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The Shaping of Kecoughtan, 1607-1624: "A Delicate and Necessary Seat for a City or Chief Fortification"

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THE SHAPING OF KECOUGHTAN, 1607 – 1624:
“A DELICATE AND NECESSARY SEAT FOR A CITY OR CHIEF FORTIFICATION”

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of American Studies Department

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

John Michael Cobb

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APPROVAL SHEET

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

Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

During the first quarter of the seventeenth century, Kecoughtan, a Virginia Company of London settlement, situated in Virginia near the entrance of the Chesapeake Bay and positioned at the tip of the peninsula formed by the James and York Rivers, was a crucial outpost in the Company's attempt to establish a colony in the James River estuary. Kecoughtan's natural resources rendered it as one of the colony's most habitable sites, serving as a breadbasket and a place of refuge during times of peril, as the Company attempted to establish its foothold in Virginia. In addition, Kecoughtan's strategic location served as the Company's sentinel, to "win time," while warning the up-river settlements of a Spanish attack from the sea. Moreover, Kecoughtan's convenient harbor on the Hampton River positioned it as an important gateway for tobacco trade and commerce in the colony. (See Fig. 1.)

By the end of the Virginia Company period (1607–1624), however, Kecoughtan was a tenuous settlement, facing starvation along with the other Company enclaves. Because of its important position in the colony as a refuge during times of peril, Kecoughtan's survival was jeopardized at that time as its population dramatically increased with the influx of refugees seeking protection after the Powhatan offensive of 1622. Kecoughtan's food supply was inadequate to sustain this population surge, and much of its corn crop was destroyed or inaccessible because of Indian hostilities.

In conclusion, Kecoughtan's natural attributes were a critical foundation that supported the Company's attempt to colonize Virginia. And by 1624, although the settlement had deteriorated because of the Powhatan attack of 1622, Kecoughtan had the highest concentration of English men, women, and children in Virginia, and would be the only Virginia Company settlement to endure to the present day as a substantial center of population and commerce, the City of Hampton.

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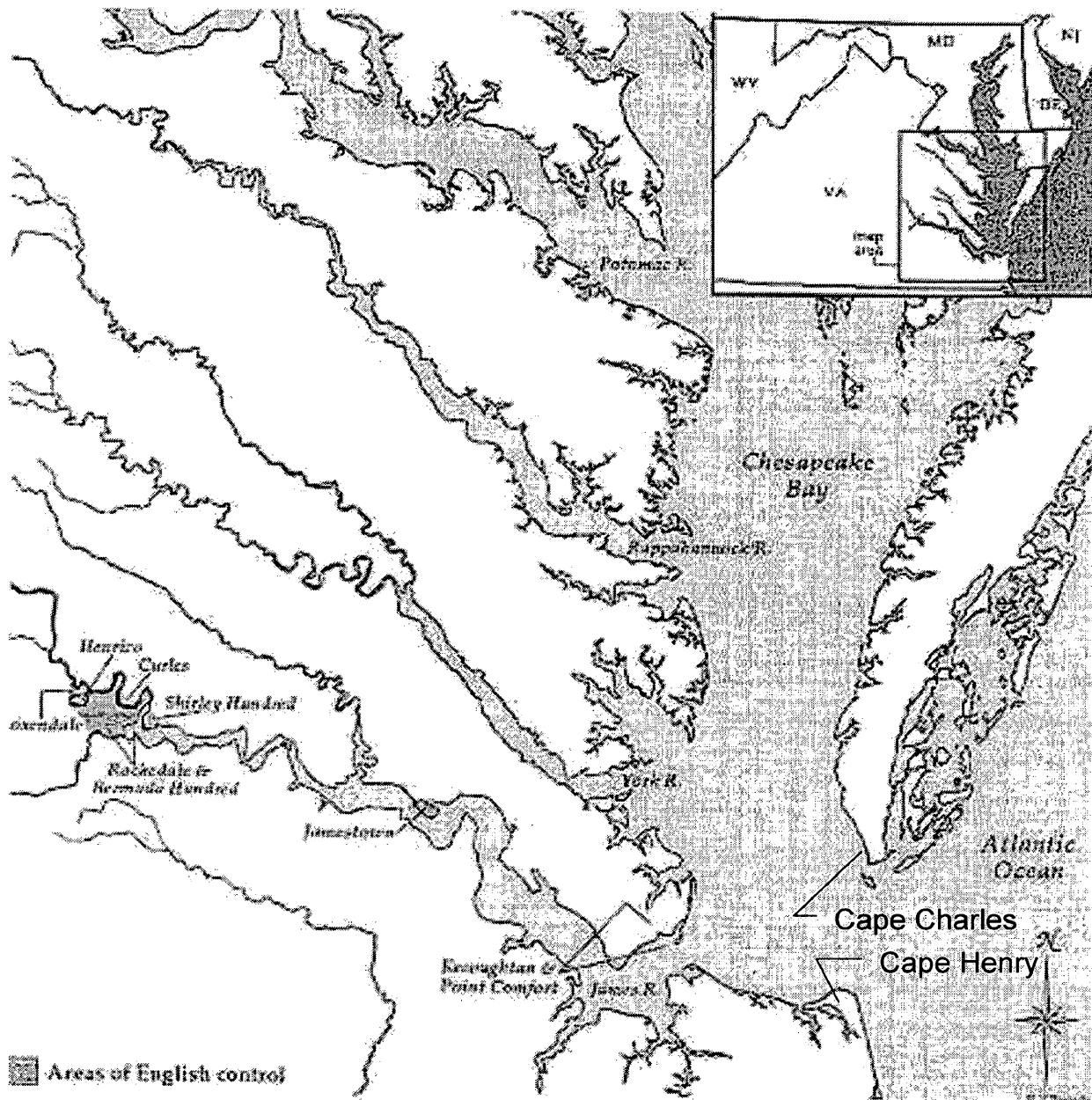


Fig. 1: ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS IN 1613¹
Kecoughtan and Point Comfort

¹ Frederic W. Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures*, (Lincoln, The University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 134.

INTRODUCTION

Kecoughtan, a Virginia Company of London settlement during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, has been relatively neglected in scholarly analysis as juxtaposed to the comparatively extensive archaeological and documentary research of other settlements such as Flowerdew Hundred, Governor's Land, Jamestown, Jordan's Journey, and Martin's Hundred. An understanding of the Virginia Company period (1607-1624) and its seminal role in the formation of American government and culture is incomplete without an in-depth analysis of Kecoughtan's intrinsic role in the Company's attempt to establish England's presence in Virginia.

Research and interpretation of Kecoughtan's significance has been mainly within the framework of general histories of the town of Hampton (built on the site of Kecoughtan) and Virginia, and in several archeological reports. Historian Alexander Brown's *The First Republic in America* (1898) analyzes the Virginia Company period, emphasizing the use of the first chronicles. In addition, Lyon G. Tyler's *History of Hampton and Elizabeth City County* (1921) presents a chronological history of the region during the Company period through 1910. Historian Martha McCartney's "The Environs of the Hampton River" (1983) provides further chronological treatment of the area up to the nineteenth century. Historians Frank W. Craven (1932), Richard L. Morton (1960), Edmund S. Morgan (1975), Warren M. Billings (1986), and James Horn (1994) view the Virginia Company settlement of Kecoughtan within the framework of a larger interpretation of colonial Virginia. Therefore, Kecoughtan is generally relegated,

by necessity, to succinct isolated events, usually associated with the English arrival in the Chesapeake and the formation of the Virginia Company government.

From the present-day archaeological excavations conducted at Hampton, the site of early Kecoughtan, and the accompanying historical documentation, we have acquired an understanding of eighteenth-century Hampton, and to a lesser extent that of early seventeenth-century Kecoughtan. Even though six major excavations have been conducted, which helped place Kecoughtan in the historical record, the excavations mainly dated from the late seventeenth through the eighteenth centuries, yielding limited knowledge of the Virginia Company experience. A Hampton University Archaeological project, however, excavated features that dated to the late and post-Virginia Company period.² Also, an excavation at Strawberry Banks recovered features related to the Company period.³

This study is based primarily on the chronicles of the Virginia Company leadership, both in Virginia and London: Ralph Hamor, George Percy, Capt. John Smith, and William Strachey. Taking into consideration the informants' obvious biases, self-serving accounts, inconsistencies, and vagaries commonplace in the reports and narratives of the Virginia Company leaders, when Kecoughtan is referenced, these accounts consistently support the contention that Kecoughtan

² Andrew C. Edwards, William E. Pittman, Gregory J. Brown, Mary Ellen N. Hodges, Marley R. Brown III and Eric E. Voigt. Hampton University Archaeological Project: A Report on the Findings. 2 vols. (Williamsburg, The Department of Archaeological Research the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1989).

³ Dane T. Magoon, Garrett R. Fesler, Bradley M. McDonald. Phase One Archaeological Survey of the 28 Acre Strawberry Banks Property, City of Hampton, Virginia. (Williamsburg, James River Institute for Archaeology, Inc. 1994).

played a critical role in the Company's attempt to colonize Virginia. By examining the English experience at Kecoughtan, the Virginia Company's most densely populated settlement by 1624, this study contributes analysis of a significant settlement, critical in understanding the early formation of the Virginia colony.

CHAPTER 1

KECOUGHTAN: "AN AMPLE AND FAIR COUNTRY INDEED," 1607-1610

Bound for Virginia, William Strachey (1610-1611, years in Virginia), an adventurer with the Virginia Company of London and former secretary to the ambassador of Constantinople, arrived in May 1610, after surviving a shipwreck in Bermuda. In his encompassing and descriptive accounts of Virginia's natural environment, native inhabitants, and English settlements, Strachey, who served as the Company secretary, described the site of the Indian town of Kecoughtan, as "An ample and fair country indeed." He noted that Kecoughtan, long shaped by Algonquian-speaking Indians, was a "delicate and necessary seat for a city or chief fortification."⁴

Evolving from an Indian Village into a significant Virginia Company settlement, Kecoughtan played an important role in the Company's attempt to colonize Virginia. To understand this evolution, it is essential to recognize Kecoughtan's attributes: abundant natural resources and a strategic and convenient location, a combination that proved vital in shaping Kecoughtan's development and defining its place of importance in the colony. Kecoughtan's significance in the Company's attempt to establish an English colony in Virginia cannot be ignored, for at many critical points during the Virginia Company period,

⁴ William Strachey, The History of Travel into Virginia... (1612), In Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony the First Decade: 1607-1617, ed. Edward W. Haile (Champlain, Virginia: Roundhouse, 1998), 62-63, 626.

although not all, Kecoughtan served as the colony's lifeline; as a breadbasket, a refuge, a sentinel, and a gateway for commerce.

Virginia Company of London

The exploration of Virginia and the eventual establishment of Kecoughtan and other settlements was fundamentally an economic enterprise of the Virginia Company of London, which consisted of investors, also known as adventurers, centered in London and chartered by King James I in 1606. Bolstered by political and social objectives of James' regime and the adventurers' design to secure wealth, the London entrepreneurs hoped to discover the Northwest Passage to the Pacific, find precious metals, and provide vital goods that England required: glass, iron, furs, potash, timber, pitch, tar, and mulberry trees for silk production.

The Virginia Company sought to establish settlements to facilitate the harvesting of wealth from Virginia's Tidewater, the region between the Atlantic coast and the Piedmont. At Kecoughtan, the Company's plan was to build a town, a center of trade, and a paramount fortification to protect London's commercial interests. During the Virginia Company regime (1607-1624), and the subsequent governance by the royal administration, attempts were made to model the colony on English society. To realize the Company's plan, it was essential to improve the wilderness by replacing the forests with villages, towns, cities, and roads; plant diversified and profitable crops; employ England's indigent; and establish manufacturing. It was reasoned that these developments

would significantly safeguard the social order and peace necessary for the rise of a stable society in Virginia, further assuring the achievement of the Company's aspirations.⁵

Kecoughtan, the Indian Town

Kecoughtan was positioned at the tip of a peninsula formed by the James and York Rivers. The James, York, Rappahannock, and Potomac Rivers are the four major waterways of the Chesapeake Bay estuary. Kecoughtan was strategically situated at the confluence of the Chesapeake Bay and Hampton Roads, a natural harbor and outlet for the James and York Rivers and three secondary rivers: Hampton, Elizabeth, and the Nansemond, all of which empty into Hampton Roads, and then flow into the Chesapeake Bay.⁶ The Hampton River was Kecoughtan's predominant geographic feature, dividing the area into two parts, the east and west shores. (See Fig. 1.)

Situated approximately sixteen and one-half miles from the confluence of the Chesapeake Bay and Atlantic Ocean, the Indian town of Kecoughtan was about forty miles down river from James Island, the future site of Jamestown, the Company's principal settlement. Kecoughtan was nearly seventy-eight miles from the Falls of the James River (the beginning of the Piedmont) and around three miles from Point Comfort, a small barrier island jutting out in a commanding position in Hampton Roads, near the narrow channel that flowed into the Chesapeake Bay, connecting the waterways.

⁵ James Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth Century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 129–132.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 124.

Kecoughtan was part of the Powhatan Indian's territory, bordered on the north by the Potomac River, on the south by the Great Dismal Swamp, and on the west by the falls of the major tidal rivers. Upon the Virginia Company's arrival, Wahunsonacock (one of several names attributed to this leader) governed Kecoughtan. Wahunsonacock, the Powhatan (meaning chief), was an extraordinary leader according to English accounts, who organized a unique paramount chiefdom among the Algonquian-speaking Indians. The chiefdom contained about thirty groups, which included nearly fourteen thousand followers, of which thirty-two hundred were warriors. The scattered groups were required to contribute food to the Powhatan on a scheduled basis. Each group was controlled by a weroance, who was responsible to the Powhatan. A weroance subordinate to the district leader ruled each town in the district.⁷ (See Fig. 2.)

⁷ James Axtell, Natives and Newcomers: The Cultural Origins of North America New York, Oxford University Press, 2001. 233 -34, 238; Helen C. Rountree, The Powhatan Indians of Virginia, 2nd ed.. Oklahoma, 1990. 117–18.

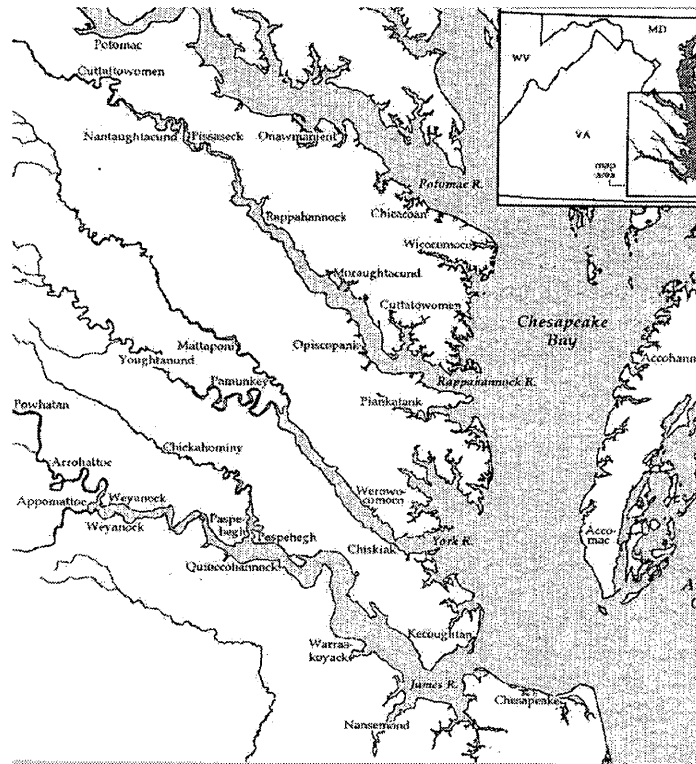


Fig. 2: **PRINCIPAL POWHATAN AND NEIGHBORING DISTRICTS**⁸

In 1597, Powhatan replaced the Indians living at Kecoughtan with his followers and made his son Pochins the weroance. By 1607, Pochins' town was small, consisting of approximately 180 people including 20 warriors, all living communally in eighteen longhouses situated on three acres of land. About two thousand acres were under cultivation, producing diverse crops, particularly corn.⁹ Cherries, maricock apples, a kind of gooseberry, and mulberry trees for silk production were also abundant.¹⁰

The Kecoughtan Indians burned forests to open space for cultivation, allowing it to remain fallow until fertile. As the soil became exhausted from continuous use, the Kecoughtan gradually abandoned old fields and claimed new

⁸ Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia*, 23.

⁹ Rountree, *Powhatan Indians of Virginia*, 11, 60–61, 118–19.

¹⁰ Strachey, *The History of Travel*, 626.

fields, steadily reducing the forest.¹¹ Clearly, the Kecoughtan were capable of clearing and maintaining productive fields that produced abundant food. They also hunted the forests bordering the open fields and harvested fish and shellfish from the waterways.¹² It is indicative of the desirability of the region that the Kecoughtan Indians selected the site as one of the places in the region for habitation. Kecoughtan's fertile soil and abundant game provided a bountiful sustenance. And its proximity to major waterways provided transportation and yielded a sustenance of another kind: oysters, crabs, sturgeon, rockfish, shad, trout, flounder, and many other species of fish.¹³ These significant factors formed the Virginia Company's initial impression of Kecoughtan as a plentiful breadbasket upon which an English settlement could prosper.

Virginia Company Arrives to the Tidewater

In the spring of 1607, a future Virginia Company governor George Percy (1607-1612, years in Virginia) arrived to the Tidewater. He had soldiered in the Netherlands and was the son of Henry, eighth Earl of Northumberland. Percy arrived aboard one of the ships in the flotilla consisting of the *Susan Constant*, *Godspeed*, and *Discovery*. Upon entering the Chesapeake Bay, the flotilla anchored near Point Comfort. Percy, in his recorded observations, described the Englishmen's first encounter with the Kecoughtan Indians at Point Comfort (aptly

¹¹ Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800. (Chapel Hill, The University of Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 28.

¹² Rountree, Powhatan Indians of Virginia, 34-42.

¹³ Strachey, History of Travel, 684-685; Randolph E. Turner, III and Anthony F. Opperman, "An Assessment of Surviving Archaeological Manifestations of Powhatan – English Interactions, A.D. 1607 – 1624." Richmond: Department of Historic Resources, 2002), 14.

named by the newcomers during their first days of exploration, for it offered a secure anchorage, reassuring the sea-weary travelers). On May 30, from aboard their ship, the English saw five Kecoughtan Indians running along Point Comfort's shore. Taking a small boat ashore to meet them, Capt. Christopher Newport (1607-1611, years in Virginia), formerly a privateer in the West Indies who now commanded the English expedition, reportedly signaled his friendship by laying his hand upon his heart. This reassuring gesture encouraged the apprehensive Indians to lay down their arms and boldly invite the English to their town of Kecoughtan.¹⁴ (See Fig. 3.)



**Fig. 3: VIRGINIA: DISCOVERED AND DESCRIBED BY
CAPT. JOHN SMITH IN 1608¹⁵**
Kecoughtan and Point Comfort

¹⁴ George Percy, Observations Gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southern Colony in Virginia by the English,.... (1606), In Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony the First Decade: 1607-1617, ed. Edward W. Haile (Champlain, Virginia: Roundhouse, 1998), 50, 91-92.

¹⁵ Globe Sales Publications, Virginia: Discovered and Described by Capt. John Smith 1608 (Champlain, Virginia: 1995).

Percy noted the Kecoughtan Indians' inclination to feasting and entertaining with dance and "making noise like so many wolves or devils," and the sharing of their tobacco, which influenced his, and likely his fellow Englishmen's first perceptions of Kecoughtan. They associated the area with alien, but affable inhabitants, who thrived in a land of abundance.¹⁶ This view of the Kecoughtan Indians would change as the Englishmen's relationship with the native population deteriorated; however, the seminal image of Kecoughtan as a place of great abundance was consistently reinforced and became part of the Company's collective thought.

Eventually, the English flotilla departed Kecoughtan, proceeding up the James River to search for a suitable site for a settlement. The Englishmen soon establish their principal settlement, a fort on the James River, completing the fortification by mid-June, 1607. Percy described it as "triangle-wise, having three bulwarks at every corner like a half moon, and four or five pieces of artillery mounted in them."¹⁷ The fort was named Jamestown in honor of the King. Jamestown was situated in the midst of marshes along the river, on an isthmus located about sixty miles from Capes Charles and Henry at the entrance of the Chesapeake Bay.¹⁸ This distance was one of the significant factors considered in choosing the site, for it offered the Jamestown colonists ample time to prepare to defend against an anticipated attack by Spain. Also, because of the variables

¹⁶ Percy, Observations ... of the Southern Colony in Virginia by the English, 92.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 98.

¹⁸ Warren M. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate, Colonial Virginia: A History, vol. 13 of A History of the American Colonies, 13 vols., ed. Milton M. Kline and Jacob E. Cooke (White Plains, New York: KTO press, 1986), 29-30.

of wind and tide, a considerable additional amount of time would be required to sail between the Capes and Jamestown. (See Fig. 4.)

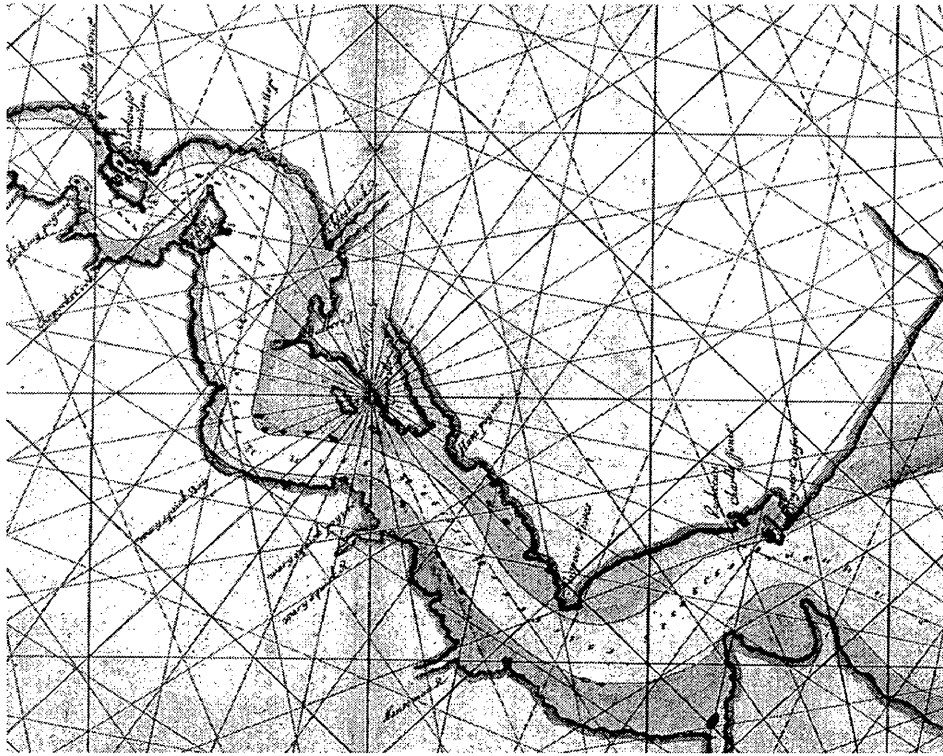


Fig. 4: DUTCH MAP SHOWING JAMESTOWN ISLAND, CHARLES FORT @ POINT COMFORT, AND THE JAMES RIVER ca. 1617¹⁹
Kecoughtan and Point Comfort

The Virginia Company's attempt to establish prosperous settlements was a constant struggle, mainly because of chronic mismanagement from London and inept leadership and unprepared colonists in Virginia. The mortality rate was devastating, with 60 percent of the 105 men and boys who landed in 1607 perishing by the end of their first winter.²⁰ Capt. John Smith (1607-1609, years in Virginia), of humble English parentage and a survivor of many wars, including the

¹⁹ William M. Kelso, Nicholas M. Lucchetti, and Beverly A. Straube, Jamestown Rediscovery III, (Jamestown, Virginia: Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 1996), 39.

²⁰ Carville V. Earle, "Environment, Disease, and Mortality in Early Virginia," In The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society, ed. Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979), 97.

struggle in the Netherlands, was one of the few competent leaders instrumental in the colony's survival. He was in opposition to many of the gentry in Virginia and London because he believed the Company's policies unrealistic for the conditions found in the new land. Smith railed against the lack of farmers and others with the necessary skills needed to establish a permanent English presence in Virginia. He understood that the wealth-seeking gentlemen and numerous craftsmen such as goldsmiths, jewelers, refiners, stonecutters, perfumers, and silkmen were unsuited for the precarious existence in the Tidewater estuaries and forests. Smith observed that "Now although there be deer in the woods, fish in the river, and fowles in abundance in their season; yet the woods are so wide, the rivers so broad, and the beast so wild, and we so unskillful to catch them, we little troubled them." Smith lamented that the colonists were selfish, complaining, and disorderly, and he believed that good laborers would be better than a "thousand such gallants as were sent me."²¹

Capt. Smith was the central figure that decisively shaped the London and Virginia Leadership's perception of Kecoughtan. He defined Kecoughtan's key attributes as a "convenient harbour for Fisher boats . . . that so turneth it selfe into Bays and Creeks it makes that place very pleasant to inhabit."²² Smith's use of the word convenient is significant because Kecoughtan's geographical location, close to the entrances of the Chesapeake Bay and the James River,

²¹ Capt. John Smith, Advertisements: or, The Path-way to Experience to Erect a Plantation, (1631), In The Complete Works of Captain John Smith, 3 vols., ed. Philip L. Barbour (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 3: 271-73.

²² Capt. John Smith, The General History of Virginia... (1624). In The Complete Works of Captain John Smith, 3 vols., ed. Philip L. Barbour (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 2: 103.

made it easily assessable to vessels upon their first entry into Hampton Roads. This perception of Kecoughtan as a convenient harbor would be repeated often by George Percy and other Company leaders.

Kecoughtan, a Breadbasket of the Virginia Company Colony

From the beginning of the Virginia Company period, the English associated Kecoughtan with bartering and security. Over extended periods in 1607 and 1608, Capt. John Smith and other Jamestown colonists would occasionally journey to the Indian town to exchange goods or seek a safe harbor. For example, in September of 1607, with only eighteen days of the food supply remaining, Smith, the newly appointed Cape Merchant (purveyor for food for the colony) at Jamestown, selected Kecoughtan as one of the destinations to procure food²³ Smith trained about one hundred men to engage the Indians in the event of hostilities, with the intension of procuring needed supplies by force if necessary. Ironically, even though the colonists were in conflict with Virginia's native population, the settlers were dependent on the Indians for survival.²⁴

Because of the colonists' inability to feed themselves, the Indians often scorned the English and rejected Capt. John Smith's attempt to trade. On one occasion, according to Smith's account, hostilities erupted and the Kecoughtan, "Sixty or seventy of them, some black, some red, some white, some partly-coloured, came in a square order, singing and dancing out of the woods, with

²³ Capt. John Smith, *A True Relation: of Such Occurrences and Accident of Note as Hath Hap'ned in Virginia since the First Planting of the Colony....* (1608), In *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, 3 vols., ed. Philip L. Barbour (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 1: xix, 35-37.

²⁴ Axtell, *Natives and Newcomers*, 244-46.

their okee (which was an idol made of skins, stuffed moss, all painted and hung with chains and copper) borne before them." The assault was repulsed, and the Indians sought peace. Smith returned the okee, which had been captured in the fray, and exchanged beads, copper, and hatchets for venison, turkeys, wild fowl, and bread.²⁵

On a later expedition to explore the Chesapeake Bay, Smith and his men stayed with the Kecoughtan for several days. Capt. John Smith reported that the Indians were "feasting us with much mirth." Participating in the entertainment, Smith and his men fired rockets, which startled the Kecoughtan. In the fall of 1608, Smith once again journeyed to Kecoughtan to obtain fish and corn for the Jamestown colonists. Foul weather prevented the men from fishing; however, Smith was successful in trading English manufactured goods with the Kecoughtan for oysters, fish, bread, and deer. In late December 1608, Smith led yet another expedition to secure food, but because of inclement weather, he and his men stayed with the Kecoughtan for six or seven days, keeping Christmas with them. Smith exclaimed, "We were never more merry, nor fed on more plenty of good oysters, fish, flesh, wild fowl, and good bread, nor never had better fires in England than in the dry, warm, smoky houses of Kecoughtan."²⁶

(See Fig. 5.)

²⁵ Smith, The General History 2: 144-45.

²⁶ Capt. John Smith, The Proceedings..., (1612), In The Complete Works of Captain John Smith, 3 vols., ed. Philip L. Barbour (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 1: 211, 229-31, 245.



Fig. 5: VIRGINIA DISCOVERED AND DESCRIBED BY CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH IN 1608²⁷
Kecoughtan and Point Comfort

The mainstay of Smith's contribution to the establishment of the settlement at Kecoughtan was the development of a practical stratagem to ensure the colony's survival, Smith's subsistence strategy was an adaptation of the Powhatan Indians' practice of semi-nomadic movement of small bands during the summer, when the Indians would move small groups from concentrated centers of occupation in the Tidewater region to the higher elevations of the Piedmont, abundant with game. In the fall, they would return to the Tidewater.

²⁷ Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 207.

Using this stratagem, small, dispersed groups generated less competition for food than if they had remained centralized.²⁸

For example, in the winter of 1608, when Jamestown's corn supply was found to be rotten, it was necessary for Capt. John Smith to disperse the colonists to the saltwater zone of Point Comfort, near Kecoughtan. Smith intended to avoid another famine and reduce the prevalence of diseases associated with malnutrition by sending sixty to eighty Company men downriver from Jamestown, to the lower James River in search of oysters. Approximately, the same number of men was dispatched upriver to the fresh-water zone at the Falls of the James River; disappointedly, this group gathered only a few acorns. A third group of twenty men led by George Percy was ordered to Point Comfort to fish.²⁹ This was the first English occupation, although temporary, of this region.

According to Smith, who disliked Percy, the six-week occupation at Point Comfort was futile because the Englishmen failed to "agree once to cast our net, he (Percy) being sick and burnt (some) with gunpowder."³⁰ As this brief description is the only account of the initial English occupation of Point Comfort, much is left to conjecture as to why Percy's contingent was unable to prosper, particularly considering the Company's future success there in the fall of 1609. Why Percy's injury would have interfered with his companions' resourcefulness is perplexing. No doubt, Percy's venture, and its failure, involved more complex

²⁸ Earle, Mortality in Early Virginia, 106-08.

²⁹ Smith, The General History, 2: 212-13; Billings, Colonial Virginia, 35.

³⁰ Smith, The General History, 2: 212-13.

circumstances than is revealed in Smith's account, but perhaps the disgruntled colonists, besides lacking cohesion and skills, were also as ill as Percy.

Kecoughtan (Point Comfort), a Sentinel of the Virginia Company Colony

Kecoughtan and Point Comfort were commonly referred to by their individual names, employing a myriad of spellings and certainly pronunciations; however, the Company regarded Kecoughtan with its environs and Point Comfort (two distinct albeit nearby landforms about three miles apart) as a defined and singular place. Capt. John Smith stated that Kecoughtan, "pleasantly seated," was associated with Point Comfort, which was fixed at "the mouth" or entrance to Hampton Roads.³¹ Smith and the Company perceived the two areas as one site, for they recognized the symbiotic relationship between Point Comfort and Kecoughtan: together they offered security and a convenient port for commerce. As Kecoughtan emerged as a center of population, juxtaposed to Point Comfort as a military outpost, the entire region's identity became fixed and known as Kecoughtan.

The Virginia Company considered Kecoughtan a healthy site, relatively free of the salt marshes full of infectious bogs, muddy creeks and lakes that the English believed to be the deadly cause of the high mortality at Jamestown. Company officials boasted that at Kecoughtan "well-governed men may enjoy their health and life as plentifully as in any part of England."³² But for fear of the

³¹ Smith, *A True Relation*, 1: 5, 37.

³² Virginia Company, *The Answers of Diuers Planters that have Long Lived in Virginia....*, April 30, 1623, In *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols., ed. Susan M. Kingsberry (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), 2: 381.

site's vulnerability, the Company did not select Kecoughtan for a substantial settlement during the first few years of exploration. Ralph Hamor (1609-1614, 1617-1626, years in Virginia), who had invested his sizeable inheritance in the Tidewater venture, echoed this sentiment, stating Kecoughtan could not be shielded against Spanish invaders from the sea, "as we have just cause to expect daily," because of the "poor means" the company possesses to defend it.³³

An attack by Spain was a universal fear among the English in the Tidewater. Spain wished to discourage other European countries from establishing a presence along the North American coast, fearing the settlements would be used as strongholds to intercept the Spanish-treasure fleets in the Caribbean, as they departed South America for Spain. Indeed, England's Roanoke Colony (North Carolina) was intended as a base to plunder these fleets. The Spanish outposts of St. Helena (South Carolina) and St. Augustine (Florida) were established to dispatch punitive attacks against the English to obliterate the threat.³⁴ During the Company period, the Spanish, in preparation for an attack against the English (which never occurred), made numerous probes of the Tidewater: recording detailed reports of its system of fortifications (emphasizing Point Comfort and Jamestown), making navigational readings of the waterways,

³³ Ralph Hamor, A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia..., (1615), In Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony the First Decade: 1607-1617, ed. Edward W. Haile (Champlain, Virginia: Roundhouse, 1998), 827-28.

³⁴ Morgan, American Slavery - American Freedom, 27-28.

listing numbers of settlers and livestock, and noting the general condition of the colony.³⁵

Recognizing the necessity to establish fortifications against a Spanish attack, Capt. John Smith appreciated Point Comfort's strategic position as a sentinel of the James River estuary, defining Point Comfort as "a little isle fit for a castle," the place to build a fort at the entrance to the James River estuary.³⁶ Smith's appraisal certainly influenced the investors' emerging opinion that the Point was a place of strategic consequence. Smith's tactical judgment would be validated when the Virginia Company fortified Point Comfort with the erection of Fort Algernon in 1609. In 1730, Fort George would be constructed at the site; and Fort Monroe, the largest masonry fortification in North America, would be completed in 1834. (See Fig. 6.)

³⁵ The shipmates of Don Diego de Molina, Report of the Voyage to the Indies as Far as Virginia..., 1611; Don Diego de Molina to Don Alonso de Velasco, May 28, 1613; Don Diego de Molina to Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, Conde de Gondomar, June 14, 1614, In Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony the First Decade: 1607 – 1617, ed. Edward W. Haile (Champlain, Virginia: Roundhouse, 1998), 533 – 41, 783 – 85, 789 – 91.

³⁶ Smith, A True Relation, 1: 5, 37.

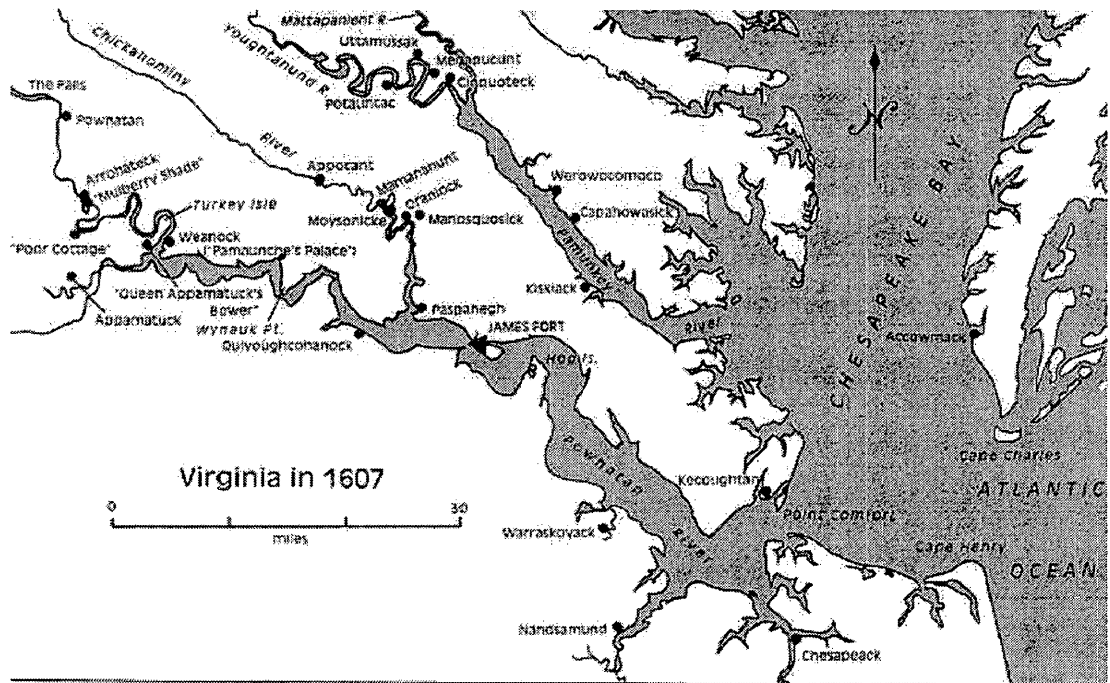


Fig. 6: **VIRGINIA IN 1607**³⁷
Point Comfort

As did Capt. John Smith, many of the Company leaders in London appreciated Point Comfort's importance to the colony's security. On May 15, 1609, motivated by the dismal return on their investment and the increasingly chaotic conditions in Virginia, the leaders reorganized their venture to address both the need to reap profits and strengthen security. A second charter, permitting the Virginia Company to offer stock publicly for the first time, was drawn up and successfully attracted capital to the Company coffers. Its administration was also changed: a council and treasurer (Sir Thomas Smythe), elected by stockholders, would control the Tidewater settlements from London. Thomas West, Lord Delaware (1610-1611, years in Virginia), who had served on England's Privy Council and fought in the Netherlands, was appointed the first

³⁷ Haile, Jamestown Narratives, 105.

governor and captain general of Virginia for life. He was authorized to establish a council and select other officers to assist him in realizing the Company's objectives. London deemed West's political and military experience essential to the stabilization of the colony.³⁸ West and the men who would govern Virginia after him, realizing Point Comfort's strategic importance, contributed to fixing a permanent settlement at Kecoughtan.

The new charter of 1609, entrusted Capt. John Smith to begin the permanent settlement and fortification of Point Comfort, noting Smith's "care and diligence."³⁹ The directive to build a small fort and to post Capt. Smith, the Company's most stalwart soldier, at Point Comfort demonstrated London's understanding of the Point's crucial position as the guardian to the Company's territory and principle settlement, Jamestown. Smith, however, having been injured in a gunpowder accident, returned to England in the fall of 1609, before assuming command.

The newly commissioned Governor George Percy (September 1609 - May 1610) willingly obeyed London's directive to fortify Point Comfort. Percy would later claim he initiated the plan; however, London clearly had previously decided the issue. Percy understood that the fortification would fulfill two essential requirements: food and security. Percy declared the waters would yield "plenty"

³⁸ Billings, Colonial Virginia, 37-38.

³⁹ Virginia Company, Instructions Orders and Constitutions to Sir Thomas Gates...., May 1609, In Records of the Virginia Company of London, 4 vols., ed. Susan M. Kingsberry (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), 3: 18.

of fish and that the fort would act as a sentinel, facilitating the “discovery of any shipping which should come upon the coast.”⁴⁰

After only fourteen days as governor, George Percy dispatched Capt. John Ratcliffe (1607-1609, years in Virginia), a veteran of the wars in the Netherlands, to Point Comfort, with a company of men from Jamestown to erect a fort. Percy’s attention to the fortification of Point Comfort early in his administration demonstrates Point Comfort’s strategic importance to the colony’s defense against Spain. Capt. James Davies, seasoned while commanding Fort St. George at the Sagadahoc colony in New England, arrived at Point Comfort in 1609 with sixteen men to assist John Ratcliff with the fort’s construction.⁴¹ Percy recorded that by October 4, Ratcliffe could report that his men were “raising a fortification,” at Point Comfort.

The fort, named Fort Algernon, in honor of the eldest son of Percy’s brother, was made of “stockades and posts” and contained “7 pieces of artillery.” Several structures were constructed within the fort: “one slight house,” which was probably the Captain’s quarters; an essential storehouse; and “some few thatched cabins.”⁴² After the death of Capt. John Ratcliff, killed by the Powhatan, Capt. James Davies commanded the fort, along with a garrison of forty men.

⁴⁰ George Percy, A True Relation of the Proceedings and Occurrents of Moment which have Hap’ned in Virginia from the Time Sir Thomas Gates was Shipwrack’d upon the Bermudas, anno 1609, Until My Departure out of the Country.... (1612), In Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony the First Decade: 1607-1617, ed. Edward W. Haile (Champlain, Virginia: Roundhouse, 1998), 503.

⁴¹ Smith, Proceedings, 1: 275, xxxiv.

⁴² Ancient Planters, A Brief Declaration of the Plantations of Virginia during the First Twelve Years.... (1624), In Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony the First Decade: 1607-1617, ed. Edward W. Haile (Champlain, Virginia: Roundhouse, 1998), 899.

Apparently, during this period, Algernon's garrison suffered from a lack of food, despite the area's abundant resources.⁴³

At Fort Algernon, as was the practice throughout Virginia, the Company managed labor and required men to be responsible for their own subsistence. Local commanders were appointed to supervise the settlements and instructed to make an account of their progress. A bell brought the men and boys together, signaling the beginning and end of work, and intervals of rest.⁴⁴

By June 1611, according to a Spanish report, Fort Algernon's population consisted of fifty persons: men, boys, and women, of which forty males were fit to carry arms.⁴⁵ This intriguing reference to the presence of women, who first arrived in Virginia in 1608, suggests a new dimension to the military enclave's social composition. Because the fort was small, it is likely structures were built nearby to accommodate the additional inhabitants that may have included families.

William Strachey, a fervent advocate of Fort Algernon, offered an insightful analysis of the strategic importance of Point Comfort. Strachey saw Point Comfort and its fort as the key guardian to the James River estuary. Strachey reasoned that the site was well selected because of its proximity to the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay and that Fort Algernon "easily commands the mouth of the James River." He emphasized that the channel opposite Point Comfort was narrow, forcing vessels "to come within little less than musket shot" of Fort

⁴³ Percy, *A True Relation*, 504.

⁴⁴ Virginia Company, *Instructions to Sir Thomas Gates*, 3: 21.

⁴⁵ The Shipmates of Don Diego de Molina, 538-39.

Algernon and that this vital outpost would require “the faith and judgment of a worthy commander to be there always present.”⁴⁶

John Clark, an English pilot, whose occupation qualified him to estimate the effectiveness of Algernon’s defensive capability, substantiated Strachey’s observations. Clark stated that the seven guns were sited “alongside the water in such a way that since the entrance is narrow and the channel opposite Point Comfort is not more than a musket-shot broad, ships cannot enter or anchor without the artillery doing them damage.”⁴⁷

Although Strachey and Clark were correct in their assertions that Algernon’s artillery could damage enemy vessels, the fortification could only serve as a sentinel to slow enemy ships and warn the upriver settlements, especially Jamestown, of an impending Spanish attack. Because of Hampton Roads’ expansive channel and Fort Algernon’s ineffective armament, Algernon’s defenses were almost futile in preventing an adversary from passing and then entering the James River. Instead, Fort Algernon’s garrison was ordered by London to dispatch a longboat, if an enemy were sighted, to warn the garrison at Jamestown of approaching danger. If a superior number of Spanish besieged Fort Algernon, the garrison was directed “to win time,” enduring the siege as long as possible. The Virginia Company’s strategy was to force the enemy to relinquish its military operation, for the foe would be ill-equipped to lay a prolonged siege, due to its paucity of supplies on this side of the Atlantic.

⁴⁶ Strachey, The History of Travel, 626.

⁴⁷ John Clark, Confession of the English Pilot of Virginia... (February 18, 1613), In Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony the First Decade: 1607-1617, ed. Edward W. Haile (Champlain, Virginia: Roundhouse, 1998), 693.

Algernon would be abandoned if its defense became untenable, and its garrison and ammunition would be transported by longboat to Jamestown.⁴⁸ (See Fig. 7.)

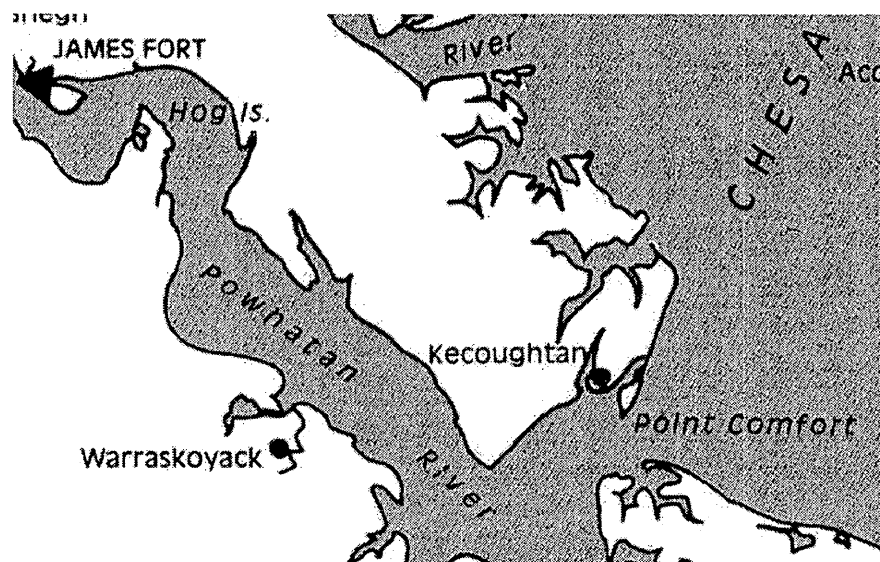


Fig. 7: VIRGINIA IN 1607 (detail)⁴⁹

While it is uncertain how approaching vessels were challenged, an incident described by William Strachey in 1610 may document a common occurrence. According to Strachey, while he was aboard a ship nearing Fort Algernon, cannon from the fort fired a warning shot when the vessel was two miles away, at which point the ship anchored and then dispatched a longboat in order to identify itself before it proceeded to its destination.⁵⁰ During an incident on May 12, 1611, a vessel saluted the fort with cannon fire, which was

⁴⁸ Virginia Company of London, Instructions to Sir Thomas Gates, 3: 17-18.

⁴⁹ Haile, Jamestown Narratives, 105.

⁵⁰ William Strachey, A True Repertory of the Wreck and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight, upon and from the Islands of the Bermudas; His Coming to Virginia, and the Estate of that Colony then, and after under the Government of the Lord De-La-Warre... July 15, 1610, In the Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony the First Decade: 1607-1617, ed. Edward W. Haile (Champlain, Virginia: Roundhouse, 1998), 417-18.

returned.⁵¹ On another occasion, Don Diego deMolina and two companions from a Spanish caravel landed at Point Comfort, where they were ambushed and captured by the English.⁵²

Another one of Fort Algernon's defensive strategies was revealed in May 1610 upon the arrival of Sir Thomas Gates (1610, 1611-1614, years in Virginia), who had been knighted, served in the Netherlands, and was one of the first petitioners to King James, requesting to establish a colony in Virginia. Initially mistaking Gates' flotilla for the dreaded Spanish, Capt. James Davies dispatched a longboat to warn the garrison at Jamestown. During a council to decide whether to use the defensive measures prescribed by the Virginia Company, it was debated whether to engage the enemy aboard its ships, instead of defending Fort Algernon. George Percy, who apparently had little confidence in the mettle of his men, suggested they sail out to the vessel and encounter the foe aboard ship, compelling his men to fight for their lives. The strategy was not implemented, since Percy's men identified the fleet as English.⁵³

In addition to its role as sentinel, Point Comfort also attained prominence as the first destination for arriving ships to hear news about the conditions at Jamestown and other settlements upriver. The Point was also the site for the Company leadership to gather for consultation, particularly upon entering and

⁵¹ Thomas Dale to the Council of Virginia, May 25, 1611, In Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony the First Decade: 1607 – 1617, ed. Edward W. Haile (Champlain, Virginia: Roundhouse, 1998), 521.

⁵² Percy, A True Relation, 515-16.

⁵³ Ibid, 516-17; Haile, Jamestown Narratives, 46-47.

departing Virginia. These and other occasions were opportunities for the ceremonies and deference expected by the gentry to be undertaken.

Point Comfort's significance as an important site of consultation, ceremony, and trade is supported by numerous accounts. For example, before Sir Thomas Gates embarked for England on July 15, 1610, aboard the ship *Blessing*, Governor and Captain General Thomas West "pitched his tent in Fort Algernon," conferring with Gates before his departure. West also used the fort as a stage to bind himself by various "savage ceremonies" to Sasenticum (the Indian king of Werocoick) and his son Kainta, before they both departed with Gates as his prisoners. Certainly, public ceremonies bolstered the visibility and importance of Fort Algernon, distinguishing it as a stronghold and gateway to the Tidewater domain. In 1610, the English also used Fort Algernon as a place where the captured weroance Tackonekintaco and his son Tangoit were released on the promise of a future trade of English hatchets, copper, and beads for five hundred bushels of Indian wheat, beans, and pears.⁵⁴

Point Comfort's desirability among Englishmen who wanted to either remain or relocate to the Point is suggested by Capt. James Davies' reaction to the accidental burning of Fort Algernon (ca. 1611), which, with the exception of the storehouse and Davies' house, was completely razed. According to George Percy, because of the loss of the fort, Davies feared being removed from command and being forced to leave Point Comfort, "the most plentifullest place

⁵⁴ Strachey, *A True Repertory*, 438; *The History of Travel*, 624-25.

for food” in Tidewater. Davies, in an attempt to avoid punishment, rebuilt Algernon at such a rapid rate that it was “almost incredible.”⁵⁵

During the seventeenth century, most inhabitants of the Tidewater understood that a single fortification could not effectively prevent hostile or commercial vessels from entering Hampton Roads. In the summer of 1666, Governor William Berkeley suggested that maneuverable patrol boats rather than fortifications were the only adequate way to guard the entrance.⁵⁶ An effective solution was not implemented until 1819, with the construction of two companion forts — Fort Monroe and Fort Calhoun (Fort Wool). Fort Monroe was built at Point Comfort, on or near the former site of Fort Algernon, while Fort Calhoun was built on an artificial island, situated in Hampton Roads, approximately one mile directly across from Point Comfort. The intent was for the two forts to provide a field of devastating crossfire, effectively defending the gateway.

Fort Algernon served as an important vantage point from which to scan the horizon to the east and the horizon to the west. From the fort’s position at Point Comfort, colonists could sight approaching ships from the east as they entered Hampton Roads from the Chesapeake Bay, and from the west, they could sight vessels entering the James river, the approach to Jamestown. Fort Algernon, the first significant English-built and English-garrisoned structure sighted by vessels sailing to the core of the Company settlements along the James River estuary, was also the last vestige of English presence viewed by the vessels as they departed Hampton Roads.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 518.

⁵⁶ Morgan, American Slavery - American Freedom, 243.

Kecoughtan, a Refuge of the Virginia Company Colony

After the completion of Fort Algernon at Point Comfort, the fort became a sanctuary for some of the men and boys of Jamestown, during the winter of 1609 and the spring of 1610, the so called "Starving Time." During this famine, Governor George Percy followed Capt. John Smith's dispersal strategy to help save the Jamestown colonists. Percy pursued this course despite the failure he experienced during the 1608 winter occupation of Point Comfort, when Smith had sent Percy and other colonists from Jamestown to Point Comfort in order to obtain food.⁵⁷

During the "Starving Time," Percy departed Jamestown to inspect the condition of the colonists at Fort Algernon and to investigate a report that the Kecoughtan Indians slew a number of Englishmen. He was astonished that Capt. James Davies and the garrison at Algernon had an abundance of food, while the survivors at Jamestown were starving. Percy found Capt. Davies' outpost with such plentiful provisions that crabs were being fed to the hogs. Davies was charged with intentionally hoarding food from Jamestown's population, with the intention of preserving "the lives of the better sort," the gentlemen sent to Fort Algernon. Percy suspected that these men were conspiring to return to England aboard two pinnaces, hence, abandoning Virginia.⁵⁸

Because of the better conditions George Percy found at Fort Algernon, he planned to relieve the desperate situation of the Jamestown inhabitants 'by

⁵⁷ Percy, *A True Relation*, 506.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

transporting half of the population to Fort Algernon, in order to revive their health, after which they would return to Jamestown. Percy was determined to relocate the entire population of Jamestown to Fort Algernon, in order to save their lives.⁵⁹ Before Percy implemented his plan, however, on May 21, 1610, Sir Thomas Gates arrived at Point Comfort and learned of the horrendous situation at Jamestown. The dissolution of the Company's enterprise was averted when Governor and Captain General Thomas West soon followed Gates on June 10, with a group of settlers and a cargo of critically needed supplies.⁶⁰

Removal of the Kecoughtan Indians

The focal point of the Virginia Company's interest in Fort Algernon expanded to include the Indian town of Kecoughtan, marking the beginning of the transition from the Kecoughtan Indian culture to the commencement of the Company's commercial venture in this area. This course of events at Kecoughtan was not haphazard; it was the established blueprint for English colonization.

The removal of the Kecoughtan Indians followed London's instructions, which cautioned against allowing the native inhabitants to remain nearby, possibly allying themselves with other invaders.⁶¹ This strategy followed the pattern of English colonization and subjugation of Ireland's hostile population and the prolonged wars in the Netherlands. All future presidents of the Company council and most of the early governors had a shared experience campaigning in

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Billings, *Colonial Virginia*, 37-39.

⁶¹ Virginia Company, *Instructions...to Sir Thomas Gates*, 3: 17-18.

Ireland and the Netherlands, where they developed military tactics to subjugate large hostile local populations.⁶² In Ireland fortified enclosures were built as places of refuge for the English in the midst of the hostile population. These enclosures consolidated English authority, but the English continued to depend on the native population for food.⁶³

Following this pattern of subjugation, in the early morning of July 9, 1610, Sir Thomas Gates employed a ruse to attack the Kecoughtan; a taborer, or drummer, was sent to play and dance, luring the Kecoughtan into the open. Then Gates, with a company of about one hundred soldiers, veterans of the Netherlands, assaulted the 180 Kecoughtan, killing five and wounding and scattering the survivors, while destroying most of the Indians' long houses. In the aftermath of the vicious onslaught, many of the Kecoughtan exhibited "extraordinary large" wounds.⁶⁴

The Company's removal of the Kecoughtan Indians from their town must also be viewed in the context of the first Anglo-Powhatan war (1609 –1613), a chain of sporadic and brutal encounters between the English and the Powhatan.⁶⁵ In the winter of 1609, Capt. John Martin commander at Dumpling Island (located about nine miles up the Nansemond River, on the south side of Hampton Roads) had abandoned his men for the relative safety of Jamestown because of food shortages and hostilities from the Powhatan Indians. Seventeen

⁶² James Deetz, Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation, 1619-1864, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 41; Kelso, Jamestown Rediscovery II, 9 – 10.

⁶³ Jack P. Green, Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 9.

⁶⁴ Strachey, A True Repertory, 434-35; Percy, A True Relation, 508.

⁶⁵ Gleach, Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia, 129 – 30.

of his men left on the island mutinied, commandeered a boat, and proceeded to Kecoughtan in search of food. All seventeen of the mutineers were slain by the Indians at Kecoughtan and their mouths were probably stuffed with bread, a common practice of the Indians that signified the contempt and scorn they held for their starving adversaries.⁶⁶ The slaying of seventeen men was a significant loss of life in comparison to the colony's total population and juxtaposed to the number of men killed by the Indians in other engagements. Another incident on July 6, 1610, when an Englishman was killed a few miles from Kecoughtan, further angering the colonists.⁶⁷

Originally, the Virginia Company and King James' intention was to convert to Anglicanism and to treat the native population kindly, as the Company intended the Indians to be "sooner drawne to the true knowledge of God, and the obedience of us."⁶⁸ According to William Strachey, Sir Thomas Gates desired to follow the Company directive, pursuing a more "tractable course to win them to a better condition," but the recent carnage resolved Gates to revenge the loss of his countrymen.⁶⁹ The attack effectively removed the Kecoughtan, but apparently the Indians were occasionally encountered in the region as late as 1618, for an order was issued for the "Ranger of the forest" to apprehend them.⁷⁰

Following the removal of the Kecoughtan Indians, the Company would begin to develop a permanent English settlement at the site that had proved thus

⁶⁶ Percy, 54, A True Relation, 501- 503; Axtell, Natives and Newcomers, 242.

⁶⁷ Strachey, A True Repertory, 434-35.

⁶⁸ Morgan, American Slavery - American Freedom, 46 – 47.

⁶⁹ Strachey, A True Repertory, 434-35.

⁷⁰ Virginia Company, Governor Argall. Four Warrants, (1618), In The Records of the Virginia Company of London...., 4 vols., ed. Susan M. Kingsberry (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), 3: 79.

far to be a lifeline for the colony, as it confronted hostile Indians, daunting food shortages, and its fear of a Spanish invasion. Kecoughtan, built on the exploitation of its native population and the utilization of its abundant resources and advantageous location, was set to become the Virginia Company's enduring settlement.

CHAPTER 2

KECOUGHTAN: THE VIRGINIA COMPANY SETTLEMENT, 1610-1624

In the late summer of 1610, Kecoughtan was a sparse military outpost. Following the Virginia Company's directive for all its settlements; however, the Company's pivotal endeavor would be to raise a town at the Kecoughtan site. Company leaders were to design Kecoughtan with orderly streets and a marketplace or storehouse positioned in the center. Land was to be reserved for the planting of corn for the common use, and a commander selected to govern and manage Kecoughtan's workforce.⁷¹

By the end of the Virginia Company period (1624), however, Kecoughtan, as well as the other settlements, would not be the town that the Company had envisioned. But by utilizing its advantageous location and abundant resources, Kecoughtan would facilitate the establishment of England's initial foothold in Virginia, and at many perilous points in the struggling colony's evolution, although not all, Kecoughtan would come to the colony's assistance, continuing to provide sustenance, protection, asylum, and the opportunity for trade. While not the thriving town England had hoped for, Kecoughtan would endure and would be the only Virginia Company settlement to progress into a substantial town, Hampton (1705), with a chief fortification, Fort Monroe (1819).

⁷¹ Virginia Company, Instructions...to Sir Thomas Gates, 3: 17.

Kecoughtan Fortifications, Charles and Henry

In order to secure and strengthen the colony, Governor and Captain General Thomas West directed two fortifications to be erected at Kecoughtan. West intended that the forts would defend against the Powhatan and shelter new immigrants upon landing, and “that the wearisomeness of the sea may be refreshed in this pleasing part of the country.”⁷² Forts Charles and Henry were built on the site of the former Kecoughtan Indian town, in order to consolidate the conquest. These fortifications were named honoring Henry, the Prince of Wales; and Charles, his younger brother. Capt. Holcroft (1610 – [], years in Virginia) constructed Fort Charles in 1610 and Capt. George Yeardley (1610-1625, 1626-1627, years in Virginia), a “soldier truly bred in that university of war,” the Netherlands, built and commanded Fort Henry in 1610.⁷³ The Englishmen who had recently arrived with Sir Thomas Gates and some “ancient planters,” “who by use were grown practic in a hard way of living,” assisted in building the two small forts, “encompassed with small young trees.”⁷⁴ (See Fig. 8.)

⁷² The Council of Virginia, *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colony in Virginia*, (1610) 475; Thomas West, *A Short Relation Made by Lord De-La-Warre to the Lords and Others of the Council of Virginia*, In *Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony the First Decade: 1607-1617*, ed. Edward W. Haile (Champlain, Virginia: Roundhouse, 1998), 531.

⁷³ Percy, *A True Relation*, 508-09; Richard L. Morton, *The Tidewater Period 1607–1710*, vol. 1 of *Colonial Virginia*, 2 vols., (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960), 55; Barbour, *Captain John Smith*, 2: 236.

⁷⁴ The Ancient Planters, *A Brief Declaration*, 897-98.

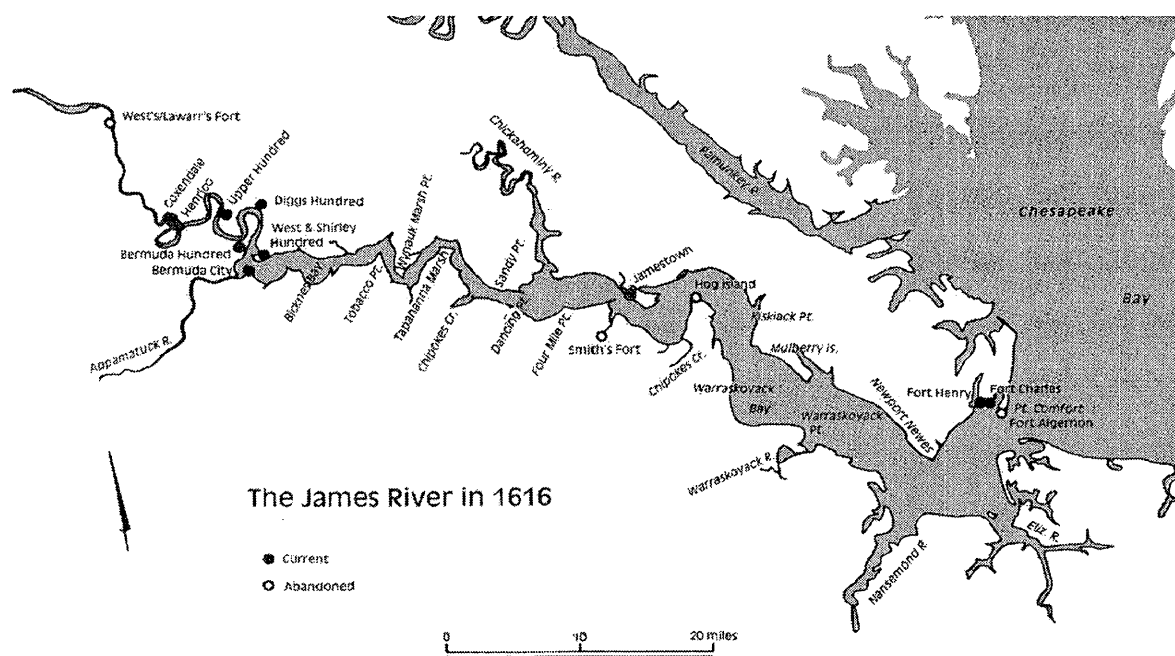


Fig. 8: THE JAMES RIVER IN 1616⁷⁵
Forts Charles and Henry

Evidently, the English utilized some of the existing Kecoughtan Indian structures in the interior of one of the forts, as two structures covered with bark were used for housing. It is unknown which fort held the Indian structures, but in the other fort the English erected a tent and built a few thatched cabins.⁷⁶ The location of the fortifications is uncertain; however, the forts were probably positioned on opposite banks at the entrance to the Hampton River, with Fort Charles on the west side and Fort Henry on the east.⁷⁷ Capt. John Smith stated that the forts were built “upon a pleasant plain . . . they stand in a wholesome air, having plenty of springs of sweet water, they command a great circuit of ground,

⁷⁵ Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 873.

⁷⁶ The Ancient Planters, *A Brief Declaration*, 897-98.

⁷⁷ Lyon G. Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia 1606-1625*, vol. 1 of an *Original Narratives of Early American History* 18 vols., ed. J. Franklin Jameson (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1907; Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1906) 223-24.

containing wood, pasture, and marsh, with apt places for vines, corn, and gardens."⁷⁸ At this point, the fortifications were a curious mixture of English and Indian architecture, certainly exhibiting an impermanent appearance.

In late October 1610, Captains Holcroft and Yeardley, obeying Governor and Captain General Thomas West's directive, temporarily abandoned Forts Charles and Henry. Lacking a full garrison, only six or seven men were stationed at the forts to keep watch for the approach of hostile vessels.⁷⁹ The captains assembled their inhabitants at Jamestown to prepare for an expedition to the mountains in search of gold and silver mines, one of the Company's primary objectives. The expedition was never completed because the skilled miners, who were indispensable to the expedition, were slain by the Powhatan; in any case, the venture would have failed because of the scarcity of these minerals in Virginia.⁸⁰

By the winter of 1611, the Company had a system of three fortifications at Kecoughtan: Algernon (1609), Charles (1610), and Henry (1610). The strategic importance of Kecoughtan during the early Company period is supported by the concentrations of these fortifications.

Sir Thomas Dale's Martial Regime

By May 1611, however, Forts Algernon, Charles, and Henry, along with the other Tidewater settlements were in a chaotic condition, lacking food, and

⁷⁸ Smith, The General History, 2: 236.

⁷⁹ Alexander Brown, The First Republic in America: An Account of the Origin of the Nation, Written from the records then (1624) Concealed by the Council, Rather than from the Histories then licensed by the Crown, (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1898), 211.

⁸⁰ The Ancient Planters, A True Declaration, 898.

again nearing dissolution because the colonists failed to plant before the end of the season (May). The Virginia Company's enterprise was revitalized when a new regime was established with the arrival at Kecoughtan of Sir Thomas Dale (1611-1616, years in Virginia) and three hundred colonists. He found Kecoughtan's fortifications abandoned and in disrepair, although with the "palisadoes yet most standing," and the planting of corn, the vital source of sustenance, seriously neglected.⁸¹ Replacing George Percy as interim governor at Jamestown, Dale was armed with the infamous *Laws Divine, Morall and Martiall* and held the Elizabethan army title of High Marshall. The Company's *Laws* were rooted in the English military code for troops serving in the Netherlands, where Dale had soldiered as a Captain. His instructions and personal inclination were to implement martial discipline in Virginia in order to save the London Adventurers' investment, which to this point had provided virtually no return for the Company.⁸²

Dale began the reforms at Kecoughtan, where he first landed. A martial atmosphere already existed at Kecoughtan; however, but it increased markedly during this period, as Kecoughtan became analogous to a military stronghold under siege. The types of punishments inflicted for offenses, often for minor violations, are striking indications of the brutal nature of the *Laws*: unrelenting service at the oars aboard England's galleys, harsh whippings, driving a bodkin through the tongue, and death. Men and women were executed if charged with trifling offenses: killing cows, chickens, and other domestic animals; theft; lying;

⁸¹ Virginia Company, Dale to Council of Virginia, 521 – 22.

⁸² Gleach, Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia, 130-31.

blasphemy; and trading privately with anyone aboard ships in Hampton River. Under the *Laws*, the labor necessary to maintain the forts, cornfields, and other diverse tasks was undertaken by work gangs and harshly directed by an overseer. Workers began and ended the day to the cadence of a drum. The work gangs were assigned to accomplish specific tasks and work during specified periods. The overseers were vigilant in detecting any person who was negligent, idle, or attempting to abandon the detail.⁸³

Dale directed the men who had arrived with him, and some of the garrison at Fort Algernon, to mending and reoccupying Forts Charles and Henry. With only a limited number of soldiers available in the colony, all of Capt. James Davies' and part of Thomas Gates' companies had withdrawn their garrisons, maintaining troops only at Forts Algernon and James. Dale commanded his carpenters to build cabins and cottages, and although it was late in the season, to plant corn around Forts Charles and Henry. Dale boasted that in only a few days he had planted more corn than the Kecoughtan Indians had planted before Sir Thomas Gates had removed them. Dale also believed fishing at Kecoughtan, which was better than at Jamestown, would sustain the inhabitants.⁸⁴

Dale's appointment of Capt. James Davies as commander at Kecoughtan, headquartered at Fort Algernon, is further evidence that the Company understood the symbiotic relationship between Kecoughtan and Point Comfort and treated them as one entity. Davies was also placed in charge of Forts Charles and Henry, where he appointed a captain at each fort, subordinate to

⁸³ Morgan, *American Slavery - American Freedom*, 79-80.

⁸⁴ Virginia Company, Dale to Council of Virginia, 521 – 22.

him. The captains were required to send weekly accounts to Davies, which he dispatched to Dale, stationed at Jamestown.⁸⁵

During Gates and Dale's administrations (1611 to 1616), the Virginia Company redirected its attention from Jamestown, maintained as the Company's administrative center, to Henrico and Bermuda Hundred settlements upriver from Jamestown. Henrico and Bermuda Hundred settlements were also sites that provided a healthy environment to better sustain the colony.⁸⁶ Following London's instructions, in the summer of 1611, Dale surveyed the Tidewater from Point Comfort to the Falls of the James River, scouting sites for new settlements. He selected and encouraged the development of five settlements and proposed transporting two thousand people from England to the selected locations. His plan reinvented and elaborated the strategy Capt. John Smith tried implementing in 1608 and 1609. Much of the land selected was fertile, which could significantly increase the production of food to better sustain the settlements. Also, Company settlements would be dispersed, making them more difficult to destroy.⁸⁷ (See Fig. 8.)

From 1613 through 1616, as new settlements materialized and the colonists dispersed, 67.7 percent of the population shifted to settlements upriver from Jamestown, displacing Jamestown as the colony's center. The remainder of the population, 32.3 percent resided at Jamestown, Kecoughtan, and Dale's Gift. The 300 colonists Dale had brought with him raised the colony's population

⁸⁵ Ibid., 521-22.

⁸⁶ Charles E. Hatch, The First Seventeen Years: Virginia 1607-1624, vol. 6 of a Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklet, 23 vols., ed. Earl G. Swem (Charlottesville, The University Press of Virginia, 1972), 34.

⁸⁷ Gleach, Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia, 131-34.

to 480, and even though the colony's population dropped between 335 and 351 during Dale's administration, this was a drop in Virginia's mortality rate. During Dales administration, the colonist's' experienced the healthiest time during the Virginia Company period.⁸⁸

Dale's plan defined the colony's boundaries: Point Comfort as the beginning and the Falls of the James River as the terminus. With the security of the James River and its estuary a primary objective, Dale planned to erect a more substantial fortification at the site of Fort Algernon, to "hold open the mouth of our river to let shipping into us, but the fort was never built. He envisioned a "spacious and commodious town for a chief commander," adjacent to the "two Princes' forts," Charles and Henry. Dale extolled Kecoughtan's attributes, particularly its abundant and cleared land, which would support a substantial population that could thrive and produce riches for the Company. Through the efficient use of the land and sea, Company leaders believed settlers could plant corn, harvest fish, manage the plentiful silk grass (Kecoughtan's was considered among the best), and establish additional vines to support wine production.⁸⁹ Dales' affirmation of Kecoughtan's importance underlines the Company's vital need to protect the entrance to the interior and to build a planned town at Kecoughtan.

⁸⁸ Earle, Mortality in Early Virginia, 111-114.

⁸⁹ Dale to Cecil, Jamestown Narratives, 554-55.

Kecoughtan, a Center of Commerce and Population

Samuel Argall (1610-1611, 1612-1619, years in Virginia), a future governor and admiral of Virginia, arrived at Point Comfort from England on September 17, 1612, and initiated the repair of “weatherbeaten” ships and boats, which had deteriorated before Sir Thomas Dale’s arrival. An accomplished mariner, Argall employed organized gangs to cut timber and cleave planks to build a frigate and fishing boat, Argall directed a relatively sophisticated boat-building operation. As activities around Fort Algernon expanded, Point Comfort became an important center for building and repairing boats, the essential mode of conducting commerce, transportation, and fishing. By bringing immediate attention to the boat-building and boat-repair enterprise, and by selecting Point Comfort as its site, Argall accentuated the importance of watercraft to the colony and the significance of Point Comfort as a place to build and repair these vessels vital to the colony’s existence.⁹⁰

Kecoughtan served as a center for supplying subsistence to the other Company settlements and a place to conduct political dealings with the Powhatons. For example, on January 31 and Feb 1, 1613, Samuel Argall’s frigate, laden with 1100 bushels of corn obtained through trade with the Powhatan Indians, unloaded the shipment at Kecoughtan and Jamestown storehouse. On another occasion, in April 1613, the frigate was used to transport fish caught off Cape Charles to Henrico in the Piedmont. Also, in April 1613, Kecoughtan was associated with intricate diplomatic relations between the

⁹⁰ Samuel Argall to Nicholas Hawes, June 1613, In Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony the First Decade: 1607-1617, ed. Edward W. Haile (Champlain, Virginia: Roundhouse, 1998), 752-56; Hamor, A True Discourse, 828.

English and the Powhatan Indians when Argall captured the Powhatan's daughter Pocahontas while on a trading foray, and later ransomed the child to her father.⁹¹

By 1616, John Rolfe (1610-1622, years in Virginia), who introduced West Indian tobacco to Virginia, provided the first detailed account of the population at Kecoughtan and the other Tidewater settlements: Henrico, Bermuda Hundred, West and Shirley Hundred, Jamestown, and Dale's Gift. (See Fig. 8.). Rolfe recorded the number of men and boys, and he noted the occupations of many them. An additional sixty-five women and children were also listed, however, the record is not clear where they resided. Kecoughtan's population included twenty men and boys (eleven of them farmers) and the minister William Mays, all under the command of Capt. George Webb.⁹² At this time, Kecoughtan's population was meager, ranking fifth in comparison to the other settlements upriver from Jamestown: Henrico, Bermuda Hundred, and West and Shirley Hundred. (See Table 1.)

⁹¹ Ibid, 753-55.; Hamor, A True Discourse, 829 – 830; Axtell, Natives and Newcomers, 250.

⁹² John Rolfe, A True Relation of the State of Virginia (1616), In Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony the First Decade: 1607-1617, ed. Edward W. Haile (Champlain, Virginia: Roundhouse, 1998), 55, 874-75.

	Men & Boys in 1616	% of Men & Boys	Men & Boys % of Total Population
Henrico	38	13.3%	10.8%
Bermuda Hundred	119	41.6%	33.9%
West and Shirley Hundred	25	8.7%	7.1%
Jamestown	50	17.5%	14.2%
Kecoughtan	20	7.0%	5.7%
Dales Gift	17	5.9%	4.8%
Unaccounted	17	5.9%	4.8%
<i>Total Men & Boys</i>	286		
Women & Children	65		18.5%
<i>Total English Population</i>	351		

Total Officers and Labor = 205

Farmers = 81

(205 + 81 = 286 Total officers, laborers & farmers)

(286 – 269 = 17 unaccounted men & boys)

Total Population of Women and Children = 65

205 + 81 + 65 = 351 Total Population (Men, Boys, Women & Children)

Table 1: POPULATION OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY COLONY IN 1616⁹³

Kecoughtan society, although small, had three divisions: officers, laborers, and farmers. Officers such as Capt. Webb were entrusted with the defense of Kecoughtan and were required to produce food and clothes for themselves and their dependents. Labor proficiency ranged from common to skilled. Common laborers received their supplies from a general store, while skilled laborers, or artisans, such as blacksmiths and carpenters, had time set aside to produce their own and their families' food and clothing. The eleven farmers at Kecoughtan were required to furnish themselves and their families with food and clothing, to yearly contribute a specific amount of Indian wheat to the magazine, and to

⁹³ Ibid., 872-74.

perform thirty-one days of military service to the colony. It is not known what the occupations were of the remaining seven individuals.⁹⁴

Anglicanism, the Church of England, was seen as an integral institution to ensure social order in the colony. As Kecoughtan became more populated, the church would become a center for social, economic, and political activities. It was decreed by James I that “the true word, and service of God and Christian faith be preached, planted, and used.”⁹⁵ In compliance with its charter, the Virginia Company built its first church in 1610 at Kecoughtan, on the west side of the Hampton River, which was replaced by a second church (1624-1667) on the east side.⁹⁶

Despite the Company's ongoing efforts to establish towns and ports as centers of commerce, the ramshackle settlements just narrowly survived. And even though Sir Thomas Dale's martial regime initially brought a semblance of order to the colony, it proved to be too harsh and discouraged Englishmen from venturing to Virginia. With minimal or no incentives for land ownership, along with the lack of individual independence, the colony was not prospering.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Rolfe, A True Relation, 870-71.

⁹⁵ Horn, Adapting to a New World, 383.

⁹⁶ Eleanor S. Holt, The Second Church of Elizabeth City Parish 1623/4 – 1698: A Historical – Archaeological Report, Special Publication Number 13 of Archeological Society of Virginia, ed. Lyle E. Browning (Richmond: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1985), 4.

⁹⁷ Morgan, American Slavery - American Freedom, 93-94.

Governor George Yeardley and the Reforms

Attempting to avert financial ruin, the Virginia Company altered the management of the Colony by instituting a program of reforms.⁹⁸ Arriving on April 19, 1619, George Yeardley, replacing Samuel Argall as governor, was selected to implement this initiative.⁹⁹ On November 19, 1619, dividing the Tidewater into administrative districts, the Company established four governmental corporations, optimistically deemed cities or boroughs: Jamestown, Charles City, Henrico and Kecoughtan "Borough." Within each of the corporations, tenants cultivated a three thousand acre tract reserved for the Company's benefit, known as the Company land.¹⁰⁰

The Hampton River served as the demarcation of Kecoughtan into east and west sections. The three thousand acre track of Company land was established on the east side of the river and reserved for the cultivation of crops, mainly tobacco and corn. A fifteen hundred acre track of land was established to support Kecoughtan's government and the monthly courts that decided minor matters.¹⁰¹ Officials and ministers were provided with land to support themselves. In addition, land was set aside for raising cattle. Artisans willing to practice their trades at Kecoughtan were offered a house and four acres of land.

⁹⁸ Virginia Company, Instructions to George Yeardley, November 18, 1618, In Records of the Virginia Company of London...., 4 vols., ed. Susan M. Kingsberry (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), 3: 98-109; Billings, Colonial Virginia, 42.

⁹⁹ Morgan, American Slavery - American Freedom, 93-97.

¹⁰⁰ Virginia Company, Instructions to George Yeardley, 3: 100 – 01; Morton, Colonial Virginia, 1: 52 – 54.

¹⁰¹ Virginia Company, Instructions to George Yeardley, 3: 99 – 103.

¹⁰² In all likelihood, artisans already were at Kecoughtan, but it is not known to what extent additional craftsmen were attracted to the settlement. (See Fig. 9.)

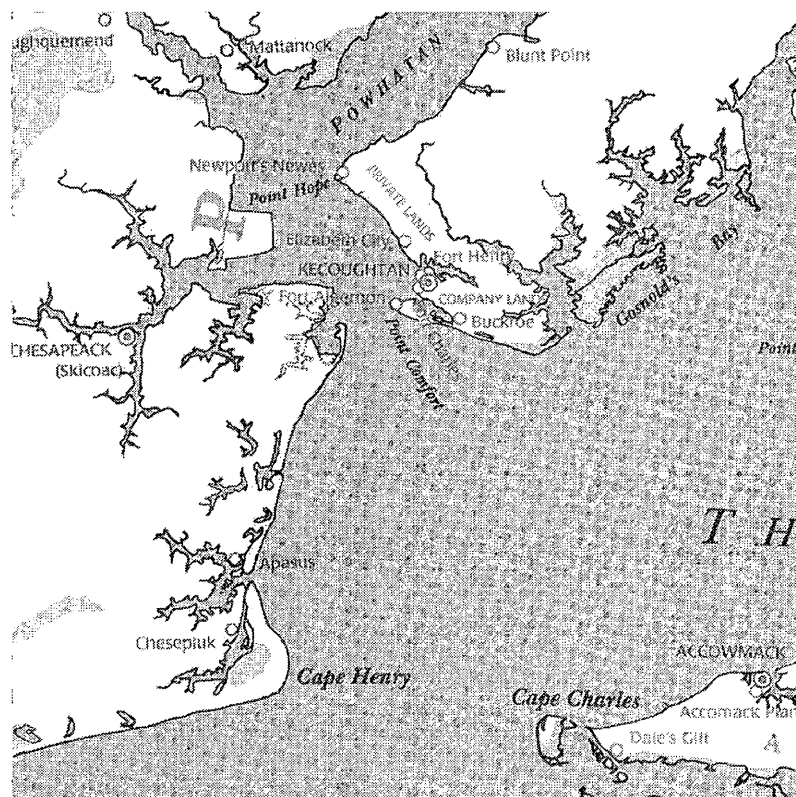


Fig. 9: ENGLAND IN AMERICA: THE CHESAPEAKE BAY FROM JAMESTOWN TO ST. MARYS CITY 1607 – 1634 (detail)¹⁰³
*Virginia Company Land and Private Land at Kecoughtan
 Divided by the Hampton River*

A London directive of November 1619, encouraging individual incentive and the patenting of the land stated that “The inhabitants of Kecoughtan . . . are to choose their dividend along the bank of the great river between Kecoughtan

¹⁰² Brown, *First Republic in America*, 323-24; Morgan, *American Slavery - American Freedom*, 93 – 94.

¹⁰³ Globe Sales Publications, *England in America: The Chesapeake Bay from Jamestown to St. Marys City 1607-1634* (Champlain, Virginia: 1996).

and Newport News.”¹⁰⁴ This directive referred to the Englishmen who inhabited the land on the east side of the Hampton River prior to the establishment of the Company land. These were the men who had paid for their transportation to Virginia before 1616 and the indentured servants who had completed their seven-year obligation, becoming free men. Each of these men was given one hundred acres of land between the west side of the Hampton River and the end of the peninsula bordered by the James River, where they could clear land and construct houses. Settlers who arrived after this date and who had paid their own or someone else’s way were also granted one hundred acres of land.¹⁰⁵

Thus, Kecoughtan was divided between the Company land on the east side of the Hampton River and the land on the west side, which was available for cultivation by independent men and their indentured servants. Consequently, the land on the west side, free from Company interference, was quickly patented and prospered.

Indentured servants transported to the Tidewater at Company expense and contracted with the Company for seven years, became supervised sharecropping tenants on the Company land, retaining half of the commodities they produced, while the Company received the remainder. The Company's half of the profits were used to support the colony’s government.¹⁰⁶ The reforms also

¹⁰⁴ Virginia Company, The Putting out of the Tenants..., In Records of the Virginia Company of London, 4 vols., ed. Susan M. Kingsberry (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), 3: 227; Brown, First Republic in America, 323-24.

¹⁰⁵ Virginia Company, Instructions to George Yeardley, 3: 100 – 01; Brown, First Republic in America, 324–25.

¹⁰⁶ Virginia Company, Instructions to George Yeardley, 3: 100-101; Morgan, American Slavery - American Freedom, 94.

brought increased supplies and a steady stream of immigrants, including women.¹⁰⁷

Governor George Yeardley's regime also initiated the first representative assembly in the New World, the House of Burgesses, convening at Jamestown in July 1619. William Capps and Capt. William Tucker, both independent men, residing on the west side of the Hampton River, represented Kecoughtan.¹⁰⁸ At that time, the Burgesses approved a local petition to obliterate the "savage name" Kecoughtan, changing it to Elizabeth City, named after King James' daughter.¹⁰⁹ The name Kecoughtan, however, continued to be commonly used among its inhabitants and others.

Elizabeth City encompassed Kecoughtan and its environs (part of present-day City of Newport News) and the land located on the sparsely populated south side of Hampton Roads (the present-day Cities of Norfolk and Virginia Beach). The south side of Hampton Roads was incorporated in 1636 as New Norfolk County.¹¹⁰ By the middle of the seventeenth century, fifty-six men patented property in New Norfolk County, at least twenty-three (41.1 percent) originated in Kecoughtan.¹¹¹ (See fig. 10.)

¹⁰⁷ Billings, Colonial Virginia, 42.

¹⁰⁸ Virginia Company, A Report of the Manner of Proceedings in the General Assembly.... July 30, 31, August 2, 3, 4, 1619, In Records of the Virginia Company of London...., 4 vols., ed. Susan M. Kingsberry (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), 3: 154; Morgan, American Slavery - American Freedom, 96.

¹⁰⁹ Virginia Company, Treasure, Council, and Company for Virginia.... July 30, 31, August 2, 3, 4, 1619, In Records of the Virginia Company of London, 4 vols., ed. Susan M. Kingsberry (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), 3: 154, 161, 276.

¹¹⁰ Thomas C. Parramore, Peter C. Stewart, Tommy L. Bogger, Norfolk: The First Four Centuries (Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1994), 31.

¹¹¹ Horn, Adapting to a New World, 170.

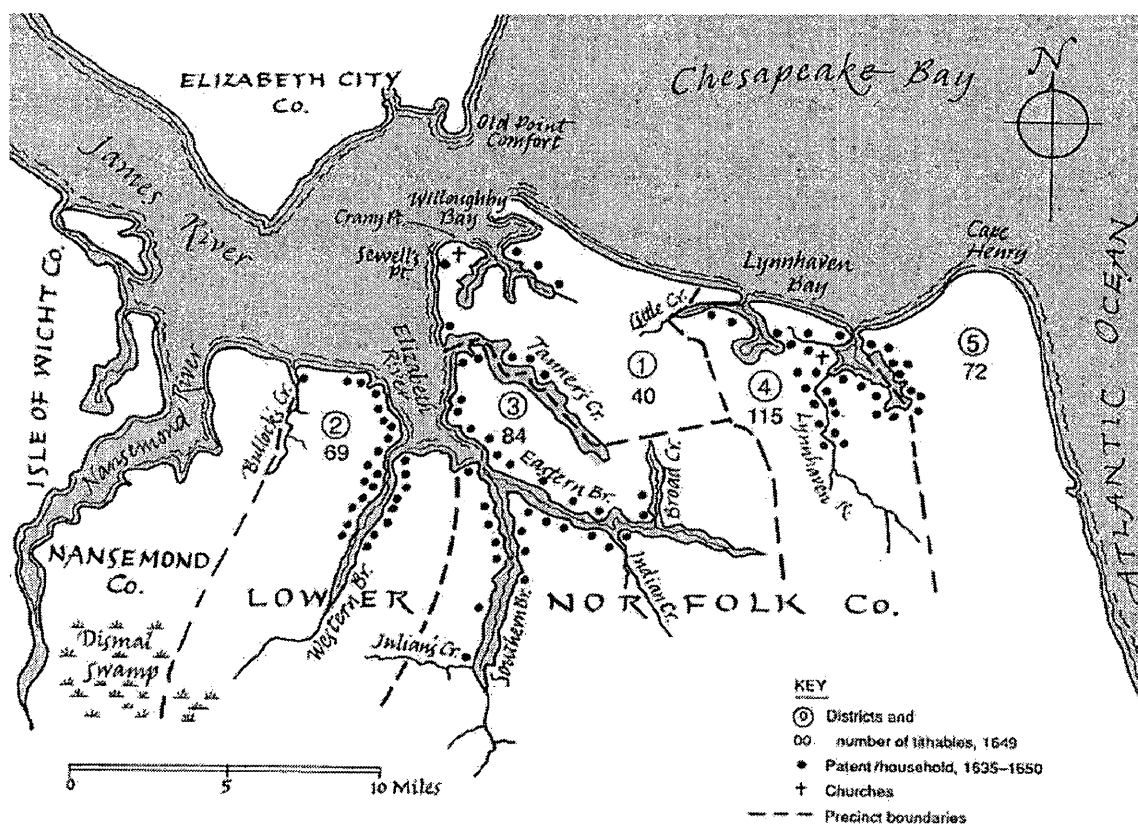


Fig. 10: LOWER NORFOLK COUNTY IN THE MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY¹¹²

Kecoughtan's Tobacco Culture

Kecoughtan, the Hampton River port town, began to grow and progress simultaneously with the phenomenal growth of the demand for "Virginia gold" - tobacco. The Virginia "leaf" was in high demand in England, and, by 1617, inhabitants of Kecoughtan and its environs had rapidly settled into its cultivation. Kecoughtan became a busy port where the tobacco was stored, and where merchantmen exchanged tobacco for English manufactured goods. By 1619, the tobacco trade at Kecoughtan was substantial, as indentured servants and diverse types of goods were imported: alcoholic beverages, sugar, cheese,

¹¹² Ibid, 167.

clothing, shoes, candles, nails, and weapons.¹¹³ Wharfs and trade-related structures were built to accommodate the activity. Before first satisfying the governor's entrance requirements at Jamestown, the colony's principal port of entry, many ship captains attempted to illegally trade at Kecoughtan¹¹⁴ Captains would evade the order, profitably trading with the scattered settlements during the colonial period.

Human chattel, along with tobacco, passed through Kecoughtan. On a trading expedition in late August 1619, a Dutch man-of-war landed at Point Comfort, with the first recorded arrival of Africans in the Tidewater. Its shipmaster Capt. Jope attempted to exchange "20 and odd Negroes" to the governor and the cape merchant for victuals. The exchange was refused, but the Dutch captain successfully traded the Africans at Jamestown. Jope, who gathered intelligence while in the West Indies, warned the Kecoughtan authorities that the Spanish planned to attack the colony the following spring. Apparently, the Dutchman had little confidence in Fort Algernon's defensive capabilities, because he advised placing additional guns at Point Comfort, and if not implemented, he declared that the Virginia Company enterprise would be "quyte undone." The inhabitants of Kecoughtan (who Jope found to be surly) were disheartened by the news. Jope's account suggests he both recognized

¹¹³ Ibid, 1.

¹¹⁴ Virginia Company, Proceeding in the General Assembly, July 30, 31, August 2, 3, 4, 1619, In Records of the Virginia Company of London, 4 vols., ed. Susan M. Kingsberry (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), 3: 165.

the Point's strategic importance and its vulnerability. John Rolfe, recording this event, condemned the inadequate defenses throughout the Tidewater.¹¹⁵

In spite of the Virginia Company's experiments to diversify, tobacco production dominated the Kecoughtan economy for the remainder of the Company period. One of the Company's failed experiments occurred at Buck's Roe (Buckroe), about two miles northeast of Kecoughtan. In 1620, the Company transported Frenchmen to instruct the English planters in the process of silk and wine production. However, the General Assembly ordered the Frenchmen deported when they failed to cultivate the industry and instruct others in the trade.¹¹⁶ Apparently some, if not all, of the Frenchmen remained as indicated by the existence of Peter Arundell's silk house, which existed as late as April 1623.¹¹⁷

In another attempt of the Virginia Company to diversify, each laboring man was directed to gather a certain amount of sassafras for medicinal purposes, which was plentiful at Kecoughtan.¹¹⁸ However, because of the growing demand for Virginia's tobacco, these and other schemes to promote a more diversified economy continued to unravel as individual settlers and the Company (despite initial reluctance) realized that wealth and opportunity lay in tobacco

¹¹⁵ Virginia Company, John Rolfe to Edwin Sandys, January 20, 1619, 3: 243-44.

¹¹⁶ William W. Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the year 1619 13 vols., (Richmond: Franklin Press, 1820-1835) 1: 161.

¹¹⁷ Virginia Company, Peter Arundell to [] Caning, April 14, 1623, in Records of the Virginia Company of London.... 4 vols., ed. Susan M. Kingsberry (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), 4: 230.

¹¹⁸ Virginia Company, Governor Francis Wyatt, Order, October 1623, In Records of the Virginia Company of London...., 4 vols., ed. Susan M. Kingsberry (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906 – 35), 4: 285 – 86.

cultivation.¹¹⁹ By 1625, every available space at Kecoughtan had been planted primarily with tobacco and corn: approximately 3000 acres of Company land, 1500 acres of common land, and 5650 acres on private land.¹²⁰

With increasing prosperity of the colony, English immigration increased. Recognizing the need for temporary shelter for the new arrivals, in the spring of 1620, the Virginia Company proposed building a “Guest House” at Kecoughtan and other strategically situated Tidewater locations. These structures would serve as places of recuperation for those surviving the perilous voyage, having been tossed upon the ocean for months and confined aboard ship with their sick and dying companions.

The guest house at Kecoughtan was designed to hold fifty people and contain twenty beds and windows for the “wholesomnes of aire.”¹²¹ For unknown reasons, however, the proposed structure was never built. Even though the guest house was not built, the selection of Kecoughtan by the Virginia Company as the first convenient de-embarkation point for new arrivals demonstrates that the site was considered a suitable retreat to restore the newcomers’ health and spirits.

Kecoughtan’s importance can be inferred from a May 17, 1620, account that Capt. Thomas Nuce (1621–1623, years in Virginia), responsible for managing all the Company Lands in the Tidewater. Selecting Kecoughtan as his place of residence, Nuce received forty indentured servants and twelve hundred acres of Company land in payment for his services, of which six hundred were

¹¹⁹ Morgan, *American Slavery - American Freedom*, 109.

¹²⁰ Virginia Company, *Extracts of All the Titles and Estates of Land*, 4: 557-58.

¹²¹ Virginia Company, *Treasurer, Council*, May 17, 1620, 3: 276.

located at Kecoughtan.¹²² There he constructed on his own initiative two guest houses to care for newly arrived immigrants, built a brick-lined well as a source of fresh water, and planted corn.¹²³

Powhatan Attack of 1622

As the English presence increased in Virginia, Opechancanough, who succeeded his older brother as the Powhatan (chief), feared the Englishmen's ever-increasing encroachment upon his territory. Launching the second Anglo-Powhatan War (1622 – 1632) on March 22, 1622, the Indians killed 347 men, women, and children of the 1240 people inhabiting the Tidewater. After the unexpected Indian offensive, some of the settlements were abandoned in smoldering ruins. Remarkably, the Friday morning maelstrom did not approach Kecoughtan.¹²⁴

In response to the attack, the Virginia Company centralized their defenses and supplies and consolidated the survivors into eight settlements scattered throughout the Tidewater that were not decimated by the Indian offensive. These settlements, which included Kecoughtan and Jamestown, served as Company strongholds.¹²⁵ Following Opechancanough's attack, which left Martin's Hundred

¹²² Virginia Company, A Quarter Court held for Virginia... May 1620, In Records of the Virginia Company of London, from the Manuscript in the Library of Congress, 4 vols., ed. Susan M. Kingsberry (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), 1: 349.

¹²³ Smith, The General History, 2: 304, 310; Brown, First Republic in America, 410-11.

¹²⁴ Axtell, Natives and Newcomers, 254-357; William L. Shea, The Virginia Militia in the Seventeenth Century (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 25-27.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

settlement in ruins, Kecoughtan was the only significant center of occupation remaining between Jamestown and Point Comfort.¹²⁶

(See Fig. 11.)

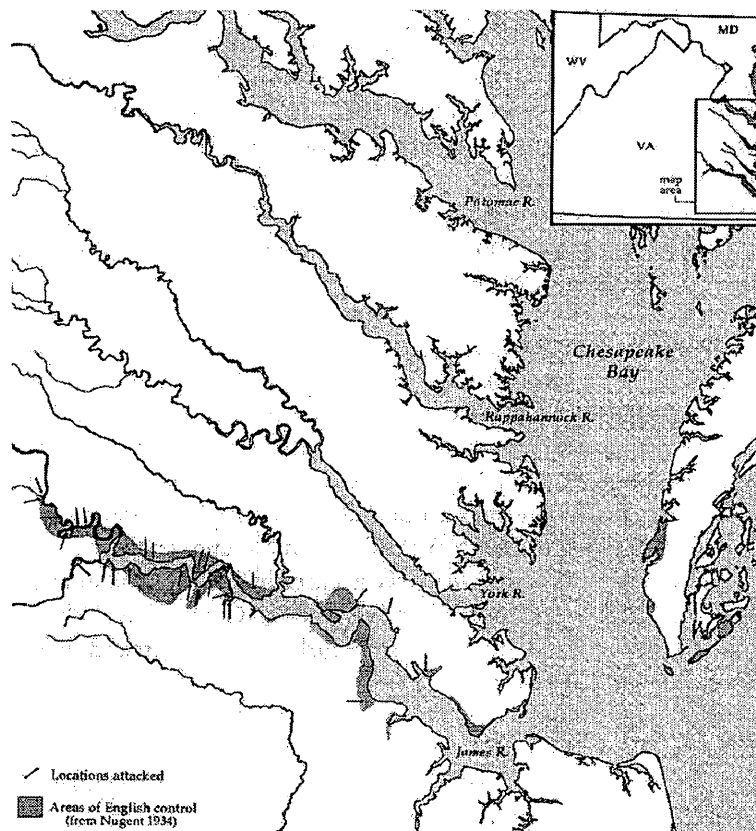


Fig. 11: ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS AND LOCATIONS ATTACKED BY THE POWHATAN ON MARCH 22, 1622¹²⁷

The Kecoughtan commander Capt. William Tucker and the officers of the seven other settlements selected as strongholds in the Tidewater were granted absolute authority to maintain order among the horrified people who flowed to the selected settlements for protection. Disobedience to Tucker's dictates, whose sway was extended to encompass all of the lower peninsula, was punishable by

¹²⁶ Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 161.

¹²⁷ Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia*, 150.

death. Wary of the renewal of hostilities, these strongholds were maintained in a state of siege.¹²⁸

Within two weeks of the attack, Capt. Thomas Nuce positioned three pieces of ordnance on his land to defend against the Powhatan, who were often deterred by even a small force. Nuce also removed part of his crops, denying the enemy the advantage of cover. By April 1623, the prolonged effect of the attack continued to plague Nuce, and many of his tenants lost their lives during this period. Starvation was one of the consequences of the Powhatan attack, as displaced settlers seeking refuge depleted Kecoughtan's food supply. The supply of corn shared with the refugees was insufficient to sustain Nuce and his tenants. Immediately after the attack, the danger of marauding Indians discouraged the settlers from venturing forth from their relative security, to search for food or plant crops. And the nonproductive ground that had long been cleared for tobacco cultivation was worn out, which was an additional factor resulting in the dearth of food.¹²⁹

Peter Arundell, one of the French silk producers situated at Buck Roe, , exemplified the situation. Writing in April 1623, he noted that his family only possessed a bushel of meal until the next harvest. Arundell's "most evident hope from altogether starving" was the abundant oyster resources, which he planned

¹²⁸ Ibid., 27-29; Virginia Company, Council in Virginia, April 1622; Governor in Virginia, May 18, 1622; Governor in Virginia, July 16, 1622, In Records of Virginia Company of London, 4 vols., ed. Susan M. Kingsberry (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), 3: 612, 623, 664-65.

¹²⁹ Virginia Company, George Sandys to John Ferrar, April 8, 1623, In Records of the Virginia Company of London... 4 vols. Ed. Susan M. Kingsberry (Washington D.C. Government Printing Office, 1906 – 35), 4: 107.

to gather once he secured a canoe. During 1624, twenty-five men (including Peter Arundell), a woman, and a child died.¹³⁰

In the aftermath of Opechancanough's onslaught, a report condemning the Virginia Company's mismanagement of the Colony was issued. One aspect of the report enumerated the inadequate number of ordnance and amount of gunpowder located at the dispersed settlements. The settlements located above Jamestown possessed the greatest number of ordnance, while the settlements located below Jamestown possessed significantly less. There were two additional problems: some of the guns were not in serviceable condition, and there were not enough experienced men to fire them. Kecoughtan ranked only fourth as to the number of ordnance positioned in the Tidewater. By the late summer of 1623, and certainly earlier, the defenses at Kecoughtan and Jamestown exhibited such decay that they had "no strength." And the forts at Henrico and Charles City had been demolished by the Powhatan in March 1622.¹³¹ (See table 2.)

	<i>Number of Pieces</i>
Henrico (above Jamestown)	7
Flowerdew Hundred (above Jamestown)	6
Charles Hundred (above Jamestown)	2
Jamestown	4
Kecoughtan (below Jamestown)	3
Newport News (below Jamestown)	3

Table 2: NUMBER OF ORDNANCE IN THE VIRGINIA COMPANY COLONY IN 1622¹³²

¹³⁰ Virginia Company, Peter Arundell to [] Caning, 4: 230.

¹³¹ Virginia Company, Notes for an Answer to the Propositions made by Lord Chichester, August (September) 1623, in Records of the Virginia Company of London.... 4 vols., ed. Susan M. Kingsberry (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1906 – 35), 4: 259.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 383.

Because of the deteriorating conditions, the Virginia Company acknowledged that Point Comfort could no longer effectively serve as a sentinel to the entrance to the James River estuary. Thus, Jamestown could not be safeguarded, or as a report compiled by critics of the Company's administration stated, "a small bark of 100 tons may take its time to pass up the river in spite of them, and coming to an anchor before the town (Jamestown) may beat all their houses down about their ears."¹³³

In December 1623, following London's instructions to the all the company commanders in the Tidewater area, Capt. William Tucker compiled an inventory of Kecoughtan's inhabitants, including people who had died or were killed since Opechancarough's attack. Since the attack, 101 people had perished, mainly from starvation and disease. The account completed on February 16, 1624, lists a total of 340 men, women, and children living in Kecoughtan: sixty-five at the "Elizabeth City" track near Forts Charles and Henry; thirty at "Buck's Row," at the entrance to Mill Creek; and eleven at the "Indian Thickett" track near the mouth of the Hampton River. On the west side of the Hampton River, 234 independent people and their indentured servants resided.¹³⁴ (See table 3.)

¹³³ Virginia Company, The Answer of...Planters that have Long Lived in Virginia, April 30, 1623. In Records of the Virginia Company of London, 4 vols., ed. Susan M. Kingsberry (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), 2: 383.

¹³⁴ Virginia Company, Council in Virginia, An Order, December 6, 1623, Records of the Virginia Company of London, 4 vols., ed. Susan M. Kingsberry (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906 - 35), 4: 441; Martha McCartney, "The Environs of the Hampton River: A Chronological Overview," (1983), 12; Turner, "Powhatan and English Interactions", 14 - 15.

<i>Location</i>	<i>Population</i>
West of Hampton River	234
East of the Hampton River, "Indian Thickett" Track	11
East of Hampton River, "Elizabeth City" Track	65
East of Hampton River, "Buck's Row"	30
<i>Total Population</i>	<i>340</i>

Table 3: **POPULATION OF KECOUGHTAN IN 1623**¹³⁵

In 1625, the Virginia Company directed the settlement commanders to compile a muster listing the people and specific properties that survived Opechancarough's attack of 1622. The muster recorded that 359 men, women, and children inhabited Kecoughtan, a total twice as large as Jamestown's population. More than twenty-five percent of Kecoughtan's settlers resided on the Company Land on the east side of the Hampton River, where all of the settlement's twenty storehouses and twenty of its eighty-nine houses were located. Since Kecoughtan had twenty-four palisades (fortified houses), of which five were on the Company land, it is apparent that the settlement was endeavoring to obey the General Assembly's command for the people to fortify their homes to withstand an Indian assault. In addition, Kecoughtan had six boats, the second largest number in the colony after Jamestown. A number of small weapons could also be found at Kecoughtan, with its two small cannons located on the Company land.¹³⁶ (See appendixes A and B.)

¹³⁵ Turner, "Powhatan and Indian Interactions," 14 - 15.

¹³⁶ Hatch, The First Seventeen Years, 93 - 94; McCartney, "The Environs of the Hampton River," 14 - 15; John F. Dorman and Virginia Meyer, ed., Adventurers of Purse and Person Virginia 1607 - 1624/5 (Richmond: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1987), 3 ed., 51-68.

Ironically, the Powhatan offensive was the most significant stimulus for Kecoughtan's growth. As one of the eight settlements selected as a stronghold for sanctuary for settlers displaced by Opechancarough's attack of 1622, Kecoughtan was considered one of the more secure settlements and thus attracted increasing numbers of the settlers after the attack. The numerous refugees who arrived at Kecoughtan most likely remained because of Kecoughtan's relative security and desirable environment. Furthermore, the rate of immigration from England to Kecoughtan increased during this period and into the 1630s.¹³⁷

Daily existence during the first quarter of the century was a continuous struggle for the colonists. Their suffering, particularly by disease, and aggravated by hunger and Powhatan attacks, steadily eroded the tenuous ability of the Virginia Company to conduct a profitable enterprise. Between 1619 and 1621, about three thousand people died in the Tidewater, resulting largely from the Company's failure to provide the inhabitants with necessities for survival. Because of the Company's approaching bankruptcy, its chronic mismanagement, and the colonists' extraordinary mortality rate, King Charles I was compelled to dissolve the Company in 1624, declaring Virginia a royal colony.¹³⁸

Kecoughtan, The Post-Virginia Company Period

In the mid-1620s, Kecoughtan was second only to Jamestown as a site of authority and surpassed it in terms of the number of indentured servants, which

¹³⁷ Billings, Colonial Virginia, 101; Morgan, American Slavery - American Freedom, 100 – 107.

¹³⁸ Morgan, American Slavery - American Freedom, 100 – 107.

represented wealth. By February 1625, two Kecoughtan men were ranked among the top fifteen men in the colony having a large number of indentured servants: Samuel Mathews ranked fourth with twenty-three, William Tucker ranked sixth with seventeen, and Daniel Gookin at nearby Newport News ranked fifth with twenty.¹³⁹ Kecoughtan's prominence was further augmented by the residency of Capt. Francis West, brother of Thomas West, Lord Delaware.¹⁴⁰

In 1625, Kecoughtan, with the addition of Newport News and other neighboring plantations, was by far the Tidewater's most heavily inhabited area.¹⁴¹ The growth of Kecoughtan had been rapid; by 1624 its population was sixteen times greater than it had been ten years earlier.¹⁴² During the 1620s and 1630s, Kecoughtan and the countryside of the James-York Peninsula continued to increase in population; however, the colony, overall, was not densely populated. By 1650, the colonies of Virginia and Maryland, covering the equivalent of about one-half the size of England, had a population only comparable to a small English county or London suburb. Ten decades after the rise of Jamestown (1607), the country remained a dense forest, and the sparse English population radiated only sixty miles from the entrance of the Chesapeake Bay.¹⁴³ (See Fig. 12.)

¹³⁹ Morgan, American Slavery - American Freedom, 118-123.

¹⁴⁰ Lyon G. Tyler, History of Hampton and Elizabeth City County Virginia, Hampton, Virginia: The Board of Supervisors of Elizabeth County, Virginia, 1922, 18.

¹⁴¹ Horn, Adapting to a New World, 165; Sarah S. Hughes, "Elizabeth City County, Virginia, 1782-1810: The Economic and Social Structure of a Tidewater County in the Early National Years", Ph.D. diss., (Williamsburg: College of William and Mary, 1975), 16; Rolfe, A True Relation of the State of Virginia, 872-74.

¹⁴² Turner, "Archaeological Manifestations of Powhatan – English Interactions," 13-14.

¹⁴³ Horn, Adapting to a New World, 161, 139-40; Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves, 29.



Fig. 12: **AREAS OF ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS IN 1634**¹⁴⁴

Kecoughtan's growth and prosperity after the Virginia Company period provides ample evidence it was a well-selected site for a port town and fortification. Beginning in 1631, the General Assembly made Point Comfort an official place of entry, codifying its point of entry status and augmenting the act in 1632, 1633, and 1642.¹⁴⁵ The Assembly authorized the commander of Fort Algernon to collect a specified amount of shot and powder to maintain the defense of Point Comfort, Kecoughtan, and the entrance to the James River.¹⁴⁶

The General Assembly also regulated the flourishing tobacco trade. In 1633, the Assembly appointed Kecoughtan and four other settlements on the

¹⁴⁴ Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia*, 187.

¹⁴⁵ General Assembly, *Statutes*, 1: 176, 192, 218, 247.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1: 176, 192, 218, 247.

Tidewater's navigable rivers as locations for tobacco warehouses. Kecoughtan's tobacco warehouse advanced the settlement's importance as a center of trade, by providing official sanction for the Virginia colony's most significant economic activity.¹⁴⁷

In 1667, the General Assembly recognized that the ineffective defenses at Point Comfort allowed enemy ships to "prey upon the ships or country as if there was no fort there." The Assembly commissioned the construction of five forts on Virginia's great rivers, from the James to the Rappahannock, and abandoned the deteriorating Fort Algernon, which had been rebuilt for the second time in 1634.¹⁴⁸ These new fortifications were intended primarily to protect against Dutch incursions and trade in Virginia.¹⁴⁹

After years of futile attempts, the town and port of Kecoughtan was officially realized when the General Assembly authorized the Acts-of-Ports, simultaneously mandating the formation of towns and ports, effective on October 1, 1691. Kecoughtan, one of twenty authorized ports created by this legislation, was empowered to purchase fifty acres for a town site. Town trustees laid out a simple grid, a cross-street pattern, in 1692.¹⁵⁰ As part of this legislation, the first customhouse at Kecoughtan was built. The jurisdiction of the customhouse was the Lower James River District, extending from Hog Island around Cape Henry to

¹⁴⁷ General Assembly, Statutes, 1: 203 - 07.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 2: 255 - 56.

¹⁴⁹ Morgan, American Slavery-American Freedom, 240 - 43.

¹⁵⁰ John W. Reps, Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972), 70.

North Carolina, and around Point Comfort to join the York River district at Back River.¹⁵¹

During the Virginia Company period, the planned towns which the London entrepreneurs had envisioned were only “paper towns,” for they did not begin to materialize until the last decade of the seventeenth century. Kecoughtan, not a “city or chief fortification” during the Company period, in the terms that William Strachey visualized, and certainly far from England’s standards, was, however, a relatively substantial center of population and trade in the Virginia Company colony.¹⁵² Strachey’s vision began to be realized in 1610 with the Virginia Company’s removal of the Kecoughtan Indians, as the Company attempted to establish a permanent center of security, population, and commerce at the site. In 1691, Kecoughtan officially became a town and port, and in 1705 it was named Hampton, becoming one of the most prosperous tobacco port towns in the Tidewater during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. In the early nineteenth century, with the completion at Point Comfort of Fort Monroe, America’s largest masonry fortification, and the incorporation of the City of Hampton in 1954, Strachey’s vision of Kecoughtan was fulfilled.

(See Fig. 13.)

¹⁵¹ Harold B. Gill, “The Naval Office in Virginia, 1692-1700” (Master’s Thesis, College of William and Mary, 1959), 8.

¹⁵² Reys, Tidewater Towns, 70.



Fig. 13: Town of Hampton and Point Comfort, ca. 1782 (detail)¹⁵³

¹⁵³ Richard W. Stephenson and Mary Anne M. McKee, ed., *Virginia in Maps: Four Centuries of Settlement, Growth, and Development*: (Richmond: The Library of Virginia, 2000), 46, 111.

THESIS SUMMARY

Kecoughtan, one of the Virginia Company of London's primary settlements, was a significant enclave in the Company's attempt to colonize Virginia. According to accounts of the Company's leadership, Kecoughtan was viewed by both the Company and the colonists as a breadbasket and site of refuge during times of peril. The settlement's natural attributes rendered it as one of the colony's most habitable sites, as evidenced by Capt. John Smith's trading expeditions to Kecoughtan (1607-1608), by the Kecoughtan settlers' relative wellbeing during the "Starving Time" (1609-1610), and by the Company's establishment of a stronghold at Kecoughtan after the Powhatan attack (1622).

Kecoughtan and Point Comfort (Fort Algernon), although two separate landforms with their own identity, were referred to collectively as Kecoughtan by the Virginia Company because of the natural symbiotic relationship that developed between the emerging settlement and the nearby fortification at Point Comfort. Because of its strategic location, Fort Algernon served as a sentinel for the Company's scattered settlements in the Tidewater, during much of the Company period (1607-1624). Algernon was an effective guardian of the colony within the terms defined by the Virginia Company, whereby the garrison at Fort Algernon would delay the hostile Spanish vessels and send a warning to the upriver settlements, primarily Jamestown. Algernon's role as the colony's sentinel is substantiated by the Company's urgency in fortifying Point Comfort, in documenting Fort Algernon's relative effectiveness in detecting hostile vessels, in

designating Fort Algernon as a site for significant consultations, and in distinguishing the site as the beginning and the end of the Company's domain.

After of the removal of the Kecoughtan Indians in 1610, the English built two forts at the site: Charles and Henry. With Forts Algernon, Charles, and Henry, Kecoughtan's defenses were strengthened, establishing it as a Company keystone of relative stability and an administrative center during the shifting facets of the Company's martial regime from 1611 to 1618, to a newly liberalized government, beginning in 1619.

The emerging tobacco culture, established the economic course of the Tidewater, preventing the colony's dissolution. With the introduction of tobacco (1612), Kecoughtan became one of many small tobacco ports in the Tidewater. Kecoughtan was a convenient location for ships entering Hampton Roads from the Chesapeake Bay, as they traveled toward the entrance of the James River, which would take them upriver to Jamestown and the other English settlements. Kecoughtan became a significant port for tobacco trade and commerce, as demonstrated by the General Assembly's recognition of the settlement's volume of trade during the post-Company period, whereby the Assembly established Kecoughtan as a point of entry in 1631 and authorized a regional tobacco warehouse there in 1633.

After the Powhatan Indian attack of 1622, which threatened the existence of the Virginia colony, Kecoughtan became a refuge for the survivors. Kecoughtan was near dissolution at this time because of the influx of the terrorized refugees from the devastated settlements. The displaced colonists

depleted Kecoughtan's food supplies, which could not be replenished because of continued hostilities with the Indians. By the close of the Virginia Company period (1624); however, the Kecoughtan settlement had evolved from an outpost of twenty men and boys (1616) to become the Tidewater's most densely populated settlement and would be the only Company settlement to endure, eventually becoming a thriving city in the twenty-first century, the city of Hampton in 1954. (See appendix C.)

Although, Kecoughtan faced a difficult existence during the Virginia Company period (1607-1624), and near the end of the Company's administration, faced daunting obstacles which nearly brought it to extinction, the Hampton River settlement served many times as a Company lifeline for the colonists. Despite many obstacles, the Kecoughtan settlement was one of the Virginia colony's more successful settlements. And with the rapid concentration of the colony's population during the latter part of the Company period, Kecoughtan became Virginia's most densely populated region.

Indeed, Kecoughtan had an essential combination of attributes that made it pivotal in the Virginia Company of London's attempt to establish an English presence in Virginia. Kecoughtan's survival, however tenuous, facilitated the Company's attempt to colonize Virginia. Strachey's prophecy for Kecoughtan, as "a delicate and necessary seat for a city or chief fortification," would be fulfilled with the establishment of the City of Hampton and Fort Monroe.

Appendix A

AGE DATA FOR KECOUGHTAN IN 1625¹⁵⁴

Age	Men	Women
1		
2	2	2
3		
4		3
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		
11	2	
12	2	1
13	3	
14	6	
15	2	
16	10	
17	3	1
18	14	2
19	9	
20	21	6
21	9	3
22	14	5
23	15	3
24	21	6
25	9	3
26	22	4
27	5	1
28	5	2
29	2	
30	17	8
31	2	
32	3	1
33	7	
34	3	
35	2	
36	9	
37		1
38	3	3
39		
40	13	1
41		
42	3	1
43	3	
44	3	
45	1	
46	1	
47		
48		
49		
50	2	
51		
52		
53		
54	1	
55		
56	1	
Total Number	250	57
Average Age	25.8	23.7

¹⁵⁴ Dorman, *Adventurers of Purse and Person*, 51 – 68. (Source of Data)

Appendix B

MATERIAL INVENTORY OF KECOUGHTAN IN 1625¹⁵⁵

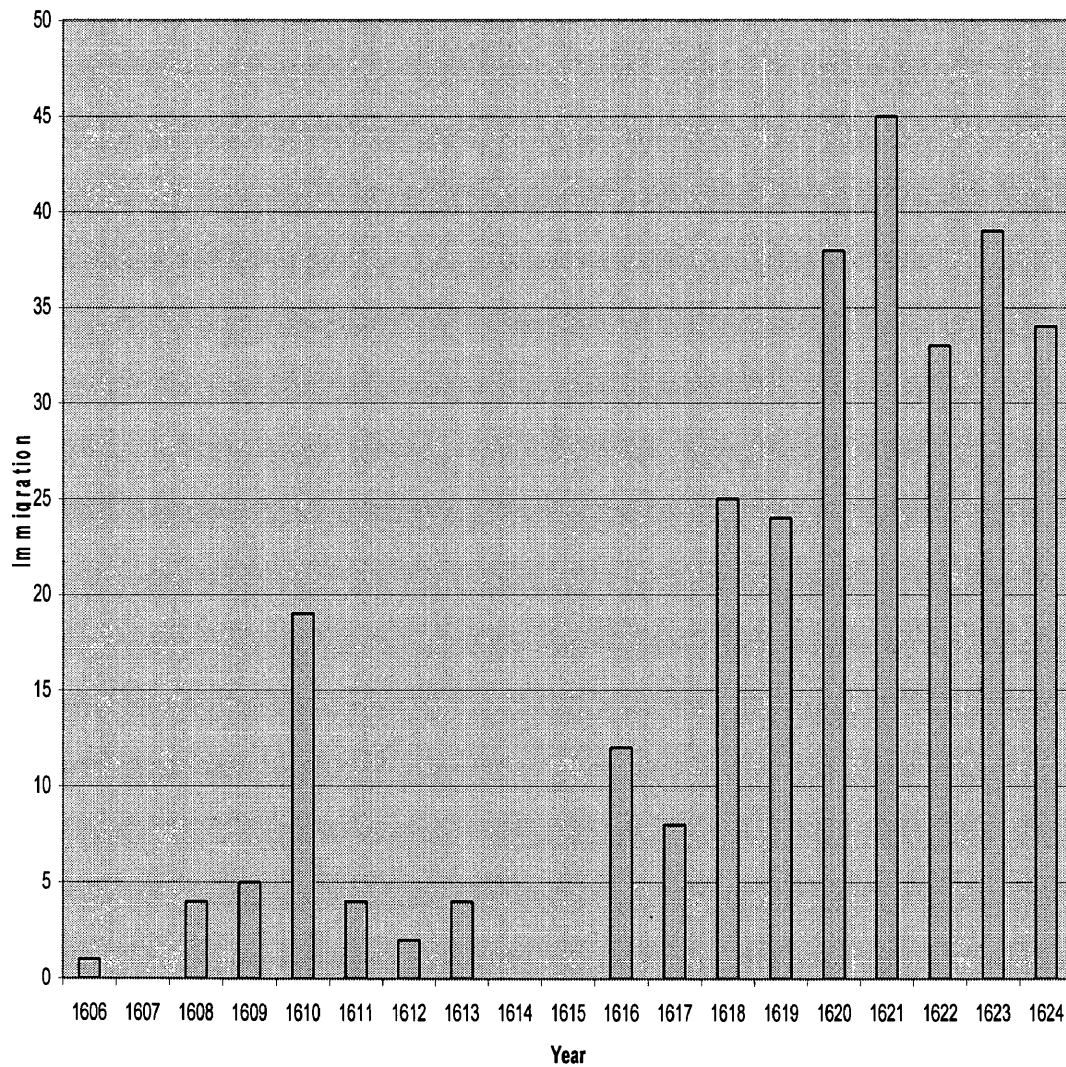
Material	Units	Company Land	Non-Company Land	Total
Corn	Bushels	188	564	752
Fish	Count	3,250	10,052	13,302
Houses	Count	18	61	79
Pallizados	Count	5	19	24
Boats	Count	1	6	7
Snaphance / Peeces	Count	93	240	333
Pistols	Count	3	30	33
Murders	Count	0	5	5
Swords	Count	19	83	102
Armor	Count	22	66	88
Power	Pounds	70	140	210
Lead	Pounds	793	2,260	3,053

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. (Source of Data)

Appendix C

IMMIGRATION FROM ENGLAND TO KECOUGHTAN 1606 – 1624¹⁵⁶

Immigration from England



Total Immigration 1606 – 1624 297 people

Mean Immigration per year 15.6 people

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. (Source of Data)

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