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THU
Glass House
Highway
MAIN

Powhatan Creek
NECK
New Causeway OF

Back River Black Point

SANDY BAY

Magazine

1662

1662
Drummond
CHURCH

Fort

JAMES

VES RIVER

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*or the Congressional Library
from Lyon G. Tyler.*

ADDRESS

—OF—

PRESIDENT LYON G. TYLER,

ON THE OCCASION OF THE CELEBRATION BY

William and Mary College and the A. P. V. A.

—OF THE—

FIRST SETTLEMENT OF JAMESTOWN.

May 13, 1895.





JAMESTOWN ISLAND
VA.

Revised 1624 in red

Reconstructed by
Lynn Tyler
1895

ADDRESS.

Gentlemen of the William and Mary College, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Sir Francis Bacon declared that in the arts and sciences the first invention is of more consequence than all the improvements afterwards, and that in kingdoms, "the first foundation or plantation is of more noble dignity and merit than all that followeth."

He explains this by resembling them to the creation of the world. In that sublimest of all chapters, chap. I. of Genesis, we are told that the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep. The effect is sublime when the sun and moon and stars take their places in the skies, and the fowl of the air, the fish of the sea, and the beasts of the earth rejoice in their marvellous light.

But for the plantation at Jamestown there would have been no Virginia, no New England, and no United States. Within the narrow limits of the country between the James and York rivers, including this island, have occurred the most important events affecting the destiny of the United States, viz.: The settlement itself at this place introducing the institutions of marriage, the right of trial by jury, the Protestant religion, and all the principles of English civilization; the birth of the first white child; the conversion of the first heathen; the arrival of the first cargo of negroes; the establishment of the first free school (that of Benjamin Syms at Hampton); and the first uprising against the English authority. I refer to the act of the Virginia people, denounced by Charles I. as "an assumption of regal power," of sending Sir John Harvey close prisoner to England, in 1635. Jamestown was never anything more than a mere village with some considerable buildings of a metropolitan character; but as the first invention, the first plantation, the first creation, it is, in the language of Bacon, "of more dignity and merit" than the imperial cities of New York, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Washington, or Chicago. Its first log cabin is of more consequence to the Union at large than the proud mansion of the chief executive. Surely, such a character in the place justifies the particular, even if tedious narrative I intend to-day.

Jamestown Island contains, according to the survey made in recent times, 1,600 acres, and it averages 2-1/2 miles in length by 1-2 mile in breadth. At the time of the arrival of the settlers on May 13th, 1607, it lay in the land of the Pasbeheagh Indians, one of the tribes which owed subjection to the chief, Powhatan. At this time, and for many years later, it was connected on the west with the mainland by a neck about 30 feet wide called the "Sandy Bay." Against this neck beat the waters of Powhatan creek, which came out of the main woods at right angles, but which, repulsed by the

sandy barrier, found an easier access to the river by a long deviation to the east. This part of the creek was called Back river, but is called more frequently now the Thoroughfare.

More than 100 years ago, the ceaseless action of the water, making inroads on both sides, consumed the passage-way to the main, and thereupon Mr. John Ambler, then owning the greater part of the Island, and residing on it at the place we are now holding our celebration, made a causeway, where the neck was submerged; and when this, in the course of time, was overwhelmed, Col. Zach Durfey made a bridge from the main to the island very near the causeway. (1.) As all but a few of the piles of this bridge have disappeared, no one contemplating for the first time the waste of intervening waters, perhaps a half mile in width, would suspect the course of nature; but, deep cut on the other side, where the Pasbeheagh Indians had an ancient town, and where, in 1621, 24 acres were laid for a glass house, the first in America, is still to be seen the old road by which the teeming life of the little capital was connected with the world at large.

The island itself, a fact which has not been generally noticed, was divided into two natural parts by a swamp stretching from Back river to the James, and it was at the eastern side that the settlers disembarked. The land of this portion was furrowed with ridges and swamps, running north and south for the most part, and flanked on the south by a ridge along the river side named "Goose Hill." The extreme eastern point was called Black Point. The extensive labors of Mr. Barney, the present proprietor of the island, has in the last year or two filled up the most of these swamps once so injurious to health, and none would suspect in the beautiful and level fields the existence of any ridges whatever. Jamestown Island now is as healthy as any portion of Virginia. This eastern portion of the plantation was called "James Island"; the part on the west side of the dividing swamp standing high and firm, the "Main Island," and beyond the neck of the Sandy Bay stretched the mainland—"the main," as it was called.

The first houses of the settlers, who numbered about 104, were little cabins thatched with reeds and grass, or holes in the ground, the whole enclosed by a palisade of bushes and a triangular fort.

The church was first an old sail hung to the great trees that then densely covered the landscape. The pulpit was a bar of wood nailed to two neighboring trees, and the audience sat upon unewn logs during service. Set down in the rank woods and marshes, supported by the scantiest and meanest of supplies, prevented from attending to the pressing need of better lodging or of providing proper crops for their sustenance, continued by order of the Loudon Company

and their own commanders to gathering ship-loads of masts, cedar, black walnut, clapboard, and gold ore, the poor settlers, among whom were many heroic souls, died like sheep till only forty remained.

In January, 1608, arrived "the first supply," consisting of 120 men, worse provided in every way than the first comers. A fire breaking out on the 7th of January, 1608, immediately afterwards, destroyed the crazy shanties so far erected together with the library of the gentle minister, Rev. Robert Hunt, who never complained. A log church was thereupon erected and some few poor houses of a similar character.

As spring came on four acres of trees were cut down and the ground prepared for corn, hunger, sickness, and assaults from the Indians preventing anything farther being done.

Then came the "second supply," consisting of sixty emigrants, principally men of gentle birth, and some few Poles, sent over to make pitch, tar, potash, and glass. This crowd were also so meagre, provided by the company that, with the exception of a few who remained guard on James Island, they were dispersed abroad at various places to live on cysters or by begging from the Indians.

Then followed the "third supply," consisting of 700 persons, who, coming without a commander—Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Thomas Dale, and Sir George Somers being wrecked on the Bermuda Islands—proved of a very unruly disposition. Quartered on the island, without any provisions except a little rotten beer and mouldy bread, they fell like locusts upon the small acreage of corn which had been planted, and in three days, at the most, devoured the whole. When on the 20th of May, 1610, Sir Thomas Gates arrived from the Bermudas with 250 men, there were found of 800 persons hitherto imported, but 60 alive! Starvation and disease had done the business for the rest. A final abandonment of the colony was contemplated and the ships with all on board had dropped down the river some distance when the timely arrival of Lord Delaware fixed the settlement again on James Island. (2.)

Lord Delaware mounted two or three canon at the fort, erected several new log houses and built a block house and a new church, which Strachey, his secretary, describes as 60 by 24. (3.) It was in this church, it may be presumed, that Pocahontas was married to John Rolfe in 1614.

But all the structures were at this time so frail that Sir Thomas Dale, in May, 1611, is credited with repairing the "falling church" and storehouse, and digging a new well to amend the bad water of the old. He also built a powder-house, munition-house and bridge, the first in the country. During most of this time the war with the Indians continued uninterruptedly.

When Capt. Samuel Argall arrived, as governor, in 1617, he found, as he reported, things down again, and not above five or six houses at Jamestown fit to be inhabited.

This was the period of martial law established by the Treasurer of the Com-

pany, Sir Thomas Smith, when the colonists were held as servants under a galling tyranny enforced by heartless governors and were not allowed the rights of property. At the close of twelve years from the first settlement there were only ten or twelve houses in Jamestown of the saddest make—the only redeeming feature being a new church of timber, 50 by 20 feet, "built wholly at the charge of the inhabitants."

Beyond the Sandy Bay, in the Pasbeheagh country, there were some few slight houses, and elsewhere, as at Dale's boasted City of Henrico. On Farrar's Island there were some decayed buildings, partly framed and partly brick. (4.)

The administration of the Earl of Southampton, which succeeded Sir Thomas Smith's, produced a marvellous change. The Company in London became the nursery of English liberty. Liberty of property, of labor, and of person was extended in the most ample manner to the colonists, and in the church on James Island, there met July 30, 1610, the first representative body on the continent of America. Twelve years of tyranny and enforced starvation had planted but 400 persons in a total of 10,000 imported. (5.)

Five years of liberty and enlightened government under the great Earl and his friends, the Sandyses and Farrars in England, and Sir George Yardly in Virginia, settled there, despite the Indian massacre, 1252 persons. The log houses that were every year or two tumbling down were substituted in this time by others which, though principally of framed structure, surpassed the best in many towns of England. Not a few of these houses were "both ornamental and useful and fit to give entertainment to men of good quality."

In 1624 there were in Jamestown forty or fifty houses instead of ten or twelve, as in 1619, and "the houses were forty times superior in character." (6.) The greater part of population was now collected at "New Town" on the main island—a much more healthful location than the eastern part.

Of the appearance of the place at this time the following description, derived mainly for the manufacture of beads useful in the Indian trade. Not long before, the sweet singer, George Sandys, had written of the Italians employed in this factory in good, strong prose—"a more damned crew hell never vomited." To promote their return to England, Vincenzo, the foreman, broke the furnace with his crowbar. (7.)

Some of the products of this first American factory may be probably seen in the blue beads and queer bits of old glass still picked up at low tide in the neighborhood of this place. The highway passed from the glass factory across the Sandy Bay near the old powder magazine erected at a later period, then on by the river shore till it reached "New Town" where it divided—one branch running along the river shore towards "Goose Hill," and the other entering into Back street, 143 feet distant from the River street. In "New Town" the first lot known to us was that of Captain Richard Stephens, one of the council, who killed George Harrison in a duel, and whose widow after-

wards married Governor Harvey, just as his son's widow, Frances Culpeper—I mean Samuel Stephens' widow—married Sir William Berkeley. He occupied a lot facing on the river; and behind him was John Chew, a notable merchant and burgess, ancestor of a prominent family in Virginia and Maryland, whose lot faced north on the Back street. Next to Stephens was the lot stretching from street to street, of Capt. Ralph Hamor, another of the council, who wrote an interesting account of Virginia. His neighbor was George Menifie, a rising member of the council, who took part in the arrest of Sir John Harvey in 1635. And next to George Menifie, was Harvey himself—not yet governor. Fronting on the Back street in the rear of Harvey was the residence of Dr. John Pott, the surgeon of the colony—his lot running back to a swamp on Back river, called Doctor's swamp. East of New Town was the park through which a highway—doubtless a continuation of Back street—ran till it passed between Sir George Yardley's lot, and the lots of Capt. Roger Smith and Capt. William Pierce, two noted colonists. Then it passed over the bridge of the dividing swamp into James Island, and through the island down to Black Point, passing, it is supposed, near the early church and the block house erected by Sir Thomas Gates and the "new block house."

In this ancient quarter were the lots of John Lightfoot, yeoman and ancient planter (who came with Sir Thomas Gates in 1610, and of whom the story is told that he had a dancing match with the Devil at a place up the river called "Dancing Point" for the conversion of a piece of marsh into dry land); William Spencer, Yeoman and burgess for Mulberry Island in 1622; Thomas Pasmore, carpenter; John Johnson, yeoman and ancient planter; John Southern, gentleman, burgess from James City in 1622; Gabriel Holland, burgess in 1623, and Rev. Richard Buck—who each had lots or 12 or more acres on ridges bounded by swamps.

The venerable minister, who had vouchsafed God's blessing on the first American Assembly, had on his lot "a dwelling house and another little house," and his lot was separated from John Southern in James Island by a swamp called "Tucker's Hole."

At the further end of James Island, near the block house, Richard Tree, carpenter and burgess for Hog Island in 1627 and '29, Edward Grendon, gent., and Thomas Sully, of "Neck of Land," yeoman and ancient planter, and others, had lots of five or six acres, some of them with houses upon them. This portion of James Island was patented as abandoned about 1652 by Edward Travis, whose descendants long dwelt there and are buried in a grove containing, perhaps, the grave yard attached to the old wooden churches of the early settlers.

The earliest monument there is that of Edward Travis, the son of the patentee, dated 1700, but the absence of earlier tombstones affords no evidence against the antiquity of the place.

According to the census in 1624, the population of James Island was 39, includ-

ing one negro; of James City, or "New Town," 182, including three negroes; of the glass house, 5; of the main beyond, 88; of the Neck of Land, between Powhatan creek and Back river, 25; Archer's Hope, adjoining, 14; Hog Island, 31, and the plantation opposite James City, 77, including one negro. The total population of the colony, as observed before, was 1252. (8.)

So far in the history of the colony only wooden houses with brick chimneys, or the first story brick, had been erected. But the extensive emigration produced by the civil dissensions in England brought many improvements. A law was passed in 1636 which offered the premium of a house spot and garden lot to all who would build in Jamestown Island.

In 1636 John Harvey wrote as follows: "An act was passed last year for a portion of land for a house and garden to be allotted to every person who would build upon it. Twelve houses and stores since built in the town, one of brick, by the Secretary (Richard Kempe), the fairest ever known in this country for substance and uniformity; others have undertaken to build frame houses to beautify the place, consonant to the King's instructions not to suffer slight cottages to be built as heretofore—have largely contributed to the building of a brick church. A levy is raised for building a State House at James City." (9.)

A grant made to John White in 1644 locates the new brick church on main island to the west of his lot which fronted the river bank, adjoined the lot of the State House, and was bounded north by the lot of the minister, Rev. Thomas Hampton.

The State House, as appears by a patent in 1667, consisted of three brick buildings connected, which were each 40 by 20 feet, and were distant from the river high-water mark 67 feet. Berkely granted the west building of the State House to Thomas Ludwell and Thomas Stegge, but as this building is mentioned as "burned and ruined" (10.) in 1671, it is very probable that fire caused the abandonment of all three buildings. This fire must have occurred some years before 1663, since the House of Burgesses complained of having been compelled to meet for some time in an ale-house, and empowered the Governor to press men and material to build a new State House which was effected some time after.

The Virginia planters did not like town life and preferred to build their houses on the rivers and creeks at considerable distances from one another, and even in 1662, when the population had swollen to over 30,000, an act was found necessary for the encouragement of Jamestown.

The Legislature provided that 32 brick houses should be built, 40 by 20 feet, with walls 18 feet high and the roof having a 15-foot pitch, (11.) which doubtless meant 2 stories and a half. As these buildings were really never needed, some of them were never finished, and some so badly put up as to fall down, and by entailing much expense, served as one of the causes of Bacon's Rebellion.

We have a description of the town at this time, 1676, and are told that it con-

tained, besides the brick church and the State House, 12 brick buildings and a considerable number of framed buildings. (12.)

Not all the brick houses were inhabited; and those that were, were used as ordinaries for the entertainment of visitors at the meetings of the courts and assemblies. The house of William Drummond was immediately east of the church, making it an easy matter for Bacon when he landed in the night at Sandy Bay, at the time of his return from his Indian war, to communicate with him.

During the war which ensued between Bacon and Berkeley, Jamestown was destroyed by the former as a military necessity. Richard Lawrence, whose wife kept an ordinary to which people of "the best quality" resorted, set example by firing his house with his own hand. Bacon fired the church. Drummond also fired his house, but he deserves perpetual thanks for saving from the flames the public records, by which we are enabled to know as much as we do of the place.

After Bacon's Rebellion the State House was rebuilt, but a fire accidentally occurred in October, 1699, and it was again reduced to ruins. (13.)

Then the new city of Williamsburg was laid out, and a State building, the finest on the continent at that time, was erected, and given the magnificent title of the Capitol. This succumbed to the inevitable fiery enemy in 1746, and thereupon a fourth State House arose in 1751, made of brick burnt near Williamsburg. (14.)

In fact, I have never seen any evidence in our records to support the theory that any of the colonial houses were made of brick imported from England, as is so often said.

The brick of which the Jamestown church of 1638 was constructed was undoubtedly home manufacture taken from the clay of James Island, where Alexander Stomar, brickmaker, patented an acre of land, near the brick-kiln there mentioned.

The Capitol building erected in 1751, after standing in Williamsburg for eighty-one years, was burnt down in 1832. It was the building in which Patrick Henry uttered his immortal defiance against George III.

Fortunately, in each of these conflagrations the public records were saved. Some were at last burned up in Richmond in 1865, but the land records, perhaps the most important of all that Drummond saved, are still to be seen in the basement of the Capitol in Richmond. But an experience like the past in the matter of fires ought to teach our public authorities how negligent it is—nay, how criminal it is—to permit these invaluable records to lie where they are, when the new Library Building, as the act states in its preamble, was created for the express purpose of making it a depository for the records in the Capitol, which is subject every day to the powers of the mighty destroyer. The Capitol in Richmond has already stood longer than its fated time.

It has been a controverted point whether the church at Jamestown was ever rebuilt after Bacon's Rebellion. Beverley,

who says that Jamestown was "almost deserted" by the removal of the government to Williamsburg, speaks of the burning of the State House in 1698, but does not mention the church. The Rev. Hugh Jones was minister for some time of the church in James City parish, but in his "Present State of Virginia" published in 1724, he says that "Jamestown consisted of an abundance of brick rubbish and three or four good inhabited houses, though the parish is of pretty large extent, but less than others." He mentions no church at Jamestown.

Now, it is well known, that before the Revolution there was a church on the main three miles from Jamestown at which Bishop Madison preached. Some have thought that references to "the church in James City" meant this church. Nor does the alms, basin preserved at the seminary, the gift of Sir Edmond Andros, nor the baptismal font in the possession of the Monumental church, the gift of Martha Jaqueline, the wife of Edward Jaqueline, and of Edward, their son—the first dated 1694, and the second 1733—relieve the doubt, for the inscription upon both might apply to a church at Jamestown, which place was often called "James City," or to a church in James City parish. But the positive evidence in favor of the church's existence is too strong to admit of doubt. The church at Jamestown must have been repaired after the fire in 1676, not only because the place continued for nearly twenty-four years later the seat of the government of the colony, and of the county and parish of James City, and not only because in the grave-yard is the tomb of John Gough, which describes him as "minister of this place" in 1584, but because there are three witnesses who testify directly to its existence some years after this time. The first is the Rev. John Warden, who when asked by the Bishop of London what churches he had preached at in Virginia, replied that in 1712, he preached for six months at the church in Jamestown. Similar inquiry of the Rev. Peter Fontaine evoked the answer that he had preached at Jamestown in 1716; and the Rev. William Le Neve, minister of James city parish, valued his living at Jamestown at £90, as he says in his report to the same party. (15.)

There can be no doubt, then, that the church at Jamestown was repaired after the fire in 1676, but this may still leave the old steeple that is standing, the relic of the first brick church in Virginia, the church of 1638, the legitimate successor of he old sail first put up as an awning. 3

As loth as I am to dispute the claims of the Smithfield church, I am too well acquainted with the backwardness of architecture in the colony to believe, without the most positive evidence, that an outlying settlement, barely a few years old, surrounded by Indians, could vie with the Capitol in producing a brick structure. That church is attributed to one Joseph Bridger, the father of General Joseph Bridger, of Isle of Wight. But no such man appears in the land records or in the records of Norfolk county, adjoining, or, in fact, in any of the contem-

porary records of Virginia. Gen. Joseph Bridger was born in 1631, and the presumption is that his father survived him for some time, and yet his name finds no record—a fact entirely irreconcilable with his supposed importance. The mere impression of the figures 1632 on a brick, without further words, is not sufficient to constitute direct evidence as to the founding of the structure in which it enters. (16.)

The Jamestown church had fallen into ruins before the Revolution, and Thacher reports (17.) but two houses standing in 1781 on the banks of the river. John Tyler, who was present at the celebration in 1807, when Bishop Madison, as President of this College, was the leading figure, wrote of the broken steeple as all that existed then of the building dedicated to God. (18.) Before this time, according to Bishop Meade, John Amler and the Honorable William Lee, of Green Spring, who together owned most of the island, had made out of the mouldering walls of the church and the old church-yard, the present circumscribed enclosure about the tombstones that remained. The area taken in was not over one-third of the old church yard.

In 1822, a second celebration, called a "Jubilee," was held, amid the relics of the ancient settlement, the orators as on the former occasion being students of William and Mary. (19.)

In 1848, Benson J. Lossing visited the place. John Coke, brother of Richard Coke, member of Congress, then owned the island, and Dr. Lossing made a sketch of Sandy Bay from the opposite shore, then 400 yards distant from the island. It is much more now. The view presents the piles of the bridge described as erected at the old crossing, but which had been carried away by a tremendous gale and high tide some time before, submerging nearly the whole island, for three days' keeping Mr. Coke and his family, who resided there, close prisoners, and causing them to use the ornamental trees near the house for fuel in the absence of other material. (20.)

In October, 1856, Bishop Meade visited the place, the only access thereto being by boats across Back river. During this visit, the Bishop, who was accompanied by Dr. Silas Totten, Rev. George H. Wilmer and others, accurately measured the foundation of the church and found it exactly 56 by 28 feet. The tower was conjectured to be 30 feet high, and by actual measurement proved to be 18 feet square. (21.) In Philip Ludwell, of Green Spring, had estimated the washing of the shore above Jamestown for three miles to amount to 100 acres in 30 years. (22.)

Bishop Meade noticed that the destructive work of Powhatan creek, aided by the river, had been much more rapid at the western end of the Island than at the point nearest the church. The patent of Sarah Drummond, wife of the patriot William Drummond, in 1662, calling for 1-2 acre of land on the river, and placing the churchyard on the west, shows that the church must have always stood near the water's edge. The danger comes most threateningly from above where the old Jamestown fort now under water, and the powder magazine lay, and should be con-

sidered, as it no doubt will be, in setting up the water guard.

After Bishop Meade's visit, the causeway from Neck of Land was built by Major William Allen, the then proprietor. In 1807 a celebration attended by 8,000 people was held at Jamestown under the auspices of the old Jamestown Society, at which John Tyler was the orator and James Barron Hope was the poet. The Governor, Henry A. Wise, was present and delivered an eloquent address. (23.)

During the war of 1861 the Island was fortified by the Confederate forces, but on their abandonment of the Peninsula it was held by the Federal forces.

The rest of the history of the place is familiar to many present. When the college of William and Mary was reorganized in 1888, one of the earliest celebrations attempted by the faculty and students was held in the very shadow of the old tower. Then came the magnificent act of Mr. and Mrs. Edward E. Barney, presenting 22 1-2 acres of land, including church-yard, to the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities finally followed, through the splendid energy of some of the members of that body, what had long been desired—a grant from Congress at its last session, of a suitable appropriation to prevent the future ravages of the waters. We can see the work intended to attain this object going on about us under the competent superintendency of Major Goodwin. The strong rock is lining the shore of the river, and we may rejoice that the subtle waters will beat in vain upon its frozen face.

Hither the pilgrim may come in years far distant to behold some last sign of those who laid the foundation-stone of this great republic. Yonder broken steeple will ring out peels of inspiration to generations of posterity. Around this "old cradle of an infant world" in which "a nestling empire lay," The genius of philosophy, the spirit of romance, and the muse of poetry, as has been aptly said, will delight to linger.

The statesman will find suggestive thoughts in the labors of John Smith, of Sir Thomas Dale, Sir George Yardley, Sir Francis Wyat, John Utie, R. Richard Bennett, William Claiborne, Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., and Col. Francis Morsan. Pocahontas will chase imagination into fairy tales as long as yonder steeple stands; and down the centuries will come in rippling verses, like music of the waters by the church-yard, the songs of George Sandys, whom Dryden pronounced the best versifier of his age, and who resided here in the infancy of the settlement.

Our college is favored above all others in being situated in this most historic portion of the State. It is impossible that the student can live in the presence of these and similar associations without being inspired by them. Well did John Gcode ask in Congress—"Where else upon this continent will you find such associations to quicken the pulse and inspire the heart of the young with all those elevating principles and lofty desires which make ambition virtue?"

The life of each man is like a block of marble, waiting for the monumental in-

scription, and it is the inspiration born of such localities as these that may cut the letters deep. Come when the inspiration may, be like the sculptor boy in the verses, ready for action:

"Chisel in hand, stood a sculptor boy,
With a marble block before him,
And his face lit up with a smile of joy,
As an angel dream passed o'er him.
He carved that dream in the shapeless stone,

With many a sharp incision,
With Heaven's own light the sculpture shone—

He had caught that angel vision."

"Children of life are we as we stand,
With our lives uncarved before us,
Waiting the hour when at God's command
Our life-dream passes o'er us.

If we carve it then in shapeless stone,
With many a sharp incision,
Its Heavenly beauty will be our own,
Our lives, that angel vision."

NOTES.

1. Meade's Old Churches.
2. "A brief declaration of the plantation, &c."
3. William Strachey's History of Tra-vaile in Virginia Brittainia.
2. "A Brief Declaration of the Planta-tion, &c."
5. Stith, citing original documents.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Neill's Virginia Vetusta.
8. Hotten's Immigrants.
9. Calendar of Colonial State Papers.
10. Conway Robinson's Notes from Rec-ords in the Old General Court Office.
11. Henning's Statutes, Vol. 2
12. Report of the Royal Commissioners—Sainsbury Mss., Anne Cotton says 16 or 18 brick buildings, and she omits men-tion of any framed houses which must have been, as the commissioners said "considerable" in number.
13. Beverley's History of Virginia; Campbell.

14. John Blair's Diary, Mss.

15. Perry's Historical Collections—Vir-ginia.

16. See R. S. Thomas's Narrative re-garding Smithfield Church, in Vol. II., Virginia Historical Society Collections.

17. Thacher's Military Journal.

18. Sprague's Annals of the American church, Vol. V, containing sketch of Bishop Madison.

19. At the celebration in 1807, orations were made by Briscoe G. Baldwin, after-wards a judge, and John Madison, and odes by C. K. Blanchard and Leroy Ander-son—all students.

At the celebration in 1822 the orators were also students. William Barton Rog-ers, Robert Saunders, and Mr. McCree-ry, the first two of whom were after-wards distinguished professors in the Col-lege. (See Richmond Enquirer of those days, and Richmond Dispatch of May 12, 1895, which contains an excellent ac-count.)

20. Field Book of the Revolution, by Benson J. Lossing.

21. Meade's Old Churches, &c.

22. Ludwell Mss., in Virginia Historical Society Library.

23. Southern Literary Messenger. The first pictorial representation of the James-town tower appeared in a magazine issued at Richmond in 1805, by Lopis H. Girar-din, sometime Professor of Modern Lan-guages, History and Geography in Wil-liam and Mary College, later a teacher in a Female Seminary in Richmond, and who wrote also the continuation of Burk's History of Virginia. This magazine, alike pretentious in title and form, died with its first numbers. It was in quarto, with six fine plates colored among them the Jamestown tower. The engravings were by Frederick Bosler, and the title of the publication was "Amenitates Graphicae," with other descriptive words. R. A. Brock has a copy of this rare work.

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