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**To 'Fix the People on the Soyle':
An Ecological Study of Family, Land, and Settlement in
Colonial Henrico County, Virginia, 1611-1675**

presented by

Elizabeth A. Morgan

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in **Family and Child Ecology**

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TO 'FIX THE PEOPLE ON THE SOYLE':
AN ECOLOGICAL STUDY OF
FAMILY, LAND, AND SETTLEMENT
IN
COLONIAL HENRICO COUNTY, VIRGINIA
1611-1675

Volume I

By

ELIZABETH A. MORGAN

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

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Department of Family and Child Ecology

1995

ABSTRACT

**TO 'FIX THE PEOPLE ON THE SOYLE':
AN ECOLOGICAL STUDY OF
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IN
COLONIAL HENRICO COUNTY, VIRGINIA,
1611-1675**

By

ELIZABETH A. MORGAN

The relationship between family and environment has changed over time in American history. This dissertation explores the origins of family-environment relationships in colonial America by documenting the origins of family-land relationships on the seventeenth century frontier of Henrico County, Virginia. The questions about family-land relationships which framed the study were generated from the theoretical perspective of human and family ecology. Within an historical community study research design, data were collected and analyzed by means of prosopography, geographic mapping, and ethnographic reconstruction. The results of the study were presented in conceptual narrative form.

The study identified the first two generations of pioneer families who shaped a predominantly familial settlement pattern in Henrico County. The finding of an early familial settlement pattern was based on the predominance of family-land patent linkages which characterized all extant data on private landownership in Henrico County from 1617-1675. Settlement of the first generation of Henrico families emerged through trial

and error out of the Jamestown experience and the 1611 founding of Henrico by ancient planters. Settlement of the second generation of Henrico families coincided with the recognition of Henrico as a distinct frontier in mid-seventeenth century Virginia.

The ecology of Henrico pioneer families was manifested on family plantations where the convergence of private agriculture, family formation, and private landownership brought stability and permanent settlement. The geography and biography of settlement expanded Henrico's river frontier and developed denser kinship and neighborhood networks. The culture of settlement in Henrico was rooted in fee-simple landownership, farm-building, and family inheritance. Henrico family plantations or family<->farm ecosystems developed human and physical capital necessary for economic growth and competence.

Henrico pioneer families left an historical legacy of the American family as "Settling Community." Their family ecology was shaped by local stewardship of land and people in order to survive and make homes for themselves in a new environment. The free but relatively poor men and women of Henrico pioneer families who gained access to freehold land were among the first to pursue the American Dream in the New World.

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The Plantacon can never flourish till families
be planted, and the respect of wives and
Children fix the people on the Soyle

A Letter to the Governor And Council In Virginia,
From the Virginia Company, August 12, 1621.

For Kerry

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This dissertation in family ecology became a long voyage to a New World of understanding and scholarship, an experience which was enriching, challenging, and humbling. There are many people and institutions who enabled me to complete and survive this task. Certainly without the fine work of numerous scholars mentioned throughout the text, I would not have progressed far at all in answering my research questions.

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been involved in this project. Linda Nelson, who introduced me to ethnographic research, also joined my committee in an advisory capacity. Her meticulous attention to textual and administrative detail kept me on track and her cheerful optimism enhanced my experience immeasurably. Leah Hooper not only challenged me to outline the implications of this research in terms of a "fourth" image for today's family, but gave me the axiom--"reframe the problem"--which I applied countless times. Robert Boger helped me acquire some good theoretical tools in human development and Dennis Keefe helped me learn some of the human resource aspects of family economics. Herbert Titus's historical expertise in English and American common law inspired the first questions which led to this study; I am still intrigued by his statement that there has never been a good theory of property in English and American law. My only regret is that I could not share this project with Beatrice Paolucci. I was privileged to be one of her students and to hear her advocate that a student of the family "cannot ignore the tie to the land."

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Finally, in the spirit of one of those seventeenth century wills, I finish "By the Grace of God, Amen."

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CHAPTER 1

POSSIBILITIES FOR AN ECOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE FAMILY

Introduction: Images of the American Family

In his book, Past, Present and Personal, family historian John Demos describes historical changes in the American family in terms of "cultural images."¹ According to Demos, cultural images are powerful indicators of historical reality because cultural images reflect expectations and ideas which people at a particular time are realizing in their everyday lives. Demos subsequently outlines three distinguishable periods in American family history related to different cultural images of the family operative in American life since early settlement. The following review of Demos' cultural images of the American family thus provides a convenient reference point for discussing the research problem addressed in this dissertation.

First, the image of the "Family as Community" characterized family life in the colonial period of American history (to 1820). The "community" image of the family reflected community between family and society as well as the model of life provided by the family for society. As a community, the family was the "building block" of society and the activities of the family household and the larger society were "substantially interconnected".

¹John Demos, Past, Present and Personal: The Family and the Life Course in American History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 24-40.

Second, the image of "Family as Refuge" became descriptive of family life in the nineteenth century as the practical unity between family and society was broken by the separation of the family household from "the world of work". Home and work thus became two "entirely different spheres"--one the "protective" domain of women, the other the "jungle" domain of men. As work and society became estranged from the personal warmth of home environments, the family increasingly served as a "refuge" from "the corroding cares of business" and the "struggle for 'success'" in the world at large.

Third, the image of "Family as Encounter Group" typifies family life in the twentieth century, a "modern" world of workers, consumers, and citizens living in a "mass society." But the "security and comfort" characteristic of modern life has its underside----loss of individual efficacy, meaninglessness, boredom, apathy. Modern work has become for many either a "rat race" or a "grind." To counter the monotony outside, the modern home must become a place for "personal fulfillment," a place where a small group of individuals can "grow" in an atmosphere of "openness and reciprocity." Of course, when family reality fails to meet individual expectations, family members can seek "significant personal encounters" elsewhere. According to this standard, "families should provide the interest, the excitement, the stimulation missing from other sectors of our experience".²

The obvious differences between these cultural images of family life in American history suggest that the relation between family and society has changed as much as the family itself has changed. More comprehensively, one might conclude that the relationship between family and environment changed rather dramatically in American

²Ibid., 36.

history--from an integral family-environment relationship, to a polarized family environment relationship, to, during the mid-twentieth century, a perhaps irrelevant family-environment relationship.

This dissertation is undertaken out of motivation to recover some understanding of the integral relationship between families and their environments which, if considered from the perspective of family ecology, continue to exist even in the present day.³ Acquiring historical understanding of the American family in its original environmental context is an appropriate place to begin, given that the image of the colonial American family as a community, reflected family experience in a land virtually unknown to the first English settlers of 1607.

The importance of the family in colonial America has not gone unrecognized by historians. Rowland Berthoff's observation that "the fundamental institution of colonial society was . . . the family household", is fairly typical.⁴ While the colonial American family is worthy of study from the standpoint of its prominence in colonial American culture, the colonial American family as community also appears to exemplify family life

³See Margaret M. Bubolz and M. Suzanne Sontag, "Human Ecology Theory," in Sourcebook of Family Theories and Methods: A Contextual Approach, ed. Pauline G. Boss, et.al. (New York: Plenum Press, 1993), 419-48; Donald A. Herrin and Scott D. Wright, "Precursors to a Family Ecology: Interrelated Threads of Ecological Thought," Family Science Review 1 (1988):163-84; Scott D. Wright and Donald A. Herrin, "Ecology, Human Ecology, and the Study of the Family: Part 2," Family Science Review 1 (1988):253-82; Mary P. Andrews, Margaret M. Bubolz, and Beatrice Paolucci, "An Ecological Approach to Study of the Family" Marriage and Family Review 3 (Spring/Summer 1980):29-49.

⁴Rowland Berthoff, An Unsettled People: Social Order and Disorder in American History (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 96.

in a "pre-modern" world--a world in which "family and the household were the foundation of the community."⁵

Review of Literature

Colonial American Families

Edward Saveth has pointed out that American family history was designated as a "neglected field" by Carl Bridenbaugh in his presidential address before the 1962 meeting of the American Historical Association. Saveth recognized in 1969 that "apart from some impressive work in historical demography, the situation has not altered."⁶ Thus, much of what modern scholars claim to know about American family history is based on research completed only within the last twenty-five years.

Two influential studies of the colonial American family had been done, however, before Bridenbaugh deplored the barrenness of American family history in 1962. Edmund Morgan completed his study of the Puritan family life in 1944 and Bernard Bailyn presented an essay on education in colonial America in 1960.⁷ Morgan's research, based largely upon literary, rather than historical evidence of the New England Puritans, challenged stereotypes of the "repressive" and "emotionally barren" Puritan. Bailyn's

⁵Tamara K. Hareven, Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship Between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 368, citing Philippe Aries, Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962).

⁶Edward N. Saveth, "The Problem of American Family History" American Quarterly 21 (1969):311.

⁷Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England New ed., rev. and enlarged (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1966); Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society (New York: Vantage Books, Random House, 1960).

"hypothetical" and "bibliographic" essay countered modern educators' pejorative view of colonial American education by clarifying the contributions of the family and the church to education and colonial American society. A review of Morgan's and Bailyn's works by David Rothman notes that the two studies significantly "locate within the family the basic determinants of historical change."⁸ According to Rothman, however, the changes which Morgan and Bailyn purport to explain are misconstrued. Rothman points out that both Morgan's notion of "family tribalism" leading to the decline of the Puritans and Bailyn's assertion that a conflict between the family and the American wilderness precipitated the decline of the family as an educational institution (because the family, in trying to survive, could no longer cope with its educational responsibilities) portray grandiose theoretical claims without a sufficient foundation in actual historical evidence.

A summary of the major research on the colonial American family since Morgan's and Bailyn's studies is found in Daniel Blake Smith's review essay.⁹ Smith, who presents family history as a province of social history, describes the diversity of the research on the colonial American family in terms of regional focus, methodologies employed, and interpretive schemes used to deal with historical evidence.

Initially, knowledge of the colonial American family was actually a regional knowledge of the New England colonial American family. Recent research on middle and southern colonies, particularly work focusing on the Chesapeake society of Virginia

⁸David J. Rothman, "A Note on the Study of the Colonial Family" William and Mary Quarterly 3d ser., 23 (October 1966):627.

⁹Daniel Blake Smith, "The Study of the Family in Early America: Trends, Problems and Prospects" William and Mary Quarterly 3d ser., 39 (1982):3-28.

and Maryland, has since underlined the differences of environmental and demographic conditions affecting the lives of families in the American colonies especially in the South. Methodologies employed in the study of the colonial American family include both analysis of public and vital records as well as analysis of personal documents--diaries, letters, memoirs, autobiographies, wills. Smith argues that study of the colonial American family in its various dimensions still demands methodological innovation because

although historical demographers have made vital records speak about such matters as household size and life expectancy, the inner life of the family--its values, beliefs and personal relationships--cannot be reconstructed from data on fertility, mortality, and the like.¹⁰

Concerning the issue of historical interpretation, Smith demonstrates that comprehensive interpretive schemes such as "modernization" and "a topology of temperaments" were found to be not only insensitive to specific historical contexts but were also fallible under the scrutiny of historical evidence. Interpretive efforts made to synthesize research findings about the colonial American family have been more useful when limited to either particular demographic or psychosocial themes confined to the available facts.

Historical research on the colonial American family has corrected a number of misconceptions about family life during the colonial period of American history. Many questions concerning the household economy, kinship, religion, community and political contexts of colonial American families, however, remain unanswered. Moreover, "the key interpretive threads that tie family life to the world beyond the home continue to elude

¹⁰Ibid., 10.

social historians."¹¹ Smith concludes his review by reemphasizing the historical significance of this period of family history:

The family was an elemental part of pre-industrial society. Even those scholars indifferent to family history would concede the importance of family experience for economic life and local political culture.¹²

Colonial American Community

Description of the colonial American family as a community also directs attention beyond simply examining the relationships between members of the family. A community focus requires serious consideration of the relationship between family and its environment as it existed in early American history. Demos' study, for example, demonstrated that the Plymouth Colony family exemplified the family as community in both theory and practice. Puritan preacher William Gouge, for instance, articulated the Plymouth Colony family model in 1622:

A familie is a little Church, and a little commonwealth, at least a lively representation thereof, whereby triall may be made of such as are fit for any place of authoritie, or of subjection in Church or commonwealth. Or rather it is as a schoole wherein the first principles and grounds of government and subjection are learned: whereby men are fitted to greater matters in Church and commonwealth.¹³

According to Demos, historical evidence of everyday life in Plymouth Colony supports a community model of the family because there was a "whole field of relationships joining the family with the community at large." The family not only developed its

¹¹Ibid., 28.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Quoted in John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), xix.

internal relationships, but also emphasized undertakings and responsibilities to conduct its affairs as a:

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (1) Business | (4) Church |
| (2) School | (5) House of Correction |
| (3) Vocational Institute | (6) Welfare Institution ¹⁴ |

Understanding the colonial American family in community terms is not necessarily common among modern historians of colonial America due to the fact that many have peculiarly limited the concept of community to a certain regional and historical expression, namely, the New England Town. Darrett Rutman summarized that

American historians have tended to link the rhetoric and settlement pattern to effect an implicit definition of community as the ideal Puritan town. They have waxed eloquent over the community orientation of the New Englanders and used that community orientation as a touch-phrase to distinguish New England from other regions where--in the absence of both Puritan rhetoric and a town-based settlement pattern--community is discerned as much diminished or totally absent.¹⁵

Rutman's observation is clearly substantiated by Kenneth Lockridge's and Michael Zuckerman's earlier New England studies which idealized the town as the unit of community.¹⁶ Philip Greven's study of population, land and family in Andover, Massachusetts, focused on a New England town community while acknowledging the

¹⁴Ibid., 182-84.

¹⁵Darrett B. Rutman, "The Social Web: A Prospectus for the Study of the Early American Community," in Insights and Parallels: Problems and Issues of American Social History, ed. William L. O'Neill (Minneapolis, MN: Burgess Publishing Company, 1973), 58.

¹⁶See Kenneth A. Lockridge, A New England Town, The First Hundred Years: Dedham Massachusetts 1636-1736 (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970); Michael Zuckerman, Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970).

family as among the "central, but almost totally neglected aspects of life in an early American community".¹⁷ Thus when James Henretta reviewed these three chronologically arranged New England studies in conjunction with Demos' topically arranged New England study, Henretta concluded by contrasting family and community:

The decline in community was paralleled and to some extent offset by the rise of the family. During the eighteenth century the basic social unit took on more of the tasks of socialization and acculturation. Between the time of the waning of the influence of the church and the emergence of the public school, the family unit assumed the burden of the education of the young. It was the family, likewise, which became the prime economic institution in the society. With the town lands distributed among the proprietors, it was up to the family to provide for its numerous members. Greven has shown with considerable skill and sensitivity how the traditional structure of the colonial family--nuclear household units with an extended kinship group residing in the community--adapted itself to deal with these new conditions.¹⁸

Perhaps it would have been more accurate for Henretta to conclude that in New England the family emerged as the essential community unit.

Communities structured the lives of colonial Americans regardless of regional location. The narrowness of the New England town concept of community is clearly seen from the intensive ten-year study of Middlesex County, Virginia, by Darrett and Anita Rutman.¹⁹ The Rutmans' study originated as an attempt to understand similarities

¹⁷Philip J. Greven, Jr., Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Landover, Massachusetts (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), 1-2.

¹⁸James A. Henretta, "The Morphology of New England Society in the Colonial Period," in The Family in History: Interdisciplinary Essays, ed. Theodore K. Rabb and Robert I. Rotberg (New York: Harper Torchbooks, Harper & Row, 1973), 209.

¹⁹Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650-1750 (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984).

between New Englanders and Virginians in their community characteristics.²⁰ Rutman's work in both New England and Virginia brings valuable insight into the essential relationship between the family and community experienced by virtually all colonial Americans.²¹ Darrett Rutman writes in his 1973 essay that

from the standpoint of the individual the recognized area of common life and activity--his community--spread concentrically outward from the family. For everywhere along the Anglo-American coast the family was basic. And, with few exceptions, the families individually and severally devoted themselves to the soil, to farms. The differing products of the farms--grains and livestock in New England, grains, livestock and tobacco in Virginia--need not concern us for the moment. The family basis of the community was true regardless.²²

Colonial American communities were thus rooted in families not only in terms of the relationship between members of the family and society, but also in terms of the relationship of the family to the land itself. At least one scholar, a geographer, has noted that "studies of colonial society have shown the relationship between land and family to be a key variable in community development."²³

In light of the family-land relationship found to be characteristic of colonial American communities, it is relevant to consider that, theoretically and practically, a community is a place as well as persons--a place where people live. David Russo conceptualizes that

²⁰Rutman, "The Social Web," 57-58.

²¹See Darrett B. Rutman, Husbandmen of Plymouth: Farms and Villages in the Old Colony, 1620-1692 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967).

²²Rutman, "The Social Web," 71.

²³Robert C. Ostergren, "Land and Family in Rural Immigrant Communities" Annals of the Association of American Geographers 71 (September 1981):400.

all communities are social and ecological--that is, they involve relationships between human beings living in association with each other and within their physical environment.²⁴

Rutman amplifies this view, positing that the essential elements of community include:

the space it occupies, the way of life accepted as common by its inhabitants, the collective actions chosen or forced by conditions upon those inhabitants, and the external associations which, by way of particular persons, link the community to the larger social units.²⁵

Land-family relationships in colonial America then, viewed in a community context, represent the essential elements of place and persons in community life.

Historically, the importance of the land-family relationship to the foundation of colonial American communities is underscored by evidence indicating that the early New England town was actually superseded by land as a primary physical environment for early American families.

Within only a few years of the founding of any early town, the original, tight-knit settlement, constrained in a corner of the town's broad grant, tended to degenerate as families began moving outward onto the land, occupying quasi-isolated farms or clustering loosely in scattered neighborhoods or peripheral villages.²⁶

Recognition of the fact that colonial American families moved from towns to land-based communities (or immigrated directly onto the land) provokes a significant question as to whether dispersed settlement on their own land by families was essential to the establishment and survival of colonial American communities.

²⁴David J. Russo, Families and Communities: A New View of American History (Nashville, TN: The American Association for State and Local History, 1974), 12.

²⁵Rutman, "The Social Web," 62.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 67.

Colonial American Settlement

The relationship between land and families in colonial American communities is more significant when understood as an essential relationship found in colonial American settlement patterns. Geographer James Lemon writes that

the standard pattern of settlement throughout the Anglo-American colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the rural farmstead, occupied by a single household composed of parents, children, and servants and/or slaves.²⁷

The predominance of families involved in agricultural activity as the typical settlement pattern in colonial America is a rather remarkable phenomenon given the record of early English attempts to settle in America. Carl Sauer, also a geographer, points out that neither Virginia nor New England (i.e., Jamestown in 1607 and Plymouth in 1620) began as agricultural settlements:

Farming was forced upon the colonists; it was not the object of their coming The fact that any group of overseas colonists needed above all else to sustain themselves by the products of their agriculture was understood very slowly.²⁸

In addition to successful agriculture, the English also learned that families were key factors in settlement of colonial America.²⁹ The joint stock-holding companies initially sponsoring the Virginia and New England colonies were limited in their

²⁷James T. Lemon, "Spatial Order: Households in Local Communities and Regions," in Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era, ed. Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 90.

²⁸Carl O. Sauer, "The Settlement of the Humid East," in Selected Essays, 1963-1975 (Berkeley, CA: Turtle Island Foundation, 1981), 8.

²⁹Selma R. Williams, Demeter's Daughter's: The Women who Founded America, 1587-1787 (New York: Athenum, 1976).

capacities to effect permanent settlement by contracting with individuals under a communal labor and reward system. Even after establishing a policy of granting private land as a reward for labor and providing the option of working for "particular plantations" owned by individuals, the Virginia Company found "that a plantation can never flourish till families be planted and the respects of Wives and Children fix the people on the soyle."³⁰

The history of Virginia since 1607 illustrates some critical issues involved in colonial American settlement, chiefly:

- (1) The need to live off the land
- (2) The importance of the family as an agency for living off the land
- (3) The subsequent contribution of the family household to social and economic stability

That colonial Virginians overcame their settlement "problem" and resolved their settlement issues successfully is reflected in Thad W. Tate's remarks upon

the Chesapeake's historical significance as a major region of the British Empire in North America--the site of the single largest and most populous colony, the source of a significant percentage of the wealth and commerce generated by the empire, and the provider of a remarkably large share of the political leadership of the new American nation. The fact is, of course, that little in the tenuous, troubled beginnings of Maryland and Virginia foreshadowed that later importance.³¹

³⁰Quoted by Edward Eggleston, The Beginners of a Nation: A History of the Source and Rise of the Earliest English Settlements in America with Special Reference to the Life and Character of the People (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1897), 57.

³¹Thad W. Tate, "The Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake and Its Modern Historians," in The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society Ed. Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 3.

The primary purpose of this dissertation is to trace the development of familial settlement patterns as the means by which one group of colonial Virginians in the early Chesapeake moved from a tenuous existence to settled communities.

Early Colonial Chesapeake Settlement

Modern historical scholarship of the early colonial Chesapeake has "described a society disrupted by high mortality, excessive morbidity, imbalanced sex ratios, and a spartan material existence."³² With regard to family formation and land use in the Chesapeake, the research has emphasized demographic instability and the tobacco market economy as controlling factors. Yet while some scholars have inferred "family instability" in the Chesapeake from such demographic factors as "high mortality . . . an immigrant-dominated population, and a severely unbalanced sex ratio,"³³ Anita Rutman points out that

great mortality, it appears, did not axiomatically provide instability either in family life or in colonial politics; in Virginia at least, it evoked alternative arrangements for providing stability.³⁴

³²Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, eds., Introduction to Colonial Chesapeake Society (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988) 4. Carr, Morgan, and Russo's entire introduction, pp. 1-46, provides a careful review of the early Chesapeake literature along with Tate, "Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake," 1-50 and Anita H. Rutman, "Still Planting the Seeds of Hope: The Recent Literature of the Early Chesapeake Region" The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 95 (January 1987):3-24. See also the bibliographic essay by Warren M. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate, in Colonial Virginia: A History (White Plains, NY: KTO Press, 1986), 375-399.

³³Smith, "The Study of the Family in Early America," 9.

³⁴Rutman, "Still Planting the Seeds of Hope," 12.

The debate concerning when and how the dismal social reality of the seventeenth century Chesapeake was transformed by countervailing forces of social stability thus appears far from over.³⁵ Furthermore, defining economic reality in the Chesapeake solely in terms of the "tobacco market economy" is severely limited in its application to everyday family economic issues. John McCusker and Russell Menard point out that economic scholarship dealing with the Chesapeake has focused on tobacco and other exports, neglecting other important economic factors such as the development of self-sufficiency and local exchange networks.³⁶

Intensive local community research of several early colonial Chesapeake counties provides clues to the development of familial settlement patterns. Kevin Kelly's study of economic and social development in Surry County, Virginia, recognized the "family household" as "the basic social unit of its society". Study of the economy and settlement system of "All Hallows Parish" in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, by geographer Carville Earle indicates that the household was an important settlement feature. Lorena Walsh's discussion of family and planter activity in a study of Charles County, Maryland, is especially relevant for understanding settlement patterns. Darrett and Anita Rutman's study of Middlesex County, Virginia, presents details of initial settlement, family life, and economic activity which imply development of a familial settlement pattern. Finally, James Perry's study of early seventeenth century society on Virginia's Eastern Shore

³⁵See Carr, Morgan, and Russo, Colonial Chesapeake Society, 3-6, 24-25 & n.27.

³⁶John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, The Economy of British America, 1607-1789 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 127.

elaborates on "the role played by family and kinship in binding the local population together."³⁷

Early Henrico County, Virginia, Settlement

One local historical geographic area in the Virginia region of the colonial Chesapeake that invites a study of its settlement is Henrico County (see Figure 1.1). Carville Earle has pointed out the natural ecological advantages sought at Henrico by the early settlers who had suffered much at Jamestown since 1607. These advantages are indicated in several contemporary accounts of the first Henrico site for settlement. In 1611, the new high marshall of Virginia, Sir Thomas Dale

led a large party of colonists in exploring inland for the site on which to build Henrico. Of the one he selected, he wrote: 'I have surveied a convenient strong, healthie and sweete seate to plant a new Towne in.' Ralph Hamor further described the location as 'high land invironed with the mayn River, som sixteene or twentie miles, from the head of the Falls, neere to an Indian Towne called Arsahattocke' Robert Johnson, in 1612, wrote an account of the colony in which he said that 'the colony is removed up the river fourscore miles further beyond Jamestown to a place of higher ground, strong and defensible by nature, a good air, wholesome and clear, unlike the marshy seat at Jamestown, with fresh and plenty of water springs, much fair and open grounds freed from woods, and wood enough at hand.'³⁸

³⁷Kevin Peter Kelly, "Economic and Social Development of Seventeenth Century Surry County, Virginia" Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1972, 78; Carville V. Earle, The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Department of Geography, Research Paper No. 170, 1975); Lorena Seebach Walsh, "Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705: A Study of Chesapeake Social and Political Structure" Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1977; Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time; James R. Perry, The Formation of a Society on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1615-1655 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 70.

³⁸Robert Hunt Land, "Henrico and its College" William and Mary Quarterly 2d ser., 18 (October 1938):461.

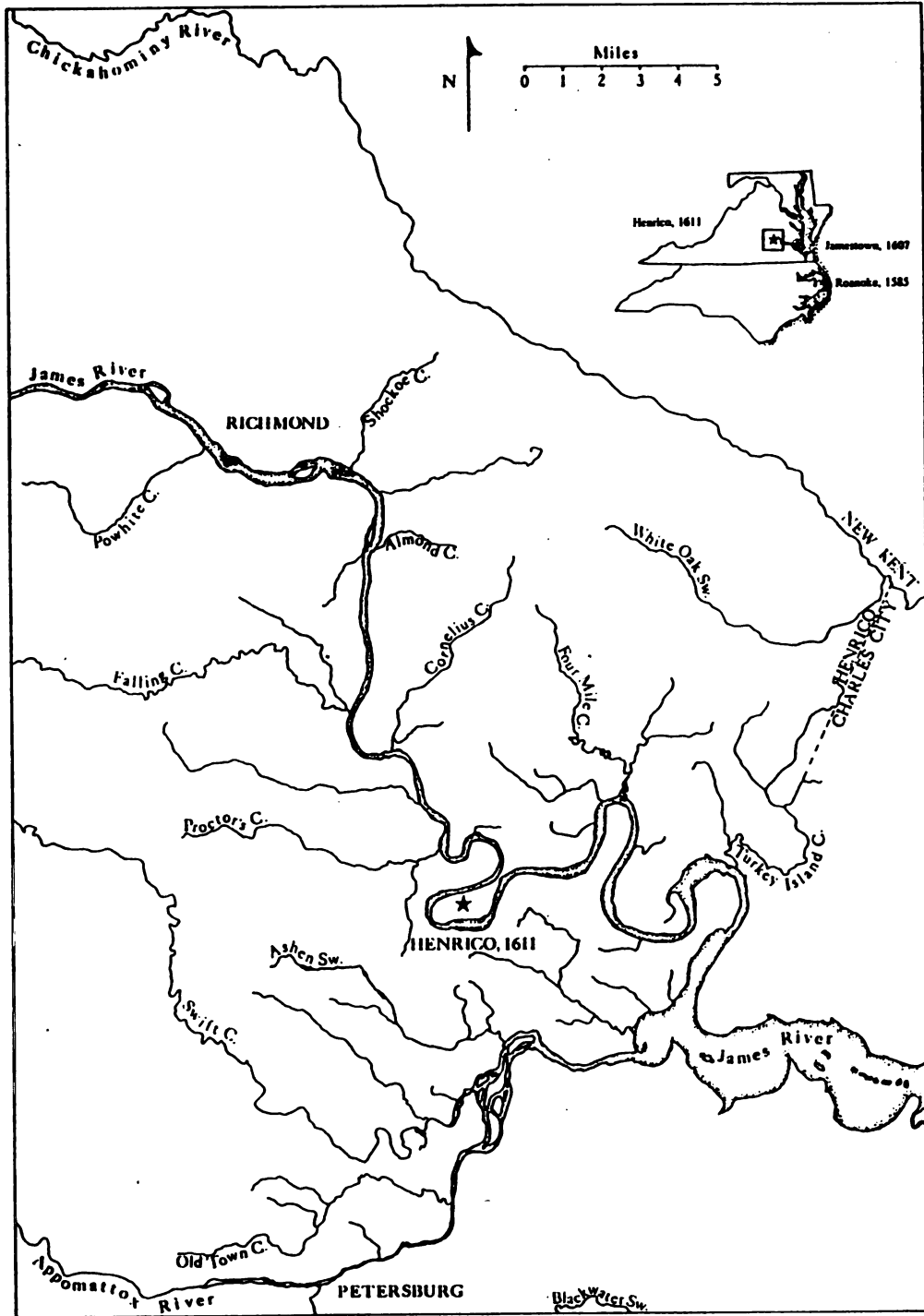


Figure 1.1 Henrico County Virginia, Area

The natural environment did not ensure Henrico's permanent settlement from 1611 nor prevent several years of tenuous existence; nevertheless, the establishment of Henrico "marked the real beginning of the expansion of the Jamestown settlement, an expansion which continued and grew, despite temporary setbacks, until Virginia became a great and populous land."³⁹ The decision to select Henrico County as a site for the study of colonial American families as agents of settlement is based on a combination of early settlers' recognition of the good qualities of Henrico's natural environment, the fact that Henrico was one of the first original settlements under Virginia Company authority, and the fact that Henrico remained a "frontier"--because it bordered on "unsettled" land to the west--until early in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

Family Ecological Perspective

The search for clearer historical understanding of family-environment relationships underlying this study implies a theoretical perspective wherein such a concern is relevant. That perspective is "family ecology," a comprehensive approach for understanding the family which presupposes that family life involves an interdependent relationship between a family and its surrounding environments. A family ecological perspective is thus promising as an aid for understanding the family as the primary agent for settling land in the colonial period of American history, particularly in light of its particular

³⁹William M. Abbott, A Virginia Chronology 1585-1783: "To Pass Away the Time" (Williamsburg: Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, 1957), 7.

"assumption that humans are part of the total life system and cannot be considered apart from all other living species in nature and the environments that surround them."⁴⁰

The emphasis on environment in a family ecological perspective also provides some means for analyzing the gap between colonial American and twentieth century perspectives on American family life. The recent discussion of human and family ecology theory by Margaret Bubolz and Suzanne Sontag strongly suggests that the disjunction between "community" and "encounter group" images of the family is due to differences in perspective as well as to differences in time, and that these differences are theoretical as well as popular and practical.⁴¹ A family ecological perspective enables scholars to begin identifying changes in environments, changes in families, and changes in the relationship between families and environments which may have taken place over time.

A review of several theoretical developments in the study of the family in the twentieth century will clarify the contribution of theoretical ideas to the present day cultural image of the family as an encounter group. Formally, study of the family in the twentieth century has been undertaken most consistently by sociologists, particularly family sociologists, who purport to view the family as a group in the context of society. Family sociologists, however, theoretically legitimated the encounter group image of the family by conceptualizing the family in terms of personality. Harold Christensen describes this theoretical development, summarizing that

⁴⁰Andrews, Bubolz, Paolucci, "An Ecological Approach to Study of the Family," 32.

⁴¹Bubolz and Sontag, "Human Ecology Theory," 429-39.

substantively considered, the most pronounced characteristic of twentieth-century family study is its emphasis upon the internal relationships of family members . . . it is Ernest W. Burgess who has done most to both conceptualize it and assist in its development. In a 1926 article he spoke of "the family as a unity of interacting personalities"; to which later was added "each with a history in a given cultural milieu" . . . Interest in studying the family broadly, as a social institution, has materially shifted to an interest in studying it more narrowly and internally, as an association. This is the social-psychological approach.⁴²

Burgess' concept of the family became foundational to several major theoretical frameworks used in the study of the family.⁴³

An encounter group image of the contemporary American family is also derived from Talcott Parson's conceptualization of the modern family as mainly contributing to personality not society. The family now performs only socialization functions for society by focusing on the personality development of individual members.⁴⁴ Parsons' influence on students of the family has been both descriptive and normative. Many family historians have used Parsons' structural-functional approach to the family to describe historical change in the family, i.e., the family today performs few of the functions it once did in pre-industrial colonial America.⁴⁵ Parsons' modern family has also become a normative reference for what families "ought to be." Exemplary perhaps are some contemporary norms of a "strong, healthy family" which essentially conform to the

⁴²Harold J. Christensen, ed., Handbook of Marriage and the Family (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1964), 9.

⁴³Ibid., 22.

⁴⁴Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, Family, Socialization and Interactive Process (New York: The Free Press, 1955), 16.

⁴⁵See Demos' discussion in Past, Present, and Personal, 17-19.

Parsons' "modern family" concept.⁴⁶ Brigitte and Peter Berger outline one rationale developed by those who interpreted Parsons' modern family as a normative model:

the family had been deprived of some of its old functions (such as its productive role in the economy and its educational functions for older children), but this deprivation was actually liberating, allowing the family to take on new functions turning upon mutual affection and development of sympathetic individuality.⁴⁷

This review of theoretical support for an encounter group image of family life is not intended as a denigration of positive contributions made by twentieth century family professionals toward improving or "strengthening" the personality aspects of family life and the internal relationships among family members.⁴⁸ The point to be made is that such an exclusive focus can only encourage popular understanding and perhaps misunderstanding of the family as a mere psychological unit. That the family is also a socio-cultural unit, "a little society" that is an active and productive foundation for the larger society, and an ecological unit, basic to human life on earth, has been theoretically ignored by the majority of contemporary family scholars.

The family ecological perspective fully comprehends psychological, social, as well as ecological aspects of family life. Gail Melson's argument for an ecological approach to understanding the family emphasizes the need for a more holistic understanding of the

⁴⁶See David R. Mace, ed., Prevention in Family Services: Approaches to Family Wellness (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983), 21-24; Dolores Curran, Traits of a Healthy Family (Minneapolis, MN: Winston Press, 1983), 4-11.

⁴⁷Brigitte and Peter Berger, The War Over the Family: Capturing the Middle Ground (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, Doubleday, 1983), 62.

⁴⁸For a review of the major academic research foundational to contemporary understanding of strong, healthy families, see Elizabeth A. Morgan, Pioneer Research on Strong, Healthy Families (Washington, D.C.: Family Research Council, 1987).

family in the present culture.⁴⁹ Even in the study of personality and human development per se, an ecological perspective with its focus on the whole person-environment relationship is becoming increasingly influential.⁵⁰ A family ecological perspective is thus well-suited as a framework for understanding the integral relationship between family and environment which existed in colonial America. Acquiring historical understanding will also increase the potential of family ecology to address the problematic features of the twentieth century image of the family as an encounter group.

Statement of the Research Problem

The integral relationship between family and environment in the colonial period of American history gave rise to the cultural image of the family as community. The

⁴⁹Gail Freedman Melson, Family and Environment: An Ecosystem Perspective (Minneapolis, MN: Burgess Publishing Company, 1980), 2-3.

⁵⁰See Urie Bronfenbrenner, The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979); Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Ecology of the Family as a Context for Human Development: Research Perspectives," Developmental Psychology 22 (1986):723-42; Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Ecological Systems Theory," in Six Theories of Child Development: Revised Formulations and Current Issues, ed. Ross Vasta, Vol. 6 of Annals of Child Development (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press Inc., 1989), 187-249; James Garbarino, Children and Families in the Social Environment (New York: Aldine Publishing Company, 1982); Eleanor S. Wertheim, "Person-Environment Interaction: The Epigenesis of Autonomy and Competence. I. Theoretical Considerations (Normal Development)" British Journal of Medical Psychology 48 (1975):1-8; Eleanor S. Wertheim, "Person-Environment Interaction: The Epigenesis of Autonomy and Competence. II. Review of Developmental Literature (Normal Development)" British Journal of Medical Psychology 48 (1975):95-111; Eleanor S. Wertheim, "Person-Environment Interaction: The Epigenesis of Autonomy and Competence. III. Autonomy and Para/Pre-Linguistic Action Systems: A Review of Developmental Literature (Normal Development)" British Journal of Medical Psychology 48 (1975):237-256; Eleanor S. Wertheim, "Person-Environment Interaction: The Epigenesis of Autonomy and Competence. IV. Their Interrelationship. Theoretical Considerations and Review of Developmental Literature (Normal Development)" British Journal of Medical Psychology 48 (1975):394-402.

characterization of the colonial American family as a community is furthermore grounded in the integral relationship between family and land which developed as families settled in each respective colony. How families achieved settlement and why families emerged as the primary, suitable, and competent agents of colonial American settlement is the basic problem addressed by this dissertation which attempts to reconstruct the ecology of colonial American families who settled in early Henrico County, Virginia.

Significance and Generalizability of the Study

The rationale for this study lies in both its empirical and theoretical potential. The history of the colonial American family's relationship to the natural environment which was established by settling on the land is at best indirect, to be inferred from various other historical studies. Historical community research, of the kind which provides an invaluable model for the project undertaken here, has not directly used the family or the family household as the basic unit of analysis. Family analysis of "population growth" and "settlement patterns" could be fruitful, even when examining immigrant populations. Also, understanding of Chesapeake "tobacco production" and "wealth" might benefit from investigating the contributions of family households to these factors of Chesapeake economic development.

Historical research makes a significant contribution to documenting the particulars of history. Such documentation provides concrete data for banishing inappropriate nostalgia, stereotypes, and general theoretical notions of scholars, especially notions of social change.⁵¹ This study focuses on a neglected area of family history by

⁵¹See Pierre Goubert, "Local History" Daedalus 100 (Winter 1971):113-27; Rudy Ray
(continued...)

endeavoring to reconstruct the family ecology of people living in a past time; it is hoped that the critical interdependence of the family-land relationship in colonial America will be more clearly understood.

Compelling arguments for developing theory from historical knowledge have been presented by others.⁵² Family theory is fully tested when it is examined in light of the historical complexity of family life. Glen Elder points out that "theoretical limitations are commonly rooted in errors of fact, especially pseudofacts which have been plentiful in the background of theories on family change."⁵³ Sigmund Diamond's examination of Virginia's social development in the seventeenth century not only found evidence to support different conclusions than those advanced by Bernard Bailyn but also attempted "a persuasive demonstration that questions of considerable importance for sociological theory may be raised when problems are examined in historical perspective."⁵⁴ Stinchcombe's book develops a simple but profoundly stated thesis--"one does not apply

⁵¹(...continued)

Seward, "The Colonial Family in America: A Socio-Historical Restoration of its Structure" The Journal of Marriage and Family 35 (1973):58-70; Glen H. Elder, Jr., "Family History and the Life Course," in Transitions: The Family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective, ed. Tamara K. Hareven (New York: Academic Press, 1978), 17-64; and Glen H. Elder, Jr., "History and the Family: The Discovery of Complexity" Journal of Marriage and the Family 43 (August 1981):489-519.

⁵²Elder, "Family History and the Life Course;" Elder, "History and the Family;" Sigmund Diamond, "Social Structure," in American History and the Social Sciences, ed. Edward N. Saveth (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, MacMillan Company, 1964), 231-255 (reprint of Sigmund Diamond, "From Organization to Society: Virginia in the Seventeenth Century," American Journal of Sociology 43 (1958):457-75); and Arthur L. Stinchcombe, Theoretical Methods in Social History (New York: Academic Press, 1978).

⁵³Elder, "History and the Family," 493.

⁵⁴Diamond, "Social Structure," 231.

theory to history; rather one uses history to develop theory."⁵⁵ Stinchcombe's thesis is directly relevant to the problem of applying theoretical schemes constructed in the social sciences to historical evidence.

Insights on the importance of history for theory suggest that the theoretical potential of this study for family ecological theory has to do with "grounding theory" in the concrete time and space of historical and geographical reality. Families are inherently historical, given the continuity of "generations" from parents to children. Families are inherently geographical, in that families inhabit "places" and create "households."

The settlement issues and family-land relationships of colonial Americans living in a "pre-industrial", "agrarian" society seem unlike those of late twentieth century Americans living in a "modern" society. Theoretically, however, the family ecological issues of the two periods may prove to be more alike than different. One only has to pick up Wendell Berry's treatise on The Unsettling of America: Culture and Agriculture and consider whether the cultural themes of "exploitation" and "settlement" are still in conflict on the American continent.⁵⁶ From Berry's perspective, tendencies to either exploit or settle American land and people have played a significant part in the entire drama we know as American history. Berry argues forcefully from outside conventional sociological frameworks that the modes of industrialization and specialization in modern American culture which now predominate have undermined rather than promoted

⁵⁵Stinchcombe, Theoretical Methods in Social History, 1.

⁵⁶Wendell Berry, The Unsettling of America: Culture and Agriculture (New York: Avon Books, 1978).

settlement of land and people in America. If the settling of America thus remains an issue for us today, then it behooves us to understand historical experience in order to discern the "pattern in experience" and "to transform experience into useful memory."⁵⁷

⁵⁷Phrases from Wendell Berry, A Continuous Harmony: Essays Cultural & Agricultural (New York: Harvest/HBJ Books, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970, 1972), 149.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research task of reconstructing the settlement patterns of seventeenth century Henrico County settlers in terms of human and family ecological dimensions was initially guided by certain objectives and questions focused on certain variables. A research design was developed which seemed most appropriate for addressing the research problem in a concrete historical context. Processes of data collection and data analysis then proceeded according to the research design over a period of time and were merged with the writing stage of the research project. The availability of historical sources and accompanying scholarship relating to seventeenth century English settlement of Virginia in general and Henrico County in particular fundamentally shaped the outcome of this ecological study of human and family settlement in early Henrico County.

It became clear as the project developed that the human and family experience of seventeenth century Henrico settlement was crucial to understanding the human and family ecology of Henrico settlement. As a result, the concerns of qualitative and historical family research merged in defining the nature of this study of early Henrico settlers.¹ The search to understand the human experiences, behaviors, and historical

¹The concerns of historical and qualitative family research as viewed by scholars in the family field are discussed by Jay D. Schvaneveldt, Robert S. Pickett, and Margaret
(continued...)

events surrounding human and family settlement by Henrico colonists also defined the nature of this study as interdisciplinary, thus reflecting in many ways the nature of family history and the contemporary family field itself.²

Objectives: To Identify Settlement Patterns

This study of colonial American families settling in Henrico County, Virginia, was initially guided by the following objectives:

1. To document the establishment of families in Henrico County from "origin" to "settlement."
2. To document the land areas which were appropriated by families.
3. To document activities which families performed in relationship to their land.
4. To analyze the land related activities of families in terms of the behavior and experience (or knowledge and movement) which comprised their actions.

¹(...continued)

H. Young, in "Historical Methods in Family Research," in Sourcebook of Family Theories and Methods: A Contextual Approach, ed. Pauline G. Boss et. al. (New York: Plenum Press, 1993), 99-116; and by Paul C. Rosenblatt and Lucy Rose Fischer, in "Qualitative Family Research," in Sourcebook of Family Theories and Methods: A Contextual Approach, ed. Pauline G. Boss et. al. (New York: Plenum Press, 1993), 167-77. See also Gaye Tuchman's excellent essay, "Historical Social Science: Methodologies, Methods, and Meanings," in Handbook of Qualitative Research, ed. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994), 306-323. Tuchman shows how to make the interdisciplinary crossing between social science and history from the vantage point of a "social scientist [who] has come to a historical question because of the nature of his or her own research problem" (315).

²See Tamara K. Hareven, "The History of the Family as an Interdisciplinary Field," in The Family in History: Interdisciplinary Essays, ed. Theodore K. Rabb and Robert I. Rotberg (New York, NY: Harper & Row, Harper Torchbooks, 1971), 211-26; Wesley R. Burr and Geoffrey K. Leigh, "Famology: A New Discipline," Journal of Marriage and the Family 45 (1983):467-80 (esp. figure on "The Relationships Between the Family Field and Other Disciplines," 468).

5. To compare generations of families in terms of family formation, land acquisition, and land use.

6. To evaluate the colonial American families inhabiting Henrico County, Virginia, as primary, suitable, and competent agents of settlement.

Human and Family Ecological Questions About Settlement

To achieve the study's general research objectives, the following questions initially framed the specific tasks of this study:

1. What was the origin and nature of Henrico's settlement in terms of persons and environment (human ecology)?

2. What was the origin and nature of Henrico's settlement in terms of families and environment (family ecology)?

3. How did continuing immigration, formation, and generations of families affect Henrico's settlement over time?

4. How did the construction of family households affect Henrico's settlement over time?

5. How did appropriation of land to families affect Henrico's settlement over time?

6. What land use activities contributed to effective family-land relationships among Henrico families over time?

7. What components of land use activities (analyzed in terms of behavior and experience, or knowledge and movement) were most significant in developing effective family-land relationships among Henrico families over time?

8. How did individual, family, church, and civil government affect family-land relationships among Henrico families over time?

9. How did voluntary associations between friends and families in the Henrico community affect family-land relationships over time?

10. Were families primary, suitable, and competent agents for settling the land in Henrico County during the early colonial American period?

Basic Variables and Definitions of Family-Land Relationships

The following variables, briefly defined, initially designated the chief objects of this study, to be understood in relationship to each other by means of analysis:

FAMILY--Established through marriage between a man and a woman, who assume an exclusive and normatively permanent relationship as husband and wife; children may issue from the marriage union thus establishing a generation whereby parents are inherently responsible for all aspects of their children's development until they reach maturity.

LAND--A physical, biological, and geographical area which exists as a natural part of the earth's surface and is potentially capable of sustaining human life by its provision of plants, animals, and physical materials (such as soil and water).

ACTIVITY--Integration of behavior and experience (or knowledge and movement) by a person to accomplish some purpose.

FAMILY-LAND ACTIVITY--Use of any substance from the land to accomplish the purposes of the family in its life on the earth.

FAMILY-LAND ACQUISITION--Any means whereby families obtain the exclusive use of a particular land area.

FAMILY HOUSEHOLD--A physical, geographical area constructed from natural materials for purposes of family habitation on the land.

SETTLEMENT--The result of human habitation of the land.

Research Design: Historical Community Study

An historical community research design or strategy was chosen to address the historical problem of reconstructing the human and family ecology of seventeenth century Henrico County, Virginia, settlers. Major contributions to current knowledge of colonial American families as agents of settlement and community development have been made by scholars using an historical community research design.³ Recognition of the enduring value of community-based studies encouraged the relatively recent proliferation of historical community studies, prompting Darrett Rutman to declare in 1980 that "the community study has become, over the past decade and a half, a distinct and popular research strategy in early American history."⁴

The interest in studying "community" cuts across many disciplines. Due to a broad interdisciplinary range of studies which are called community studies, Rutman

³Significant New England examples are studies done by Darrett Rutman, Husbandmen of Plymouth; John Demos, A Little Commonwealth; and Philip Greven, Four Generations. Significant Chesapeake examples are studies done by Kevin Kelly, "Seventeenth-Century Surry County, Virginia"; Carville Earle, All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783; Lorena Walsh, "Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705"; Darrett and Anita Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650-1750; and James Perry, Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1615-1655.

⁴Darrett B. Rutman, "Community Study," Historical Methods 13 (1980):29.

clarified that the first question to be resolved in designing an historical community study is "what is it that we study when we study community, and how is it to be studied?"⁵ Fundamentally, community has been studied as the local area manifesting some other object of study or as an abstract concept (including here localized studies of community as an abstract concept).⁶ When historical community study is structured by interest in a local area, the subject of study is anchored in the local inhabitants of a local area. In other words, historical community study can be effectively used to study the ecology of real people in a real place. Rutman clarifies what is involved in this type of historical community study by elaborating upon his question:

what is it that we study when we study "community"? As a matter of strategy, we conceive the subject to be simply the people of any particular locale, the pattern of their associations among themselves and with others beyond the locale, and, over time, the changes in that pattern. No assumptions are made as to the particular ideas, values, or behavior patterns which are, or are not, to be associated with community, no antecedent thought as to the strength of community bonds or community sentiments. Perhaps, in a given place at a given time, the ideas, values, and patterns underlying interpersonal relations will be found to be such as to be capable of categorization as village, folk, peasant, or traditional. But at best these are adjectives to be attached as a result of study, not attributes inherent in the very concept of community and carried into the study.⁷

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., 29-31; see also Alan Macfarlane's review of these two types of community studies (Alan Macfarlane in collaboration with Sarah Harrison and Charles Jardine, Reconstructing Historical Communities, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1977, 1-4).

⁷Darrett B. Rutman, "Community Study," Historical Methods 13 (1980):31.

Selection of an historical community research design for this research project, then, was based on studying Henrico as a local area for purposes of reconstructing the human and family ecology of early English settlement in Henrico.

The decision to study a local historical community limits the scope of the study to that which concerns the local inhabitants, yet at the same time does not limit the scope of inhabitants' concerns to merely local events, issues, or whatever is peculiar to the community. Rutman points out that "in the reality of community study, a venture which begins with the notion of locale, the student at one and the same time isolates a geographic segment of the human community and attempts to deal with the totality of the isolate."⁸ From an ecological perspective, the scope of an historical community study is practically limited by a specified geographical relationship between people and place in the natural physical-biological environment, but is broad enough to include all aspects of the humanly constructed and socio-cultural environments which affect the ecological relationships existing between particular people and a particular place.⁹ An historical community study anchored in a local geographic environment does not necessarily limit the scope of analysis to the microsystem environment, but can take into account other environments--such as the socio-cultural macrosystem environment and the chronosystem

⁸Ibid., 31-32.

⁹This interpretation based on Bubolz and Sontag's discussion in "Human Ecology Theory," 425-26, 428-34.

environment of historical "changes and continuities over time in the environments in which a person lives."¹⁰

An historical community study is also limited in scope by the period of time circumscribed for the study. The time period for this historical community study of the human and family ecology of Henrico settlement was initially designated as ranging from the time of first permanent English settlement in 1611 to the 1727 formation of Goochland County immediately west of Henrico County. The establishment of Goochland County suggested when Henrico County was sufficiently "settled" and thereby ceased to exist as a frontier boundary of English settlement in colonial Virginia. The processes of data collection and analysis eventually modified the ending period of the study from 1727 to 1710 and then to 1675; data analysis also required a grasp of certain historical developments which occurred in earlier centuries.

Collecting Data on Seventeenth Century Henrico Settlement

The process of collecting historical data on seventeenth century Henrico County settlement was aided by the availability of a large number of published primary sources dealing with the earliest years of English settlement in Virginia.¹¹ There are very good collections of documents pertaining to the 1585 Roanoke and 1607 Jamestown settlements which provided the historical context for Henrico settlement beginning in 1611.

¹⁰Ibid., 424. The "macrosystem" and "chronosystem" are conceived by Urie Bronfenbrenner as significant environments impacting human development (see *ibid.*, 423-24; Bronfenbrenner, Ecology of Human Development; Bronfenbrenner, "Ecology of the Family;" Bronfenbrenner, "Ecological Systems Theory."

¹¹See "Primary Sources" under "Bibliography" for a list of all primary sources used in this study.

Surviving records from the Virginia Company which administered English settlement in Virginia from 1607-1625 were collected and published, including court records and various documents. Various narrative accounts by English colonists as well as tracts used to recruit would-be colonists to Virginia have also been published. Certain records of the General Council of Virginia and almost continuous records of the Virginia Assembly from 1619, including most of the laws passed by Virginia Assembly, proved quite relevant in dealing with the problems of settlement. Though no personal diaries exist for seventeenth century Virginia, let alone Henrico, many of these records--including the legal records--reveal many dimensions of human settlement experience in seventeenth century Virginia. I did not expect to find as much material as I did that was relevant to the human and family ecology of Henrico settlement--there were definitely more pieces to the puzzle than I had anticipated.

Unpublished primary sources on seventeenth century Henrico settlement are accessible in two forms--published abstracts and microfilmed manuscripts. The microfilmed manuscripts are located in the Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia. Virginia land patents or land grants from 1623 are available as published abstracts and as microfilmed manuscripts. Henrico land patents were identified at an early stage as the data which really anchored this study of Henrico settlement because all land which had never been settled by English colonists had to be acquired by patent; Virginia land patent records thus document the expansion of English settlement in Virginia. The time period of this study was cut back from 1727 to 1710 based on evidence found in abstract form that the number of Henrico land patents increased dramatically after 1710. Henrico

County records, dating from 1677 with a few earlier exceptions, are available as microfilmed manuscripts, including deeds, wills, orphans court records, court orders, depositions, and various other items. Henrico orphans court records have been transcribed onto paper copy and abstracts of Henrico deeds and wills have been published.

Virginia land patents and especially Henrico County records provided specifically family data on Henrico settlement. I collected all data available from Virginia land patents and Henrico County records through 1710. Items I did not retrieve were purely administrative matters. I realized that some of these administrative matters involving the identity of witnesses to documents and lists of creditors and debtors could be useful in a community study. Fortunately, abstracts of the Henrico deeds and wills records listed witnesses and I did not analyze the creditor-debtor network in the county. Land patents and county records of deeds and wills were retrieved by transcription (in my case by hand) due to several of factors: the importance of having a good copy of these multi-dimensional records for subsequent analysis, the poor results of copies made by the available microfilm duplicating machines, and the cost of duplicating these records by machine. I also used copies of the printed abstracts of these records to save some time in hand transcription; this involved careful checking of the abstract against the manuscript and footnoting missing information. The more or less one-dimensional nature of Henrico court order records did not in my judgment warrant the time of hand transcription so I duplicated these microfilm records by machine, a task greatly facilitated by the machines available in the microforms room at the Library of Congress.

Presentation of material from these primary historical sources in this study seeks to retain the original form as much as possible. Spelling, punctuation, capitalization (or lack thereof) were retained with few exceptions;¹² it is helpful to read these sources phonetically when form is inconsistent. My own first encounter with Henrico County records in handwritten form on microfilm was quite discouraging. Later I discovered a helpful publication on seventeenth century Virginia handwriting which told me what I already knew: "The first time you attempt to read seventeenth-century Virginia court records you receive a major shock."¹³ Dates have also been preserved in their old style, with the months January through March showing the overlap of the old English year with the modern year (i.e., 1624/25).

Data Analysis: Prosopography, Mapping, and Ethnography

The problem of reconstructing the human and family ecology of Henrico settlement from historical sources was primarily dealt with by using three techniques: "mass prosopography" or collective biography, geographical mapping, and ethnographic reconstruction. It is one challenge to find the many scattered pieces of the historical puzzle, but it is quite another to put the puzzle together to form some coherent historical

¹²Quoted material substitutes modern consonants and vowels for i, j, u, y; modern forms of f, s, w; plus modern forms of compounds er, es, pr, per, par, pro, pre. Partial italicization was eliminated. These editorial decisions follow those found in Philip L. Barbour, ed., The Complete Works of Captain John Smith, 1580-1631, 3. vols., (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 1:xx, with some additions from Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., The Records of the Virginia Company of London, 4 vols., (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906-1935), 1:207-08.

¹³Kent P. Bailey and Ransom B. True, A Guide to Seventeenth-Century Virginia Court Handwriting (Richmond, VA: The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 1980), 7.

picture.¹⁴ The process of data analysis in this historical community study was anything but the orderly summary which follows. "Making ecological sense of the data" I had piled in front of me required methods which were laborious and time-consuming, though for the most part enjoyable.

"Mass prosopography" or collective biography has been developed fairly recently as an analytical tool that successfully deals with historical data from geographical communities in the seventeenth century Chesapeake colonies.¹⁵ The early realization that vital records of births, marriages, and deaths no longer existed for seventeenth century Henrico County eliminated the possibility of using the demographic approach of "family reconstitution" analysis.¹⁶ Mass prosopography or collective biography primarily refers to an analytical method that copies and collates on an individual name basis all the records available for individuals existing in a given place during a given period of time;

¹⁴Note the account by Philip Greven of his experience in dealing with "the surviving sources for the history of the family. On the whole, these are disparate, intractable, tedious to acquire, difficult to decipher, and only partially intact. Their story is not revealed easily, and certainly not from their surface. They must be pieced together into collections of data and evidence, from which certain patterns can be ascertained and some aspects of the total picture revealed. The experience often is like trying to put together a complex picture puzzle when no directions exist and many of the crucial pieces are missing" (Four Generations, 2).

¹⁵See especially Lorena Walsh, "Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705;" Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, "'Now-Wives and Sons-in-Law': Parental Death in a Seventeenth-Century Virginia County," in Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century, ed. Tate and Ammerman, 153-82, esp. Appendix 1, "A Note on the Sources and Method," 175-177; Rutman, "Community Study," esp. 32-37; Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, "'More True and Perfect Lists': The Reconstruction of Censuses for Middlesex County, Virginia, 1668-1704," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 88 (1980):37-74.

¹⁶See E. A. Wrigley, ed., An Introduction to English Historical Demography: From the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1966); E. A. Wrigley, ed., Identifying People in the Past (London: Edward Arnold, Ltd., 1973).

it is often called "mass" prosopography or "collective" biography because the method is applied to a group of individuals, however defined by the study. Lawrence Stone has clarified for modern historians that

prosopography is the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives. The method employed is to establish a universe to be studied, and then to ask a set of uniform questions The various types of information about the individuals in the universe are then juxtaposed and combined, and are examined for significant variables. They are tested both for internal correlations and for correlations with other forms of behavior or action.¹⁷

Unlike demography and "family reconstitution," which deals with one type of historical source (vital records), prosopography deals with multiple types of historical sources. Like demography and "family reconstitution," prosopography utilizes the same logic of "nominal record linkage" (or name-based record linkage).¹⁸ By combining disparate sources of many types on a individual name basis, Rutman posits that

the ideal conclusion of this sifting and meshing of remnant materials--a technique with the awkward name of "mass prosopography"--is the creation of a data base from which to accomplish an absolute mapping of whatever relational variables are being utilized. Tracking kinship, or economic ties, the work ideally uncovers all linkages.¹⁹

Prosopographic analysis can recover a certain amount of demographic information and allows a richer maximization of historical records.

¹⁷Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," Daedalus 100 (1971):46.

¹⁸E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, "Nominal Record Linkage by Computer and the Logic of Family Reconstitution," in Identifying People in the Past, ed. E. A. Wrigley (London: Edward Arnold, Ltd., 1973), 64-101.

¹⁹Rutman, "Community Study," 36.

Two Virginia Company censuses, Virginia land patent records, and Henrico County records, plus other sources naming individuals were subjected to prosopographic analysis in this study; more particular details are found in explanatory footnotes in the narrative. Some really helpful "nuts and bolts" type of information for assembling prosopographic files is found in Alan Macfarlane's Reconstructing Historical Communities. I began with the land patent records to identify landowners in Henrico, and then proceeded to link these landowners to families by identifying either a spouse or a child for each landowner. This stage of analysis gave me the list of landowning families upon which further analysis was based. A major breakthrough for me in continuing to develop the prosopographic analysis was the construction of the three family tables found in the text which allowed me to see these families in a coherent collective form, beyond the interesting but disparate individual file form. Once in this sort of collective form, various types of simple quantitative analyses could be done on these landowning families which produced some basic generalizations as well as a comparative data base for further study. By doing a prosopographic analysis of Henrico records through 1710, I was essentially able to identify basic family-land relationships and to identify the sub-group of families which allowed me to make the practical decision to cut back the time period of this study a second time from 1710 to 1675.

Mapping settlement patterns was another major analytical component of this study of human and family settlement in early Henrico County. The inspiration for the mapping of Henrico land patents was sparked by the maps done by Kevin Kelly in his dissertation

on seventeenth century Surry County, Virginia.²⁰ Interest in analyzing historical data in spatial terms has been characteristic of historical geographers and geographic historians; analysis begins with locating on maps the relationships under scrutiny in the study.²¹ U. S. Geological Survey topographical maps were used (both the 7 1/2-minute and the 15-minute series) to locate Henrico land patents. Patent information on distance and direction, combined with knowledge of early surveyors' "one-mile-into-the-woods" formula, was entered into a P.C. program called Deed Plotter + for Henrico land patents through 1710, producing seventeenth century plats of Henrico lands to scale on 7 1/2-minute series U. S. Geological Survey topographical maps.²² The prosopography of land patents and deeds associated with individuals over time, particularly constructed from abstracts of land records in index form, proved invaluable to the mapping process. I did not take the time to construct prosopographic files of geographic place names, but would recommend that it be done, given the intricate network of land transactions typical of Henrico and other Chesapeake communities. The final mapping stage onto the 15-minute

²⁰Besides his dissertation, "Seventeenth Century Surry County, Virginia," see Kevin P. Kelly, "'In dispers'd Country Plantations': Settlement Patterns in Seventeenth-Century Surry County, Virginia," in The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society, ed. Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1979), 183-205.

²¹See Carville Earle, "Introduction: The Practice of Geographical History," in Geographical Inquiry and American Historical Problems (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 1-23; Edward M. Cook, Jr., "Geography and History: Spatial Approaches to Early American History," Historical Methods 13 (1980):19-28.

²²Sarah S. Hughes, Surveyor and Statesmen: Land Measuring in Colonial Virginia (Richmond, VA: The Virginia Surveyors Foundation, Ltd. and The Virginia Association of Surveyors, Ltd., 1979); Greenbrier Graphics, Deed Plotter + (Rainelle, WV: Greenbrier Graphics, 1988). I am indebted to Lindsay Duvall for suggesting I look in PC Magazine wherein I found an advertisement for Deed Plotter + along with similar programs.

series U. S. Geological Survey topographical maps used for the base map revealed the value of a longitudinal prosopographic land record base and the value of computerized plats of Henrico land patents. Ellen White of the Michigan State University Cartographic Laboratory provided invaluable advice for drawing the final maps and for presenting the spatial data therein.

Ethnographic reconstruction of the human and family ecology of Henrico settlement was directly merged with the writing of the conceptual narrative which presents the results of this study. Rhys Isaac discusses the purposes of ethnographic method in history as closely related to the purposes of ethnographic method in anthropology:

whether one moves away from oneself in cultural space or historic time, one does not go far before one is in a world where the taken-for-granted must cease to be so. Forms of translation become necessary. Methods must be found of reaching an understanding of the meaning that the inhabitants of other worlds have given to their own familiar ways.²³

As I read the historical data I collected related to human and family settlement in Henrico County, I became very aware of both the drama and the "otherness" of the English experience of settling the New World.

Ethnographic reconstruction begins by making a clear "distinction between observers' perspectives (e.g., our own as twentieth-century social scientists) and participants' categories (e.g., those of the past peoples we study)."²⁴ This distinction was critical to developing, as much as possible, an objective presentation of the reality of the

²³Rhys Isaac, "Ethnographic Method in History: An Action Approach," Historical Methods 13 (1980):43.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 44.

human and family ecology of seventeenth century Henrico settlement. Given the observer-participant distinction, I then sought to interpret the whole colonization enterprise undertaken by the English nation in the New World as structured by human activity. Historical sources were thus interpreted as records of human action, whether sources were legal and policy documents or narrative accounts and personal letters. Viewing history as human action required "elucidating contexts, structures, and meanings, to undertake the reconstruction of the participants' worlds as they saw them."²⁵ In order to present an ethnographic reconstruction of the past, I deliberately avoided use of twentieth century theoretical language as much as possible, preferring to use seventeenth century language in order to draw the reader into the experience and drama of human and family settlement in early Henrico. Ethnographic reconstruction of the human activities involved in settlement resulted in identification of recurrent human and family ecological themes and patterns associated with the seventeenth century experience of Henrico colonists. I have only begun the "grounded theory" work of elaborating upon the theoretical implications of the ecological themes and patterns identified in this study.

Writing a Conceptual Narrative

The writing stage of this research project, especially since it was accompanied by the demands of ethnographic reconstruction, was the most challenging part of this study. The writing was complicated by the need to integrate a multi-level environmental understanding, including an understanding of relevant laws and policies, with the very localized problems, experiences, and achievements of English colonists settling in Henrico

²⁵Ibid.

and Virginia during the seventeenth century. In order to develop a coherent written presentation, a conceptual outline was developed which was continually modified as writing progressed. The conceptual narrative which I attempted is the sort of presentation encouraged by historians calling for the revival of narrative informed by results of new types of historical analysis.²⁶

In order to facilitate "writing history forward," I began developing a chronology of historical events to which I constantly referred and modified (see Table 1). The sense of chronology allowed me to periodize the presentation as it now stands, and permitted me to overlap some chapter periods with others based on the coherence of events addressed by a particular chapter. This process was tremendously aided by the solid county history of Henrico written by Louis Manarin and Clifford Dowdey.²⁷ The chronology of historical events anchored my interpretation of the historical understanding which emerged among Henrico and English colonists themselves about their settlement experience--which is why, for instance, I dealt with "frontier" and "English-Indian land policy" when I did in the presentation of the study. The chronology of historical events also anchored my own developing "spiral of historical understanding" as I analyzed family settlement by two generations of Henrico colonists. The work of other scholars noted

²⁶Lawrence Stone, "The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History," Past and Present 85 (November 1979):3-24; Bernard Bailyn, "The Challenge of Modern Historiography," American Historical Review 87 (1982):1-24; William Cronon, "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative," Journal of American History 78 (1991-92):1347-76.

²⁷Louis H. Manarin and Clifford Dowdey, The History of Henrico County (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1984).

throughout the text provided important conceptual tools for developing the historical understanding out of which I wrote the narrative.

This project took several years to complete. First, I collected data from published primary sources and abstracts in Chesapeake and Virginia Beach Public Libraries in Virginia--near my home at the time. Second, I commuted to the Virginia State Library in Richmond, Virginia, in order to collect data from the microfilmed manuscripts of Virginia Land Patents and Henrico County Records. I used interlibrary loan when possible to gain access to the microfilmed records; this was quite helpful after I moved to the Washington, D. C. area. Third, I began developing prosopographical files; this was a confusing stage for me since I lacked the self-confidence that comes with experience in dealing with historical materials. I also created some analytical sheets to abstract data from the files and get it in a manageable form--a family linkage sheet, an ecosystem assessment sheet, an ecosystem description sheet for the "frontier" families, and an inventory assessment sheet. Fourth, I invested substantial of time in trying to figure out how to get the land records onto maps. Fifth, I began writing after preparing a conceptual outline of what seemed to be "the story." I felt compelled to tell "their" story and really only confronted the piles of written documents associated with the founding of Virginia at this stage. Long after I started writing, I developed a "post-it-note index system" which helped manage documents by a "flag" (often with some note on it) attached to the margin of a document for quick reference. The analytical process of making sense out of my prosopographical files continued in the writing stage and I enjoyed several surprising discoveries about the data over time.

**Table 1 CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS SURROUNDING
HENRICO SETTLEMENT, 1611-1675**

1578	Sir Humphrey Gilbert receives letters patent from Queen Elizabeth to begin a colony in the New World
1584	Richard Hakluyt writes "Discourse on Western Planting"
1585	Sir Walter Raleigh establishes first English colony at Roanoke
1587	Roanoke settlement of the "Lost Colony"
1588	Spanish Armada attacks England, preventing ships from returning to Roanoke
1603	Queen Elizabeth dies; King James I ascends the throne
1606	First Virginia Charter granted to the Virginia Company
1607	Jamestown established
	First English exploration of Henrico
1608	First women colonists arrive in Virginia
1609	Second Virginia Charter granted to the Virginia Company
	War begins with Powhatan Indians
	Winter of the "Starving Time"
1610	Jamestown abandoned, then reoccupied
1611	"Henrico" established by Sir Thomas Dale
1612	Third Virginia Charter granted to the Virginia Company
	First Virginia tobacco experiments by John Rolfe
1612-13	Private agriculture initiated by planters in Virginia
1613	Bermuda Hundred and/or City incorporated
1613-14	First tobacco shipped to England
1614	Marriage of John Rolfe and Pocahontas
	Peace established with Powhatan Indians
1616	Sir Thomas Dale returns to England; all colonists who came to Virginia before will be called "Ancient Planters"
1618	Great Charter sealed by the Virginia Company
1619	Great Charter of the Virginia Company brought to Virginia
	First legislative assembly established in Virginia
	Granting of land patents to private planters established with the headright system
	Henrico is one of four burroughs established in Virginia
	Henrico College established
1619-20	First "Maids for Wives" sent to Virginia
1621/22	First Indian Massacre initiates second war with Powhatan Indians
	Henrico settlements evacuated

Table 1, cont'd

1622	Henrico reoccupied by "College people" and "Ancient Planters"
1624	Virginia Company dissolved by the King, Virginia becomes a Royal Colony
1625	James I dies; his son Charles I ascends the throne
1632	Treaty established with Powhatan Indians
1634	Henrico is one of first eight counties created in Virginia
1641/42	First petition granted by Virginia Assembly for western exploration
1642	Virginia Assembly rejects "false" petition to re-establish the Virginia Company English Civil War begins
1642/43	Bristol parish established on Appomattox River for Henrico and Charles City Counties
1644	Second Indian Massacre initiates third war with Powhatan Indians
1644/45	Fort Charles established at the falls of James River
1645/46	Fort Henry established at the falls of Appomattox River
1646	Treaty concluded with Powhatan Indians
1649	King Charles I beheaded by Parliament, interregnum government by Parliament and Oliver Cromwell begins King Charles II grants Northern Neck of Virginia to certain lords while in exile
1650	First exploration of interior of Virginia by Edward Bland and Abraham Wood
1651	First Navigation Act restricting trade
1651/52	Virginia surrenders to England's interregnum government
1652	Bristol Parish Court established First English-Dutch War begins
1655/56	"Western and inland" Indians encamped at falls of James River
1660	Restoration of monarchy; King Charles II ascends the throne Second Navigation Act restricting trade
1661/62	"Northern" Indians make frequent visits to the falls of the rivers
1663	Staple Act expands power of Navigation Act
1665	Second English-Dutch War begins, Virginia tobacco ships travel in convoy
1666	Henrico frontier identified as "most exposed" to danger from Indians
1667	Dutch capture or destroy eighteen Virginia tobacco ships in James River

Table 1, cont'd

1670	John Lederer explores Virginia-Carolina piedmont; his second expedition involves Henrico militia led by William Harris and Thomas Ligon
1671	Party of Thomas Batte and Robert Fallam, sent by Abraham Wood, become first Englishmen to cross Blue Ridge and Appalachian Mountains; William Byrd brings "great company" over Blue Ridge
1673	Plantation Duties Act further expands power of Navigation Act Third English-Dutch War, Dutch capture or destroy eleven ships of the Virginia tobacco convoy James Needham and Gabriel Arthur undertake another expedition for Abraham Wood, reaching northern Georgia
1673/74	King Charles II grants all of Virginia outside of the Northern Neck to two favorite lords
1674	Virginia colonists send agents to England to seek revocation of patents to "certain lords" by Charles II
1675/76	Virginia Assembly declares war against "all such Indians" attacking colonists in frontier counties Forts re-established at falls of James and Appomattox Rivers
1676	Bacon's Rebellion

CHAPTER 3

EXPLORATION OF NEW LAND AND PEOPLE, 1578-1610

The New World: From Vision to Reality

The settlement of Henrico County within the English colony of Virginia ultimately resulted from the efforts of Englishmen to establish their claim in America against the Spanish Empire. The nature of this effort was multi-dimensional and further motivated by an intellectual curiosity and sense of adventure excited by the discovery of America or the "New World." Richard Hakluyt the younger articulated why America was a New World:

New, in regard of the new and late discovery thereof made by Christopher Colon, alias Columbus, a Genovois by nation, in the yere of grace 1492. A world, in respect of the huge extension thereof, which to this day is not thoroughly discovered neither within the Inland nor on the coast So that it seemeth very fitly to be called A newe worlde.¹

Hakluyt and his older cousin, also named Richard Hakluyt, initially defined the task of English colonization in the New World of America and provided the major theoretical link between the first English settlements at Roanoke and Jamestown.

¹"Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Robert Cecil by Richard Hakluyt," 1600, The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, ed. E. G. R. Taylor (London: The Hakluyt Society, Second Series, no. 76-77, 1935), 2:469.

Roanoke and the Lost Colony

For the English in the late sixteenth century, colonization was a completely new enterprise filled with the challenge of the unknown. Spanish settlement had already limited the English to North America when Sir Humphrey Gilbert received Queen Elizabeth's permission to establish an English colony in the New World in 1578. The elder Hakluyt's "Notes on Colonisation," prepared for Gilbert's voyage, outline the approach to settlement which guided the English for the next forty years.² Particularly important was the choice of a "Seate," or settlement site, which was to be easily navigable, easily defensible, and suited to the subsistence requirements of human life. Hakluyt's description of the ideal "seate" in terms of meeting the requirements of human life suggests the outline of a basic human ecological theory to be employed in English settlement:

This seate is to bee chosen in temperate Climat, in sweete ayre, where you may possesse alwayes sweete water, wood, seacoales, or turfe, with fish, flesh, grayne, fruits, herbes and rootes, or so many of those as may suffice very necessitie for the life of such as shall plant there.³

Since the settlement site would probably be surrounded by Native American Indians, Hakluyt directed the colonists to become as knowledgeable as possible about "the naturall inhabitantes of the countrey." The nature of English survival in a new land could be profoundly affected by these unknown people.

²"Notes on Colonisation by Richard Hakluyt, Lawyer," 1578, Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, ed. Taylor, 1:116-22.

³*Ibid.*, 1:117.

Hakluyt considered the land, as conditioned by climate, to be a critical factor in successful settlement. A working relationship between the settlers and the new land should be established for at least two reasons--trade and agriculture. Trade was viewed as basic to human survival in a new settlement because a young colony could supply some but not all of its own needs or wants. Thus Hakluyt instructed the first voyagers to return with a report on the "soyle":

And because trafficke is a thing so materiall, I wish that great observation be taken what every soyle yeeldeth naturally, in what commoditie soever, and what it may be made to yeelde by indeavour, and to send us notice home, that thereuppon we may devise what meanes may be thought of to rayse trades.⁴

Trade would also be "materiall" to the sponsors of the colony who sought some compensation for their financial investment in the colony. The land's agricultural possibilities could be anticipated from a similar report:

Since every soyle of the world by arte may be made to yeelde things to feede and to cloth man, bring in your returne a perfect note of the soyle without and within, and we shall devise if neede require to amende the same, and to draw it to more perfection.⁵

An effective balance between trade and agriculture would not be easily achieved in the early years of English settlement in North America. Every agricultural product was potentially a trade product and vice versa--which necessities should the colonists rely on others for and which necessities should the colonists derive from their own labors were questions which would be resolved by difficult experience.

⁴Ibid., 1:119.

⁵Ibid., 1:121.

The first English settlement made in North America actually occurred under the leadership of Sir Walter Raleigh, Gilbert's half-brother. Gilbert's voyage of 1578 did not plant a colony, and after several repeated efforts, Gilbert himself died at sea in 1583. Queen Elizabeth granted to Raleigh a charter in March 1584, which "was essentially a renewal of Gilbert's patent."⁶ Within a month, two ships set out from England in April, reached the Carolina Outer Banks in July, and there claimed 1200 miles of North American coast for Queen Elizabeth.⁷ In order to solicit Queen Elizabeth's financial support of Raleigh's new colony, Raleigh requested Richard Hakluyt the younger to prepare "A particuler discourse concerninge the greate necessitie and manifolde comodities that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westerne discoveries lately attempted" in 1584.⁸ Hakluyt framed this 'Discourse of Western Planting' into nineteen major arguments making the cause for religion in colonization foremost: "That this westerne discoverie will be greatly for thin-largement of the gospell of Christe whereunto the Princes of the reformed religion are chiefly bounde amongst whome hermatie ys principall."⁹ Hakluyt's other arguments were political, economic, social,

⁶Wesley Frank Craven, The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949, 1970), 39.

⁷See "Chronology of the Virginia Voyages," in The First Colonists: Documents on the Planting of the First English Settlements in North America, 1584-1590, ed. David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1982), xx-xxv.

⁸"Discourse of Western Planting by Richard Hakluyt," 1584, Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, ed. Taylor, 2:211-326.

⁹Ibid., 2:211.

humanitarian, military, and pragmatic. Practical provisions needed for the voyage and the young colony were also listed.

Queen Elizabeth's encouragement of the proposed colony of "Virginia," however, did not include the state purse and Raleigh was left to seek "private capital that could be drawn into a highly speculative investment."¹⁰ Richard Hakluyt the elder came to Raleigh's assistance by preparing a pamphlet entitled "Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage intended towards Virginia in 40. and 42. degrees of latitude, written 1585."¹¹ Hakluyt's thirty-one "inducements" appealing to investors were supplemented by practical discussion of how the colonists might deal with "the Naturall people of the countrey," how the colonists might use plants and animals to begin manufactures, and a description of the many skills needed amongst the colonists.

Raleigh recruited over a hundred colonists to sail with Sir Richard Grenville's fleet of seven ships voyaging to the West Indies and Virginia in April 1585. A fort was established on Roanoke Island, "Virginia," in July and the fleet left behind 107 men under the governorship of Ralph Lane. Trouble with the Indians, lack of supplies from England, and a hurricane forced the colonists to return with a fleet of Sir Francis Drake's in June 1586. Valuable information of this part of the New World was brought back to England-- John White's water colors "depicting Indian customs and manners and a wide range of other subjects in American botany, zoology, ichthyology, herpetology, and entomology;"¹²

¹⁰Craven, Southern Colonies, 43.

¹¹"Pamphlet for the Virginia Enterprise by Richard Hakluyt, Lawyer," 1585, Writings & Correspondences of the Two Richard Hakluyts, ed. Taylor, 2:327-338.

¹²Craven, Southern Colonies, 51.

and Thomas Hariot's "A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia."¹³

Both sources helped reduce English ignorance about the New World in North America while presenting a simple, non-grandiose vision of a new land and its people.

Hariot's description of the land would be instructive for future colonization. In the first two parts of his report, Hariot delineated a number of "Marchantable commodities," followed by "such commodities as Virginia is knowne to yeelde for victuall and sustenance of mans life, usually fed upon by the naturalls." Hariot noted that "all the aforesaide Commodities for victual"--corne, beanes, peaze, pompions, mellions, and gourdes--"are set or sowed, sometimes in groundes a part and severally by theselves; but for the most part together in one ground mixtly."¹⁴ Hariot then described how corn is planted, how the Indians use tobacco, and what natural or wild roots, fruits, beasts, fowl, and fish are used for food. Several types of building materials "as divers sortes of trees for house & ship timber, and other uses els: Also lime, stone, and brick" were plentiful in Virginia.¹⁵ Hariot's description of the local Indians is extensive, including an account of English-Indian relations established by Lane's colonists. The problems of cross-cultural misunderstanding and Indian susceptibility to European disease which would accompany English settlement in North America are evident in Hariot's account.

Hariot's "True Report" also served to defend Virginia against bad reports spread by disillusioned colonists. Such disillusionment, according to Hariot, stemmed less from

¹³Thomas Hariot, A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia, 1588; (reprt., Murfreesboro, North Carolina: Johnson Publishing Company, 1969).

¹⁴Ibid., C2.

¹⁵Ibid., D3.

the new land and its people than from those "who by reason of their badde natures, have maliciously not onelie spoken ill of their Governours; but for their sakes slaundered the countrie it selfe."¹⁶ Hariot also concluded that some colonists were not fit for the task of settling a new land:

Many that after golde and silver was not so soone found, as it was by them looked for, had little or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies; or of that many which had little understanding, lesse discretion, and more tongue then was needfull or requisite.

Some also were of a nice bringing up, only in cities or townes, or such as never (as I may say) had seene the world before. Because there were not to bee found any English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wish any of their olde accustomed daintie food, nor any soft beds of downe or fethers; the countrey was to them miserable, & their reports thereof according.¹⁷

Given Hariot's observations, English colonization would be as vulnerable to internal social problems as it was to the external challenges of a new environment.

In May of 1587, a second colony for Virginia was sent out by Raleigh under John White's leadership as Governor. This colony of about 115 persons, including 17 women (two of them pregnant) and 11 children, "was chosen and equipped to act as a new kind of settlement--a small, largely self-supporting community that would live close to the south shore of Chesapeake Bay with or alongside the Chesapeake Indians, who had aided the English visitors in 1585-1586."¹⁸ One of White's assistants, chief pilot Simon

¹⁶Ibid., A4.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸David Beers Quinn, The Lost Colonists: Their Fortune and Probable Fate (Raleigh: America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1984), 5. See extended discussion in David Beers Quinn, Set Fair for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584-1606 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 241-72.

Fernandes, decided not to stay with the colony and insisted on leaving them on Roanoke Island--short of their intended destination on the Chesapeake Bay. Because it was almost August and late in the growing season, White was sent back to England for supplies. The Spanish Armada attacked England in 1588, delaying White's return to Roanoke until August 1590; White found the settlement abandoned and the letters CROATAN marked on a tree. White was never to see the colonists again, among them his daughter, son-in-law, and newly christened granddaughter, "Virginia Dare."

The fate of the Roanoke "Lost Colony" remains an intriguing historical mystery to this day. David Beers Quinn argues, from the little indirect evidence accrued over the next twenty-five years, that the majority of the "Lost Colonists" did settle south of the Chesapeake Bay and perhaps had assimilated to a large degree with the Chesapeake Indians there. Because the Chesapeake Indians had remained independent of the Indian Emperor Powhatan and the white English also posed a threat to him, Powhatan probably massacred both the Chesapeakes and the Lost Colonists around 1607.¹⁹ Instructions to the Virginia Governor in 1609 indicate some knowledge of the tragedy had reached London, probably from Captain John Smith: south of Jamestown by four days was an Indian town called Ohonahorn or Oconahoen "where you shall find foure of the Englishe alive, left by Sir Walter Rawley, which escaped from the slaughter of Powhaton of Roanocke, uppon the first arrivall of our Colonie, and live under the proteccion of a wiroane called Gepanocon, enemy to Powhaton."²⁰ Since the Roanoke colonists were

¹⁹Quinn, Lost Colonists, 36-42; Quinn, Set Fair for Roanoke, 341-77.

²⁰Virginia Council, "Instruccions, Orders and Constitucions . . . to Sr Thomas Gates (continued...)

still believed to be alive between 1603-1605, it is probable that the Virginia Company and their Jamestown colonists had hoped to draw upon their experience and skills for survival in a new land.²¹

The Virginia Company Charter

England concluded peace with Spain in 1604 under King James I. As a result, the possibility of English colonization in North America could once again be seriously considered. By then Sir Walter Raleigh's six-year charter had not only expired, but he himself was imprisoned in the Tower of London. Thus a new charter for "Virginia" was needed as well as a plan to fund the tremendous project of overseas settlement.

King James I quickly manifested his interest in planting an English colony in Virginia. On April 10, 1606, the King granted a charter or "Lettres Pattent" to several of "our loving and wel disposed subjects" who "have been humble sutors unto us that wee woulde vouchsafe unto them our licence to make habitacion, plantacion and to deduce a colone of sondrie of our people into that parte of America commonly called Virginia."²² One of the four patentees named for the "Firste Colonie" in southern Virginia was "Richard Hakluyt," the younger, who had kept alive a vision for the New World since the Roanoke ventures by compiling in three volumes the Principal Navigations, Voyages,

²⁰(...continued)

Knight Governor of Virginia," May 1609, in The Three Charters of the Virginia Company of London With Seven Related Documents; 1606-1621, comp. Samuel M. Bemiss (Williamsburg: Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, 1957), 60.

²¹Quinn, Lost Colonists, 32-35; Quinn, Set Fair For Roanoke, 353-60.

²²"The First Charter," 10 April 1606, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 1.

Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation.²³ Though Hakluyt himself would never actually go to Virginia, the other three patentees for the "First Colonie" would--Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Edward Maria Wingfield. The financial problem of organizing a colonial enterprise was resolved by creating a "joint-stock company."

More specifically, both old and new enthusiasts for American colonization were brought together in the persons of greater and lesser magnates in London, Bristol and Plymouth. North America (or Virginia, as it was then called) was divided for the purpose of plantation into a northern and a southern colony, but funds were made available for the project as a whole. Investment was solely by individuals, in the corporate form of joint-stock companies, one for each colony, to be privately managed under the supervision of a council in London composed of thirteen persons directly responsible to the Crown.²⁴

All who would join themselves to either company responsible for the two colonies would become "Adventurers" for Virginia.

The First Virginia Charter of 1607 reiterated the younger Hakluyt's 1584 argument that the State interest in religion was a critical justification for English colonization:

Wee, greatly commending and graciously accepting of their desires to the furtherance of soe noble a worke which may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tende to the glorie of His Divine Majestie in propagating of Christian religion to suche people as yet live in darkenesse and miserable ignorance of the true knoweledge and worshippe of God and may in tyme bring the infidels and salvages living in those parts to

²³Richard Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, 1588-1600, 10 vols. (reprint., New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1927). Hakluyt also encouraged the joint publication of John White's drawings and Thomas Hariot's True Report as Volume I of Theodore De Bry's Peregrinations in 1590 (see Taylor, ed., Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, 1:42-58). The elder Richard Hakluyt had died in 1591.

²⁴Philip L. Barbour, ed., The Jamestown Voyages Under the First Charter, 1606-1609, Hakluyt Society Publications, 2nd Series, no. 136-137 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 1:15.

humane civilitie and to a settled and quiet govermente, doe by theise our lettres patents graciously accept of and agree to their humble and well intended desires.²⁵

The distinction made between Christian and "infidels and salvages" is significant for understanding the claims England and other "Christian" countries made on the lands of the New World. North America between Florida and Canada could be colonized by England because it was "not nowe actuallie possessed by anie Christian prince or people."²⁶ Religion, not race, defined the critical difference between the English and the new land's native inhabitants.

Several elements of English policy towards English colonists were established in the First Charter. First, the colonists had liberty to settle "where they shall thincke fitt and conveniente" and could use all natural resources in the surrounding area (i.e., within one hundred square miles). Second, the colonists could establish a currency to make trade amongst themselves and "the natives" easier. Third, the colonists and their children "shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises and immunities within anie of our other doninions to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and borne within this our realme of Englande." Fourth, the colonists could hold all lands granted to them as private property according to "our mannor of Eastgreenwiche in the countie of Kente, in

²⁵"First Charter," 10 April 1606, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 2; see "Discourse in Western Planting," 1584, in Writings & Correspondences of the Two Richard Hakluyts, ed. Taylor, 2:211, 214-18, 318.

²⁶"The First Charter," 10 April 1606, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 1.

free and common socage onlie and not in capite."²⁷ The grant of such liberties implies that the establishment of colonies in Virginia was intended by both Virginia Companies to be a permanent settlement, an extension of English culture in the New World.

As the Virginia Company of London completed preparations for a voyage to the southern part of Virginia, the King issued further "Articles, instructions and orders . . . for the good order and government" of the Virginia colonies on November 20, 1606.²⁸ Therein the thirteen members of "the King's Council of Virginia" were named to direct the government in the colony "as neer to the common lawes of England and the equity thereof as may be." The King's Council also was to appoint up to thirteen colonists to form a "Councel" in Virginia; the colonists' "Councel" would then elect a "President" for a year. The President and Council in Virginia were authorized to conduct jury trials, to punish offenders, and to make "such constitutions, ordinances and officers for the better order, government and peace of the people" as long as these "doe not touch any party in life or member". The economic order of the new colony was also defined:

Every person and persons of the same . . . shall within every of their several precincts for the space of five years next after their first landing upon the said coast of Virginia and America, trade together all in one stocke, or deuideably but in two or three stocks att the most, and bring not only all the fruits of their labours there but alsoe all such other goods and commodities which shall be brought out of England or any other place into the same Collonies, into severall magazines or storehouses for that purpose to be made and erected there.²⁹

²⁷Ibid., 2-11; land held in "free and common socage" was a particular form of English landholding or land "tenure."

²⁸"Articles, Instructions and Orders," 20 November 1606, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 13-22.

²⁹Ibid., 18.

The colonists were further ordered to treat the "salvages" well, under threat of "severe paines and punishment", so that they may be "the sooner drawne to the true knowlege of God and the obedience of us, our heires and successors." The first colonists would thus begin life in their new environment within this civil governmental structure.

Adventurers to the Land of Virginia

By December 10, 1606, the first major English colonizing expedition in almost twenty years had completed its preparations. Three ships bound for Virginia were "ready Victualed riged and funished"--the 120 ton "Susan Constant," the 40 ton "Godspeed," and the 20 ton pinnace called the "Discovery."³⁰ The ships sailed from London with 144 men under the command of Captain Christopher Newport, on December 19 or 20. George Percy, one of the "Adventurers," recorded that poor winds kept the fleet from arriving in the West Indies until March 23, 1607; there the voyagers refreshed themselves on various islands until the tenth of April when they sailed north.³¹ Despite a discouraging storm, the fleet persisted until "the six and twentieth day of Aprill about foure a clocke in the morning, wee descried the Land of Virginia: the same day wee entred into the Bay of Chesupioc directly." On their explorations that day, "we could find nothing worth the speaking of, but faire meddowes and goodly tall Trees, with such Fresh-waters running through the woods, as I was almost ravished at the first sight there

³⁰"Orders for the Council for Virginia," 10 December 1606, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:45-46; John Smith, "The Proceedings of the English Colony in Virginia," 1608, Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:204.

³¹George Percy, "Discourse," 1608?, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:129-46.

of."³² The new land on the south side of the Chesapeake Bay appeared empty, though beautiful.

English-Indian Contact

The first encounter between the English and the native Indians was not friendly. Several appeared the first evening and attacked the party on shore, leaving two men wounded; "after they had spent their Arrowes, and felt the sharpnesse of our shot, they retired into the Woods with a great noise, and so left us." Continued investigations inland up to eight miles revealed several "great smoakes of fire"but no inhabitants. Shallow water in the south bay and its rivers forced the exploring party to search for a landing place on the north west side "where wee found a channell, and sounded six, eight, ten, or twelve fathom: which put us in good comfort. Therefore wee named that point of Land, Cape Comfort." The party returned to the fleet with the news of Cape Comfort whereupon the colonists marked their first landing with a cross, named it Cape Henry, and brought their ships up to Cape Comfort.³³

At Cape Comfort, the English were met with a more positive reception from the native inhabitants--there they encountered five Indians who "were at first very timersome, until they saw the Captain lay his hand on his heart: upon that they laid down their Bowes and Arrowes, and came very boldly to us, making signes to come a shoare to their Towne." At the Indian town of Kecoughtan "we were entertained by them very kindly"; the Indians feasted them, offered tobacco, and danced for them. "When they had ended

³²Ibid., 1:133.

³³Ibid., 1:133-35.

their dance, the Captaine gave them Beades and other trifling Jewells." The English were further welcomed by the Paspihe and Rapahanna Indians in a similar manner over the next few days.³⁴

The search for a settlement site led the English far up the river. On the eighth of May, "we landed in the Countrey of Apamatica" located in future Henrico County. The Indians of Apamatica met the English with a formidable presence:

At our landing, there came many stout and able Savages to resist us with their Bowes and Arrowes, in a most warlike manner, with the swords at their backes beset with sharpe stones, and pieces of yron able to cleave a man in sunder. Amongst the rest one of the chieftest standing before them crosse-legged, with his Arrow readie in his Bow in one hand, and taking a Pipe of Tobacco in the other, with a bold uttering of his speech, demanded of us out being there, willing us to bee gone. Wee made signes of peace, which they perceived in the end, and let us land in quietnesse.³⁵

Little more is known of this first upriver exploration, but apparently English-Indian relations remained peaceful.

Establishing Jamestown

Four days later, the English exploring party found a desireable site for settlement--a place easily defensible where "the soile was good and friutfull, with excellent good Timber: and abundant "Fowles and Birds." The only drawback to the newly named "Archers Hope" was that "the ship could not ride neere the shore."³⁶ An acceptable alternative was determined by May 13, 1607, when the English colonists chose their

³⁴Ibid., 1:135-37.

³⁵Ibid., 1:137-38.

³⁶Ibid., 1:138. See also Smith, "Proceedings," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:205 n.3.

"seating place in Paspahas countrey, some eight miles from the point of Land . . . where our shippes do lie so neere the shoore that they are moored to the Trees in six fathom water."³⁷ While the English set about constructing a fort, the Paspihe's sent a message that "their Werowance was comming and would be merry with us with a fat Deare." The Paspihe Werowance arrived, however, "with one hundred Savages armed, which garded him in very warlike manner," such that the English did not trust them enough to lay down their arms. Despite such mutual apprehensiveness, the Paspihe Werowance at length "made signes that he would give us as much land as we would desire to take." A subsequent misunderstanding arose between the two parties, however, over a hatchet stolen by an Indian and the Paspihe Werowance "went suddenly away with all his company in great anger." Still, the promised deer arrived from the Paspihe's two days later, prompting Percy to observe that "Pasphia was as good as his word; for he sent Venison."³⁸ Cultural differences between the English and the native Indians of Virginia were thus conspicuous at the beginning of English settlement in Virginia; whether these differences could be resolved in pursuit of a stable relationship between the two peoples was yet to be determined.

The colonists carried with them to Virginia the Council's "Instructions given by way of advice," probably written by Richard Hakluyt the younger.³⁹ These

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid., 1:139-40.

³⁹The London Council, "Instructions given by way of Advice," [Between 20 November and 19 December 1606], in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:22-23, 49-54, 62-64. For Hakluyt's involvement, see also Taylor, ed., Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, 1:61-62.

"Instructions" represented the cumulative wisdom available to the English for the practical aspects of colonization in the New World. The choice of a "seate" or settlement site was no small matter in a new land. The colonists were to "make Election of the Strongest most Fertile and wholesome place" on "Some navigable River," preferably "a hundred miles from the Rivers mouth and the farther up the better" in order to ensure a defensible position against "an Enemy."⁴⁰ A site "over burthened with woods" should be avoided since the labor involved in clearing would be prohibitive as well as provide "a Covert for Your Enimies round about." Also,

neither must you plant in a low and moist place because it will prove unhealthful You shall Judge of the Good Air by the People for Some part of that Coast where the Lands are Low have their people blear Eyed and with Swollen bellies and Legs but if the naturals be Strong and Clean made it is a true sign of a wholesome Soil.⁴¹

Thus the physical attributes of the "seate" were outlined so as to prevent "many Removes" due to a poor choice. The 1607 English colonists ended up choosing their first settlement site primarily because it afforded ease in inland navigation and mooring of large ships. Unfortunately, this choice would eventually symbolize the English "Adventurers'" ignorance of their new environment.

The Council's "Instructions" also outlined requirements for an effective social order in the new Virginia plantation. The men should be divided into three groups of workers: one-third "to fortifie and build of which your first work must be your storehouse

⁴⁰London Council, "Instructions," [Between 20 November and 19 December 1606], in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:49-50.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 1:52-53.

for Victual", one-third to "imploy in preparing your Ground and Sowing your Corn and Roots" (with some to stand guard), the other third "you may imploy for two Months in Discovery of the River above you." Public buildings should be constructed first and all buildings needed to be laid out in an orderly manner. The colonists were to exercise "Great Care not to Offend the naturals if You Can Eschew it and imploy Some few of your Company to trade with them for Corn and all Other lasting Victuals;" they should, however, avoid letting "the Country people" handle their weapons or allowing them to know the extent of death and sickness among the English. To preserve the continuity of the settlement, the colonists were restricted from returning to England except "by passport from the president and Councel;" neither were they permitted "to write any Letter of any thing that may Discourage others."⁴²

Lastly & Cheifly the way to prosper and to Obtain Good Success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the Good of your Country & your own and to Serve & fear God the Giver of all Goodness for every Plantation which our heavenly father hath not planted shall be rooted out.⁴³

The "Instructions" from London emphasized values of cooperation between men, both English and native, imbued with true piety towards God--values soon to be tested by the Adventurers in Virginia. Over time, the Adventurers who remained in Virginia would add their own practical wisdom for living in the New World.

⁴²Ibid., 1:51-54.

⁴³Ibid., 1:54.

A colonial government was soon established according to the "Orders for the Council for Virginia."⁴⁴ Captain Newport and the two other ships' captains had been entrusted with "Several instruments Close Sealed . . . Containing the names of Such Persons as we have appointed to be of his Majesties Counsel in the said Country of Virginia."⁴⁵ When Newport's fleet reached "the said Coast of Virginia and not before," the instruments were to be opened to disclose the names of "his Majesties Counsel of his first Colony in Virginia." After discovery of Cape Henry, "that night was the box opened, and the orders read, in which Bartholomew Gosnoll, Edward Wingfeild, Christopher Newport, John Smith, John Ratliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall, were named to bee the Councell." When the colonists finally found "a place to plant in," Edward Wingfeild was elected President and the members of the first Council in Virginia were sworn in.⁴⁶

With local leadership in place, the business of a new settlement could go on: "now falleth every man to worke, the Councell contrive the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide claboard to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets, etc."⁴⁷ By May 21, the colonist's "Fort" was known as "James

⁴⁴"Orders for the Council for Virginia," 10 December 1606, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:45-48. These "Orders" apparently implemented the King's "Articles" of government for the new colony; see "Articles, Instructions and Orders," 20 November 1606, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 13-22.

⁴⁵"Orders for the Council," 10 December 1606, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:46-47.

⁴⁶Smith, "Proceedings," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:205.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 1:205-06.

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Forte" and on June 22, the Council in Virginia sent their first letter to London from "James towne in virginia."⁴⁸ Jamestown was the first permanent English settlement in the New World. The Hakluyts' vision had become reality.

Exploring Henrico: "To Finde ye Head of this Ryver"

Extensive English exploration of the Henrico County area occurred about a week after the establishment of Jamestown. Captain Newport had been instructed to explore the river on which the colonists were seated as well as the surrounding country, and so embarked in a "shallup" from James Forte on May 21 with 23 men and provisions; "he proceeded with a perfect resolutyon not to returne, but either to finde ye heade of this Ryver, the Laake mentyoned by others heretofore, the Sea againe, the Mountaynes Apalatsi, or some issue."⁴⁹ Several accounts by members of the week-long expedition survive. Most significant because of its detailed ethnographic description is "A relatyon of the Discovery of our River, from James Forte into the Maine: made by Captain Christofer Newport: and sincerely written and observed by a gent. of ye Colony;"⁵⁰ it is likely that the unnamed "gent." was Gabriell Archer.⁵¹ Also of note is Robert Tindall's map or "draughte of our River" (see Figure 3.1) representing the earliest geography of the new land on the eve of English exploration and settlement. Tindall's 1607 map is

⁴⁸[Captain Gabriel Archer?] "A relatyon . . . written . . . by a gent. of ye Colony," 21 May-21 June 1607, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:80-81.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 1:81.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 1:80-98.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 1:81, n. 3.

unfortunately missing, but his 1608 map exists which includes information from a later expedition.⁵²

Indian Hospitality

Newport's discovery party sailed some 18 miles up the river the first day to "a lowe medowe point" where they were welcomed by the Wynauk Indian tribe; though reported to be "at oddes" with the Paspihes, the Wynauks "entertayned us with Daunces and much rejoycing."⁵³ Early the next morning the English made their first stop in what became Henrico County--Turkey Island: "we passed up some . 16 . myle further, where we founde an Ilet, on which were many Turkeys, and greate store of yonge byrdes like Black birdes, whereof wee tooke Dyvers, which wee brake our fast withall."⁵⁴ At "Turkey Ile," the English met a second group of Indians who followed them several miles until they reached the "Wiroans" or King of "the Country Arahatecoh," Arahatec (also Arrohattoc) being another Henrico place-name.

The Arahatecs not only sold food to the English, but feasted them and offered to send guides with them up the river. With English pen and paper, one of the Arahatec guides, "Naiurans," drew a map of

⁵²Ibid., 1:105, 106. See "Robert Tindall, Gunner, to Prince Henry," 22 June 1607, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:106, Figures 1, 2. Map reproduced in Figure 3.1 is "The Draughte by Robarte Tindall of Virginia Anno: 1608," in William Strachey, The History of Travell into Virginia Britania, 1612, ed. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (London: The Hakluyt Society, Second Series, No. 103, 1953), opp. p. 31.

⁵³[Archer?], "Relatyon," 21 May-21 June 1607, in Jamestowne Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:82.

⁵⁴Ibid.

the whole River from the Chesseian bay to the end of it so farr as passadg was for boates: he tolde us of two Ilettes in the Ryver we should passe by, meaning that one whereon we were, and then come to an overfall of water, beyond that of two kyngdomes which the Ryver Runes by then a greate Distance of[f], the mountaines Quirank.⁵⁵

When "kyng Arahatec" confirmed this description, the English concluded that in their guide Naiurans "we found a faythfull fellow." While still at Arahatec, another Indian king, thought to be "the Greate kyng Powatah," arrived who also "appointed . 5 . men to guyde us up the River, and sent Postes before to provyde us victuall." When the English left the Indian village which they designated "Aarahatecs joye, we found the people on either syde the Ryver stand in Clusters all along, still profferring us victualls, which of some were accepted; as our guydes (that were with us in the boate) pleased, and gave them requitall."⁵⁶

Some 10 miles from "Arahatec" the English came upon "the second Ilet Described in the Ryver; over against which is the habitayon of the greate kyng Pawatah: which I call Pawatahs Towre,"⁵⁷ some two miles below modern day Richmond. At that time "Pawatahs Towre" was

scituat upon a highe Hill by the water syde, a playne betweene it and the water . 12 . score over, wheron he sowes his wheate, beane, peaze, tobacco, pompions, gowrdes, Hempe, flaxe &c. And were any Art used to the naturall state of this place, it would be a goodly habitayon.⁵⁸

⁵⁵Ibid., 1:82-83.

⁵⁶Ibid., 1:84, 86.

⁵⁷Ibid., 1:85.

⁵⁸Ibid.

The Indian guides escorted the English to King Pawatah, "with whome we found our kind king Arahatec." The English received a "frendly wellcome" from King Pawatah and were told of his friendship with all the Indian tribes except "the Chessipian"--whom the English believed had attacked them at Cape Henry. Thus in response, the English indicated their discontent with "the Chessipian" Indians and "certifyed him that we were frendes with all his people & kyngdomes, neither had any of them offred us ill, or used us unkyndly." King Pawatah then "(very well understanding by the wordes and signes we made; the significatyon of our meaning) moved of his owne accord a leauge of fryndship with us; which our Captain kyndly imbraced."⁵⁹

A Cross at the Falls of James River

Desiring to go further up the river that day, the English left Pawatah and soon discovered the river's navigable limits:

Rowing some 3 . myle in shold water we came to an overfall, impassible for boates any further. Here the water falles Downe through great mayne Rockes, from ledges of Rockes above . 2 . fadome highe: in which fall it maketh Divers little Ilettes, on which might be placed 100 . water milnes for any uses. Our mayne Ryver ebbs and flowes . 4 foote even to ye skert of this Downfall. Shippes of . 200 . or . 300 . toonne may come to within . 5 . myle hereof, and the rest Deepe inoughe for Barges, or small vessells that drawe not above . 6 . foote water. Having viewed this place, betweene Content and greefe we left it for this night, determyning the next Day to fitt our selfe for a march by Land.⁶⁰

The English disappointment resulted from encountering the falls as an obstacle to their initial goal of discovery--to at least find the "head" or source of the river, if not the

⁵⁹Ibid., 1:85-86.

⁶⁰Ibid., 1:86.

western sea and the "Northwest Passage" to the Orient so hoped for by Hakluyt and others.⁶¹

Some differences between the English and Indian cultures were revealed in events near the river falls. For instance, the next day, on "Whitsonday," Captain Newport invited Kings Powatah and Arahatec to a feast of pork. In the midst of the preparations, the English realized they were

missing two bullet-bagges which had shot and Dyvers trucking toyes in them: we Complayned to theis kynges, who instantly caused them all to be restored So Captaine Newport gave thanckes to the Kinges and rewarded the theeves with the same toyes they had stollen, but kept the bulletes: yet he make knowne unto them the Custome of England to be Death for such offences.⁶²

The mid-day dinner was nonetheless friendly and informal during which the English questioned King Pawatah about the river, land, and people above the falls, also requesting Indian guides to go with them on their march. In reply, Pawatah himself met the English at the falls to try to discourage any further exploration by speaking of "tedyous travell," "we should get no vittailles and be tyred," and that "the Monanacah" above the falls "was his Enimye and that he came Downe at the fall of the leafe and invaded his Countrye." Pawatah then left for his town "somewhat Distasted with our importunity of proceeding up further." Newport finally decided not to go above the falls "as holding it much better

⁶¹See London Council "Instructions," [Between 20 November and 19 December 1606], in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:51.

⁶²Ibid., 1:87.

to please the kyng (with whome and all of his Comaund he had made so faire Way) then to prosecute his owne fancye or satisfye our requestes."⁶³

Captain Newport did not leave, however, without marking the first English presence at the falls of the river:

Upon one of the little Ilettes at the mouth of the falls he sett up a Crosse with this inscriptyon Jacobus Rex. 1607 . and his owne name belowe: At the erecting hereof we prayed for our kyng and our owne prosperous succes in this his Actyon, and proclaymed him kyng, with a greate showte.⁶⁴

George Percy's account provides additional cultural insight into this action by the English. He wrote enthusiastically that "this River which wee have discovered is one of the famousest Rivers that ever was found by any Christian;" after setting up the cross, the English named the river "Kings River, where we proclaimed James King of England to have the most right unto it."⁶⁵ Nairans, the remaining Indian guide with the party, wondered at the cross and the shout, whereupon Newport "told him that the two Armes of the Crosse signified kyng Powatah and himselfe, the fastening of it in the myddest was their united Leaug, and the shoute the reverence he dyd to Pawatah."⁶⁶ Newport's false explanation pleased the guide who then told King Pawatah. While the cross and the English claim it represented was not then perceived by the Indians as offensive, some of Pawatah's tribesmen were disturbed by the presence of the English in the land:

⁶³Ibid., 1:87-88.

⁶⁴Ibid., 1:88.

⁶⁵Percy, "Discourse," 1608?, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:141.

⁶⁶[Archer?], "Relatyon," 21 May-21 June 1607, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:88.

Yet the Savages murmured at our planting in the Countrie, whereupon this Werowance made answeare againe very wisely of a Savage, Why should you bee offended with them as long as they hurt you not, nor take any thing away by force, they take but a little waste ground, which doth you nor any of us any good.⁶⁷

English and Indian cultures shared a common humanity yet were distinct as nations. Hospitality and trade could be freely enjoyed even while issues of justice and land rights were potentially divisive. So far, the two peoples had managed to preserve personal and civil harmony between them.

Learning From the Indians

Later that night the English returned to "Arahatec Joy" and spent the night. The next day the English and King Arahatec "sat banquetting all the forenoone."⁶⁸ The visit also proved instructive as

some of his people led us to their houses, shewed us the growing of their Corne & the maner of setting it, gave us Tobacco, wallnutes, mulberyes, strawberryes, and Respises. One shewed us the herbe called in their tongue wisacan, which they say heales poysoned woundes, it is like lyverwort or bloudwort. One gave me a Roote wherewith they poison their Arrows. They would shew us anything we Demanded, and laboured very much by signes to make us understand their Languag.⁶⁹

King Arahatec brought the English to another house in the afternoon for a second meal
 "& shewed that he was hartely reioyced in our Company." After an exchange of

⁶⁷Percy, "Discourse," 1608?, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:141.

⁶⁸[Archer?]. "Relatyon," 21 May-21 June 1607, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1 : 89.

⁶⁹Ibid., 1:89-90.

demonstrations in Indian warfare and English musket shooting, the English departed Arahatec to continue their return to James Fort.⁷⁰

The Indian guide Nauirans brought the English to "Queene Apumatecs bowre" the next day, future site of Bermuda Hundred in Henrico. Going ashore, the party proceeded "along through a plain Lowe grownd prepared for seede, part wherof had ben lately Cropt: and assending a pretty Hill, we sawe the Queene of this Country comminge in selfe same fashion of state as Pawatah or Arahatec; yea rather with more majesty."⁷¹ The Queen's hospitality included "our accustomed . . . Tobacco and wellcome" for which Captain Newport "presented her with guyftes liberally". The English observed "she had much Corne in the grownd: she is subject to Pawatah as the rest are; yet within herselfe of as greate authority as any of her neighbour Wy[r]oances."⁷² The English also met a friendly welcome by King Pamaunche and his tribe "some . 5 . myle from the Queenes Bower" that day and the next. The English noted the many "Deare" and "ryche furies" in the Pamaunche kingdome as well as a cleared "platt of grownd . . . some . 100 . acres, where are set beanes, wheate, peaze, Tobacco, Gourdes, pompions, and other thinges unknowne to us in our tongue." After leaving the Pamaunche tribe, the English spent the night across the river at "point Winauk" where they ended their explorations by returning directly to Jamestown.⁷³

⁷⁰Ibid., 1:90-91.

⁷¹Ibid., 1:91-92.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid., 1:92-94.

The English expedition up the "King's River" yielded invaluable knowledge of the new Virginia environment. The river between the sea and the falls above "Powatah's Towre" was navigable for transportation and shipping "160 myles into the mayne land betwene two fertile and fragrant bankes, two miles, a mile, & where it is least a quarter of a myle broad."⁷⁴ The English soon realized that the river was an important food source.

The mayne river aboundes with Sturgeon very large and excellent good: having also at the mouth of every brook and in every creek both store and exceeding good fish of divers kindes, and in ye large soundes neere the sea are multitudes of fish, bankes of oysters, and many great crabbs rather better in tast then ours.⁷⁵

The river flooded its banks as much as "8. or 9. foote,"⁷⁶ thus contributing to a fertile soil "of it self a black fatt sandy mould, somewhat slymy in touch and sweet in savour."⁷⁷ The native inhabitants produced such bountiful crops from this soil that one English observer declared, "being tempered and tyme taken I hould it natures nurse to all vegetables."⁷⁸ The natural flora and fauna near the river also impressed the English.

⁷⁴"Description of the River and Country," 21 May-21 June 1607, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:99. The distance was actually 131 miles from Cape Henry to Powhatan Village, see "Appendix I," in *ibid.*, 2:465.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

⁷⁶John Smith, "A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of note, as hath hapened in Virginia, sincethe first planting of that Collony," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:29.

⁷⁷"Description of the River and Country," 21 May-21 June 1607, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:100.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*

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Wheresoever we landed upon this River, wee saw the goodliest Woods as Beech, Oke, Cedar, Cypress, Walnuts, Sassafras and Vines in great abundance, which hang in great clusters on many Trees, and other Trees unknowne, and all the grounds bespred with many sweet and delicate floures of divers colours and kindes. There are also many fruites as Strawberries, Mulberries, Rasberries and Fruits unknowne In this countrey I have seene many great and large Medowes having excellent good pasture for any Cattle. There is also great store of Deere both Red and Fallow. There are Beares, Foxes, Otters, Bevers, Muskrats, and wild beasts unknowne.⁷⁹

Land next to the river was a favored habitat for the native Indians: "They Live comonly by the water side in litle cottages made of canes and reedes, covered with the barke of trees."⁸⁰ Thus the new land and people were intertwined with the life of the river--a settlement pattern English colonists would soon begin to imitate.

Struggle for Survival in a New World

The English explorers returning from their discovery up the river were disturbed by Naiuran's sudden decision at "point Winauk" not to return to James Fort with them as he had promised. Captain Newport, then seeing a favorable wind, "made all haste home, Determyning not to stay in any place as fearing some disastrous happ at our forte."⁸¹

English-Indian Conflict

When the explorers arrived at the fort, they found that more than 200 Indians had attacked the colonists on May 26, the day before, wounding a number of men and killing

⁷⁹Percy, "Discourse," 1608?, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:141.

⁸⁰"Description of the People," 21 May-21 June 1607, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:103.

⁸¹[Archer?], "Relatyon," 21 May-21 June 1607, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:95.

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one boy. The English had been working without their arms nearby and only the firing of "the Shippes ordinance with their small shott daunted them."⁸² Over the next week the English strengthened their fortifications and defended themselves against smaller Indian attacks. Finally, Nairans and another Indian came to James Fort and met with President Wingfield and Captain Newport.

These certified us who were our frendes, and who foes, saying that kyng Pamaunke kyng Arahatec, the kyng of Youghtamong, and the king of Matapoll would either assist us or make us peace with Paspeiouk, Papahanauk, Tapahanauk, Wynauk, Apamatecoh, and Chescaik, our Contracted Enemyes: He counselled us to Cutt Downe the long weedes rounde about our Forte, and to proceede in our sawing: Thus making signes to be with us shortly agayne, they parted.⁸³

Friendly relations with the Indians, as the English had known along the river, apparently were not to be expected of every tribe in the area. Physical conflict arising from fear, misunderstanding, and hostility would threaten the survival of both English and Indian peoples.

More pious English adventurers could always return to the colony's religious purpose in order to reaffirm a positive relationship with the native inhabitants of the country. In his 1607 "Description of the People," the observer concludes

they are a very witty and ingenious people, apt both to understand and speake our language, so that I hope in god as he hath miraculously preserved us hither from all dangers both of sea and land & their fury so he will make us authors of his holy will in converting them to our true Christian faith by his owne inspireing grace and knowledge of his deity.⁸⁴

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid., 1:97-98.

⁸⁴"Description of the People," 21 May-21 June 1607, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. B. Barbour, 1:104.

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The English had discovered that Native Indian culture apparently involved a system of religion revolving around worship of the sun. According to Percy:

It is a generall rule of these people when they swere by their God which is the Sunne, no Christian will keepe their Oath better upon this promise. These people have a great reverence to the Sunne above all other things at the rising and setting of the same, they sit downe lifting up their hands and eyes to the Sunne making a round Circle on the ground with dried Tobacco, then they began to pray making many Devillish gestures with a Hellish noise foaming at the mouth, staring with their eyes, wagging their heads and hands in such a fashion and deformitie as it was monstrous to behold.⁸⁵

Differences in religion between English and Indian peoples were not minor and the English had no intention of integrating Indian sun-worship with Protestant Christianity. English policy, particularly under Virginia Company management, adhered to the King's instructions to the first colonists to present

the true word and service of God and Christian faith . . . amongst the salvage people which doe or shall adjoine unto them or border upon them, according to the doctrine, rights and religion now professed and established within our realme of England.⁸⁶

The "salvages" would not prove easy converts, however, and some English missionary methods resulted in making the Virginia colonists more vulnerable to Indian attack.

Dissension, Disease, and Starvation

The English had already experienced dissensions among themselves; by early June "there being among the Gentlemen and all the Company a murmur and grudg against certayne preposterous proceedinges, and inconvenyent Courses, put up a Petytion to the

⁸⁵Percy, "Discourse," 1608?, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:143.

⁸⁶"Articles, Instructions and Orders," 20 November 1606, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 15.

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Counsell for reformatyon."⁸⁷ Upon reading "the Gentlemans Petityon," Captain Newport managed to reconcile the colonists: "wee confirmed a faythfull Love one to another, and in our hartes subscribed an obedyence to our Superyours this Day."⁸⁸ Newport sailed from Jamestown for England on June 22, leaving 104 men in "good health and comfort" which was to prove only temporary; Smith explains

that through some discontented humors, it did not so long continue, for the President and Captaine Gosnold, with the rest of the Counsell, being for the moste part discontented with one another, in so much, that things were neither carried with that discretion nor any busines effected in such good sort as wisdome would, nor our owne good and safetie required thereby.⁸⁹

Much of the discord had to do with distribution of food and supplies from the "common kettell," controlled by President Wingfield.⁹⁰ Wingfield would eventually be deposed from the Presidency and Council altogether; in his defense before the Company in London the following summer, he told of the greed of other council members desiring "some better allowance for themselves" from "the Comon store."⁹¹

The social and political "disorder" among the colonists was exacerbated by the diet, health, and Indian problems afflicting the colonists after Newport's departure. "Being thus left to our fortunes, it fortun'd that within tenne daies scarce ten amongst us

⁸⁷[Archer?], "Relatyon," 21 May-21 June 1607, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:96.

⁸⁸Ibid., 1:97.

⁸⁹Smith, "True Relation," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:33.

⁹⁰Smith, "Proceedings," 1608, Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:210.

⁹¹Edward Maria Wingfield, "Discourse," 1608 [Finished after 21 May], in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:213.

could either goe, or well stand, such extreame weaknes and sicknes oppressed us."⁹²

The men were also "verie bare and scantie of victualls, furthermore in warres and in danger of the Savages."⁹³ Smith believed that poor and insufficient provisions lay at the root of the colonists' health problems. From the common storehouse was rationed

halfe a pinte of wheat and as much barly boyled with water for a man a day, and this having fryed some 26. weeks in the ships hold, contained as many wormes as graines; so that we might truely call it rather so much bran then come, our drinke was water, our lodgings castles in aire.⁹⁴

The difficulty with the water at Jamestown is revealed in Percy's account: "our drinke cold water taken out of the River, which was at a flood verie Salt, at a low tide full of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men."⁹⁵

Given the geographic location of Jamestown, actually an island most of the year, Carville Earle argues that the water supply of the colonists was not just poor and unsanitary, it was contaminated and deadly.⁹⁶ From July to September some 40 to 50 colonists died.⁹⁷ "Our men were destroyed with cruell diseases as Swellings, Flixes,

⁹²Smith, "Proceedings," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:209.

⁹³Percy, "Discourse," 1608?, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:143.

⁹⁴Smith, "Proceedings," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:210.

⁹⁵Percy, "Discourse," 1608?, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:144.

⁹⁶Carville V. Earle, "Environment, Disease, and Mortality in Early Virginia," in The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society, ed. Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979), 96-125. Earle has since republished this essay as "The Ecological Causes of the Virginia Mortality Crisis, 1607-1624," in Geographical Inquiry, 25-58.

⁹⁷See Smith, "True Relation," 1608, "Proceedings," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:35, 210; also Wingfield, "Discourse," 1608 [Finished after 21 May], in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:215.

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Burning fevers, and by Warres, and some departed suddenly, but for the most part they died of meere famine."⁹⁸ Since only two men were reported to have died of Indian wounds and food scarcity at this time contributed to physical weakness rather than death, it is probable that most died of dysentery, typhoid fever, and salt poisoning.⁹⁹

The danger of a river water supply for the colony was directly related to Jamestown's location in the middle zone of the "King's river" estuary--

an ecological unit wherein freshwater from the land is mixed with encroaching water from the sea, producing three salinity zones Sediment and fecal material entering an estuary are flushed out of its freshwater portion, temporarily trapped or plugged up by the salt in the oligohaline [the middle zone] until a large portion is eventually flushed downstream into the saltier water. Thus, pathogenic river-borne organisms are least common in the freshwater zone, maximum in the oligohaline zone, and intermediate in the mesohaline and polyhaline zones near the estuary mouth.¹⁰⁰

Jamestown water became contaminated only during the summer months when the freshwater zone moved back up the river and the water level receded.

Pools of standing water and stagnant marshes rimming the mainland side of the island created a wetland environment ideal for the retention of Salmonella typhosa and Endamoeba histolytica. Even more deadly was the summer contamination of the river water with salt, sediment, and fecal material.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸Percy, "Discourse," 1608?, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:144.

⁹⁹Earle, "Environment, Disease, and Mortality in Early Virginia," 99-103.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 104.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, 102.

Earle points out that some of the social disorder at Jamestown could easily be accounted for by salt poisoning, "with its characteristic symptoms of 'swellings' (edema), lassitude, and irritability."¹⁰²

The intense suffering experienced by the English colonists that summer was such "that the living were scarce able to bury the dead."¹⁰³ Percy's description is most vivid:

Our men night and day groaning in every corner of the Fort most pittifull to heare, if there were any conscience in men, it would make their harts to bleed to heare the pittifull murmurings & out-cries of our sick men without reliefe every night and day for the space of sixe weekes, some departing out of the World, many times three or foure in a night, in the morning their bodies traile out of their Cabines like Dogges to be buried: in this sort did I see the mortalitie of divers of our people.¹⁰⁴

In their weakened condition, the colonists lived in constant fear of the Indians, and in fear of running out of food. Many of those at Jamestown doubtless felt "there were never Englishmen left in a forreigne Countrey in such miserie as wee were in this new discovered Virginia."¹⁰⁵ Towards the end of August the English were surprised by Indians who came in peace to supply the English with food.

It pleased God, after a while, to send those people which were our mortall enemies to releeve us with victuals, as Bread, Corne, Fish, and Flesh in great plentie, which was the setting up of our feeble men, otherwise wee had all perished.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰²Ibid., 103.

¹⁰³Smith, "True Relation," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:33.

¹⁰⁴Percy, "Discourse," 1608?, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:145.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 1:144.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 1:145.

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Unexpected relief also arrived when "there came such abundance of Fowles into the Rivers, as greatly refreshed our weake estates, whereuppon many of our weake men were presently able to goe abroad."¹⁰⁷ As the summer waned, the colonists began to recover in health and strength from some of the hardships indigenous to their new Virginia environment.

The physical suffering at Jamestown was accompanied by increasing social strife among the colonists, particularly members of the council, culminating in the deposition of President Wingfield on September 10. Smith explained Wingfield's removal in terms of popularity: "Captaine Wingefield having ordred the affaires in such sort that he was generally hated of all."¹⁰⁸ But the change of leadership did not change the basic conditions of food and shelter, nor the morale of the colonists. Despite the Indians' benevolence, there was less than a month's food supply at Jamestown and as winter approached, shelter became a more obvious problem, since "as yet we had no houses to cover us, our Tents were rotten, and our Cabbins worse than nought."¹⁰⁹ The colonists themselves, perhaps still experiencing poor health,

little ceased their mallice, grudging and muttering. As at this time were most of our chieftest men either sicke or discontented, the rest being in such dispaire, as they would rather starve and rot with idlenes, then be perswaded to do anything for their owne reliefe without constraint.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷Smith, "True Relation," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:35.

¹⁰⁸Smith, "True Relation," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:35.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

Furthermore, the new leadership was no more popular than Wingfield's presidency. Wingfield reported to the Virginia Company that the new leadership had "forsaken his Majesties instruccions for our government" and that it was "familiar for the President, Counsellors, and other officers to beate men at their pleasures."¹¹¹ Smith described "the new President" and Captain Martin as "being little beloved, of weake judgement in dangers, and lesse industry in peace."¹¹² The task of settlement was clearly being hindered by the unsettled government at Jamestown.

The Leadership of Captain John Smith

During the troubled fall of 1607, the President and Councilors "committed the managing of all things abroad" to Captain John Smith and also appointed him Cape Merchant.¹¹³ The emergence of Smith's leadership through these positions became vital to the colony's survival. Smith worked first with the colonists to construct suitable lodging and then was sent out to trade with the Indians for corn, returning with almost 30 bushells. Still more food was needed for the winter, so in early November Smith decided to explore the "country of Chikhamania" and its river. He and the men with him found many new Indian towns, including one town "where were assembled 200.

¹¹¹Wingfield, "Discourse," 1608 [Finished after 21 May], in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 1:224-26.

¹¹²Smith, "True Relation," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:211.

¹¹³Smith, "Proceedings," 1608, "True Relation," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:35, 211.

people with such abundance of corne, as having laded our barge, as also I might have laded a ship."¹¹⁴ The colonists also discovered other bountiful supplies of food:

And now the winter approaching, the rivers became so covered with swans, geese, duckes, and cranes, that we daily feasted with good bread, Virginia pease, pumpions, and putchamins, fish, fowle, and diverse sorts of wild beasts as fat as we could eat them.¹¹⁵

Though the colonists still grumbled at each other, at least their stomachs were temporarily silent.

Smith returned to explore "the head of Chickahamine river," a river forming the northern boundary of colonial Henrico County, and was subsequently captured by 200 Indians when he scouted ahead of his party. The Pamaunke Indian warriors and their king, "Opeckankenough," led Smith north of the "Chickahamine" several days until they reached "Werowocomoco," the home of the real "Emperour of Powhatan" who "till that time was unknowne." Though expecting to be executed at any time, Smith was treated with kindness and friendly questioning. Smith, in turn, learned much about Powhatan, Indian customs and religion, and the lands not yet explored by the English. The result of Smith's captivity could have been disastrous, but

hee so demeaned himselfe amongst them, as he not only diverted them from surprising the Fort, but procured his owne liberty, and got himselfe and his company such estimation amongst them, that those Salvages admired him as a demi-God.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴Smith, "True Relation," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:41.

¹¹⁵Smith, "Proceedings," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:212.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, 1:213.

Smith was escorted the twelve miles back to Jamestown in early January, 1607/8, hours before Captain Newport's return to Virginia. Only about forty colonists had managed to survive in Virginia until Newport arrived with "the First Supply" from England.

Some of the first English colonists at Jamestown recognized that their early problems were largely due to the fact that they had adventured into an unknown world. The problem of provision, at least in 1607, had resulted from inexperience rather than mismanagement on the part of the Company.

First the fault of our going was our owne, what could bee thought fitting or necessary wee had, but what wee should finde, what we should want, where we shoulde be, we were all ignorant, and supposing to make our passage in two monthes, with victuall to live, and the advantage of the spring to worke; we weare at sea 5. monthes where we both spent our victuall and lost the opportunity of the time, and season to plant.¹¹⁷

The social and political problems could also be explained to some degree by the adventurers' ignorance of each other, for "all were strangers to each others education, quallities, or disposition."¹¹⁸ As the Jamestown adventurers directly experienced the risks associated with colonization in the New World, they gradually realized that

such actions have ever since the worlds beginning beene subject to such accidents, and every thing of worth is found full of difficulties, but nothing so difficult as to establish a common wealth so farre remote from men and meanes, and where mens mindes are so untoward as neither do well themselves nor suffer others; but to proceed.¹¹⁹

Overseas colonization presumed the establishment of a tremendous amount of trust between all parties involved, particularly on the part of the colonists themselves. As

¹¹⁷Ibid., 1:211.

¹¹⁸Ibid., 1:213.

¹¹⁹Ibid., 1:211.

knowledge replaced ignorance, Virginia colonists would desire more direct control over the decisions which affected them in their new environment.

Circumstances at Jamestown continued to threaten the survival of the colony through the winter of 1607-08. Captain Newport brought 100 men in one of two ships sent from London "well furnished with all things could be imagined necessarie, both for them and us."¹²⁰ Unfortunately, a week later at Jamestown "by a mischaunce our Fort was burned, and the most of our apparell, lodging and private provision, many of our old men diseased, and of our new for want of lodging perished."¹²¹ The mortality beginning with the fire was further provoked by "the extreamity of the bitter cold aire" that winter.¹²² During their fourteen-week stay, Newport and his mariners consumed much of the food brought from England, though the effect of this drain on provisions was offset by food brought by Indians sent from Powhatan to Captain Smith, "part they gave him as presents from the king; the rest, hee as their market clarke set the price how they should sell."¹²³ A futile search for gold brought another distraction from the "necessarie businesse" of the colony: "There was no talke, no hope, no worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold" onto Newport's returning ship, resulting in nothing more than "so much gilded durt."¹²⁴ Finally, after Newport's departure,

¹²⁰Ibid., 1:214.

¹²¹Smith, "True Relation," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:61.

¹²²Smith, "Proceedings," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:218.

¹²³Ibid., 1:215.

¹²⁴Ibid., 1:218-19.

Master Skrivener and Captaine Smith divided betwixt them, the rebuilding our towne, the repairing our pallisadoes, the cutting downe trees, preparing our fields, planting our corne, and to rebuild our Church, and recover our store-house; al men thus busie at their severall labours.¹²⁵

By the time the second ship of the "First Supply" departed in June 1608 freighted with cedar, optimism prevailed at Jamestown--"wee now remaining being in good health, all our men wel contented, free from mutinies, in love one with another, and as we hope in a continuall peace with the Indians."¹²⁶ And so the English Adventurers began their second year of settlement in the New World.

The survival issues of the Virginia colonists became much clearer over the next two years. Disease, food shortages, Indian conflict, political turmoil, social strife and deficient economic motivation were recurrent and largely interrelated problems which the English faced in their new environment. When Smith's 1608 expedition to discover the Chesapeake Bay returned to Jamestown around mid-July, they found disease, political turmoil, and a potential food shortage.

There wee found the last supply, al sicke, the rest, some lame, some bruised, al unable to do any thing, but complain of the pride and unreasonable needlesse cruelty of their sillie President, that had riotously consumed the store, and to fulfill his follies about building him an unnecessarie pallace in the woods had brought them all to that miserie.¹²⁷

The colonists were cheered by "the good newes of our discovery" and by the substitution of Scrivener as President. As Smith left with another party to complete his explorations

¹²⁵Ibid., 1:219.

¹²⁶Smith, "True Relation," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:97.

¹²⁷Smith, "Proceedings," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed., Barbour, 1:229.

of the Bay, he left behind many "unable to worke" due to weakness and the "heat of the yeare."

On September 10, 1608, the Presidency was given to Captain John Smith "by the election of the Councel, and request of the company" for a one-year term. Smith had just returned from his explorations finding "many dead, some sicke. . . . the harvest gathered, but the stores, provision, much spoiled with raine. Thus was that yeare (when nothing wanted) consumed and spent and nothing done . . . but only this discoverie."¹²⁸ No doubt the colonists hoped that Smith's leadership could improve these conditions. As Smith began to restore buildings and discipline at Jamestown, Captain Newport arrived with the "Second Supply" in early October 1608. Newport had instructions from the Company in London to explore over land the region west of the falls and to "crown" Powhatan. Smith objected to these projects for practical reasons:

Now was there no way to make us miserable but to neglect that time to make our provision, whilst it was to be had; the which was done to perfourme this strange discovery, but more strange coronation; to loose that time, spend that vi-ctuall we had, tire and starve our men, having no means to carry victuall, munition, the hurt or sicke, but their owne backs.¹²⁹

The Council overruled Smith, Newport proceeded with 120 men, and thus "al workes were left."¹³⁰ The outcomes of these projects were that Powhatan barely condescended to receive his "crown" and the "Monocan Country" revealed nothing particularly new or unusual.

¹²⁸Ibid., 1:233.

¹²⁹Ibid., 1:234.

¹³⁰Ibid., 1:235.

The "Second Supply" initiated a transformation of the social order at Jamestown in the fall of 1608. Among the seventy new colonists landing in Virginia with the "Second Supply" was a married woman with her husband and her female servant--"the first gentlewoman, and woman servant that arrived in our Colony;" there were now 200 English colonists in Virginia.¹³¹ Soon after Newport sailed for England, "the first marriage we had in Virginia" took place between John Laydon, a "labourer" who had arrived in Virginia as one of the "first planters" in April 1607, and Anna Burrowes, Mistress Forest's servant.¹³² The Forests and Laydons represented the first English families to make their home on Virginia soil under the Charter of 1606. The Forests were the first English family to immigrate to the Virginia Colony and the Laydons were the first English family formed in the Virginia Colony. The Forests and the Laydons thus represented the beginnings of both pre-immigration and post-immigration English family formation in the New World. The significance of integrating these two families into the social order at Jamestown was not written of by any adventurer at the time, but every male colonist without a wife in Virginia was from then on directly confronted with the absence of familial bonds in everyday life. The struggle for survival would eventually reveal the importance of family bonds for establishing a permanent English settlement.

The need for food as another winter approached forced the English to seek out corn from the Indians. The only hope of a sufficient quantity of food for the colonists seemed to come from Powhatan, who promised Smith "he would loade his shippe with

¹³¹Ibid., 1:237-38, 240-42.

¹³²Ibid, 1:207-09, 240-42.

come" in exchange for weapons, a house, and other items.¹³³ The trading journey to Powhatan's seat at Werowocomoco illustrated the insecure nature of the peace between the two peoples. Smith was forced to use all his rhetorical skills to overcome the separate attempts of both Powhatan and Opechancanough to kill the English trading parties. Despite the vulnerability of the English to Indian betrayal, the decision to trade had been simple:

Men maie thinke it strange there should be this stir for a little come, but had it been gold with more ease we might have got it; and had it wanted, the whole collonie had starved. We maie be thought verie patient, to indure all those injuries; yet onlie with fearing them, we got what they had. Whereas if we had taken revenge, then by their losse we should have lost our selvs.¹³⁴

Even though 279 bushels of corn were brought back to Jamestown, the English were nonetheless dismayed to find out that their real betrayers in these trading efforts were some of their own colonists--several "Dutch-men" sent to Powhatan to build his house. The "Dutch-men" had strengthened Powhatan with English weapons, thinking that by serving the Indians, they would be "free from those miseries that would happen the Colony."¹³⁵ Smith managed to restore the peace between the English and Indians based on the English need for provision and the Indian need to avoid conquest by English technology.¹³⁶ The balance of power between both groups served their mutual survival.

¹³³Ibid., 1:242.

¹³⁴Ibid., 1:256.

¹³⁵Ibid., 1:250.

¹³⁶Ibid., 1:258-62.

As President, Smith could address the problem of economic motivation directly. The colonists' labor for the Company was not all-consuming, since only "4 houres each day was spent in worke, the rest in pastimes and merry exercise," but apparently some were working less than others yet receiving an equal maintenance from the common store.¹³⁷ Smith stated his policy firmly:

Countrimen, the long experience of our late miseries, I hope is sufficient to perswade every one to a present correction of himselfe; and thinke not that either my pains, or the adventurers purses, will ever maintaine you in idlenesse and sloth; I speake not this to you all, for diverse of you I know deserve both honor and reward . . . but the greater part must be more industrious, or starve, howsoever you have bin heretofore tolerated by the authoritie of the Councell from that I have often commanded you, yet seeing nowe the authoritie resteth wholly in my selfe, you must obay this for a law, that he that will not worke shall not eate (except by sickness he be disabled) for the labours of 30 or 40 honest and industrious men shall not bee consumed to maintaine 150 idle varlets.¹³⁸

The industry of the colonists improved, even though threat of punishment was a major factor, and much was accomplished in the next three months--the first well dug at Jamestown "of excellent sweete water," some 20 houses built, almost 40 acres planted with helpful instruction from two Indian prisoners, plus other projects.¹³⁹

Decision to Abandon Jamestown

Three months before a hoped for harvest, food preservation once again thwarted progress at Jamestown.

In searching our casked corne, wee found it halfe rotten, the rest so consumed with the many thousand rats (increased first from the ships) that

¹³⁷Ibid., 1:258-59.

¹³⁸Ibid., 1:259.

¹³⁹Ibid., 1:263.

we knewe not how to keepe that little wee had. This did drive us all to our wits ende, for there was nothing in the countrie but what nature afforded.¹⁴⁰

Smith sent several groups of the colonists out in the country to live where food could be found, some even being "billitted among the Salvages."¹⁴¹ This crisis in the colonists' food supply required Smith to add another condition to his work policy for the 150 who continued to need external motivation to work: "since necessitie hath not power to force you to gather for your selvs those fruits the earth doth yeeld, you shall not only gather for your selves, but for those that are sicke," under threat of banishment from the colony.¹⁴² Smith's policy, coupled with the dispersal from Jamestown, resulted in a remarkable survival rate--with the exception of some who drowned, no more than ten English colonists died during the summer of 1609.¹⁴³

The underlying problem of social discontent at Jamestown was not resolved by Smith's leadership, however. Some colonists "ran away" to the Indians to avoid work at Jamestown. A number of colonists and the "Dutch-men," who had not been dislodged from the Indians, plotted an unsuccessful mutiny against Smith. The arrival of the "Third Supply" in August 1609 brought back three contentious councilors to the colony and a

lewd company, wherein were many unruly gallants packed thether by their friends to escape il destinies. . . . Happy had we bin had they never arrived; and we for ever abandoned, and (as we were) left to our fortunes,

¹⁴⁰Ibid.

¹⁴¹Ibid., 1:263-65.

¹⁴²Ibid., 1:264-65.

¹⁴³Earle discusses how Smith's policy promoted English survival, see "Environment, Disease, and Mortality," 106-08.

for on earth was never more confusion, or miserie, then their factions occasioned.¹⁴⁴

The loss at sea of the "Third Supply's" flagship with Sir Thomas Gates included a new charter and instructions for government; this loss further aggravated the social disorder at Jamestown, since the terms under which the "Third Supply" came were not known.

A new project "to plant at the falles" of the Kings River illustrates the difficulties Smith encountered in trying to command a settlement of unsettled people. Master West with 120 men began a new plantation at the falles "in a place not only subject to the rivers inundation, but round invironed with many intollerable inconveniences."¹⁴⁵ Smith discovered the situation after West had returned to Jamestown, whereupon "he sent presently to Powhatan to sell him the place called Powhatan, promising to defend him against the Monacans."¹⁴⁶ The men at "West Fort" were not only infuriated at Smith's action, they abused the Indians living near Powhatan.

That disorderlie company so tormented those poore naked soules, by stealing their corne, robbing their gardens, beating them breaking their houses, and keeping some prisoners; that they dailie complained to Captaine Smith he had brought them for protectors worse enimies then the Monacans themselves.¹⁴⁷

The Indians finally retaliated against the "West Fort" colonists and killed many of them. Smith was then able to seat a smaller, humbler group of colonists at Powhatan in "drie houses for lodgings 300 acres of grounde readie to plant, and no place so strong, so

¹⁴⁴Smith, "Proceedings," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:269.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., 1:270.

¹⁴⁶Ibid.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., 1:271.

pleasant and delightful in Virginia, for which we called it Nonsuch. The Salvages also he presentlie appeased; redelivering to every one their former losses. Thus al were friends."¹⁴⁸ But when Master West returned to the falls, the factious colonists persuaded West to abandon Nonsuch for West Fort; there Smith "left them to their fortunes" and sailed for Jamestown.

Smith's presidency ended abruptly due to a gunpowder accident which occurred during his return to Jamestown:

Accidentallie, one fired his powder bag, which tore his flesh from his bodie and thighes, 9. or 10. inches square in a most pittifull manner; but to quench the tormenting fire, frying him in his cloaths he leaped over bord into the deepe river, where ere they could recover him he was neere drownd. In this estat, without either Chirurgion, or chirurgery he was to go neare 100. miles.¹⁴⁹

Because Jamestown lacked a skilled physician or "chirurgion" and he was in such pain, Smith decided to go back to London in the ships which had brought the "Third Supply." Several groups then began falsely accusing Smith to avoid responsibility for their offenses in the colony, including "the mutiners at the Falles" and the "dutch-men;" others of "the honorable and better sort of our Virginian adventurers" understood that the loss of Smith's leadership was a threat to their survival.¹⁵⁰

As the fleet prepared to leave Jamestown in October 1609, Master Percy was the new president of some "490 and odde persons" well-stocked with all necessities for life in an infant colony--

¹⁴⁸Ibid.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., 1:272.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., 1:272-75.

3 ships, 7 boates, commodities ready to trade, the harvest newly gathered, 10 weekes provision in the store, . . . 24 peeeces of ordinances, 300 muskets, snaphances and fire lockes, shot, powder, and match sufficient, curats, pikes, swords, and moryons more then men: the Salvages their language and habitations wel knowne to 100 well trained and expert souldiers; nets for fishing, tooles of all sortes to worke, apparell to supply our wants, 6 mares and a horse, 5 or 600 swine, as many hens and chickens; some goates, some sheep.¹⁵¹

But the winter of 1609/10 would mark one of the darkest hours of English settlement in Virginia. First of all, "the Salvages no sooner understood of Captaine Smiths losse, but they all revolted, and did murder and spoile all they could incounter."¹⁵² Consequently, West Fort and another settlement were attacked and dispersed by the Indians. Two trading parties were rebuffed by the Indians; one party of "Ratliffe and his men were most slaine by Powhatan, those that escaped returned neare starved" so that "now for corne, provision, and contribution from the Salvages; wee had nothing but mortall wounds with clubs and arrowes."¹⁵³ The English, due to the loss of Smith's diplomacy, were now forced to regard the Indians as threats rather than partners in survival.

Social and political disorder combined with careless consumption to deplete the colony's provision to such a degree that the winter of 1609/10 would be known in the annals of Virginia as "the starving time."¹⁵⁴ Without the new charter for government and President Percy "so sicke he could not goe nor stand," the colonists were subjected

¹⁵¹Ibid., 1:273.

¹⁵²Ibid., 1:275.

¹⁵³Ibid.

¹⁵⁴See especially George Percy, "'A Trewe Relacyon': Virginia from 1609 to 1612," Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine, 3 (1922):259-82.

to "20 Presidents with all their appurtenances."¹⁵⁵ There is no record that any substantial fishing or fowling was pursued by the colonists under this multiplicity of leaders, instead "they regarded nothing but from hand to mouth, to consume that we had."¹⁵⁶ What was had, "our hogs, hens, goats, sheep, horse, or what lived, our commanders and officers did daily consume them, some small proportions (sometimes) we tasted till all was devoured."¹⁵⁷ Apparently early in the winter, the demands of almost 500 colonists for food exceeded necessity and became wasteful; as a result, in a little over six months, the number of English colonists was reduced to "not many more then 60. most miserable and poore creatures."¹⁵⁸ One survivor's stark conclusion reveals much about this human ecological disaster at Jamestown:

It were to vild [or vile] to say what we endured; but the occasion was only our owne, for want of providence, industrie, and government, and not the barrenesse and defect of the countrie, as is generally supposed . . . yet now had we beene in Paradiſe it ſelfe (with thoſe gover-nours) it would not have been much better with us, yet was there ſome amongst us, who had they had the government, would ſurely have kept us from thoſe extremities of miſeries, that in 10 daies more would have ſupplanted us all by death.¹⁵⁹

When the lost party of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Sommers "miraculously" arrived from the Bermudas in May 1610, the few remaining colonists had given up on the struggle for survival and could only plead to be taken back to England. Thus, after only

¹⁵⁵Smith, "Proceedings," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:275.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 1:273.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 1:275.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 1:276.

¹⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 1:276.

three years, the English Adventurers abandoned Jamestown--another unsuccessful attempt to found an English colony in the New World.

CHAPTER 4

FOUNDING OF HENRICO: ERA OF THE ANCIENT PLANTERS, 1609-1618

The abandonment of Jamestown in June 1610 implied the failure of a pivotal effort to strengthen and reform the colony, a project which began late in 1608/09; it also exemplified the factor geographic distance played in early English colonization. While the Adventurers in Virginia had been struggling to survive in a new environment, the Adventurers in London had not been idle in response to their troubles. Unfortunately, the "Third Supply" did not arrive intact at Jamestown in August 1609; no reforms could be implemented and the unreformed elements of English colonial policy were subsequently magnified in the disastrous winter of 1609/10.

A Second Charter and a Promise of Land

Records of the major reforms intended for the Virginia colony date to February 1608/09 with the publication of Nova Britannia, a treatise delivered at a meeting of "some few adventurers" by one of those present.¹ The author of Nova Britannia addressed the Adventurers in the midst of debate concerning whether to continue the colony in Virginia,

¹[Robert Johnson?], "Nova Britannia: Offering Most Excellent fruites by Planting in Virginia," 1609, in Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origins, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, comp. Peter Force, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1836-1847; reprt. ed., Gloucester, Ma: Peter Smith, 1963), vol. 1, no. 6, pp. 1-28.

by "observing your sufficient reasons answering all objections, and your constant resolution to go on in our Plantation."² The Adventurers were already drafting a new charter designed to resolve many of the problems of the colony, one being the problem of sufficient support. The involvement of more people in the Virginia undertaking, both in purse and person, was considered necessary for success:

Howsoever the businesse of this plantation hath beene formerly miscarried, yet it is now going on in better way, not enterprised by one or two private subject, who in their greatnesse of minde, sought to compasse that, which rather be seemed a mighty Prince (such as ours) or the whole State to take in hand: for it is not unknowne to you all, how many Noble men of Honourable mindes, how many worthy Knights, Merchants, and others of the best disposition, are now joyned together in one Charter, to receive equall priviledges, according to their several adventures: every man engaging his purse, and some Noble-men, Knights and Gentlemen, intending to goe in their owne persons.³

For the "Firste Colonie" of Virginia under the First Charter of 1606, only four individuals were named as recipients; under the Second Charter of 1609, 650 individuals and 56 companies of London tradesmen and craftsmen were named.⁴ The new reforms attempted to make the Virginia colony an enterprise of the whole English nation directed by the new Virginia Company of London.

Recruiting Planters and Adventurers for Virginia

The Virginia Company, having concluded that "two things are especially required herein, people to make the plantation, and money to furnish our present prouisions and

²Ibid., p. 5.

³Ibid., p. 10.

⁴"The Second Charter," 23 May 1609, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 28-42.

shippings now in hand," formulated a practical plan to elicit investment in Virginia.⁵

Two types of investment distinguished between two types of participants in the colony:

"Wee call those Planters that goe in their persons to dwell there: And those Adventurers that adventure their money and go not in person, and both doe make the members of one Colonie."⁶ Both Planters and Adventurers were considered equal in terms of their investment. For those who adventured their money,

we do account twelve pound ten shillings to be a single share adventured. Every ordinary man or woman, if they will goe and dwell there, and every childe above tenne yeares, that shall be carried thither to remaine, shall be allowed for each of their persons a single share, as if they had adventured twelve pound ten shillings in money.⁷

Planters and Adventurers would receive equivalent rewards--a parcel of land for every person or share of money adventured at the end of seven years, or around 1616.⁸ In 1609, land rather than money was the only sure practical reward the Virginia Company could promise. Particularly for the Planters who risked their lives to make a plantation in Virginia, the promise of land would come to represent survival and a continuing source of life.

The indirect relationship between the Planters' survival and the land still remained much the same, however, since the policy of a "joint stock" plan for supplying provisions

⁵[Johnson], "Nova Britannia," 1609, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 1, no. 6, p. 19.

⁶Ibid., p. 23.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., pp. 23-24.

to the Planters and returning marketable commodities to the Adventurers did not undergo reform in 1609.

All charges of setting and maintaining the Plantation, and of making supplies, shall be borne in a joint stock of the adventurers for seven yeares after the date of our new enlargement: during which time there shall be no adventure, nor goods returned in private from thence, . . . that as we supplie from hence to the Planters at our owne charge all necessaries for food and apparel, for fortifying and building of houses in a joynt stock, so they are also to returne from thence the encrease and fruits of their labours, for the use and advancement of the same joynt stocke, till the end of seven yeares.⁹

The seven year joint stock plan for labor and reward coincided with the proposed land divisions amongst the Planters and Adventurers, during which time the Planters were not only to become self-sustaining but also to

be in such hope to have their owne shares and habitations in those lands, which they have so husbanded, that it will cause contending and emulation among them, which shall bring forth the most profitable and beneficiall fruites for the joynt stocke.¹⁰

The Virginia Company assumed that the mere promise of land would improve the economic motivation of the Planters, even though provisions and the amount of land rewarded would be the same whether a Planter was lazy or hard-working.

Recruitment of Planters and Adventurers for Virginia was carried out on a much larger scale than under the First Charter. Sermons were preached for the cause of Virginia and broadsides describing the terms of compensation for those who became Planters in Virginia were published. In February 1608/09, the Virginia Company invited

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 26.

"all workmen . . . men as well as women, who have any occupation, who wish to go out in this voyage for colonizing the country with people," to register at "the house of Sir Thomas Smith, who is Treasurer of this Colony," on Filpot Lane in London.¹¹

According to the broadside, everybody who adventured in person to Virginia

will have houses to live in, vegetable-gardens and orchards, and also food and clothing at the expense of the Company of that Island, and besides this, they will have a share of all the products and the profits that may result from their labor, each in proportion, and they will also secure a share in the division of the land for themselves and their heirs forever more.¹²

The Lord Mayor of London as well as various tradesmen and craftsmen companies in the city were requested to help find Planters for Virginia; in one letter, the promise of land in return for labor was given more detail in a familial context:

a possession of lands to them and their posterity, one hundred acres for every man's person that hath a trade, or a body able to endure day labour, as much for his wief, as much for his child, that are of yeres to do service to the Colony, with further particular reward according to their particular meritts and industry.¹³

All Planters in Virginia, whether "private man" or "private family," were essentially recruited as dependent employees of the Virginia Company--dependent on decisions made 3,000 miles away by the Adventurers in London who controlled the purse of the plantation.

¹¹"Broadside Concerning Virginia," prior to 5 March [1609], in Genesis of the United States, ed. Alexander Brown (Boston, MA: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1891), 1:248.

¹²*Ibid.*, 1:249.

¹³"The Council of Virginia to the Lord Mayor of London," [prior to 20 March 1609], in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:253.

Planters and Adventurers did not respond to recruitment appeals by the Virginia Company solely in economic terms; much more was at stake in Virginia than economic betterment and profit. A religious and national vision for English colonization of America was forcefully preached by a number of ministers in 1609 to move the hearts of the English people towards the New World.¹⁴ The success of such appeals to support the Virginia colony is most revealing in a letter from the Spanish Ambassador to England, Don Pedro Zuniga, to King Philip III of Spain:

There has been gotten together in 20 days a sum of money for this voyage which amazes one; among fourteen Counts and Barons they have given 40.000 ducats, the Merchants give much more, and there is no poor, little man nor woman, who is not willing to subscribe something for this enterprise They have printed a book which I also send Y.M. in which they call that country New Britain and in which they publish that for the increase of their religion and that it may extend over the whole world, it is right that all should support this Colony with their person and their property. . . . I confess to Y.M. that I write this with indignation, because I see the people are mad about this affair and shameless.¹⁵

English colonization embraced the whole of English culture and in 1609 the English were a religious people still imbued with the fervor of the Protestant Reformation.

¹⁴See discussion by John Parker, "Religion and the Virginia Colony, 1609-10," in The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650, ed. K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny, and P. E. H. Hair (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 245-70. Also see Perry Miller, "The Religious Impulse in the Founding of Virginia: Religion and Society in the Early Literature," William and Mary Quarterly 3d ser., 5 (October 1948):492-522; Perry Miller, "Religion and Society in the Early Literature: The Religious Impulse in the Founding of Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly 3d ser., 6 (January 1949):24-41. These two Miller articles were subsequently reprinted in Perry Miller, Errand Into the Wilderness (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1956) 99-140.

¹⁵"Zuniga to Philip III," 5 March 1609, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:245-46.

Two sermons are exemplary of the expansion of religious vision for Virginia which occurred with the formation of the new Virginia Company of London. In "Virginia Brittania," William Symonds referred to Genesis, which "conteineth the story of the Creation and Plantation of heaven and earth with convenient inhabitants," to justify the English plantation of Virginia.¹⁶ Just as "the Lord had said unto Abram, get thee out of thy Countrey, and from thy Kindred, and from thy father's house, unto the land that I will shew thee. And I will make thee a great nation, and will blesse thee," so the English were to go from England to America to make "a Christian Plantation" and become a great nation.¹⁷ Robert Gray, in "A Good Speed to Virginia," anchored his justification for the Virginia plantation in the biblical text of Joshua 17:14, wherein "the children of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, why hast thou give me but one lot, and one portion to inherite, seeing I am a great people?"¹⁸ Gray argued that because "the Lord hath blessed us, and we are growne to be a great people, so that one lot is not sufficient for us," the English would be "imprudent and improvident" not to adventure to Virginia in order "to inlarge their borders" as the children of Joseph had sought more land for their multitudes.¹⁹ English expansion was spiritual as well as physical, Gray explained--a

¹⁶William Symonds, "Virginea Brittania," May 1609, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:287.

¹⁷Ibid., citing Genesis 12:1-3.

¹⁸Robert Gray, "A Good Speed to Virginia," May 1609, in Early Accounts of Life in Colonial Virginia, 1609-1613, ed. Wesley F. Craven (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1976), B.

¹⁹Ibid., B2-B3.

means for the gospel of Christ to be preached to the savages.²⁰ As such, members of the Virginia Company were God's "instruments for the inlarging of his Church militant heere upon earth."²¹

The exhortation of these and other preachers was reflected in the Virginia Company's acknowledgment of "the conversion of the natives to the knowledge and worship of the true God and their redeemer Christ Jesus, as the most pious and noble end of this plantacion."²² The Virginia Company expected all other motives of the Planters and Adventurers to be subsumed under the nobility of a religious one. Furthermore, to effect the conversion of the Indians, the colonists "must procure from them some convenient number of their children to be brought up in your language and manners."²³ The enemies of the Virginia Company's spiritual mission in Virginia were clearly identified--the Indian priests, considered "murtherers of soules and sacrificers of God's images to the divill."²⁴ The colonists were to find some way to remove these priests from their Indian tribes because "while they live amoung them to poison and infecte them their mindes, you shall never make any great progres into this glorious worke, nor have any civill peace or concurre with them."²⁵ As Robert Gray had sermonized,

²⁰Ibid., C-C3.

²¹Ibid., A3.

²²Virginia Council, "Instruccions to Sr Thomas Gates," May 1609, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 57.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid., 58.

²⁵Ibid.

America for the English in the Virginia Company was a kind of Christian "Canaan" where spiritual conflict was inevitable because Indian "idolatry" competed with worship of the true God. The Company's efforts to recruit planters and adventurers for Virginia thus reached across the whole body of English Protestant culture to find the men and women needed "to go on in our plantation."²⁶

Changes in Government

On May 23, 1609, King James I signed the Second Charter of Virginia which represented "a further enlargement and explanacion of the said graunte, priviledge and liberties" given in the First Charter of 1606. The Second Charter authorized the Planters and Adventurers to become "one bodie or communaltie perpetuall . . . called and incorporated by the name of The Tresorer and Companie of Adventurers and Planters of the Citty of London for the Firste Collonie in Virginia."²⁷ The southern colony of Virginia now had its own charter and could enjoy the same land rights as "heretofore graunted to anie companie, bodie pollitique or corporate" under letters patent from the King.²⁸ The government of the colony was transferred from the King to a Council made up of members of the Virginia Company who would then appoint a governor and other officers to replace the former president and council. To deal with political disorders among the colonists, the "principall governour" of the colony was granted "full power and

²⁶See, for instance, discussion by Christopher Hill, "Protestantism and the Rise of Capitalism," in Change and Continuity in Seventeen-Century England (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), 81-102.

²⁷"The Second Charter," 23 May 1609, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 42.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 43.

auctoritie to use and exercise marshall lawe in cases of rebellion or mutiny in as large and ample manner as oure leiutenant in oure counties within our realme of England."²⁹

Like the First Charter, the Second Charter reaffirmed the grant of English "privileges, franchises, liberties and immunities" to the colonists in Virginia and expressed that "the principall effect which wee cann desier or expect of this action is the conversion and reduccion of the people in those partes unto the true worshipp of God and Christian religion."³⁰ The Second Charter was designed to allow greater self-government on the part of the Virginia Adventurers in order to initiate reforms necessary for basic survival and greater stability among the Virginia Planters.

The Virginia Company's instructions to Sir Thomas Gates, the new governor of Virginia appointed under the Second Charter, clarify the major reforms to be attempted in the colony. The form of government was changed from a President and Council that could overrule the President to a Governor and Council that "shall not have, single nor together, anie bindinge or negative voice or power" upon the Governor's decisions.³¹ Disorder among the Planters was to be remedied by the application of martial law and the principles of equity if necessary.

You shall for capitall and criminal justice in case of rebellion and mutiny and in all such cases of [provident (?)] necessity, proceede by martiall lawe accordinge to your comission as of most dispatch and terror and fittest for this governement; and in all other causes of that nature as also in all matters of civill justice, you shall finde it properest and usefulest for

²⁹Ibid., 52.

³⁰Ibid., 53, 54.

³¹Virginia Council, "Instruccions to Sr Thomas Gates," May 1609, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 57.

your governement to proceede rather as a chauncelor than as a judge, rather uppon the naturall right and equity then uppon the nicenes and lettre of the lawe.³²

To improve economic discipline, the Planters were to be divided into groups and supervised by overseers who would give an account of their work and provisions to the governor.³³ The Virginia Company also ordered that Jamestown was no longer to be the central settlement site of the colony "because the place is unwholsome and but in the marish of Virginia, and to keepe it onely as a fitt porte for your shippes;" rather, a new "principall residence and seate" should be chosen "above the over falles of the Kinges River . . . whither no enemy with ease can approache."³⁴ Thus the reforms initiated by the Second Charter addressed some of the critical person and environment issues which threatened the early viability of the English colony in America, even though these arrived too late to prevent the terrible mortality at Jamestown in the winter of 1609/10.

Virginia's first "absolute Governor," Sir Thomas Gates, left England in June 1609 with a "large supply of five hundred men, with some number of families, of wife, children and Servants, to take fast holde and roote in that land."³⁵ Gates' fleet of "seven ships and two pinnaces" was broken up by a "terrible tempest" in late July so that only seven vessels with some 400 persons arrived in Virginia in August and September of

³²Ibid., 58.

³³Ibid., 65.

³⁴Ibid., 59, 60.

³⁵"A True and Sincere Declaration," December 1609, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:342.

1609.³⁶ The other two ships, including the flagship pinnace with Governor Gates, and 140 men and women were shipwrecked and forced to spend the winter in the Bermuda Islands. After building two

small Barks, to carie our people to Virginia, Wee departed from the Bermooda the 10. of Maie and arived in Virginia the 23. of the same monethe, and cominge to Cape Henrie . . . the Captaine thare tould us of the famen that was in James Towne whereupon wee hastened up and found it true: for they had eaten all the quick things that weare there and some of them had eaten snakes or adders.³⁷

Only 60 out of almost 500 colonists had survived the winter. Jamestown was in no better condition than the colonists: "it appeared raither as the ruins of some auntient [for]tification, then that any people living might now in habit it."³⁸ Since there were not enough provisions at Jamestown or on Gates' ships to feed everyone more than 16 days, it was agreed "to abandon the countrie and . . . with all speed convenient to make for the New-found-land, where it being then fishing time, they might meete with many English ships, into which happily, they might disperce most of the Company." Gates' last task was to prevent the bitter colonists from burning Jamestown before they sailed down the King's River June 7, 1610.³⁹

The next morning, however, the colonists discovered three new ships from England near Point Comfort bringing Lord De La Warr and a year's supply of provisions,

³⁶Ibid., 1:345-47.

³⁷"Somers to Salisbury," 15 June 1610, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:401.

³⁸"Council in Virginia to the Virginia Company," 7 July 1610, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:405.

³⁹Ibid., 406.

the sight of "which made our heartes very glad and wee presentlie retourned up to James Towne."⁴⁰ For the Adventurers and Planters of Virginia, the arrival of Gates and De La Warr was not merely coincidence, but represented "Gods infinite providence:"

If God had not sent Sir Thomas Gates from the Bermudos within foure daies, they had all beene famished If they had set Saile sooner, and had lanced into the vast Ocean, who could have promised, that they should have encountered the Fleet of the Lo. La-Ware? If the Lord La-ware had not brought with him a yeares provision, what comfort could those soules have received, to haue beene relanded to a second destruction? Brachium Domini, this was the arme of the Lord of Hosts, who would have his people to passe the redde Sea and Wildernesse, and then to possesse the land of Canaan.⁴¹

Once the colonists were back in Jamestown, Lord De La Warre succeeded Sir Thomas Gates as governor of Virginia--the Virginia Company being uncertain of Gates' fate after news of his shipwreck reached England in late 1609.⁴² La Warre's instructions for government were similar to those given to Gates, and, with the threat of starvation assuaged, La Warre was able to begin implementing the reforms intended for the English colony a year earlier.⁴³ Like the Adventurers in London, the Planters in Virginia overcame their despair and now resolved to go on in their plantation.

⁴⁰"Somers to Salisbury," 15 June 1610, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:401; John Smith, "Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles . . .," 1624, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 2:233-35.

⁴¹"A True Declaration of the Estate of the colonie in Virginia . . .," 1610, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 19.

⁴²"A True and Sincere Declaration," December 1609, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:348-50.

⁴³Virginia Council. "Instruction, Orders and Constitucions . . . to . . . Sir Thomas West, Knight, Lord La Warr," 1609/10, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 70-75.

Dealing With Social Disorder and Subsistence

When Lord De La Warr arrived as governor of Virginia in June 1610, he was prepared to act on two lingering problems in the colony--social disorder and subsistence. The Virginia Company had previously evaluated the difficulties encountered by the first two supplies and concluded that a change in the form of government would resolve both of these seemingly interrelated issues.⁴⁴ Between the sending of Sir Thomas Gates and Lord De La Warr, however, the Company in London began to reevaluate the problem of social disorder in Virginia as a problem which was not just an outcome of poor civil government. Specifically, the English theory of sending England's excess population to "people" a colony in the New World needed revision.

One of the many arguments for colonization put forth by Richard Hakluyt the younger in 1584 was that colonization would solve England's overpopulation problem.⁴⁵ For Hakluyt, overpopulation was evidenced by high unemployment or the presence of "multitudes of loyterers and idle vagabondes" which was detrimental to the well-being of the state.

Truthe it is that throughe our longe peace and seldome sicknes (twoo singuler blessinges of almightie god) wee are growen more populous than ever heretofore: So that nowe there are of every arte and science so many, that they can hardly lyve one by another, nay rather they are readie to eate upp one another: yea many thousandes of idle persons are wthin this Realme, wch havinge no way to be sett on worke be either mutinous and seeke alteration in the state, or at leaste very burdensome to the common

⁴⁴See "A True and Sincere Declaration," December 1609, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:341-45.

⁴⁵"Discourse of Western Planting," 1584, in Writings of the Two Richard Hakluyts, ed. Taylor, 2:211, 233-39.

wealthe, and often fall to pilferinge and thevinge and other lewdnes, whereby all the prisons of the lande are daily pestred and stuffed full of them, where either they pitifully pyne awaye, or els at lengthe are miserably hanged.⁴⁶

An English colony in the New World would provide enough work for all of the nation's unemployed. In early 1609, Nova Britannia reiterated Hakluyt's argument for sending unemployed "people to make the plantation":

Our land abounding with swarmes of idle persons, which having no meanes of labour to releeve their misery, doe likewise swarme in lewd and naughtie practises, so that if we seeke not some waies for their forreine employment, wee must provide shortly more prisons and corrections for their bad conditions.⁴⁷

England's unemployed were further described as "superfluous twigs that suck away . . . nourishment," those who were "pestering the land with pestilence and penury, and infecting one another with vice and villanie, worse then the plague it selfe," the "unsound members" of the nation.⁴⁸ Employment in the Virginia plantation would supposedly reform this undesirable element in England's population.

Recruitment of Virginia planters to sail with Sir Thomas Gates in 1609 under the Second Charter had incorporated these views of sending "excess" population to the colony. The Virginia Company wrote to the Lord Mayor of London for financial support in March 1608/09, stating that the Company, being

desirous to ease the city and suburbs of a swarme of unnecessary inmates, as a contynual cause of dearth and famine, and the very originall cause of all the Plagues that happen in this Kingdome, have advised your Lordshipp

⁴⁶Ibid., 2:234.

⁴⁷[Johnson?], "Nova Britannia," 1609, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 1, no. 6, p. 19.

⁴⁸Ibid.

and your Brethren in a case of state, to make some voluntary contribucon for their remove into this Plantation of Virginia, which wee understand you all seemeth to like as an action pleasing to God and happy for this Comon Wealth.⁴⁹

Later in 1609, the Company declared that the second of three main ends for the Virginia plantation was to protect

our gratious King and his Estates . . . by transplanting the rancknesse and multitude of increase in our people; of which there is left no vent, but age; and evident danger that the number and infinitenesse of them, will out-grow the matter, whereon to worke for their life and sustentation, and shall one infest and become a burthen to another. But by this provision they may be seated as a Bulwarke of defence, in a place of advantage.⁵⁰

There were no qualifications necessary for becoming a Virginia planter in 1609. The Virginia Company sought anybody who agreed to labor for the colony and trusted that the new form of government established under the new charter of 1609 would reduce the disorder at Jamestown to a settled plantation.

The high hopes of the Virginia Company for Sir Thomas Gates and the Third Supply sent to Virginia were shattered by late November 1609. Gates was lost at sea, the new planters were landed at Jamestown without a governor or charter, "two of the ships returning home perished upon the point of Ushant, the rest of the fleet came ship after ship, laden with nothing but bad reports and letters of discouragement" for the English Adventurers.⁵¹ Word of dissensions in Virginia spread from Englishman to Englishman

⁴⁹"The Council of Virginia to the Lord Mayor of London," prior to 20 March 1609, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:252.

⁵⁰"A True and Sincere Declaration," December 1609, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:340.

⁵¹"The New Life of Virginea: Declaring the former successe and present estate of that plantation, Being the Second part of Nova Britannia," 1612, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 1, no. 7, p. 10.

and John Smith, now in England, could give detailed description of the behavior of certain disorderly members of the Third Supply: "To, 1000 mischiefes those lewd Captaines led this lewd company wherein were many unruly gallants packed thether by their friends to escape il destinies."⁵² The difficulties experienced by Smith, a strong and experienced leader, in disciplining the Third Supply no doubt provoked the Virginia Company to reconsider their evaluation of social disorder in the colony as more than a problem of civil government.

A published broadside indicates that the Virginia Company quickly revised their theory of "peopling" the colony before recruiting the planters to be sent with Lord De La Warr to Virginia in 1610:

And for that former experience hath too dearely taught, how much and manie waies it hurteth to suffer Parents to disburden themselves of lascivious sonnes, masters of bad servants and wives of ill husbands, and so to clogge the businesse with such an idle crue, as did thrust themselves in the last voiage, that will rather starve for hunger, than lay their hands to labor.

It is therefore resolved, that no such unnecessary person shall now be accepted, but only such sufficient, honest and good artificers.⁵³

Furthermore, an "Appendix" was added to the Company's tract, "A True and Sincere Declaration," which presented minimal requirements for becoming a Virginia Planter:

And to avoyde both the scandall and peril of accepting idle and wicked persons; such as shame, or fear compels into this action; and such as are the weedes and ranknesse of this land . . . we will receive no man that

⁵²See "John Beaulieu to William Trumbull," 30 November 1609, in Jamestown Voyages, ed. Barbour, 2:287-88; Smith, "Proceedings," 1608, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:269.

⁵³"A Broadside by the Council," 1610, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:355.

cannot bring or render some good testimony of his religion to God, and civil manners and behaviour to his neighbour, with whom he hath lived.⁵⁴

This Appendix also listed 34 different types of skilled laborers needed for the plantation and the number sought for each skill. The Virginia Company subsequently published that the "unnecessarie" individuals of England's population were the most "unserviceable" persons for establishing a plantation.⁵⁵ The failure of one English colonial theory in the Virginia environment had fortunately resulted in a significant revision of colonial policy.

The Virginia Company also made subsistence a higher priority in Lord De La Warr's instructions than in Gates' instructions. Subsistence--"buildinge, husbandry and manuringe the countrey for the provision of life and conveniency"--is mentioned last in Gates' general instructions, as a preface to a discussion of "foure principall waies of enrichinge the colonies and providinge returne of commodity."⁵⁶ When writing De La Warr's instructions several months later, the Virginia Company decided to make subsistence the first priority once De La Warr had established himself as the new governor.

After your Lordship is settled in your government, we thinke it very behofefull that you employ soe many of your people as shalbe needfull in sowing, setting and plantinge of corne and such rootes for foode as you for your better provision, sustentacion and maintennance shall thinke meete to be planted.⁵⁷

⁵⁴"True and Sincere Declaration," December 1609, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:352-53.

⁵⁵"A Broadside by the Council," 1610, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:439.

⁵⁶Virginia Council, "Instruccions to Sr Thomas Gates," in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 66-67.

⁵⁷Virginia Council, "Instructions to Lord La Warr," 1609/10, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 72.

Again, John Smith probably emphasized the need for the colonists to cultivate their own food, given the struggles to procure corn from the Indians, the length of the supply line between England and Virginia, and the tendency of some colonists to gather food only when compelled by force. The new discipline of martial law would also require the colonists to become more diligent in meeting their own subsistence needs.

Changing Practice: "seeke sustenance first"

Lord De La Warr landed at Jamestown June 10, 1610 with 150 new planters and took command as governor of the colony. He found Jamestown to be "a verie noysome and unholosome place occasioned much bie the mortalitie and Idlenes of our owne people"⁵⁸ and thereupon "delivered some few wordes unto the Company, laying some blames on them for many vanities and their idlenes, earnestly wishing that I might no more find it so, least I should be compeld to drawe the sworde of Justice, to cut off[f] such delinquents."⁵⁹ The "first care" of De La Warr and his new Council in Virginia was to assess the need for provisions; they soon discovered there was no meat to be had in the colony.

It did not appeare unto us that any kind of flesh, deere, or what els, of what kind could be recovered from the Indians, or to be sought in the countrey by us; and our people, together with the Indians (not to friend), had the last winter destroyed and kild up all our hoggs, insomuch as of five or six hundred (as it is supposed), there was not above one sow, that we can heare of, left alive; not a henn nor chick in the forte (and our

⁵⁸"De La Warr to Salisbury," received September 1610, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:415.

⁵⁹"Council in Virginia to the Virginia Company," 7 July 1610 in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:407.

horses and mares they had eaten with the first); and the provision which we had brought concerning any kind of flesh was little or nothing.⁶⁰

Since the lack of meat was considered critical, Sir George Somers was sent back to the Bermudas on June 19 to "fetch 6 monthes provision of flesh and fish, and some live hoggs."⁶¹ With the anticipation of Somers' return, the prospect of a large harvest, and the supplies De La Warr brought from England, the colonists no longer feared starvation.

The Virginia planters, now unified under De La Warr's government, began diligently "labouring in the Woods and grounds; every man knoweth his charge, and dischargeth the same with alacritie."⁶² As under Smith's presidency, the schedule for common labor was light--the planters worked from six to ten in the morning and from two to four in the afternoon. The only major disruptions in the plantation routine were the usual diseases, afflicting as many as 150 persons at a time. Lord De La Warr in particular was continually disabled by various illnesses such that in March 1610/11 he was forced to return to England to recover his health.⁶³ Despite his poor health, some major improvements were achieved in the Virginia colony under De La Warr's leadership. De La Warr reported he "left much ground in part manured to receive corne, having caused it the last Winter to be sowed for rootes with which our people were greatly

⁶⁰Ibid., 1:408.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Smith, "Generall Historie," 1624, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 2:235.

⁶³"Council in Virginia to the Virginia Company," 7 July 1610, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:412; see "De La Warr's Relation," 1611, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:478-80.

releeved."⁶⁴ Cattle had been brought into the colony and were thriving, providing meat as well as milk--"milke being a great nourishment and refreshing to our people, serving also in (occasion) as well for physicke as for Food."⁶⁵ Though a new town was not planted, two new forts were built near Point Comfort and one fort set up "at the Falle, upon an Island invironed also with Corne ground."⁶⁶ Trade with the Indians had once again been established, but strategically with "Patomack" instead of Powhatan "who still remains our enemy."⁶⁷ Most importantly, the planters seemed to have acquired the subsistence and cooperation skills necessary to avoid another winter of starvation in the Virginia environment.

The Leadership of Sir Thomas Dale

The reforms intended for Virginia under the Second Charter of 1609 were initiated but not completed by either Sir Thomas Gates or Lord De La Warr. Sir Thomas Dale, whom the Virginia Company had decided would assume the office of "Marshall" in Virginia by the spring of 1610/11, eventually proved to be the leader the Virginia Company needed to put their reforms into practice.⁶⁸ The Adventurers in London were

⁶⁴"De La Warr's Relation," 1611, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:482.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 1:481.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 1:482.

⁶⁸Dale had been chosen as Marshall before La Warr sailed for Virginia; see Virginia Council, "Instructions to Lord La Warr," 1609/10, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 72.

much discouraged by Lord De La Warr's return to England in ill health. They soon realized

yet had we left one sparke of hope unquencht, for before wee knew any such thing of his Lordships weaknesse, or once imagined his returning home, we had furnisht out Sir Thomas Dale with a good supplie of three ships, men, cattell, and many provisions: all which arived safe at the Colonie the 10. of May 1611.⁶⁹

When Dale landed his ships in Virginia crowded with 300 new planters, some 100 cattle, 200 hogs, "and great abundance of victual and furniture,"⁷⁰ he discovered that De La Warr had gone back to England leaving a commission for Dale "to governe as his Deputy in the Interim" until Sir Thomas Gates could assume the governorship once again.⁷¹ Dale's leadership, whether as Deputy Governor or Marshall or both, would impact the Virginia colony directly for the next five years.

Sir Thomas Dale lost no time beginning the two major projects assigned to him by the Virginia Company: to achieve "the end which we have now proposed concerning the perpetual subsistence of the Colony" and to find a "convenient new seat to rayse a principall Towne according to my directions."⁷² Dale first discovered that a permanent subsistence goal for the colony was hampered by "many omissions of necessary duties,"

⁶⁹"New Life of Virginea," 1612, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 1, no. 7, pp. 11-12.

⁷⁰"Sandys to Mayor of Sandwich," 21 March 1610/11, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:462; Ralph Hamor, A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia, 1615, reprint from the London edition with an introduction by A. L. Rowse, (Richmond: The Virginia State Library, 1957), 26.

⁷¹"Dale to the Council," 25 May 1611, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:490; "De La Warr's Relation," 1611, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:480.

⁷²"Dale to the Council," 25 May 1611, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:490, 491.

the most obvious being that there was no corn yet planted at the forts near Point Comfort nor at Jamestown, only "some few seeds put into a private garden or Two."⁷³ The planters still "were not so provident, though once before bitten with hunger and pennury, as to put come into the gound for their winters bread, but trusted to the store, then furnished but with eight months provisio[n]."⁷⁴ Dale quickly organized the planters so that a good crop of corn could be set in the ground and harvested before winter. "Private gardens for each man" as well as "common gardens for hemp and flaxe and such other seeds" were laid out for cultivation.⁷⁵ Happily, all the livestock left in the colony at De La Warr's departure ("cattle, cows, goats, swine, Poultry &c") were found "to be well and carefully on all hands preserved and all in good plight and likeing."⁷⁶ The English colonists appeared to be much better herdsmen than planters in the Spring of 1611.

Dale perceived, however, that the neglect of planting was not entirely the planters' fault, but had to do with conflicting orders sent from England. For instance, Dale found letters sent to De La Warr by a committee of the Virginia Company indicating that

a plantation being not the full and utmost intention resolved on, or so advised from home; but rather the search after those mines which Faldoe the Helvetian, had given intelligence of in England, and which his Lordship was intreated unto by the Committees letters.⁷⁷

⁷³Ibid., 1:491.

⁷⁴Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 26.

⁷⁵"Dale to the Council," 25 May 1611, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:492.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid., 1:490.

Over two years before, John Smith objected to orders given to Captain Newport which prevented the colonists from getting their provisions from the land at the opportune time. The differing needs of the planters in Virginia and the adventurers in London had also been clearly expressed in a previous letter sent to England:

You that be adventurers, must pardon us, if you find not returne of Commodity so ample as you may expect, because the law of nature bids us seeke sustenance first, and then to labour to content you afterwards.⁷⁸

The subsistence and profit motives of the members of the Virginia Company required a proper balance in order for the colony to survive. Geographic distance would not always distinguish between those motivated by profit and those motivated by subsistence; in the Virginia planters the two motives would become mixed as the colony developed.

Henrico Town

Plans for the new town in Virginia were set in motion on May 21, 1611, when Dale met with the Council in Virginia "where we positively determined with God's grace (after the Cornes setting at the Princes Forts) to go up unto the Falls ward to search and advise upon a seate for a new Towne."⁷⁹ The colonists at Jamestown were assigned the task of making "pales, posts and railes to impaile [Dale's] purposed new Towne" while Dale explored the Nansemond and King's rivers with 100 men in order to seek the best place for the town.⁸⁰ The ideal spot seemed to be upon "a high land invironed with the

⁷⁸"Letter of Gabriel Archer," 31 August 1609, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:331.

⁷⁹"Dale to the Council," 25 May 1611, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:492. Forts Charles and Henry near Point Comfort were named for Princes Charles and Henry, sons of King James I.

⁸⁰Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 26-27.

mayn River, som sixteene or twentie miles, from the head of the Fals, neere to an Indian Towne called Arsahattocke."⁸¹ There a palisade could easily be constructed to protect the town "from the mallice and trechery of the Indians, in the midst and hart of whom, [Dale] was resolved to set downe."⁸² In August, Dale wrote back to England that he had "surveied a convenient strong, healthie and sweete seate to plant a new Towne in (according as I had in my instructions upon my departure) there to build, from whence might be no more remove of the principall Seate."⁸³ By choosing a site below the falls, the new town would be easily navigable along the King's River; by choosing an elevated site above the fresh water-salt water transition in the King's River, the new town would provide a much healthier environment than Jamestown, especially for new colonists.

Dale's interim period as Deputy Governor of Virginia ended when Sir Thomas Gates and a fleet of six ships reached Virginia August 2, 1611, bringing 300 new planters, provisions, cattle, and hogs for the plantation.⁸⁴ With the colony substantially strengthened and the government of the colony turned over to Sir Thomas Gates once again, Dale could devote himself to making plans for his new town a reality. Dale, having consulted with Gates about

⁸¹Ibid., 27.

⁸²Ibid., 28.

⁸³"Dale to Salisbury," 17 August 1611, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:504.

⁸⁴Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 28; "A Briefe Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia duringe the first Twelve Yeares, when Sir Thomas Smith was Governor of the Companie, & downe to this present tyme. By the Ancient Planters nowe remaining alive in Virginia," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. H. R. McIlwaine (Richmond, VA: Virginia State Library, 1915), 31.

his resolution to builde a new Towne, at the Fales, which designe and purpose of his, Sir Thomas Gates then principall Governour in Virginia, well approving, furnished him with three hundred and fiftie men . . . and the beginning of September 1611 he set from James town, and in a day & a halfe, landed at a place where he purposed to seate & builde, where he had not bin ten daies before he had very strongly impaled seven English Acres of ground for a towne, which in honour of the noble Prince Henrie (of ever happie and blessed memory, whose royall heart was ever strongly affected to that action) he called by the name of Henrico.⁸⁵

Several watchtowers, storehouses, a church, and houses for the new inhabitants of Henrico were soon constructed, though only by surviving Indian attack:

The Salvages weare nott Idle all this Tyme butt hindred their designes as muche as they colde shoteinge Arrowes into the foarte where wth dyvers of our men weare wounded & others indangered And some haveinge inplymentt withoutt The foarte did come short hoame and weare slayne by the Salvages.⁸⁶

Yet, according to one observer, "in foure moneths space, [Dale] had made Henrico much better and of more worth then all the worke ever since the Colonie began, therein done."⁸⁷ The founding of Henrico by Dale and his men was to mark a new era in the English settlement of Virginia.

"Lawes Divine, Morall & Martiall"

The implementation of "Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall" had much to do with Dale's establishment of Henrico in such a short time. This code of laws, formed under the Second Charter of 1609, was first introduced by Sir Thomas Gates May 24, 1610 and

⁸⁵Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 29; George Percy recorded that "Sir Tho: Dale named the same Henericas foarte in honor of Prince Henry" (in "'A Trewe Relacyon': Virginia from 1609 to 1612," 280.

⁸⁶Percy, "'Trewe Relacyon': Virginia from 1609 to 1612," 280.

⁸⁷Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 29-30.

re instituted by Lord De La Warr in June 1610 after the colonists returned to Jamestown; after De La Warr left for England, these laws were "again exemplified and enlarged by Sir Thomas Dale Knight, Marshall, and Deputie Governour, the 22. of June. 1611."⁸⁸ The "divine" and "morall" laws were directly aimed at maintaining social order within a religious framework: there were laws

for the honour and service of God, for daily frequenting the Church, the house of prayer, at the tolling of the bell, for preaching, catechizing, and the religious observation of the Sabbath day, for due reverence to the Ministers of the Word, and to all superiours, for peace and love among themselves, and enforcing the idle to paines and honest labours, against blasphemie, contempt and dishonour of God, against breach of the Sabbath by gaming: and otherwise against adulterie, sacriledge and felonie; and in a word, against all wrongfull dealing amongst themselves, or injurious violence against the Indians.⁸⁹

The "martiall" laws specified the general and specific duties of all planters assigned to a military office within the colony, from the governor to private soldiers.⁹⁰ The "Lawes Divine, Morall, and Martiall" were the first written laws the colonists were directly bound to adhere to in their new Virginia environment--a reminder to the colonists that as employees in a Virginia Company settlement, they were under Virginia Company control.

Dale rigorously enforced the "Lawes Divine, Morall, and Martiall" as "Marshall of the colony," believing that "no good service can be performed . . . where militarie

⁸⁸"Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall," 1612, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 3, no. 2, p. 9.

⁸⁹"New Life of Virginea," 1612, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 1, no. 7, p. 13; see specific laws for these purposes in "Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall," 1612, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 9-19.

⁹⁰"Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall," 1612, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 20-62.

discipline is not obserued."⁹¹ If improvements had been made in recruiting better planters for Virginia since Gates' expedition of 1609, high Marshall Dale was still much more aware of their lack of discipline:

Nor can I conceive how sutch people as we are inforced to bring over hither by peradventure, and gathering them up in sutch riotous, lasie and infected places can intertaine themselves with other thoughts or put on other behaviour then what accompanies sutch disordered persons, so prophane, so riotous, so full of Mutenie and treasonable Intendments, as I am well to witness in a parcell of 300 which I brought with me, of which well may I say not many give testimonie beside their names that they are Christians.⁹²

Based on his assessment of the planters in Virginia, Dale executed the new laws, complete with capital penalties, "with all severity and extremity" and was able to prevent several plots to overthrow the colony.⁹³ Dale's severe punishments were designed to instill fear in the other planters; as Percy observed, "all theis extreme and crewell tortures [Dale] used and inflicted upon them To terrefy the reste for Attempteing the Lyke."⁹⁴ Ralph Hamor concluded that, under the circumstances, "Sir Thomas Dale hath not bin tyrannous, nor severe at all; Indeede the offences have bin capitall, and the offenders dangerous, incurable members, for no use so fit as to make examples to others."⁹⁵ Under martial law, the Virginia Company hoped to control disorder if not eliminate it.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 9.

⁹²"Dale to Salisbury," 17 August 1611, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 1:506-07.

⁹³Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 27.

⁹⁴Percy, "'Trew Relacyon': Virginia from 1609 to 1612," 280.

⁹⁵Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 27.

The Virginia planters, however, experienced Dale's period of administration as one of "extreame slavery and miserye for the space of five yeares."⁹⁶ They felt Dale's "Lawes Divine, Morall, and Martiall" were "most cruell and tiranous lawes, exceeding the strictest rules of marishall discipline."⁹⁷ The labor schedule Dale imposed at Henrico was particularly harsh, even though food and housing conditions were insufficient to maintain the strength of the planters. Dale's execution of the law for violations of discipline was thus considered by the planters

to be noe better then the slaughter of his Majestys free subjects by starveinge, hangeinge, burneinge, breakinge upon the wheele and shootinge to deathe, some (more than halfe famished) runninge to the Indians to gett reliefe beinge againe retorned were burnt to death. Some for stealinge to satisfie their hunger were hanged, and one chained to a tree till he starved to death; . . . besides continuall whippings, extraordinary punishments, workinge as slaves in irons for terme of yeares (and that for petty offences) weare dayly executed. Many famished in holes and other poore cabbins in the grounde, not respected because sicknes had disabled them for labour, nor was their sufficient for them that were more able to worke, our best allowance being but nine ounces of corrupt and putrified meale and halfe a pinte of oatmeale or pease (of like ill condition) for each person a daye.⁹⁸

For the average Virginia planter, the achievements of the colony under the "Lawes Divine, Morall, and Martiall" were gained at the expense of "extreame slavery and miserye"--not a satisfactory long-term solution to the problem of social disorder.

Though Dale was able to extend Virginia Company settlement up the James River under martial law, his use of martial law did not effectively achieve the Virginia

⁹⁶"Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 31.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*

⁹⁸*Ibid.*

Company's goal of "perpetual subsistence." As the year 1611 became 1612, the colonists continued constructing buildings and fortifications around Henrico and Jamestown on a meager subsistence: "At this time in all these labours, the miserye throughout the wholl Collony, in the scarcitie of foode was equall."⁹⁹ The problem of food scarcity among the colonists was not due to inadequacies in the Virginia natural environment, but rather was due to two inadequacies in Virginia Company policy--the promise of supplies from England and a communal labor and reward system. The provisions sent over from England to the Virginia plantation were never enough to sustain the newly arrived colonists, let alone the old planters, for the length of time between English supply ships.¹⁰⁰ Also, the food sent from England was sometimes so poor as to be inedible; for instance, when Dale arrived with 300 colonists in May, 1611, the resident planters found "his provisions for them of such qualitie (for the most part) as hogges refused to eat."¹⁰¹ The colonists understood that the terms of their employment were partially at fault for their hunger: "We cannott for this our scarsitie blame our Comanders heere, in respect that our sustenance was to come from England."¹⁰² Even though Dale's strict regimen of labor in Virginia included cultivation of corn and care of livestock, the Virginia Company's communal labor system was not motivated by individual subsistence

⁹⁹Ibid., 32.

¹⁰⁰See review of supply ships from England in *ibid.*, 28-34.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 31.

¹⁰²"The answer of the Generall Assembly in Virginia to a Declaration of the state of the Colonie in the 12 yeers of Sr Thomas Smiths Government, exhibited by Alderman Johnson and others," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 21.

needs and therefore could not reward subsistence labor on an individual basis. Under Virginia Company policy, the planters in Virginia were not only too dependent on the Virginia Company, they were too dependent on the land of England for subsistence.

Privately Initiated Agriculture

Solutions to the subsistence problems of the colony were initiated by the planters themselves in 1612 or 1613. Chronic scarcity of food finally

enforced and emboldened some to petition to Sir Thomas Gates (then Governor) to grant them that favor that they might employ themselves in husbandry, that thereby they and all others by planting of corn, might be better fed than those supplies of victual which were sent from Englande would afford to doe.¹⁰³

Gates granted this group of planters liberty to work the land independent of Company control only under certain conditions: "they would paye the yearlye rent of three barrels of corn and one monthes worke to the Collonye."¹⁰⁴ Many of these planters had already spent years serving the Company, but this "harde condition of Tenantship was then accepted rather than they would continue in those general services and employments noe waye better than slavery."¹⁰⁵ The group of planters who agreed to these terms were called "farmers," an English word for tenants who lease land under certain conditions. All who participated in this "new course" were "allotted . . . three English Acres of cleere Corn ground, which every man is to mature and tend, being in the nature of Farmers,"

¹⁰³"Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 32.

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

and did not receive any food from the common store.¹⁰⁶ Due to their own initiative, some of the Virginia planters began implementing a human ecological principle basic to their survival in a new land: Now "were we for our future and better maintenance permitted to manure or till . . . ground, a thing in a new Plantation principally to be regarded."¹⁰⁷

The external discipline imposed by Dale's leadership and the new economic motivation internalized by the farming planters combined to bring about the first major expansion of the English colony in Virginia. Dale continued to fortify Henrico on the King's River and enclose ground with palisades in nearby areas (see Figure 4.1). In Henrico, for instance, "five faire Block houses" were built "wherein live the honester sort of people, as in Farmes in England, and there keepe continuall centinell for the townes security."¹⁰⁸ Two miles away from Henrico, "into the Main, a Pale of two miles in length, cut over from river to river, garded likewise with severall Commanders" was constructed for the purpose of securing "a great quantity of corne ground."¹⁰⁹ Across the river west of Henrico, another palisade encompassed land "especially for our hogges to feede in, about twelve English miles of ground, by name, Hope in faith, Coxen-Dale, secured by five Forts, called, Charity Fort, Mount malado, a retreat, or guest house for

¹⁰⁶Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 17.

¹⁰⁷"Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 28.

¹⁰⁸Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 30.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

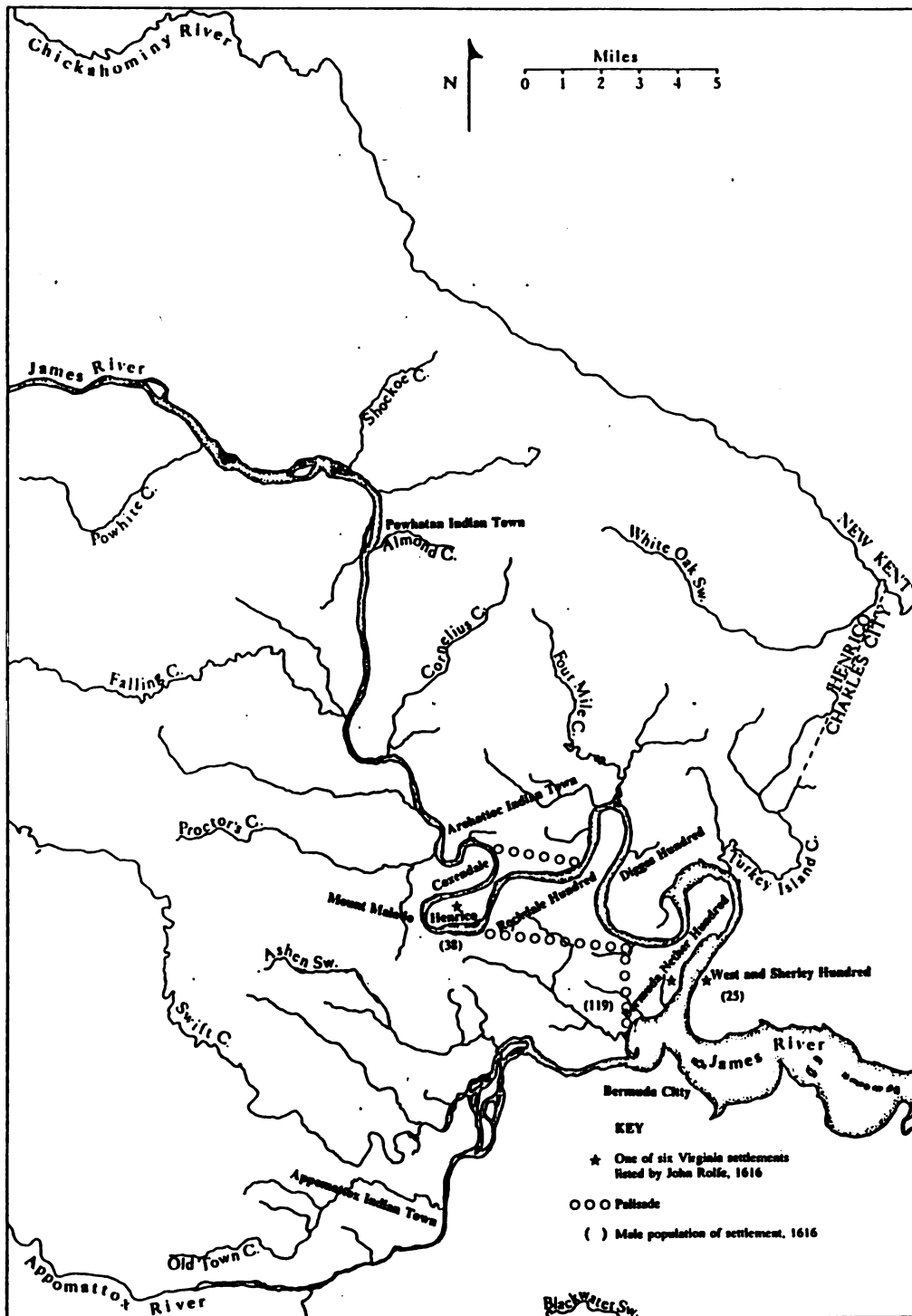


Figure 4.1 Henrico Area Settlements, 1611-1616

sick people, a high seat, and wholesome aire, Elizabeth Fort, and Fort patience."¹¹⁰ In 1612, Dale attacked the Appomattox Indians who lived about five miles east of Henrico on the south side of the river. The result of Dale's aggressive move "to revenge the trecherous injurie of those people, done unto us" was to drive this group of Appomattox Indians away from their land at the junction of the James and Appomattox Rivers.¹¹¹ The area seemed to be a desirable settlement site and, before Christmas 1613, Dale "tooke resolution to possesse and plant it, and at that very instant, gave it the name of the new Bermudas."¹¹² Dale had more than fulfilled the Virginia Company's instructions to plant a new town.

The geographical expansion led by Dale in the Henrico area served to shift the center of the colony from Jamestown to Henrico, particularly as this expansion was

¹¹⁰Ibid., 30-31. Later references to the location of "Coxendale" can be found in Nell Marion Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 3 vols., reprint. ed. (Richmond: Virginia State Library and Archives, 1977-1992), patents to Thomas Osborne, 1:137; 2:289, 373. "Mount malado" (or "Mount my Lady." "Mount Malada") is also mentioned in ibid., patents to Thomas Osborn, 1:80, 137; patents to Wm. Farrar and Thomas Ligon, 1:516.

¹¹¹Ibid., 31. English-Indian conflict involving the Appomattox Indians in this area broke out in 1610. All but one of a party of fifteen Englishmen were killed by Appomattox villagers here in the summer of 1610; by winter of 1610, the English had counterattacked, burning this village of Appomattox Indians and killing some of the villagers and their 20 warriors. The main Appomattox Indian town was located at Old Town Creek and the Appomattox River with 100 warriors. (Percy, "'Trewe Relacyon': Virginia from 1609 to 1612," 273-74; Strachey, Virginia Britania, 64). Another small Appomattox village was apparently reestablished on or near the same site by 1612. Fausz details "the tragic cycle of reciprocal revenge that the first Anglo-Powhatan War initiated" during the 1609-1614 period in J. Frederick Fausz, "'An Abundance of Blood Shed on Both Sides': England's First Indian War, 1609-1614," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 98 (1990):3-56.

¹¹²Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 31.

accompanied by significant developments in English settlement. Agriculturally, the Virginia planters were growing a greater amount of corn for subsistence and were learning to cultivate and cure tobacco to sell for profit. By the time Ralph Hamor returned to England in April 1614, he could explain that food was much more plentiful among the farming planters:

The reason hereof is at hand, for formerly, when our people were fedde out of the common store and laboured jointly in the manuring of the ground, and planting corne, glad was that man that could slippe from his labour, nay the most honest of them in a generall businesse, would not take so much faithfull and true paines, in a weeke, as now he will doe in a day, neither cared they for the increase, presuming that howsoever their harvest prospered, the generall store must maintain them, by which meanes we reaped not so much corne from the labours of 30 men, as three men have done for themselves.¹¹³

In conjunction with the development of individual farming, the first experiment with growing tobacco in the colony was made by John Rolfe in 1612--"partly for the love he hath a long time borne unto it, and partly to raise commodity to the adventureres."¹¹⁴ While the English adventurers would debate the worthiness of tobacco as a return on their investment, the Virginia planters quickly viewed the sale of tobacco as an important means of subsistence, especially in meeting the colonists' need for clothing: "the valuable commoditie of Tobacco of such esteeme in England" was a crop "which every man may plant, and with the least part of his labour, tend and care will returne him both cloathes and other necessaries."¹¹⁵ The potential of tobacco for both profit and subsistence

¹¹³Ibid., 17.

¹¹⁴Ibid., 24.

¹¹⁵Ibid.

generated a greater commitment between the colonists and the land of Virginia--tobacco would enable the colonists not only to survive, but to live more like Englishmen in the New World.

Bermuda City and Hundred

The incorporation of Bermuda City and Hundred in 1613 was another significant development in the Henrico area. Hamor considered "the undertaking of the Bermuda Citty, a businesse of greatest hope, ever begunne in our Territories."¹¹⁶ Some time after Dale took possession of the Appamatuck Indian site, a number of

planters (by the instigation of Sir Thomas Dale), uppon the promise of an absolute freedome after three yeares more to be expired (having most of them already served the Collonye six or seaven yeares in that general slavery) were yet contented to worke in the buildinge of [Bermuda] Citty and Hundred, with very little allowance of clothinge and victuall, and that only for the first yeare, being promised one moneth in the yeare, and one daye in the weeke from Maye daye till harvest, to gett our maintenance out of the earth without any further helpe.¹¹⁷

This group of planters set themselves apart as an independent legal entity: "These people are injoynd by a charter, (being incorporated to the Bermuda towne, which is made a corporacoun,) to effect and performe such duties and services whereunto they are bound for a certain tyme, and then to have their freedome."¹¹⁸ The Bermuda planters agreed

¹¹⁶Ibid.

¹¹⁷"Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 32-33. Bermuda Citty and Hundred were called Charles Citty and Hundred by 1621/22; later Charles Hundred reverted back to Bermuda Hundred. See patents to John Woodliffe and Samuel Jordan in Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:68, 130, 226.

¹¹⁸John Rolfe, "Virginia in 1616," Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advertiser 1 (July 1848), 109. Hamor was going to (but did not) insert the "Pattent" of Bermuda Citty planters at the end of his True Discourse which "doth apparantly demonstrate upon
(continued...)

to more rigorous terms than the farming planters in order to gain their freedom from the Virginia Company in three years--by giving eleven instead of one month's service to the colony, and by using one month instead of eleven (plus one day a week during the growing season) to get their subsistence from the ground.

The settlement at Bermuda was built under Dale's direction and encompassed an extensive area: Dale

hath laid out, and annexed to be belonging to the freedome, and corporation forever, many miles of Champion, and woodland, in severall Hundreds, as the upper and nether Hundreds, Rochdale hundred, Wests Sherly hundred, and Digges his hundred.¹¹⁹

At Bermuda "nether hundred," the old Appomattox Indian site, the Bermuda planters constructed a two-mile palisade or "Pale cut over from River to River" to enclose about eight miles of land for cultivation, then built their houses a half-mile apart along the palisade and around the river, "not so few as fifty, according to the conditions of the pattend graunted them."¹²⁰ The Bermuda planters also built a "crosse pale, well nigh foure miles longe," between Henrico and the "nether hundred" on the south side of the King's River, in order to mark off Rochdale hundred; there they raised "houses all along the pale, in which Hundred our hogges, and other cattell have twenty miles circuit to

¹¹⁸(...continued)

what termes and conditions they voluntarily haue undertaken that imployment," see p. 18. The most direct statement of the terms of the Bermuda patent is found in "Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 32-33.

¹¹⁹Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 31.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, 32. See also Rolfe, "Virginia in 1616," 109.

graze in securely."¹²¹ West and Sherley Hundred (as well as Digges his Hundred) were eventually established on the north side of the King's River.¹²² Bermuda City was eventually established at a point on the south side of the King's River, east of the Appomattox River junction.¹²³ The Bermuda planters found it difficult to meet their subsistence needs while working for the Company:

For out of that small time which was allowed for our maintenance we were abridged of nere halfe, soe that out of our daily taskes we were forced to redeeme time wherin to labour for our sustenance, thereby miserably to purchase our freedome.¹²⁴

Despite hardship, however, the project eventually attracted the greatest concentration of colonists to any Virginia settlement: by 1616, 119 out of 351 colonists were living in the Bermuda area, including a few who were not of the Bermuda Citty and Hundred corporation.¹²⁵

A Marriage Brings Peace: John Rolfe and Pocahontas

The establishment of peace with the surrounding Indians was another important colonial development in the spring of 1614. Since John Smith left Virginia in 1609, there had been five years of conflict between the English and the Powhatan and Chickahominy

¹²¹Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 32.

¹²²Rolfe, "Virginia in 1616," 109-10. For location of "Digges his hundred," see Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, patents to Thomas Harris, 1:33, 37, 60, 101.

¹²³For location of Bermuda City, better known as Charles City, see Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, patent to Francis Osborne, 1:60-61; patent to Francis Epes, 1:84; patent to John Epes, 2:18.

¹²⁴"Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 33.

¹²⁵Rolfe, "Virginia in 1616," 108-10.

Indian tribes.¹²⁶ Captain Samuel Argall, who had established trade with the Pataomeck Indians in 1610/11, took action to change the status quo in April 1613. By eliciting the help of a friendly Indian couple, Argall succeeded in capturing Powhatan's daughter, Pocahontas--"promising to use her withall faire, and gentle entreaty"--with the intent of ransoming Pocahontas for a number of English men and English weapons held by Powhatan.¹²⁷ Powhatan finally returned a few men and weapons three months later, saying he had no more English weapons; he pledged more men, corn, and peace when his daughter was returned to him. The English replied that they "could not beleieve that the rest of our Arms were either lost, or stolne from him, and therefore till he returned them all we would not by any meanes deliver his daughter, and then it should be at his choice, whether he would establish peace, or continue enemies with us."¹²⁸

Powhatan did not respond to the English terms until Sir Thomas Dale brought Pocahontas and a party of 150 men to Powhatan's chief village to negotiate peace in March 1614. Two of Powhatan's sons, being delighted at seeing their sister Pocahontas, "promised that they would undoubtedly perswade their father to redeeme her, and to conclude a firme peace forever with us."¹²⁹ Pocahontas, however, was not the same young woman in 1614 as she was in 1613. During her year among the English colonists,

¹²⁶J. Frederick Fausz, "England's First Indian War, 1609-1614," 3-56. See also Percy, "'Trewe Relacyon': Virginia from 1609 to 1612," 259-82, for a review of the intermittent conflict between the English and the Indians between 1609-1612.

¹²⁷Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 3-6; "Argall to Hawes," June 1613, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 2:642-43.

¹²⁸Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 6-7.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, 10.

Pocahontas had been "carefully instructed in Christian Religion, who after shee had made some good progresse therein, renounced publickly her countrey Idolatry, openly confessed her Christian faith, was, as she desired, baptised."¹³⁰ Pocahontas had also fallen in love with Englishman John Rolfe and he with her.¹³¹ Rolfe's attraction to Indian Pocahontas caused him much anguish of soul; in a letter to Dale, Rolfe revealed

the effects of this my settled and long continued affection (which hath made a mightie warre in my meditations) . . . which thus should provoke me to be in love with one whose education hath bin rude, her manners barbarous, her generation accursed, and so discrepant in all nurtriture from my selfe.¹³²

The desired union between Rolfe and Pocahontas was approved by both Dale and Powhatan. Hamor recorded that, for the occasion of Pocahontas' wedding, Powhatan

sent an olde uncle of hers, named Opachisco, to give her as his deputy in the Church, and two of his sonnes to see the mariage solemnized, which was accordingly done about the fift of Aprill, and euer since we have had friendly commerce and trade, not onely with Powhatan himselfe, but also with his subjects round about us.¹³³

Thus, the marriage of Rolfe and Pocahontas not only brought them personal happiness but was instrumental in bringing about terms of peace between the English and the Indians.

Peace between the English and the Indians dramatically improved conditions of subsistence and prosperity for the Virginia planters. Dale described several immediate benefits: "our catle to increase, without danger of destroying, our men at liberty, to hunt

¹³⁰"Letter of Sir Thomas Dale," 18 June 1614, in Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 55.

¹³¹Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 10.

¹³²"Letter of John Rolfe," [1614], in Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 63-64.

¹³³Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 11; peace was also sought by the Chickahominy Indians soon after the English agreement with Powhatan, 11-16.

freely for venison, to fish, to doe any thing else, or goe any whither, without danger; to follow the husbanding of their corne securely whereof we have above five hundred Acres set."¹³⁴

Rolfe reiterated these benefits two years later in 1616, adding that "the great blessings of God have followed this peace, and it, next under him, hath bredd our plentie--everie man sitting under his fig tree in safety, gathering and reaping the fruits of their labors with much joy and comfort."¹³⁵ The Virginia planters had even been able to reverse the direction of food trade between English and Indian during this time:

Whereas, heretofore we were constrayned yearly to go to the Indians and intreate them to sell us corne, which made them esteeme verie basely of us--now the case is altered; they seeke to us--come to our townes, sell their skins from their shoulders, which is their best garments, to buy corne--yea, some of their pettie kings have this last yeare borrowed four or five hundred bushells of wheate, for payment whereof, this harvest they have mortgaged their whole countries, some of them not much less in quantitie then a shire in England.¹³⁶

Since the arrival of Sir Thomas Gates after the "Starving Time" of 1609/10, "the greatest, and many enemies and disturbers of our proceedings . . . have been onely two; emnity with the Naturalls, and the bruit of famine," wrote Hamor.¹³⁷ By 1616, English settlement in Virginia had demonstrated the necessity for independent husbandry under peaceful conditions for survival, stability, and prosperity in the New World.

¹³⁴"Letter of Sir Thomas Dale," 18 June 1614, in Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 55.

¹³⁵Rolfe, "Virginia in 1616," 105.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*, 106.

¹³⁷Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 16.

1616 Trends Among the Old Planters of Virginia

When Sir Thomas Dale departed for England in 1616 he left behind six major settlements and 351 Virginia planters who would be known to later immigrants as the "old planters" or the "Ancient Planters." By then the planters were organized into three groups: officers, laborers, and farmers (the Bermuda Hundred planters were considered laborers for the Virginia Company, rather than independent farmers, until they attained their freedom).¹³⁸ The officers' duties included "the charge and care as well over the farmors as laborers generallie-- . . . that both the one and the other's busines may be daily followed to the performance of those imployments, which from the one are required, and the other by covenant are bound unto."¹³⁹ There were two types of laborers--general laborers and those who practiced a particular trade. The farmers, according to Rolfe, "live at most ease--yet by their good endeavours bring yearlie much plentie to the plantation;" the farmers also had certain defensive duties in the towns where they lived.¹⁴⁰ At the time of Dale's departure, there were 205 officers and laborers, and 81 farmers living in the colony.

Settlement

Of the six English settlements in Virginia in 1616, Henrico remained the furthest inland; there lived "thirty-eight men and boyes, whereof twenty-two are farmors, the rest officers and others." In the Bermuda Nether Hundred area, there were 119 persons

¹³⁸Rolfe, "Virginia in 1616," 107-10.

¹³⁹Ibid., 107.

¹⁴⁰Ibid.

including about 17 farmers plus some other laborers who did not belong to the corporation. At West and Sherley Hundred lived 25 laborers who cultivated tobacco. The colonists at Jamestown numbered 50 persons, of whom 31 were farmers. Kequoughtan, located near Point Comfort, was inhabited by 20 colonists, including 11 farmers. Near Cape Charles, on the north shore at the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay from the Atlantic, was Dale's Gift where 17 laborers were employed in making salt.¹⁴¹ The two settlements in the future bounds of Henrico County--Henrico and Bermuda Nether Hundred--were inhabited by almost three-fifths of the enumerated English population in Virginia in 1616 (157/269 or 58%). Less than one-fifth of the Virginia colonists now lived in Jamestown. Particularly with the agricultural development of independent husbandry by the farming and Bermuda planters, Dale's establishment of Henrico brought about the first cultural as well as geographical expansion of English settlement in Virginia.

Subsistence

The subsistence issues of the Virginia planters were also changing by the end of Dale's administration in 1616. Shortage of food provisions for the Virginia colonists was gradually shifting from the old, resident planters to the new, immigrating planters. The English adventurers of the Virginia Company continued to send new colonists without sufficient food supplies while the old colonists were learning to grow their own food.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹Ibid., 109-10.

¹⁴²"Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 31-34.

The "rent" corn provided by the farming planters to the common store of the colony was quickly drained by new supplies of colonists: "though Sir Thomas Dale had caused such an abundance of corne to be planted, that every man had sufficient, yet the supplies were sent us, came so unfurnished, as quickly eased us of our superfluitie."¹⁴³ The discrepancy in food supplies between the two groups of colonists increased to such an extent by 1617 and 1618 that finally the old Virginia planters became the primary source of relief for new immigrants rather than the English adventurers who had sent them. For instance, one ship arriving in Virginia during this period was "sett forth, as we suppose, at the charge of private adventurers, but came soe meanly provided with victuall, that had not we, the old Planters, relieved them most of them had been starved."¹⁴⁴ Some months later, two more English ships brought new colonists "soe poorely victualled that had they not been distributed amongst the old Planters they must for want have perished."¹⁴⁵ Finally a letter was sent to the Council in England from the Council in Virginia declaring that, when sending numbers of new immigrants, "what a great miserie would insue, if they sent not provision as well as people."¹⁴⁶ By default, the English adventurers were shifting colonial food supply responsibility to the Virginia planters.

¹⁴³Smith, "The Generall Historie," 1624, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 2:256.

¹⁴⁴"Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 34.

¹⁴⁵Ibid.

¹⁴⁶Smith, "The Generall Historie," 1624, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 2:264.

Subsistence issues related to land use were also changing from the mere use of land for agriculture to survive to what types of land use best promoted survival. By 1616, the cultivation of corn and tobacco had become competing land use issues for Virginia planters who had liberty to get their own subsistence. While the farming planters had the greatest amount of time for agriculture (eleven months out of the year), all officers and trade-practicing laborers were required to provide their own food and clothing as well.¹⁴⁷ A demanding market for tobacco in England meant that tobacco not only could be used for subsistence, but also for profit. Thus a policy was implemented

lest the people--who generallie are bent to covett after gaine, especially having tasted of the sweete of their labors--should spend too much of their tyme and labor in planting tobacco, knowne to them to be verie vendible in England, and so neglect their tillage of corne, and fall into want thereof, it is provided for--by the providence and care of Sir Thomas Dale--that no farmor or other--who must maintayne themselves--shall plant any tobacco, unless he shall yearely manure, set and maintayne for himself and every man servant two acres of ground with corne, which doing they may plant as much tobacco as they will, els all their tobacco shalbe forfeite to the colony.¹⁴⁸

The problem of economic motivation relating to subsistence had once been "negligence, and improvidence, when every man sharked for his present bootie, but was altogether carelesse of succeeding penurie" or poverty.¹⁴⁹ In 1616, this subsistence issue of exploitation versus settlement had been translated into a conflict between corn and tobacco.

¹⁴⁷Rolfe, "Virginia in 1616," 107.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., 108.

¹⁴⁹"True Declaration," 1610, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 15.

Experienced Virginia planters as a whole continued to grow tobacco and meet their food subsistence needs, whether voluntarily or as a matter of policy. After Dale left the government to Captain George Yeardley in 1616, Yeardley led the colonists in planting tobacco "as the most present commoditie they could devise for a present gaine, so that every man betooke himselfe to the best place he could for the purpose."¹⁵⁰ Thus when a new governor, Captain Samuel Argall, arrived at Jamestown in May 1617, he found "the market-place, and streets, and all other spare places planted with Tobacco" and "the Colonie dispersed all about, planting Tobacco."¹⁵¹

Despite the seemingly dramatic increase in tobacco cultivation, Argall also found "the Collony in all parts well stored with corne and at Charles [or Bermuda] Hundred a granery well furnished by rentes lately raised and received from the farmers;" thus Argall observed "ye people well-tilling ground for corn & Tobo."¹⁵² Rolfe, returning with Argall from a year in England, reported

the Colony (God be thanked) in good estate and injoyng a firmer Peace and more plenty All men cheerefully labor about their grounds, their harts and hands not ceasing from worke, though many have scarce ragges to covr their naked bodyes. English wheate, barly, Indyan Corne, Tobacco greate plenty in the ground.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰Smith, "Generall Historie," 1624, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 2:256.

¹⁵¹Ibid., 2:262.

¹⁵²Governor Argall, "A Letter, Probably to His Majesty's Council for Virginia," 9 June 1617, in The Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:73; "Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 34.

¹⁵³John Rolfe, "A Letter to Sir Edwin Sandys," 8 June 1617, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:71.

Though in 1618 Argall believed it was necessary to restate Dale's policy of "every man to sett 2 acres with corn . . . penalty forfeitr of corn & Tobo & be a Slave a year to ye Colony,"¹⁵⁴ at least both new and old planters no longer neglected agricultural land use in Virginia--whether for subsistence or profit or both.

Independence

Some small but significant changes in the nature of the planter population were also emerging in the Virginia colony. The farming and Bermuda planters represented a movement from dependence to independence in relation to the Virginia Company. While both groups had chosen to subsist independently of the Virginia Company, the Bermuda planters earned complete independence from the Virginia Company by also completing a three-year term of rigorous labor for the Company. Despite the hardships endured, the Bermuda planters considered "that our State (by Gods mercy) was afterwarde more happie then others who continued longer in the aforementioned slaverye."¹⁵⁵ The three-year term of the Bermuda planters expired in March 1616/17, and with Governor Yeardley's assent, they realized their "long desired freedome from that common and general servitude."¹⁵⁶ As a result, economic independence seemed to spur economic motivation: "we that were freed, with our humble thanks to God, fell cheerfully to our

¹⁵⁴Governor Argall, "Proclamations or Edicts," 18 May 1618, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:93.

¹⁵⁵"Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 33.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*

particular labours, wherby to our great comfort, through his blessinge, we reaped a plentiful harvest."¹⁵⁷

The Bermuda planters were not only free economically, but they were free citizens claiming certain rights, privileges, and duties as a result of their independent charter. A letter sent to Governor Argall in November 1617 signed by ten "Citizens of Bermuda hundd" claimed "West & Shirley hund as belonging to them & refuse to let Capt Madison clear there."¹⁵⁸ Argall replied three days later "that he will not Infringe their rights being a member of that City himself but begs that ye Colony Servts may stay there this year."¹⁵⁹ A few months later, Argall also acknowledged to the Virginia Company in London "that the Citizens of Bermuda hund claims ye privileges granted them wch he can't refuse."¹⁶⁰ Since martial law had not yet been revoked in the Virginia Colony, the claims of the Bermuda planters based on their charter are significant: once the Bermuda Citty and Hundred charter had been granted by Governor Dale in March 1613/14, the members of that corporation possessed independent legal rights which neither Governor nor Company could infringe upon. Thus, the Bermuda planters were the first Virginia settlers to exercise the full rights of independent Englishmen guaranteed to all

¹⁵⁷Ibid.

¹⁵⁸Citizens of Bermuda Hundred, "A Letter to the Governor of Virginia," 27 November 1617, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:76.

¹⁵⁹Governor Argall, "Letter to Citizens of Bermuda Hundred," 30 November 1617, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:76.

¹⁶⁰Governor Argall, "A Letter to the Virginia Company," 10 March 1617/18 in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:92.

Virginia colonists under the charters King James I granted to the Virginia Company of London.

Family

Finally, the presence of a number of women and children in Virginia by 1616 also suggests a movement away from a subsistence population composed only of individual males, as was the case in 1607, towards a subsistence population including family units of men, women, and children. Rolfe reported in 1616 that "the number of officers and laborers are two hundred and five. The farmors 81; besides woemen and children, in everie place some--which in all amounteth to three hundred and fifty one persons."¹⁶¹ Out of 351 colonists, then, there were 65 English women and children living in six English settlements by 1616. Assuming that the 286 officers, laborers, and farmers were all males, then the English population in Virginia at that time was composed of 81.5% males and 18.5% women and children. There were probably no more than 35-40 adult women in the colony (or 10-11% of the total population) who could have been married to adult men. Thus, the number of familial households would have been no more than 35-40 if all adult women were married. Since a total possible number of households can be derived from the total number of males, 286, then the percentage of familial households out of total possible number of households would be 12-14%. Given that some boys would be included in the 286 males who were officers, laborers, and farmers--as at Henrico¹⁶²--then the number of total possible adult male headed households might

¹⁶¹Rolfe, "Virginia in 1616," 110.

¹⁶²Ibid., 109.

only be 250, and the percentage of possible familial households would slightly increase to 14-16% distributed throughout the six English settlements. If there were as many as 35-40 familial households composed of married men and women with perhaps their children, then households composed of only single adult males would have been at least 84-86% of all households in the Virginia colony.

The relation between the presence of familial households among the Virginia planters and subsistence issues in the colony is implied in Rolfe's account of Virginia in 1616. The concept of subsistence by independent husbandry was itself framed in a familial context for planters who were either officers or farmers: they were bound "to maintayne themselves and families with food and rayment."¹⁶³ The necessity of corn and tobacco for subsistence was also described in familial terms. The policy of cultivating two acres of corn per adult male while planting tobacco was essential for the planters so that "they themselves will be well stored to keepe their families with overplus, and reape tobacco enough to buy clothes and such other necessities as are needeful for themselves and household."¹⁶⁴ It seems that subsistence in the seventeenth century was viewed as belonging to a familial context.

Perpetual subsistence was necessarily a family activity due to the motivations and responsibilities of family members to care for one another, the common labor benefitting all individuals in a family, and the holistic and long-term perspective on subsistence encouraged by the presence of children in a household. The fact that there were so few

¹⁶³Ibid., 107.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., 108.

actual families in Virginia at that time suggests why the planters had to be required to grow corn to feed themselves--single males living by themselves may have been more careless, had no one to help them unless they could afford servants, and had no external reason to consider investing themselves in the future. For permanent settlement of the English colony in Virginia, the type of colonist best suited to the task was no longer the "unnecessary" members of the English population, nor even merely skilled laborers, but rather "a few honest Labourers, burthened with children."¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵"Extract from Commons Journal," 17 May 1614, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 693.

CHAPTER 5

HENRICO AS A "BURROUGH" IN THE VIRGINIA COLONY, 1618-1625

Sir George Yeardley arrived as the new Virginia governor in April 1619, bringing news that the leadership of the Virginia Company of London had been transferred from Sir Thomas Smith to Sir Edwin Sandys.¹ The change in leadership was substantive as well as administrative: Yeardley had also brought "certain commissions and instructions from the Company for the better establishinge of a Commonwealth heere."² Governor Yeardley was authorized by the Virginia Company documents to initiate several major policy changes in the colony.

The impact of the new reforms on the ancient planters was felt immediately, due to the fact that

order was taken for the removing of all those grievances which formerly were suffered and manifested the same by publishinge a Proclamation that all those that were resident heere before the departure of Sir Thos. Dale should be freed and acquitted from such publique services and labours which formerly they suffered, and that those cruell lawes by which we had soe longe been governed were now abrogated, and we were now to be governed by those free lawes which his Matys subjects live under in Englande.³

¹Smith, "Generall Historie," 1624, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 2:266; Yeardley had been knighted between 1617 and 1619.

²"Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 36.

³Ibid.

While these changes would not directly eliminate physical hardship, the cultural viability of the English colony in Virginia was greatly improved by the realization of new liberties among the planters.

Virginia Company Reforms

The means by which the Virginia Company developed the reforms of 1619 were the weekly and quarterly "courts" or assemblies instituted for the Virginia Company by the Third Virginia Charter of 1612.⁴ Meeting in London, the weekly courts dealt with "casuall and particuler occurrences and accidentall matters of lesse consequence and waight" while "the Fower Great and Generall Courts of the Counsell and Companie of Adventurers for Virginia" met

for the handling, ordring and disposing of matters and affaires of great waight and importance and such as shall or maie in anie sort concerne the weale publike and generall good of the said Companie and plantacion as namely, the manner of government from time to time to be used, the ordring and disposing of the said possessions and the setting and establishing of a trade there, or such like.⁵

The reforms of 1619 had obviously been a matter of consideration for some time in the quarterly court meetings whereby the Virginia Company not only resolved to change the laws under which the colonists lived--from "cruell" martial laws to the "free" laws of all Englishmen--but also the form of government and land policy in the colony.⁶ Not since

⁴"The Third Charter," 12 March 1612, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 76-94. The Third Virginia Charter affirmed the 1609 charter and added provisions which immediately affected only the Virginia adventurers in England.

⁵Ibid., 85-86.

⁶See W. F. Craven for an account of the factors contributing to the reforms developed by the London adventurers of the Virginia Company in Dissolution of the Virginia (continued...)

implementing the Second Virginia Charter of 1609 had the Virginia Company sought such dramatic policy changes in the Virginia plantation.

The First Virginia Assembly, 1619

Governor Yeardley began his administration by implementing instructions from the Virginia Company to establish not only a "Counsell of State" consisting of the Governor and planters appointed by the company, but also an annual "Generall Assemblie" made up of "the said Counsell of State and of tow burgesses out of every towne, hunder [hundred] and other particuler plantacion to bee respetially chosen by the inhabitants."⁷ The Virginia Company sent an explanation that

intending by the Devine assistance to settle such a forme of government ther as may bee to the greatest benifitt and comfort of the people and wherby all injustice, grevance and oppression may be prevented and kept of as much as is possible from the said Colony, have thought fitt to make our entrance by ordaining & establishing such supream Counsell.⁸

The General Assembly would make decisions "by the greater part of the voices then present" and was given "free power" to deal with local issues in the colony and to

⁶(...continued)

Company: The Failure of a Colonial Experiment, reprinted ed. (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1964), 24-80.

⁷Treasurer and Company, "An Ordinance and Constitution for Council and Assembly in Virginia," 24 July 1621, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 126-27. Yeardley's 1619 document commissioning the new form of government no longer exists; Governor Francis Wyatt's 1621 commission cited here is considered a close facsimile. See "A Reporte of the Manner of Proceeding in the General Assembly Convented at James City in Virginia, July 30, 1619" in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 3-16, for terms added to Wyatt's commission that were not in Yeardley's commission.

⁸Treasurer and Company, "Ordinance and Constitution for Council and Assembly," 24 July 1621, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 126.

establish laws "for the behoof of the said Colony and the good govermt therof."⁹ The institution of a General Assembly was readily comprehended in terms of self-government by the Virginia planters:

And that they might have a hande in the governinge of themselves, it was granted that a general assemblie should be helde yearly once, wherat were to be present the Govr and Counsell with two Burgesses from each Plantation freely to be elected by the inhabitants thereof; this assembly to have power to make and ordaine whatsoever lawes and orders should by them be thought good and proffittable for our subsistance.¹⁰

The new form of government essentially meant that the Virginia planters could now enjoy to a much greater degree the English "liberties, franchises and immunities" which had been guaranteed to them by the First Virginia Charter of 1606.¹¹

The first General Assembly of the Virginia colony met from July 30 to August 4, 1619 at Jamestown. Two burgesses from each of eleven settlements in the colony were sent to the General Assembly--James Citty, Charles Citty (formerly Bermuda Citty and Hundred), "the Citty of Henricus," Kiccowtan or Kecoughtan, Martin-Brandon, Smythes Hundred, Martins Hundred, "Argalls guiffe" or town, Flowere dieu Hundred, Captain Lawnes Plantation, and Captain Wardes Plantation.¹²

⁹Ibid., 127-28.

¹⁰"Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 36.

¹¹See "The First Charter," 10 April 1606, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 9.

¹²"Reporte of the General Assembly, 1619" in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 3.

The last seven settlements represented "particular plantations" established since 1617, a form of settlement initiated by individual adventurers in England who promised to establish a plantation in Virginia at their own expense (transporting a number of new colonists and supplies) in exchange for a certain amount of land in Virginia.¹³ Colonists who agreed to emigrate to Virginia as part of a particular plantation were servants for a given number of years, experiencing subsistence conditions similar to Virginia Company colonists.¹⁴ The 22 burgesses represented approximately 450 colonists at the first General Assembly in Virginia.¹⁵

Land Policy Under the Great Charter of 1618

A primary object of the 1619 General Assembly was to consider the Virginia Company's "Instructions to George Yeardley" of 18 November 1618, also known as "the

¹³See "Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 34, for a record of ships arriving in Virginia "at the charge of private adventures" during Argall's term as governor.

¹⁴See Lord De La Warr, "Covenant with Lord Zouch," 27 December 1617, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:77, for arrangements to transport seven men as servants of a particular plantation; also see Edwin Sandys, Henry Timberlake, and John Ferrar, "Meeting of a Committee for Smyth's Hundred," 18 May 1618, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:94-98, for an account of supplies sent with 35 men to settle at Smyth's Hundred. Most of the existing records concerning the activities of particular plantations date from 1619.

¹⁵When Yeardley arrived in April, there were about 400 colonists in Virginia according to "Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 35. For 1619 emigration after Yeardley's arrival see Smith, "Generall Historie," 1624, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 266-69; Virginia Company, "A Note of the Shipping, Men, and Provisions, sent to Virginia, by the Treasurer and Company in the Yeere 1619," in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:115-16.

greate Charter," which established land policy in the colony.¹⁶ The Great Charter was referred to two committees for careful review, the burgesses explaining

that we did it not to the ende to correcte or controll any thing therein contained, but onely in case we should finde ought not perfectly squaring wth the state of this Colony, or any lawe wch did presse or binde too harde, that wee might by waye of humble petition seeke to have it redressed; especially because this great Charter is to binde us & our heyers for ever.¹⁷

The Great Charter essentially divided the entire Virginia plantation "into four cities or burroughs, namely: the chief city called James town, Charles City, Henrico, and the Burrough of Kiccowtan."¹⁸ The Great Charter set aside 1500 acres of "common land" in each city or burrough to be used "for a further ease to the inhabitants of all taxes and contributions for the support and entertainment of the particular magistrates and officers and of other charges to the said citys and burroughs."¹⁹ These four cities or burroughs, understood in English tradition as a unit of defense and a corporate body of citizens with a right to send members to parliament,²⁰ thus became the first formalized divisions of government within the Virginia colony.

¹⁶"Reporte of the General Assembly, 1619" in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 6-7; Virginia Company, "Instructions to George Yeardley," 18 November 1618, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 95-108.

¹⁷"Reporte of the General Assembly, 1619" in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 6.

¹⁸Virginia Company, "Instructions to George Yeardley," 18 November 1618, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 98.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 100.

²⁰Black's Law Dictionary, 4th ed., s.v. "borough," "city."

Policies for additional division of public or Company lands within the colony were also presented in the Great Charter. In each city or burrough, 3000 acres were set aside for Company use as well as 3000 acres at Jamestown for the Governors.²¹ These public lands held by the Company were to be used "for the maintenance and support as well of magistracy and officers as of other public charges" in order "to ease all the inhabitants of Virginia forever of all taxes and public burthens, as much as may be, and to take away all occasion of oppression and corruption."²² Each city or burrough was also to set aside 100 acres of "glebe land toward the maintenance of the several ministers of the parishes to be there limited."²³ Furthermore, in Henrico, an additional 10,000 acres were allotted "to endow the building and planting of a college for the training up of the children of those infidels in true religion, moral virtue and civility, and for other godly uses."²⁴ The project "for the planting of a university at the said Henrico" was confirmed "by a special grant and licence from His Majesty" and was to be made up "partly of the lands they impaled and partly of other land within the territory of the said Henrico."²⁵ All other land within the Virginia Company's four cities or burroughs was now available to persons who had fulfilled their agreements to provide money or service to the company.²⁶

²¹Virginia Company, "Instructions to George Yeardley," 18 November 1618, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 96-99.

²²Ibid., 95-96.

²³Ibid., 99-100.

²⁴Ibid., 100.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid., 98.

The distribution of land to individuals under the Great Charter distinguished between those arriving in Virginia before and after Sir Thomas Dale's departure in 1616. Ancient planters who paid the cost of their own transportation could claim their land after three years while those brought to Virginia at the Company's expense were required to finish "the time of their service to the Company on the common Land."²⁷ "Ancient adventurers and planters" who came to Virginia before Dale's departure would receive 100 acres for their "personal adventure" to Virginia and an additional 100 acres for every share of "twelve pound ten shillings" in money adventured or paid; because "the former difficulties and dangers were in greatest part overcome to the great ease and security such as not have been since that time transported thither."²⁸

Planters who came to Virginia after Dale's departure and who paid their own transportation could receive 50 acres of land for their "personal adventure" if they remained in the colony three years. Colonists transported to Virginia at the Company's expense since Dale's departure would serve for seven years as tenants on the Company's lands and keep half the profits of their labors;²⁹ this group of colonists was not specified in the Great Charter as having land rights at the end of their service. Any artisan or tradesmen emigrating to Virginia who was "desirous rather to follow his particular art or trade then to be imployed in husbandry or other rural business" would be allotted "one

²⁷Ibid., 98.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid., 96-99.

dwelling house with four acres of land adjoining."³⁰ Finally, any person who paid the transportation costs of others emigrating to the Virginia colony would receive 50 acres of land per person transported.³¹ All colonists receiving land who had not adventured money to the Company were to pay a specified amount of "free rent" every year to the Company.³² Thus, where colonists settled, by virtue of their land rights under the Great Charter, was left up to them: "free libertie was given to all men to make choice of their dividents of lande and, as their abilities and meanes wd permitt, to possesse and plant uppon them."³³

The Virginia Company granted land to colonists by the authority of the Virginia Charters received from King James I. In the First Virginia Charter of 1606, the King declared

that wee, our heires or successors, upon petition in that behalfe to be made, shall, by lettres patents under the Greate [Seale] of England, give and grannte unto such parson, their heires and assignes, as the Counsell of that Colonie or the most part of them shall for that purpose nominate and assigne, all the landes, tenements and heriditaments which shalbe within the precincts limited for that Colonie, as is aforesaid, to be houlden of us, our heires and successors as of our mannor of Eastgreenwicke in the countie of Kente, in free and common soccage onelie and not in capite.³⁴

³⁰Ibid., 101.

³¹Ibid., 107.

³²See *ibid.*, 96-100 & n. 21, 23, 24; colonists arriving in Virginia before Dale's departure and who paid "their own costs and charges" were not listed as having to pay any "free rent" to the company for their land.

³³"Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 36.

³⁴"The First Charter," 10 April 1606, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 10-11.

The conditions for receiving land in Virginia according to the above charter were expressed in terms of the feudal system of property then existing in England whereby

almost all the real property of this kingdom is by the policy of our laws supposed to be granted by, dependent upon, and holden of some superior or lord, by and in consideration of certain services to be rendered to the lord by the tenant or possessor of this property. The thing holden is therefore stiled a tenement, the possessors thereof tenants, and the manner of their possession a tenure. Thus all the land in the kingdom is supposed to be holden, mediately or immediately, of the king; who is stiled the lord paramount, or above all.³⁵

Within the English feudal system, land held of the King in "free and common socage" was considered "the most free and independent species of any [tenure]" or type of land possession available to an English subject because the service owed by the "tenant" to the "lord" was fixed and certain, usually a certain amount of money or commodity called "rent" that was "free" or "quit" of all other obligation to the lord.³⁶ In contrast, land held of the King "in capite" was based on personal or "knight-service" owed to the "lord," usually the King; while such "knight-service" in its military expression was at one time viewed as the most honorable tenure, it was always more burdensome and uncertain because it was subject to the will of the superior lord.³⁷

Virginia colonists, as "freemen" enjoying all the rights of Englishmen, possessed the land granted to them from the Virginia Company as an "estate of freehold" which was further defined as an "estate of inheritance" in "fee-simple" terms. In English law, a

³⁵Sir William Blackstone, Commentaries on the Laws of England (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1766; reprt. ed., Birmingham, AL: The Legal Classics Library, 1983), 2:59.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 2:42, 78-81.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 2:60-81.

tenant in fee-simple . . . is he that hath land, tenements, or hereditaments, to hold to him and his heirs for ever; generally, absolutely, and simply; without mentioning what heirs, but referring that to his own pleasure, or to the disposition of the law.³⁸

Under the Great Charter, as in the three Virginia Charters, all land assigned to colonists was authorized to be held by "them and their heirs, for ever"--the necessary terms of a "fee-simple" estate.³⁹ A 1616 Virginia Company document permitting "a Division to be now made, of some part of those Lands in our actual possession" reiterated fee-simple freehold possession of land intended for the Virginia colonists:

And furthermore, every man's portion allotted to him, shall be confirmed as state of inheritance to him and his heyers for ever, with bounds and limits under the Companies Seale, to be holden of his Majestie, as of his Manour of East Greenwich, in Socage Tenure, and not in Capite, according to his Majesties gracious Letters Patents already granted to the Virginia Company in that behalfe.⁴⁰

Since Englishmen could only possess estates under feudal terms by owing rent or service to a superior, then, according to Blackstone, a fee-simple estate represented "the highest and most extensive interest that a man can have in a feud."⁴¹ The Great Charter was thus esteemed by the Virginia colonists because the terms of land possession were the most liberal available to any Englishman at the time except the King himself.

³⁸Ibid., 2:104.

³⁹See Virginia Company, "Instructions to George Yeardley," 18 November 1618, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 98, 101, 107.

⁴⁰"A Brief Declaration," April 1616, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 2:779. When the Virginia Company was made a corporate body politic by the Second Virginia Charter of 1609, the Company was given authority to grant land to colonists under its own "common seale" (see "The Second Charter," 23 May 1609, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 42-44).

⁴¹Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:106.

An Emerging Social Order

The proceedings of the General Assembly reveal aspects of the social order encouraged by Virginia Company reforms. The strategy of the Virginia Company to establish a lawmaking body in the colony made up of locally elected Virginia planters had major social and legal implications.⁴² Warren Billings, for instance, argues that

the Company's move to supplant Dale's laws with some parts of common law marks a turning point in Virginia's legal history. It was the first positive step towards the creation of permanent legal institutions in the colony, and its stands out as one of the London Company's most enduring contributions towards the transportation of English culture to the New World.⁴³

After a decade of colonial experience, Virginia colonists apparently welcomed the opportunity to establish a social order based in part on English common law and principles of equity.⁴⁴

After reviewing the Great Charter, the General Assembly of 1619 exercised its new powers of self-government by establishing laws for the colony and framing petitions to be sent to the Company in England. The Assembly's petitions appealed to principles of equity. Several petitions dealt with the new land policies stipulated in the Great Charter, in accordance with the principle therein expressed

that all grants as well of one sort as the other respectively be made with equal favours, and grants of like liberties and immunities as near as may

⁴²"Reporte of the General Assembly, 1619" in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 9-14, for reference in the following discussion.

⁴³Warren M. Billings, "The Transfer of English Law to Virginia 1606-1650," in The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America 1480-1650, ed. K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny, & P. E. H. Hair (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), 218.

⁴⁴Ibid.

be to the end that all complaint of partiality [or] difference may be prevented.⁴⁵

For instance, the members of the Assembly specifically requested that, in the laying out of the public and College lands,

such groundes as heretofore had bene granted by patent to the antient Planters by former Governours, that had from the Company received Comission so to doe, might not nowe, after so muche labour & coste, & so many yeares habitation be taken from them.⁴⁶

This petition indicates that lands had been granted to some colonists under the 1616 instructions by the Company to make a division of lands in Virginia; Governor Argall, however, apparently did not universally publicize nor administer these instructions in the colony.⁴⁷ The General Assembly also sought a more equalized relationship with the governing courts of the Company in London, petitioning that the laws passed by the Assembly could be enforced until rejected by the Company and "that they will give us power to allowe or disallowe of their Orders of Courte, as his Majesty hath given them power to allowe or to reject our Lawes."⁴⁸ The General Assembly created "lawes drawn out of the Instructions given" to former governors and added a number of new

⁴⁵Virginia Company, "Instructions to George Yeardley," 18 November 1618, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 107.

⁴⁶"Reporte of the General Assembly, 1619" in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 6.

⁴⁷See "Brief Declaration," April 1616, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 774-79. There is no mention of private land grants to colonists in either the Ancient Planters' "Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 28-37, or in Smith's "Generall Historie," 1624, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 2:262-69.

⁴⁸"Reporte of the General Assembly, 1619" in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 16.

laws for the colony.⁴⁹ Almost all of these laws "as were held expedient & requisite for the welfare and peaceable government of this Common-weale" dealt with English-Indian relations, personal morality, religion, duties of ministers, marriage, agricultural production, servants, and trade.⁵⁰

The proceedings of the 1619 General Assembly reveal an emerging social order led by freeman, freeholders, householders, and their families. This observation supports Sigmund Diamond's conclusion based on his examination of Virginia settlement from 1607, that "by 1619 Virginia was becoming a society, in which behavior was in some way determined by the totality of positions each person held in a network of sometimes complimentary, sometimes contradictory relationships."⁵¹ While all Virginia colonists or planters were "freemen" because they were English citizens, not all Virginia colonists were "freemen" economically--some colonists were "freemen" and some were "servants" bound by voluntary indenture for a certain period of time to work for either the Company, a particular plantation, or a private planter. Freemen could live and work by themselves individually, or they might be "master of a family" in relation to either one or more servants or as a "husband" in relation to a "wife" and/or "children" plus possible servants. All freemen maintained a certain kind of relation to housing and land. Freemen could be either "householders," meaning head of a household, or "boarders/lodgers" who lived with a householder; in terms of their relation to land, freemen could be either "freeholders" as

⁴⁹Ibid., 9-14.

⁵⁰John Rolfe, "A Letter to Sir Edwin Sandys," January 1619/20, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:241.

⁵¹Diamond, "Social Structure", 245.

owners of land, or "tenants" who leased or rented land from a freeholder. "Householders" and "boarders/lodgers" could be either "freeholders" or "tenants" and vice versa. Each of the above terms refer to primary relationships between Virginia colonists as persons and between the colonists and their place of habitation or settlement--relationships which were structured in English culture by legally binding rights, duties, and obligations which were interdependent and reciprocal. As such, these terms refer to the structure of human ecological relations of persons and environment in the Virginia colony.

Finally, the proceedings of the 1619 Assembly dealt with a social order shaped by common agricultural pursuits and the concerns of an agricultural economy. Corn, tobacco, and livestock were predominant agricultural activities, though grape vines, "Mulberrie trees for the nourishinge of silke wormes," "silke-flaxe" or silk grass, hemp, and English flax were experimented with at request of the Company and required by laws of the General Assembly.⁵² On a smaller household garden scale, the Virginia planters were already growing

pease and beanes, English wheate, peas, barley, turnips, cabbages, pumpions, West Indian and others, carretts, parsnips, and such like, besides hearbs and flowers, all of our English seede, both for pleasure and for the kitchen, so good, so fruitful, so pleasant and profitable, as the best made ground in England can yield.⁵³

⁵²"Reporte of the General Assembly, 1619" in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 10; Smith, "Generall Historie," 1624, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 2:267; "Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 36.

⁵³Rolfe, "Virginia in 1616," 105.

The agricultural prosperity of the colonists eventually required certain natural and economic adaptations, however, as land wore out under intensive cultivation and the tobacco market in England was destabilized by variations in matters such as price and quality.⁵⁴ The development of agriculture in the Virginia colony was dramatically affected by the new form of government, the Great Charter of 1618, and the new leadership:

The effect of which proceedinge gave such incouragement to every person heere that all of them followed their perticular labours with singular alacrity and industry, soe that, through the blessinge of God upon our willinge labors, within the space of three yeares, our cuntrye flourished with many new erected Plantations, from the head of the River to Kicoughtan, beautifull and pleasant to the spectators, comfortable for the releife and succor of all such as by occasion did travaile by land or by water; every man giveinge free entertainment, both to frendes or others.⁵⁵

A major factor in the rapid development of agriculture in the Virginia colony at this time was private land ownership and use. John Rolfe observed this development noting that

all the Ancient Planters being sett free have chosen places for their dividende according to the Comysion. Wch giveth all greate contente, for now knowing their owne landes, they strive and are prpared to build houses & to cleere their groundes ready to plant, wch giveth the * * * [sic]

⁵⁴See first mention of the problem of soil exhaustion by Governor Argall, in "A Letter, Probably to His Majesty's Council for Virginia," 9 June 1617, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:74, and his "A Letter to the Virginia Company," 10 March 1617/18, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:92. Differences in tobacco prices and quality are mentioned in "Reporte of the General Assembly, 1619" in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 8, 11.

⁵⁵"Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 36.

greate incouragemt, and the greate hope to make the Colony florrish that ever yet happened to them.⁵⁶

Agricultural land use in the colony remained largely subsistence-oriented for individual planters rather than profit-oriented for the adventurers in England.

Increased Immigration

Immigration to Virginia also dramatically increased under the reforms pursued by during the new Virginia Company administration. Most newcomers to Virginia came from England and were bound as servants to either the Company, particular plantations, or private planters. In 1619, the first Africans were brought to Virginia as either servants or slaves; according to John Rolfe,

about the latter end of August, a Dutch man of Warr . . . arrived at Point-Comfort, the Comandors name Capt Jope He brought not any thing but 20. and odd Negroes, wch the Governor and Cape Marchant bought for victualles (whereof he was in greate need as he pretended) at the best and easyest rates they could.⁵⁷

From June 1619 to about July 1620, the Company reported that 1261 persons were sent from England to Virginia--871 persons in ships sponsored by the Company and 390 persons in ships sponsored by groups of private adventurers for particular plantations, as eleven more land patents had been granted for particular plantations that year.⁵⁸ From

⁵⁶John Rolfe, "Letter to Sandys," January 1619/20, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:245.

⁵⁷Ibid., 3:243. The ambiguity surrounding the status of the first Africans in Virginia is reviewed by Warren M. Billips in "The Law of Servants and Slaves in Seventeenth Century Virginia", Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 99 (January 1991) 54-62. See also Alden T. Vaughan's "The Origins Debate: Slavery and Racism in Seventeenth-Century Virginia", Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 97 (July 1989):311-54.

⁵⁸Virginia Company, "A Note of the Shipping, Men, and Provisions Sent to Virginia (continued...)

August 1620 to early 1621, at least another 1000 colonists were sent to Virginia.⁵⁹ By the end of 1621, the number of colonists sent to Virginia by "private mens charges" (largely by adventurers sponsoring particular plantations) compared to the number sent by the Company had increased to a ratio of 9 to 1.⁶⁰ From May 1621 to May 1622, some 1300 more colonists were sent to Virginia from England.⁶¹ Thus, within three years, over 3500 new colonists left England to settle with the 450 colonists living in Virginia when the first General Assembly met in 1619.

Many new immigrants to Virginia met with severe sickness, disease, and subsequent mortality during their passage and in their new environment. The ancient planters remembered

those years fallinge out to be generally contagious through this contient, the people alsoe sent over arrived heere at the most unseasonable time of the yeare, beinge at the heat of Sommer, and divers of the ships brought with them most pestilent infections, wherof many of their people had died at Sea, soe that these times also of plenty and libertie were mixed with the calamities of sicknes and mortalitie.⁶²

⁵⁸(...continued)

by the Treasurer and Company in the Yeere, 1619," in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:115-16, 118.

⁵⁹Virginia Company, "A Note of the Shipping, Men, and Provisions, Sent and Provided for Virginia,[...in the yeere, 1620]," in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:239-40.

⁶⁰Virginia Company Court Book, 31 October 1621, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 1:538.

⁶¹Virginia Company, "A Note of the Shipping, Men, and Provisions Sent and Provided for Virginia, . . . 1621," in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:639.

⁶²"Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 36.

For instance, John Pory wrote in late September, 1619, that "both those of our nation and the Indians also have this Torride somer bene visited wth great sicknes & mortality."⁶³ In January 1619/20, John Rolfe described the past year as "very contagious for sycknes, whereof many both old and new men died" resulting in "many straggling Plantacons, much weakened by the greate mortality."⁶⁴ By March 1619/20, the Company had received word of "the great mortalltye wch hath beene in Virginia about 300: of the Inhabitants haveinge dyed this last yeare."⁶⁵ The Company observed, however, that

the mortality, which this last yeere hath there wrought upon the People, to the consumption of divers hundreds and almost the utter destruction of some particular plantations . . . hath proceeded from a disease in it selfe not mortall, and accordingly hath most wrought upon the new plantations, who . . . were destitute of those meanes, which should have relieved and cherished them in their weakenesse and sicknesse, of which the ancients Inhabitants being provided, did recover.⁶⁶

Though the Company acknowledged an important human ecological principle--that "in the health of the People, consisteth the very life, strength, encrease, and prosperity of the

⁶³John Pory, "A Letter to 'The Right Honble and My Singular Good Lord'," 30 September 1619, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:220.

⁶⁴John Rolfe, "Letter to Sandys," January 1619/20, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:244.

⁶⁵Virginia Company, Court Book, 15 March 1619, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 1:319-20.

⁶⁶Treasurer, Councill, and Company for Virginia, "A Broadside," 17 May 1620, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:275.

whole generall Colony"⁶⁷--they were ineffective in reducing the high disease and mortality rate which plagued the colonists for the next few years.⁶⁸

The sudden increase of new immigrants who were often inadequately supplied strained the subsistence resources of the older colonists. The settlement of 100 "Tennantes upon the Companies land and the Colledge land" at Henrico in November 1619 is illustrative of the subsistence problems resulting from immigrants arriving in Virginia without sufficient provisions.⁶⁹ When these "new men" arrived at Jamestown, the Governor and Council in Virginia assessed "ther Provision of victualles" and found that their "544 bushells of English meale" rationed at a "moderate allowance of two poundes of meale a day to a man would not last them above 5 Monthes and 14 dayes"--several months short of the fall harvest of corn; consequently, the Governor and Council advised the two Commanders of the tenants "to rent out the greatest part of ther people to some honest and sufficent men of the Colonie till Cristmas Come twelve month" in order to meet their food, clothing, and shelter needs.⁷⁰ The Governor and Council also reasoned

that most of these new men beinge put forth into the service of old planters, might not onely be prsently howsed and provided of necesaries

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸See Craven's discussion in Dissolution of the Virginia Company, 148-75.

⁶⁹Council in Virginia, "The Putting out of the Tenantes that Came Over in the B. N. wth Other Orders of the Councell," 11 November 1619, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:226-27.

⁷⁰Ibid., 3:226.

but be trayned up also in all the usuall workes of the Country, and be well Seasoned for the pubique service against another yeare.⁷¹

About 50 of these tenants were rented to ancient planters and the remaining 50 were split between the two Commanders.⁷² Captain Weldon took his men to "Harrowatox in Consortship with Captaine Mathewes, both for his ease in buildinge ther beinge two howes allready builte to his hand and for his securitye against Indians tell he have better strenthe and meanes to seatt upon the Colledge land;" Lieutenant Whitaker took his men to Company land about four miles west of Jamestown near the mouth of the Chickahominy River.⁷³

The plight of insufficiently provisioned immigrants to Virginia was bluntly communicated to the Company in England by their colonial leaders. Captain Weldon wrote from "Harrowhattocke" in March 1619 concerning

the great defectes of the provisions promised in England hath very much greived me & almost dishartened my whole Company for whereas the tennantes were promised 3. suites of aparell for every mann full armes & a Competent provision of houshold stuffe I finde here but 2 suites of aparell for a mann. (& one of them soe meane & unserviceable that it will not defend them from the injury of the wether wch hath bene extreame Cold ever since our Cominge hether) but 30 musketes 5. iron potes & 1. small kettle for 50. menn. . . . our maine provision of victualles is so short

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²John Rolfe, "Letter to Sandys," January 1619/20, Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:246.

⁷³Council in Virginia, "The Putting Out of the Tenantes that Came Over in the B. N. with Other Orders of the Councell," 11 November 1619, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:227. John Rolfe specifies the location of "Capt. Matthewes 3. myles beyond Henrico" in "Letter to Sandys," January 1619/20, Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:246.

that the Governor & Capemerchant seinge my Invoice protested I had not a Competent proportion for 50. menn for above 4. monethes.⁷⁴

Weldon went on to request more young men for his task "& above all let me intreat you to send them well provided both of victualls & aparell for I Cannot be suplyed here (upon any termes) of such necessities as my Company extreamly wanteth."⁷⁵

In June 1620, Governor Yeardley protested the unexpected arrival of four ships from England sent with ten weeks rather than six months provision; as a result, Yeardley declared

I pray thinke it not strange I should wryght thus to send victualls with your people for you may be pleased well to conceive that yf such nombers of people come upon me unexpected, and that at an unhealthfull season and to late to sett Corne I cannott then be able to feed them owt of others labors.⁷⁶

Yeardley further advised the Company not to send over so many new colonists in such haste "before you have acquainted me and have trewly bin enformed by me of the state of the Plantation and what may be done here."⁷⁷ While the Virginia colonists had learned to provide for their own subsistence, they were not able to meet the additional subsistence needs of large numbers of empty-handed English immigrants sent by the Company and private adventurers.

⁷⁴William Weldon, "A Letter to Sir Edwin Sandys," 6 March 1619/20, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:263.

⁷⁵Ibid., 3:264.

⁷⁶Sir George Yeardley, "A Letter to Sir Edwin Sandys," 7 June 1620, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:299.

⁷⁷Ibid.

Sending "Wives for the People in Virginia"

Recognition of the significance of family to permanent English settlement of Virginia also emerged during this period of the colony's development. The first explicit statement by Virginia planters of the importance of women and children to the life of the colony was made by the General Assembly in 1619 when the members asked the Company

to allowe to the male children . . . begotten in Virginia, being the onely hope of a Posterity, a single share [of land] a piece, and shares for their wives as for themselves, because that in a newe plantation it is not known whether man or woman be the most necessary.⁷⁸

Though the Virginia Company did not alter colonial land policy to extend land to planters by virtue of the mere existence of wives and children, the Company was becoming concerned about the impact of a predominantly single male population on the public projects of the Company. In November 1619, the Company confronted the problematic motivation of individual planters which thwarted the Company's goals for establishing permanent English settlement in the New World. Sir Edwin Sandys argued to the "Great and General Court" of the Virginia Company, that explicit action needed to be taken

because he understood that the people thither transported, though seated there in their persons for some few yeares, are not settled in their mindes to make it their place of rest and continuance, but having gotten some wealth there, to returne againe into England.⁷⁹

⁷⁸"Reporte of the General Assembly, 1619" in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 7.

⁷⁹Court Book, 17 November 1619, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 1:266, 269.

To remedy "that mischief," Sandys presented a proposal to send women to Virginia "to become wives; that wives, children and familie might make them lesse moveable and settle them together with their Posteritie in that Soile."⁸⁰ Sandys' statements thus introduced a new familial consideration into the Company's approach to settlement which directly addressed the social deficiencies of the Virginia planters.

The Virginia Company proceeded to translate the proposal to send women to Virginia to become wives into a tangible colonial project. These women were to be "young and uncorrupt;" the cost of transportation would be paid by either the Company, if a woman married a Company servant, or by the new husband, if a woman married a man not obligated to the Company.⁸¹ By May 1620, the Company could report that 90 "Young Maydens to make wives for soe many of ye former Tennantes" had been sent to Virginia.⁸² The Company also proposed to send 100 more "young maydes to make wives" in July 1620.⁸³ Lack of finances, however, forced the Company to present the project "for sending 100: mayds to be made wives" a year later as one of four "Rolls" to

⁸⁰Ibid; see also Court Book, 3 November 1619, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 1:256-57.

⁸¹Court Book, 3 November 1619, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 1:256-57.

⁸²Court Book, 17 May 1620, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 1:352; Virginia Company, "A Note of the Shipping, Men and Provisions, Sent to Virginia, by the Treasurer and Company in the Yeere 1619," in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:115.

⁸³Court Book, 7 July 1620, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 1:391; His Majesties Counseil for Virginia, "A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia," 22 June 1620, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:313.

be underwritten or financed by individual adventurers.⁸⁴ By November of 1621, 800 pounds had been raised and another group of some 60 "younge handsome and honestly educated maydes" had been sent to Virginia, "being such as were specially recomended unto the Companie for their good bringinge up by their parentes or friendes of good worth."⁸⁵

The need for women in Virginia, especially women who would marry and help establish family households, was even more forcefully argued when the Company proposed to send women as potential wives to Virginia in 1621. Both Virginia planters and English adventurers gave their support to a project now perceived as contributing to the basic survival of the colony. When one group of "Maides for Wives for the people in Virginia" were sent from England in August 1621, the Company's instructions to the Governor and Council in Virginia explained that "certain worthy gentlemen" were financing the project because they had taken "into their consideration, that the Plantacon can never flourish till families be planted, and the respect of wives and Children fix the people on the Soyle."⁸⁶ Another group of almost fifty "maides and young women" were

⁸⁴Court Book, 16 July 1621, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 1:514.

⁸⁵Court Book, 21 November 1621, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 1:566. See also Virginia Company, "A Note of the Shipping, Men, and Provisions for Virginia, . . . 1621," in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:640.

⁸⁶Virginia Company, "Letter to the Governor and Council in Virginia," 12 August 1621, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:493.

sent from England in September 1621.⁸⁷ At a Virginia Company Court meeting in November 1621, the sending of "Maydes to Virginia to be made Wyves" was declared as something

wch the Planters there did verie much desire by the want of whome have sprange the greatest hinderances of the encrease of the Plantacon, in that most of them esteeming Virginia not as a place of Habitacon but onely of a short sojourninge have applyed themselves and their labors wholly to the raisinge of present proffitt and utterly neglected not only staple Comodities but even the verie necessities of mans life.⁸⁸

The colonists' pursuit of short-term "present proffitt" was the enemy of English settlement in Virginia, whether in regard to the planters' own subsistence or the adventurers' desire for "staple Comodities." The colonists needed families--"whereby the Planters mindes may be the faster tyed to Virginia by the bondes of Wyes and Children"⁸⁹--in order to achieve long-term settlement with the benefits of subsistence and surplus for trade from a renewable, rather than a merely extractive, economy.

The women sought as wives for the Virginia planters were quickly integrated into the life of the colony. Instructions to the Governor and Council in Virginia indicate how these women were to be treated when they first arrived in Virginia:

that at theire first landinge they may be housed, lodged and provided for of diet till they be married . . . and in case they cannot be presently

⁸⁷Virginia Company, "Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia," 11 September 1621, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:505.

⁸⁸Court Book, 21 November 1621, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 1:566.

⁸⁹Ibid.

Marryed we desire they may be putt to severall housholders that have wives till they can be provided of husbandes.⁹⁰

The wives-to-be, however, were not to be forced into marrying someone against their will--"we are desireous that mariadge be free according to the law of nature"--though by 1621 the Company hoped they would marry freemen and such tenants who could support them and pay for their passage to Virginia.⁹¹ If a woman "shall unwarily or fondly bestow her self (for the libertie of Mariadge we dare not infrindg) uppon such as shall not be able to give prsent sattisfaccon," (i.e., a poor servant), then the first debt to be required of the new husband was his wife's passage money.⁹² If a woman did not marry right away, the Company desired of the Virginia Governor and Council

yor best furtherance for providing them fitting services, till they may hapne uppon good matches; and are here perswaded by many old Planters that there wilbe maisters enow found there who will readily lay down what charge shalbe required, uppon assurance of repayment at their mariadges.⁹³

To encourage the Virginia planters, the Company promised "to send over as many youths for apprentices to those that shall now Marry any of them and make us due

⁹⁰Virginia Company, "Letter to the Governor and Council in Virginia," 12 August 1621, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:493.

⁹¹Ibid., 3:494; see also Virginia Company, "Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia," 11 September 1621, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:505; and Court Book, 21 November 1621, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 1:566. The passage fee for the women sent in 1621 was set at 120 or 150 pounds of tobacco, depending on which of the two ships a woman sailed.

⁹²Virginia Company, "Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia," 11 September 1621, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:505.

⁹³Ibid., 3:505-06.

satisfaccon."⁹⁴ The Company thus intended to strengthen with laboers the new family households resulting from the marriages of these wives-to-be.

The 1619 Virginia Company reforms which dealt with law, government, and land in Virginia gave the colonists greater liberty to pursue their own desires for happiness in the New World. As a result, private development of land began to exceed the Virginia Company's efforts and many more English settlements were established along the King's River. These reforms were preserved in October 1621 when

arived Sir Fras. Wyatt, Knight, with commission to be Govr and Capt. Genl of Virginia. He ratified and confirmed all the afore mentioned liberties, freedoms and priveledges, to our great happines and content; the country alsoe flourished and increased in her former proceedinges.⁹⁵

Virginia settlement would only be temporary, however, without the presence of families and the creation of family households to provide the potential for happiness in permanent relationships necessary for permanent settlement. A dramatic increase in immigration from 1619 through 1621 brought many new colonists, including at least 150 women sent to become wives for Virginia planters. While the sudden growth in the colony's population was accompanied by tremendous rates of sickness, disease, and mortality, it was understood that "the mortality of the people accuse not the place, for of the old Planters and the families scarce one of twenty miscarries, onely the want of necessaries are the occasions of those diseases."⁹⁶ Despite the hardships and constant struggle to

⁹⁴Ibid., 3:505.

⁹⁵"Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 36.

⁹⁶Smith, "Generall Historie," 1624, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 2:287.

survive in a new land, the Virginia colony became an "Infant-Commonwealth"⁹⁷--and was beginning "to have the face and fashion of an orderly State, and such as is likely to grow and prosper."⁹⁸ Henrico, now one of four burroughs in the Virginia colony, would become a part of the history of that Commonwealth and State through the lives of her settlers.

Henrico "Unsettled"

Three years after the colonial reforms instituted in 1619, the corporation or "Burrough" of Henrico included several new English settlements. The 10,000 acres set aside for the College in 1618 extended "from Henrico to the falls" on the north side of the King's River.⁹⁹ When Captain William Weldon led the Company's tenants up to the College lands in 1619, however, he found that

one of the best seates is already planted by Captaine Mathews for the use of Sr Thomas Midleton & Alderman Johnson & another Challenged by Thomas Dows by a graunt from Captaine Argoll one of them beinge now ready for the plough & the other most Convenient for pasture both of them nere the place of my plantation & most fittinge for my present use.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷Phrase from John Pory, "A Letter to 'The Right Honble and My Singular Good Lorde'," 30 September 1619, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:219.

⁹⁸His Majesties Counseil for Virginia, "A Declaration of the State in Virginia," 22 June 1620, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:310.

⁹⁹William Weldon, "A Letter to Sir Edwin Sandys," 6 March 1619/20, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:264; see also "Extracts of all the Titles and Estates of Land, Sent Home by Sir Francis Wyatt," May 1625, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:551.

¹⁰⁰William Weldon, "Letter to Sandys," 6 March 1619/20, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:264.

Captain Mathews, apparently in partnership with a "particular plantation" group, was established "at Harrowatox" some "3. myles beyond Henrico."¹⁰¹ Thomas Dowse was an ancient planter and one of the two burgesses from Henrico sent to the General Assembly at Jamestown in 1619.¹⁰² On the south side of the river, other settlements were established by the end of 1621. An Iron Works was begun at Falling Creek with a work crew of almost 30 people led by Captain John Berkley; three miles south of Falling Creek, Thomas Sheffield was settled with his family and several servants.¹⁰³ Also, John Proctor and his wife apparently started a plantation south of Sheffield's on what became known as Proctor's creek.¹⁰⁴

The older settlements established by Sir Thomas Dale-- Henrico town, Coxendale, and Bermuda Hundred and City (now known as Charles Hundred and City)--were in decline due to building deterioration and soil depletion.¹⁰⁵ When Governor Yeardley

¹⁰¹Council in Virginia, "The Putting out of the Tenants that Came Over in the B. N. wth Other Orders of the Councell," 11 November 1619, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:227; John Rolfe, "Letter to Sandys," January 1619/20, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:246.

¹⁰²Dowse may have been in Virginia as early as 1610, see George Percy, "'A Trewe Relacyon': Virginia from 1609 to 1612," 270-74; "Reporte of the General Assembly, 1619" in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 3.

¹⁰³Edward Waterhouse, A Declaration of the State of the Colony in Virginia, 1622, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 35-36; note also Treasurer and Company, "Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia," 25 July 1621, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:487.

¹⁰⁴Proctor was listed as having land in this area and a "Mistrisse Proctor" was forced to leave her isolated plantation after March 1622--see "Titles and Estates of Land," May 1625, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:552; Smith, "Generall Historie," 1624, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 2:303.

¹⁰⁵After "Charles City" was named a "Burrough" in the Great Charter of 1618, the
(continued...)

arrived in 1619, the ancient planters remembered there were "at Henrico, two or three old howses, a poore ruinated church with some few poore buildings in the Island; Coxen Dale and the Maine and att Arrahatocke one house, at Charles Cittie sixe howses much decayed."¹⁰⁶ At Henrico and Charles Cittie, it was reported that "the Soil of both is barren, worn out, and not fit for Culture."¹⁰⁷ Henrico's first phase of settlement under Dale's mandate by the Company to establish a new town in Virginia was thus superseded by a second phase of more decentralized settlement, even though particular plantations and private planters in Henrico were still overshadowed by two major Virginia Company projects--the founding of a College and the founding of an Iron Works.

Relations between the English and the Indians had changed much since Dale first settled Henrico under attack by Indians in 1611. The peace effected between the two nations by the marriage of John Rolfe and Pocahontas in 1614 had been strained by every change in English and Indian leadership. For instance, when Yeardley began his administration in 1619, the new Indian King Opechankanough (brother of the deceased

¹⁰⁵(...continued)

formal boundary of "Charles City Burrough" was temporarily extended west to include the old "Bermuda Hundred" or "Charles Hundred" area; this boundary was recognized for over a decade.

¹⁰⁶"Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 35.

¹⁰⁷"Letter of the Governor, Council and Assembly of Virginia to the king in reply to Capt. Nathaniel Butlers 'Unmasking of Virginia', [1623/24]" in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 25.

Powhatan) "stood aloofe upon termes of dout and Jealousy and would not be drawne to any treaty at all."¹⁰⁸

Trust, however, was reestablished between the two nations by early 1621, according to reports from the Virginia colonists to the Company:

Whereas before they had ever a suspicion of Opechankanough, and all the rest of the Salvages, . . . now they all write so confidently of their assured peace with the Salvages, there is now no more feare nor danger either of their power or trechery.¹⁰⁹

Peaceful conditions enabled the colonists to integrate the economic and religious purposes of English settlement:

By which assurance of securitie, the Plantations of particular Adventurers and Planters were placed scatteringly and straglingly as a choyce veyne of rich ground invited them The houses generally set open to the Savages, who were alwaies friendly entertained at the tables of the English, and commonly lodged in their bed-chambers. . . . and their familiarity with the Natives, seeming to open a faire gate for their conversion to Christianitie.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸Council in Virginia, "The Putting out of the Tenantes that Came Over in the B. N. wth Other Orders of the Councell," 11 November 1619, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:228.

¹⁰⁹Smith, "Generall Historie," 1624, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 2:284. Governor Francis Wyatt reconfirmed peace between the two nations soon after he began his administration in November 1621, see Council in Virginia, "Letter to Virginia Company of London," January 1621/22, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:583-84.

¹¹⁰Waterhouse, A Declaration of the State of the Colony in Virginia, 1622, 12-13.

From the English point of view, English settlement would extend prosperity and the Christian gospel to the Indians and these benefits could only occur when the two nations enjoyed a secure peace.¹¹¹

The 1621/22 Massacre

Peace was shattered on Friday morning, March 22, 1621/22, when the Indians rose up against the English and killed 347 men, women, and children in 31 settlements.¹¹²

The English were completely surprised and shocked by this massacre of colonists:

As in other dayes before, [the Indians] came unarmed into our houses, without Bowes or arrowes, or other weapons, with Deere, Turkies, Fish, Furies, and other provisions, to sell, and trucke with us, for glasse, beades, and other trifles: yea in some places, sate downe at Breakfast with our people at their tables, whom immediately with their owne tooles and weapons, eyther laid downe, or standing in their houses, they basely and barbarously murthered, not sparing eyther age or sexe, man, woman or childe In which manner they also slew many of our people then at their severall workes and husbandries in the fields, and without their houses . . . they well knowing in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their daily familiarity, and resort to us for trading and other negotiations.¹¹³

The Indian plan to wipe out all 1240 English colonists was thwarted by "Chauco," a converted Indian, who revealed the plan to a colonist he lived with named Pace.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹See Karen Ordahl Kupperman's important discussion of English-Indian relations in Settling With the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580-1640 (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1980), especially Chaps. 8-9.

¹¹²Waterhouse, A Declaration of the State of the Colony in Virginia, 1622, 13-14, 35-43; Smith, "Generall Historie," 1624, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 2:294-302.

¹¹³Waterhouse, A Declaration of the State of the Colony in Virginia, 1622, 13-14.

¹¹⁴Ibid., 18, 20; Council in Virginia, "Letter to Virginia Company in London," 4 April 1623, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:98. Population in the
(continued...)

Pace upon this discovery, securing his house, before day rowed over the River to James-City (in that place neere three miles in bredth) and gave notice thereof to the Governor, by which meanes they were prevented there, and at such other Plantations as was possible for a timely intelligence to be given.¹¹⁵

At the instigation of Opechankanough, the Indians had once again proven themselves a formidable enemy capable of calculating, coordinating, and executing the destruction of English settlement in Virginia.

The impact of the March 22 massacre on Henrico area settlements was severe--71 colonists were killed in six settlements.¹¹⁶ At Captain Berkley's Iron Works on Falling Creek, 27 persons were slain and tools and supplies were thrown into the river.¹¹⁷ The College Land lost 17 people, Thomas Sheffields plantation lost 13 people, and at Henrico town or island, 5 persons were killed.¹¹⁸ At Abraham Peircey's Plantation on the Appomattox river, 4 people were killed while "Capt. John Smith's Company" at Charles City lost 5 people (see Figure 5.1).¹¹⁹ Once the colonial leadership recognized the Indian massacre as an act of war and assessed the danger to the remaining plantations,

¹¹⁴(...continued)

Virginia Colony at this time is given in, Mr. Wroth, "Notes from Lists Showing Total Number of Emigrants to Virginia," 1622, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:537.

¹¹⁵Waterhouse, A Declaration of the State of the Colony in Virginia, 1622, 21.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 35-36. The number killed in the Henrico area was about 20% of the total colonists slain.

¹¹⁷Ibid., 35; "Papers of the Assembly of 1627/28," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 48.

¹¹⁸Waterhouse, A Declaration of the State of the Colony in Virginia, 1622, 36.

¹¹⁹Ibid., 37.

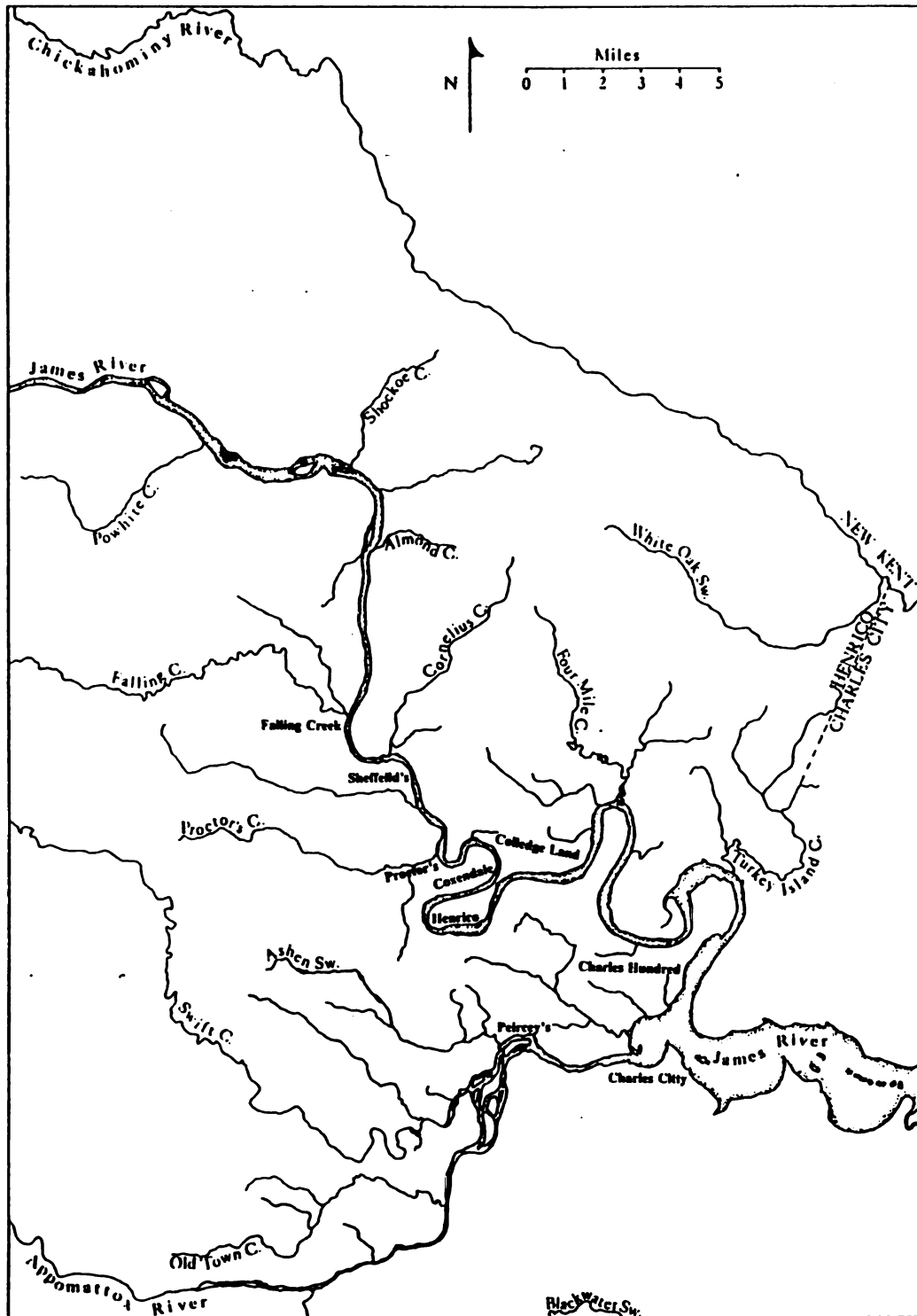


Figure 5.1 Henrico Area Settlements, March 1621/22

the decision was made to evacuate those settlements farthest from Jamestown.

Consequently, Captain Roger Smith was commissioned on April 20, 1622

to have absolute power and Comand in all matters of warr, over all the people both in Henerico Ileand and Coxendale, Requiring the said Capt Roger Smith to use all care and vigilancie, for the safe bringeing away of all the said people, and cattell, and goodes at Henerico Ileand and Coxendale.¹²⁰

"Forced by the Ennymie," colonists at Charles Hundred fled their houses in fear "by reason whereof shortly after it was burnt by the Indians."¹²¹ Some colonists did not readily abandon their homes, however; at John Proctor's plantation, "Mistrisse Proctor" would not leave "til perforce the English Officers forced her and all them with her to goe with them, or they would fire her house themselves, as the Salvages did when they were gone."¹²² Thus, as a result of the massacre, the burrough of Henrico was completely unsettled as all remaining colonists were moved to settlements closer to Jamestown.

War and Disease

The new war between the Indians and English and the ensuing concentration of colonists for purposes of defense interrupted all normal settlement activities and threatened the colonists with famine, disease, and mortality. The colonial leadership pleaded for corn to be sent from England, otherwise they did not know

how in this tyme of distress untill ye Plantatione hath a little recovered yt self and is some whatt settled, wee shalbe provided of a sufficyent

¹²⁰Governor in Virginia, "Commission to Captain Smith," 20 April 1622, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:611.

¹²¹McIlwaine, ed. Minutes, 79-80.

¹²²Smith, "Generall Historie," 1624, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 2:303.

proportione of Corne, wherein now the very life of the whole Colony consist, to feede soe many mouthes as are heere, two third partes wherof are women children & unservisable people since there was never more cause to feare the miserable ruine of ye Plantacone by a relapse into an extreame famine then at this tyme, unles our wante be supplide from home.¹²³

The Indians continued to burn abandoned homes and kill any livestock left behind in outlying settlements, further reducing the subsistence resources of the colonists.¹²⁴ To protect what remained, many of the able-bodied planters "must now of necessaty be ymployde in watchinge and wardinge night and daye for the safetie of the rest of the Howses, of the Cattlle, and of the corne wch shalbe planted."¹²⁵ Other men were "sent owt against the Indyans" to counter the Indians' attacks on the colony and to revenge the losses to the colony.¹²⁶ The English in Virginia were forced to turn from planting to war in order to survive, a move which in itself threatened the survival of the colonists.

As a result of crowded and weakened conditions necessitated by defense, the colonists were more vulnerable to diseases endemic to the Virginia environment and diseases brought over on English ships. George Sandys reported from Jamestown in March 1622/23 that

such a pestilent fever rageth this winter amongst us: never knowne before in Virginia, by the infected people yt came over in ye Abigall . . . every where dispersinge the contagion. The fore runninge Sumer hath beene

¹²³Council in Virginia, "A Letter to the Virginia Company of London," April 1622, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:613.

¹²⁴*Ibid.*, 3:612.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, 3:613-14.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, 3:614.

alsoe deadly unto us; I for my part, haveinge lost 19 by sickenes & 4 by ye Indians.¹²⁷

In another letter, Sandys expressed how "extreame hath beene the mortalitie of this yeare, wch I am afraid hath dobled the Number of those wch were massacred."¹²⁸ During the year following the massacre, the death rate amongst the English actually exceeded that of the massacre itself--some 371 colonists were named as dead since April 1622 in a census taken February 16, 1622/23.¹²⁹ In the larger settlements of the Jamestown area and Elizabeth City (formerly Kicoughtan), the ratio of dead to living was one out of four or five; in the smaller settlements at the "Plantation over agt James Cittie" and Martin's Hundred the ratio rose to one out of two or three.¹³⁰ Of the living who had survived since the massacre, one colonist declared "there is few of us that have not knockt this yeare at the gates of death."¹³¹ Many colonists who managed to escape the massacre ended up dying without a home in either England or Virginia. The Indian massacre of March 1621/22 had brought the English colony in Virginia to its weakest point since the

¹²⁷George Sandys, "Letter to Mr. Farrer by the Hopewel," March 1622/23, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:25.

¹²⁸George Sandys, "Letter to Sir Miles Sandys," 30 March 1623, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:71.

¹²⁹See "Lists of the Livinge & Dead in Virginia, Fev. 16th, 1623," in Colonial Records of Virginia, Senate Document (Extra) (Richmond, VA: Public Printer, 1874), 55-60.

¹³⁰Ibid.

¹³¹George Sandys, "Letter to Sir Miles Sandys," 30 March 1623, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:72.

winter of 1609/10; the abandonment of the Henrico settlements and the subsequent scarcity, sickness, and death among the colonists clearly demonstrated that weakness.

End of the Virginia Company Era

The Virginia Company was much grieved by news of the massacre and judged the tragedy to be "the heavie hand of Allmightie God for the punishment of ours and yor transgressions."¹³² The Company informed the colonists that they could do little to meet their subsistence needs after the massacre with the Company's "publique stock" being "utterly as you know exhausted;" the colonists were left to rely on themselves and private individuals in England.¹³³ The Company did dramatically revise its Indian policy to revenge the dead colonists, and encouraged reprisal "even to the measure that they intended against us, the rooting them out for being longer a people uppon the face of the Earth."¹³⁴ English revenge was supposed to be managed within some limits, however:

Yet remembring who we are, rather then what they have been, we cannot but advise, not only the sparing, but the preservation, of the younger people of both Sexes, whose bodies may, by labor and service become

¹³²Treasurer and Council for Virginia, "Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia," 1 August 1622, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:666.

¹³³Ibid., 3:668-69; Virginia Company, "A Letter to the Governor and the Council in Virginia," 7 October 1622, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:683.

¹³⁴Virginia Company, "A Letter to the Governor and the Council in Virginia," 7 October 1622, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:683; see also Treasurer and Council for Virginia, 1 August 1622, "Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia," in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:672.

profitable, and theire mindes not overgrowne wth evill Customes, be reduced to civilitie, and afterwarde to Christianitie.¹³⁵

As private individuals in England responded to the Virginia colonists' distress with large shipments of supplies, the Company concluded that the destructive intention of the massacre could be reversed--"that the sheeding of this blood wilbe the Seed of the Plantation, for the addicon of price, hath much endeared the purchase."¹³⁶

Replanting Henrico

Despite lack of funds, the Company determined to continue its projects in Virginia and directed colonial leaders to resettle abandoned areas as soon as possible, particularly "Charles Cittie, Henerico, the Iron Works, the Colledg landes and Martins hundred."¹³⁷ These settlements apparently represented the best of the Company's past achievements and future hopes in Virginia: "the replanting them is of absolute necessitie; lest the best fire that mantaines the accon here alieue be putt out."¹³⁸ Work on the College and the Iron Works was to resume even if it required enticing other colonists to settle there with a reward of ten acres of land per family.¹³⁹ Private planters as well as the Company

¹³⁵Treasurer and Council for Virginia, "Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia," 1 August 1622, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:672.

¹³⁶Virginia Company, "Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia," 7 October 1622, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:683.

¹³⁷Treasurer and Council for Virginia, "Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia," 1 August 1622, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:670.

¹³⁸Ibid.

¹³⁹Restoration of the Iron Works was committed to Maurice Berkley, son of John Berkley who was killed in the massacre (ibid., 3:670-71); note agreement of Virginia Company with both Berkleys in, Court Book, 11 June 1621, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 1:476.

were interested in resettlement, and by fall of 1622, many were petitioning the Governor and Council in Virginia to return to their plantations. When Richard Pace was permitted to return to his plantation, the clerk noted "this petition graunted, as many others also resovled upon ther plantations according to order receaved from England."¹⁴⁰ For the Company, ideal resettlement meant "compact and orderly villages,"¹⁴¹ but for most private planters, ideal resettlement meant restoring field and household on hard-worked land dispersed along the rivers in Virginia.

Two areas in Henrico were resettled by February 1623/24--29 persons living at the College Land near "harry hattocks," about three miles up the north side of King's River from old Henrico town, and 41 persons living at the "Neck of Land" on the south side of the river between old Henrico town and old Bermuda Hundred.¹⁴² The demographic differences between the two settlements are rather striking. All settlers at the College Land were single men whereas less than a third of the settlers at the Neck of Land were single men. In particular, the 29 persons settled at the College Land were all single men; the 41 persons settled at the Neck of Land were made up of 11 single men, 12 married

¹⁴⁰Richard Pace, "Petition to the Governor and Council in Virginia," between October 1622 and January 1623, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:682.

¹⁴¹Treasurer and Council for Virginia, "Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia," 1 August 1622, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:669.

¹⁴²"Lists of the Livinge & Dead in Virginia, Feb. 16th, 1623," in Colonial Records of Virginia, 37-38. For location of College Land resettlement, see McIlwaine, ed., Minutes, 60, 64; for location of Neck of Land in Henrico not that the Fry-Jefferson Map still listed this area as 'Neck of Land' prior to the Revolutionary War, (see for instance E. M. Sanchez-Saavedra, A Description of the Country: Virginia's Cartographers and Their Maps, 1607-1881 (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1975), Map No. 3).

men, 2 single women, 12 married women, and 4 children.¹⁴³ Within the adult population at the Neck of Land (37 individuals), there were 23 men and 14 women--roughly three-fifths men and two-fifths women. But while there were a greater number of men than women, 24 of 37 adults at the Neck of Land were married and 13 adults were single, or about two-thirds married adults compared to about one-third single adults. Thus, there were no family households located at the College Land, and 12 family households (4 of which had children) located at the Neck of Land.

The difference between the two Henrico settlements is even more significant when placed in historical context. The 1623/24 College Land population was like that of Jamestown in 1607, while the 1623/24 Neck of Land population was very different from 1607 Jamestown and 1616 Virginia. Comparisons between the English population of 1616 and the Neck of Land population in 1623/24 show a greatly increased ratio of adult women to adult men--increasing from 1 woman for every 6 or 7 men in 1616 to 1 woman for every 1.64 men in 1623.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, the proportion of single adults to married adults was almost reversed: in 1616 Virginia only about one-fourth of adult colonists could have been married, whereas three-fourths of adult colonists were single. At the Neck of Land in 1623/24, two-thirds of adult colonists were married and one-third of adult colonists were single. Henrico resettlement at the Neck of Land demonstrates that

¹⁴³The fourth child in the list is "Ann Woodley," identifiable as "Ann Woodlase," aged 7 years, in "Musters of the Inhabitants of Virginia, 1624/25," in Adventurers of Purse and Person: Virginia, 1607- 1624/5, 3d ed., ed. Virginia M. Meyer and John Frederick Dorman (Richmond, VA: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1987), 9.

¹⁴⁴See Rolfe, "Virginia in 1616," in 109-10.

in one area of the Virginia colony a predominantly familial pattern of settlement had been achieved by 1623/24--only seven years after Rolfe's Virginia census documented the scarcity of women and families in the Virginia colony.

Recall of the Virginia Company Charter

While the Virginia colonists gradually reestablished themselves on their plantations, the Virginia Company was under attack in England for mismanagement of the Virginia colony. Enemies of the Sandys administration of the Company, primarily disaffected members of the Company itself, brought their criticisms to the King's attention resulting in an order read to the Company on October 15, 1623, to surrender "their former Charters."¹⁴⁵ Written by the Lords of the Counsell, the order

declared that his Matie havinge taken into his Princely consideracon the distressed estate of that Colonie and Plantacon occasioned as it seemeth by miscarriage of the Govermt in that Companie, wch cannot well be remeadied but by reduceinge the Govermt into the handes of a few number of Governors neare to those that were in the first Patents of the Plantacon.¹⁴⁶

The King would issue "a newer charter" replacing the present Company with a Governor and twelve assistants to administer the Virginia colonial enterprise for the King.¹⁴⁷ This course of action had not been anticipated by the Company: "wch order beinge read three severall times the Companie seemed greatly amazed at the Proposition so as no man

¹⁴⁵Court Book, 15 October 1623, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 2:468-69.

¹⁴⁶Ibid.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

spake thereunto for a longe time."¹⁴⁸ The Company then resolved to wait until a Quarter Court meeting to respond to the order, particularly since only 30 members of the Company were present to hear the order.¹⁴⁹ Besides the "neare 1000 psons named in the Letters Patents themselves"--the charters granted to the Company in 1609 and 1612--the Company noted that there were some 400-500 "new Adventurers" as well as "all the Planters in Virginia" who would be affected by the King's order to the Virginia Company to surrender its charters.¹⁵⁰ The Lords of the Counsell, however, would not wait until a Quarter Court for an answer, so at an Ordinary Court meeting on October 20, 1623, the Company members present deliberated the matter and finally refused to surrender their Charters to the King by a vote of 60 to 9.¹⁵¹

Fears of Threatened Liberties

News of the attacks on the Sandys' administration of the Virginia Company alarmed the Virginia colonists, igniting fears that control of the Company would revert back to the Smith administration which managed the Company during its first twelve years.¹⁵² One letter reporting the colonist's reaction stated that the Virginia Governor and Council called together "a generall assembly, the first friutes wherof, were most bitter

¹⁴⁸Ibid., 2:470.

¹⁴⁹Ibid.

¹⁵⁰Ibid.

¹⁵¹Court Book, 20 October 1623, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 2:473-75.

¹⁵²See "Papers of the General Assembly of 1623/24," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 20-42.

invectives in the highest pitche of spleen and detraction, against the twelve yeares government of Sr Thomas Smith."¹⁵³ The circulation of several false documents lauding the achievements of the Smith administration also elicited a vehement counterattack by the planters in Virginia. Members of the General Assembly, for instance, declared that "in those 12 yeers of Sr Tho: Smith his goverment, we averr that the Colony for ye most prte remayned in greate want and misery under most severe and Crewell lawes" so that "rather to be reduced to live under the like Govment we desire his Matie yt Commissioners may be sent over, wth authoritie to hange us."¹⁵⁴ The ancient planters prepared a detailed history of the colony describing what "great miseries and callamities were indured" under "Sir Thomas Smiths government."¹⁵⁵ Whatever its shortcomings, the Sandys administration of the Virginia Company was perceived by the Virginia planters' as implementing policies more conducive to their long-term survival and happiness.

¹⁵³John Harvey, "A Letter to Sir Nathaniel Rich," 24 April 1624, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:476.

¹⁵⁴"The answeere of the Generall Assembly in Virginia to a Declaration of the state of the Colonie in the 12 yeers of Sr Thomas Smiths Government, exhibited by Alderman Johnson and others," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 21-22. Alderman Robert Johnson's document lauding the Virginia colony's prosperity and "growth of pfectione" under the Smith administration, "Declaration of the Prosperous State of the Colony," may be found in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:4-5. The last phrase cited above was inserted in the Virginia Company's summary document; see Virginia Company, "Discourse of the Old Company," April ?, 1625, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:520.

¹⁵⁵See "Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 34.

While the Virginia Company's fate remained in question, the Virginia planters sought to retain their liberties of self-government and landownership. The liberties of self-government (via the General Assembly) and private landownership were not established in Virginia until Governor George Yeardley arrived in 1619 with the "Great Charter." Self-government and landownership enabled the Virginia planters to shape their own destiny, to subsist from their own labors, and to even have enough to supply the needs of others. That these liberties were absent in Virginia until derived from a document sponsored by the Sandys administration of the Virginia Company, meant that the Virginia planters perceived the attacks on the Sandys administration of the Virginia Company as attacks on the liberties they enjoyed.¹⁵⁶

Thus, when the Virginia planters addressed the King's privy council on several matters of civil government, they stated that "above all we humblie intreat yor Lo[rds]hips that we may retaine the libertie of our generall Assemblie, then wch nothinge can more conduce to our satisfaction or the publike utilitie."¹⁵⁷ The planters also petitioned the King for his protection of "such Lands and priviledgs in the said Cuntrie, as accordinge to the proportion of each mans adventure, and proper interests do now belong unto them."¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶See Virginia Company, "Instructions to George Yeardley," 18 November 1618, in Bemiss, Three Charters of the Virginia Company, 95-108.

¹⁵⁷"Papers of the General Assembly of 1623/24," House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 26-27.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 40.

Virginia Becomes a Royal Colony

King James I instituted the Royal Colony of Virginia when the charters of the Virginia Company were voided on May 24, 1624 by a "writ of quo warranto" handed down from the Court of the King's Bench with a judgment for the King against the Company.¹⁵⁹ The judicial proceedings against the Company had lasted several months and the Company's charters had been voided on the basis of neglect of the colony caused by the "popular" government of the Company.¹⁶⁰ The first proposal from the King ordering the Company to surrender its charters had clearly distinguished between changing the Company's internal form of government and continuing the rights formerly granted to the Company and its members; in the new charter

his Matie purposeth to make the like grauntes as well of landes as of fraunchises and other benifittes and thinges as were graunted in the former Charters wth Declaracon that for the settleinge and establishinge of private interestes of all men this newe Companie shall confirme or newly graunt unto them the like interest as they enjoy by Graunt order or allowance of the former Companie.¹⁶¹

When King Charles I ascended to the throne of England at the death of his father King James I in March 1624/25, he promptly issued 'A Proclamation For Settling the Plantation

¹⁵⁹See Court of King's Bench, "Record of Proceedings upon Information of Quo Warranto," 4 November 1623 to 24 May 1624, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:295-398; James I, "Commission to Certain Lords of the Privy Council and Others for Settling a Government in Virginia," 15 July 1624, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:491-94. For discussion of "quo warranto" see Blackstone, Commentaries on the Laws of England, 3:262-63.

¹⁶⁰James I, "Commission to Certain Lords of the Privy Council and Others for Settling a Government in Virginia," 15 July 1624, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:493-94.

¹⁶¹Court Book, 20 October 1623, Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 2:469.

of Virginia' which reaffirmed the intentions and policies of James I towards the Virginia colony.¹⁶² The King's administration of the Royal colony of Virginia promised continuity in liberty to the Virginia planters, a welcome benefit of the King's "more neere and especiall care."¹⁶³

Independent Englishmen

By the time Virginia became a Royal Colony, the Virginia planters had not only acquired some degree of competence necessary for survival, but had also developed distinct perceptions of their own autonomy in relation to English colonial administration. This sense of autonomy was deeply rooted in the Virginia planters' struggle for survival in the New World. The hard labor, deprivations, and hardships suffered by people trying to survive in an unknown land--"that extremitye of miserye under which the Collonye from her infancie groaned"--inevitably set the planters in Virginia apart from the adventures and administrators in London.¹⁶⁴ Unsuprisingly, the Virginia planters were incensed by the false reports of prosperity under the Smith administration, calling these reports "a sinne against God, and our owne sufferinge."¹⁶⁵ In terms of physical survival, much of this misery was caused by the "scarcitye of food" due to the inadequacy

¹⁶²"Proclamation Settling the Affairs of Virginia," 13 May 1625, in Foundations of Colonial America: A Documentary History, ed. W. Keith Kavenaugh, (New York: Chelsea House, 1983), 3:1722-24.

¹⁶³"Papers of the General Assembly of 1623/24," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 25.

¹⁶⁴"Briefe Declaration," 1623/24, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, 31; see entire document describing physical struggle for survival, 28-37.

¹⁶⁵"Papers of the General Assembly of 1623/24," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 21.

of promised food supplies from England.¹⁶⁶ Finally, establishing an independent food supply was the first step towards autonomy for the Virginia planters; they were led by those ancient planters who took it upon themselves "to gett our maintenance out of the earth" rather than depend on the Virginia Company thousands of miles away.¹⁶⁷

Once physical survival was achieved, however temporarily, cultural aspects of survival became dominant. As dependent members of the Virginia Company, the Virginia planters experienced their struggle for survival as a continuum from "slavery" to "freedom."¹⁶⁸ All colonists who came to Virginia before 1619 worked as servants of the Virginia Company. Under the Smith administration, "those who survived . . . were constrayned to serve the Colony as if they had been slaves, 7 or 8 yeeres for their freedomes, who underwent as hard and servile labor as the basest fellow that was brought out of Newgate."¹⁶⁹ In addition to "that general slavery", Sir Thomas Dale began to enforce "most cruell and tiranous lawes, exceeding the strictest rules of marshall discipline" in 1611.¹⁷⁰ Though some were able to free themselves from service to the company before 1619, it was not until "the expiration of Sr Thomas Smyths authoritye, our slavery haveinge since been converted to freedome, and wee cherished under a just and moderate Governnt" and "free lawes," that the Virginia planters could speak of a

¹⁶⁶Ibid., 32.

¹⁶⁷Ibid.

¹⁶⁸Note *ibid.*, 31-33, 36.

¹⁶⁹"Papers of the General Assembly of 1623/24," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 21.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., 31, 32.

general "happiness and content[ment]."¹⁷¹ The new liberties instituted by the Sandys administration's "Great Charter" gave the Virginia planters a much greater sense of autonomy and they subsequently dealt with the King directly as independent Englishmen rather than as dependent members of the Virginia Company. Furthermore, the autonomy which the Virginia planters experienced as a people now included the new land wherein they had labored and suffered so much. In their petitions of 1623/24, they expressed themselves as "his Majestys free subjects" writing on behalf of "we our Wives and poore Children" concerning "this our country."¹⁷²

Henrico Settlers, 1625

The English settlements in Virginia were assessed in detail at the end of the Virginia Company era and presented in a document called "Musters of the Inhabitants in Virginia, 1624/1625."¹⁷³ The "Musters of 1624/25" was a fairly comprehensive survey designed to answer a number of questions about "the plantacion in Virginia" whom the King had "taken into his royal care."¹⁷⁴ Each "Muster" was an inventory of people and provisions belonging to a particular head of household in a particular settlement. The

¹⁷¹Ibid., 27, 36.

¹⁷²Ibid., 23, 25, 26, 31; see also 21, 36, 38.

¹⁷³"Musters of the Inhabitants in Virginia, 1624/1625," in Adventurers of Purse and Person, ed., Meyer and Dorman, 7-71.

¹⁷⁴See document by the King's Privy Council, 24 October 1623, in *ibid.*, 4, (reprinted from Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1623-1625, (London, 1933), 107-08). The same questions are also given in "Heades of Inquiry in Virginia by the Comrs There," April 1623, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:87-88. Irene W. D. Hecht discusses the demographic value of the "Musters" in "The Virginia Muster of 1624/5 as a Source for Demographic History," William and Mary Quarterly 3d ser., 30 (1973):65-92.

"Musters" of the Henrico settlements were taken in January 1624/25, thus adding to and updating information about land and people in Henrico gained from the 1623/24 "Lists of the Living & Dead in Virginia."

In 1624/25, settlement in Henrico remained concentrated in the College Land and Neck of Land areas (see Figure 5.2).¹⁷⁵ The College Land population had decreased from 29 to 22 individuals and was much less stable than the Neck of Land population--only 14 (or 48%) of the 29 persons living at the College Land in 1623/24 were still there in 1624/25.¹⁷⁶ The Neck of Land population had increased from 41 to 44 individuals; 37 (or 90%) of the 41 inhabitants of the Neck of Land in 1623 were still there in 1625. Newcomers to these settlements largely contributed to the number and size of family households in the Henrico area. The eight newcomers to the College Land settlement consisted of five adult men, two adult women, and one child; the two women were married to two men living at the College Land since 1623/24, and one of the couples had a nine month-old child. Despite a net loss of ten single men over one year, two new family households had been established at the College Land since 1623/24. The seven newcomers to the Neck of Land settlement consisted of one adult woman, and six children; the woman was married to a man listed in the 1623/24 list and the six children were all the natural offspring of five other couples living at the Neck of Land by 1623/24. The number of family households at the Neck of Land had increased from twelve to

¹⁷⁵Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 7-12.

¹⁷⁶Nominal record linkage between the 1624/25 "Musters" and the 1623/24 "Lists" naming the inhabitants at both College Land and Neck of Land for the two periods permits the analysis here and following.

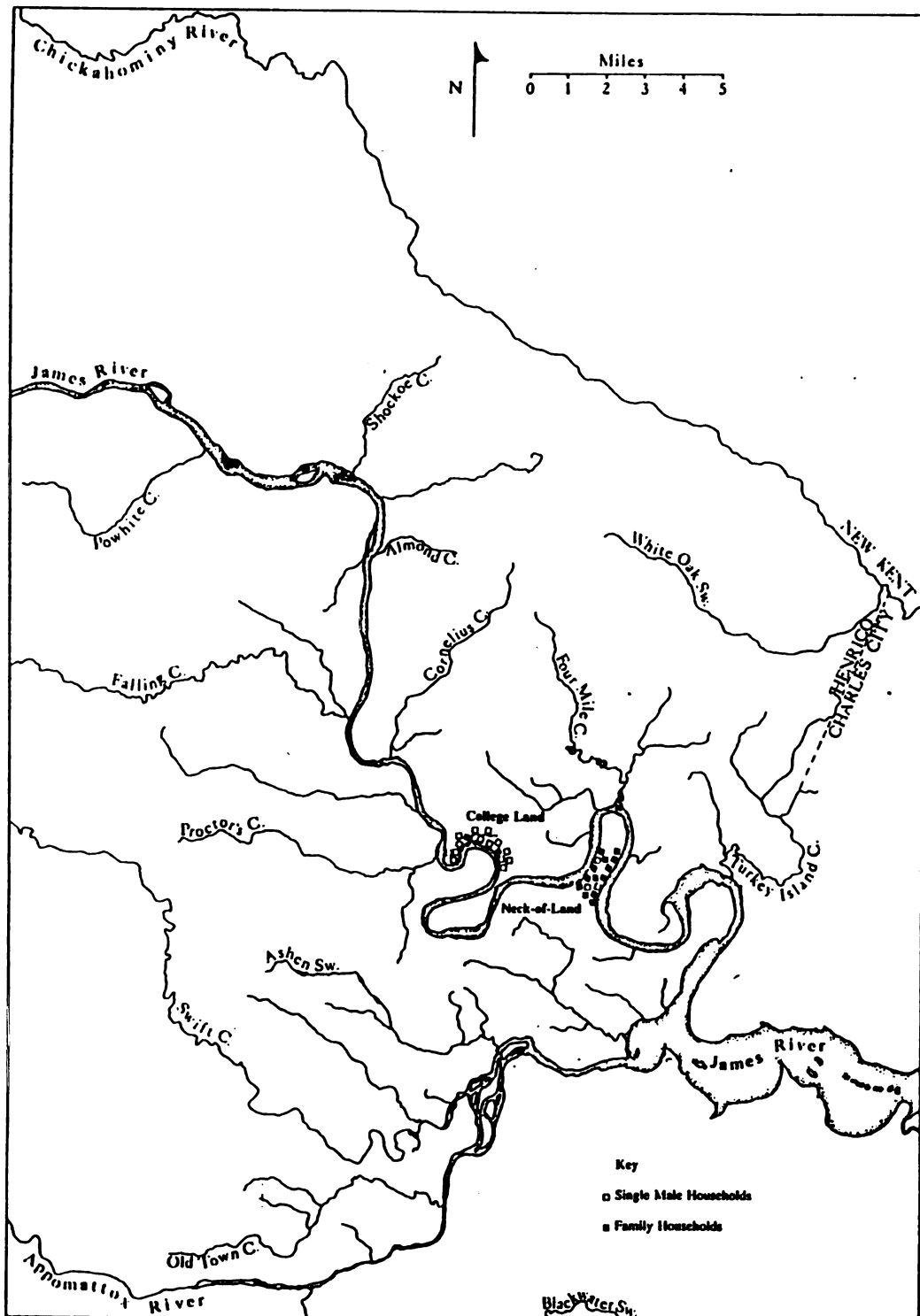


Figure 5.2 Henrico Virginia Households, January 1624/25

thirteen since 1623/24, and the number of family households with children had increased from four to eight in one year. To summarize: while the total Henrico population had declined by four individuals between 1623/24 and 1624/25, the total number of adult men had decreased by thirteen; countering the decrease in adult men, the total number of adult women increased by two and the total number of children had increased by seven. These changes in the sex and age composition of Henrico's population directly contributed to an increase in the total number of family households from 12 to 15, and the fact that the total number of family households with children had increased from 4 out of 12 family households (or 33%) to 9 out of 15 family households (or 60%).

The 1624/25 "Musters" provide a number of additional human ecological details about the 32 households in the Henrico settlements. Because the "Musters" record the name of the ship and its year of arrival in Virginia for many individuals, prosopographical analysis shows that probably eleven "Ancient Planters" lived in the Henrico settlements in 1624/25 (11/39 adult men or 28%).¹⁷⁷ There were also six married women in

¹⁷⁷Direct evidence in the "Musters" for "Ancient Planter" status of Henrico residents, however, is given for only five individuals--Josuah Chard, John Dods, Richard Taylor, Robert Greenleafe, and Henery Coltman (Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 9-11). William Vincent arrived in the ship Mary & James with no year of arrival given, but all other references in the Virginia "Musters" to the ship Mary & James (or Mary James) show that it came to Virginia only in 1610 (ibid., 9, 51, 53, 57, 59). The "Musters" of William Price, John Price, Thomas Oage, and William Sharpe note they arrived in a ship called the Starr; while no year is given in these "Musters," others "Musters" with dates show arrival of the Starr only in 1608 (two references) and in 1610 (five references), (ibid., 8, 10, 12, 20, 39, 52, 54, 57, 70). Thomas Harris arrived "in the Prosperous in May," no year given; except for one reference to the Prosperous bringing someone in 1619, all other references to this ship record it being in Virginia in 1610 or "May 1610" (ibid., 9, 21, 12, 14, 53, 55). Later land patent claims confirm Thomas Harris and William Sharpe as "ancient planters," Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:33, 36.

1624/25 Henrico whose earliest record of arrival in Virginia was on ships known to have brought "maids for wives" for the planters living in Virginia (6/16 adult women or 38%).¹⁷⁸ The "Musters" also list the servants living in each household. Few households in Henrico had private servants--1 household at the College Land had 3 servants and 4 households at the Neck of Land had a total of 5 servants; thus only 16% of the households in Henrico had servants whereas 84% of Henrico households were without servants. Of the 8 servants listed in Henrico in 1624/25, 7 were male and 1 was female; with one exception, all these had arrived in Virginia as adolescents between ages 11 and 19, and were now between ages 15 and 23.¹⁷⁹ Adult males in Henrico were predominantly freemen and heads of households--of the 39 adult males in Henrico, 32 (or 82%) were freemen and 7 (or 18%) were servants; furthermore, all freemen were listed as heads of households.

¹⁷⁸The Virginia Company sent "maids for wives" in at least four ships--the Jonathan and London Merchant (or Merchant of London) in 1619/20, and the Marmaduke and Warwick in 1621, see Kingsbury, ed., Records of the Virginia Company, 3:115, 493, 502, 505, 639-40; 4:16. While it cannot be determined who the maids were on these ships, one of these ships and dates are listed for five Henrico women--Ann Branch, Dorothy Taylor, Susan Greenleafe, Ann Coltman, and Sisley Bradway; Margaret Raughton came in the Warwick but no date is given, (see Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 7-12). Adria Harris is listed in the "Musters" as arriving on the "Marmaduke" in 1621, but she must have been in Virginia by 1616 because she and her husband both claimed land as "ancient planters" in 1638, (Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 9; Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:101). The "Musters" show that the Warwick brought seven people to Virginia in 1621, one woman in 1620, one woman in 1622, and eight others with no date given (ibid., 13, 26, 27, 34, 39, 45, 46, 51, 52, 56, 59, 61, 65, 71).

¹⁷⁹The "Musters" provide current ages and year of arrival in Virginia for many individuals listed.

Some basic subsistence patterns for Henrico households are suggested by the 1624/25 "Musters." All households in Henrico were provided with corn, suggesting domestic crop production was pervasive throughout the two settlements. With the exception of one hog present at Thomas Osborn's Neck of Land household, domestic fowl and livestock were only listed for Neck of Land households; every household but one at the Neck of Land had poultry whereas livestock such as cattle and/or hogs were listed for more than half of the 9 out of 16 (9/16 or 56%) households. College Land households apparently substituted fish in the absence of poultry, cattle, and hogs--11 of 16 households (or 69%) at the College Land were provided with fish whereas only 6 of 16 households (or 38%) at the Neck of Land listed fish as a provision. Households in Henrico in 1624/25 were thus typically small, made up of independent freemen almost half of whom had families; there were few servants in Henrico and all but one had begun their servitude as adolescent emigrants from England. Household provisions indicate the pervasiveness of agricultural activity for basic food subsistence throughout the two Henrico settlements.

Households at the Neck of Land in Henrico were markedly distinct from College Land households in several ways. Neck of Land households were predominantly familial --13 of 16 households (or 81%) consisted of husbands and wives living together, 8 couples having children (62%), and 4 couples having servants (31%). A majority of family households at the Neck of Land were headed by ancient planters. Of the 13 family household heads, three-fourths or 10 (77%) were ancient planters who had survived the most difficult years of the colony's development, had married, and had

returned to settle in the Henrico area which had been the center of English settlement in 1616 Virginia. Even while other ancient planters considered Henrico too dangerous to return to even in 1628,¹⁸⁰ the ancient planters listed at the Neck of Land in 1624/25 were all resettled there by 1623/24. The strong presence of these ancient planters at the Neck of Land was perhaps related to prior membership in the Bermuda Hundred Corporation enabling some Virginia planters to achieve independence from the Virginia Company by 1617, as well as Virginia Company efforts to reestablish the College at Henrico in January 1622/23: "the Colledg Tenantes, wth much difficultie, we are now about to resettle . . . havinge strengthned them wth divers of the olde Planters."¹⁸¹ Furthermore, a majority of family household heads at the Neck of Land were also distinguished as men who had claimed land in Virginia by 1625.¹⁸² Of 13 family household heads at the Neck of Land, 7 (or 54%) held claims to land ranging from 40-150 acres;¹⁸³ all of these landowners were ancient planters.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰See Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:68, 69 for land patents to Phettiplace Clause and John Leyden. Clause/Close arrived in Virginia in 1608 and Leyden/Laydon arrived in Virginia in "1606" (see "Musters of the Inhabitants in Virginia 1624/25," in Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 39, 51). The marriage of John Laydon and Anne Burras in 1608 was the first English marriage in Virginia.

¹⁸¹Council in Virginia. "Letter to Virginia Company of London," 20 January 1622/23, in Kingsbury, ed., Records of the Virginia Company, 4:16.

¹⁸²"Titles and Estates of Land," May 1625, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 1:551-53, lists land titles in Henrico and Charles City granted by the Virginia Company.

¹⁸³See *ibid.*, for land titles belonging to John Price, Joseph Charde, John Dodds, William Sharpe, Richard Taylor, Thomas Oayne/Oage, and William Vincent.

¹⁸⁴In addition, 3 of the 6 remaining family household heads eventually claimed land
(continued...)

Information on Henrico households found at the Neck of Land in Virginia by 1624/25, indicates the emergence of a familial settlement pattern marked by an increase in the numbers of family households with children, continuity of settlement by free and independent colonists with families, and acquisition of land to enable families to subsist through agricultural activity. A family settlement pattern was already manifested at the Neck of Land settlement in Henrico by the end of the Virginia Company era--a precursor to Virginia colonial development throughout the seventeenth century. The Neck of Land was the only other area in Henrico besides the College Land which recovered after the massacre of 1621/22. Henrico's resettlement was led by ancient planters returning to what must have been a familiar place in their Virginia experience. But whether Henrico's resettled colonists would stay in Henrico or even in Virginia after the transition from Company to King remained to be seen.

¹⁸⁴(...continued)

by patent from the King either directly or through their widows or children--making a total of 10/13 (or 77%) family household heads at the Neck of Land who claimed land (See Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:304, 351, 371 for claims of Luke Boyse under Hannah Boyse, Thomas Harris, and Robert Greenleafe under Thomas Markham); the other 3 family household heads left no trace in the Virginia records after the "Musters" of 1624/5 (note absence of Alexander Bradway, Henery Coltman, and John Dods in index to Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person).

CHAPTER 6

EMERGENCE OF PRIVATE PLANTATIONS IN HENRICO COUNTY, 1625-1649

The Hakluyts' vision for planting an English colony in the New World was almost fifty years old by 1625--a vision to enlarge the English church and the English state through establishing English colonies in North America. The Hakluyt vision, however, had undergone significant revision as the English accumulated experience in Virginia from 1607. In particular, private agricultural activity and nuclear family-based households on privately owned land had emerged as necessary ingredients for permanent settlement. As the idea of English plantation in the New World materialized in specific places in North America, the English recognized that the greatest burden of plantation work would have to be done by independent Englishmen and English families.

Plantation as Idea and Place

To plant an English colony in the New World, according to the Hakluyts, broadly meant to establish English people in a new land through constructing buildings, agriculture, defense, and discovery.¹ Such labor, the hard work of "planting" a colony, was not merely secular activity, but was defined within a comprehensive religious

¹See for instance "Instructions for the Virginia Colony of 1606," in Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, ed. Taylor, 2:493.

framework--the first Virginia colonists were reminded that "every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out."² Furthermore, the labor of "plantation" work included all those human activities which transformed new land into a place for human "habitation." The first Virginia charters were issued by the King in order "to make habitacion and plantacion of sondrie of oure people in that parte of America comonlie called Virginia."³

The English view of colonization was directly tied to the idea of "plantation" as developed by various writers in the early seventeenth century. For instance, William Symonds' 1609 "Virginea Britannia" sermon presented an English vision for colonization based on a Biblical understanding cultivated by the English Protestant Reformation.⁴ Symonds was perhaps the first to articulate the relationship between the Old Testament doctrine of creation and the New Testament doctrine of redemption in terms of English colonization in the New World. Symonds began his sermon by explaining the Biblical origins of "plantation" activity: "This Booke of Genesis containeth the story of the

²Ibid., 2:496.

³"Second Charter," 23 May 1609, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 27; see also "First Charter," 10 April 1606, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 1.

⁴Symonds' "Virginea Brittainia" sermon (abstracted in Brown, ed. Genesis, 1:282-292) was published as "Virginia. A Sermon Preached at White-Chappel, in the presence of many, Honourable and Worshipfull, the Adventurers and Planters for Virginia. 25 April 1609. Published for the Benefit and Use of the Colony, Planted, and to bee Planted there, and for the Advancement of their Christian Purpose," London, 1609. That a sermon on English colonization would have appealed to a wide English audience is indicated by E. M. W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1961) and by Wallace Notestein, The English People on the Eve of Colonization, 1603-1630 (New York: Harper & Row, 1954).

Creation and Plantation of heaven and earth, with convenient inhabitants."⁵ It was the command and blessing of God that men and women made in God's image should "Bring forth fruit and multiplie, and fill the earth, and subdue it, & c."⁶ Those who built the Tower of Babel directly rebelled against God's command (reiterated to Noah) that human beings should "fill the earth."⁷ Abraham, however, was "obedient unto that first and great Law of God" when he obeyed God's call to go to "the place which God would shew him."⁸ God used Abraham's obedience to bring salvation to the world through Abraham's "seede Jesus Christ."⁹

Symonds then reasoned that "the generall law of replenishing the earth" enables God's work in creation to be known and provides a means for communicating "the knowledge of the fear of God."¹⁰ Genesis was the proper context for understanding the Great Commission in Matthew. "Christ our Saviour hath, according to his infinite wisdom, revived the olde law, of filling the earth, in a most excellent manner: Goe teach (saith he) all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost."¹¹ From this perspective, those who undertook "this most honorable and

⁵Symonds, "Virginia. A Sermon," 1.

⁶Ibid., 2.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., 2-4.

⁹Ibid., 5.

¹⁰Ibid., 6-7.

¹¹Ibid., 9.

christian voyage of the Plantation of Virginia" fulfilled both God's general command to "inhabit the earth" and Christ's specific command to "spread the gospel."¹² Thus, "out of these arguments . . . such as go to a Christian Plantation may gather many blessed lessons whereas by keeping the feare of God, the Planters in shorte time, by the blessing of God, may grow into a nation formidable to all the enemies of Christ."¹³

Symond's Biblical reasoning for a Christian Plantation was subsequently expressed by another influential colonial theorist, Captain John Smith. In his 1616 "Description of New England," Smith summarized the Biblical arguments for plantation much as Symonds did:

Adam and Eve did first beginne this innocent worke, To plant the earth to remaine to posterity; but not without labour, trouble, and industrie. Noe[h], and his family, beganne againe the second plantation; and their seed as it still increased, hath still planted new Countries, and one countrie another: and so the world to that estate it is. But not without much hazard, travell, discontents, and many disasters. Had those worthie Fathers and their memorable off-spring not beene more diligent for us now in these Ages, than wee are to plant that yet unplanted for the after-livers. Had the seed of Abraham, our Saviour Christ Jesus and his Apostles, exposed themselves to no more dangers to plant the Gospell wee so much professe, than we, even we our selves had at this present beene as Salvages, and as miserable as the most barbarous Salvage, yet uncivilized.¹⁴

Many English Protestants would have understood that England's first colony in the New World, Virginia was established as an example of the Biblical idea of "plantation" as well as an example of the Biblical idea of "Christian plantation."

¹²Ibid., 18.

¹³Ibid., 35.

¹⁴John Smith, "A Description of New-England," 1616, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:360.

Agriculture and Family

Through trial and error, the critical importance of an agricultural base for successful English plantation was perceived and articulated in early reports and promotional literature about Virginia. Making human "habitation" meant achieving human survival in terms of at least minimal if not comfortable subsistence.¹⁵ One tract argued that

a Colony is therefore denominated, because they should be Coloni, the tillers of the earth, and stewards of fertilitie: God sels us all things for our labour, when Adam himselfe might not live in paridice without dressing the garden.¹⁶

Another tract defined "planting" itself in terms of the agricultural task given to Adam in Biblical record: "that most wholesome, profitable and pleasant work of planting in which it pleased God Himself to set the first man and most excellent creature Adam in his innocencie."¹⁷ Within the first decade of the Virginia plantation's existence, the English planters had discovered that such private or individually-directed agriculture was key to individual survival.

Private agriculture alone, however, was not sufficient to ensure long-term settlement--the Virginia Company had discovered that the establishment of family

¹⁵Early Virginia governors were soon instructed to attend to "buildinge, husbandry and manuringe the countrey for the provision of life and conveniency," before "providinge returne of commodity" to England (Virginia Council, "Instruccions to Sr Thomas Gates," May 1609, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 66; see also Virginia Council, "Instructions to Lord La Warr," May 1609/10, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 72.

¹⁶"True Declaration," 1610, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol.3, no. 1, p.15.

¹⁷"The New Life of Virginea," 1612, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 1, no. 7, p. 17.

households was a critical factor in "planting" an English colony in the New World. By 1619, the Virginia Company realized that the predominantly single male population in Virginia was "not settled in their mindes to make it their place of rest and continuance"¹⁸ and proposed recruiting more women colonists for Virginia who might become wives for unsettled men.

Virginia plantation work was hindered not merely by the absence of women, but by the absence of families composed of men and women committed to a permanent relationship to each other and their offspring. Virginia Company adventurers later articulated the principle "that the Plantacon can never flourish till families be planted, and the respect of wives and Children fix the people on the Soyle."¹⁹ Without families, Virginia planters were less likely to transform Virginia into a "place of Habitacon," to exercise stewardly land use practices, or to even meet their own subsistence needs.²⁰

The importance of agriculture and family as foundations for a plantation were more fully articulated during the mid-1620's--a critical period for English settlement in Virginia. Sir Francis Wyatt was both the last Virginia Company Governor and the first Royal Governor of Virginia; arriving in Virginia in November 1621 at age thirty-three,

¹⁸Court Book, 17 November 1619, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 1:269.

¹⁹Virginia Company, "Letter to the Governor and Council in Virginia," 12 August 1621, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:493.

²⁰Court Book, 21 November 1621, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 1:566.

he was also Governor of Virginia at the time of the Indian Massacre of March 1621/22.²¹ The burdens of leadership placed on a youthful governor still new to Virginia as well as the instability of the colony when the Virginia Company was dissolved prompted Wyatt's father to write a letter of advice to his son in June 1624.²² Wyatt's advice to his son the Governor was as scholarly as it was fatherly, defining "plantation" and its historical origins:

Your service intendeth a Plantation, which the name shewes deduced from orchards settinge not aforetime manured. The Romans gave it the name of a Colony to the same effect. Adam was first set on Worke in Plantation of the world, and the Plantation of the Churche had the same beginnunge. His children when al was theirs, the one was a Tiller of the ground, th' other a Grasiar Examples of Plantation are best taken out of the Scriptuers, and of best fruit. The inventions of Sciences in this beginnunge had beginnunge. Spade workes, useful in al, Navigation, Carpentership, Ieronworkes, Musicke, vineyardinge, refreshments in their werie travels, with Noah and his posteritie grew, and Husbandlife and Soldgership with the Patriarks in Tents were bred and nurished.²³

Agriculture and family were thus perceived as foundational not only for human settlement but for the development of human culture as well.

The lessons learned by the Virginia Company concerning the significance of agriculture and family for colonial settlement continued to be elaborated upon in the early

²¹J. Frederick Fausz and Jon Kukla, "A Letter of Advice to the Governor of Virginia, 1624," William and Mary Quarterly 3d ser., 34 (January 1977):104-05, 110-11.

²²Ibid., 106, 111. George Wyatt was intimately acquainted with Virginia Company affairs: two of his sons were appointed to positions of responsibility in the Virginia colony--one as Governor and the other as "Preacher to the Governor's tenants" (see Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 718-19). The Wyatts were also related to Sir Edwin Sandys, prominent member and leader of the Virginia Company (note Fausz and Kukla, "A Letter of Advice, 1624," 104).

²³Ibid., 113.

promotional literature for New England. In The Planters Plea of 1630, the author argued that "Colonies . . . have their warrant from Gods direction and command; who as soone as men were, set them their taske, to replenish the earth, and to subdue it, Gen. 1.28."²⁴ This command of God, repeated to Noah in Gen. 9:1, continued to bind mankind "as long as the earth yeelds empty places to be replenished" and is reinforced by God's "gift of the earth to the sonnes of men, Psal. 115:16."²⁵ Mankind thus had a "duty to people [the earth]" and to enjoy it as God's gift through "habitation and culture."²⁶ Furthermore, the human duty to "people" the earth by "planting colonies" naturally correlated with the "Law of marriage" established in Genesis:

Withall, that order that God annexed to marriage in his first institution, viz. that married persons should leave father and mother, and cleave each to other, is a good warrant of this practice. For sometime there will be a necessitie, that yong married persons should remove out of their fathers house, and live apart by themselves, and so erect new families. Now what are new families, but pettie Colonies: and so at last removing further and further they overflow the whole earth. Therefore, so long as there shall be use of marriage, the warrant of deducing Colonies will continue.²⁷

Complementing Virginia Company reasons for sending "maids for wives" to the planters of Virginia, The Planters Plea explicitly recognized the contribution of marriage to the familial task of settlement and colonization.

When Captain John Smith published his Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England, or Any Where in 1631, his alternate title--"The Path-way to

²⁴"The Planters Plea," 1630, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 2, no. 3, p. 1.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 2.

²⁷*Ibid.*

experience to erect a PLANTATION"--noted "also how to prevent the greatest inconveniences, by their proceedings in Virginia, and other Plantations, by approved examples."²⁸ The "inconveniences" Smith referred to were certainly those he himself experienced in Virginia under the Smith administration--

that course the Virginia company did for the Planters there, their purses and lives were subject to some few here in London who were never there, that consumed all in Arguments, Projects, and their owne conceits, every yeere trying new conclusions, altering every thing yearely as they altered opinions.²⁹

Smith, however, memorialized Virginia as "the mother of all our Plantations" and did not allow the weaknesses of Virginia Company administration in its early years to detract from the noble purposes of plantations:

For God did make the world to be inhabited with mankind, and to have his name knowne to all Nations, and from generation to generation: as the people increased they dispersed themselves into such Countries as they found most convenient.³⁰

Smith's 1631 rationale for colonization did not alter his earlier arguments; Smith continued to emphasize families as builders of nations and characterized plantation work as fraught with danger but blessed with honor.³¹ Promoters of English colonization now understood that families and their children were more critical factors to the success of

²⁸John Smith, "Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England or Any Where OR, The Path-way to Experience to Erect a PLANTATION," 1631, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 3:259.

²⁹Ibid., 3:270.

³⁰Ibid., 3:276, 295.

³¹Ibid., 3:276-77.

English plantation in the New World than either church, state, or a voluntary company of associates.

Landownership

Realization of English ideas of plantation in Virginia, however, required that the desired pattern of familial agriculture be anchored in private landownership. The distribution of land in the New World to individual Englishmen was authorized in all Virginia Charters granted by the King.³² As manager of English colonial enterprise in Virginia, the Virginia Company's plan for distributing land to its members was designed to reward each member's contribution to the enterprise, whether that contribution was the money of an "Adventurer" in England or the personal service of a "Planter" in Virginia.³³ Private land use preceded private landownership in Virginia by several years; it was not until the Virginia Company's Great Charter of 1618 was introduced in the first Virginia General Assembly of 1619 that distribution of colonial land to private individuals was formally established and terms of ownership clarified.³⁴ The reward of landownership was reported to "giveth all greate contente, for now knowing their owne landes, they strive and are prepared to build houses & to cleere their groundes ready to plant."³⁵

³²See Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 10-11, 43-44, 78-79.

³³See "Nova Britannia," 1609, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 1, no. 6, pp. 23-26; "A Brief Declaration," April 1616, in Genesis, ed. Brown, 2:775, 777-79.

³⁴Virginia Company, "Instructions to George Yeardley," 18 November 1618, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 95-108.

³⁵John Rolfe, "Letter to Sandys," January 1619/20, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:245.

After the Virginia Company was dissolved in 1624, King James I prepared a "Commission . . . For Settling a Government in Virginia" acknowledging that the "preservacon of the intereste of everie planter or Adventurer" was important for the continuation and stability of the English plantation in Virginia.³⁶ Within this seventeenth century legal context, "interest" referred directly to land acquired by the Virginia colonists between 1607 and 1625. Sir Edward Coke discussed the meaning of "interest" in his 1628 Institutes of the Laws of England: "interest . . . in legall understanding, it extendeth to estates, rights, and titles, that a man hath of, in, to, or out of lands; for he is truly said to have an interest in them."³⁷ In other words, interest is

the most general term that can be employed to denote a property in lands or chattels. In its application to lands or things real, it is frequently used in connection with the terms "estate," "right," and "title," and, according to Lord Coke, it properly includes them all.³⁸

³⁶James I, "Commission to Certain Lords of the Privy Council and Others for Settling a Government in Virginia," 15 July 1624, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:494. See also Virginia Company, "Discourse of the Old Company," April ?, 1625, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:541; Council in Virginia, "A Letter to the Commissioners for the Affairs of Virginia," 15 June 1625, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:562; Governor and Council in Virginia, "A Letter to the Privy Council," 6 April 1626, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:571.

³⁷Sir Edward Coke, The First Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England; or, a Commentary Upon Littleton, (1628), reprint of eighteenth ed., 1823 (Birmingham, AL: The Legal Classics Library, 1985), 345b. See also "Notes From the Editors" of the Legal Classics Library accompanying the above for volumes 1 and 2, especially introductions by Thomas G. Barnes. On the importance of Coke to English and American law in the seventeenth century, Barnes states that "if Coke remained the legal oracle in his own country by virtue of the Institutes, . . . he became the founding father of the common law in England's American colonies (Thomas G. Barnes, "'Introduction' in Notes From the Editors," for The First Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England, vol. 2:33).

³⁸Henry Campbell Black, Black's Law Dictionary: Definitions of the Terms and
(continued...)

The terms "estate," "right," and "title" were also used to specify landownership in seventeenth century Virginia.³⁹ Coke wrote that an "estate signifieth such inheritance, freehold, terme for yeares . . . or the like, as any man hath in lands or tenements."⁴⁰ Such terms of estate define what kind of interest a person has in his lands or other possessions.⁴¹ Coke used "right" to refer to a person's interest in lands or other possessions which is at issue when threatened by unlawful dispossession; in such a case, "an estate is turned to a right" whereby a person has "a just and legal claim to hold, use, or enjoy it, or to convey or donate it, as he may please."⁴² "Title," as defined by Coke, "signifieth the meanes whereby a man commeth to land;"⁴³ as "the means whereby the

³⁸(...continued)

Phrases of American and English Jurisprudence, Ancient and Modern, rev. 4th ed. (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Co., 1968), s.v. "interest." The first definitions given for "interest" in the Oxford English Dictionary, 2d ed., are "I. 1. The relation of being objectively concerned in something, by having a right or title to, a claim upon, or a share in. a. The fact or relation of being legally concerned; legal concern in a thing; esp. right or title to property, or to some of the uses or benefits pertaining to property."

³⁹See Court Book, 22 October 1623, Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 2:476--"for so much as it concerneth the private interest of any man his Mats royall care is such that no man shall receive any prejudice but shall have his estate fully and wholly conserved." See Virginia Company, "Discourse of the Old Company," April ?, 1625, for reference to "an utter uncertaynty of their Rights, Titles & Possessions," and "the conservacon of every mans right," in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:530, 541.

⁴⁰Coke, Institutes, 345a.

⁴¹Blackstone says "estates may be considered in a threefold view: first, with regard to the quantity of interest which the tenant has in the tenement: secondly, with regard to the time at which that quantity of interest is to be enjoyed: and, thirdly, with regard to the number and connexions of the tenants" (Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:103).

⁴²Coke, Institutes, 345a, with interpretation from, Black's Law Dictionary, s.v. "right."

⁴³Coke, Institutes, 345b.

owner of lands hath the just possession of his property."⁴⁴ A title is thus the "outward evidence" of a person's right to land or possessions "rather than the mere right itself."⁴⁵

Despite James I's reassurances to the Virginia colonists that their interests and rights would be preserved, several of the commissioners appointed by the King to oversee colonial administration had apparently used their position to further their own ends. The Virginia colonists as well as members of the old Virginia Company complained about "the late pernicious contract" contrived by some of the Commissioners concerning the importation of tobacco from Virginia to England.⁴⁶ The colonists reported to the King's Privy Council that the Commissioners, "by convertinge the benefitt therof to their privatt and inordinate lucre, hath given the Colony the greatest blowe that ever it received."⁴⁷ Members of the old Virginia Company explained that by this "unknowne Contract," the Commissioners "have sought to share amongst themselves, twice as much upon every mans goods, as they will leave to the Owner therof."⁴⁸ Furthermore, members of the old Company pointed out that the Commissioners active in Virginia affairs "were the chiefe Opposers of the late Compy" and that "it is constantly reported that they have liberally

⁴⁴Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:195.

⁴⁵Black's Law Dictionary, s.v. "title."

⁴⁶Council in Virginia, "A Letter to the Privy Council," 15 June 1625, Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:561.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸Virginia Company, "Discourse of the Old Company," April (?) 1625, Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:541.

given that wch was not their owne, to those who have no right thereto."⁴⁹ The transition of Virginia colonial administration from Company to King demonstrated the vulnerability of the settlement relationship between land and people without the protections instituted by legal landownership. The men who instigated the dissolution of the Virginia Company now defrauded the colonists as the King's commissioners

& consequently lefte all both Adventurers & Planters, in an utter uncertaynty of their Rights, Titles & Possessions: though promise was made that they should be reassured to them, wch these men have neglected to see performed.⁵⁰

The death of King James I in March 1624/25 made the Virginia colonists' interests and rights to land even more tenuous. Members of the old Virginia Company predicted

that by these alteracons & courses the mindes of the Planters wilbe filled wth such Jealousies & suspicions, as it wilbe a long while ere they wilbe reduced to a firme resolucon of setting up the Rest of their Lives, & hopes, in the Colony.⁵¹

Indeed, several major planters had already sold their estates and were preparing to return to England.⁵²

The Virginia colonists welcomed news of the ascension of King James' son, Charles I, to the throne England.⁵³ Within two months after becoming King, Charles

⁴⁹Ibid., 4:540, 541. The names of the Commissioners appointed by King James I are given in Commissioners for Virginia, "Orders Set Down at a Meeting," 16 July 1624, Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:497.

⁵⁰Virginia Company, "Discourse of the Old Company," (?) April 1625, Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:530.

⁵¹Ibid., 4:528.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Governor and Council in Virginia, "A Letter to the Commissioners for Virginia," (continued...)

I prepared "A Proclamation For Settling the Plantation of Virginia" reaffirming the intentions and policies of James I.⁵⁴ The Virginia colonists received the new King's "Proclamation" in March 1625/26, and quickly expressed their gratitude that "nothings hath been longe more earnestly desired, then the settling of the affayres of the Colonie, aswell for the Goverment as otherways."⁵⁵ Realizing King Charles had removed the former Commissioners and their hated "ympositione uppon Tobacco," the colonists added that

neither could there have been a greter Incouragement to the Planter, Then to understand it to be his Maties gracious pleasure, That noe persone of whome they have heertofore justlie complayned, should have any hand in the Goverment, (either heere or there).⁵⁶

Colonial administrators and their policies had a significant impact on Virginia settlement; colonists committed to preserving their plantations had to seek policies and policymakers committed to that same goal in order to stay in Virginia.

The proclamation of Charles I also incorporated his father's resolution to "settle and assure the particular rights and interests of every planter and adventurer."⁵⁷ Charles

⁵³(...continued)

4 January 1625/26, Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:568.

⁵⁴"Proclamation Settling the Affairs of Virginia," 13 May 1625, in Foundations of Colonial America: A Documentary History, ed. W. Keith Kavenaugh (New York: Chelsea House, 1983), 3:1722-724.

⁵⁵Governor and Council in Virginia, "A Letter to the Privy Council," 6 April 1626, Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:571.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷"Proclamation Settling the Affairs of Virginia," 13 May 1625, Foundations of Colonial America, ed. Kavenaugh, 3:1722-724.

I reinforced James I's resolution by removing the colonial administrators who had jeopardized landownership in the Virginia colony. The colonists perceived King Charles I's determination to protect landownership as vital to permanent English settlement in Virginia; they declared that

his maties gracious assurance yt every man shall have his pticuler right preserved . . . wilbe a singuler meanes of invitinge many people hither, and settlinge them selves heere, Who for the moste heertofore, (by reason of the many distractiones & discouragemetes, Have only endeavored a present Cropp, and their hastie retourne, To ye greate hinderance of rayinge staple Comodities, & all woorkes of woorth and Contynuanee, wch all men will wth earnestnes and alacrytie applye themselves to, when their thoughts are fixed in this Countrey.⁵⁸

Without the protections instituted by English landownership, the relationship between land and people in English colonial Virginia could be temporary at best, exploitative at worst, and settlement would continue to be completely dependent on whoever controlled colonial administration.

Eighteen years' experience in pioneering the Virginia colony had taught the English much about establishing a "plantation" in the New World. Physical survival required subsistence agriculture and a stable society necessitated family ties between individuals. Finally, the uncertainties surrounding the dissolution of the Virginia Company proved the importance of individual landownership to anchoring English settlement in Virginia; in fact, the promise of owning one's own land had already been used to draw many colonists to Virginia during the Virginia Company period. In essence, permanent English settlement was more likely if England's Virginia "plantation" became

⁵⁸Governor and Council in Virginia, "A Letter to the Privy Council," 6 April 1626, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:572.

a community of privately-owned plantations directed largely by family households pursuing a diverse range of agricultural activities for subsistence and trade.

Henrico: Old Settlers and New Immigrants

Virginia endured as England's first permanent "plantation" in the New World because some Virginia colonists eventually "setled in their mindes to make it their place of rest and continuance."⁵⁹ Seventeenth century Henrico illustrates English colonial settlement at the western edge of English expansion into North America--a frontier relationship between land and people which continued over time from Henrico's first settlement in 1611 well into the eighteenth century. While Henrico remained an established area in the Virginia colony after the Virginia Company period ended, the name "Henrico" was not used in official records from 1625 through 1631. For instance, "the plantations of the Necke of lande & the Colledge" listed in the "Musters" of 1624/25 were charged with mounting a military offensive against the Indians in 1627, assigned a minister in 1628,⁶⁰ and sent Burgesses to the General Assembly in 1629/30.⁶¹ After 1630, reference to the College Land is dropped and two other areas--"Arrowattockes" and "Curles"--are named in conjunction with the "necke of land" as represented by Burgesses

⁵⁹Phrase from Court Book, 17 November 1619, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 1:269.

⁶⁰McIlwaine, ed., Minutes, 189.

⁶¹William Waller Hening, comp., The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619, 13 vols., facsimile reprint ed. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969), 1:147.

to the General Assembly; finally, "Henrico" is designated with this group of settlements in 1632/33.⁶²

Continuity in the settlement of Henrico after colonial administration was transferred from Company to King may be considered in several ways. In 1624/25, sixty-six persons were listed as residents in two Henrico settlements⁶³--did these colonists remain in Henrico? Some 1624/25 Henrico residents had rights to land, but at least 21 non-resident individuals held "title" to land in the Virginia Company's old "Corporacon of Henrico"⁶⁴--did these non-resident landowners ever settle in Henrico? Did new immigrants to Henrico first arrive in Virginia during the Virginia Company period or the Royal Colony period? What new settlement areas emerged in Henrico after 1624/25? Did the familial settlement pattern in Henrico's Neck of Land area spread to other areas of Henrico? These questions suggest how the relationship between land and people over time might be assessed for the Henrico area after 1625 and how English colonial patterns of human and family ecology might initially be viewed within a specific area of the Virginia landscape.⁶⁵

⁶²Ibid. 1:154, 178, 202.

⁶³Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 7-12.

⁶⁴"Titles and Estates of Land," May 1625, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:552. John Price was already listed in the Musters (see "Musters," Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 10).

⁶⁵Extant Virginia colony records before 1679, especially land records, allow a general assessment of patterns of settlement in Henrico, providing a thin but significant link between the censuses of 1622/23, 1624/25 and Henrico County records dating primarily from 1677 which offer considerable more biographical detail of the lives of Henrico settlers and families.

1625 Henrico Households

Continuity in the settlement of Henrico from 1625 is found in records noting person and place names associated with the Henrico area. The "Musters of the Inhabitants in Virginia, 1624/1625" establishes a profile of Henrico's population in 1625 and is the major record linking Virginia Company settlement with Royal Colony settlement (see Table 2).⁶⁶ For instance, a number of household heads, wives, and servants listed in the 1624/25 "Musters" are found in Virginia records from 1625-1640.⁶⁷ For the College Land, 7 of 16 household heads (or 44%) listed in the "Musters" are referred to between 1625 and 1640 as well as 1 male servant; for the Neck of Land, 12 of 16 household heads (or 75%) are referred to between 1625 and 1640 as well as 6 of their wives and 2 male servants. Since the Neck of Land was the more stable of the two Henrico areas by 1625 (in terms of continuous residence over time and proportion of family households), it is not surprising to see greater evidence of continuity in settlement for Henrico's Neck of Land inhabitants after 1625.

The parameters of life and death for colonists who stayed in Virginia after the dissolution of the Virginia Company were significantly defined by sickness and mortality, as well as continuing conflict with the Indians. As a consequence, the colonial leaders

⁶⁶"Musters," Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 7-71; Henrico's "Musters" are found on pp. 7-12.

⁶⁷Key record sources are McIlwaine, ed., House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59; McIlwaine, ed., Minutes; and Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, vol. 1.

Table 2 HENRICO HOUSEHOLDS, JANUARY 1624/25

Names of male household heads, wives, and servants plus numbers of children living in the Henrico area in January 1624/25 are listed from "Musters of the Inhabitants in Virginia," January 1624/25, Adventurers of Purse and Person, ed. Meyer and Dorman, 7-12. Family units are presented in bold type. Individuals acquiring rights to land and/or found in other records between 1625 and 1649 are indicated on the left; "(L)" refers to a lease of land as the extent of that individual's land rights and (M) refers to the known subsequent marriage or marriages entered into by an individual. The number of children per couple is given on the right; "*" refers to children related to the head couple but not actually their issue.

College Land

<u>Land Rights</u> <u>1625-1649</u>	<u>In Records</u> <u>1625-1649</u>	<u>Households--Adults</u>	<u>Children</u>
		BAUGH Thomas	
X	X	BRANCH Christopher and	
		Ann	1
		BROWNINGE William	
		CAMPION Robert	
X	X(M)	EDLOW Mathew	
		HOBSON Edward	
	X	LAPWORTH Robert	
X(L)	X	MOORE Leonard	
		MOYSES Theodor	
X	X(M)	OSBORNE Liuetennt Thomas	
		(Servant) DAVIS Richard	
		(Servant) JORDEN Peter	
X(L)	X	(Servant) SHERLEY Daniell	
X	X(M)	PARKER Thomas	
		PRICE William "Ancient Planter"	
		RAUGHTON Ezekiah and	
		Margaret	
	X	WATSON John	
		WELDON William	
		WILTON Francis	

Table 2, cont'd

Neck of Land

Land Rights 1625-1649	In Records 1625-1649	Households--Adults	Children
X	X	BOYSE Luke and	
X	X(M)	Alice	
X	X(M)	(Servant) HOLLAM Robert	
X	X(M)	(Servant) ROYALL Joseph	
		BRADWAY Alexander and	
		Sisley	1
X	X	CHARD Joshua "Ancient Planter" and	
		Ann	
		COLTMAN Henery "Ancient Planter" and	
		Ann	
	X	DODS John "Ancient Planter" and	
		Jane	
	X	FARMER Thomas	
X	X	GREENLEAF Robert "Ancient Planter" and	
X	X(M)	Susan	2
X	X(M)	HARRIS Thomas "Ancient Planter" and	
X	X	Adria "Ancient Planter"	*1
		(Servant) Elizabeth	
	X	HILTON Hugh	
		OAGE Thomas "Ancient Planter" and	
		Ann	1
		PRICE Hugh and	
		Judith	1
X	X	PRICE John "Ancient Planter" and	
X	X(M)	Ann	1
X	X	SHARP William "Ancient Planter" and	
X	X(M)	Elizabeth	2
		(Servant) VAUSE Richard	
X	X(M)	SHEPPEY Thomas	
X	X	TAYLOR Richard "Ancient Planter" and	
		Dorothy	1
		(Servant) BROWNE Christopher	
X	X	VINCENE William "Ancient Planter" and	
		Joane	

of Virginia wrote in 1626 that "besides those that are unable to plant their ground wee find a greate parte either dead or gon for England."⁶⁸ The high mortality rate affecting Virginia's inhabitants during the early Royal Colony period is suggested by the records of those who remained in Henrico after 1625. Of the 28 adults from the Henrico "Musters" with post-1625 records,⁶⁹ at least 10 (or 36%) were dead by 1638.

Dynamics of marriage and family life in Henrico were greatly affected by this mortality record--4 of the 6 wives with post-1625 records buried their husbands then remarried; and before 1638, 3 of these remarried wives were widows again.⁷⁰ One of the 6 wives with post-1625 records was herself dead and her husband subsequently remarried.⁷¹ Thus, 5 of the 6 marriages of 1624/25 found in the post-1625 records were terminated by death of a spouse before 1638, leaving the children in these families without one of their original parents.

During the seventeenth century at least, if a child's father died, the child was considered an "orphan" in the eyes of the law necessitating the appointment of a male guardian for the child's well-being, even if the mother remarried.⁷² If men and women

⁶⁸"Affairs in Virginia in 1626," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 2 (1894):50.

⁶⁹See *ibid.*

⁷⁰Alice Boyse was remarried to Matthew Edlow, Susan Greenleafe was remarried to Thomas Markham, Ann Price was remarried to Robert Hollam, and Elizabeth Sharpe was remarried to Thomas Parker. Alice Edlow, Ann Hollam, and Elizabeth Parker were widows again by 1638.

⁷¹Thomas Harris buried his first wife Adria and was remarried to Joane by 1635.

⁷²In Henrico, the orphans of Luke Boyse, Matthew Edlow, and Robert Hollam are
(continued...)

were available, however, remarriage after the death of a spouse was fairly frequent, as demonstrated in Henrico by the remarriage of all those who had lost their spouse of 1624/25; furthermore, 3 of the 4 widows found their second husbands among men living in Henrico in 1624/25.⁷³ Though a family's life cycle might be cut short through the death of a husband or wife, new families were likely to be established by the surviving spouse with a subsequent husband or wife.

The settlement of an estate upon the death of a husband and father was undertaken seriously by colonists in Henrico. Luke Boyse died 21 June 1626, leaving his wife a widow and his child fatherless. Ten days before Boyse's death, John Dods, "being at ye house of ye said Mr Luke Boise who was then very sicke sayd that it was very good for him to make a will, then he ye said Mr Luke Boise answered what need he to make a will for that hee had noe body to give his estate unto but his child & his wife."⁷⁴ Alice Boyse, upon being granted administration of her husband's estate, proceeded to settle accounts dealing with tobacco, servants, and cattle; on 19 February 1626/27, she presented an "Inventory of all her Husbands viz Mr Luke Boise his goods & all his Estate."⁷⁵ The

⁷²(...continued)

identifiable in records between 1625 and 1640. See discussion by Lois Green Carr, "The Development of the Maryland Orphans' Court, 1654-1715," in Law, Society, & Politics in Early Maryland, ed. Aubrey C. Land, Lois Green Carr, and Edward C. Papenfuse (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 41-62.

⁷³Alice Boyse subsequently married Mathew Edlow of the College Land, Elizabeth Sharpe was remarried to Thomas Parker of the Neck of Land, and Ann Price chose Robert Hollam (former servant of Alic and Luke Boyse) as her second husband.

⁷⁴McIlwaine, ed., Minutes, 132.

⁷⁵Ibid., 126, 132, 134, 140.

settlement of a decedent's estate also included settling all debts and/or credits owed by or to the decedent. After Alice Boyse married Matthew Edloe from Henrico's College Land settlement, "Mathew Edloe husband to Alice late the wife and Admstratrix of Luke Boys deceased delyvered in uppon his oath the account of the paymts of the said Luke Boys his debts and estate" on 7 March 1628/29.⁷⁶ On 10 November 1635, Alice Boyse-Edloe was again a widow when she patented 350 acres of land in Henrico.⁷⁷ Alice's daughter, Hannah Boyse, noted as "daughter & Heire of Luke Boyse late of Henrico," recorded a patent for 300 acres of land next to her mother's land on 11 November 1635: "50 acs. due in right of her father for his per[sonal] adv[enture], 50 acs. for her owne per[sonal] adv[enture] & 200 acs. for trans[portation] of 4 servts., by her sd. father."⁷⁸ With the grant of land to orphan Hannah Boyse nine years after the death of her father, Luke Boyse's estate was finally settled.

But if life was short in early seventeenth century Virginia, it was nonetheless interesting. Interactions with neighbors were a part of everyday life for Henrico residents. When John Dods visited neighbor Luke Boyse during Boyse's severe illness, he elicited Boyse's verbal will to leave all of his estate to his wife and child.⁷⁹ Thomas Harris was familiar enough with Boyse's livestock to identify "one Cowe lately in the possession of

⁷⁶Ibid., 193.

⁷⁷Nugent, Cavaliers & Pioneers, 1:40.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹McIlwaine, ed., Minutes, 132.

Luke boise named brooken leggs and killed by ye Indians at the Necke of land."⁸⁰

William Vincent entered into an agreement with Dods concerning some land and a house

"wch did lately belonge unto Josuah Chard," another neighbor at the Neck of Land.⁸¹

Matthew Edloe, who married Boyse's widow, purchased cloth from a merchant which was witnessed by neighbors Leonard Moore, John Watson, and Thomas Osborne at the College Land.⁸²

Henrico neighbors were bound together by common goals and experiences. Planting land in Henrico after the 1621/22 Massacre drew at least Harris, Vincent, and Richard Taylor to this part of the Virginia colony: "that their dividents of cleared land should then by their consent be equally devided betweene the said Thomas Harris & such others as were then to plant on ye said land, as by ye said deed bearing date ye 11th January 1622."⁸³ Virginia Governor Francis Wyatt apparently rewarded this initiative to return to unsettled Henrico: "that the said Tho: Harris & others that then intended to goe & plant uppon ye said necke of land should have five acres a share given & graunted unto them & to theire heires & assignes for ever on that place, the said Comission bearing date the 20th of January 1622."⁸⁴ Shared dislikes could be strongly felt, as expressed

⁸⁰Ibid., 129.

⁸¹Ibid., 166.

⁸²Ibid., 97.

⁸³Ibid., 129.

⁸⁴Ibid.

when a proclamation was read ordering that a merchant be chosen to buy "Comodities for every Plantatione;" Henrico ancient planters

Sargeant Sharpe and Richarde Taylor disliked the saide Proclamatione, And sweringe many violent oathes (saide) we are Freemen and as Free as Sr. George Yardley himselfe, And yt they would goe abourde any shipp and buy Comodities them selves for their owne use, for all that Proclamatione.⁸⁵

(Within a month this proclamation was repealed because "many inconveniences appear like to happen").⁸⁶ The common defense inevitably brought Henrico's colonists together. A 1627 campaign to "goe uppon the Indians & cutt downe their corne" united "the plantations of the Necke of land and the Colledge to goe uppon the Tanx Powhatans" near the falls of James River; Henrico's commanders were "Left Tho: Osborne in Cheife, Tho: Harris seconde."⁸⁷

Relationships with neighbors were not always cooperative, however--slander, charges of immoral behavior, and certain conflicts involving Henrico's residents were mediated by the colonial Virginia court system. Alice Boyse and Thomas Harris were both subjects of slander by Joane Vincent. Alice Boyse's petition declared that Joane Vincent had not only reported that Alice Boyse had "had a Bastarde" but that

my Husband and my selfe had made (my dutiefull reverence remembred)
an arswarde Bargane before we were maryed, and yt ther was yt greate

⁸⁵Ibid., 113.

⁸⁶Ibid., 121.

⁸⁷Ibid., 151; this court order also sent settlers from the plantations of "Sherley-Hundred, Jordaines Journey Chaplaines Choise & Perseys Hundred uppon the Townes of ye Weianoacks & ye Appamatucks."

love borne by Mr. Jurden to your petitioner, yt caused much debate between Mr Jourdon & his wife.⁸⁸

Richard Taylor's deposition detailed Joane Vincent's slander against Harris: "That there was fowerteene women in the Church, And that seven of them were Thomas Harris his whoores . . . That Thomas Harris made faste the doore and would have layne wth a woman in the Plantacione against her will."⁸⁹ In other instances, Harris was a subject of evidence brought against a woman accused of witchcraft⁹⁰ and widow Alice Boyse was confronted with allegations of immoral behavior but later exonerated.⁹¹ Mundane disputes over land and servants were also brought to court. Richard Taylor complained against both Thomas Harris and William Sharpe concerning the use of his land.⁹² Widow Alice Boyse petitioned that her late husband's servant, Joseph Royall, should perform the terms of his "Covenant," a petition subsequently granted by the court.⁹³

Henrico households of 1625, concentrated in two areas north and south of the James River, only partially fulfilled the requirements for permanent settlement recognized in English colonial thought. The "Musters" indicate that virtually all households were engaged in subsistence agriculture, but only 15/32 (or 47%) households were family households. Furthermore, Governor Wyatt's 1625 list of "Titles and Estates of Land"

⁸⁸Ibid., 31.

⁸⁹Ibid., 96.

⁹⁰Ibid., 111.

⁹¹Ibid., 111, 140, 141-42, 148.

⁹²Ibid., 129, 180-81.

⁹³Ibid., 132.

named only seven 1625 Henrico inhabitants,⁹⁴ all ancient planters; if Henrico's other four ancient planters could claim land based on the 1618 "Great Charter," then 11/32 (or 34%) Henrico households held a right to land in 1625. Since ten of those Henrico households with a right to land in 1625 were family households, only 10/32 (or 31%) Henrico households could be landowning family households in 1625.

Thus, with less than one-third of Henrico households in 1625 being familial households with rights to own land, the permanent settlement form of "landowning families" was largely untried in 1625 Henrico. If, however, Henrico's Neck of Land area is viewed separately--with 13/16 (or 81%) households being familial and 10/16 (or 63%) households being both familial and holding claims to land--then Henrico did manifest a prototype of permanent English settlement in 1625 at the Neck of Land on the south side of James River.⁹⁵

⁹⁴"Titles and Estates of Land," May 1625, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:552-53.

⁹⁵Irene W. D. Hecht discusses the presence of families in the 1624/25 "Musters," pointing out "that only a minority of the population had family ties within the colony" ("The Virginia Muster of 1624/25 As a Source for Demographic History," William and Mary Quarterly 3d ser., 30 (1973):80-84. Jack P. Greene refers to Hecht's findings as the basis for his statement that "although the colony contained a small core of nuclear families, they formed no more than the earliest beginnings of a settled family structure" (Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988, 12-13). A. C. Quisenberry's "tabulated form" of the 1624/25 "Musters" showing demographic breakdown of the "Musters" by settlement area indicates that the high percentage of females in Henrico's "Neck of Land in Charles Cittie" settlement was unique among Virginia colony settlements at the time ("The Virginia Census, 1625-25," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 7 (1899-1900):364-67).

Land Policy: A 'Competent Quantity' of Land

While "landownership" per se was officially protected by the King in 1625, Royal colony policy concerning land use and acquisition was not officially established for almost another decade. Due largely to the geographical isolation of Virginia from England, the Virginia colonists were left much to themselves by the King after the dissolution of the Virginia Company. The Virginia planters, however, continued to improve their situation and Captain John Smith reported in 1631 that

notwithstanding since they have beene left in a manner, as it were, to themselves, they have increased their numbers to foure or five thousand, and neere as many cattell, with plenty of Goats, abundance of Swine, Poultry and Corne, that as they report, they have sufficient and to spare, to entertaine three or foure hundred people, which is much better than to have many people more than provision.⁹⁶

The agricultural prosperity of the Virginia colonists at this time suggests that local Virginia administrators, relying upon local custom, formulated land policies conducive to ongoing Virginia settlement.

Land use was a key factor in the formation of Virginia land policy during the early Royal Colony period. Unplanted land was considered a hinderance to settlement. After the list of "Titles and Estates of Land" in Virginia was sent to England in 1625,⁹⁷ the Governor and Council of Virginia argued against allowing land claims to lie unused, whether due to the claimant's greed, incapacity, or death:

⁹⁶Smith, "Advertisements," 1631, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barber, 3:274.

⁹⁷"Titles and Estates of Land," May 1625, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 4:551-59.

for redress wher of if all such bee compelled either to manure their Lands within such reasonable tyme as your Lordships shall thinke fitt, or otherwise to forfeitt their right in that perticular Land, we conceive it will be a notable meanes of peopleing the country.⁹⁸

The Governor and Council were positing that land should be either "manured" or "forfitted" in order to promote settlement or "peopling the country."⁹⁹ To "manure" land originally meant to cultivate, to till, to work land with human labor--a term of general agricultural land use.¹⁰⁰ The Virginia Company had expressed similar conditions for acquiring more land after a first grant, i.e., "when they have planted and peopled the landes hereby to them assigned;"¹⁰¹ now Virginia's leaders in the colony sought to require "planting" or "manuring" as a condition for keeping land that was already granted. Incorporating such land use conditions into land policy would directly discourage absentee ownership of land.¹⁰²

⁹⁸"Affairs in Virginia in 1626," 50.

⁹⁹The Governor and Council also here affirmed that the "quit rent" property tax established by the Virginia Company was helpful in deterring "excesive ingrossing of Lands."

¹⁰⁰Webster, American Dictionary, 1828, s.v. "manure"; Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, 1983, s.v. "manure."

¹⁰¹Virginia Company, "The Form of a Patent for a Planter Only," 22 May 1622, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:632. See also Virginia Company, "The Form of a Patent for Adventurers undertaking to Transport and Plant 100 Persons," 22 May 1622, in Records of the Virginia Company, 3:627, and Virginia Company, "A Grant for a Private Plantation to John Bounall," 22 May 1622, in Records of the Virginia Company, 3:636. The Great Charter stipulated that "the land of the first division shall be sufficiently peopled" before a "second division" would be made (Virginia Company, "Instructions to George Yeardley," 18 November 1618, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 106, 107.

¹⁰²The Governor and Council also here affirmed that the "quit rent" property tax
(continued...)

Agricultural use of land in Virginia was not excluded from colonists who did not own land since land was available for lease. Due to the Virginia Company's large acreages of lands in each corporation, public land was made available to colonists under certain conditions after the 1621/22 Massacre.¹⁰³ The General Court of Virginia began to authorize the leasing of public lands in January 1626/27:

The Court taking into consideration that the next ensueing yeare there will be many Tenants & servants freed unto whom after their freedome there will be noe land due whereby they may without some order taken to the contrary settle & seat theselves dispersedly & in noe such convenient order wherby to be a strength to ye Colony, have hereuppon thought fitt & accordingly ordered that the Governor & Councill may give unto the said servants & Tenants leases for terme of yeares of such quantityes of land as shalbe needfull prerationably to ye families of such as in that nature shall take leases of any comon lands as yet untaken up by any adventurers or planters wthin ye Colony: yeilding & payeing yearly for every acre one pound of Tobacco.¹⁰⁴

The amount of public land available for public servants to lease was what "shalbe needfull prprotionably to ye families"--in other words, the amount of land needed by a

¹⁰²(...continued)

established by the Virginia Company was helpful in deterring "excesive ingrossing of Lands."

¹⁰³In August 1622, the Company advised the Governor and Council in Virginia to solicit "private men" to occupy Company land and use it "to their own benefitt" until they could go upon their own land; ten acres of land in fee simple could be offered "if this Prevaile not" (Treasurer and Council for Virginia, "Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia," 1 August 1622, Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:670). The King's Privy Council instructed George Yeardley in April 1626 that if "new Commers . . . bee unprovided of landes fitt to manure, then to bee permitted to sett downe upon the Companies land upon the Conditions expressed in the Treasurer and Counsells letter sent immediately after the massacre in August 1622" ("Instructions from the Lords of his Majesties most honorable privy Councell to Sir George Yardley Knight Governour of Virginia and to the Councell of State there," 19 April 1626, Acts of the Privy Council, ed. Grant, Munro, and Fitzroy, 1:98-99).

¹⁰⁴McIlwaine, ed., Minutes of the Council and General Court, 135-36.

family or household in order to subsist in Virginia. A few years later, the amount of land required for subsistence was termed "a Competent quantity:" when leasing of public lands was re-authorized and made available to any colonist in February 1632/33, the General Court wrote that planters having no land due unto them "should have a Competent quantity graunted unto them by lease for 21 yrs."¹⁰⁵

Between 1626/27 and 1632/33 the "fee rent" for leasing public land was changed from tobacco to "sweete and good Indian Corne."¹⁰⁶ This change was probably related to the efforts of the General Assembly to encourage colonists to grow corn by not restricting its planting or its price.¹⁰⁷ At this time, land to use for subsistence was apparently available to all free men or women, according to the General Assembly's rationale for not limiting the price of corn: "for none are so poore heere, as that they may not have as much corne, as they will plant, havinge land enough."¹⁰⁸ As public lands were granted in fee simple to private planters, colonists with no title to land subsequently leased land from private planters.

Landownership remained the cornerstone of Virginia land policy when Virginia became a Royal Colony. After the dissolution of the Virginia Company, however,

¹⁰⁵Virginia Land Patents, Book 1:155.

¹⁰⁶See *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷The General Assembly declared in February 1631/32, that corn "shall be free for every man to sell it as deere as he can," Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:173; also September 1632, in *ibid.*, 1:197. This encouragement was in addition to the regular law that colonists to grow enough corn to feed each member of their family or household, a law enacted by the General Assembly since 1619 (see "Reporte of the General Assembly," House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 10).

¹⁰⁸February 1631/32, Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:173.

Virginia land policy operated merely by custom until the early 1630's. The King had promised to protect each colonist's "interest" and "right" to land acquired by 1625 but provided no guidance for distributing new land after June 1625. Finally, the Governor and Council wrote the King's Privy Council in March 1631/32: "Wee further pray to be directed concerninge the lands and devidents heere that a firme establishmt may bee made, otherwise aftertymes in the Groath of the Colony will tast the bitter fruit of dissention and not easilie finde remedie."¹⁰⁹

At the same time, the House of Burgesses petitioned the Privy Council concerning confirmation of "all former graunts liberties and priviledges" and "that we may have confirmation of all our lands, and dividents."¹¹⁰ Virginia's leaders raised two major public land policy issues for the Privy Council to consider. First, the colonists sought to make "planting" a condition for landholding after a person claimed a particular piece of land. Lands of certain groups and individuals continued "unplanted" because the owners were either absent or dead without heirs--

wch will in short tyme, cause us almost to leave this river and goe to free places, wherefore wee thinke it were a less mischeife, that yf they plant them not in Convenient tymes, others may take them, and they to choose theire devidents elsewhere, Soe should wee not unnecessarilie stragle, in soe disjoyned parties.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹"Letter from the Governor and Council in Virginia to the Privy Council in England," March 1631, House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 125.

¹¹⁰"[Petition of the House of Burgesses to the Privy Council Drawn up at the 1631/32 Session]," 6 March 1631, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 55.

¹¹¹"[Letter from the Governor and Council in Virginia to the Privy Council in England]," March 1631, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 125.

Second, the colonists sought continuance of the distribution of new land to "all comers" after a seven-year period--if not 50 acres, then perhaps 25 acres or 12 acres.¹¹²

A framework for Virginia land policy based on Virginia Company precedent was officially confirmed by the King's Privy Council in England in 1634. The Privy Council briefly stated to "the Governor and Counsell in Virginia" that

it is not intended that the interestes which men had settled when you were a corporation should be impeached: that for the present they may enjoy their estates and trades with the same freedom and privileges as they did before the recalling of their patents: To which purpose also in pursuance of his Majesty's gracious intention, wee doe hereby authorize you to dispose of such proportions of lands to all those planters beeing freemen as you had power to doe before the yeare 1625.¹¹³

Virginia custom in land policy elevated the headright policy instituted by the Virginia company as the primary basis for granting new land to immigrants after 1624/25. Any individual could claim 50 acres of land in Virginia for each person transported to Virginia at his or her expense, including him or herself and family members.¹¹⁴ The Virginia headright policy encouraged the link between landownership and "peopling the country;" money alone was not enough to claim new land granted from the King. The idea of "planting" new land also prevailed in Virginia land policy in order to encourage the link

¹¹²"[Petition of the House of Burgesses to the Privy Council Drawn up at the 1631/32 Session]," 6 March 1631, House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 55.

¹¹³"A Letter to the Governor and Counsell in Virginia," 22 July 1634, in Acts of the Privy Council, ed. Grant, Munro, and Fitzroy, 1:204; quoted in W. Stitt Robinson, Jr., Mother Earth: Land Grants in Virginia, 1607-1699, (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1957), 34. This act of the Privy Council also noted in McIlwaine, ed., Minutes, 481.

¹¹⁴See Virginia Company, "Instructions to George Yeardley," 18 November 1618, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 106, 107; also Robinson, Mother Earth, 32-33.

between landownership and land use; mere title to land was not enough to keep new land granted from the King. In the early seventeenth century, Virginia colony leaders sought a land policy which promoted human settlement--fulfilling a Virginia Company ideal "that the land be not left uncultivated & the houses uninhabited."¹¹⁵

Establishing New Plantations

Henrico's development as a settlement area in the first decade after 1625 paralleled that of the Virginia colony as a whole. In terms of population growth, Virginia's English colonists quadrupled in less than a decade after 1625--whereas the "Musters" of 1624/25 listed 1232 colonists in Virginia, by 1634 Virginia had 4,914 inhabitants.¹¹⁶ Henrico's inhabitants, however, increased even more rapidly--from 66 individuals in 1625 to 419 men, women, and children by 1634.¹¹⁷ This six-fold increase not only represented the arrival of new settlers to Henrico, it also reflected the continuing dispersion of English colonists from areas like Jamestown where colonists had concentrated following the 1621/22 massacre. Population growth restored Henrico's identity as a distinct settlement area. Henrico's population was first officially recognized as distinct from that of Charles City when the 1631/32 commission of the monthly court for "the upper parts" noted that the jurisdiction of the court included those inhabitants

¹¹⁵Treasurer and Council for Virginia, "Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia," 1 August 1622, Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:670.

¹¹⁶"A List of the Number of Men, Women and Children Inhabiting in the Several Counties Within the Colony of Virginia, Anno Dne, 1634," in Colonial Records of Virginia, 91.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*

living "within the precincts of Charles City and Henrico."¹¹⁸ By 1634, Henrico's population was stable enough to warrant recognition as one of Virginia's first eight counties with authority to hold their own monthly courts.¹¹⁹

Geographic expansion was another factor which contributed to Henrico's development as a settlement area during the early Royal Colony period. A 1623/24 law requiring that two new monthly courts be "kept" for inhabitants in the "corporations" adjacent to Jamestown--one up the river in "Charles City" and another down the river in "Elizabeth City"¹²⁰--indicates that geographic expansion after the 1621/22 massacre was already underway by the end of the Virginia Company period. The Virginia Governor and Council explained to the Privy Council in 1626 that while "being seated . . . in smale bodies" made it difficult to

prevent the suddaine incursions of the Salvages, nor secure any range for cattle, which is a generall discouragement to the Planter . . . they out of their too much affection to their privat dividends, have bene the cause of repossessing their quitted Plantations.¹²¹

¹¹⁸Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:168. Geographic references in the 1626 order for the monthly court at "Charles hundred" are downriver from Henrico: "the monthlie Courtes to be kept above Persies hundred, shal be kept . . . either at Jourdens Journey or Sherley hundred" (McIlwaine, ed., Minutes, 106).

¹¹⁹Each county was "to be governed as the shires in England" and a member of the Governor's "council to have notice to attend and assist in each court of shire" (Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:224).

¹²⁰Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:125.

¹²¹"Affairs in Virginia in 1626," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 51.

Henrico's inhabitants remained identified with the College and Neck of Land areas through the end of the 1620s.¹²² Henrico settlement spread down the James River in the 1630s, beginning with settlement of the "Curles" area on the north side of the river a few miles below the College Land.¹²³ By the time Henrico became a County in 1634, Henrico's 419 inhabitants were dispersed "from Arrowhattock to Shirley hundred Iland, on both sides the river."¹²⁴

After 1634, Henrico settlement was spurred on by private individuals establishing new plantations on "new" land which they had acquired by grant or "patent" from the King.¹²⁵ A land grant or "patent" from the King gave title for a specific portion of unsettled or "new" land to a private person (or corporation); the King claimed superior title to land in Virginia by virtue of charters dating to 1606. During the first seven years of Royal Colony administration, there was no new land distributed in Henrico. From 1632 to 1634, one individual is recorded as receiving two grants of land while six individuals are recorded as receiving 21-year land leases. After Henrico became a county and land distribution policy was confirmed by the King's Privy Council, the distribution

¹²²See lists of burgesses for 1629, 1629/30 in McIlwaine, ed., House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, x, xi.

¹²³See *ibid.*, xii. The College Land reverted to its old Indian place name, "Arrowhattocks;" the College people had actually been headquartered at "Arrowhattocks" (or "harry hattocks," "harrihatox") in 1625 (McIlwaine, ed., Minutes, 64, 97).

¹²⁴"A List of the Number of Men, Women and Children Inhabiting in the Several Counties Within the Colony of Virginia, Anno Dne, 1634," Colonial Records of Virginia, Senate Document (Extra), 91.

¹²⁵See Nugent, Cavaliers & Pioneers, vol. 1 for index to Virginia Royal Colony land patents recorded for Henrico settlers after 1625; land patents provide information on patentees, neighboring landowners, and sometimes former landowners.

of new land to Henrico planters increased dramatically. From 1635 through 1639, 79 land patents within Henrico boundaries were recorded for 48 different individuals. New land distribution in Henrico fell off in the 1640s, however--only 10 land patents are recorded for the entire decade. While the average size land grant in Henrico County before 1650 was 483 acres, almost three-fourths (or 74%) of all land grants were 500 acres or less and almost half (or 47%) of all land grants were between 100-300 acres. Almost all Henrico land grants before 1650 had at least one boundary along the James or Appomattox Rivers (or a major tributary such as Four Mile Creek or Swift Creek) and extended from the river or creek front into the woods about a mile.

Establishing a plantation in Henrico County involved several steps. First, land had to be acquired to use, either through ownership or lease. Virginia colonists could acquire land to own in several ways: by grant or patent from the King, by deed of purchase from another colonist, by deed of gift, and by inheritance.¹²⁶ If a colonist sought to acquire new land by patent from the King, a claim or right to land had to be proven in court and certified by the Secretary of the Colony.¹²⁷ Royal Colony administration not only continued the Virginia Company policy of distributing land by headright, but also fully recognized rights to land earned during the Virginia Company period, whether by headright or by ancient planter status.

¹²⁶The General Court of Virginia ordered in October 1626 that "all sales of lands & guifts of land" were to be recorded at Jamestown (McIlwaine, ed., Minutes, 121).

¹²⁷Virginia Company, "Instructions to George Yeardley," 18 November 1618, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 105-07; Robert Beverly, The History and Present State of Virginia, 1705, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 277-78.

The Virginia courts also awarded land patents based on headrights transferred by sale, gift or inheritance; the land rights of an ancient planter could be inherited by a spouse or child and used to obtain a land patent. William Dawkes received two patents for land in 1632 based on the adventures of purse and person of his father and uncle with the Virginia Company in 1608. To verify his claim, Dawkes submitted the original bill of adventure issued to his father, an ancient planter:

Whereas Henry Dawkes now bound on the intended voyage to Virginia hath paid in read[y] mony to Sir Thomas Smith, Kt. Treas. for Va., the sume of 12 Lbs. 10 Sh. for his Adv. in the voyage to Va. it is agreed that for the same the said Henry his heires &c. shall have rateably according to his Adv. his full parte of all such lands tenements &c. as shall from time to time bee there recovered planted and inhabited . . . written this 14 of July 1608.¹²⁸

Though headrights were the basis for most land patents awarded in early Henrico County, certain land patents illustrate the enduring legacy of the Virginia Company as well as the complexity possible in establishing rights to land.

Secondly, a survey had to be made of the land claimed and the boundaries of the patent recorded.¹²⁹ Before 1650, Henrico County land patents indicate that a fairly simple type of survey formula was used to circumscribe the number of acres claimed in a patent since almost all patents in this period were bounded on one side by water.¹³⁰

¹²⁸Nugent, Cavaliers & Pioneers, 1:15.

¹²⁹Virginia Company, "Instructions to George Yeardley," 18 November 1618, in Three Charters of the Virginia Company, comp. Bemiss, 107-08; Beverly, History of Virginia, 277-78.; also McIlwaine, ed., Minutes, 471.

¹³⁰See discussion in Sarah S. Hughes, Surveyor and Statesmen: Land Measuring in Colonial Virginia (Richmond: The Virginia Surveyors Foundation, Ltd. and The Virginia Association of Surveyors, Ltd., 1979), 38-54.

The standard unit of measure for almost all surveys was the 16 1/2 foot "pole," so that 320 poles measured a mile and the dimensions of 1 pole by 320 poles measured 2 acres of land. By using a standard length of 320 poles and calculating a standard breadth in poles based on half the number of acres in a patent, a simple and accurate formula for surveying land could be applied to new land claimed by Virginia colonists. Hughes summarizes that

the predominant early method of laying out lands fronting on the water was by the 320-pole formula. Besides the frequent occurrence of the dimensions of the 320-pole formula, recurrent words in some land records suggest a common acceptance and understanding of the bounds of lands so laid out.¹³¹

The quality of surveying, or at least the quality of survey recording, declined in Virginia between 1626 and 1640--many patents, including those in Henrico, list no linear distances or marked corner trees.¹³² When linear distances are given in early Henrico County patents, these distances conform to the 320-pole survey formula or a modification of it. For instance, in William Dawkes' patent for 250 acres in 1632, the only linear distance given is 125 poles.¹³³ Large tracts of land sometimes ran a length of two miles, as did Ann Hallom's patent for 1000 acres in 1638: "runing 250 pole by the rivers side and two miles into the woods bounded round about wth marked trees."¹³⁴ Despite the lack of precise quantitative information in Henrico patents before 1650, all patents name the

¹³¹Ibid., 42-43.

¹³²Ibid., 39, 44.

¹³³Nugent, Cavaliers & Pioneers, 1:15.

¹³⁴Virginia Land Patents, 1:547.

bounding waterways and neighboring landowners so as to associate particular people with a particular place.

Finally, the colonist was required to "plant" or "seat" the land specified in a land patent. A "planting and seating" clause was added as a requirement for keeping patented land under Royal Colony administration, so that settlement could develop in a continuous pattern. After the Governor and Council in Virginia received authorization from the King's Privy Council in 1634 to distribute land as had been customary during the Virginia Company period, it was subsequently stipulated in all land patents that if the patentee

shall not plant or seate or cause to bee planted on the said . . . land within the time and terme of three years now next ensuing the date hereof that then it shall and may be lawfull for any Adventurer or planter to make choice and seate upon the same.¹³⁵

The "planting and seating" requirement in land patents was intended to generally encourage the transformation of new land into a place of human habitation and to specifically encourage human subsistence by making agricultural activity a condition for keeping a grant of public land. The challenge to plant and seat new land essentially defined Virginia plantation work in its most basic form--

every man having Liberty upon the right of transporting of persons to take up Land (untaken before) and there seat, build, clear, & plant without any manner of restraint from the Government in relation to their Religion, and gods Service, or security of their persons, or the peace of the Country, so that every man builds in the midst of his own Land.¹³⁶

¹³⁵Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:20-21. The Virginia General Assembly explicitly acknowledged in 1666 that "there is in all pattents a provisionall clause for planting and seating the land therein granted, in three years" (Hening, comp., Statutes, 2:244).

¹³⁶"Anthony Langston on Towns, and Corporations; and on the Manufacture of Iron," William and Mary Quarterly, 2d ser., 1 (April 1921):101.

Four basic activities, then, were involved in the plantation work which settled colonists on their new land: (1) clearing the forest provided space and material for (2) planting crops, gardens, orchards and (3) building the houses and fences needed for (4) seating (to situate, to fix in place, to locate the residence of) people and livestock.

Families on the Land

Settlement of new land in Henrico County was led by colonists establishing family plantations. Virginia Land Patent records preserved under Royal Colony administration indicate that 82 individuals recorded 123 land patents within the boundaries of Henrico County before 1650. Of the 82 individuals who patented land in Henrico during this period, 58 (or 71%) can be linked to family households; also, out of the 123 land patents recorded for Henrico, 96 (or 78%) can be linked to family households. Virginia Land Patent records also enable a more complete assessment of plantations actually established by patent in Henrico during the Virginia Company period. Through prosopographical analysis, it was determined that, for the Virginia company period, that at least 21 land patents granted to 21 individuals were used to establish Henrico plantations by 1625 and that 16 out of 21 patents and individual patentees (or 76%) can be linked to family households.¹³⁷ For the Royal Colony period, 102 Henrico land patents were recorded

¹³⁷This analysis is distinguished from linking mere residence in Henrico at the time of the 1624/25 "Musters" with the 1625 "Titles and Estates of Land" to determine landownership. Residence at the two clustered settlements in 1625 Henrico was not necessarily equivalent to owning land there; also, possession of title or right to land was not necessarily followed by actually acquiring a particular piece of land. However, the linkage of persons having "Titles and Estates of Land" in 1625 with evidence on landownership from Virginia Land Patents supplemented by evidence from the Minutes of the Council and General Court, and accounts of the 1621/22 massacre show that at least 21 individuals used their title or right to land to acquire land in Henrico by 1625.

for 61 individuals between 1625 and 1650; 80 out of 102 land patents (or 78%) can be linked to family households while 42 out of 61 individuals (or 69%) can be linked to family households (see Figures 6.1 and 6.2). Before 1650, over two-thirds of individual patentees in Henrico County and over three-fourths of Henrico County land patents can be linked to families and family households. Private landownership in Henrico County was thus dominated by families during both the Virginia Company and early Royal Colony periods.

The linkage of individuals and land to families and family households was an important stabilizing factor in Henrico settlement during the early Royal Colony period from 1625-1649 (N=42, see Table 3). Death was no respecter of familial status and the early death of male and/or female family household heads disrupted many Henrico families establishing plantations before 1650. Indicators of mortality show that at least 24/42 (or 57%) families settling on patented land in Henrico County from 1625-1649 dealt with the death of a spouse or parent before a plantation was established or before children were raised--before these tasks of a seventeenth century individual or family life cycle were completed.¹³⁸ For instance, during this period, 10 family households recorded a land patent in the name of the widow and/or orphaned heirs of the male household head; and at least 21 family households were characterized by multiple marriages for male or female household heads. Familial settlement, however, helped mitigate the destabilizing effects of early mortality in early Henrico County because

¹³⁸These figures are underestimations of actual mortality since prosopographical records for individuals during this period are incomplete.

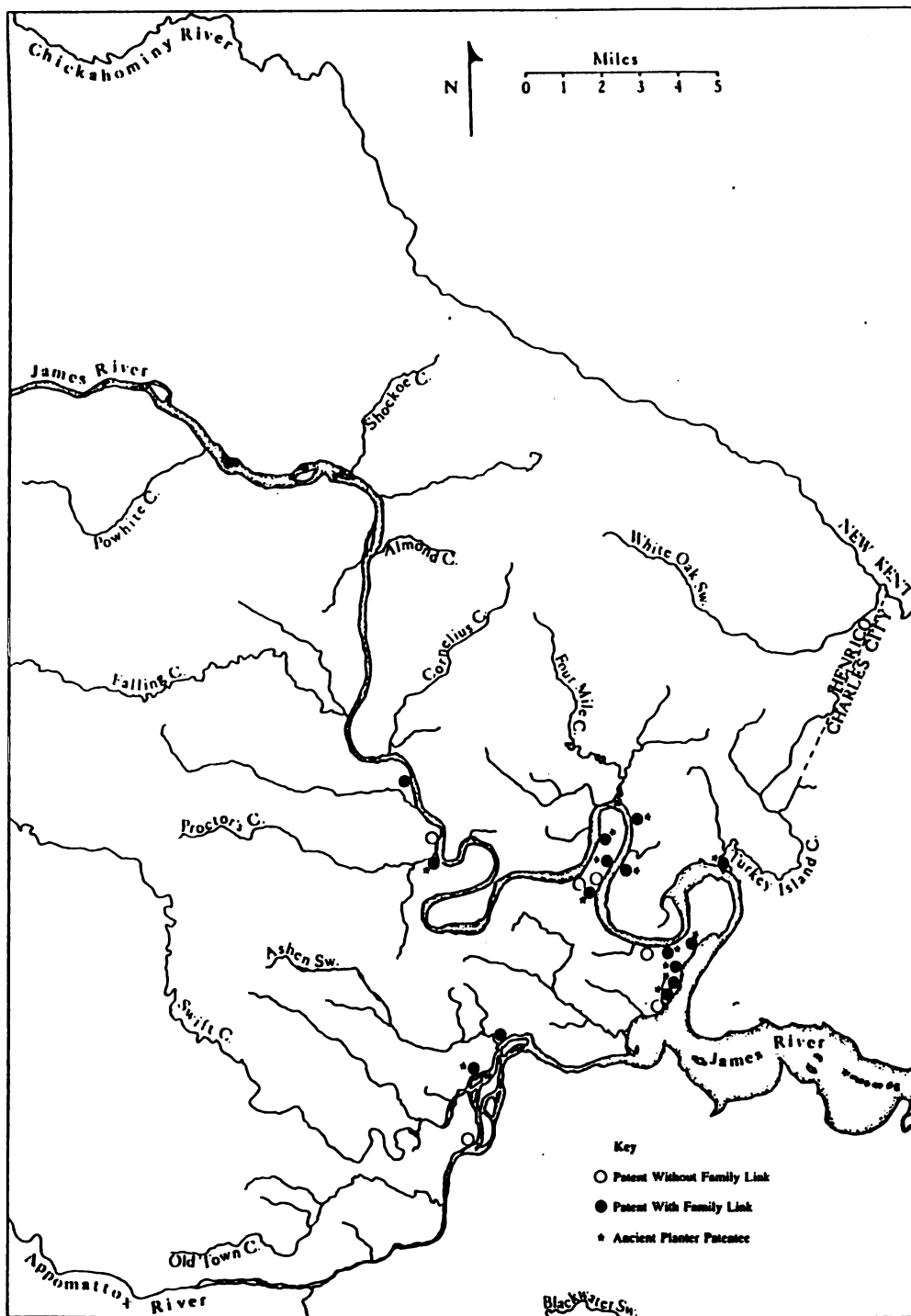


Figure 6.1 Henrico Virginia Company Patented Plantations, 1617-1625

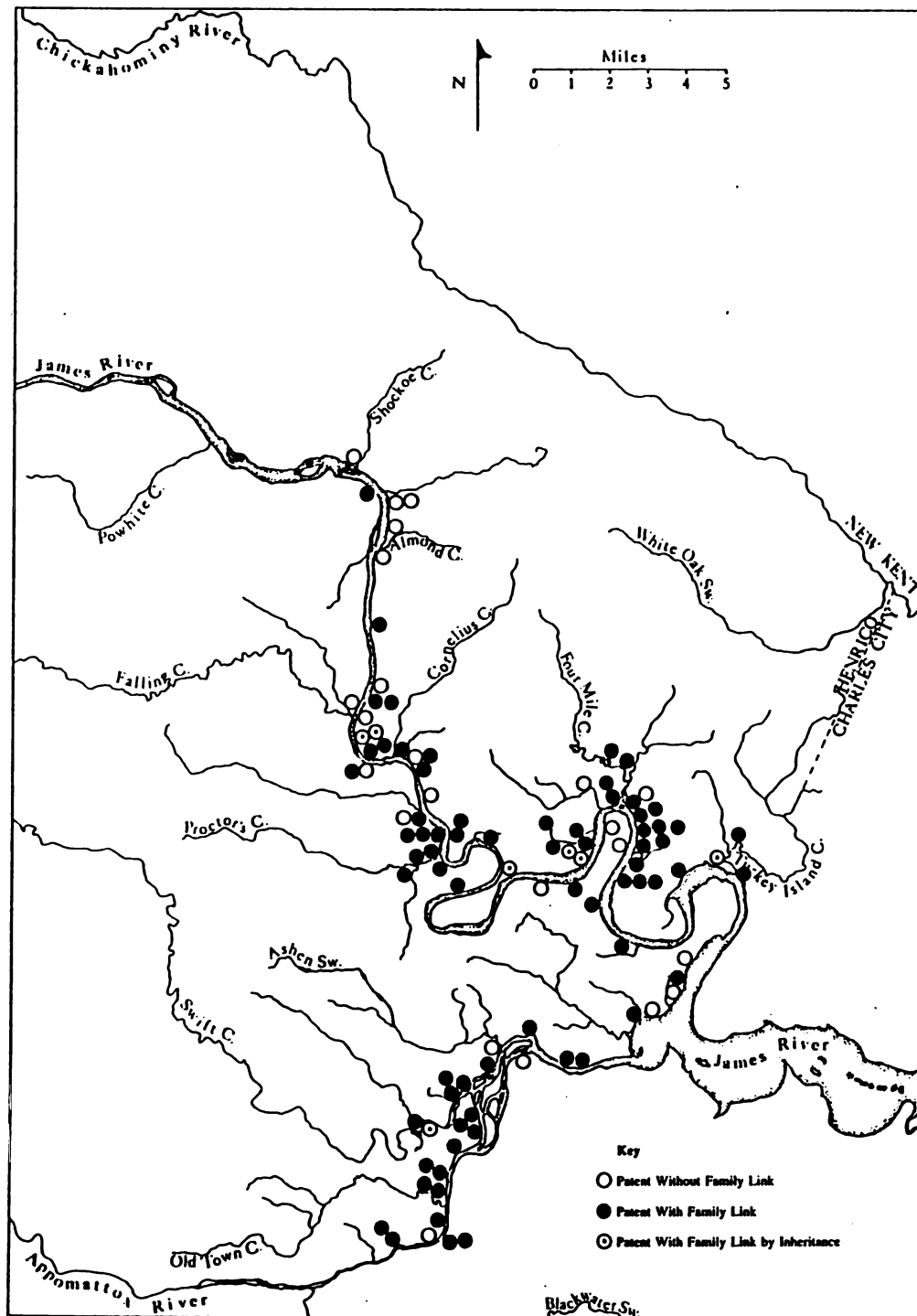


Figure 6.2 Henrico Virginia, Land Patents, 1625-1649

Table 3 FAMILIES OF HENRICO LAND PATENTEES, 1625-1649

Henrico land patentees (in bold) and their families as known. "Ancient planter" status is noted for individuals living in Virginia by 1616 (marked AP). Individuals who immigrated by 1625, during the Virginia Company era, are noted (marked **). Families linked to an "ancient planter" and the Virginia Company era are indicated (by X) under the "AP" and "VC**" columns on the left. Only Virginia Company land patentee families still living in Henrico at time of 1624/25 "Musters" are included with this list of Henrico land patentee families through 1649 (marked X-P under "VC**" column). Known number of children per couple are given on the right.

<u>AP</u>	<u>VC**</u>	<u>Henrico Land Patentees and Families</u>	<u>Children</u>
X	X	BAGWELL, Thomas** "Ancient Planter" and Joane** (1H) Thomas ALLNUTT** (2H) Thomas BAGWELL	
	X	BAKER, John and (1W) _____ (2W) _____ (3W) Dorothy (Harris)** BALHASH, Edward? and Elizabeth "Widdow" BLACKMAN, Jeremy and _____	1
X	X	BOX, John** "Ancient Planter" and Mary "Widdowe" Mary "daughter & heire"	1
	X	BOYSE, Luke** and Alice** (1H) Luke BOYSE (2H) Mathew EDLOE** Hannah "daughter & heire"	1 1
	X	BRANCH, Christopher** and Ann**	3
X	X-P	CHARDE, Joseph** "Ancient Planter" and Ann** CLARKE, William and Dorothy "Widdow" (1H) Edward GARDINER (2H) William CLARKE	

Table 3, cont'd.

<u>AP</u>	<u>VC**</u>	<u>Henrico Land Patentees and Families</u>	<u>Children</u>
		COBBS, Ambrose and	
		Ann	2
X		COCKE, Richard and	
		(1W) Temperance (Baley)?**	
		(1H) John BROWN	2
		(2H) Richard COCKE	3
		(2W) Mary (Aston)	
		(1H) Richard COCKE	3
		(2H) Daniel CLARKE	
X	X	COX, William** "Ancient Planter" and	
		_____	2
		DAVIS, John and	
		Mary	1
X		DAWKES, Henry** "Ancient Planter" and	
		_____	1
		William "sonn & heire aparant"	
X		EDLOE, Matthew** and	
		Alice "Widdowe"***	
		(1H) Luke BOYSE**	1
		(2H) Mathew EDLOE	1
X	X	FARRAR, William** and	
		Cicely** "Ancient Planter"	
		(1H) _____ BALEY**	1
		(2H) Samuel JORDAN** "Ancient Planter" . . .	2
		(3H) William FARRAR	2
		William "sonne & heire"	
		FARYE, Joseph and	
		Ann	
		GREETE, Richard and	
		(1W) Elianor	
		(2W) Alice	
		(3W) Margaret	
X	X	HALLOM, Robert** and	
		Ann "Widdow"***	
		(1H) John PRICE** "Ancient Planter"	3
		(2H) Robert HALLOM	3
		(3H) Daniel LLEWELLYN	3
		"Heires of Robert Hallom"	
X	X	HARRIS, Thomas** "Ancient Planter" and	
		(1W) Adria (Gurganey)?** "Ancient Planter"	1
		(2W) Joane	1

Table 3, cont'd.

<u>AP</u>	<u>VC**</u>	<u>Henrico Land Patentees and Families</u>	<u>Children</u>
		HATCHER, William and _____	3
		HAYWARD, William and Ellen	
		JOHNSON, Richard and Elizabeth	1
X	X	MARKHAM, Thomas and Susan** (1H) Robert GREENLEAFE** "Ancient Planter" (2H) Thomas WARREN (3H) Thomas MARKHAM	2
X	X	MENEFIE, George** and (1W) Elizabeth (2W) Izabella (Smith)** "Ancient Planter" (1H) Richard PACE** "Ancient Planter" (2H) William PERRY** "Ancient Planter" (3H) George MENEFIE (3W) Mary	2 1 1
		NANCE, Richard and Alice	
	X	OSBORNE, Thomas** and _____	1
	X	OSBORNE, Thomas, Jr.** and _____	2
X	X	PACKER, Thomas** and Elizabeth "Widdowe"*** (1H) William SHARPE** "Ancient Planter" (2H) Thomas PACKER (3H) William BAUGH (1W) _____ (2W) Elizabeth SHARPE-PACKER (3W) _____	2 1 3 1 3 2
X	X	PLACE, James and Elizabeth (1H) George BOATES (2H) John WARD** "Ancient Planter" (3H) James PLACE	
X	X-P	PRICE, John** "Ancient Planter" and Ann** (1H) John PRICE (2H) Robert HALLOM** (3H) Daniel LLEWELLYN Mathew "sonn & heire"	3 3 3

Table 3, cont'd.

AP	VC**	Henrico Land Patentees and Families	Children
	X	ROYALL, Joseph** and (1W) Thomasin (2W) Ann (3W) Katherine (Banks) (1H) Joseph ROYALL 5 (2H) Henry ISHAM 3	
X	X-P	SHARPE, William** "Ancient Planter" and Elizabeth** (1H) William SHARPE 2 (2H) Thomas PACKER** 1 (3H) William BAUGH 3 (1W) _____ 1 (2W) Elizabeth SHARPE-PACKER . . . 3 (3W) _____ 2	
	X	SHIPPEY, Thomas** and Elizabeth 1 SMITH, Bryan and _____	
X	X-P	TAYLOR, Richard** "Ancient Planter" and Dorothy** 1	
	X	TUNSTALL, Edward and Martha (1H) Nicholas GREENHILL** (2H) Edward TUNSTALL	
X	X-P	VINCENT, William** "Ancient Planter" and Joane**	
X	X	WARD, John** "Ancient Planter" and (1W) Grace (2W) Elizabeth (1H) George BOATES (2H) John WARD (3H) James PLACE WARD, Seth and _____ 1	
X	X	WARREN, Thomas and Susan** (1H) Robert GREENLEAFE** "Ancient Plntr" 2 (2H) Thomas WARREN (3H) Thomas MARKHAM	
	X	WOOD, Abraham** and _____ (1H) _____ 1 (2H) Abraham WOOD 1	

family plantation work did not necessarily cease with the death of the individual either patenting the land or having a right to patent land. First, surviving family members could carry on the plantation's work. Secondly, inheritance laws ensured that the estate of land (as well as personalty, i.e., any movable item of personal property as differentiated from land or fixtures) was transferred in kind to surviving family members. Finally, remarriage was a possibility which re-established a marital partnership to direct plantation work and raise children.

Familial settlement also increased the human as well as the physical resources available for plantation work. In terms of human resources, family households integrated individuals with various skills, knowledge, and experiences because they were motivated to live and work together in a permanent relationship.¹³⁹ Many of the human resources critical to successful settlement of new land in Virginia were developed--through trial and error--during the Virginia Company period in general and through ancient planter experience in particular.¹⁴⁰ It took time for new immigrants to acquire and apply these human resources to their own plantations because they

for the first yeare are rawe in experience and for the most part in Ill disposition of health through the change of the Clymate, the seconde yeare

¹³⁹Adapted from definition of human resources as "time, energy, skills, knowledge, community support, and interpersonal strengths (i.e., the tools we use to transform physical resources to meet human needs)," offered by Colien Hefferan, "Human Resources: Development in Times of Transition," in Human Resources Research, 1887-1987:Proceedings, ed. Ruth E. Deacon and Wallace E. Huffman (Ames, IA: The College of Home Economics, Iowa State University, 1986), 11.

¹⁴⁰The value of the experience gained by planters who immigrated to Virginia during the Virginia Company period is clearly evident from the "Papers of the General Assembly of 1623/24," House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 21-42.

they beginn to understande the affaires of the Country, and the thirde provide for their retorne.¹⁴¹

Over two-thirds of the families establishing plantations in Henrico County from 1625-1649 were headed by men and/or women who could draw upon human resources developed from the Virginia Company period (29/42 or 69%). Furthermore, over two-fifths of Henrico family households establishing plantations during the early Royal Colony period were led by land patentees who were either ancient planters themselves or who were linked to an ancient planter experience by marriage or remarriage (18/42 or 43%).¹⁴² Thus, due to their Virginia Company and ancient planter roots, families settling new land in Henrico County from 1625-1649 were characterized by a depth as well as a breadth of human resources available for plantation work.

The family configurations of Henrico land patentees settling new land in Henrico County during the early Royal Colony period were marked by diversity and change over time. The diversity and change manifested by Henrico families establishing plantations during this period derived from the ongoing interdependent life histories or "life course"

¹⁴¹Ibid., 27; this statement was made in specific reference to the arrival of new Governors to Virginia. New immigrants were likely to be given this basic advice for beginning settlers: "that when they come they first fall to buildinge of good and convenient howses. . . that for the first yeare they only endeavor themselves to the plantinge of Corne, to the makeinge of gardens, to the chooseinge & incloseinge of fitt places for their Cattle and to the plantinge only of so much tobacco as may serve to sustaine them in necessary clothinge for the succeeding yeare . . . And that such numbers may be seated together as may be able to secure themselves, and to make good such a part of the country as they may have free and secure range for the sustenance and increase of their cattle" (ibid., 38-39).

¹⁴²Four-fifths of the family plantations established in Henrico by 1625 belonged to ancient planters (13/16 or 81%); between 1625 and 1649, only four ancient planters survived to establish new family plantations in Henrico.

of individuals joined by marriage and procreation.¹⁴³ Family configurations varied with the "life course" of a family and the "life course" of a family was inevitably modified by the "life course" of individual family members. As a result of the changing "life course" of their families, Henrico's settlers employed a number of strategies for establishing, maintaining, and expanding their family plantations. Dispersed settlement in the early Royal Colony period was accomplished by individuals whose family configurations were often characterized by relatively rapid change due to the early death of one or more family members; in such family configurations, surviving family members had to regroup and reorganize in order to preserve a family plantation.

In 1625, Henrico settlement reflected the struggle for survival endured by a number of ancient planters, the first distinct group of English immigrants to survive in Virginia and establish family plantations. For ancient planters, the struggle for survival included a struggle for land and family--for the very presence of a family configuration in Virginia settlement. Ancient planters were a significant group among the old settlers associated with Henrico at the end of the Virginia Company era. Ancient planters were predominant in early Henrico not only in terms of numbers but also in terms of experience. The ten ancient planters living at the Neck of Land in Henrico at the time of the "Musters" had been in Virginia since at least 1611. Five of these ancient planters--

¹⁴³See discussion by Tamara K. Hareven, "Introduction: the Historical Study of the Life Course," in Transitions: The Family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective (New York: Academic Press, 1978), 1-16; Elder, "Family History and the Life Course," 17-64; Peter Uhlenberg, "Changing Configurations of the Life Course," in Transitions: The Family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective (New York: Academic Press, 1978), *ibid.*, 65-97.

Joshua Chard, John Price, William Sharpe, Richard Taylor, and William Vincent--were the only 1624/25 Henrico residents who had managed to establish a plantation by land patent during the Virginia Company era and all were family plantations. Land rights due Henrico residents Robert Greenleafe and Thomas Harris as ancient planters are not recorded until after 1625.¹⁴⁴ The seven ancient planters who were both Henrico 1624/25 residents and Henrico land patentees shared similar life course characteristics: they were born before 1590, were in Virginia by 1611 (when Henrico was founded), they acquired land and married in their thirties and forties, they usually married only once, had maybe one or two children if any, and were likely to live to age 40 or 50.¹⁴⁵ Land and family thus came to Henrico's ancient planter generation of settlers relatively late in life, following a long struggle for survival marked by the absence of permanent ties to people and place. Henrico's ancient planters left an invaluable legacy of experience and perseverance critical to the establishment of family plantations in early seventeenth century Virginia.

After 1625, Henrico settlement reflected the dispersion of Henrico families up and down the rivers beyond the familiar Virginia Company settlements. Henrico's dispersed

¹⁴⁴Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:33, 34, 45, 60, 101. Nugent's Virginia Land Patent abstracts are herein cited for sake of economy and accessibility of primary sources.

¹⁴⁵Note ages given at the time of the "musters." The link between age and mortality of the ten ancient planters living in Henrico during the 1624/25 "musters" suggests the passing of the oldest members of a generation rather than the tragedy of a shortened life cycle. Though six are dead before 1630, two are dead before 1640, one is dead before 1650, and the remaining one disappears from all records after the 1630s, all lived past age 40 and Thomas Harris lived to age 62. The average age of Henrico ancient planters in the 1624/25 "musters" was 39.2 years.

settlement pattern originated with old Virginia Company settlers living in Henrico in 1625 who established family plantations in the 1630s.¹⁴⁶ It was the women married to Robert Greenleafe, John Price, and William Sharpe who continued the work of their ancient planter family plantations and even added to them in the mid-1630s and beyond. Susan Greenleafe, Ann Price, and Elizabeth Sharpe were considerably younger than their husbands. In 1625, Susan was 23 years and Robert Greenleafe was 43 years; Ann was 21 years and John Price was 40 years old; Elizabeth was 25 years and William Sharpe was 40 years old. Greenleafe, Price, and Sharpe were all dead by the early 1630s, survived by their widows and orphaned children.

Susan, Ann, and Elizabeth soon married again. Susan Greenleafe, twenty years younger than her first husband (by whom she had two children) married twice more, becoming Susan Greenleafe-Warren-Markham; her second and third husbands both recorded Henrico land patents near Four Mile Creek, of which half the acreage was based on land rights due to Robert Greenleafe (for being an ancient planter) and to Susan ("for her own per. adv.").¹⁴⁷ Ann became the wife of Robert Hollam, former servant to Luke Boyse at the Neck of Land (only two years her senior); Ann and Robert had sailed to Virginia on the same English ship, arriving in the New World together in August 1620. Elizabeth became the wife of Thomas Packer, a freeman living across the river at Henrico's College Land in 1625. Both Ann and Elizabeth were widowed again (with

¹⁴⁶Compare Tables 2 and 3.

¹⁴⁷Patent to Thomas Warren in 1635 found in *ibid.*, 1:314; patents to Thomas Markham in 1636 and 1637 found in *ibid.*, 1:371, 436.

more children) in the mid-to-late 1630s and proceeded to patent new land in their own names--Ann Price-Hallom recorded a patent for land at Turkey Island Creek and Elizabeth Sharpe-Packer patented land at Four Mile Creek. Ann also ensured that the land granted to John Price in 1619 was repatented in the name of their son, Matthew Price. Ann and Elizabeth subsequently married a third time and had more children. Over her 60-some-year life course, Ann Price-Hollam-Llewellyn bore at least nine children to three husbands; in her 50-year life-span, Elizabeth Sharpe-Packer-Baugh bore at least six children to three husbands.¹⁴⁸ The longevity of the individual life courses of Ann and Elizabeth made it possible for the life course of their family to supersede their spouse's mortality as well as for the life course of several families to be linked together, providing continuity and stability to family settlement over time.

Few families of Henrico's old settlers could avoid change between 1625 and when they established new plantations in the 1630s. Thomas Sheppey, Christopher Branch, and Joseph Royall were in their early thirties when they established their family plantations in Henrico County. Sheppey and Branch followed a course of basic family development: Thomas Sheppey had married Elizabeth by the time he settled at "Curles" in 1635 and Christopher and Mary Branch had at least two more children when they patented land the same year at Proctor's Creek. Mortality, however, had already complicated family

¹⁴⁸Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 349-50, 492-93, 554-57; Meyer and Dorman's genealogical reference is herein used for sake of economy and accessibility of primary sources to the reader.

development for Joseph Royall: by 1637, he had lost one wife and was remarried to Ann when he settled near Turkey Island Creek.¹⁴⁹

Luke Boyse, Thomas Harris, and Thomas Osborne from 1625 Henrico reflected the life course of Henrico's older group of ancient planters--all were born before 1590, some 15-20 years before Sheppey, Branch, and Royall. When Boyse died (he was at least 45), his young widow and orphaned child continued to pursue the goal of establishing a family plantation. Alice Boyse subsequently married Matthew Edloe (from Henrico's College Land settlement), had at least one more child, and buried her second husband before November 1635. Alice Boyse-Edloe nevertheless proceeded to patent several tracts of land near the old Indian town of "Harrow Attocks" based on headrights she acquired herself; she recorded patents for her children as heirs to each of her husbands.¹⁵⁰

Harris and Osborne were in their late forties when they first patented land in Henrico. Thomas Harris established his plantation at "Curles," beginning with a 1635 patent; Harris eventually incorporated all land due to him and his wife Adria "as being Ancient Planters." After the 1624/25 "Musters" were taken, Thomas and Adria Harris had a child together; Adria was dead by September 1626 and Thomas entered into his second marriage (around forty years of age) with Joane who already owned land north of Thomas and they had a child together.¹⁵¹ Thomas Osborne was married and had at least one child before he came to Virginia as "Commander" of the College Land for the Virginia

¹⁴⁹Ibid., 133-34, 517-18, 560.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., 253-54.

¹⁵¹McIlwaine, ed., Minutes, 111; Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 354-55.

Company. Osborne's wife apparently never came to Virginia, but his son did--Thomas Osborne, Jr. was serving as one of "the Governor's men" near Jamestown when the 1624/25 "Musters" were taken and eventually patented land in Henrico at "Coxendale" in 1637, adjacent to his father's 1634 patent.¹⁵²

In the 1630s, new immigrants and their families joined the dispersion of settlers establishing family plantations by land patent in Henrico County, extending settlement up the Appomattox as well as the James Rivers. Not all of these 28 new Henrico families were new to Virginia, however--over half of them were linked to individuals present in Virginia during the Virginia Company era (15/28 or 54%). Like Henrico County's old settlers, the family configurations of many new Henrico immigrants linked to the Virginia Company era were complicated by mortality before they established their family plantation. Families linked to ancient planter families continued to be attracted to Henrico, migrating from other parts of Virginia. Thomas Warren and Thomas Markham, who successively married the widow of ancient planter Robert Greenleafe, chose to settle on their wife Susan's Henrico plantation.¹⁵³ John Ward, Thomas Bagwell, and William Cox were three ancient planters who settled their families in Henrico in the 1630s. Ward already owned land at "Varina" when he patented a lease there in 1633; he was married twice, the second time to widow Elizabeth Boates. Elizabeth Boates-Ward survived John and was living on the Appomattox River shortly before she married her third husband,

¹⁵²Ibid., 26, 467-69.

¹⁵³Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:34, 45, 60.

James Place, and moved to his new plantation near Cornelius Creek.¹⁵⁴ Bagwell married widow Joane Allnutt while living near Jamestown a decade or so before they established their Henrico plantation on the Appomattox River.¹⁵⁵ Cox was fairly young for an ancient planter in the 1630s, being only 11 or 12 years old when he arrived in Virginia in 1610 and about age 38 when he patented land near Cornelius Creek in 1636. Cox married his wife Elizabeth either before or within a few months after he established his Henrico plantation.¹⁵⁶

Wives and children of ancient planters also emigrated to Henrico and established new plantations in the 1630s. Mary Box, widow of ancient planter John Box, patented land on the Appomattox River next to widow Elizabeth Ward in 1636; within a year Mary Box was dead and this land was repatented in the name of her daughter Mary as "daughter & heire of John Box."¹⁵⁷ William Dawkes established his plantation in Varina "as lawfull heire of his father" Henry Dawkes who had adventured both purse and person in the Virginia Company era--William Dawkes thus claimed 100 acres due "his father, being an Ancient Planter" and another 100 acres for the share or "bill of adv. of 12 lbs. 10 Shill." which his father purchased of the Virginia Company in 1608.¹⁵⁸ William Farrar, at age ten, had 2000 acres, located at the original 1611 "Henrico" site

¹⁵⁴Ibid., 1: 19, 40, 52.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., 1:32; McIlwaine, ed., Minutes, 137.

¹⁵⁶Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 211-12.

¹⁵⁷Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:41,60, 89.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., 1:15, 18, 19, 36, 40.

patented in his name as "sonne & heire to William Farrar, late of Henrico" and as due for 40 headrights. Young William's father arrived in Virginia in 1618 in his mid-twenties and by 1625 had become the third husband of 24-year-old ancient planter Cicely Baley-Jordan. Cicely came to Virginia in 1611 when she was eleven years old, had at least one daughter at age eighteen by her first husband, had at least two more daughters by her second husband (also an ancient planter) who was dead before April 1623. As a widow (if not before), Cicely took in boarders, one of which was William Farrar. William eventually sought to marry Cicely though she was engaged to the Reverend Greville Pooley; the competition for her hand in marriage reached the courts of the Virginia Company and was at a standstill until Pooley acknowledged Cicely's preference for William Farrar and released his claim. Cicely and William Farrar were subsequently married and had at least three children of their own--William, the Henrico patentee, being the oldest son.¹⁵⁹

Other families linked to the Virginia Company also moved up river to Henrico in the 1630's. George Menefie had been in Virginia almost a decade and was married to Elizabeth, the first of his three wives, when he recorded the first private patent for land at the falls of James River in 1634. Settlers had been afraid to establish plantations at the falls for a number of years because

there being a great Slaughter of them at the time of the Massacre by the Indians, that place was deserted til the Dissolution of the Company, nor did any body dare to go thither to live for several Years afterwards for fear

¹⁵⁹Kingsbury, ed., Records of the Virginia Company, 4:218-20; McIlwaine, ed., Minutes, 41-42; Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 273-76, 378-79.

of the Monocan Indians In that deserted Condition this fine Place lay til the Year 1634 when it was granted by Patent to George Minefee Esqr.¹⁶⁰

Abraham Wood, who had come to Virginia at age five in 1620, began to establish his Henrico plantation as soon as he came of age at 21 by leasing land with two partners along the Appomattox River in 1636; within a few years he had patented land by headright, married, and was raising children of his own.¹⁶¹ Some new Henrico immigrants were linked to Virginia Company colonists through their spouses. Richard Cocke's presence in Virginia was noted in 1627; by 1632, Cocke had married the widow of Virginia Company colonist John Browne (possibly a daughter of Cicely Baley-Jordan-Farrar) and was charged with carrying out the administration of Browne's estate and overseeing "the bringing upp of the Children untill they Come to age." Richard Cocke brought his family to Henrico and established his plantation at Turkey Island Creek in March 1636/37.¹⁶² John Baker had probably lost one wife, perhaps two, by the time he patented land at Varina in 1636. Eighteen months later Baker was married to his third wife, seventeen-year-old Dorothy (Harris) who was born in Virginia and spent most of her childhood at "West & Shirley Hundred."¹⁶³ Edward Tunstall established his Henrico family plantation near the falls of Appomattox River in 1639; Tunstall's earlier patents

¹⁶⁰"William Byrd Title Book," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 47 (October 1639): 308; Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 447-49.

¹⁶¹Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 695-96.

¹⁶²McIlwaine, ed., Minutes, 158, 201; Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 87-90.

¹⁶³Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:40, 59, 110, 113; Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 353-54.

on the east side of the Appomattox were based largely on headrights due to his wife Martha after the death of her first husband, Nicholas Greenhill--a servant living near Jamestown in January 1624/25.¹⁶⁴

New immigrants to Virginia establishing family plantations in Henrico County in the 1630s manifested a greater number of simpler family configurations, according to the available records. More family plantations were established based on the headrights of simple nuclear family units. Bryan Smith and his wife began their plantation at "Curles" in 1638. Joseph and Ann Farye, Richard and Alice Nance, as well as Ambrose and Ann Cobbs with their son and daughter, patented land on the Appomattox River in 1638 and 1639.¹⁶⁵ Some men took up land at their plantation site three to five years before they brought in their families--John and Mary Davis above "Arrowhattox," Richard and Elizabeth Johnson with their son at Neck of Land, and William and Ellen Hayward on the Appomattox River.¹⁶⁶

Family formation and mortality affecting families is probably underestimated in the records for new immigrants who settled in Henrico during the early royal colony period. For instance, local Henrico records before 1650--being largely limited to land patent records--do not reveal the family linkages for plantations established by William Hatcher on Appomattox River, Seth Ward at "Varina," and Jeremy Blackman at Falling Creek since they established their plantations without the headrights of wives and children

¹⁶⁴Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1: 50-51, 65, 111, 134; Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 37.

¹⁶⁵Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1: 87, 89, 111, 121, 129.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., 1: 64, 81, 87, 95, 112, 113, 136-37, 138.

or may have married after acquiring land.¹⁶⁷ Also, the extent to which mortality complicated new immigrant families can only be inferred from a few examples. Elizabeth Balhash was already a widow when she established her plantation at Four Mile Creek in 1636. Richard Greete was a widower several times over when he established his plantation at Four Mile Creek in 1637 based on the headrights of three wives: Elianor, Alice, and Margaret. William Clarke and his wife Dorothy established their plantation on Appomattox River in 1636 which was largely based on the 22 headrights due to Dorothy as widow of her first husband. Dorothy Clarke carried on their plantation work after William's death, patenting an adjacent tract of land in her own name in 1639.¹⁶⁸ The presence of these men and women in the records evokes such family ecological questions as how they continued to manage their plantations and how they continued to raise the children who were no doubt involved.

Toil Along "Those Rugged Paths of Plantation"

Life was not easy for English colonists in Henrico County or any other part of Virginia. In 1626, Virginia's leaders reminded the King's Privy Council of "the usuall difficulties incident to new plantacons."¹⁶⁹ Over twenty years later, Virginia leaders still referred to their colonial experience as "our Undertakeings in those rugged paths of

¹⁶⁷Ibid., 1: 19, 40, 59, 89, 151, 164, 447; W. G. Stanard, "Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vols. 1-8, patent nos. 142 & n., 341 & n.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., 1:54, 60, 86, 87, 117, 432.

¹⁶⁹"Affairs in Virginia in 1626," 54.

Plantacon."¹⁷⁰ The author of A Perfect Description of Virginia declared in his 1649 tract that, after the dissolution of the Virginia Company, "the Colony . . . hath now these twenty foure yeares since, laboured for life, and onely to subsist with much adoe."¹⁷¹ The English struggle to survive in the New World was certainly not limited to the Virginia Company era.

Plantation Work: Laboring for Life

Settlers in seventeenth century Henrico County had to meet the daily challenges of plantation work through arduous manual labor. As private plantations emerged in Henrico County in the first half of the seventeenth century, private plantation labor emerged as largely family-directed labor because the majority of private plantations in Henrico were family-owned. Most families tried to obtain outside help with their plantation work by employing indentured servants emigrating to Virginia. The majority of landowning families in Henrico County before 1650 might have had one or two servants at most at any one time.¹⁷² Mortality--"farre greater some yeares then

¹⁷⁰"[By the Governor, Counsell, & Burgesses of the Grand Assembly in Virginia, Aprill the 5th 1647]," House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 74.

¹⁷¹"A Perfect Description of Virginia," 1649, Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 2, no. 8, p. 10.

¹⁷²This figure is suggested by tithable lists for Henrico County in 1679--a later generation of Henrico settlers with presumably larger investments in servant labor (see Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 102-103). In 1679, 49% of all land patentees listed had 1-3 tithables and 74% of all households had 1-3 tithables; furthermore, 63% of all who patented land from 1650-1675, matured in their life cycle by 1680, and were listed in 1679 had 1-3 tithables. Given the landowner would be counted a tithable, these figures suggest 1-2 servants at most and some landowners would have had sons who were sixteen years of age or older working with them who would be counted as tithables.

others"¹⁷³--continued to be a factor affecting family plantation labor. The interruptive nature of early mortality is indicated by the Virginia's Burgesses estimate in the late 1630s "that the third parte of the Countreys debts at the least were made by persons deceased and nowe remayne to by payed by their Executors or Administrators."¹⁷⁴

Before 1650, we can only outline the general substance of family labor on private plantations in Henrico County. New land patented in seventeenth century Virginia was almost always forested land; in order to grow crops, colonists had to invest a certain amount of time and energy in "the wyning of the Forrest" or clearing trees.¹⁷⁵ The 1649 Perfect Description of Virginia noted this formidable primary task of settlement:

the Countrey is with pleasant rising small Ascents and Descents, Valleys, Hills, Meadows, and some levell Upland: Its Woody all over, but where labour hath cleared the ground from Trees, and this truely is the great labour in Virginia, to fell Trees, and to get up the Roots, and so make cleare ground for the Plow.¹⁷⁶

A planter's initial clearing did not need to be extensive since one individual could only tend about 2.2 acres of tobacco before 1650 and each individual who tended tobacco was required by law to plant two acres of corn; clearing for house and garden required around

¹⁷³"[Papers of the 1637/38 Assembly]," House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 59.

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 60.

¹⁷⁵The term "the wyning of the Forrest" is from "Affairs in Virginia in 1626," 53--referring to the human labor, toil, and struggle involved in forest clearing (see root meanings for "win" as winnen and winnan in Webster's American Dictionary, 1828, and Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, 1983).

¹⁷⁶"Perfect Description of Virginia," 1649, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 2, no. 8, p. 10.

half an acre and clearing for an orchard perhaps another acre.¹⁷⁷ Thus any colonist could establish a minimally subsistent plantation for himself and his family by clearing some five to six acres.

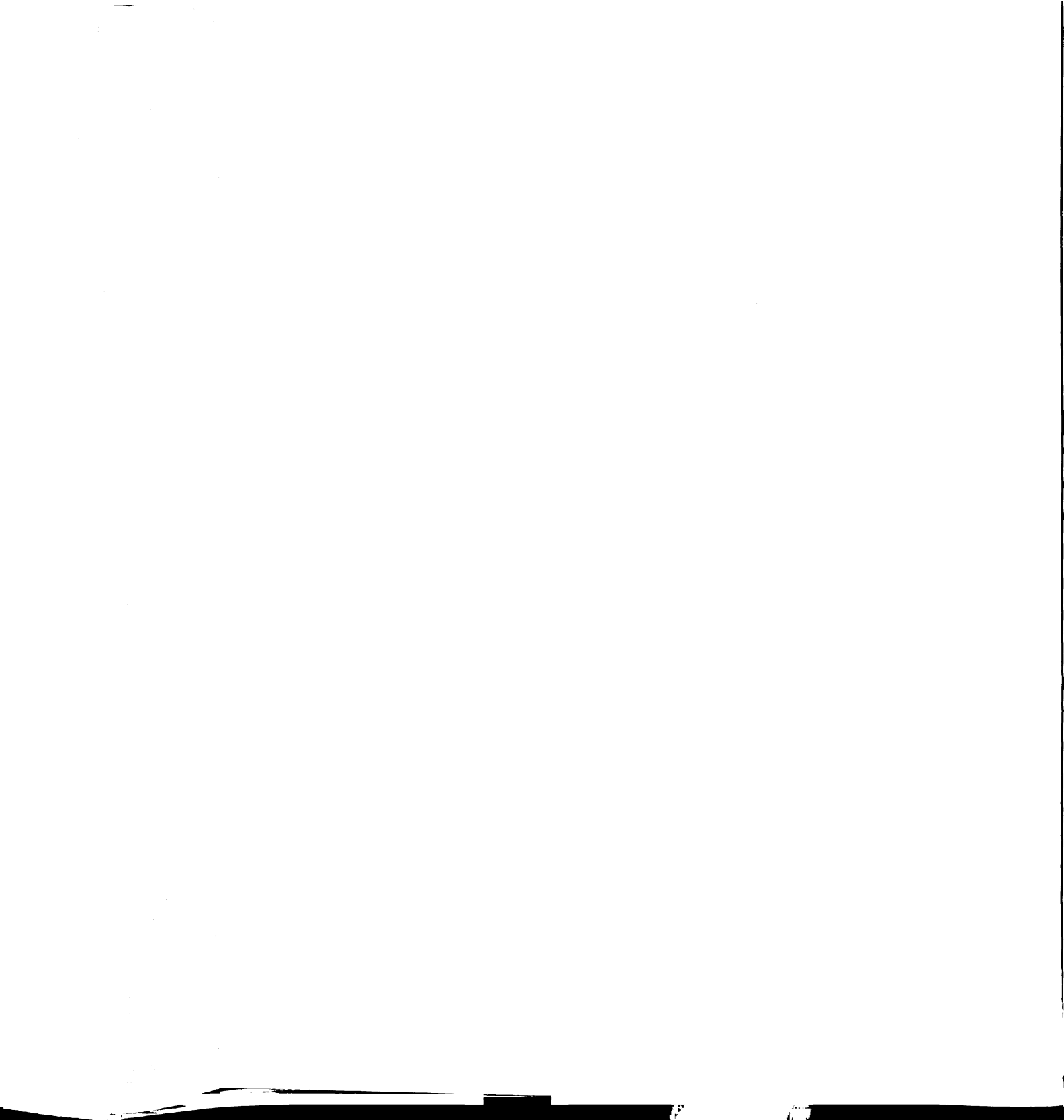
Almost all Virginia colonists planted the New World crops of tobacco and corn on their plantations, especially on newly cultivated land.¹⁷⁸ The soil and climate of the Chesapeake region (of which Virginia was a part), coupled with a ready international market, made tobacco-raising profitable for trade purposes; corn brought a higher yield per acre than any other staple food crop. As field crops, corn and tobacco complemented each other: corn "planting in the spring and harvesting in the fall, rather than competing with tobacco, filled interstices in the tobacco year."¹⁷⁹ Furthermore, colonists could plant tobacco and corn before land was clear enough for a plow because

neither crop needed plowing, and hence neither required that the land be totally cleared. The Indians prepared fields for corn and tobacco by

¹⁷⁷Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh, Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 36-37. Under Sir Thomas Dale's regime, it was ordered that "no farmor or other--who must maintayne themselves--shall plant any tobacco, unless he shall yearely manure, set and maintayne for himself and every man servant two acres of ground with corne" (Rolfe, "Virginia in 1616," 108). In March 1623/24, the General Assembly passed a law "that every man shall plant and tende sufficient of corne for his family;" by March 1629/30, the quantity of corn had once again been specified in a law requiring "that two acres of corne or neere thereabouts bee planted for every head that worketh in the ground" (Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:126, 152). The Virginia Assembly of March 1623/24 also ordered "that every freeman shall fence in a quarter of an acre of ground . . . to make a garden for planting of vines, herbs, roots, &c" (ibid., 1:126).

¹⁷⁸We know tobacco planting followed the expansion of settlement in Henrico County because in 1639, fourteen "tobacco viewers" were appointed to view all tobacco grown in Henrico along the James and Appomattox Rivers ("Acts of the General Assembly, Jan. 6, 1639-40," William and Mary Quarterly 2nd. Ser., 4 (1924):20).

¹⁷⁹Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 43.



girdling the trees--that is, stripping away a band of bark and wood to prevent the sap from rising. Once the trees died, the Indians planted their crops in hills under the bare branches. These branches eventually fell down, and the Indians burned them, leaving the tree trunks or stumps. By the 1620s, Europeans in the Chesapeake had adopted these aboriginal crops and methods of cultivation.¹⁸⁰

Virginia colonists had realized that, given the forested land of the New World environment, Indian hill agriculture was more labor-efficient than English plow agriculture when first establishing a plantation--less human energy was required to get land semi-cleared and no animal energy was required for cultivating land.

English colonists did apply a number of Old World agricultural practices to their New World environment. For instance, planters used European metal tools in forest clearing and hill agriculture, especially axes and hoes.¹⁸¹ On most seventeenth century plantations, eventually "the trees were cut down; the useful wood set aside for fencing, building, or burning as firewood."¹⁸² Hoes were critical to preparing hills for planting tobacco and corn: "the settlers pulverized small circles of earth with a hoe, each circle several feet in diameter and three to four feet apart, then worked the soil toward the middle to form hills."¹⁸³ Domestic livestock and poultry--requiring minimal care in the Virginia climate--had been imported from Europe since the early Virginia Company period, reducing some dependence on hunting and fishing for animal products.

¹⁸⁰Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, 34-35. See also description in Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 40-41.

¹⁸¹Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, 35.

¹⁸²Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 40.

¹⁸³*Ibid.*

Plantation development followed a certain pattern in seventeenth century Virginia. As successive crops of tobacco and corn were harvested, soil nutrients were depleted thereby reducing yield. Since ground manured by livestock was found to give an unpleasant taste to tobacco, most planters endeavored to clear new land for tobacco every three to five years.¹⁸⁴ Clearing and planting tobacco on small plantations inevitably used up all the virgin soil after a period of years. The phenomenon of "old land" that was worn out was common enough in Virginia by the late 1630s that the Burgesses of the General Assembly argued against limiting the numbers of tobacco plants because

such as have not beene able to remove from theire ould and overworne plantacons have been kept by that limittacon in continuall poverty and ingagemts. In regard theire labour upon soe manie plants would not produce halfe soe much tobaccoe as others upon newe ground.¹⁸⁵

Virginia colonists did not develop their plantations in monoculture fashion, however, even though they continued to clear more land to sustain high tobacco yields. In April 1638, the Secretary of the Virginia Colony declared that Virginia tobacco planting was "excessive," but at the same time dutifully described

the more generall voyce of the people heere. They are of late more then heretofore given to affect good buildings, scarce any Inhabitant but hath his garden and Orchard planted.

¹⁸⁴Kelly, "Seventeenth Century Surry County, Virginia," 122-23; Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, 35. The early Virginia Company settlements of Henrico and Charles City were directly affected by soil depletion: "Henrico was quitted in Sir Thomas Smith's Time, only the Church and one House remaining. Charles City, so much spoken of, never had but six Houses. The Soil of both is barren, worn out, and not fit for Culture" ("Papers of the General Assembly of 1623/24," House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 25).

¹⁸⁵"[Papers of the 1637/38 Assembly]," House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 64.

Few there are but indeavor the raising of Stocks of Cattell or Hoggs or both, wth much labour and paines considering the neighbourhood of the Salvages.¹⁸⁶

Clearing new land for tobacco continued to be necessary in Virginia plantation development because it served as a vital means of subsistence--particularly in terms of clothing--and was the only medium of exchange available in the Virginia colony.¹⁸⁷

Old tobacco and corn land was either left fallow (ideally for some twenty years) or planted in Old World grain crops known as "English graine," particularly "Wheat, Barley, Beaness, Peas and Oats."¹⁸⁸ Virginia experiments with "English graine," noted in the early 1620s,¹⁸⁹ revealed that newly cultivated soil, ideal for tobacco, heat and other European grains, but "will receive the English wheat with a gratefull retribution" after several crops of "Indian" corn.¹⁹⁰ As more old land became available on private

¹⁸⁶"[Letter from Secretary Richard Kemp to Sir Francis Windebanke, dated April 6, 1638]," House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 126. Even the planters themselves considered their tobacco planting excessive, see "[Papers of the 1637/38 Assembly]," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 57, 58, 62.

¹⁸⁷"[Papers of the 1637/38 Assembly]," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 58, 60, 64; 59, 65, note "our want of a Currant coyne." The Governor and Council of Virginia wrote in 1626 that "we find that nothing hath hindred the proceedings of Artts Manuall trades, and staple comodities more then the want of mony amongst us; which makes all men apply themselves to Tobacco, because their is not Tobacco (which is our money) all the yeare to paie workmen, and the recovery of debts at the crope, is not without trouble, and the condition of what they shall receave uncertain" ("Affairs in Virginia in 1626," 54).

¹⁸⁸Nathan Shrigley delineated "English graine, as Wheat, Barley, Beaness, Peas and Oats," in "A True Relation of Virginia and Maryland; With the Commodities therein," 1669, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 3, no. 7, p. 5.

¹⁸⁹"Papers of the General Assembly of 1623/24," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 36, 39.

¹⁹⁰E. W., "Virginia: More especially the South part thereof, Richly and truly valued,"
(continued...)

plantations in Virginia, European grains produced by European customs of plow agriculture became more practical in the New World environment. By the late 1630s, many colonists had cleared land a second time (or more) for tobacco and corn and discovered that "theire ould plantacons . . . are the onely grounds usefull for the plough;" as a result,

most of the Inhabitants of this Colony are sensible of the necessary helpe and benefitt of draught oxen and ploughes that all men of ability haveinge the meanes for such undertakeinges will indeavour as soone as they can to obteyne and ymploy them.¹⁹¹

The adaptation of Old World plow agriculture continued as old land became more available. This stage in Virginia plantation development was beginning to manifest itself at the end of the first half of the seventeenth century. For instance, in 1647 the General Assembly explicitly recognized "English grayne" as fulfilling the standing requirement to plant two acres of corn: "there should be two acres of corne planted for every working hand in the ground throughout the collony either in Indian or English grayne."¹⁹² It was also published in England in 1649 that Virginia colonists "yearly plow and sow many hundred Acres of Wheat, as good, and faire, as any in the world, and great increase. That

¹⁹⁰(...continued)

1650, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 3, no. 11, p. 12; the author does not discuss tobacco in this tract.

¹⁹¹"[Papers of the 1637/38 Assembly]," House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 62.

¹⁹²Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:344. The March 1642 law which this act refers to does not include the phrase "either in Indian or English grayne" (see *ibid.*, 1:246).

they have plenty of Barley, make excellent Mault."¹⁹³ The phenomenon of "old land" in Virginia plantation development had thus made Old World agriculture more practical in the New World--the technology of the plow with the harnessing of animal energy produced European grain.

Tobacco Regulation

Settlers in Henrico County carried out their plantation work in the context of a larger cultural environment defined by certain English economic policies and events. English policies which most affected the plantation work of Virginia colonists between 1625 and 1650 had to do with the regulation of tobacco. The initial lure of the tobacco trade between Virginia and England, dating from at least 1614, was that "the valuable commoditie of Tobacco of such esteeme in England . . . which every man may plant, and with the least part of his labour, tend and care will returne him both cloathes and other necessities."¹⁹⁴ The overseas tobacco trade, by providing colonists with whatever was

¹⁹³"Perfect Description of Virginia," 1649, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 2, no. 8, p. 3; the author of this tract also states "we have now going neer upon a hundred and fifty Plowers, with many brave yoak of Oxen, and we sowe excellent Wheat, Barley, Rye, Beans, Pease, Oates," (p. 14). A description of plowing ground in Virginia for wheat is given by E. W. in "Virginia . . . Richly and truly valued," 1650, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 3, no. 11, pp. 12-13, indicating also that "the first Wheat being reaped, if you desire a croppe of Barley, the same Land plowed in July, will returne its ripe increase in September." Accounts of Virginia after 1650 confirm the growing integration of European grains on Virginia plantations. In 1656, John Hammond reported in "Leah and Rachel"--"graine we have, both English and Indian for bread and Bear" (in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 3, no. 14, p. 13). Nathaniel Shrigley related in his 1669 "True Relation" that in Virginia "there is plenty of English graine, as Wheat, Barley, Beanes, Peas and Oats" (in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 3, no. 6, p. 5).

¹⁹⁴See Hamor, True Discourse, 1615, 24, 34-35--Hamor's account is dated 18 June 1614 wherein he mentions experiments with tobacco initiated by Rolfe in 1612 and writes
(continued...)

not produced in Virginia, essentially transformed "that Contemptible weede"¹⁹⁵ into "our cheefest releefe and subsistance."¹⁹⁶ Virginia's dependence on tobacco continued well beyond the Virginia Company era--a dependence clearly reflected in the colonists' description of themselves in the late 1630s as "his Mats poore subjectes whose yearely cropps are the onely meanes for the relefe of themselves theire Wives, Children and Familyes wth cloathing and other necessaryes."¹⁹⁷

Tobacco regulations imposed by Royal Colony authorities in England were perceived by Virginia colonists as threats to economic liberty and consequently stable settlement. Because they were interested in protecting the price of tobacco from one year to the next, Virginia colonists often established their own controls over the quantity and quality of tobacco shipped to market.¹⁹⁸ However, whenever controls over the physical

¹⁹⁴(...continued)

"I doubt not, wili make, and returne such Tobacco this yeere, that even England shall acknowledge the goodnesse thereof." Abbot suggests in A Virginia Chronology that on "June 28, 1613. The Elizabeth sailed from Virginia probably with some of John Rolfe's first crop of West Indian tobacco" (p. 7).

¹⁹⁵Phrase "contemptible weed" used by the General Assembly in "Papers of the General Assembly of 1623/24," House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 26; note also reference to tobacco as "that bad comoditie" by the Burgesses of 1631/32 ("[Petition of the House of Burgesses to the Privy Council Drawn up at the 1631/32 Session]," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 55) and references to the comparison between tobacco and "other comodities of more worthie consequence" as well as the notion of "more honorable ymploymts then plantinge tobaccoe" by the Burgesses of 1637/38 ("[Papers of the 1637/38 Assembly]," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 58, 59, 63, 65).

¹⁹⁶"[Papers of the 1637/38 Assembly]," House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 58.

¹⁹⁷*Ibid.*, 64; see also 60.

¹⁹⁸See, for instance, "The General Assembly Holden the 16th day of October, 1629," (continued...)

production and preparation of Virginia tobacco for market originated from sources other than the colonists themselves, they considered it a violation of their liberty. For instance, Virginia colonists objected to the proposed "limitacon of a certen number of [tobacco] plants per poll" as a "restraynte of our liberty of plantinge."¹⁹⁹ Virginia colonists also strongly resisted the imposition of tobacco contracts "made without our Consents,"²⁰⁰ and declared that restrictions on free trade violated "a Case of right & priviledge granted unto us by ancient Chartr. (Vidzt) that it should be lawfull for the Planters to entertaine trade with any nation or people in amitye with his Matie."²⁰¹

Threats to economic liberty manifested in tobacco regulations were ultimately perceived by Virginia colonists as threats to settlement. When the colonists petitioned the Privy Council to be relieved of forced contracts on their tobacco, they claimed that, due to the

contract on o[u]r goods without o[u]r consents, we have a long time suffered much damage, and the Colony greatly prejudiced by the generall

¹⁹⁸(...continued)

in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 53; "[Papers of the 1637/38 Assembly]," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 57-65.

¹⁹⁹"[Papers of the 1637/38 Assembly]," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 59; see also 58, 60, 62-64.

²⁰⁰"[Papers of the Assembly of 1627/28]," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 45, 49. See also three 'Letters from the Governor and Council of Virginia,' 30 March 1628, in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 121-23.

²⁰¹"[By the Governor, Counsell, & Burgesses of the Grand Assembly in Virginia, Aprill the 5th. 1647]," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 74. Note also "[Petition of the House of Burgesses to the Privy Council Drawn up at the 1631/32 Session]," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 55.

feare and discouragmt wch all men have receaved to settell their estates heere.²⁰²

Colonists found that limitations on tobacco planting destabilized settlement by encouraging planters to desert old lands and to abandon other plantation work.²⁰³

Finally, restricted trade was destabilizing because it encouraged immediate profits reaped from tobacco at the expense of investing in long-term settlement:

If wee shall bee denyed the free comerce of our owne comodity, most men of ability and industry will converte theire whole Estates into tobaccoe & so resolve to leave and forsake the Colony and take the oportunity of a present price for feare of future alteracon therein . . . for prooffe where of wee can instance divers in this Colony whoe fearinge the abridgmt of theire former libertyes begin to repent theire severall disbursements some in good buildinge and others in purchaseinge plantacons and buyinge of Cattle. Wherefore yt is much to be feared that unles His Maty will be pleased to continue us in our free indeavours the future hopes of this Colony will bee utterly subverted.²⁰⁴

Virginia colonists recognized that the motivations to invest time and energy in various long-term projects on a plantation were "the greatest motives causeinge every man to accompt that place to bee his settled home."²⁰⁵ Tobacco regulation was inevitably

²⁰²"[Papers of the Assembly of 1627/28]," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 49; see also 45.

²⁰³"[Papers of the 1637/38 Assembly]," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 59-60; the colonists argued that "the limitacon of a certen number of plants per poll hath allready caused diverse of the Inhabitants to forsake their Plantacons and to neglecte the fencinge of grounds, the plantinge of corne, orchards and gardens, the makeinge inclosures, and pasture for cattle and other uses, Beinge necessitated for theire presente releefe and subsistance to remove and plant upon such grounds as would yeald most Tobaccoe upon a Plante although they have suffered all other inconveniences thereby."

²⁰⁴*Ibid.*, 60; also repeated, 63.

²⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 63; note also, 60.

ecologically counterproductive to English settlement in Virginia because regulation defined tobacco as a scarce resource, fostering a greater dependence on tobacco.

Settlement by an "Ancient Planter" Generation

Despite the hardships of the early Royal Colony era, Henrico County settlement expanded dramatically after 1625. The foundations of Henrico settlement were laid by ancient planters who decided to establish family plantations in the Henrico area after 1616. That these ancient planters were the vanguard of the first generation of English colonists to settle in what became Henrico County is clearly evident in the links between ancient planters and the life course of families who patented land in Henrico from 1625-1649. The burst of Henrico settlement in the 1630s also included a number of claims to land based on latent land rights due to ancient planters by virtue of the 1618 Great Charter.

The phase of Henrico settlement accomplished by ancient planters and most younger members of their generation was largely completed by 1640. The geographical extent of this first major phase of Henrico settlement is shown by the location of the 1639/40 Henrico tobacco-viewing precincts. Tobacco viewers chosen to judge the quality of tobacco on Henrico plantations in 1639/40 were assigned to five "precincts" which encompassed a much greater geographical area than the two Virginia Company settlements of 1624/25 (see Figure 6.3).²⁰⁶ If tobacco was grown on all plantations

²⁰⁶"Acts of the General Assembly, Jan. 6, 1639-40," William and Mary Quarterly, 2d ser., 4 (1924):20.

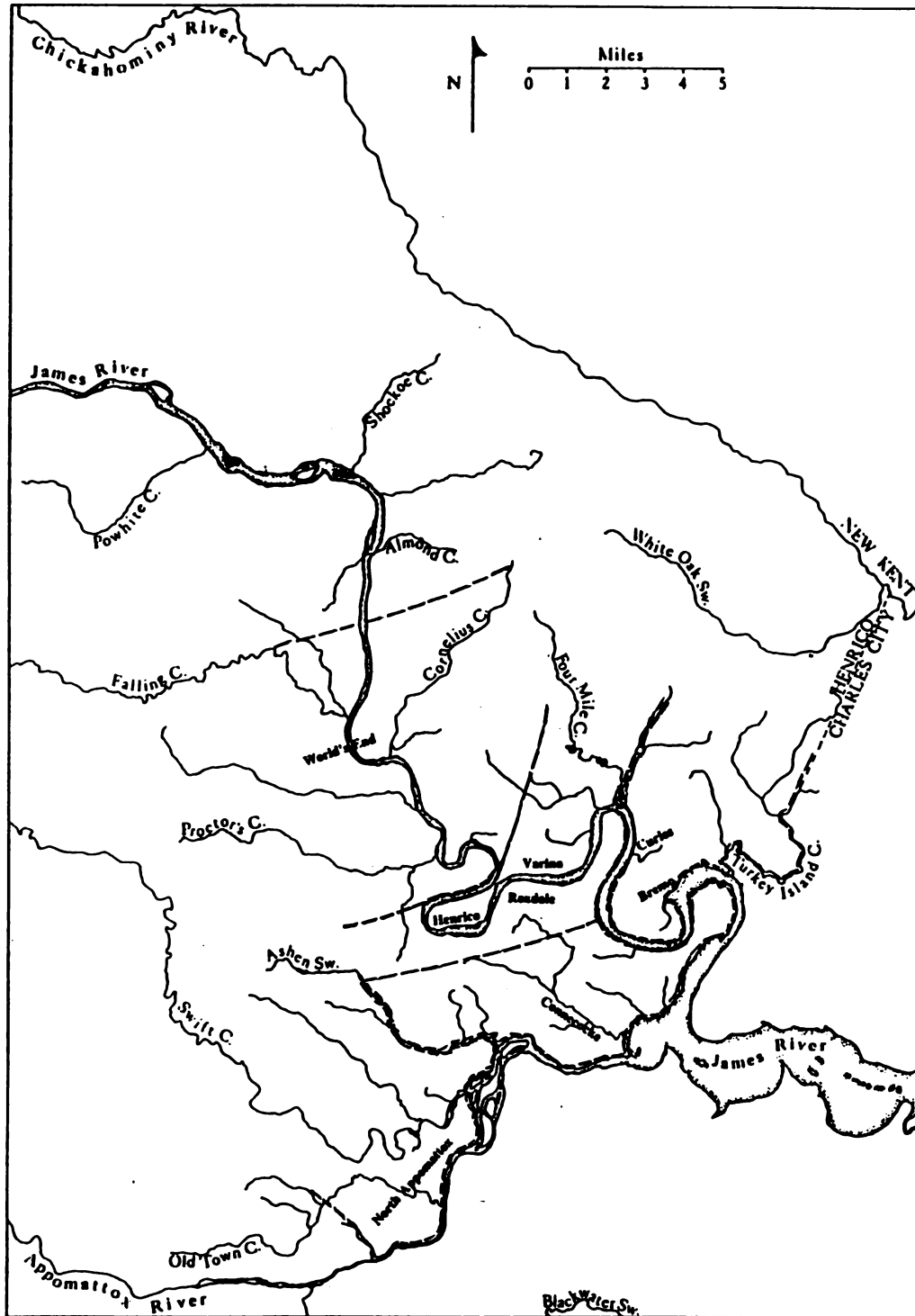


Figure 6.3 Henrico Tobacco-Viewer Precincts, 1639/40

actually planted and seated, then these five tobacco-viewer "precincts" represented actual settlement in Henrico County by 1640:

- 1) From the World's End to Henrico . . .
- 2) From Henrico, Rox Dale, Varinaes & the Four mile creek . .
- 3) For Curles, Bremo, and Turkey Island . . .
- 4) For the North side of Appomattox river . . .
- 5) For Connecocke . . .²⁰⁷

The existence of the five tobacco-viewing precincts also indicate how settlement accelerated after Henrico became a county in 1634, extending up the James River from Arrohattox to the "World's End"--in the vicinity of Cornelius Creek and Falling Creek--and from the mouth to the falls of the Appomattox River.

Henrico settlement, as represented by the tobacco-viewer precincts of 1639/40, apparently corresponded closely to familial settlement in Henrico County. The only patent significantly above the "World's End" area on the James River that was linked to a family household was recorded by George Menefie; Menefie, however, sold this land at the falls of James Riverto a Matthew Gough and may have done so before he planted and seated this patent.²⁰⁸ Thus, actual planting and seating in Henrico County between 1625 and 1650 was largely the result of family plantation work, continuing the family settlement pattern found at the Neck of Land in 1625. Families of Henrico's ancient planter generation, along with other Virginia colonists, had obviously responded to the

²⁰⁷Ibid.

²⁰⁸"William Byrd Title Book," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 47 (October 1939):308; Matthew Gough also sold this tract at the falls of James River before 1649. Gough patented land in Henrico as early as 1639.

opportunity to acquire land promised by English chartered settlement in the New World.

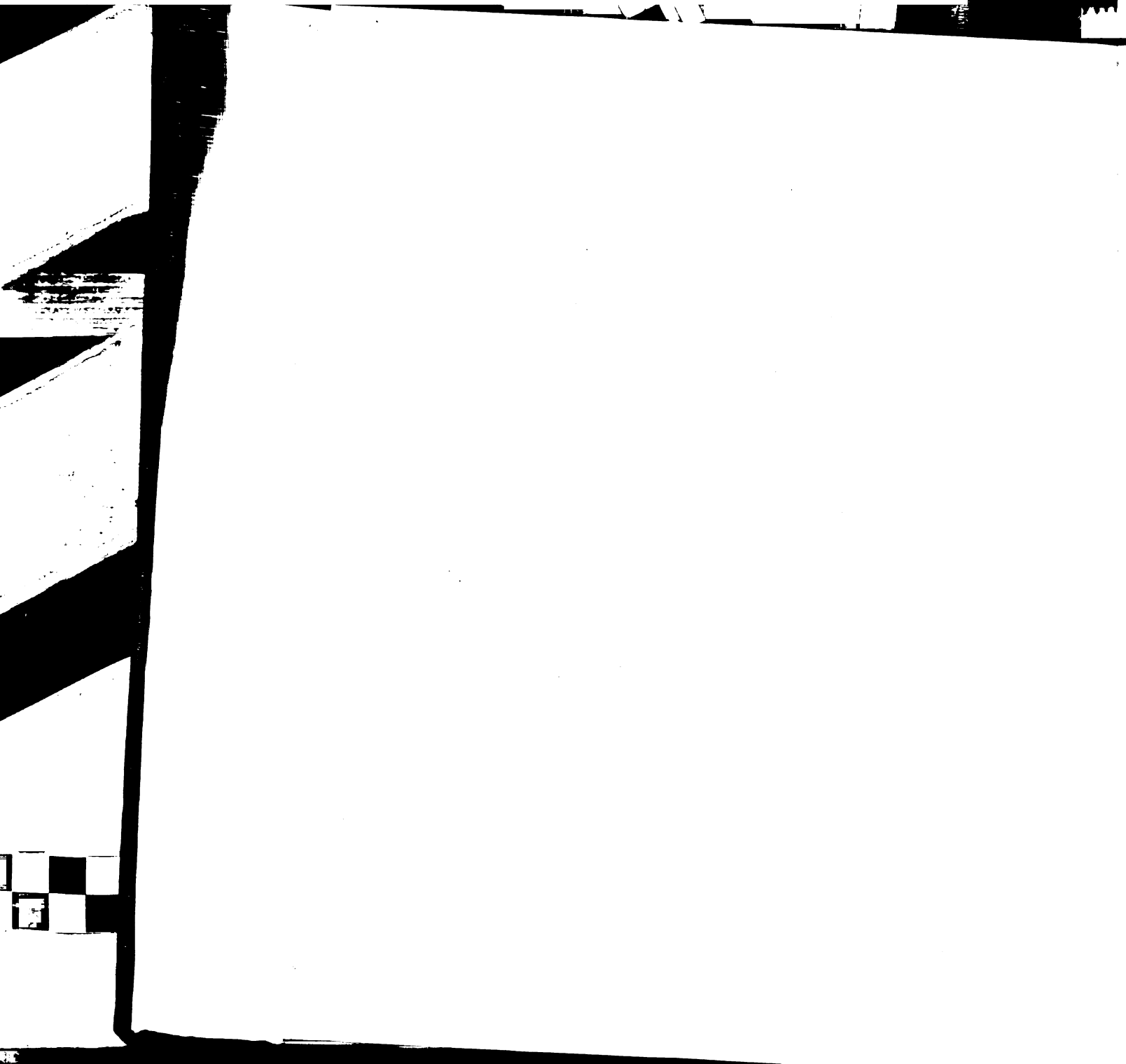
No doubt they regarded

the rights, immunities & priviledges of our Charter by as due a Clayme
belongeinge to us, as is the wages of an hirelinge that hath laboured for it,
for they only gave us Invitacon & were the Condictonall reward & guerdon
propounded for our Undertakeings in those rugged paths of Plantacon.²⁰⁹

The right to land guaranteed in the Virginia charters was a compelling reason to come to the New World, and many debtors came to Virginia before 1650 "with resolution to abide here, hoping in time to gain some competency of subsistance by their labors."²¹⁰ Families of Henrico's ancient planter generation had always labored near a vast unknown of unbounded land called the wilderness. By the labor of their daily plantation work, they were developing human capital and gradually making the wilderness a familiar place. Certainly a familial context helped make the hard work of laboring in the New World more meaningful and less frightening.

²⁰⁹"[By the Governor, Counsell, and Burgesses of the Grand Assembly in Virginia, Aprill the 5th. 1647]," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 74.

²¹⁰Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:256.



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TO 'FIX THE PEOPLE ON THE SOYLE':
AN ECOLOGICAL STUDY OF
FAMILY, LAND, AND SETTLEMENT
IN
COLONIAL HENRICO COUNTY, VIRGINIA
1611-1675

Volume II

By

ELIZABETH A. MORGAN

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CHAPTER 7

EMERGENCE OF THE HENRICO FRONTIER, 1640-1675

Arguments for establishing an English colony pursuant to "western discoverie" of the New World were clearly presented by the younger Richard Hakluyt in his 1584 "Discourse of Western Planting."¹ Achieving successful English colonization in an unknown New World required careful consideration of the safety and security of the colonists. Spanish experience in Florida had already taught that "plantinge wthoute strengthe" risked "apparaunte and certaine destruction;"² however, English plantation accompanied "by stronge order of fortification," could anticipate threats to colonists' safety.³ Hakluyt's discussion of "planting and fortification" in the New World helped define North America as the western frontier of the English nation and "one of Europe's most challenging frontiers."⁴

¹See Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, ed. Taylor, 2:211-326.

²Ibid., 2:215.

³Ordered fortification certainly involved building forts in strategic places--"thus settled in those fortes yf the nexte neighboures shall attempte any annoye to our people, wee are kepte safe by our fortes" (ibid., 2:274-75).

⁴Ibid; W. Stitt Robinson, Jr., The Southern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), xii. Hakluyt uses the word "frontier" at least once in discussing the possibility of "frontier warres". "Discourse on Western Planting," 1584, in Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, ed. Taylor, 2:318.

The matter of fortified or frontier planting was also perceived by Hakluyt as complementing and completing the work of discovery:

Wthoute this plantinge in due tyme wee shall never be able to have full knowledge of the language manners and customes of the people of those Regions, neither shall wee be able thouroughly to knowe the riches and commodities of the Inlandes wth many other secretes whereof as yet wee have but a small taste.⁵

Hakluyt himself would know only the difficult beginnings of English colonization in Virginia and he could not predict how migration to the English frontier in the New World would begin to transform English colonists.

A Frontier Identity

The subsequent experience of "settling the frontier" of North America was emphasized over three centuries later by Frederick Jackson Turner who stated that "the oldest West was the Atlantic coast"⁶ and who first conceived that "at the Atlantic frontier one can study the germs of processes repeated at each successive frontier."⁷ If indeed "the fall line marked the frontier of the seventeenth century,"⁸ then Henrico County, located at the falls of the James and Appomattox Rivers, lay at the heart of America's

⁵"Discourse on Western Planting," 1584, in Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, ed. Taylor, 2:275.

⁶Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Old West," 1908, in The Frontier in American History (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920), 67.

⁷Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," 1893, in The Frontier in American History, 9. For a recent assessment of Turner's contribution, see William Cronon, "Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner," Western Historical Quarterly 18 (1987):157-76.

⁸Turner, "Significance of the Frontier", in Frontier in American History, 9.

oldest western frontier.⁹ The complexity of the concept "frontier" is rooted in the cultural complexity inherent in new relationships between land and peoples. Leonard Thompson and Howard Lamar identify

three essential elements in any frontier situation as we conceive it: territory; two or more initially distinct peoples; and the process by which the relations among the peoples in the territory begin, develop, and eventually crystallize.¹⁰

The contact with a different environment and native peoples was a transforming experience for colonists, eventually making English people who migrated to the New World different from English people who stayed in the Old World. Thus, Robinson points out that "the struggle of individuals for survival and for improvement of their own position in society, as well as the modification of their institutions in the geographic setting described above, is called the frontier experience."¹¹

European colonists who moved to New World frontiers simultaneously underwent a process of constructing new identities both as members of a group of colonists and as individual colonists. John H. Elliott argues that "a collective process of self-definition"

⁹Robinson also uses frontier to refer to "frontier line of settlement, which refers to expanding areas of limited population" and to "frontier colony or a frontier county--that is, a geographic setting near unoccupied regions, usually endowed with available land and other natural resources capable of prosperous development" (in Southern Colonial Frontier, xiii).

¹⁰Leonard Thompson and Howard Lamar, "Comparative Frontier History," in The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared, ed. Howard Lamar and Leonard Thompson (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981), 8.

¹¹Robinson, Southern Colonial Frontier, xiii.

was an inherent part of "the process of Atlantic migration and settlement."¹² Colonial identity formation began with "the sea crossing itself," followed by "confrontation on arrival with indigenous populations;" once a settlement site had been located, "colonists had to work out their relationship to the land itself, to an essentially alien environment."¹³ Up to this point, colonial identity was shaped primarily by efforts to begin a new life with other colonists in the New World, but over time,

as the communities consolidated themselves, drawing on new waves of immigrants from the mother country and at the same time replicating themselves with children who knew no mother country but the one in which they were born, they were all faced with the same problem of attempting to establish a satisfactory relationship with a metropolis to which they owed allegiance and to which they were bound by a multiplicity of institutional, economic, and psychological ties.¹⁴

This last phase of colonial identity formation began to coalesce among Virginia colonists in the 1640s. At the same time, the colonists began to recognize settlement areas like Henrico County as more "frontier" than others. As a result, Henrico County settlers' "frontier" identity was shaped by its distinction as a "western" frontier of Virginia, and also by its connection with the whole of Virginia as a "colonial" frontier of England.

Henrico as "Western" and "Colonial" Frontier

The two dimensions of the Henrico frontier were clearly revealed in actions by the Virginia Assembly in the Spring of 1641/2. The 1641/2 assembly granted permission to

¹²John H. Elliott, "Introduction: Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World," in Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800, ed. Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 7.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

several men from Charles City County to renew exploration of the Virginia interior which had been abandoned since Virginia Company days. Led by Walter Aston, later an Henrico land patentee, the men sought "to undertake the discoverye of a newe River or unknowne land bearinge west southerlye from Appomattock River."¹⁵ The increase of Henrico and Charles City County populations on the Appomattox River during this period spurred ecclesiastical expansion as well as plans for exploration. In March 1642/3, the Virginia Assembly established Bristol Parish

for the conveniency of the inhabitants on both sides of Appomattock River being farr remote from the parish church of the said plantation upon Appomattock be bounded into a parish by themselves as followeth, to beginn at Causon's Field within the mouth of Appomattock River on the eastward side, and at Powell's Creek on the Westward side of the river and so to extend up the river to the falls on both sides and the said parish to be called by the name of Bristoll.¹⁶

On the "western" frontier of Virginia, then, Henrico County's southwestern border on the Appomattox River was emerging as a kind of "jumping-off" point into the Virginia wilderness.

The "colonial" dimension of the Henrico frontier was also being redefined in the early 1640s, especially in terms of land rights. The Virginia Assembly had reconvened in April 1642 to refute a false petition entered "in the name of the adventurers and planters in Virginia to the Honourable House of Commons in Parliament in England for

¹⁵"The Virginia Assembly of 1641. A List of Members and Some of the Acts," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 9 (July 1901): 55.

¹⁶Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:251.

the restoring of the letters patents of incorporation to the late Treasurer and Company."¹⁷

The arguments against the petition to revive the old Virginia Company declared that the Company would monopolize trade, interfere with colonial administration of justice, and void all rights to land since granted by the King. Why the Virginia colonists had completely reversed their position towards the Virginia Company since its dissolution is suggested in the colonists' heated defense of the land rights they now held under the King's administration of the colony:

We cannot without breach of natural duty and religion give up and resign the lands which we had granted and hold from the king upon certain annual rents . . . to the claim of a corporation; for besides our births our possessions enjoin us as a fealty without a salvafide alliis dominis.¹⁸

The Latin phrase, "salvafide alliis dominis"--which meant "saving faith to other lords,"--was used in the ceremony of homage done when land was acquired in England from someone other than the King.¹⁹ The Virginia colonists of the early 1640s pointedly rejected the re-establishment of the Virginia Company whom they now perceived as a sort of intermediate "lord." In other words, the Virginia colonists were defining their relationship to land in the New World by rejecting the sort of feudal infrastructure which encumbered certain land tenures in England. The Virginia Company was now

¹⁷"Two Papers of the 1641/42 Assembly," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 66.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁹See Coke, Institutes, 1:66b. Littleton's sect. 89 therein reads: "Note, if a man hath severall tenancies, which he holdeth of severall lords, that is to say, every tenancy by homage; then when he doth homage to one of his lords, he shall say in the end of his homage done, Saving the faith which I owe to our lord the king, and to my other lords." Help with translation of the Latin phrase used by the Virginia Assembly of 1641/2 was kindly given by Professor Emeritus Thomas Bergin, Charlottesville, Virginia.

suspiciously perceived as an intermediary "lord" which would undermine rather than promote Virginia settlement.

If the Company be renewed by which means they as aforesaid have leave and the strength of their own charter of orders publicly in this colony to displant us the wiser world we hope will excuse us if we be wary to depart with what (next our lives) nearest concerns us (which are our estates being the livelihood of ourselves, wives and children) to the curtesy and will of such taskmasters from whom we have already experimented so much oppression.²⁰

To the colonists' great relief, King Charles I reassured the Virginia Assembly in July 1642 that the colony would remain under "Our immediate Protection" and the Virginia Company threat was laid to rest.²¹

The wars which broke out on both sides of the Atlantic in the 1640s also threatened Virginia colonists. King Charles I became embroiled in a struggle with the English Parliament resulting in the outbreak of the English Civil War in August 1642.²² Throughout the course of the war, referred to by the Assembly of 1642/3 as "the unkind differences now in England,"²³ Virginia remained loyal to the King.²⁴ Because supplies and trade with England were severely curtailed by the war, the Virginia colonists were forced to challenge an act of Parliament prohibiting "all strangers" or foreign nations to

²⁰Ibid., 67.

²¹Ibid., 70.

²²Wesley F. Craven, The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949, 1970), 224-25.

²³Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:280.

²⁴See *ibid.*, 1:359-61.

"trade with the English plantacons."²⁵ The Virginia Assembly realized that the English Parliament was being manipulated by those who sought to take advantage of circumstances created by the war, and contended that this

late ordinance of the Parliament of England . . . wee conceive to bee the invention of some English Merchants on purpose to affright and expell the Dutch, and make way for themselves to Monopolize not onely our labours and fortunes, but even our persons.²⁶

This act of English parliament was perceived as an affront to the colonists' right to government by consent--that "right of deare esteeme to free borne persons: (Vidzt) that noe law should be established within the kingdome of England concerninge us without the consent of a grand Assembly here."²⁷ The very lives of the Virginia colonists depended on constant recourse to their capacities for self-determination and they would not accept less from Parliament than what the King had granted by charter.

While the English Civil War raged in England, the Indians executed a second massacre of English colonists on April 18, 1644.²⁸ Some 400 to 500 English colonists out of 8,000 were killed in the attack masterminded by the Indian Emperor

²⁵"By the Governor, Counsell, & Burgesses of the Grand Assembly in Virginia April the 5th 1647," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 74.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸"Acts, Orders and Resolutions of the General Assembly of Virginia: At Sessions of March 1643-1646," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 23 (1915): 229; note statute of February 1644/5 Assembly "that the eighteenth day of April be yearly celebrated by thanksgivinge for our deliverance from the hands of the Salvages," in Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:290.

Opecanough--the Indian leader who plotted the first massacre of 1621/2.²⁹ Though more English colonists died in the second massacre, the numbers of deaths in 1644 represented a much smaller proportion of the total English population. Colonial historian Robert Beverly explained that "this Execution did not take so general Effect as formerly; because the Indians were not so frequently suffer'd to come among the inner Habitations of the English."³⁰ The relation between the English Civil War and the 1644 massacre was not merely circumstantial, according to several Indians who

confessed, That their great King was by some English Informed, that all was under the Sword in England, in their Native Countrey, and such divisions in our Land; That now was his time or never, to roote out all the English; For those that they could not surprize and kill under the feigned masque of Friendship and feasting, and the rest would be by wants; and having no supplyes from their own Countrey which could not helpe them, be suddenly Consumed and Famished. The Indians Allaruming them night and day, and killing all their Cattell, as with ease they might doe, and by destroying in the nights, all their Corne Fields, which the English could not defend.³¹

Following the massacre, the English colonists were at war with the Indians until a peace treaty was made in October 1646 between the English and Necotowance, Opecanough's successor.³²

²⁹"Acts, Orders and Resolutions of the General Assembly of Virginia: At Sessions of March 1643-1646," 229; Robert Beverly, History and Present State of Virginia, 1705, 60. The total population of Virginia in 1644 is estimated by Edmund S. Morgan in the "Appendix: Population Growth in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," of his American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1975), 404.

³⁰Beverly, History and Present State of Virginia, 1705, 60-61.

³¹"A Perfect Description of Virginia," 1649, in Tracts, comp. Force, vol. 2, no. 8, p. 11.

³²Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:323-26.

The existing records reveal little of the impact of the 1644 massacre on Henrico County or other particular settlements. Beverly noted in 1705 that "the Massacre fell severest on the South-side of James River, and on the Heads of the other Rivers; but chiefly of York River, where the Emperor Oppechancanough kept the Seat of his Government."³³ Many colonists were tempted to desert their plantations and burn the buildings thereon to at least recover the nails.³⁴ To prevent "the extreame prejudice" occasioned by such abandonment, the Virginia Assembly of February 1644/5 passed an act prohibiting desertion of patented or leased lands without forfeiture--but if any lands were deserted, the planter was not "to burne any necessary houseing that are scituated thereupon, but shall receive so many nailes as may be computed by 2 indifferent men were expended about the building thereof."³⁵

Forts were established at the falls of the rivers and manned by colonists from several counties. In February 1644/5, Fort Charles was established at the falls of James River.³⁶ A year later the construction of Fort Henry at the falls of the Appomattock River was authorized by the Virginia Assembly

for the defence of the inhabitants on the southside of James River and the prevention of the great releife and subsistance to the Salvages by fishing in Bristoll alias Appomattocke River, as also for the cutting down their corne or performeing any other service upon them.³⁷

³³Beverly, History and Present State of Virginia, 1705, 61.

³⁴Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:291.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶*Ibid.*, 1:293.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 1:315.

After the peace treaty was signed between the English and the Indians in October 1646, the public expense of maintaining the forts became too burdensome, and the Virginia Assembly transferred both the forts and "a competent quantity of land" surrounding the forts to "particular undertakers" who would maintain the forts defensive purposes by keeping six to ten men as soldiers there for three years.³⁸ Fort Henry on the south side of the falls of the Appomattox River was granted to Abraham Wood; Fort Charles on the north side of the falls of the James River had "no plantable land adjoining" and was thus offered to anyone "purchaseing the right of Capt. Thomas Harris" and willing to settle on the south side of the falls upon condition of maintaining the fort and several men for three years.³⁹

The forts at the falls of the James and Appomattox Rivers represented the "western" outposts of the "colonial" Virginia frontier in the New World, setting off the wilderness to the west from the Henrico settlements of small plantations to the east. The forts at the falls of the James and Appomattox Rivers became strategic sites for Virginia colonists to monitor Indian relations--whether for defensive surveillance or, in the case of Fort Henry on Appomattox River, for diplomacy and trade.⁴⁰

³⁸Ibid., 1:326-27.

³⁹Ibid; the statute suggests that Captain Thomas Harris was either commander of Fort Charles or held rights to the land on the south side of the falls of the James River.

⁴⁰Ibid., 1:315, 325; Article 8 of the English-Indian treaty of 1646 stated that "upon any occasion of message to the Gov'r. or trade, The said Necotowance and his people the Indians doe repair to forte Henry alias Appamattucke forte, or to the house of Capt. John Floud, and to no other place or places of the south side of the river."

'A South western Discovery:' Bland and Wood, 1650

Actual English exploration of the Virginia interior did not begin until 1650, launched from the southwestern Henrico frontier. On August 27, 1650, seven men "advanced from Fort Henry, lying on Appamattuck River at the falls, being a branch of James River intending a South western Discovery."⁴¹ The expedition was led by Merchant Edward Bland of Surry County and Captain Abraham Wood, commander of Fort Henry and landowner in Henrico and Charles City Counties.⁴² The other members of the expedition were two gentlemen (Elias Pennant and Sackford Brewster), two indentured servants (Bland's servant Robert Farmer and Wood's servant Henry Newcombe), an Indian guide ("Pyancha, an Appamattuck War Captaine"), and four horses.⁴³

Bland and Wood's party proceeded southeast the first twenty miles along the 1646 Indian treaty line and entered Indian territory when they "passed over a branch belonging to Blackwater lake."⁴⁴ The first two nights were spent among the Nottoway Indians whose King attempted to discourage them from going further, saying "that he lively

⁴¹Edward Bland, "The Discovery of New Brittain," in The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674, ed. Clarence Alvord and Lee Bidgood, (Cleveland, OH: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1912), 114.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 114, 130. For interesting biographical information on Bland and Wood, see Alan Vance Briceland, "The Virginia Worlds of Sir William Berkeley, Edward Bland, and Abraham Wood," Chap. 2 in Westward From Virginia: The Exploration of the Virginia-Carolina Frontier (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987), 13-27.

⁴³Bland, "Discovery of New Brittain," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 114, 130.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 114.

apprehended our danger . . . for that he certainly knew that the Nations we were to go through would make us away by treachery."⁴⁵ Still, joined by a Nottoway Indian guide, the party continued south into Meherrin Indian territory where they spent another two nights and acquired a third Indian guide (presented as a member of the Hocomawananck tribe adjacent to the Tuscarora Indians with whom Bland and Wood sought contact).⁴⁶ Leaving the Meherrins, the explorers penetrated further south towards Roanoke River, making camp after nightfall near the river some distance outside an Hocomawananck Indian village.⁴⁷

At this point, Bland and Wood began to sense that the expedition "promised nothing but danger, for our Guides began to be doubtfull, and told us that the Hocomawananck Indians were very treacherous, and that they did not like their countenances, and shape well."⁴⁸ Nonetheless, some Hocomawananck Indians brought food and prepared shelter for the visitors and the party went on down to the falls of the Roanoke River the next morning. While exploring, the Nottoway Indian guide began to indicate that the Indians encountered by the exploring party were sending out alarms to their neighbors; he "asked our Appamattuck Guide why we did not get us gone, for the

⁴⁵Ibid., 117.

⁴⁶Ibid., 118-20, 123; Briceland's interpretation and topographical analysis are critical for understanding Bland And Wood's expedition at this point and following, Westward From Virginia, 77-82.

⁴⁷Bland, "Discovery of New Brittain," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 120-23; Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 81-84.

⁴⁸Bland, "Discovery of New Brittain," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 123.

Inhabitants were jealous of us, and angry with us."⁴⁹ Furthermore, their Appamattuck Indian guide told them that the Meherrin Indians had lied about the identity of the "Hocomawananck" Indian they had sent ahead to contact the Tuscarora Indians. As a result of this information, Bland and Wood "resolved to return (having named the whole Continent New Brittain) another way."⁵⁰

Bland and Wood's return to Fort Henry began at noon on September 1 from the Roanoke River; they had come some 120 miles into unknown Indian country and were now threatened with the adverse expression of "the Natives feares."⁵¹ At the first two camps on their return north, the explorers encountered further evidence that the web of danger surrounding them involved not only the Hocomawananck, the Meherrin, and the Nottoway, but also the Weyanoke and Tuscarora Indians.⁵² Bland and Wood's return route was thus further altered "by the advice of our Appamattuck Guide, who told us that he was informed" by "a woman that was his Sweet-heart belonging to Woodford [or Meherrin] River" (where the party had stayed the second night) "that some plots might be acted against us, if we returned the way that we came."⁵³ Bland and Wood's worst fears were being realized, anticipated since the first encounter with the Nottoway on

⁴⁹Ibid., 125.

⁵⁰Ibid., 126.

⁵¹Ibid., 123, 122, 115; see Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 34-44, for topographical analysis of the Bland and Wood route.

⁵²Bland, "Discovery of New Brittain," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 127-28; Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 86-88.

⁵³Ibid., 129.

August 27 (after which the explorers had "every night kept a strickt watch, having our Swords girt, and our Guns and Pistols by us, for the Indians every night where we lay, kept a strict guard upon us"⁵⁴). Bland was no doubt glad to report that on September 4 "we came unto Fort Henry about the close of the Evening, all well and in good health."⁵⁵

Despite the threat of Indian hostility, the Bland and Wood expedition had gained important knowledge about the land and people of the southwest Virginia frontier. The explorers had traversed a large area south of Fort Henry between the Appomattox and Roanoke Rivers and had dealt with four Indian tribes that did not belong to the Powhatan confederacy.⁵⁶ Bland and Wood also acquired valuable information about the western interior along the Roanoke River. Their Appamattuck Indian guide, Pyancha, had explained while they were at the falls of Roanoke River

that that Branch of Blandina [or Roanoke] River ran a great way up into the Country; and that about three dayes journy further to the South West, there was a far greater Branch so broad that a man could hardly see over it, and bended it selfe to the Northward above the head of James River, unto the foot of the great Mountaines, on which River there lived many people upwards, being the Occonacheans and the Nessoneicks, and that where some of the Occanacheans lived, there is an Island within the River

⁵⁴Bland, "Discovery of New Brittain," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 130.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶These were the Nottoway, the Meherrin, the Hocomawanacks (a branch of the Tuscaroras), and the Tuscaroras--see Ben C. McCary, Indians in Seventeenth-Century Virginia, (Charlottesville: VA, 1987)(Jamestown Booklet No. 3), 7-8; Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 80.

. . . and that the upper end of the Island is fordable, not above knee deepe, of a stony bottome, running very swift."⁵⁷

Six weeks after the expedition, Bland received permission from the Assembly "to discover and seate to the Southward" and "to have correspondence with the Indians."⁵⁸ Bland evidently hoped to establish a new English settlement on the southwestern Virginia frontier--

a place so easie to be settled in, in regard that Horse and Cattle in foure or five dayes may be conveyed for the Benefit of Undertakers, and all inconveniencies avoyded which commonly attend New Plantations, being supplied with necessaries from the Neighbourhood of Virginia.⁵⁹

Edward Bland's death by July 1652 canceled his plans,⁶⁰ but not the publication of his discovery for the English-speaking world titled, The Discovery of New Brittain.⁶¹

There was much interest in frontier exploration of Virginia during the decade following Bland and Wood's 1650 expedition. Of the five parties named by the Assembly or General Court as seeking permission to undertake discoveries, three involved men who owned land in Henrico County--Abraham Wood, William Harris, and Francis

⁵⁷Bland, "Discovery of New Brittain," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 125-26.

⁵⁸"October 20, 1650. By the Assembly," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 112.

⁵⁹Bland, "Discovery of New Brittain," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 110.

⁶⁰Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 128.

⁶¹Published in London, 1651; reprinted in Alvord and Bidgood, eds., First Explorations, 105-30.

Hammond.⁶² Apparently following precedent set by acts of the 1641 and 1642 Assemblies, "Major Abra. Wood and his associates" received permission in November 1652 to venture beyond the 1646 treaty line "For Encouragement of discoveries to the westward and southward of this country."⁶³ Wood may have hoped to carry out Edward Bland's project, since he and his associates were granted

such benefitts, profitts, and trades, for fourteen years as they shall find out in places where no English ever have bin and discovered, nor have had perticular trade, and to take up such lands by patents proveing their rights as they shall think good; Neverthesse not excluding others after their choice from takeing up lands, and planting in these new discovered places, as in Virginia is now used.⁶⁴

Several years later, probably 1658, Major William Harris, Major William Lewis, and Anthony Langston, were given a "Comission . . . to discover the Mountaines and Westward parts of the Country and to endeavor the finding out of any Commodities that might probably tend to the benefitt of this Country."⁶⁵ Finally, in March 1659/60, "for encouragement of discoverers to the westward and southward of this countrey," the

⁶²"Coll. Wm. Clayborne and Capt. Henry Fleet, "they and their associats," received a grant like Wood's in 1652; in 1653, other individuals and groups interested in frontier exploration obtained permission to do so, i.e., "whereas diverse gentlemen have a voluntarie desire to discover the Mountains and supplicated for lycence to this Assembly," (in *ibid.*, 102, 103). In 1655, the General Court prepared a "Commission ordered to Captain Henry Perry to go with volunteers to discover the mountains," in McIlwaine, ed., Minutes, 504. For information on Claiborne, Fleet, and Perry, see Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 184-86, 284-86, 485-88.

⁶³"Order of Assembly, November 1652," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 102.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*

⁶⁵"Order of Assembly [1658?]," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 103.

assembly provided "Mr. Francis Hamond and his associates" a grant identical to that given to Abraham Wood in 1652.⁶⁶

Despite permission granted to several parties in the 1650s to explore the inland wilderness of Virginia, there is no record of an expedition undertaken by any of these parties. Fear of both the known and the unknown may have stifled exploration of the land and people which lay beyond English settlement of Virginia.⁶⁷ The Indian peace achieved in 1646 applied only to local Indian tribes; relations with other Indians were as risky as they had been in 1607. Though the Appomattox Indian guide accompanying Bland and Wood in 1650 introduced them to several new Indian tribes, their expedition was cut short by hostile Indians in unfamiliar territory. Subsequently, Bland was granted permission to settle only if he did so "with a hundred able men sufficiently furnished with Armes and Munition."⁶⁸ One grant for exploration by the Virginia Assembly required the adventurers to "go with a considerable partie and strength both of men and amunition."⁶⁹ Thus, a large number of men was considered necessary "to be a sufficient force and competence" in order to venture into the land beyond English settlement in the

⁶⁶"Order of Assembly, March, 1659/60," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 104.

⁶⁷That fear constrained explorations between 1650 and 1670 is argued by Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 92-94.

⁶⁸'October 20, 1650. By the Assembly,' in "Discovery of New Brittain," First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 112.

⁶⁹"Order of Assembly, July, 1653," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 103.

mid-seventeenth century.⁷⁰ Of the three would-be expeditionists from Henrico, Wood and Harris lived long enough to participate in the major expeditions of the early 1670s; Hammond was deceased by December 1662.⁷¹

Self-Government During the Interregnum and Restoration

The Virginia colonists had chosen to remain loyal to the King after Parliament beheaded Charles I in 1649. Rather than give allegiance to Parliament and its new "Commonwealth," the colonists "resolv'd to Continue our Allegiance to our most Gracious King"--now King Charles II.⁷² Thus, while it was debated in England "concerning the government of Virginia to be reduced to the obedience of this Commonwealth," King Charles II in Holland was drafting the commission and instructions for William Berkeley to continue as Governor of Virginia.⁷³ In the fall of 1650, parliament resorted to passing a punitive act "prohibiting trade . . . and commerce to Barbadoes, Antigua, Virginia and the Somers Island because of their rebellion against the

⁷⁰Phrase from "Discovery of New Brittain," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 110.

⁷¹Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:425; Virginia Land Patents, 4:93, (583), patent to Thomas Stegge on the "N. side of James River below the falls," originally "granted to Mr. Fra. Hammond, 28 Mar. 1660 & by Maj. Generll. Manering Hammond, Adm'r & brother of sd. Francis, wholly assigned over to sd. Stegg."

⁷²"[Speech of Sir Wm. Berkeley, and Declaration of the Assembly, March 1651," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 78.

⁷³"Virginia in 1650," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 17 (1909):134-141. The King's Commission to Berkeley also provided authority to grant commissions for exploration of Virginia "because by the discovery of Industrious and well experienced men, the limits and bounds of ye s'd Plantation may be augmented, and the Trade & Commerce for ye maintenance and enriching of the Inhabitants from time to time residing there, much advanced" (137).

Commonwealth and Government of England."⁷⁴ When notice of the act reached Virginia, Governor Berkeley characterized the matter to the Assembly in terms of "the men of Westminster" who "talke so Magisterially to us" by "their Imperious Ordinance."⁷⁵ The independently-minded Virginia colonists subsequently prepared a spirited response opposing this "pretended Act of Parliament" which denied them the right of free trade.⁷⁶ The colonists not only objected to "this excluding us the society of Nations, which bring us necessaries for what our Country produces," they felt unjustly slandered by "the ignominious names of Rebels and Traitors" when, instead of "those Horrid Crimes," they had been loyal to the King, followed the laws of England, preserved the form of government, and "our judgments and industry, have been long solely and necessarily imployed in providing against the necessities of our poore families."⁷⁷ Finally, the peaceful surrender of Virginia to the new English Commonwealth was arranged under good terms in May 1652, with Virginia's right to free trade restored as well.⁷⁸

⁷⁴Ibid., 143.

⁷⁵"[Speech of Sir Wm. Berkeley, and Declaration of the Assembly, March 1651," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 75.

⁷⁶Ibid., 76.

⁷⁷Ibid., 76-78.

⁷⁸See summaries by Richard L. Morton, Colonial Virginia, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960), 1:168-73; Craven, Southern Colonies, 253-57. The "Articles at the Surrender of the Countrie" are given in Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:363-68.

During the interregnum of the 1650s, the Virginia colony as a whole realized greater independence from England as the powers of locally-derived institutions of colonial civil government were increased. The greater autonomy Virginia enjoyed as a colony was the practical result of 1) the "expanding jurisdiction and power of the county court" resulting from "an especially rapid extension of the area of settlement"⁷⁹ and 2) the designation of the House of Burgesses--the 'representatives of the people'--as the primary governing body in Virginia when the government of Virginia was settled under Parliament's "Common-Wealth of England."⁸⁰

The transition to the restoration period in Virginia was facilitated in March 1659/60, when the Burgesses of the Grand Assembly chose their former royalist governor, Sir William Berkeley, to again serve as governor of Virginia. Two months later, England was restored as a monarchy with Charles II's ascension to the throne of England. Berkeley's governorship was subsequently commissioned by the King and the Virginia colonists celebrated the restoration of Charles II and the English monarchy in September 1660. The dynamism of frequent local elections of Burgesses to the Grand Assembly was quelled, however, during Berkeley's second administration--the Burgesses elected in

⁷⁹Craven, Southern Colonies, 269. Compared to England, Colonial Virginia "county courts had, in a general way, a jurisdiction resembling the combined jurisdiction of the English Chancery Court, King's Bench, Common Pleas, Court Exchequer, Admiralty and Ecclesiastical. The justices of the monthly courts looked after the poor and afflicted, held special orphan courts at least once a year, granted probates of wills, passed on appraisements of estates as presented to them for inspection, on inventories and estate accounts which also were presented for their scrutiny, and recorded conveyances of land" Martha W. Hiden, How Justice Grew, Virginia Counties: An Abstract of their Formation (Charlottesville, VA: The University of Virginia Press, 1980), 8-9.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 262-64.

March 1660/1 remained in office fifteen years because the Grand Assembly was merely "prorogued," or continued from one session to the next, until 1676. Nonetheless, the Virginia Assembly passed a great amount of legislation during the restoration period--particularly in the 1660s--which defined more clearly many of the parameters of everyday colonial life and thereby expanded the degree of self-government experienced by English settlers on the colonial Virginia frontier.

The expansion of self-government in Virginia during the interregnum and restoration, however, met with continual resistance from the English government in the area of transatlantic trade--a matter which directly impacted every colonist's tobacco trade. Neither Cromwell nor King Charles II and their respective governments were interested in allowing English colonies to have unqualified free trade.⁸¹ Between 1650 and 1673, the English Parliament passed several significant acts regulating colonial trade--particularly the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660. Both these acts stipulated that:

No colonial produce could be exported to England other than in English or colonial vessels. No European produce could be imported into the colonies except in English ships or those of the country where the goods were produced, 'or most usually are first shipped for transportation'.⁸²

The act of 1660 was even more restrictive because it listed

⁸¹The discussion here relies heavily on Philip Alexander Bruce, Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century (New York: Peter Smith, 1935), 1:345-62; and W. A. Speck, "The International and Imperial Context," in Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era, ed. Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 384-407.

⁸²Speck, "The International and Imperial Context," 385.

certain colonial products that could only be shipped directly to England--including sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo, ginger, and fustic and other dyeing woods--which paid a duty upon arrival in English ports.⁸³

The stated purpose of both Navigation Acts was to promote English shipping while the unstated purpose was to eliminate England's chief commercial rival, the Dutch.⁸⁴ The Virginia colonists managed to mitigate the Navigation Act of 1651 somewhat by the "free trade" clause in their surrender to the Commonwealth, but "whatever privileges of free trade had been enjoyed by the Virginians . . . were destroyed by the second Act of Navigation passed in 1660, one of the first laws adopted after the Restoration."⁸⁵

The Navigation Acts and supporting legislation inevitably made life more difficult for the Virginia colonists and the Dutch with whom they had established a vital trading relationship. Because Dutch shipping was cheaper, "a large proportion of the commodities imported into England, even by English merchants, was conveyed in the vessels of Holland, and this included the tobacco of Virginia."⁸⁶ The 1663 "Staple Act"

⁸³Ibid., 386.

⁸⁴Ibid., 385, 389.

⁸⁵Bruce, Economic History, 1:356. The restoration of the monarchy in England brought with it the need to raise money for the King and his purposes. According to Speck, "yields from customs alone explain the acute interest in the regulation of colonial trade on the part of governments anxious to exploit every source of income. This was particularly true of the insolvent reign of Charles II, who sought every means available to raise his revenues to the level of his extravagant expenditure" ("The International and Imperial Context," 392).

⁸⁶Bruce, Economic History, 1:350.

further strangled the competitive Dutch import trade into Virginia.⁸⁷ Beverly states the impact of this "new Act of Parliament in England":

By this Act they could have no Foreign Goods, which were not first landed in England, and carried directly from thence to the Plantations; the former Restraint of importing them only by English men, in English built Shipping, not being thought sufficient.

This was a Misfortune that cut with a double Edge; For First, it reduced their Staple Tobacco to a very low Price; and, Secondly, it raised the Value of European Goods, to what the Merchants pleased to put upon them.⁸⁸

The European rivalry reflected in the Navigation Acts even sparked three wars between England and Holland between 1650 and 1675.⁸⁹ While the first war (occurring during the interregnum) minimally impacted the Virginia colony, the second and third wars required Virginia tobacco ships to travel in convoys to England and also produced actual invasions of Virginia by Dutch ships in 1667 and 1673 with the subsequent loss of almost thirty English ships loaded with Virginia colonists' tobacco.⁹⁰

The Navigation Acts demonstrated the one-way vulnerability of Virginia's colonial relationship with England. That this vulnerability could be stabilized by substantive

⁸⁷Speck, "The International and Imperial Context," 386.

⁸⁸Beverly, History and Present State of Virginia, 1705, 70. The impact of the Navigation Acts, including the two arguments stated by Beverly, was reviewed in a petition to the English government for their repeal in the late 1670s by "one of the leading merchants of London, John Bland, acting as the representative of the people of Virginia and Maryland"--but "the whole petition created no impression on the minds of those whom its author was seeking to influence" (Bruce, Economic History, 1:360-62 citing to a copy of Bland's petition in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 1:141ff).

⁸⁹Speck, "The International and Imperial Context," 395.

⁹⁰Bruce, Economic History, 1:351-52; Morton, Colonial Virginia, 1:193-95, 215.

relationships with other friendly countries was clearly recognized by Governor Berkeley who declared, after the punitive trade ordinance of 1650 was received in Virginia, "we can onely feare the Londoners, who would faine bring us to the same poverty, wherein the Dutch found and relieved us."⁹¹ Not, unsurprisingly, the colonists and the Dutch cooperated (with the aid of New Englanders) during peaceful periods in designing ways to evade the Navigation Acts and such "irregular trading . . . continued to be a subject of complaint [by the English government] with the authorities in Virginia during the remainder of the century."⁹²

New Settlement and Policies

New settlement in Virginia was traditionally marked by the extension of judicial services to new areas which often resulted in the creation of a new county.⁹³ Despite the Indian massacre of 1644, Virginia settlement picked up rapidly through the 1660s. In 1645, English settlement from the Potomac River south towards the Rappahannock River (the "northern neck" peninsula) was organized to form Northumberland County.⁹⁴

⁹¹"[Speech of Sir Wm. Berkeley, and Declaration of the Assembly, March 1651 (1650/51)," in House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 76.

⁹²Bruce, Economic History, 1:362 n.1; 350-59. The English government's interest in passing legislation to tighten the loopholes of the Navigation Acts is suggested by the report that "it was estimated in 1663, that the illegal shipments to Holland deprived the English treasury annually of ten thousand pounds sterling" (ibid., 1:358-59).

⁹³Note Craven's discussion in Southern Colonies, 269-70.

⁹⁴Hidden, How Justice Grew, 11-12; this area was formerly inhabited by the Sekakowan or "Chickacoan" Indians who were under the control of the Powhatan Confederacy but were noted as a neutral party in the 1622 Indian massacre of the English (see also Helen C. Rountree, Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 44-45, 75, 123.

In the five years spanning 1651-1654, five more Virginia counties were created, extending from the southside of James River (opposite from Jamestown) northwards across the York and Rappahannock Rivers to the southside of the Potomac River.⁹⁵ From 1656-1669, four additional counties were created--three of which bounded on the Rappahannock River and the fourth lying on the Eastern Shore.⁹⁶ The new frontier of Virginia settlement in the mid-seventeenth century was thus a north-south movement, as indicated by an act of the Assembly in 1655/6 addressing "all persons removeing themselves and families into any remote plantation northerly or southerly" who might be avoiding their creditors.⁹⁷

The older Henrico frontier continued to be marked by the falls of the James and Appomattox Rivers during the mid-seventeenth century, strongly anchored by Fort Henry "in the most south west part of Virginia, about 60 miles from ye mountains upon Apomatox river."⁹⁸ By 1650, the additional grant of time for resettling plantations deserted after the 1644 massacre had expired and apparently there was enough settlement activity along both sides of the Appomattox River to warrant the creation of Bristol parish court in 1652, a decade after the creation of Bristol parish.⁹⁹ Local administration of justice and local control over Indian relations was the rationale behind the creation of Bristol parish court:

⁹⁵Hiden, How Justice Grew, 12-14.

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:409.

⁹⁸"Journeys of Needham and Arthur," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 210.

⁹⁹Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:349, 376.

The inhabitants of Appamattock River shall have power to keep courts according to the sence of the act of Assembly for courts in the like nature, to hear and determine all differences within the said parish, which said Court is to be kept by the Commissioners resideing in the said parish of Bristol . . . appeals lying from this court to either Henrico county or Charles City county court, as also to have power to treat with the Indians according to act.¹⁰⁰

From the record of one surviving land transaction, it can be established that, at least in September 1656, Bristol parish court was held at Fort Henry and that the four commissioners present were "Maj. Abr'm Wood, Mr. William Baugh, Mr. Will Walthall, and Mr. George Worsham."¹⁰¹ All four of these commissioners patented land in Henrico County and all but Wood made Henrico their principal county of residence. The establishment of Bristol parish court allowed settlers on the southwestern Virginia frontier to overcome geographic obstacles and to realize greater self-government in local affairs.

Virginia frontier settlement in the mid-seventeenth century coincided with several land policy developments. Certain land policies addressed the particulars of English settlement--"sufficient fencing" and "seating and planting" were defined, and "processioning" was established. By 1632, every colonist had been required to "enclose his ground with sufficient fences or else to plant, uppon their owne perill."¹⁰² The Old World practice of "fencing" was adapted by Virginia colonists primarily to effect the

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 1:376.

¹⁰¹Henrico County, Virginia, Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 265. All Henrico County Court records cited as manuscripts are to be found in the Archives Division of the Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia; microfilm copies of both the original manuscripts and transcripts of the original manuscripts made the Henrico County Court records more accessible for this research.

¹⁰²Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:199; the first regulation for "sufficient fencing" was recorded a few months earlier in *ibid.*, 1:176.

practical separation of domestic crops and livestock. In the New World of the Virginia frontier, fencing was used to protect crops from ranging livestock because it was more labor-efficient to fence in crops than to fence in livestock who then could not forage for themselves. Early laws requiring "sufficient fencing" were thus designed to prevent livestock trespass and in 1642 stated that "deficient" fencing did not warrant damage to trespassing livestock "whether by doggs sett upon them or otherwise."¹⁰³ During the mid-seventeenth century, the laws of 1646, 1657, and 1661 specifically defined "sufficient fencing" as "foure foot and a halfe, high and close downe to the bottom."¹⁰⁴ These laws also began to include "horses, mares" in the livestock list of "hoggs, goates, or cattell" who were protected from damage by those whose fences were insufficient to keep them out; in 1666, sheep were added to the list of livestock dealt with in Virginia fencing laws.¹⁰⁵

During this period of rapid settlement and new county formation, the lack of an explicit definition of the "seating and planting" clause in Virginia land patents was undoubtedly perceived as a hindrance to new immigrants taking up new lands. As a consequence, the October 1666 Assembly

for the better explanation thereof have declared and enacted . . . that building an house and keeping a stock one whole yeare upon the land shall be accounted seating; and that cleering, tending and planting an acre of ground shall be accounted planting, and that either of those shal be accounted a suffitient performance of the condition required by the pattent. And that after such planting and seating the land as aforesaid and

¹⁰³Ibid., 1:244-45.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 1:332, 458; 2:100-01.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 2:243.

continuance of paying the quit rents, noe land shalbe adjudged to be deserted.¹⁰⁶

The performance of the "seating" or "planting" requirement for perfecting title to new land, however minimal,¹⁰⁷ was designed to hold both new and old colonists to basic standards of subsistence agricultural land use which in turn promoted permanent English settlement. No one would gain great wealth by performing these conditions, but a colonist and his family could begin taking responsibility for their own subsistence in the New World by "seating" and/or "planting" their own land. In addition to encouraging "subsistence production," the "seating and planting" qualification for land patents is significant because it initiated the process of "farm-building" on all land taken up by English settlers on the Virginia frontier, thus laying the foundations for economic growth.¹⁰⁸

"Processioning" was established in 1661 to prevent boundary disputes among neighboring landowners and thereby encourage "the preservation of friendshipp among neighbors."¹⁰⁹ Once a surveyor had "plainly marked and bounded" a settler's land,¹¹⁰ the marking of land boundaries was to be renewed every four years "by the view of the

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 2:244.

¹⁰⁷Only after three years had passed without planting or seating, could land be judged "deserted" and that judgment had to be made by the Governor and Council; furthermore, the owner of a patent judged deserted did not lose the headrights in the patent, but could use those headrights to "take up the like quantity in any other place or places though not the same" (ibid., 1:468).

¹⁰⁸See Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, 88.

¹⁰⁹Hening, comp., Statutes, 2:101-02.

¹¹⁰See surveying laws in ibid., 1:518; 2:100.

neighbors."¹¹¹ Renewing boundaries was necessary because original land boundaries were usually established by the surveyor and owner marking trees and inevitably "in a small time the chopps being growne up, or the trees fallen, the bounds become as uncertaine as at first."¹¹² Renewing boundaries by "resurveighs" was considered undesirable because "the least variation of a compasse alters the scituation of a whole neighbourhood and deprives many persons of houses, orchards and all to their infinite losse and trouble."¹¹³ As an alternative, "processioning" (to be organized by the vestries of each parish) required that

all the inhabitants of every neck and tract of land adjoining shall goe in procession and see the marked trees of every mans land in those precincts to be renewed, and the same course to be taken once every fower years.¹¹⁴

If, after "processioning," a dispute over boundaries still remained "that cannot be by the neighbors themselves decided," then two surveyors were to resurvey the disputed land and mark its bounds "in presence of the neighbor-hood."¹¹⁵ Significantly, the "processioning" policy established by Virginia colonists presupposed a settlement phenomenon called the "neighborhood" which was both geographic and social.¹¹⁶ The

¹¹¹Ibid., 2:101.

¹¹²Ibid.

¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹⁴Ibid., 2:102.

¹¹⁵Ibid.

¹¹⁶The importance of the idea of "neighborhood" for understanding the "man-altered environment" of a southern colony like Virginia is emphasized by John R. Stilgoe in his (continued...)

geographical boundaries of landownership on the Virginia frontier visibly placed people in a "neighborhood" of interdependent human ecological relationships that was apparently effective enough to perform the reciprocal obligations of "processioning" and, ideally, promoted friendship as well.

English-Indian Relationships to Land

Virginia land policy in the mid-seventeenth century also dealt with the problem of English-Indian relationships to the land rooted in the fact that English discovery had not revealed Virginia to be an unsettled wilderness. Due to the presumption of a superior claim of title to the land bounded by the Virginia Charters, the agents of early English colonization did not recognize Indian land rights in Virginia as equivalent with English land rights in Virginia.¹¹⁷ The Virginia Charters of 1609 and 1612 went beyond granting the authority to colonize and explicitly granted all the land bounded by the charter to the Virginia Company in fee simple title;¹¹⁸ all three charters assumed that

¹¹⁶(...continued)

Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 81-83. Discussion of "neighborhood" as a phenomenon in colonial Chesapeake society can be found in Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 53-60, 120-27, 241-45; Lorena S. Walsh, "Community Networks in the Early Chesapeake," in Colonial Chesapeake Society, ed. Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 200-41; Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, 124, 141-42.

¹¹⁷Recent discussion of this issue in the context of New England can be found in William Cronon, "Bounding the Land," Chapter 4 in Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 54-81; Francis Jennings, "The Deed Game," Chapter 8 in The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 128-45.

¹¹⁸Berniss, comp., Three Charters of the Virginia Company, 42-43, 76-79.

the King could claim title to land "not nowe actually possessed by anie Christian prince or people."¹¹⁹ Thus, in the Virginia Company era, peaceful acquisition of land by purchase from Indians was, not surprisingly, perceived as a threat to the Company's title to land granted by the King's charters. The classic case illustrating that the King and his grantees, rather than the Indians, possessed a superior claim to Virginia land is that of colonist Barkham seeking confirmation of a grant of land in 1622 which was conditioned by an agreement of some sort with the Indian Emperor Opecancanough.¹²⁰ The Virginia Company's denial of Barkham's patent reveals that the substantive issue of title to land was one of the issues at stake:

This Graunt of Barkhams was held to be verie dishonorable and prejudiciall to the Companie in regard it was lymitted with a Proviso to compound with Opachankano, whereby a Sovereignty in that heathen Infidell was acknowledged, and the Companies Title thereby much infringed.¹²¹

The Virginia Charters did not actually deny the Indian-land relationship,¹²² but rather asserted a superior English-land relationship inherent in a "Christian" prince.

¹¹⁹Ibid., 1, 27, 78.

¹²⁰Courtbook, 17 July 1622, Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 2:94-95. This case is referred to by Bruce, Economic History, 1:490-91, and Rountree, Pocahontas's People, 72, 303 n. 59.

¹²¹Courtbook, 17 July 1622, Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 2:95.

¹²²The statement of purpose in the first charter of 1606 refers to "the infidels and salvages living in those partes;" the "articles, instructions and orders" given "according to the effect and true meaning of the same letters patents" refers to "the salvage people which doe or shall adjoine unto them or border upon them" and "the salvages and heathen people of the same several places and of the territories and countries adjoining" (Bemiss, comp., Three Charters of the Virginia Company, 2, 15, 21).

Unlike "the Londoners," however, English colonists moving to the Virginia frontier had to face the practical reality of prior Indian settlement of Virginia. English colonists found that the lands bounded by their colonial charters were inhabited and "owned" by Indians prior to English settlement. English colonists in Virginia also discovered that Indians lived in distinct political communities with known territorial boundaries and exercised political sovereignty according to the belief "that they were entitled to rule themselves in their own lands."¹²³ Ensuing encounters between immigrant English settlers and native Indian settlers showed Indian landownership and Indian political sovereignty to be significant issues for English settlement, primarily in the context of English land acquisition from Indians. Prior Indian settlement of Virginia meant that English settlement had to occur in places where Indians were not living unless land was acquired by gift, sale, conquest, or treaty from the Indians; all these types of land acquisition were realized as the English dealt with the Indian tribes of the Powhatan Empire before 1650.¹²⁴ It was essential to English colonization in Virginia, however, that Indian political sovereignty over land transferred to English colonists be replaced by English political sovereignty. In other words, all land acquired by English colonists from Indians was brought under the jurisdiction of English colonial government as opposed to a scenario of new English owners of old Indian lands submitting to the jurisdiction of Indian tribal government. Thus, as the English acquired land they acquired sovereignty

¹²³Jennings, Invasion of America, 105.

¹²⁴See instances described by Rountree, Pocahontas's People, 30-82, and by Bruce, Economic History, 1:489-92.

over that land; conversely, as Indians gave up land, they gave up their sovereignty over that land.¹²⁵

The problem of English-Indian relationships with respect to land in Virginia ultimately derived from the assertion of a superior "civil" right to land by the English King over an inferior "natural" right to land by Indian tribes. The differences between "civil" and "natural" rights to land were explicitly discussed in the context of New England settlement in the 1630s.¹²⁶ Basically, the superiority of a "civil" right to land presupposed the superiority of "civil" government headed by a "Christian" King and the superiority of "civil" grants of land by the "Christian" King to his subjects; this view of land rights was basic to the feudal property systems developed by medieval Europeans.¹²⁷ A "natural" right to land based on mere need for habitation and subsistence was doubly inferior if one group's subsistence patterns did not conform to those claiming a "civil" right--and Indian subsistence patterns in the New World certainly did not conform to English subsistence patterns in the Old World.

Over time, the practical problems encountered by immigrant English colonists settling the Virginia frontier produced a certain amount of respect for Indian land rights. Virginia colonists had struggled considerably in their new environment to meet their own

¹²⁵Note discussion by Jennings, Invasion of America, 128-30.

¹²⁶Discussion here and following considers Jennings, Invasion of America, 131-44, and also Cronon, Changes in the Land, 56-73. Governor John Winthrop of Boston was a spokesman for the superiority of "civil" over "natural" rights; Roger Williams of Salem was later banished from the Massachusetts colony partly for his ideas challenging the King's patent which claimed a superior right to land originally owned by the Indians.

¹²⁷Note also Jennings, Invasion of America, 105-08.

habitation and subsistence needs--and Indian help had contributed to their success. Furthermore, unlike English theorists of colonization, Virginia colonists could not disengage themselves from the wars over land which erupted between themselves and Indian inhabitants on the Virginia frontier.¹²⁸ For security reasons at least, then, the Virginia Assembly initiated formal recognition of Indian land rights when granting permission for colonists to settle on the Rappahannock and Charles' (later York) Rivers in 1641.¹²⁹ Rappahannock settlers were "Comanded to Compounde with the native Indians there whereby they may live the more securely;" concerning Charles River settlement, the Assembly ordered

that an agreemt bee made by Capt. Henry Fleete w'th Oppachankano for there peace by the paymt of Fiftie barrells of Corne this yeare, at or before the last day of Aprill, and Fiftie barrells of Corne more the next yeare.¹³⁰

The 1646 peace treaty established "between the inhabitants of this collony, and Necotowance King of the Indians" belonging to the Powhatan empire did more to acknowledge Indian land rights in and of themselves.¹³¹ For the first time, boundary lines were agreed upon by English and Indians--an event reflecting acknowledgement of each party's sovereignty over and claim to land in Virginia. The English declared that the Powhatans "shall be free . . . to inhabit and hunt . . . without any interruption from the English" in their territory north of the York River, south of the Blackwater River, and

¹²⁸Rountree argues that loss of land was the primary motivation behind the Indian massacres of 1622 and 1644 in Pocahontas's People, 66-68, 81-83.

¹²⁹"The Virginia Assembly of 1641," 53, 54.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*

¹³¹Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:323-26.

west of "the old Manakin Towne;" the Powhatan Indians were to "leave free that tract of land betweene Yorke river and James river, from the falls of both the rivers to Kequotan, to the English to inhabitt on."¹³² The treaty terms also required Necotowance to "acknowledge to hold his kingdome from the King's Ma'tie of England" and pay a yearly tribute "of twenty beaver skins att the goeing away of Geese" in return for "protection" from "any rebells or other enemies."¹³³ The ambiguous "natural" right of the Powhatan Indians to their land had now been redefined and reduced to the feudal notion of a "civil" right that was equivalent to the "civil" right to land which English colonists "owned" or held of the King and for which they paid yearly quit rents.¹³⁴

After the mid-seventeenth century, Virginia colonial policy also began to recognize the impact of English settlement on Indian settlement. Virginia colonists were given permission by the General Assembly to overstep the northern English-Indian boundary within three years of the 1646 treaty; the rationale used was based on the demands of the colonists' own subsistence patterns (need for fertile land and range for cattle).¹³⁵ The

¹³²Ibid., 1:323-25.

¹³³Ibid., 1:323.

¹³⁴The feudal status of Virginia colonists' right to land was not unique. In response to disputes concerning acquisition of land from Indians some years later, the Connecticut Court declared "that all lands in this government are holden of the King of Great Britain as the lord of the fee" (cited in Cronon, Changes in the Land, 70).

¹³⁵Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:353-54. This act which opened English settlement north of the York River was instigated by "the Burgesses [representation] to the Governour and Council of the great and clamorous necessities of divers of the inhabitants occasioned and brought upon them through the mean produce of their labours upon barren and overwrought grounds and the apparent decay of their cattle and hoggs for want of sufficient range, which after serious consideration they had found and unanimously agreed to be the state of a very considerable number of the inhabitants."

rapid expansion of English settlement north of the York River in the early 1650s threatened Indian settlement and subsistence to such an extent that the 1655 Assembly confessed that

wee have bin often putt into great dangers by the invasions of our neighbouring and bordering Indians which humanely have bin only caused by these two particulars our extreame pressures on them and their wanting of something to hazard & loose beside their lives.¹³⁶

English settlement "pressured" Indian settlement in two major ways--ecological impact and illegal coercion. How Virginia colonists resolved the pressures upon Indians caused by their settlements inevitably affected how they "lived as neighbors" with these Indians,¹³⁷ especially on the Virginia frontier where face-to-face contact was much more likely.

Virginia colonists settling along the James River were initially unaware of the ecological impact of their activities on Indian settlement, particularly disease. Diseases acquired from exposure to European contact "helped bring about the single most dramatic ecological change in Indian lives."¹³⁸ Death from diseases which spread in epidemic proportions was inevitable among Indian people who had been isolated from the world population (and domesticated animals) for centuries and who therefore had not acquired the immunity experienced by other populations--whether immunity from ordinary childhood diseases or "more lethal organisms that were epidemic in the Old World:

¹³⁶Ibid., 1:393-94.

¹³⁷Phrase from Jennings, Invasion of America, 128.

¹³⁸Cronon, Changes in the Land, 85; see his discussion, 85-91.

smallpox, influenza, plague, malaria, yellow fever, tuberculosis, and several others."¹³⁹ This phenomenon "unwilled by human agency" had been decimating Indian populations in North America since the early sixteenth century.¹⁴⁰ Evidence indicating the extent of death from disease epidemics among Virginia's Powhatan Indians is scarce for the period surrounding early English settlement in Virginia.¹⁴¹ The devastating impact of disease on the Powhatan Indians in Virginia is suggested by comparing estimates of Indian population in 1607 and in 1669: the 14,000 Powhatan Indians living in 1607 declined dramatically--almost 80%--to 2,900 Powhatan Indians living in 1669.¹⁴² By extending this comparison to include the 600 Powhatan Indians living in 1705,¹⁴³ the total estimated Powhatan Indian depopulation of over 95% in less than 100 years of recorded English contact correlates with other New World estimates of Indian depopulation (including New England) after European contact. In general, such Indian depopulation at a "rough ratio of 90% decline within a century" is largely accounted for by the catastrophic effects of Old World diseases on New World populations.¹⁴⁴ Deadly diseases were unfortunately a part of everyday life in seventeenth century Virginia for

¹³⁹Ibid., 85.

¹⁴⁰Phrase from Jennings, Invasion of America, 16; see his discussion in *ibid.*, Chapter 2, "Widowed Land," 15-31, especially pp. 21-30.

¹⁴¹Rountree, Pocahontas's People, 3 & n.5; 25 & nn.75, 77, 79, 69.

¹⁴²Ibid., 3, 96.

¹⁴³Ibid., 105; Rountree suggests that this figure refers to "the core people" of the Powhatan Indians who did not assimilate with the English, but still retained much of their traditional way of life.

¹⁴⁴Jennings, Invasion of America, 21-29; Cronon, Changes in the Land, 85-91.

both Indian and English settlers; however, English population managed to increase while Indian population decreased.¹⁴⁵ The contrasts in population growth and decline between English and Indian ultimately meant that English settlers "needed" more and more land while Indian settlers "needed" less and less land, a situation which made Indian settlement and land rights more and more vulnerable to English population pressures.¹⁴⁶

English settlement also had a significant ecological impact on Indian subsistence. For instance, riverfront land on the James River had once been vital to Indian subsistence. It was not only "the Indians' prime farmland . . . it was also the link between two major elements of Powhatan subsistence: the hunting and foraging territories inland and the food- and reed-gathering areas on the rivers."¹⁴⁷ Colonists who began establishing plantations from the river into the woods a mile or two were inevitably restricting access to subsistence resources formerly available to Indians. The Assembly implemented one of the terms of the 1646 treaty by passing laws in the 1650s protecting the "free liberty" of Indians to hunt and gather on the English side of the 1646 treaty boundary as long as it was "without the English fenced plantations."¹⁴⁸ In the early 1660s, the Assembly

¹⁴⁵In 1607, 104 English arrived in Virginia; by 1670, Governor Berkeley estimated 40,000 persons living in English settlements--including "two thousand black slaves, six thousand christian servants" (Hening, comp., Statutes, 2:515).

¹⁴⁶Note Jennings' comment that the diseases which "reduced Indian populations" did not legally bring about a "concomitant reduction of customary [land] rights and claims" (Invasion of America, 136-37).

¹⁴⁷Rountree, Pocahontas's People, 67.

¹⁴⁸Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:415-16, 468-69.

acknowledged that density of English settlement had further prevented Indian access to subsistence resources. As a remedy

for the better releife of the poore Indians whome the seating of the English hath forced from their wonted conveniencies of oystering, Fishing and gathering tuckahoe, cuttyemnions or other wild fruites by which they were wonted for a greate parte of the yeare to subsist,

the Assembly authorized county justices of the peace to grant licenses to Indians to come into English settlements for non-threatening fishing and gathering activities.¹⁴⁹ Nearness of English settlement also impacted Indian settlement in agricultural terms. Particularly, English livestock became a destructive nuisance to Indian cornfields as English colonists settled nearer and nearer Indian towns. Since the English raised livestock and the Indians did not, the Assembly placed a burden on any "English now seated within three miles from any Indians . . . to helpe the Indians fence in a corne field proportionable to the number of persons the said Indian towne doth consist of."¹⁵⁰

The ecological impact of English settlement on Indian settlement was further exacerbated by colonists who used illegal coercion to take away land directly from Indians. Private land sales by Indians to Virginia colonists (unless approved by the Assembly) were outlawed in 1655 precisely because the veneer of English legality accorded to sales of land was too often used to coverup illegal coercion; otherwise, the Indians "will be allwaies in feare of what they hold not being able to distinguish between

¹⁴⁹Ibid., 2:140.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., 2:139-40.

our desires to buy or inforcement to have."¹⁵¹ Nonetheless, illegal coercion continued and two years later the Assembly reported its impact on Indian settlement:

Many complaints have bin brought to this Assembly touchinge wrong done to the Indians, in takeing away their land and forceing them into such narrow streights and places that they cannot subsist either by planting or hunting.¹⁵²

As history prior to 1650 had shown, Indians did not usually choose to be passive agents when their homes were threatened.

After 1650, the Assembly was fully aware that illegal coercion was a two-edged sword that slashed at English and Indian settlement alike. The Assembly argued that

the mutuall discontents, complaints, jealousies and feares of English and Indians proceed chiefly from the violent intrusions of diverse English made into their lands forcing the Indians by way of revenge to kill the cattle and hogs of the English, and by that meanes injuries being done on both sides, reports and rumours are spread of the hostile intentions of each to other, tending infinitely to the disturbance of the peace of his majesty's country.¹⁵³

Illegal coercion was often accompanied by fraud when English colonists employed "corrupt interpreters" who took advantage of language differences by

rendering . . . [Indians] willing to surrender [land] when indeed they intended to have received a confirmation of their owne rights, and redresse of their wrong, which mischief had they continued must needs have involved the country into an inevitable and destructive warre.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹Ibid., 1:396.

¹⁵²Ibid., 1:467.

¹⁵³Ibid., 2:138.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., 2:139.

In addition to outlawing private sales of land, the Assembly formally condemned such takings as

contrary to justice, and the true intent of the English plantation in this country, whereby the indians might by all just and faire waies be reduced to civillity and the true worship of God.¹⁵⁵

The Assembly attempted to safeguard Indian land rights by explicitly confirming "those seates of land which they now have"¹⁵⁶ and by actually granting a specific quantity of land to each Indian tribe based on their number of bowmen.¹⁵⁷

Frontier Policy

Settlement of the Virginia frontier in the mid-seventeenth century was not only characterized by certain land policy developments, but was defined by the emergence of Virginia "frontier" policy itself. The Assembly first officially recognized that some English settlements were frontier areas in the early 1630s when commanding "joyning plantations, to assisst the fronteires or their neighbours, uppon alarmns."¹⁵⁸ Subsequent uses of the word "frontier" in Virginia colonial policy continued to refer to "frontier" areas in a defensive context, distinguished by exposure to danger above and beyond other English settlements.¹⁵⁹ As such, "frontier" in Virginia colonial policy was used in its

¹⁵⁵Ibid., 1:467.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., 1:467-68.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., 1:456-57. The Indians were to receive the English headright "proportion of fiftie acres of land for each bowman; and the proportion for each perticular towne to lie together, and to be surveyed as well woodland as cleered ground, and to be layd out before patented, with libertie of all waste and unfenced land for hunting for the Indians."

¹⁵⁸Ibid., 1:174, 198.

¹⁵⁹"Frontier" is not used again by the Assembly until after the 1644 Massacre; for this
(continued...)

traditional Old World sense of an area or "extreme part of a country" which "fronted" or "bordered" upon another country; in a settlement or military context, "frontier" meant "the part furthest advanced, or the part that fronts an enemy, or which an invading enemy meets in front."¹⁶⁰ Virginia frontier policy was thus designed to meet the challenges of living with known and unknown dangers near the borders of English settlement in Virginia. The substance of Virginia frontier policy indicates the major frontier challenges: English defense, Indian contact, and preying wolves. At mid-century, Virginia colonists perceived the Virginia frontier as a dangerous place--a perception reflected in the Assembly's 1653 command that English explorers who ventured into the country beyond the borders were to "go with a considerable partie and strength both of men and amunition."¹⁶¹

Henrico County remained a vital frontier area in Virginia after the mid-seventeenth century even though an expanding line of English settlement continually redefined the location of the Virginia frontier. The 1650 expedition of Bland and Wood from Fort Henry, exploring country outside English and Powhatan Indian settlements, was followed by several parties of colonists seeking permission to discover the unknown country west and southwest of Henrico County. Also in the 1650s, Henrico County was visited by

¹⁵⁹(...continued)
reference and others before 1680, see *ibid.*, 1:292; 2:209, 215, 237, 327, 397, 448.

¹⁶⁰See Webster American Dictionary, 1828, Webster Unabridged Dictionary, 1983; Black's Law Dictionary, 4th ed.

¹⁶¹Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:381.

many western and inland Indians . . . drawne from the mountaynes, and lately sett downe neer the falls of James river, to the number of six or seaven hundred.¹⁶²

A Charles City County commander was appointed to negotiate their peaceful removal (beyond the 1646 treaty boundary); his subsequent failure in both diplomacy and military judgment resulted in his censure by the Assembly and replacement by two Henrico County commanders, Abraham Wood and William Harris.¹⁶³ The "new come" or unknown "Richahecrians" Indians were apparently allowed to remain at the James River falls, perhaps as long as two years.¹⁶⁴

In the 1660s, English settlements were threatened by various nations of "strange Indians . . . not tributary to the English."¹⁶⁵ Intelligence that the northern Doegg Indians were responsible for killing Virginia colonists in 1663 had apparently been gained through English contact with the Manakin and Occoneechee Indians located west and southwest of Henrico County.¹⁶⁶ That settlers patenting new land on the Virginia frontier during this period faced a great deal of risk is revealed by an act for seating frontier plantations passed by the Assembly in the 1664:

¹⁶²Ibid., 1:402.

¹⁶³Ibid., 1:422-23, 426; Rountree, Pocahontas's People, 93 & n.; Manarin & Dowdey, The History of Henrico County, 41-42 & n.; William P. Cumming, ed., The Discoveries of John Lederer, (Charlottesville, VA: The University of Virginia Press, 1958), 16.

¹⁶⁴Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:402, 422; Rountree, Pocahontas's People, 93; Manarin & Dowdey, The History of Henrico County, 42.

¹⁶⁵Hening, comp., Statutes, 2:193-94.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., 2:194.

Whereas experience hath evidenced that the weaknes of fronteer plantations hath animated the Indians to commit severall horrid murthers, this grand assembly endeavouring as much as may be the prevention thereof for the future, have enacted . . . that noe person shall hereafter seate above the plantations already seated but with fowre able hands well armed at his first sitting downe, provided that such persons as have already pattented land in any remote parts may have seaven yeares granted them to strengthen each perticuler plantation with the aforesaid number of fowre men or else desert their land.¹⁶⁷

The Assembly's 1665 defensive measures against "all Indians" who might kill Virginia colonists provoked greater clarification of the 1646 treaty boundaries running through Henrico County:

Whereas by the former articles of agreement, it was provided that no Indians which are seated on the southside of James river should come over the Black water or the southerne branches thereof, It is hereby enacted that the said (a) bounds from the head of Black water to the Apamatack Indian towne and thence cross the river to the Monikon towne be the bounds of the Indians on the southside of James river.¹⁶⁸

The Assembly experimented with stringent measures in 1666 to prevent "insolencies and murthers" of English colonists by prohibiting Indians to come into "Henrico County, which as a fronteer is most exposed to those dangers."¹⁶⁹ Once the Henrico County militia could extend the English-Indian boundary north of the James river and give notice, then it would be "lawfull for any Englishman to kill such Indian or Indians soe

¹⁶⁷Hening, comp., Statutes, 2:209.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., 2:219-20. Hening records the 1752 edition with a note that the earlier 1733 edition at (a) reads "southern branches of Blackwater, from the head of those branches to the present Appomattuck Indian town, and thence cross the river by a continued line to the Monakin towne."

¹⁶⁹Ibid., 2:237.

transgressing."¹⁷⁰ The only exceptions were Indians who came to "places and persons" in Henrico County which were permitted to receive Indian "messuages or other publique imployments"--as long as the Indians "shall keepe their direct pathes" to these sites.¹⁷¹ Henrico County remained a critical frontier area because it continued to be bounded by unknown country and unknown Indians. This unknown promised new opportunities at the risk of life-threatening danger; whether Henrico colonists realized opportunity or danger on the frontier would depend a great deal on whether they could establish Indian contact that was friendly and overcome Indian contact that was hostile.

Crossing the Mountains: Western Explorations, 1670-74

Not until 1669, almost twenty years after Bland and Wood's expedition, is there any evidence of concrete plans for westward exploration. That spring Governor Berkeley had planned an expedition "in the Company of Two hundred Gent who had engaged to goe along with me to find out the East India sea," but "unusual and continued Raynes" prevented Berkeley from carrying out his plans.¹⁷²

Lederer, 1670

In March 1669/70, John Lederer (a German physician and newcomer to Virginia) and three Indians left the falls of the Pamunkey River (a tributary of the York River) for the western mountains. After nine days they reached the foot of the mountains and on the tenth day Lederer struggled through thick underbrush to the top of the mountains.

¹⁷⁰Ibid.

¹⁷¹Ibid., 2:238.

¹⁷²"Letter of Sir William Berkeley to Lord Arlington, May 27, 1669," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 175.

Lederer thus became the first white European to reach the summit of the Blue Ridge Mountains and look beyond--to more mountains rather than the "East India Sea." Lederer spent six more days "wandering about in the snow" searching for a pass through the mountains, but to no avail. Finally, unable to endure the cold any longer, Lederer descended the mountains and returned to his starting point.¹⁷³

Two months later, on May 20, 1670, Lederer ventured into the wilderness again, this time with Major William Harris, twenty other Henrico County militiamen, and five Indians. Both Harris and Lederer had received commissions from Governor Berkeley to lead an exploring party west to "the mountains."¹⁷⁴ Harris and Lederer's party set out from the falls of the James River and followed the James twenty miles up to the old Manakin Indian town. Then, because they were apparently so fearful of becoming lost, they ignored Indian trails and instead followed their English compass due west across country.¹⁷⁵

Lederer's account reveals that the wide, rocky river with steep, rough banks which they came to after sixty miles of overland travel were so intimidating that Harris and the

¹⁷³Alvord and Bidgood, eds., First Explorations, 64-66; John Lederer, "The Discoveries of John Lederer, In three Several Marches from Virginia, To the West of Carolina," 1672, in The Discoveries of John Lederer, ed. William P. Cumming, 15-19.

¹⁷⁴Alvord and Bidgood, eds., First Explorations, 66-67; "Ludwell to Arlington, 27 June 1670," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 177; Lederer, "Discoveries", in Discoveries, ed. Cumming, 19-21; Alan Vance Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 97.

¹⁷⁵Alvord and Bidgood, eds., First Explorations, 66; Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 97.

Henrico militiamen turned back, leaving John Lederer to proceed with one Indian guide.¹⁷⁶ "Major Harris at parting gave me a Gun, believing me a lost man, and prey to Indians or savage beasts."¹⁷⁷ Lederer spent another month and a half traversing the Virginia-North Carolina piedmont country with his Indian guide, returning on July 18, 1670 to Fort Henry at "Appamatuck in Virginia, where I was not a little overjoyed to see Christian forces again."¹⁷⁸

A month after completing his second journey, Lederer made a third and final attempt to discover a pass over the Blue Ridge mountains. This time Lederer set out with nine Englishmen and five Indians from the falls of the Rappahannock River on August 20, 1670. Reaching the foot of the Blue Ridge after several days, they began to climb one of the highest mountains on foot. At the top, they saw only more high mountains and because "the ascent was so steep" and they were "so tired by the climb and chilled by the change in temperature . . . they contented themselves with drinking the King's health in brandy and then made their way down the mountain and homeward."¹⁷⁹

Though John Lederer did not accomplish "my intended purpose of discovering a passage to the further side of the Mountains," his explorations (particularly his second

¹⁷⁶Alvord and Bidgood, eds., First Explorations, 67; "Ludwell to Arlington," 27 June 1670, in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 177; Lederer, "Discoveries", in Discoveries, ed. Cumming, 20-21; Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 98.

¹⁷⁷Lederer, "Discoveries", in Discoveries, ed. Cumming, 22.

¹⁷⁸Alvord and Bidgood, eds., First Explorations, 67-68; Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 123; Lederer, "Discoveries", in Discoveries, ed. Cumming, 22-33 (Lederer's reference to "Appamatuck" here was probably Fort Henry).

¹⁷⁹Lederer, "Discoveries", in Discoveries, ed. Cumming, 34-37; "Alvord and Bidgood, eds., First Explorations, 69.

journey) effected a significant change in English perceptions of the land and people beyond frontier settlements.¹⁸⁰ Between 1646 and 1670, English-Indian relations had vacillated between hostility and friendship.

The perception that only large groups of men could safely venture into the unknown was transformed by Lederer's safe return from the Virginia-Carolina wilderness. While a governor could enlist the voluntary services of "Two hundred Gent," Abraham Wood and others who demonstrated interest in frontier exploration probably could not. Perhaps because Berkeley could not muster his two hundred men a second time, he was willing to allow an adventuresome newcomer like Lederer to hazard an extended trek into the wilderness. By returning alive, Lederer

singlehandedly dispelled the English terror of the interior. On his Carolina journey he survived alone for two months amidst wilderness and natives Lederer had shown that large, well-armed groups were not needed; the financing, organizing, and sending of explorers and traders was within the means of individuals such as Abraham Wood.¹⁸¹

Lederer was not rewarded publicly by the Virginia Assembly, but the efforts of his Henrico County companions were. In October 1670, the Virginia Assembly "Ordered That Majr William Harris for his Service in the Western discovery be paid 25l Lt Liggon tenn pound, and the Souldiers two shillings and sixpence per day for man and horse."¹⁸² Even though one official observed to a friend in England that the Harris-Ligon phase of

¹⁸⁰Lederer, "Discoveries", in Discoveries, ed. Cumming, 24; Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 99.

¹⁸¹Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 99.

¹⁸²"Orders of A Grand Assemblie," 3 October 1670, in Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1659/60-1693, ed. H.R. McIlwaine (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1914), 55.

the "discovery was not soe considerable," the Henrico militia accomplishment in reaching the foothills of "those Mountains" aroused hopes of "the end of our labour in some happy discovery."¹⁸³

Battes and Fallam, 1671

In September 1671, Abraham Wood sent out from Fort Henry four Englishmen and an Appomattox Indian guide with a commission "for the finding out the ebbing and flowing of the Waters on the other side of the Mountaines in order to the discovery of the South Sea."¹⁸⁴ The expedition was led by Thomas Batte, an Henrico County settler, and Robert Fallam. The account of their journey suggests that Lederer's explorations the year before had kindled a tremendous expansion of English knowledge about the Virginia interior and led to the establishment of informal English relations with new Indian tribes.¹⁸⁵

Batte's and Fallam's party, reinforced by seven more Appomattox Indians and Sapony and Totera Indian guides, crossed both the Blue Ridge and Appalachian mountains, reaching a tributary of "the great River" (or Ohio River) which divides

¹⁸³"Letter of Thomas Ludwell to Lord Arlington," 27 June 1670, in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 177-78.

¹⁸⁴"Expedition of Batts and Fallam," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 184.

¹⁸⁵For instance, the "Occaneechee Path" was already a landmark and Wood had an agent stationed at the "Sapiny Indian town" prior to Batte's and Fallam's arrival; Batte and Fallam were also informed that the Sapony tribe knew the pass through the Blue Ridge to the "Teteras" beyond, and were prepared to hire a Sapony Indian guide to lead them "towards the Teteras, a nearer way than usual," see "Expedition of Batts and Fallam," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 184-85.

present-day Kentucky and West Virginia.¹⁸⁶ They were able to use horses until they reached the Appalachian mountains--though even on foot the Appalachians presented "a very steep ascent so that we could scarce keep ourselves from sliding down again."¹⁸⁷ The hoped for "South Sea" was not the panorama revealed to Batte's and Fallam's expedition when they reached the Appalachian pass to the world beyond--rather, "when we were got up to the Top of the mountain and set down very weary we saw very high mountains lying to the north and south as far as we could discern. . . . It was a pleasing tho' dreadful sight to see the mountains and Hills as if piled one upon another."¹⁸⁸

After Batte, Fallam and company descended the Appalachians, they explored the terrain across what is now southern West Virginia for the next four days. Fallam recorded several comparisons to Henrico County waterways: the discovery of "a Run just like the swift creek at Mr. Randolph's in Virginia," the "sight of a curious River like Apamatack River," and their test of "the ebbing and flowing of the Waters" in a river "much like James River at Col. Stagg's, the falls much like these falls."¹⁸⁹ When provisions ran out the day after crossing the Appalachians, the party's temporarily unsuccessful hunting and gathering provoked Fallam to note that "yesterday in the

¹⁸⁶See analysis of Batte's and Fallam's probable route by Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 133-46.

¹⁸⁷"Expedition of Batts and Fallam," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 187.

¹⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 188.

¹⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 184, 188, 191, 192.

afternoon and this day we lived a Dog's life--hunger and ease."¹⁹⁰ The party finally decided to turn back, persuaded by "our Indians" who were "impatient of longer stay by reason it was like to be bad weather, and that it was so difficult to get provisions."¹⁹¹ Before they left on the morning of September 17, the explorers marked four trees in honor of King Charles II, Governor Berkeley, Major General Wood, and Perecute, their original Appomattox Indian guide, "who said he would learn Englishman."¹⁹²

The hope of finding a large body of water beyond the mountains was not dead, however; on the morning of September 17

we returned homewards and when we were on the top of a Hill we turned about and saw over against us, westerly, over a certain delightful hill a fog arise and a glimmering light as from water. We supposed there to be a great Bay.¹⁹³

The return of Batte's and Fallam's party to Fort Henry was marked by "very civil entertainment" from all Indian tribes encountered on their way west.¹⁹⁴ When Batte's and Fallam's party came to the Totera Indian town between the Appalachians and the Blue Ridge, they also received word that another Henrico settler had reached the mountains of Virginia: "We immediately had the news of Mr. Byrd and his great company's Discoveries three miles from the Tetera's town."¹⁹⁵ William Byrd was the

¹⁹⁰Ibid., 190.

¹⁹¹Ibid., 191.

¹⁹²Ibid. The initials "TB" and "RF" were also marked next to Perecute's "P".

¹⁹³Ibid., 192.

¹⁹⁴Ibid., 192-93.

¹⁹⁵Ibid.

young twenty-year-old nephew and heir of Thomas Stegg who lived at the falls of James River.¹⁹⁶ Batte, Fallam, and company finally made it back to the Henrico frontier on September 27 when "at night we came to the Apamatack Town, hungry, wet and weary."¹⁹⁷ After recuperating a few days, on "Oct. 1 being Sunday morning we arrived at Fort Henry. God's holy name be praised for our preservation."¹⁹⁸

Needham and Arthur, 1673

Abraham Wood's quest for the "South Sea" remained unfulfilled despite Batte's and Fallam's remarkable expedition. A year and a half later, Wood sent out another exploring party of "two English men and eight Indians with accomidation for three moneths" to pursue "ye discovery to ye south or west sea."¹⁹⁹ Wood's English explorers were James Needham and Gabriel Arthur; their destination was somewhere southwest and over the mountains. Needham, Arthur, and the eight Indians set out April 10, 1673, but soon returned "by misfortune and unwillingness of ye Indians before the mountaines, that any should discover beyond them."²⁰⁰ Wood, however, was determined to pursue his quest, so "on ye 17th of May: 1673 I sent them out againe, with

¹⁹⁶Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 527.

¹⁹⁷"Expedition of Batts and Fallam," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 193. There was an Appomattox Indian town across from Thomas Batte's Appomattox river plantation, just above the falls and Fort Henry, (Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 2:89, 92).

¹⁹⁸"Expedition of Batts and Fallam," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 193.

¹⁹⁹"Journeys of Needham and Arthur," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 210-11.

²⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 211.

ye like number of Indians and four horses."²⁰¹ Before they reached the mountains this time, Needham and Arthur met a party of about fifty Tomahitan Indians "journeying from ye mountains to ye Occhonechees."²⁰² The Occaneechee Indians were strategically located for travel and trade on an island in the Roanoke or Staunton River about 70 miles southwest of Fort Henry, near present-day Clarkesville, Virginia.²⁰³ Needham and Arthur then "resolved by God's Blessing to goe through with ye Tomahitans" to their village across the mountains and provided a letter of introduction for several Tomahitans to meet with Abraham Wood at Fort Henry.²⁰⁴ Because of the rain and some interference by the Occaneechees, however, the two Tomahitan groups were reunited much later than planned and only one Appomattox Indian continued on with Needham and Arthur.²⁰⁵

Needham, Arthur, and their Indian companions passed through several Indian villages before they began to ascend the Blue Ridge mountains in present day central North Carolina. Traveling southwest through the mountains for thirteen days after the party left the last Indian village on the eastern side of the mountains, there was not even a path to guide them; on the fifteenth day they came to the Tomahitan settlement in

²⁰¹Ibid.

²⁰²Ibid.

²⁰³Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 115-16, 133; see also Alvord and Bidgood, eds., First Explorations, 80--though Bland and Wood did not reach the Occaneechee Indians in 1650.

²⁰⁴"Journeys of Needham and Arthur," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 211.

²⁰⁵Ibid.

present northwest Georgia.²⁰⁶ The Tomahitans lived in a well-fortified town on a river with "one hundred and fifty cannoes under ye command of their forte." In contrast to the mountainous terrain they had just crossed, Needham and Arthur were told that "many nations of Indians inhabitt downe this river."²⁰⁷ Needham then decided to return to Fort Henry "with his horse, ye Appomattock Indian and 12 Tomahittans, eight men and foure women," leaving Arthur with the Tomahitans "to learn ye language" until Needham's return. Needham and his company arrived at Wood's house at Fort Henry around September 10, 1673, almost four months after departure in May.²⁰⁸ Wood, encouraged by Needham's report (which included information on a Spanish settlement "eight days jorny down [the] river" from the Tomahitans) subsequently wrote that

after nine dayes rest, my man with ye horse he brought home and ye twelve Tomahittans began theire jorny ye 20th of September intending, God blessing him, at ye spring of ye next yeare to returne with his companion.²⁰⁹

Wood's "great hopes of a good suckses" began to unravel in late January 1673/4 due to reports of a "tragicall scene of bad hap"--Needham's murder by Indians. On February 25, Henry Hatcher, an Indian trader from Henrico County, brought word that while trading with the Occaneechee Indians he had persuaded the Occaneechees to let Needham pass and that later he saw Indian John of the Occaneechees "have Mr. James

²⁰⁶Ibid., 211-13; Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 153-54.

²⁰⁷"Journeys of Needham and Arthur," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 213.

²⁰⁸Ibid., 213-14; for identity of Needham, see 213-16.

²⁰⁹Ibid., 213-14.

Needhams pistolls and gunn in his hande, as the Indian him selfe tould Hatcher."²¹⁰ Only months later, when Arthur could return to Fort Henry followed by a visit from the Tomahitan king, did Wood get the whole story. Indian John, paid by Wood to accompany Needham to and from the Tomahitans, had indeed killed Needham before they reached the mountains "then laid a command upon ye Tomahitans that they should dispatch and kill ye English man which Needham had left att ye Tomahittans." When the Tomahitans who traveled with Needham and witnessed his death arrived at their village, the Tomahitan king was absent so "some of ye Tomahittans which were great lovers of ye Occheneeches went to put Indian Johns command in speedy execution" by preparing to burn Gabriel Arthur at the stake.²¹¹

But before ye fire was put too ye King came into ye towne with a gunn upon his shoulder and heareing of ye uprore for some was with it and some a gainst it. ye King ran with great speed to ye place, and said who is that that is goeing to put fire to ye English man. a Weesock borne started up with a fire brand in his hand said that am I. Ye King forthwith cockt his gunn and shot ye wesock dead, and ran to Gabriell and with his knife cutt ye thongs that tide him and had him goe to his house and said lett me see who dares touch him.²¹²

Over the fall and winter months, the Tomahitan king assigned Arthur to make four journeys--two for war, one a combination of friendship and war, and the last for hunting and fishing. Arthur's travel with the Tomahitans took him to the coasts of present-day

²¹⁰Ibid., 215.

²¹¹Ibid., 215-18.

²¹²Ibid., 218.

Florida, South Carolina, Alabama, and to the Kentucky interior.²¹³ Finally, on May 10, 1674, Arthur and "ye King with eighteen more of his people laden with goods begin theire journey to come to Forte Henry att ye falls of Appomattock river." The Occaneechees attempted to capture Arthur when he and the Tomahitans came over the mountains, causing the party to split up. Wood detailed how Arthur continued on with a Tomahitan Indian boy, crossed the Occaneechees' island under cover of night, "and on ye 18th June with ye boy arived att my house, praise be to God for it." Eventually the Tomahitan king "comes along by Toterro under ye foot of ye mountains, untill they mett with James river and there made a cannoe of barke and came downe the river," arriving at Fort Henry July 20.²¹⁴ The reunion with the Tomahitan king provided Wood "certain relation how Mr. James Needham came by his death," but also gave Wood cause for celebration:

This king I received with much joy and kind entertainment and much joy there was betweene Gabriell and ye king, that once more they were met again. I gave the king a good reward for his high favor in preserveing my mans life. He staid with me a few dayes promising to bee with mee againe att ye fall of ye leafe with a party that would not be fritted by ye way.²¹⁵

Though Abraham Wood's explorers successfully crossed the southern Blue Ridge and Appalachians, Wood had several reasons to be discouraged after Needham and Arthur's expedition. First, Wood's initial report to the "Grand Assembly of Virginia" that

²¹³Ibid., 219-23; see map 11, "Route taken by James Needham and Gabriel Arthur, 1673-74" in Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 154.

²¹⁴Ibid., 223-25.

²¹⁵Ibid., 225.

Needham and Arthur had reached the Tomahitan village across the mountains was met with "not so much as one word in answer or any encouragement or assistance given."²¹⁶ Secondly, Wood had encountered direct opposition to his expedition from "self ended traders for they have strove what they could to block up ye designe from ye beginning."²¹⁷ Thirdly, the object of his explorations continued to elude him despite considerable investment: "I have been att ye charge to the value of two hundred pounds starling in ye discovery to ye south or west sea."²¹⁸ Finally, the expedition was overshadowed by the murder of James Needham; Wood's conclusion is indicative--"thus endes ye tragedy I hope yett to live to write cominically of ye buisness."²¹⁹

Abraham Wood's investment in the 1671 and 1673 expeditions across the mountains did, however, produce a knowledge of the wilderness which would bear fruit for years to come. Since the 1650 expedition's advance of 60 miles into the Virginia wilderness, Wood had extended English exploration 260 miles west by sponsoring Battes and Fallam, and some 500 miles southwest by sponsoring Needham and Arthur.²²⁰ Abraham Wood's men ventured where no Englishmen had ever been before. Wood eulogized James Needham as "this heroyick English man . . . which had adventured where

²¹⁶Ibid., 214.

²¹⁷Ibid., 225.

²¹⁸Ibid., 210.

²¹⁹Ibid., 225.

²²⁰Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 146, 152.

never any English man had dared to attempt before."²²¹ Gabriel Arthur had traveled at least 3300 miles (2500 miles on foot) in the North American wilderness between May 1673 and June 1674--"he could not have foreseen in the spring of 1673 that he was to become the most widely traveled Englishman in seventeenth-century America."²²² Wood had also learned more about Indian relations by sending his explorers into the wilderness. Wood's men were cared for by Indians in villages along their route as well as by Indian guides. Indian hostility resulting in Needham's death and Arthur's near-death was recognized as instigated by a particular group of Indians; hostility, however, proved to be the exception rather than the rule in English-Indian relations established by the 1670s explorations.

The record of Abraham Wood's efforts to discover the "south or west sea" reveals that the English in Virginia no longer had a unified approach to the land and people beyond English settlement. Wood's pursuit of exploration was apparently perceived as a threat by some, to such an extent that he sought the favor "of some person of honour in England to curb and bridle ye obstructors here."²²³ Evidently the General Assembly's forthright encouragement of western exploration in the 1650s had waned to a passive non-interest by October 1673. Abraham Wood was almost sixty years old when he wrote his account of Needham and Arthur's expedition "from Forte Henry, August the

²²¹"Journeys of Needham and Arthur," in First Expeditions, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 217.

²²²Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 149, 169.

²²³"Journeys of Needham and Arthur," in First Exploration, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 225-26.

22th, 1674."²²⁴ Wood nonetheless continued to exercise his skill in dealing with Indians and maintaining the security of Virginia's western frontier until shortly before his death in 1682.²²⁵

Henrico County: A Frontier Ethos

While the activities of western exploration may have ceased to concern every Virginia colonist during this period, they inevitably served to define the ethos of Henrico County, Virginia's oldest western frontier. The biographies of Henrico settlers involved in the 1670s explorations indicate that the frontier "ethos" of Henrico County from 1650-1675 was embedded in family and community.

Abraham Wood and William Harris embodied many characteristics of the frontier settlers in colonial Virginia. Abraham Wood came to Virginia at age five as an indentured servant in 1620, some twenty-five years before his co-expeditionist, Edward Bland, and was leasing land in Henrico by 1636.²²⁶ William Harris was born in the Henrico area of Virginia around 1629, son of ancient planter Thomas Harris.²²⁷

²²⁴Ibid., 226; Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 695.

²²⁵Though Wood was "kept to his house because of 'lameness and other infirmities'" during Bacon's Rebellion of 1676 (Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 697), he did receive at least one Indian report of Bacon's slaughter of the Occaneechee Indians (Wilcomb E. Washburn, The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1957, 45-46). In the fall of 1678, Wood oversaw the Henrico and Charles City County militia forces on alert due to "strang Indians at the heads of the Rivers" (Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 58); in the winter of 1679/80, he was negotiating peace "with a threatening Indian war-confederacy" on behalf of the Governor and Council (First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 43).

²²⁶Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 128, 695-96.

²²⁷Ibid., 354-57.

Essentially, both Wood and Harris grew up in Virginia and spent most of their lives on the frontier boundaries of English settlement. Wood and Harris' activities partially reflect the development of English competence in relation to New World conditions. Wood became commander of Fort Henry at the falls of the Appomattox River in 1646, directing activities dealing with defense and trade with the Indians.²²⁸ Harris was no doubt familiar with his father's command at Fort Charles and by 1653 had acquired surveying skills.²²⁹ Both Wood and Harris rose in the ranks of the local Virginia militia and even served closely together. After Colonel Edward Hill of Shirley Hundred was suspended by the assembly for his diplomatic failure in dealing with a threatening Indian situation at the falls of the James River, the assembly

ordered, that Coll. Abraham Wood be appointed and made Coll. over the regiment of Charles City and Henrico countys in the room of Coll. Hill by this present Assembly suspended, and Capt. William Harris made Major of the said regiment being his due as the first Capt. according to the desire of the said Coll. Abraham Wood.²³⁰

Furthermore, by the end of the 1650s, not only had both Wood and Harris sought permission from the assembly to pursue western discoveries, each was married and raising children on their respective plantations.²³¹

²²⁸Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:315, 325, 326-27.

²²⁹*Ibid.*, 1:327; Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 212.

²³⁰Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:402-03, 426; see discussion in Manarin and Dowdey, History of Henrico County, 41-42.

²³¹For instance, Wood's daughter Mary was born in 1646 according to age given in her deposition as Mary Chamberlayne, Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 56-58. Harris' son Thomas was born at least by 1659, since Harris distinguishes between older son Thomas and younger sons under nineteen years of age in his will written in April 1678, Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 68.

Four other men associated with accounts of Wood's expeditions of the 1670s were participants in Henrico County's frontier community--Thomas Batte, Gabriel Arthur, William Byrd, and Henry Hatcher. Thomas Batte first patented Henrico County land in February 1670/1; his tract was located on the "N. side of Appamattock Riv., against the middle of the Indian towne" across the river above Abraham Wood at Fort Henry.²³² When Batte set out on his western exploration with Robert Fallam six months later, he left behind a nine-year-old son, probably a wife, and perhaps one or more of the three daughters he is known to have had.²³³

Gabriel Arthur left no record in Henrico County until he purchased 100 acres of land with a "cleared cornfield" from Thomas and Mary Batte along the "Appomattox River above the Old Indian Town."²³⁴ It is unknown as to why Arthur sold this land two years later to William Byrd, and selling not only his land, but also various "Goods, Chattells, or Moveables," including Cattle, horses, and hogs.²³⁵ Perhaps the affection he had for the Tomahitan Indian King drew him back across the mountains to a life somewhere between Indian and English culture.²³⁶

²³²Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:89, 92.

²³³Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 153, 298-99.

²³⁴*Ibid.*, 290-91.

²³⁵*Ibid.*, 398-99.

²³⁶James Axtell provides an excellent discussion of the phenomenon of "The White Indians of Colonial America," in The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 168-206.

William Byrd inherited his uncle Thomas Stegge's estate at the falls of the James River in 1670/1 at the age of eighteen.²³⁷ Within months he was leading a discovery party over the Blue Ridge mountains, at least as far as the vicinity of the Totero Indian town where Batte and Fallam were camped.²³⁸ Two years later Byrd married Virginia-born Mary Horsmanden, a girl his age from Charles City County.²³⁹

Henry Hatcher, the Indian trader who brought Wood specific news of Needham's death, was the Virginia-born son of William Hatcher of Henrico County.²⁴⁰ Henry married Anne, a daughter of Henrico patentee Henry Lound, and had at least one young child at the time of his trading activities in 1673.²⁴¹ Henry Hatcher was dead by 1677, leaving his widow and five orphaned children--two sons and three daughters.²⁴² The importance of kinship ties for the well-being of Hatcher's orphans is suggested by subsequent records. Their grandfather Lound gave them several head of livestock as did

²³⁷Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 527-28.

²³⁸"Expedition of Batts and Fallam," in First Explorations, ed. Alvord and Bidgood, 192-93.

²³⁹Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 527-28.

²⁴⁰Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 121-22, 127-28.

²⁴¹Ibid., 33; Henrico Orphans Court, 1677-1739, 36 (74) indicates Hatcher's son Henry was of age (21) to discharge his estate in 1694.

²⁴²Ibid., 33, 121-22; Henrico Orphans Court, 1677-1739, 4 (15).

their uncles Edward and Benjamin Hatcher;²⁴³ by 1680, the guardian to Hatcher's orphans was their grandfather Lound, a duty not completely discharged until 1697.²⁴⁴

The other Henrico County militiaman identified with William Harris on Lederer's 1670 expedition was Thomas Ligon, Harris' brother-in-law. Ligon emigrated to Virginia sometime in the 1640s and married Harris's sister, Mary, by 1651.²⁴⁵ Ligon patented several tracts of land in Henrico County between 1664 and 1672; three of them were in partnership with William Farrar, one was located across from the Appomattox Indian town and two others staked out the western end of the Ashen Swamp.²⁴⁶ Thomas Ligon was dead by March 1675/6 at age 52; he left behind a wife and at least seven children (five sons and two daughters).²⁴⁷ In his will (now lost), Ligon named his wife as executrix of his estate, established a life estate for her on certain lands, and apparently devised all his lands in fee simple to his sons.²⁴⁸ Mary Ligon never remarried and lived to be almost 80 years old; in her will, Mary Ligon distributed livestock, servants, and household goods amongst her three surviving children, two grandsons, and made her one

²⁴³Henrico Orphans Court, 1677-1739, 4 (15); Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 121-22.

²⁴⁴Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 121-22; Henrico Orphans Court, 1677-1739, 39-40 (80).

²⁴⁵Meyer & Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 356; Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1688-1692, 231-32.

²⁴⁶Virginia Land Patents, 5:139(6), 376(416-417), 377(417), 6:188, 353, 425, 447; Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:440, 516, and 2:49, 92, 116, 125.

²⁴⁷Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 356-60.

²⁴⁸Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 35, 490; Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 167, 263, 369.

surviving daughter and son-in-law executors of her estate.²⁴⁹ One of Ligon's daughters married a son of William Farrar and the three Ligon sons who married chose daughters of other patentees contemporary of this period--William Walthall, William Worsham, and Joseph Tanner.²⁵⁰

The frontier ethos of Henrico County from 1650-1675 continued to be shaped by "colonial" frontier issues of English land rights and Indian war. Colonial land rights were once again jeopardized in the 1670s: "While Virginians . . . were discovering new trails and pushing England's frontier westward, the King was threatening their security in their own rights and territory."²⁵¹ In 1649, while in exile, and again in 1669, King Charles II granted the Northern Neck of Virginia (between the Rappahannock and the Potomac Rivers) to several of his loyal noblemen. In 1672, the King "began making arrangements for granting the whole of Virginia, except the Northern Neck to two of his favorites" of the nobility; this grant was signed by the King in 1673.²⁵² The Virginia colonists were very aware of the implications of these land grants to "certaine lords pattentees"--exploitation of Virginia colonists through imposition of a feudal infrastructure. The Virginia Assembly of 1674 declared that the terms of colonial land grants made by the King were now threatened by

²⁴⁹Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1688-1697, 107, 231-232; Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1697-1704, 366-67.

²⁵⁰Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 357-60.

²⁵¹Morton, Colonial Virginia, 1:207.

²⁵²Ibid., 1:208.

the said lords [who] by their deputies and ministers will endeavour to make voyd and of none effect by imposing new rents and services, altering the forme of our tenours [or tenures], compelling to new surveys and new pattents, imposeing fines and compositions on surplusages, lands and lapses att their will and pleasure by nomination of sherriffs, escheators, surveyors and other officers, and in effect devesting the government of those just powers and authorities by which this colony hath hitherto beene kept in peace and tranquility, and all mens rights and propertyes duely administred and preserved unto them.²⁵³

The Virginia Assembly appointed agents to go to England to specifically contest these grants and subsequently "levied a special tax to meet their expenses."²⁵⁴ The challenge to colonial land rights by these grants to English nobility was essentially perceived as a challenge to all the rights of self-government enjoyed by Virginia colonists.²⁵⁵ The security of English settlement on the "colonial" frontier of Virginia thus continued to be vulnerable to the vagaries of English decision-makers shaping colonial land policy.

The vagaries of English-Indian relations during this period also threatened the security of English settlement on the "western" frontier of Virginia. While colonial agents worked in England to secure the land rights of Virginia colonists, the March 1675/6 Virginia Assembly declared war "against all such Indians who are notoriously knowne or shalbe discovered to have comitted the murthers, rapins and depredations" made in the previous few months.²⁵⁶ In order to prosecute "warr with an enemy whose retirements

²⁵³Hening, comp., Statutes, 2:311-12.

²⁵⁴Morton, Colonial Virginia, 1:209.

²⁵⁵Ibid., 209-11. Documents pertaining to the negotiations between the Virginia agents, the King's agents, and the King's grantees are found in Hening, comp., Statutes, 2:518-43, 569-83.

²⁵⁶Hening, comp., Statutes, 2:326-27.

are not easily discovered to us," the Virginia Assembly revived their old 1640s strategy and ordered "that five hundred men . . . be drawne out of the midland and most secure parts of the country be entred into standing pay and placed on the heads of the rivers and other places fronting upon the enemy."²⁵⁷ The Henrico County forts on the James and Appomattox Rivers were re-established. Fifty-five men from James City County were authorized "to be garrisoned neare the falls of James River, at captain Byrds or at one fort or place of defence over against him at [Ho]wletts"; fifty-seven men from Warwick, Elizabeth City, and Charles City Counties were authorized "to be garrisoned neare the falls of Appamatuk river, at major generall Woods, or over against him at one fort or defenceable place at Fleets."²⁵⁸ Along with interior county militia leaders, militia leaders from the four "western" frontier counties were assigned special duties in negotiating with various Indians. Thus "coll. William Farrer and leut. coll. Francis Epes or one of them in Henrico County" were authorized "when occasion shalbe to use Indians in the warre and require and receive hostages from them, alsoe to provide one hundred yards of tradeing cloath to each respective fort, that it be ready to reward the service of Indians."²⁵⁹ Special taxes to rebuild the forts and to supply and pay colonial militiamen were levied for every county "that the charge of this warr be susteyned by the whole country."²⁶⁰ The Virginia Assembly of 1675/6 counted on the appearance of a very

²⁵⁷Ibid., 2:327.

²⁵⁸Ibid., 2:328.

²⁵⁹Ibid., 2:330-31.

²⁶⁰Ibid., 2:327.

united English front to thwart a very ununited Indian "enemy." Subsequent history proved the military strategy of stationary forts to be completely ineffective on the Virginia "western" frontier of 1675-76.

Henrico County by 1675 was distinguished by a unique frontier ethos, a frontier ethos largely represented by the mature settlers in the county. Compared to the 1640s, Virginia colonists were much less united in either their understanding of or experience with the frontier issues of English-Indian relations. Somehow the situation of 1675 had become far different than that declared by Governor Berkeley in 1671: "the Indians, our neighbours are absolutely subjected, so that there is no fear of them."²⁶¹ Many Virginia colonists, however, from Henrico and other "western" frontier counties might have contradicted the Governor's 1671 statement by reminding the Governor of the various "foreign" Indian troubles dealt with by the Virginia Assembly in the 1660s. The situation of 1675 was especially problematic for Virginia colonists because most of them, including most of the colonial leadership, were not exactly sure who the "enemy" Indians were nor where they could be found. Indians of the old Powhatan empire were not identified as part of the problem in 1675/6. In fact, the same 1675/6 Virginia Assembly which declared war on the Indian "enemy" responded favorably to a petition from the Appomattox Indians and

Ordered That Peracuta an Appomattuck Indian by those Indians presented be confirmed their King, that they may have licence to plant and cleare any land not already taken up by the English, and that their old Towne be not fired by the English, That care be taken to prohibit firing the woods to the prejudice of those Indians, that they may undisturbedly fish and

²⁶¹Ibid., 2:513.

gather Rushes on the heads of the Rivers, provided they come in a peaceable manner and unarmed, And that the like libertie be granted to all other, who are ready to give hostages.²⁶²

Whereas the 1670s frontier explorations had failed to stir the Virginia Assembly, the 1670s frontier war prompted a quick response by the Virginia colonial leadership. Unfortunately, official lack of support for Abraham Wood's 1671 and 1673 frontier exploration probably resulted in lost opportunities for friendly contact and diplomatic relations that might have cleared some of the confusion surrounding the 1675-76 English-Indian war. Indian threats on the Virginia frontier easily excited the worst fears of Virginia colonists. Colonists living in Henrico and other "western" frontier counties probably had the most to fear, but probably had the best understanding of English-Indian relationships if they were not recent immigrants.²⁶³ It was the fate of the Virginia English-Indian war of 1675-76 that Henrico County's seasoned, mature colonists with the most frontier experience in English-Indian relations were notably absent from the military and political leadership which determined the outcome of the ensuing drama--"Bacon's Rebellion."

²⁶²"Orders of a Grand Assemblie," 3 October 1670, in House of Burgesses, 1659/60-1693, ed. McIlwaine, 64. Peracuta was the Appomattox Indian who accompanied Battes and Fallam across the mountains in 1671.

²⁶³For instance, young immigrant William Byrd's lack of English-Indian diplomatic skills in the 1670s is suggested by a 1680 letter from Nicholas Spencer to the Lords of Trade and Plantations concerning the thwarted efforts of Abraham Wood to negotiate an Indian Treaty: "When we consider that Captain Byrd killed seven surrendered Indians and took away their wives and children prisoners, on the mere suspicion that they were assassins of our people, we can hardly wonder at the failure of the treaty (Alvord and Bidgood, eds., First Explorations, 43, citing Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies, 1677-1680, no. 1326).

CHAPTER 8

LAND AND FAMILY ON THE HENRICO FRONTIER, 1650-1675: THE GEOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF SETTLEMENT

In the middle of the seventeenth century, much unsettled land on the Henrico County frontier lay east of the English-Indian boundary line established by the 1646 Treaty. This boundary line was located west of the falls of both major rivers in Henrico, running between the Appomattox Indian town just above the falls of Appomattox River and the Manakin Indian town some twenty miles west of the falls of James River.¹ New settlement in Henrico had declined in the 1640s, with only ten land patents recorded between 1640-1646 and none recorded from 1647 to 1649. Dangerous frontier conditions in the mid-1640s had apparently disrupted the settlement of new land in Henrico.

Settlers Moving West in Virginia

Interest in settling the Henrico frontier began to pick up in the 1650s, beginning with three 1650 patents and ending with a total of 22 land patents recorded for Henrico settlers. In the 1660s, land patents in Henrico County tripled the number granted in the previous decade, for a total of 67 patents. This trend of westward movement to Henrico land was continued in the 1670s, when the number of land patents registered for Henrico settlers by 1675--a total of 56--exceeded four-fifths of the total number for the preceding

¹Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:325, 468; 2:238.

decade. Between 1650 and 1675, 145 patents were recorded for land in Henrico County (see Figure 8.1).

Henrico County settlement in the third-quarter of the seventeenth century began moving up tributary waterways such as Old Town Creek, Swift Creek, Ashen Swamp, Four Mile Creek, and back towards Chickahominy River. Much of this new Henrico settlement was facilitated by the more sophisticated "traverse" survey introduced in Henrico land patents in the 1650s. The traverse survey transformed colonists' boundary-making by applying the 32-point mariners' compass to the land patent survey of metes and bounds. Hughes points out that "whereas all proper 320-pole formula surveys could only have four courses [or sides] . . . the use of the traverse survey opened the way for surveying more irregular plots by any number of courses."² The simple 320-pole formula survey which had typically laid out plantations along a river and "one mile into the woods" was still useful for ease and convenience; however, the more complex traverse survey allowed settlers to establish boundaries more sensitive to inland terrain as well as more sensitive to human interest in particular areas of land.

Between 1650 and 1675, newly patented lands in Henrico County were predominantly settled by families. According to Henrico County records, of the 101 individuals who patented land between 1650 and 1675 (including one woman and six orphaned children), 84 (or 83%) can be linked to family units. Of the 94 adult males who patented Henrico land in this period, 77 (or 82%) were adult male heads of family

²Hughes, Surveyors and Statesmen, 47.

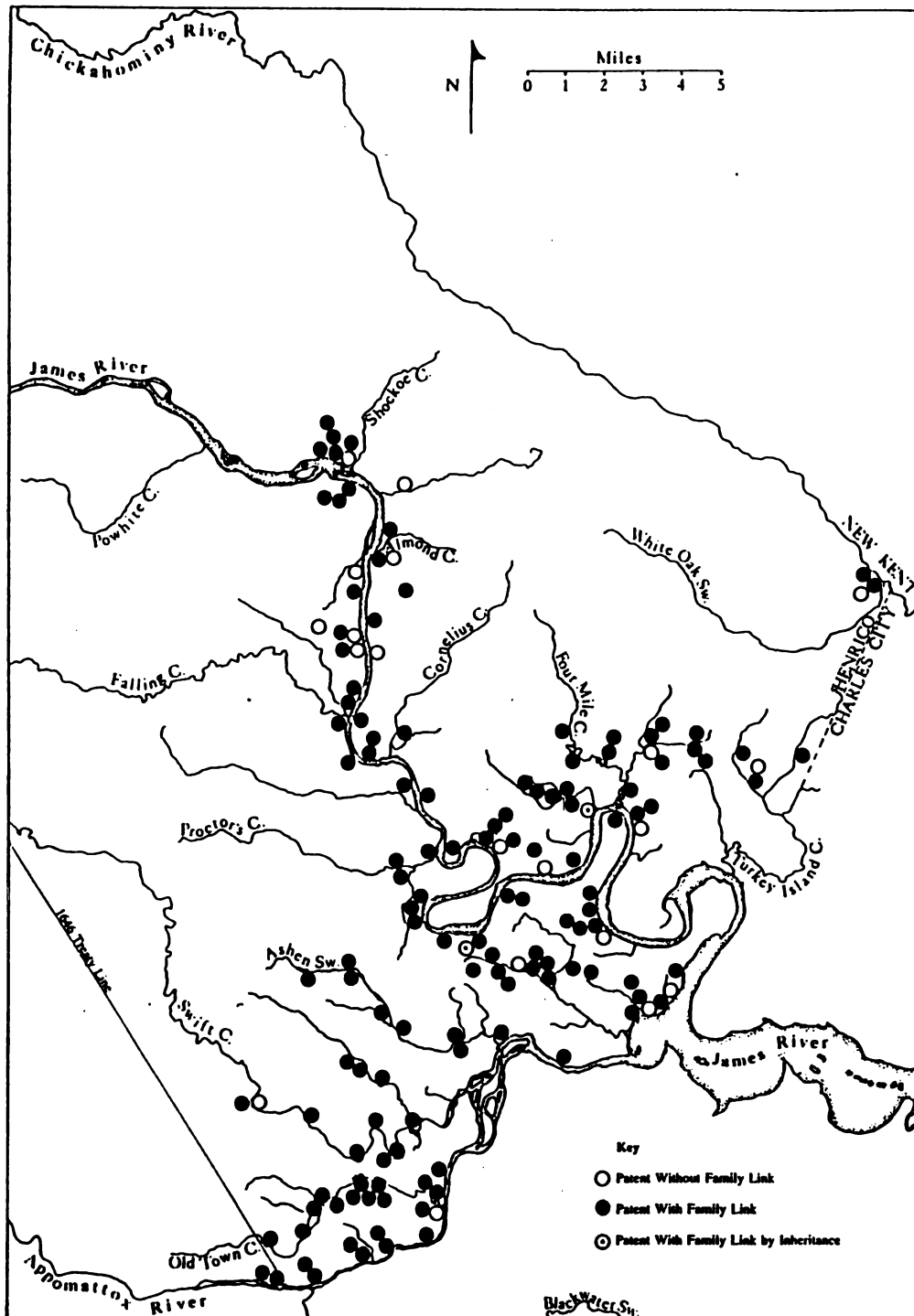


Figure 8.1 Henrico Virginia, Land Patents, 1650-1675

households during this period.³ At the household level, of the 95 households associated with Henrico land patentees, 78 (or 82%) were family households. Thus, over four-fifths of the Henrico patentees between 1650 and 1675 established family plantations (either by constructing a new family plantation or by taking up new land to add to an already existing family plantation).⁴

New settlement in Henrico County between 1650 and 1675 was also led by a distinct "frontier" generation of older men and women who deliberately chose to settle themselves and their families on the Henrico frontier. It is possible to differentiate the members of this "frontier" generation in Henrico by identifying the families of Henrico land patentees who experienced the mature years of their adult lives during the third quarter of the seventeenth century (see Table 4). Henrico records indicate that of the 78 family households associated with Henrico land patentees between 1650 and 1675, 37 or close to half (47%) of these family households belonged to patentees who completed their expected life cycles largely during this period (37/78 or 47%)--either through death or achievement of life expectancy by the year 1680. The 37 family households analyzed as a distinct "frontier" generation in Henrico County from 1650-1675 were identified by life cycle criteria met by 37 adult male land patentees who were heads of family

³Based on prosopographical analysis, much information about Henrico patentees between 1650 and 1675 can be gleaned from Henrico County records dating from 1677. For purposes of this analysis, a "household" may be conceptualized as a human ecological unit or system representing person(s)-environment relationship headed by single or married adults with or without children.

⁴A total of 127/145 (or 88%) Henrico 1650-1675 patents can be linked to family households. By decade, the percentage of patentees linked to family households ranged from 73% in the 1650s, to 87% in the 1660s, to 95% in the early 1670s.

Table 4 FAMILIES OF MATURE HENRICO LAND PATENTEES, 1650-1675

Individual land patentees with families were selected for this sample of families based on their realization of a "mature" life cycle--either through death or achieving average life expectancy (48 years for males, 39 years for females). The number of known children born to each couple is given at right. Key records for family ecosystem analysis--inventory (I), division of estate (D), and/or will (W)--which are extant for individual family heads are indicated on the left. Known executor or administrator of estate is marked with asterisk (*). Duplicate records for individuals are bracketed ([]).

<u>Records</u>	<u>Mature Henrico Land Patentees and Families</u>	<u>Children</u>
	*ARCHER, George and	
	Mary (1H) George ARCHER	4
	(2H) Joseph ROYALL	4
	ASTON, Walter and	
	(1W) Warbowe	1
	(2W) Hannah (1H) Walter ASTON	2
	(2H) _____ HILL	
W	*BAUGH, William and	
	(1W) _____	1
	(2W) Elizabeth (1H) William SHARPE	2
	(2H) Thomas PACKER	1
	(3H) William BAUGH	3
	(3W) _____	2
I D W	*BRANCH, Christopher and	
	Mary	3
D	*BROWNE, John and	
[W	*) Sarah (1H) John BROWNE	3
	(2H) John WOODSON, Sr.	
	(1W) _____	2
	(2W) Sarah BROWNE	

Table 4, cont'd

<u>Records</u>	<u>Mature Henrico Land Patentees and Families</u>	<u>Children</u>
W	*BROWNINGE, George and Margarett (1H) George BROWNINGE (2H) Edward STRATTON (1W) _____ 1 (2W) Margarett BROWNINGE (3W) Martha (1H) Thomas SHIPPEY . 4 (2H) Edward STRATTON	
	CHANDLER, Bartholomew and ?(1W) Bridget 2(W) Mary (1H) Bartholomew CHANDLER (2H) John PIGGOT	
W	*COCKE, Richard and (1W) [Temperance (Baley)?] (1H) John BROWN 2 (2H) Richard COCKE 3 (2W) Mary (Aston) (1H) Richard COCKE 4 (2H) Daniel CLARKE	
I	W *EAKIN, James, Sr. and W * Sarah 4 EDLOE, Matthew and Tabitha (1H) _____ UNDERWOOD 1 (2H) Matthew EDLOE 1 (3H) John SUMMERS	
W	*ELAM, Gilbert, Sr. and Ann 4 ELAM, Robert and _____ 1	
I	*EPES, Francis, Sr. and (1W) _____ 1 W * (2W) Elizabeth (1H) William WORSHAM 4 (2H) Francis EPES, Sr. 3	
I D	W *FARRAR, William and Mary 6 GREENHOUGH, John and Susan 1	
I	W *HARRIS, William and (1W) _____ 1 (2W) Alice (1H) William HARRIS 3 (2H) George ALVIS	

Table 4, cont'd

<u>Records</u>	<u>Mature Henrico Land Patentees and Families</u>	<u>Children</u>
	W *HATCHER, William and _____	3
I	*HUSON, Robert and Joane (1H) Robert HUSON	2
	(2H) Henry AYSCOUGH (1W) Joane HUSON (2W) Mary (Baugh)	
	(1H) John CROWLEY	2
	(2H) Thomas HOWLETT	3
	(3H) Henry AYSCOUGH (4H) Thomas BYRD	
I D	*KNIBB, Solloman and (1W) _____	1
	(2W) Katherine	
	W *KNOWLES, John and _____	2
I	W *LEAD, John and Mary	5
	*LIGON, Thomas, Sr. and	
	W * Mary (Harris)	7
	*LISTER, Humphry and _____	
	W *LOUND, Henry and _____	3
	*PERKINS, Nicholas and Mary	1
	*PUCKETT, John and Ann	4
	*RANDOLPH, Henry and Judith (1H) Henry RANDOLPH	2
	(2H) Peter FIELD	2
	*ROBINSON, Christopher and Frances (1H) Christopher ROBINSON	2
	(2H) Francis BURRELL	
I	W *SHERMAN, Henry and	
	W * Cicely	4
	W *STEGGE, Thomas and Sarah (1H) Thomas STEGGE (2H) George HARRIS (3H) Thomas GRENDON (4H) Edward BRAIN	

Table 4, cont'd

<u>Records</u>	<u>Mature Henrico Land Patentees and Families</u>		<u>Children</u>
	TANNER, Joseph and		
W	* Mary (1H) Joseph TANNER	4	
	(2H) Gilbert PLATT		
	*WALTHALL, William and		
I	* Anne (1H) William WALTHALL	4	
	(2H) Richard MORRIS	1	
I	*WILSON, John, Sr. and		
	_____	2	
W	WOOD, Abraham and		
	_____ (1H) _____	1	
	(2H) Abraham WOOD	2	
W	*WOODSON, John, Sr. and		
	(1W) _____	2	
W	* (2W) Sarah (1H) John BROWNE	3	
	(2H) John WOODSON, Sr.		
	WORSHAM, George and		
	_____	1	
	WORSHAM, William and		
[W	*] Elizabeth (1H) William WORSHAM	4	
	(2H) Francis EPES		
	(1W) _____	1	
	(2W) Elizabeth WORSHAM	3	

households.⁵ The known ages for the 37 Henrico adult male family heads of this "frontier" generation span a 30-year period; known birthdates range from 1602-1632 whereby the oldest members of this generation achieved their legal age of 21 in 1623 and the youngest members were 21 by 1653. Significantly, a data assessment of all Henrico County landowning families through 1710 in terms of family ecosystem information indicates that records available for these 37 "frontier" generation families are comparable to those available for Henrico families whose adult male family heads completed their life cycles after 1680.⁶ This generation of Henrico County families, identified by the life-

⁵For purposes of this analysis, completion of the individual life cycle for an individual land patentee who was head of a family household during the period 1650-1675 to within five years after (by 1680) was judged by: (1) death occurring or (2) achieving the average life expectancy for adults in the seventeenth century Chesapeake. Life expectancy was age 48 for males and age 39 for females according to Darrett B. Rutman and Anita Rutman, "Now-Wives and Sons-in-Law: Parental Death in a Seventeenth-Century Virginia County," 158. Life expectancy could have been as low as 43 years for males, according to Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, 143. The Rutman's work on Middlesex suggests that male immigrants born between 1630-1649 may have achieved a life expectancy as high as 54 years; see Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Explicatus (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984) 55.

⁶Based on Henrico County prosopography files, all landowning families were assessed in terms of least to greatest amount of family ecosystem information available and "graded" as either 1 (for name and minimal nuclear family information only), 2-1 (for additional family relationship or genealogical information), 2 (for additional items of family and land use information representing parts of a plantation), 3 (for additional family and land use information suggesting some sense of a whole plantation), or 4 (for additional family and land use information which is somewhat definitive of family plantation work during this period). Records such as wills almost always merited at least a "grade 2" while inventories almost always merited at least a "grade 3" for landowning families. For some 500 landowning families identified in Henrico County records from 1625-1710: 25% of families were grades 3 and 4 (2% grade 4 and 22% grade 3), 30% were grade 2, 29% were grade 2-1, and 16% were grade 1. For some 140 land patentee families identified in Henrico County records from 1677-1710: 36% were grades 3 and 4 (6% grade 4 and 30% grade 3), 39% were grade 2, 21% were grade 2-1, and 5% were (continued...)

cycle maturity of land patentees with families between 1650 and 1675, will be the focus of the following analysis of Henrico County settlement patterns. These mature families who endeavored to establish plantations on the Henrico border of the Virginia frontier between 1650 and 1675 will be called Henrico County "frontier families."

Land: Expanding the River Frontier

The geographical locations of the 1650-1675 land patents of mature frontier family heads reveal much about the interests of settlement for these men and their families. By asking the question, "Where did they go?" it is possible to gain insight into what settlement patterns reveal about how these men and their families began dealing with a frontier situation and how they initially adapted to unknown new land in a New World.

Water Access

Perhaps the most obvious geographical or physical aspect of the settlement pattern of these frontier families is "water access"--a feature of almost all Henrico land patents granted during this period. Henrico County land patents between 1650 and 1675 can be

⁶(...continued)

grade 1. For the 37 mature frontier land patentee families identified in Henrico County records from 1650-1675: 40% were grades 3 and 4 (8% grade 4 and 32% grade 3), 35% were grade 2, 22% were grade 2-1; and 3% were grade 1. For all 78 land patentee families identified in Henrico County records from 1650-1675: 45% were grades 3 and 4 (10% grade 4 and 35% grade 3), 32% were grade 2, 21% were grade 2-1, and 2% were grade 1. Such comparability is due to several factors given that, except for three wills, Henrico County records survive only from 1677: the end of life cycle bias for records such as wills, inventories, and orphans court records; critical overlap with the actual record period by extending expected life cycle completion through 1680; longevity of some patentees and their spouses who outlived their expected life cycle; most wives of Henrico patentees were younger than their husbands; and, it was found that, compared to the 1630s and 1640s, Henrico patentees from the 1650s simply begin "showing up" in Henrico County records from the late 1670s.

distinguished by two major types of "water access"--river water access (patents fronting on the James and Appomattox Rivers) and inland water access (patents with boundaries on tributary creeks or swamps).⁷ Significant for understanding the Henrico County frontier between 1650 and 1675, more than half of the land patents fronted on the James and Appomattox Rivers between the falls of both rivers (80/145 or 55%)--a fact suggesting that the upper James and Appomattox Rivers themselves were still frontier areas and not necessarily secure settlement areas before 1650. Henrico County frontier settlement from 1650-1675 was thus a two-pronged movement to secure the main river areas and to open up new inland areas.

Leadership for Henrico County river and inland frontier settlement in the mid-seventeenth century is suggested by the land patents recorded between 1650 and 1675 for mature frontier family heads. First of all, these men and their families led the way in securing the Henrico river frontier from 1650-1675. Frontier family patentees claimed over half of all river access patents granted during this period (45/80 or 56%);⁸ furthermore, in every decade and through the entire period, over 60% of all patents recorded by mature frontier family heads bounded on the James or Appomattox Rivers.

Secondly, these men and their families led the way in opening up the earliest Henrico inland frontier, particularly in the 1650s and 1660s. Of the few inland patents

⁷Perry emphasizes "water access" as a settlement pattern feature in his study, Virginia's Eastern Shore, 28, 37-38. Henrico land patents of 1650-1675 indicating no access to water (5/135 or 4%) also seem to lack information about geographical location.

⁸Less than half of all patents in this period belonged to mature "frontier family" heads (63/135 or 47%).

claimed in the 1650s, frontier family patentees held five out of six; during the 1660s, frontier family patentees recorded over half of all Henrico inland patents (15/27 or 56%). Over the first twenty years of the Henrico inland frontier, then, frontier family patentees opened up about three-fifths of the new interior tracts located on Henrico tributary waterways (20/33 or 61%).

Contiguity

Henrico frontier settlers in the mid-seventeenth century not only physically located themselves next to water, but most also physically located themselves next to other settlers--resulting in the "contiguous" feature of Henrico County settlement patterns from 1650-1675.⁹ Of all 1650-1675 Henrico land patents determined to be noncontiguous (15/145 or 10%), two thirds belonged to frontier family patentees (10/145 or 7%) and one third belonged to all other patentees (5/145 or 3%).¹⁰ The ten noncontiguous land patents belonging to frontier family patentees did not, however, represent ten lonely families establishing isolated plantations in the Henrico frontier wilderness. These ten noncontiguous patents were held by seven different frontier family patentees, three of whom patented noncontiguous tracts of land in partnership with other individuals. Of the remaining four frontier family patentees with noncontiguous patents, one held other

⁹Perry also emphasized the "contiguous" feature of settlement pattern in Virginia's Eastern Shore, 38, 49, 51.

¹⁰Contiguity was usually indicated by information in land patents, but not always--constructing an index of Henrico landowners for the seventeenth century was invaluable in determining whether a land patent was next to other settlers at the date of recording. Again, a determination of noncontiguity would sometimes be a function of lack of information available for some patentees so that contiguity for land patents for this period would be underestimated.

contiguous patents, another held another patent in partnership with three other individuals, and a third brought a household with an unusually large number of servants to his noncontiguous land and within two years sold part of his first patent thereby creating contiguous land;¹¹ the fourth patentee "appears" isolated due to lack of geographical and biographical information associated with his 1650 Henrico patent located in the Bermuda Hundred interior. This "general rule of contiguity"¹² suggests that Henrico land patentees from 1650-1675 adapted to settling unknown new land on the Henrico frontier by choosing new land next to other Henrico settlers or, in the particular case of frontier family patentees, by using strategies such as partnerships, large numbers of servants, and subsequent land sales to counteract isolation on the Henrico frontier.

Familiarity

Henrico County settlers who patented new land on the Henrico frontier between 1650 and 1675 also chose "familiar" tracts of land when available.¹³ Colonists on the Henrico frontier used three basic strategies to acquire land that was more or less "familiar:" by acquiring previously owned land from others, by acquiring land adjacent to one's own plantation, or by acquiring land through inheritance. A majority of Henrico 1650-1675 patents indicate use of familiarization strategies in choosing land for settlement (79/145 or 54%). Over fifty per cent of these "familiar" tracts of land were acquired in

¹¹Thomas Stegge's patent of 1662 was noncontiguous (Virginia Land Patents, 4:93(583)); however, William Light's patent of 1668 notes purchase of land from Stegge in 1664 (ibid., 6:123).

¹²Phrase from Perry, Virginia's Eastern Shore, 49.

¹³Perry found that "people were most likely to claim land with which they were familiar," in Virginia's Eastern Shore, 57.

part or whole from previous landowners (41/79 or 52%), almost forty per cent of these tracts were "familiar" because they were adjacent to a patentee's existing plantation (30/79 or 38%), and ten per cent of these tracts were "familiar" because they were inherited from parents (8/79 or 10%). Differences between frontier family patents and all other patents were negligible. Frontier family patentees patented previously owned tracts of land a little more frequently than other patentees (21/41 or 51%). Though frontier family patentees used patents less frequently to add to existing plantations (11/30 or 37%), use of this strategy greatly increased in the 1670s, when frontier family patentees approaching the end of their life cycle were less active as a group in patenting land. Frontier family patentees were less likely to patent inherited land (2/8 or 25%) due to the largely immigrant nature of this second generation of English colonists in Virginia.¹⁴

The Henrico frontier situation in the mid-seventeenth century is illuminated in several ways by patentees' preferences for "familiar" tracts of land. First, well over two-thirds of the patents which included previously owned tracts of land were located directly on the James and Appomattox Rivers (29/41 or 71%)--indicating that patents for "old land" were necessary for securing a frontier which was still unsettled on Henrico's major rivers due to early mortality, lack of heirs, or plain desertion. Secondly, patents used to add land to a patentee's existing plantation emphasize the importance of securing the

¹⁴Of frontier family patentees, 30/36 or 83% were immigrants and only 6/36 or 17% were native born Virginians who could have inherited land from parents. Three are known to have patented inherited land, and only one patented two tracts of inherited land in Henrico County between 1650-1675.

nearest and most familiar frontier--"the nearest wilderness."¹⁵ A strategy of patenting adjacent unsettled land appears motivated at least in part by interests in present and future family security, since almost all such patents (28/30 or 93%) were recorded by heads of family households. Thirdly, patents which included inherited land from parents point to a strategy of using patents to secure lineal family land.¹⁶

Furthermore, the importance of familiarity in adapting to an unknown frontier and the challenge of securing land on the Henrico frontier during this period is underscored by the number of patents grounded upon Virginia Company settlement areas--almost one-fourth of all 1650-1675 Henrico patents (35/145 or 24%) were located in private agricultural settlement areas established by Virginia Company colonists before 1625.¹⁷ In a New World, the familiarization strategies used by Henrico settlers in patenting land from 1650-1675 were thus a critical means of securing land under conditions experienced on the Henrico frontier.

Indian Landscape

As Henrico settlers sought land on the Virginia frontier, they also encountered an older Indian landscape--land shaped by Indian peoples. Features of the Indian landscape were identified in almost one-fifth of all Henrico patents between 1650 and 1675 (27/145

¹⁵Phrase from Turner, "The Old West," Frontier in American History, 67.

¹⁶Concept of the "lineal family" is from James Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mentalite in Preindustrial America," in The Origins of American Capitalism: Collected Essays (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991), 108-15.

¹⁷This assessment does not include the "Falling Creek" or "Falls" of James River areas because these areas were not established as agricultural or private settlements.

or 19%).¹⁸ Three Indian tribes belonging to the Powhatan confederacy had once lived within the 1646 English-Indian treaty boundary on the Henrico frontier. Some features of the Indian landscape encountered by Henrico settlers between 1650 and 1675 were familiar while some were new to English settlement experience. For instance, the Arrohattoc Indian town was noted as near the original Henrico site in 1611¹⁹ and the Appomattox Indian town was identified by a nearby Henrico land patent as located on the Appomattox River south of Swift Creek as early as 1634.²⁰ These two Indian settlements were noted by half of the Henrico patents during this period, even though Indians no longer lived in these settlements. The Indians at Arrohattoc may have been decimated by the epidemic disease brought over by English ships in 1617.²¹ The

¹⁸Included were Indian landscape features referred to directly in land patents or indirectly via immediate context only; names of waterways were not included.

¹⁹Hamor, True Discourse, 27.

²⁰Patent for deed of sale from Charles Magner to William Hayward, "lying and being upon Appamattock Riv., bordering E. upon the same, W. the maine land, S. upon Appamattock Towne & N. upon Swift Cr., 8 Feb. 1634" (Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:81-82). Magner was apparently granted this land in 1620 (see *ibid.*, 1:136-37).

²¹The ancient planters reported that in 1617, ships arriving in August "brought a most pestilent disease (called the Bloody flux) which infected all most all the whole Collonye. That disease, notwithstanding all our former afflictions, was never known before amongst us" ("Breife Declaration," 1623/24, House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/59, ed. McIlwaine, 34). Governor Argall noted also in March 1617/18 that there was "last summer a great mortality among us" and further elaborated that this mortality was "far greater among the Indians" (Governor Argall, "A Letter to the Virginia Company," 10 March 1617/18, Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:92). Arrohattoc was the nearest Indian town to Henrico and Bermuda Hundred; Henrico and Bermuda Hundred represented the most concentrated areas of English settlement from 1611 through at least 1617. Argall's general reference to Indian mortality probably included at least the Arrohattocs since English colonists during this period were more likely to have become familiar with the Arrohattocs who were near than other tribes who lived further away
(continued...)

Appomattox Indians had abandoned their old town south of Swift Creek sometime after the 1644 massacre and were living just above the falls of the Appomattox River on the south side; colonists subsequently called the creek near the former site of the old Appomattox Indian town "Old Town Creek."²²

Henrico settlers encountered other features in the Indian landscape for the first time in the 1660s and 1670s, according to land patent records. Frontier family patentees led the way in revealing more of Henrico's Indian landscape in these decades. The Powhatan tribe, now called "Powwhite," was shown living not far from their earlier site near the James River falls; the survey plat drawn for Thomas Stegge's 1662 land patent depicts "Cabins of the Powwhite Indians" on the north bank of the James river to the west of Shockoe Creek.²³ Richard Cocke and his partner patented a tract of land in 1664 which lay along White Oak Swamp on the south side of "Chickahomeny Swamp" near

²¹(...continued)

from English settlement. Argall, though expressing he "likes James Town better than Bermudas 40 miles above it" in June 1617, was nonetheless a member of the Bermuda Hundred Corporation in November 1617 (Governor Argall, "A Letter, Probably to His Majesty's Council for Virginia," 9 June 1617, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:73; Governor Argall, "Letter to Citizens of Bermuda Hundred," 30 November 1617, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:76). Since the Arrohattocs were not named in any hostile exchanges after 1609 nor were they named in any English accounts after 1611, it is probable that the Arrohattoc Indians were victims of this deadly disease of 1617 (if they had not succumbed to epidemic disease before this time). Only English colonists are recognized as living at Arrohattoc in November 1619, by then a place of "securitye against Indians" (Council in Virginia, "The Putting Out of the Tenantes That Came Ouer in the B. N. wth Other Orders of the Councell," in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:227).

²²Rountree's geographical analysis of the records was very insightful, see Pocahontas's People, 109.

²³"William Byrd Title Book," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 48 (1940):230-31. Rountree refers to this patent in Pocahontas's People, 109, n. 119.

"the Pamunkey path."²⁴ By the end of the 1660s, Henrico settlers once again sought land near the Appomattox Indians--this time on the north side of the Appomattox River shortly above the falls. Thomas Ligon had already taken up and sold his tract of land located "over against ye middle of ye Appamatock Indian Towne" before 1670 when the next adjacent tract west was recorded.²⁵ As Henrico settlers took up western land along inland tributaries they also encountered the north-south "Powhatan Path." Bartholomew Chandler specified in his 1671 patent that "powhatan path" crossed his land just up "the great branch of ye old town run."²⁶ Thomas Ligon's September 1672 patent leading Henrico settlement west from the head of Redwater Creek described the northern course of "Powhatan path" crossing the western half of the Ashen Swamp.²⁷ Apparently this section of the path had been modified over time because Ligon's March 1672/3 patent for land adjacent to this tract indicated that the new tract began "at a Corner red oake on ye Ashen Swampe to ye W. of New powatan path."²⁸ Finally, another place of Indian residence in Henrico County was noted in William Randolph's 1674 patent whose upper boundary on Swift Creek was "neigh the Indian Cabbins at the divideing falls."²⁹

²⁴Virginia Land Patents, 5:367(399-400).

²⁵Ligon's patent is dated 1671 and he sold this tract to George Archer in 1673; however, the adjacent tract west, patented by Richard Buller and Thomas Batts in 1670, describes the eastern boundary as "adj. George's field" (Virginia Land Patents, 6:343, 353, 487).

²⁶Virginia Land Patents, 6:387.

²⁷Virginia Land Patents, 6:425.

²⁸Virginia Land Patents, 6:447.

²⁹Virginia Land Patents, 6:534.

Frontier Settlement Patterns

Henrico land patents reveal certain key aspects of physical settlement patterns which characterized the Henrico frontier between 1650 and 1675. The older frontier generation families, the "frontier families" identified in this study, led the way in settling the Henrico frontier during this period and provide important insight into how English settlers adapted to unknown land under the peculiar conditions of the Virginia frontier of the mid-seventeenth century. The western Virginia frontier in 1650 was still a river frontier; almost forty years of Henrico settlement had still not established a continuous line of settlement between the falls of the James and Appomattox Rivers. As Henrico land was taken up by more and more families after 1650, Henrico riverfront land was settled and the inland frontier along tributary waterways was opened to settlement. Henrico patentees everywhere sought land contiguous to or next to other settlers, thereby establishing themselves in potential neighborhoods. Those who patented land isolated from neighboring settlers compensated by using partners, large numbers of servants--or by selling land to create neighbors.

In securing the Henrico frontier just after 1650, familiar tracts of land were a significant factor in Henrico settlement patterns. Frontier families secured familiar land once part of the old Virginia Company settlement areas or once belonging to old patents and old deeds; they also secured familiar land by adding new land adjacent to their old plantations. Such familiar tracts of land characterized almost two thirds of Henrico land patents between 1650-1675, emphasizing the importance of land patents in securing old land as well as new land in a New World marked by uncertainty. For the first two

generations of Henrico settlers, land patents not only "sealed the deal" for many landowners but also became successive attempts to "hold the line" of frontier settlement over time.

Frontier family patentees who acquired land in new areas of Indian country between 1650 and 1675 suggest a broad geographical base for Henrico frontier leadership. Pre-eminent was Abraham Wood, established at Fort Henry on the south side of the Appomattox River at the falls since 1646. Wood patented deserted land across the river on the north side of the falls and made it possible for friendly relations between Henrico settlers who patented adjacent tracts to the west and the Appomattox Indians nearby. At the falls of the James River, Thomas Stegge acquired old land while maintaining some ongoing relationship with the Powhatan Indians. Three others opened up land for settlement that was frequented by Indian travelers. Within a few miles from his James River and Turkey Island plantations, Richard Cocke took up land with a partner bordering on the west bank of Chickahominy River near Pamunkey Path. Henry Randolph secured deserted land on Swift Creek, spawning settlement nearby which marked Powhatan Path to the south and the Indian cabins at the "dividing falls" of Swift Creek to the north. When Thomas Ligon added to his plantation on the James River (across from the original Henrico peninsula) by extending west towards the head of the Ashen Swamp, he crossed another segment of the Powhatan Path. These patentees who, with their families, pioneered settlement into Henrico County's Indian country between 1650 and 1675 inevitably contributed to the "frontier ethos" of Henrico County in the mid-seventeenth century.

Families: A "Frontier" Generation

Biographical information is also vital to understanding the settlement patterns of Henrico County's frontier families of 1650-1675. By asking the question, "Who were they?" in terms of who were these Henrico patentees and their "frontier families," it is possible to gain insight into settlement patterns as affected by the life course of individuals and families. The interplay of family time with historical time over an individual's life course was a significant part of the lives of Henrico's 37 frontier family patentees of 1650-1675, if for no other reason than the fact that most of these men patented land during this period as married men with children.³⁰

Plantation and Frontier Experience

One fundamental biographical aspect of settlement represented by Henrico land patents of 1650-1675 was that frontier families were led by men who had acquired a considerable amount of plantation and frontier experience in Virginia. Comparison between earliest known date of arrival in Virginia, earliest date of Henrico landownership, and date of first land patent in Henrico County for 1650-1675 patentees suggests the relevance of life course analysis for understanding settlement patterns. More than half of frontier family patentees were in Virginia before 1650 (21/37 or 57%). These twenty-one patentees who were pre-1650 Virginia residents illustrate diverse types of entry into Virginia in the mid-seventeenth century. Five patentees were native-born: Mathew Edloe

³⁰By date of first land patent recorded between 1650 and 1675, over three-fourths of Henrico "frontier family" patentees can be identified were married with children (28/37 or 77%); this was determined by comparing date of birth of oldest child with earliest patent date.

and William Harris were born in Henrico County; Francis Epes, William Farrar, and John Woodson were born in Charles City County. One patentee probably immigrated as a child with his parents--Thomas Stegge; Stegge's father had owned land in both Charles City County and James City County. Three patentees are known to have arrived as servants: Christopher Branch and Abraham Wood arrived in 1620 as Virginia Company servants, and George Archer was a servant listed in a Charles City County land patent for Francis Epes' father. Five more patentees were recorded as headrights for other settlers' land patents and may have also been servants: Robert Elam, Henry Lowne, and Nicholas Perkins as headrights for pre-1650 Henrico land patents; George Browning and Christopher Robinson as headrights for pre-1650 Charles City County land patents. The remaining seven patentees apparently immigrated as free adults: Walter Aston, William Baugh, Richard Cocke, William Hatcher, Thomas Ligon, John Wilson, and William Worsham. One of these seven immigrant freemen, Walter Aston, immigrated to Virginia in the 1620s and listed his wife as a headright when he established his plantation in Charles City County in the 1630s.

The other six immigrant freemen are known to have married within two or three years after arrival and were living in Henrico before 1650. Pre-1650 Virginia residency for some Henrico patentees of 1650-1675 resulted in a fairly long period of "socialization" in Virginia plantation work.³¹ As a result, two-fifths of the men leading Henrico frontier families had over twenty years of plantation experience by the time they patented Henrico land between 1650 and 1675 (15/37 or 41%). Whether native-born or immigrant, servant

³¹Perry uses this concept in Virginia's Eastern Shore, 52-53.

or freeman, all were engaged in plantation work, and over time a colonist inevitably "acquired the Skill and Character of an experienced Planter"³²--an invaluable human resource on the Virginia frontier.

"Frontier" experience acquired before 1650 also characterized a majority of men leading frontier families between 1650 and 1675. Of the twenty-one patentees known to have arrived in Virginia before 1650, twenty either grew up on or immigrated directly to the Virginia frontier of Henrico and Charles City Counties; the exception, Abraham Wood, immigrated to Henrico from the lower James River area after gaining his freedom, and began leasing land on the Appomattox River as soon as he came of age. Walter Aston and three others living in Charles City County demonstrated the frontier interests of settlers adjacent to Henrico when they petitioned the Virginia Assembly of 1641 "for leave and encouragement to undertake the discoverye of a newe River or unknowne land bearinge west southerlye from Appomattock River."³³ Two 1650-1675 Henrico patentees, Christopher Branch (with his wife Mary) and Abraham Wood, survived the 1621/2 Indian massacre and subsequent war. Seventeen other 1650-1675 Henrico

³²Phrase from Beverly, History and Present State of Virginia, 272. Beverly, writing in 1705, states that "the Male-servants, and Slaves of both Sexes, are imployed together in Tilling and Manuring the Ground, in Sowing and Planting Tobacco, Corn, &c. Some Distinction indeed is made between them in their Cloaths, and Food; but the Work of both, is no other than what the Overseers, the Freemen, and the Planters themselves do" (ibid., 271). Perry points out the benefits of indentured servitude for socialization: "during this prolonged period of dependence, a servant could acquire skills to prosper in Virginia, most importantly in the cultivation of tobacco. He could also learn local patterns of behavior as well as begin to form a network of contacts that could continue and spread in the years following servitude" (Virginia's Eastern Shore, 53).

³³"The Virginia Assembly of 1641. A List of Members and Some of the Acts," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 9 (July 1901):55.

patentees living in Virginia before 1650 experienced the second Indian massacre of 1644. For instance, Mathew Edloe had apparently been taken captive by Indians in 1644 and, as a result, the place of his captivity was noted on Augustine Herrman's map of 1670. Herrman's map places "Mount Edlo" in the Virginia interior west of the James River falls with an explanation that

this Name derives from a Person that was in his Infancy taken Prisoner in the last Massacra over Virginia. And carried amongst others to this Mount, by the Indians, which was their watch Hill, the Country there about being Champion and not much Hilly.³⁴

The 1644 Massacre left John Woodson's father dead while he and the rest of the family barely escaped with their lives:

Tradition states he was killed within sight of his own house and that those within the house fought off the attackers and Mrs. Woodson hid one son in a tub and the other in a potato hole.³⁵

Furthermore, the 1644-46 English-Indian war which followed the massacre resulted in the appointment of Abraham Wood as commander of Fort Henry at the falls of Appomattox River and probably the appointment of William Harris's father as commander of Fort Charles at the falls of James River.³⁶ Perry's observation of "socialization" on Virginia's Eastern Shore thus seems equally applicable to Henrico frontier family patenteers in terms of both plantation and frontier experience: "those individuals

³⁴Augustine Herrman Map, 1670. This map referred to in Edloe genealogy, Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 254.

³⁵Woodson genealogy, Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 708; note #5 adds that "the gun said to have been used in 1644 is at the Virginia Historical Society."

³⁶Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:326-27; William Harris's father was Capt. Thomas Harris.

socialized in the local patterns for the longest time were the ones most involved in expanding the spatial bounds of the society."³⁷

Kinship Support

A second biographical aspect of settlement represented by Henrico 1650-1670 frontier family patentees was the availability of "familial resources" or "kinship support" for individual patentees and the families they created on the Henrico frontier.³⁸ An individual's life cycle in Virginia began with one of two types of "entry"--birth or immigration.³⁹ Kinship support for individual colonists available at the beginning of their life cycle in Virginia began to emerge in this generation of Henrico land patentees. Five frontier family patentees' were native-born (5/37 or 14%). Matthew Edloe, Francis Epes, William Farrar, William Harris, and John Woodson were born in Virginia by 1632 and had access to parents or siblings or other extended kin in Virginia throughout most of their lives. Even though immigrant status is difficult to assess directly, at least five more patentees appear to have emigrated with kin (5/37 or 14%).⁴⁰ Three Henrico

³⁷Perry, Virginia's Eastern Shore, 52.

³⁸Lorena Walsh uses "familial resources" to refer to family of origin relationships such as parents and siblings ("Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705," 304). James Perry distinguishes between Eastern Shore landholders with only nuclear family relationships of spouse and children and landholders with "more extensive kin relationships." While the second group of landholders were "sometimes married and sometimes parents as well, what distinguished these individuals was the existence of ties of kinship outside a nuclear family. Aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, cousins, siblings, and in-laws proliferated in varied combinations" (Virginia's Eastern Shore, 71).

³⁹Phrase "entry" used by Darrett and Anita Rutman, A Place in Time, Chap. 2, "Entry," 45-49.

⁴⁰This assessment is based on biographical data and land patent data listing family
(continued...)

frontier family patentees presumably brought wives or children to Virginia--William Baugh, Christopher Branch, Bartholomew Chandler. Thomas Stegge appears to have emigrated with his parents and Gilbert Elam's earliest record in Virginia, a land patent, lists several other Elams as headrights. Thus, by assessing "entry" to Virginia in terms of access to family relationships, over one-fourth (10/37 or 27%) of Henrico frontier family patentees began their lives in the New World embedded in some sort of Virginia kinship network.⁴¹

Kinship support for family households was also determined for a significant proportion of Henrico 1650-1675 frontier family patentees. Unlike Henrico's native-born patentees, Henrico's immigrant patentees could not take familial resources or kinship support for granted; if Henrico immigrant patentees could not bring family members with them to Virginia, they endeavored to marry and establish their own families as soon as possible. Kinship support (by parents, siblings, and/or extended family members) for new families was a valuable human resource on the Henrico frontier and probably at least 14/37 or 38% of Henrico frontier family patentees could identify kin in Virginia outside their own nuclear family households. In addition to the five patentees who were native-

⁴⁰(...continued)

members as headrights in first land patents. If a patentee himself was first listed as a headright in another settler's land patent, then it cannot be presumed he immigrated with family even though the patentee's first land patent lists family members; this is the case for Robert Elam and Nicholas Perkins.

⁴¹This is probably an underestimation since for another seven patentees--Solloman Knibb, John Puckett, Henry Sherman, Joseph Tanner, George Worsham, and William Worsham--familial status was as likely as single adult status at immigration; if so, then perhaps another three or four Henrico "frontier family" patentees began life in the New World with direct access to family relationships (14-15/37 or 38-41%).

born (Edloe, Epes, Farrar, Harris, Woodson) and the two frontier family patentees who immigrated with family of origin or extended family kin (Gilbert Elam, Thomas Stegge), seven other frontier family patentees presumably began family life in the new world with access to such kinship support in Virginia. A wife's parents and siblings could provide kinship support to a patentee's new family. Thomas Ligon immigrated to Virginia in the 1640s and by 1649 he was married to Mary Harris--native-born daughter of Thomas Harris and sister of William Harris of Henrico.⁴² Henry Randolph patented land on Swift Creek in 1657 and by the early 1660s married Judith Soane, who had immigrated to Virginia before 1651 with her parents, brother, and sister.⁴³

Siblings themselves were an important source of kinship support for families. George and William Worsham, who patented land together on Old Town Creek in 1652, were very likely brothers. Elizabeth Worsham, (wife of William Worsham), and Mary Tanner, (wife of Joseph Tanner), could each identify a sister presumably living in Virginia. Kinship support of some kind was apparently available for the families of William Baugh and Solloman Knibb. Baugh came to Henrico in the early 1640s and settled on land his second wife had purchased of John Baugh;⁴⁴ Knibb himself or a

⁴²Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 356.

⁴³Ibid., 139; Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:222. Randolph and his father-in-law, Henry Soane also served in the Virginia House of Burgesses (Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:386, 424, 439, 527; 2:32-34. Interestingly, Virginia Land Patent Book 5 shows Randolph's 1663 patent on Swift Creek in Henrico County as recorded next after Henry Soane's 1662 patent on Chickahominy River in James City county (Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:499).

⁴⁴Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 557; William Baugh's oldest son by his wife Elizabeth was named John Baugh.

brother had arrived in Virginia and married the daughter of a Henrico landowner sometime in the 1640s or early 1650s.⁴⁵ Kinship support was thus available for at least 14/37 or 38% of first marriages of Henrico frontier family patentees. If kinship support for the beginnings of individual and family life cycles of these patentees can be considered together, then 17/37 or 46% of Henrico frontier family patentees did not begin either their individual or their family lives in the New World bereft of familial resources; such familial resources in the form of kinship support would have been a significant source of social stability on the Henrico frontier.

Early Mortality

A third biographical aspect of settlement represented by Henrico 1650-1675 frontier family patentees was the likelihood of early mortality for at least one of the adult men and women who headed these frontier families. Like Henrico families patenting land before 1650, husbands and wives could not assume they would raise their children to adulthood together nor see their grandchildren together. Early mortality complicated the family life courses experienced by adults and children on the Henrico frontier by creating widowers, widows, and orphans. For frontier families where spousal survivorship can be

⁴⁵Solloman Knibb was survived by his son Samuel Knibb in 1678 (Henrico Deeds and Wills, 1677-1692, 91). A land patent recorded for a Samuel Knibb in 1694 was "part of 150 acs. granted John Howell, 10 June 1639, who assigned to John Morgan & his heires, 18 Oct. 1644; Morgan died having one onely daughter Jane, who intermarried with Samuel Knibb, by whom she had Samuel, who entered said land; & bequeathed same to his son Samuel" (Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, 2:393). Since the 1694 patentee was survivor of a Samuel Knibb deceased in 1691 and had a brother named Solomon, it may be presumed that the 1694 patentee was either a grandson or nephew of Solloman Knibb, the Henrico "frontier family" patentee (Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1688-1697, 286-87). Rutman and Rutman note "the familial orientation of children's names" in the Chesapeake (*A Place in Time*, 119 n. 30).

determined, three-fourths of Henrico frontier family patentees left behind widows when they died (26/34 or 76%),⁴⁶ and over half of these widows were left with underage dependent children (14/26 or 54%). Despite a greater median life expectancy for men than for women by some nine years, a greater proportion of wives of Henrico frontier family patentees became widows at some point in their life course (26/41 or 63%)⁴⁷ than patentee husbands became widowers (15/34 or 44%). Comparison of which spouse not only survived the other but was left behind with underage dependent children showed similar differences between Henrico frontier family husbands and wives; almost two thirds of wives of patentees who had lost a husband were also left with underage dependent children (17/26 or 65%)⁴⁸ whereas only two-fifths of patentees who had lost a wife through their life course were left with underage dependent children (6/15 or 40%). If these differences are valid,⁴⁹ then early mortality would have been more likely for husbands and fathers than for wives and mothers among Henrico "frontier families."

⁴⁶N=34 patentee households where survivorship can be determined, i.e., it could be determined which spouse survived the other. Survivorship could not be determined for R. Elam, Perkins, or G. Worsham.

⁴⁷N=41 or all wives of the 34 "frontier family" patentees for whom survivorship can be determined.

⁴⁸The proportion of widows of patentee husbands left with underage dependent children was lower--15/26 or 54%.

⁴⁹It is possible that some of the differences between husbands and wives could reflect age differences between spouses and/or a greater underestimation of the mortality of wives and mothers for Henrico "frontier families." Walsh, however, found that "wives were twice as likely to survive their husbands in Charles County, Maryland, between 1658 and 1705 than were husbands to survive their wives" even though for this same group "a man marrying for the first time was often ten years older than his bride" ("Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705," 78, 82).

The early death of fathers and mothers heading Henrico frontier family households inevitably meant that many children experienced parental loss while they were still underage. For Henrico frontier family households with children, almost three-fifths contained children of patentees and/or their wives who experienced loss of their father or their mother before they reached age 21 (20/34 or 59%). The loss of a mother was much less frequent in Henrico frontier family households with children than the loss of a father: in about a fourth of these households, some underage children lost a mother (9/34 or 26%), but in about half of these households, some underage children lost a father (17/34 or 50%). There were fewer instances of frontier family households where all the patentee's children were underage and therefore "orphaned" by his death--about one-fourth (9/34 or 26%). However, because early mortality of a spouse had already complicated the family life course of some men,⁵⁰ instances where all the surviving widow's children by the patentee father were underage and "orphaned" by his death was slightly higher--almost one-third (11/34 or 32%) of Henrico frontier family households with children. Since some frontier family patentees survived their wives, identifying households where all the children by a patentee father's most recent wife were underage and "orphaned" by his death encompasses more children vulnerable to parental loss of a father--a little over one-third for this generation of Henrico patentees (12/34 or 35%).⁵¹ Thus, parental loss

⁵⁰Of patentees who left widows (N=26), 7/26 or 27% of widows who survived patentee husbands were second wives;

⁵¹The additional household encompassed by this additional category is that of John Knowles who had survived his wife and left behind his two underage children at his death.

of a father was especially critical in a third of Henrico frontier family households where all the children of a particular couple were all underage at the time of their father's death.

The phenomenon of early mortality of spouses and parents in Henrico frontier family households necessitated adaptive strategies to ameliorate spousal and parental loss.⁵² Remarriage was perhaps the most significant, frequent, and expected strategy used by a surviving spouse--usually a widow--to respond to spousal loss. Almost two-thirds of all wives of patentees who had been widows remarried (17/26 or 65%), almost three-fifths of patentees' surviving widows remarried (15/26 or 58%), and over half of all patentees who were widowers remarried (8/15 or 53%). In seventeenth century Virginia, scarcity of women favored the widow who desired to remarry and a landowning widower was perhaps seen as more desirable for marriage than a non-landowning bachelor. Children apparently did not hinder a widow's or widower's potential for remarriage. Almost three-fourths of all widows who remarried after the death of their patentee husband had some underage dependent children (11/15 or 73%) and over four-fifths of widower patentees who remarried had some underage dependent children (5/6 or 83%). Four-fifths of both widows and widowers whose children were all underage remarried (9/11 of 82% of widows and 4/5 or 80% of widowers). Widows and widowers with underage dependent children thus made up the largest proportion of men and women who remarried, suggesting that loss of a spouse who was one's co-parenting partner was deeply felt among Henrico frontier family households.

⁵²In the context of seventeenth century Middlesex County, Virginia, Rutman and Rutman discuss response to parental loss in terms of "strategies resorted to when the death of parents left minor children parentless" (*A Place in Time*, 114).

The surviving mother or father was obviously the most critical familial resource for children dealing with the loss of a parent--not only as their surviving parent, but as their primary adult agent who could re-establish a two-parent household with a new spouse. Remarriage multiplied family life cycles and kinship ties between individuals, especially when the new marriage produced more children. Sometimes the new spouse alone brought access to kinship support otherwise unavailable to a widower or widow and his or her children. When widower Richard Cocke married his second wife, native-born Mary Aston, he acquired several in-laws in Virginia--her mother, father, sister, brother--and his three children acquired "in-law" grandparents, an aunt, and an uncle. Richard and Mary Cocke then had four children themselves, two of whom were godsons of Mary's brother.⁵³ Widow Mary Archer subsequently married native-born Joseph Royall, whose widowed mother, four sisters, two-half sisters, and half-brother were all living in Henrico or Charles City Counties; since some of Royall's siblings were married, there were also brothers-in-law, nieces, and nephews. Mary and Joseph Royall eventually contributed eight children to this kin network--four children from her first marriage plus the four children they had together.⁵⁴ Widow Sarah Brown found not only access to kinship support in her second husband, but someone with whom she shared similar family life course experiences. By the time Sarah Browne remarried around 1677, she had a teenaged son and daughter and one married daughter--probably in her late teens or early

⁵³Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 89; William Byrd, Title Book, 1637-1743, 274-75.

⁵⁴Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 517-23.

twenties.⁵⁵ Sarah Browne's second husband was native-born John Woodson, a widower with one recently married son in his early twenties, one teenaged son, and a married brother with several children.⁵⁶ Most children did not acquire the extended family kinship support that these three households did through their parent's new spouse. Nonetheless, the addition of a step-father and step-siblings, plus the potential for half-siblings--realized in over half of all frontier family households where patentees and/or their wives were remarried (10/19 or 53%)--increased the familial resources of the surviving members of a decedent's family.

Because a surviving parent often remarried, two-parent loss in Henrico frontier families usually occurred within a "complex skein of marriage and remarriage."⁵⁷ Two-parent loss impacted a couple's underage children in only about a fifth of Henrico frontier family households with children (7/34 or 21%), and remarriage by one of the parents defined the context for two-parent loss in all but two of the seven frontier family households where underage children lost both of their parents (5/7 or 71%). The availability of kinship support was critical for ameliorating two-parent loss for underage children. Brothers of legal age were significant familial resources for underage siblings in three of the seven households--Cocke, Farrar, and Worsham. In addition to brothers,

⁵⁵Jeremiah Brown came "of age" around 1684 and Temperance Browne came "of age" around 1687 (Henrico Orphan's Court, 1677-1739, 12(33), 19(47), 21(51)). Married daughter Sarah (Browne) Knibb was "of age" at least by 1681 when she released her dower right in her husbands's land deed (Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 205).

⁵⁶Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 708-16; John Woodson's brother, Robert Woodson, had nine children before August 1684.

⁵⁷Phrase from Rutman and Rutman, "Parental Death," ed. Tate & Ammerman, 156.

Elizabeth Cocke had a step-mother; the Farrar children had an uncle, sisters, and brothers-in-law of legal age; and the Worsham children had a step-brother and brothers-in-law of legal age. In two other households, half-siblings were the primary familial resources for underage children: John Edloe's half-sister and her spouse also survived his parents, and the older half-brother of the Epes children served as their guardian.⁵⁸ In a sixth household, the step-father of the Huson children proved to be a positive familial resource for both of his Huson step-daughters after their mother died.⁵⁹ John Knowles' household--the only Henrico frontier family household without familial resources in the face of two-parent loss--was distinguished by lack of longevity on the part of the mother (her husband survived her) and by lack of remarriage on the part of the father. To compensate for the lack of familial resources, Knowles appointed his executors--"my loveing friend Capt. Henry Isham & Wm Byrd"--as guardians of his children and charged them "to be carefull of my dear Children, as they may expect the like to theirs."⁶⁰ Knowles' instructions are insightful because he articulated the taken-for-granted behavior that was probably expected of family members and kin networks associated with any household in Henrico when early mortality left children bereft of their parents.

After early mortality, longevity of a mother or father accompanied by remarriage were also major factors which helped change the family life course of individuals living

⁵⁸For Cocke, Farrar, Worsham, Edloe, and Epes households, see Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 89-91, 254-55, 259-67, 275-79; Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 148, 192, 385.

⁵⁹Henrico Orphan's Court, 1677-1739, 15(38); Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 195.

⁶⁰Henrico Miscellaneous Records, 1650-1717, 49-50.

in Henrico frontier family households. The most obvious result of longevity combined with remarriage was an increase in the numbers of children in Henrico frontier family households. Over half of all Henrico frontier family households were altered by the multiple marriages of patentees and/or their wives over time (20/37 or 54%) and most of these households contained children (17/20 or 85%).⁶¹ Remarriage directly increased the numbers of children in well over two-thirds of Henrico frontier family multiple marriage households with children (12/17 or 71%). The increase in the numbers of children in these households was largely due to a new couple having children of their own in addition to children from a previous marriage (11/12 or 92%) rather than a new couple merely bringing together each spouse's children from previous marriages (1/12 or 8%). There were only three known multiple marriage households associated with Henrico patentees where both spouses in a remarriage brought children from a previous marriage into the new household--William and Elizabeth Baugh, Francis and Elizabeth Epes, and John and Sarah Woodson; the Woodsons did not have children together whereas the Baughs and the Epes each had three children together.⁶² Longevity combined with

⁶¹For Henrico "frontier family" heads, remarriage was pursued as much by surviving spouses without children as those with children. Widows Browning, Chandler, and Stegge all remarried and remained childless; Sarah Stegge actually remarried three times after Thomas Stegge's death. Sarah Stegge's nephew mentions her third and fourth husbands (Thomas Grendon and Edward Brain) in a 1685 letter to England: "all our friends here are in health but poor Coz Grendon who dyed at Sea the 10th of Octr last, and my Aunt was marryed again in about the latter end of Jan'ry to one Mr. Edward Brain a Stranger to all here, but pretends to bee worth money, if not the Old Woman may thanke herselfe Capt. Randolph and my self are Exrs. for the Estate in Virginia, and they are now about to Sue us for the L1500 Jointure Mr. Grendon made her" ("William Byrd Title Book," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 48 (1940):31 n. 3).

⁶²Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 260, 557, 709.

remarriage thus ameliorated reduced fertility caused by early mortality in Henrico frontier family households.⁶³

The changes wrought by early mortality of spouses and parents in Henrico frontier family households challenged survivors to develop strategies which would ameliorate the loss of a husband or wife, who was usually a father or mother, too. In quantitative terms, most widows and widowers remarried and most widows in their childbearing years continued to live long enough to have children with a subsequent husband. As a result of remarriage, the average number of known children per couple (2.60) was lower than the average number of known children for individual fathers (2.92) and mothers (3.07); and the average number of known children accumulated by men and women combining households over time (3.75) was higher by more than one child than the average number of children per couple.⁶⁴

⁶³This study cannot presume to address fertility in its traditional demographic sense, but it can suggest a positive relationship between, for instance, remarriage and fertility. Rutman and Rutman point out "the three factors which most affect fertility--female mortality . . . , age at first marriage, and the percent of widows remarrying" and explain that "the death of husbands and the rate at which widows remarry affect fertility by removing women from the risk of pregnancy and childbirth, at least for a while" (A Place in Time: Explicatus, 62, 69).

⁶⁴An average of approximately three children per mother is certainly an underestimation of the children Henrico wives of 1650-1675 patentees bore to their husbands. Early mortality of adults, infant mortality, and the nature of seventeenth century Henrico County records preclude a more realistic assessment of Henrico "frontier family" fertility at the individual and household level. A correlation between a first-name record for a woman and numbers of children linked to that woman is suggestive--if the records available provided a name for a Henrico mother of this generation, then the number of children recorded for her was usually higher. As a group, Henrico mothers with first-names could be linked to over twice as many children (3.88) than Henrico mothers without first-names (1.64). Henrico records are indeed most complete for
(continued...)

In qualitative terms, when a Henrico frontier family with children was struck by early mortality, it was the surviving widow or widower who held the family together and steered the family life course in its altered form, either alone or with a new spouse. Early death--despite its frequency in the seventeenth century Chesapeake--brought a sense of loss and grief which was not easily overcome. Survivors memorialized lost husbands and wives and had difficulties with new ones.⁶⁵ Some may have mourned less if life with the deceased husband or wife had been difficult and/or left them destitute.⁶⁶ Most

⁶⁴(...continued)

mothers in "frontier family" households who bore four or more children (N=15) and further indicate that, for this group, women with single marriages and women with multiple marriages had comparable levels of fertility.

⁶⁵Five years after the death of her husband, Judith Randolph recorded a gift to her son "in consideracon of the true love and affeccion wch I bear to my sd sonne Henry Randolph (as well as to the memory of his father decd)" (Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 59). Richard Cocke specified in his will--which named his second wife as first of three executors--that his "bodie . . . be Interred in my Orchard near my first Wife" (Henrico Miscellaneous Records, 1650-1717, 27). The conflicts which occurred in 1680 between Mary Tanner-Platt and her second husband Gilbert Platt, and between Gilbert Platt and one of his Tanner step-sons were perhaps precursors to the total separation between Mary and her second husband Gilbert evident in Gilbert Platt's 1692 will. Out of his estate, Gilbert Platt first gave "my wife Mrs. Mary Platt one Shilling to be paid by Mr. Edwd: Osborn," then "to Tabitha Osborn, my bed and what belongs to it," and finally "to Edward Osborn, everything else that belongs to me for and in consideration of his trouble and care he hath taken of me in my sickness" (Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 129, 142; Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1688-1697, 315).

⁶⁶Widow Alice Harris was left in such a "lamentable poore condicon" that she had to request that "a bedd and some small necessities out of her husbands estate" be given her rather than fall into the hands of her husband's creditors (Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 61). Widow Ann Walthall was left "in a poor & indigent condicon" at least partly caused by her husband's "distraccon . . . some years before his death;" William Walthall's disorder was such "that . . . he did at many times make it his endeavor to spoil & destroy all sorts of Goods & household stuff wch came in his way" (Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1688-1697, 159).

surviving widows and widowers managed to integrate the present with the past in their family life course, for the sake of their new spouse and their children.⁶⁷

Neighborhood Networks

A fourth biographical aspect of Henrico settlement was the development of neighborhood networks surrounding Henrico 1650-1675 frontier families which functioned to bind individuals and families together over time. Perry discusses neighborhood in terms of "the pattern of contacts encouraged by the spatial proximity of residents."⁶⁸ The location of Henrico plantations certainly established the geographic conditions for neighborhood because Henrico plantations were almost always contiguous to other plantations. Henrico neighborhoods could develop, however, only if biography functioned with geography so that settlers took advantage of their geographic situation to establish interpersonal relationships with other settlers living in the near environment of the family plantation.

In the seventeenth century Chesapeake, neighborhoods were informal networks which functioned most systematically in relation to families during critical transitions in a family's life course. Walsh describes how neighborhoods functioned in seventeenth century Maryland, emphasizing that

⁶⁷In his will, Richard Cocke made his second wife co-executor with his two of-age sons born of his first wife; he also made provisions for all his surviving children with clear distinctions made between the children born of each of his two wives (Henrico Miscellaneous Records, 1650-1717, 27-28. Elizabeth Worsham-Epes went so far as to make two separate wills to make bequests to the children she bore by each of her two husbands (Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 59-60).

⁶⁸Perry, Virginia's Eastern Shore, 90.

the neighborhood played an especially critical role in supporting otherwise disrupted family life. . . . neighbors provided witness and companionship during family rituals, attended the planter's wife in childbirth, and nursed the sick. When death struck, the planter's "friends and neighbours" gathered to mourn his passing. They, too, would be the only people to provide assistance to his widow and orphans.⁶⁹

Weddings and funerals would have been two of the most important family rituals bringing together a family's neighbors, as well as whatever kin and friends were available. Even during times when colonists felt threatened by Indian invasion in seventeenth century Virginia, defensive measures to restrict "the frequent shooting of gunns in drinking" usually exempted wedding celebrations and always exempted funeral gatherings.⁷⁰

Despite the scarcity of extant accounts describing seventeenth century weddings and funerals, it is possible to glean some sense of these family rituals occurring in their social context. Rutman and Rutman reason from their reconstruction of a 1671 Middlesex County, Virginia, wedding, that, "marriage . . . was, for the neighborhood, an event, a coming together, in the same way that court day was an event for the whole county."⁷¹ The gathering anticipated for Elizabeth Worsham-Epes' 1678 Henrico County funeral was large enough to warrant a debt for "10 lbs Butter, 2 Galls. Brandy, . . . 5 Gals. Wine, 8 lbs Sugar, 1 Steer of 7 years, 3 large Weathers [Rams]."⁷² The household-to-household gatherings occasioned by family rituals (and other household-based social and economic

⁶⁹Walsh, "Community Networks in the Early Chesapeake," 240-41.

⁷⁰Laws of 1655/6, 1657/8, 1661/2 in Hening, comp. Statutes, 1:401-02, 480; 2:126; noted also by Rutman and Rutman in A Place in Time, 95 n. 1.

⁷¹Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 95.

⁷²Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 258.

activities) helped overcome the relatively diffuse spatial proximity of Chesapeake colonists in the New World by linking dispersed plantations into meaningful neighborhoods.

Seventeenth century Chesapeake neighborhood networks were spatially defined by both distance between individuals or families in households and the transportation available to their households.⁷³ Contemporary observers thus could not always "see" the neighborhood networks linking "scattered" plantations precisely because a seventeenth century Chesapeake

neighborhood . . . was not structured around any central (or nodal) point, but around the individual houses of its members--the neighbors gathering here for a wedding and there for a childbirth, across the road where a householder lay sick, and perhaps in the same house for a funeral a few days later and, some months later, for the auction of the deceased's personal property.⁷⁴

The typical settler regularly interacted with surrounding households up to about five miles away from his or her own household; interactions were most frequent between settlers living within two or three miles of each other.⁷⁵ As one study points out, "the distances

⁷³From Perry's discussion of these factors "as conditions for contact--that is, the geographical situation and the possibilities for transportation" (Virginia's Eastern Shore, 103). Walsh and Horn emphasize individuals located in residential households as the primary spatial units linked in seventeenth century neighborhood development (Walsh, "Community Networks in the Early Chesapeake," 219, 222, 227, 228; James Horn, "Adapting to a New World: A Comparative Study of Local Society in England and Maryland, 1650-1700," in Colonial Chesapeake Society, ed. Carr, Morgan, and Russo, 169, 170, 173).

⁷⁴Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 120; for reactions of contemporary observers to Chesapeake settlement, see 21-22.

⁷⁵Walsh, "Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705," 294, 296; Walsh, "Community Networks in the Early Chesapeake," 219, 222, 227; Rutman and Rutman, A Place in
(continued...)

suggest the effective limits to neighborhoods in a society constrained to foot and horse for mobility."⁷⁶ Numbers of households within these geographic ranges of course varied from place to place and over time. For instance, Maryland records for St. Clement's Manor, St. Mary's County, show that

the typical household of the early 1660s would find only about fifteen other families within a two-and-a-half-mile radius of the home farm and about twenty-five families within five miles. . . . By the early 1670s the situation was changing. St. Clement's residents then had about twenty-five households within two and a half miles of their homes and perhaps sixty within five miles.⁷⁷

The development of neighborhood networks extending two to five miles from each household fundamentally transformed the geography of Chesapeake settlement. As Kelly concluded from his study of seventeenth century Surry County, Virginia: "while Surry's settlements may have been scattered . . . it was a rare plantation that remained truly isolated from either its neighbors or the outside world."⁷⁸

Henrico 1650-1675 frontier families seemed to conform to the pattern of neighborhood network development found in other parts of the seventeenth century Chesapeake. An assessment of "discernible patterns of association" based on residency

⁷⁵(...continued)

Time, 121; Perry, Virginia's Eastern Shore, 90-91; Horn, "Adapting to a New World," 170.

⁷⁶Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 121.

⁷⁷Walsh, "Community Networks in the Early Chesapeake," 222; also referred to by Horn in "Adapting to a New World," 170.

⁷⁸Kelly, "'In dispers'd Country Plantations'," 204.

and interactions precipitated by death⁷⁹ reveals that at least some of the potential for neighborhood relationships was realized between Henrico frontier families and surrounding households.⁸⁰ Analyzing residency in some form is necessary to establish the spatial proximity of Henrico frontier families to other households. Analyzing interactions which were responses to death makes conceptual and methodological sense. Perry states that "probably the best indicator of the nature of neighborhood ties was the response of individuals to the crisis of death".⁸¹ Furthermore, death was accompanied by the creation of legal documents and legal relationships which required the participation of others outside the family--witnesses to wills, appraisers of inventories, guardians for underage orphans, and, if the surviving widow or widower wanted to remarry, a new spouse. In the seventeenth century Chesapeake, most of these people were neighbors.⁸²

⁷⁹Walsh uses the concept "discernible patterns of association" in "Community Networks in the Early Chesapeake," 219. In an earlier work, Walsh states that if "face to face contact" and "collective action" was essential to understanding "community" and "neighborhood" in the seventeenth century Chesapeake, "the problem then is to find a way to locate these units of association within the county bounds" ("Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705," 292-93).

⁸⁰Walsh also determined that "settlement and residence patterns and networks of interaction" were essential to understanding neighborhoods and communities in seventeenth century southern Maryland ("Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705," 293); this methodological approach is basic to Walsh's later discussion of "discernible patterns of association" ("Community Networks in the Early Chesapeake," 219, n. 29). Perry also emphasizes an analysis of "residency" and "the local web of interactions" in his study of Eastern Shore, Virginia, landholders (Virginia's Eastern Shore, 90).

⁸¹Perry, Virginia's Eastern Shore, 99.

⁸²Ibid., 99-103 (also citing Daniel Blake Smith, "Mortality and Family in the Colonial Chesapeake," 426); Walsh, "Community Networks in the Early Chesapeake," 219 n. 29, 231; Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 121. Horn also found that, in a seventeenth century English community, neighbors were expected to witness wills and appraise inventories ("Adapting to a New World," 166-67).

Establishing residency patterns is fundamental to understanding general patterns of association and particular possibilities for neighborhood development. A basic component of a residency pattern is location of households. Locating the residence or actual household where Henrico frontier families lived is not easily determined from Virginia land patent records alone since land patents did not correspond with residency for all families. Mapping Henrico frontier family residency in relation to other households required additional information from Henrico county records and was invaluable aided by the Henrico County 1679 List of Tithables (see Figures 8.2 and 8.3).⁸³ The Henrico 1679 Tithables lists the equal distribution of 440 taxable laborers or "tithables" in ten groups of households in Henrico County (N=160); in addition, each of the ten groups of households represents a geographic cluster--the first three name locations ("Bermoda Hundred," "Turkey Island," and "Curls") and all ten clusters can be located by the land records available for each householder listed in a cluster. In order to map Henrico frontier family households in a known residential context, the boundaries of the ten 1679 geographic clusters are approximated from the best available evidence for Henrico landowning householders identified in the 1679 Tithables List. The reported number of households belonging to a geographic cluster was placed in a central area of that geographic cluster. The residences of Henrico frontier family households shown

⁸³Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 101-03. This "Account of ye several fortye Tythables" was ordered by the Generall Court in Jamestown, 30 April 1679, in response to an act of the April 1679 General Assembly "for the defence of the country against the incursions of the Indian enemy" (Hening, comp., Statutes, 2:433-40).

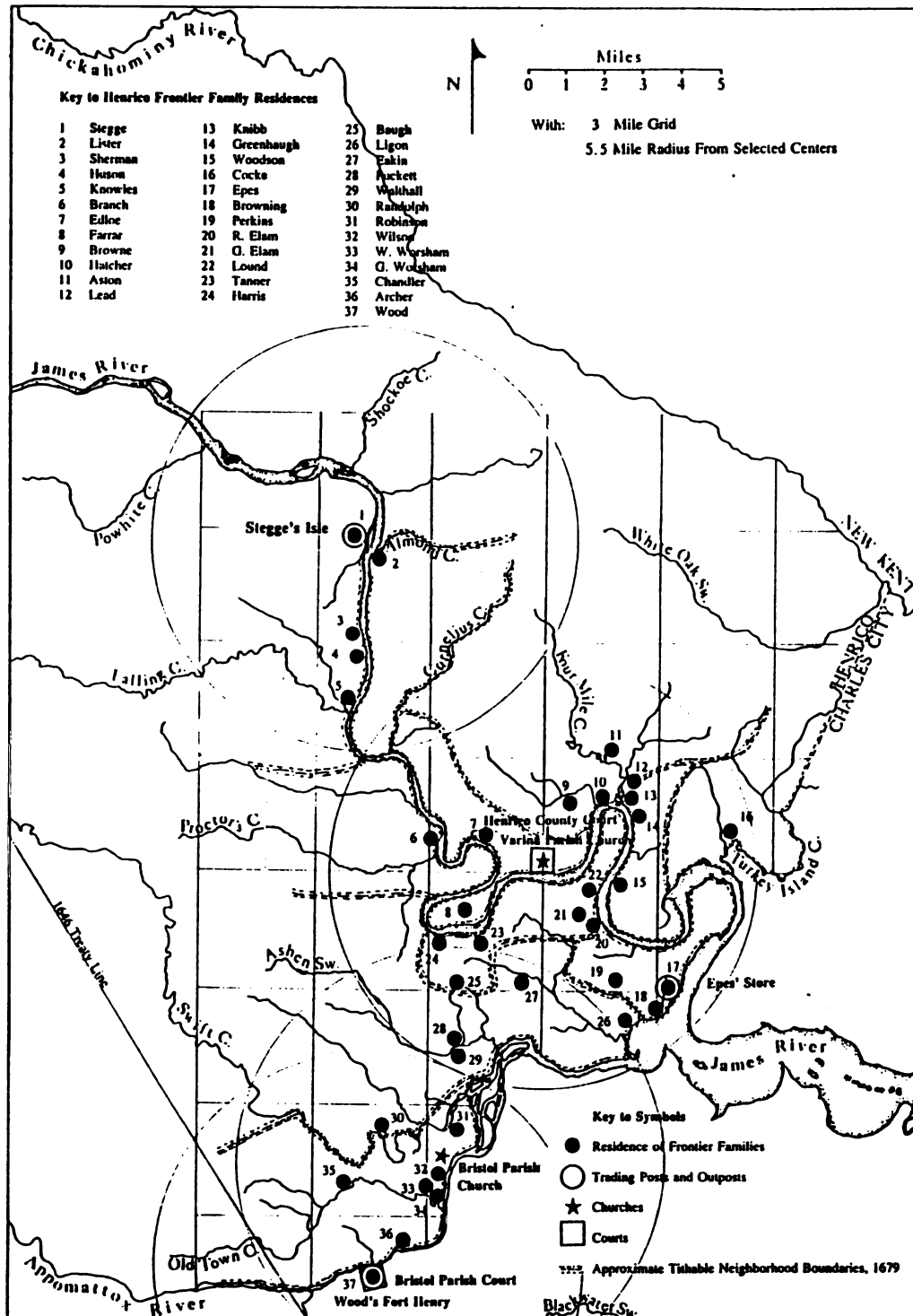


Figure 8.2 Henrico Virginia Frontier Community, 1650s-1670s

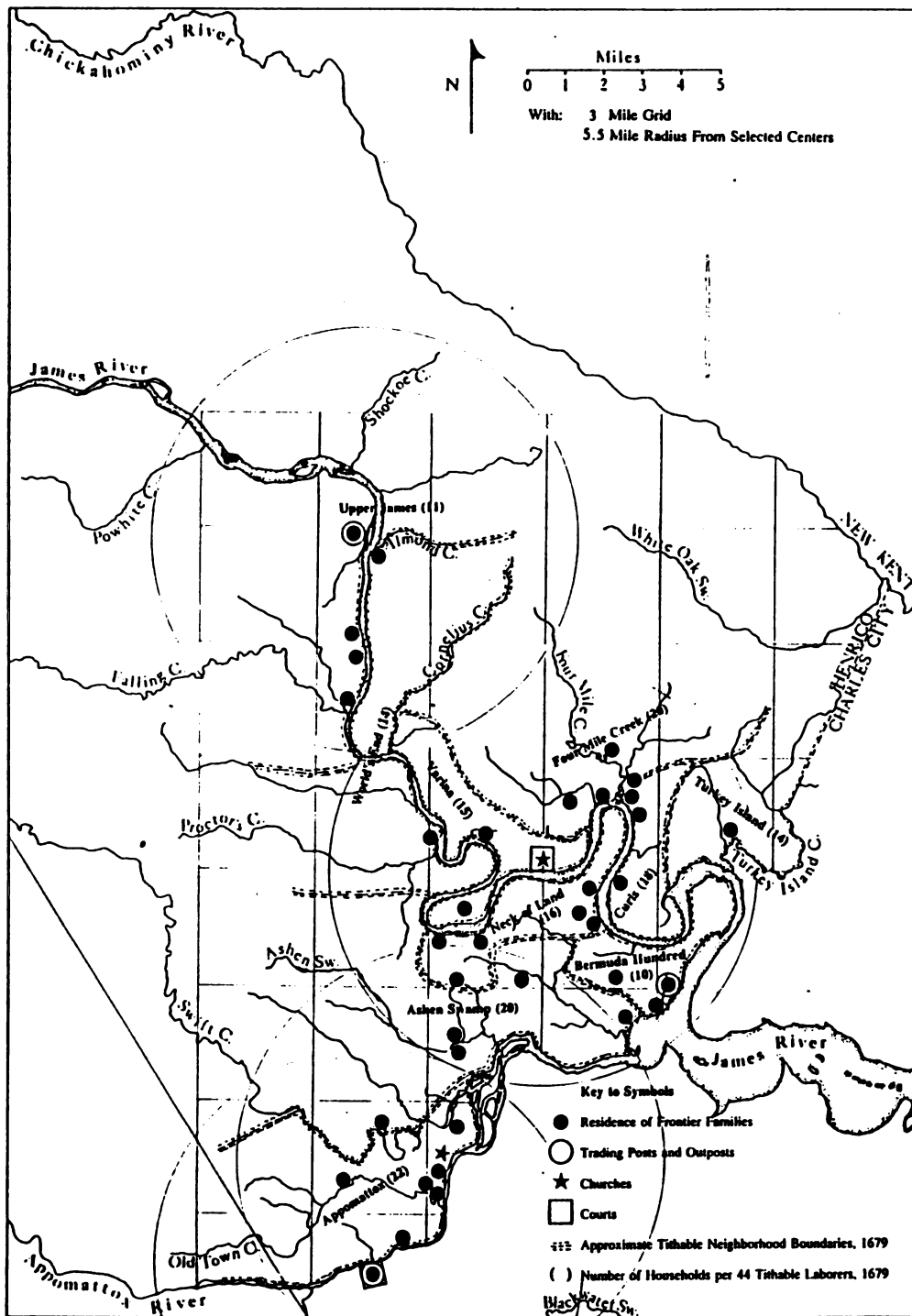


Figure 8.3 Henrico Tithable Neighborhoods, 1679

within each cluster were located by approximation of the best available evidence for 1679 or for the year of death before 1679.

Another component of a residency pattern is the spatial proximity of households in relation to each other and to known places of association. A three-mile grid was drawn on the map of Henrico frontier family households in order to ascertain how many households might be available as "neighbors" within a certain geographic area. The three-mile grid was centered at Varina parish church and courthouse on the north side of James River about two miles up the river from Two Mile Creek. Five-and-a-half-mile radii were also drawn from several places where Henrico settlers gathered or passed through--Varina church and courthouse, Bristol parish church, Fort Henry or Wood (meetingplace for Bristol parish court, strategic trading post and frontier outpost at the falls of Appomattox River), and Stegge's Isle (strategic frontier outpost below the falls of James River).⁸⁴

The residency patterns which emerged in Henrico County by the end of the 1670s suggest the spatial parameters of patterns of association in mid-seventeenth century Henrico County. First, Henrico residency patterns varied in terms of household density and stage of settlement development. At the end of the 1670s, Henrico households near Varina church and courthouse were surrounded by about sixty Henrico households within three to four miles and by about a hundred Henrico households within five-and-a-half-

⁸⁴The five-and-a-half-mile distance was chosen based on Perry's and Horn's reports that six miles was an outer limit of neighborhood association for some Chesapeake settlers (Perry, Virginia's Eastern Shore, 90; Horn, "Adapting to a New World," 170). Because Henrico County settlement extended over a larger area than most other counties to the east, the five-and-a-half-mile distance was selected and subsequently proved appropriate for interpreting relationships between settlers and larger patterns of association.

miles. Henrico households located near Fort Henry at the falls of Appomattox River were surrounded by about thirty Henrico and Charles City households within three to four miles (twenty and ten respectively) and by about thirty-seven Henrico and Charles City households within five-and-a-half-miles (twenty-five and twelve respectively) at the end of the 1670s.⁸⁵

Finally, Henrico households located near Stegge's Isle at the end of the 1670s were surrounded by about eleven Henrico households within three to four miles and by about twenty Henrico households within five-and-a-half-miles.⁸⁶ The rough fifteen-year intervals separating first recorded settlement at these three sites partially explains the subsequent differences in household density for these areas: Varina was reestablished after the first Indian Massacre before 1632,⁸⁷ Fort Henry was authorized in March 1645/6,⁸⁸ Thomas Stegge patented the land for Stegge's Isle in 1663.⁸⁹

Secondly, Henrico residency patterns defined the location and scale of local ecclesiastical and civil institutions over time. At the end of the 1670s, Henrico settlers

⁸⁵Charles City County households surrounding Fort Henry are estimated at half the number of Henrico households.

⁸⁶Compare to Horn's report of Maryland data: "in the early 1660s on St. Clement's Manor, St. Mary's County, the typical household was within two and a half miles of fifteen other households, and within five to six miles of about twenty-five. Ten years later, these numbers had risen to twenty-five and sixty respectively" ("Adapting to a New World," 170).

⁸⁷Nugent, Cavaliers & Pioneers, 1:15, 36.

⁸⁸Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:315.

⁸⁹Nugent, Cavaliers & Pioneers, 1:537; 2:69; "William Byrd Title Book," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 48 (1939):313-15.

lived in the parish of either Varina or Bristol church. Varina church originated with the assignment of a minister to "the two plantacons of the Neckofland and the College" in March 1628/9.⁹⁰ A church location two miles above Two Mile Creek would have been about half-way between these two Henrico settlements separated by three miles and a river. As Henrico settlement spread up and down the James River, Varina parish expanded to include many households more than five or six miles apart, but the church itself remained accessible within such neighborhood distances for most households. As Henrico settlers gathered at Varina church on a regular, perhaps weekly, basis, "it was . . . the face-to-face contact at the services that was socially important, a necessary addition to lives lived in the neighborhoods."⁹¹ That Varina church functioned on a local or neighborhood scale for at least some settlers is intimated in a 1666 patent for the glebe land belonging to Varina church wherein the boundaries of the 198 acre site were determined by "the ancient neighbourhood."⁹² Bristol parish church originated "for the convenience of the inhabitants on both sides of Appomattock River being farr remote from the parish church of the said plantation upon Appomattock."⁹³ Since the boundaries of the parish embraced households from the mouth to the falls of Appomattox River, evidence suggests that settlers located the church site within neighborhood (or five-and-a-

⁹⁰McIlwaine, ed., Minutes, 189.

⁹¹Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 125. Churches also may have provided a meaningful extra-household link between settlers, overcoming geographic limitations of the typical communication and information network which did not exceed five or six miles for most settlers (see Walsh, "Community Networks in the Early Chesapeake," 219).

⁹²Virginia Land Patents, 6:427.

⁹³Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:251.

half-mile) distance of almost all their households--a convenient mid-point somewhere between Swift Creek and Old Town Creek on the Henrico side of the Appomattox River.⁹⁴

The courts of local government for Henrico settlers were also situated in relation to residency patterns, but usually on a larger scale than churches. Until Henrico became a county, Henrico settlers had to travel to "Shirley Hundred" or "Jordans Journey" to take matters to the monthly court.⁹⁵ Henrico became a county in 1634, authorized to hold its own court for its inhabitants and presumably met near the church in Varina.⁹⁶

Rutman and Rutman state the importance of the county court in seventeenth century Chesapeake life:

What kept the county society one was the existence of the court as an administrative and judicial heart. To it or its officers . . . one turned for . . . adjudication of disputes, for the king's justice, and to establish clear title to land by recording a conveyance or will. And because these things were vital to their lives, the men and sometimes the women of the county

⁹⁴A 1677 deed from Christopher Robinson's son, Edward, to Nicholas Dison for land near the Swift Creek "roundabout" mentions "the Church path side" (Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 25). In 1700, George Worsham deeded forty acres "of plantable land on ye north side of ye Old Town Creek" to Bristol parish for use as a Glebe (Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1697-1704, 197). The Bristol parish church site designated in fig. 8.3 is tentatively located near an unnamed cemetery at the end of today's Hermitage Road in Colonial Heights, VA, on the northern bank of the Appomattox River (ADC, "Chesterfield County, Va., Street Map," Alexandria, VA, 1988, map sheet 34, p. ix).

⁹⁵McIlwaine, ed., Minutes, 106, 193; Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:125, 168-69. "Shirley Hundred" was (and is still) located across the river from Bermuda Hundred and "Jordan's Journey" may have been located at today's "Jordan Point," on the south side of James River some four-and-a-half-miles below Bermuda Hundred.

⁹⁶Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:224. The glebe patent for Henrico parish refers "to a pohickery standing about two Poles above the Court house" (Virginia Land Patents, 6:427). Early references to courts held at Varina in 1640 are found in 1660s patents to John Wilson and George Worsham (Virginia Land Patents, 5:504 (616-17); 6:135).

. . . were regularly drawn inward, to the county's center: the courthouse on court day.⁹⁷

Henrico's Appomattox River settlers obviously found travel to Varina court much more burdensome than Henrico's James River settlers. The uninhabited interior of the Bermuda Hundred peninsula created by the conjunction of the James and Appomattox Rivers apparently posed a significant barrier to sustaining even larger scale associations in the 1640s.⁹⁸ It was thus a meaningful coincidence that during the same session when the General Assembly recognized that settlement growth warranted the creation of a separate parish for Appomattox River settlers in March 1642/3, the frequency of county court meetings at Varina and the rest of Virginia was reduced from twelve to six times a year.⁹⁹ The need for local administration of justice along the Appomattox River, however, grew to such an extent that Bristol parish settlers were authorized to keep their own courts in 1652.¹⁰⁰ With the advent of Bristol parish church and court, both the local church and local government were truly local institutions, functioning within a neighborhood context for most Henrico settlers during the mid-seventeenth century.

⁹⁷Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 126.

⁹⁸Walsh's explanation of how "population density and topography" affected conditions for association applies directly to settlement along the James and Appomattox Rivers in early Henrico: "social networks mirrored the original flow of settlement, hugging the edges of rivers and creeks. Where the rivers were not too wide, there was more contact between families living directly across the water than between families living on opposite sides of the same peninsula. . . . As long as land without direct water access remained unsettled, neighborhoods did not extend across that divide" ("Community Networks in the Early Chesapeake," 228).

⁹⁹Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:272-73.

¹⁰⁰Hening, comp., Statutes, 1:376.

Henrico 1650-1675 frontier family households played an essential part in defining Henrico residency patterns and the interests of local institutions. Before 1650, nine 1650-1675 Henrico frontier family patentees were living on their own or their family's land in Henrico. Christopher Branch, Matthew Edloe's parents, and William Harris' parents belonged to the College and Neck of Land settlements which formed the basis for the first Varina parish church. William Farrar's parents patented, in their son's name, the abandoned 1611 Henrico site adjacent to the church and courthouse at Varina. Richard Cocke anchored Henrico settlement at Turkey Island Creek in the mid-1630s. William Hatcher recorded a patent, and Abraham Wood recorded a lease, for land on Appomattox River in 1636. John Wilson and William Worsham purchased land next to the Appomattox Indians on Old Town Creek in 1640.

After 1650, Henrico 1650-1675 frontier family patentees established their households from Bermuda Hundred to the falls of both the James and Appomattox Rivers. The establishments of Francis Epes at Bermuda Hundred, Thomas Stegge at James River falls, and Abraham Wood at Appomattox River falls formed a strategic triangle of settlement with Epes' Store functioning as a strategic entry and exit point for Henrico County. Inland settlement bridged the Bermuda Hundred peninsula so effectively that who belonged to what side of the peninsula was sometimes confused. William Baugh's 1668 land patent on Appomattox River at Peircy's Toil Creek reached inland almost two miles and eventually bounded Joseph Tanner's land on the James River side of the peninsula--a 1672 patent boundary line for Joseph Tanner's orphans extended from James

River south almost a mile "to a white oake standing nigh Mr Baugh his line".¹⁰¹ Despite his direct access to the Appomattox River, Baugh apparently situated his home on his land in such a way that he was listed with households from the James River side of the peninsula in the list of tithable households for 1679. James Eakins successfully sued for recovery of tobacco seized for parish levies by the churchwarden of Bristol parish because he "is and hath been listed in Varina parrish;"¹⁰² nonetheless, Eakins was also listed with households from the Appomattox River side of the peninsula in the 1679 list of tithable households.

Local institutions directly engaged the lives of many Henrico frontier families. Religious involvement at personal and institutional levels was manifested in a number of ways. Varina and Bristol parish churches were formally associated with the Anglican Church of England. Richard Cocke specifically requested in his 1665 will that he be buried "decently according to the usuall Solemnties of the Church of England."¹⁰³ In 1661, Abraham Wood wrote friends "intimateing our unhappinesse in these our upper parts by scarcity of Orthodox ministers" and offered his support for their efforts on behalf of the church--"your proposicons being so laudable and congruous to the Canons of yt Sacred Church of the wch we spring from."¹⁰⁴ A number of Quakers, dissenters from

¹⁰¹Virginia Land Patents, 6:5, 486.

¹⁰²Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 139.

¹⁰³Henrico Miscellaneous Records, 1650-1717, 27.

¹⁰⁴Abraham Wood to Anthony Wyatt and Robert Wynne, 2 January 1661, in Robert A. Stewart, "The First William Byrd of Charles City County, Virginia," in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 41 (1933):326; cited in Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 25.

the established Church of England, also lived in Henrico County by the end of the 1670s. Five households in the Henrico 1679 list of tithables were identified by John Lead's will as Quaker households;¹⁰⁵ since these five Quaker households can be located in either the Curles, Turkey Island, or Four Mile Creek areas, there was probably an active Quaker congregation in that area of Henrico County. For frontier family households with extant wills (N=21), almost all heads of households, whether male or female, recorded some individualized religious statement in their will (19/21 or 90%); these statements dealt with spiritual and/or temporal affairs.¹⁰⁶ Probably a number of Henrico frontier families interested in the General Assembly's early 1660s acts to establish "a colledge and freeschoole" dedicated to "the advance of learning, education of youth, supply of the ministry and promotion of piety."¹⁰⁷

The Justices and Commissioners who administered the courts in Henrico County took their duties seriously. Richard Cocke's will entrusted the Henrico Justices with oversight of provisions for his family and estate expressed in his will:

¹⁰⁵Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 140-41, 196-97. John Pleasant's Quaker household was the second largest household in Henrico County in 1679.

¹⁰⁶Individualized religious statements went beyond the pro forma, "In the Name of God, Amen." In most Henrico frontier family households, male and/or female family heads with extant wills included a spiritually oriented religious statement of personal faith in God, or even Jesus Christ (16/21 or 71%). More than half of Henrico frontier family households with extant wills by male and/or female heads included a temporally oriented religious statement of direct or indirect acknowledgment of God as the source of worldly possessions (12/21 or 57%). For a key interpretive source of this religious data, see Christopher Hill, "Protestantism and the Rise of Capitalism," in Seventeenth-Century England (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), 81-102.

¹⁰⁷Hening, comp., Statutes, 2:25, 30, 37, 56; I am indebted to Steve Smith for pointing out the renewal of efforts to establish a college in Virginia during this period. See also discussion in Craven, Southern Colonies, 291; Morton, Colonial Virginia, 1:189-90.

I desire & request the Justices of the County of Henrico in whose fatherly care & Integrity towards the Widdow & fatherless I repose much Confidence to be my Overseers of this my last will & Testament & to tak Care that it be performed according to the true Intent & meaning Thereof.¹⁰⁸

Quakers did not live in Henrico without some resistance from Justices of the County when the welfare of inhabitants of the county were at stake. Lead's will, for instance, was not allowed to be probated as he intended in order "to pvent fraud of the Orphts. or other imbezellmt of ye decedt concerns." Two Henrico Justices of the Peace perceived that Lead's estate was threatened because

all the witnesses thereto being quakers who (too much adhering to their superstitious principles) refuse to prove the said pretended will by oath (as the law provides) And Mary the relict of the said decedt likewise refusing compliance with all other legall pro[]edings in the Managemt of the said decedt estate.¹⁰⁹

Some frontier family patentees also served as Justices and Commissioners of Henrico County. Henrico County justices appointed in 1677 for their "true honesty, ability, justice and integrity" included patentees William Farrar, Francis Epes, and William Harris.¹¹⁰ Bristol parish court held at Fort Henry in 1656 named four Commissioners: Henrico patentees Abraham Wood, William Baugh, William Walthall, and George Worsham.¹¹¹ Henrico residency patterns suggest that early churches and courts in Henrico originated

¹⁰⁸Henrico Miscellaneous Records, 1650-1717, 27-28.

¹⁰⁹Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 196-97. Philip Alexander Bruce's discussion of dissenting Quakers aided in this interpretation (Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols. (1910; reprt. ed., Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1964), 1:222-24).

¹¹⁰Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 21.

¹¹¹Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 265.

and functioned within, rather than outside of, neighborhood networks. Henrico residency patterns seen in the context of local institutions identify neighbors who may have interacted with each other in the near environments of households, churches, and courts.

Interactions precipitated by the death of a Henrico frontier family head reveal much about the neighborhood networks developed between neighbors in mid-seventeenth century Henrico County. Neighbors proved to be a critical human resource for Henrico frontier families when death occurred in the family household, especially if one of the heads of the household died. Neighbors who came to the house to comfort a settler facing death could also witness a will, if necessary. In the seventeenth century, sickness was the usual condition which brought settlers face-to-face with their own mortality. John Lead wrote his will

being sicke & weake of body but of sound & perfect memory prayed be
God for it, & calling to minde the certainty of death, & the uncertainty of
the tyme & houre thereof, doe make this my last will & testament.¹¹²

When Lead made his will, five persons identifiable as neighbors were present to witness his will. In the case of an oral will, witnesses were critical to establishing the existence of the will itself. Often Francis Epes was "dangerously wounded," two of his neighbors from across the James River came to his house; Epes' condition was so serious that he called one of these neighbors "by name and desired him to take notice that he had not tyme to make his will, but would have . . . his Estate divided amongst his foure Children and his wife."¹¹³ Most Henrico frontier family heads called upon neighbors to witness

¹¹²Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 140.

¹¹³Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 65.

their wills and, after death, neighbors were most often appointed to gather at the decedent's house to appraise the value of his or her estate for the sake of surviving family members and creditors. Analysis of the residence of witnesses and appraisers of Henrico frontier family wills and inventories made through the 1680s indicates that two-thirds of witnesses and four-fifths of appraisers could be identified as neighbors of the frontier family, reflecting a pattern very similar to that found by Horn in a seventeenth century English community.¹¹⁴

Neighbors were a significant familial resource for the care of children after the death of a father and/or mother in Henrico frontier family households. Outside of nuclear

¹¹⁴Horn reports that about 60% of witnesses and about 80% of appraisers for decedents in the English Vale of Berkeley were from the same parish. In addition, Horn reports that about 15% of witnesses and about 8% of appraisers were from a different parish than the decedent, and that the residence of about 26% of witnesses and about 13% of appraisers was "unknown" or could not be located ("Adapting to a New World," 166-67). The analysis of Henrico "frontier family" witnesses and appraisers is based on the residency pattern established by the Henrico 1679 List of Tithables. If witnesses and/or appraisers were from the same or an adjacent geographic cluster as the "frontier family" decedent, then they were identified as from a group of surrounding "neighbors" and thus from the same "neighborhood;" if not, they were either identified as from a different neighborhood or unidentifiable in terms of residence and therefore unknown. For Henrico "frontier family" decedents with records of witnesses and appraisers through the 1680s, 24/36 or 67% of witnesses and 17/21 or 81% of appraisers were classified as from the same neighborhood, and 9/36 or 25% of witnesses and 0% of appraisers were classified as unknown--comparable to Horn's data. After the 1680s, 17/28 or 61% of witnesses and 5/13 or 38% of appraisers for Henrico "frontier family" decedents with records of witnesses and appraisers were classified as unknown in terms of the residency patterns established using the Henrico 1679 List of Tithables. Since the proportion of unknown witnesses and appraisers of "frontier family" heads rose exponentially after the 1680s, it was determined that the residency patterns established using the Henrico 1679 List of Tithables were valid through the 1680s for a "neighborhood" analysis of witnesses and appraisers for Henrico "frontier family" heads, but that after the 1680s, a "neighborhood" analysis of witnesses and appraisers for Henrico "frontier family" would require a new analysis and map of residency patterns for Henrico County households.

family members (often a mosaic of full, half-, and/or step-relationships), neighboring extended family kin might be the first recourse in selecting a guardian for orphaned children. William Farrar's brother living on an adjacent tract served as guardian to one of Farrar's orphans, probably between the time Farrar's widow died and his own death; Farrar's brother was also named one of the co-executors of Farrar's landed estate.¹¹⁵ William Harris' widow, Alice, apparently consented to "indenture" one of their sons to Harris' nephew living on the same side of the Bermuda Hundred peninsula--surveyor Richard Ligon, who had also witnessed Harris' will; Ligon was to "use his Endeavour for educating and maintaining the sd Orpht according to the Indenture."¹¹⁶ Another widow also turned to neighbors for the care of her father-orphaned children. Joane, widow of Robert Huson, was so dissatisfied with her second husband's treatment of her two daughters that she negotiated a "free & voluntary agreement" between herself, her second husband and two neighbors living nearby who each assumed responsibility for a Huson daughter and that daughter's estate; one of these neighbors, Henry Sherman, had also appraised Huson's estate.¹¹⁷ John Lead's widow, Mary, may or may not have been living when one of her daughters was put "under the tuition" of a neighbor and later transferred to the care of another neighbor; both neighbors had witnessed Lead's will and both shared Lead's Quaker religious faith.¹¹⁸ Finally, friendship between neighbors

¹¹⁵Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 156, 191; Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 31.

¹¹⁶Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 139; Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 145.

¹¹⁷Henrico Orphan's Court, 1677-1739, 7(22); Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 55.

¹¹⁸Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 196; Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 141, 196-97.

could serve as a valuable resource for a dying widow or widower forced to make provisions for children in the absence of available kin. John Knowles entrusted two "loving friends" with "the guardianship & tutelage of my dear Children" as well as the executorship of his estate--one of whom was neighbor William Byrd living some four miles above Knowles on the south side of the James River.¹¹⁹

Neighborhoods also provided opportunities for remarriage, indicating that grieving widows and widowers seeking comfort from familiar neighbors could discover a partner (or ideally a friend) with whom to build a new marriage. Some residency analysis of remarriage partners is possible for almost three-fifths (13/22 or 59%) of remarriages entered into by Henrico frontier family patentees or spouses--for these thirteen remarriages, the approximate location of both partners can be determined prior to the remarriage. Three-fifths (8/13 or 62%) of these remarriages occurred between neighbors living within three or four miles of each other. Another remarriage involved persons living in the same parish. In some instances, Henrico widows and widowers crossed parish and county lines to find a new spouse. Almost one-third of this group of Henrico frontier family remarriages occurred between persons living in an adjacent parish or county (4/13 or 31%). One remarriage occurred between persons living in Varina and Bristol parishes in Henrico County and three remarriages linked Henrico County and Charles City County men and women.

Interaction patterns prior to remarriage, however, show that spatial proximity within neighborhood distances was a significant factor encouraging contact between

¹¹⁹Henrico Miscellaneous Records, 1650-1717, 49-50.

Henrico frontier family widows or widowers and subsequent spouses, even for those who married across parish and county lines. Formal relationships noted in court records often became more personal. When widow Margaret Browning remarried, she chose a neighbor who had witnessed her husband's will.¹²⁰ Widow Mary Chandler next married the man who had acted as her attorney in a prior court case.¹²¹ Widow Ann Walthall subsequently married the minister of her parish.¹²² Kin relations of neighbors were also a means for linking potential spouses together. Widower William Baugh probably lived with the Henrico kinsman who sold some of his land to widow Elizabeth Sharpe-Packer, making her a neighbor; not long after his arrival in Virginia around 1640, Baugh married Elizabeth.¹²³ Widower Richard Cocke certainly had met Walter Aston by the time Aston recorded the patent for his Henrico County plantation in 1651; within a year, Cocke had married Aston's daughter, Mary.¹²⁴ Widow Hannah Aston was living on her deceased husband Walter Aston's Charles City County plantation on Kimages Creek in 1660 just prior to her remarriage to a Mr. Hill, presumably related to Edward Hill who owned adjacent Shirley Hundred plantation.¹²⁵

¹²⁰Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 305; Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 116.

¹²¹Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 30, 460-61.

¹²²Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 205; Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1688-1697, 158-59.

¹²³Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 557.

¹²⁴Nugent, Cavaliers & Pioneers, 2:125; Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 89.

¹²⁵Nugent, Cavaliers & Pioneers, 1:405; "William Byrd Title Book," Will of Walter Aston, 274.

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Remarriages could transcend parish and county lines when people returned to old family plantations or when people moved between strategic sites on the frontier. Widow Sarah Stegge may have had many reasons to return to familiar areas surrounding her husband's old family plantations on Herring Creek and Queens's Creek in Charles City County--not far from the plantation of her next husband located adjacent to Eppes Island.¹²⁶ Following her husband's death, widow Mary (Aston) Cocke probably sought comfort at her mother's plantation on Kimages Creek in Charles City County a number of times; it is not surprising, then, that Mary (Aston) Cocke's second husband owned land at Queen's Creek, just a few miles from her mother's home.¹²⁷

Activities on the frontier sometimes relativized or transcended traditional seventeenth century neighborhood distances. The remarriage of Mary Archer after 1675 linked persons from two strategic points in Henrico--the falls of Appomattox River and Bermuda Hundred. Even though the distance between Mary Archer and her second husband, Joseph Royall, was twelve miles by boat, it was a distance somewhat relativized by the flow of the river itself as an established channel of communication from a peripheral point on the frontier (the falls) "inward toward the sites of very early settlement."¹²⁸ The circumstances which brought the widow Archer and the bachelor

¹²⁶Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:59, 230; Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 346. Sarah Stegge's second husband, George Harris, was given a plantation in Charles City County by Walter Aston's son ("William Byrd Title Book," Will of Walter Aston, 275; Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:165).

¹²⁷Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 89; Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:485.

¹²⁸This is an interpretation of Walsh's discussion of "established focal points that
(continued...)

Royall together are unknown, but Royall did have three near neighbors who were busy with plantations on the Appomattox River frontier--Francis Epes, Thomas Ligon, and William Worsham's son. Fifteen years earlier, Elizabeth Worsham had also faced widowhood on the Appomattox River frontier; at that time, her future husband, Francis Epes, was a Charles City County justice living either at "Charles Citty" or Eppes Island at the junction of the James and Appomattox Rivers.¹²⁹ The circumstances which brought widow Worsham and widower Epes together are suggested by records that

at a meeting of the militia at Westover, 12 June 1661, it was ordered that a trained band, with addition of horse, report to Fort Henry upon occasion of alarm and there be commanded by Capt. Francis Epes, one of the captains of "the Guards of the Counties." He moved to Henrico County soon after.¹³⁰

It is obvious that Epes moved to Henrico County "soon after" he carried out this militia order due to his marriage to Henrico widow Elizabeth Worsham in 1661 or 1662.¹³¹

Neighborhood networks surrounding Henrico frontier families were critical to the well-being of families when death intervened in a family's life course. The demography of the Chesapeake was naturally skewed by early mortality towards instability. Walsh and Menard's conclusions for Maryland have been applied to the Chesapeake as a whole:

¹²⁸(...continued)
channeled the flow of communication in different directions" ("Community Networks in the Early Chesapeake," 227-28).

¹²⁹Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 256-260; Nugent, Cavaliers and Pioneers, 1:31, 60-61, 154-55, 165.

¹³⁰Meyer and Dorman, eds., Adventurers of Purse and Person, 259.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, 260, 265.

Early death had a pervasive influence on the social history of the province, affecting processes as varied as the growth of population, opportunity, the accumulation and distribution of wealth, the formation of distinct, cohesive social groups, the demand for labor, the creation of stable political institutions, and the continuity of family life. In a frontier setting where men faced the hard task of building well-ordered communities in a wilderness, high mortality proved profoundly disruptive, an important source of the instability and uncertainty of life in the New World.¹³²

For Henrico County frontier families, kinship ties and neighborhood networks together comprised the support system relied upon by surviving members of families who lost a husband or wife and/or a father or mother in the early years of the family's life course--when death left a widow or widower alone with underage children. Interactions over the family life course with kin and neighbors and the development of friendships with persons living in other households established a community which proved a powerful counteractive force against the disruptive influence of death. Rutman and Rutman indicate that such ties were "the very essence of Chesapeake society," that

the boundary between the immediate family . . . and a larger collection of kin and friends--the collective family of the neighborhood--was slim, permeable. And if the former was fragile, the latter was not. In this situation, stability for children as well as for adults lay not so much in the transitory family of the household but in the permanent network of friends and relations within which the family was embedded. Instability and insecurity lay in being apart from a network.¹³³

Neighborhood networks were the concrete, geographic anchors of Henrico community life.

Henrico frontier families developed significant relationships with other settlers in their

¹³²Lorena S. Walsh and Russell R. Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine 69 (1974):227. See also Rutman and Rutman, "Parental Death," 167-72, n. 38; Daniel Blake Smith, "Mortality and Family in the Colonial Chesapeake," 403-05, n. 2, 410-17, 421-22.

¹³³Rutman and Rutman, A Place in Time, 120.

near environment within an elastic spatial proximity of five or six miles as they interacted in each other's homes, on each other's plantations, and at local churches and courts.

CHAPTER 9

FAMILY PLANTATIONS ON THE HENRICO FRONTIER, 1650-1675: THE CULTURE OF SETTLEMENT

Henrico settlement was also a cultural process involving "particular men and women shaping their lives in response to changing social and environmental conditions."¹ By asking the question, "What did they do?" in relation to the land which they "settled," it is possible to gain insight into settlement patterns as a basis for and an expression of the culture created by these 1650-1675 Henrico patentees and their frontier families. What these Henrico families did with land over time to "settle" themselves was a cultural process, a uniquely human activity, which facilitated their adaptation to the New World environment. The view of culture here is necessarily holistic and integrative for the purposes of understanding family-land relationships within a human and family ecological perspective.²

¹T. H. Breen, "Creative Adaptations: Peoples and Cultures," in Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era, eds., Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 197.

²Human action or activity is conceived as a function of the integration of human knowledge and movement or behavior in the broadest sense; "culture" as human activity can then be conceived as either a part or a whole, singular or plural, and as encompassing a variety of space and time dimensions. Culture thus integrates both "cognition" and "behavior" and is also viewed holistically because it is more than "mere" cognition and "mere" behavior. The area of "cultural ecology" being developed by geographers and anthropologists is helpful in identifying cultural aspects of man and physical environment
(continued...)

The cultural aspects of Henrico settlement help define settlement and adaptation in terms of creative human activity which developed over time and within certain constraints.

²(...continued)

relationships----based on "the premise that culture is the uniquely human method of meeting physical environmental challenges, that culture is an adaptive system" (Terry G. Jordan and Matti Kaups, The American Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, 29). According to its "particularistic" version, cultural ecology recognizes that "separate adaptive pathways result from the interplay between the unique history of a culture and its physical environment. Culture channels the adaptive strategy by helping to determine what resources are meaningful in a particular setting, but the individual person gains considerable decision-making and innovative power" (ibid., 32). The work of cultural geographer Carl Sauer was foundational to the development of cultural ecology in geography (note ibid., 18). For a thematic introduction to Sauer, see John Leighly, ed., Land and Life: A Selection From the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963). For textbook introductions to Sauer and the emergence of a cultural ecology perspective in geography, see Terry G. Jordan and Lester Rowntree, The Human Mosaic: A Thematic Introduction to Cultural Geography, 2d ed., New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1979, 1-33, 75-113; Robert H. Stoddard, Brian W. Blouet, and David J. Wishart, Human Geography: People, Places, and Cultures, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1986, 1-8, 86-118). Within the discipline of anthropology, archaeologists have made significant contributions to the development of cultural ecology (see Patrick V. Kirch, "The Archaeological Study of Adaptation: Theoretical and Methodological Issues," in Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory, vol. 3, ed. Michael B. Schiffer, New York: Academic Press, 1980, 101-56; Stanton W. Green, "Toward a General Model of Agricultural Systems," in Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory, vol. 3, ed. Michael B. Schiffer, New York: Academic Press, 1980, 311-55). Of course, culture was just as significant in meeting social environmental challenges in the New World, as Breen profoundly states. "Colonization . . . brought thousands of men and women into contact who ordinarily would have had nothing to do with each other . . . they were forced to adjust not only to unfamiliar environments but also to a host of strangers, persons of different races, cultures, and backgrounds. These challenges were staggering" (Breen, "Creative Adaptations," in Colonial British America, ed. Greene and Pole, 195). Thus, in a "specific historical context," Breen argues that "culture was a continuing series of reciprocal relationships, involving borrowing and resistance, conflict and cooperation, modification and invention" (ibid., 197).

Fee-Simple Land

One fundamental cultural aspect of settlement exemplified by Henrico frontier family patentees of 1650-1675 was the legal institution of "fee-simple" land. At a point in time, settlers acquired land as a "fee simple estate," thereby becoming independent "freeholders." The "fee-simple estate" defined all original private landownership in colonial Virginia. Robert Mitchell identified private landownership as "the most fundamental institutional expression of Euro-American cultural tradition" in the early colonial period; compared to Indian occupation,

the continuity of American continental space was broken by the superimposition of European-derived cognitive and institutional organization on the land prior to actual occupancy and utilization. Once occupied, it was those who owned the land who exerted the most formative cultural influences on the structure of the new society.³

The heritage of seventeenth century English colonists, however, mitigates against any simplistic understanding of private landownership.⁴ The acquisition of a "fee-simple

³Robert D. Mitchell, "The Formation of Early American Cultural Regions: An Interpretation," in European Settlement and Development in North America: Essays on Geographical Change in Honour and Memory of Andrew Hill Clark, ed. James R. Gibson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 70.

⁴Alan Macfarlane's provocative analysis of private landownership in England coincides with the early colonial period, see The Origins of English Individualism: The Family, Property and Social Transition (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978). With reference to sociological and anthropological characterizations of England's transformation from "peasant society" to "modern society" during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries--largely based on historical assumptions about a transition from "feudal/communal" to "private" landownership during this period--Macfarlane pushes back the origins of both "private" landownership and "modern" family-land relationships in England to a period prior to the thirteenth century.

estate" meant a great deal to English people in the seventeenth century and gave English colonists a great deal of freedom in adapting to the New World.

Feudal Relationships to Land

In seventeenth century England, the relation between people and the land was largely defined by feudal and manorial law which governed land tenure and the agricultural economy.⁵ Feudal and manorial law emerged after the mid-eleventh century out of the feudal and manorial customs established between "lords" and "their men" that "came into being when the wandering tribes from western Asia, having swallowed up what was left of the Roman Empire in the West, finally settled down in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries."⁶ From the seventh century to the seventeenth century, there was a great deal of change in the customs and laws which related people to land in England as well as in all of Western Europe.⁷

⁵Harold J. Berman, Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 296; Berman provides an invaluable introduction to the emergence of feudal law which defined what was later called "feudalism" in Western European and English culture, especially the chapters on "Feudal Law" and "Manorial Law," 295-332. F. J. West explicates early historical developments which established a "feudal" relationship between people and land in Western Europe in "On the Ruins of Feudalism--Capitalism?" in Feudalism, Capitalism and Beyond, ed. Eugene Kamenka and R. S. Neale (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), 50-60. Older legal works which make an understanding of feudalism very accessible are Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, The History of English Law, Before the Time of Edward I, 2nd. ed., vol. 1 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1899; reprt. ed., New York: The Legal Classics Library, Division of Gryphon Editions, 1982); Blackstone, Commentaries, vol. 2.

⁶Berman, Law and Revolution, 298.

⁷Change in feudal and manorial customs and laws over several centuries is emphasized by West, Berman, and Blackstone (see West, "On the Ruins of Feudalism--Capitalism?," 50-60; Berman, Law and Revolution, 295-332; Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:44-102, 382-83).

Feudal customs originated in a military context with the personal "lord-vassal" relationship. Great men, chiefs, or "lords" supported and protected "their men"--free companions or followers who in turn served, defended, and honored "their lord." Over time, the lord's men became known as his "vassals," a situation which transformed the meaning of "vassal" from "one who served" to "armed retainers who were free and honourable men" and who had "commended themselves to a lord."⁸

This personal relationship, common in a time of chronic insecurity when lords needed soldiers and men needed protection, was a mutual contract, solemnly undertaken by a vassal's kneeling before his lord, placing his hands in his and swearing to be his faithful man, to shun all that he shunned, to hate all that he hated, until death do us part, or words to that effect. The contract was general in its terms, but it was binding upon both parties. It established the link of lord and man which could be dissolved only by death.⁹

During the eighth century, as lords and vassals settled down, "this personal relationship began to combine with a real property relationship" when lords began supporting their vassals with a grant of land--first called a "benefice" and later called a "feudum," "feud," "fief," or (especially in England) a "fee."¹⁰ The granting of a feudum of land was called the "enfeoffment" of a vassal by a lord and was accompanied by a ceremony and witnessed by other vassals.¹¹ As lord-vassal relationships spread throughout England

⁸West, "On the Ruins of Feudalism--Capitalism?," 54.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid., 52-55; Blackstone, Commentaries, 45-47, 50; Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:234-35.

¹¹Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:53.

and Western Europe, the new element of the "feudum" became increasingly definitive of the relationship between people and land.

Essential to the structure of feudal landholding was that the grant of a feudum by a lord to his vassal was not a grant of ownership but rather a grant of possession of land.

The grantor was called the proprietor, or lord,; being he who retained the dominion or ultimate property of the feud or fee: and the grantee, who had only the use and possession, according to the terms of the grant, was stiled the feudatory or vasal, which was only another name for the tenant or holder of the lands.¹²

For any feudum, there were at least two individuals with rights to it: the lord of the feudum and the lord's vassal-now-tenant of the feudum. Possession of a feudum or fief meant that one "held" land without owning it, per se, and the customs and laws associated with feudums or fiefs became the customs and laws of land "tenures"--the term used to designate such land "holding."¹³

The possession of a feudum was conditioned in at least two ways by the personal lord-vassal relationship. First, in order to possess (and to continue possessing) the feudum, the vassal-now-tenant owed "services" to the lord. Second, the security of the vassal-now-tenant's possession of his feudum was more or less dependent on the lord of the feudum by virtue of commendation--doing "homage" and swearing "fealty" or pledges of faith and loyalty by a vassal to his lord. "Services" and "homage and fealty" were

¹²Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:53.

¹³Berman states that "land, in fact, was not 'owned' by anyone; it was 'held'" in the form of "'tenures'," noting that "'tenure,' derived from the Latin word tenere, 'to hold', itself means 'a holding'" (Law and Revolution, 312).

essential to the feudal bond between a lord and any vassal who became his tenant.¹⁴

The nature of the feudal bond by which vassals possessed land originally subordinated the property element to the personal element in lord-vassal relationships:

At the first introduction of feuds, as they were gratuitous, so also they were precarious and held at the will of the lord, who was the sole judge whether his vassal performed his services faithfully. Then they became certain for one or more years. . . . But, when the general migration was pretty well over . . . a more permanent degree of property was introduced, and feuds began now to be granted for the life of the feudatory. But still feuds were not yet hereditary; though frequently granted, by the favour of the lord, to the children of the former possessor; till in process of time it became unusual, and was therefore thought hard, to reject the heir, if he were capable to perform the services.¹⁵

The apparent subjection and insecurity of vassals with regards to land held of a lord was offset by both the lord's and the vassal's estimation that a vassal's services were honorable and his homage and fealty were sacred. Because the nature of the personal relationship between lords and vassals was considered honorable and sacred, the feudal bond originated as an honorable and sacred relationship.

The feudum, however, was a dynamic element in the lord-vassal relationship that began to change the nature of the personal relationship between lord and vassal. First, questions concerning the inheritance of a feudum or fief decided in favor of a vassal's heir "diminished the authority of a lord" because it modified the original principle that

¹⁴This analysis is suggested by Pollock and Maitland who point out that "very generally the mere bond of tenure is complicated with another bond, that of homage and fealty" (History of English Law, 1:296). Berman refers to homage and fealty as "the feudal contract" (Law and Revolution, 306).

¹⁵Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:55.

"the ending of the personal relationship involved the ending of the property right."¹⁶

Second, a feudum or fief, since it was land, was desirable in and of itself, which "led men into becoming vassals of a number of lords."¹⁷ West describes the immediate implications of one vassal now holding land from more than one lord:

Whereas the original bond between lord and man was unique, its association with land led to the lord-vassal ties being duplicated or multiplied, and this multiplication of personal engagements weakened any single one of them by the conflicting duties and obligations it set up. What if the interests of two of a man's lords clashed? To whom did he owe his allegiance? Conversely which of a man's lords would take responsibility for him?¹⁸

Third, the feudum or fief itself rather than the personal bond began to determine obligations or "service" due to the lord, at least the amount of "service" due being determined to some degree by the amount of land held.¹⁹ Fourth, the feudum or fief became more important than the personal element in lord-vassal relationships so that a feudum or "fief was then the cause of entering into a contract of vassalage, not its result" or reward.²⁰ Subsequently, the formula for the "homage and fealty" ceremony commending a vassal to a lord was modified to "'I become your man in respect of the tenement which I hold of you.'"²¹ Also, the "service" due to a lord for land became

¹⁶West, "On the Ruins of Feudalism--Capitalism?," 55-56.

¹⁷Ibid., 56.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid., 57.

²¹Ibid., citing Bracton's rendering for English law.

more and more attached to the feudum itself and more and more detached from the vassal; in other words, "the land was burdened with service, not the man" or the vassal.²² Finally, the grafting of the feudum or fief into the lord-vassal relationship gained its own legal representation: "with enfeoffment of the vassal a reciprocal landlord-tenant relationship was also established."²³ By the mid-eleventh century, the feudum had become the basis for an entire legal order called "feudal law"--the law which governed the relations between lords, tenants, and tenures of all feudums of land; feudal law was necessarily abstract.²⁴ In this context, "manorial law" can be seen as related to feudal law because it also dealt with lords, tenants, and tenures but at the concrete level of the daily workings of an agricultural economy.

The Feudal Hierarchy

Feudal law, the law of land holdings or land tenures, was marked by a complexity that was hierarchical and continuously changing through the seventeenth century. The complexity of feudal law arose from the fact that the feudal bond was fundamentally structured on one level by property relationships between lords, tenants, and tenures and on another level by personal relationships between lords and vassals. The services which vassals or tenants owed their lords for their lands were rendered on a regular or irregular basis and could vary tremendously from lord to lord or between several tenants of the same lord. Additional complications were due to the fact that land tenures were skewed

²²Ibid.

²³Berman, Law and Revolution, 305.

²⁴Note Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:234.

by the historical primacy of lord-vassal relationships which, however honorable or sacred the relationship, assumed more or less the "personal subjection of vassals" and the "economic domination by lords." For vassals who held land from a lord,

economic domination had previously taken the form, in many places, of the power of the lord to enter the fief and supervise its administration and take its products, the absence of any right on the part of the vassal to alienate the fief, and the power of the lord to have it back on the death of the vassal.²⁵

Lordly subjection and domination of vassals was somewhat offset by the reciprocal nature of the lord-vassal relationship, because (1) it was a relationship between free men and (2) lords usually needed the services provided by their vassals or tenants (whether the service of a knight or service translated into money payments). The element of reciprocity in the feudal bond favored legal developments which "increased personal freedom and economic autonomy" for vassals who held land from their lords.²⁶ As a result, a vassal who held land became more and more free from the will of a lord because "more and more he managed the fief without the lord's strict personal oversight."²⁷

A hierarchical system of land holdings or tenures was one of the most definitive characteristics of feudal law. The hierarchical nature of feudal law stemmed directly from the hierarchy inherent in personal lord-vassal relationships. With the granting of feudums or fiefs, the pre-feudal, or primarily personal, lord-vassal hierarchy was integrated more

²⁵Berman, Law and Revolution, 304.

²⁶Ibid., 305.

²⁷Ibid.

fully with emerging military, economic, and political relationships.²⁸ As a result, the feudal hierarchy of land tenures represented military, economic, and political bonds as well--a given lord might be king and a given vassal might be at the same time king's knight, a baron of the king's nobility, and a tenant-in-chief of the king's land. Also with the granting of feudums or fiefs, the personal lord-vassal hierarchy was extended beyond a two-tier hierarchy when vassals who received fiefs began granting parts of their fiefs to other freemen who became their vassals/tenants. This process was called "subinfeudation" and resulted in the construction of a "feudal ladder" of land holdings or tenures.²⁹ A feudal ladder seen from the bottom began with the tenant who possessed the fief; this

person whom we may call its owner, the person who has the right to use and abuse the land, to cultivate it or leave it uncultivated, to keep all others off it, holds the land of the king either immediately or mediately. In the simplest case he holds it immediately of the king; only the king and he have rights in it. But it well may happen that between him and the

²⁸According to Berman, "one of the most important integrating elements of feudal law was its combination of political and economic rights--the right of government and the right of use and disposition of land" (ibid., 312). Blackstone details the military aspects of the feudal hierarchy: "Every receiver of lands, or feudatory, was therefore bound, when called upon by his benefactor, or immediate lord of his feud or fee, to do all in his power to defend him. Such benefactor or lord was likewise subordinate to and under the command of his immediate benefactor or superior; and so upwards to the prince or general himself. . . . Thus the feudal connection was established, a proper military subjection was naturally introduced, and an army of feudatories were always ready enlisted, and mutually prepared to muster, not only in defence of each man's own several property, but also in defence of the whole, and of every part of this their newly acquired country" (Commentaries, 2:46).

²⁹Berman, Law and Revolution, 304-05, 312; Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:232-33. See also Black's Law Dictionary, s.v. "subinfeudation."

king there stand other persons; Z holds immediately of Y, who holds of X, who holds of V, who holds.....of A, who holds of the king.³⁰

As a result, many vassals-now-tenants holding land by performing services for superior lords became inferior or middle lords who received services for land held by vassals/tenants.³¹

A feudal hierarchy (based on land holding or tenure) became a fundamental organizing principle in England, particularly after the Norman invasion and conquest of England in 1066. As a result of his conquest, William of Normandy not only became the new King of England but also became in theory the chief feudal lord over all the land in England.³² King William did not introduce a nation-wide system of feudal land holding or tenures until some two decades after the conquest. A threatened invasion from Denmark revealed England's military weakness and in order to put England in a state of military readiness after

the danger was over, the king held a great council to inquire into the state of the nation; the immediate consequence of which was the compiling of the great survey called domesday-book, which was finished in the next year: and in the latter end of that very year the king was attended by all his nobility at Sarum; where all the principal landholders submitted their lands to the yoke of military tenure, became the king's vasals, and did

³⁰Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:233.

³¹Ibid.; Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:59-60.

³²The legal sources already cited are sufficient for a summary of this period of English history in terms of the implications of events and law on English land holding: Berman, "Royal Law: Sicily, England, Normandy, France," in Law and Revolution, 404-09, 434-61; Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:64-225; Blackstone, "Of the Feodal System," in Commentaries, 2:44-58.

homage and fealty to his person. This seems to have been the era of formally introducing the feudal tenures by law.³³

The peculiar English military tenure of holding land by "knight service" originated from this historical context and structured the English feudal hierarchy into a coherent whole.

William the Conqueror had, in effect, leased all the land of England to his tenants-in-chief on condition that they provide him with an army of about five thousand mounted knights; they, in turn, had leased much of their land to subtenants, on condition that each provide a certain number of such knights. Each knight was to serve for forty days a year, at his own expense. The duty to furnish knights went with the land, which was therefore said to be held in knight's service. The tenure, or "fee" (feod, feud, fief), could not be split up in such a way as to deprive the superior lord of his knight's service and other feudal "dues."³⁴

A feudal hierarchy of landholding or tenures designed to achieve certain military objectives in the late eleventh century thus absorbed the entire English state. Thereafter, English land law upheld the feudal maxim that "every acre of land is 'held of' the king."³⁵ Furthermore, the feudal concept of the king as "lord paramount" in the feudal hierarchy became fundamental to the sovereignty of English kings: "All land in England must be held of the king of England, otherwise he would not be king of all England."³⁶

In everyday life, the English feudal hierarchy was directly experienced through the local phenomenon of "the manor"--the land of a lord and his tenants, including "unfree"

³³Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:49.

³⁴Berman, Law and Revolution, 440.

³⁵Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:232. Blackstone declares "the grand and fundamental maxim of all feudal tenure is this; that all lands were originally granted out by the sovereign, and are therefore holden, either mediately or immediately, of the crown" (Commentaries, 2:53).

³⁶Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 2:3.

tenants.³⁷ "Unfree" tenants or "unfree" men were actually below the feudal hierarchy proper because only freemen could be vassals and hold or possess land that was recognized by feudal law. A manor was not only a property unit but also functioned, in most cases, as both an agricultural unit requiring cooperation between all members of the manor and a political unit administering justice through a court.³⁸ A "typical manor" was identified by four features: (1) the land of a lord and his tenants in a specific geographic area; (2) inhabited and cultivated lands divided into three parts--a) land called the lord's "demesne" where his house and homestead were, b) land held of the lord by his freehold tenants, and c) land held of the lord by his unfree or customary tenants; (3) a given manor may be one of several manors held by a lord; (4) the lord usually held a court for his manor.³⁹ The nature of manor life was such that "the manor was in many ways like a small clan or village, or a large household."⁴⁰

³⁷This summary based on Berman, Law and Revolution, 307-10, 316-32; Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:362-66, 412-32, 594-605; Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:90-95.

³⁸The phenomenon of the manor court, which was based on the political jurisdiction of lords over their vassals, became specifically territorial with the granting of feudums or fiefs of land; thus, "holding court" was an essential component of feudal "lordship" (see Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:531). Berman explains that "it was a basic principle of justice throughout the West that every lord had the right to hold court, that is, to preside over his vassals--or over his tenants, whether or not they were vassals--in court proceedings. This principle was an expression of the merger of military-economic and political relations: the military-economic enterprise of administering a fief was at the same time the political enterprise of governing the community of people who were attached to the fief. And government took the form, chiefly, of exercising jurisdiction through proceedings of a broadly judicial character" (Law and Revolution, 307).

³⁹Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:596-97.

⁴⁰Berman, Law and Revolution, 322.

The feudal hierarchy fundamentally shaped manorial relationships. By virtue of the "lordship" granted by the jurisdictional or governmental power that came with his feudum, the lord of the manor could economically oppress tenants and maintain political inequality between himself and any unfree tenants. Even if he was not exploitive, the "lordship" of the lord was expressed to tenants by the rents and/or services the lord received from his tenants, by the labor tenants had to do for the lord on the lord's "demesne" or homestead (more "base" or "servile" for unfree tenants), and by the court which the lord presided over as judge. Manorial customs emerged, however, which limited what a lord of the manor could do in relation to his tenants or "peasants" and showed that "the interdependence between the peasants and the lord of the manor tended to overcome, to some extent, the hardships of their legal insecurity."⁴¹ Especially when tenants acted collectively, lords were forced to make concessions to tenants if they wanted to retain a labor force on the manor. Services for land which tenants owed to the lord were either limited by legal title (for freeholders) or became reified as manorial custom (for non-freeholders). The freemen, especially those who were freeholders, could make an appeal to the lord's court for redress of wrongs and securing of rights. The lord himself might free his "unfree" tenants through direct manumission or by legal action which treated the "unfree" man like a freeman--such as enfeoffing an "unfree" tenant with a freehold.⁴² Over time, certain manorial customs limiting the "lordship" of the lord of

⁴¹Berman, Law and Revolution, 318.

⁴²On manumission of unfree tenants, see Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:418, 427; Blackstone, Commentaries, 94-95.

the manor gained the force of law. "The strengthening of manorial law was thus an index of the balance of power between the sharply conflicting interests of the lord and his immediate entourage on the one hand, and those of the peasant households of the manor taken as a whole, on the other."⁴³

Variations in the feudal hierarchy were directly represented by different types of feudal land holdings or tenures. Any feudal landholding or tenure was structured by the hierarchical relationships between a lord, a tenant, and their divided interests or rights in a piece of land. A piece of land or real ground which was held or possessed by a tenant of a lord was called a "tenement;" the type of holding of a piece of land or real ground (or its manner of possession) by a tenant of a lord was called a "tenure."⁴⁴ The analysis "of feudal tenure" by Pollock and Maitland thus begins by acknowledging its complexity:

We may at least notice that it seems to be a complex of personal rights and of real rights. On the one hand, the lord has rights against his tenant, the tenant rights against his lord: the tenant owes services to his lord, the lord, at least normally, owes defence and warranty to his tenant. On the other hand, both lord and tenant have rights in the land, in the tenement, the subject of the tenure.⁴⁵

⁴³Berman, Law and Revolution, 322.

⁴⁴Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:59.

⁴⁵Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:236. Pollock and Maitland go on to elaborate that "the tenant in demesne, the tenant on the lowest step of the feudal scale, obviously has rights in the land, amounting to a general, indefinite right of using it as he pleases. But his lord also is conceived as having rights in the land. We have not adequately described his position by saying that he has a right to services from his tenant. Of him as well as of his tenant it may be said that he holds the land, not indeed in demesne but in service, that the land is his land and his fee, and even that he is seised, that is, possessed of the land. What has been said of the demesne tenant's immediate lord, may be said also of that lord's lord; he also has rights in the land and the land is in some sort his" (1:236-37).

The different types of English land tenures originally represented significant variations along lines of the personal status of the tenant and the jurisdiction of the lord with respect to a fee of land.⁴⁶ Variations in status and jurisdiction with respect to land were expressed in feudal custom and law in terms of the nature and types of services owed for land, as well as the duration or length of time for which the land was held.⁴⁷

The most fundamental distinction between different types of English feudal land tenures was that between "free" and "unfree" tenures or between "free" and "unfree" tenements. Bracton, summarizing feudal law in the thirteenth century, begins his

⁴⁶Pollock and Maitland reason that English land tenure was integrated with personal status and jurisdiction (History of English Law, 1:231-32).

⁴⁷This discussion follows Blackstone's classic analysis in Commentaries, (2:54-57, 60-62, 103-04; plus Chaps. 7-9). Blackstone's analysis of "services" and "time" may be diagrammed as this:

SERVICES	FREE	BASE
CERTAIN	"Free & Common Socage"	"Villein-Socage"
UNCERTAIN	"Knight-Service"	"Villein"

TIME	FREEHOLD	LESS THAN FREEHOLD
INHERITANCE	X (Greatest Interest)	
LIFE	X	
YEARS		X (Lease)
AT WILL		X "Villein"
SUFFERANCE		X (Beyond time)

One could derive from Blackstone here that services represented the "quality" of interest a tenant had in land and that the time factor represented the "quantity" of interest one had in land. Berman points out that "the very idea of measuring property rights by their duration in time was largely an invention of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries in the West. This idea persisted long after the decline of feudalism; indeed, it has persisted in English and American land law to this day" (Law and Revolution, 312-3).

classification of feudal tenures with this fundamental distinction: "tenements are of two kinds, frank-tenement, and villinage."⁴⁸ "Frank" meant "free" as distinct from "villinage" (or "villein"). The distinction between "free" and "villein" was applied not only to tenements, tenures, but also to tenants, meaning that some men who held land were not recognized as "free." By the mid-twelfth century, an unfree man in England would not have been a "slave," but rather a "villein" or "serf" who was "unfree" but not a "slave."⁴⁹ Thus,

the name "villeinage" at once tells us that we are approaching a region in which the law of tenure is as a matter of fact intertwined with the law of personal status: "villeinage" is a tenure, it is also a status. On the one hand, the tenant in villeinage is normally a villein; the unfree tenements are held by unfree men; on the other hand, the villein usually has a villein tenement; the unfree man is an unfree tenant.⁵⁰

The free tenement also connoted personal status during this period. Several years after Bracton wrote, a "franktenement, or defined by Britton to be 'the possession of the soil by a freeman'."⁵¹ A free tenement was also called a "freehold" and the freeman who held the freehold was a "freehold tenant" or a "freeholder."⁵²

⁴⁸Cited in Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:61.

⁴⁹Berman, Law and Revolution, 317, 320. Slavery had been present in England--"for example, almost 10 percent of the population recorded in Domesday Book just after the Norman Conquest were slaves. These were mostly herdsmen and ploughmen. In the succeeding two or three generations most of them were given small holdings as serfs, and slavery in England virtually disappeared" (320).

⁵⁰Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:358-59.

⁵¹Cited in Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:104.

⁵²*Ibid.*; Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:356-57.

The personal status of an unfree man originally determined that his tenement and tenure of land were unfree. An unfree man was a man who was more or less "bound" to the land of a manor by a lord and, over time, his unfree status was transferred to the land which he occupied for the use of his household. In order to continue occupying manorial land, the "villein" or "serf" had to perform heavy and undesirable labor services for the lord and pay various "rents" or "dues" to the lord--both of which the lord might increase, as long as the increase was "reasonable."⁵³ The "services" by which an unfree tenant could occupy land were also characteristic of his personal status--no free man was required to perform such "base" services for his free tenement. "Base services were such as were fit only for peasants, or persons of a servile rank; as to plough the lord's land, to make his hedges, to carry out his dung, or other mean employments."⁵⁴ An unfree man was lower than the free vassal; at least the vassal performed "honorable" services and was worthy of doing "homage" and swearing "fealty" to a lord.

The personal status of a free man meant that he could acquire and possess a "freehold" of land. If a free man gained a freehold, then he possessed his land in a way consistent with his personal status--by "free services such as were not unbecoming the character of a soldier, or a freeman, to perform."⁵⁵ The two major types of "free" services were not equally valued in the feudal ladder of freehold tenures, however. "Knight-service" tenure was esteemed "the most free and honorable services" because

⁵³Berman, Law and Revolution, 317; Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:90-98.

⁵⁴Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:61.

⁵⁵Ibid., 2:60-61.

providing a fully equipped knight was attached to tenures highest up on the feudal ladder.⁵⁶ "Knight-service" was closest to the king, was closest to a "proper" feud (which was military), and was held by most of the English nobility.⁵⁷ "Free and common socage" tenure was less attached to the English feudal hierarchy, because "socage, a term not found in Normandy," referred to services that were definitively non-military.⁵⁸ "Socage" services were still "free and honourable services; but such as were liquidated or reduced to an absolute certainty"--a fixed amount of labor (usually agricultural) or money, sometimes a nominal token or an article of luxury.⁵⁹ "Free and common socage" tenure not only spread among common freemen engaged in agriculture, but a version of it ("gavelkind") predominated in Kent among people who managed to preserve English customs of land-holding despite the Norman conquest.⁶⁰ Personal status associated with "socage" services was apparently limited only by the fact that socage tenants did not provide the king and his nobility with knights and was therefore outside the Normandy-derived English feudal regime.

Perhaps the more significant variable which determined the nature of free and unfree tenures was the "jurisdiction of the lord." In unfree tenures, the jurisdiction of the

⁵⁶Ibid., 2:78.

⁵⁷Ibid., 2:60, 62-63; Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:252-82.

⁵⁸Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:291-94.

⁵⁹Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:78-79; Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:291-96.

⁶⁰Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:186-88, 292-94; Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:80-81.

"lord of the manor" was a given. The "villein" tenant or "serf" occupied manorial land "at the will of the lord" which was only restrained by the benevolence of the lord and the custom of the manor.⁶¹ The unfree man was below the feudal hierarchy and was therefore not joined to land by a feudal bond. In free tenures, however, the jurisdiction of the "lord of the fee" was much more limited, especially in terms of time. Because of the feudal bond, a bond formed by contractual reciprocity of services and secured by oaths between a free lord and a free tenant, the free tenant could possess land against the "lord of the fee" at least through the tenant's lifetime and perhaps in perpetuity through the tenant's heirs. The terms "free tenement" and "freehold" did not vaguely contrast with the term "unfree;" specifically

these terms imply that the tenant does not hold merely at the will of another, and that he does not hold for some definite space of time: a tenant at will is not a freeholder, a tenant for years is not a freeholder.⁶²

An indeterminate time element was definitive of free tenure because the "end" of the tenure was not fixed by the "lord of the fee"--the length of the freeholder's life or the existence of the freeholder's heirs could not be brought under the jurisdiction of the lord.

Free tenures were nonetheless never completely free of conditions imposed by the "lord of the fee." If a free tenant held a "fee" or heritable interest in land that allowed the tenant to define his heirs, then the "lord of the fee" was entirely excluded from his tenant's freehold in terms of time. In other words, a "lord of the fee" completely

⁶¹Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:93.

⁶²Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:357; see also Blackstone, Commentaries, Chaps. 7-9, 2:103-51.

transferred his own absolute interest of heritability in land (and gave up control over the time element of a tenure) if he granted his free tenant an unrestricted "fee." This type of estate in land ("estate" meaning "status" in relation to land) was called a "fee-simple" estate.⁶³ A "lord of the fee" could restrict the inheritance of land by specifying certain kinds of heirs or certain requirements to be met by the heirs; this second type of freehold was a "limited fee" representing "such estates of inheritance as are clogged and confined with conditions, or qualifications, of any sort."⁶⁴ A third type of freehold, the "life estate," did not pass a "fee" or heritable interest to the free tenant; at the death of the tenant, the estate in land reverted back to the lord or the heirs of the lord. "Estates for life . . . were, for some time, the highest estate that any man could have in a feud," because a feud granted by a lord "was not in it's original hereditary."⁶⁵ A life estate in a "fee," then, was probably the first type of freehold granted by a lord to a vassal, while an unrestricted heritable "fee" had always been a chief lord's claim to land.

Freehold tenures that were part of a feudal hierarchy were always conditioned by the services due to the "lord of the fee." Even when these were as nominal as a rose or peppercorn delivered once a year and agreed upon by both tenant and lord, services inevitably reminded the tenant of who was "lord of the fee." The services which burdened free tenures varied as much as lord-tenant relationships, but the jurisdiction of

⁶³Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:103-09; Blackstone explains that "estate . . . is called in Latin, status; it signifying the condition, or circumstance, in which the owner stands, with regard to his property" (2:103). See comments on "status" and "estate" in Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:407-08.

⁶⁴Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:109.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 2:120.

the "lord of the fee" was clearly differentiated between the certain services of "free and common socage" tenure and the uncertain services of "knight-service" tenure. "Knight-service" was uncertain because the military service which the tenant owed to the "lord of the fee" was personal service, and emphasized the personal element in the feudal bond which predominated when lords first granted feuds to their vassals. The personal nature of "knight-service" and its high esteem as a feudal bond allowed the "lord of the fee" to claim additional services from the tenant to help the lord administer the lord-tenant-land relationship. In England there were seven additional "burdens" to tenure by "knight-service"--all of which were clearly an imposition of the will of the "lord of the fee."⁶⁶ By contrast, the certain services of "free and common socage" tenure were rendered in complete detachment from the personal elements of the feudal bond--a fixed amount of money or labor which could not be changed at the will of the "lord of the fee."

English freehold tenures clearly ranged along a continuum from "most" to "least" subject to the jurisdiction, or will, of the "lord of the fee." A life estate held by knight-service was a freehold most subject to the "lord of the fee" and closest to the historic form of the feud granted by lords to their vassals. The fee-simple estate held by free and common socage, especially if owing a nominal rent, was a freehold least subject to the "lord of the fee" and farthest from the historic form of the feud. In the England of the mid-eleventh century, the fee-simple estate held by knight-service was more highly esteemed because of the honor accorded to the king and his nobility at the top of the

⁶⁶Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:62-73; Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:252-82. See Berman's concise summary of the seven additional burdens of English knight-service tenure in Law and Revolution, 627, n.41.

feudal hierarchy. Based on the feudal bond, however, a humble free man with a heritable freehold in free and common socage who owed a few days of labor for his tenure was as free of the will of the "lord of the fee" as the highest baron on the feudal ladder.

Changes in Feudal Relationships

A feudal polity based on the loyalty of lords in a hierarchy of military land tenures did not guarantee peaceful landholding in England, however. Neither William the Conqueror nor his three successors developed "the legal institutions needed to keep peace in England in the long run. The country was torn by violent disorders, and especially by private warfare over rights in land."⁶⁷ The feudal bond had broken down. Lawless lords could exploit weak kings and take advantage of

a defect in the Anglo-Norman system of government, under which the king or his chief lieutenant had to march continually through the land with his armies in order to keep peace among his tenants and subtenants and to offer such protection as he could and would to the local population against oppression by their feudal lords.⁶⁸

The reign of Henry II beginning in 1154 brought resolution to England's civil anarchy by expanding the king's royal jurisdiction and by developing royal law. Henry II implemented "a new conception of kingship" whereby he could govern his people or "subjects" directly (using royal officials), rather than by governing indirectly through the feudal hierarchy.⁶⁹ Kingship that was less attached to the feudal hierarchy meant that "as temporal ruler of all his subjects, the king's principal tasks were to keep the peace

⁶⁷Berman, Law and Revolution, 442.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹See *ibid.*, 404, 408, 440-45.

and to do justice, which in practice meant, chiefly, to control violence and to regulate relationships arising from landholding."⁷⁰ Henry II also made laws and instituted legal reforms which established the English common law--a new legal system which drew its authority from principles used by ecclesiastical scholars to develop the canon law of the church and which included "criminal and civil matters that had previously been under local and feudal jurisdiction and local and feudal law."⁷¹

Henry II's reign initiated a transformation of the English kingship from feudal "rule by the will of the lord" to royal "rule by the law of the king." The rise of the king's royal law had important implications for English land holders because

the burning question of peaceful protection of rights in land was resolved by the development of the legal doctrine of seisin . . . disseisin, by force or by fraud, of land held by military or other freehold tenure was brought under the royal jurisdiction, and a body of law concerning it was gradually created.⁷²

The system of feudal landholding or tenures remained intact but now, due to formal legal rights of "seisin," free tenants who held free tenures or free tenements were protected by the king against all feudal lords who were the immediate and mediate "lords of the fee."⁷³ Protection by the king's law was so significant at the time that it became

⁷⁰Ibid., 408.

⁷¹Ibid., 404-09, 445-59; quote from 445. Berman argues the thesis that the development of the canon law of the church was the basis for the development of western law, both ecclesiastical and secular; Berman shows that, historically, the "papal revolution" instigated by Pope Gregory VII in the 1070s led to the development of canon law as a formal system of law (Law and Revolution, see especially 85-224, 273-94).

⁷²Ibid., 446.

⁷³"Seisin" was a fairly radical twelfth century European legal concept and is not found
(continued...)

definitive of the free tenement: "The term 'free tenement' has ever since Henry II's day implied possessory protection by the king's court."⁷⁴ If the lord of a fee dispossessed or "ejected" one of his freehold tenants, the freehold tenant could bypass the manor court of the lord and higher feudal courts and go directly to the king's courts to seek a remedy.

Feudal courts and

feudal justice is admitted, though its operation has been hampered and controlled; in particular, the king has given in his court a possessory remedy to every ejected freeholder. Every one who can say that he has been 'disseised unjustly and without a judgment of his free tenement' shall be restored to his seisin by the king's justices. Thus the term 'free tenement' becomes the pivot of a whole system of remedies.⁷⁵

The king's courts administered the king's justice by means of the king's law, thus providing an important check on the will of feudal lords and significantly modifying feudal jurisdiction over freehold tenures.

The work of Henry II implemented the idea that it was law that made the king something different from a feudal lord. The idea had been introduced into the English feudal polity that "to rule well a king requires two things, arms and laws."⁷⁶ Of course, problems arose if kings did not bind themselves by their own laws and the king's law

⁷³(...continued)

in classical or post-classical Roman law. According to Berman, "the concept of seisin was a product partly of the feudal concept of divided ownership and partly of the canonist concept of due process of law, with its antipathy to force and self-help" (ibid., 313; see also discussion, 453-56).

⁷⁴Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:357.

⁷⁵Ibid., 358.

⁷⁶The English legal treatises by Glanville (written during Henry II's reign) and Bracton (two generations later) stated this principle about the king's power (quoted in ibid., 459).

became merely an expression of the "will of the king." In England, sharp conflict between the will of King John (son of Henry II) and the will of his feudal barons at the top of the feudal hierarchy produced a political crisis that brought about the English Magna Charta of 1215. The King and the barons resolved their political conflicts only when both sides committed themselves to the "rule of law" expressed in "specific principles and rules" which were equally binding on both parties; the document which recorded this compact became known as the Magna Charta or Great Charter of 1215 and was renewed and modified several times by English kings and barons through 1297.⁷⁷ An article or "chapter" specifically declaring the right of a freeman against unjust dispossession of his free tenement was added to the Great Charter in 1217:

No Free-man shall be taken or imprisoned, or dispossessed, of his free tenement, or liberties, or free customs, or be outlawed, or exiled, or in any way destroyed; nor will we condemn him, nor will we commit him to prison, excepting by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the laws of the land.⁷⁸

The commitment to the Magna Charta--and the "rule of law" which it represented--prevented war between King John and his feudal barons in 1215. With the establishment of the Magna Charta in 1215, the will of the king himself was, theoretically at least, seen

⁷⁷Ibid., 293; An Historical Essay on the Magna Charta of King John: to which are added, The Great Charter in Latin and English; The Charters of Liberties and Confirmations, Granted by Henry III. and Edward I., London: John Major, Fleet Street, 1829; reprt. ed., Birmingham, AL: The Legal Classics Library, Division of Gryphon Editions, Ltd., 1982.

⁷⁸"Second Great Charter of King Henry III," 1217, Chap. 35, in Magna Charta, 127. Blackstone refers to this article in the "First Great Charter of King Edward I," 1297, Chap. 29, which included Chap. 36 from the 1217 Charter and so added, "To none will we sell, to none will we deny, to none will we delay right or justice" (in Magna Charta, 154; cited in Commentaries, 1:134).

as bound by law. Several decades later, the English jurist Bracton could declare "that the very power of the king was derived from law--it was lex that made him rex--and that when he ruled only by force of arms, he ceased to be king."⁷⁹ For freeholders, the rule of law under the Magna Charta not only protected land rights, but was a necessary development to prevent war over land rights.

Changes limiting the jurisdiction of feudal law were accompanied by changes in the feudal tenures themselves. One important development was the commutation of personal services into money payments owed to lords for both free (knight-service) and unfree (villein) tenures.⁸⁰ The substitution of money for personal services owed to a lord brought greater autonomy to both free and unfree tenants, but it was also burdensome because the service owed was still uncertain and the lord could demand or raise the amounts of money owed for these types of tenures. Fixed money payments were only characteristic of tenures in free and common socage and, when compared to unfixed money payments, "nothing sure could be a greater liberty or privilege, than to have the service ascertained, and not left to the arbitrary calls of the lord, as in the tenures of chivalry."⁸¹ As a result, socage tenures went up the feudal ladder; a nobleman despairing of the costs of knight-service tenure becomes "full willing to sink somewhat of dignity; he will gladly hold by the peasant's tenure when the most distinctive marks

⁷⁹Berman, Law and Revolution, 459.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 304-05, 321-22.

⁸¹Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:80.

of that tenure are immunities" from uncertain payments owed to a higher lord of the fee.⁸²

A second development was the increase in the rights of alienability of free and unfree tenures. The need and desire for land had permeated the boundaries between free and unfree land to such an extent by the thirteenth century that many free men acquired unfree villein tenures.⁸³ Also, many restraints on the alienation of land were lifted by the 1290 statute called Quia Emptores which "declared that every free man might sell his tenement or any part of it, but so that the feoffee should hold of the same lord and by the same services, of whom and by which the feoffor held."⁸⁴ Quia Emptores, substituting new rights of alienation for the old subinfeudation process, essentially stopped the making of new manors and new middle lords in the feudal hierarchy. The right to alienate land by will however, remained severely restricted until the reign of Henry VIII in the first half of the sixteenth century. Until that time, all freehold lands were disposed of at the death of the tenant by the laws of inheritance to heirs or, if no there were no heirs, by escheat to the lord of the fee.⁸⁵ The Statute of Wills passed under Henry VIII

enacted, that all persons being seised in fee-simple (except feme-coverts, infants, idiots, and persons of nonsane memory) might by will and testament in writing devise to any other person, but not to bodies

⁸²Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, 1:293-94.

⁸³Ibid., 1:357-59, 408.

⁸⁴Ibid., 1:337.

⁸⁵Blackstone states that "by the common law of England since the conquest, no estate, greater than for term of years, could be disposed of by testament; except only in Kent, and in some antient burghs, and a few particular manors" (in Commentaries, 2:374).

corporate, two thirds of their lands, tenements, and hereditaments, held in chivalry, and the whole of those held in socage.⁸⁶

New rights to alienate land by deeds and wills increased the autonomy of freeholders and further modified the feudal jurisdiction of lords over tenants.

Finally, the emancipation of villeins or serfs in England, largely by the mid-fifteenth century, brought abolition of villein tenures, *per se*.⁸⁷ A combination of historic factors accelerated the emancipation of villeins or serfs in England. First, for some time the clergy had been convincing feudal lords on their deathbeds "how dangerous a practice it was, for one christian man to hold another in bondage: so that temporal men, by little and little, by reason of that terror in their consciences, were glad to manumit their villeins."⁸⁸ Second, the bubonic plaque or "Black Death" which wiped out a third of the English population in the fourteenth century created such high demand for agricultural laborers that villeins or serfs could much more easily desert their manors to find work

⁸⁶Ibid., 2:375.

⁸⁷This is based on Berman's assessment: "by 1450 serfdom had been abolished in almost all of the western parts of Europe, though not in the central and eastern parts" (in Law and Revolution, 331). Christopher Hill is much less optimistic about this date for the end of serfdom in England and Europe (see Reformation to Industrial Revolution: The Making of Modern English Society, vol. 1, 1530-1780 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967), 40.

⁸⁸Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:96; Blackstone continues by pointing out that the clergy were hypocritical on the matter of manumission of villeins because the church held vast estates of land in England: "But the said holy fathers, with the abbots and priors, did not in like sort by theirs; for they also had a scruple in conscience [that] to impoverish and despoil the church so much, as to manumit such as were bond to their churches, or to the manors which the church had gotten; and so kept their villeins still."

and, after a requisite period of time, freedom in another part of England.⁸⁹ Third, organized rebellions by unfree men and their religious sympathizers, especially in 1381, pressured feudal lords to grant freedom to their villeins or serfs.⁹⁰ "A popular ballad expressed the response of the masses:

When Adam delved, and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman?"⁹¹

The ending of villenage or serfdom challenged the feudal hierarchy which had become dependent on a labor force bound to its land. Former villeins or serfs enjoyed a new status as free men and, minimally, this meant a new mobility. A change from unfree to free personal status however, did not change the status of the land which they still occupied because many English lords of the manors did not proceed to grant freehold status to all, or even much, of the land occupied by their newly freed villeins or serfs. Most of the land on a lord's manor that had been unfree remained unfree and the tenure by which free men held unfree land was simply renamed "copyhold" tenure (to designate "tenure by copy of court roll at the will of the lord") while villein tenants were renamed

⁸⁹The impact of the plague on manumission of villeins is from Winston S. Churchill's, The Birth Of Britain, vol. 1 of History of the English Speaking Peoples (New York: Dorset Press, 1990), 368-72. Pollock and Maitland indicate that "a serf will also become free . . . by dwelling for year and day on the king's demesne or in a privileged town" (History of English Law, 1:429).

⁹⁰A general reference is Churchill, Birth of Britain, 369-75. Berman discusses peasant resistance and the trend towards emancipation of serfs in Law and Revolution, 329-32. Mildred Campbell also mentions peasant resistance and the Black Death and peasant revolt as factors contributing to the abolition of villeins or serfs and their tenures (in The English Yeoman Under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1942), 16-19.

⁹¹From Churchill, Birth of Britain, 1:371.

"copyhold" tenants (or "tenant at the will of the lord according to the custom of the manor.")⁹² Even when copyhold tenants could show by the custom of the manor that the land they occupied was heritable or for life,

none of these interests amount to freehold; for the freehold of the whole manor abides always in the lord only, who hath granted out the use and occupation, but not the corporal seisin or true possession, of certain parts and parcels thereof, to these his customary tenants at will.⁹³

The uncertain services owed by copyhold tenants to the lord of the manor might achieve some fixity through custom and if commuted to money payments. Copyhold tenants, however, usually owed more in services to the lord of the manor than freehold tenants and, compared to leasehold tenants, the contractual reciprocity between copyhold tenants and the landlord was much more limited. Of course, freed villeins or serfs could acquire free land elsewhere, even on the same manor. Unfree tenure survived as a constant reminder of both feudal "lordship" and a feudal past where personal status pre-determined one's rights to land.

Free Land in the New World

At the time of colonization, England was undergoing tremendous changes. The types of changes found in England from the early sixteenth through the late eighteenth century have often been understood as part of the transition from "medieval" to "modern" society.⁹⁴ Some of the major economic changes were made possible by legal modifications of old feudal relationships in earlier centuries. For instance, the relation

⁹²Blackstone, Commentaries, 2:90, 148.

⁹³Ibid., 2:148.

⁹⁴See for instance Hill, Reformation to Industrial Revolution, 6-10.

between people and land was certainly affected by the achievement of greater "contractual reciprocity" between lords and tenants--a reciprocity which inevitably increased the "personal freedom and economic autonomy" of all landholders, whether they held free or unfree land.⁹⁵ The first implication of this change was that tenants gained greater control over both their land and their labor. The second implication was that tenants achieved greater freedom to buy and sell land and to seek compensation for labor services and products. These new economic freedoms encouraged new markets in land and labor that challenged traditional ways of life, bringing new economic opportunities and new economic difficulties. Those who held enough land to sustain themselves through a combination of their own agricultural and market activities were most secure in the midst of economic change. Those least secure economically were those who did not have enough land to provide for their subsistence and thus either had to supplement their agricultural activity with wage labor or were forced to depend totally on wage labor. As a result, those looking for either land or work (or both) in seventeenth century England were potential recruits for the New World where it was reported that land was cheap and labor was dear.

Old World feudal traditions continued to shape perceptions of land and labor--and consequently land and labor markets--in seventeenth century England. Both land and labor market values were skewed by the relative value each had long held in the old feudal hierarchy: large estates in land were the mark of nobility whereas manual labor necessary to live was engaged in by those below "gentleman" status and, furthermore,

⁹⁵This is Berman's insight, from Law and Revolution, 304-07, 322-24.

heavy manual labor done for others had once characterized the work of villeins and serfs.⁹⁶ Thus, it is not surprising to find land was more or less a "scarce" resource and that wage-labor was a "despised" resource in England at the time of colonization.

The seventeenth century English land market dealt with a critical economic resource. The value of land to Englishmen derived from a complex combination of social, subsistence, and commercial (or betterment) values. Hundreds of Englishmen were buying, selling, leasing, and renting land everyday; compared to the feudal past, the sheer number of transactions in land accompanied by the rise in land prices, suggests that land in seventeenth century England had become "commercialized."⁹⁷ The land market was activated not only by tenants exercising new economic freedoms, but also by landlords who realized that incomes based on fixed rents received from feudal tenures were falling behind rising prices. The desire for land consequently

furnished the small landholders with a competition so keen that they were either forced out of the game altogether or else, through the struggle, developed sharpened powers and a new aggressiveness that affected both the character and fortunes of the group Scheming landlords and land-hungry neighbors were ever ready to take advantage of a man's misfortunes.⁹⁸

⁹⁶See Laslett, "A One-Class Society: Social Divisions and Power Relations Amongst Nobility, Gentry, Townsmen, and Peasants," Chap. 2 in The World We Have Lost, 22-52; Campbell, The English Yeoman, 16-35, 65-67; and Christopher Hill, "Pottage for Freeborn Englishmen: Attitudes to Wage-Labour," in Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), 219-38.

⁹⁷See Campbell, "Land Hunger," Chap. 3 in English Yeoman, 64-104.

⁹⁸Campbell, English Yeoman, 68.

The English land market, by producing a new mobility in land, also contributed to greater social mobility and the breakdown of the old feudal hierarchy.⁹⁹ While some men became or remained landless, others gained enough wealth and land to enter the ranks of the gentry. Not surprisingly,

ancient families of the gentry were often not willing to welcome upstart knights or "gentlemen of the first head" into their ranks. The Earl of Arundel's public taunt to the first Lord Spencer regarding his humble ancestry has become a classic because of the quick-witted Spencer's reply that while his ancestors were tending sheep those of the noble earl were plotting treason.¹⁰⁰

The land market was further complicated by the demands of a growing population, by new supplies of land, by disputes over land titles, and by the burdens of feudal tenures--particularly knight-service and copyhold tenures.¹⁰¹ Land had never been more available to more Englishmen but English land had also never cost so much. Land scarcity was thus relative: land in England at the time of colonization was a "scarce" resource only for Englishmen who could not afford it.

Wage-labor in seventeenth century England connoted landless men. Originally, English "wage-labour meant freedom by contrast with serfdom. But in the sixteenth century more and more of those who worked for wages were losing their land, and so

⁹⁹Hill, Reformation to Industrial Revolution, 47-48.

¹⁰⁰Campbell, English Yeoman, 43.

¹⁰¹See *ibid.*, 67, 79, 84-155. New supplies of land came from the close of catholic monasteries after the Protestant reformation, the sale of crown lands to raise money for the king, the enclosure of "common" lands on many manors, and the reclamation of "waste" lands.

becoming wholly dependent on such earnings."¹⁰² By the seventeenth century, wage-labor was despised and wage-laborers were practically, though not legally, considered unfree by most Englishmen.¹⁰³

Sir Thomas Smith in 1565 said that "day labourers, poor husbandmen, yea merchants or retailers which have no free land, copyholders and all artificers . . . have no voice nor authority in our commonwealth, and no account is made of them, but only to be ruled."¹⁰⁴

The wage-laborer was distinguished from others without free land by the fact that he did not have access to any land that he could cultivate in order to get some of his food. In other words, wage-laborer status referred to "a person with no other resources than the sale of his labour on the market--neither land, nor equipment, nor specialized skill."¹⁰⁵ The difference between a wage-laborer and a lowly "cottager" was access to land; at least if you were a cottager, you could labor directly for your own subsistence by "wringing all that was possible out of the bit of ground which might be attached to the hovel you lived in."¹⁰⁶ Working land by which one directly obtained at least some subsistence provided some sense of control over one's labor. Since the wage-laborer had no land, and since the labor he did for subsistence was directed by someone else, the wage-laborer controlled neither his own land nor his own labor. To be "landless" in seventeenth century England did not mean that you did not "own" any land, it meant that you did not

¹⁰²Hill, "Pottage for Freeborn Englishmen," 220.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, 220-26.

¹⁰⁴Hill, Reformation to Industrial Revolution, 40-41.

¹⁰⁵Laslett, World We Have Lost, 45.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*

"hold" any land--whether by freehold, copyhold, or leasehold--which you could use for your own subsistence.

The emergence of wage-labor fundamentally challenged the economic domination of feudal lords. Wage-labor was problematic because the wage-laborer was not attached to any land that belonged to a feudal lord. Since wage-laborers were landless, the feudal hierarchy asserted economic control over wage-laborers through political legislation, such as the 1563 Statute of Artificers. The 1563 Statute of Artificers "imposed a stringent control over the working population" at the local level in order "to keep a pool of cheap labour available in country districts, so that landowners should not go short."¹⁰⁷ The legislative control of wage-labor began with "the assumption that wages were supplementary to an agricultural holding."¹⁰⁸ Second, wages were established by local government officials rather than by contract: "the rate of wages was not left to be adjusted by the laws of supply and demand, but was regulated for each locality by the magistrates at Quarter Sessions. Assessments fixing the maximum rates were published annually."¹⁰⁹ Third, "in most counties official wage rates remained almost unchanged from about 1580 to 1640, whilst prices continued to rise."¹¹⁰ If a laborer was married and had children his economic difficulties were compounded because

¹⁰⁷Hill, Reformation to Industrial Revolution, 41.

¹⁰⁸Hill, "Pottage for Freeborn Englishmen," 220; fuller explication of this assumption is given in Alice Clark, Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century (1919; reprt. ed., London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), 90.

¹⁰⁹Clark, Women in the Seventeenth Century, 65.

¹¹⁰Hill, Reformation to Industrial Revolution, 41.

his money wages seldom exceeded the estimated cost of his own meat and drink as supplied by the farmer, and yet these wages were to supply all the necessities of life for his whole family.¹¹¹

When wages did not meet the subsistence needs of laborers and their families, often the only solution was official "poor relief" by the church parish and/or begging.¹¹² By denying wage-laborers the right to negotiate their wages with employers, the wage-laborer felt another fundamental loss of control over his own labor.

In everyday life, English people who had to work in order to live responded in a number of ways to controls on wage labor.¹¹³ First, families employed every member in the family in whatever economic activities could supplement fixed wages--agricultural or industrial crafts, or shopkeeping. Second, families developed the tradition of "the life-cycle servant" by sending their children to work in another household sometime after the age of ten or puberty; life-cycle servants usually lived in several households before they got married, perhaps "twelve, fifteen or even twenty years" later. Third, once children left home to become servants, they became accustomed to searching for work under more favorable conditions; once they had served their time with the first master, they were free to search for another master. Fourth, by the time persons married in their late twenties, they hoped there would be land available in the community so they could meet the

¹¹¹Clark, Women in the Seventeenth Century, 69; for more detailed descriptions of the plights of wage-laboring families, see 64-92. See also Laslett, World We Have Lost, 14-15.

¹¹²Clark, Women in the Seventeenth Century, 64-92; Laslett, World We Have Lost, 34-35. Hill writes that "those entirely dependent on wage-labor were so badly off in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that 'neither contemporary nor modern economists can explain how they lived'" ("Pottage for Freeborn Englishmen," 223).

¹¹³The following discussion is adapted from Laslett, World We Have Lost, 14-16.

subsistence needs of their family. The pattern of leaving home early and marrying late relieved parents of another mouth to feed and at the same time introduced children to the difficult world of seventeenth century work. Life-cycle service required cooperation among households.

Not all households took part in the interchange all the time. At any moment a quarter or a third of the households of a community would contain servants, and a similar proportion would have children absent from home and in service. The households which remained would at that point in time be unaffected by the system of service, but many of them, perhaps most, would at other stages of their development either yield up or take in servants.¹¹⁴

The mobility of labor, an economic freedom denied to villeins or serfs, proved to be a key factor in adapting to controls on wage labor, especially since wages did vary by location.¹¹⁵ Life-cycle servants were young, poor, and among the most mobile laborers. Early migration from home launched older children and adolescents as key agents in the economic changes which distanced England more and more from its feudal past.

The conditions of the land market and wage labor in England at the time of colonization prepared many potential immigrants to respond to opportunities in the New World. That the Chesapeake colonies of Virginia and Maryland beckoned to many English people already searching for land and work is suggested by the profile of immigrants. In the seventeenth century, the proportion of immigrants who came to the

¹¹⁴Ibid., 15-16.

¹¹⁵See Peter Clark and David Souden, "Introduction," in Migration and Society in Early Modern England, ed. Peter Clark and David Souden (London: Century Hutchinson Ltd., 1987) 11-48, esp. 28-32.

Chesapeake as servants ranged somewhere between 70 and 85 percent.¹¹⁶ People who came as servants to the colonies were more or less admitting that they were too poor to pay the six pounds needed for their passage across the ocean. The immigrant who lacked passage money was probably too poor to buy land in England, especially since competition would have been keen for smaller, inexpensive plots of land.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, the servants who came to the Chesapeake in the seventeenth century were not only poor, they were young--"with the great majority between sixteen and twenty-five at arrival."¹¹⁸ The relatively young age of servants immigrating to the Chesapeake suggests their status as life-cycle servants: "a subset of a much larger group of young and single people who moved from town to town in search of greater opportunities than were to be had at home."¹¹⁹ The mobility of life-cycle servants in England was primarily driven by a search for work--and the search for work led many to the port towns of Bristol, London, and Liverpool where servants were being recruited for the plantations in America.¹²⁰ The adolescents and young adults who immigrated as servants to the

¹¹⁶Russell Menard, "British Migration to the Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century," in Colonial Chesapeake Society, ed. Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 121.

¹¹⁷Campbell indicates that for 3103 sales of land between 1570-1640, less than two-fifths of the purchasers paid less than 50 pounds for a tract of land (in English Yeoman, 78).

¹¹⁸Menard, "British Migration to the Chesapeake Colonies," 128.

¹¹⁹James Horn, "Servant Emigration to the Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century," in The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society, eds. Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979), 74.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, 94-95.

Chesapeake found themselves risking their lives in the New World in order to get work. They knew that their indentured servant status, an "unfree" status, was limited by a short-term contract of four or five years (or until age 21 if they were very young). Servants shared with other Chesapeake immigrants the quest for land--to ultimately gain one's own land was the long-term goal, the dream for the future. "Moving to the colonies in this sense was a spectacular form of subsistence migration--a means of keeping alive hopes for eventual prosperity, modest comfort, or at least survival."¹²¹

Many colonists who bid farewell to England at the Lands End turned to face the dangerous passage across the ocean with little more than their own bright hopes for the New World. What the New World promised to ordinary Englishmen was declared by John Smith in 1616:

Here are no hard Landlords to racke us with high rents, or extorted fines to consume us, no tedious pleas in law to consume us with their many years disputations for Justice So freely hath God and his Majesty bestowed those blessings on them that will attempt to obtaine them, as **here every man may be master and owner of his owne labour and land;** or the greatest part in a small time. If hee have nothing but his hands, he may set up this trade; and by industrie quickly grow rich; spending but halfe that time wel, which in England we abuse in idlenes, worse or as ill.¹²²

¹²¹Ida Altman and James Horn, "Introduction," in 'To Make America': European Emigration in the Early Modern Period, ed. Ida Altman and James Horn (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 12. The number of English people who emigrated to America in the seventeenth century was truly incredible: 400,000 colonists left England for the New World between 1607 and 1700 (ibid., 3).

¹²²John Smith, "A Description of New England," 1616, in Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Barbour, 1:332 (emphasis my own).

This passage from Smith, particularly the promise that "here every man may be master and owner of his owne labour and land," is said to be "one of the earliest evocations of the American dream."¹²³ In contrast to the Old World which divided land from labor in the feudal hierarchy, the task of settling the New World promised to restore the integration of land with labor if those who worked the land also possessed it. John Smith also described how the New World affirmed the dignity of laboring on one's own land:

Who can desire more content, that hath small meanes; or but only his merit to advance his fortune, then to tread, and plant that ground hee hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he have but the taste of virtue, and magnanimitie, what to such a minde can bee more pleasant, then planting and building a foundation for his Posteritie, gotte from the rude earth, by Gods blessing and his owne industrie, without prejudice to any?¹²⁴

In this passage, Smith emphasizes "that possession of land can make a man proud and give him dignity. . . . that economic stability won through the labor of one's own hands is tremendously satisfying."¹²⁵ The dignity of hard labor had already been redeemed from the feudal past by Protestant Reformation teachings such as "the Scripture

¹²³David Cressy, Coming Over: Migration and Communication Between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 99. See also Stephen Innes, "Fulfilling John Smith's Vision: Work and Labor in Early America," in Work and Labor in Early America, ed. Stephen Innes (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 3-10; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ed., Captain John Smith: A Select Edition of His Writings (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 21-23; Alden T. Vaughan, American Genesis: Captain John Smith and the Founding of Virginia (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1975), 136-42; J.A. Leo Lemay, The American Dream of Captain John Smith (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 198-220; Chester E. Eisinger, "Land and Loyalty: Literary Expressions of Agrarian Nationalism in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," American Literature 21 (1949-50):160-78.

¹²⁴Smith, "A Description of New England," 1616, in Works of Captain John Smith, 1:343.

¹²⁵Eisinger, "Land and Loyalty," 164.

commendeth highly faithful labourers and good and painful people in work."¹²⁶ Laboring in the New World, especially if it might be rewarded with land, promised to make poor men feel like the free men that they already were.

The hope of acquiring land and making a home of one's own in the New World was an underlying critical factor in persuading potential emigrants to leave the Old World behind. "It is a commonplace to say that land was the greatest inducement the New World had to offer; but it is difficult to overestimate its psychological and social importance to people in whose minds land had always been identified with security, success, and the good things of life."¹²⁷ Every English tenant knew the value of freehold tenure. Every English tenant also knew that most of the land in England was not freehold, but copyhold, and that many freeholds were only accessible through leaseholds.¹²⁸ It was soon clear to colonial planners that only freehold land could provide both the security and freedom from landlords that would allow colonists to fulfill their dreams in the New World. Especially for "men and women of the poorer classes . . . the hope of ultimately winning free land and a regular source of livelihood" could be well worth the hardships they knew they would experience as colonists.¹²⁹ And given

¹²⁶Christopher Hill quotes these words of the official translation of Henry Bullinger's Decades, required reading "for godly protestant Englishmen," in "Protestantism and the Rise of Capitalism," 95.

¹²⁷Mildred Campbell, "Social Origins of Some Early Americans," in Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History, ed. James Morton Smith (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1959), 83.

¹²⁸Campbell, English Yeoman, 79-84, 118-20; Hill, Reformation to Industrial Revolution, 47-49.

¹²⁹Hill, Reformation to Industrial Revolution, 53.

the particular plight of wage-labor during this period, "it is hardly surprising that the rank and file of many early colonizing expeditions was composed of wage-labourers, attracted by the prospect of winning the freehold land in America to which they could never aspire in England."¹³⁰

The hope of freehold land also opened up human imagination and affirmed creative planning for the future. In 1650, Edward Williams proclaimed: "What shall wee imagine the freeborne English in a Countrey where he owes no Rent to any but to God and Nature, where he has Land to satisfie his desires in its extent, his wishes in its fertility."¹³¹ In addition, terms of non-privileged accessibility made the hopes of freehold land in the New World realistic. It was the realistic hope that anyone could acquire freehold land in the New World which became a powerful means of dignifying the aspirations of the lowest person in the feudal hierarchy of the Old World.

All the hopes for freehold land in the New World which stirred thousands of English people to emigrate to the New World were secured in the Virginia Charters by the terms of fee-simple land, structured as a tenure of land "held" immediately "of" or from the King "in free and common socage." Consequently, colonial grants of land in fee-simple maximized all the traditional rights of freeholders--alienability, heritability, and protection by the King. To hold immediately "of" the King protected colonists from

¹³⁰Hill, "Pottage for Freeborn Englishmen," 222.

¹³¹Williams, "Virginia: More especially the South part thereof," 1650, in Tracts, comp., Force, Vol. 3, no. 11, p. 22; quoted in Eisinger, "Land and Loyalty," 162. The use of imagination in luring colonists to the New World is discussed by Charles Andrews in The Colonial Period of American History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934, 1964), 1:57-61.

impositions by feudal lords; to hold free land in free and common socage liberated colonists from the personal uncertainties of purely feudal tenures.¹³² Since the King was no longer merely a feudal lord himself, the fee-simple freehold established by Virginia charters provided a basis for resisting threats of feudal lordship perceived by Virginia colonists through the 1670s.

The fee-simple freehold was important in stabilizing relationships between people and land in the New World and the patents of Henrico colonists fully reflected the exercise of fee-simple freeholders' rights in several ways. First, the fee-simple freehold facilitated the administration of land rights and settlement; only 5/37 or 14% of frontier family patentees used only headrights to construct their patent claims. Second, the fee-simple freehold allowed colonists quicker recovery from demographic disaster. Third, the fee-simple freehold enabled adaptation to present needs and future plans for individuals and families.

The rights of the fee-simple freeholder emerged from the English feudal past as freedoms and liberties to hold land free from both the hierarchy of "feudal lordship" and control by "the will of a lord." Henrico frontier family patentees became independent freeholders and the land they patented became their own fee-simple estates; fee-simple land was the foundation upon which they built their homes in the New World.

¹³²Campbell reports a statement concerning problems of freeholds by knight-service tenure--to hold of the King "in Capite"--which seemed to continually arise because certain officers found it profitable to question land rights at the point of descent to heirs: Free tenants "had rather hold of meane Lordes by socage tenure, than of Kinge in Capite, the rather because the Escheators and feodaryes of these times have Argus eyes peircinge into all conveyances" (English Yeoman, 113).

Farm Building

A second fundamental cultural aspect characterizing Henrico frontier families of 1650-1675 was the labor of farm building. Over time, settlers worked their land by building and maintaining farms or estates, thereby developing economic and ecological competence. Laboring on one's own land in the New World meant practicing agriculture. In the Chesapeake, the culture of agriculture produced tobacco for Old World markets and food for New World subsistence. Tobacco provided income to meet other subsistence needs, to fulfill betterment desires, and was itself a medium of exchange used in local markets and to pay taxes. The culture of agriculture was not static, but dynamic, ever-changing, and transformational--especially if you were doing it on your own land. Carr, Menard, and Walsh emphasize the creative, culture-making aspect of agriculture as a major factor in English colonization:

Agricultural possibility--the chance to make tobacco and food crops while carving out a good life with a few comforts and some security on a farm of one's own--was the chief attraction of the Chesapeake colonies, drawing tens of thousands of young men and women from England to the bay colonies. Many came to early death, but the survivors transformed the landscape. They built farms, an activity that let many realize their dreams of independence and modest prosperity.¹³³

As soon as demographically possible, the family household became "the fundamental productive unit" in the agriculture practiced by English New World colonists, whether in New England or the Chesapeake.¹³⁴ Agriculture, being work done by families, to a

¹³³Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, xv.

¹³⁴Allan Kulikoff, "Households and Markets: Toward a New Synthesis of American Agrarian History," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 50 (1993):348; Kulikoff states this was true for American agriculture until the mid-twentieth century.

large extent shaped both family life and culture in the English Colonies in the New World.

The work of building a farm was considered essential to achieving the settlement of the Virginia colony. Minimal activities of farm-building were initially assumed by the "seating and planting" clause inherent in all land patents; later, the meaning of the "seating and planting" clause was defined by the Virginia Assembly in the 1666 "Act for Seating and Planting."¹³⁵ "Seating" was therein defined as "building an house and keeping a stock for one whole year upon the land" and "Planting" was defined as "cleering, tending and planting an acre of ground." The "seating and planting" activities referred to in the 1666 Virginia statute identified the primary agricultural activities that needed to be done so that colonists could sustain themselves in the New World. "Seating and planting" activities thus identified the rudimentary elements of establishing an agricultural unit, a farm, and were equivalent to the first stages of "farm-building."¹³⁶ By examining the agricultural activities of Henrico frontier families from a "seating and planting" or settlement perspective, we can ascertain how farm-building was carried out and what were its results on Virginia's Henrico frontier.

Plantation Size

In order to begin building a farm on the Henrico frontier, colonists needed to acquire some amount of land and assess their labor resources. For all Henrico patentees

¹³⁵Hening, comp., Statutes, 2:244.

¹³⁶Compare "seating and planting" with Carr, Menard, and Walsh's discussions "Building a Farm" and "The Agricultural Year," Chaps. 2-3, in Robert Cole's World, 33-75.

as well as frontier family patentees, land patent size averaged just under 700 acres per patent. The median acreage for Henrico patents from 1650 to 1675, however, was 450 acres of land and three-fourths of all patents were for less than 750-800 acres of land. Average and median plantation sizes for Henrico freeholds would have been at least one or two hundred acres less since the acreage of patented land was often reduced by the land market; in other words, not all landowners acquired land by patent but all the land that was bought and sold originated in land patent form.¹³⁷ Several hundred acres held by an Henrico settler in fee-simple tenure was a considerable amount of land when "in most parts of England, by contrast, 50 acres was a large farm."¹³⁸

Despite large amounts of acreage, the tithable labor force on most Henrico plantations was not large during the 1650-1675 period. Almost 90% (143/160) of all Henrico County households in 1679 had one to four tithables which meant that the great majority of Henrico frontier plantations would have had no more than two or three servants at one time. Of course, the range of one to four tithables included (1) the planter or farmer himself, (2) almost two-fifths (59/160 or 37%) of those households which had only one tithable and (3) any sons sixteen years of older still living and working in their

¹³⁷The 1705 Rent Roll for Henrico County which lists the acreage of all landowners, shows an approximate 600 acre average plantation size and a 300 acre median plantation size. "Rent Roll of Virginia, 1704-1705," in The Planters of Colonial Virginia, Thomas J. Wertenbaker (New York: Russell & Russell, 1959), 183-86. (Figures do not include the acres listed for William Byrd--19500 acres--which was twice as many acres as those shown for the next largest plantations in Henrico).

¹³⁸Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, 35.

father and/or mother's household (or a guardian's household).¹³⁹ Not all households listed for tithables in 1679 were landowning households, which suggests differences in wealth which would show up in different numbers of tithables. Henrico 1650-1675 patentees listed in the 1679 Henrico list of tithables show a range of one to five tithables for 86% (37/43) of patentees in the 1679 list; this means that even for presumably wealthier and older landowners such as patentees (with more mature family members), that four-fifths of them would have had between one and four servants at one time, if they had any servants at all. Thus, there were not large concentrations of non-familial laborers on most Henrico plantations from 1650 to 1675, and colonists would have relied as much upon themselves and their families as possible.

"Planting"

Farm-building directed towards subsistence began with "planting." When Henrico colonists went out to their land, they were inevitably confronted with land not ready for "planting" because land that was not swamp was covered with woods. Clearing was thus fundamental to planting; clearing was also a process which some Old World peoples called "making land," because it made land suitable for human use.¹⁴⁰ In the seventeenth century Chesapeake, clearing was accomplished by the time-delayed but labor-saving process of "girdling" trees with an axe by making notches and pulling the bark off so that the tree would begin to decay; when a tree fell down it was used for

¹³⁹The average number of tithables listed for all Henrico households in 1679 was 2.75 tithables or 1.75 servants; this was an average of almost two servants per household. "Account of ye several fortye Tythables", Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 101-03.

¹⁴⁰Stilgoe, Common Landscape of America, 170-75.

building, fences, and firewood. Making hills and sowing seeds of tobacco and corn could begin as soon as the area to be cleared was decided upon. Tending the crop included all care given to plants (or trees) after the seeds came up or fruit began to appear; tending required weeding, protection from predators, and modifications of the plants or trees to improve quality and yield. Tending also included harvesting which began in the late summer and continued through the fall. Tobacco and corn "planting" activities directly tied seventeenth century Chesapeake colonists to annual subsistence and market cycles. "Planting" activities were the most labor-demanding of farm-building tasks and colonists were well aware of their dependence on particular forms of "planting" for food and income.

"Planting" activities on the Henrico frontier after the mid-seventeenth century appear fairly typical of the Chesapeake region. Records for Henrico 1650-1675 frontier families do not reveal systematic information about their "planting" activities. Tobacco was certainly ubiquitous, being a medium of exchange, but rarely found on Henrico plantations when estates were divided or appraised. Corn was just as ubiquitous, sometimes mentioned in the field or by the bushel, but overlooked in inventories if appraisers reserved corn as an item "for the use of the family" rather than an item subject to creditors' claims.¹⁴¹ The "necessary tools" for "planting" activities (hoes, spades, and axes) were also sometimes unappraised to protect them from creditors' claims.¹⁴² There were apparently different hoes and axes for different functions: broad axes, narrow axes,

¹⁴¹Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 51.

¹⁴²Ibid.

weeding hoes, grubbing hoes.¹⁴³ That some Henrico frontier families were raising wheat during this period is suggested by inventory references to wheat and the tools associated with growing wheat (sickles, reap hooks, harrow teeth, and plough implements).¹⁴⁴ Orchards and gardens were also planted in addition to field crops, usually near a dwelling house.¹⁴⁵

The scale of farm operations throughout the Chesapeake and on Henrico frontier family plantations was not large due to the constraints of labor and technology. The small scale of agriculture in Henrico County is underscored by the fact that all field labor in tobacco and corn was done by human beings, not animals, with simple hand tools (axes, hoes, and spades). Carr, Menard, and Walsh estimated that each laborer on a Chesapeake plantation in the 1660s cultivated about 3.3 acres in tobacco and 2 acres in corn, or 5.3 acres total in tobacco and corn; thus, a 1660s Chesapeake plantation with four to five laborers might have between 22-27 acres in tobacco and corn during any given

¹⁴³Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 92; Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 55.

¹⁴⁴Henrico Orphans Court, 1677-1739, 4(6); Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 92, 140, 178, 218; Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 55. The years for Henrico frontier family references to wheat and associated implements range from 1678 to 1684. Walsh lists tools used in the cultivation of grains other than corn as "plows, harrows, scythes, sickles, carts" ("Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705," 284).

¹⁴⁵Henrico Deeds and Wills, 1677-1692, 28-29, 279-80. James Eakin leased land from a neighbor and agreed to plant an "orchard of 20 trees" (ibid., 29); orchard-planting was a condition of many leases during this period (note Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, 35). Gardens would have been as ubiquitous as tobacco and corn, but mentioned only once in Henrico County records for frontier families--the garden of Henry Sherman mentioned in a deposition (Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 126). Carr, Menard, and Walsh assume that establishing a garden was usually one of the farm-building tasks in the seventeenth century Chesapeake (Robert Cole's World, xvi, 36, 57, 88-89, 157).

year.¹⁴⁶ Interestingly, two Henrico frontier families distinguished by having plough implements but no servants apparently compensated for lack of human labor to raise more tobacco and corn by harnessing animal energy to raise wheat instead.¹⁴⁷ The relatively small number of laborers per plantation using human labor and simple tools kept agriculture in Henrico County and elsewhere in the Chesapeake on a small and fairly intimate scale, the kind of agriculture which Stilgoe called "garden husbandry."¹⁴⁸

"Seating": Buildings and Livestock

Farm-building directed towards habitation required "seating" in addition to "planting." In order to live on their land, colonists needed shelter and livestock in addition to fields and orchards. Seventeenth century "seating" helped complete the process of "making land" begun by clearing because it used the woods in felled timber form (for buildings, fences, firewood) and in standing form (for livestock grazing and natural shelter). "Seating" was a significant factor contributing towards the permanence of settlement: buildings, fences, stored firewood, and livestock outlasted the annual "planting" cycles and most food products. Buildings, fences, and livestock were susceptible to decay as well as improvement, however. Compared to brick and stone, wood was a less permanent building material--wood houses and fences burned down and fell down much more easily. Livestock could die before old age due to accident, disease, and exposure to severe cold or hot weather. Labor-saving considerations minimized

¹⁴⁶Robert Cole's World, 40.

¹⁴⁷Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 55; Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 140, 178.

¹⁴⁸Stilgoe, Common Landscape of America, 185.

building construction in terms of size, simplicity of form, and ease of construction; it was equally labor-saving to fence in crops and allow most livestock to range for their own food in the relatively mild climate of the Chesapeake. Colonists who lived long enough, usually made efforts to improve buildings and livestock over time, thus improving their estates for the benefit of their families and their heirs.

"Seating" activities on the Henrico frontier after the mid-seventeenth century were also fairly typical of the Chesapeake region. Records for Henrico 1650-1675 frontier families provide more systematic information about their "seating" activities. Like most colonists in the Chesapeake, Henrico frontier families built dwelling houses, tobacco houses, cornfield fences; some added rooms, lofts, chimneys, and "other small houses." Christopher Branch specified in his will that "one house of four lengths of boards Every length of boards to be five foot longe" should be built for each of two grandsons; furthermore, "six Locus posts and two unpost apiece" were to be found for the construction of each house.¹⁴⁹ At the time of Thomas Ligon's death, there were "two good tob houses one of ten, ye other of eight lengths of boards, Severall other small houses for Conveniencys ye dwelling house in good repair & ye whole plantacon & orchards well fenced & secured."¹⁵⁰ After her husband's death, Mary Ligon reported "that she did build up a new outside Chimney" on the dwelling house.¹⁵¹ When Solloman Knibb's estate was divided, his widow Katherine received "the whole dwelling

¹⁴⁹Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 209-10.

¹⁵⁰Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 490.

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*

house in which is two chimneys," a "S.W. roome," as well as "her choice of one tobo house" while her son received "all ye rest of ye houses upon ye plantacon."¹⁵² Rooms in dwelling houses were differentiated in various ways. Second floor rooms might be simply a "loft" or, more formally, "the Chamber upstares."¹⁵³ Native-born William Farrar's inventory lists the most complete differentiation of dwelling house rooms for Henrico frontier families: "Hall, Inner Chamber, Shedd, Outward Chamber, Milke house, Mr. Wm. Farrars roome, Kitchen, Without Doores."¹⁵⁴ Materials used by Henrico frontier families to build their dwellings were wood, with perhaps a brick chimney here and there. Only "Capt. Stegges Stone House" near the falls of James River was exceptional.¹⁵⁵

Henrico frontier families kept an abundance of livestock on their plantations. The livestock records for Henrico 1650-1675 frontier families are the most complete for farm-building activities and indicate greater numbers of frontier families with cattle and horses compared to hogs, with some numbers of frontier families with sheep. Some representation of livestock was found for 70% (26/37) of Henrico 1650-1675 frontier families.¹⁵⁶ Of those frontier families with livestock records (N=26), almost 90% had

¹⁵²Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 91-92, 107.

¹⁵³Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1688-1697, 107; Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1706-1709, 119.

¹⁵⁴Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 51.

¹⁵⁵"William Byrd Title Book," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 47 (1939):315.

¹⁵⁶Available records were consistent with "ecosystem" information grades: all "grade 4" and "grade 3," plus all but two "grade 2" frontier families had one or more livestock records; none were available for "grade 2-1" or "grade 1."

cattle (23/26 or 88%), about 80% had horses (21/26 or 81%), about 60% had hogs (16/26 or 62%), and about 30% had sheep (8/26 or 31%). Inventory records, available for only about 30% of frontier families (12/37 or 32%), support the distribution of livestock from multi-source records, but give greater emphasis to horses and less emphasis to hogs. For Henrico frontier family inventories (N=12), 83% (10/12) listed cattle, 92% (11/12) listed horses, 50% (6/12) listed hogs, and 25% (3/12) listed sheep. Inventory records provide the most reliable indication of the size of livestock herds. For Henrico frontier families with these types of livestock, the average number of cattle was about 17 (169/10 or 16.9), the average number of horses was about 4 (49/11 or 4.45), the average number of hogs was 15 (90/6 or 15), and the average number of sheep was 16 (48/3 or 16).¹⁵⁷ The high numbers of frontier families with horses suggests that horses were important for transportation and that horses were not a rich man's animal on the Henrico frontier.¹⁵⁸ The high numbers of frontier families with cattle suggests that meat, hide, and dairy products were an integral part of Henrico frontier family subsistence cycles. It should be pointed out that wild animals and game were also probably a part of Henrico frontier family subsistence cycles. All but one extant inventory for Henrico frontier families listed

¹⁵⁷James Ekin's "parcell of hogs" was estimated at 15 hogs, based on the average number for other inventories listing numbers of hogs.

¹⁵⁸The 1662 act taxing horses above two years old was to relieve "poore men" from having to pay bounties on wolves heads; Henrico was the only county exempted from this horse tax (Hening, comp., Statutes, 2:178).

a gun--a primary hunting tool--suggesting that wild "resource[s] may have constituted an important buffering strategy against subsistence failure in the known environment."¹⁵⁹

Far from practicing single-crop agriculture, almost all Henrico frontier families developed a "mixed husbandry" combining several types of plants or crops (tobacco, corn, some wheat, plus orchards and gardens) with several types of animals or livestock (cattle, horses, hogs, and some sheep). Frontier family farm-building in seventeenth century Henrico aimed at establishing plantations sustained by polyculture, however simple, rather than plantations sustained by the monoculture of tobacco. Frontier conditions account for the pervasiveness of horses for transportation and guns for hunting and militia duty among Henrico frontier family households.

Labor

Henrico frontier families met the demands of farm-building with their own labor and with the labor of European servants, Indian servants, and/or African slaves. The demand for labor in the New World had not changed much since a letter sent from Virginia to England in the 1620s reported that "the world goes hard with many even at this tyme. The labor is infynite."¹⁶⁰ Almost half of frontier families used the labor of

¹⁵⁹Henry Michael Miller, "Colonization and Subsistence Change on the 17th Century Chesapeake Frontier" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1984), 350; Miller also discusses the likelihood of "casual" as well as "active hunting. In the 17th Century as today, deer, raccoons, squirrels and opossums enter corn and bean fields to eat the crops. Indeed, deer foraging has been found to be especially heavy on small fields surrounded by woods . . . precisely the situation produced by 17th Century agrarian practices. These animals could have been taken as they came to the fields to feed, rather than being purposefully hunted" (351).

¹⁶⁰Captain Nuce, "A Letter to Sir Edwin Sandys," 27 May 1621, in Records of the Virginia Company, ed. Kingsbury, 3:455; quoted by Innes, "John Smith's Vision," 14.

servants and/or slaves on their plantations at some time or other, according to the available records.¹⁶¹ Of those 1650-75 frontier families with records of servants and/or slaves (N=18), almost 80% used European servants (14/18 or 78%), over 70% used Indian servants (13/18 or 72%), and just over 60% used African slaves (11/18 or 61%). If numbers for African slaves are limited to pre-1690 data (before the major shift to slave labor in the Chesapeake), then the proportion of frontier families using African slaves drops to just under 40% (7/18 or 39%).¹⁶² The strong presence of Indian servants among Henrico frontier families was no doubt a direct result of Henrico County's frontier exposure, and further facilitated by contacts made with unknown Indian tribes during the explorations of the early 1670s.

Many phases of farm-building were accomplished by community effort--whether by the family household community or by bringing in the larger neighborhood community. Christopher Branch's gift of land to two of his grandsons was conditioned by the request that each was to help their next youngest brother build a house and "clear a cornfield sufficiently fenced to keep out hoggs and cattle;" this was to be done when the younger brother "shall be able to seate it" and with the assistance of "the Negroe and Joab if they live."¹⁶³ James Eakin reported that a neighbor who lived near him "desired

¹⁶¹Data on servants and slaves were found primarily in inventories, wills, and court records; African slaves were most strongly documented in wills, while servants were most strongly documented in court records.

¹⁶²Henrico frontier family inventories support these proportions when controlled for pre-1690 data, with slightly greater emphasis on Indian servants and slightly less emphasis on African slaves.

¹⁶³Henrico Deeds and Wills, 1677-1692, 209-10.

his neighbors aboute July last to come and raise his house."¹⁶⁴ Eakin was later present on the same plantation, along with several others, at what his neighbor's wife called "our Weeding of Corne."¹⁶⁵ Of course, where one "planted and seated" might be disputed, such as the boundary line between John Wilson and the son and heir of George Worsham; resolution of their disputed boundary lying north of Old Town Creek required the participation of neighborhoods from Bermuda Hundred to the falls of Appomattox River.¹⁶⁶ Ranging livestock that needed to be brought in was a task often accomplished with neighborly assistance, such as when Ann Walthall-Morris requested a neighbor "to take up a horse of . . . hers in the old towne in Appamattocke."¹⁶⁷ The real work of farm-building joined families to the land and to each other, producing a homogeneous culture among frontier families and their neighbors.¹⁶⁸

Economic Growth and Competence

Farm-building produced economic growth and was foundational to other economic activities. In order to understand what Henrico frontier families accomplished when they built their farms, it is important to recognize that farm-building initiated a process of rapid economic growth. The foundation of the economic growth initiated by farm-

¹⁶⁴Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 27.

¹⁶⁵Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 56-58.

¹⁶⁶Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 48.

¹⁶⁷Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 185.

¹⁶⁸Walsh states that "what struck the eyes of contemporary aristocratic European observers was the general lack of distinctions between wealth groups, and the peculiar homogeneity of tidewater Chesapeake culture" ("Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705," 246).

building was subsistence production. "That is, there were real gains to the economy as a whole as the colony became self-sufficient in food and real gains to families as they became able to supply their needs internally."¹⁶⁹ The activities of farm-building which achieved subsistence production were at the same time activities which produced physical capital; "farm-building," even in its most rudimentary elements, was "a process of capital making."¹⁷⁰

New settlements in British North America were initially characterized by low levels of wealth, but the process of constructing a working farm provided substantial opportunities for saving, investment, and accumulation. Consequently, wealth grew rapidly in the decades following settlement as planters cleared land, erected buildings and fences, built up livestock herds, planted orchards, began vegetable gardens, improved their homes, and the like.¹⁷¹

In the third quarter of the seventeenth century, most of the economic growth on the Henrico frontier was achieved by families working together on their own land to create a productive economic enterprise that not only met family subsistence needs but also developed family capital (human and physical).¹⁷² In other words, Henrico County's

¹⁶⁹Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, 88.

¹⁷⁰Ibid. Carr, Menard, and Walsh here refer to the work of Percy Wells Bidwell and Aubrey C. Land. Bidwell was the first to identify "pioneering" as "a process of capital making" (Percy Wells Bidwell and John I. Falconer, History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860, New York: Peter Smith, 1941; reprt. of 1925 ed., 82). Land also developed the idea that "the process of pioneering" was a process of "capital formation" in his research on Maryland planters ("The Planters of Colonial Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine 67 (1972):112-13; Land first used the term "capital formation" in "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society: The Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," Journal of Southern History 33 (1967):479).

¹⁷¹Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, 88-89.

¹⁷²Meeting Henrico family subsistence needs included making clothing, though not
(continued...)

economic growth during this period was largely due to the economic achievements of family plantations.

Family farm-building on the Henrico frontier produced a fairly modest amount of wealth for most Henrico frontier families. Inventoried personal estates of male heads of Henrico frontier families with assessed values (N=9) showed a little under half were under L50, a little under half were between L50 and L225, and only one estate was appraised at over L225.¹⁷³ Such modest levels of wealth for Henrico frontier families--the most mature landowners acquiring patented land from 1650-1675--comports with Bruce's observation about Henrico County relative to the rest of seventeenth century Virginia: that "the personal estates appraised in Henrico previous to the close of the century were comparatively small."¹⁷⁴

¹⁷²(...continued)

the cloth itself. The 1678 inventory of Francis Epes' store in Bermuda Hundred listed over 1000 yards of cloth (approximately 663 yards of linen, 335 yards of wool, 12 yards of silk) and only 27 articles of ready-made clothing (14 pairs of women's bodices, 13 women's and girl's hoods) (Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 95-96).

¹⁷³These categories of wealth are found in Carr, "Inheritance in the Colonial Chesapeake," 202. Henrico frontier family estates valued under L50 belonged to Branch, Harris, Huson, Wilson, (Sarah) Eakin, and (Anne) Walthall; estates valued between L50-L225 belonged to Farrar, Knibb, Sherman, and Lead; the estate valued over L225 belonged to Francis Epes (personal inventory appraised at L302). It is perhaps not surprising that the inventories of the two widows' estates belonging to Sarah Eakin and Anne Walthall were valued at less than L50 since some (if not all) distributions of the family estate had been made to surviving children. Conversions from tobacco to English monetary values were done for Farrar, Harris, Huson, Knibb, Lead, Sherman, Walthall, and Wilson according to the equivalent values suggested in Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, 77-78.

¹⁷⁴Bruce, Economic History of Virginia, 2:251.

Probate inventories, however, do not reveal the whole story of the economic wealth achieved by Henrico frontier families. Once they had established themselves in subsistence production, some Henrico frontier families used capital to venture into more entrepreneurial activities.¹⁷⁵ Richard Cocke built a mill for grinding corn, Henry Randolph built a sawmill, Abraham Wood was engaged in Indian trade, Francis Epes and probably Thomas Stegge were merchants of overseas trade.¹⁷⁶ In addition to Epes, then, multiple-source record analysis indicates that Cocke, Randolph, Wood and Stegge were easily worth over L225 in personal estate value. What seems significant about the wealthier Henrico frontier families is that their entrepreneurial activities contributed to the economic growth of Henrico County as a whole, enhancing the possibility that "neither their activities as businessmen nor their wealth divorced them from their social milieu, the vast body of the poor and the moderately endowed."¹⁷⁷ Henrico County was a frontier which offered economic opportunity to rich and poor alike in seventeenth century Virginia.

Farm-building also developed economic competence among those who labored in farm-building activities. At the basic level of subsistence production, farm-building integrated the labors of different members of Henrico frontier families through the

¹⁷⁵This follows Land's analysis in "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society," 469-85.

¹⁷⁶For Cocke: Henrico Miscellaneous Court Records, 1650-1717, 27-28; for Randolph: Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 168; for Wood: Briceland, Westward From Virginia, 27; for Epes: Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 93-97; for Stegge: see will in "William Byrd Title Book," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 48 (1940):31-34 (Stegge's father was a merchant, Nugent, Cavaliers & Pioneers, 1:118-19.

¹⁷⁷Land, "Economic Behavior in a Planter Society," 485.

existence of shared economic necessity and shared economic goals. The developmental results of laboring together on their land was human capital formation or the achievement of a basic level of economic competence or skills by each member of the family, including women and children. When most Henrico frontier family husbands made their wills, they appointed their wives as executors of their estates; in the absence of a will, the Henrico county court usually appointed the husband's widow as the administrator of his estate. Of the wives who survived their husbands in Henrico frontier families where the executor or administrator of the estate is known (N=20), four-fifths were appointed as executor or administrator of the estate (16/20 or 80%); sons were preferred over wives as executor three times (3/20 or 15%) and friends were preferred over a wife as executor--for a landed estate only--one time (1/20 or 5%). In all cases where the head of a Henrico frontier family was survived by legal age family members, family members were appointed as executor or administrator of the estate. This evidence suggests that family members were directly engaged in the labor of farm-building and gained the competence necessary to manage the family estate.

Children of Henrico frontier families tended to achieve the economic competence required for farm-building by their late teens. John Woodson's son was only twenty-years-old when his father gave him two servants and a chest of goods "in Consideracon of ye three years yt he hath laboured for himself."¹⁷⁸ William Harris stipulated that "my younger sons are to live with their mother until age 16 if she marries, and to age 19

¹⁷⁸Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 279-80.

if she does not."¹⁷⁹ John Leed gave one of his daughters, apparently under age eighteen, a 25 acre life estate in land, the use of "timber to build with upon her said land," and "a parcell of hoggs;" Leed expressed that of "said things my minde & will is should be delivered to her within one month after my decease."¹⁸⁰ William Farrar's youngest son petitioned to have his estate delivered at age seventeen--"he living by himself and wanting necessarys;" the court subsequently ordered the guardian (the eldest brother) "to deliver him such part of his estate as shall be requisite for his present necessity and subsistence, but still to take care thereof and not suffer ye sd orph. to dispose of or imbezell ye same to his disadvantage."¹⁸¹

Family Inheritance

A third fundamental cultural aspect descriptive of Henrico frontier families of 1650-1675 was the transmission of a family inheritance. At the end of a lifetime, settlers passed on their land by transmitting an inheritance or estate to surviving family members, thereby affirming lineal family values. The settlement of families with freehold land fundamentally affected the patterns of inheritance which emerged in English colonies. Research has shown that "inheritance strategy" was a significant means whereby "New England families actively sought to maintain the freehold tradition established by the

¹⁷⁹Ibid., 68.

¹⁸⁰Ibid., 140-41.

¹⁸¹Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 248.

original settlers."¹⁸² In the Chesapeake, families also used inheritance strategies to perpetuate freehold land, despite more fragile demographic patterns.¹⁸³

English family inheritance in the New World was distinguished from the Old World in two major ways.¹⁸⁴ First, colonial family inheritance was distinguished by the absence of traditional claims by the feudal hierarchy over the inheritance of freehold land.

Shammas, Salmon, and Dahlin emphasize that the

the family and its head had comparatively limited powers under the medieval English inheritance system. . . . Changes only came with the consent, and the paying off, of those with the ultimate or penultimate rights: the monarch, the manorial lords, or some corporate body such as a monastery. The system was very different from that of family capitalism, which came to prevail in early modern England and particularly in colonial America, where almost all capital was held by individual household heads, who had more or less absolute control over it, including nearly complete testamentary freedom.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸²James A. Henretta, "The Weber Thesis Revisited: The Protestant Ethic and the Reality of Capitalism in Early America," in The Origins of American Capitalism (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1991), 59.

¹⁸³Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, 135-36, 149-50. Carr, Menard, and Walsh point out that "the opportunity to acquire enough property to set up all sons as landowners had of course drawn many to the [Chesapeake] region initially" (149).

¹⁸⁴This explanation based on Carole Shammas, Marylynn Salmon, and Michel Dahlin, "English Inheritance Law and its Transfer to the Colonies" and "Colonial Testamentary Practice and Family Capitalism," Chaps. 1 and 2, in Inheritance in America from Colonial Times to the Present (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 23-39; Richard B. Morris, "Colonial Law Governing the Distribution and Alienation of Land," in Chap. 2, Studies in the History of American Law, With Special Reference to the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), 69-125; C. Ray Keim, "Primogeniture and Entail in Colonial Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly 3d. ser., 25 (1968):545-86.

¹⁸⁵Shammas, Salmon, and Dahlin, Inheritance in America, 25-26.

The relative absence of extra-familial claims to a family's land in the New World seems to have directly benefitted female family members. Carr points out that

research done so far suggests that seventeenth-century women who left England for the Chesapeake experienced a trade-off. They left behind the support of family and other kin, but they moved to a society where property arrangements were more favorable to them and their daughters than in the mother country.¹⁸⁶

Particularly for Virginia colonists, the rights of family heads to express their own desires in the transfer of the family estate to the next generation was secured by the relatively unencumbered terms of fee-simple land grants established by the early Virginia charters.

The second major way colonial family inheritance was distinguished from the Old World was the extent to which colonial parents departed from English customs and laws limiting the heritability and alienability of fee-simple land--primogeniture and entail. Primogeniture was the transfer of all of a father's land to his eldest son, thus limiting the heritability of fee-simple land; in cases of intestacy (the absence of a will), primogeniture operated as the common law of inheritance. An entail was a condition imposed by deed or will that a certain tract of land could only go to certain heirs of the new landholder, thus limiting both heritability and alienability of fee-simple land. While Virginia colonists did not by law either modify primogeniture in cases of intestacy or restrain the use of entails, Virginia colonists could and did use individual wills and deeds to defeat primogeniture and to limit entails. As a result, Virginia colonists contributed to the

¹⁸⁶Lois Green Carr, "Inheritance in the Colonial Chesapeake," in Women in the Age of the American Revolution, ed. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989), 158.

development of a more "widespread distribution of realty" and a more "egalitarian system of partible inheritance" in the New World than was typical in England.¹⁸⁷

Strategies and Family Values

Henrico County frontier families used various inheritance strategies to both pass on and preserve the family estate which they had constructed in their lifetime. Henrico frontier family inheritance strategies illustrate what James Henretta calls "lineal family values," indicating that Henrico frontier families acted on beliefs that "rights and responsibilities stretched across generations."¹⁸⁸ Land was the most basic productive resource of the family estate--basic to both subsistence and wealth production. Henrico frontier families clearly extended the inheritance of land beyond the oldest son to at least all sons, and in many cases to daughters as well. Analysis of records available for Henrico frontier families concerning the inheritance of land by children (N=32) show that (1) sons always inherited land if they lived (N=26), (2) daughters always inherited land if there were no sons (N=6), (3) daughters could inherit land along with sons (N=6), and (4) daughters could be excluded from the inheritance of land (realty) if there were sons (N=5), but were compensated with personal property (personalty).¹⁸⁹ The importance

¹⁸⁷Morris, "Colonial Law Governing the Distribution and Alienation of Land," 82. See both Keim's summary, based on an analysis of Virginia wills and deeds (including a number from Henrico County), in "Primogeniture and Entail in Colonial Virginia," 585-86; and Shammass, Salmon, and Dahlin's summary, in Inheritance in America, 55-62.

¹⁸⁸Henretta, "Families and Farms," 108-15, 119-20.

¹⁸⁹The five Henrico frontier families without records showing that they passed on land to children were the three known childless couples (Browning, Chandler, and Stegge), a couple who moved to Charles City County after selling their 1650s land patent (Lister), and a couple without land records to directly link parents and children (Perkins).

of these basic findings for the inheritance of land by children of Henrico frontier families is not only evidence for the defeat of primogeniture, but evidence as well that testamentary freedom granted by wills was not used to disinherit children. Jean Butenhoff Lee argues that differences between sons and daughters should be interpreted in light of what families in a seventeenth century Chesapeake community assumed about what sons and daughters needed to construct family economies of their own when they married.¹⁹⁰ Henrico frontier families knew that "the financial welfare of both parents and children was rooted in the land" and sought to provide their sons, and often daughters as well, this most basic productive resource.¹⁹¹

Inheritance strategies Henrico frontier families used in passing on land to children are detailed in both their wills and deeds.¹⁹² Direct evidence for the transmission of land to children exists for over three-fifths of Henrico frontier families (23/37 or 62%). Henrico frontier families largely transferred land to their children through wills (19/23 or 83%), but also used deeds of gift to transfer land to their children before death (6/23 or 26%).¹⁹³ Evidence of land given to children prior to death by deeds of gift, coupled

¹⁹⁰Jean Butenhoff Lee, "Land and Labor: Parental Bequest Practices in Charles County, Maryland, 1732-1783," in Colonial Chesapeake Society, ed. Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 306-41, esp. 339-41.

¹⁹¹Henretta, "Families and Farms," 108.

¹⁹²The terms of analysis for understanding inheritance strategies related to land in colonial Virginia are clarified by Keim in "Primogeniture and Entail in Colonial Virginia, 551-70."

¹⁹³Almost all wills transferring land were made by fathers (only two mothers transferred land to their children by will). Frontier families making deeds of gift (or
(continued...)

with the fact that fathers who made wills often left behind underaged sons and daughters, meant that children of Henrico frontier families, especially sons, inherited land in their twenties--relatively early in their adult life-cycle. That Henrico frontier families employed more or less early inheritance strategies is further reinforced by the fact that many children of Henrico frontier families were granted the use of land for their own benefit in their late teens. For most Henrico frontier family children, early inheritance gave them early access to fee-simple land.

Some Henrico frontier families employed geographically lineal inheritance strategies which limited fee-simple land rights. A geographically lineal inheritance strategy was identified for the few families who used entails (N=4) and/or remainders (N=6) in wills and deeds transferring land to children. An entail restricted a specific tract of land to specific heirs; a remainder was used to specify the line of succession to a certain tract of land if general or specific heirs failed to appear. Christopher Branch, Richard Cocke, and William Farrar each devised a tract of land to their eldest sons with remainder provisions specifying the next line of heirs to the land if the eldest son failed to have heirs.¹⁹⁴ "Remainder provisions in cases in which lands were devised in tail reveal as nothing else could the desire on the part of testators to keep their property

¹⁹³(...continued)

"inter vivos"--between the living) transfers of land to children were: Baugh, Branch, and Cocke to sons; Greenhough, Sherman, and Wood to daughters. Two additional families with father and son recorded as deed partners may have made deeds of gifts of land: Eakin and Elam.

¹⁹⁴Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1693, 31, 209-10; Henrico Miscellaneous Court Records, 1650-1717, 27-28.

within the direct lines of the immediate family."¹⁹⁵ Branch, Cocke, and Farrar diffused any apparent dynastic ambitions by also devising land in their wills to other sons (or, in the case of Branch, sons of deceased sons). Entails and remainders were essentially restrictive measures used by a father to reserve the use of some family land for some family members only. Though sons and their heirs were preferred in lines of succession, some remainders protected succession by daughters. After devising land to his only son, John Lead then gave his pregnant wife Mary "the plantation I now live on during her Natural life, & after her decease to the child she now goes with if a sonne, but if not, then to [daughters] Sarah Leed & Mary Crisp to be equally divided betweene them."¹⁹⁶

Several Henrico frontier families developed cooperative inheritance strategies whereby the inheritance of land was dependent on family assistance or cooperation. Siblings cooperated with each other in four Henrico frontier families to actively prevent or secure land against primogeniture descent to the eldest male sibling. The eldest sons of George Archer and William Baugh confirmed grants of land made by their fathers to younger brothers; the eldest son of William Worsham created a deed of gift to his younger brother for land which had been patented by his father.¹⁹⁷ The two surviving sons of William Hatcher, "for sake of quiet and peaceable settlement of estate left by their

¹⁹⁵Keim, "Primogeniture and Entail in Colonial Virginia," 563. Henretta conceives that entails were used "to identify the family with a specific piece of land, to ensure its continued existence by rooting it firmly in space;" it was an inheritance strategy whereby "the transmission of property was designed to link one generation with the next, and both with 'family land'" ("Families and Farms," 110).

¹⁹⁶Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1693, 140-41.

¹⁹⁷Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1688-1697, 392-94, 515-16; Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 64.

father and to avoid future suits and quarrels," divided their father's land between themselves.¹⁹⁸ In three other Henrico frontier families, use of inherited land was conditioned by tangible assistance by one or more family members towards another family member. Richard Cocke's devise of entailed land to his eldest son included the condition that the son "shall pay to my Daughter Elizabeth Cocke for her portion one hundred pounds Sterling & if he . . . refuse payment . . . then the said land to be extended to the use of the said Eliza."¹⁹⁹ Christopher Branch conditioned the land he devised to two of three grandsons with the requirement that they each help their younger brothers build a house and clear and fence a cornfield, or else pay 600 pounds of tobacco to each younger brother.²⁰⁰ John Puckett's eldest son and namesake released his claim to a younger brother's inheritance of land from his father with the condition that his younger brother "will lay out land and build a dwelling house;" the elder brother apparently needed this economic assistance because six months later the Bristol parish clerk reported that "in respect of the poor Estate and mean Condicon of Jno Puckett thinking he be excused from paying Levys."²⁰¹

Preservation of Estates

Preservation of an Henrico frontier family estate for future inheritance by underage children fell to the executor or administrator of the father's estate, usually the surviving

¹⁹⁸Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 127-28.

¹⁹⁹Henrico Miscellaneous Records, 1650-1717, 27-28.

²⁰⁰Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 209-10.

²⁰¹Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1688-1697, 673-74; Henrico Orders, 1694-1701, 129, 154.

widow. Preservation was especially necessary for the productive resources of livestock and labor.²⁰² Livestock was a major subsistence and wealth-producing resource in Henrico frontier family estates. "Planters raised livestock for more than food and hides; animals were the growth stock of the seventeenth century and could provide an inheritance for offspring."²⁰³ Indeed, accounts of livestock by surviving widows, their subsequent husbands, or their eldest sons, make up most of the substantive information found in the Henrico Orphans Court records for Henrico frontier families.

Thus, Sarah Browne-Woodson was one Henrico mother who did not take her livestock preservation duties lightly. After her second husband John Woodson presented an account of "the Estate belonging to the orphs. of John Brown"--her children's cattle and sheep--to the Henrico Orphan's Court in 1677, the Court granted

the request of Sarah the wife of the sd. John Woodson and Mother to the sd. Orphts. by and wth the consent of the sd John that his wife Sarah Woodson shall have in her hand & care the estate belonging to the sd Orphs. she giving security and accott thereof [according] to law."²⁰⁴

²⁰²Virginia widows with children had rights to a life estate in one-third of a husband's land with its tenements or buildings and shared her husband's personal estate equally with her children, including livestock and labor; if there was no will, a widow with children received a third of her husband's personal estate (from summary in Shammas, Salmon, and Dahlin, Inheritance in America, 32-33). In the case of a married man who had no heirs when he died, common law directed that his land would revert or "escheat" back to the King. See Black's Law Dictionary, s.v. escheat. In the 1660s the Virginia Assembly specified the surviving widow's rights to her husband's land in such cases by granting her first priority in claiming her husband's land from the King: "that where there is a widow, she shall enjoy the land of her husband during her life, and be admitted in the first place to make her composition for the fee-simple, in case she signifie her desire within the time aforesaid" (Hening, comp., Statutes, 2:56-57).

²⁰³Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, 50.

²⁰⁴Henrico Orphan's Court, 1677-1739, 1(4).

Like crops, labor was a much more temporal part of the family estate than livestock before the transition to slave labor in the Chesapeake at the end of the seventeenth century.

For instance, none of the four English servants listed in William Farrar's inventory were listed five years later in the division of Farrar's estate among his four youngest children.²⁰⁵ From the 1690s, however, surviving Henrico frontier family heads began to leave slaves to their heirs. Anne Walthall-Morris went through a succession of European and Indian servants during her widowhood; by the time she died, however, she had acquired two African slaves which together represented almost three-fourths of the value of her 1701 inventory.²⁰⁶

Preservation of Henrico frontier family estates for surviving widows and/or children was sometimes facilitated by neighbors and friends of the family. Anne Walthall-Morris' payment of the legacies due her Walthall children was "Contradicted" by her daughter's husband who then "exhibitted a peticon for his part of the sd Estate." The dispute was resolved by testimony of seven neighbors given before two justices of the peace at "the house of the sd Mrs. Anne Morris"; after describing the "poor &

²⁰⁵Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 51; Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 266-68. Only three Indians, presumably slaves, were listed in Farrar's division of estate in 1683. Though after Bacon's rebellion of 1676, Indians could be appropriated as slaves, they were not always found to be slaves after 1676--John Woodson devised an Indian girl to his younger son in 1684 who only had years to serve (Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 279-80).

²⁰⁶A "Negro woman" and a "Mulatto Girl" were each valued at 3000 pounds of tobacco and the total inventory was valued at 8116 pounds of tobacco (Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1697-1704, 250).

indigent condicon" in which William Walthall left his widow, the neighbors concluded that "what Hugh Ligon hath already rece'd is much more in value than his wives part in her father's estate."²⁰⁷ Widow Alice Harris called upon Abraham Wood, her husband's old militia companion, for assistance in preserving enough of her deceased husband's estate to meet surviving family members' needs. Wood responded with a letter to the Henrico justices of the peace requesting them to allow "ye widdow Harris . . . to have a bedd and some small necessities out of her husbands estate, which I humbly conceive is but reasonable . . . and it will amount to soe small a value that it cannot be worth takeing notice of by ye Creditors."²⁰⁸ John Knowles' estate was especially vulnerable to depredation by neighbor Henry Sherman because it was not protected by any surviving adult family member. The testimony of other neighbors familiar with Knowles' estate clarified that the losses suffered had to do with Sherman appropriating some of Knowles' cattle, hogs, and sheep for his own personal use and for sale to militia stationed at the fort at James River falls.²⁰⁹

Grandparents and Grandchildren

Perhaps the strength of lineal family values among Henrico frontier families is most clearly seen in responsibilities assumed towards grandchildren. The longevity of Henrico frontier family heads enabled a number of fathers and mothers to extend inheritance of the family estate to their grandchildren. Over two-fifths of Henrico frontier

²⁰⁷Henrico Orphan's Court, 1677-1739, 29(63); Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1688-1697, 159.

²⁰⁸Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 61.

²⁰⁹Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 125-26.

families (15/37 or 41%) directly provided some type of inheritance for their grandchildren. While most grandparents transmitting an inheritance gave personal and household items to grandchildren (12/15 or 80%), a majority also provided livestock (9/15 or 60%) and land (8/15 or 53%) to grandchildren. A few grandparents provided labor, mostly in the form of slaves, to grandchildren (3/15 or 20%). Most Henrico frontier family grandparents appear to have provided an inheritance for grandchildren out of deep emotional attachment and felt free to bestow special gifts on certain grandchildren.

For instance, Mary Ligon expressed in her will that she wanted her "Wedding ring to be Delivered" to her grandson Thomas Farrar "at the Day of his Marriage or att his begining to keepe house or Else when he shall Arrive to ye age of 21 yeares."²¹⁰ Cicely Sherman relinquished part of her life estate before her death to one of her grandsons; her action arose out of

filial Honr. obedience and love manifested by my grandson Henry Trent . . . who has very much tendered and indeared my motherly love and affection towards him, to my great satisfaction and Comfort in my great and declining Age and being very desirous to advance and promote his temporall Livelyhood and subsistence, grant him 1/2 of my plantation.²¹¹

Grandparents Christopher Branch and Henry Lound also served as guardians to orphaned grandchildren; Mary Tanner-Platt was over sixty years old when she petitioned for and was granted the guardianship of an orphaned grandson.²¹²

²¹⁰Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1697-1704, 366-67.

²¹¹Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1697-1704, 307-08.

²¹²For Branch: Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1677-1692, 209-10, 218-19. For Lound: Henrico Orders, 1678-1693, 55; Henrico Orphan's Court, 1677-1739, 7(21), 39-40(80). For Tanner-Platt: Henrico Deeds & Wills, 1688-1697, 37; Henrico Orphan's Court, 1677-1739, 42(84); Henrico Orders, 1694-1701, 233.

The inheritance relationships to children and grandchildren among Henrico frontier families not only personify lineal family values, but also exemplify seventeenth century Henrico's early achievement of permanent English settlement in the New World and the fulfillment of individual dreams "to make a Country for posterity."²¹³

²¹³Phrase from Hammond, "Leah and Rachel," 1656, in Tracts, comp., Force, vol.3, no. 14, p. 8.

CHAPTER 10

THE FAMILY ECOLOGY OF SOME EARLY AMERICAN PIONEERS

It was entirely possible that families contributed very little to the "settlement" of Virginia until decades after Jamestown was established in 1607. Survival problems, a high death rate, and a scarcity of women plagued early Virginia colonists and many were unsettled almost as soon as they managed to seat themselves in a strange wilderness. Most scholars recognize that this scenario of Virginia's unsettlement was eventually turned around by the achievement of social stability in local communities over the course of the seventeenth century.

New interest in the seventeenth century settlement of local Chesapeake communities raises questions about families as agents of social stability and community formation in achieving settlement. Recent Chesapeake studies which document "community formation in newly settled areas" have revealed a significant linkage between social stability and community formation after 1650.¹ One community study, however, Perry's Formation of Society on Virginia Eastern Shore, 1615-1655, has reached into the first half of the seventeenth century and has been able to establish "the achievement of stability at a much earlier date than any other historian has yet demonstrated."² The

¹Carr, Morgan, and Russo, "Introduction," 24-26.

²Ibid., 25 n.27.

present study of Henrico County settlement on the western frontier of Virginia also investigates a community originating during the Virginia Company period and suggests that social stability and community formation developed in Henrico as family formation was realized by a core group of early settlers. Not only was family formation "vital to community life,"³ but family formation was vital to whatever social stability was achieved in early Henrico County. In the context of this study's broad concern with human ecological stability and settlement, the linkage between the development of social stability and "community formation in newly settled areas" could be elaborated as a linkage grounded upon family formation and landownership in newly settled areas.

Early Familial Settlement Pattern

The contribution of families to settlement in seventeenth century Henrico County is suggested by the predominantly familial settlement pattern which characterized all data on private landownership in Henrico County; these data were presented in the three maps of Henrico land patents dating from 1617-1675. Henrico County settlement in 1625 was already anchored by Virginia Company settlers seeking agricultural subsistence, families, and land in the New World. These settlers were led by ancient planters who immigrated to Virginia by 1616 under Virginia Company administration. At least through 1675, new immigrants to Henrico integrated the subsistence-family-land values structure of these old settlers into their settlement behavior, producing a predominantly familial settlement pattern. Thus, what Henretta would call a "lineal family values" structure of subsistence-

³Ibid., 24.

family-land is clearly evident from what this study has shown about the behavior of the first two generations of Henrico colonists.⁴

The first two generations of Henrico settlers, led by ancient planter and frontier families, were true "pioneers"--in terms of what they did and the culture they created. Aubrey Land wrote years ago that the first two generations of American pioneers in the Chesapeake achieved the "capital formation" which laid the foundations for the economic growth enjoyed by later generations.

No one in those years, planter or bondsman, actually pronounced that phrase as the process itself dragged along in sweat and tears, and--occasionally--blood. This was the price paid for every acre won by clearing the primeval woodland, for every dwelling house and every curing barn erected, for fences put around planted fields . . . for roads, crude as they were, drainage ditches, for orchards planted, in short for all those things our colonial forebears lumped together under the heading "improvements." They created the wealth of the province, gave value to the wild country that had previously had none, provided the conditions for a viable economy.⁵

Each generation of Henrico County families made a significant contribution to the process of economic capital formation by seating and planting their land to establish their plantations on the Henrico frontier. Ancient planter families made a significant contribution to human capital formation; frontier families, building on this human capital foundation, made a significant contribution to physical capital formation and expanded settlement beyond the Henrico river frontier of the first generation.

⁴Henretta's concept of "lineal family values" as derived from an agricultural subsistence-family-land relationship is discussed in his "Families and Farms," 90-120.

⁵Land, "Planters of Colonial Maryland," 112-13.

Henrico County's first two generations of pioneer families created a common pioneer culture defined by what most of them were doing in everyday life. Characteristics of Henrico's seventeenth century pioneer culture may be summarized as follows:⁶

1. Work largely defined status; all were planters--great or small.
2. Respect for law, religion, and land rights.
3. Strong sense of autonomy as master of own labor and land.
4. Family emerged as basic social, economic, and cultural unit.
5. Commitment to neighborhood cooperation.
6. Considerable contact with Indians.
7. Small-scale hill and hoe agriculture.
8. Extensive land use and temporary fields to save labor.
9. Open-range livestock.
10. Use of hunting and fishing.
11. Diet of meat, corn, garden vegetables, fruit from orchard.
12. Simple buildings.
13. Forest clearings appear as "islands" surrounding households.
14. Residence changed with individual and family life course.
15. Dispersed settlement pattern.

⁶For American pioneers in another place and time, Terry Jordan and Matti Kaups list a number of distinguishing "pioneer" characteristics which are remarkably similar to characteristics of Henrico County's seventeenth century "ancient planter" and "frontier" families; the following description is adapted from Jordan and Kaups, American Backwoods Frontier, 3-4.

The pioneer culture of Henrico ancient planter and frontier families does not conform to the stereotypical image of aristocratic southern plantation culture; in fact, the whole seventeenth century Chesapeake reflected many of these same characteristics of Henrico County pioneer culture.

The family plantations of Henrico pioneer families anchored pioneer culture in agriculture. Agriculture joined families to land, creating an integral relationship between families and their environment and functioning as the ecological basis for the cultural image of family as "community" in early America. The relatively small-scale agriculture practiced by Henrico pioneer families was appropriate for families so that all family members and available servants could learn the work and do what needed to be done if someone were sick or death claimed a family member. Agricultural subsistence production was an essential Henrico pioneer family-land activity so that families could stay in one place over time. Familial agriculture contributed to human and physical capital formation by combining knowledge and labor in a collective enterprise. Familial agriculture also integrated work and family based on the ecological connection to life processes. Peter Laslett states that, for people in the seventeenth century, "working the land, managing, nurturing a 'family' were then one and the same thing, and could no more be 'rationalized' than the cherishing of a wife or the bringing up of children;" they "had no occasion to see any separation whatsoever between keeping house and working the soil."⁷ It was essentially the small-scale, subsistence-based, familial agriculture done by the first two generations of Henrico pioneer families which directed the seating and

⁷Laslett, World We Have Lost, 78-79.

planting of new land--a constructive process of farm-building--and which thereby achieved the settlement of early seventeenth century Henrico County.

Land rights and land policies were critical intervening variables in the family-land relationships established by Henrico pioneer families. The acquisition and use of land by patent under the terms established by the Virginia Charters gave Henrico pioneers possession of land as a freehold inheritance. All Virginia colonists knew that freehold land was free of "the will of the lord" and various feudal encumbrances. The struggle to maintain land rights secured under the Virginia Charters indicates that Virginia colonists clearly rejected the feudal hierarchy structure of English land tenures--a hierarchy founded on aristocratic privilege, entitlements of nobility, and claims to power over other men as "lord of the fee" and/or "lord of the manor."

In the New World, a freehold inheritance of land protected by the King's law birthed the "American Dream" by allowing Henrico pioneer families, whether rich or poor, to be masters of their own labor and their own land. Such fee-simple land tenure proved critical for poor immigrants who did not bring much physical or monetary capital to the New World because fee-simple land tenure also enabled poor immigrants to maximize whatever human capital they had--a body to do manual labor, a Protestant work ethic, and perhaps some Old World agricultural experience. Unfortunately, new liberties for poor men in the New World with regard to land and labor were eventually restricted to Europeans in the Virginia colony. The English-Indian frontier context of Henrico settlement not only challenged English feudal ideas about land rights, but graphically portrayed to English colonists that struggles over land can be resolved either by war or

by law. Nonetheless, understanding of the importance of liberal English land rights and policies in Virginia is enhanced by recognizing that most English immigrants coming to Virginia arrived as poor indentured servants, perhaps feeling they had no other place to go. The land rights represented in land patents allowed Henrico pioneer families to establish a life-sustaining relationship to land through agriculture and the construction of a farm. John Stilgoe's profound observation reflects the human ecological significance of family landownership: "a family not only owns but inhabits a farm".⁸

Family Ecology and Settlement

The predominance of a familial settlement pattern established in early Henrico County indicates that families were doing the work of "settlement," conceived ecologically as "human habitation of the land." English settlement in the New World began as an experiment fraught with years of trial and error. Old World Englishmen involved with Roanoke and Jamestown had virtually no experience with the challenges of New World settlement and permanent settlement proved elusive to the early leaders of English colonization. The practical changes brought about by the establishment of Henrico in 1611 led to the important realization that families and what families did with land was necessary to permanent English settlement in Virginia.

The family ecology which emerged after Henrico's settlement contrasted sharply with the human ecology imposed on the first years of Jamestown settlement. The human ecology originating with the settlement of Jamestown was remarkable for the absence of families, private agriculture, and private landownership. In other words, the first English

⁸Stilgoe, Common Landscape of America, 206.

colonists attempted to settle Virginia without families, land, or direct agricultural responsibility. The settlement of Henrico in 1611 began to reverse the human ecological disaster of Jamestown as ancient planters assumed direct agricultural responsibility for their own subsistence, acquired their own land, and formed their own families in the New World. Henrico settlement patterns were thus shaped over time by individual families who became landowners and used their land for agricultural purposes.

The family ecology of Henrico settlement was reconstructed in terms of the family plantations established by the first two generations of Henrico County colonists. The essential elements of colonial Virginia family-land relationships--families, agriculture, and landownership--converged in the formation of Henrico family plantations. Henrico's first generation of colonists struggled to establish some of the earliest English family plantations in the New World. As a result of these and other ancient planters' struggles for survival, the very idea of plantation in the English colonies of the New World was eventually grounded upon a basic historical and practical understanding of family-land relationships. Henrico's second generation of colonists worked to expand the community of family plantations on the Virginia frontier. The geography and biography of Henrico settlement showed a strong link between the first two generations of Henrico settlers.

The culture of Henrico settlement explicated for the second generation of Henrico settlers--those with county record data--provided more insight into family-land relationships. The analysis of "fee-simple land" proved to be the historical taproot of the study, revealing the importance of landownership to English colonists migrating to the New World. The analysis of "farm-building" suggests the importance of family

agricultural activity for economic competence and growth as well as settlement. The analysis of "family inheritance" indicates that lineal family values appropriated by families and expressed in intergenerational transfers of property were important for stabilizing settlement. This study of Henrico County's earliest pioneer families shows that the family-land relationships inherent in the construction and maintenance of family plantations were significant for the achievement of permanent English settlement.

The human and family ecology of Henrico settlement suggests why families rather than individuals became critical agents of English settlement in the New World. Families may have predominated in Henrico settlement patterns for several reasons. First, colonists were motivated by family interests: men and women immigrating to the New World wanted to marry, construct a family household and homestead on their own land, and have children. Allan Kulikoff summarizes the goals of an immigrant's life cycle:

The servants and ex-servants who peopled the Chesapeake colonies during the seventeenth century molded unfavorable demographic conditions--the high ratio of men to women, heavy mortality, and late marriages--to their own advantage. Freedmen pursued two goals, the formation of a family and the purchase of their own land, with great vigor. These two objectives were linked: a man could not attract a wife, given the relative scarcity of women, unless he possessed land.⁹

Such family interests, particularly when complicated further by children, inevitably modified the individual self interests of English colonists. Anthony Langston wrote in mid-seventeenth century Virginia that "every man builds in the midst of his own Land, and therefore provides beforehand to take up so much at the first Patent, that his great

⁹Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 35.

Grandchild may be sure not to want Land to go forward with any great design they covet."¹⁰ Family interests were embodied in individual family members, the persons one cared for most, and served as powerful linkages between generations of settlers.

Second, a family's life course made possible greater continuity and stability in the work of settlement. Settlement activities such as plantation work became part of the collective activities engaged in by families during their life course. The work of family plantations therefore did not necessarily cease with the death of individual family members even though it might be reorganized through remarriage or managed by guardians to orphans. Changes precipitated by early mortality of individuals linked to Henrico pioneer families correlates with Tamara Hareven's observation that "the interrelationship of individual transitions and changing family configurations perhaps can be seen as the movement of schools of fish. As individuals move through their life course in family units, they group and regroup themselves."¹¹ Because male or female family heads were often survived by other family members, a family plantation could continue to operate, rather than be deserted. Certainly the family life course of many Henrico pioneer husbands and wives superseded their individual life course simply because they left surviving family members. Settlement activities were also integrated with "cyclical intergenerational processes" of a family's life course such as "(a) generational succession through childbearing and socialization of the young to maturity;

¹⁰"Anthony Langston on Towns, and Corporations," 101.

¹¹Hareven, "Introduction: The Historical Study of the Life Course," 5.

and (b) the intergenerational flow of resources, including inheritance."¹² Family inheritance was a significant strategy for Henrico pioneer families which enabled children to continue the work of settlement begun by parents and even grandparents.

Third, family households assumed responsibility for developing and sustaining the human and physical resources used in settlement activities. The husbanding or stewardship of such resources by family households helped make possible the phenomenal economic growth which attended English settlement in North America. The development of human and physical resources by family households shaped culture as well as economy in Henrico. The fact that most landowners were linked to family households inevitably meant that the pioneer culture created by Henrico men and women pursuing their American dream to be masters of their own labor and their own land was strongly familial. Familial influences upon American pioneer economy and culture was not limited to freemen, but embraced servants as well. Landowning family households predominated in Henrico along the continuum of households from great to small and so would have absorbed the greatest numbers of servants immigrating to this part of the New World. Thus the unfree period of socialization in both plantation and frontier experience which marked the lot of an indentured servant in Henrico more likely than not occurred in some family household. The Henrico families who established their households on the western frontier of seventeenth century Virginia were some of the first American pioneers; they had everything to gain and everything to lose by risking their lives in the New World. In the everyday life of the household, the economic and cultural responsibility these

¹²Elder, "Family History and the Life Course," 18.

families assumed for their own destiny was intertwined with the responsibility they assumed for their own posterity and others who lived with them.

This historical and interdisciplinary study in family ecology reveals something about families and farms in colonial America. Family plantations emerged as the fundamental expression of family-land relationships and made a significant contribution to settlement in seventeenth century Henrico County, Virginia. In the context of ongoing human ecological research, Henrico pioneer family plantations represent an historical and geographical example of a community of family ecosystems, or, more specifically, a community of "family<->farm ecosystems."¹³ The development of family plantations or family<->farm ecosystems in early Henrico County correlated with the processes of settlement to such a degree that this study of settlement may be said to be a study in the development of family ecosystems, or more specifically, a study in the geography, biography, and culture of developing family ecosystems. This study also serves as a prospectus for further research on the ecosystems developed by the next generation of Henrico landowning families from 1676-1710; this period of Henrico County history is

¹³See M. Suzanne Sontag and Margaret M. Bubolz, "Research in Progress: Case Studies of Family Adaptation to Changing Resources and Environments," Agriculture and Human Values 2 (Winter 1985):48-51; M. Suzanne Sontag and Margaret Bubolz, "A Case Study in the Conduct of Human Ecological Research: The Family Farm Ecosystem," in Human Ecology: A Gathering of Perspectives, ed. Richard J. Borden in Collaboration with Jamien Jacobs and Gerald L. Young (College Park, MD: Society for Human Ecology, 1986), 221-233; M. Suzanne Sontag, Margaret M. Bubolz, Linda Nelson, and William Abler, "Integrative Methods for Human Ecological Research," in Human Ecology: Crossing Boundaries, ed. Scott D. Wright, Thomas Dietz, Richard Borden, Gerald Young, and Gregory Guagnano (Fort Collins, CO: Society for Human Ecology, 1993), 151-179; M. Suzanne Sontag and Margaret M. Bubolz, Families on Small Farms: Case Studies in Human Ecology (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, forthcoming).

particularly rich in terms of county records. The more we know about family ecosystems such as these which produced valuable human and physical capital--especially in situations involving simple tools and minimal monetary investment--the greater the potential for contributing towards viable directions for economic and cultural development at home and abroad.

The application of a family ecological perspective to the problems of settlement in early seventeenth century Virginia was mutually beneficial. Family ecology offers an integrative framework for bringing together many bits and pieces of historical data at different levels of analysis across different disciplines. Family ecology also offers the only family studies framework which, through the concept of the "family ecosystem," makes economics and public policy integral components of everyday family life; this is important for seeing families as agents of change and as shapers of culture. Family ecology fruitfully integrates a life course perspective whereby families can be understood in social-historical context and can be viewed in terms of change over time. In turn, family ecology benefits theoretically from studies which provide substance and insight that can be directly linked to human experience. Family ecology also gains methodologically when confronted by new types of research problems. Multiple sources and techniques of analysis proved invaluable to the reconstruction of the human and family ecology of Henrico settlement. Prosopography constructed a longitudinal data base out of both land and family records. Mapping in a real geographic sense, especially when linked to other types of data, was a powerful analytical tool. Ethnographic reconstruction explicated the operation of human agency in historical events and showed linkages across

space and over time. Understanding of Henrico family ecosystems was furthered by anchoring or "grounding" the interpretation of data in the language of everyday life--in this instance, the historical language of everyday life in the seventeenth century. By "grounding" family ecological theory in this sort of way, it was possible to extend family ecological theory beyond the boundaries imposed by twentieth century abstractions. This study thus dealt with the methodological challenge of ecological validity and the theoretical challenge of linking linguistic abstractions with ecological reality. As a result, we know much more about why these historical family ecosystems existed and how they were constructed.

The Family as "Settling Community"

At the end of this study lies the question as to whether the pattern of experience attributed to these seventeenth century pioneer families provides a useful memory for twentieth century American families. Demos' use of images to symbolize the purposes of families as they lived out their lives in the past can be applied to the task of representing useful memories of the past.¹⁴ And because the history of pioneer families in colonial Henrico County does evoke, in many ways, Demos' image of the colonial American family as a "community," we can perhaps enlarge upon the image of the family as a "community" to suggest what families might do to recover constructive and proactive purposes for family life which might engage and shape the larger culture in a positive way.

¹⁴See Demos, Past, Present, and Personal, 24-40.

To recover some realistic understanding of the family as "community" in late twentieth century America is no small task. To that end, we should consider some thoughts recently expressed by Wendell Berry concerning "community." Berry proposes that "if the word community is to mean or amount to anything, it must refer to a place (in its natural integrity) and its people. It must refer to a placed people."¹⁵ Human community, then, is not merely sociological, but is an inclusive human ecological phenomenon. Berry also posits the importance of families to healthy communities: "A community, when it is alive and well, is centered on the household--the family place and economy--and the household is centered on marriage."¹⁶ Here we can draw upon Berry's fruitful discussion of "settled communities"¹⁷ to formulate an image of the family as a "settling community". For better or for worse, a family is always a "community"¹⁸ and every family in each generation must "settle" down in some place.

The family is a "settling community" because the ecology of families, whether past or present, involves dynamic relationships which bring people together and place or settle them upon the land. Families engage in the work of settlement in order to survive and make a home for themselves. In the New World, settlement was an explicit and

¹⁵Wendell Berry, "Sex, Economy, Freedom, and Community," in Sex, Economy, Freedom, and Community: Eight Essays (New York: Pantheon Books, 1993), 168.

¹⁶Ibid., 148.

¹⁷Ibid., 168-173.

¹⁸I thus concur with Allan Carlson's premise "that the family is the natural, universal, and irreplaceable human community" (From Cottage to Work Station: The Family's Search for Social Harmony in the Industrial Age, San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 1993, 4).

problematic task. Voluntary settlement engaged in by families (as opposed to other agents) in seventeenth century English colonies was found to "place people" in a more permanent relationship with their new land. As a result, building and preserving human communities in early America was directly related to the settlement efforts undertaken by families to establish life-sustaining relationships in a new natural and cultural environment.

An image of the family as "Settling Community" should be rooted in the significant historical legacy concerning a vital link between land and family in early America. The image of the family as "Settling Community" which emerges from American pioneer culture is due to the vital link between land and family forged in seventeenth century plantation and frontier experiences. The multi-faceted human need for land must be met consistently throughout the life course and therefore is best met through families and their ecology. How the need for land is met by a particular group of people at a particular time in a particular place produces natural and cultural results. Early plantation experiences linked land and family because of the human need to work land in order to survive. Early frontier experiences brought together land and family because of the human need for access to land in order to survive. That American pioneer culture and settlement patterns were dominated by families working their own land illuminates "the surprising importance of family labor in early America."¹⁹ The vital link between land and family forged by families gaining access to land and working land

¹⁹Innes, "John Smith's Vision," 31-34.

was manifested on every family plantation or farm established on successive frontiers, inevitably shaping early American communities.

The purposes which a family pursued as "Settling Community" in early America were sustained by human culture as well as natural human needs. American pioneer culture was rooted in principles which surfaced quickly in colonial settlement patterns: "free people working free land--free of the will of the lord." England's feudal land laws and aristocratic social structure offered limited opportunities for subsistence and betterment to ordinary English men and women. For Old World inhabitants, freedom with regard to land and labor was one of the compelling lures of the New World. Thousands were willing to become unfree for a short period of time in order to live, work, and eventually acquire land as free men and women in the New World. The first English "plantation" and "frontier" in the New World--Virginia--survived long enough to become a colony led by families working their own land. Indeed, Jack Greene concludes that, before 1800, Virginia and her sister colonies in the Chesapeake and the south

epitomized what was arguably the most important element in the emerging British-American culture: the conception of America as a place in which free people could pursue their own individual happinesses in safety and with a fair prospect that they might be successful in their several quests.²⁰

Our knowledge of pioneer families in seventeenth century Henrico County provides one historical example of free but relatively poor people who established family plantations on the free land of the Virginia frontier.²¹ The efforts of these and many other early

²⁰Jack Greene, Pursuits of Happiness, 5; see also 81-100.

²¹Henrico colonists exemplified what Greene has called "the traditional goals of
(continued...)

American pioneer families to settle a new land within a culture animated by principles concerning "free people" and "free land" helped "make a country for posterity" and thereby built a new nation.

The human freedoms which governed the link between land and family in American pioneer culture are essential to recovering an image of the family as a "Settling Community" today. First, families must be free to labor and to appropriate the benefits of their labor for the well-being of their families. Because people with jurisdiction or control over labor govern the economic life of those who labor, free people in the English colonies who worked their own free land enjoyed a certain amount of economic freedom.

The economic freedom enjoyed by many pioneer families is evident from the seventeenth century contrast between the English plantation in the New World and the English manor in the Old World. The decentralized pattern of economic organization inherent in colonial communities of family plantations or farms went beyond allowing colonial families to meet subsistence needs, but helped families realize a significant degree of autonomy and productivity within the broader culture.

Second, families must be free to acquire, use, and possess land without interference from the civil power of the state. Because people with jurisdiction or control over land govern the political or civil life of the people on the land, free people who held their own free land possessed a certain measure of political freedom. The political freedom appropriated by many pioneer families is suggested by the seventeenth century

²¹(...continued)

Chesapeake residents: the acquisition of land and independence and the establishment of families" (in *ibid.*, 88).

contrast between the English and Indian sides of the frontier in the New World. English families who gained access to legally protected freehold land in the New World--far removed from the will of any lord--enjoyed in practice, if not in theory, the benefits of an inalienable right to their land. The principle that "free land" is foundational to a "free people" was demonstrated on the New World frontier where the imposition of a civil land right intruded on Indian freedom while the practical benefits of an inalienable land right liberated English colonists.²² The economic and political freedoms manifested through colonial settlement patterns of families working their own land enabled families to more directly influence and shape the culture to which they belonged.

The critical characteristics of the family as "Settling Community" which emerge from the legacy of American pioneer families and culture are thus family autonomy and productivity grounded in the benefits of inalienable land rights. These cultural characteristics were not unique to American pioneer families, however. The legacy of American pioneer families and culture parallels the Old World legacy of English yeoman families which birthed the American Dream in the New World. English yeoman families

²²This principle undergirds Wendell Berry's elegant defense of the family farm in the late twentieth century: "The justifications of the family farm are not merely agricultural; they are political and cultural as well. The question of the survival of the family farm and the farm family is one version of the question of who will own the country, which is, ultimately, the question of who will own the people. Shall the usable property of our country be democratically divided, or not? If many people do not own the usable property, then they must submit to the few who do own it. They cannot eat or be sheltered or clothed except in submission. They will find themselves entirely dependent on money; they will find costs always higher, and money always harder to get. To renounce the principle of democratic property, which is the only basis of democratic liberty, in exchange for which is the only basis of democratic liberty, in exchange for specious notions of efficiency or the economics of the so-called free market is a tragic folly" ("A Defense of the Family Farm," in Home Economics, 165).

were lauded in English tradition as "free people" working "free land" and thereby as "masters of their own labor and their own land."²³ For English laborers and tenants, the American Dream promised the yeoman status they might never attain if they did not get on a ship to the New World.

The English immigrants who formed pioneer families drew upon the cultural tradition of English yeoman families as they adapted themselves to their New World environment. In its basic form, English yeoman culture embraced life processes of both man and nature through agriculture, "husbandrie," and "huswiferie." Ruth Schwartz Cowan explicates the interdependent or ecological nature of the relationships between men, women, and their land in the yeoman household:

Housewives were the spouses of "husbands"; and husbands, as the compound character of the name implies, were people whose work was also focused on the house (hus is the older spelling of our house) to which they were "bonded"--houses that they either rented or owned[;] houses that were, in some socially identifiable sense, their own. Thus husbands and housewives both derived their status from the existence of their house and its associated land--the man because he had some title to it and the woman because she was married to him. . . . Housewives and husbands were among the first occupants of that singular social niche--the middle class. They worked the land (hence the term husbandry for what we call farming), and they made independent decisions about the disposition of livestock and tools that were in their possession. Any economic security they had they achieved by working together and husbanding their resources. The success of these early independent agricultural families, the yeomanry, depended on the hard labor of both men and women.²⁴

²³See Campbell, English Yeoman, 1-63; Notestein, English People on the Eve of Colonization, 70-85; Laslett, World We Have Lost, 43-44.

²⁴Ruth Schwartz Cowan, More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 17. Cowan quotes from Thomas Tusser's 1577 introduction to a manual on "Huswiferie" to
(continued...)

English yeoman culture, of course, underwent a transformation in the New World. Without the peculiar social, political, and legal constraints which defined status in England, colonists who would be English yeoman became American pioneers instead.²⁵ The Old World's feudal hierarchy was replaced by a New World social hierarchy based on the acquisition of wealth and competence through one's own labor. Nonetheless, the cultural characteristics and freedoms which identified the family as "Settling Community" belonged to both American pioneer and English yeoman families.

Against the historical legacy which supports an image of the family as a "Settling Community" stands the modern world and the notion of the modern family. Any quest to relate our understanding of colonial families and their forbears in the past to families in late twentieth century America must confront the dichotomy often drawn between the modern world and the premodern world based on the presence or absence of modern technology. The critical question that needs to be asked is whether the changes wrought

²⁴(...continued)

illustrate the economic importance of both men and women to the yeoman household:

In jest and in earnest, here argued ye finde,
That husband and huswife together must dwell,
And thereto the judgement of wedded mans mind,
That husbandrie otherwise speedeth not well:
So somewhat more now I intende for to tell,
Of huswiferie like as of husbandrie told,
How huswifellie huswife helps bring in the golde.

(p. 17 & n.1)

²⁵A number of scholars have observed similarities between English yeomen and early American pioneers. See Carr, Menard, and Walsh, Robert Cole's World, xv-xvi, 12-17 & n.34; Henretta, Origins of American Capitalism, 57-61, 262-70; Kulikoff, "Households and Markets," 342-55; Allan Kulikoff, The Agrarian Origins of American Capitalism (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 34-59; Wertenbaker, Planters of Colonial Virginia, 38-59, 101-14.

by modern technology changed the basic life processes central to family life in the past.

At the conclusion of his own study of colonial families, Philip Greven observed that

many basic characteristics of families . . . have remained remarkably unchanged during the past four centuries. There has been more fundamental continuity in human experience than one might expect from most historical accounts. The fact that such basic forms of continuity are rooted in the family itself seems to be of the utmost importance for further analysis of behavior, thought, and experience, past and present.²⁶

Family history thus must grapple with continuity as well as change, and it must grapple with possibilities for continuity as well as possibilities for change.

In order to recover the purposes as well as the image of the family as a "Settling Community," modern families must recover the cultural characteristics of certain premodern families--family autonomy, family productivity, and the benefits of inalienable land rights.²⁷ James Henretta summarizes that American pioneer families achieved autonomy, for instance, through a "system of local political power and economic interdependence that inhibited control over their lives by outside agents."²⁸ To seek greater autonomy and productivity, families today need to resist the predominant social, economic, and political patterns in American culture which have shifted families to a position of dependence and consumerism. The deprivation of land rights belonging to American families today is more subtle and more insidious because the state, at all levels, has presumed a superior claim of title to the land and property of its citizens through the mechanisms which control the acquisition, use, and continued possession of land or other

²⁶Greven, Four Generations, 287.

²⁷Allan Carlson's conclusions are similar in From Cottage to Work Station, 159-171.

²⁸Henretta, Origins of American Capitalism, 265.

forms of real property, such as property taxes, zoning, environmental regulations, and regulatory takings of property without just compensation.

The intellectual and practical challenges to recover an image of the family as "Settling Community" are formidable and necessitate transcending the modern-premodern dichotomy. We can begin by asking whether the American Dream is still possible? Or, is it still possible "to be master of one's own labor and land"? If not, why not? Much about the modern world is problematic and we need to consider the stark contrast Wendell Berry draws between "Settled Communities" and the "Destroyed Communities" of a "rootless society." The modern world's naive faith in "progress" has spawned a blight of "modern urban industrial urban centers . . . full of refugees from destroyed communities, destroyed community economies, disintegrated local cultures, and ruined local ecosystems."²⁹ One of the modern world's major problems, indicated here in the differentiation between "Settled Communities" and "Destroyed Communities," is poor stewardship of land and people--a problem which Berry repeatedly emphasizes is local, not global.³⁰ Without local stewardship of land and people by families, the American Dream today is at best a patriotic illusion, and at worst a rhetorical device to sell the debt of a thirty-year mortgage.

The critical need to recover the family's local stewardship of land and people becomes the final argument for recovering an image of the family as a "Settling

²⁹Berry, "Sex, Economy, Freedom, and Community," 169.

³⁰See especially Wendell Berry, "Conservation is Good Work," in Sex, Economy, Freedom, and Community, 27-43.

Community." To grasp how families can better improve their stewardship of land and people today, we must examine more closely the relationship between families and work. The nature of work is a critical factor in stewardship if, as Wendell Berry maintains, "peoples are joined to the land by work."³¹ In the premodern world, work was primarily shaped by the life processes culturally termed as agriculture, husbandrie, and huswiferie. These processes defined the nature of other derivative forms of work in both the country and the city. In the modern world, work has been primarily shaped by more mechanistic processes culturally termed as industry, job, and housework.³² Work understood in terms of life processes led to the humility imbued in the old notion of "calling" which dignified all work in all places. Work understood in terms of mechanistic processes led to the hubris of the modern "career" which devalued some work in some places, especially manual labor and housework on farms and in homes.³³ The implications of the two work patterns are significant: life processes integrate families whereas mechanistic processes fragment families.

³¹Wendell Berry, "People, Land, and Community," in Standing by Words (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1983), 73.

³²Ruth Schwartz Cowan points out that "housework belongs to the nineteenth and, later, the twentieth centuries"--after the separation of home and work was effected by the industrial revolution, in More Work for Mother, 18. Agriculture, for instance, was redefined as an industrial, mechanistic enterprise supported by new "agribusiness" professionals.

³³Wendell Berry explores the cultural differences in these work patterns in many of his essays; see especially Gift of Good Land: Further Essays Cultural and Agricultural (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1981); Home Economics, and "Feminism, the Body, and the Machine," in What Are People For?: Essays (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1990), 178-96.

A family becomes a "Settling Community" by embracing the life processes of its land and people in all their complexity and mystery. When its life and work are reduced to a machine pattern, the ecology of a family disintegrates. The stewardship of life integrates and extends the ecology of a family from intimate household through the neighboring community into the larger world. It is a timeless idea that love for land and people begins at home.

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