DUDLEY DIGGES HOUSE
DEPENDENCIES
Colonial National Historical Park

APRIL 1969
DEPENDENCIES
(OUTBUILDINGS)
of the
DUDLEY DIGGES HOUSE
in
Yorktown, Virginia
Colonial National Historical Park
By
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DIVISION OF HISTORY
Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation
April 1969
National Park Service  U.S. Department of the Interior
FOREWORD

The residence unit in the Dudley Digges House Group of structures in Yorktown was architecturally studied and restored in the 1959-1960 period. Earlier there had been "renovation and repair in 1954." The restoration did not include the outbuildings which are required for proper setting and to fill out the historical picture. The residence restoration was supervised and directed on site principally by Lee H. Nelson after some start by George F. Bennett. Mr. Nelson's historic structures reports on the Dudley Digges House are carefully prepared and very valuable documents.¹ Not only are they strong and complete architecturally, but they contain a good deal of tabulated historical fact which the author painstakingly gleaned. This is especially true of Part II. Equally as valuable, even more so, perhaps, for this study, is his Part I coverage for the Dudley Digges House Outbuildings.² This latter report includes possible elevation sketches for four of the dependency structures,³ plus a conjectural grounds development plan.⁴

¹. Part I (December 1959), Part II (May 1960).
². December 1960.
³. Plan NHP COL 3159 (1 September 1959).
Management has determined that the Dudley Digges House will basically function as a park residence (quarters), but will be open to public inspection on special occasions as needs indicate, or require. It is so functioning now. The house, a restored residence of the period, is strategically located and features prominently in the walking tour of Yorktown. The house will be even more useful and meaningful when it is properly set with its grounds development and outbuildings. The dependencies will be especially helpful in interpretation, and accordingly local management has recommended that now the kitchen, smokehouse, granary and wellhead be reconstructed realistically, both on the interior and the exterior. There is, however, no present thought that the kitchen be furnished fully in period style.

This study, initiated by RSP COL-H-21, is essentially concerned with three things:

1. The presentation of new findings, or evaluations.
2. The assembly of additional background material to serve development (reconstruction) and interpretation.
3. The satisfaction of additional requirements of the Part II structures report.

This study, then, is offered as a fulfillment, insofar as history and background data are concerned, of the Resource Study Proposal.
The writer remains indebted to Mrs. Frances McLawhorn of the Colonial Staff who converted the raw draft into more readable type and to Miss Dorothy Junkin of the Division of History who prepared the manuscript in final typed form.

Charles E. Hatch, Jr.
Historian, Colonial Period
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THE DUDLEY DIGGES HOUSE

This mid-eighteenth century house is generally accepted as a classic of its type, a design that had evolved by late colonial times. It is the kind of house that many Virginia families enjoyed. It was built for Dudley Digges, Jr., whose name it carries now, a prominent, responsible, and influential citizen active in Yorktown, and later Williamsburg, affairs for some forty years.

There were many more homes of this kind than of the plantation manor, or large townhouse, types. Colonial Williamsburg's A. E. Kendrew saw it initially before restoration as "a good example of a mid-eighteenth century house," sound of appeal in "type and quality."¹ Lee H. Nelson, who directly supervised the restoration of the residence itself, commented even as the work began: "The Dudley Digges House represents a high point of Colonial Virginia formal frame architecture."²

1. From papers in the "Land files" of Colonial National Historical Park. Kendrew also observed, even in 1952, that: "The complete restoration of the house and grounds [underscoring supplied] would not be difficult in relation to restoration work which has been done elsewhere . . . ."

But, perhaps, Clyde F. Trudell has written in the most all-embracing terms: "Should a commissioner ever be appointed to select one certain house of the Colonial period that would portray in its plan, details and proportions the typical home of Tidewater Virginia perhaps no better choice could be made [than the Digges House] . . . . Its large full depth central hall, the like of which was so universally employed in houses large and small throughout the Colony; the general arrangement with two rooms opening off each side of the hall; the near open-string staircase with its gracefully turned balusters and ornamental facings; the corner fireplaces grouped to make but two chimneys necessary; all are details of the plan and disposition of rooms and major appointments of the type of house most generally built throughout the Old Dominion."³

But the typical quality extended beyond the house itself which did not stand in isolation. Rather the residence was the principal unit and dominated a group of lesser structures on which colonial living, typified by the home, depended. The Dudley Digges House was set among its cluster of dependencies and on its grounds which were fully ample for the complex. House, dependencies, and grounds restoration are of the same package to be fully convincing and authentic.

DUDLEY DIGGES AND HIS FAMILY

Dudley Digges was of a prominent and successful Virginia family with a long record of public service extending through several generations and he continued the family traditions in these regards. He was of the fourth generation of the family in Virginia. It was his great-grandfather who established the "Edward Digges Esq. Plantation" (later "Bellfield") five miles upstream from the site of Yorktown. 4

Edward Digges, a younger son of Sir Dudley Digges5 of Chilham, County Kent, in England, purchased some 1,250 acres here from Capt. John West shortly after his arrival in Virginia in 1650. Soon he was a councilor and in March 1656 the Colony's House of Burgesses elected him governor to serve a two-year term under the Cromwellian regime after which, for a time, he was agent in England for Virginia affairs. After the Restoration he continued active politically, resuming his seat on the Council and serving as Auditor-General and Receiver-General


5. Sir Dudley, "Knight and Baronet, and Master of the Rolls in the reign of Charles I," had been educated at Oxford and knighted in 1607. He sat in Parliament and was a participant in various activities of the time involving trade, discovery and exploration. A member of the Virginia Company of London, he continued keenly interested in a number of Virginia projects which he sought to advance by all means from "lotteries to religion."
of the Colony before his death in 1675 at the age of 55. At his home on the York he was a successful producer of a fine grade of tobacco, but less successful in his determined efforts at sericulture. The latter, however, was so important to him that his wife had it recorded on his gravestone.⁶

The already famous York River plantation fell to Edward Digges' oldest son William, but he moved to Maryland and his son sold it to his uncle Dudley. This Dudley, a younger son of Edward, had remained on the plantation and, under his management and ownership, the "E. D. Plantation" continued to produce its already famed "E. Dees" tobacco, noted for its mild taste and sweet smell. Dudley, too, was a member of the council and served as Auditor for the Colony. Though both William and Dudley each had purchased a lot in Yorktown in 1691 evidently their interest was short as both allowed ownership of their half acre lot to lapse through lack of development.⁷ Dudley married Susannah Cole, daughter of Col. William Cole of Warwick, a councilor and sometime Secretary of the Colony.

It was Dudley's eldest son, Cole Digges, that inherited the York River plantation as he did the "Newport News" plantation of his father-in-law. Cole married Elizabeth Power of York County, sat in the House


of Burgesses, had a long tenure on the Virginia Council and served as commander-in-chief of the militia in three counties (York, Warwick and Elizabeth City) where he was a property holder. Seemingly he found more satisfaction in the merchant, than in the planter, role and established himself in Yorktown with his purchase of a home (on Lot 42) and a storehouse nearby on the waterfront. This was in January 1714 and later he secured more area on the waterfront for a " commodious warehouse" and a wharf near the foot of Read Street. 8

Before his death he set up his oldest son Edward on the home (York River) Plantation and presumably the second son, William, on the Denbigh estate, reserving his town holdings in Yorktown and Williamsburg for his third son Dudley. These holdings constituted a lesser, but nonetheless substantial, inheritance including residential and business accommodations. One lot in Yorktown was No. 77 on which his son Dudley would develop a town residence complex that, from all indications, was fully commensurate with his status and financial position. This house would be his home and chief residence for more than two decades until the 1780's when he would move permanently to the Williamsburg area.

Though it is not of specific reference, insofar as has been determined, Dudley Digges appears to have been born about 1728 very

possibly in Yorktown, though it may have been on the York River "E. D. Plantation." His death on June 3, 1790, was reported as in the 62nd year of his life. It is, too, a matter of record that in 1746 he was still a minor. At that time "Thomas Nelson, Esqr." was serving as his, and his brother William's, guardian in the settlement of their father's estate. Consequently the court recorded them then as "Infants under the age of 21."\(^9\)

It is believed that Dudley was educated at William and Mary College and went on to practice law. Thus he elected not to follow as a principal vocation his father's mercantile and planter interests. Born an established member of the influential gentry class, he was, however, soon in public service and office for his native York County. He was named "Colonel . . . of Horse and Foot" troops in the county and took "the Usual Oaths" on September 19, 1748. The next year he became the receiver of military fines for the county. In 1750 (and again two years later) he was elevated to the York County Court being named a Justice of the Peace. It was in 1752 as well that he was chosen a burgess from York County. He continued to serve in this capacity as a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses for its remaining 24 years as a colonial legislative body. He served, too, as a member of the Committee of Correspondence in 1773 and two years

\(^9\) YCR, Wills and Inventories, No. 18 (1740-1746), pp. 492-3 and infra. This action established that quite some time before Cole's death in 1744, that his oldest son Edward had been established in the family home on the York River indicating that Cole likely was in residence in Yorktown.
later as a member of the Committee of Safety. It was in January
1770 that he had become comptroller of his Majesty's Customs for the
Port of the York River.\textsuperscript{10}

It could be noted that when the freeholders and inhabitants of
York County met in July 1774 "to consider what was to be done in the
present distressed and alarming Situation of Affairs throughout the
British Colonies in America," they named Dudley Digges and Thomas
Nelson, Jr., as delegates to the Convention to meet in Williamsburg
on August 1. The news report noted that at the end, "Business being
finished, the Deputies were invited to a genteel Entertainment
provided for them by the Inhabitants of York County, as a Testimony
of their entire Approbation of the Conduct of these Gentlemen." This
was a clear expression of the full support of his constituency.\textsuperscript{11}

Dudley Digges, as already indicated, was very active in the
Revolutionary cause being a member of the Council of State throughout
the war. He served, too, as examiner of claims and in due course filed
reports on the settlement of the claims against the French who wintered
in the York area following the Siege of Yorktown. He was a leading
councilor and saw some service as a lieutenant-governor in the hectic

\textsuperscript{10} YCR, \textit{Judgements and Orders}, No. 1 (1746-1758), p. 132; Lyon G.
Tyler, \textit{Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography} (New York 1915), II, 9;
Edward M. Riley, "The History of the Founding and Development of York-
town, Virginia, 1691-1781" (typed report dated March 20, 1942), pp. 106-
07; Nelson, "Dudley Digges House: Historic Structures Report," Pt. II,
pp. 16-18.

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Virginia Gazette} (Purdie and Dixon), July 21, 1774, p. 1, c.1.
days of 1781 during Cornwallis' invasion of Virginia. He was as a matter of fact one of those of the government seized in Tarleton's daring raid on Charlottesville on June 2 of that year though most escaped to Staunton in the Shenandoah Valley. 12

There were also family and civic interests. Dudley married quite young, Martha Armistead, and their first born was on December 31, 1748, a son. A decade later, Martha died possibly in childbirth, or complications that followed. He married secondly, about 1759, Elizabeth Wormley and children followed. Their first was Elizabeth who would inherit the Yorktown home some 25 years later. Not all of his seven children, two boys and five girls, would survive him. All through the years he maintained interest in the College of William and Mary, being named to its Board of Visitors in 1764 and becoming its Rector in the years 1782-1784. In 1771 he was one of the Committee named to have a statue of Governor Botetourt erected—"The Statue is to be immediately sent for to Great Britain." 13 Later, too, he was named President of the Board of Directors of the Lunatic Asylum in Williamsburg.

Perhaps these interests and the misfortunes of war led him to move to Williamsburg where he was residing in March 1780. He made

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13. In this he worked with William and Thomas Nelson, his close neighbors, and with other notable Virginians as Peyton Randolph, Lewis Burwell and Robert Carter Nicholas. *(Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), July 25, 1771, p. 2, c.2.)
his home in this area in his last decade and continued his interest in local affairs, serving stints as justice of the peace (1784) and sheriff (1790) for James City County.

Dudley Digges' obituary stressed the qualities of the man and the services that he rendered. In this regard it pointed out that those who knew him:

have long been witnesses of his unfeigned piety, his conjugal and parental affection, his attentive humanity as a master, and his genuine philanthropy . . . . For many years before the war he acted with fidelity and honor as a magistrate and representative of York County. At the Revolution he was elected second member of the Council, in which department he continued several years with the full approbation of his country. When he quitted the enlarged sphere of public action, he was not forgetful of his duty as a citizen, but has almost constantly filled some office in his county.14

PROPERTY DEVELOPMENT AND USE

Though he may have had prior use of it, Dudley Digges came into the actual ownership of his inheritance after 1745 (his father died in 1744; his mother in 1750)15 about the time of his first marriage and just prior to his initial ascent to public office. He was then the owner of two residences in Yorktown and possibly one, or more, in Williamsburg. Evidently his father was not a builder as


from all indication, he did not erect a single residence of his own. Rather he inherited, or acquired, homes already built.16

Dudley seemingly established himself in Yorktown and initially took up residence here. This would have been in the home on Lot 42, or even in that then on Lot 77. Each of these already would have been near half century old. His principal area of operations was York County and Yorktown was the county seat. His various official responsibilities as Justice of the Peace required local residence whereas representation in the House of Burgesses would have taken him away for limited periods only. It is clearly stated in deeds in 1755 that he was "Dudley Digges Junr" of the Town and County of York."17 There seems no sound reason to assume that he, a young man getting established in 1752, should have built a new home in Williamsburg and three years later to have done the same in Yorktown. His use and disposition of the Williamsburg lots within a few years argue against this. There must be some better explanation of the detailed architectural similarities between the house on Lot 19 in Williamsburg, a lot which he owned then, and the house which he built on Lot 77. It may be that his father, who acquired the Williamsburg properties, bought them already developed as he did the Yorktown

16. Riley, "Yorktown," p. 107. "It can also be said that . . . none of the houses associated with the family in Yorktown give any idea of the great wealth and influence of the family."

17. YCR, Deeds, No. 6 (1755-1763), pp. 27-29.
Dudley Digges Residence Property - Yorktown -
lots.\textsuperscript{18} They might well, on the other hand, have been undeveloped when they passed to Dudley.

Property adjustments which Dudley began to make even before 1755 (as consolidation and leasing in Yorktown and firmer arrangements regarding an earlier lease of his Williamsburg holdings, which he would sell before 1761) would seem to indicate development plans.\textsuperscript{19}

At least they included the acquisition of property on which a part of

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{18} Nelson, "Dudley Digges House, Historic Structures Report," Part I, pp. 2-8. There is obviously a remarkable similarity architecturally, in detail and in plan, between the house which Dudley Digges built on Lot 77 and the "Barraud House" now on his Lot 19 in Williamsburg as Lee H. Nelson carefully details. The known facts, however, do not substantiate his that "it is quite possible that both were built for the occupancy of Dudley Digges . . . ." His need for Williamsburg housing was even greater after 1761 than before, yet he sold it and it would seem that he looked toward a new Yorktown home even before the death of his first wife in 1757. It seems well to quote further from Nelson: "Certainly the closet kin in size, plan, proportion, and detail is the so-called "Barraud' House on Francis Street in Williamsburg. Unfortunately the Williamsburg counterpart of the Dudley Digges House has not been dated. Colonial Williamsburg architects have ascribed it to the 'third quarter of the 18th century'." ("Dudley Digges House: Historic Structures Report," Part I, p. 2.)

The Frenchman's map of Williamsburg (1782) shows a house where the "Barraud House" is located and a smaller unit behind it, presumably the kitchen (38' x 20') noted on an insurance plan of 1796. Dr. Phillip Barraud of Norfolk moved to Williamsburg where he established himself as a physician, buying a house and lot, about 1782-83. ("Barraud House (Block 10, Colonial Lot. No. 19 South),") a typed report, dated March 1947, in files of Colonial Williamsburg.)

\textsuperscript{19} It was on July 21, 1755, that he consumated a 14-year lease of Williamsburg property to Jaems Currie, a Williamsburg "Barber & Peruke maker" for 2 pounds, 12 shillings per annum. This continued an earlier "liciense" to "Dr. Kenneth McKenzie, dec'd, allowing him
his residence group (the outbuildings) was constructed, establishing a minimum starting date for his new home. This half acre plot (Lot 79) gave him an acre and a half with two lots fronting on Main Street.

The block of property bounded by (1) Main Street, (2) "the Great Valley" (a principal connection between Main Street and the waterfront), (3) a ravine to the southeastward (separating it from the high ground where the Monument to the Alliance and Victory was built but down which a street was not opened until the time of the Centennial in 1881), and (4) the bluff line overlooking the Yorktown waterfront, encompassed four original town lots. Laid out in 1691, these were Nos. 76, 77, 78, and 79 with 77 and 79 bordering on Main Street.

Initially each of these half acre plots was granted to a separate owner, by the feoffees of the town, with a specific stipulation that a house at least twenty feet square be built within a stated four months interval. Lot 76 went to William Cole, "Secretary of their Maties [Majesties] Dominion of Virginia" (Dudley's mother's father, "to set a tenement, or shop, on his lotts in the City of Williamsburg with liberty to move the same at any time." In addition to what McKenzie had used, Currie got the use of ten more feet to permit him to build a shed. (YCR, Deeds, No. 6 (1755-1763), pp. 26-27).

It is of note in the deed when William Withers, a merchant, for a substantial 375 pounds current money, sold the remaining part of two lots to William Carter, apothecary, in March 1761, that the "two Lotts or half acres of Ground" were those purchased earlier "by the said Withers of Dudley Digges of the town of York Gent." (YCR, Deeds, No. 6, p. 333.)
as has been related, property that descended to Dudley), Lot 77 to David Stoner, Planter, Lot 78 to Ralph Wormley, Esquire, and Lot 79 to John Myhill, Gentleman. With the likely exception of William Cole, this generated little building activity and the original owners forfeited ownership for lack of construction.

The town's trustees reassigned, or regranted, Lot 77 to Emanuel and Miles Wills and Lots 78 and 79 to William Gordon, all in 1706. The new owners evidently satisfied the building requirements (since 1699 this requirement called for a minimum sized house within 12 months), or interest in the development requirements for them eventually lapsed. Each did retain ownership for a decade, or more, and then disposed of the property privately. It is known from various sources that Lots 77 and 78 were developed as residential units, but such seems not to have been the case for Lot 79. When Dudley Digges purchased this in 1755, to add to his holdings, it seemingly had only a well on it.20

On September 20, 1754, "Dudley Digges, Jun." advertised over a Yorktown date line "A commodious Brick Store-House, which has necessary Apartments for a private Family, also a Stable and Garden, well pail'd in." Most surely this was "situate in York Town" and was that readvertised in May 1755. (Virginia Gazette, November 7, 1754 (Supplement), p. 2, column 2; also, the May 9 issue, p. 2, c.1.)

There is a partnership deed dated July 2, 1714, which evidently relates to Lot 79. In this the then owner William Gordon agreed jointly "for digging & Stoning a Well to be placed in ye Lott of Wm Gordon, one of ye co-partners on ye South side of ye sd Lott adjoyning to ye Main Street." Each of the four "Co-partners" would have an equal share in the costs of "digging & Stoning" as well as "his proportionate share" of the costs of upkeep. In turn John Andrews, Charles Cox and Nicholas Phillips would receive an interest in "so much of the said Lott where the well is to be digged containing by estimation Ten foot Square" plus use of the well. In later transfers it is noted as "a half acre of Land with a well thereon Dug" indicating no other development. Such is true, too, in its transfer to "Dudley Digges, Jr., of Town and County of York" on April 21, 1755. There is no further reference to the joint ownership of the well and its site.

The story of Lot 76 is little known with no specific reference to development of any type on it in William Cole's, or the Digges', time or even later. Such is not true for Lot 78 which was never a part of the Digges holdings but did provide the area of his closest, and only abutting neighbor. William Gordon may have built a home on


22. YCR, Deeds, No. 6, p. 17. Other pertinent references to the well would include Deeds and Bonds, No. 3, p. 78; Orders and Wills, No. 17, p. 130, Deeds No. 5, p. 314, Deeds No. 6, p. 146.
it though he retained ownership only a year and a half disposing of it to James Wallace who was in ownership almost 20 years before it passed to the Dowsings (father Robert, and, then, son William) for another 30 years. Other owners followed in quicker succession. It seems that throughout this long period it was a major residence location consisting of "that Messuage, Tenement and Lot of Land shown as Lot 78" and "with all houses and appurtenances thereon." This residence continued in use long past Dudley Digges time. It still stood, but in ruins, when John Chapman painted a Yorktown scene that included it in 1834.

Like Lot 78, Lot 77, where Dudley built his townhouse, was a developed residential property from early in the eighteenth century. Though the original grantee, David Stoner, failed to develop it such seems not to have been the case for the believed-to-be brothers, Miles and Emanuel Wills, Gentlemen, who took ownership in 1706. This

23. These, all neighbors of Dudley Digges, were Richard Coventon (1758-1759), William Moss (1759-1767), Thomas Trotter and Thomas Tomer (1767), Thomas Archer (1767-1773), and James Dunsley (1773-1785).

24. Carneal; "Abstract."

25. Evidently James Dunsley died late in 1784, or early in 1785, and the court ordered that his wife's dowery be set aside. It was done when those appointed for the purpose, in March 1785: "... allotted to Elizabeth Dunsley Widow of Capt James Dunsley deceased for her Dower one Room below stairs called the Chamber with two Closets within the said Chamber, with a free use of the front door to and from the said House. We also allow her a third part of the Garden Ground and the use of all out houses that is or may be placed on the said Lott or half Acre of Ground during her Life." (Deed Book, No. 6, p. 267).
continuance of title as well as the sale price of $30 \& Virginia money, when they disposed of it in 1721 to Merchant William Stark, would seem to confirm this. After ten years Stark sold it ("The Lot or half acre of Land ... containing Ten Poles Length and Eight Poles in breadth") to another merchant, Cole Digges. This lot included all "the houses, edefices, buildings, kitchens, stables, barns, Gardens, Orchards, Ways & Passages." Though standard legal terminology this would imply developed property.26

There is further substantiation of this in the archeological record. Excavations in 196027 established that a house on Lot 77 preceded the Dudley Digges House and stood in the space between it and Main Street. The archeologist, G. Hubert Smith, summarizes that the 36 feet by 18 feet house

... was probably a timber framed dwelling [of a story and a half resting on a brick and mortar masonry foundation], provided with central chimney stack cellar and [outside] cellar entry, and was probably built about 1706-1707, having certain elements of design reminiscent of the late 17th century [as "casements equipped with leaded glass"] ... the structure was probably used until about 1755-1760, when it was intentionally removed (probably to make way for the Dudley Digges House) by moving the superstructure from its


The sale from Stark to Digges included "also one Storehouse scituate on the common Shore, or wast Land ... commonly known by the name of Mr. Stark's Storehouse."

founded essentially intact, and by demolition of the chimney stack and parts of the cellar walls.\textsuperscript{28}

Further work just to the southeast of this foundation yielded a lesser, slight, foundation likely of a minor structure. "It is probable that this was an outbuilding contemporary in use with the dwelling . . . perhaps a smoke-house, though no distinctive evidence of its use was found in place."\textsuperscript{29} Evidence of outbuildings, that may have stood close behind it would have been destroyed by the construction of the Dudley Digges House itself.

There are further important observations by Mr. Smith as he reports that: "It is probable that Str. L [his designation for what was seemingly the Wills, or Stark, House] was intentionally removed to permit the erection of the Dudley Digges House, but conclusive proof on the point was not obtained."\textsuperscript{30} However, he did observe that the Dudley Digges House contains certain re-used timber members, which may have been salvaged, at least in part, on the removal of the previous building on the lot, and Str. L may have been removed partly to provide such members, as well as to prepare the lot for the newer structure, since no evidence was encountered in excavation of material decay or damage sustained by the earlier dwellings.\textsuperscript{30}

\begin{footnotes}
\item 29. Ibid, p. 36.
\item 30. Ibid, 31. Smith observed (p. 13) that the evidence showed that the main superstructure of the house had in no way been damaged by fire
\end{footnotes}
If such salvage (timber, hardware and such) was systematic and intentional, as seems the case, and useful items found their way into Dudley's main residence then certainly such would have been more than welcome for his outbuildings which evidently date with the residence.

THE DEPENDENCIES

Eighteenth century homes of the scale enjoyed by the Digges family, even of those on a lesser scale, required a number of structures supporting the main residence. Townhouses in this time, in Yorktown as in Williamsburg and elsewhere, had their dependent units (outbuildings) grouped as a "little plantation" arrangement. Such structures varied, but embraced kitchens, smokehouses, craft houses, stables, dairies, granaries, and the like as particular needs required. They were highly functional and necessary.

It is quite clear that most Yorktown dwellings, even taverns and ordinaries, had the usual complement. While these were generally the same in design and style, there were variations that reflected the owners needs, personal taste, and the function of the unit which they served. Architecturally the dependencies were harmonious in character, and they

and "that it had been systematically removed probably, by actual transporting sections of the superstructure from their original foundations, or by carefully dismantling salvageable timber and other wood members. Most of the hardware fittings seemingly had been purposely removed." Broken pieces of a fire back were left and only fragments from a marble mantle were passed over.

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were grouped for orderly use and convenience. At the same time some separation gave a measure of safety from fire. A general observation on this would be:

The dependencies were never directly connected with the house in this region where the winters were mild, and warm, humid, summers made ample circulation of air important. Typically, a kitchen, dairy, smokehouse, and well were placed about an outside working area, or service court, paved with brick or marl, at the side, or rear, of the main house. A stable or coach house with an area for maintenance work and a paddock were generally located at the back of the lot.\(^{31}\)

The situation in Yorktown as to outbuilding types, sizes and arrangements, can be gleaned from several sources. These are: (1) the damage claims filed after the Siege of Yorktown in 1781,\(^{32}\) (2) the records of the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia, beginning in the 1790's,\(^{33}\) (3) a billeting plan of Yorktown done by Captain Louis Alexandre Berthier to accommodate the French Army unit that wintered in Yorktown in 1781-1782 following the Siege of Yorktown,\(^{34}\) (4) a view

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32 York County Records, *Claims for Losses of York County Citizens in British Invasion of 1781*, a bound volume of loose papers.

33 These are in the Virginia State Library (Richmond, Va.), but with pertinent photostatic copies in the files of Colonial National Historical Park.

34 "Plan d'York Town pour servir a l'Establisment du Quartier l'hyner du Regiment Soissonnois et des Grenadiers et Chasseurs de St. Onge le 12 November, 1781" being document No. 29 in the Berthier Papers, Princeton University Library.
of Yorktown sketched in 1755 by John Gauntlett\textsuperscript{35} from aboard a ship in the harbor, (5) advertisements that appeared occasionally in the \textit{Virginia Gazette}, published in Williamsburg, (6) references in the Yorktown County Records (as deeds, wills, court orders, etc.) and (7) chance references in personal writings of the time, nineteenth century paintings, photographs and the like. Though no dependencies have survived in Yorktown, a good many have in the tidewater area, and others are shown in paintings and photographs made before demolition came. The latter is true in a few instances for Yorktown structures.

An insurance policy issued to Robert Nicholson, Dudley Digges' son-in-law, on April 6, 1796, covering the property under discussion here, while not the first indication, certainly is the earliest substantial piece of data about these dependencies. It includes a plot plan, with building measurements, distances between units, and construction types. It is important, too, that this in substance has been proved out through archeological investigations.\textsuperscript{36} It shows a grouping to the southeast of the residence itself consisting of

\textsuperscript{35} In a manuscript volume, "Voyage of H.M.S. Success and H.M.S. Norwich to Nova Scotia and Virginia 1754-1756," in the Mariners Museum (Newport News, Virginia). The view has been published in the \textit{Virginia Magazine of History and Biography}, LIV (1946), pp. 99-105

\textsuperscript{36} John L. Cotter, "West House Archeological Investigations, April 2 through 13, 1956," typed report, dated April 23, 1956;
kitchen, granary, and smokehouse, each of which was 34 feet from
the main house. The well was between the kitchen and residence
and 44 feet beyond the kitchen was a stable. Archeological investi-
gations have substantiated this layout and revealed no other struc­
tures in this particular grouping. Later, documentary references
do not suggest any either.

It would have been helpful if the deed reference in 1787 conveying
this property from Digges to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Robert
Nicholson, could have been more specific. In recitation it covered
"three Lots of Land lying and being in the Town of York . . . whereon
the said Dudley formerly resided . . . Lots parcels of Land with their
Appurtenances." There was further reference to "the said Lots of Land
with their Appurtenances of every kind." This language is more expres-
sive than most of the stock legal phraseology normally included in
deeds of the period. While simply stated, it conveys the idea of
fully developed property where the owner resided with what he needed
about him.37 Before this date Dudley Digges had moved to Williamsburg38

John W. Griffin, "Additional Archeological Explorations of the West

37. YCR, Deed Book, No. 6, p. 353.

38. When he sold his Lot 42 and its development to David Jameson
in 1784 it was as Dudley Digges of Williamsburg, Gentleman (YCR Deed
and now he deeded his Yorktown home to his daughter "in consideration of the natural love and affection which he beareth towards the said Elizabeth" plus five shillings as a binding consideration.

It seems very reasonable to assume that these outbuildings were constructed at, or about, the time that the Dudley Digges residence was built, 1755-1760. He would have needed them at the time of occupancy. The residence, for example, has no sufficient provision (fireplace and chimney stack of sufficient dimension) to accommodate a kitchen. Since these dependency structures (except the well) involve property (Lot 79) that was not in his ownership prior to May 1755, it seems safe to assume that they came after that date.

Digges bought it (Lot 79) from James Pride for a substantial £80 current Virginia money and evidently without substantial, usable development—"All that Lott on half acre of land with a Well Dug." The location of the outbuildings on Lot 79 would rule out any association with the earlier residence on Lot 77 that preceded the Dudley Digges House. As already noted, this earlier residence also seemingly had its own compliment of dependencies.

39. Lee H. Nelson for architectural and other reasons concluded "... we can with reasonable certainty, ascribe the erection of the house to Dudley Digges, ca. 1755-1760." ("Dudley Digges House, Historic Structures Report," Part I, p. i.)

40. YCR, Deeds, No. 6, pp. 17 ff.
It cannot be specifically established how long the Dudley Digges House dependencies endured. There seems no evidence that any reached the twentieth century although they survived into the nineteenth. When Elizabeth Nicholson sold the property (Lots "Nos. 76, 77 and 79") to John R. West in June 1821, the deed language seems expressive: "a certain Tenement in the Town of York with the houses and Lots thereto belonging ... and also all new gardens and appurtenances whatsoever to the said Tenament appertaining."\(^{41}\) The same seems true in a disposition of the property 31 years later when it was described as "all houses and lots appertaining to what are Commonly called Nicholsons house and lots ... situated in Yorktown."\(^{42}\) It is true that the J. G. Chapman painting of a Yorktown scene in 1834 would indicate that only the kitchen still survived then. Certainly he does not show the granary though the smokehouse location may be out of his scene. He shows, too, that a lesser structure had been added just east of the kitchen, and rather close to it.

\(^{41}\) YCR, Deed Book, No. 9, pp. 121-124. The Dudley Digges House eventually became known as the West House because of this occupancy, a name that endured until it was established in 1959-1960, that Digges built it. Major John R. West of Yorktown, a member of the York County Court in 1826, married Elizabeth Nelson, daughter of William Nelson of Yorktown in 1818. (Trudell, Yorktown, p. 87; Tylers Quarterly Historical and Geneological Magazine, V, 141; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXXIV, 266; R.C.M. Page, Genealogy of the Page Family in Virginia (Second Edition, Bridgewater, Va., 1965), p. 174.

\(^{42}\) YCR, Deed Book, No. 15, p. 242.
Beyond the description in the insurance policy of 1796 not much specifically can be said about the nature of the outbuildings which served Dudley Digges. Most likely some detail would have been drawn from the main house that dominated the scene. Such was customary even to exterior color which in this instance was white. We know Dudley Digges knew the use of white wash for porches, passages, and rooms since he paid Humphrey Harwood, a local contractor and brick-mason who worked for various residents in Williamsburg and James City and York counties for work of this type. Account entries, however, do not fix the location of the work. It would be very helpful if these entries were more complete. One intriguing entry, for example, on October 10, 1777, refers "To Mending Kitching floore," and says nothing else except that the work cost five shillings. 43

The Kitchen:

The kitchen, next after the residence, was the most important and largest structure in the Dudley Digges House group. There are only two letter designations on the insurance plan: A for the residence and B for the kitchen. The kitchen was described as 16 feet wide and 22 feet long with the short axis toward Main Street and facing toward the residence "34" feet away. It was labeled "Kitchen, wood, one story high" and noted as being six feet from the granary on the southwest.

During archeological work in 1956 a corner of the original kitchen foundation was located. However, it remained for additional work in 1959, after the removal of a modern structure that generally occupied the site, to fully explore it. By report "the remnants of the kitchen (foundations) . . . beneath the modern buildings were quickly located." The brickwork, some solid sections (of English bond and tooled joints) and some loose bricks suggested "a rectangular structure 18 x 22 feet in size, with a large chimney set outside the building." In the case of the chimney, it had "Well defined ends, which did not indicate any brick removal" and which established that its base had a width of 8 feet, 9 inches and a depth of 4 feet, 7 inches. The chimney size was ample to accommodate a cooking fireplace of generous proportions. That the kitchen size was shown to be 18 x 22 (one of the larger ones in Yorktown) rather the insurance plan's 16 x 22 does not seem to be an important deviation as the plan is an unscaled one likely based on pacing, or sight estimate.

Fortunately there is an 1834 painting, an 1862 drawing, and another rough Civil War sketch that show the kitchen on most of three of its sides with some detail on dormers, windows, doors, and chimney.


These were most useful to Lee H. Nelson in his delineation of a preliminary elevation sketch. Of this he said:

For reconstruction of the kitchen, existing foundations of course, have determined the ground size. The old views of 1834 and 1862 have been used for locating door and window openings as well as the dormer window. The details are derived from the main house and from similar structures in Williamsburg, particularly the Brachen House Kitchen. The "T" shaped chimney is not only common to the Yorktown area, but is indicated by the wide chimney foundation.\(^{46}\)

Granary:

The insurance plan of 1796 shows a "Granary [of] Wood" as a dependency between the smokehouse and the kitchen, some "6 feet distance" separating it from the kitchen. John L. Cotter found the site and had this comment:

This structure may be a remnant of the granary lying between the smokehouse and the kitchen. Brick remains here are very sparse and it is suggested only that the structure may have been 10 feet in depth (front to back) and probably not more than 12 to 14 feet in length. The masonry is English bond and compares roughly with that of Structure D [smokehouse].\(^{47}\)

Later, in 1959, Griffin had an opportunity to explore the site more fully and concluded: "While the complete outline of the building was not present there is enough evidence to establish the size of the structure as 10 by 12 feet."\(^{48}\)


\(^{48}\) Griffin, "Report," p. 3.
As Nelson has pointed out, granaries were not common in York-town, or in Williamsburg, and Colonial Williamsburg has built but one. He used this design commenting: "The granary design in the accompanying drawing is an adaptation of the Greenhow granary in Williamsburg, which in turn was largely conjectural in design."49 In the case of the Dudley Digges House granary, if it was basically a "corn crib," its location was convenient to both kitchen and stable. It is well known that corn in this time was a staple in the diet of both man and animal.

Smokehouse:

The archeological report was quite positive in regard to this structure: "the smokehouse specified in the insurance record of 1796 is unmistakably identified at a distance of 48 feet [the insurance plan gives it as 34] southeast of the West House."50 It was represented by a brick footing some 12 inches wide "consisting of English bond in a maximum of three courses." This is undoubtedly the foundation of the wooden smoke house noted on the 1796 plan as "Smoke House Wood."


50. The archeological reports use the term West House as, at the time of the study, Digges had not been established as the builder.

51. Cotter, "Report," pp. 4-5. A kind of flooring of mortar to a distance of some 10 feet was noted and this led Cotter to observe: "It is possible that this floor lay beneath a shed extending in front of the smokehouse facing the West House which would bring the distance
The smokehouse, where meat, particularly pork, was smoked and stored, was the most common outbuilding type on the Yorktown scene. The Nelson elevation type drawing is accompanied by this notation in the text: "While none survive, prototypes are numerous and so similar as to form a solid basis for their reconstruction. The old Benjamin Waller smokehouse in Williamsburg is a good example."  

The Well:

The insurance plan of 1796 designated the location of "a well" roughly midway between the kitchen and the Main House. Though not scaled, it seemingly involved a structure some six feet square. Such was found in "profile and outline" in 1959 and the evidence "can only be interpreted as a well." It was disappointing that no casing was found in place, except a lone brick in the 5 feet, 8 inch depth that was explored. Mr. Griffin observed: "It is conceivable that the casing had been salvaged to a depth greater than we were able to penetrate. Such a hole [well] could not have stood long without casing since the clayey red sand it penetrated would not hold such a face."  

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of the smokehouse from the West House closer to the 34 feet mentioned in the insurance plan." Another explanation of the distance discrepancy would be an inaccurate guess, since there is no precise scale.


SMOKE HOUSE NORTHWEST ELEV
3 SIDES SIMILAR EXCEPT FRONT DOOR
FOOTING SIZE 12' X 12'

FAN VENT WIP
DIAMETER PEP SIZING
DIAMETER 24"
WELL HOUSE SOUTHWEST ELEV.
FOUNDATION 60" X 60"

WELLHOUSE 3 SIDES SIMILAR
The findings indicated a round well shaft about four feet in diameter some 20 feet from the Kitchen and 25 from the corner of the Dudley Digges House. Artifacts in the fill would indicate that the well was closed in the nineteenth century. In support of his wellhead design, Nelson commented: "Well houses have largely disappeared from the scene. Their local appearance and variations in design have been developed by Colonial Williamsburg. The proposed design is patterned from the well house of the garden of the Ludwell-Paradise House."

The Stable:

This structure, by the insurance policy of 1796, was a "Stable of Wood 16 feet by 18 with a shed at each end." It stood a distance of "44 feet from the Granary," but in diagram sketch was shown more nearly opposite the kitchen than the granary. A further note would indicate that nothing else stood near the stable, and consequently on Lot 79, as it was noted, "on the S.E. a Valey, no House within 30 or 40 yards."

Earlier, in 1781, Berthier had indicated a sizeable structure here, or in this vicinity southeast of the Dudley Digges residence. It is unlikely, however, that this had reference to the stable, or to any outbuilding. In some instances Berthier did show outbuildings

(as in the case of the Swan Tavern), but in others he did not
(as with the Somerwell House). Perhaps, he showed only those
that he considered useful for possible billeting purposes basing
his judgment on size and/or condition. This would cease to be a
troublesome detail, if it could be assumed that actually he was
showing a substantial residence structure that did stand at the
time on Lot 78 directly behind Lot 79. A careful scrutiny of his
plan does indicate that he tended (though there are exceptions) to
place his structure symbols closely adjacent to street lines. And
in 1781 there was no Comte de Grasse Street. Thus the then James
Dunsley home would have had entrance and exit, in some fashion, on
Main Street. Berthier's locations are not always precise as he
shifts the Edmund Smith House farther from the Nelson House than is
the case.

In 1956 a foundation was located in the general vicinity of
where the stable is shown on the unscaled 1796 insurance plot plan.
The archeologist, John L. Cotter, observed that it "lies in a line

Part I, p. 42.

56. That the then James Dunsley home was substantial can be
gleaned from his purchase deed in 1773 from Thomas Archer. The
Lot cost him 250 pounds current Virginia money for the residence
and "all houses and appurtenances thereon." Also, see note 23 for
a bit of description included there. (YCR, Deeds, No. 8, p. 332.)
with the West House, the smoke house and granary and at a distance
of 110 feet from the West House. It is 48 feet from the smoke
house and approximately the same distance from the granary. The
dimensions are 17 x 17 feet, remarkably close to the 16 x 18 feet
recorded for the stable shown on the insurance plan of 1796. "57

The rough marl block foundations were laid on sloping ground
and their width, 1.4 feet on three sides and 1.0 on the other, would
indicate that they supported a frame structure. "The space within
the walls may have comprised a cellar of sorts," Cotter continued,
"although no trace of a floor was identifiable except a uniform
refuse level above the undisturbed sand. Since the structure, accord­
ing to the insurance plan, had a shed at each end, it may be assumed
that the barn had flanking structures of wood without masonry founda­
tions on the north and south sides. The main structure was likewise
of wood." 58

There was a short stairway, or steps, leading into the shallow
cellar, (a 5 foot wall was found on one side and 3.4 on the other).
This is an unusual feature, perhaps, for a stable and the fill of
the basement strongly suggests domestic use in the later colonial


58. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
period.\textsuperscript{59} It led Cotter to observe that "It is not unreasonable to wonder if the stable structure could not have been originally a house structure. Specifically, the artifacts for the fill within the foundation . . . are homogeneous in representing late eighteenth century."

In analyzing the remains of this structure there have been varying interpretation. When, however, all of the facts are considered it is difficult to dismiss this as the stable site and the reasons summarized below are offered as sufficient to support the reconstruction of a stable unit and paddock in this area though it is not now a part of the outbuilding plan.\textsuperscript{60}

1. The period of use as indicated from artifacts for the structure is rather precise for Digges and Nicholson ownership.

2. As already indicated, there is no record of earlier development on the lot, except for a well which, if found and reactivated, could be useful for stable purposes.

\textsuperscript{59} In a preliminary analysis of the material ("animal garbage bones, bits of wall plaster (no lath marks, however), wine bottle fragments, and bits of pottery") found in the fill, J. Paul Hudson concluded that it ranged in date from 1700 to 1840 with 90\% of it in the 1750-1790 period. He placed 5\% of it before 1750 and 5\%, that in the top level, after 1800. (Cotter, "Report," pp. 7-8.)

This is a rather convincing sequence if it is assumed that the structure fell into ruin and was removed early in the 19th century.

\textsuperscript{60} Such a unit with a horse, or two, "in residence" would add a good deal to the interpretive picture for the Dudley Digges House group and for Yorktown's Main Street.
3. The foundation size falls short of the building minimum required in 1691 and 1699.

4. As noted, the 17 x 17 structure seems rather close to the insurance plat's 16 x 18 size and the 48 feet from the granary compares closely with the 44 feet given in the plot plan. It is admitted that the building diagram block as shown on the plan is farther from Main Street and to the southeast of the kitchen. However, the only word description has to do not with the kitchen, but with the relationship to the granary--"44 feet from the Granary."

5. The foundation in some ways, perhaps, suggests having been built in part from salvaged material. As Cotter reported: "All walls are composed of rough marl blocks with a few fragments of semi-dressed limestone and some brick fragments." In the stairway at the east corner the "brick appear to be slightly larger than those in the West House. The bottom step is bevelled round at the edge. Evidence of nosing in the corners suggests that the upper steps were probably of wood, or were dressed with wood planking." A sloping terrain would have required good foundations and footings. Dudley Digges did have substantial footings for his other outbuildings and the same could be expected for any stable that he may have had. His possible use of salvaged material has been commented on earlier.

6. The fact that other exploratory archeological work was negative may reinforce the case for this structure rather than indicate
that "the stable has either eluded detection, or that traces of it have been obliterated,"61 or "that the remnants of the stable are no longer present."62

ILLUSTRATIONS
The Dudley Digges House as restored in 1959-60. It still lacks its outbuildings (which stood to the right of the residence) and its appropriate grounds development.
Enlargement of a small area from a view of Yorktown
sketched in 1755 by John Gauntlett from aboard a
British naval vessel in the Yorktown harbor. The
building indicated by the added arrow is believed
to be that then on Lot 77. Likely it is that resi-
dence structure which preceded the Dudley Digges
House. The suggestion of outbuildings and fencing
is of note.
A plot plan of buildings on the former Dudley Digges residence property in 1796 when insured by his son-in-law. This is from Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia Policy No. 99, dated April 6.
This is from a painting made in 1834 by John G. Chapman. It shows two faces (southeast and northeast) of the Kitchen and indicates that the Granary and Smokehouse no longer stood. Fencing is interesting here. While it may not follow lot lines it is suggestive of them, blocking out the residence (seemingly in decay) in the center. This most surely is the home on Lot 78 known to have been standing in late colonial times. The slight structure to the southeast (foreground) of the Kitchen seems much too small and not properly located for the Stable. Nor archeological trace of it was found. The ravine in the foreground is where Comte de Grasse was opened in 1881.
This is from an 1862 view of the Dudley Digges House which served for a time as headquarters for Union General George B. McClellan. Fortunately, much of the northwest side of the Kitchen is shown.
This is another Civil War view (Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, II, 173) based on a war time sketch of May 4, 1862. It notes McClellan's headquarters (the larger flag) in the Dudley Digges House.
THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN.

WHARF, YORK RIVER.

McCLELLAN'S HEADQUARTERS.

NELSON HOUSE.

VIEW OF MAIN STREET, YORKTOWN, THE UNION TROOPS MARCHING IN. FROM A SKETCH MADE MAY 4, 1862.
The Dudley Digges House Kitchen shows, in partial outline, though in rather poor detail, in this enlargement of a section of the view based on a May 4, 1862 sketch.