

Mapping the Dragon:

AN INDIGENOUS HISTORY OF BACON'S REBELLION

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G. Anne Richardson ♦ Kendall Stevens
Jeffrey W. Wright

with contributions from:
The Pamunkey Indian Tribe
The Rappahannock Tribe
The Friends of Dragon Run

Prepared for:
National Park Service
American Battlefield Protection Program
Project No. P22AP01558



St. Mary's College of Maryland
St. Mary's City
2025

Cover Photo: Viewshed in Dragon Swamp, with artistic effects. Original photograph by Jeffrey W. Wright

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This project documents Dragon Swamp, a key battlefield landscape located on Virginia's Middle Peninsula and associated with Bacon's Rebellion, the first full-scale armed insurrection in English America. The project focuses on the underreported role of the colony's Indigenous nations in events taking place in the Dragon, especially those nations located in the lower Tidewater. Native nations throughout the colony were the principal focus of rebel leader Nathaniel Bacon's ire, and he aimed to destroy these communities through a program of annihilation. Although Bacon left in his path a wake of Native death and enslavement, when he turned his focus to the Pamunkeys and other Tidewater nations, Indigenous ecological and military knowledge coupled with the extraordinary leadership of Cockacoeske, the Pamunkey weroansqua (leader), as well as the leaders of other Native nations whose names don't survive in the paper archive, proved Bacon's undoing, at least in Dragon Swamp.

Bacon's Rebellion was precipitated by events on the Potomac River in 1675, when members of the Virginia and Maryland militias, in search of Doegs who had murdered two Englishmen, opened fire on Susquehannocks in a case of mistaken identity. The Susquehannocks retaliated in early 1676 by raiding plantations along the Virginia frontier. Nathaniel Bacon, Jr. capitalized on the fear the raids were causing by amassing a group of followers to demand the colony take action against the raids and against the Native nations more generally.

In August 1676, after destroying the Occaneechis and their town in southwestern Virginia and then leading an armed contingent of 500 rebels on Jamestown, Bacon took the fight to the colony's neighboring nations. As he assembled his troops that month at the head of the Pamunkey River, Indigenous communities, numbering perhaps as many as 1,700 people and led by the Pamunkeys, were prepared. Having anticipated Bacon's arrival four months earlier, in late April or early May 1676, Cockacoeske used both a deep Indigenous knowledge of the Dragon's meandering blackwater streams and skilled decision-making to prepare the watershed as a kind of defensive edifice for her countrymen.

Once Bacon was en route in August, those Natives still at their towns in Pamunkey Neck and elsewhere in the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck followed centuries-old paths into the Dragon where, after dispersing, they established and moved camp as Bacon's forces drew closer. These tactics served to evade, confuse, and delay Bacon's unprovoked attacks, dramatically minimizing the casualties and losses Native people endured. Cockacoeske's instructions not to attack Bacon or members of his army further contributed to Native success as royal officials acknowledged that the Natives never violated their tributary relationship with the Crown. Further, the discipline exhibited by Native people, including not only warriors but elders, women, and children to minimize noise at critical points, made it near impossible for Bacon and his army to find the Native camps.

The Pamunkeys, Chickahominys, Mattaponis, Rappahannocks, Nanzaticos, and other nations remained in the Dragon at least until Bacon's death in October and more likely into

December. Thanks to Indigenous know-how and the “homeland advantage” enjoyed by the Natives, Bacon was never able to capture Cockacoeske or inflict the kind of damage he had planned. In the end, at least nine Indigenous people were killed, their bodies strewn along pathways, and 45 were taken captive. Bacon’s forces also destroyed or took stores of corn, matchcoats, and other possessions they found in one vacated camp. Nonetheless, these numbers were but a small portion of the greater Native population. By any measure, what took place in the Dragon in late summer 1676 was a Native victory.

This project, funded by the National Park Service’s American Battlefield Protection Program, identifies the most likely properties and landscapes in the Dragon that served as the battlespace and the sanctuary space for this event. The Dragon and its many swampy tributaries comprise a watershed of more than 90,000 acres and, with records frustratingly thin about events taking place there between May and December 1676, the project team drew on multiple lines of evidence, including colonial land patents, contemporary narratives, county histories, Indigenous ecological, political, and military knowledge, and military studies to delineate the battlespace and the sanctuary space.

The project team consisted of staff from St. Mary’s College of Maryland, citizens, employees, and consultants of the Pamunkey Indian Nation and the Rappahannock Tribe, the Friends of Dragon Run, and historian James D. Rice, who has written extensively about this period in early American history.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project had its genesis in the ongoing interests of the Pamunkey Indian Tribe and the Rappahannock Tribe to identify historically meaningful landscapes to the two tribes. To this end, the National Park Service's American Battlefield Protection Program deserves the project team's first thanks as the agency provided the funding support to undertake this research. Historian and Lead Grants Management Specialist for Preservation Planning Grants Philip G. Bailey guided us in the project's launch and Grants Management Specialist Nancy Marksbury guided us in the project's completion. We are very grateful to the National Park Service for this generous support and hope this project contributes to their mission to protect the nation's battlefields.

The Pamunkey Indian Tribe and the Rappahannock Tribe, both of which collaborated in this effort, supported this project from its inception. Past Pamunkey Tribal Chief Robert Gray, Pamunkey Chief Kevin Brown, and Rappahannock Chief G. Anne Richardson approved the project and encouraged their citizens to participate in this effort. We are grateful to them for their confidence in this effort.

Pamunkey Council member Allyson Gray, past Pamunkey Council member Wendy Roberson, and Pamunkey Assistant Chief Tim Langston participated in meetings and on-the-ground field trips into the Dragon. Former Pamunkey Museum Director Shaleigh Howells and Pamunkey Cultural Resources Director Kendall Stevens both facilitated the project, also joining meetings in-person and online and participating in field trips. Allyson Gray and Kendall Stevens contributed materially to the report and are listed as co-authors. Pamunkey Indian Tribe Executive Director Richard Matens joined the project in 2024 and is a strong supporter, for which we are grateful. Finally, Pamunkey Indian Tribe citizens graciously hosted the project team for a community-wide meeting on February 3, 2024.

Rappahannock Chief Anne Richardson, Rappahannock Assistant Chief Mark Fortune, and Rappahannock council member Jerry Fortune likewise participated in meetings and field trips into the Dragon. Chief Richardson regularly promoted the project, including at the annual Sovereign Nations of Virginia conference. Rappahannock historian Edward D. Ragan contributed his deep knowledge of Rappahannock history to the effort. Rappahannock Executive Assistant Rexford Jones assisted with organizing team meetings. Chief Richardson generously made the Rappahannock tribal center available for meetings. Both Chief Richardson and Ed Ragan contributed materially to the report and are listed as authors.

The Friends of Dragon Run were a critical partner in this endeavor. Led by President Jeffrey W. Wright, the Friends organized multiple hikes and kayaking trips in the Dragon, providing lunch, transportation, and additional studies, including of sight and sound in the mid-summer Dragon landscape. Jeff Wright also brought to the study his expertise in military operations and strategy. Many other Friends members joined the effort, ensuring safe travel in kayaks and safer travel over beaver dams. These members include Anne Atkins, Marsha Carlton,

Meo Curtis, Jeff Deschamps, Jim Ewan, Kevin Howe, Carol Kauffman, Jack Kauffman, Robin Mathews, Steve Mathews, Andrea Mitman, Steve Skinner, and Terry Skinner.

James D. Rice, author of *Tales from a Revolution: Bacon's Rebellion and the Transformation of Early America*, served as the historical consultant on the project. James Rice's knowledge not only of Bacon's Rebellion but the Chesapeake region's history in the 17th century ensured that the team's research would be placed in greater context.

The Fairfield Foundation, including David Brown and Stephen Fonzo, deserve special recognition in the assistance they provided to this project. Dr. Brown and Mr. Fonzo very generously shared the GIS data from their mapping project in the lower part of the Middle Peninsula (closer to Werowocomoco). They gave us a head start on this project as a result and we are deeply grateful.

Two property owners were fascinated by the project's ongoing findings and invited members of the project team to access their property. These owners include Susan Motley and Ron Edwards. Ms. Motley's property is located north of Dragon Run across from its intersection with Dragon Swamp. Ron Edwards owns a farm strategically located between Dragon Swamp and Contrary Swamp; the brick house built in the late 18th century by the Dew family still stands on the property.

Staff at St. Mary's College, both forward facing and behind the scenes, ensured the project ran smoothly. These include current and former archaeology staff members Caitlin Hall, Travis Hanson, Megan Postemski, and Garrett Terner. Current and former administrative staff who kept things on track include Sabine Dillingham, M. Jenn Kersch, Sheila Madison, Leslie Mangold, and Lucy Myers.

Finally, Washington Post staff writer Gregory Schneider prepared one of the best synopses of the project, and that beautifully written synopsis made the front page of *The Washington Post* in September 2024. The entire team remains grateful to Mr. Schneider for his careful reporting and for helping us to raise awareness about the project.

This project began, and this project concludes, as a collaborative effort. The authors are grateful to everyone who contributed to this effort.

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A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

The 38-mile-long series of braided blackwater streams that feed the Piankatank River has been referred to as Dragon Swamp, Dragon Run, or, simply, the Dragon. Since there is a tributary of the Dragon known as Dragon Run, interchanging the names can cause confusion for readers not familiar with the landscape. For this report, then, the authors have chosen to use Dragon Swamp when referring to the entirety of the waterway and its watershed. This follows the U.S. Geological Survey's decision, made in 1966, to refer to the entire waterway and its many tributaries and environs as Dragon Swamp (United States Geological Survey 2025).

In some cases in this report, the name, Dragon Run, appears on maps that do not follow USGS's recommendations and reads as Dragon Run when it should read as Dragon Swamp. We note this in the figure captions.

Traditional Ecological Knowledge, sometimes abbreviated as TEK, “represents experience acquired over thousands of years of direct human contact with the environment” (Inglis 1993:1); it is “factual knowledge” often meshed with cultural values that define human relationships with the natural world (Gagnon and Berteaux 2009:19). Other terms that apply include Tribal Ecological Knowledge and Indigenous Ecological Knowledge. With guidance from Indigenous authors and consultants, this report uses Traditional Ecological Knowledge as a formal concept, with all words capitalized. When words are not capitalized (for example, “Indigenous ecological knowledge”), the reference is to local Indigenous Chesapeake practices.

Two different but related terms used in this report are battlespace and sanctuary space. Battlespace refers to the physical location where military operations take place. In the case of Bacon's assault on the area's Indigenous nations, Native activities in this space included scouting and surveillance, largely if not entirely carried out by warriors. Sanctuary space also refers to a physical location, but one that provides refuge and safety from military operations. While these spaces are bounded, those bounds often shift through the dynamism of the event. The authors use both terms and identify the likely areas for both.



Farm road to Bestland and Dragon Swamp (Julia A. King).

Chapter I

Introduction

DRAGON SWAMP, located on Virginia’s Middle Peninsula within Tsenacommacah, homeland of the Pamunkey, Mattaponi, Chickahominy, Rappahannock, Nanzatico, and other Indigenous nations, is a key battlefield landscape associated with Bacon’s Rebellion. Named for Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., who instigated the uprising in 1676 against Virginia Governor Sir William Berkeley, the rebellion became a civil war that plunged the colony into crisis, shocking the Crown and other British officials (Rice 2012). While Bacon protested the governor’s unjust taxes, nepotism, and failure to promote trade in his “Declaration of Grievances,” his principal frustration over the colony’s Indigenous policies fueled the rebellion, and he blamed Berkeley for having “protected, favoured, and Imboldened the Indians,” allowing them to “Burne Spoyle and Murder” (Bacon 1893 [1676]:59).

The year 2026 marks the 350th anniversary of Bacon’s Rebellion, one of the most studied 17th-century conflicts in North America. As early as 1705, historians began their examination of almost every angle of the uprising to assess the insurrection’s implications for American history, from changing ideas about political authority to the shift to African slavery in the American South. Early on, historians either condemned Bacon or lauded him as a “freedom-loving” patriot (Rice 2014:726). Only after World War II did historians begin to truly grapple with these poles of interpretation, acknowledging the tension between Bacon’s explicit desire to eradicate, enslave, and dispossess Indigenous people and his portrayal by some previous scholars as a “democratic champion of the oppressed” (Rice 2014:726; Negrin 2023a:81).

Until recently, however, scholars have written relatively little about the role of the Indigenous communities in the conflict beyond “providing the spark... leading to Bacon’s Rebellion” (Rice 2014:728; for exceptions, see Rice 2012; Kruer 2015). Bacon’s pursuit of the neighboring tributary nations is usually noted in most histories, with the Native communities represented or implied as “fleeing,” “escaping,” or “running away” from their towns, ill-prepared for what was coming.¹ Indeed, this “flight” can come across as a focused metaphor of the “disappearing Indian.” This project interrogates that limited and limiting interpretation through a mixed methods, mixed sources approach designed to identify Indigenous actions, perspectives, and understandings of what happened between May and December 1676 in Dragon Swamp.

The Pamunkeys under the leadership of Cockacoeske, the Pamunkey *weroansqua* (leader),² and the other nations whose leaders were never mentioned in the traditional archive

¹ Such representations are part of a long discourse in America characterizing Indigenous people as child-like, without agency, and in need of guidance to survive the rigors of civilized life: what Elisabeth Wesseling (2016) calls the “child-savage trope” (see also Stovall 2021:55).

² Cockacoeske’s leadership of the Pamunkeys occurred from 1656 until 1686.

anticipated Bacon's moves and developed a strategy that drew on Indigenous knowledge and exploited his weaknesses. Although she does not have the widespread name-recognition of Pocahontas, Cockacoeske—pronounced Coke-uh-cō-es-key—became the representative of the local nations to English authorities during Bacon's Rebellion. Under her leadership and the leadership of the many other Indigenous leaders whose names do not survive in the archival record, the Pamunkeys, Chickahominys, Mattaponis, Rappahannocks, Nanzaticos, and other Native groups survived by preparing the Dragon as a fortified settlement and then luring Bacon's army into what was to the English a wholly unfamiliar landscape.

As James Rice notes in his study of Bacon's Rebellion, at stake in this civil war "was the future of the Indian nations across a vast arc of territory from New York to Carolina." Despite the rebellion's suppression and, as will unfold in this report, the Natives' success in pushing back and contributing to the rebellion's failure, Bacon's goal of Native elimination became not just Virginia's de facto policy but an American policy that persisted well into the 20th century. Thus, identifying the events that took place between April and December 1676, the landscape in which they took place, and Indigenous strategies of survival contributes to a narrative that centers Indigenous interests and perspectives in American history.

In addition to presenting an Indigenous history of Bacon's Rebellion, a major goal of this research is the identification of landscapes associated with the Dragon battlespace and sanctuary space. This goal represents a first step in the preservation of an important battlefield landscape in Indigenous and American history. The authors of this report hope that the information will be of value to Indigenous communities, state and local planners and agencies, and conservation organizations.

Study Area

While the impact of Bacon's Rebellion was felt across the Tidewater region and beyond, this project takes as its focus Dragon Swamp, the 38-mile-long freshwater headwaters of the Piankatank River (Figure 1). Consisting of nearly 90,000 acres in Virginia's Middle Peninsula, Dragon Swamp is today considered one of the most pristine landscapes in the Chesapeake Bay watershed. Known colloquially as "the Dragon," Dragon Swamp bisects the Middle Peninsula, straddling the border between modern King and Queen, Essex, Middlesex, and Gloucester counties and blurring the boundary between land and water.

The study area as initially defined in the project proposal aligned with an area of the Dragon designated by 17th-century mapmaker Augustine Herrman as "not passable nor inhabitable" (about 6,450 acres; see Chapter IV). Seventeenth-century patents and other land records, however, revealed a network of Indigenous and English paths and roads in and around the area. Since by their nature one path leads to another, the geographical focus was expanded during the research process to include the Dragon Swamp watershed more broadly; in this report, this is referred to as

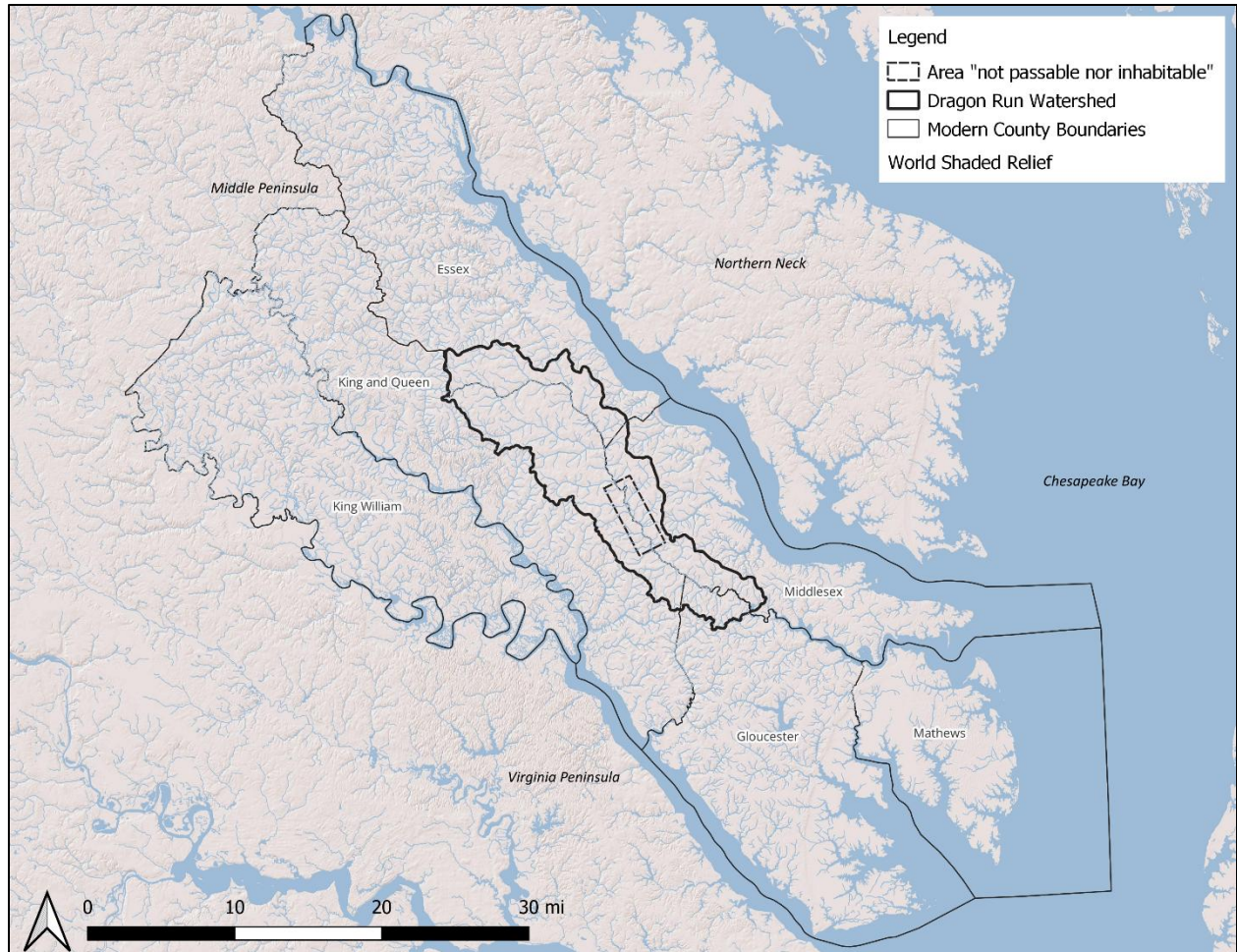


Figure 1. Map of the initial study area, including the area labeled by Augustine Herrman in 1673 as “not passable nor inhabitable,” the Dragon Swamp watershed (the study area) (labeled as Dragon Run watershed in the legend), and the extended study area, including six counties: King William, King and Queen, Essex, Gloucester, Middlesex, and Mathews Counties (labeled as Modern County Boundaries in legend).

the study area. Additionally, six counties, including Essex, Gloucester, King and Queen, King William, Mathews, and Middlesex were included as the “extended study area” (see Figure 1).

From this extended study area, the project team used information teased out of an abundant array of sources to develop an area members concluded has a high likelihood of being the battlespace and the sanctuary space for the events taking place in the Dragon in the spring, summer, and fall of 1676.

Report Structure

This report is comprised of six chapters. In what follows, Chapter II discusses the project methodology in more depth, laying the framework for the following chapters, which detail the research results. Chapter III develops an environmental context, offering insight into the land, soils, plants, and animals of Dragon Swamp. This chapter highlights how, rather than serving as a passive backdrop, the Dragon's landscape helped shape the outcome of Bacon's Rebellion.

Chapter IV draws on historical and archival sources to produce a historical context of the study area, situating the events of Dragon Swamp in the broader sweep of Bacon's Rebellion. Following James Rice (2014:732) and Matthew Krueger (2017, 2022), this chapter opens with a long view of the rebellion, recognizing that the tensions in play were rooted in events closer to 1575 than 1675, when most narratives begin. The chapter then brings the focus to those critical months in 1676 when Dragon Swamp became one of several battlespaces associated with the insurrection.

In Chapter V, the environmental, archival, and oral history data (including perspectives provided by Indigenous collaborators) are woven together. The chapter reports how the use of GIS technology revealed the 17th-century landscape, including historic sites and properties, and trails, paths, and roads, to better understand how Indigenous and English people navigated the region during the rebellion. Mapping demonstrates that although the landscape has changed since the 17th century, Indigenous and English routes remain, embedded in Virginia's contemporary landscape.

Chapter VI concludes the report, synthesizing the results to highlight how the narrative of Bacon's Rebellion in Dragon Swamp shifts when informed by Indigenous perspectives and knowledge. The chapter also includes recommendations for future research. Finally, the chapter concludes by defining areas of interest in the land for both the battlespace and the sanctuary space. These areas of interest should serve Indigenous, public, and private planners focused on the preservation and interpretation of the region's rich cultural heritage. Recommendations for the management of these spaces are provided.

Chapter II

Project Methodology

TO PREPARE an Indigenous history of Bacon’s Rebellion and delineate landscapes directly associated with Bacon’s war on Virginia’s tributary nations, principal investigator Julia A. King first assembled a project team, the composition of which is described in more detail below (see Appendix I for a list of team members by name and affiliation). The team then reviewed the objectives outlined in the project proposal. These objectives (here abstracted) served as the team’s guide throughout the course of the project:

- Organize meetings with project partners to discuss project goals, priorities, and concerns;
- Review maps, patents, deeds, and other archival records to identify evidence for land use in Dragon Swamp ca. 1676, including Indigenous pathways and references to landmarks involving Indigenous people/groups;
- Coordinate kayaking and hiking tours of Dragon Swamp with project partners to experience and better understand the landscape and how it has evolved since 1676;
- Gather and integrate oral histories, traditions, and Indigenous and local knowledge into narratives of Bacon’s Rebellion;
- Map and model Dragon Swamp as a battlespace in GIS by integrating environmental data (soil, land cover, wetlands, topographic, archaeological site, public lands, protected lands data) and qualitative data (oral histories, archival evidence);
- Develop a list of property owners in the Dragon Swamp watershed and examine and catalog any private collections made accessible; with permission, walk selected fields to search for traces of human presence with an emphasis on Indigenous sites associated with Bacon’s siege; prepare site forms for submission to the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR);
- Synthesize results in a team-reviewed report and provide recommendations for future research and land management;
- Organize and host two public programs, one locally and one regionally, to describe the project and its results and raise awareness of the role of Indigenous communities in Bacon’s Rebellion.

To accomplish these objectives, King assembled a project team to explore the relationship between Bacon’s Rebellion and Dragon Swamp. The team consisted of faculty and staff from St. Mary’s College of Maryland (SMCM) and representatives from the Pamunkey Indian Tribe, the Rappahannock Tribe, and the Friends of Dragon Run (see Appendix I for a list of team members). The project team also included historian James D. Rice, who has written extensively about the rebellion, expanding the spatial and temporal focus of his work to “encompass Indian Country”

(Rice 2014:729). From the beginning, these project team members asked questions and offered critical insights that helped the project develop.

Both the Pamunkey Indian Tribe and the Rappahannock Tribe are Federally recognized tribes whose ancestors greeted the strangers arriving at Paspahugh in 1607.³ By 1676, the ancestors of both nations and many others, including the Chickahominy, Mattaponi, Kiskiack, and Nanzatico, had experienced nearly seven decades of occupation of their homeland. Today, the Pamunkey Indian Tribe continues at its reservation in Pamunkey Neck, although an extensive Pamunkey Diaspora exists in the Middle Atlantic. The Rappahannock Tribe continues at Indian Neck, where many of the Rappahannock River nations relocated and coalesced after 1705. Similarly, an extensive Rappahannock Diaspora exists well beyond the bounds of Indian Neck.

The Friends of Dragon Run (FODR) is a non-profit organization established in 1985 by a group of residents from Virginia's Middle Peninsula "to preserve, protect, and encourage the wise use of Dragon Run and its watershed." With assistance from the Chesapeake Bay Foundation and the Virginia Outdoors Foundation, FODR funded an initial purchase of a 203-acre tract in Dragon Swamp land in Middlesex County. FODR now independently owns and manages 650 acres along the shoreline of Dragon Run. Through their partnerships with the Nature Conservancy and the Virginia Outdoors Foundation, some 23 percent of the Dragon Run watershed is protected from future development. The Friends of Dragon Run regularly offer tours of the swamp to the public during the spring, summer, and fall months.

Dr. James D. Rice, a professor of history at Tufts University, served as the consulting historian on the project. Dr. Rice's book, *Tales from a Revolution: Bacon's Rebellion and the Transformation of Early America* (2012), synthesizes previous research and, from this synthesis, offers new interpretations of the rebellion, including the rebellion's impact on American Indian policy.

Together, the project team coordinated a range of research methods and activities to examine the role played by Indigenous nations in Bacon's Rebellion in the context of Dragon Swamp.

Team Meetings

The first phase of the project involved half-day introductory meetings with members of the project team. Meetings typically involved introductions, a presentation by SMCM staff, discussion, and lunch at tribal centers or other venues as suggested by partners. Table 1 lists the

³ The strangers were, of course, English colonists, whose small settlement, Jamestown, was located in Paspahugh territory.

In-Person Meetings		
DATE	PARTICIPANTS	LOCATION
01/27/2023	SMCM, Pamunkey Indian Tribe, Friends of Dragon Run	Pamunkey Reservation
02/03/2023	SMCM, Friends of Dragon Run	Urbanna, Virginia
02/03/2024	SMCM, Pamunkey Indian Tribe, Friends of Dragon Run	Pamunkey Reservation
08/08/2024	SMCM, Rappahannock Tribe, Friends of Dragon Run	Indian Neck, Virginia
08/23/2024	SMCM, Pamunkey Indian Tribe, Rappahannock Tribe, Friends of Dragon Run, Gregory Schneider (The Washington Post)	Indian Neck, Virginia
Zoom Meetings		
05/12/2023	SMCM / Project Team	n/a
06/28/2023	SMCM, Friends of Dragon Run	n/a
07/11/2023	SMCM / Project Team	n/a
09/27/2023	SMCM / Project Team	n/a
11/15/2023	SMCM, Pamunkey Indian Tribe, Friends of Dragon Run	n/a
01/16/2024	SMCM / Project Team	n/a
02/02/2024	SMCM / Project Team	n/a
12/11/2024	SMCM / Project Team	n/a
12/26/2024	SMCM / Project Team	n/a

Table 1. Dates, locations, and participants in team meetings.

dates, locations, and participants for all meetings. Figures 2 and 3 are images collected during team meetings in 2022 and 2024.

Kayaking and Hiking Tours

To familiarize all project participants with the study area, SMCM staff and the Friends of Dragon Run coordinated a series of kayaking and hiking tours of the Dragon (Figures 4-6). These tours included visits to both public and private properties (the latter with permission), and the Friends of Dragon Run guided the tours, preparing kayaks, life jackets, maps, and more. SMCM staff first kayaked upstream and downstream with the Friends of Dragon Run on October 17, 2022. Visiting at the same time of year as Bacon pursued the Pamunkey and tributary communities in 1676 helped the team begin to understand the potential both for Native concealment and Bacon’s confusion.

On February 26, 2023, the SMCM team returned to the Dragon and kayaked 3.59 miles with the Friends of Dragon Run and three Pamunkey tribal citizens/representatives (see Figure 4).



Figure 2. Project team meeting at the Pamunkey Indian Tribe reservation. Left to right: Council member Allyson Gray, then-Council member Wendy Roberson, and Assistant Chief Tim Langston (Julia A. King).

On this one-way paddle starting at Big Island, SMCM staff mapped the route and marked significant points such as islands, potential witness trees, and beaver dams using the free GeoTracker app.

On April 6, 2023, SMCM staff and consulting historian James D. Rice went on a 0.85-mile hike and 1.85-mile one-way paddle with the Friends of Dragon Run through the “impassable” area (see Figure 5). On May 7, 2023, SMCM staff repeated the April hiking and kayaking route with the Friends of Dragon Run (see Figure 6).

Both hikes and the April paddle were mapped in Geo-Tracker. The May paddle route was not mapped since it overlapped with the two previous paddles, which were documented.



Figure 3. Project team meeting at the Rappahannock Tribe tribal center. Left to right: Rappahannock Chief G. Anne Richardson, Jeffrey Wright, Kendall Stevens, Allyson Gray, Pamunkey Indian Tribe Executive Director Richard Matens, Gregory Schneider, *The Washington Post* (Julia A. King).

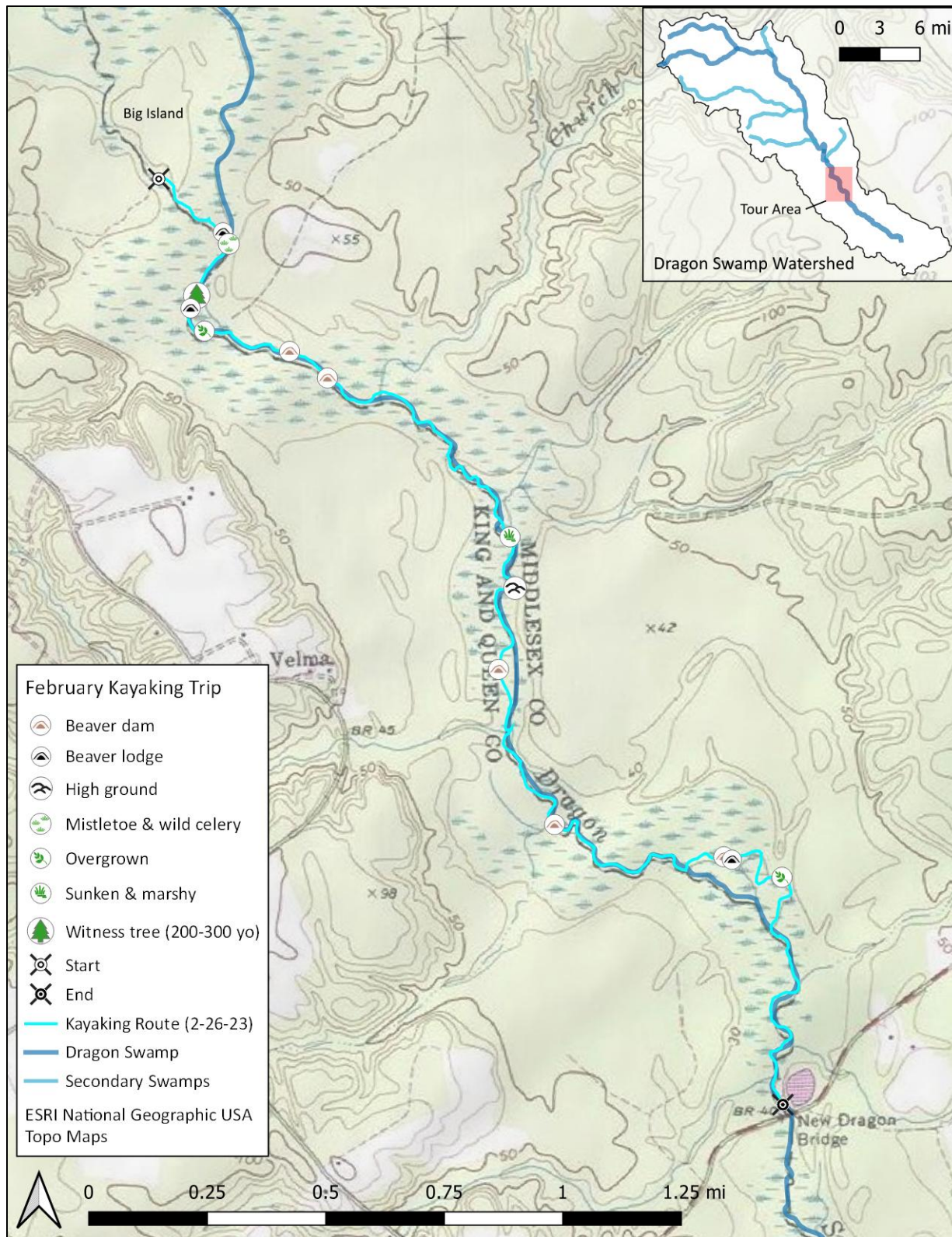


Figure 4. Map of February 2023 kayaking routes through Dragon Swamp.

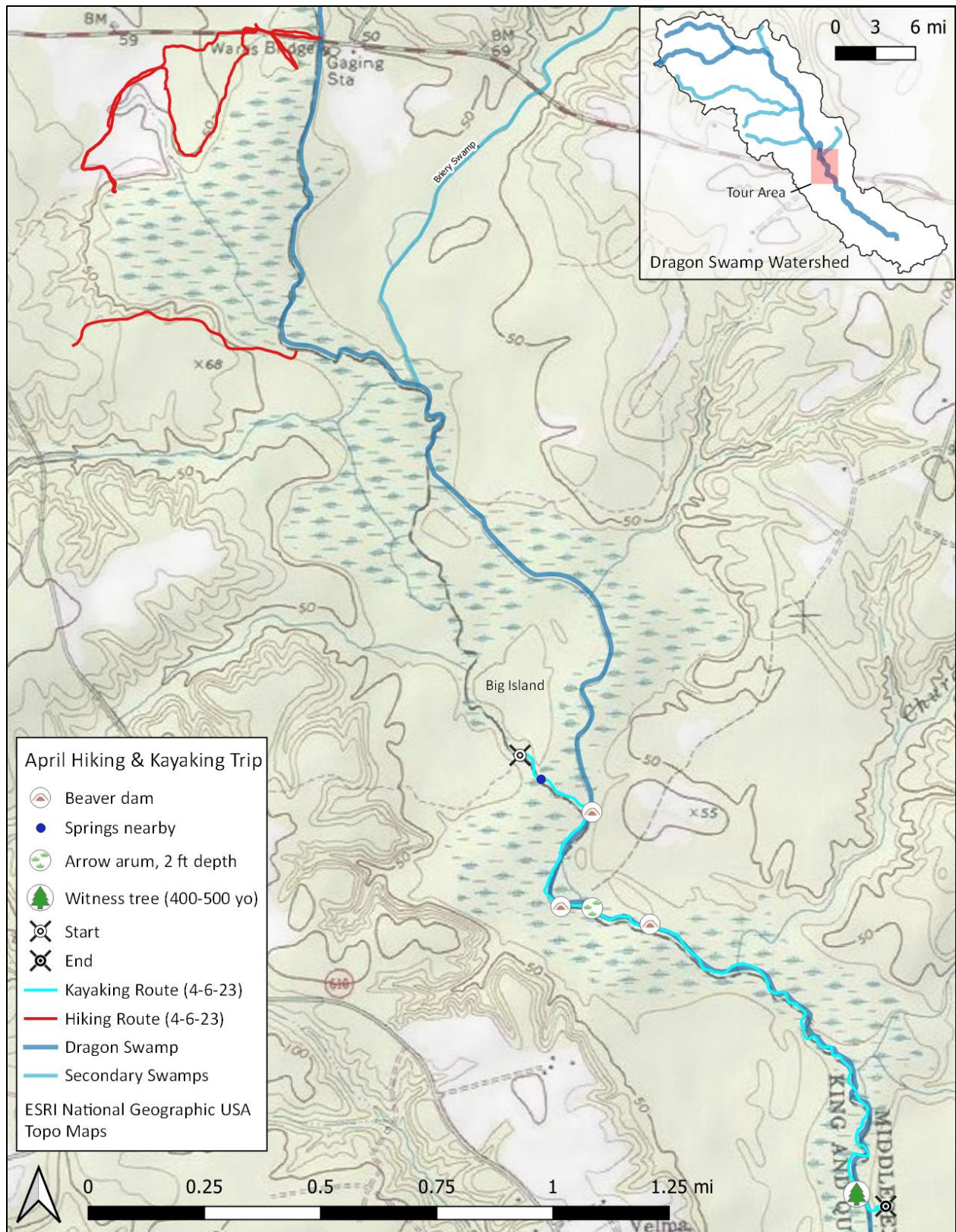


Figure 5. Map of April 2023 kayaking and hiking routes through Dragon Swamp.

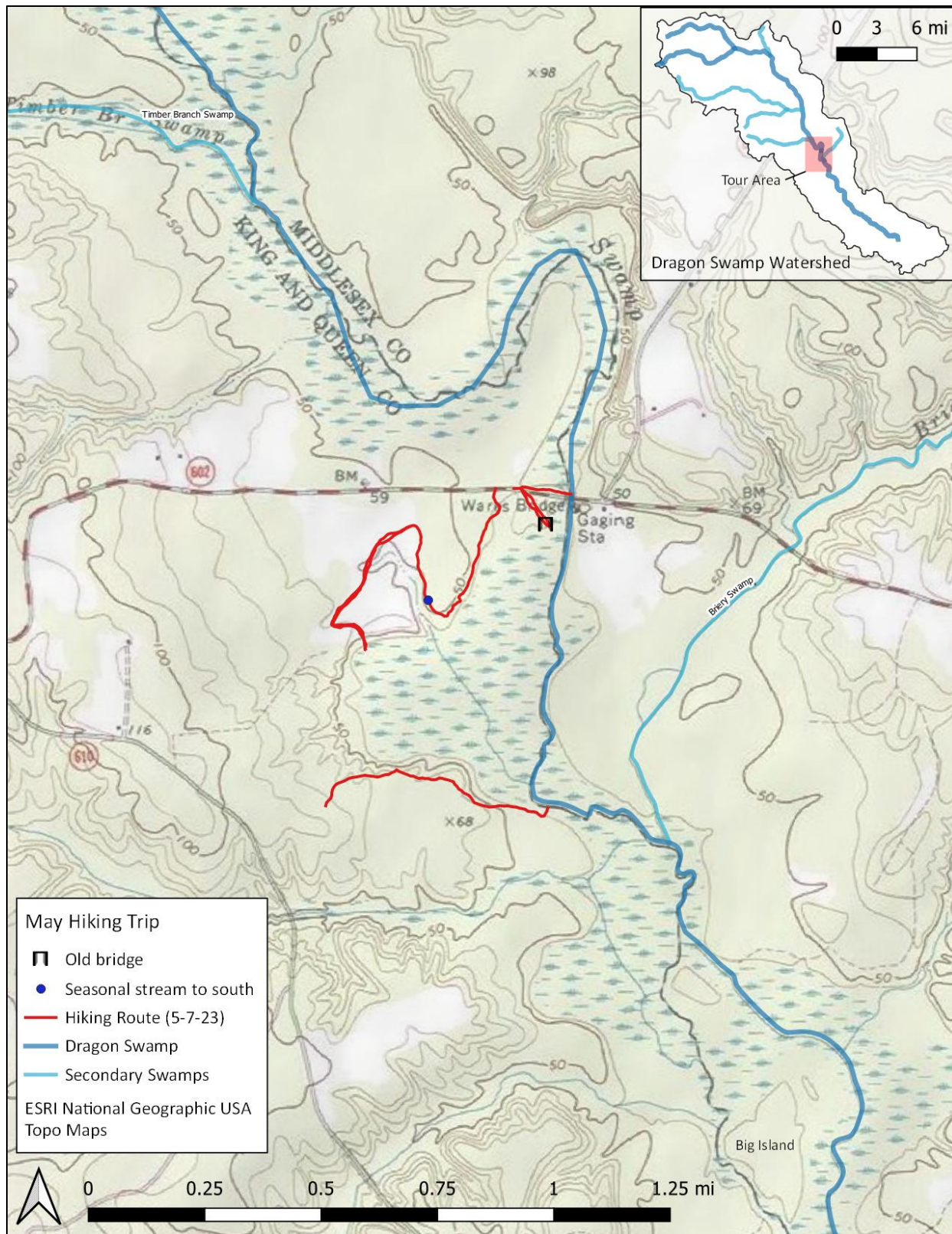


Figure 6. Map of May 2023 kayaking and hiking routes through Dragon Swamp.

On October 15, 2023, SMCM staff hiked and kayaked the Dragon with the Friends of Dragon Run and two Rappahannock tribal citizens.

Archival Research

While kayaking and hiking offered an immersive experience of the Dragon today, the project team analyzed a range of colonial sources such as land patents, maps, and narratives to better understand the historical landscape. While these sources were generally produced by the English for the English, they nonetheless offer valuable clues into the events of Bacon's Rebellion in Dragon Swamp, aspects of the Indigenous cultural landscape in which they unfolded, and Indigenous decision-making.

Colonial Land Patents

Of all the available documentary records, land patents provide perhaps the most detailed view of the historic landscape in and around Dragon Swamp. Patents, or grants as they were known after statehood, were issued by the Virginia Land Office (VLO), which was established in 1624 after King James I dissolved the Virginia Company of London and decreed Virginia a royal colony. Using the headright system, the VLO carved up the landscape as though it were empty, displacing and dispossessing Indigenous communities and extending the reach of the Crown.

Under this private method of land distribution, each person who entered Virginia to settle was allotted 50 acres “for his owne personal adventure,” or to people who paid “at his owne cost” for the transportation of emigrants (Nugent 1934:xxiv). As a result, the Crown incentivized settlement, and individuals with sufficient means (almost always men) could amass parcels significantly larger than 50 acres if they paid passage for not only themselves, but also their spouse, children, servants, enslaved people, and/or any other individuals they transported. Headrights thus exist for individuals of all social groups, and multiple headrights can exist for the same individual. For example, “men of prominence” who sailed to England and returned to Virginia often appear as headrights of family or friends, who covered the cost of their travel to obtain another 50 acres (Nugent 1934:xxv).

After paying for passage, individuals seeking land ownership brought proof of payment to the county court, which issued a “certificate of importation.” This certificate was then brought to the secretary of the colony in Jamestown (after 1699, Williamsburg). Once the secretary issued a “right,” the county surveyor would delineate the metes and bounds of the property on the ground and on paper. Finally, the governor would approve and sign the patent. In hopes that the settlers would settle and transform the allotted land into a productive parcel, patented land was to be occupied and cultivated within three years. For each 50-acre parcel, the owner paid quitrent to the Crown.

Given the bureaucratic process to issue a patent, patents were often assigned years after the names of the headrights were recorded, and headrights did not necessarily live on the patented land. Patents are therefore not a reliable way to track headrights within Virginia, yet they contain other valuable information, including: the name of the king or queen in whose name the patent was issued; the name of the patentee (or later, grantee); the acreage, location, and description of the land; and the date (Weisiger 2009). In some cases, patents provide additional contextual information about the patentee, previous or neighboring landowners, or the land itself, referencing its proximity to Native towns, landmarks, waterways, roads, town and county lines, and more.

Although patents first and foremost formalized English land claims, reading between the lines reveals information to help reconstruct the Indigenous landscape they were colonizing. For this project, records were primarily found through the Library of Virginia's website and to a lesser extent, Nell Marion Nugent's (1934) *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants 1623–1800*. As the title suggests, Nugent's work features patent abstracts but not the full documents, whereas the Library of Virginia's website has scans of the original records and is searchable based on the patent date, patentee name, county, and a brief description of the land conveyed. Even though some early Virginia records were destroyed (i.e., when Bacon burned Jamestown), by Nugent's (1934:x) calculations, VLO records include some 142 manuscript volumes, containing 85,905 pages pre-dating 1800.

To find patents within the study area through the Library of Virginia, SMCM staff primarily searched for records using place names (e.g., Dragon Swamp, Dragon Run, Exol Swamp, Bestland), names of patentees, and dates. Worth noting is that spelling was not standardized in the patents; William Claiborne, for example, might be referenced as Wm. Clayborne, or Mattaponi Upper Path might be referenced as Mattapony Upper Path. Such variation in the archival record means that patent search terms were most successful when they were flexible and included wildcard characters such as “?” and “*,” which will match any one character or any number of characters, respectively. In other words, searching W*m Cl*b*rn* or Mat?apon? Path proved more effective and efficient than just searching William Claiborne or Upper Mattaponi Path.

Patents were then inventoried in Microsoft Excel, selectively transcribed in Microsoft Word, and (where possible) mapped in GIS, as discussed below. Following the Excel inventory developed by Stephen Fonzo (Fonzo and King 2025), who used patents to map the Rappahannock Path in Virginia's Middle Peninsula, each patent was assigned a number in Excel and patent data was noted in columns, including patentee name, the stated and corrected county, patent acreage, land description, and so on. Although this project did not delve into the precision and accuracy of the patents as Fonzo did, the Excel inventory helped prioritize which patents to transcribe and attempt to map in GIS based on the type of information they contained (e.g., references to transportation features, Virginia Indians). The inventory also was flexible, as columns could be added to indicate whether the patentee was, for example, a documented Baconite or loyalist.

Based on the type and quality of information therein, patents were selected for transcription in Microsoft Word. Excerpts were generally highlighted green if they contained geographic references (e.g., Dragon Swamp, Timber Branch, Piankatank River), blue if they referenced transportation networks (e.g., paths, roads, ferries), and yellow if they referenced neighbors or nearby properties (e.g., Bestland, Captain Claiborne's quarter, Anthony Arnold).

In total, 265 patents were inventoried in Excel for this project. Patents date from the 1650s to the 1800s, ranging in size from 100 acres to several thousand. Of those, 69 (26 percent) were selected for transcription (Appendix II).

Historic Maps

While patents provide a view into the 17th-century landscape at a small scale, often in 50-acre increments, historic maps offer a broad view of Virginia's Middle Peninsula through the eyes of the cartographer. Together, these sources help build a multiscale understanding of the study area. Three 17th-century maps proved particularly relevant to the project, offering direct insight into Indigenous settlement in and around Dragon Swamp.

The first is John Smith's *A Map of Virginia*, originally surveyed and drawn in 1608 and published multiple times between 1612 and 1624 (Figure 7). This map, which inspired many derivative maps, has been extensively studied as it offers a detailed representation of the Indigenous landscape at the time of contact. Encompassing the Chesapeake Bay and what is now Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C., Smith's map depicts more than 200 Native towns and their names, along with shorelines, rivers, tributaries, bays, and islands, all of which Smith visited, saw from the river, or learned of by relation.

Second is another rendition of Smith's map, which Smith or perhaps his travel partner and Virginia Company cartographer Nathaniel Powell compiled in 1608. Although Smith or Powell may have been the original cartographer, the map fell into the hands of Don Pedro de Zúñiga, a Spanish ambassador to England, who sent a copy to King Philip III of Spain. The map—now known as the Zúñiga chart—focuses on Indigenous settlements along the James and York Rivers, as well as their tributaries, including the Chickahominy, Pamunkey, and Mattaponi Rivers (Figure 8).

Both the Smith map and the Zúñiga chart reflect the deep Indigenous history of Dragon Swamp, as they each depict an unnamed Indigenous settlement in the Dragon's vicinity. In the Zúñiga chart, the settlement is surrounded by a palisade and appears south of what is now Saluda or southwest of what is now Warner (Fonzo and King 2025:10–11). In the early 17th century, Kecoughtans displaced from what is now Hampton, Virginia, may have lived there (Fonzo and King 2025:11), but the area would have also been inhabited and frequented by other groups, including the Pamunkeys, Chickahominy, Mattaponis, and Rappahannocks, among others.



Figure 7. John Smith's *A Map of Virginia*, originally surveyed and drawn in 1608 and published multiple times between 1610 and 1624. The approximate location of Dragon Swamp is circled in red.

The third 17th-century map that attests to how thoroughly Dragon Swamp was woven into the Indigenous landscape at the time of Bacon's Rebellion was completed by Augustine Herrman. A trader in the Chesapeake Bay area and an ambassador for New Netherland, Herrman went on to spend a decade working on the map, *Virginia and Maryland As it is Planted and Inhabited this present Year 1670*, which was published in 1673 (Figure 9). Herrman's map is regarded as the first accurate map of the Chesapeake Bay coast and, like Smith's map, served as the basis for subsequent mapping endeavors through the early 18th century.

Whereas the 1608 maps depict only one Indigenous settlement in Dragon Swamp, Herrman's map shows a total of ten English houses strung along either side of the swamp.⁴ Further

⁴ Herrman also shows *yehakins*, loaf-shaped Native dwellings covered with mats, in Pamunkey Neck but none in the Dragon.

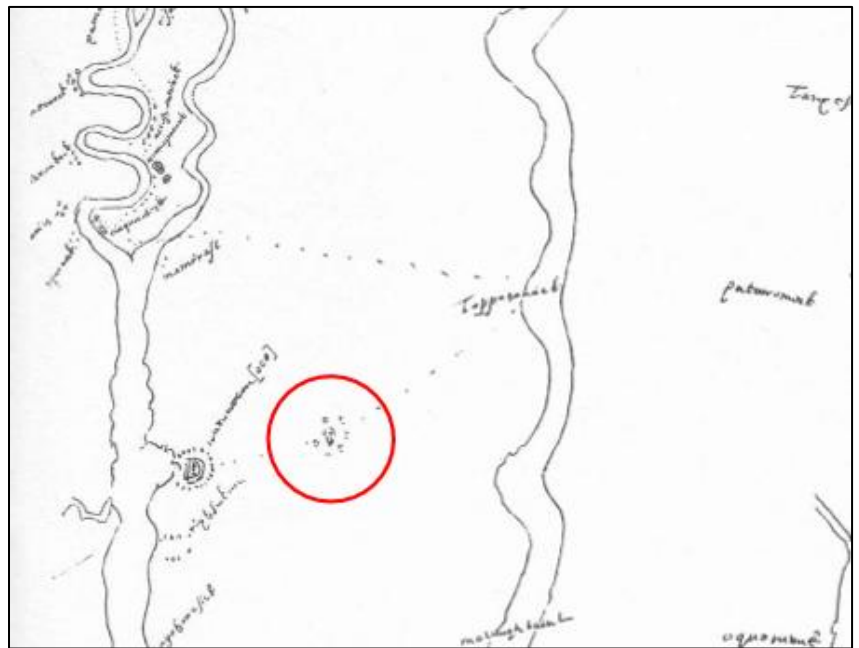
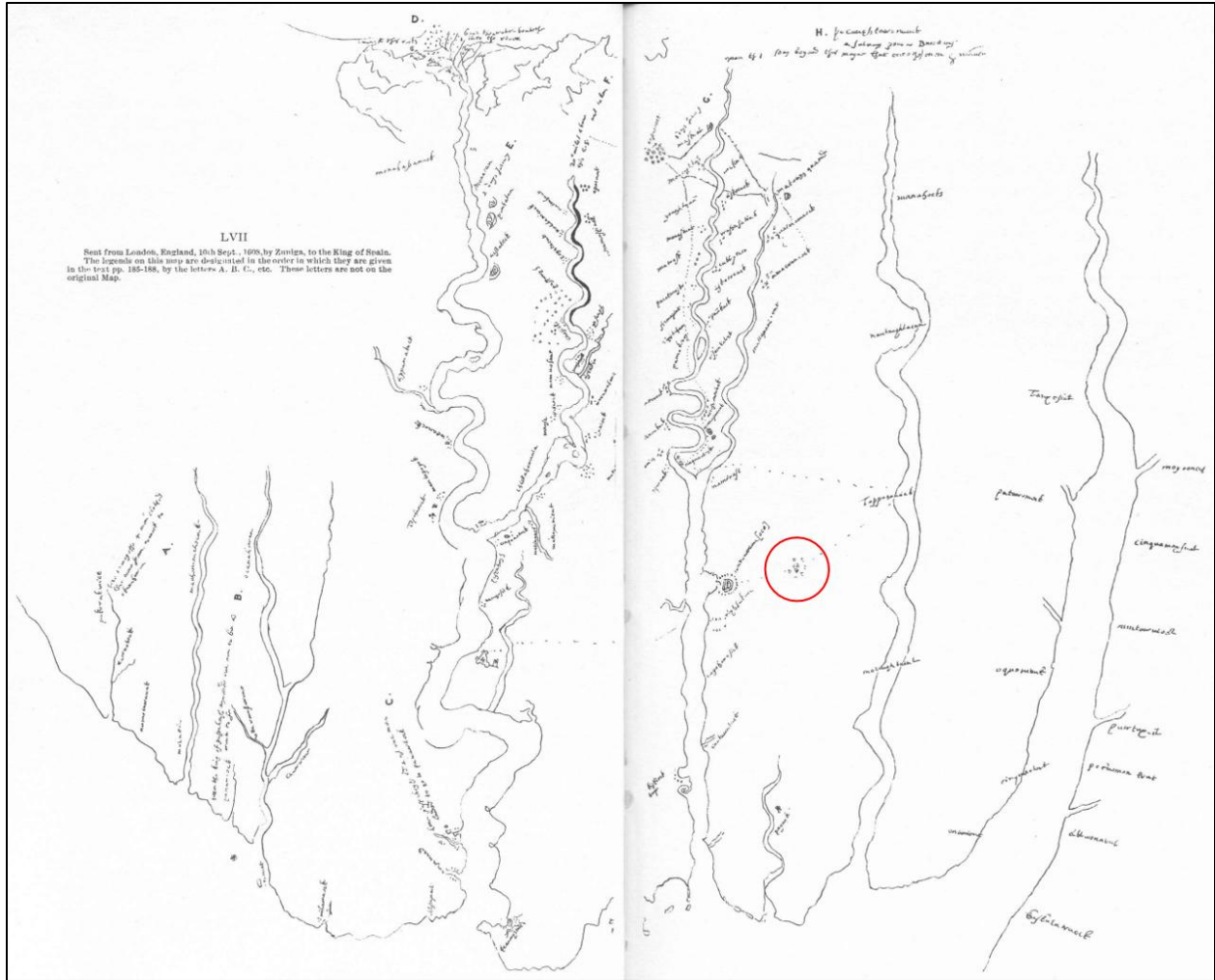


Figure 8. The Zúñiga chart with the palisaded settlement in Dragon Swamp (circled in red; complete [top] and enlarged [right]).

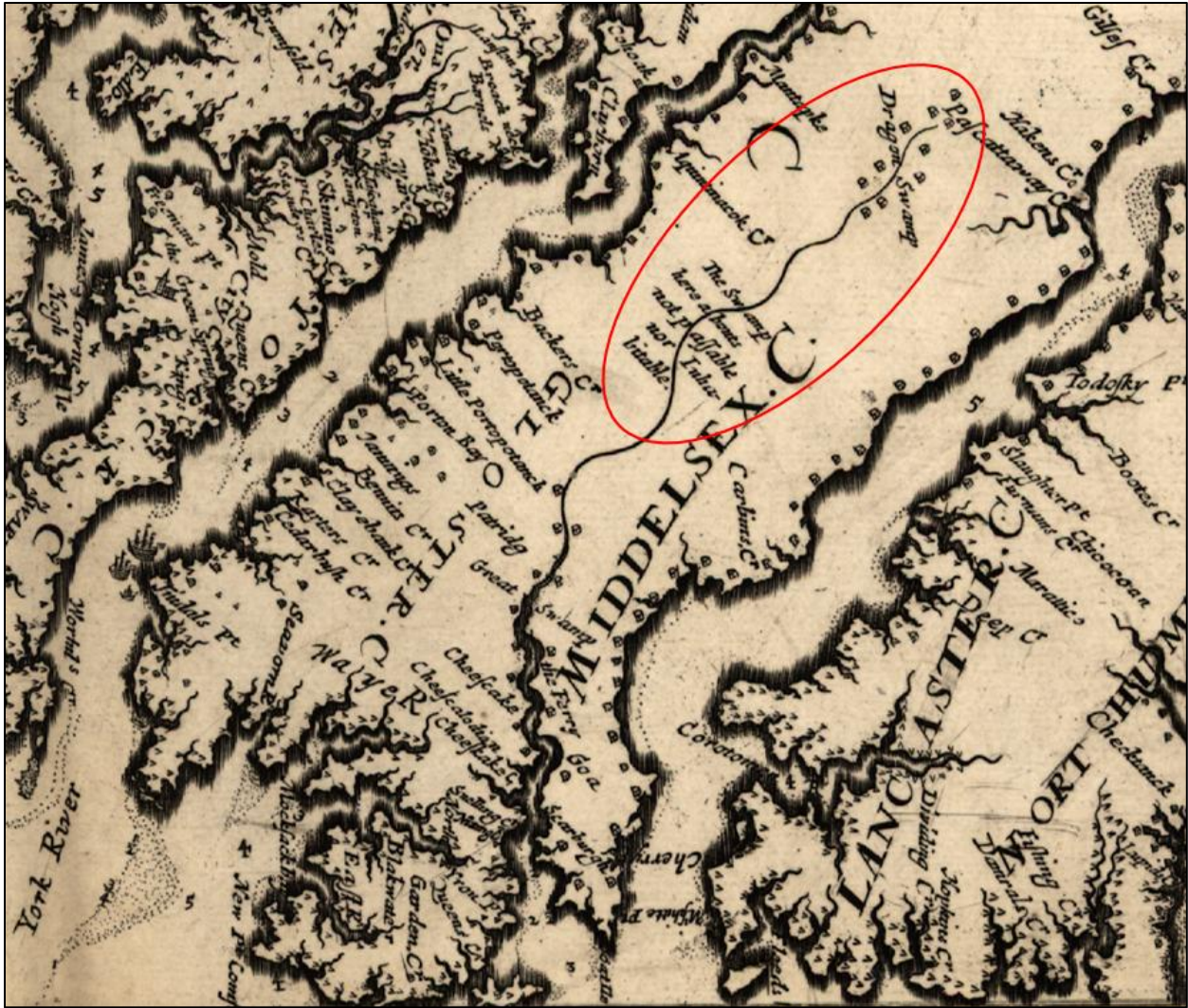


Figure 9. A section of Augustine Herrman’s *Map of Maryland and Virginia* showing Dragon Swamp (circled in red).

south, Herrman labeled the terrain along the Dragon as “not passable nor Inhabitable.” To European eyes, this unfamiliar area may have been a green hell too dense, wild, and wet to traverse. Yet, as will be discussed later, even these seemingly impenetrable sections of Dragon Swamp would have been rich in resources if one knew where to look.

Colonial Narratives

While patents and maps reveal changes in Indigenous and English settlement patterns in and around Dragon Swamp, providing a lay of the land on the eve of Bacon’s Rebellion, narratives written in the rebellion’s aftermath offer contemporary perspectives on the events of 1676.

Generations of historians and other writers have parsed these accounts to better understand what transpired, and this report is no exception.

Particularly valuable for the present project's purposes is the *Narrative of the Commissioners*, which was written by Colonel Herbert Jeffreys, Sir John Berry, and Francis Moryson, commissioners sent to Virginia by King Charles II to determine how Bacon usurped control from Berkeley and sowed chaos in the colony. Not only does this narrative provide the greatest detail about what transpired in the Dragon, it includes information relayed from Cockacoeske, providing important insight into just how savvy and strategic this Pamunkey leader was.

Most other narratives were written by colonial officials or English landowners. The first published account was written by Robert Beverley (1705), a wealthy planter who owned thousands of acres in the Middle Peninsula. Beverley's book, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, was published in 1705. Beverley, who supported Governor Berkeley, was more interested in sharing the reasons he thought were at the root of the rebellion, including the low price of tobacco, what most colonists perceived as excessive taxes and duties, governmental favoritism, as well as the perceived depredations of the Natives.

John Cotton (1867), an attorney who owned a plantation on Queen's Creek in York County, authored *The History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion, 1676*, which was not published until 1804. A letter presumably based on his narrative—*An Account of Our Late Troubles in Virginia*—was published that same year (Bernhard 2020). Written by his wife Ann Cotton to a friend in England, the letter represents not only one of the first personal accounts of Bacon's Rebellion, but also one of the few written by a woman at the time. Accounts by indentured servants, enslaved Black people, and Indigenous people about their experience during the rebellion are likewise scarce (Taylor 2023).

Oral Histories, Traditions, and Indigenous and Local Knowledge

With generations of historians and other writers scrutinizing the archival record related to Bacon's Rebellion, oral histories, traditions, and Indigenous and local knowledge have largely been overlooked. Several exceptions exist, including Susan Shook's (2015) master's thesis in women's history, "Cockacoeske: 'She didn't give up.'" Divided into three parts, the thesis draws on oral histories and archival records to retell the story of Cockacoeske's leadership, highlighting her "community agenda in protecting the Pamunkey" (Shook 2015:10–11). While the first part primarily synthesizes previous historical narratives, the second part examines Cockacoeske's leadership during Bacon's Rebellion using English archival sources and (then and recently reelected) Pamunkey Chief Kevin Brown's oral history (Shook 2015:10). The third and final part summarizes the outcomes of Cockacoeske's leadership and explores how the Pamunkeys

remember her today through additional interviews with Chief Brown and Joyce Pale Moon Krigsvold (Shook 2015:11).

In hopes of learning more about this project, the team reached out to Susan Shook in January 2023. Unfortunately, neither a recording nor a transcript of the interviews with Chief Brown or Ms. Krigsvold exist. The thesis, which quotes and paraphrases information from the interviews, thus remains the most accessible record of these oral histories and helps illustrate how such oral histories enrich predominant historical narratives about Cockacoeske and Bacon's Rebellion.

More recently, historian Hayley Negrin (2023a) worked with Pamunkey tribal citizens Debra Martin and Ethan Brown to write her article, "Cockacoeske's Rebellion: Nathaniel Bacon, Indigenous Slavery, and Sovereignty in Early Virginia." Negrin (2023a:54, 85) interviewed Ms. Martin, historian and Pamunkey tribal council member, in July 2019, July 2021, and August 2022. Brown created art, titled "Cockacoeske with Young Boy, Tuckahoe and Turtle in Dragon Swamp," for the article (reproduced later in this report) (Negrin 2023a:79).

Building on this oral history research, this project sought to integrate oral histories, traditions, and Indigenous and local knowledge into the narrative of Bacon's Rebellion. To that end, the project team scheduled group meetings and kayaking and hiking trips with tribal citizens, as discussed above. Their comments, concerns, questions, and observations were documented during meetings and field trips. To record comments when kayaking and hiking, the free and open-source GeoTracker app was generally used in lieu of pen and paper.

In addition, one formal interview was completed with Jeffrey W. Wright via Zoom in May 2023 and the conversation was transcribed (Appendix III). Now leading the Friends of Dragon Run as president, Wright retired from a long career in the U.S. Army in military intelligence. Given his military experience, ecological and environmental knowledge, and interest in history, Wright was able to provide unique and valuable insights into the Dragon as a battlespace.

GIS Mapping and Landscape Modeling

GIS is a powerful tool for collecting, managing, layering, and visualizing quantitative and qualitative spatial information. For this project, QGIS, an open-source GIS program, was used to map and model the landscape. Data integrated into GIS was drawn primarily from project meetings, kayaking and hiking trips, county histories (i.e., Cox 1957), land records, historic maps, and oral histories (i.e., Shook 2015). Data downloaded from various Federal, state, and county agencies were also examined, including soil, farmland, road suitability, land cover, land parcel, transportation, archaeological site, public lands, and protected lands data.

While downloading data is straightforward, digitizing data from historical records such as land patents in GIS is a complex, multi-step, subjective process. To map individual land patents, the documents were first transcribed, as explained above. Next, the relative location of the patent was determined based on references to nearby branches, paths, and neighbors, for example, and mapped in GIS as a point. The points failed to give a sense of parcel size, yet represented an expedient way to get a lay of the land. From there, if the patent contained sufficient information, the patent bounds were reconstructed in GIS. In some cases, modern land parcel data was used to align and situate these patent polygons, as some property boundaries have endured from the colonial era.

To date, in GIS, the relative location of more than 50 patents in the Dragon Swamp area have been mapped. Of these patents, boundaries have been reconstructed for 25 (50 percent). In general, these boundaries should be viewed as approximate, useful in so far as they convey the general size and location of colonial landholdings.

Based on these patents and their locations in space, Indigenous and English paths were mapped. As with land parcels, roads tended to remain in use through time, so modern road data was useful to help trace historic routes. Indigenous paths proved easier to map because they were often better documented in patents, as they tended to be long and cut through many 17th-century parcels. In total, over 30 miles of paths were reconstructed, including segments of Mattaponi Upper Path, Mattaponi Path, and Kiskiack Path, and a couple English paths. Most avoid water crossings where possible and run north-south down the Middle Peninsula.

Public Presentations

To raise awareness of the project, including the historical and military significance of Dragon Swamp during Bacon's Rebellion and the Indigenous role in the war, the project team made several presentations during the course of the work. These presentations include:

- Sovereign Nations of Virginia conference (September 19, 2024): "Tribal Consultation on Cultural Resources;" Virginia Crossings Hotel and Conference Center, Glen Allen, Virginia (Julia A. King).
- Society for Colonial Wars in the Commonwealth of Virginia (April 17, 2025): "An Indigenous History of Bacon's Rebellion;" Country Club of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia (Julia A. King).
- York River Watershed Symposium (May 14, 2025): "Mapping the Dragon: Towards an Indigenous History of Bacon's Rebellion;" Virginia Institute of Marine Science, Gloucester Point, Virginia (Allyson Gray, Julia A. King, G. Anne Richardson, Jeffrey W. Wright).

- York River and Small Coastal Basin Roundtable (June 12, 2025): “Mapping the Dragon: Towards an Indigenous History of Bacon’s Rebellion;” West Point, Virginia (Julia A. King, Jeffrey W. Wright, Edward D. Ragan).

On September 20, 2024, *The Washington Post* published “The hidden story of Native tribes who outsmarted Bacon’s Rebellion.” The article was written by journalist Gregory Schneider and appeared on the front page of *The Post*. In addition to the print version, the digital version of the article (<https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2024/09/20/bacons-rebellion-virginia-native-americans-dragon-run/>) received nearly 500 comments.

In addition to the public presentations, presentations were delivered at professional archaeology conferences, including the Conference on Northeast Historical Archaeology, the Middle Atlantic Archaeological Conference, the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, and the Society for Historical Archaeology.

Chapter III

Environmental Context

LANDSCAPES HAVE LONG been viewed as passive backdrops, relevant to history and archaeology insofar as they provide the setting for sites like villages, camps, or forts and promote cultural adaptation (Adams 1990:92; Anschuetz et al. 2001:157; Rippon 2020:536). Landscapes are in fact dynamic; they shape and are shaped by intentional and unintentional human behavior and are produced wherever humans unify with the environment (Anschuetz et al. 2001; Ingold 1993; Metheny 1996; Tilley 1994, 2008; Whittlesey 2009). Formed through the continuous accumulation of cultural material, human modification, and geomorphological processes through time and space, landscapes can thus be conceived as a *character* in the story of Bacon’s Rebellion rather than as a mere backdrop.

While subsequent chapters address the 17th-century history of the Dragon Swamp landscape, this chapter establishes an environmental context for the Dragon Swamp watershed at large. Since 17th-century environmental data is scarce, this chapter primarily describes the present physiography and topography, land cover, soils, and climate, all of which can inform understandings of life and the experience of being in the Dragon at the time of Bacon’s Rebellion. The chapter concludes by exploring the possible origins of the Dragon’s name, considering historic maps, myths, and the nature of the swamp.

Physiography and Topography

Moving west to east, Virginia has five physiographic regions: the Appalachian Plateau, the Valley and Ridge, the Blue Ridge, the Piedmont, and the Coastal Plain, also known as the Tidewater. The Coastal Plain is a low-lying region that extends along the eastern seaboard of the U.S. from New Jersey to Georgia. Within the Coastal Plain lies Virginia’s Middle Peninsula, which is the second of three Virginia peninsulas on the western shore of Chesapeake Bay and defined by its connection to water (Figure 10). The Rappahannock River forms its northern boundary, separating the peninsula from the Northern Neck, while the York River forms its southern boundary and separates it from the Virginia Peninsula. Other prominent waterways include the Mattaponi, Pamunkey, Piankatank, Poropotank, North, Severn, and Ware Rivers, Dragon Swamp, and Mobjack Bay.

Encompassing over 888,000 acres and six counties—Essex, Gloucester, King and Queen, King William, Mathews, and Middlesex—the Middle Peninsula is largely rural, with thousands of acres of ecologically significant tidal and nontidal wetlands, forest, pastures, rivers, and streams. The topography ranges from flat, level areas to gradual rolling hills as much as 200 feet above sea level (Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation [DCR] 2018:108).

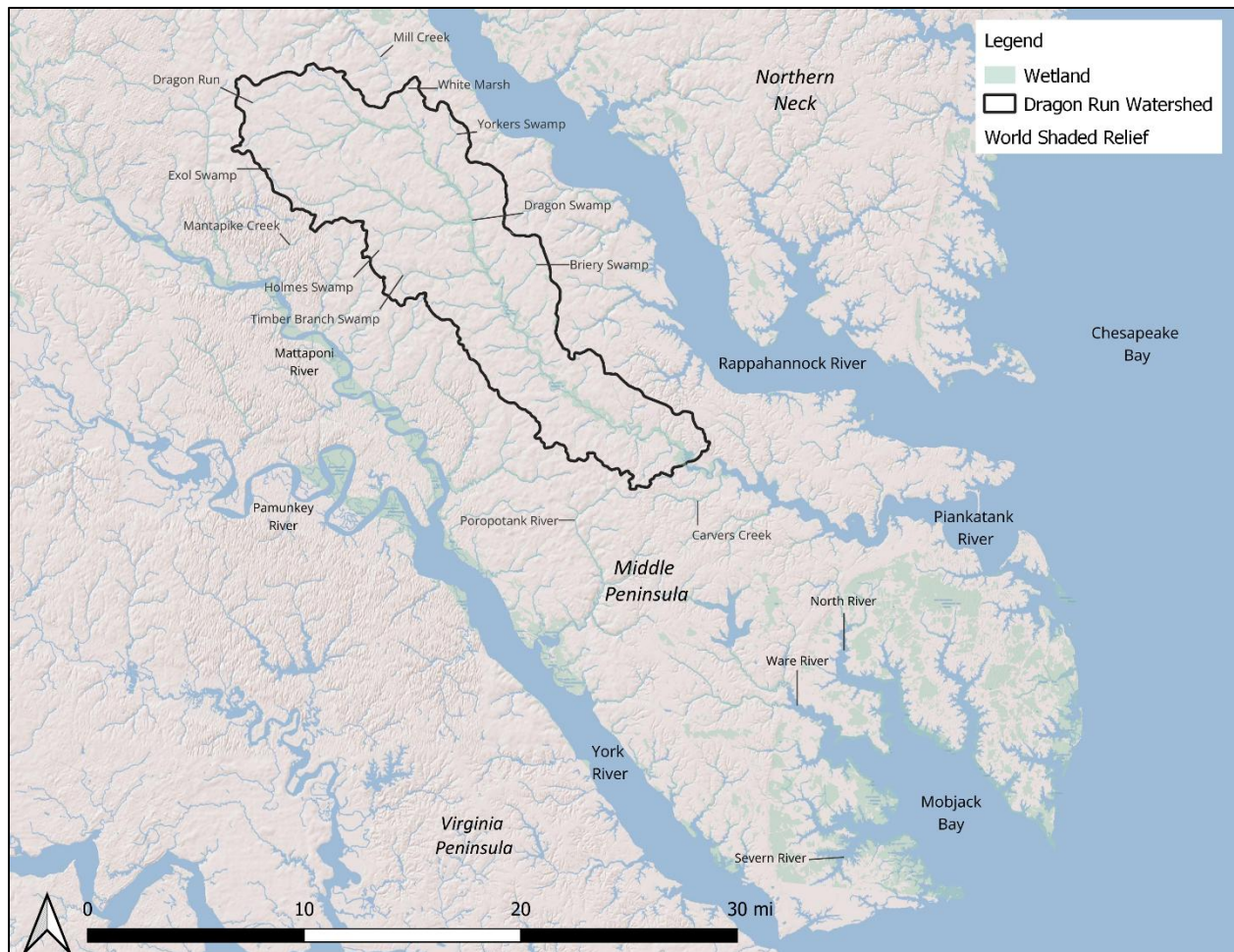


Figure 10. Map of Virginia’s Middle Peninsula and the Dragon Swamp watershed (labeled Dragon Run watershed in the legend).

Dragon Swamp, the focus of this report, is a braided, spring-fed fresh and brackish water forested swamp. Bisecting the Middle Peninsula, the Dragon flows 38 miles through nontidal and tidal cypress swamp, emptying into the Piankatank River and ultimately the Chesapeake Bay (Dragon Run Steering Committee, Middle Peninsula Planning District Commission [DRSC] 2003a:4). In total, the Dragon’s watershed encompasses approximately 140 square miles (90,000 acres) and extends across four counties, including Essex, King and Queen, Middlesex, and Gloucester (Table 2). Elevations range from 180 feet above to near sea-level, with the highest elevations found inland near the head of the Dragon on the border of Essex and King and Queen Counties (DRSC 2003a:10). Significant tributaries include Dragon Run, Dragon Swamp, Yorker’s Swamp, Exol Swamp, Timber Branch Swamp, Briery Swamp, Holmes Swamp, White Marsh, Zion Branch, Carver’s Creek, Mill Stream, and Meggs Bay (DRSC 2003a:5).

County	Area within County (acres)	Percentage of Total Watershed	Percentage of County within Watershed
Essex	18,466.6	20.6%	10.1%
Gloucester	5,671.7	6.3%	3.1%
King and Queen	46,425.1	51.7%	22.2%
Middlesex	19,207.7	21.4%	16.3%
Total	89,771.1	100%	--

Table 2. Dragon Swamp watershed acreage by county (DRSC 2003a:5).

Land Cover and Resources

Today, Dragon Swamp is recognized as one of the most pristine waterways in the Chesapeake Bay watershed, and the state, tribes, non-profits, and private landowners seek to preserve and maintain traditional land use in the area (DRSC 2003b:7). Within the Dragon Swamp watershed, the landscape is primarily comprised of forest and trees (66.3 percent), cropland and harvested land (17.7 percent), and wetlands (10.4 percent). A mere one percent of land is developed, as reflected by the amounts of impervious surfaces (i.e., roads, residential or commercial development) in the area (Table 3; Figures 11-12).

Class	Type	Acres in Dragon Watershed	Percentage of Dragon Watershed	Acres in Extended Study Area	Percentage of Extended Study Area
11	Open Water	307.06	0.3%	138,691.16	14.5%
21	Impervious (extracted)	572.02	0.6%	8,205.04	0.9%
22	Impervious (local datasets)	600.54	0.7%	9,286.35	1.0%
31	Barren	267.13	0.3%	1,842.31	0.2%
41	Forest	56,976.27	63.5%	439,610.56	45.9%
42	Tree	2492.34	2.8%	42,568.71	4.4%
51	Shrub/Scrub	307.07	0.3%	3,229.20	0.3%
61	Harvested/Disturbed	3,869.57	4.3%	33,275.98	3.5%
71	TurfGrass	1,981.26	2.2%	40,542.34	4.2%
81	Pasture	989.46	1.1%	13,969.87	1.5%
82	Cropland	12,052.63	13.4%	121,121.34	12.7%
91	Wetlands	9,377.02	10.4%	104,450.09	10.9%
	Grand Total	89,792.34	100.0%	956,792.95	100.0%

Table 3. Land cover in the Dragon Swamp watershed and the extended study area (including Essex, Gloucester, King and Queen, King William, Mathews, and Middlesex Counties).

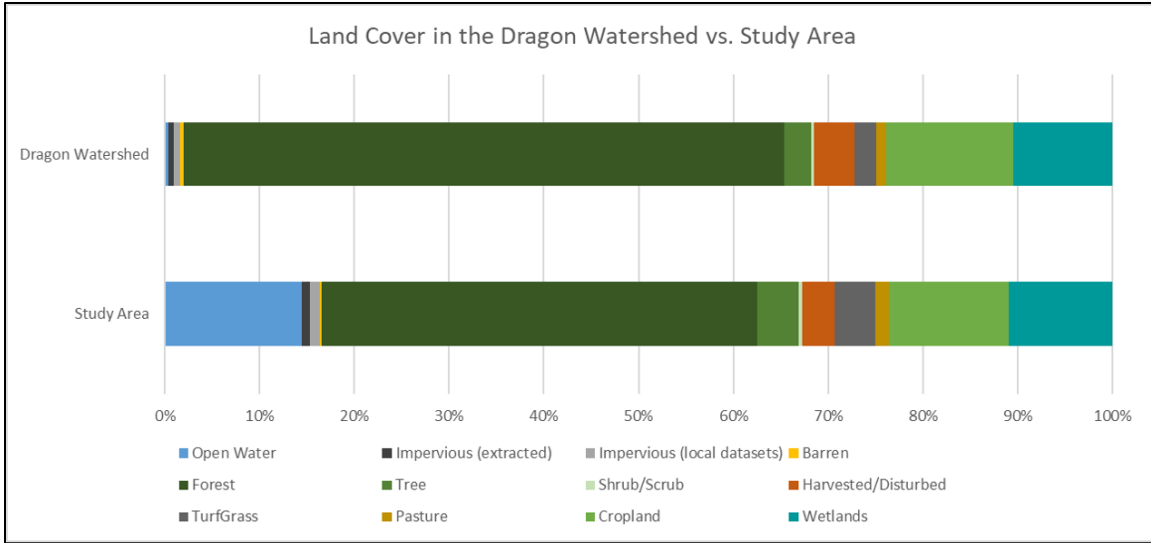


Figure 11. Percentages of land cover types in the Dragon Swamp watershed and extended study area (including Essex, Gloucester, King and Queen, King William, Mathews, and Middlesex Counties).

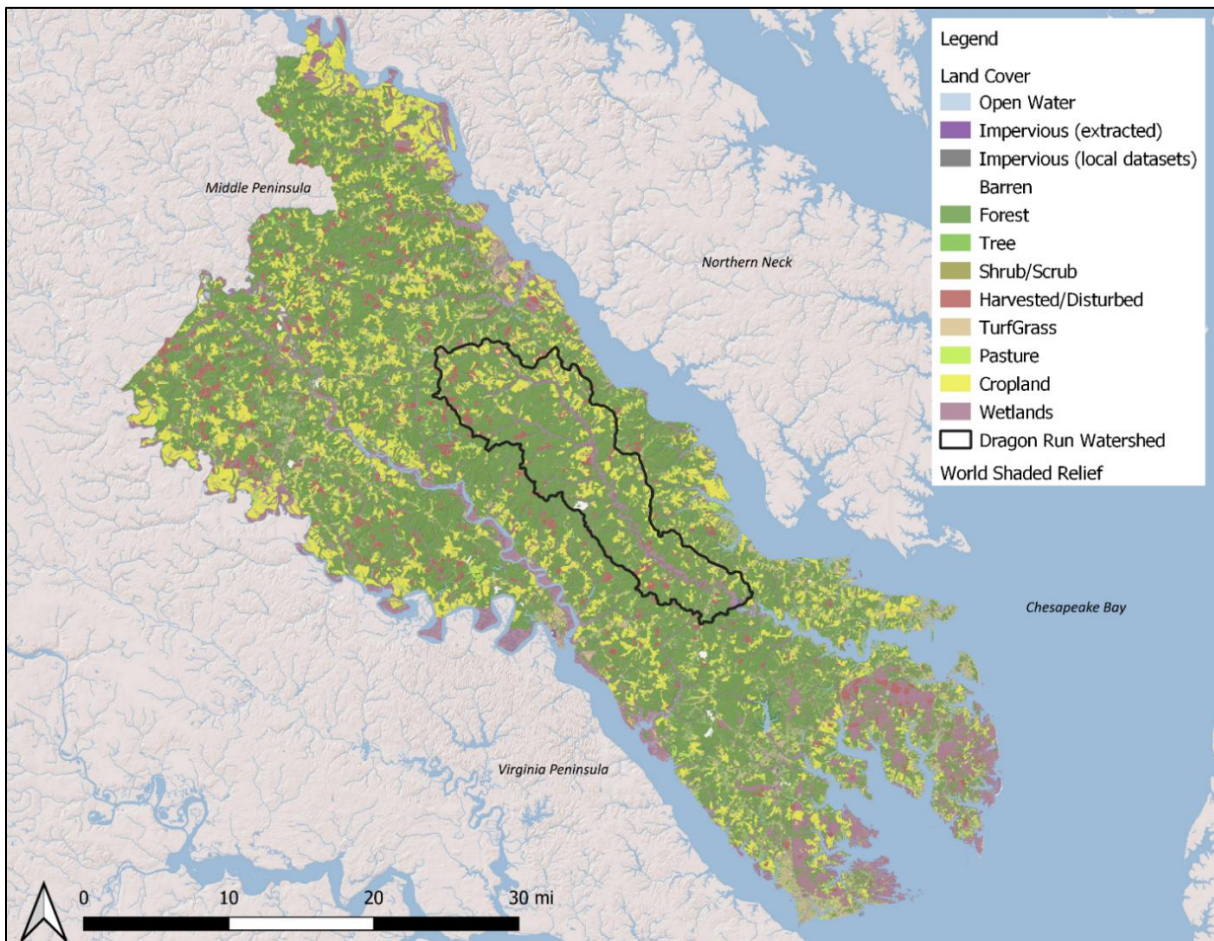


Figure 12. Map of land cover within the Dragon Swamp watershed and extended study area (including Essex, Gloucester, King and Queen, King William, Mathews, and Middlesex Counties).

The Dragon is characterized by a Bald Cypress-Tupelo Swamp, and some of the trees standing today were present in 1676 (Figure 13). The complex nature of the swamp's flat terrain, remoteness, wetlands, and waters coupled with a variety of plant life of varying sizes, colors, and densities made it difficult to see very far into the swamp in any direction, to detect motion, or to discern the source of sounds.



Figure 13. A centuries-old bald cypress tree that may have stood during Bacon's Rebellion (Jeffrey W. Wright).

Given the lack of development, the Dragon resembles streams in the Chesapeake Bay watershed at the dawn of the 20th century and has been called a 100-year-old time capsule (DRSC 2003a:4). This relatively intact watershed hosts unique natural communities, including the Bald

Cypress-Tupelo Swamp, Tidal Bald Cypress Forest/Woodland, Fluvial Terrace Woodland, and Tidal Freshwater Marsh (DRSC 2003a:4–5; Table 4). Measurement of one towering Bald Cypress tree in the Dragon suggests an age of 800 to 1,200 years, making it a witness to centuries of activity, including Bacon’s Rebellion (see Figure 13) (Jeffrey Wright, personal communication, 2025). At the headwaters of Dragon Run, natural communities include Coastal Plain/Piedmont Bottomland Forest, Coastal Plain/Piedmont Acidic Seepage Swamp, and Coastal Plain Semipermanent Impoundment (DRSC 2003a:8).

Natural Community	Brief Description	Common Vegetation (examples)
Bald Cypress-Tupelo Swamp	Seasonally to semi-permanently flooded forests	Bald cypress, water tupelo, swamp tupelo, lizard’s tail, giant sedge, false nettle, swamp beggar-ticks
Tidal Bald Cypress Forest/Woodland	Coniferous or mixed swamp forest and woodland located along the upper tidal reaches of rivers	Bald cypress, water tupelo, swamp tupelo, green ash, silvery sedge, spikerushes, marsh rattlesnake-master, wild rice
Fluvial Terrace Woodland	Flat terraces and islands elevated well-above adjacent swamps with sandy soils and open forest or woodland	Hickory, drought-tolerant oak, sand post oak, eastern redbud, horse-sugar, American holly, eastern red cedar, sedges, Canada frostweed, butterfly-pea, goldenrod, prickly-pear, wild columbine
Tidal Fresh Water Marsh	Wetlands subject to regular diurnal flooding along upper tidal reaches of inner Coastal Plain rivers and tributaries	Arrow arum, dotted smartweed, wild rice, pickerel weed, rice cutgrass, tearthumbs, beggar-ticks, spatterdock

Table 4. Table of natural communities in Dragon Swamp (DRSC 2003a:26–27).

Combined, these natural communities in turn support a range of rare plant and animal species. Rare animals include bald eagle, great purple hairstreak, blackwater bluet, robust basket tail, cypress sphinx, Selys’ sunfly, fine-lined emerald, and Southern pitcher plant mosquito. Rare plants include cuckooflower, red turtlehead, Parker’s pipewort, pineland tick-trefoil, river bulrush, Northern purple pitcher-plant, and cypress-knee sedge. Rookeries for colonial water birds (which live in colonies), including egrets and heron, are also common (DRSC 2003a:8).

The Dragon is also home to freshwater and estuarine fishes, aquatic macroinvertebrates (i.e., snails, crayfish), freshwater bivalves (i.e., mussels), and herpetofauna (i.e., frogs, turtles). Fishing has long been an important activity in the Dragon, where at least 45 species from 19 families are found (DRSC 2003a:8). The area is ideal for hunting deer, turkey, and waterfowl as well; today, 46 percent of land in the watershed is leased by hunting clubs (DRSC 2003a:14). Additionally, in the past, beavers living in the swamp would have been hunted for their fur. Their

dams also serve as makeshift bridges for wildlife and may have served humans in the same capacity (Jeffrey Wright, personal communication, 2025).

Streamflow in the Dragon is typically highest in the spring and lowest in the fall (DRSC 2003a:8). From 1981 to 1999, the median daily streamflow at a monitoring station in Mascot, which receives drainage from 75 percent of the watershed, was 79 cubic feet per second. Groundwater discharge accounts for two-thirds of the streamflow and surface water runoff supplies the remainder. While a third of the annual precipitation enters the stream, the remainder is lost to evaporation and transpiration (DRSC 2003a:8).

The Dragon is replete with food and other resources if one knows where and when to look among its forested wetlands. The swamp can be conceived of as a grocery store, especially during the fall, which represents the point in the phenology calendar where this store is fully stocked with more easily foraged or hunted species. In the summer and fall of 1676, Dragon Swamp was not only an ideal place to forage, but also an exceptional place to forage while hiding.

With the ebb and flow of the Dragon's waterways and the changing seasons, resources in the swamp consistently emerge. Indigenous communities would have taken advantage of this green "grocery store," not only hunting game and fishing as noted above, but also taking advantage of its many springs and foraging for countless wild foods including fruits, nuts, seeds, starchy roots, and what was known in the 17th century as sallet herbs, better known as greens (Hamilton n.d.).

In the spring, fruits such as mulberries, strawberries, blackberries, and mayapple would have been ripe and ready for picking. Early greens would have also sprouted, and cooked spring greens may have included comfrey, glasswort, sea rocket, or the broad leafed Virginia plantain.

By the summer, blueberries, blackberries, and nuts were plentiful and edible grasses would have been thriving, including swamp barnyard grass, fowl and coastal mannagrass, and wild rice. Squash would have also ripened and, by August, corn was usually ready for harvest. Starchy tubers, used much like potatoes are today, offered another source of reliable nutrients. Spatterdock (yellow pond lily or cow lily) and arrow arum (tuckahoe) were, and remain to this day, particularly prevalent.⁵

Once fall arrived, possum-haw or wild raisins would have been ripe and could have been eaten raw or cooked, along with fruits such as common elderberry, wild cherry, pawpaw, persimmon, and passionfruit flower. Nuts, including black walnut, white oak acorns, butternut, American chestnut, and American hazelnut, were also an important fall food source.

⁵ The spatterdock plant's rhizome can be cooked or dried and then ground it into flour. Spatterdock can also be ground for use medically as a poultice. Leaves and roots contain tannin that was used for dyeing and tanning (WSDE 2014). With regard to tuckahoe, in its raw state, this plant is poisonous. The plant's tuber was made edible through a long process of cooking, heating, or drying. Tuckahoe was used to prepare a type of Native bread.

With the approach of winter and the uncertainty of how long the Natives would be in the Dragon, roots and tubers became an increasingly important part of the diet. Still, the swamp offered a variety of foods, including water-hemp and Jerusalem artichokes to name two. Year-round resources, like arrowhead and cattail, would have also been available. Cattail could not only be eaten but was also used for mats.

Indigenous communities also relied on red maple, eastern red cedar, black locust, tulip poplar, hickory, walnut, and hornbeam for building materials, made Indian hemp into twine, used reeds and grasses for mats, house roofs, and blowguns, wove baskets with honeysuckle, willow, rye straw, corn husks, pine needles, and rushes, and carved dugout canoes from trees. Many other resources, including medicinal plants, were available in the Dragon if one knew where and when to look. Those referenced above should therefore be considered examples rather than wholly representative of the cornucopia that the Dragon provided.

Soils

Soils are critically important for Indigenous decision-making. For example, to understand why villages or towns may be clustered in one area and not in others, soils (along with topography and landcover) need to be considered. Since soils “integrate long- and short-term history,” contemporary environmental conditions are necessarily different from those in the past, yet they should be broadly analogous (Yesilonis et al. 2016:88). Aspects such as slope and the approximate location of soil types generally remain similar through time and are less mutable than soil chemical and physical attributes, which can profoundly change with shifting land use strategies (Kolb 2017:15; Yesilonis et al. 2016:83). As a result, modern data derived in part from less mutable characteristics, such as soil type, farmland potential, and suitability for roads, can lend insight into the environment of Dragon Swamp, past and present.

The soil data analyzed here—including soil type, farmland classification, and suitability for roads—was downloaded from the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) Natural Resources Conservation Service (NRCS) via the Web Soil Survey (WSS) website (<https://websoilsurvey.sc.egov.usda.gov/App/WebSoilSurvey.aspx>).

The data indicate that soil types vary across county lines in the Dragon. In Essex County, somewhat excessively drained to moderately well-drained loamy and sandy soils dominate and consist of Emporia-Slagle-Atlee and Rumford-Suffolk-Emporia Series deposits. East of Essex County, in Middlesex County, soils range from poor to well-drained and are likewise loamy or clayey, including Suffolk-Eunola-Remlik, Kempsville-Suffolk-Kinston, and Emporia-Slagle-Nevarc Series deposits. Pocaty-Kinston-Bibb Series deposits, which are deep, very poorly drained organic and loamy soils flooded by fresh and brackish water, are also prevalent (DRSC 2003a:10).

In King and Queen County, soils range from sand and loamy sand to clay, with Emporia sandy loam and Emporia-Slagle-Rumford complex deposits being relatively common (NRCS). In Gloucester County, soils are also generally well-drained to moderately well-drained but more often loamy or clayey rather than sandy. Here, Suffolk-Eunola-Kenansville and Emporia-Hapludults-Wrightsboro Series deposits are most common.

Farmland Classification Data

Farmland classification data helps assess the agricultural potential of these soils and it can also be useful for predicting types of wild resources available in any particular location. Under this classification system, land in the study area is classified either as prime farmland, farmland of statewide importance, prime farmland if drained, prime farmland if irrigated, or not prime farmland. These classifications are based on a combination of physical, chemical, and landscape characteristics such as slope, pH, water supply, soil permeability, and climate.

Prime farmland, which was defined as a category in the 1970s, exhibits the best features for producing “food, feed, forage, fiber, and oilseed crops” and remains “available” for agriculture (i.e., not covered in water, urban, or developed) (Important Farmlands Inventory 1978:4032). Accordingly, prime farmland has the “soil quality, growing season, and moisture supply needed to sustain high yields of crops when treated and managed” with a generally “favorable temperature and growing season, acceptable acidity or alkalinity, acceptable salt and sodium content, and few or no rocks” (Important Farmlands Inventory 1978:4032).

Farmland of statewide importance has similar attributes to prime farmland, generally including lands designated by state agencies that almost fulfill but fall slightly short of the criteria for prime farmland (Important Farmlands Inventory 1978:4033). Likewise, areas designated as prime farmland if drained or irrigated have the potential to become prime farmland, but human intervention and/or landscape modification is necessary.

The category, not prime farmland is all land not designated as either prime farmland, farmland of statewide importance, or prime farmland if drained or irrigated, presumably due to factors like low soil pH, rockiness, steep slope (which can cause erosion), poor drainage, and poor water supply.

The farmland classification data from the NRCS confirm that most land (54.6 percent) within the Dragon Swamp watershed is prime farmland, farmland of statewide importance, or potentially prime farmland if drained or irrigated (Table 5; Figures 14 and 15). More specifically, areas of prime farmland account for 36.6 percent of the study area. Prime farmland is concentrated along the middle of the Middle Peninsula, following the Dragon and its tributaries. Farmland of statewide importance is less prevalent and more dispersed, accounting for only nine percent of the

Rating	Acres in Dragon Watershed	Percentage of Dragon Watershed	Acres in the Extended Study Area	Percentage of Extended Study Area
Prime farmland	47,826.95	53.3%	355,624.71	36.6%
Farmland of statewide importance	22,219.93	24.7%	87,677.86	9.0%
Prime farmland if drained	783.34	0.9%	82,079.59	8.5%
Prime farmland if irrigated	0.00	0.0%	5,116.44	0.5%
Not prime farmland	18,962.17	21.1%	439,941.79	45.3%
Total	89,792.39	100.0%	970,440.39	100.0%

Table 5. Farmland classification types in the Dragon Swamp watershed and extended study area (including Essex, Gloucester, King and Queen, King William, Mathews, and Middlesex Counties).

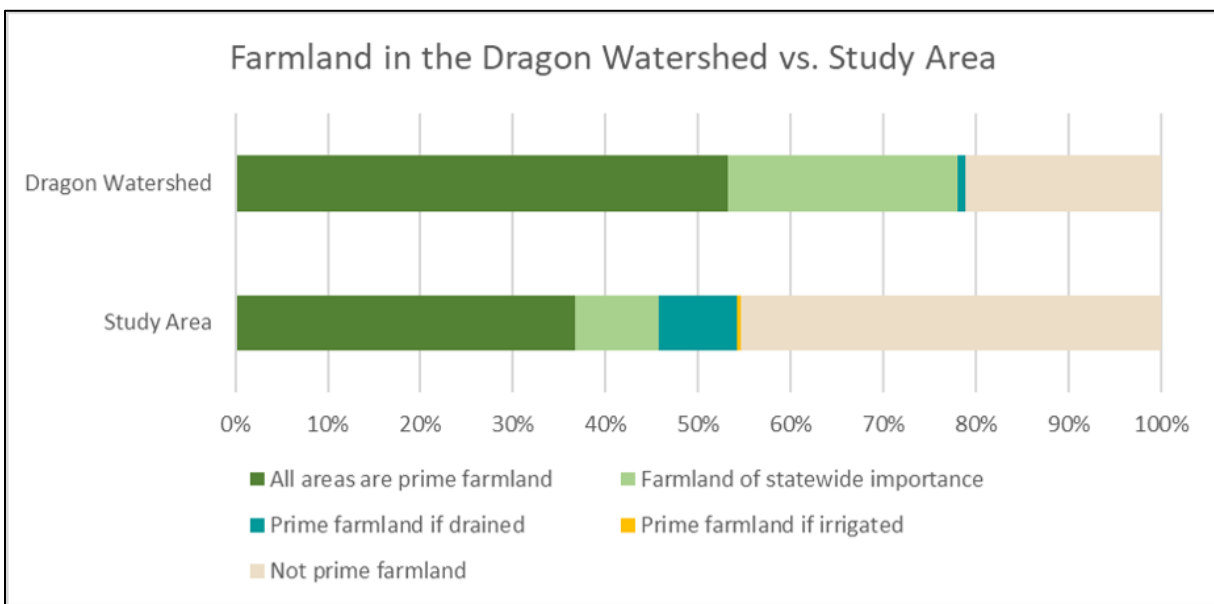


Figure 14. Percentages of farmland classification in the Dragon Swamp watershed and extended study area (including Essex, Gloucester, King and Queen, King William, Mathews, and Middlesex Counties).

extended study area. The remaining lands are classified as not prime farmland (45.3 percent) or would require drainage (8.5 percent) or irrigation (0.5 percent) to become prime farmland.

Within the broader Dragon Swamp watershed, prime farmland and farmland of statewide importance are most common, accounting for 78 percent of the land. That so little land requires drainage to become prime farmland is surprising for an area defined as a swamp. Given its agricultural potential and other resources, the land in the watershed would have been valuable to Indigenous communities and colonists alike. Moreover, the proximity of navigable waterways would have made these arable lands highly accessible, which was especially important for the production of crops like tobacco.

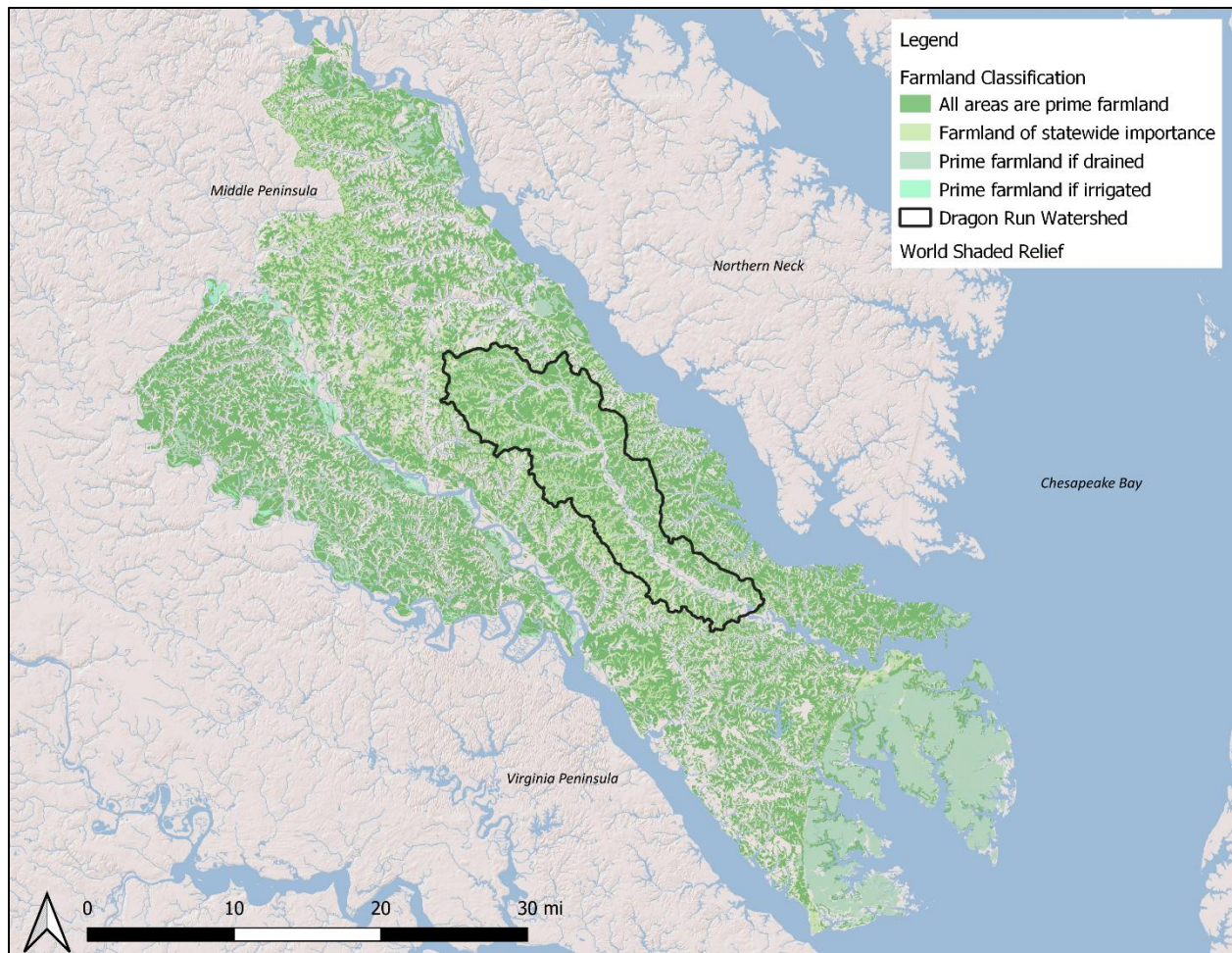


Figure 15. Map of farmland classification types in the Dragon Swamp watershed and extended study area (including Essex, Gloucester, King and Queen, King William, Mathews, and Middlesex Counties). The scale at which this map has been produced masks variability but, at a gross level, the map does reveal extensive areas of prime farmland and farmland of statewide importance in the Dragon.

Road Suitability

Whereas the farmland classification data attest to the agricultural potential of the study area and Dragon Run watershed overall, road suitability data lend insight into the potential navigability of this landscape. Paths, trails, roads, and other such linear transportation features would have been critical components of any battlespace or sanctuary space, but especially the Dragon since it has frequently been portrayed as “impassable.” Of course, roads are but one way to traverse this particular area given the extensive waterways, which are navigable by canoe, kayak, and potentially other small craft depending on the season and rainfall.

Road suitability ratings reflect the suitability for using the natural surface of the soils for foot and cart traffic, considering slope, rockiness of the ground surface, plasticity, sand content,

soil classification, water table depth, ponding, flooding, and the hazard of soil slippage (NRCS 2025). Ratings are both numeric and descriptive, ranging from 0.01 to 1.00 (high to low) and from well to poorly suited. Areas well suited for roads have naturally favorable soils that will perform well and require little maintenance. Areas poorly suited possess soil with qualities that usually require special design, extra maintenance, and potentially costly alterations. Moderately suited areas fall in the middle, with some undesirable soil qualities but still perform reasonably well (NRCS 2025).

Within the extended study area, 31 percent of land is poorly suited for roads, 21 percent is moderately suited, and 31 percent is well suited (Table 6; Figures 16 and 17). In terms of distribution, land with the highest rating is most prevalent west of the Dragon, south of the confluence of Dragon Run (one of Dragon Swamp’s tributaries) and Dragon Swamp and north of Exol Swamp. Although most land in the extended study area was moderately or well suited to roads (52 percent), the data suggest the experience of forging paths and overland travel would have varied widely by location since land poorly and well suited to roads was equally common.

In the watershed, most land is likewise moderately or well suited to roads (see Table 6). Only 19 percent of watershed lands are poorly suited, suggesting the landscape’s capacity for roads was likely greater than might be expected based on colonial narratives of Bacon’s Rebellion. As will be discussed below, such narratives describe Bacon’s forces becoming mired and struggling to find and follow paths in the swamp. While some areas were no doubt impassable, these data serve as a reminder that they were not necessarily representative of the broader landscape.

Further, Bacon’s men may not have recognized the different paths and their destinations, perhaps taking detours in hopes of encountering Native camps or avoiding waterways.

Road Suitability Rating	Acres in Dragon Watershed	Percentage of Dragon Watershed	Acres in the Extended Study Area	Percentage of Extended Study Area
Well Suited	37,158.58	41.4%	303,297.25	31.3%
Moderately Suited	35,072.11	39.1%	206,024.31	21.2%
Poorly Suited	17,211.12	19.2%	301,085.30	31.0%
Not Rated	350.60	0.4%	160,033.52	16.5%
Total	89,792.41	100.0%	970,440.38	100.0%

Table 6. Road suitability in the Dragon Swamp watershed and extended study area (including Essex, Gloucester, King and Queen, King William, Mathews, and Middlesex Counties).

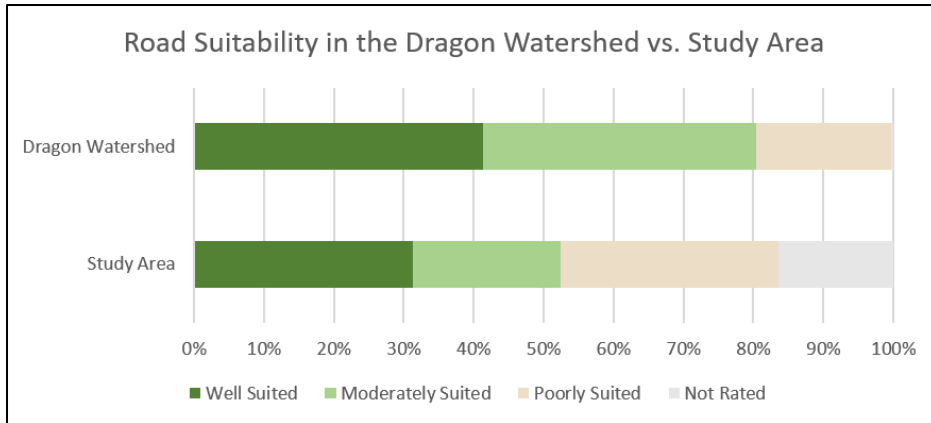


Figure 16. Percentages of land suitable for natural surface roads in the Dragon Swamp watershed and extended study area (including Essex, Gloucester, King and Queen, King William, Mathews, and Middlesex Counties).

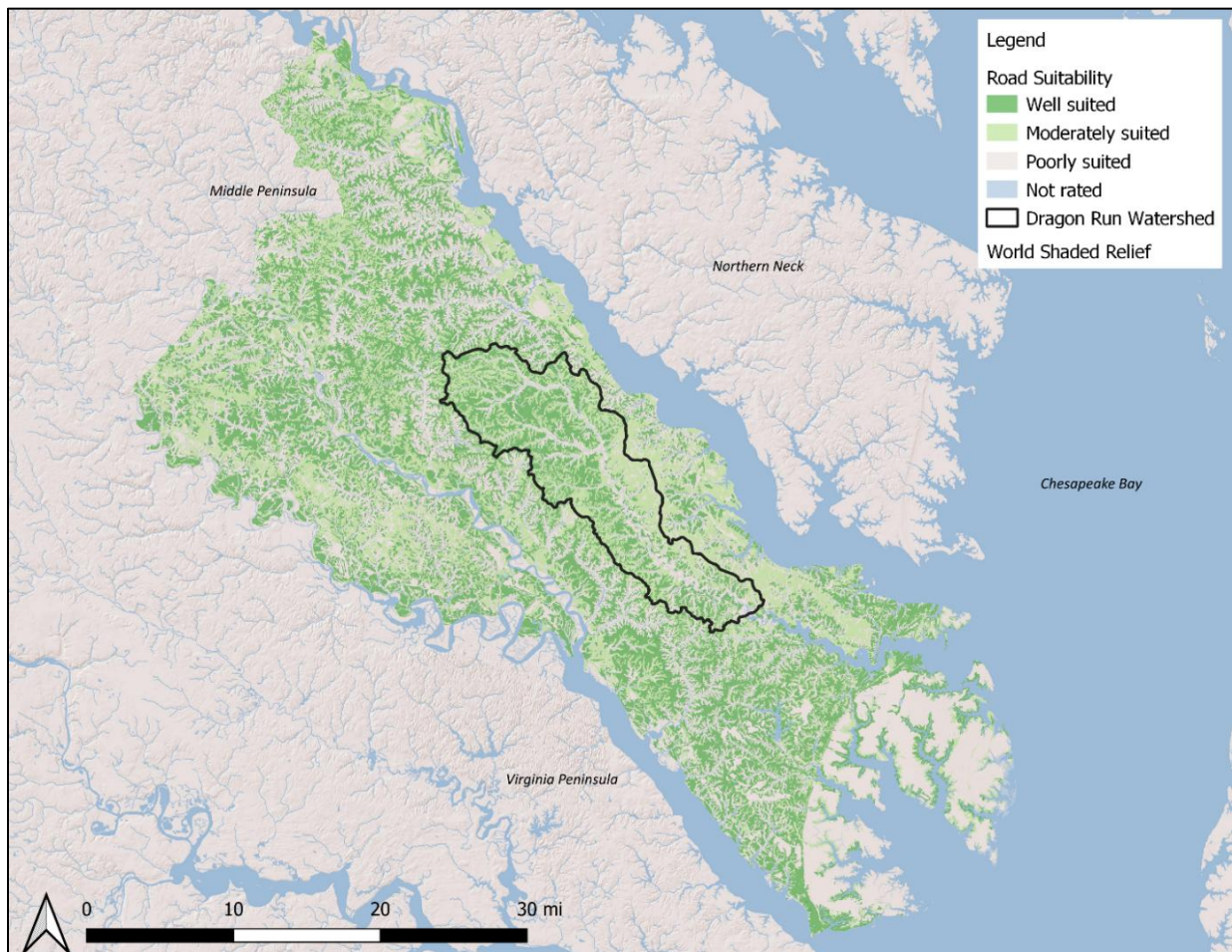


Figure 17. Map of road suitability within the Dragon Swamp watershed and extended study area (including Essex, Gloucester, King and Queen, King William, Mathews, and Middlesex Counties). The scale at which the map has been produced masks variability but, at a gross level, the map suggests better road suitability on the main stem of the Dragon’s south side.

Climate

Climate change is one of the primary modern threats to Dragon Swamp and any historical or archaeological materials that remain therein. While the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration’s (NOAA) National Weather Service (NWS) does not gather climate data specifically for the Dragon, climate data is available online for Wakefield, Virginia,⁶ which is the nearest NOAA station. Instead of analyzing one year of data, data from 1983 until 2024 is considered to capture the highs and lows over the last 41 years in the region (Table 7).

Month	Temperature					Rainfall				
	Max	Max Year	Min	Min Year	Mean	Max	Max Year	Min	Min Year	Mean
Jan	82	2002	-14	2018	38.7	7.59	1998	1.4	1989	3.8
Feb	82	2023	-4	1996	41.8	6.58	2021	0.66	1991	2.91
Mar	89	1990	12	2009	48.9	12.05	1991	0.3	2006	4.43
Apr	96	2002	22	2004	58.1	8.16	2008	0.22	1985	3.66
May	97	2011	30	1990	66.7	10.6	2018	0.65	1991	4.13
Jun	102	2012	43	2014	74.7	10.03	2019	0.95	1990	4.51
Jul	105	2010	49	2002	79.2	10.21	2018	0.75	1989	5.49
Aug	104	2007	46	1986	77.3	12.96	2011	0.67	1993	5.33
Sep	105	1983	36	1983	71.1	22.03	1999	0.37	2005	5.49
Oct	99	2019	27	2001	60.3	11.35	2006	0.05	2000	3.47
Nov	84	2022	16	2014	50.4	8.82	2009	0.38	2012	3.04
Dec	81	1998	2	1983	42	6.81	2009	1.26	2021	3.7

Table 7. Temperature and rainfall data for Wakefield, Virginia, 1983-2024.

The annual temperature for Wakefield during the measured period ranged from 38.7 degrees (January) to 79.2 degrees (July) (all measurements are in Fahrenheit unless otherwise noted) (see Table 7). The average temperature for August was 77.3 degrees and for September 71.1 degrees. July, August, and September were on average the rainiest months, with more than five inches of rain each month. In August 2011, rainfall reached nearly 13 inches for the month as a result of Hurricane Irene. In September 1999, an unprecedented 22 inches fell, a result of Hurricane Floyd.

While extrapolating from contemporary weather data to the past is hardly ideal and not the intent here, this information can provide a sense of how widely temperature and precipitation can vary in this region.

⁶ Wakefield is a town located on the south side of the James River in Sussex County, Virginia.

Extreme and unpredictable weather would not have been uncommon during the colonial era. Bacon's Rebellion occurred during the Little Ice Age, which began about 1300 and lasted until the middle of the 18th century. In this period, which was characterized by irregular, rapid climatic shifts rather than a deep freeze, the average worldwide temperature may have cooled by as much as 0.1 degrees Celsius (White 2017; Wolfe 2020).

Extreme weather included hurricanes, violent, rotating storms with sustained winds of 74 mph. The Pamunkeys' lure of Bacon into the Dragon occurred early in what is today considered by meteorologists as hurricane season. Hurricanes were not unknown in Virginia: a hurricane that struck in 1667 "continued with such violence, that it overturned many Houses, burying in the Ruines much Goods and many people, beating to the ground such as were any ways employed in the Fields, blowing many Cattle that were near the Sea or Rivers..." The damage was almost unfathomable. No such hurricane, or hurricane of any kind, however, appears to have struck Virginia during the months of August and September 1676 (Ludlum 1963:15-16).

Although the 17th century proved one of the coldest centuries in the last thousand years, accounts of the rebellion indicate that the summer of 1676 was hotter and perhaps more variable than usual. Thomas Mathews describes how severe droughts withered corn and tobacco in the fields. Not 50 miles away in the Dragon, Bacon's forces and the Indigenous communities endured drenching rains (Andrews 1915:38; Rice 2012:85).

Indigenous and Settler Perceptions of the Swamp

Early modern English views of such transitional terrains were varied and often ambiguous or conflicting. One strain of thought stressed their mysterious, murky, disorienting, and dangerous nature, rife with danger and disease – as indeed they could be, for, by 1676, malaria was endemic to both English wetlands and in Virginia. At the same time, many colonists were personally familiar with English fens, bogs, and other wetlands, having come from aqueous landscapes in places such as East Anglia, eastern Kent, and the Severn River Valley.

Some people, particularly the wealthy and politically powerful, viewed such places as opportunities for drainage and cultivation. For others, particularly non-elites, wetlands were a part of everyday life that provided medicinal plants and food from native flora, fish, and fauna. The English had a rich vocabulary for wetlands, with a proliferation of terms such as "bogs," "fens," "marshes," and "quagmires." John Smith formally introduced the term "swamp" to the English lexicon in 1624, noting that along the James River "some small Marshes and Swamps there are, but more profitable than hurtfull." The English also used "swamp" as a verb related to Indigenous communities, describing how they "in swamped them selves in a great Spruse swamp" or "Apprehend them before they swamp themselves" (Barbour 1986[2]:323; Lepore 1998:86; Oxford English Dictionary 2025).

Swamps carried different, albeit overlapping, meanings for Native people. Literary historian Lisa Brooks (Missisquoi Abenaki) notes that swamps were places

of nourishment and a world of ambivalence. [They] sheltered many animals in the thickets which in turn became settings where skilled hunters could find game. [Swamps] hosted medicine plants that could heal, or cause illness. Springs bubbled up from pockets in the earth, offering cool water even on the hottest days ... the swamp was the most familiar place on earth, a place that had taught them to survive. When they gathered here, they stood under the greatest arbor in the land, the pungent aroma of cedar surrounding them, evergreen branches rising high, enveloping them like their mother's arms (Brooks 2018:142).

Brooks argues that, during King Philip's War, the Wampanoag's familiarity with the swamps of Pocasset (Massachusetts) meant that they had a ready source of food. The swamps, she observed, also served as a kind of Native fortification during that conflict (Brooks 2018:159).

Brooks' observations, and observations the team's Indigenous members regularly shared about Native perceptions of swamps and swampland, form an important thread in the event, outlined in more detail in the following chapters. Swampland was also an important component of the Mashantucket Pequot homeland in Connecticut, and played a central role in the Battle of Nipsachuck also taking place in 1676 (McBride et al. 2013).

The Source of Dragon Swamp's Name

One of the more enduring questions about Dragon Swamp is how it received its name. Swamp, of course, is not in question: swamps are low-lying areas with slow-moving waters that emerge from a high groundwater table, underground springs, or receding tidal waters (Vickers 2022:2). The density of trees distinguishes them from other types of wetlands such as marshes, where grasses and reeds prevail, and bogs, where thick layers of peat are common along with moss and low shrubs. Comprised of "land and water, solid and liquid, vibrant vegetation and dense muck," the Dragon is reasonably called a swamp (Vickers 2022:2).

Identifying where the name, Dragon, comes from is another matter. While Smith was the first European to map Dragon Swamp in 1608 and some authors even credit him with the name, the earliest reference to the swamp recovered in patent research for this project dates to 1660 (see James Cole's patent for 661 acres on 3/15/1660 in Appendix II). Even then, the name was used irregularly and often interchangeably with Piankatank.

Mapmaker Augustine Herrman became the first to label the Dragon in print with the publication of his map in 1673. Fieldwork for the map's creation began in 1660 and was completed in 1670; historian Christian Koot notes, however, that the map "reflects at least three decades of

accumulated understanding of the Chesapeake” (Koot 2010:630).⁷ Perhaps the name reflects the waterway’s sinuous, serpentine, and potentially dangerous path through an area that to Herrman was “not passable nor inhabitable.”

Across the U.S., at least 18 streams or swamps contain “dragon” in their name according to the U.S. Geological Survey, ranging from Dragon Wash in Riverside County, California, to Dragon Meadow Brook in Oxford County, Maine. The nearest counterpart to Virginia’s Dragon Swamp is in Maryland, also called Dragon Swamp, located in the Blackwater National Wildlife Refuge on the Eastern Shore. Both swamps are characterized by blackwater—acidic rivers or streams with a slow-moving channel flowing through forested swamps or wetlands—and perhaps this attribute played a role in their name.

Further, in European myths, dragons frequently live in marshes near areas where farm animals graze or deep inside caves (American Museum of Natural History [AMNH] 2008). Dragons were also believed, especially by Christians, to be powerful and formidable relatives of snakes. In 1640, Ulisse Aldrovandi, a professor of natural science at the University of Bologna, described how winged dragons soared through Africa and “beat enormous animals such as bulls to death with their tails” (AMNH 2008). In popular culture today, dragons and especially black dragons are still often associated with swamp-like environs where their dark scales add to their camouflage.

Another possible source of inspiration for the name may have been vegetation in the swamp. The Oxford English Dictionary notes that, by 1578, an English botanist referenced water dragons—either of two aquatic plants with a spikelike inflorescence or flowerhead—including lizard’s tail (*Saurus cernuus*) in the Saururaceae family (Figure 18) or wild calla or bog arum (*Calla palustris*) in the Araceae family.

Lizard’s tail—distinguished by its slender, nodding, solitary, spiky flowerhead of tiny, white flowers and lance-shaped leaves—is one of several typical herbs found in Bald Cypress-Tupelo Swamps. In Virginia, these seasonally- to semi-permanently flooded swamp forests are distributed from the southeast, north to and including Dragon Swamp (DRSC 2003a).

In contrast, wild calla—a small, aquatic, rhizomatous perennial with heart-shaped leaves, showy white flowers, and red-orange fruits during the summer—is native to the northern U.S., Alaska, Canada, northern Europe, and northern Asia. While the wild calla specifically probably did not inspire the name “Dragon Swamp” given its range, other plants in the same Araceae family

⁷ Koot (2010:628) notes that Herrman “already might have produced a prototype of his map of the Chesapeake by 1661, only a year after first proposing the project. This limited time frame means that Herrman would not have been able to survey the entire Chesapeake and thus his map must have been based on earlier drawings and measurements he had accumulated as a trader.” Koot goes on to say that “Herrman certainly added new data to his findings,” finally completing the project in 1670.



Figure 18. Lizard's tail growing in Dragon Swamp (Friends of Dragon Run Facebook Post, accessed January 1, 2025).

like arrow arum, also known as tuckahoe, are prevalent in the swamp. If arrow arum and/or lizard's tail dominated navigable areas explored by Europeans, perhaps they prompted the swamp's name.

In addition to the possibility that lizard's tail or wild calla are the source for the Dragon's name, the Friends of Dragon Run wonder if the scaly rhizome of the spatterdock, or yellow pond lily, might have played a role. These particularly prominent rhizomes are easily observed in the Dragon's surface water while kayaking and they resemble dragon scales (Figure 19).

Rappahannock tribal historian Edward Ragan has pointed out that, on at least two early modern maps, the phrase, "here are dragons" (colloquially, "here be dragons"), was used to denote unexplored areas or uncharted territory. Other maps used different symbols or labels to identify the unknown; dragon-like sea monsters, for example, adorn the waters represented on Smith's Map of Virginia (see Figure 7).

Finally, the term, "swamp dragon," is a colloquial term sometimes used to refer to the bald cypress "knees" that emerge from the water surrounding cypress trees.



Figure 19. Spatterdock plant found in Dragon Swamp. A. Andrea Mitman (FODR) holding up a Spatterdock rhizome using her kayak paddle. B. Close-up photo of the rhizome's bumpy texture, which resembles dragon scales. C. A Spatterdock in bloom (Megan Postemski).

Not Passable nor Inhabitable

In labeling Dragon Swamp and describing a segment as “not passable nor inhabitable,” Augustine Herrman literally and figuratively “swampified” this interior region of the Middle Peninsula. Swampification involves the “social and methodological process whereby governments, corporations, and the press socially (re)invented swampland environments as spaces of death, disease, and ‘uninhabitability’ to justify their destruction” (Vickers 2022:1–2). Originally introduced by Morgan Vickers (2022:2) in their analysis of the Santee-Cooper Hydroelectric and Navigation Project and its impact on Black families in 20th-century South Carolina, the concept is relevant to understanding Dragon Swamp in the 17th century. In this case, Bacon sought to destroy the swamp, albeit indirectly, by dispossessing and destroying the Indigenous communities who lived and found refuge therein to make way for English colonizers, who in turn would bound, enclose, and alter the nature of the swamp.

While Vickers (2022:3) argues in the case study that negative perceptions of swamps are linked to myths of Blackness as pestilence and Black landscapes as “deficient geographies,” perhaps a parallel point may be made about Dragon Swamp as part of the Indigenous cultural landscape. By mapping only habitation sites (i.e., cabins) to the north and south and portraying this environment as impenetrable and hostile to life, an “untamed interior,” Herrman overlooked any other Indigenous use of the swamp and (intentionally or unintentionally) cast this part of the Indigenous homeland as empty and potentially free for the taking (Vickers 2022:4). More generally, even when Indigenous settlements existed in swamps, Europeans often refused to see them as proper homes, which helped justify their destruction and perhaps explains their omission from some maps (Lepore 1998:89).

With this so-called “impassible and uninhabitable” area in the middle of Dragon Swamp, Herrman’s map highlights how swamps can elude “full knowability/mappability,” in part because they are ever-changing and unpredictable (Vickers 2022:3). As such, these wetland environments have served as places where marginalized groups such as Black maroon communities and Indigenous communities could establish or maintain independent societies, finding safety, sustenance, and new possibilities (Vickers 2022:3). The proximity of Dragon Swamp to Indigenous settlements along the Pamunkey, Mattaponi, Piankatank, and Rappahannock Rivers meant this landscape would have been well-traversed as an ideal center for hunting, fishing, foraging, rituals, and other activities. It also offered abundant fresh water springs, which would have been essential to survival. As will become clear in the next chapter, swamps like the Dragon would have also been ideal defensive locations during times of war due to their impenetrability to the English (Cronon 1983:28; Lepore 1998:88; Brooks 2018:142). They served as refuges, especially for women, children, and elders, as well as warehouses for corn and other foods during the winter months (Lepore 1998:88). As Increase Mather observed, “every Swamp is a Castle to them” (Lepore 1998:88).

Chapter IV

Historical Context

BACON'S REBELLION, an insurrection led by the recently arrived Nathaniel Bacon, Jr. against Virginia's Governor Sir William Berkeley in 1676 over the colony's Indigenous policies, has been the focus of modern scholarly interest since the early 20th century. An event that at the time shocked the Crown and revealed the fragility of royal authority in an occupied country, Bacon's Rebellion has been interpreted as a foreshadowing of the American Revolution (Wertenbaker 1940), a catalyst for the rise of race-based slavery in Virginia (Washburn 1957; Morgan 1975), and a transformative turning point in Anglo-Native relations (Rice 2012). The Pamunkey, Rappahannock, Nanzatico, and Mattaponi nations suffered grievously during Bacon's Rebellion, although, as Bacon drew close to their settlements, they were also able to outwit Bacon's forces, minimizing their losses and derailing Bacon's goal of eradicating the Natives.

Most studies of Bacon's Rebellion note that the tributary Indigenous communities withdrew ("fled," "ran," "escaped") into Dragon Swamp with little additional information about the Indigenous experience of that event. Bacon, some of these studies suggest, experienced success through this action, forcing Native people from their towns, taking prisoners, and raiding campsites for material possessions. These studies, however, neglect to identify who brought Bacon and his rebels into the Dragon. As this report makes evident, the Indigenous decision to shift the battleground from Pamunkey Neck to the Dragon gave the Native groups a decisive advantage over Bacon's army.

Drawing on multiple sources along with some oral histories, this chapter provides a historical overview of Bacon's Rebellion. Rather than attempting to relay every detail about the rebellion, this overview attempts to document the events that occurred in the Dragon and situate them within the broader context of the rebellion. To that end, the chapter has several sections, addressing briefly the roots and early months of the rebellion, what transpired in Dragon Swamp, and the aftermath and end of the rebellion. It concludes with a section that discusses the combatants involved in Dragon Swamp and their respective weapons and strategies.

Roots of Rebellion

Although Bacon's Rebellion is formally dated to 1676, the conflicts that led to it started at least a century earlier. Historian Matthew Kruer (2017; 2022) points out that "Bacon's Rebellion" centers colonists in what was in reality an Indigenous war (or interlocking set of wars) with its own long-term history.

Since ca. 1575, the Susquehannocks, whose homeland was in what is today Pennsylvania, were periodically at war with their neighbors to the north, the Five Nations Iroquois or

Haudenosaunee, and their neighbors to the south, the Piscataways (Rice 2014:731; Kruer 2022). By 1673, the Iroquois had “utterly defeated” the Susquehannocks according to Jesuit missionaries, and colonial authorities in Maryland invited the Susquehannocks to live there. The Susquehannocks accepted, establishing a settlement at the mouth of Piscataway Creek on a reservation recently created for the Piscataways and their tributary nations (Rice 2014:733). Neither the Piscataways nor frontier planters appreciated the intrusion and set about harassing their new neighbors.

Meanwhile, a trading dispute between an English household and another Native group in Virginia, the Doegs (or Dogues), spilled over into Maryland in July 1675, entangling the Susquehannocks and Marylanders. When Thomas Mathew, who lived on the south side of the Potomac River in Virginia, failed to satisfy a debt with the Doegs, the Doegs killed Mathew’s herdsman, Robert Hen, in retaliation. Mathew’s neighbors, Colonel George Mason and Captain George Brent, rallied at least 30 colonists to pursue the perpetrators 20 miles north and across the Potomac into Maryland (Andrews 1915:17). The next day, the Maryland and Virginia militias surrounded several cabins and killed 14 “foreign Indians,” probably Susquehannocks who they mistook for Doegs (Rice 2014:734).

The two militias’ grievous error ignited a general war with the Susquehannocks, with 1,000 Virginia and Maryland colonists and nearby Native nations, including the Piscataways, laying siege to the Susquehannocks’ fort near Piscataway Creek (Figure 20) (Rice 2014:734). Reaching a standoff, late in September, the Susquehannock leaders were invited to leave their fort for a parley with the leaders of the two colonial militias. What happened next shocked even the Maryland government, as the Susquehannock leaders were executed during what was a conference to discuss terms for a truce. The surviving and now enraged Susquehannocks returned to their fort, where they remained under siege for weeks. On a moonlit night in early November, the Susquehannocks escaped their besieged fort and soon began seeking revenge along the English frontier, starting near the tidal reaches of the Rappahannock River. Fear permeated English and Native households throughout the Tidewater to the fall line (Rice 2012; Kruer 2017).

The Virginia Assembly attempted to strengthen the colony’s defenses by building garrisons “upon the Fronteres thinking there by to put a stop unto the Indian excursions” (Cotton 1867 [1677]:10). They selected nine strategic locations near the heads of the colony’s rivers, including two within Pamunkey Neck and one along the Rappahannock River. On the Pamunkey River, one garrison was located near the mouth of Mehixen (Mahixon) Creek and the land of the Pamunkeys’ interpreter, Cornelius Dabney. The second was on the lower side of the Mattaponi River, about six miles from the head of Dragon Swamp and Exol Swamp, between the Chickahominy town landing and “Yerberyes house,” the dwelling of the Chickahominys’ interpreter, Richard Yarborough. Men and horses were pressed into service and substantial quantities of powder, shot, medical supplies, tools, and provisions were allocated to each fort at public expense. These small, fortified buildings, “made up of mudd and dirt,” were costly and unpopular (Andrews 1967:108; Hening 1809-1823:II:326, 448-453; Washburn 1972:32-33).

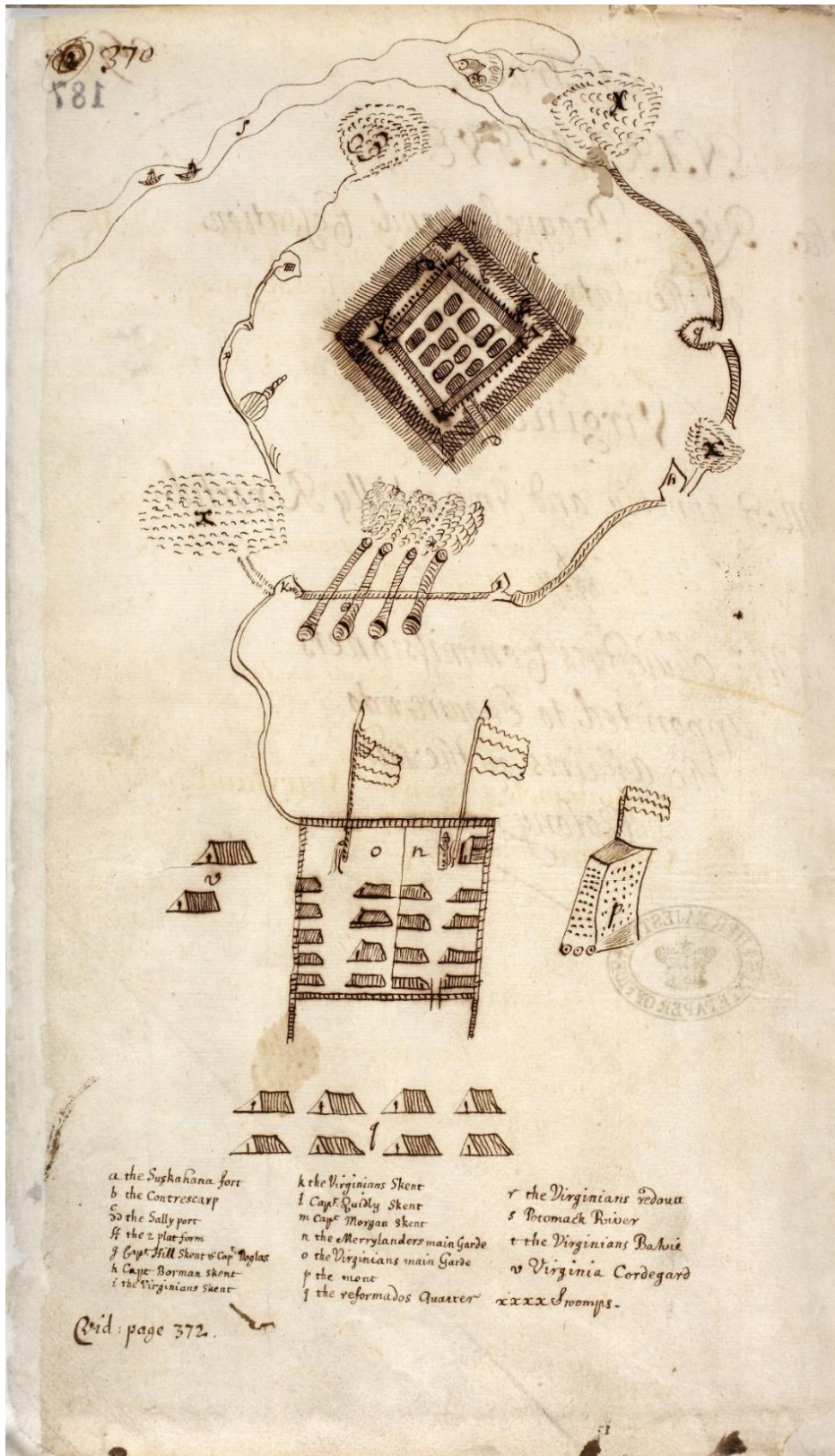


Figure 20. Sketch of the Susquehannock Fort under siege on the Potomac River, 1675 (The [British] National Archives CO5/1371).

Moreover, it soon became apparent that these garrisons were useless against highly mobile bands of Natives whose strategy was one of ambush and surprise. Where possible, Natives avoided them, aware that “these Mouse trapps were sett, and for what purpose” (Cotton 1867 [1677]:10). The English were also aware that the Natives were skilled navigators of their homeland, observing that “if the English did, at any time, know that there was more way in to the wood then one, to kill Deare, the Indians found more then a thousand out of the wood, to kill Men, and not com neare the danger of the forts neather” (Cotton 1867 [1677]:10).

While the English typically portrayed themselves as innocent hunters and Native peoples as barbarous murderers, Nathaniel Bacon and his followers would go on to prove the reverse to be true as they killed, captured, and enslaved Natives across Virginia during 1676.

Raids and Rebellion

Nathaniel Bacon, whose plantation was at Curles Neck on the James River frontier below the falls, took advantage of the Susquehannocks’ retaliatory raids on plantations, including his own, using the fear these raids generated to conduct unauthorized marches on Native people and, in the process, overthrow the government at Jamestown. Bacon styled himself as a “Gardian Angle, to protect [the English] from the cruelties of the Indians” (Cotton 1867 [1677]:11).

In search of similar minds, in April 1676, Bacon “crossed to New Kent,” which encompassed modern King and Queen County, and found in St. Stephen’s Parish a “section ripe for rebellion” (Cox 1957:4). St. Stephen’s Parish was at Piscataway Creek, close to the Rappahannocks’ fort. Here, Bacon aligned with Colonel Thomas Goodrich, Thomas Hall, and Anthony Arnold, all of whom became leaders in the rebellion. Goodrich, Hall, and Arnold pursued Rappahannocks with Berkeley’s permission. Apparently, Goodrich had convinced the governor that “the Indians as well of Yorke river Rappahannock Port Tobacco Nantzattico have lately donne great mischief to the inhabitants of this Colony” (Ragan 2006:230-241).

By late April 1676, well before Bacon and his followers descended into Pamunkey territory, the Pamunkeys had withdrawn from their towns on Pamunkey Neck and were in the Dragon. The same is almost certainly true for the “Rappahannock Port Tobacco Nantzattico” being pursued by Goodrich, Hall, and Arnold. Goodrich continued to be focused on destroying the Native communities in the Rappahannock River valley throughout the summer and fall of 1676.

For the Pamunkeys, Cockacoeske (Figure 21) orchestrated these maneuvers, and she would eventually lead perhaps as many as 1,700 people into the Dragon (Figure 22). For the time being, at least according to one county history, the Pamunkeys, Mattaponis, and Chickahominys, and probably other groups, “assembled from their scattered villages and took refuge in the Mattaponi



Figure 21. “Cockacoeske, Queen of Pamunkey (1656-1686),” by Ethan Brown (Pamunkey) (King William County Historical Society).

town” (Cox 1957:4).⁸ Even if this county history is sometimes vague, inconsistent, or imprecise with geographic references, it reaffirms an important premise: that the Indigenous nations had an efficient and effective communication network and that, well before August 1676, when Bacon arrived in Pamunkey Neck, they were joining forces to face Bacon and the threat he posed. They recognized their strength in numbers and in the knowledge they had of the local landscape.

Since Bacon and Goodrich deemed Mattaponi town “too strong to be taken” (Cox 1957:4), they set their sights on the Susquehannocks on the Virginia-North Carolina border and marched south on May 2 (Rice 2014:739). En route, “before [Bacon] Gott out of ye English plantacons he seized two Indians, a man & a Boy, who then did & always had lived in peace & friendship amongst the English” (Ludwell 1893 [1676]:180). Nevertheless, he bound them to trees and with “much Horror & cruelty put to Death” the pair, who were likely of the

Powhatan Appamattuck nation (Ludwell 1893 [1676]:180; Negrin 2023b:535).

As Governor Berkeley struggled to bring Bacon under control, he visited the fort erected at the head of the Pamunkey River on May 3. Upon learning that the Pamunkeys had vacated their town, he “dispatched several p’tys out, in discovery of the Indians.” Colonel William Claiborne (possibly senior but more likely junior) and several others found the Natives “encompassed with trees, which they had fallen in the branch of an impassable swamp, p’t of the Dragon” (Massachusetts Historical Society 1871:168). Stanard (1907:99) describes this as a fort, located somewhere between the present Essex and King and Queen counties.

A local history goes further, claiming that Bestland (a 10,000-acre patent of Colonel William Claiborne, Sr.) was where Cockacoeske and her followers sought refuge (Cox 1957:12). If they had indeed located on or near Claiborne’s property, it makes sense that he or his son found them with apparently little trouble. Although the Natives had moved to this stronghold given their

⁸ Cox (1957) is the only source to place the Pamunkeys at Mattaponi Town.

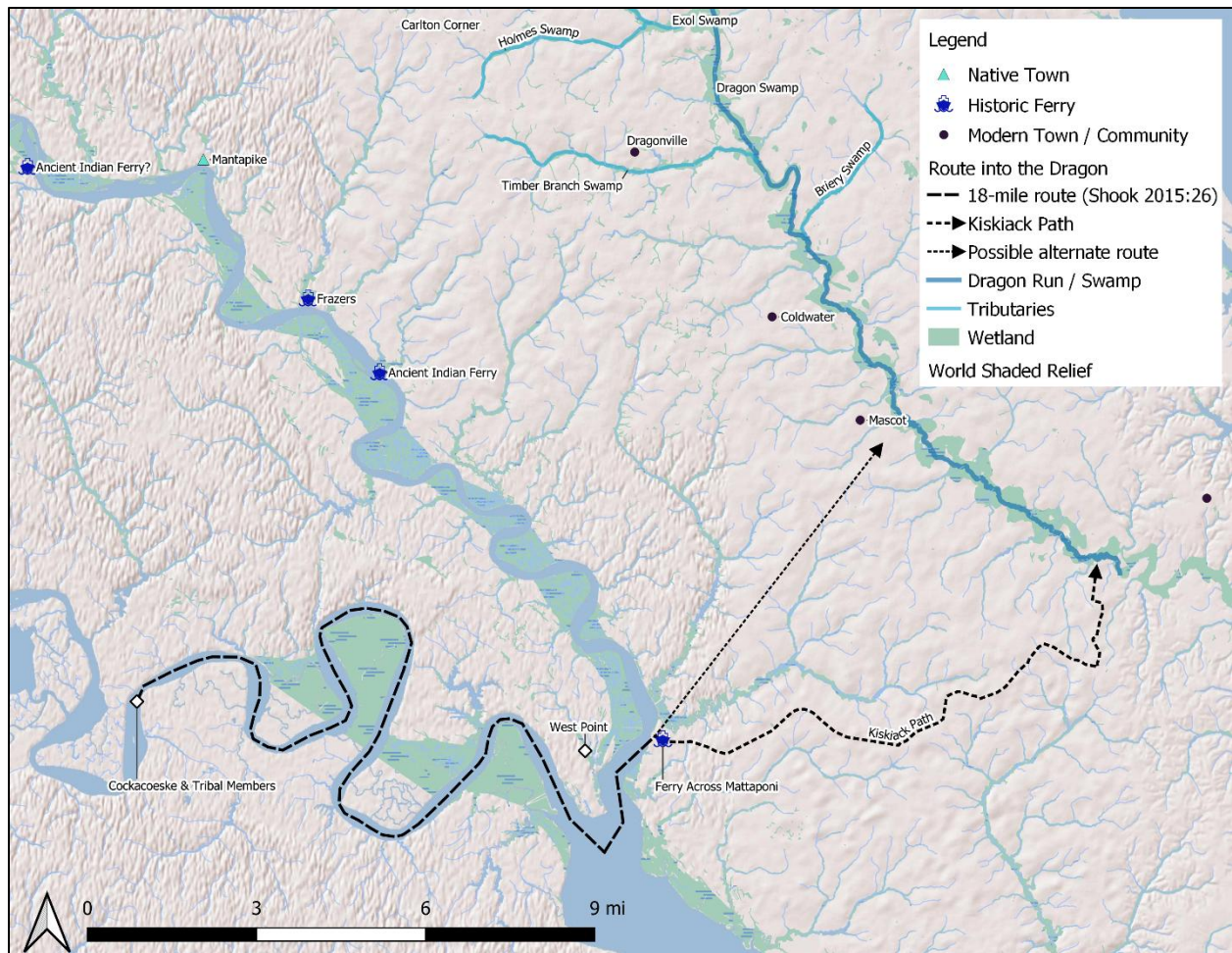


Figure 22. Map of the route Cockacoeske and her followers may have taken into Dragon Swamp in spring 1676. After crossing the Mattaponi River, the route is unknown, but Kiskiack Path would have provided overland travel into the Dragon. The possible alternate route assumes overland travel and is conjectural; other routes into the Dragon via land or waterways are possible and worth considering.

(justified) fear of Bacon, Berkeley instructed Claiborne to demand Cockacoeske and her tribal members return to her town in Pamunkey Neck. Cockacoeske sent word to the governor that she would “most willingly return” but since the governor and his council “could not p’tect yrselfes from Mr Bacons violence” let alone her countrymen, she would decline (Stanard 1907:100; Cox 1957:4).

Although Berkeley’s communications (through William Claiborne) appear to have been solely with Cockacoeske, the Native leader he knew best, the weroances or leaders of other nations were present in the Dragon and almost certainly communicating with one another and with Cockacoeske. Their names do not survive in the archive but given the likely number of Native people in the Dragon (estimated at 1,700, see below) and the eventual outcome, a system of communication was in place and working well.

While Cockacoeske, the Pamunkeys, and the many other nations sequestered themselves in the Dragon in the spring of 1676, Bacon's forces arrived in southern Virginia, destroying the Susquehannocks who had settled around Occaneechi Town and then laying waste to the Occaneechis who had assisted Bacon in his rout of the Susquehannocks. In total, the Baconites killed some 150 Susquehannocks and somewhere between 40 to over 100 Occaneechis (Rice 2014:739; Ludwell 1893 [1676]:181). The Baconites had relatively few losses in the encounter with the Occaneechis; ten men were killed, followed by another six or seven who succumbed to their wounds (Ludwell 1893 [1676]:181).

Emboldened by their victory, Bacon and his men marched on to Jamestown. They confronted the colony's governing officials on June 6 and forced the assembly, at gunpoint, to enact a group of laws. One law allowed the patenting of Native land as soon as the Natives abandoned it, incentivizing settlers to drive the Natives off (Hening 1809-1823:II:326-329, 351; Washburn 1972:32- 33).

The Indigenous position grew increasingly precarious when eight colonists were killed in upper St. Stephen's Parish between June 20 and 25 (Cox 1957:4). On June 26, Bacon began rallying his militia and established headquarters, likely at Fort Mattaponi or Mantapike (Cox 1957:4). It may have been about this time that Bacon entered the Pamunkey town and stole "a very rich deer match coat . . . painted with puccoon and embroidered with peak and some fine pearls" that belonged to Cockacoeske (cited in Negrin 2023b:535).

At least some English settlers in Gloucester County sent word to Governor Berkeley asking for protection from Bacon's men, who were seizing their horses, arms, and ammunition. Although the 70-year-old governor went to Gloucester and tried to recruit men to help him oppose Bacon, he met with little success. Bacon then "moved against" Berkeley, pursuing him down "the old Indian trail" (Cox 1957:4). Bacon went to Tindall's Point and then to Colonel Augustine Warner's house, where he and William Byrd raided the plantation and helped themselves to Warner's possessions. Bacon then summoned the men of Gloucester County, asking them to sign a pledge he had prepared. When some Gloucester planters refused to sign the pledge, Bacon and his men began looting and plundering the property of planters they perceived as supporting Berkeley (Neville 1976:83-84, 313, 323, 362-363).

Berkeley denounced Bacon and demanded that he submit, but Bacon escaped and returned to Jamestown in July with an army of 500 rebels, forcing Berkeley to flee across the Chesapeake Bay to the Eastern Shore (Rice 2014:730). Jamestown changed hands multiple times during the summer of 1676, and ultimately burned at the hands of the rebels on September 19.

Into the Dragon

Before the final attack on Jamestown, Bacon brought the fight to Virginia's neighboring Indigenous nations. In August 1676, after two more colonists were allegedly killed by their Indigenous neighbors, Bacon and his troops, joined by Giles Brent⁹ and his troops from the Northern Neck, assembled at the "Freshes of Yorke" to begin their military campaign (Rice 2012:84; Andrews 1915:123; Cox 1957:5). Altogether, about 1,000-1,200 colonists mustered to support Bacon, whose "thirst for *blood* and *confiscation* induced him to disregard the authority of the King" (Hening 1809–1823:II:545; Sprinkle 1992:6).

While one county history (i.e., Cox 1957:5) implies that Bacon's forces primarily attacked and seized Mattaponi town, "reducing" the fort and killing and taking captives, the *Narrative of the Commissioners* (written from an English perspective immediately after the rebellion) suggests that the Natives sought refuge in the Dragon, led by Cockacoeske. Although Pamunkeys are most often referenced in the *Narrative of the Commissioners*, records also mention Rappahannocks, Mattaponis, Chickahominys, and Nanzaticos establishing their camp or camps in the area. Other groups not named in the records, such as the Kiskiacks, may have also followed suit given that they were living in the vicinity of Piankatank River.

To move into the Dragon, a Pamunkey oral history indicates that Cockacoeske and her followers traveled 18 miles down the Pamunkey River to West Point and crossed the Mattaponi River (see Figure 22) (Shook 2015:26). Where they landed on the Mattaponi River's north shore is unclear, but perhaps they used an "Ancient Indian Ferry" mentioned in historical records (Cox 1957:11; see John West's patent for 3,300 acres on 3/6/1653 in Appendix II). This ferry would have been near property occupied by Colonel John West, who had had a child with Cockacoeske around 1656 and would have been perceived as an ally. It is possible that the Indigenous leaders convened at Mattaponi Indian town before they filtered into the dense, winding, blackwater wetlands of the Dragon and established their camps.

Meanwhile, Bacon's troops, primarily dragoons who fought on horseback and on foot, had moved to the "highest Plantations upon Yorke River," where they were bogged down by a relentless rain that lasted a couple days (Andrews 1915:123; Stanard 1907:100). Although this "dismal interruption could not chill Bacon's ardor," he was anxious to get moving, fretting his forces would run out of provisions. When he explained their situation, only three of his soldiers, whose "regard for food was stronger than their courage and resolution to put down the savages," withdrew (Stanard 1907:100).

Once the rains abated, Bacon's forces mobilized and somehow made it to the Middle Peninsula (the crossing may have been at Mantapike). They then eventually found and followed a

⁹ Brent was of mixed Piscataway-English heritage.

“Path of the Indians” into the swamp. Stanard (1907:101) describes how this path led to a “wider one,” which, given its implied size, Bacon’s forces surmised would lead to the main Native camp. Marching “at randome” along paths in the oppressive August heat through unfamiliar terrain, Bacon sent ten Native scouts ahead (Andrews 1915:124; Stanard 1907:101).

These Native scouts would have presumably been familiar with the landscape—certainly more so than Bacon and his troops—and versed in the strategies that Cockacoeske and her followers may have employed. Ned Gunstocker, a Nanzatico man who owned land on the north bank of the Rappahannock River, was planning to serve as one of these scouts in late October, months after Bacon’s first foray into the Dragon. Gunstocker, a Christianized Native, prepared a will on October 20, 1676, indicating that he was going to join the English in a fight with “my Countrymen.” Bacon’s directive was in August, so there is a probability that Gunstocker had not yet joined the rebels. Although Bacon died within the week of Gunstocker signing his will, the Nanzatico man may have joined Thomas Goodrich who was preparing “a fall campaign against unspecified native communities on the Rappahannock River” (Ragan 2006:240-241).

As Bacon’s scouts moved ahead, they happened upon a “Point, on each Side whereof and before it was a swamp; upon which Point the Pamunkey Indians had severall cabins”¹⁰ (Andrews 1915:124-125). A “contrary Party of Indians,” no doubt scouts aiding Cockacoeske, let Bacon’s scouts approach “soe nigh as to fire at them, which gave alarme to the English” (Andrews 1915:124-125). Who fired is a bit vague, but Stanard (1907:102) interprets these as the first and only shots fired by the Pamunkeys in the Dragon. As the English, who were a half mile away, rode toward the sounds on horseback “in great disorder,” the Pamunkeys quickly retreated deeper into the swamp, “which prov’d so mirey” that Bacon gave up pursuit—though not before killing one woman and capturing a child (Andrews 1915:125).

Unbeknownst to Bacon, Cockacoeske was nearby. She quickly abandoned her camp, leaving behind “all her goods and Indian corne vessels.” Stanard (1907:102) suggests that she left them intentionally as a peace offering, but this interpretation is romanticized; it seems more probable Cockacoeske chose to leave the goods behind because gathering and transporting them would take time better spent distancing herself from Bacon’s men. The weroansqua was confident Bacon’s men would attack again, but also confident in Native evasive strategy. To avoid any appearance of provocation and help preserve her English relationships (despite Bacon’s attacks), Cockacoeske ordered her followers that they “should neither fire a gun nor draw an arrow” upon the rebels (Andrews 1915:125; Negrin 2023a:76). Her orders, and the context in which they were given, imply that the Pamunkey scouts had probably fired first upon the English in an ambush as they approached their camp on the point.

¹⁰ These cabins were no doubt shelters of traditional style, loaf-shaped structures covered with mats. Colonists often used the term, cabins, to refer to Native dwellings.

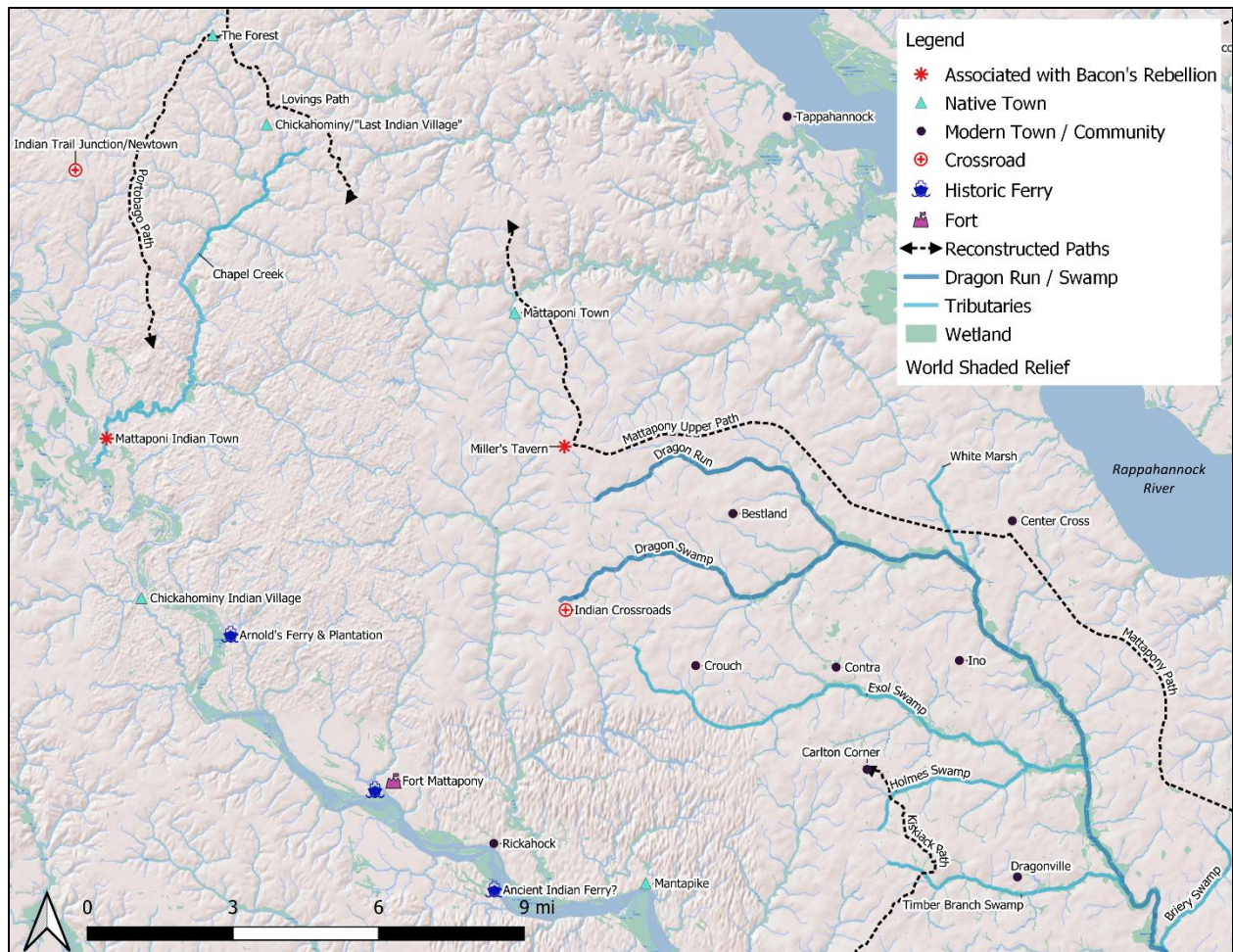


Figure 23. Cockacoeske’s nurse led Bacon’s forces astray between the head of the Dragon and Chapel Hill Creek (now known as Chapel Creek). Paths in the vicinity of Chapel Creek were mapped by Scott Strickland.

Despite missing the “Queen of the Pamunkey,” as Cockacoeske was known to the English, Bacon’s men apprehended her nurse in the melee. They ordered her to lead them to the weroansqua and to the Pamunkey camp, but the nurse instead led them in the opposite direction, revealing a knowledge of the landscape that Bacon’s soldiers lacked (Figure 23). After a day and a half, Bacon’s men caught on to the ruse. Bacon ordered his men to “knock her in the head,” leaving her body across the path (Andrews 1915:125). Since she was killed somewhere between the head of the Dragon and Chapel Hill Creek (now known simply as Chapel Creek), Cockacoeske and the other Natives were likely ensconced farther east and south (Cox 1957:5).

Bacon’s forces then forged on until they found a path leading to “a main Swamp, where several nations of Indians lay encamped” (Andrews 1915:124). Most escaped, but the rebels captured a young Nanzatico woman and killed four to six other men and women (Andrews 1915:125). Even so, the rain, the swamps surrounding Dragon Run, the failure to capture

Cockacoeske, the time lost thanks to the wits of Cockacoeske's nurse, and a lack of local geographical knowledge meant that Bacon's efforts were failing by most measures.

By early September, Bacon's forces had grown "tired, Murmuring, impatient, half starved, [and] dissatisfied," so he dismissed Giles Brent and his Northern Neck contingent (Andrews 1915:126). They blamed "Pawawings," or "sorceries of the Indians" for their plight: while they'd had not "one dry day in all [their] marches to and fro in the Forest," corn and tobacco withered in drought conditions in fields not 50 miles away (Andrews 1915:38; Rice 2012:85).

With the remaining 400 troops, Bacon continued "hunting and beating the swamps up and down" through rain and mud, telling his followers he would "rather my carcass should lye rotting in the woodes... than misse of doing that service the country expects from me" (Andrews 1915:126; Rice 2012:85). Down to quarter rations, he warned his remaining followers that they "must resolve to undergoe all the hardships this wilde can afforde... and if need bee to eate chinkapins [dwarf chestnuts] and horseflesh" to survive (Andrews 1915:126). By this point, some of his troops were no longer as committed to the cause as their leader and, the next morning, split off about an hour and a half after sunrise (8:30 am) (Andrews 1915:127).

Not three hours later, Bacon's remaining troops found the Pamunkeys in the Dragon, "incamped beyond a small branch of a swamp or Run of water, having a swamp on the right hand, and a small swamp or run on the left of them, between which was a fine piece of champion land, but full of thicket, small oke, saplings, chinkapin¹¹ Bushes and Grape vines" (Andrews 1915:127). According to the Oxford English Dictionary, from the 16th century onward, champion land¹² referred to level and open land free from hills, woods, and enclosures, which would have been ideal for agriculture. "Champion" was also used as a noun to refer to a plain or level field, as well as a "field of battle, or a battle-field." The term is an important clue about the terrain on that hot, dry September day in 1676, providing a glimpse into the battlespace and its terrain. Bacon's forces that morning likely numbered at least 136, as that many "tyr'd men" mustered immediately after the raid (Andrews 1915:129; Sprinkle 1992:7; Rice 2012:85).

In this last raid, Bacon's forces captured 45 Native people and plundered three horse loads of goods including mats, baskets, matchcoats, wampum, skins, furs, linen, broad cloth, and other English materials according to the *Narrative of the Commissioners* (Andrews 1915:127). As Cockacoeske and others hurriedly retreated deeper into the swamp, they may have been startled by trumpets blasting, signaling for the captives to be brought before Bacon (Andrews 1915:127; Rice 2012:86). With the trumpets sounding where not to go, the Natives dispersed quickly, distancing themselves from each other and from Bacon.

¹¹ Dwarf chestnuts.

¹² Also referred to as "champion" or "champaign" land.



Figure 24. “Cockacoeske with Young Boy, Tuckahoe and Turtle in Dragon Swamp,” by Ethan Brown (Pamunkey) (Negrin 2023a:79).

After stumbling across the body of a murdered Pamunkey woman, Cockacoeske later told the commissioners that she was terrified and withdrew deeper into the “wild woodes” of the “upper Dragon” with a 10-year-old boy (Andrews 1915:127-128; Cox 1957:5). The pair remained in the swamp for 14 days. “Ready to dye for want of Foode,” she survived by “gnawing sometimes on the legg of a terrapin” the boy found in the woods (Figure 24) (Andrews 1915:127-128).

Cockacoeske’s report to the commissioners likely belies what really transpired as Cockacoeske and the Pamunkeys continued to evade Bacon and his men. Everything that had occurred to date, including Cockacoeske’s leading upwards of 1,700 people into the Dragon and eluding the rebels for days if not weeks, suggests that Cockacoeske, her countrymen, and no doubt the unnamed leaders of the other nations had an excellent command of the landscape’s resources. For example, although the boy Cockacoeske was with did not have the physical power of an adult male, “through his environmental knowledge he was nevertheless able to contribute to Cockacoeske’s fight as much as any warrior could, if not more” (Negrin 2023b:539). Terrapins and snapping turtles were an important food source for Native communities across the region, and he had likely learned from his father or an uncle how to

catch them, as well as how to fish, trap animals, and paddle a dugout canoe (Negrin 2023b:539). Besides terrapin, Pamunkey oral history indicates Cockacoeske and the boy may have eaten raw fish, nuts, and berries since building a fire would have given away their location and, by this time, they probably lacked cooking vessels and other equipment (Shook 2015:27).

No matter what hardships they endured over the course of those two weeks, “noe necessity could incline [Cockacoeske] to adhere to Bacon’s overtures” (Andrews 1915:128). He was relentless in his pursuit, calling out for her to surrender.¹³ While Bacon sought to enslave Indigenous people and to take their land and goods, he wanted to capture Cockacoeske above all, for she “represented the most significant Indigenous resistance to English colonialism in Virginia” (Negrin 2023b:538). But Bacon never achieved this goal, and Cockacoeske and the boy emerged from hiding once Bacon’s troops were gone, the latter having shifted their focus back to Governor Berkeley and Jamestown (Andrews 1915:127; Schmidt 2012:289).

¹³ Bacon’s calls suggest he realized he and his army were in the sights of the Native people, possibly including Cockacoeske.

Aftermath

Although Bacon left in his larger path a wake of Native death and enslavement (especially along and south of the James), in fact, Traditional Ecological Knowledge and knowledge of warfare coupled with the extraordinary leadership of Cockacoeske and the leaders of the other nations proved Bacon's undoing in the Dragon. As noted, the Pamunkeys and nearby nations used Dragon Swamp to evade, confuse, and delay Bacon and his army, dramatically minimizing the casualties and losses they endured. The result was a tactical and operational victory for the Natives.¹⁴ Despite their best efforts, Bacon's rebel forces ultimately failed in their mission to eradicate and enslave Virginia's Native allies.

Still, there were Native losses in the Dragon: from late August into early September, Bacon's forces killed at least nine people, depending on how the accounts are read. They also captured 45 or 47 individuals, most of whom were probably destined for enslavement, either in Virginia or possibly the Caribbean. These losses are documented in the *Narrative of the Commissioners*, which says nothing of Bacon's losses in Dragon Swamp, if any.¹⁵

Baconite deaths in Dragon Swamp may have been limited, but in a twist of irony, their extended time in the Dragon may have contributed to Bacon's own demise. Having been "besieged by sickness" for some time, Bacon died on October 26, 1676, in Gloucester County, probably at the residence of Colonel Thomas Pate, whose property, Gloucester Hall, on the east side of the Poropotank River's head, had been commandeered by Bacon (Andrews 1915:139; Cox 1957:5; Sprinkle 1992:7). He succumbed to "Bloody Flux"—likely waterborne dysentery—which early modern English people commonly attributed to swamp-like environs (Andrews 1915:139; Cotton 1867 [1677]:30; Negrin 2023a:78). He also was afflicted by "Lousey Disease"—body lice—likely owing to the unsanitary, close, and communal living conditions as the rebels traipsed through the swamp (Andrews 1915:139; Rice 2012:92). Given the "swarmes of Vermyn that bred in his Body," his fellow rebels may have burned his corpse before burying it in an unmarked (and as yet unlocated) grave in Gloucester County (Andrews 1915:139).

Only upon Bacon's death and probably much later did Cockacoeske and her followers return to their main towns. No doubt the weroansqua felt immense relief upon learning that Bacon was no more. Some English also relished in his demise and wrote verses, which were "calculated to the Lattitude of their affections who composed them" (Cotton 1867 [1677]:31). Most famously,

¹⁴ In many ways, the victory was short-lived. In his book, *Tales from a Revolution: Bacon's Rebellion and the Transformation of Early America* (2012), James Rice argues that Bacon's goal of Native removal had, by the turn of the 18th century, become Virginia policy.

¹⁵ By Ann Cotton's (1808 [1676]:11) estimation, in the aftermath of the rebellion, Governor Berkeley may have executed enough rebels "to outnumber those slain in the whole war on both sides," excluding the raids on the Susquehannocks and Occaneechis. Records indicate Berkeley hanged some 23 people for their role in the rebellion. Cotton (1808 [1676]:11) indicates that "the hangman [was] more dreadful to the Baconians than their general [Bacon] was to the Indians, as it is counted more honorable and less terrible to die like a soldier than to be hanged like a dog."

Governor Berkeley gloated, “Bacon is Dead / I am sorry at my hart / that Lice and flux / should take the hangmans part” (Taylor 2023).

Bacon may have been dead, but his ambitions lived on. As John Cotton (1867 [1677]:33) noted, “The Lion had no sooner made his exit, but the Ape (by indubitable right) steps upon the stage.” The so-called ape who took command was Joseph Ingram. November 1676 proved among the most violent month of the rebellion, with the Baconites maintaining control of nearly all of Virginia. William Drummond, another loyal Baconite and rebel leader, refused to surrender even after the loyalists gained the upper hand in December.

Meanwhile, an ocean away, the Crown was mobilizing to put down the rebellion. The day after Bacon died, King Charles II had signed a proclamation to quash the rebellion. By November, the Royal Navy had arrived in Virginia: Thomas Grantham, captain of the *Concord*, sailed up the York River with a contingent of 150 men; these men immediately began to disarm the rebels. The Crown also dispatched a thousand more soldiers led by Colonel Herbert Jeffreys and a fleet of ships led by Sir John Berry to Virginia. Along with Francis Moryson, Virginia’s lobbyist in England, Jeffreys and Berry also served on the royal commission to investigate how the colony had spiraled out of control. The document they compiled is the *Narrative of the Commissioners* often cited in this report (Andrews 1915).

Berry and Moryson sailed into the mouth of the James River on January 29, 1677. Jeffreys arrived two weeks later, on February 11, with his complement of soldiers and orders to supplant Berkeley as governor. By then the rebellion had been suppressed. Tensions quickly developed between Berkeley and the royal commissioners, who simultaneously condemned the last eight rebels Berkeley hanged and criticized his harsh treatment of the rebels.

By the time the royal commissioners departed for London in April 1677, their relationship with Berkeley had deteriorated even further. On their departure from Virginia, the commissioners ended up walking from Green Spring to their landing on the James River rather than traveling by coach, because Berkeley had arranged for their driver to be none other than the “common hangman” himself (Rice 2020). Meanwhile, Lady Berkeley watched the whole petty ordeal from her window. About a month later, Berkeley, too, departed the colony, returning to England to plead his case. Sick and weakened by the six-week voyage, he unfortunately never got the chance to clear his name with the king, as he died on July 9, 1677 (Rice 2020).

Treaty of Middle Plantation

After Berkeley sailed for England, Charles II had his representatives execute a formal peace agreement with the tributary nations, known as the Treaty of Middle Plantation. Cockacoeske, her son, Captain John West (whose father was Colonel John West), and several other Native leaders, notably, the King of the Nottoway, the King of the Nansemond, and the Queen of

the Weyanoke, came to Middle Plantation (near present-day Williamsburg), where they endorsed the treaty on May 29, 1677. Cockacoeske, who had signed on behalf of her own people and “some small scattered nations,” was singled out for special recognition on account of her steadfast loyalty to the English. The leaders of the Mattaponis, Chickahominys, and Rappahannocks, and probably the Kiskiacks and Totachuses did not sign either version of the 1677 treaty, presumably because they were among the “scattered nations” united under Cockacoeske who endorsed it on their behalf (McCartney 2006:249-251). The Chickahominies and the Rappahannocks, however, later resisted Cockacoeske’s control.

In October 1677, the assembly established new regulations for trading with “all Indians whatsoever being in amity and friendship with us.” Instead of forts, the assembly designated places that were to function as “marts or ffares” lasting 40 days and no longer. The trade fairs would convene twice a year, in the spring and fall at different dates per region. The trade fair closest to the lower Middle Peninsula was designated for New Kent County and held April 10 and September 10. Trade between settlers and Natives was not to occur outside these constraints. The Kiskiacks, who were living between the Rappahannock and Piankatank Rivers, were called out in the legislation, “to have such liberty and rules for their trading with the English as shalbe sett apart, appointed and allowed them by order and appointment” of the county court (Hening 1809-1823:I:410-412).

One important provision of the 1677 treaty was that “Noe English shall seate or plant nearer than three Miles of any Indian towne and whomever hath made an encroachment upon their Land shall be removed” (McCartney 2006:256-259). In reality, however, the Treaty of Middle Plantation provided the Natives with very little protection from land-hungry settlers. For the next 30 years, the Pamunkeys, Mattaponis, and other nations struggled to hold on to their allotments in Pamunkey Neck. The Kiskiacks no doubt struggled, too, as they are no longer mentioned in the records. These struggles are outlined in more detail in Strickland, King, and McCartney (2019), and reveal the challenges Indigenous communities faced to preserve parts of their homeland even after the Treaty of Middle Plantation had been executed.

Increasing land dispossession was now accompanied by an increase in the trade of enslaved Natives brought to Tidewater from the southeastern interior. Although soon dwarfed by the also-growing trade in enslaved Africans, Native enslavement rapidly expanded after Bacon’s Rebellion, with English traders working in concert with interior Native nations to acquire captives for the Atlantic trade. Some enslaved Natives ended up on Virginia farms and plantations, and many more were shipped to the Caribbean. Indeed, some of the 45 to 47 Pamunkeys captured by Bacon may have been trafficked out of the colony (Gallay 2010; Shefveld 2016).

Combatants, Weapons, and Strategy

While the *Narrative of the Commissioners* helps tell the story of Bacon's Rebellion as it unfolded in Dragon Swamp, the narrative focuses heavily on Bacon's forces, describing their erratic movements through the swamp, their dwindling numbers, provisions, and morale, and their disorganized but violent attacks. And, while the report purportedly represents Cockacoeske's story as she related it to the commissioners, for historians, the report raises almost as many questions as it claims to answer. For example, exactly how many Native people sought refuge in the swamp, how many warriors were involved, how did they evade Bacon for so long, and why did they not fire upon the rebels whenever they had the chance?

Further, given Cockacoeske's success at even a superficial level, what does the report miss or hide about her political and planning skills and of the skills of her countrymen and other Native leaders? What does it miss about the diplomatic and military skills of the English? These questions and others about combatants, strategy, and weapons are addressed in this section for each side, beginning with the Native perspective.

Indigenous Combatants and Community Composition

Determining the number of Native people who were living in Virginia and involved in Bacon's Rebellion is a challenging exercise. Throughout the 1600s, English attempts to quantify Native populations centered on the number of warriors or bowmen rather than on the total number of individuals.

John Smith was the first to count only warriors associated with the towns he mapped in 1608. Estimating population at this early period was fraught with difficulty. For starters, if Native warriors made themselves invisible to Smith, as they were perfectly capable of doing, Smith would have undercounted. He also was limited in the places and people he could see, not only because of time-of-year constraints, but because of the sheer amount of territory he was attempting to inventory in 1608. In areas where rivers were narrow, for example, Smith tended to see more settlements than in areas where rivers were wide. If he stayed close to one side of a river, he might miss activity on the opposite side.

While warrior counts made by Smith and others were likely inaccurate, they may still be useful as indicators of *relative* population density. Using Smith's data, as well as warrior counts by colonist William Strachey, Turner (1976:97) attempted to derive population estimates for the Virginia Tidewater Algonquians. Turner used a conversion figure of 4.25 individuals per warrior.

To estimate how many Native people may have been involved in Bacon's Rebellion and the events of Dragon Swamp in particular, a census made in October 1669, some 60 years after

Group	Warriors/ Bowmen	Total Est. Population
Mattaponi	20	85
Chickahominy	60	255
Pamunkey	50	213
Rappahannock	30	128
Totachus	40	170
Kiskiack	15	64
Portobago, Nanzatico, & Nansemond	110	468
Wicocomocos	70	298
Machodocs	2	9
Total (estimated)	400	1690

Table 8. Number of warriors/bowmen relative to estimated group population (Hening 1809-1823 [III]:274-275).

warriors. If other groups—such as the Kiskiacks, who were still living on the Piankatank River in 1677 and the Wiccomocos and Machodocs, who were then living in the Northern Neck—joined them (as it seems reasonable to infer), then they may have numbered nearly 1700, with an estimated 400 warriors. It seems entirely reasonable that all of these nations joined each other as they strategically withdrew into the Dragon and then dispersed.

Indigenous Strategy & Tactics

Histories of Bacon’s Rebellion in the Dragon typically overlook the success of Indigenous strategy, portraying the Native communities as primarily reactive, escaping, fleeing, and cowering each time Bacon’s forces attacked. To interpret these moves as evidence of a passive retreat rather than as proactive choices misunderstands Native military strategy. Historian Patrick Malone notes that breaking down camp and moving quickly to evade the enemy was part of Native strategy and easily accomplished by people who were attuned to seasonal practices of movement. Communities were also used to stockpile necessary resources such as food and water to make it through long sieges¹⁷ (Malone 2000:14-16).

Cockacoeske may have knowingly contributed to these perceptions. She had had enough experience with English authorities and other colonists to craft her reports in forms that would benefit her people. Emphasizing the negative actions of Bacon and the damage inflicted while minimizing her own savvy to the commissioners was likely a part of that strategy. Indeed,

¹⁶ The census included the Portobagos, Nanzaticos, and Nansemonds as one entry and, given the geographical proximity of these groups, it is reasonable to assume all moved into the Dragon; not included are groups living along the James River or in its watershed at the time.

¹⁷ The Susquehannocks survived the 1675 siege of their fort on the Potomac River for six weeks, escaping in the dead of night as the nearby militias kept camp.

Smith’s voyage, is relevant. This census identified eleven Native groups living in the Middle Peninsula and the Northern Neck,. Table 8 lists the enumerated bowmen (the only ones included in the census). Using Turner’s conversion figure of 4.25 individuals per bowmen, the total estimated population for each nation is also shown in Table 8.

If only the groups mentioned in narratives about Dragon Swamp and with census records are counted—the Pamunkeys, Mattaponis, Chickahominys, Rappahannocks, and Nanzaticos¹⁶—then potentially some 1200 Natives may have sought refuge into Dragon Swamp, including about 270

Cockacoeske was “a savvy politician and a master of public performance... [she] was familiar enough with English culture to know exactly how to play on her audience’s understandings,” including of Native people, swampland, and women (Kruer 2015:200).

From the start, Cockacoeske and her followers had an advantage because they effectively chose the battlefield. By moving into the Dragon as early as late April, Cockacoeske and her followers were able to prepare the Dragon for entire towns, including men, women, and children, while Bacon was focused on Occaneechi Town. According to Rappahannock Assistant Chief Mark Fortune, the Natives would have likely tucked away supplies such as fishing materials or hunting tools for future use. The women would have prepared, transported, and likely stored mats and other supplies for building shelter. Such a practice was not unusual, as women often moved ahead of male hunting parties to set up housing (Spellman 1613). Foodstuffs may have been part of those supplies, stored and managed by people delegated to the task.

Thus, Cockacoeske brought the conflict to a landscape unfamiliar and uncomfortable to the rebels; the Natives’ move essentially lured Bacon and his army away from the towns in Pamunkey Neck, the Middle Peninsula, and the Northern Neck into the Dragon. Instead of a “homefield” advantage, Cockacoeske created a “homeland” advantage: the Pamunkeys and other Natives knew intimately not only the network of paths traversing the area, but also how the Dragon’s many branches braided together to form the main swamp; which branches were navigable by canoe or crossable on foot; which hills afforded the best views of low-lying areas; how to gauge water depth based on vegetation; and where to hunt, fish, farm, forage, and find the nearest towns, villages, and seasonal camps. They knew which English plantations or quarters were associated with the rebels and which were associated with loyalists. They would have known what areas would hinder Bacon’s forces and their horses and what areas were dense, filled with briars, mud, and other unpleasantness depending on the season and rainfall.

Indeed, the rainfall in the Dragon that month was relentless. Bacon’s men blamed the “sorceries of the Indians” for the ongoing rain, especially since, beyond the Dragon and elsewhere in Virginia, crops lay parched in their fields. In short, Indigenous communities knew how to survive in the shifting landscape of the Dragon, and their depth of knowledge about this swamp far surpassed that of their opponents.

In addition to generational knowledge of the Dragon that most if not all community members possessed, the Indigenous warriors had had experience with English tactics and understood what strategies to deploy in this particular battlefield terrain, especially given that Cockacoeske had given orders not to shoot or return fire against the English. Given how long Bacon and his troops stumbled through the swamp, moving at random and through marginal, swampy areas often past their ankles, the Native communities must have been highly skilled at traversing the waters, wetlands, and uplands of the swamp and adapting to the varying water levels and conditions within the Dragon. They used a well-known military tactic, trading space for time,

and, in so doing, their communities ultimately endured and outlasted Bacon, his army, and, ultimately, his rebellion.

This strategy—trading space for time—is now known as the Fabian strategy but has been used around the world for millennia, helping explain victories ranging from Rome’s success in the Second Punic Wars (218–201 BC) to the American colonies’ success in the War of Independence (1775–1783) (Carr and Walsh 2022:78). On the ground, this strategy typically involves six elements: “incremental victories to increase and retain troop levels; exhaustion of the enemy; sanctuaries to protect forces; close military-political cooperation; light, mobile forces; and a final devastating blow” (Carr and Walsh 2022:78).

Of these elements, one was particularly critical for what happened in the Dragon: the exhaustion and attrition of the opponent to change the balance of forces (Carr and Walsh 2022:82). In the case of Dragon Swamp, the *Narrative of the Commissioners* confirms the Natives indeed exhausted Bacon’s forces, causing their morale to fray the longer they stayed in the swamp. “Tyred, Murmuring, impatient, half starved, dissatisfied,” Giles Brent’s Northern Neck contingent was dismissed (Andrews 1915:126). Bacon was then left with only 400 men, which illustrates how exhaustion directly led to attrition, or the “progressive erosion of the adversary’s military capability” (Carr and Walsh 2022:83).

The other elements also played important roles: the Natives had indeed developed well-secured sanctuaries in the Dragon and, when discovered, hurriedly relocated to other spaces for sanctuary. Further, there is no question that Indigenous warriors formed “light, mobile forces,” but this skill extended to all the men, women, and children, adding considerable difficulty to Bacon’s efforts.

As the Indigenous communities navigated the swamp, their forces would have had to coordinate and closely monitor their surroundings for signs of Bacon’s forces. The *Narrative of the Commissioners* underscores the role of Indigenous scouts, noting how they alerted Cockacoeske and others to flee on numerous occasions. As the Rappahannock informants, both skilled hunters, noted, the Native people communicated with each other through sound, developing whistles and calls. These sounds would have been difficult for Baconites both to understand and to distinguish from the swamp’s natural cacophony, including the sounds of chirping birds, buzzing insects, wind rustling through leaves, and water babbling downstream. This would also include the noises Bacon’s own men made as they trudged through the swamp on foot and on horseback. This communication was possible because of yet another element: the close military-political cooperation of the Indigenous nations. Although political differences among the Native nations preceded and survived the rebellion, in time of alarm, the commitment and cooperation appears to have been exceptional.

Whether well-trodden or newly forged, paths, trails, and waterways were important components of the Dragon Swamp battlespace. In particular, they would have been easily surveilled and weaponized by Native forces, used to funnel and mislead their opponents. Given how unpredictable Native movements were to Bacon and his men, even errant tree notches—which were often used to mark routes—would probably have led the Baconites astray in the swamp, which to them was an unfamiliar green maze (Stanard 1907:33; Taylor 2023:162). As the Pamunkey informants noted, the maze of waterways would have also made following the Natives challenging, as groups would break up and disperse in different directions. The pine needles underfoot on such paths through the swamp even worked against the Baconites, the Rappahannock informants noted, obscuring Native tracks and dampening sound.

Perhaps the best documented example of paths (and Native knowledge of the landscape) being weaponized in Dragon Swamp occurred when Cockacoeske's nurse, "an old Indian woman," was captured and spent the last hours of her life misdirecting Bacon's forces. They hoped "Shee would be their Guide to find out those Indians that fled," but she instead "led them quite contrary" for the remainder of the day and most of the next (Andrews 1915:125). During this time, Bacon's forces could have covered as many as 60 miles, supposing they traveled a total of 15 hours (including a maximum of 5 hours the first day and 10 hours the next) and walked at a brisk pace (4 mph) in ideal conditions. In all likelihood, given factors like the nurse's age and the terrain, they probably traveled slower than the average person walking (2.5–4 mph) and covered somewhere between 20 to 30 miles (at 1.3–2 mph), and perhaps less if they walked less than 15 hours. Once Bacon's forces caught on to the fact the nurse was leading them further and further away from their targets, they killed the nurse between the head of the Dragon and Chapel Creek. While her actions confused, tired, and frustrated the enemy, they provided the rest of her community in the swamp to the east and south with valuable time to regroup after Bacon's attack (Cox 1957:5).

A similar tactic was used by the Wampanoags during King Philip's War. Having drawn the English into the Pocasset cedar swamp, the Wampanoags made sure the English found Weetamoo's camp but neither Weetamoo nor Metacom (the Wampanoag sachems or leaders) (Brooks 2018). Instead, they found an old man, who directed them to what they thought would be Metacom's camp. The English soon found themselves "deeper into the darkening woods" and, as "chaos descended ... the old man had led them on a wild goose chase" (Brooks 2018:165). This was the same strategy Cockacoeske's nurse had employed when she led Bacon's men on a similar "wild goose chase" for fully 36 hours.

Acts of deception such as that of Cockacoeske's nurse, along with stealth, surprise, and mobility comprised what has been called a "skulking way of war" that Indigenous communities embraced throughout the 17th century (Malone 2000). Records documenting how scouts aiding Cockacoeske spied on Native scouts aiding Bacon, for example, highlight the successful use of such tactics. Their capacity to recede into the swamp as needed allowed them to not only surprise Bacon's forces but also evade them. Dragon Swamp afforded many hideaways if one knew where

to look, areas “full of thicket, small oke, saplings, chinkapin Bushes and Grape vines, which the Indians made their covert” (Andrews 1915:127).

Fallen trees were also used to provide cover and camouflage, as when Colonel William Claiborne found Cockacoeske in May 1676 in a fortified position, “encompassed with trees, which they had fallen in the branch of an impassable swamp, p’t of the Dragon” (Massachusetts Historical Society 1871:168; Stanard 1907:99). These areas, which were well-camouflaged, were also near “champion” land—level, open land ideal for agriculture—and no doubt chosen strategically (Andrews 1915:127). Having access to fertile land, among other resources, would have been critical for the Native community’s survival, as they supported as many as 1,700 individuals in Dragon Swamp from at least late April until early September 1676 and probably into December. While some likely returned to their towns periodically, others may have stayed behind to help tend their temporary summer accommodations. It is even possible although uncertain that the Natives were able to plant small gardens in the spring for later harvest.

Native survival during this period of Bacon’s Rebellion also relied on discipline, which made it possible to communicate, coordinate, and execute their strategies and to adapt to the ever-evolving Dragon Swamp battlespace. Robert Beverley’s *History of Virginia* relates an incident that demonstrates this unwavering discipline:

In the time of Bacon's Rebellion, one of these Werowances, attended by several others of his Nation, was treating with the English in New Kent County, about a Peace; and during the time of his Speech, one of his Attendants presum'd to interrupt him, which he resented as the most unpardonable affront that cou'd be offer'd him; and therefore he instantly took his Tomahawk from his Girdle, and split the Fellow's Head, for his presumption. The poor Fellow dying immediately upon the spot, he commanded some of his Men to carry him out, and went on again with his Speech where he left off, as unconcern'd as if nothing had happen'd (Beverley 1705).

In the swamp, such discipline proved especially advantageous. As Bacon’s forces attacked, Native warriors likely had opportunities to shoot them, but they obeyed Cockacoeske’s orders not to fire. In the one instance where the Pamunkey scouts did fire upon Bacon’s scouts, before Cockaceske’s order, it apparently only helped Bacon’s forces find their encampment faster. Archival records do not mention if any of Bacon’s scouts were killed in the ambush, but this incident likely reaffirmed to Cockacoeske and her followers that their primary advantage over Bacon was not firepower or marksmanship, but rather stealth and other strategies of evasion and resistance in a landscape they knew intimately and, importantly, Bacon did not.

Bacon's Forces

While English historical records offer relatively little insight into the specific individuals comprising the Native forces beyond their leader, Cockacoeske, Bacon's forces are better documented. Bacon, of course, receives the most attention, but an entire dissertation has been devoted to exploring the composition of his troops (i.e., Sprinkle 1992). Known as Baconians or Baconites, the rebel forces were even better documented than the loyalists who supported Governor Berkeley, since the individuals generating the archival record were more invested in documenting rebellion than loyalty (Sprinkle 1992:33). In total, over 200 Baconites have been identified in the archival record compared to only 90 Loyalists (Sprinkle 1992:33). Rather than attempting to relay all of the information known about these rebels, this section provides a brief overview to help understand who comprised Bacon's forces in the Dragon Swamp battlespace.

Bacon's forces came primarily from Virginia and from all levels of society (Sprinkle 1992:25). Most were from the James-York Peninsula, the Southside, and frontier counties (i.e., Stafford, Rappahannock, New Kent, Charles City, and Henrico Counties). Only about 25 percent of Baconites lived in the Northern Neck, the Middle Peninsula, or the Eastern Shore, so their general struggle to navigate places like Dragon Swamp makes sense (Sprinkle 1992:67). Many owned the land upon which they lived, but others were landless and optimistic that taking Indigenous lands would in turn improve their odds of land ownership. Their vocations ranged from indentured servants to Oxford University graduates, such as Richard Lawrence, who became Bacon's "principal consultant" (Sprinkle 1992:25, 29, 50). Perhaps unsurprisingly, many Baconites were dissatisfied and disgruntled individuals with a proclivity for troublemaking, having committed other offenses before rebellion (Sprinkle 1992:29). While most were of English, Scottish, French, Dutch, or Irish descent, some had more diverse backgrounds like Giles Brent, who was the son of Giles Brent, Sr. and Mary Kittamaquund, the daughter of the Piscataway *tayac*, or paramount chief (Jordan 2020; Sprinkle 1992:62).

To organize this motley group of rebels, Bacon relied on about 100 leaders (Sprinkle 1992:51). The number of leaders is inferred from the number of people that Governor Berkeley and Virginia's General Court and Grand Assembly singled out for punishment in winter and early spring of 1677 for their role in the rebellion (Sprinkle 1992:51). The leadership structure was hierarchical, including officers, lieutenants/ensigns, captains, majors, lieutenant colonels, colonels, and generals like Bacon. The remaining forces would have been infantry or mounted infantry, also known as dragoons. Except for one individual, all Baconites with estate appraisals owned at least one horse, which suggests most were dragoons (Sprinkle 1992:87). Following the old English militia system, the troops were organized into companies, including approximately 70 men on foot or 40–60 dragoons (McBride et al. 2016:38). They would have been highly dependent on supply lines, as dragoons, who could carry the most, could only carry enough food and supplies for themselves and their horses for about two weeks (McBride et al. 2016:41).

Aiding the Baconites were at least 10 Native scouts, who would have offered critical insight into Native strategy and the Dragon Swamp landscape (Andrews 1915:124; Stanard 1907:101). Although they served Bacon, one cannot help but wonder whether they used all their skills to his benefit or if they sympathized at all with groups like the Pamunkeys or Rappahannocks. Edward “Ned” Gunstocker, for example, was a Nanzatico man who planned to join Bacon’s forces in October 1676 (he may have joined earlier, but Gunstocker’s will was prepared in October).¹⁸ Captain Thomas Wilford, “an Interpreter betwene the English and the Indians, in whose affaires he was well acquainted,” also rallied to Bacon’s cause, “who made use of him all along in his Indian War” (Cotton 1867 [1677]:35).

Throughout 1676, Bacon’s forces expanded and contracted significantly. In May, when Bacon raided the Susquehannocks and Occaneechis in southern Virginia, only 57 settlers (planters) joined him (Sprinkle 1992:4). By June 23, when he returned from the frontier, Bacon was flanked by 100 to 600 troops (Sprinkle 1992:5). About a month later, the number had more than doubled again, with 1,000 to 1,200 troops assembling to campaign against Cockacoeske and her followers (Sprinkle 1992:6). Despite the initial popularity of this campaign, however, many troops quickly became fatigued and disillusioned. While pursuing the Natives through Dragon Swamp, the rebel forces split twice, dwindling to 400, then 136 men (Andrews 1915:126–129; Rice 2012:85).

At its estimated height, Bacon’s army of 1,200 would have represented somewhere between 17 and 30 companies depending on their size. Bacon’s forces fluctuated due not only to hardship, but divided loyalties. So chaotic was this period in Virginia’s history that “ordinary folk must have felt like sheep being endlessly driven back and forth” between Bacon and Governor Berkeley (Rice 2012:93). Even leaders in the rebellion like Giles Brent changed sides, sometimes by the week, fully aware that “the losers were likely to hang when the game of musical chairs finally stopped” (Rice 2012:93). In Brent’s case, although Bacon dismissed his weary Northern Neck contingent from the Dragon, he reentered the fray a few weeks later. Instead of acting on Bacon’s behalf, however, Brent led hundreds of men south to Jamestown to support Governor Berkeley and repel Bacon’s siege (Rice 2012:93-94; Sprinkle 1992:47).

Bacon’s Strategy

Bacon’s overarching strategy for his “Indian War” in Dragon Swamp was quite straightforward: to search for Native encampments, capture as many individuals as possible with the likely goal of selling them into slavery, and then steal their land. To that end, his attacks each followed a similar pattern. His forces would begin by trying to find and follow paths but otherwise marched at random in smaller groups through the woods, becoming mired in mud as they looked

¹⁸ Although Gunstocker was Nanzatico and continued to live on Nanzatico land that he purchased outright, he may have struggled with his relationship with his fellow Nanzaticos. In 1666, the Virginia assembly directed “all officers belonging to this Collony” to protect Gunstocker from other Native people who resented his cooperation with the Virginia settlers (Sweeny 1936:590).

for any signs of habitation. When they suspected an encampment was nearby, Bacon's scouts typically would approach first to appraise the conditions and report back to the leadership, who hung back as much as a half mile.

Perhaps donning armor or buff coats, which dragoons usually wore instead, they then would spur their horses through the swamp in the stifling heat and humidity of late summer (McBride et al. 2016:40): after all, they did not know that Cockacoeske had directed Native warriors to refrain from attacking Bacon and his men. As the dragoons descended on the encampment, chaos would ensue as the Native men, women, and children sought to evacuate, dispersing deeper into the swamp and in multiple directions to lead Bacon's men astray in terms of the directions they were taking.

Meanwhile, Bacon's forces attempted to capture as many people as possible. Although some individuals were killed, capture was preferred in this case because Bacon and his troops could sell the captives into slavery. Bacon's forces also confiscated whatever belongings they could, ultimately taking three horse loads of goods in their final raid. After these raids, the Baconites notably did not burn the encampments as was so common in other 17th-century conflicts, perhaps because they were more temporary in nature (see McBride et al. 2016). Interestingly, they also did not burn the Pamunkeys' main towns in Pamunkey Neck. Such a decision was unusual given the history of English people burning Native settlements to force them off the land.

From late August into early September, Bacon was relentless in his pursuit of Cockacoeske and her followers. This war of attrition proved taxing for his forces, however, who were not well supplied. Bacon therefore had to enforce strict discipline while attempting to maintain his popularity (Sprinkle 1992:47). As described in the *Narrative of the Commissioners*, he gave a series of passionate speeches which he hoped would buoy his men's spirits and resolve, reminding them why they set out on this campaign in the first place.

Weaponry

Both the English and the Indigenous forces would have had access to a variety of weaponry. The three main types of firearms at the time were matchlock, wheellock, and flintlock. During King Philip's War in New England, the flintlock musket was the most prevalent among combatants, and the same appears true in Virginia at the time of Bacon's Rebellion (McBride et al. 2016:35-36; King in prep). Fowling pieces, or "small arms," were also common. When Captain Thomas Grantham sailed up the York River in November 1676, he plied the rebels occupying Colonel John West's house with brandy and they "surrendered the post, with three cannon, 500 muskets and fowling pieces, and 1000 pounds of bullets" (Wertenbaker 1957:50). He also disarmed Ingram and about 800 men at the Pate house in Gloucester County after extensive

negotiations. They surrendered 300 men, four great guns, and many small arms (Wertenbaker 1957:50).

Although the Indigenous warriors would have been expert marksmen with firearms by the 1670s, the bow and arrow would have remained the ideal weapon of stealth and surprise in Dragon Swamp. According to the archival record, however, neither were used after Cockacoeske ordered that “they neither fire a gun nor draw an arrow” upon the rebels (Andrews 1915:125). While practical on a number of levels—shooting guns would draw unwanted attention to their location and deplete valuable resources—Cockacoeske’s order ultimately helped preserve her authority and relationship with the English. Had the Indigenous forces fired and killed Bacon’s men, English violence would have been justifiable under European laws of war (Negrin 2023a:76). Cockacoeske’s warriors thus avoided conflict, strategically weaponizing paths and the landscape around them to ensure they were above reproach and viewed as “peaceful, civilized, and eternally faithful to the English Crown” (Negrin 2023a:76).

Chapter V

Mapping the Dragon

THE NARRATIVE OF THE COMMISSIONERS highlights Bacon’s dogged pursuit of Native people through an unfamiliar landscape. Although the English had been aware since 1608 that Dragon Swamp harbored at least one palisaded settlement, Bacon’s forces still failed to anticipate just how adept Cockacoeske and the many Native people would be at navigating this environment and, conversely, how poor the English would be at the same. Cockacoeske was, unfortunately for her, familiar with English tactics. She had likely learned the hard way from her knowledge of the first two Anglo-Powhatan wars and her experience as an older child during the third war. During those conflicts, the English typically targeted Native fields and towns before and at harvest time. In the months preceding their strategic withdrawal into the swamp, they also learned firsthand from the fate of the Susquehannocks and Occaneechis what would happen if they had remained in their towns.

Where the Indigenous nations saw their homeland dotted with towns and crisscrossed by waterways and paths, the English and many 17th-century mapmakers increasingly saw a wild, impenetrable, and dangerous swampland (Figure 25). Historians describe panthers, wolves, and bobcats as “thriving” in the swamp, deterring anyone who dared enter (Shook 2015:26).



Figure 25. Dragon Swamp in fall 2023 (Megan Postemski).

Augustine Herrman’s map offers a more detailed rendition of the Piankatank and Dragon Swamp in 1670—only six years before the rebellion—that complicates this portrayal of a green hell and resonates with descriptions in the *Narrative*. Cabins known as *yehakins* shown in Pamunkey Neck indicate the Pamunkey and Mattaponi towns (Figure 26). Not pictured are the centuries-old Indigenous paths created and used by these communities to navigate the Middle Peninsula, including Dragon Swamp, and later by Bacon’s forces as they fumbled through the area. The map also hides through omission the full extent of colonial expansion in Dragon Swamp and the Middle Peninsula more broadly by 1670.

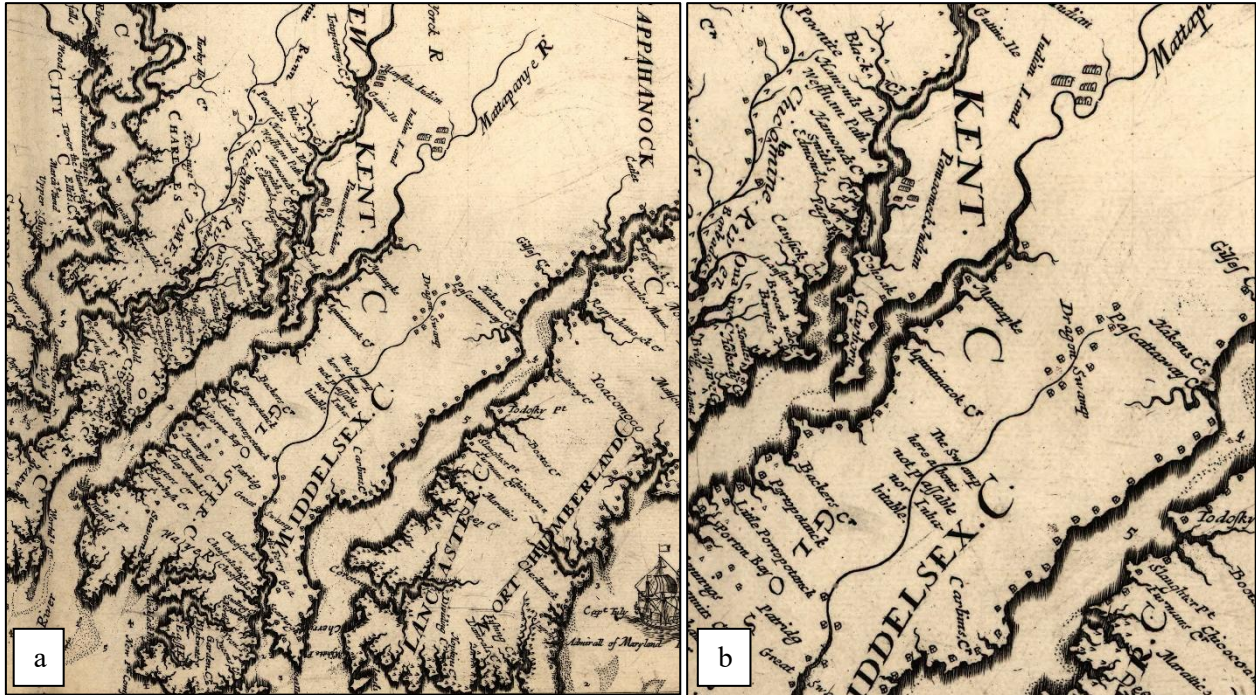


Figure 26. Portions of Augustine Herrman’s map showing the Dragon vicinity in the Middle Peninsula. a: the entire Piankatank River including its head, the Dragon; b: close-up showing “Indian land” and “Pamaomeck [Pamunkey] Indian” in Pamunkey Neck.

To reconstruct the 17th-century landscape, this chapter relies on land patents (see Chapter II). Each patent represents not only a building block of English settlement, but also an incursion into Indigenous homelands. While these documents delineate parcel boundaries in metes and bounds, reading between the lines, they offer insight into the Native cultural landscape, too.

Despite all the histories that mention Bacon’s Rebellion in Dragon Swamp, almost none specify where exactly the Native community established their camp or camps. Patents reveal the name of landscape features, many of which remain in use today—Contrary Branch, White Marsh, Exol Swamp, Briery Swamp, and Timber Branch Swamp are examples—yet these names are not used in the *Narrative of the Commissioners*. With so many branches, swamps, and points to be found in Dragon Swamp, tying the geographic descriptions from sources such as the *Narrative* to

the landscape is challenging. Fortunately, some sources, like Stanard (1907:99), narrow down the location to the border of Essex and King and Queen Counties, which runs through Dragon Swamp. A county history even specifies where the Native communities took refuge in this area: Bestland (Cox 1957:12). These documents were created during the first half of the 20th century and are no doubt based on local lore. Still, this report accords them standing as these sources are the closest to a firsthand account currently available.

Integrating oral histories with environmental and other historical data, this chapter seeks to not only reconstruct the 17th-century landscape with its patents and paths, but theorize where Cockacoeske and her followers may have established themselves in the Dragon given the physical and political terrain. The chapter begins by using patents to better understand English settlement and the network of paths, which played a decisive role in the outcome of Bacon's campaign, and ends by discussing Bestland and a nearby location as possible refuges in Dragon Swamp.

Land Patents

Despite Herrman's portrayal of Dragon Swamp and English views of swamps more generally, colonists eagerly patented the area during the 17th century and in the process dispossessed the Native people living there. While some settlers received sizeable patents along the Piankatank River, Mobjack Bay, and elsewhere, English settlement of the Middle Peninsula only began in earnest after settlers occupying lands farther south complained to the General Assembly about their "barren and overwrought grounds" for livestock ranging. The House of Burgesses agreed, and, on September 1, 1649, the assembly formally opened both the Middle Peninsula and the Northern Neck to settlement.

Colonists swarmed the land, which just three years earlier had been reserved for the Natives by the Treaty of 1646. "Seating" requirements were lax, with the minimal requirement that only one acre had to be cultivated and one house built to substantiate the land claim. At first, patentees were given three years to seat their acreage, but after a short while, that timeframe was lengthened to seven years (Hening 1809-1823:I:353-354). This suggests that, for years, many of these patents went unsettled. Many of the patentees lived in other counties and the archaeological evidence that would indicate tenants or servants settled the properties is limited by a lack of archaeological survey. Those 17th-century sites that have been discovered may include mid-century components that are masked by later occupations (Hening 1809-1823:II:208-209; Nugent 1969-1979:I:239).

One of the earliest patents in the vicinity of Dragon Swamp dates to October 1656 and was for Sir Henry Chicheley, whose 800 acres were "part of the swamp and the north east side of the swamp which maketh the head of the Piankatank River" and below a horse path (10/7/1656). When Chicheley patented this land at the head of the Piankatank, which was the mouth of the Dragon and then in Lancaster County, he represented the county in the House of Burgesses. In 1670, he went on to serve as a member of Governor Berkeley's council and remained a loyalist during the

rebellion. He was a prime target of Bacon's ire and was even held hostage for a time (Fonzo and King 2025:61; Washburn 1957:70).

A year later, William Claiborne patented 5,000 acres on both sides of the Piankatank "main swamp" (12/24/1657). No county is specified in the record, but the land may have been in the Dragon since the Piankatank and Dragon were not always differentiated, and the Piankatank frequently served as a point of reference. More swampland, almost certainly in the Dragon, was patented on May 17, 1658, when Rice Jones acquired 1,040 acres "standing by or nigh the edge of the great swamp or main Pocason" and adjacent to "Mattapony Path," Miles Dixon's land, and "Dedmans Creek" in what was then Rappahannock County. A month later, William Claiborne patented another 1,000 acres, this time in New Kent County on the south side of the "Pianketank great swamp, near the head thereof," likely near the head of the Dragon (6/12/1658).

As land patents continued to be issued, they progressed farther up the Dragon. On July 10, 1658, Anthony Haynes assigned to John Axell his 600-acre patent "in the valley of Peanketank branches," which is now named Exol Swamp after him (Cox 1957:11). That same day, John Pigg patented an adjacent 300-acre parcel west of Axell. Another early settler of the Dragon who had a swamp named for him was Thomas Holmes, who acquired 1,024 acres "on the south side of the Peanketank Swamp on the north east side Cheesecake [Kiskiack] Path" (1/13/1661; Cox 1957:11).

The first patent to mention Dragon Swamp by name (found through this project, at least) dates to March 15, 1661. In exchange for the transport of 14 people, Sir William Berkeley granted unto James Cole 661 acres of land "being upon a branch of the Dragon Swamp," bounded by a dry branch and marked trees. About a week later, Captain William Claiborne patented 4,000 acres in the fork of Dragon Run and Dragon Swamp, near Robin's Branch and Contrary Branch (3/26/1661). The parcel is described as:

beginning at a poplar that stands on the souths side of the main swamp & runeth into the main swamp called Robin's Branch thence --- side of the said Robin's branch by marked trees a distance --- up along the said branch to the head thereof to white oak --- thence south, southwest southerly 250 perches to the head of a branch called Contrary Branch thence to the sides of a branch called the --- cross it southerly 200 perches to a marked oak, thence running --- said Hellicon branch rounding 500 perches by marked trees --- from the said branch, thence west north west westerly 200 perches --- tree that stands near a spring thence west, southwest southerly --- thence northwest westerly by marked trees 45 perches --- trees 85 perches, northwesterly, thence 90 perches north, east & by --- thence north west by north --- northerly 360 perches to a marked --- stands by the said main swamp, thence cross the said --- 100 perches --- branch that runeth into the said main swamp east northeast --- perches up the said branch to a marked tree thence 165 perches - -- by marked trees, thence south southeast easterly 250 perches, thence --- easterly 960 --- perches to the place where it began...

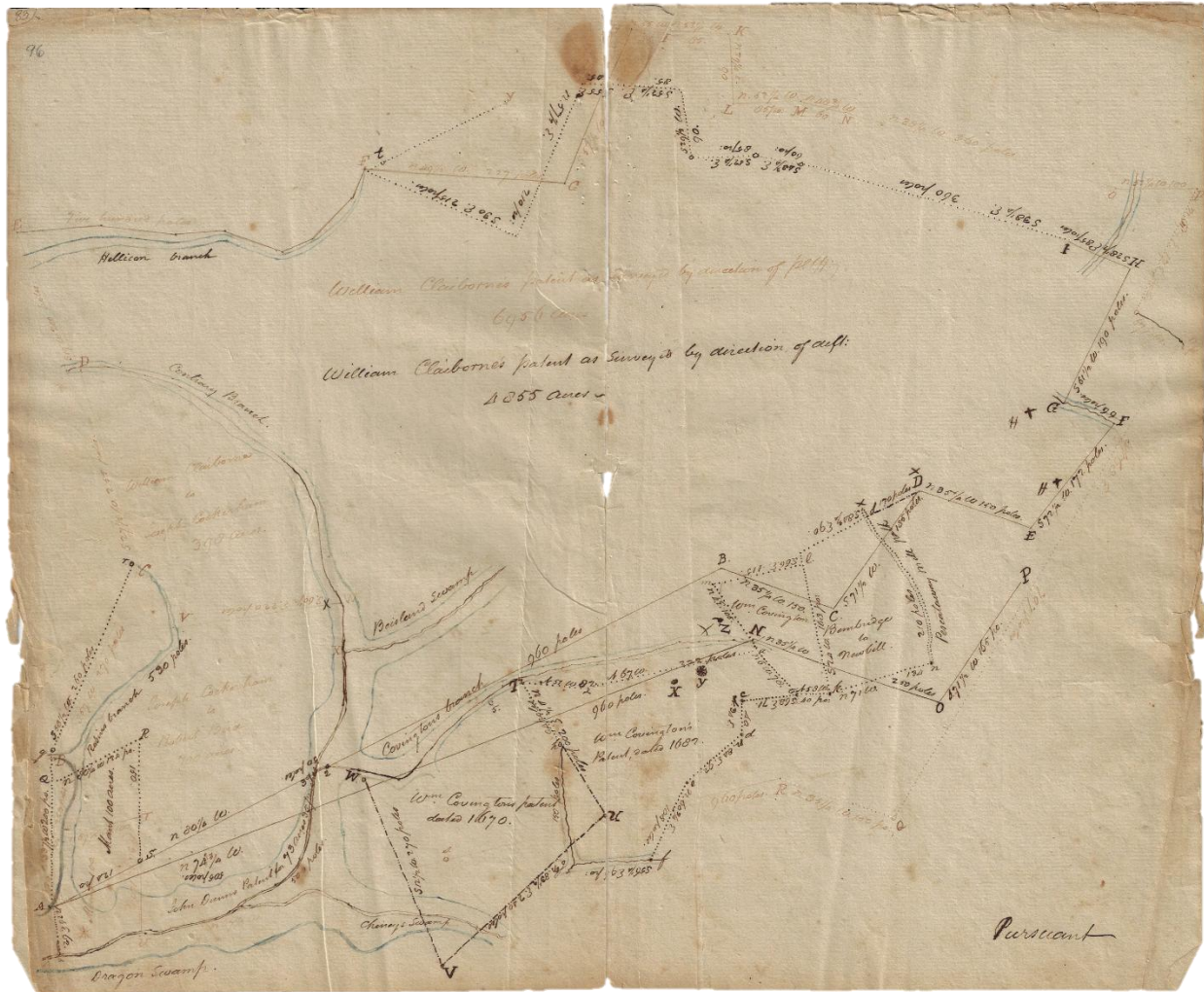


Figure 27. Plat of Bestland and surrounding patents prepared between 1800 and 1809. Courtesy of the King and Queen Courthouse Tavern Museum (Object ID: 2002.40.44).

This patent comprised part of what would become known as Bestland, which spanned 10,000 acres of the best land in the area and is where at least one county history claims Cockacoeske and her followers found refuge (Figure 27) (Cox 1957:12). A year later, John Pigg, who also owned land on Exol Swamp, patented 365 acres “in a fork of Peanketank swamp some 4 miles from Rappahannock River and adjoining to the land of Captain William Claiborne called best land” (3/11/1662). Lieutenant Colonel Robert Abrahall owned many patents and would have been another of Claiborne’s neighbors. He owned 800 acres in the Bestland area, including 550 acres “beginning at Capt Claiborne’s white oak corner by the swamp” and 250 acres “beginning at a red oak by an Indian path” that eventually extended “up the swamp to Capt Claiborne’s line” (3/18/1662). The “Indian path” referenced in Abrahall’s patent may have later been known as Rappahannock Road, which is referenced in a later patent to Stephen Bembridge for 2,315 acres of land “adjoining Coll. Clayborne’s corner white oak on the south side of Bestland Swamp”

(4/16/1683). Bembridge owned an additional 110 acres “joining to the land of Col. William Clayborne, decd.” (4/16/1683). Since William Claiborne, Jr. did not die until 1685, this patent from 1683 seems to suggest that his father, William Claiborne, Sr., in fact owned Bestland.

Bestland quickly became a significant landmark and served as a reference point for other patents miles away (Figure 28). John Maddison, for example, patented 280 acres in February 1663 that was “on the north side of a great branch of Peanketank Swamp 2½ miles from Capt. Claybrones quarter” (2/18/1663). On the north side of the Dragon “about 3 miles from Captain William Clayborne’s quarter,” Thomas Prickett patented 137 acres (8/21/1665). If there was any doubt, this patent confirms “Claiborne’s quarter” was in fact Bestland, as the property bounds ran to a Spanish oak corner by Bestland Path. Even ten years later, Bestland remained the best landmark for John Pigg’s latest patent, which encompassed 280 acres “on the North side of a great Branch of Peanketank swamp 2 ½ miles from Capt. Claiborne’s quarter” (6/10/1675). Today, Bestland still bears its 17th-century name.

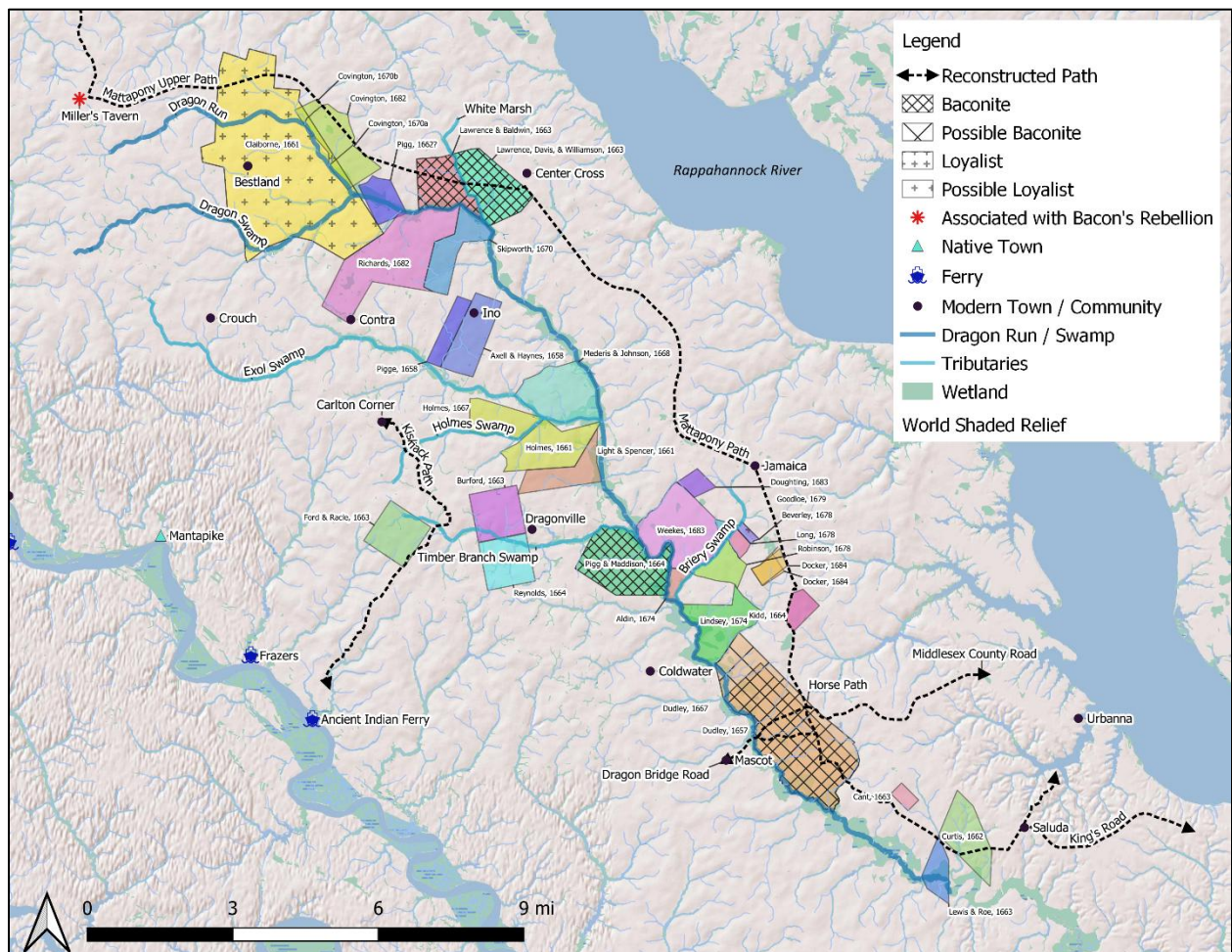


Figure 28. Map with reconstructed land patents and paths.

Claiborne and Pigg were far from the only individuals acquiring multiple parcels; Richard Lawrence, later an intransigent Baconite who Berkeley excluded from pardon after the rebellion had been put down (Stanard 1907:112), owned at least two parcels in the swamp. The first, a 300-acre parcel granted to him and William Baldwin on June 15, 1663, was “on the westward side of the White Marsh at the head of a branch issuing out of the Dragon Swamp, and crossing Mattaponi Upper Path.” The second, a 900-acre parcel granted to him, Evan Davis, and Thomas Williamson the next day, was on the east side of White Marsh and also crossed and ran along Mattaponi Upper Path (6/16/1663). With these two patents, Lawrence and the other grantees effectively gained control of the land on either side of Mattaponi Upper Path, which would have been one of the primary arteries running through Dragon Swamp and the Middle Peninsula. Had Lawrence still owned these 1,200 acres at the time of Bacon’s Rebellion, this would have been an advantage, but the land had been transferred to Richard Bredgar, Robert Hill, and John Mayhew on March 20, 1665.

South of Bestland and White Marsh, Peter Ford and Edward Racle patented 640 acres, “some four miles in the woods and on the branch of the Draggon Swamp known and called by the name Timber Branch” (5/18/1663). Their property had convenient access not only to Timber Branch, but “Cheesecake path,” or Kiskiack path, which ran through their parcel on the west side of the Dragon.

While most patents simply list metes and bounds that run from one marked tree to another, some offer insight into inter-personal relationships. In one example, Cockacoeske sold William Woodward, a translator, 2,100 acres on February 23, 1664, desiring that “he might seat upon the said land by her” (Figure 29). Such transfers, though uncommon, suggest that, where possible, Indigenous nations chose their neighbors strategically and sought to insulate their communities from proverbial bad neighbors. In the context of Dragon Swamp, knowing where potential friends and foes lived could have helped Cockacoeske and her followers evade Bacon’s forces. Friends in this case would have been broadly defined, potentially including individuals who were loyal to Berkeley and not focused on Native annihilation, individuals who tried to keep their heads down and avoid conflict, and still others who were sympathetic to Bacon and Native persecution.

Another presumed Baconite who owned land in Dragon Swamp and was fined 16 hogsheads of tobacco for his role in the rebellion was William Dudley. In March 1667, he acquired 3,000 acres “on the north side of the Great Swamp called by the name Peanketank swamp or Dragon Swamp and beginning at an Indian Bridge at the mouth of a great run” (3/13/1667). At one time, Dudley owned 4,000 acres in this vicinity, at least on paper. The patent reveals that there must have been a surveying error, with 1,000 acres actually belonging to his neighbor, Cuthbert Potter. Potter had patented 5,380 acres, which spanned both sides of the Dragon, in 1659. He resided on the 4,000-acre portion on the west side of the swamp. Across the swamp, Mattaponi Path ran along the eastern boundary of both his and Dudley’s patents.

507 To all Whom these things shall come I shew that I the said William Cockacoeske
 Governor do give and grant unto William Woodward two thousand one
 hundred Acres of Land lying in the County of new Kent upon the North
 side of North River and bounding as followeth Beginning at the mouth
 of a Creek called Mr Johns Creek from thence running up the river
 and bounding by the said river to the place where it first began
 and so continuing the bounds
 into a Creek near against
 another Creek that stands by
 the lower bounds of Mr Saunders
 another from thence Northwardly
 twenty poles bounding upon the
 thence East South East East
 from thence South East Eastward
 South East Easterly two hundred
 by South Southwardly one hundred
 South East and by East
 from thence over the said
 hundred and twenty poles to
 said Land being Purchased of the said Mr Woodward of Cock a
 Coeskes Queen of Pomunkey as by a sale appears bearing date
 the twenty seventh of September one thousand six hundred
 & Sixty four and upon Oath of the said Queen that the
 said Mr Woodward might see upon the said Land by her Oath and
 Set Over unto him the said Woodward it was accordingly granted
 by order of the Governor and Council dated the twenty fourth of
 November one thousand six hundred and forty four To have and to
 hold to be held to his Heirs and Assigns forever provided that
 Patent the twenty third of February one thousand six hundred
 & Sixty four.

hundred and twenty poles to the place where it first began. The
 said Land being Purchased of the said Mr Woodward of Cock a
 Coeskes Queen of Pomunkey as by a sale appears bearing date
 the twenty seventh of September one thousand six hundred
 & Sixty four and upon Oath of the said Queen that the
 said Mr Woodward might see upon the said Land by her Oath and
 Set Over unto him the said Woodward it was accordingly granted
 by order of the Governor and Council dated the twenty fourth of

Figure 29. Patent in which Cockacoeske sold William Woodward, a translator, 2,100 acres on February 23, 1664. (Library of Virginia).

Patents continued to be issued through the eve of the rebellion. John Richens, for one, received 400 acres in late 1674 on the southwest side of “Bryery Branch,” now known as Briery Swamp, on the east side of the Dragon’s main stem (9/21/1674). During the rebellion, he was banished by Governor Berkeley and returned only in 1680. Other individuals who received patents in this period include Gabriel Hill on Exol Swamp (1674), Edward Gresham on Exol Swamp adjacent to William Claiborne (6/10/1675), John Lindsey between White Oak Swamp and Briery Swamp (6/10/1674), and Robert Aldin (1674), to name a few.

To date, 265 patents have been examined, 69 have been transcribed, 50 have been mapped in GIS, and the bounds of 25 have been reconstructed in GIS as part of this project (see Figure 28). Although only a sample have been mentioned here, they help illustrate how the Dragon became a patchwork landscape in the decades prior to Bacon’s Rebellion, with English settlements dispersed across the landscape. Collectively, the patents reference over 50 unique landscape features, including bays, rivers, meadows, marshes, swamps, branches, creeks, bridges, dams, and paths

(Table 9). Some of their names are descriptive—like Indian Cabin Branch—while others—like Contrary Branch—are more evocative.

Roads of Resistance and Rebellion

As Bacon’s forces pursued the Native people in Dragon Swamp, they frequently traveled over and along centuries-old paths. To historians and archaeologists, paths are, like swamps, liminal spaces barely acknowledged in the literature. Adopting a landscape approach, this project builds on how previous archaeological landscape studies have approached the study of trails, paths, and roads around the world (e.g., Snead et al. 2009; Kantner 1997; Soafer et al. 1989). These features, which collectively comprise landscapes of movement, “weave together the disparate elements of daily lives, bridging distance and obstacles” to link people and communities (Snead et al. 2009:1).

A largely low-density rural landscape today, the Middle Peninsula was a hub of Native activity during the 17th century despite English incursions. For centuries, the Indigenous people who made the Middle Peninsula (and the York River valley) their home had forged paths to connect the growing number of settlements here with one another and with trails and paths leading elsewhere. These by now well-worn footpaths crisscrossed the landscape. Jessica Taylor (2023:162) found that, for Natives and eventually settlers “going about their daily business, ... a vernacular developed around notched trees, local landmarks and nonvisual cues that emphasized continuity, keeping travelers on the path.” These paths—often mentioned in deeds and patents if not on maps—facilitated movement across the landscape, serving an essential part of the everyday, the spiritual, and the political landscape. Despite the best efforts of later settlers to Anglicize their surroundings, Native paths persisted in a “mixed Indigenous and English landscape” (Taylor 2023:160). Indeed, many of these paths survive into the present under layers of CR-6 gravel and asphalt (Virginia Department of Transportation 2006).

Trails and paths obviously have a primary function: to get from here to there. Beyond channeling people and goods throughout the Tidewater, these arteries were also imbued with social, political, and spiritual meaning. Smith described how Indigenous people erected what they called *pawcorances*, or small stone piles “in the woods or wildernesses where they have had any extraordinary accident, or incounter.” When traveling with Native people, Smith continued, “they will tell you the cause why [the pawcorances] were erected, which from age to age they instruct their children, as their best records of antiquities” (Barbour 1986:123-124). Elsewhere, Smith left descriptions of the Chesapeake region’s Indigenous people avoiding certain routes that might, for example, trigger the ire of Okee, an important Algonquian spirit.

On the Middle Peninsula, between the Mattaponi River and the Piankatank, a “main trail” followed the ridge leading to the “Indian ferry” at West Point, to Mantapike, to the Rappahannock

Name	Years Referenced	Modern Landscape Feature
"Indian path which goes to the Dragon Swamp"	1688	
Axells Swamp	1668, 1684	Exol Swamp
Bay of Cliffs	1656, 1661	
Bestland Path	1665	
Branches of Arracixioe	1682	
Brereton's Branch	1705	
Bryery Branch (also Bryary Branch)	1674, 1682, 1700	Briery Swamp
Cheesecake (Kiskiack) Path	1661, 1663, 1703	Liberty Hall Rd, Dragonville Rd
Colack Branch	1678	Near Exol's
Cole's Branch	1664, 1678, 1703	Near Exol's
Contrary Branch	1661	
Donno's Path	1682	
Drumwright Path?	1690	
Dry Branch	1660, 1663, 1693	
Ferney Branch	1688	
Great Swamp	1656, 1657, 1661, 1662, 1667, 1703	Dragon Swamp
Green Branch	1701	
Hellion (?) Branch	1661	Near Robin's Branch
Horse path from Dragon to Piscataway	1675, 1683, 1688	
Hunt's Spring Branch	1705	
Ice Blockhouse Swamp	1688	Ice House Pond area?
Indian bridge at the mouth of a great run	1667	
Little Beavr. Dams	1678	Beaver Dam Swamp?
Mattaponi Upper Path	1663, 1665	Howerton Rd, Dunbrooke Rd
Middlesex Path	1682, 1687	
Miery Meadows Swamp	1705	
Mill Path	1682	
Mirrey Branch	1696	
Nimcock Creek	1703	Urbanna Creek (Wormeley's Creek c. 1680)
Rappahannock Indian Path	1700	
Ridge Path	1686	
Robin's Branch	1661, 1714	
Sawyer's Branch/Land	1680, 1699	
Silk grass meadow	1705	
Sorrell's Branch	1678, 1703	Near Exol's
Spring Branch	1685	
Tamocorocan (?) Swamp	1705	
Timber Branch	1663	Timber Branch Swamp
Westover Path	1665	
White Marsh	1663, 1665/6, 1694	White Marsh
White Oak Swamp	1674, 1682	Near Briery Branch

Table 9. Landscape features referenced in land patents.

town on Piscataway Creek, and onward to the north ending at the Potomac River (Cox 1957:1).¹⁹ Paths documented in patents reviewed for this project include Mattaponi Upper Path, Mattaponi Path, Rappahannock Indian Path, Cheesecake Path (likely a derivative of Kiskiack Path), an unidentified “Indian Path which goes to Dragon Swamp,” a horse path going “from Draggon to Piscattoway,” King’s Path, Middlesex Path, Mill Path, Ridge Path, Westover Path, Drumwright Path, Donno’s Path, and Bestland Path. The records also reference “Indian paths” and horse paths more generally.

Paths named in the patents (which are the ones mapped here) can be categorized into three groups based on their names and locations: Indigenous paths, paths perhaps of English origin or more likely renamed by the English, and personal paths, which are typically short and connect a person’s property to a main path or road. All were important, but most relevant to Bacon’s Rebellion are the Indigenous and English paths, some of which served as direct conduits to Dragon Swamp. Indigenous paths proved easier to map because they are better documented in patents, as they tended to be long and cut through many 17th-century properties.

As part of this project, over 30 miles of paths have been reconstructed, including segments of Mattaponi Upper Path, Mattaponi Path, Kiskiack Path, and a couple potentially English paths (Figure 30). Most avoid water crossings where possible and run north-south down the Middle Peninsula. Juxtaposing these routes (which no doubt extend beyond what is mapped) with modern road suitability data from the USGS demonstrates that these historic routes largely align with areas still deemed moderately or well suited for natural surface roads (Figure 31).

Likewise, examining modern farmland classification data reveals how paths would have funneled people and materials through a surprisingly fertile landscape; despite its fearsome name, the Dragon contains areas that are and were ripe for cultivation. Indigenous people living in the swamp would have therefore had access not only to the swamp and its aquatic resources, but abundant arable land. Overall, the presence of paths through this area highlights how Native people had long navigated the Dragon, likely making seasonal trips to hunt and forage or perhaps conduct coming-of-age rituals such as the *huskanaw*²⁰ as the Pamunkey members of the team suggested. Rather than being a wilderness apart, the Dragon was integrated into the Native landscape of movement. Today, these historic routes remain embedded in Virginia’s contemporary landscape, known by new names such as Dragonville Road and Tidewater Trail and traversed not on foot or on horseback, but by automobile.

¹⁹ According to a note found in the Bulletin of the King and Queen Historical Society, an Indian trail led from the Indian [town] at Mantapike to the ridges where Stevensville was settled and there it divided, one part to traverse the length of the county and the other to continue across it to the Indian settlement on Piscataway Creek (King and Queen Historical Society 1962).

²⁰ The *huskanaw* was a rite of passage for Native boys, a ritual for becoming men. Part of the ritual included nine months spent in the forest, enduring all sorts of weather and forms of deprivation (Huber 2020).

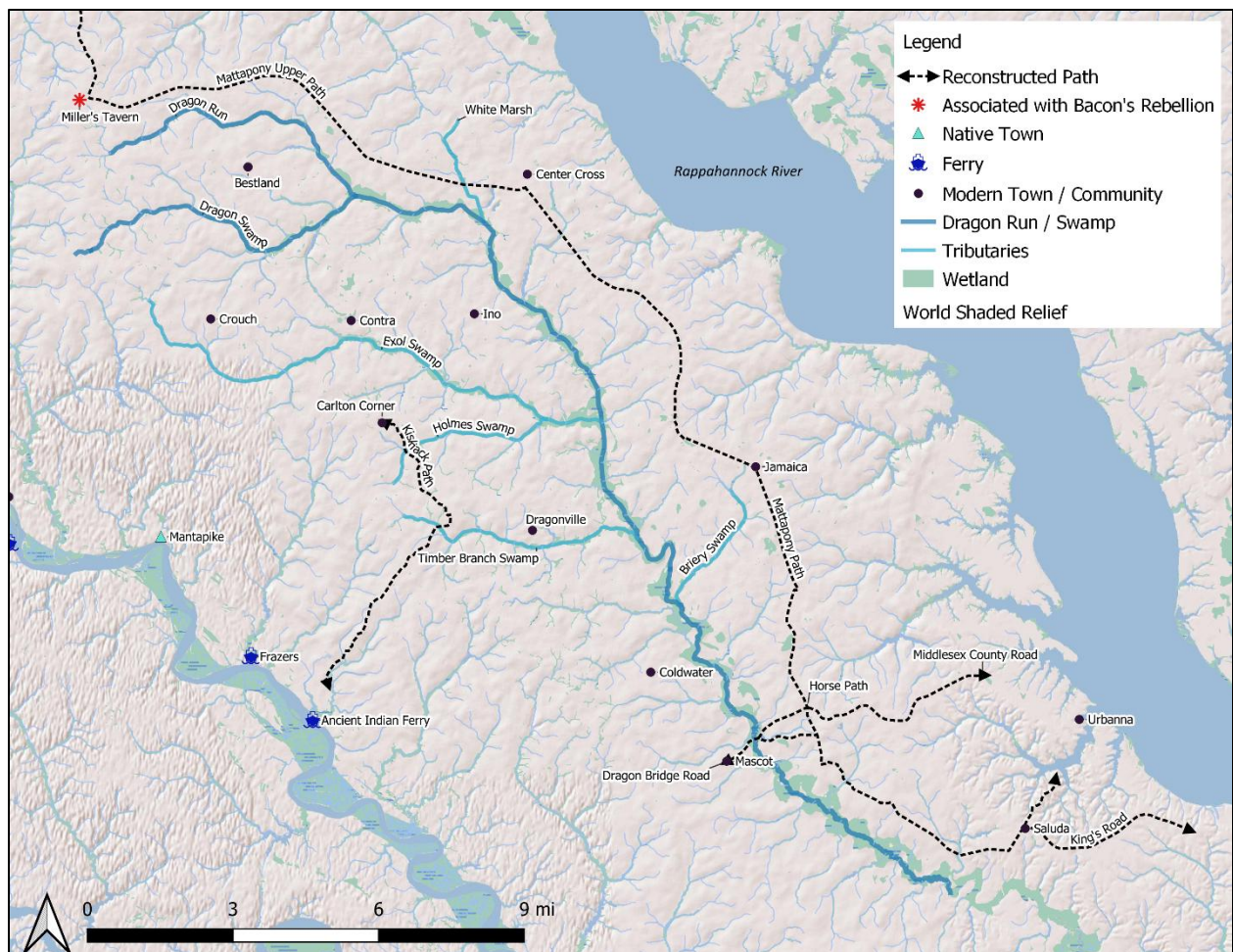


Figure 30. Map of reconstructed paths in and around Dragon Swamp. Note that path locations are approximate and extrapolated from patents. This network of paths represents a fraction of those that existed at the time of Bacon’s Rebellion, and paths were but one type of transportation corridor. Waterways would have been navigable and particularly important to Native groups.

Finding Sanctuary in Dragon Swamp

From the information contained in the patents, it became clear that little land in the Dragon was a true wilderness at the time of Bacon’s Rebellion. Even if it was not all occupied, significant swaths of land had been claimed by the English, but for the Pamunkeys, Chickahominy, Mattaponis, Rappahannocks, and other groups, the swamp remained part of their homeland. Areas that appeared “empty” or “wild” to English eyes had in fact long been “settled” because Native peoples had been intensively using these spaces for generations.

Before Bacon launched his campaign against Cockacoeske and her followers in August 1676, the Indigenous nations had already moved into Dragon Swamp, probably in late April or

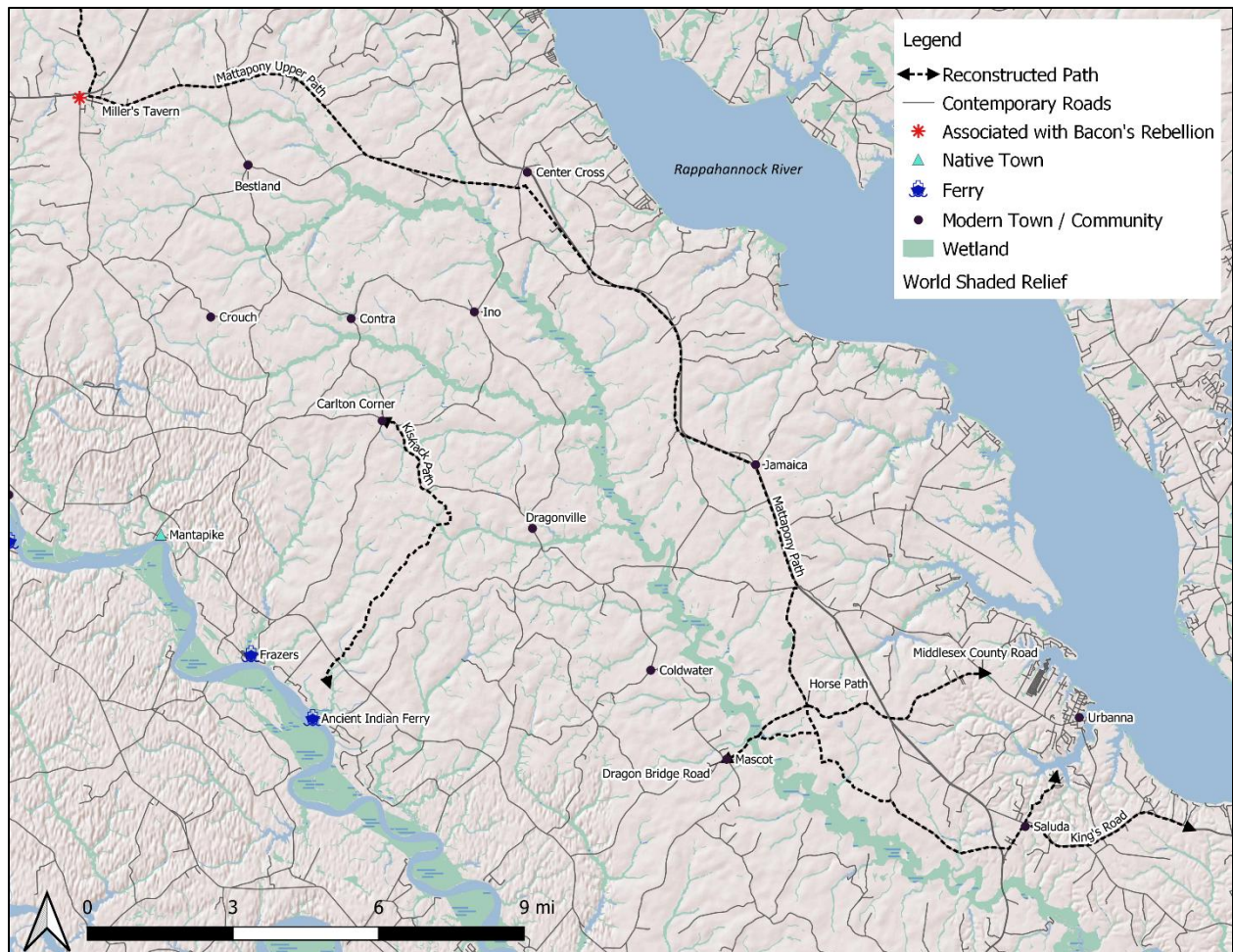


Figure 31. Map of reconstructed paths and modern roads.

early May. Where their camp or camps were exactly at this time is unclear based on historical records, but is a question that may be addressed in the future by archaeology. The *Narrative of the Commissioners* offers more clues for identifying where the Pamunkeys may have found refuge, at least for a time, once Bacon began his pursuit.

During Bacon's first attack, for example, Bacon's forces found a "Point, on each Side whereof and before it was a swamp; upon which Point the Pamunkey Indians had severall cabins" (Andrews 1915:124-125). In the second, they followed a path leading to "a main Swamp, where several nations of Indians lay encamped" (Andrews 1915:125). In the final attack, Bacon's forces found the Pamunkeys in the Dragon, "incamped beyond a small branch of a swamp or Run of water, having a swamp on the right hand, and a small swamp or run on the left of them, between which was a fine piece of champion [flat] land, but full of thicket, small oke, saplings, chinkapin [dwarf chestnut] Bushes and Grape vines" (Andrews 1915:127).

In each of these three incidents, the Indigenous nations are described as encamped close to the swamp. In the first and third incident, however, the *Narrative* goes further, describing how they were encamped on a point, surrounded to varying degrees by swamp. This suggests that Cockacoeske and the leaders of the other nations strategically located their camps; the nearby miry swamp areas served as a natural barrier that would slow, exhaust, and potentially repel Bacon's forces, while simultaneously providing camouflage and cover in the event his forces found and laid siege to their camps. Moreover, these locations would have been easier from which to surveil since they were practically unapproachable on two sides.

Looking at maps of Dragon Swamp, many "points" exist where branches feed into the Dragon's main run (Figure 32). While determining which point may have been the site of the first attack is impossible without additional research (i.e., archaeological survey), the geographic description of the third attack is more detailed, implying the point should be flat, fertile, and surrounded on two sides by swamp. Returning to the topographic and farmland classification data introduced in Chapter III, such areas typically appear in the upper reaches of the Dragon (Figures 33 and 34). Level terrain and prime farmland overlap where Dragon Run and the main stem of Dragon Swamp meet and where the Exol and Timber Branch swamps each flow into Dragon Swamp (see Figure 34). Of these locations, Timber Branch is unlikely to have been the point described in the third attack because immediately after, Cockacoeske went into hiding in the "wild woodes" of the "upper Dragon" with a 10-year-old boy (Andrews 1915:127-128; Cox 1957:5). This area, nearly 10 miles to the south, does not seem to fit this description as well as the two points farther north.

Of the two remaining points, the area where the tributaries Dragon Run and Dragon Swamp flow together seems most promising. Coincidentally, or perhaps not, William Claiborne's Bestland occupied this point, which has prime farmland surrounded on two sides by swamp. This area would have also been accessible via Mattaponi Upper Path, and perhaps this route was one that Bacon's forces followed.

In addition to these environmental attributes supporting Bestland as an Indigenous refuge during Bacon's Rebellion, the *History of King and Queen County*, published by Edwin Cox²¹ in 1957 for the 350th anniversary of Jamestown, includes a map of the county and historically significant sites. While many are 18th- and 19th-century sites, several relate to Bacon's Rebellion. Most significant to this project is point #36, which bears the following description: "Bestland was a 10,000-acre patent of Colonel William Claiborne in 1662. The name has continued. This was the refuge of Queen Cocoeske of the Pamunkies during Bacon's Rebellion" (Cox 1957:12). Frustratingly, this history does not cite its sources, though it assures readers "references for these data are available" (Cox 1957:1).

²¹ General Edwin Cox of Aylett, a chemist and military officer who also served as president of the Virginia Historical Society, lived at Holly Hill in King and Queen County.

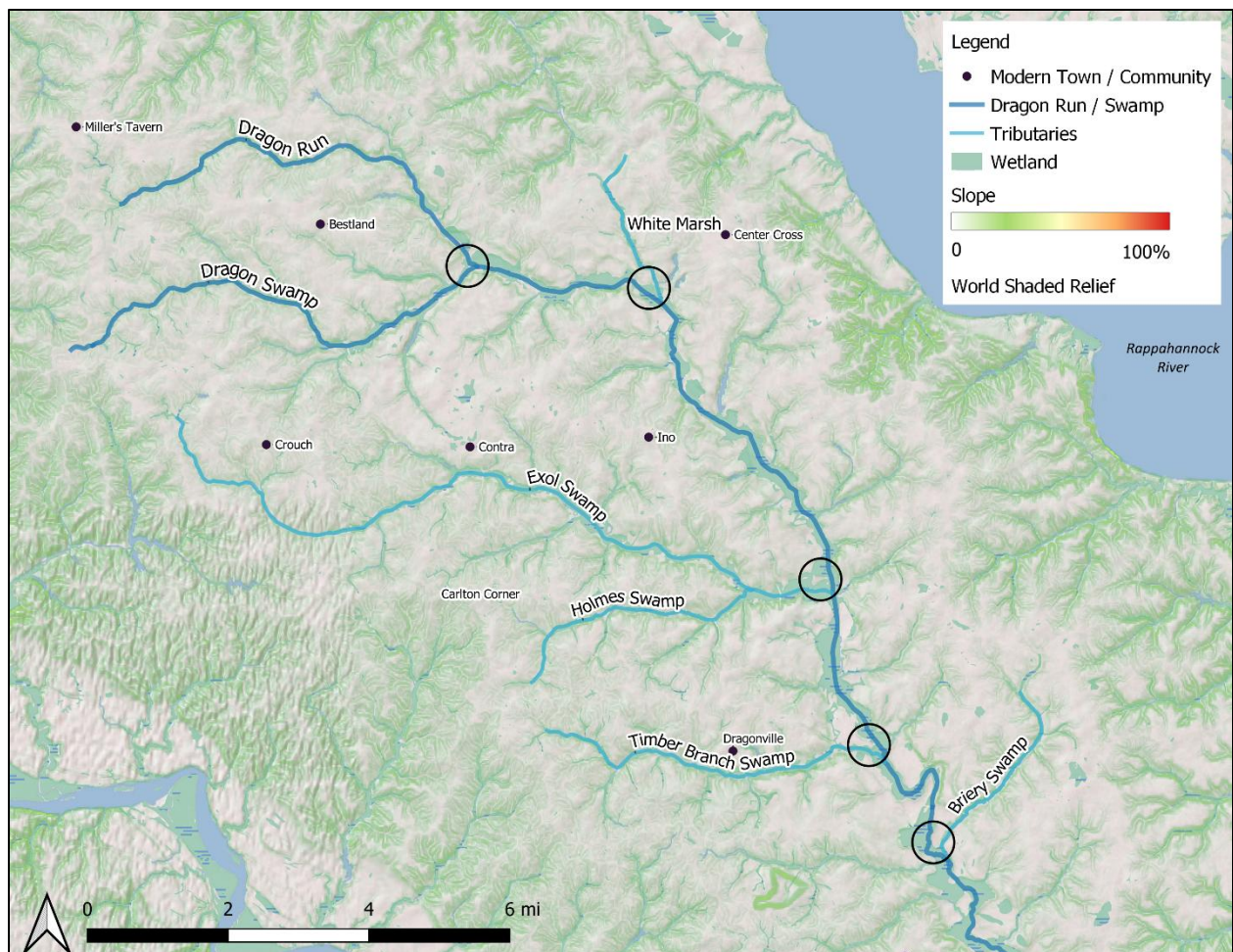


Figure 32. Map of “points” where tributaries feed into the main stem of Dragon Swamp. Timber Branch Swamp and Briery Swamp are less likely given their distance from the “upper Dragon.”

While Bestland may very well have provided refuge for as many as 1,700 Native people, the area where Dragon Swamp and Exol Swamp meet is also worth consideration.

Realistically, however, the Indigenous groups were dispersed in the swamp, so there is not only one “right” location to be identified. Like Claiborne’s Bestland, the land between Dragon Swamp and Exol Swamp has level ground and excellent soils that would have also been considered “champion” (or level) land. And, this area was just south of Bestland. Here, the branches of the Dragon and Exol Swamp nearly form a circle, providing a natural barrier of dense and pervasive swampland.

From this location (between the main stem of the Dragon and Exol Swamp), people would have had access to a full range of food sources, farmland, fresh water, and shelter. The land between the Dragon and Exol Swamp was so widely recognized as good and productive that, in

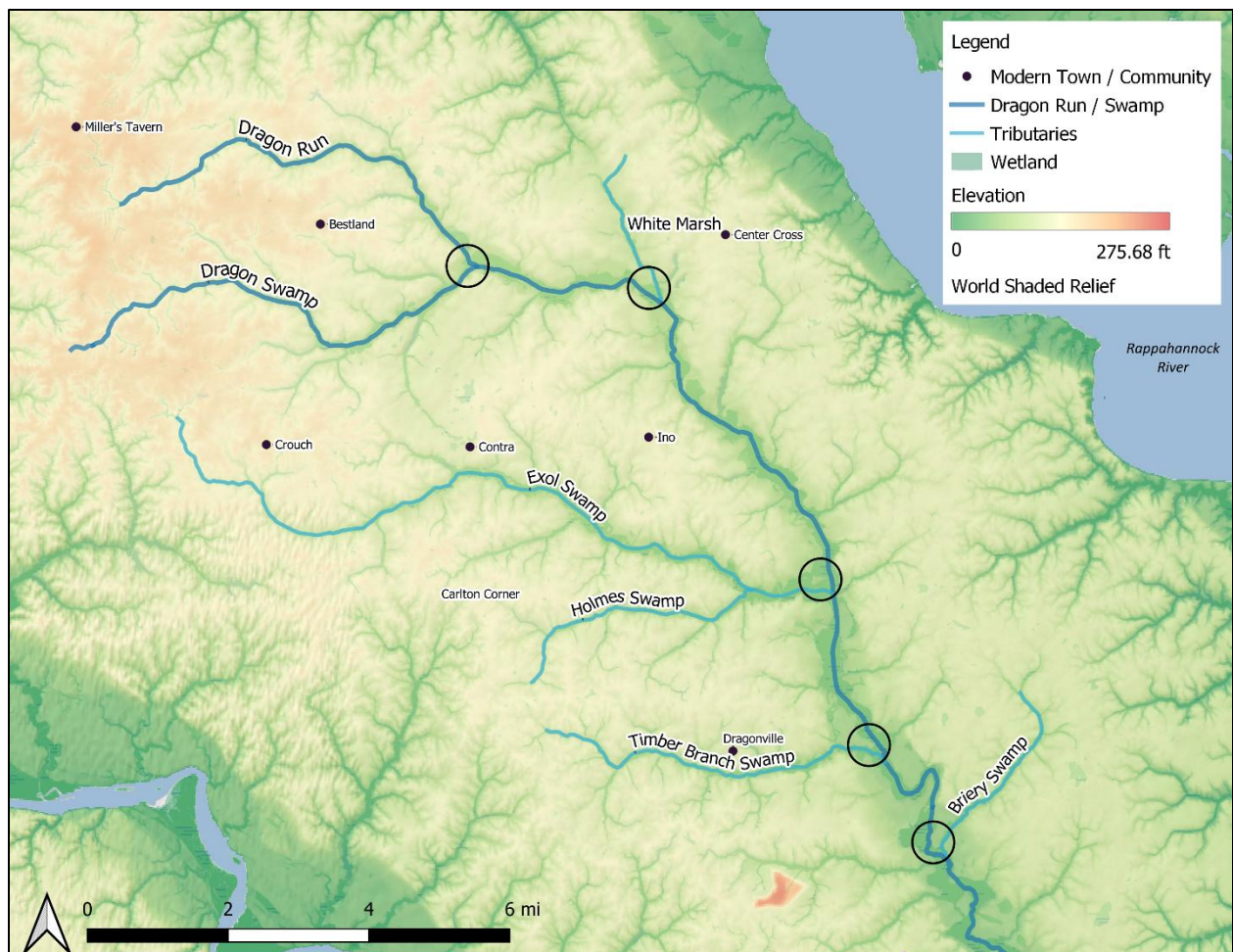


Figure 33. Topographic map of Dragon Swamp with circled “points” where tributaries feed into the main stem of the Dragon.

the 1690s, a neighbor likened a plantation there to “the Garden of Eden, and the Dragon and Exol to the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers!” (King and Queen Historical Society 1979:1). Today, this area is known as Ino, but perhaps in the summer of 1676 it served as a sanctuary for the Native groups as they sought to evade Bacon and his men.

Viewsheds and Soundscapes: Hiding and Surviving in Dragon Swamp

To better understand what could be seen or heard in the swamp, the Friends of Dragon Run conducted a series of viewshed and soundscape tests to measure visual distances and sound levels. Tests were conducted mostly during the day, but in a few cases at night, along selected trails and historic or probable water crossing points within the swamp. The purpose was to confirm whether a warrior could surveil an area while hiding and remaining undetected.

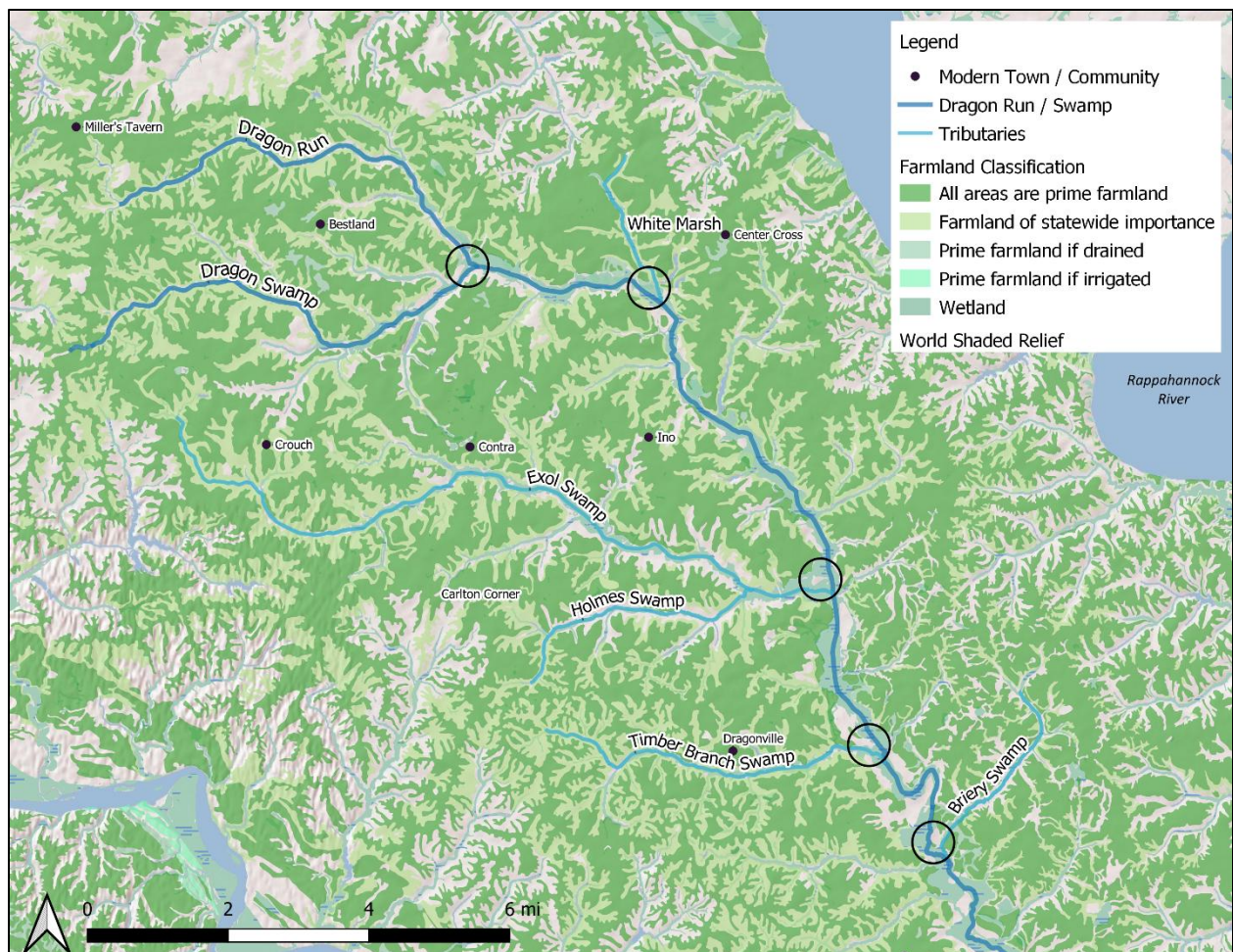


Figure 34. Map of farmland in and around Dragon Swamp with circled “points” where tributaries feed into the main stem of the Dragon.

A viewshed refers to the geographic area that is visible from a specific point, taking into account the height of the observer, the height of objects, and the intervening terrain. The viewshed analysis considered surroundings within line-of-sight and obstructions to vision such as terrain, trees, and vegetation. While impossible to exactly recreate the conditions warriors and other Native people experienced in 1676, the contemporary viewsheds should be broadly representative of those in the past given how well Dragon Swamp has been preserved (Figure 35).

Using range finders, binoculars, and distances between objects, the Friends of Dragon Run determined that it was highly probable that a warrior could successfully surveil an area of interest that might be used to traverse the swamp or use a trail. The study highlighted how, in particular, large trees and pervasive aquatic plants and submerged aquatic vegetation would have provided cover and limited sightlines in the swamp. A warrior would have therefore been simultaneously able to hide from detection and successfully surveil a section of water, a trail, or a place to ford the waters. Shade, varying light conditions, and the movement of foliage in even the lightest winds



Figure 35. Three examples of viewsheds in Dragon Swamp (Jeffrey W. Wright).

would have made it challenging to detect someone in hiding. In the fall of 1676, the presence of falling leaves, nuts, acorns, cones, and needles from trees would have added further complexity to visual detection. In most cases, then, it is expected that warriors could undertake surveillance without being detected.

A soundscape is a sound or combination of sounds that forms or arises from an immersive environment. At each viewshed location, the Friends of Dragon Run examined the soundscape, attempting to conduct the analysis with as few human disturbances (e.g., vehicles, traffic) as possible. Using a decibel meter, the consistent presence of natural sounds and sound levels were measured. The Friends of Dragon Run subjectively added the types of sounds they heard, including, for example, birds, insects, the effects of wind, or the rush of water.

Such swamp sounds would have offered another form of cover for the Native groups, dampening and diffusing any noise they made. Based on the study, animal sounds—particularly bird sounds—would have been prevalent during the day, whereas at night insect sounds would have been more prominent. The most consistent sounds, however, would have been from winds disturbing and moving through trees, shrubs, and a wide range of low vegetation. The sounds of water flowing over a beaver dam or entering Dragon Swamp from a seasonal stream or a spring, would have also been consistent, especially given all the rain in the area when Bacon began his pursuit in late August. All these sounds fluctuated and were random to some degree, varying in type, volume depending on distance from a source, and time of day. These “background sounds,” coupled with other ambient sounds such as rain, thunder, rustling leaves, groaning branches, and falling acorns would have made it very difficult to detect and find people in hiding.

Combined, the soundscape and viewshed analysis conducted by the Friends of Dragon Run affirms that Dragon Swamp was uniquely suited to conceal communities during Bacon’s Rebellion. Environmental factors favored those seeking to hide over those trying to find and pursue those in hiding. The many Native people in essence had a significant tactical and operational advantage over Bacon’s forces by knowing not only where to hide, but also how to hide, and how to use the swamp’s geography and natural features to slow and discourage their pursuers. Nature was a force multiplier and enabler for the Natives.

Environmental factors also favored the Natives’ ability to surveil Bacon’s forces. By surveilling probable trails, water crossings, or fordable areas where a warrior might have positioned themselves in the 1600s, it is evident that they were probably able to detect the movement of Bacon’s forces. The cover provided by the swamp allowed Native warriors to collect and disseminate information to their leaders and communities. One means of communication by the warriors likely involved mimicking bird calls such as that of the barred owl in a particular pattern.

Archaeological Evidence

Although this project did not involve on-the-ground archaeological survey to search for evidence of Bacon's Rebellion in the Dragon, Pamunkey assistant chief Tim Langston recommended that the project team review archaeological sites that have been documented in the region. The team reviewed information about previously identified archaeological sites in the area, visited several potential properties, and examined a collection in the possession of a landowner. While the team realized it would be unlikely to identify artifacts which could be associated with confidence to Bacon's Rebellion, the archaeological review could provide information about historical Indigenous use of the Dragon. The Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS), a password-protected inventory of archaeological sites in the state maintained by Virginia's Department of Historical Resources (DHR), provided most of the information cited here.

Archaeological sites are rare in the Dragon, in large part because the region remains widely undeveloped and therefore not well surveyed. Archaeological surveys and other investigations are typically triggered by changes in land use. Because of public and private efforts to protect and preserve the Dragon Run valley, land use change has been minimal, and archaeological surveys have been limited.

Nonetheless, 13 archaeological sites with Native components in the Dragon Swamp/Piankatank River valley are found recorded with DHR; these sites are listed in Table 10 and shown in Figure 36. Eleven of the 13 sites are described as open-air camps while two are described as artifact scatters. All 13 sites yielded lithic or stone artifacts, including debitage (stone flakes generated in the manufacture of stone tools), projectile points, and fire-cracked rocks (usually from heating in a campfire). Five sites also yielded Native ceramic fragments.

Diagnostic projectile points were recovered from 44GL0022, 44GL0507, 44KQ0099, 44MX0037, and 44MX0038 (see Figure 36 for locations). A Calvert point of an unreported stone type was recovered from 44GL0022, and a Calvert point of rhyolite was recovered from 44GL0507. The Calvert point is a short wide point with a slightly contracting stem and a straight or slightly rounded base. The Calvert point has been dated to ca. 1200 to 500 BCE, a period known by archaeologists as the Early Woodland. This was a period when Native people developed and experimented with ceramics, moved towards semi-sedentary lifeways, harvested early domesticated plants, and continued to harvest and forage wild plants and animals.

A Stanly projectile point (the stone type was not listed) was recovered from 44KQ0099. Stanly points have a broad, triangular serrated blade with a squared stem and notched base. These points have been dated from 6200 to 5000 BCE and suggest a very early use of the area, probably well before the Piankatank River or Dragon Swamp were recognizable or had assumed their modern forms.

Site Number	Site Type	Elev.	Slope	Land-form	Field Method	Date	Artifacts
44EX0269 ^a	Camp	104	0-2	Knoll	2 STPs	Pre-contact Indigenous	2 primary quartzite flakes; 2 secondary quartz flakes
44EX0270 ^a	Camp	95	0-2	Knoll	4 STPs	Pre-contact Indigenous	1 primary quartzite flake; 4 secondary quartzite flakes; 4 tertiary quartzite flakes
44EX0271 ^a	Camp	109	0-2	Knoll	35 STPs	Woodland	2 sand-tempered ceramics; 1 quartzite primary flake; 2 secondary quartz flakes; 1 quartzite primary flake
44GL0021 ^b	Camp	N/R	N/R	Field	Surface	Woodland	Sand-, rounded pebble-, and shell-tempered ceramics; chips
44GL0022 ^b	Camp	N/R	N/R	Field	Surface	Woodland	Sand and shell tempered sherds; chips; 1 preform; 1 Calvert projectile point
44GL0507 ^a	Artifact scatter	N/R	N/R	Terrace	STPs	Early Woodland	Debitage (N=107), mostly quartz and quartzite, some rhyolite and siltstone; 1 quartzite projectile point; 1 rhyolite Calvert projectile point.
44KQ0099 ^c	Camp	N/R	N/R	N/R	Surface	Middle Archaic	1 Stanly projectile point; 2 fire-cracked rocks; 2 quartz flakes
44KQ0102 ^c	Camp	N/R	N/R	N/R	Surface	Middle Woodland	2 sand-tempered plain ceramics; 2 sand-tempered cord-marked ceramics (Accokeek?); 2 quartz fire-cracked rocks; 2 quartzite fire-cracked rocks
44KQ0103 ^c	Camp	N/R	N/R	N/R	Surface	Pre-contact Indigenous	2 quartz flakes; 2 quartzite flakes; 2 quartz fire-cracked rocks; 1 quartzite fire-cracked rocks
44KQ0104 ^c	Camp	N/R	N/R	N/R	Surface	Pre-contact Indigenous	1 quartz flake; 1 quartz debitage; 2 quartz fire-cracked rocks; 1 broken quartzite cobble
44MX0037 ^d	Camp	N/R	N/R	N/R	Surface	Woodland	25-30 quartz flakes, some of NC greenstone; 1 possible quartz Guilford base; 1 quartz triangular point
44MX0038 ^c	Camp	N/R	N/R	N/R	Surface	Late Archaic; Middle Woodland	Many Archaic points and Woodland pottery; 1 soapstone bowl fragment; 100+ fragments from Mockley cord-marked vessel
44MX0075 ^f	Artifact scatter	100	0-2	N/R	Surface 9 STPs	Pre-contact Indigenous	1 quartz primary flake

Table 10. Archaeological sites in close proximity to Dragon Swamp and its tributaries. Key to companies who documented the sites: ^aDutton and Associates, 2008-2009, 2017; ^bE. Randolph Turner, 1974; ^cJerome Traver, 1990; ^dCharles Manson, ASV, 1995; ^elocal informant, 1996; ^fCirca~, 2017.

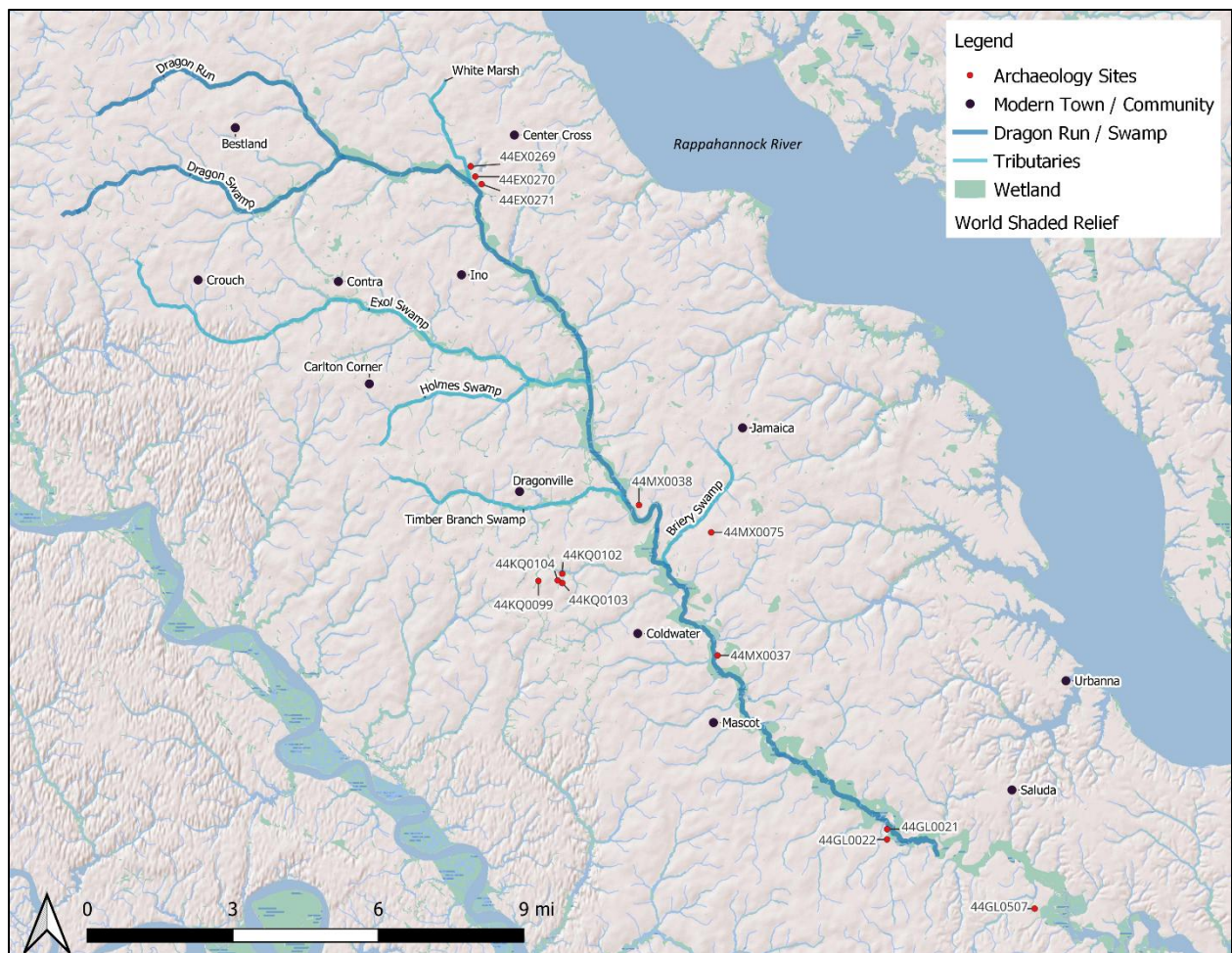


Figure 36. Locations of archaeological sites discussed in this report.

A possible quartz Guilford projectile point was recovered from 44MX0037. Guilford points are relatively long blades with a straight, rounded, or concave base and have been dated between 4200 and 3500 BCE. 44MX0037 also yielded a triangular point which may indicate a later, Late Woodland occupation (900-1600 CE), a period in time closer to Bacon’s Rebellion.

“Many Archaic points” were recovered from 44MX0038 but these points are not identified by count or type on the site form.

Native ceramic fragments were recovered from 44GL0021, 44GL0022, 44EX0271, 44KQ0102, and 44MX0038. 44GL0021 and 44GL0022 yielded sand-tempered and shell-tempered ceramics that are not identified to type in DHR’s reporting system. Pebble-tempered ceramics (possibly Prince George ware) were also recovered from 44GL0021.

44EX0271 and 44KQ0102 yielded sand-tempered ceramics which one recorder suggests could be Accokeek ware. Accokeek ware is a sand-tempered and/or crushed quartz-tempered ceramic with cord-marked exterior surfaces. The ware dates to the Early and Middle Woodland periods in Virginia (1100-300 BCE).

44MX0038 yielded more than 100 fragments from a single shell-tempered vessel known as Mockley ware. Mockley ceramics were produced in the Chesapeake region from ca. 200 CE until ca. 900 CE and were associated with a growing reorientation toward estuarine resources. The discovery of this pot relatively far inland (but along the Dragon) suggests that the women who produced Mockley ceramics also made use of interior resources: perhaps as part of the arrival of spawning fish in the Dragon in the springtime.

Only one landowner was identified with a collection the project team was able to examine. These materials came from a farm located between Dragon Swamp and Contrary Branch. An unoccupied early 19th-century brick dwelling known as Plain Dealing stands on the property today. The landowner's collection consists of a mixed assemblage of cultural and non-cultural materials. At least one quartzite projectile point, possibly Bare Island, was observed in the collection. Bare Island points are medium to large in size with a straight base. Archaeologists have dated Bare Island points to between 2500 and 1600 BCE.

Other artifacts found in the collection include a greenstone celt with plow strike marks. This ground stone tool would have been hafted to a wooden handle and used for cutting wood. Celts developed out of grooved axes and are generally assigned to the Middle Woodland (500 BCE-900 CE) period although they continued to be made through the Late Woodland (900-1600 CE). Two greenstone celts have been recovered from a 17th-century feature at Historic Jamestown.

Also found in the Plain Dealing collection are a number of crystal fragments. Crystals were important to Indigenous communities. The source of these crystals, however, is unclear, and they are not necessarily associated with Native people or communities.

Other artifacts found in the collection include stone debitage and shatter. No Native-made ceramics were observed in the collection although their absence could simply reflect collector bias.

In sum, the very limited archaeological investigations undertaken in the Dragon Run valley point to occupation of the area beginning in the Middle Archaic (as early as 6000 BCE) and continuing through the Middle Woodland II (ca. 200-900 CE) and probably into the Late Woodland (900-1600 CE).

Archaeological site 44EX0271 may deserve additional consideration for this study. The site is found just east of where White Marsh Swamp meets the main stem of the Dragon (Figure



Figure 37. Location of 44EX0271 (green shape) near the juncture of White Marsh and the main stem of the Dragon.

37). The sites were found as a result of a Phase I archaeological survey for the proposed Greenfield/ Dragon Run Wetland Mitigation Bank in Essex County. The site is close to and even included in one of the circled “points” (see Figures 33 and 34). Site 44EX0271 was found to be potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion D (sites that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history) (Dutton and Associates 2009).

The land including 44EX0271 had been patented in 1663 by Richard Lawrence, one of Bacon’s “principal consultants.” Lawrence and William Baldwin had patented 300 acres on the west side of White Marsh and Lawrence, Evan Davis, and Thomas Williamson had patented 900 acres on the east side. Lawrence and his partners essentially controlled this part of Upper Mattaponi Path.

Lawrence lived in Jamestown, however, and was there during the rebellion. Baldwin died in 1663 and Lawrence “made over all his right and title” to the patent to John Mehewe (Mayhew). The 900-acre parcel was “made over” to Richard Bredgar, Robert Hill, and John Mayhew in 1665. Mayhew eventually acquired all or most of the land but was dead by 1668 and the land escheated back to the colony. The title’s trail ends there.

This area of the Dragon was located in relatively close proximity to Mattaponi Upper Path, today including a portion of Howerton Road. The distance to the path was about one to 1.5 miles, and this may have been the path that the communities landed on as they arrived from Pamunkey Neck, the upper Middle Peninsula, and the Northern Neck. This placed them on the north side of Dragon Swamp, as far from Bacon as they could get and still remain close to the Dragon, their “fortification” during this time of trouble.

Chapter VI

Conclusion and Recommendation

THE REBELLION HE STARTED outlived Bacon, and even gained steam under Bacon's replacement, Joseph Ingram, but not for long. The loyalists were slowly gaining the upper hand by December and, in January 1677, at least 70 English soldiers and three commissioners arrived from England to suppress what was left of the rebellion and assess what had happened in the colony over the last year.

It is not clear when the Pamunkeys, Chickahominys, Mattaponis, Rappahannocks, Nanzaticos, and other Native people returned to their towns, but it was probably not until the tide was shifting in favor of the loyalists in early to mid-winter. The commissioners sent from England interviewed Cockacoeske about her experiences during the rebellion. Cockacoeske and representatives from other Native nations later met with the commissioners at Middle Plantation, in the vicinity of present-day Williamsburg, where the parties signed the Treaty of Middle Plantation. The Treaty attempted to repair the damage inflicted on the tributary nations by recognizing Indigenous sovereignty, assuring Crown protection, restoring captives and property taken by the rebels, and forbidding the enslavement of any Native person from a treaty nation, among other provisions (Rice 2012:124).

James Rice suggests that the Treaty of Middle Plantation was “not generous, [but] far better than what Bacon's followers had in mind” (Rice 2012:124). He also notes that the treaty was soon and repeatedly violated and that, in a few decades at most, Bacon's goal of Native elimination became not just Virginia's de facto policy but American policy that persisted well into the 20th century.

For the most part, historians have focused the greater part of their attention on the rebellion's impact on the Virginia colony's development (see Chapter I). The role of the Native nations in whose homeland the rebellion unfolded has been little considered, in large part because, except for the narrative collected from Cockacoeske, Native voices are missing from the colonial archive. More recent histories of Bacon's Rebellion, including Rice's (2012) study and Matthew Kruer's (2022) history of the impact of colonialism on the Susquehannocks in the 17th century, write in part from Indian Country. Edward D. Ragan (2006) explored the impact of the rebellion on the Rappahannock nations in his dissertation.

Bradley Dixon's recent comparison of events in Virginia with those in Spanish Florida acknowledge the political and leadership skills of Cockacoeske. But the Natives' achievements remain undersold: Dixon acknowledges Bacon's “vain pursuit” of the weroansqua but also claims that, after his foray into the Dragon, Bacon returned to Jamestown, “sated with plunder and

prisoners” (Dixon 2025:110). As the foregoing chapters suggest, the reality was a little more complicated and “sated” is clearly an overstatement.

Bacon did return to Jamestown with some prisoners and with goods he and his army looted from Pamunkey camps in the Dragon, but this war booty came at a high cost. During a campaign intended to exterminate Natives, Bacon’s killing of eight or nine people out of perhaps as many as an estimated 1,700 souls amounted to a mere 0.6 percent of the population. This is especially low given that the majority of those under attack were not warriors but women, children, and elders. Bacon did capture an additional 45 to 47 people he intended to sell into slavery, but many of these captives were eventually restored to their respective nations.

As for Bacon and his army, the records are silent on their losses. It’s likely that rebel deaths by combat were minimal given that Cockacoeske and presumably the other Native leaders had given strict directions to their warriors to hold their fire, whether by bow or by firearm. There is little doubt that Bacon’s army instead suffered a serious attrition as his men experienced a hot, rainy, buggy, densely vegetated, and generally unfamiliar landscape. Indeed, Bacon’s army was reported at 1,000-1,200 men in August; by early September (a mere three weeks later), the number had declined to 400 men, one-third of the original force. The troops dwindled even further, to 136 men, right before Bacon finally came upon the Natives.

The three commissioners sent by the Crown interviewed Cockacoeske, and their report contained information that could have only been provided by the Native people in the Dragon. The commissioners noted Cockacoeske’s effort to refrain from firing on Bacon’s men. The commissioners portrayed Cockacoeske and her countrymen as suffering exceeding hardship thanks to Bacon’s depredations. Not only did Bacon abscond with “Indian matts, Basketts, matchcotes, parcell of wampampeag and Roanoke (w’ch is their money) in Baggs, skins, Furr, Pieces of Lynnen, Broad cloth, and divers sorts of English goods (w’ch the Queene [Cockacoeske] had much value for),” but

...the good Queen of Pamunky during this attaque to save her Life betooke herself to flight with onely one little Indian Boy of about 10 yeares old along with her, and when she was once coming back with designe to throw herself upon the mercy of the English, Shee happened to meet with a deade Indian woman lying in the way being one of her own nation; which struck such terror in the Queene that fearing their cruelty by that gastly example shee went on her first intended way into wild woodes where shee was lost and missing from her owne People fourteen dayes, all that tyme being Sustained alive onely by gnawing sometimes upon the legg of a terrapin, which the little Boy found in the woods and brought her when she was ready to dye for want of Foode, and of a great while had not Provisions for her support but noe necessity could incline her to adhere to Bacon's overtures.

There is no doubt that what Cockacoeske reported to the commissioners in fact happened, and no doubt that Bacon's campaign had a high cost for the Native people. But Cockacoeske was a skilled politician who understood how to stir English support for her cause. "When [Cockacoeske] spoke," Dixon (2025:82) notes, "burgesses and councilors listened... Her words carried weight." Surely Cockacoeske knew this, as Kruer (2015:200) noted that the weroansqua "was familiar with English culture." Cockacoeske outlined a narrative to the commissioners in service to Native country and their cause, and, in so doing, masked what this project's analysis has revealed to be an extraordinarily competent and skilled political and military response to Bacon.

This competence was on display from the beginning of the conflict. As the Susquehannocks along with some Doegs began their raids of English plantations in the upper reaches of colonial settlement in January 1676, Native people in these precincts were vacating their towns "wth in 4 days after ye first murther was comitt'd" (Ragan 2006:233). Their destination may have been the Dragon. For her part, Cockacoeske had taken the Pamunkeys into the Dragon as early as late April when Bacon was marching on the Occaneechis in the southern part of the colony. Colonels William Claiborne and John West, the father of Cockacoeske's son, may have conveyed information to Cockacoeske. Indeed, West's and Cockacoeske's son would eventually accompany his mother into the Dragon.

Colonel Claiborne reported that the Pamunkeys he encountered in early May had built brush forts in the Dragon. They likely carried in materials for houses and supplies (possibly including food), preparing the area to act as a natural fortification. When Bacon finally took his fight to the Pamunkeys in August 1676, Cockacoeske and the many other nations essentially lured him away from their towns and into a landscape with which he and his army had little familiarity but which the Natives knew intimately. And, they had also spent the last three to four months preparing for Bacon. Additionally, Tidewater's Indigenous communities were masters of the region's phenology, or seasonality, and how the landscape – a character itself as suggested in Chapter III – at this time of year presented an important advantage to the Native nations.

This "homeland advantage" and "seasonal advantage" played a critical role in Native success. The task before Cockacoeske and the leaders of the other Indigenous nations required a sophisticated strategy to achieve their principal objective: preservation and protection of the Pamunkeys, Chickahominy, Mattaponi, Rappahannock, Nanzatico, and all other Indigenous people who came together in the Dragon. For his part, Bacon's objectives were to destroy the Native groups and remove them from their towns, making it possible for settlers to take up what they would then call vacant land (Figure 38).

Figure 39 outlines key factors that Cockacoeske and her warriors would have had to consider as they developed their plans for their withdrawal into the Dragon. The first, Indications and Warnings, required a system, formal or informal, by which the Natives became aware of what was taking place in the greater scheme of Bacon's Rebellion. This probably included all sorts of



Figure 38. Objectives of the two opposing sides (Jeffrey W. Wright).

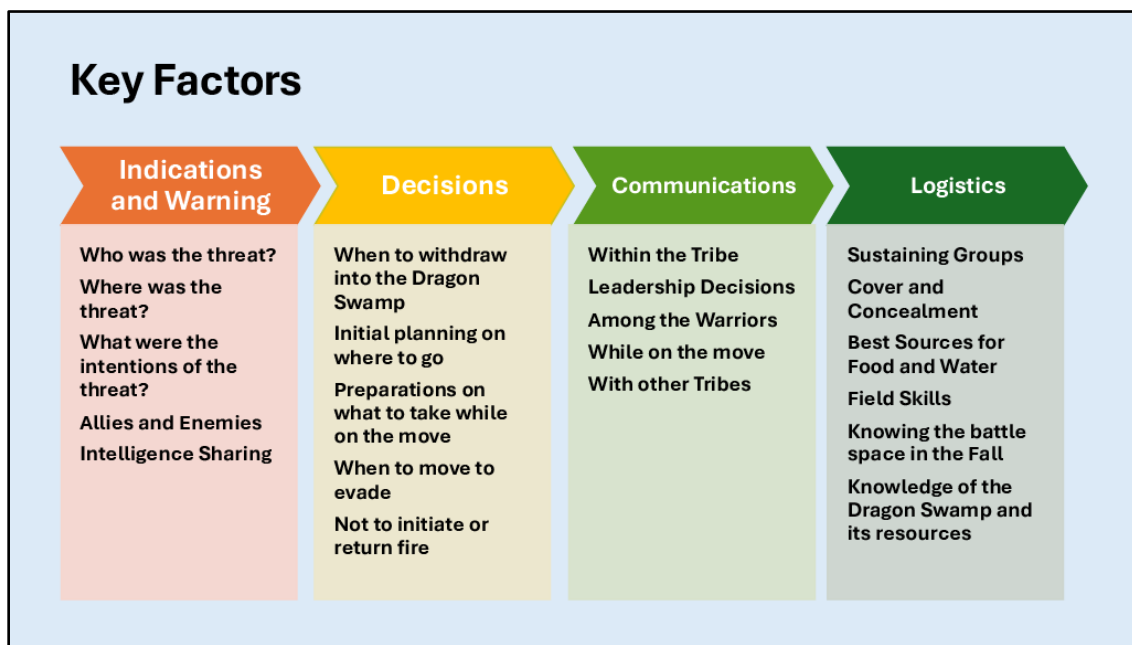


Figure 39. Key factors for planning (Jeffrey W. Wright).

reports and no doubt some rumors, so the ability to understand and sift through these reports (or signals) for what was real and what was not was critical (Wohlstetter 1962).

The sources of the signals have been lost to history, but it is possible that at least some loyalists, including Colonels Claiborne and West, had sufficient familiarity with Cockacoeske and the Pamunkeys to convey important intelligence to the weroansqua, who probably shared these

findings with the other leaders. Claiborne lived in Pamunkey Neck, not far from Cockacoeske's town, and he and his family had known the Pamunkeys for decades. What does not seem to be a coincidence is where some local histories place the Native people when in the Dragon: that is, in the vicinity of Bestland – Claiborne's 5,000-acre quarter in the Dragon (nearly eight square miles in size). On at least one occasion, in May 1676, Governor Berkeley sent a message via Claiborne to Cockacoeske.

Perhaps the most important source of information about Bacon's movements would have come from Colonel John West, the son of a Virginia governor and the father of Cockacoeske's son, Captain John West. Colonel West also lived in Pamunkey Neck, and West Point, Virginia is named for the West family. Historian Eathan Schmidt (2012:307-308) has written persuasively that Cockacoeske's relationship with John West guaranteed her political or diplomatic advantage. Her appearance in early 1676 before the Virginia assembly with their son, Captain John West, by her side as the English asked for her help with the rebellion no doubt conveyed a reminder of that relationship to the colony's leaders (Hening 1809-1823 [II]:341-365). Perhaps, then, it is no surprise that Colonel John West remained a loyalist throughout the rebellion. He was imprisoned by Bacon and his followers, perhaps because they recognized West was not only a loyalist but someone close to and potentially providing Cockacoeske with intelligence. West's property near West Point was then put into service by and for the rebels.

Other sources of information and warnings almost certainly came from Pamunkey spies and other Native spies. The paper archive is laden with evidence of the relatively long-distance communication networks of the Eastern Woodlands (for an example covering the Middle Atlantic from Maryland to New York over a period of several days in 1681, see King, Mansius, and Strickland 2016). Native communication was swift and could cover as great a distance as deemed necessary.

Signals alone, however, were not sufficient; Cockacoeske, her warriors, and other leaders had to sift through this information, determine what required attention, and then develop plans – the next key factor, labeled as “decisions” in Figure 39. A critically important decision was the decision not to return fire on Bacon or his rebels. This decision served the nations in the Dragon during treaty negotiations. Holding fire may have also contributed to keeping locations secret.

The third factor, communications, involved coordination within and between the tributary nations en route to and once in the Dragon. When Cockacoeske and presumably other leaders decided not to fire on Bacon's men, that decision needed to be disseminated among as many as 1,700 people, all from different nations. That none of Bacon's men died by a Native hand suggests the effectiveness of communicating that vital information. Such information could have been shared by runners or scouts, or even by calls; calls that would have been immediately intelligible to the Natives but not to Bacon and his men, who may not have been able to sort out animal and water sounds from calls.

This strategic necessity—effective communication—raises the questions of the many unseen leaders, especially those of not only the Pamunkeys but of the other nations. Their names have not been recorded for posterity, essentially erasing how their actions and decisions contributed to Indigenous success. While these actions were not directly visible, they can be assumed given the outcome for Native people and the general failure of Bacon to achieve his aims.

The fourth factor, logistics, allowed the Native groups to use their local knowledge of the Dragon to feed, house, and conceal as many as 1,700 people, including women, children, and elders. The Natives also needed to track Bacon and his army, which, if the commissioners' report of rebels struggling in the swampy terrain is any indication, was probably not especially difficult. While the Friends of Dragon Run's experiment with tree and plant cover suggests that visibility was limited in the Dragon in late summer, project team member Jeff Wright believes that the Natives "did a great job of always staying in contact with Bacon's people without Bacon's people knowing it."

As Bacon's men drew closer, the Natives would move to a new location. Building camp mobility into the plan was an excellent tactic that served the nations well. It is a tactic known by military strategists as the Fabian strategy, in which warriors "trade space for time" (see Chapter IV). This age-old but very effective strategy of "evade and escape" allowed Cockacoeske and the many Native people using the Dragon to buy time through strategic moves that contributed to Bacon's army essentially wearing itself down. "Easy" because Native people in Tidewater were well experienced with camp mobility during winter hunting expeditions.

The capture of Cockacoeske's nurse shows how effective the strategy of evade and escape could be at delaying and diverting Bacon's army. Cockacoeske's nurse was able to convince Bacon's men that she was leading them to the Pamunkey leader when, in fact, she was leading them in the opposite direction, away from the camps for a day and a half. The commissioners mocked Bacon at this detail: "the mighty deale that was done at this tyme was onely the taking of a little Indian child, and the killing an Indian woman." The nurse's sacrifice surely preserved Native lives, buying time for her countrymen as she led Bacon's men as far away as she could before being discovered.

As Bacon's army shrank precipitously over the course of four weeks, Bacon experienced one relatively minor success when he finally came upon a camp, killing eight people, capturing 45, and looting Cockacoeske's possessions. But Bacon's goals were largely left unachieved. As Bacon abandoned the Dragon to return to Jamestown, he had expended precious resources for minor gain. For the Pamunkeys, Chickahominys, Mattaponis, Rappahannocks, Nanzaticos, and other Native nations, what happened in the Dragon was, in military terms, a tactical and operational victory. If Bacon had intended to replicate the destruction he had unleashed at Occaneechi Town in May 1676, he fell far short of that goal. Further, Bacon's foray into the Dragon against formidable but underestimated opponents potentially contributed to the rebellion's own lifespan.

The Native nations who together lured Bacon and his rebels into the Dragon had substantial advantages that neither Bacon nor historians had anticipated in the event's outcome. Traditional Ecological Knowledge, for example, played a decisive role in the outcome, as the many Indigenous nations knew the Dragon and the opportunities it presented for defense and survival. From areas serving as near-ready-made fortifications to the range of food and other material resources for survival, Indigenous knowledge of Dragon Swamp provided a distinct and, indeed, decisive advantage to the Natives. Cockacoeske's extraordinary political skill has been noted; less documented but clearly evident in the outcome is the obvious communication that must have occurred among the many other leaders of Native nations also in the Dragon with the Pamunkeys. The discipline exhibited by the upwards of 1,700 Native people is equally remarkable. Leaders made politically astute decisions and warriors, women, children, and elders hewed to those decisions. A brief snapshot of this discipline is provided by Cockacoeske's nurse, who led Bacon and his men astray for 36 hours before they caught on to the ruse.

Cockacoeske's description of Native experience in the Dragon during these tumultuous months displays her ongoing skill as both communicator and handler as she played on the commissioners' understanding of swamps, emphasizing her own duress during the event. Without minimizing the challenges Native people faced in the Dragon during Bacon's offensive, Cockacoeske's highlighting of the worst moments at the hands of Bacon as well as the fact that no Englishmen were killed placed her in a much better position as the Treaty of Middle Plantation was negotiated in early 1677.

Recommendations for Further Research

This foregoing analysis and the evidence presented in the preceding chapters offer a model of how events in Dragon Swamp unfolded during Bacon's Rebellion. Although generally overlooked in most histories of Bacon's insurrection, Native political and military strategies, grounded in Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Indigenous experience, preserved Tidewater's Indigenous nations from Bacon's goal—and the goal of many settlers in the area—of Native destruction, by death or enslavement.

The next avenue of research would be to test the model through on-the-ground landscape research and archaeological survey. On-the-ground landscape research can provide real-time assessment of landscapes, including any modern changes. Remote technologies such as Lidar (Light Detection and Ranging) may be useful for identifying subtle changes in topography and should also be employed. Given the short period during which this event took place in the Dragon, however, Lidar may not be especially useful.

Because archaeological investigation is a destructive process (as sites are dug, deposits are destroyed), such survey should be done judiciously and carefully, targeting the minimal amount of work to minimize what is sometimes described as an "adverse effect." For any archaeological

project focused on this topic, Virginia's Federally-recognized tribes should be consulted and should provide input for and/or approve the research design. This is a legal requirement for the use of Federal or tribal funding and should serve as the model for any projects, regardless of funding source.

While the Pamunkeys and Rappahannocks and no doubt the state's other Federally- and state-recognized tribes regard the greater Dragon Swamp as Indigenous space, archaeological survey can help to pinpoint locations and spaces that would have been important during Dragon Swamp.

Areas of Interest for Land Preservation

This detailed review and assessment of the different record types available for documenting events in Dragon Swamp between late April and December 1676 (the period from when the Pamunkeys and other nations first began preparations in the Dragon to the likely time when they finally returned to their towns) has identified two spaces critical to Indigenous success at minimizing Bacon's depredations. Unlike traditionally recognizable battlefields (Yorktown, Gettysburg, etc.), the battlefield as it unfolded in the Dragon reflects the "evade and escape strategy" chosen by the Native leaders and warriors following their strategic withdrawal into the Dragon. This strategy offered the best plan for minimizing Native losses while maintaining Cockacoeske's goal of inflicting no direct harm on Bacon or his men.

The two spaces identified here include battlespace and sanctuary space. As defined at the beginning of this report, battlespace refers to the physical location where military operations take place. Sanctuary space also refers to a physical location, one that provides refuge and safety. Sanctuary spaces in this case were planned areas for the strategic withdrawal of Native nations into the Dragon. While the spaces are, for the purposes of this report, bounded, those bounds often shift through the dynamism of military engagement. The two spaces as defined here represent the best determination based on available evidence. Archaeological or other evidence may come to light that results in the bounds' adjustment. The authors do not feel, however, that any revisions will result in substantially different target areas for preservation.

Beginning with identifying the sanctuary space, at least two local histories center the Natives evading Bacon and his forces in the vicinity of Bestland, a community located near the boundary between Essex and King and Queen counties. Citations for this claim are lacking, but the project team accorded them standing given that the region was, and has, remained largely rural well into the 20th century with many of the same families in the area, and local memory, even lacking citations, deserves consideration. And, as noted in Chapter V, William Claiborne's Bestland patent exhibits the geographical and topographical features called out in contemporary descriptions of the event. Claiborne was also a Berkeley loyalist who knew Cockacoeske and was in communication with the weroansqua.

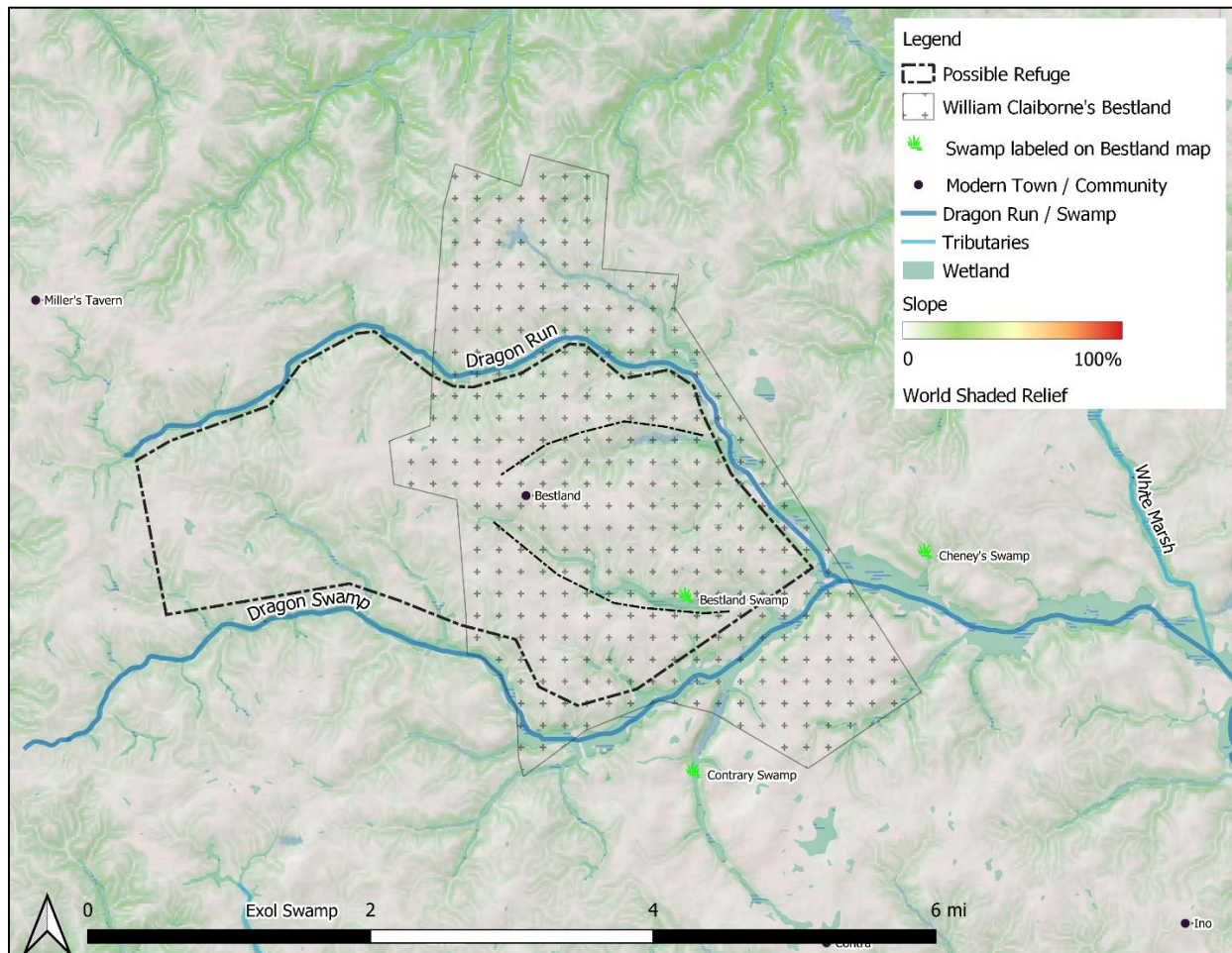


Figure 40. Map of the possible area of refuge or sanctuary space at Bestland. The point on Claiborne’s land offers a natural defense and is one of the circled “points” in Figures 32 and 33. Note: the dot showing as Bestland represents the modern village of Bestland, not the historic Claiborne patent.

Figure 40 shows Bestland, including Claiborne’s patent, along with an area that meets the conditions of sanctuary space based on data assembled for this report. Figure 41 depicts an expanded sanctuary space with locations that include similar topographic and environmental conditions similar to those found at Bestland. This space includes the circled “points” (see Figures 33 and 34) where the main stem of Dragon Swamp intersects with Dragon Run, White Marsh, Exol Swamp, Timber Branch Swamp, and Briery Swamp. The local areas are today known as Contra, Crouch, and Ino as well as Bestland.

The battle occurred over weeks and likely several months (including attacks led by rebels other than Bacon, including Thomas Goodrich). As noted, Native people did not simply huddle together and in one place: their mobility served to buy time enhancing their survival as Bacon’s men stumbled and crashed through the swamplands. Ethnohistorical evidence indicates that Native

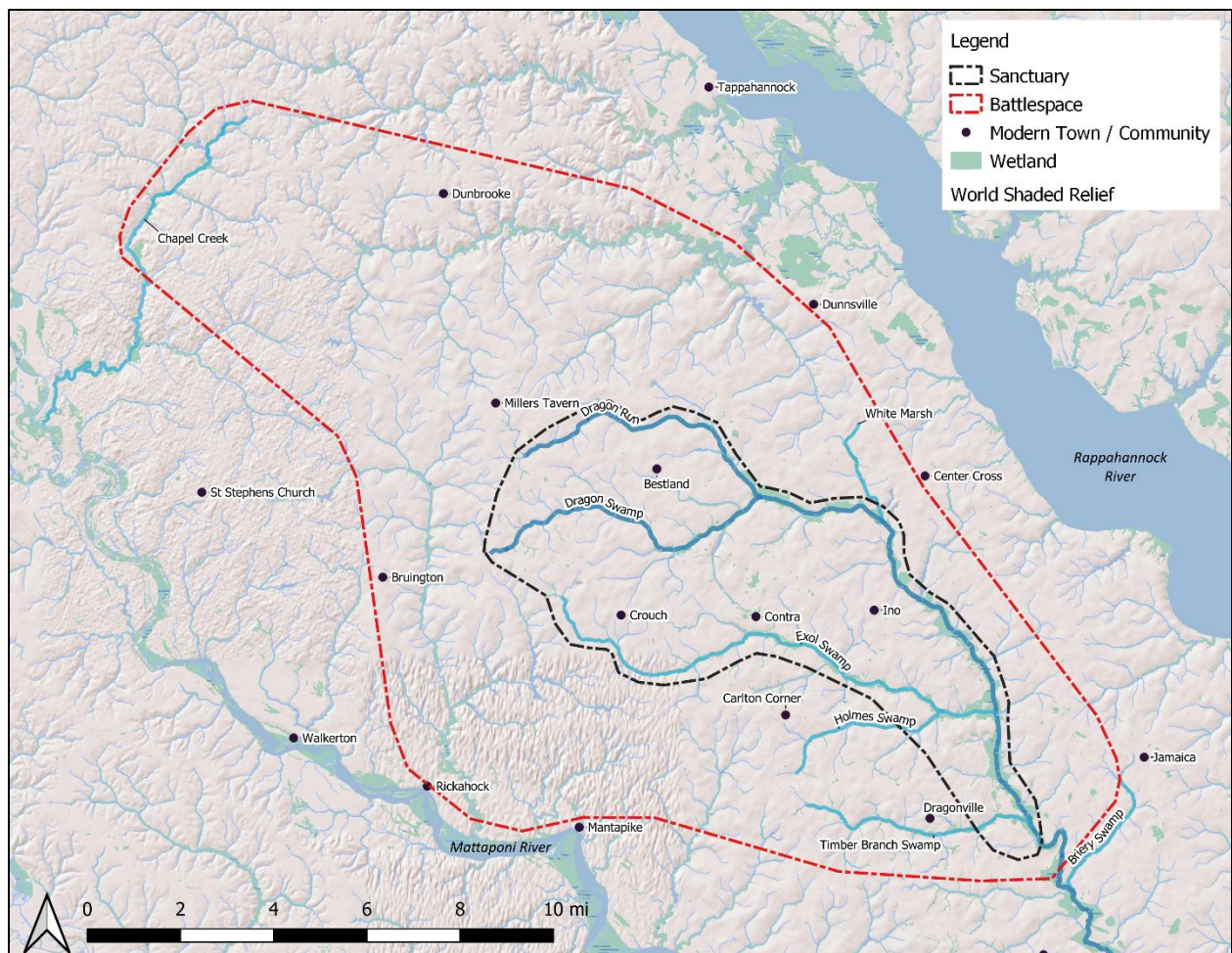


Figure 41. Projected sanctuary space and battlespace in Dragon Swamp in late summer 1676. The black dots and locality names represent modern villages or crossroads in the area.

people were experts at breaking down camp and moving their houses, material possessions, and families, and it is reasonable to assume that, although Claiborne appears to have been a friend, if the need arose, the Native people would not keep themselves within the confines of Bestland. Nor would they, it seems reasonable to assume, locate on or close to land owned by Baconites.

Figure 41 depicts both the extended secondary area of refuge, or sanctuary space, as well as the battlespace. The extended sanctuary space is located south and east of William Claiborne's Bestland, encompassing most of the junctures where various bodies of water meet. The battlespace includes the area from Mantapike (where Bacon likely crossed the Mattaponi into the Middle Peninsula) northwest to Chapel Creek, where Cockacoeske's nurse had led Bacon's forces all the while promising to take them to the weroansqua. The battlespace's northern boundary takes in some of the creeks and swamplands draining into the Rappahannock River as well as those draining into Dragon Swamp.

The projected locations of areas critical to what transpired in Dragon Swamp are admittedly large, and larger than many battlefields familiar to Americans. The size differential is, as this report argues, due to the strategies, skills, and goals of the opposing sides. While Bacon anticipated a repeat of his success at Occaneechi Town (and a near destruction of that place) in the Middle Peninsula, the Pamunkeys, Chickahomins, Mattaponis, Rappahannocks, Nanzaticos, and the other nations had different ideas. They brought Bacon into the Dragon, a place they knew well, determined to not attack the rebels, and used the Dragon as their fortifications, one they could easily move about as they evaded Bacon. Bacon's goal of Native destruction grew further and further out of reach as the rebel army became tired and demoralized.

What happened in the Dragon is an important but overlooked story. This is a story taking place in an Indigenous landscape occupied by settlers who craved land and labor, including both the loyalists and the Baconites. In many respects, the differences of these two opposing factions were about how to take possession of those resources and who would benefit. After seven decades of occupation, the Native nations understood this even as they remained committed to their ancestral homeland. With their stories rarely recorded in an archive indifferent to their points of view, multiple lines of evidence, including Traditional Ecological Knowledge, environmental analysis, landscape archaeology, and the reading of documents in search of Native presence, along with a collaborative approach has revealed a story of Indigenous resistance, resilience, and success.

Recommendations for Management

The areas this report outlines for land preservation are admittedly large, in part because the evidence points to a wide-area mobility as a key to Indigenous success and in part because of a lack of on-the-ground landscape assessment and archaeological survey.²² Recommendations for further research include on-the-ground landscape assessment and archaeological survey across the identified battle- and sanctuary spaces.

Properties within the areas identified spaces have changed little since the late 18th and 19th centuries, when wide-scale plowing, first by horse and later by machine, became increasingly common in the lands found in the Dragon's drainage. Many of the lands surrounding the Dragon are protected, either through outright public ownership or conservation easements held by state and local governments, by private organizations (e.g., The Nature Conservancy, Friends of Dragon Run, Historic Virginia Land Conservancy, Land Trust of Virginia), and by quasi-public organizations (Virginia Outdoors Foundation).

Figure 42 is a map generated by the Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation showing conserved lands in the vicinity of Dragon Swamp. The majority of conserved lands are

²² Although the project team visited and/or hiked a number of properties and kayaked several miles of the Dragon, the greater Dragon Swamp area remains inadequately surveyed for the purposes of this project. Further, archaeological survey (other than examining collections) was not a part of the present project.

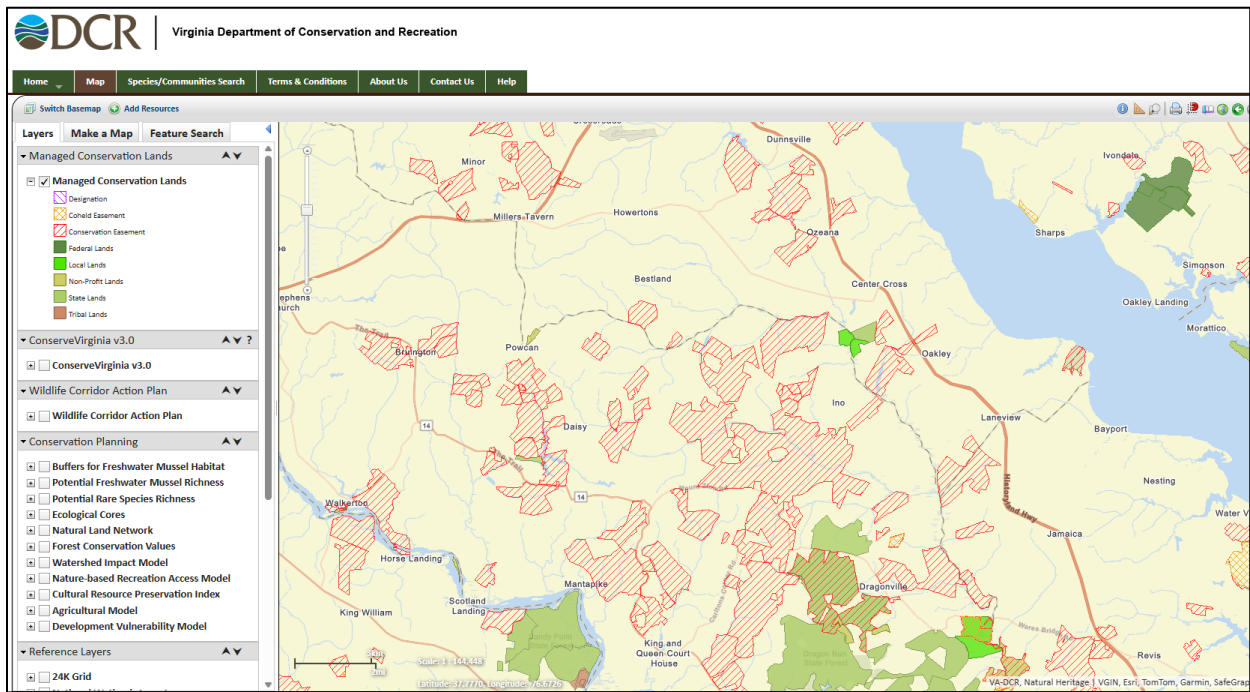


Figure 42. Managed conservation lands as reported by the Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation.

those that are privately held with a conservation easement. Most if not all of these lands are in use as farmland. These easements typically protect the lands under the various agencies and/or organizations purview from development or other major land use changes.

State lands include Dragon Run State Forest, located near Dragonville, and Browne State Forest, located south of Center Cross. Adjacent to Browne State Forest are lands owned by the Middle Peninsula Chesapeake Bay Public Access Authority. By 2020, a cross memorializing earlier voyages of Captain John Smith (1607-1609) had been placed on Middle Peninsula property.

Figure 42 reveals that, while a great deal of land along the Dragon in King and Queen County has been placed in conservation, far less land along the Dragon’s north side in Essex County has been protected. This includes much of Bestland between Dragon Run and the main stem of the Dragon. As noted earlier, this area has been identified by local historians and the authors of this report as having a high probability for having served as the Native nations’ sanctuary space. Indeed, most of the areas found circled in Figures 32-34 are not protected by conservation easements. These include the lands where White Marsh and Exol Swamp drain into the main stem of the Dragon.

With the exception of the marker located on the Middle Peninsula Chesapeake Bay Public Access Authority property commemorating the voyage of Captain John Smith, none of these easements are for historical or cultural purposes.

This report will be provided to the various land conservation managing agencies and organizations to provide additional information about potential historical and cultural values for protecting land in the identified battle- and sanctuary space. Project team members have compiled information to share with these agencies and organizations and will meet with their leaders to emphasize the historical significance of the Dragon.

The project team remains committed to these and other next steps. In addition to raising awareness among land conservation agencies and organizations, the team is planning projects to educate a broad audience about the events that transpired in the Dragon in 1676 and commemorate the Indigenous role in that event.

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APPENDIX I
PROJECT TEAM MEMBERS

1. Jerry Fortune
Member, Tribal Council
Rappahannock Tribe
2. Mark Fortune
Assistant Chief
Rappahannock Tribe
3. Allyson Gray
Member, Tribal Council
Pamunkey Indian Tribe
4. Shaleigh Howells
Past Museum Director
Pamunkey Indian Tribe
5. Julia A. King
Principal Investigator
St. Mary's College of Maryland
6. Megan Postemski
Project Lead
St. Mary's College of Maryland
7. Edward D. Ragan
Tribal Historian
Rappahannock Tribe
8. Anne Richardson
Chief
Rappahannock Tribe
9. Wendy Roberson
Former member, Tribal Council
Pamunkey Indian Tribe
10. Kendall Stevens
Cultural Resource Director
Pamunkey Indian Tribe
11. Jeffrey W. Wright
President
Friends of Dragon Run

APPENDIX II

LIST OF ALL PATENTS EXAMINED AS PART OF THIS PROJECT

Based on the type and quality of information, patents were selected for transcription. Excerpts were generally highlighted green if they contained geographic references (e.g., Dragon Swamp, Timber Branch, Piankatank River), blue if they referenced transportation networks (e.g., paths, roads, ferries), and yellow if they referenced neighbors or nearby properties (e.g., Bestland, Captain Claiborne's quarter, Anthony Arnold).

1640-1649

Title: Land grant 17 January 1642.

Creator: Gwyn, Hugh. grantee.

Creation Date: 1642 - 0117

Location: County location not given.

Description: 1700 acres neare the mouth of **Pyankatanke river**; should be near the 5,000 acres Ossakican (Wassatickon) was granted on behalf of the Kiskiack

Source: Land Office Patents No. 1, 1623-1643 (v.1 & 2), p. 865 (Reel 1).

Title: Land grant 16 June 1649.

Creator: Wormeley, Ralph. grantee.

Creation Date: 1649 - 0616

Location: County location not given.

Description: 3200 acres on the south side of **Rappahanock River**; about ten miles up the river, including the **Indian Townes of old and New Nimcocke**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 2, 1643-1651, p. 170 (Reel 2).

Transcription: Bounded as follows: northwest upon a creek called **Rosegill Creek**, east towards the land of **Thomas Trotter**, northeast and north upon the river, south west south and south south east upon the woods

1650-1659

Title: Land grant 23 March 1650.

Creator: Wormeley, Ralph. grantee.

Creation Date: 1650 - 0323

Location: County location not given.

Description: 237 acres lyeing on the south west side of **Rappahanock River**; beg.g at the mouth of **Nimcock Creeke**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 2, 1643-1651, p. 288 (Reel 2).

Title: Land grant 16 September 1651.

Creator: Moone, Abraham. grantee.

Creation Date: 1651 - 0916

Location: Lancaster County.

Grantee(s): Moone, Abraham and Griffin, Thomas.

Description: 1400 acres on the south side of **Rappahannock River** opposite to the late land of **Capt. Ralph Wormeley, decd.**, Begg &c on the south side of a branch of **Peanketank**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 2, 1643-1651, p. 341 (Reel 2).

Transcription: 1400 acres of land situated in the county of Lancaster upon the south side of **Rappahannock River** opposite to the late land of **Capt. Ralph Wormley Esqr. Decd.** Beginning at a branch of **Pianketank** and extending east 220 poles to a marked oak on the north side of a small swamp and run of water and from thence north 320 poles to another marked oak, thence to (?) land of (?) aforesaid of (?) aforesaid **Capt. Ralph Wormley Esq. Decd.** North north west upon **Nymcock creek**, and from the main branch upon the head of **Nymcock Creek** west and southwest and southerly upon a branch of **Pianketank** and south east opposite to the place where it began.

Title: Land grant 3 July 1652.

Creator: West, John, Capt. grantee.

Creation Date: 1652 - 0703

Location: York County.

Description: 850 acres lying at the mouth of the narrows of **York River**, being a neck of land, on the north side thereof the neck, being made by York River.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 3, 1652-1655, p. 93 (Reel 2).

Transcription: 850 acres of land lying at the mouth of the narrows of **York river** being a neck of land on the north side thereof, the neck being made by the York river on the south side and a creek called **Tucks Maccadeguinn** issuing hereof and **Mattapony** on the east and creek called (**Armogotegue?**) issuing thereout and at the head thereof a line (?) running cross to the swamp of the before named **Maccadeguinn**...

Title: Land grant 6 March 1653.

Creator: West, John, Capt. grantee.

Creation Date: 1653 - 0306

Location: County location not given.

Description: 3300 acres on ye north east side of York River and S. Wt. of **Mattapony**: beg.g at ye mouth of **Tanks Mattedequin**. __850 acres of this tract formerly granted unto him by patt. __See pa: 93.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 3, 1652-1655, p. 290 (Reel 2).

Transcription: 3,300 acres of land situated on ye north east side of the **York River** and south west of **Mattapony**, beginning at ye mouth of **Tanks Mattedequin** and running northerly up the main branch of the said creek to **Warranuncock path** thence by the said path by marked trees through George his field to a marked large white oak in a flashy valley then more westerly to ye head of a creek issuing into **Mattapony** thence west ½ a point north 360 perches thence north by east ½ a point east 500 perches to the mouth of a great creek next beneath the **Ancient Indian Ferry** on **Mattapony** thence easterly & southerly down ye river to the point severing Mattapony from York river thence northerly and westerly up **York River** to ye mouth of branch **Mattedequin** where it began... 850 acres part hereof being formerly granted unto him by patent dated (illegible)...

Title: Land grant 31 March 1653.

Creator: Moon, Abraham. grantee.

Creation Date: 1653 - 0331

Location: Lancaster County.

Description: 1700 acres on the south side of **Rappahannock River**, opposite to the land of the **Lady Chichley**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 3, 1652-1655, p. 69 (Reel 2).

Title: Land grant 18 April 1653.

Creator: Diggs, Edward. grantee.

Creation Date: 1653 - 0418
Location: Gloucester County.
Description: 700 acres called **Mantpoyick**. On the north side of **Mattaponi River**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 3, 1652-1655, p. 32 (Reel 2).

Title: Land grant 1 June 1653.
Creator: Diggs, Edward. grantee.
Creation Date: 1653 - 0601
Location: Gloucester County.
Description: 2350 acres called **Mattopony Fort**. On the north side of **Mattoponi River**; beg. at a small run called **Pookatamanic**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 3, 1652-1655, p. 16 (Reel 2).

Title: Land grant 1 September 1653.
Creator: Clayborne, Willm., Col. grantee.
Creation Date: 1653 - 0901
Location: County location not given.
Description: 5000 acres att Pamunkey on the north side of the **freshes of Yorke River**; bounded on the east side with **Tancks Mattadaquin Creeke**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 3, 1652-1655, p. 34 (Reel 2).
Transcription: 5000 acres of land lying and being on the north side of **Pamunkey River** in the narrows and abutting on the mouth of a creek called **Tanks Maddauind** parting the said dividend from his land of **Capt John West** and thence running westerly to a poynt of land where the said Col. Clayborne landed his army under his command in anno 1644 and so running along up the bank of the said **Pamunkey River** to a small run at the mouth of **Crany Island Reach**, there being a marked black walnutt tree and so extending all along into the woods one myle from the said river side...

Title: Land grant 19 October 1653.
Creator: Moon, Abraham. grantee.
Creation Date: 1653 - 1019
Location: Lancaster County.
Description: 300 acres on the north west side of **Nimcock Creek**, opposite to another tract of land, of said Moon's.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 3, 1652-1655, p. 69 (Reel 2).
Transcription: Bounded as followeth: beginning at corner point upon the head of **Sr. Henry Chichleys** dividend of hundred acres now in the possession of **Thomas Kidd** and extending (?) into the woods northwest 320 poles and from thence parallel with **Nimcock Creek** southwest 150 poles and southeast upon (?) **Nimcock Creek** northeast upon the land now in the possession of the said **Thomas Kidd**, the said land being due unto the said Abraham Moon by and for the transportation of...

Title: Land grant 19 October 1653.
Creator: Nicholls, Henry. grantee.
Creation Date: 1653 - 1019
Location: Lancaster County.
Grantee(s): Davis, Evan and Nicholls, Henry.
Description: 542 acres.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 3, 1652-1655, p. 86 (Reel 2).

Transcription from Nugent 1934: Upon S side of **Rappahannock River** and upon the SE side of a SW branch of **Sunderland Creek** beginning near the said branch, extending SE to land of **Richard White and John Welsh, Ass. Of John Pedro & Evan Davis, Ass. of Edward Boswell**, from thence SW & c. 300 acs. Granted unto Dennis Conniers & Evan Davis 12 Feb 1651, which sd. Conniers assigned to sd. Davis & Nicholls his right thereof, reserving for himself 100 acs, & 242 acs. Due for trans. of 5 persons

Title: Land grant 6 April 1655.

Creator: Peck, Thomas. grantee.

Creation Date: 1655 - 0406

Location: Gloucester County.

Description: 1000 acres on the north east side of **Mettopony River**, behind the land of Major Taylor and Edward Diggs.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 3, 1652-1655, p. 338 (Reel 2).

Title: Land grant 17 May 1655.

Creator: Woodward, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1655 - 0517

Location: Gloucester County.

Description: 500 acres bounded on the north and north east side with **Pyanketank River** and a great Marsh, adjoining land of **Abraham Moon**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 3, 1652-1655, p. 337 (Reel 2).

Title: Land grant 14 December 1655.

Creator: Potter, Cuthbert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1655 - 1214

Location: Lancaster County.

Description: 1200 acres on the south side of **Rappahannock River**; upon the branches of **Burnhams Creek**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 20 (Reel 4).

Title: Land grant 5 October 1656.

Creator: Price, Howell. grantee.

Creation Date: 1656 - 1005

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 1000 acres beg.g &c. on the north side of a branch of **Peropotank Swamp**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 87 (Reel 4).

Title: Land grant 7 October 1656.

Creator: Chickley, Henry, Kt. grantee.

Creation Date: 1656 - 1007

Location: Lancaster County.

Description: 800 acres being part of the swmp and the north east side of **the swamp which maketh the head of Peanketank River**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 69 (Reel 4).

Transcription: 800 acres of land situated in the County of Lancaster being part of the swamp and the north east side of the swamp which maketh the head of the **Piankatank River**.

Beginning at a marked white oak standing by a small dogwood on the northeast side of the swamp to the southeast of the branch next below the **King's Path** and running northeast 50 poles, thence northwest 150

poles, thence west parallel to the swamp 600 poles thence south into the swamp 200 poles, thence east 625 poles and north east to the first mentioned tree including the said 800 acres...

Title: Land grant 8 December 1656.

Creator: Dixon, Miles. grantee.

Creation Date: 1656 - 1208

Location: Lancaster County.

Description: 1000 acres on the south side of Rappahannock River, and on the north side of the Great Swamp, lying westerly from the land of John Haywood.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 66 (Reel 4).

Searched: Miles *d*son

Transcription: south side of Rappahannock River and on the North side of the great swamp lying westerly from the land of John Haywood, south and south west upon the great swamp, northeast towards the bay of the Clifts and north west unto the woods and south east down the neck...

Title: Land grant June 1657.

Creator: Dudley, William. grantee.

Creation Date: 1657 - 06??

Location: Lancaster County.

Description: 2000 acres on the south side of Rappahannock River, lying on the north side of the great swamp X. adjoining the land of John Howard.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 136 (Reel 4).

Searched: William Dudley

Transcription: on the south side of Rappahannock River lying on the north side of the great swamp X northwest to the land of Mr. John Howard, thence northeast by east 320 poles, thence southeast to the land of Cuthbert Potter from thence southwest, to the place where it first began...

Title: Land grant 24 December 1657.

Creator: Claibrone, Wm., Capt. grantee.

Creation Date: 1657 - 1224

Location: County location not given.

Description: 5000 acres between Mattapony and Rappahannock River on both sides Peanketank main swamp.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 213 (Reel 4).

Searched: wm cl*b*one

Transcription: Beginning at the head of a small branch that falleth into the main swamp on the south side thereof and running down thence parallel to the said main swamp 1250 poles thence northerly 640 poles to the head of another small branch thence parallel to the first line 1250 poles so southerly 640 poles more to the place it began...

Title: Land grant 17 May 1658.

Creator: Jones, Rice. grantee.

Creation Date: 1658 - 0517

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Grantee(s): Jones, Rice and Jackman, Anthony.

Description: 1040 acres on the south side of Rappahannock River; beginning &c standing by or nigh the Great Swamp or Main Pocason and on the north east side adjoining land of Miles Dixon.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 378 (Reel 4).

Transcription: Beginning at a marked chestnut tree standing by or nigh the edge of the **great swamp or main Pocoson** & on the northeastern side thereof, thence extending its breadth parallel with the courses of the said swamp or main pocoson 320 poles to marked white oak part of the its length being bounded on the southest side from the said chestnut tree with a line of marked trees dividing the land and a tract of land belonging to **Miles Dixon** the course being northeast 320 poles unto marked red oak by or nigh **Mattapony path** being the northernmost corner tree of **Mr. Dixon's land**, thence continuing the same course 280 poles inlarging its length to a Spanish oak in the main woods on a level, thence north west over the heads of certain branches & valleys that proceedeth out of the said Pocoson unto a marked red oak standing near the head of a Deep bottom belonging to a (Gatt?) or small Creek called **Dedmans (?) Creek** 320 poles finally thence southwest down to the main swamp side the said bounds including the quantity of land above specified...

Title: Land grant 12 June 1658.

Creator: Claibrone, Wm., Capt. grantee.

Creation Date: 1658 - 0612

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 1000 acres on the South side **Peanketank great swamp** near the head thereof.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 310 (Reel 4).

Searched: wm cl*b*one

Transcription: Land lying..on the south side Pianketank great swamp near the head thereof and Beginning at a marked white oak near a branch running out of the **Pianketank great swamp** and extending southerly by marked trees 400 poles. Thence easterly by like marked trees 400 poles thence northerly to the great swamp 400 poles more & so along the said swamp 400 poles also to the place where it began in all containing 1000 acres...

Title: Land grant 10 July 1658.

Creator: Axell, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1658 - 0710

Location: New Kent County.

Grantee(s): Axell, John and Haynes, Anthony.

Description: 600 acres begg.g &c. in a valley of **Peanketank branches** The said Anthony Haynes assigned all his interest of this patent to the said John Axell and therefore renewed in the said Axells name wholly, March 18th 1662, &c.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 271 (Reel 4).

Searched: john *x?!*

Transcription: 600 acres of land situated in the county of New Kent. Beginning at white oak and gum in a **valley of Peanketank branches** running west by south 100 poles to a beech, thence west north west $\frac{1}{4}$ west 100 poles, thence north northeast $\frac{1}{4}$ 541 poles, thence east south east $\frac{1}{4}$ 184 poles, thence south south west $\frac{1}{4}$ south 491 poles o the place where it began...

Title: Land grant 10 July 1658.

Creator: Haynes, Anthony. grantee.

Creation Date: 1658 - 0710

Location: New Kent County.

Grantee(s): Axell, John and Haynes, Anthony.

Description: 600 acres.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 271 (Reel 4).

Title: Land grant 10 July 1658.

Creator: Pigge, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1658 - 0710

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 300 acres on the branches of **Peanketank** adjoining the land of John Axell.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 271 (Reel 4).

Searched: john *x?!*

Transcription: 300 acres of land situated in the county of New Kent on the branches of **Peankatank**.

Beginning at a red oak corner to **John Axell's land**, thence west north west $\frac{1}{4}$ west 100 poles to a white oak corner, thence north north east $\frac{1}{4}$ 480 poles, thence east south east $\frac{1}{4}$ east 100 poles to John Axell's land, thence south south west $\frac{1}{4}$ 480 poles by the said land to the place where it began.

Title: Land grant 7 October 1658.

Creator: Potter, Cuthbert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1658 - 1007

Location: Lancaster County.

Description: 600 acres on the south side of **Rappahannock River**, on the south east side of the southernmost branch of a creek called **Bumhams Creek alias Boswells Creek**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 276 (Reel 4).

Transcription: On the southeast side of the southernmost branch of a creek called **Burnhams Creek alias Boswell's Creek** and backing a parcel of land formerly purchased by the said Potter of one **Evan Davis**

extending and running its breadth – parallel nigh upon the said Creek, south 300 poles towards the head thereof thence into the woods toward **Nimcock Creek** east 320 poles abutting or near joining upon a tract of land formerly taken up and patented by the said Potter, thence north 320 poles and finally west unto the place where this land began the figure forming a quadrangle...

Title: Land grant 20 June 1659.

Creator: Potter, Cuthbert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1659 - 0620

Location: Gloucester County.

Description: 5380 acres on the **north side and south sides of the great swamp or pocoson** which divides the Counties of Lancaster and Gloucester and about two miles above the **horse path**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 379 (Reel 4).

Transcription: 1380 acres whereof beginneth at marked white oak standing on the north side of the said swamp by or nigh a **path that goeth from the plantation of John Curtis known by the name Mattapony Path** and adjoining to and upon certain marked trees supposed to belong unto **Mr. Charles Guines** & extendeth by and along the said line of marked trees, southwest 48 poles unto the corner tree of the said line and south southwest 272 poles down to the swamp said aforesaid both angles giving a (due?) mile running its breadth from the above mentioned white oak **northwest by west 690 poles along or near abutting Mattapony path** aforesaid unto a marked red oak in a Valley being, the southernmost corner tree of a dividend of land formerly taken up by the said Mr. Potter, thence southwest and south southwest 320 poles down to the great swamp again & finally thence by the side and along the said swamp the course parallel to this lands breadth with the bounds including all the land betwixt Mattapony path and the great swamp according to the quantity above mentioned.

The residence being four thousand acres of land lying on the south side of the **Great swamp** beginning opposite to the marked white oak first mentioned & running into the woods southwest from the said swamp 320 poles, and so by the side and along the said swamp 2000 poles its due breadth including the said quantity of land. The said land being due to the said Mr. Potter by & for the transportation...

1660-1669

Title: Land grant 15 March 1660.

Creator: Cole, James. grantee.

Creation Date: 1660 - 0315

Location: County location not given.

Description: 661 acres upon a branch of the **Dragon Swamp**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 469 (Reel 4).

Transcription: 661 acres beginning at a marked poplar by the branch side and running out into the woods, south by west 240 poles to a marked Spanish oak, thence west by north 260 poles to a marked oak by a dry branch, thence northwest 220 poles to a marked Spanish oak, then north northeast 260 poles to a marked poplar by the branch, thence down the branch making its natural bounds east by south and as the swamp runs 388 poles to the tree first began...

Title: Land grant 14 December 1660.

Creator: Pigge, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1660 - 1214

Location: New Kent County.

Grantee(s): Morris, George and Pigge, John .

Description: 1000 acres. .

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 450 (Reel 4).

Title: Land grant 25 June 1660.

Creator: Davis, Richard. grantee.

Creation Date: 1660 - 0625

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 660 acres on the North side of **Mattapony River** on the **main swamp of a creek** called and known by the name of **Esq. Diggs's Creek**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 394 (Reel 4).

Title: Land grant 13 January 1661.

Creator: Holmes, Thomas. grantee.

Creation Date: 1661 - 0113

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 1024 acres on the north side of **Mattapony River** and on the south side of **Peanketank Swamp** on the north east side **Cheescake path**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 395 (Reel 4).

Searched: Thomas Holmes

Transcription: 1024 acres of land lying in the county of New Kent upon the north side of Mattapony River and on the south side of **Pianketank swamp** and upon the northeast side **Cheescake Path** some 4 miles into the woods behind the land formerly **Mr. Henry Soans**. Bounded as followeth: beginning at the red oak by **Cheescake path**, running along the said path easterly 500 poles (90°, 8250 ft) to a corner white oak upon the north side of the **path in a fork of a branch** that emptieth itself into Peanketank swamp,

thence by marked trees east northeast 350 poles (67.5°, 5775ft) to the **main swamp of Peanketank** to a forked red oak corner by the swamp, thence by marked trees 320 poles west $\frac{3}{4}$ northerly (278.4375, 5280) to a corner oak by a dry branch, thence north westerly west 140 poles (303.75, 2310), thence west south west 200 poles (247.5, 3300ft), thence south by the **path** and along the **path** east, southerly to the first station. The said land being formerly granted unto the said Holmes by patent dated the 6th of July 1660 and now renewed...

Title: Land grant 13 January 1661.

Creator: Holmes, Thomas. grantee.

Creation Date: 1661 - 0113

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 1100 acres on the south side of **Pyanketank Swamp**; Beg.g at three small oaks by an **Indian path**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 395 (Reel 4).

Searched: Thomas Holmes

Transcription: 1100 acres of land lying in the County of New Kent, on the south side of **Pyanketank swamp**. Beginning at the small oaks by an **Indian path** running thence north 60 poles to a hickory, thence northeast & north 296 poles to a corner oak on the north side of a branch of the aforesaid swamp, thence east 588 poles over the said swamp to a corner red oak, thence along the east side of the said swamp to a corner oak, thence west to that **Indian path** so along the path 640 poles to the first station.

Title: Land grant 13 January 1661.

Creator: Light, George. grantee.

Creation Date: 1661 - 0113

Location: New Kent County.

Grantee(s): Light, George and Spencer, Thomas.

Description: 1127 acres on the north side of **Mattapony River**. Beg.g at Mr. Holmes's lower corner tree of land in **Cheescake Path**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 432 (Reel 4).

Transcription: 1127 acres of land lying in the county of New Kent upon the north side of **Mattapony River** bounding as followeth, viz: Beginning at **Mr. Holmes'** Lower corner tree of land in **Cheescake path** (?) a white oak upon the north side of the said path running upon the path westerly 320 poles, thence south southwest (200?) poles to a hickory, thence east southerly to the **main swamp of Peanketank** and up the swamp to a forked red oak of the land of **Mr. Thomas Holmes** aforesaid, thence south southwest 350 poles by marked trees dividing this land from the land of **Mr. Thomas Holmes** to the place where it first began...

Title: Land grant 26 March 1661.

Creator: Claiborne, Willm., Capt. grantee.

Creation Date: 1661 - 0326

Location: County location not given.

Description: 4000 acres on the Main _____ of **Pyankeank River**, on both sides of the said swamp.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 456 (Reel 4).

Searched: 26 March 1661

Transcription: beginning at a poplar that stands on the souths side of the main swamp & runeth into the main swamp called **Robin's Branch** thence --- side of the said **Robin's branch** by marked trees a distance - --- up along the said branch to the head thereof to white oak --- thence south, southwest southerly 250

perches to the head of a branch called **Contrary Branch** thence to the sides of a branch called the ---- cross it southerly 200 perches to a marked oak, thence running ---- said **Hellicon branch** rounding 500 perches by marked trees – from the said branch, thence west north west westerly 200 perches --- tree that stands near a spring thence west, southwest southerly --- thence northwest westerly by marked trees 45 perches – trees 85 perches, northwesterly, thence 90 perches north, east & by --- thence north west by north --- northerly 360 perches to a marked --- stands by the said main swamp, thence cross the said ---- 100 perches – branch that runeth into the said main swamp east northeast --- perches up the said branch to a marked tree thence 165 perches --- by marked trees, thence south southeast easterly 250 perches, thence -- - easterly 960 --- perches to the place where it began...

Title: Land grant 15 May 1661.

Creator: Appleton, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1661 - 0515

Location: Lancaster County.

Description: 1000 acres on the South side of **Rappahannock River**, and on the North side of the **great swamp**, lying westerly from the land of **John Howard**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 473 (Reel 4).

Searched: John Howard

Title: Land grant 20 September 1661.

Creator: Potter, Cuthbert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1661 - 0920

Location: County location not given.

Description: 4000 acres on the south side **Peanketank main swamp**: Beg.g opposite to a marked white oak standing on the north side of the said swamp, being a corner tree of a parcel of 1380 acres of land surveyed by the sd. Potter.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 48 (Reel 5).

Searched: Cuthbert Potter

Title: Land grant 20 September 1661.

Creator: Potter, Cuthbert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1661 - 0920

Location: Lancaster County.

Description: 3672 acres lying on **Sunderland als Boswells creek** and the branches thereof.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 51 (Reel 6).

Transcription: **lying on Sunderland als Boswell's creek and the branches thereof** (and ye?) branches of ye great swamp on the south side **Rappa River** and bounded at 442 acres (?) thereof beginning at a point of (marsh?) at a (dead?) chestnut (and?) south south east 360 poles to a marked pohickory that standeth near to ye (?) & land of **Tho. Williams**, thence west south west (261?) poles, thence north (west?) 360 poles to ye creeks, thence east north east to ye place first began

& 1200 acres beginning at a marked red oak standing near ye head of a branch (to ?) (runneth?) to ye great swamp & running north 320 poles cross certain branches which (flow into?) ye great swamp into a marked Spanish oak standing near ye head of a small branch & for thence 600 poles to a marked chestnut standing in a valley on ye (?) of a branch suppose dot run into Burnham's creek, thence south cross ye branches to a marked white oak (320?) poles and from thence west 600 poles to ye first marked tree of this 1200 acres

And 600 acres another (?) backing ye aforesaid 442 acres of land extending its breadth (?) nigh or upon ye said creek and 320 poles toward ye head thereof, thence into ye wood toward **Nimcock Creek** east 320 poles abutting or near adjoining to a tract of land formerly taken up by ye said Potter, thence north 300 poles and finally west unto ye place it began

And 50 acres thereof beginning on ye line of the said 600 acres on ye (southerly?) branch of ye said creek running along on the **Indian Path** that crosseth ye (line?) that (leadeth?) over ye head of ye creek to ye house of **Thomas Pattison** (?) with ye (main?) run, thence alone ye marsh at ye head of the creek easterly and so crossing certain branches south east and southerly till ye meet with a marked tree of a (dividend?) of land (in at?) ye said Potter purchased of **Evan Davis** and 1380 acres ye other (?) beginning about two miles above ye **horse path** at a marked white oak by or nigh a path that goeth from **Mr. Jno Curtis plantation** known by ye name **Mattapony Path** (adjoining?) to and upon certain marked trees supposed to belong to **Mr. Charles Grimes** and upland of it (?) for breadth by and along the said line of marked trees south south west 48 poles unto ye corner trees of ye said land and south south west 270 poles down to ye great swamp side both (angles?) (?) a (?) and running its breadth from ye above mentioned white oak north west by west 690 poles amongst or near abutting **Mattapony path** aforesaid onto a marked red oak in a vally being ye southern most corner trees of a dividend formerly taken up by ye said Potter, thence south(west?) and south south west 320 poles along to ye great swamp again, and finally thence by ye sides and along ye said swamp ye courses parallel to that breadth whereof bounded includeth all ye land amongst **Mattapony Path** and (?) great swamp being 1380 acres, the said land being due unto ye said Potter and follows. 442 acres being (part?) o fa patent granted to Henry Nicholls, Evan Davis dated ye 19th of October 1653 and by ye said Davis assigned to ye said Potter and 1200 acres another part being formerly granted unto (?) potter by patent dated 14th of December 1655 and 600 acres another part granted unto ye said Pottery by patent dated ye 7th of October 1658, and ___ acres formerly (?) by him ye (20th?) of August 1660 and due (?) of one (?)...

Title: Land grant 12 February 1662.

Creator: Pigg, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1662 - 0212

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 300 acres on the branches of **Pyanketank**. Beg.g &c. corner of John Axolls land. .

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 565 (Reel 4).

Searched: john *x?!*

Transcription: 300 acres of land situated in the county of New Kent on the **branches of Peankatank**. Beginning at a red oak corner of John Axell's land, thence west north west $\frac{1}{4}$ west 100 poles to a white oak corner, thence north north east $\frac{1}{4}$ 480 poles, thence east south east $\frac{1}{4}$ east 100 poles to **John Axell's land**, thence south south west $\frac{1}{4}$ 480 poles by the said land to the place where it began. The said land being formerly granted to the said Pigg by patent dated the 10th of July 1658 and now renewed in his majesties name...

Title: Land grant 5 March 1662.

Creator: Curtis, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1662 - 0305

Location: Lancaster County.

Description: 600 acres on the head of **Nimcock Creek**. Begg. at a small creek known by the name of **Holobush Swamp Creek**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 129 (Reel 5).

Transcription: Beginning at small Creek known by the name of **Holobush Swamp creek** and running up **Nimcock Creek** NW by N 300 poles for breadth west by south into the woods 320 poles, thence SE by S 300 poles down Hollowbush, E NE 320 poles.

The land being formerly granted to Charles Grynes and by him granted to the said Curtis by order of the general court

Title: Land grant 6 March 1662.

Creator: Curtis, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1662 - 0306

Location: County location not given.

Description: 560 acres on the North East side of the **great Swamp**, joining to Cuthbert Potters land.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 129 (Reel 5).

Searched: Cuthbert Potter

Transcription: Beginning at a marked white oak that standeth by the **path side that goeth over the great swamp** running northwest 480 poles to the land of **W. Cuthbert Potter**, North northeast 320 poles thence southeast 150 poles, south south east 160 poles, south southwest to the first specified place...

Title: Land grant 11 March 1662.

Creator: Pigg, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1662 - 0311

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 365 acres in a fork of **Peanketank swamp** some four miles from **Rappahannock River**, and joining to the **land of Captain William Claiborne called best land**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 355 (Reel 5).

Transcription: 365 acres of land in **Rappahannock County** in a fork of **Peanketank swamp** some 4 miles from Rappahannock River and adjoining to the **land of Captain William Claiborne called best land** and bounded as followeth vitz:

Beginning at a corner white oak standing on the west side of a dry branch thence running over a branch north by east 99 poles to a corner red oak up a level, thence east 182 poles to a spanish oak corner, thence southeast southerly 200 poles cross the aforesaid branch to a spanish oak, thence southwest 110 poles to **Captain Claiborne's line**, and along his line westerly until the first corner becomes north by east, thence north by east (8?) poles to the place where it began...

Title: Land grant 18 March 1662.

Creator: Abrahall, Robert, Lt. Col. grantee.

Creation Date: 1662 - 0318

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 1550 acres 550 acres part thereof on the branches of **Peanketank Swamp**. 300 acres other part thereof Beg.g at **Captn. Claibrones** with oak ... by the side.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 264 (Reel 5).

Transcription: 1550 acres of land in New Kent County bounded as followeth vitz:

550 acres part thereof on the branches of **Peanketank Swamp** bounded vitz: 300 acres part thereof beginning at **Capt Claiborne's** white oak corner by the swamp running south by east 320 poles by Captain Claiborne's line thence west by south 170 poles thence north by west 320 poles to the swamp, thence down the swamp to the place where it first began

And 250 acres other part thereof beginning at a red oak by an **Indian path** running north northwest 44 poles then northwest by west half 20 poles to a hickory thence north east by north half 44 poles, north by

west 120 poles to the swamp thence **up the swamp to Capt Claiborne's line**, thence south by east half 320 poles by the line, thence east by north 80 poles, thence to the place where it began
And 1000 acres the residue on the south side of Peanketank great swamp near the head thereof and beginning at a marked white oak near a branch running out of the same extending southerly by marked trees 400 poles, and then running easterly by like marked trees 400 poles and thence northerly to the said great swamp 400 poles and so along the said great swamp 400 poles also to the place where it began
The said land being due unto the said Abrahall as followeth, vizt: 550 acres part thereof formerly granted to him by patent dated 10th of July 1658 and 1000 acres the residue being formerly granted to Capt. William Claiborne by patent dated the 12th of June 1658 and by him sold and assigned to the said Abrahall

Title: Land grant 18 March 1662.

Creator: Holmes, Thomas. grantee.

Creation Date: 1662 - 0318

Location: County location not given.

Description: 25 acres of **marsh**, opposite to the present plantation of the sd. Holmes.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 232 (Reel 5).

Searched: Thomas Holmes

Transcription: 25 acres of marsh land opposite to the present plantation of the said Holmes, bounded as followeth: north east towards the River, south east upon a creek which divides this land and the land **Richard Jackson**, south west upon the high land, north west upon the **Hankapen point**. The said land being formerly granted to Holmes by patent dated the third of July 1653...

Title: Land grant 18 March 1662.

Creator: Maddison, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1662 - 0318

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 300 acres on the north side of **Mattapony River**, adjoining the land of **John Pigg**, and his own land. The land formerly granted sd. Maddison, Augt 9, 1659, and now renewed &c.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 147 (Reel 5).

Title: Land grant 18 March 1662.

Creator: North, Anthony. grantee.

Creation Date: 1662 - 0318

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 200 acres on the head of a creek called **Hoskins's Creek**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 324 (Reel 5).

Transcription: 200 of the head of a creek called **Hoskins's Creek**, beginning at a marked red oak by the **Poquoson** of the said Creek at or nigh the miles (end?) of a dividend of land **Clement Thrush** and running for breadth 100 poles to a marked white oak by a branch side and thence running west 320 poles to a marked pohickory thence south parallel to his first breadth 100 poles extending itself over the run of the said Poquoson to a marked Spanish oak and thence east 320 poles to the place where it first began...

Title: Land grant 20 March 1662.

Creator: Fox, David. grantee.

Creation Date: 1662 - 0320

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 800 acres on the south side of **Rappahannock River** 44 miles up the same or thereabouts, adjoining land of **Mr. Soane**. On the north west side of a creek commonly called by the name of **Pascaticon Creek**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 626 (Reel 4).

Title: Land grant 24 March 1662.

Creator: Marsh, George. grantee.

Creation Date: 1662 - 0324

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 750 acres on the south side of Rappahannock River; lying on the north side of a great **swamp that runs into Pyanketank River**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 156 (Reel 5).

Transcription: Beginning on the southeast side of a branch that runeth into the **great swamp** at a marked oak on the southwest side of an **Indian path that cometh from Pianketank and goeth unto Mattapony** thence the said land runeth southwest 320 poles to the great swamp and marked pockhickory (?) tree that standeth by the said swamp and branch (?) thence north west along the swamp 325 poles to a marked red oak that standeth by a branch side and the great swamp thence north northeast 60 poles to marked red oak, thence north west 60 poles to a marked red oak that standeth by the side of a branch that issueth into the Great Swamp thence north east 260 poles crossing the **Indian path** and branch and running by another branch to a marked white oak, thence southeast to the first specified place...

Formerly granted to Marsh November 29 1659...

Title: Land grant 23 December 1662.

Creator: Lee, Robert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1662 - 1223

Location: Gloucester County.

Description: 542 acres beg. &c., by **Mr. Thorntons path** thence &c., to a white oak by **Col. Lee's horse path**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 215 (Reel 8).

Title: Land grant 3 February 1663.

Creator: Burford, William, Jr. grantee.

Creation Date: 1663 - 0203

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 640 acres on the north side of **Mattapony river**, on a branch of **Peanketank** commonly called and known by the name of the **Timber branch**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 312 (Reel 5).

Transcription: upon the north side of **Mattapony River** upon a branch of the Peanketank commonly called and known by the name of the **Timber branch** and **land of John Pigg and John Maddison** upon the north west side of the aforesaid branch running west by south along the **land of Davis Dale** 320 poles, thence north by west 320 poles cross the said branch, parallel with the first line 320 poles, south by east 320 poles to the first station...

Title: Land grant 18 February 1663.

Creator: Maddison, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1663 - 0218

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 280 acres on the north side of a great branch of **Peanketank Swamp** 2 1/2 miles from **Capt. Claybrones quarter**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 655 (Reel 5).

Searched: Miles *d*son

Title: Land grant 15 March 1663.

Creator: Cant, David, Maj. grantee.

Creation Date: 1663 - 0315

Location: Gloucester County.

Description: 542 acres on a branch near the head of **Peanketank River**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 154 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 18 May 1663.

Creator: Ford, Peter. grantee.

Creation Date: 1663 - 0518

Location: New Kent County.

Grantee(s): Ford, Peter and Racle, Edward.

Description: 640 acres on the north side of **Mattapony River**, some four miles in the woods and on the branch of the **Dragon Swamp** known and called by the name of **Timber Branch**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 354 (Reel 5).

Searched: Dr*gon

Transcription: upon the north side of **Mattapony River**, some 4 miles in the woods and upon the branch of the **Dragon swamp** known and called by the name of **Timber branch** bounding as followeth, viz: beginning at a corner marked white oak nigh the head of the aforesaid branch running by marked trees 166 poles southeast east to a corner Spanish oak, thence northeast north by marked trees over **Cheesecake path** continuing thus extended 320 poles parallel with the first line 320 poles crossing the said **Timber Branch**, thence south west south 320 poles and south east east 254 poles to the place where it first began...

Title: Land grant 15 June 1663.

Creator: Lawrence, Richard. grantee.

Creation Date: 1663 - 0615

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Grantee(s): Lawrence, Richard and Baldwin, William.

Description: 300 acres beginning &c on the westward side of the **White Marsh** at the head of a branch issuing out of the **Dragon Swamp**, and crossing **Mattapony Upper Path**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 201 (Reel 5).

Title: Land grant 16 June 1663.

Creator: Davis, Evan. grantee.

Creation Date: 1663 - 0616

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Grantee(s): Davis, Evan and Williamson, Thomas.

Description: 900 acres beginning &c on the eastward side of a **white marsh** at the head of a branch issuing out of the **Dragon Swamp** and crossing **Mattapony upper path**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 199 (Reel 5).

Title: Land grant 16 June 1663.

Creator: Lawrance, Richard. grantee.

Creation Date: 1663 - 0616

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Grantee(s): Lawrance, Richard; Davis, Evan; and Williamson, Thomas.

Description: 900 acres beginning &c on the eastward side of a **white marsh** at the head of a branch issuing out of the **Dragon Swamp** and crossing **Mattapony Upper Path**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 471 (Reel 5).

Title: Land grant 29 June 1663.

Creator: Roe, Edward. grantee.

Creation Date: 1663 - 0629

Location: Lancaster County.

Grantee(s): Lewis, John and Roe, Edward.

Description: 550 acres.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 63 (Reel 5).

Transcription: 550 acres of land in the County of Lancaster on the branches of **Pianketank swamp**.

Beginning at a Chestnut marked by the said swamp running north 290 poles to **Mr. John Curtis'** marked tree by **Mattapony Path**, then west by north inclining north along the said path 175 poles to **Mr. Potters'** white oak corner then south southwest and south west along the said **Mr. Potter's** land to an ash by the aforementioned swamp and then down the swamp 480 poles to the Chestnut...

Title: Land grant 1 October 1663.

Creator: Cant, David, Maj. grantee.

Creation Date: 1663 - 1001

Location: County location not given.

Description: 912 acres part of the land, on the south side of **Peanketank River**, join.g to land of **Capt. Stephen Giles, decd**: The residue on the south side of Peanketank River, joining to the dividend he is now seated on.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 300 (Reel 5).

Title: Land grant 13 October 1663.

Creator: Cant, David, Maj. grantee.

Creation Date: 1663 - 1013

Location: Lancaster County.

Description: 100 acres on the head of **Nimcock Creek** about a mile and a half from the water.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 357 (Reel 5).

Transcription: Beginning at a marked tree of **W. Potters** standing by the Path side known by the name of **Mattapony Path** and running northeast 100 poles to the land of **Abraham Moons**, southeast 160 poles, thence southwest 100 poles to **Mattapony Path**, northwest 160 poles along the aforesaid path to the first specified place.

Title: Land grant 23 February 1664.

Creator: Woodward, William. grantee.

Creation Date: 1664 - 0223

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 2100 acres on the north side of **York River**, beg.g at the mouth of the creek **called John Creek** from thence up the river, including a neck of **Sunken ground**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 509 (Reel 5).

Title: Land grant 1 March 1664/1665.

Creator: Hockaday, Wm., Lt. grantee.

Creation Date: 1664 - 0301

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 1000 acres on the north side of **Mattapony River**, and on the south side of the main swamp, of **Peanketank River**; beg.g &c. at the main swamp being **John Piggs and Evan Davis' corner**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 644 (Reel 5).

Transcription: upon the north side of **Mattapony River** and upon the south side of the main swamp of **Peanketank River**, beginning at a corner red oak at the main swamp being **John Pigg's and Evan Davis's corner** running by marked trees 500 poles west inclining southerly thence north 320 poles to **John Exoles branch** and down the branch to the main swamp east 500 poles thence south inclining easterly to the place where it first began... formerly granted to John Roberts by patent dated the 28th of September 1661...

Title: Land grant 7 April 1664.

Creator: Kidd, Thomas. grantee.

Creation Date: 1664 - 0407

Location: Lancaster County.

Description: 194 acres at the head of **Burnhams Creek als Sunderland's Creek**; upon a branch of **Peanketank Swamp** called **White Oak Branch**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 616 (Reel 4).

Transcription: 194 acres of land lying in the county of Lancaster at the heads of **Burham's Creek als Sunderland's Creek** upon a branch of Peanketank Swamp called **White Oak Branch** & Beginning at a corner marked tree on **Mattapony Upper Path** thence running northeasterly 69 degrees 79 poles to a corner marked tree adjoining to the land of **Robert Chowning and Thomas Pattison**, thence due southeast 153 poles to a corner marked pehickory of the aforesaid land of Robert Chownings and Thomas Pattison thence southeasterly 2 degrees 246 poles to a corner marked pohickory adjoining to **Mattapony Upper Path** and thence **along the path** to the place where it first began...

Title: Land grant 6 June 1664.

Creator: Reynolds, Cornelius. grantee.

Creation Date: 1664 - 0606

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 640 acres on the north side of **Mattapony River** and on a branch of Peanketank main swamp about 2 miles from a parcel of land of **Mr. Thos. Holmes**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 408 (Reel 5).

Transcription: 640 acres lying in the county of New Kent upon the north side of **Mattapony River** and upon a branch of **Piankatank main swamp** about 2 miles from a parcel of land of **Mr. Thomas Holmes** bounding as followeth, vizt: Beginning at a corner poplar in a dry branch which extendeth itself northerly running thence south by east cutting a branch called **Timber branch** along the line of the said **John Pigg and John Maddison** 320 poles, thence west by south 320 poles to a corner hickory, thence north by west 320 poles and east by north to the first station

The said land being taken up by John Pigg and by the said Pigg assigned unto David Dale and by the said Dale assigned to the said Reynolds...

Title: Land grant 28 June 1664.

Creator: Roane, Charles. grantee.

Creation Date: 1664 - 0628

Location: Gloucester County.

Description: 200 acres beginning at a hickory corner of Col. Lees land.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 428 (Reel 5).

Title: Land grant 4 July 1664.

Creator: Pigg, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1664 - 0704

Location: New Kent County.

Grantee(s): Pigg, John and Maddison, John.

Description: 1050 acres upon a branch of the main swamp. **Peanketank and the swamp itself.**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 132 (Reel 5).

Transcription: Beginning at a corner poplar in small branch running from thence by marked trees south by east 80 poles, thence southeast by south 320 poles to a hickory thence east 340 poles to the main swamp, and along the swamp 560 poles and over a branch called **timber branch** and up the north side of the branch westerly to the first corner tree it began...

Title: Land grant 6 July 1664.

Creator: Harrison, Richard. grantee.

Creation Date: 1664 - 0706

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 400 acres on the North side of Mattapony River, some five miles or thereabouts into the woods and on a branch of the **Dragon Swamp.**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 438 (Reel 5).

Transcription: Begins at poplar near mouth of **Cole's Branch**; Runs south east 200 poles toward land of **Thomas Holmes**; Then parallel with **John Exoll's swamp** easterly 320 poles; Then NW 200 poles to **John Exoll's swamp** and upon the swamp by a beaver dam 320 poles to place it began...

Title: Land grant 19 September 1664.

Creator: Jones, Rice. grantee.

Creation Date: 1664 - 0919

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 700 acres on the south side of **Rappahannock River.** Beginning &c on the north side of the **Great Swamp that runeth into Peanketank River.**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 4, 1655-1664, p. 641 (Reel 4).

Transcription: Beginning at a marked white oak standing on the north side of the great swamp that runeth into **Pianketank River** thence running north easterly 40 degrees 640 poles to a corner marked Pockhickory thence south easterly 50 degrees 170 poles to a corner marked Spanish oak on a level, thence southwesterly 40 degrees 729 poles to a corner marked chestnut tree that standeth on the side of the aforesaid **great swamp**, thence along the side of the great swamp according to its (several?) courses and (bounded?) with the main run in the middle of the said swamp to the place where it first began....

Including the quantity aforesaid 520 acres (tract?) hereof being due the said Rice Jones in (tenance?) with Mr. Anthony Jackman by patent bearing date the 17th of May 1658 and now renewed....

Title: Land grant 20 March 1665/1666.

Creator: Creightoun, Henry. grantee.

Creation Date: 1665 - 0320

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 321 acres beginning &c **near at a swamp** at the head of a small creek which divideth the lands of **Nicholls and Thomas and William Mosse**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 575 (Reel 5).

Title: Land grant 20 March 1665/1666.

Creator: Bredgar, Richard. grantee.

Creation Date: 1665 - 0320

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Grantee(s): Bredgar, Richard; Hill, Robert; and Mayhem, John.

Description: 1200 acres beginning &c at the westward side of a **white marsh** at the head of a branch issuing out of the **Dragon swamp**, and crossing **Mattapony upper path**. 300 acres part thereof formerly belonging to Richard Lawrance and Willian Bauldine by patent dated June 15 1663. 900 acres formerly belonging to Richard Lawrance, Evan Davis, and Thomas Williamson by patent dated June 16, 1663.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 576 (Reel 5).

Title: Land grant 26 May 1665.

Creator: Weekes, Abraham. grantee.

Creation Date: 1665 - 0526

Location: County location not given.

Description: 450 acres on the south side of **Rappahannock River**: bounded on the S:Et. with a creek that devides this land from the land of **Mr. Rowland Burnham**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 60 (Reel 5).

Title: Land grant 19 July 1665.

Creator: Morris, George. grantee.

Creation Date: 1665 - 0719

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 1350 acres on the north side of **Mattopony River**, part thereof upon the branches of **Horecock** and part upon **Aquintenocoe Swamp**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 555 (Reel 5).

Transcription: beginning at a corner hickory by an **Indian path called Cheskaack path** running thence east by and near the said path to a spanish oak corner 100 poles, thence north dividing this from the land of **Anthony Arnolds** 200 poles to a corner by a branch, thence cutting certain branches of a swamp 62 poles east by north to a gum thence east by south 39 poles to a red oak cutting a path, thence south south east 120 poles to another red oak corner, thence south by east 126 poles to **John Exoll's path** and along his path south by west 20 poles to **Chescaack path** and down **Chescaack path** to and over **Aquintenockcoe swamp** to a corner hickory on the west side of the path, thence south east 55 poles to a hickory by a branch, thence south 44 poles to a leaning oak by a dry branch, thence south west 100 poles to a white oak corner by another branch, thence south 60 poles to a hickory and south west 147 poles to a white oak, thence south east over a branch, thence east south to three corner oaks by a branch thence over the branch

south to Mr. Richard Tunstall's Line and over Mr. Thomas Holmes' Cart path to a corner tree in Mr. Tunstall's line and along his line over Mr. Holmes Cart path again, 306 poles to Mr. Richard Tunstall's Corner tree in Aquintenocoe swamp or adjoining to a Beaver dam, thence up the swamp joining upon the land of Col. Robert Abrahall formerly Mr. Haine's land to a corner white oak in the swamp, thence by marked trees north west by north to Tattapaixsack spring, thence down the spring branch to another line of trees belonging to the land formerly Jonathan Parson's land and along that line of the land of John Maddison, and along his line of marked trees to the hickory it first began...

This land being due unto the said George Morris as followeth 600 acres part thereof being formerly granted unto Coll. Robert Abrahall being the moiety of a joint patent granted unto the said Coll. Abrahall and John Pigg by patent dated tenth of July 1654 (?) and 750 acres the residue by and for the transportation of 15 persons into this colony...

Title: Land grant 21 August 1665.

Creator: Prickett, Thomas. grantee.

Creation Date: 1665 - 0821

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 137 acres on the north side of the Dragon Swamp, about three miles from Capt William Claybrones quarter.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 182 (Reel 5).

Transcription: 137 acres of land lying in Rappahannock county upon the north side of the Dragon Swamp about 3 miles from Captain William Clayborne's quarter and adjoining to a parcel of land belonging to Evan Davis and John Coale, bounding as followeth vizt: beginning at a corner gum by a branch and running south 60 poles down the said branch and over a great swamp to a red oak corner, thence east to a white oak corner 60 poles, thence south east by south 162 poles crossing three small branches to a Spanish oak corner by Bestland path, thence over the path and a branch near it 95 poles north east to a great white oak near the aforesaid swamp (?) with the first line, thence north by west 102 poles on the swamp to a Spanish oak corner, thence upon a straight line west $\frac{3}{4}$ northerly to the place it first began...

Title: Land grant 24 August 1665.

Creator: Davis, Evan. grantee.

Creation Date: 1665 - 0824

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Grantee(s): Davis, Evan and Cole, John.

Description: 356 acres on the north side of Peanke-tank about 2 miles from Capt. William Clayborne's quarter.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 184 (Reel 5).

Searched: William Cla*b*rn*

Title: Land grant 5 September 1665.

Creator: Dudley, William. grantee.

Creation Date: 1665 - 0905

Location: Lancaster County.

Description: 600 acres on the north side of Peanketank opposite to the land which was formerly in the occupation of William Hockady.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 621 (Reel 5).

Searched: William Dudley

Title: Land grant 6 September 1665.

Creator: Nowell, David. grantee.

Creation Date: 1665 - 0906

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 324 acres beg.g &c. belonging to **Robert Garrett**, thence &c. cross the **Indian Path**, thence &c. standeth by **Westover Path**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 628 (Reel 5).

Transcription: Beginning at the southernmost corner tree of a dividend of land belonging to **Robert Garrett** being a hickory, thence south and by west one fourth westerly 138 poles, thence east and by north one fourth northerly 24 poles, thence east northeast 78 poles, thence south southeast 30 poles cross the **Indian path** thence east northeast 228 poles to a black gum that standeth by **Westover path**, thence bounding by the said **Westover path** 250 poles, northesaterly to **Mr. Elizabeth Jones (Ames?)** corner tree being a red oak that standeth by the path, thence southwest 29 poles thence southwest southerly 18 poles, thence southwest half a point westerly 225 poles to a white oak, thence west half a point northerly 190 poles to the corner hickory where it first began...

Title: Land grant 20 October 1665.

Creator: Claybrone, Thomas. grantee.

Creation Date: 1665 - 1020

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 500 acres on the north east side of **Exolls Swamp** which falleth into Peanketank River.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 551 (Reel 5).

Transcription: 500 acres of land laying in the county of New Kent upon the north east side of **Exoll's Swamp** which falleth into the Peanketank River and bounded as followeth: Beginning at a marked hickory that standeth at the side of the said swamp running up the said swamp and bounding on a run of the said swamp 620 poles, thence from the swamp northeast 129 poles to a red oak corner tree, thence southeast 620 poles, thence southwest to the first station being a hickory...

Title: Land grant 20 October 1665.

Creator: Manditt, Shirly. grantee.

Creation Date: 1665 - 1020

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 100 acres on the north east side of **Exalls Swamp**, adjoining the land of **Gabriel Hill**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 554 (Reel 5).

Title: Land grant 29 November 1665.

Creator: Hill, Gabriel. grantee.

Creation Date: 1665 - 1129

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 727 acres part of the land lies on a branch of the **Dragon Swamp**. The residue the land. Beg.g &c. ash tree that standeth in a branch that cometh up by the said **Hill house**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 552 (Reel 5).

Title: Land grant 29 November 1665.

Creator: Hill, Gabriel. grantee.

Creation Date: 1665 - 1129

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 134 acres beg.g at the fork of a branch that runeth into **Exolls Branch**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 553 (Reel 5).

Title: Land grant 6 December 1665.

Creator: Roane, Charles. grantee.

Creation Date: 1665 - 1206

Location: Gloucester County.

Description: 100 acres upon the branches of **Peanketank river**. Adjoining land of **Col. Warner**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 597 (Reel 5).

Title: Land grant 16 March 1666.

Creator: Brand, David. grantee.

Creation Date: 1666 - 0316

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 1178 acres upon the south side of the **Dragon Swamp**. Adjoining the land of **Mr. Lights**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 26 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 12 April 1666.

Creator: Beverly, Robert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1666 - 0412

Location: Lancaster County.

Description: 165 acres on the North side of **Peanketank** adjoining the land of **George Keibles** late decd.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 614 (Reel 5).

Title: Land grant 24 May 1666.

Creator: Hudson, Edward. grantee.

Creation Date: 1666 - 0524

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 356 acres on the branches of the **Dragon Swamp** adjoining to the land of **Robert Davis and Thomas Prickett**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 665 (Reel 5).

Transcription: 356 acres of land lying in the County of Rappahannock and upon the branches of the **Dragon swamp** adjoining to the land of **Robert Davis & Thomas Pickett** and bounded as followeth, beginning at a corner white oak by a branch and running thence north 40 poles to **Davis' land**, along his line north north east 80 poles thence east over certain branches 354 poles by the land of **Evan Davis** south east by south 45 poles, south south west 154 poles, west by north 278 poles dividing the land from the land of **Thomas Pickett** aforesaid to the first mentioned branch north by east 28 poles, north by west 32 poles, west by north 20 poles, west by south 28 poles, west south west 32 poles to the place it first began...

Title: Land grant 24 May 1666.

Creator: Davids, Evan. grantee.

Creation Date: 1666 - 0524

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 861 acres on the branches of the **Dragon Swamp** and **Pascaticon**. Adjoining the land of **Edward Hudson**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 5, 1661-1666 (v.1 & 2 p.1-369), p. 666 (Reel 5).

Transcription: 861 acres of land in the county of Rappahannock upon the branches of the **Dragon swamp** and **Pascaticon** and bounding as followeth, beginning at a corner oak by **Mr. Evans path** and running thence south south west 46 poles, south west half westerly 71 poles, west by south 68 poles & south by west 15 poles to **Edward Hudson's line**, along his line east 48 poles to a white oak thence south east by south 45 poles, south by east 65 poles, east over a branch to a pine 66 poles thence by the branch southerly 271 poles to a forked poplar in the fork of the branch, thence up another branch 126 poles to a gum, thence northeast 181 poles by the **land of Edward Hudson**, thence north west half westerly 160 poles to a hickory in valley, thence north west by west over certain branches of **Pascaticon Creek** to an ancient dividend of land belonging to the aforesaid Davids and John Cole & by that dividend west by south including westerly 58 poles, south west by south 42 poles, west south west half southerly to the pace it first began...

Title: Land grant 24 October 1666.

Creator: Weire, John, Maj. grantee.

Creation Date: 1666 - 1024

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 1770 acres on the south side of **Rappahannock River** on the head of a creek called **Tignors** near the **Mill Creek**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 13 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 13 March 1667.

Creator: Dudley, Wm. grantee.

Creation Date: 1667 - 0313

Location: Lancaster County.

Description: 3000 acres on the north side of the great swamp called by the name of **Peanketank Swamp** or **Dragon Swamp**, Begg. at an **Indian bridge at the mouth of a great run**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 163 (Reel 6).

Transcription: 3000 acres lying in the county of Lancaster and on the north side of the Great Swamp called by the name **Peanketank swamp or Dragon Swamp** and beginning at an **Indian Bridge at the mouth of a great run** (?) the north of the said great swamp thence running north upon the land of **Cuthbert Potter** (460?) poles thence NW by W 454 poles to a corner marked tree standing near Mr. (?) thence NNE 414 poles and bounded on the (side? SE?) to two (island?) by **Mr. Cuthbert Potter's** land aforesaid thence (NW?) (670?) poles and passing by a corner marked tree of a (? Island?) belonging to the said **Cuthbert Potter** thence NW by N 508 poles to a corner marked tree by Mr. (?) land thence SW by W 340 poles unto the marked tree on the side of the great swamp aforesaid thence running along the said swamp extending to the several courses thence and bounded by the same run of the said swamp unto the place where it first began (containing?) the quantity aforesaid...

The said land being due unto the said Mr. Wm. Dudley (?) formerly granted in (?) this first dated the (second?) day of June 1657 and containing 2000 acres, the second dated the (24th?) of September 1659 and containing also two thousand acres but the courses and distances of (?) these (?) not agreeing in the natural (situation?) of the land and one thousand acres granted being found to belong to Mr. Cuthbert Potter on the survey of Col. John (Cutlett?)...

Title: Land grant 17 March 1667/1668.

Creator: Woodward, William. grantee.

Creation Date: 1667 - 0317

Location: New Kent County.

Grantee(s): Woodward, William and Borrás, John.

Description: 179 acres on the north side of **York River**, on the back of Mr. Woodward's land. beg.g at a corner tree of his a gum by **Mr. Johns Creek**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 115 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 27 March 1667.

Creator: Holmes, Thomas. grantee.

Creation Date: 1667 - 0327

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 575 acres on the S. W. side of **Peanketank** Swamp, adjoining the land said Holmes now liveth.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 287 (Reel 6).

Searched: Thomas Holmes

Transcription: 575 acres in New Kent county on the SW side of **peankatank swamp**, beginning at the lower end of the land where the said **Holmes now liveth** & running on several courses down on the SW side of a branch called **Holmes Branch** to the land of **John Roberts** from thence (?) crossing the said branch to a red oak by the said branch from thence (?) the said branch to the mouth thereof where it runeth into **Exoll Swamp** from thence by several courses (W ly?) and (So ly?) to where it first began...

Title: Land grant 28 March 1667.

Creator: Pickns, Josias, Capt. grantee.

Creation Date: 1667 - 0328

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 420 acres on the South side **Rappahannock** some two miles back in the woods and behind a parcel of land belonging to **Sr. Henry Chickley**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 139 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 28 March 1667.

Creator: Cole, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1667 - 0328

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 287 acres on **Peanketank Swamp**, osme two miles from **Capt. Claybornes quarter**, and opposite to a parcel of land, formerly John Maddisons. .

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 141 (Reel 6).

Searched: Miles *d*son

Title: Land grant 27 September 1667.

Creator: Gilson, Pehethem, Jr. grantee.

Creation Date: 1667 - 0927

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 1050 acres on the south side of the river, about 2 1/2 miles from the river side. Beginning &c about 100 po. from a **path that goeth to Potobaco** from **Mattapony Indian Town**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 64 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 8 April 1668.

Creator: Mederis, Demingo. grantee.

Creation Date: 1668 - 0408

Location: New Kent County.

Grantee(s): Mederis, Demingo and Johnson, James.

Description: 1000 acres betwixt the **Dragon Swamp** and **Axells Branch** in the forks of sd. swamp.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 160 (Reel 6).

Transcription: betwixt the **Dragon Swamp & Axell's branch** in the fork of the said swamp beginning at a red oak by **Axell's branch** side (?) down the said branch ESE $\frac{1}{2}$ E by 230 poles to poplar then E by SE by 134 poles to a red oak then NE $\frac{1}{4}$ E (80 poles?) to a (?) oak in the forks then up the **Dragon Swamp** NW (by W 300 poles?) (?) then west by N 100 poles to a hickory, then by SW $\frac{1}{4}$ W 140 poles to a Spanish oak then SW 80 poles to a red oak then W $\frac{1}{2}$ S 80 poles to a white oak then SW 120 poles by **Axoll Swamp**, the first station being bounded all round (10th?) marked tree 500 and part hereof formerly granted to **Tho. Clayborne patt.** Dated the (?) 1664 and by him assigned onto them the said Domingo Mederis & James Johnson and 500 acres the residue being due by and for the trans of (?) persons...

Title: Land grant 24 April 1668.

Creator: Pattison, Thomas. grantee.

Creation Date: 1668 - 0424

Location: County location not given.

Grantee(s): Pattison, Thomas, and Richard Bredgatt.

Description: 220 acres on the south side of Rappahannock River and lying upon a maine branch of the **Draggon Swamp**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 166 (Reel 6).

Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 29 September 1668.

Creator: Woodward, William. grantee.

Creation Date: 1668 - 0929

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 640 acres on the north side of **Mattapony River**, some four miles from the river, upon the branches of **Apaklenock Creek**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 188 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 26 December 1668.

Creator: Roane, Charles. grantee.

Creation Date: 1668 - 1226

Location: Gloucester County.

Description: 761 acres on the S: W: side of the **great swamp**, on the head of Peanketank river.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 235 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 2 July 1669.

Creator: Roane, Charles. grantee.

Creation Date: 1669 - 0702

Location: Gloucester County.

Description: 150 acres on the branch of **Peanketank river** & adjoining to **Gills land**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 235 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 30 October 1669.

Creator: Tugwell, Tho. grantee.

Creation Date: 1669 - 1030

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 210 acres on the branches of the **Dragon Swamp**. 100 acs. thereof purchased by said Tugwell of Rich: Lewis and the remainder being and adjoining parcel of land. Begg. &c corner tree of **Mr. Potters and Rich. Lewis' land**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 277 (Reel 6).

1670-1674

Title: Land grant 16 April 1670.

Creator: Skipworth, Willis (Wm.), Sir. grantee.

Creation Date: 1670 - 0416

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 545 acres some 4 miles from **Capt. Wm. Claibournes quarter called best land** and joining land of **John Richards** and the **main swamp of Pianketank River**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 303 (Reel 6).

Searched: John Richards

Transcription: four miles from **Will Claiborne's quarter called Bestland** and joyning upon the land of the main swamp of **Pieankatank river** bounded as followeth – beginning at **John Richards** his corner trees by the swamp and running by the said (?) SW southerly 120 poles thence (?) the said Richards land (SW 144?) poles thence W B S 101 poles thence S B W 119 poles over certain branches going up ye (great swamp?) thence ESE 139 poles (?) thereof down a branch thence (north?) by east 102 poles, N easterly 122 poles to the main swamp and upp that swamp the several courses including (a peninsula?) unto the place began...

Title: Land grant 17 June 1670.

Creator: Turner, James. grantee.

Creation Date: 1670 - 0617

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 786 acres upon both sides of the **horse path to Mahexen or Matrexen** upon the upper side of a branch called **Whytings Branch**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 290 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 19 October 1670.

Creator: Coventon, William, grantee.

Creation Date: 1670 - 1019

Location: Rappahannock County.

Description: 20 acres on the south side of Rappahannock County adjacent land on which he lives. Same 300 acres, same county and same date, p. 332. On a **br. of Dragon Sw.**, adjacent **John Cole**. Trans. of 6 persons: Ann Bygott, Elizabeth Pickett, Mary Long, Mary Pearman, Jane Prince, Fra. Enugge (?)

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 331 (Reel 6).

Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 1670 October 20.

Creator: Gilson, Thomas, grantee.

Creation Date: 1670 - 1020

Location: Rappahannock County.

Description: 1050 acres, about 2.5 miles from sd. River on the S. side near a **path to Portabacco from Mattapony Indian Towne or Chickahominy**. Adjacent **Mr. Robert Payne and Mr. Thomas Page, to Mr. Lucas Creet and c., to Valentine Allen** and c. Granted to Bethlehem Gilson 27 September 1667 by her deserted and c. and granted to said Thomas by order. Transportation of 21 persons: Robert Jones, Alexander Story, William Peirce, James Phillips, Samuel Welstead, Humphry Hatch, John Griggs, Roger Lee, Jacob Dempster, Sara Newman, Isabella Williams, Grace Bigott, Ann Thompson (?), Peter Paley, Rice Griffin, Paul Richards, Nathaniel Butler, Symon Rogers, Mary Goodson...
Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 335 (Reel 6).
Searched: John Richards

Title: Land grant 5 October 1672.
Creator: Goodrich, Tho., Col. grantee.
Creation Date: 1672 - 1005
Location: New Kent County.
Description: 2200 acres beg.g &c. near the north side of the **Indian Path** that goeth ...
Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 425 (Reel 6).
Searched: Indian path

Title: Land grant 8 October 1672.
Creator: Cole, John. grantee.
Creation Date: 1672 - 1008
Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).
Description: 214 acres on the north side of the **Dragon Swamp** opposite to the land the said **Coale** now lives on.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 419 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 18 February 1673/1674.
Creator: Hurt, Wm. grantee.
Creation Date: 1673 - 0218
Location: New Kent County.
Description: 213 acres beg.g &c. corner of **Peckes land** thence &c. by the **Mill Path**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 502 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 20 October 1673.
Creator: Roan, Charles. grantee.
Creation Date: 1673 - 1020
Location: Gloucester County.
Description: 100 acres upon the branches of the **Dragon swamp**. Beginning &c., by an old line of marked trees, supposed to belong to **Col. Lees children**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 470 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 6 March 1673/1674.
Creator: Watkins, Phill:. grantee.
Creation Date: 1673 - 0306
Location: New Kent County.
Grantee(s): Watkins, Phill:; Watkins, Tho:, and Ricketts, Wm.
Description: 900 acres on the N.E. side of Mattapony. Beg.g &c. by **Mattapony Indian Path**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 506 (Reel 6).

Searched: Indian path

Transcription: 900 acres of land lying and being in the county of New Kent upon the NE side of **Mattapony**, beginning at a corner red oak by **Mattapony Indian Path** and from thence S 63 degrees west (960?) poles to a marked corner pine and from thence N 45 degrees (east?) 280 poles to a red oak and from thence No. 70 degrees E 260 poles to a marked white oak of a (?) (**Breretons**?) and from thence S 15 degrees E 680 poles along the said line to a marked hickory and from thence S 80 degrees E 26 poles to another hickory and from thence N 10 degrees W 60 poles to a red oak and from thence No. 80 degrees W 168 poles to a red oak and from thence N 180 poles to a red oak and from thence N 25 degrees west 160 poles to a red oak and from thence W 40 poles to a red oak and from thence S 63 degrees W 174 poles to the first corner red oak said...

Title: Land grant 1674/1675.

Creator: Hill, Gabriel. grantee.

Creation Date: 1674

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 250 acres beg.g in the fork of a branch that runeth into **Axolls Branch**. 134 acres formerly patented to sd. Hills Nov. 26th 1665 as also 116 acres of land bounding on the aforementioned land which he now lives on.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 550 (Reel 6).

Searched: Gabriel Hill

Title: Land grant 6 March 1674/1675.

Creator: Kemp, Mathew, Jr. grantee.

Creation Date: 1674 - 0306

Location: Gloucester County.

Description: 229 acres beginning &c., adjoining the land of **Tho: Palliser or Talliser**, thence &c. down the **Peanketank River**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 550 (Reel 6).

Searched: P*nke*tank

Title: Land grant 10 June 1674.

Creator: Lindsey, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1674 - 0610

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 700 acres on the **Dragon Swamp**, betwixt the **white oak swamp** and **Bryery Branch**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 517 (Reel 6).

Transcription: upon the **Dragon Swamp's branch the white oak swamp and Bryery Branch**, a small part (?) belongs to **Tho. Kidd** and not to be (exampled?) in this tract the bounds of said **Lindsey** tract is viz, beginning at a corner hickory belonging to **Tho. Cordwell** and running by marked lines SE by S 120 poles, SSE 36 poles to a corner white oak belonging to (?) **Niccolls**, thence SE 250 poles to a corner Spanish oak by the side of white oak swamp and down the run of **white oak swamp** its several courses and distances unto the runn of the **Dragon Swamp** and up that runn its several courses and distances to a tree of **Robt. Aldin** and from thence by his line east 20 poles to a white oak corner (rod?) of **Cordwells** and by his marked line E 320 poles to another corner white oak, thence by another line of said **Cordwells** (N) 150 to the first beginning hickory...

Title: Land grant 21 September 1674.

Creator: Richens, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1674 - 0921

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 400 acres being part of a dividend of land commonly known and called by the name of **Jamaica land**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 523 (Reel 6).

Transcription: 400 acres in Middlesex county being part of a dividend of land formerly known and called by the name of **Jamaica land**...

Beginning at a hickory in the upper north (most? West?) line of the said tract thence NE 320 poles to a Spanish oak, NW 200 poles to a white oak, SW (340?) poles to a corner tree in the old head line being on the SW side of (?) **Bryery Branch** and so along the old head line as it runs crooked and crosses SE & SE by E to the beginning hickory...

Note: End is hard to read, but may say land was given to someone previously – dividend of Charles?

Lands as drawn for Jno. Curtis Decd. By his assigned to Jno. Harris and by the last will and testament of the said Harris Dec'd given and bequested to the sd. Jno. Richens

Title: Land grant 21 September 1674.

Creator: Aldin, Robert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1674 - 0921

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 100 acres on the **Dragon Swamp** on both sides the **Bryery Branch**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 523 (Reel 6).

Transcription: upon **Dragon Swamp on both sides of Bryery Branch**, beginning at a corner white oak of **Tho. Cordwell's** & running thence west about 120 poles to the run of **Dragon Swamp** and so up the said swamp to a corner white oak by the swamp side, from thence by a (crook) line of marked trees betwixt the east & east by south (148?) poles to a (maple?) standing by the side of **Bryery Branch**, then down the run of the **Bryery branch** to the run of the **Dragon Swamp** and down that run until it meets with the first west line and upp that line east to the place begun at...

Title: Land grant 16 November 1674.

Creator: Bailey, Richard. grantee.

Creation Date: 1674 - 1116

Location: Gloucester County.

Description: 1875 acres on **Peanketank River**, on the South side thereof. Beginning at the mouth of a creek commonly called **Hoccadys Creek**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 547 (Reel 6).

1675-1677

Title: Land grant 10 June 1675.

Creator: Pigg, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1675 - 0610

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 280 acres on the North side of a great Branch of **Peanketank swamp** 2 1/2 miles from **Capt. Claibornes Quarter**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 554 (Reel 6).

Searched: P?anketank Swamp

Title: Land grant 10 June 1675.

Creator: Gresham, Edward. grantee.

Creation Date: 1675 - 0610

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 111 acres on the North side of **Axolls Swamp**. **Adjoining the land of Colo. Claiborne**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 556 (Reel 6).

Transcription: 111 acres of land lying in New Kent County on ye north side of **Axolls swamp**

Beginning at an ash in ye said swamp being an old marked tree then running up ye swamp No. W. by W. 140 poles to **Col. Claiborne's corner** white oak then NE by N 100 poles to a (?) red oak then SE by E 183 poles to a white oak by ye (?) then Sw by S (74?) poles to a white oak in ye said swamp then up ye swamp to ye (land?) where it began...

Title: Land grant 15 June 1675.

Creator: Cant, Walter. grantee.

Creation Date: 1675 - 0615

Location: Gloucester County.

Description: 500 acres adjoining on the south side of Peancketank River and the **Dragon Swamp**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 560 (Reel 6).

Searched: P?ancketank Swamp

Title: Land grant 12 September 1675.

Creator: Wormely, Ralph, Capt. grantee.

Creation Date: 1675 - 0912

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 2870 acres on the south side **Rappa: River** and both sides of a creek commonly called **Rosegill Creek. Alis Nimcocke Creek**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 585 (Reel 6).

Transcription: Beginning at (pt north ?) of ye said creek and (?) ye creek to a certain marked pine tree on the southwest side of a gutt or branch and on (?) side of (?) aforesaid branch (?) creek and then nigh passing (?) a certain line of trees double marked on each side, SE by S 640 poles to a small hickory (?) near ye fence of ye Plantation where Jno (?) lately lined, thence SE by E 280 poles to a marked ash in Timber Rock Swamp, that whole line being (?) double marked and from that ash by a line of double marked trees ESE ½ degree 260 poles to a white oak (?) E 100 poles to a small red oak on major Genn. **Robert Smiths** (?) S by E line (?) by that line N by W 370 poles to **Rappahan River** side and up **Rappa River** to the place begun (?) at to (?) (Brighton?) lands lying on ye upper side of **Nimcock Creek** at beginning (?) to more (?) at ye said Creek, (mouth?) on the west side (?) running up ye creek...

Title: Land grant 4 October 1675.

Creator: Greene, Henry. grantee.

Creation Date: 1675 - 1004

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Grantee(s): Greene, Henry and Chaire, Charles.

Description: 180 acres on **Dragon Swamp** opposite to the land of **Col. William Claiborne and John Richards**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 566 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 4 October 1675.
Creator: Wood, Thomas. grantee.
Creation Date: 1675 - 1004
Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).
Description: 400 acres on the branches of **Pascattaway Creek**. Beginning at the **horse path** on the **Dragon** to **Pascattaway**. On the land of **Richard Jones**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 566 (Reel 6).
Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 6 October 1675.
Creator: Mead, Tho:. grantee.
Creation Date: 1675 - 1006
Location: New Kent County.
Description: 640 acres on the N. Wt. side of **Mattapony River**, and on the branches of **Peanketank main swamp** about two miles from a parcel of land of Tho: **Holmes**; cutting a branch called **Timber Branch** along land of **John Pigge & John Maddison**
Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 570 (Reel 6).
Searched: P?anketank Swamp

Title: Land grant 24 February 1675/1676.
Creator: Cleyborne, William, Jr. grantee.
Creation Date: 1675 - 0224
Location: New Kent County.
Description: 1000 acres in the forks of **Pamunkey River** which make the north river. Beg.g at the mouth of the said north river.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 595 (Reel 6).
Searched: William Cl*b*rn*

Title: Land grant 1 February 1677/1678.
Creator: Jones, George. grantee.
Creation Date: 1677 - 0201
Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).
Grantee(s): Jones, George and Clarke, Henry.
Description: 1261 acres on the north side the river, about 3 miles back in the woods, beginning &c in a **white marsh swamp** on the **north side the road** and near the same; being an angle of the land of **Major John Weire**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 621 (Reel 6).

1678-1680

Title: Land grant 25 May 1678.
Creator: Hill, Gabriel. grantee.
Creation Date: 1678 - 0525
Location: New Kent County.
Description: 630 acres beg.g &c. by a branch called **Colack branch**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 652 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 1 June 1678.

Creator: Carter, Timo:.. grantee.

Creation Date: 1678 - 0601

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 1000 acres part thereof on the branches of **Apostacoque Creek** and part on **Timber branch head**; borders **Richardson land** by **Cheesecake path**, then runs along said path 200 poles; also runs by land of **Wm. Wyatt** then to **Bird's path** then back by **Cheesecake path**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 651 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 5 June 1678.

Creator: Robinson, Christ:.. grantee.

Creation Date: 1678 - 0605

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 300 acres lying betwixt **Daniel Longs** land **Henry Niccolls** his land **Thomas Cordwells** land and the **Bryery Branch**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 646 (Reel 6).

Transcription: 300 acres of land in Middlesex County lying betwixt **Daniell Long's land**, **Henry Nicholl's his land**, **Thomas Cordwell's land**, & the **Bryary branch**

Begunne to be measured out & surveyed at a red oak corner tree thence running west south west 54 poles to a white oak in a branch and down the branch by ye run to **Bryery Branch's run**, and down that run to **Thomas Cordwell's** corner tree and thence by Thomas Cordwell's line East 320 poles to the said Cordwell's corner hickory thence south east by south 20 poles and south southeast 36 poles by **Mr. Linsays line to Henry Nicholls** his white oak & gum then north north east half a point easterly 208 poles to ye red oak begun at...

Title: Land grant 5 June 1678.

Creator: Cant, Augst. grantee.

Creation Date: 1678 - 0605

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 750 acres on **Peanketank River**. Begg. at the bank at the mouth of the **beavor dams called the Little Beavr. Dams**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 650 (Reel 6).

Searched: P*nke*tank

Title: Land grant 5 June 1678.

Creator: Beverley, Robert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1678 - 0605

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 50 acres adjoining the land of **Daniel Long** (surveyed also the some day for him) to the run of **Briery Branch**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 647 (Reel 6).

Transcription: 50 acres of land situated in Middlesex County adjoining upon the land of **Danl. Long** (surveyed also ye same day for him)...

Begun to be measured out at a certain Spanish oak thence running by a line of marked (?) E by N 56 poles to two corner red oaks of **Randolph (Bagres?)**, E by his line, NW 160 poles to a gum on **Bryery branch** at ye mouth of a small (branch?) thence by ye run of **Bryery Branch** and down ye run to ye mouth of a (branch?) dividing (?) this land and **Daniel Long's land** and running up by his house and so up that branch

to a white oak standing near Dan'l Long's (house?) (?) of the said Dan. Long's so (?) of land and from them to the red oak first begun at...

Title: Land grant 6 June 1678.

Creator: Long, Daniel. grantee.

Creation Date: 1678 - 0606

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 100 acres betwixt **Robert Beverleys land, and Christn. Robinsons land.**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 646 (Reel 6).

Transcription: 100 acres of land in Middlesex County lying betwixt **Robt Beverly's land and Christ. Robinson's land...**

Beginning to be measured out and surveyed at a certain white oak in a branch that parts this land of ye said **Beverly's land** and running thence SSW ½ Wly (westerly) 60 poles to a great red oak, thence SW 54 poles to a white oak in a branch parting this land from sd. **Christ. Robinson's** thence down ye branch by ye run to **Bryery branch**, (then?) up that runn to a (branch betwixt) Rob't Beverley's land and this land and so up that branch to ye place first begunne at...

Title: Land grant 20 November 1678.

Creator: Amis, Thomas. grantee.

Creation Date: 1678 - 1120

Location: Gloucester County.

Description: 295 acres beginning &c., on the edge of the **Dragon swamp**; being a corner tree to this land and the remaining lands of Samuel Patridge, dec'd., and now claimed by John Carver.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 666 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 3 January 1679.

Creator: Sawyer, William. grantee.

Creation Date: 1679 - 0103

Location: New Kent County.

Grantee(s): Sawyer, William, of Gloster County, Planter, (son and Heir of Wm. Sawyer, Late of the sd. county, plter, decd.).

Description: 850 acres on South side of... **Peanketauk Swamp.**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 18 (Reel 7).

Transcription: To all &c. Whereas &c. Now Know yee that I ye sd Sr Hen. Chichiley Knt. deputy Gov &c. give and Grant unto William Sawyer of Gloster County planter Son & heir of Wm. Sawyer late of ye. s(ai)d County pltr. deced Eight hundred & fivety Acres of Land lying & being in ye. County of New Kent upon ye. South side of ye. **dragon** on **Peanketank Swamp** Some two miles below ye. Mouth of ye. branch one **Jno. Exoll** hereto lived on, & some fower miles from **Mr. Tho Holmes his Quarter** lyeing abrest with ye great **dam**, & bounded a (sic) followeth, Viz, begining at a Corner Red Oake which lyeth on ye north side of a small valley by ye. Swamp by Marked trees one hundred & Eighty poles, West south West, half westerly to a Corner white oak thence south by a valley by marked trees Cutting a branch to a forked chesnutt upon ye south side of a small branch thence by marked trees south East forty poles to a white oake Corner thence south West southerly sixty six poles to a Corner hiccory by a line of trees thence west by north one hundred thirty seven poles thence south half Easterly three hundred fourteen pole parallel with ye. first line three hundred & twenty poles to ye maine swamp & up ye swamp five hundred poles to ye: place where it first began...

The sd 850 acres of Land being formerly granted to one Jno. Pigg & Evan Davies by pattend dated ye. 20th day of July Ao. Dom 1661...

Title: Land grant 3 May 1679.

Creator: Chaney, William. grantee.

Creation Date: 1679 - 0503

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 550 acres formerly taken up William Matthews being deserted by John Chymm and John Gibson adjoining land of John Colles. Standing by the Dragon Swamp.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 6, 1666-1679 (pt.1 & 2 p.1-692), p. 675 (Reel 6).

Title: Land grant 25 September 1679.

Creator: Armestead, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1679 - 0925

Location: Gloucester County.

Description: 500 acres upon the South side of Peanketank River; Beginning &c., westward side of the mouth of Gwyns ponds.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 2 (Reel 7).

Searched: P*nke*tank

Title: Land grant 25 September 1679.

Creator: Goodloe, George. grantee.

Creation Date: 1679 - 0925

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 60 acres on the north west side of Briery Branch adjoining to the land of Ran: Seager and Abra: Weekes.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 5 (Reel 7).

Transcription: adjoining to the land of of Rand. Seager and Mr. Abra. Weekes bounded as followeth, beginning to be measured at a corner cherry & red oak standing by ye Briery Branch, following a line (?) of Rand. Seagers land running by his line of trees north west 120 poles to a corner white oak thence southwest by south a quarter point south 15 poles to a corner hickory in the line of Mr. Weekes & along mr. Weekes his line of marked trees as it runs crooked near(est?) south a quart point westerly 150 poles to a maple in Briery Branch (so to ye?) run & along ye run of Briery Branch as it winds & turns to beginning place...

Title: Land grant 25 September 1679.

Creator: Beverley, Robert, Maj. grantee.

Creation Date: 1679 - 0925

Location: Middlesex County.

Grantee(s): Beverley, Robert, Maj. and Hartwell, Henry.

Description: 346 acres joining on Jamaica land and the land of John Jadwin.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 4 (Reel 7).

Transcription: Beginning at a corner white oak near ye path that goes from Jamaica to ye Town thence north easterly eight degrees 72 poles to a corner Spanish oak of M. Cocks at Jadwin then by Jadwins line north west 270 poles to a cornr white oak thence west southerly 11 (?) degrees 80 poles to a small red oak on ye row of a hill & west southerly 35 (?) degrees 120 poles to a white oak on a crown (?), south easterly

35 degrees 150 poles to a corner red oak near the line of Jamaica land, thence by a straight (?) line not trespassing on **Jamaica lands** to ye first beginning tree.

This land being formerly due unto Geo. Hooper by Patent bearing date the 21 of September 1654 (?) by him...

Title: Land grant 1 October 1679.

Creator: Morris, George. grantee.

Creation Date: 1679 - 1001

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 700 acres some 4 miles back into the woods. Beginning &c by the main swamp of **Peanketank**, running thence &c by the land formerly **John Coles**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 11 (Reel 7).

Searched: P?anketank Swamp

Title: Land grant 1 October 1679.

Creator: Brookes, Joseph. grantee.

Creation Date: 1679 - 1001

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 300 acres near the head of some branches of **Pianketank swamp**; joining to **Mr. Brookes** and **Mr. Burges** land.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 11 (Reel 7).

Searched: P?anketank Swamp

Title: Land grant 1 October 1679.

Creator: Warkeman, Marke. grantee.

Creation Date: 1679 - 1001

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 918 acres called **Pamptike**. On the north side of Pamunkey River, in **Pamunkey Neck**. Beg.g at the mouth of **Goodins Creek** or swamp a little below **Goodins Island**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 13 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 1 October 1679.

Creator: Pigg, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1679 - 1001

Location: New Kent County.

Grantee(s): Pigg, John and Crane, Francis.

Description: 800 acres on the North side of **Mattapony River** behind the land of **Anthony Arnold** and before the land of **Wm. Hurk and Wm. Herne**(?).

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 13 (Reel 7).

1680-1700

Title: Land grant 26 September 1680.

Creator: Todd, Thomas. grantee.

Creation Date: 1680 - 0926

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 1084 acres on **Peanketank** Swamp. Beg.g &c. near **Sawyers** Branch.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 50 (Reel 7).

Searched: P?anketank Swamp

Title: Land grant 2 October 1680.

Creator: Style, Joseph. grantee.

Creation Date: 1680 - 1002

Location: New Kent County.

Grantee(s): Style, Joseph and Story, Joshua.

Description: 200 acres on the north side of **Mattapony river** bounding on the land of **John Bruch**, beg.g at **Mr. Brouche's** white oak marked tree by **Axolls Swampe**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 65 (Reel 7).

Searched: john *x?!*

Title: Land grant 2 October 1680.

Creator: Style, Joseph. grantee.

Creation Date: 1680 - 1002

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 430 acres on the north side of **Mattapony River** adjoining the land of **Mrs. Morris, Richard Davis and Robert Jones**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 65 (Reel 7).

Searched: Joseph Style

Title: Land grant 23 April 1681.

Creator: Roane, Charles. grantee.

Creation Date: 1681 - 0423

Location: Gloucester County.

Description: 700 acres upon the **Dragon Swamp** side, lying adjoining to **James Reynalds** line.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 83 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 23 April 1681.

Creator: Payton, Robert, Maj. grantee.

Creation Date: 1681 - 0423

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 1000 acres by order of Colo. John Lewis, being part of a dividend of 900 acres formerly granted to Thomas Watkin and Wm. Rickett and part of another dividend of 600 acres joining to the aforesd. 900 acres.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 81 (Reel 7).

Transcription: Beginning at a corner white oak by **William Rickett his path formerly an Indian path** joining to the lands of **Mr. Brereton** running thence south 60 degrees about 159 poles to a white oak then south 80 degrees west 70 (?) poles to a red oak then south 18 degrees west 240 (?) poles to a white oak by an **Indian path** thence North eighty five degrees east 50 poles, north 55 degrees east 40 poles north 88 east 59 poles to a red oak of **William Ricketts land**, south 25 degrees east 120 poles, south 30 degrees east 40 poles to a small oak by a branch thence south (?) 0 degrees west (?) 190 poles to **William Ricketts** corner oaks thence south 304 (?) poles cross the **ridge path** (?) to a (?) poplar in **(Rummaton?) swamp** and thence north (?) degrees east 140 poles, north 82 degrees east 35 poles, north 6 degrees west 100 (?) poles to a small hickory (?) thence north 80 deg east to **Mr. Brereton's** corner hickory thence so along the line for 140 poles to where it first began...

Title: Land grant 23 April 1681.

Creator: Ward, Nicholas. grantee.

Creation Date: 1681 - 0423

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 536 acres on **Assatiams branches** according to the bounds and marked trees formerly made by **Colo. Wm. Cleyborne**. Beg.g at a red oak in **Michells** line.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 76 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 28 September 1681.

Creator: Watkins, Thomas. grantee.

Creation Date: 1681 - 0928

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 420 acres on a branch of **Peanketank River**; adjoining the land of **John Cole, decd.**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 105 (Reel 7).

Transcription: 420 acres of land lying in the county of Rappahannock and upon a branch of **Piankatank river** and boundeth as follows vizt: beginning at a corner oak by a **path** and running thence north northwest 50 poles to a polar thence east north east 312 poles to a poplar by a branch thence north north west 266 poles (dividing?) this land from the land of **John Cole** deceased to a (knotty?) gum in **White marsh** thence up the branch or swamp 170 poles to a stump white oak corner thence by marked trees south by west (3/4 ? westerly) (211?) poles to a leaning white oak on a (?) thence east south east easterly 244 to a red oak thence 59 pole where it begun...

Title: Land grant 28 September 1681.

Creator: Beverly, Robert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1681 - 0928

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 300 acres betwixt Daniel Longs, Henry Nicholls, Thomas Cardwell, and the **Briery Branch**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 116 (Reel 7).

Transcription: 300 acres of land in Middlesex County lying betwixt **Daniell Long's & Henry Nicholl's land, Thomas Cordwell land, & the Bryary branch**

Beginning (?) out and (?) a red oak corner tree thence running west south west 54 poles to a white oak in a branch and down the branch by (?) to the **Bryery Branch's** run, and (toward?) ye run to **Thomas Cordwell's** corner tree and thence by Thomas Cordwell's line East (320?) poles to the said Cordwell's corner hickory thence south east by south 20 poles and south southeast 36 poles by **Mr. Linsays** line to **Henry Nicholls** white oak & gum then north north east half a point easterly 208 to the red oak begun at...

Title: Land grant 20 April 1682.

Creator: Atwood, James. grantee.

Creation Date: 1682 - 0420

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 700 acres lying on the **Dragon swamp** betwixt the **white oak swamp** and **Bryary branch**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 162 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 20 April 1682.

Creator: Bird, Robert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1682 - 0420

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 234 acres beg.g &c. by a swamp, thence &c. by a branch near **Holmes Plantation**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 119 (Reel 7).
Searched: Robert B?yrd

Title: Land grant 20 April 1682.
Creator: Lawrence, Hugh. grantee.
Creation Date: 1682 - 0420
Location: New Kent County.

Description: 90 acres about 6 miles back in the woods. Beg.g at **Gabriel Hills** corner poplar by **Exolls Swamp**
Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 127 (Reel 7).
Searched: Gabriel Hill

Title: Land grant 20 April 1682.
Creator: Richards, John. grantee.
Creation Date: 1682 - 0420
Location: New Kent County.

Description: 1676 acres about 7 miles back in the woods Beg.g &c. a corner tree of **Bestland** nigh the head of **Robins Branch**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 126 (Reel 7).

Transcription: 7 miles back in the woods, bounds as follows:

Beginning at a corner tree by an ancient white oak forked being a corner tree of **Bestland**, nigh tho head of **Robin's Branch** running thence south twenty degrees west 310 poles to a small oak on the north side of **contrary branch** thence over the said **contrary branch** south thirty degrees west 36 poles to a small gum and white oak thence south 60 degrees east 216 poles along the land of **Edmond Caines (Gaines?)** to a white oak corner on **Mr. William Shirley's** line thence by his mark't trees north 30 degrees, east 320 poles to a corner red oak thence south 80 degrees east along the said Shirley's land 408 poles to a white oak by a branch head, thence north 63 degrees west 73 poles to a red oak of **Sr. Gray Shipwith** (Skipworth?) then along **Sr. Grays** bounds north by east, east by north and north by east to a corner gum in a little fork'd branch, by the **Dragon Swamp**, thence up the **Dragon Swamp** the several courses 380 poles to Col. Claibournes corner poplar at the mouth of **Robin's branch**, thence up **Robin's branch** the several courses 526 poles to the first mentioned station 900 acres part thereof formerly granted to George Morns (Morris?) and John Pigg by patent bearing date June 24th 1662, the residue 776 newly taken up and is due to the said John Richards by and for the transportation of 16 persons....

Title: Land grant 20 April 1682.
Creator: Warkeman, Marke. grantee.
Creation Date: 1682 - 0420
Location: New Kent County.

Description: 918 acres on the north side of **Pamunkey**; dividend of land called **Pampertike** in **Pamunkey Neck**, beginning at **Goddin's Island** and so up the said creek about a mile; the said land being due as follows was formerly purchased by one (?) Booth of the **Queen of Pamunkey** after whose deceased the said land was granted to his son Robert Booth, by an order of Assembly bearing date the 25th of April 1679 and by the said Robert Booth assigned to Mr. Marke Warkeman to have and to hold...
Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 121 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 24 April 1682.

Creator: Covington, William. grantee.

Creation Date: 1682 - 0424

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 300 acres on the branches of Peancketank River, adjoining the land he liveth on.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 172 (Reel 7).

Transcription: 300 acres of land lying in ye county of Rappahannock upon ye branches of **Peancketank river** and joining to ye dividend ye said Covington liveth on (?) land boundeth as followeth:

Beginning att two corner trees a red oak and a gum standing by ye (house?) in sight of ye said **Covington's Plantation** running thence No. 80 poles to a red oak in ye line of **Mr. Thomas Watkins** and by his line to a corner red oak standing on ye So. side ye **path leading to Paine's Ridge**, thence No. 40 deg Ea. 36 poles to a red oak on ye No. side of ye path, thence Ea. 83 poles to a line oak by a pond and No. (67?) Ea. 108 poles to a small gum by ye land of aforesaid Watkins, thence down a branch So. 50 d E 96 poles to a corner gum in ye forke of a branch, thence up ye said branch ye several courses and to a corner red oak by **Wm. Richards his path**, thence So. 10d We. 94 poles to a corner by a branch in an old line, thence No. 45 degrees We. 82 poles to a spanish oak, thence No. 80 d west (190?) poles where it first began...

Title: Land grant 22 September 1682.

Creator: Robinson, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1682 - 0922

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 1252 acres on the **Dragon Swamp** and branches thereof. Beg.g &c. belonging to the land of Thomas Landford; thence &c. over certain **branches of Arracixcoe** to a Corner Red Oak by the **Mill Path**; mentions **Middlesex Path**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 193 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 22 September 1682.

Creator: Walden, Lewis. grantee.

Creation Date: 1682 - 0922

Location: New Kent County.

Grantee(s): Walden, Lewis and Martin, George.

Description: 460 acres between the land of **John Robinson**, the land of **Samuel Patridge**, decd. and **Captn. John Lane**; mentions **Middlesex Path, Donno's Path** (?)

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 192 (Reel 7).

Searched: samuel p*tridge

Title: Land grant 16 April 1683.

Creator: Thomas, Edward. grantee.

Creation Date: 1683 - 0416

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 350 acres on the south side of Rappahannock County. Adjoining the land of Mr. Jones and Jackman.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 285 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 16 April 1683.

Creator: Bird, Robert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1683 - 0416

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 330 acres joining to the land of **Thomas Holmes**, decd. Beg.g &c. white oak of Thomas Holmes land, thence &c. to the land of Timothy Carter, thence &c. to a branch of the third branch.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 282 (Reel 7).

Searched: Robert B?rd

Transcription: Begins at corner white oak of **Mr. Thomas Holmes** his land, running thence east southeast 130 poles to land of **Tymothy Carter**, by his land east by south 42 poles, continues further 57 (?) poles to a corner red oak by **Garb (?) Road** on the side of rising ground, thence north northeast 124 poles to a branch of ye third branch, thence down the branch & so to the mains 108 poles to a Spanish oak on the side of the bank of ye branch, thence by an (?) pine 160 poles **to Mr. Holmes his branch**, thence north by west half westerly 127 (?) poles to **Mr. Holmes land**, thence south southwest 400 pole where it first began...

Title: Land grant 16 April 1683.

Creator: Bembridge, Stephen. grantee.

Creation Date: 1683 - 0416

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Grantee(s): Bembridge, Stephen and St. John, Thomas.

Description: 110 acres joining to the land of Col. **William Clayborne, decd.**, to the swamp of **Peanketank**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 241 (Reel 7).

Searched: William Cla*b*rn*

Title: Land grant 16 April 1683.

Creator: Bembridge, Stephen. grantee.

Creation Date: 1683 - 0416

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 2315 acres in the Counties of New Kent and Rappahannock beginning at **Col. Claybornes** corner white oak on the South side of **Bestland Swamp**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 247 (Reel 7).

Transcription: Lying part in New Kent and part in Rappa. County bounding as follows:

Adjoining **Coll. Clayborne's** corner white oak on the south side of **Bestland Swamp** and running thence south 20 degrees west 238 poles, N 75 degrees west 45 poles, south 30 degrees west 90 poles and west, 161 (?) poles to a standing oak, thence north 40 degrees west 140, south 60 degrees west 48 poles, north 20 degrees west 52 poles, north 20 degrees east 108 poles, north 45 degrees west 67 poles to a white oak, thence north 25 degrees east 105 poles to a pine by **Rappah. Road**, thence by the road 300 poles to a corner white oak by the head of a branch belonging to the land of **Jones and Bunier** (?), thence north north east 294 poles, and southeast east 232 poles along the land of Jones and Bunier (?), to the land of **Williams**, and by his land these several courses south 98 degrees east 140 poles, south 35 degrees east 90 poles, south 45 degrees east 120 poles to (?) land of Mr. **Watkins** to a standing white oak by a **Path**, thence south 65 degrees east 125 poles, south 30 west 165 poles to the land of **Col. Clayborne**, thence by his bounds west by north 186 poles, north north west $\frac{1}{4}$ west 150 poles, west by south 170 poles to a Branch, thence down the branch 75 poles, thence west south west 190 poles to a corner pine, thence south south east (?) by main branch 85 poles to the first station...

Title: Land grant 16 April 1683.

Creator: Covington, William. grantee.

Creation Date: 1683 - 0416

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 90 acres adjoining the land said Covington now lives on. Beginning &c by the fence and **King road** &c. Adjoins land of **Thomas Watkins and Stephen Bembridge**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 283 (Reel 7).

Transcription: 90 acres of land situated in Rappahannock County, joining to the land the said Covington now lives on

Bounding as followeth, beginning at a corner red oak and gum by the fence & **King Road**, running thence to the land of **Thomas Watkins** north 75 poles to a red oak by a small branch, thence by ye land of **Thomas Watkins**, north 75 degrees west 52 poles to a white oak, thence by ye land of **Stephen Bembridge** south 30 degrees west 160 poles right to a (leaning?) oak by a (slash?), thence cross the said slash south 60 degrees east 115 poles to ye bound of ye first & (evident?) thence (125?) poles where it began...

Title: Land grant 16 April 1683.

Creator: Burge, George. grantee.

Creation Date: 1683 - 0416

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 500 acres on **Peanketank swamp**. Beg.g &c. the old corner tree of **David Brams land** near the said swamp.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 283 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 20 April 1683.

Creator: Morris, George. grantee.

Creation Date: 1683 - 0420

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 400 acres on either side the **horse path** from the **Dragon** to Pascataway. Beg.g at a red oak belonging to the land, of Wm. Dumright and Mathew York now liveth at.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 380 (Reel 7).

Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 29 May 1683.

Creator: Carter, Timothy. grantee.

Creation Date: 1683 - 0529

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 700 acres back in the woods on the north side of Mattapony river, Beg.g &c. in sight of **Timothy Carter's house**; thence &c. in **Richardsons line** thence &c. by **(Cheesecake?) path**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 293 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 29 May 1683.

Creator: Doughting, Anthony. grantee.

Creation Date: 1683 - 0529

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 151 acres beg.g &c. close to the line of **Abraham Weekes**, thence &c. to the line of **Rice Jones** at the head of the **Green Branch**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 299 (Reel 7).

Transcription: Beginning at a stooping small red oak close to the line of **Abraham Weekes** and thence running NW 150 poles along ye said lines to ye line of **Mr. Rice Jones**, at ye head of ye **Green Branch**, to

ye side thereof thence along said Jones his line NE by E 152 poles to a corner red oak of Jamaica line, thence SE along Jamaica line 174 poles to another former red oak of ye said line, thence along Mr. Randall Segars line SW by W three quarters westerly 165 poles to ye beginning place...

Title: Land grant 29 May 1683.

Creator: Threddor, Richard. grantee.

Creation Date: 1683 - 0529

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 105 acres on the north side of Mattapony River. Begg. &c. at the head of a small branch issuing from Indian Cabbins Branch, which branch divideth this land and the land of Nicholas Ward.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 295 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 20 September 1683.

Creator: Hill, Edward, Col. grantee.

Creation Date: 1683 - 0920

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 2717 acres in the counties of New Kent and Rappa: on the branches of Mattapony and Piscadaway Creek, Beg.g &c. north side of an Indian path, that goeth from Mattapony Town that was at the head of Piscattaway Creek unto a town now planted by those Indians on Mattapony River; mentions Richard's Path, crosses Myry Branch; adjoins Capt. Thomas Brereton

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 323 (Reel 7).

Searched: Indian path

Title: Land grant 20 September 1683.

Creator: Byrd, Robert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1683 - 0920

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 700 acres beg.g &c. white oak dividend of Thomas Holmes.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 308 (Reel 7).

Searched: Robert B?rd

Title: Land grant 20 September 1683.

Creator: Weekes, Abraham. grantee.

Creation Date: 1683 - 0920

Location: Lancaster County.

Description: 950 acres on the north side of the great swamp on the head of Peanketank River. and about 6 miles from Rappahannock River.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 319 (Reel 7).

Transcription: Beginning at a small marked white oak that stands by the great swamp, and running east by north, a quarter of a paynt (point) east 60 poles, east crossing the Bryery Branch 260 poles, thence north 120 poles to ye Bryery branch, thence crossing the branch to a maple tree, and from the maple tree up the branch north northeast 120 poles to a marked red oak, north west 380 poles to the head of Green Branch down the Green Branch to great swamp and down ye Great Swamp to ye marked white oak where it first began...

700 acres of the land formerly granted to Thomas Willis by patent dated 31 August 1664, and (can't read) by said Willis granted to the said Abraham Weekes by patent dated 1 and 20th of October 1667 acknowledged and recorded in county of Lancaster ye 23 October 1667....

Title: Land grant 20 September 1683.

Creator: Williamson, Henry. grantee.

Creation Date: 1683 - 0920

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 420 acres on the south side of the River Rappahannock. Adjoining the land of Col. Richard Lee and Anthony Jackman. At the head of two small branches that runs into **Hudsons Swamp**. Formerly granted to George Marsh, Aug 19, 1664.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 315 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 20 April 1684.

Creator: Lewis, Christopher. grantee.

Creation Date: 1684 - 0420

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 700 acres in a great fork of **Peanketank Swamp**. Beg.g &c. to the mouth of **Axells Swamp**; purchased 500 acres from Clayborne

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 383 (Reel 7).

Searched: Christopher Lewis

Title: Land grant 20 April 1684.

Creator: Docker, Edward. grantee.

Creation Date: 1684 - 0420

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 210 acres 50 acres part thereof adjoining the land of **Daniel Long** - The other 160 acres of land, adjoining **Nicholas West, Randolph Seag.E, John Bewford, &c.**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 355 (Reel 7).

Transcription: 210 acres of land situated lying and being in Middlesex County, 50 acres part thereof adjoining upon the land of **Daniel Long**, beginning (?) as measured, a certain corner spanish oak, thence running by a line of marked trees east by north (56?) poles to two corner red oaks of **Randolph Seagers**, and by his line northwest 116 poles to a gum on **Bryery Branch**, and down the run to the mouth of a branch, dividing (?) this land and the Daniel Long's land and running up by his house and so up that branch to a white oak, standing near Daniel Long's house, being a corner tree of the said Daniel Long's 100 acres of land and from thence to a Spanish oak first begun att.

The other 160 acres of land bounded: beginning close to a red oak corner tree belonging to **Nicholas West, and Mr. Randolph Seager** (?) by ye **main road**, and running southeast along the line of Nicholas West 144 poles to a red oak in the line of **John Bewford**, where (was?) marked a small red oak, thence south west a long the said Bewford line 172 poles to a red oak corner tree belonging to ye said Bewford, and **Mr. Henry Nicholls**, thence along the line of Mr. Henry Nicholls west north west (136?) poles to a corner spanish oak of the said Nicholls land by Edward Docker plantation side, and in sight of Daniel Long's house on the (branch?) of **Briery branch**, thence northeast by east 60 poles to a red oak (corner?) of Mr. Randolph Seager in sight of Edward Docker's house, thence along Mr. Seager's line North east by north 172 poles to ye beginning place...

The first 50 acres being formerly granted to Mr. Robert Beverley and by patent bearing date ye fifth day of June 1678 may appear, and by him assigned to ye said Edward Docker the tenth day of December 1679...

The remainder 160 acres of land being due to ye said Edward Docker by ad for the transportation of...

Title: Land grant 21 October 1684.
Creator: Byrd, Robert. grantee.
Creation Date: 1684 - 1021
Location: New Kent County.
Description: 200 acres (Escheat land).
Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 417 (Reel 7).
Searched: Robert B?rd

Title: Land grant 20 April 1685.
Creator: Carter, John. grantee.
Creation Date: 1685 - 0420
Location: Gloucester County.
Description: 340 acres lying on the south side of the main run of the Dragon Swamp adjoining the land of Charles Roane, Robert Shackelford &c. at the mouth of Spring Branch.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 444 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 20 April 1685.
Creator: Willis, Richard. grantee.
Creation Date: 1685 - 0420
Location: Middlesex County.
Description: 300 acres formerly granted to Thomas Willis his father by patent, dated Octr. 22nd 1661 and renewed the last of August 1664. and now bounded viz: Begg. at a great cypress in the Dragon Swamp.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 471 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 20 April 1685.
Creator: Jones, John. grantee.
Creation Date: 1685 - 0420
Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).
Description: 167 acres beginning at a white oak in the fork of the Green Swamp. Adjoining the land of Thomas Toseleys and Henry Williamsons.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 459 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 20 April 1685.
Creator: Page, Francis, Capt. grantee.
Creation Date: 1685 - 0420
Location: New Kent County.
Description: 1000 acres called Pampertike, on the north side of Pamunkey River, in Pamunkey Neck. Beg.g at the mouth of Goddins Creek, or a little swamp a little below Goodins Island. See Book No. 7, 121; bounds land of William Woodward
Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 457 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 30 October 1686.
Creator: Bembridge, Stephen. grantee.
Creation Date: 1686 - 1030
Location: New Kent County.
Description: 330 acres on the branches of Horecock Creek beginning at a white oak by a branch running thence of Colo. Goodrich; thence &c. by a branch by John Jones' plantation.

Source: Land Office Grants No. 7, 1786-1787, p. 530 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 30 October 1686.

Creator: Blackey, Robert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1686 - 1030

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 23 acres on a small branch of the **Dragon swamp**, adjoining the land of **Wm. Kidd, Henry Thacker, Richard Willis &c.**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 517 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 30 October 1686.

Creator: Haile, Joseph. grantee.

Creation Date: 1686 - 1030

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 1000 acres in the freshes of **Mattapony River**. Beginning &c. standing in a **path**, leading from **Wm. Rickett's house** to the **Indian Town**; borders land of **John Barrow** (which was formerly owned by John Pigg; mentions **Ridge Path**)

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 514 (Reel 7).

Searched: Indian path

Title: Land grant 20 April 1687.

Creator: Cary, Oswald. grantee.

Creation Date: 1687 - 0420

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 460 acres on Pianketank River side begg. at Mulberry Tree How ordered to be planted at the south east corner of **Timber Neck Land** now belonging to **Ralph Wormeley**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 582 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 20 April 1687.

Creator: Gregory, Richard. grantee.

Creation Date: 1687 - 0420

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 850 acres on the north side of Mattapony adjoining the land of **Mr. Watkins and Richard Davis**. Formerly gtd. to Philip Watkins, Thomas Watkins, and Wm. Ricketts, Mar: 6, 1673/4 afterwards gtd. to Joshua Story Apl. 26, 1680; mentions **Brereton's Branch** by a **path**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 604 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 20 October 1687.

Creator: Taylor, James. grantee.

Creation Date: 1687 - 1020

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 744 acres on the south side of **Rappahannock River**, beginning &c by the **Indian Path als. Mr. Abreys Path**. To Richard Gregorys line in sight of John Gatewoods plantation.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 625 (Reel 7).

Searched: Indian path

Title: Land grant 21 October 1687.

Creator: Bawden, Hugh. grantee.
Creation Date: 1687 - 1021
Location: New Kent County.
Description: 727 acres 661 acres part thereof on a branch of the **Dragon Swamp**, beg.g &c. by the branch side; 66 acres the residue beg.g &c. in a branch that cometh up by Gabriel Hills house. Formerly gtd. sd. Hill, Nov. 29th, 1665. .
Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 618 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 21 October 1687.
Creator: Bawden, Hugh. grantee.
Creation Date: 1687 - 1021
Location: New Kent County.
Description: 727 acres 661 acres part thereof lying upon a branch of the **Dragon Swamp** beg.g &c. in a branch that cometh up by **Gabriel Hills house**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 638 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 21 October 1687.
Creator: Gregory, Richard. grantee.
Creation Date: 1687 - 1021
Location: New Kent County.
Description: 460 acres between the land of **Mr. John Robinson** and the land of **Samuel Patridge decd.** and **Captn. John Lane**; mentions **Middlesex Path**
Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 617 (Reel 7).
Searched: samuel p*tridge

Title: Land grant 21 October 1687.
Creator: May, Philip. grantee.
Creation Date: 1687 - 1021
Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).
Grantee(s): May, Philip and Potts (Petts?), Thomas.
Description: 376 acres upon the branches of **Gilsons run** and **Hoskins**. Beginning at a great white oak by an **Indian path** some 3/4 of a mile from John Roberts.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 622 (Reel 7).
Searched: Indian path

Title: Land grant 21 October 1687.
Creator: Kemp, Peter. grantee.
Creation Date: 1687 - 1021
Location: Gloucester County.
Description: 638 acres on the south side of **Poyanketank River**, betwixt a creek called **Allens Creek and the Wadeing Creek**; mentions **Indian Line**
Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 618 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 21 October 1687.
Creator: Palliser, Thomas. grantee.
Creation Date: 1687 - 1021
Location: Gloucester County.

Description: 421 acres on the south side of **Pyanketank River**, adjoining land formerly **Gilbert Metcalfe's**, dec'd., land of **George Curtis, Col. Kemp &c.**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 623 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 23 April 1688.

Creator: Nicholls, Henry. grantee.

Creation Date: 1688 - 0423

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 55 acres begg. &c. at a corner red oak by a pond being a corner of **Randolph Siger and John Blewford land**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 637 (Reel 7).

Transcription: 55 acres of land situated (?) and being in the aforesaid county and beginning to be measured at a corner red oak by a pond being a corner of **Mr. Randolph Segar and John Blewford's land** and running thence west by north 82 poles to the land of **Mr. Henry Nicholls son** to a stake by a marked tree thence by his line south 42 degrees east 204 poles to a corner hickory thence north 26 degrees east 70 poles by or (nigh?) the land of **Mr. Robert Chowning** to a stake by a white oak in the line of the said Blewford and thence north west 212 poles to the place it began...

Title: Land grant 23 April 1688.

Creator: Christ Church, parish Glebe grantee.

Creation Date: 1688 - 0423

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 426 acres beginning at **Nimcock** als. **Rose Gill** Creek.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 644 (Reel 7).

Transcription: Beginning at **Nimcock als. Rosegill creek** side and running thence southwest 264 poles to a certain corner white oak (?) since sold (?) **standing by a path leading to ye Kings Road**, thence southeast by south 350 poles by an old of line of marked trees to a stake & thence (?) a corner hickory and red oak in a valley, thence north northeast 70 poles by a marked line to appoint by ye side of a branch to a marked poplar and white oak, thence down said branch in several courses 250 poles unto ye main creek and lastly up and along said creek 192 poles to ye pace it first began, and 28 acres of (?) part thereof added to ye said (Gloab?) for ye minister of said parish and beginning at ye above said corner white oak, standing by ye **path leading by ye King's Road**, and running thence by said path south 25 degrees west 9.5 poles, thence south 52 degrees west 20 poles, thence south 61.5 degrees east 20 poles, thence south 49 degrees west 20 poles to the corner red oaks, thence northwest 50 poles by a marked line to a corner hickory of **Mr. John Cant's land**, thence by his line north 65.5 degrees east 168 poles to a stake by ye side of ye Gloab old field, and thence south west 90 poles along ye Gloab land to ye first mentioned station the place it began...

Title: Land grant 23 April 1688.

Creator: Downing, Wm. grantee.

Creation Date: 1688 - 0423

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 322 acres begg. &c. standing by **an Indian path** which goes to the **Dragon Swamp** and by the side of **Tho : Williams' plantation** on a level; mentions a **bridge road**; standing by the run of **Ice blockhouse swamp near the said Dragon Swamp**, then down said run it winds and tournes to the main run of the Dragon Swamp, thence down the said Dragon Swamp run it several courses until it comes opposite

in a northeast course to a marked hickory & white oak standing at the edge or side of said Dragon Swamp by said **Indian Path**, then follows path northeast

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 640 (Reel 7).

Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 23 April 1688.

Creator: Story, Joshua. grantee.

Creation Date: 1688 - 0423

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 400 acres lying on the **horse path** from **Draggon** to Piscattoway; borders **William Drumwright and Mathew York, William Collins and others**; formerly granted to George Morris on April 20, 1684

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 646 (Reel 7).

Searched Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 23 April 1688.

Creator: Benbridge, Stephen. grantee.

Creation Date: 1688 - 0423

Location: New Kent County.

Grantee(s): Benbridge, Stephen and Todd, Thomas.

Description: 333 acres beginning at a white oak by a **Ferney Branch** close to the **Indian path**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 634 (Reel 7).

Searched: Indian path

Title: Land grant 23 April 1688.

Creator: Toseley, Thomas. grantee.

Creation Date: 1688 - 0423

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 594 acres adjoining the land of **John Furwell, Rice Jones, his own &c.**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 649 (Reel 7).

Transcription: Beginning to (?) at a corner hickory of **John Furwells land**, standing on side of a hill by a valley 195 poles from sd. Furwells...

Beginning and running thence by an old line of marked trees (?) North west 193 poles to a corner red oak of **Rice Jones his path**, thence south 60 degrees west 50 poles to a stake behind a corner white oak & red oak about a chains (?) longer from (?), thence south 40 (?) deg west 170 poles to a stake by a red oak on a level, then south (?) deg. West 23.5 poles to a red oak, thence south 54 (?) deg west 50 poles to a small hickory by sd. **Toselys plantation**, thence south (?) deg west 27 poles to a Spanish oak by a branch by sd. Plantation, then south 43 degrees west 87 poles by a line of small trees, thence south 38 degrees west 28 poles, thence south 41.5 degrees west 25 poles, then south 43 degrees west 20 poles, to a corner black Spanish oak of Rice Jones his line, by a path leading to **Mr. Edward Thomas or sd. Jones plantation**, thence by an old line of marked (?) trees (?) south east 182 poles, to a corner white oak of **Jno. Furwells land** by head of a **small branch** on (?) sides of ye **main roads** (?) and lastly north 50 deg east 470 (?) poles to place where it began...

507 acres part thereof first granted to John Richens & George Hooper (?)

Title: Land grant 23 April 1688.

Creator: Thomas, Edward. grantee.

Creation Date: 1688 - 0423

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Description: 714 acres on the south side of **Rappahannock River**. 350 acres formerly granted said Thomas by patent dated Apr 16, 1683. Balance of the tract taken up adjoins land of **Rice Jones, Thomas Toseley &c.**; neighboring property belongs to **Mr. Williamson** (Henry Wiliamson?)

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 653 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 23 April 1688.

Creator: Arnold, Benjamin. grantee.

Creation Date: 1688 - 0423

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 1754 acres on the north side of **Mattapony River**, 1050 acres thereof formerly gtd. by patent to Captn. Taylor and sold to **Anthony Arnold**, decd. The residue &c. now taken up and bounded &c. beg.g 40 po: below the **Mill Creek** as near the river as could be.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 635 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 20 October 1688.

Creator: Roane, Charles. grantee.

Creation Date: 1688 - 1020

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 797 acres in the Counties of New Kent and Gloster. Beg. &c. by the side of a branch called **Hanks Folly** in sight of **Charles Roane and Hank's old plantation**; part of Cuthbert Potter's land (5380 tract)

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 684 (Reel 7).

Title: Land grant 20 April 1689.

Creator: Green, Saml. grantee.

Creation Date: 1689 - 0420

Location: County location not given.

Description: 180 acres on the South side of **Rappahannock River** and on the North side of ye **Dragon Swamp** formerly bought by the said Green &c.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 7, 1679-1689 (v.1 & 2 p.1-719), p. 703 (Reel 7).

Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 20 October 1689.

Creator: Curtis, James. grantee.

Creation Date: 1689 - 1020

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 360 acres on the North West side of **Nimcock Creek**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 19 (Reel 8).

Transcription: Beginning at corner point, at a corner red oak on ye upper land of dividant of land belonging to **Ralph Wormely Esq** (?), and running thence north north west 320 poles to a hickory on a level **near a road**, thence north 79 degrees west 78 poles to two hickories by ye head of a small branch thence some 66 degrees west 93 poles to a (soaring?) Chestnut oak near **mill pond by ye mouth** (?) of a (?) at a head of **Nimcock Creek**, thence finally down and along the creek its several courses and turnings to corner point to ye red oak ye place it began...

223 acres part thereof formerly granted unto Abraham Moon by patent dated ye (?) October 1653 and by ye Abraham Moon conveyed to Arthur Weston (?) by (?) dates of 6th of November 1653...

Title: Land grant 28 April 1690.

Creator: Lightfoot, Philip. grantee.

Creation Date: 1690 - 0428

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 525 acres land forfeited by Anthony Arnold on the Dragoon Swamp

Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 79 (Reel 8).

Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 23 October 1690.

Creator: Gresham, Edward, Sr. grantee.

Creation Date: 1690 - 1023

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 641 acres on the North side of Mattapony River, and on the north east side of the Axel Swamp; mentions Hellicon Swamp and path of St. Stephens

Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 98 (Reel 8).

Title: Land grant 25 October 1690.

Creator: Lumpkin, Jacob, Capt. grantee.

Creation Date: 1690 - 1025

Location: New Kent County.

Description: 741 acres on the north side Mattapony River and partly on the branch of the main Dragon Swamp. Beq.q &c. by a great branch of Richard Williams.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 96 (Reel 8).

Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 27 February 1690/1691.

Creator: Willis, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1690 - 0227

Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).

Grantee(s): Willis, John and Parsons, John.

Description: 158 acres adjacent to a tract of land surveyed for Henry Fleet above Foxalls Mill.

Source: Northern Neck Grants No. 1, 1690-1692, p. 43-45 (Reel 288).

Searched: john *x?l*

Title: Land grant 1691.

Creator: Bird, Robert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1691

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 134 acres beginning in the forks of a branch that runneth into Exolls Branch and northerly up one of the said Forkes - the said land being formerly granted to Gabriel Hill by patent dated 29th Novr, 1665.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 188 (Reel 8).

Title: Land grant 28 April 1691.

Creator: Owen, Hugh. grantee.
Creation Date: 1691 - 0428
Location: County location not given.
Description: 2359 acres in the forrest and between Rappahannock River and the head or runs of **Mattapony River**; bound.g on the Eastd, side with a **path that leads from Porttobacco Indian Town to Chickahominy Indian Town**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 130 (Reel 8).
Searched: Indian path

Title: Land grant 20 October 1691.
Creator: Bird, Robert. grantee.
Creation Date: 1691 - 1020
Location: King and Queen County.
Description: 100 acres on the north side of **Exoll Swamp**, beginning at the forks of a Small Branch that runeth into **Exoll Swamp** about half a mile above the **land of Gabriel Hill**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 189 (Reel 8).
Searched: Robert B?rd

Title: Land grant 20 October 1691.
Creator: Williams, Edward. grantee.
Creation Date: 1691 - 1020
Location: Middlesex County.
Description: 70 acres beginning at a corner hickory and white oak of **Wm. Downings land**, standing by the side of the **Dragon Swamp**. Adjoining the **land of John Wortham**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 196 (Reel 8).
Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 20 October 1691.
Creator: Thomas, Edward. grantee.
Creation Date: 1691 - 1020
Location: Rappahannock County (extinct).
Description: 450 acres adjoining land belonging to **John Jones' orphan** standing by the **Dragon Swamp** side in the **point of old field** just below the mouth of a great branch.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 198 (Reel 8).
Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 20 October 1691.
Creator: Nash, Robert. grantee.
Creation Date: 1691 - 1020
Location: County location not given.
Description: 333 acres lying in (?) County: Beg.g by a **ferny branch** close to the **Indian Path**; formerly granted to **Stephen Bembridge**; borders **"Indian Land"**
Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 190 (Reel 8).
Searched: Indian path

Title: Land grant 20 October 1691.
Creator: Perry, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1691 - 1020

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 321 acres on the head branch of **Assatians Swamp** beginning at **Robert Hills** corner in a **Pondy Branch**; also adjacent to **cattail meadow** and **Wm. Rogers land**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 189 (Reel 8).

Title: Land grant 20 October 1691.

Creator: Wilsheare, Joseph. grantee.

Creation Date: 1691 - 1020

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 48 acres on the north side of **Mattapony River**. Beg.g &c. by the run of **Anicomanse Swamp**. Adjoining **Scandalls land**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 191 (Reel 8).

Title: Land grant 29 April 1693.

Creator: Bird, Robert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1693 - 0429

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 225 acres 200 acres. part thereof, boundeth as followeth, Beg.g &c. in **Timothy Carters** line, thence &c. on a hill in **Holmes** line. The residue Beg.g &c. in **Holmes** line; runs by **Cheesecake path**; mentions **Bird Road**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 277 (Reel 8).

Searched: Robert B*rd

Title: Land grant 29 April 1693.

Creator: Brookes, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1693 - 0429

Location: Essex County.

Description: 189 acres beginning &c. by a branch parting this from the land of **Thos. Williams** and on the **Dragon Swamp**; mentions dry branch; near land of **Evan Davis and Thomas Day**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 265 (Reel 8).

Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 20 April 1694.

Creator: Lewis, Zachery. grantee.

Creation Date: 1694 - 0420

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 500 acres beg.g &c. near the **Drggon Swamp**. Formerly gtd. to **Domingo Maderes** and James Johnson Apl. 8th 1668.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 318 (Reel 8).

Searched: d*mingo m*d*r*s

Title: Land grant 26 October 1694.

Creator: Cock, Maurice. grantee.

Creation Date: 1694 - 1026

Location: Russell County.

Description: 275 acres by a branch issuing into the **Dragon Swamp (called the White Marsh)**; formerly part of Bredgar, Hill and Mayhem's 1200-acre patent
Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 387 (Reel 8).
Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 26 October 1694.
Creator: Cock, Maurice. grantee.
Creation Date: 1694 - 1026
Location: Middlesex County.
Description: 58 acres begg. &c. being the beginning of a patent of land, containing 1200 acres formerly granted to Cuthbert Potter (being known by the name of **Potters quarter dividend**).
Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 387 (Reel 8).
Searched: Cuthbert Potter

Title: Land grant 26 October 1694.
Creator: Beverley, Robert. grantee.
Creation Date: 1694 - 1026
Location: Essex County.
Description: 6500 acres in Essex and King and Queen adjoining a devident of 4600 acres of land formerly surveyed and taken up by Capt. Lawrence Smith, beginning &c. by the **Beaver Dams** or near the head of a **Reedy Branch**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 8, 1689-1695, p. 391 (Reel 8).

Title: Land grant 25 October 1695.
Creator: Fowler, Bartholomew. grantee.
Creation Date: 1695 - 1025
Location: Middlesex County.
Description: 600 acres on the head of **Nimcock Creek** begg. on a small creek known by the name of **Holobush Swamp Creek**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 6 (Reel 9).
Transcription: Beginning on a small Creek known by the name **Holobush Swamp Creek** and running by **Nimcock Creek** NW by N 300 poles for breadth, west (?) by south into the woods 320 poles thence SE by S 300 poles down Hollowbush E NE 320 poles, the said land was formerly granted unto John Curtis by patent bearing date at James City the 5th day of March 1662 and by him departed and him granted unto the said Bartholomew Flower by order of the general court...

Title: Land grant 29 October 1696.
Creator: Skipwith, Wm. Barront., Sr. grantee.
Creation Date: 1696 - 1029
Location: King and Queen County.
Description: 710 acres beg.g &c. at an ancient corner &c. by the side of the **Dragon Swamp**, corner of **John Richards land**, formerly granted to Majr. Genl. Robert Smith; crosses a **Mirrey Branch**
Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 38 (Reel 9).
Searched: John Richards

Title: Land grant 29 October 1696.
Creator: Todd, Thomas. grantee.

Creation Date: 1696 - 1029

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 333 acres beg.g &c. by a **Ferney Branch** close to the **Indian Path** adjoin.g the land of **Goodrich, the Indians and Stephen West**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 39 (Reel 9).

Searched: Indian path

Title: Land grant 29 October 1696.

Creator: Wormeley (Wormely), Ralph, Hon. grantee.

Creation Date: 1696 - 1029

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 3200 acres begg. at the mouth of **Rosegill alias, Nimcock Creek** and run.g down **Rappahannock River** &c. to the land of **Majr. General Robert Smith, decd.**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 38 (Reel 9).

Transcription: Beginning at the mouth of **Rosegill (alias) Nimcock Creek** and running down along **Rappahannock River** its several courses to the land of **Major General Robert Smith** and to stake on the river bank, thence along that land south by east 462 poles by a lien of marked trees to a red oak, thence north 75 degrees west 600 poles by a line of trees double marked to a stake in the side of an old (Hoild?) near a branch thence north 47 degrees west 460 poles by a line of double marked trees to a red oak thence north 34 degrees west 278 poles by a lien of double marked trees to a cove of the said **Rosegill Creek** to a Chestnutt oak and easterly down along the said creek its several courses to the mouth thereof the place it began...

Formerly granted to Ralph Wormely by patent dated the 6th (?) day of June 1649...

Title: Land grant 29 October 1696.

Creator: Beverley, Robert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1696 - 1029

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 2359 acres in the Forrest and between **Rapahanock River** and the head or run of **Mattapony River**, bounding on the Eastward side with a **path that leads from Portobago Indian Town to Chichamony Indian Town.**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 35 (Reel 9).

Searched: Indian path

Title: Land grant 26 April 1698.

Creator: Covington, Richard. grantee.

Creation Date: 1698 - 0426

Location: Essex county.

Description: 1091 acres beginning &c., crossing the Main Branch of **Ware Creek** &c., crossing a Great branch of **Passatink Creek.**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 150 (Reel 9).

Title: Land grant 6 June 1699.

Creator: Ramsey, Bartholomew. grantee.

Creation Date: 1699 - 0606

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 1300 acres beg.g &c. a corner of Thomas Todds lands formerly called Sawyers land, standing upon the Dragon Swamp.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 196 (Reel 9).

Searched: Dr*gon

1700 onward

Title: Land grant 24 April 1700.

Creator: Thacker, Chickeley Corbin. grantee.

Creation Date: 1700 - 0424

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 1000 acres escheat land, formerly belonging to George Light, decd. On the Dragon Swamp.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 244 (Reel 9).

Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 24 April 1700.

Creator: Hill, Edward. grantee.

Creation Date: 1700 - 0424

Location: Essex County.

Description: 550 acres adjoining the Land of Grains, Land of Beverley to a marked white oak &c. by Rappahannock Indian path near the pocoson; formerly granted to Thomas Goodrich in 1672

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 250 (Reel 9).

Searched: Indian path

Title: Land grant 24 April 1700.

Creator: Taylor, James. grantee.

Creation Date: 1700 - 0424

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 333 acres by a Ferney branch close to the Indian path. Formerly gtd. to Stephen Bendbridge and Thomas Todd, Apl. 23, 1688; patent crosses branch of Mattapony River; borders "Indians land"

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 254 (Reel 9).

Searched: Indian path

Title: Land grant 17 November 1700.

Creator: Boughan, James. grantee.

Creation Date: 1700 - 1117

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 333 acres beg.g &c. by a ferney branch close to the Indian Path. Formerly granted to Thomas Todd, Octr. 29, 1696; patent crosses branch from Mattapony Run; borders land owned by Goodrich and "Indians land"

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 293 (Reel 9).

Title: Land grant 12 March 1701/1702.

Creator: Thacker, Chickeley Corbin. grantee.

Creation Date: 1701 - 0312

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 3080 acres in Pamunkey Neck. Beg.g &c. in Darrell's line; thence &c. in Perry's Swamp near the run &c. to two large pines near North Wales Path.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 427 (Reel 9).

Title: Land grant 25 April 1701.

Creator: Burrows, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1701 - 0425

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 439 acres beg.g on the west side of **Johns Creek** running along the lines of the lands late of **William Woodward**, thence &c. one pole to **Mrs. Gouge** Line &c, to **Johns Creek**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 358 (Reel 9).

Title: Land grant 8 October 1701.

Creator: Meacham, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1701 - 1008

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 150 acres begg. at a great white oak by the **Dragon swamp** at the mouth of **the Green branch**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 386 (Reel 9).

Searched: Dr*gon

Transcription: Beginning at a great white oak by **the Dragon Swamp at the mouth of the green branch** and running southeast 212 poles to the said **Dragon Swamp** to a maple tree thence continuing the same course et run of sd. Swamp thence up along the said run its several courses to the run of said **Green Branch** thence up along the said green branch run to the said white oak the place it began. The said 150 acres of land the added part of a patent of 950 acres of land granted to Abraham Weekes dated 20 September 1683 and granted to the said John Meacham as (described?) by ye said Weekes by order of the general court dated 15 April 1701...

Title: Land grant 24 October 1701.

Creator: Maccalister, Andrew. grantee.

Creation Date: 1701 - 1024

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 86 acres in **Pamunkey Neck** beg.g &c. on **Mattapony River**, being the lower corner tree of **old Richard Yarboroughs whole tract leased of the Pamunkey Indians**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 386 (Reel 9).

Transcription: lying in **Pamunkey neck** in King & Queen County bounded as followeth vis: beginning at a red oake corner tree on **Mattapony River** being the lower corner tree of **old Richard Yarborough's whole tract leased of the Pamunkey Indians** & running thence by an old line of marked trees South southwest 54 poles to a corner red oak thence west 176 poles to ye forke of a branch of the **fort swamp** to ye run thereof to a corner white oake in the branch being a line tree of **William Rawlins** his land thence down the branch to the mouth thereof the several courses to ye **fort swamp** & down ye same the several courses to **Mattapony river** side to a corner red oake now marked thence down ye river south east to ye beginning place...

Title: Land grant 1 April 1702.

Creator: Hampton, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1702 - 0401

Location: County location not given.

Description: 50 acres being among the **branches of ye Queens Swamp in Pamunkey Neck**, it being a small neck inclosed by a forke of ye swamp by an **Indian path** &c.; patent was part of land laid out according to articles of peace on October 22, 1701 for Pamunkey Indians who relinquished their right to the tract
Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 430 (Reel 9).

Title: Land grant 25 April 1702.

Creator: Thacker, Henry. grantee.

Creation Date: 1702 - 0425

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 23 acres on a small branch of the **Dragon Swamp**; adjoining the land of **Thomas Kidd &c**; formerly granted to Robert Blakey

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 448 (Reel 9).

Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 28 October 1702.

Creator: Goodloe, George. grantee.

Creation Date: 1702 - 1028

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 113 acres begg. &c. in the line of the land lately surveyed for **Mr. Fra: Weekes**, near a **path**, thence &c. in the line of **Seagars land**. Fomerly gtd. to Abraham Weekes (now **Mr. Youngs land**).

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 499 (Reel 9).

Transcription: 113 acres of land lying in Middlesex County bounded as followeth, beginning at a Spanish oak & red oak in the line of the land lately surveyed for **Mr. Fra. Weekes**, near a **path** & running thence north east 118 poles along a line of marked trees to a stake in the line of **Seagar land** thence along the said line south 46 degrees east 93 poles to ye land of the said **Geo. Goodloe** thence along the said Goodloe's (?) land south 172 poles to ye land granted by patent unto Abraham Weekes (now **Mr. Young's land**) to a dead red oak & thence along the line of the said land granted to Abraham Weekes north west 214 poles to ye place it began...

Title: Land grant 28 October 1702.

Creator: Carter, William. grantee.

Creation Date: 1702 - 1028

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 172 acres Begg. &c. in the line of the land lately surveyd, for **Francis Weekes** near a **path**, thence &c. in the line of **Seagars**, thence &c by the **Green branch** in **Jones'** line.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 498 (Reel 9).

Transcription: Beginning at a Spanish oak & red oak in the line of ye land lately surveyed for **Mr. Francis Weekes** near a **path** & running thence NE 118 poles along line of marked trees to stake in the line of **Segars land** thence along the said line north 46 degrees west 96 poles to a small red oak by a **path** near an ancient corner red oak of the Segars thence south west 18 poles to a stake standing in an ancient line thence along the said ancient line NW 40 poles N 37 degrees west 16 poles N 31 degrees west 26 poles N 75 degrees west 9 poles and NW 76 poles to three oaks by the **Green Branch** in **Jones line** thence down and along the run of the **Green Branch** its several courses (being 103 poles on right (?) line) to ye said land granted by patent to Abraham Weekes to a white oak standing on a hill near said Runn and thence along the line the land of ye sd. Weekes by him lately surveyed SE 243 poles to ye place it began...

Title: Land grant 24 April 1703.

Creator: Thacker, Henry. grantee.
Creation Date: 1703 - 0424
Location: Middlesex County.
Description: 77 acres begg. &c. by the run of a **great branch** that issueth into the **Dragon Swamp**, a corner tree of Edwin Thacker's land.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 526 (Reel 9).

Title: Land grant 24 April 1703.
Creator: Rigg, John. grantee.
Creation Date: 1703 - 0424
Location: King and Queen County.
Description: 1000 acres in the **Freshes of Mattapony River** beg.g &c. in a **path leading from Wm. Rickett's house to the Indian Town**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 531 (Reel 9).

Title: Land grant 24 April 1703.
Creator: Taylor, James. grantee.
Creation Date: 1703 - 0424
Location: King and Queen County.
Grantee(s): Taylor, James and Pettis, Thomas.
Description: 576 acres on the branches of **Mattapony Swamp**. Beg.g &c. in **Captn. William Smith's** line by the side of a **small path that leads from Wm. Ricketts to the Indian Town**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 518 (Reel 9).

Title: Land grant 26 April 1703.
Creator: Thacker, Chickeley Corbin. grantee.
Creation Date: 1703 - 0426
Location: King and Queen County.
Description: 1130 acres near the **Dragon Swamp**. Beg.g &c. by the side of the **Old Indian Cheescake Path**; formerly granted to Thomas Holmes
Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 544 (Reel 9).

Title: Land grant 23 October 1703.
Creator: Ware, Edward. grantee.
Creation Date: 1703 - 1023
Location: King and Queen County.
Description: 116 acres bounding on **Gabriel Hills land**. Beg.g &c. by **Coles Branch**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 579 (Reel 9).
Searched: Gabriel Hill

Transcription: Property bounds begin by **Coles Branch** then running up the **Spring Branch** to his line of marked trees near his plantation then by his line 94 poles to a white oak by a **path** then south by east half south (?) southerly 114 poles to a gum in **Sorrills Branch** then down the branch to a poplar by **Axoll's Swamp** then up to **Axoll's Swamp** & **Cole's Branch** to the places where it began the said land was formerly granted to Gabriel Hill by patent March 6, 1674/5 by him deserted...

Title: Land grant 23 October 1703.
Creator: Thacker, Edwin. grantee.

Creation Date: 1703 - 1023

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 1100 acres begg. &c. near the head of a small branch which runeth into the great swamp of **Peanketank River, called the Dragon Swamp.**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 585 (Reel 9).

Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 23 October 1703.

Creator: Davis, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1703 - 1023

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 75 acres begg. &c. in the line of the land known by the name of **Potters quarter tract**, thence &c, to the **main swamp of Nimcock creek.**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 547 (Reel 9).

Transcription: Beginning a dead hickory tree and small red oak and small white oak marked by in in the line of the land known by the name of **Potter's quarter tract** running thence along said Potter's quarter tract of land south 6 degrees east 117 poles to the **main swamp of Nimcock Creek** thence down and along said swamp 179 (?) poles to the land of **Richard Willis decd.** To a poplar and hickory marked trees of the said deceased's land at a red oak marked by them standing on the upper side the mouth of a branch, including all the said Main swamp on the north side the main run thereof according to the several courses of the said main swamp from the first coming down to the said swamp to the land of the said Richard Willis, thence running from the said poplar and hickory of the dec'd Willis land and red oak marked by them north 60 degrees west along the said Willis land 159 poles to a corner pine near a decayed small scrubbed red oak on a hill by a valley thence west 47 poles crossing a small branch to ye place it began...

Title: Land grant 2 May 1705.

Creator: Conner, Timothy. grantee.

Creation Date: 1705 - 0502

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 1420 acres on the South side of the **Drqgon swamp.** Beg.g &c. by the So. side of the **Dragon Swamp** by the side of **Conner's old plantation**, being the lower corner of **Spencers and Lights patent.**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 668 (Reel 9).

Searched: Dr*gon

Transcription: 1420 acres of land lying on the south side of the **Dragon Swamp** in King & Queen county 1178 acres part thereof being formerly granted to David Brand by patent bearing date the 16th day of March 1666/7 (?) by several conveyances is now (sted) in **Timothy Conner** aforesaid the residue being 242 acres of surplus land and lying within the bounds of the patent aforesaid and being bounded vizt. Beginning at a small sassafras & a red oak by the south side of the Dragon Swamp by the side of **Conner's old plantation** being the lower corner **Spencer & Lights patents** thence north 71 degrees west 524 poles to a red oak near the head of Hunt's Spring branch thence south 36 degrees west 134 poles to a white oak by ye north side of Silk grass meadow thence south 27 degrees east 560 poles to a Spanish & two black oaks by the north side of **Wild Boar plantation** thence north 73 degrees east 436 poles to a white oak & hickory in the low ground by the west side of the **Dragon Swamp just below the mouth of Miery Meadow Swamp** thence up the swamp to the beginning the said land being due unto the said Timothy Conner by and for the transportation of five persons...

Title: Land grant 2 November 1705.

Creator: Lankford, John. grantee.
Creation Date: 1705 - 1102
Location: King and Queen County.
Description: 228 acres on the south side of the **Dragon Swamp**. Beg.g at a marked maple leaning over the run of the **Dragon Swamp**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 686 (Reel 9).
Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 2 November 1705.
Creator: Pigg, Henry. grantee.
Creation Date: 1705 - 1102
Location: King and Queen County.
Description: 122 acres on the south west side of **the back road**, about a mile below **Thomas Watkins plantation**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 685 (Reel 9).

Title: Land grant 2 November 1705.
Creator: Willbourne, Thomas. grantee.
Creation Date: 1705 - 1102
Location: King and Queen County.
Description: 53 acres Of sunken ground and swamp, lying in the **Dragon Swamp**, between a tract of land of the said **Willbornes** and the **run of the Dragon Swamp**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 686 (Reel 9).
Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 2 November 1705.
Creator: Watkins, Phillip. grantee.
Creation Date: 1705 - 1102
Location: King and Queen County.
Description: 1190 acres between the branches of the **Dragon Swamp**, and the branches of Mattapony River; borders eastern edge of **Tamocorocan Swamp (modern Walkerton Branch)** by **Leedbrook plantation, Peter Lyon's plantation, Bennet's plantation, and Watkin's plantation**
Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 687 (Reel 9).
Searched: Dr*gon

Title: Land grant 2 November 1705.
Creator: Austin, Thomas. grantee.
Creation Date: 1705 - 1102
Location: King and Queen County.
Description: 35 acres on the run of the **Dragon swamp** being the lower corner of the said **Austin's land**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 683 (Reel 9).

Title: Land grant 2 November 1705.
Creator: Bocus, Reynold. grantee.
Creation Date: 1705 - 1102
Location: King and Queen County.
Description: 146 acres on the south side of the **Dragon Swamp** being **Capt. Jones's** lower corner.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 9, 1697-1706 (v.1 & 2 p.1-742), p. 684 (Reel 9).

Title: Land grant 28 April 1711.

Creator: Covington, Rich'd, Col. grantee.

Creation Date: 1711 - 0428

Location: Essex County.

Description: 1419 1/2 acres land and Marsh in the Parish of St. Ann's. Being a narrow point commonly called the **Quiocison point** &c.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 10, 1710-1719, p. 14 (Reel 10).

Title: Land grant 28 April 1711.

Creator: Conner, Timothy. grantee.

Creation Date: 1711 - 0428

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 60 acres of sunken ground or swamp, joining on a patent of 1430 acres belonging to the said Conner, lying on the **Dragon Swamp**; runs up by **Monack Swamp**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 10, 1710-1719, p. 15 (Reel 10).

Title: Land grant 28 April 1711.

Creator: King, Daniel. grantee.

Creation Date: 1711 - 0428

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 255 acres of land and sunken ground. On the **Dragon Swamp**. Beg.g &c. by the side of the Dragon Swamp being a corner of **Chickley Corbin Thacker's land**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 10, 1710-1719, p. 5 (Reel 10).

Title: Land grant 19 December 1711.

Creator: Curtis, John, Sr. grantee.

Creation Date: 1711 - 1219

Location: Middlesex County.

Description: 31 acres just below the **Dragon Bridge**. Beg.g. at a red oak a corner of **Mr. Wormleys land**, thence &c. close by the side of the **Blockhouse Branch**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 10, 1710-1719, p. 44 (Reel 10).

Title: Land grant 13 November 1713.

Creator: Didlack, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1713 - 1113

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 800 acres beg.g &c. on the north side of **Timber Branch** and on the east side **a road** at the head of a **dry branch**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 10, 1710-1719, p. 92 (Reel 10).

Title: Land grant 16 June 1714.

Creator: Richards, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1714 - 0616

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 758 acres on the **Dragon Swamp**. Beg.g &c by the lower side of the mouth of **Robins Branch**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 10, 1710-1719, p. 158 (Reel 10).

Searched: John Richards

Transcription: Beginning by the lower side of the **marsh of Robin's branch** thence down along the run of the **Dragon Swamp** to a gum in the marsh of a little branch being the upper corner of **Michael Smith's (?) land** thence south 30 degrees westerly 158 poles to a small red oak & hickory near the head of a valley.... To a small black oak.... Southwesterly To a red oak by the side of **William Richards plantation**...

Title: Land grant 22 June 1722.

Creator: Ware, Edward. grantee.

Creation Date: 1722 - 0622

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 815 acres on the south side the **Dragon Swamp**. Beg.g &c. of **Dennis Macarty's**, standing by a piece of sunken grounds, on the south side the **Dragon Swamp**; adjacent to land owned by **John Lewis and Richard Todd** and runs along **Timber Branch**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 11, 1719-1724, p. 106 (Reel 10).

Title: Land grant 16 June 1727.

Creator: Cary, Thomas, Jr. grantee.

Creation Date: 1727 - 0616

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 398 acres beg.g &c. of **Daniel Kings** standing on the west side of the **Dragon swamp** adjoining land of **Chickeley Corbin Thacker, and Edward Ware**; mentions an **unnamed road**

Source: Land Office Patents No. 13, 1725-1730 (v.1 & 2 p.1-540), p. 108 (Reel 12).

Title: Land grant 1 December 1740.

Creator: Didlake, Robert. grantee.

Creation Date: 1740 - 1201

Description: Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 13 acres between the said **Didlake's land and Edward Spencer's**. Beginning at a corner beech standing by the side of the **Dragon Swamp** adjoining the **land of Michell**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 19, 1739-1741, p. 833 (Reel 17).

Transcription: beginning at a corner beech standing by the side of the **Dragon Swamp** and turning south 65 degrees east 9 poles, dividing this land from the **land of Michell** to a corner ash standing in **Indian Cabbin branch**, thence north 65 degrees east by a line of marked trees to the **Dragon Swamp** dividing this land from the land of **Edward Spencer**, thence to the main run of the Dragon to a corner of the said Didlake's and thence along his line south 14 degrees west to the beginning...

Title: Land grant 28 August 1746.

Creator: Lewis, John. grantee.

Creation Date: 1746 - 0828

Location: King and Queen County.

Description: 6 acres bounded by the **Dragon Swamp** and the **Axell Swamp** it being an **island in the mouth of Axell**.

Source: Land Office Patents No. 24, 1745-1746, p. 379 (Reel 22).

Title: Land grant 6 June 1753.
Creator: Balding, John. grantee.
Creation Date: 1753 - 0606
Location: Gloucester County.
Description: 17 acres between the branches of **Portopotank Creek** & the **Dragon Swamp**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 32, 1752-1756 (v.1 & 2 p.1-715), p. 130 (Reel 30).

Title: Land grant 1 March 1754.
Creator: Murray, John. grantee.
Creation Date: 1754 - 0301
Location: Middlesex County.
Description: 112 acres begg. &c. in **Thomas Laughlins cornfield** on the north side of the **County Road**; thence &c. on the south side of a **spring branch** corner to the land belonging to **Samuel Shaw an orphan**, thence &c. crossing the **Dragon Bridge**.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 32, 1752-1756 (v.1 & 2 p.1-715), p. 355 (Reel 30).

Title: Land grant 10 1756.
Creator: Dillard, Thomas. grantee.
Creation Date: 1756 - ??10
Location: King and Queen County.
Description: 53 acres swamp and sunken land. Upon the main run of the **Dragon**. Beg.g at his own corner formerly Thomas Austins, thence &c. to **Charles Roane's** line.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 32, 1752-1756 (v.1 & 2 p.1-715), p. 682 (Reel 30).

Title: Land grant 28 September 1760.
Creator: Spencer, Edward. grantee.
Creation Date: 1760 - 0928
Location: King and Queen County.
Description: 63 1/2 acres on the **Dragon Swamp**. Beg.g &c. in **Indian Cabbin Branch**, corner to a pine of low ground formerly surveyed for **Robert Didlake**; runs along **"Moonack Swamp"**
Source: Land Office Patents No. 34, 1756-1765, p. 773 (Reel 33-34).
Transcription: beginning at an oak in **Indian Cabbin Branch** corner to a pine of low ground formerly surveyed for **Mr. Robert Didlake**, running thence down the edge of the said **Spencer's high land** as it turns and winds about 404 poles to a cypress in the **Moonack Swamp**, thence down the said swamp 83 degrees east 32 poles to a small cypress on the edge of the said **Dragon Run** thence up the said Run as it meanders binding on the same to a cypress corner to the said Didlake at the mouth of the aforesaid **Indian Cabbin branch** thence up the said branch 65 degrees west 36 poles to the beginning...

Title: Land grant 5 June 1765.
Creator: Gardiner, James. grantee.
Creation Date: 1765 - 0605
Location: King and Queen County.
Description: 29 acres an **island in the Dragon Swamp** between the **land of William Todd and the land of Colo. Richard Corbin and Rice Jones** in Middlesex County.
Source: Land Office Patents No. 36, 1764-1767 (v.1 & 2 p.557-1083), p. 746 (Reel 36).

Title: Land grant 1 March 1773.

Creator: Corbin, Richard. grantee.
Creation Date: 1773 - 0301
Location: Middlesex County.
Description: 192 1/2 acres on the **Dragon Swamp**. Begg. at the mouth of the **poplar branch**; adjacent to **Capt. Thomas' Swamp**
Source: Land Office Patents No. 41, 1772-1773, p. 118 (Reel 40).

Title: Land grant 1 December 1779.
Creator: Street, Henry. grantee.
Creation Date: 1779 - 1201
Location: Essex County.
Description: 15 acres on **Dragon Swamp** beginning &c., in the line of **John Tayloe Corbin**.
Source: Land Office Patents B, 1779-1780, p. 169 (Reel 43).

Title: Land grant 1 June 1784.
Creator: Dillard, Thomas. grantee.
Creation Date: 1784 - 0601
Location: King and Queen County.
Description: 95 acres on the South side of the **Dragon Swamp**. Beg.g &c. by the main run of the **Dragon swamp**, a corner of **Richard Wyatts**.
Source: Land Office Grants P, 1784-1785, p. 9 (Reel 56).

Title: Land grant 29 December 1786.
Creator: Roane, Charles. grantee.
Creation Date: 1786 - 1229
Location: King and Queen County.
Description: 70 acres beg.g &c. near the main run of the **Dragon Swamp**; corner to **John Kidd &c.**
Source: Land Office Grants No. 7, 1786-1787, p. 396 (Reel 73).

Title: Land grant 2 April 1800.
Creator: Davis, Elizabeth Macon. grantee.
Creation Date: 1800 - 0402
Location: King and Queen County.
Description: 10 acres on the south side of the **Dragon Swamp**. Beg.g &c. on the side of the main run of the **Dragon Swamp** in **Thomas Dillard's line**.
Source: Land Office Grants No. 45, 1799-1800, p. 235 (Reel 111).

APPENDIX III
TRANSCRIPT OF ZOOM CONVERSATION

Friday, May 5, 2023

JK: Julia A. King
MP: Megan Postemski
JW: Jeffrey W. Wright

JK: So, I think what we might do, since this is really going to be your show, Jeff, we can ask you some prompt questions, but why don't you start by giving us a bit of your background in terms of this particular topic for the project.

JW: I was an officer in the United States Army for 28 and a half years, and I was a career intelligence officer, and during that time, a lot of it was tied to tracking irregular warfare, or asymmetric warfare, or many of the other things, where one party has different capabilities and strengths than the other parties. A lot of the lessons from those [events] predate Bacon's Rebellion ... things that were done in Europe and Asia and in the Americas are not that different when it comes to some of the early military engagements, where violence was used as a means of persuasion or of control of a population.

So, I think there's some things that we can apply from history and insights that might be useful to [this] project. I've organized some thoughts in an outline from what I would think are some of the important big things that we might be able to find out, particularly through Megan's research and some of the work of James Rice up at Tufts, that will be important to figure out where things may have taken place.

So, that in a nutshell is that; other than I'm the president of [the Friends of] Dragon Run, which protects a large section of a swamp where this action is supposed to have taken place.

I think one of the more meaningful books in my life was done by Roberta Wohlstetter [military historian], who did the history of Pearl Harbor, which dealt with indications and warning and warning decisions. It's a classic in political literature and studied around the world. But what I mean by indications and warning, the tribes, in some way had a system, whether informal or formal, where they were aware of what was happening in the greater world, and having been in Virginia and having been allied with the governors and everything during things, there's a degree of maturity in the tribes' thinking that they had few friends in the area. So, you have many nations and tribes that you're aligned with, but you really don't have that many friends.

So, in that situation, they would be looking for things that would be threatening to their way of life, whether they be someone trying to take their land, a violent action, or things like that. So, that had to have come into play in some way in this, that they were either detected on their own or were given warning from different sources that there was going to be some bad things aimed at the tribes in general and the Pamunkey and the Rappahannock in particular. So, that indication and warning process within the tribal council would be interesting.

Did they have, we'll say, allies in the sense that they touched base on some basis with the governor's staff informally or formally? So, they had some knowledge in some way, you know, probably not in real time, obviously, because of the times, but, you know, they would have been aware based on their success in Bacon's Rebellion of escaping, that they had some warning that something was coming. So, with that warning, one of the hardest things is to make a decision.

It's that signal and noise thing. You have a thousand little bits of data out there, and then somewhere in the tribe, a decision had to be made that, something's going to happen and that something's going to happen in a particular time. And then I think what the tribal council had, is some kind of planning for an emergency.

An emergency could take many forms for them. It could be forest fires, it could be, it could be disease, it could be hurricanes, a lot of things that happened in Virginia that time. But one of the plans I think they had is, how they would evacuate their villages, because some of the villages were in low-lying areas and other areas that were not really wonderful in particularly bad weather or bad times.

So, they had some kind of planning. I think we all do. Hey, if something happens, I'm going to my mother's house or I'm going back to my... So, this type of thinking has always been in some societies, where do I go to escape if something bad is going to happen? So, I think that I would like to give high praise to something we have no documentation on, is how did the tribes sense something was happening and then make decisions to evacuate their people into the Dragon Swamp? So, that's a key thing in, I think, our research and talking to the tribes and any diaries of anyone in the government of Jamestown, the House of Burgesses, or anything else.

[Were] there any ongoing discussions? Because the tribes had some ambassadorial functions with their surrounding communities for sure. And so, they had some indications. So, with that, did the Tribal Council have any other sources or spies or confederates or anything that was giving them information that would fall into the category of indications and warnings? I think the tribes clearly had some friends in high places, not many probably, but if something was tipped off, I think it somehow got to the tribe. Now, how that happened, no one knows.

Then, I'm also interested in the different tribes, how they coordinated amongst each other. How did the Pamunkeys know? Did they tell the Rappahannocks? Did the Rappahannocks tell the Pamunkeys? But just on a general basis, was there any confederation of warning information coming from one tribe to another that something bad had happened to some of the tribesmen or to their land or something else? So, those are, I think, interesting things for us to be aware of.

And building a narrative for the National Park Service, I really want to somehow bring praise to the Tribal Councils or whoever was making decisions that worked out really well. Decisions that there was a threat, we have a plan, the threat got worse, we evacuated. And part of that plan may be, you know, everybody had to take two pecks of corn with them and a chicken.

So, all of that comes into play. And I have no idea how we document that. But I think somewhere in tribal war, has to be some praise upon themselves for really great foresight.

Because, you know, Bacon's people weren't walking up to the village and say, we're here, and then everybody evacuates. You know, I really sense there was some lead time. And, you know, I'll talk about later on the importance in military retreats or invasion of trading space for time.

Well, they really did a brilliant job in my mind of moving to gain time separation from Bacon's force, not just physical separation, but time separation. They stayed seemingly one or two days or whatever Bacon did, they reacted to it well. So, that comes into the next area, the warriors of the tribe.

I'm certainly not a scholar beyond reading James Rice's wonderful book and some of the other papers that Megan and others have sent to me. But clearly, you look at some of the histories and they talk about numbers like 150 or 200 warriors. So, when I look at that 500 to 700 people that went into the Dragon to escape, a high number of them were skilled and what I would call "blooded warriors," they were from a class that had fought in battle in support of the governor, maybe inter-tribal and everything else.

These were not by any chance novices. These were hardened and I believe they were all men in the warriors at that time. So, somehow they were organized in such a way that they were able to do many things while on the move and somehow also communicate what they were seeing through a series of runners and other things to the people that were trying to hide as well as the leaders.

I've also heard that there was some, I'll call them rules of engagement, that the warriors were told not to kill any of Bacon's people. I think that's a very important thing and that was very brilliant of whoever made that because they were always in a position where they could move. So, they were also trading space for time.

So, they would see at, covering a crossing with surveillance, surveillance is more of a wide area look at something, but if they would have a lot of the routes that they knew that were possible for themselves and for the settlers to surveil and see where things were coming. Reconnaissance is more tricky. That's where they would deliberately move into places and see what was occurring.²³

Some of the places I think they would have moved into are some of the big farms and plantations that may have had some role in supporting Bacon and his people. So, they could see, you know, an accumulation of human beings in a place where there were normally 10 people, there were 50 people. So, that's kind of an indication for them.

And then how they communicated this; I think they were probably operating in groups of three or four warriors, were spread out in different places and one of those warriors would always be a runner moving to the next place that he knew that he had to communicate to. So, they were probably able to operate within the time and detection span of Bacon's people. They were seeing them, they were moving away, they were telling their people where Bacon had people, which direction they're moving.

So, whether it was, you know, tracking, however, they did, in my mind, a great job of always staying in contact with Bacon's people without Bacon's people knowing it. And as you know from being in the Dragon Run, that can be pretty easy to do. You have incredible cover and concealment from the vegetation, the terrains and waters and everything.

So, those crossings along the Dragon and the 10 other swamps that make up the Dragon, I think that number of warriors could have probably covered to some degree to make it very difficult for Bacon's people to slip behind them so they always could keep in contact with Bacon's people. Now, I'm making big jumps of logic, but I'm looking at the outcome, the terrain, the vegetation and the terrain, and a general understanding of those times. And I think that the tribe did an amazing job somehow of surveilling whatever Bacon was doing.

Now, all the tactics, techniques, and procedures the tribe used, we should be able to find out because some of those tactics of the warriors were taught during their excursion to the swamp to train their young men as they developed their skills as warriors and grew older. So, all those things come into play and a real plus on the plus column, I think, for the tribes. So, wherever they figured out how they were going to keep track of where they were threatened so that they could always warn the people who are hiding that, hey, maybe we move another mile downstream or maybe we cross the stream or maybe we, you know, so some of this was being orchestrated unless the Bacon forces were really inept, which I can't attribute to them.

²³ Surveillance and reconnaissance are both forms of information gathering, but they differ in their scope and purpose. Surveillance involves ongoing, persistent monitoring of a target or area, while reconnaissance is a more focused, targeted effort to gather specific information. Surveillance aims to maintain awareness of a situation, while reconnaissance is often used to prepare for a specific action or operation.

I can attribute to them that they were good at killing, obviously, capturing people, but I think that they also had pretty good field skills, but not necessarily the quality of field skills that the tribe would have had because the tribe would be playing on their own turf. They were paying on their own pitch in the terms of the United Kingdom. They knew the swamp and they knew the forest and they knew the uplands and everything in their area much better than the people coming in from the Northern Neck and joining Bacon.

So, they had that great advantage, and I think some of Megan's research really pays off. Now, my view is always that there is no black and white in combat and I've mentioned this to you before. So, either by commission or omission, sometimes there were some people that were probably giving aid to the tribe that were English people either directly or indirectly and what I mean by directly, hey, something's happened, they just crossed my farm or the people who had been asked by Bacon, have you seen any of the members of the tribes and that person would say no, even though he knew the answer was yes.

So, all this takes place in a complex multi-dimensional battle space like you see here, a big 140,000 square acre, 140 square mile watershed that all this took place and you can move through that watershed clearly at a fairly good speed in some cases if you're in the uplands or on the water, but I think that they were able to clearly stay ahead. Now, for the people that were the ... 500 people who were out there, men, women, and children of all ages, physical capabilities, on and on and on and the tribes were usually respectful of both their young and their old, so moving those people would have been tricky. So, they had some kind of a plan and even they may have even had a tabletop scratching the earth rehearsal where we're saying, hey, if we escape, we want to go to this big grove of bald cypress trees where the Dragon makes 180 degree turn, and so that type of planning and rehearsal may have gone on.

I think we're all troubled by the accuracy of the numbers of how many people actually hid in the dragon because one of the things I want to do in the fall is take a couple hectares worth of land uplands down to the water and figuring out how many calories or food resources we could feed off of that amount of acreage because we know that they didn't all leave simultaneously from their villages. They had to leave in some sequence because they all weren't living together in the same village. So, how they dispersed and how they fed themselves, I think, is of great interest.

As I said, they've traded space for time. In the dispersed group, obviously, where they're based on the tribal hierarchy, there were some leaders out there with the dispersed people and somehow those leaders were getting information, I believe, from the warriors and also giving information in the other direction of letting the warriors know where they intended to go next if they had to because they would be just like a group of domesticated animals. They'd be moving through the forest, and they may be eating their way through four or five acres and then they're going to have to move to get the next four or five acres to feed themselves.

So, they had some rehearsal and planning. They did live off the land, but I believe in my heart that they would have left with any baskets or pottery or anything they had with any grains or anything else they may have needed. Additionally, we talked about, in their training in some of the streams and in the Dragon, they did a lot of fishing and curing of fish because they catch the fish there, they clean the fish there, and then they plank or something else there.

They're not carrying the whole fish back to the village. So, they may have had some other things in the forest because the month of September is actually the richest month in the forest or the swamp for things to eat. You still have a lot of migratory birds there.

You have every plant has reached maturity. Nuts have reached maturity. Fruits have reached maturity.

You know, turtles, on and on and on. So, there's a lot of things out there for them to live off the land with. I think also for this fall, and I agree with Jim Rice on this, also going to do some soundscapes because like I was on the Dragon Monday night in a driving rainstorm at 9:30 with eight people in a kayak.

Yes, unexpected rain, but you cannot hear very far in certain situations. But in other situations, you can hear a lot of noises made a half mile away. So, we'll get some idea because it's very hard to keep 500 people to include young children and everything else completely quiet.

So, the noisescapes would be important. Light discipline, you know, I've heard stories that they didn't light fires. You know, I don't know if there's any documentation of that, but what they did to keep themselves from being detected, that would be one of the things that you would probably do.

Not create smoke or smells or particularly have fires at night that could be seen, even though the Native Americans were brilliant historically at building fires that were small. I think the old adage was, Indian make fire to cook food. White man build fire to cook self because, you know, we tend to build these enormous, you know, fires to cook hot dogs, but that's not how they did fires historically.

Use the minimal amount of wood that you needed to get the job done. So, you wouldn't be spending a lot of energy doing that. So, we talked about light [unintelligible] discipline.

I also mentioned the support for the warriors. And once again, was there any support forthcoming from the communities near where they were hiding? And I overemphasize the word community, but I would say farms or people in the communities, because Bacon was not popular in all quarters. The Indians were not popular in all quarters.

So, it's that gray area once again, who was helping who, and were they feeding any information to the escapees or trading with the escapees for food. And I call them escapees or dispersed groups, but that portion of the tribes that were in hiding may have had some contact and some trading abilities with some of the farmers or others there. We also know at that time, the amount of African slaves and other slaves that were tied to farms.

And in many cases, that area were very, very small farms. So, often they lent out their slave labor and that slave laborers supposedly had the trust to move between the farms. And as they're moving between the farms, invariably, they may have been detected by or had some contact with the warriors or the people in hiding and things like that.

So, it's another dimension that might be interested in the National Park Service is, was there any contact during Bacon's Rebellion by any of the people who were enslaved? I'm also driven to find any information on any casualties or injuries or disease or anything else. I'm shocked that Bacon's people could be out there that long and not have had catastrophic injuries. Falling, breaking legs, bitten, on and on and on.

So, all that causes a drag on the operation because you have to generally care for the people who are with you that may be injured, which would have slowed Bacon's pursuits down if he was having to deal with those types of things. So, with the Indians supposedly having an edict, a rule of engagement, that they weren't going to engage in martial contact or battle with Bacon's people directly, it would be great if we found out in any of the records there were some of the people because some of the people returned to the Northern Neck, not just because they were tired and hating it, but because they were injured. Injuries are common even to this day among people in those type of circumstances.

Another thing that when we go out on the Dragon this Sunday, it comes down again. There are some physical objects in the area, in the terrain, that I think may have had some meaning to the tribes. There's old groves of trees.

There's some places where in the Dragon it gets like 200 feet above the level of the Dragon. So, there's, my God, there's a hill. So, those kind of things.

So, those become what are called rallying points. Hey, if something happens, let's all meet at the hill or let's all meet where the Dragon widens or it turns. And trying to find out in their war, which if they had particular places that may have had significance to them from a religious or a cultural or were just plain flat out easy for everyone to know where they are, like Fones Cliffs with the Rappahannock.

Everybody could probably know those cliffs by their heights and everything else could be seen for miles. But there are some features like that, certainly not as dynamic or huge as Fones Cliff in the Dragon. So, why don't I pause here and before I go to Bacon's forces to see if I could answer any questions that Julie, you or Megan might have from that ramble.

JK: I do have some questions that I generated listening to you talk about some of this stuff. And the first question I had, and I wrote a bunch of them down here.

Jeff, have you read the account of the guys who were sent from England? I have not. Okay, so what? If you or Megan could send me that link to it, or I'll find it and read it. I can send that to you.

MP: Absolutely not a problem. Do you mind if it has some highlights? No. Okay.

JW: That would be like college. You just read the highlights.

MP: Exactly.

JK: Because that document, and of course, Jim talked about it in his book, and he sort of riffs on it. But to read what they wrote, I think will be really useful for you.

JW: Most of this is really small unit tactics, not grand strategy. This is not Napoleon or Wellington moving armies around. It's small groups of men, women moving civilians around, unarmed people and trying to protect.

So, it's interesting from that standpoint of philosophy to wrap your head around what each side was trying to do. One side was trying to kill. One side was trying to protect.

JK: To get back to the Cockacoeske question, in that transcript or that statement that is taken, I think in the spring [of 1677], if I'm right, Cockacoeske gets separated from everybody else. And she's traveling with a boy. She's traveling with her nurse.

And by a boy, I mean, like a kid and with her nurse. And then she somehow gets separated from her nurse. And then her nurse gets caught by Bacon's forces. And they want the nurse to lead them to Cockacoeske and the nurse leads them in the opposite direction.

And they realize that after a while, and kill her. But you know, when I say Cockacoeske got separated, maybe that's a strategy.

JW: Well, it may have been because... I've got to be careful here. Frequently, the executives or the leaders are sequestered in special places during any threats to them in history, because they're the heart, soul, and brains of tribal government. So, it's not unusual that she would have had more protection than some of the others and may have had more mobility assets to move her around. And then something may have gone awry.

But we've talked about cover and deception, because I believe that the warriors probably did a great job of sometimes allowing themselves to be seen by Bacon's folks. So Bacon's folks would chase in the wrong direction, or chase them through half the greenbrier in Virginia, or really wear them down from a resource standpoint. You can really sap the ability of an opposing force by keeping them engaged and on the move, and in extremis from food, water, and everything else.

And the tribe may have been able to lead the Bacon forces in many different directions. Because we don't really know what was meant by the Bacon force. Is that 20 little pods of men moving around? Or is it two? Or is it, you know, how did Bacon use what resources he had in that pursuit? And in the big issues of, I got to find them before I can kill them.

So, Bacon's priority had to be to find the tribes.

JK: And you know, Megan, I think that transcript also says that, I mean, the Pamunkey do get the warning, right? The Bacon's forces, I think they mobilize at the head of the Pamunkey, or somewhere in the vicinity. And then, and then, and part of that transcript also says, and it might be good to also have this conversation afterwards.

I don't know that we have to record it, but we may, or just get your, your reaction to it. But we know that they destroyed, that Bacon's forces destroyed or stole a bunch of Pamunkey material wealth that they carted with them, including pots. Well, you don't cart pots unless they have something in them, right? So, I assume they were taking corn.

MP: Yeah. And the record says Indian corn pots.

JW: And the beauty of taking pots of corn, it makes a horrendous noise trying to move it.

Whether you're doing it with wagons, whether you're doing it with ... So, Bacon's forces, I think could not be quiet. They were, you could hear them from a mile away.

I'm being facetious here. But the ability of the one force to hide is much easier than the force that's in pursuit, that's making noise or making dust or leaving traces. And that would have been Bacon's forces, based on my slight reading of the, on the topic.

JK: And by pots of corn, I meant that the Pamunkey were carrying them or the indigenous people.

JW: Yes.

JK: Yeah. Megan, did you have any questions?

MP: I don't think so. I've been taking notes as we go. Cause that's what I'm like, oh, that's an interesting perspective.

I don't think I have any questions right now though.

JK: So, let's see, why don't we go ahead with, let me just see if I have anything here. I do want to get that Pearl Harbor book.

MP: Yeah. That's what I was like, oh, that's interesting reference. I hadn't heard that before.

JW: It is a tremendous work of scholarship.

MP: Oh, I was going to ask, I know we've talked about the fires before and you mentioned them again. Do you think the fires would have been a huge liability if there are other, you know, like farms and stuff around and wouldn't they be having fires too?

JW: Yes, they would be. And so the thing, the tribe would have been very good at knowing what to burn that doesn't create a lot of smoke. There's a lot of dead things out there that you could do that with.

The other thing I failed to put on here, Megan, anything that you find that deals with the violent storms, cause you're in the center of historic hurricane season, then a hurricane, because probably the word hurricane wasn't even existent back then, but any of the big storms that came through really douse things and make some things harder to use to, to start fires. But also when you have some of those conditions, it makes it harder for fires to be seen. So, fires at night, hard to see also, but you do get the smell and based on the big areas of the Dragon, that might've been an indication because you're pretty far away from where the farm buildings were.

So, it's a discipline issue, how you did that. So, they may wanted to do it at, they may wanted to cook at a certain point of the day because it made sense to them that they couldn't be detected.

MP: That makes sense.

JK: And Megan, I wanted to ask you, in your land title or your records research, are you finding friends of the Pamunkey or the indigenous people?

MP: I'm finding some potential friends. I mean, it seems like Claiborne who, he had this huge like mega-tract called Bestland up near, oh fudge, I'm going to forget the branch name. Hold on, let me go look at my map.

It was up, yeah, he had Bestland Swamp and it was up where the Dragon forks. And so, it becomes like run and swamp at that fork. So, he had a lot of property right up there and it seems like he would have been potentially friendly toward them.

And I found that reference that I've mentioned to you before where Claiborne sort of early in the whole altercation when Bacon was going to attack some other people like down south more, he went in and the record says that the Pamunkey and all of them were already in Dragon Swamp in their fort hiding out. And he went out there and was like, hey, the governor would really like it if you went back to your village. And that's when Cockacoeske is like, respectfully like, no, we're not going back to our village because if the governor can't protect his own people, you know, the inference being how can he protect us? So that's what I think someone like Claiborne, again, there's that other.

I think Claiborne could potentially been a friend, but then I've definitely found some people who I'd put in the enemy category that own land and the Dragon.

There is one guy, William Dudley, who actually owned land near Big Island. Interestingly enough, he owned a huge thousand something acre tract. So that's what; I've been keeping track of that.

But there's definitely some people who are pro Bacon in the Dragon area. And then there's a lot of people who are ambiguous.

JK: Jeff, do you think it would help if Megan showed us where Bestland is?

JW: If you can bring that up, Megan.

MP: I can. Let me just shut off a couple layers because my map is like exceedingly colorful at this exact moment in time. So, I will just turn off a couple layers and I'll share my screen.

Okay. This looks a little less.

JW: Well, north of the Timber Branch Swamp.

MP: Yeah. And let me figure out how to share my screen. Yeah. I think I got it. All right.

So, you can see my crazy map, right?

JW: Not yet.

MP: How about now? All right. I think I have one more layer I've got to shut off to make it a little more visually appealing. It's still, it's not the most visually appealing map, but it's very in progress. Yes, definitely in progress.

So, I will select it this way. Just make it easier to see. So, this massive tract of land that is now like neon yellow is William Claiborne's Bestland property. And if I zoom out some, this should give you a better point of reference.

JK: Where's Big Island?

MP: Big Island. Yep. I'm going to zoom out. Big Island is way down there. One second. Big Island is way down here where I have my cursor. And this rectangle right here that I'm outlining with my cursor is the impassable area per the Hermann map.

I have a lot of labels on. Sorry. That's why it looks so like terrifying.

JW: And so, between Bestland and Big Island, probably moving that people is two days.

MP: Yeah, no, it's definitely not an insignificant distance. Sorry for all the labels.

I didn't think I was showing my map. So here we are. I should have planned for that.

JW: But not a difficult distance to move people, but a difficult distance to move people undetected.

JK: And they're not going to have canoes or things like that.

JW: I think they're all terrestrial and waiting and crossing and doing those kind of things.

MP: I want to stop sharing.

JW: There's the Exol Swamp. Yes.

MP: Okay. Yep. There's Exol Swamp. And yep. And then there was actually Holmes Swamp, which is up in here. I'll get rid of the yellow block.

Yeah. No, there's a swamp. Holmes Swamp. I believe it's this one. And then his property went over the run. And then it talks about there being a mill path over here.

And then if I put my road layers on, there's one of the roads. It goes south of his property. But...

JW: So, as they flush from their villages to get away, what's the distance from their known villages to these locations? Is it...

JK: Yeah. Go to the... Like, see if you can pull the Pamunkey River.

MP: Yeah. Get rid of one more layer that's driving me nuts. Oh, this isn't bad. There we go. That's less bad. It looks like you've done a lot of work. That's what... Yeah.

All these labels are crazy. But I've got a lot of areas mapped, and I'm really jazzed about it, especially the ones that are in that impassable area. And then, like I said, Bestland was a huge property.

So, I'm really glad that we got that figured out. But I can figure out. So, if we want to map... I'm just going to shut off all my layers. Bear with me. Sorry. Too many layers, too little time. That off. All right. So that cleans it up a lot.

So, if I go up there, my little screen sharing thing comes up. But if I measure in miles from... Am I at the right confluence of water here? I think Pamunkey...

The oral history that that master student did says they came from down here on Pamunkey Neck and then over into the swamp. So, if we took just straight as the crow flies, that's almost eight miles into the impassable area. Big Island is more up in this department, about nine [miles].

But again, they would have been taking roads. And there is a path that [Stephen Fonzo] from Fairfield Foundation mapped going to the east from that area.

JW: So, these are what I would call not great distance, but difficult distances. But certainly with what we said about the warriors and their fort and the tribe's knowledge of terrain and locations, I don't want to use the term easy, but an achievable escape. Because every hour that goes by makes it more difficult for Bacon. That's the trading space for time.

Because the more time elapses, the more uncertainty Bacon's force had where they are as they're tracking them. So, the map work is really excellent, Megan.

MP: I apologize. It's so colorful. I should have cleaned it up more, but I was in the middle of stuff.

JW: I don't want to lose this thought because we've got about 15 more minutes to go. But one of the things I sense is that Bacon's force was broken up into some number of groups. And anything that we can find about that would be helpful because, you know, history, it's rarely that there's a big mass moving forward. They have some reconnaissance forces out in front of them or scouts or something else.

So, somehow Bacon's forces were dispersed and a kind of communication being by rider or hiker back to a point. That day that it took the person to get back and give the information, the Native Americans have moved another day away. So, they always have an advantage on the move unless Bacon had some foreknowledge of where they were going to wind up and got in on the other side.

I think Bacon's forces, like you said, had some allies like the Dudleys, which actually works to the tribe's advantage because they would probably go back to the Dudleys multiple times in a week to rest and replenish.

JK: That's interesting.

MP: That's a good point.

JW: Because if you had friends in the area who would help you at the end of the day, you know, dressing wounds, feeding, you know, fire, warm cup of grog or whatever, you might go back there. Because I sense that Bacon's forces did not engage or do much at night.

MP: I have that sense as well. And I was going to say, I was just thinking about what you said. And so, you've got the Dudleys sort of on that southern end of the drag. And then I remember I mentioned to Julie once there's this guy Lawrence who owns property sort of up at the head near like White Marsh.

And so that's what I'm sort of like, you know, from both sides, Bacon's forces could have potentially had, you know, sort of a refuel point or, you know.

JW: So, the great thing for the tribes was Bacon's forces would go back backwards to those places [unintelligible] times a week and then they'd have to waste time returning to where they were to start over. So that aspect of Bacon's operations clearly made it more difficult for them to systematically cover the big area.

And they also would have had confederates and spies and other things but prone to deception.

JK: And you know, Bacon's forces, and maybe you want to talk a little bit about them. I mean, they're a militia, right? They're citizen, but they're not in the sense that the Pamunkey had warriors who probably were professional warriors in Indigenous terms.

JW: Yeah, but some of Bacon's people may have been from, you know, past European experiences or things in the colonies, but they may have been good at operating as part of a organized force, the militia, but maybe not as individuals in the forest, locating where they were and everything else. So, I really think the home team advantage needs to be emphasized in the histories of this project. This was taking place in lands that there was some familiarity.

They wouldn't know everything that the Pamunkey and the Rappahannock, but generally they were on their home turf and they knew things that Bacon's forces would not know. Where to cross, water depths, key pockets of food, a lot of other things to their advantage. And the only thing that would help equalize the thing for Bacon would be the confederates that, like Mr. Dudley or Mr. Lawrence, if they do fall in that category, being able to provide them sustenance and support and possibly information too, because information is the key thing that Bacon could not get where they were.

Or maybe he had it, but couldn't get to them.

JK: And you know, just listening to you talk, I mean, going back to Cockacoeske and her nurse who leads them astray. And of course, to us, it's like, wow, how noble of the nurse and how clever of the nurse. And

maybe that's all part, but built a bigger strategy that we're not necessarily seeing because it just happens to be the one story of the nurse, right? Like when you were saying you sequester the, you try to sequester, you know, and so that's really interesting.

JW: And I would say as an aside, I'm assured that the nurse was probably close to the inner circle of the tribe, but may have not been in the inner circle. So sometimes there's a deception in history that only the very closest, closest people actually know the full plan.

And sometimes even members of your organization may have been given a wrong plan in case they were captured and tortured and were forced to talk. So, they would willfully be trying to hide the information, but they would be hiding an inaccurate plan. So, it's, you know, we attribute everything to her, and I think we have nothing to say otherwise, but she may not have known the full plan and was her capture, [did it] predate the killing of the eight other members of the tribe.

So, is there any information that resulting in her capture that resulted in the capture of those other 20 or eight? So time sequencing when things happen, because people under extreme duress or torture may have given some information that they didn't know they gave that might have been helpful to the Bacon's people, or hopefully like we think really led them in the wrong direction and work to the advantage of the tribes, which I personally think it did.

JK: And Megan, weren't there some parts in that later, that legal proceeding when the King sent somebody over where they talked about how the Bacon's men would get stuck?

MP: Yeah, that's what, so in like the start of that account where they start pursuing them into the Dragon, they talk about how they're marching at random and they're looking for paths. And it sounds generally pretty disorganized, but my impression was that Bacon's troops were traveling sort of together.

But then at one point he comes upon the tribes, and they escape, but basically the conditions were too miry for them to pursue them. So, that's what they had that issue. And then I think there's another time too, where basically the conditions worked to the favor of the tribes and [not] Bacon and his men.

JW: Well, what could be taken there is they could have been operating as a group, but they [Bacon] would have tried to have a very wide frontage to try to find the paths and everything. And then those people, as they find things, may have to come back. But that's not out of the question because what we don't know is day for day, how many people Bacon actually had with him.

Because people were coming to Bacon's force, leaving Bacon's force.

JK: And then he himself dies of dysentery, like somewhere in Gloucester County, not long after all of this goes on. So, you also have to wonder about disease with the Bacon forces. Did you want to talk about the Bacon forces?

JW: Just, we've covered a lot of the same things, you know, rules of engagement. I feel that Bacon's were probably something like, you can kill anyone you find. I don't think there was any particular tribe that was given a get out of jail free card by Bacon's force.

They were hunting Native Americans to slaughter them, apparently. So, what we just talked about, the reconnaissance and surveillance, how they tried to find out what was on the land and how they tried to watch things to find them, seems to be a shortcoming in Bacon's operation as compared to the [Native] warriors.

How they communicated among Bacon's people, as Bacon's doing all this, is the governor trying to broker peace? Is there anything else going on influencing Bacon as he's doing this? And that would be for the historians to figure out. His tactics and procedures, I have no idea, but everything you've said, I agree with, that they are probably not well trained and organized and, having a history of working together in small teams.

Logistics, we talked about a little bit in staging. I really think that the Bacon forces, seeing that they were not on their home turf, had to bring everything with them. That doesn't seem that much of a live off the land unit except for hunting and fishing, but all those things tend to slow you down and reveal your position when you're trying to, if they're using firearms as opposed to blunt force hunting with a bow and arrow or something else like that. So, the logistics, were they going back to the Dudleys and the Lawrence places? Did they keep supplies back there? Did they plan, hey, we're going to leave this morning at daylight and then we'll return here by dusk? Or were they continuing to move forward, camp out, and continue the chase all along? All those are very unknown.

And what I meant by staging when there were places like the Dudleys and the Lawrences, or what crossings were the Northern Neck people using to get across the Rappahannock? That may tell you, were they taking any of the boats to the standard places up like Wheatland, north of Hill Welford's place, crossing over? How were they getting across? Because they might've been staging areas also. Very interested in casualties on Bacon's forces. No way could they have been out there that long doing what they were doing without injuries and casualties, which would slow them down and certainly demoralize some of the people that are joining them.

If a friend dies or gets lost or get killed. We get people to this day lost in the swamp and people get lost in the swamp, plus there's other people in there that want to kill you in the swamp. They may never have known what happened to some of the people.

Don't know anything about that. And as I asked Megan, any indications? I think the warriors continue to surveil at night in different ways. I don't know what Bacon's forces did at night.

Did they move at night? Which is hard for anybody. Did they monitor certain places at night or did they just come out in the daytime?

MP: My sense from the records is that they were primarily active in the daytime. Because like where it talks about Bacon giving a sort of rallying speech of like, okay, guys, we're going to find some, you know, tribes today.

And that's when the Northern Neck people departed. And that was in the morning. So, I think mostly their activity was in the day.

JW: As a Northern Neck person, we prefer the day.

MP: It takes long to know. But yeah, no, that's what I do think that they probably were operating mostly in the day if they were so overwhelmed, even with the swamp during the day, I can't imagine them moving through it at night.

JW: Yes. And your height of injurious and annoying insects are also in those months we talked about, you know, mostly in the forest, more than in the swamp in some ways.

But still, it's a tough time out there. There's no cold, but there's a lot of wet and there's a lot of heat. And there's a lot of things that make it unpleasant if you're not attuned to being out there.

JK: And I think they had, they built houses. The Chesapeake tribes could roll their house up and take it with them as they were mats. I thought there was a mention of the Pamunkeys and Rappahannocks having houses. We certainly know they had some material culture with them. We know about Big Island and we've thought about Big Island as a place to go and do some testing. Are there any other places – it's not an archaeology project but are there any other places-

JW: Based on this conversation, I was going to try to – and Andy Lacatell and I were together – and I know people up in the Bestland area and see if we could look up there. But I doubt if, well, I think we could look up there, but are we looking in the uplands, the forest, or the Dragon, it would be great if we could narrow that down cause that frequently influences some of the landowners' willingness to let us do things. Because in some cases, those landowners have never been in their own wetland.

JK: It might be that the impassable area is the area and then the question becomes is there any place in there besides Big Island?

JW: The impassable area, we should give some credit to the tribes have a long-term strategy way before Bacon of some things they told the settlers to protect some lands important to them culturally or other things – this is the place you never want to go? Is this part of an overall strategic deception by the tribes in some way. I have no idea. It's amazing that that area is marked as it is because I think it's absolutely accurate. It's one of the more difficult areas to get through, but it'd be a perfect area for them to be training their young warriors in like we talked about and it's a great area for fishing and hunting activities so I'm sure the tribes knew it pretty well. May not have been these two tribes but one of the tribes who have a history in that area certainly probably used it. So, I think we need to find some places and other places up the way.