

The Hallowes Site: A Seventeenth-Century Yeoman's Cottage in Virginia

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# The Hallowes Site: a seventeenth-century yeoman's cottage in Virginia

WILLIAM T. BUCHANAN, JR. and EDWARD F. HEITE

### INTRODUCTION

This excavation of a center-chimney yeoman's house yielded a small collection of artifacts from the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Marked tobacco pipes were especially abundant.

The Hallowes site occupied a low bluff at the mouth of Currioman Bay (Figure 1), a minor estuary on the south shore of the Potomac in Westmoreland County, Virginia. Directly across the river, on the Maryland shore, is Blackiston Island, first landfall of the 1634 Maryland colonists.

The site itself occupied part of a tract first patented in 1651 by one of those colonists, Major John Hallowes.

Currioman Bay is sheltered by a sandbar (Hollis Marsh) that is constantly changing its shape. Underlying the entire region is a bed of fossil shells that has been mined for agricultural marl, and for curiosities. The soil at the surface is a well-drained sandy loam.

Until recently, most of the property in this region has been farmed or wooded. However, this and other tracts have been developed within recent years as recreational subdivisions. The Hallowes site became a part of Stratford Harbour, a project of the American Central Corporation, in 1968. Routine site survey before construction led to the discovery of the site in the spring of 1968 by Mrs. Virginia Sherman and William T. Buchanan, Jr.

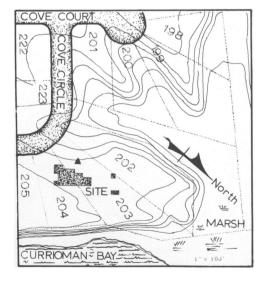


FIGURE 1. Map of the site, as now subdivided. The shaded portions of lots 204 and 203 represent the excavation units. Contour interval is 2 feet.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

John Hallowes was baptised December 31, 1615 in Rochedale Parish, Lancashire, the fourth child of Henry and Elizabeth Hallowes (Lancashire, 1969). Very little is known of John's early life, but in November 1633 he was among the first Maryland settlers who sailed in the Ark. He was indentured to Captain Thomas Cornwallys, one of the official party of Leonard Calvert, brother of Lord Baltimore. Ark arrived in the Potomac in March 1634. Hallowes and his master soon were active in the Indian trade on both sides of the river.

Hallowes had completed his service by 1638. On June 1, 1639, he made an oath that he was free to marry, which he did the following day (Browne, 1887:52). His bride was Restitute Tew, who had been brought to Maryland by Cornwallys in 1636 (Johnson, 1885:178). Between 1639 and 1647, Hallowes patented 500 acres in Maryland and took an

active part in the fur trade. He now styled himself "carpenter" in the court records, and frequently represented Virginians before the Maryland courts.

Hallowes fled to Virginia during the Maryland rebellion of 1644-1646; he apparently elected to stay after the unrest in Maryland had subsided. Hallowes was a Virginia resident as early as 1647; the following year he took a seat on the court of Northumberland County (Browne, 1887:331). During 1649, he sold his land in Maryland, and on June 8, 1650, he was granted 378 acres in Virginia, near the present town of Colonial Beach. In January 1651, he took up a series of grants totalling 2,400 acres (Virginia Land Office, Vol. 2), that included the site that is the subject of this article. Eventually John Hallowes accumulated 5,028 acres.

When Westmoreland County was formed from Northumberland in 1652, Hallowes' property fell in the new county, of which he became a justice and major of militia (Westmoreland County, Virginia, Deeds: Vol. I, 36). The puritan governor Richard Bennett confirmed Hallowes' title to the lands he had received from the Crown.

Over the years John Hallowes made a transition from bondservant to "gentleman" in the county records. In 1657, the year of his death, he was named sheriff, the highest local office in Colonial Virginia (*Ibid*: 80).

John Hallowes had two children whose names are known: John, who apparently died young, and Restitute, who survived him. His first wife, Restitute Tew, died before 1655. He then married a 24-year-old widow, Elizabeth, who survived him (*Ibid*:103-104).

Restitute, the daughter of Hallowes' first marriage, married John Whiston, or Whetstone, who obtained a new patent for Hallowes' land in 1667 (Virginia Land Office, Vol. 4, p. 303; Vol. 7, p. 459), from the restored Royal government of Virginia. The Whistons had two children: John, who died young, and Restitute, who inherited the estate. She was still quite young when her parents died, leaving her a handsome dowry. Her marriage in 1674, at the age of 14 or 15, to Mathew Steel, caused an uproar. The Rev. John Waugh was fined 10,000 pounds of tobacco for marrying an heiress to "a person of no estate" without the consent of her guardian. Waugh failed to appear in court to answer the charge, but asked Steel to represent him: the parson's horses had run away,

and he was unable to catch them in time to appear for his own defense (Tyler, 1907:182).

The Steels had one child, Thomas, who was born in 1680, shortly after Mathew's death in July of that year. Restitute's second husband, John Manley, took control of the Hallowes plantations, only to discover that Mathew Steel had attempted to build a quick fortune on his wife's holdings. The estate was entangled in a number of leases, but the court ruled that Manley had the right to evict Steel's tenants (Westmoreland County, Virginia, Order Book 2:220). Restitute had two sons by Manley: John and William. Her husband died around December 1687, and she died a month or so later. In her will, Restitute left the Hallowes land to Thomas Steel, and after his death to John and William Manley (Ibid:631).

Thomas Steel died before 1701, and the property passed to William Manley, the only survivor of the three. By 1712, William was deep in debt, and appealed to the General Assembly for permission to sell the land that had been entailed by the will of John Whiston (McIlwaine, 1912:9, 18, et seq.)

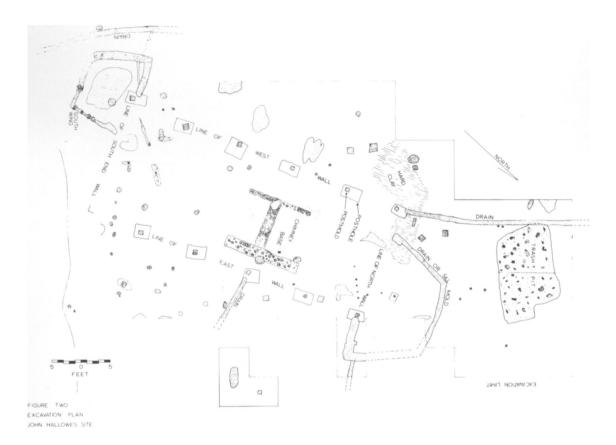
William Manley died in 1716, without having sold the land, which passed to his son John. But John Manley, the fourth American generation of the Hallowes family, did not have much opportunity to enjoy his inheritance. A distant cousin, Samuel Hallowes of Ashworth, Lancashire, came forward to claim the title on a legal technicality. He claimed that Manley's title was defective, and that the land was rightfully his, as a descendant of John Hallowes' eldest brother. When Virginia courts failed to sustain this claim, Samuel appealed the case to England, where his impoverished provincial cousins were at a disadvantage. He obtained a favorable judgement in 1722, and took possession (Hallowes: 172-174).

Samuel Hallowes had no intention of living on his ill-gotten Virginia plantation, which he sold in 1733 to Thomas Lee, who made it part of his huge Stratford tract. The land remained in Lee hands until 1838.

The site discussed here could have been the home of Restitute Whiston Steel Manley or one of her sons, or of a tenant. Unfortunately, no map has survived to tell us how the property was used during the last years of the seventeenth century.

# **EXCAVATION**

Virginia has no statewide program of archaeological salvage, and no established vol-



unteer corps that is prepared to handle a complex archaeological project from start to finish. Most Virginia archaeology is therefore conducted by small groups or by inadequately-staffed educational institutions. For the Hallowes project, the necessary crew was assembled under the leadership of William T. Buchanan, Jr. The Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission provided technical support and some material assistance, including laboratory treatment and the services of its archaeological historian, Edward F. Heite. Excavation extended from July 1968 through August 1969, mostly on weekends and holidays. Crews usually consisted of four to six volunteers.

The site was divided into a grid of ten-foot squares and excavated piecemeal. Because the crew was too small for a total excavation, squares were backfilled as soon as they had been measured and photographed. Vertical and horizontal correlations were maintained with a transit.

Plough-disturbed topsoil was removed by shovelling, and the yellow subsoil was scraped and examined for features. The features were numbered serially, to a total of more than a hundred. Most features were parts of the house itself, described under architecture, below. Also found were several features that we called drains; these could also have been ditched fencelines; two of them begin at the house and proceed downhill away from it.

Under the house the subsoil was most irregular, with pits that probably were made by scratching animals. In one such shallow pit, we found the round-bottom bottle, figure 3b. the largest irregular pit, under the south wing, contained considerable trash.

Some of the smaller postmolds may represent temporary supports erected during the framing of the house. Others may be remains of some unrecognized wing or stair tower. Two holes in the east side of the chimney base were cut through the robbed wall, and certainly postdate the destruction of the house.

A large trashpit north of the house predates the drain that crosses it. The pit was 17 feet long, and was filled with brick fragments, oyster shells, and a quantity of decayed organic matter. All of the trash had been tipped in from the south side. The presence of unused building materials, and the fact that the drain overlay the pit, indicate that the pit was open while the chimeny was being built. We first guessed that the pit had been a claypit for the construction of the house, but a chemical comparison of the bricks with the surrounding soil eliminated this possibility. Maybe it was a temporary pit-house, used while the house was under construction.

Artifacts from the pit included marbelized pipes (Pawson, 1969:138), and fragments of gray stoneware decorated with manganese purple, a color that was not introduced before the 1660's (Noël Hume, 1970:281).

#### ARCHITECTURE

The main house was a typical hall-andparlour structure, with a central chimney, five bays long, measuring approximately 50' by 20'. This plan is not unique in seventeenthcentury Virginia, although it has been generally considered to be a New England form.

Mathews Manor, at Denbigh, in the city of Newport News, Virginia, was a strikingly similar house (Noël Hume, 1969:133). The floor-plan resembles an East Anglian structure, Bacons, Hazeleigh (Hewett, 1969:111). Another seventeenth-century timber house on a similar plan was found in 1970 by Barka and Gregory at Maycock, on the James River. As late as 1735-1755, the kitchen at Millenbeck, in Lancaster County, Virginia, was built in the same fashion, on a similar plan.

The only masonry in the building was a chimney base, of which no more than two courses survived. The bricks were yellow, sandy, irregular, and poorly fired. They were laid in a very coarse mud mortar, in irregular bond. The eastern side of the chimney breast was completely robbed out, and only a few bricks survived in the northwest arm. These small bricks, measuring about 6.5" by 3" by 1.5", resembled superficially the bricks from the sevententh-century John Washington house, a few miles upstream. Upon chemical comparison by M. D. Kerby, however, the Washington and Hallowes bricks were found to differ significantly.

The houses at Hallowes, Maycock, and Mathews Manor, all were built in the same fashion, on wooden posts in the ground. At the Hallowes site, the posts were set in holes that generally measured three feet square and about the same depth. Since the postmolds are very well aligned, but the postholes are irregular, we concluded that the

posts were set in the holes, the frames were pulled square, before the holes were backfilled.

A good surviving account of this construction method is found in William Penn's 1682 propaganda brochure for his new colony on the Delaware (Scharf, 1888: Vol. I, 165):

To build them an house of thirty foot long and eighteen foot broad with a partition near the middle, and another to divide one end of the House into two small Rooms, there must be eight trees of about sixteen inches square, and cut off to Posts of about fifteen foot long, which the House must stand upon, and four pieces, two of thirty foot long and two of eighteen foot long, for Plates, which must lie upon the top of these Posts, the whole length and breadth of the House, for the Gists to rest upon. There must be ten Gists of twenty foot long to bear the Loft, and two false Plates of thirty foot long to lie upon the ends of the Cists for the Rafters to be fixed upon, twelve pare of Rafters of about twenty foot to bear the Roof of the House, with several other small pieces, as Windbeams, Braces, Studs, & c., which are made out of Waste Timber. For covering the House, ends and Sides, and for the Loft we use Clabboard, which is Rived feather-edged, of five foot and a half, long, that, well Drawn, lyes close and smooth; The Lodging Room may be lined with the same, and filled up be-tween, which is very Warm. These houses usually endure ten years without repair.

With a few minor exceptions, Penn was describing precisely the sort of house we found at the Hallowes site. A wing or enclosure at the south end of the house may have been a buttery, since most of the domestic artifacts were found within it. The wall of this structure, labelled "south wing" on figure two, was built of upright posts that probably were daubed with mud. The postmold in the center of the wing may have supported a roof. Evidence for the upright posts of the wing consisted of indentations at the bottom of the wall ditch.

At the north end, a linear brown stain in the ground may represent a sill for a timbered wing, although it could easily be interpreted as a set of drains. If this feature is indeed a sill mold for another wing, it probably indicates that the frame was laid directly on the ground against an upright post by the north wall of the main house.

## THE ARTIFACTS

Most spectacular of the artifacts from the site was a medallion from a gray-and-blue stoneware vessel, dated 1632. This medallion has already been evaluated by Noël Hume (Noël Hume, 1970:281). Other specimens, apparently struck from the same mold, have been found at Jamestown (Jamestown Study Collection). However interesting this discovery may be, it is anomalous, since most German stoneware on the site was made during the second half of the century.

A large number of the artifacts, including the medallion, were found on the surface. We surface-collected the site at the beginning of each weekend, to see what the week's rain had brought up. This extensive collection proved that the site was virtually pure. One sherd of modern white earthenware was the only obvious ceramic intrusion. The remarkable purity of the site, together with the fact that it represents only one generation's occupation, makes the collection an important comparative dating tool. The present paper is necessarily restricted to discussion of artifacts that may be useful to the profession at large; specialized reports of certain artifact groups. and of the fieldwork, are to be published later, separately.

# **Bottles**

The square-beverage-bottle neck (Figure 3a) is from a specimen about four inches square. The glass is badly deteriorated, but appears to have been a pale olive green glass. The shoulder is rounded and the sidewalls are pinched. Only one round glass "wine" bottle fragment was large enough to permit definite delineation of shape (Figure 3b). It most resembles the well-known "RW" sealed bottle from Jamestown, that dates to circa 1650 (Noël Hume, 1963:269; 1970:69).

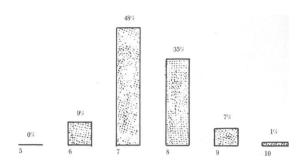
#### Iron hardware

A triangular iron file (Figure 3c) and an iron pot leg that is pentagonal in section (Figure 3d), both were found on the surface. They were the largest fragments of iron on the site, which leads us to believe that the house was scavanged for such valuables as scrap iron, before it fell to ruin.

# Tobacco pipes

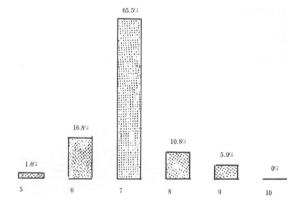
White clay tobacco pipes were the largest class of artifacts from the site. During the course of the excavation, we occasionally compiled bore-diameter data and interpreted it by the various systems. A Harrington-style

bar graph based on the collection up to December 1968 was identical to a graph of the collection at the end of the project, eight months later:

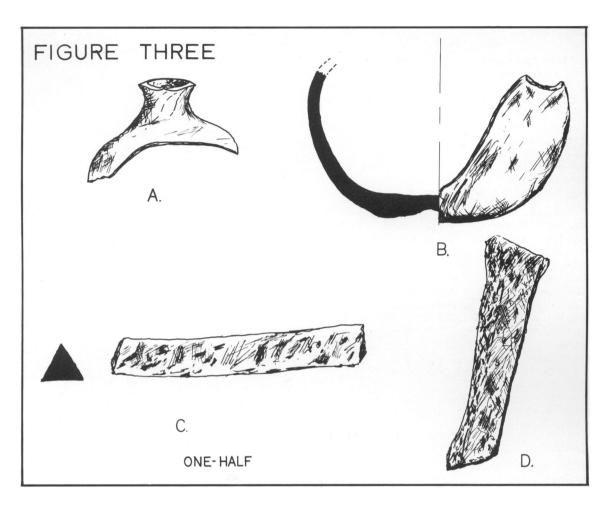


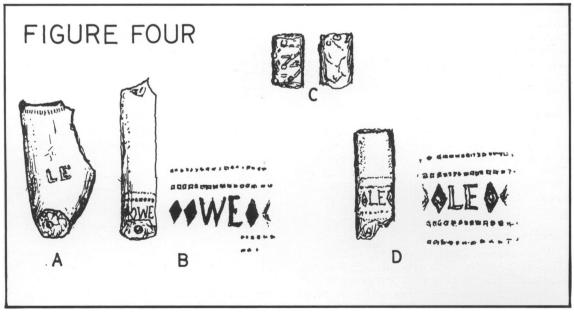
Calculated by Binford's formula, the mean date moved from 1648.04 in December 1968 to 1648.34 at the end of the excavation.

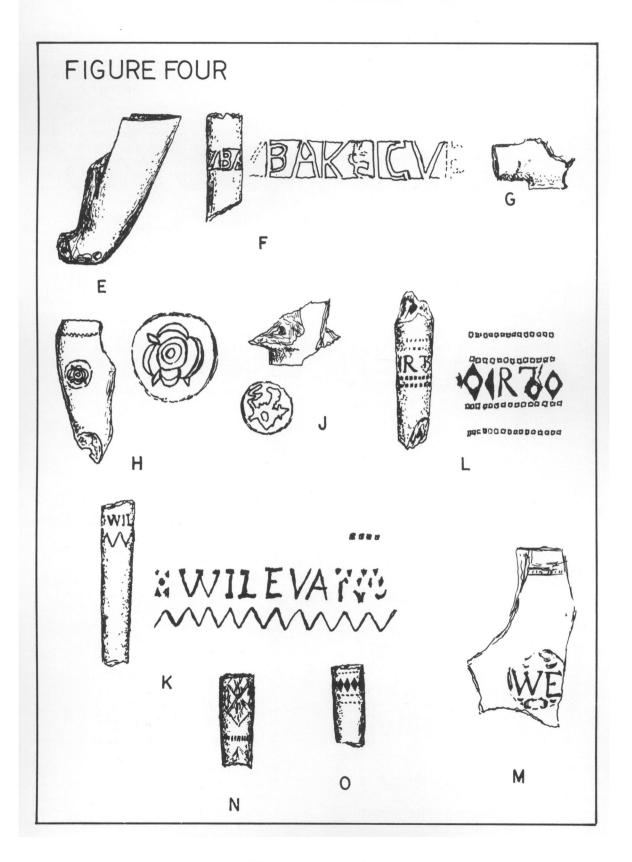
We then eliminated all the fragments that exhibited black firing clouds, pinkish discolorations, and granular inclusions. This refined sample of 238 stem fragments was then measured, with a striking difference in the results:



By Binford's formula, the mean date of the refined sample became 1663.27. We later applied Hanson's third formula (Hanson, 1969: 5) to the refined sample, to obtain a mean date of 1666.57. Thus the refined collection had produced a date, by all three systems, that was more compatable with the other evidence. The stems eliminated in the refinement may have included American-made white pipes, and may have included cruder pipes from English centers that were outside the mainstream of pipe manufacture. Most of the Dutch pipes certainly were eliminated from the sample by this process.







Marked tobacco-pipe stems offered the best dating evidence for the site. Most of the marked specimens were made by known Bristol makers who were active in the American pipe trade after 1660. On the two pages of Figure 4, are illustrated the marks and decorations found on the unstratified pipe fragments.

The pipe specimens are illustrated actual size; the marks, identified by the notation (2X), are shown double size. All attributions are from Adrian Oswald, *English Clay Tobacco Pipes* (1967).

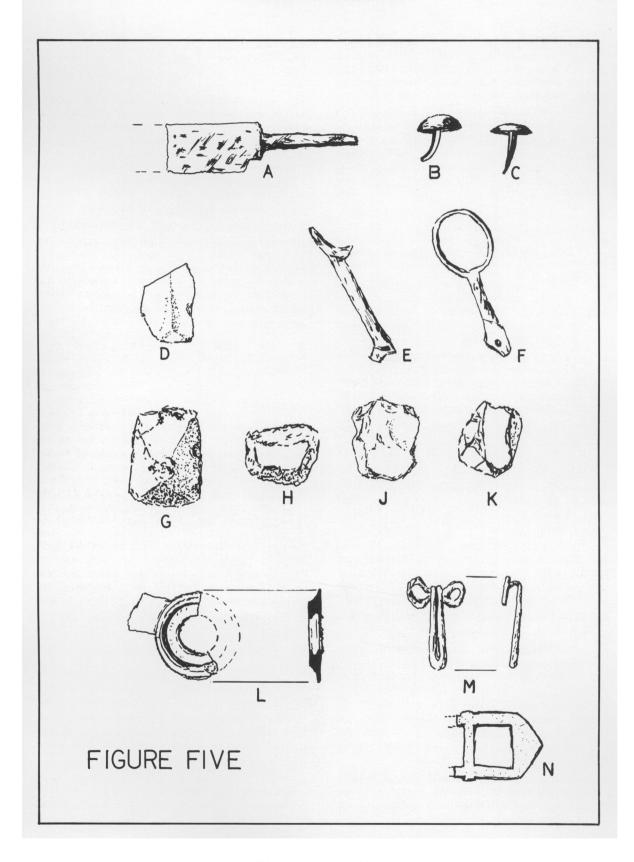
- 4a: Bowl fragment, marked LE on the back, rouletted along the lip, which is bevelled to a sharp edge. This pipe certainly is the work of Lluellin Evans, who first appears on the Bristol Freedom Rolls as a pipemaker in 1661.
- 4b: Stem fragment, bore diameter 7/64", marked WE, surrounded by solid diamonds and four rows of rouletting. William and Walter Evans both appear first as pipemakers in Bristol records in 1660.
- 4c: Stem fragment, shown in two views. The trailed lines of decoration terminate in bulbous knobs. Similar specimens have been reported from Plymouth, England (Oswald, 1969:139 pl. 74) and are considered Dutch.
- 4d: Stem fragment, bore diameter 7/64", similar to 4B, above, but the diamonds are pierced by a raised circle in the middle of each, and the initials are LE.
- 4e: Bowl, marked P on the smoker's left, and W on the right, in raised letters. The bore diameter is 5/64" or smaller. A pipemaker named Priamus Williams appears in the Bristol Freedom Rolls for 1673.
- 4f: Stem fragment, with raised letters as shown in the enlarged drawing. A similar pipe was found by Michael Pawson in the Knowles Collection (Pawson, 1969).
- 4g: Heel only, unmarked and badly weathered, 8/64" bore diameter.
- 4h: Bowl fragment bearing the "Tudor" rose design stamped with a round instrument. A similar device (not illustrated) was found stamped into the heel of a badly-weathered brown-clay bowl with a bore diameter of 7/64".
- 4j: Heel only, marked with a device that may be a man on horseback, probably a rebus. Bore diameter 6/64".
- 4k: Stem fragment, bore diameter 8/64", marked WILEVANS. The punctate design of rouletting has overlapped the lettering. A small section of rouletting above the letters

- survives; the design below was a continuous zigzag, apparently made by a tool different from the one used for the lettering since there is no overlapping of the zigzag pattern.
- 41: Stem fragment, bore diameter 8/64", badly weathered, marked RT, although the initials have been overstamped by the diamond pattern. The diamonds are practically identical to the decoration on 4d, above, and to unsigned specimens that are not illustrated. This probably is the work of Robert Tippett, who began making pipes in 1660.
- 4m: Bowl fragment, stamped WE in a circle, with rouletting along the lip of the bowl.
- 4n: Stem fragment, bore diameter 7/64", badly weathered, exhibiting two blocks of four diamonds each, separated by a line of rouletting. Each diamond contains a fleur-delis design. This is a common motif on seventeenth-century pipes, especially Dutch and American pipes.
- 40: Stem fragment, exhibiting two double rows of rouletting, and a pattern of diamonds similar to 4b, above, but without initials.

#### Small finds

Miscellaneous objects of personal adornment, hardware, and utility, were not abundant. Some of the more important unstratified small finds are selected here, in Figure 5, for their general interest.

- 5a: Blade and tang of an iron knife, the blade having virtually no shoulder or guard, the tang being square in section.
- 5b, 5c: Tufting nails, brass with plain round heads tinned to resemble silver.
- 5d: Fragment of a clear glass rummer, similar to a fragment found by I. Noël Hume at Tutter's Neck (Noël Hume, 1966:71).
- 5e, 5f: Handles from two different pair of iron scissors.
- 5g: Gunflint of gray banded stone.
- 5h: Amber gunflint, translucent and clear of blemishes.
- Opaque black, granular gunflint or strike-a-light flint.
- 5k: Irregular clear-gray gunflint or strike-alight flint.
- 51: Fragment of a bronze or brass decoration that has been cut apart. The object was originally flat and circular; it had been turned or spun. Most of the outer rim, and the center, have been cut away. In cross section



it can be seen that the original central cavity was hollowed for some purpose.

5m: A large iron hook, possibly a cloak hook or drapery hook, made from a single piece of wire. Two specimens were found.

5n: Brass buckle, identical to buckles found in a context of the 1690's in a trashpit in Essex County, Virginia, and at Newington in King and Queen County (Winfree, 1969:218). The buckle bears stains of rust from an iron tongue. A larger, similar buckle is illustrated by Cotter from Jamestown (Cotter, 1958:190 pl. 88).

#### Red earthenware

Red earthenware constitutes the commonest ceramic on most seventeenth-century sites. It is ubiquitous and virtually unstudied. We found a few sherds that could be identified as North Devon (Watkins, 1960). One sherd of Wanfried, and one sherd of sgraffito-decorated English slipware were too small for discussion beyond mere identification. Several sherds have been tentatively identified as Spanish or French marbelized slipware; virtually identical ware was found by Stanley South at Charlestown, in a context of 1670. South's specimen is thought to be part of an olive jar. The specimens from the Hallowes Site more closely resemble a shallow bowl found in a context of the second quarter of the seventeenth century at Dover Castle, which is attributed to the Dutch (Maynard, 1969:40).

Unglazed red earthenware bowls were the commonest identifiable ceramic utensil. The bowls were about six inches in diameter, footless, about 3/8' thick, burnished smooth on the interior, but rough on the exterior. The clay is sandy, sometimes with large grains of rounded sand. No similar sherds have been reported from other seventeenth-century sites in the Eastern United States.

Locally-made red earthenware vessels, of the type Watkins calls "tidewater," were quite common (Watkins, 1968:125). A considerable quantity of this local lead-glazed earthenware probably came from the kiln of Morgan Jones (Noël Hume, 1963:210), who is known to have gotten drunk at the wedding of Restitute Whiston to Mathew Steel, August 26, 1674 (Westmoreland County Records, 1968:174). The authors are preparing a separate report on Jones, whose kiln site has been engulfed in another subdivision.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The site was excavated with the kind permission of American Central Corporation, through Robert M. Andrews, its vice president, and Ernest Bruns, its construction supervisor. American Central Corporation has deposited the artifacts in the archaeological study collection maintained at Richmond by the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission. Preliminary research and identification was accomplished by Mrs. Virginia W. Sherman, of Montross, Virginia. Ivor Noël Hume of Williamsburg displayed the patience of Job and the wisdom of Solomon through many long sessions of artifact examination and consultation. J. Paul Hudson of Colonial National Historical Park was especially helpful in identifying parallel materials in the Jamestown collection. M. D. Kerby of Midlothian. Virginia, conducted chemical analyses of building materials, including the Washington house brick that was provided by the National Park Service. J. H. Ashdown, treasurer of the Society for Post-Mediaeval Archaeology, was particularly helpful in establishing correspondence with historical agencies in Britain. Finally, especial thanks are due to the diggers, the most active of whom were: Col. and Mrs. H. H. Hoover, Capt. and Mrs. Joseph Dalton, R. M. Owen, and, most faithfully, Louise Heite.

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