

1971

Patterns of Settlement in the James River Basin, 1607-1642

John Frederick Fausz

College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [Geography Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Fausz, John Frederick, "Patterns of Settlement in the James River Basin, 1607-1642" (1971).

Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects. Paper 1539624744.

<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-jedw-z031>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.

PATTERNS OF SETTLEMENT IN THE JAMES RIVER BASIN,
1607-1642

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by

^{the}
J. Frederick Fausz

1971

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts




Author

Approved, August 1971



Richard Maxwell Brown



John E. Selby



Larry R. Gerlach

~~511401~~

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE iv

LIST OF CHARTS vi

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONSvii

ABSTRACT viii

CHAPTER I. ELIZABETHANS, VIRGINIANS:
 A PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION 2

 Land Concepts and Social Modifications
 Beneficiaries of Virginia Society
 Methods of Land Division

CHAPTER II. JAMESTOWN AND BEYOND 24

 The Island
 "The Subberbs"
 The South Bank

CHAPTER III. DIFFUSION OF SETTLEMENT: WEST 37

 Henrico
 The Upriver Plantations
 Charles City

CHAPTER IV. DIFFUSION OF SETTLEMENT: EAST 45

 Kecoughtan-Elizabeth City
 Newport News
 Nansemond-Norfolk

CHAPTER V. PATTERNS OF SETTLEMENT: A SUMMARY 52

APPENDICES 66

BIBLIOGRAPHY 73

VITA 79

PREFACE

The study of settlement patterns in earliest Virginia has proven challenging but fascinating. At first perplexed by the complexity of the topic, I embarked upon several false trails before deciding to pursue a broad interpretation. As the concluding chapter indicates, I have treated both spatial and temporal perspectives, devoting certain sections to topical discussions of attitudes on land and property, Elizabethan-Jacobean folkways, social mobility, topography of Virginia, and the determinants of settlement. At the same time I have attempted to outline and present a minimum chronology of major seatings as they developed along the James River.

The abstracts of Virginia land patents proved to be my richest source. Although they rarely pinpointed actual inhabited locations, the patents allowed me to discern trends and form general conclusions. Also, the many maps which appear in the paper are based upon these patent descriptions. Serving as the "eyes of history," the maps complement the narrative and help define settlement activity.

My historical and cartographical research led me far afield: to the Virginia State Library in Richmond; to the Rare Book Room and Department of Geology at the College of William and Mary; to the York County Courthouse; to trappings at Jamestown Island; to the Colonial Williamsburg Research

Department; and finally to the Colonial National Historical Park Headquarters at Yorktown. In addition to the many helpful people I encountered in my research, there are three individuals in particular who guided this paper to completion and introduced its author to new thresholds of understanding.

I owe a special thanks to Professor Richard Maxwell Brown, my research director, for suggesting the project originally and for aiding the paper's development in the intervening months. To Professor John E. Selby I am indebted for his probing queries and enlightening editorial criticisms. And to Dr. Larry R. Gerlach I extend my appreciation for his suggestions on revision and for his personal, encouraging interest in the paper's progress.

Williamsburg, Virginia

J. F. F.

LIST OF CHARTS

Chart	Page
1. Charles City Plantations	41
2. Determination of Communities	60

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Typical Tidewater Survey Plat	19
2. Jamestown Island, 1607-1640	following 24
3. James City Suburbs North and East	following 28
4. Patents North and West of James City	following 28
5. Hog Island, 1619-1637	following 34
6. South Bank, James River	following 36
7. Henrico County Near Dutch Gap	following 39
8. Charles City Plantations, 1613-1624	following 41
9. Flowerdieu and Weyanoke	following 42
10. Elizabeth City, South	following 46
11. Elizabeth City, North	following 47
12. Warwick River County, General Area	following 48
13. Blunt Point to Newport News	following 48
14. Warwick River County, Northwest	following 49
15. Warwick River County, Middle Section	following 49
16. The Indian Massacre, 1622	following 54
17. Counties and Census for 1634	following 58
18. The Marrow of Colonization	following 58

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to trace the sites of settlement as they developed along the James River from 1607 to 1642; to describe their characteristics and growth patterns; and to illustrate their location and unique features through the use of maps.

Old World theories of land and its utilization accompanied the first colonists to Virginia, but the expanse of virgin wilds and the harsh realities of America soon altered the settlers' preconceptions. The easy availability of land and its broad distribution by headright contributed to a fluid society where property was attainable for the masses and realty determined a person's place in the social hierarchy.

Having secured a foothold at Jamestown, the Virginia Company, large private and investor-type plantations, and, after 1620, individual yeomen claimed lands and opened regions for settlement along the James and its tributaries, upstream and down. This random and casual diffusion of population was disrupted by the devastating Indian massacre of 1622. Many western, upriver settlements were ravaged and abandoned.

Large numbers of refugees fled eastward to the strategically located old centers at Jamestown and Elizabeth City. They and their contiguous suburbs were defensible clusters of population--communities in the true sense, influencing land patents and seatings for much of the period.

Claims to new lands in the wake of the massacre reflected caution and conservatism even among large speculators, with most activity restricted to established regions. Well into the 1630s the eastern, Chesapeake Bay-oriented communities and counties displayed the greatest growth. Above all, the colonists' response to their new environment between 1607 and 1642 was experimental, ad hoc, stalked by tragedy, and beset by error.

PATTERNS OF SETTLEMENT IN THE JAMES RIVER BASIN,
1607-1642

CHAPTER I

ELIZABETHANS, VIRGINIANS:

A PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION

Land Concepts and Social Modifications

YOU brave Heroique Minds,
Worthy your Countries Name,
That Honour still pursue
Goe, and Subdue,
Whilst loyt'ring Hinds
Lurke here at home, with Shame.¹

With these words Michael Drayton and, in effect, an entire generation of Elizabethans exhorted their adventurous countrymen to cross the Atlantic and seek individual and collective glory in the land called Virginia. What one historian has termed the "wandering spirit of the Angles"² gripped those first vulnerable settlers as they fulfilled Holy Writ in a strange habitat. For it was the Almighty Himself, "the Alpha and Omega of Englands Plantation in Virginia,"³ who "as soone as men were, set them their taske, to replenish the

¹Michael Drayton, "Ode to the Virginian Voyage," The Works of Michael Drayton, ed. J. William Hebel, II (Oxford, Eng., 1932), I. 1-6.

²Philip Alexander Bruce, Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, 2d ed. rev. (Lynchburg, Va., 1927), 14.

³From "Virginias Verger: Or a Discourse shewing the benefits . . . of Virginia . . . [1625]," in Samuel Purchas, ed., Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilerimes, XIX (Glasgow, 1906), 267.

earth, and to subdue it."⁴

Coming as they did from a land-limited island where every arable acre was precious and coveted, seventeenth-century Englishmen at first contact with the New World's expanse could scarcely conceive of so much unmanured, unexploited land, free from enclosures of field and encirclements of city. Their reactions were understandably quixotic. "Natural" land (i.e. unimproved wilderness) in such vast quantity was idealized as a panacea for England's crowded urban masses, who "having no meanes of labour to relieue their misery, . . . [did] . . . swarme in lewd and naughtie practises."⁵ The rich land in "VIRGINIA/ Earth's onely Paradise,"⁶ it was believed, would solve covetousness, violence, and fraud while instilling the virtues of frugality, invention, justice, and an appreciation for the commonweal.⁷

A sobering initiation into the rigors of the new environment soon caused the once rosy prospects to pale, though.

⁴Genesis I:28 as quoted in The Planters Plea (London, 1630), in Peter Force, ed., Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, From the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776 (Washington, 1836-1846), II, no. 3, 1. For an important discussion of religious fervor as a factor in Virginia's settlement, see Perry Miller, "Religion and Society in the Early Literature of Virginia," Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), 99-140.

⁵Nova Brittania: offering most excellent fruites by planting in Virginia (London, 1609), in Force, ed., Tracts, I, no. 6, 19.

⁶Drayton, "Ode to the Virginian Voyage," Works of Drayton, ed. Hebel, II, iv. 23-24.

⁷Planters Plea, in Force, ed., Tracts, II, no. 3, 3.

While the Virginia Company's offer of five hundred acres per share was alluring to investors, the fact remained that the "natural" land of early Virginia was essentially valueless until it had been transformed into "social," arable land--the units of property.⁸ The territorial potential far outstripped the initial response from immigration, and the hard challenges of preparing the land for cultivation implanted subtle apprehensions in the emerging colonial mind and produced an altered attitude toward the soil's practical worth.⁹ The final irony was evidenced by speculation without settlement and land acquisition without improvement.¹⁰

As would be expected, the assumptions of Elizabethan-Jacobean society accompanied the settlers to Jamestown and took root in the American soil, albeit in a modified form. Virginians, living in a "microcosm of the Old World,"¹¹ accepted the gradations of a hierarchical society but also believed "that differences in rank, although normally to be

⁸See Edmund S. Morgan's essay on Virginia land and its relation to labor, "The First American Boom: Virginia 1618 to 1630," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXVIII (1971), 169-198.

⁹Even where small-scale hoe cultivation permitted planting in the midst of standing timber, "girdling" (the slow killing of trees by cutting rings in the trunk), burning underbrush, and grubbing the roots required many man-hours. Lewis Cecil Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States To 1860, I (Washington, 1933), 197.

¹⁰Consult Nova Britannia, in Force, ed., Tracts, I, no. 6, 24-25 for an appreciation of contemporary land expectations.

¹¹Oscar Handlin, "The Significance of the Seventeenth Century," in James Morton Smith, ed., Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History (Chapel Hill, 1959), 6.

observed, were not unalterable."¹² The designations of "esquire" and "gentleman" or "yeoman" and "laborer" were usually affixed to land patents, indicating the wealth, position, or profession of men--information exceedingly relevant in a new colony receiving a constant flow of fresh immigrants.

Among the "ordinaire sort" in Virginia society were the free and indentured workers of the land and craftsmen. Yeomen were the most successful of the small planters--entrepreneurs of the soil who, like their English counterparts, formed a large segment of the productive "middling classes."¹³ The English "husbandman" classification was used infrequently in the colony, "tenant" being the more common designation for one who rented, or worked another's, land. Many types of skilled craftsmen were in evidence, but their numbers remained insignificant when compared with the yeomen active in the predominantly agricultural Virginia economy. However, recognition came with a special provision of the Virginia Company in November 1618, allotting a house and a four-acre plot to all tradesmen.¹⁴ Craftsmen were sometimes classed in the broader category of laborers, but the general usage of

¹²Mildred Campbell, "Social Origins of Some Early Americans," in Smith, ed., Seventeenth-Century America, 65.

¹³Ibid., 76. In the colonies as in England, the type and size of yeoman holdings varied considerably. Broadly applied in the early 17th century, the designation "yeoman" was no longer restricted to the holders of a 40 shilling freehold. Wallace Notestein, The English People on the Eve of Colonization, 1603-1630 (New York, 1954), 71.

¹⁴Susan M. Kingsbury, ed., The Records of the Virginia Company of London (Washington, 1906-1935), III, 103. Hereafter cited as Virginia Company Records.

the latter term more often denoted an unskilled, non-landed occupation.¹⁵

A purely artificial status, peculiar to Virginia and one that resulted in many advantages, was that of "ancient planter." All those who had arrived in the colony before the departure of Sir Thomas Dale in 1616 were given this title. An assembly act of September 1632 exempted the ancient planters from service in war and from all public fees except church duties.¹⁶ According to the muster of 1624/25, there were 103 men and 15 women listed as ancient planters who had survived the 1622 Indian massacre, including two settlers from the original 1607 landing--John Dodds and John Laydon (Leydon).¹⁷ An ancient planter could remain a moderately successful farmer, or less frequently, he rose to acquire the wealth and influence of the colony's "extraordinarie men: Diuines, Governors, Ministers of State and Justice, Knights, Gentlemen, Physitions, and . . . men of worth for special seruices."¹⁸

Since Virginia's very survival depended upon the recruitment and utilization of a voluntary labor force, "higher

¹⁵For additional information on the English class distinctions, see Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost (New York, 1965), 38, 43-45.

¹⁶William W. Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large; being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia . . ., I (Richmond, 1809), 197. Hereafter cited as Statutes at Large.

¹⁷Nell M. Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-1800, I (Richmond, 1934), xxviii-xxxiv.

¹⁸Nova Brittania, in Force, ed., Tracts, I, no. 6, 23.

statuses . . . were created as a result of the need to induce persons to accept positions in lower statuses."¹⁹ The titles of "honorable" (usually reserved for the governor), "esquire" (most often a member of the Council), and "gentleman" (a respected community leader), in addition to high military ranks, distinguished the small but powerful social elite through whom the Virginia Company expected to establish "discipline through deference."²⁰ In order to stabilize conditions in the infant colony, prominent Virginians in 1620 sent a petition to the Company Council requesting a leader "eythar Noble, or little lesse in Honor, . . . to maintayne and hold up the dignytye of so Great and good a cawse."²¹

Wealth led to position and, through positions of influence, landed profits accrued. By 1625 there were forty-eight families accorded social titles in the colony muster. Among them they held 266 of 487 white indentured servants and 20 of 23 Negroes.²² However, even the families at the very apex of Virginia society before 1650 "lacked the attributes of social

¹⁹Sigmund Diamond, "From Organization to Society; Virginia in the Seventeenth Century," American Journal of Sociology, LXIII (1958), 475.

²⁰Ibid., 467. Designations of military authority like captain, lieutenant, or ensign were held in very high esteem. In the February 1631/32 Council, 11 of the 13 members were listed as captain, and, in September 1632, eight of nine councilors claimed some military rank. Statutes at Large, I, 153-154, 178-179.

²¹Virginia Company Records, III, 232.

²²Diamond, "From Organization to Society," Amer. Journal of Sociology, LXIII (1958), 472.

authority."²³ Virtually everyone was capable of becoming a parvenu within one generation, and it was only the toughness and intense economic motivation which maintained the fortunate individuals on the higher social rungs. Status in this era had never been inherited nor exercised with gentility because social rank and class lines were plastic and unsupported by legislation or tradition. Vertical mobility--the opportunity to obtain land and secure status--appealed to the competitive imagination of virtually all servants and immigrants who ventured onto the Virginia shore. Seven of the forty-one burgesses in the 1629 General Assembly, for example, had been servants only five years before.²⁴ Between 1635 and 1653 nearly one half of the freed servants became self-sufficient landowners.²⁵ As Virginia's first four decades demonstrated, "riches in a new country . . . signified nothing more than the accident of prior settlement."²⁶ Even the lowliest white laborers remained optimistic, believing that, with sufficient time, judicious endeavor, and the barest good fortune, riches

²³Bernard Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia," in Smith, ed., Seventeenth-Century America, 95. My italics.

²⁴Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, The First Americans, 1607-1690, in Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox, eds., A History of American Life, II (New York, 1927), 33.

²⁵Manning Curlee Voorhis, The Land Grant Policy of Colonial Virginia, 1607-1774 (unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1940), 60. Voorhis found that under the Virginia Company, 80 per cent of the male population were landless, indicating that no automatic guarantees of property ownership existed in reality. See pp. 26-27.

²⁶Bernard Bailyn, Ideological Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 308.

and influence would come to him also.

Beneficiaries of Virginia Society

Three "special interest" groups--women, ministers, and mariners--appear to have benefited most propitiously from the more fluid social system of Virginia. The skill with which land management and investment were undertaken by women in the colony was exceptional when compared with the lowly position of females in contemporary English society. Although England was regarded by other Europeans as the "'Hell of Horses, the Purgatory of Servants and the Paradise of Weomen,'"²⁷ there was no widespread recognition of women's rights during the Elizabethan-Jacobean eras. While wealthy widows among the upper classes sometimes managed estates and businesses, wives of English yeomen were mere physical helpmates, and the majority of women remained "handicapped beings, subordinated to their mates, unfitted by either training or experience to play any considerable role."²⁸ Carl Bridenbaugh noted that "in most instances, . . . man-made society . . . [denied] to woman any part in public life or control of her property."²⁹

²⁷From Fynes Moryson's Itinerary [1617] as quoted in Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill, 1935), 466, n. 2.

²⁸Wallace Notestein, "The English Woman, 1580 to 1650," in J. H. Plumb, ed., Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G. M. Trevelyan (London, 1955), 95, 103.

²⁹Carl Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590-1642 (New York, 1968), 28.

However, in Virginia, the extant land patents reveal a very different story in regard to the property-holding practices of women. They were accorded ancient planter status without question; were usually the sole recognized inheritors of their husbands' property; and were free to act as their own agents in contracting for headrights and increasing their land holdings.³⁰ In fact, most Virginia women were quite adept at business affairs and often possessed prime tracts. Of 41 patents granted to women between 1624 and 1643, 27 plots comprised 50 to 350 acres, with the remaining 14 grants falling between 400 and 1,000 acres.³¹ The largest holdings were those of Elizabeth Stephens (1,500 acres in 1636-1637); Elizabeth Packer (or Parker) (950 acres for 19 inherited headrights); Ann Hallom (1,000 acres in 1638); Dorothy Clarke (800 acres in 1639); and Elizabeth Hull (850 acres for transporting 17 persons). The most active female patentee was one Alice Edloe, who, between November 1635 and September 1638, successfully patented some 650 acres on personal initiative

³⁰Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 6, s.v. Mary Bouldin; 59, s.v. Alice Edloe; 65, s.v. Elizabeth Packer.

³¹28 patents totaling 10,100 acres were granted to 20 different women as inheritances from husbands; 4 patents for 2,000 acres went to 4 different women as inheritances from fathers; and 9 patents totaling 1,000 acres were granted to 9 married women whose husbands were still alive. From the example of Mrs. Elizabeth Stephens, we find that in Virginia, as in England, wealthy widows were much pursued as prospective wives. Receiving 1,000 acres from her father's estate (1636) and another 500 on her husband's death (1637), the widow Stephens in 1638 became Lady Harvey, wife of the Virginia governor. Ibid., 50, 72, 108. See also Annie Lash Jester and Martha Woodroof Hiden, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person: Virginia, 1607-1625, 2d ed. (Princeton, 1964), 265.

alone, without the inclusion of inherited headrights. Mrs. Edloe was mentioned in the patent books as late as March 1665/66 in connection with a land transaction.³²

In its first four decades Virginia also proved to be a favorable environment for many ministers. "Assured to finde very good Entertaynment from the Inhabitans,"³³ Anglican clergymen were free of the controversies characteristic of the next century, and they fared quite well economically, being guaranteed glebe land as well as two hundred pounds sterling per annum.³⁴ While English parsons often lived in the poverty-ridden state of petty husbandmen, their colonial counterparts had incomes "generally above that of the great majority of small landholders."³⁵ Combining spiritual leadership with a sound financial sense, these early ministers, in the influence they exerted and the respect they commanded, "proved only less important than the owners of plantations."³⁶

In the years between 1627 and 1642, the patent records

³²Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 547, s.v. John Burton.

³³Virginia Company Records, III, 583.

³⁴Ibid., 102. In addition to tobacco and corn allowances, ministers were entitled to the 20th calf, kid, and pig from all settlements by act of the assembly, February 1631/32. "Petty duties" (2 s. for a marriage and 1 s. for a funeral) were also authorized for a minister's services at this time. Statutes at Large, I, 159-160.

³⁵Notestein, English People on Eve of Colonization, 64; William H. Seiler, "The Anglican Parish in Virginia," in Smith, ed., Seventeenth-Century America, 132.

³⁶Notestein, English People on Eve of Colonization, 69. Precise property holdings are unknown for otherwise influential scholar-divines Patrick Copland and Alexander Whitaker.

show nine clergymen each with three hundred or more acres. The Reverend Thomas Butler of Denbigh Parish amassed 1,000 acres; Thomas Hampton held 1,100 on the Nansemond River; and William Cotton claimed 650 acres, partly through transporting four Negroes to the colony.³⁷ The Reverend Greville Pooley had two servants and some livestock as early as 1625; Pastor George Keth (Keith) of Kiskiacke patented 850 acres in Charles River County while John Rosier maintained a plantation, house, and two servants--all of which he leased at an annual rate of 6500 pounds of tobacco.³⁸ The Reverend William Wilkinson acquired several hundred acres at Lynnhaven near the important holdings of Captain Adam Thoroughgood, and Richard Buck's similar grant at Archer's Hope Creek near Jamestown was the largest there in 1625.³⁹ Willis Hely (Heyley), "Clarke and Pastor of Mulberry Island," was given his parcel "in reward of his faithfull paines in the Ministrie exemplified by a Godly and quiet life thereby seconding his doctrine, next as a spurr and encouragement for others of his calling to pursue soe faire and bright and example."⁴⁰

³⁷Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 26, s.v. Butler; 56, 71, s.v. Hampton; 59, 101, s.v. Cotton. Others were George White, 642 acres, pp. 27, 66, 95; William Cannhoe, 400 acres, p. 136; and Nathaniel Eaton, 350 acres, p. 135.

³⁸Philip Alexander Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, I (New York, 1910), 177-178; Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 29, s.v. Keth.

³⁹Charles E. Hatch, Jr., The First Seventeen Years: Virginia, 1607-1624, Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklet, No. 6 (Richmond, 1957), 108.

⁴⁰Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 30, s.v. Hely.

While the ministers were generally settled landowners and model citizens, another group--the mariners--created problems by their proclivity to speculate and monopolize vast segments of Virginia territory. As early as the 1618 instructions addressed to Governor George Yeardley, Company officials had expressed their distress over the damage wrought by speculation--specifically grants to "Mariners never intending there to inhabit, thereby . . . defrauding . . . his Majesty of the Customs due him."⁴¹ Sea captains, and even their lowliest crew members, subverted the headright system by demanding fifty acres for each passenger transported and by claiming themselves as adventurers to the colony. Headright certificates gained in this manner were then sold to Virginia-based landholders or retained by the mariner himself.⁴² A contemporary source announced that "most of the Masters of ships and chief Mariners have also there Plantations, and houses, and servants etc. in Virginia."⁴³ Patent records list only

⁴¹Virginia Company Records, III, 105. Another act of 1617/18 demonstrated the poor reputation which seamen had in Virginia. The order directed the commander at Kecoughtan to prohibit sailors from coming ashore, because "when ye Sailors heard of a mans death they Imbezelled their goods sent 'em." Ibid., 90.

⁴²Philip Alexander Bruce, Virginia; Rebirth of the Old Dominion, I (Chicago and New York, 1929), 90. In one noteworthy instance, Capt. Andrew Hastler and Richard Wilsonn, Mariner, were granted an entire neck of land in the Chickahominy River before they produced the requisite headrights. They were instructed to transport "see many servants as there shalbee found upon survey to bee fiftie acs., vizt: for every 50 acs. one servant. 18 Dec. 1637." Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 77-78.

⁴³A Perfect Description of Virginia . . . (London, 1649), in Force, ed., Tracts, II, no. 8, 5.

thirteen mariners who divided seventy-two hundred acres between 1624 and 1643, but this figure probably represents only a small proportion of the more extensive speculative activity. Of the extant patents, the largest single grantee was one William Barker, who owned twelve hundred acres in association with merchant investors and another twenty-four hundred as personal property. The bulk of his Charles City County estate remained in his family for over a century.⁴⁴

Methods of Land Division

For the first dozen years of its existence, Virginia was a "private estate"⁴⁵ under cultivation by a corps of imported laborers. The Virginia Company of London owned all the land, controlled all habitation in the colony, and commanded the immediate allegiance of the settlers. Faced with limitless tracts of forested wilds, the Company by 1618 had adopted the policy of granting large amounts of territory to reputable individuals and solvent joint-stock associations of English investors. These "subpatents," "particular plantations," or "hundreds," as they have been variously labeled, were usually issued at the rate of one hundred acres per share of Company stock.⁴⁶ Besides the original grant, an additional one hundred acres per share for each planting

⁴⁴ Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, xxv, 35, 70, 100, 103, 108, 110, s.v. Barker.

⁴⁵ Diamond, "From Organization to Society," Amer. Journal of Sociology, LXIII (1958), 461.

⁴⁶ Bruce, Virginia; Rebirth, I, 87.

initiated, allotments of rent-free land for each person transported to Virginia, and generous acreage allocations for support of churches and schools were dividends and incentives offered by the Company.⁴⁷

Economically and politically autonomous, the hundreds were profit-oriented and resembled the feudal manor in operation.⁴⁸ These private estates each had a commander, a sheriff, and court justices. Investors in the plantations provided tenants and supplies at their own expense and were entitled to ship New World commodities directly to their business headquarters in England, thus bypassing the Company.⁴⁹

The total number of subpatents granted between 1619 and 1623 ranges from forty-four (those sponsored by merchant associations) to seventy (plantations of both individual and associative varieties).⁵⁰ There is little doubt that many subpatents were aborted, and that grants to Hamor and Associates, Blackwell and Associates, and the Leyden Separatists never advanced beyond the pages of the Virginia Company minutes.⁵¹ Two particular plantations which were planted and did prosper

⁴⁷Voorhis, Land Grant Policy, 13.

⁴⁸Wesley Frank Craven, Dissolution of the Virginia Company: The Failure of a Colonial Experiment (New York, 1932), 61.

⁴⁹Charles McLean Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History, I, The Settlements (New Haven, 1934), 132.

⁵⁰Compare Alexander Brown, First Republic in America (New York, 1898), 628-630 with Andrews, Colonial Period of American History, I, 130n.

⁵¹Ibid., 133n.

were Smythe's (later Southampton) Hundred and Martin's Hundred.

The former plantation received a grant of eighty thousand acres and was financed by businessmen in England and adventurers in the colony. In 1619 the associates planned to transport 1261 immigrants to Southampton Hundred--a figure which represented 50 per cent of Virginia's total population at that time.⁵² So strong was the appeal of these enterprises that Governor Yeardley, a stockholder in the Southampton venture, wrote to Sir Edwin Sandys in 1619 asking to be replaced as governor so that he could devote his full attention to the affairs of his holdings, "the place I love and grieve to see it yett not thrive."⁵³

Martin's Hundred, seven miles downriver from Jamestown and eighty thousand acres in area, has been described as the "most important of all the private plantations and the first to take organized form."⁵⁴ Active in colonization as early as 1618, Martin's Hundred lost seventy-five persons in the Indian massacre of 1622. Resettlement proceeded slowly; in 1624 there were only twenty-seven inhabitants and seven houses at the location.⁵⁵

Notwithstanding their brief life spans, the large

⁵²Virginia Company Records, III, 118.

⁵³Ibid., 124.

⁵⁴Andrews, Colonial Period of American History, I, 131.

⁵⁵[A. C. Quisenberry], "The Virginia Census, 1624-25," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, VII (1899-1900), 366.

associative and private plantations proved to be of immense value in advancing settlement and promoting immigration in the years prior to the preponderance of individual yeoman plots. Then too, "even after 1619, some immigrants, irrespective of their means, preferred to accept the assistance and security offered by the tenant farmer or servant status rather than attempt, at the outset, an independent venture into a wild and unknown land."⁵⁶

As the colony matured and expanded, a greater number of land grants of fewer acres per grant were distributed. Retaining the policy of giving land as a reward for meritorious service to the colony and for immigration of a stockholder, the Company, in its land reforms of 1619, established the following categories of property acquisition:

- 1) one hundred acres per share of Company stock were granted rent free to ancient planters who had paid their own transportation costs;
- 2) one hundred acres, with an annual rent of two shillings, were designated for each ancient planter who had come at Company expense;
- 3) fifty acres, with a fee of one shilling per annum, were allocated for each person who paid his own, or another's, passage to Virginia after 1616 (the "headright"); and
- 4) fifty acres were given to all half tenants who had arrived after 1616 and had completed seven years of service.⁵⁷

⁵⁶Voorhis, Land Grant Policy, 28.

⁵⁷Diamond, "From Organization to Society," Amer. Journal of Sociology, LXIII (1958), 469-470.

Although the earliest-known private plot had been authorized before 1614, the first patent granted to an individual under the reformed land system went to William Fair[e]fax in February 1619/20.⁵⁸ This vastly significant date marked a revolution in Virginia land distribution, leading to obvious repercussions upon the pattern of settlement. The catalyst--private ownership of realty--created intense interest, and settlers ranged far and wide to claim prime tracts. In turn quitrents, fees, surveys, and legal considerations were necessitated by the popularity and volume of private patenting. The General Assembly on 5 March 1623/24 ordered grants surveyed and the boundaries recorded, but instruments and techniques of the day made most such surveys woefully inaccurate.⁵⁹

Seventeenth-century surveyors used river or creek banks as the base for a plat, running a meridional line along the edge of the watercourse to a length in poles⁶⁰ equal to one-half of the total acres called for in the grant. Side boundary lines were extended perpendicular to the base line for the standard distance of one statute mile (320 poles). In almost every case a natural or fixed object was selected as the back boundary, but "if the required distance exceeded or fell short . . . of any . . . natural object, these lines

⁵⁸Voorhis, *Land Grant Policy*, 9n. A transcript of the Fair[e]fax patent appears in Appendix A.

⁵⁹Statutes at Large, I, 125.

⁶⁰One pole measures 16½ feet.

were always contracted or extended so as to terminate at this object, altho' the length of the lines was still represented to be one mile or 320 poles."⁶¹ The diagram below depicts such a survey:

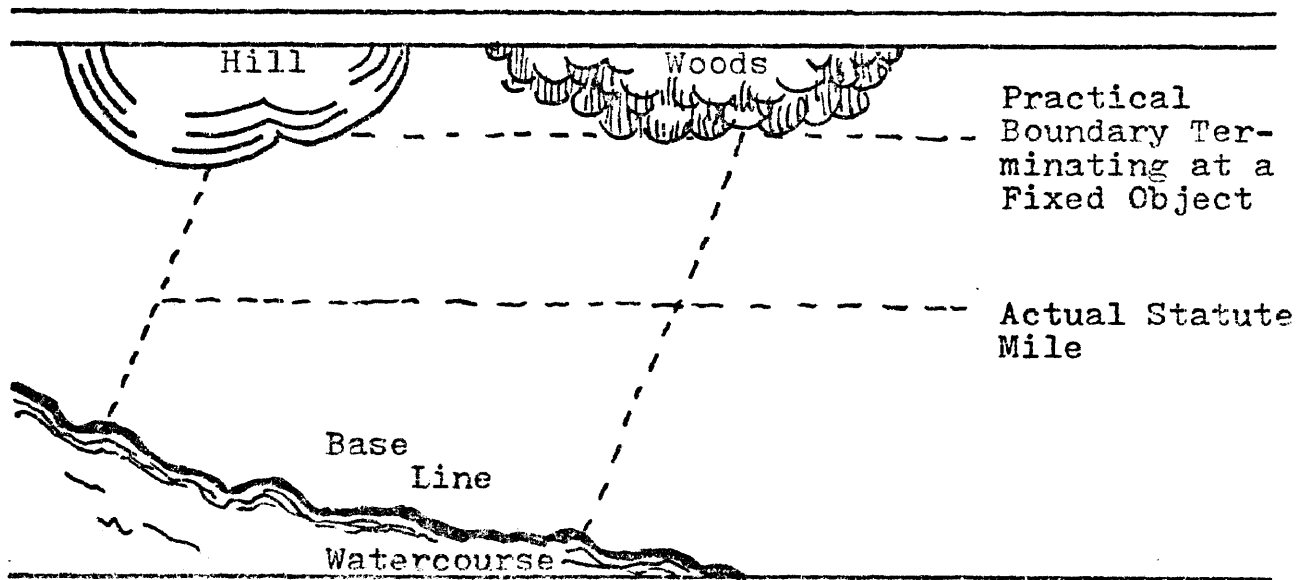


FIGURE 1: Typical Tidewater Survey Plat (Seventeenth Century)

Virginia surveys, "more generous than accurate,"⁶² had drawbacks "with regard to the width of grants along streams in proportion to the extent of the grant backward . . . [and

⁶¹"The Mode of Acquiring Lands in Virginia in Early Times," Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advertiser, II (1849), 194. This invaluable information on 17th-century surveys was attributed to Littleton Tazewell, noted Tidewater jurist and Virginia governor, 1834-1836, by Philip Alexander Bruce, Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, I (New York and London, 1896), 537-538, n. 3. The one mile depth was widely employed, so that, given only the dimensions of the base line, the total acreage of any plat could be calculated easily. For instance, a base line of one pole (16½ feet) and a depth of 320 poles (5,280 feet) would contain exactly 87,120 square feet or two acres.

⁶²Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South (Boston, 1929), 32.

with respect to] . . . the monopolization of the all-important advantages of navigation and the highly desirable bottom lands."⁶³ One instance of surveying inaccuracy involved a patent assigned to Sir William Berkeley in 1643, which, upon resurvey three years later, was found "to contain so much more within the same bounds than was mentioned in 1643, but is recited to be the same."⁶⁴ At the other extreme, a survey made in 1638 on land of Captain Thomas Osborne indicated that a one thousand-acre patent contained only eight hundred acres.⁶⁵ The imprecise boundaries and the tendency to monopolize prime lands concerned the Virginia Assembly on several occasions.⁶⁶ "Beating the bounds," or "proceSSIONING"--the verification and retracing of private boundaries--was an annual civil function of each parish vestry, with two officers being designated to patrol in each district.⁶⁷

The land allocated after 1619 was in fee simple, i.e. land owned with unrestricted rights of disposition, in contrast to the old Anglo-Saxon fee tail, under which land automatically passed to the closest male heir on the death of the holder. Even though the system of entail prohibited the assessment of debt against an inherited estate, the absence of

⁶³Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 396.

⁶⁴"Title to Greenspring " (Ludwell Manuscript), Va. Mag. Hist. Biog., V (1898), 384.

⁶⁵Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 80.

⁶⁶Hening records statutes regarding surveys and boundary disputes for 5 March 1623/24 and 24 February 1631/32. Statutes at Large, I, 125.

⁶⁷Jester and Hiden, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, xxv.

exceptionally valuable estates, the dearth of alternative, non-agricultural occupations available to landless younger sons, and the absence of a legal nobility prevented the early statutory application of entail in Virginia.⁶⁸

The conditions for assuring permanent title to individual patents were twofold: 1) "seating" of the grant--erecting a small dwelling, clearing and planting a few acres, or allowing some livestock to roam on the property; and 2) paying an annual quitrent--one shilling per fifty acres, due at Michaelmas. However, the quitrent was infrequently paid, so that land in pre-Restoration Virginia became de facto rent-free.⁶⁹ The seating requirement also proved ineffective in operation. A tract once seated--even if the cleared portion had been reclaimed by the forest, the cabin rotted, or the livestock scattered--could not be reclassified as deserted land.⁷⁰ Here, then, is a major obstacle in determining the proportion of granted land that was actually settled. For this reason not much faith can be placed in the recorded land patents; they tell little about population concentration or the duration of habitation.

⁶⁸ Bruce, Social Life of Virginia, 133. See also C. Ray Keim, "Primogeniture and Entail in Colonial Virginia," Wm. and Mary Qtly., 3d Ser., XXV (1968), 545.

⁶⁹ For a primary source on quitrents, see Sir John Harvey's proclamation of 22 July 1634, reprinted in Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 20-21. W. Stitt Robinson, Jr., Mother Earth: Land Grants In Virginia, 1607-1699, Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklet, No. 12 (Charlottesville, 1957), 54-57; and Craven, Dissolution of the Virginia Company, 60-61n provide good secondary discussions of the topic.

⁷⁰ Bruce, Virginia: Rebirth, 1, 95.

The major method of land acquisition in seventeenth-century Virginia was the headright, and it continued as such until the direct purchase of land evolved in the eighteenth-century. The headright, which gave fifty acres to settlers paying their own passage as well as to sponsors of other immigrants, was an expedient measure necessitated by the dearth of colonists and the depleted coffers of the Virginia Company.⁷¹

As susceptible as surveying was to error, so was the headright system liable to fraud and subversion. For "every individual brought in, not less than 200 acres was often allotted."⁷² The shipmaster received fifty acres for conveyance; the merchant, a like amount for "purchase of service" upon the immigrant's arrival; the buyer of the service, another fifty acres; and, as frequently happened, an eventual purchaser of one-half interest in the immigrant's services received yet another fifty-acre headright. In addition, false lists of new arrivals were assembled from county record books, the clerks themselves often selling duplicate names of indentured servants for five shillings each.⁷³

⁷¹Voorhis, *Land Grant Policy*, 44. After a few years, the headright grant was not sufficiently valuable to compensate for the cost of transportation. Thus, the 50-acre parcel was made more attractive by requiring the new immigrant to serve an indenture of service under the man who had paid for his passage to Virginia. From Robinson, *Mother Earth*, 35. See also W. G. Stanard, ed., "Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents," *Va. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, I (1893-1894), 82.

⁷²Bruce, *Virginia; Rebirth*, I, 90.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 90-91.

The land system instituted by the Company under Governor George Yeardley's second administration was neither flawlessly designed nor conscientiously executed. Although the patent books are grossly inflated with "paper acreage" unrepresentative of the size or location of actual seatings, the majority of the patents issued between 1619 and 1642 can provide the investigator with general insights into motivation and direction of settlement.

The characteristics, conceptions, and aspirations of these earliest Elizabethan-Jacobean adventurers are significant indices for determining patterns of land distribution and population concentrations. Because archaeologists are just beginning to unearth the tangible remains of many seventeenth-century plantings, the historian is forced to rely upon the evidence of contrived and inaccurate surveys, nebulous extant patents, and the gleanings of his predecessors in defining areas of settlement and assessing their relative importance.

CHAPTER II

JAMESTOWN AND BEYOND

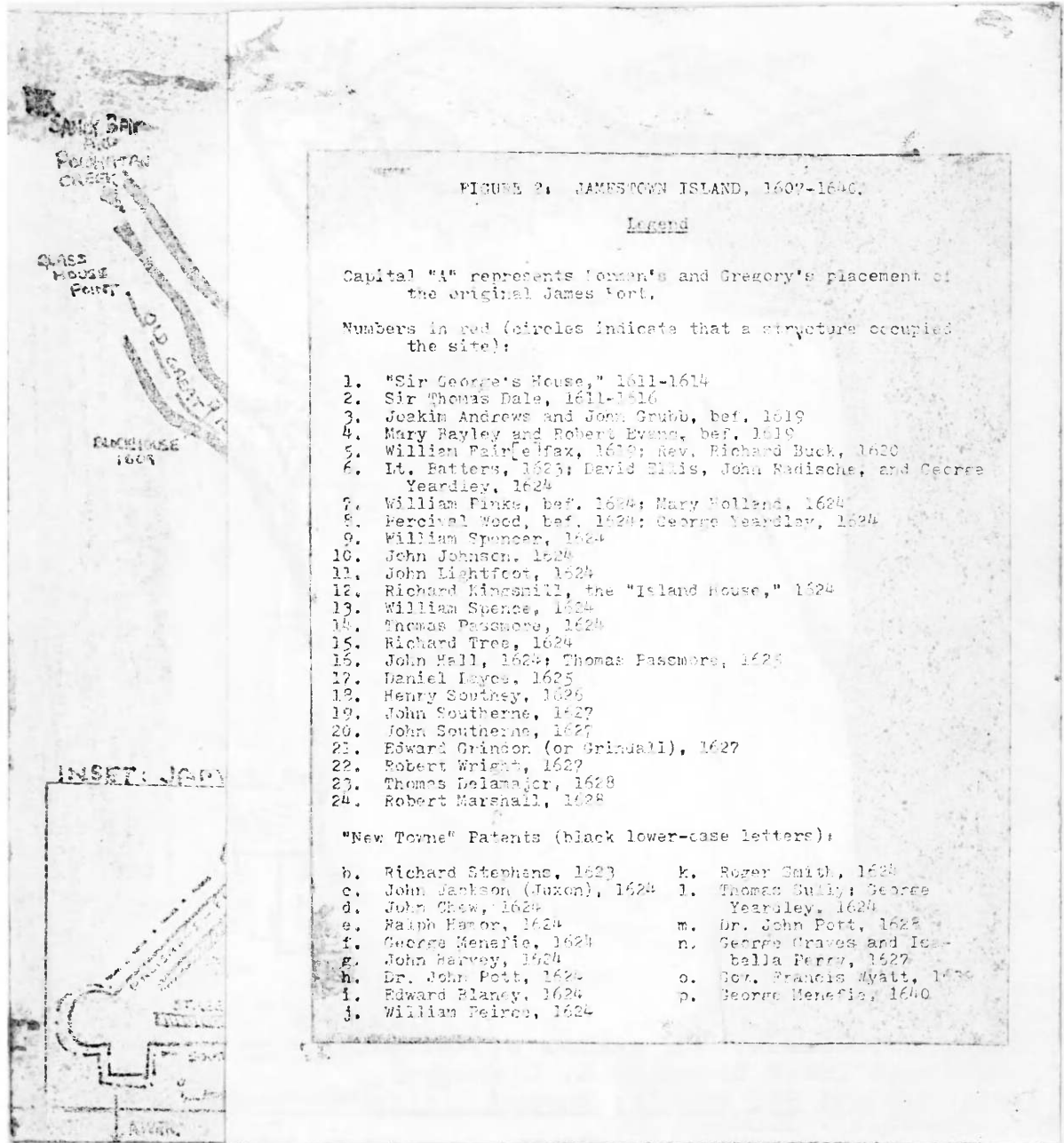
The Island

Jamestown is a pear-shaped, marshy, fifteen hundred-acre island protruding into the James Viver. The capital of Virginia for most of the seventeenth century, Jamestown was the unpretentious but indispensable gateway to the navigable rivers and myriad creeks comprising the Tidewater "sylvan Venice."⁷⁴

Of the original party of 105 which landed upon the western isthmus⁷⁵ of Jamestown Island, not 40 remained alive by February 1607/08. Maintaining their tenuous foothold, the settlers increased in number and soon expanded beyond the constricting palisade that was the small, triangular James Fort.

⁷⁴Wertenbaker, First Americans, 13.

⁷⁵Until the late 17th century, Jamestown was not an island but a peninsula connected to the mainland. The location of the first fort was for years a point of controversy among Virginia writers. Samuel H. Yonge, The Site of Old "James Towne," 1607-1698 (Richmond, 1907), placed the palisade on the western shore at a point since washed away. (See Figure 2 following p. 24). Both Henry Chandlee Forman, Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance (Baltimore, 1938), 63-64, and George C. Gregory, comp., "James Citty" and "James Citty Island" (unpubl. typescript, 1935 [housed at the Colonial National Historical Park Headquarters, Yorktown]) believed that Orchard Run, a more easterly location, was the probable site (Point "A" on the map). It is now generally accepted that Yonge's placement is more accurate.



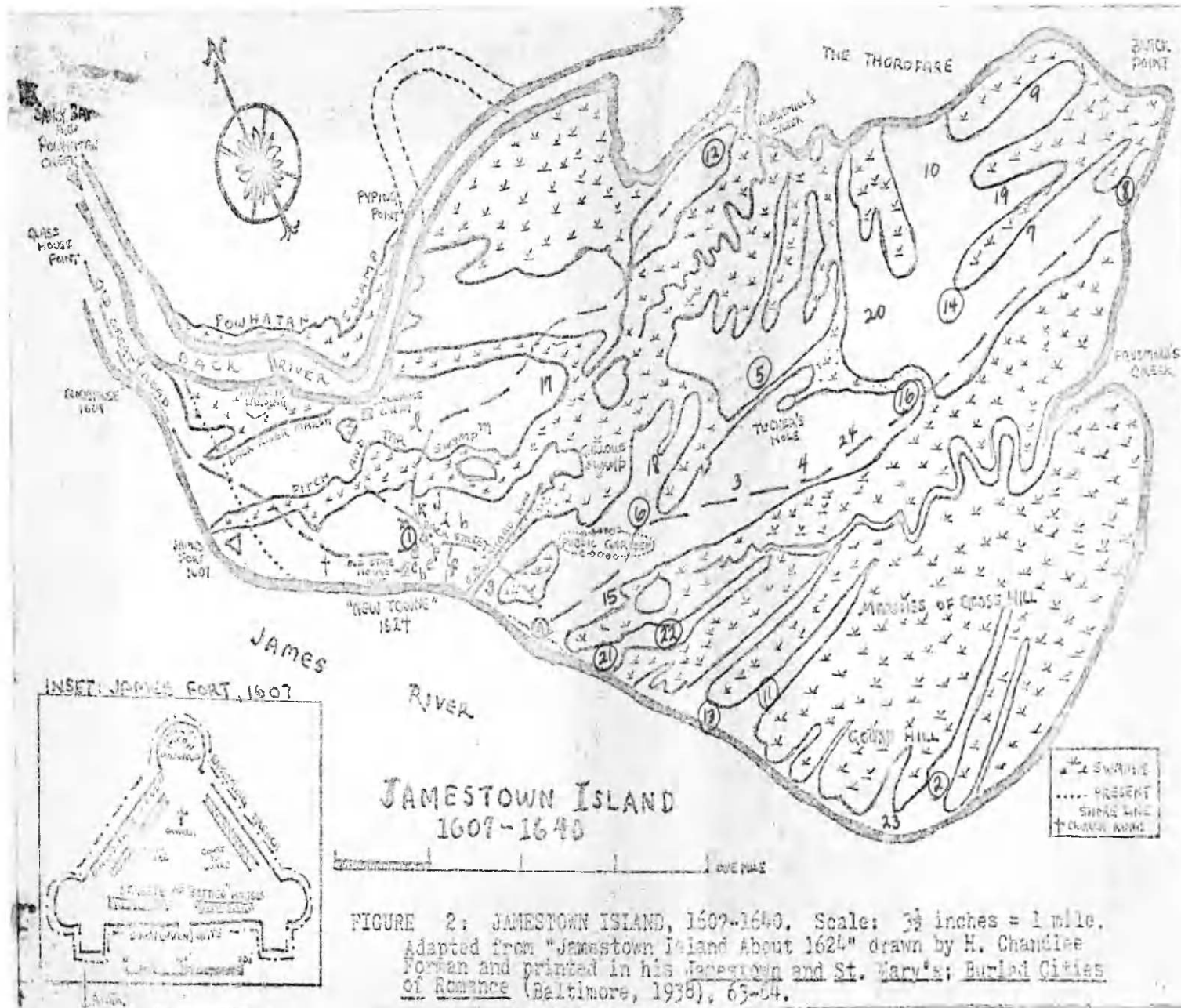


FIGURE 2: JAMESTOWN ISLAND, 1607-1648. Scale: $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches = 1 mile. Adapted from "Jamestown Island About 1624" drawn by H. Chandler Forster and printed in his *Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance* (Baltimore, 1938), 63-64.

The earliest known private plot on the island was granted by the Company between 1611 and 1616 to Sir Thomas Dale, Deputy Governor of Virginia. Located at "Goose Hill" on low land near marshes and the southeastern shoreline, Dale's seven-acre tract from the outset was populated by servants, cattle, and goats.⁷⁶ The "Governor's House" and garden were also established outside the fort, becoming important landmarks of expansion. The site was popularly known as "Sir George's House" in recognition of its most influential tenant, Governor George Yeardley.⁷⁷ By 1625 the wealthiest planter in the colony, Yeardley did much to advance settlement in the Charles City area, just as his son, Argoll, was later to do for the burgeoning Eastern Shore.

Small plots appeared on the island by 1623 amid the many small clearings toward Black Point on the northeast and along the southeastern shore. James City grew in area and population but still lacked shops and any cosmopolitan features. "Nearly all who came to the colony, except the officials, had all to make and little to spend. The population of the town, therefore, did not keep pace with that of the colony."⁷⁸ Jamestown's 1624 population of 175 had already been eclipsed by the rapidly maturing Elizabeth City downriver. The construction of "New Towne" from 1624 to 1626, however, rejuvenated the island community. This fresh growth marked the

⁷⁶Forman, Jamestown and St. Mary's, 62.

⁷⁷Ibid., 53.

⁷⁸Yonge, Site of Old "James Towne," 44.

first serious settlement directly west of Orchard Run. The plots here--designed to serve as townhouse units--were taken up by many of the colony's "extraordinaire sort" as early as January 1619/20.⁷⁹ While the eastern end of Jamestown Island was peopled primarily with yeoman, this western, New Town section became the domain of a powerful clique. Indeed, inhabitants of this latter area comprised a "Who's Who" of early Virginia:

Captain William Peirce, author and land speculator, had served as captain of Governor Francis Wyatt's guard and as lieutenant-governor of James City in 1623.⁸⁰ John Chew was a frequent burgess, extensive landowner in both Virginia and Maryland, and one of the few Jamestown merchants in this period.⁸¹ Captain Roger Smith served in the Council for 1623, 1625, and 1629,⁸² while John Jackson (Juxon), kinsman of Anglican Bishop William Juxon, exerted his influence as a burgess and as commander of Neck of Land, a Jamestown suburb.⁸³

George Menefie, Esquire, acting as colony merchant for a 12 per cent fee, became a noted councilor and patentee of large tracts.⁸⁴ Edward Blaney, another merchant, represented

⁷⁹Virginia Company Records, III, 245.

⁸⁰Jester and Hiden, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 261-263.

⁸¹Ibid., 127-128; Forman, Jamestown and St. Mary's, 76-77, n. 39.

⁸²Jester and Hiden, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 308-309.

⁸³Forman, Jamestown and St. Mary's, 77.

⁸⁴Ibid., 75.

the plantations on the south bank of the James in the House of Burgesses in 1625.⁸⁵ Ralph Hamor, Esquire, served as a councilor from 1621 to 1628 and as secretary of state under Governor Dale. Hamor authored the True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia . . . in 1615, a famous primary source for the period.⁸⁶

Captain John Harvey, later knighted, served as Virginia governor for much of the 1630s. His bitter political rival, Dr. John Pott, the leader of the Council faction which deposed Harvey in 1635, lived just across Orchard Run and Back Street.⁸⁷ Pott had been sent to the colony by the Company in 1621, received preferential treatment upon arrival, and enjoyed political influence as a member of the Council and as acting governor from March 1629 to March 1630.⁸⁸

The wealth of governors, councilors, and merchants--the favored class exemplified by the above-mentioned individuals--was responsible for the construction of many fine brick structures in the 1630s.⁸⁹ However, these refinements of the rich did not promote growth in general, for between 1636 and 1642 we have evidence of only eight new lots granted within the environs of Jamestown Island.⁹⁰ The next fifty years were

⁸⁵Forman, Jamestown and St. Mary's, 78.

⁸⁶Ibid., 76.

⁸⁷Ibid., 74.

⁸⁸Ibid., 74-75.

⁸⁹"Virginia Under Governor Harvey," Va. Mag. Hist. Biog., III (1895-1896), 29-30.

⁹⁰Yonge, Site of Old "James Towne," 40.

ones of slow decline leading to eventual desiccation. It would be a mistake, though, to casually dismiss Jamestown as an unhealthful, agriculturally-unproductive island. For in the crucial consideration of defensibility, Jamestown's location "was the best that could have been found along the South Atlantic coast," as analyzed by historian Lewis Cecil Gray.⁹¹ The island acted as a focal point--an important pivot, and the place of disembarkation for multitudes of settlers destined for newer, richer regions inland or along the James and its tributaries.⁹²

"The Subberbs"

Among the settlements which immediately and lastingly benefited from the exodus radiating from Jamestown were:

Archer's Hope, situated a few miles east of the island at the mouth of Archer's Hope Creek (now College Creek); the region surrounding "Harrop" (Middle Plantation, later Williamsburg); "Neck-of-Land neare James Citty"--the mainland bordered by Back River on the south, Mill Creek on the east, and Powhatan Creek on the west; and Argall Town-Pasbyhayes, located west of Powhatan Creek.

⁹¹Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 15.

⁹²From the extant land patents (1619 to 1642) abstracted in Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 1-152, I found that more than 103,000 acres were patented on Jamestown Island, in James City's suburbs, and at the south bank plantations. Some of the same individuals who owned New Town plots claimed tracts contiguous to the political core of Virginia. Peak periods of patent activity occurred between 1635 and 1643 under the administrations of Governors West (21,500 acres granted), Harvey (47,255 acres), and Berkeley (24,482 acres). See Appendix A and also Chapter V below.

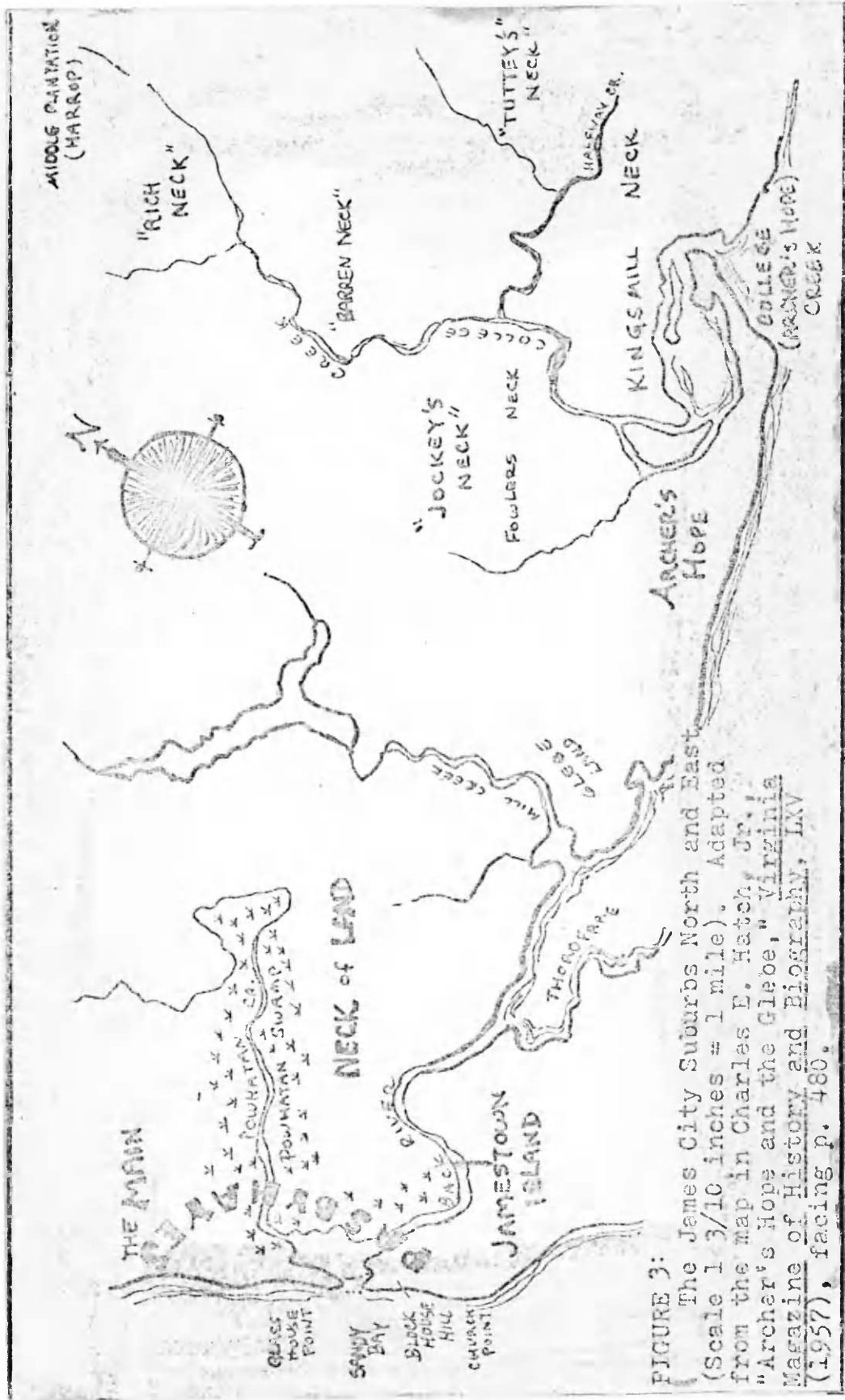


FIGURE 3:

The James City Suburbs North and East (Scale 1 3/10 inches = 1 mile). Adapted from the map in Charles E. Hatch, Jr., "Archer's Hops and the Glebe," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXV (1957), facing p. 480.

Archer's Hope, except for its inferior mooring capabilities, might well have been selected over Jamestown as the site of first settlement. Private patents began here in 1619, and the initial recipients included: Richard Kingsmill (three hundred acres), John Johnson (one hundred), William Fair[e]fax (two hundred), Joakim Andrews (one hundred), and John Grubb (one hundred acres), all of whom owned tracts on Jamestown Island proper. As noted earlier the Reverend Richard Buck was the largest landholder at Archer's Hope Creek with over seven hundred acres. However, actual seating and construction of permanent dwellings at Archer's Hope proved irregular, and the few colonists living there before 1622 were killed or scattered in the infamous massacre of that year. In 1625 fourteen persons constituted an armed outpost under Thomas Bransby's command.⁹³ Although Archer's Hope was always a suburb and never resembled an organized town, its population was large enough to warrant representation in the Assembly by 1628.

By studying the patents within the Archer's Hope-to-Harrop area, the names of privileged, New Town types constantly reappear. Particularly notable were: Richard Kemp, Esquire, "Secretarie and one of his Majesty's Councill of State" who patented 4,832 acres from 1636 to 1643; George Menefie, councilor, owner of 1,200 acres at "Rich Neck;"

⁹³Hatch, First Seventeen Years, 107-108. Hatch, in "Archer's Hope and the Glebe," Va. Mag. Hist. Biog., LXV (1957), 467-485, stated that Bransby's presence, the large store of weapons, and the caution displayed indicated a continuing threat of Indian attack even after 1622. See p. 474.

and Captain John Utye of the Council claimed 1,200 acres on the Charles (York) River.⁹⁴ Although historians have underscored the relationship between a patentee's social/political position and the amount of land he patented, the mass accumulation of headrights and acreage was due more to already existing wealth than to political "pull." The colony's most successful inhabitants were invariably chosen to sit on the Council, but the opportunity to greatly increase their individual holdings was not appreciably enhanced beyond the factors of Virginia's abundance and the intense personal ambition already operative. Certainly there is no evidence to suggest that the councilors conspired to exclude others from property ownership or that they monopolized the headright system surreptitiously.⁹⁵

The suburb of Neck-of-Land matured as a populated region only after 1624. By that time eighteen to twenty-five persons, including five servants and a Negro, were living there, and the settlement was accorded a seat in the Assembly. Richard Kingsmill, the area's leading citizen and first burgess, owned five dwellings in Neck-of-Land by 1625. Another inhabitant, John Jackson, advanced from servant to military commander in only three years. Developing as it did subsequent to the fighting with the Indians, the tiny settlement

⁹⁴See Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 75, 95, 104, 143, s.v. Kemp; 2, 24, 54, 120, 123, s.v. Menefie; 3, 22, s.v. Utye. Chapter V below contains more on speculation.

⁹⁵Professor Morgan recently contended that the Council was infested with self-interest and that councilors discriminated against lesser men in amassing servant-laborers. "First American Boom," Wm. and Mary Qtly., 3d Ser., XXVIII (1971), 193.

enjoyed a continuous and prosperous existence for twenty-five years.⁹⁶

The ambivalent Indian term "Pasbehegh" (Pasbyhayes) loses all meaning when encountered in early records.⁹⁷ Important as a buffer zone shielding more populated regions from Indian attack, this suburb contained the early glass works and a large proportion of Italian laborers. The muster of 1624/25 recorded a total population of forty-three but only one dwelling. However, it is likely that this lone structure was Captain Jabez Whitaker's "guest house," forty feet by twenty feet and constructed in 1621.⁹⁸ "The Maine," closer to Jamestown, supported eighty-six persons (sixty-nine men) in 1622/23. Only two years later, though, another muster listed a mere thirty-five inhabitants.⁹⁹

Argall Town, contiguous to Pasbyhayes, was a large,

⁹⁶ Charles E. Hatch, Jr., Summary of Data Relating to "Neck-of-Land Neare James Citty" (unpubl. typescript, 1954 [housed at the Colonial National Historical Park Headquarters, Yorktown]), 2-4.

⁹⁷ The boundaries of Pasbyhayes have been variously interpreted. George Gregory, for instance, narrowly defined Pasbyhayes as the area near Glass Point, 396 feet from the Block House Hill on Jamestown Island. "James Citty" and "James Citty Island," 5.

⁹⁸ Henry Chandlee Forman, "The Bygone 'Subberbs of James Cittie,'" Wm. and Mary Qtly., 2d Ser., XX (1940), 478-480.

⁹⁹ John Camden Hotten, comp., The Original Lists of Persons of Quality . . . and Others Who Went from Great Britain to the American Plantations, 1600-1700, 3d ed. (New York, 1931), 177, 220; [Quisenberry], "Virginia Census, 1624-25," Va. Mag. Hist. Biog., VII (1899-1900), 366.

twenty-four hundred-acre tract allotted to Samuel Argall and associates by Company charter in March 1616/17. The form of the authorization resembled those of the particular plantations, but, in actual operation, Argall Town was far less structured. The site evolved into a productive agricultural enterprise, but, seemingly because it overlapped the Governor's Land (laid out in 1619 and closed to popular settlement), prospects for a viable community waned.¹⁰⁰

The Governor's Land, three thousand acres "in the best and most convenient place of the territory of James town in Virginia,"¹⁰¹ bordered the three thousand-acre tract of Company Land which lay farther to the west. Both of these official tracts were worked by tenants transported to Virginia at Company expense; Henrico, Elizabeth City, and Charles City had similar acreage allotments and labor organization.

West of the Company Land the Chickahominy River branched off from the James. While less than four thousand acres were granted here before 1637, twenty-two thousand acres were patented during the administration of Governor Harvey (January 1637 to November 1639). Three merchants--George Grace, Robert Freeman, and Robert Holt--accounted for a notable proportion of these patents, over 2,850 acres.¹⁰² The Chickahominy, like the Appomattox, Elizabeth, and Nansemond

¹⁰⁰Hatch, First Seventeen Years, 36-37.

¹⁰¹Virginia Company Records, III, 99.

¹⁰²Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 104, s.v. Grace; 97, s.v. Freeman; 103, 123, s.v. Holt.

tributaries, helped diffuse the colony's population by providing easy access inland and by serving as an important resource for commerce and communication for the multitudes moving away from the banks of the James.

The South Bank

The Corporation of James City--the "old burrough" organized under Argall's administration--in addition to Neck-of-Land, Archer's Hope, and Pasbyhayes, embraced those plantations "over the river from Jamestown." This region on the south side of the James River was commonly referred to as "Tappahannock;"¹⁰³ it encompassed Hog Island, Lawne's Plantation, Warrascoyack (Bennett's Welcome), Basse's Choice, Roger Smith's Plantation, Mathews's Plantation, Blaney's Plantation, Crowder's Plantation, Burrow's Mount, and "Paces-Paines."

Hog Island was a marshy point jutting into the river five miles below Jamestown. It was viewed with indifference as a potential spot for habitation, being before 1610 literally an "Ile of Hogs."¹⁰⁴ A sudden interest in the island occurred after 1620, with colony leaders like John Utye, Captain William Peirce, John Chew, William Spencer, and Ralph Hamor all claiming land here. By far the most interest was displayed by Mary Bayley and her son, Randall Holt, who

¹⁰³Stanard, ed., "Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents," Va. Mag. Hist. Biog., I (1893-1894), 440-441.

¹⁰⁴Hatch, First Seventeen Years, 83.

gained title to all of Hog Island in 1643.¹⁰⁵ Forty men and thirteen women lived in at least four dwellings on the island by 1625, the year that Assembly representation was granted.¹⁰⁶

The individual and associative plantations which extended from Hog Island to Swann's Point were awarded joint representation in 1623.¹⁰⁷ Basse's Choice was a particular plantation sponsored by Nathaniel Basse and authorized by the Company in 1621. Never very populous or pretentious, Basse's Choice was dwarfed by its upstream neighbor, Warrascoyack.

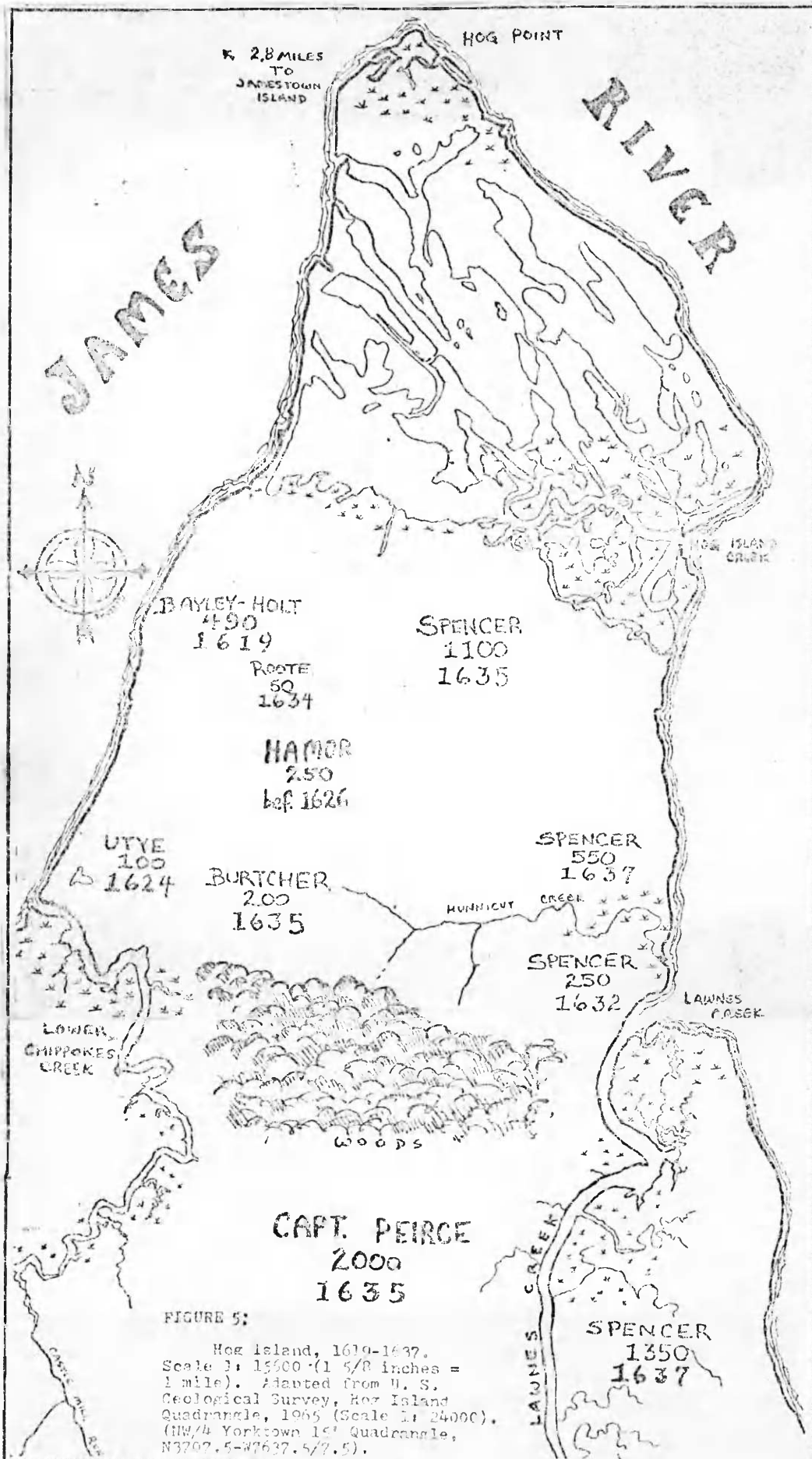
Known alternatively as Bennett's Welcome, Warrascoyack obtained its legal status in 1621. A promising colony of settlers was decimated by the great massacre, and the subsequent dislocations and illness sapped vital energy from the venture. Three years after the Indian uprising there were 1750 acres patented at Warrascoyack, but only 450 of these were planted. The region surrounding Bennett's land became Warrascoyack County in 1634 (Isle of Wight County by 1637) and in the mid-1630s numbered above five hundred residents.¹⁰⁸ The county experienced three peak periods of patent activity: 17,150 acres under Governor John West; 19,850 acres during

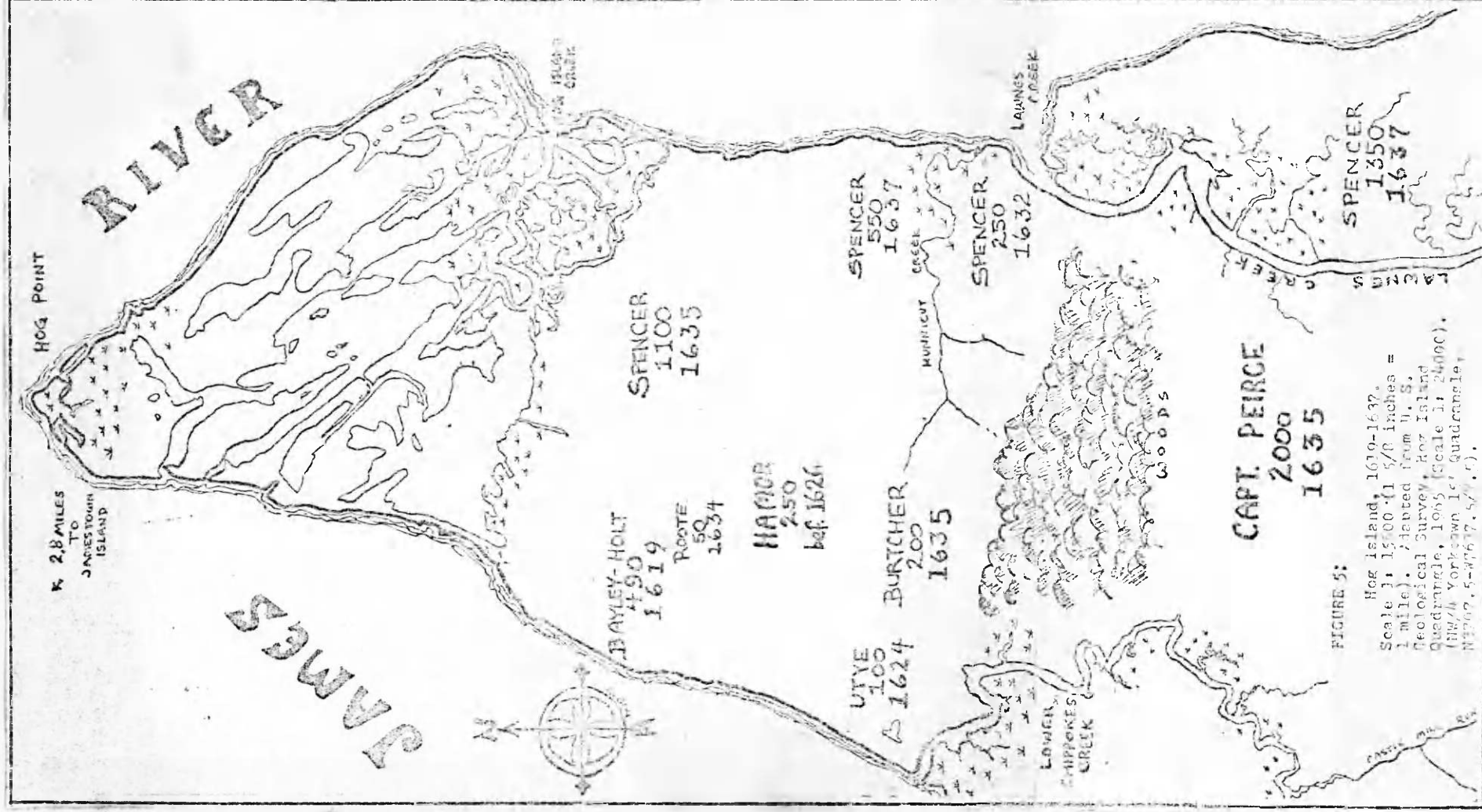
¹⁰⁵Forman, Jamestown and St. Mary's, 66.

¹⁰⁶Musters of the inhabitants in Virginia, 1624/25 in Jester and Hiden, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 41-43.

¹⁰⁷Francis Wyatt, Wyatt Manuscripts, Wm. and Mary Qtly., 2d Ser., VII (1927), 126-127.

¹⁰⁸Hotten, comp., Original Lists of Persons of Quality, 270; "A List of . . . Men, Women and Children Inhabiting . . . Virginia, A.D. 1634," reprinted in Colonial Records of Virginia, 2d ed. (Baltimore, 1964), 91.





Harvey's administration; and 18,512 acres in Governor William Berkeley's first year.¹⁰⁹ Two men acquired more than one thousand acres in the county--Pastor Thomas Butler and Captain John Upton.¹¹⁰

Adjoining Bennett's Welcome was Lawne's Plantation, one of the earliest private seatings dating back to 1619. The death of sponsor Captain Christopher Lawne in 1620 dimmed the estate's once-bright future.¹¹¹

The Treasurer's Plantation under George Sandys's control consisted of three hundred acres located west of Hog Island. The estate was a model operation, boasting two houses, four storehouses, at least four cabins, a vineyard, a silk-worm culture, small garden, a large wooden fortress, and a supply of one hundred barrels of corn.¹¹²

The south bank plantations east of Jamestown--Mathews's, Smith's, Blaney's, Crowder's, Burrow's, and Pace's--adjoined each other in that order and had much in common. All were chartered between 1622 and 1624; each was owned by a single individual who employed few laborers; and none of the estates

¹⁰⁹For a breakdown of the patenting patterns of each county, consult Appendix below.

¹¹⁰Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 26, s.v. Butler; 69, 71-72, 143, s.v. Upton. Reverend Butler gained his land by marrying a rich widow with 18 headrights; Capt. Upton derived his patents through transporting servants in the 1630s.

¹¹¹Hatch, First Seventeen Years, 86.

¹¹²Ibid., 81; Musters of 1624/25, Jester and Hiden, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 40.

proved viable in its original form.¹¹³

In the "Territory of Tappahanna"--a vague classification encompassing grants to John Burrows, Richard Pace, Samuel Mathews, and George Sandys, among others--3700 acres were allocated, of which an amazing 3150 were planted.¹¹⁴ Thus, the lands directly across the river from Jamestown were rapidly coming under cultivation by the end of the Company's tenure. Even though communities in the fullest sense of the term had not emerged (there being few family units and few houses), as farming settlements the several plantations on the south bank of the James were moderately successful.

¹¹³Hatch, First Seventeen Years, 77-78, 81-82.

¹¹⁴Hotten, comp., Original Lists of Persons of Quality, 272.

CHAPTER III

DIFFUSION OF SETTLEMENT: WEST

Henrico

Henricopolis, or Henrico, named in honor of the Prince of Wales, in 1609 was the site of an abortive settlement by Lord De La Warr; two years later it became only the third locality formally laid out by the Virginia Company. By 1613, as a result of its potential importance in Thomas Dale's grandiose plan for the greater Charles City area, Henrico resembled a forced labor camp.

At Michaelmas . . . Sir Thomas Dale removed himself with three hundred persons for the buildinge of Henrico Towne, where being landed he oppressed his whol companye with such extraordinary labors Wante of houses at first landinge in the colde of winter, and pinching hunger continually bitinge, made those imposed labours most insufferable,¹¹⁵

Although Ralph Hamor once stated that Henrico was "much better and of more worth then all the worke euer since

¹¹⁵"A Briefe Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia . . . [1625], " Colonial Records of Virginia, 74.

the Colonie began,"¹¹⁶ the "evidence" he described--a man-made canal across the peninsula, a hospital with eighty beds, three streets with frame houses, individual gardens, a church, storehouses, and five blockhouses, the entirety being constructed in only four months time--was surely an overly zealous, exaggerated account.¹¹⁷ Such a model town, so expertly conceived and efficiently realized, is inconsistent with the situation that existed in early seventeenth-century Virginia.

A far more credible account of Henrico was obviously penned by one of Dale's disgruntled laborers:

The buildings and fortifications of that Towne . . .

were noe way extraordinary, neither could want, accompanied with bloode and crueltie, effect better.

.

. . . those buildings that were erected, could not . . .

stande above five years and that not without continuall reparations;¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶Ralph Hamor, A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia (Albany, 1860 [orig. publ. London, 1615]), 30. A map of the Henrico area, engraved in Frankfort in 1613, indicated the high regard which contemporaries had for Dale's new community. The settlement's size was exaggerated and the fat livestock surrounding the fort connoted prosperity and plenty. The map is reprinted in Clark Wissler, et al., Adventures in the Wilderness, in Ralph Henry Gabriel, ed., The Pageant of America: A Pictorial History of the United States, I (New Haven, 1925), 182.

¹¹⁷Forman, Jamestown and St. Mary's, 49.

¹¹⁸"Briefe Declaration of Plantation," Colonial Records of Virginia, 75.

The influential role of Virginia's "second capital" which the Henrico-Charles City area enjoyed for a brief time (see below) was soon dissipated. The Indian attack in 1622 was the coup de grâce to an already declining community. A mere twenty men, two women, and Lieutenant Thomas Osborne's hog were listed in the Henrico muster for 1624/25.¹¹⁹ Company projects and private seatings of the colony's first decade--the college property, the ironworks at Falling Creek, John Proctor's estate, Thomas Sheffield's Plantation, and the Arrahatock settlement above Henrico--as a result of the massacre and subsequent dislocations were all abandoned soon after 1622.¹²⁰

While Henrico's western limits had once been thought to be but a ten-days' journey from the great South Sea, no such utopianism flourished in the late 1620s.¹²¹ Private patentees were at a minimum, over fourteen thousand acres being frozen as official land. If one small section of the region may be taken as an example, the map of Curles Neck offers a possible explanation for the dearth of settlement. The holdings here appear medium to large in size, with women owning many acres. Perhaps the women landholders proved less adept at seating and planting their tracts than they did at patenting them. Whatever the causes, there were but 419

¹¹⁹Musters of 1624/25, Jester and Hiden, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 5-6.

¹²⁰Hatch, First Seventeen Years, 59-60.

¹²¹Alexander Whitaker, Good Newes From Virginia (New York, n.d. [orig. publ. London, 1613]), 38.

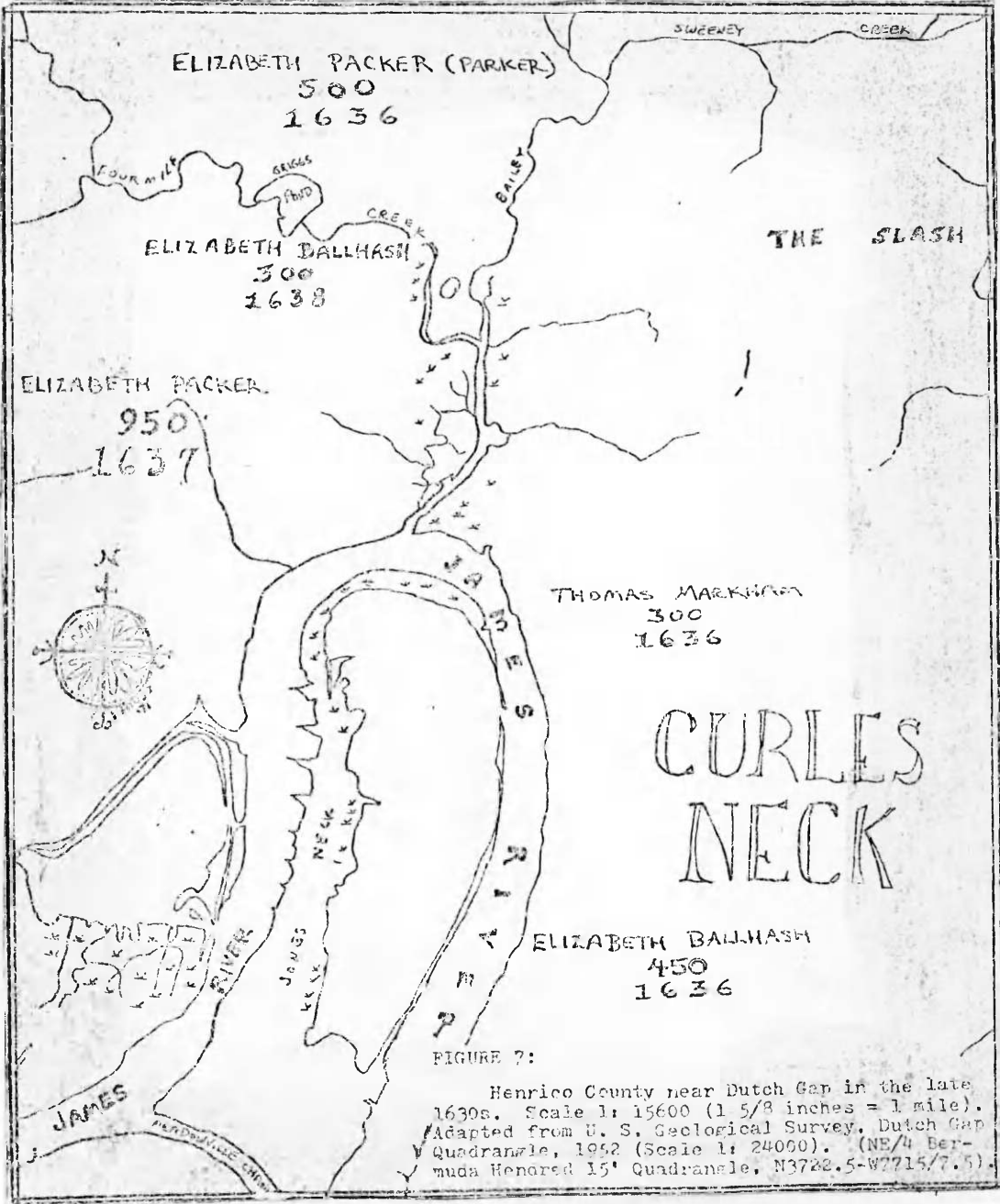


FIGURE 7:

Henrico County near Dutch Gap in the late 1630s. Scale 1: 15600 (1 5/8 inches = 1 mile). Adapted from U. S. Geological Survey, Dutch Gap Quadrangle, 1942 (Scale 1: 24000). (NE/4 Bermuda Honored 15' Quadrangle, N3722.5-W7715/7.5).

persons living in all of Henrico County in 1634. Only the Eastern Shore counted fewer.¹²²

The Upriver Plantations

The private and associative plantations which lined both banks of the upriver James acted as positive influences in attracting settlers to Virginia and in facilitating their adjustment to the new environment. Wesley Frank Craven noted that in this early stage of colonization it was the Elizabethan farm village that the immigrants sought to reconstruct on American shores, not the isolated pioneer homestead of the next century.¹²³ Arising in the incorporated borough of Charles City between 1613 and 1624, these plantations helped to diffuse the new arrivals and promote self-sufficient pockets of agrarian productivity. However, absentee ownership, inefficient administration, the tendency to remain dispersed and autonomous, and the disastrous effects of the Indian massacre combined to cause the sudden demise of many of these plantations.¹²⁴

¹²²"List of . . . Men, Women and Children Inhabiting . . . Virginia, 1634," Colonial Records of Virginia, 91.

¹²³Wesley Frank Craven, The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689, in Wendell H. Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter, eds., A History of the South, I (Baton Rouge, 1949), 122. See also Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 321-322; and p. 16 n. 52 and p. 17 n. 56 above on the contributions of these plantations.

¹²⁴Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 319. For additional details on the effects of the 1622 massacre, see Chapter V and Chart 1: Charles City Plantations.

CHART 1: CHARLES CITY PLANTATIONS

Associative

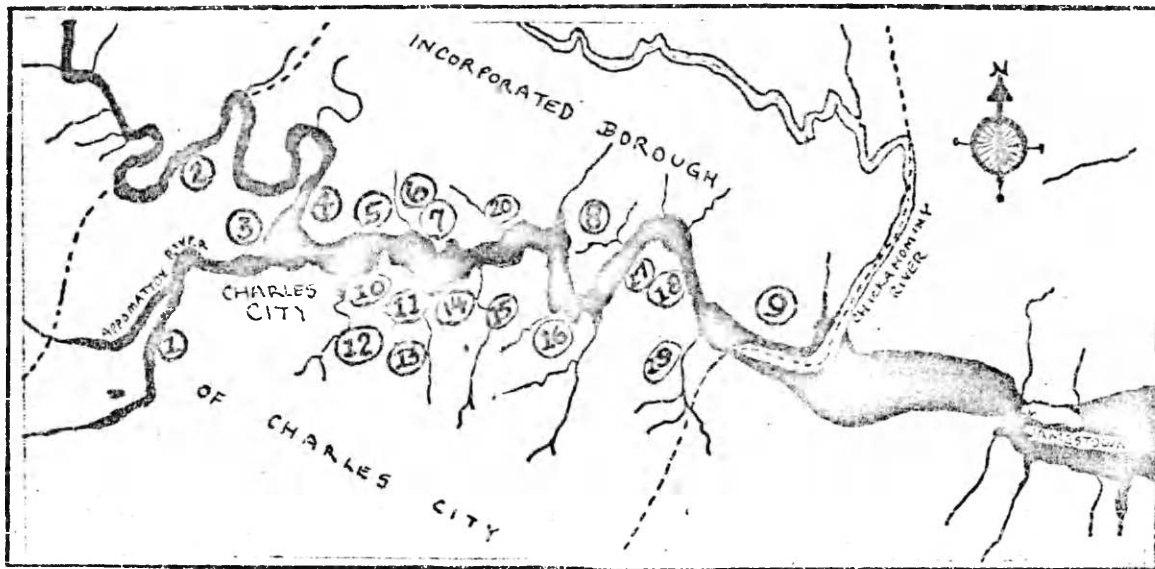
<u>Name</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Viability</u>
Berkeley Martin's	1619-1622	8,000	Abandoned after 1622.
Brandon	1617-	1,000?	Survived the massacre.
Southampton	1617-1622	80,000	Abandoned after 1622.
Truelove's	1621-1625	?	Survived the massacre.
Ward's	1619-1622	1,200	Granted new charter, 1623.
West and Shirley	1613-	4,500	Survived the massacre.

Private

Causey's	1620-	200	Survived the massacre.
Chaplain's Choice	1624-	200	Remained small but active.
Flowerdieu	1618-	1,000	Survived the massacre.
Jordan's	1619-	450	Survived the massacre.
Maycock's	bef. 1619	?	Abandoned after 1622.
Merchant's Hope	1619-1622	600	Abandoned after 1622.
Peirse's	bef. 1622	1,150	Survived the massacre.
Spilman's	bef. 1622	?	Abandoned after 1622.
Swinhows's	bef. 1622	300	Abandoned after 1622.
Tanks Weyanoke	1618-1622	2,200	Abandoned after 1622.
Westover	1619-	?	Survived the massacre.
Woodleefe's	1620-	350	?

For further information consult Charles E. Hatch, Jr.,
The First Seventeen Years: Virginia, 1607-1624, Jamestown
350th Anniversary Historical Booklet, No. 6 (Richmond, 1957),
38-49, 66-77, the basic source for this chart.

FIGURE 8: CHARLES CITY PLANTATIONS,
UPPER JAMES, 1613-1624.



(Scale 1/8 inch = 1 mile). LEGEND:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Peirse's Plantation | 11. Chaplain's Choice |
| 2. Rochdale Hundred | 12. Woodleefe's Plantation |
| 3. Bermuda Hundred | 13. Truelove's Plantation |
| 4. West and Shirley Hundred | 14. Merchant's Hope |
| 5. Causey's Care | 15. Maycock's Plantation |
| 6. Berkeley Hundred | 16. Flowerdieu Hundred |
| 7. Westover Plantation | 17. Spilman's Divident |
| 8. Tanks Weyanoke | 18. Ward's Plantation |
| 9. Southampton Hundred | 19. Martin's Brandon |
| 10. Jordan's Journey | 20. Swinhow's Plantation |

The map of Flowerdieu and Weyanoke following page forty-two offers a comparison of a single area in different eras. Under the Company this region contained two of the most notable private plantations, controlled by Sir George Yeardley and Abraham Peirse, the wealthy cape merchant. In the 1630s land here was patented by men like John Clay and Rice Hooe (Howe), whose perseverance and long tenure in the colony proved greater factors in their upward mobility than political influence or unscrupulous business transactions--methods to power often attributed to early Virginia landholders.¹²⁵ Clay, Hooe, and others perpetuated the vast, plantation-sized units near Weyanoke on the south bank so typical of the earlier Peirse-Yeardley tracts.

Charles City

Bermuda (Charles) City had been established upstream from the plantations as the fourth and last general area of incorporation in 1614. Dale had maintained an undaunted belief in the region's potential, and he, himself, established the first settlement near the Appomattox River in 1613, fourteen water miles from Henrico. In the short span from 1611 to 1616, the "center of gravity in the Colony was upriver in the Henrico and Bermuda City area."¹²⁶ Well-fortified and

¹²⁵ Compare Professor Morgan's negative appraisal of Yeardley, Peirse, and others in "First American Boom," Wm. and Mary Qrtly., 3d Ser., XXVIII (1971), 189, 191-192, 193 with sketches of Clay and Hooe in Jester and Hiden, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 135-136, s.v. Clay; and 211-212, s.v. Hooe.

¹²⁶ Hatch, First Seventeen Years, 64.

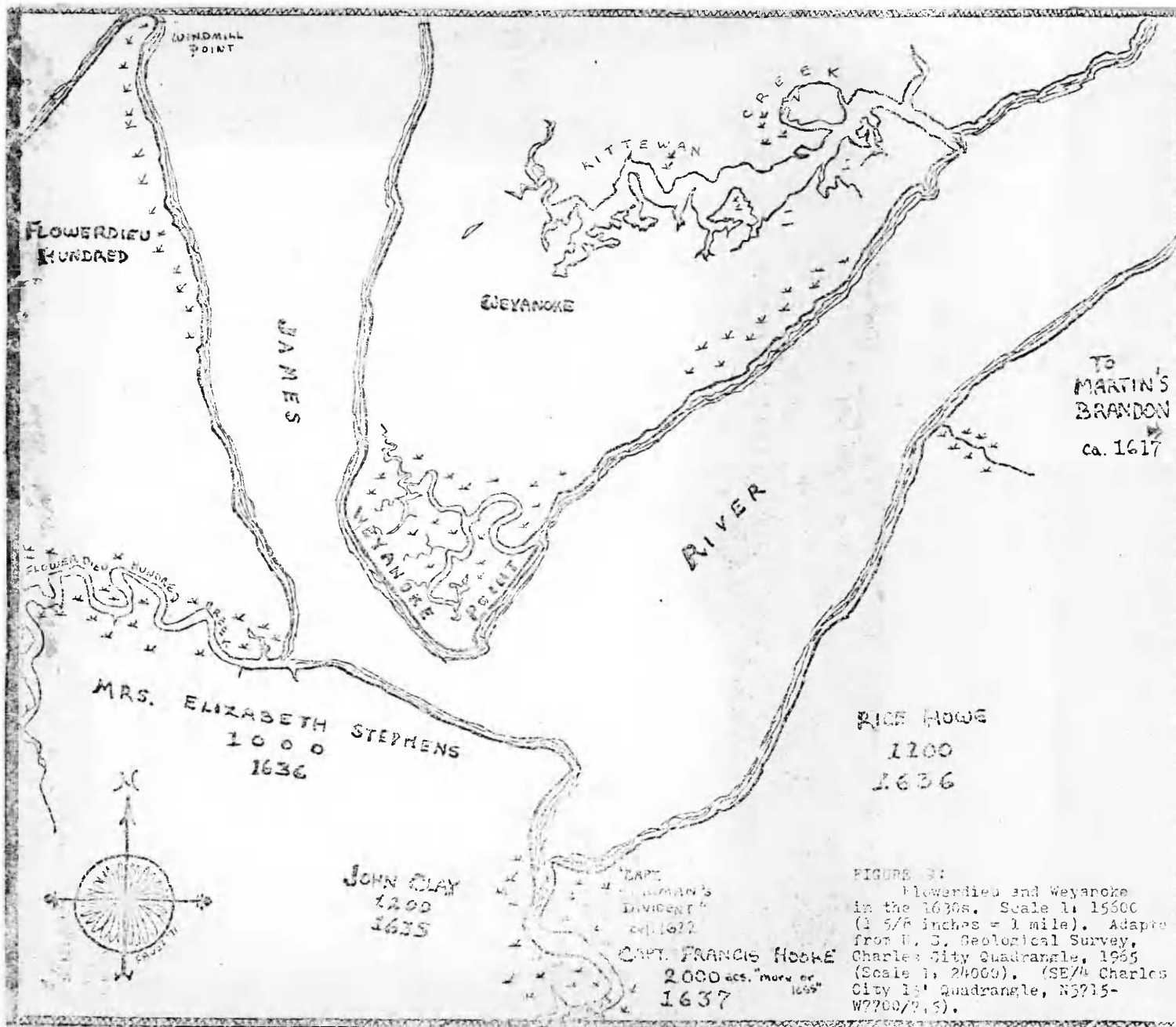


FIGURE 3:
 Flowerdew and Weyanoke
 in the 1630s. Scale 1: 15600
 (1 5/8 inches = 1 mile). Adapted
 from U. S. Geological Survey,
 Charles City Quadrangle, 1965
 (Scale 1: 24000). (SE/4 Charles
 City 15' Quadrangle, N3215-
 W7700/2, 5).

under expert management, Charles City evolved into a semi-official capital, and its population increased proportionately. In 1616 John Rolfe was apparently impressed, for he reported 119 inhabitants at Charles City, making it the colony's second largest settlement by that date.¹²⁷ Although Samuel Argall reasserted Jamestown's influence during his term as governor, Charles City enjoyed a healthy growth for a few years more. But the prospects of a free school and the aspirations of countless families were devastated by events of 1622. The robust condition of the settlement enabled it to survive the Indian attack, but its future growth was circumscribed. By 1625 individual landholdings only averaged 122 acres, and the total population stood at a meager 44.¹²⁸

The situation was reflected throughout the borough of Charles City. In the territory of "Great Weyanoke," twenty-seven hundred acres were claimed, but less than a third--about eight hundred acres--was ever planted. The largest grants here went to Captain Nathaniel Powell, Captain John Woodleefe, and Samuel Jordan, an ancient planter.¹²⁹ Upon the Appomattox River twenty-nine hundred acres were patented, none of which were planted. Abraham Peirse, regarded as

¹²⁷John Rolfe, A True Relation of the State of Virginia . . . (New Haven, 1951 [orig. publ. London, 1616]), 38.

¹²⁸Hotten, comp., Original Lists of Persons of Quality, 269; [Quisenberry], "Virginia Census, 1624-25," Va. Mag. Hist. Biog., VII (1899-1900), 366.

¹²⁹Hotten, comp., Original Lists of Persons of Quality, 269.

Virginia's wealthiest resident,¹³⁰ in addition to his extensive holdings at Tanks Weyanoke and Flowerdieu Hundred, was the largest patentee on the Appomattox with 1150 acres.¹³¹

The old incorporation of Charles City became Charles City County in 1634, and it was enlarged in 1637. Encompassing Shirley Hundred and Weyanoke, the shire supported 511 persons in 1634.¹³² There was continued growth throughout the 1630s, and, true to the region's heritage, land was often granted in large lots. Cheney Boyse's 1550 acres on Merchant's Hope Creek (1636), Captain Francis Eppes's Appomattox grant of 1700 acres (1636), and Henry Perry's 3500-acre patent at "Buckland" near Westover (1642) were representative of the later Charles City land allotments.¹³³

¹³⁰Forman, Jamestown and St. Mary's, 78.

¹³¹Hotten, comp., Original Lists of Persons of Quality, 269.

¹³²"List of . . . Men, Women and Children Inhabiting . . . Virginia, 1634," Colonial Records of Virginia, 91.

¹³³Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 68, s.v. Boyse; 84, s.v. Eppes; and 78, s.v. Perry.

CHAPTER IV

DIFFUSION OF SETTLEMENT: EAST

Kecoughtan-Elizabeth City

Kecoughtan, the present site of Hampton, was a flourishing community vital to Virginia's progress in the seventeenth century. Overlooking Hampton Roads, Kecoughtan's strategic location and prime military capabilities were recognized from the outset. By 1609 "Algernowns Forte" had been established at Point Comfort (the present location of Fort Monroe). The following year Forts Charles and Henry were constructed on either side of the Southampton River by Lord De La Warr, who named the stream.

Primitive civilian habitation around the forts in 1616 claimed a total population of twenty, including eleven farmers, which ranked the settlement fifth in population among the six Virginia communities then in existence.¹³⁴ By 1619 the old borough appears to have become "civilized" and genteel enough to drop the Indian name, substituting Elizabeth City in honor of the king's daughter. In the next few years, progress was rapid. Glebe land, Company Land (three thousand acres), and an additional fifteen hundred acres for common use were laid

¹³⁴Hatch, First Seventeen Years, 97; Rolfe, True Relation, 39.

out, and administrative changes were instituted. The 1622 massacre produced no real tragedy at Elizabeth City, and this good fortune enabled the town and contiguous territory to realize their full potential. The statistics for the muster year were quite impressive: there were 35 landowners with 12,000 acres, mostly planted;¹³⁵ 235 free adult inhabitants, 157 servants, 43 children, 2 Indians, and 6 Negroes; 99 dwellings and 21 storehouses; and a variety of livestock within the broad borders of the borough.¹³⁶

By 1632, if not before, Elizabeth City had developed some aspects of sophistication. For, in that year, a patent was granted to one James Knott,

desiring to keepe a howse of entertainment in the lower parte at the Mouth of Hampton Riv. within the precincts of Eliz. Cittty whereby strangers and other may bee well accommodated with great ease to the inhabitants in those parts, etc. . . . To have and to hold the sd. 50 acs. together with the howse commonly called the great howse and all other howses ediffices and buildings etc.¹³⁷

¹³⁵Hotten, comp., Original Lists of Persons of Quality, 273-274.

¹³⁶Brown, First Republic in America, 623-624; Musters of 1624/25 in Jester and Hiden, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 48-66. Note that these early figures included areas much west of the Southampton River, drawing upon what was then, and is now, Newport News, as well as lands on the south bank of the James from Hampton Roads to the Nansemond River.

¹³⁷Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 18, s.v. Knott.

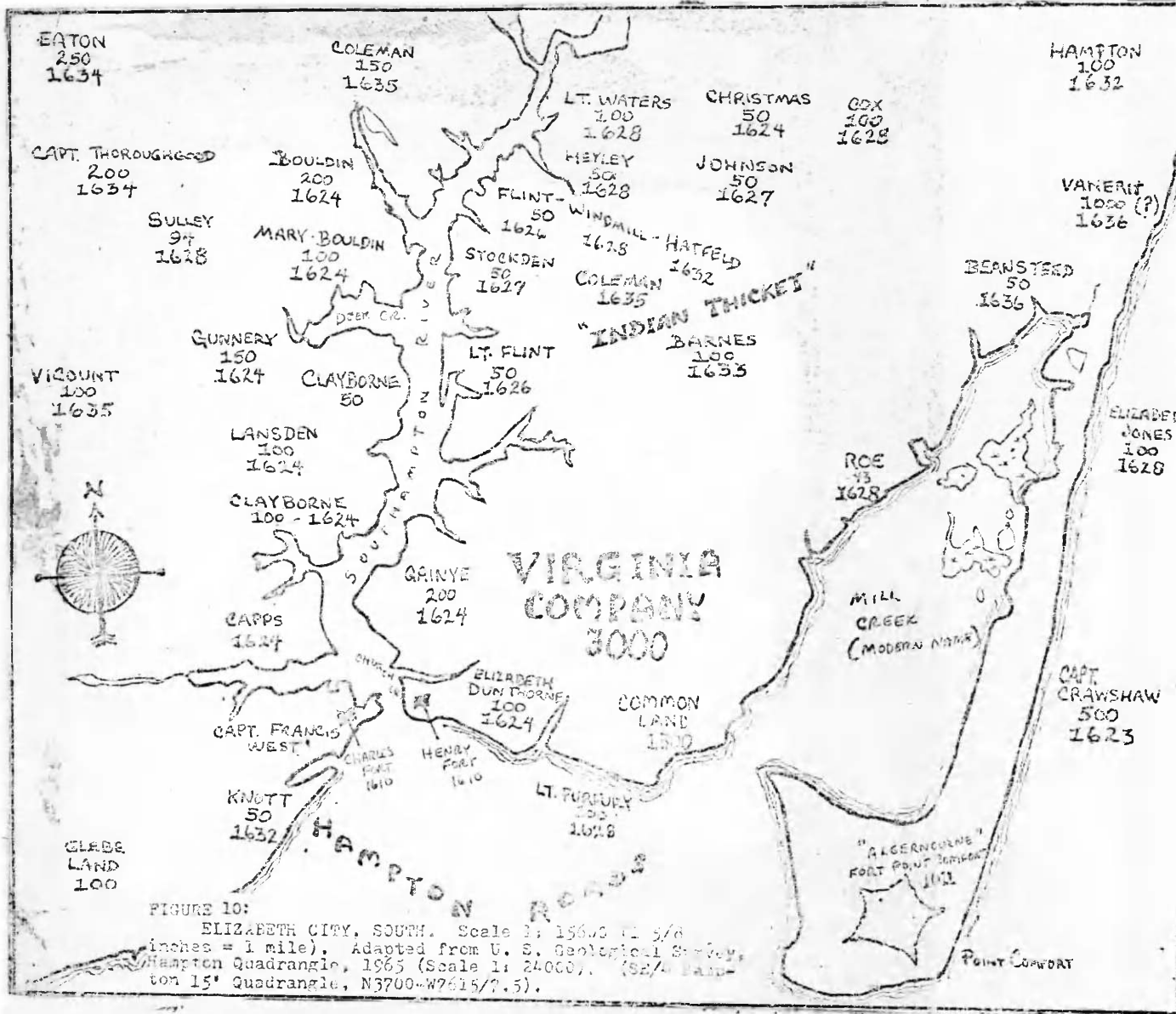


FIGURE 10:
 ELIZABETH CITY, SOUTH. Scale 1: 156,000 (1 5/8 inches = 1 mile). Adapted from U. S. Geological Survey, Hampton Quadrangle, 1965 (Scale 1: 24,000). (See Hampton 15' Quadrangle, N3700-W7415/2.5).

Among the wealthy and influential people living in the Elizabeth City area were William Capps, ancient planter, burgess, and councilor; his neighbor, William Clayborne, the colony's surveyor; and Captain Adam Thoroughgood. Thoroughgood arrived in Virginia in 1621 as an indentured youth of seventeen. Fourteen years later he was a councilor and owner of over fifty-three hundred acres granted by the Privy Council in recognition of his efforts at recruiting settlers.¹³⁸

Living in the Buck Roe (northern) section of Elizabeth City at this time was a noteworthy pair of foreign landowners.¹³⁹ A French winegrower, David Poole, only two years before a laborer on Sandys's estate, patented sixty acres in 1627. His countryman, Elias la Guard, also a winegrower, owned two hundred acres on Harris Creek.¹⁴⁰

Newport News

Newport News began life as an associative plantation soon after 1621, under the direction of Daniel Gookin, Sir William Newce, and his brother Thomas. The first muster here listed four houses, nineteen men, and just one woman.¹⁴¹ The absence of women, coupled with the fact that all of Newport

¹³⁸ Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 71, s.v. Thoroughgood. See the map "Elizabeth City, South" following p. 46 for the location of the Capps and Clayborne plots.

¹³⁹ Refer to map "Elizabeth City, North" following p. 47.

¹⁴⁰ Hatch, First Seventeen Years, 80; Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 11, s.v. Poole; 18, s.v. la Guard.

¹⁴¹ [Quisenberry], "Virginia Census, 1624-25," Va. Mag. Hist. Biog., VII (1899-1900), 366.

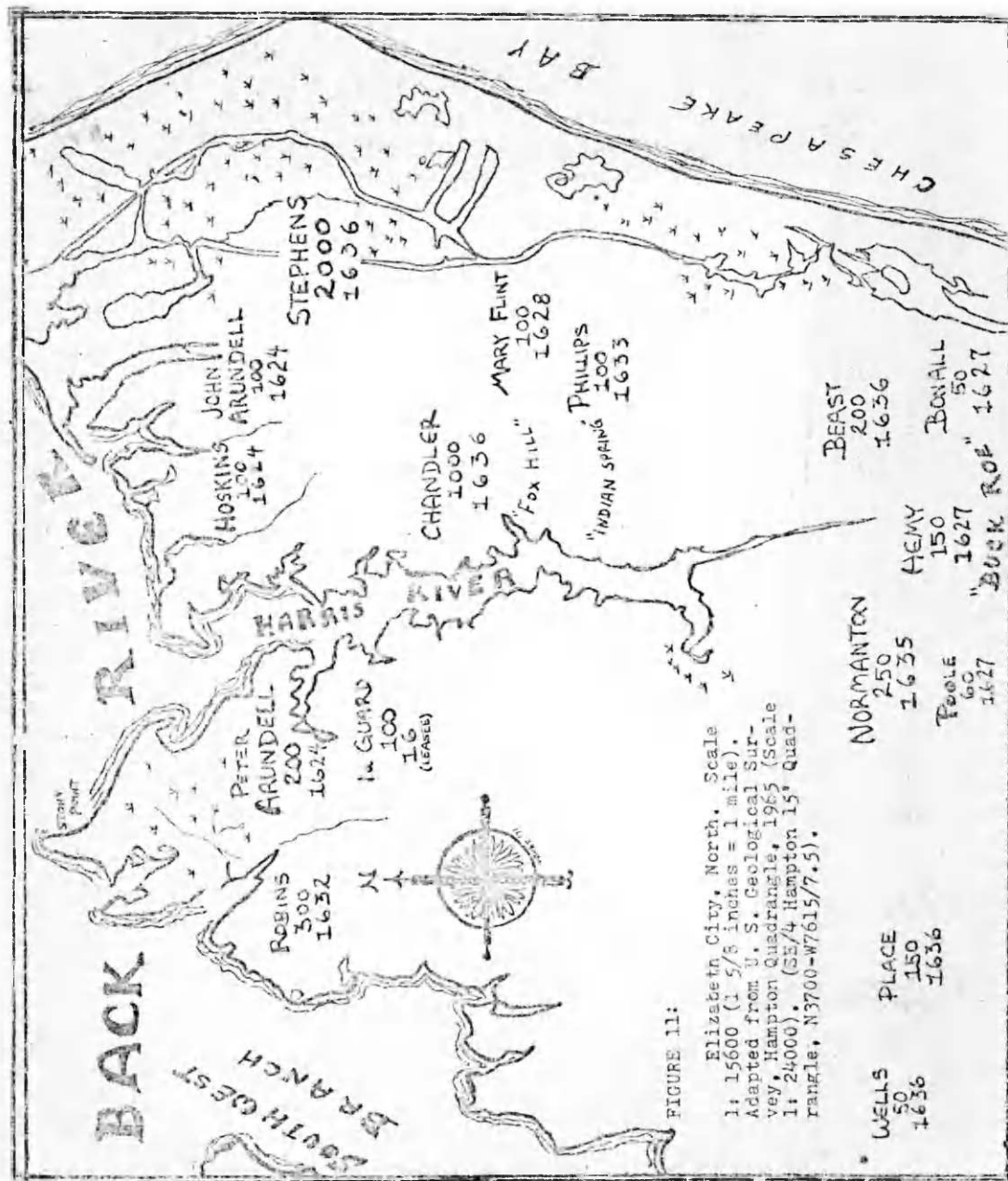


FIGURE 11:

Elizabeth City, North. Scale
 1: 15600 (1 5/8 inches = 1 mile).
 Adapted from U. S. Geological Sur-
 vey, Hampton Quadrangle, 1965 (Scale
 1: 24000). (SE/4 Hampton 15, Quad-
 rangle, N3700-W7615/7.5).

- * WELLS PLACE 150 1636
- 50 1636
- NORMANTON 250 1635
- 1635
- HEMY 150 1627
- 150 1627
- FOOLE 100 1627
- 100 1627
- BEAST 200 1636
- 200 1636
- BONALL 50 1627
- 50 1627
- "BUCK ROE" 1627

News's thirteen hundred acres were planted, established it as a farming colony, not as a settled community.¹⁴² The evidence of individual land patents in Newport News is scanty, but the port's vital role as a watering place, supplying arriving and departing vessels with its pure spring water, assured its viability.¹⁴³ In the 1630s a large number of grants were issued for land contiguous to Newport News proper, notably at Blunt Point and Mulberry Island.

Long recognized as a landmark, Blunt Point became a focus of land acquisition only in the 1620s. The region between Indigo Lake and Newport News, as the map following page forty-eight shows, was dotted with small to medium-sized patents, a five hundred acre tract being the largest. More sizeable grants were patented upriver from Blunt Point on lower Mulberry Island.

Mulberry Island, situated ten miles below Jamestown, encompasses about ten square miles, much of which was covered with Morus rubra--Virginia mulberry trees--in the seventeenth century. Captain William Peirce's 650 acres, granted in 1619, represented the earliest activity here.¹⁴⁴ His interests were apparently served by the area, for as late as 1643 he patented twenty-one hundred acres.¹⁴⁵ In the region of upper Mulberry

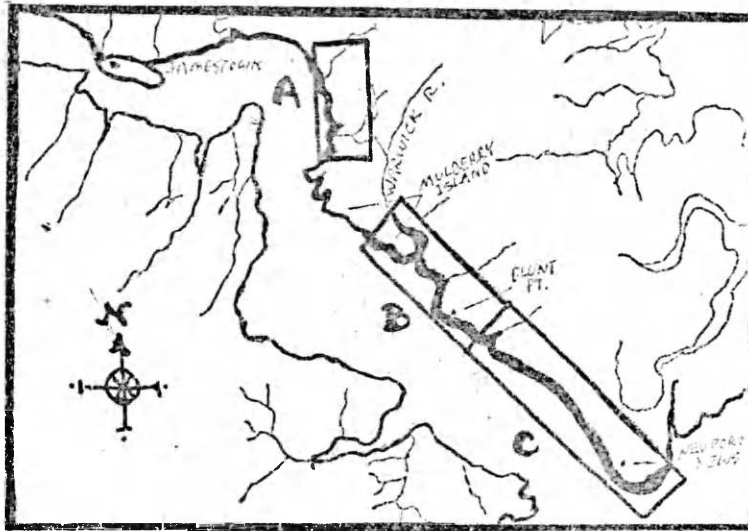
¹⁴²Hotten, comp., Original Lists of Persons of Quality, 273.

¹⁴³Hatch, First Seventeen Years, 98-99.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., 102-103.

¹⁴⁵Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 149, s.v. Peirce.

FIGURE 12: WARWICK RIVER COUNTY



In order to avoid confusion and to present a clearer exposition of the general area, the three maps showing the location of patents within Warwick River County (following pages forty-eight and forty-nine) have been designated A, B, and C according to the diagram above.

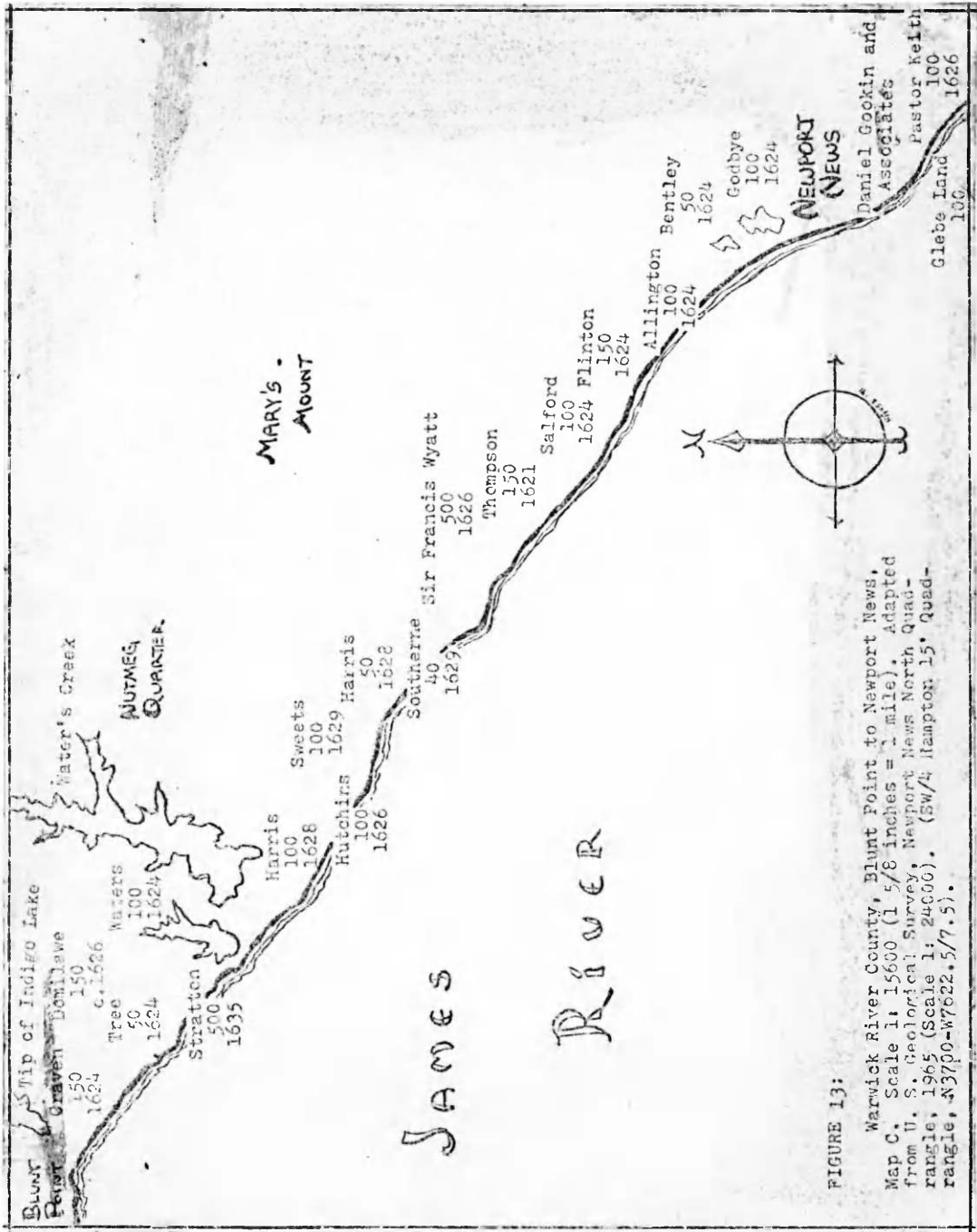


FIGURE 13:
 Warwick River County, Blunt Point to Newport News, Map C. Scale 1: 15600 (1 5/8 inches = 1 mile). Adapted from U. S. Geological Survey, Newport News North Quadrangle, 1965 (Scale 1: 24000). (SW/4 Hampton 15. Quad-range, N370-W7622.5/7.5).

men of rank in the colony were once again in evidence: Dr. Pott, Captain Thomas Flint, John Rolfe, and Pastor Heyley. The region comprising Skiffes Creek, Mulberry Island, Blunt Point, and Mary's Mount was formed into Denbigh, later Warwick River, County in 1634, at which time the shire's 811 persons became Virginia's third largest population total.¹⁴⁶ The late 1630s brought a great flurry of activity in this region, with over fifteen thousand acres being patented between 1635 and 1639.¹⁴⁷

Nansemond-Norfolk

Although the Nansemond River had been the site of a military outpost as early as 1609, the Nansemond-Elizabeth River basins were not exploited for their settlement potential until the mid-1630s. In what eventually became Lower and Upper Norfolk Counties, virtually all of the prime riparian land was claimed within the span of a single year--1635.¹⁴⁸ From April to July, thirty-four hundred acres were distributed on the Western Branch of the Elizabeth River. John Sipsey, burgess and "Yeoman of Kiccoughtan," was the largest grantee with fifteen hundred acres.¹⁴⁹ On the main

¹⁴⁶"List of . . . Men, Women and Children Inhabiting . . . Virginia, 1634" Colonial Records of Virginia, 91. These regions are found on the Warwick River County maps following p. 49.

¹⁴⁷See Appendix A below.

¹⁴⁸Rogers Dey Whichard, History of Lower Tidewater Virginia, I (New York, 1959), 223-224, 228. See Appendix A.

¹⁴⁹Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 7, s.v. Sipsey.

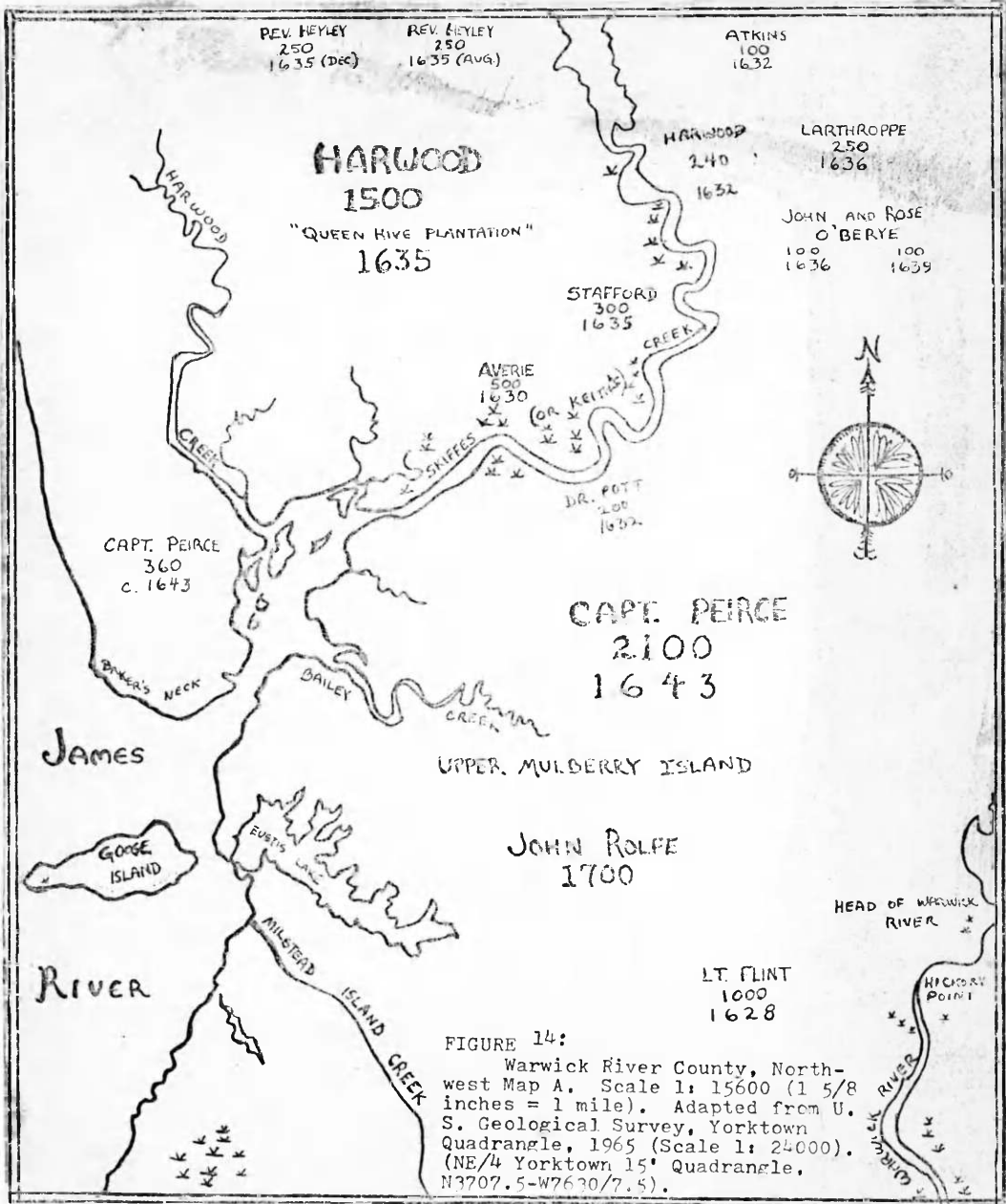
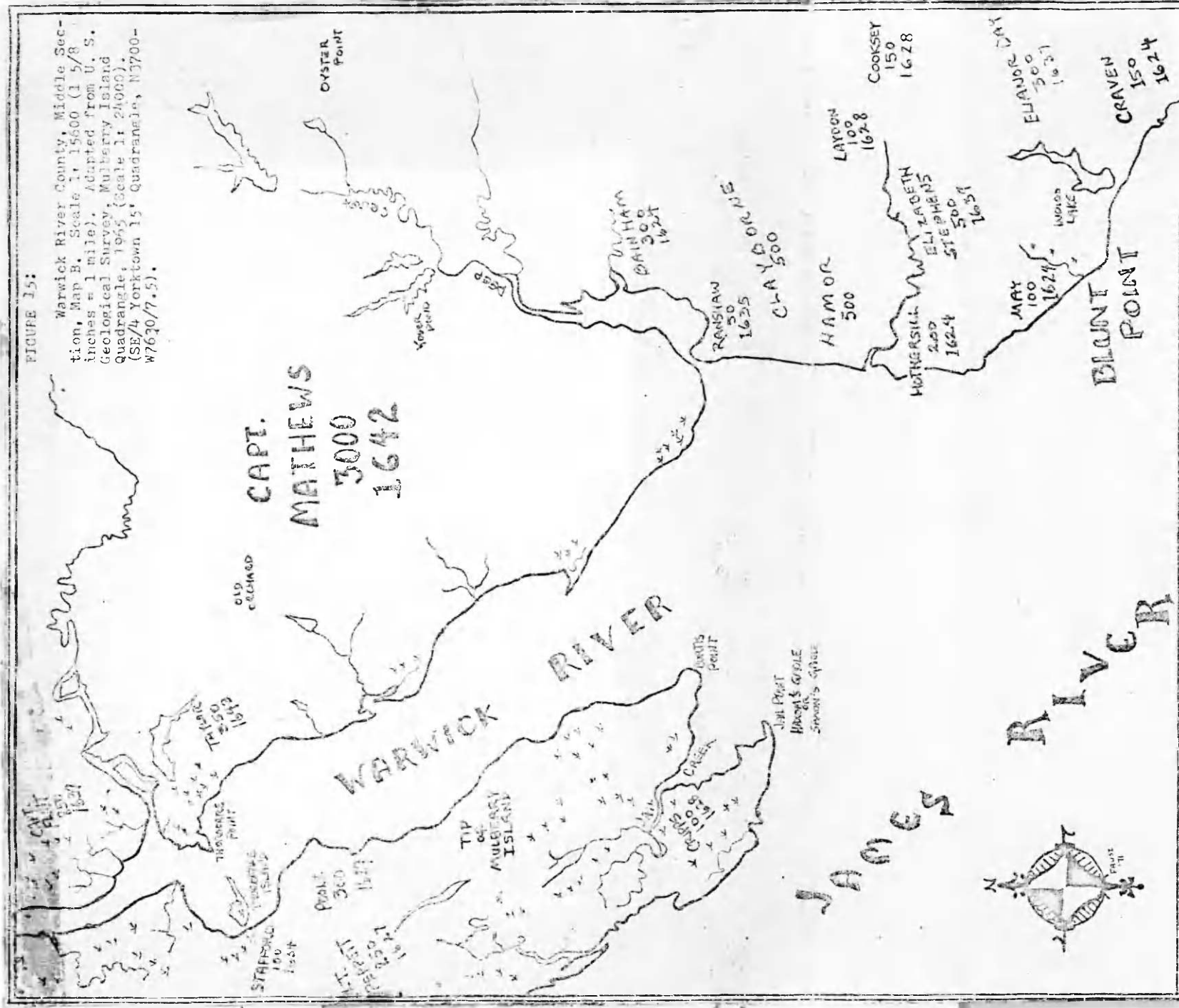


FIGURE 14:
 Warwick River County, North-west Map A. Scale 1: 15600 (1 5/8 inches = 1 mile). Adapted from U. S. Geological Survey, Yorktown Quadrangle, 1965 (Scale 1: 24000). (NE/4 Yorktown 15' Quadrangle, N3707.5-W7630/7.5).

FIGURE 15:

Warwick River County, Middle Section, Map B. Scale 1: 15600 (1 5/8 inches = 1 mile). Adapted from U. S. Geological Survey, Mulberry Island Quadrangle, 1965 (Scale 1: 24000). (SE/4 Yorktown 15' Quadrangle, N3700-W7630/7.5).



body of the Elizabeth River there were eleven hundred acres allotted in June and July 1635. Captain Thoroughgood's 5950 acres along both banks of the Lynnhaven River were also granted in June and December of that year.

Residing near part of the Thoroughgood holdings was Thomas Willoughby, Gentleman, a patentee of nine hundred acres bordering the Southern Branch of the Elizabeth River and the Chesapeake Bay.¹⁵⁰ Willoughby arrived in Virginia in 1610 at the age of nine and later served as a parish officer, burgess, and councilor. Like Thoroughgood and so many other residents of Elizabeth City, Willoughby secured his later patents in the fresh lands on the south shore of the James. So it was in the case of Elizabeth City and its across-the-river neighbors of Nansemond and Norfolk that "a waterway joined rather than divided the peoples on its opposite banks."¹⁵¹

Adjoining one of Willoughby's tracts was Francis Mason, an ancient planter who also held land near Westover in Charles City County.¹⁵² The activities of major landowners like Thoroughgood, Willoughby, and Mason were examples of the fantastic growth of the Elizabeth River-Lynnhaven environs, where forty-four thousand acres were distributed between 1635 and 1639.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 34, s.v. Willoughby.

¹⁵¹Craven, Southern Colonies, 173.

¹⁵²Whichard, History of Lower Tidewater, I, 225.

¹⁵³This total was computed from the patent abstracts. A breakdown of the whole period appears in Appendix A below.

The lands on the Nansemond River to the west were the domain of the Bennett family, which controlled three thousand of the more than forty-seven hundred patented acres.¹⁵⁴ From February 1635/36 to July 1636 both north and south banks of the Nansemond were claimed in lots of from fifty to two thousand acres.¹⁵⁵ The largest grant went to Richard Bennett, Gentleman of Warrascoyack, a councilor, and future puritan governor of Virginia (April 1652 to March 1655).¹⁵⁶ Like Lower Norfolk County (the Elizabeth River-Lynnhaven region) to the east, the Nansemond River basin witnessed a rapid growth, with over thirty thousand acres patented between 1637 and 1639.

Although no accurate population figures exist for the Nansemond-Norfolk region in this period, actual settlement on the medium and small grants probably occurred soon after title was given. The larger plots, because their vast virgin stretches bordered rivers, must have evoked a significant planting response, too. The fact that New Norfolk County was formed from Elizabeth City County in 1636 and was further subdivided into Upper and Lower Norfolk Counties the following year, would indicate a growing population, expanding boundaries, and the need for increased administrative control.

¹⁵⁴Whichard, History of Lower Tidewater, I, 227-228.

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

¹⁵⁶Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 139.



CHAPTER V

PATTERNS OF SETTLEMENT: A SUMMARY

In evaluating the patterns of settlement in the James River basin, we should be cognizant of analysis on both temporal and spatial levels; the latter representing continuity, the former, change and contrast. The environmental and topographical factors involved--the natural challenges met by each man and each generation in the wilderness--are interpreted synchronically, i.e. by description and illustration with minimum concern for chronology. The historical events of the period 1607 to 1642--whether obvious and positive like the Indian massacre, or tacit and subtle like the changes in individual or generational attitudes--require a diachronic approach, in which temporal events are related to each other and to spatial factors.

Prior to 1622 the colonists positioned themselves randomly along both banks of the James, forming a ribbon of settlement thrusting upstream and down. As early as 1609--at a time when a meager seven acres of corn was under cultivation in the entire colony¹⁵⁷--the Company officials ambitiously proposed "to settle . . . sixe or seuen plantations more, all vpon, or neare our main-riuer, as capitall townes, twenty

¹⁵⁷Brown, First Republic in America, 616.

myles each from other, and euery plantation shall manure and husband the lands and grounds lying neere vnto it."¹⁵⁸ Although by 1615 four principal areas--James City, Kecoughtan, Henrico, and Bermuda (Charles) City--had acquired civil and ecclesiastical administration from outpost beginnings, the predominant distribution pattern after 1618 was unplanned and decentralized. This haphazard arrangement was the partial result of human caprice and social conventions--relevant considerations in locational analysis and the study of human geography.¹⁵⁹

But more pervasive variables in Virginia's case were topography and the utilization of land. Decentralization, according to Ulrich Bonnell Phillips,

came from the human practice of following the line of least resistance and readiest exploitation. The bay and the four great rivers penetrated the whole breadth of the coastal plain and put thousands of home sites upon equal footing as to access of settlers and freighting of produce.¹⁶⁰

Before 1622 the plantations, intended to be separate and economically independent, were all required by Company policy to be seated at least ten miles apart.¹⁶¹ Later, under the

¹⁵⁸Nova Brittania, in Force, ed., Tracts, I, no. 6, 25.

¹⁵⁹Peter Haggett, Locational Analysis in Human Geography (London, 1965), 91, 95, provides useful insights.

¹⁶⁰Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South (Boston, 1929), 32.

¹⁶¹Virginia Company Records, III, 104.

headright system, "the vastness of the spaces enabled the grantee to select his own area of investment--no particular location advantages had as yet developed."¹⁶² According to Phillips, "the copiousness and cheapness of accessible tracts thus fostered a dispersion so complete as to give the colony a lasting appearance of almost unbroken wilderness."¹⁶³

With the massacre of 22 March 1622, however, an event in time suddenly intervened to alter the settlement patterns heretofore regulated primarily by spatial-environmental considerations. The attack, implemented by the vengeful Opechancanough, Powhatan's successor, claimed the lives of at least 347 colonists. Opechancanough's forces were more efficient and unified than those of his predecessor, and the Virginians realized that the slaughter of that Good Friday could be repeated all too easily.¹⁶⁴ Governor Francis Wyatt attributed the massacre's devastation to the English population "dispersedlie and promiscusely planted with our . . . salvage enymies," The depleted resources and loss of precious manpower, according to Wyatt, "enforced us to quitt many of our Plantacons and to vnite more neerely together in

¹⁶²Morris Talpalar, The Sociology of Colonial Virginia, 2d rev. ed. (New York, 1968), 53.

¹⁶³Phillips, Life and Labor, 33.

¹⁶⁴Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "Indian Cultural Adjustment to European Civilization," in Smith, ed., Seventeenth-Century America, 50.

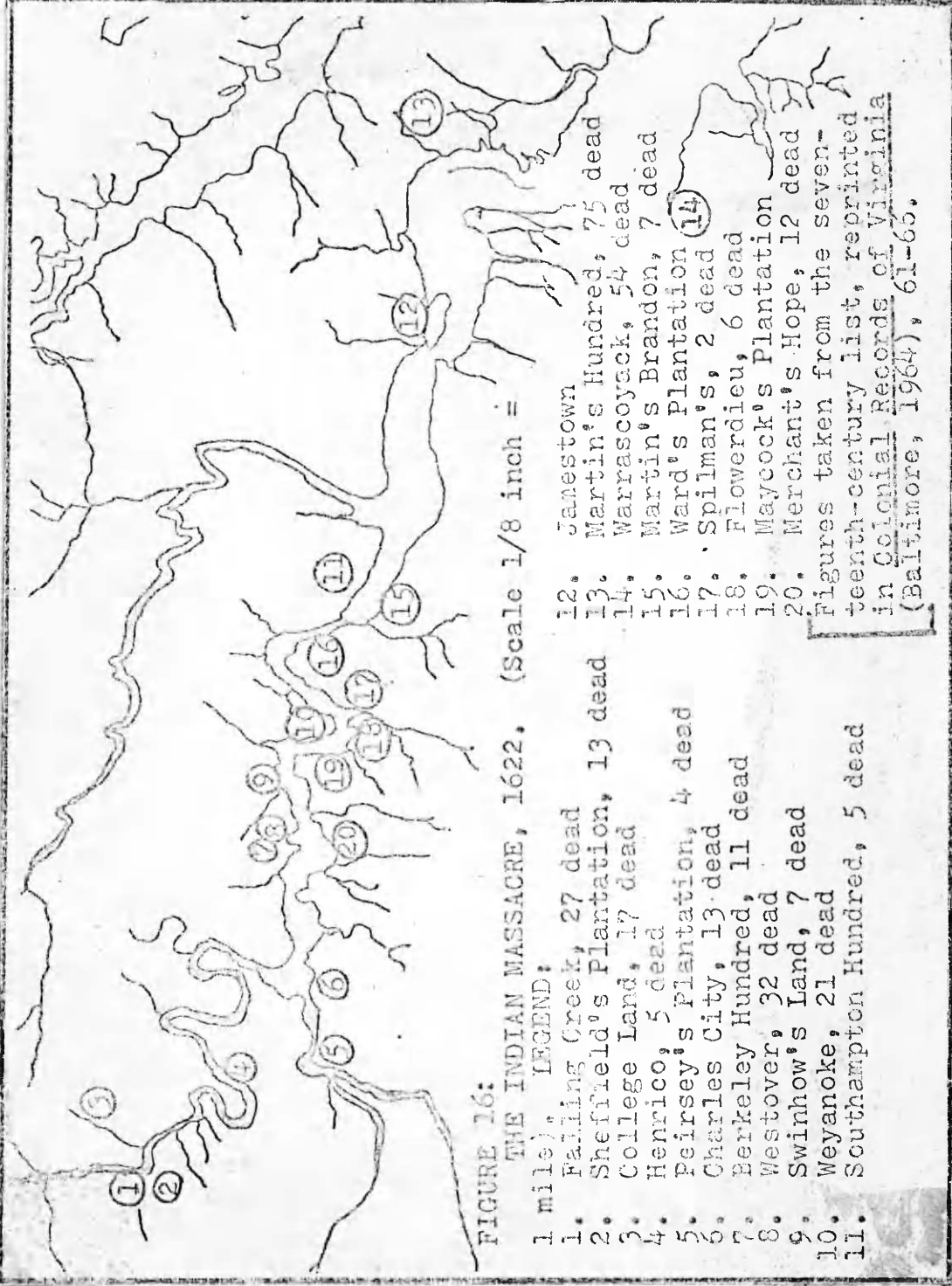


FIGURE 16:

THE INDIAN MASSACRE, 1622. (Scale 1/8 inch =

1 mile). LEGEND:

1. Falling Creek, 27 dead
2. Sheffield's Plantation, 13 dead
3. College Land, 17 dead
4. Henrico, 5 dead
5. Peirse's Plantation, 4 dead
6. Charles City, 13 dead
7. Berkeley Hundred, 11 dead
8. Westover, 32 dead
9. Swinhow's Land, 7 dead
10. Weyanoke, 21 dead
11. Southampton Hundred, 5 dead
12. Janestown
13. Martin's Hundred, 75 dead
14. Warrascoyack, 54 dead
15. Martin's Brandon, 7 dead
16. Ward's Plantation, 7 dead
17. Spilman's, 2 dead
18. Flowerdieu, 6 dead
19. Maycock's Plantation
20. Merchant's Hope, 12 dead

Figures taken from the seven-
 teenth-century list, reprinted
 in Colonial Records of Virginia
 (Baltimore, 1964), 61-66.

fewer places the better for to Strengthen and Defende our-
 selve"165 A more "clustered" distribution of popula-
 tion resulted.166

This immediate post-massacre era was especially propi-
 tious for establishing future trends in population concentra-
 tion and settlement. Brought into focus was the distinction
 between true communities (providing stability, safety, and a
 degree of comfort) and the many small and rudimentary labor
 camps and farming subgroups. A community existed when:
 1) there was a substantial population clustered together for
 mutual advantages; 2) significant numbers of women and family
 units were in evidence; 3) there were sufficient dwellings
 and other structures to serve the needs of the people; 4) live-
 stock or other food surpluses were present; and 5) geographi-
 cal placement afforded defensive and economic advantages.

Two locations in the James River basin--Jamestown and
 Elizabeth City--were prime examples of viable communities.
 Jamestown Island proper, with a total population of 122 men,
 53 females, 33 houses, and 183 cattle, was a sizeable popula-
 tion center as well as the colony's political capital. As
 noted in Chapter II. The expansion from the island soon

¹⁶⁵Virginia Company Records, III, 612-613. To be de-
 fended and held were Jamestown, Pasbyhayes, Elizabeth City,
 Newport News, Southampton, Flowerdieu, and Shirley Hundreds,
 Jordan's Plantation, and a few south bank holdings.

¹⁶⁶Haggett's technical terminology classifies "settle-
 ment" morphologically, e.g. as urban or rural; "cluster" re-
 fers to population size and arrangement (metropolis, town, or
 hamlet). See Haggett, Locational Analysis, 88.

peopled the contiguous mainland. Pasbyhayes, the Main, Neck-of-Land, and Hog Island were viable settlements--early suburbs--each supporting a female population one-seventh to one-fourth of the total and featuring adequate housing in all but one instance. Of the four areas, Neck-of-Lnad was probably the most self-sufficient suburb. Its 145 people owned 31 dwellings, 6 stores, 4,000 pounds of fish, more bushels of corn than Jamestown, 32 cattle, 55 swine, and 15 goats. The Main had no cattle but was well-supplied with hogs. Pasbyhayes, devoid of livestock, listed two thousand pounds of fish for its forty-three inhabitants, but it may still have been more completely dependent upon James City for foodstuffs. The island and its associated suburbs, by the colony's eighteenth year, together accounted for four hundred persons, one-third of Virginia's total.¹⁶⁷

Emerging to challenge Jamestown was Elizabeth City. With a larger population than James City proper, twice the dwellings, and double the corn supply, Elizabeth City was the colony's most populated community. When its associated settlements west of the Southampton River were included, Elizabeth City and vicinity counted 375 persons, again a sizeable percentage of Virginia's overall population.¹⁶⁸ The thrust of colonization, which had alternately favored Jamestown, Henrico, Charles City, and Jamestown again, finally developed a definite eastern, Chesapeake Bay focus in the wake of the

¹⁶⁷[Quisenberry], "Virginia Census, 1624-25," Va. Mag. Hist. Biog., VII (1899-1900), 366-367.

¹⁶⁸Ibid.

Indian massacre. The value of defensible positions and security-in-numbers became apparent after the attack, since both James City and Elizabeth City had emerged from the tragedy virtually unscathed.¹⁶⁹

The Jamestown peninsula, surrounded on three sides by water and guarded by blockhouses on its narrow isthmus, was regarded by contemporaries as "the securest place . . . in all the River."¹⁷⁰ Elizabeth City, bordered by three rivers and Chesapeake Bay, was also a prime defensive and commercial location. The streams--linear resources of communication and transportation--had been exploited by these towns from Virginia's earliest days. But in the 1620s both communities were reemphasized as zonal resources--unique centers of refuge beckoning the multitudes fleeing eastward. Much as iron filings encircle a magnetic field, these colonists were attracted to the core and suburbs of Jamestown and Elizabeth City.¹⁷¹

By 1625 the four settlements near Charles City together represented a third major population cluster. Neck-of-Land

¹⁶⁹Less attractive, though, was the sudden concentration of so many unprovisioned refugees at these sites. Disease and a post-massacre famine proved almost as devastating as Opechancanough's warriors. From April 1622 to February 1623, 89 deaths were recorded at Jamestown and 78 at Elizabeth City. "List . . . of the Dead in Virginia Since April Last, [issued February 1623]," in Colonial Records of Virginia, 55-60.

¹⁷⁰Virginia Company Records, III, 612.

¹⁷¹For a more complete discussion of linear and zonal resources and their relation to human geography and patterns of settlement, the reader should consult Haggett, Locational Analysis, 89, 95.

in Charles City, favorably located at the confluence of the Appomattox and James Rivers, had sixteen dwellings for twenty-five men and nineteen women, in addition to thirty-four cattle, nineteen swine, and a large supply of poultry. Nearby were the thriving plantations of West and Shirley Hundred, Jordan's Journey, and Peirse's (Flowerdieu) Hundred, the three of which accounted for 164 individuals.¹⁷²

Of the remaining sites of habitation in Virginia, there existed small numbers of both men and women at Basse's Choice and Martin's Hundred. Labor camps and farming colonies, predominantly male in composition and usually lacking in material comforts, were present at Mulberry Island, Warrascoyack, and the College Land, judging by extant population figures.

By 1625, then, the three regional clusters of Jamestown, Elizabeth City, and Charles City were the marrow of English colonization in Virginia. Until the mid-to-late 1630s, virtually all patentees of land, whether consciously or unconsciously, limited their acquisitions to these vicinities. The large land speculators, legally and traditionally free to select the location and shape of their tracts, were, nonetheless, conservative and cautious in their property transactions. They generally chose acreage in regions with immediate and unmistakable settlement potential, or they concentrated upon secure locations adjoining centers of population. Adam Thoroughgood, John Utye, William Spencer, William

¹⁷²[Quisenberry], "Virginia Census, 1624-25," Va. Mag. Hist. Blog., VII (1899-1900), 366-367.

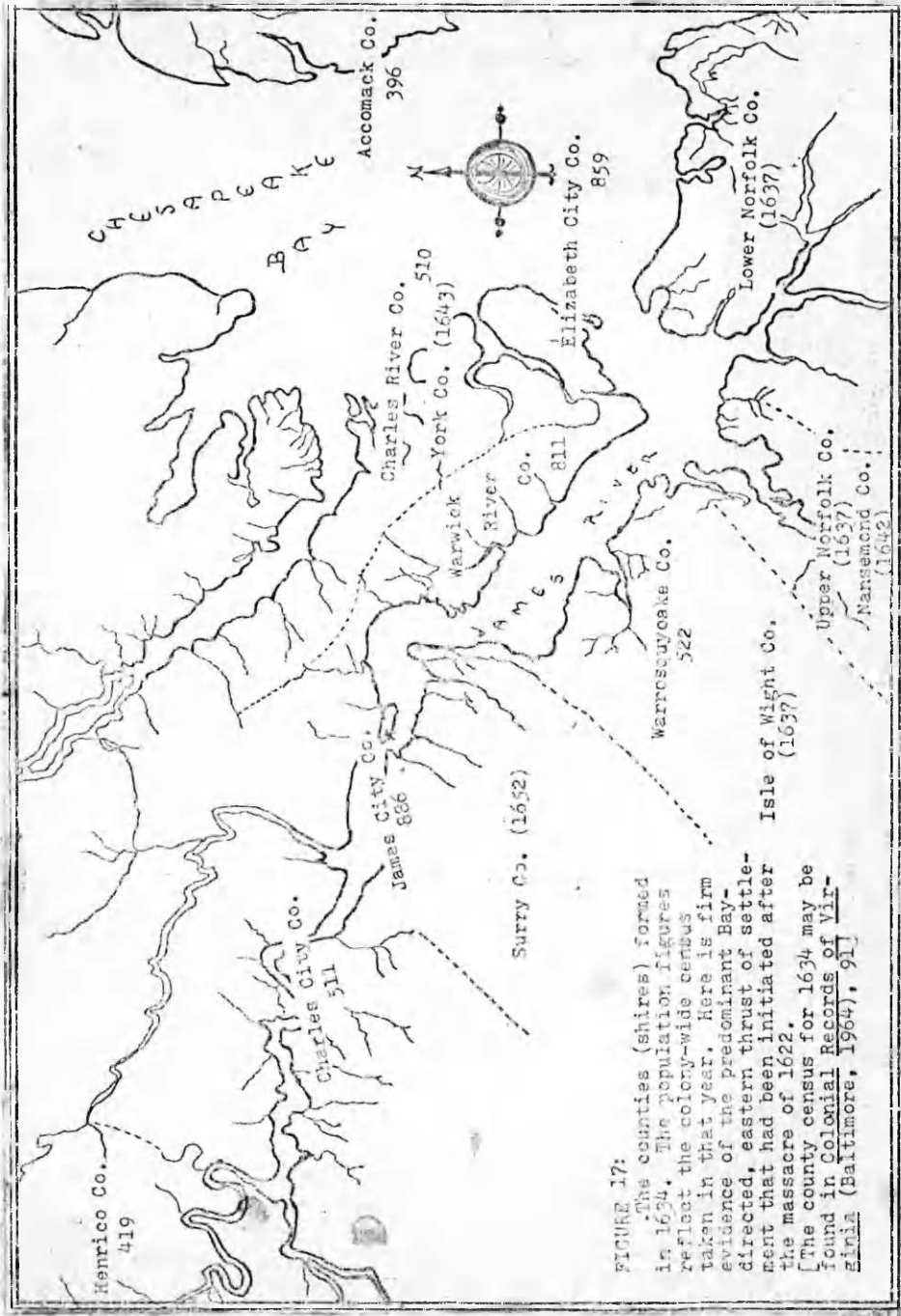


FIGURE 17:
 The counties (shires) formed in 1634. The population figures reflect the colony-wide census taken in that year. Here is firm evidence of the predominant Bay-directed, eastern thrust of settlement that had been initiated after the massacre of 1622.
 [The county census for 1634 may be found in Colonial Records of Virginia (Baltimore, 1964), 91]

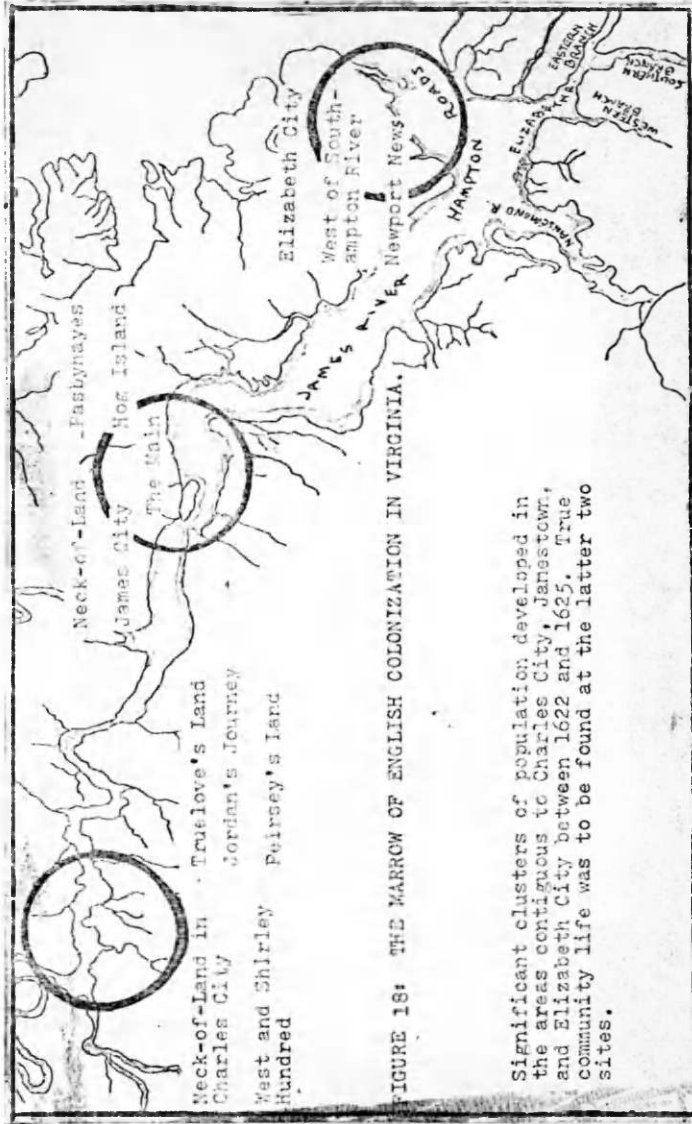


FIGURE 18: THE MARROW OF ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN VIRGINIA.

Significant clusters of population developed in the areas contiguous to Charles City, Jamestown, and Elizabeth City between 1622 and 1625. True community life was to be found at the latter two sites.

Peirce, Richard Kemp, George Menefie, and Samuel Mathews-- each a major land claimant--consistently patented in established regions in their mature stages of development, i.e. from 1635 to 1643. Except for the occasional grants along the York, Rappahannock, and Potomac Rivers, and on the Eastern Shore, the only new lands claimed in the decade after 1625 were located within a dozen miles of Jamestown Island, in the Appomattox River basin within Charles City County, or in the vicinity of Nansemond and Norfolk. As a rule, wealthy land speculators selected acreage at times before, but often after, a sizeable segment of the population had previously demonstrated an interest in these locations.

Between June 1636 and December 1639--the years in which Thoroughgood claimed the bulk of his lands in Lower Norfolk County--more than forty-four thousand acres were patented by ninety-two persons in the county; before Thoroughgood's activity there are records for twenty-three hundred acres granted in the Elizabeth River region.¹⁷³

The area contiguous to Archer's Hope Creek, upon which both Kemp and Menefie patented in the late 1630s and early 1640s, was a popular site; over twenty-two hundred acres had been claimed at Archer's Hope some fifteen to twenty years prior to the Kemp-Menefie interest.¹⁷⁴

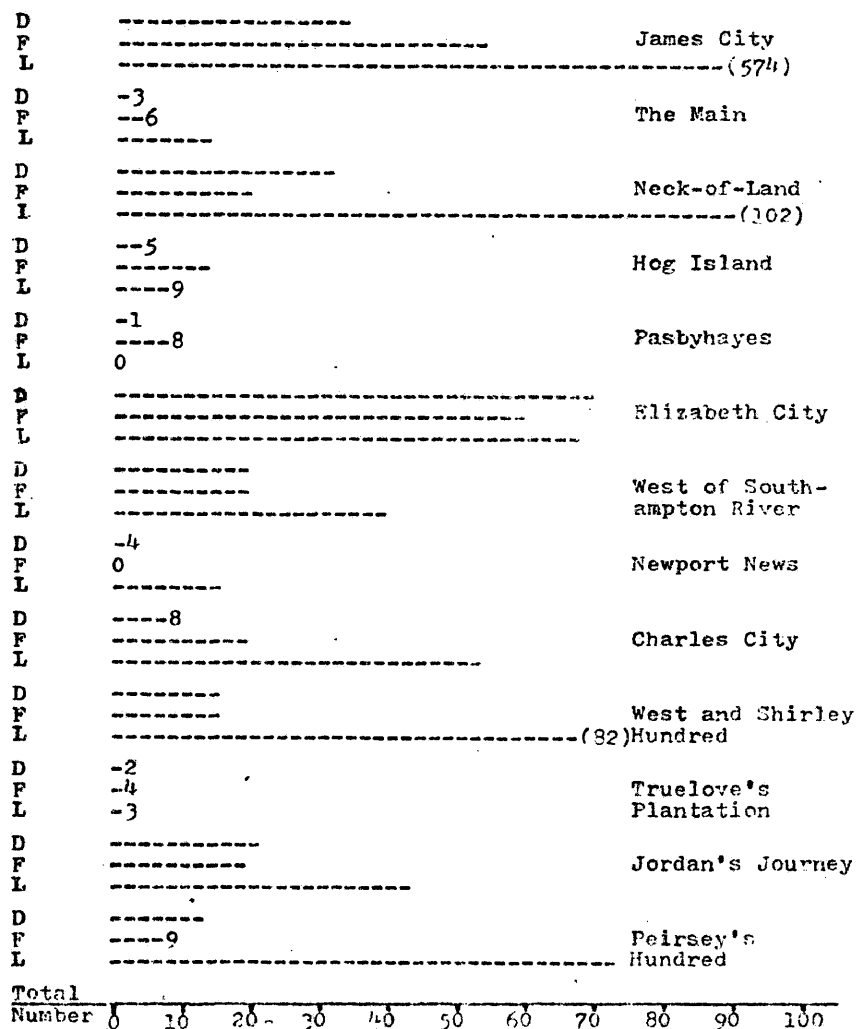
¹⁷³Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers, I, 21, s.v. Hill, s.v. Towers, s.v. Slaughter; 22, s.v. Lambert, s.v. Sipsey.

¹⁷⁴Hotten, comp., Original Lists of Persons of Quality, 271.

CHART 2: DETERMINATION OF COMMUNITIES

(Based Upon Dwellings [D], Females [F], Livestock* [L]).

(BASED UPON DWELLINGS [D], FEMALES [F], LIVESTOCK* [L]).



*Cattle, Swine, and Goats

This chart is based upon the data compiled by A. C. Quisenberry, "The Virginia Census, 1624-25," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, VII (1896-1900), 364-367.

Utye's 1635 patent for twelve hundred acres "at the head of Utye's Cr. in Charles [York] Riv., . . . towards the Midle plantation" came almost two years after the Assembly had ordered a company of laborers to plant and build in the vicinity of Middle Plantation, even then an area attracting notice.¹⁷⁵

Spencer and Peirce claimed the largest tracts on Lawnes Creek, Isle of Wight County, between June 1635 and August 1637, but other individuals patented more than sixteen hundred acres in the county in the same period.¹⁷⁶ Peirce's twenty-one hundred acres near Mulberry Island and Mathews's three thousand-acre Warwick River plot (1642) were both situated in localities in which other men had taken an interest early and often.¹⁷⁷

These examples, then, illustrate the desire of the wealthy land speculators to hold property near previously patented or settled regions. Security and the enhanced prospects for a profitable resale of prime land were definite considerations, since few men commanded a labor force of sufficient size to bring more than a few acres under cultivation.¹⁷⁸ The patentees of acreage in large lots were not trailblazers risking their valuable headrights in unfamiliar territory,

¹⁷⁵Statutes at Large, I, 208.

¹⁷⁶See my figures in Appendix A below.

¹⁷⁷Refer to the maps following p. 49 above.

¹⁷⁸Morgan, "First American Boom," Wm. and Mary Qtly., 3d Ser., XXVIII (1971), 175, 176, 177, and 183 provide insights into the labor situation in Virginia.

and neither did these cautious speculators prohibit the land accumulation of their fellow colonists. It was not unusual for fifty and one hundred-acre plots to fall between the one and two thousand-acre tracts, the small farmer's land adjoining that of the councilor. Minor patentees, hard pressed to clear and cultivate a handful of acres aided only by their families, had neither the resources nor the pretensions for massive speculative ventures. Wealthy speculator and struggling farmer, Virginia offered something to each.

As mentioned earlier, the greatest obstacle in accurately tracing the settlement patterns is determining whether land was seated--actually inhabited--or merely acquired by title.¹⁷⁹ According to Alexander Brown, two hundred persons owned eighty thousand acres by 1625, excluding the grants made to particular plantations.¹⁸⁰ In Virginia's first three decades, the number of acres seated was only a fraction of those granted. "The cheapness of land and the unscientific methods of cultivation then in vogue made it advisable for the small planter to secure a much larger tract than he could put under cultivation."¹⁸¹ Records indicate that three crops

¹⁷⁹Gov. Wyatt in 1625 estimated that under the Company 983,932 acres were granted but only 12,450 acres (12 per cent) were actually planted. The raw data appears in Virginia Company Records, IV, 551-558; the computations come from Irene Winchester Duckworth Hecht, The Virginia Colony, 1607-1640: A Study in Frontier Growth (unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1969. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms No. 69,20,232), 197.

¹⁸⁰Brown, First Republic in America, 627.

¹⁸¹Wertenbaker, First Americans, 37.

of tobacco became the maximum extractable from the sandy, shallow Virginia soil.¹⁸² Early attempts at fertilization proved unsuccessful, for the manure produced "a strong sort of Tobacco, in which the Smokers . . . [claimed to] . . . plainly taste the fulsomness of the Dung."¹⁸³

Another factor partially responsible for the small amount of settled, cultivated land was the high yield potential of virgin soil. A single yeoman could adequately tend two acres of corn in addition to the tobacco crop, which required his attention from January seedbed to November hoghead.¹⁸⁴ In 1624 John Ferrar reported that one Richard Brewster with three helpers harvested twenty-eight hundred "waight of Tobacco besides 100 bushells of Corne."¹⁸⁵ William Capps claimed that, assisted by three boys, he had produced "Three Thousand weight of Tobacco and had sould 50 barrells of Corne . . . and kept besides that 60 barrells for his owne store."¹⁸⁶

Virginia's soil, after the rigorous tasks of clearing and cultivation had been accomplished, could produce abundantly. But individual sacrifice--a seasoning of spirit as

¹⁸²Virginia Company Records, III, 92.

¹⁸³"A Letter from Mr. John Clayton . . . [1688]," in Force, ed., Tracts, III, no. 12, 20-21.

¹⁸⁴Rolfe, True Relation, 37.

¹⁸⁵Virginia Company Records, II, 524. A planter in 1649 could expect a return of three pence a pound on tobacco. Perfect Description of Virginia, in Force, ed., Tracts, II, no. 8, 4, 6.

¹⁸⁶Virginia Company Records, II, 524-525.

well as of body--was necessary for survival in this wild new country. "Virginia was . . . a paradise to those only, rich or poor, who took . . . inconveniences and uncertainties as a matter of course and made the most of the offsets at hand."¹⁸⁷ The "Lushious smell / Of that delicious Land"¹⁸⁸ proved all too fleeting for hundreds of immigrants unprepared for the harsh realities of America.

The continued English presence in Virginia depended upon the diffusion of settlement and the effective use of resources. To seek out and master the fresh and unknown was the yearning of the "vexed and troubled" in that era. Alternately casual and cautious concerning patterns of settlement, the English experiences in the first thirty-five years of Virginia's growth were experimental, ad hoc, stalked by tragedy, and beset by error. Elizabethan folkways, the topography of the James River basin, the Indians, and individual contributions of the famous and nameless were major factors which combined to impose an enduring and unique Anglo-American legacy on lands from Chesapeake Bay to the fall line. Even more significant, perhaps, were the intangibles of personal determination and community resiliency in the face of adversity--factors which ultimately preserved Virginia, that "spreading herbe, whose top hath bin often cropped off, [and

¹⁸⁷Phillips, Life and Labor, 35.

¹⁸⁸Drayton, "Ode to the Virginian Voyage," Works of Drayton, ed. Hebel, II, viii., 43-44.

yet] renews her growth, and spreads her selfe more gloriously
then before."¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹Whitaker, Good Newes From Virginia, 23.

APPENDIX A

LAND ACQUISITION UNDER VIRGINIA GOVERNORS, 1617-1642

Area	1621-25 Walls	1626-27 Yeardley	1627-29 E. West	1629-30 Fest	1630-35 Harvey	1635-37 J. West	1637-39 Harvey	1639-42 Warr	1642- Barkeley
James City Co.	1129(19)	236(3)	628(5)	5(1)	2370(9)	2150(31)	47255(102)	5809(14)	24,182(39)
Warwick Riv. Co.	500(6)	550(2)	1450(6)	600(2)	1440(7)	6000(24)	7650(17)	2100(3)	5286(9)
Eliz. City Co.	4000(24)	100(2)	1175(18)	350(3)	8032(28)	8250(27)	11150(37)	700(3)	1270(18)
Charles City Co.					1000(5)	17975(18)	24215(31)	3450(3)	15062(14)
Harrison					885(7)	5700(15)	23580(46)	100(1)	4600(8)
Lower Norfolk Co.					550(2)	18950(36)	25100(56)	1100(4)	5150(13)
Upper Norfolk Co.					1450(3)	7800(19)	31514(80)	3492(13)	9115(24)
Isle of Wight Co.					550(4)	17150(34)	19850(40)	5200(11)	18512(32)
Eastern Shore	470(2)	---	250(5)	450(4)	450(3)	11100(29)	16065(35)	3350(10)	9300(18)
York Co.					1800(7)	13100(40)	33410(93)	6025(8)	40950(63)
Chickahominy Riv.					50(1)	2950(10)	22100(40)	2000(4)	1725(3)
Appomattox Riv.					650(1)	5600(10)	8600(19)	1670(3)	1393(2)
Rappahannock Riv.									14050(10)
Potomac Riv.									1700(3)
Unidentified	100(1)H					2450(6)	1200(3)	620(2)	5147(14)
Total Acres	6,800*	886	3,503	1,403	19,427	140,925	271,679	36,606	145,102
Total Patents	56*	7	36	10	77	319	605	79	247
(*Includes:									
650 acs., and 4 patents from era 1617-1621)									

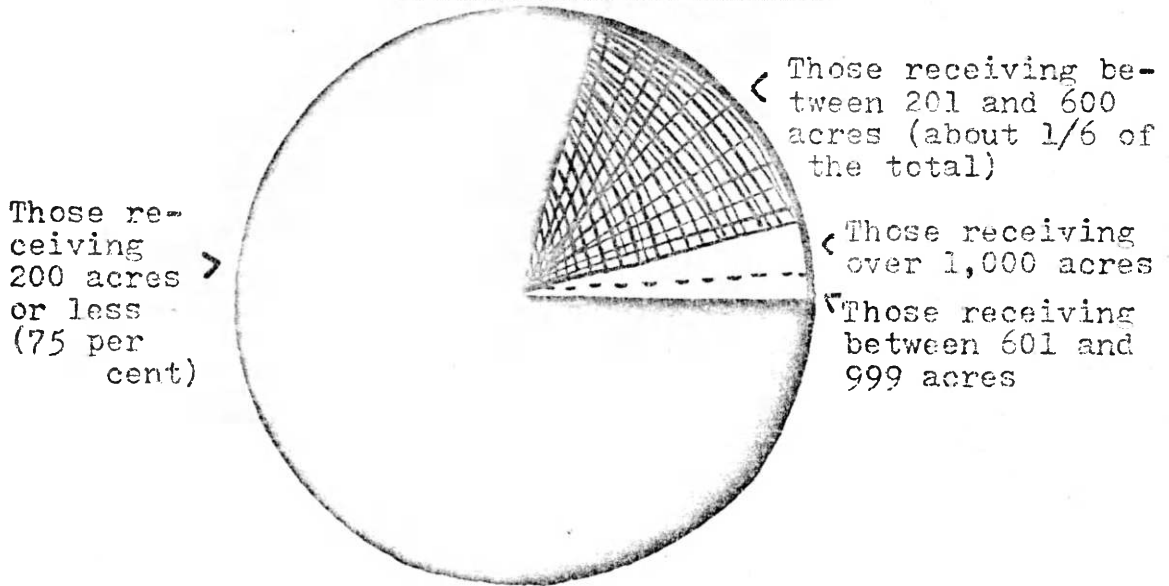
Data compiled from Nellie Marlon Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1624-1600, I (Richmond, 1974), I-142

APPENDIX B

GRAPHS OF INDIVIDUAL LAND GRANTS, 1625

(Taken from Governor Wyatt's list of patentees, 1625).
184 Patents

Acreage Breakdown of Patents



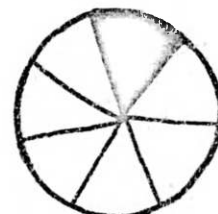
Percentage of Persons Receiving Land

1/5

1/7

Of Total Male Population

Of Total Population



Graphs compiled from data in Manning Curlee Voorhis, Land Grant Policy of Colonial Virginia, 1607-1699 (unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1940), 26-27.

APPENDIX C

LARGEST PATENTS AND AVERAGE ACREAGE GRANTED BY YEAR,
1624-1642

<u>Bruce's Figures</u> ^a		<u>Nugent's Figures</u> ^b	
	Ave.	Largest	Grantee
1624		400	George Sandys
1625		-	
1626	100- 300	450	William Eppes
1627		300	Robert Poole
1628		1000	Thomas Flint
1629		--	
1630		500	Jacob Averie
1631		500	Thomas Purifoy
1632		350	Robert Felgate
1633		350	Jeremiah Clements
1634	719	5350	Hugh Bullocke
1635	380	2000	Adam Thoroughgood
1636	351	2000	Adam Thoroughgood
1637	445	5350	Blackman, et al.
1638	423	5350	Adam Thoroughgood
1639	-	3700	Argoll Yeardley
1640	405	3000	George Menefie
1641	343	4000	Argoll Yeardley
1642	559	1300	John Seaward
		3500	Henry Perry

^aPhilip Alexander Bruce, Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, I (New York, 1896), 528-532 as tabulated in W. Stitt Robinson, Jr., Mother Earth: Land Grants in Virginia, 1607-1699, Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklet, No. 12 (Charlottesville, 1957), 43.

^bNell Marion Nugent, ed., Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-1800, I (Richmond, 1934), 569.

APPENDIX D
PERCENTAGE OF PATENTS BY ACREAGE
1619-1643

<u>Acres</u>	<u>Percentage of Patents</u>
0-100	22%
100-400	44%
400-1000	22%
1000-3000	10%
Over 3000	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ %

From Manning Curlee Voorhis, Land Grant Policy of Colonial Virginia, 1607-1699 (unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1940), 70.

APPENDIX E
VIRGINIA COUNTIES, 1634-1642

Formed in 1634

James City County

Henrico County

Charles City County

Elizabeth City County

1636-----New Norfolk County

1637-----Lower Co. of New
Norfolk

1637-----Upper Co. of New
Norfolk
(Became Nansemond in
1642).

Warwick River County

Warrosquyoake County (Name changed to Isle of Wight Co., 1637).

Charles River County (Name changed to York County in 1643).

Accomack County (Eastern Shore)

For a more detailed chart see Nell Marion Nugent, ed.,
Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents
and Grants, 1623-1800, I (Richmond, 1934), facing p. xxxv.

APPENDIX F

THE FIRST PATENT UNDER THE REFORMED LAND POLICY, 1618

"To all to whome these presents shall come greeting in our Lord God Everlasting.

"KNOW YE that I Georg Yeardlye Knight Governor and Capt. Generall of Virginia by virtue of the Great Charter of Orders and Lawes concluded on by the Treasurer Councill and Company of Adventurers for the first Southerne Colony of Virginia in one of their General Quarter Courts according to the authoritie granted them by his Majestie under his Great Seale and by them dated at London the Eighteenth day of November one Thousand six hundred and Eighteene and directed to my selfe and the Councill of State here resident doe with the approbation and consent of the Councill whoe are joyned in commission with mee give and graunt unto William Fairefax of James Cittie Yeoman an Ancient Planter, whoe hath remained Eight yeares in the Country and performed all services to the Colony that might any way belong to his Charge and to his heires and assignes for ever for his first devident to bee augmented and doubled to him his said heires and assignes when once hee or they shall thoroughly have planted and peopled the same twoe hundred acres of land one hundred for and in consideration of his owne personall Adventure and according to the rules of Justice, Equity and Reason, and because the Company themselves have given us some Presidents in the same kinde, one hundred acres more in the personall right of Margery his wife an old planter alsoe that came into the Country married to the said William Fairefax twelve acres of which twoe hundred being situated in the Island of James Cittie about the new Mansion house of the said William Fairefax and bordereth East upon Tuckers hole, West upon a greene Thickett parting Mary Baylys land now in the possession of Robert Evans from it South upon a narrow swamp which devide from the same the land of Joakim Andrews and John Grubb and North upon Richard Kingsmills Creek. The remainder being one hundred eighty eight acres and situate upon or neare unto Archers Hope do abutt West upon the land of Joakim Andrews, South upon the great river and North upon the maine land.

"To Have and to Hold the said twoe hundred acres of land with the appurtenances and with his due share of all mines and Minneralls therein conteyned and with all rights and privileges of hunting, fishing, fowling and others within the precincts and upon the borders of the same land to the sole and proper use benefit and behoofe of him the said

William Fairefax his heires and assignes for ever. In as large and ample manner to all intents and purposes as is expressed in the said Graat Charter or by Consequence may bee collected out of the same or out of his Majesties Letters Pattents whereon it is grounded. Yeilding and paying to the said Treasurer and Company and to their Successors for ever yearely at the feast of St. Michaell the Archangell for every fiftie acres of his whole devident the fee rent of one shilling. Provided the said one hundred eightie and eight acres of land at Archers Hope doe extend in a right line along the banck of the said great river not above ninetye and fower pole at sixteene foote and a halfe the pole and doe stretch directly up into the maine land within the same breadth only.

"IN WITNESS whereof I have to these presents sett my hand and the great Seale of the Colony. Given at James Cittie the twentieth day of February in the yeare One thousand six hundred and nineteene.

Georg Yeardley."

The above comes from the Fairefax patent, Patent Book I, Volume II, 648-649 (Virginia Land Office, Richmond). Copy in typescript form by George C. Gregory is housed at the Colonial National Historical Park Headquarters, Yorktown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
(WORKS CITED)

Primary Sources

Books

Colonial Records of Virginia. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1964.

Hamor, Ralph (the Younger). True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia and the Success of the Affairs There Till the 18 of June, 1614 [1615]. Albany: J. Munsell, 1860.

Hening, William Waller, ed. The Statutes at Large; being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619. Vol. I. Richmond: Printed for the Commonwealth of Virginia by Samuel Pleasants, Jr., 1809.

Hotten, John Camden, comp. The Original Lists of Persons of Quality, Emigrants, Religious Exiles, Political Rebels, Serving Men Sold for a Term of Years, Apprentices, Children Stolen, Maidens Pressed, and Others Who Went From Great Britain to the American Plantations, 1600-1700 [1874]. New York: G. A. Baker and Co., Inc., 1931.

Kingsbury, Susan Myra, ed. The Records of the Virginia Company of London. 4 vols. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1906-1935.

Nova Britannia: offering most excellent fruites by planting in Virginia [1609]. Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, From the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776. Edited by Peter Force. Vol. II. Washington: Published by Peter Force, 1836. Peter Smith Reprint, 1947.

Nugent, Nell Marion, ed. Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-1800. Vol. I. Richmond: Press of the Dietz Printing Co., 1934.

A Perfect Description of Virginia . . . [1649]. Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, From the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776. Edited by Peter Force. Vol. II. Washington: Published by Peter Force, 1836. Peter Smith Reprint, 1947.

The Planters Plea [1630]. Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, From the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776. Edited by Peter Force. Vol. II. Washington: Published by Peter Force, 1836. Peter Smith Reprint, 1947.

Rolfe, John. A True Relation of the State of Virginia Left by Sir Thomas Dale, knight, in May last 1616 [1619]. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951.

Whitaker, Alexander. Good Newes From Virginia [1613]. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, n.d.

Other Works

Drayton, Michael. "Ode to the Virginian Voyage." The Works of Michael Drayton. Edited by J. William Hebel. Vol. II. Oxford, England: B. Blackwell, 1932.

"A Letter from Mr. John Clayton Rector of Crofton at Wakefield in Yorkshire, to the Royal Society, May 12, 1688." Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, From the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776. Edited by Peter Force. Vol. III. Washington: Published by Peter Force, 1844. Peter Smith Reprint, 1947.

[Quisenberry, A. C.] "The Virginia Census, 1624-25." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, VII (April 1900), 364-367.

Stanard, W. G., ed. "Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, I (April 1894), 436-452.

"Title to Greenspring." (Ludwell Manuscripts, Virginia Historical Society Collections). Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V (April 1898), 383-387.

"Virginias Verger: Or a Discourse shewing the benefits . . . of Virginia . . . [1625]." Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes. Edited by Samuel Purchas. Vol. XIX. Glasgow, Scotland: James MacLehose and Sons, 1906.

Wyatt, Francis. Wyatt Manuscripts. William and Mary Quarterly, 2d Ser., VII (April 1927), 125-131.

Secondary Sources

Books

Andrews, Charles McLean. The Colonial Period of American History. Vol. I: The Settlements. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934.

Bailyn, Bernard. Ideological Origins of the American Revolution. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967.

Bridenbaugh, Carl. Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590-1642. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Brown, Alexander. First Republic in America. New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1898.

Bruce, Philip Alexander. Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. New York and London: Macmillan and Co., 1896.

_____. Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. 2d rev. ed. Lynchburg, Va.: J. P. Bell Company, Inc., 1927.

_____. Virginia; Rebirth of the Old Dominion. Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1929.

Craven, Wesley Frank. Dissolution of the Virginia Company: The Failure of a Colonial Experiment. New York: Oxford University Press, 1932.

_____. The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689. Vol. I of A History of the South. Edited by Wendell H. Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter. 10 vols. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949.

Forman, Henry Chandlee. Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938.

Gray, Lewis Cecil. History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860. Baltimore: Waverly Press, Inc., 1933.

Haggett, Peter. Locational Analysis in Human Geography. London: Edward Arnold, Ltd., 1965.

- Hatch, Charles E., Jr. The First Seventeen Years: Virginia, 1607-1624. Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklet, No. 6. Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., Publishers, 1957.
- Jester, Annie Lash and Martha Woodroof Hiden, eds. Adventurers of Purse and Person: Virginia, 1607-1625. 2d ed. Princeton: n.p., 1964.
- Laslett, Peter. The World We Have Lost. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965.
- Notestein, Wallace. The English People on the Eve of Colonization, 1603-1630. The New American Nation Series. Edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1954.
- Phillips, Ulrich Bonnell. Life and Labor in the Old South. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1929.
- Robinson, W. Stitt, Jr. Mother Earth: Land Grants in Virginia, 1607-1699. Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklet, No. 12. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1957.
- Talpalar, Morris. The Sociology of Colonial Virginia. 2d rev. ed. New York: Philosophical Library, 1968.
- Wertenbaker, Thomas Jefferson. The First Americans, 1607-1690. Vol. II of A History of American Life. Edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Fox Ryan. 13 vols. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927.
- Whichard, Rogers Dey. History of Lower Tidewater Virginia. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1959.
- Wissler, Clark, et al. Adventures in the Wilderness. Vol. I of The Pageant of America: A Pictorial History of the United States. Edited by Ralph Henry Gabriel. 20 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925.
- Wright, Louis B. Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935.
- Yonge, Samuel H. The Site of Old "James Towne," 1607-1698. Tercentenary Edition. Richmond: The Hermitage Press, Inc., 1907.

Other Works (Published)

- Bailyn, Bernard. "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia." Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History. Edited by James Morton Smith. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959.
- Campbell, Mildred. "Social Origins of Some Early Americans." Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History. Edited by James Morton Smith. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959.
- Diamond, Sigmund. "From Organization to Society: Virginia in the Seventeenth Century." American Journal of Sociology, LXIII (March 1958), 457-475.
- Forman, Henry Chandlee. "The Bygone 'Subberbs of James Cittie.'" William and Mary Quarterly, 2d Ser., XX (October 1940), 475-486.
- Handlin, Oscar. "The Significance of the Seventeenth Century." Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History. Edited by James Morton Smith. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959.
- Hatch, Charles E., Jr. "Archer's Hope and the Glebe." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXV (October 1957), 467-485.
- Lurie, Nancy Oestreich. "Indian Cultural Adjustment to European Civilization." Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History. Edited by James Morton Smith. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959.
- Miller, Perry. "Religion and Society in the Early Literature of Virginia." Errand Into the Wilderness. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1956.
- Morgan, Edmund S. "The First American Boom: Virginia 1618 to 1630." William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXVIII (April 1971), 169-198.
- Notestein, Wallace. "The English Woman, 1580-1650." Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G. M. Trevelyan. Edited by J. H. Plumb. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1955.
- Seiler, William H. "The Anglican Parish in Virginia." Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History. Edited by James Morton Smith. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959.

[Tazewell, Littleton Waller]. "The Mode of Acquiring Lands in Virginia in Early Times." Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advertiser, II (October 1849), 190-194.

"Virginia Under Governor Harvey." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, III (July 1895), 21-34.

(Unpublished)

Gregory, George C., comp. "James Citty" and "James Citty Island," 1607-1700. Colonial National Historical Park Library, Yorktown, 1935. (Typewritten).

Hatch, Charles E., Jr. Summary of Data Relating to "Neck-of-Land neare James Citty." Colonial National Historical Park Library, Yorktown, 1954. (Typewritten).

Hecht, Irene Winchester Duckworth. The Virginia Colony, 1607-1640: A Study in Frontier Growth. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1969. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, No. 69, 20, 232).

Voorhis, Manning Curlee. The Land Grant Policy of Colonial Virginia, 1607-1774. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1940.

VITA

JOHN FREDERICK FAUSZ

Born in Covington, Kentucky, 28 November 1947. Graduated from Holmes High School in Covington, June 1966. Received the A.B. degree in History, Magna Cum Laude, from Thomas More College, May 1970. Entered the College of William and Mary as a Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Designate concentrating in colonial America. Served as an Editorial Apprentice at the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, July 1970 through August 1971.