

Chapters in the history of POPES CREEK PLANTATION: D6

*Where George Washington was born
and where he spent part of his youth.*

George Washington Birthplace National Monument

By

CHARLES E. HATCH, JR.

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*George Washington son to Augustine & Mary his Wife was born
11th Day of February 1732 about 10 in the Morning & was Baptized the 3rd of April
following Mr. Beverly Whiting & Cap^t. Christopher Brooks for fathers and
Mrs. Mildred Gregory for mother.*

DIVISION OF HISTORY

Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation

December 1, 1968

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At Popes Creek Plantation
(Typical elements in a plantation scene)

FOREWORD

The Historical Resources Study Proposal No. GEWA-H-1 for George Washington Birthplace National Monument relates that "a historical knowledge gap has existed" at the birthplace "since its inception causing serious problems in interpretation and resource management." It continues:

This proposed study would attempt to eliminate this deficiency by compiling and interpreting data on its historic lands, buildings (out-buildings, quarters), burial grounds, landings, roads, fences, orchards, gardens, fields, forests, and contiguous waters for the documentation of an Historical Base Map. It should also provide data for the implementation of the "living historical farm"... In particular, knowledge is needed on the period cultivation of soil, production of crops and gardens, raising of livestock, and plantation, industries and animals. Data is vitally needed on the physical characteristics of Augustine Washington's house and its message (1732-1779).

This report deals with these broad objectives and also seeks to resolve "the disputations involving the historic site and characteristics of the George Washington Birthplace house and message." The information now available, in the writers' view, is fully sufficient for this purpose and he so outlines and interprets it.

Through the years a good deal of study and evaluation has taken place in regard to these matters. To the forefront in National Park Service considerations have been the contributions of Oscar F. Northington, David Rodnick, Philip R. Hough, J. Paul Hudson, and, more recently, B. Bruce Powell. There are others, too, and this listing could rightfully be much longer. The writer is indebted to them all as well as to the contributions of the Wakefield National Memorial Association, especially to its various writings and published members.

The processing of the report involved many hours of stenographic assistance in producing a working draft at the author's duty station in Colonial National Historical Park. There were a number of Park staff members who contributed importantly here, but none more heavily, or consistently, in this project than Mrs. Brenda Shelton. Likewise the final process in the Division of History involved a number skilled in stenographic work, but none more productively in this instance than Miss Alfreida C. Perkins. My thanks go to them all.

Charles E. Hatch, Jr.

Yorktown, Virginia
March 3, 1969

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Chapter I

Great Grandfather, Grandfather and Father

George Washington was rooted deep in Virginia and as deep in Westmoreland County's Bridges and Popes creeks area. He represented the fourth generation of the Washington Family in the colony and the third to be Virginian by birth.¹ It began with the arrival of John Washington, his great grandfather,

1. The Washington Family in England can be, and has been, traced a long way back possibly to the mid-thirteenth century. Then the family was De Wessington. It seems that some two centuries before George Washington was born, one Lawrence Washington left his native Worton in Lancashire and sought fresh fields and pastures in Northamptonshire, a wool-growing county of the English Midlands. He prospered, perhaps with the assist of a rather wealthy widow of a wool dealer. Though there were no children by this, his first wife, the second gave him eleven, four of them sons. He became a respected citizen, serving the borough council and becoming, in 1532 and 1545, Northampton's mayor. An associate even willed him, "Mayster Wasynton a gowne furyd with foxe." It was to this Lawrence that the English Crown, after the dissolution of the monasteries, granted St. Andrews Priory, one of the three estates of Sulgrave Manor. In this way Sulgrave became the family home for 80 years (1540-1620). At Lawrence's death, he willed substantial holdings to Robert, his son and heir. Robert continued to live at Sulgrave until his death in 1620, though disposition of it had been made a decade earlier, possibly due to his two marriages and 15 offspring, some by each of his wives. Robert's eldest son was Lawrence, a name that "seems indigenous" in the family. In turn, this Lawrence and his wife Margaret Butler had progeny, no less than eight sons and nine daughters. The fifth son was Lawrence, destined for a life in the Church. (Charles Moore, Wakefield: Birthplace of George Washington (The Wakefield National Memorial Association, 1932), pp. 1-5; Douglas Southall Freeman, George Washington, New York, 1949), I, 527-29).

in the Potomac River late in the year 1656, or very early in the next.²

Colonel John Founds a Family

John Washington, the emigrant, was at the time of his emergence on the Virginia scene a young man in his middle twenties, the oldest of six children. Both his father, Lawrence Washington, and mother, Amhillis Twigden, were dead, the first having been buried at Maldon in Essex in January 1653 and the later at Tring, Herts, in January 1655. The date of his birth has not been precisely fixed, but it was surely in 1631 or 1632, either at his mother's home in Tring, near Oxford, or at Purleigh Parish in Essex.³

His father was a scholar and a cleric⁴ and consequently, at least in his formative years, John enjoyed the quiet, learned life, though times became a little difficult when his father was evicted from the very good living of Purleigh (this being an old

2. The English antecedents of Washington and some of the early story in America is considered in detail in Volume 1 of Charles A. Hoppin, The Washington Ancestry and Records of the McClain, Johnson, and Forty Other Colonial American Families (Greenfield, Ohio, 1932).

3. He himself said in a deposition recorded on January 5, 1676, that he was then "aged 45: yeares, or thereabouts" (quoted, as are many official entries, in Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, 1, 142).

4. He was admitted to Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1619 at the age of 17. He took his bachelor's degree in May 1623 and was named a Fellow on the Darbie Foundation. He received his master's degree on February 1, 1626, and remained at the University to become, in time, lector of Brasenose and, in 1631, one of the proctors at Oxford. The latter occurred when two proctors were dismissed for Calvinistic leanings. It was about this time, too, that he married, an act that required resignation from his fellowship. Having taken orders, he came to settle as rector of All Saints in Purleigh Parish, Essex.

and wealthy parish) for the considerably lesser, and meager, post of Little Braxted, Essex.⁵ Conditions now became a little leaner for the family.

In November 1640, when only 8 or 9, John was given a "scholar's place" in Sutton's Hospital at London, later the noted Charterhouse School for sons of gentlemen. For this, a nomination by Charles I, it was necessary to wait for his turn for an opening. The opening was delayed in coming and evidently his father found a place in another school, though its identity has not been fixed. Here he received such formal schooling as he obtained. It has been conjectured that he may have been trained in London where there were family connections, and there are some suggestions of it. It, and later experience, may have been in the mercantile or, maritime field. Somewhere he gained knowledge of the sea and sailing. It is possible, it seems, that he could have voyaged with a "cozen," John Washington, to Barbados and met one Edward Prescott there.⁶ His mother died in 1655 and he became her administrator though it was thirteen months before he duly qualified. This was his last record of known entry in his native country of England. He, and his brother Lawrence⁷ would find their fortune in the New World. They "came to America

5. It was reported that he was evicted from Purleigh in 1643 because he was "a common frequenter of Alehouses," often drunk, thereby, through poor example, being a bad influence. It seems, however, that the more pressing reason may have been his loyalty to the Crown in the revolutionary time when the Crown was in disfavor. His lucrative post may have been needed for reward for more faithful Cromwellian service. (Moore, Birth-place, pp. 1-3. Moore's account in general is a terse digest of that in Hoppin, Washington Ancestry).

6. Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 139-144.

7. Lawrence was born at, or near, Tring, Herts, England, in 1635, the second of the children of Lawrence and Amphilis Twigden. He inherited an estate from his maternal grandmother's second husband, Andrew Knowling, but eventually decided to cast his lot in Virginia. He followed John to the Northern Neck and reached the Colony, possibly in a later voyage of Edward Prescott, early in 1659, and took an assignment of 700 acres of land. Over the next few years he was in England for several periods and in June 1660 he married Mary Jones. There he became a "Lawful Attor-

for opportunities that they believed awaited them, or that they believed they could create." John had some family inheritance, was the heir of his mother and likely had accumulated some means in his assumed maritime and commercial activities.⁸

In any case, in 1656 Edward Prescott by letter asked John Washington to join him in a commercial enterprise as co-partner in a voyage and he agreed. He journeyed to Danzig in Poland and met Prescott, who was there in his ketch, the Sea Horse of London. They sailed through the Baltic, stopping at Lubec in Germany and then in Copenhagen and Elsinore in Denmark, John traveling overland to Elsinore on a tobacco-selling mission. Then they cleared for the Potomac River in Virginia, probably in November 1656.⁹

ney" in some of the affairs of the "estate of Nathaniel Pope late Merchante of Virginia." He was in England again in 1663 and 1664-1665. Mary, who gave him two children (Mary and Charles), died in 1665. Again he returned to Virginia, this time to settle down to make his home on the south side of the Rappahannock River. He married a second time in Virginia, Joyce, the widow of Alexander Fleming. At his death in the early summer of 1677, he left his wife and their two children, John and Ann, as well as daughter Mary to whom he willed his English estate - real and personal. In the case of the "death or neglect of my executrix," he named his "loveing Brother Coll John Washington & loveing friend Thomas Hawkins . . . to be the overseers and guardians of my children until they come of age." (Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 130-38, citing his will from Richmond Country, Registered Will Book, No. 1, p. 219.)

8. Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 146.

9. Dates on the agreement between Washington and Prescott, the voyage, and subsequent involvements are largely from interrogatories, a part of the court records, filed in Westmoreland. There were three of them executed by three persons who had made the voyage in the Sea Horse of London - William Meares, Jacob Inkson and George Weedon. Quoted in Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, from Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents, etc. 1653-1659, p. 77.

The agreement with Prescott was for selling in Scandinavia and for the voyage to Virginia. In this John brought earlier experience to bear, for he "did take halfe watch to Virginie, & assisted as second man in sailing her [the Ship] to Virginie." In due course, the voyage to Virginia was consummated, the cargo disposed of, and a return load of tobacco put aboard. Then disaster struck on February 28, 1657. A winter storm and an unchartered shoal led to the sinking of the ship and the loss of her cargo.

John Washington had, as agreed, worked with Prescott in all of this and "did Assist him . . . in his business untill ye Vessell was cast away" and then "in saveing of his vessell," which was refloated, repaired, and refreighted. But evidently John now thought of remaining in Virginia and in this had the "consent of ye said Prescott." To this end he requested a settlement, or note, to cover the "Account of Copartnership," which remained unsettled. Prescott, however, demurred, likely believing that Washington should have some responsibility for the cost of the shipwreck though actually he was not an owner of the vessel. It may be, too, that Prescott had expected a continuation of the partnership and Washington's return to Europe with him as second man.

There were heated words between the two on a Sunday while they were ashore at "Mr. [Nathaniel] Pope's house" on Mattox Creek. Prescott's pretext for refusing a settlement was that Washington owed him money. At this point Nathaniel Pope¹⁰ attempted to come to his rescue, proposing that "if ye said Washington did owe ye said Prescott anything he ye said Mr. Pope would give ye said Prescott ready paymt in Beaver at eight shillings per pound."

10. Nathaniel Pope was a well-to-do Marylander who had moved his residence to Virginia. He was in Maryland prior to 1637 and in 1642 was in the legislature of that Colony. He was there as late as 1646; however, by 1651 he was patenting land in Westmoreland. A year later he was seeking a tutor for his children - Ann, Thomas, Nathaniel, and Margaret. He was commissioned a lieutenant colonel in the Westmoreland militia in 1655. (G.W. Beale, "Col. Nathaniel Pope and His Descendants," in The William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine, 1st Series, XII (January 1904), 192-96; Freeman, Washington, I, 15, especially note No. 3.)

Washington threatened a court order of attachment for the vessel, which he did obtain after Sunday had passed.

In some way Prescott obtained a release, though he "came no more on shoare." He sailed, too, presumably with the "speckled stuff" (cloth) which Washington had bought from the ship's carpenter and it was still aboard. Their paths would (and again inconclusively) cross again. Washington would accuse Prescott in a Maryland court with a witch hanging on a later voyage to Virginia. Though, perhaps, there were various reasons that he would not force him in court, one was "Because then [the time set for the trial] God willing I intend to gett my young Sonne baptized. All ye Company & Gossips (Sponsors) being already invited."¹¹ The child was his first born, Lawrence, the grandfather of George Washington.

When just a few weeks in Virginia evidently John Washington had impressed Lt. Col. Nathaniel Pope, who was a notable in the community and had a good business eye. He lived on Mattox Creek and it may have been that the Sea Horse of London put in at this shipping point which served Pope. In any case, Pope befriended John Washington and may have had a hand in the dissolution of the Prescott-Washington partnership aswell a part in John's decision to remain in Virginia. Besides, Nathaniel had a marriageable daughter.

Soon John Washington and Ann (Anne) Pope were married at her father's house in Mattox. This was in the fall (not later than December 1658), their first child being born about September 1659. Colonel Pope rewarded his daughter "Ann Pope alias Washington" with a gift of 700¹² acres of land on Mattox Creek where the newlyweds established their first home. Pope died about a year later,

11. Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 147-52.

12. This was 600 acres on the east side of a valley on the east side of "Hollawances Cr" to a creek called the "Wading Place" and 100 acres to the north of it. The 600 had been granted on January 30, 1650, initially to John Hollis, gentleman, and the 100 acres to Nicholas Heywood on October 6, 1658. Pope had acquired both from Heywood. (Nell Marion Nugent (ed.), Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-800 (Richmond, 1934), I, 499).

his will being proved on April 20, 1660. In this his "son-in-law John Washington [received] that summ of money wch he stands indebted i unto mee by a bill under his hand for ye said money containing eighty pounds sterl . . . [also] one mare."13

John Washington evidently was fortunate in his marriage and his father-in-law and was quick to take advantage of his new opportunities.14 To them evidently he brought intelligence, business acumen, and a high respect for law, order and proper procedures. The records are meager; however, almost at once there is the picture of a busy, enterprising young man at work. There was an active interest in land and its acquisition, in "attorney" services for others in like matters, in merchandising, in growing and selling tobacco, in the importation of servants, and in financing others. There is, for example, the record of May 28, 1658, that shows one Nicholas Oliver indebted to him in the amount of 3,000 pounds of "good sound Marchantable" tobacco and cask. Should Oliver default, or be unable to pay "out of my Cropp of Corne & Tobco now upon ye ground," he agreed to "work & live with ye said Mr. Washington or his Assignes all ye next winter in preparing ground at fencing & Whealding & other employmt for towards ye making of a Cropp of Corne & Tobco three yeare follwing & to plant wth ye said Mr. Washington servants for a Share."15

13. Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 153-154. Pope had made his will on May 16 the year before as he was intending to go for England. William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Series, I, (April, 1893), 189.

14. Nathaniel Pope during his sojourn in Virginia, and before, had amassed a considerable wealth and some community position. His will and inventory attest to the former. He had considerable land and several going plantations (farms) as well as personal property and goods of more than 386 pounds sterling of which more than a third was in "servants." (An untitled bound volume of typed copies of county records of various types, arranged in parts by its pagination, in the files of George Washington Birthplace National Monument (hereafter cited as Court Rec., GWBNM), pt. 2, pp. 6-9 (from Westmoreland County, Deeds, Wills &c 1661-1662, p. 1).)

15. Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 165-66, quoting Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents, &c 1653-1659, pp. 105-6. Also see Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 2, p. 11.

In 1659 and 1660, the records show, he began the purchase and acquisition of additional land, an interest that he would continue with good results. One such acquisition was for 300 acres in March 1659 and another for patent rights for 700 acres the same spring. The latter he duly conveyed to his brother Lawrence¹⁶ who had now joined him in Virginia. Like others around him, he saw the advantages of the headright system whereby a person could collect 50 acres for each person he was responsible for bringing into the colony. Separately, and with his brother-in-law, Thomas Pope, he pursued this route, bringing in 63 or more persons. As early as September 1661 he and Thomas were claiming 1,200 acres for 24 headrights, "upon branches of Appomattox [Mattox]" Creek. But a patent required "seating" (establishing people on the land) within a specified time, and in this particular transaction there was difficulty in seating. John actually did not get it until repatent and reassignment in 1668. He was, however, more fortunate in other transactions and by this date acquired some 5,000 acres in Westmoreland.¹⁷

One of his larger acquisitions was a 1,700 acre tract in 1664 in Westmoreland between the "head branches of Powertridge and Appomattox" creeks, the one emptying into the Rappahannock and the other into the Potomac River. This is the same year he bought the Bridges Creek property, where he made his last home. The latter involved a purchase and a headright claim for four persons. It was in 1665 and 1671, in two purchases, that he acquired the 900-acre property "upon the round hills." This was from Anthony Bridges and Elizabeth ("Rosier alias Bridges") and where John became a miller through the operation of a grist mill on Rosier's Creek. When the second of the two half-interests passed to him he paid 16,000 pounds of tobacco, the consideration for the first not being given.

As early as 1661 he took ownership, for the transportation of one person (Peter Renolds), of the 50 acre "parcel of Islands, in number 10 . . . in ye mouth of a creek called Cedar Island Creeke [Popes Creek]." His last purchase seemingly was for 250 acres on "Allopeene Creek" in Washington Parish. This was from Lewis Markham on June 23, 1675, for 18,000 pounds of "Tob & Cask."

16. Court Rec., GWBM, pt. 1, pp. 11-15; Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 153-54.

17. Nugent, Abstracts, I, 449; Freeman, Washington, I, 77; Court Rec., GWBM, pt. 4, p. 9; Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 160.

Altogether he came, by the various avenues, to be owner of some 10,000 acres.¹⁸

The major part of his scattered holdings was in Westmoreland County, more particularly in Washington Parish; however, his largest single acquisition was up the Potomac on Little Hunting Creek. This was involved, being a joint venture with Nicholas Spencer, Secretary of the Colony, for 5,000 acres, eighty per cent of which represented an unseated grant to Col. Richard Lee. Surveyed as early as 1669, the grant came to fruition in March 1674. These acres were in what was then Stafford County:

in the Freshes of Pattomooke River and were opposite to Piscatoway Indian Towne in Mariland . . . being a necke of Land bounded betwixt two Creeks and the Ma ne River on the East . . . by the said Main River Pattomooke, on the North (viz) by [a creek] . . . called by the English Little Hunting Creeke . . . and on the So. by a creek and called by the Indians Epsewesson Creeke.¹⁹

Quitrents of four shillings per hundred acres were duly paid annually and the land, by some arrangement, was "seated," or settled, as required. This was to become the site of Mount Vernon.²⁰

18. Nugent, Abstracts, I, 448; Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 156-59, 183; Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, p. 43 (Westmoreland, Deeds, Wills, Patents, &c. 1665-1677, p. 168).

19. Quoted from the Culpeper Patent to Spencer and Washington in Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 161-62. This 2,500-acre tract would descend to Lawrence and then to his daughter Mildred, and Augustine would purchase it from her husband, Roger Gregory, of King and Queen County, on May 17, 1726. Augustine passed it on to his son Lawrence, whose half-brother George would acquire such part of it as became the home estate of Mount Vernon.

20. Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 160-62; Freeman, Washington, I, 20-22.

Acquiring land and making a living did not preempt all of John Washington's time even in the very first years. He became active in his community, in the church, and in public affairs. Rather soon he was a man of growing influence. He was elected to his parish vestry in 1661 indicating his continued adherence to the religious tenets of his youth.²¹ His leadership was apparent, and when Westmoreland was divided into three parishes to replace the former two in May 1664, one was "to be called Washington pish," almost assuredly in his memory.²² His name replaced that of the geographical designation Appomattox previously in use. He remained loyal to the church and in his will specified that out of his money in England should come "ye ten Commandments & Kings armes" for "the lower Church of Washington parish," his church. He also set aside a maximum of 4,000 pounds of tobacco for his burial expenses - "for a funerall sermon preached (at ye) Church & no other funerall kept."²³

John Washington, early in his Virginia career, was successful in getting an ascending order of offices and court appointments such as coroner and trusteeships. In July 1662, at age 31, he became a "Justice of ye Peace" and consequently a member of the county court.²⁴ About the same time, too, he was commissioned

21. As a vestryman it was necessary that he subscribe to: "wee whose names are here underwritten were made Choise of as Vestry men by ye Parish of Appomattox and have taken ye oath of Alegiance and Supremacie & do subscribe ye following words: as, I doe Acknowledge my self a true sonn of ye Church of England so I do believe ye Articles of faith there processed & oblige myself to be Conformable to ye Doctrine & Discepline there taught & established." (Quoted in Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 167, from Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents, 1661-162, 46).

22. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 3, p. 5 (Westmoreland Court Orders, 1662-1664, p. 31). Thus from Appomattox and Cople, it went to Washington, Westbury (upper) and Cople (lower). The Washington Parish bounds were from "upper Marchoticke downward to ye foote of ye westernmost side of Mr. Popes Cliffes."

23. Hoppin gives his will in full in Washington Ancestry, I, 205-07; Court Records, GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 49-50 (Westmoreland, Deeds, Patents, Accounts, Depositions. 1665-1677, pp. 366 et seq.).

24. The order naming "Mr. John Washington" included eight names for "Justice of the Peace" who took "ye Oathes of Allegiance Suprem-

a major in the militia. He would have long service on the county court and would rise to a responsible lieutenant colonel in the militia. Nor were these public offices without remuneration. It is of note that in October 1663, for example, Washington received almost eight thousand pounds of tobacco as per his account and "for his services" of various types. Payments continued for responsibilities performed. Ten years later, in a county levy of 36,000 pounds of tobacco, he was awarded tobacco and cask to cover some ten thousand--building rental (2,200 pounds), 240 pounds (for 17 pounds of powder "at Genall muster") and 7,700 ("for Burgesse Charges").²⁵

His election to the House of Burgesses for the term beginning October 23, 1666, marked him as a county leader and took him to the capital at Jamestown on a wider stage. This assembly, through various prorogations, carried from 1660 to March 1675 in 17 sessions. He was reelected again to the session which conveyed in February 1677 though, because of death, he would not sit in that of the following October. In the Assembly his committee assignments tended toward the judicial, fiscal, and, perhaps, the diplomatic. Various affairs surely took him to the Governor Berkeley place at Green Spring.²⁶

ary & of a Justice of peace." "Hereby Impowering them or any four of them . . . to hold Courts to try & Determine all Causes & Differences whatsoever in ye said County [of Westmoreland] not touching life or member. And further Impowering them & every of them Joyntly & severally in Court & to Act & doe all such things as one or more Justices of ye Peace is by ye Lawes of England or ye Acts of Assembly of this County Impowered to doe for which they shall be to them & every of them a sufficient Warrant." (Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 2, p. 11, and pt. 3, p. 5 (Deeds, Wills &c 1661-1662, p. 16, and Court Orders, 1662-1664, p. 32).

25. Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 167-68, 171; Oscar F. Northington, Jr., "Research Report on Wakefield, George Washington Birthplace, Westmoreland County, Virginia" (typed report dated February 7, 1938), pp. 1-7; Freeman, Washington, I, 17.

26. Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 172-73, 186-87; H.R. McIlwaine (editor), Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1659/60-1693 (Richmond, Va., 1914), pp. vii - xvi, passim.

After a decade of married life and five children, Anne Pope died and John buried her, as he did two of his children who died young, in a special area on the grounds of his home place on Bridges Creek. He would be placed there beside her some nine years later. But two other wives would preside over his household in the interval, though neither would bear him children. John's second wife, whom he married seemingly in the summer of 1669, was a widow, Anne Gerrard, who had already buried Walter Brodhurst and Henry Bret. She was a woman of some property and brought young ones to Bridges Creek to join those of her third husband. The fact that earlier she, along with her sister, had been the subject of inconclusive court inquiry relative to accusations dealing with their moral conduct seems not to have greatly disturbed her new husband. He placed no credence in the tales of her vociferous accusers, Anna and Richard Cole. In the investigation, as was his custom, he was careful and proper in his official and business actions. Trusting in the law, he normally sought redress in court when aggrieved, or attacked, as he was from time to time as he rose in influence and position.²⁷

Anne, John's second wife died, it seems, in 1675 and within the year he married for the third time. It was not, however, before he, on May 16, 1676, negotiated a property settlement with the prospective bride, Frances Gerrard- "in consideration of ye marriage aforsd and for ye great love and affection yt he hath to ye said Frances." For Frances this was the fourth marriage and there would be a fifth. Earlier there had been Thomas Speke, Valentine Peyton, and John Appleton, and William Hardwick would follow.²⁸

Now a well established leader, a merchant and business agent, and attorney (sometimes for English and Dutch firms), a burgess, a lieutenant-colonel in the militia, a family man and lay leader in the church, a man of substantial property and means, and a planter interested in his crops, livestock, milling, and the like, it is natural that John Washington had his part to play in the days of the 1670s. He had involvement, though not too deeply, perhaps, in both the Indian wars and in Bacon's Rebellion.

27. Freeman, Washington, I, 18-22. Freeman pursues this in quite some detail.

28. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 44-45 (Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents &c 1665-1677, p. 274); Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 176-81; Freeman, Washington I, 25-26.

It was early in September 1675 that John Washington received his order to investigate the late raids of the "Doeg Indians of Maryland" into the upper parts of Stafford County, where they had "Cutt up stocks of cattle." This was a continuation of Indian raids on the frontier which seemed to be a principal spark for the rebellion of Nathaniel Bacon, Jr. The instructions were for Col. John Washington and Issac Allerton to "call together ye severall Malittia Officers of ye several regiments on ye no[rth] side Rappa & So side Potomeck River" to confer and "to raise a fitt number of men within ye Lymitts aforesd" as necessary. Then he was to proceed and seek satisfaction. Washington viewed this seriously and before acting made his will against any eventuality.²⁹

Already the Governor of Maryland had agreed to permit Virginia forces to enter his colony. Washington and Allerton, after putting things in order, assembled the necessary force and directed themselves toward their objective. This proved to be a crude Indian fort across and up the Potomac, perhaps within the confines of present-day Washington. Already the Maryland militia, under Major Truman, had the Indians at bay. Negotiations and discussions, with five Indians who came out to parley, proceeded but proved inconclusive and futile. The Indians in the face of good evidence denied their atrocities, blaming the Senecas. Now there were differing opinions as to what course to follow and in the end, on someone's order, these five were summarily slain, evidently by the Maryland militiamen.

Perhaps this was considered satisfaction. In any case the expedition was concluded and Maryland and Virginia forces returned home to some criticism for having slain "hostages." Court investigation in Westmoreland came in June 1677, and those of his companions who gave depositions fully absolved Colonel Washington of any resulting blame, placing the guilt of slaying the Indians squarely on Truman and his Marylanders. But this did not halt the Indian depredations nor check the move to Bacon's Rebellions.³⁰

29. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 43-47 (Westmoreland, Deeds, Wills, Patents, &c, 1665-1677, pp. 231-32, 288).

30. Ibid; Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 188-95, 203; Freeman, Washington, I, 22-25, 29. In his insistence on committing to record the pertinent papers, John Washington insured the preservation of at least some of the salient facts of this expedition, and Hoppin reproduces them as referenced above.

When Bacon's Rebellion broke and intensified, John Washington remained loyal to the established government of Sir William Berkeley and, insofar as possible, believed it best to ignore instructions or directions from the Bacon camp. He, at one point, may even have joined the governor on the Eastern Shore for a time. He sought, too, to secure supplies and possessions by their quiet removal over to Maryland.

There were those in Westmoreland, however, that did answer Bacon's call, particularly Stephen Mannering. In October 1676 Mannering was directed to prevent the further removal by Washington's overseers of food and tobacco from his plantations - specifically that at "ye Round Hills" and that "at ye river side" (Bridges Creek). Mannering being poised to lead an expedition against the Indians, on October 21, dispatched Daniel White to seize and impress Washington's stores and small craft (specifically "ye corne & p'visions, Tobacco, Stocke . . . servants") and to block any further shipment. White did this. He and his men established themselves on the plantation as a guard and proceeded to enjoy the conveniences available. They were not aware that Bacon had died early in that same month in Gloucester County.³¹

With its leader gone the rebellion quickly collapsed and loyal planters reasserted themselves as Berkeley began to punish "the rebels" with a heavy hand. In this way William Armiger and a group of "Loyalists" approached the Washington home plantation a little later in the fall. He surprised and quietly took the seven or more Bacon adherents who were still on station here despite their advantage of 14 loaded guns, shelter, and cover.

31. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, p. 46 (Westmoreland, Deeds, Wills, Patents &c, 1665-1677, p. 288. Sometime later, in a Westmoreland court case, Samuel Brent through his attorney, Malachy Reale, unsuccessfully sued John Washington's estate, claiming that in "ye late Rebellion" Washington took his "sloope from ye head of Appomattox Cricke where shee was Layd up" for use in transporting "his goods and estate or part thereof over to Maryland . . . instead of returninge her where she was Left went to take her up at Mr. Hardidges his bark Landinge but left her halfe and halfe out of ye water where shee Lay . . . to yor peticoner damage one hundred pounds sterl:." Court Record, GWBNM, pt. 6, p. 30 (Westmoreland, Court Orders, 1676-1689, p. 255).

Again John Washington was content to let the courts and law give the redress. In his case it was a bit substantial. He was awarded 9,500 pounds of tobacco from the Westmoreland levy for services, damages and expenses. There was another 6,000 of tobacco and 80 pounds currency from the Colony itself.³² With this the play was almost over for John Washington, who had seen much success in his 20 years in Virginia. He died in the late summer or early fall of 1677, between August 25 and September 26. On August 14 he was present at a conference regarding the County levy to pay for the Bacon uprising. Eleven days later he attended a court in his own house. A month later his colleagues were in session again, but this time they admitted his last will and testament to probate. Perhaps his will, in the material sense at least, gives a measure of his success and it registers some of his concerns and sheds light on his sense of responsibility.³³

There was a bequest to his church and directions for burial in association with it at his family cemetery. He remembered his sister Martha³⁴ with 10 pounds and "wtsoever else she shall be oweing me for transporting herself unto this Country - & a yeares accomodation after her comeing in & four thousand pounds of tobacco & Caske." To his brother-in-law, Thomas Pope, he willed ten pounds sterling. This, as were several comparable items, was to be "out of yt mony I have in England," the balance there going to son Lawrence. His brother Lawrence would have received 4,000 pounds of "tobbco & Caske" had he lived to receive it; however, he had died several months before. Lawrence's eldest son John, however, Colonel John's "godson," would get the specified "one young mare of two years old."

His landed property, more than 8,500 acres, he divided among his three children. Lawrence, the oldest son, received three "seats of land" (700, 250 and 900 acres, respectively)

32. Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 194-203; Freeman, Washington, I, 26-29.

33. His will is given in Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 205-07.

34. Martha, the youngest of the children of the Reverend Lawrence and Amphilis Washington, did come on to Virginia. Here she married Samuel Haywood, who was Clerk of the Stafford Court, and lived until 1697. (Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 210-11).

and the "watter mill with all appertenances & land belonging to it at the head of Rosiers Creik," subject to his step-mother's interest, plus the half interest in the Little Hunting Creek five thousand acres.

His second son, John, was bequeathed five seats, or plantations (250, 300, 350, 400 and 395 acres respectively) including "yt plantation wheiron I now live wch I bought of David Anderson" at Bridges Creek. Daughter Ann was willed a "seate of land" and a "tract" (1,200 and 1,400 acres respectively) in Westmoreland. In much, or most of this, John's surviving widow had her third interest for life and she would seek her settlement in due course.

John's children were all still under age. He entrusted the upbringing of daughter Ann to his wife "untill my son Lawrence Comes to age or her day of mariadge." It was to brother-in-law Thomas Pope that he entrusted "the bringing up of my son John Washington." He was also to manage the estates of both Lawrence and John until they were "of age one & twenty years or [their] day of mariadge." He did not want an appraisement, yet he did wish "a just Inventory & List" which, if taken, has, it seems, not survived. The personal estate he wished divided "into foure equall parts" with one for his wife "in lieu of her dower or Claime" and one for each of his three children. Then "every Childes part should be put out upon their owne plantation or plantations - theire for (to be) manadged to the best advantage for the bringing up & educating (each) Child" There was the further personal touch, too. Daughter Ann would receive as "was her mothers [Anne Pope's] desire & my [John's] promise, yt Cash in ye new parlour & the Diamond ring & her mothers rings & the whilt quilt & the white Curtains & vallians."

Captain Lawrence Carries On

The first child of John Washington the emigrant was Lawrence, who seemingly was born before late September 1659³⁵. He was probably born on the farm (plantation) which his mother's parents had given their daughter and new son-in-law at the time of marriage. It is possible, even, that he was born in his grandparent's home. But this, too, would have been on Mattox Creek, the area in which he spent his first years. Some five or six years later he was brought to the newly acquired Bridges Creek farm, which then continued as his home until he reached his majority and moved on to his inheritance on Mattox Creek. It was his brother John, a few years his junior, who inherited the Bridges Creek establishment and made his home there. It is possible that Lawrence could have continued here until his own marriage about 1686.

Lawrence's youth would have passed with his brother and sister and, perhaps, with his first stepmother's young children when she came to Bridges Creek in the very late 1660s. It seems likely that he was in England at the time of his father's death as he was not on hand to attend the execution of the will until some time later. Perhaps he was in school there at the time. In any case the court found it necessary in November 25, 1677, just a couple of months after John's death, to direct that Mr. Daniel Lisson and Capt. John Lord "be continued to looke after ye estate of Coll Jno: Washington deceased & provide for ye servts: & to take Care to end wth: Overseers & settle them or others & wth bills or concerns they or either of them shall take into their hands yt they give security to be acomptable on demand." When settlement was made to Lord, by court two years later, for the management and security of the estate, he received 1,800 pounds of tobacco for his "great charge and trouble." The order, too, tells why special administrators were named. It was the "absence of ye executor who was then in England." By order on the same date, July 27, 1681, young Lawrence was directed to pay Thomas White 1,600 pounds, covering the same interim, for his "repaire, mending & keeping in repair of their mill" on Rosier's Creek.³⁶ Settling his father's estate

35. Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, p. 224.

36. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 6, pp. 9, 26-27 (Westmoreland, Court Order Book, 1676-1689, pp. 102, 216).

was time-consuming and it dragged on even past the required division ordered in January 1683. Since there was a spate of suits, or actions, in this regard with Lawrence named as principal in February 1679, perhaps he arrived back in Virginia about this time.³⁷

In England, or elsewhere, Lawrence received adequate schooling to support him in public life as a long-time member of the Westmoreland court, as burgess in the Virginia assembly, as "High Sheriff," as a lawyer, and as a business man. Nor did it take him long to begin his responsible contributions.

"Mr. Lawrence Washington" sat as a member of the "Court for ye County of Westmld" at least as early as June 28, 1680, when he was no more than 21 years of age. He would continue the tradition of public service which his father had set.

For most of the time from 1680 until his death in 1698 he functioned as a justice of the peace and consequently a member of the Westmoreland court, except when other office, service, or absence rendered it impossible. He regularly took the necessary oaths of allegiance, supremacy and office which, after the Glorious Revolution, changed, as in 1691, to "the oaths enjoined by act of Parliament instead of the Oaths of allegiance and Supremacy together with the oath of duely Executing the office of a Justice." Even in the summer of 1679, he had been involved in military scenes at the public "fort" being "among those sent up." After February 13, 1684, he was a Captain in the militia, a rank that he retained through the remainder of his life. In 1691 the records show him as a functioning coroner. In 1697, when the local court ordered a "Ducking Stool" for each parish, that in Washington Parish was to be at "Capt. Lawrence Washington's mill dam" and he was to have it "substantially done" as was Col. Issac Allerton at his "Mill Dam in Copely Parish."³⁸

37. Ibid., pt. 6, pp. 14-17, 36 (pp. 147-65, 269). Lawrence, John, and Ann (now Mrs. Francis Wright), the children of Colonel John, were by court entry ready for the division of the estate on January 3, 1683, and they agreed to share "proportionably" any of their father's just debts that came to light afterwards.

38. Court Rec., GWBMM, pt. 6, pp. 17, 22, 36, 76, 107, 121 (Westmoreland, Court Order Book, 1676-1689, pp. 165-66, 183, 314; *ibid.*, 1690-1698, pp. 23, 157, 242); John Frederick Dorman, Westmoreland County, Order Book Virginia 1690-1698 (Washington, D.C., 1963 mimeographed), pt. 1, p. 63. Evidently, even in later years, Washington took his justice duties seriously though he did miss a

On November 25, 1685, the Westmoreland court acted favorably on Lawrence Washington's request that his cases and business before that body be referred. This was because he was "one of ye Barysters of this County & now settling att James Towne." It was directed that "all matters as relating to him in Cort might bee referred till his returne." Again, in 1687, he had to request, this time by letter, for similar consideration as "he is called to James towne on urgent affaires and cannot attend this Court." In this instance his particular case was referred until "this next Court." Lawrence twice represented his county in the House of Burgesses, in the sessions of 1684 and 1691-92, his first election coming when he was but 25 years of age.³⁹ In the first instance he sat with Issac Allerton and in the latter, with William Hardidge, a more regular Westmoreland burghess.

On May 25, 1686, Lawrence asked to be excused from taking his regular oaths as a justice "to keep the Peace" since he was intending "forthwith to Ship himself for England." He asked that it be postponed until "his returne to this Country when hee is willing to take them." Thus it was a year later he and another of "the justices nominated in the Comicon of the Peace" appeared and "did publicly and Solemnly take the said oathes" and were "admitted to Act or officiate as Justices."⁴⁰

There is nothing to indicate why he journeyed to England. His extensive business connections could have been the reason, and it is even possible that it was a wedding trip. He seems now, when about 27, to have married Mildred Warner, of Gloucester. This allied him with a prominent family, Mildred's father Augustine having been a leading planter, one-time speaker of the

session now and then, but not that set for March 27, 1695, when it was necessary to cancel as he "& the officers of the Court" were all that reported, two "being sick" and two "attending the House at James Citty."

39. Court Rec., GWNBM, pt. 6, pp. 49, 57 (Westmoreland Court Orders, 1676-1689, pp. 454, 563); Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 226-27; Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1659/60-1693, pp. vii-xvi.

40. Court Rec., GWENM, pt. 6, pp. 55, 58 (Westmoreland Court Orders, 1676-1689, pp. 502, 578).

House of Burgesses, and a member of the Governor's Council. They were to have a family of which three would survive--John (born about 1690), Augustine (about 1694), and Mildred.⁴¹

For two years Lawrence would serve his County in a new capacity, that of "High Sheriff." On May 25, 1692, he produced in the local court "the Rt. Honable and Lt. Govrs Comission to be sheriff" of Westmoreland and thereupon proceeded to take the necessary oaths and to be "sworn into the sd office." At the same time he nominated two men to serve in the capacity of "Undersheriff." They, too, William Clark and "John Washington, junr," were sworn in. The latter was a cousin, the son of emigrant Lawrence. John did not serve out his term, as in this period he elected to move himself westward into Stafford County and to settle at Chotank, having the court's "leave and consent" to take two "orphans" and their estates with him. This John would, a decade later, administer the estates of Lawrence's children.

As sheriff, Lawrence had a new role of enforcing decisions and being an officer of the court. This involved his friends and neighbors and even relatives, as when he was "ordered to request Capt. John Washington," his brother, to be at the next session to "give the Justices an account [of] what standard weights or measures belonging to this County are in his custody." There were problems as when his deputy, William Clark, died and his administrator took over and "paid away three hogshead" of tobacco which "had been rec'd & marked with the broad arrow" by Washington and had nothing to do with Clark's estate. "Lawrence Washington gentl high Sheriff of this County" received damages. He was not always as prompt, or as efficient, as he should have been, however. On July 27, 1692, he was requested by the Court "to send for England for the Statutes at large of the latest addition to the time of procureing the same bound up together if possible, if not the printed Copies of latest Parliaments"

41. Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 228-29. Mildred Warner's mother had been Mildred Read and was a granddaughter of the Frenchman Nicolas Martiau, prominent in early Jamestown and Yorktown affairs. (John Baer Stoudt, Nicolas Martiau, Adventurous Huguenot (Norristown, Pa., 1932).

for official use. Evidently he let this one slide, for after his death a claim was advanced to recover the funds which had been advanced for the purpose.⁴²

The evidence is ample that Washington found sufficient time for his personal affairs and his business interests being successful all the while with a good income, too, from public service. His legal practice grew as his court appearances multiplied, and he was careful not to mix the public and the private. A case in point was when, as justice, he "refused to give his Judgment in any action relateing to the Estate of Mr. Thomas Pope desd for that hee is a Trustee for the said Estate wch is at his request ordered to be entered." Cases involving the management of the Pope estate, as also the estate of Daniel Lisson, were a matter of lengthy involvement. At one point, initially, he had refused to join as one of three in the "management of his [Pope's] affairs in Virginia," believing that he was entitled to "the sole management" of the estate, though the other two were William Hardidge and John Washington. So strongly did he feel when the court declined to uphold him, he "desired his discent might bee entered" in the recorded order.⁴³

42. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 6, pp. 86-88, 95, 97, 103-04 (Westmoreland Court Orders, 1690-1698, pp. 62-63, 66, 68, 95, 105, 129); Dorman, Westmoreland Orderbook, pt. 1, pp. 29, 93. From a court suit, it appears that when sheriff he and John, "his "Under Sheriff," at "Court tymes" and "at other tymes when and as often as they pleased," on a yearly basis, rented accomodations from cne George Harwick. The accomodations covered "meat drink & lodging for themselves & pasturage & provender for their horses and all other things requisite & necessary for them amongst other gentlemen then lodgers." It was said, too, by Harwick that "Said Lawrence Washington very little weighing or regarding the premises aforesd." Harwick was claiming an annual rate of 1,000 pounds, instead of 500, of tobacco, but the court dismissed the suit as evidence was insufficient. (Court Record, GWBNM, pt. 6, 111-12 (Westmoreland Court Orders, 1690-1698, p. 185).

43. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, 55-56 (Westmoreland Deeds Wills Patents, No. 2, p. 21) and pt. 6, pp. 5, 44-45, 71, 79 (Westmoreland Court Orders, 1676-1689, pp. 404, 412, 477; 1690-1698, pp. 6, 44).

On his return from England in 1687, it would appear that he had solicited a goodly amount of business overseas, English business with Virginia investments. A number of court cases appeared with him serving as the plaintiff's attorney. His record of success in court seemingly was generally very good as when he forced William Robinson to pay a thousand pounds of tobacco plus five pounds and suit costs as well as to "forthwith put ye plantacon hee now liveth on in Housing orchard & Fencing in good repaire and soe to maintaine kepe & leave ye same." Trustee and guardianships were, also of special interest to Washington, as in the case of Jane Hay, whose parents died and he took over management of the estate. He did this too for Daniel Lisson's daughter, who was born after her father's death and had no mention in his will.⁴⁴

Washington's interest in this kind of business did not waiver and in 1695 he was named "Trustee" to the estates of two prominent country men who died—Hon. Nicholas Spencer and Capt. William Hardidge. Nor did his interest waiver in the management of plantation affairs. In answer to his action in November 1697, "Mary Brindle Servant to Capt. Lawrence Washington" was required to serve him a "full term of two years after her tyme of Service. . . by Indenture and Custome . . . according to Law for loss & trouble sustained by her haveing a bastard Child in his Service abt: two years agoe." One such servant (Rodger Holougho) that he had obtained that year in the "Shipp Olive Tree of Briddleford," he sold to William Cohoven. Holougho, "pretending to have lost his sd Identures" was brought to court, which fixed his time at six years from the date of arrival.

It was customary for Washington, too, to get court decisions on ages of servants when they were in doubt, as when in July 1691 he presented "a certaine Negro (his slave) name Fre" whose age was fixed at 7. Several years later "Dick, a negro boy" was

44. Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 225-226; Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 6, p. 48 (Westmoreland Court Orders 1676-1689, p. 448). In the case of the Hay estate one claimant appeared to collect his "one Flock bed and boulster with Rugg blanketts" as well as "the first fold that her old mare should bring forth." (Court Record, GWBNM, pt. 6, pp. 34-35 (Westmoreland Court Orders, 1676-1689, p. 302).)

determined to be 9, and John Parsons, a "Servant," 16 and "Ordered to serve his sd master according to Law."

It was in 1686 that he had Miles Hurst in court for having "stollen and billed severall of his Hogs & sold and disposed of them to severall persons living in merriland." Hurst was fined 2,000 pounds "in default" and ordered to "serve ye sd Lawrence Washington Two years according to Act in ye case provided." It was the latter that Hurst got and when he ran away after five weeks the court decreed "separate satisfaction" to Washington at the end of his term.⁴⁵

For the most part Lawrence was content with his legal and public business and seemed not to have been as interested as his father in additional property acquisitions, though he did add to his birthright by perhaps a thousand acres. His largest single acquisition was a 400-acre tract just northwest of and along Bridges creek. This farm was the old Daniel Lisson estate. This he bought from the heirs and gained the title for a hundred pounds sterling. He "did enter and [take] Peaceable Possession and Seizen thereof" on May 26, 1696. Already he had been associated with the management of it for some time, it would appear.⁴⁶

Lewis Markham, attorney for Robert Lisson of Bristol, a Lisson heir, had in 1690 sued Lawrence on behalf of the now five orphans of Robert and his wife Amy. They were, he maintained, the rightful inheritors of the real and, in this instance, personal estate—"Cattle horses mares sheep hoggs household stuff bonds bills Debts deeds demands & servts mony & plate." The will had provided that it be divided into three equal shares—one each for Daniel's wife Jane and his two sons, William and Daniel. Should the sons die without issue, and they did, their parts would go to the children of Robert, Daniel's brother. However, at the time of Daniel's death his wife was pregnant with the

45. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 6, pp. 50, 51, 55, 77-78, 107, 110, 118, 122, 124 (Westmoreland Court Orders 1676-1689, pp. 468, 476, 504; 1690-1698, pp. 31, 38, 156, 182, 221, 243, 251).

46. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 56-64 (Westmoreland Deeds Wills Patents, No. 2, pp. 55-59) and pt. 6, pp. 92, 98, 108 (Court Orders, 1690-1698, pp. 79, 171, 172); Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 236 ff.

daughter for whom Lawrence became guardian. He held "some goods & Chattles" for his ward. He had, indeed, refused to surrender them to Markham, or the orphans. The court found in favor of Washington and his ward.⁴⁷

But Lawrence Washington would not long enjoy the Lisson place at Bridges Creek, or the company of his brother John, just across the Creek. His was a relatively short-lived family and he followed the pattern, dying at age 38 in 1698.⁴⁸ As requested, he was buried in the family cemetery on the home place at Bridges Creek. A provision of his will was that after "a Funeral Sermon at the Church" (and the cost of his funeral should not exceed 3000 pounds of tobacco) "my body to be buried if please God I depart in this County of Westmoreland, by the side of my Father and Mother & neare by Brothers & Sisters & my children."⁴⁹ He left a young family—Augustine (4 years of age), John (8), and Mildred (little more than an infant).

The oldest son, John, was willed the larger portion of Lawrence's real estate though he made a three-way split of his major properties. To John went the Mattox Creek "seat of Land where I now live" as well as "the whole tract of Land lying from the mouth of Machodock, extending to a place called the Round hills," as well as the two additions he had made to it. John also got the valued "water mill" and another 200-acre parcel he had acquired. To Augustine went the Lisson purchase, the area "between my Brother [Captain John] & Mr. Baldridges' land" on the Potomac plus "that land that was Mr. Richard Hill's" plus the 700 acres where Lewis Markham "now lives," at the death of Markham and his wife. To daughter Mildred was reserved "all my land in Stafford County lying upon Hunting Creek, where

47. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 6, pp 73-74 (Westmoreland Court Orders, 1690-1698, p. 15).

48. His brother John hardly reached 35, his father but 46, his father's brother but 42, and his grandfather 51. The cause of Lawrence's death is not known but likely it was not his eyes though he did have trouble with them. In the settlement of his estate, for example, there were payments to two doctors (Doctors Tanckersley and Jackson a pound, two shillings each) "for trouble about L.W. eye." (From an itemized account of the estate quoted in Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 242).

49. Lawrence's will is given in Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 239-40, and in Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 69-70 (Westmoreland, Deeds and Wills, No. 2, pp. 133 ff).

Mrs. Elizabeth Minton & Mrs. Williams now lives." Evidently they were tenants and proved the continued use and occupation of this land where Mount Vernon would rise. Seemingly Lawrence did not attempt to develop this 2,500-acre property as his son and grandson would.

Like his father, Lawrence had a provision for the church, in fact two churches, in his will. Each of the "upper and Lower Churches of Washington parish" was to receive and did, "a Pulpett Cloth & Cushion." He also remembered two friends, with each receiving "a mourning Ring" of 30 shillings value, and there was to be one for "Sister Lewis" at 40 shillings. One "Godson," Lawrence Butler, was to get "one young mare & two cows" and another, "my Cozin: John Washington Eldest son of Lawrence," a man servant with five years to serve, or 3,000 pounds of tobacco to buy one when he reached 21. Lewis Butler and a third Godson were to have a 275-acre tract of land to be divided between them. It was to "my Coz: John Washington Sen: of Stafford County" that he bequeathed "all my wearing apparel." And so it was that Capt. Lawrence lived and died.

Young Augustine Comes of Age:

Augustine was hardly more than a toddler at his father's passing and his older brother was eight, only twice his age. His sister was but an infant. As if foreseeing their immaturity at his death, when he wrote his will early in 1698 (it was proved in court on March 30 that same year), father Lawrence asked that his personal estate be equally divided in four parts, one each for the children, and one for "my loving wife." It continued:

it is my desire that my Estate should not be appraised but kept intire and delivered them as above given according to time & my childfen to continue under the care & Tuition of their mother till they come of age or day of marriage, and she to have the profits of their Estates towards the bringing of them up and keeping them at school.

Mildred, his wife was the Executrix and the Executors were Samuel Thompson, to whom he had given a mourning ring, and his Cousin John Washington of Stafford.⁵⁰

For a time Mildred Warner Washington likely stayed on at the Mattox Creek homestead with her young children, but in due course, after a longer period than in many instances, she remarried in the spring of 1700. The second husband, and step father for the children, was George Gale of Whitehaven, Cumberland, England, and sometimes Maryland and Virginia. The marriage was likely in Virginia, but soon, in the fall, the family moved on to England where they were before November 1700. Augustine was then approaching seven years of age. A new sister, Mildred Gale, was baptized on January 25, 1701, and buried there two months later, at St. Nicholas Church in Whitehaven Parish. Augustine's and her mother had already been buried at the same place on January 30; seemingly Mildred had premonition that she would not long survive the birth of Mildred Gale, as in his will, made on January 24, she was "doubtful of the recovery of my present sickness." This left the children of Lawrence Washington in the custody and under the guardianship of George Gale. Evidently Gale took his obligations seriously, and Augustine soon found himself in school.

50. Will cited as above.

He was enrolled at Appleby School in Westmoreland, England, some fifty miles from Whitehaven, where he remained for several years, presumably until his return to Virginia in 1704. Had it not been for the action of his family in Virginia (particularly John Washington, an executor of his father's will, and resulting favorable court decision to his contention) Augustine along with his brother and sister likely would have grown up in the English traditions and may have elected to remain there. Such however, was not to be the case.⁵¹

John Washington, acting on behalf of the children, maintained that on the death of their mother, George Gale's interest in and management of their estates ended. They—it was argued—reverted to the executor of the estate, John Washington, who was officially awarded their custody. So Augustine had another home and seemingly lived with his father's first cousin, along with his older brother and younger sister, for most of the next decade. This was at Chotank in King George County (then Stafford) near the western border of Westmoreland.⁵² Augustine would have been about 10 years old when his new guardian, on April 6, 1704, signed this receipt:

I do hereby acknowledge to have received of George Gayle the Children of Capt. Lawrence Washington late of Westmoreland County in Virginia and all the Estates and portions belonging to the said children and I do hereby discharge the said George Gayle from all further demands on account of the Estates and portions of the said children.⁵³

This guardianship would continue until April 3, 1713.

51. Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 243-45. The action against Gale was brought on April 30, 1702, by John Washington and Samuel Thompson, "Surviving Exrs to the last will and Testament of Capt. Law: Washington decd." When there was opinion in favor of Gale's attorney there was "appeale to the third day of the next Genll Court John Bushrod Gentle Security with the Appellants." (Court Record, GWBNNM, pt. 6, p. 137 (Westmoreland Court Orders, 1698-1705, p. 157).

52. Freeman, Washington, I, 31-33.

53. Court Rec., GWBNNM, pt. 1, p. 73 (Westmoreland Deeds Wills Patents, No. 3, p. 369). The receipt was ordered recorded on April 30, 1705.

Living at "Chotank," Augustine was not too far from Bridges Creek, where he knew he would have his own plantation in due course. It would have been remarkable had he not taken an interest in it in these years and visited often, even assisting his guardian in its management. It seems significant that he moved here just after he married in 1716 and made it his first home.

In any case Augustine's older brother, John, approached his majority and wanted part of his father's inheritance. On September 24, 1712, he sought court action. He, by petition, "showed to this Court that he is arrived of full age to Receive the Estate Left him by his said decd father in his Last will and Testament." He "prayed that John Washington Surviveing Ex:rs of the said Lawrence might be ordered to deliver him the Same." It was so ordered and "the said John Washington Doe immediately on notice hereof pay & Deliver unto the Peticoner aforesaid all & singular the Estate left him by his said father Lawrence Washington of what nature or kind Soever the Same may be."⁵⁴

It took some time and persistence with periodic delays. Evidently due to poor records and to a considerable intermixture with the affairs of the executor, it was difficult. In the end, in November 1712, the Court named five persons (Nathaniel Pope, Joseph Weeks, Charles Tyler, Robert Lowell, and Daniel Field), any three of whom could act, to "auditt inspect Settle & adjust all of the acco:ts" and then "divide the sd Testators Estate into four Equall parts or proporcons" according to the meaning of the will, and report to the next court. An account was duly recorded on April 2, 1713, over the signatures of Pope, Tyler, Lowell, and Field. It revealed that Captain Lawrence, even then, had left a sizeable estate. After the legacies, funeral expenses, commissions, fees, debts, and the rest (15,303 pounds of tobacco), there was still a balance of 32,509 pounds of tobacco from the personal estate for division among the heirs.⁵⁵

54. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 6, pp. 139-40 (Westmoreland Court Orders, 1705-1721, pp. 198-99).

55. Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 244-45. Hoppin reproduces a number of the pertinent documents.

The inventory of personal possessions was taken in the form of a four-way split with every evidence at fairness, though in many instances there were not four items of a kind. This listing (in parts A, B, C, and D) is both interesting and informative.⁵⁶ It gives an insight into the estate of Lawrence Washington and it details what passed on to his children. Evidently John, the older son, could put his division right to work, and Augustine could do the same when he reached his majority two years later.

There were slaves enough for two to have seven and two six (about equally divided between male and female with one infant). In the area of livestock it was equal most of the way, with each getting 44 hogs (young and old), 22 cattle, 6 sheep, and 4 horses (horses, mares, or colts, that is). Each received 11 chairs and an assortment of flock beds, feather beds, bedsteads, quilts, bolsters, pullows, rugs, and blankets as well as a pair of "curtains & vallens." Also, each received a dozen fine and half dozen coarse napkins and a table cloth besides varying amounts of sheets ("flaxen" and "fine"), pillow slips, cupboard cloths, and towels. Likewise each received 11 books.

There was a variety of tableware and dishes⁵⁷ though the pewter plates were divided evenly at 12 apiece. Of the kitchen equipment, everyone received two iron pots, at least one kettle of iron or brass, an iron pot rack, and a frying pan. Other items were of lesser number.⁵⁸ Household furniture did not come in multiples of four, as would be expected, except for a table each and at least a chest each (one an "old slate table," some new, and one a folding table).⁵⁹ There was only one clock

56. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 73-77 (Westmoreland, Deeds, Wills, Patents, No. 5, pp. 135).

57. There were other pewter items, chafing dishes, earthenware, and one "lignumvita punch bowl."

58. Included were 3 "pye" plates, a chop knife, sifters, drip pan, spits, skillets (one of "bell mettle"), brass skimmer, an iron grid, a hanging gridiron, a "marble" mortar, pestles, egg slice, flesh forks, cullender, ladle, brass dish rings, iron cricket, and a jack.

59. Besides there were trunks (one a "sealskin"), a chest and a box of drawers, a box, a clothes press, a "screw press," a cupboard, a desk (one for writing, one for dressing), and stands.

(an old one) but also a watch clock, a single silver watch, "one looking glass sadles shaving knife," and a sun dial.

There were andirons all around (some brass), and a pair of dogs, but a single box and heater. Each received a candlestick (half of them were noted as brass), though there were only two candle snuffers and but one candle box, this of "tinn."⁶⁰ There was a variety of measures and containers,⁶¹ enough quart bottles for 19 apiece plus several cases.⁶²

For the farm there were tools and supplies, with each receiving 7 hoes (some broad, some narrow) and 3 "reap hooks" (all old).⁶³ Stocks and supplies included for each were 2 bushels of salt, 82½ bushels of Indian corn, 17 pounds of pewter, and 16½ ounces of "plate," plus 2875 nails (1500 ten penny, 750 six. and 625 twenty). There were "30 quire stampst paper 7" and "the flaskett that holds the paper."

Some items were miscellaneous in nature, as with the "gunns," nine in number, divided 3, 3, 2, and 1. There was a single "cart & wheel" and one "coller & cart saddle." Perhaps the pair of handcuffs went back to Lawrence's days as sheriff. There were enough basins to go around and four chamber pots, though one was a "Little babe pott."

This then would be what Augustine would inherit to help him get set up in plantation-keeping, though it would be two years before he reached the age of 21. And he would have one more change of guardianship and, perhaps, change of home. On May 27, 1713, the Westmoreland Court ordered:

60. The listing included iron tongs and a shovel as well as one warming pan.

61. This included pails, jugs, a "pizzen," tub, funnels, and a brass cast.

62. There were a pair of "Stilliards," a pair of weights and scales and a set of "phisick Scales."

63. Also, there were saws (old and new), a "Compass saw," wedges, "harrow teeth," shovels, a pair of sheep shears, a "spin whealer," and a "spinn wheele," "a shear & colter," files and chisels, a spade, a "gauging rod," a "grafting saw," a pair of clamps, and "a large augur."

The Guardianship of Augustine Washington
& Mildred Washington son & daughter of
Lawrence Washington gentl decd on their
Peticon Is granted to their brother John
Washington . . . [and further] it is ordered
that he be imediately possessed with all
& Singular their and either of the Estates
Left them by their sd decd father.⁶⁴

64. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 6, p. 144 (Westmoreland Court Orders, 1705-1721, p. 212).

Chapter II

The Henry Brooks Patent

"Mattox Neck," as it was occasionally referred to in the years when the area was being settled, "taken up," and developed, is along that mile and a half stretch of the Potomac's south shore in Westmoreland County between Bridges Creek and Pope's Creek.¹ The names Bridges and Pope are but a recording on the land of the names of two original patentees whose acres were on, or along, these lesser waterways.

Early in the fall of 1651, even before the formation of Westmoreland County, Hercules Bridges, for transporting four persons into the colony of Virginia, received 200 uncleared acres just west of Bridges Creek. Seemingly he was in ownership, or occupation, even before April of that year.² Nathaniel Pope, the befriender of emigrant John Washington, too, was an early (1651) patentee in the area and among his grants was an extensive holding eastward of the lower reaches of the creek on which he left his and the family name.³ This creek had other early designations,

1. A sworn deposition of William Brown in 1755 at age 70 makes reference to this. Brown was born and lived most of his life here. (The deposition is reproduced in The William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Ser., X (January 1902), 176-7. See also Tyler's Quarterly, VIII (April 1927), 231; Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 146ff (from Westmoreland, Deeds and Wills, No. 9, 279ff.) In some contemporary uses the term, "Mattox Neck," is applied also to a larger area along the Potomac Extending northwest beyond Bridges to Mattox Creek. It seems, however, to have been used principally in references to the Brooks patent area and to properties immediately adjacent to it.

2. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 5, 131-33 (Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents, etc., No. 1, p. 1 and Fiduciary Records, No. 1, p. 118. Also see Nugent, Abstracts, pp. 211, 326, 380. The use of the name Bridges here is fairly constant, though there were occasional exceptions as Bridge Creek, Washington Creek, and "Henry Brooks Creek."

3. Charles Arthur Hoppin, "The Origin of Wakefield, Washington's Birthplace," in Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine, VIII, No. 4 (April 1927), p. 225; Nugent, Abstracts, 447.

too, as Fishing Creek⁴ and "Cedar Island Creeke,"⁵ the latter suggested, perhaps, by the several little islands that dominate the mouth of the creek. But Pope's soon became the established name and has continued.

Mattox Neck has few distinguishing natural features but there are several of lesser note. There are the high cliffs that drop sharply to the river's edge, occasionally exposing fossils of earlier times and other evidence of geologic ages. Just east of the mouth of Bridges Creek is a little marshy inlet, "a gut," headed by a sometimes tidal pond that has passed without particular pointed reference. Some half mile eastward is Digwood (a lone reference seems to have it Bigwood)⁶ Swamp, a property reference now and then.

Sluggish Bridges Creek itself extends inland a mile or so, forking as it does into two major, marshy fingers--the northwest and the southeast branches. Pope's Creek, never an important waterway it seems, extends farther inland but soon, in its first mile on its west side, has a pronounced westward pointing indentation, the "Cove," and then a marshy inlet, "Dancing Marsh."

4. Hoppin, "The Origin," Tyler's Quarterly, VIII, 227-28; Nugent, Abstracts, pp. 331, 449. This is from a 1659 patent, and a 1661 reissue to Richard Hill.

5. Pope's initial 1,050 acre grant (amended in 1655 to 1,550) on the Potomac was just to the southeast of an earlier one. This earlier one (for 1,200 acres on February 24, 1643) was to Edward Murfey and John Vaughan. It is said to have been the first patent for land in the area that became Westmoreland County. It bounded on the "Eastermost side of Cedar Island Creek." (Nugent, Abstracts, 187; David W. Eaton, Historical Atlas of Westmoreland County Virginia (Richmond 1942), p. 65 (plate 7) There is also reference in a patent of 1661 to John Washington and his brother-in-law, Thomas Pope. (Tyler's Quarterly, 8, 225.)

6. Nugent, Abstracts, pp. 449-450. Seemingly Dorothy Brooks was seeking a repatent of part of her father's (Henry Brooks) grant in the instrument described here.

This marsh in a short distance forks north and south with a dam on the south fork that forms the "ice pond." Beyond Dancing Marsh, up the creek a bit, are two points of land that project into the creek, "Burnt House Point" and another just beyond it, Blakes Point. Though some are modern, most of these designations are old and are of early colonial reference.

The larger part of the lower Mattox Neck formed initially a single grant, a patent to one Henry Brooks, a shipwright. It was for a thousand acres. His patent of March 18, 1662, from the Governor and Council sitting at "James City," was termed a reissue of one dated 1657. Clearly, however, Brooks was on the land prior to this as he disposed of some of these acres as early as 1655. By record he was in possession or occupation, before September 1651.⁷

Henry Brooks, it appears, married Jane, the widow of David Wickliffe (Whitley), some time after Wickliffe's death in 1642. She then moved from Maryland to "Mattox Neck" and brought with her her two sons, David and Robert, "infants of very tender years" who settled "and lived their whole lives here." Previously she resided in Maryland where David Wickliffe, Sr., had come about 1638. It was recalled that, by report, they "had been obliged to fly from the Province of Maryland to this Colony [Virginia] either to avoid the violence of a Roman Catholic faction there or to receive or to be brought up in the Protestant Religion here" since, according to the reporter who was speaking under oath in 1755, he had "many times heard and been informed that David Wickliffe . . . was the first male child born in the Province of Maryland of Protestant Parents"8

7. The Hercules Bridges patent has these words in denoting the southeast boundary, "a marked white oak which divideth this land of Henry Brookes." (Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, p. 5.) (Westmoreland, Deeds, Wills, Patents, etc., No. 1, p. 1.)

8. The William Brown deposition of 1755 in The William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Ser., X, 175-77. The name appears indiscriminately, it seems, as Wickliffe, Whitliff, and Whitley. "Whitley's has become associated with the land as on the U. S. Geological Survey of this section in 1879. (Dorman, Westmoreland Order Book, (pts. 1 (1690-1692) and 2 (1692-1694), passim.)

Henry Brooks' grant of 1662 specified that it included 1,020 acres which were bounded:

on the northwest side to a marked corner hiccory with a creeke that divideth this land and the land now in possession of Daniel Lisson [Lisson had acquired the Bridges and another holding in 1654] on the northeast side with potomack river on the southeast side with the Creeke dividing this land from the land of Colo. Nathaniel Pope to a marked red oake on the southwest side thence with a line of marked trees running west and northwest 60 poles northwest half a point more westerly 310 poles and west northwest somewhat more westerly 140 poles to the aforementioned marked hiccory and place.⁹

This patent extended up Bridges Creek some half mile on the west and up Pope's Creek some three-fourths mile on the east.

But Henry Brooks was growing older and proceeded before his death in 1662 to dispose of much of his estate here, breaking it into smaller parcels. By and large, most of this went to daughters, sons-in-law, and relatives who became established here for some duration. The rest he disposed of by will, with the residue being reserved for this wife Joane (sometimes recorded as Jane) and his unmarried daughter, Dorothy. Perhaps, it is well to detail some of this briefly for it shows that this area had become small farms of fifty or a hundred or so acres to accommodate at least six, possibly as many as eight, family units prior to 1662.

The wilderness character would have been gone here at least a half century before the birth of George Washington, and forest cover for the most part would have surrendered to open fields with even some reversion, here and there, to "old fields," and even second growth which likely would have been pine, possibly some cedar. It was one of these Brooks' subdivisions that became John Washington's, the emigrant's, fixed family seat on acquisition in 1664. This was on Bridges Creek and where he established what

9. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 4, pp. 4-5 (Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents, No. 1, p. 225).

became the Washington ancestral burial ground. Another of the Brooks' divisions (that to Lawrence Abbington) was to become the home of John's grandson (George Washington's father), Augustine Washington, and the place where George was born.

The second of the Henry Brooks' dispositions of record was on October 30, 1655. It seems to have been a joint one, to Richard Cole and David Anderson, for "one hundred Acres of land Joining the creeke which is pattented in my [Brooks'] pattent."¹⁰ This was on the northwest side of his holding and bordered Bridges Creek. Seemingly, though not so stated, it fronted narrowly on the Potomac between the creek mouth and "the small gut dividing this and land" of Brooks to the southeast. It paralled the creek inland, crossing its main southeast branch to include at least a part of "Indiantown" at "Oyster shell poynt" in the fork of the creek branches.¹¹

Not much is known of Richard Cole, who seems to have been a relative of Mrs. Henry Brooks. Brooks by will in 1662 remembered him further with a life interest in "the Arrowhead," an area generally in the forks of Bridges Creek, perhaps a part of the "Indiantown" area. Possibly here he had his "stock of hogs," half of which belonged to Cole, who did not long survive him, though Brooks' will made him an "overseer" of it. Cole's will in 1664, in turn, made Brooks' widow his executrix.¹² Prior to this, soon after the

10. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 4, p. 1 (Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents, No. 1, p. 19).

11. Nugent, Abstracts, pp. 446, 449-50. The pertinent items here are a grant (in part a repatent) to John Washington and the Dorothy Brooks' patent, both dated 1664. The Dorothy Brooks' patent is avstracted to read: "running &c. to small gut dividing this & part of pattent layd out for Major Washington, thence to Bigwood Sw., extend to head of same thence with trees which divides this & land taken up by Richard Griffin & Major Washington." It was for 650 acres, 329 from the Brooks' patent, and 321 due for the transportation of seven persons.

12. Eaton, Westmoreland Atlas, p. 48; Henry Brooks' will in Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 4, pp. 7-8 (Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents, No. 1, p. 186.) A court action of 1692 seems to show that Cole had a slave or two. "Benedict Cole a Negro (baptized) late slave to Mr. Richd Cole, deceased, and afterwards to Mr. Thomas Kirton, deceased, who married the relict of the said Cole" sued for his freedom, which had been promised on the death of Kirton. The court adjudged Benedict to be free. (Dorman, Westmoreland Orderbook, pt. 2, p. 4.)

original transaction on March 10, 1656, in fact, Cole had sold his interest in the joint grant from Brooks to his co-owner David Anderson. It included all his "right and title of two hundred Acres of land bounding upon the land of Henry Brookes Creek with all the building that is upon the said land."¹³ Thus Cole never sought to enjoy this property as a residence, though likely "Davey Anderson" did. It would appear, too, that David had come to enjoy more than the original hundred acres. About the time of the death of Brooks, from whom the property had come, Anderson on October 25, 1662, drew up a new patent of ownership, a reconfirmation. In this it was redefined as:

. . . one hundred fifty acres of land . . . one hundred Acres northwesterly upon a creeke dividing this land from the land of Hercules Bridges northeast upon a branch of the said creeke southeasterly upon a line running from a marked poplar near the head of the said branch south by west into the woods . . . and 50 Acres the other part bounding northerly upon the said land and the land of Henry Brooks westerly upon the branches of the head of the said Creeke Easterly and southerly upon the main woods the said land being formerly granted unto Richard Cole and the said David Anderson by patent dated 24th October 1655¹⁴

Perhaps there were some indistinct boundaries here, or even some adverse possession. Such seems suggested in the language of the deed when David Anderson and his wife Elizabeth sold it to John Washington on December 3, 1664. This sale included:

. . . all my right title and interest of this pattennt and the land therein contained with all edificies thereunto belonging with all the land conveyed by Henry Brookes to me . . . as also all land that we

13. Northington, "Research Report," p. 36 (quoting from Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents, No. 1, p. 22.)

14. Northington, "Report," p. 37, and Hoppin, "The Origin," Tylers Quarterly, VIII, 224-25 (both quoting Westmoreland, Deeds, Wills, Patents, No. 1, p. 251).

are now possessed withal by virtue of an order of Westmoreland County Court aforesaid, and have been for five years possessed without commencement of suit by Henry Brookes or his assigns 15

In a repatent of this, along with another tract adjacent, John Washington, just a little later, as has been shown, was willing to accept this as a 125-acre transaction.¹⁶ This was his first entry into the area on Bridges Creek where he would soon make his home.

On March 10, 1655, Henry Brooks disposed of a hundred acres of his patent to David and Robert Wickliffe. The description of the property was very vague, only that it was "lyeing in Appomattocks and bound upon Tom Muns [or Muse] point" and was "laid out square." Eight years later, by will, Brooks left another 50 acres in "dower" to the "heir of David Whitliff" and he, David, could have the use of it "until it please god he hath one [heir]." This was to be located "Joining to the said land whereon whittiff is now seated."¹⁷ Other property references aid in the more precise location of these two tracts, totaling 150 acres.

David did indeed have heirs and was to remain on the land here. In recollection, an old timer, William Brown, recalled in 1755, that "the said David Wickliffe lived many years in the said Mattox Neck near to the deponent's father's house where he perfectly remembers often to have seen him" Brown "was intimately acquainted" with his children--David, the oldest, Robert and Deborah.¹⁸

15. Northington, "Report," p. 37; Hoppin "The Origin," Tylers Quarterly, VIII, 226 (quoting Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents, No. 1, p. 252).

16. Nugent, Abstracts, p. 446. The Washington repatent was for a total of 320 acres which included the 125.

17. Court Rec., GWBMM, pt. 4, pp. 1, 7-8 (Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents, No. 1, pp. 23, 186); William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Series, XV (October 1906), 189.

18. William Brown's deposition in William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Ser., X, 175-177.

In February 1657 Brooks made another division to accommodate a family need when "for divers good causes and considerations . . . and more especially for Laurence Abington hath taken unto him my daughter Lidia to be his wife," he deeded 100 acres to the Abbingtons. This was another part of the "dividend and tract of land whereon I am now seated." It bounded upon the land of "David Whitliff and David Snuffins."

Five years later he gave Lawrence another 48 acres which was "convenient to the seate of land whereon the aforesaid Abington is now seated upon." This was to be in place of another 48-acre tract already "seated" by Nicholas Saxton. Evidently Abbington initially was given the Saxton tract and on second thought, or by mutual agreement, Brooks found it best not to "unseat" him. Again in 1662 Brooks, this time by will, rewarded the Abbingtons. He bequeathed a 50-acre parcel to his "grand Child" and described it as "Joining to the said land on which Laurence Abbington father of said Lidia now dwelleth on."¹⁹

Nicholas Saxton benefitted, also, or at least his son Henry did, from the Brooks' will. Henry Brooks specified that Henry Saxton, his "Godson," should have the 50 acres on which "Nicholas Saxton, father of the said Henry now liveth."²⁰ This 50 (or 48) acre dividend was bounded by Lawrence "Abington and David Whitliff." In at least one instance Saxton was made Brooks' "true and lawful Attorney" in land recordation matters. Another son-in-law, Richard Higdon, did the same for Brooks and also acted as "attorney" for the Abbingtons in other transactions.²¹ The first description of the Saxton tract, a more precise one, was in the deed of June 1660, which was

19. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 4, pp. 2, 5-8 (Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents, No. 1, pp. 67, 163, 186).

20. Henry Saxton seems to have had his troubles. In July 1692 he was involved in the Westmoreland Court "being presented for living in adultery and it appearing he was rendered incapable to make his appearance being sick, the same is continued." Evidently he did not long survive, as Nicholas Saxton was granted probate of his last will and testament two months later. (Dorman, Westmoreland Orderbook, pt. 2, pp. 2, 12).

21. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 4, pp. 5-6 (Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents, No. 1, p. 163).

then termed one of 40 acres. It read thusly:

Southeast with Pope's Creeke beginning at a marked read oak standing on the said creeke side extending by a line of marked trees that parts the forty Acres from the land of David Whitley northwest seventy two poles unto a marked white oak thence southwest 88 poles unto a swamp that parts the said land from the land of Laurence Abington thence southwest down the said swamp unto the aforementioned Creeke to the place where it began.²²

Henry Brooks made still another subdivision in June 1662 when by deed he "doe give and bestow" another hundred acres, this to Jane Higdon. Jane was his daughter, who had married Richard Higdon. The tract was near the center of the old patent and it was described as ". . . beginning upon potomack river and so running Digwood Swamp to the miles end." That same year Brooks' will bequested another 50 acres "Joyning the same" to daughter Jane. It was specifically stated to be "besides the hundred already Acknowledged in Court."²³

This seemingly became an established family seat, first for Jane and Richard Higdon and, in turn, a Brown family home. After the death of Richard, her first husband, Jane married Original Brown and continued to live here. Among the Brown children were Jane and William. William continued the family name in "Mattox Neck" and in 1755 spoke of his "father's house" and of the neighboring Wickliffe place. He recounted, too, that in his youth (he was now 70) he had "many times been informed" about various personal relationships "by the ancient inhabitants of his neighborhood."²⁴

It remained now only for Henry Brooks, in his will of 1662, to provide for his wife, Joane, and his unmarried daughter Dorothy.

22. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 4, pp. 2-3 (Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents, No. 1, pp. 164, 267). This area later became known as "Duck Hall."

23. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 4, pp. 6-7 (Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents, No. 1, pp. 162-63).

24. William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Ser., X, 175-77.

This he did. To Joane, whom he made "full and whole Executor," with Lawrence Abbington and Richard Cole being "Overseers," he left the remaining "seat of land whereon I now live bounding upon David Anderson and so running to a place called the Arrowhead during her life." This is estimated to have been several hundred acres. At her decease it would go to daughter Dorothy Brooks as would "the Arrowhead" at the demise of Richard Cole. In addition Joane was to receive, by Brooks' direction, "all my Goods Cattle, moveable and unmoveable both within doors and without" for her life as well as half "the stock of hogs," half being Richard Cole's. After her death all would pass to Dorothy. Should Dorothy die before marriage "what doth or shall belong unto her" would be divided between his daughters "Liddia Abington and Jane Higdon."²⁵

From all indications Dorothy did die unmarried, or at least without heirs, and this 300-acre interest did indeed pass to Lydia and to Jane, both of whom remarried, Lydia to William Kimball (Kimbar, Kimber) and Jane to Original Brown.²⁶ This tract seemingly extended along the Potomac from Digwood Swamp to the little "gut" east of Bridges Creek. In the division, the river frontage with some 200 acres went to Jane, including the old Brooks home site, while 100 acres adjoining it on the inland end went to Lydia.

It is fortunate that Original Brown, on August 21, 1683, engaged Robert Chamberlaine, "the Surveyor," to make a survey of Jane's further inheritance here.²⁷ It was cited as containing 215 acres.

25. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 4, pp. 7-8 (Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents, No. 1, p. 186).

26. William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Ser., XV, 189; Tyler's Quarterly, VIII, 234; Augusta B. Fothergill, Wills of Westmoreland County, Virginia, 1654-1800 (Appeals Press, Richmond, Va., 1925), pp. 9, 24.

27. The original of this survey is on display in the exhibit room at GWBNM, a gift from Mr. and Mrs. Charles J. Paterson, Cleveland, Ohio. "Mr. Robt. Chamberlaine" is of record as practicing his profession of surveying and being in Westmoreland in this period. There is specific reference in 1685. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 6, p. 47 (Westmoreland Court Orders, 1676-1689, p. 435).

The resulting document is, for the purposes of this study, a significant one as it relates the property meaningfully to the ground including "Digwoods swampe." It somewhat specifically locates "Mr Originall Brownes dwelling house"²⁸ (evidently on the land initially given his wife by her father) and "the house Where old Mrs [Henry] Brooks Lived" as well as that of "Mr John Washington" (of which more will be said later). It also indicated the common boundaries, where they abutted with those of "William Kimbar" and "Mr Jno Washington," in the latter instance mentioning separately the "house" and a "fence." Ultimately both the Higdon-Brown and Abbington-Kimball acreages passed by purchase to Augustine Washington, who in 1725 and 1728 respectively added them to his earlier Pope's Creek home site purchases from Lawrence Abbington.²⁹

Thus it was that about 1662 Mattox Neck and the Henry Brooks thousand acres was a rather thickly populated area, what with the Brookses, Andersons, Whitleys, Saxtons, Higdon, Abbingtons, and likely others. Just beyond the old Brooks boundaries was, to the northwest across Bridges Creek, the Lisson holding of 400 acres (embracing) that of Hercules Bridges (1651) and David Phillips (1655.) Adjacent, and extending on the southwest to Pope's Creek, were the several tracts (some 600 acres) patented by Richard Hill (1659-1661).³⁰

28. Original Brown became an established member of the Brooks Patent Community often, in matters of land, estates, jury duty, and other court actions, working in concert with the Washingtons, Whitleys, and others of the neighborhood. In 1692 there is record that he was serving as "attorney of Wm Briscoe of the City of Bristoll" who came to Virginia and for a time at least was keeping a store of goods at Appomattox in Washington Parish." (Dorman, Westmoreland Orderbook, pt. 2, pp. 11, 19, 27, 37).

29. Court Rec., GWNM, pt. 1, pp. 107-110, 113-115 (Westmoreland, Deeds and Wills, No. 8, pt. 1, pp. 175, 338).

30. Nugent, Abstracts, p. 380; Eaton, Westmoreland Atlas, p. 63 (plate 5); Northington, "Report," pp. 36-42. An attempt to locate the properties in the Brooks patent has been made (Court Rec., GWNM, pp. 52-3). This and other data are reflected in the plan included as illustration in this study.

Chapter III

The Col. John Washington Place

It was on December 3, 1664, that John Washington secured by purchase and patent his 320-acre holding on Bridges Creek, on which he would fix his home and where he would establish the family graveyard on the early death of two of his children and his first wife. This holding comprised the property and developments of Richard Cole and David Anderson, and then Anderson and his wife Elizabeth alone, plus an adjoining 195 acres.

Even when Cole, after a short joint tenure with Anderson, disposed of his interests there already was "building . . . upon the said land" and Anderson's sale to Washington in 1664 included "all edifices thereunto belonging." Very surely Anderson was in residence here and utilizing all of the land, some of which had been in dispute, as a court order of August 31, 1664, details:

The Court date Ordr that ye Report in writing of Capt John Alexander Surveyor be entered upon period & that David Anderson shall have & inpay ye hundred Acres of land laid out by ye said Surveyor with the neighborhood & solde unto him by Henry Brookes And ye Court doth further Order that ye said Anderson shall have & inioy what [he] hath Inoiyed & manured for five years before he was forwarned & suite Comenced by ye said Henry Brookes.¹

Perhaps with compensation, or some indemnity, in mind, the Court did direct that "a Jury of the neighbourhood," or "any twelve" of the 15 who were enumerated,² should be "Impannelled to finde

1. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 3, pp. 6-7 (Westmoreland Court Orders, 1662-1664, p. 33).

2. These neighbors were:

Maj. John Lord
Thomas Butler
William Freake
Andrew Monroe
Richard Griffin

John Brookes
Richard Hill
Elias Webb
Daniel Lisson
Christopher Butler

Abraham Feild
John Frissell
William Cradouck
John Browne
John Lancelott

what waste ye said David Anderson hath Comitted on any ye land since he ye said Anderson hath bene forwarned & claime made by Commencem of suit by ye aforesaid Henry Brookes."

Likely Washington was already interested in this property and was anticipating its acquisition, for "Major Washington [now a member of the Westmoreland Court] did not sitt or vote in this order." Whatever the issue, or matter, he was willing, as has been seen, to accept the Anderson acreage just a few months later, as 125 acres. This was more than the original grant of 100 acres from Brookes, but considerably less than the 200 that Cole assumed he sold a half interest in to Anderson, and less than the 150 acres described in Anderson's reconfirmation of 1662. Just a few months later, in March 1665, John Washington added another nearby farm of 250 acres, together with its housing and clear ground. This was toward the south, a part of the old Richard Hill patent. This gave him a functioning unit, possibly contiguous, of some 650 acres, enough perhaps for a single managed farm and home seat. This and his "Round Hills" estate seem to have received his personal attention and was not left to lessees, or tenants.

It is assumed that John Washington, with his wife and growing family, moved here to Bridges Creek rather soon after the purchase, leaving his home and 700-acre farm of some five years in the Mattox Creek area, which he then rented. Surely he would have been established here some time before he, in 1668, buried his wife here and before he buried his two young children, a son and a daughter.³

It is good to have specific statements in Washington's will about his place of residence and the cemetery which evidently he established. He gave "unto my son John Washington yt plantation wheiron I now live wch I bought of David Anderson." This is quite precise and he associated it in his bequest to son John with the "plantation next to Mr. foxall yt I bought & (which was Ric Hills)." ⁴ He also directed "my body to buried on ye plantation wheiron I now Live, by the side of my wife yt is already

3. Hoppin's conclusion is that John moved to Bridges Creek before March 23, 1665. He also quotes the deed of Anderson and wife, Elizabeth, to Washington from the Westmoreland Records, Deeds and Wills, No. 1, p. 252. (Hoppin, "The Origins," in Tyler's Quarterly, VIII, 226-27).

4. The John Washington will is previously cited in Chapter I, note 23.

buried & two Children of mine." This is direct reference to his first wife Anne Pope and two of their young children, who seemingly died in infancy.

If John Washington moved to Bridges Creek shortly after the purchase of the property there, he likely moved into a home already there, that of David Anderson. The reference in his will to "ye new parlour" may suggest some enlargement of the quarters which he had. The context of the expression would indicate that such enlargement came in Anne Pope's life time (before 1668) for he willed to their daughter Ann, "wch was her mothers desire & my promise, yt Cash in ye new parlour & the Diamond ring and her mothers rings & the whilt quilt & the white Curtains & vallians." This latter is the lone reference to some of the niceties that evidently were characteristic of his home. Had his inventory listing survived, the record would be greater in this direction.⁵

John's will, written in 1675, does suggest that his plantation operation was a typical one, specializing in tobacco, other "Croppes," livestock, and the like. These must have been of some extent since he believed that "after my debts & dues are satisfied out of my Croppes, which I doe not question but will be far more than I do owe," the residue could go into his personal estate for the specified four-way division between wife and three children.

A further glimpse of his operation comes on October 21, 1676, when Daniel White was ordered to impress his estate and to stop "Coll John Washington's overseers [who] are carrying off corne meate & Tobacco in a sloop or sloops over to Maryland." White was required:

imeadiately to go to ye plantacon of ye sd Washington by ye river side [Bridges Creek Farm]⁶ & cease & Impresse all ye corne & p'visions, Tobacco, Stocke yt belong to ye sd Washington either one [on] that plantacon or one ye other plantacon Called ye Round Hills & to command ye

5. It has been assumed that his home was a simple one of framed construction; however, the records seem silent on this point. (Moore, Birthplace, p. 6).

6. When Washington repatented the Anderson property on March 23, 1664, there was a similar riverside language - "abutting upon the Potomac River" and "adjoining lands of Daniel Lisson, Widdow Brookes and Richard Hills." (Hoppin, "The Origina," in Tyler's Quarterly, VIII, 226-28.

overseers of both plantacons In his Majts name not to suffer any corne, cattle, horses, mares, servants or any other things to be conveyed by any pson or psons till further order from ye generall [Nathaniel Bacon] & to cease [seize] ye Sloope or Sloops yt shall any wise attempt ye takeing p'vision conveying or any pt or parssels of goods yt either belong to the said Washington or any other delinquents yt are fled. . ."7

To accomodate his overseers, servants, family and general operations, John Washington would have needed somewhat ample accomodations, spatial and otherwise. When White took over, it seems he had no difficulty in quartering his seven, or, more assistants, including their armory of "14 gunns loaden." Evidently the then Mrs. Washington (Frances Gerrard) and the overseers continued in residence at the time, though John was away, likely in the interests of Governor Berkeley and established government interests. Both the overseers and the plain-spoken Mrs. Washington seem to have had a role in overcoming the guards in due course according to fragmentary reports of William Armiger and John Deery, who featured in the seizure from the rebels.⁸ A further insight into the nature and extent of Washington's plantation operation comes in a court order relating to his estate. A claimant, heir of his third wife, was awarded: "tenn good breeding Cows betweene ye adge of 2 & 6 years, twenty young breeding yoes & a Ramm, also one yong breeding Mare not above four years old."⁹

Perhaps a little can be gleaned about the kind of establishment that John had, or at least some of his interests in a plantation operation, from some of the provisions of a lease he negotiated with Lewis Markham in January 1669. This had to do with

7. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, p. 46 (Westmoreland, Deeds, Wills, Patents, &c, 1665-1677, p. 288).

8. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt.1, pp.53-54 (Westmoreland, Deeds, Wills, Patents, &c, 1665-1677); Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 194-203; "Col. John Washington: Further Details" in William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Series, II, 38-45. When Armiger was asked "how many he take p'soners at Coll. Washington's home . . . he answered seaven there and one att Mr. Jno Lewling's house."

9. Hoppin, quoting from Westmoreland Court Order Book, 1675-1689, p. 90, in Washington Ancestry, I, 208.

the management of the property in Nominy for which his second wife had responsibility. The lease was for three years "the houses & Lands upon Nominy Commonly Called Mr. Walter Broadhurst Plantacon." It embraced the dwelling house and carried "Libertie . . . to keepe ye Ordinary," though Washington reserved to himself the "Courthouse, ye Prison, ye shopp & ye Cellar Loft for for his own pp [personal] use.

1. Markham was assured of the "Libertie of Hunting, Hawking, fishing fowling, with other Immunities Customary here with all Benefitts of Planting and Keepeing Hoggs & Cattle."
2. As to keeping the ordinary, each was to have "Equal Halfe of all such Profitts as shall thereby Arise. And that both of them doe take ye opportunities and advantages for Laying in Liquors or Pr'visions necessary and accomodable for ye Ordinary."
3. Washington obligated himself to "Lett . . . a man servant & a maid servant" to Markham who likewise would have to find "A Man & Maid to officiate in ye Ordinary."
4. "Lewis Markham oblidgeh himself by theis p'rts to Accomodate ye said Lt. Coll. & his wife when they please to Come free of all Charges as to meate & Drinke & what ye house affordeth."
5. Markham agreed "to pr'vd what Cider Possibly may be out of ye orchard . . . and to take care of ye fencing & Preservation of ye said orchard."
6. At the end of the lease he was to leave the "housing Tenentable, and what Cleare Ground he useth well fenced."
7. There was provision for replacement, too, should any of the "houses upon ye Plantacon," in the three-year interval, be "fired, Blowne Downe or through any other casualty fall Down (wch God in his Providence forbis)."¹⁰

Fortunately the John Washington house site was shown and noted in somewhat precise though general terms on the previously discussed Robert Chamberlaine survey plat of 1683. The identity of the cemetery area has remained known through the years. The complexity of the plantation layout is not known, but may be possible of determination. It may be possible, too, to learn something of his house, particularly its size, ground plan, and type. Archeological explorations in 1930 and 1934 seem already to have touched it,

10. Hoppin quotes the instrument from Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents, 1665-1677, p. 49 in Washington Ancestry, I, 180-82.

but more likely, by the present state of knowledge, one or more of its dependencies.¹¹

It was here on Bridges Creek that John Washington developed his (what must have been comfortable and sufficient) home, where he spent the last decade of his life with his family about him. Both his sons, Lawrence and John, and daughter, Ann grew up and spent their formative years here; and all were still young (the oldest, Lawrence, being about 18) at the time of their father's death. Evidently they stayed on here until they became of age. In due course, it became the home of John (Jr.), whose inheritance it was, and he assumed the responsibility of its operation and the enjoyment of its benefits.

This second John Washington lived quietly at Bridges Creek, seemingly with less activity than characterized his father or his brother Lawrence. He married Ann Wickliffe and they had three children, another John, a Nathaniel and a Henry. He did become an established member of the community, working with friends, neighbors, and associates in business and community affairs. John, like his brother, was active as an attorney in the management of estates, accounts, and such legal matters. He served in the lesser capacities of appraiser and advisor and also in more important ways. He became a member of the Washington Parish Vestry and a captain in the local Westmoreland militia. There is little evidence that he added appreciably to his property holdings. He did dispose of two tracts - one for some 120 acres in Richmond County (netting him 6,000 "Pounds of good Tobacco in Caske") and one for 280 acres, "in the forest of Nominy" in lower Westmoreland (10,000 pounds). At the time of his death it was

11. David Rodnick, "Orientation Report on the George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Westmoreland County, Virginia" (a typewritten report dated on October 17, 1941), pp. 64-67. This describes the finding of a 14 x 20 foot outbuilding foundation and floor in 1930 and partial remains of another structure. Further work here in 1934 involved screening. It yielded interesting associated objects - a coin dated 1679, a bottle seal bearing John Washington's inscription, and two others with the initials "J.W.," "a copper tavern token" and additional pieces of "broken slipware, glass, nails, iron ware, etc."

necessary to separate his from two other estates he was administering.¹² It is worthy of note, perhaps, that in February 1698, after his death, the court: "Ordered that Madm Ann Washington Relict of Capt. John Washington deceased bee allowed and receive out of the estate of her sd deceased husband a parahanalia Suitable to the Quality and Estate of her sd decd husband."¹³

Like his brother, Lawrence, John was relatively short lived, his will being dated January 23, 1698. Like his father, he too wanted his remains to rest at the place where he had lived - at Bridges Creek. He specified that it was his will "to be buried in Christian like manner in the Burying Place on the Plantation where i now live, by my Father, Mother and Brothers." The home place, "the plantation I now live on," after the passing of his wife, would go to his son John, the third of that name.¹⁴ His wife, Ann Wickliffe, died in 1709. John, to whom the Bridges Creek place passed, disposed of it, as will be seen later, to Augustine Washington, he to Augustine, Jr., and he to William Augustine. Little more is said about the home and its ultimate disposition, By tradition, or legend, it was later used for tenants, or servants, and disappeared before 1810.¹⁵

The burial ground near the house site by all indications continued in use past the mid-point of the eighteenth century. It is said to have been used by six generations of the Washington family. Then it fell into disuse and, for a time, serious neglect,

12. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 67, 71-72 (Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents, No. 2, pp. 65, 210), and pt. C, pp. 42, 57, 70-71, 380 (Court Orders, 1676-1689, pp. 57, 380 and 1690-1698, pp. 5-6, 8); Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 219. There seemingly were insufficient funds in some of Captain John's accounts as his widow was unable to settle some of the demands. The court granted a judgement to some creditors and fixed an amount "beyond which shee had no assetts" Several of these involved accounts in Plymouth, England. (Court Record, GWBNM, pt. 6, pp. 129, 132 (Westmoreland Court Orders, 1698-1705, pp. 26-27).

13. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 6, p. 125 (Westmoreland Court Orders, 1690-1698, p. 256).

14. Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, chart between pp. 54-55, and pp. 220-21. This includes the will of Capt. John Washington.

15. Ibid, pp. 220-21; Moore, Birthplace, pp. 6, 16-17.

until preservation forces generated proper concern for its renovation, care and perpetuation. It is the resting place of the remains of George Washington's father, grandfather and great-grandfather and many of their kin.¹⁶ It was George Washington's understanding that a vault had been built to accommodate his great-grandfather - "it appears that he was interred in a Vault which had been erected at Bridges Creek." Then he goes on to refer to it as the "family Vault" and the "Vault of his Ancestors."¹⁷

16. Known burials, by record note, would include Anne Pope, John Washington and their children (Capt. Lawrence, Captain John, Ann and another son and a daughter); Lawrence's children (Augustine and, also, John and Mildred Warner, both of whom died early, one at five months, the other at 10 years); and Jane Butler, Augustine's first wife. The latter three are documented from reported tombstone inscriptions. Then George Washington himself adds, by recollection, the name of Augustine, his half brother, who, presumably with his "many children . . . who died in their non-age and single," were "interred in the family Vault." (J.A. Wineberger, Home of Washington at Mount Vernon and Its Associations (Washington, c. 1866), p. 53; Charles A. Hoppin, "The House in Which George Washington Was Born" in Tyler's Magazine, VIII (October, 1926), p. 100; Northington, "Report," p. 39).

17. John C. Fitzpatrick, The Writings of George Washington, XXXII (Washington, 1939), pp. 26-31.

CHAPTER IV

Augustine Washington Completes His Home on Popes Creek

In 1715 Augustine Washington - Gus as he reportedly was called by his friends - became of age and shortly (the traditional date is April 30, 1715)¹ married Jane Butler. She was the daughter of Caleb Butler, a lawyer and planter of Westmoreland. Though her father died when she was 10, he made provisions for her in his will which, also, stipulated that her name be changed from Jenny to Jane.²

With Jane's lands and other property to supplement his own, Augustine began his married life as the proprietor of more than 1740 acres.³ From the recollections of one who is said to have seen him, a "Mr. Withers of Stafford a very aged gentleman," when interviewed by Augustine's grandson, Capt. Robert Lewis, he was a tall, very strong and well-proportioned man:

He described him as six feet in height, of noble appearance, and most manly proportions, with the extraordinary development of muscular power for which his son was afterward so remarkable. When agent for the Principio Iron Works...[he] had been known to raise up and place in a wagon a mass of iron that two ordinary men could barely raise from the ground. Yet, with all of his vast physical prowess, "his life was gentle," and he was remarkable for the mildness, courtesy, and amiability of his manners. He never could be provoked to enter the arena of the many fierce combats that occurred in those ancient days...His vast powers were too well known...[and] No one...ventured to assault... [him].⁴

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1. Tyler's Quarterly, VIII, 87.
 2. Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 4, p. 122, as cited in Freeman, Washington, I, 34.
 3. Freeman, Washington, I, 33-34.
 4. This is as reported by George W.P. Custis in a letter of April 24, 1851, in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XI, 4-5.

Augustine soon became, like his father and grandfather before him, active politically, administratively and civically in his native county of Westmoreland, holding office even at the age of 22.⁵ He began to trade in land and to be involved in contention over bequests and wills. Though not as venturesome as the richer, more broadly based, planters, he had the speculative spirit and may even have stretched a little beyond his resources from time to time.⁶

It seems that Augustine first established himself with his new family on his inheritance just west of Bridges Creek. Here his father, by will, had provided him with the "land that was Mr. Richard Hills" and the adjoining 400 acres of the old (1658) Daniel Lisson tract. This is the Lisson tract that Lawrence had bought from Daniel's heirs in September 1695 for 100 pounds "with all houses, etc." including the homestead of Daniel Lisson himself.⁷

The location of Augustine's then residence seems clear for when, on November 20, 1716, he sold 30 acres bounding north and west on Bridges Creek, he described it as adjoining the property "now in the tenour and occupation of the said Washington."⁸ In any case it appears that he did not long reside here, but soon moved up to the Pope's Creek acreage which he bought in 1718 from Joseph Abbington, a 150-acre tract and another parcel (perhaps the one of 48 acres).

It seems abundantly clear from the conveyances that the Abbington tracts contained housing - perhaps rather adequate housing. The purchase price for the larger tract was a substantial £170 sterling and for the other a larger £110. Abbington soon was in position to vacate the premises and did, signing a power of attorney in favor of John Cooper, a "chvrurgeon" of Washington Parish, to assist him in the legal conveyances. This was dated February 8, 1718, and it recited that he

5. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, p. 148. (Westmoreland Orders, 1705-21, p. 288).

6. Freeman, Washington, I, 34-35.

7. A deed (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 2, given in Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 236, and Lawrence Washington's will, also, in full in Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 239-240, from Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 2, p. 133.

8. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, p. 83 (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 6, p. 34). This would conflict with those who hold that Augustine lived with his father-in-law from the time of his marriage until he built his new home. (Northington, "Report," pp. 1755).

"was obliged to go out of the Colony." Evidently he moved to Maryland. In February 1718, at the time of the first purchase, the deeds state that he was of Washington Parish in Westmoreland, but in those of the second, the September following, he was said to be "of the Province or Maryland of the parish of Gunpowder in the County of Baltimore."

This property had been a part of the original Henry Brooks thousand-acre tract that he had taken up and occupied in the 1650s. In February 1657, Brooks, as we have seen, had given a hundred acres to his daughter Lydia and her husband, Lawrence Abbington. This was "land lying & being upon Pope's Creek" and seemingly where the Abbingtons, including their namesake children, Lawrence and Lydia, established residence. In 1662 Brooks had given Lawrence another 48-acre tract separate from his larger holding and, by will, bequeathed yet another 50 acres to his granddaughter Lydia. The latter 50 acres, by virtue of no direct heirs from her, passed from Lydia to Lawrence. This adjoined the 100-acre holding on which her father "was seated" by virtue of his earlier "deed of gift." The Abbingtons continued to occupy this property for almost 60 years as the release deed between Joseph Abbington and Augustine Washington recites:

.....this land being in the possession of Lawrence Abbington & Lydia his wife who was one of the daughters & coheirs of Henry Brooks decd and from them descended & came to Lawrence Abbington their son and from him the sd land descended unto & came to Brookes Abbington who left only one son lately decd by means whereof the aforesaid Joseph Abbington has now become heir at law to the aforesd lands.⁹

In the deed of lease of February 18, the property was described as:

.....all that one hundred & fifty acres of land situate in the said County of Westmoreland aforesd and bounded viz. Beginning at a marked hiccory on the head of the dancing marsh and so running down the said line to Popes Creek thence up the said Creek to the line of Nathaniel Washingtons and then up that line to include the aforesd One

9. Deed of February 19, 1718, in Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 87-89 (Westmoreland, Deeds and Wills, No. 6, p. 240).

hundred & fifty acres of land which was given to
Lawrence Abbington & his daughter Lydia.....¹⁰

This gave Augustine a beautiful location with a wide, half mile frontage on the Creek and a sweeping view to the Potomac over the creek and its marshes. This later he insured in 1734 when he purchased "All those several parcels of Land Islands and marsh in and at the mouth of Pope's Creek," some 25 acres, from his brother John of Gloucester County.¹¹ This then was the property that Augustine would develop as the family estate that George Washington in 1792 would describe as "the ancient mansion seat."¹²

Already it was, perhaps, extensively cleared and developed, having seen a half-dozen decades of occupancy and use. The deed of conveyance of February 19, 1718, released and confirmed the 150 acres to "Augustine Washington (in his Actual Possession now being" with "all houses edificies buildings Tobacco houses, fences, Orchards, gardens woods underwoods pastures feeding ways waters," etc. Other deed references speak of all "the said Pattend & all houses structures orchards gardens and premises" and again "premises with the appurtenances." Though this could be largely legal phraseology, it seems, on the other hand, to suggest considerable in the way of a going farm. Such is certainly suggested by the substantial purchase price, since the acreage was relatively small.¹³

10. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 86-87, (Westmoreland, Deeds and Wills, No. 6, p. 238). The location of this tract is proved by its boundaries and also by other deeds and reference. Such, for example, as the deed of gift from Henry Brooks on June 17, 1660, to Nicholas Saxton for 48 acres, on Pope's Creek separated from the land of Lawrence Abbington by a swamp (Dancing Marsh). (Court Record, GWBNM, pt. 6, p. 2 (Westmoreland, Deeds and Wills, No. 1, p. 267).

11. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 136-37 (Westmoreland, Deeds and Wills, No. 8, pt. 2, p. 242).

12. Washington, Writings, XXXII, 29.

13. In 1724 Augustine Washington bought 200 "acres of land with appurtenances" in Westmoreland County for 70 pounds sterling from one John Sturman. This included "the plantacon whereon the said John Sturman now lives as also the plantacon where formerly the above sd John Sturman the father did dwell." In 1725 he bought 215 acres adjacent to his Popes Creek Plantation for 200 pounds "lawful money of Great Britain." This, too, included "lands houses & premises" with the houses evidently being in habitable condition. In 1728 he bought an adjoining 130 acres "with appurtenances" for 65 pounds "current Money of Virginia." Again, in 1732, he added another 43 acres near his mill for another 12 pounds sterling. (Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 101-31 (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 8, pt. 1, pp. 78, 175, 309, 517).

The detailed and involved language of the lease and release deeds strongly indicate desire of immediacy in take over by Washington, especially in the case of the 150-acre purchase. In the deed of lease, for example, it insured the legal transferring of uses "into possession of the said Augustine Washington," who "may be in Actual possession of the said one hundred & Fifty acres of land & premises with the appurtenances." The deed of release, however, dated the following day, speaks of releasing and confirming "unto the said Washington in his Actual Possession now being" and also "now in possession tenour or occupacon of the said Augustine Washington."

There is certainly a strong possibility that Augustine bought himself a usable home along with the excellent location. The fact that he did not begin to build until another five years had passed would further fortify this assumption. The first clear positive reference to his actually being in residence here, however, does not come until 1726. This was in a deed of uses in which it was stated that "Augustine Washington is seized in fee simple one parcell and tract of land being the land where he now lives which land he...purchased of one Joseph Abbington But so much of historical fact seems not to get recorded. Were it not for some legal involvements due to the death of his contractor before the house was completed, there might be no record at all that one was built. Even so, no description of it has survived.

In any case it would seem that in 1722 Augustine, after five years, was ready to concern himself with improved living quarters, a building that would be some three years in the doing. If we assume that he moved into the Abbington house there, he would have been handy for generally overseeing the work. In any case he did secure a local contractor, or undertaker, one David Jones, to construct what he termed "my house." The implication is that Jones came to live on the place with him, or nearby, on a rental basis. Though Jones was not a noted builder,¹⁵

14. Court Rec., GWBMN, pt. 1, pp. 110-2, (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 8, pt. 1, p. 226). The tradition of the use of the Abbington home is recorded by Charles A. Hoppin: "Soon after the purchase Augustine Washington, Sr., built close beside the old [Abbington] cottage the brick-house in which his son George was born, and used the remains of the small cottage as a cook-house or kitchen." He viewed the Abbington house as "that primitive structure." ("Seven Old Houses" in Tylers Quarterly, XI, p. 2).

15. His personal property inventory dated February, 1725, lists a varied assortment of carpenter and joyner tools, but not in a number, or quality, to suggest a ranking undertaker of the period. (Westmoreland Inventories, 1723-1746, No. 1, p. 20, from Northington, "Report," p. 20).

the fact that he also provided Augustine with two bedsteads, a cradle, and two mantle pieces, and also made "a small Poplar Table" may suggest some degree of skill on his part. It is clear, too, that at the same time he had Augustine's house under construction, Jones was also building Round Hill Church, several miles away, with which Washington had account responsibilities. Washington made advances in both accounts and both featured in the final settlement. Three years were involved.

In due course, because of sickness or over-commitment, Jones fell behind in his work on the dwelling and died in 1725. To complete the work, Augustine had to make other arrangements. When he compiled the advances which he had made to Jones for the house, for the church, and for other purposes and balanced them against the credits of the contractor, he found that the Jones estate was in his debt some 2,761 pounds of tobacco and 18 pounds sterling in cash. To recover this he entered suit in March 1726, when his house was still unfinished.

The court allowed the account and it was duly entered on April 8, 1726, payable at the rate of "16 shillings 8 pence p Cent."¹⁶ Some of the figures in the account are of interest as they deal with building costs and the relationship of contractor and builder. Comparatively speaking the cost of the Round Hill Church was 6,000 pounds of tobacco plus 40 pounds sterling and Augustine's house, "when finished," 5,000 pounds of tobacco and 1 pound sterling respectively.

Evidently Jones had completed the church and was well along on the house, since Washington took a credit of only 500 pounds of tobacco "to the not finishing my house." Charges to Jones were in the form of "money & goods," "in Tobacco," for "fees" and "to his sickness & burial." The latter indicated a close relationship between Washington and his builder. Judging by notes of payments, there had been good progress on both projects in the 1722-1723 period; however, in the 1724-1725 interval, there was decidedly less. Possibly Jones was ailing some time before his death.¹⁷

16. Westmoreland Inventories, 1723-46 No. 1, p. 24 (as given in full in Freeman), and Westmoreland Orders, 1721-31, pp. 102, 113 as cited in Freeman, Washington, I, 535-36; Northington, "Report," pp. 19-21.

17. It has been suggested, but not with particularly strong logic, that this claim against the Jones estate may not have indicated "whether the £5,000 [actually pounds of tobacco] was the total cost of the house or whether it was a form of final payment, due upon completion of the structure," or termination of a contract. (B. Bruce Powell, "Archeology of the Popes Creek Area: George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Virginia," typed report dated May 15, 1968, Washington, D.C., p. 4.

In none of this is there any description of the kind of home that Augustine wanted, or got. The contract price was in no way indicative of a palatial establishment, but this was only part of the picture. It may have involved but an addition, or a new section, to the house in which he was already living. At this point speculation takes over as facts are hard to come by.

The price would have been largely, if not altogether, wages for Jones' services. It would not have included servant, or slave labor, nor would it have included any stockpiling of material, brick or timber. It could have been too that Augustine's labor force included bricklayers as he had at least one a decade later.¹⁸ In short the cost of the "house," whatever its extent, could have been considerably in excess of the contract for Jones' services.

Charles Arthur Hoppin, an intensive student of the Washington family and its affairs, assumes from the reports of later observers at the house site, archeological evidence, and family tradition that the house was brick, and brickmade on the place from clay of the estate. He assumes that the foundations were all laid previous to the appearance of Jones to do the wood construction. In such a way, too, timber would have already been fashioned from nearby Washington woods, having been cut, hauled, and sawed by the slaves. Admitting the possibility of labor and materials from this direction,¹⁹ Freeman tends to the view that Augustine's contract with Jones suggests a lesser structure than one for which Hoppin is willing to settle. He doubts that Augustine's labor force would have included a brick maker of talent, or even slaves qualified to saw house timbers, though he does not rule it out. He advances no reference, but speaks of "The tradition of the early burning of the birthplace of Washington" and offers the possibility of its being "well-founded." He readily admits of "the stout foundations" that were later reported "at Wakefield" and speculates that Augustine, Jr., was "a man abundantly able, judging from his household effects, to have built a handsome new house on Pope's Creek or to have done as his brother Lawrence did at Mount Vernon, in the enlargement of an existing residence." But no known fact, or tradition,

18. The Virginia Gazette for June 9, 1738, carries an advertisement that reads in part: "Ran away from Capt. McCarty's Plantation, on Popes Creek, in Westmoreland County, a Servant Man belonging to me [Augustine Washington], the Subscriber, in Prince William County; his Christian name is John, but Sirname forgot, is pretty tall, a Bricklayer by Trade, and is a Kentishman; he came into Potowmack, in the Forward, Capt. Major, last year...whoever will secure the said Bricklayer, so that he may be had again, shall have Five Pounds Reward, besides what the Law allows, paid by Augustine Washington." (p. 4, c.2.)

19. Freeman, Washington, I, 536 (Appendix 6, note 1).

supports this.²⁰

There is nothing to indicate that Augustine did other building in connection with his residence overlooking Pope's Creek, though certainly he could have. Likely, it would have to have been before 1735. In that year he moved on to the development of Mount Vernon. In 1739 he moved again, this time to the place he bought near Fredericksburg, on which he died in April 1743. His Pope's Creek estate he left to the oldest son, Augustine, Jr., and he in turn left it to his son, William Augustine. Nothing indicates that either built, added to, or made any changes in the house, but surely such remains a possibility, though rather remote due to absence of record or tradition. If such is the case, as seems indicated, then the comfortable house that would have been needed to accommodate the generous finishings and appointments given in Augustine, Jr.'s inventory of 1762 was the house in which Augustine and his wife, Mary Ball, were living when George Washington was born.²¹

20. Freeman, Washington, I, p. 36 (Appendix 6, note 116).

21. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 159-169 (Westmoreland Inventories, 4, p. 178).

Chapter V

The Popes Creek Plantation Grows

Augustine Washington was to enjoy his place on Popes Creek longer than he did any other. This was home for him for almost 17 years, though in this period he would enjoy his "new house" something less than a decade. It was thus the first farm, or plantation, that he would develop, or use, extensively, though he would go on to two others. This was the one he would leave to his second son and namesake, Augustine, Jr. It was the one, too, where his son George would be born and spend a good deal of time in his formative years.

Unfortunately no sketch, drawing, plat, or description of his work and development has come to light. Perhaps they do not exist. All indications are, however, that the Popes Creek Plantation was the typical farm, or plantation (the terms seem almost synonymous), of the period. It came to be larger in acreage than many in the general area, but decidedly less than the great ones - a difference between hundreds and thousands of acres. The typical qualities of his farm operation come through in deeds, transactions, inventories, traditions, successions, and heritage. The clearest picture, the one that is easiest to define, emerges in the physical extent of the Popes Creek Plantation.

Actually Augustine forged three farms together, adding others in the process, to end with generally contiguous boundaries. It seems though that, perhaps, some parts of the whole retained separate identity - certainly the Bridges Creek "Quarter" did. It took him until 1742 to do the job, though, with the exception of one "in the family" tract adjustment, it was achieved in 1734.

Augustine had inherited well from his father Lawrence. In real estate the farm west of Bridges Creek was specifically included and described as . . . "all the dividend of land that I bought of Mr Robert Lisson's children in England lying in Mattox, between by Brother [John] & Mr Baldrige's land, where Mr David Lisson formerly lived, by Estimation 400 . . . as likewise that

land that was Mr. Richard Hill's . . . "1 This was a mile to the west of Popes Creek and would only later physically tie to the home site which he bought on 1718.

He frist lived here on Bridges Creek for a short time. After he moved, it became known as the Quarter, with a certain identity of its own. In his will, for example, he specified that "I desire my wife may have the Liberty of working my land at Bridge Creek Quarter for the term of Five Years," until she could "fix a Quarter" elsewhere.²

For some reason Augustine disposed of 30 acres of his Bridges Creek inheritance as early as November 1716 by sale to Mark Cullom, Sr., a neighbor of the area. This was "thirty acres of Land & marsh" with reference, too, to "land & tenements." The price was 4,000 pounds of "good Tobacco," and it was bounded on the old line of the "Henry Brookes Lande" by Bridges Creek and by "a swamp or branch" of the creek. But this was not to be a lasting disposition. In 1728 Augustine repurchased this 30 acre "parcell of land with the appurtenances" plus an additional "piece or parcell of land with the appurtenances containing by estimation one hundred acres" from Mark Cullom, Jr., "planter," who had inherited them. The 100 acres was a part of the old Brooks Patent and lay between Augustine's Popes Creek and Bridges Creek holdings.³

Three years prior to the Cullom purchase in February 1726, he had added another 215 acres of the Brooks patent area along the Potomac northwest of Digwood Swamp and bounding inland on

1. His father also willed him another tract, some 700 Westmoreland acres "where Mr. Lewis Markham now lives after the said Markhams and his wife decease." Lawrence's will is given in full in Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 239-40, as well as in Worthington C. Ford (ed.), The Writings of George Washington, XIV (New York, 1893), 402-05 (in "The Washington Family Appendix").

2. Augustine's will, signed "Augus. Washington" and dated April 11, 1743 (proved May 6, 1743), is reproduced in Ford, Writings of George Washington, 14, XIV, 410-416.

3. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 83, 113-115 (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 6, p. 35, and No. 8, pt. 1, p. 339).

the Cullom hundred acres. This was the "message plantation and land where Mistress Jane Pope now lives." Jane was the granddaughter of Henry Brooks, the daughter of Original and Jane Brown, who had married Nathaniel Pope. This farm Augustine listed as a separate parcel later in 1726.⁴

It was in June 1734 that Augustine for the sum of 10 pounds bought "all those severall parcels of Lands Islands and marsh in and at the mouth of Popes Creek . . . by estimation twenty five acres" from his cousin John of Gloucester County. These constituted another contiguous holding and were a protection to his outlet to the Potomac River.⁵ This, except for the later exchange of land with his cousin, John, in 1742 was Augustine's last transaction to yield an integral addition to the Popes Creek estate. But there were other separated, scattered holdings in the nearby Westmoreland area to which he added others.

In 1726 he listed two that he had then. One was a "plantation or tract in Appomattox neck" of 200 acres "now in the tenure and occupation of John Price." The other embraced 270 acres and was "now in the tenure and occupation of Samuel Johnson and John Brinkes." This was "Commonly called the Ridge." There was, also, his purchase for 30 pounds in 1729 of John Finch's claim to an interest on 450 acres "scituate upon Mattox Creek."⁶ In 1728 he bought from John Pope, "Planter," for 60 pounds current Virginia money "two acres of land with the appurtenances together with the mill thereon erected & built scituate [several miles upstream] . . . at the head of . . . Popes Creek." Four years later, a few days after the birth of George, he added another 43 acres, with one of the bounds "the road commonly called Lord's rolling road," about this mill site. Thus he became a mill proprietor, too.⁷

4. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 107-112 (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 8, pt. 1, pp. 175, 226).

5. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 136-37 (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 8, pt. 2, p. 242).

6. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 110-117 (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 8, pt. 1, pp. 226, 356-57).

7. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 119-123, 130-1 (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 8, pt. 1, pp. 307, 312). The mill would remain in the Washington family until after the Civil War. (Eaton, Westmoreland Atlas, p. 49).

In 1728 Augustine exchanged 200-acre tracts with Planter James Hore. This had been a part of his grandfather's 700 acres "dowry" and had been lately in the "tenure or possession of Maurice Hunley and George Williams." This was on the south side of Mattox Creek, while the Hore acreage of like amount was on the north side of the Creek, and was land formerly owned by Augustine's father-in-law, Caleb Butler. Besides the 200 acres Augustine also received 60 pounds of Virginia money. Augustine was to hold the 305 acres bought from William Bridges in the summer of 1734 for just a little over two years. He sold it for the same amount for which he had bought it, 11,000 pounds of tobacco. This was in October 1736 to Robert Vaulx who was already in "actual possession" of it.⁸

Augustine Washington's concluding land transaction in Westmoreland came in 1742, ten years after George's birth and a year before his own death, and was in the form of a family settlement of differences. Perhaps the language of one of the instrument covers the situation succinctly:

Whereas the said Augustine Washington is seised in Desmesne as of fee in & in divers Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments Situate lying and being in Mattox Neck . . . being part of Brooke's and Lisson's Patents and Whereas the said John Washington [Augustine's cousin] is likewise Seized in his Desmesne as of Fee tail and in divers other Lands Tenements and Hereditaments Situate lying and being in Mattox Neck aforesaid contiguous and adjoining to the before mentioned Lands of Augustine Washington as well touching & concerning the Titles as the bounds of their said several and Respective Lands: For settling and composing whereof as well as to prevent all such happenings in the time to come the said Parties mutually Entered into and Executed Bonds Each to the other in the penal Sum of one thousand pounds Sterling to stand to and abide the arbitrament award . . .⁹

8. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 123-28, 138-41, 142-45 (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 8, pt. 1, p. 324 and pt. 2, pp. 224, 445).

9. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, p. 148 (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 9, p. 281).

This set the stage for the appointment of arbitrators, field study, a careful survey, and the establishment of "natural metes and bounds." All of this was done, the survey being made by Joseph Berry of King George County in August 1742.¹⁰ Then the decisions were reduced to writing and the binding deeds and documents duly recorded on April 12, 1743, "at the joint prayer of the said Washingtons."¹¹

The net result was a clearly differentiated line from Popes Creek to Bridges Creek's northwest branch. It allowed Augustine 69 acres in a long angle along the line from Popes to Bridges Creek northwest of Dancing Marsh.¹² In the confused angle area of the fork of the northwest and southeast branches of Bridges Creek, it allowed John 197½ acres.¹³

Partial compensation for Augustine came in the perhaps arbitrarily defined 100 acres purchased by Col. John Washington, the emigrant, in 1664, this being "contiguous to Augustine Washington's Lands." This made the Col. John Washington home and family seat and the already well-used family burial ground, which he established, an integral part of the Popes Creek Plantation for the first time. It further enlarged the land area of the plantation that now stretched from Popes, to and across Bridges Creek. It embraced a large part of the old Brooks Patent,

10. Northington, "Report," Appendix 1, reproduces the survey from Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 9, p. 279. The survey has been published in very readable form in Charles O. Paullin, "The Birthplace of George Washington," in the Carnegie Institution of Washington News Service Bulletin (School Edition), III, No. 10 (December 31, 1933), p. 74.

11. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, 146-154 (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 9, pp. 279ff).

12. This new line ran west northwest 320 poles from Popes Creek, then west by north, across the southeast branch of Bridges Creek 240 poles to the northwest branch. The first 60 poles of the line from a point on the "side of Popes Creek" to Dancing Marsh represented an unchanged and undisputed line from the earliest days and was the southwest bound of the old Abbington 100-acre tract. Actually the compromise line was a resolution of the conflict of the old Brooks, Hill and Lisson lines.

13. The arbitrators almost made it an even exchange of lands. It resolved to a deficiency of only 16 acres for Augustine and for this John paid him 11 pounds, 16 shillings current money.

excepting some 350 acres that lay between Digwood Swamp, Popes Creek and Dancing Marsh. In this area the Washingtons continued to have their neighbors and here Augustine's now contiguous plantation acres reached their thinnest point.¹⁴

In his leases and other property arrangements, particularly for outlying holdings, a little can be gleaned about Augustine's business interests and concerns, which relate to his farming operations, and land management, and methods. When he leased "one message tenent and tract" of 250 acres on Mattox Creek in 1730 he reserved an acre, "the most convenient place [at which] . . . to build a mill," if he wished. There was concern for timber conservation and for development. Richard Fry, the shipwright lessee, was to "make no use of timber growing on the plantation onely such as is necessary for the building and improvements on the sd plantation without" first having been granted permission. It was agreed that Fry would get "one yeares rent and five thousand nailes and all the boards that are now gott on the sd land in Consideration that the sd Richard Fry doth build on his owne cost and charges." Augustine, also, in 1731, gave him "further liberty to build yearly one twelve hogshead and one nine hosghead flatt out of the timber growing on the within mentioned lands . . ."¹⁵ The rent for the 250 acres was 6 pounds, 10 shillings annually.

14. The Berry Survey is probably a careful treatment of the lines and boundaries it was intended to show; however, its general features are hastily sketched. The outline of "Mattox Neck" is largely usable and the description of it ("Brookes's Patent now Augustine Washington's Land") includes the 350 acres which he did not own. The survey notes in a supplemental way that Augustine's land above that in the Bridges Creek fork was "where Ben Weeks lives" while on the John Washington acres adjacent to Popes Creek was "where John Muse lives." There is mention that the first survey stake inland from Popes Creek was in Muse's cornfield.

15. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 128-29 (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 8, pt. 1, p. 465).

A little later, in June 1732, Augustine leased 100 acres to Joseph and Margaret Lee, being "that plantation and tract of land whereon he [Lee] now dwelleth" with "the house he now lives in." The rent was 4 pounds per annum and there again were timber use restrictions. Such use was restricted to the "building of any edifices upon the plantation or tract of land," or for uses "properly belonging to the working of the said plantation and tract."¹⁶

On March 25, 1735, just prior to his move from Westmoreland to his Hunting Creek lands in Prince William County (as a matter of fact the recording of it on April 2, 1735, was by proxy), Augustine entered another life-tenure lease. This involved 100 acres in Cople Parish of Westmoreland and an annual rent of 630 pounds of tobacco. This property then was in the "tenure and occupation of Christopher Marmaduke," and adjoined another Augustine Washington property, then in the possession of Simon Lynn. Evidently Augustine was arranging a change of tenants, or leases, effective from December 25 "next ensuing." It was to be, with rents being paid as scheduled, "for and during" the "natural lives . . . of the longest liver" of the lessees, James Whitfield and Margaret, his wife. They too, were restricted in timber use except "as shall be Necessary for building fences and Tobacco hogshead for the crops made thereon." They were cautioned against "any wast or destruction of the timber" and they agreed to "Keep the said plantation and the fencing and building in good and sufficient tentable repair."¹⁷

In a sense Augustine was continuing his father's eye for timber, or the lack of it. When Lawrence was negotiating for the 400-acre Lisson tract in 1695, he wrote that "a hundred pound is a great deale of money to lay outt on peace of Land withoutt timber, and houses tumbling downe."¹⁸ Perhaps the adjacent timber cover looked good to him, as a southwest and southeast boundary was on "the main woods," though admittedly this phraseology may have been but the repetition of an early description as sometimes happened in subsequent property deeds.¹⁹

16. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 153-54 (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 8, pt. 1, p. 534).

17. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 141-42 (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 8, pt. 2, p. 288).

18. Hoppin quotes from a Lawrence Washington letter in Tyler's Quarterly, VIII, 231-2.

19. This is from a Hoppin reference to Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 2, p. 53.

Chapter VI

The Popes Creek Plantation

The Popes Creek family seat was the inheritance and operation that Augustine would pass on to his second son and namesake, Augustine, Jr. -- a larger estate, better stocked and equipped and more fully developed because of his care, attention, and effort. Though he did not come into its ownership until his father's death in 1743, Augustine, Jr., might well have been in management, or direction of it, with full knowledge of its succession, before this date. It is of legal record that as early as 1726 Augustine had by indenture arranged, in the event of his and his wife's death, that the home tract - specifically "one parcell and tract of land being the land where he now lives which land" he had bought of Joseph Abbington - should go to "the use of Augustine Washington junr son."²

Augustine, Sr., left Westmoreland for Prince William County and Hunting Creek (Mount Vernon) in 1735. Someone was named, or left, to carry on at Popes Creek, yet the record seems silent on this point. In that year Augustine, Jr., could not have been past seventeen. It is unclear as to whether or not he was in school at this time. He was later. It is true that seventeen was the age at which his own son William Augustine would in turn, in 1774, assume ownership and responsibility for this very same estate.

Be that as it may, in 1743 Augustine, Sr., bequeathed to Augustine, Jr., "all my Lands in the County of Westmoreland except such only as are hereinafter otherwise disposed of."³ Together with Twenty five

1. Other reference reads "messuage plantation and land whereon the said Augustine Washington now lives."

2. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 110-112 (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 8, pt. 1, p. 226). By this arrangement Augustine, Jr., would also have received another tract ("messuage plantation and land") in the Brooks Patent area. Lawrence, the older son, would have received "two other plantations and tracts of land," these located elsewhere in Westmoreland County.

3. Westmoreland acres excepted by other provisions embraced about 700 acres at "the head of Maddox" to son John and a 200-acre tract (that bought from James Hore) to son Lawrence, the latter adjoined land which he already owned on Mattox Creek.

head of Neat Cattle forty hogs Twenty Sheep and a Negro Man named Frank besides those negroes formerly given him by his Mother. Augustine, Jr., was to receive, also, "three young working slaves" which Lawrence was to purchase "out of the first profits of the Iron works after my Decease." There was the provision, too, that his own wife, Mary, should have "the Crops made at Bridge Creek, [as well as those at] Chotank and Rappahannock Quarters "for the support of herself and her children." Her use of the "Bridge Creek Quarter" would in fact span a five-year period, as has been seen. It is of interesting note that Augustine, Jr., also inherited (as did Lawrence the other half) "one half or moiety of the Debts I justly owe" along with a half of "the Debts due & owing to me."⁴

It was the Popes Creek estate that Augustine, Jr., would make his chief preoccupation. Here he lived comfortably as a gentleman farmer enjoying the fruits of the rural environment and seemingly not having the more pronounced mercantile, industrial, and widely scattered land development interests of his father. His home was the Popes Creek operation. This his half brother, George, would remember most clearly since he was here in a very impressionable period, his teen years.

We could wish for more information about the plantation and its operation in this period, but records are meager. It is fortunate, however, that after Augustine, Jr.'s., death a very detailed inventory of his tangible personal property was made and recorded under the date of November 30, 1762. It tells a good deal. This, when studied with that of his father detailing the contents of his father's King George County home in 1743, can give important insights into what the place was like under Augustine, Jr.'s., management - perhaps, even when his father was there as well.

It would seem reasonably sound to assume that Augustine, Sr.'s., interests, tastes, and method of living would have remained basically the same barring an important change of fortune, which seems not to have occurred. In both inventories, particularly in that of Augustine, Jr. (because of its greater detail), the complex plantation activity comes through quite distinctly. Both reflect comfortable living with many refinements.⁵

Augustine, Sr., had separate group listings for Plate, Glass, and China as well as furnishings by room: seven were enumerated.⁶ There

4. Augustine's will in Ford, Writings of George Washington, XIV, 410-16.

5. The Augustine, Sr., inventory is in King George County Inventory Book, No. 1, p. 285. That of Augustine, Jr., is in Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 159-69 (Westmoreland Fiduciary Record, No. 4, p. 178).

6. Hall, Hall Back Room, Parlour, Back Room, Passage, Hall Chamber, and Parlour Chamber.

were, too, separate listings for the Dairy, Closet (where there were "Sundry's & lumber"), Store House, and Kitchen with other items "at the Quarter." There were 20 (some 12 male, 8 female) negro slaves at the "home house" and another 7 "at the quarters." Livestock included 6 oxen, 23 cattle, 31 sheep, 38 hogs, and 6 horses, totaling those for both house and quarters. Of special note, perhaps, were "1 sett coopers tools" and "1 sett Surveyors instruments." Seemingly his inventory was taken in three parts as he had holdings in three counties -- King George Stafford, and Westmoreland.

The return for Westmoreland is basically one of livestock and slaves (eleven of them) with the exceptions of "A still" (valued at 8 pounds, "1 Bag of feathers," "3 Stands" and "2 cyder cask." These speak of distilling,⁷ making cider,⁸ and stuffing feather beds and pillows,⁹ all being legitimate and commonplace, plantation activities. This section of Augustine, Sr's., inventory does not specifically say Popes Creek Plantation, though he seems not to have operated his other farms in the County except through lease or tenants. It may relate particularly to the Bridges Creek Quarter, though not necessarily so.

In his will, in disposing of Mount Vernon, Augustine bequeathed it to Lawrence with "all the slaves, Cattle & Stocke of all kinds whatsoever and all the household Furniture whatsoever now in & upon or which have been Commonly possessed by my said son"10 There was no such language in the bequest to Augustine, Jr., only the "Land" being specified. Either he had already given Augustine, Jr., the house furnishings and accoutrements at the family seat, or else his son had already, or now, had to provide his own. As has been seen, his father did provide specifically for livestock¹¹ and some labor (slaves).

7. Hugh Jones, writing in 1724 (The Present State of Virginia, London, edited by Richard L. Morton and reissued at Chapel Hill in 1956), had this to report (p. 78): "From peaches is distilled an excellent spirit in very great plenty . . ."

8. Of the Virginia cider Hugh Jones commented (p. 78): ". . . for cyder I think it surpasses even Herefordshire it self, for plenty and fairness of fruit . . ." He commented further ". . . an excellent cyder . . . when kept to a good age: which is rarely done, the planters being good companions and guests whilst cyder lasts."

9. Again Hugh Jones commented (p. 79): "They pull the down of their living geese and wild and tame ducks, where with they make the softest and sweetest beds."

10. Ford, Writings of George Washington, XIV, 410-16.

11. The 25 cattle, 40 hogs, and 20 sheep constituted a very nice beginning, or supplement, whichever it was.

Since it relates, in part, or in total, to the Popes Creek Plantation, it seems well to summarize Augustine Washington, Sr's., livestock and allied property in Westmoreland in an itemized manner to help glimpse the broad operational picture.¹²

62 Cattle

Cows and Calves - 26

Bulls - 1

Steers - 14 (1 "Large black" and 3 smaller "black," included)

Yearlings - 9

Heifers - 12

5 Oxen (including 2 "yokes")

9 Horses

Horses - 3

Mares - 4 (one a "plow mare")

Colts - 2

75 Hogs

Sows - 11

Shoats - 17

Barrows - 16

Boars - 1

Pigs - 30

30 Sheep

140 Geese

It is the Augustine, Jr., operation that is more fully suggested, even outlined in great detail by meticulous inventory. There are some similarities between it and that of his father, though the son's suggests greater comfort and, perhaps, better living. Its total value (though it is not inclusive of lands and iron manufacturing stocks) was more than 4,600 pounds. Whether it be clothing, farm tools, books, livestock, transportation, silver plate, porcelain and china, or some other category, the inventory offers important insights into both content and values. It would have been very helpful had the inventory been taken, as was the case in many old inventories of the time, by designated room and dependency. However, such was not the case, and

12. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 159-69.

efforts to establish this by order of listing are not particularly indicative or satisfying. There would necessarily have been accommodation for a minimum of 9 beds and a couch,¹³ 6 rugs and carpets,¹⁴ more than 50 chairs and 14 tables,¹⁵ and a substantial number of fireplace fittings.¹⁶ There was a cellar and library space. Accommodations were required, too, for a kitchen, pantry, laundry, storerooms, dairy and stable to take care of items specifically enumerated. A barn, or barns, would have been needed for the extensive farming equipment and there was a "Chariot & Harness for 4 horses" as well as "an old chair" and harness that would have needed cover. Besides, tobacco houses and slave quarters would have been required both at the mansion site and at the "Quarters." The inventory showed ownership of 77 slaves and 4 servants.¹⁷

In the area of livestock Augustine, Jr's., enumeration was rather extensive:

1. There were 49 horses (or 20 horses, 22 mares and 7 colts). The horses included 12 which were designated as "blooded," 2 of them given as grey in color, 6 as bay, 1 black and 2 chestnut. In regard to the various colors, where given, in the aggregate there were 12 greys (one an iron grey), 14 bays, 2 blacks, 2 sorrels, and 3 chestnuts. Some

13. Eight beds had "furniture" and/or curtains and one was a field bed with curtains. Besides there were 3 bed mattresses, 1 with "furniture" and 2 with "Curtains," plus 2 bed ticks. There was an assortment of covering and accessories as pillows, bolsters, blankets, quilts, a "counterpaine," sheets (20 pairs) and pillow cases, some "fine hollid [Holland]."

14. This was in addition to 8 "bedside Carpets."

15. These were predominantly walnut, with some mahogany and a few of fruit wood (cherry). Six chairs were described as "black walnut chairs with Damask bottoms," and 3 were arm chairs, one "with close stool." Three tables were classified as dressing tables with looking glasses, but one was a tea table with tea board.

16. There were 5 fenders, 5 pairs of dogs and irons (two small), 3 screens, 2 pokers, 5 each of tongs and shovels and a "Warming pan."

17. Among the slaves there must have been family groups, as there appear to have been 34 males, 21 females, 4 boys, 9 girls, 1 lad, and 7 children. It was noted that Betty, a child, would be free at age 31 and Pat at the same age. "Nan was a mulatto [and also was to be] free at 31." Her "title [was] disputable." Slave values were listed at 50 to 80 pounds for strong able males: girls were rated at 30 to 40 pounds; boys had book-value of 20-30 pounds: one female and child was valued at 80 pounds.

of the horses were described as small in size and 3 were noted as old, field horses.¹⁸

2. The total of cattle reached 184, including 9 "Yoak Oxen."

By special classification these tallied out to:

Head of cattle - 70
Cows - 38
Cows and calves - 12
Bulls - 4
Steers - 14 (two listed as "fatted," and some large, some small)
Yearlings - 19
Calves - 5
Fatted Beeves - 4
Oxen - 18 (one yoke was listed as "young")

3. Hogs were partially totalled and identified to the extent of 229 with classifications generally as:

Hogs - 105 (45 fatted)
Sows - 24 (14 plus estimate of 10)
Shoats - 22
"Barrows" - 8 (4 plus estimate of 4)
Pigs - 69 (estimated)
Boars - 1

4. The sheep flock numbered 99 (including 6 "weathers" and 7 ewes).

5. Poultry of all types obviously were omitted from the inventory though this was often the case. Family farm operations (large and small) had stocks of fowls almost by definition since they were a principal food source and a common item. One inventory item quite clearly, though indirectly, suggests its use. Otherwise there would have been no need for "6 egg slice[r]s" in the household. Lack of note likely does suggest the absence of any unusual stock such as the 140 geese which Augustine, Sr., had.

A goodly number of plantation activities are seen in various inventory items as:

18. Typical entries are "young blooded black horse," a "roan grey mare blod," "A chestnut horse cold blooded," "Poll a black mare with a blooded colt," an "old grey mare named gouch," a "fine bay stoned horse" and a "little horse Jack." A number were listed by name as King, Blaze, Lucy, Jewel, Diamond, and Ball. Values ranged principally from 1 to 20 pounds, though the "fine bay stoned horse" was listed at 40.

1. Farming, as revealed in tools and equipment, such as 19 ploughs,¹⁹ chains,²⁰ traces,²¹ hoes,²² iron rakes, spades, scythes,²³ a "Pitch fork" and hooks.²⁴ There were also carts for transportation,²⁵ and yokes for oxen.
2. Gardening is documented in "a parcel of garden seeds."
3. Wood cutting is inherent in the more than a dozen axes,²⁶ 3 wedges, saws²⁷ and possibly the wheel barrows, six of them.
4. Fishing was a part of the scene, as there were "Seine corks lead and ropes," a Knott [of] perch lines" and an old "Seine rope." Then, in the kitchen, too, was the fish kettle.
5. Carpentry, including the work of the cooper, was indicated by "A parcell carpenters & Coopers tools" as well as by the "augurs,"²⁸ hinges, hammer, saws, "chizwell," "old hoops," an "Iron Crow" and files. One listed item was a "box with files, screws scythes & C." Carpentry may have been suggested, too, by the "dry rubber leaded" and the parcel of iron hoops. Then, too, the slaves, or Negroes, included carpenter Dick, as well as "Luci carpenter" (valued at 85 pounds) and "Lawrence a carpenter" (75 pounds). A convenient source of supply would have been needed for the wooden containers listed in large number - baskets, casks, tubs, barrels, pails, "puggins," boxes, hogsheads and measures ("Half Bushele," pecks").²⁹
6. There was "1 old negro miller Frank and a "half brush & toll Dish," very likely used at the Popes Creek Mill. Frank, in fact, was noted in association with the "Mill," as were a few of the hogs and some of the old carpentry items and "5 mill pecks."

19. Two "Shear plowes," 3 "two winged Ploughs," a furrow plough and 2 "weeding ploughs."

20. One ox and 11 horse chains.

21. Two pairs of chain traces, 5 pairs iron traces.

22. Perhaps more than 7 dozen in all, including 2 dozen "broad hoes" and 2¹/₂ dozen "narrow hoes."

23. Three "Scythes with handles" and others.

24. Two "old hedging Hooks."

25. Two, possible 3, listed as ox carts, and one a "cart with shed wheels & chain."

26. Narrow and broad, old and new.

27. Two whip saws and 4 cross cut ("X cut") saws.

28. Two of them, one a "small Petty augur."

29. There were 27 casks (11 with a hundred-gallon capacity), 48 tubs, 10 boxes, and other items in lesser amounts.

7. The 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ gallons of brandy in the cellar quite conceivably could speak of peach brandy, a Virginia favorite, that could have been distilled on the place.³⁰ Likewise, the "Spirits" and ale could have been of local distillation.
8. The presence of "bar iron" is indicative of a forging operation with which the old lead may, or may not, have been associated.

Household and family activities are inherent in still other inventory entries. These add further to the picture.

1. There was equipment for spinning and weaving in its various phases from the raw material to the finished product. Wool, flax, and cotton were involved. Perhaps the "linen wheel" speaks of flax growing at least on a small scale.
2. Slaughter activities were a necessary corollary to the "fatted" beeves, steers, and hogs, and there were 53 on hand at the time of the inventory.
3. The 30 pounds of tallow spoke of candle manufacture, as did more clearly perhaps the 14 candle molds.
4. Earthenware milk pans, the 3 churns and 6 butter pots tell their own story.
5. Clothing fabrication must have been a major concern, judging by supplies on hand.³²

30. Augustine's cellar stock, in addition to the brandy, included 11 gallons of "Spirits," "1 Tkld: Tenerief Wine," 14 bottles of white wine, and 23 of ale. There must have been some relation here, too, to the 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ dozen quart and the case and 6 bottles of empties that were shown. For aid in consumption, there were 20 wine glasses (13 "carved") and 6 beer glasses (3 "carved"). There is no hint here of initialed sealed wine bottles; however, his father (or perhaps the son) did have them. Wine bottle seals have been excavated on the site bearing the initials "A.W.," eleven of them.

31. Equipment included 6 spinning wheels (5 of them old), a linen wheel, "1 weaving loom & c," 2 weaver stays, and a pair each of wool and cotton cards. There were, also, 4 baskets of "dyed wool," as well as 50 pounds of "very dirty wool" on hand at the time of the inventory.

32. "Welsh cotton" (191 yards), blue cotton (41 yards), "oznabrigs" (208 ells), "Virga cloth" (20 yards), "hair cloth" (15 yards), "fine chintz blue" and fine dark ground cotton (7 yards each), "printed cotton" (30 yards), and "Irish linen" (7 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards). Besides there were "12 ^mpins," white thread (2 pounds), brown thread (6 pounds and "a parcel"), 6 gross of "horn buttons," and yarn (5 $\frac{3}{4}$ pounds).

6. There was a "Box of files & shoe mak tools" as well as "Leather made into shoes." Also, there were on hand 3 1/2 sides of "Soal leather" and 6 of "upper leather," as well as three pairs of buckles, one "neut. stone Buckells" and one "open silver."
7. The "parcel paint" is self-explanatory.
8. Wallpaper was more prominent in this inventory than in many. There were a number of items on hand, as 8 pieces of "flowerpot" paper, 4 pieces of "tulip Crimson," a piece of royal blue and white, and 6 of yellow flock. Besides there were 6 dozen and 1 1/2 pieces of "border."
9. Particular work is implied in the 5 flat irons and 30 washing tubs.
10. Domestic house cleaning seemingly was a matter of brushes,³³ dust pans (there were 2 "painted dust pans"), scrubbers (3 "clamps for scrubbers" were listed), and brooms.
11. The pickle jars suggest use and conservation of fruit and garden products, as do the specially designated pickle and fruit dishes.
12. There are a variety of suggestions relative to necessary household activities inherent in such items as coffee roasters and tea and coffee kettles with lamps, as well as in the biscuit pans, and punch ladles, "stue pan," custard cups, "flesh forks," Ttaut molds, "Sweetmeat Saucers."
13. Excavation on the house site grounds has produced an identifiable section of a period ice saw, which suggests a ice harvest such as was common on many Virginia plantations.³⁴ Cut in winter and stored in an appropriate house, ice was then available the following summer. This may help to explain, too, the designation "ice pond" for the dammed area of the south branch of Dancing Marsh that appears on nineteenth century maps.³⁵

33. There was an assortment of brushes for the table, for cloth, for silver, for "dry rubbing" and for general purposes. Altogether, some 15 were listed.

34. There is archeological evidence for various work items which in many instances repeat the inventory. Pictured in photographs in The Iron Worker (published by the Lynchburg Foundry Company), XV, No. 2 (Spring 1951) are representative samples. Besides the ice saw, there are fragments of a wedge, 2 axes, pincers, a hammer, a sickle fragment, 2 gouges, a punch, a hoe, a hatchet, and a screw driver. This forms an illustration in an article on "Historical Objects Unearthed at Wakefield," by J. Paul Hudson.

35. For a somewhat comprehensive survey of tidewater and Virginia plantation practices, crops, livestock, etc., see Chapter XI of this study.

Chapter VII

George Washington and Popes Creek

When Augustine Washington and his wife, Jane Butler, moved into their new or expanded home on Popes Creek late in 1726 or early in 1727, theirs was already an established and well-rooted family quite familiar with their environs. Augustine was doing well and succeeding admirably. For a decade he had been serving his county, church, and community, having first taken the oaths required by Parliament "as alsoe the oaths appointed by the late act of Assembly of this Colony to be taken by Justices of the Peace" on July 25, 1716. He was then only 22 years of age. It is established, too, by a court action that he already was a "Vestryman of Washington Parish" prior to March 29, 1717. About the same time he was busy administering estates, caring for orphans, and taking the list of tithables for the "Lower precinct" of his Parish. In the latter instance, in January 1722, he had to report back to the court apologetically that he had erred to the extent of 21 persons. He hoped it would still be possible for the sheriff to collect "the county Levy and the Church Wardens the Parish Levy." In various matters, legal and otherwise, he worked closely with his "Brookes Patent" neighbors - the Wickliffes, the Higdons, the Abbingtons, and others. In 1721 and again in 1722 he was one of the three Justices nominated by the Westmoreland Court to Governor Spotswood "for his honrs electing & choosing one of them the Sd Justices to be Sheriff of the County" for the year. Though not chosen now, he did serve later in this capacity for a year of two.¹

In March 1726, when he was sworn again as justice, the court records carry Augustine as Captain. Along with gentlemen, this title was a mark of respect that obviously carried responsibility in the county militia. It was in the two year period after May 31, 1727, that he was Westmoreland's sheriff, after which he was a member of the court again. He had a tour of duty, too, as church warden, a key lay post in his parish. This brought him some annoyance as the minister sought, through several trips to court, a redress for vi-

1. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 6, pp. 148-187 passim (Westmoreland Court Orders, 1705-1721, pp. 228-402 passim, and 1721-1730, p. 15); Northington, "Report," pp. 16-17.

olations of his rights and perquisites as a minister as he saw them.²

All the while in this decade Augustine was busy with his personal affairs, plantation management, and the general expansion of his estate. The age of servants, when in doubt, had to be legally fixed as in the case of "Eccho a negro slave" who was adjudged to be 9. Estate settlements were tedious as when he had because of court decision to return "three Negroes (to witt) Tony, Tranck and James" to Robert Vaulx. This involved the holdings left by his mother-in-law and father-in-law.³ There was also the expansion of his holdings near his Popes Creek home⁴ as well as the acquisition, in 1726, from his sister and her second husband, of the Little Hunting Creek 2,500 acres, this for 180 pounds sterling. He also bought more acres, including timber lands, for use or trade, in the Chotank area on the Potomac's south shore, a bit upriver from Popes Creek.⁵

Among his acquisitions and holdings was one that he had patented, in part, on Accokeek Creek between the Potomac and Aquia Creek. Either he or John England, manager of the Principio Iron Works (a venture which had been active across in Maryland for a few years) found what appeared to be rich deposits of iron on this tract. England liked what he saw and, by January 1725, there was an informal agreement for Augustine to receive a share in the Principio works as compensation for its use. This turned Augustine in a new direction

2. Northington, "Report," pp. 14-17, with Westmoreland court record citations; Freeman, Washington, I, 41, also with court record citations. Usually court and estate matters carried remuneration, but much detail, as in the settlement for James Mason who had a "book debt due to said Augustine Washington at his death" of 480 pounds of tobacco plus 5 pounds and a halfpenny. There were charges by Washington as executor "To a Coffin &c and trouble in burying him" and "To rum sugar butter bought for ye funeral" - 20 pounds of tobacco each. (Court Rec., GWBMN, pt. 1, pp. 135-36 (Westmoreland, Wills No.1, p. 138).

3. Court Rec., GWBMN, pt. 6, pp. 155, 171 (Westmoreland Court Orders, 1705-1721, pp. 309, 389).

4. See Chapter V.

5. Eaton, Westmoreland Atlas, pp. 48-49.

as he became particularly interested in iron manufacturing in its various aspects - financial, managerial and operational. He, however, approached the formal agreement with Principio with caution and some hesitancy. But in the end he acquired an interest in the Principio works and the way was clear for a furnace on his land on the Virginia side. He expanded his holdings on Accokeek Run and the branches of Aquia Creek.

As matters developed he determined, in the summer of 1729, to go for England, perhaps, to deal directly with his partners in an expansion of their agreement. He left the Potomac some time after May 28, to return to Popes Creek in May 1730.

In England Augustine consummated a formal agreement with his partners and agreed to take charge of the Accokeek furnace as manager, provided the resident founder could produce the quality of iron needed. The present resident manager, Nathaniel Chapman, would go over to Maryland to direct the works there. And so it stood, but only until he returned home, to learn that his wife, Jane, had died in November of the previous year.

Family demands (his two boys and a girl) and plantation requirements soon closed in on him and he, after some hesitancy, gave up thought of managing the works, though he did what he could until John England returned. This led to a new limited agreement in which he kept his interest in the Company and also had contacts to dig the ore with his own labor and to transport the finished ore to a landing on the Potomac. His Company interest, in both the Virginia and the Maryland works, would continue and descend in due course to Lawrence, his son, and ultimately to George Washington. It proved a good venture and a good investment.⁶

The Popes Creek Plantation was lonely with the passing of Jane Butler and it left young Augustine, Lawrence, and Jane without the guiding hand of a mother. Such a situation did not endure for long.

6. Freeman, Washington, I, 37-42; Moore, Birthplace, p. 9; Northington, "Report," p. 22. Seemingly his enterprise and word of its success made some of the rounds in Virginia. Col. William Byrd, for example, wrote in October 1732: "... John England's Iron Mines, called so from the chief manager of them, though the land belongs to Mr. Washington: These mines are two miles from the furnace, and Mr. Washington raises the ore, and carts it thither for 20 s. the ton of iron that it yields. The furnace is built on a run, which discharges its waters into Potomac. And, when the iron is cast, they

In less than a year after his return, he married again. On March 6, 1731, Mary Ball, an orphan like he himself had been, a young lady of 23, 14 years his junior, became the second Mrs. Augustine Washington. She has been described as "a healthy orphan of moderate height, rounded figure, and pleasant voice."⁷ Though an orphan, her father, William Ball of Lancaster County, had managed that she have some property endowment and she did. Perhaps considerable credit is due her guardian, George Eskridge, a lawyer of distinction, man of character and success, and a leader in public affairs. This credit involved not only material inheritance, but also an upbringing in an environment perhaps not unlike that customary at Popes Creek.

cart it about six miles to a landing on that river. Besides Mr. Washington and Mr. England, there are several other persons in England concerned in these works. Matters are very well managed there, and no expense is spared to make them profitable, which is not the case in the works I have already mentioned. Mr. England can neither write nor read, but without those helps is so well skilled in iron-works that he don't only carry on his furnace but has likewise the chief management of the works at Principio, at the head of the bay, where they have, also, erected a forge and make very good bar iron." (Louis B. Wright (editor), The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), pp. 368-69.

7. Freeman, Washington, I, 42-43. Mrs. Ella Bassett Washington, writing in the Century Magazine (April 1892), reports that Mary the bride "was blonde and beautiful," by family tradition, while the groom was "a noble-looking man, of distinguished bearing, tall and athletic, with fair, florid complexion, brown hair, and fine gray eyes." (Moncure D. Conway, Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock (New York, 1892), pp. 53-4).

8. Freeman, Washington, I, 42-45; Charles Moore (with the help of H. Isham Longden and Charles A. Hoppin), "Wakefield: the Birthplace of George Washington: Restored by the Wakefield National Memorial Association, Inc. 1923-1932" (a brief account in mimeograph form, copy in Library of Colonial National Historical Park, Yorktown, Virginia), p. 6. It seems of interest to recount here the report of G.W.P. Curtis in a letter of April 24, 1851: "The good La Fayette /Marquis de Lafayette/ on two occasions of his doing me the honor of visiting Arlington House, called up the recollections of "dat admirable woman," /Mary Ball/ as he was pleased to term the mother; and spoke of how it was owing to her teaching, her example, and, above all, her

In any case Mary Ball came to be mistress of the Popes Creek home of Augustine Washington, and already there was a family of three to which she would add others. Her first born would be George Washington as detailed in the family Bible entry:

George Washington son to Augustine & Mary his Wife was Born ye 11th Day of February 1731/32 New Style, February 22, 1732⁷ about 10 in the Morning & was Baptis'ed the 5th of April following Mr. Beverley Whiting and Capt. Christopher Brookes godfathers and Mrs. Mildred Gregory godmother.⁹

The christening, it has been concluded, likely took place at home and the officiating minister, while it is not of record, probably was the Rev. Roderick McCullough, who was then rector of Washington Parish.¹⁰

For the next three years Augustine remained with his family in residence at Popes Creek. There is little of record about their life here as George grew into a toddler and then became an active little youngster. There is a single shaky reference to him in 1733 as "baby George."¹¹ He would remember little specifically of this period, and in 1735 he would join the family in a change of residence as would

Spartan discipline that her immortal son became fitted for the accomplishment of his high destinies, his fortunes, and his fame."
(New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XI, 4).

9. Page from family Bible reproduced as frontispiece in Freeman, Washington, I. Mildred Gregory was an aunt and little is known of the godfathers.

10. Freeman, Washington, I, 47.

11. Conway, Barons, pp. 56-57. A note of Augustine Washington to a Mr. Jeffries is said to have given him word that he would stop for a visit while enroute to the lower Rappahannock, to Moratico, a homestead of the Balls. They would bring with them their "baby George."

the others, including the new arrivals, sister Betty and brother Samuel.¹² His older half-sister, Jane, who died in January 1735, would be left behind in the family burial ground on Bridges Creek.

For various reasons, perhaps, Augustine Washington moved from Westmoreland County up to Little Hunting Creek (Epsewasson) in Prince William County in 1735. It is likely that a closer proximity to his iron production interest was a key reason. Then, too, these 2,500 acres needed development and likely stood as a challenge for him. There had been a number of moves in his early, formative years and this may have helped condition him likewise to moving on. There is no fact, or tradition, that it was prompted by fire at Popes Creek. The exact date of his move is not known, but he was in Westmoreland as late as January 1735, when he buried his older daughter, and he was duly sworn as a vestryman in Truro, his new parish, on November 18 of that same year. Perhaps he used the good spring or summer time to make the move, which likely was a boat trip up the Potomac. Consequently George Washington lived at the future Mount Vernon site, because his family was there, for the next four years when he was in the ages from 4 to 7.¹³

12. Douglas S. Freeman has left a meaningful word picture of George's surroundings:

As George meanwhile came to consciousness and learned to walk there was a new sister, Betty, with whom to become acquainted. Before she was a year and a half old, another baby arrived, a brother, who was christened Samuel. In addition, there was around George an amazing world of dogs and chickens and pigs and calves, as well as those towering creatures called cows. Soon, too, in front of someone on a horse, he had the breath-taking adventure of going to the mill, or visiting neighbors. Among these friends were the Hedges of Twiford. When George went there he may have found delight in the contrasting colors of the different rooms. His elders, no doubt, were more interested in the fine paneling of the dwelling, though the building was nearer a cottage than a "great house" in design. (Washington, I, 49.)

13. Philip Slaughter, The History of Truro Parish in Virginia (Philadelphia, 1908), p. 9; Hoppin, Washington Ancestry, I, 95; Hoppin, "The Three Homes of Washington's Boyhood," Tyler's Quarterly, XII (January, 1931), 149-52; Conway, Barons, p. 72; Hoppin, "The House," p. 87. An observation is that Augustine left Popes Creek because he had concluded that it did not agree with the health of his children. (Conway, Baron, p. 57. Northington in his "Report" (p. 22), places the move to Prince William as between March 25 and October 4).

At some time in this period, possibly before as well and certainly for a time afterwards, he did not have the companionship of his older half brothers, Augustine, Jr., and Lawrence, since they were in school, as their father had been, at Appleby Grammer School in Cumberland, England. He, too, might have gone there had his father lived. There was some indication that Augustine, Jr., was inclined to law as the headmaster of Appleby wrote his father in 1741 of his "son Austin's desire to study law." But he was to do otherwise.¹⁴ Perhaps Augustine's trip to England from August 1736 to July 1737 was connected in some way with the education of the boys, though it was basically a business trip, again in the matter of iron production agreements and contracts.¹⁵ Within a year of his return to Virginia he seemingly was already contemplating another move. This was to the Rappahannock near Fredericksburg.

Here again reasons are unstated for a move to a new location and the establishment of a new home, however, some are evident and others are suggestive. It would bring Augustine closer to his still-existing responsibilities at the Accokeek furnaces. It would place him conveniently between properties which his wife Mary had inherited from her father and which were given her by her half-brother, as well as Popes Creek and other holdings of his own. Possibly Fredericksburg offered educational possibilities, too, such as tutors or a day school. Lawrence was now at or near majority and home from school in 1738, it is surmised from circumstantial evidence. It may have been an intent to expand his son's plantation responsibilities and encourage his independence.¹⁶

14. "Some Virginians Educated in Great Britain," in Virginia Magazine, XXI (April, 1913), 199; "Education in Colonial Virginia" in William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Series, VI (January, 1898), 174; Conway, Baxons, pp. 68-69; Hoppin, "The House," p. 95.

15. His return to Virginia was reported in the Virginia Gazette, July 22, 1737 (p. 4, c. 1), in rather graphic terms: "We hear from Potomack That a Ship is lately arriv'd there, from London, with Convicts. Capt. Augustine Washington, and Capt. Hugh French, took their Passage in her; the former is arriv'd in Health; but the Latter dy'd at Sea, and 'tis said of the Goal Distemper, which he got on Board."

16. Freeman, Washington, I, 56-57; Hoppin, "The House," pp. 95-97.

In any case Augustine, ever alert to good acres and opportunities in land and plantations, had the chance to purchase the place of Judge William Strother. This he consummated on November 2, 1738, for 317 pounds current money.¹⁷ It had been described earlier in a Virginia Gazette entry thusly:

To be sold, for Cash, on the 25th of October next, by way of Auction to the highest Bidder, several Tracts of Land, belonging to the Estate of William Strother, late of King George County, Gent., deceas'd, pursuant to his Will, viz. One Tract, containing 100 Acres, lying about 2 Miles below the Falls of Rappahannock, close by the River side, with a very handsome Dwelling House, 3 Store houses, several other convenient Out-houses, and a Ferry belonging to it, being the place where Mr. Strother liv'd; is a beautiful Situation, and very commodious for Trade. One other Tract, of 160 Acres of very good Land, adjoining thereto, the Plantation, Houses, Fences, & in good Order.¹⁸

This then was to become the new Augustine Washington family home while George was still in his seventh year. Although the exact time of the move here is not known, it evidently was before December 1, 1738, when "Augustine Washington of King George County" added another 300 acres to his holdings. Certainly the environment would be different, especially the smallness of the Rappahannock after knowing the broad vista of the Potomac. There is no description of the Strother house,

17. Hoppin, "The House," pp. 79-81, quoting from King George County Deed Book No. 2, pp. 220-22, which reads, 280 acres "being the land and dwelling house where William Strother lately dwelt." The Strother House ("Ferry Farm" and sometimes known, too, as "Pine Grove Farm,") is carefully identified and located by George H. S. King in "Washington's Boyhood Home," William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd Series, XVII (1937), 265-281.

18. Issue of April 15-21, 1738, p. 3, c. 2. There were other offerings from the estate, including "a Tract of 1240 Acres of extraordinary good Land, with two Plantations thereon" in Prince William County. Though Augustine did not purchase this, he may have had sufficient interest in another item ("about Twenty chain Slaves, a good stock of Cattle, Horses, and Hogs"), though this kind of purchase would not necessarily have become a matter of court record.

though one near-contemporary recollection has it as a "plain wooden structure of moderate size and painted a dark red color."¹⁹ The move to the environs of Fredericksburg was made probably in November 1739. In any case the Little Hunting Creek property went to Lawrence, Augustine's older son, by deed of gift on October 23, 1740. Perhaps he was then already in management, even residence.²⁰

It was not until Lawrence had returned home from school in England, likely in 1738, that George would have come to know him. They then would have been near 21, and almost 7, respectively. Without doubt he would have been impressed with his freshly educated older half brother, and there would have been even greater reason for admiration just around the corner.

War between England and Spain broke out in the fall of 1739 and following Admiral Edward Vernon's quick and successful attack on Porto Bello on the Panamanian coast, the organization of a campaign or attack on Cartagena was initiated. This rich prize on the Gulf of Darien opposite the Isthmus of Panama had in the past been jacked profitably on several occasions, and it tempted once again. Strong naval and land forces must be assembled. This led to a British call for Colonial troops, and Virginia's quota was 400. This meant some commissions for the young men, especially from the prominent, wealthy and leading families, to be eagerly sought by those militarily inclined. Lawrence Washington was one successful candidate. He was the first announced as one of the four Captains to lead the four Virginia companies called the "American Regiment." Then some delay ensued and it was October 1740 before the unit departed.

The expedition would result in failure and bring no glory to British arms. It would be short, relatively speaking, bringing Lawrence back with no shore experience, only ship duty, but a wiser man who would in course be Adjutant General of the Colony. His return likely was some time late in 1742.²¹

19. Conway, Barons, pp. 71-72; King, "Washington's Boyhood Home," William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd Series, XVII, 268. The so called "Lossing Picture" has been disposed of as fanciful and without validity.

20. Hoppin, "The House," p. 95.

21. Freeman, Washington, I, 64-70.

Without doubt, the uniform and the tales of sea, fighting, and the Islands were all appealing to little George, now about 10. He was even now, at the same time, getting to know his second half-brother, Augustine, Jr., who returned from Appleby School in June 1742 with his education now complete. Augustine, Sr., appreciated the need for education and training and it would follow that he would have regard for the proper education of his oldest son by Mary Ball. But the record here is meager indeed.

It can be assumed safely that between the ages of 7 and 11 (when his father died) that he received as good schooling as could be provided in, or near, his home. Likely this initially was little other than "reading and writing and accounts," as one tradition has it. This, too, may have been in part by a tutor-"a convict servant whom his father brought over for a school teacher." The convict tutor has not been identified as the Hobby (William Grove) who, with Augustine's help, was sexton in Truro Parish.²²

There is the tradition, too, that seems reasonable, that George attended a Fredericksburg school, presumably the one that the Rev. James Marye opened in 1740. The tradition continues that he concerned himself with ciphering while the other boys played games. This report by Byrd Charles Willis continued ". . . but one ebullition is handed down whilst at that school and that was his romping with one of the largest girls. This was so unusual that it excited no little astonishment amongst the other lads."²³

In the winter of 1742-1743 the family was much together, but come spring this would end. Seemingly, tradition tells us, Augustine was out in a storm while riding, caught cold, and died of some accute complication on April 12, 1743.²⁴ By one later traditional report it was

22. From the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, a tutor in Caroline County in 1759-62, quoted in Freeman, Washington, I, 64. Seemingly Augustine had met William Grove on shipboard on his return to Virginia in 1737. Grove evidently was being deported, or coming to America, because of some involvement with the law. When Augustine failed to get him installed as Clerk in Truro Parish because of his record, Grove took the post of sexton instead. A legend has it that he, familiarly known as Hobby, followed the family to Fredericksburg. (Moore, Birthplace of George Washington, pp. 10-11).

223. Quoted in Freeman, Washington, I, 64.

224. Conway, Barons, p. 73.

something like this:

It was in the Easter holiday that Mr. Washington was taken sick. George was absent at the time, on a visit to some of his acquaintances [likely kinsmen] at Chotank, King George County. He was sent for after his father's sickness became serious, and reached the paternal abode in time to witness the last struggle and receive the parting benediction of his beloved parent.²⁵

Augustine a prudent, orderly and businesslike man, had made his will and divided his considerable estate on an equitable basis as he saw it. He disposed of some 10,000 acres of land in seven, or more, tracts in four counties and had at least 49 slaves. With ample interest and provision for his wife, the three largest benefactors, as was customary, were his three oldest sons, Lawrence, Augustine, and George, with each getting a going plantation. Lawrence likely was already well established at the Little Hunting Creek plantation (which he named Mount Vernon). Likely, too, Austin (Augustine, Jr.) was already at Popes Creek, whereas George, under the guardianship of his mother, would need to wait for his majority to be master of "Ferry Farm," as the Strother Place came to be called and to have full possession and use of the benefits of this and the other elements of his inheritance.²⁶

25. As reported by Rev. Edward C. McGuire in 1836 and quoted in Conway, Barons, p. 73. Freeman reports that the cause of death was said to be "gout of the stomach," though he does not give a source. (Washington, 1, 72). Of more interest, perhaps, in reporting on Augustine's death, is the recollection recorded in George W. P. Custis letter of April 24, 1851:

The father of the Chief made a declaration on his death-bed that does honor to his memory as a Christian and a man. He said, I thank God that all my life I never struck a man in anger, for if I had I am sure that, from my remarkable muscular powers, I should have killed my antagonist, and then his blood at this awful moment would have lain heavily on my soul. (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XI, 4.)

26. The will is given, among other places, in Ford, Writings of Washington, XIV, 410-16; King, "Washington's Boyhood Home," in William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd Ser., XVII, 265-68; Freeman, Washington, I, 73 ff. Though he did begin his will "In the Name of God, Amen," Augustine did not open his will with a profession of Christian faith as had his father and grandfather, though this could have been dictated by a changing manner of legal expression rather than a reflection of any new conviction on his part. (Conway, Barons, p. 75).

His father's death would bring considerable change in George's life and remove a stable guiding hand. Over the next five years he would be with his mother and the other children near Fredericksburg, at Mount Vernon with Lawrence, with some intervals likely with kinsmen at Chotank, and in residence with brother Austin on Popes Creek. Data on this is extremely lean and meager, and it seems impossible with the present state of knowledge to fix with any clarity just when he was where and for how long, though speculation has been rife and tradition is suggestive. Perhaps, no one has given this more cogitation than Charles Arthur Hoppin, the noted Washington family genealogist. He has this to say in summary, though in other statements he vacillates a bit:

As accurately as I can state it, George Washington lived, from his birth to his removal to Mount Vernon in 1748; first, three years at Wakefield (Popes Creek); the next few years at Epse-wasson; the next four years on the Strother-Washington farm, in King George County; next, about two-and-one-half years, again at Wakefield; next, about two-and-one-half years again on the Strother-Washington place.²⁷

It is clear that George Washington was a frequent visitor to Mount Vernon in this five-year span. Certainly too, he would have been often at Popes Creek, where his mother retained an interest in the "Quarter," where his brother lived, and where he was born. Extended stay here, however, seems to hang on a plausible, and persistent, tradition that he studied there under Henry Williams, who operated a day school several miles from the Popes Creek Mansion. Perhaps a classic though somewhat embellished expression of this tradition reported by early biographers is in C. H. Callahan's Washington: the Man and the Mason:

Immediately after the death of his father, George went to live with his half-brother Augustine at Wakefield. Here he found a very comfortable and luxurious home, for Augustine, having married an immensely wealthy lady, was living in great

27. Hoppin, "The Three Homes," in Tyler's Quarterly, XII, 152. Hoppin also wrote that "George, after his father's death in 1743, when the boy was aged eleven years, continued with his mother upon that William Strother "Mansion House" property five years, save for absences at Wakefield, or at the Quarter on Bridges Creek . . ." ("The Origin," Tyler's Quarterly, 8, 238).

state, had numerous servants, an elegantly furnished home and finely stocked farm . . . Thus favorably situated, George continued his studies under an excellent teacher, Mr. Williams, for several years . . .²⁸

Formal schooling would have involved sustained residence: otherwise, his Popes Creek experiences in this period would most likely have been "vacations," summer time, or just visits of lesser duration.²⁹ In any case, the Popes Creek plantation should have been a pleasant environment as also was Mount Vernon.

Both Austin and Lawrence, though adult, were young, and both came to bring bright new brides from position and wealth to be the mistresses of their respective establishments. In the case of Lawrence it was, in July 1743, Anne Fairfax, daughter of Col. William Fairfax, cousin and agent of the Northern Neck Proprietor himself. In the case of Austin, it was Anne Aylett, a daughter of Col. William Aylett of Westmoreland, who had been a burgess and was a planter of some wealth. She bought a measure of grace, charm, and some additional means to Austin's Popes Creek home.

28. (Washington, D. C.), p. 18.

29. Other expressions for this tradition can be found in Charles A. Hoppin, "How the Size and Character of Washington's Birthplace Were Ascertained by the Wakefield National Memorial Association," in Tyler's Quarterly, XI (January 1930), 152; Hoppin, "The Three Homes," XII, 152; Conway, Baron, p. 89; Eaton, Westmoreland County Atlas, p. 28. The Eaton expression is another concisely put one: "George spent the winters of 1745 to 1747 with his half-brother Augustine (called Austin to distinguish him from his father). Here he went to school to a noted teacher, Henry Williams, at Church Point. George studied surveying . . . [and a surviving plat that he made] shows that he had attained considerable skill in mapping. He then went to school in Fredericksburg where he was instructed by noted teachers." Namely, as Eaton reports from Conway, he "attended the Rev. James Marye school." Still another account of the tradition is given by H. Ragland Eubank: "On the way to Appomattox (or the Lower) Church, at present Laurel Grove, lived Henry Williams, the Colonial pedagogue, who conducted here the best school of his day in this section. This school George Washington attended, while living at Wakefield with his brother, Augustine, from 1743, when he was eleven, to 1747, when he was fifteen." (Touring Historyland: The Authentic Guide Book of Historic Northern Neck of Virginia (Colonial Beach, Virginia, 1934), pp. 38-39).

Whereas with Lawrence it was much of the matters of careers in the army, the navy, or on the sea with talk of lands and the Fairfaxes, with Austin the tempo and direction were likely different. Here on Popes Creek seemingly the interests tended to the rural--to the plantation, to horses, to life on the river. But Austin, too, had his broader side in service to his community, achievement in politics, and even an interest in the land acres in the western parts. Both would have already experienced the usefulness and value of education and training, as they themselves had it. One of Austin's former teachers had already commented that Augustine, Sr., had "grown a pretty young fellow" in Austin.³⁰ He now abandoned his earlier interest in law and settled comfortably, it seems, into the planter mold.

He was soon (1744) busy in the matter of executing estates, and later came to represent his county as justice and a member of the court. It was in 1749 that he was named "Major of the Troops" in Westmoreland. Later, in 1760, there was unsuccessful nomination for county sheriff.³¹ Already, however, he had been successful in three elections for the House of Burgesses (1754, 1755, and 1756) standing then as Colonel Augustine Washington.³²

All the while, too, he managed his plantation and grew his tobacco with the hogsheads, when ready for shipment, duly marked with the now familiar "A. W."³³ He, unlike his father, added little

30. Quoted in Freeman, Washington, I, 76-78.

31. Northington, "Report," pp. 24-25, with court record citations; Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 6, pp. 176-77 (Westmoreland Fidiciary Record (1746-1752), p. 10); William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd Ser., II, 170.

32. William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Ser., VI, 12, VIII, 32. In 1754 he outdistanced his opponents, Richard Lee and Robert Carter, 194 to 130 and 7, respectively, whereas in 1756 it was closer. His 187 votes could be compared with those of 183 for Philip Ludwell Lee 168 for Richard Lee, and 138 for William Bernard.

33. But seemingly matters were not always those of promptness. On November 7, 1754, there was a hogshead at the Mattox warehouse so marked, one "which had been there three years." (Virginia Gazette, p. 4, c. 1).

to his property holdings, but he did give and receive some tracts in lease. He retained his mill at the head of Pope's Creek in an operating manner. This, in 1750, he excepted from a lease of adjacent property, reserving the "mill and her lott and Earth to mend and repair the said mill and timber to mend the mill waste etc." As a matter of fact, even on the leased property (530 pounds of tobacco per annum for the 40 acre "Mill Neck"), he insisted that there be "no manner of waste of the timber growing or lying," especially "of the board or Rail Timber."³⁴

Also, with Austin there was the broader view, and from time to time there was collaborative or joint effort with Lawrence of Mount Vernon, of whose will he would be an executor in 1752. Such was true in the formation of the Ohio Company in 1748, when they joined in a venture to develop and people a large area beyond the Alleghenies where there was land and trade to be had. This was a large venture as conceived, involving a grant of a half-million acres.³⁵ There was, too, the lesser matter in 1751 of participation in the "Care and Management" of a lottery at Belhaven in Fairfax, to raise funds "to be applied towards building a Church, and Market House, in said Town" on the part of then Majors Augustine and Lawrence.³⁶

On September 18, 1758, Austin-"being bound on a voyage to Great Britain and intending to settle my Temporal affairs in case of Mortality"-made his "last will and testament," and the "disposition of my estate" like his father opened with the phrase, "In the name of God Amen." This will would not be proved until his early death in 1762 so his trip abroad was successful, though the reasons for it are not known.³⁷

34. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 6, pp. 172-73, also pp. 171, and 174-75 (Westmoreland, Deeds and Wills, No. 11, p. 263 and pp. 174 315). At the end of the Mill Neck lease was this note: "N. B. before the signing this lease it is agreed that the Said Augne - Washington Shall and may at any time he pleases have such timber as is on the premises and a lot to Set a mill on my part of the premises, besides that which is there already."

35. Virginia Magazine, XII, 162; William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Ser., I, 197, and XVIII, 14.

36. William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Ser., XII, 75.

37. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 6, pp. 157-59 (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 14, p. 126).

The will and the later inventory of his estate paint, as we have seen, a picture of a successful tidewater planter who obviously lived responsibly, comfortably, and pleasantly. Though he provided 1,000 pounds current money and 10 slaves to his daughters, Betty, Nancy and Jane, plus other considerations, and made provision for his wife and an unborn child ("if my said wife shall be pregnant"), it was his intention that his son William Augustine eventually inherit the Popes Creek Plantation when of age, or married.³⁸ And he did. At the time of his father's death he was only 5 years old, and he would await the passing of his mother to come into possession in 1774. It seems not of record whether, as his father intended, he went "to great Britain for education."

Besides the acres of the home plantation, Augustine, Jr., left "stocks of Horses, Cattle, Sheep and Hogs," "Household furniture," a share in "Iron works both in this Colony and in the province of Maryland" (devised to him by Lawrence), lands in the "County of Hampshire," "house servants" of some number, and an unimpressive library of 65 titles in 17 entries plus "Sundry old English & Latin books" with no listed title.³⁹

This may suggest in part the nature of the man Austin with whom George spent time at Popes Creek in those formative years when he was moving from the age of 11 toward 17, perhaps even some of his formal schooling time. There was much to learn to do in living on, and enjoying, a plantation in an understanding household of close kin. Austin and Anne had no children at this time, and there would have been quiet as desired, or as required. There were, however, plenty of children on nearby plantations and kinsmen here and at Chotank, as well as younger brothers and sisters on the place near Fredericksburg.

Early, George came to know and to be observant of the natural world around him. He learned to handle horses and dogs, to ride and shoot. He learned to recognize animal tracks, to blaze a trail

38. Ibid.

39. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 6, pp. 159-69 (Westmoreland Inventories, No. 4, p. 178).

and build campfires. He knew, too, the feel of tidal water as well as that of the colder streams.⁴⁰ There were those who are reported to have heard of his swift approach to manhood in these years -- of "the fine manly youth" as "of his gallant demeanor, and daring exploits in horsemanship and the athletic exercises of that remote period."⁴¹

In his middle teenage years, after his father's death, George seems to have grown tall and muscular, almost suddenly. His interest in "ciphering" continued and evidently he did well in mathematics. Writing, too, had its emphasis, and he acquired his swift, clear hand in part at least through copy work, some of which is preserved among his papers. Copying included the laborious duplication of existing works, one such likely being a version of Francis Hawkins' Youth's Behavior. His "Rules of Civility" and others of like kind, in addition to the mechanics of handwriting, likely helped him as well in formulating concepts of fair play, honesty, and regard for people.⁴² We know little of his religious training in this period

40. There is in this regard a revealing item in a Spotsylvania County Order Book under date of December 3, 1751. It seems that Ann Carroll and Mary McDaniel, Sr., of Fredericksburg were "Committed to the Gaol," the charge being "Suspicion of Felony". They were charged with "robbing the cloaths of Mr. George Washington when he was washing in the River some time last summer." Ann, it might be added was discharged, but Mary was found "guilt of petty Larcency" and the sheriff was ordered to "carry her to the Whipping post & Inflict fifteen lashes on her bare back" and then discharge her. (Tyler's Quarterly, VII (January, 1926), 176-77).

41. George Washington Parke Curtis, in 1851, wrote of researches begun more than 50 years before and of getting to know Lawrence and Robin Washington ("distantly related"), who were companions of George "in his juvenile days," and they spoke in this manner. (New England Historical and Geneological Register, XI, 4).

42. Freeman, Washington, I, 78, 195-96; Moore, Birthplace of George Washington, pp. 10-11. Of note here, too, is Charles Moore (ed.), George Washington's Rules of Civility and Decent Behavior in Company and Conversation (Boston, 1926). In his introduction Moore explores, convincingly, the origin of the Rules and their effect on Washington.

though his family, including his father, all seemed comfortably at home in the Established Church.

At some point in his early youth Washington became interested in surveyors' instruments and their use. Perhaps he fell heir to the set enumerated in his father's inventory. Though his mother would oppose a sea career despite the persuasive intercession of brother Lawrence, surveying, the Fairfaxes, and western lands would open opportunities for the surveyor. His neat copy books attest to his flair for mathematics, geometric drawing, and sound penmanship. Likely he obtained assistance, even as understudy, to men experienced with these instruments. He may even have studied The Young Man's Companion, with its section on land surveying, under the Rev. James Marye at his Fredericksburg school. Proficiency with the compass grew. Field practice increased and in turn simple assignments were undertaken.⁴³

One such early survey, this done possibly in 1747 (when he was but 15 years of age), was made during a stay at the Popes Creek home, where most surely, too, he pursued his other studies which he had nearly mastered sufficiently. This survey covered an area along the Potomac southeastward from Bridges Creek - an irregular, angular tract of some 22 acres. Likely it was a practice exercise, one that could be repeated even today. It seems much less finished, certainly much less ornate, than his "A Plan for Major Lawrence Washington's Turnip Field as Survey'd by me G. W." and dated February 27, 1748.⁴⁴

43. Ulrich Troubetzkoy, "George Washington, Surveyor" in Virginia Cavalcade, X, (Winter 1960-61), 5-10; Freeman, Washington, I, 143-45. Freeman makes a circumstantial case for George Byrne as an instructor for George in drafting and surveying. He seemingly was surveying for the Proprietor of the Northern Neck in Prince William as early as 1741 and was in Stafford and King George as late as 1752. (Washington, I, 197).

44. Lawrence Martin (ed.), The George Washington Atlas (Washington, D. C., 1932), plates 8 and 3. It is interesting that the Bridges Creek survey covered in part that area which George's great-grandfather acquired in 1664 and where he soon established his home and the ancestral Washington burial ground.

This survey may have been associated with his last youthful stay at Popes Creek, for after February 1748 Mount Vernon became his home. He was then 16 and would return to his birthplace only occasionally, and then as a brief visitor. For a man who came to write so much, to be always methodical and so careful with details, it seems remarkable that so little is known with certainty of his childhood and youthful years.⁴⁵ He did record in his Diaries several later visits.

He was at Popes Creek on March 4, 1752, from whence he went to Fredericksburg the next day. In 1768, on May 24, he noted: "Came up to Popes Creek and staid there all day" and the next day got to "Brother Sam's" for dinner. Three years later, again in May, on the 26th, he "proceeded to Mrs. Washington's of Popes Creek in the afternoon." On the 27th he "Stayd there all day," visiting with his half-brother Austin's widow and the family. On the 28th he "set out after Breakfast" and seemingly came no more to the place where he was born and spent at least part of his youthful years⁴⁶--a place he knew as Popes Creek, not Wakefield

45. It seems well to include here a feeling summary by Washington Irving:

His manuscript school books still exist, and are models of neatness and accuracy. One of them, it is true, a ciphering book . . . has some school-boy attempts at calligraphy; now descript birds, executed with a flourish of the pen, or profiles of faces, probably intended for those of his schoolmates, the rest are all grave and business like. Before he was thirteen years of age, he had copied into a volume forms for all kinds of mercantile and legal papers; bills of exchange, notes of hand, deeds, bonds and the like. This early self-tuition gave him throughout life a lawyer's skill in drafting documents, and a merchant's exactness in keeping accounts . . . "
(Washington, I, 24-25).

46. Washington, Diaries, I, 36, 270, and II, 19. The current, general designation Wakefield is very misleading in this regard. It came into common use only after the old home burned, apparently being useful to differentiate it from adjacent Washington farms such as Blenheim, Haywood, etc., though reference to Wakefield can be cited as early as 1773. The owner, John E. Wilson noted in 1898 that "the name Wakefield is comparatively new." It certainly was not known by that name in Augustine Washington's time as shown by his will; and the earliest appearance of the name on any of the land records in 1796."

in these years. In retrospect, in 1792, he would write of the place as "the ancient mansion in Westmoreland County" and of "the family Vault" where father Augustine and others were interred.⁴⁷

Of all of this, Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur spoke very guardedly and restrictively, but feelingly, in connection with "the transfer to the United States of the Birthplace of George Washington and the burial place of his ancestor" on May 14, 1932:

George Washington was but three years old when his parents moved to Little Hunting Creek (Mount Vernon), which is a comparatively short distance by river from Wakefield. It is said, however, that he did return here for short [Popes Creek] intervals afterward to live with his half-brother, following his father's death. Therefore it is safe to conclude that Wakefield left its influence upon the boy, and upon the man, even more than even more than Washington himself ever realized. Environment has its own way of influencing us all.⁴⁸

The 1773 use of Wakefield was by Richard Henry Lee when he wrote his brother William on December 15 that "Mrs. Washington of Wakefield" was dead. It may indicate that Augustine Washington Jr., or his wife, Anne, first applied the name, and some have suggested it came from Oliver Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield (published in 1766). Charles F. Cochran surmised in 1934 that Augustine, Jr.'s son, William Augustine, likely went abroad to school, possibly to the Grammar School at Wakefield in Yorkshire, hence Wakefield from the school. (J. C. Ballagh, The Letters of Richard Henry Lee (New York, 1912-14), I, 102; John E. Wilson to Hon. H. O. Herbert, letter dated November 8, 1898 quoted in "Where George Washington Was Born" (purported to be authored by Horace M. Albright), Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine, XV, 18; Charles A. Hoppin, "The Origin of Wakefield, Washington's Birthplace", Tyler's Quarterly, VIII, 223-24; Charles F. Cochran to Mr. Chatelain, August 9, 1934, in "Research Correspondence" file, GWBNM, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, N. P. S.)

47. Writings, XXXII, 26-31.

48. Mimeographed copy of address in files of Colonial National Historical Park, p. 2.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DEMISE OF A HOME AND MARKING OF A SITE

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Chapter VIII

The Demise of a Home and Marking of a Site

A. Fire and Abandonment

There is a final though indirect glimpse of the Popes Creek establishment in an advertisement in the Virginia Gazette under the date of June 2, 1774.¹ It read:

To be SOLD at the plantation of the late Mrs. Anne Washington, of Popes creek on Wednesday the 8th of June next.

The personal estate thereunto belonging, consisting of considerable stocks of horses, cattle, hogs, and sheep; likewise all the household and kitchen furniture. Twelve months credit will be allowed, on giving bond, with approved security, to
Burditt Ashton, executor

At the same time and place will be sold, a very good CHARIOT, with a new set of harness for four horses, belonging to the said estate.

Anne Aylett Washington did not like the provisions in the will of her husband Austin, as they concerned her. Instead, in June 1763, she had claimed her dower rights and obtained a life interest in the Popes Creek home plantation along with her evaluation of 1434 pounds, 17 shillings, and 11 pence of personal property.² This did not affect

1. Rind (ed.), p. 2, c. 3.

2. Her inventory was recorded on May 30.

the transition at her death in 1774 of the plantation to her and Austin's son, William Augustine Washington. When the "Negroes and stock" of the estate of "Colonel Augustine Washington" were evaluated the next year they were listed with a book value of 2,523 pounds, 11 shillings.³

Though a very young man, but 17 in 1774, William Augustine became the third Washington owner and operator of the "mansion seat" on Popes Creek. He married a cousin, Jane, daughter of George's brother and his own half-uncle, John Augustine.⁴ But he would not be in residence long, for fire would claim the home (traditionally on Christmas Day 1779) and all would become ashes and rubble.

John E. Wilson, a long-time owner and resident of the Popes Creek acres, summarized the story in 1898, having gleaned his information from Sarah Tayloe Washington, daughter of William Augustine, who had gotten her impressions and information from her father, other relatives, and from old house servants who remembered the house before its destruction:

The tradition was that Colo. W. Aug. W. . . . was living at the birthplace in 1779 that on Christmas day he had a company of neighbors and he with others returning from a ride at midday was the first to discover the roof in a blaze, that the contents of the house were for the most part saved, a severe frost prevailing at the time enabled him to haul the furniture with oxen across Popes Creek on the ice to be sheltered in a house on Smiths Hill then owned by Daniel Macarty; and that the supposition as to the origin of the fire was that a spark from the chimney had blown through the garret window to a pile of cotton in the seed stored in the garret.⁵

3. Northington, "Report," pp. 24-28, with court record citations.

4. William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Ser., III, 70.

5. Letter, John E. Wilson to Hilary A. Herbert (Washington, D. C.), October 4, 1898, typed a copy in Washington Birthplace file, National Park Service, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, Division of History. It should be

Another version was given by William Lanier Washington in 1926 as having come down to him in line from William Augustine through his son, George Corbin, the former's great-grandfather, who was 21 when his father died:

The house of Wakefield was destroyed on Christmas Day of the year 1780 by a fire that started while William Augustine Washington was entertaining a company of friends. Large fires were made in the cookhouse to prepare food for the guests, and it is believed that sparks flew among some cotton seeds that was spread out to dry on the left of the ell of the house.⁶

Family tradition may be stronger for the year 1779 than 1780, and there is inferential official record that it was 1779. There is general agreement that it was Christmas Day. A record about a road, dated September 23, 1780, places William Augustine's residence a mile to the westward, at or near Blenheim. Blenheim is the home to which tradition says he moved immediately after the fire.⁷ There is, too, the note in Mrs. Lucinda [Lee] Orr's Journal of a Young Lady of Virginia 1782

noted that Sarah Tayloe Washington was born at Haywood on April 14, 1800, some twenty years after the fire. (Tyler's Quarterly, IV, 135).

6. Hoppin in "The House," in Tyler's Quarterly, 8, 85-86, quotes from a letter of William Lanier Washington dated April 14.

7. Northington, "Report," pp. 29-30, with record citation. William Augustine had complained of the inconvenience of the road leading north "towards Mattox Bridge" and court appointed reviewers agreed "As the road now runs, it is essentially injurious to the sd Wm A Washington Gent., going immediately thro' his Yard, and within thirty feet of his dwelling House." This may have been the same road which Ann Aylett Washington, William Augustine's mother, had protested in 1762 as "injurious to the Estate" and for which she had asked that another "be opened thro' the Barrens." (Letters of August 28 and 29 from Charles F. Cockran to Mr. Verne Chatelain in GWNM "Research Correspondence" file in N. P. S., Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation).

that later confirms his establishment here: "To-day [November 2] Corbin and Hannah go to Blenheim the seat of Mr. W. Washington."⁸

William Augustine would go on to build Haywood, overlooking the Potomac above the mouth of Bridges Creek. His wife Jane died in 1791. He married again in 1799 Sarah Tayloe of Mount Airy. In due course the new federal city, Washington, would call. William Augustine and his family moved to Georgetown, perhaps in 1804, and he died there in October 1810 at the age of 53. He had done very well, having increased his land holdings considerably. He left an estate of excellent quality in Westmoreland with a listing of 93 slaves, good stocks of cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs, to which mules now had been added. There was an evaluation closely approaching \$27,000.

William Augustine, too, had served as "High Sheriff" and justice in the county. In June 1789 he had been recommended by the court for appointment as a "Colonel of Militia," a title he came to use. Thus, he continued an unbroken five-generation custom and tradition of family public service.⁹

In 1802 William Augustine evidently was considering the disposition of all, or the bulk, of his Westmoreland holdings between "Mattox' and Pope's creek." He advertised it as "Haywood"--"A Valuable Estate in Lands for Sale" and described it as some 6,000 acres "at present cultivated as four farms." One of these farms was "Wakefield." His description of the property, "more than a moiety of which is in cultivation," is revealing:

8. (Baltimore, 1871), p. 46. Though given as 1782 in the title, internal evidence in the Journal as well as other facts establish the year as 1787. An interesting further note in the Journal follows, too: "I had forgot to tell you, the second night at Blenheim, Molly, Nancy, and myself had a room to ourselves, and tried the salt and egg, but neither of us dreamt." These young ladies were all daughters of Richard Henry Lee of Chantilly. (p. 52).

9. Northington, "Report," pp. 30-34, with record citations; Tyler's Quarterly, IV, 135; Moore, Birthplace of George Washington, pp. 11-12.

The land is all level, and the greater part of it equal, if not superior to any on Potomack between Alexandria and the bay. It is peculiarly adapted to the production of Indian corn, wheat and barley; and produces annually heavy crops of wheat and corn of an excellent quality. This estate possesses a large quantity of Meadow lands, that may be reclaimed at a moderate expense; and several hundred acres of natural mowable meadow--Nearly one half of this land is in wood, which affords an inexhaustible supply of timber, resin firewood and cedar. It is at present cultivated as four farms upon each of which are all the improvements essential to agriculture . . . and on the different farms are upwards of 1,000 bearing apple trees, and 3,000 peach trees, with a variety of other choice fruits.¹⁰

By will of July 12, 1810, recorded four months later, he bequeathed to his son, George Corbin, much of the old home plantation between Bridges and Popes Creek:

Beginning at the mouth of Bridge Creek and running the Meanders of the Gut thereof, till it strikes the branch which divides the land I purchased of

10. The Washington Federalist, March 17, 1803, p. 4, with the advertisement dated Haywood, November 19, 1802. He also wrote of "The Mansion house [Haywood, where he then was] is a commodious two story framed house in good repair with twelve rooms, large enough for the accomodation of any gentleman, with the usual out houses, carpenters and blacksmiths shops, &c. pleasantly situated on the bank of the river. There is a large commodious garden and yard lately railed in with red cedar posts and chestnut pailings, containing a great variety of fruit trees . . .". His advertisement also included the "productive grist Mill, with two pair of stones and a never failing stream of water to supply it." He could state, too, that "Oysters, fish, wild fowl and vension . . . abound in their seasons". It was, he believed, "a desirable union of the utile dulci."

John Hooe Washington called Indiantown from the great quarter of Wises field thence up that branch to the head thereof where it joins the road leading out of the neck by Blenheim thence along that road till it strikes the line dividing Pea hill which I bought of John H. Washington from the ruins where Captain John Peyton new lives thence with the line of that land to Popes Creek thence along the meanders of the Creek including the Burnt house plantation and the Islands and Marsh in the Creek belonging to me, with my land on the Creek till it comes to the Marsh dividing the land formerly Mary Weeks now Mr. Latoos,¹¹ thence up the middle of the Marsh to the head thereof till it strikes the line of William Muse thence with Muses line to the Potomac river and with the river to the beginning.

Corbin also received the 105 acres of "Jonathans" which William Augustine had bought from Daniel Higdon and another 200 acres adjacent to the "Jonathan's" tract, basically a contiguous block of property separate from the Blenheim and Haywood plantations and Indiantown, which he loaned to his wife "during her life."¹²

It is already clear here that the old mansion site had become known as "the Burnt house plantation." It was already, as a matter of fact, known as such much earlier, even in 1796. In 1879 A. Lindenkaahl of the Coast and Geodetic Survey would label officially the projection of land southward from it into Popes Creek as "Burnt House Point."¹³

11. This was Henry Letuz from whose trustee John Gray, in 1818, bought the 60 acres and houses. (Northington, "Report," pp. 47-48).

12. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1 pp. 194-97 (Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 22, p. 165).

13. Hoppin, "The House," p. 93. Its use occurred in a sale of "A Certain Messuage tenement or parcel of land" by Nicholas Muse and his wife Ann to William Augustine Washington. This was for 9 1/16 acres for 45 pounds. It was adjacent to

George Corbin Washington, "of Georgetown in the district of Columbia," did not come to occupy his Popes Creek inheritance. Rather, less than three years later (October 13, 1813), he disposed of it by sale to John Gray of Stafford for the sum of 6,229 "Pounds ten Shillings," the total price being in the form of bank stocks, bonds, drafts and cash. It included "all that tract of land situate & lying in the Parish of Washington and County of Westmoreland known by the name of Wakefield,"¹⁴ some 981 1/2 acres. Included, too, was "the parcel of land called Jonathan's, the other 200-acre tract, and "a piece or parcel of land surrounded by the waters of Popes Creek known by the name of the great Island" as well as any interest "to the marshes in Popes Creek."¹⁵ This totaled some 1,300 acres. The deed of conveyance had one notable exception: "but reserves the family Burying ground at the Great Quarters also sixty feet square of ground on which the house stood in which General Washington was born."¹⁶

With this sale the Popes Creek Plantation (now Wakefield) acres, for a time went out of the Washington family. In a

"the said Washington's Burnt house Tract" and touched the head of "digwood swamp," being near "the said Washington Gate." It left Muse and Washington with a common boundary. (Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 160-61 Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 20, p. 264).

14. Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 1, pp. 207-09 Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 23, p. 85. It repeats the bounds given in William Augustine's will with some modification, or change, and now with general use of compass bearings. There was now a common boundary with Thomas, rather than William, Muse and mention of the "gate dividing Wakefield from the great pasture" and "the great Quarter gate."

15. This was 981 1/2 acres, plus 105 of "Jonathans," 200 in the other tract, and the "Great Island" (possibly 25). (Northington, "Report," pp. 33-34.

16. A plat was duly recorded; however, it gave no location or description of the house site or the burial ground, and thus controversy was born. (Northington, "Report," pp. 46-47).

sense they would return when ownership passed in 1867 from John F. Wilson, who had purchased it 21 years earlier, as a gift to his son, John E. Wilson, who married Betty, a granddaughter of William Augustine Washington.¹⁷

It now included, too, "Duck Hall," an area of 60 acres across Dancing Marsh. This area, adjacent to Washington holdings since Augustine's purchase of the Popes Creek home site had never been owned by them. John Gray had bought this tract with houses from Robert S. Hipkins, trustee of Henry Letuz, in 1818. From at least 1820 there was a house here but none shows in the tax records after 1832. It is possible, but not a certainty, that Aitheson, John Gray's son, who supervised Wakefield, may have lived here in Duck Hall until his death in 1822 in existing housing, or in new accommodations provided by his father.¹⁸

There were a number of sales and transactions affecting the Wakefield property in the interim between George Corbin Washington's sale to John Gray in 1810 and the Wilson purchase 36 years later; however, none of the documents add anything significantly revealing historically about the "ancient mansion seat" or the "ancestral burial ground."

In February 1832 John Gray advertised the plantation for sale in the Daily National Intelligencer (Washington, D. C.) describing it as 1300 acres upwards, as "rich river land, in a high state of cultivation--This property is the spot on which Gen. Washington was born, lying on Pope's Creek." It

17. Charles O. Paullin, "The Birthplace of George Washington," in News Service Bulletin (School Edition), Carnegie Institution of Washington, III, No. 10 (December 31, 1933), pp. 74-75; Northington, "Report," pp. 51-52.

18. Northington, "Report," pp. 47-52. This 60 acres, as previously noted, was a part of the old Henry Brooks patent and included the 48 acres which Brooks had given Nicholas Saxton, already "seated" here, in 1662. The tradition is that Aitheson (Atchinson) "brought Miss Willis from Fredericksburg, as a young wife not thirteen years old (one account says 'married at eleven, a mother, a widow, and again married before she was thirteen') that their child was born in Duck Hall, but soon died, he dying soon after." The family bible notes "Aitheson Gray died. March 4, 1822." Then, by report, Mrs. Gray "went to Florida and there met Prince Murat, a

was purchased by David Payne and Henry T. Garnett on May 10, 1832, in a transaction that referred to a plat of Wakefield made by Samuel Lampkin and dated October 15, 1813. On October 19, 1835, Garnett assigned his part of the estate to David Payne, who by will passed it on to his daughter, Elizabeth. Three years later (October 8, 1838) Elizabeth Payne's guardian, Lawrence W. Berry, conveyed title to Charles C. Jet. Jet just four days later, by deed of trust, gave title to Patrick C. Hobb, though he remained in possession until 1843.¹⁹

In that year, on March 25, the estate was put up at public auction. In the advertising that preceded the sale it was described as

the farm on which General Washington was born, called Wakefield, containing 1336 acres, between 7 and 800 of which are arable and river bottom of superior quality. The farm is situated between Pope's and Mattox Creek . . . There is on the premises a small Dwelling-house, with the necessary out-houses, attached to it; overseer's house, barns, and every convenience which could be required on a farm of its size.²⁰

To protect the Daniel Payne estate his executors bought the farm at public auction. Just three years later, April 11, 1846, John F. Wilson purchased it from the executor and William and Bettie (Elizabeth Payne) Wirt. The last transfer of the estate as a whole came in 1867, when John F. Wilson of Maryland gave the property to his son, John E. Wilson. Actually

nephew of Napoleon, who became infatuated with her, and they were soon married. The Murats built a mansion near Tallahassee, Florida, one of the show places of the capital." (Hoppin, "Seven Old Houses," Tyler's Quarterly, II, 88-89).

19. Northington, "Report," pp. 47-51, quoting from Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 27, p. 215; Loose Papers Deeds and Wills, Box for 1805-1814, Deeds and Wills, No. 29, pp. 18, 69, and No. 30, pp. 18-19.

20. Daily National Intelligencer, Washington, D. C., February 25, 1843, quoted in Northington, "Report," p. 51.

it seems John F. remained in Maryland and son John E. was actually in possession of it from 1847.

Tax records beginning in 1833 show no buildings on Wakefield, however, but for 1840 and later there is a modest entry. This increased in 1846 and a note was entered that a "New building [had been] Appraised." The next year saw substantial increase, likely to cover the new house of John E. Wilson whose descendants still occupy the house up Popes Creek from the mansion house site.²¹

In the meanwhile the ownership of the family burial plot and the sixty square feet of ground "on which the house stood in which General Washington was born" remained in Washington ownership all the while. This descended to George Corbin's son Lewis who, in 1858, conveyed these areas to the State of Virginia for appropriate preservation and marking.²²

21. Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 31, pp. 362, 513; No. 32 p. 228; No. 37, p. 561; Land Books, 1818-1833, 1834-50; Personal Property Tax Lists, 1782-1815 as quoted, or cited, in Northington, "Report," pp. 51-53.

22. Northington, "Report," pp. 54-55.

B. Marking a Site

The plantation seat was abandoned as a house after the fire of 1779 and the ruins stood empty, slowly melting, perhaps even aided by brick and building hardware salvagers. There is no description of this decay until 1815, or 1816 when the site was marked. Seemingly even the dependencies and outbuildings were abandoned and, for the most part, lost from sight. Like the major structures, the minor ones, too, became rubble lines and these also faded. The nature and extent of the housing at the site would, in the main, remain unknown until archeological exploration and excavation in the 1930's. These revealed a major, even massive structure (70' x 39') commonly known as Building X; a small structure (38' by 14' - 20') where the Memorial House stands; and several structures such as "The Kitchen" and "smoke house," with some fragments still unidentified.²³

Clearly most had disappeared from view in the 35-year span between "the fire" and the George Washington Parke Custis visit to the site. He came to Popes Creek in June 1815 expressly to mark the site. This he recounted "six-and-thirty" years later. It was done with some ceremony and in company with two gentlemen who came with him and a fishing party of several others, whom they encountered, as well as "the owner of the property":

We were kindly received by these individuals, and escorted to the spot, where a few scattered bricks alone marked the birthplace of the chief....We gathered together the bricks of an ancient chimney that once formed the hearth around which Washington in his infancy had played, and constructed a rude kind of pedestal, on which we reverently placed the FIRST STONE, commending it to the respect and protection of the American people in general, and the citizens of Westmoreland County in particular.

23. Rodnick, "Orientation Report," passim.

The freestone slab, by his report, had the inscription:

HERE

THE 11th OF FEBRUARY, 1732, (OLD STYLE)

GEORGE WASHINGTON

WAS BORN 24

Actually there had been an earlier, almost contemporary, reporting of this event. It was in the form of a story in the June 1, 1816, issue of the Alexandria Gazette headlined "A Stone Is Laid." This brief account in turn was reprinted in its entirety in the Richmond Enquire on June 12 and the Richmond Virginia Argus on June 8. It related:

Mr. Custis of Arlington, and a party of gentlemen, returning from Smith's Island, have visited Pope's Creek, in the County

24. The Custis letter of April 15, 1851, appearing in the Alexandria Gazette, is quoted in Benson J. Lossing, Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington by His Adopted Son, George Washington Parke Custis, with a Memoir of the Author by His Daughter (New York, 1860), pp. 127-28. In analyzing the report on the Custis marking, Rodnick concluded that: "It does seem likely that Custis assumed the Washington mansion to be around this chimney as a base....Certainly there is nothing in the Custis account to show that there were other foundations nearby, nor can we assume that he placed the stone in a foundation." One could make a case that the opposite is true as he put it "where a few scattered bricks alone mark the spot." As evidence of Custis' likely acceptance of the chimney it can be said: "This is evident, too, from the fact that when the surveys of 1813 and 1859 were re-run in 1937 the 60 foot square was found to surround the chimney." (Rodnick, "Orientation Report," pp. 12-13). It is notable here, perhaps, as will be seen later, that a description by John Farley of the U. S. Coast Survey, who was at the area in the summers of 1859 and 1860, indicates that the 60-foot square donated to Virginia in 1858 "lay nearby, but not actually on the birthplace site," thus adding some confirmation to the 1937 resurvey.

of Westmoreland, ever memorable as the birth place of our Washington, and have placed a Stone upon the remains of the old Mansion-House, in which the Hero first saw the light. The stone is a plain Freestone Slab, and bears this simple inscription:

HERE

ON THE 11th OF FEBRUARY, 1732,

WASHINGTON

WAS BORN

The report of cannon from the vessel, awakened the echoes of the place, and told, that Americans were paying affectionate tribute to the memory of their Chief. Westmoreland, 4th June 1816.²⁵

This was a significant event and it is regrettable that its reporting gave so little about the site itself. Obviously little was visible and little known even then. Consequently there was little detail and little that can be proved from this account through later some would give it the preciseness of valid, explicit gospel.

Other accounts that were to follow would help a little more, but not appreciably so. Even the Custis stone would be broken much before May 1857, and finally disappear, likely in the hands and pockets of souvenir seekers, by 1870. Two precise spots would be suggested from inferential references. One generally in the area of then-standing fig bushes: the other in a ploughed field nearby. The first suggests the Memorial Mansion site; the other points toward Building X. But all remains general, indistinct, and badly blurred, as a brief review will show.

25. This account was seemingly written by Custis for the editor of the Alexandria paper. It may suggest that the marking was in June 1816 rather than 1815 as Custis later recalled.

At the one hundredth anniversary of Washington's birth in 1832, the Phenix Alexandria Gazette, in its March 6 issue, ran an unsigned story that commented on the John Gray ownership of the place and on the Custis marker. Of the site, it wrote: "The house in which he first saw the light was about 300 yards from the Creek, 1/2 mile from its entrance into the Potomac. The mansion has long since fallen to ruins. Some of the trees of 'olden days,' are yet standing around it. There is nothing there at present to interest...." except for the reflective and contemplative. The writer, unknown, related that the Custis party (including Samuel Lewis, great-nephew of Washington, and the late William Grymes, an officer in the Revolution and member of Washington's body guard) "having gathered together as much material from the remains of the ancient mansion, as would serve as a rude pedestal, they deposited the stone thereon...."

A report in Joseph Martin's Gazetteer for 1835 repeats the substance of this account, as if he used it. He had this: "On Popes Creek the scarcely distinguished remains of a house are discovered, which tradition designates as the spot on which the illustrious WASHINGTON was born. In a few years these will have become obliterated as they are barely perceptible, and not a stone be left to point the inquisitive patriot to the place that gave birth to the 'Father of his Country.'" 26

Two years earlier, in 1833, the North American Magazine carried a story about the place by an unknown contributor:

The old house of his birth has long since mouldered. The cellar over which it stood, now mostly filled up, is about fifty feet in length from east to west, having what seems to be a wine vault in the corner. An orchard of apple trees of modern growth interspersed with other fruit trees, surrounds the old cellar; westerly of which are scattered some apple trees of a very

26. A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia and the District of Columbia (Charlottesville, Va., 1835), p. 291. A cryptic story in the Fredericksburg Virginia Herald (March 17, 1832) reported simply: "Nothing remains of the edifice . . . but a pile of ruins, and all around it has run to waste." It also called for the erection "of some suitable memorial."

ancient growth, with fruit of a delicious flavor. These trees are monuments of olden times: contemporaries probably with the childhood of the Great Statesman.²⁷

It seems notable that not yet has there been a mention of the fig trees, or of the Custis stone's association with them. The former does appear in the notations of James K. Paulding when he wrote in 1835. He briefly referred to the site as where: "A few scanty relics alone remain to mark the spot....A clump of old decayed fig trees, probably coeval with the mansion, yet exists; a number of vines, and shrubs, and flowers still reproduce themselves every year as if to mark its site, and flourish among the hallowed ruins." ²⁸

Some new elements now begin to appear as in the Washington, D. C., Daily National Intelligencer story of June 29, 1841. This record of a visit to the area, "at the site of some ruins. A tall chimney is all that now remains to inform the traveler that a house had existed there." The author continues:

Immediately beyond the chimney there is a loosened soil, presenting the appearance of an excavation, from which a clump of young fig-trees shoot up in wild luxuriance. By advancing a few paces, an unadorned slab, broken in the middle, caught my attention; it was partly covered with weeds and shoots from the fig-trees....his birth-spot is indicated only by a broken slab, which the ploughshare will some day bury forever. By clearing away from it, with filial affection, the weeds, I discovered that a large angular piece was broken, probably by some sacrilegious hand, by which, no doubt, it was borne away.

Then in summary the reporter wrote: "The slab caps a small mound, formed of bricks and earth; by standing on it, the Potomac and its shore on the Maryland side are distinctly seen. The waters of Popes Creek, are within a few hundred yards;

27. Quoted in Hudson, Handbook, p. 24.

28. Life of Washington (New York, 1835), I, 18-19.

and the Wakefield house (Wilson home), with its poplars, stands away to the left." For such an orientation only an alignment of direction such as Building X has would suffice. That which the Memorial Mansion has would not suffice. It would place the Wilson house to the rear right.²⁹

Already in the 1830's John Gadsby Chapman had visited here and painted the scene without structural detail. His was a quiet pastoral view overlooking the Creek and River. It was later that he added the Custis stone, to what evidently was this same sketch, to serve on the title page of Paulding's biography of Washington. Somewhat later, perhaps, Washington Irving was here and in course wrote: "Not a vestige of it [the house] remains. Two or three decayed fig-trees, with shrubs and vines, linger about the place, and here and there a flower grown wild serves 'to mark where a garden has been'... a stone marks the site of the house, and an inscription denotes its being the birthplace of Washington."³⁰

In a later report, John E. Wilson in 1846 related: "when I first knew the place and the neighborhood" he met with "people of all classes older than Mrs. Sarah Washington" and sought to learn as much as he could about the house and place. Evidently he was not very successful, and this could have been one of the reasons that he donated, later, a larger area than the Custis reservations, increasing the 60-foot square lot at the house site to "one acre of land or so much less as may be required," with the 60-foot square in the center, and "one half acre of land or less if requisite at the burial place."³¹

29. "A Portfolio: Chapman Paints The Washington Legend," in Virginia Cavalcade, XVII, (Winter, 1968), 20-29.

30. Life of George Washington (New York, 1855), I, 17-18. Benson Lossing, in his Washington biography, had even less to say about the house site: "Not a vestige of it is now surviving, but the last surviving executor has placed a stone where it stood...." This was pictured as in a grassy plot. (Washington, A Biography (New York, 1860), p. 25).

31. A letter of John E. Wilson to Hilary A. Herbert, O October 4, 1898, copy in library files of the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation; Northington, "Report," pp. 54-55, quoting Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 36, pp. 125-29. The Wilson gift included road rights of way into the

Wilson, in 1846, located only a single person "who said he remembered the house" that burned. He was one "Henry Weldon an uneducated man who said that in his younger days he was employed by the Lees as a miller at Stratford four miles distant and in his childhood he had sometimes made excursions as far as Popes Creek to hunt for crab apples which remained all winter in the dead leaves and grass in the orchard to the south of the Wakefield House." The house he remembered as one with "a main building with hipped roof and dormer windows and a one storied wing." ³²

Another observer of the scene in 1851 recorded his findings in the Richmond Whig on October 15, after a visit to the site. He reported the birthplace as "in the midst of a two hundred acre corn field, marked only by an old chimney, a mammoth fig tree, and a freestone slab....The slab is three feet long by one foot and a half wide and broken in two. About one hundred yards from the spot is Popes Creek, and about a mile distant the Potomac River -- The neglected condition of the spot bears record of shame against his county for neglecting to lift up a monument there, to his memory." ³³

birth site and the burial ground. The James W. English plat that covered this was resurveyed for study purposes in 1937, and "it is significant that the 12 poles by 14 poles figure at the Birthplace includes the Kitchen, Building X, and all the Mansion except a small part of the north end. Assuming that the Mansion does not conform to the foundations discovered there in 1930 (it actually extends a number of feet too far north) the figure would include all of the larger foundations discovered at Wakefield....May it not be possible that Mr. Wilson did not know, and was therefore unwilling to commit himself as to what foundation was the correct one, and that he generously donated sufficient land to include all of the then known foundations?" (Northington, "Report," pp. 54-55).

32. Wilson to Herbert, October 4, 1898. Mr. Weldon was an old man in 1846; however, he lived on until 1861.

33. Quoted in Northington, "Report," pp. 49-50.

Though broken, the slab inscription, judging by this report, was still legible. This reporter obviously found the area in an open field and made no comment on a tangle of vines, bushes, and weeds, though there was a single fig tree. In 1856 Bishop William Meade was at Popes Creek, and tersely reported: "I recently paid a visit to the old family site of the Washingtons....The brick-chimney is all that remains of the Washington mansion . . . except the broken bricks which are scattered over the spot where it was built. The grandson of Mrs. General Washington, Mr. Custis of Arlington, some years since placed a slab with a brief inscription on the spot, but it is now in fragments." ³⁴

Another reporter, J. A. Wineberger, however, about the same time wrote of the "granite slab, now broken in three pieces." ³⁵ There is, on the other hand, very revealing information in the further report of Wineberger having to do with the visit of Governor Henry A. Wise on April 27, 1858. ³⁶ The visit was in connection with the acquisition of the areas covered by the George Corbin Washington reservations of house site and cemetery. There are three very pertinent comments clearly indicating three spots, not one or two.

1. An "age person present remarked, that he distinctly remembered when a house occupied the spot where the chimney now stands and that it was used for a kitchen and laundry."

2. "Near this place [the chimney] is plainly visible a filled-up cellar, having chimney marks at each end, about sixty feet apart. This is supposed to be the identical locality where the house stood in which George Washington was born. It was either burnt or pulled down previous to the Revolutionary War."

34. Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia (Philadelphia, c. 1857 - reprinted), II, 169.

35. Home of Washington at Mount Vernon and Its Associations (Washington, D. C. c. 1866), pp. 49-50. This includes an engraving of the site with the Custis marker (p. 51)

36. Wineberger, Home of Washington, pp. 53-54.

3. "Immediately beyond the [standing] chimney, and close by the slab, a cluster of luxuriant fig trees have sprung up, the parents of which yet exist in a decayed condition, as remaining relics to point the traveler to the spot that gave birth to Washington."

These three locations are further identified, and separated, in a Daily National Intelligencer story that appeared on May 20, 1857.³⁷ This is yet another report on a visit to the area:

The House in which George Washington was born was destroyed by fire . . . A subsequent proprietor "either repaired one of the outhouses or a wing of the old one, or built a small house for his overseer out of the old materials."

So says Bishop Meade³⁸ and I am inclined to think, the [1] latter supposition correct from the appearance of the chimney of this second structure, which is all of it that remains. [2] Near it the filled-up cellar of the "birth mansion" is plainly visible, and the plough has turned up several bricks, pieces of earthenware, and other mementoes. [3] Close by a luxuriant clump of fig trees and other bushes mark

37. Washington, D.C. A later National Intelligencer story of May 5, 1858 reports further telling of the Wise visit of "27th ultimo" and described the site: "The 'birthplace' is now marked by the debris of a crumbling chimney, and is over grown by a thicket of fig trees, among which lies a marble tablet, now broken in three pieces." Then it told of reported plans: "We learn that it is proposed suitably to enclose these consecrated localities [house site and graveyard] and to attach them to a 'porter's lodge,' in which shall be installed a custodian of the grounds, as well as a guide for the visitors who may make a pilgrimage to the Mecca of American patriotism."

38. Actually Meade wrote: "Some years since it was owned by Mr. John Gray, of Travellers' Rest, near Fredericksburg, who either repaired one of the outhouses or a wing of the old one, or built a small house for his overseer out of the old materials, - the birthplace of General Washington . . ." (Old Churches, II, 169).

the garden-ground, and a few daffodils bloom along the edges, where the matted roots of the fig trees resist cultivation. There is also a solitary apple tree, said to be the last survivor of an orchard immediately around the house, but I searched in vain for a suitable one for grafting, for the recent severe winters have evidently destroyed all lingering vitality.

A small monumental slab, sadly mutilated, lies upon the ground in the clump of fig trees, where it was removed from the site of the "birth-mansion" [underscoring supplied]. It originally had this inscription: "Here, the 11th February, 1732, Washington was born."

This then is the picture: a broken, now illegible, stone moved from an open cultivated area to the shadow of growing fig trees and a chimney at hand. With cultivation continuing, the identity of even a "plainly visible" basement depression could soon be lost and the location of the stone, even when gone, become fixed in the conscience of tradition. In later years even John E. Wilson could comment: "The survey and plat of the property [1813] which accompanies the deed [Washington to Gray] does not indicate the location of either of these reservations: leaving to tradition alone the memory of the exact spot - except that two small gravestones still remain at the burying ground." 39

A most interesting account of the birthplace ruins appeared in 1874 in the form of a description by John Farley, "Assistant United States Coast Survey," who visited the area in the summers of 1859 and 1860. "On landing he found that there were few traces of the old homestead remaining, but still sufficient to identify its exact locality, and almost enough, with careful scrutiny, to trace out the ground plan." What he described was a group of remains strongly suggestive of the Building X composition, now that the ruins of this have been bared:

Although the house had been destroyed by fire, there still remained the ruins of

39. Wilson to Herbert, October 4, 1898.

two large chimneys, nearly even with the ground, which once stood at each end of the house, in the old style of country architecture, the half within and half without the building. These indicated its former length.

The proprietor of the plantation (Mr. Wilson) was present and pointed out the localities, as he had been informed by G. W. Parke Custis, esq. Mr. Custis stated that on the westerly end of the house was a small wing or side-building which sometimes served as a bed-room, and that it was in this identical room that George Washington first saw the light. Such was his confidence in this fact that he caused to be placed upon the spot a slab of cut sandstone, similar to the "Old Capitol...."

Farley reports that on his first visit he "found the slab in its place, although it had been fractured by some rude hand in three pieces." On a subsequent visit he found it removed "altogether." In 1859, however, he had made a tracing and was able to get the exact size and style of lettering.

In front of the said side-building a row of fig trees ran parallel to it, and the roots, resisting the inroads of time, still continued to put forth vigorous shoots. Underneath one of the probable windows of this room he found a quaint, old-fashioned bolt or window-fastening, deeply corroded with rust, which he preserved: Around the place he gathered several pieces of antique china and glass, generally in small fragments.

In commenting on the bricks of the two chimneys ruins he further reported that they "were of a very peculiar kind, and unlike any modern ones, being very much larger every way -- say nine inches long, four and a half inches wide, and two and a half inches thick--and seemed to have been rudely manufactured by the slaves on the plantation. He found a hundred or two whole ones and collected several boxes full." But there was more:

The proprietor pointed out to him two standing chimneys about twenty

yards west of the old site of the house
which belonged to an overseer's building,
and also mentioned that a portion of
the ground near the spot had been donated
to the State....

Then the account concludes with a timely message:

Few if any, vestiges of this place will be left ere long unless some true admirer of Washington will endeavor to reserve the spot from perfect oblivion by marking the place where these two old chimneys, which yet serve to show the position of the house. For instance, there are sufficient fragments of those chimneys now remaining to form two very respectably-sized monuments by building them into a cubical shape and incorporating them well with hydraulic cement.⁴⁰

It seems significant here to report another description from about the same time. This stemmed from the Governor Wise visit of April 27, 1858. It was reported that: "Near this place [the standing chimney] is plainly visible a filled-up cellar, having chimney marks at each end, about sixty feet apart. This is supposed to be the identical locality where the house stood in which General Washington was born."⁴¹

Together, here is reference to two chimneys, to a cellar-basement, and to a 60-foot length as well as to a wing, or "side-building," to foundations of substance, and even to east-west orientation. With the archeological-architectural facts now in, it is clear that the ruins of Building X in a real sense meet all of these specifications and the ruins found at the Mansion house do not, except for east-west alignment which the Mansion does not follow.

40. The National Republican, February 2, 1874. The underscoring in these quotations has been supplied.

41. Wineberger, The Home of Washington at Mount Vernon, pp. 27-28.

C. Public Acquisition and a Monument

Public ownership at the Washington house site and at the cemetery began in 1858, on September 18, when William Lewis Washington of Jefferson County, then in Virginia, deeded, as heir from his father George Corbin, his and the family interest to the State of Virginia.⁴² Such an offer had been extended as early as 1856, and Bishop Meade had been encouraged by the development as he wrote. The condition was solely as a gift "to the mother State of Virginia, in perpetuity that the State require the said places to be permanently enclosed with an iron fence based on stone foundations together with suitable and modest (though substantial) tablets, to commemorate to rising generations these notable spots." The Governor is reported to have approved of the acceptance and the terms and to have estimated that two thousand dollars would suffice.⁴³

This prompted Governor Wise's visit to the site on April 27, 1858, which concerned an inspection and survey of the land. By Joint Resolution of January 20, 1858, the Assembly had approved the project and appropriated \$5,000 to meet the terms of the agreement. A letter of appreciation went from the Legislature to Col. William Lewis Washington through the Governor's Office.⁴⁴ It was a year later that John E. Wilson donated lands for road rights-of-way and an enlargement of both the house site and cemetery areas. At the home site he increased the area by "one acre of land or so much less as may be required so annexed to the reservation of Sixty feet square at the Birthsite -- as to contain equal quantities on either side of said reservations." It was "also one-half acre of land or less if requisite at the Burial place." At the house site it was clearly indicated that the original sixty-foot square be in the center of the easement which he granted.⁴⁵

42. Northington, "Report," p. 54, quoting Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 35, pp. 656.

43. Daily National Intelligencer, February 14, 1856; Wineberger, Home of Washington, p. 53.

44. Hoppin, "The House," in Tyler's Quarterly, VIII, 102; Wineberger, Home of Washington, pp. 53-54.

45. Northington, "Report," p. 54, quoting Westmoreland Deeds and Wills, No. 36, pp. 125-29.

Unfortunately State ownership did not insure that the fencing and marking promised would be achieved. It was not. The Civil War was just over the horizon and all energies would go elsewhere. No more official action would come until the late 1870's, and this initially at the federal level.

Prior to this the Custis store disappeared and the old chimney came to be the lone clearly visible reminder of the architectural past on the Popes Creek plantation site, though there evidently were more surface reminders for those who looked carefully. Sarah Pierpont Barnard saw and painted the old chimney in 1872, the year before it is thought to have toppled over.⁴⁶

There was, too, an interesting story in the Alexandria (Virginia) Gazette in 1873.⁴⁷ A Westmoreland correspondent for the Gazette had read the May 30 issue of the Richmond Whig and been provoked about some "trivial errors" into which the author had fallen, "misled no doubt by information derived from sources imperfectly informed on the historical men and events of Westmoreland." One mistake had to do with a statement that "the house in which Washington was born is only marked by a remnant of a chimney". The correspondent continued:

There is a chimney standing at the spot, but it [is] almost certain both from tradition and from unmistakable circumstances and local indications, that this chimney was not attached to the house in which Washington was born. It was no doubt a part of an outbuilding within the curtilage. The dwelling house stood nearer the margin of Popes Creek for whilst every vestige of a building has long since perished, there are yet quite distinct traces of the foundation of a house, marked by indications of the bottom walls, and a perceptible sink, denoting the place of a cellar.

46. Hudson, "Historical Handbook," pp. 25-26.

47. Issue of June 11; De B. Randolph Keim, A Guide to the Potomac River, Chesapeake Bay and James River (Washington, D. C., 1881), pp. 42-45.

There is no reference here to fig trees and weed growth which would have obscured such a depression that could readily have been seen in a cultivated field.

There is a persistent recurrence of references to surface indications in the mid-century period that go beyond the lone chimney. One such is that by Moncure D. Conway. This did not appear in published form until 1892; however, he does not say when he visited the site. He writes that it is clear at least:

to an observing eye that it [the birthplace] was a large mansion. A little digging reveals massive brick foundations, and all the features of the ground indicate a noble residence. The site of the large flower garden is traceable by certain outlines, and also by descendants of the flowers once cultivated there. There are remains of a large brick-walled dairy, built underground.⁴⁸

The state of neglect and lack of appropriate note at Washington's Birthplace reached the halls of Congress in the late 1870's and there was positive action in 1879. On June 17 a joint resolution was approved that appropriated \$3,000 for "a monument to mark the birthplace" site and the Secretary of State was designated "to carry out this patriotic propose" with dispatch. This precipitated a visit to the area by Secretary of State William M. Evarts in company with Gen. W. T. Sherman, Charles C. Perkins of Boston, and a small party of invited guests, including ladies, on October 31 of the same year.⁴⁹

The trip was made down the Potomac on the U.S.S. Tallapoosa and a landing effected in small boats (a gig, a

48. Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock, p. 55. He comments further: "In describing that house as a small one, writers have followed each other like a flock of sheep; but even a flock of sheep, grazing over the debris of Wakefield, might discover . . .," if they but looked.

49. Hoppin, "The House," in Tyler's Quarterly, VIII, 101-02; Paullin, "Birthplace," p. 75.

yawl, and a whale boat) at Bridges Creek. Dr. [William?] Wirt and Mr. John E. Wilson met the party in carriages, which were driven into the river some distance to help insure a dry landing. Among the welcoming party were Robert and Lloyd Washington, "and all drove to the site of the birthplace." It was duly reported that "C. C. Perkins, of Boston, an art connoisseur and author, one of the party; made sketches of the distinguished objects of the place consisting of an ancient brick chimney, a pile of bricks, a clump of fig trees, and a juniper." Then the party visited the Wilson Wakefield home, being received by "Mrs. Bettie Wilson, and Mrs. Sallie Washington, her mother. This matronly dame [Mrs. Washington], born in 1799, was granddaughter of Augustine Washington, half-brother of George Washington, and widow of her cousin Lawrence Washington." After lunch the party returned to Bridges Creek for departure, stopping enroute at "the old family cemetery." 50

It is clear from this that the Custis stone no longer existed and that a chimney was the chief object of note. Evarts seems to have accepted this as marking the site, and it should be noted that he had the benefit of communication with members of the Washington family who should have been among the best informed. Perkins himself detailed the situation:

The place where the house stood is completely bare, but just behind it are the remains of the great brick chimney of the kitchen, which in all early houses was an out-building. A pencil sketch which I made on the spot shows its present condition... Close by the ruined kitchen-chimney of the homestead, grow the fig-tree shoots, shrubs and vines spoken of by Irving as "marking the place where a garden had been," but the stone set by Mr. Custis upon the site of the house, to which the historian refers, has disappeared.

The mission of the official "expedition", he related, was "to identify the site of the house in which Washington was

50. Keim, A Guide to the Potomac River, pp. 42-45. Keim was a member of the official party.

born; to ascertain what part of it remained standing; and to decide some means of protecting the ruins from destruction...." 51

The visit to the area convinced Evarts that \$3,000 was not enough to do an effective commemoration. He conveyed the thought to Samuel J. Randall, Speaker of the House of Representatives, that in his view it would require a \$30,000 "structure" to insure that "the place" would "be preserved and marked with a suitable monument." Congress acted on February 26, 1881, to increase the authorization to this amount. In the meanwhile Virginia, on April 21, 1882, instructed its Governor, William E. Jameson, to convey to the United States the lands it had received about the birthplace by donation from William Lewis Washington in 1858.

Evarts decided not to proceed with the erection of a memorial building or monument until Congress made a further appropriation to provide a better means of access by water and land. This was despite the fact that Perkins had designed a memorial building acceptable to Evarts. Plans had been executed by Home and Dodd, Boston Architects, and these were cleared on April 24, 1881, by the new Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, for working drawings and estimates. The structure which Evarts and Perkins had in mind seemingly was one of granite over the site with bronze grill, doors, etc., for viewing the inside. It "was of Romanesque design with large bronze doors. Inside the building were to have been the Ancient Kitchen Chimney, and the family burial vault, taken from the Bridges Creek site." The remaining tablets from the cemetery were to be mounted on the outside of the building.⁵² Some site study was undertaken. "Nearby the site of the stone and just outside the fig thicket appears

51. Perkins, "Visit to the Birthplace of Washington," in Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XVII, (1879-1880), 239-40 and sketch between pages 240-41. Charles Callahan Perkins (1823-1886) was a wealthy Boston artist and critic and organizer of art and music activities, such as the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The chimney sketch he did on the site shows the chimney as a dominating feature, the only structural element. Paullin, also, reproduces it in "The Birthplace," p. 73.

52. Moore, Birthplace, p. 13; New York Times, April 24, 1881, and November 26, 1893; Rodnick, "Orientation Report," pp. 25-26, quotes from "Plans for Memorial Building, 1882," in State Department Files, National Archives.

an excavation [reported Thornton A. Washington of a visit in 1882], made under the personal supervision of Mr. [F.O.] St. Clair of the Department of State in 1881-2 by a practical civil engineer representing Mr. Perkins, the designer of the memorial building, with the view of determining the character of the sub-strata."⁵³

The Thornton A. Washington visit also yielded a description of the site that introduces a very precise location for a spot that had been blurred and indistinct for some three-quarters of a century, as has been shown. No new evidence was offered and it was accompanied by the most general and vague of descriptions that even suggest that John E. Wilson never saw the Custis stone all in one piece and one place. "Not the smallest fragment of this [Custis] stone is now to be found; it having been broken up and carried off from time to time by relic hunters." Wilson, however, reported to him that in his tenure of residence all the pieces of the stone were there and could be assembled to show:

—Here
Feb. 11, 1732
Washington
was Born

Despite this, it was reported that in 1882, that on approaching the:

site of birthplace from Wilson's house, the ruins of an old brick chimney are first reached. There is first a large fragment of the chimney, a cube of bricks and mortar of nearly three feet, surrounded by the debris of the rest of the chimney, furnishing a pile or mound of about ten feet in diameter and 3 or 4 in height. About 10 feet beyond this, and on a continuation of the same line, begins a dense thicket of shrubby fig trees covering a circular space of nearly fifty feet diameter, thickly matted together, the largest of which are three

53. Hoppin, "The House," in Tyler's Quarterly, VII, 100.

inches at the base and 8 to 10 feet high. Proceeding to the farther end of this thicket are 4 to 5 hackberry trees from 16 to 18 inches in diameter; all of which Mr. Wilson says have grown up since his ownership of Wakefield. Near the right hand portion of the thicket and several feet within it is found the spot where G. W. Parke Custis, in 1813 [sic 1815], placed the memorial stone at a point which he determined upon to be just inside the window of the room in which George Washington was born.⁵⁴

The above underscoring has been added as it is the very weak heart of the defense of the Memorial Mansion's "precise location."

A little earlier, on May 5, 1881, R. J. Washington and J. E. Wilson had written to Secretary Blaine asking that he reconsider the site to be marked. They had learned from newspapers and from the architect, "who has lately visited the place, that the design for a monument adopted by the Department of State contemplates the closing in a structure of granite and bronze, the remains of an old chimney near the site of the old Washington mansion in which the General was born." This they thought was a mistake, since "This chimney was never a part of the original building; and is 45 to 50 feet from the nearest point of the foundations of the old mansion." Should the monument or memorial be placed "on any other spot than the identical one formerly occupied

54. As reported in Hoppin, "The House," in Tyler's Quarterly, VIII, 99-102. From Thornton Washington's description it would seem that the fig thicket then stretched from the base of the chimney to where the Memorial building now stands. As Rodnick has concluded, the most plausible explanation is that he had reference to a 50-foot fig thicket stretching east from the old chimney. By adding 10 feet from chimney to fig thicket this would get the magic 60 feet. In any case Hoppin saw preciseness in this when he wrote, in 1930, "A minute examination of the site of the birthhouse . . . made in 1882 . . . by Hon. Thornton A. Washington . . . indicates that from the remains of the base of the chimney at one end of the site to the opposite end of the house . . . was about 60 feet." He could have added, but did not, that this gives an east-west orientation and not a northsouth one. (Rodnick, "Orientation Report," pp. 20-21; Hoppin, "Size and Character," in Tyler's Quarterly, XI, 158.

by the dwelling house itself a doubt would arise as to whether he had fulfilled the intention of Congress to mark the Birth Place." It seems not of record as to how this suggestion was handled, but it could have had a part in the ultimate decision for a plan.⁵⁵

Dr. St. Clair, carrying on his investigations at the site, including some "archeology", it seems, concluded that the government needed more area as "the ground conveyed to Virginia is totally inadequate in area if it be the purpose of the Government to execute the wish of Congress." He was greatly concerned about the inaccessibility of the site without a wharf and urged it again on March 11, 1884. After having had a survey made, he offered two proposals to Secretary of State Frederick F. Frelinghuysen on March 12, 1882. One was to secure the "entire neck of land bounded by Pope's Creek on two sides and a marsh on the third side" -- 11 acres and a 100 foot right-of-way "to Bridge Creek Landing." The second called for a 300 foot square around the birthplace and a 50-foot right-of-way. He was successful in that the 11 acres and 50-foot right-of-way were acquired. On July 10, 1883, some 21 acres were purchased from John E. Wilson, a little more than 11 acres surrounding the birthsite and the right-of-way to the "Burying Ground and Potomac River beyond."

Title precautions for the original reservations were taken in April and May, 1882, when the United States, for small token amounts took deeds for any rights that might remain to the several heirs of William Lewis Washington, who had died in 1868. Though the deeds to the burial ground and the house site were good, Virginia had not lived up to its 1858 commitments.⁵⁶

Despite urgings in 1884 and the possible involvement of President Chester A. Arthur, the development and marking

55. Rodnick, "Orientation Report," pp. 29-30.

56. Northington, "Report," pp. 55-56, citing court records; Hoppin, "The House," in Tyler's Quarterly, VII, 102; Rodnick, "Orientation Report," pp. 25,29-30. Dr. F. O. St. Clair was in charge of the on-site exploratory work at the area and his survey of March 6, 1882, was by T. Hunter, Jr. The survey seemed to show that the 60-foot square enclosed the "Ancient Kitchen," and this likely had a bearing on the plan to enclose it in a memorial structure.

of the house and the cemetery areas were allowed to go into eclipse for a time. Not much happened until 1893. In that year Congress enacted legislation on February 25 that called for a wharf on the Potomac convenient to the birthplace site and also approved plans for a fifty-foot obelisk to mark the site.

A headline in the New York Daily Tribune late in November 1893⁵⁷ read "Birthplace of Washington - Steps to Mark an Historic Spot Begin - To Be Rescued from Long Neglect." This signaled the start of activity that led to the erection of a monument at the "ancient mansion seat" two years later. Col. John M. Wilson of the Engineer Corps of the Army had been put in charge. Capt. John Stewart of the Bureau of Public Parks and Grounds was named to be the man on the site. One of the first acts was to let a contract for a 1,050-foot wharf 16 feet wide. The Tribune's story continued, "Nothing remains of the original dwelling....Up to a few years ago a lone chimney stood marking this historic spot, but now nothing remains save a cluster of trees, a few bushes and a pile of broken brick." A New York Times story about the same date⁵⁸ related that: "All that remains of the house in which Washington was born is a ruined hearthstone and chimney." This account indicated that Colonel Wilson objected to the earlier Evarts plan and suggested instead the laying of a concrete foundation "in the space occupied by the ruins of the house [chimney?]" which would support a "monster piece of granite." A year later this had been resolved and it was released that "Secretary [of State] Gresham has decided that a shaft of American granite, high enough to be plainly visible from passing vessels, a distance of five miles, would be the most suitable structure, but the exact design and inscription have not yet been determined."⁵⁹ The completion of the necessary wharf had, however, removed the need for more delay. Some 33 proposals were submitted in competition, and the design selected

57. November 17.

58. November 26; Rodnick, "Orientation Report," pp. 30-31. Rodnick cites extensively from the State Department Files in the National Archives.

59. New York Times, November 28, 1894.

was that by John Crawford & Son of Buffalo, New York. It called for a 51-foot shaft of light Barre (Vermont) granite on a 12-foot square base, the monolith being 42 feet high and weighing 35 tons. "It is similar in all respects, except size, to the small monument erected by the same firm at Fredericksburg, Va., last Spring in memory of the mother of Washington." ⁶⁰

Things were moving well early in 1896. The shaft was expected in March, and Colonel Wilson indicated that "it will be necessary to construct a short railway . . . to the place where the monument is to stand . . . The ceremonies attending its unveiling will probably be without formality and simple in character." ⁶¹ The schedule was followed and the shaft was put into position on April 2, and the monument was complete "without a flaw or blemish." Inspection was expected in the next day or two. There was this further note: "No arrangements have been made for the dedication of the monument." ⁶²

Later Wilson reported that the "absolute cost of the monument, the tall iron fence, grading, seeding, constructing paths . . . was exactly \$12,057.69." It was placed in the custody of the office of Public Buildings and Grounds of the Corps of Engineers and "is cared for by a watchman appointed by the War Department." ⁶³ He could very well have often had a lonely vigil.

60. New York Times, December 21, 1894. A Times story of January 7, 1895, stated that 29 designs were submitted. There was a further interesting note as well: "A substantial pier has been constructed which will enable river steamers to carry tourists from Washington and land them within a short distance of the monument's site, which is very near the ruins of the old Washington homestead." (Italics are supplied). Two weeks later another story indicated that the monument "must be completed no later than July 1, 1896," that the monolith would weigh 38 tons, and that "a private corporation has been formed to establish a summer and winter resort at the landing." (Times, January 24, 1895).

61. New York Daily Tribune, January 25, 1896.

62. Daily Tribune, April 4, 1896.

63. Daily Tribune, February 14, 1897.

Prior to the construction of the monument the Army Engineer Corps explored and mapped the foundations on the immediate site where the shaft was raised. This was done by Capt. John Stewart, who made a careful drawing of his findings. These consisted of a rather slight structure measuring some 38 feet long with 15-inch walls. Though destroyed when the Memorial Mansion was built, it has been described as:

a brick foundation composed of two unequal parts, separated by a 15-inch brick wall. The length of the structure was about 38-1/2 feet from west to east. The larger room on the west was 18 feet by 14 feet in dimension. In the northwest corner of this room was a large brick wedge-shaped foundation that came in about four or five feet. The north and west walls of this part were not bonded, leaving an opening of about three feet between them. The walls were of 15-inch brick, while the wedge must have been from 30 to 45 inches in thickness. The smaller room to the east was 13 feet 9 inches by 21 feet 3 inches. In the southeastern part of this room was a half angle wall that must have been used as some sort of bin or storage room, since the dimensions of the latter space could not have been more than 9 feet by 8 feet. The only object that could be identified as a fireplace was in the southeastern part of the second unit.⁶⁴

Colonel Stewart evidently did not explore far from the location he was given, and obviously John E. Wilson had wished for more. He wrote in 1898: "Captain Stewart's measurements and drawings were made in the most careful accuracy, but I am not sure that he succeeded in uncovering all of the foundations. He commenced his digging at a spot where he was told the Custis stone had formerly lain, and finding beneath the spot the foundation as depicted in the drawing of the west room, he had executed his orders when he located the center of the monument in that room...." ⁶⁵

64. Rodnick, "Orientation Report," pp. 31-32; a view of the foundations reproduced in Paullin, "Birthplace," p. 75.

65. Letter, Wilson to Herbert, October 4, 1898.

If John E. Wilson, who wrote this, was concerned only about foundations at the one site, then his concern was unfounded, as re-excavations in 1926 and 1930 clearly showed. If he had other sites in mind he was quite correct to be concerned, as the excavations of 1930 and 1936 were to show clearly. Having seen the foundations, however, Wilson was convinced of a long side facing north or south orientation for the house and not one facing east or west,⁶⁶ the same orientation that Building X has. David Rodnick in his 1942 evaluation was quite specific in his views of the foundations and the type of structure they could have supported:

In view of the size and shape of this foundation, it does not seem likely that it was anything but an outbuilding, evidently used by Augustine Washington 1st as a manufactory of some sort, and perhaps later employed for some other purpose. It could have been used to make the wooden hogshead for tobacco, or it could have been the sawyer's place, or it might have been even a small charcoal iron furnace. Since no details were given by Captain Stewart as to what he found, it is difficult to imagine what the structure could have been. The wedge-shaped brick wall in the western unit is the clue to the use, or uses, to which the building was put. It could not have been a residence, since it is quite small. There appears to have been but one fireplace in the entire structure, and

66. He wrote: About the fronting of the house - the only land approach was from the west - Popes Creek and one of its arms cutting off all access from the other three directions. The foundations of a double chimney at the west end seem to prelude the supposition that was the front. If it fronted north it would look across an arm of Popes Creek toward the dwelling place one-half mile off of a family of Wicklifs who emigrated to Kentucky about the close of the last century. Looking toward the south is a large expanse of level ground, the present fertility of which shows the effect of old manuring and the presence to this day of bulbs of several varieties of flowering plants, seem to indicate that the garden and orchard were in that direction. (Wilson to Herbert, October 4, 1898).

that being a small one in the southeastern part of the foundation near what appears to have been the storage room. The entire plan of the structure makes it seem likely that it was used for anything but an out-building.⁶⁷

The findings in 1895 were disappointingly small and ultimately led to all kinds of apologies and explanations. Rodnick relates: "That the excavation in 1896 must have surprised many of the people in that neighborhood is evidenced by the rumors that rose later that the monument was placed on the wrong site. As late as 1926, Dr. Charles Moore, Chairman of The Fine Arts Commission and Vice-President of the Wakefield National Memorial Association, was convinced that the mansion was nearer Popes Creek."⁶⁸

Less positive in some of its aspects, but equally positive in the dependency status of the structure that these foundations supported, is the view of Archeologist Bruce B. Powell. After a re-evaluation in 1968 of all the recorded findings his conclusion is that: "It [the building] is of the historic period, and was probably a dependency of the Washington farm. It may be the dairy mentioned by Moncure

67. Rodnick, "Orientation Report," pp. 32-33. Rodnick does not doubt that this was where Custis placed his stone in 1815: "The only possibility that offers itself as explanation for this marking is the fact that Custis placed the marker some 60 feet east of the chimney then standing. Knowing, perhaps, that 60 feet square of the Birthplace had been reserved by George Corbin Washington in 1813, Custis may have assumed that the chimney marked the western end of the mansion." There is a distinct possibility, however, as we have seen, that something may have happened to the stone and its location (one account says it was moved) in the thirty-year interval after 1815, when there seems to have been little local interest, the marker was fragmented, and the evidence is that it was loose and unsecured. This would have been before the Wilson arrived on the scene.

68. "Orientation Report," pp. 33-34.

Daniel Conway, but whatever it was, I am convinced it was not the site of George Washington's birth."⁶⁹

69. "Archeology of the Popes Creek Area: George Washington Birthplace National Monument" (typed report dated May 15, 1968), p. 97. Earlier in his report (pp. 19, 27-28) Mr. Powell commented: "In view of the lack of evidence, I am not prepared to say what the structure was. I know of no other colonial building which shows a feature just like the semi-circular brick work in the west end. The structure at the southeast corner is probably the foundation of an outside chimney. The angle wall in the east room is peculiar In general, the foundations seem to me more apt to represent an out-building than a dwelling." He speculates for vats for tanning, or of fireplaces for low-temperature operations as brewing or baking. He points out that the west end, "very shallow," may have been without basement of any type, but the east end, "much deeper," may have had a low one. Powell's room measurements differed from those reported by Rodnick - the west 20' by 17'3" rather than 18' by 14' and the east 21'3" by 15'9" rather than 21'3" by 13'9".

D. The "Family Vault at Bridges Creek" 70

Neglect and abandonment settled over the Washington cemetery even deeper than it did the mansion site in the earlier decades, in fact, through the entire period of the nineteenth century. In 1851 it was recorded: "One quarter of a mile from the birth site, on the same estate, is an old fashioned vault, in a dilapidated condition" and the writer continued that there was "a tomb stone at the side door" with inscriptions denoting the date and burial of John Washington (1690) and Mildred Washington (1696), the eldest son and eldest daughter of Capt. Lawrence Washington.⁷¹ Evidently this observer did not see the tablet for Jane, Augustine's first wife, though it was there at a later date.

70. Writings of Washington, XXXII, 26-31.

71. Quoted from the Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser, issue of October 15, in Northinton, "Report," pp. 49-50. The inscriptions were reported, seemingly, in greater accuracy by Charles Perkins, who had John E. Wilson copy them for him just after his visit in 1878:

Here lyes ye Body of JANE
Wife of Augustine Washington
Born at Popes Creek Virginia
Westmoreland ye 24th Xber
1699 & died ye 24th of 9ber 1729
Who left behind her two sons
& one daughter

Here lyeth the body of
JOHN WASHINGTON, Eldest
son to Captain Lawrence
Washington, who departed
this life ye 10th of Jan-
uary 1696
Aged 10 years & 6 months.
Also MILDRED WASHINGTON
Eldest daughter to said
Washington, who departed
ye 1st of August 1696
Aged 5 months.

A little earlier Wineberger could find but "a few partially decayed posts, only [these] remain of the old enclosure around this consecrated locality." "Near the vault" he, too, found the "moss-covered tombstone" that recorded the death of the children, John and Mildred.⁷² It remained for Bishop Meade to give a more complete description of decay in the late 1850s:

the vault in a neighboring field [is] a mile off [from the mansion house site]. I also visited that spot, which no one can look upon without distress and even disgust....The vault where so many of the Washington family are interred is in an open field and unenclosed. A small space around it is covered with grass, briars, shrubs, and a few small trees. Itself can only be distinguished by the top of the brick arch which rises a little above the surface. The cavity beneath has been very properly filled up with earth by Mr. Lawrence Washington, one of its late proprietors, to prevent the bones of the dead being taken away by visitors who had begun then to pillage it. Not far from the vault there was a large slab lying on the ground, with the name of one of the family and two of his children.⁷³

When the Secretary Evarts party visited Popes Creek on October 31, 1879, they, too, visited the burial ground. "The old vault had fallen in, and was overgrown with wild vines;

Ref. "Visit to the Birthplace of Washington," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 17, (1879-1880), p. 241. When Thornton A. Washington gave them in rather careful fashion in 1882, his transcription was essentially the same except that he gave Jane's birthdate as the 21st rather than the 24th. Ref. Hoppin, "The House," in Tyler's Quarterly 8, 100.

72. Home of Washington, pp. 50-53.

73. Old Churches, Ministers and Families, p. 169.

the cattle of the neighboring fields here sought the shade of the overhanging trees. After digging away the rubbish, two time-worn slabs were revealed." ⁷⁴

Thornton A. Washington's description of an 1882 visit was almost more of the same:

The burial vault is located to the left of the road leading from Wilson's to Bridges Creek landing....The original structure partially caved in a number of years ago and was afterwards filled in and covered over with earth by Mr. Wilson in order to protect it from the innovations of the relic hunters who had, on one occasion at least, carried off some of the bones which had been exposed to view, but who was fortunately detected and made to restore them. There are two slabs of stone about 3 feet by 4 feet in size lying flat on the surface and a few feet distant from the vault.... ⁷⁵

The report in 1893 was that the vault was only a short distance from the birthplace, "but nothing remains except a group of trees and a few marble slabs with inscriptions almost illegible." ⁷⁶ Though the mansion seat was marked with an obelisk in 1896, nothing was done at the cemetery until 1906. At that time the Colonial Dames of America made some improvements here including a fence around the area, which brambles took over in due course. ⁷⁷

74. Keim, Guide, p. 44.

75. Hoppin, "The House," in Tyler's Quarterly, VIII, 100.

76. New York Daily Tribune, November 16.

77. Moore, Birthplace, p. 13; Hudson, Historical Handbook, pp. 42-43.

The present treatment came in 1930, bringing a substantial brick wall and iron gates, fine new table stones, special mounting for the two old tombstone fragments, planting, landscaping, and walks:

The original vault of the Washingtons was uncovered and reconstructed; the remains (impossible of identification), found in the vault and adjoining graves, were carefully put in a large casket and placed within the rebuilt vault. Over the vault, a monument has been erected, inscribed to John Washington, the immigrant; four tablestones [two on either side of the vault] have been inscribed to the descendants of John Washington known to have been buried here.⁷⁸ One side of the vault carries this inscription:

The ancient brick Vault beneath this stone was rebuilt and the remains therein, of possibly twelve burials and twenty adjoining graves, were re-interred here April 28, 1930 by the Wakefield National Memorial Association.

78. Mocre, Birthplace, p. 15.

79. Mocre, Birthplace, p. 15.

Chapter IX

Plantation Memorialization

A. The Wakefield Association

Following the erection of the monument in 1895-96 things remained quiet at Popes Creek and little happened. However, there were those who believed that more was needed adequately to mark, explain, and interpret this site and area. In the early 1920s a group of public spirited citizens, chiefly women, banded together to seek a more meaningful memorialization of the old Washington place where our first president was born. The forceful and capable leader of this group was Mrs. Harry L. (Josephine Wheelwright) Rust, a descendant of both Colonels Nathaniel Pope and John Washington, and she was assisted by Dr. Richard Washington.

When the Wakefield National Memorial Association was formed on February 11, 1923 (incorporated in 1924), Mrs. Rust became its first president and continued in this capacity until her death in June 1931. Her role "as the active, stimulating force in arousing effective Government and private aid" was clearly evident throughout, as was the strong support of an initial and long-time vice president of the Association, Charles Moore, who served also for a period as chairman of the United States Fine Arts Commission. Historian for the Association was the indefatigable and patently loyal genealogist, Charles Arthur Hoppin, who is also credited with enlisting the very real interest of John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

The stated objective of the Association was "to restore the birthplace of George Washington and the graveyard of his ancestors." In other words of Charles Moore: "The purpose is to [develop and] maintain Wakefield as the representative Virginia Plantation where George Washington was born, and where (as is believed) he received his schooling, until, at the age of sixteen, he began his career." Contributors were sought on a wide level (individually, organizationally, privately, and publicly), with the "Golden Book of Wakefield" being the register of donors and contributors.¹

1. Charles Moore, Birthplace of Washington, vii, 13 passim; Hudson, Historical Handbook, p. 27.

Plans were laid with an objective date of February 22, 1932, clearly in mind. This would be the start of the George Washington Bicentennial observance. Initial objectives were the "rebuilding of the birth-house and the ancient kitchen and the restoration of the Washington family graveyard." It was expected, too, that the area would become a national shrine with grounds and development, when complete, turned over to the federal government for preservation and interpretation.

A beginning was made on land acquisition when the Association acquired some 70 acres from James and William Latane on January 26, 1924. This included Duck Hall and any right they, as Washington descendants, might have in "the Burying Ground at Bridges Creek." The purchase of a considerable additional acreage on Popes Creek, Bridges Creek, and the Potomac River, as well as around the Cemetery (some 27⁴ acres involving \$115,000) was consummated on February 21, 1929, by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., working through The River Holding Corporation. Rockefeller's stated intent was that the Association (through memberships and fees and private and public subscriptions) would match his expenditures on a dollar basis. Then the Association would receive his interest as a donation.²

B. A Mansion is Planned and Built

The rebuilding of the Washington house was the first order of business, and Congressional approval was necessary as government land was involved. To this end Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr., introduced a bill on March 11, 1926, and an act was forthcoming on June 7 (44 Stat. 669). It gave permission to the Association "to build, operate, and maintain upon the plot of ground owned by the United States at Wakefield, Westmoreland County, Virginia, a replica, as nearly as may be practical, of the home in which George Washington was born." It required, however, that the plans for the building be approved before construction by the Fine Arts Commission and the Secretary of War, under whose jurisdiction the area fell.³

The attack on the problem was a three-pronged one--archeological, historical and architectural. Charles Moore had serious misgivings about the nature of the foundations which had been revealed in 1896 at the monument site. He wrote, in 1926:

2. Hoppin, "Size and Character," in Tyler's Quarterly, XI, 146. Northington, "Report," pp. 56-58; Moore, Birthplace, p. 14; Hoppin, "The House," in Tyler's Quarterly, VIII, 73; Rodnick, "Report," p. 35.

3. Hoppin, "The House," in Tyler's Quarterly, VIII, 73; Rodnick, "Report," pp. 34-35.

. . . no picture of the house has come down to us, nor have excavations been made to locate it . . . Unfortunately the location has never been investigated; and there is reason to believe that the monument which ostensibly marks the site built over the ruins of an outhouse, one chimney of which was standing within the memory of persons now living."

Because of this he sought, through the United States Engineer's Office, to have the site re-excavated preparatory to moving the obelisk to another part of the grounds.

Arthur Hook, on April 9, 1926, was sent down to re-excavate the monument site preparatory to moving the monument. Actually he probed instead of digging, but found little additional. He concluded that:

the foundations found so far indicate only the portion of the house which had a cellar. Any other portion of the house may have rested on pillars with timber sills laid along the line of walls and may have been a duplicate to the part which had a cellar. While no proof has been found on the ground local residents generally indicated that the house was much larger than the foundations so far recovered.

Hook was sent again on May 10 to "recover china, glassware and any other historical objects which might be found on the site of the old house." This time he excavated, but it was around the 36-foot square railing around the monument with some direction from Mrs. Rust and "pottery was found at a depth two feet below the surface. Also, found were two pieces of broken buckles, the bowl end of a clay pipe and broken china and glass." To the north of the monument nothing was found but some similar objects, no foundations. Two poorly defined pillars were found northeast and northwest of the opening to the western unit. These, perhaps, could have supported a shed. Southeast of the foundations were large oyster shell deposits some 33 inches deep, and south of the building pine bark and

4. Charles Moore, The Family Life of Washington, p. 19. In another direction he had written, on June 11, 1925, that "I have good reason to believe that the monument is not located on the site of the Washington House. That house was I believe much nearer Pope's Creek and the monument is located over the remains of an outhouse." (Letter quoted in Rodnick, "Report," p. 37, from Fine Arts Commission Files, National Archives, Case No. 276).

crushed stone were found. These latter could have been left in 1896, or possibly could be related to some uses of the building.⁵

Thus no new information of significance was added for the historian or the architect. This was further confirmed in 1930 when O.G. Taylor, Engineer for the National Park Service, began work to relocate the 1896 granite shaft. His report showed that the 1896 work had destroyed little and he proceeded to re-excavate the site once again. His summary is concise and meaningful: "A depth of from 2 to 3 feet was excavated at the mansion site over an area of approximately 50 x 70 feet. No foundations were uncovered other than those discovered on 1896 and 1926."⁶

Thus it was that archeological activity failed to document the site. On the other hand it clearly pointed that "the ancient mansion" did not occupy this site; although from all indications one of its best dependencies likely did.

Despite the best endeavors, history also failed to document the site or the building. Charles A. Hoppin and others marshalled what force they could, but nothing new of consequence came to light. He could report that: "In an energetic yet dignified perseverance of this vital--patriotic enterprise the Association has left no stone unturned in its search for the facts as to the size and type of the house which it has pledged itself to rebuild as to the exact ancient contents of every room in it as far back as twenty years before the house was burned."⁷

5. Rodnick, "Report," pp. 38-40, including quotations from documents in GWBNNM files. Notations on the plan of these excavations in 1926 have a good deal of reference to broken bricks, shells and the like. Also, broken china, clay pipe, pottery, bottle, and glassware fragments were found here and there and at one point nails and at three points "burnt wood." ("Excavations of April 19-22, 1926" under permit dated August 28, 1925, U.S. Engineer Office, Washington, D.C., May 4, 1926, in Miscellaneous GWBNNM File, Division of History, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation.

6. Rodnick, "Report," pp. 38-40. "In the excavation of the foundation of the Monument, four walls of a basement room were taken out, but none of the walls were followed beyond the 16 ft. foundation," according to a construction supervisor in 1896 as he recalled it in 1927. (Powell, "Archeology of the Popes Creek Area," p. 10).

7. Hoppin, "Size and Character," in Tyler's Quarterly, XII, p. 146. Phraseology as "exact ancient contents of every room" is not persuasive when viewed against the background of the nature of the facts themselves. In the case of contents the reference is to the 1762 inventory of Augustine, Jr., and to this alone.

The only support for the mansion site was the placement of the Custis stone with all its impreciseness and its later likely rambling history and then its total disappearance, as has been traced earlier here. This, plus the elusive 60-foot square reservation by George Corbin Washington in 1813, is essentially all of the case. In regard to the appearance of the house, there is also a large void. There are no pictures of it and no contemporary word description. For the first hundred years even very little family tradition was recorded. Such was reported by Hoppin on September 1, 1926 - "no picture of it or any part of it, and no list of anything that was in the house, indicative of either the size, style or character of the house, has ever been published, or in any way authentically presented in this country . . ." This he used in his refutation of "the simple drawing of the small Lossing-picture cottage." Ultimately in his defense of the Mansion structure that was built he cited these references:

1. "Assiduous historical research . . . authenticated from every available source."
2. Archeological findings and conclusions from them which greatly exceed, even when generally viewed, the data reported.
3. The Augustine Washington inventory of 1762, a helpful document that can only be generally useful as to rooms, especially the number.
4. More recent (after 1880) recollections of members of the Washington family who used a "knowledge inherited by the oldest and best-informed descendants of the last owner and the last resident." This "enabled them to approve the design of the house to be built, and to express their satisfaction with it as meeting sufficiently and reasonably, their understanding of the house."³

Hoppin saw and concluded that:

The outstanding question is, who is the Virginian, familiar with ancient Virginia architecture of the homes of gentlemen, clever enough to design a house, from such particulars as we have heretofore recited, like the house in which George Washington was born. It must be a house of ten or twelve rooms, of two stories in height, with an ell, and, probably, not much dissimilar or smaller than Gunston Hall Better no structure at all than to build a replica of that utterly discredited and hopelessly inadequate Lossing-picture cottage, aforesaid, which unfortunately has been out forth of late as representing Wakefield.⁹

8. Hoppin, "The House," in Tyler's Quarterly, VIII, 74-77, and "Size and Character," 11, 154-62.

9. "The House," VIII, 103. The matter of the ell was eventually dropped from discussions.

This, thus, was the data available to the architect, Edward Donn, Jr., of Washington. It was meager indeed and could not support a replica or reconstruction. His first try was that of a house 20 feet wide, north to south, and 40 feet east to west, and even this did not align with the foundations that had been found. In due course a new, larger plan evolved (that to be built), and it was duly adopted by the Association in a meeting on October 17, 1927.¹⁰

7. ". . . Mrs. Rust also exhibited a picture of the Mansion as it is to (restored) The design was adopted with enthusiasm, and on motion properly moved and seconded it was decided that this design by Mr. Donn be accepted and copyrighted." It called for a structure 50 feet by 38 feet, aligned north and south, not east and west.¹¹ It was at this point that a canvass of Washington descendants was made with plans in hand. They were found good and given general approval from "inherited" memories and impressions. In this campaign, one new element appeared-- the memory of an old view of the place which George Washington Ball (1813-1903) is said to have had, though it remained unnoted until about the time in the mid-nineteenth

10. Rodnick, "Report," pp. 42-44; Hoppin, "The House," VIII, 84-5, 103. The design of the house is reported to have drawn heavily on Twiford and Gunston Hall. Twiford was the childhood home of Mrs. Rust, who believed it modeled on Wakefield. Gunston Hall, also, by some tradition was patterned after Wakefield. Both are of the second half of the eighteenth century. (Rodnick, "Report," pp. 44-45).

11. Hoppin's logic, or illogic, in this was stated thusly later, in 1930:

The excavations made in 1895 and 1926 reveal confirmation of what has been common knowledge for many years in the vicinity of Wakefield, i.e., that stone and brick have been removed from the old walls for use in other structures, some of which are still standing, and that consequently, the excavations and probings prove that the entire north wall of the foundation was removed many years ago and much of the westwall. . . . But the architect, who was selected because of his knowledge of colonial Virginia houses, seems not to have needed much more than the length of the house in order to determine the right proportions for the breadth of a house of the size and content that Wakefield surely was, and according to colonial usage and the architectural necessity for the proper dimensions of such a parallelogram . . . Thus with the length fairly determined, the breadth or width is readily approximated. (Hoppin, "Size and Character," in Tyler's Quarterly, XI, 154- 62).

century when the so-called Lossing view was passing current. This is as reported by Mrs. John B. (Mary Minor) Lightfoot, a niece of Ball who saw the picture around 1850, to recall its details some 76 years later.

"The old picture had five dormers, ten in all. Four large double outside chimneys, and the house was built of native brick, such as was made in many parts of Virginia," she said. Hoppin reports that when she was shown a perspective drawing "of the replica to be built," on a stationery head, her comment was to the effect that "if you or Mr. Donn, the architect, had had the original 'blue print', it could not be more like the picture of Wakefield that her uncle George Washington Ball had often shown her: five dormers and four chimneys."¹²

It was about this time too (April 1926) that William Lanier Washington (William Augustine's great-great-grandson) recalled that "the brick used in building this house at Wakefield were not imported, as generally stated, but were made in the brickyard at Wakefield." It was his recollection, too, that the house here "was a house of probably a dozen or more rooms, on two floors."¹³

Now with an Association-approved design in hand, it was necessary to get the concurrence of the Fine Arts Commission and the Secretary of War. The first came rather quickly but the second brought delay. Commission approval was on December 9, 1927, and its statement rather specifically covered only the type quality of what was reported. Clearly the house was not a replica, in the Commission's view:

12. Hoppin quotes from the Lightfoot letter, which opened thusly:

'My dear Mrs. Rust: A letter that came to me yesterday from the Hon. Henry W. Watson from Penna., a member of the Ways and Means Committee, brings clearly to my mind a drawing made by my uncle and repeated again and again by me a child of the simple old home at 'Wakefield', the birthplace of Washington. I have never seen a picture of this old house other than my uncle's drawing, and my repeated trials at the same; indeed I have heard there was no other copy of it extant. My uncle, who died over ninety years old Now the only house in Va. that I know as a genuine reproduction of the old Wakefield home is an early house of the Christian family at Providence Forge, Va. In going constantly to Jamestown I pass it and live over and over again the memories in association with my uncle. It is really a reproduction. ("Size and Character," in Tyler's Quarterly, XI, p. 146-48).

13. Reported in Hoppin, "The House," in Tyler's Quarterly, VIII, 85-86.

The Commission approved the design of the house. While no representations of the Washington house have come down to us, the design submitted conforms to the type of house actually built by the Colonists at the time when George Washington's father built his home on lands that had been in the possession of his ancestors.

There is sufficient documentary testimony as to the character of the house to guide the architect as to size and general disposition of the rooms and the location of buildings appertaining to the mansion. The excavation of the foundations is a further (although not a conclusive) guide to these particulars.

The Commission did not think it desirable to attempt to preserve the outlines of the structure as indicated by the excavations, since the results of the diggings are too meager and too fragmentary to be convincing; and especially since in the opinion of the architect the outlines as disclosed are inconsistent with those of any known building.¹⁴

It would seem that neither Architect Donn, nor Chairman Moore, in whose hands the approval to President Rust was penned, were under any misapprehensions about what had been found and what had been designed.

A letter urging the Secretary of War, the Hon. Dwight Davis, to give his approval went forward, on December 22, 1927, from Mrs. Rust, a letter drafted by Mr. Moore acting then as Vice President of the Association. Some two weeks later, now as Chairman of the Fine Arts Commission, Mr. Moore followed this up, indicating that it was hoped the work could "begin at an early date." On January 31 Secretary Davis replied, giving his approval to the plans "as a replica of the house in which George Washington was born." He did not, however, approve "the location for the house and the removal of the monument." He had asked for an appropriation to finance

14. Quoted from Fine Arts Commission Files in National Archives (Case No. 276) in Rodnick, "Report," pp. 48-49. The original foundations were destroyed when excavations for the Memorial house began in the fall of 1930. There was some objection; however, Mrs. Rust and Mr. Donn defended the demolition on the ground that "little value would be achieved by stopping the work of destruction" and the National Park Service did not intervene. This is reviewed in a memorandum from Executive Assistant Leona B. Graham for Mr. Burlew, July 9, 1937. (Research Correspondence File, GWBNNM, in Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation).

"an architect and the preparation of plans for a proper development of the government reservation at Wakefield." This would take time.¹⁵

As matters turned out, this approval was rendered unnecessary. On May 21, 1929, Congress was asked to appropriate \$50,000 for the "restoration of Washington's birthplace and \$10,000 for the relocation of the 1896 monument. As the language of the bill evolved, it came to read "The sum of \$60,000 is hereby appropriated to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War in accordance with plans approved by him and the Commission of Fine Arts, January 31, 1928."

But there were even more developments. The Act of Congress on January 23, 1930, transferred the federal holdings at Popes and Bridges Creeks from the War Department to the Department of the Interior. The Secretary of the Interior was duly authorized to cooperate with the Wakefield Association in the reconstruction work that had been approved in 1926. At the same time Congress earmarked \$65,000. The sum of \$50,000 was for the erection of a "replica" of the house in which Washington was born, for restoring the gardens and grounds and other buildings deemed necessary. The \$15,000 was for relocating the granite shaft. Now it would be "full speed ahead" for the Association project. All the legal hurdles had been negotiated.¹⁶

Bids for the construction of the "Memorial Mansion" were opened on November 10, 1930. The low bid was \$45,000 from Jones and Conquest of Richmond, who received the award. Construction began before the end of the month. Completion of the "Mansion" came in mid-1931 (August 15) with the house opened to the public in July. The initial work was the removal of the 1896 shaft, and National Park Service Engineer O.G. Taylor began this work on September 10, 1930. As previously mentioned, it was he who re-excavated the monument site only to confirm the findings of 1895 and 1926.¹⁷

15. Rodnick, "Report," p. 51.

16. Ibid, pp. 52-55.

17. Rodnick, "Report," pp. 53-55; Moore, Birthplace, pp. 13-15; Hough, "Washington's Birthplace," in Iron Worker, XV (Spring, 1951), p. 5; Powell, "Archeology of the Popes Creeks Area," p. 8. Powell wrote:

The last excavations to take place at the site of the Traditional Birthsite were those made by the contractor who built the Memorial Mansion. This was straight construction excavation for the foundations were dug out, the fill was spread over the surrounding area, no records were made, and no artifacts were collected with the exception of a few bricks. (p. 12).

C. A More Complete View of the "Ancient Seat"

It was in the fall of 1930, as the Association program on Popes Creek moved into high gear, that archeological exploration led to additional discoveries of utmost significance. The full implication of them, however, seemingly was imperfectly seen or recognized until it was too late, or there may have been an unwillingness for change or modification with little disposition to this end as deadlines approached.¹⁸

The discovery was a building complex of considerable substance some 100 feet south of the traditional birthplace site. Engineer Taylor reported on September 30 that, on Mr. Donn's instruction, he put a trench through a suggestive mound. He said:

Only one foot under the surface a chimney foundation was discovered. Excavating was continued so far as we had any lead until we had uncovered a 'U' shaped building of considerable size. The long side is the bottom of the 'U,' and it is 58 feet long and 19 feet wide. The foundations are 18 inches thick and a cross wall, without any opening, divides the cellar into two rooms. The bottom of the cellar walls are from 5 to 7 feet below the surface, and there is a cellar fireplace in the extreme ends of each room.

The west leg of the 'U' is 16 feet wide without cellar, and 5 feet of its width extends beyond the end of the long building that has a fireplace in the end.

The east leg extends about 4 feet beyond the end of the long building. It is 18 feet in length and has a cellar with a cellar fireplace in the end. The fireplace is under a 12 inch cedar. This cellar is not so deep as the other two . . ."¹⁹

18. The archeological findings are discussed in good detail and soundly, with some evident relish, strong conviction, and objectivity in Rodnick, "Report," pp. 55-99. Rodnick reports that: "Although House X had been uncovered almost two months before work on the memorial mansion began, the controversy did not begin until after the latter had been constructed." (p. 63). Bruce Powell succinctly reported in 1968, in retrospect, that: "The problems of understanding the historical remains at George Washington Birthplace National Monument are old problems. It seems at this time and from this distance, that decisions in the past have sometimes been made on the basis of expediency, personal preference, incomplete evidence or misunderstanding . . ." With this the present writer agrees, but he is also mindful that the "science and organization" of restoration and interpretation had not then come of age. ("Archeology of the Popes Creek Area," pp. 2-3).

19. Rodnick, "Report," pp. 55-56, quoting from Taylor's report in Fine Arts Commission Files, Case No. 280.

By comparison with the slight foundations at the old monument site, these new ones were massive. The main part was some 59 feet long and 19 feet wide, but with its wings, it was almost 70 feet long. The wings measured 18 by 16 feet. In the main section rooms of 25 by 19 and 19 by 19 feet plus a 10-foot wide corridor could easily have been accommodated. There could well have been four rooms and corridor on the first floor and the 18-inch walls (but only 13 inches under the wings) could easily have supported an additional story. There was a full basement except in the west wing, and clear remains of four fireplaces. In the mass these were clearly not the slight remains of lesser out-buildings. Taylor later described them as extensive, with basement under more than three-fourths of the building. "There was also uncovered in 1930 a fireplace and the foundations of the fireplace end of a building at the site where the present Ancient Kitchen is built."²⁰

Architect Donn was duly impressed and saw elements of a residence here. He drew sketch plans to show the type of building it may have been. He, at this juncture, asked Mr. Hoppin for an opinion and Mr. Hoppin replied. He was, however, only to repeat the feeble arguments about the stone, though it was in his "exact spot" terminology. Then he offered these comments:

And so it is, that it has never been possible for me to entertain a notion of any other site or house on any other part of the Wakefield estate, as the birthplace site and house, than the one where the monument was placed. I do not believe that there is anything whatever, or ever was anything, that can or ever could alter the site of the birthhouse; and so I have no particular interest in the other buildings located elsewhere other than that their existence at one time or another proves that the birthhouse was solely used as a residence for the members of the Washington family.²¹

20. Rodnick, "Report," pp. 56-57; Undated letter from Taylor to Verne Chatelain in files of the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation. Taylor gave the distance from the foundations to the "Mansion's" rear entrance as 145 feet; it was, however, but 80 feet from the "kitchen" remains. Bruce Powell gives the two main room sizes as 15' by 30'8" and 15' by 23'1" with long sides east to west. The wings, were 27'4" by 13'10" and 11'5" by 14'1" with a north and south long direction. ("Archeology of the Popes Creek Area," p. 30).

21. Quoting a Hoppin to Donn letter of October 24, 1930, in GWBNM Files, in Rodnick, "Report," pp. 57-58. It is academic, perhaps, that four years earlier Hoppin could write of the shaft as indicating "approximately" where the house stood. He even thought it a "question unimportant. Excavations could be made to uncover the foundation of a cellar filled with evidence of a fire." ("The House," in Tyler's Quarterly, VIII, 98).

Doubt seemingly continued to trouble Mr. Donn, and in a letter of November 8, 1930, Mr. Hoppin offered the idea of a series of outbuildings to explain the new finds. The mass of the foundations now visible could quite well accommodate the volume of furnishings in the 1762 inventory while those at the old monument site could not. Mr. Hoppin was of the opinion that "the buildings your investigations have disclosed were built for and used solely for some of the aforesaid personal property [listed in the inventory] and some of the operations and some of the subordinate persons connected therewith."²²

But evidently Donn resolved his doubt after the Mansion house had been built, summarizing his interpretation in a letter of December 10, 1932, to Landscape Architect Charles Peterson, who had a full measure of real doubt himself. Donn was of the positive view that three, possibly four, of the units had been built at different times, with the eastern unit coming first. But the use to which the building was put was a problem. "It is not a residence in my opinion. No residence would have started with one room only. None of the [4] fireplaces were ever kitchen fireplaces. They were not large enough for the kitchen of that time. The fireplace foundation uncovered near where the monument stood is undoubtedly the kitchen fireplace from its shape and size. There is no mistake as to this fact." It was not possible to tell the relative age of any of the remains.²³

Mr. Taylor's archeological work on the Washington home property in 1930 was preliminary, or reconnaissance, in nature, except at the old monument site. In the case of the "new" building complex, his objective was to expose the outline of the outside of the foundations. It was not a full study.

His work included the excavation also of a 14 by 20 foot, brick-floored structure at Bridges Creek, some 180 feet southeast of the graveyard vault. This evidently was an outbuilding associated with the Col. John Washington homestead. The work here was, it seems, initiated by the Association as a part of its program. There was some suggestion, too, that "Mr. Latane has come across another foundation which may prove to be part of the larger house." One significant artifact here from this, or later work, was "a footwide casement window."²⁴

22. Quoted from GWBNM Files in Rodnick, "Report," p. 60.

23. Ibid, pp. 61-62. It is obvious that he gave no persuasive reasons, and now Powell's archeological study unequivocally places the artifacts as being of the Washington period and of residence type. ("Archeology of the Popes Creek Area," p. 66).

24. Rodnick, "Report," p. 66, quoting reports and documents. The casement is pictured in a drawing in Henry Chandlee Forman, The Architecture of the Old South: The Medieval Style, 1585-1850 (Cambridge, Mass, 1948), p. 30.

It was on May 14, 1932, that George Washington Birthplace National Monument officially became a park area, and after this date all archeological work was undertaken entirely by the National Park Service rather than by the Association. At Bridges Creek in 1934, however, while the work was under the direction of the Service, it was financed with Association funds. This, with screening, yielded "several fine relics"²⁵ as "one of the John Washington buildings" was intensively worked. The excavating was extended, too, to another site near the Potomac, a quarter-mile away - very likely, it seems, the home site of Henry Brooks. Here, too, "An interesting foundation was bared and several fine relics were secured." This, too, likely was an outbuilding but it involved good brickwork in English bond. Clearly, construction - even in the Henry Brooks, John Washington, and Lawrence Abbington days - was not necessarily of flimsy or temporary character.²⁶ Both sites checked rather well with the locations shown on the Chamberlaine plat of 1683.

On March 30, 1935, a "new" foundation was reported west of the kitchen site. This brick floored building about 14 feet square was thought to be a smokehouse.²⁷ This accidental find preceded the adoption of an archeological program on March 25, 1936, for the Popes Creek area. This was launched the following month and its yield was very useful in helping to recreate the plantation picture--helpful in what it found and in what it did not find.

25. These included a 1679 coin, bottle seals bearing "John Washington," or J.W.," a copper tavern token, and additional pieces of slipware, glass, nails, iron ware, etc.

26. Factual material from GWBNM Superintendent's Monthly Report for September 1934. (Rodnick, "Report," p. 67).

27. "The only relics encountered were a few nails and pieces of chinaware, as the holes dug were as small as we could make them. The bulk of the work was done with probing rods," Superintendent Philip R. Hough wrote to the Director, continuing: "In addition to this new find, we have reasons to believe that the site of a barn, a dairy and icehouse may be found by archeological operations." (Rodnick, "Report," pp. 67-68).

1. There was more exhaustive study of the smokehouse site. "Ash and charcoal deposits were also found" and some objects.²⁸ The objects show a time period comparable to that at "Building X." Bruce Powell has concluded that "This structure is undoubtedly associated with . . . the plantation in its historic period," though he believed that "the lack of evidence either structural, chemical, or artifactual" was insufficient to prove categorically that it was a smokehouse. On the other hand it should be kept in mind that its size, type, and position do clearly point in this direction.²⁹

2. The garden area proved to be a provocative one and more work here could, and likely would, be productive. In the limited exploration possible at this time, the amount of architectural remains was small but the type of artifacts were very suggestive in their good yield. "The whole garden area is very rich in artifacts and may represent the dump area for general domestic trash. Its productivity has continued over the years as several thousand artifacts of all types have surfaced and been found in the normal tilling of the plots and beds in the garden."³⁰

3. A small section of old foundation wall was noted and recorded at the western edge of the garden. This seems to have had a functional relationship to the residence unit, there being a blocked doorway toward it in the eastern wing of "Building X."³¹

28. Among the objects were "fragments similar to those from which the Washington Wakefield China were copied [through the efforts of the Association], and several pieces tentatively identified as Whieldon Ware. . . . This would date the pieces [common in all the foundations, it might be added] as first half of the 18th century." (Historian Oscar Northington, Jr., "Weekly Report," April 13, 1936, in Rodnick, "Report," pp. 69-70, 89).

29. "Archeology of the Popes Creek Area," pp. 66-72, 97.

30. "Archeology of the Popes Creek Area," pp. 80, 89. Additional work here likely will be fruitful as would exploration at the Popes Creek Landing and Spring sites. (Powell, pp. 99-100.

31. Rodnick has conjectured that the Abbington House may have been in the present garden and that this conceivably may have been a part of it, or in some relationship to it. There is tradition that Augustine used the Abbington house as a kitchen when his own house was sufficiently finished. This, however, could conflict with the site of the existing kitchen reconstruction unless it is assumed to have been but a short-term situation. (Rodnick, "Report," pp. 77, 82, 99).

4. A small foundation fragment was discovered along the north edge of the present garden. In the shape of an L, it measured about 11 feet on one side and 5 on the other. A short leg on the lesser side of the L suggests a U which could have been a fireplace footing. If so, it would have served only a small building that almost surely would have to have been a framed one. This area did yield a number of fine relics³² (including a perfect pewter spoon marked T.C.), but on the whole the objects resembled those found at "Building X" and the smokehouse. The amount of bone and shell found and saved was impressive. Of the bone, some 78 per cent of it was from domestic animals. The question has been asked if this suggests a food preparation area or a refuse pit. Also, there were 269 pipe fragments including 39 bowls, considerable red ware, and some porcelain as well as other ceramic types. Building materials included 281 wrought and some other nails and spikes, and a lock hinge and hasp fragments.³³

5. It was not possible for Powell, or others, to study the kitchen site further as it was preempted by the type-kitchen constructed in 1930 and site remains were obliterated in the process. There evidently are no records of the excavation, nor are artifacts from the site now known to exist by identity. This was traditionally known as the kitchen site, and its chimney, the subject of some nineteenth century artistic treatment,³⁴ seemingly was at least a moderately large one. It was the only above-ground standing ruin on the Popes Creek Plantation for more than a half-dozen decades. Bruce Powell was guarded in his evaluation. "The best we can say is that the present reconstruction [period type] stands over a building believed to be of the Colonial period."³⁵

32. These included four "A.W." bottle seals, a quarter of a Spanish two reale piece, a dinner knife and fork with green ivory handle, a flat iron, a brass candlestick, a wine bottle in six pieces, a small round iron grill, a gun barrel, a large iron ladle, pewter spoons, bone handled and pewter and iron knives and forks, a thimble, a sickle fragment, buttons, and china fragments. (Powell, "Archeology of the Popes Creek Area," pp. 73-80; Rodnick, "Report," p. 71).

33. Powell, "Archeology of the Popes Creek Area," pp. 73-80.

34. Among them are the expressions of Sarah Pierpont Barnard (1872), when it was still standing, and Charles C. Perkins (1879), after it had fallen. Both are reproduced in J. Paul Hudson's George Washington Birthplace, National Park Service Historical Handbook, No. 22 (1956), pp. 25-26.

35. "Archeology of the Popes Creek Area," p. 98.

6. Search in the present pasture area for the colonial barn, or barns, site yielded no structural remains, though artifacts had suggested reconnaissance here and additional objects were reclaimed. Seemingly it was a low area that could have been filled in with debris. In analyzing the finds archeologically, Powell admitted that "the finds. . . would indicate that there was some structure nearby or else the field was used as a dumping ground." In the end he tended toward the latter view - "I believe this site represents a colonial period trash dump rather than a barn."³⁶

7. Efforts were made to locate the icehouse, with negative results, and there are few records of the try. Its existence, however, cannot be ruled out by the effort. The vicinity of the "ice pond" on Dancing Marsh would be the logical one.

8. Purposeful search for structural remains were made to the east, northeast, and northwest of the "Memorial" house with barren, negative results indicating the absence of any flanking buildings here. Even the amount of "relic material" was negligible.³⁷

9. When plotted, the lesser structures (outbuildings, or dependencies) found, including the foundations recorded where the "Memorial House" was built, were in good alignment and geometric patterning with the residence unit. When the "Memorial House" is studied as the focal point, there is no conventional pattern, or no pattern at all.

Perhaps the true significance of the residence unit was now clearly revealed for the first time.

Findings at the complex residence site were in volume and in nature, very regarding from the beginning. Work began in the eastern unit of the center portion, and objects in quantity were forthcoming: "bits of pottery, earthenware, salt glaze and glass," colored plaster, melted glass, straight pins, forks, buttons and even a bridle bit. About the evidence of fire - "almost every relic recovered showed signs of having been in a fire. There was an abundance of ashes and several charred bits of wood. One of the latter appears to have been an oak beam 7 inches square."³⁸ In July, as full exposure approached, it was reported that "The fills within the wing walls were richer in artifact material than any section excavated to date. Except for three thimbles and two short lengths of small chain the artifacts continued to be of

36. "Archeology of the Popes Creek Area," pp. 82-84, 98.

37. Rodnick, "Report," pp. 81-82.

38. Northington's "Weekly Report" of June 23, 1936, in Rodnick, "Report," p. 72.

the same type as found before, however."³⁹ A later report from the western half of the main structure gave this about "interesting artifacts" - "A strap hinge, a goblet stem and quite a number of fragments of white Staffordshire pottery were the choicest bits."⁴⁰ A fallen chimney that stood in the western end of the main structure interfered temporarily with the work.

A recent study but confirms these findings and conclusions. It is the previously cited archeological report⁴¹ of B. Bruce Powell which made particular use of artifactual material. In the progress he counted and identified almost 15,000 items from "Building X," something less than 14,000 of them from inside the walls. He found sufficient "index fossils" to guide him in a dating process - Buckley Ware, yellow glazed slip decorated ware, North Devon grit tempered ware, white saltglazed stoneware. The latter sherds were the most numerous of the single types, the 92 being from a variety of bowls and plates, plain and with moulded decoration. Despite contrary reports there was building hardware - some 2,000 wrought nails,⁴² iron spikes, strap hinge fragments, pieces of locks and brass. He points out that tradition has it that most furnishings were saved and that the ruins were scavenged to provide material for building, perhaps at "Haywood." The rumored "hundreds of machine made wire nails" turned out to be only 136, "not a significant late intrusion in the upper levels." Dark green glass wine bottle fragments were found in abundance, in greater bulk than any other kind of artifact. It seems significant that of the almost 6,500 sherds from this structure, that 24 per cent were burned badly enough to show discoloration, melting, or evident warping due to intense heat. It was also

39. Quoted in Rodnick, "Report," p. 73.

40. Ibid, p. 74. After studying the data in 1941, David Rodnick did not believe that additional archeological work was needed at the residence. He did suggest more exploration in the present garden area in search of more data on Abbington structures, or other outbuildings. He recognized a site, too, possibly a barn in the horse pasture, as the inventory of 1762 suggested a barn, blacksmith shop, carpenter shop and weaving house complex. There was also the unfurnished John Washington site. To this could be added the Brooks site. ("Report," pp. 99-100).

41. "Archeology of the Popes Creek Area," pp. 38, 63-65 passim.

42. There was a variety of types - "rose head," "T-head," "L-head." "finishing," "lathes" and "tacks."

noted that "All three of the rooms with cellars, were characterized by the same general stratification, differing only in details and in thickness of the said zones." In summary Mr. Powell concluded:

The overall impression from these artifacts is that here is a good representative collection which closely fits the time span of the Washington birthplace and which clearly is the remains of an ordinary domicile. If the furnishings were removed before they were destroyed by fire, and if the larger items of hardware were salvaged from the wreckage of the house, the material left would be exactly the type of thing found in the remains of Building X.

There can be little doubt that Building X is indeed the remains of the home built by Augustine Washington in 1725; the house which, in 1732, was the scene of the birth of George Washington; and the house was destroyed by fire in the winter of 1779. It is [also] possible Room A was the former abode of the Abbingtton family and that it was enlarged to accomodate the Washingtons.⁴³

The evidence here rather clearly showed that this was a residence complex, in truth a residence that grew piecemeal into a substantial dwelling, one that satisfies essentially all of the known facts, even the traditions. To enumerate:

1. Large amounts of glass, pottery, and related objects clearly show a residential unit, since these things reflect living.
2. Its bulk (chimney, wall thickness, etc.), is the only foundation mass that could accomodate the Washington scale of living and family. All others are too slight and inconsequential.
3. It could well accomodate the inventory of Augustine, Jr., and his ownership likely represented the full development that the place had.

⁴³. He speculates further (p. 66) that the remodeled (or new) east wall of Room A could have come at the time of the Washington construction. If so, this could account for the lack of a large cooking fireplace, such as would be expected in a small family farm house.

4. It seems suggestive that there were fragments of colored walls and plaster with some showing signs of Chinese characters, indicating wallpaper of a sort. Wallpaper items, it may be recalled, were listed in the inventory.

The clear evidences of fire document that this structure burned and the few nineteenth century items indicate little use in later items. There is, too, the indication that the cellars of the whole unit were filled about the same time. No clear or compelling evidence of burning was recorded for the 1896 monument site, but here there were large amounts of ash in all four units of the house as well as charred beams and melted glass.

6. It was nicely grouped with its dependencies ("smokehouse," "kitchen," and others) and had an excellent view to the south over Popes Creek, the water most closely adjacent.

7. That the residence grew architecturally is not surprising, and the findings satisfy more than any others the tradition that Augustine used the Abbington home while he instituted his own building program and then used these same accommodations for supplemental use. Some of the suspected several periods of building could too have reflected changes by any of the three Washington owners.

8. The building shape meets the requirement of the tradition that the 1779 fire started in an ell.⁴⁴

Without doubt these were among the reasons, as well as the architecture revealed, that could lead historical architect Fiske Kimball, in 1937, to write unequivocally about the finds. This came at a time when Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes was arriving at the official opinion that the "Mansion" house by findings and design could be neither

⁴⁴. There was little of some types of building hardware (as hinges) found in the ruins, and some view this as evidence of abandonment before the fire. On the other hand it might just as easily indicate a good salvage job by those needing it elsewhere. At one point, five thimbles in the basement were suggested as evidence of a spinning room above; however, in the absence of more information and/or other objects, this hardly seems of any particular significance.

a replica nor a reconstruction of the Washington home.⁴⁵ Fiske Kimball, who Charles Moore supposed "the authority on Colonial architecture," wrote on September 27 to Mr. Branch Spalding of the National Park Service:

. . . The southern group of foundations discovered in 1936 solves everything. I see no escape from the belief that these, hitherto unknown, were the foundations of the mansion house. They show a house of exceptional importance for the early 18th century--a house of four major rooms downstairs with four major chimneys, fully commensurate with the extent of Augustine Washington's inventory. This house of "U" shape is a welcome instance of the survival of Jacobean types of plan and takes its place as such with other 'U' and 'H' plans of the period like Carter's Creek and Tuckahoe for instance. It is too bad these foundations were not known [appreciated, that is] in 1930. I have shown a plan of the excavating to some highly qualified students (notably) Edmond C. Campbell, Professor of Architecture at the University of Virginia and head of the State Art Commission), without any comment and they instantly pointed out these remains as being those of the mansion house, of which the northeastern group of foundations [Memorial house site] belong to the outbuildings--foundations rightly regarded as inadequate for those of Washington's birthplace.⁴⁶

45. Rodnick, "Report," pp. 86-88, quoting the significant documents. The matter is succinctly and objectively reviewed by Executive Assistant Leona B. Graham in a memorandum of July 9, 1937, for Mr. Burlew in which she quotes from National Park Service memoranda from A.P. Stauffer and S.W. Barnette, pertinent legislation and such. The discussion is prefaced thusly:

Re: Authenticity of the design for the George Washington Birthplace at Wakefield, as requested in your memorandum of June 21.
Conclusion: That the design at Wakefield is not authentic. The restored mansion is not a duplicate or replica of the birth house.
Recommendation: Thus in order to avoid misleading the public, a tablet or placard be attached to the mansion indicating the building is typical of the house in which George Washington was born but is not a reconstruction.

(Library File, "Research Correspondence," GWBNM (1934-1950) in Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C).

46. Quoted from GWBNM Files in Rodnick, "Report," pp. 90-91.

This is indeed sound logic, as is the concise statement penned by David Rodnick in summary in 1941, when he concluded that:

. . . the Memorial Mansion was put on a site of a building that was 38 feet long, and but 14 feet and 20 feet wide at the eastern and western units respectively. The building ran from east to west, and there were no other foundations to the north of it. Half of the Memorial Mansion, then, is built where no foundations ever existed . . . The size of the building was most arbitrarily arrived at, since it is completely inconsistent with the foundations found underneath it.⁴⁷

Such is the story, however, of the decisions made in 1930. They yielded the fixed development that the Washington place had when it became an integral part of the National Monument, officially in 1932.⁴⁸

47. Rodnick, "Report," pp. 54-55.

48. The confirmation, findings, and discussions (perhaps debates) in 1936 and 1937 did have an effect on interpretation, in that the Mansion would not be offered as a replica, a reproduction, or a likeness but rather as a period type, only suggestive of the times. (Rodnick, "Report," pp. 86-89, quoting from pertinent reports and documents).

George Washington Birthplace
National Monument

The Act of Congress of January 23, 1930, provided for the formal establishment of George Washington Birthplace National Monument, to include the federal holdings at the old Washington house site and burial ground by transfer from the Department of War to the Department of the Interior, the National Park Service. It gave consent for the construction by the Wakefield National Memorial Association on the federal property of the now long-projected "replica of the house in which George Washington was born," for "restoring and improving the gardens and grounds," for "erecting other such buildings as shall be deemed necessary," with building and garden plans to have the approval of the Fine Arts Commission and Secretary of the Interior. It was specified that the Association would "on completion of the restoration" convey all of its buildings and grounds here "to the United States as a gift for administration, protection and maintenance," and

That the said premises and all structures thereon shall constitute the George Washington Birthplace National Monument at Wakefield, Virginia which is hereby established and set apart for the preservation of the historical associations connected therewith, for the benefit and enjoyment of the people.¹

It was on May 14, 1932, Dedication Day, that the Secretary of the Interior accepted for the United States the Memorial House and associated development plus the grounds and lands of the Association in ceremonies at the site. Initially the date had been set for February 11; however, this did not work

1. Hillory A. Tolson (compiler), Laws Relating to the National Park Service, The National Parks and Monuments (Washington, 1933), pp. 306-07. It carried \$65,000 in monies. Fifty thousand dollars was for the Association's work and \$15,000 was for the relocation of the 1896 monument.

out except that "a simple service of prayer was held as a memorial to Mrs. Rust," who had died the previous June.

The work already done had been considerable. The Memorial House, "constructed entirely of brick made by hand from clay taken from the Washington lands and burned on the place," had been erected. There was, too, a colonial-style kitchen behind it and a colonial-type herb-flower-vegetable garden just to the east. The burial ground had been greatly improved and a paved road led to it. Plans had not yet been consummated for the rest house ("log house tea room") to be built for the accommodation of visitors in the Duck Hall area just across Dancing Marsh on non-Washington lands. It would follow.²

It remained, too, to complete the furnishing of the Mansion. This was begun under Association President Mrs. Charles C. Worthington of Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania, successor to Mrs. Rust, who soon found it necessary to resign for personal reasons. The third president, Mrs. Francis B. Crowinshield, of Montehanin, Delaware, then took up this work with high, though time-consuming, success. And the work still goes on.³

Initially, to hasten the lived-in quality, reproductions were used predominantly. This, however, was followed by their gradual retirement in favor of original pieces of the Augustine Washington period. The most useful guides were the 1762 inventory and fragments and objects found on the place. The

2. Moore, Birthplace, pp. 11-15; Rodnick, "Report," pp. 36, 66; Hough, "Washington's Birthplace," in The Iron Worker, XV, (Spring, 1951), pp. 4-5. The additional Association land that was donated was to further protect the environment of Washington's birthplace from commercial development and to include land a mile to the westward, where dwelt Colonel John Washington, and "where repose the remains of all the male colonial ancestors of George Washington." (Hough, "Washington's Birthplace," p. 4).

3. Since its dedication The Association "has been active in furnishing the memorial building with suitable pieces of the 1700-1750 period as well as in aiding the development of the National Monument in many ways." (Powell, "Report," p. 8).

project involved hundreds of objects in a wide variety of types to portray an early eighteenth century home. As former Superintendent Philip R. Hough observed in 1951:

The life of our colonial ancestors after 1750 was much more elegant with the introduction of Chippendale furniture and Wedgwood pottery. These fine things were unknown to Augustine Washington, father of George, who died in 1743. The furnishing of the memorial house with items from the first half of the 18th century was far from easy. Mrs. Crowninshield's remarkable success with the undertaking, however, brought her one of the citations accompanying the George McAneny medal, awarded to her in 1947 by the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society.

In all of it, however, only one item (a small tilt top table) that saw service in the original house was found. This is believed to have been saved at the time of the fire in 1779.⁴

It seems fitting here to conclude with some of the thoughts of Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur, who spoke at the site on Dedication Day:

It helps us to understand history to come here to think of the baby and then the boy and then the man, George Washington, and to see something of the land which he loved. We cannot escape the feeling that we are at an historic spot and one that will be more significant with the passing of the centuries. Conservation of such a great historic area as this is important to us and to the Nation. This national shrine, which will bring to the thousands of visitors who come here a fresh appreciation of the life of George

4. Hough, "Washington's Birthplace," p. 5.

Washington, is one of the most sacred and valuable possessions of the government.... On this spot we are brought into intimate relation to him as a human being. Wakefield makes us all feel closer to the Father of our Country.⁵

5. "Address . . . in connection with the formal transfer to the United States of the Birthplace of George Washington and the burial place of his ancestors, Wakefield, Virginia, Saturday morning, May 14, 1932, 11 a.m.," mimeographed copy in library of Colonial NHP.

Chapter XI

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Chapter XI
A Digest of Plantation Operation
Crops

Though Augustine Washington may not have been as singlemindedly oriented toward agriculture as many of his neighbors and associates, he was basically a planter and in many ways oriented strongly toward agriculture. As was normally the case in his area (throughout the Tidewater country as a matter of fact) his chief, perhaps sole, money crop was tobacco. Consequently his farm leases and related documents of reference are punctuated, here and there, with mention of payments in tobacco rather than cash, to the matter of hogshead manufacture, to tobacco barns, to "flats" for moving hogsheads by water, to rolling roads and the like. The preparation of ground, the planting of tobacco, its cultivation, its harvest, and its marketing would have been matters of first concern through much of the year. However, being a man of other interests and in the absence of positive data to the contrary, it can perhaps be assumed that he followed normal practices and was not the innovator, nor the experimenter, in methods and procedures, that some planters of the period were. If this is a correct assumption, as seems the case, then his operation would have been the basic or the typical, and his tools and equipment too old, known and proven. Although positive word is lacking, his son Augustine, Jr., may have been inclined to move more specifically toward the more promising use of the plow rather than the hoe.¹

Tobacco

Tobacco was a laborious business that stretched over much of the year: from the clearing and/or preparation of ground in the late fall, to seed beds in the winter, to more ground preparation and planting in the spring, and tending through the summer with harvest and curing in the fall. Then came disposition and shipment. Fortunately there are some contemporary descriptions of the process that are both concise and graphically factual. One most appropriate here is that by Hugh Jones²

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1. The inventories also suggest this.
 2. The Present State of Virginia, pp. 77, 88.

who wrote in 1724 just when Augustine was building his Popes Creek home and only eight years before the birth of George Washington:

Tobacco requires a great deal of skill and trouble in the right management of it.

They raise the plants in beds, as we do cabbage plants; which they transplant and replant upon occasion after a shower of rain, which they call a season.

Tobacco and Indian corn are planted in hills³ as hops, and secured by worm fences, which are made of rails supporting one another very firmly by a particular manner.

When it is grown they top it, or rip off the head, succor it, or cut off the ground leaves, weed it, hill it; and when ripe, they cut it down about six or eight leaves on a stalk,⁴ which they

3. John Clayton, writing in 1688, refers to the planting thusly: "For they plant them as we do cabbages, raising Hills to set every Plant in, about the higness of a common Mole-hill." (Letter of May 12, 1688 Giving an Account of Several Observables in Virginia to the Royal Society in Peter Force (collector), Tracts and Other Papers, III (Washington, 1844), Tract No. 12, p. 18). The space between hills varied and tended to grow shorter as the decades passed. In 1628 it was fixed at 4 1/2 feet between plants and Thomas Glover (1676) spoke of 4. Landon Carter of Sabine Hill on the Rappahannock calculated 3 1/4 foot to "a tobacco hill" and estimated 4,124 hills to the acre. He further estimated that an ideal "quarter" would be 18,086 hills (about 5 acres), to be tended by 10 hands plus an overseer. (Thomas Glover, An Account of Virginia, edited by B.H. Blackwell (Oxford, England, 1904 - reprint), p. 28; The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hill, 1752-1778, edited by Jack P. Greene (Charlottesville, Va., 1965), I, 149; N.F. Cabell, Early History of Agriculture in Virginia (Washington, D.C., n.d.), p. 18).

4. This varied, it would seem, and in Glover's time it was "a dozen or sixteen," providing "the ground be very rich," but "if mean, then not above nine or ten, and so according to the strength of the soyl." (Glover, An Account of Virginia, p. 28).

carry into airy tobacco houses; after it is withered a little in the sun,⁵ there it is hung to dry on sticks,⁶ as paper at the paper-mills; when it is in proper case, (as they call it) and the air neither too moist, nor too dry, they strike it, or take it down, then cover it up in bulk, on a great heap, where it lies till they have leisure or occasion to stem it (that is to pull the leaves from the stalk) or strip it⁷

5. Glover relates (p. 29): "Then in dry weather, when there is a little breez [sic] of wind, they cut down what is ripe, letting it lie about four hours on the ground, till such time as the leaves, that stood strutting out, fall down to the stalks, then they carry it on their shoulders into their Tobacco-houses." It seemed important to care for the new-cut tobacco as it wilted. In mid-September 1757, Landon Carter reported that he was cutting tobacco every warm day and getting "it either on fences or scaffolds" prior to housing and at housing time even "Fodder" houses were temporarily pressed into service. Because of rain he was "obliged to take my tobacco off the scaffolds although it seemed green and [to] house it then." There was always danger of the burn especially when sweating was in progress. (Diary, I, 174-76).

6. Glover (p. 29) adds something here commenting on the hanging of the:

Tobacco-sticks, so nigh each other that they just touch, much after the manner they hang Herrings in Yarmouth; thus they let them hang five or six weeks, till such time as the stem in the middle of the leaf will snap in the bending of it; then, when the Air hath so moistened the leaf as that it may be handled without breaking, they strike it down, strip it off the stalk, bind it up in bundles, and pack it into Hogsheads for use.

Glover also describes a method of driving a peg into each stalk for hanging, whereas by the time of Hugh Jones the improvement of splitting the stalk before hanging had been introduced, This saved time and labor and hastened the drying of the stalk itself. (Cabell, History of Agriculture in Virginia, p. 18).

7. A Westmoreland County Court order of November 28, 1691, is of interesting note here. Capt. Lawrence Washington was ordered to "take care of the estate of John Brookes, deceased, and get the corn huskt and the tobacco stript and packt [underscoring supplied]. (Dorman, Westmoreland Orderbook, pt. 1, p. 63).

(that is to take out the great fibers) and tie it in hands, or straight lay it; and so by degrees prize or press it with proper engines into great hogsheads containing from about six to eleven hundreds pounds; four of which hogsheads make a ton,⁸ by dimension, not by weight; then it is ready for sale or shipping. The tobacco is rolled, drawn by horses, or carted to convenient rolling houses, where it is conveyed on board the ships in flats, sloops, etc.

On the clearing of ground and some other aspects of tobacco cultivation Jones commented further:

When a tract of land is seated, they clear it by felling the trees about a yard from the ground, lest they should shoot again . . . The land between the logs and stumps they hoe [hoe] up, planting tobacco there in the spring, enclosing it with a slight fence of cleft rails. This will last for tobacco for some years, if the land be good; as it is where fine timber, or grape vines grow. Land when tired is forced to bear tobacco by penning their cattle upon it; but cowpen tobacco tastes strong, and that planted in wet marshy land is called non burning tobacco, which smoaks in the pipe like leather, unless it be of good age.

Though writing some decades before, Thomas Glover's comments⁹ on some aspects of the tobacco process remained, even in Augustine Washington's time, essentially as accurate as when penned. He noted that:

8. Hogshead size (weight) gradually increased from about 350 pounds in the beginning to 500, 800 to 1100 pounds. (Cabell, History of Agriculture in Virginia, p. 18). A public notice on November 7, 1754, described a hogshead at Mattox Warehouse payable to Augustine Washington, Jr. This was marked "A.W." and had the number 374. Its gross weight was 935 pounds, its net weight 840 and its tare 95. (Virginia Gazette, p. 4, c. 1). Philip Alexander Bruce concluded that the persistence of special legislation continued to insure excellence in hogshead framework, and construction of the cask to keep it together when rolled. Every stave needed to be a third of an inch thick and made of timber seasoned at least three months. It was required, too, to bear the initials of the cooper who made it. (Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1935-a Peter Smith reprint of 1895 copyright), I, 442).

9. Glover, An Account of Virginia, pp. 28-30.

In the Twelve-daies [the Christmas season] they begin to sow their seed in beds of fine Mould,¹⁰ and when the plants be grown in the bredth of a shilling, they are fit to replant into Hills; for in their Plantations they make small hills about four foot distant from each other, somewhat after the manner of our Hop-yards; These hills being prepared against the plants be grown to the aforementioned higness (which is about the beginning of May,) they then in moist weather draw the plants out of their beds, and replant them in hills, which afterwards they keep with diligent weedings. When the plant hath put out so many Leaves as the ground will nourish to a substance and largeness that will render them Merchantable, then they take off the top of the plant . . .

10. John Clayton saw the need to have an early set of plants in the hills. He found, too, that it hastened their growth in the beds by steeping the seed in "an infusion of Horse-dung, and putting there on Soot." He also mixed the seed with ashes that they might sow the evener. "The effect was, that my Plants came up much sooner, grew swifter, and I had five Plants for one more than any of the other Beds bore." He continued: ". . . now it being very early in the Year when they Sow the Seed, viz, about the 14th of January, they cover the Ground, to secure, as well as they can, their tender Plants, from the nipping Frosts, that may happen on the Nights; they cover them only with a few Oak-leaves, or the like." Clayton advanced with some ideas on the subject: "for Straw they find apt to harbour and breed this Flie ["which consumes the Plume of the Plant"]: I therefore would advise them to smoak Straw with Brimstone, once in two or three Nights, and so they might cover them securely, with that which would preserve them infinitely beyond this Covering with Oak-boughs; indeed I would advise them to keep peculiarly so much of their Indian Corn-blades, which they gather for their Fodder, for this very purpose, being, as I conceive, much the best, there being no Chaff to foul the Beds, and prejudice them when they should weed them."

(Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley (editors), The Reverend John Clayton: A Parson with a Scientific Mind: His Scientific Writings and Other Related Papers (University Press of Virginia for the Virginia Historical Society, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1965), pp. 64-66). On February 9, 1757, Landon Carter related, in regard to seed beds, "Had all my tobacco beds hoed up again and laid off, raked and ready for for sowing." (Diary, I, 140).

but afterward it will put out suckers between their leaves, which they pluck away once a week, till the plant come to perfection, which it doth in August

Sometimes they are forced to plant their hills twice or thrice over, by reason of an Earth-worm which eats the root, and when the plant is well grown they suffer damage by a Worm that devours the leaf, called a Horn-worm (an Eruca or Caterpillar)¹¹ which is bred upon the leaf; if these worms be not carefully taken off, they will spoil the whole crop.

Robert Beverley, in 1705, left a word picture of the tobacco houses that were a regular part of the scene of every plantation. "Their Tobacco Houses," he reports, "are built of Wood, as open and airy as is consistent with keeping out the Rain" and covered (roofed) "with then clap-board." This "Sort of Building" by his judgment was "Most convenient for the curling of their Tobacco."¹² It seems not clearly fixed, when fire, or heat, cure in the barns entered the picture. There is at least one reference, "to make a smother under tobacco: in Accomac County records in the early 1670s. It is of record, too, that Landon Carter of Sabine Hill on the Rappahannock in the Northern Neck was using the process, evidently on a regularly established basis as early as 1757. In September of that year he comments, in his diary, on "Charcole fires" and on fires in the houses every morning to "dyre our tobacco houses." This was accompanied by thinning it out to allow more air to circulate. To insure this, he had insisted on three-foot corridors in the houses to give space between "all Sticks." He had found the tobacco hung too tight and had the overseers take "some sticks in the 3 tier above the ground tier, vizt, that above the joice and that below to the 2nd room from the gable end."¹³

11. In July 1757 Landon Carter noted an "Abundance of Hornworm, Ground Worm, Web Worm and bud worm" on his plantation. (Diary, I, 162).

12. Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia (1705) edited by Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1947), p. 290; Cabell, History of Agriculture in Virginia, p. 18. It was the opinion of Alexander Bruce that barns were probably more carefully built than Beverley suggests. He concluded that they were both "cased and weather-boarded," the coverings being put on in uneven lengths. The average size appears to have been about 30 by 20 feet with lengths up to 60 not being unusual. (Economic History, I, 440-41).

13. Diary, I, 176-78; Bruce, Economic History, I, 441.

As for the tobacco that was cultivated, Hugh Jones related that "There are two sorts of tobacco, viz, Oronoke the stronger, and sweetscented the milder; the first with a sharper leaf like a fox's ear, and the other rounder and with finer fibres, but each of these are varied into several sorts, much as apples and pears are."¹⁴ Soil and general conditions, however, led generally to particular areas for each of the two broad types. Westmoreland County was one of 17 counties in the Oronoco belt and was so reported by the Governor of the Colony in 1726.¹⁵ It was not one of the twelve sweet-scented counties. But there were exceptions to the rule among the planters. Landon Carter, for example, planted a "patch" now and then "with the Sweet Scented seed." He spoke, too, of various seeds as "Orleans," "Parker's broad Green," "Col. Wm. Randolph's seed," and that brought by a new overseer, John King (this "a fine broad, long, green tobacco,") all of which he sowed at the very end of December 1757. Most of his seed, perhaps, were sowed from stocks grown on his plantation, coming from his own crops and trials. This seems to have been the customary practice.¹⁶ Carter was careful to record considerable agricultural

14. The Present State of Virginia, p. 77. John Clayton also described "the two distinct sorts of a Sweet-scented, and Aranoke Tobacco, but of each of these be several sorts much different, the Seeds whereof are known by distinct NAMES, they having given them the names of those Gentlemen most famed for such Sort of Tobacco, as of Prior seed, &c "Rich ground he thought was better for "Aranoke Tobacco, whose Scent is not much minded, their only aim being to have it specious, large, and to procure it a bright Kite's Foot [bright yellow] Colour." (Clayton, Scientific Writings, pp. 60-61; Cabell, History of Agriculture in Virginia, p. 20).

15. "Virginia in 1726," in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XLVIII, 141-153. A bit of confirmation comes in a court case noted for 1692 when "Six hogshead of Orranoco tobacco" in Washington Parish of Westmoreland were a case in point. (Dorman, Westmoreland Orderbook, pt. 2, p. 27). The account of "Virginia in 1726" reveals that Westmoreland was then one of the larger counties. In the 29, it ranked 6th in population with 2,011 tithables, being exceeded only by King and Queen, Essex, Henrico, King William, and Surry. Augustine Washington was then a Justice of the Peace.

16. Diary, I, 140, 197.

detail in his diary. Generally, it seems, he plowed his tobacco ground in November to afford it the opportunity to "lye and mellow" all winter.¹⁷ Then in March he could "give it the tother plowing." April was the month for "hilling and Manuring."¹⁸ After planting in 1757, he expected "to run through it with my machine plow of 5 hoes by which means all the sides of each hill will be stirred as well as the middle of the rows."¹⁹ In 1757 he completed his planting at mid-June and on August 24 recorded his "Tobacco, near ripe" and soon ready for the knife. He was then worried lest it be "bruised and I fear drowned" by rain and storms.²⁰ Carter makes it quite evident that the life of the planter was one of chance, a gamble, then as now, with the weather, insects, quality and variable markets, and prices. To quote: "The poor Farmer must always feel the weather and rejoyce when it is good and be patient when it is unreasonable."²¹ Tobacco was a universal crop and was itself in universal use if we can accept the word of a careful observer of the scene in 1686. "Large quantities of it are used in this county, besides what they sell. Everyone smokes, men, women, girls & boys from the age of seven years."²²

17. Ibid, I, 16-178 passim.

18. Sometimes he manured in November as well. In 1757 he had plans, too, for planting his "cowpens" in August and September where, he estimated, he could get 50,000 hills. Probably, too, the "cowpens" would get another turn in March. (Diary, I, 172.

19. He reported that in the past "the common fluke plow" left his hills hard on each side. (Diary, I, 162).

20. Though nineteenth century in period, but before heavy mechanization, there are a number of tobacco cultivation scenes in A. Lawrence Kocker and Howard Dearstyne, Shadow in Silver: A Record of Virginia, 1850-1900 (Charles Scribners Sons, New York, 1954), pp. 125ff. These illustrate seedbedding, tending, topping, cutting, hanging, curing and carting. There are useful illustrations, too, in Virginus Dabney, "Lady Nicotine's 350th Birthday," in Virginia Cavalcade, XII, No. 1 (summer-1962), pp. 22-32. Bruce indicates that a special "tobacco knife" was used for cutting tobacco even in the seventeenth century. (Economic History, I, 440.

21. Diary, I, 167.

22. A Huguenot Exile in Virginia . . . With a Description of Virginia and Maryland, edited by Gilbert Chinard (New York, 1934), p. 118. He wrote "the minister and all the others," "before going in" and "before parting."

In the next century it appears to have been a little less general and, by one observer, more restricted to the men.²³

Tobacco cultivation had become a monopoly of the settlers. Robert Beverley in 1704 had to admit that he did not even know how the Indians formerly had "order'd their Tobacco," because they were "now depending chiefly upon the English, for what they smoak."²⁴

Corn

Despite this, the tobacco crop was but one phase of the plantation operation. There were other crops that were even more basic, in a real sense, as they had to do with food and drink for man and livestock. More particularly these were corn, wheat and other grains, as well as forage and pasture. Beverley recorded that "All sorts of English Grain thrive, and increase there, as well as in any other part of the World as for Example, Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, Peas, Rape, &c."²⁵ Hugh Jones recorded that he knew from experience that grains, "Most if not all sorts of English husbandry," could be carried on in Virginia, due to favorable soil and climate, "with much less labour, and far greater encrease than in England: for instance," he noted, "it is common only by howing up the ground, and throwing seed upon it, harrowing it in, to reap from sixty to eighty bushels for one of English wheat, of a large full grain with a thin rind; and I have had two tuns off an acre

23. John Fontaine had a similar comment on smoking after church when he wrote of May 29, 1715. He had come into the Potomac River and reached the Virginia side: "About 8 of the clock we came ashore, and went to church, which is about four miles from the place we landed. The day was very hot, and the roads very dusty. We got to church a little late, but had part of the sermon. The people seemed to me pale and yellow. After the minister had made an end, every one of the men pulled out his pipe, and smoked a pipe of tobacco." (Ann Maury (editor), "Journal of John fontaine," in *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family* (New York, 1853), p. 261).

24. He did add interestingly, that he understood: "they used to let it all run to seed, only succoving the Leaves, to keep the Sprouts from growing upon, and starving them; and when it was ripe, they pull'd off the leaves, cured them in the Sun, and laid them up for Use. But the Planters make a heavy Bustle with it now, and can't please the Market either." (History and Present State of Virginia, p. 145).

25. History and Present State of Virginia, p. 316.

of clover which we may mow twice." Barley, too, was almost as successful.²⁶ William Byrd was equally as laudatory on the fruitfulness of Virginia farms, specifically mentioning wheat as yielding 30 to 40 "and more fold," rye "almost as many fold," and barley "many fold." Then he adds: "One plants Oats also, but slightly, because corn is liked better, since it yields more."²⁷ This Indian corn, "Maze" (maize), commonly called "Virginia Wheat," to distinguish it from "English Wheat," was new to these first Virginians.²⁸ It was a basic to the Indian way of life and the colonists immediately recognized its value and potential. They proceeded to copy the Indian cultivation of it. Very quickly it became a food staple on the farms, both large and small farms.²⁹ To quote William Byrd again: "This corn is very good in this land and is eaten by rich and poor. People consider it very healthful. The slaves are also fed with it also the cattle are fattened [with it. They] receive a splendid flavor because of this. Indeed most of the inhabitants plant almost nothing but corn for their household needs, with which they are pleased and remain healthy besides."³⁰ It was eulogized by one discriminating observer as being at once "meat, meal, and manure."³¹

26. Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 137.

27. William Byrd's Natural History of Virginia, or The Newly Discovered Eden, translated and edited by Richmond Croom Beatty and William J. Mulloy (The Dietz Press, Richmond, Virginia, 1940), p. 20.

28. Clayton, Scientific Writings, p. 79.

29. Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 198 (editor's note).

30. Byrd, Natural History, p. 18.

31. Cabell, History of Agriculture in Virginia, p. 9. To this for some, "the poorer sort," might be added drink as well. Beverley tells us that beer was brewed from a number of substances, including "Indian Corn malted by drying in a Stove," and, also, "with the green stalks of Indian Corn cut small and bruised . . ." (History and Present State of Virginia, p. 293).

Its first plantings in April would yield roasting ears (a needed fresh, nourishing green vegetable) by mid-summer, and repeated plantings could follow, with most in May. Hugh Jones saw it as a grain "of great increase and much general use; for with this is made a good bread, cakes, mush and hommony."³² He also adjudges: "Indian corn is the best food for cattle, hogs, sheep and horses; and the blades and tops are excellent fodder, when well cured, which is commonly used . . ."³³ Besides, the shucks from the ears could be made into chair bottoms and door mats, or used even for stuffing mattresses. The stalks were valuable in making cattle shelters and as bedding in the cattle sheds.³⁴

Robert Beverley has contributed an excellent description of the plant which "was the Staff of Food, upon which the Indians did ever depend." He identified "Four Sorts of Indian Corn," two of which ripened early and two later. All are in a similar manner from "a tall upright Stalk, which has several Ears hanging on the Sides of it, from Six to Ten Inches long. . . ."

"The lesser size of Early ripe Corn, yields an Ear not much larger than the Handle of a Case Knife, and grows upon a Stalk, between Three and Four Foot high. Of this are commonly made Two Crops in a Year." The larger, early type differed chiefly in size, the stalk going to nine or ten feet in height and the ear to seven or eight inches in length.

32. The Present State of Virginia, p. 78. He also commented that corn foods went well with "good pork and Potatoes (red and white . . .) and other roots and pulse As for grinding corn, etc., they have good mills upon the runs and creeks; besides hand-mills, wind-mills, and the Indian invention of p ounding hommony in mortars burnt in the stump of a tree, with a log for a pestle hanging at the end of a pole fixed like the pole of a lave." (pp. 86-87.) Hominy was a basic Indian food. John Clayton had this to say of the natives' use of it: "They are almost always either eating or sleeping unless when They go a Hunting, at all hours of the night whenever they are awake they go to the Hominy-pot, that is maze dressed in a manner like our pilled wheat [peeled, or pared off, or with the hull removed], or else a piece of Venison barbecuted, that is wrapped up in leaves and roasted in the Embers." (Scientific Writings, p. 37).

33. Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 78.

34. Ibid, p. 198.

The first, by his report, ripened (for roasting) as early as mid-May and the latter in late May, the grains of both being "plump and swell'd."

"The late ripe Corn" differed chiefly in the grain, "without any respect to the accidental Differences in Colour, some being blue, some red, some yellow, some white, and some streak'd." One looked "smooth, and as full as the early ripe Corn." This was called "Flint-Corn." The other looked "shrivell'd with a Dent on the Back of the Grain, as if it had never come to Perfection." This was named "She-Corn" and was that most "esteem'd by the Planters, as the best for Increase" and was "universally chosen by them for planting."³⁵

Cultivation of Indian corn was relatively simple and at harvest time the ripe ears could be harvested almost at leisure. It is generally agreed that: "When land is tired of tobacco, it will bear Indian corn, or English wheat, or any other European grain, or seed, with wonderful increase."³⁶ And so this practice was followed. After the ground had been hoed, or plowed, it was ready for planting. Likely the description by the French Huguenot traveler in 1688 gives the method of planting accurately and succinctly:³⁷

. . . they put four seeds close together under a small mound & every four feet apart four more. This space ³⁸ is necessary

35. Beverley, History and Present State of Virginia, pp. 143-44. The normal yield was two ears to the stalk though some had three, some one, and some none. There were by estimate from two to five hundred grains per ear. (See, also, Cabell, History of Agriculture in Virginia, p. 9). The general subject of corn, its origin, spread, and uses is the theme of Paul Weatherwax's Indian Corn in Old America (Macmillan Company, New York, 1954).

36. Jones, The Present State of Virginia, pp. 77-78.

37. Huguenot Exile in Virginia, p. 118.

38. It has been concluded that this four-foot interval eventually grew into five and six feet to facilitate cultivation. (Cabell, History of Agriculture in Virginia, p. 9). Beverley had this to say on planting: all were "planted alike, in Row, Three Four or Five Grains in a Hill, the larger Sort at Four or Five Foot Distance, the lesser Sort nearer." (History and Present State of Virginia, pp. 143-44). By one account the Indians made holes "four feet one from another" and when it was "grown middle-high, they hill it about like a hop-yard." (Quoted in Cabell, History of Agriculture in Virginia, p. 9). A detail in the Northampton County Records may be of interest here. In describing a "retch of Corne" that had been rooted up by stray hogs, it was said to be "one hundred rows of 40 holes deep." (Orders, Deeds, Wills, etc., No. 2 (1640-45) p.188).

for its growth, because it has big roots, stalks three inches thick & seven or eight feet long. They plant four together so they can hold each other up, against the wind. They also plant two beans of an excellent kind, close to the four grains of corn whose stalks will serve them as poles to climb among.³⁹

Then there is, too, the description left by Michel, who toured the colonies in 1701-02. He wrote that corn was planted in "a small hole" and covered with ground and, he continued: "Like the tobacco they are always planted six feet apart . . . The stalks grow over ten and even fourteen feet high and are very thick. They bear usually from two to four ears, while there are three or four stalks to a hole. Throughout the summer the weeds must be removed from time to time as in the case of the tobacco."⁴⁰

It was noted too that "The Indians used to give it One or Two Weedings, and make a Hill about it, and so Labour was done." Beverley also recorded the custom of planting beans in the same hill with the corn and added that: "The Indians sow'd Peas sometimes in the Intervals of the Rows of Corn, but more generally in a Patch of Ground by themselves."⁴¹ There was also the Indian custom of planting "amongst their corn" in May, "pumpeons, and fruit like unto a muskmelon, but less and worse, which they call macocks." Shaded partly by the growing corn, these did well and began to ripen in July, continuing until September.⁴²

39. "The beans were reported to be the same as called Fagioli in Italy and the peas were the same as the Turks call Garnanses." (Cabell, History of Agriculture in Virginia, p. 4). The replanting of corn, as necessary, was a part of the process. (Henrico County Records, Deeds, Wills, etc., 1688-1697, p. 36).

40. "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701 - December 1, 1702," edited by William J. Hinke, in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXIV, 31-32.

41. Beverley, History and Present State of Virginia, pp. 143-44.

42. Cabell, History of Agriculture in Virginia, pp. 9, 12. Cabell has concluded that: "The several points of planting in squares, at four feet distance, and hilling them afterwards; of planting beans, or peas, in the same place that their vines might be supported by the stalks, or pumpkins; that they might shade the ground and keep it moist, were also religiously imitated by the colonists." Cabell also observed that the six-foot interval came to be used in part to allow planting wheat in the field among the standing corn stalks until the advent of the Hessian fly made later, fall, planting necessary.

Throughout early summer, weeding and keeping the corn free of grass was laborious work. By mid-July it normally was possible to "lay it by." Fodder pulling and top cutting was usually a September chore with the mature ear being harvested in mid, or late, fall. Evidently the fodder was sometimes stacked in the field, as John Clayton made reference to "Stacks of Hay or Corn." On at least some plantations there were "fodder houses," as at Sabine Hall. An entry in the Landon Carter diary, that for December 28, 1757, is an interesting note on cultivation, as he details the plowing of a "Corn field -- "two bouts on each side the last year's ridge. The ridge I shall hoe up when I hill it and the lacing on each side between the plowing directly, then when I weed I go across the ridge."⁴³

Most crops had their enemies, insect and animal. In the case of corn, one was the "Opposom," insofar as the planter was concerned. This was because they "feed on, and devour Corn." Then there was the Blackbird, in plentiful numbers -- "a bird very injurious to Corn."⁴⁴ There was, too, the damage that could come from ranging hogs. One such incident that reached court was in Northumberland County, where hogs "devoured and exposed" some 4,000 hills, the "work for eight men s'vts [servants] one whole day."⁴⁵

In due course the ripe ears were harvested, the shucks removed, and the grain shelled from the cob, or fed to livestock in the ear. The note in one record in York County of a "cradle to shale corn" indicates that the shelling was not all by hand even in the early 1670s. In regard to corn crops, the contemporary phrase "gathered, husked and housed" seems to cover the situation rather well. Sometimes, too, corn was handled in "bagges," some of which were "worne out" in the process.⁴⁶

43. Clayton, Scientific Writings, p. 49; Carter, Diary, I, 196, also 160-196 passim.

44. Clayton, Scientific Writings, pp. 100, 107.

45. Orders, Deeds, Wills, etc., No. 2 (1640-45), pp. 138-39. Actually the description was "one hundred rows of 40 holes deep," a suggestion that a corn field was sometimes measured by "holes" rather than "hills." Such was the description of a plot of land leased in Lancaster County in 1664 - "as much corne ground as will hold 1500 round holes." (Deeds, etc., No. 2 (1654-1702), Pt. 2, p. 289).

46. York County Records, Deeds & Wills, No. 2, p. 313, and Deeds Orders Wills, No. 2, p. 48; Bruce, Economic History, I, 466.

Wheat

Generally speaking, wheat was a "must" crop on most plantations and farms. For many years the cultivation of wheat and corn were required by law for all plantations. Planting normally followed in those fields that were growing weak of tobacco and corn, though in some instances it followed directly after tobacco. As Hugh Jones pointed out: "When land is tired of tobacco it will bear Indian corn, or English wheat, or any other European grain or seed, with wonderful increase." It was, he stated, not unusual, but "common only by hoeing up the ground, and throwing seed upon it, and harrowing it in, to reap from sixty to eighty bushels for one of English wheat. . . ." Preparation of the ground for wheat differed little from doing the same for corn, it being a matter of plow, hoe and spade indiscriminately, depending on the nature of the ground to be prepared.⁴⁷

It was sowed by hand and reaped with a sickle (sometimes, likely, with "scythe and cradle"), with the experience of the hand of the sower having a good deal to do with the evenness of the plant and the ultimate crop.⁴⁸ The sowing normally was at the end of October or the beginning of November. In October 1757, after the end of harvest and as a new crop was being sown, Landon Carter in debating next year's procedure resolved that in the coming year he might harvest all of his wheat "without a Cradle and stack it like hay." This he thought might help combat the "fly-weevil." The stacking, "as we do hay," might, he thought, generate the heat that would kill the pest.⁴⁹

Carter also had other pertinent comments⁵⁰ on wheat cultivation. He wrote of running his harrow over the plowed ground to minimize the

47. The Present State of Virginia, pp. 77, 137; Cabell, History of Agriculture in Virginia, p. 15; Bruce, Economic History, I, 466.

48. Cabell, History of Agriculture in Virginia, p. 24; Huguenot Exile in Virginia, p. 118; Carter, Diary, I, p. 162. Carter complained of a light yield on July 14, 1757, possibly because of the "new seeds" man" who had a light hand.

49. Diary, I, 131-32, 180, 185-6.

50. Ibid, I, 148, 171, 187. Carter's wheat planting in the fall involved fields of 47, 10, and 4 acres respectively. He, also, reported on August 22 that he ground a bushel of "new wheat," sifted the bran out and weighed the flour in at 37 pounds.

pockets where seed would fall too deep and be buried by the harrow and later rains. He failed to see the merits of "Cultivation or manuring by Pea vines which is so much recommended in books of Husbandry." He had ten full acres "on Peas last year [1756] and then chopped and plowed in their vines which were very rank and sowed my wheat early, but it looks but poorly in comparison of the dunged ground," since "the dung land wheat seems to be getting into a pretty tollerable Verdure." He was writing then in March 1757. Actually little was said at the time about wheat types; however, "red and yellow Lammas" was in vogue before the Revolution. Carter, who, also tried Sicilian wheat, write of his "old white Lammos" and his "white wheat," which included thrashing in late summer. Perhaps treading by horses, or oxen, came to replace the flail, and sieves were employed to remove the chaff.⁵¹ But whatever its type, planting and harvesting wheat was but a part of the total process.

In deploring the lack of supporting crafts and industries in general, Robert Beverley wrote:

It is thought too much for the same Man, to make the Wheat, and grind it, bolt it, and bake it himself. And it is too great a change for every Planter, who is willing to sow Barley, to build a Malt-House, and Brew-House, too, or else to have no benefit of his Barley⁵²

Even though tobacco tended to suppress the expansion of grain crops, except for the local and home consumption, they did increase especially in the eighteenth century. It could be noted, even in 1697, that grain crops "are very useful for the Supply of Barbadoes, and the other Leeward Islands, as also of Near-England, which produces very little Wheat, or Indian Corn, the Frost of late Years often taking it before it is ripe."⁵³

Other Grain

Though corn and wheat were the principal grains grown on Virginia plantations, there were others, whose popularity, in some instances, increased as the decades passed. Even in 1648 an observer could report that he "saw excellent wheat, barley, rye, beans, peas, oats" and the increase is wonderful."⁵⁴ Seemingly barley and rye did not catch on as well

51. Cabell, History of Agriculture in Virginia, p. 14; Carter, Diary, I, 132, 167; Bruce, Economic History, I, 465.

52. History and Present State of Virginia, p. 316.

53. Hartwell, Blair and Chilton, Virginia and the College, p. 6.

54. "Virginia in 1648," in The Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advertiser, II, No. 2 (April, 1849), 74.

as oats, which became somewhat general and were planted by many as food for livestock. Normally they followed corn in the crop rotation progression. Though often "consumed where grown," in the field, such was not universal.⁵⁵ Some mowed and stacked them outside.⁵⁶ Planted in the spring (early March) they could be harvested in mid-summer. In 1757 Landon Carter, on June 29, began "to mow" his oats. Some months earlier he had observed: "I do assert that oats want no other Cultivation but to be well covered but not too deep."⁵⁷ In his own case, that year he planned to sow oats in, among other places, a stumpy "corn field" and in "a prodigious Corn field I broke up with my Farm plows." In the first instance his overseer leveled the field "down pretty light and then sowing and harrowing in the oats."⁵⁸

Beans and Peas

On a less general basis than oats, perhaps, were the bean and pea fields. William Byrd wrote, "One has here [in Virginia] whole fields of broad beans, just as in Europe." He wrote, too, of various species of French beans, or small beans, "such as Indian beans, which bear bushels full throughout the summer." In this instance, however, he may have had reference, as in the case of "Dwarf beans," to a garden rather than a field crop.⁵⁹ As for peas, they were perhaps more common

55. Jones, The Present State of Virginia, pp. 7 8, 86, 137; Cabell, History of Agriculture in Virginia, p. 15; Carter, Diary I, 161, 199, 200.

56. Carter, Diary, I, 150. Carter interestingly related further that once in July, presumably after harvest, he harrowed down the scattered oats in a field and later "fed [it] down all the winter." Then next year he got 100 "large Cart loads of good hay . . . very tall and well set." Actually he could have saved them for a crop; however, he had so many growing that he could not have mowed them had they stayed to ripen.

57. He wrote on January 1, 1757, ". . . we have made out of the oats stocked without doors 918 bushels, which is a great Crop." he was hopeful that the oats "within doors" would yield in like proportion. In this case his yield would exceed 50 bushels to the acre. Two weeks later he could report "these oats are now in a mow close by the floor fine and dry." (Diary, I, 137-38).

58. Diary, I, 139, 145. He sowed at the rate of four bushels to one, one-eighth acre, but did not expect "my negroe Sower to calculate by the hand" in too small fractions.

59. Natural History, pp. 21-22. Of the "French beans" he wrote: "Their stalk becomes as thick as a large man's thumb. They are white, sprinkled with color, with a dark red figure on each side, and very good to taste."

as livestock food and a little later as a soil improver. In October 1756 Carter wrote of plowing land "well covered over with Virginia pea vines and I have persons before the plow chopping them that the plow may turn them under . . ." He found, however, that "they don't seem to make a great Covering and are really hard to turn under the Clods."⁶⁰ A casual reference by Robert Beverley would indicate that the wild, as well as the domestic, stock liked the green peas; otherwise the deer would have found little reason to jump over "their Fence" onto "a Field of Peas."⁶¹ Beverley also relates that they were grown commonly by the colonists as they had seen the Indians do it. As already indicated, this was in the rows with the corn but more generally in a "Patch of Ground." He had observed, too, that the natives had an "unknown Variety" besides others, but all were of a "Kidney-Shape."

Some Special Crops for Home Consumption

It was not unusual, and it may even have been customary on most plantations, to produce enough flax and cotton to satisfy at least some of the needs for cloth made from these fibers. In the seventeenth century Berkeley "set a useful Example" at Greenspring, and fifty years later Spotswood, writing in 1711, related that he had been "creditably informed" that forty thousand yards of woolen, cotton, and linen cloth had been made in Virginia the previous year. It was not always easy, or economically feasible, to depend on imports. Most plantation inventories showed spinning wheels as did that of Augustine Washington, who among them had a "linen wheel." Dr. Richard Lee Morton has concluded that the cultivation of flax and hemp was established in Virginia in 1611 "and continued to be cultivated throughout the Colonial period."⁶²

Gardens and Orchards

Gardens

The farm garden or gardens became, early in colonial days a very familiar part of the plantation scene and remained such, though generally they were for utilitarian rather than aesthetic purposes. Beverley makes this

60. Diary, I, 130.

61. History and Present State of Virginia, p. 309.

62. Beverley, History and Present State of Virginia, pp. 72, 319; Jones, The Present State of Virginia, pp. 139, 216. There was small thought here to make cloth for export. Beverley thought this not possible because of a lack of settled towns. In any case the people, he wrote, were not able to make the most of "their Flax, Hemp, Cotton, Silk, Silkgrass, and Wool."

quite evident in his account of Virginia. While he details a great variety in plants and products, both new and old to the English, he also comments: "And yet they han't many Gardens in the Country, fit to bear that name." "A Kitchen Garden," he had noted, "don't thrive better or faster in any part of the Universe, than there" in Virginia. "They have all the Culinary Plants that grow in England, and in far greater perfection than in England: Besides these, they have several Roots, Herbs, Vine-fruits, and Salate-Flowers peculiar to themselves . . . These they dish up various ways, and find them very delicious Sauce to their Meats, both Roast and Boild, Fresh and Salt; such are the Red-Buds Sassafras-Flowers, Cymnells, Melons, and Potatoes."⁶³ Even in 1688 Glover could write:

Their Gardens have all sorts of English Potherbs, and Sallets; they have Cabbages, Colworts [Coleworts] Colly flowers [cauliflowers] Parsnips, Turnips, Carrets, Potatoes and Yams: and such Herbs as grow wild in England, and do not grow there, they plant, as Wormwood, Fetherfew, Horseleek, Carduus, Benedictus, Rue, Coriander, Enula [elecampane] and the like.⁶⁴

This situation continued and John Oldmixon in 1741 could repeat the same thing but more succinctly, perhaps: "Their Kitchen-Gardens supply them with all sorts of Roots, Sallads and Pot-herbs."⁶⁵

From the first days of the settlement there were colonists who noted all the local plants and Indian uses and imitated, as it seemed well to do it. There were those, too, who saw fit and set the pattern in bringing English seeds, plants, and cuttings to try them in Virginia where soil, temperature, and seasons cooperated rather fully. Consequently there came to be great variety in vegetables, herbs, fruits, and berries, as has been documented in various accounts and compilations.⁶⁶ The variety is nowhere more evident, perhaps, than in the partial listing given by William Byrd for "Pot Herbs" and "Field-and Pot-Herbs."⁶⁷ In the former category he enumerates:

63. History and Present State of Virginia, pp. 292, 316. Beverley specifically mentions "Rue, Southernwood, Rosemary, Bays and Lavender . . . July Flowers, Fennel, Enula Campana, Clary and Bloodwart."

64. Glover, An Account of Virginia, p. 16.

65. The British Empire in America, (London), I, 428.

66. One such publication is Raymond L. Taylor's Plants of Colonial Days: A Guide to 160 Flowers, Shrubs, & Trees in the Gardens of Colonial Williamsburg (Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1952).

67. Natural History, pp. 22-23.

cabbage (white and red) - four species "such as smooth Saroy cabbage curled red, curled green"
 fennel - two kinds and also "sea fennel"
 rhubarb - cultivated and wild
 asparagus - "very large and long asparagus of splendid flavor, white as well as red"
 cucumbers - three varieties, "which are very sweet and good tasting"
 lettuce⁶⁸ - smooth, curled, and red
 garlic - white and red
 "burmillions" - "splendid for cooking"
 "simnals, horns, squashes" - "very good, raw or cooked"
 pumpkins - four species
 melons - many species, "such as watermelons and fragrant melons, Guinea, golden, orange, green, and several other sorts."
 potatoes - many species

Also:

turnips ⁶⁹	Chives	truffles
carrots	artichokes ⁷⁰	parsnips
beets	radish	sumack
cauliflower, "beautiful	horseradish	spinach, prickley
sorrel	mustard	cashaws
cress-2 kinds	parsley-2 kinds	

"In addition, there are still many other garden stuffs which would take too long to mention here"

In the "Field-and Pot-Herbs" category Byrd continues:

68. Lettuce seems to have been a favorite in Virginia; at least Michel found it so in his travels. (Virginia Magazine, XXIV, 32).

69. There was a little trouble with the "Red-top Turnips," which were reported to "degenerate to Rape." But according to Beverley this was not necessarily so, and he described how it was managed otherwise: "they cut off the top of such a Turnip, that has . . . been kept out of the Ground all the Winter, and plant that top above without the Body of the Root, [and] it yields a Seed which mends the Turnip in the next sowing." (History and Present State of Virginia, p. 292).

70. According to Hugh Jones, the artichoke was the only vegetable that degenerated in Virginia after removal from England. (Bruce, Economic History, I, 468).

marjoram
rosemary
wormwood
ox-tongue

clary
marigold
columbine
wood mint
poppy seed
worm seed
mother-wort

savory
bachelor's button
cat-thyme
poplars

yarrow
choywort
hyssop
asters
begment
horse leek
nightshade

lavender
Brazil cabbage
dill
"tobacco of all
species"
coriander
anise

plantain
mullen
sarsaparilla
"Jamestown grass,
which bears seed
like garlic"

"& many others"

Some plants, especially some known to the Indians who had uses for them, were of particular note to contemporary observers. Among these were melons of various sorts. Beverley was, for example, particularly taken by "Their Musk-melons [which] resemble the large Italian Kind, and generally fill Four of Five Quarts," as well as by "Their Water-melons [which] were much more large, and of several Kinds . . ." Of the more common type, which he viewed as very appetizing, he gave perhaps a class description. "They are excellently good, and very pleasant to the Taste, as also to the Eye; having the Rind of a lively green Colour, streak'd and water'd, the Meat of a Carnation, and the seed black and shining, while it lies in the Melon."⁷¹ Though normally a garden or patch crop, watermelons were sometimes a field crop, as noted in an early deposition in Northampton County, where Isabell Shedd "was sent into the Field to gather Water Millions."⁷²

71. ". . . distinguished by the Colour of their Meat and Seed; some are red, some yellow, and others white meated, and so of the Seed, some are yellow, some red and some black; but these are never of different Colours in the same Melon." (History and Present State of Virginia, pp. 141-42).

72. Records, 1640-45, p. 232. The deposition was dated April 28, 1643.

Pumpkins and gourds also were of interest to Beverley. The Indian "Cushaws" were "a kind of Pompion [pumpkin], of a bluish green Colour, streakd White, when they are fit for use." They were larger than the pumpkins he knew and had "a long narrow Neck." The Indian "Macocks" were by his identity a "lesser sort f Pompion," which they had in a "great Variety [and] Sometimes called Cymnells." "Squash, or Squanter-Squash, is the Name among the Northern Indians," He noted that "whereas the Pompion is never eaten till it be ripe, these are never eaten after they are ripe." Gourds the Indians did not eat at all. Rather, when ripe and dry, they cleaned them out and "afterwards use[d] the Shells instead of Flagonns and Cups."⁷³

Potatoes came quickly to be common in Virginia, both the native ("either red or white") varieties and the "English or Irish." Beverley commented on the Indian potato which he took as the same "represented in the Herbals, to be Spanish Potatoes." These grew "about as long as a Boy's Leg, and sometimes as long and big as both the Leg and Thigh of a young Child, and very much resembling it in Shape." These were "quite unlike the Irish in Shape, Color or Taste." Propagation, he reported, was "by cutting the small ones to Pieces, and planting the Cuttings in Hills of loose Earth." Being tender they were difficult to preserve in winter. The least frost would lead to rotting. "Therefore the People hung'em under Ground, near the Fire-Hearth, all the Winter until the Time comes, that their Seedings are to be set."⁷⁴

Virginia strawberries were, in season, evidently quick to attract attention. Byrd wrote that "Strawberries grow abundantly in local woods, as [they do] likewise in almost all fields and gardens. [They are] very beautiful and large, also fine tasting; one has them all Summer long." Beverley had echoed this and added that, "They are eaten almost by all Creatures."⁷⁵

73. History and Present State of Virginia, p. 142.

74. Ibid, pp. 144-45. Hugh Jones considered that the native "potatoes (red and white [were] very nice and different from ours)." (The Present State of Virginia, p. 7).

75. Byrd, Natural History, p. 38; Beverley, History and Present State of Virginia, p. 131.

In 1772 Landon Carter was busy about his strawberries and disturbed by the dryness of the season. On May 29 he wrote "I have ordered my hautboy strawberry beds to be loosened with a 3 pronged fork quite up to the shank--every five or six inches," plus watering. He was also watering "All our Colyflowers and Cabbages." His "hautbois" [strawberries] were actually dying in the bed."

We know by report that interest developed in strawberry types, for John Randolph commented on those in his Williamsburg garden. He remarked that there were chiefly three sorts which he propagated-- "the wood, the scarlet or Virginian, the hautboy." He mentioned, too, the "Chili strawberry" which grew to the size of a hen's egg. There were berries, too, other than the strawberry, that came and remained a part of the Virginia scene, such as gooseberries and raspberries.⁷⁶

Late in the season in 1757, Landon Carter was taking steps to combat the cabbage "Caterpillar worm that eats them" and early in the 1773 season, he commented on the good germination of his melon and cucumber seed. Actually, by entry of February 9, 1757, he noted that "At home [he] prepared with the tobacco seed the following garden seed: Onions, Cabbages, Sugar loaf ditto, Savoys, radishes, Lettice Coss, and Cabbage and of these a good quantity for use."⁷⁷

Except in the case of the very large estates and the botanically interested, formal gardens and extensive flower plantings may have been exceptional, though flowers were known, appreciated, grown, and used. Even in 1676, John Glover could write: "They have likewise in their Gardens Roses, Clove-Gilliflowers, and a variety of other sorts of Flowers."⁷⁸ In describing the flowers of Virginia, William Byrd enumerated a number, including the plants, shrubs and trees which had attracted his note:⁷⁹

76. Earl G. Swem (ed.), Brothers of the Spade: Correspondence of Peter Collinson of London and of John Custis of Williamsburg (Barre, Massachusetts, 1957), p. 161; "Virginia in 1648," in The Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advertiser, II, 78. Beverley comments on some of the wild berries, mentioning particularly three sorts of "Hurts, or Huckleberries" that grew commonly on "Bushes from Two to Ten Feet high." He wrote, too, of the "wild Raspberry" which was, "by some," "preferr'd to those that were transplanted thither from England." (History and Present State of Virginia, p. 131).

77. Diary, I, 140, 188; II, 695-6.

78. An Account of Virginia, p. 16. There is a good deal of garden (flowers, etc.) detail scattered through Swem, Brothers of the Spade.

79. Natural History, p. 24.

roses⁸⁰ - many species "of which
all the woods are full"

carnations
violets

tricolor
princess feather
cardinal flower
sunflowers

tulips
moccasin flower
tulip tree
jasmine-yellow and
white
locusts
laurel tree
wild apple

"in addition to still many other flowers
unknown in Europe, with which the fields
and woods are wholly covered."

Gardening came to be very time-consuming and rather constant as it was pursued more intensively. John Randolph of Williamsburg, in his A Treatise on Gardening, written in the later colonial period, for example, makes this evident, especially in his concluding summary of activities. He arranged it by the month for the entire year. Here the variety of vegetables, herbs, berries, and plants that were well-established and common is underscored. This and a good deal on methodology comes in greater detail in the text of his account quoted below:⁸¹

January:

Prepare hot-beds for Cucumbers: as little can be done this month in a garden, I would advise the preparing of your dung, and carrying it to your beds, that it may be ready to spread on in February.

80. On June 3, 1773, Landon Carter was concerned about his "tube roses," which were "as yet but coming above ground." (Diary, II, 753-54). Even in 1633 George Menefie had Provence roses growing at his place on the James River below Jamestown. (Swen, Brothers of the Spade, p. 166).

81. A Treatise on Gardening By a Citizen of Virginia, John Randolph, Jr., (1727-1784), edited by M. F. Warner as a reprint from the American Gardener of John Gardiner and David Hepburn, 3rd Edition, 1826 (Richmond, 1924), pp. 49-52. This work appeared in various editions and forms and is thought to have been published before the American Revolution, though, at the time of the reprint, no copies had been found of the first printings nor of the known printing of 1793. (p. xv.)

February:

Sow Asparagus, make your beds and fork up the old ones, sow Loaf Cabbages: latter end transplant Cauliflowers, sow Carrots, and transplant for seeds, prick out endive for seed, sow Lettuce, Melons in hot-beds, sow Parsnips, take up the old roots and prick out for seed, sow Peas and prick them into your hot-beds, sow Radishes twice, plant Strawberries, plant out Turneps for seed, spade deep and make it fine, plant Beans.

March:

Slip your Artichokes, if fit, plant Kidney Beans, Cabbages, Celery, Parsley, Cucumbers, Currants, Chamomile, Celandine, Nasturtium, Featherfew, Fennel, Ivy, Horse Radish, Hyssop, Lavender, Lettuce, Radishes twice, Marjoram, Marsh Mallow, Mint, Melons, Millet, Mugwort, Onions, and for seed, Peas twice, Potatoes, Raspberry, Rosemary, Rue, Spinach, Tansy, Thyme, Turneps. You may begin to mow your grass walks, and continue so to do every morning, and roll them; turf this month; plant Box.

April:

If Artichokes were not slipped last month, do it this, bushel and garden Beans, sow Cabbages the twelfth, sow Cauliflowers, Celery, Cresses, Nasturtium, Lettuce, Peas, Radishes twice; Sage will grow in this or any other month; Turneps, sow Salsify early, Pepper; turf this month.

May:

Latter end sow Brocoli, Celery, Cucumbers for pickles, Endive, Featherfew, Hyssop, cuttings of Marsh Mallow, Melons, Peas, sow Radishes twice, Kidney Beans; turf this month.

June:

Cabbages should be sown, sow Radishes twice, transplant Cabbages, prick out Cauliflowers, prick out Brocoli, draw up by the roots all your weeds.

July:

Transplant Brocoli, sow Cabbages, Colewurts, transplant Cauliflowers to stand, Endive, gather Millet seed, take up Onions, sow Radishes twice, sow Turneps, plant Kidney Beans to preserve.

August:

Sow Cabbages, latter end Carrots, get your Cucumber seed, sow Cresses, prick out Endive, early sow Lettuce, Mullein, gather Onion seed, plant Garlick, get Parsnep seed; twelfth, sow Peas for the fall, sow Radishes; middle, sow Spinach, though some say not until after the twentieth, sow Turneps.

September:

Sow Cabbages tenth, sow Cauliflowers, plant cuttings of Currants, Clary, Comfrey, plant cuttings of Gooseberries, sow Radishes, plant layers of suckers of Raspberries, Rosemary, plant out Strawberries, string your Strawberries, and dress your beds, plant Tansy.

October:

Latter end cut down your Asparagus, and cover your beds with dung, plant Beans for spring, sow Cabbages twentieth; transplant Cauliflowers, plant Horse Radish, prick Lettuce into boxes, sow Peas for the hot-bed, Radishes; turf this month.

November:

Take up your Cabbages, sow Cabbages, take up your Cauliflowers, such as are flowered, and house them, take up your Carrots, trench all your vacant land, prune your trees and vines, plant out every thing of the tree and shrub kind, that has a root to it; if any thing is done to your Artichokes, this is a good month; plant Box; turf early.

December:

Cover your Endive with brush, cover Celery, and every thing else that needs shelter; if the weather will admit, turn over the ground that is trenched, in order to mellow and pulverize it. Whatever will prevent delay, and enable you to begin spading in February, should be done this month.

Orchards

Even before the mid-point of the colonial period in Virginia, there were few plantations that did not have orchards, some of very large size, with a variety of fruit. Though inattention to the trees was normally the custom in the seventeenth century, this had begun to change before the century's end. Virginia Gazette advertisements of property for sale in

1737, for example, could register pride in good trees and grafted stock.⁸² So well did fruit grow that many possibilities were evident, even to the extent of relieving England from the need to purchase dried fruits from Southern Europe. Planters soon learned that European and English varieties of the apple, peach, apricot, plum, and other trees flourished as well, in some instances even better, in the colony than they did in their home habitat. The yields in Virginia were prodigious, as reported by Messrs. Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton:

That Country has also great Advantages for the making of Cyder, Wine, Oil, distill'd Spirits, Figs, Rasins and conserved Fruits, the Country producing hugh Quantities of the best Apples, Pears, Peaches, Quinces, Cherries, Strawberries, Mulberries, Rasberries, Putchamins [persimmons], and Melons, and abounding every where with several Sorts of wild Grapes; the Woods also bringing good store of Chestnuts, Wallnuts, Hickerynuts, Chincopins, and other Shell-Fruit of a very oily Substance.⁸³

Though orchards had good variety, in most instances the fruits of greater emphasis were apples, peaches, and perhaps pears, usually in some quantity. There is, to illustrate, the comment of Thomas Glover:

82. Bruce, Economic History, I, 468-70; Virginia Gazette, July 22, 1737, p. 4, c. 2. One 970-acre plantation for sale in Prince George County had "a good Orchard" and another in the same locality boasted of "a good Apple Orchard, of choice grafted Fruit." Beverley wrote, even in 1705, that apples "are wonderfully improved by Grafting and Managing." (History and Present State of Virginia, p. 314).

83. Virginia and the College, p. xlvi, 6. In writing of nut trees that grew wild, Beverley enumerated "Chesnuts, Chinkapins, Hazel-nuts, Hickories, Walnuts, &c." For the latter he had a special word. "They have a sort of Walnut they call, Black-Walnut, which are as big again as any I ever saw in England, but are very rank and oily, having a thick, hard, foul Shell, and come not clear of the Husk, as the Walnut in France doth." (History and Present State of Virginia, pp. 131-32).

"Here are likewise great Peach-Orchards, which bear such an infinite quantity of Peaches, that at some Plantations they beat down to the Hogs forty bushels a year."⁸⁴ A half century later Hugh Jones could repeat a similar observation. "Besides, at the plantations are standard peach-trees, and apple-trees, planted out in orchards, on purpose almost for the hogs."⁸⁵ This must have been written with tongue-in-cheek, since it is quite evident that there were many other uses and interests in the orchards, none more important likely than the apple cider and peach brandy. A lesser one can be found in an observation made in 1686. "To make the cows return for milking, they keep the calves inclosed in an orchard; they take what mild they want & the calves suck the rest."⁸⁶

Though he deplored the frequent neglect of orchards, Hugh Jones could see their merit and appreciate their productivity:

The peaches abound, and are of a delicious taste, and apple are raised from the seeds very soon, which kind of kernel fruit needs no grafting, and is diversified into numberless sorts, and makes, with good management, an excellent cyder, not much inferior to that of Herefordshire, when kept to a good age; which is rarely done, the planters being good companions and guests whilst the cyder lasts.⁸⁷

84. An Account of Virginia, p. 14.

85. The Present State of Virginia, p. 78. Beverley was of the opinion, since "Fruit-trees are wonderfully quick of growth," that "six or seven years time from the Planting" would suffice for "a Man [to] . . . bring an orchard to bear in great plenty." (History and Present State of Virginia, p. 214).

86. Huguenot Exile in Virginia, p. 122. Beverley deplored the lack of tree care. Some, he observed, "are so negligent of them, as to let them go to ruine, and expose the trees to be torn, and barked by cattle." (History and Present State of Virginia, p. 314).

87. The Present State of Virginia, p. 78. On October 15, 1757, Landon Carter wrote that he "Bottled off yesterday 29 1/2 dozen Cyder, the old Barnaby not yet gone." (Diary, I, 179).

And to revert again to some of Glover's comments: "As to the Fruit-Trees of the Country, it affords great plenty: For there are few Planters, but that have fair and large Orchards, some whereof have twelve hundred Trees and upward, bearing all sort of English Apples, as Per-mains, Pippins, Russetens, Costards, Marigolds, Kings-apples, Margitens, Bachelours, and many others of which they make great store of Cider."⁸⁸ William Byrd, in 1737, had even more detailed comment on varieties and corresponding usages.⁸⁹

The extensive peach orchards throughout tidewater Virginia were very notable. Even in the seventeenth century they were of "infinite quantity." The distilling of peach brandy was a principal objective. It is of interest, perhaps, to note that when in 1773, Mathew Marable, in the Williamsburg area, offered some lands for sale, he advertised that they had "promise to produce 30 hogs ead of tobacco, 1500 bushels of corn, 3000 bushels of wheat, and 1000 gallons of peach brandy."⁹⁰

William Byrd commented that "There are many kinds of peaches, which have come from Europe, all of which are not nearly so good as the natural native Indian ones." He names some and comments particularly on two.

88. An Account of Virginia, p. 13.

89. He wrote: "I begin with the apples such as Golden russett, which is a beautiful apple and very good, grows large, but must be eaten soon [after picking]." Included in his enumeration were summer and winter "permaines," fall harvest (two types), "Winter Queening" (very juicy and good for cider), golden pippin (which tasted like grapes and "One can preserve it all year long"), red streak (made "a great amount of must, or cider"), long stems, red apple ("a small summer apple"), green apple (a "good Winter apple"), French rennets (five species) and others. (Natural History, pp. 43-44).

90. Swam, Brothers of the Spade, pp. 165-66. Hugh Jones thought Virginia cider superb "when well made and managed, especially if kept in good vaults. From peaches is distilled an excellent spirit in very great plenty, very difficult to be distinguished (when well made) from citron water. This they call persico, which with many other spirits might be made there to turn a very good account, and produced in great quantities from their numerous large orchards of apples and peaches." (The Present State of Virginia, p. 138).

The "plum peach" he considered "the most beautiful and best peach in the whole world, since it has a very hard yet tender flesh, which is full of sweet and good juice." It grew quite large. Then there was the "nectarine peach." Of this there were two species, one red inside and a clingstone, the other yellow and easy to leave the seed. The uses he described as for eating, for drying, for juice to make "Moby" (a favorite drink), "to swine as fattener," and to make brandy. Of the latter, he agreed with others that much was made.⁹¹ Orchards, for protective reasons, were generally fenced. Such was specified, for example, in an indenture between Thomas Woodward and Hugh Latimer on December 18, 1666, when Latimer agreed to plant an orchard and fence it. It was further specified that it contain 100 apple trees "at twenty five foot asunder."⁹²

It seems pertinent, too, to describe a part of an agreement between William Augustine Washington, grandson of Augustine Washington, and John Muse. William Augustine leased John "all that Messuage Tenement & Parcel of Land" on the north branch of Popes Creek, which Muse was then (April 1787) occupying. It was for an annual rent of "one thousand weight of merchantise Crop Tob[acco] & cask," but to run "for and during the natural life of him the said John Muse." There was a particular provision about an orchard as Muse:

Shall plant on the said Tenement one Hundred apple trees at thirty six feet apart and one Hundred Peach trees at twenty feet apart each way to be planted within two years from the date of this Lease and to be kept well inclosed, Pruned and Cultivated and to replace any which may die or from other accidents be destroyed. . .⁹³

91. Natural History, p. 47. Beverley was even more graphic, perhaps: "The best sort of these cling to the Stone, and will not come off clear, which they call Plum-Nectarines, and Plum-Peaches, or Cling-Stones. Some of these are 12 or 13 inches in the Girt. These Sorts of Fruits are raised so easily there, that some good Husbands plant great Orchards of them, purposely for their Hogs; and others make a Drink of them which they call Mobby, and either drink it as Cyder, or Distil it off as Brandy. This makes the best Spirit next to Grapes." (History and Present State of Virginia, pp. 314-15).

92. Isle of Wight County Records, Deeds, etc., I, (1662-1715), p. 173.

93. Court Rec., GWENM, pt. 1, pp. 177-79 (Westmoreland, Deeds and Wills, No. 18, p. 1). Other provisions called for building "a frame dwelling House Sixteen feet square," the upkeep of this and other houses on the place, the clearing of no more than 50 acres of the 100 leased, preservation of the timber (except as needed on the "Land and Premises"),

But orchards were not all apples and peaches, as has been noted already. Virginia had variety as well as quantity. There were many types as in the case of cherries. William Byrd reported numerous species, and Glover had this report: "The meanest Planter hath store of Cherries, and they are all over Virginia as plentiful as they are in Kent. The Cherry-Trees grow more large generally then they do in England, and bear more plenfully [sic] without any pains-taking of digging about them, or pruning them."⁹⁴ Hugh Jones believed that Virginians could brag of their "cherries, strawberries, etc., in which they excel," though he had this observation as well: "Here cherries thrive much better (I think) than in England; though the fruit-trees soon decay, yet they are soon raised to great perfection."⁹⁵

Pears also were, or came to be, common. In Glover's day there were "some sorts of Pears, but at very few Plantations; I have seen the Bergamy, Warden, and two or three other sorts, and these are as fair, large and pleasant as they are in England." However, other varieties were introduced and they became much more common. Byrd could list "sugar pears" (two sorts), "bergamot" (three species, "all good"), "warden" (which ripened early), "Summer Bon Chretien" (three varieties), "egg-shaped" (two species), "Winter Bon Chretien" (two kinds), "Madeira" ("it came from the Island of Madeira"), musk and others. John Oldmixon wrote, in his account issued in 1741, that "They have had such extraordinary Success with Apples and Pears, that there's never a Planter but has an Orchard, and makes Large Quantities of Cyder and Perry, which is some of their common Drinks."⁹⁶

and a provision on protection of the land. The latter specified that his cleared land "shall include two corn fields neither of which to be cultivated more than one year in two."

94. Byrd, Natural History, p. 49; Glover, An Account of Virginia, p. 15.

95. The Present State of Virginia, pp. 78, 92, 138. Beverley noted three sorts of cherries "natural to the Country, and growing wild in the Woods." Two grew on trees "as big as the common English white Oak." Both were black without and one red within. The latter was "more platable than the English black cherry": the former "hangs on the Branch like Grapes." The cherries, plums, and persimmons were the three "good Sorts" of "stoned Fruits: he had met with. (History and Present State of Virginia, pp. 129-30).

96. Byrd, Natural History, pp. 44-46; Glover, An Account of Virginia, p. 14; Oldmixon, British Empire in America, I, 443. Oldmixon also wrote that "The English have carried over a thousand several sorts of the Productions of Nature, and have found all to succeed there . . . there is nothing in England belonging either to a Garden or Orchard, but what they have, or may have there in as great or greater Perfection."

Glover noted that "here are likewise Apricock, and some sorts of English Plums, but these do not ripen so kindly as they do in England." On the same subject Byrd commented: "There are two species of plums, not counting the ones, namely the white and the black, which were sent from Europe." "Apricot trees grow very tall and thick here." He identified but two species.⁹⁷

Glover reported "great store of quinces" and consequently "Quince-drink." They were "longer and fairer than those of England, and not so harsh in taste." Byrd had found six varieties, "namely, Indian, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Barbary, and Brunswickian, which are all sweet and good either raw or cooked."⁹⁸ As for currants Glover saw none of the English varieties; however, a half-century later Byrd made a different observation. "One has different varieties of currants, from England as well as from other lands. [They are the] black, white and red varieties, and are all very good in taste."⁹⁹

By 1737 "Pomegranates are also found at the home of the fanciers and they have become exceptionally beautiful and good in this land." Figs, however, were more well-entrenched. Byrd reported that "One may find here two species of fig trees. One is low and bears a good fruit, which is very large. The other grows tall and thick, gives a beautiful shade, and bears abundantly." Earlier Glover had found that in Virginia they "grow as good Figgs as they do in Spain."¹⁰⁰

There were other fruits, too, of a native kind that grew well. It is doubtful that they were orchard or garden stock; however, likely they were part of most plantation scenes and available for use. Fruit bearing mulberries were most common, the native red and the imported white, likely too some of the black variety. Byrd wrote that "Mulberry trees grow everywhere of themselves and the uncultivated [ones] are the best in the country." Those sent from Europe, "however do not yield such

97. An Account of Virginia, p. 14; Natural History, p. 48. Beverley wrote of two sorts that he had seen growing "wild there" -- a black and "the Murrey Plum." (History and Present State of Virginia, p. 130).

98. An Account of Virginia, p. 14; Natural History, pp. 46-47.

99. Natural History, p. 49; Swam, Brothers of the Spade, p. 165.

100. Natural History, pp. 49, 51; An Account of Virginia, p. 14.

good berries or such fine foliage as the Indian [red ones]."¹⁰¹

Then there was the persimmon, new to the English, who tried hard to identify it as a plum. Beverley wrote that "These, like most other Fruits there, grow as thick upon the Trees, as Ropes of Onions; the Branches very often break down by the mighty Weight of the Fruit." Hugh Jones added, "Some planters, etc., make good small drink with cakes of parsimmons a kind of plumbs, which grow there in great plenty." Beverley, also, noted the use of persimmons to make a kind of beer.¹⁰²

There were grapes, too, with great "abundance of vines in the woods," but little to indicate that they were cultivated extensively in planters' gardens and orchards as a general rule. This was particularly true after the flush of effort to produce wine of native origin in the early days of the Virginia colony. This was an unfruitful effort much after the manner of, but more easily discouraged than, sericulture. At one stage the two were linked and English vines were brought to the Colony as the white mulberry had been.¹⁰³

101. Natural History, p. 49, Beverley, in 1705, had this to say: "The Almond Pomgranate and Fig, ripen there very well, and yet there are not ten People in the Country, that have any of them in their Garden." Perhaps he under estimated. (History and Present State of Virginia, p. 316.)

102. Beverley, History and Present State of Virginia, p. 130; Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 86. Their persimmon was named by the Indians. John Smith, in 1612, described it as: "The fruit like meddlers, they call putchamins, they cast upon hurdles on a rat, and preserve them as pruines." (The Present State of Virginia, p. 208). As Beverley related, beer and beverage came from many directions: "The poor sort brew their Beer with Mollasses and Bran; with Indian Corn malted by drying in a Stove; with Persimmons dried in Cakes, and baked; with Potatoes; with the green stalks of Indian corn cut small, and bruised; with Pumpions; and with the Batates Canadensis, or Jerusalem Artichoke, which some People, plant purposely for that use, but this is the least esteemed." In continuing his comments about the persimmon, Beverley pointed out that, though Harriot call it "The Indian plum," it was not a plum. "These Persimmons amongst them retain their Indian name. They are of several sizes, between the Bignesse of a Damasine and a Burgamot Pear. The taste of them is so very rough, it is not to be endured till they are fully ripe, and then they are a pleasant Fruit. (History and Present State of Virginia, pp. 293 and 130)

103. Charles E. Hatch, Jr., "Mulberry Trees and Silkworms: Sericulture in Early Virginia," in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXV, (January, 1957), 2-61.

Though not a cultivated plant, there was one that should be mentioned here. It was the "Myrtle," and its berries were put to general use in candle-making, as both Beverley and Byrd detail. In the words of the latter:

One has two species of myrtle berries, the ones somewhat larger than the others. They grow on small bushes, and are green all year long. From the fruit one makes the most beautiful, best and finest wax in the whole world, which is as green and as transparent as crystal. It is made in the following manner: namely, one takes the berries, when they are ripe, and cooks them in water until they are completely boiled away. Afterwards one lets the water become cold. Then one finds the wax swimming on top, from which the most beautiful candles, and those which smell best, when they burn, are made. No amber smells more sweetly than these wax candles, for which reason they are sold at expensive prices.

Beverley wrote of their "curious Green Colour," the fact that they were never "greasie" and that they did not melt "lying in the hottest Weather." Consequently, "nice people often put them out on purpose to have the Incense of the expiring Smuff" of their good smell.¹⁰⁴

Poultry and Fowls

Fowls of all types seemed to have thrived in Virginia from the very beginning, and some evidently were brought in the first ships to reach Jamestown in 1607. After just a few years, Ralph Hamor could write that there was "Poultry great store, besides tame Turkeis, Peacockes and Pigeons." A traveler visiting Jamestown in 1634 wrote that "This country aboundeth with very great plentie insomuch as in ordinary planters houses of the better sort we found tables furnished with porke, kidd, chickens, turkeys, young geese, Caponettes, and such other fowls as the season of the years affords, besides plentie of milk, cheese, butter and corne, wch latter almost every planter in the country hath."¹⁰⁵

Being common and easy to come by (in short a diet staple) mentions of poultry, though present, are usually casual and rarely figured in

104. Natural History, pp. 38-39; History and Present State of Virginia, pp. 137-38.

105. Quoted in Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 20, 30.

estate settlements. Evidently for many decades most fowls shifted much for themselves and had minimum accommodations and feed. It was sufficient to keep them reasonably close to home to be available for the table and other purposes as needed. But care and attention did increase for reasons of protection, a search for better stock, and a generally increasing concern for improvement, both from the point of economics and from a growing awareness of things in general. It has been assumed that native breeds were mongrels resulting from the intermixture of many English breeds and others as well.¹⁰⁶ A traveler in 1687 reported that Virginians raised "great numbers" of turkeys, geese, ducks and chickens. He added, too, that "The fowls roost in trees around the house." "Pigeons," he observed, "are raised by people of quality, the common people scorning such small animals."¹⁰⁷

Beverley noted "Fowls of all sorts, both Dunghil-Fowl, and Water-Fowl, Tame and Wild" which "must be allowed to have very much the advantage in their several kinds, of those in England."¹⁰⁸ He quotes prices as "their fattest and largest Poulets" (6 pence each), "Capons" (8 or 9 pence), chickens (3 or 4 shillings the dozen), ducks (8 or 9 pence the piece), geese (10 pence or a shilling), "Turkey-Hens" (15-18 pence) and "Turkey-Cocks" (2 shillings or half crown). Then he added "But Oysters, and Wild-Fowl are not so dear, as the things I have reckon'd before, being in their season the cheapest Victuals they have." In regard to wild fowl, Glover wrote that "On the Bay and Rivers feed so many wild fowl, as in winter time they do in some places cover the water for two miles."¹⁰⁹

106. Ibid, I, 30, 38, 208. It may be useful to note the general conclusion that "Chickens were plentiful in Colonial Virginia. Inventories included fowls, chickens, cocks, hens, and occasionally specified color, with black a favorite." (Letter, Research Associate Jane Carson to Frank Coleman, December 8, 1967, in files of Research Department, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia).

107. Huguenot Exile in Virginia, p. 122.

108. History and Present State of Virginia, pp. 291-92.

109. An Account of Virginia, p. 8. He further recorded that "the chief of which are wild Swans and Geese, Cormorants, Brants, Shieldfowl, Duck and Mallard, Teal Wigeons, with many others."

Bounty of fowl, both wild and tame, continued. Speaking of the latter, Byrd observed that "There are very many chickens and European roosters in Virginia, of many different kinds and colors. Some fanciers have also East Indian Guinea, as also Asiatic species out of curiosity, of which I have seen a great number of especially beautiful colors at the homes of many, and some of which one could easily have." On turkeys he had some particularly pointed comment: "There are wild and domesticated turkey fowls in great abundance in this land. The forests and houses are full of them, since everyone raises them, because they afford an especially good dish, if one feeds them on acorns, as is usual here."¹¹⁰ Trapping wild turkeys was for some a pastime, as Beverley noted. One man, a friend of his, "at times caught many Turkeys, particularly seventeen at one time."¹¹¹ Ducks, wild and tame, were sought, too, for food and also: "They pull the down of their living geese and wild and tame ducks, wherewith they make the softest and sweetest beds."¹¹²

Wild geese and ducks were available, it was generally agreed, in huge numbers. Clayton related: "There are great numbers of Wild Swans [whistling and trumpeter]. Wild-geese [probably the Canada goose] & Brent geese [common brant] all winter in mighty flocks, Wild Ducks innumerable Teale [probably green and blue winged] Wigeon [likely American widgeon and baldpate] Sheldrakes [mergansers-most likely hooded, American and red-breasted] Virginia Diver [grebes, probably the Black-Diver [perhaps the common loon] etc."¹¹³

There were some problems in the management of domestic fowls, not only feeding and corraling sufficiently, but protecting from predators as well. John Clayton described two such enemies. In Virginia, "There's

110. Natural History, pp. 71-72.

111. History and Present State of Virginia, p. 310. John Clayton commented specifically in the wild turkey, thusly: "There be wild Turkeys extreme large they talk of Turkeys that have been killed that have weighd betwixt fifty & sixty pound weight. The largest that ever I saw weighd something better than 38 pound they have very long leggs & will run prodigiously fast, I remember not that ever I saw any of them on the wing, except it were once their feathers are of a blackish shineing colour that in the Sun shine like a Doves neck very specious." (Scientific Writings, p. 97).

112. Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 79.

113. Clayton, Scientific Writings, p. 103 with footnotes.

both a Brown Owle & White Owle, mch wt as large as a goose, wch often kills their hens & Poultry in the night." There was, too, the "Rackoone" which was "very prejudicial to their poultry."¹¹⁴

There was also some interest in fowls and birds other than for the table. Referring again to Clayton, he recorded that "The Coll. [Nathaniel Bacon, Sr.] delighted mch in this bird [the martin] & made like pidgeon holes at the end of his house with boards purposely for them."¹¹⁵

Breeds, in fowls as well as in livestock, were not differentiated in the present manner in colonial days. "Most of the breeds and varieties of chickens, as we know them today did not come into being until the early 1800's and were imported into this country by variety names from about 1835 to 1860 in large numbers."¹¹⁶ Some assumptions, however, can be made about stock in tidewater, or Virginia, in the first half of the eighteenth century. These would include:

114. Ibid, pp. 94, 107.

115. Clayton, Scientific Writings, p. 101. Clayton made a rather curious observation about poultry, for which no satisfactory explanation has been found, or can be offered here. Perhaps the situation was not as general as he would indicate: "Hens & Cocks are for the most part without tailles & rumps, & as some have assured me our English hens after some time being kept these have their rumps rot off. Which I'me the apter to belive being all their hens are certainly of English breed." (p. 97).

116. Letter of June 3, 1968, from Extension Poultryman J. L. Skinner (Wisconsin Cooperative Extension Service, University of Wisconsin, College of Agriculture) to Extension Specialist R. Lewis Wesley (Cooperative Extension Service, Virginia Polytechnic Institute), in GWBNM files. Mr. Skinner continued: "In the 1700's poultry and sometimes other small animals were placed aboard the ships in Europe to be slaughtered en route to feed the crew. Any that were left when the boat reached its destination were sold or traded. Since these would usually be the least desirable of those on board it is easy to see that many rather poor specimens found their way into the United States. Since vessels came to the Virginia area from many parts of the world, there was a considerable variety of backgrounds represented in early poultry stocks."

Fighting cocks - Old English Games, similar to present Old English Games and probably in both Black Breasted Red and Silver Duckwing color patterns.

Some "Asian Fowls" - Probably similar to present-day Malays in type, of several colors and very large.

A heavyweight meat-type fowl known as Dorking - the progenitor of our present day Dorkings and in combinations of red and black coloring.

A considerable number of mixed types and colors known as "dung-hills."

There is a good possibility that some Black Spanish, Polish (although with considerably smaller crests than present-day Polish, then called "Polands") and possibly some Hamburgs were in that area.

Ducks, geese, pigeons, and turkeys were also present. The turkeys were raised as wild ones in many cases and flocks of pigeons were encouraged, but allowed to fly free and were from stocks brought from Europe to Africa.¹¹⁷

Livestock

An important part of the wealth of the plantation, particularly in the area of self-sufficiency, was its livestock of various sorts. It, first of all, was food for home consumption and even sale. It was, too, in one form or another, the principal means of land transportation, a key element in the work force, a source for a variety of items of clothing, and important in recreation and relaxation. Such was recognized from the first days of the Virginia Colony, as both breeding and eating stock was imported.

Even in 1614 Ralph Hamer could report that the colony had "two hundred neate cattell, as many goats." There were "infinite hogges in heards all over the woods" as well as "some Mares, Horses & Colts."¹¹⁸

117. In regard to his poultry research, Skinner wrote: "My wife (she's an amateur genealogist) and I put in over 100 hours in library research in the University Memorial Library, Wisconsin Historical Society Library, Agricultural College Library, Halpin Memorial Library (Poultry Service Department), and my own personal poultry library which consists of over 250 volumes."

118. Ralph Hamor, A True Discourse of The Present State of Virginia (reprint of London edition of 1615, The Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia, 1957,) p. 23. Hamor continued: "Of our young steeres the next winter we doubt not to have three or foure Ploughes going, which once compast, we shall in short time be able to repay England in corne they have lent us."

Though there were ups and downs in the animal population and consequent supply, it was constantly stressed and the general curve remained upward.¹¹⁹ It seems quite likely that, with cattle, hogs, and other domesticated animals in quantity plus the prevalent wild game and fish, rich and poor alike enjoyed an abundant supply of meat - a highly protein diet. A French observer in 1687 could relate: ". . .for there is not a house so poor that they do not salt an ox, a cow & five or six large hogs," the numbers undoubtedly increasing with the size of the establishment. He also cryptically commented that "They make excellent butter, but their cheese is no good." A further comment was: "They raise great numbers of horses, oxen, cows, sheep, pigs . . ." ¹²⁰ A decade later Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton wrote of considerable "stocks of Horses [and] Cattle" adding that these stocks "they turn to so little Account, that they think it not reasonable to lay a Tax upon them."¹²¹ Likely there were other reasons, too.

Since "ogs, horned cattle and sheep thrive mighty there," they offered a good potential for both revictualing ships and for an export trade to the West Indies.¹²² There was, as the years passed, some capitalization on both these scores, in meat as well as grain. There was also some quality in the Virginia products, or so Hugh Jones

119. Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 20, 209. The animal estimates, in 1648, were given as:

"Kine, oxen, bulls, calves"	- 20,000	"large and good, and they make plenty of butter and very good cheese."
"horses and mares"	200	"of an excellent race"
"asses"	50	"but daily increase . . . for burthen and use"
"sheep"	3000	"good wool"
"goats"	5000	"thrive well"
"Swine, both tame and wild"		"innumerable"

This report contains one of the few references to asses an animal which evidently failed to catch on and account for much in Colonial Virginia plantation life. ("Virginia in 1648," in Virginia Historical Register, II, 62).

120. Huguenot Exile in Virginia, pp. 122-23.

121. Virginia and the College, p. 56.

122. The Present State of Virginia, p. 138.

thought in 1724, commenting that "The beef and veal is small, and fat enough," "their pork is famous," and "Their butter is good and plentiful enough." In the case of mutton and lamb, some liked it, others no.¹²³

John Clayton noted, correctly it seems, that "There were neither Horses, Bulls, Cows, Sheep, or Swine in all the Country, before the coming of the English: as I have heard, & have much reason to believe."¹²⁴ The French observer about the same time had, in a sense, concurred: "The domestic animals are exactly like those of Europe."¹²⁵ Perhaps he should have noted, however, that the now numerous wild hogs had developed new and particular traits.

Most seventeenth century observers, and many into the eighteenth century, strongly suggest an almost complete lack of care and consideration for livestock. Durand, the French observer, concluded that in the case of livestock and fowls "it costs nothing to keep or feed them, They do not know what it is to mow hay; their animals all graze in the woods or on untilled portions of their plantations, where they seek shelter nightly rather by instinct than from any care given them."¹²⁶ Though by present standards animal care was even cruel, the picture was obviously not so bleak as this. Some other accounts bear this out in part. There are, too, many indirect expressions that show concern for feeding, protection, availability, and even rudimentary cover, no matter how poorly oriented.

It is equally clear that stock improvements and increasing concern grew with the decades. Why else would Hugh Jones write (1724) that "Indian corn is the best food for cattle, hogs, sheep and horses and the blades and tops are excellent fodder, when well cured, which is commonly used." He noted, too, that "many raise good clover and oats; and some have planted sanfoin, etc.,"¹²⁷ for the purpose and he pointed out that the marshes, woods, and old fields¹²⁸ make good range for stock

123. Ibid, p. 79.

124. Scientific Writings, pp. 105-06.

125. Huguenot Exile in Virginia, p. 123.

126. Ibid, p. 122.

127. Sainfoin, or sanfoin, is a low growing perennial herb of the legume family and used as forage then as now.

128. According to Clayton "old fields is a common Expression for land, that has been cultivated by Indians [and others], & left fallow which are generally overrun with what they call Broome grasses." (Scientific Writings, p. 73).

in spring, summer, and fall. He further noted that "the hogs will run fat with certain roots of flags and reeds, which abounding in the marshes they root up and eat." "Besides, at the plantations are standard peach-trees and apple-trees, planted out in orchards, on purpose almost for the hogs." As for clover, Jones wrote: "and I have had two tuns off an acre of clover, which we may mow twice."¹²⁹ Likewise, Durand observed: "As to wheat at M. Wormeley's plantations I saw the cows, horses & sheep grazing on it. It was Christmas-time when I was there, & I told him they would spoil it. The servants replied that they left the cattle there until the fifteenth of March, & unless they had it thinned they would gather only straw."¹³⁰

In a later period (1756-1757) Landon Carter records some of these and other practices. He writes of stripping fodder in October and suggests that it was "stackt" at different designated points. He records on August 15 in the latter year that he "Began to mow my meadow the Second time." It was high grass but coarse and "much damaged by hogs." Consequently, it was hard to mow. A week later he continued to be concerned about his "meadow hay now about half out" and, at mid-September, he was looking for a fair day to carry in "my marsh hay." The previous season his sheep had had a field of wheat to feed on when lambing, also, some young clover. He relates, too, that both cattle and sheep had "large fields of Clover" open to them in the drought. "It had such an effect on my Cattle as to make them dung plentifully and very strong."¹³¹

Horses

Horses were brought early to the Virginia colony, the first shipment being one horse and six mares. These animals, however, were short lived, becoming food for the colonists in the critical days of the "Starving Time," the winter of 1609-10. But the stock was renewed

129. The Present State of Virginia, pp. 78, 137; Gray, History of Agriculture, I, p. 139.

130. Huguenot Exile in Virginia, p. 119.

131. Diary, I, 130, 146, 167, 170, 175. Many of these practices were known earlier and saw some use, though not enough undoubtedly. In 1611 Thomas Dale resolved to build a barn to house the cattle and to store some hay. In 1629, too, the colonists had hay for their cattle in some locations; however, in others "they browse upon wood, and the great huskes of their corne, with some corn in them, doth keepe them well." (Quoted in Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 20, 29).

very soon, as in 1611, when Sir Thomas Dale brought in "seventeen horses and mares." Samuel Argall brought more from his sack of Port Royal in 1614, and in 1620 the Company sent another 20 mares.¹³²

It was true that in the first decades of the colony more emphasis went to food and draft animals than to the horse, more particularly to cattle, hogs and sheep. Consequently, the stock increased more slowly until need and interest began to build. In 1648 there were no more than 200 in the Colony.

Very soon, however, there came to be a remarkably changed picture. Within 20 years the Virginia Assembly was able even to repeal its long standing prohibition against the export of horses. Three years later (1671), it forbade importation with the language "the numerous increase of horses [is] now rather growing burthensome then any way advantageous to the country."¹³³

Thomas Glover could write in 1676 that "They have as great plenty of Horses, and as good as we have in England."¹³⁴ A decade later John Clayton made a similar observation. "But now amongst the English inhabitants there are good store of horses." Clayton continued, "though they are negligent, & careless about the breed; it is true there is a Law, that no horse shall be kept stoned under a certain size, but it is not put in execution. Such as they are, there are good store, & cheape or cheaper than in England, worth about five pounds a piece."¹³⁵

132. Fairfax Harrison, The Equine F.F.Vs.: A Study of the Evidence for the English Horses Imported into Virginia before the Revolution (Richmond, Va., 1928), p. 43.

133. William Waller Hening, The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia, II, (New York, 1823), 267, 271. The Act of 1668 stated that exportation was now allowable as "the number of horses and mares is so encreased that there appears not any occasion to continue the restraint of their exportation." Gray, in his History of Agriculture (pp. 201-03), attributes some of the increase to importations from England and from the colonies to the north and south.

134. An Account of Virginia, p. 19.

135. Scientific Writings, pp. 105-06.

Already a love of horses was developing. Hugh Jones related that in his day, 1724, Virginians "are such lovers of riding, that almost every ordinary person keeps a horse: and I have known some spend the morning in ranging several miles in the woods to find and catch their horses only to ride two or three miles to church, to the court-house, or to a horse-race."¹³⁶ Clayton some 40 years earlier had already noted that:"they ride pretty sharply, a Planter's Pace is a Proverb, which is a good sharp hand-Gallop."¹³⁷ This interest in horses continued to develop. They were needed for plantation use, for hunting (including riding to hounds), and racing. All of these activities were general practices and common to the eighteenth century. Perhaps J. D. F. Smyth, in 1772, described the final result:

The Virginians, of all ranks and denominations, are excessively fond of horses, and especially those of the race breed. The gentlemen of fortune expend great sums on their studs, generally keeping handsome carriages, and several elegant sets of horses, as well as others for the race and road; even the most indigent person has his saddle-horse, which he rides to every place, and on every occasion; for in this country nobody walks on foot the smallest distance. In short, their horses are their pleasure and their pride.¹³⁸

136. The Present State of Virginia, p. 84.

137. Scientific Writings, pp. 105-06. He also continued interestingly: "The Indians have not yet learned to ride, only the King of Pomonkie had got 3 or 4 horses for his owne saddle, & an attendant, wch I think should in no wise be indulged, for I looke on the allowing them horses mch more dangerous than even guns & powder." In other observations, Durand wrote that "The horses are so used to this quick pace that once upon their backs one has nothing to do but to hold on." He had a comment on the ladies as well. "The women ride their horses at such a gallop when travelling that I marvelled they keep so well seated." (Huguenot Exile in Virginia, pp. 123, 149).

138. J. F. D. Smyth, A Tour in the United States of America. (London, 1784), I, 23.

Evidently something had come to happen to the horse in Virginia. If, as seems the case, the initial horses brought from England were of the "high," tall type of their Elizabethan forebears, then a change came that produced a smaller animal with more spirited characteristics. It cannot be explained by regular importation, by inbreeding, or by stock degeneration.¹³⁹ It was a good horse. A French observer in 1866 wrote that "I do not believe there are better horses in the world."¹⁴⁰ There is, too, the Hugh Jones comment, "The saddle-horses, though not very large, are hardy, strong, and fleet; and will pace naturally and pleasantly at a prodigious rate."¹⁴¹ William Byrd, a little later, commented similarly though less vividly: "There are also sufficient horses here, domestic as well as wild, all of which, however, have come from Europe since none was found in all America, but rather all have been brought here. From the domestic one has come very good riding horses, as well as draught horses."¹⁴² William Byrd had commented a decade earlier in his History of the Dividing Line that the smaller horses were peculiarly suited for discovery in the mountains. By his opinion, "We need Welsh Runts, and Highland Galloways to climb our Mountains withal; they are us'd to Precipices, and will bite as close as Banstead Down Sheep."¹⁴³

The question is, how did this Virginia horse grow small but increase in fleetness, power of endurance and strength, grace, and easy gait? Fairfax Harrison, who for a long time preoccupied himself with this subject, concluded that it was neither the belated seventeenth century Assembly effort to improve the breed, nor any indirect benefit resulting from Arab, Barb, or Turkish stallion importations into England prior to 1660. The former, it must be said, was aimed primarily

139. Harrison, Equine F. F. Vs., p. 37

140. Huguenot Exile in Virginia, p. 149.

141. The Present State of Virginia, p. 84.

142. Natural History, pp. 58-59; Equine F. F. Vs., p. 39.

143. William K. Boyd (ed.) William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina (Raleigh, North Carolina, 1929), p. 258. Actually, for discovery and mountain work he recommended "Mules, if we had them . . . tho' till they can be bred, certainly Asses are the fitted Beasts of Burthen for the Mountains. They are surefooted, patient under the heaviest Fatigue, and will subsist upon Moss, or Browsing on Shrubs all Winter." He had "learnt by our own experience, that [conventional breeds of] Horses are very improper animals to use in a long Ramble into the Woods, and the better they have been used to be fed, they are still the worse."

to increase the size toward the English standard. Rather, Harrison speculated that the typical Virginia mount was:

. . . the native product of an unrecorded practice of crossing the English horse with a remote infusion of Andalusian blood derived from the southern indians. This hypothesis would account not only for the sudden increment of Virginia's stock of horses about 1668, but also for the consequent combination of spirit and small size in the individual.

And then he elaborates:

. . . there is ample evidence that the southern indians did have horses throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They were domesticated descendants of feral Andalusian barbs brought to America by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁴

Lack of care for domestic animals in general seemed notorious in the seventeenth century by most observers. The French reporter in 1688 who declared Virginia horses as good as any in the world added that none were "so badly used." All the care they take of them at the end of a journey is to unsaddle, feed a little Indian corn and so, all covered with sweat, drive them out into the woods, where they eat what they can find, even though it be in winter and the weather freezing."¹⁴⁵ Clayton almost agreed. "They never shoe them, nor stable them in general; some few gentlemen may be something more curious, but it is very rare."¹⁴⁶

On the other hand, failure to provide shoes may have been a lack of need rather than outright neglect, as Clayton's further word suggests: "so that they ride their Horses without shoeing them; which yet are more rarely beaten in their Feet, than ours are in England, the Country and Clime being dry, their Hoofs are much harder: for I observed, that take a Horse out of the Wet Marshes, and Swamps, as they there call them, and ride him immiediately, and he'll quickly be tender footed."¹⁴⁷

144. Equine F. F. Vs., pp. 40-41; see, also, Bruce, Economic History, I, 472-73; Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 210-03. Harrison nevertheless objectively comments: "There is no such tradition that these indian horses were also introduced into Virginia, but the probability that they were is strong."

145. Huguenot Exile in Virginia, p. 149.

146. Clayton, Letter. . . 1688, p. 38; Clayton, Scientific Writings, pp. 105-06.

147. Scientific Writings, p. 57.

Branding came to be an established practice for horses as for cattle and hogs.¹⁴⁸ This normally meant a letter, initials, or a symbol on the buttock (usually "near Buttock") or shoulder ("near shoulder"), or both. This is quite clear from the various advertisements in the Virginia Gazette which dealt with lost, strayed, or stolen animals. Also, period inventories list "marking irons" as standard items.¹⁴⁹ These same entries provide neat descriptions, or word pictures of the horses. They indicate, for example, that the animals averaged a short $13\frac{1}{2}$ hands¹⁵⁰ in height, occasionally 14 or $14\frac{1}{2}$ hands, but sometimes 13 and less.¹⁵¹

148. Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 140-41.

149. An example would be an entry in the inventory of Westmoreland County's James Mason (1725) which reads "one pr of marking irons." (Court Rec., GWBMM, pt. 1, p. 104. (Westmoreland Fiduciary Record, No. 1, p. 22).

150. As defined or specified in the Assembly act of 1686, "every hand full [was] to contain four inches of the standard" and measurement was to be "from the lowest part of the hoofe of the forefoot, unto the highest part of the wither." The minimum measure was to be 13 "hand full and a halfe." This was in the "act for the better improving the breed if Horses," and the preamble is of interest here:

For as much as the breed of large and strong horses in this country, will not only extend to the great help and defense of the same, but alsoe prove of great use and advantage to the inhabitants thereof, which is now much decayed and impair'd by reason that small ston'd horses, of low stature and value, be not only suffered to pasture and feed in our woods and other waste grounds, but alsoe to cover and leap mares feeding there, whereof cometh a numerous breed to the little profit but great damage of the country and will further increase to the detriment thereof.

It was deemed necessary to institute penalties for allowing "stoned horses, of two years of age" and under $13\frac{1}{2}$ "handfulls high to run at large" in or upon "any woodland grounds, marshes or other waste grounds, not haveing a sufficient fence about the same." (Hening, Statutes at Large, III, 35-37).

151. Harrison, Equine F. F. Vs., p. 39; Virginia Gazette, Dec. 12, 1755, p. 3, c. 1. On July 17, 1752, Nathaniel Jackson advertised, as a subscriber who lived in Westmoreland, that he had "taken up" two horses which he was willing to return or release to the owner "on proving the Property, and paying as the law directs." One was a small grey about 12 hands high and the other a dark grey about 14 hands high. (Virginia Gazette, p. 3, c. 2).

There is the case of William Fitzhugh of Westmoreland who advertised, on May 15, 1746, for three horses that were lost, or strayed.¹⁵² They were:

1. One of a Dun Colour, on the near Shoulder . . . and on the near buttox O, with a star in his Forehead, and a black Stroke down his Back.
2. One bright-Bay Colt, branded on the near Buttox IN in a Diamond, with white Blemish in one of his Eyes.
3. One brown-Bay [colt], branded in the near shoulder P, with his two hind feet white.

"Both the Colts," the advertisement continued, "are lately dock'd and have drawn in a Chariot." Fitzhugh was ready to pay the "half Pistole Reward for each," plus additional reward if delivered to him.

In the 1730s a new change came into the picture. An era of some general prosperity in Virginia increased means and leisure (for many) and stimulated interests in various directions, one of them the improvement of equine stock. This was the period when "the local magnates prepared . . . to import and use 'chariots' for occasions of ceremony . . . to ride formally to hounds; to keep horses for racing only." Records show that well back into the seventeenth century planters were "want to match their speedy riding nags" and did so with spirit, pride, and vigor. But this was different from the organized subscription races for which advertisements began to appear in the 1740s.¹⁵³

Consequently, it is not surprising to find that improvement in Virginia horses dates from the same period. It is not an accident that in 1730 the noted horse Bulle Rock is recorded to have brought to Virginia a combination of the blood of the Darby Arabian and the Byerly Turk. Other noted importations followed. In due course many Virginians

152. Virginia Gazette, p. 4, c. 2.

153. Equine, F. F. Vs., pp. 43-44. Harrison found that Virginians failed to follow one English precedent in that they seemed not to have had portraits painted of their horses. He has, however, included in his volume a number of plates showing some of their "immediate ancestors."

could boast of riding horses of the finest crosses of Arabian and Barb blood. Here are the progenitors of the modern thoroughbred.¹⁵⁴ "The influence of these importations was not merely to improve the race horse; they were marvelous tonic also upon the general standard of the Virginia horse. From having been a spirited pony, he now [as well] became a respectable cavalry remount."¹⁵⁵

In the case of draft horses, there were not the same emphases, and improvement would be slower and later. These animals were to remain for the present "small and light." Jacks and jennets would come later, too, though an observer did report several mules in the York River area before George Washington made his noted importations.¹⁵⁶ This interest in horses and in the breed led, too, to improved care with stables, paddocks, grooms, accoutrements, and the rest.

154. Equine F. F. Vs., pp. 44-45; Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 201-203. Horse breeding had its emphasis, and an advertisement in the Virginia Gazette, April 15, 1773, was perhaps typical of this and the several decades preceeding it.

NONPAREIL stands at my lots in Yorktown, and covers mares at 20 shillings the leap, and 30 shillings the season. He is a fine dark bay, 15 hands and an inch high, is as full blooded as any horse upon the continent, and in the year 1769 he beat Mr. Galloway's famous horse Selim.

The Rev. Andrew Burnaby, in 1759, had this to say during his travels in Virginia: "The horses are fleet and beautiful; and the gentlemen of Virginia, who are exceedingly fond of horse-racing, have spared no expense or trouble to improve the breed of them by importing great numbers from England." (Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America in the Years 1759 and 1760 (reprint of 2nd edition, London, 1775, by Great Seals Books, Division of Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1960), p. 14).

155. Harrison, Equine F. F. Vs., p. 45.

156. Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 203. Two observations, or conclusions of Alexander Bruce seem appropriate at this point. He deduced that seventeenth-century carts (sometimes called "tumbrils") were drawn indiscriminately by oxen and horses. He documented that some horse collars of that period were made of a flag and some of ticking. (Economic History, 1, 474-76).

Cattle

The cattle herd was one of the more valuable elements in the plantation economy. It was a major source of meat, for local and sometimes for export consumption; as well as milk,¹⁵⁷ and butter.¹⁵⁸ It was a source, too, for tallow, fat, and for hides in tanning.¹⁵⁹ Besides, oxen pulled the larger number of the plantations plows and carts. They were introduced early into the Colony for these practical reasons, and stock, then herds, began to grow.

William Byrd could write in 1737: "There are very many oxen and cows from Europe. Their meat is excellent. The cows also give very good and rich milk, from which one can make good butter and cheese. The veal is also as good as that in Europe."¹⁶⁰ Stock was plentiful even much before. A half-century earlier Clayton had noted this. Much as the case with horses, "Wild Bulls, & Cows" were abundant especially in the "uninhabited parts." These were such as had "been bred from some that have strayed, & become wild, & have propagated their kind, & are difficult to be shott, haveing a great acuteness of smelling." By Clayton's report the abundance of domestic cattle had brought a very reasonable price. "The common rate of a Cow, & Calfe is 50s, sight unseene, be she big, or little, they are never curious to examine that Point." Thomas Glover had reported that "Their stocks of Cattel. . .are greater than ours considering the quantity of People."¹⁶¹

157. Beverley wrote that "Their Small-drink is either Wine and Water, Beer, Milk and Water, or Water alone." (History and Present State of Virginia, p. 293).

158. Durand reported that they made "excellent butter," though their cheese was "no good." (Huguenot Exile in Virginia, p. 122).

159. Beverley noted that "Some few Hides with much adoe are tann'd, and made into servants shoes; but at so careless a rate, that the Planters don't care to buy them, if they can get others." This comment seems rather to apply to an incipient "industry" than to the individual, or separate, plantation effort. (History and Present State of Virginia, p. 295).

160. Natural History, p. 58. The Rev. Andrew Burnaby in some measure disagreed on the quality of Virginia beef. "The Virginia pork is said to be superior in flavor to any in the world: but sheep and horned cattle being lean and small, the meat of them is inferior to that of Great Britain, or indeed, of most parts of Europe." (Travels...1759 and 1760, pp. 13-14).

161. Scientific Writings, p. 106; An Account of Virginia, p. 18.

The origin of Virginia cattle as to breed is exceedingly obscure. Almost assuredly the very first came from England, and some of the early imports were from Ireland. Some came, too, it seems from the Spanish West Indies, originally from Spain. Of these the common stock color is said to have been black.¹⁶² Virginia Gazette advertisements (usually in reference to animals that were lost, strayed, stolen, or for sale) indicate a variety of breeds and breed mixture. In regard to colors there were black, black and white pied, red (light and dark), red and white, brown (light and dark), brindled and yellow pied. A more colorful or striking one would have been the steer that was mostly white but with an intermixture of black spots about head, neck, feet, and legs, and with black ears and red mouth. William Pasteur of Williamsburg had a specified red and white Guernsey in 1774 and there is at least one direct reference to a Jersey in a colonial inventory. Generall, it seems in the advertisements. horns were mentioned only in those instances in which they had been sawed off.

N. F. Cabell, in his Early History of Agriculture in Virginia, surmises that most of the Virginia cattle came from stocks of Welsh, Galloway, Ayrshire and old Devon as well as Irish, but adds: "No doubt all these different kinds became more or less mixed, and each in its average specimens degenerated . . ." ¹⁶³ In any case by breeding, or more particularly, perhaps, by lack of adequate care, it is generally agreed that Virginia stock developed a small size - a "stunted diminutive size," though "small sweet and fat enough" according to Hugh Jones.¹⁶⁴

162. Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 203-05; two letters, Jane Carson to James A. Bear, Jr., October 12 and October 18, 1967, in the files of the Colonial Williamsburg Research Department, Williamsburg, Virginia. Lawrence Abbington, it can be noted, in June 1692 was party in a court suit in Westmoreland that involved "a black heifer haveing a white star in her forehead and a white spott under her fore shoulder." (Dorman, Order Book, pt. 1, p. 79). There is as well the Westmoreland record entry in 1659 in which John Turner gives his daughter Sarah Weeden "one Red heifer & Red cow calfe. Cropt and split on ye left eare and a hole & over keeled on ye Right eare." About the same time Francis Hale gave Sarah "one Red heifer with ye halfe spade marked on ye Right eare & slitt on ye left." (Court Rec., GWBNM, pt. 2, p. 4 (Westmoreland Deeds, Wills, Patents. 1653-1659, p. 130

163. pp . 30-31.

163. Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 203-05.

In speaking of cattle in general, Beverley felt moved to write: "I can't forbear charging my Country-men with exceeding Ill-Husbandry, in not providing sufficient for them all Winter, by which means they starve their young Cattle, or at least stint their Growth; so that they seldom or never grow as large as they would do, if they were well manag'd...yet they will presently grow fat again in the Spring, which they esteem sufficient for their purpose. And this is the occasion, that their Beef, and Mutton are seldom or never so large, or so fat as in England."¹⁶⁵ Earlier John Clayton had made some detailed observations on the care, or lack of care, for cattle in general. But even his critical review carries implications of at least the partial recognition of some of the basics on the part of the cattle owners.¹⁶⁶ This is not gainsaying that the lot of the average animal was a hard one indeed, especially in winter. Clayton comments:¹⁶⁷

But tis strange in how many things besides they are remise, wch one would think English men should not be guilty of. They neither house nor milk any of their Cows in Winter, haveing a Notion that it would kill them yet I persuaded the aforementioned Lady¹⁶⁸ where I lived, to milk four Cows the last Winter that I staid in the Country, whereof she found so good effect, that she assured me she would keep to my advice for the future . . .

164. Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 203-05.

165. History and Present State of Virginia, p. 291.

166. A decade earlier Glover had observed that the cattle "might be larger than they are, were the Inhabitants as careful in looking after them as they in England are. All that they give their Cattle in winter is only the husks of their Indian Corn, unless it be some of them that have a little wheatstraw; neither do they give any more of these than will serve to keep them alive, by reason thereof they venture into the Marshy grounds and swamps for food, where very many are lost." (An Account of Virginia, pp. 18-19).

167. Scientific Writings, pp. 87-89.

168. Clayton did not identify the Lady, "Gentlewoman," or family, with whom he resided in Virginia. Context would place it at or near Jamestown on a plantation where tobacco was grown. He also conveys the impression that she was a widow. He never alluded to her husband. (p. xxvii).

Clayton also urged proper housing for the cattle in winter. It could be conveniently arranged, as "their Tobacco houses being empty ever at that time of yeare...may easily be fitted in two or three days time without any prejudice. . . . He also had another project

for the preservation of their Cattle [that] proved very successful, I urged the Lady to sow her wheat as early as possible she could, so that before winter it might be well rooted, to be early & flourishing at the first of the Spring, so that she might turn thereon her weake cattle, & such as should at any time be swampd, whereby they might be recruited and Saved, & it would doe the wheat good also. I advised her likewise to save, & carefully gather her Indian corn tops, & Glades & all her straw, & wt ever could be made fodder, for her Cattle, for they get no hay, tho I was urging her to that too, & to sow Sainfoin

Much of the soil being sandy, he belived it would do well. "They have little or no grasse in Winter, so that their cattle are pin'd and starved, and many are brought low & weake, when the spring begins, venture too far into the Swamps after the fresh grasse, where they perish, so that several persons lose 10, 20, or 30 head of Cattle in a yeare."¹⁶⁹ He noted, also, what he described as

their inadverteny & error in their way of manageing & feeding them; for they get little fodder, but as they think Corn being more nourishing, feed then with their Indian Corn, wch they give them morning & evening, they spend thus a great quantity of corn, & when all's done wt signifies two or tthree heads of corn to a beast in the morning, it makes them only linger about the houses fore more, & after that sweet food they are not so prompt to brouse on the trees, & the course grasse wch the Country affords. So that thus their guts shrink up, they become Belly Shot as they call it.

169. He further recorded one thing "very remarkable in Virginia, generally twice in the year, Spring and Fall, at certain Spring Tides, the most of the Cattle will set on gadding, and run, tho' it be twenty or thirty Miles, to the River to drink the Salt Water, at which time there's scarce any stopping of them; which the people know so well, that if about those times their Heards are stray'd from their Plantation, without more solicitation they go directly to the River to fetch them home again." (pp. 54-55).

Clayton advised no feeding in the morning and consequently "whereby as soon as they were set forth of the Cow pens they would fall a feeding, and tho they filled their bellys only wth such course stuff as had little nourishment in it, yet it would keep out their bellys, & they would have a better digestion & then when they were comme home at nights, to fodder them, beginning with Straw & their coursest fodder, wch they would learn to eat by degrees, before they tasted that that was more delicate..." He could report that: "She the Gentlewoman where I lived, saved all her Cattle, & lost not one in two winters after, that I staid there; besides she saved above 20 barrels of Corn, as I remember that she told me she used to spend upon her stock." Also, "the last Spring she fed two beasts, a Bullock & a Cow, fat, upon her wheat with the addition only of a little boild corn, & yet the Wheat was scarce eat down enough."

There is indication in all of this that there was at least elemental care and concern. Cattle did roan much, however, and branding was customary often with marks being duly recorded in the county court records. Cow bells were in use, too, but chiefly as an aid in locating stock.¹⁷⁰ Likely, too, there was a differentiation in the types of animals, with the better stock getting preferential treatment. Virginians understood breeding in horses and other animals as well. They were aware that the best oxen were those most hardy, strong and tractable, that the best cows were those that "yielded the largest tribute to the dairy," and that the best beeves were the tenderest, juciest, and most tasty. Consequently "work oxen and the best milkers"¹⁷¹ among the cows would be favored in winter with more and better food and shelter, and not prepared for the butcher until age had rendered them otherwise useless.¹⁷²

There was, as occasion required, some fencing of cattle for control and for the practical matter of fertilizing the soil. Cowpenning was a well-accepted practice even in the seventeenth century: "for they manure their ground by keeping their Cattle, as in the South [of England] you doe your sheep, ev'ry night confineing them within hurdles, wch they

170. Bruce, Economic History, I, 477-78.

171. Gray estimates that a better milker, perhaps, produced two quarts per day, plus or minus. (History of Agriculture, I, 203-05).

172. Ibid, I, 480; Cabell, History of Agriculture in Virginia, pp. 30-31.

remove when they have sufficiently dungd one Spot of ground."¹⁷³ Calves, too, were sometimes confined within orchard fences to insure the return of their mothers for milking.¹⁷⁴ As the decades went by there were improvements in care, feeding, and stock utilization. Landon Carter Diary entries attest to this in the decade of the 1750s. He differentiates between "grass beeves" and "fatten ones" and he had "Cowyards. . . both at the barn and at the plantations." He was pleased, too, with his "new Cow stalls."¹⁷⁵

"They keep the cattle drye and warm enough and their Food drye and by the Conveniency of the roof over it a boy can fill the Cribs for 30 Cattle in ten minutes because the flooring above joice is open just above the cribs." Stalls were cleaned and twice weekly with the contents scattered over the yard. He had both small and large litter pens and preferred the latter. Dunging was still a principal measure of soil improvement.¹⁷⁶ On March 3, 1758, he wrote with some note of disappointment that some of his litter was mostly "marsh hay and

173. Clayton, Scientific Writings, pp. 79-80. He continues "but also they cannot improve much this, besides it produces a strong sort of Tobacco in wch the Smokers say they can plainly taste the fulsomness of the dungg."

174. Huguenot Exile in Virginia, p. 122.

175. Carter especially liked his new design:

A line of Cowstall double so as to hold 20 head of Cattle and a Crib between that each may feed by itself and from the Outer posts of these stalls I intend to raise a roof so that the food as well as the Creatures will be sheltered from the rains and snows and from the piercing winds which I imagin will be equal to any food I can give them. These stalls shall be raised with earth a foot above the level of the yard and a causeway much like the hacks of a brick yard shall be carryed all round. These stalls shall be Constantly littered and cleaned out every rain and every morning after the Cattle are turned out of their stalls. They shall be drove Gently about in these spaces and then turn out to browse about for the Conveniency of making these to all my yards as some of them will be moveable, Pent to suit the grounds I am to manure. I propose to have the lowering only thatched and the whole made so as they can be taken to pieces and carryed to the next year's ground. (Diary, I, 150).

176. In writing of his preference for the larger litter pen, he gives his reasons: "We get what makes those salts in their dung, their bodies being only the distillers and affect the purification the sooner; so that I say the salts of the same number of Cattle is in the large pen added to a greater quantity of rotten Vegetables and in the lesser 'tis thrown on a smaller quantity not rotten." (Diary, I, 155-56).

that the creatures eat continually and but few Corn stalks, so a bad Corn crop makes a bad cow yard." Earlier, in December, he had noted that last year's calves were "all fed wheat chaff and hay."¹⁷⁷

Sheep

Hugh Jones could write in 1724 that "There is in Virginia as good wool as the finest in England; and I doubt not but with good management the climate will produce as fine as any in Spain, since the sheep in both places are of British origin." He deemed the wool "near as good as any near Leominster," then the center of a large agricultural district in northern Herefordshire. Moreover, "it might be such improved if the sheep were housed every night and foddered and littered as in Urchinfield [a hamlet in Herefordshire], where they have by such means the finest wool." He believed that more servants were needed, too, to "make it their business to tend flock and herds, and provide better and more food for them in the winter, than what they now usually have." Though the wool was good, opinion on the mutton was divided - "their mutton and lamb some folks don't like, though others extol it."¹⁷⁸

Though introduced early in the colony and continued, sheep flocks evidently remained small and sparse until the end of the first century, and then there was marked change. Thomas Glover, in 1686, offered a partial explanation: "As to their Sheep, they keep but few, being discouraged by the Wolves, which are all over the Country, and do much mischief amongst their Flocks."¹⁷⁹ As settlement increased and the country opened, however, the wolves began to recede. A decade later it was noted that: "Their Sheep are of a middling size, pretty fine fleeced in general, & most persons of Estate begin to keep flocks, which hitherto has not been much regarded, because of the Wolves that destroy them so that a piece of mutton is a finer Treat, than either Venison, wild-goose, Duck, Wigeon, or Teale."¹⁸⁰ Flocks now came to be common, and in the 1690s wool was cheaper in Virginia (due in most part, perhaps, to restrictions on export) than in England, and sheep, too, were a bit cheaper.¹⁸¹

177. Carter, Diary, I, 156, 179, 195, 201.

178. The Present State of Virginia, pp. 78-79, 138.

179. An Account of Virginia, p. 19.

180. Clayton, Scientific Writings, p. 106. Though Virginia eagles, also, were reported to "kill young Lambs and Piggs, etc.," this seems not to have been a particularly important problem. (Scientific Writings, p. 94.)

181. Bruce, Economic History, I, 481-85.

Just a bit later Robert Beverley reported that "The sheep increase well, and bear good Fleeces, but they generally are suffer'd to be torn off their Backs by Briers, and Bushes instead of being shorn, or else left rotting upon the Dunghil with their Skins."¹⁸²

There was, however, increasing appreciation for wool, as there was for mutton. In 1737 William Byrd reported that "One has many sheep in this land." According to him, they were increasing abundantly and "Their wool is beautiful and fine."¹⁸³ It has been concluded that the colonial wool was soft and good, perhaps 4 to 6 inches long, with individual fleeces averaging 3 to 4 pounds. There seems to have been little care to breeding, and often the butchers selected the best to kill. Stock improvement, with importations for the purpose, appears to have come mainly after the Revolution.¹⁸⁴

Landon Carter had comment on his sheep, as he did on the other stock on his plantation. Early in 1757 he was puzzled by the smallness of his lambs, even though "I penned hardly any sheep last year and they lookt exceedingly well." They had been fed all year and "Had a field of wheat to feed on whilst Lambing and young Clover." Also "They all lay warm and drye but not all of them have had Lambs by near 50 Ewes."¹⁸⁵

Swine

Hogs swarm like Vermine upon the Earth, and are often accounted such, insomuch that when an Inventory of any considerable Man's Estate is taken by the Executors, the Hogs are left out, and not listed in the Appraisalment. The Hogs run where they list, and find their own Support in the Woods, without any Care of the Owner; and in many Plantations it is well, if the Proprietor can find and catch the Pigs, or any part of the Farrow when they are young to mark them; for if there be any marked in a Gang of Hogs, they determine the Property of the rest, because they seldom miss their Gangs; but they are bred in Company, and so they continue to the End.¹⁸⁶

182. History and Present State of Virginia, p. 317.

183. Natural History, p. 59. He also noted "they were all brought from Europe to America." Gray theorized that some sheep may have come from Holland and that some had come from the West Indies. The latter resembled "a goat, [and] are of a red and white color, and have no wool on them." (History of Agriculture, I, 207-08).

184. *Ibid.*

185. *Diary*, I, 138, 146. A part of the trouble, he speculated, might be his ram, which could be getting too old.

186. Beverley, History and Present State of Virginia, p. 318. Branding, or earnotching, sometimes with court recorded marks, was customary for hogs as well as cattle.

Thus wrote Robert Beverley in 1704 in commenting on a plentiful, somewhat unappreciated, but key meat and protein source for diet in the Colony. Hogs were a vital factor on all the plantations as a food source and for good reasons. They are prolific and multiply at a fast rate, faster than any other domestic animal except poultry. They gain weight, in comparison with cattle and sheep, at a faster rate and at less weight for the food consumed. When slaughtered, as had been pointed out, some seventy-five percent of the animal is edible meat, whereas in the case of cattle it is fifty-five or sixty. Besides, in an area such as the tidewater country of Virginia, hogs could do very well in fending for themselves, especially in the numerous fresh-water swamps where the swamp plant, "Tuckahoe," was a favorite. In the fall, acorns and nuts did much in fattening them.¹⁸⁷

As early as 1648 it was said of Virginia hogs that they were of "pure flesh and good and bacon none better."¹⁸⁸ Some forty years later Clayton could further comment that "Swine, they have now in great abundance Shoats, or Porkrels, are their general food. And I believe as good as any Westphalia certainly for exceeding our English."¹⁸⁹ "Pork & Bacon" remained plentiful, good, and usually cheap. Hugh Jones could confirm this further in 1724 with "their pork is famous, whole Virginia shoots [shoats] being frequently barbecued in England; their bacon is excellent, the hams being scarce to be distinguished from those of Westphalia [in Germany]." William Byrd commented that "Their meat is excellent and the best in the whole world, as I have often found."¹⁹⁰

Byrd attributed the quality and tastiness to the fact "that they have enjoyed the best fattening which is to be found." Hugh Jones deemed corn the best food for hogs as well as other animals, but he pointed out that the marshes, woods, and old fields provided good range and, to repeat here, "the hogs will run fat with certain roots of flags and weeds." "Besides, at the plantations are standard peach-trees, and apple-trees, planted out in orchards, on purpose almost for hogs." Virginia, too,

187. Lyman Carrier, Agriculture in Virginia, 1607-1699. No. 14 in the Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklets Series (Williamsburg, Virginia, 1957), pp. 29-30.

188. "Virginia in 1648," in Virginia Historical Register, II, 62.

189. Scientific Writings, pp. 106-07.

190. Beverley, History and Present State of Virginia, p. 291; Jones The Present State of Virginia, p. 79; Byrd, Natural History, p. 59.

had long ago adopted the Indian methods of smoking their pork in the curative process.¹⁹¹

Byrd, as do others, tells us that "There are very many domesticated as well as wild¹⁹² swine here. These animals have also been brought from Europe to America, since the Europeans never found any here."¹⁹³ It has been concluded that most original stock came from Great Britain with perhaps some later from the West Indies and the Northern colonies. However, it is equally clear that there was adaptation to the new environment and the free range. A particular breed evolved, and its ultimate is seen perhaps in the description of Richard Parkinson, who was speaking of George Washington's stock at Mount Vernon near the turn of the century. He related:

The real American hog is what is termed the wood hog; they are long in the leg, narrow on the back, short in the body, flat in the sides, with a long snout, very rough in their hair, in make more like the fish called the perch than any thing I can describe. You may as well think of stopping a crow as those hogs. They will go to a distance from a fence, take a run, and leap through the rails three or four feet from the ground, turning themselves sidewise. These hogs suffer such hardships as no other animal could endure....they are poor beyond any creature I ever saw....When they are fed [before they are killed], the flesh may well be sweet: it is all young, though the pig be ten years old.¹⁹⁴

191. Byrd, Natural History, p. 59; Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 78; Carrier, Agriculture in Virginia, pp. 29-30. Beverley also wrote: "Their Woods likewise afford a vast Variety of Acorns, Seven Sorts of which have fallen under my Observation." Some of these were very fat and oily and could be used as a source of oil, "But now they only serve as Maste for the Hogs, and other wild Creatures, as do all the other Fruits afore-mentioned; together with several other sorts of Maste growing upon the Beech, Pine and other Trees. The same use is made also of divers Sorts of Pulse, and other Fruits, growing upon wild Vines; such as Peas, Beans, Vetches, Squashes, Maycocks, Maracocks, Melons, Cucumbers, Lupines, and an Infinity of other Sorts of Fruits, which I cannot name." (History and Present State of Virginia, pp. 132-3).

192. The term "hog-wild," used to denote the superlative in wildness, seems to be an expression deriving from the wild hogs of colonial Virginia. Evidently many of these were wild and wary indeed. (From editor's note in Jones, Present State of Virginia, p. 199).

193. Natural History, p. 59.

194. Quoted in Gray, History of Agriculture, I, p. 206, and in an editorial note in Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 201.

As in the case of other livestock - but less so - it is clear that some increasing attention was given to hog care and feeding, especially for those in preparation for the kill. A single entry by Landon Carter on December 15, 1756, shows this: "We are trying to raise hoggs at the Mill and have got 21 piggs from 3 sows. I am making a tall punched place of about [blank space] ground. These punches I intend to Cap at top with a rail let in and pin them to a middle rail within that they may not be dug out and I will have shelters for them to go in and they shall be lockt up every night."¹⁹⁵ Quite naturally, as settlement in the country intensified, unlimited ranges disappeared and the matters of identity, security and availability dictated more controls.

Dogs

Dogs came to be a part of most plantation scenes, initially it seems for practical, protective reasons. Durand wrote in 1687 that "they fear no thieves but wolves, against which they have faithful dogs."¹⁹⁶ John Clayton, about the same time, was a little more specific:

Every house keeps 3 or 4 mungril Doggs to destroy vermin, such as Wolves, Foxes, Racoones, Oppossums, etc. But they never hunt with hounds, I suppose, because there are so many branches of rivers that they cannot follow them. Neither doe they keep Grey-hounds, because they say that they are subject to breake their necks by running agst Trees, & any Cur will serve to run their haire into a hollow tree, where after the aforesd manner they Catch them.¹⁹⁷

But hunting practices also saw evolution. Robert Beverley gave some of the details. He mentions night hunting "with small Dogs" in packs of "three or four Dogs" and tells of throwing down the tired raccoon, or opossum, to "those little Currs." By his report "their great Dogs"

195. Diary, I, 133-34.

196. Huguenot Exile in Virginia, p. 120.

197. Scientific Writings, p. 110

were used in hunting the bigger game - wolves, bears, wildcats, and the like. He related as well that dogs were used sometimes in the "Hunting of wild Horses," as "Many Horses [were] foaled in the Woods."¹⁹⁸

It seems not clear when fox hunting, or riding to the hounds, developed, but it did. There is the report of 1738 that "Some hunt the foxes with hounds as you do in England."¹⁹⁹

Wild Animals, Seafood and Bees

Wildlife initially was abundant with the English in Virginia and throughout colonial times was important in the plantation diet and consequently significant in the economy. In Clayton's day he wrote that "there are abundance of brave red Deare, so that a good woodsman as they call them, will keep a house with Venison." According to Beverley, in his time, "Deer are commonly sold for eight, ten, or twelve Shillings a Head, according to the scarcity." In 1724 Hugh Jones related: "Their venison in the lower parts of the country is not so plentiful as it has been, though there be enough and tolerably good."²⁰⁰

Rabbits and squirrels were available in abundance and these, too, were generally enjoyed. On commentator, in writing of the "great Fox Squirrel," had this to record: It was "much larger than the English, and gray, almost as a common Rabbet. There are very common, I have eaten of them at the best Gentlemen's Tables, and they are as good as a Rabbet."²⁰¹

Virginia waters were fruitful, too, to the benefit of the plantation table and the diversion of the planter himself. Beverley phrases it nicely: "The Indian Invention of Wiers in Fishing, is mightly improved by the English besides which, they makes use of Seins, Trolls, Casting-Netts, Setting-Netts, Hand-fishing, and Angling, and in each find abundance of Diversion." The Rev. Andrew Burnaby added more on this: "These [Virginia] waters are stored within credible quantities of fish, such as sheeps-head, rock-fish, drums, white perch, herrings, oysters,

198. History and Present State of Virginia, pp. 309, 310, 312.

199. Virginia Magazine, VII (1889), 172-74.

200. Scientific Writings, p. 106; History and Present State of Virginia, p. 292; The Present State of Virginia, p. 79.

201. Clayton, Scientific Writings, p. 108. He also wrote of the "flying Squirrel" and the "Ground-Squirrel."

crabs, and several other sorts. Sturgeon and shad are in...prodigious numbers." He went on to report that in a day "some gentlemen in canoes" in a span of only two miles caught 600 sturgeon "with hooks, which they let down to the bottom, and drew up at a venture when they perceived them to rub against a fish." Of shad, "above 5000 have been caught at one single haul of the seine."²⁰²

As to oysters and crabs, there is the concise summary of William Byrd:

Little flat crabs are another species of sea crayfish, about as large as a hand, or somewhat larger. . . . One finds rather many of them walking on the seashore, and also at the mouths of rivers. One catches them not only for eating, although they are very good, but also because they are the best fishing hook bait to catch sea fish. A great many large and small oysters, which may be eaten raw or cooked, are caught in these seas and salt waters. They are also roasted; likewise splendid ragouts and many dishes are prepared from them. I can testify from experience and say that these oysters are one of the best and most agreeable foods in the whole world, since one, as it were, can prepare and serve them in a hundred ways, so that one never has a dislike for them (as happens often with many other foods).²⁰³

Along a different vein was bee-keeping. It is not clear how widely it was practiced, but a good many had honey for their table from cultivated ("tamed") swarms as well as from the rather abundant wild swarms. Beverley noted that they thrived "abundantly, and will easily yield to the careful Huswife, two Crops of Honey in a Year, and besides lay up a Winter-store sufficient to preserve their Stocks." Even in 1648 they were keeping "bees in hives about their houses," and almost a century later William Byrd made a similar report. "There is an abundance of bees in the woods. They deposit often each year. The inhabitants keep very many of them around their houses from which they get much wax and very good honey, since they can obtain it twice a year."²⁰⁴

202. Beverley, History and Present State of Virginia, p. 310; Burnaby, Travels...1759 and 1760, p. 11.

203. Natural History, pp. 82-83.

204. Ibid, p. 73; Beverley, History and Present State of Virginia, p. 317; "Virginia in 1648," in Virginia Historical Register, II, 63.

Landon Carter in May 1772 had four hives but found it difficult to keep the bees at home. In taking one swarm, he described the process. "This swarm being lodged, they were first covered with a blanket to keep them in the dark, and of course restrain their roaming disposition, putting a new hive under them well scented with herbs and sweetness with sugar."²⁰⁵

Additional Observations on Agricultural Methods, Tools and Procedures

Fortunately travelers, observers of the scene, and native residents of Virginia have left, as has been seen, good accounts of the natural environment and the manner of living and working. A good many of the general observations and some of the detail help considerably in creating the picture of the plantation and the elements of plantation living. There is, for example, the meaty paragraph by the French traveler making observations in 1688:

A man with fifty acres of ground, & others in proportion will leave twenty-five wooded, & of the remaining twenty-five will cultivate half & keep the other as pasture & paddock for his cattle. Four years later, he transfers his fences to this untilled half which meanwhile has had a period of rest & fertilization, & every year they put seeds in the ground that they till . . . so much timber they have that they build fences all around the land they cultivate.²⁰⁶

205. Diary, II, 696.

206. Huguenot Exile in Virginia, pp. 117-18. He also observed: "They usually plant tobacco, Indian corn, wheat, peas or beans, barley, sweet potatoes, turnips, which grow to a monstrous size & are very good to eat. They make gardens as we do in Europe." (p. 115). Though probably having more reference to the Piedmont area and to the small farmers, Francis Louis Michel made comments similar to those of the Frenchman in matters of land use in 1701-1702: "A settler who has a piece of land, divides it into three parts, the first for tobacco and corn, the second and third parts as meadows for his cattle and as forest, if he needs wood. When the tobacco field does not want to bear any more, he sows corn in its place. After six or eight years it does not yield corn any more. Then he lets it lie fallow and takes up the second part and so forth. A workman must plant yearly from 15 to 2000 pounds of tobacco, besides six or eight barrels of corn." ("Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel," Virginia Magazine, XXIV, 31).

The matter of fences evidently was ever present, and cultivated fields, gardens, pastures, and such were by necessity fenced, at least to keep plantation livestock out, or even that of others, as range was often open despite laws to the contrary.²⁰⁷ Landon Carter, in 1757, concluded that "I shall at last be obliged to take to Chesnut posts and rails, for no other fencing seems to stand [against gales and storms] but what is well drove into the Ground."²⁰⁸ Then there is the John Oldmixon observation that "the Planters, by Pasture-Fences, secure their Cattle and Hogs from them" - the wolves and wild animals.²⁰⁹

Hugh Jones had pertinent comments on outbuildings and dependencies as "...with timber also are built houses for the overseers and out-houses; among which is the kitchen apart from the dwelling house because of the smell of hot victuals, offensive in hot weather."²¹⁰ Jones recorded that "The Negroes live in small cottages called quarters, in about six in a gang under the direction of an overseer of bailiff; who takes care that they tend such land as the owner allots and orders, upon which they raise hogs and cattle, and plant Indian corn (or maize) and tobacco for the use of their master . . ."²¹¹ In many cases the overseer got a share and special privileges as his remuneration. In some cases, however, he was on a salary basis as well.²¹²

207. It was also Durand, the French traveler, who commented: "so much timber they have that they build fences all around the land they cultivate" (p. 117). This, too, included the "Pasture Fence" to which Beverley alluded. (History and Present State of Virginia, p. 140). There is some discussion of applicable range laws in Gray, History of Agriculture, pp. 145-46. He, for example, cites a 1670 Assembly Act as specifying that a four and a half foot fence was deemed to mean that the animals could not creep through.

208. Diary, I, 151, 155. References, too, to locust posts have been noted in Westmoreland Records, as in Court Records, GWBNM, pt.1, pp. 146-47 (Deeds and Wills, No. 9, pp. 279 ff).

209. British Empire in America, 1, 444. Virginia fence types, with generous illustration, some in color, are discussed in Vera V. Via's "The Old Rail Fence," in Virginia Cavalcade, XII, No. 1 (Summer, 1962), 33-40.

210. Present State of Virginia, p. 74. Jones also observed that "The gentleman's seats are of late built for the most part of good brick, and many of timber very handsome, commodious, and capacious; and likewise the common planters live in pretty timber houses, neater than the farm houses are generally in England."

211. Present State of Virginia, p. 75.

212. Landon Carter in 1757 took an overseer "at £25 the year." (Diary, I, 191).

A part of the scene, also, as occasion dictated - though only of limited note by observers - were the "barns, farm-houses, etc...",²¹³ the tobacco houses, the "Fodder House,"²¹⁴ and the rest. As for the tobacco house, perhaps that which William Ruffin agreed to build for John Graves in Isle of Wight County in 1664 is typical in its detail of a 30-foot house, covered and weatherboarded.²¹⁵ A Virginia Gazette advertisement of 1737 described "Two large Barns" as 20 by 40 feet in size.²¹⁶ These, however, by import were not necessarily tobacco barns.

Agricultural methods generally were much simpler than now. Commercial fertilizer as we know it was then unknown, or unused. Initially there was little regard for the land insofar as the protection and renewal of its nutrients were concerned. Even as late as 1697, established residents of the colony could write:²¹⁷

It is but in very few Places that the Plough is made use of, for in their first clearing they never grub up the stumps, but cut the Trees down about two or three Foot from the Ground; so that all the Roots and Stumps being left, that Ground must be tended with Hoes, and by that time the stumps are rotten, the Ground is worn out; and having fresh Land enough, of which they must clear some for Fire-Wood; they take but little Care to recruit the old Fields with Dung.

But likely this account oversimplified the situation except in new areas and was less applicable to the more established areas, where there had been longer (already several generations) of occupancy and use. Observation, experience, and English precedents were being used to develop means of getting as much as possible, with the least effort, out of the land. As N. F. Cabell has observed: "For we are not to suppose these men [in Virginia] or their successors were wholly ignorant of good husbandry, as it was understood and practiced in England." All the while, too, "they were continually reinforced by men of the same stamp, as well as by practical farmers from abroad."²¹⁸ Methods included a progression

213. Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 37.

214. Diary, I, 175.

215. Isle of Wight County, Deeds, Will, etc., No. 1 (1662-1715), p. 13.

216. July 22, p. 4. c. 2.

217. Hartwell, Blair and Chilton, Virginia and the College, p. 9.

218. History of Agriculture in Virginia, I, 3-4, 6.

of crops, the increasing use of manure in one form (or application) or another, letting land lie fallow and letting "old fields" be reclaimed by the forest and then ultimately re-cleared. Francis Louis Michel, at the turn of the eighteenth century, confirms this even then, at least to a degree: "...wheat, which is planted by every family for its use, in such places where cattle have been penned at night. After they have been in a field for three or four weeks they are moved to another field. In this way the soil is fertilized, for no other manure is used."²¹⁹ A decade and a half earlier John Clayton had similarly recorded. "But now to return to the Reflections of Improveing, and manureing of Land in Virginia, hitherto, as I have said, they have used none but that of Cowpening."²²⁰

Plowing, even in the earlier days, was more common than some observers recorded. It was noted, for example, that in 1648 there were "near upon a hundred and fifty ploughs" going in Virginia "with many yoke of oxen" to pull them.²²¹ By the end of the seventeenth century the mould-board plow was known and used having come in by way of Holland. The plow, now with shares, continued to evolve into a more generally used instrument differing in type and size. Pulled chiefly by oxen the necessary gear was mere chains, yokes, and hooks. Inventories often note "plow chaines," plows, and even such as a "staple and hooks for a yoake." There was, too, the harrow, used particularly in corn and tobacco fields and to cover wheat. It generally consisted of five parallel bars of wood some two yards long kept firmly into place by cross pieces. In the bars, teeth were set, teeth that came to be iron.²²²

219. "Report of Journey," in Virginia Magazine, XXIV, 32. Philip Alexander Bruce estimated that at the end of the seventeenth century perhaps only one-fifth of a plantation would be open fields and under cultivation at one time. Exhausted soil was permitted to grow up again as underwood and to serve as pasture for roaming cattle. Thus it lapsed into thickets in a few years and then into woods of second growth. (Economic History, I, 425).

220. Scientific Writings. p. 86.

221. Virginia Historical Register, II, 74.

222. Bruce, Economic History, I, 460-66; York County Records, 1657-1662, p. 22, and Deeds Orders Wills, No. 2, p. 150. Two contemporary plates showing "Trenching Implements" and "Plows" of the seventeenth century are duplicated in Lyman Carrier's Agriculture in Virginia, 1607-1699, between pages 28-29.

In the time of Landon Carter there was a diversity of plows and harrows, and his Diary entries often refer to types of plowing, as when in March 1757 he wished that he "had laid all my land this year down in 4 boutridges." This would have been better in the wet weather and perhaps required less time to "scour his oat field ditches."²²³

But much of the agricultural effort was still a hard one of reaphooks, sickles, cradles (for barley and oats mostly), sieves, shovels, mattocks, spades, and the rest. Property inventories underscore this as they do the increase of plows, particularly in the first and middle decades of the 1700s. The most common instrument was perhaps the hoe, and there was a variety of types as hilling, weeding and grubbing, broad and narrow. There was one particular item often mentioned though no description of it was given²²⁴ - the "Virginia hoe."

Despite activity in many quarters, woods and natural vegetation would have given much of the rural plantation flavor now assumed to have been so common. Andrew Burnaby, the traveling parson, has left a good word picture of this:

223. Diary, I, 133.

224. Bruce, Economic History, I, 460-66. Bruce noted one reference to a "cradle to shale corn." A very useful compilation, mostly graphic, detailed sketches relative to hand tools of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, is that contained in Eric Sloane's A Museum of Early American Tools (Wilfred Funk, Inc., New York, c. 1964). It treats of hand tools used on the farms and in various crafts and trades. He stresses evolution and in a good many instances dates his individual sketches as a 1750 saw-horse, a circa 1730 barking axe, a circa 1750 tapering bore, an early mowing scythe about 1750, and such. There is data, too, on the use of the tools. Though only a hundred-page volume, it is packed with helpful and seemingly reliable material. There is a careful, detailed, and documented discussion, with plates, of "Woodworking Tools: 1600-1900" by Peter C. Welsh, issued in Paper No. 51 (pages 178-228) from the United States National Museum Bulletin 241 (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1966). Note should be made, too, of Edwin Tunis' Colonial Living (Cleveland and New York, c. 1957) for its useful descriptive and illustrative coverage of such things as spinning, flax, equipment, etc.

Besides trees and flowers of an ordinary nature, the woods produce myrtles, cedars, cypresses, sugar-trees, firs of different sorts, and no less than seven or eight kinds of oak; they are likewise adorned and beautiful with red-flowering maples, sassafras-trees, dog-woods, acacias, red-buds, scarlet-flowering chestnuts, fringe-trees, flowering poplars, umbrellas, magnolias, yellow jasamins, chamoedophnes, pacons, atamucco lillies, May-apples, and innumerable other sorts; so that one may reasonably assert that no country ever appeared with greater elegance or beauty.²²⁵

He did not mention the large stands of pines (unless it be his "firs") that would have been common throughout tidewater as regeneration of forest cover in the abandoned "old fields." In his time, though made more than half century earlier, Beverley's terse statement would likely have still been true. "Their Fewel is altogether Wood, which every Man burns at Pleasure, it being no other charge to him, than the cutting and carrying it home. In all new Grounds it is such an Incumbrance, that they are forced to burn great heaps of it to rid the Land."²²⁶ But many veteran trees were left often as property markings, giving a good idea of the original forest - hickory, pohickory, red oak, white oak, gum, mulberry, locust, poplar, chestnut, and even "Dogwood" were among them.²²⁷

225. Travels...in 1759 and 1760, p. 8.

226. History and Present State of Virginia, p. 294.

227. This list is from the deeds and references of the Brooks Patent area.

Chapter XII

Some Requirements for a "Living Farm" at Popes Creek Plantation

It is believed that his report documents and supports the operation of the Popes Creek Plantation as one typical of the period and area of which it was a part. Being typical, by the nature of the owners and operation, it could conform more closely to the procedures and practices as reported by general and detailed observers of this section of Virginia. It is regrettable that no plantation plot or description has been located for any particular period, nor is there any appreciable scattered data at hand that pinpoints precise locations for particular crops and activities, even structures such as tobacco barns, slave quarters,¹ fences, overseer quarters, and the like. There is the exception of the mansion house and some of its dependencies, as used by the three owners (Augustine, Sr., and Jr., and William Augustine Washington). Also the inventories of Augustine, Sr., and Jr., are helpful and offer some specifics as to operations. Additional leads and helpful hints can be found in various legal documents, including leases. This has been detailed in Chapters V and VI. Fortunately, too, there are a number of observers of the tidewater Virginia scene who have commented, often in detail, on the typical scene. This is invaluable, along with other contemporary data, in supporting the specific data. It is covered in some depth in Chapter XI that immediately precedes this.

Popes Creek, like most such farms, went far toward being a self-sustaining economic unit with most basic and routine supplies and services originating, or being performed, on the premises. In expanding the present operation at Popes Creek, a good deal of attention needs to be focused on crops, livestock, and farm activities. In the itemizations that follow, most entries are drawn from the specific things given or suggested in the documentary and archeological materials. This, however, need not be considered definitive, as surely there were many items that escaped notation in the Washington records, since they were not prepared for the purpose of detailing this situation, nor were they designed as reporting documents. The order given here is thought to be a reasonable priority. In the case of crops and livestock areas and amounts that are given, in the writer's view, they are minimum amounts necessary to create a proper scale of operation and sufficient to avoid the zoo and

1. Augustine, Jr., had 77 slaves (young and old, male and female) and 4 servants.

horticultural identification approaches. These are given mostly in relationship to Augustine's basic acquisition of 200 acres from Lawrence Abbington, though in some measure these could be extended to the John Washington 150-acre place on Bridges Creek and, especially under Augustine, Jr.'s., management, to the area they owned in between the two. This latter Augustine, Sr., seems to have leased as farms while Augustine, Jr., likely integrated it into the total operation.

Crops, Fields, and Range

Agriculture was a fluid thing, and field uses would have changed periodically according to the state (productivity) of the soil. Fences (and there was a generous use of them to fence out livestock, or control it as needed) would have moved as crops and conditions changed, and the tobacco barns and livestock sheds would have seen relocation for convenience of management and operation.

1. Tobacco was a key crop and its cultivation involved a good many steps--land preparation, seed beds, transplanting, cultivation, harvesting, curing (in barns), packing in hogsheads built for the purpose, and transportation over rolling roads to the waterside and then in small "flats" to deep-water vessels. A tobacco field of 2 to 3 acres would seem to be a minimum, and other elements in proportion.

2. Corn was a very staple basic crop that involved its own methods--land preparation, planting, cultivation, harvest and use of grain, tops, blades and stalks. Gristmilling was a part of the Washington scene but the mill was several miles from the plantation. A field of 5 to 10 acres should suffice.

3. Wheat most likely was an annual crop planted, harvested, and used in the conventional manner. Possibly 3 to 5 acres would be enough.

4. Hay crops would have been a necessary element for the livestock herds. It likely involved natural field growth as well as marsh or low area grass that would have been cut for the purpose. Crops of peas and clover, some consumed in the field green, would be appropriate for the period. Perhaps 5 - 10 acres (or even less) could suffice.

5. Natural range, or pasture, would be needed in some extent for the livestock. This could include low, marshy area especially in relationship to the hogs. Some 20 to 30 acres might be required, perhaps more.

6. An abandoned field ("old field") of 5 to 10 acres should be a characteristic part of the scene, as well as a smaller area being recleared for cultivation in the characteristic manner. This could be in the Bridges Creek area and might double as pasture for a time.

7. A timber area with some of it used annually in demonstrations is a requirement, perhaps 30 to 40 acres.

8. A flax crop to be taken through the processes seems indicated by the presence of a linen wheel in the inventory. It was rather typical. A half-acre might do it. Cotton, too, for home consumption, could be rationalized as there was equipment for putting it to use.

Note: The minimum and maximum acreages mentioned here total 71 and 109 respectively; gardens and orchard should add another 3 to 5.

Livestock and Domestic Animals

The inventories document sizeable groups of horses, cattle (and oxen), sheep, and hogs. To suggest the relationship to types and amounts, perhaps the Popes Creek Plantation should have the minimums noted below. They would need to include old and young, male and female animals.

Horses - 6 to 8
Cattle - 20 to 30 (2-4 oxen)
Sheep - 15 to 20
Swine - 30 to 40

Augustine, Jr., had stocks of the above (in the same order given) of 49, 184 (9 yoke), 99, and 229, while Augustine, Sr., in Westmoreland, had 9, 67 (5), 30, and 75, plus 140 geese.

It was generally noted by contemporary observers of the scene that dogs normally were a part of the plantation scene.

Poultry

Though not specifically mentioned, poultry was a standard plantation item normally in some quantity, being an important source of food. Numbers would vary, depending on the season and propagation. There should be, perhaps:

- Chickens - 25 to 50
- Geese - 10 to 15
- Ducks - 15 to 20
- Turkeys - 10 to 15
- Pigeons - a small flock
- Guineas (possibly) - half dozen plus young

Poultry, as hogs, should enjoy as much free range as conditions will allow.

Gardens

The plantation garden, or gardens, was a requirement of basic concern, and the range of plants and herbs was generally quite extensive. Formal or flower gardens were much less common and may not have been a part of the Popes Creek scene. It is true, however, that nineteenth-century plant survivals suggested to various observers that they were descendants of colonial plants. These observations were made in the close vicinity of the mansion house remains, particularly to the south of it.

A fruit orchard of some extent and variety, but heavily weighted to peaches and apples (possibly these in a ratio of 3 to 1), was generally a plantation requirement. Nineteenth-century observers suggested this in, and around, the house site, especially to the west and south of it, with some reference to crab and other apple trees. In season, livestock (cattle and hogs) ranged in the orchards. It seems quite specific, from survivals and later reference, that figs were a part of the picture.

Plantation Activities

A number of activities are suggested in the specific documents though admittedly this would not be all inclusive:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gardening 2. Timber harvest (for fuel consumption and building) 3. Carpentry (including cooping for hogsheads and other containers as well as "flat," or small boat, construction) 4. Cider making | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Candle manufacture b. Spinning and weaving (wool, flax, and cotton) c. Household chores (washing and ironing: cleaning and polishing) d. Dairy activities e. Tanning leather f. Slaughter and meat curing |
|--|---|

5. Ice storage and use
(Likely, near the "ice pond")
6. Fishing
(with nets and lines)
7. Milling
(corn and possibly wheat)
8. Distilling
(brandy and possibly stronger drink)
9. Tailoring
(Likely cruder things like slave clothes and coarse garments)
- h. Food conservation
(pickles and preserves)
- i. Making feather beds and bolsters.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY
(with some annotations)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY
(with some annotations)

The materials listed here are those making a particularly significant contribution to this study. It is not a detailed itemization of every item used, or of all of those given in the footnotes.

Where there is citation in the notes, a full reference is given on first appearance. There are, for example, related references to bits of data gleaned from various issues of the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, the William and Mary Quarterly, and other material covered in Earl G. Swem's Virginia Historical Index (Roanoke, 1934-36), as well as the Colonial Williamsburg Research files, the library of the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation (National Park Service), the files of George Washington Birthplace National Monument, and elsewhere.

The organizational outline below follows a five-division breakdown (partly by subject and partly by material type), with each taking precedence in the order given:

- I. Major Reports and Key Sources
- II. Nineteenth Century Contemporary Sources
- III. Primary Sources
- IV. Secondary Works
- V. Agriculture and Plantation Operations
 - A. Contemporary Materials
 - B. Secondary Treatments

I. Major Reports and Key Sources

Carter, Landon. Jack P. Greene (editor). The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778. Two volumes. Charlottesville, Va., 1965. This is an excellent horticultural and plantation operations source.

Freeman, Douglas Southall. George Washington. Volume I. New York, 1949. Freeman gives a very comprehensive treatment of the early Washington family in America in text, notes and appendices.

Hoppin, Charles A. The Washington Ancestry and Records of the McClain, Johnson and Forty Other Colonial American Families. Volume I. Greenfield, O., 1932. This volume deals with the Washington and Pope families as well as others and is especially rich in quoted documentary materials.

Northington, Oscar F. "Research Report on Wakefield: George Washington Birthplace, Westmoreland County, Virginia." A National Park Service typewritten report (63 pages plus plans and drawings), dated February 7, 1938. This is a concise outline presentation of the documentary materials, with some conclusions.

Powell, B. Bruce. "Archeology of the Popes Creek Area: George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Virginia." A National Park Service typewritten report (105 pages plus plans and illustrations), dated May 15, 1968. This is an analysis of archeological findings with considerable emphasis on the interpretation of cultural (artifact) material.

Rodnick, David. "Orientation Report on the George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Westmoreland County, Virginia." A National Park Service typewritten report (103 pages plus plates and plans), dated October 17, 1941. This a comprehensive review of research accomplishments with evaluations to the time of the report and treats of results stemming from the various disciplines such as archeology, history, and architecture.

Westmoreland County Virginia Records

A large, comprehensive, yet untitled volume of assembled typed copies of county land records and court actions

relating to the Washingtons and to the Pope's Creek Plantation area over more than a two-century period. Located at George Washington Birthplace National Monument.

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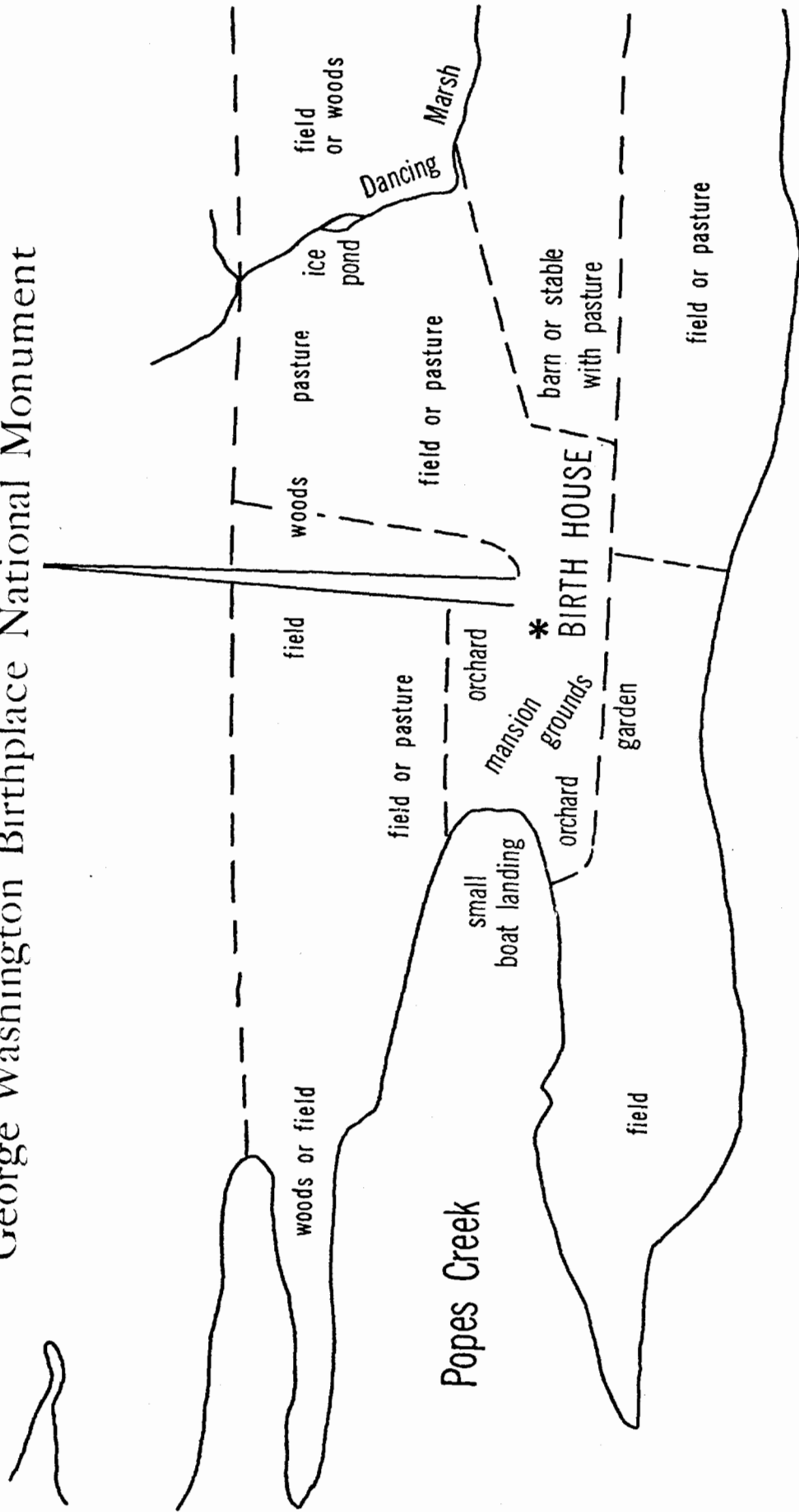
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ILLUSTRATIONS

SUGGESTED USE PLAN

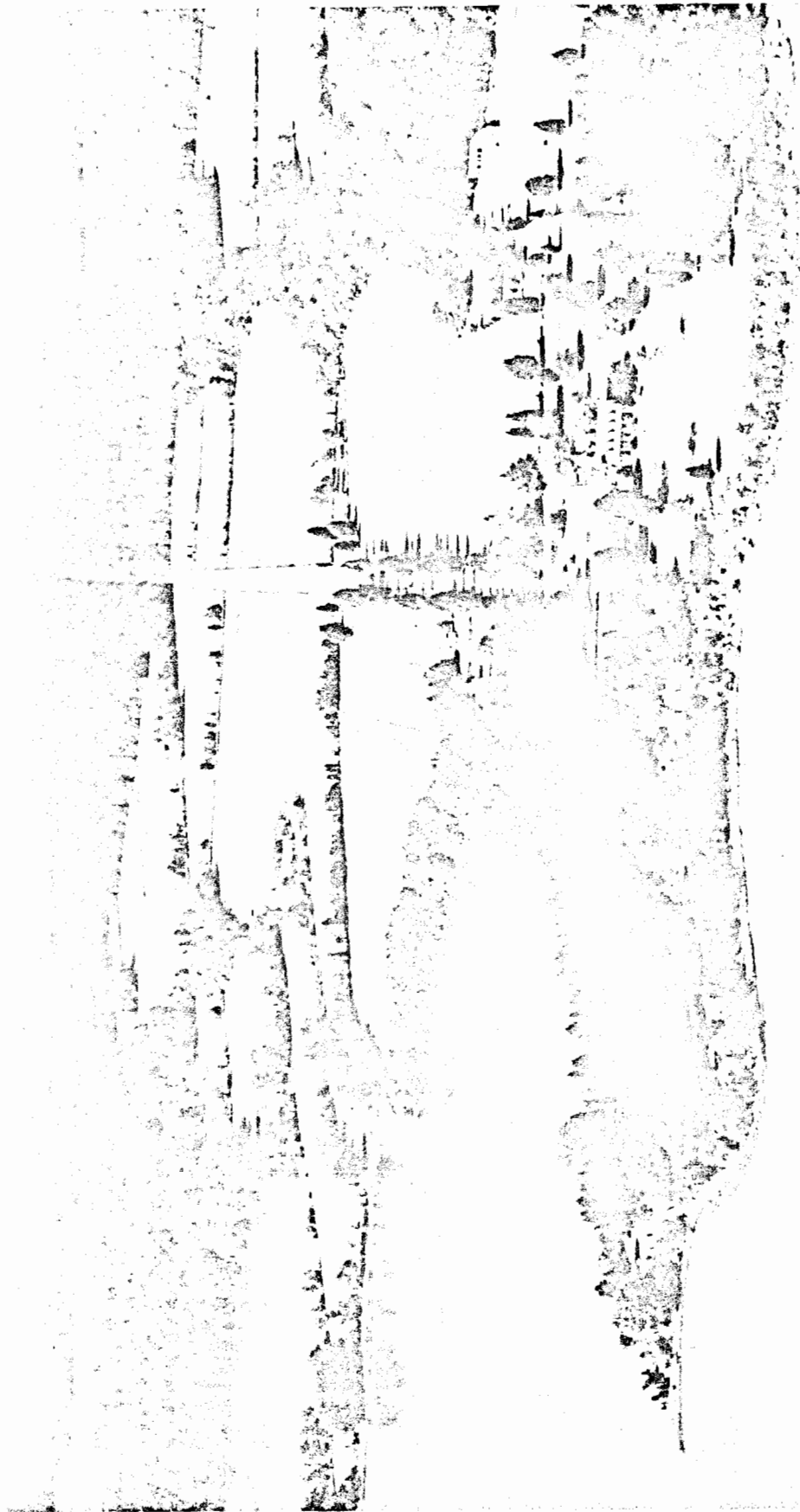
George Washington Birthplace National Monument



Popes Creek

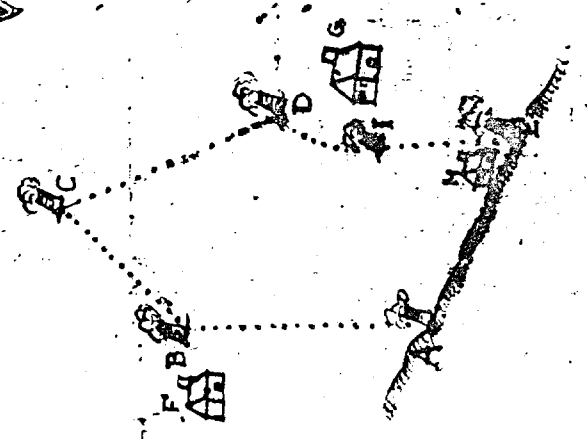
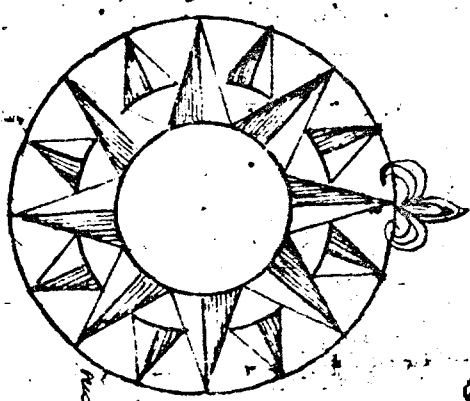
1. Aerial view (1957) of much (perhaps two thirds) of Augustine Washington's 200 acre purchase of 1718. Remainder was at upper right. Overlay indicates a possible land use plan.

2. Robert Chamberlain survey of 1683 locating the Col. John Washington house ("G") in relation to adjacent properties. (See discussion in Chapter II).



3. Sketch of foundation unearthed 180 feet southeast of Washington family burial ground. Presumably this was an outbuilding of the Col. John Washington home.

F - M Original Beams
 "wasting houses
 M^r John Washington
 his house where
 M^r Brooks
 lived



Augst 21th 1683

Then Surveyed for M^r Original
 Beams, up hundred and fifteen
 Acres of Land Situate and lizing
 betwixt Popes Creek and Matters
 Creek, Beginning at A a White Oak
 Standing by Pottomack River near
 Digbods swamps, and ending

100 po to B a Red Oaks at
 the head of his swamps
 112 po to C a Gum Tree
 tree being his Land and
 Will Kings bar.

164 po to D a Mulberry tree
 near M^r Sr Washingtons
 house dividing his Land from
 the sd William Kings bar Land

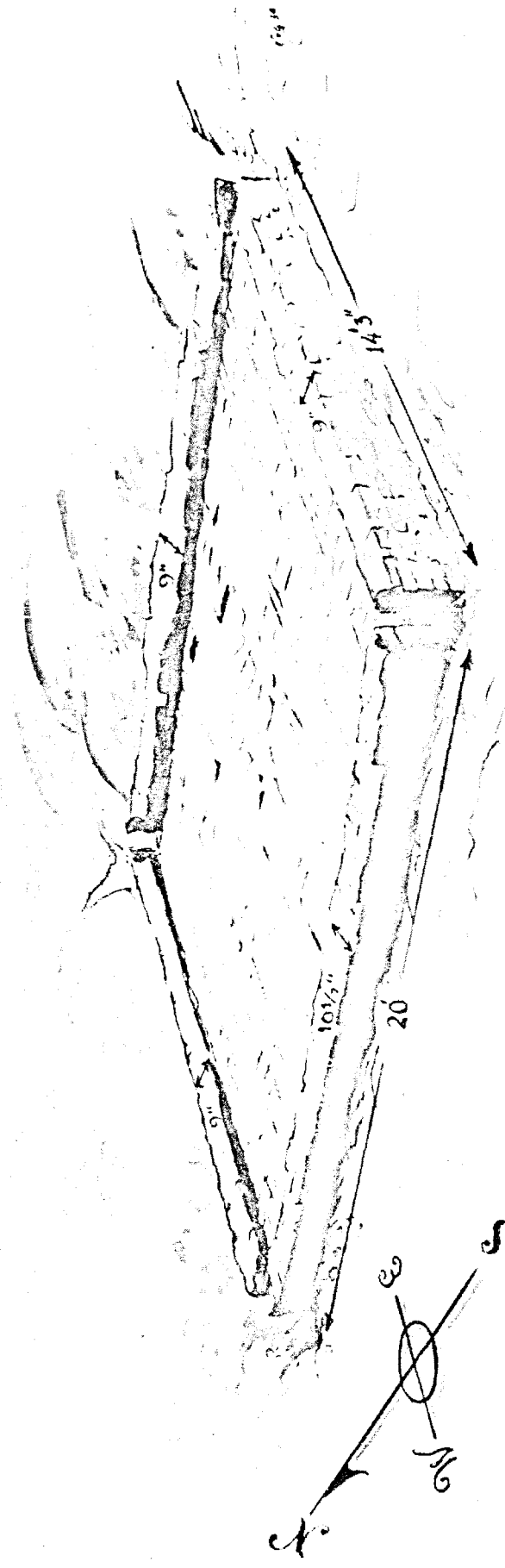
100 po to E the locus tree
 near M^r Washingtons Farm

88 po to F a paticary on
 the po, lying along
 Pottomack River 132 po
 to the beginning tree

From B --- SW ---
 C --- NNW ---
 D --- NEGE }
 E --- NNE }
 F --- N ---

As me
 J. M. M. M. M. M.
 Secretary of the
 Board of Survey

4. Augustine Washington's 1726 account with the Estate of David Jones telling of Jones "not finishing my house."
(From Westmoreland County Records, Inventories 1723-46, No. 1, p. 24).



Note: The north, east and south walls are 9" thick while the west wall is 10 1/2" thick. Space at corners 9" x 9" for wood posts.

5. A Bridges Creek area survey run by George Washington when he was but 16. (From The George Washington Atlas, plate 8).

Washington from April 1722 } The Estate of David Jones
 from 1723 till 1723 } it is £86
 Paid for him in money goods } £86
 To D. that year in £60 by order } 33
 from 1723 to p. for him in Money goods } 9004
 1724 } To D. in Tobacco } 3586
 from 1724 } }
 1725 } To p. for him in Money goods } 9184
 To Ditto in Tobacco } 1882
 To the not finishing my house } 500
 To his Licknop and burial if } 500
 allowed to Maj. Lickridge }
 To the good Adm. 150 each to }
 account order record 83 } 183

46 of the 1722

March the 30th 1726
 This Account was for being owing to
 upon on the Am. well followed by
 And Ordered to be Recorded

800 of April 1726
 1726

1723	By your Rent twice paid	3	6000	40
1724	By my composition paid	5	000	
1725	By 2 of 100	14		
1726	By 2 bedsteads	5		
1727	By 1 stable	7	6	
1728	By 2 Mantell poises	2	10	
1729	By 9 M ^{rs} Tobacco	2	200	
1730	By making a Pop Parable	6	11200	4917
1731	By 100 Due to M ^{rs}	17	276	188
1732	By 100 Due to M ^{rs}	17	188	17
1733	By 100 Due to M ^{rs}	17	188	17
1734	By 100 Due to M ^{rs}	17	188	17
1735	By 100 Due to M ^{rs}	17	188	17
1736	By 100 Due to M ^{rs}	17	188	17
1737	By 100 Due to M ^{rs}	17	188	17
1738	By 100 Due to M ^{rs}	17	188	17
1739	By 100 Due to M ^{rs}	17	188	17
1740	By 100 Due to M ^{rs}	17	188	17

1723
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6. George Washington drawings. (From The George Washington Atlas, between plates 49-50).



School

River

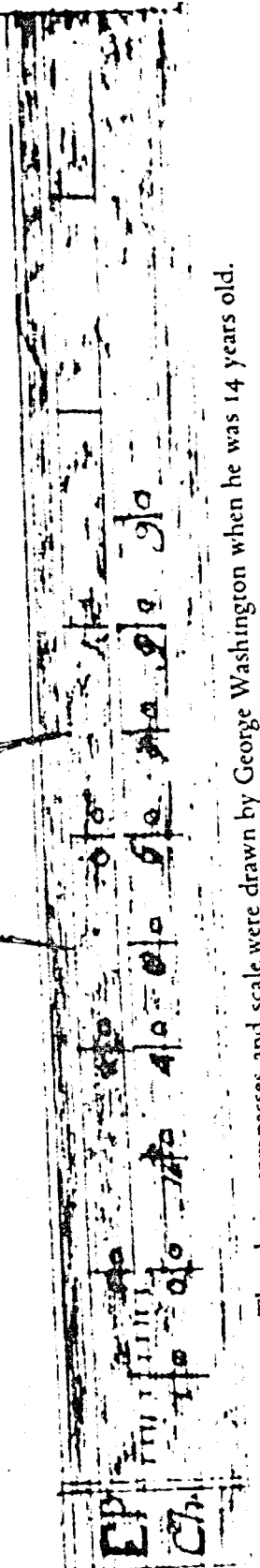
Island

near 22nd St

Small Diagonal

7. The last above ground ruin on the birthplace grounds, the fallen "kitchen chimney" as sketched by Charles Perkins. (From Charles O. Paullin, "The Birthplace of George Washington," p. 73).

○ *Handwritten text, possibly a name or title, written vertically.*



The chain, compasses and scale were drawn by George Washington when he was 14 years old.

8. Though before the 1930 restoration this was after early twentieth century enclosure. (From The Restoration of George Washington's Birthplace: Wakefield National Memorial Association Report, 1923-1935, p. 16).

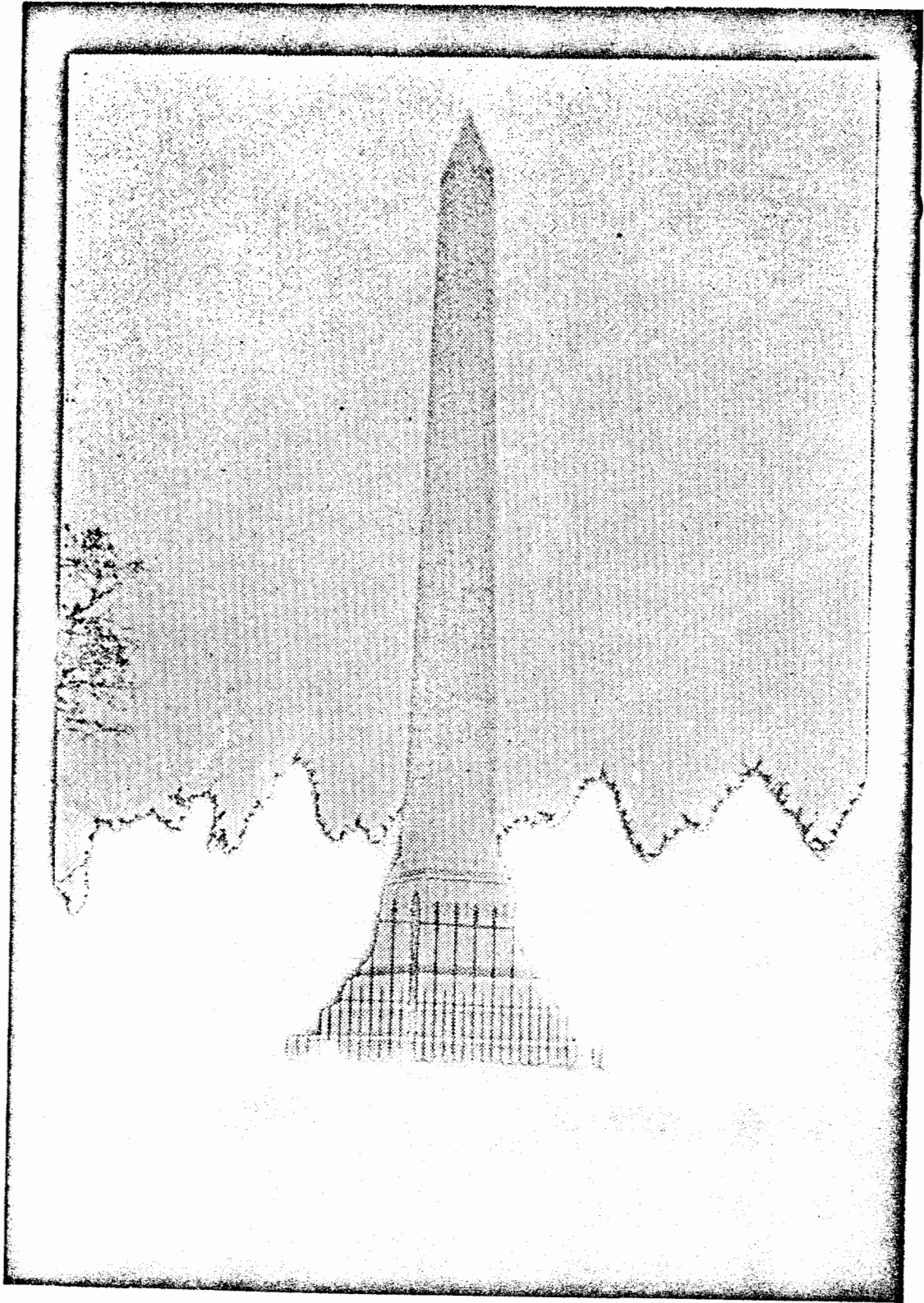


9. The 1896 monument sometime before 1924. The cedar grove (on Burnt House Point behind) was very young at this time. (From Dora Chinn Jett, In Tidewater Virginia, p. 138).

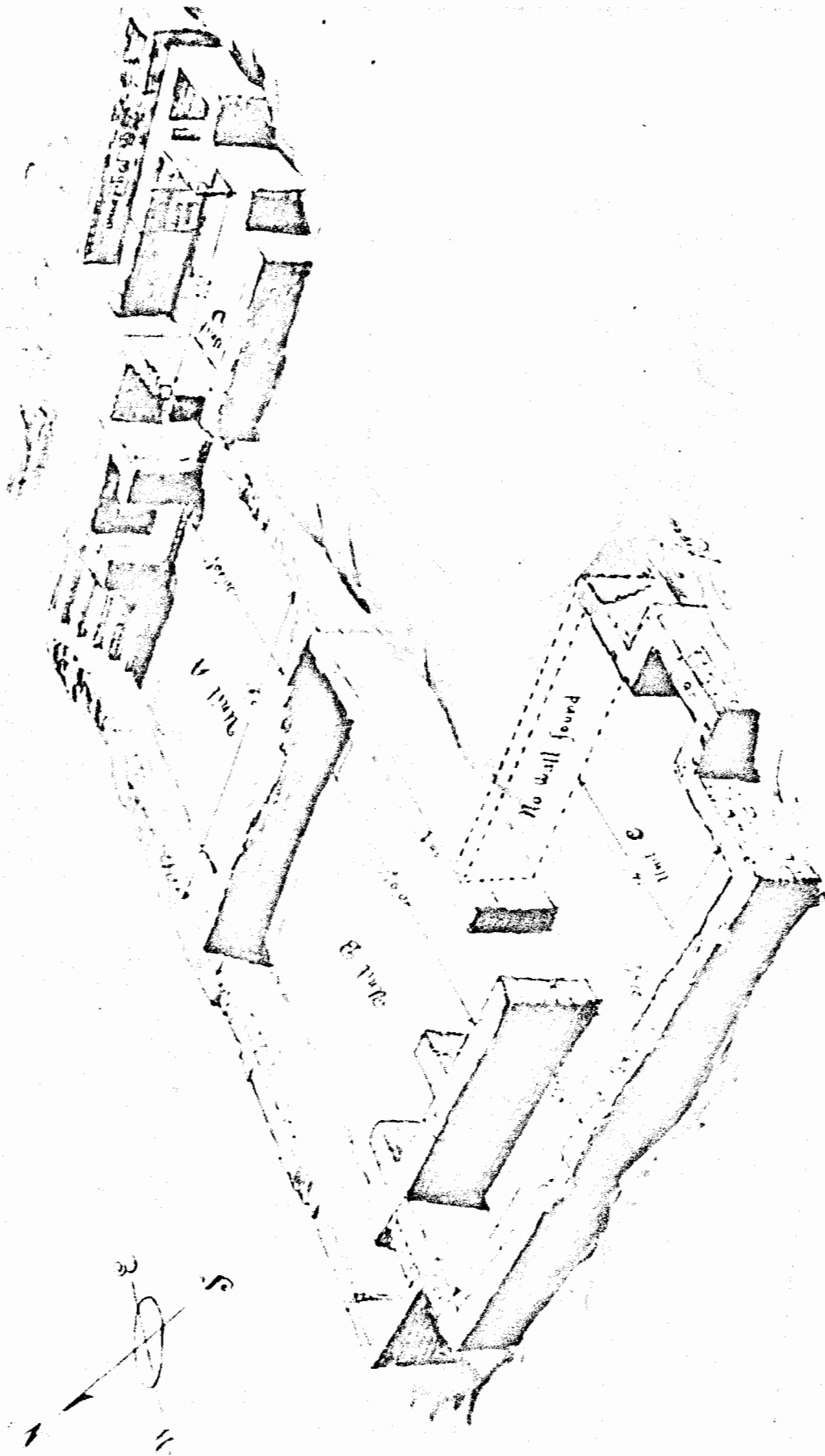


THE GRAVEYARD OF THE WASHINGTONS BEFORE THE RESTORATION

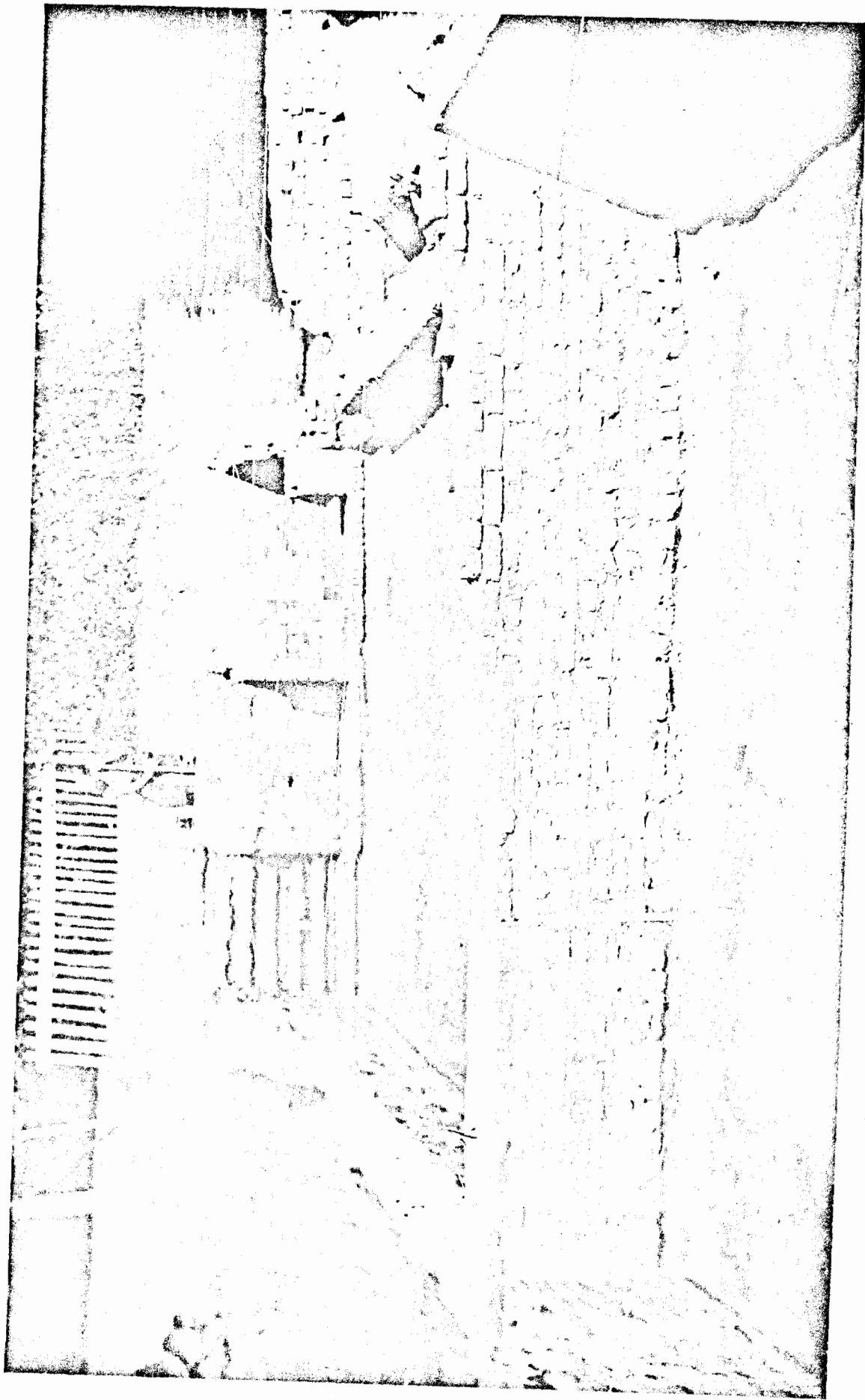
10. A sketch of foundations of the Washington birthplace home as found in 1930 and more fully explored in 1936.



11. A part of the foundations of the Augustine Washington Home particularly "Unit A" and a part of "Unit B" (foreground) as detailed in the preceding sketch.



12. The box hedge marks part of the birthplace home which faced, as does the photograph, Popes Creek to the south.



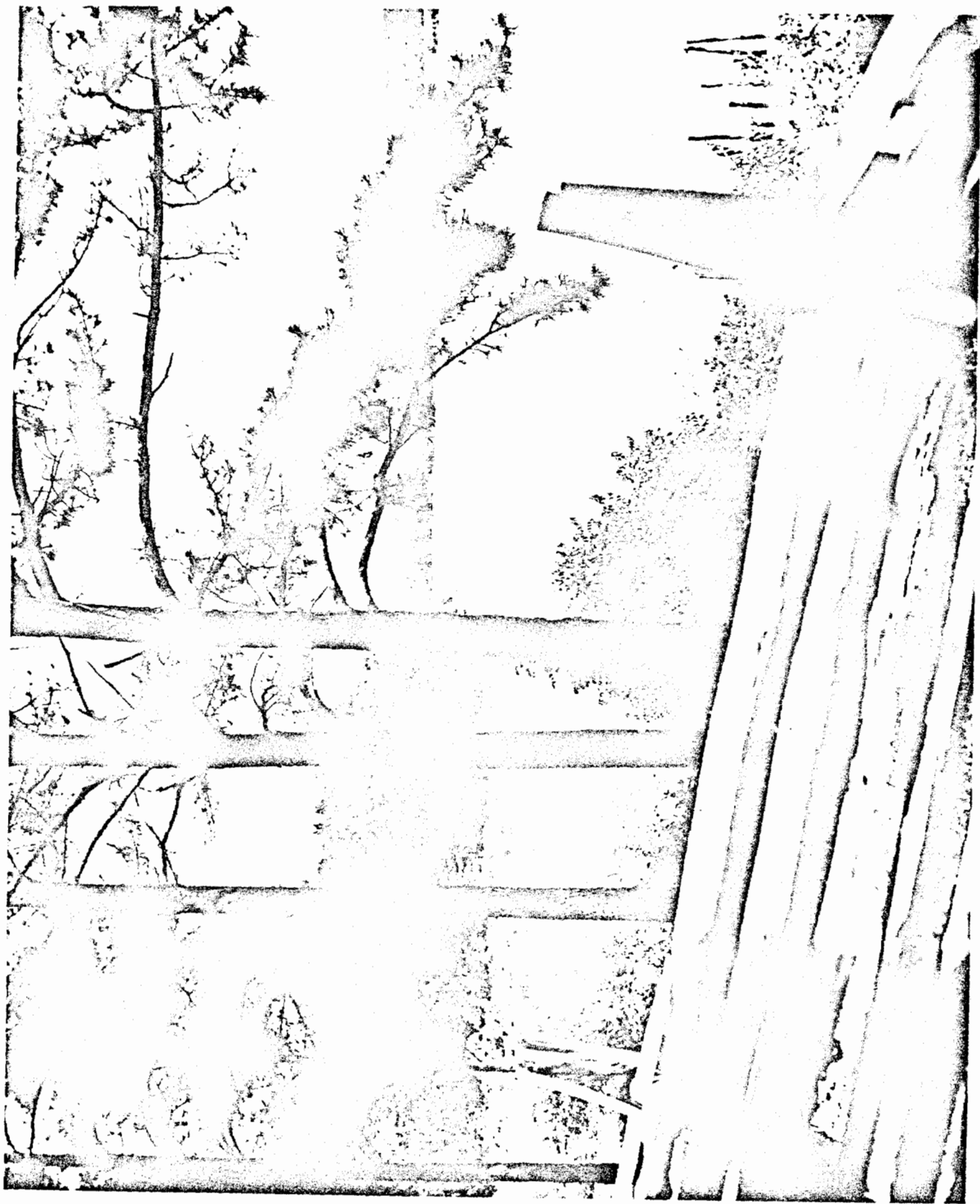
13. The box hedge (center foreground) marking part of the birthplace home, shows its relationship to the Memorial Home, where a dependency stood, and the "Kitchen" (extreme left).



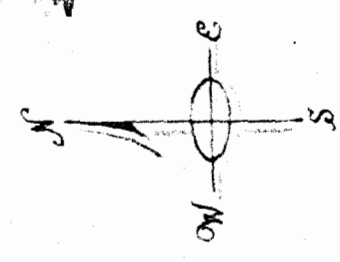
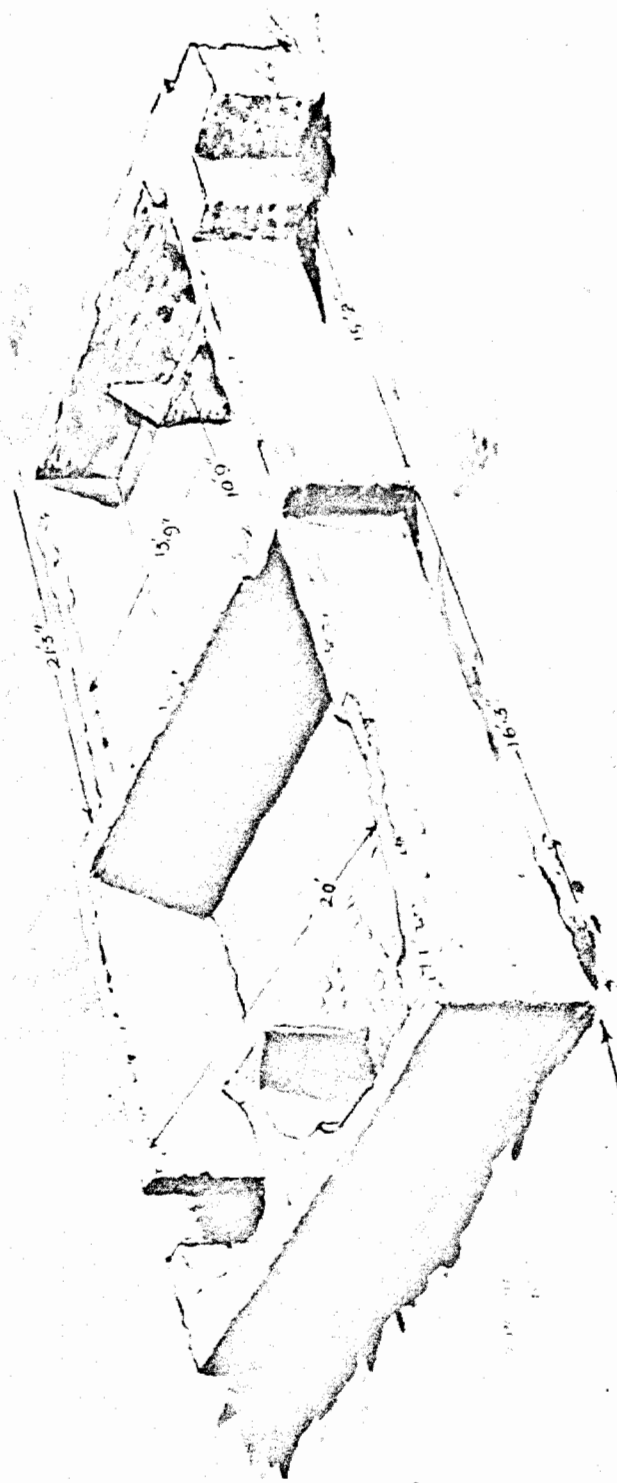
14. The waters of Popes Creek from the Cove (extreme left) which is likely where the Washington's had their small boat landing. The birthplace home faced toward it.



15. Perspective sketch of ruins of a dependency that stood where the Memorial House now stands. First excavated in 1896 and restudied in 1926 and 1930, these remains were destroyed when the present house was built. The sketch is based on a drawing by John Stewart in 1896.



16. Foundation plan of dependency that stood where monument was placed in 1896 (star marks monument location). (From Charles O. Paullin, "The Birthplace of George Washington," p. 75).

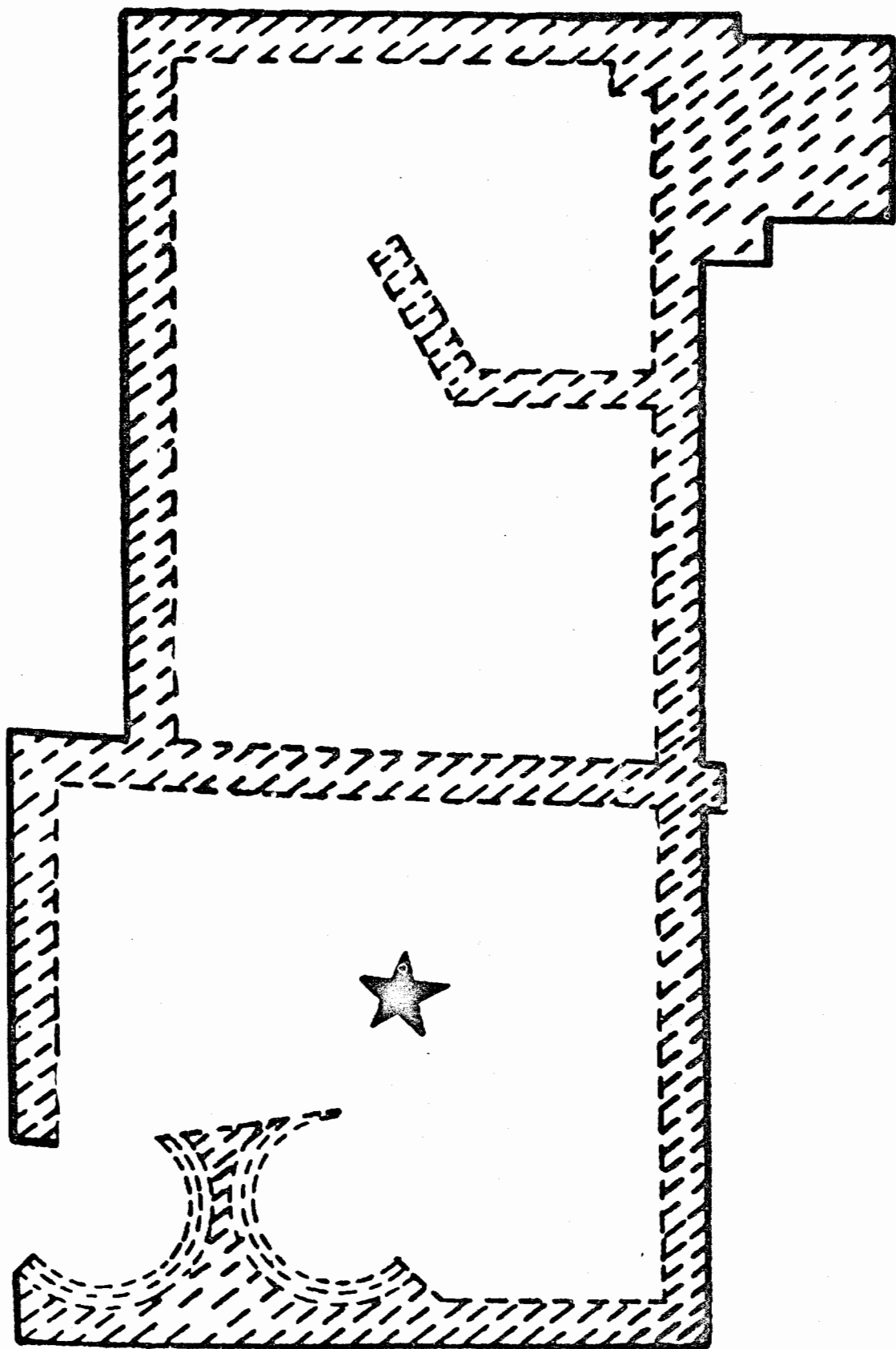


49' 9"



Old kitchen chimney

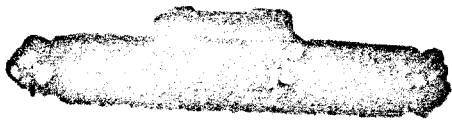
17. These foundations, excavated in 1934, appear to be those of the Washington Popes Creek Plantation smokehouse.



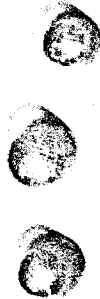
18. Both John Washington the great grandfather and Augustine Washington, Jr. and/or Sr. had monogrammed wine bottles of their own as excavated from their respective home sites.



19. Objects as these, in quantity and variety, were taken from in,
and around, the birthplace house foundations.



H-hinge fragment |



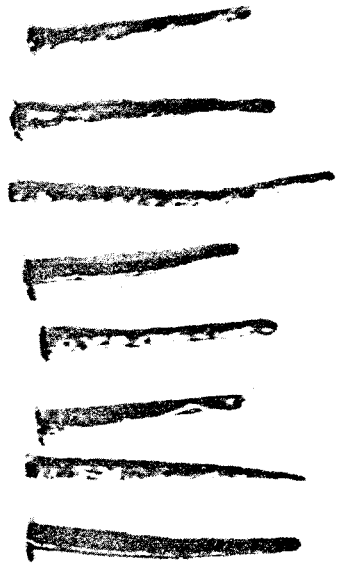
Thimbles. |



English earthenware
(Whieldon ware)



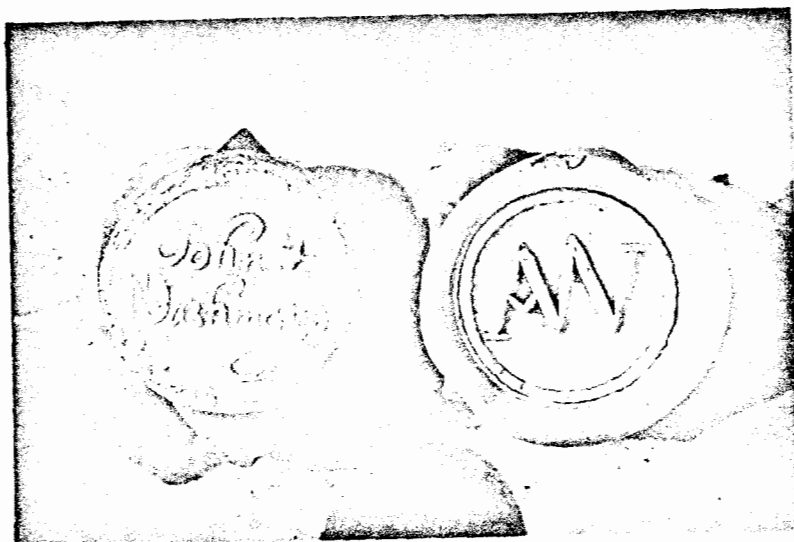
Hand-forged nails. |



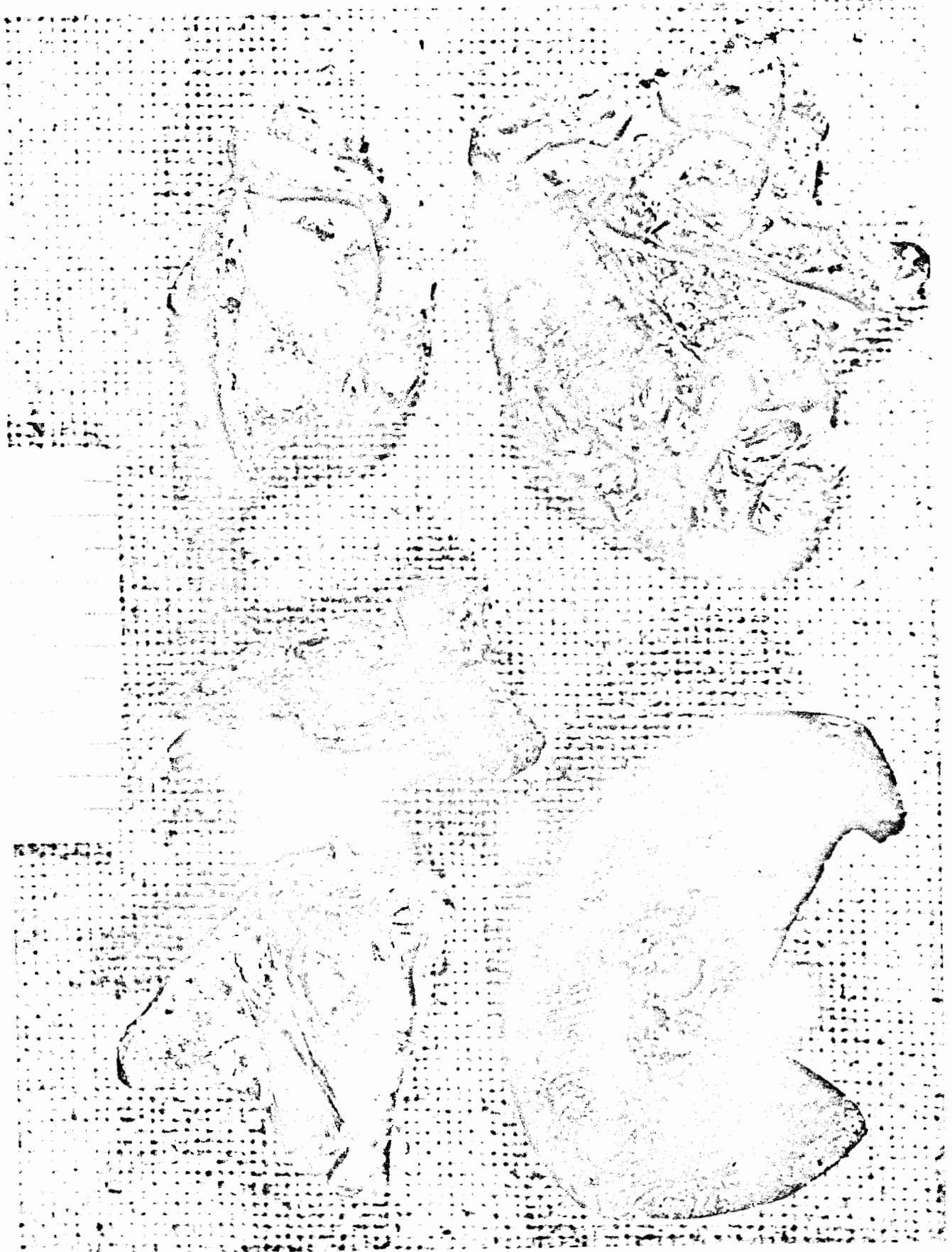
Bridle ornaments |



20. These melted and twisted bottle fragments are a clear proof of the fire that destroyed the birthplace home. Burned, charred and heat distorted objects were found in large number.



21. Methods of tobacco transportation used in colonial times and later. (From William Tatham's An Historical and Practical Essay on the Culture of Tobacco, plate opposite p. 55).

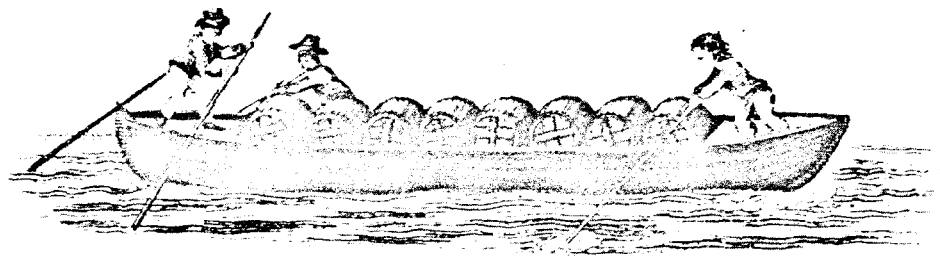


22. Oxen were the principal farm work animals in Washington's youth.

a



b



c



d

