

March 10, 2009

I have converted Daniel Ackermann's "Historic Structure Report for The Prince George Street House" (March 2009) to this PDF. My "Further Evidence," which Daniel enclosed with the Report, forms the last three pages of the PDF. I offer there evidence for a reading of documents in support of an early 18th Century date for the house and for a connection between the house and the Bray School as well as evidence making it less likely that Dudley Digges of Yorktown owned the house in the 1760's.

My own belief is that the structure built on the original site, as required by the terms of the initial sale in 1712, has had a continuous existence ever since; Ed Chappell allows that such "an early date [is] conceivable" (p. 51), though the physical evidence so far visible may not yet fully support that.

In Appendix E, the documented form of my *Virginia Gazette* article, the enclosures I refer to in the notes are documents that I gave to Rockefeller and Swem libraries.

Terry L. Meyers

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HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT FOR THE PRINCE GEORGE STREET HOUSE

Prepared by Daniel Kurt Ackermann

**HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT FOR
THE PRINCE GEORGE STREET HOUSE**

Also known as Brown Hall and the Dudley Digges House
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

524 Prince George Street
Williamsburg, Virginia

Original site: southeast corner of Prince George and North Boundary streets
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Block 23

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Source Abbreviations

- CWF: John D. Rockefeller Library Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- UMW: United Methodist Women Archives, Stanley Library, Ferrum College, Ferrum, Virginia.
- WBG: Williamsburg Court Records, James City County Clerk of Court, James City County, Virginia.
- WM: William and Mary Archives, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- YCP: York County Project, Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Research and data collection from colonial York County Court records done with assistance from the National Endowment for the Humanities under Grants RS-0033-80-1604 and RO-0869-85.

Acknowledgements

This report could not have been produced without the generous support of numerous individuals at the College of William and Mary and the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Louise Kale, the Executive Director of the Historic Campus at the College, first introduced me to this project as we stood in formal wear on a darkened tennis court adjacent to the site of the 2005 Charter Day Gala. Louise has been a friend and mentor since I met her during my first weeks at the university in 2001. Her support has been invaluable.

This project rests on the foundation of the patient and probing research of Terry Meyers, Professor of English at William and Mary. His article in the *Virginia Gazette* on June 19, 2004, brought public notice to this long-forgotten building. A documented version of this article is included as Appendix E. Kris Preacher, author of *Williamsburg in Virginia Postcards*, offered his assistance to Professor Meyers in tracking down a number of obscure references and images. Linda Rowe of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation has provided a good deal of research assistance to Professor Meyers and to me. Staff members at the John D. Rockefeller and Earl Gregg Swem Libraries likewise provided invaluable assistance.

I am grateful to Edward A. Chappell, the Shirley and Richard Roberts Director of Architectural and Archaeological Research at Colonial Williamsburg, for making several examinations of the building and recording his findings. Ed's expertise, along with that of Willie Graham and Jeff Klee of Colonial Williamsburg's Architectural Research Department, was an invaluable contribution to our understanding of the structure's

historic fabric. Their observations are reflected in the earliest reports included as Appendices B, C, and D. Tom Taylor, the Director of Architectural Conservation for Colonial Williamsburg, added to this understanding with his boroscopic examination of the building's frame. Amanda Mushal, a University of Virginia PhD student in history, helped by taking field notes and identifying poison ivy.

It would have been impossible to complete this project without the assistance of the Department of Military Science and ROTC, the current residents of the Prince George Street House. They allowed me to drill holes in their plaster and offered me a flashlight and fatigues when I went crawling under the floor. Willie Coleman in particular deserves thanks for making access available throughout my three weeks in Williamsburg.

A special note of thanks goes to the National Institute of American History and Democracy and Professor James P. Whittenburg and Dr. Carolyn S. Whittenburg. They supported this undertaking in many ways. Through my work with NIAHD while a student at the College, I was introduced to architectural history in the classes of Carl Lounsbury. In his architectural history field school, I learned how to look at and measure historic structures. Louis P. Nelson, my advisor at the University of Virginia, helped me to further refine my eye through fieldwork in Virginia and the Caribbean.

This has been a long project. Thanks must also go to the institutions that have supported my research since this project began in 2005. In addition to the University of Virginia, these include the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art where I was the 2006–2007 Tiffany & Co. Foundation Curatorial Intern in American Decorative Arts, and the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts at Old Salem where I am now Associate Curator.

Finally, I want to thank my wife, Melissa. Melissa was there at the beginning of this project, and has been a constant source of advice, logic, insight, and support throughout its many drafts.

Preface

The small white frame house on Prince George Street in Williamsburg attracts little notice. For those who look closely, however, a hodgepodge of rooflines and additions hints at a rich past. The Prince George Street House is a complex building that tells a complex story. Its core encompasses Williamsburg's colonial past and perhaps a glimpse into early African-American education in Virginia. Its additions speak to Williamsburg's post-Revolutionary period and the revitalization of the town in the 1920s and 1930s through the efforts of a growing College of William and Mary and the development of Colonial Williamsburg. Despite some peeling paint and a few sagging boards, its stout frame points to a future supporting the educational programs and mission of the College.

Building Summary

NB: The orientations given are based on the house's current placement on its lot, with the front facing east and the north gable end oriented toward the street. When the house was moved to its present location in 1930, it was rotated ninety degrees clockwise in relation to Prince George Street. Thus, on the original site, the present north side faced west; the south side, east. The main door originally opened on Prince George Street to the north.

Period I (middle eighteenth century)—Private Residence

This period saw the construction of a three-bay, center-hall house, one room deep with a gable roof pierced by six dormer windows, located on the southeast corner of Prince George and North Boundary streets. The gable ends are broken by external end chimneys, the northern of which has a T-shaped stack with three flues, two of which terminate on the first floor. Shoulders at the second-floor level of this north chimney suggest that the additional flue terminates there.

Period II (c. 1805–c. 1815)—Private Residence

Nine-light sash windows replace the older sash windows. Two new mantles are added to the first-floor fireplaces. A lean-to is constructed on the southwest side of the building and an early door, perhaps from a previous cellar entrance, is moved into this lean-to behind the south room. Another lean-to is constructed against the north gable-end of the house, possibly later.

Period III (1923–present)**IIIa (1926–1930)—Women’s Dormitory**

The roof is changed to a gambrel shape, and the house is significantly expanded with additions to the north and south gable ends and a two-story ell to the west. These additions may incorporate the earlier lean-tos as indicated by a pre-revolutionary door re-worked as wainscoting in the connecting passage on the west side of the first floor.

IIIb (1930–present)—College Building

The building is moved from the southeast corner of Prince George and North Boundary streets to its present location. The south side of the Period I building and Period IIIa ell are extended to the south. Porches are added to the northwest and southeast sides of the building and are later enclosed.

Deed History

The Prince George Street House originally occupied a lot at the southeast corner of Prince George and North Boundary streets. The trustees of the City of Williamsburg sold lots 32 and 100 in the original plat to William Craig on September 6, 1712 (recorded June 15, 1713) in “consideration of thirty shillings of good lawful money of England.” The lots were bounded by Duke of Gloucester Street to the south, Prince George Street to the north, and the modern North Boundary Street to the west. The sale, like all lot sales in Williamsburg, was on condition that the buyer “build and finish upon each lott of these premises one good house or houses of such dimensions and to be placed in such manner as by... the act directing the building the Capitoll and the city of Williamsburg.”¹

Craig clearly did as was required, and when he died in 1719 he bequeathed to each of his three daughters a portion of the two lots. To his daughter Elizabeth went:

One half my front lott facing the Main Street [Duke of Gloucester] together with my Dwelling House and such either of my houses as fall out to be thereon, to begin at the corner next the College...

His daughter Edith received “the other half of the front lott with what houses happen after the division to be thereon...” And his daughter Sarah was left the “back Lott with all the houses and appurtenances thereunto belonging...”² The terminology “houses and appurtenances” was a standard legal catchall and does not necessarily indicate that a dwelling-house was on the property Sarah inherited. On November 15, 1734, Sarah and her husband Garret Henrikin sold the lot “with all Houses Gardens yards privileges Hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging” to Hannah Shields for “sixty five pounds current money of Virginia.” That deed also indicated that the

¹ YCP: York County Records, Deeds and Bonds 2:724.

² YCP: York County Records, Orders, Willis, Inventories 15: 639.

property had been “for some time past in the occupation of the said Garret Henrikin and Sarah his wife.”³ Hannah Shields left the lot to her sons Matthew and James who sold it to Dudley Digges on November 14, 1763, for “seventy pounds current money... [for the] half an acre of land situate, lying and being at the West end of the City of Williamsburg... marked in the plan of the said city with the letter H.”⁴

There were several men named Dudley Digges in colonial Virginia. They were all descendants of Edward Digges (1621–1674/5), whose marriage to Elizabeth Page (1632–1691) produced at least twelve children. Edward served as governor of Virginia from March 1655 to December 1656. He was the producer of “ED” tobacco; one of his tobacco labels is preserved in the collections of Colonial Williamsburg. Dudley Digges(a) (1665–1710/1), the fourth child and second son from the marriage to survive into adulthood, rose to prominence in the colony. He married Susannah Cole (1674–1708) and fathered at least four children. The youngest—born the year of his father’s death—was named Dudley Digges(b) (1710/1–1771) after his father. The majority of Dudley Digges(a)’s estate descended to his son, Cole Digges (1692–1744). Cole Digges had at least five children by his wife Elizabeth Power, and he named his third son Dudley Digges(c) (1729–1790). Dudley Digges(c) is associated with the Dudley Digges house of Yorktown and is sometimes known as “Dudley Digges the patriot” for his role in the American Revolution.

Dudley Digges(b), like his siblings, received £2,000 on his majority. Dudley(b) married Mary Hubbard and had at least five children, the eldest of whom he named

³ YCP: Deeds and Bonds, Book 4, November 15(18), 1734: 329–330. Sixty-five pounds current money was a significant price for a lot in Williamsburg in 1734—a possible indication that a domestic structure (although not necessarily the Prince George Street House) was on the site at that time.

⁴ YCP: York County Records, Deeds 6: 31.

Dudley Digges(d) (1747–1768). That Dudley(d), like his sisters, was baptized at Bruton Parish Church.⁵

With Dudleys (b), (c) and to a lesser extent (d) in Williamsburg, Yorktown, and James and York Counties during the second half of the eighteenth century, it is often difficult to ascribe particular attributes to any one. However, by tracing the deeds associated with this lot (lot H, or lot 100) through the rest of the eighteenth century, it is clear that Matthew and James Shields sold this land to the Dudley(b) line. The property never passed to Dudley(d). He died of smallpox in 1768 in the house located in what the *Virginia Gazette* referred to as a “retired part of town.”⁶ In 1771 Dudley(b)’s wife Mary obtained letters of administration for her husband’s estate. This confirms that he died roughly three years after his namesake son. The lot was bequeathed to his surviving son Edward Digges. On December 10, 1779 (recorded September 18, 1780), Edward sold the lot to his sisters Elizabeth, Maria, and Susanna Digges with all of its “houses, outhouses, edifices, gardens and paling” for £1,500.⁷

The ownership of the lot through the nineteenth century is largely untraceable, because of the loss of records in a fire at the Williamsburg Courthouse in 1911.⁸ The chain of title resumes on June 6, 1896, with the sale of the property by court order by special commissioner J. F. Hubbard to M. R. Harrell. On his death, the property was bequeathed to Eugene, Edgar and Thomas Potts in a deed dated August 9, 1904. On May

⁵ YCP: Biographical Files, and Nancy Chappelle, ed. *Bruton and Middleton Parishes James City County, Virginia Parish Register 1662 – 1797* (Delaplane, VA: Chappelle & Baird, 1966), 5.

⁶ *Purdie & Dixon’s Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg, VA) January 28, 1768.

⁷ YCP: York County Records Deeds 6: 114. The exceedingly high price is reflective of wartime inflation.

⁸ Deeds for the York and James City County sides of Williamsburg were recorded at their respective county courthouses (or in the General Court at the Capitol in Williamsburg until 1780). In the later eighteenth century, some deeds were also recorded with the Williamsburg Hustings Court. Records cease for this lot following its 1779 sale to Elizabeth, Maria and Susanna Digges. Presumably after that time the deeds were recorded in Williamsburg at the Hustings court. The Hustings Court records succumbed to fire in 1911 when the courthouse on Duke of Gloucester Street burned.

16, 1923, it was sold to Alice P. Stryker.⁹ She in turn sold it to the Board of Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church South on January 9, 1926.¹⁰ They paid almost \$12,000.¹¹ In 1930 the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church South sold the much-expanded building to the College of William and Mary, which moved it to its present location. After the house was moved, the present Brown Hall was erected on the site.

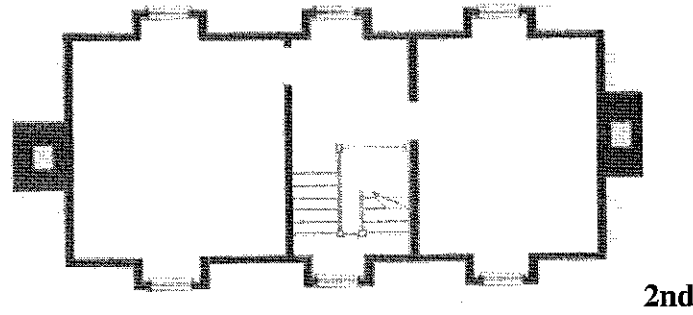
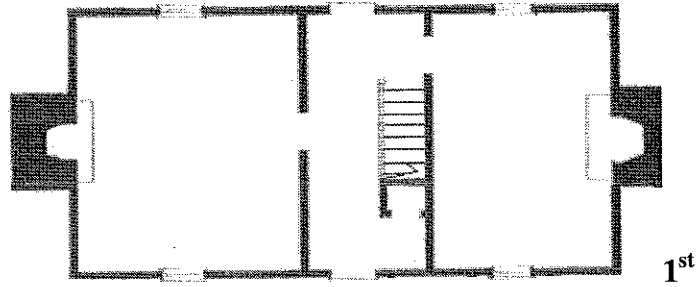
⁹ WBG: Deeds and Bonds, 1923: 10-11.

¹⁰ Williamsburg Deeds and Bonds, 1926: 268 – 269.

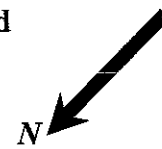
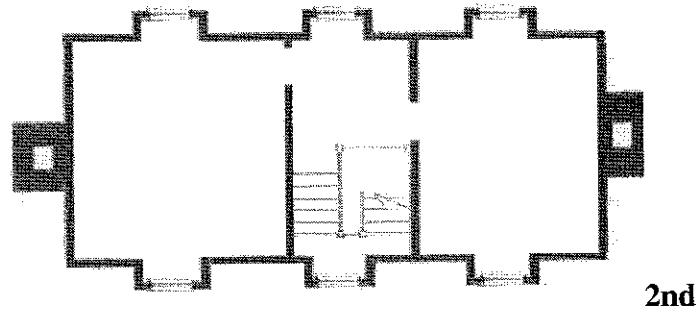
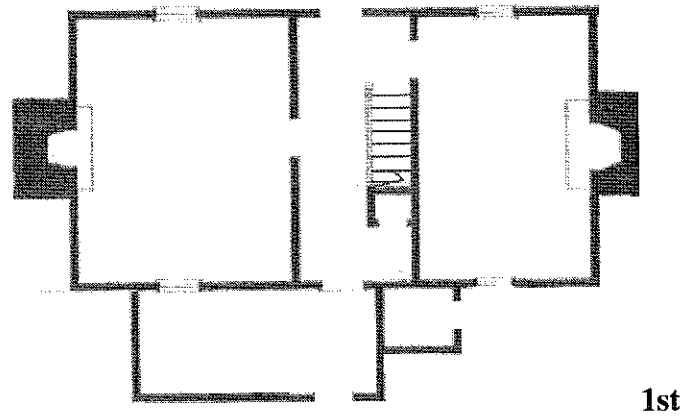
¹¹ The deeds do not indicate the price, but only that, "Ten Dollars (\$10.00) and other good and valuable considerations [were] in hand paid." This is standard legal language referring to court fees. The price paid for this property is known through the Annual Report of the Missionary Society. UMW: *Twelfth Annual Report of the Woman's Missionary Society*, 22, 33, 43.

Plans Showing Architectural Evolution

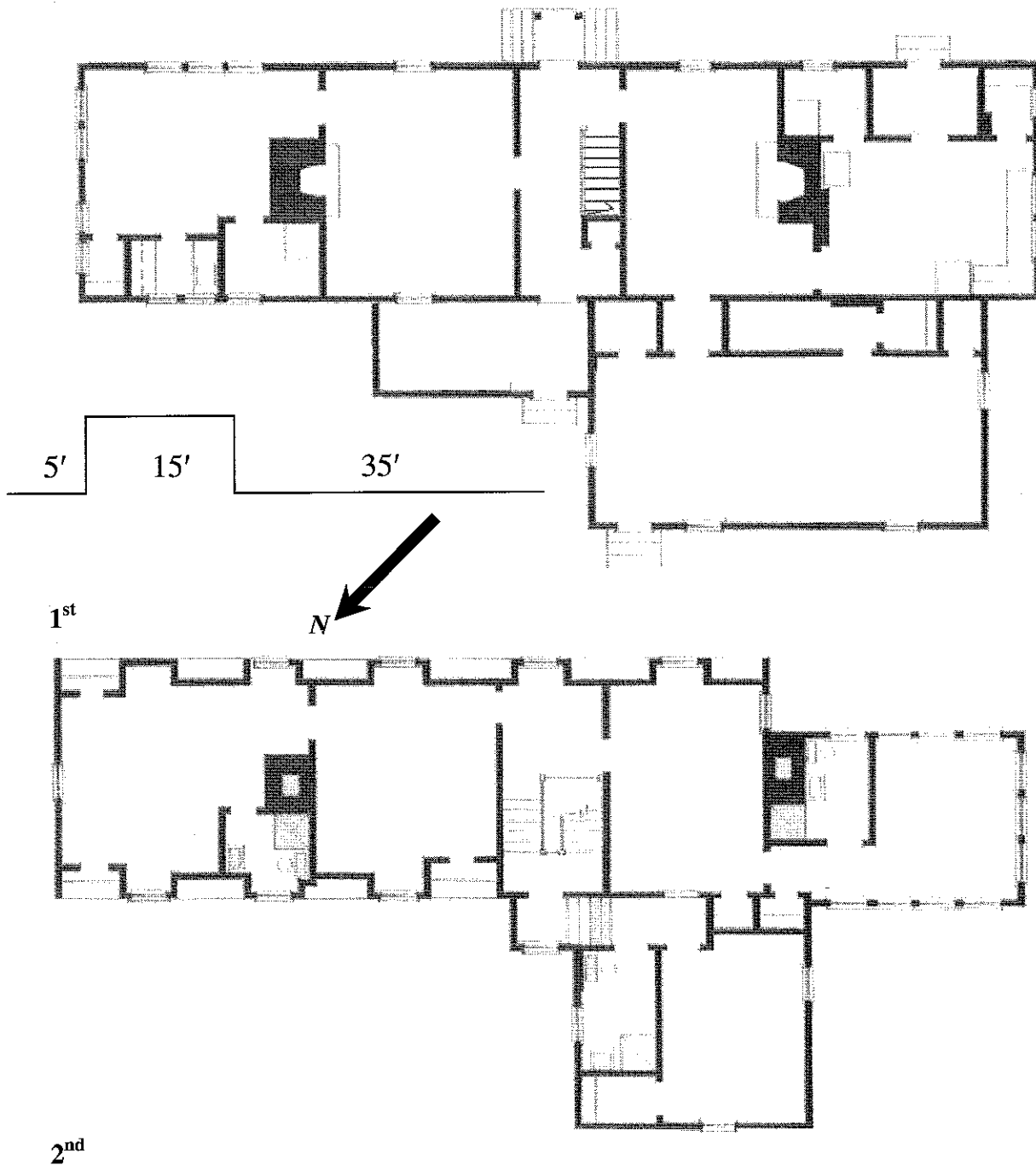
Period I (middle eighteenth century):



Period II (c. 1805–c. 1815):



Period III (1923–present):



NB: These plans are based on measurements and architectural investigation conducted in the summer of 2005. The data collected have been superimposed upon pre-existing plans by Network Engineering located at <http://net.wm.edu/floorplans/>. Only surviving elements are shown. North is shown consistently based on the present location of the building.

Architectural History

Period I (middle eighteenth century)

The lack of clear scientific or documentary evidence makes it impossible to assign an exact construction date to the earliest portion of this structure. Legal records and historical and structural evidence suggest that the most likely date of construction is sometime during a broad period between 1730 and 1765. As of the date of this report, the physical evidence argues for a construction date in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

As it was built originally, the Prince George Street house was three bays wide, with a steep gable roof pierced by dormer windows and end chimneys, at least one of which had a T-shaped stack. The first floor contained two rooms that flanked a center passage. The second floor may have been divided into one or more rooms. This sort of small Georgian story-and-a-half, center-passage home finds many parallels in Tidewater Virginia over a broad span of time. In Williamsburg the Everard (c. 1718), Powell (pre-1749), Bracken (third quarter eighteenth century), and Reid (1780s) houses demonstrate that the form remained current throughout the eighteenth century.¹²

William Craig's purchase of lot 32 on the north side of Duke of Gloucester Street at North Boundary Street and lot 100 directly behind it on the back street from the Trustees of the City of Williamsburg in 1712 came with the stipulation that he "build and finish upon each lot of these premises one good house or houses of such dimensions... to be placed in such a manner as by one Act of Assembly."¹³ The act as amended in October

¹² Memorandum, Chappell to Louise Kale, January 13, 2005 (Appendix C).

¹³ YCP: Deeds and Bonds 2: 724; William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia...* 1823; reprint Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1969, 3: 197, 419 ff. The

1705 required purchasers to build on their lots “within the space of four and twenty months next ensuing” and gave specifics on dimensions, finishing and orientation. The law also gave concessions to purchasers of multiple contiguous lots. Each single lot required “one good dwelling house, containing twenty foot in width, and thirty foot in length.” This six-hundred square foot per-lot minimum was reduced for persons who purchased multiple lots, or chose to build more substantial dwellings of brick, or with brick cellars and chimneys. In cases where property bordered Duke of Gloucester and a backstreet, the law made clear that the required building or buildings were to be “contiguous to the great street.”¹⁴ The law established a clear hierarchy: brick over wood, Duke of Gloucester over other streets.

Craig almost certainly built a single dwelling of at least the minimum dimensions on the southwest corner of lot 32 on Duke of Gloucester Street. In his will, he subdivided lot 32, leaving “one half my front lot together with my Dwelling House and such either of my houses” to his daughter Elizabeth. Daughter Edith received the other half of this front lot with “what houses happen after the division to be thereon.” In the eighteenth century the term “house” referred to any sort of building, so the use of the adjective “Dwelling” in the grant to Elizabeth is quite revealing.¹⁵ Though his third daughter Sarah received the full-sized half-acre lot (presumably lot 100) behind lot 32, the improvements on it were limited to “the houses and appurtenances thereunto belonging,” a legal catchall phrase that does not reveal the extent or types of buildings that may have been there.¹⁶ That

location of lot 100 is based on the fact that the two lots in this 1712 purchase appear to be contiguous, one behind the other.

¹⁴ Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large* 3: 423, 425–426, 429.

¹⁵ Carl R. Lounsbury, ed., *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1999), s.v. “house.”

¹⁶ YCP: OWI, Book 15, June 23, 1719: 639.

Sarah received a standard-sized half-acre lot behind her sisters' quarter-acre halves of lot 32 that faced on Duke of Gloucester Street reflects both the importance of Duke of Gloucester frontage and the relative lack of improvements on Sarah's land.

The first proof of domestic occupancy on Sarah's lot on the back street came in 1734 with the sale of the property to Hannah Shields. According to the deed, the property had been "for some time past in the occupation of the said Garret Henrikin and Sarah his wife."¹⁷ By Hannah Shields's husband's will of 1727 he gave her, "free use and Occupation of all my lands... during her natural life" including a "dwelling house in Williamsburg" as well as other lots in town and a plantation in York County.¹⁸ Hannah bought additional property in 1727: a lot near the southwest corner of Nassau and Prince George streets.¹⁹ Given the extent of her land holdings, it seems unlikely that she needed the Craig-Henrikin lot for a home. Rather, it was probably an investment made to earn rental income. Hannah's sons James and Matthew, who inherited the lot in 1740, probably rented it out as well. One of these renters appears to have been a "Mr. Dudley Digges" who was recorded on Dr. John de Sequeyra's 1747/8 list of victims of the 1748 smallpox epidemic in Williamsburg.²⁰ Without giving their names, Dr. de Sequeyra noted that the household included six persons in addition to "Mr. Dudley Digges."²¹

While this evidence points to a dwelling on the property by 1734, it does not conclusively prove that the present structure on Prince George Street is that dwelling. Surviving structural and stylistic evidence within the Prince George Street house argues

¹⁷ YCP: Deeds and Bonds, Book 4, November 15(18), 1734: 329–330.

¹⁸ YCP: Orders and Wills, Book 16, July 17, 1727: 472.

¹⁹ YCP: Deeds and Bonds, Book 3, November 18, 1728: 493. This deed was dated August 9, 1728, but was not immediately recorded.

²⁰ This is most likely Dudley Digges(b) as in 1748 Dudley Digges(c) was only 19.

²¹ Lisa Fischer, "Small Pox List Preliminary Map" (9/22/2006) based on Dr. John de Sequeyra's list. I am indebted to Rhys Isaac and Lisa Fischer of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation for access to this map.

against such an early date. Indeed, a date closer to the Digges tenancy in the 1740s seems likely, but a date after the Digges purchase of the property in 1763 cannot be completely ruled out. This investigation has revealed that a sizeable amount of eighteenth-century structural material was re-used or left in place when the building was converted to a women's dormitory in 1923. Much of the roof frame was salvaged and re-worked into a gambrel shape. Boroscopic investigation shows that much of the first-floor wall framing is eighteenth century. Investigation in the narrow crawl-space beneath the building suggests that a good deal of the floor framing is likewise eighteenth century.

The roof frame is the most accessible part of the eighteenth-century structural fabric and was the most closely studied. The early common rafter roof—later reworked into gambrel shape—was constructed of small-size pit-sawn oak. Many of the rafters have dove-tailed lap joints remaining from where collar beams were once attached. At least one hand-wrought nail remains in a joint. Many of the rafters have waney (un-sawn, rounded) edges that suggest they were sawn from smaller, younger trees. Oak is usually found in Williamsburg's earliest buildings. However, the current Prince George Street house does not feature old-growth oak, but instead is constructed of newer "fast growth" oak that may have grown in the period after an initial cutting. Dendrochronology failed to ascertain a date for this structure because its wood lacks sufficient growth rings to allow for reliable recognition of patterns. Boroscopic investigation of the frame at the southeast corner of the original building found similar framing members there. The surviving structural members below the first floor are similar to those in the attic. At least one undisturbed pegged mortise-and-tenon joint was noted there.

The T-shaped chimney on the north side of the building helps us to better understand the nature of the spaces within the structure during the eighteenth century. The chimney shape would seem to point to a pre-1750 construction date, but later examples of the form exist. The brickwork for this chimney is well laid, with a header brick kept at the center of the stack and struck mortar joints consistently until about five courses above the present attic floor. Very few glazed bricks are present. T-shaped chimneys generally contain three flues. Two flues may draw from the fireplace on the first floor, but it is just as likely that one flue originally continued to a basement fireplace. Sloped shoulders at the second-floor level suggest that the third flue vented a second-floor fireplace. The chimney on the south end of the structure is not accessible and may well be a twentieth-century replacement. At a minimum, it drew from the southern first-floor room. Evidence of whitewashing on some of the re-worked rafters in the attic and on the boards in the cellar indicates that both were occupied spaces in the Period I building. This suggests that between the two chimneys, the cellar, first, and second floors were all served by at least one fireplace.

The closed-string staircase in the center passage is the most significant Period I woodwork in the building. Boroscopic investigation of the upper part of the stair confirms that major structural parts of the stair are original to Period I. The outer edge of its steps meets old stringers that originally had 8½-inch beaded fascia and 3¼-inch newel posts. The large square balusters may be nineteenth century, but the lowest four newels and three of the four handrails are early in date. The long lower handrail is probably newer and may have resulted from a lengthening of the staircase to effect a gentler rise. Perhaps this lengthening is concurrent with the placement of the large square balusters. In

form and finish, this closed string staircase is like many found in houses of this type in Williamsburg.²²

Stylistic analysis of the other surviving Period I woodwork suggests a 1760s date. This woodwork could also be seen as evidence for a major renovation by Digges(b) and his family upon their purchase of the house. The front window in the south room still retains its original framing, although its sill was replaced—like those throughout the house—during the dormitory conversion. The large cyma moldings on the backband of the windows in the north room correspond to those found in the south room, although they are somewhat finer. The upper sash in the north room is noticeably thicker than those found elsewhere in the house and is likely a small remnant of pre-revolutionary fabric. A small four-panel door with H-L hinges and stiles and rails marked with ovolos is probably the only early door remaining in the house. It was reused as wainscoting in a small passageway—possibly the remnants of a Period II addition—that links the early house to the Period III(a) addition.

At this time, we cannot fix an exact date of construction for this building. While there is evidence that the lot was occupied before the 1734 deed with Hannah Shields, the structural evidence in the building—especially the nature of the framing—argues against a pre-1730 date for the present structure. However, the presence of Digges(b) on the property in 1748 during the smallpox epidemic and his later purchase of that property in 1763 suggest a continuity of occupancy in a dwelling already in place by 1748. Pending new evidence, we must be satisfied with a conservative assessment that this building dates to the middle of the eighteenth century, sometime between 1730 and 1765.

²² Memorandum, Ed Chappell to Louise Kale, January 13, 2005 (Appendix C).

Period II (c. 1805–c. 1815)

The situation of the Digges family had been deteriorating since Dudley(b) died in 1771. In 1775 Maria Digges, then the housekeeper at the College, was named in a complaint by the students of William and Mary for various improprieties relating to “[having] kept a sumptuous Table at the very time that the Provisions in the Hall were scarce & intolerable” and in particular for favoring her brother Edward, then a student.²³ By 1801 Edward was “in a Deranged state,” and Maria feared that the “Cottage... will Crush us, and [is] not in my Power to Mend.” She revealed its poor condition in a letter to Thomas Jefferson on October 25, 1801, in which she asked for \$100 and a “Word from you Sir Perhaps [to] the Honble Congress [to] do something to Assist him [Edward].”²⁴

The poor assessment of the state of the house in Maria Digges’ letter to Jefferson is borne out by the preponderance of early-nineteenth-century woodwork in the house. We do not know when Maria Digges died or to whom the property was sold or bequeathed because of the loss of the Williamsburg records in the early twentieth century, but the early-nineteenth-century woodwork probably postdates this transfer. The nine-light narrow-muntin sash windows in both the north and south rooms are characteristically 1805–1815. The mantels in both the north and south rooms also date to this period. Thus, knowledge of Maria Digges’ economic state and the disrepair of the house, as well as the presence of major woodwork from the 1805–1815 period, all suggest that the house was passed to a new owner and was renewed at that time.

²³ “Journal of the President and Masters of William and Mary College,” *William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine*, 15 (July 1906), 1.

²⁴ Jack McLaughlin, *To His Excellency Thomas Jefferson: Letters to a President*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991) 111–112.

Photographs of the house from the early twentieth century show a lean-to built against the present south side of the building. These kinds of additions are very common. This lean-to may be part of the post–Maria Digges renovations in the early nineteenth century that also brought the re-working of major decorative woodwork in the house. It is possible that traces of the lean-to may remain in the small hallway that links Period I and Period III(a). The plaster in this hallway contains a good deal of horsehair. This may be the period when the pre-revolutionary door was moved into its present location. It probably would have opened to the outside.

Period III (1923–present)

The focus of the College of William and Mary under President Lyon G. Tyler on teacher training, and the admission of women in the early twentieth century, brought a larger number of students than the existing housing infrastructure could accommodate. Like the University of Virginia and many other institutions, William and Mary turned to the private sector, and in particular, looked to boarding houses to meet its need for additional beds.

Religious groups also sought to meet the needs of the burgeoning student population. These groups believed that women in particular benefited from domestic and closely watched spaces in which their minds were expanded and their virtue preserved. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was one group that looked to house women in a home-like, Christian environment. Drawing on the language of the Colonial Revival, a colonial-era home was perfectly suited to their cause. In the *Twelfth Annual Report of the Woman's Missionary Society*, Mrs. Lee Britt presented a drawing of the new Methodist Church in Williamsburg at the corner of Boundary and Duke of Gloucester streets. Its land was originally part of William Craig's front lot. At the same time, she observed that the piece of property adjoining the new church and parsonage, the piece that contained the Prince George Street House, "would make an ideal home for girls, under the supervision of the Bible teacher of said college." Her presentation in the report was just the formalizing of the idea; she first brought up the property and its possibilities at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the society in October of 1925. By January 1926, the Woman's Missionary Society had raised the money from their members and William and Mary alumni. The building was "a small

one. Not more than twenty students can be taken care of.” The most important attribute of the building was that it provided “an attractive home like residence.”²⁵

Much of what is now readily visible dates to this period. A sum of \$2,500 was allocated by the society for the necessary additions to the building. The roof was raised from a steep gable to a gambrel to provide extra room on the upper floor. The north side of the building was expanded, and the chimney there was enclosed. It is not clear that the major expansion to the south was concurrent with this phase. The rear lean-to was either entirely torn down or reused in the construction of a two-story ell to the rear. One hundred twenty dollars was raised in 1927 for “furniture for the living room and sun parlor.”²⁶ The “living room” was likely one of the two downstairs rooms in the Period I structure. The “sun parlor” was probably the windowed room on the south side of the second floor. The renovated building makes clear divisions between private and social spaces and creates spaces that encourage appropriate interactions between the female students and their male suitors.

In a series of articles about the buildings of Williamsburg in the *Richmond News Leader* between 1928 and 1929, one article explored the Digges house. That article notes the mantles in the two original first-floor rooms and describes the one in the north room as “stand[ing] like a bulwark in the reception room.” The article also describes the “old style walnut stairway... [and] some of the old doors with their ‘H’ and ‘L’ hinges.” Presumably, all of those doors except the one reused as wainscoting were lost after the purchase of the building by the College. The article attributes the ell to Alice Stryker’s

²⁵ UMW: *Twelfth Annual Report of the Woman’s Missionary Society*, 22, 33, 43.

²⁶ UMW: *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Woman’s Missionary Society*, 37, 47.

period of occupancy.²⁷ Though the Federal-style moldings in this area of the building are unlike those in the rest of the house, for all practical purposes it seems as though this rear addition should be included with Period III and the additions made by the Methodists.

Though the attractiveness and domestic scale of the Prince George Street House were praised, its size ultimately rendered it insufficient for the desires of the Methodists. In 1929 twelve girls lived in the dormitory. The trustees were glad to “have touched even this small number of girls... [but were] anxious to build a much larger dormitory, one that will care for from seventy-five to eighty-five girls.”²⁸

At the same time that the Methodist women sought to enlarge their dormitory, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was buying up pieces of the historic district through the Williamsburg Holding Corporation. Mrs. Lee Britt saw an opportunity. In a March 1, 1930, letter she sought to convince Kenneth Chorley, Vice President of the Williamsburg Holding Corporation, to purchase the old dormitory for “a price commensurate with its historic value,” and move it off its site to a location of their [the corporation’s] choice. It would, Britt contended, “be a good business venture to make a tea-room of it.” Like the *Richmond News Leader* and others, Mrs. Britt in her letter confuses the less famous Dudley Digges(b) with the more famous Dudley Digges(c).²⁹

On March 12, 1930, Chorley responded that he “regret[ted] that we were unable to reach an agreement regarding this matter.” In May 1930, William and Mary President J.A.C. Chandler stepped in and purchased the building for the College. The Society realized \$1,200 for the building.³⁰ The house was removed from its foundations and

²⁷ J. Luther Kibler, “Dudley Digges House,” *Richmond News Leader*, August 1, 1929.

²⁸ UMW: *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Woman’s Missionary Society*, 48.

²⁹ CWF: Mrs. Lee Britt to Kenneth Chorley (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Archives: March 1, 1920)

³⁰ UMW: *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Woman’s Missionary Society*, 68–70.

moved along Prince George Street, across Boundary Street and rotated 90 degrees to fit on its current lot. By the beginning of the Fall 1930 semester, "Pappy" Gooch, the school's first athletics director, had moved into the property.³¹ A final series of additions was made to the building along the Period I south wall and the south wall of the ell. These are delineated by clear breaks in the foundation near the southeast corner of the building and distinctive moldings in the southern end of the ell. Various porch spaces on the southeast and northwest sides are delineated by distinctive small floorboards and were later enclosed.

³¹ *The Flat Hat* (Williamsburg, VA), September 26, 1930, 8.

Inventory of Early Materials

Period I (middle eighteenth century) Material Inventory:

Framing members:

- Many rafters re-worked into the Period III gambrel roof
- Much of the wall framing, especially the external walls
- Large portions of the floor framing, formerly exposed in a finished cellar

The north T-shaped chimney. The south chimney is of indeterminate date.

Woodwork:

Much of the staircase, including most of its substructure, several newels, the three shorter handrails, and significant numbers of the stringers and the fascia.

The upper parts of the sash windows in the first-floor north room, north wall

A small four-panel door with H and L hinges now located in the passage between Period I and Period IIIa

Some portions of the baseboards in the center hall and possibly also in the south room

Period II (c. 1805–c. 1815) Material Inventory:

Woodwork:

The mantles in both the north and south rooms of the first floor

The window framing in the north and south rooms, with the exception of sills

Nine-by-nine upper-sash windows in the north and south first-floor rooms, south wall

Illustrations

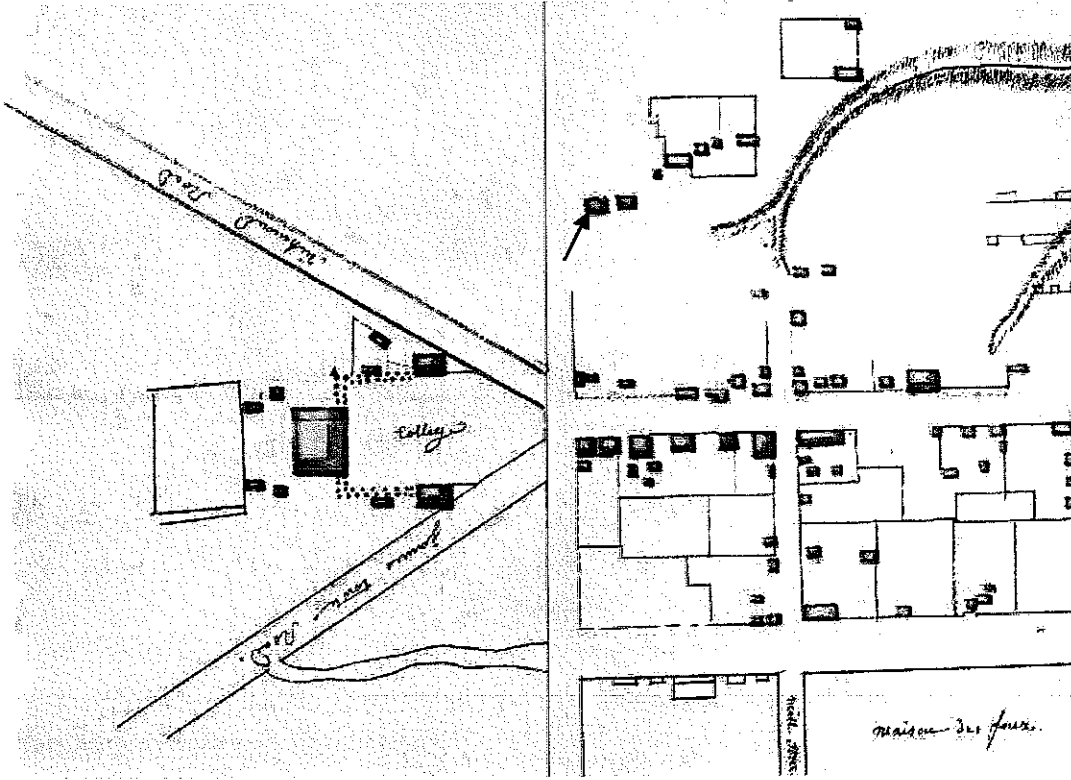


Figure 1. The Frenchman's Map (May 11, 1782) with the Prince George Street House indicated. *Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary.*

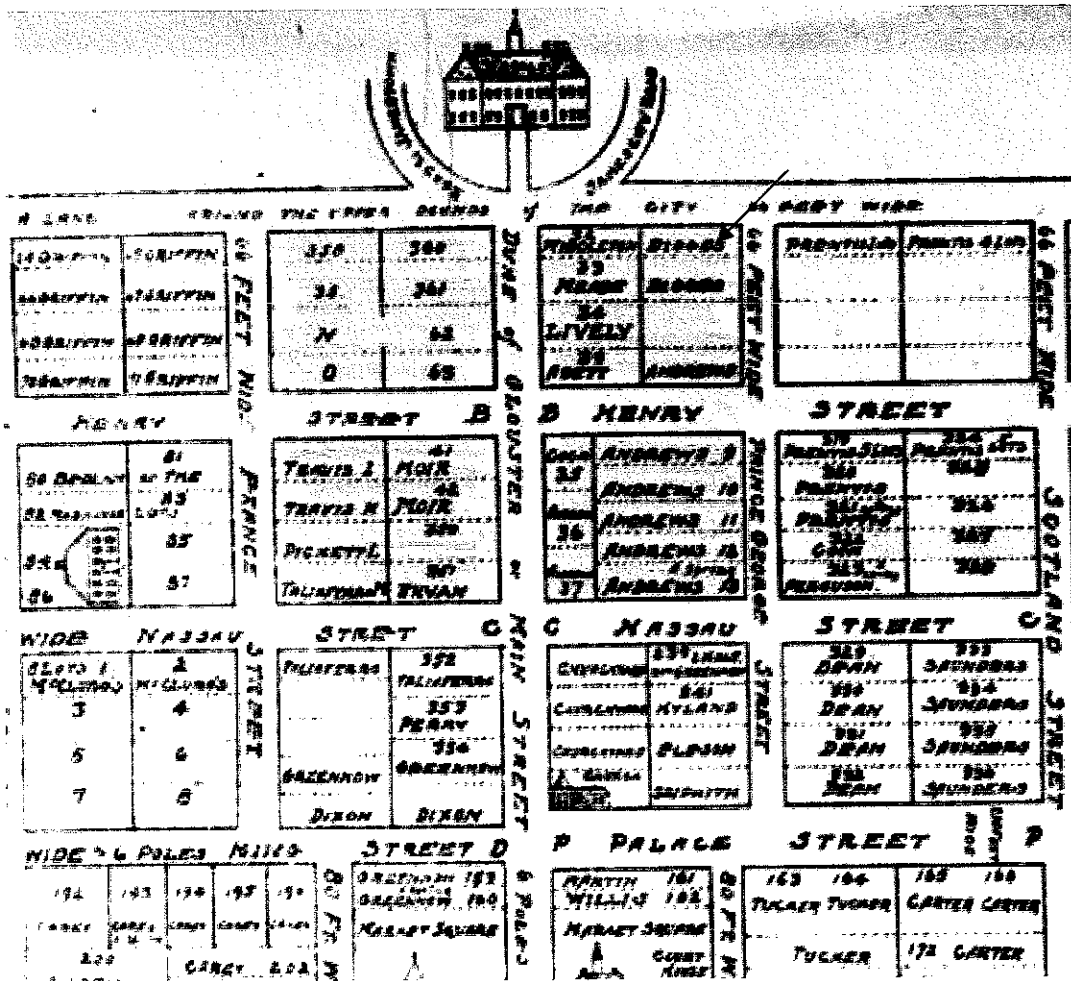


Figure 2. Late-eighteenth-century plat of Williamsburg with land ownership shown. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation: Architectural Research Office, Research Report Series, no. 1140 (1955).

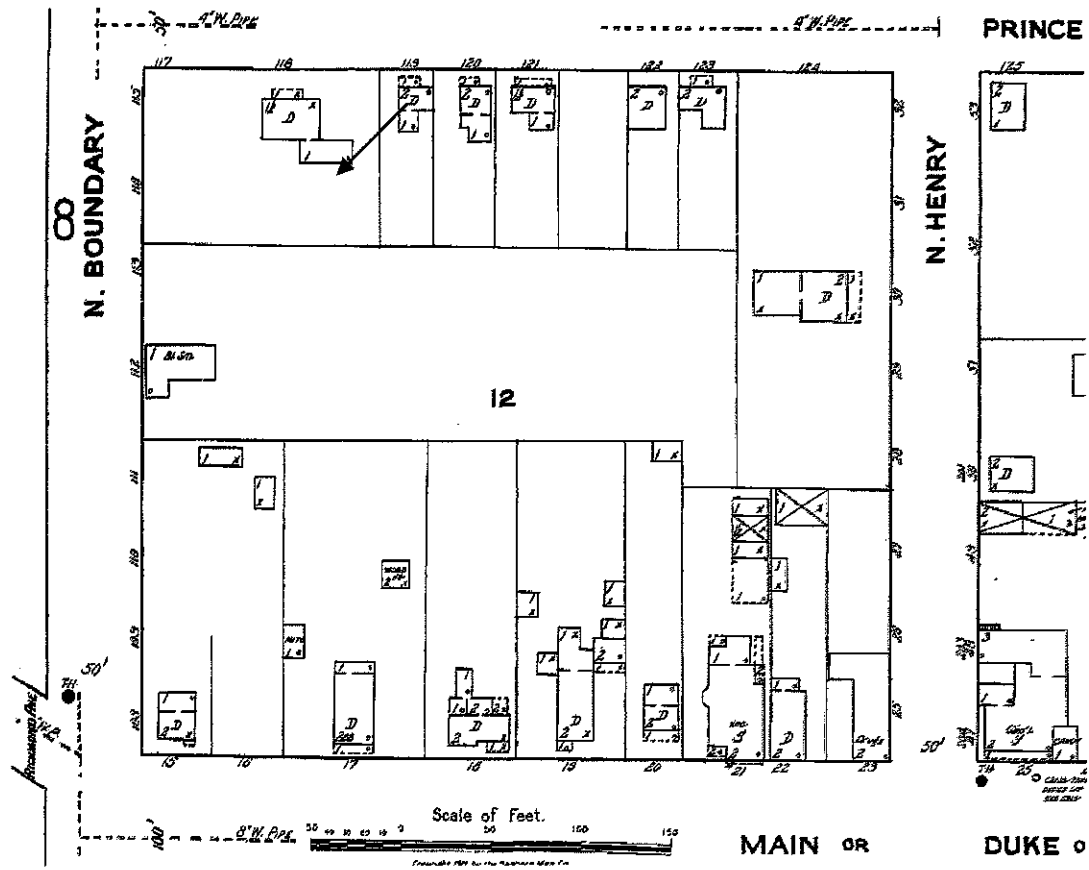


Figure 3. Sanborn Fire Insurance Company map of Williamsburg, Virginia (James City County), April 1921.

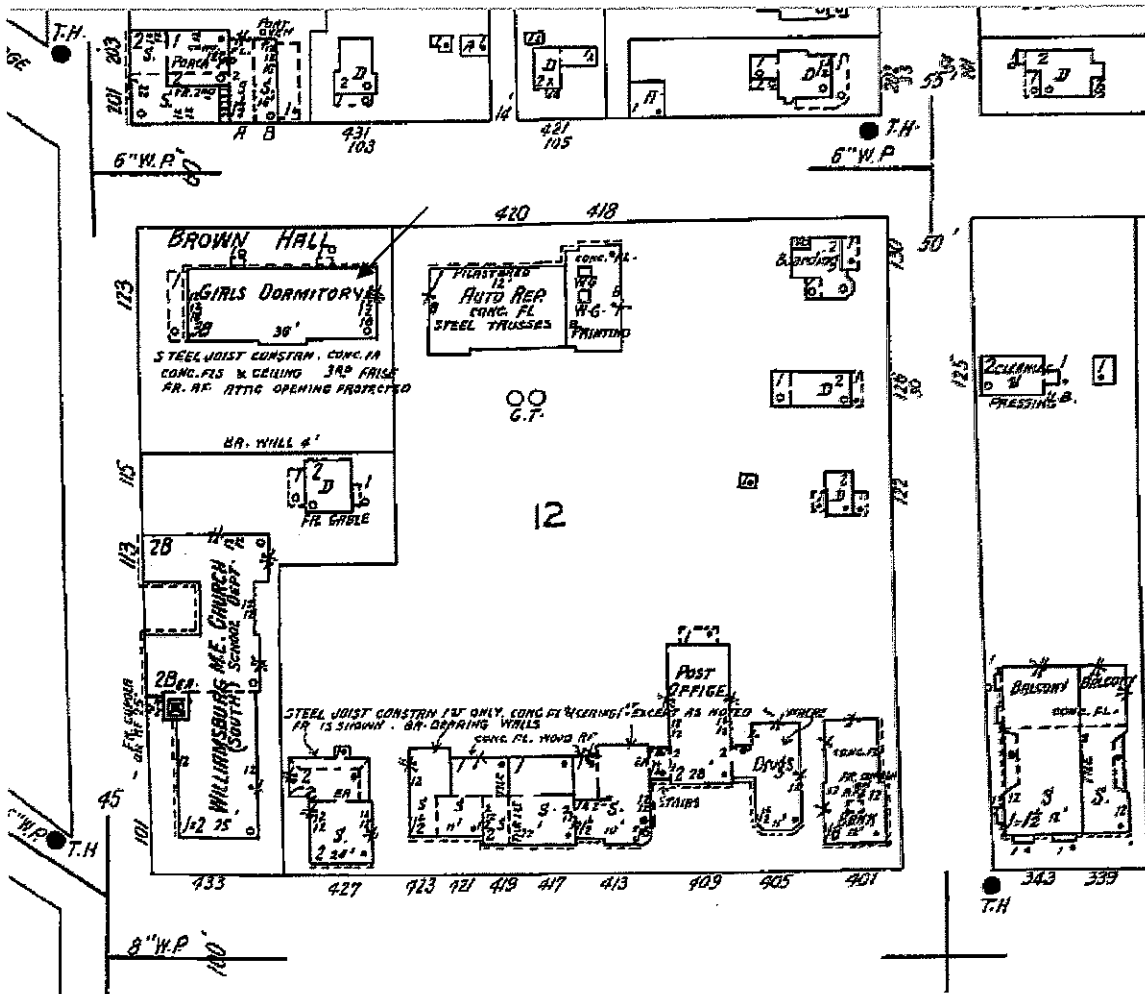


Figure 4. Sanborn Fire Insurance Company map of Williamsburg, Virginia (James City County), October 1933.

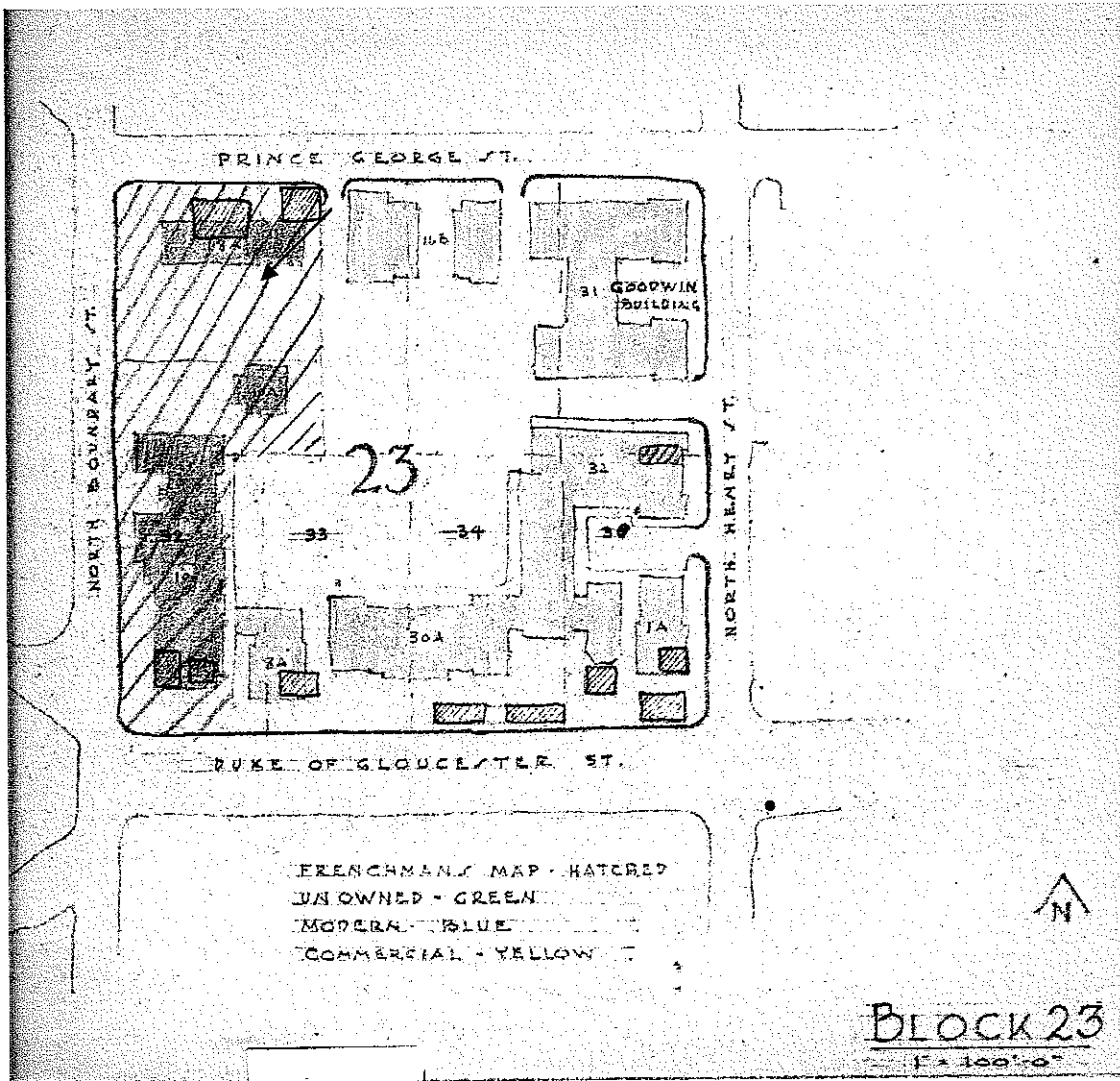


Figure 5. Block 23: "Preliminary Report on Areas Adjacent to the Restored Area" showing buildings present in 1956 and footprints of earlier structures. *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation: Architectural Research Office, Research Report Series, no. 1068 (1956).*

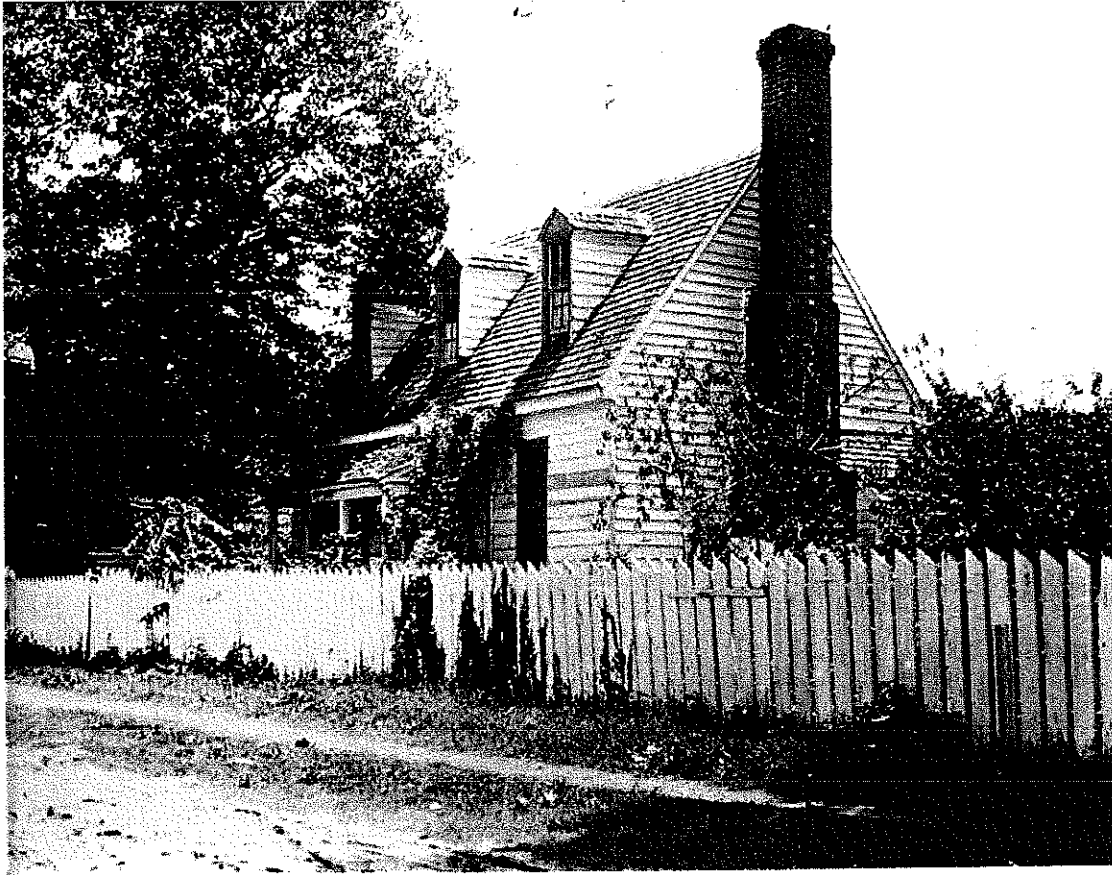


Figure 6. Photograph (taken from Prince George Street) of the northwest corner of the Prince George Street House on its original site, early twentieth century [?]. *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation: Architectural Research Office, Research Report Series, no. 1140 (1956).*



Figure 7. Photograph of the southwest corner of the Prince George Street House on its original site, early twentieth century [?]. *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation: Architectural Research Office, Research Report Series, no. 1140 (1956).*

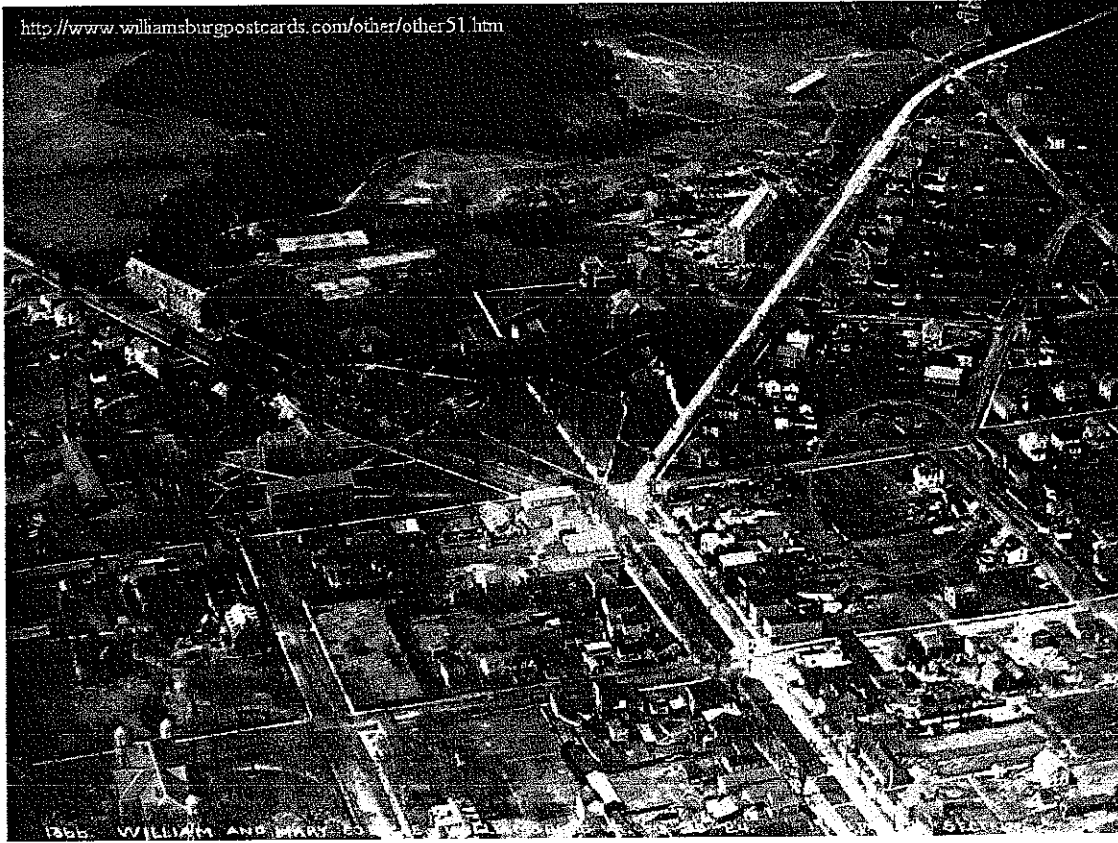


Figure 8. Aerial view of Prince George Street House in its original location, c. 1924. *Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary*) and <http://www.geocities.com/quantpsy/williamsburg/>



BROWN HALL.

Dormitory at William and Mary College, for freshmen students, owned by the Woman's Missionary Society, Virginia Conference

Figure 10. The Prince George Street House enlarged as Brown Hall, c. 1928. The College of William and Mary *Colonial Echo*, 1928.



Figure 11. Aerial views of Prince George Street House move in 1930. *Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary and <http://www.geocities.com/quantpsy/williamsburg/>*



Figure 12. Northeast corner of Prince George Street House, 2005.



Figure 13. Northwest corner of the Prince George Street House.



Figure 14. Exterior view of Period I upper sash on parlor window.



Figure 15. Detail of newel post, lower balusters and handrail of early stairs.



Figure 16. Neoclassical mantle from Period II in hall.



Figure 17. Reworked Period I rafter with empty dovetail joint and a wrought nail.



Figure 18. Reused early floorboards and rafter with traces of plaster and whitewash.

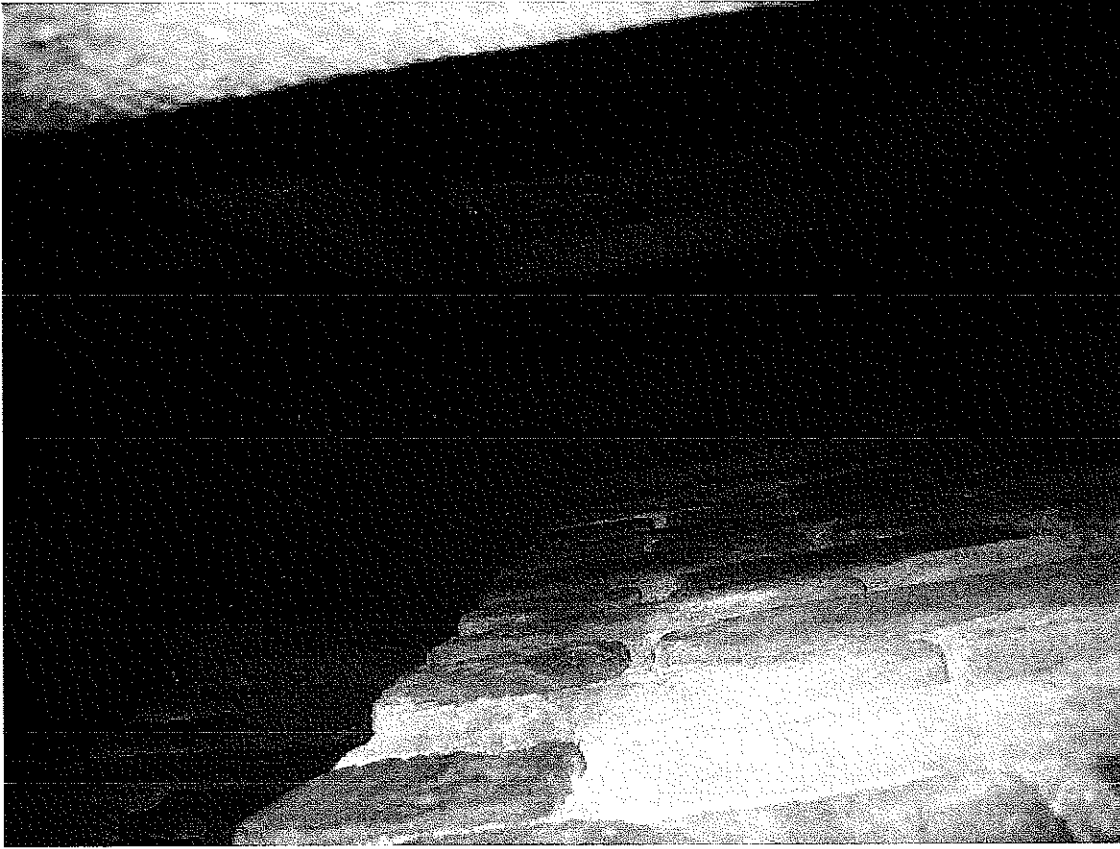


Figure 19. Period I T-shaped chimney from attic, lead flashing visible on left.



Figure 20. Pegged joint in framing below Period I structure.

Appendix A:

The Prince George Street House and the Bray School of Williamsburg

In the 1760s, on the eve of the Revolution, about half of Williamsburg's population was composed of either enslaved or free persons of African descent. A school for slave children was in operation in Williamsburg from 1760 to 1774. This "Bray School" was funded by the Associates of Dr. Bray, a philanthropic organization allied with the Anglican Church in England and dedicated to improving conditions within slavery—but not ending it.³² Mrs. Anne Wager—formerly tutor to the Burwell children at Carter's Grove and later to a group of white children in Williamsburg—served as schoolmistress during the fourteen-year life of the school. She used the Bible and Anglican religious materials to teach her pupils to spell, read, and speak properly as she communicated Christian doctrine according to Anglican tenets. The Bray School was also where masters sent children who were still too young to work.³³ The Associates paid Wager a small salary and provided money for her to rent lodgings in which she could live and teach.

The only known surviving evidence for the location of the Bray School consists of five entries in an account summary sent by Robert Carter Nicholas to the Reverend John Waring and the Associates of Dr. Bray in London in 1766. Three of the payments—June 1763, April 28, 1764, and May 8, 1765—were paid to "Colo. Dudley Digges," and

³² John C. Van Horne, *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The American Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray 1717 – 1777* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1985). Van Horne provides an excellent overview of the Associates of Dr. Bray as well as the schools they operated.

³³ Van Horne, 188, 277 – 278. In 1762 and 1769 Robert Carter Nicholas sent a list of students to the Associates in London. He listed them by name, age, and owner. In 1762 the thirty students ranged in age from three years to ten, with most in the five to seven year old range.

two—January 1, 1765 and December 27, 1765—were paid to “Mr. President Blair.”³⁴ John Blair owned property throughout Williamsburg. It is impossible to know which property he rented to the Associates.³⁵ The “rediscovery” of the Digges house—now located at 524 Prince George Street—raises the possibility of identifying the structure that housed the Bray School between June 1762 and December 1764.³⁶ This essay will explore the possibility that the house on the lot on the southeast corner of Prince George and North Boundary streets was the location of the Bray School in Williamsburg between June 1762 and December 1764.³⁷ The case for this designation revolves around three questions: Who was “Colo. Dudley Digges”? What property in Williamsburg can be associated with “Colo. Dudley Digges” between June 1762 and December 1764? And finally, is there any evidence in the building or cultural landscape that might place the Bray School within the Prince George Street House at 524 Prince George Street?

In the 1760s there were three Dudley Digges in Yorktown, Williamsburg, York County and elsewhere in Tidewater Virginia. All of them were descendents of Edward Digges (1621–1674/5) and Elizabeth Page (1632–1691). He named his fourth child

³⁴ Van Horne, 253.

³⁵ The building rented by John Blair may have been located on Capitol Landing Road. CWF: Mary A. Stephenson, “Notes on a Negro School in Williamsburg, 1760–1774” (Research Report: June 1964), 4.

³⁶ Van Horne 253. I choose June 1762 because that appears to be the latest date at which residence in “the House” of Dudley Digges could have begun. Van Horne suggests that the first payment to “Colo. Dudley Digges for a Years Rent” in June 1763 was actually due in April of 1762. This seems incorrect. June of 1763 was the first payment not because it was late, but because that was when it was due. It appears as though the rent was always paid after the period of occupancy, as indicated in the May 1765 payment, “To ditto paid Colo. Digges for Balance Rent to the Time the Mistress moved from his House in December.” There is some discrepancy as to when the rent was to be paid: June 1763, April 29, 1764 and finally May 1765. Though Anne Wager and the school moved from the house in December 1764, the payment of £6.13.4 paid in May 1765 is two months short of the full rent usually paid, which suggests that Nicholas either intentionally over-paid Wager’s stay, or that the rental actually began sometime around February of 1762. Given that Wager was first hired in December 1761, that date might be possible.

³⁷ The Prince George Street House is currently located several lots west of North Boundary Street on the south side of Prince George Street, behind Sorority Court. Its original location, and the location referred to in this essay, was on the lot at the southeast corner of Prince George and Boundary Streets, Colonial Williamsburg Block 23, lot 100/York County lot H.

Dudley Digges(a) (1655–1710/1).³⁸ Dudley Digges(a) married Susannah Cole (1674–1708) and fathered at least four children. He named the youngest Dudley Digges(b) (1710/1–1771). Most of Dudley Digges(a)'s estate went to his eldest son, Cole Digges (1692–1744). Cole Digges married Elizabeth Power and named his third son Dudley Digges(c) (1729–1790). Dudley Digges(b), the uncle of Dudley Digges(c), married Mary Hubbard and named his youngest son Dudley Digges(d) (1749 – 1768).³⁹ At thirteen, Dudley Digges(d) would have been too young in 1762 to own property or rent it to the Bray School. This leaves us with Dudley Digges(b) and Dudley Digges(c) as the two possible lessors to the Associates of Dr. Bray.

The language used by Robert Carter Nicholas in his account summaries gives subtle clues to the identity of the Bray School Dudley Digges. Robert Carter Nicholas, the Treasurer of the Colony of Virginia, gives the complete title of the persons he leases from: he rents first from “Colo. Dudley Digges” and then from “Mr. President Blair.” The title “Colonel” probably reflects a rank in the local militia. The records for the Williamsburg militia do not survive, but those from York County do. In 1748 “Dudley Digges, Jr.” served as Colonel of the York County Militia. Since Dudley Digges(a) had died in 1710/11, it seems unlikely that Dudley Digges(b) would have used the adjective “Jr.” of Dudley Digges(b) and (c), the 19 year old nephew (c) would have been more likely to use the adjective in deference to his uncle (b). “Dudley Digges Jr.” appears again in the muster rolls as a colonel in 1753. Assuming that this is Dudley Digges(c), in both 1748 and 1753 his brother Edward Digges, a lieutenant colonel, outranks him. In

³⁸ The letters following the name “Dudley Digges” are consistent with those found throughout this Historic Structure Report on the Dudley Digges House.

³⁹ CWF: *Colonial Williamsburg Genealogical Files*

1763 “Dudley Digges” without a suffix appears in the muster as a lieutenant colonel.⁴⁰ Perhaps this is Dudley Digges(b), but it seems unlikely that he would first muster in York County at age fifty-three. Rather, this linguistic change probably reflects Dudley Digges(c)’s promotion to the rank formerly held by his older brother Edward. At that time the “Jr.” was dropped, either intentionally or through a slip of the pen. The York County muster rolls make clear that Nicholas’s “Colo. Dudley Digges” could refer to Dudley Digges(c), who did not own the house in question.

“Colo. Dudley Digges,” however, could also refer to the Dudley Digges(b) who did own the house on Prince George Street. Dudley Digges(b) probably mustered in either the Williamsburg or Goochland County militias. Records indicate that on reaching his majority and inheriting £2,000 from his father, Dudley Digges(b) moved to Goochland County. He served as a burgess from Goochland in 1732, as a justice in 1735, and qualified as an attorney there in 1741. He did not need to be resident in the county to be a burgess from there, but to serve as a justice of the Goochland County Court, Digges had to be a resident of the county. In addition, a charge made by the Reverend James Marye in September 1731 stating that “Mr. Dudley Digges hath been guilty of breaking the windows of the Church of St. James’ Parish and doing other illegal things there,” suggests that he was making his primary home in Goochland County at that time.⁴¹

In the late 1730s, the records show Digges(b) realigning his life. From the surviving evidence, Digges(b) was not a particularly successful businessman. By 1737 he had mortgaged several slaves to “Micjah Perry, Esq., and Phillip Perry, Merchants” and sold several others to “Dudley Digges, an infant son of Honble Cole Digges, Esq.” for

⁴⁰ Lloyd DeWill Bockstruck, *Virginia’s Colonial Soldiers* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co, 1988), 36–37.

⁴¹ “Dudley Digges,” *William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine*, 5 (October 1896), 127–128.

“twenty pounds current money unto my wife Mary during the term of my natural life” to relieve an additional debt of £1,200 to his brother.⁴² That same year he advertised the sale of two Goochland county plantations totaling 8,650 acres, “both... clear’d for the Reception of Forty or Fifty Slaves.”⁴³ These may have been his plantations, or Digges may have been acting as an agent for someone else. At roughly the same time as those sales in Goochland County, Dudley Digges (b) purchased three lots in Williamsburg from Thomas Ravenscroft. In 1739 the court seized those lots to fulfill a debt of £91.15.0 to Robert Will.⁴⁴ In 1738/9 his first child Susannah was baptized in Bruton Parish, the Church of England (Anglican) parish in which Williamsburg was located. His other children would likewise be baptized in Bruton Parish.⁴⁵ Incomplete records prevent us from confirming where, when, or in what capacity Dudley Digges(b) served in the militia. However—despite his poor business dealings—his stature as a burgess, a justice, and an attorney makes the rank of “Colonel” very likely.

On May 8, 1765, Robert Carter Nicholas paid “Colo. Digges for Balance Rent to the Time the Mistress moved from his House in December.” What “house” could Nicholas have been referring to? What property did either Dudley Digges own in Williamsburg between June 1762 and December 1764?

Unfortunately Williamsburg’s land records are incomplete. The fire in Richmond at the close of the Civil War destroyed the early records of the James City County side of the town. The records of the Williamsburg City Hustings court were destroyed in a fire in

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg, VA), February 11, 1737. No Goochland County land is recorded as being inherited by Edward Digges at the time of Dudley Digges(b)’s death in 1771.

⁴⁴ YCP: OWI, June 18, 1739: 499 – 400. The date of original land purchase is illegible, only “MDCCXXXI...” can be read clearly.

⁴⁵ YCP: Biographical Files, and Nancy Chappellear, ed., *Bruton and Middleton Parishes James City County, Virginia Parish Register 1662 – 1797* (Delaplane, VA: Chappellear & Baird, 1966), 5.

1911. A survey of the surviving records of York County—primarily the north side of Duke of Gloucester Street, though the line jogs slightly south midway through town—shows three instances of land ownership by a Dudley Digges. The first is the previously mentioned land purchased by Dudley Digges(b) from Thomas Ravenscroft in the 1730s. That land was awarded by court-order to Robert Wills in 1739.⁴⁶ The second instance is a lease by “Dudley Digges, gent, Yorktown” to “Jon Currie, barber & perukemaker Wmbg” for fifteen years use of the shop on Digges’ land.⁴⁷ All evidence suggests that Dudley Digges(c) was the only Dudley Digges associated with Yorktown. He sold that land in 1760 to William Withers.⁴⁸ The third extant reference to landholding by Dudley Digges is the November 14, 1763, purchase for “seventy pounds current money... [for the] half an acre of land situate, lying and being at the West end of the City of Williamsburg... marked in the plan of the said city with the letter H.”⁴⁹ This was the lot where the Prince George Street House originally stood, and the deed history makes it clear that that property was owned by Dudley Digges(b).

Might Dudley Digges(b) or (c) have owned land in Williamsburg between June 1762 and December 1764 not reflected in the York County records? Certainly. The records of the Williamsburg Land Tax 1782–1791 indicate that Dudley Digges paid tax on four units of land in every year except 1783 when he only paid tax on one and a half units.⁵⁰ Since Dudley Digges(b) was dead by 1771, and Dudley Digges(d) died of smallpox in 1768, the land tax records must refer to Williamsburg land holdings of

⁴⁶ YCP: York County Oorders, Wills, Inventories 18: 499–400. The date of original land purchase is illegible, only MDCCXXXI (1731) can be read clearly.

⁴⁷ YCP: York County Deeds 6: 26 – 27.

⁴⁸ Mary Stephenson, “James Anderson House Blk 10, Bldg 22, lot 18” (Williamsburg, CWF, 1961).

⁴⁹ YCP: York County Deeds 6: 31. This appears to be the same as Lot 100 sold to Craig in 1712.

⁵⁰ YCP: Williamsburg Land Tax Book, “Dudley Digges.”

Dudley Digges(c). More evidence for property ownership—or at least management—by Dudley Digges(c) comes from the Humphrey Harwood account books. In October 1777 he paid Humphrey Harwood for “white washing a poarch & passage” and “Mending a kitching floor.” Additional repairs are charged to Digges as late as 1785.⁵¹ Unfortunately, Harwood’s account books only begin in 1776. The account books also fail to tell us where the buildings he worked on were located. It is possible that Dudley Digges(c) owned at least one of these properties between June 1762 and December 1764 and that one these lots was the location of the Bray School.

Between 1760 and 1763 there is no solid evidence that any Dudley Digges owned land in Williamsburg; rather, there is only conjecture based on later records and the gap caused by the loss of the James City County records. Despite this lack of evidence, beginning in the late 1730s there is ample reason to believe that Dudley Digges(b) was making Williamsburg his home. His children were all baptized in Bruton Parish, and Dr. de Sequeyra’s 1747/8 smallpox list records six people living in the Williamsburg house of “Mr. Dudley Digges” at the corner of Prince George and North Boundary streets.⁵² The lack of evidence to the contrary places the family of Dudley Digges(b) in Williamsburg between 1749 when his last child Dudley Digges(d) is baptized, and 1763 when the property in question was purchased. By contrast, there is no evidence that Dudley Digges(c) ever called Williamsburg home during the period, only that he owned a small parcel of land that he sold to William Withers in 1760 and that he had other land

⁵¹ CWF: Harwood Accounts folio 46.

⁵² Lisa Fischer, “Small Pox List Preliminary Map” (9/22/2006) based on Dr. John de Sequeyra’s list of victims of the 1748 smallpox epidemic in Williamsburg. Given that Dudley Digges(c) was only 19 years old at the time, this is almost certainly a reference to Dudley Digges(b).

holdings in Williamsburg in the 1770s.⁵³ Either Digges(b) owned land in the James City County side of the city, or he rented a house. Given that Dr. de Sequeyra places Dudley Digges(b) in 1748 on the land he would purchase in 1763, it seems probable that Digges(b) rented the property from James and Matthew Shields for at least fifteen years.

Circumstantial evidence suggests that the family had little wealth beyond the Prince George Street property when Dudley Digges(b) died in 1771. In 1775 Maria Digges went to work as “mistress of the college.”⁵⁴ In 1801 Maria wrote to President Thomas Jefferson to ask him to aid her brother who was “in a Deranged state,” and for money to repair the house that was “not in my Power to Mend.”⁵⁵ Maria’s desperation suggests that Dudley Digges(b) did not pass any substantial amount of property to Edward. If he had, perhaps their plight might have been somewhat less dire.

If the Bray School accounts reflect payments to a Dudley Digges beginning in 1762 and there is no evidence that a Dudley Digges owned land in Williamsburg between 1760 and 1763, where was the school? Again, it is possible that the school was located on a lot owned by a Dudley Digges on the James City County side of the town. It seems unlikely that this scenario would apply to Dudley Digges(b), who passed little property to his son Edward on his death and whose daughter Maria was forced into employment at the College in 1773. This “James City County thesis” does seem possible for Dudley Digges(c) who is taxed on landholdings beginning in 1782 that are not recorded in the York County Records.⁵⁶

⁵³ Mary Stephenson, “James Anderson House Blk 10, Bldg 22, lot 18” (Williamsburg, CWF, 1961)

⁵⁴ “Journal of the President and Masters of William and Mary College,” *William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine*, 15 (July 1906), 1–14.

⁵⁵ Jack McLaughlin, *To His Excellency Thomas Jefferson: Letters to a President*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), 111 – 112.

⁵⁶ YCP: Williamsburg Land Tax Book, “Dudley Digges.” The Williamsburg Land Tax Book only covers the period 1782 – 1791.

Another possible scenario is that Dudley Digges(b) sublet the house on Prince George Street to Mrs. Wager and the school. He and his family may have been living there as tenants since at least 1748.⁵⁷ Robert Carter Nicholas need not have mentioned that in his records. Indeed, after a more than fifteen-year tenure, residents of Williamsburg might well have associated the lot and house with Dudley Digges(b), and not Matthew and James Shields, his landlords. The increase in rent when Anne Wager and the school moved to the property of John Blair suggests that the school moved to a larger and possibly unshared space.⁵⁸ Moreover, income from the rental or sub-rental may have enabled Dudley Digges(b) to finally afford to buy the house he had rented for so long. This may explain why a year and a half into the lease Digges could afford to buy the house and why a year later Wager and the school moved out.

Architectural evidence could be construed to support this “sublease thesis.”

According to Robert Carter Nicholas, Anne Wager and the school remained in the house “as long as it was tenantable,”⁵⁹ a statement that suggests the structure was no longer tenantable and in a condition of ill repair in 1764.⁶⁰ The existence of c. 1760 architectural details in a house that may date earlier suggests the possibility of a renovation during that

⁵⁷ We cannot read our twentieth-century ideas of space and privacy onto this eighteenth-century landscape. In 1748 Dr. de Sequeyra records seven people living in the house of Dudley Digges. These would be: Dudley Digges(b), his wife Mary Hubbard, and probably children Edward, Elizabeth, Maria and Susanna. One or more slaves would have rounded out Dr. de Sequeyra’s count. Dudley Digges(d) was not born until 1749. Presumably the six family members and some number of enslaved persons would have been living in the household in 1762. Though our twentieth-century sensibilities cringe at the idea of Anne Wager sharing such a small house with so many people, we should not let our twentieth century ideas of space and privacy color our view of this eighteenth-century landscape. A kitchen and other outbuildings would almost have to be part of the scenario.

⁵⁸ Van Horne, 253. The rent increased from £8 per annum to “Colo. Dudley Digges,” to £12 per annum to “Mr. President Blair.”

⁵⁹ Van Horne, 276.

⁶⁰ *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) s.v. “tenantable.” It should be noted that “tenantable” also could refer to the fitness of a building to be tenanted, i.e. the ability of a structure to meet the needs for which it was being leased. I am indebted to Professor Terry Meyers for his observations on the meaning of the word “tenantable.”

period. Perhaps after purchasing the house and ejecting the school, Digges(b) finally updated and repaired his family's home.

The location of the Digges house at Prince George and Boundary streets is not an unlikely one for the Bray School. Dell Upton has suggested that eighteenth-century Tidewater Virginia was spatially ordered into white and black landscapes. While blacks and whites mixed regularly, Williamsburg's landscape echoes the spatial order of the plantation that Upton describes.⁶¹ Duke of Gloucester Street and the Palace Green represent the public—and white—face of Williamsburg. Major structures address that street and the major axis of power among college, legislature, governor, court and church all intersect along its route. However, the service, slave, and correctional buildings all address side and back streets like Prince George and Francis. Locating the school on Prince George Street, already part of the unseen landscape of Williamsburg, makes sense. This perception of seclusion is reflected in the *Virginia Gazette's* notice of Dudley Digges(d)'s death from smallpox. According to the paper, the family's home was located in a "retired part of town."⁶²

If Robert Carter Nicholas had been more specific in his 1766 report we would know for sure where the Bray School in Williamsburg was located between June 1762 and December 1764. The available biographical, legal, architectural, and landscape evidence suggests scenarios whereby the Bray School could have been located in the home of Dudley Digges(b) at the southeast corner of Prince George and Boundary streets. On the other hand, the school may also have been located in James City County in a

⁶¹ Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth Century Virginia," in *Material Life in America: 1600–1860*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 357–369.

⁶² *Purdie & Dixon's Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg, VA), January 28, 1768; *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) s.v. "retired."

structure owned by Dudley Digges(b) or (c). Unfortunately, until further evidence comes to light, it is impossible to establish firmly and without a doubt the location of the Bray School in Williamsburg.

If further evidence shows that the building now owned by the College of William and Mary and located west of its original location was the Bray School, this would be one of the most important finds in Williamsburg. Certainly it would be appropriate that the College of William and Mary be the caretaker of this important educational legacy. Like the College, the Associates of Dr. Bray and their network of schools for black children are an important part of the story of education in Williamsburg and the United States.

Appendix B:

Brown House, "Dudley Digges House," Prince George Street, Williamsburg"

July 27, 2004

To: Louise Kale
 From: Edward Chappell
 Subject: Brown House, "Dudley Digges House," Prince George Street, Williamsburg

Thank you for inviting me to look at the house on Prince George Street with Terry Myers, Bill Walker, and yourself. This is a summary of what we saw.

First, I should repeat that Paul Buchanan, my predecessor at Colonial Williamsburg, told me in 1980 that this was an 18th-century house in spite of almost no exterior evidence, and that it was moved c.1925-30, as Terry has said.

What we saw supported this. We saw a small paneled interior door with the outlines of HL hinges, re-hung on the present west side, as well as several six-pane window sash with wide muntins (wood bars) between the panes. There are more sash with narrower muntins, perhaps c.1810-20. There is also an early stair with rectangular balusters in the passage behind the present east door. Looking into the low attic above the passage and bedrooms upstairs, I saw early rafters that were cut and reused when the present gambrel roof replaced the previous gable roof. These had lap joints from original collars. Most surprising, one can glimpse old brickwork of what appears to be a T-shaped chimneystack in the north end, suggesting that one of the chimneys was moved with the house, though it was rebuilt above the roof.

The next step could be for me to return for a closer look, probably in the company of another Colonial Williamsburg architectural historian. Until then, here is an interim interpretation.

The house probably dates to the 18th century, most likely the third quarter. I saw no evidence that it is early 18th-century. About 1760-75 is quite possible. It seems to have begun as a center-passage house with four rooms, two of them in the old attic story. It was remodeled c.1810-30, with new mantels and work on the stair. An alternate interpretation would be that it was *built* c.1810-30 with some old-fashioned features, but I think this is less likely.

Appendix C:

Brown House, "Dudley Digges House," 524 Prince George Street, Williamsburg (Edward A. Chappell, 1/13/05)

Brown House, "Dudley Digges House," 524 Prince George Street, Williamsburg,
Virginia
January 13, 2005

This morning I looked again at the Brown House, this time with Willie Graham and Jeff Klee. What we saw cultivates the interpretation proposed in July.⁶³

Summary

The building is an early house, probably built c.1760-75 with the current plan of the main (southeast) block, remodeled about 1810 and c.1925, moved from the present site of Brown Dormitory in 1930, and subsequently further remodeled. Enough survives to make the core well worth preserving.

It contributes to the architectural history of Williamsburg, as an unstudied example of the two-room, center passage houses built here by successful tradesmen and landowners before the Revolution. It is related, then, to the Bracken, Everard, Reid, Powell, and (original core of the) Tucker houses.

⁶³ Memorandum, Chappell to Louise Kale, July 27, 2004.

Frame

The form and woodwork suggest most of the wall and floor framing survives. The roof was changed from a steep gable to gambrel shape c.1925 to enlarge the second floor. Looking through a scuttle in the upper passage, we see much of the 18th-century roof frame salvaged and reworked for the upper structure of the gambrel. The rafters have lap joints from collar beams that were lapped to them with half dovetails.

The frame is important because, in spite of now being hidden by 20th-century coverings, it would ultimately provide generous information about original conditions and early alterations, and it is probably datable.

Chimney

In July, I saw parts of a T-shaped chimney stack at the north end of the present attic. This is part of the original exterior chimney moved in one piece with the house. A pre-1920s photograph in the Rockefeller Library shows the chimney exposed and intact, on what was then the west end of the house. T-shaped stacks usually predate the Revolution, though there are later exceptions. The T-shaped stack suggests there was a fireplace on the upper floor in spite of the chimney's narrow width and conceivably that there was a cellar with fireplace. . . . [?] be used on a chimney ostensibly serving a

single fireplace. Could there have been a second-floor fireplace in spite of the narrowness of the chimney shown in the RL photo, or a cellar fireplace below the larger room?

Form

The house seems always to have had a 7' 4"-wide central passage on both floors. The room to the right (now north) is slightly larger, about 13' 8" by 17', than that to the left (south), which is about 11' 6" by 17'.⁶⁴ By the early 19th century the left first-floor room also had a fireplace in an exterior chimney, but it is conceivable that this was an addition. The RL photo does not show the left (then east) chimney very clearly.

Woodwork

Sorting out the relative dates of early woodwork is useful, and this would be aided by a small amount of paint analysis. However, we feel certain that there are two early periods, c.1760-75 and c.1805-15. This is not unusual; the President's House and other 18th-century Williamsburg houses had post-Revolutionary remodeling.

Woodwork that is characteristically c.1760-75 includes window frames, two sash, one door, and probably much of the stair.

⁶⁴ One can interpret the present east wall as the front because the stair rises from that direction. What is now the west door opened awkwardly under the stair landing, indicating its backstage status. The RL photo shows that the present east wall originally faced Prince George Street, to the north.

Windows

The front window in the left room retains its original facing -- both sides and top -- framing an opening 2' 4" wide and 5' 7" high. The sill here and elsewhere was replaced c.1925. This window facing is a 4½"-wide single architrave with beefy (1-7/8") cyma backbands, corresponding to the same or a slightly lighter architrave on the two windows in the right room. Nine-light c.1805-15 sash with (narrow) 1" muntins are found in all three windows, but the upper sash in both right windows are discernibly heavier, with 1¼" muntins and ovolos. In short, both rooms probably had a single front and rear window, making the house three bays long.⁶⁵ During the post-Revolutionary remodeling, some of the windows were reworked, but not all c.1760-75 sash was replaced.

It is remarkable that the c.1925 remodelers left the old windows because they employed up-to-date double and triple windows in the (now north) end addition.

Doors

Most doors were changed c.1925 and later, but one early door leaf survives, a (small) 2' 4" by 5' 9" four-panel door recycled in a c.1925 lobby behind the left room (connecting with a southwest wing).

⁶⁵ The RL photo shows three dormers on the front roof slope and suggests three below, though it does not show the latter with certainty.

The door has four raised panels, with ovolos on the stiles and rails, and the outlines of HL hinges surface mounted on the face. Such doors were used in Virginia as late as c.1810, but this door seems most likely to be c.1760-75 in light of the other woodwork.

The doors opening from the passage into the two side rooms have a conventional early placement, with that to the left (south) in front of the stair and that on the right (north) centered on the larger room. Both now have 20th-century trim, however, and there seems to be a blocked doorway of unknown date just behind (west of) the right door.

A door frame in the rear wall of the left room has Greek Revival moldings, suggesting it was inserted or altered in the mid-19th century. This must have opened into the rear wing (then at the southeast corner) shown on a 1921 Sanborn map of Williamsburg.

Most of the c.1925 doors have architrave frames that resemble 18th-century trim, but they appear to be Colonial Revival, resting on high and distinctly 1920s plinths. One can confidently distinguish between the c.1760-75 and c.1925 architraves. The tenants asked me about replacing the present door between the original right room and its c.1925 addition (to the north). I responded that it is a 20th-century door and not precious.

Stair

Most complex is the stair, which may date c.1760-75, with subsequent reworkings. It is a closed-string stair of the variety widely used in pre-1776 Williamsburg, with two runs meeting at a wide landing above the rear door. Outer ends of the steps die into old stringers that originally had an 8½" exposed and beaded fascia set into 3¼"-wide newel posts. Square balusters look early 19th-century, and may be later. We do not fully understand changes to the stair, but heavy cyma moldings at the tops of the fascias were raised 1½" (evident from old paint lines on the stringers). The lowest four newels are early, and they have mortises and peg holes for the handrails.

Three of the four upper molded handrails are original, but the long, lower one appears later, and a short one at the upper end of the stair is modern, suggesting the header for

the stair well was moved 1' 6" toward the present front (east). In other words, the early stair was reworked, perhaps to create a gentler rise, and this may have required enlargement of the stairwell, front to back.

Mantels

Both mantels are neoclassical, c.1805-15. That in the larger (north) first-floor room has dentils below a cornice shelf that breaks out at center and over reeded pilasters. The mantel in the smaller room is plainer, with paneled pilasters, no dentils, and a partially reworked sheaf. It is an interesting pair, given the present dearth of post-Revolutionary mantels in Williamsburg.

We saw no evidence inside that the upper rooms had fireplaces, but the T-shaped stack suggests there was one at least on the right end. Evidence for or against fireplaces should exist in the brickwork of the chimney and the floor framing at both ends.

Conclusion

The house is important primarily as an 18th-century building with post-Revolutionary adjustments. Even as an aficionado of small 1920s houses, it is hard for me to see much value in the 20th-century additions, particularly those done for office use since the 1960s. There is now no compelling reason to remove them, however.

It would be appropriate to continue office or residential use. If the building is moved, it would be necessary to move the north chimney with it, as was done in 1930.

Eventually the house deserves a complete physical study, including investigation behind 20th-century plaster, but continued office/residential use does not make this necessary now.

Two short-term steps could be to carry out a modest amount of paint analysis (on early windows, door, stair, and mantels) and tree-ring dating, called dendrochronology. The latter is not infallible, but it is likely to provide a precise construction date.

We will be happy to help with any of this.

Edward A. Chappell
Director of Architectural Research
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

Appendix D:

Brown House, "Dudley Digges House," 524 Prince George Street, Williamsburg (Edward A. Chappell, 7/21/05)

Brown House, "Dudley Digges House," 524 Prince George Street, Williamsburg,
Virginia
July 21, 2005

Daniel Ackermann and I visited the Brown House at lunchtime today and ventured into its warm attic. We observed details that compliment those seen during the visits on July 27, 2004, and January 13, 2005.

Summary

The findings do not radically change the July/January interpretation, but they suggest that dendrochronological dating would probably be successful, and there is modest evidence that the house could be earlier than c.1760-70.

Frame and Dating

Most of the present roof over the original section is built of salvaged rafters, presumably all from the old roof. These seem to be oak, pit-sawn to relatively small sizes. We do not see much oak framing in Williamsburg and the Chesapeake in general, above the level of sills. The use of oak tends to be early, as in the earliest parts of the Nelson Galt House here and the Poe House in Annapolis. This does not mean that the house is

early 18th century because oak could certainly be used in, say, the 1760s and 1820s, but it makes an early date conceivable. Oak is relatively easy to date dendrochronologically, and there is waney edge on a sizable number of solid rafters, so dating should be accurate.

Shingle and Plaster Lath

Many reused rafters have the scars of plaster lath on one side and shingle lath on the opposite face. The shingle lath appear roughly 3" wide, located on 6" to 7" centers. As already recognized, the pattern indicates the bottoms of the rafters were plastered in the finished part of the upper floor.

Early Sheathing

There are many old tongue-and-grooved, unbeaded pine boards of the kind used for flooring or wall sheathing, now used as roof sheathing on the upper side of the rafters. They are left plain on one face, heavily whitewashed on the other. This would seem to indicate sheathing because there is no undercutting or joist ghosts of the variety one would see if they were originally floorboards, exposed, and whitewashed below. But in a brief look, I also saw no ghosts from studs that one would expect on the unpainted side if they were nailed to wall framing. Perhaps they are from a board partition without framing, then, but they deserve a closer look. At least one was charred by a fire on the

unpainted side. I took a sample of the whitewash, which is very hard and thick, for Susan Buck to see.

Chimney

We crawled down to what had been the west end of the house and looked at the 18th-century chimney, which remains substantially intact. Voids between the old west (now north) end and the addition reveal much of the chimney, including a drip course on both sides of the T-shaped stack just above sloping shoulders tiled with brick. Remnants of familiar small wing walls above the shoulders were built against the end frame, as at the Reid and Bracken houses.

The stack is carefully laid to create a symmetrical end elevation, with stretcher/header/(cut) stretcher/header/stretcher courses alternating with header/stretcher/header/ stretcher/header courses. In short, a header or cut stretcher is kept at the center of the stack. Mortar joints are struck with a line up to about five courses above the present attic floor level, where they shift to weathered joints (beveled back at the base and lightly trimmed above). Some joints are very wide, with certain head joints on the back corners more than 1" wide. We saw virtually no glazed bricks.

There is a small, round, cast-iron holder for a lightening rod cable on the original outer face of the chimney. This could date c.1900.

From above, we can see a large piece of lead or other metal horizontal flashing where the inner face of the chimney meets the frame.

Nails and Dating of North Wing

As expected, we found rose-head wrought nails in some of the rafter joints for half-dovetailed collars and remaining from plaster lath.

From the attic we can also see that there are cut nails and weatherboards of the same date on the north (originally west) wall. I assume this indicates the west end, at least, was resided before the present north wing was added. The roof of the wing is built without any reused early material, further indicating that the roof of the main block was altered before the wing was added.

Edward A. Chappell
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E.A.C.

Appendix E:

From The Virginia Gazette, 19 June 2004, pp. 1A, 12A-13A, slightly revised and as posted at

<http://www.geocities.com/quantpsy/williamsburg/other/other178.htm>

Documentation and commentary added by Terry Meyers, 14 July 2004.

This Old House

Moved, mislabeled and misplaced, building at the college dates to 1700s

By Terry Meyers
WILLIAMSBURG

In a town with 88 original colonial buildings, who needs one more? Surprise, another one has turned up. A nearly 300-year-old cottage has been owned by the College of William & Mary for 74 years.

More than a forgotten home, the cottage brings with it the possibility of meaningful history. In the 1760s it may have housed a school for the religious education of local black children.

My search for the house was inspired by Ed Belvin's mention of a mysterious building in "Williamsburg Facts & Fiction: 1900-1950," Belvin wrote of a "Brown Hall" that had been moved "across the street" to the W&M campus from the site of the present Brown Hall on the southeast corner of Boundary and Prince George streets. Belvin claimed that this first Brown Hall dated from the 18th century and had been the home of the patriot Dudley Digges (1718-1790).¹

I knew the Dudley Digges House in Yorktown but had never heard of a Digges House in Williamsburg. Neither Louise Kale, director of the historic campus at W&M, nor Kris Preacher, proprietor of Williamsburgpostcards.com and author of "Williamsburg in Vintage Post Cards," could identify this house any more readily than I.

Preacher had nominated the Davis House at 110 N. Boundary. Kale and I looked at Davis House, but it didn't seem likely. She wondered if the Military Science building at 524 Prince George could be the Digges House. Once again, neither of us could see the lines of an historic house.

Searching further, I found two other references to a local Dudley Digges House. One was in a memoir by John S. Charles (1851-1930) in the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library at Colonial Williamsburg. In 1928 Charles meticulously described the 19th century Williamsburg he grew up in and recalled the house, "now 'Brown Hall,'" as "a little vine-clad, single-story frame house."² A second reference was in a 1930 Flat Hat story³ that Gina Woodward at Swem Library's Special Collections brought to my attention.⁴ This article also said the building had been moved to the campus.

We now had three apparently independent reports of such a house, and two of them spoke of its being moved. But we still had no house to point to. I decided to look further.

¹ Information in this paragraph is from Belvin's book ([Williamsburg]: Printed by PrintWell, Inc., [2002]), p. 18 (see enclosure).

² "Recollections of Williamsburg," Rockefeller Library, Special Collections (MS 00 1928).

³ 26 September 1930, p. 8.

⁴ I enclose a copy of the "Brown Hall (and Prince George House)" building file, Archives, Swem Library. This provides further references to other William and Mary sources I checked, but intermixes information about old Brown Hall (the Dudley Digges House) and the present Brown Hall.

This process (with lots of help) took several months and led me to Colonial Williamsburg's Special Collections at the Rockefeller Library; CW's York County Project in the Department of Historical Research, and the archives in the Goodwin Building. Also helpful were files and microfilm of newspapers at W&M and in Williamsburg, Newport News and Richmond. I also screened college records, building files and presidential papers at Swem Library, along with annual reports of the Methodist Woman's Missionary Society. W&M yearbooks and aerial photographs of Williamsburg were also helpful.

I concluded that Belvin and earlier writers associated the house with the wrong Dudley Digges, and that the college does own what may be one of the oldest houses in Williamsburg. Altered and dilapidated though it is, the building still stands.

The Digges House was built on one of several lots in the west end of town that William Craig acquired in 1712 from the trustees of Williamsburg.⁵ It came with the usual stipulation that he build a house within two years. Such stipulations were not always followed, in which case the lots returned to the trustees to be resold. But in his will of June 1719, Craig left to his "daughter Sarah my back Lott with all the houses and appurtenances thereunto belonging."

Sarah and her husband sold the house in 1733 to Hannah Shields, whose sons sold it in 1763 to Dudley Digges. As newspapers reported in the 1920s, tradition dates the house to 1717.⁶ The house is depicted on the famous Frenchman's Map of 1782 and supposedly billeted French soldiers after the Siege of Yorktown.⁷

The multiplicity of the name Dudley Digges in early Tidewater complicated identification. After consulting with Linda Rowe, a Colonial Williamsburg historian, I believe this Dudley Digges, of Williamsburg, to be an uncle to the more famous one, of Yorktown.⁸

Family house, charity school

Of the Williamsburg Dudley Digges and his family we know relatively little.⁹ His father in his 1710 will left him 2,000 pounds upon his majority. In Williamsburg, our Dudley was a member of Bruton Parish, where church registers show the births of two daughters in 1739 and 1746, and the baptism of a son, Dudley, in 1749.

Early in 1748 he saw smallpox infect seven members of his household, possibly including the three slaves his wife, Mary Hubbard, inherited. All recovered, but he was not as lucky in 1768 when his son Dudley died of smallpox at the family home.

Just the week before the son's death, the mayor had assured readers of *The Virginia Gazette* that

⁵ The information in this and the next paragraph comes from typescripts of the York County Deeds made available to me from the CW Archives in the Goodwin Building (see enclosed).

⁶ I enclose copies of the various newspaper accounts I found and notes on other mentions of the house.

⁷ Overlays of the modern streets and structures show the house on the Frenchman's Map and on the Desandrouins Map (see the CW archeological research report by Lucie Vinciguerra, "Block 23 Storm Drain Monitoring Addendum: Graves Site 23CB" [October 2003], pp. 6,7. The report also shows the house on the 1921 Sanborn map [p. 10]. The report's elliptical quotation from John S. Charles confuses the Digges House with another dwelling just to the north of the Methodist Church [p. 11]). The claim of billeting comes from the same newspaper articles and columns that offer the date of 1717.

⁸ In CW's Department of Historical Research, Linda Rowe helped me immensely with the York County Project and provided me with a genealogical chart (enclosed) prepared by an earlier researcher into the Digges family. Linda was pivotal at a number of points, especially in fleshing out the Digges family and in guiding me to the Associates of Dr. Bray.

⁹ The information in these paragraphs comes mainly from the files of the York County Project in CW's Department of Historical Research, including a new transcription of the Bruton Church Registers. The death of Dudley Digges and the mention of smallpox in Williamsburg are reported in the *Virginia Gazette*, 4 February 1768 and 28 January 1768. Linda told me that at this period the west end of town would have been considered "retired" in that it was quieter than the hustle and bustle closer to the Capitol. The other house with smallpox belonged to Robert Anderson; the implied proximity of the two houses seemed also to confirm the location of the Digges House (see note 17).

Williamsburg was safe to visit and do business in, and that the Digges home and another house nearby with two other smallpox victims were “in a retired [secluded] part of the city.” Both houses, he emphasized, had “guards on constant duty, to keep off idle and imprudent people.” What carried the father off and when is not certain, but he was dead by Jan. 21, 1771 when his wife filed to administer his will. Almost immediately, she died too.¹⁰

In reduced circumstances, one of Digges’s daughters, Maria, became Mistress of the College.¹¹ Her brother Edward and two sisters, Elizabeth and Susanah, appear to have remained in the family home, which itself figures briefly in a series of complaints against Maria in May 1775. None was found to be justified by W&M authorities.

One of the charges was “Partiality to her Brother in indulging him in all the Delicacies & conveniences of the College,” especially candles and “Vegetables, Meat, and other Articles out of the College.” A witness claimed that he had seen “a Girl go to Miss Digges’s House with something cover’d.” In her defense, Maria Digges admitted to nothing more than that “sometimes from the want of company, and sometimes from a desire of improving her said Brother, she has invited him to dine with her.”

In October 1785, Maria had the York County sheriff summon Murvin Hallam for the 2 pounds he owed her, perhaps a sign of continuing financial need.¹²

Increasing penury and a steady dedication to her brother are evident in a letter Maria wrote Oct. 25, 1801, to the new President, Thomas Jefferson. Having known him in Williamsburg,¹³ she wrote with easy familiarity as Jefferson’s “once happy Freind” and described her “Distrest and Melancholy Situation.” For 10 years she had maintained her brother, his reason gone, who had “Parted with what he could in defence of liberty and wee three Sisters distressed ourselves in tending him.”

Herself ill for 10 weeks and with both sisters dead, Maria turned to Jefferson, “My Dear Freind to Ask your Freindship and Attention” and a contribution: “I live in a Cottage that I feare will Crush us, and have it not in my Power to Mend. One Hundred Dolalars would mend it so as to make habitable but I feare being troublesom.”¹⁴

I had been intrigued by several gifts Jefferson made “in charity”¹⁵ after endorsing Digges’ letter as received on Oct. 31, but Jefferson scholar Charles Cullen pointed out¹⁶ that all signs suggest that Jefferson sent no response to this early appeal to restore a colonial home in Williamsburg.

Partly inferential evidence¹⁷ suggests that the house may also have another interesting history.

¹⁰ From cards in the York County Project.

¹¹ From cards in the York County Project reproducing a document in the William and Mary Quarterly, 15:1 (July 1906), 1-14, “Journal of the President and Masters of William and Mary College,” which includes most of the details in the following paragraphs.

¹² Photocopy in CW Manuscript Collections (PH 00 25 October 1785).

¹³ I deduce the acquaintanceship from Maria’s claim and from Jefferson’s mention (3 March 1785) of having bought a book “from Miss Digges” (The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, ed. Julian P. Boyd, 30 vols. [Princeton: Princeton UP, 1950-], VIII, 12).

¹⁴ Maria Digges’ letter is published in To His Excellency, Thomas Jefferson: Letters to a President, ed. Jack McLaughlin (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), pp. 110-112. I correct an obvious transcription error in changing “lending” to “tending.” I am indebted to Cathy Hillier in CW’s Department of Historical Research for bringing the letter to my attention.

¹⁵ See James A. Bear, Jr. and Lucia C. Stanton, eds., Jefferson’s Memorandum Books: Accounts, with Legal Records and Miscellany, 1767-1826, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997), II, 1057-1058.

¹⁶ E-mail from Charles Cullen (enclosed), who had guided me to Jefferson’s Memorandum Books.

¹⁷ This cautious phrase glides over several ambiguities, two of which go back to the records of the Associates of Dr. Bray (long available in Mary A. Stephenson’s CW Research Report “Notes on the Negro School in Williamsburg, 1760-1774” (June 1963; Appendix 1) and in John C. Van Horne, ed., Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The American Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717-1777 (Urbana IL: University of Illinois UP, 1985). These records show that the philanthropy rented quarters for the school from a “Colo.” Digges, which suggests that the

Before moving into it himself, Dudley Digges appears to have rented it between 1763 and 1765 to an English philanthropy, the Associates of Dr. Bray. At Benjamin Franklin's suggestion, the Associates had located in Williamsburg one of their schools to Christianize black children.¹⁸

Mrs. Anne Wager, the schoolmistress, rented the house for 8 pounds a year and lived there. Giving up teaching the children of several white families in Williamsburg, she taught as many as 30 slave and free black children at a time. Among those enrolled at the "Negro School" or the "Charity School" in 1769 were two slaves, Adam and Fanny, owned by the college.

Wager was to teach the children to read and speak properly and how to conduct themselves in church, namely Bruton Parish. The girls also learned to knit and sew. School rules called for Wager regularly to conduct the students "from her School House, where they are all to be first assembled, in a decent & orderly Manner to Church."

An agent of the Associates, Robert Carter Nicholas, complained that the Digges House was "much too small for such a Number of children," and the school moved to a larger one before closing in 1774,

more illustrious of the two Dudleys owned the house. The records also show that the Associates rented the house before the humbler Dudley gained title on 14 November 1763:

| | |
|--|----------|
| June 1763 To Cash paid Colo. Dudley Digges for a Years Rent | £8. . |
| April 28 1764 To Cash paid Colo. Digges for Rent | 8. . |
| May 8, 1765 To d ^o paid Colo. Digges for Balance Rent to the Time the Mistress Moved from his House in December | 6. 13. 4 |
| N.B. the Years Rent paid Colo. Digges in June 1763 was due the April Before | |
| (excerpted from Van Horne, p. 253; see enclosure) | |

I can do little to resolve the matter, but Linda Rowe seemed comfortable with several speculations connecting the Charity School to the lesser Dudley: perhaps the Associates' agent in the matter, Robert Carter Nicholas, confused the two Dudleys or allowed our Dudley an honorific "Colo." Perhaps the humbler Dudley rented the house before he bought it and was able to sublease it. I don't know.

In any case, another of the problems here arises from complexities in Stephenson's "Notes on the Negro School." Those complexities derive, I believe, from an earlier research report in which Maria Digges, daughter of the humbler Dudley, figures.

In "College Housekeepers: A Research Report" (1956?), Jane Carson accepts Maria Digges' family house as the site of the Charity School, but mislocates it. On p. 4 of her 1963 report, in note 3, Stephenson repeats Carson's error, though with obvious reservation and seemingly after consulting with Carson: "we think this house of Digges was located on Lot H, northeast corner of Henry and Ireland Street." Later writers have perpetuated the error (see Thad Tate, *The Negro in Eighteenth Century Williamsburg*, 2nd ed. [Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972], p. 80, and Van Horne [p. 254 n, where Maria's father is mistakenly identified as the nobler Dudley]).

Carson's mistake in locating the Digges home and Charity School seems clear. On page 19 (enclosed) of "College Housekeepers," Carson writes that "the [Digges] family was living in a Williamsburg house on the southeast corner of Ireland and South Henry streets in 1768, when her [Maria Digges'] elder brother Dudley died of smallpox." In footnote 49, Carson misdates her source for the death of smallpox Dudley; the reference should be to the *Virginia Gazette* of 4 February 1768. But the more consequential error is in footnote 48, where Carson locates the Digges House on "Lot H in the city plan." Her evidence is "data from the will [sic] of her [Maria Digges'] brother Capt. Edward Digges, December 16, 1779, *York County* [emphasis added] *Deed Book* 6, p. 114."

The letter H is key to clarifying the ambiguity. When the Digges House was sold to Digges in 1763 the legal description said that it was "at the West end of the City of Williamsburg and is marked in the plan of the said city with the letter H."

The 1790 plat of Williamsburg in Lyon G. Tyler, *Williamsburg: The Old Colonial Capitol*, does record a lot H at the corner of S. Henry and Ireland Streets. However, as Del Moore, Reference Librarian at CW, explained to me, the part of the city roughly to the south of the Duke of Gloucester Street was at that time in James City County and the land to the north was in York County. In other words, there was both a "Lot H" in James City County at S. Henry and Ireland Streets and also land designated with an H in York County--at Prince George and Boundary Streets. By using *York County* records to locate a property that lay in *James City County*, Carson misplaced the Digges House. Tyler's 1790 map has it right: it shows the Digges lots at Prince George and Boundary Streets, where the Digges House stood until 1930.

¹⁸ The details about the Charity School are all from Van Horne, *passim*.

after Wager died.

Digges House on the move

The eventual peregrination of the house began in 1926 when the president of the Woman's Methodist Missionary Society, Virginia Conference, M.E. Church, South, Mrs. Lee Britt, of Suffolk, persuaded the society to buy it from Mrs. Alice Pollard Stryker.¹⁹ The society sought a dormitory for Methodist girls attending W&M. The purchase price was \$11,000.²⁰ College alumni chipped in \$3,000, but the major benefactions came from legacies established by Miss Lizzie Dyson and by Mrs. Jane Brown and Cornelia Brown. Renamed Brown Hall, the house was renovated and expanded at a cost of \$2,500 to accommodate up to 14 students, an adult counselor, and a Bible teacher.

When the Missionary Society got the house, it had already been enlarged and renovated. Mrs. Stryker had created an L-shaped wing at the east end of the building. The society's expansion extended the house to the west. Both additions made internal what had been external chimneys. The roofline was much altered, but the four rooms and hall of the original house were as they had been built. The old walnut staircase with its square spindles in the balustrade and the old doors and their hinges remained as did the distinctive fireplaces and broad oak floor and the old doors and their hinges.²¹

In 1930 the society sought to build the larger Brown Hall it had anticipated when it bought the property. After many meetings with officials of the Williamsburg Holding Corporation and fruitless offers to exchange properties, Mrs. Britt finally wrote in 1930 to WHC Vice President Kenneth Chorley, emphasizing the historic importance of "one of the oldest houses in Williamsburg."²²

She assured him that the chain of title was²³ unbroken from William Craig, that the house had never burned, and that though "the capacity of the house was doubled when we purchased it," "the four rooms of the old house are unchanged." The history and age of the house, she suggested (thinking then, as all did, of the Yorktown Dudley Digges), surely justified "a good price," which she left unspecified. She added, "It would be a good business venture to make a tea-room of it."

Chorley replied by regretting that even after one last meeting with Williamsburg's Methodist minister, the Rev. H. E. Cromer, the corporation was "unable to reach an agreement" with the Society. He gave no reason. W&M President J.A.C. Chandler offered to buy and move the house. Though Board of Visitors minutes do not record the purchase, the college bought the house and in early May 1930²⁴ moved it a short distance west on Prince George Street. The society realized \$1,600.

¹⁹ All the information on the history of the Digges House as the first Brown Hall, unless otherwise noted, comes from photocopies kindly provided me by Ms. Madeline Hall, United Methodist Women Archivist at Ferrum College. Ms. Hall located the enclosed information from the Woman's Methodist Missionary Society's annual reports. Kris Preacher subsequently established that the Library of Virginia also has a complete run (BV2550 .A4 V78).

²⁰ Letter of 4 April 1938 from Mrs. Lee Britt to Charles J. Duke, Jr. Bursar, College of William and Mary (John Stuart Bryan Collection, Swem Library Special Collections, microfilm).

²¹ These details come from newspaper accounts (see enclosures), in this instance mostly from a feature story by Luther Kibler, "Dudley Digges House' Landmark of Revolution" in the Richmond News Leader (1 August 1929). The original clipping, which includes a photograph of old Brown Hall, is in the CW Archives in the Goodwin Building. Kibler's mention of an L-shaped addition may need correcting if the footprint of the house on the Sanborn map is correct; dating from 1921, the map shows an addition off the rear left corner. I have not examined a Sanborn map dating from 1910.

²² The account of negotiations comes from an Annual Report of the Missionary Society; the letter from Mrs. Britt, 1 March 1930, comes from the CW Archives, Goodwin Building, as does the reply from Kenneth Chorley, 12 March 1930 (see enclosures).

²³ The Vinciguerra archeological report summarizes what can be recovered of the nineteenth century chain of title (p.7)

²⁴ Chandler's offer is reported in a Missionary Society Annual Report. Two aerial photographs (P1981.9 and P1981.10) in Swem Library's Archives show the house in transit. Both are dated 8 May 1930 though Kibler in the Gazette uses wording on 2 May 1930 that seems to imply a slightly earlier move (p.1). One of the apparently 19th Century photographs of the Digges House in CW's Special Collections has a note at the bottom recording the house as moved to Block 24.

A contemporary article in the *Gazette* reported that the college's acquisition of the Digges House "insures its preservation for posterity" and that the college would use the house for faculty housing.²⁵ A Flat Hat article said that "Pappy" Gooch, the college's first athletic director, had moved in.²⁶

Local historian and guide J. Luther Kibler (1867-1953), believed fervently that the house had belonged to the Yorktown Digges and for years had written newspaper articles about the house. In several guide books, one as late as 1936, he cited its new location. Visitors to restored Colonial Williamsburg, he suggested, should detour to see the house.²⁷

In the minutes of the Board of Visitors, the Digges House was called Brown Hall until 1939, when the College bought the present Brown Hall (because of the Depression the Methodists had been unable to fill the dorm and pay the mortgage²⁸). For a while the house bore the generic name "Prince George House."²⁹ A 1974 inventory of college buildings lists it simply as "Brown Annex" and dates its construction to 1915.³⁰ Confusion is apparent in one college publication where the present Brown Hall is noted as "named for the home of Revolutionary War patriot Dudley Digges."³¹

Over the decades, the college used the building to house both faculty and students. In 1988 it began its use by the Military Science Department and Army ROTC.³² Upkeep has been minimal, and with the age and history of the house out of mind, renovations³³ have little respected its 18th century fabric.

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²⁵ 16 May 1930, p. 3.

²⁶ 26 September 1930, p. 8.

²⁷ See various enclosures, including the passage from Luther Kibler's *Colonial Virginia Shrines* (Richmond: Garrett & Massie, 1936), as e-mailed to me by Kris Preacher.

²⁸ The Missionary Society's 17th Annual Report noted a decline in rooms rented in the second semester of 1931, mentions the mortgage, and asks Methodists to guide their daughters to board there. The Annual Reports for 1932 and 1934 note improving finances. The 1939 Report notes that the Society sold the building not because it wanted to, but because "the college needed the building." However, the Building File in the College's Archives and the "Brown Hall" section of its John Stuart Bryan papers contain correspondence suggesting the difficulties both the Society and the College had in filling any of the dorms at the time. I deduce that it was finances that drove the Society to sell.

²⁹ Deduced from the William and Mary Building File; I didn't search all the Board of Visitors Minutes, but did happen across one late reference to the "old Brown Hall" (13 September 1952, p. 352; there's a similar reference at p. 382).

³⁰ *Report of Self-Study, 1974* (Williamsburg: College of William and Mary, 1974), p. 310.

³¹ *Vital Facts: A Chronology of the College of William and Mary* (Williamsburg: The Earl Gregg Swem Library, 1970), p. 20.

³² William and Mary Building File.

³³ Friends who lived in the house in the early 1970's commented to me on the peculiar layout of the house, including one long room added (I think by the College) along the back; it accommodated a strangely-shaped bathroom. One reminded me of what then I myself recalled, that people at the time thought the house had been formed by joining two separate houses. Will Molineux speculated to me that the wing added by Mrs. Stryker and possibly the expansion of the second floor, if she was responsible for that, might have been undertaken to convert the cottage to a boarding house. Apparently at a later date, Mrs. Stryker did keep a boarding house.

After this article appeared in the *Gazette*, the Chair of the Military Science Department, Philip deCamp, told me that the College had been intending within months to condemn and demolish the building.

Further Evidence, by Terry L. Meyers

I am grateful to Daniel for allowing me to read drafts of his fine work on the Dudley Digges House and want to express my admiration for his scholarship, especially in architectural history and in genealogy; his skills in both disciplines have advanced our understanding of the history of the Digges House itself and of its owner. And I am grateful to Daniel too for his allowing me this space to elaborate two or three matters that came up as research progressed. One is the vexing question of when the house was constructed and another (not as vexing, but interesting) is the question of which Dudley Digges died in the house in 1768.

As a student of literature, I focus on texts, of course, and I propose here an analysis of texts that even if it does not make a definitive case does articulate an argument that the Digges House may be one of the earliest houses in Williamsburg.

Daniel, of course, is fully aware of the difficulty at the present time of determining with any certainty the date when the house was first built, as he suggests several times in his work. My approach should not be taken as skepticism about his analyses so much as a different view taken from looking at some evidence from a different perspective.

The substance of my argument comes from an analysis of a Robert Carter Nicholas letter to the Associates of Dr. Bray in London about leasing a house for the Bray School. Daniel has made an excellent case for Dudley Digges(b)'s meriting the rank of Colonel and thereby being the lessor so I have set aside earlier speculations I had entertained that Nicholas simply made a slip of the pen in giving Digges(b) the rank of Digges(c), that Digges(c) might have leased the house and then subleased it to the Associates, or that Nicholas was at such a remove in the business that he might have simply assumed the Digges mentioned to him was Digges(c).

Nicholas in fact was deeply involved in the school and its mission; Benjamin Franklin visited Williamsburg and met with Nicholas and described him to the Associates as "a very sensible & a very conscientious Man" (Van Horne, p. 199), an estimation supported by Nicholas' letters to London.

But there is evidence that Nicholas did delegate to Mrs. Wager the business of finding a house for the school and even of paying the rent. Nicholas wrote to the Associates that, in his engaging a school mistress, "as Mrs. Wager had no House of her own, she was at first allowed £8 Current Money more to pay for the Rent of a House, which was much too small for such a Number of Children; however she continued in it, as long as it was tenantable" (Van Horne, p. 276). The wording here suggests that Mrs. Wager was charged, with a limited budget, to find a house to use. Although he appears to have taken the initiative for the next home of the Bray School ("I was then obliged to rent the House, where she now resides, of Mr. President Blair" [Van Horne, p. 276]), a later comment suggests that he did more habitually give the money to Mrs. Wager to pay the rent: "I have acquainted the Mistress that she is to expect no more than £25 Sterling per Ann. from you for Rent & every other Expence" (Van Horne, p. 289).

My guess is that when Mrs. Wager was looking for a house at once for her and for the Bray School, she needed one that was not too expensive and not too distant from Bruton Parish Church, where she was to march the children for services. The Digges house may well have been inexpensive to rent in that it was in a "retired" section of the city, i.e. at some distance from the more refined parts where costs would have been higher. The archeological work done for the city parking garage suggested, I recall, that there was an extensive builder's yard close to the Digges house, again perhaps a factor making for modest rental costs.

Moreover there is some indication that the house was old in 1762 and not in prime condition. When Nicholas later was looking for a new home for the school, he noted of the Digges house that it was "too small" to accommodate its 30 students and that it was not "tenantable," a word whose meaning in the *OED* is precise in intimating dilapidation:

1. Capable of being tenanted or inhabited; fit for occupation. Also *fig.*

1542 *Richmond Wills* (Surtees) 32 Ye same howse so to be mayde tenandhable. 1576 in W. H. Turner *Select. Rec. Oxford* (1880) 382 To leve yt repayred and tenaunteable. 1633 FORD *Love's Sacr.* IV. ii, A good tenantable and fertile womb. 1753 HERVEY *Theron & Asp.* (1757) I. xii. 472 It [the body] is kept in tenantable condition for the soul. 1849 DE QUINCEY *Eng. Mail Coach Wks.* 1862 IV. 292 The only room tenantable by gentlemen. 1852 BEARN in *Jrnl. R. Agric. Soc. Eng.* XIII. I. 90 He therefore cannot keep the property in tenantable repair.

2. [f. the n.] Befitting a tenant. *rare.*

1856 H. BROOM *Comm. Common Law* 15 A tenant..is bound to use a farm in a good and tenatable manner, and according to the rules of good husbandry.

Hence **tenantableness**, tenatable condition.

1727 in BAILEY vol. II.

Let me underline this: the word “tenatable” is so clearly related to a degree of dilapidation that it points to a house seriously deteriorated by 1765; and we know from Maria Digges’ letter to Jefferson that some forty years later it was falling down. In short, it strikes me that a house built in the mid-18th C., possibly into the 1760’s, would probably not be in such bad condition by 1765. But a house built in the early 18th C. could be run down indeed.¹

Indeed, as I read the evidence, the Digges House seems quite possibly to have been built soon after the original sale of the lot to William Craig in 1712, within the two years stipulated by the Trustees of the City of Williamsburg (there is no record that the lot reverted, as it should have if building did not take place). The reference in 1719 to “houses and appurtenances” may be as much a statement of fact as a legal catchall (if “houses” were other than houses in legal instruments, they were often qualified as such, e.g., “outhouses and appurtenances”). And, as Daniel comments, the “first proof of domestic occupancy on Sarah’s lot came in 1734 with the sale of the property to Hannah Shields.” And finally, the residence cited for Dudley Digges on the smallpox map of 1747/8 shows a house there then--and as Daniel’s work suggests, this Digges family seems not prosperous enough to be likely to rent an upscale house.

Another question is which Dudley Digges died in the smallpox outbreak of 1768, a question worth examining simply because of the number of Dudley Digges living at the time. The outbreak was first noticed in the *Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon) of January 21, 1768 (p. 3, col. 2) as having broken out in one house, “considerably out of the way of other dwellings,” and to which, apparently, were “removed those infected.” In the next issue, January 28, the smallpox is described as being at two houses and infecting three

¹ It is worth noting, by the way, that this question of which Digges rented the cottage to Mrs. Wager is one that in a quiet way has been examined before. Believing the house had long since vanished and therefore being quite disinterested, two CW researchers concluded that the Bray School was likely housed in the house of Digges(b).

In “Notes on the Negro School in Williamsburg, 1760-1774” (June 1963; Appendix 1; p. 4), Mary A. Stephenson accepted that the Bray School was in the house of Digges(b), reflecting an earlier description of the house by Jane Carson. In a CW document, “College Housekeepers: A Research Report” (1956?), Carson had written that “the [Digges] family was living in a Williamsburg house on the southwest corner of Ireland and South Henry streets in 1768, when her [Maria Digges’] elder brother Dudley [Digges(d)] died of smallpox” (p. 19). The error in locating the house does not affect the conclusion concerning which Digges owned it, and Stephenson and Carson must have considered the military title of “Colonel Digges” to be not a serious impediment, perhaps having also considered whether Digges(c) was likely to have owned property in Williamsburg (on this question, Charles E. Hatch notes of Digges(c) that “his need for Williamsburg housing was even greater after 1761 than before, yet he sold it [his house on lot 19 in Williamsburg, the “Barraud House] and it would seem that he looked toward a new Yorktown home even before the death of his first wife in 1757” [“Dependencies (Outbuildings) of the Dudley Digges House in Yorktown Virginia Colonial National Historical Park,” p. 12]; Hatch also discusses several other lots and properties Digges(c) owned in Williamsburg, which he apparently sold by 1761, which Hatch links to Digges(c)’s “development plans” in Yorktown [p. 12 and n. 12, pp. 12-13]).

Thad Tate in *The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg* simply notes (p. 80) that the Bray school was located “in a house owned by Dudley Digges,” without engaging the question of the identity of Digges. Van Horne (p. 254n) cites Stephenson on the ownership and location of the house (the latter being, of course, in error) but disagreed on which Digges was at issue, identifying the owner as Digges(c). In 1998, another CW historian, Emma Lou Powers also cites Stephenson on the ownership and location of the house containing the Bray School : “until 1766 she [Mrs. Wager] occupied a house rented from Dudley Digges” (see http://research.history.org/Historical_Research/Research_Themes/ThemeReligion/Wager.cfm#n11); presumably Powers too accepts Digges(b) as the person receiving the rent.

In a William and Mary History Department M.A. thesis, “Educating Eighteenth-Century Black Children: The Bray Schools,” Jennifer Bridges Oast accepts received opinion in locating the Bray School in the Digges House “on the northeast corner of Henry and Ireland Streets” (p. 11); she suggests that the school “probably” opened there on September 29, 1760, but cites financial records in Van Horne to locate the school “certainly there at least between April 1762 and December 1765” (p. 11). Oast is also able, quite remarkably, to elaborate on the identities and destinies of a number of the children who attended the Bray School (pp. 21-27).

None of the writers engaged Digges(b)’s gaining title to the house after the Bray lease had begun, but Daniel’s suppositions are helpful ones.

people only: at Dudley Digges(b)'s house is infected only "Mr. Digges's eldest son" (Dudley Digges[d]) while at Mr. Robert Anderson's are "Mr. James Marshall of the college, and a mulatto man" (p. 2, col. 3). The mayor announces too that Anderson's house has been rented "as being very commodious, and in every respect proper for the purpose of a hospital," apparently in anticipation of the spread of the disease. But though the outbreak, "the late destructive and expensive disorder" (March 10, 1768 [p. 3, col.1]), clearly brought some serious disruption to the town, apparently only three people were ever infected, for in the issue of February 4, 1768, in both the *Gazettes*, the mayor, James Cocke, draws attention to his last missive, wherein he "informed the public that three persons in this city were infected." He specifies now that "two of them are since dead, viz. Mr. Dudley Digges, and the Negro man belonging to the College" (Rind, p. 3, col. 1).

I don't think we can tell for certain whether it was Digges(b) or Digges(d) who died. I agree with Linda Rowe that "Mr." would apply more to Digges(b) and that his death would be more noteworthy. But the mayor is adamant that only three people were infected; a fourth would have been worrying and newsworthy. My guess is that Digges(d) died since he was certainly infected, and since no fourth case is announced. But both Digges disappear from the public record until Digges(b)'s wife is granted the power to administer his estate in 1771 (that alone perhaps suggests a later death date for Digges(b), most likely 1771).