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Thesis

"OF CHUSINGE AND TAKINGE SOME PLACE OF ADVANTAGE, AND THERE TO MAKE SOME PALLYSADOES": ATLANTIC CONNECTIONS AT THE NANSEMOND FORT, VIRGINIA

by

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ABSTRACT

English colonization of Virginia has been characterized as boldly intrusive, spreading out quickly from the first toehold at Jamestown into the hinterlands and leading to open hostility with native peoples almost from the start. The tactics used and methods employed in colonizing Virginia were not new; many of the Jamestown venturers were themselves involved in plantation efforts in the late 16th/early 17th centuries in Ireland. While it has long been known that there are direct historical links among individuals at Jamestown and other Virginia Company Period (1607 – 1624) sites to Irish plantations, historical archaeology in Ireland and elsewhere in southeastern Virginia is producing evidence that there are more Irish influences on the 17th -century colonial project than previously thought. Using archaeological evidence from the Nansemond Fort (44SK192), a c.1637 inland fortified bawn in Suffolk, Virginia, I posit that architectural evidence indicates a fort plan similar to forts from the same period in Ireland. By contextualizing the Nansemond Fort in a comparative framework with English plantation sites in Ireland, a clearer picture of the influence and adaptations that these earlier colonial ventures had on the development of Virginia emerges and permits the consideration of the agency of individuals to shape the Virginia landscape based on their previous colonial experiences.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

On a cool spring evening in April of 1734, the clerk of the Tidewater Virginia county of Nansemond prepares to turn in for the evening. In his house are the records of the county, including land patents, deeds, and census details dating back to 1646 when Nansemond was incorporated and first sent representatives to the governing council at Jamestown. Later that night, the clerk awakens to find his house in flames; he salvages what few belongings and records he can, but most are lost in the conflagration. The documents that do survive this first fire are destined to be involved in two more blazes: the Nansemond County record office burns when the British Army fires the town of Suffolk on May 13, 1779, and on February 7, 1866, the courthouse holding the records mysteriously catches fire (Luccketti 2007: 3).

One hundred and twenty-two years after the 1866 fire, contract archaeologists surveying 1400 acres of land for a proposed business park development in Suffolk, Virginia, came across a heavy concentration of artifacts dating to the second quarter of the 17th century. Prompting further investigation, archaeologists uncovered the remains of a palisade, which enclosed five buildings, measuring about an acre in size. The palisade and buildings were earthfast—a technique of impermanent construction in which wooden framing supports were put into postholes or trenches with earth packed around them, not supported by stone or masonry footings, like many other buildings in colonial

Virginia. Though the earthfast construction of the site was not unique, the layout of the site was. Closely resembling early Virginia Company Period (1607–1624) settlements and private "particular" plantations found in the Chesapeake and elsewhere, the site represented a form of vernacular fortification, with features that suited both agricultural and defensive needs. Though only seven other 17th-century fortifications are known archaeologically in Virginia, the plans differ, but construction is the same; palisades of light timbers set in narrow trenches. Naming it the Nansemond Fort[1], archaeologists excavated the site in its entirety from 1988–1990, determining an occupation range of c. 1635–1680, based on diagnostic artifacts and documentary sources. When the fieldwork was done and the finds catalogued, there were more questions than answers regarding the site and its occupants. Who owned the land on which the fort was constructed? Why was the settlement located in the midst of a territory whose occupants were known to be openly hostile to English encroachment at the time of the site's habitation? What parallels exist for the fort's plan? While probing for details, historians searched the colonial records of Nansemond County (now City of Suffolk), as well as Upper/Lower Norfolk

[1] In this thesis the site name "Nansemond Fort" will be used throughout the work. The reference assigned by the Virginia Department of Historic Resources is 44SK192, and the site has been referred to at times as the "Harbour View Fort", a modern-place name applied to the settlement. A document from Lower Norfolk County dating to 1667 makes reference to a formal, coastal fortification called the Nansemond Fort—"October 15, 1667. Ordered that Lt. Col. Willoughby and Mr. Fulcher be authorized and appointed to meete the Commissioners of the association for Nansemond Fort the 29th of October and to Act according to the Act of Assembly for building the Fort there" (Billings 1975: 125). This work was built in 1675 at a location at the Nansemond River's mouth at a location called "New Dursely" or "Currawaugh" (see p. 38, this text). The location and construction of this formal fortification do not match the archaeological evidence for the "Nansemond Fort" referred to in my research, but I have retained the name given by the archaeologists who excavated the site since that name has been used in several publications. I strongly suggest that a more appropriate name for the site be applied in the future.

Counties. Documents housed in the British Public Records Office, early Virginia legislature minutes, and ethnohistorical accounts of settlement in the Nansemond River basin were also investigated, but the search was unsuccessful—no mentions were made of a fort, or plans to build one (McCartney 1990: 1).

To date, the interpretation of the Nansemond Fort remains largely unexplored. The excavated site is known primarily through three published sources (Hodges 1993, 2009; Kelso, Luccketti, and Straube 1999) that address the form and function of the fort; two journal articles (Graham 2003; Graham et al. 2007) that briefly describe some of the site's buildings, and unpublished reports (Luccketti 2007; McCartney 1990). Since the Nansemond Fort's discovery in 1988, many more 17th-century sites have been excavated in the Chesapeake, and correspondingly, additional work has been done on the region's historiography. Revisiting the Nansemond Fort site with this fresh perspective brings not only new literature to bear, but also offers a broader framework for the site's temporal context. As archaeologist James Deetz has noted, in order to better comprehend features and material culture found in the colonial Chesapeake, a global perspective should be adopted because the "English emigrants who had come to the New World for a variety of reasons, brought with them a blueprint—in their minds—for recreating a culture they had left behind" (Deetz 1996: 58). Historical archaeology of the colonial Chesapeake has the potential to be informed by colonial English archaeologies in Europe, the Caribbean, South America, and North Africa, all of which can offer substantial contributions to site interpretation.

Some English colonial constructs—fortifications, notions of space, and plantation structure— brought to Virginia in the 17th century have precedent in English colonial ventures in Ireland, through the Munster Plantations of 1584–1598 and 1604–1641 in the southeast, and the Londonderry (Ulster) Plantation of 1609–1641 in the north (Delle 1999: 13; MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986; Reps 1972: 8–13). The brazenly forward English thrusts into Ireland parallel subsequent colonizing efforts in Virginia, with many of the same individuals providing funds for business ventures in both colonies, in addition to maintaining residences on both sides of the Atlantic (Canny 1978: 34; Horning 2006: 188; Noël Hume 1982; Reps 1972). One point of comparison between English colonial projects in North America and Ireland that has received a significant amount of attention is the role of fortifications, notably in the form of the bawn. The bawn was a native Irish enclosed compound used primarily for controlling cattle that was used as a means of fortification for English planters who settled in Munster and Ulster in the 16th and 17th centuries. In this new context, the bawn became "a fortified homestead for people and goods" that was quasi-military in nature, symbolic in defining personal space and one's own property (St. George 1990: 244). Private fortifications such as the bawn are not formal military installations, and likely were part of colonial Virginia's frontier landscape during the 17th century, transported by settlers who had experience in English colonial projects, also on the frontier.

Daniel Gookin Sr. was one such adventurer who was involved in the Munster Plantation, but sought to enrich and diversify his investments by starting a plantation in

Virginia. Gookin Sr.'s inter-colonial ties were passed on to his son, Daniel Gookin Jr., who took up a large land grant in the vicinity of the Nansemond Fort in 1641, sponsoring the transportation of servants, cattle, and other foodstuffs from Ireland. Following several years of residence in Virginia, Gookin Jr. moved briefly to Maryland, and then permanently to Massachusetts where he was both a civil servant and military officer until his death in 1687. Through his involvement in inter-colonial and trans-Atlantic trade, Daniel Gookin Jr.'s influence on the Nansemond Fort's form, artifact assemblage, and occupants, can be seen to have left an impression on the lower Chesapeake region, as well as on New England when we attempt to understand the career trajectory of this Atlantic "cosmopolitan" within a broader comparative colonial context.

With the emergence of an Atlantic context as a framework to inform early American history, the biographies of colonial "globetrotters" or "cosmopolitans" suggest new ways of linking North American colonies to the rest of the world. Historian Alison Games has demonstrated that hundreds of English adventurers moved about the globe in the 16th and 17th centuries, attempting business ventures which might succeed or fail, in many far-flung locations (Games 2006: 680). These individuals were not bound to stay in one place, and the accumulated experiences they gathered from each place had a bearing on the decisions made when they arrived somewhere new. When the perspective of the cosmopolitan is considered, "historians can understand how settlements developed as they did and the specific ways in which the weight of prior knowledge and expectations helped and hindered new ventures" (Games 2006: 680). For archaeologists, the

cosmopolitan perspective helps to conceptualize the people, buildings, and artifacts, enabling us to integrate discrete site data into a single story.

This thesis contextualizes the Nansemond Fort by exploring how it fits within the English colonial framework of Ireland and Virginia, noting the influences of Daniel Gookin, Jr. on the site's occupants and landscape. Emphasis is on the first 15 years of occupation on the site, a period that can be derived on the basis of closely-dated archaeological deposits into three distinct phases illustrative of adaptive colonial responses to internal and external pressures in the Chesapeake region and abroad. The link between Daniel Gookin Jr. and the Nansemond Fort is bolstered by documents compiled by New England merchants that relate Gookin's coastwise business ventures following his move from Virginia to Massachusetts, shedding light on the regional development of trading patterns and the economy of the southside of the James River, which had a large Puritan population with inter-colonial ties. Seventeenth-century Virginia's English population understood that they were part of a world vastly larger than the Chesapeake, and many adventurers who settled in Virginia used their experiences in other colonizing ventures to shape the new colony. The Nansemond Fort site serves as a case study of adaptations made to Virginia's English landscape from knowledge gained in other colonies, manifested through the archaeological record.

Research Methods

Colonial Virginia's archaeological and historical past is rich, but some areas remain poorly understood because of the destruction of many of the earliest primary documents. Of the eight Virginia counties incorporated between 1607 and 1634, six are classified as Burned Record Counties, meaning that their colonial and post-colonial records are very sparse or non-existent. What is more, nine counties founded post-1634 are classified the same way, indicative of a fragmentary record of historical ties to people and the land they occupied. Virginia historian Martha McCartney conducted the initial historical research on the property on which the Nansemond Fort site once stood, providing an important primary step in narrowing down its potential occupants (McCartney 1990). Historians have noted that counties on the southside of the James River developed differently from other Virginia counties, chiefly in that they did not rely solely on tobacco for economic support. Cultivation of corn and the raising of cattle and hogs led to the export of these items to multiple places like New England, New Netherland, and the English and Dutch Caribbean (Fig. 1) (Fausz 1971: 22; Hatfield 2004: 220). This being the case, I adopt two contexts for this study—Atlantic and regional—to allow me to embrace a wide range of relevant evidence into the interpretation of the site.

Recent work by historians (Hatfield 1999, 2004; Games 1999, 2006: 675–692, 2008; van Zandt 1994: 51–76) on 17th-century inter-colonial and trans-Atlantic histories have recognized that particular colonizing situations—culture contact, commodity production, plantation establishment, and labor systems involving slavery—had little or

no English precedent. Inter-colonial interaction allowed for a communication of adaptations and ways to cope with new colonial environments, leading to a hybridized society, in which certain aspects remained familiar, while others were drastically different. Attempts to flesh this out through the archaeological record must recognize that

> colonial cultures are complex mixtures of their original parts, where these parts do not remain separate from each other but blend into something new. The hybrid nature of a colonial culture means that all participants in that culture, colonizers and colonized, have vital inputs into structures of power, domination, and resistance that result. (Gosden 2001: 243)

This notion of hybridization has been applied to the Chesapeake with its large sample size of archaeological sites from the 17th century to draw upon. As Graham et al. have noted,

> the successive waves of immigrants from across England brought cultural traditions and ideas that were archaic or progressive to the Chesapeake colonies. Thus old as well as new English ideas constantly refreshed the storehouse of solutions to the problems of getting along on the Chesapeake frontier. There was indeed a winnowing process and an adaptive one by which serviceable ideas were selected, modified, and creatively transformed. Yet the mix was ever subject to additions from abroad and always changed by local conditions, including the aspirations and prejudices of the colonists. Some immigrants may have been traditionalists by temperament, but were forced to be improvisers out of necessity. (Graham et al. 2007: 518)

Adaptations took many different forms, and many of these are reflected in the Nansemond Fort's form, the buildings and their construction sequence, and artifact assemblage. The site's occupation span from 1635–1680 provides a window for seeing the archaeological remains of localized adaptations, and the process of determining what worked best for the changing situations.

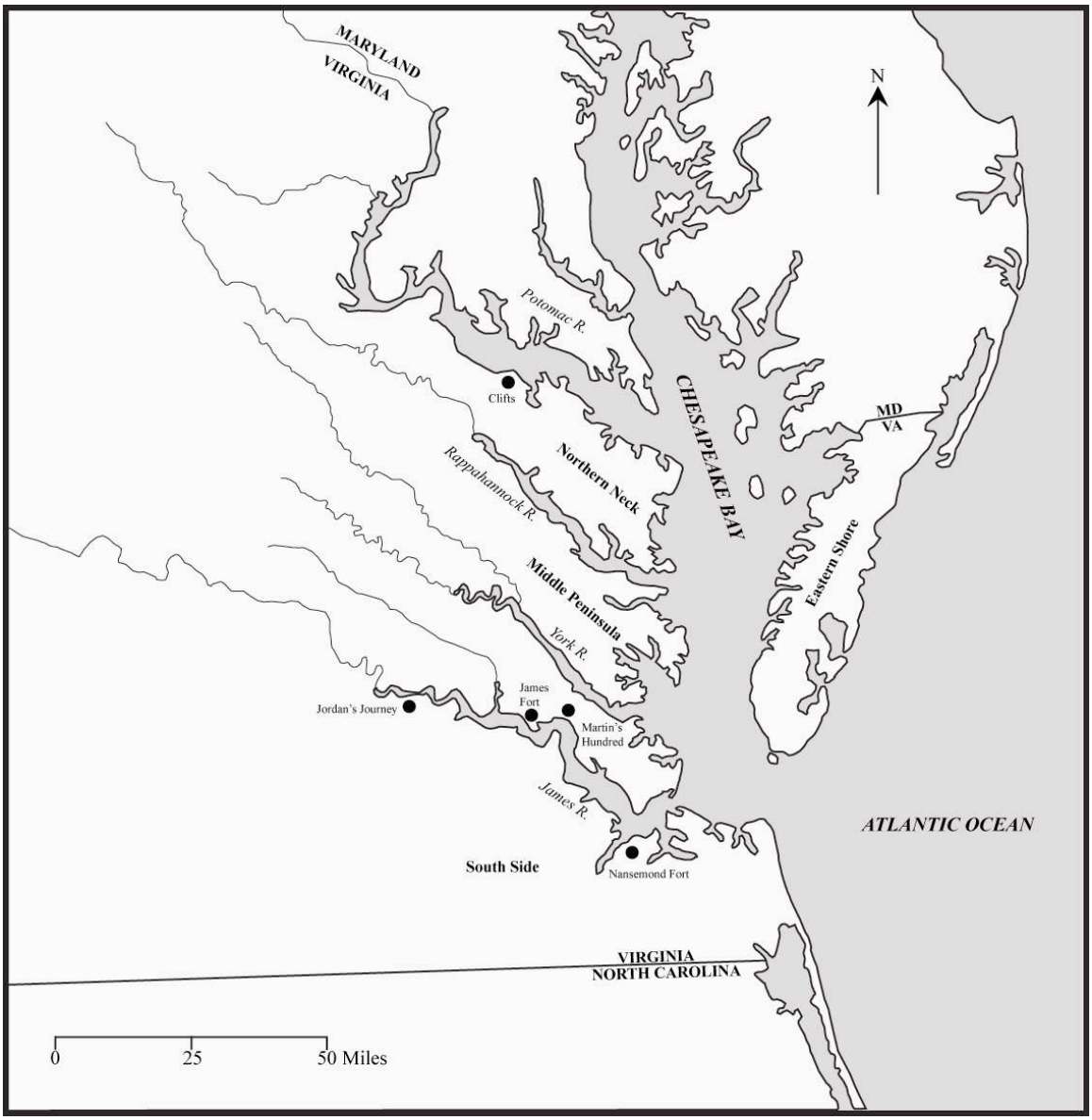

Figure 1. Map of study area with regions and 17th-century sites referred to in the text. (graphic by author)

Corresponding to regional history, individual biographies are also essential to amplify discrete archeological features that represent adaptive colonial processes. Historian Alison Games notes that through investigation of individuals' biographies, the researcher can construct broader Atlantic contexts to determine why certain choices were made by or on behalf of colonial adventurers to the Chesapeake (Games 2006). In the case of archaeological sites in colonial Virginia, the first and second quarters of the 17th century contain features and artifacts that are difficult to interpret, as archaeological parallels oftentimes do not exist. Colonist biographies have much to offer for perplexing interpretations, as these biographies present

> some new ways to think about the interaction of the Atlantic and other ocean basins and encourage efforts to use the experiences of such individuals to integrate discrete pieces of the globe into a single story. That single story has four distinct elements: geography, trade, accumulated experience, and imperial origins. Each element offers a different context for North American ventures, connecting these experiments to other English probes in different parts of the world. By considering places and people in tandem, historians can understand how settlements developed as they did and the specific ways in which the weight of prior knowledge and expectations helped and hindered new ventures. (Games 2006: 680)

In the Nansemond Fort site's region, surviving documents consist primarily of land patents, and thus cannot stand alone, just as the site plan and artifacts themselves cannot point to a precise occupant on their own (Langhorne and Babits 1988: 132). A parallel archaeological investigative example of applying a regional approach to the archaeological data and the documentary evidence was demonstrated by archaeologists Langhorne and Babits (1988). Their survey of Rockbridge County, Virginia dealt with a similar situation to that experienced by researchers in the Upper Norfolk/Nansemond County records: Rockbridge County's documents had been destroyed by fire in 1787,

1796, 1864, and 1890, and most historians considered them almost hopeless for an accurate historical reconstruction. Adopting a synthetic strategy of research rather than a focus on a single site, Langhorne and Babits focused the documentary research on neighbor relationships, ownership and occupation of adjoining plots of land, and the transfer of land through generations, discovering that, "it is through the analysis of the region that the interrelationships among landowners and their relatives could be determined and a picture of one aspect of their lives made clearer" (Langhorne and Babits 1988: 133). Implementation of this strategy provided the underpinning for my own documentary research on the Nansemond Fort site and allowed me to formulate more specific questions to answer with the archaeological record and documents. The identities of people living on and near the site were recorded in land patent records, when they arrived in Virginia, if they were transported as servants, or if, on the other hand, they themselves transported servants, as well as the names of adjacent property owners. With a record of the people in the region established, other fragments of information emerged from court and shipping records, shedding light on whom they interacted with, and how they may have used past colonial experiences to adapt to Virginia.

Following the advice of historian Jon Kukla, I directed my research towards the Puritan population of Nansemond, Upper Norfolk, and Lower Norfolk Counties during the 1640s/1650s, and their trading relationships with other colonies, primarily Massachusetts Bay and New Netherland (Jon Kukla, pers. communication, 2005). This religious connection led to a search for records related to Nansemond planter Daniel

Gookin Jr., who as a Puritan, used his connections to make a permanent move from Virginia to Massachusetts in 1643. Gookin Jr. retained his Virginia plantations following his move, and evidence strongly suggests that he involved his Virginia acquaintances in his inter-colonial trade as well (Hatfield 2004: 105). The Aspinwall Notarial Records of 1644–1651, a collection of shipping records from colonial Boston, contains records relating to Gookin Jr. and his coastwise trading with planters in the Nansemond (Aspinwall 1644–1651[1903]); this body of records provided a source of data illustrating Gookin's inter-colonial connectedness, and revealed what items were being shipped through the coasting trade.

With the promising lead of searching for sources related to Gookin Jr. outside of Virginia documents, I made additional inquires into primary documents related to Gookin's religious and military activities in New England (Gookin 1674; Hatfield 2004; McCarl 1991; Pulsipher 1996). I also queried primary and secondary sources related to the Gookin family and its participation as landlords in Ireland during the Munster Plantation for connections (Canny 2001; Gookin, Frederick 1912; Gookin, Vincent 1655; MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986). Daniel Gookin Sr.'s successful plantings in Ireland enabled his participation in efforts in Virginia, in turn allowing him to leave his two sons, Daniel Jr. and John, substantial holdings in Virginia upon his death (Gookin 1912: 57). The story of the Gookin family's involvement in Ireland and North America that began to emerge from the documentary record was not unlike the case studies of cosmopolitans

and globetrotters researched by Games, allowing me to construct an Atlantic context to apply to the Nansemond Fort's interpretation.

To apply the historical framework to the excavated site, I gathered the archaeological data—field and artifact photographs, site maps, draft reports, and artifacts—into a GIS database for easier management. In 1988 the land where the Nansemond Fort stood was slated for the development of Harbour View, a residential/business complex encompassing roughly 1400 acres that included a golf course, gated residential community, hospital, corporate headquarters, and shopping center. Archaeologists with the James River Institute for Archaeology conducted Phase I pedestrian survey and shovel testing of the tract, locating several 17th and 18th-century sites. One site, designated 44SK192 (Nansemond Fort), had a large surface concentration of early 17th-century artifacts and was shovel-tested to locate associated features. This survey proved unproductive, as modern earth-moving activity, including military training exercises from the nearby decommissioned Pig Point Ordnance Depot during World War II, had mixed soils from other locations with the plowzone (Nick Luccketti, pers. communication 2009). Backhoe trenching exposed several 17th-century features, such as borrow pits, building posthole patterns, and a palisade, leading to more trenching. The nature of the findings—chiefly the prospect of exposing a palisaded settlement—led to a commitment by the owners of Harbour View to provide 50 percent of the funds to conduct excavations, with the Commonwealth of Virginia providing the rest. Intensive backhoe trenching that revealed the rest of the palisade and the entire fortified compound

was completed in 1988, and some additional fieldwork on features within and around the palisaded fort took place from 1990–1992 (Luccketti 2007: 1). All features on the site were mapped and assigned individual excavation register numbers. Feature fill was screened through one-quarter inch hardware cloth, profiles and plans were drawn, and features were photographed.

Following the fieldwork, a budget crisis caused state funds to be rescinded. These funds were earmarked for laboratory analysis and preparation of a final report, activities that could take place in the absence of funds. The artifact collection remained in the possession of the James River Institute for Archaeology, in storage, but was later accessioned by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA) in 1996. A 1999 study of Jamestown and its hinterland created renewed interest in the Nansemond Fort site and collection, which prompted the principal investigator to prepare a draft report (Luccketti 1999). I became aware of the Nansemond Fort site and collection in 2002, when I digitized the site basemap for the James Cittie and Beyond (JCAB) project, an initiative sponsored by APVA Jamestown Rediscovery with the aim of compiling a GIS database of 24 excavated 17th-century sites in Virginia. Though the JCAB project was never completed my own work on the Nansemond Fort GIS database was inspired by it. I re-catalogued the site's collection in 2008–2009, at which point I was able to match the partial artifact catalogue to the finds, verify it, and catalogue the remaining artifacts. This was digitally recorded in a Microsoft Access database, and linked to an ESRI ArcGIS map of the site plan. I assigned master contexts to all features,

which provides the primary key that links the artifact catalogue to the GIS database. Assembling all associated site information into a single database positioned my analysis because the database serves, in essence, as an interactive site report; master contexts could be queried, grouped together by chronology, and linked to photographs and textual descriptions. This allowed me to produce not just detailed maps of all phases of the site, but also to interpret all finds within accurate spatial and temporal contexts (see Chapter 4).

In the following chapters, I will explore how the Nansemond Fort was linked to English colonial projects from an Atlantic perspective, as informed by archaeological, biographical, and historical data. Chapter 2 focuses on the biographies of Daniel Gookin Sr. and Jr. as cosmopolitan in their pursuits, summarizing their involvements in the Munster Plantation, Virginia, and Massachusetts. The role of Daniel Gookin Jr. as a planter who had experience as a military officer, civil servant, and businessman is critical to the interpretation of the site and sheds light on the development of the Nansemond region. Situating the site and landowners within a historical context will follow in Chapter 3, with an overview of the Nansemond region from 1607 to 1680. Chapter 4 presents an examination of the archaeological fieldwork and chronology of the site. Building functions and site development shaped by Gookin Jr., the surrounding landowners, economic activity, and historical events will be considered in light of comparative archaeological work in Virginia. After establishing the biographical, regional, and archaeological contexts of the Nansemond Fort, in Chapter 5 I discuss the

scholarly work on bawns in North America, assessing the applicability of using that terminology for this study. Concluding this thesis, I will present in Chapter 6 my interpretation of the site in a comparison with English colonial projects in Ireland, suggesting directions for further research.

Chapter 2

"Mr. Gookin out of Ireland wholy upon his owne Adventure…"

Situating Daniel Gookin Sr. and Jr. within an Atlantic historical context is challenging because of the way that their biographies have been treated in the past—either obscured in singular colonial histories, or portrayed as just one of many adventurers in a vast, colonial system. Alison Games has effectively used the biographies of colonial cosmopolitans to visualize the English colonial story in a global context, finding that when an individual's career takes center stage, the obscuring histories become only "one chapter in a larger story" (Games 2006: 679). This biographical approach can be applied to Daniel Gookin Sr. and Jr., both of whom have been minimally represented in the colonial histories of the Munster Plantation, Virginia, and Massachusetts. Historian Frederick Gookin has written the sole biographies of both Gookin Sr. and Jr. (Gookin 1912). This work is exemplary in that it credits both father and son as playing significant roles in colonial development, but is most heavily focused on Gookin Jr. in Massachusetts. This chapter's emphasis will be placed on the colonial experiences and interests of the Gookins in Ireland and Virginia, beginning in 1606 and ending in 1670.

Daniel Gookin, Sr.

The Gookin family's interest in Ireland began in 1606 when Vincent Gookin (older brother of Daniel Sr.) engaged in the pilchard fishing industry, moving from the

family seat in Kent, England to Courtmascherry, County Cork, which was part of the Munster Plantation (Gookin 1912: 29). Vincent Gookin's involvement coincided with the reestablishment of the second Munster Plantation; the first had been largely destroyed by rebellion in 1598, which for the most part had been subdued by 1605 (MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986: 137). Vincent quickly amassed a great fortune, and as the third son, was content to remain in Munster. Encouraged by his brother's success, in 1616 Daniel Gookin Sr. sold his holdings in Kent, and for 1,600 pounds purchased the castle and lands of Carrigaline, 7 miles southeast of the City of Cork (Fig. 2) (Gookin 1912: 31).

Carrigaline had been within the territory of Gerald Fitzgerald, 15th Earl of Desmond, who controlled a semi-feudal domain in southwestern Ireland. Fitzgerald had an ongoing land dispute with rival family members, leading to regional unrest and displacing peasant populations, prompting the English to become involved in restoring order in 1579 (MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986: 4). Fitzgerald and his allies entered into conflict with the English leading to two years of warfare, resulting in Fitzgerald's eventual defeat and capture. His lands were carved up amongst English undertakers following his suppression, leading to the establishment of the Munster Plantation in 1583. Composed of 6,000 acres, Carrigaline came into the possession of Sir Warham St. Legar in 1595, along with adjacent lands and fishing rights (presumably pilchard) at Anweldie and Croshaven (Gookin 1912: 31; MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986: 291). St. Legar's son divested himself of his father's Munster holdings in 1613 when he conveyed the property to Thomas Petley, who in turn sold it to Gookin Sr. three years later.

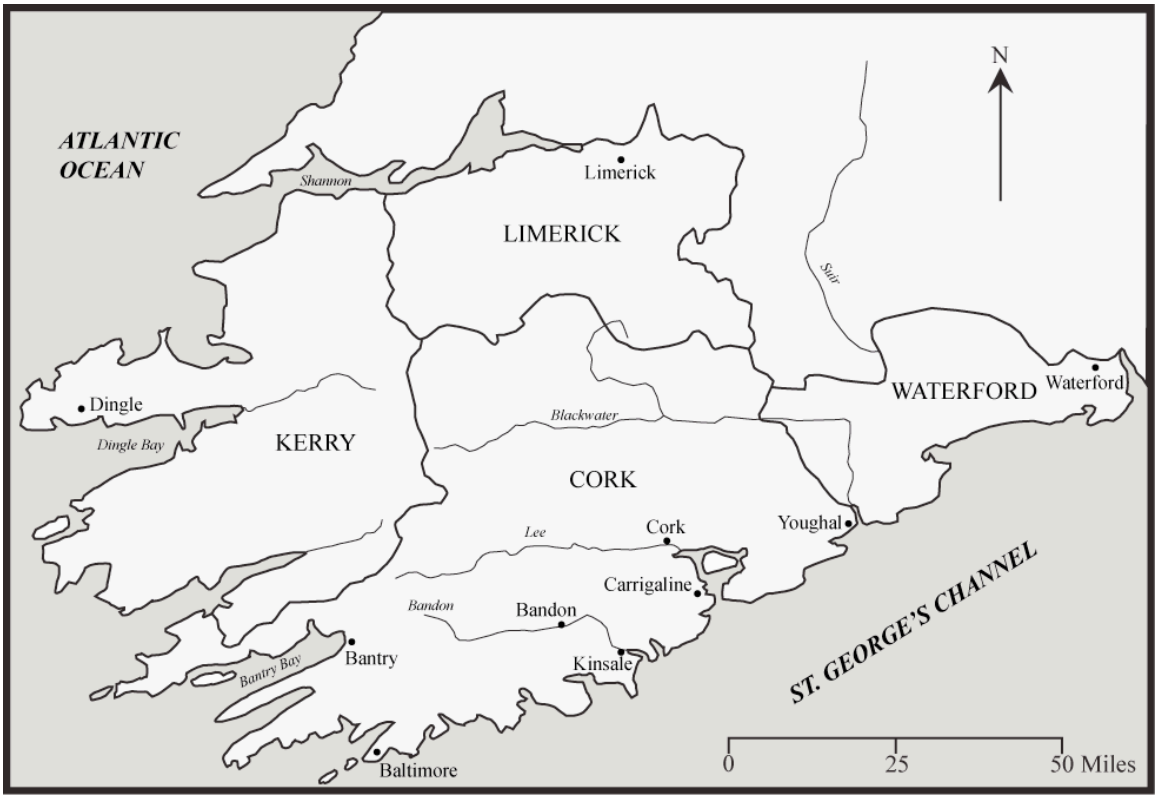

Figure 2. Regional map of the Munster Plantation lands, southwest Ireland, with towns mentioned in the text and the location of Carrigaline. (from MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986; graphic by author).

Problems arose with the grant in 1617 when a property dispute with Robert Boyle, Earl of Cork, led Gookin Sr. "with force and armes" to reclaim control of a portion of the estate that Boyle had encroached upon. Boyle, one of the most powerful men in Munster, was a force to be reckoned with, and it seems Gookin Sr. was willing to make some concessions. He sold the lands of Carrigaline to Boyle in 1618, but remained seated at the manor with his family, for which he negotiated a 21-year lease (Gookin 1912: 34). Gookin Sr.'s business pursuits were primarily grounded in cattle and hog husbandry, and likely pilchard fishing, as he retained the fishing rights in his lease.

Historian Frederick Gookin suggests that the sale of Carrigaline enabled Daniel Gookin Sr. to invest in other plantation schemes and to purchase shares in the Virginia Company (Gookin 1912: 34). In 1619, Daniel Sr. invested in planting County Longford (central Ireland) which was populated by Irish lords and their tenants who were gradually stripped of their land by English planters. It appears that Gookin Sr. never occupied the tract he was allotted, which he sold on April 5, 1620 (Gookin 1912: 36). While the precise motivations for Daniel Gookin Sr.'s involvement in the Virginia Company are unknown as he was already securely invested in Ireland, several transportation voyages of settlers and cattle to the colony in November of 1621 won him many friends amongst the Virginia governing elite.[2] In return the Company conveyed

[2] Governor Wyatt's account, written to his father, of Daniel Gookin Sr.'s arrival was one of hope and excitement: "There arrived here about the 22th of Noevember a ship from Mr. Gookin out of Ireland wholy upon his owne Adventure, without any relatione at all to his contract wth you in England, wch was soe well furnished with all sorts of p'visione, as well as with Cattle as wee could wyshe all men woul follow theire

> unto m^{r} Gookin declaringe that their intent and meaninge was it itt shall be lawfull and ffree for him and his ffacto^{rs} to Trade barter and sell all such Comodities hee shall carry thither att such rates and prizes as hee shall thinke good and for his Cattle shall receive either of the Governor or any pryvate persons any of the Comodities there growinge att such prizes as he cann agree; And lastly y^{t} accordinge to m^{r} Gookins request in his said lre they had promised y^{t} hee should have a Pattent for a pticullar Plantacon as large as y^{t} granted to S^{r} William Newce and should allso have liberty to take 100 Hoggs out of the fforest upon condicon that hee repay the said nomber againe unto the Company within the tearme of seaven years; Provided that hee use them for breed and encrease and not for present slaughter. (Kingsbury 1906 v. 1: 501–502)

This arrangement with the Company provided Gookin Sr. the land upon which he seated his plantation called Marie's Mount in the Corporation of Elizabeth Cittie in August of 1621.

Records indicate that his family stayed behind in Ireland, though his sons Daniel Jr. and John joined him in Virginia in 1630, and so were not present for the March 1622 "massacre." The 1622 uprising was a coordinated attack by Native American tribes in Virginia on the more isolated English settlements that resulted in the deaths of one-third of the colonial population. Following the attack, the governing council at Jamestown ordered that all plantations in the hinterland be abandoned and the remaining population congregated at five or six larger, fortified areas (Gookin 1912: 43). Maries' Mount had been attacked during the raid, but because he had adequately fortified his holdings, "only Master Gookins at Nuport's-news would not obey the Commissioners' command in that, though he scarce had five and thirty of all sorts with him, yet he thought himself sufficient against what could happen, and so did, to his great credit, and the content of his

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example, hee hath also brought with him aboute 50 men upon that Adventure, besides some 30 other Passengers, wee have Accordinge to their desire seated them at Newports news, and we doe conceive great hope yff the Irish Plantation pspr yt frome Irelande greate multitude of People wilbe like to come hither" (Gookin 1912: 40).

Adventurers" (Gookin 1912: 43). Frederick Gookin postulated that the Marie's Mount plantation was palisaded or fortified in some manner, but fortifications are absent from the Muster of 1624/5. Also of note,

> among the manuscripts found in the possession of the Duke of Manchester is a letter from William Hobart to his father, in which it is stated that Mr. Gookin, at whose house Governor Wyatt and his wife were staying, had but seven men left, that it was unsafe to go out to labour without an armed guard, that there had been a second massacre of between twenty and thirty persons. (Gookin 1912: 43)

Though the attack weakened his plantation, Gookin Sr. seems to have taken precautionary measures for the safety of the remaining colonists residing there. The fact that after 1622, Daniel Gookin, Sr. remained on his plantation and continued to cultivate tobacco while many of his peers could not, served to enrich him further by providing him with funds that he used to transport more settlers to Virginia and to obtain additional land patents. Upon his death in 1632, he was the fourth most prosperous man in Virginia, but debts in England and Ireland meant he could bequeath only his considerable landholdings he had accumulated in Virginia (Gookin 1912: 54).

Daniel Gookin, Jr.

Daniel Gookin, Jr. inherited the Maries' Mount plantation after his father's death, as well as the promise of a large patent in the Nansemond.[3] As the third son of Daniel Sr., born sometime in 1612 in Ireland, he stood to inherit little, and at age 18 joined his father

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[3] Daniel Gookin Jr. patented 2500 acres on the Nansemond (see patent on p. 25), which was due to Daniel Gookin Sr. for the transportation of supplies and settlers to Virginia in 1623. Following the 1622 plantation abandonments and the 1624 Virginia Company collapse, new patents were not issued until the mid-1630s (McCartney 2007: 35). When Daniel Gookin Sr. died in 1632, Daniel Gookin Jr. was able to patent the tract his father was owed in 1637.

on the Virginia plantation in 1630. Little documentation survives relating to Daniel Jr.'s experiences during this period, and it is presumed that he learned daily plantation operations. An excerpt from Capt. Henry Fleet's journal suggests that he was engaged in other activities, such as the Chesapeake fur trade, as Fleet encountered Gookin Jr. on the Upper Potomac River in 1632. Fleet was a trader who had been in the Virginia colony for several years, intending to find a way into the beaver pelt market of the upper Chesapeake, and at the time he encountered Daniel Jr. and several "Algonkian-speaking Indians" he was having little success procuring furs. Gookin Jr. advised Fleet to head further north to the land of the Massawomecks, who "had accumulated a large stock of beaver skins for trade" (Pendergast 1991: 15). Daniel Gookin Jr. is further described by Fleet as being an "interpreter," indicating he had knowledge of the Algonkian Indian languages (Pendergast 1991: 19). Another journal source from Dutch tobacco merchant David Pietersz De Vries mentions Daniel Gookin Jr. at Marie's Mount in an entry dated May 20, 1633. De Vries "anchored at evening, before Newport Snuw, where lived a gentleman of the name of Goegen (Gookin 1912: 62)," and though it remains unknown what interaction he may have had with Daniel Gookin Jr., he was on good terms with other planters in the vicinity and used Newport News as a watering and provisioning stop (Hatfield 1999: 209).

At some point in the 1630s, Daniel Jr. returned to England and was engaged in military service, likely in the Netherlands. A reference from Capt. Edward Johnson's work on New England's history, *Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New*

England, 1628–1651, describes Gookin as a "Kentish soldier," an allusion to his family's county of origin (Gookin 1912: 64). When Daniel Jr. arrived back in Virginia in 1641 to take up residence on his Nansemond plantation, he is listed with the title of Captain, indicating that this position was acquired in the Netherlands. His military experience did not go unnoticed, for he was given a significant role in defense of Virginia:

> At a court holden at James Citty the nyne and twentyeth of June 1642, present Sr. William Berkeley knt Governor &c. Capt. John West Mr. Richard Kemp Capt. William Brocas Capt. Christ Wormley Capt. Hum. Higginson. The commission for the monethly court of Upp. Norfolke to be renewed and the com^{rs} to be as followeth: Capt. Daniell Gookin, commander, Mr. ffrancis Hough Capt. Tho. Burbage Mr. John Hill Mr. Olliver Spry, Mr. Thomas Dew Mr. Randall Crew Mr. Robert Bennett Mr. Phillip Bennett. The Capts. Of trayned Bands to be as followeth: Capt. Daniel Gookin, Capt. Thomas Burbage. (cited in Gookin 1912: 65)

Part of Gookin Jr.'s duty as the commander for Upper Norfolk was to keep the tenuous peace with the Indians in his district, a task that he must have executed with tact, learning lessons he likely used in his dealings with the Indians of New England later in his career.[4]

Later in 1642, Gookin Jr. patented a 1,400-acre tract on the Rappahannock River, due to him for the transportation of 28 persons. Around this time, he was a signer of the Nansemond Petition along with 71 other southside planters, that formally requested Puritan ministers to be sent from New England to the Nansemond (Gookin 1912: 67).

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[4] Of note, one of the instances in which Gookin Jr. was required to maintain the peace involved his brother, John. From the court records at Jamestown, "Capt. John Gookin hath represented to the Board certayne Outrages aud Robberyes committed by the Indians belonging to Nanzemond in the county of the lower Norfolke, The Court hath therefore ordered according to the request of the said Capt. John Gooking, That Authority be given to the Comander of the Upp. Norfolke either by L^{re} or Commission to send to the Indian King of Nansimond that those Indians who have committed the Outrages may be sent in to receive such condigne punishm^{t} as the nature of the offense may justly merritt, as alsoe to restore the goods stollen, which shall refuse to pforme that then the said Comandr shall have power to apprehend any of the Indians they can and to keepe them in hold untill satisfaccon and restitucin be accordingly made" (Gookin 1912: 66).

The ministers arrived in the winter, but were banished by March of 1643, encouraging Gookin Jr.'s departure from Virginia to Maryland, where he established a plantation near the confluence of the South and Severn Rivers, close to Annapolis (Gookin 1912: 69). His emigration occurred right before the death of his brother, John, in November of 1643, as well as several major attacks on southside settlements in Isle of Wight and Upper/Lower Norfolk Counties by the Powhatan (Gookin 1912: 71).

Daniel Gookin Jr. and his family did not stay in Maryland long, moving to Boston in May of 1644. Upon his arrival in New England he was admitted to the First Church in Boston on May 26th, and honored three days later by being made a freeman (Gookin 1912: 72). Gookin Jr. resided in Roxbury from 1644 to 1647, where his activities are not known— a querying of documentary records of Roxbury may further flesh out more in terms of his business dealings, as court documents suggest he was oftentimes away on his Virginia and Maryland plantations. Gookin Jr.'s appearance in the notary book of William Aspinwall in 1646, and the shipping records dating to November of that year, relate to tobacco shipped from the Nansemond to Boston[5] with Thomas Burbage as factor. Burbage served as Gookin Jr.'s Virginia manager of his Nansemond plantation and his patent on the Rappahannock, until Gookin Jr. divested himself of his Virginia lands in 1651. He held onto his Maryland plantation, which was populated by servants, until 1655 when it was attacked by Indians, and became disadvantageous to him to retain

[5] In 1647 John Winthrop remarked on the arrival of "a ship of Virginia of Capt. Gookin" in port, and Frederick Gookin suggests that this voyage was for the purposes of trade, and transportation of corn and tobacco from the Nansemond plantation (Gookin 1912: 75).

it. Records from March of 1655 indicate that an armed force under William Stone seeking to overthrow the Maryland government "arrived off the mouth of the Severn River with two hundred men in twelve boats, chased a small New England vessel belonging to Captain Gookin, which was in charge of Captain John Cutts, and fired several shots at her (Gookin 1912: 75)."

Despite the sale of his Virginia holdings, Gookin Jr. still was actively engaged in the coasting trade with the colony, likely until his death in 1687. When he moved from Roxbury to Cambridge in 1647, he became a partner in a shipbuilding company along with Samuel Champney and Walter Hastings which made vessels for the carrying trade. A court document dated November 14, 1670 granted them the rights and privileges of cutting down trees on the town common for use in shipbuilding (Gookin 1912: 76). Gookin Jr.'s intercolonial trading network, shipbuilding enterprise, and religious ties facilitated his family's successful incorporation into New England society. Hatfield has noted that "Puritans who migrated and maintained connections between the Chesapeake and New England often made their initial contacts through trade... his quick admission to the church and community suggest that Gookin's earlier trade to New England had made him well known in the colony" (Hatfield 1999: 105). Of the most prominent intercolonial traders in Virginia—Cornelius and Edward Lloyd, William Stone, Daniel Gookin Jr., Thomas Willoughby, Francis Emperor, and Issac Allerton Jr.—were all of the Puritan faith (Hatfield 2004: 123). It is also interesting to note that Gookin Jr. had ties to the Tyng family of Boston, whose merchant associations would have been enhanced through

the Chesapeake trade and Gookin Jr.'s frontier ventures. Later in his life, Gookin Jr. married into the Tyng family, a tie that could be related to earlier business ventures.

Daniel Gookin Jr.'s military and civil career in New England has been the subject of most of the scholarship on his biography. Despite this, his beginnings in learning how to run a plantation, military training, interactions with Native Americans, and political and merchant involvements, were drawn from different backgrounds in England, Ireland, Virginia, the Low Countries, and Maryland. Positioning Daniel Gookin Jr. as a cosmopolitan colonial figure supports the importance of the individual biography to colonial developments. As Alison Games notes, "the chronological order in which the English encountered different parts of the world mattered, encouraging men to transport models from one place to another and often hindering new settlements as a result" (Games 2006: 687). In the following chapter, I will discuss the regional development of the land surrounding the Nansemond Fort site, and then present what is known about the landowners, some of whom shared with Gookin Jr. similar experiences in other English colonial projects.

Chapter 3

The Nansemond Fort and Historical Context

The landscape around where the Nansemond Fort once stood retains few traces of its 17th-century past. Place-names mentioned in colonial land patent books have faded from memory, though tidal creeks that are prominent in the area bear the names of some of the colonial landowners including Bennett's, Knott's, and Burbage's Creeks. Suffolk, Virginia is situated on the southside of the James River a few miles west of Hampton Roads, where the James meets the waters of the Chesapeake Bay and Atlantic Ocean. The Nansemond Fort's location is near the confluence of the James and Nansemond Rivers on one of the branches of Knott's Creek, a navigable waterway approximately one and three-quarters of a mile from its mouth on the Nansemond (Fig. 2). Surrounding land is low and flat, with elevations ranging from between 15 to 20 feet above sea level. Soils are good for agriculture, but not especially for tobacco, which prompted the region's 17th-century English colonists to diversify, cultivating corn and other crops (Hatfield 2004: 220). Until the 1970s, most of the land surrounding the site was under cultivation, but developmental pressures from the nearby southside cities of Chesapeake, Norfolk, and Portsmouth accelerated suburban encroachment (McClearen and Harbury 1990: 7). In 1992, the opening of the Monitor-Merrimac Bridge Tunnel just north of the study area connected Suffolk with Newport News, further impacting new construction and spurring population growth in the region. This chapter will describe the region's history, regional

landowners, and site landowners, providing a background for the discussion of the archaeological excavation of the site that follows in Chapter 4.

English encounters with Native Americans and eventual occupation of the land where the Nansemond Fort is located took place shortly after the Jamestown settlers arrived in Virginia in April of 1607. Archaeological evidence from the site suggests that it was in use from the Archaic to Late Woodland periods based on surface finds and prehistoric artifacts in feature fill, including Guilford and Halifax points (Middle Archaic period 4200–2800 BCE), a Vernon point (Early Woodland period 1200–800 BCE), a Clarksville point (Late Woodland period 1400–1700 CE), and Prince George net-impressed pottery (Middle Woodland period 800–350 BCE) (Egloff and Woodward 1992: 18–19; Evans 1955: 61). The Nansemond River basin was inhabited at the time of English contact by the Nansemond, an Algonkian-speaking tribe that was part of the Powhatan Confederacy. It is estimated that the Powhatan Confederacy's population in 1607 was between 14–21,000 people, centralized in the Outer Coastal Plain of Tidewater Virginia (Egloff and Woodward 1992: 10). The Nansemond tribe was dispersed amongst several towns along the Nansemond River, and by John Smith's 1608 estimate they could field about 500 warriors (Feest 1978: 257). The first documented mention of the Nansemond comes from Ralph Lane, governor of the 1585 Roanoke Colony in North Carolina, who explored the Atlantic Coast north from Roanoke Island as far as present-day Virginia Beach. Lane did not visit the Nansemond, but learned of them through their neighbors to the east, the Chesapeake. The Nansemond king's territory, according to

Lane, "lyeth upon the Sea, but his place of greatest strength is and Iland situate as he described unto me in a Bay, the water round about the Iland very deepe" (Quinn 1991b: 259)—a location that likely is Dumpling Island, several miles south of the Nansemond River mouth (Fig. 3).

The Jamestown colonists' first encounter with the Nansemond was documented by Capt. John Smith, who recorded that while exploring possible locations for a fort site in April of 1607 near "the river of Nausamud, a proud, warlike nation, as well we may, testified our first arrival at Chesiapiack" (Barbour 1968: 79). Later that month in a mission exploring the Nansemond River, Smith and Capt. Christopher Newport were fired on with "a torrent of arrows" by a band of Nansemond—the English responded by burning some of the Nansemond's canoes and threatening to destroy a Nansemond village. Smith's account has been interpreted as the first mention of hostile conflict between the English and the Nansemond, groups that squared off with one another in armed conflict over the ensuing 40 years (Barbour 1968: 178–9; Luccketti 2007: 7).

When supplies at Jamestown reached a critical low in the winter of 1609–1610,[6] groups of settlers were sent out to purchase corn and to live among the native peoples for the winter until Jamestown could be relieved with supplies from England. Capt. John Martin was dispatched with 100 men to Dumpling Island, under orders to purchase the island from the Nansemond and live off the resources in that area. Two messengers were sent to the Nansemond werowance (village chief) on the island, who did not receive

[6] The winter of 1609–1610 was referred to as the "Starving Time" because 60 of the settlement's 200 colonists perished from hunger (Kelso, Luccketti, and Straube 1999: 8).

Martin's offer in the way he had hoped. According to an account from George Percy, one of the colony's administrators, the messengers "were sacrifysed And that their Braynes were cutt and skraped outt of their heades with mussell shelles" (Haile 1998: 501). In retaliation, Martin ordered an assault on Dumpling Island, at which point the English "beate the Salvages outt of the Island, burned their howses Ransacked their Temples Tooke downe the Corpes of their deade kings from their Toambes And cartyed away their pearles Copper and bracelets." What is more, Martin "did surprise this poor naked King, with his Monuments, houses, and the isle he inhabited, and there fortified himself" (Haile 1998: 503). The king was rescued several hours later, and in a bizarre turn of events, both Capt. Martin and George Percy, the two ranking officers, left to return to Jamestown, leaving a Lt. Sicklemore in charge of the English party and the island. Under Sicklemore's leadership 17 men mutinied, stole the small boat Sicklemore had been left with, and attempted to join the nearby English settlement at Kecoughtan. While the fate of the mutineers is unknown, Sicklemore and the rest of the English contingent were found sometime later when Percy returned to the Nansemond, "slayne wth their mowthes stopped full of Breade beinge done as it seamethe in Contempte and skorne thatt others mighte expecte the Lyke when they should come to seeke for breade and reliefe amongste them" (Haile 1998: 503).

The reaction of planters already in the colony and recently arrived adventurers was to bring as much land under cultivation as possible to increase production yields.

Figure 3. Excerpt from John Smith's 1612 map of Virginia showing the mouth of the James (Powhatan River) and the "Nandsamund" River. The circles with the dots in the center mark Indian towns, and the longhouse structures indicate the residences of chiefs. (courtesy of the Virginia Center for Digital History)

In turn, this pushed more Indians from their land. Tobacco prices remained high (3 shillings per pound) from about 1620 to 1629, a period that historian Edmund Morgan has referred to as the "boom years" (Morgan 1975: 109). Stressed by increased English intrusions, the Nansemonds were involved in the 1622 uprising led by the paramount Powhatan chief, Opecancanough, to thwart further English appropriation of native land. This coordinated attack destroyed one-third of the colonist population, resulting in a temporary halt to hinterland settlement (Earle 1979: 115).

Retaliatory English attacks on the Nansemond began in 1623; land that had been planted near the Nansemond's territory was reoccupied only slowly, as the tribe was highly reactive to English encroachment on the southside. An expedition in 1626 under the command of Capt. Nathaniel Basse, an Isle of Wight County planter whose plantation was near Nansemond land, was sent to ransom several English prisoners held by the Nansemond, and the following year he led several retaliatory raids on their native villages (McCartney 1990: 13). Despite the significant population spike of European settlers to Virginia, the Muster of 1624/1625 does not list any persons residing in the Nansemond River basin, a testament to the tenacity of the Nansemond tribe, as well as a reflection of why there were no land grants made in the region until 1636.

While the security of the region was uncertain, colonial politics caused a certain degree of ambiguity over land ownership that may have been a deterrent to settler expansion as well. In 1636, King Charles I granted a "competent tract of land in the southern part of Virginia, as may bear the name of a county, and be called the county of

Norfolk, upon conditions found requisite for the general good of the colony" to Henry Frederick Howard, Lord Maltravers, son of the Duke of Norfolk (McCartney 1990: 13). The property, referred to as the Maltravers Proprietorship, was to "extend for approximately 55 miles on each side of the Nansemond (now Maltravers) River, from its mouth to a point approximately 25 miles below New Bern, North Carolina" (McCartney 1990: 14). The conditions stipulated by the Crown stated that Maltravers had seven years to seat colonists (paid for at his own expense), and in return, those residing within the proprietorship had rights to trade with the natives and to import and export commodities—Maltravers was required to pay five pounds annually to the Crown for these privileges, and was given the authority make laws and appoint administrators for his dominion. Settlers within the proprietorship were exempt from paying taxes to Virginia's government and were only required to perform military service in the event of foreign invasion or local rebellion. If the proprietorship's conditions were met following seven years time, Maltravers was eligible for another patent of comparable size (McCartney 1990: 14).

Though it is unknown what efforts (if any) Maltravers made to develop his proprietorship, the claim was recognized and he was issued a patent on January 22, 1637 by Virginia's governor, Sir John Harvey (McCartney 1990: 15). Indications are, however, that Harvey simply ignored the Maltravers claim, and issued additional patents to Virginia planters within those bounds. Harvey's choice to ignore the proprietorship makes sense from the perspective that, chiefly, a tract of prime land of such a large size

meant significant revenue loss from taxes and export duties for the colony. Correspondingly, Harvey could issue patents to individuals already in Virginia, thus populating the region with "warm" bodies rather than waiting for Maltravers' handpicked group from England—a factor that from Harvey's viewpoint would increase the security of the colony by strengthening the numbers of settlers on the southside frontier.

The process of demarcating these first land patents in Virginia was a point of contention amongst the colonists, for whom a clear definition of space was a paramount concern, and the absence of towns with gridded plans did not make concrete boundary definitions any easier. Until 1619, the colony operated without an official Virginia Company surveyor, causing disputes over some of the early grants. Trained surveyors sent from England to map Virginia

> had to be publically recognized as skilled in their craft, scrupulous in their work, and fair in their pricing, by law asking no more than 20 pounds of tobacco for each 100 acres recorded. For this price, surveyors had to deliver "an exact plott [plat] of each parcel surveyed" and were "liable to the censure of the Governor and Council" should they refuse any "reasonable demand" to draw up the holdings of "any person or persons whatsoever, for the consideration and satisfaction of the aforesaid." (Levy 2004: 276)

Early surveyors attempted to define plots by using the physical remains of Native American landscape features. References in the early patents on the southside to "Indian fields," notches on trees, and in one instance a feature described as a 'horse path," which may be a description of an Indian path, are frequent (Levy 2004: 276–7; McCartney 2004: 223). One of the initial distinctive English reference points that markedly changed the Virginia landscape in addition to being imbued with deep meaning was the 1634 Middle Plantation Palisade (Levy 2004: 271). Following the 1622 Powhatan attack, Gov.

Francis Wyatt came under scrutiny from the Virginia Company for being too lax in his ability to enforce laws for settlement defense. An earlier example of settlement protection from Sir Thomas Dale's plantations near present-day Richmond, Virginia involved the palisading of seven acres at the fortified settlement of Henrico. In another instance,

> Dale followed up his marvel with a similar endeavor on the opposite bank of the James at Bermuda Hundred. There the "pale cut over from river to river, about two miles long," closing off a "eight miles circuit" of fine, fertile, and well-forested "champion" land (Gleach 1986: 160-168, 1997: 132; Hamor 1971: 31-32). For Dale and other Englishmen, few things suggested security and colonial possibilities as well as the sight of a solid, encircling wall. (Levy 2004: 270)

Following Dale's example, colonial governor Sir George Yeardley began plans to run a defensive palisade across the James-York peninsula in 1626. Completed by 1634, the Middle Plantation Palisade stood as an overt reminder of English hegemony and served as what Knapp and Ashmore term a "social compass,"—a feature that provided the English colonists with a familiar meaning on the landscape, in this case clearly defining English and Native American domains (Knapp and Ashmore 1999: 16). Though the Middle Plantation palisade stood for less than 10 years, its mark on the Virginia landscape and role in defining space and place was quite profound. The palisade became a reference point in land patents that were drawn up around it, giving substance to a growing Anglicized territory. As more grants were parceled out, the metes and bounds of neighboring properties were used to demarcate space southward down the peninsula (Levy 2004: 277). In the southside counties, no such "social compass" existed, which may account for ambiguity over land ownership in the ensuing decades.

Colonial population growth in the 1630s, fueled by the tobacco boom of the preceding decade, prompted the creation of new political entities. The land granted to Maltravers had been part of Elizabeth Cittie prior to 1636, at which date it was designated as New Norfolk County. In 1637, settlement there was significant enough to split New Norfolk in to Upper and Lower designations, Upper Norfolk becoming Nansemond County in 1646. The earliest patents of land in the study area were made in 1637, but there is some discrepancy as to whether or not some tracts were occupied beginning in 1635, as some patents were issued after residence had legally (or illegally) been taken up (Luccketti 2007: 11; McLearen and Harbury 1990: 19). Some of the first patentees at the Nansemond River's mouth included Thomas Burbage, Daniel Gookin Jr., Francis Hough, James Knott, John Parrott (Perrott), Rev. George White, and John Wilkins (McCartney 1990: 16). Although settlement in the Nansemond River area was on the rise, tensions remained between the English and Nansemond, exploding in 1644 when 500 colonists were slain in raids similar to the one in 1622. A period of warfare lasted until 1646 when the Nansemond and other tribes sued for peace, officially ceding the territory designated as Nansemond County to the colonists (McCartney 1990: 17).

The first patentees to the region were attracted by the prospect of breaking new ground for tobacco, but after several trials of harvesting the crop determined that conditions were not as favorable in the Nansemond region as other Tidewater locations. Planters began to diversify early on, cultivating corn and peas, as well as raising cattle and swine (Hatfield 2004: 46). Cattle were difficult to obtain in Virginia prior to the

1640s, and even when they were brought over took time to mature. Heifers could not be bred until they were at least three years old, and even then usually did not have more than one calf per year (Stone 1987: 19). They were also difficult to transport, but those who could reaped large rewards, as in the case with Daniel Gookin Sr. in 1621 and 1623 (see page 17). In Maryland in the 1640s, cattle were given to recently freed servants in lieu of money by wealthy landowners (Stone 1987: 21), a trend that may have also existed in Virginia and a reason for the proliferation of cattle amongst small freeholders. By the end of the 1630s the cattle population did reach breeding capacity, and southside Virginians

> found a market for surplus cattle in exporting to other colonies, especially Barbados, and in supplying the tobacco ships that waited long periods in Virginia rivers to gather cargo. Because immigration kept both the domestic and export markets growing, the rapid increase in cattle brought no slump in prices. And since cattle for the most part sustained themselves by foraging in the woods and marshes, the periodic scarcity and high cost of corn did not affect their value either. During the 1640s and 1650s prices of cattle showed no market fluctuation. (Morgan 1975: 139–140)

Geographically the Nansemond region was favorable for cattle and swine husbandry, as necks of land and small islands were favored for pasturage, requiring little fencing and minimal supervision.

By the mid-1640s, social and economic factors led to a population decrease in the Nansemond region. One reason was religion, as a significant number of Puritans lived on the southside. On May 24, 1642 Daniel Gookin Jr. was one of the principal authors of the Nansemond Petition, a document signed by Upper Norfolk residents sent to John Winthrop of Massachusetts, requesting ministers for their county parish (Hatfield 2004: 116; McCarl 1991: 438). Three Puritan clergymen, John Knowles, Thomas James, and

William Thompson arrived on the Nansemond, only to be challenged by Virginia's Royalist governor, Sir William Berkeley, who had all three expelled in early 1643 (Hatfield 2004: 116). The expulsion of the clergymen in addition to the government's rigid intolerance for the Puritan faith encouraged Gookin Jr.'s departure from Virginia to Maryland in 1643, an action that encouraged other Puritans to follow suit (McCarl 1991: 439).

A further cause for outward migration was related to the plantation economy. Poor soils for tobacco, coupled with land grants that planters with means deemed too small to turn a profit, prompted many to leave when land north of the York River was opened for settlement in 1649 (Hudgins 1985: 54; McCartney 1990: 10). Bereft of a large colonial population, and despite the pacification of the Nansemond, it seems unlikely that residents of Nansemond ever experienced a sense of security, either physically or economically, in the 17th century. Local strife and factionalism during the English Civil War (1642–1652) caused disruptions of trade and supply from Europe, as did wars with the Dutch in 1652–1654, 1664–1665, and 1672–1674. Particularly distressing was the arrival of six Dutch warships in Hampton Roads in 1673, whose crews burned the annual tobacco fleet as it lay at anchor (Billings 1975: 258–261). In response to this raid, the men of the Nansemond County militia were pressed into service to erect a fort at the head of the Nansemond at Currawaugh, "alias New Dursley" in 1676 (Hening: 1823 (2): 328). Soon after the construction of the new fort, the outbreak of Bacon's Rebellion (1676–1677) led to property destruction in the frontier regions, and called the county militia

away for duty far from their farms. After the rebellion was quelled, planters in Nansemond were required to "quarter and provide for Major Mutlows' Company" for a period of six months—this action incensed the residents enough to present a list of complaints to the House of Burgesses stating that the ordeal of hostilities and quartering had left them with "impaired stocks and depleted population" (McLearen and Harbury 1990: 10).

Speaking to the general chaos within the county, John Chilton, a planter residing near the glebe lands several miles downriver from the Nansemond Fort site, who had been on the land for over 20 years, stated that in 1675, "bounds need to be renewed, marked trees blown down, sundry petitions for renewal of Land Patents, the titles thereto having lapsed by reason of failure to locate them for protection against Indians &c" (Palmer 1875: 100). At the close of the 17th century, Nansemond County was not the home to wealthy Tidewater planters controlling vast tracts, but to middling planters who were unable or unwilling to move from land considered marginal.

In McLearen and Harbury's assessment, the ambiguous land patenting trends, coupled with the "realities of frontier hardship, isolation, Indian troubles, and defense difficulties led to desertion of several original seatings, and created financial straits for the remaining pioneers. These trends set the pattern for a "sparse population" further inland and slow economic growth for the county" (McLearen and Harbury 1990: 10). What is more, the absence of attempts to begin villages or towns in the Nansemond River basin, contrasting with efforts elsewhere in Virginia, is an additional factor to consider.

Planters on the southside clustered into farmsteads of one to two families, and on these smaller plots the gradual linking of space to individuals led to the formation of community-like ties, even in the absence of towns. Historian Lorena Walsh's research on community and neighbor relationships in the colonial Chesapeake emphasizes the role of visiting (Walsh 1988). A 17th-century traveler to Virginia claimed, "people spend most of their time visiting each other. When a man has fifty acres of ground, two men servants, a maid, and some cattle, neither he nor his wife do anything but visit among their neighbors" (cited in Walsh 1988: 233). These visits amongst neighbors were important for both social and economic reasons because, "neighboring families relied heavily on each other for aid in their work, for borrowing back and forth when supplies ran low or the proper tools were lacking, and simply for conversation or sharing important personal and family events" (Walsh 1988: 206). Visiting solidified the community, and was an integral part in the eventual development of public spaces for social interaction such as local markets, churches, and courthouses, which helped to form regional identities within the dispersed settlements of Tidewater Virginia. This is the likely picture of the frontier community that the Nansemond Fort was a part of in the 17th century (Kealhofer 1999a: 67).

The Nansemond Fort and Landowners

Cautionary advice from previous Virginia settlement pattern studies suggests that linking land patents with occupation can sometimes be problematic, as occasionally land

was seated before the patent had been drawn up. Correspondingly, patents were bought and sold for speculation during the 17th century (Kelly 1979: 185–90). Further confounding property research are the 17th-century land-seating strategies. Regardless of how large of a grant one was given, all that one had to do, according to English revenue agent Edmund Randolph, was

> cut down a few trees and make therewith a little Hut, covering it with the bark and turn two or three hogs into the woods by it: Or else they are to clear one acre of that land, and to plant and tend it one year: But they fell twenty or thirty trees, and put a little Indian Corn in the ground among them as they lye, and sometimes make a beginning to fence it, but take no care of their Crop, nor make any further use of their land. (Morgan 1975: 220)

Respecting the regional framework for approaching the documentary evidence, Kealhofer suggests that colonial landscape studies should use a two-pronged method of interrogation. First, use the documents to envision the region, defining the political and social identities of the collective population, and then further examine the documents for clues to define the farmstead/plantation level, and, eventually, to the individual (Kealhofer 1999a: 59). Having characterized the general region above, I now turn to what is known about the landowners on and in the vicinity of the Nansemond Fort tract. As several of the abutters of the site tract have different relationships to Daniel Gookin Jr., I have included all of them in a chronological narrative to illustrate how the region developed.

Daniel Gookin, Jr.

Daniel Gookin Jr. patented one of the larger tracts of land at the mouth of the Nansemond River, an entitlement owed to his late father for the transportation of colonists in 1621. Gookin, Jr. was given

> 2500 acres of land, situate lying and being in the upper Countie of New Norfolke upon the northwest of Nansemond River beginning at the South East side of a Small Creeke, which lyeth in the midway between the mouth of Chuckatuck at New Town hundred Extending upwards upon Nansemond River South West and back into the woods North West, the said Twoe thousand five hundred acres of land being granted unto the said Daniell Gookin, by order of the Court bearing date 25th of February 1634 being alsoe due unto him the said Daniell Gookin by and for the transportation at his owne expenses and charges of fiftie p'sons into this Colony whose names are in the record mentioned under this patent, To Have and To Hold, etc. dated the 29th December 1637. Tho. Curtis, Jon. Curtis, Wm. Smith, Wm. Madworth, Gilbert Whitfield, Hugh Jones, Jon. Thomas, Henry Price, Wm. Richards, Jon. Garner, Phill. Chapman, Wm. Hookes, Wm. Granger, Jon. Roe, Elias Keely, Griffin Murfin, Elias Griffin, Wm. Ellis, Jon. Hellier, Henry Casley, Jon. Scott, Jon. Burden, Jon. Buckland, Jon. Cox, Jos. Moseley, Edw. Burden, Edw. Morgan, Wal. Manet, Benj. Box, Tho. Browne, Austice Norman, Hen. Norman, Peter Norman, Anth. Elsworth, Ann Elsworth, Geo. White, Tho. Addison, Roger Walker, Roger Blanch, Wm. Long, Tho. Felid, Robt. Smith, Wm. Pensint, Morgan Phillips, Robt. Jewell, Wm. Clarke, Daniel Hopkinson, Wm. Corney, Esay Delaware. (Nugent 1963: 78)

Though Gookin Jr. did not reside on the Nansemond Fort tract, his role as the commander-in-chief of the county militia, burgess, and planter made him a prominent figure in the region.

James Knott and George White

While Daniel Gookin Jr. has the distinction of being the first patentee on the west side of the Nansemond River's mouth, James Knott was the first landowner on the east side. Knott arrived in Virginia in 1617 aboard the *George,* having been a convict in London's Newgate Prison released for transportation to Virginia. He was listed as

residing on Charles Harker's plantation on the Eastern Shore in the Muster of 1624/5, and was a free man by 1625. Knott applied for a 21-year lease in 1632 for a 50-acre tract at the mouth of the Hampton River to "operate a house of entertainment"; though it is not known if this was approved, in 1635 he secured a 1,200-acre patent in Upper Norfolk and took up residence there. Knott's affairs on his property and in the county are unclear, but it seems he lived there until 1643. He moved to Maryland sometime thereafter, perhaps as part of the regional migration to that colony, and died there in 1653 (McCartney 2007: 449).

Abutting Knott's tract to the northeast was a patent assigned to George White who received 200 acres in 1635 (Nugent 1963: 78). White had been one of Gookin Sr.'s transportees in 1621, and may have been a free man when he arrived in the colony. The wording of the re-patent of his tract in 1638 reads, "300 acs. Up. Co. of New Norfolk. E. into woods adj. land of John Wilkins, gent., W. Upon his own land, S. upon sd. Wilkins, and N. upon land of John Parrott. 50 acres for his wife, 250 for the trans. of 5 persons" (Nugent 1963: 95). The re-patent provides the names of John Wilkins and John Parrott, which better situates landowners in the region.

John Wilkins

Of the early patentees in the Nansemond area, John Wilkins was likely the first owner of the Nansemond Fort tract. Wilkins arrived in Virginia at the age of 19 in 1618; he was listed as residing on the Eastern Shore in 1625 as the head of a household, "in possession of a dwelling, a storehouse, and an ample supply of stored food and defensive

weaponry" (McCartney 2007: 747). In 1633 he served as a commissioner for the Accomack court, and in 1635 he was appointed as a vestryman. The Wilkins patent of September 9, 1636 for 1,300 acres was located "On the east side of the Nansamund River, beginning on the south side of the first bridge, running Southwest by West along the Creek, East Southeast into the woods, Northeast upon land of Mr. White & butting upon land of James Knott. 50 acres for his own personal adventure & 1250 acres for transportation of 25 persons" (Nugent 1963: 56). Wilkins likely never occupied his Nansemond property, given that he was heavily invested in his land on the Eastern Shore, where he served as a burgess in 1641 and is mentioned in court proceedings there until his death in 1649 (McCartney 2007: 747).

John Parrott and Thomas Burbage

John Parrott's (Perrott) inclusion in White's patent brings attention to another transportee of Daniel Gookin Sr., who lived on the Marie's Mount plantation as late as 1636 (Nugent 1963: 109). Parrott came to Virginia as a servant in 1623 aboard the *Providence*, the second of Gookin Sr.'s supply vessels sent to the colony. From the re-patent of Parrott's land in 1650, important place names are given to better situate his holdings, as well as that of White's and other key figures in the area. Parrott's tract was slightly north of the Nansemond Fort site, encompassing "900 acs. in Nancemond Co. 800 acs beg. at the first cr., running parallel to the river until it come to Pig Point, and crossing Burbage's Cr. The residue butteth Mr. White's second devf. 800 acs. granted unto Mr. Francis Hough, 17 May 1637 & purchased by sd. Perrott 16. Aug. 1637; and

100 acs. for the trans. of 2 pers." (Nugent 1963: 197). The reference to Burbage's Creek relates to Capt. Thomas Burbage, who entered Virginia as a merchant in 1628 and became a very prosperous planter, was socially connected with Daniel Gookin Jr. when he was in Virginia, and later in Massachusetts (Aspinwall 1903: 167–169; McCartney 2007: 172). Burbage's initial Nansemond patent was for "600 acs. Up. Co. of New Norf. Upon E. side of the mouth of the Nansemond Riv. Adj. land of John Parrott westerly, & Ely. Upon land of Capt. John Sibsey" (Nugent 1963: 91). Though Parrott and Burbage did not reside on the land of the Nansemond Fort, they were tied, as were other patentees around them, to Gookin Sr. and Jr.

Michael Wilcox

Though John Wilkins never made use of the property where the Nansemond Fort stood, it appears to have been first occupied by 1638 by Michael Wilcox, an Ancient Planter[7] who arrived in Virginia as a servant in 1610. Wilcox was living on William Ganey's plantation in Elizabeth Cittie in 1624. Upon being granted his freedom in 1624, he wrote a petition to Governor Francis Wyatt to enforce the payment owed by Ganey to him for building a house, as well as to collect on an outstanding debt. In 1625, though still in Elizabeth Cittie, Wilcox was listed as a head of household along with John Slater, Wilcox's wife Elizabeth, and three male indentured servants. The Wilcox-Slater household possessed one dwelling, "three peeces, a petronnel (small cannon) as well as

[7] The term "Ancient Planter" refers to any individual who arrived in Virginia prior to 1616 if they were transported or paid their own way. Ancient Planters were entitled to 100 acres for themselves and an additional hundred for their heirs (Nugent 1963: xxvi).

two swords, two coats of male and 30 pounds of lead" (McCartney 2007: 746; McCartney 1990: 20). Nothing is known of Wilcox prior to 1638, when he acquired what had been the Wilkins' patent. Wilcox was living on the property in 1639 when part of his property was ceded to George White, in a rather odd transaction: "142 acs. adj. Land whereon sd. Michael liveth and land of John Wilkins dated Oct. 21, 1639. By order of the court dated Oct. 3, 1638, some difference having arisen between these parties, the land was equally divided. By this instrument Wilcox conveyed all his interest except a tract of 18 ft. by 35 ft" (Nugent 1963: 125). Given that the Wilkins' patent was for 1,300 acres, no mention is made of the rest of the property, until a re-patent of 800 acres by Samuel Stoughton in 1645. Stoughton married Wilcox's widow, Elinor, and the re-patent was for

> the said 800 Acres of Land being part of a Patent granted unto John Wilkins bearing date the Eighteenth day of May 1637 Containing thirteen hundred acres and of him sould unto Michaell Wilcoxe decd who bequeathed the same unto Ellinor unto the said Stoughton with whome he hath since Intermarried, who upon a resurvey thereof hath since found but the said Eight hundred acres. (Nugent 1963: 162–163)

This awkward land division may indicate that the remaining 500 acres of the original Wilkins' patent was unoccupied, and therefore escheated back to government control, perhaps being granted to someone else, White possibly, since he is the one who disputed Wilcox's claim (McLearen and Harbury 1990: 14).

Samuel Stoughton and Thomas Addison

Samuel Stoughton is listed as a representative for Nansemond in the House of Burgesses in 1646, for Upper Norfolk in 1647–1648, and again for Nansemond in 1654–1655 (Leonard 1978: 25–32). He was among the burgesses who voted affirmatively to

allow Dutch traders to operate freely in Virginia in 1646, and he served in the militia. After 1655, Stoughton disappears from the records.

One of the last occupants who might be associated with the site is Thomas Addison, one of Gookin Sr.'s transportees in 1621. Addison is listed as a servant in the 1624/5 Muster for Marie's Mount, and later served as Gookin Sr.'s manager there from 1626–1631 (Gookin 1912: 48). Addison first patented land south of Daniel Gookin Jr. on the west side of the Nansemond River in 1637 (Nugent 1963: 56), and received another patent in 1675 for

> two hundred Acres of Land Lying, Scituate 7 being in the Lower pish of Nansemond 7 on ye Land of Wm Knott to the westward Northerly Upon the Creeke 7 souty into ye woods, Being pt of a patent of 1300 acres formerly Grt to Jno Wilkins by patent bearing ye date 10th of May 1673 [probably clerk's error—should be 1637] ye 200 acres by after Severall Assignments & Conveyances Gradually from ye sd Wilkins comeing & now being in the Possession of the said Tho: Addison…dated 22th March 1675/6. (Nugent 1963: 606)

At the time of Addison's patent, he would have been a hardened veteran of a small class of Virginia adventurers who had little means upon arrival in 1621 aboard the *Flying Hart*, but who eventually acquired land of his own and funds to transport others to Virginia, a path to wealth and occasionally public office.

With the biographies of the individuals who patented land in the Nansemond beginning in 1634, several observations can be made regarding Daniel Gookin Jr.'s involvement. Gookin Jr. was the initial patentee and largest landowner, and was responsible in a military and civil role for the region's welfare. Three individuals who patented land after he had included Thomas Addison, John Parrott, and George White, all

of whom were transportees of Daniel Gookin Sr. supplies to Virginia in 1621 and 1623. Historian Nicholas Canny has remarked on the identities of those who came to Virginia with Gookin, postulating that

> it is probable that a majority of those who took ship to Virginia were making the final series of moves in an unsettled and rootless existence. Those who arrived with Daniel Gookin from Ireland in 1621 did not bear Irish surnames, which suggests that these were in fact Englishmen whom Gookin had, some years previously, brought as tenants for his estate in Munster, and then transferred to his newly acquired property in Virginia. (Canny 1978: 26)

Recalling that the Gookins were involved in cattle raising in Ireland and Virginia, it may be that these individuals were involved in the same pursuits.

Daniel Gookin Jr. as a Puritan also had connections with two other elites in the region, Thomas Burbage and Richard Bennett. Gookin Jr. and Burbage were both militia officers, as well as business partners. Burbage oversaw Gookin Jr.'s Nansemond plantation after he moved to New England, as well as his Rappahannock tract which he later sold to him (Gookin 1912: 76). Bennett and Gookin were burgesses as well as close friends, and possibly business partners. Gookin maintained his relationship with Bennett, going so far as to pay for Bennett's stepson, Nathaniel Utie, to attend Harvard from 1651 to 1655 (Hatfield 2004: 116).

Daniel Gookin Jr.'s role in developing the Nansemond region is best viewed from the standpoint of providing infrastructural support, based upon lessons learned from his father, and previous experiences in the colony and abroad. In the following chapter, the archaeological evidence suggests that the enclosure—closely resembling a bawn—may have been a familiar plantation structure that Gookin and his cohort brought to Virginia.

Figure 4. Approximate land divisions in the Nansemond Fort vicinity, c. 1640. Boundaries and acreage were determined by patent transcriptions (Nugent 1963) and using the acreage plotter function of ArcGIS 9.3. (graphic by author)

Table 1: Landowners around and of the Nansemond Fort tract, 1634–1645.

Name	Arrival in Virginia	Patent Description	Relationship to Gookin	Reference
Daniel Gookin Jr.	1630	25 Feb. 1634 – 2500 acres, between Nansemond River and Chuckatuck Creek. Patent owed to Gookin Sr. (Re-patent 29 Dec. 1637)		Gookin 1912: 61; McCartney 2007: 333; Nugent 1963: 78.
James Knott	*George,* 1617	24 Mar. 1635 - 1200 acres, east side of Nansemond River. (Re-patent 18 Aug. 1637)	None	McCartney 2007: 449.
George White	*Flying Hart,* 1621	3 Jun. 1635 – 200 acres , east side Nansemond River. (Re-patent 6 Mar 1638, 300 acres, bounded by Wilkins and Parrott).	Gookin headright.	Gookin 1912: 48; McCartney 2007: 741; Nugent 1963: 78, 95.
John Wilkins	*Marigold,* 1618	9 Sept. 1636 - 1300 acres, east side of Nansemond River. (Re-patent 18 May 1637)	None	McCartney 1990: 19; Nugent 1963: 420.
Francis Hough	Unknown	17 May 1637 – 800 acres, east side of Nansemond River. (Sold to Parrott 16 Aug. 1637)	None	Nugent 1963: 55.
Thomas Addison	*Flying Hart,* 1621	20 May 1637 – 150 acres, west side of Nansemond River, bounded N. by Daniel Gookin.	Gookin headright. At Marie's Mount plantation, served as manager there, 1626-1631.	Gookin 1912: 48; Nugent 1963: 56, 78.
John Parrott	*Providence,* 1623	16 Aug. 1637 – 900 acres, east side of Nansemond River, on Pig Point. (Purchased from Hough, re-patented 2 Jul. 1650).	Gookin headright. Identified as a servant at Marie's Mount in 1625.	Gookin 1912: 47; McCartney 2007: 536; Nugent 1963: 109, 197.

Name	Arrival in Virginia	Patent Description	Relationship to Gookin	Reference
Richard Bennett	1628	19 Aug. 1637 – 2000 acres, east side of Nansemond River, neck of land between river and creek.	Burgess.	McCartney 2007: 126; Nugent 1963: 66.
Thomas Burbage	1628	7 May 1638 – 600 acres, east side of Nansemond River, bounded by Parrott and Sibesby.	Militia officer, tobacco factor. Manager of Gookin's Rappahannock holdings.	Gookin 1912: 65; McCartney 2007: 173; Nugent 1963: 91, 98, 180.
Michael Wilcox	*Prosperous,* 1610	Unknown date, 1638 – 1300 acres, former Wilkins patent. 142 acres ceded to White, 1638. Rest of patent possibly escheated, 1639-1645.	None	McCartney 2007: 746; Nugent 1963: 125.
Samuel Stoughton	Unknown	10 Mar. 1645 – 800 acres, bordered by Knott and White. Former Wilkins patent/Wilcox patent.	None	Nugent 1963: 162.

Table 2: Landowners of the Nansemond Fort tract and occupancy status.

Patentee	Dates Held/Occupancy	Reference
John Wilkins	9 Sept. 1636–1638. Not resident	McCartney 1990: 19; Nugent 1963: 420.
Michael Wilcox	1638–1645(?). Resident	McCartney 2007: 746; Nugent 1963: 125.
Samuel Stoughton	1645–1655(?). Resident	Nugent 1963: 162.
Thomas Addison	1675–1685. Resident	McCartney 1990: 22; Nugent 1963: 606

Chapter 4

The Archaeology of the Nansemond Fort (44SK192)

At the time of the first construction on the Nansemond Fort site, c. 1635, the English settlers resident in the area were very few. Evidence of the physical landscape from land patents from the west side of the Nansemond River in Isle of Wight County as well as those on the east side in Upper Norfolk, reference thickets, many small creeks and marshes, and Indian fields (Nugent 1963). The Nansemond Fort site may have been cleared when the patent was issued, and there is the reference in Wilkins' patent to a bridge that presumably spanned Bennett's Creek (Nugent 1963: 420). Topography of the region is very flat, and the branch of Knott's Creek just north of the site terminates in a small marsh. The Nansemond River and the streams which drain into it are in the saltwater zone of the lower James. Settlers at the Nansemond Fort would have had to either get water from natural springs, collect rainwater, or sink a well, for which there is no evidence on the site.

It is somewhat puzzling that a small, frontier settlement in a region where Native Americans were known to be hostile, was located in what appears to be an isolated place. If we consider the archaeological plan of the site with the regional development and economic pursuits of the people living there, a picture emerges of a settlement planned around farming, in this case, cattle raising. The Nansemond Fort will be described

Figure 5: Aerial photograph of the Harbour View tract, 1988. Star marks location of the Nansemond Fort site. (courtesy James River Institute for Archaeology)

archaeologically in this chapter, charting the site's growth and development from c. 1635–1650.

Though Englishmen occupied the Nansemond Fort site continuously from c. 1635–1680, the present study focuses on the first 15 years of occupation. The tight chronology established for the 15-year span can be further broken down into three phases, discerned during post-excavation analysis based on stratigraphic sequences, cross-mends, and artifact densities. Archaeological evidence suggests that the site was occupied by settlers almost immediately after its first patent, or perhaps a little earlier. This is the likely situation with the Nansemond Fort site, as it seems that the first patentee, John Wilkins, never occupied the tract, but may have placed servants on the property to maintain his land claim. The sale of the tract by Wilkins in 1638 suggests he did not sufficiently improve the land, (an action that incurred tax penalties), and may provide the motive behind his sale of the property to Michael Wilcox.

Phase 1A, c. 1635–1637

Building on the site began during Phase 1A, c. 1635–37, with the erection of a small dwelling, very crude in plan and layout (Fig. 6). Characterized by an irregular plan, Structure 1 measured roughly 16 ft x 21 ft, possibly with a small chimney in its center (Fig. 7). An additional factor in assigning an early date to this structure is the near absence of European artifacts in the postholes, in addition to the holes being much smaller in size than others on the site—an indication that Structure 1 was "hastily raised, primitive, and

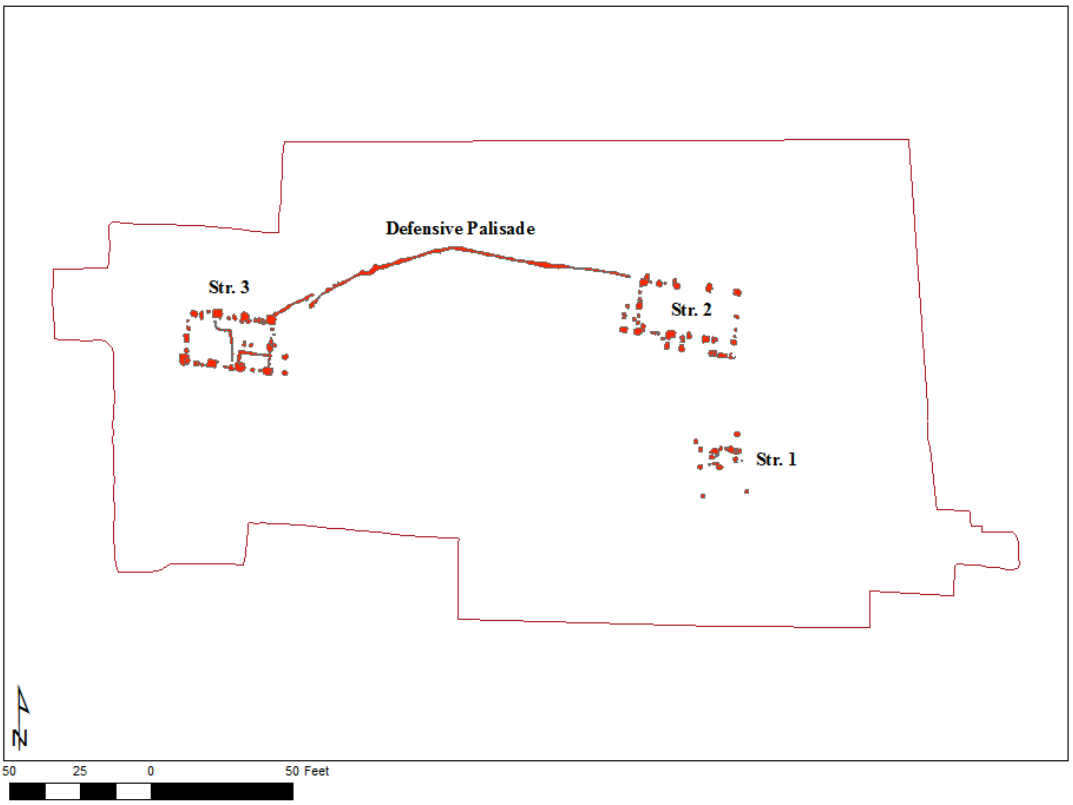

Figure 6. Plan of the Nansemond Fort, Phase 1A, c.1635–1637. (graphic by author)

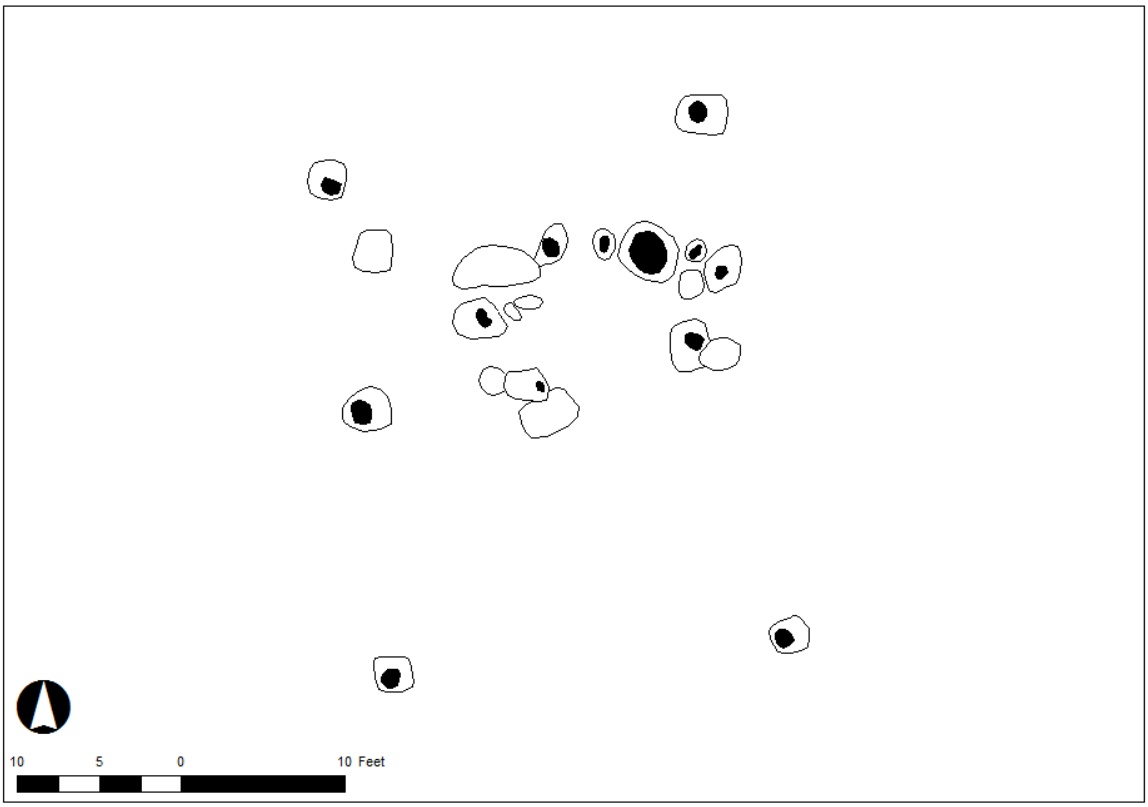

Figure 7. Archaeological plan of Structure 1. (graphic by author)

without any thought of longevity," the type of shelter that could be occupied during the construction of the rest of the buildings on site (Luccketti 2007: 18).

In contrast, Structure 2 (Fig. 8) was a much better built, three-bay dwelling with dimensions of 18 ft x 34 ft (Luccketti 2007: 18–9). With two fireplaces, the plan included a wood-floored hall and a dirt-floored room further partitioned for a small chamber. Architectural material from a pit nearby that was a cellar associated with a later lean-to addition, yielded turned lead for casement windows, as well as daub. Structure 2 had 2 entries; one on the north wall of the west 12-ft bay, and the other located on the south wall of the center 12-ft bay. An external wood-and-clay chimney stood in the southeast corner of the building, measuring 4 ft x 7 ft. The postholes for the chimney were cut by repair postholes, and the fill for these 4 repair posts was composed of burned daub and charcoal, further validating the chimney interpretation (Luccketti 2007: 20). A 4-post, 10-ft square addition was built off of the northwest corner, although no diagnostic artifacts were recovered for a precise date of construction. The construction methods used in this building have been suggested by architectural historian Willie Graham to reflect a higher standard in building emerging in the Chesapeake—paired tie beam assembly, and no earthfast stud evidence for the floor—two characteristics which he believes to be experimentation in building (Graham 2003: 182).

Approximately 180 ft west of Structure 2, a three-bay, 18 ft 6 in x 30 ft building barn was uncovered. Structure 3 (Fig. 9) was probably divided into two dirt-floored rooms with a narrow passage in between (Luccketti 2007: 22).

Figure 8. Archaeological plan of Structure 2. (graphic by author)

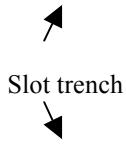

Figure 9. Archaeological plan of Structure 3. Slot trenches were added shortly after construction, likely corresponding with the palisade wall during Phase 1B. (graphic by author)

Figure 10. Plan view of Structure 3 prior to excavation of postholes . (courtesy of James River Institute for Archaeology)

There were 3 entries for the building—a 5-ft doorway on the south wall of the center bay, a roughly 4-ft entry on the north wall in the northwest corner, and a 3-ft opening on the west wall on the south corner (Luccketti 2007: 22). Structure 3 was the only building constructed on the west side of the compound, suggesting that during the site's lifespan the west end of the site served as the barnyard. Having a detached barn for livestock and grain would have been a Chesapeake adaptation, as in England and much of Europe, farm outbuildings were uncommon—as architectural historian Donald Linebaugh has pointed out, in 17th-century England, people desired to have all activities under one roof (Linebaugh 1994: 4). The multiple repair posts speak to the barn's longevity, spanning the site's occupation range.

Running east-west, a palisade line approximately 147 ft long with two openings for gates ran between Structure 3 to Structure 2. This palisade may be interpreted two ways at this early stage of the site's development, as either defensive in nature, or an attempt to demarcate the landowner's claim. Given the hostile environs surrounding the settlement, the palisade as a temporary measure until a more substantial work could be undertaken is plausible. The positioning of the palisade indicates that Structures 2 and 3 predated it, since neither were oriented on a straight line to correspond to palisade construction. Since there was no corresponding palisade line to the south, the individuals who built the palisade may have stopped before completing an enclosure of the three buildings on the site (for comparative evidence from other sites, see Chapter 5's discussion on colonial fortifications). As an alternative, the palisade may have been a

method of organizing the settlement's agricultural and domestic space; other divisions in the form of worm fences or wattle barriers might have further defined specific activity areas on the site.

Phase 1B, c. 1636–1646

During Phase 1B, c.1636–1646, the defensive palisade was dismantled to make way for a more substantial fieldwork that enclosed the entire settlement (Fig. 11). Increased conflict with the Nansemond and other tribes in the region was sporadic throughout most of the 1630s, resulting in a two-year war that began in 1644. At this time, Michael Wilcox and his family were living on the tract, and either built the enclosure themselves, or with neighbor support. The enclosure was shaped roughly like a trapezoid with 2 rounded bastions, at opposing corners, made of split logs. The dimensions of the palisade enclosed an area of 222 ft x 98 ft x 224 ft x 75 ft; the split logs were seated in a 1-ft wide by 2-ft deep slot trench and stood upright, forming a wall that was more closely resembled a breastwork just tall enough to allow one to shoot over (Kelso, Luccketti and Straube 1999: 29; Luccketti 2007: 25). This type of configuration bears striking resemblance to a bawn enclosure, which was in use prior to and during the English colonial projects in Ireland. From George Hill's 1877 history of the Ulster plantation, in Ireland

> it was customary amongst the ancient Irish to construct their bawns or cattle enclosures near their residences in times of peace, and adjoining their encampments in times of war. These enclosures were always formed on a certain well recognized plan, of trenches and banks strengthened by stakes, or most frequently by growing hedges, to guard against the attacks of wolves and other ravenous animals, as well as the assaults of hostile tribes. (Hill: 1877: 82)

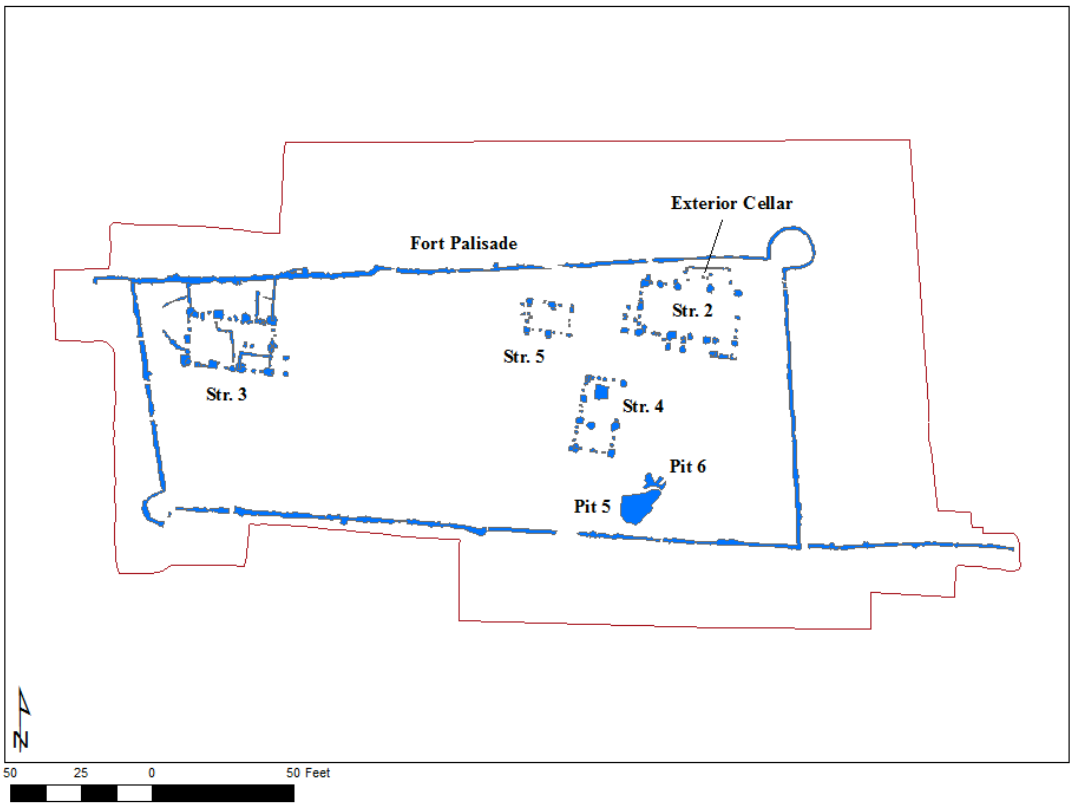

Figure 11. Plan of the Nansemond Fort, Phase 1B, c.1636–1646. (graphic by author)

Figure 12. Aerial view of excavated palisade and Phase 1B features (courtesy of James River Institute for Archaeology).

Figure 13: East wall palisade postmolds (courtesy of James River Institute for Archaeology).

Figure 14. Excavated NE bastion. (courtesy of James River Institute for Archaeology)

Figures 15. Excavated SW bastion. (courtesy of James River Institute for Archaeology)

Folklorist Robert Blair St. George's study of the bawn in a North American context similarly characterizes the bawn as a fortification incorporated into the English defense system in Ulster, becoming

> a defensible courtyard, whose walls – built most often of stone, but also of brick, clay, timber (both earthfast and silled) wattle and daub, and sod – protected the house, family, and personal property of the plantation's principal landlord. The houses could be free-standing in the center of the bawn, or placed against one of the peripheral walls. (St. George 1990: 242)

These characteristics lead people to call it a fort even though it is more properly thought of as a fortified settlement. I use the term "fort" here but caution the reader that this does not mean I am discussing a formal military installation erected at government expense or even by trained military engineers. Rather, this sort of enclosure fits the pattern of private forms of protection of a vernacular sort that are common in colonial contexts (details on bawn research in North America and private fortifications will be discussed in Chapter 5).

The two-bastioned plan and the lengths of the fort's sides strongly suggests that whoever planned the fort had an understanding of the limitations of the musket. Firearms of the period were notoriously inaccurate, but the placement of the bastions at opposing ends of the fort allowed for enfilading fire. The 17th-century English matchlock weighed about 16 lbs. and had a bore size roughly equivalent to a modern 10-gauge. Its maximum effective range was about 100 yards, and beyond this the trajectory of the ball was unpredictable (Peterson 1956: 14). To compensate for musket accuracy, a 2-ft right-angle jog in the palisade line 138 ft from the northeast bastion was present, and on the south wall 112 ft from the southwest bastion (Luccketti 2007: 25). These protective features

would afford a musketeer inside the palisade the cover needed to protect all sides of the palisade walls.

The trapezoidal form of the palisade has been interpreted as somewhat of an anomaly; drawn plans of Irish bawns are straight-walled and regular, yet a bawn dating from 1619 on the site of Martin's Hundred near present-day Williamsburg also had a trapezoidal plan. Archaeologists felt that the irregularities probably resulted from a lack of trained surveyors in the colony (Noël Hume 1982: 254), but a likely explanation in the Nansemond case is simply that the existing structures needed to be enclosed. By taking advantage of the existing surroundings rather than creating and attempting to apply an entirely new plan, the builders rendered the issue of regularity a moot point.

Inside the palisade there were two buildings, Structures 4 and 5. Structure 4 was much like its predecessors from Phase 1A in its three-bay frame and exterior dimensions of 14 ft x 26 ft, with a hall and chamber plan (Fig. 16). This building lacked a hearth and chimney, and had a rectangular storage pit, or "root cellar" located about 2 ft from the north wall. Excavations at James Fort have revealed several storage pits either associated with lean-to structures against the fort wall, or small, free-standing, temporary shelters (Kelso and Straube 2008: 20–25), indicating that this practice was not all together unknown. Linebaugh suggests that underground storage pits may have more a common feature as well, and that they "continued to be used at lower status Euro-American dwellings into the eighteenth century" (Linebaugh 1994: 11). The absence of a hearth and chimney is perplexing as this structure certainly has the indicators of being lived in—the

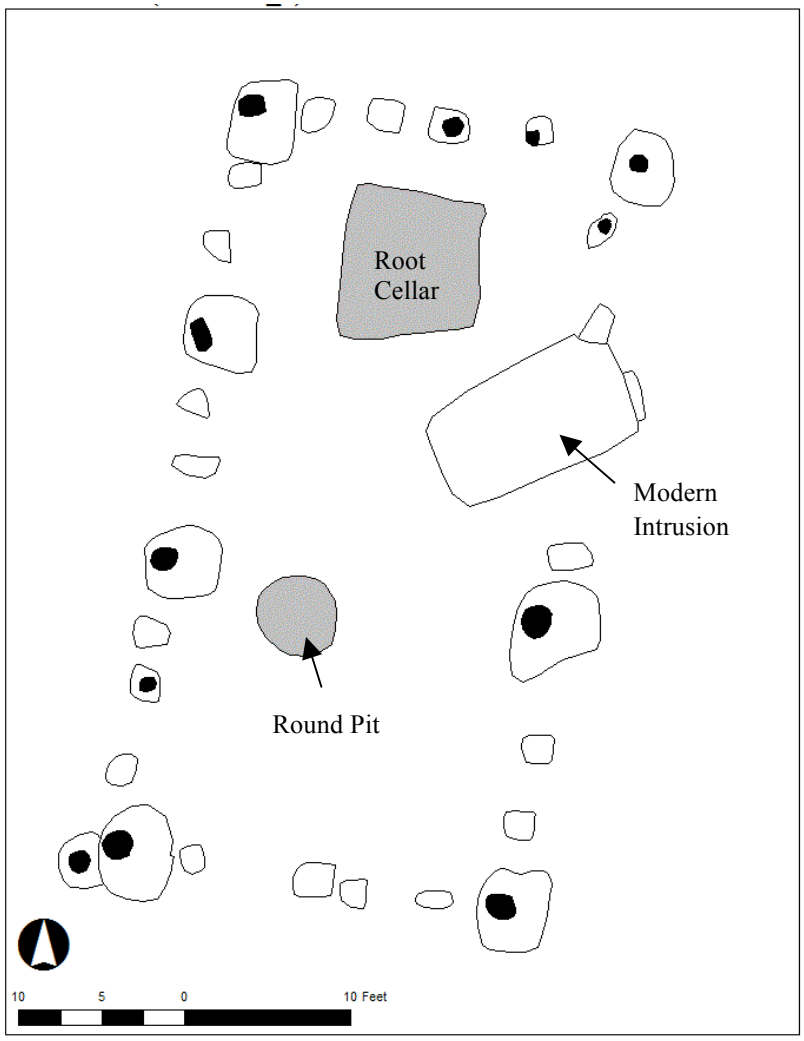

Figure 16. Archaeological plan of Structure 4. (graphic by author)

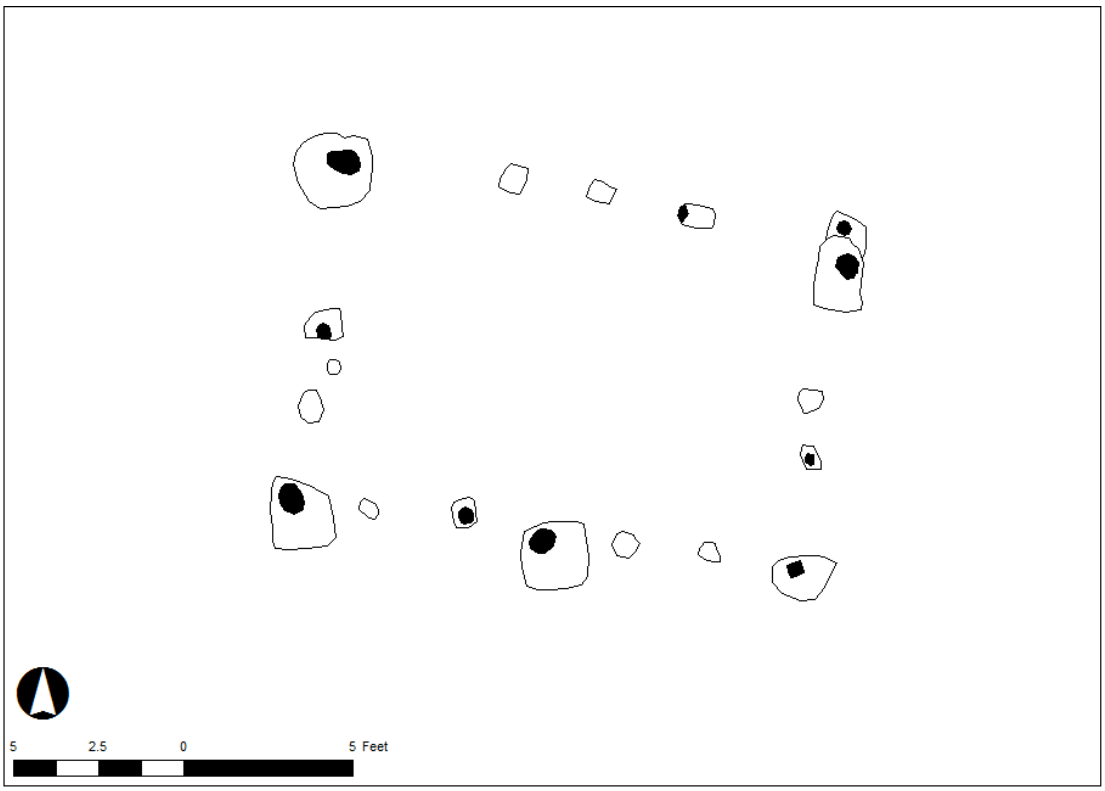

Figure 17. Archaeological plan of Structure 5. (graphic by author)

Figure 18. Working shot of Structure 4 during excavation. (courtesy of James River Institute for Archaeology)

Figure 19. Excavated postholes of Structure 5. (courtesy of James River Institute for Archaeology)

hall and chamber plan and the rectangular pit for storage. Structure 5 (Fig. 17), measuring 10 ft x 16 ft 9 inches, lacked a hearth and any indication for room divisions, and was aligned with Structure 2. This alignment suggests the two were built at the same time, and the size suggests it might have been used as storehouse. Storehouses of similar size were found during Kelso's excavations at Kingsmill at the Littletown Tenement site, dating between 1645–1665 (Kelso 1984: 59).

The large space within the fortified compound shows no signs of being sub-divided while the palisade stood. At Structure 3, however, two slot trenches that ran from the northeast and northwest corners to the palisade wall were uncovered, providing for a small enclosed space off the rear of the house, perhaps animal paddocks (Charles Hodges, pers. communication, 2010). On the west side of the building was a semi-circular slot trench with an opening in the center (Fig. 20). Animals may have been housed primarily on the western side of the site, corroborated by "a gap just north of the southwest bastion [which] provided not only a fortified entrance, but a funnel-like barrier for driving animals" (Hodges 1993: 202). This feature resembles annexes on English medieval barns where cows are milked (Beresford and Hurst 1972: 111). During the period of the palisade's existence, it was likely a necessity to keep cattle herds inside an enclosure at night, and during periods when danger of attack was high. Cattle could have been separated from the rest of the buildings within the enclosure by worm fences, or other temporary barriers which would leave no archaeological trace (Neiman 1980: 92).

Figure 20. Animal enclosure on the west end of Structure 3. (courtesy of James River Institute for Archaeology)

Phase 1C: 1646–1650

Following two years of warfare with the tribes of the Powhatan Confederacy, Virginia Governor Sir William Berkeley signed a treaty with the tribes in October of 1646, which gave the territory where Nansemond County was to the English (McCartney 1990: 9). Feelings of relative security are reflected in the post-1646 archaeological record at the Nansemond Fort, which provides evidence of the dismantling of the palisade, a hindrance to movement in and outside of its walls, between 1646–1650, Phase 1C (Fig. 21). The erection of Structure14, a small 10 x 10 ft storehouse (Fig. 22), and the inclusion of Garden 1, demarcated by a roughly 40 ft long fenceline, may indicate expanded agricultural practices resulting from the opening of more land after the treaty (Luccketti 2007: 29). Off the northwest corner of the garden enclosure, another fenceline, oriented N–S, ran almost directly down the center of the former open area in the compound. The fenceline extended for approximately 101 ft, with a 3-ft 6 inch opening 40 ft from the garden enclosure, effectively separating Structure 3 from the rest of the former compound. This division is perhaps representative of changes in land ownership, from Wilcox to Stoughton, and may reflect another household's presence on the site.

Other features dating between c. 1635–1650 consisted mainly of borrow pits and a feature interpreted as an exterior cellar. The exterior cellar dates to either Phase 1B or 1C, as it lay in between Structure 2 and the north wall of the fort, cutting neither one. It measured 15 ft x 4 ft with straight sidewalls and a flat bottom, a little over 2 ft in depth (Luccketti 2007: 37). Four small postholes (less than 10 inches square) were in each

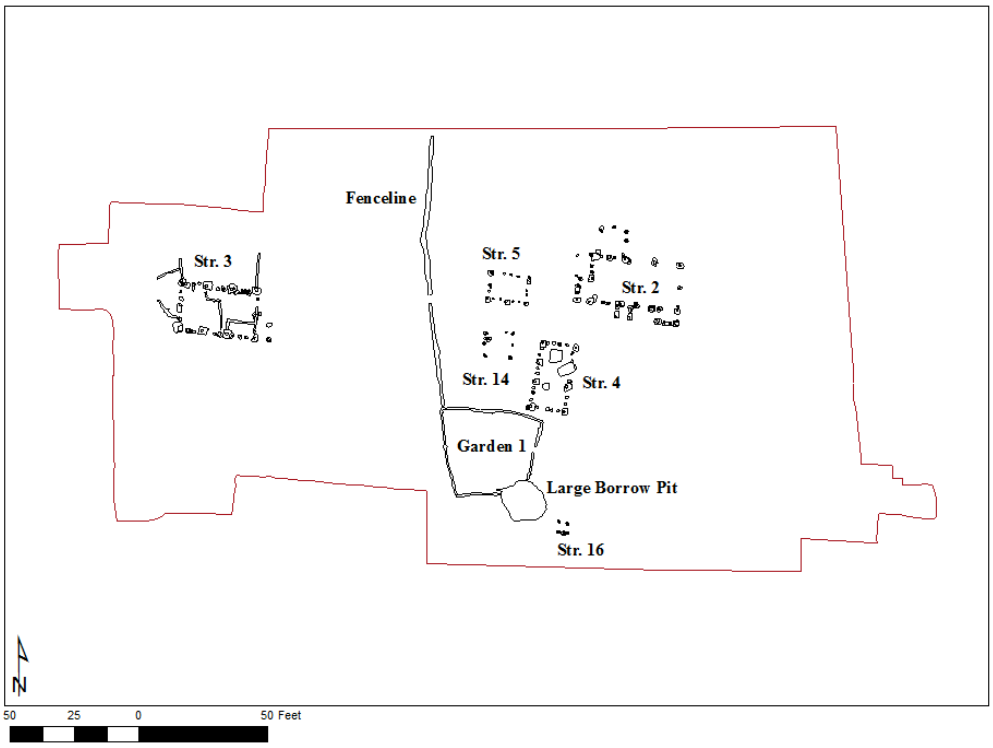

Figure 21. Plan of the Nansemond Fort, Phase 1C, 1646–1650. (graphic by author)

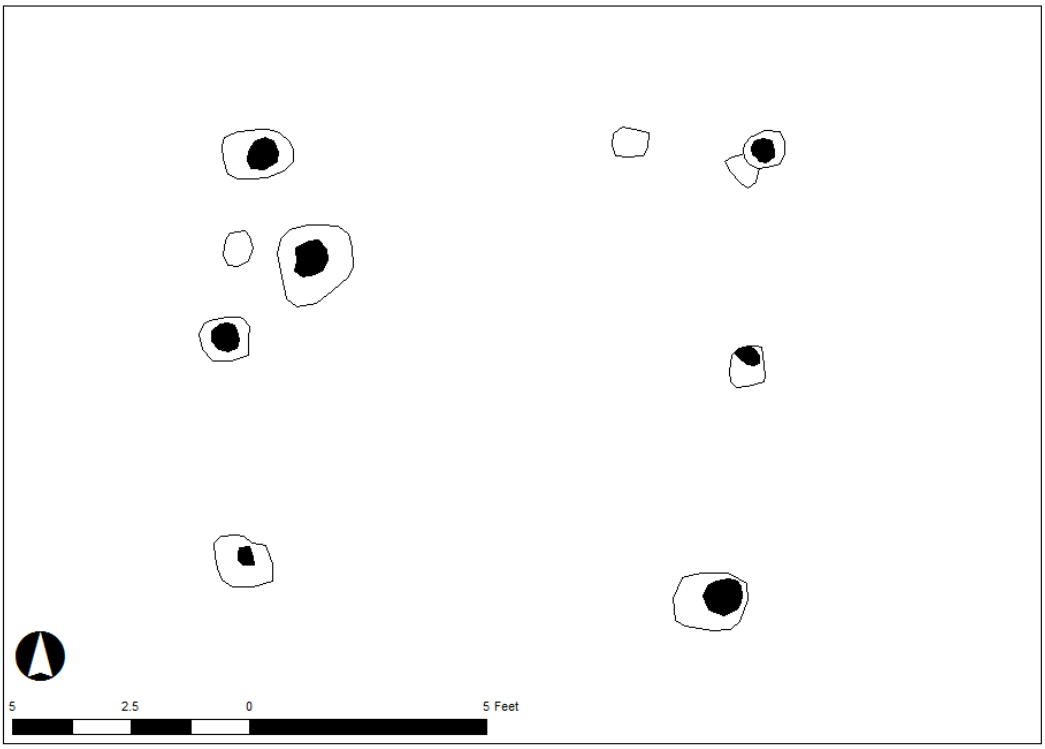

Figure 22. Archaeological plan of Structure 14. (graphic by author)

corner of the cellar, suggesting support for a plank covering and that it was board-lined, with evidence of a sill along the north side (see page 63, Fig. 11). No evidence of feature erosion or heavy organic concentrations were found, ruling out the possibility of a manufacturing feature, such as a saw pit. This feature was the second greatest artifact-producing feature on the site, with the deposit suggesting it represents a period of clean-up and re-ordering following the dismantling of the palisade wall, and perhaps was part of a lean-to addition off of Structure 2.

A feature that yielded the most finds on the site, referred to as the Large Borrow Pit, roughly 16 ft in diameter, probably was dug shortly after the palisade came down, and pre-dates the fence around Garden 1. The feature bottomed out at a depth of 8 ft, tapering in width from 6 ft to 4 ft. Ninety-six percent of all finds from this feature came from the top two layers, suggesting that the pit was open for a short time, and that the top deposits were intentional. Though the feature was first thought to be a well, this was ruled out as it lacked the hallmark signatures of having a discernible builder's trench, in addition to any traces of brick or barrel lining, both of which should have been present at a depth of 8 ft. This feature could be evidence of an attempt to sink a well, which was abandoned for unknown reasons.

A single, extended burial oriented east-west was found on the western half of the site, and may date to the study period. The grave shaft was rectangular, measuring 6 ft 10 inches long and 2 ft 3 inches wide, with remains encountered at a depth of 2 ft 3 inches (Luccketti 2007: 44). Poor preservation led to the recovery of "fragments of the left and

right humeri, left and right femora, left and right tibiae, minute fragment of the cranium, part of the left temporal, and one tooth; the presence of a completely formed 3rd molar suggests that the individual was at least 12 yrs old [but] it was impossible to determine sex, race, disease, trauma, or cause of death of the individual" (Luccketti 2007: 44). The burial's location, squarely within the fortified compound, indicates that the individual may have been interred during a period of threat when being confined within the walls was a necessity.

Comparative Evidence

The 15-year time span represented by the archaeological features described above correlates with the experiences colonists faced upon arrival in Virginia, and reflects the learning process for adapting to the new environment of the Chesapeake. Household clustering, for example, took place on the site before the construction of the Nansemond Fort's protective palisade walls. Though the logical explanation for the construction of the enclosure is defense related, St. George offers an alternative.

> Part of the calculated growth of England's nascent market economy thus was rooted, paradoxically, in the retention of an enclosed, protective, and defensive settlement pattern that looked back to the fixed, known security of feudal social relations at the same time that commodity relations were loosening the parameters of social place. In this system the role of the bawn and the importance of defense from "cultural others" has eclipsed the key role played by classical agricultural theory – which similarly championed the pastoral image of the enclosed farmstead as a means of efficiently organizing aristocratic concepts of fixed social rank while protecting the commodities of individual land owners – in English economic and social reform. (St. George 1990: 244)

In the framework of the English colonial ideals for demarcating personal space, the symbolic attribute of the palisade's dual role for defense as well as to optimize agriculture is a factor that has a great deal of importance for interpreting the Nansemond

Fort. This tradition has its roots in the enclosure movement in post-medieval England, which produced what from the outward appearance resemble "fortified" farms—palisading land symbolized ownership and served to "improve" the land (Crossley 1990: 30–31). The internal divisions within the fortified compound clearly demarcate areas of use or improvement, with the west portion of the compound for cattle, and the east relegated to dwellings and probably some gardens. Structure 3's specific use for cattle, and the large open space within the compound could have been used by two or more households for animal husbandry. Since it is a likely scenario that most of the landowners in the neighborhood of the Nansemond Fort were raising cattle, and that at least three of them lived on Daniel Gookin Sr.'s Marie's Mount plantation (and perhaps on his lands in Munster), there may have been more features like the palisaded enclosure on the landscape.

One building inside the enclosure that could be a representation of an Irish form of vernacular architecture which housed both people and animals is Structure 4. Work by archaeologist Audrey Horning at one of the Ulster Plantation settlements in Movanagher, Northern Ireland, uncovered the remains of a Gaelic-style house in the English settlement not dissimilar in size and layout to Structure 4 (Fig. 23). Movanagher was allotted to the Mercers' Company of London in 1611, on a prime tract of land with rich timber and fishing resources. By 1619, the settlement had grown to the size of a small village; an assessment of the Mercers' Company settlement states that it was composed of

> a very large bawn, 120ft. square, 4 flankers, of good stone and lime. Near the bawn are six houses of cagework, some covered with shingle, others thatched and inhabited by such poor men as they could find in the country, and these pay such dear rates for the land they are forced to take Irish tenants to pay their rent. Diverse other houses of slight building, but far off, and dispersed in woods, where inhabitants are forced to relieve such woodkerne as go up and downe the country. (Horning 2001: 383)

One of the "houses of cagework" near the bawn was uncovered, with a plan rectangular in shape, measuring 14 x 24 ft (Horning 2001: 385). There is strong evidence for a central hearth, consisting of an ash deposit surrounded by rocks. Absence of interior posts nearby implies that the building had a smoke canopy rather than a chimney stack (Horning 2001: 389). In the center of the southern half of the house was a small pit, interpreted as being used for under-floor storage, much like a root cellar. Postholes for this structure were shallow, suggesting that they were maul-driven puncheons—a feature shared by early Virginia buildings at James Fort and the Maine (Deetz 2002: 31). Horning suggests that the house was occupied by English tenants, and that this Gaelic house form found favor with settlers who brought the construction technique to North America. Edmund Plowden, an English adventurer who spent time in Virginia, Maryland, and Massachusetts wrote in 1650 "that a commonly available structure was 'an Irish house of posts walled and divided with close wattle hedges, and thin turfed above, and thick turfs without below" (cited in Horning 2001: 389).

Figure 23. 1622 Drawing of the Fishmonger's Bawn at Ballykelly, with three "Gaelic houses" outside the walls. (Reps 1972)

Figure 24. Archaeological plan of the enclosed compound at Jordan's Journey. Note Structures 15 and 16, and rounded fence; Structure 15 is a barn incorporated into the enclosure wall, and likely used for cattle (Comparative Archaeological Study of Colonial Chesapeake Culture database).

The similarities to the Nansemond Fort's Structure 4 of the dimensions, lack of chimney base, placement of underground storage pits, provides compelling evidence that other vernacular building forms were transported from English colonial projects in Ireland to Virginia. Before moving on to a summary of research on Irish bawns in a North American context, the enclosure wall of the Nansemond Fort will be addressed through comparison of two other fortified sites in Virginia. The circumstances through which the Nansemond Fort was palisaded is not dissimilar to Jordan's Journey (44PG302), a 1620–1635 village on the upper James River near present-day Richmond, and the Clifts Plantation (44WM33), a c. 1670–1740 fortified plantation on the Potomac River. Both of these settlements, like the Nansemond Fort, were enclosed because of the threat of Indian attack, and likewise demarcated interior spaces to work with the confined space.

The settlement at Jordan's Journey was composed of several dispersed farmsteads and was attacked during the March 1622 uprising. Samuel Jordan, master of one of the plantations organized the survivors, and fortified his plantation, but was dead a year later (McLearen and Mouer 1994: 6). According to the Muster of 1624/5, William Farrar married Jordan's widow and assumed control of his property. Within the fortified compound lived William Farrar, his wife, their three children, and ten servants, all male, between the ages of 21 and 26. The muster also records that 16 "neat cattle" and 20 poultry made up the animal complement within Farrar's household (McLearen and Mouer 1994: 7). The site, archaeologists McLearen and Mouer suggest, was the

administrative center for the greater Jordan's Journey settlement, and describe Farrar as being able to walk "out of the gate of his fort and down the lane, encountering the houses and palisaded compounds of his tenants" which suggests that other small, private "forts" existed nearby (McLearen and Mouer 1994: 7).

The Clifts Plantation, though occupied for a longer period of time than the Farrar settlement at Jordan's Journey, was fortified from at least c. 1675–1680 (Neiman 1980b : 105). The tract was situated on Pope's Creek, a short distance from the Potomac, and owned by Nathaniel Pope from 1650 to 1660, and passed on to his son Thomas who held it until 1685. Thomas likely did not occupy the site while it was fortified, probably leasing it to tenant farmers (Neiman 1998: 1). From the period c. 1670–1680, the site consisted of a large, 3-bay "manor house," and a small quarter. In 1675, a war erupted between English colonists in the counties along the Potomac and the Susquehannock, a neighboring tribe. It is likely that the site was fortified at this time, enclosed by a split-log rectangular palisade measuring 55 x 60 ft. The configuration was not dissimilar to the Nansemond Fort, with rounded bastions at opposing corners (Fig. 25).

Though the palisade surrounded the manor house, the west wall did not stop when it reached the corner with the south wall, extending southwards for a few feet, linking up with the quarter. This feature of the extending palisade raises questions in terms of the palisade enclosure at the Nansemond Fort. The two "appendages" that seemingly disappear may have led to other outbuildings that were not discovered, and part of the larger settlement.

Figure 25. Plan of the Clifts Plantation, c. 1675–1685. Dotted line indicates the palisade. Compare the extension of the palisade west wall to the plan of the Nansemond Fort, p. 63 (Neiman 1980a: 15).

Correspondingly, the use of worm-fencing at Clifts, though discussed in the context of the Nansemond Fort with interior divisions for cattle, could have also protected gardens or corn fields outside of the enclosure.

Following the end of the Susquehannock War and Bacon's Rebellion, the palisade wall at Clifts came down as it was no longer a necessity. This private fortification existed only as long as it needed to, escaping documentation in the county records. Some documentation does exist that "wealthier planters in Westmoreland and adjacent Northern Neck counties erected such fortifications around their homesteads during the 1675 Indian scare" but few names are given, and the fortifications are not described (Neiman 1998: 3). When the Nansemond Fort is considered along in this context, it may not be extraordinary that it escaped notice.

The examples of the enclosed compound at Jordan's Journey and the fortified house at the Clifts Plantation serve to illustrate two points about the Nansemond Fort. First, private fortification was not uncommon, but specific details were not recorded about fortified settlements, likely because the enclosures stood for only a few years, when external threats loomed. Even though the records related to 17th-century Nansemond County are gone, the Nansemond Fort may have escaped documentary recording anyway. Second, both Jordan's Journey and Clifts encompassed buildings and features outside of the enclosures, for different purposes. Jordan's Journey appears to have been the administrative center for a small village, that was surrounded by other privately-maintained fortifications. Clifts, on the other hand, was a singular farm, but during the

time of danger had all buildings and fields on the site connected by worm fence or palisade. This raises the question about how best to characterize the Nansemond Fort site—as part of a larger complex, like a particular plantation, or as a singular farmstead which may have had more associated with it?

There is at least one other site near the Nansemond Fort that is contemporary, and may be part of it. Lying 1,500 ft south of the enclosed compound, a site known as 44SK194 was tested in 1990, revealing traces of a palisade wall and multiple posthole patterns. Among the finds were second quarter 17th-century artifacts including many lead bandolier caps, leading archaeologists to interpret the palisade as another fortified compound or house (McLearen and Harbury 1990: 36) (Fig. 26). The implication for the site's placement near the Nansemond Fort may indicate multiple palisaded residences, or a larger plan like a particular plantation.

To summarize the Nansemond Fort site from the archaeological and historical evidence presented thus far, it appears that Michael Wilcox was the first occupant and probably lived there when the enclosure was built. During the time of the enclosure's existence, at least two households were within its walls, and a substantial portion of the site was allocated for cattle. Following the removal of the palisade, the site was divided down the center, probably when the property changed hands from Wilcox to Stoughton. The presence of the two dwellings on the site, Structure 2 and Structure 4, present interesting opportunities for comparison, considering a parallel to Structure 4 may be a Gaelic house.

Figure 26. Plan of features uncovered at 44SK194, with palisade. (McLearen and Harbury 1992: 36)

Chapter 5

"…of chusinge and takinge some place of Advantage, and there to make some Pallysadoes": Bawn Research and the Chesapeake

My discussion of the Nansemond Fort thus far has focused on the historical and archaeological contexts that when taken together provide an interesting scenario for site interpretation. One topic of concern that has not been addressed in detail is the Nansemond Fort's enclosure plan. If the Nansemond Fort is to be considered a military fortification, there were multiple parallels that an English adventurer to North America could choose from. Many settlers to Virginia were veterans of wars in Ireland and the Low Countries, where triangular and square fieldworks were used, constructed to withstand assaults from musket fire and artillery. Evidence suggests that the site was not a formal military installation, but instead a private fortification, built for the purpose of self-preservation in the event of an attack by Native Americans. Distinctions of two types of defense methods used by settlers to Virginia, noted by the Virginia Company of London in 1620; "one for the induringe of assaults and Battery [and] the other of chusinge and taking some place of Advantage, and there to make some Pallysadoes" (Kingsbury 1, 1906: 317).

Archaeologists of the colonial Chesapeake have evaluated the two types, formal and private, for interpreting early fortifications in the region. Primary documents confirm contemporary notions along the same lines. Archaeological evidence for formal

fortifications come primarily from James Fort at Jamestown Island, while evidence for private works has turned up at Jordan's Journey, Martin's Hundred, Flowerdew Hundred, and the Clifts Plantation (Kelso, Luccketti, and Straube 1999: 21–33). What are the characteristics of the private works, and does the evidence from the Nansemond Fort site fit best? With Daniel Gookin Jr.'s and others in the Nansemond region backgrounds in English colonial projects in Ireland, I suggest looking towards the Irish bawn as the precedent for the Nansemond Fort's plan. Scholars have attempted to situate the bawn in a North American context, but not always considered the people behind the plan. The following presents the breadth of historical and archaeological research on bawn enclosures and their significance in English colonial America.

Historian Howard Mumford Jones was one of the first scholars to draw connections between English colonizing efforts in Ireland and Virginia, citing 42 individuals who were shareholders in both the Virginia Company of London and also plantations in Ireland (Jones 1942: 450; Rabb 1967). The approach Jones took was to examine the primary historical documents surrounding English colonization, their purposes, and intended audiences. He clearly stated the pitfalls of one-to-one documentary colonial comparisons, emphasizing that

> American historians have also naturally arranged documents having to do with colonies in an order convenient for the understanding of American development, just as they have frequently interpreted these documents from a cis-Atlantic point of view. Provided the omissions of such an approach are clearly understood, no harm is done, but, the omissions not being understood, a false order of importance may be imposed upon history, from which misleading conclusions may be drawn regarding the transit of civilization from the Old World to the New. (Jones 1942: 459)

In the same vein, Jones pointed out the fact that the indigenous Irish and Native Americans were portrayed in English colonizing literature as being similar, alien, cultures (Jones 1942: 451–455). The primary documents studied by Jones, however, should not be taken at face value, for they served the purpose of "familiarizing" a new landscape and people to the English venturers to Virginia—rendering the unfamiliar familiar for English audiences.

David Beers Quinn recognized the potential uses of the biographies of English colonizers and their impacts in Ireland and Virginia, first linking the similarities between Native American and Irish forms of warfare (Quinn 1991a). He further expanded on how this was perceived by the English, tracing the individuals who colonized Roanoke as a starting point—Sir Walter Raleigh, Richard Grenville, Ralph Lane, Thomas Hariot, and John White were all involved in speculative claims during the Munster Plantation of 1584—all of whom may have transferred lessons learned in Ireland to the Roanoke attempts. Quinn also recognized that during the Virginia Company Period, planters in Ireland sought to diversify their investments and establish plantations in Virginia as well. Two cases he cites are those of Daniel Gookin Sr., and Capt. Thomas and Sir William Newce, Munster planters who were amongst the first patentees in Elizabeth Cittie (Quinn 1991a: 16–28).

Quinn's examples of Gookin Sr. and the Newce brothers fit nicely into the historical and archaeological discussion of bawns, as they both would have been familiar with them, and even built them in Virginia. William Newce and Gookin Sr. were friends

and business associates[8] in Ireland, and both brought cattle from their plantations there to Virginia. Newce had experience in colonial administration as well, in the planning and settlement of Bandon, one of the few towns that the English established in Munster that endured (Gookin 1912: 39; MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986: 187). One of Newce's final Munster improvements was the establishment of Newce's Town, a suburb of Bandon, from which he transported colonists to Virginia in July of 1621. Newce, like Gookin Sr., was given a large land patent in Elizabeth Cittie. Since he offered to "transport at his own costs and charges 1000 persons to Virginia betwixt this and midsomer 1625," Newce was given the title of Marshall of the Colony, and was knighted by King James I prior to his departure (Gookin 1912: 39). During the Massacre of 1622, like Gookin Sr., Newce was instrumental in defending his plantation at Newport News (as that area of Elizabeth Cittie had become known), gathering survivors at their plantation (Gookin 1912: 41). William and Thomas Newce also built two "guest-houses" to receive new immigrants to the colony, improving the land with palisades and a brick-lined well. Thomas perished sometime in the fall of 1622, and William was dead by the spring of 1623 (McCartney 2007: 519–520). The fortification that both Newce and Gookin undertook may have closely resembled what Samuel Jordan erected at Jordan's Journey (see p. Fig. 24).

My endeavors to look historically into cross-colonial connections led me to other avenues of inquiry to enhance my knowledge of such connections. As Horning has pointed out, the comparisons of primary documents and colonist biographies can indicate

[8] Gookin Sr.'s probate inventory lists his brother, Sir Vincent Gookin, and William Newce as executors of his estate (Gookin 1912: 55).

"a closely matching manipulation of the physical landscape in North America and Ireland" (Horning 2007: 53). Looking towards other research that has treated the bawn for the purpose of controlling the landscape, the work of scholars Anthony Garvan and John Reps draws comparisons between English North American colonies and Ireland from the perspectives of architecture and town planning. Garvan focused on colonial towns in New England, and postulated that English colonial plans for settlement had Classically-inspired underpinnings, ideals seen in the plans of town layouts in Ulster (Garvan 1951). From 17th-century descriptions of James Fort and modern depictions of it, Garvan noted that it "closely resembled an Ulster bawn erected a short distance from the town"—which he attributed to Capt. Edward Maria Wingfield, James Fort's first governor, who had seen military service in Ireland (Garvan 1951: 38–39).

Like Garvan, Reps recognized the Classical and Renaissance elements in English colonial planning in North America, but emphasized (more than Garvan had) the importance of cross-colonial comparisons. Successful assessment of choices made during the settling of North America requires knowledge of the English colonial project in Ireland:

> One cannot understand English colonization in America, including the development of town planning theory and practice and the role that towns were expected to play, without some knowledge of the earlier overseas colonial ventures. The real frontier for English colonization in the latter part of the sixteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth lay in nearby and familiar Ireland rather than on the strange and distant shores of North America. (Reps 1972: 8)

Figure 27. Drawing of the Fishmonger's Company settlement and bawn at Ballykelly, Ulster, 1622. Note the variety in housing types depicted—the rounded-rectangular buildings represent traditional Gaelic houses. (Reps 1972)

Figures 28. Drawing of the Draper's Company settlement and bawn at Moneymore, Ulster, 1622. (Reps 1972).

To illustrate his point, Reps used drawings of plans of the Ulster Plantations (Figs. 27 and 28), which constituted reductions of larger, Renaissance fortified settlements that in the colonial context met the needs of an administrative center without the baggage of a town. He further solidified his point by referencing descriptions of James Fort (1607–1624) and Henricus (1611–1622), commenting that when the settlers began to move outside of the protective walls, these communities "must have closely resembled these linear Ulster villages" (Reps 1972: 16).

Following the research of Reps, Robert Blair St. George (1990) sees bawns in North America as having precedent in the Ulster Plantation. St. George provides a case study of the c. 1652–1660 Bray Rossiter Farm in Guilford, Connecticut, in which the bawn fulfills not only a defensive role, but a symbolic one as well:

> the Ulster bawn played a role in the defensive design of early New England settlements, [but] it did so as part of a larger cultural system of imperial expansion which linked the imperatives of protecting fixed capital to a complex system of beliefs that drove God's Englishmen to defend the church militant against infidels while also attempting their wholesale conversion to the Protestant faith. (St. George 1990: 244)

The plan of the Bray Rossiter Farm (Fig. 29), like those Garvan and Reps presented, is descriptive; St. George's plan of the farm is an interpretation based on a 17th-century document; he compares it to drawings of Ulster bawns (St. George 1990: 241). St. George also uses documentary evidence of English views that Native Americans and indigenous Irish were analogous in all manners and barbaric, and that English settlers in both colonial projects needed to protect themselves from hostile "others" (St. George

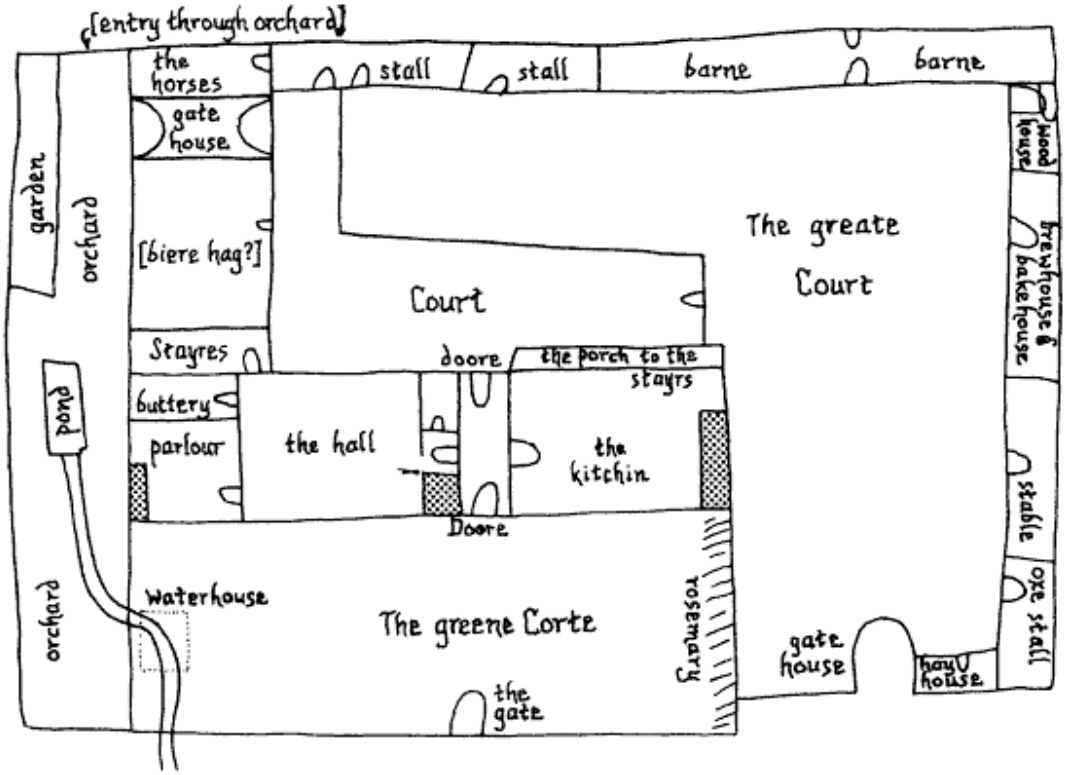

Figure 29. Plan drawing of the Bray-Rossiter bawn (St. George 1990: 244). This plan resembles the drawings of Ulster plantation bawns, but was likely a singular farmstead, like the fortified house at Clifts.

1990: 264). This assumption that there were similar native-to-newcomer cultural relations in both Ireland and North America that resulted in hostility is problematic; in reality, one is hard-pressed to draw such straightforward comparisons between the Irish and Native Americans (Audrey Horning, pers. communication 2009).

Archaeologist Ivor Noël Hume (familiar with both Garvan's and Reps' assessments of Ulster plans) recognized in 1978 that the archaeological evidence at Martin's Hundred revealed a fortification much like a bawn (Noël Hume 1988: 234, 236). This "Irish Connection," he states, "was valid not only in terms of village design, but throughout every facet of contemporary colonial life" (Noël Hume 1988: 236). Drawing from his interpretation of the fort at Martin's Hundred Site C, known as Wolstenholme Towne (Fig. 30), Noël Hume further remarked that the fort plan, as "transported" by English venturers, became part of the "colonizing kit"—one that was universally transferable, making no difference where they settled, because what the colonists did, "and what they had to do it with, remained the same" (Noël Hume 1988: 237). This notion was bolstered not just by the archaeological plan, but also by the drawn plan of the Ulster village of Macosquin, c. 1610 (Fig. 31). Comparing the Martin's Hundred Virginia Company period site with Ulster plans, Noël Hume was comfortable in making the connection, and he referred to the fortification at Martin's Hundred as a bawn.

In the decade following Noël Hume's work at Martin's Hundred, remains and evidence of other colonial fortifications were discovered in Virginia, all of which differed in plan from one another. Other archaeologists similarly were drawn to the conclusion that these

enclosed settlements could be said to draw precedent from Ulster Plantation village plans. The excavation of Jordan's Journey led to the discovery of a c. 1622 palisaded compound, that was conceptualized like

> the Vintners settlement at Balleague in Ulster, Northern Ireland, as it appeared in 1622. At the head of the village plan lay the master's fortified manor house compound, a combination of public and private space wherein church services were held, court was convened, and the public business of the community was conducted. Extending from a gate in the fort was probably a lane which defined the town commons, and another road to the landing on the river. Along the main lane were individual house lots: croft, toft, and yard complexes of individual tenants and their servants. Some of these were also enclosed with defensive palisades. (McLearen and Mouer 1994: 6)

Though the comparison of the Jordan's Journey site to Ulster plantation villages may be apt, it is imperative to recognize that English colonial efforts in Virginia predated the establishment of Ulster, and one should be cautious when applying a direct comparison to Ulster as a model for early sites that are contemporary or earlier in date.

Charles Hodges explored what he termed "private" colonial Virginia fortifications (Hodges 1993, 2003), suggesting that while some plans might owe allegiance to works in Ulster, attention should be given to colonial works of the French, Dutch, and Spanish for a more holistic comparison (Hodges 2003: 27). He recommends moving away from the Ulster model for plantation and fortification strategy underpinning colonial settlement in North America, and that in interpreting a privately fortified site, the researcher look towards the Roman, Medieval, and Renaissance ideology that would have informed 17th-century plantation ideals and methods of controlling the landscape (Hodges 2003: 31).

Figure 30. Archaeological plan of c. 1619 Wolstenholme Town, Martin's Hundred. The bawn at the "head" of the settlement is flanked by other structures, like the drawings of Ulster settlements. Of note is the corral, which is enclosed on three sides, with a gap in the bawn wall that goes into it. Similar to the Nansemond Fort, the Martin's Hundred bawn was designed for livestock (Noël Hume 1988).

Figure 31. Drawn plan of the village and bawn at Macosquin, Ulster c. 1610. Similar to Martin's Hundred, the bawn is the anchor from which the rest of the site is laid out (Noël Hume 1988).

These earlier notions of dividing land for the dual purpose of farming and defense broadens ones perspective when examining private fortifications, and gets beyond an Ulster-centric comparative scheme (Charles Hodges pers. communication 2010).

The handful of archaeologically excavated private fortifications in the Chesapeake are a small, but incredibly rich data set for informing us about how English colonists organized themselves to optimize agriculture and for defense, but can the term "bawn" be used accurately to describe any of the sites that have been discussed? I find that the term bawn does have much utility in a North American context, but that one should carefully evaluate the form and function of the site before applying this term. From my own research and intensive review of the evidence, I consider the characterization of the Nansemond Fort enclosure as a bawn to be appropriate and the most reasonable interpretation. Perhaps in evaluating the bawn one should consider that they were used by the English for quasi-military functions in the Munster Plantation as well, which predated Ulster and Virginia in English colonization. As archaeologist Eric Klingelhöfer notes, fortifications from the late 16th-to early 17th-century in Ireland were increasingly complex and specialized; some were rooted in Italian and French Renaissance designs, others were based on Dutch siege works, yet others were indigenous in form. Throughout the Plantation Period, several modern and outmoded forms were in use, but the "rectilinear enclosure was obsolete except for the ubiquitous residential bawn, which took no other shape" (Klingelhöfer 1998: 8) (see Fig. 32).

Figure 32: Archaeological plan of Barryscourt, Co. Cork, with bawn from its c. 1600 occupation (Pollock 1999: 165).

A further reason for using the term bawn in the Nansemond Fort's regional context is that it may have been the word that the colonists used to describe the enclosures that they built. Though the word bawn may not appear *directly* in the records, the term "barne-fort" does—3 documents from 1647 relating to events in Lower Norfolk County, Nansemond's neighbor, use that word to describe plantation structures resembling bawns (LNC Minute Book B, 1647–1651, 41a, 42a). (There may be additional references as well, and the original documents should be examined to see if "bawn" may have been the intended word). The Lower Norfolk connection is particularly interesting. Daniel Gookin Jr.'s brother, John, resided in Lower Norfolk County, and like Daniel was present at his father's Marie's Mount plantation, and a district militia captain. Several of Gookin Sr.'s transportees from 1621 and 1623 settled in the region, and as Canny suggests may have been Irish or English settlers who were in Munster before coming to Virginia, for whom the construction of a familiar agricultural and defensive fieldwork may have been the preferred defensive measure.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

My discussion of the Nansemond Fort thus far has focused on the historical and archaeological contexts that when taken together provide an interesting scenario for interpretation. The biographies of the people on and around the site, their interaction with the land, and the society they sought to construct and maintain can be identified through the site and artifacts, but do not reflect any fixed pattern or agenda. Anthropologist Alfred Gell has alluded to the human mind and experience played out in the archaeological record, as

> a person and the person's mind are not contained to particular spatio-temporal coordinates, but consist of a spread of biographical events and memories of events, and a dispersed category of material objects, traces, and leavings which can be attributed to a person, and which, in aggregate, testify to agency and patienthood during a biographical career which may, indeed, prolong itself long after biological death. (Gell 1998: 222)

If we consider that Daniel Gookin Jr. and his cohort had shared backgrounds in other colonizing ventures, chiefly the Irish Munster Plantation, the site plan has greater role to play in the interpretation of 17th-century life in the Chesapeake, on a trans-Atlantic and inter-colonial scale. Daniel Gookin Jr. did not own the tract upon which the Nansemond Fort was built, but was the first patentee in the region and prominent in the settling of the Nansemond. This very prominence means it is possible to find out more about him than the less well-known owners of the relevant tract. I make the case that those who settled on the Nansemond Fort tract came to Virginia with similar backgrounds and experiences, and thus are likely to have produced an establishment along lines similar to what the

Gookins did in Ireland and at Marie's Mount. In other words, I posit an "Irish Connection" among nearly all the early European residents of the territory.

Caution and discretion is suggested in the Ireland–Virginia colonial comparative context as it

> should not be overdrawn. The temptation to compare Munster with an American colony can result in unfruitful parallels and conclusions. When we talk of Newce and the frontier in Munster, the image is metaphorical and denotes the state of a particular adventurer's mind. The "frontier" did not exist in the same way as in Virginia. To use such a term in a physical sense, and to go on to assert that the common settler outlook in Ireland cannot have been essentially different from that of Virginia colonists, gives a misleading impression of Munster at this time [c. 1605–1641]. Even the word "colonist" when applied to the Munster English, carries the wrong connotation, especially if directly compared to those in Virginia. (MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986: 214)

This warning is apt, but the suggestion that Munster cannot be viewed in a colonial context is arguable. MacCarthy-Morrogh points out that English undertakers and emigrants to Munster occasionally "kept a foot" in both England and Ireland, serving to enrich their landholdings and wealth in England, with no intention of remaining in Munster (MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986: 280). While that may be the case, the reality is that the one of the goals of the Munster Plantation sought to populate the countryside with English planters and tenants, with little regard for the indigenous Irish. Colonial experiences are composed of human action, material culture, and theoretical underpinnings, all of which are tied to a parent power (Gosden 2004: 3)—English-supported troops suppressed Desmond's revolt, English undertakers carved up Desmond lands and populated them with English settlers. Along the same lines, Horning indicates that the terminology may be taken either way, but that "in terms of self-perception, a

significant proportion of today's population understand the history of the plantation period as a colonial episode" (Horning 2007: 51).

By placing Munster and Virginia in comparative colonial context, we can see that the early English plantations in the Nansemond and in Munster share similar traits. Considering the land in Munster and southside Virginia, both were settled in circumstances which arose from discontinuous plantation ideals. In Munster, the escheated Desmond holdings were fragmentary, making property distinctions difficult and incongruent (MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986: 144). When land on the southside of the James opened up to settlement in a similar fashion, lands that appeared uninhabited were still within the domains of the region's Native American tribes, confounding the division of land. An added factor in the Nansemond region was the Maltraver's Proprietorship, issued by the Crown and not by Virginia's Governor, who had a better idea of the problems behind issuing and settling such a large tract. The characteristic of dispersed settlement is a shared element, as in the first Munster Plantation "it had been thought good policy to scatter the Irish among the English newcomers hoping they would become Anglicized" (MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986: 145). The plan for settlement dispersal in Virginia following the 1622 uprising was, in practice, designed to have a similar effect, buffering the Native American population, while minimizing the potential for casualties that larger settlements might induce. Although at the time of the Munster Plantation's re-establishment in 1605 threat from the invasion of a foreign power was considered, internal risks amongst the native Irish were not. In Virginia this was also a fear, but the

granting of patents to individuals on land south of the James following several years of warfare with Native Americans suggests that the colonists felt that the Native Americans had been pacified. Both colonies experienced indigenous risings, in Munster in 1641, and in Virginia in 1644. Both were also subject to foreign invasion—the Munster coastal city of Baltimore was sacked in 1631 by "Turks" (Dutch pirates operating out of Algiers), and the southside Virginia plantations were harassed and suffered destruction by the Dutch navy in 1675.

An additional point is the consideration of the impact that the Puritan faith may have had in strengthening communities in both places. One prominent group of Puritans settled in Munster at the aforementioned port town of Baltimore in 1606; among them was John Winthrop, the grandfather of John Winthrop, the founder of Boston, Massachusetts in 1630. While the Winthrops' motives for settlement in Munster are not entirely clear, they may have considered the "importance of religion for their plantation" (MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986: 199). Other Puritan families resided in the town of Bandon, and it may be from this connection that Daniel Gookin Jr. became an adherent to that faith; among Daniel Sr.'s probate inventory in 1633 were several "puritan books" (Gookin 1912: 55; MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986: 201).

One of the strongest links to Gookin Jr. and the Nansemond region comes from his economic activities regarding cattle. The transportation of cattle from Ireland to Virginia in 1621 and 1623 enriched Daniel Gookin Sr. with land in Virginia, that he was able to pass on to Daniel Jr. Cattle were important to the sustainability of southside

planters in times of poor corn or tobacco yields. Looking back to the individuals in the Nansemond region who came to Virginia with little means, it is reasonable to suggest that they might have climbed the social ladder through the cattle trade. Thomas Addison and John Parrot were both servants of Gookin Sr. at Marie's Mount, but by the 1630s had the means to patent their own land and also provided funds to transport others to Virginia. Archaeologist Garry Wheeler Stone suggests that in Maryland (Stone 1987: 21) cattle were used to pay indentured servants when they became freemen, which may have been the case with Addison and Parrott. With cattle providing a lucrative means for support, others in the region may have become involved in cattle raising as well, shaping the landscape for this pursuit.

The Nansemond Fort's bawn enclosure was a form familiar to colonists who had spent time in Ireland that likely became a feature that others, like Wilcox, may have adopted to suit their homestead's needs. From a defensive standpoint, it has been demonstrated in that Munster and Ulster, English planters were encouraged to construct bawns around new settlements. As the district militia commander, Daniel Gookin Jr. was probably familiar with the bawn's use in Ireland, perhaps providing the support and organizational means to construct them on farms in the region that were lacking defenses when the threat of Native American attack in the late 1630s/early 1640s was a reality. Thomas Addison, John Parrott, and George White were present at Gookin Sr.'s Marie's Mount Plantation when it was fortified, and Michael Wilcox was a resident of a fortified Elizabeth Cittie plantation prior to his move to the Nansemond. All of these men were at

least familiar with those defenses in Virginia, and perhaps from previous experience in English colonial ventures elsewhere.

The settlement's plan and the buildings within its walls are reflections of how the English were adapting to life in the Chesapeake. By the 1640s, English settlers coming to Virginia had been a part of or were aware of English colonial projects around the globe; they had "adapted successful models in different and new environments and had accumulated the knowledge and expertise that shaped those endeavors" (Games 2006: 692). In that context, Daniel Gookin, Jr. and the others who settled in and around the Nansemond Fort can be seen as mediators between the first and second generations of English colonists in Virginia. The enclosure plan can be said to reflect, albeit indirectly, the legacy of Daniel Gookin, Sr. and Jr.'s colonizing endeavors in Ireland and Virginia, and beyond, to Maryland and Massachusetts.

The similarity of the bawn at the Nansemond Fort (Fig. 33) to the enclosed compound at Jordan's Journey (Fig. 34), and archaeological evidence that the site may have encompassed additional outbuildings or homesteads, like the plan of Martin's Hundred, could lead one to believe that the Nansemond Fort may have resembled a particular plantation. More evidence is also needed from English plantation layouts in Munster to strengthen the preliminary comparisons drawn here. More attention needs to focus on the biographies of colonists, which have much to inform us about colonialism in the early

Figure 33. Drawing of the Nansemond Fort as it might have appeared around 1644. (courtesy of Jamie E. May)

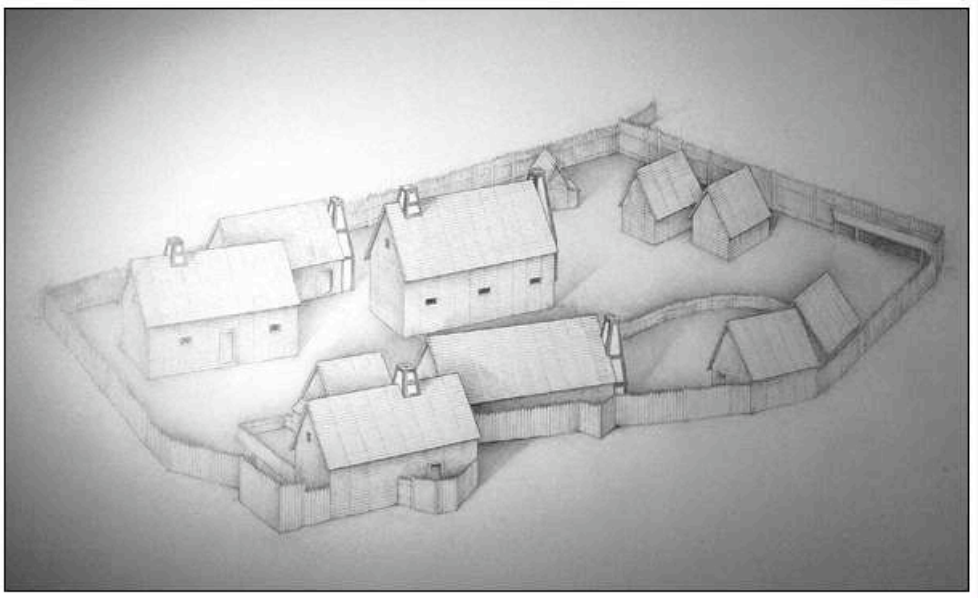

Figure 34. Drawing of Jordan's Journey, 44PG302, representing the archaeological evidence from features dating to 1622. (courtesy of Virginia Department of Historic Resources)

modern world. For archaeological interpretation of colonial sites, it is imperative to remember that "the chronological order in which the English encountered different parts of the world mattered, encouraging men to transport models from one place to another and often hindering new settlements as a result" (Games 2006: 687). This is the particular case that I have made in the interpretation of the Nansemond Fort to strengthen its ties to English colonial projects in Ireland. Though the plan may look similar to an Irish bawn the visual observation is not enough—the biographies of the people in the region, their economic pursuits, and the buildings inside support this interpretation. It is possible that even more connections can be drawn between the English experience in Munster and Virginia when the site's artifact assemblage is considered as well.

Historical archaeology of comparative colonialism in both the Chesapeake and in Ireland is gaining ground, recognizing the value of developing broad cultural contexts for site analysis in both areas. As archaeologist Tadhg O'Keeffe has remarked on the 17th century, "we know that this is a critical period in *global* history, with networks of contact having a vast geographical reach, sometimes arching over Ireland and sometimes bouncing in and out of Ireland. Yet, we struggle to think that the Gaelic-Irish of the late 1500s and early 1600s might have learned new cultural tricks from sources *other* than their English neighbors on the island" (O'Keeffe 2010: 150). In the Chesapeake, parochialism is similarly problematic, but the large number of excavated 17th-century sites, makes it is possible to recognize through the archaeological record the traces of transported colonial experiences. Adventurers planting new colonies were certainly aware

of the value of past colonial projects, as evident in the words of a Captain Blackman, who witnessed the failure of an English attempt to colonize Madagascar in 1650: “had those who are to bee honoured for planting Virginia and S. Christopher, deserted on such slender grounds, I believe wee had not a this Day had a Plantation in America” (Games 2006: 689).

The value of comparative colonial experience was known to 17th-century adventurers, and as researchers of the past, it should be known to us, and used to construct broader frameworks for studying English colonial sites. I have constructed my framework of study on the Nansemond Fort site and its occupants in this manner, indicating there is much more to the site’s representation than just a simple frontier settlement. The Nansemond Fort in this context links Virginia to English colonies in North America, and also to Ireland, leading to a greater understanding of how those in the 17th century lived their daily lives, and conceptualized themselves—not in isolation, but as part of a wider world, connected by past experience and trade. The bawn plan of the site can shed light on the plantation experience in Ireland and Virginia, how plantations were laid out, what economic pursuits are reflected in their plans, and how they fit into the larger landscape. More work needs to be carried out to see how much comparison can be drawn between the colonies, and this study represents a small part of what will become a broader pursuit. Bringing in the aspect of the English experience in Munster adds another element to comparative research on English colonialism in North America. By viewing the Nansemond Fort as a transported agricultural form from one colony to

another, I have tried to bridge significant gaps between adaptive practices to adapting to landscape of the Chesapeake between successive generations of colonists. I suggest that the Nansemond Fort be seen as a representation of both English and Irish traditions in both defense and farming, adapted over time though colonial processes into a form that became a common part of the landscape in colonial America. The research I have presented indicates that perhaps more bawns (or "barne-forts") existed in colonial Virginia, and that the comparison with experiences in Ireland may be stronger than suspected.

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