in 1638. The next year Coddington broke away to settle Newport on the opposite end of the island. Unlike Providence, Portsmouth and Newport were Bible settlements quite similar to Massachusetts Bay, with a restricted franchise and a theocratic government.

A fourth settlement on Narragansett Bay was that of Samuel Gorton at Warwick in 1643. Gorton, a religious radical, was expelled successively from Massachusetts, Plymouth, Portsmouth and Providence before making his own settlement a few miles south of Providence.

In 1644, Williams procured a charter from Parliament which gave the settlers title to their lands and empowered them to set up a general government. In 1647, the four towns formed a federated government with a president, an assembly of four representatives from each town, and four assistants elected annually by the assembly. There was to be complete separation of church and state, as well as freedom of conscience, and provision was even made for initiative and referendum. Despite opposition from Coddington, the federation lasted until the Restoration, when a new charter went into effect.

THE NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERATION

A major cause of Williams' desire for a charter was the formation, in 1643, of the United Colonies of New England, more commonly known as the New England Confederation. It was a federal union formed by the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. Drawn together by the common desire to worship God in their own way, and yet handicapped by the dispersal of settlement which prevented the formation of a single government, they had hit upon this plan of presenting a united front to the French, the Dutch, and the Indians. Rhode Island and the newly settled colony of Maine were left out of the confederation because of political and religious ideas at variance with those of the member colonies.

Affairs were to be conducted by a board composed of two commissioners from each colony, who had full power to act on such matters as were the "proper concomitants or consequents of such a confederation for amity, offense, and defense."¹⁸ Among the specific articles was one providing for the surrender of fugitive servants and criminals which has been regarded as the prototype of the later fugitive slave laws. This pioneer attempt at united colonial action remained in effect for forty years.

MAINE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE

Maine was part of a royal grant to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason in 1622. Seven years later the grant was divided, Gorges taking Maine and Mason taking the western part, which he named New Hampshire. Settlement in Gorges' colony was not heavy and was mostly confined to the southern part. In 1652, Maine was annexed by Massachusetts, not to regain her separate identity for nearly 170 years.

New Hampshire settlement began in 1623, when David Thomson established a home at Odiorne's Point, near Portsmouth. Dover was founded soon afterward, Strawberry Bank in 1630, and Exeter and Hampton during the following decade. In 1641, Massachusetts assumed control of the colony, which did not regain its separate status until 1679.

¹⁸ Ibid., I, 418.

NEW NETHERLAND AND NEW SWEDEN

One of the avowed aims of the New England Confederation was to give a basis for concerted action against the Dutch, who were an increasingly vexatious problem for the expanding English colonies. Dutch fur traders had operated along the Hudson River from the time of its discovery by Henry Hudson in 1609, but not until the Dutch West India Company was chartered in 1621 was a serious effort made to colonize the region.

Manhattan was settled by Walloons in 1623, but the company soon found that the burden of colonization was too heavy to be borne alone. In 1629, the patroon system was instituted, under which individual members of the company could receive huge grants of land by bringing in specified numbers of settlers at their personal expense. Two of the patroons planted a colony at Swannendael, on Delaware Bay, but it languished and failed by 1632. Five years of Indian warfare, beginning in 1641, nearly bankrupted the company.

Peter Stuyvesant came to New Netherland as director general in 1647, ushering in an era of despotism which brought widespread discontentment. Many of the settlers in the Dutch colony were English, and their countrymen in New England sympathized with their sufferings. During the Anglo-Dutch war of 1652-54, a naval expedition was being organized to take the colony when the war suddenly ended.

Swedish settlement along Delaware Bay began in 1638 under the auspices of the Swedish West India Company. After constructing a fortified

post which they called Fort Christina, the Swedes settled down to a more or less peaceful existence. The Swedish colony was weak, however, and a Dutch expedition in 1655 had no difficulty in seizing control.

THE WEST INDIES

English settlement of the Caribbean area began in 1624, when Thomas Warner planted a colony on St. Christopher in the Lesser Antilles. Barbados, to the southeast, was settled in 1627 and within two years had a population of 1,600 -- greater than that of Virginia after two decades of existence. From St. Christopher, colonists went out to settle Nevis, Montserrat, Anguilla, and Barbuda. By 1640, some 40,000 Englishmen were living in the West Indies, 30,000 of them on Barbados. Two years later the population of that tiny island reached 37,000, making it one of the most densely populated places in the world.¹⁹

Tobacco was the staple crop until the introduction of sugar cane from Brazil about 1640. Sugar quickly dominated the island economy, and the plantation system it necessitated caused a rapid rise in the slave population and a decline in the number of landholders. As a one-crop economy, the West Indies provided a good market for English goods.

The islands were granted to the Earl of Carlisle in 1627, and as proprietary colonies they were administered by appointed governors and councils. Gradually, and in some cases without the knowledge of the

¹⁹ Savelle, op. cit., 123-24.

absentee proprietor, representative bodies were introduced into all the island governments.

MARYLAND

After the failure of his Newfoundland colony,²⁰ George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, in 1632 applied for a royal patent to land north of the Potomac River. Calvert died soon after, and the patent was issued to his son, Cecil. The second Lord Baltimore early in 1634 sent two ships, the Ark and the Dove, with settlers for his new colony. The colonists arrived on March 27 and established the town of St. Mary's.

Lord Baltimore was Catholic, but most of his settlers were Protestant and his colony practiced complete religious toleration. Nevertheless, his religion was anathema to the Virginia colonists; and since, in addition, the Maryland grant comprised land originally claimed by Virginia, bad blood soon arose between the two colonies. The chief instrument of Lord Baltimore's troubles was a Virginian named William Clayborne, who had a trading post on Kent's Island within the limits of the Maryland grant. Clayborne refused to acknowledge Baltimore's sovereignty and was expelled from the colony in 1635, but he returned and seized Kent's Island in 1644 during the colonial fighting which accompanied the outbreak of the English civil war. He remained a bitter and troublesome foe of Maryland's proprietor for years.

²⁰ See ante, page 9, Note 9.

The Maryland land system was feudal, with manorial lords holding lands directly from the proprietor, and small planters renting theirs from the lords of the manor. Certain freeholders also held land directly from the proprietor, but all were required to pay a quit-rent. In such a society, a social gulf always exists between the landed aristocracy and the bulk of the population. This gulf was particularly marked in Maryland because most of the former were Catholic. As in most frontier communities, however, the feudal features of the system soon broke down, leaving only the quit-rents in effect.

Political control of the colony at first was completely in the hands of the proprietary governor, but within four years he called an assembly. This body, and its immediate successors, had no power to initiate legislation; but the growing power of Protestantism and parliamentarianism in England and, concomitantly, in the colonies during the 1640's gradually whittled away the governor's powers.

Religious toleration worked moderately well in Maryland for a decade and a half. With the outbreak of the English civil war, the causes of Protestantism and parliamentarianism became one, each lending strength to the other. Large numbers of Puritans left Virginia after the outbreak of that struggle, many of them settling in Maryland.²¹ In consequence, Lord Baltimore decided in 1649 to secure the passage of an "Act concerning Religion" to protect his co-religionists; but, as passed by the Puritan-dominated assembly, the law actually provided less toleration than had prevailed in practice since the beginning of the colony.

²¹ One of these Puritan groups from Virginia settled the town of Annapolis, which was first called Providence.

THE PURITAN SUPREMACY

Fast-paced events, beginning with the outbreak of the English civil war in 1642, had dictated Lord Baltimore's act for the protection of the Maryland Catholics. For his colony had not long remained untouched by the temper of the times.

In January of 1644, an armed Puritan vessel commanded by Richard Ingle appeared at St. Mary's, but he was quickly disarmed and sent packing. Ingle soon returned, this time seizing the Maryland capital without difficulty and forcing Governor Leonard Calvert to flee to Virginia. Calvert reoccupied St. Mary's late in 1646, but he died soon after and Lord Baltimore, foreseeing the inevitable, appointed a Protestant governor, William Stone. More trouble arose when the Puritans at Annapolis refused to acknowledge Baltimore's rule. Stone won them over, but the final blow came when the acting governor, in Stone's absence, proclaimed Charles II as rightful king. The Puritan commissioners who in the meantime had taken over Virginia promptly deposed Stone. Though temporarily restored to office, he was thrown out again in 1654, and a Puritan council under William Fuller took over Maryland's government

Virginia authorities made strenuous efforts during this period to annex Maryland, but Lord Baltimore by skilful politicking forestalled them. In 1657, he regained his Proprietary upon promising not to retaliate against those who had been responsible for its seizure.

Most of the colonists during the civil war either remained neutral or openly sided with the king. In New England, a number of Puritans

returned to England to take part in the struggle, but those who stayed behind considered themselves beyond Parliamentary control. Parliament considered itself competent to legislate for the colonies, particularly in the field of maritime trade, but its preoccupation with internal affairs worked to the advantage of the colonies. Only in cases of open defiance did Parliament actively interfere with the colonial governments.

Parliamentary interest in colonial trade led to the passage of the Navigation Act of 1651 -- the first in a long series of enactments designed to benefit the mother country at the expense of the colonies. The general effect of the act would have been to restrict colonial trade to British or colonial vessels; but the lack of regulatory machinery, and the state of feeling in the colonies, made it largely ineffective.

The greatest opposition to Parliament came in Virginia and in the West Indies. In 1643, the Long Parliament commissioned Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, as "Governour in chiefe, and Lord High Admirall"²² of the colonies, and assigned him a staff of seventeen commissioners to assist him. Warwick offered the Virginia colonists self-government and freedom from English taxation if they would acknowledge the authority of Parliament; but Governor William Berkeley, a staunch royalist, blocked Warwick's efforts. During the next few years the royalist ranks in Virginia were swelled by the arrival of refugee noblemen, and when Charles I was executed in 1649, Virginia promptly proclaimed Charles II.

²² Channing, op. cit., I, 486.

A Parliamentary expedition was dispatched to Virginia, and Jamestown capitulated without a fight in March, 1652. Until 1658, the colony was governed by a commission composed of Richard Bennett, William Clayborne, and Captain Edmond Curtis. When Richard Cromwell was deposed in that year, Berkeley again became governor, and four months after Charles II entered London in 1660, he was proclaimed as sovereign in Virginia.

Opposition to Parliament in the West Indies was found in Barbados, Bermuda, and some of the smaller islands. An expedition was sent to the West Indies in October of 1650 and occupied them without difficulty.

THE RESTORATION

The return of Charles II to the throne of England in 1660 marked a turning point in colonial history and in the relationship between the colonies and the mother country. After years of exile, the king and his followers were impoverished, and they eagerly seized every chance to increase the flow of income. So far as North America was concerned, this resulted in more concentrated efforts to monopolize colonial commerce; in the establishment or seizure of additional colonies; and in the formation of the greatest of fur-trading establishments, the Hudson's Bay Company.

Politically, the Restoration in England marked a return to the conditions which preceded the civil war. While in England there was "a positive retrogression politically, institutionally, and socially,"²³ in

²³ Ibid., II, 3.

the American colonies there was a continuing development along the lines which had already been laid down. Inevitably, the colonies became less English as time went on.

NAVIGATION ACTS OF 1660 and 1672

The royal efforts to monopolize colonial commerce began with passage of the Navigation Act of 1660. This act permitted the colonies to import European goods direct, but required certain "enumerated goods" of colonial manufacture to pass through England. Since foreign vessels seldom left the colonies in ballast, and since, in any case, directly imported European goods undersold English goods in the colonies, a supplemental act was passed in 1663 which provided that European goods must henceforth be carried from England to the colonies, and in English ships. The laws were loosely worded and laxly enforced, so they brought little revenue to the Crown.

In 1672, Parliament passed another act in an attempt to remedy the defects of the act of 1660. This new enactment required any ship's captain loading "enumerated goods" either to give bond that he would land them in England or to pay a specified duty. This tightening up of the earlier act brought some additional revenue to the Crown, though enforcement still was far from perfect. In 1675, a committee of the Privy Council called the Lords of Trade and Plantations was created to oversee the management of colonial business.

The colonies which protested most loudly the passage of the navigation acts were those which had been most staunchly royalist during the civil war, the West Indies and Virginia. The reason was simply

that the other colonies, being accustomed to a substantial degree of independence, largely ignored the existence of those laws.

THE WEST INDIES UNDER THE RESTORATION

Barbados and the Leeward Islands, increasingly shackled by a one-crop economy and the accompanying dependence upon the importation of all necessities, protested at length but in vain against the navigation acts. Their location "in the crucible of international rivalries in America"²⁴ and their declining population of freemen made these colonies too dependent upon the mother country to defy her mandates. By 1672, both had become royal provinces.

Jamaica, which had been added to the British West Indies by seizure from Spain in 1655, was not greatly inconvenienced by the navigation acts. That island was blessed with a diversified production. It had as yet developed no major legal commerce to be hampered by the trade restrictions, and it obtained relief from those restrictions by the encouragement of smuggling and privateering. Until 1671, Jamaica was a base for the most notorious among his privateering contemporaries, Sir Henry Morgan. Jamaica, created a royal colony in 1662, by 1673 had a population of 18,000 and had become the most important of the English possessions in the Caribbean.

²⁴ Savelle, op. cit., 211.

VIRGINIA UNDER THE RESTORATION

Virginia also protested long and bitterly over the passage of the navigation acts, but to no avail. The Virginians adapted themselves to the situation by a limited amount of illicit trade, while preserving the form of compliance with the law. In any event, the Virginians had more pressing problems.

A major grievance with the Crown arose from a proprietary grant to the soil of Virginia which the King made in 1673 to Lords Arlington and Culpeper. Negotiations were underway to eliminate the proprietary claims when they were interrupted by Bacon's Rebellion, and the grant remained to become the basis of the later Northern Neck Proprietary of Lord Fairfax.

A good deal of hardship resulted from excessive tobacco production in Virginia, and in Maryland as well, during these years. Intercolonial efforts to limit production were ineffective, and the glutted market brought low prices which deprived many small planters of a livelihood.

Crusty old Governor Berkeley had become a despot, and he angered the settlers by his persistent refusal to call for new elections to the assembly after 1660. Berkeley's autocratic government, insensitive to the will of the people, intensified the sectionalism which had begun to creep into the relationship between the older parts of the colony and the frontier. Indian relations during this period were bad, and Berkeley's consistent failure to provide for the protection of the frontier settlements exasperated their inhabitants.



BACON'S CASTLE, Surry County, Virginia - Built by Arthur Allen about 1655, it received its present name after some of Nathaniel Bacon's followers fortified it during the rebellion of 1676. This view shows the original portion of the house.

August 20, 1959

National Park Service photograph

All of these conditions contributed to the outbreak of 1676, known as Bacon's Rebellion. Indian depredations had become so bad by the spring of that year that the Virginia assembly declared war on the savages. When Governor Berkeley refused to send out an expedition, Nathaniel Bacon led an unauthorized sortie which inflicted a stinging defeat on the Indians. Berkeley's subsequent branding of Bacon as a traitor caused a general uprising in the lower counties of Virginia. Twice Berkeley fled Jamestown for the Eastern Shore; the second time, to prevent the governor's return, Bacon burned the capital. At the height of his fortunes, Bacon died of fever, and the vengeful Berkeley wreaked a bloody retribution until his recall to England early the next year.

The conditions which brought on Bacon's Rebellion persisted almost unchanged for several years, with resultant rioting of a less serious nature. In 1680, a tax of two shillings per hogshead of tobacco, which had been first passed by the assembly in 1658, was made perpetual as a source of revenue for the colonial government. In effect, this removed the dependence of the royal governor on the assembly for operating revenues and salary, making Virginia thenceforth a much more tractable royal colony.

MARYLAND UNDER THE RESTORATION

Conflict in Maryland continued after the restoration of Lord Baltimore's charter in 1658. The upper chamber of the legislature was

predominantly Roman Catholic and was constantly at loggerheads with the Protestant assembly. The proprietor in 1670 restricted the franchise and imposed other conditions which gave the assembly less of a representative character, thus adding to the discontent of the Protestant assembly.

Governor Charles Calvert, son of the proprietor, left the colony upon succeeding to the proprietary on his father's death in 1684, and for four years Maryland had no effective leadership. Governor William Joseph, who came in 1688, aroused much antagonism with his "divine right" ideas. The colony was ripe for the revolt which was to follow the Glorious Revolution in England.

TROUBLE IN NEW ENGLAND

In 1662 and 1663, in reversal of the general trend toward a tighter royal control over colonial affairs, the Crown granted charters to Connecticut and Rhode Island which recognized the existing governments of those colonies. The colony of New Haven was merged with Connecticut.

Hardly had these charters been granted when the tide began to turn. A royal commission was sent to New England in 1664 to investigate the independent tendencies in that region, especially in Massachusetts Bay. Connecticut and Rhode Island prudently made the commissioners welcome and tried politely to hoodwink them, but Massachusetts did nothing of the kind. In that colony, the commissioners met only harassment and

cold disdain, and the scarcely surprising consequence was that their report was unfavorable.

For a decade Massachusetts managed to evade the crisis which was brewing, but when the Lords of Trade were established in 1675, they sent Edward Randolph as agent to report more fully on conditions in New England. Randolph landed in Boston on June 10, 1676.

KING PHILIP'S WAR

His arrival was little noticed by the New Englanders, for they had just weathered the crisis in one of the most critical periods of their existence -- King Philip's War. This, the greatest Indian war in New England history, had begun a year previously when the Wampanoag Indians under King Philip provoked Swansea settlers into opening hostilities. The Indian raid on Swansea and neighboring towns which followed set the pattern for the war: swift Indian attacks, followed by retaliatory English expeditions. The colonial counter-moves were poorly planned and executed, antagonizing peaceful tribes and leading to numerous disasters in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine. The first notable colonial victory came on December 19, 1675, when the Narragansett Indians were destroyed in the "Great Swamp Fight" in Rhode Island. The next year had begun badly for the English, but an attack on the Indians at Deerfield, Massachusetts, on May 18-19, had broken their resistance. When Randolph landed, the hunt was on for King Philip himself, who was finally surrounded and shot on August 11. Fighting in

New Hampshire and Maine dragged on until April of 1678. When the last shot was fired, a terrible record of destruction had been set: sixteen towns in Massachusetts and four in Rhode Island destroyed, hundreds of colonists killed, and settlement completely driven out of Kennebec County, Maine.

THE DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND

Randolph stayed in Massachusetts about six weeks, then he returned to England to make his unfavorable report. Partly as a result of Randolph's efforts, the administration of Maine and New Hampshire was withdrawn from Massachusetts in 1679.

But Randolph was not through with Massachusetts. This same year he returned to the colony as collector of customs for New England. He spent most of his time quarrelling with colonial officials and working for annulment of the Massachusetts charter. He achieved the latter objective in 1684.

Two years later, the Crown organized Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Plymouth, and the King's Province²⁵ into an administrative entity called the Dominion of New England. Sir Edmund Andros was appointed as royal governor, to rule with the aid of a council but with no representative assembly. The charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island were

²⁵ The King's Province, comprising the Narragansett Country of the present Rhode Island, had been created by a royal commission in 1665 in an effort to settle the conflicting claims to the region of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts.



HALLS CREEK, North Carolina - On high ground overlooking the headwaters of Halls Creek is the monument commemorating the Grand Assembly of the Albemarle, first legislative assembly in North Carolina, held in 1665.

August 11, 1959

National Park Service photograph

annulled in 1686 and 1687 respectively, and they were incorporated into the dominion, as were New York and New Jersey in 1688. With the Glorious Revolution in England, Andros' government was overthrown and the Dominion of New England came to an end.

THE FOUNDING OF THE CAROLINAS

The land which ultimately became the colonies of North and South Carolina was first granted to Sir Robert Heath in 1629, under the name of "Carolana." A settlement in the Cape Fear region had failed by 1663, when Charles II granted the land between the 31st and 36th parallels to a group of eight proprietors headed by the Earl of Clarendon. The new colony was to be called Carolina, in honor of the grantee.

The only settlers then in the Carolina region lived on the Chowan River, whither they had migrated from Virginia. Since the Chowan settlement was not clearly within the boundaries of the Carolina grant, the proprietors in 1665 secured another charter which extended their southern boundary to 29 degrees and their northern boundary to 36 degrees, 30 minutes. The Bahama Islands subsequently were added to the proprietary also.

Since the Chowan settlers were Virginians, the proprietors asked Governor Berkeley to establish a government for them. He sent as governor William Drummond, who administered the settlement with the help of an eight-man council and an elected assembly of sixteen members.²⁶ The settlers soon complained of the terms of land tenure under the

²⁶ Ironically, Drummond later followed Nathaniel Bacon and was executed by Berkeley following the collapse of Bacon's Rebellion in 1676.



OLD TOWN, Charleston County, South Carolina - Marker on Old Town Plantation, marking the site of the first English settlement in the present State of South Carolina, 1670.

August 8, 1959

National Park Service photograph

proprietors, and as a result, in the "Great Deed of Grant" in 1668, they were given lands on the same terms as in Virginia.

Two expeditions from Barbados were sent to settle southern Carolina in 1665 and 1666, but without result. The first permanent lodgment was made at Albemarle Point on the south bank of the Ashley River in April, 1670. Within three years, some of the colonists had moved across the Ashley onto the peninsula formed by that river and the Cooper, and in 1680 Charles Town was formally established on that site. The subsequent growth of southern Carolina was slow but steady; of the 8,000 residents of Carolina in 1700, some 5,000 lived in that section.²⁷

The settlement of Carolina, impinging as it did on the Spanish territory to the south, inevitably brought conflict between colonists of the two countries. In 1686, the Scottish settlement of Stewarts Town near Port Royal, founded three years before, was destroyed by a Spanish attack.

Government of Carolina was spelled out in the "Declarations and Proposals" of 1663, which provided that the laws should be made by an elective assembly, subject to repeal by the proprietors. Six years later, an elaborate feudal system of government was proposed for the colony by Lord Ashley, one of the proprietors. Known as the "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina," it was the brain child of the later famous political philosopher, John Locke.

²⁷ Channing, op. cit., II, 25.

The Fundamental Constitutions never had the force of law in Carolina. The proprietors were constantly promulgating new regulations and the colonists, blithely ignoring each new requirement, continued to assemble and enact laws to suit themselves. The proprietors invoked their veto power with such good effect that "at one time there was not a local law of southern Carolina in force in that province."²⁸

By the end of the 17th century the two sections of Carolina had become rather clearly differentiated, although it was not until the following century that they became separate entities.

NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY

If Charles II hoped to foster the growth of the English colonies and to stop the illegal trade which was robbing the royal treasury, then he must eliminate the Dutch colony of New Netherland which bisected his American possessions. Accordingly, in March of 1664, he gave to his brother James, Duke of York, a grant which included Long Island and the territory between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers. James had only to occupy his new grant.

The duke commissioned Colonel Richard Nicolls to take possession for him. Although Stuyvesant was warned of Nicolls' coming, the Englishman moved so rapidly that he caught the Dutch unprepared. In August of 1664, less than five months from the date of his commission, Nicolls appeared off Coney Island and demanded the surrender of New Netherland. Stuyvesant was determined to resist, but his followers deserted him and

²⁸ Ibid., II, 24.

he had to submit on September 8.

Nicolls assumed the governorship of the colony, which he re-named New York, but soon he found himself hampered by lack of funds and by the excessively liberal surrender terms which he had given the Dutch. He initiated military rule at the former Dutch posts on the Hudson and Delaware rivers, but the surrender articles prohibited that in Manhattan and on Long Island. On Long Island, Nicolls promulgated the "Duke's Laws," which gave the semblance of representative government without the actuality. These laws were gradually extended throughout the colony and, although the clamor for truly representative government soon became great, it was not to be fully satisfied until 1692.

New York was not attacked in the Anglo-Dutch war which broke out soon after its seizure. In 1673, however, the nearly defenseless city was easily taken by a Dutch expedition under Cornelius Evertsen, and it remained in Dutch possession for fifteen months. Under the Treaty of Westminster, signed in 1674, New York was returned to England.

Only three months after James had received the grant of 1664, he regranted that part between the Hudson and Delaware rivers to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The region was called New Jersey, in honor of Sir George's gallant defense of the Island of Jersey against Puritan attacks during the civil war. The grant was divided, Berkeley taking the western part and Carteret the eastern.

A large number of the settlers of East New Jersey were New England Puritans, who gave Carteret no end of trouble. They ignored the

authority of the proprietary governor, refused to pay taxes, passed puritanical laws, and in 1672 went so far as to choose an assembly without the governor's authorization. After some difficulty, their allegiance finally was secured.

In 1673, Berkeley sold West New Jersey to two Quakers, John Fenwick and Edward Byllynge. Fenwick planted a Quaker settlement in his new holding, but through the agency of the new governor of New York, Edmund Andros, he was prevented from exercising jurisdiction there. In 1676, William Penn and three other Quakers bought West New Jersey from Fenwick and Byllynge, and five years later they secured the Carteret claim to unite the colony under one set of proprietors.

THE FOUNDING OF PENNSYLVANIA

In June, 1680, Penn petitioned the Crown for a grant of land west of the Delaware River in consideration of debts due to him and his late father, Admiral William Penn. The grant, made in March of 1681, was for lands west of that river and north of Maryland. In addition, the Duke of York gave up his claims to lands west and south of Delaware Bay. The former region, known as the "Province," comprised the present state of Pennsylvania; while the duke's cession, known as the "Territories" or the "Lower Counties," comprised the later colony of Delaware. The vagueness of the boundaries as stated in the grant led to disputes with the neighboring colonies of New York and Maryland, the latter litigation lasting for eighty years.

Penn reached the colony in October of 1682 and took formal possession. Soon afterwards, he supervised the laying out of his capital city, Philadelphia.

A number of settlers -- Swedes, Dutch, and English -- already were living in the area of Penn's grant, and he made strenuous efforts to encourage further emigration from England and the Continent. Practical minded as he was, Penn sought artisans and men of substance for his colony. Among the more valuable elements attracted to Pennsylvania were a number of hard-working Quakers and a colony of Germans, the latter group led by Francis Daniel Pastorius, who settled Germantown in 1683. The high type of settler spared the colony the sufferings common to so many of the earlier settlements, and within ten years Pennsylvania was exporting food to the West Indies.

Politically, Penn's colony failed to present the picture of brotherly love that he had envisioned. His Frame of Government, which was prefaced with lofty phrases about the divine stewardship of man, provided for administration of the colony by a representative council elected by freemen with a property franchise. In practice, Penn almost totally ignored his governmental plan, and the colonists were continually squabbling with the proprietor's resident officials. In 1692, Penn was deprived of his proprietorship for two years because of his relationship to the deposed James II, but the restored proprietary government remained in the hands of his descendants until the American Revolution.

The Lower Counties, which had been annexed to the colony by the Act of Union in 1682, remained a part of Pennsylvania until 1704, and the two colonies continued to have a common governor until the Revolution.

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

In an effort to exploit the rich fur trade in the country northwest of Lake Superior, Charles II in 1670 chartered "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay," more commonly known as the Hudson's Bay Company. Issuance of the charter had been inspired by information brought by two Frenchmen, Pierre Radisson and his brother-in-law, Medard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, who had been active in the American fur trade. Prince Rupert, cousin to the King, was the first governor of the company, which also included two of the Carolina proprietors, Lord Craven and Lord Ashley, and other friends of the King.

Within a few years the Englishmen had secured a foothold on the southwestern shore of Hudson's Bay, and the fur trade was beginning to pay them handsome profits. Their expanding activity soon brought them into conflict with the French fur traders who were busy in the same area, though the rivalry did not reach serious proportions for a decade and a half. When fighting began in 1686, it anticipated by only three years the outbreak of the first great Anglo-French struggle in the New World.

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

On November 5, 1688, William III, stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, landed on the coast of England with an army of invasion. Three months later he was installed as joint sovereign with his wife, Mary, daughter of the deposed James II. This change of dynasty in England naturally presaged a change of allegiance in each of the American colonies. Except in Maryland and the Dominion of New England, the shift was uneventful.

In Maryland, a group headed by John Coode, calling itself the Association for the Defense of the Protestant Religion, seized St. Mary's in July, 1689. Coode's followers promptly proclaimed their loyalty to the new sovereigns and instituted a representative assembly which ruled the colony with moderation until the arrival of a royal governor in 1691. Though Maryland thus became a royal colony, the proprietor retained his title to the soil.

In Massachusetts, Governor Andros took vigorous measures to prevent a popular uprising, but in vain. Mobs formed in the streets of Boston on the morning of April 18, 1689, and seized Andros and his followers. With the Dominion of New England effectively eliminated, Massachusetts and the other component colonies resumed their original charters pending the issuance of new ones by the Crown.

The most turbulent shift in government appeared in New York. With the fall of James II, a faction led by Jacob Leisler seized Fort James in New York City and proclaimed William and Mary. The resident

lieutenant-governor, Francis Nicholson, fled the colony and his chief advisor, Nicholas Bayard, hesitated to acknowledge the new sovereigns and withdrew to Albany. The King refused to recognize either faction, and sent Colonel Henry Sloughter as royal governor. Sloughter, when he arrived in the colony, sided with the Bayard faction, and Leisler was tried, condemned, and executed for treason in 1691.

In England, the Glorious Revolution marked a significant advance in the safeguarding of personal rights and liberties. But that effect was confined to the mother country.

For the colonists the Revolution meant nothing of the kind. Their consent to the change of dynasty was not asked, their interests were not considered; they were simply ordered to proclaim the new monarchs. The effect of the Revolution was to hand them over to the English landowning oligarchy to be exploited for the benefit of English industry. The remedial statutes which made the movement memorable in English constitutional history did not extend to the colonies. Moreover, the new government exhibited an energy in colonial administration which the Stuarts had never shown. After 1689 the colonists were in a worse plight than they had been in the reigns of Charles and James.²⁹

KING WILLIAM'S WAR

As soon as William ascended the English throne, he allied his new kingdom with Holland, Sweden, the Holy Roman Empire, and Spain in a war against Louis XIV of France. In his declaration of war, the King included the American colonies by citing various French offenses against them. This was the opening round in an Anglo-French struggle for North

²⁹ Channing, op. cit., II, 189-90.

America which was to last for three-quarters of a century.

Fighting on the shores of Hudson Bay became more intense. British and French trading posts there changed hands rapidly, the French holding the final advantage. Bitter fighting occurred in Newfoundland, which also fell to Louis' troops. Indian warfare ravaged the colonial frontier from New York to Maine, and a French-Indian force sacked the important outpost of Schenectady in the winter of 1689-90. The only notable English achievement during 1689 was the capture of Acadia by an expedition under Captain William Phips.

The situation appeared so grave after the loss of Schenectady that Leisler called a colonial congress to meet in New York in May of 1690 to plan a joint campaign against the French. Representatives from Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New York met and planned a double attack on Canada, with a sea expedition under Phips to move by the St. Lawrence, and a land expedition to march by way of Lake Champlain. The land movement never got underway; Phips succeeded in reaching Quebec but failed miserably when he attacked the city.

The war in the Caribbean was fought for control of the sea. The French seized the British section of St. Christopher -- which island had long been jointly occupied by the two countries -- and sacked Spanish Cartagena in 1697. The British recaptured St. Christopher, retook St. Eustatius for the Dutch, and seized the French islands of St. Martin and St. Bartholomew for good measure. The war was ended in

1697 by the indecisive Treaty of Ryswick, which called for return of all conquered territories.

THE NAVIGATION ACT OF 1696

The various acts which had been passed to regulate colonial trade had failed from lack of enforcement. Colonial governments, by and large, had simply ignored the regulations and continued to trade illegally with foreign countries. French and Dutch shipmasters had been active in the illegal trade for years, but by 1688 they had been outdistanced by the Scots. So energetic were the members of that race that in 1695 they formed the Company of Scotland for trading purposes.

The Navigation Act of 1696 aimed at the effective regulation of colonial trade by more stringent enforcement. It provided that no goods could be taken into or out of the British colonies except in ships built and owned in England, and having crews at least three-quarters English; that all English ships must be registered with customs officials; that colonial governors must post bond for enforcement of the act; that colonial customs officers were to be appointed, to be directly responsible to the English commissioners of the customs; that customs officers could secure writs of assistance to search ships and warehouses for suspected violations of the act; that colonies could pass no laws contrary to the act; that violations of the act could be tried in vice-admiralty courts or, if by jury, the jury must be composed entirely of native-born English, Irish, or Americans. The vice-

admiralty courts, set up in 1697, soon proved much more effective than jury courts in convicting violators.

Shortly after the act was passed, the Crown established an advisory body called the "Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations," or Board of Trade, which was destined to serve as a policy-making body for nearly a century. Its function was to protect and promote English commerce, and its mercantilist viewpoint was that colonies should exist only for the benefit of the mother country. That viewpoint, tenaciously held, was to have most serious effects on the relationship between the American colonies and England.

WITCHCRAFT IN THE COLONIES

A revived belief in the ancient superstitions regarding witchcraft appeared in the colonies during the last years of the 17th century. Witchcraft trials occurred in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, but the most tragic outbreak was in Salem Village,³⁰ Massachusetts.

In the spring of 1692, the children of the Rev. Samuel Parris in that village began to simulate the antics of bewitched persons and accused neighbors of the responsibility. Hysteria mounted and the superstitious governor, Sir William Phips, appointed a special court to investigate. Though the court included such enlightened men as Samuel Sewall, its actions were such as to give rise to the modern term, "witch hunt." Scores of persons were accused of witchcraft, and many confessed during the four months the hysteria lasted. When the court adjourned

³⁰ The present Danvers.

in September, twenty persons had been executed, fifty-five had confessed and been pardoned, and another one hundred and fifty were in prison awaiting trial.

The Salem outbreak has been largely blamed on two prominent Massachusetts clergymen, Increase and Cotton Mather, who wrote books in the 1680's upholding the validity of belief in witchcraft. The mass delusion had a short existence, and a number of the participants later made public acknowledgment of their errors.

ARCHITECTURE

In architecture, as in many other fields of human activity, the 17th century in English America was a time of beginnings and of adaptation. The settlers built as they had known, but in the process they adapted the familiar to fit new conditions. From the first crude dwellings to the substantial houses of 1700 was a long step, but early and late alike were the "expression of a pioneer society."³¹

England in 1600 was a land of medieval Gothic architecture, its uniformity broken now and again by the great pile of a Renaissance mansion built by some newly wealthy merchant. The Englishman, transplanted to the American wilderness, harked back to the standard he had known, modifying 16th century Gothic to accord with his knowledge of the demands of a new environment. He had neither the time,

³¹ Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York, 1952), 7. This discussion is based largely on Morrison and on Thomas T. Waterman, The Dwellings of Colonial America (Chapel Hill, c. 1950).

money, nor desire to imitate the later style. Only with the beginning of the next century were conditions so stabilized as to foster the great American architectural renaissance known as the Georgian style.

The first settlers built temporary living quarters of primitive design. Some were round-roofed wigwams of bark- or skin-covered poles, copied from the Indians; some were holes in the ground, roofed over with poles and bark; some were "wattle-and-daub" cabins, with thatched roofs, and walls woven of willow or hazel switches and plastered with clay; a few were one-room cottages of more durable construction. As each new settlement passed its respective "starving time" and became more firmly established, these first, temporary dwellings gave way to substantial houses.

In building permanent dwellings, the colonists preferred materials which had been familiar in the mother country. Wood was commonly used in New England -- which had ample supplies of stone and clay -- because wood was the predominant building material in that part of England from which the settlers had come. In the other colonies, where population had more diverse origins, stone and brick also were used. Most of the 17th century houses in the southern colonies also were of wood, though the warm and humid climate made the use of brick desirable. No wooden house of certain date has survived in Virginia, partly because of the climate and partly because of the plantation system which reduced many of the smaller 17th century houses to the status of slave quarters and eventual decay.



ADAM THOROUGHGOOD HOUSE, Princess Anne County, Virginia - Possibly built as early as 1636, this is one of the earliest brick houses in America. It has been restored to its 17th century condition.

August 19, 1959

National Park Service photograph

The medieval method of constructing wooden houses is typified by a number of surviving examples in New England. Houses were supported by massive timber frames, with the interstices filled with brick or wattle-and-daub, the outside being covered with the horizontal wooden siding known in New England as "clapboards" and in Virginia as "weatherboards." Windows were small, with tiny diamond-shaped panes of glass set in lead.

Virginia houses followed one of four general plans. The one-room plan had an end chimney and a loft above the main room, usually accessible by ladder. The two-room plan had a large hall³² and a smaller parlor, with two end chimneys. The central-hall plan had two rooms separated by a center hall, which itself evolved into a large room much used in summer. The cross plan was a refinement of the central-hall house, with a stair tower in rear and a two-story projection in front, generally consisting of a room above and a porch or vestibule below.

Typical Maryland architecture resembled that of Virginia, with such additional characteristics as double end-chimneys with pent-roofed closets between; gambrel roofs; and wall designs in glazed brick. Marylanders often used a combination of brick and frame construction, with one or more walls in brick.

Northern Carolina architecture differed little from that of Virginia, but that of the southern part of the colony was distinctive. A varied population gave a cosmopolitan character to the buildings of

³² "Hall," in the 17th century definition, was the main room.

that section, and the sub-tropical climate inspired a severely functional design.

Characteristic architecture in New England followed four general plans. The one room plan was similar to that in Virginia, except that it contained a small entrance vestibule and an interior chimney. The two-room plan also had an entrance vestibule, and a central chimney with back-to-back fireplaces. The other two plans, of the type jointly known as "saltbox," were the original lean-to plan, with a rear addition, containing a kitchen and having a roof pitch uniform with that of the main house; and the added lean-to plan, with a roof pitch differing from that of the main portion. A typical feature of the New England house of the 17th century was the "jetty," or overhanging second story.

CONCLUSION

At the end of the 17th century, English colonization was firmly established in the New World. The English settlers, at first condemned as interlopers by the Spaniards, had by then achieved a vast numerical superiority over their accusers.. The rapid expansion of the colonies had overwhelmed and expelled the Dutch and Swedes and was just bringing them into violent conflict with the French for control of North America. It was to be a numerically unequal struggle with nearly 300,000 Anglo-Americans against 17,000 Frenchmen -- but numbers alone

did not assure an early end to the fight.

The English colonies in 1700 comprised a pioneer society. The frontier had moved inland so recently -- and such a short distance, at that -- that the older settled parts of the colonies had not yet acquired a veneer of culture. The means and the leisure were finally coming to hand, however, and the flowering of that culture was imminent.

England, emerging from a turbulent period of internal strife, had begun to view her American possessions with calculating eyes. The eyes were those of her dominant mercantile class, who saw in the colonies the means to advance their own interests. The colonists on the other hand -- distant 3,000 miles from Europe and long accustomed to slack supervision -- were unconvinced that their destiny was the enrichment of English merchants. Therein lay the seed of future troubles.

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Andrews, Charles M., The Colonial Period of American History. 4 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934-38. A detailed and scholarly study of the American colonies, written from the "English end"; i. e., considering the colonies as integral parts of the British imperial system rather than as embryo states. An advanced work, useful for its examination of the interrelationship between the colonies and the mother country.
- Channing, Edward, A History of the United States. 6 vols. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1932-36. One of the standard authorities, Channing was at the same time one of the more discursive of the discursive historians. The information and the interpretation are there, but sometimes difficult to locate.
- Gabriel, Ralph H., ed., The Pageant of America. 15 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925-29. A pictorial history covering the period from the beginnings of exploration to the time of publication, the series contains numerous contemporary maps and illustrations which aid the student in recreating the living past. Narrative chapter headings and captions, written or reviewed by leading scholars, give continuity to the presentation.
- Morrison, Hugh, Early American Architecture, From the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period. New York: Oxford University Press, 1952. Morrison has creditably performed a rigidly defined task: to write "a comprehensive account in one volume of architecture in the American colonies from St. Augustine in 1565 to San Francisco in 1848." The book, profusely illustrated, is an invaluable aid in studying the colonial architecture of the 17th and 18th centuries.
- Savelle, Max, The Foundations of American Civilization: A History of Colonial America. New York: Henry Holt and Company, c. 1942. In this college textbook, Savelle undertook a comprehensive discussion of the colonial period and the beginnings of the United States. Though containing a few minor errors of fact, it is a lucid discussion of a complicated subject.
- Waterman, Thomas Tileston, The Dwellings of Colonial America. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, c. 1950. Waterman, one of the foremost authorities on colonial architecture until his death shortly after the publication of this work, here undertook a discussion of the effect on colonial architecture of regional conditions and national traditions. Confining himself to the colonial period, and to the territory occupied by the English colonies, he achieved a clear and complete picture of the subject.

Winsor, Justin, ed., Narrative and Critical History of America. 8 vols. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1884-89. One of the standard authorities, the fruit of collaboration among a number of late 19th century scholars, this work is especially noteworthy for its full bibliography. It contains full discussion of the main facets of American history, though some of its conclusions have been superseded by the results of later scholarship.

SURVEY OF SITES AND BUILDINGS

General Discussion

As might be expected, the passing of three centuries has obliterated or drastically impaired many important sites and buildings relating to English exploration and settlement before 1700, particularly in the South Atlantic states. Yet a surprisingly large number of period houses have survived in New England, although most of them have been altered or repaired in some degree; in many cases they are virtual reconstructions, employing perhaps only a few timbers of the original structure.

Far more good 17th century buildings have survived than have sites associated with specific historical events of top significance. Only five such sites were found which appeared to merit classification of exceptional value and for four of these, as noted in the recommendations for additional study, adequate authentication is not yet available. Coles Hill at Plymouth, Massachusetts, now meets the standards of the Survey criteria. It is hoped that further study will result in satisfactory authentication of the sites of the Popham Colony of 1607-08, the Grand Assembly of the Albemarle in 1665, the Albemarle Point settlement of 1670, and the Great Swamp Fight of 1675.

In making a selection of the "best" New England houses of the 17th century, the architectural historian is confronted with an embarrassment of riches. The attempt has been made to select for top classification those houses in which alteration has been minimal and repair and

restoration expertly done to preserve the houses' value as authentic survivors. In the South Atlantic states, as indicated above, the field of selection is much more restricted. Yet, in every case, the houses recommended in this report are those which have received the widest acceptance among architects and historians as best illustrating the life of Englishmen of the 17th century.

Only two sites pertaining to English exploration and settlement prior to 1700 are included in the National Park System. They are Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina, scene of the "Lost Colony"; and Jamestown National Historic Site and the Jamestown portion of Colonial National Historical Park, the location of the first permanent English settlement and the capital of Virginia, 1607-99.

Many sites are gone. There is no appreciable and useful trace of the very earliest Puritan settlements on Massachusetts Bay. With the exception of the Paul Revere House, downtown Boston has no 17th century structures. None of the earliest Pilgrim houses survive in Plymouth or vicinity, and sites relating to the highly significant settlement of Providence, Rhode Island, by Roger Williams, have been overwhelmed by urban development. The site of the Great Swamp Fight of 1637, which marked the end of the Pequot War, New England's first great Indian war, was overrun by suburban development and super highways in Westport-Fairfield, Connecticut. The exact site of the earliest settlement of northern Carolina, which antedated that of Albemarle Point, is unknown.

Fortunately, New England traditionally, and in fact, has been keenly aware of its 17th century origins and many of the best houses of the period are preserved by organizations able to give them adequate care. The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities currently administers 48 historic houses and buildings, many of the 17th century, throughout New England. Many local communities have preservation societies responsible for local architectural treasures, as in the case of the Farmington, Connecticut, Village Green and Library Association which owns the fine Whitman House. Historical societies have also taken an active part in historic house preservation, as, for example, the Topsfield, Massachusetts, Historical Society which owns and operates the Capen House, the Ipswich Historical Society which owns the Whipple House, and the Pilgrim Society which obtained possession of Cole's Hill at Plymouth. Some 17th century buildings are preserved because they are still used, a notable example being Old Ship Church, Hingham, Massachusetts.

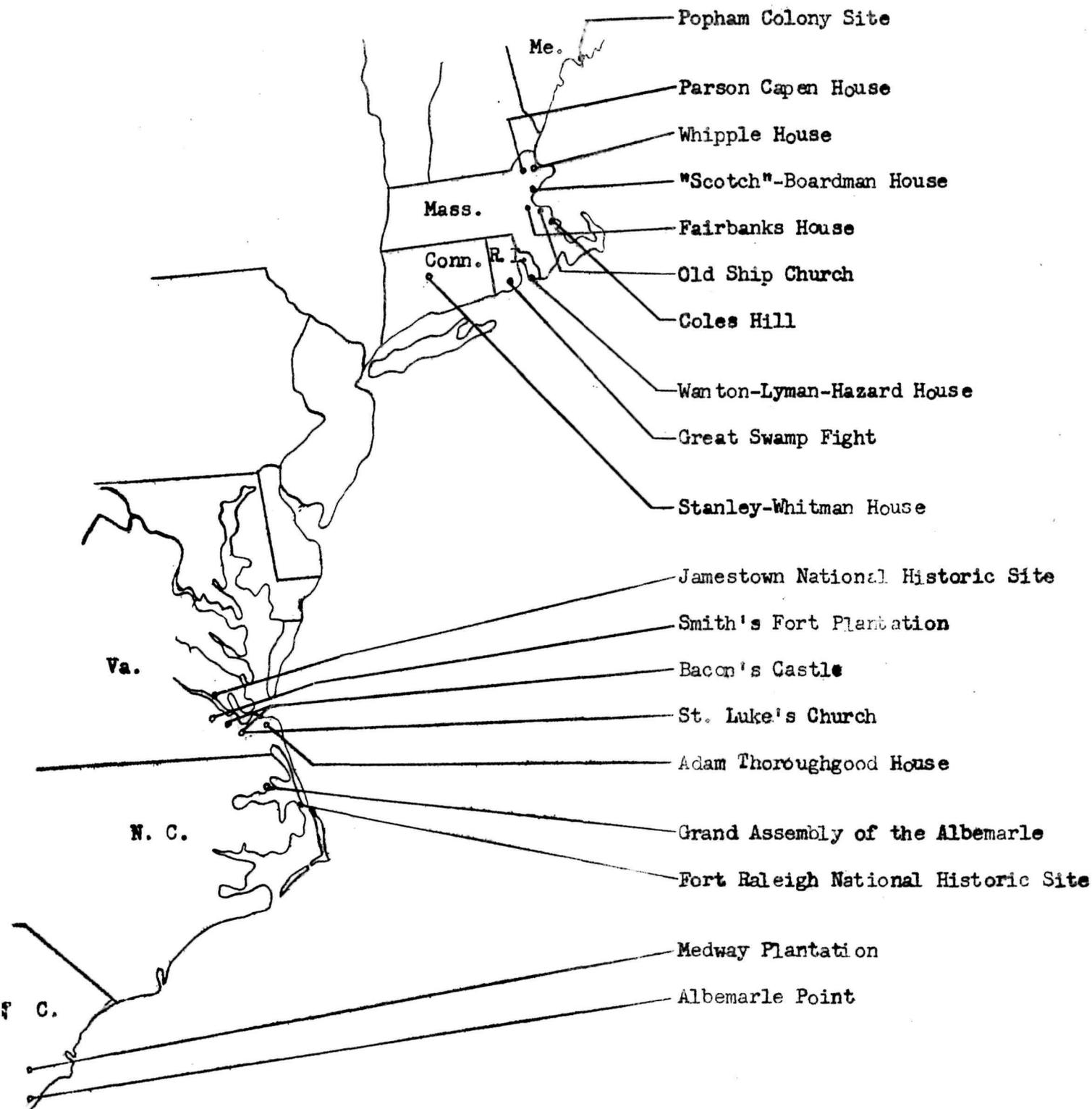
In Virginia and Maryland, and in the states where major English settlement came later in the century, surviving 17th century English houses are rarer, and only a few have been accorded the interest and preservation given to those in New England. Some of them are open to the public as historic house museums, but most are private dwellings.

Criteria for Classification

In order to be designated as possessing "exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States," a site or building must meet at least one of the following criteria:

1. Structures or sites in which the broad cultural, political, economic, military, or social history of the Nation is best exemplified, and from which the visitor may grasp the larger patterns of our American heritage. Such sites are naturally the points or bases from which the broad aspects of pre-historic and historic American life can best be presented.
2. Structures or sites associated importantly with the lives of outstanding historic personages.
3. Structures or sites associated with important events which are symbolic of some great idea or ideal of the American people.
4. Structures which embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type-specimen, exceptionally valuable for a study of a period style or method of construction; or a notable work of a master builder, designer, or architect whose individual genius reflected his age.
5. Archeological sites which have produced information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have produced or which may reasonably be expected to produce data which have affected theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.
6. All historical and archeological sites and structures in order to meet the standards of exceptional importance should have integrity; that is, there should not be doubts as to whether it is the original site or building, original material, or workmanship, and original location. Intangible elements of feeling and association, although difficult to describe, may also be factors in weighing the integrity of a site or structure.
7. Structures or sites of recent historical importance relating to events or persons within 50 years, will not, as a rule, be eligible for consideration.

SITES POSSESSING EXCEPTIONAL VALUE
OR RECOMMENDED FOR FURTHER STUDY



Sites of Exceptional Value

CONNECTICUT

The Stanley-Whitman House (Farmington Museum)

Location: 37 High Street, Farmington, Hartford County.

Ownership-Administration: Farmington Village Green and Library Association, Farmington.

Significance: The Whitman House has been described as "an almost perfect example of the added lean-to house"¹, and as a "classic example of the New England style."² The house, built around 1660, is one of the earliest and best-preserved of the framed-overhang types and its ornamental drops are ranked among the finest in the country. The interior is characteristic of the early central chimney plan, with the parlor and hall on either side of the great central chimney. The chimney below the roof is of well-selected, generally flat field stone, laid in clay mixed with straw in the old English fashion. Above the roof the chimney is of red sandstone, sometimes called "brownstone" laid in small blocks, with wide joints filled with lime mortar. The large stone fireplace in the hall is seven feet wide and more than three feet high, and all of the fireplace masonry is original. The lean-to at the

¹ Anthony N. B. Garvan, Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial Connecticut (New Haven, 1951) 118.

² Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York, 1952), 56.



The Whitman House, Farmington, Connecticut, dating from around 1660, is a classic example of New England Colonial architecture, and is especially notable for its overhang and pendants.

October 27, 1959

National Park Service Photograph

rear of the house was added in the 18th century, possibly as late as 1760. This addition includes the central kitchen portion with a "buttery" room at one end and the traditional "birth and death" room at the other. The fireplace in the lean-to is backed against the original central chimney although it has a separate flue.

The framed front overhang which gives the house so much of its distinctly Jacobean character projects one and a half feet beyond the first floor, while the gabled overhang at each end measures six inches. There is no overhang at the second floor level. The ornamental drops are carved from the ends of the four second story posts which project through the overhang. Many years before the house was restored, one architectural historian commented that the overhang "ranks as one of the best that remain to us . . ."³

The house was purchased in 1735 by the Reverend Samuel Whitman, minister in Farmington from 1706 to 1751. In 1935, its private owners had the house restored by the late J. Frederick Kelly, foremost authority on early domestic architecture in Connecticut. Following its expert restoration the house was deeded to the non-profit association which now administers it.

The open setting of the house lends greatly to its charm and character, as its neighbors do not encroach to an undesirable degree. The tall trees which frame it and the picturesque stone wall which fronts it

³ Norman M. Isham and Albert F. Brown, Early Connecticut Houses (Providence, 1900), 35.

create a memorable picture of the 17th century Connecticut frontier.

Features and Condition: Preservation and maintenance of the Whitman House is of the highest order. The house is furnished in period, and in a manner suitable to its locale. Many of the furnishings came from the Farmington area. In addition to the original house and lean-to, a fireproof museum wing has been added to the rear of the house. Here are displayed maps, manuscripts, articles of costume, musical instruments, china and other items relating to Farmington history. A wagon shed on the grounds houses early farm implements and the garden at the back door contains more than two dozen varieties of herbs and scented geraniums typical of Colonial kitchen gardens. The house is open to visitors on a seasonal schedule throughout the year.

References: Anthony N. B. Garvan, Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial Connecticut (New Haven, 1951); J. Frederick Kelly, The Early Domestic Architecture of Connecticut: (New Haven, 1924); Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York, 1952); Bertha C. Trowbridge and Charles M. Andrews, Old Houses of Connecticut (New Haven, 1923).

MASSACHUSETTS

Coles Hill

Location: Carver Street, Plymouth, Plymouth County.

Ownership-Administration: Pilgrim Society, Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.

Significance: Although some historians have attempted to minimize the significance of the Plymouth Colony of 1620, for most authorities the role of the Pilgrim settlers continues to loom large in any interpretation of the 17th century settlement and development of New England.

Their importance was accurately emphasized by the scholar who called the Pilgrims the "spiritual ancestors" of all Americans.⁴ Unfortunately, virtually all of the historic sites relating to the earliest period of Plymouth settlement have lost their original character and convey little impression of the 17th century colony. A fortunate exception is Coles Hill, which, despite the passage of centuries, has retained its character as a dominant landmark of the Plymouth settlement. From the hill can be seen a picture of land and harbor and sea which in overall perspective conveys a vivid impression of the scene which greeted the Mayflower's weary passengers in December 1620.

The hill rises up from the shores of Plymouth Bay near the foot of Leyden Street, principal thoroughfare of the original settlement. Historically, the hill perhaps is not as significant as other points in Plymouth -- Burial Hill, for example, where the colony's first fort was erected, or Leyden Street where the first houses were built. These locations, unfortunately, have had their character and integrity diminished or wholly obliterated by the passing of the years and the growth of the modern town. Burial Hill is filled with the graves of many generations and pressed in upon by the present town. Its gravestones, monuments and memorials do little to convey the scene as the first Englishmen saw it. Luckily, Coles Hill is, today, relatively open affording a sweeping view of the bay into which the Mayflower sailed and the shore on which its grateful passengers landed.

⁴ Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Pilgrim Fathers: Their Significance in History," in By Land and By Sea. (New York, 1953) 234.

The hill was the traditional burial place of the Plymouth colonists, Pilgrims and others, who died in the tragic "Starving Time" in the first grim winter of 1620-1621. According to stories long told around Plymouth firesides the dead were buried at night, and their graves disguised to keep secret from the nearby Indians the dangerously weakened state of the survivors. In later years the colonists occasionally mounted cannon on the hill to ward off possible attack from the sea.

In an early assignment of land tracts, Coles Hill became the site of the home of Deacon Samuel Fuller, the Mayflower Pilgrims' "physition & chirurgeon." Coles Hill took its name from the tavern keeper who for many years after 1645 maintained his popular establishment on the bank overlooking the bay.

Features and Condition: Coles Hill today is maintained by the Pilgrim Society as a public park. On the top of the bank stands the memorial to the Mayflower Pilgrims, erected by the General Society of Mayflower Descendants. In a crypt beneath the monument are bones uncovered during excavations on the hill in the 18th and 19th centuries. As no burials are known to have been made on the hill subsequent to those of the first winter, it may be, as tradition affirms, that these remains are those of the unfortunates who braved the terrors of the ocean passage only to die in the first weeks and months of the colony's existence. Also on the hill is the heroic statue of Massasoit, the Wampanoag chief whose friendship shielded the struggling colony from Indian attack in its early years. At the foot of Coles Hill is Plymouth Rock, legendary landing

site of the Pilgrims. The fabled Rock has rested in many places over the years, venerated for more than two centuries, first by the people of Plymouth and later by the Nation. Although many historians recognize the rock only as a curious fragment of the Nation's folklore, it nonetheless has come to have a deep meaning for most Americans, quite apart from the pleasant myth that made it the Pilgrims' stepping-stone onto the New World. As one writer has commented:

"Does it matter, then if the Pilgrims did not first land on Plymouth Rock? Or even if, as seems likely, they never used it at all for such purpose? That does not affect in any way its value as a symbol or as a useful pivot for the whole Pilgrim story."⁵

Coles Hill, the nearby rock and curving shores of Plymouth Bay are a memorable evocation of the time more than three centuries past when Englishmen, Saints and Strangers alike, came to the shores of New England to stay.

References: William T. Davis, Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth (Boston, 1889); Samuel Eliot Morison, Builders of the Bay Colony (Boston, 1930); ---, By Land and By Sea (New York, 1953); Alvin P. Stauffer, "Historic Sites in or near Plymouth, Massachusetts Relating to Pilgrim History," Ms., National Park Service, June, 1941; Roland Usher, The Pilgrims and Their History (New York, 1918); George F. Willison, Saints and Strangers (New York, 1945).

Fairbanks House

Location: Eastern Avenue and East Street, Dedham, Norfolk County.

Ownership-Administration: Fairbanks Family in America, Inc., Fairbanks House, Dedham.

Significance: Whether or not the Fairbanks House is accurately

⁵ George F. Willison, Saints and Strangers (New York, 1945), 6.

identified as the oldest frame dwelling in America, it is one of the earliest and remains today "one of the best examples of the 'growing house' of Colonial times. . . ."⁶ Although 1636 is frequently given as the date of construction of the original portion of the house, it may have been a year or two later, as the builder, Jonathan Fayerbanke, did not arrive until September 1636.

The center portion of the present house is the oldest. As Jonathan Fayerbanke added to his wealth and land, he added to the size of his home. The original house consisted of a small porch, hall and parlor downstairs and bedchambers above. Later, a lean-to was added at the back and, tradition says in 1641, a wing was added to the east side of the house. Still later, traditionally around 1654, the west wing was added. Both east and west wings have the gambrel roofs typical of New England, and although their traditional dates may be too early, it is likely that both had been completed by the time of Jonathan Fayerbanke's death in 1668.

From the entry porch in the original portion of the house, stairs lead around the chimney to two second floor bedrooms. The east wing is entered by a small porch in the angle where the wing joins the original house. This wing has a parlor and small bedroom on the lower floor and a large second floor room, reached by a winding stair. The west wing is entered by a door from the hall of the original house and it is thought that this wing provided sleeping quarters for the laborers employed on the Fairbanks farm.

⁶ Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York, 1952), 52.



The Fairbanks House, Dedham, Massachusetts, dates from the middle of the 17th century, perhaps as early as 1636. One of the most picturesque and authentic survivors of Colonial New England it has remained in the hands of the Fairbanks family from the day it was built.

October 30, 1959

National Park Service Photograph

Some authorities assert that the original house was built with oak timbers brought from England. It is known that some 17th century settlers moving to new territory took prepared timbers with them in order to erect their houses quickly for defensive purposes, and this may have been the case with the Fairbanks House. An additional point of interest is the fact that the house has been in the possession of the Fairbanks family throughout its entire existence of more than 300 years.

Features and Condition: The Fairbanks House is open to the public and gives the visitor "a picture which is startling in its authenticity."⁷ The House is furnished with Fairbanks family heirlooms and despite interior alterations occasioned by repairs, plastering, painting and wallpapering, the antiquity of the structure is obvious even to the casual observer. Maintenance of the House is excellent -- a labor of love on the part of the Fairbanks descendants for whom the dwelling is a unique family shrine.

References: Samuel Chamberlain, Open House in New England (Brattleboro, Vt., 1937); Historic American Buildings Survey (24 sheets, 1939, 1940; 2 photos, 1936); Alvin Lincoln Jones, Ye Old Fayerbanks House (Boston, 1894); Elise Lathrop, Historic Houses of Early America (New York, 1927); Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York, 1952); Harold R. Shurtleff, The Log Cabin Myth; A Study of the Early Dwellings of the English Colonists in North America (Cambridge, 1939).

Old Ship Church

Location: Main Street, Hingham.

Ownership-Administration: First Parish (Unitarian), Hingham.

Significance: Some authorities have called the Old Ship Church

⁷ Chamberlain, Open House in New England, 40.

erected in 1681, the oldest English church in continuous use in America. It is certainly the earliest of New England's churches and it remains today a striking survivor of the Puritan settlement of Massachusetts in the 17th century.

The plain wooden structure reflects the Puritan rejection of the Gothic architecture of the Anglican tradition and represents a style of building common to New England meeting houses of the 17th century, for which there was no Old World precedent. With the Puritan rejection of the altar, the pulpit became the focal point of the service, with benches facing it and running lengthwise of the church. The main entrance was in rear of the benches, opposite the pulpit. Describing the Old Ship Church, one writer comments: "Architecturally it stands alone, the one example of this primitive type which has been restored to its original condition. With the exception of the early eighteenth century galley additions, thanks to careful restorations of 1930, we see it today much as it was originally built. . . ."⁸

Although John Smith visited the area in 1614, and the earliest settlement within the bounds of the present town dates from 1633, the major period of settlement began two years later, when, in 1635, a party arrived under the leadership of the Reverend Peter Hobart. The first meeting house was built shortly thereafter. The present structure was erected in 1681, by ships' carpenters, according to tradition. This tradition, plus the "look-out" or captain's walk surmounting the belfry, and the curved

⁸ George F. Marlowe, Churches of Old New England (New York, 1947), 61.



Old Ship Meetinghouse, Hingham, Massachusetts, is the only surviving Puritan church of the 17th century. Built in 1681, the church has been in continuous use ever since.

October 29, 1959

National Park Service Photograph

65934

roof timbers which give the interior the appearance of an inverted ship's hull, all probably contributed to the church's name.

Around 1730, the original structure was extended 14 feet on the northeast side, with a similar addition being made on the southwest side in 1755. At the same time, box pews were installed to replace the original wooden benches. Other 18th century alterations included the addition of two porches, a gallery on three sides, installation of sash windows, and the hanging of a flat plaster ceiling which concealed the roof-framing. In 1869, the box pews were removed and curving pews installed. At the same time the fine old pulpit of 1755 was removed, although the sounding board was retained. The church was restored in 1930, at which time, among other major alterations, the flat ceiling was removed to expose the original magnificent roof timbers.

For more than a century following its construction, the church was used for town meetings and village gatherings. It narrowly escaped destruction when, in 1791, the congregation voted to raze and erect a new church. Fortunately, this move was reconsidered and the church continued to serve its congregation without interruption.

Features and Condition: Despite the changes made in the 18th century, the most objectionable of which were corrected in the restoration of 1930, Old Ship Church gives the visitor a striking impression of the plain meeting house common to New England Puritan settlement in the 17th century. The structure is handsomely maintained by its present Unitarian congregation. On a hill behind the church is the old Hingham

burying ground, containing the graves of early settlers. Notable among the burials is that of General Benjamin Lincoln of Revolutionary War fame. Here also, marked by an obelisk, are remains of an early fort, designed to protect the settlers from Indian attack.

References: Historic American Buildings Survey (two photos, 1941); Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York, 1952); George F. Marlowe, Churches of Old New England (New York, 1947); Edward F. Rines, Old Historic Churches of America (New York, 1936).

The Parson Capen House

Location: Off the village green and State Highway 97, Topsfield, Essex County.

Ownership-Administration: Topsfield Historical Society, 70 Central Street, Topsfield.

Significance: "The Parson Capen House . . . is one of the most flawless examples of English manor houses in America. Its setting and interiors are superb."⁹ This opinion by one authority is confirmed by another who has described the Capen House as "perhaps the most perfect of New England Colonial houses."¹⁰

The Capen House was erected in 1683, a date verified by inscriptions in two places on its oak frame, and it remains today an eloquent reflection of the English heritage of its builders. The appearance of the house, and the skill evidenced by its workmanship indicate that it was constructed by craftsmen newly-arrived from England. With the exception of its clapboards in place of half timbers, the house is a

⁹ Samuel Chamberlain, Open House in New England (Brattleboro, Va., 1937), 100.

¹⁰ Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York, 1952), 57.



The Parson Capen House, Topsfield, Massachusetts, has been described as "perhaps the most perfect of New England Colonial houses." The date of its construction, 1683, was found inscribed in two places on the House's oak frame.

October 31, 1959

National Park Service Photograph

faithful counterpart of the English manor house of the 17th century. The framework is of heavy oak timbers mortised and tenoned together and held in place by wooden pins. The foundation timbers rest on an underpinning of unmortared field stones.

The second story widely overhangs in the front and the third story projects at either end; the overhangs being supported by wooden brackets. Carved pendants decorate the overhang corners of the building. The staircase which winds up before the chimney in the entry has its original newel post and turned oaken balusters. The brick work of the chimney is exposed in the entry, evidence of the early construction of the house. The parlor and the somewhat smaller hall or kitchen constitute the lower floor. The floor has characteristic wide boards, sanded smooth. The walls are wainscoted in a fashion typical of the house's period, and the hall is dominated by the fireplace, more than eight feet wide, with rounded back corners and large flue. A reproduction of this hall or kitchen, with fireplace, ceiling beams and furnishings, appears in the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Parson Capen House was built by the Reverend Joseph Capen, minister of the Church in Topsfield, on a 12-acre plot given him by the Town in 1682. Parson Capen ministered to the Topsfield Church for many years, at the meeting house on the common where the present Topsfield Church stands. The Parson died in 1725 and is buried beside his

wife in the Village burying ground -- his grave marking the spot where the pulpit of the earlier meetinghouse stood.

Features and Condition: The Capen House was acquired by the Topsfield Historical Society in 1913 and was restored under the direction of George F. Dow. The frame timbers are original, but much of the woodwork, inside and out, has been replaced. Furnishings are of the 17th century and include a food hutch which antiquarians have called unique in America, and a baluster-back arm chair inscribed "P. Capen 1708," believed to have been part of the wedding furniture of Priscilla Capen, the Parson's daughter. The House is maintained in excellent condition, and is open to visitors during the summer.

References: Samuel Chamberlain, Open House in New England (Brattleboro, Va., 1937); Historic American Buildings Survey (3 photos, 1936); Fiske Kimball, Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic (New York, 1927); Donald Miller, "A Seventeenth Century New England House," The Architectural Record, XXXVIII, no. 3 (Sept. 1915); Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York, 1952).

The Whipple House

Location: On State Highway 1A, Ipswich, Essex County.

Ownership-Administration: Ipswich Historical Society, 53 South Main Street, Ipswich.

Significance: The Whipple House is a remarkable example of the development of a 17th century dwelling over a span of many years. In its three distinct units are reflected the evolution of workmanship and architectural detail as the Whipple descendants grew away from their English origins. Although the original portion of the house may



The John Whipple House, Ipswich, Massachusetts is one of New England's earliest and best loved houses. Dating from the middle of the 17th century this fine Puritan home and its later additions reflect the family's increase in size and prosperity through several generations.

October 31, 1959

National Park Service Photograph

have been built as early as 1638, the date is conjectural. The earliest documented date for the house is 1650, when its earlier sale from one John Fawn to John Whipple is confirmed. Whatever the precise date of its construction, the house constitutes an exceptional record of New England settlement in the early Colonial period.

The original portion of the house was a two-story, two-room structure with a thatched roof and casement windows. At one end of the lower room is the entrance door, great chimney, and stairway to a large sleeping chamber on the upper floor. This room may originally have been divided by a partition.

This original building was the Whipple House during the lifetime of the first John Whipple, a leader of some distinction in the settlement of Agawam, later Ipswich, and in the Massachusetts Colony. He served as deputy of the General Court in Boston, and held the office of selectman, deacon and, later, ruling elder of the church in Ipswich. The elder Whipple's son, also named John, continued the family's tradition of public service, serving as a representative to the General Court and as an officer in the bloody King Philip's War of 1675-76. It was this second John Whipple who, in 1670, a year after his father's death, added a second unit to the house, more than doubling its size. "The rooms of the new addition were unusually fine, containing triple-light windows, fine molded framing timbers, and one structural rarity: summer beams crossed at right angles. The diagonal lattices of the windows have unfortunately

been restored in wood rather than with lead."¹¹

In adding the new section, Captain John Whipple included a hewn overhang, to each story at the east end of the house -- a feature which the original portion of the house had lacked. The house took on the form it presents today when its next owner, still another John Whipple, added a leanto at the back, sometime after 1700.

On the death of Captain John Whipple, son of the original builder, the Whipple House, with two and one-half acres of land, kiln and outhouse, was appraised by the executors of his will at £330, indicating that even at that early period the house was considered an unusually valuable property.

While the Whipples do not loom as major figures in the Nation's history, they represented the best elements of the sober, industrious and devout Puritan stock, active in affairs of church and state and quick to defend their homes and way of life against any enemy. The stout home they built in Ipswich is a memorable evocation of the spirit of those Englishmen of the 17th century who came to the New World determined to stay and prosper.

Features and Condition: The Whipple House has received the restoration common to virtually all of New England's surviving houses of the 17th century, but this has involved a minimum of alteration. The house is in excellent condition and is exceptionally well-furnished in a fashion which reflects its occupancy over a period of many years. It is maintained as a historic house museum and is open to the public on a seasonal basis.

¹¹ Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York, 1952), 54-55.

References: Elise Lathrop, Historic Houses of Early America (New York, 1927); Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York, 1952); Dorothy and Richard Pratt, A Treasury of Early American Homes, Vol. I (New York, 1949); this work valuable for excellent color photographs of exterior and interiors; Thomas F. Waters, The John Whipple House, Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society, no. XX, 1915.

RHODE ISLAND

Wanton - Lyman - Hazard House

Location: 17 Broadway, Newport, Newport County.

Ownership-Administration: Newport Historical Society,
82 Touro Street, Newport.

Significance: The Wanton-Lyman-Hazard House, built probably around 1695, is one of New England's best Jacobean houses and is highly significant as a representation of architectural transition from the 17th to the 18th century. Its sturdy frame constitution harks back to the houses of the early period of New England settlement while its elaboration of structural detail and ornamentation reflects the changes which began early in the 18th century and developed into the Georgian buildings of the middle Colonial period. Although later research indicates that there may be other 17th century structures in Newport, the Wanton-Lyman-Hazard House is the only one which presents to such a degree the lines and character of its original period.

The earliest known mention of the house dates from 1724 when it was transferred from one Stephen Mumford to Richard Ward, who, in 1740, became governor of the Colony of Rhode Island. By 1765, the house was occupied by Martin Howard, the Tory Stamp Master of Newport. The building was extensively damaged in the Stamp Act riots of 1765 and it is

probable that subsequent repairs included the casing of the beams and the installation of the mantel panelling.

The house was originally a two and one-half story structure with a room on either side of the massive chimney and, probably, a kitchen ell on the rear. The chimney is of brick rather than stone. As brick was not common in Rhode Island before the 18th century, its use here represents a well-preserved early example of brickwork in the Colony. The characteristically steep pitch of the roof remains unchanged and the only major changes in the house's original exterior are the addition of a lean-to across the back and the installation of dormers, sash windows and the classic doorway which dates from 1782. The roof was kicked out in front to take a huge plaster coved cornice, indicating an attempt on the part of the original builder to break away from the simple treatment of the 17th century. The effort at architectural transition reflected by the Wanton-Lyman-Hazard House makes the building a valuable surviving link between the 17th and 18th centuries.

Features and Condition: The Wanton-Lyman-Hazard House was purchased by the Newport Historical Society from the Hazard family in 1927 and was restored under the direction of Norman M. Isham. The north bedchamber has been restored to show the original ceiling beams and the massive corner posts of the late 17th century. The house and its garden are maintained in excellent condition. Furnishings are of the 18th century, with a few earlier pieces. The house is open to the public from May 15 to October 15.

References: Antoinette F. Downing, Early Homes of Rhode Island (Richmond, 1937); Historic American Buildings Survey (six photos, 1936); Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York, 1952); Maud L. Stevens and Jonas Bergner, Two Papers on the Wanton-Lyman-Hazard House, Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society, No. LIX, October, 1926.

VIRGINIA

Adam Thoroughgood House

Location: Princess Anne County, four miles east of Norfolk on Lynnhaven River.

Ownership: Adam Thoroughgood House Foundation, Norfolk.

Significance: Claimed by one authority to be the "oldest house not only in Virginia but perhaps in the English-speaking colonies."¹²

the restored Adam Thoroughgood House is a fine example of the central-hall plan house of 17th century Virginia.

Adam Thoroughgood came to Virginia as an indentured servant in 1621. After working off his indenture, he rapidly rose in position, becoming a member of the House of Burgesses in 1629. By the time of his premature death at the age of 35 in 1640, he owned some 7,000 acres of land in Princess Anne County.

The tract on which the present house stands was bought by Thoroughgood in 1636, and most authorities believe that it is the identical house listed in his will in 1640. The Adam Thoroughgood House Foundation, on the contrary, states that the description of the house in Thoroughgood's will does not seem to tally with the present house. The Foundation feels that

¹² Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York, 1952), 143.

Thoroughgood may have built this house for one of his sons, or it may have been built by a son or grandson. Nevertheless, it is of authentic 17th century design and workmanship.

The house is of brick, 45 by 22 feet, with three walls laid in English bond and one in Flemish. It is a low-eaved, one-and-a-half-story house with a steep gabled roof. Of the two huge end chimneys, one is projecting and one set inside the wall. A hall, ten feet wide, separates the two rooms below, that to the north being the larger. In 1745, the house was altered, with Georgian windows replacing the original leaded glass panes in the parlor, plaster covering the former exposed ceiling beams, and paneling added to the walls.

Status: Under the auspices of the Foundation, the Thoroughgood House was restored to its 17th century condition and opened to the public on April 30, 1957. The restoration included removal of dormers, replacement of leaded glass panes and reduction in the size of windows, removal of plaster and other later additions. In several places, glass inserts have been made to show details of the original construction. The original 5,350-acre estate has been dispersed through the years, and a recent subdivision development has reduced the house tract to four and one-half acres. The grounds have been nicely landscaped, with a 17th century garden donated by the Garden Club of Virginia

References: Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York, 1952); Fiske Kimball, Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic (New York, 1922); Henry C. Foreman, The Architecture of the Old South: The Medieval Style, 1585-1850 (Cambridge, 1948).

Bacon's Castle

Location: Surry County, at Bacons Castle.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: On both historical and architectural grounds, Bacon's Castle is one of the important buildings of the 17th century colonial period.

About mid-September, 1676, a number of the rebel followers of Nathaniel Bacon seized the brick house of Major Arthur Allen and fortified it. From that use the house received its present name of Bacon's Castle. The garrison, commanded at various times by William Rookings, Arthur Long, Joseph Rogers and John Clements, retained control of the house for over three months while their cause declined. The death of Bacon in October left his forces under the leadership of Joseph Ingram, who proved to be unsuited to the command. Ingram dispersed his army in small garrisons, and as the demoralized troops began to plunder indiscriminately, the condition of the colony was soon deplorable.

Berkeley began to conquer the isolated posts one by one, some by force and some by persuasion. On December 29, a loyal force aboard the vessel, Young Prince, captured an unidentified "fort" which many historians have identified as Bacon's Castle. After withstanding a brief siege early in January, 1677, the loyalists used the "fort" as a base of operations for the last engagements of the rebellion, which ended before the month was out.¹³

¹³ Land, loc. cit., 27.

The house, built by Arthur Allen about 1655, is the earliest extant example of the cross plan. It is a two-story brick structure laid in English bond, with a ten-foot-square two-story porch in front and a larger stair tower behind. The main floor originally had a great hall and smaller parlor, and the stair tower afforded access to a large cellar containing several rooms and an eight-foot-wide fireplace, as well as two large bedrooms on the second floor and three more in the garret.

Exterior features of note are the Flemish gables at each end of the house, with large triple chimneys standing just free of the gables. The chimneys, set diagonally and joined only at the caps, rose from a straight stack ten feet wide and four feet deep. It is a unique example of Jacobean architecture.

Status: Bacon's Castle has been altered at various periods, and until a few years ago was in poor condition. About the middle of the 19th century a brick addition was built onto the east side of the house, replacing an earlier frame addition which was moved some distance away and is still in existence. A number of original features remain unaltered, and the present owner has renovated (not restored) the house to serve as a part-time residence so carefully as to permit a restoration at some future time. The home is privately owned and is not generally open to visitors.

References: Robert H. Land, "Bacon's Castle, Surry County, Virginia" (Ms. Historic Sites Survey report, 123 pp., October 1, 1937); Fiske Kimball, Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic (New York, 1922); Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Bacon's Rebellion, 1676 (Jamestown 350th Anniversary Booklet, No. 8) Williamsburg, 1957); Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York, 1952).

St. Luke's Church

Location: Isle of Wight County, at Benns Church.

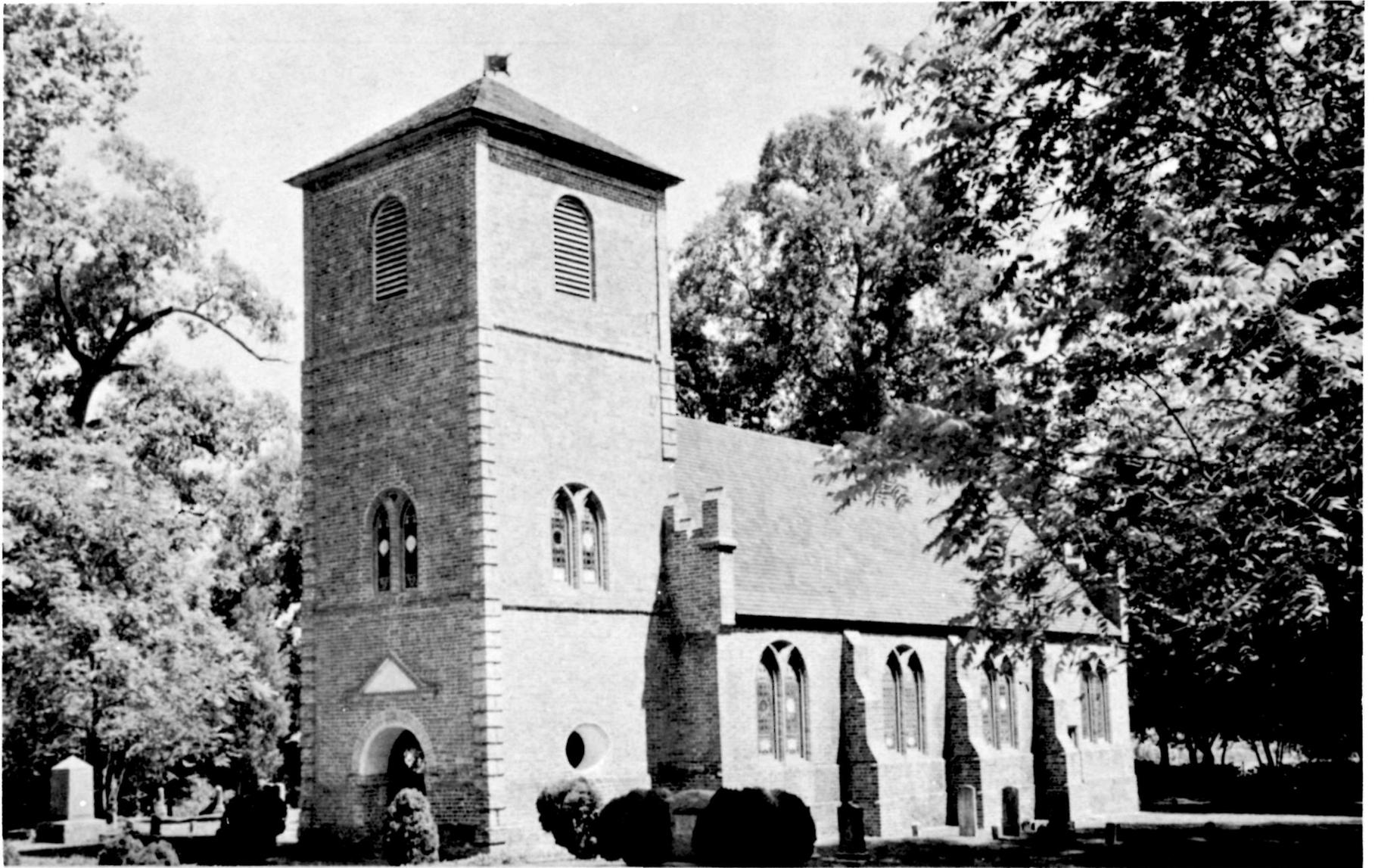
Ownership: Historic St. Luke's Restoration, Inc.,
Smithfield, Va.

Significance: The venerable structure originally called the "Old Brick" or "Newport Parish" Church is generally accepted by architectural historians as the best surviving example of 17th century Gothic architecture. Though no one apparently questions the 17th century origin of the building, several disagree with the claim of the Historic St. Luke's Restoration, Inc., that construction began in 1632.¹⁴

According to the Restoration, the church was begun in that year to replace a wooden structure built a decade earlier. The brick church, laid in Flemish bond in a single nave plan approximately 24 by 60 feet, took about five years to complete. Installation of the permanent interior fittings took longer, possibly as much as 25 years. Colonel Joseph Bridger, a prominent parishioner, about 1657 brought over from England several artisan members of the Driver family to complete this work. During the last quarter of the century, a third story was added to the existing church tower, possibly by second-generation members of the Driver family.¹⁵

¹⁴ G. C. Mason assigned to it the date "1677 or before" and Thomas T. Waterman, "1682." Henry C. Foreman, Virginia Architecture in the Seventeenth Century (Williamsburg, 1957), p. 52.

¹⁵ James Grote Van Derpool, "Historic St. Luke's, Its History and Restoration," in Historic St. Luke's (/Smithfield, 1958/).



NEWPORT PARISH (ST. LUKE'S) CHURCH, Isle of Wight County, Virginia - Recently restored, the church is an authentic 17th century Virginia church in the Gothic style of medieval English parish churches.

August 20, 1959

National Park Service photograph

Various architectural changes were made during the 18th century, and with the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Virginia in 1785, St. Luke's was used only for occasional services and was not maintained properly. Rehabilitated in 1821, it remained in use for 15 years, being abandoned a second time on the completion of Christ Church in Smithfield. After a half-century of disuse, a violent storm in 1887 caused the collapse of the roof and part of the east gable. A partial restoration was made soon after under the auspices of the Rev. David Barr, but in 1953 the foundations were discovered to be crumbling. During the next four years, the foundations were repaired and a complete restoration of the church was carried out.

Features and Condition: Following a careful historical and archeological research program, the church has been restored to its 17th century condition, except that the commemorative stained glass windows added in the late 19th century have not been replaced. Besides permanent shoring up of the foundations, the exterior restoration included reopening the base of the tower, altering the corbic steps on the east gable, and repointing the masonry. Interior restoration was extensive, including a Gothic tie-beam timber roof structure, a floor of square brick, 17th century rood-screen, chancel rail and pews, and triple-decker pulpit. It has been furnished with a number of rare items, including a pair of silver wine flagons dated 1683, a silver trencher-plate of 1696, chancel furnishings of 17th century cut-velvet, a 17th

century Bernard Smith organ, and a font made from a tree trunk, with a silver basin ascribed to Jacob Boelen (1654-1729).

The church is open to visitors daily, and occasional memorial services are held there.

References: Henry C. Foreman, Virginia Architecture in the Seventeenth Century (Williamsburg, 1957); James Grote Van Derpool, "Historic St. Luke's, Its History and Restoration," in Historic St. Luke's (Smithfield, 1958); Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York, 1952).

Sites of Exceptional Value
in the National Park System

Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina

On the north end of Roanoke Island is the site of the first attempted English settlement within the present United States. There Ralph Lane established his settlement of 1585, abandoned the next year, and there in 1587 was planted John White's "Lost Colony," birthplace of Virginia Dare. Careful archeological exploration has permitted an accurate reconstruction of Lane's fort on its original site, and a number of excavated objects are on display.

Jamestown National Historic Site, Virginia

The 20-acre tract owned by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, together with the rest of Jamestown Island, which is a part of Colonial National Historical Park, includes the site of the first successful English settlement in the New World. All that remains above ground of 17th century Jamestown is the noted church tower, believed to be a part of the church built in 1639; but archeological exploration has uncovered extensive remains of the town which served as Virginia's capital from 1607 until 1699. A National Park Service visitor center contains exhibits which tell the story of Jamestown and a large study collection of excavated objects.

Other Sites and Buildings Noted in the Survey

The listing which follows includes a number of sites and buildings which possess more than routine value although in the present theme they do not merit classification of exceptional value. There are literally scores of 17th century houses in New England preserved in greater or lesser degree and in the process of choosing from among these, careful attention has been paid to the opinions of architectural and historical authorities conversant with New England of the 17th century.

CONNECTICUT

Buttolph-Williams House, Wethersfield: A fine example of late 17th century Colonial architecture, built in 1692.

Nehemiah Royce House, Wallingford: Originally erected c. 1672, but moved from original location.

Henry Whitfield House, Guilford: One of the few surviving 17th century stone houses in New England, originally built c. 1640, and extensively restored.

DELAWARE

McIntire House, New Castle: One of Delaware's older houses, this well-designed home was built around 1690.

MAINE

McIntyre Garrison House, near York: Good example of 17th century log garrison house, supposedly built c. 1645; has been considerably restored and altered.

Old Gaol, York Village: Built c. 1653 and considered one of the oldest public buildings in New England.

MARYLAND

St. Mary's City: Site of town established by Leonard Calvert, 1634. In the churchyard of Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church is a monument marking the traditional site of the reading of the Royal Charter, which act officially established the Maryland settlement. Nearby is a 1934 replica of the Colonial Statehouse.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Jethro Coffin House, Nantucket: One of the most authentic examples of the "Cape Cod" house, built around 1686.

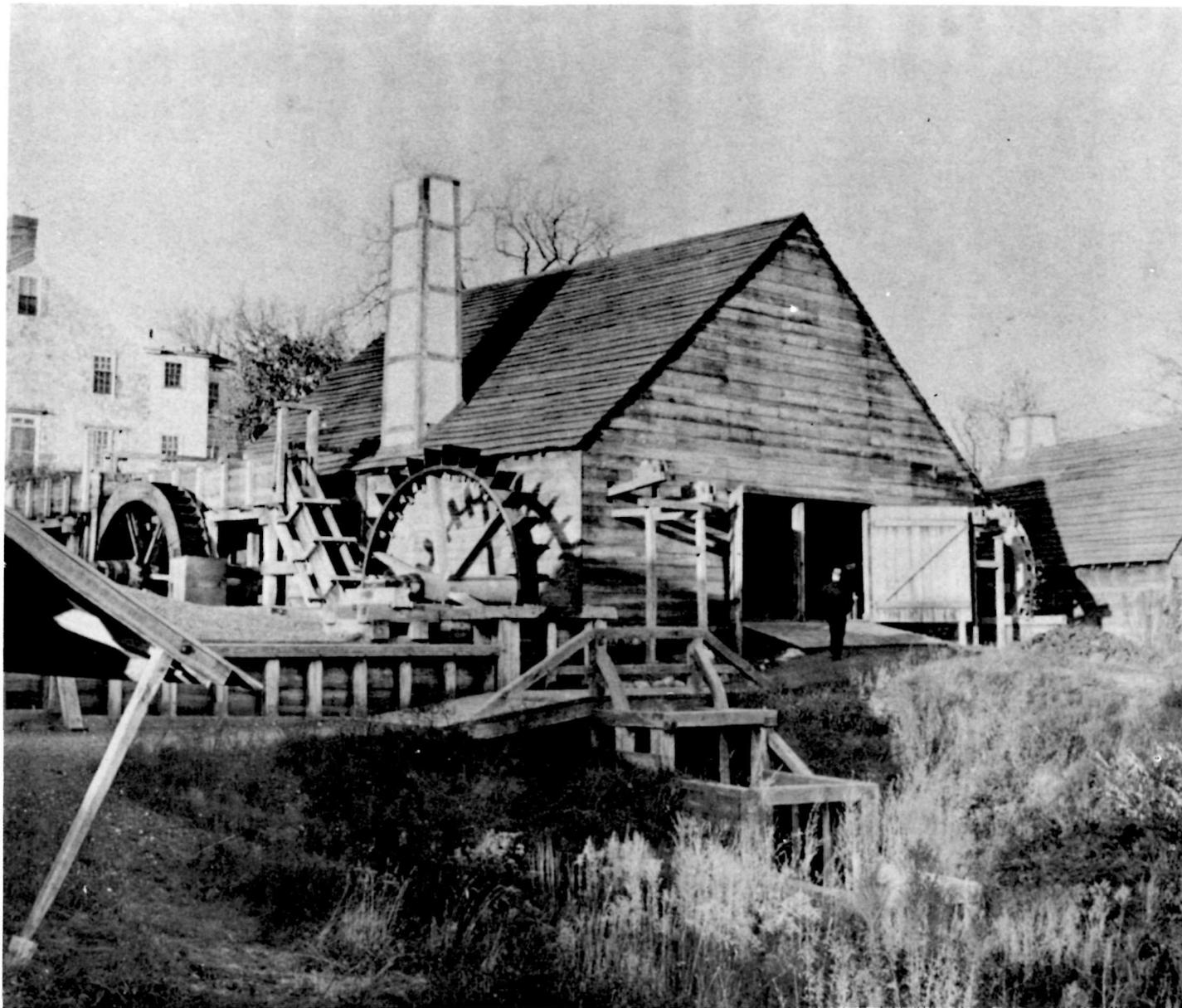
William Harlow House, Plymouth: Tradition claims that this house, built c. 1677, was constructed from timbers of the old Pilgrim fort on Plymouth's Burial Hill.

Rebecca Nurse House, Danvers: This was the home of one of the unfortunate women executed for witchcraft in the Salem hysteria of 1692.

Pilgrim Landing Sites, Cape Cod: On Cape Cod are several sites and memorials relating to the Pilgrims' first contacts with the American mainland. At present day Provincetown, on November 11, 1620 /Old Style/, a party of the Mayflower's passengers came ashore to explore the area, and the traditional landing site is marked by a slab and tablet. At the Pilgrim Spring in Truro, tradition says that the Pilgrims had their first drink of New England water, and on Corn Hill, Truro, they found their first seed corn. The exploring party's second night ashore was spent at Truro's Pond Village campsite; the site of the first night's camp apparently has been washed away. At Wellfleet is a memorial commemorating the landing of an exploring party on December 6, 1620. At nearby First Encounter Beach, Eastham, this same party fought the Pilgrims' first skirmish with the Indians. It was during the Mayflower's stay in Provincetown Harbor that the memorable and significant Mayflower Compact was drawn up, and from the harbor the ship weighed anchor to carry the Pilgrims to Plymouth -- the site finally selected for the permanent colony.

Paul Revere House, Boston: This house, built around 1676, is the only 17th century structure still standing in downtown Boston. The house has its greatest significance as the home of the Revolutionary Patriot, and will be noted in more detail in the study of Theme X, The War for Independence.

Saugus Iron Works, Saugus: An interesting "working" recreation of a 17th century iron works, on the site of the Saugus Iron Works, in operation from about 1646 to 1670. The 17th century Iron Master's House is a fine restoration.



At Saugus, Massachusetts, is a "working" reproduction of a 17th century iron works. In the forge building, similar to the one above, cast iron bars were reheated, and converted into wrought iron under the blows of the giant hammer.

October 30, 1959

National Park Service Photograph

Peter Tufts House, Medford: An interesting brick house, built in 1675, with one of the earliest known gambrel roofs. The house has been extensively remodeled, particularly the interior.

Turner House (House of the Seven Gables), Salem: A much-remodeled "Gothic" house, built around 1670; traditionally identified as the prototype of the house immortalized in Hawthorne's tale.

John Ward House, Salem: A fine gabled house built in 1684-1685. The house does not stand on its original site, having been moved to the grounds of the Essex Institute where it serves as a colonial museum.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

William Damme Garrison House, Dover: A typical New England garrison house, built c. 1675. Erected originally in another location near Dover, the house was moved to the grounds of the Woodman Institute in 1915.

Jackson House, Portsmouth: This Puritan home was built around 1664, and probably is the oldest house in Portsmouth.

NEW YORK

The Bowne House, Flushing: Built around 1661, this house was used as a meeting place by the Society of Friends who found religious toleration in Dutch New Amsterdam.

The Old House, Cutchogue: One of the country's oldest English houses, believed to have been built around 1649.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pennsbury Manor, near Morrisville: A fine reconstruction of William Penn's country seat about 24 miles northeast of Philadelphia. The original manor buildings were erected sometime between 1682 and 1684.

Caleb Pusey House, Upland: This house, built around 1683, is probably the oldest English dwelling in Pennsylvania.

RHODE ISLAND

Eleazer Arnold House, Lincoln: One of Rhode Island's best-preserved 17th century houses, built c. 1687. Its enormous stone chimney is particularly interesting. Later additions have changed the appearance of the house, but the original portion is in fine condition.

Roger Williams Spring and House Site, Providence: While there is no question of the great historical significance of Roger Williams, at present the sites associated with him in Providence are so impaired by later urban development that they do not meet the criteria of exceptional value in the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. The Spring site, artificially developed and enclosed within a small formal park, has lost its identity as a natural feature or landmark of the 17th century settlement. The Roger Williams House site, nearby, is partially covered by building developments. The present Roger Williams Grave is not the original, Williams' dust having been moved in 1860 from its first resting place, some to be enshrined in the Roger Williams Memorial, erected in 1936. Singly or as a group, the sites present little tangible association with the life and work of Roger Williams, either as physical features of terrain or as visible traces of human occupation in the 17th century. While in their present condition the Providence sites do not meet an application of the Survey criteria, it is possible that the current urban renewal project for the area could rescue them to a point where tangible evidences of the 17th century settlement could be revealed. It may be that through archeological investigation the original Spring can be uncovered and related to significance remains at the House site, in a manner which would to some extent restore the 17th century scene. Although the House site was archeologically investigated in 1906, modern techniques and interpretive development might uncover much more of value and firmly establish the integrity of the site as a significant physical link with Roger Williams.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Middleburg, Berkeley County: Possibly the oldest wooden house in South Carolina, built by Benjamin Simons, a French Huguenot, in 1699. In design, it is a forerunner of the "Charleston single house."

VIRGINIA

Christ's Cross (Criss Cross), New Kent County: A good example of the cross-plan house, built about 1690. It is a brick house with some finely designed woodwork.

Foster's Castle, New Kent County: A T-plan brick house, built by Col. Joseph Foster about 1685. Foster's Castle is notable for its wide three-light windows, a round window in the front gable, and an unusual belt course around the porch.

Green Spring, James City County: The foundations of the governor's mansion built by Sir William Berkeley about 1646, partially overlaid by those of a later mansion which might also have been built by Berkeley. The site was excavated by the National Park Service in 1955.

Henricopolis Site, Henrico County: Site of the settlement on Farrar's Island, founded by Sir Thomas Dale in 1611 and wiped out in the Indian massacre of 1622. The site, marked by two stone monuments, has suffered from the encroachment of a large sand-and-gravel operation.

Pinewoods (Warburton House), James City County: Built of brick laid in Flemish bond, Pinewoods is a good example of the small central-hallway house. The two end chimneys were set within the walls.

Wishart House, Norfolk: A brick house in the two-room plan, built about 1680. It has two large, free-standing end chimneys, and flat-arch windows.

Wren Building, Williamsburg: The main structure of the College of William and Mary, it was begun in 1695, completed early in the 18th century, and restored in 1928. It is considered more significant in Theme IX, Development of the English Colonies, 1700-1775.



HENRICOPOLIS SITE, Virginia - Only these two monuments mark the site of the settlement which was established in 1611 and wiped out in the Indian massacre of 1622.

March 13, 1959

National Park Service photograph

Other 17th Century Sites and Buildings

In conducting the Survey of the present theme, literally scores of 17th century buildings were noted in New England, in addition to those recommended as having exceptional value and those briefly described above as having more than ordinary interest and value, although not meriting the classification of exceptional value. The list below is a sampling of 17th century houses, indicating the considerable number of such structures which remain. Many of these by virtue of extensive alteration, and repair, sometimes amounting to a virtual reconstruction, or because they have been moved from their original sites, have lost much of their integrity as survivors of the 17th century. Others are very good and possess charm and interest, but on a comparative basis they do not rank with those buildings which have won widespread recognition as being the best of their types. Consequently the list below is intended primarily to illustrate the broad scope of the Survey in its attempt to winnow the few "best" examples from the many 17th century structures which remain.

Joshua Hempstead House, New London, Connecticut.

Lieutenant Walter Fyler House, Windsor, Connecticut.

Hyland House, Guilford, Connecticut.

Thomas Lee House, East Lyme, Connecticut.

Eels-Stow House, Milford, Connecticut.

Swain-Harrison House, Branford, Connecticut.

Richard Webb House, Darien, Connecticut.

Noah Webster House, West Hartford, Connecticut. This 17th century house has its greatest significance as the birthplace of Noah Webster (1758-1843), and will be considered under the Education sub-theme of Theme XX, Arts and Sciences.

Adams' Birthplace Houses, Quincy, Massachusetts. These 17th century houses are important primarily as the birthplaces of two great Americans, John and John Quincy Adams. They will be noted in further detail in Theme X, The War for Independence, and Theme XIII, Political and Military Affairs, 1830-1860.

John Alden House, Duxbury, Massachusetts.

Balch House, Beverly, Massachusetts.

Retire Beckett House, Salem, Massachusetts.

Governor Bellingham-Cary House, Chelsea, Massachusetts.

Anne Broadstreet House, Andover, Massachusetts.

Chaplin-Clark-Williams House, Rowley, Massachusetts.

Clafflin-Richards House, Wenham, Massachusetts.

Tristram Coffin House, Newbury, Massachusetts.

Deacon Cooper House, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Emerson-Howard House, Ipswich, Massachusetts.

Hale House, Beverly, Massachusetts.

Hart House, near Ipswich, Massachusetts.

Hathaway House, Salem, Massachusetts.

Kendall Holmes House, Plymouth, Massachusetts.

Judge Samuel Holten House, Danvers, Massachusetts.

John Howland House, Plymouth, Massachusetts.

Hoxie House, Sandwich, Massachusetts.

Macy-Colby House, Amesbury, Massachusetts.

Parker Tavern, Peabody, Massachusetts.

Platts-Bradstreet House, Rowley, Massachusetts.

Preston-Foster House, Ipswich, Massachusetts.

Riggs House, Gloucester, Massachusetts.

Jason Russell House, Arlington, Massachusetts. A 17th century house, more important as the scene of heavy fighting in the Lexington-Concord engagement of April 19, 1775. Will be noted further in Theme X, The War for Independence.

Richard Sparrow House, Plymouth, Massachusetts.

Alexander Standish House, Duxbury, Massachusetts.

Samuel Stetson House, Hanover Centre, Massachusetts.

Strawberry Hill (Procter House), near Ipswich, Massachusetts.

Swett-Illsley House, Newbury, Massachusetts.

Colonel John Thacher House, Yarmouthport, Massachusetts.

John Ward House, Haverhill, Massachusetts.

"Whitegates", Wenham, Massachusetts.

John Greenleaf Whittier Homestead, near Haverhill, Massachusetts. Although this house is a good example of the 17th century New England Farm House, it has greater significance as the birthplace of the poet. It will be noted further in Theme XX, Arts and Science.

Deane Winthrop House, Winthrop, Massachusetts.

Witch House, Salem, Massachusetts.

Garrison House, Exeter, New Hampshire.

Marlpit Hall, Middletown, New Jersey.

Thomas Revel House, Burlington, New Jersey.

John Henry Mulford House, Easthampton, Long Island, New York.

Clemence-Irons House, Johnston, Rhode Island.

Thomas Fenner House, Cranston, Rhode Island.

Thomas Clemence House, Manton, Rhode Island.

Smith's Castle (Richard Smith Blockhouse), Wickford, Rhode Island.

Curles Neck Plantation, Henrico County, Virginia.

Fairfield, Gloucester County, Virginia.

Grace Church, Yorktown, Virginia.

Malvern Hill, Henrico County, Virginia.

Manakintown Site, Chesterfield County, Virginia.

Matthew Jones House, Fort Eustis, Virginia.

Merchant's Hope Church, Prince George County, Virginia.

Rosegill, Middlesex County, Virginia.

Sheild House, Yorktown, Virginia.

Sweet Hall, King William County, Virginia.

Town Fields (Accawmacke Plantation), Northampton County, Virginia.

Varina Plantation, Henrico County, Virginia.

Wilton, Westmoreland County, Virginia.

Bel Air, Charles City County, Virginia.

Keeling House, Princess Anne County, Virginia.

Mount Custis, Accomack County, Virginia.

Hill Farm, Accomack County, Virginia.

Warwick, Accomack County, Virginia.

Winona, Northampton County, Virginia.

Smith's Island, Northampton County, Virginia.

Stratton Manor, Northampton County, Virginia.

Recommendations for Additional Study

Eight sites are recommended for further study, to confirm their authenticity or to determine the extent of any remains which may be preserved. When, and if, authenticated by documentary research and archeological investigation, each of the following sites would merit classification of exceptional value.

Drake's Landing Site, California

Drakes Bay, 40 miles north of San Francisco, is associated with many of the great explorers of the Pacific Coast during the 16th and 17th centuries -- especially Cermeno and Vizcaino -- and in the controversial land of Drake. During this period Drakes Bay, then known as San Francisco Bay, was one of the most important and best-known landmarks along the Pacific coast. From the time of Cabrillo's discovery of upper California in 1542 until the discovery of San Francisco Bay in 1769, Drakes Bay, protected by Point Reyes, served as a key landmark for pilots of the Manila Galleons, for explorers and navigators, and for the Portola expedition itself. Cabrillo is believed to have anchored off Drakes Bay in 1542. On his voyage of exploration from Manila in 1595 Cermeno named it the "Bay of San Francis" and during his month's stay lost his Galleon in a storm, the remains of which, with its cargo of beeswax and fine porcelain, presumably still rest on the bottom of the bay. It was from Drakes Bay that Cermeno, in an open launch, began his thorough study of the California coast, one which was not improved upon for almost two

centuries. His explorations into the interior provided some of the earliest information about the inhabitants and resources of the region. Vizcaino, during his voyage of exploration in 1602-05, sailed into the bay, at first planning to recover Cermeno's lost cargo.

Whether or not Drakes Bay was the site of Sir Francis Drake's historic landing on the California coast in 1579 at a "fit and convenient harborough," for the purpose of refitting the Golden Hind, constitutes one of the great mysteries of California historiography. The Drakes Bay site is the most supported and supportable of all sites under consideration, and although iron-clad evidence has not been uncovered, it remains the probable site of Drake's landing from which his epic voyage around the world was launched. Archeological investigations have failed to uncover any evidence which would link the site to Drake, although the Drake Navigators Guild, Chester W. Nimitz, Honorary Chairman, is unshaken in its belief that Drakes Bay is the hallowed ground.

Drakes Bay, which is formed by Point Reyes, has a semi-circular beach about ten miles in length, broken by an inlet called Drake's Estero. There are no developments on the coastline of Drakes Bay, and there has been little change in its appearance. There is a Coast Guard lighthouse on the tip of Point Reyes, and a very small county beach near Drake's Estero. The land along the beach is privately held in a number of large ranches. As a result of recommendations of the Pacific Coast Seashore Survey, bills were introduced in Congress in 1959 to establish the Point Reyes area (including Drakes Bay) as a National Seashore.

Popham Colony Site, Maine

In the late summer of 1607, a party of something over 100 settlers led by George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert established a colony on a point of land at the mouth of Maine's Kennebec, then Sagadahoc, River. This was the Plymouth Company's effort to settle North Virginia, in the same year the London Company was to settle in South Virginia, at Jamestown; Virginia being the name given to the American east coast lying between present northern Maine and the Cape Fear River in North Carolina. The settlers constructed a fort which they named Fort George and in that same year built a small ship, the first to be constructed in New England. The settlement appeared doomed from the beginning. During the winter a fire destroyed the storehouse and most of the colony's provisions. On February 5, 1608, George Popham died and his place was taken by Raleigh Gilbert, a son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and a nephew of Sir Walter Raleigh. When Gilbert's brother died, the commander of the Sagadahoc Colony was recalled to England to see to the estate. There was no suitable leader to replace him and the colonizing effort was abandoned, the survivors arriving in England late in the year 1608. Contemporary accounts and subsequent historical interpretation indicate that the poor quality of the settlers more than any other cause was responsible for the failure of the Colony.

As the northern counterpart of the effort that led to the successful settlement at Jamestown, the site of the Popham Colony has

great significance in the theme of English Exploration and Settlement in the 17th century. Even though the Colony failed, it does mark the first attempt by Englishmen to establish themselves in New England and the site, if fully identified and thoroughly investigated archeologically, might prove to be a find of the first order, throwing much light on English explorers and colonists of the period.

The major question concerning the Popham site is that of authentication. Contemporary documents place the site of the Colony at a point of land on the western side of the mouth of the Kennebec River, the location being called "Sabino" by the Indians. An eye-witness plan of Fort St. George found in Spanish archives in the late 19th century and first published by Alexander Brown in Volume I of his Genesis of the United States, shows an elaborate construction which must have exceeded anything actually accomplished by the colonists in the few months they occupied the settlement. The plan does confirm that the fort was at the river's edge and indicates vaguely that it was on a peninsula. Some historians have claimed that the plan fits the present Sabino Head exactly. If the present site is accepted without question, it is easy to read into the plan a close conformity to the terrain, but it is possible that the plan could be made to fit equally well others of the many points of land at the mouth of the Kennebec. The site as presently marked is virtually unspoiled by later intrusions, with the exception of a few scattered frame houses and the concrete remains of Fort Baldwin, a World

War I coast defense. The land adjacent to the river where the marker now stands is in private hands, while much of the higher ground back of the river is included in the 45-acre state-owned tract surrounding Fort Baldwin. Archeologist Douglas Jordan visited the site and noted a number of terrain features -- ridges and mounds -- which with some reservations, he believes might be traces of the earthworks of Fort St. George. He informs us that while the shape of the remains are similar to the contemporary map of the fort, the size of the remains could not reflect the fort as drawn on the plan. Mr. Jordan's examination was based on surface observation only, and no test excavations were made.

The evidence is very strong in favor of the present Sabino Head but is not, we believe, sufficient to warrant its acceptance beyond any question. Contemporary accounts use, or misuse, Indian place names and cannot be relied on as positive evidence confirming a specific site. It is possible that the Indian term "Sabino" applied originally to the entire region around the mouth of the river and not to one small point of land only. It is recommended that the site of the Popham Colony be the subject of comprehensive historical research and archeological investigation. If further study should authenticate it, the location of the Popham Colony would merit classification of exceptional value.

The "Scotch"-Boardman House, Saugus, Massachusetts

The "Scotch"-Boardman House is an outstanding survivor of 17th century New England, and one which has been accorded top rank by virtually every student of Colonial American architecture. The house has aptly been described as "an outstanding monument owing to the survival of so much original finish in an unspoiled condition."¹ Another architectural historian comments that "Few examples of the typical New England house remain so unmarred."²

The original form of the present house was the characteristic two-room, central-chimney plan, two and a half stories high with a cellar under only one-half of the building. The lean-to was a later addition. On the ground floor, west, is the parlor and on the east, the hall or kitchen. Above each of these rooms, on either side of the central chimney, is a sleeping chamber. When the house was acquired by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities in 1914, it was found that the hall had been divided to make two rooms, and a later partition was found in the chamber over the parlor. Other minor changes have occurred over the years, but these did little to disturb the original fabric of the house. The heavy units of the original frame were still exposed in the rooms on each floor. Of special interest was the

¹ Abbott Lowell Cummings, "The 'Scotch'-Boardman House, A Fresh Appraisal," Part II, Old Time New England, XLIII, No. 4 (Spring, 1953), 101. This authoritative article, in two parts, is the basic source for the present summary.

² Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York, 1952), 56.

fireplace wall in each chamber. These retained their entire original shadow-moulded sheathing, disclosed by the removal of later wallpaper.

The present exterior of the house, including the clapboards, under-boarding, roof covering, windows and front door, dates almost entirely from a later period.

The formal restoration of the Boardman House between 1915 and 1918 was expertly carried out. Little was done to change the condition in which the structure was found, for fear of damaging the integrity of its original finish, so much of which, happily, had survived. Since the restoration, only repairs necessary to preservation and upkeep have been undertaken. The house is open to the public during the summer and is maintained in excellent condition.

The exact date of the house's construction is not known, although in other respects, because it was the subject of frequent litigation, the history of the house can be documented in some detail. For many years it was accepted that the house had been constructed to house Scottish prisoners captured by Cromwell in the Battle of Dunbar, September 13, 1650 /New Style/, and transported to America to labor in the iron works at Saugus. Recent scholarship has thrown some doubt on this tradition, suggesting that the present house stands near, but not on the site, of the original "Scotch" house, and conjecturing that the present house was built after 1686.³ It has been pointed out that if the present

³ Cummings, "The 'Scotch'-Boardman House," Part I, Old Time New England, XLIII, No. 3 (Winter, 1953), 59-66.

house was, indeed, intended to house a large number of prisoners, its design makes no concession to such a purpose. The house followed the normal plan for a typical family dwelling of the period, and its fine decorative detail characteristic of the best houses of the time, would hardly have been found on prisoners' quarters.⁴

Grand Assembly of the Albemarle, North Carolina

When Charles II granted Carolina to the Lords Proprietors in 1663, at least 100 settlers were living in the region north of Albemarle Sound, principally around the Chowan River. In October, 1664, William Drummond was appointed "governor and commander in chief" of Albemarle County. He and a six-member council were given authority to legislate for the country, "by and with the advice and consent of the freeholders or freemen or the Major parte of them, their deputyes or delligates"⁵ -- the beginning of government in Carolina. Three months later the Proprietors promulgated the "Concessions and Agreement," which provided for a unicameral legislature composed of the governor, council, and twelve deputies, with vast powers which included the right to select its own time and place of meeting. Pursuant to this document, the first legislature met early in 1665 on Halls Creek, about seven miles southwest of the present Elizabeth City. Tradition says that the meeting was held beneath a large oak tree near the stream, because no building large

⁴ Ibid., 64.

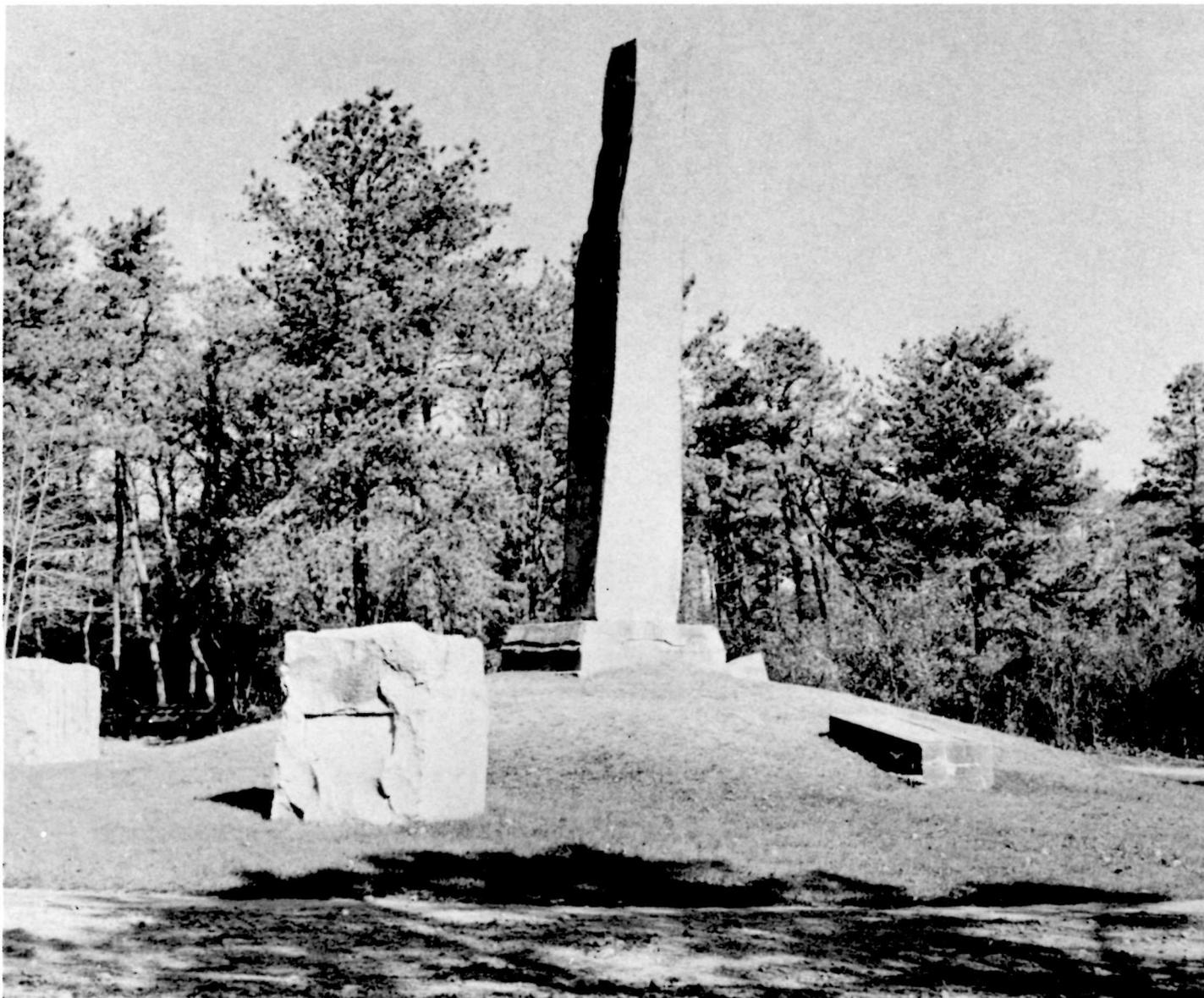
⁵ Hugh T. Lefler and Albert R. Newsome, North Carolina: The History of A Southern State (Chapel Hill, c. 1954), p. 33.

enough to hold the group was available. Among the business transacted by this first legislature was a petition to the Proprietors asking that lands be granted to settlers on the same terms as in Virginia, which petition was answered by the Great Deed of Grant in 1668.

The exact site of the Grand Assembly meeting of 1665 is not known at present. The stone monument pictured in this study is located beside North Carolina Route 170 adjacent to Halls Creek Church, about a mile north of Nixonton. The monument is on the highest ground in the vicinity and is probably no great distance from the actual scene. A study should be made of this first Grand Assembly, the full story of which has not yet been told. Even if such a study should not pinpoint the site, it would provide hitherto unassembled information on the composition and accomplishments of the body, which would be useful in any memorial development of the site.

Great Swamp Fight, Rhode Island

On December 19, 1675, during the bloody King Philip's War, forces of the United Colonies stormed the formidable fort of the Narragansett Indians in Rhode Island's Great Swamp and crushed a proud people for all time. Although many warriors escaped the disaster, hundreds of older people, women and children were slaughtered. Most unfortunately, the Narragansetts' winter supply of food was destroyed. The battle proved to be a decisive blow to King Philip's effort to overwhelm white settlement in New England. The Great Swamp area is virtually the only unmarred scene of a major white-Indian battle of the 17th century in New England.



Site of the Great Swamp Fight, near Kingston, Rhode Island. On the afternoon of December 19, 1675, Colonial troops destroyed the principal fort of the Narragansett Indians and won a decisive victory in King Philip's war. The monuments above mark the battle site and commemorate the role of the colonies represented in the battle.

October 28, 1959

National Park Service Photograph

If the high ground presently marked in the Great Swamp as the site of the Indian fort is correct, it has great significance as an unspoiled location in New England's most desperate struggle with the Indians in the 17th century. There has been some archeological investigation of the area and in 19th century accounts there is mention of artifacts being found scattered about in the Great Swamp, but much remains to be done to completely authenticate the site and determine what traces of the battle have survived. The Swamp, incidentally, does not appear today as formidable as it did to the writers who described it in the 17th century, and may well have changed in character over the past 300 years. As the site of the defeat of the Narragansetts is a highly important one in the story of English exploration and settlement in the 17th century, it is recommended that full-scale research and archeological investigation be undertaken to locate the site and nature of the fort and determine what remains are extant. An effort is now being made, as time permits, to assemble such information as is already available but it appears that this will not be sufficient to warrant definite recommendation of the site without additional study -- particularly archeological exploration.

Albemarle Point (Old Town), South Carolina

At Albemarle Point on the south bank of the Ashley River the first settlement of southern Carolina was made in 1670, and there the seat of government remained until the founding of Charleston in 1680. In August,

1669, the Lords Proprietors sent out from England an expedition of three vessels to settle the southern part of their colony. Two of the ships -- the "Port Royall" and the "Albemarle" -- were lost en route. The third vessel, the "Carolina," after stopping in Bermuda for repairs, sailed from that island in February, 1670, in company with an unnamed replacement vessel. The expedition reached Port Royal harbor in March, but, deeming that point too exposed to attack from Spaniards and hostile Indians, the leaders sailed up the coast to the present Charleston Harbor. Landing at Albemarle Point on the river the Indians called the "Kiawah," they proceeded to erect fortifications and wooden dwellings. For a decade, the colony's business was conducted from Albemarle Point under Governos William Sayle, Sir John Yeamans, and Joseph West. Then in December, 1679, the Proprietors informed West that they had appointed as port town for the colony the settlement at Oyster Point, at the junction of the Cooper and Ashley rivers. Public offices soon were moved to the newly established Charles Town and thirty houses were erected. Albemarle Point, thus deserted, declined and ultimately disappeared.

Albemarle Point is now included in the privately owned Old Town Plantation. A monument erected in 1909 stands near the plantation manor house, which is some distance from the point. No remains of the original settlement exist above ground, and it is unlikely that an archeological investigation would reveal much in the way of substantial underground remains. A thorough historical study should be made and then, if the findings so warrant, an archeological exploration to uncover such evidence as may exist. As the site of the initial English settlement on

the south Atlantic coast, Albemarle Point is well worthy of additional study.

Medway Plantation, South Carolina

Medway, in Berkeley County, the oldest recorded house in South Carolina, is indicative of the cosmopolitan character of the colony. Jan Van Arrsens, seigneur de Weirnhoudt, was the leader of a small group of Hollanders who came to settle in Carolina. He built Medway in 1686, but died soon afterward. His widow then married Thomas Smith. Smith, enriched by Van Arrsens' property, subsequently attained numerous high posts, including the governorship of the colony. He is buried on the plantation.

The house was constructed of brick burned on the plantation, and of a notoriously poor quality. (Strangely enough, Medway Plantation later became celebrated for the quality of its brick, the noted "Carolina Grey" which was used in the construction of Fort Sumter.) The deficiencies of the brick were masked by covering the exterior with stucco.

The original house, twenty-seven by thirty-eight-and-a-half feet in size, followed a plan described by William Penn in a broadside for prospective settlers of Pennsylvania in 1684, with a partition near the middle and another to divide one end into two smaller rooms.⁶ A large room takes up the whole south side, while two small ones occupy the north. This

⁶ Thomas T. Waterman, The Dwellings of Colonial America (Chapel Hill, c. 1950), 41.

central section, with end chimneys, originally was one and a half stories high, with stepped gable ends indicative of its Dutch origin.

Status: The original structure built by Van Arrsens has undergone numerous alterations and additions since his time. Its original height has been increased to two stories; unsymmetrical major wings have been made. The changes made in Van Arrsens' creation have not spoiled its esthetic effect, for "consciously or otherwise, this Dutch builder's taste has dominated that of the succeeding owners of Medway" -- to the extent of twice inspiring the replacement of the stepped gables.⁷ None of the numerous outbuildings on the plantation antedates the early 19th century. An outstanding feature of the plantation, aside from the house, is its fine stand of oak trees. The large ones immediately around the house were set out between 1825 and 1835 by Mrs. Theodore Marion DuBose, while a double avenue of trees along the approach drive was planted by her sister, Mrs. Peter Gaillard Stoney, in 1855.

Further study is desirable to determine the extent of alterations in the original house.

Smith's Fort Plantation, Virginia

Within two years following the settlement of Jamestown Island, Captain John Smith ordered construction of a fortification on the south

⁷ Samuel G. Stoney, Plantations of the Carolina Low Country (Charleston, 1938), 46.

side of James River, to serve as a refuge in case enemy attack should force the evacuation of Jamestown. The fort was built early in 1609, "upon a high commanding hill, very hard to be assaulted, and easie to be defended."⁸ Since Jamestown never was so attacked in those early years, and the region around the "New Fort" was only lightly settled, the fort saw little use. Nevertheless, its significance as the first outwork of the little settlement on Jamestown Island entitles it to further consideration.

The generally accepted site of the "New Fort," marked by a few mounds of earth, is on property owned by the Association for Preservation of Virginia Antiquities in Surry County, known as "The Rolfe Property" or "Smith's Fort Plantation." The property also contains a small brick residence known as the "Warren House" or the "Fifty-Foot Brick House," which has been restored and furnished in 17th century style. According to the APVA, the land is a part of a grant made to John Rolfe by the Indian chief, Powhatan, when Rolfe married Powhatan's daughter, Pocahontas, the grant subsequently passing to their son, Thomas Rolfe. The APVA states that the house was built by Thomas Warren in 1652 and is the "oldest brick house of authentic record in Virginia," though several leading architectural historians apparently disagree.⁹

⁸Charles E. Hatch, Jr., The First Seventeen Years: Virginia, 1607-1624 (Williamsburg, 1957), p. 79.

⁹Neither Waterman, op. cit., nor Morrison, op. cit., mentions the house, while Henry C. Foreman flatly states that it "really belongs to the first half of the eighteenth century." Foreman, Virginia Architecture in the Seventeenth Century (Williamsburg, 1957), p. 41. Orrin M. Bullock, Jr., Supervisor of Architectural Research at Colonial Williamsburg, states that the house has "nothing existing about it which can be identified as 17th century construction."

A careful study should be made of the property to permit a final determination of these three points: 1) whether the accepted site of the "New Fort" is indeed the correct one; 2) what the chain of title to the property has been; and 3) when and by whom the present house was built. After completion of such a study, the property should be considered anew in regard to its possible national significance.

