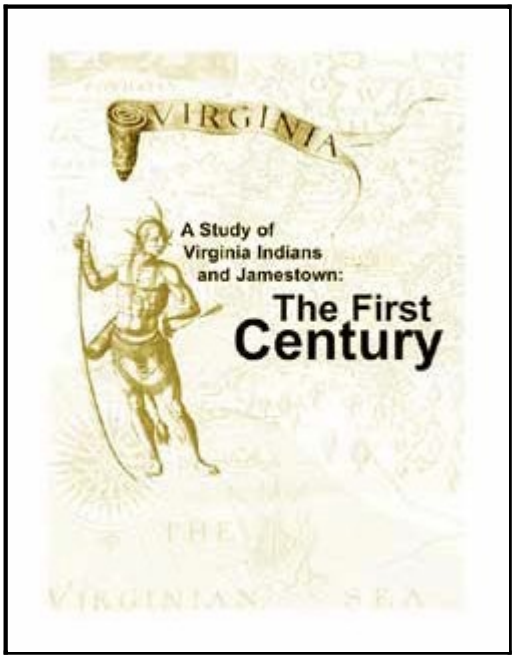


A Study of Virginia Indians and Jamestown: THE FIRST CENTURY

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Many people contributed to this report in both large and small ways. Karen Rehm of the National Park Service conceived of a report that would pull together documentary sources as a foundation for presenting a Native perspective of the story of the colonial encounter at Jamestown and the first century of interaction thereafter.

The American Indian Resource Center's Virginia Indian Oral History Project (1999-2003) served as a jumping off point for the research. Primary data collection was an arduous task and undertaken with dedication by Katharine Harbury. William & Mary student researchers Scott Bensen worked with the early seventeenth century documents, Anna Charlebois review materials from Surry County. Former students Nicola Harrison and Colin Pekruhn also made significant contributions to the project. Linda Carter worked with the papers from the House of Burgesses. Angela Daniel assisted with fieldwork, creating the Native Time Line and helped organize sections of the report. The formatting the final report was done by William & Mary graduate student Autumn Barrett, with clerical assistance from Carol Roe.

Special thanks goes to each contributor for their outstanding efforts; Dr. Martin Gallivan of the College of William & Mary, Jennifer Ogborne (College of William & Mary), Martha W. McCartney, Stephen D. Feeley (College of William & Mary), Edward Ragan (Syracuse University), Angela Daniel (College of William & Mary), Thane Harpole (University of Massachusetts at Boston) an Buck Woodard (Virginia Commonwealth University).

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CHAPTER 1:
Introduction

Danielle Moretti-Langholtz

> **"We were part of the original Virginia Tribes at the time of the settling of Jamestown. What we are interested in and would like the general public to know is a lot of the true history and not to stereotype us as savage Indians but what the real history was and how it really happened." Chief Barry Bass, the Nansemond Indian Tribe (the Virginia Indian Oral History Project at the College of William & Mary.)**

With the approach of the four-hundredth anniversary of the first permanent English-speaking settlement at Jamestown, Virginia the National Park Service funded this study of an in-depth examination of the primary documents, and significant events relating to Virginia's Native peoples and their interactions with and responses to the colonial encounter. This project is unique in its attempt to incorporate the views of tribal leaders and tribal members along with the research of numerous authors from the disciplines of anthropology and history. The research produced from this study will be used by the National Park Service to better understand and interpret Virginia Indians as a cultural group within the historical and natural landscape as well as assist planners with the development of exhibits and interpretive presentations at Jamestown Island. The study includes recommendations for future research and additional considerations for building stronger relationships with Virginia's indigenous community.

During 2003 and 2004 documentary research was conducted in support of the Virginia Indian-NPS study. Additionally, interviews with Virginia Indian tribal leaders and tribal members were conducted during which the documents pertinent to Virginia Indian history during the first century of contact were shared with those individuals willing to participate. The focus of the study is two-fold. Firstly, to gather and review primary source documents pertaining to Virginia's indigenous tribes during the seventeenth century. Secondly, to obtain Native commentary on those sources to more fully incorporate the Virginia Indian perspective into this most important century of Anglo-Indian interaction and change.

Where possible the triangulation of primary documents, archaeology and oral history is combined in such a way as to bring a Native perspective to what has been primarily a non-Native narrative of historical events. Secondary sources are not ignored but the emphasis is on the collection of and presentation of primary source documents or summaries and abstracts of colonial documents. However, none of these sources alone or in combination can be identified as a complete description of Powhatan ethnohistory. Rather these documents may be used in conjunction with archaeology, oral history and Native commentary to begin the reconstruction of seventeenth-century Powhatan ethnohistory.

It must be noted that all of the primary source documents pertaining to Virginia Indians were

written and created by non-Natives. The primary source documents are important to both the contemporary Native and non-Native communities because of their rarity and undisputed historical value. However, these same seventeenth-century documents express the biases and views of newcomers to the continent and as such they pose some insurmountable limitations when employed to describe the Native world during the first century of contact in Virginia. Thus Native people express a certain degree of ambivalence about these documents. Complete descriptions and analyses of Native culture and lifeways by the English would have been impossible due to linguistic barriers and the fragmentary understanding of Native cosmology and priestly power are evident. An additional weakness of this early commentary is that the English would not have been privy to the internal discussions that would of necessity have taken place among tribal leaders as the indigenous community structured its response to the English settlement at Jamestown. Moreover, the presentation of the history of the settlement of Jamestown is typically focused on the journey, arrival and struggle of Europeans in a "New Land" rather than with the discussion of the invasion of long-lived Native communities by a contingent of males (104 men and boys) within their territory of Tsenacomacah. The intentions of the English with regard to the settlement may have initially been viewed with uncertainty, but within a year or two the onslaught of English settlers to the Powhatan homeland left little doubt in the minds of Native people that they were in struggle for control of their land, culture and their very existence as a people.

CHAPTER 2:
Research Design

Danielle Moretti-Langholtz

> **"...the main thing I want the general public to know about my people is that we weren't a historic tribe that the English documented in 1608 and [then] we all died off." Chief G. Anne Richardson, the Rappahannock Tribe (the Virginia Indian Oral History Project at the College of William & Mary).**

In recent decades, academic historians, anthropologists, and museum curators, have begun to include subaltern voices in their work and exhibits. Realizing that in the historical situations of the colonial encounter, American Indians, African Americans, and European settlers created stories to both justify and challenge the outcome of the past. This project proposes to compile the documentary evidence from the seventeenth century that pertains to Native people and combine it with the stories and commentary of Virginia Indians, historians and anthropologists in order to offer a counter point to notions of Native people as "savages," or "vanishing" people and therefore unworthy of their lands or proper place in history. The scope of work is wide-ranging and includes searching the primary documents for information regarding interactions between Virginia Indians and settlers in the seventeenth century, as well as searching for images of Native people, place names, a review of language sources. A major thrust of the study is the inclusion of Native perspective provided by the leadership and membership of Virginia Indians.

One focus of this study is the examination of primary documents pertaining to Indians during the seventeenth century in four Virginia counties: James City, Charles City, York and Isle of Wight. In addition to the search of primary documents a time line was created using the documentary sources to represent important historical events impacting Virginia Indians. Commentaries from Virginia Indian tribal leaders are incorporated in the time line to provide a Native voice or commentary, drawn from oral history, about the events represented on the time line.

A wide variety of archival materials were examined by William & Mary students (graduate and undergraduate) to extract and build the foundation for input from the Virginia Indian perspective. Court records and minute books, county deeds, wills, inventories, McIlwaine's minutes of 1620s, Holten's List of Living and Dead in 1623, and Muster Rolls for 1623/4 were reviewed for the following counties: Charles City, Isle of Wight, James City, Surry and York. The Colonial Papers collection in the Library of Virginia, the Virginia Colonial Records Project, containing microfilm copies of the folios of the Public Record Office (P.R.O.) in London, Journals of the House of Burgesses, Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia as well as museum holdings were reviewed. Additionally, databases, collections in the Virginia Historical Society, the Library of Virginia and material in private collections were searched. The data are arranged in two tables in chronological order and by count. Entries pertaining to inter and intra tribal relations, Anglo-Indian relations, court cases

involving Indians and settlers, subjects pertaining to cultural clashes (warfare), trade (expeditions, goods, items, furs, skins, corn, tobacco), religion, servants, forced laborers, runaways, captives and slavery have been placed in the charts. This approach was taken after consultations with various tribal leaders. It was their wish to see the actual entries rather than look at summaries of the primary documents. Since the entries are drawn from only those counties in the scope of work not all of Virginia's tribes are represented in the data sets. However, the presentation of the data in this manner permits tribal leaders to examine certain aspects of their history in a new way. The assistance of Katharine Harbury was invaluable in the compilation of these data. This is the first time that these types of data have been compiled into a single chart. It is hoped that these data may be used to present a more nuanced presentation of the impact of the colonial encounter on indigenous peoples in Virginia as well as a better understanding of their response to that impact.

Topics of interest to the Native communities helped to inform the shape and outcome of the report. In some ways it is an unconventional report in format and its intention to share the research with tribal communities. A time line or chronology of events pertinent to the Native community was developed using selections from primary documents, especially those statutes noted in Hening (1823) for the period. The time line was given to the chiefs of the eight state-recognized tribes—the Chickahominy Tribe, Chickahominy Eastern Division, Mattaponi Tribe, Upper Mattaponi, Nansemond Indian Tribe, Pamunkey Tribe, Rappahannock Tribe and Monacan Indian Nation, and to one non-state recognized tribe, the Patawomeck Tribe, for their comments. Input was sought from the Virginia Council on Indians (VCI) and updates on the progress of the report were given to the VCI on a regular basis. Several versions of the time line were developed over the course of six months until the final version was compiled for this report. Additionally, conversations and consultations were held with those tribal leaders and tribal members willing to participate in this report.

The unique mix of specialists drawn from anthropology, history and tribal communities provides a special opportunity to allow a multi-vocal presentation of the material. This study includes an overview of the rise of the Powhatan Chiefdom by Dr. Martin Gallivan that draws heavily on archaeological investigations and interpretations of pertinent sites. Jennifer Ogborne provides a brief overview of Powhatan ceramics. [1] Martha W. McCartney contributes in a significant manner to this study with her chapter on narrative history. Particular emphasis is placed upon Anglo-Indian relations with sections by Stephen Feeley, Dr. Edward Ragan (historian for the Rappahannock Tribe), and a review of literature pertaining to Bacon's Rebellion by Thane Harpole. Due to the fascination with Pocahontas, a brief section is devoted to on this historical personage drawn from the point of view of one tribe (the Mattaponi) by Angela Daniel. This report also includes research on early images of Powhatan Indians, information on Indian place names and a section on Powhatan language. These appear as appendices compiled by Buck Woodard (Lower Muskogee Creek and Indian at Large member of the Virginia Council on Indians) along with additional material on Pocahontas from the private collection of William Cole. The study includes an annotated bibliography and recommendations for further research possible ways to utilize information in the report for the National Park Service's interpretive plan.

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[1]Information from contemporary Powhatan potters looking at the NPS collections of ceramics is forthcoming. However, the damage resulting from Hurricane Isabel prevented this section of the report from being completed.

The organization of the chapters shifted during the course of the research and its current form was requested by the Colonial National Historical Park. Contributors were given the latitude to use either "Indian" or "Native American" in their chapters. At the request of several tribal

leaders we have capitalized the word "Native" throughout the text.

The following institutions were contacted for information about their holdings of seventeenth century material culture or documents: the Library of Virginia, Alderman Library at the University of Virginia, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Rockefeller Library at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Fogler Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., the Huntington Library, the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, the Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation, the Library of Congress, Swem Library at the College of William & Mary, the Werowocomoco Research Group, and the collections of the Colonial National Historical Park at Jamestown. A special note of thanks goes to Karen Rehm for her support and helpful commentary in shaping the direction of this study.

Finally, the inclusion of Native commentary in this study adds an original component to the report. It is hoped that the National Park Service will build on this report to create an interpretive plan that represents the experience of Virginia Indians in the post-contact world. Their perspectives provide an alternative to the Anglo-centric presentation of seventeenth-century history at Jamestown.

As Chief Barry Bass of the Nansemond Tribe noted, "We [Virginia Indians] were always here and we will always be here. However, we have not always been asked for our opinions when it comes to our history." It is hoped that this report brings the Native and non-Native communities one step closer to working together to better understand and interpret our shared history.

CHAPTER 3:

Overview of the Powhatan Chiefdom

Martin Gallivan

Introduction

With its remarkably rich ethnohistoric and archaeological records, the Chesapeake region offers much to those interested in understanding the culture histories of Native societies. The written accounts produced by European sources during the early years of the colonial era highlight the actions of Powhatans [1] and Monacans, some of whom competed for wealth, power, and influence. However, evidence of the social changes that produced the figures shaping this political arena has been difficult to recognize in the years leading up to Jamestown. Archaeological patterns apparent in other North American contexts reflecting the centralization of authority in political and ceremonial centers are largely absent from the region. Long-distance exchange networks that conveyed items crafted with sacred connotations played a rather modest role in the Late Woodland Chesapeake, judging from the archaeological evidence. Mortuary practices generally lacked expressions of the social differentiation that might convey differences of wealth or power during this period. Clearly, the Native societies of the late pre-contact Chesapeake produced a unique culture history in the years leading up to Jamestown that deserves consideration on its own terms. The following discussion relies on accounts written by English colonists in the early days of the colonial era and on the Chesapeake region's archaeological record — particularly evidence from the James River valley dating to the centuries before Jamestown's settlement. Clearly this evidence must be complemented by the voices of contemporary Virginia Indians, many of whom have their own perspectives on the region's culture and history.

[1] Powhatans included those Algonquian-speakers of coastal Virginia who came under the political influence of Wahunsenasawh during the late sixteenth century.

The Cultural Context

In 1607, 104 Englishmen disembarked forty miles upstream from the James River's mouth to establish the Jamestown Colony. Colonists including John Smith (1986a, 1986b, 1986c, 1986d), William Strachey (1953), George Percy (1998), and Henry Spelman (1998) recorded their impressions of the early colonial encounter, focusing on Indians of the surrounding Coastal Plain. These impressions form the basis of ethnohistorians' interpretations of the Indians known to the English as the Powhatans (e.g., Mooney 1907, Feest 1966, Rountree 1989, Gleach 1997, Kupperman 2000, Axtell 2000, Rountree and Turner 2002). In the northern Virginia Coastal Plain, Indians speaking Algonquian [2] dialects related to the

Powhatans' engaged in a shifting set of relations with the Powhatans and their paramount chief (Potter 1993). The Monacans and Mannahoacs, probable Siouan speakers referred to collectively as the Monacans in some contexts, resided in the Virginia interior, west of the fall line (Hantman 1990). Fleeting contacts with English colonists and the brief textual references to these encounters confirm that the early seventeenth-century Monacans lived in settlements lining the Piedmont portion of the James and Rappahannock rivers. Archaeological evidence suggests strong cultural affiliations and close exchange ties between the Monacans and the Indians of the Ridge and Valley, who are not named or described in early colonial records (Hantman 1998, Gardner 1986). To the south of the Powhatans, Iroquoian-speaking Nottoway and Meherrin Indians' settlements lined the rivers still named for these groups (Binford 1964). In North Carolina, coastal Algonquian and Iroquoian groups and Piedmont Siouans paralleled the linguistic contrasts that marked Virginia's early historic cultural landscape (Ward and Davis 1999, Merrell 1991).

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[2]Algonquian is a subfamily of Native American languages. Speakers of Algonquian languages stretch from the east coast of North America to the Rocky Mountains.

Before Jamestown

From the accounts of European contacts with Indians of the Virginia Coastal Plain prior to 1607, it is clear that hierarchical political systems preceded the establishment of Jamestown. Intermittent encounters between Europeans and Virginia Indians occurred throughout the sixteenth-century, with contact after 1586 generally ending up violently. In 1561 Spanish colonists captured the son of an Algonquian chief near the mouth of the James (Lewis and Loomie 1953, Gradie 1993:165), a man they christened Don Luis. Don Luis represented the first of several culture brokers in coastal Virginia who influenced Native groups' strategies in the face of the Colonial encounter (cf. Fausz 1985:239). By the 1580s English colonists on the North Carolina Outer Banks heard of a wealthy and powerful king on the James River, most likely Powhatan, who "would be loathe to suffer any strangers to enter his Countrey, and [who] was able to make a great many of men into the fielde, which . . . would fight very well" (Lane 1955:60-61). In the North Carolina Coastal Plain surrounding the Roanoke colony, werowances led affiliated villages of Algonquian Indians by the 1580s.

Equivocal evidence of the impact of European-introduced diseases prior to Jamestown's settlement may be drawn from Powhatan's opaque remark that he had "seene the death of all [his] people thrice" (Smith 1986c:247). Documentary accounts do indicate that epidemics ravaged the North Carolina Algonquians in contact with the Roanoke colonists during the 1580s (Hariot 1972:28). By 1617, following a period of intensive contact between Jamestown colonists and Powhatans, a "great mortality" gripped the Powhatans (Strachey 1953:46) caused by an epidemic of probable European origin. Archaeological evidence of earlier epidemics has not been identified. In the North Carolina Piedmont, probably the best-understood contact-era archaeological context in the Middle Atlantic, evidence of depopulation triggered by European diseases does not occur until the latter half of the seventeenth-century (Ward and Davis 1991). Ward and Davis found no indications of "virgin soil" pandemics preceding direct face-to-face encounters between Europeans and Indians that some researchers hypothesize (e.g., Dobyns 1983, Ramenofsky 1987, Smith 1987, Barker 1992), although evidence of devastating diseases does occur with subsequent, intensive European-Indian contact. The recent research indicating that droughts played a devastating role on Native societies of the Chesapeake region during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries (Blanton 2000) provides what may be a more parsimonious

explanation for Powhatan's reference to waves of death.

Powhatan Society

The English referred to the Virginia Algonquians surrounding their Jamestown settlement as the Powhatans, applying the common use name of their paramount chief. Although most researchers have followed this practice (cf. Feest 1978), the Powhatans were an evanescent social entity and a complex polity lasting less than a century and just beyond the life of its charismatic werowance. Like other Native societies on the edge of the colonial endeavor (e.g., Merrell 1991), the Powhatans of ethnohistorical accounts represented a 'new world' of social possibilities during the protohistoric and early colonial eras rather than a society whose cultural practices had withered from a more vibrant pre-colonial past. It is easy to forget the extent to which Native societies exerted control over the field of inter-societal interaction during the early years of the struggling English colonies in Roanoke, Jamestown, and New England (Kupperman 2000). In many ways, the early years of the colonial encounter in the Chesapeake represent the ultimately doomed efforts of Native societies and Englishmen to civilize one another (Gleach 1997).

Archaeological evidence of an identifiably Algonquian presence in the Virginia Coastal Plain extends as early as A.D. 200 (Potter 1993), and the descendants of the constituent tribes of the Powhatan chiefdom continue to reside in eastern Virginia and play a prominent role in contemporary cultural and political life (Rountree 1990, Moretti-Langholtz 1998). Reconstructions of early colonial Powhatan population from colonial references indicate that approximately 13,000 Powhatans resided in 6,500 square miles of the Virginia Coastal Plain (Turner 1976, 1978). The Powhatans' settlement pattern included substantial 'towns' lining the major rivers of Virginia populated during the warm weather months, and smaller, less permanent settlements away from the riverine environment occupied during hunting forays after the agricultural cycle. Within Powhatan settlements, social distinctions led the English colonists to differentiate between the "better sort" and common folk (Smith 1986b:160-161). A mixed horticultural-foraging-fishing-hunting economy permitted the Powhatans to produce enough surpluses in the early years of Jamestown to support the colony with large quantities of maize. Powhatan economic relations hinged on the complementary production of engendered labor (male hunting and female foraging and horticulture) that came together in the household, the fundamental unit of production. Based on colonial descriptions of chiefly succession, the Powhatans appear to have reckoned descent through the matriline.

Powhatan Authority

Though framed by an outsiders' perspective, English documentary accounts of Powhatan authority hint that a complex set of dynamics shaped the Powhatan political realm. In 1607 the man referred to as Powhatan was the Mamanatowick, or "great king". At that time Powhatan dominated or influenced Coastal Plain groups from the James River basin to the Potomac's southern shores and from the fall line to the Eastern Shore. Powhatans' "empire", as the English referred to it, began with inherited authority over six groups residing near Powhatan's natal village, also named Powhatan, located in the inner Coastal Plain near the James River fall line. By the early seventeenth-century, Powhatan had extended his authority from a core area along the inner Coastal Plain of the James and York rivers to more than thirty named groups in the Virginia Coastal Plain through military action or its threat. A werowance held authority within each "district" or petty chiefdom of the Powhatan paramountcy, and the principal towns within districts each had their own, lesser werowance. Generally glossed as "chief", John Smith suggests that the name werowance more accurately implied a military commander (Smith 1986b:174). This status helps contextualize the tenor of

Powhatan political dynamics circa 1607, defined as they were by a fluid tangle of alliances, military threats, and intermittent hostilities.

Although some controversy formerly attached itself to the appropriate label for the Powhatan polity, most researchers accept Binford's (1964) use of the term chiefdom. Given the ethnohistorical indications of a three-tiered political hierarchy, the Powhatans appear to have been an almost archetypal complex, or paramount, chiefdom (Earle 1978, Wright 1984). As envisaged in Smith's (1986b) Map of Virginia, the Powhatan political landscape consisted of "kings' howses", where werowances resided, and "ordinary howses" which lined the rivers of the Virginia Coastal Plain. Tribute, recorded by Strachey (1953:87) as comprising 80 percent of all production, flowed from commoners to werowances, and from werowances to the Mamanatowick. This proportion appears to reflect more closely Strachey's rhetorical excesses, and possibly those of Powhatan himself, regarding the harshness of the Powhatan regime rather than any actual tribute payments. English notions of tribute and exchange never fully grasped the social context of the Powhatan gift economy, resulting in inter-societal misconceptions that frequently ended in hostilities (Mallios 1998). Werowances dominated prestige good exchange networks through which these materials moved and which provided the material expression of chiefly social status. In mortuary rituals reserved exclusively for werowances, the Powhatans interred remains with prestige goods such as copper or shell beads in temples constructed for this practice (Smith 1986b:169).

The authority of chiefly leaders in the Powhatan polity and of paramount chief Powhatan's power appears to have been multifaceted. Strachey (1953:60-61) emphasized the Mamanatowick's power to coerce:

> It is strange to see with what great fear and adoration all these people do obey this Powhatan, for at his feet they present whatsoever he commands, and at the least frown of his brow, the greatest will tremble; that may be because he is very terrible, and inexorable in punishing such as offend him.

Historical events indicating that some Virginia Algonquians resisted, or at least avoided, Powhatan's demands and that others pursued agendas at odds with the Mamanatowick's cast doubt on Strachey's hegemonic characterization, leading some researchers to read the authority of chief Powhatan and Algonquian werowances as "incomplete" (Rountree 1993). Indeed, the individual Powhatan's authority appears in the historical record to be far-reaching but rooted in cultural categories that linked power to the ability to act rightly (i.e. morally) (Gleach 1997:37). In Gleach's innovative structural analysis of Powhatan categories of power, politics, and privilege, the authority of Powhatan and the werowances of the Chesapeake region ultimately flowed from their connections to the sacred, a connection that manifested itself in culturally appropriate behavior. At the time of the colonial encounter, Powhatan possessed an overwhelming authority due to its basis in the sacred realm and in its inherited status. Powhatan drew spiritual power from a shamanic status as the "one who dreams", while his inherited political status as a werowance gave him authority over districts in the core region of his chiefdom (Gleach 1997:32).

Leadership among the Virginia Algonquians differed somewhat from the authority of European rulers, not only in paralleling a cosmology in which the sacred and the political formed a seamless realm. Authority structures among the Powhatan also reflected a social order in which communities shared decision-making collectively. Coastal werowances and, indeed, Powhatan himself ruled only after consulting and receiving the consent of councils comprised of men who had undergone the huskanaw rite of passage, a term translated as "he has a new body" (Gerard 1907). The Powhatans considered such men to be quioccosuks [3], who embodied a divine status (Smith 1986d:125). Powhatan reportedly had a hunting house or a "court" where he and his councillors and priests met with the Mamanatowick and

advised him, and "when they intend any wars, the werowances usually advise with their priests or conjurers, their allies and best trusted councilors and friends" (Strachey 1953:104).

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[3]A "quioccosuk" was a Powhatan religious figure who had been initiated into a sacred status through completion of the huskanaw male rite of passage.

Priests, men in possession of considerable spiritual power, tended temples outside of villages and thus existed on the periphery of the Powhatan social order. Colonial accounts suggest that werowances mediated between priests and commoners in Powhatan society (Williamson 1979). Priests lived outside of villages, tending the bodies of dead ancestors in temples, or storehouses of tribute, that only priests and werowances could enter. Though associated closely with werowances, Powhatan priests dominated an alternative field of sacred authority. Conceptually, werowances appear to have shared characteristics of priests, who were socially dead to the Powhatans, and commoners, who participated in life-giving pursuits (Williamson 1979:404-405). It is their mediation between the structural categories of Powhatan society that may have allowed these men to appear, somewhat misleadingly, as "kings" to the English colonists. Their mediation involved a culturally-sanctioned role that required the establishment of social relationships that ranged beyond the village context, an often dangerous realm from which the Tassantasses [4] originated.

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[4]Tassantasses was the Powhatan term for strangers or foreigners.

The Powhatans shared political authority in other ways as well. Several references in the colonial record indicate that the Powhatans had a political system comprised of dual chiefs: an external chief who presided in matters of war and a more powerful internal or peace chief (Gallivan and Hantman 1996, Gleach 1997:35, Kupperman 2000:102). Though in many ways Powhatan acted as the internal chief of the Powhatans while his aggressive brother Opechancanough served as war chief, Powhatan at times dominated both authority structures. By placing himself as an intermediary between the English colonists and Powhatan communities, the Tassantasses mediated the colonial divide just as he mediated structural divisions between priests and commoners within Powhatan society. Such mediation depended in part on the unique historical circumstances of the sixteenth century protohistoric period during which Powhatan arose as a political power and the subsequent colonial era when his strategic ties to the English enhanced his status.

Solidarity and Factionalism in the Coastal Plain

A careful reading of the colonial ethnohistory indicates that a blend of solidarity and factionalism was central to the political dynamics of the early seventeenth-century Coastal Plain. When Captain Christopher Newport first headed up the James to explore the river on which the English had settled, he and his men made it as far as the falls, visiting Powatah, werowance of Powhatan village and son of the Mamanatowick. Gabriel Archer (1998a:106-107), one of Newport's men, reported that,

> In discoursing with him we found that all kingdoms from the Chessipians were friends with him, and to use his own word, cheisc, which is "all one with him" or "under him". . . Hereupon he very well understood by the words and signs we made the signification of our meaning moved of his own accord a league of friendship with us, which our captain kindly embraced.

Later Powhatan himself sought to establish relations of alliance with the English, pleading with Smith to put aside his weapons since the English and Indians were all "friends and forever Powhatans" (Smith 1986d:195). Among the Powhatans, the huskanaw ritual fostered relations of solidarity that brought young men from the Coastal Plain together for a yearly rite of passage that joined residents from many villages (Strachey 1953:98).

Despite such institutions and the Mamanatowick's efforts to exercise a unifying authority, the Virginia Coastal Plain of the early colonial era was, in fact, a social landscape fraught with divisive factionalism. Numerous Virginia Algonquians disobeyed Powhatan's dictums with regard to interaction with colonists and rarely reflected the sense of solidarity as Powhatans that chief Powhatan sought to foment. In the heart of chief Powhatan's domain, the Chickahominies continued to remain an independent group led by a council rather than a werowance. As noted earlier, the English frequently encountered the political maneuvers of werowances who sought to leverage ties to the Tassantasses for their own ends. The English eventually complained to Powhatan about attacks from his fractious "subjects" that ran counter to Powhatan's professed "love" of the colonists:

> upon our complaint to him it is laid upon some of his worst and unruly people, of which he tells us that even King James (commanding so many divers men) must have some irregular and unruly people; or ells upon some petty werowances, whome peradventure [i.e. perhaps] we have attempted [i.e. tempted] (saith he) with offenses of the like nature, then that is any act of his, or done by his command, or according to his will (Strachey 1953:58).

Though Powhatan hinted at his suspicions that the English provoked the ire of "his people", he also lays the blame for the hostilities in the hands of insubordinate werowances acting on their own. Strachey questioned Powhatan's veracity here, though other events suggest Powhatan was likely telling the truth. The repeated efforts of werowances to co-opt the English into exchange relations that circumvented the Mamanatowick speaks to the competitive nature of the political economy during John Smith's two voyages around the Bay and its tributaries. Several years later, when Powhatan's younger brother Opechancanough planned his first coordinated attack on the colonists in 1621, he reportedly sought poison to use against the English from a werowance on the Eastern Shore but was refused (Gleach 1997:146). Even the most powerful figure in Powhatan society was incapable of quelling the divisive Native political dynamics of the early seventeenth-century.

The Powhatans as a Complex Chiefdom

Given the concurrence of the Powhatan paramountcy's emergence during the late sixteenth century and the acceleration of hostile Algonquian-European encounters, ethnohistorians understandably assign culture contact an important role in the emergence of political complexity among Virginia Indians (e.g., Gleach 1997:22; Fausz 1985:235; Feest 1966, 1978:254; Axtell 1988:181; Kupperman 2000:36-37). Historians and ethnohistorians generally place sporadic European contacts alongside internal factors as critical in the consolidation of political authority and the emergence of political hierarchies in Virginia. Lacking written or archaeological evidence of this process, some researchers have suggested that trade monopolies among Virginia Algonquians interacting with Piedmont groups resulted in wealth accumulation and social inequality (e.g., Feest 1966:78-79, cf. Potter 1993). Under this scenario, intergroup hostilities encouraged military alliances and the development of a socially integrative ritual conducive to the formation of ethnic confederacies. One researcher has proposed that European-introduced epidemics of the sixteenth century caused a rapid depopulation of coastal Virginia and that this depopulation triggered the formation of the

Powhatan paramountcy (Barker 1992). With curtailed tribute available for exploitation from a smaller population, Algonquian chiefs including Powhatan expanded their domains militarily to establish control over communities that could supply additional tribute payments. How a chiefly political economy first emerged is left unaddressed in this scenario, and archaeological evidence provides no support for the proposed demographic sequence. The consensus view among ethnohistorians involves multiple causes for the emergence of the Powhatan paramountcy, with the hostile threat posed first by the Monacans and later by Europeans playing leading roles (e.g., Rountree 1989:149-151).

Generally, then, the Powhatan Indians of the early seventeenth-century Virginia coastal region comprised a complex chiefdom marked by social stratification, political hierarchy, and a political economy dominated by elites. When the English established Jamestown in 1607 they settled amidst what researchers have characterized as one of the most complex polities in North America (e.g., Potter 1993:1, Feinman and Neitzel 1984). However, Powhatan social organization remains enigmatic given the shallow temporal depth of its chiefly political system and ambiguity regarding the role of European contacts in the consolidation of the Mamanatowick's position. Colonial accounts suggest that political dynamics included Powhatan's efforts to establish a hegemonic solidarity while werowances pursued political strategies independent of the Mamanatowick's. In the process, werowances placed themselves at the center of networks of power, networks that ensnared the English colonists. Concurrently, collective events including the huskanaw and council sessions reflected institutions through which the Powhatans shared power and decision making across the society.

Late Pre-contact Coastal Plain Archaeology

From the rather equivocal sense of Native American life in early colonial Coastal Plain left by the documentary record, archaeologists have drawn concepts for interpreting the late pre-contact archaeological record. Unlike most ethnohistorians, archaeologists' interpretations of the sociopolitical developments among coastal Virginia Indians generally invoke a long-term process whereby acceleration of population growth and the intensification of subsistence production spurred the formation of complex polities. Much of this research draws upon a combination of regional settlement pattern studies and ethnohistorical analysis, quite different sources of historical knowledge whose linkage poses epistemological challenges.

Regional archaeological survey in several areas suggests to archaeologists that the Chesapeake's chiefly societies emerged out of a social transition whereby Middle Woodland (500 B.C. - A.D. 900) "harvesters of the Chesapeake" became Late Woodland (A.D. 900 - 1500) village agriculturalists (Potter 1993:139, Binford 1964, Turner 1976, Dent 1995). Prior to this transformation, a focus on estuarine resources and intensive settlement along major waterways in the Coastal Plain began during the Late Archaic (3000 B.C. - 1000 B.C.) and Early Woodland (1000 B.C. - 500 B.C.) periods throughout the Atlantic Coast region, likely driven by a subsistence emphasis on shellfish and anadromous fish. Paralleling this trend, an Early Woodland shift to lowland, estuarine areas is apparent in regional settlement patterns (e.g., Steponaitis 1987). Detailed analysis of shell midden formation has produced similar evidence of increasing exploitation of oysters during the Late Archaic and Early Woodland periods in the Potomac River basin (Waselkov 1982:207). Archaeological evidence of intensive shellfish exploitation is contemporaneous with a stabilization of the Chesapeake region's shorelines, making it difficult to separate the possible cultural transition from natural processes that heighten the visibility of post-Middle Archaic shoreline sites and submerged or destroyed earlier ones (Klein and Klatka 1991:165). Regardless of the timing of its commencement, extensive use of estuarine environments was in place in the Virginia Coastal Plain by the later centuries of the Middle Woodland Period.

Survey data along the south shore of the Potomac River record late pre-contact settlement patterns that oscillated between population concentration and dispersal through the late pre-contact era (Potter 1993). During the early Late Woodland centuries, large sites disappeared as newly agricultural populations dispersed in intermediate-sized settlements along the floodplains and neck lands of the Coan River. For the period between A.D. 1300 - 1500 a settlement pattern matching that described in colonial accounts emerged, with a large and internally dispersed village along the Coan River. The villages of the terminal Late Woodland contained a diversity and abundance of artifacts in the context of midden deposits, suggesting settlements occupied for a substantial portion of the year and favored locations which drew populations for multiple re-occupations. The survey data also suggest that population growth accelerated with the establishment of relatively sedentary communities during the final pre-contact centuries.

Interpretations of such regional settlement patterns generally envision the development of complex polities from the interplay between high population densities, social circumscription, hostilities across the fall line, and control of important resources and communication arteries by inner Coastal Plain groups (Potter 1993:168, Binford 1964, Turner 1976). This control may indeed have conveyed a selective advantage upon groups like the Powhatan on the James and the Patawomekes on the Potomac in the sixteenth century's competitive social climate. Some researchers have suggested that chiefdom polities ultimately arose as a solution to social and ecological problems posed by the sixteenth century cultural landscape in the Chesapeake (e.g., Potter 1993:149). In the Potomac River Valley the palisaded Potomac Creek (44ST2) and Accokeek Creek (18PR8) sites appear as fortified settlements of Piedmont emigrants in a hostile inner Coastal Plain (Potter 1993:120-121, Blanton 1999). The lack of subsurface storage at these locations raises the possibility that chiefs were present who controlled surplus maize production in above ground cribs (Potter 1993:120-121). In some Eastern Woodlands settings, the appearance of a political economy in which chiefs dominated household production resulted in the absence of subsurface storage pits (DeBoer 1988, Ward 1985).

The inner Coastal Plain may indeed represent the primary ecological setting for chiefdom emergence in the Chesapeake with its evidence of dense population concentrations amidst the overall demographic increases of the late pre-contact Coastal Plain (Turner 1976:68, 205). Due to the high agricultural productivity of floodplain soils and the increased numbers of Late Woodland settlements adjacent to rivers, competition for fertile land may have induced warfare, as indicated by the presence of fortified floodplain sites in the final centuries of the Late Woodland Period. The demographically large inner Coastal Plain groups who controlled Piedmont / Coastal Plain exchange appear to have prevailed in this hostile context, which spurred the formation of complex societies (1976:267). The increasingly-limited spatial distribution of Late Woodland (A.D. 900 - A.D. 1500) ceramic wares compared to Middle Woodland (500 B.C. - A.D. 900) patterns likely paralleled increased territoriality critical to the late pre-contact emergence of regionally-distinct Native polities (Turner 1993).

Recent excavations have produced information regarding Coastal Plain burial practices that complement this settlement pattern research. However, where ethnohistorical accounts clearly distinguish between ritual practices associated with the burials of Powhatan commoners and chiefs, Coastal Plain mortuary archaeology generally does not record the clear expression of social differentiation until the Contact Period. Ossuary burial, which often comprises the final stage of a complex, two-stage ritual process, forms the most common mortuary practice of the Late Woodland (Boyd and Boyd 1992:261-263, Curry 1999, Jirikowic 1990). While colonial accounts mention both primary interments and secondary burial ritual, it is not entirely clear whether either practice conferred a higher status. Disarticulated bone bundles, articulated burials, and cremated remains have all been identified in Coastal Plain ossuaries,

which usually date to the final Late Woodland centuries and the early colonial era. Individuals from all age groups and both sexes appear within ossuaries, providing no evidence of the exclusion of social categories from this institution. Protohistoric and contact era sites contain a greater diversity of burial forms, including primary interments and ossuaries, a development that may signal heightened social differentiation.

Grave goods rarely accompany pre-contact ossuary burial, though the contact era Paspahegh site (44JC308) located near Jamestown did include ossuary burials associated with European-produced copper artifacts (Lucketti et al. 1994:164). Amateur archaeologists uncovered a clearly high status burial containing copper and shell grave goods in the Potomac drainage, again dating to the early colonial era (Potter 1989). The increased occurrence of copper in ossuary burial on the Potomac Neck after A.D. 1630 may signal widespread access to this symbolically potent material and the end of chiefs' monopolization of prestige goods trade (Potter 1989). Early colonial accounts emphasize the placement of shell beads and copper objects with the high status burials in the Coastal Plain. The paucity of pre-contact evidence of high status burials may be a product of the Powhatans' practice of placing chiefs in above ground temples which have escaped archaeological detection or the limited sample of excavated pre-contact burials. In support of the latter possibility, a Late Woodland component at the Great Neck site (44VB7) exhibits a notable exception to the pattern in which pre-contact burials lack clear evidence of status differences. Excavators identified three forms of Great Neck burial associated with a fifteenth century palisaded village, one of which incorporated copper grave goods (Hodges 1993).

Generally, then, late pre-contact archaeological studies record a social transformation in the Coastal Plain from a foraging and hunting economy drawing upon the rich and diverse Chesapeake estuary to a subsistence economy which complemented these resources with maize-bean-squash horticulture concentrated in floodplain locations. By the final pre-contact centuries, relatively large communities dotted the river banks of the Coastal Plain, with palisaded settlements near the fall line. Ethnohistorical accounts likewise indicate the presence of fortified settlements on the James, including at Powhatan village where the man who would become paramount chief was born. An overall pattern of late pre-contact increase in population density is evident, with an acceleration of population growth in the final pre-contact centuries. Political complexity most likely arose near the fall line where rich and diverse resources, high population densities, and a proximity to the trading and raiding Piedmont Indians made complex political organization a particularly attractive solution to social and ecological problems.

Archaeological studies generally accord with this reconstruction by providing evidence of a focusing of settlement in large, relatively permanent settlements and an intensification of subsistence production, sedentariness, and population increase. The social dynamics whereby Virginia Algonquians translated this focusing of settlement and increased production of food and children into institutionalized inequality and political hierarchy, though, have been described in vague terms that are weakly corroborated by archaeological evidence. Outside of the seventeenth-century context, patterns of sedentariness, settlement population, and the organization of households and communities remain poorly understood in the Coastal Plain and the surrounding Chesapeake region.

Monacan Ethnohistory

As the review of Powhatan ethnohistory and archaeology suggests, the Monacans of the Virginia Piedmont played a critical role during the protohistoric and early colonial eras. Nonetheless, Jamestown colonists only briefly mentioned the Monacans, and then rather cryptically. John Smith, the principle recorder of Powhatan cultural patterns, never traveled

to the Piedmont and recorded information regarding the Monacans that he had learned "by relation only". The archaeological record of the Monacans' Piedmont region has, until quite recently, suffered from a lack of systematic survey and excavation.

On his Map of Virginia John Smith recorded the location of twelve Monacan and Mannahoac villages in the central Virginia Piedmont. "Upon the head of the Powhatans," wrote Smith of the James River Piedmont, "are the Monacans, whose chiefe habitation is at Rasauwmeake, unto whom the Mouhemenchughes, the Massinacacks, the Monahassanuggs, the Monasickapanoughs, and other nations pay tributs" (Smith 1986b:165). Smith's Map depicts the James River Monacans and the Mannahoacs of the Rappahannock River Piedmont as having the same settlement hierarchy of "king's howses" and "ordinary howses" that marked the Powhatan political landscape. The Mannahoacs are "all confederates with the Monacans, though many different in language" (Strachey 1953:107). While the linguistic diversity of the Piedmont Indians and the Siouan linguistic classification first proposed by Mooney (1907) remain controversial, it is clear from the Jamestown colonial texts that the Piedmont Indians formed a coherent social entity known collectively as the "Monacans" in their dealings with the Powhatans (Hantman 1993:98, Mouer 1983:23). The Monacans' settlement hierarchy and references to the Monacans' own werowances (e.g., Smith 1986c:238) and tribute paid to the village of Rassawek suggest that the Monacans possessed a centralized political economy and some form of complex sociopolitical organization characterized by relations of inequality during the early seventeenth-century.

Several written references to the Monacans emphasize Powhatan Indians' perceptions that "The Monanacah was his enemy, and that he came down at the fall of the leaf and invaded his country" (Archer 1998a:109). Others (e.g., Strachey 1953:34-35) wrote of chronic warfare between Monacans and Powhatans that made them deadly enemies. The relationship between these groups probably involved inter-group hostilities prior to 1607, though colonists reported no such warfare in the early years of the Jamestown colony. In the context of specific events the ambivalence of Algonquian Indians regarding Powhatan / Monacan tensions suggests a relationship in considerable flux (Hantman 1993:103). Prior to the arrival of Jamestown colonists who brought large amounts of copper for trading, the Monacans probably served as a source of this symbolically-potent material for the Indians of the Coastal Plain (Hantman 1990). Regardless of the precise nature of Monacan political organization and their relationship with the Powhatans, the Monacans kept their distance from the English throughout the colonial era.

Hantman's (1990:680-682) lexical and contextual analysis of three written references to the Monacans suggests that the Monacans were "diverse" and "barbarous" only in the sense of being numerous and different than the English. Macrobotanical (Mouer 1983, Hantman and Gallivan 1998) and bioarchaeological (Gold 1998, Trimble 1996) evidence indicates that late pre-contact Indians of the Piedmont subsisted on a mixed horticultural economy similar to the Powhatans'. Analysis of Late Woodland skeletal remains recovered in the Piedmont and in the Ridge and Valley identified patterning in dental caries, tooth wear, and enamel hypoplasia indicating that horticultural resources played an important role in a mixed subsistence regime that combined cultivated and non-cultivated foods (Gold 1998). Similarly, stable isotope analysis of teeth and bones has demonstrated that cultigens contributed substantially to diet throughout Virginia (Trimble 1996). Piedmont consumption of C4 plants (i.e. maize) comprised somewhat less than 50 % of diet. The minority status of maize in Piedmont diets may explain the infrequent occurrence of macrobotanical evidence of cultigens at Late Woodland sites in the Piedmont, a paucity echoed in Late Woodland excavations on the Coastal Plain.

In 1670, roughly two generations after the Monacans first encountered Jamestown colonists; John Lederer traveled in the Virginia and North Carolina Piedmont among the Monacans and

culturally related Siouan-speaking groups to the south (Lederer 1958). Lederer wrote that some of these groups were governed by an absolute monarch who controlled a great store of pearl (1958:24), while others made decisions collectively under the collective influence of old men and oracles (1958:27). Two chiefs led another group, with each presiding over a different social realm (1958:25). Similar to earlier accounts from eastern Virginia, these characterizations of Native political systems in the interior reflect social dynamics involving both powerful chiefs and political structures with a collective orientation. Apparently, societies throughout the larger Chesapeake region adopted a range of political structures that incorporated a blend of centralized authority and collective decision making.

Late Pre-contact Piedmont Archaeology

The riverine-centered settlement system reflected in John Smith's Map of Virginia has a long history in the James River Piedmont. Survey data from the central Virginia Piedmont for the Middle and Late Archaic periods record a roughly balanced division of sites between those associated with major rivers (i.e. on floodplains or adjacent bluffs) and those located in upland areas (Klein and Klatka 1991, Hantman 1985, Klatka 1988, Klatka et al. 1986, Klein 1987), implying a broad-based settlement pattern involving an even distribution of sites on the landscape prior to the Early Woodland Period. With the commencement of the Woodland Period, a greater focus on floodplain locations at the expense of upland sites accompanied settlement patterns entailing increased sedentariness and population density.

Late Archaic through Early Woodland sites in the eastern Piedmont exhibit spatially-associated artifact concentrations, midden deposits, and large, deep features (Mouer 1990; Mouer, Ryder and Johnson 1981). Rock clusters and platform hearths common to Late Archaic and Early Woodland sites throughout Virginia (McLearan 1991:115) are complemented by more substantial pit features at sites in the vicinity of Elk Island, a focus of eastern Piedmont settlement. In general, these sites suggest the emergence of a more spatially concentrated, functionally variable, and temporally enduring floodplain presence in the Piedmont during the final Late Archaic centuries and the Early Woodland Period.

Archaeological survey indicates an even greater intensity of floodplain settlement after A.D. 900 with a general withdrawal from interfluvial and upland locations and a concentration of settlement along the major rivers (Hantman 1985, Klatka et al. 1986, Klatka 1988). This temporal pattern and the overall density of Late Woodland sites in the Piedmont closely parallel the results of settlement studies in the Coastal Plain. Survey and ethnohistorical studies suggest that as many as 15,000 Monacans may have resided in the Piedmont circa 1607 (Hantman 1993:100), although colonial texts fail to provide the same documentary basis for estimating Piedmont demography that researchers have used in inferring Powhatan population.

The appearance of a fall-line boundary in the distribution of ceramic types circa A.D. 200 likely parallels a distinction between coastal Algonquians and interior Siouan-speakers (Egloff 1985). Prior to this period a shared ceramic tradition spanned both of these areas. Typological approaches to the classification of Virginia ceramics have relied primarily on differences of temper to distinguish between wares (e.g., Evans 1955, Egloff and Potter 1982). By A.D. 200 a distinction between the shell-tempered Mockley ceramics of the coastal areas and the lithic and sand tempered wares of the interior suggests social boundary formation. This distinction between shell-tempered ceramics of the Coastal Plain and lithic or sand tempered ceramics of the Piedmont continued into the Late Woodland Period with the contrast between Townsend ware of the coastal region and the Albemarle series in the Piedmont. By the terminal Late Woodland, ceramic types with more restricted distributions proliferated in Virginia (e.g., Turner 1993:84-87). Shell-tempered Roanoke simple-stamped

ceramics dominated the lower James while sand and crushed quartz-tempered Gaston simple-stamped appeared in the inner Coastal Plain of the James and York river drainages. Townsend fabric-impressed occurred throughout the lower York, Rappahannock, and Potomac drainages. Sand and crushed quartz-tempered Potomac Creek pottery, a ware with distinctive rim decorations, occurred in the Potomac's inner Coastal Plain. West of the Blue Ridge, Ridge and Valley groups of the Middle Woodland and early Late Woodland centuries produced quartz-tempered Albemarle ceramics similar to those found in the Piedmont (Gardner 1986). By the latter half of the Late Woodland, the predominance of ceramics in the Ridge and Valley tempered with limestone and gastropod shells indicates a contrast with Piedmont ceramics where finely-crushed lithic temper replaced the coarsely-crushed quartz that tempered Albemarle series pottery.

Aside from differences of temper, Native potters shared stylistic attributes and technological trends across the fall line and the Blue Ridge. By the end of the Late Woodland Period some see in ceramic ware distributions distinct "spheres of cultural interaction" (Egloff 1985). However, placing boundaries on these spheres remains difficult due to the sharing of non-temper attributes across wide areas of the Middle Atlantic. Attribute-based analysis of ceramics has indicated that late pre-contact ceramic style varied "clinally", a pattern in which gradations of subtly differing ceramic style occur across geographic space (Klein 1994).

Archaeologists characterize Late Woodland Piedmont settlement forms on the floodplain as either linear arrangements of features or compact clusters of artifacts and associated midden deposits (e.g., Mouer 1983). Mouer's (1983:27) James River Piedmont survey identified several circular middens containing material diagnostic of the final Late Woodland or protohistoric. [5] centuries, suggesting a possible trend toward the nucleation of settlement on the floodplain. The diversity and abundance of debris recovered in surface collections at these locations and the presence of midden deposits suggests the possibility of increases in sedentariness and in settlement population.

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[5]The protohistoric period in North America refers to the period of the initial influx of European explorers, missionaries, and colonists prior to the advent of detailed written sources on a region's peoples and histories.

The unity of Monacan society as inferred from written references is matched archaeologically by evidence of burial mounds that are seen as physical evidence of a shared Monacan ideology (Hantman 1990:684, Holland 1978:31, cf. MacCord 1986:3). The Monacans constructed mounds of earth that contained mass burial features in some ways similar to Coastal Plain ossuaries. Thirteen accretional mounds containing thousands of skeletal remains appeared in the Piedmont and the Ridge and Valley during the Late Woodland Period (Dunham 1994). These mounds include human "bone beds" deposited during discrete burial events. The precise chronology of the Piedmont burial mounds is unclear, yet radiocarbon dated contexts from the Rapidan Mound site (44OR1) suggest that the most intensive use of the mound occurred during the latter portion of the Late Woodland (Gold 1998, Holland et al. 1983). Radiocarbon dates from similar mounds located west of the Blue Ridge have a somewhat longer sequence that begins at the opening of the Late Woodland (MacCord 1986:4, Gold 1998). These dates suggest the diffusion of mound building practices eastward from the Ridge and Valley, with mound construction in the Piedmont taking hold during the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries.

As in Coastal Plain ossuaries, these collective burial features generally involved a multi-stage ritual process. The archaeological record offers only a glimpse of only the final stage (Dunham 1999). Since the institution represented by burial mounds spans the Blue Ridge,

groups in the Piedmont and the Ridge and Valley appear to be linked during the Late Woodland Period through shared ritual practices (Hantman 1998). Estimates of the number of individuals interred within various mounds vary widely due to mound deflation from cultivation practices and overbank river flooding (MacCord 1986, Dunham 1994, Gold 1998). Intensive investigations at the Rapidan Mound (44OR1) in the Rappahannock River Piedmont indicate that the mound originally contained the remains of 1000 to 2000 individuals (Dunham 1994, Gold 1998). Paralleling late pre-contact ossuary burial of the Coastal Plain, Piedmont mounds resulted from communal burial events during which Native communities interred disarticulated bones in bundles or layers, generally without accompanying grave goods.

Burial mounds of the Piedmont and Ridge and Valley may in fact have embodied a Late Woodland institution through which social power was linked to historical associations between ancestors and territory (Hantman 1990). Mounds, with their mass burials and lack of distinguishing marks of social status, may have masked social inequality behind ceremony that emphasized shared community equality in the afterlife. Indeed, symbolic analysis of burial mound practices as products of such ritual practices suggests that mound burial reproduced and transformed social relations as a "common ground" for the embodiment of contradictory social impulses (Dunham 1994:18). As the product of newly sedentary horticulturalists, these burial mounds may be read as landscape features symbolically unifying riverine territories, ancestors, and multi-communal labor (Dunham 1999:127).

Interpretation of the Monacans as representing the temporary confederacy of a segmentary lineage society (Mouer 1981), a complex chiefdom (Hantman 1990), and other labels applied to this group (e.g., Custer 1986:157) reflect different ways of reading an ambiguous ethnohistoric record and a modest archaeological data base. These data limit definitive statements that may be made regarding Monacan social organization (Klein 1986:54). Nonetheless, ethnohistorical accounts do paint the Monacans as a coherent polity with the power to threaten the Powhatan chiefdom militarily during the early colonial era. Monacans' access to copper probably gave them leverage in the regional political economy, at least before Jamestown colonists became the source of copper objects in the Chesapeake region. Ethnohistoric references to werowances, the villages of kings, and tributary relations linking a multi-community political organization suggest a society that incorporated some measure of social inequality and political hierarchy. Archaeological data indicate patterning in Piedmont subsistence, settlement, and demography corresponding closely with that of the Coastal Plain. Although Amoroleck counted the Powhatans and Monacans as two of the three "worlds" he described to his English captors (Smith 1986d: 175-176) these worlds appear to have shared important elements and a long history of interaction.

New Interpretations

Recent research drawing on the rich archaeological record of the James River valley (Gallivan 2003) has offered several new ideas regarding the origins and dynamics of the Powhatan chiefdom and the Monacan polity. The point of departure for this study was the contrast between the written accounts of the Powhatans and Monacans, with emphasis on political hierarchy and the region's archaeological record, which lacks some attributes typically associated with chiefdom polities. By identifying changes in late pre-contact archaeological record, the study recovered elements of Powhatan and Monacan culture history that provide a means of reuniting the region's ethnohistory to its archaeology. Gallivan identified a set of social changes that coincided with the establishment of relatively large and permanent village communities in the James River Valley. During the three centuries between A.D. 1200 to A.D. 1500 Native societies transformed elements of their domestic portions of the drainage. The creation of a landscape of village communities in the

James River Valley triggered social dynamics that contributed to the political hierarchy of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries Chesapeake.

Nonetheless, the archaeological record of Native societies in the Chesapeake demonstrates that the early colonial era entailed a social context that differed in fundamental ways from the preceding era, complicating efforts to trace a regional culture history. A new set of developments within the domestic, communal, and regional spheres emerged rather abruptly during the sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries, changes coinciding with the early colonial encounter. In combining ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence from the sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries, it becomes apparent that the Contact Period presented a unique and transformative historical setting that prompted a reorganization of village life in Native communities across the region.

Archaeological evidence collected for Gallivan's study indicates that practices adopted during the Late Woodland Period by villagers in the James River Valley changed with the protohistoric sixteenth century. Two such developments prominent at the domestic scale involve the end of both storage pit use and household expansion. These patterns may in fact have responded to chiefly intervention in the domestic economy after A.D. 1500. Late Woodland II (AD 1200 - 1500) storage patterns indicate that households produced increasing surpluses and sheltered at least part of these in storage pits located inside domestic structures. In a parallel development, domestic groups continued to increase in size during these centuries, as reflected in expanding house floor dimensions. During the Protohistoric and Contact periods, though, most villages in the James River Valley lacked storage features altogether, implying the adoption of above ground storage. Average house size began to decline after A.D. 1500, even as the range of house sizes within a village showed a growing gap between the largest houses and the rest of the domestic structures in a community. Judging from the dimensions of domestic architecture, most household groups ceased to increase in size during the colonial era, even while a few of the largest domestic groups continued to expand.

Ethnohistorical references from the coastal region complement this evidence by demonstrating how werowances and the Mamanatowick leveraged funds of power originating in the domestic sphere. In describing Powhatan households, Strachey tells us that, "The reason why each chief patron of a famely especially werowances, are desirous and (indeed) strive for many wives is because they would have many children who may, if chaunce be fight for them, when they are old, as also then feed and maynetayn them" (Strachey 1953:120). Similar motives for augmenting the domestic workforce likely played a role in the expansion of household size recorded in the region's Late Woodland archaeology, a period when horticultural production grew in importance. The archaeological record of house sizes during the subsequent colonial era suggests that werowances may have accomplished this objective at the expense of 'commoner' households, such that the average size of domestic structures actually declined.

The colonial histories also record tribute payments that Powhatan extracted from werowances and that werowances drew from domestic groups, tribute that included domestic staples — corn, meat, and deer skins — along with prestige items such as copper and pearls (Strachey 1953:63). Central storage of these items occurred in above-ground storehouses constructed by the Mamanatowick and, on a smaller scale, by werowances. In fact, werowances' considerable tribute demands may have induced some domestic groups to conceal corn and other valuables in storage pits in order to avoid tribute payment. Strachey noted of the Powhatans that,

> Their corn and (indeed) their copper, hatchetts, howes, beades, perle and most things with them of value according to their own estymation, they hide one from

> the knowledge of another in the grownd within the woods, and so keepe them all yeare, or untill they have fit use for them . . . and when they take them forth they scarse make their women privie to the storehowse (1953:115).

Where storage pits located within domestic architecture offered adequate protection for surpluses of the Late Woodland II phase, Powhatans elected to hide corn and other valuables away from the village during the early colonial era. Similar tactics aimed at avoiding the loss of surpluses appeared amidst the colonists' efforts to extract corn from Powhatan village at the James River falls, "Trade they would not, and finde their corn we could not; for they had hid it in the woods" (Smith 1986d: 185).

Viewed in tandem, the archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence indicates that colonial-era werowances successfully intervened in the domestic economy in order to extract surpluses. Through gift-giving, feast sponsorship, and other forms of patronage, surpluses that remained within the domestic realm during the Late Woodland II phase became funds of power wielded in the political arena after A.D. 1500. Ethnohistoric references hinting that some Powhatan households and communities took steps to counter this process through concealment indicate that, even in the Coastal Plain, werowances had not established hegemony over the domestic economy. Nonetheless, the Powhatans altered their use of storage pits rather dramatically during the colonial era, concealing them in the woods rather than placing them within their houses in response to elites' intervention in the domestic sphere.

As detailed in Gallivan's study, evidence from communal and regional spheres suggest the development of a new social setting during the Protohistoric period. Within village settlements the archaeological record points to the advent of palisade construction, communal feasting, and elite mortuary ritual in the Late Woodland II phase, though each took on a greater prominence during the protohistoric era. Palisades distinguished a space dominated by chiefly elites and possibly served as defensive features amidst peer polity interaction that included hostilities. Mortuary practices that conveyed heightened social differentiation indicate that symbolically-potent prestige goods with a sparse distribution in the pre-contact era assumed a substantial role with the early colonial era. The communal feasts that drew upon the surpluses of a horticultural economy became a critical part in the events of contact involving werowances and the Tassantasses. In short, through their association with palisade construction, elite mortuary ritual, and communal feasting, select villages of the early colonial era became physical landscapes that embodied expressions of sacred and political authority.

In the coastal region, documentary accounts suggest that Powhatan effectively built an individual centered authority upon the foundation of corporate will expressed by the priests and other quioccosuks during this Period. Powhatan pursued strategies designed to enhance his own centrality within regional social networks that encompassed the English by building alliances and demanding symbolically- resonant objects. In effect, the English briefly became Powhatan's subjects during the summer of 1607 as the Mamanatowick played the werowance's role of a culture broker capable of assimilating the unrefined strangers into the Powhatan world (Gallivan and Hantman 1996, Gleach 1997:114). Powhatan had pursued similar strategies to build networks of power during the protohistoric era prior to the settlement of the Jamestown colony, precluding the notion that the Tassantasses' arrival somehow produced the Mamanatowick and his paramountcy. Nonetheless, through his role in the Protohistoric and Contact Period events that comprise his reign, Powhatan revealed himself as a canny manipulator of both the corporate symbols that were central to Powhatan culture and the exclusionary power that came to dominate the early colonial encounter. The intermittent violence and profound otherness that attended European visits during the Protohistoric and Contact periods likely contributed to the consolidation of chiefly authority in the Chesapeake, perhaps by encouraging some Virginia Algonquians to invest in the

Mamanatowick and their werowances an unprecedented measure of authority.

Ongoing research: The Werowocomoco Site

When members of the Virginia Company landed at Jamestown in 1607 they stepped into a world of Algonquian communities bound together within a powerful chiefdom polity centered on the village of Werowocomoco, Powhatan's residence on the north side of the Pamunkey (i.e. York River). During several colonial encounters at Werowocomoco Natives and newcomers sought to civilize one another through a negotiated discourse that incorporated speech, ceremony, and exchange, as documented in the written accounts. Despite centuries of scholarship aimed at explaining these events, much remains to be learned regarding the cultural perspective of the Powhatan participants. Documentary accounts offer critical evidence of this period, though the English narratives are tinged with a colonialist bias. Understanding the Chesapeake Contact period more fully requires detailed archaeological study of Powhatan settlements in an effort to consider Native culture history on its own terms.

The Werowocomoco Research Group (WRG), a team of researchers from the College of William and Mary, the Department of Historic Resources, and the Virginia Council on Indians, have begun an archaeological investigation of the Werowocomoco site (44GL32) in Gloucester County, Virginia in a project that links researchers and descendant communities, academic and public archaeology. To date, the WRG has assembled a research team and developed partnerships with tribes descended from the Powhatans in an effort to include Virginia Indian voices in the research. The research group has completed a comprehensive shovel-test survey and conducted a preliminary field season confirming the site's research potential. The field research indicates that the site was a remarkably large and dispersed village circa 1607 containing evidence of substantial landscape modification spanning the years from A.D. 1400 through the Contact period.

Future research at the site will consider two broad themes: 1) a community oriented perspective on the development of the Powhatan chiefdom from A.D. 1300-1609 and, 2) a study of the material consequences of the Chesapeake colonial encounter from the vantage of a Native center. The investigations will focus on changes in the settlement's spatial organization, exchange patterns, and maize production during the periods immediately before and after 1607. The intent of the research is to contribute to an understanding of how social power came to be concentrated within and exercised from Werowocomoco.

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CHAPTER 4:
Narrative History

Martha W. McCartney

Research Design

Among the numerous primary sources examined in pursuit of this project's objectives were originals and transcriptions of the official records generated by the Virginia colony's government from 1607 until the early eighteenth century. Of special interest were the minutes and other records produced by Virginia governors and their councils and the colony's legislative assembly, which document colonization's impact upon Native society. Throughout the research process, diligent efforts were made to locate references to Virginia Indians and their activities as they pertained to Jamestown Island during the seventeenth century. Among the other issues addressed were the loss of Native lands and civil rights, changing demographics, and the indigenous population's evolving cultural context.

Numerous narratives, first person accounts, and collections of private correspondence were examined, as were facsimiles of historical maps. All of these categories of records were known to contain information on Native peoples during the early colonial period. The writings of Captain John Smith, George Percy, Peter Wynne, John Rolfe, Ralph Hamor, William Strachey, Thomas Dale, Alexander Whittaker, Henry Spellman, William Peirce, and others were examined, as were the accounts later produced by John Clayton, John Lederer, and Robert Beverley II. Records compiled by the Virginia Company of London, under whose aegis Virginia was first colonized, were studied carefully. Some use was made of documents on file in the British Public Records Office, which were accessed by means of the Virginia Colonial Records Project's survey reports and microfilms.

Among the local records groups examined were documents generated by the justices of James City, York, Isle of Wight, Charles City, and Surry Counties, accessed by means of abstracts and transcriptions when available. Other groups of documents that were studied were the abstracts of British colonial records compiled by William Noel Sainsbury and his associates and collections of private papers. Use was made of certain documentary sources identified during the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment, notably the Ferrar Manuscript and the Ambler Papers.

Abstracts of land patents and grants were useful in documenting the spread of settlement, a consequence of which was Native land loss. Occasionally the names of Indians (imported from other colonies) were included in lists of headrights that accompanied patents. Some of the data utilized were accumulated by the author during previous research projects that focused upon Native American groups in Tidewater Virginia. These include the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Indian Reservations and Camden National Register Nominations and essays that have appeared in several professional journals and books, an encyclopedia, and numerous cultural resource management reports. A judicious use was made of respected

secondary sources. General background information on the Powhatan Chiefdom was derived from the writings of Helen C. Rountree, Theodore Stern, E. Randolph Turner, Stephen Potter, Wilcomb Washburn, Christian Feest and others.

Limitations of the Sources

Almost all of the antebellum court records of James City County, the jurisdiction within which the study area lies, were destroyed during the Civil War and nearly all of Charles City's early records were lost. However, the records of the local courts of Surry (split off from James City County in 1652), Isle of Wight, and York Counties essentially are intact and warrant a thorough examination. The records generated by the governor's council and the assembly are incomplete. However, they describe interaction between the colonists and the Native population throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many early land patents were lost or destroyed, creating numerous gaps in the records, and extant patents predating 1683 are transcriptions, not originals. However, thanks to early colonists' interest in the indigenous population and urban Jamestown's role as the colony's seventeenth century capital, much useful information has survived.

Introduction

The narrative that follows draws upon some of the numerous sources that have been identified to date, a considerable number of which await in-depth exploration. Collections of private papers, seventeenth century court records of nearby counties and document groups at outlying repositories, such as those on file at the Virginia Historical Society, Library of Congress, National Archives, and the British Public Records Office, are among the archival materials that warrant initial or (in some cases) a more thorough examination.

It should be noted that the names of European colonists have been included in certain portions of the discussion that follows. This has been done purposefully because almost all of the colony's extant official records (whether generated by local courts or the overarching branches of government) are indexed under the names of specific European colonists involved in court action and land claims. Thus, those colonists' names point the way to future research.

In contrast, legislation enacted in an attempt to control or govern the indigenous population as a group identifies the Natives categorically. Because the colony's principal leader, the governor, exerted a strong influence upon public policy, within the discussion that follows, the changes that occurred progressively have been linked to specific administrations. Original phonic spellings have been preserved within quotations.

Prelude to Colonization

Jamestown Island's First Inhabitants

Thousands of years before the first European colonists arrived in Virginia, an indigenous population inhabited the coastal plain, leaving a faint imprint upon the land. The early history of the Indians or Native Americans, though largely unrecorded, is an integral part of America's heritage. Our knowledge of these very early people comes to us through archaeology.

By the time the first colonists arrived, the Indians' way of life was well established. Early

explorers, who recorded their observations, shed light upon how they lived. However, it is important to remember that the explorers' narratives reflect their own perception of Native culture. Undoubtedly they missed many subtleties, just as they misunderstood or misinterpreted larger issues.

Corn or maize, introduced into the region from Mexico, adapted well to Virginia's environment. It fulfilled the Indians' nutritional needs, enabling them to thrive and become more populous. Archaeologists speculate that control of the food supply led to the development of Native societies with differences in the rank or status of certain individuals. Immediately prior to European contact, villages replaced the base camps the Indians used during earlier periods, for a surplus of cultivated crops allowed them to store food and linger in one location for longer periods of time. Their social order gradually became more complex. In chiefdoms, which had begun to develop by the late 1500s, leaders accepted tribute, which they retained or redistributed.

When the literally hundreds of villages that existed in Tidewater Virginia began to compete for territory and economic supremacy, weaker tribes were forced to pay tribute to stronger ones that guaranteed them protection in times of war. The Natives, like their forebears, followed a seasonal pattern of hunting and gathering. They lived along the banks of tidal waterways during the warmer months and then moved into the interior during the winter, when their gardens were dormant and fishing was less productive. It was then they relied upon stored food and the game they could procure. Ceremonial life was important and creativity flourished. The Indians wrought objects of stone, copper and shell that reflected their belief system. Their relatively substantial houses usually were clustered close together or interspersed with fields used for gardening. Their villages were well organized and sometimes surrounded by a palisade. The Indians typically built their homes upon the floodplain and low-lying necks of land with rich, sandy soil. Their principal food crops were beans, squash, and corn and as time went on, they began growing tobacco. Indian women and elderly men usually planted crops, employing the slash-and-burn method of clearing the ground they used for agriculture. Virginia's coastal plain offered the Indians a broad variety of fish, shell-fish, and game species upon which to feast.

By the time Europeans began documenting their exploratory visits to the New World, the Indians of Virginia's coastal plain had a well-developed social order. They spent most of the year in villages that lined the banks of the region's rivers and they spoke the Algonquian language, a distinct dialect that set them apart from those communicating in the Iroquoian, Sioux and other tongues. Virginia's Algonquians shared a common linguistic bond with some of the Native peoples to the north and south. Although European explorers' sketches and written accounts capture a sense of Indian life, many of the numerous differences between the two cultural groups surely escaped notice (Egloff et al. 1992:24-26, 37; Trigger 1978:70-74, 240, 253).

The Indians' Introduction to Europeans

The Spanish were persistent in their attempts to colonize North America and other Europeans are known to have visited. In 1565 the Spanish established St. Augustine, Florida, a military outpost at the southeastern tip of North America. However, earlier on, a Spanish ship visiting the Chesapeake took aboard an Indian boy, reputedly a chief's son, and transported him to Spain where he was converted to Christianity and renamed Don Luis. Later, the youth traveled to Cuba and St. Augustine, where Jesuit missionaries heard him speak of his native land, Ajacan. It was then they resolved to set sail for the Chesapeake to spread the Christian message, using Don Luis as an intermediary.

In 1570 a Spanish ship bearing eight Jesuit missionaries, Don Luis, and a Cuban boy named

Alonzo de Olmos arrived in the Chesapeake Bay or Bahia de Santa Maria. They entered a broad, navigable river, the James, and continued inland approximately 40 miles to the converted Native's homeland. They reached a large tributary waterway (College Creek), at the eastern end of what we know as Jamestown Island, and then followed it inland. Afterward, they portaged overland to another navigable stream, probably Queens Creek, which took them to the York River. At that point the Jesuits began searching for a suitable place to establish their mission. They learned that there had been "six years of famine and death" in Don Luis's land and that many Indians had died or left in search of food. The missionaries sent word to St. Augustine that they needed a supply of corn for their own subsistence and to dispense to the Natives for use in their gardens. This, they felt, would provide them with an opportunity to sow the seeds of Christianity. But a few months later, when a relief ship came, the missionaries were nowhere to be seen and canoes filled with Indian warriors initiated an attack. A Native captured in the melee revealed that the Jesuits were dead and only young Alonzo was alive.

In 1572 Cuba's Governor Pedro Menendez de Aviles decided to visit the Chesapeake to search for the Cuban boy and to learn what happened to the Jesuit missionaries. He dispatched a small-armed vessel with a priest, 30 soldiers, and the Indian captured by the relief ship, to retrace the route taken by the Jesuits. They sailed up the James, entered College Creek, and continued inland a short distance before dropping anchor. When a group of Natives came aboard to trade, the Spaniards noticed that one was wearing around his neck a piece of the missionaries' communion silver. They promptly seized their visitors and headed back downstream, fending off attacking warriors along the way. The Indians offered to return the Cuban boy, but when he failed to appear, the Spaniards decided to leave and fired a departing shot into a throng of Native onlookers. When they reached the mouth of the James, they found the boy whom the Indians had taken there. He reported that as soon as Don Luis reached his homeland, he discarded his Christian religion and fled to his own people. The abandoned missionaries, who were left to fend for themselves, built a small hut and became resigned to death by starvation. However, they sent word to Don Luis, asking for help in bringing religion to his people. Although the apostate convert feigned cooperation, ultimately he and his companions fell upon the unsuspecting Jesuits and killed them. Alonzo was spared on account of his youth.

Governor Menendez, having failed to capture Don Luis, decided to hold an inquisition using the Cuban boy as translator. Some of the Indians captured in College Creek were deemed innocent and released. The remainder were catechized, baptized and then hanged from the ship's yardarm. The Spaniards then weighed anchor, undoubtedly leaving in their wake a legacy of dread and suspicion The Jesuit mission site, meanwhile, faded into the forest (Lewis et al. 1953:38, 89-92, 107-109, 118-121, 133-137). Research suggests that the Spanish Jesuit mission site most likely was located between Queens and Indian Field Creeks in York County.

Colonization: Impact and Progression

The Impact of Climatic Conditions

The University of Arkansas's recent study of tree-ring data from a bald cypress near Jamestown Island indicates that the Jamestown colonists arrived during a period of severe drought that lasted from 1606 to 1612. It was the driest period in 770 years. Conditions were particularly severe in Tidewater Virginia near Jamestown. Drought conditions would have created a crisis for both Natives and colonists, for plant materials would not have been readily available for subsistence. Also, water quality would have been at its poorest. Regional drought would have increased the salinity of the lower James River, especially near

Jamestown Island, which lies within the oligohaline zone, where the exchange between fresh and salt water in the river would have been minimal (Stahl et al. 1998:566). Thus, when the first Virginia colonists arrived, the Natives they encountered would have experienced a bad crop year.

Council President Edward Maria Wingfield (1607)

When the First European Colonists Arrived

In 1607, when the English established a permanent settlement on Jamestown Island, under the auspices of the Virginia Company of London, a joint stock company, the Native population of Tidewater Virginia was under the sway of Wahunsonacock or Powhatan, a paramount chief who governed his people in a manner Captain John Smith described as monarchical. Powhatan reigned over 32 districts that encompassed more than 150 villages of various sizes. Their inhabitants supported Powhatan in times of war and paid him tribute. Captain John Smith described Powhatan as a monarch to whom many lesser kings (or werowances) were subservient. He reportedly was tall and well proportioned and had gray hair and a thin beard. Despite his age, Powhatan reportedly was strong and hardy (Smith 1910:49-51, 375; Tyler 1907:49-51; Wood et al. 1989:154).

Many scholars believe that the Powhatan Chiefdom took form during the 1570s, when Powhatan inherited the right to lead six or more petty chiefdoms within a vast territory that extended from the fall line of the James River, north-northeast to the York. By the close of 1608 Powhatan had expanded his territory and brought under his control almost all of the petty chiefdoms or districts located in Virginia's coastal plain. Within the Powhatan Chiefdom's hierarchy, werowances subordinate to Powhatan governed petty chiefdoms. If a petty chiefdom had more than one village, such subunits were headed by a lesser werowance. Thus, the people of the Powhatan Chiefdom were members of what could be termed a rank society. In 1607, when the first colonists arrived, Powhatan was trying to take control of the Chickahominy, a strong Native group governed by a council of eight elders instead of a werowance. He also was attempting to establish his supremacy over some of the petty chiefdoms between the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers. Powhatan, who was a Pamunkey, lived at Werowocomoco, on the north side of the York River at Purton Bay. However, his people's stronghold was in the Pamunkey River and their most holy religious shrine was at Uttamussack, on the Pamunkey River. He died in 1617, a year after the death of his daughter, Pocahontas (Rountree 1990:10-11; Wood et al. 1989:152-154; Trigger 1978:255; Smith 1610; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:73).

Captain John Smith observed that Indian men spent most of their time hunting, fishing and engaging in wars, while the women and children made mats, baskets, and pottery and raised the crops upon which their villages depended. He described the Powhatans as generally tall and straight, with black hair and dusky complexions, and noted that the men rarely had beards. He said that the Natives were exceptionally strong and agile and tolerated even the worst weather.

But there were many subtle and more important differences between the Indians and the Europeans. The Powhatans considered land merely a part of the earth, like the sky, water and the air, and therefore open to all for subsistence. Thus, the European concept of *owning* land was foreign to them. The two cultures also had vastly different views of religion. The Powhatans, while open to the idea of a Christian deity, were reluctant to renounce their own gods. Although both cultures viewed accumulated wealth as an emblem of social status, they had a much different concept of inheritance, for with the Powhatan, it passed through the female line rather than the male. For example, Powhatan's chiefdom could descend to his

next oldest brother or the son of his eldest sister but not his own children (Egloff et al. 1992:41-43). In light of the vast differences between the two peoples and their mutual lack of understanding, they were destined to collide.

The Native Way of Life

Tidewater Virginia Indians, though more sedentary than their forebears, followed a seasonal pattern of hunting and gathering. They lived along the banks of tidal waterways during the warm months and in winter, when their gardens were dormant and fishing was less productive, they moved into the interior and relied upon stored food, as well as whatever game they could procure. Therefore it was a relatively mobile existence. Waterways were viewed as a source of food and a conduit of transportation and sometimes, if a stream were narrow, the Natives would build their towns on both sides. Many Native groups (for example, the Pamunkey and the Mattaponi) were in control of land on both sides of the rivers on which their villages were located. Their houses usually were located close to the shore and sometimes might extend along the waterfront for a considerable distance (Rountree 1990:6; Egloff et al. 1993:23-25).

First Encounters

When the first colonists arrived in Virginia on April 26, 1607, they touched land at what they called Cape Henry, at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay. Going ashore, they explored their immediate surroundings. At nightfall, some Natives approached cautiously, close to the ground, "their Bowes in their mouths," and then charged at the colonists, discharging their supply of arrows. Then they fled from the retaliatory gunfire. The next day, the newly arrived colonists continued their explorations (Smith 1910:lxii, 91).

On April 30th, the colonists made contact with the Natives at Kecoughtan, at the mouth of the broad river called the Powhatan, later the James. Shortly thereafter they sailed inland, exploring the countryside and going ashore from time to time. As they moved upstream, they encountered Indians whose bodies were ornamented with brightly colored furs and jewelry of bone, shell and copper and whose hair was adorned with feathers and animal horns. According to Captain John Smith, some of the Natives welcomed the newcomers hospitably, offering food and entertainment. Others discharged arrows and then fled from the colonists' gunfire (Quinn 1977:202; Smith 1910:lxi-lxii, xc, 49-51). On May 13, 1607, when the settlers landed upon the small peninsula that became known as Jamestown Island, they were within the territory of the Pasbehay (Paspahegh) Indians (Percy 1967:15-16).

Captain John Smith commented that President Edward Maria Wingfield "would admit no exercise at armes, or fortification but the boughs of trees cast together in the forme of a halfe moone." However, on May 26, 1607, the Natives attacked the insubstantial retreat built by the first settlers, who had a difficult time defending themselves. Afterward, Wingfield decided that a more substantial fort should be built, one that had palisades and mounted ordnance. George Percy said that "We had made our selves sufficiently strong for these savages." Another colonist noted that President Wingfield "had one [arrow] shott clean through his bearde yet [e]scaped." He said that after a fort had been built, the Indians came "lurking in the thicketes and long grasse" (Smith 1986:I:206; Barbour 1969:I:95-96; Percy 1967:22). Clearly, both Natives and colonists had reason to view each other warily, with a certain amount of suspicion and distrust.

Early Exploration

Subsequent to the establishment of a permanent settlement at Jamestown in 1607, English explorers under the direction of Captain Christopher Newport sailed up the York River,

noting that the Pamunkey Indians' territory was in the neck of land delimited by the union of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers into the York. When early cartographers made maps of Tidewater Virginia, they generally agreed upon the locations at which Natives settlements were situated. Captain John Smith's geographically sensitive rendering provides the most detailed coverage of the Tidewater. He used a sketch of an Indian long house to identify the site of a "king's seat" (or chief's village) and a circle to symbolize less important towns. When the Native communities shown on the Smith map are compared with topographic quadrangle sheets, it is possible to discern their approximate locations (Smith 1910:49-51; Sams 1929:807-810; Quinn 1977:202; Smith 1610; Tindall 1608; Velasco 1610; Zuniga 1608; Tyler 1907:49-51).

Captain John Smith's first visit to the Rappahannock River region, which occurred in December 1607, was involuntary, for he was captured by the Indians of the Powhatan Chiefdom, transported overland to Native villages on the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers, and then conducted to a river the Indians called the Tappahannock or Rappahannock. There, he learned that the local populace had suffered abuse at the hands of a ship-load of white men who had visited them the previous year (Smith 1910:395-398).

On June 2, 1608, Smith set out to explore the Chesapeake Bay. Crossing the bay, he reached Smith's Isles at the tip of the Eastern Shore and then progressed northward along the coast. He found some of the Natives hospitable and welcoming. Pressing on toward the head of the bay, he paused at several inlets. Having nearly reached his destination, Smith and his men turned downstream, this time moving close to the western shore of the Chesapeake Bay. The explorers entered the Potomac River and sailed to its head, then paused at the mouth of the Rappahannock before returning to Jamestown. On July 24, 1608, Smith again undertook an exploratory voyage of the Chesapeake Bay. This time, he skirted the western shore of the bay and went further north, entering the Susquehanna River and other steams at the top of the bay. Turning back downstream, the explorers entered the Rappahannock River and sailed to its head. Afterward, they paused at the mouth of the York River, and then continued on to Jamestown (Haile 1998:254-263, 264-278).

In September 1608, Captain John Smith was among those who explored the Nansemond River. Fighting broke out between the Nansemond Indians and the English intruders, who responded with gunfire. Afterward, they seized the Nansemond king's weapons, a chain of pearls, and 400 baskets of corn. In late fall, the colonists returned for more corn, which they obtained through the use of force. At the end of the year, when Smith and other adventurers set out to investigate the rivers to the north of the James, they sailed first into the Potomac River and then turned back toward the Rappahannock, where they encountered Natives who treated them with kindness. They also made exploratory visits to the York River. By 1610, the colonists, in desperate need of corn, began trading with the Natives of the Northern Neck, a practice that continued for many years (Smith 1910:431-432, 419). Captain John Smith, when depicting the Rappahannock River drainage on his well known map of Virginia, indicated that numerous Indian villages dotted its shore line (Smith 1610). His work is confirmed by the charts produced by Tindall (1608), Velasco (1610), and Zuniga (1608).

Differences in Perception

The first English colonists, transferring to the New World the Jacobean idea of property rights, were ill-prepared to understand Native concepts of landholding. Captain John Smith observed that within Virginia Indian towns, land was allocated to households by a local leader subservient to the paramount chief. While the Native mode of land distribution bore a remote resemblance to the English tradition that all realty was owned by the monarch, the Indians' seasonal pattern of subsistence and the subtle but purposeful shifting movement of their towns had no parallel in English culture. For nearly a half-century, English officials

failed to realize that much Native land was foraging territory that was vital to subsistence. On the other hand, the Natives, unfamiliar with the legal requirements for patenting and seating land, probably wondered why the English expected to retain possession of their property in perpetuity, even though it appeared vacant. Moreover, they probably wondered why such "abandoned" acreage was not available to others (Rountree 1974:36; 1990:6; 1993a:173). First in 1640 and then in 1649, Virginia's governing officials formally recognized Native groups' need for land of their own. This marked the beginning of an important political policy within America's English colonies, the establishment of reservation lands, or preserves by the English. It was later adopted by the United States, continuing throughout the nineteenth century.

Understanding the Natives' Language

While some of the first colonists seem to have had a rudimentary knowledge of the Algonquin language, interpreters were needed to facilitate communication. Thomas Savage, who came to Virginia in 1608 as a young boy, was given to Powhatan, with whom he lived for portions of three years. He became a skillful interpreter and frequently went on trading voyages. Captain John Smith commented that Thomas Savage had served the public well. In 1621, he sent word to the Virginia Company that the French were enjoying a great fur trade with the Natives in the Chesapeake Bay region. In 1608, several days after Thomas Savage was given to Powhatan, Namontack, an Indian youth, was handed over to the English so that he could learn the language (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:504; Ferrar MS 159; Smith 1910:24, 37, 102, 124-125, 128, 405, 437-438, 441, 517; 1989:I:216, 223; II:162, 248, 289-290; Haile 1998:830-831). Pocahontas and Chanco, Kempes, and others, who gained a working knowledge of the English language, would have also facilitated communication between the Indians and colonists.

Robert Poole, who also came to Virginia at an early date, reportedly became quite fluent in Algonquian and served as one of the colony's official interpreters. In November 1624 Poole, who was then residing in urban Jamestown, testified that he had lived with Opechancanough during Sir Thomas Dale's government (1611-1616) and that Captain John Smith had taught some Indians how to use firearms. Poole claimed to have had 10,000 to 20,000 beads for use in trading with the Indians for corn (Ferrar MS 113; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:153, 249; IV:457).

Henry Spellman, who arrived in Virginia in August 1609, when he was age 15, was sold to the Little Powhatan Indians by Captain John Smith. Later, he went to live with the King of the Patomeck. Spellman wrote a narrative in which he described Virginia's Natives and the colony's flora and fauna. Although he left Virginia in 1611, he returned and in 1616 again was serving as an interpreter. During 1619 Spellman angered high ranking officials on account of some ill advised statements he made about them to Opechancanough. When the assembly convened during July and August, Spellman was censured for his comments and ordered to serve as a public interpreter for seven years. In 1623, while working in that capacity, Henry Spellman was killed by the Anacostan Indians (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:309; III:153; IV:89; Meyer et al. 1987:33).

Peter Wynne (Winne), who came to Virginia in 1608, accompanied Captain Christopher Newport on a journey to the falls of the James River. He visited the country of the Monacan Indians, whose language was different than that of the Powhatans. In a November 26, 1608, letter Wynne sent to Sir John Egerton, he said that some of the men in Newport's group thought that the Monacans' pronunciation resembled the Welch language and asked him to accompany them as an interpreter (Haile 1998:203-204).

Effecting Conversion

The first English colonists were accompanied by the Rev. Robert Hunt, an Anglican clergyman. Although he was responsible for seeing that the colonists adhered to the practices of the Established Church, he and his immediate successors also had an interest in converting the Natives to Christianity. In fact Richard Hakluyt and other proponents of colonization fervently spoke of the opportunity to bring the Christian religion to Native peoples in the New World. The Virginia Company's first charter described as a noble work "propagating of the Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God." Letters written by some of the Anglican clergy who came to Virginia early on reveal that they were filled with a missionary zeal. Sir Thomas Dale and other military leaders spoke of bringing Christianity to the Natives but they also were preoccupied with establishing control and typically employed force to impose their will. What's more, they took the Natives' land whenever they wanted it and often seized their food supply. Although Virginia Company officials in 1618 made plans to establish a college and university in Henrico, where young Indians could be converted to Christianity, and the East India Company contributed funds toward building a school, the March 1622 Indian uprising put an end to whatever altruistic feelings the colonists had. In fact, after the Virginia Company was dissolved, interest in converting the Natives waned (Brydon 1947:51). However, the 1625 muster documents the fact that William Crashaw, an Indian in Captain William Tucker's household, had been baptized (Hotten 1980:44). It is probable that other Natives had been converted.

Council President John Ratcliffe Alias Sicklemore (1607-1608)

Early Encounters

Francis Perkins, who arrived in January 1608 in the First Supply of new settlers, wrote a March 28th letter in which he described the fire that destroyed the buildings in the Jamestown fort. He added "Thanks to God we are at peace with all the neighboring inhabitants of the country and trade with them in wheat and provisions. They attach very great value to copper which looks at all reddish" (Brown 1890:I:175).

Mathew Scrivenor, who also came to Virginia in 1608 in the First Supply, was named a councilor as soon as he arrived. In February 1608 he participated in an exploratory voyage up the York River to Werowocomoco. On another occasion he went to Nansemond. He also accompanied Captains Christopher Newport and John Smith and others on a voyage of discovery to Monacan. Scrivenor served as acting president of the colony from July to September 1608 (Smith 1986:II:154, 160, 184, 187, 191, 218; Haile 1998:196).

Council President John Smith (September 1608-September 1609)

Footholds Beyond Jamestown Island

aptain John Smith, who arrived in the colony in 1607, in September 1608 became president. A year later he was arrested and sent to England. Smith claims he was injured in a gun powder blast, and thus returned to England. From Smith, who drew heavily upon others' accounts, we can learn a great deal about Natives as they were perceived by European colonists. Captain John Smith's works, though filled with self-aggrandizing statements, shed a considerable amount of light on Virginia's indigenous population, much as do the works of John White and Thomas Hariot from the Roanoke voyages.

While Captain Smith was president, a glasshouse was built in the woods on the west side of the isthmus that connected Jamestown Island to the mainland (Smith 1910:434, 467). In

1608, swine taken from Jamestown were pastured at Hog Island. In 1609, he also had a blockhouse built at Hog Island, a low-lying marshy peninsula that protrudes from the lower side of the James River. In 1608-1609, during Captain John Smith's presidency, the colonists also constructed some earthen fortifications at the head of Gray's Creek, in what is now Surry County. Smith selected the site as a possible place of retreat in the event of a foreign invasion. Among those in Smith's group when "The New Fort" was built were the Natives Kemps and Tassore, whose hunting skills supplied the workers with an abundance of game (Smith 1910:66).

Powhatan's Coronation

During the autumn of 1608 Captain Christopher Newport, at the behest of Virginia Company officials, presented gifts from King James I of England to Powhatan as emperor of the Indians. Newport gave Powhatan a scarlet robe and a copper crown, though the paramount chief was reluctant to kneel for his coronation. Powhatan, who apparently thought that reciprocity was appropriate, "gave his old shoes and his mantle to Captain Newport." When Newport left for England in December 1608, he took along Powhatan's gifts for King James. Powhatan's mantle may well be the deerskin cloak embroidered with shell beads that is part of the Tradescant Collection at Oxford University (Wood et al. 1989:308).

A Search for the Roanoke Colonists

In January 1608 the King of the Pasbehay and two Englishmen ventured into the territory on the south side of the James River, to search for survivors from the colony Sir Walter Raleigh had attempted to plant on Roanoke Island in the 1580s. Captain John Smith also sent out a search party. He said that in December 1608 he had tested the loyalty of the King of the Warreskoyack Indians by asking him to provide two guides to accompany Michael Sicklemore on a journey southward to look for the Roanoke colonists. Smith reported that the river Sicklemore saw "was not great, the people few," and that nothing was learned about the lost colonists (Smith 1910:410, 449, 474; Strachey 1953:91).

However, in 1609 Virginia Company official instructed incoming Governor Thomas Gates to make another search, for they believed that four English colonists would be found who had "escaped from the slaughter of Powhatan of Roanocke, upon the first arrival of our Colonie and live under the proteccon of a wiroane [weorwance] called Gepanocon enemy to Powhatan" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:17). Samuel Purchas, whose four volumes entitled *Purchas His Pilgrimes or Hakluytus Posthomous,* were published in 1624, said that Nathaniel Powell and Anas Todkill, accompanied by Quiyoughquohanock guides, were sent southward to search for surviving colonists. He added that they returned with the report that Sir Walter Raleigh's people were all dead. In the margin of his text, Purchas, who indicated that he had use of Captain John Smith's written notes, said that "Powhatan confessed that hee had bin at the mirder of that colonie and shewed to Captain Smith a musket barrel and brasse mortar and certain peeces of Iron which had been theirs" (Purchas 1624:1691, 1728). The chart generally known as the Zuniga map (1608) contains several notations that relate to the whereabouts of the Roanoke colonists. One is the site where "the king of Paspahegh reported our men to be and went to se[e]."

Council President George Percy (1609-1610)

The Starving Time

George Percy, who was among the first colonists that came to Virginia, served as president from September 1609 to May 1610. Thus, he was in charge of the colony during the winter of

1609-1610, which tradition dubbed "The Starving Time." Percy divided the colonists into three groups and sent two of them abroad to forage for food. However, the Indians reportedly harassed them continuously and at the end of six weeks they were obliged to return to Jamestown (Raimo 1980:461-462; Tyler 1922:267-269).

These events occurred in the midst of a 6-year-long drought during which both Natives and colonists would have suffered terribly from food shortages.

Francis Maguel's Account

Francis Maguel, an Irishman loyal to Spain, lived in Virginia for eight months. In July 1610, after he had returned to Madrid, he recounted what he had seen. Maguel said that the Virginia colonists were on good terms with the Indians who "attend a market which the English hold at their fort daily," exchanging "the commodities of their land" for "trinkets the English give them, such as knives, articles made of glass, little bells, and so on" (Barbour 1969:I:153-154). Trade, a tangible but subtle form of cultural exchange, was mutually beneficial.

Lieutenant Governor Thomas Gates (1610)

Relationships with the Natives

The orders Sir Thomas Gates received in early July 1608 when he left England included seeing that towns were built and that the colony was adequately defended. He also was told to extract tribute from the Indians and was authorized to build a new capital city at an inland site that would be safe from foreign invasion (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:12-24). Virginia Company officials warned Gates about Virginia's Natives. They said that they

> . . . can no way hurte you but by fire or destroying yr cattle or hindering your work, by stealthe yr passages in small numbers, and in this sort of war there is most pill [peril] if you be not Carefull, for if they may destroy but one harves or burne your townes in the night they will leave you naked and exposed to famine and cold and convey themselves into the woods where revenge will be as difficult as unnecessary [Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:18].

It was recommended that Indian children be taken prisoner and detained so that they could be converted to Christianity. Sir Thomas Gates was told not to give the Indians weapons or teach them how to use them. They also were not to allow the Indians to learn certain types of potentially useful skills, such as carpentry and blacksmithing (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:14-15, 20-21).

Employing reverse psychology, the colonists were supposed to pretend that they were being benevolent when they traded "leetle Iron tooles or copper" to the Natives, but they were supposed to devalue or "make little estimacon of trade with them" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:20). This strategy was supposed to make the Indians place a high value upon the trinkets they received through trade while sharing their goods abundantly with the colonists. As time would tell, the food the Indians supplied to the colonists was the real treasure exchanged.

Gates, having survived a hurricane and being shipwrecked in Bermuda, finally reached Virginia. When he arrived at Jamestown on May 23, 1610, six weeks ahead of Governor Thomas West, the third, Lord Delaware (de la War), he found the surviving colonists in dire straits. The fort was in disrepair and those who had managed to survive were suffering from starvation. Although the colonists stayed on, the Council in Virginia reported that the settlers

were hesitant to venture outside the fort to gather firewood, as the Indians were "as fast killing without [the fort] as the famine and pestilence within." They added that only the blockhouse was safe and they were not sure how long those men could survive. They said that the Indians were watchful and were keenly aware of their weakness and had chosen to play a waiting game rather than "hazard themselves in a fruitless war on such whome they were assured in short time would of themselves perish" (Brown 1890:404-405).

Governor Thomas West, Lord Delaware (1610-1618)

Sir Thomas West, Lord Delaware, was designated the first Lord Governor and Captain General of Virginia He arrived in the colony on June 9, 1610, in a fleet of three ships, transporting 250 men. He ordered the colonists, who had just abandoned Jamestown, to return to their seat (Raimo 1980:463-64). According to William Strachey, Lord Delaware had the colonists build more weatherproof houses, using "A delicate wrought fine kinde of Mat the Indians make, with which (as they can be trucked for or snatched up) our people do dresse their chambers, and inward roomes, which make their houses so much more handsome" (Wright 1964:81-82). Thus, the colonists put to good use materials fabricated by the Native population.

On the other hand, Strachey said that Powhatan and his people worked constantly toward the colonists' undoing, sometimes resorting to violence when seizing the settlers' weapons and tools. He claimed that the Indians had taken more than 200 swords, axes, pole axes, chisels, and hoes, along with "an infinite treasure of copper" (Wright 1964:90). Finally, Lord Delaware sent two men to Powhatan, demanding the release of some colonists who were being held captive and also insisted upon the return of the items that had been taken. Powhatan, in turn, sent word that "either we should depart his country or confine ourselves to Jamestown only, without searching further up into his land or rivers, or otherwise he would give in command to his people to kill us and do unto us all the mischief which they at their pleasure could and we feared." He reportedly told Lord Delaware's messengers not to return "unless they brought him a coach and three horses . . . as such was the state of great werowances and lords in England." Strachey said that later on, Powhatan sent two or three Indians to the fort, to assess the colonists' strength and see how well the settlement was guarded. He said that the Indians also "would daily press into our blockhouse and come up to our palisade gates, supposing the government as well now as fantastical and negligent as in former times." He noted that "Some quarter of a mile short of the blockhouse, the greatest number of them would make assault and lie in ambush about our glasshouse," attacking anyone who ventured out to procure water or food (Wright 1964:90-91, 93).

In 1610 Captain Samuel Argall commenced trading with the werowance of the Patawomeke, the largest and most powerful of the Algonquian groups in what is now northern Virginia. Although the Jamestown colonists were having problems with the Natives in the lower Tidewater, who were directly under Powhatan's control, Argall procured large quantities of corn from the Patawomeke in exchange for copper, beads, hatchets, knives, bells, and scissors. With the help of Japazaw, a Patawomeke werowance, Argall succeeded in capturing Pocahontas. The colonists also traded with the Piscataway Indians until around 1614 (Wood et al. 1989:158-159).

Deputy Governor George Percy (March — May 1611)

Percy's *A Trewe Relacyon*

Lord Delaware left Virginia in March 1611, naming George Percy as deputy governor. He

was replaced by Sir Thomas Dale who arrived only three months later. Percy, in his *Trewe Relacyon*, described conditions in the colony from 1609 to 1612, and indicated that in 1610 he had participated in a march against the Chickahominy and Pasbehay Indians. Percy, at Lord Delaware's behest, took 70 soldiers and a reluctant Indian guide, Kempes, to the village of Pasbehay. There, Percy and his men confronted only 40 warriors, putting 15 or 16 "to the Sworde" and shot 50 or 60 more people. Afterward, they set the Indian town ablaze and destroyed all of the corn they could find. They captured Wowinchopunck's wife, her children, and another Indian and took them aboard their boat. Shortly after the English got underway, they brutally killed the Indian youngsters by tossing them overboard and shooting them. The Pasbehay queen was taken to Jamestown, where she was executed at Lord Delaware's command. George Percy said that one Indian who was killed was brought to the fort and buried (Haile 1998: 499-519).

John Clarke's Observations

John Clarke, an English pilot who accompanied Sir Thomas Dale to Virginia in March 1611, was captured by the Spanish at Old Point Comfort and then taken to Cuba and Madrid. When he was interrogated about conditions in Virginia, he said that the Indians "are sometimes at peace and other times at war, and go cloathed in deer skins and with their bows and arrows, which are gusamar [gossamer], and that the produce they gather is maize and walnuts" (American Historical Review 1920:474). Diego de Molina, a Spanish spy who was taken prisoner at the same time John Clarke was seized, claimed that the fortifications at Jamestown were insubstantial and that "one night the Indians broke in and took the whole place without resistance being made, shooting arrows in at all the doors" (Brown 1890:649).

Deputy Governor Thomas Dale (May 1611 — August 1611, March 1614 - May 1616)

Becoming Established

On May 25, 1611, Sir Thomas Dale, who had briefly served as deputy governor, sent a letter to Virginia Company officials in which he described his plans to strengthen the colony. He claimed that when undertaking construction projects at Jamestown, "All the Savages I set on work . . . duly ply their trade," an indication that Indians were among those involved in enhancing the capital city's improvements. He said that on May 21st he had gone to the Pasbehay Indians' old town (a village site on the east side of the mouth of the Chickahominy River) because he had been told that it was good ground upon which to plant corn, hemp and flax. He commented that "in surveighing it I found it too much rough now being greene and high [that it] would not be so readily cleansed this year for any service" (Brown 1890:489-490). Thus, the Pasbehay Indians apparently had abandoned their village a year or so before Dale paid a visit.

Alonso de Velasco in 1611 predicted the failure of English colonization in Virginia "unless they bring over so large a number of people that they can make themselves Lords of the Country as the Indians now are" (Brown 1890:456). Sir Thomas Dale tried to compensate for his lack of men by the use of force and superior weaponry. He knew that while the Indians could cure injuries inflicted by a sword or axe, they were at a loss to treat gunshot wounds "and therefore languish in the misery of the paine thereof" (Strachey 1953:110). [1] Dale made a journey to the Pamunkey River "to make there with the Salvages either a firme league of peace or a present warre: they perceiving his intent inclined rather for peace (more for feare than love)" (Ancient Planters 1871:76). However, Sir Thomas Dale himself argued that he needed more men. In mid-August 1611 he wrote a letter in which he talked about building five strongholds in the colony. He also asked for 2,000 men, which he was confident would

enable him to make the colony secure from enemy invasion (Haile 1998:552-558).

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[1]On the other hand, another man said that the Indians "have the best secrets of any Physician in Europe."

In another letter, Dale recommended to English officials that the colonists acquire

> . . . all the tract of land which lieth between our River, which we call the King's [James] River and whereon Powhatan dwelleth, which may be in some places twenty miles over and from Point Comfort to the Falls . . . some 150 miles is all the command and containeth the principall seats of Powhatan, which I would secure unto use (and by having them of necessity be commanders of the South Shoare [Brown 1890:503].

Thus, Dale believed that it was appropriate to take over the James-York peninsula from Old Point Comfort to the falls of the James, securing it for the colonists' habitation. He returned to England without having had an opportunity to implement his plan. However, the extension of settlement inland and the steady flow of new colonists to Virginia exerted increasing pressure upon the Natives of the Tidewater.

In 1612 and 1613 Sir Thomas Dale established several settlements at the head of the James River. Three miles above the community he planted at Farrar Island, he seated a group of settlers at Arrahattock, the former site of an Indian village. In 1613 Dale drove the Appomattocks Indians from their habitation at the mouth of the Appomattox River (Hamor 1957:31-32; Rolfe 1971:7-11; Ferrar MS 40).

Although early writers, such as Captain John Smith and William Strachey, commented upon the Natives' mode of subsistence, which included hunting, fishing and gathering, and the cultivation of agricultural crops, little heed was paid to the fact that they depended upon an ample supply of land. It was not until the mid-seventeenth century that the colony's governing officials purposefully made provisions to preserve the habitat upon which the Natives depended (Trigger 1978:258-259, 262-263).

Pocahontas's Conversion, Marriage, and Death

Powhatan's favorite daughter, Pocahontas, who was captured by Deputy Governor Samuel Argall and detained, was converted to Christianity and adopted the English name, Rebecca. On April 1, 1614, she married John Rolfe. Their marriage, which Sir Thomas Dale reported from Jamestown on June 18, 1614, had a calming influence upon the relationships between the colonists and the Indians. The Rolfes and their infant son, Thomas, accompanied Sir Thomas Dale when he returned to England in May 1616. Also making the trip were a dozen or more Indians. Once in England, Pocahontas was introduced at court and treated as a Native princess. In March 1617, when the Rolfes and their infant son, Thomas, were in Gravesend, awaiting the ship that would take them home to Virginia, Pocahontas became mortally ill. She is believed to have contracted consumption (tuberculosis), a highly contagious bacterial disease. She was buried in the yard of St. Mary le Bow Church, in Gravesend. John Rolfe returned to Virginia, as planned, leaving his young son in the care of his brother. Pocahontas's death was followed closely by that of her father. With Powhatan's demise, tensions between the colonists and the Indians increased. During this period, John Rolfe, who served as secretary of state from 1614 to 1619, conducted the agricultural experiments that resulted in the development of a palatable and highly marketable strain of tobacco. It became the colonists' money crop, which fueled the spread of settlement and

drove the Natives from their land. John and Pocahontas (Rebecca) Rolfe's son came to Virginia as a youth whose English identity had been honed abroad (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:70; P. R. O. 14/87 ff 67, 146; Smith 1910:535; Haile 1998:845, 848, 888; Meyer et al 1987:508).

Hostilities on Jamestown Island

After Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, Sir Samuel Argall became deputy governor. He served until Governor George Yeardley's arrival in April 1619. It was during 1617, when Argall was in charge, that some Indians ventured onto Jamestown Island and attacked the homestead of William Fairfax. Fairfax, who lived in the eastern end of the island in an area designated Study Unit 2 Tract I during the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment, shared his home with his wife, three children, and one or more servants. One Sunday, while William Fairfax was at church, some Indians came to his house, where they killed three children and a youth. Mrs. Fairfax, who had left home and gone to meet her husband, was spared. Captain John Smith, who chronicled this event, indicated that the Fairfax dwelling was a mile from Jamestown. In December 1620 William Fairfax sold his 12 acre homestead on Jamestown Island to the Rev. Richard Buck, the James City Parish rector. William Fairfax was killed on March 22, 1622, during the full scale Indian attack, while visiting Ensign William Spence's home in Archer's Hope (Smith 1986:II:265; Nugent 1969-1979:I:109-110; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:570).

Opechancanough, the Powhatan Chiefdom's Paramount Leader

Opechancanough ultimately succeeded his brother, Powhatan, as paramount chief although Opitchapam, a much less charismatic brother, was in power for a time. Early on, Opechancanough made several visits to Jamestown and in 1617 he received a present from Deputy Governor Samuel Argall. Opechancanough and his brother Opitchapam reportedly ruled the Natives on the Powhatan (James), Pamunkey (York), and Roanoke Rivers. Sometime prior to July 1619 Opechancanough appealed to Governor George Yeardley for justice because a colonist's men had seized his corn. He also agreed to seat some of his people near the settled territory so that they could learn about the colonists' religion. During 1621 Opechancanough met with George Thorpe of Berkeley Hundred, who was attempting to convert him to Christianity and had promised to have an English house built for him. Sometime prior to the Indian uprising that occurred on March 22, 1622, Opechancanough reportedly had a brass plate affixed to an oak tree as a symbol of peace with the colonists. Yet later he was credited with leading the 1622 and 1644 Native revolts in which hundreds of colonists were killed. By 1622 Opechancanough was living upon an island in the Pamunkey River (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:128-129; III:73-74, 157, 229, 462, 549-550, 552, 707-710). It may have been the site at which George Thorpe had an English house built for him.

Governor George Yearley (April 1619 - November 1621)

The Headright System and the Spread of Settlement

Settlement spread rapidly during Sir George Yeardley's first term as governor. It was then that eighteen or nineteen plantations were established, most of which were thinly scattered along both sides of the James River, to the west of the Chickahominy River's mouth. Development was stimulated by the Virginia Company's so-called Great Charter, which lured prospective immigrants to Virginia with the prospect of possession their own land. Individuals who came to Virginia at their own expense and stayed in the colony for at least three years were entitled to 50 acres of land. *Ancient Planters* (people who immigrated prior to Sir Thomas Dale's May 1616 departure and lived in Virginia for at least three years) were

entitled to 100 acres. People who paid for the cost of transporting others to the colony were entitled to patent 50 acres on each of those persons' behalf. Thus, successful planters, by importing hired workers for their plantations, could fulfill their need for labor while amassing additional land. Groups of investors could absorb the cost of outfitting and transporting new colonists and acquire land on their behalf. Thus, the headright policy, coupled with the discovery that tobacco was a highly marketable commodity, fueled the spread of settlement. In addition to the acreage that was allocated to individuals and groups who pooled their resources, several 3,000 acre tracts were laid out as public land. In November 1618 the Virginia Company gave Sir George Yeardley a 2,200 acre tract called Weyanoke (once the site of an Indian town) and an adjoining place called Konwan (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:101, 120, 152, 249; Craven 1957:45; Robinson 1957:21-22; Tate et al. 1979:93). It is not surprising that as settlement spread, the Natives became increasingly uneasy about land loss and the growing number of Europeans in their midst.

Laws Regulating Interaction with the Native Population

During summer 1619, delegates from each of Virginia's plantations convened in the church at Jamestown in the New World's first legislative assembly. On August 4, 1619, the burgesses enacted several laws that governed the colonists' interaction with the Indians. It was then decided that "It shalbe [sic] free for every man to trade with the Indians, servants onely [sic] excepted," unless the servant's master paid a fee. The settlers were forbidden to "sell or give any of the greater howes [hoes] to the Indians, or any English dog of quality, as a mastive, greyhound, bloodhounde, lande or water spaniel, or any other dog or bitche whatsoever, of the English race." Moreover, no one was to "sell or give any Indians any piece [firearm], shott or poulder [powder], or any other armes, offensive or defensive." Any colonist who did so would be deemed a traitor and be "hanged as soon as the facte is proved." Trade with the Natives was tightly controlled and "no man shall purposely goe to any Indian townes, habitations or places or resortes without leave from the Governor or comaunder [sic] of that place wher [sic] he liveth, upon paine of paying 40 s to publique uses"(Tyler 1907:269-270).

The March 1620 Census

In March 1620 when demographic records were compiled on the colony's population, there were 892 Europeans living in Virginia. Of those people, males outnumbered females by nearly seven to one. Also present were 32 Africans (17 of whom were male) and four Indians, who like the Africans, were said to be "in ye service of severall planters" (Ferrar MS 138, 139). It is probable that the four Indian servants were Natives who had been converted to Christianity and were living in planter households.

A Peace Treaty During Yeardley's Administration

Virginia Company records that date to April and May 1623 reveal that a formal treaty was concluded with the Natives, during Sir George Yeardley's first term as governor (April 1619 to November 1621) and Sir Thomas Smith was Virginia Company treasurer. A letter to Sir Francis Wyatt, dated September 4th and 8th 1623, specifically mentions the "public peace made by your predecessors with sundry nations, have been broken by some of our people," an admission of English culpability (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:451).

Governor Francis Wyatt (1621-1626)

The Production of Trade Goods

In 1621, when incoming governor, Sir Francis Wyatt, arrived in Virginia, he was accompanied by treasurer George Sandys, who was responsible for overseeing some of the revenue-producing projects the Virginia Company's investors had underwritten. One was the glassworks to be built at what became known as Glasshouse Point, the site at which glass had been made during Captain John Smith's presidency. Among the marketable goods to be produced by the Italian artisans sent to make glass were beads that could be used in trading with the Indians. The glassworkers were to be compensated with a share of the wares they produced, but they were prohibited from selling any of it to the Indians, which would lessen its value as trade goods (Kingsbury 1906-1935:I:498-499). In January 1620, Japazaw, the King of the Patawomack's brother, reportedly came to Jamestown, where he invited the colonists to trade (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:244).

The 1622 Indian Uprising

As the colony's population grew and Virginia's tobacco economy literally took root, colonists established numerous plantations along the banks of the James River, inland to the fall line and they crossed the Chesapeake Bay to settle on the Eastern Shore. Settlement continued to expand exponentially, intruding deeply into the Natives' territory. This encroachment, quite understandably, generated ill will. Meanwhile, after Powhatan's death in 1617-1618, a more militant attitude emerged on the part of the Natives, led by the charismatic war captain, Opechancanough, a forceful and dynamic leader (McCartney 1985:53-54).

The encroachment upon Native territory precipitated the March 22, 1622 Indian uprising which claimed the lives of an estimated one-third of the colony's population. It was then that the Indians of the Powhatan Chiefdom, led by Opechancanough, launched a carefully orchestrated attack upon the sparsely inhabited plantations along the James River, hoping to drive the colonists from their soil. In the long run, however, the Indian uprising did very little to stem the tide of expanding settlement. The timing of the uprising coincided with the taking up of Powhatan's bones (McCartney 1985:53-54; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:9). Anthropologists link the taking up of Powhatan's bones as a significant ceremony in the eyes of the Indians and linked to the uprising.

No lives apparently were lost on Jamestown Island, although the capital city may have had a narrow escape. Virginia Company records credit an Indian youth named Chanco, who had been converted to the Christian faith and lived with Richard Pace whose plantation lay across the James River from the western end of Jamestown Island. Chanco's brother reportedly had told him about the plan to attack the settlements and urged him to kill his master. But Chanco, whom Richard Pace had treated like a son, warned him about the impending attack. [2] Pace then "hastily rowed in a canoe across the river to Jamestown to notify the governor of the impending danger." Richard Pace's timely warning allowed the colonists to take some defensive precautions. One man said that when the attacking Indians arrived, we "opened firre upon them with our muskets," whereupon the Natives retreated. An account written by a man, who had been in Virginia at the time of the attack, states that "a party of Indians embarked in four boats for Jamestown and the surrounding country" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:554-557, 652-653; IV: 98-101, 221-223; Smith 1989:II:297-298; Tyler 1900-1901:212). Natives living in colonists' homes in Elizabeth City and Newport News also warned of the attack.

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[2]Although relatively little is known about Chanco, Virginia Company records describe him as one of William Perry's servants (Kingsbury1906-1935:III:554). Pace and Perry were friends and business associates.

At the end of the day, an estimated 347 men, women and children lay dead: approximately a third of the colony's population. [3] Men, women, and children were slain in Henrico (at Falling Creek, the Sheffield Plantation, Henrico Island, the College, and Abraham Peiersy's plantation on the Appomattox River) and in Charles City (at Bermuda Hundred, Bermuda City, West and Shirley Hundred, Berkeley Hundred, Westover, Flowerdew Hundred, and at the plantations of Thomas Swinhowe, William Bicker, Captain Nathaniel Powell, Captain Thomas Spellman, and William Farrar). Within the corporation of James City, several colonists lost their lives at Southampton Hundred, a settlement located at Dancing Point, on the west side of the Chickahominy River's mouth. It is not known whether anyone perished on the tract of Company Land in James City, on the east side of the Chickahominy's entrance. However, the inclusion of Captain Jabez Whittaker's servant, Thomas Holland, in the list of those who were slain suggests that the Company Land may have been attacked. Ensign William Spence's plantation, in the neck of land behind Jamestown Island, was attacked and several people were killed. A large number of people (73) reportedly were killed at Martin's Hundred, where 19 women were taken prisoner and carried off to the Pamunkey Indians' stronghold. Downstream in Elizabeth City Thomas Pierce's and Edward Waters' plantations were attacked. Waters, his wife, and child were captured by the Nansemond Indians, who took them to their village across the James River. Later, the Waters' managed to escape from their captors. In Warresqueak, the death toll at Edward Bennett's plantation, Bennett's Welcome, was extremely high (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:565-571).

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[3]However, some people, at first presumed dead, were found to have been captured by the Indians.

The Rev. Joseph Mead, a Biblical scholar at Christ College in Cambridge University, wrote several letters in which he talked about the Indian uprising. In a July 13, 1622, letter he said that 329 colonists had been slain and that the Indians tried to entice the settlers away from their homes by inviting them to a feast. Another letter indicates that the attack occurred at 8 A. M. Mead, though not mentioning Chanco by name, spoke of his role in saving colonists' lives by warning his master. On February 28, 1622, Mead said that he had heard that Opechancanough had been driven afar and that many of his men had been slain. He also said that the colonists had taken a substantial quantity of corn from the Natives (Mead 1963:408-410).

Although some officials in England attributed the Indian uprising to divine punishment, others blamed it upon "the manie wild and vast projects set on foote all at one time with but a handful of men." Much was said about the plantations' being so widely scattered that people were unable to rush to each other's defense. The colonists were ordered to withdraw to several positions that were considered relatively safe: Jamestown with Pasbehay (the Governor's Land), Jordan's Point, Shirley Hundred, Kecoughtan, Southampton Hundred, Flowerdew Hundred, Newport News, and certain plantations across the river from Jamestown. But the Indians undertook sporadic raids upon some of those settlements and they returned to the homesteads that had been abandoned and put them to the torch. During 1623 between 20 and 30 men were killed at Newport News and upriver at Martin's Hundred the Indians returned from time to time to pick off anyone who ventured out unarmed. Sporadic attacks were still occurring in 1625. At Southampton Hundred the survivors were harassed to the point that ultimately they were forced to withdraw (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:612, 652-653; IV:223; Ferrar MS 569; P.R.O. 30/15/2 f 347).

Recovery and Retribution

Governor Wyatt and his council resolved to use "their uttermost and Christian endeavors in

prosequeting revenge upon the bloody Salvages . . . rootinge them out." This culminated in a series of retaliatory raids in which the settlers burned the Indians' villages and destroyed their food supplies. In September 1622 Sir George Yeardley led an expedition against the Indians who lived upon the Pamunkey River and in January 1623 he attacked several other Native groups. He also went on a voyage to procure corn through peaceful means or through force. Even so, some English critics considered him too lenient toward the Indians. He was strongly criticized for having previously consulted with Opechancanough about giving land to Thomas Rolfe, the son of Pocahontas and John Rolfe, for seeking the consent of a Native leader was tantamount to acknowledging that the land belonged to the indigenous people (Kingsbury 1906-1935: II:94-95, 115-116; III:678-679; IV:9, 89).

In June 1622 Sir George Yeardley set out to explore the Chesapeake Bay, in search of a site that would accommodate 300 to 400 colonists. However, it appears that very little serious thought was given to abandoning Jamestown and moving to the Eastern Shore. Yeardley informed Virginia Company officials that the Indian king of the Eastern Shore had tried to warn the colonists about the uprising that had been planned. It also was reported that Powhatan and Opechancanough had plotted to break up the alliance between the settlers and the Chickahominy Indians, who in 1614 had made a peace agreement with the colonists. The colonists then violated it in 1616, when they seized the Indians' corn. In October 1622 the King of the Potomac joined with the colonists in an offensive against Opechancanough. However, in April 1623 he and his son were captured, taken to Jamestown, and held for ransom (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:556, 656-657; IV:9, 118).

Virginia Company officials, upon learning of the colonists' plight, arranged to send them military supplies. They obtained old obsolete arms from the Tower of London, "still of use against a Naked People," i.e., people not wearing armor, and had it sent to Virginia. Specifically, Company officials requested from the Crown 100 brigandines or plate coats; 40 jack coats; 40 jerkins or shirts of mail; 2,000 iron skulls or helmets; 1,000 halberts; and 50 "murdering peeces" or small ordnance, as well as 2,000 culvers; pistols and daggers; and 500 targets and bucklers. Pikes, it had been found, were particularly effective in hand-to-hand combat with the Indians (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:446; B.P.R.O:C. O. 1/20 ff 80-81; 5/1354 ff 202-203).

But Virginia Company officials also looked out for their own business interests. Despite the danger, they urged the settlers to return to their plantations, which they considered a matter "of absolute necessitie." They recommended that private individuals be invited to settle upon the four corporations' tracts of Company Land and live there until they were ready to seat their own property. At that point, the Company's tenants would reimburse them for having cleared the ground, built houses and made other investments in the land. Were that proposition to prove unpopular, Company officials offered another incentive: that each family or household who would settle upon the Company's Land be given 10 acres in perpetuity, so long as "the land be not left uncultivated & the houses uninhabited." During spring 1623 a group of settlers set out to capture and seat the King of Appomattock's town. However, they became ill and had to abandon their plan (Kingsbury 1906-1935:II:93; III:670; IV:25).

Although the Natives did what they could to fight back, by early April 1623 they were suffering. It was then that Chanco and Comahum, as emissaries from Opechancanough, came to Martin's Hundred, where they made an overture for peace. Comahum (a great man, who had been involved in the attack upon Martin's Hundred) and Chanco were taken into custody and brought up to Jamestown. The Indians said that Opechancanough was offering to return the colonists he was detaining, in exchange for his people's being allowed to plant their crops in peace. Virginia officials noted that "many of his People were starved by our taking away their corne and burning their houses." In April 1623 Governor Wyatt echoed those words in a letter to his father, for he said that the Indians wanted peace and had offered to return 20

colonists that they had captured. They also offered to allow the colonists to plant their crops in peace, if they could do the same. The Virginia Council reported to Company officials that if the Indians "send home our people and grow secure upon the treatie, wee shall have the better Advantage both to surprise them and cutt down their corne, by knowing where they plant," for it was generally believed that the Indians' *real* purpose for coming to Martins Hundred was "only to spy and observe the weakness of our plantations" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:6, 75, 98-99).

Dr. John Pott, the colony's Physician General, who came to Virginia in 1621 and was a skillful medical practitioner, in 1623 made a bargain with the Pamunkey Indians. He redeemed the widowed Mrs. Jane Dickinson of Martin's Hundred, taken captive in March 1622, in exchange for some glass beads. In March 1624 Mrs. Dickinson, then a servant in Dr. Pott's household, asked the governor to free her, claiming that he kept her in greater slavery than the Indians had (McIlwaine 1924:3-4; Kingsbury 1906-1935:451; IV:473).

William Capps of Elizabeth City said in April 1623 that

> . . . the Indians are drawn of affare as a man can hurle a stone at twice . . . but when the leaves are greene, they will be somewhat nearer, and now forsooth they would faine have peace, Conditionall that they may have their corn at Kiskiack and at Pamunka, that is just at our back, and when their corne is readie, have at yr bucklers [Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:37].

Around the same time, former governor George Yeardley, led 100 armed men in a march against the Chickahominy Indians, who allegedly had taken the lives of ten colonists. Also, he reportedly had been told by Opechancanough that the Chickahominy had killed some of the settlers' cattle (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:118).

Governor Wyatt, lamenting that "it was by my ill fortune to come when mischief was breeding, covered over with a treacherous peace," issued a proclamation cautioning settlers not to relax their vigilance against the Indians. He asserted that "they cannot hurt us through their strength but through our own carelessnesse being well assured that their perfidious craft is such more dangerous than open violence" (C. O. 1/20 f 145).

In reflecting back upon the events that led up to the Indian uprising, the colony's governing officials began cast blame upon their predecessors, especially those who had taught Natives how to use firearms. Sir Thomas Dale reportedly had shown an Indian named Kissacomas how to shoot and Chacrow (Shacrow), who lived with Lieutenant John Sharpe (Skarfe, Scarpe, Skarse, Skarfe) and Captains William Powell and William Pierce on Jamestown Island, also received training in how to use a gun. Chacrow had learned how to shoot in 1614 while Lieutenant Sharp was in command of Jamestown and an Indian named Nanticos learned to use a gun during the same period. Captain George Webb's servant, John Powell, also taught a Native named Coss how to shoot (McIlwaine 1924:28; Haile 1998:827).

The 1623 Treaty

By May 1623 a peace agreement had been concluded with the Indians. However, according to a letter written in December 1623, it was a dishonorable one. That document, which reached England, reveals that "ye English despite a treaty with ye Natives for peace and good quarter have poisoned a great many of them." It was a reference to a May 22, 1623, attempt to kill Opechancanough and other Indian leaders by toasting a spurious peace treaty with a cup of poisonous wine (C.O. 1/3 f 94). Later, the colony's Physician-General, Dr. John Pott of Jamestown, was implicated in that crime.

Despite the treaty, during the summer of 1623, carefully staged attacks were made upon the

Indians and it became an accepted stratagem to go against them in March (prior to planting, when food stores were minimal), in July (while crops were growing), and in November (after harvest and when loss of shelter would be most critical) (Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:451).

In the fall and winter of 1623, as the Virginia planters' fears subsided and their confidence began to return, they gradually commenced re-occupying the outlying landholdings they had abandoned. They fortified their homes by surrounding them with palisades and they undertook retaliatory raids against the Indians from time to time. One man declared that the colonists "may now by right of warre . . . invade the country and destroy them who sought to destroy us." He added that "Now their cleared ground in all their villages (which are situate in the fruitfullest places of the land) shall be inhabited by us." Another man proposed planting settlements throughout Opechancanough's territory and driving him from his island stronghold in the Pamunkey River. [4] He also recommended continuing to burn the Indians' villages and food crops. A third colonist declared that he had no doubts but "in time we shall clean drive them from these parts" (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:707-710; IV:37-39, 221-223; Ancient Planters 1871:83).

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[4]A ca. 1662 map identifies an island near Carter's Landing in King William County as Opechancanough's "ancient seat." It may have been there that an English house was built for him by the missionary George Thorpe.

In January 1624 Governor Wyatt and his council informed Virginia Company officials that "wee have to our uttermost abilities revenged ourselves upon the Salvages, having upon this river cutt down their corn in all places in great abundance upon hope of a fraudulent peace, with intent to provide themselves for a future war" (Kingsbury 1906-1936:IV:451). In March it was ordered that "every dwellinghouse shall be pallisaded in for defense against the Indians" and all trade with the Indians for corn, both public and private, was prohibited after June 1624. A short time later it was reported that "almost all our Houses are sufficiently fortified against the Indians with strong Palisadoes" (Hening 1809-1823:I:126-127; McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1619-1660:24).

During 1624 when the assembly met, the colony's burgesses agreed that "the best defense against the Indians . . . is the winninge of the forrest by running a pale from Martins Hundred to Chiskiacke wch is not above six miles." Lip-service also was given to colonizing Chiskiack. Upright logs were to be installed that had blockhouses every few hundred feet. Those who settled along the palisade were to be given a blockhouse and 50 acres of land. But the proposal received mere lip service. Twice yearly expeditions against the Indians became the norm as did repeated orders to palisade dwelling houses and maintain constant vigilance. Governor Wyatt said that "our first work is expulsion of the Salvages to gain the free range of the country for encreased cattle, swine &c. which will more than restore us, and it is infinitely better to have no heathen among us, who at best, were as thornes in our sides, than to be at peace and league with them: this is the worke of a continuall charge, and we are unable to bear it" (Wyatt 1626). In October 1626 the governor and his council issued orders that all dwellings in the colony were to be paled in by May 1, 1627. Those who lived within necks of land that could be spanned readily by a palisade line were to construct such barriers collectively. Because Abraham Peirsey of Flowerdew Hundred demonstrated that many of his houses already were paled in and that the whole neck of land was well railed, he was left to his discretion regarding the construction of additional palisades. Again, plans were made for "paling in the forest" or running a palisade across the James-York peninsula. (Hening 1809-1823: I:126-127; Kingsbury 1906-1935:IV:583; McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1619-1660:38; McIlwaine 1924:120).

Despite the tensions between the Native population and the settlers, a few Indians were living in their households in February 1624 when a census was taken of the colony's inhabitants. In the Elizabeth City household of Thomas Dunthorne, who lived near the mouth of the Hampton River, on the upper side, was an Indian boy named Thomas, who was listed among the servants. Thomas was still living with the Dunthornes in 1625. An Indian named Chouponke was residing in Elizabeth City in Captain William Tucker's household in February 1624, but he was not there the following year. Chouponke may have died or departed, for his name was omitted from the 1625 muster. The Tuckers, like the Dunthornes, lived on the upper side of the Hampton River. William Crashaw, who was identified as a baptized Indian, was living in Thomas Dunthorne's household in 1625 but his name was not included in the 1624 census. William Tucker and his wife may have tried to convert the non-Christians with whom they shared their household, for in 1625 the Africans named Anthony and Isabell were identified as having been baptized (Hotten 1980:185, 188, 244, 255). Two Indians, who apparently had been living at West and Shirley Hundred, were listed among those who died there between April 1623 and February 16, 1624 (Hotten 1980:190). It is likely that elsewhere within the colonized area were Natives who were living in planter households. In 1620 there were four Indians living with the colonists and the presence of Chanco and his brother Richard Pace's home in 1622 documents that the tradition was ongoing.

In 1624 the Virginia Company's third charter was revoked and the colony was placed under royal control. Efforts to revive the defunct joint stock company proved unsuccessful, for most Virginians believed that the colony would fare better under the Crown. By 1626, some of the land formerly owned by the Virginia Company had passed into private ownership and some of the Company's former servants had patented the land they previously occupied (Craven 1957:57; Kingsbury 1905-1935:IV:536-537). No records have come to light that reveal how soon after the Virginia Company's demise settlers began laying claim to acreage in the Company Land tract in James City, where the Pasbehay Indians' village had been located. However, the property had been seated by the early 1630s.

Although the governing officials issued orders in March 1624 that "every dwelling-house shall be palisaded in for defense against the Indians," a careful examination of the January 1625 muster suggests that the colonists paid little heed. If they did, their enclosures rarely were classified as "forts." Although five plantations in the upper reaches of the James River were equipped with heavy ordnance, including three that had served as strongholds immediately after the 1622 massacre, none of them reportedly had forts. Downstream, between Flowerdew Hundred and Bennett's Welcome on Warrisqueak (or Burwell's) Bay, were seven settlements that had heavy ordnance of various sorts and three plantations that had forts but lacked such weaponry. Meanwhile, on the upper side of the James, between Bennett's Welcome and Hampton Roads, were eight settlements that reportedly had heavy ordnance and 24 that contained structures classified as forts. Only five of these 24 forts were equipped with ordnance, whereas the remaining three settlements with ordnance lacked forts. In early 1625 no colonists were then living upon the lower side of the James to the east of Pagan Creek, where there was a strong Native presence. The preponderance of forts on the upper side of the James River's mouth, a region that was almost as densely settled as the corporation of James City, and the relative dearth of such protective structures further inland, suggests that the colonists who lived nearest to Hampton Roads were more concerned about being attacked by a foreign foe than a domestic one. In some instances, the structures the census-taker classified as "forts" contained one or two houses and a storehouse or tobacco house. It is perhaps significant that almost all of those credited with possession of heavy ordnance were men who had come to Virginia prior to the 1616 departure of Sir Thomas Dale (Hotten 1980: passim).

Natives of the Rappahannock River Drainage

The records of the Virginia Company contain very few references to the Indians of the Rappahannock River drainage. During the fall of 1622, while Captain Isaac Madison was living in the Indian village, Patawomeck, on the Potomac River, two of his men reportedly ran away to Nazatica. Madison sent in their pursuit

> . . . Master John Upton and three more with an Indian guide to Nazatica, where they heard they were. At this place was a King beat out of his Country by the Necosts, enemies to the Patawomecks; this expulsed King though he professed much love to the Patawomecks, yet he loved not the King because he would not helpe him to revenge his enemies [Smith 1910:596].

This account is the earliest dated reference to Nazatica that has come to light. Although Feest (l978) and Barbour (l969) have assumed that Nazatica and Nantaughtacund were synonymous, Captain John Smith's omission of Nazatica in recounting his explorations and making his map suggests that it did not then exist. Moreover, the text in which he describes Isaac Madison's men's adventures implies that in 1622 the Nazatica community was of relatively recent origin (Smith 1910:596).

Captain John Martin, who in 1623 crafted a plan for taking over Opechancanough's territory, said that he lived upon an island in the Pamunkey River. He said that the paramount chief's influence extended northward to the southern shore of the Potomac River. However, the Patawomeck's willingness to assist the English against the Pamunkey suggests strongly that they were *not* closely allied. During the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the English made a number of expeditions into the northerly portion of the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck, in an attempt to procure corn and other food stuffs, but there appears to have been relatively little military or socio-political interaction (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:708-710).

Governor George Yeardley (1626-1627)

Yeardley Faces New Problems

Despite the retaliatory expeditions and attempts to eradicate the Indians, they continued to make isolated forays upon outlying settlements, such as Warresqueak, and in the upper reaches of the James. Tensions were high and in April 1627 the governor issued a warning that the Indians were expected to attack at any time. The assembly responded by commanding all households to assemble for prayer at least once a day and every plantation had to have a special place for worship services. The colonists were forbidden to waste powder by firing weapons during times of celebration, such as weddings and funerals. The colonists were not allowed to venture out unarmed or alone. Local military leaders had to muster and drill their men on every holiday. The colony's governing officials reiterated their order that all houses were to be paled in. But surviving archival records reveal that many colonists simply ignored the law. In the spring of 1626 a Weyanoke Indian, whose name is unknown, came to Shirley Hundred, where he was captured. When he was transported to Jamestown and brought before the govenor's council, it was decided that he would be made to serve the governor. Afterward he was taken to the Eastern Shore by Captain William Eppes (Kingsbury 1906-935:III:60; IV:41-42, 58, 61, 104-105, 107, 236-237, 239; Hening 1809-1823:I:122-123, 126-127, 140; McIlwaine et al.: 1905-1915:1619-1660:38; McIlwaine 1924: 44, 116, 129, 136, 147, 153.189-190, 198).

Indians from the Caribbean

In 1627 a Captain Sampson brought a group of Carib Indians into the colony, seemingly for

the purpose of selling them. General Court minutes suggest that the Caribs were unruly and strongly resistant to captivity, for Sampson told the justices that "he knoweth noe way or means to dispose of those Indians." As a result, he agreed to turn them over to the court "to dispose of them as we shall please." While the matter was under consideration, it was reported that the Caribs had "runn away & hid themselves in the woods attempting to goe to ye Indians of this Country as some of them have revealed and confessed." While the Carib Indians were at large, they were said to have "stolen away divers goods, & attempted to kill some of our people." Therefore, the justices of the General Court decided that the Caribs should be "presently taken and hanged till they be dead" (McIlwaine 1924:155). It is uncertain whether any of the Carib Indians were recaptured or whether they succeeded in reaching local Native groups.

Acting Governor Francis West (1627-1629)

The August 1628 Treaty

On April 24, 1628, while Francis West was acting governor, four Indians brought a message to the governor from several men being detained at Pamunkey. A decision was made to secure their release, simultaneously seizing the opportunity to learn where the Indians were planting their corn. This dishonorable peace treaty was made in August 1628. The minutes of the governor's council reveal that "a pease is to be made till they [the prisoners] are del'd up *and ye English see a fit opportunity to break it"* (McIlwaine 1924:172, 184-185, 484).

By late January 1629 the governor and his council had found the excuse they needed. Council minutes state that because

> . . . the people of the colony have grown secure and utterly neglected to eyther stand upon their guard or to keep their Arms fitt . . . The condition of our people being soe wretchedly negligent in this kinde that neither proclamations or other strict orders have remedied the same . . . that all the former treaties of peace be utterly extinct.

It was thought "a safer course for the colony in general (to prevent a second Massacre) utterly to proclayme and maintayne enmity and warres with all the Indians of these partes." Thus, the peace treaty that had been made with the Indians in August 1628 was nullified, *not* on account of the *Indians'* treachery but because of the settlers' negligence in maintaining their own defense. There was a moratorium on shooting or killing Indians until February 20th, when they officially became "utter Enemies." In March 1629 the Council of State again discussed the deliberate dissolution of the treaty and reaffirmed its earlier decision. Contradicting their own testimony in the official records, Council members alleged that the Indians repeatedly had violated the treaty's first and principal article which stated that they must not come into the areas settled by the colonists. The Indians also were accused of killing the planters' hogs and cattle, stealing their hoes, and slaying men hunting in the woods (McIlwaine 1924:172, 184-185, 189-190, 198, 484).

A lone Native, who entered the colonized area before his people had been notified of the treaty's dissolution, was sent home with word that the agreement had been annulled because of the *Indians'* failure to abide by it. Henceforth, official Indian messengers were obliged to come in only "at the appointed place, at Pasbehay," west of Jamestown Island. This suggests that under the terms of the peace agreement the Indians had ceded to the English a portion of their land or had agreed to remain outside of the colonized area (McIlwaine 1924:198).

A Point of Entry West of Jamestown Island

Later in 1629 after Robert Poole and four other men were killed by the Indians, another message was sent to Opechancanough, again castigating his people for repeated violations of the treaty. Particular note was made of the Indians' failure to enter the settled area only at "the appointed place, at Pasbehay" (McIlwaine 1924:198). An intriguing reference to a "trucking" or trading point at "old Pasbehay," which occurs in an 1637 patent for acreage near Bush Neck, just above the mouth of the Chickahominy, raises the possibility that Natives intending to enter the area occupied by the colonists may have come in on the so-called Chickahominy Path, which right-of-way appears to have followed portions of the forerunners of Routes 5 and 614 and passed through what had been the Company Land in the corporation of James City. By 1630, a planter named Bridges Freeman and Francis Fowler (a former Virginia Company servant) had patented acreage on the east side of the Chickahominy River's mouth (McIlwaine 1924:44, 104, 116, 129, 136, 147, 151, 153, 155, 189-190, 198, 484; Hening 1809-1823:I:130, 156; Nugent 1969-1979:I:69, 299). A map prepared by Johannes Vingboons around 1630, which shows some of the settlements that were in existence in 1619, identifies the site of Swann's Point (opposite Jamestown, in what is now Surry County) as the "Trocking [Trucking] Point," most likely a site where trade frequently was conducted with the Indians (Vingboons [ca. 1630]). Later, a ferry ran from Swann's Point to Jamestown Island.

Plans to Colonize Chiskiack

In 1629-1630, when settlement along the James became sufficiently well established to permit expansion toward the York, plans were made to extend the young colony's frontier into the homeland of the Chiskiack Indians. Governor Francis Wyatt proposed cordoning off the lower part of the James-York peninsula by means of a palisade that would set that area apart for the use of the colonists and their livestock. However, three more years passed before this proposal became a reality (Hening 1809-1823:I:205, 208-209; Shea 1983:46-62; Smith 1610).

Contemporary Observations

In 1629 when Captain John Smith described conditions in Virginia, basing his comments upon the testimony of several colonists then visiting England, he said that upon the James River, "They seldom see any Salvages, but in the woods, many times their fires; yet some few there are, that upon their opportunitie have slaine some few straglers." Smith added that most of the plantations at the falls of the James were "so inclosed with Pallizadoes they regard not the Salvages" (Smith 1986:III:215-218).

Captain William Peirce, a council member and resident of urban Jamestown, said that, "For our defense against the Natives every plantation is armed with convenient number of musketeers, to the number of 2,000 shot and upwards." He added that:

> As for the Natives, Sasapen [Opitchapam] [5] is the chief over all those people inhabiting upon the rivers next to us, who hath been the prime mover of them, that since the massacre have made war upon us. But now this last summer by his great importunity for himself and the neighboring Indians, he hath obtained a truce for the present from the governor and council of Virginia being forced to seek it by our continuall incursions upon him and them, by yearly cutting down and spoiling their corn [C.O. 1/5 ff 69-70].

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[5]Peirce incorrectly identified Sasasawpen as the chief. He meant Opechancanough.

Peirce was making reference to the treaty that had been made in August 1628.

Governor John Harvey 1630-1634)

Interim Governor John West (1635-1636)

The October 1632 Treaty

Although the early 1630s were marked by sporadic Indian attacks and regular retaliatory expeditions, a great drought in the summer of 1632 shriveled the corn crop and forced the colonists to initiate trade with the Indians. A peace agreement was made with the Chickahominys and Pamunkeys in October, although they were still considered "Irreconcilable enemies" who were not to be trusted. The relentless spread of European settlement, which extended inland at a relatively rapid rate, undoubtedly increased tensions. Laws were made whereby no cloth, cotton, or other goods that had been brought into the colony could be traded with the Indians and nobody was to parley with any Natives except those of the Eastern Shore. If a colonist encountered an Indian, he/she was to be brought to the nearest commander (McIlwaine 1924:480, 484; Hening 1809-1823:I:140, 153, 167, 176, 192-193, 219).

The Middle Plantation Palisade

By February 1633 the Grand Assembly began implementing former Governor Francis Wyatt's proposal to construct a palisade across the James-York peninsula. By doing so, they cordoned off an area that was reserved for the colonists' occupation and as a range for their cattle. Fifty acres were offered to each man settling along the ridge between Queens and Archers Hope (College) Creeks, the corridor through which the palisade was to extend. Work on the palisade had commenced by March 1, 1633. The structure was rebuilt in 1646. Relatively little is known about the form of that palisade, although portions of its trajectory are shown on certain mid-17th century plats and sections of it have been identified archaeologically (Hening 1809-1823:I:208-209).

As soon as the palisade was built a small settlement known as the Middle Plantation sprang up midway between the heads of College and Queens Creeks. Settlers moved into the region in considerable numbers, establishing homesteads. The Chiskiack Indians, meanwhile, withdrew to the Middle Peninsula. Hardly had the colonists become firmly established at Chiskiack than they began aspiring to the fertile soils of the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck, hoping to seize the opportunity to reap profits from growing tobacco. This spurred expansion and before long, the colonists' hunger for more land precipitated the spread of settlement westward along the lower side of the York River, as far west as Ware Creek (now the eastern boundary of New Kent County) and across to the opposite shore in what became Gloucester and King and Queen Counties. Thus, the Virginia planters intruded deeply into the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Indians' homeland. It was during this period that the York River began to develop into a major conduit of shipping and trade. By the early 1630s, European colonists, who previously had not seated acreage east of Pagan Creek, ventured into the territory inhabited by the Nansemond Indians. Shortly thereafter, settlers began streaming into the Chickahominy River basin, homeland of the Chickahominy Indians, and in 1641 they seated acreage along the Piankatank. As those who seated land along the Piankatank were supposed to pay a barrel of corn a year to Opechancanough, the government was fully aware that they were encroaching upon territory the Natives considered theirs (Hening 19809-1823:I:140, 153, 205, 208-209, 227, 386, 410; McIlwaine 1924:477-478, 511; Nugent 1969-1979:I:17, 20, 23-24, 27, 33, 46, 55, 97, 131-132, 135) (see ahead).

Governor John Harvey (1637-1639)

Patenting Native Land

Although many of Virginia's early land patents have been lost or destroyed and the surviving early records are transcriptions that were made in 1683, there is ample evidence of settlers' intrusion into territory occupied by the Native population. The 1624 census makes reference to a colonized area in Elizabeth City that was known as the Indian Thicket. Many early patents make references to Indian town sites, springs, ferries, fields, snares, cabins, and paths, an indication that evidence of Native land usage was present at the time the claims were filed. During the mid-to-late 1630s tracts associated with one or more old Indian towns were patented in Warresqueak (Isle of Wight) County. One was near an old Indian field. A Charles River (later York) County patent made reference to an Indian cabin on Queens Creek. In Nansemond and James City Counties, Native settlements also were mentioned in patents. Throughout the 1640s, as settlement spread, the colonists continued to claim land that previously was in the hands of the Indians. This was especially evident as Native land was patented within the Chickahominy River basin, in Pamunkey Neck (the neck of land defined by the Mattaponi and Pamunkey Rivers), and on the Nansemond, Appomattox and Blackwater Rivers (Nugent 1969-1979:I:27, 76-77, 106-108, 139, 153, 173, 179, 199, 229, 235, 241-244, 246). However, the Nansemond stubbornly resisted the colonists' intrusion into their homeland and seemingly slowed the spread of settlement in lower Hampton Roads. After the 1646 peace treaty was consummated, however, new territory was opened to settlement and the Native population was driven further inland (see ahead). The names of topographic features and streams, many of which still bear aboriginal names, attest to an earlier Native presence (Herrman 1673).

A Proprietary on the Lower Side of the James

In January 1637, when reinstated Governor John Harvey arrived in Virginia, he awarded a patent to Henry Frederick Howard, Lord Maltravers, the Duke of Norfolk's son and a favorite of King Charles I. The land that Maltravers received included Nansemond and Norfolk Counties and parts of Isle of White and Carolina. Although Harvey merely was carrying out the instructions he had received from the king, doing so thoroughly alienated the members of his council (C.O. 5/1359 ff 383-388; Sainsbury et al. 1964:17:153). The patent issued to the Right Honorable Henry Lord Maltravers allocated to him and his heirs "a certain territory . . . on the south side of the James River in a branch of the said river called by the Indian name of Nansemond River hereafter to be called Maltravers River." It was to extend "one degree in longitude on either side of the river" and in latitude to run from the point where the Nansemond (Maltravers) River branches to the height of 35 degrees north latitude. Thus, Henry Lord Maltravers' patent was to extend for approximately 55 miles on each side of the Nansemond River, from its mouth to a point approximately 25 miles below New Bern, North Carolina. Maltravers' patent, like those issued to other would-be landowners, was conditional, for he had seven years to seat settlers upon his land at his own expense. He was to document the development of his property by sending a certificate to the governor for every person he transported to the colony. At the end of seven years' time Maltravers was to commence paying annual quitrent to the Crown (C.O. 5/1359 ff 383-388).

As soon as Maltravers' land along the Nansemond was sufficiently seated, he became eligible to patent another tract of vacant land of comparable size. Maltravers and his heirs, servants and tenants had the right to trade with the colony's Natives and to import and export goods, paying only a lump sum of 5 pounds a year in taxes. Those who lived within Lord Maltravers' proprietary did not have to pay taxes to the Virginia government or perform any

civil or military service other than defending the colony from foreign invasion or putting down insurrections. Maltravers as proprietor had the right to make laws and ordinances pertaining to his territory and to appoint all officeholders (Sainsbury et al. 1964:17:233; Nugent 1969-1979:I:101-103).

Although it is uncertain whether Lord Maltravers ever attempted to develop the Virginia land he had been allocated, in 1640 his agent, William Hawley, presented the governor with a letter authorizing him to take people to Carolina. Maltravers' ephemeral association with the Nansemond River area is evidenced by several patents dating to February and March 1638, which identify it as the Maltravers River. The size and scope of Lord Maltravers' patent indicates that he had a proprietary interest in what became Nansemond and Norfolk Counties, as well as land in Isle of Wight County and the province of Carolina. Maltravers ultimately turned his attention to New England and his interest in Virginia and Carolina land appears to have waned, then disappeared.

The Northern Neck Proprietary

In 1639 officials of the Bermuda Company of London asked to be assigned "a large proportion of land between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers, not yet granted or inhabited by his Majesty's subjects . . . in consolation for the great defect in the quantity of land in the Somers Islands" (Lefroy 1981:I:557-558). But so far as can be deduced from the documentary record, the Bermuda Company's request was denied. It should be noted, however, that in September 1649 the exiled King Charles II set aside for seven of his loyal supporters "all that entire Tract . . . bounded by and within the heads of the Rivers Tappahonocke als Rappahanock and Quirough or Patawomecke Rivers" (the Northern Neck) as a proprietary territory. King Charles upheld the grant in 1652, when the monarchy was restored, and in 1669 reaffirmed it by means of a 21-year lease (Joyner 1985:I:x; Gentry 1981:xvi-xvii). The proprietary status of the Northern Neck made some Virginia planters uneasy about the legality of the titles to their land there.

Trade and Cross-Cultural Interaction

During the late 1630s and early 1640s there was a considerable amount of interaction between the colonists and the Native population. Although trading firearms to the Indians was strictly forbidden, in 1637 sanctions against other types of trade were lifted. The records of Accomac County indicate that in 1637 one man had a substantial quantity of trading cloth in his possession. Another man had a large quantity of roanoke, peake, and green beads. A third individual made reference to a "book to speak Indian tongue." Court records reveal that there was considerable cultural contact between the Indians and the colonists during this period. Some Natives (both young and old) became servants in planters' homes. This generated a certain amount of ill feeling on the part of tribal leaders, who complained about a shortage of workers. Also, payment was made to settlers who would take young Indians into their homes and rear them in the Christian faith. The court records of York, Henrico, Accomac, and Northampton Counties demonstrate clearly that during the second half of the seventeenth century, many Indians were servants in Virginia planters' homes. In 1641 Walter Chiles I of urban Jamestown and three other men were granted the right to explore the territory beyond the head of the Appomattox River. They hoped to establish trade with the Indians and to discover potentially marketable commodities (Hening 1809-1823:I:227, 239, 386, 410; McIlwaine 1924:477-478, 511; Fleet 1988:I:36, 61, 75).

The First Tribal Preserve

By the late 1630s, settlement on the Eastern Shore settlement had become so diffuse that a 1,500 acre tract was assigned to the Accomac (Gingoskin) Indians in December 1640. This

was Virginia's first officially sanctioned Indian preserve or reservation. Patent research reveals that the Gingoskin were given a land mass now known as Indiantown Neck. The Eastern Shore Indians already had sold their town called Mattoones, near Hungars Creek, in 1637, and in 1649 they disposed of some acreage along Occohannock and Craddock Creeks, a place they called Nondue (Nugent 1960-1979: I:77, 150, 183; II:211-212; McIlwaine 1924:478; Northampton County Deeds, Wills, Orders 2:281).

As the Natives of the Eastern Shore did not participate in the Indian uprising that occurred in 1644, Governor William Berkeley in 1650 issued orders that they were not to be harmed in any way. During the 1650s the Gingoskins continued to sell off their homeland, which they were legally able to do, if the majority of the Indians of their town consented to the sale, and it was approved by the governor and council (Hening 1809-1823:IL391, 470; Nugent 1969-1979:I:260). In 1656 Wackawamp and other Accomac Indians asked for legally protected land and in 1660 orders were given that a special tract be surveyed and laid out for them. This property was described in 1673 as 650 acres, the same land that had been awarded to them in December 1640 (Hening 1809-1823:II:13-15; Nugent 1969-1979:II:221-212; McIlwaine 1924:353; Northampton County Deeds and Wills 1711-1718:33-34).

The Spread of Settlement North and West

In 1641, when land on the upper side of the York River officially was opened to settlement, colonists were allowed to patent land as far north as the mouth of the Piankatank River and inland to its head, as long as they settled in groups of 100 or more. This policy of seating close enough to unite for mutual defense was in effect until the Indians of the coastal plain had dwindled in strength and the colonists' population had grown substantially. The Grand Assembly ordered Captain Henry Fleet to pay Opechancanough an annual rent of 50 barrels of corn, contributed by those who chose to seat within the newly opened territory. It was decided that during 1642 settlers could commence moving into the Rappahannock River drainage, "provided that the numbers that seat there be not under two hundred persons and not less than six tithable p'sons in every familye that there sitt down." Although it is doubtful whether planters paid any heed to the law requiring them to seat in groups of 100 to 200, Virginia Land Office records reveal that a number of tracts were claimed in the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck as soon as it became legally permissible (Stanard 1902:53-54).

In 1641, when land on the north side of the York River was officially opened to settlement, the territory affected specifically was

> . . . from the deepe Creeke in Charles [York] River Downward to newe Poynt Comfort, to the mouth of the Piankatank River, and soe to the head thereof, and all the trackt [sic] of land within these bounds, Provided that they shall not goe under one hundred able men, whoe are to give upp their names unto the Court of Charles River [York County] [Stanard 1902:54].

In what appears to have been an effort to appease the Indians,

> . . . an agreement [should] bee made by Captain Henry Fleete with Oppachankano for there [sic] peace by the paym't of Fiftie barrels of Corn this year, at or before the last day of Aprill and Fiftie barrels of Corne more next year. To which payment all men who clayme land within that Trackt are required to make p'porsionable satisfaction according to their sev'all quantities of land [Stanard 1902:54].

Despite this plan, the Grand Assembly stated:

> If upon p'offer made upon this composition Apochankano shall refuse to accept

> thereof, then it may or shall be lawful to seat there with the aforesaid Strength not w'thstanding his refusall, but Apochankano's first refusal shall not hinder his after acceptance [Stanard 1902:54].

Simultaneously, the Grand Assembly authorized settlers to move into the Rappahannock River drainage the following year (1642),

> . . . provided that the numbers that seat there bee not under twoe hundred persons and not less than six tithable p'sons in every familye that there sitt down. . . all claymes made to land heertofore in the s'd River bee voyde. . . ye parties yt there intend to seate are hereby commanded to compounde with the Native Indians there whereby they may live there more securely [Stanard 1902:53].

Virginia Land Office records reveal that a number of tracts were claimed in the territory immediately north of the York River, raising the possibility that some entry may have been made into the territory that lay still further north. By 1642 a considerable amount of acreage had been claimed in the Middle Peninsula (Nugent 1969-1979:I:131-132, 135, 239, 264, 278). In April 1642 the Grand Assembly reported "the settling of peace with friendship with the Indians by mutual capitulation and articles agreed and concluded on in writing" (Hening 1809-1823:I:237). Meanwhile, the settlement of Maryland and the north side of the Potomac River encouraged Virginia planters to move with relative confidence into land on the opposing shore, where patents were issued by 1643 (Nugent 1969-1979:I:149-159,153).

Opechancanough's Participation in the Legal System

Though violence occasionally occurred, sometimes Natives sought legal redress through the colony's judicial system. Curiously, in 1640 Opechancanough appeared in court as an *amicus curiae* or friend of the court when John Burton, who had shot and killed an innocent Indian in reprisal for a crime committed by another Native, was to be punished (McIlwaine 1924:483). A subtle April 1642 reference to a treaty, which mentions "The settling of peace with friendship with the Indians by mutual capitulation and articles agreed and concluded on in writing by many messages and interruptions lengthened," hints that relations between the colonists and the Indians improved for a time. However, it was illegal to trade firearms to the Natives (Hening 1809-1823:I:237, 255).

Opechchancough's Rule

Opechancanough's influence (if not necessarily his authority) reportedly extended north to the Potomac River and south to the lower side of the James, eastward to include Virginia's Eastern Shore, and westward to the falls of the colony's major rivers. According to at least one early explorer's account, certain tribes in the region considerably south of the James River also were under his sway. Thus, throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, first with Powhatan and then with Opechancanough, the Pamunkey Indians enjoyed a dominant role over the Native groups in eastern Virginia. The account of Abraham Wood, written in 1650, quotes a Nottoway Indian as referring to Opechancanough as his people's old emperor. He is mentioned similarly in connection with the Meherrin (Salley 1911:10-15). [6]

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[6]The Nottoway, Iroquoian-speakers whose territory lay along the Nottoway River in the upper Chowan drainage, resided within the Virginia-North Carolina coastal plain. Like their neighbors, the Tuscarora and Meherrin, they were agriculturalists who relied heavily on hunting and gathering. The Nottoway's remoteness from the more thickly settled part of the Virginia colony spared them from European intrusion until the mid-seventeenth century. However, they were

seated only 32 miles from Fort Henry, a trading post and military garrison built at the falls of the Appomattox River in 1646.

Governor William Berkeley (1642-1652)

The 1644 Indian Uprising

Although a new treaty was signed with the Indians in April 1642, steady growth in the colony's European population, accompanied by increased encroachment upon Native lands in the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck and along the James River, inevitably gave rise to conflict. The relentless influx of planters impelled some of the tribes of the Powhatan Chiefdom to unite in a concerted attempt to drive the European colonists from their soil. This Indian uprising, which occurred on April 18, 1644, was the Natives' second major attempt to drive the colonists from their territory. An estimated 400 to 500 settlers lost their lives. Especially hard hit were those who lived in the upper reaches of the York River and on the lower side of the James, near the Nansemond River. Opechancanough, who had led the 1622 uprising, was credited with leading the second one. He was said to be almost one hundred years old and was greatly revered (Stanard 1915:230-231; Beverley 1947:60-61; Force 1963:II:8:1).

In June 1644 the Grand Assembly resolved to "forever abandon all formes of peace and familiarity with the whole [Indian] nation and to the uttermost of our Power pursue and root out those which have in any way had their hand in the shedding of our blood and massacring of our People" (Stanard 1915:229). The colonists embarked upon retaliatory expeditions designed to extirpate the Indians, just as they had in 1622, and April 18th (like March 22nd) was designated a holy day in commemoration of the Native revolt. Marches were undertaken against all of the Indian groups implicated in the uprising and the inhabitants of relatively remote areas were ordered to withdraw to positions of greater safety. These were two of the same strategies adopted in the wake of the 1622 massacre (McIlwaine 1924:277, 296). Official records reveal, however, that Captain William Claiborne offered an opinion "different from the others in relation to the propriety of [undertaking] war upon the Indians between the Rappahannock and Potomac," a statement reflecting his belief that the Natives of that region had not participated in the April 18th uprising (McIlwaine 1924:501). This suggests that by 1644 the Northern Neck's Indians had distanced themselves somewhat from the Powhatan Chiefdom. Claiborne's contention that the Northern Neck's Indians were not implicated in the 1644 uprising apparently prevailed, for in February 1645 a commission was issued to him "to treat with the Rappahannocks or any other Indians not in amity with Opechancanough, concerning serving the country against the Pamunkeys" (McIlwaine 1924:563).

In July 1644 marches were undertaken against the Pamunkey, Weyanoke, Warresqueak and Nansemond Indians, along with two tribes that lived within what eventually became North Carolina: the Chowanoke (Chowan) and Seacock (likely the Secotan, allies of the Chowan). The Nansemond were attacked by the combined armies of Isle of Wight and Norfolk Counties. Commander-in-Chief William Claiborne led a large, well-equipped army against the Pamunkey Indians, destroying their villages and corn fields. But afterward, the Indians disappeared into the forest and then dropped out of sight (Hening 1809-1823:I:237, 287; Force 1963:II:7:6; II:8:1; Beverley 1947:60-61; Stanard 1915:229-231; McIlwaine 1924:277, 296, 501).

On February 27, 1645, Richard Kemp informed Governor William Berkeley, that:

> Our war with ye Natives this summer had good success, for besides the burning of their townes, as in their king's own house, and their treasure house, And ye destroying of their Corne, we had ye execution of many of them and took some prisoners the best and many of the services being performed by ye horse[men] commanded by Capt. Ralph Wormeley, who did many gallant services and with his own hands killed two and he brought in one prisoner by ye necke to ye great joy of ye Army and was of great Consequence to them in guiding them to their townes and corn fields, we suffered none of them about us to rest until our powder failed, which without doubt they imagined by our lying still, And then they pressed hard upon ye frontiers, killing diverse of our men who traveled negligently as also many cattle and hoggs in so much that ye people cried out aloud for marches, which they should not have needed to do, had I not wanted ammunition, which was not by them considered [Kemp, February 27, 1645].

Kemp added that if the Indians had realized how little powder and shot they had, they would have been in great jeopardy. He said that Captain Leonard Calvert of Maryland had assisted the colonists by taking his ship into the Chickahominy River and attacking the Chickahominy in their homeland (Kemp, February 27, 1645).

Because of the critical shortage of arms and ammunition and the lack of funds to purchase more, the assembly fixed upon a strategy that required fewer armed men. They decided to build three small forts or surveillance posts at strategic locations on the colony's frontier. In February 1645 the Grand Assembly ordered the construction of forts at three remote locations that were considered critical to the colony's defense: Fort Charles at the falls of the James River, Fort James on the Chickahominy River at Moysenac, [7] and Fort Royall on the Pamunkey River near Manquin Creek. At Fort Royall, in the Pamunkeys' heartland, armed men were to maintain vigilance over the tribe that had played a major role in both uprisings. Carpenters and other workers were pressed into service as were the men needed to garrison each stronghold (Hening 1809-1823:I:293-294, 315, 327).

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[7]It was located on the Chickahominy River, close to the colonized area; this suggests that in 1644 the Chickahominy Indians had been living close by.

All three forts, which were built by private citizens who received land in exchange for their services, were supposed to provide surveillance over the colony's frontier and offer a measure of protection to outlying settlers. Fort James, located on the upper side of Diascund Creek' mouth at Moysenac in what is now New Kent County, was built by Thomas Rolfe, the son of John Rolfe and Pocahontas, in exchange for the land upon which it stood. Captain Roger Marshall, who was to build Fort Royall ("alias Ricahack ffort") and maintain it for three years and keep it manned, was to receive 600 acres of adjoining land. Later, Marshall and Lieutenant Nicholas Stillwell were credited with displaying great valor during combat with the Indians. Captain William Byrd I was responsible for building Fort Charles at the falls of the James River. Efforts were to be made to hire Accomac or Rappahannock Indians to serve as guides "for the further discovery of the enemy" (Hening 1809-1823:I:293, 315, 327; Nugent 1969-1979:I:187, 234, 249, 255, 403, 411; II:222; Force 1963:II:7:6).

The English newspaper *Mercurius Civicus* reported on May 15, 1645, that news from Virginia indicated that:

> Wee are now providing three forts in the middle of the Country being the King's territory, which is not far from us, so that wee may have a power amongst them able to destroy them and deprive them of their livelihood. . . . the most

> convenient [way] to extirpate and subdue this people that so much annoy us [Frank 1957:85].

According to E. D. Neill, a late nineteenth century scholar, Margaret Worleigh, who had been captured by the Indians in 1644 and detained by Opechancanough, sent a letter to governing officials in which "she mentioned that he desired a redemption of captives and a treaty of peace." Neill noted that:

> It was agreed that there should be an armistice and that Margaret Worleigh should be informed that the governor would soon come to Rickahock, or Fort Royall, on the Pamunkey River, and would be pleased there to confer with 12 of the chief's principal men. Captain Henry Fleet was engaged as interpreter, to meet the governor at his estate, the Middle Plantation, not far from Jamestown [Neill 1996:188-189].

Neill concluded that the conference did not take place, for the construction of another fort (Fort Henry, on the Appomattox River) was authorized in March 1646 (Neill 1996:189). However, the possibility also exists that Opechancanough and Governor Berkeley conferred and that no agreement was reached.

During 1645 a search party was sent out to capture Opechancanough, whom the English called "that Bloody Monster." Governor William Berkeley, upon learning that the aged chief's people had been sighted, reportedly rallied a party of armed horsemen and captured him. Opechancanough was brought to Jamestown and jailed, but while he was imprisoned, a soldier shot him in the back. It was an inglorious end for a Native emperor whose people accorded him a godlike status. The death of Opechancanough heralded the Powhatan Chiefdom's demise. Afterward, Governor Berkeley was credited with subduing the Indians, a deed that reportedly made him "the darling of the people." The documentary record reveals that in August 1645, many of the Pamunkey warriors who had been taken prisoner when Governor Berkeley stormed Opechancanough's stronghold and took him captive, were transported by ship from the mainland to Western (now Tangier) Island in the Chesapeake Bay, where they were abandoned. Specifically, all of the Indian males age 11 or over were removed, isolated, and left to fend for themselves (Hening 1809-1823:I:237, 239, 277, 293, 296, 315, 318, 323-329, 386, 410; Beverley 1947:49-50, 60-61; McIlwaine 1924:564; Force 1963:II:8:1).

In March 1646 the burgesses decided to build a fourth fort on the colony's frontier, Fort Henry, which was situated at the falls of the Appomattox River. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Upper and Lower Norfolk Counties and Isle of Wight's Lower Parish were ordered to make war against the Nansemond Indians and they also were authorized to build a fort, if they so desired. By 1646 the colony's governing officials and the assembly realized that it was almost impossible to attack the Indians, who were hiding in the forest, "they being dispersed and driven from their towns and habitations, lurking up and downe the wood in small numbers." Therefore, they agreed that it was in the best interest of the colony to conclude a peace treaty (Hening 1809-1823:I:315, 318, 327).

Documentary evidence suggests that the effects of the colonists' reprisals against the Indians and the loss of Opechancanough, their principal leader, exacted a severe toll, precipitating the disintegration of the once-mighty Powhatan Chiefdom. One writer, describing the dissolution or scattering of the tribes that had previously been under common leadership, claimed that Virginia officials had made deliberate efforts to liberate the other Natives from the control of the "house of Pamunkey," employing the familiar "divide and conquer" approach in dealing with remnants of the Powhatan Chiefdom.

Reclaiming the Frontier

October 1644 brought the enactment of legislation that authorized all but those who lived "in places of danger" to return to their homes. Those whose return would place them at risk were allowed to reoccupy their patents as long as there were at least ten able men in the group equipped with arms and ammunition and the prior approval of the local military commander was obtained. Some colonists apparently were reluctant to go back to their plantations, for in February 1645 the governor and assembly declared that those who failed to reoccupy their patents would be presumed to have abandoned them. Moreover those purportedly deserting their property were prohibited from burning their buildings in order to recover the nails used in construction (Hening 1809-1823:I:285-286, 291-294). This policy most likely impelled some colonists to return to their homesteads despite the potential danger of being attacked by Indians. But when the October 1646 Indian treaty was signed, the Natives ceded to the English virtually all of the James-York peninsula east of the fall line and all of the land on the lower side of the James, as far south as the Blackwater River. This opened an enormous amount of new land to settlement (Hening 1809-1823:I:323-329).

The 1646 Treaty

In October 1646 Necotowance, called "Emperor of the Indians," concluded a treaty with the Virginia government. He was Opechancanough's immediate successor and the leader of several Native groups that formerly had been unified under the revered paramount chief. As a result of the treaty Necotowance signed, the Natives ceded much of their territory to the English and acknowledged that their right to the possession of the remaining land was derived from the English monarch. From that moment they formally became tributaries to the English government. The implementation, or imposition, of a tributary system, which can be likened to the manner in which Powhatan and Opechancanough ruled the tribes under their control, was in fact a tangible symbol of the Indians' political subservience to the English (Hening 1809-1823:I:323-329).

The Indians, in addition to paying an annual tribute to the Crown's representatives, also agree to let Virginia's governor appoint or confirm their leaders. This was an especially important concession, for it put in place a mechanism for change that hastened the disintegration of the Powhatan Chiefdom. Official policy adopted when the 1646 treaty was concluded was designed to scatter the Native groups formerly unified under a powerful paramount chief. As one government official put it, Governor Berkeley and his council thought that the most expedient way to keep other tribes from being united under the leadership of the Pamunkey was to keep them divided (Ludwell, June 28, 1678). This "divide and conquer" approach quickly evolved into the establishment of tribal lands or preserves, which dispersed the Natives into small, clustered groups. That in turn served to restrict them to certain areas and allowed European settlement to spread more freely.

Thanks to the 1646 treaty, the land of the James-York peninsula inland to the fall line and territory on the south side of the James River down to the Blackwater was relinquished to the Virginia government. All Natives entering the ceded territory could be lawfully slain unless they were garbed in "a coat of striped stuff," to be worn by official messengers as a badge of safe conduct. All Indian trade was to be conducted at Fort Henry on the Appomattox River and Fort Royall on the Pamunkey River's Moncuin (Manquin) Creek, the locations at which the special coats were to be kept when not in use. In return, the Virginia government agreed to protect the Tributary Indians from their enemies. In November 1647 two additional check-points were established for the use of Indians needing to enter the ceded territory on official business. One was Captain William Tayloe's house at Chiskiack (abutting Kings Creek) in York County and the other was at Captain Edward Hill's house at Westover in Charles City County. [8] By 1652 the Chickahominy Indians had withdrawn into the Pamunkeys' territory

in Pamunkey Neck, where they stayed for several generations (Hening 1808-1823:I:323-329, 348, 354). [9]

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[8]William Tayloe was married to Elizabeth, the daughter of ancient planter Richard Kingsmill of Jamestown Island.

[9]In his *Notes on Virginia*, published in 1787, Thomas Jefferson incorrectly stated that the Chickahominys moved to the Mattaponi River drainage in 1661 (Jefferson 1958:96).

The 1646 treaty specified that all of the land north of the York River was reserved to the use of the Natives. The English, in return, were to abandon their plantations on the north side of the York River, to the west of Poropotank Creek. Settlers already seated there were ordered to withdraw both their livestock and their possessions (Hening 1809-1823:I:323-329). Even so, in November 1647 Captain Edward Hill of Shirley Hundred received permission to seat at Nanzattico, in the upper reaches of the Rappahannock, where he and his associates were to be granted "a convenient portion of land" and the right to enjoy "the sole trade of the Bay of Chisopeake [sic] within the Lymitts of Virginia," with the exception of trading which might be done by certain residents of the Eastern Shore of Virginia. Hill was obliged to keep 40 men upon his land at Nanzattico "with sufficient Armes and Ammunition and to bee ready with them at all tymes to serve the Countrey out of duty in case of enmity with the salvages;" to supply the colony with corn at the price of 100 pounds of tobacco per barrel; to return all runaway servants and fugitives; and to be prepared to evacuate the inhabitants of remote plantations, in the event of an emergency. He also was to insure that his men at Nanzattico "seate and inhabite in one intire fforte sufficient for defence and not otherwise, the said ffort not exceeding five Acres at most." In exchange for fulfilling these obligations, Hill was entitled to enjoy his trade monopoly for eleven years, with full authorization to seize the vessels and goods of other traders who were found bartering with the Natives (Stanard 1915:250-255). No documentary records as yet have come to light that disclose whether Hill established a fortified trading post at Nanzattico.

Seating Indian Land Despite the Official Ban

Despite the terms of the October 1646 treaty, on September 1, 1649, the official ban on seating land north of the York River had been lifted. Thus, the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck were thrown open to settlement and colonists quickly moved into the territory briefly reserved for the Natives. The policy change occurred in synch with the official abandonment of the military outposts established in 1645 and 1646. During the 1640s and 50s, seating requirements were extremely lax and under the law, only one acre of ground had to be cultivated and one house built to substantiate a new land claim (Hening 1809-1823:I:323-329, 354; II:244; Nugent 1969-1979:I:187; Billings 1975:65-73).

A Tradition of Annual Tribute

In accord with the terms of the 1646 teaty Necotowance and "five more petty kings attending him" came to Jamestown in March 1648 to present 20 beaver skins, his people's first annual tribute to Virginia's governor. That Necotowance had only five lesser leaders in his entourage reflects the extent to which the ancient Powhatan Chiefdom had disintegrated. Many Natives may not have understood the terms of the treaty or the necessity of wearing a striped coat when entering the ceded territory. A 1649 account quoted Necotowance as saying "My countrymen tell me I am a liar when I tell them the English will kill you if you goe into their bounds." The writer hastened to add that the "valiant Captain Freeman made him no liar when

lately he killed three Indians without badge encroaching" (Force 1963:II:8:25). Thus, it is evident that thanks to Opechancanough's death and the 1646 treaty, the delicate balance of power between the Indians and the colonists had shifted in favor of the latter. However, it appears that there was distrust on the part of the colonists, for in October 1648 Governor Berkeley was authorized to have an armed guard of ten men because of his frequent dealings with the Indians and certain political opponents (Hening 1809-1823:I:354-355).

The First Tribal Preserves

In October 1649, a month after the countryside north of the York River (Native lands) were officially opened to settlement, the Virginia assembly passed an act whereby a 5,000 acre tract was to be allocated to each of the three Indian leaders whose territory was enveloped by colonized land. This decision came in response to the Natives' acknowledgement "that the Soverainitye of the land whereon they live doth belong to his most Excelent [sic] Majestye" and the Native leaders' request that "a convenient proportion of land may be granted unto them by Pattent, whereon they, and theire people may inhabit" (Billings 1975:229).

The newly enacted legislation stipulated that "There shall be laid out for Totopotomoy [the Pamunkey leader who succeeded Necotowance] 5,000 acres of land adjacent to the place where he now liveth and that after a surveig [survey] thereof a Patent be granted to him." A patent, however, apparently was not forthcoming, for in July 1653 Totopotomoy again petitioned the Assembly for legal entitlement to his people's land. This time, the Assembly agreed to give him a choice between the land he was already occupying and a tract called Ramomak (Romancoke). Two other Native leaders, Ascomowett, the king of the "South Indians" or Weyanoke and Ossakican, the king of the "North Indians" (the Chiskiack), also insisted upon having 5,000 acres of land. Ascomowett was given land on the south side of the James, beyond the bounds delimited by the 1646 treaty. Ossakican was assigned "the place whereon he now liveth," near the land of Hugh Gwyn, whose patented land was located upon the south side of the Piankatank River, near its mouth. These tracts were to be laid out and surveyed for the Indians and assigned to them by patents. Care was taken to see that the Indians were reimbursed for previously patented land that lay within the acreage the Natives had been assigned. This was particularly important within the area along the Piankatank, where English plantations had been established by 1642. One indication of the extent to which European settlement had spread north and west is that in 1653 Gloucester County was formed and in 1654 the northwesterly part of York County was split off to form New Kent County (Hening 1809-1823:I:293-295, 325, 354-355; Force 1963:I:8:13, 25; McIlwaine 1924:499; Virginia State Library 1965:24).

Totopotomoy, Necotowance's Successor

By 1649, Necotowance had been replaced by Totopotomoy, another Pamunkey male. The written record indicates that Totopotomoy, unlike his predecessors, represented only his own tribe when he interacted with English officials. It is probable that by March 1649 unified leadership of coastal Virginia's Indians had deteriorated completely, for it was then that equal amounts of land were allocated to three Native leaders, whose people formerly had been subordinate to Opechancanough as paramount chief. Thus, the Pamunkeys likely wielded little, if any, power over other tribal groups. Totopotomoy, unlike Necotowance, was called King of the Pamunkeys, not "Emperor of the Indians." A staunch ally of the English, Totopotomoy was killed in 1656 while fighting at their side against an outlying Indian group in a conflict later known as the Battle of Bloody Run. Afterward, his widow, Cockacoeske, became the leader or Queen of the Pamunkeys, a role she occupied until her death in the 1680s. She was described by one contemporary as a descendant of Opechancanough, Powhatan's brother. If Totopotomoy was also a descendant, she may have been his cousin, as well as his wife. During the nearly thirty years Cockacoeske ruled, her people remained

tributaries of the colonial government and, to a considerable degree, attempted to act within the framework of its legal system (Force 1963:I:8:14-15; Hening 1809-1823:I:402-403).

Exploration at the Head of the Appomattox River

In 1650 when Abraham Wood and a party of explorers ventured into the territory beyond the head of the Appomattox River, Pyancha, an Appomattock, served as their guide. Twenty-one years later, Perecuta, the Appomattock king, led European explorers Nathaniell Batts and Robert Fallom on their westerly expedition from the same debarkation point. By 1665 the Appomattock reportedly were living within Charles City County, the same jurisdiction in which Fort Henry was located. It should be noted that at that point in time, the boundaries of Charles City County extended across the James River, taking in what became Prince George County. According to a 1669 census of the colony's Native inhabitants, the Appomattock then had 50 bowmen. In 1675 the Appomattocks, who were still living in Charles City, asked that their old town not be burned. Simultaneously, they asked the governor's council for permission to hunt and gather at the heads of the rivers (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:64; Salley 1911:5-20).

The Creation of More Native Preserves or Reservations

By 1650 the frontier began extending both north and west, along the York, Rappahannock, and Potomac Rivers. Early on, planters had learned that the soil type most favorable for the production of sweet-scented tobacco (the most marketable and therefore the most valuable species of the plant) occurred along the banks of the colony's rivers. As this alluvial soil was of limited distribution, Virginia planters rushed to stake claims to land they knew would yield substantial crops. So great was the pressure upon Tidewater Virginia's Natives to relinquish their lands that in 1652 the Grand Assembly resolved to assign them tracts that were reserved exclusively to their occupancy. It also enacted a law whereby "all the Indians of the collonye shall hold and keep those seats of land that they now have and no person or persons whatsoever [shall] be suffered to Intrench or plant upon such places as the Indians claim or desire untill full leave from the Governor and Council or Commissioners of that place." The legislation was enacted because

> . . . many Complaints have been brought to this Assemblye touching wrongs done to the Indians in takinge away their lands or fforcing them into such Narrow Streights, and places that they cannot Subsist, either planting or hunting . . . that thereby they may bee justly Driven to dispaire and to Attempt some Desperate course for themselves [Billings 1975:72].

Although Governor Berkeley declared in 1651 that "the Indians around us are subdued," raids sometimes occurred on the fringes of the frontier, near the fall line. Often, such attacks were followed by swift and forceful retaliation (Billings 1975:72-73; Hening 1809-1823:II:35, 161-162; McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1619-1660:75).

Just as specific tracts had been assigned to the Eastern Shore's Accomack Indians in 1640 and to the Pamunkey, Chiskiack, and Weyanoke in 1649, during the early 1650s acreage was assigned to the Rappahannock, Totusky, Moratticund, Mattaponi, Portobago, Chickahominy, Nanzattico, Nansemond, and upper Nansemond (Mangomixon), and perhaps others as well. Many of these Native preserves lay in the Middle Peninsula or Northern Neck. Though the destruction of the General Court's records for this period and extant county records' frustrating lack of detail leave the boundaries of most of these tracts open to conjecture, their general locations may be deduced from geographical references that are contained in patents and other court documents. Deeds and patents that make reference to the Native preserves' boundary lines indicate that some (if not all) of the tracts had been surveyed and physically

demarcated (McIlwaine 1924:365, 478, 493, 499, 504, 508, 518; McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1660-1693:11; Hening 1809-1823:II:35, 161-162; Billings 1975:65-72; Lancaster Orders III:125-126; Nugent 1969-1979:III:19; Old Rappahannock County Deeds 1656-1664:II:250).

In November 1652 the legislation assigning specific tracts to the Indians (analogous to preserves or reservations) was upheld because officials had learned through experience that conflict over land was at the root of most of their disputes with the settlers. The assembly agreed that "all the Indians of the collonye shall hold and keep those seats of land that they now have." Settlers were forbidden to encroach upon the Natives' acreage, for the burgesses agreed that "wrongs done to the Indians in taking away their lands or fforcing them into such Narrow Streights and places that they cannot Subsist, either planting or hunting," often had driven them "to attempt some Desperate course." Moreover, "Noe Indians [were] to Sell theire lands but in quarter Courts, and that those English which are lately gone to Seate neere the pamunckyes, and the Chickahominyes on the north side of pamunickye River shall be Recalled." The Indians received authorization to hunt and gather outside the area ceded to the colonial government, with the exception of plantations the colonists had fenced. Also, the land that the Indians had been assigned lay beyond what was then the colony's frontier. As racial tensions eased, the settlers and their Indian neighbors again began to intermingle (Hening 1809-1823:I:239, 264, 278, 293-295, 325; Billings 1975:65-73).

However, as increasing numbers of planters moved into the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck and the territory beyond the fall line, many paid little heed to whether they were intruding upon the acreage assigned to the Indians and some blatantly established homesteads on the Indians' preserves. Others tried to trick them into selling part of their land. Meanwhile, the Native population dwindled and that of the colonists increased. These dynamics put pressure upon the Indians, whose hunting and foraging habitat gradually was reduced. Also, their specially assigned tracts eventually were surrounded by planter homesteads. Despite official policy, influential people sometimes tried to circumvent the law by claiming part of the Indians' acreage, perhaps in anticipation of their dying out or abandoning it. High-ranking officials seem to have had few inhibitions about claiming the acreage set aside for the Indians. One such individual was Sir Thomas Lunsford of Rich Neck, who secured a patent for 3,423 acres of land on the lower side of the Rappahannock River, within territory set aside for the Nanzattico and Portobago Indians. Another was Secretary of the Colony Ralph Wormeley, who claimed 10,000 acres on the Rappahannock River, a patent that reportedly encompassed the old and new Nimcock Indian towns. Wormeley also patented a massive tract in Pamunkey Neck that impinged upon the Natives' territory (McIlwaine 1924:41, 227, 365, 400, 493, 517; Nugent 1969-1979: I: 181, 200).

Practically speaking, very little progress was made in preserving and protecting Native lands. As the Pamunkey Neck (between the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers) was one of the most sought-after areas, in July 1653 Totopotomoy again petitioned the assembly for a legal title to his people's land. This time, the burgesses ordered him to choose between *the acreage he was then occupying* and a tract called Ramomak (Romancoke), which historical maps suggest was just east of (or perhaps enveloped) Powhatan's religious center, Uttamussack (Hening 1809-1823:I:380; Fry and Jefferson 1755). A map prepared around 1662 (six years after Totopotomoy's death) which labels a site analogous to Romancoke as "Ramounca," corroborates that interpretation. It also reveals that Totopotomoy's village was several miles upstream at Pamamomeck, between Jack's Creek and the peninsula that comprises the Pamunkey Indian Reservation ([Langston ca. 1662]). Totopotomoy apparently decided to stay where he was, for on September 1, 1653, Colonel William Claiborne (a member of the governor's council) received a new patent for Romancoke. It was noted that Claiborne's riverfront acreage encompassed the point where "the sd. Col. Clayborne landed the Army under his command in 1644" (Nugent 1969-1979: I: 244-245, 358-359).

The Natives' Place in Virginia Society at Mid-Century

As Virginia's population grew, society became more stratified and class differences emerged. At the top of the heap were the governor and his councilors, who monopolized the colony's most important political positions, but shared some of their power with the burgesses. Below the burgesses were county justices and other local officials. At the bottom were the lesser planters and landless freemen who ranked just above ethnic minorities, which included Native Americans, Africans, and African Americans (Billings et al. 1986:66-68).

Local court records indicate that Indian servants and slaves were bought and sold. For example, in February 1646 the executors of Thomas Smallcomb of York County sold his Indian servants to various people. Two Natives were conveyed to Sir William Berkeley for 600 pounds of tobacco. As the late Thomas Smallcomb was one of the men stationed at Fort Royall in Pamunkey Neck, the Indian servants in his possession may have been prisoners-of-war he purchased from other Natives. On the other hand, in 1648 the justices of York County decided that "Formue a girl bought from the Indians and kept by Capt Willm Tayloe shall serve the sd Capt Willm Tayloe till she comes to the age of 18 yrs (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 2:329). Tayloe had a plantation in Chiskiack, on the west side of King's Creek's mouth. In 1647 Tayloe's house was one of the check-points though which Indians needing to enter the James-York peninsula could gain egress (Hening 1809-1823:I:348). York County records indicate that African, Indian and European servants sometimes were posted as collateral when funds were borrowed (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 2:308). Thus, they were treated as personal property.

Charles City County records reveal that Indian servants sometimes were involved in court cases. In January 1663 a mariner testified in court that he saw Elizabeth, an Indian woman who was Captain John Wall's servant, "strike at Mrs. Wall." Later in the year, Thomas, an Indian youth who had served Rice Hoe for three years, filed a complaint with the justices of Charles City County, asking for his freedom dues. His request was approved and he received a pair of canvas drawers and two canvas shirts (Fleet 1988: II: 271, 280).

In 1648 Arthur Price, who lived between Taskinask and Skimino Creeks, informed York County's justices that "some inhabitants on York River above Skiminoe due [do] dayly Entertain the Indians in their houses, night and day," contrary to law. The justices authorized him to arrest lawbreakers and kill any Indians he found associating with them. Curiously, Price himself had an Indian maid servant that he had purchased form the estate of a local man (York County Deeds, Orders, Wills 2:289, 328).

Governor Richard Bennett (1652-1655)

Local Treaties and Interaction

In 1652 the Grand Assembly passed a law authorizing Northampton, Northumberland and other frontier counties to make treaties with their Indian neighbors. Accordingly, in 1655 Pindavako, protector of the young king of the Chiskiack Indians, made a special treaty whereby he confirmed a gift of Gloucester land. In 1657 the king and greatmen of the Mattaponi concluded a treaty with the justices of Old Rappahannock County, agreeing not to trespass or to kill livestock. In return, the Indians would be eligible for English justice in the local court. This document reveals that the Mattaponi Indians were then living within the territory that in 1692 was subdivided to form Essex and Richmond Counties (Billings 1975:71; Hening 1809-1823: I: 396,476; Pindavako 1655; Stanard 1930:391).

In 1652 Michael Upchurch, who was living in Virginia, sent some gifts to some friends in

England. They included Indian baskets, six Indian pipes, beads of all colors, and some muskrat skins. He said that the Natives made their bows of locust wood and their arrows of reeds tipped with turkey-cock spurs, the tips of deer antlers, or glass they obtained from the settlers. He said that the Indians cut it with an old knife or stone tool. Upchurch included a sketch of a glass arrow point (VCRP Survey Report 6644).

Francis Yeardley, one of the late Governor George Yeardley's sons, who lived upon the western branch of the Lynnhaven River, accompanied a young trader to Roanoke Island in 1653. There, he met the King of the Roanoke Indians, who returned with him to Virginia, accompanied by some other Natives. The Indians stayed in the Yeardley home for a week. When the Roanoke king saw Yeardley's children read and write, he asked if Yeardley would give instruction to his own son. He also expressed interest in learning about Yeardley's religion. When Francis Yeardley's wife, Sarah, took the King of the Roanoke to church, many parishioners were fearful and objected to his presence. Francis Yeardley sent some men to Roanoke Island to build an English house for the king from whom he purchased some land, taking possession on behalf of the Commonwealth of England. Later the King of the Roanoke had his child baptized and left him with the Yeardleys to bring up in the Christian faith (Salley 1911:22-27).

In October 1654 a English friend of Francis Yeardley's wife, Sarah, congratulated her for befriending the King of the Roanoke Indians and taking him to church. She praised Sarah Yeardley for her great courage in protecting the Roanoke king "against the more savage demeanor of some of our barbarous English the Stain of our Nation" (VCRP Survey Report 6695). Under Virginia law, colonists could take Indian children into their home as servants, if the children's parents consented in the presence of two justices of the peace. The host family was supposed to see that the children were educated and raised as Christians (Hening 1809-1823:410).

The Nanzattico Trading Post

In 1652 Colonel Edward Hill, who in 1647 had been authorized to set up a trading post at Nanzattico, patented 4,000 acres of land opposite Portobago, the Nanzattico tract that reportedly included the Asasaticon (Nanzattico) Town. Reference also was made to the Warisqucock Indian Town, which was located nearby (Nugent 1969-1979:I:324). Hill, who obtained his patent on the basis of headrights, was a member of the Council of State at the time he asserted his claim. In 1664 when Colonel Hill's son and heir, Captain Edward Hill, repatented his father's 4,000 acres at Nanzattico and "opposite to Poretobacco," the existence of the Ausaticon (Nanzattico) Town again was mentioned (Nugent 1969-1979:I:457). Despite Colonel Edward Hill's 1652 claim to 4,000 acres at Nanzattico, in December 1656 Sir Henry Chickley also patented 2,200 acres that lay "opposite to Port Tobacco" and abutted east on Poythress (Porteus, Jett) Creek (Nugent 1969-1979:I:334). Thus, the two men lodged conflicting claims. In 1674 Chickeley strengthened his entitlement to the "land called Nanzattico." He obtained an order from the colony's general court, having successfully argued that the land was deserted (McIlwaine 1924:365) Some of the confusion over the ownership of Nanzattico may have arisen from the fact that Colonel Hill obtained his patent in 1652, the same year that King Charles II confirmed the Northern Neck Proprietorship. Thus, Hill may have obtained his patent from officials at Jamestown when the status of the Northern Neck was unclear, whereas Chickeley may have acquired his from the Proprietors, whose authority eventually prevailed.

In 1653 one writer said that Governor Berkeley had placed the Nansemond and Warrisqueak Indians under the rule of the Weyanoke king. As the Nansemond and Warresqueak had refused to obey him, the Weyanoke had attacked their villages. Therefore, all three Native groups' leaders were to meet with the governor at Jamestown to negotiate peace (Ferrar MS

1216).

Governor Edward Digges (1655-1656)

The Battle of Bloody Run

During the early-to-mid 1650s the Tributary Indians began making increased use of the colony's legal system and occasionally they served as allies of the Virginia government. In March 1656 the Pamunkey and Chickahominy Indians helped the colonists drive off 600 to 700 Natives who were "drawne down from the mountaynes and lately sett down near the falls of the James River." This conflict, known as the Battle of Bloody Run, claimed the life of the Pamunkey Indian leader, Totopotomoy. Edward Hill I, a councilor, led an army of 50 militia men and Tributary Indian warriors in opposition to some hostile tribesmen, the Richahecrians, who lived near the head of the James River. During that conflict, many Tributary Indians were killed. Hill, who was held responsible for the slaughter of so many Native allies, was obliged to pay the cost of securing peace with the Richahecrians (Hening 1809-1823:I:402-403, 422-423; Force 1963:I:8:14-15).

Restrictions on Access

At the close of 1656 the assembly passed an act that required Indians, who wanted to enter fenced plantations to hunt or forage, to carry a ticket or pass from a designated official on the head of the nearest river. However, the law failed to specify what type of officials actually were supposed to dispense the admission passes. Settlers who killed Indians on their property had to produce at least one witness who testified that trespassing had occurred. The concern the burgesses voiced was that if too many Indians, "though never so innocent," were killed, "we may probably be involved in a war for us and our posterity." Free men were permitted to trade with the Indians at specifically designated trade marts. The burgesses voiced their official concern that the Indians failed to cooperate with the English "because of our extreme pressures on them," which left them "with nothing to lose but their lives." Therefore, to provide an incentive for gaining the Indians' cooperation, as well as a mean of solving a very real problem, a bounty was offered to Natives for killing wolves (Hening 1809-1823:I:393, 415, 456). County records reveal that the Indians received their bounty when they presented wolves' heads as proof that they had killed them.

Racial Distinctions

Legislation enacted in March 1656 made a clear distinction between the Native population and those of African descent. The new statute stated that whenever Indians brought their children to colonists as a sign of amity, those youngsters were not to be used "as slaves." Moreover, Indian parents had the right to choose the people with whom they left their children and those who became responsible for them were obliged to "do their best to bring them up in Christianity, civility and the knowledge of necessary trades." At the discretion of county commissioners, those who took young Indians into their homes and reared them as Christians could be compensated (Hening 1809-1823:I:396). It was an idea almost as old as the colony itself, as Virginia Company officials tried to encourage the colonists to convert young Indians to Christianity by offering a financial reward to those willing to do so. William Perry, a planter who lived on the lower side of the James River at Pace's Paines, took an Indian boy into his home and asked for funds that could be used in rearing him as a Christian. In 1641 Perry's son and executor, Henry, asked that his late father's estate be compensated for his bringing up a Tappahannah Indian boy as a Christian (McIlwaine 1924:477). It is likely that the child was treated like a servant. [10]

[10]Chanco, a Pamunkey youth, also had been Perry's servant.

Surry County court records, which date from 1652 on, reveal that quite a few planters had Indian servants whose time they bought and sold. For instance Henry Randolph and Thomas Woodhouse, both of whom owned property in urban Jamestown, each had young male Indian servants they sold to others. In December 1654 an Indian man named Humphreye agreed to serve Robert Warren, a planter, for three years. On the other hand another Surry planter purchased a Seacock Indian boy named Highamaccounte, whose English name was Robert, who was to serve for four years. Robert was to be provided with "meat, drink, apparel, washing and lodging and all other necessaries sufft for an Indian servt." Indian children who were made servants were supposed to be freed at age 25 (Surry County Court Records 1652-1662:35, 39, 47, 74; 1664-1671:432).

Legal Redress

According to governmental records for the 1650s and 1660s, there was considerable legal interaction between the English and the Tributary Indians, much of which involved conflict over land ownership. Sometimes, Indians sought justice through the court system on account of personal affronts. In 1655 Totopotomoy legally protested the killing of his brother by an Englishman, and in 1659 the King of Weyanoke petitioned for immunity from prosecution for bad debt "as a result of many disadvantageous bargains." The Nansemond sought military assistance against the Weyanoke, whose king they were accused of killing, and they had problems with the Pamunkey, whom they accused of killing two of their men. The Nansemond also feuded with the Tuscarora (McIlwaine 1924:503; McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1660-1693:4; Hening 1809-1823:I:547). Legal complains were promulgated by a group of Indians in Northumberland County, by the Pamunkeys, and others, an indication that the Tributary Indians were attempting to function within the parameters of colonial law and avail themselves of the rights to which they were entitled under the terms of the 1646 treaty.

Governor Samuel Mathews II (December 1656 — January 1660)

Tribal Preserves

In March 1658 the colony's assembly reaffirmed two laws that had been enacted in November 1652. Again, English settlers who were seated on land near the Pamunkeys or Chickahominys, on the north side of the Pamunkey River, were ordered to plant elsewhere. Also, each tribe was to be allocated 50 acres per bowman, with each group's land to be taken as an aggregate. There was a moratorium on the issuing of new patents until the Indians' land could be assigned (Hening 189-1823: I: 468). Specifically, no new patents were to be issued

> . . . until the Indians be first served with the proportion of fiftie acres of land for each bowman and the proportion for each particular [sic] towne to be together and to be surveyed as well woodland as cleared ground . . . [with] privilege of all waste and unfenced grounds for hunting" [Hening 1809-1823:I:457-458].

This law was of major consequence to Tidewater Virginia's Tributary Indians.

Governor William Berkeley (1660-1661)

Defining Native Lands

By 1662, the concept of tribal preserves was generalized as a three-mile ring around Indian towns, a circle that would have encompassed 18,096 acres. The assembly noted that

> . . . mutual discontents, complaints, jealousies, and ffears of the English and Indians proceed chiefly from the violent intrusions of diverse English . . . forcing the Indians by way of revenge to kill the cattle and hogs of the English . . . to the disturbance of the peace [Hening 1809-1823:I:468].

From the colonists' perspective, it would have been preferable for the neighboring Indians to be drawn closely together into preserves because it would have left open spaces into which settlement could expand in an almost uninhibited fashion.

Colonists already seated within three miles of an Indian town were ordered to leave unless they could authenticate their land titles. On the other hand, those legally seated within the three-mile ring were ordered to assist the Indian town's inhabitants in fencing a corn field of adequate size to meet the community's needs. This was a preventive measure intended to keep the settlers' livestock out of the Indians' gardens. Natives were authorized to hunt, fish, and gather within the territory settled by the English as long as they came unarmed. Those who traded with the Indians had to obtain licenses and the Natives themselves had to carry passes whenever they visited the settled area. Special commissioners were to be appointed, whose duty it was to visit each Indian town in order to "settle the bounds between us" (Hening 1809-1823:I:457, 468; II:139, 141-143). Although the quantity of land the Natives were allowed may have seemed adequate, even generous, by European standards, it was far less than what was needed for subsistence and restricted their ability to hunt and forage.

This issue was clouded by the numerous land transactions between the colonists and the Indians, for under the law the Natives were allowed to sell off portions of the property that had been assigned to them. For example, in 1661 the Chickahominy Indians requested acreage on the south side of the Mattaponi River that was said to extend from Philip Mallory's patent to the river's headwaters and reportedly ran inland to the landholdings of the Pamunkeys. The Chickahominys' land also abutted the two Herring Creeks. Immediately thereafter, the Chickahominys sold 743 acres of that land to Mallory, a local clergyman they held in high esteem. References to acreage called "the Munguy's Patent" in Henrico and Charles City Counties suggest that the Chickahominys may have moved from the upper part of the James-York peninsula to the Pamunkey Neck area early on, perhaps as a result of the 1646 treaty or the construction of Fort James (Hening 1809-1823:II:34, 39; McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1660-1693:111, 320, 343; McIlwaine 1924:361; Nugent 1969-1979:III:19, 27, 76; Palmer 1968:I:22).

Governor William Berkeley (1662 — 1677)

Protection vs. Abandonment

Although the March 1662 legislation stated that "Noe Indian king or other shall upon any pretense alien and sell, nor noe English for any cause or consideration whatsoever purchase or buy any tract or parcel of land now justly claymed or actually possesst by any Indian or Indians whatsoever," the Natives still experienced land loss through encroachment and sometimes they were victimized by illegal transactions. This occurred despite the fact that the law declared "All such bargains and sales [by the Indians] hereafter made or pretended to be made [were] hereby declared to be invalid, voyd and null, any acknowledgment, surrender, law or custome formerly used to the contrary." Although the colony's officials noted that land was the basis of most disputes between the planters and Indians, they acknowledged that the latter were dwindling steadily and anticipated that through attrition their territory eventually

would be opened to settlement (Hening 1809-1823:II:139).

That the Indians' abandonment of their legally designated land threw it open to colonists' claims undoubtedly tempted some individuals to drive the Natives from their homes. In fact, patents sometimes were issued to settlers, predicated upon the Indians' eventual desertion of their land. For example, in March 1656 land was allocated to the Wicomico Indians. However by November of that year, the same property was granted to incumbent governor Samuel Mathews II, contingent upon the Indians' deserting it. In 1660 the guardians of Mathews' heirs were asked to make sure that the Wicomico Indians had been paid for the acreage (McIlwaine 1924:504, 506; McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1619-1660:117; 1660-1693:9). The land of Gloucester County's Chiskiack Indians, described in 1661 as "a small, inconsiderable nation," was to become parish glebe land as soon as it was abandoned by the Natives. In 1662 Mrs. Mary Ludlow of Gloucester was admonished for encroaching upon the Chiskiacks' land (McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1660-1693:13, 16; McIlwaine 1924:506). In 1661 Manwarring Hammond attempted to claim 2,000 acres of the Chickahominy Indians' land and in 1662 Edward Dennis tried to claim the land upon which they had built their town (Hening 1809-1823:II:35, 161-162).

In some instances, however, the Indians did divest themselves of large portions of their land. Competition for the lands of the Mattaponi, Chickahominy and Pamunkey Indians was particularly keen. In March 1662 it was reported that Edward Dennis "hath without title or claime, seated himselfe in the Indian towne of Chickahomini." The Mattaponi also had problems, for in March 1662 the King of the Mattaponi filed a legal complaint against a man who allegedly had set his English house ablaze in order to drive him from his land. atent research reveals that the Mattaponi were then living at the head of Piscataway Creek, at the headwaters of the Piankatank River, and that they subsequently moved to a new site on the Mattaponi River in the vicinity of Deep Run. The King of the Nanzattico sold some of his people's land, whereas the King of the Potomac sold some acreage in 1662 and two years later, gave away a tract (Hening 1809-1823:II:154-155; McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1660-1693:16; McIlwaine 1924:493, 508; Nugent 1969-1979:I:384, 404, 462, 490; II:19, 27, 87, 142, 358; III:97).

Controlling Native Access

In 1662 the boundary lines separating the Indians from the settlers were reaffirmed and Natives who had a reason to enter the ceded territory were obliged to carry copper or silver badges marked with the name of their town. Those lacking badges were subject to arrest. Although this policy was only a variation of the 1646 law requiring Indians to wear striped coats, significantly in 1662 Native trespassers were to be taken into custody, not automatically executed. In 1671 a law was repealed that allowed colonists to kill Natives who ventured into areas that had been seated or planted. However, anyone who allowed Indians to stay with them had to obtain a license from the governor (Hening 1809-1823:II:141-143, 289). William Sherwood of Jamestown, who for a time was sheriff of Surry County, recited a portion of the legislation when he filed charges against Joseph Rogers, a Surry tanner, who had "entertained, harbored or employed several Indians in his now dwelling house in the said county" contrary to law (Surry County Court Records 1664-1671:385).

In 1662 when the official boundary line established by virtue of the 1646 treaty was reaffirmed within the territory on the lower side of the James River, the westernmost portion of the boundary line was defined more explicitly. It was said to run from the head of the Blackwater River to the Appomattocks Indian town, then across to the Monacan town. Parties of armed horsemen began to procession the boundaries annually and later the lines were demarcated by surveyors (Hening 1809-1823:II:219-220, 393, 415-416; III:85; McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1619-1660:75, 94). Conspicuously absent were all references to the land north

and west of the James-York peninsula, promised to the Indians in 1646 and thrown open to settlement in 1649: territory into which large numbers of settlers already had intruded.

Indians in Planter Households

Documentary sources that date from the late 1640s on make reference to Indians who lived in planter households, where they were identified as servants or slaves. Court records from Virginia's Eastern Shore and those of Henrico, Surry, Isle of Wight, and York Counties, which are relatively complete, contain numerous references to young Indians who were brought in so that their age could be adjudged. It appears that during the 1680s and 90s most (if not all) of the Indian children were considered servants, not slaves. However, like African servants and slaves, the time of Indians could be bought and sold and conveyed from hand to hand by bequest (Henrico County Deeds and Wills 1677-1692:134-135; Orders &c. 164-1701:40, 65, 68, 71, 80, 138-141, 229-230, 234-237, 239; Surry County Deeds, Orders, Wills 1652-1672:142-143; Orders 1671-1691:274, 444, 450, 489; Deeds and Wills 2:141). Court records reveal that many of these Indian children had been captured by Tributary Natives and sold to the colonists. Therefore, under the law, they were not accorded the same treatment as Tributaries.

In March 1662, while Governor William Berkeley was in office, the newly revised legal code specified that "what Englishman, trader or other shall bring in any Indians as servants and shall assign them over to any other, shall not sell them for slaves nor for any longer time than English of the like ages" (Hening 1809-1823:II:143). At the same assembly session, it was decided that Metappin, a Powhatan Indian whom the King of the Weyanoke had sold to a woman for life, should be freed, as the Weyanoke leader had "no power to sell him being of another nation." In noting that Metappin should be freed, the burgesses indicated that he spoke English well and wanted to be baptized (Hening 1809-1823:II:155). On another occasion, the King of the Weyanoke sold to a Surry County woman "a boy of my nation named Weetopin . . . until the full term of his life." In exchange, the woman gave the Weyanoke king a young horse. In 1664 an Indian man named John Philips was listed as a tithable servant at a Mr. Edwards' plantation. In 1671 an Indian, an African, and a mulatto were identified as runaway slaves who had been captured near the Blackwater River (Surry County Court Records 1652-1662:137; 1664-1671:347; 1671-1691:4).

The Loss of Rights and Control

Although legislation enacted in 1662 encouraged Natives to settle their conflicts within the context of the colony's judicial system, in 1665 they experienced significant erosion of their civil rights. It was then that a new law stipulated that "Indians shall not have power within themselves to elect or constitute their werowance or chief commander." Instead, such leaders were to be authorized by the governor, who had the right to choose a "person in whose fidelity they [the English] may finde greatest cause to repose a confidence" (Hening 1809-1823:II:219). This confirmed Article I of the 1646 treaty, whereby Necotowance, leader of the Pamunkey Indians, had agreed that his successors would be appointed or confirmed by the governor. Examples of Indians requesting approval for proposed leaders may be found in public documents during the years following the enactment of the 1662 law. For example, in March 1675 the Appomattocks petitioned the governor, asking that Peracuta be confirmed as their king. They also asked to be allowed to plant and clear acreage not being used by the settlers, and requested that their old town not be burned. Moreover, they asked to be allowed to gather rushes at the heads of the colony's rivers (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:79; McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1660-1693:64).

Accountability for Infractions of the Law

Another law enacted in 1662 held Tributary Indians responsible for crimes committed near their home territory, regardless of whether a member of their group was involved. Thus, aggressive behavior on the part of individuals from a hostile tribe could result in punishment of the law-abiding Indians within whose territory the wrongful act had occurred. This convoluted form of justice was prosecuted several times during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Hening 1809-1823:II:19; McIlwaine 1918:1539).

Baptism: No Longer the Path to Freedom

In 1667 the colony's assembly eliminated baptism as a possible avenue to freedom. This was a departure from the previous consensus that non-Christians' conversion entitled them to release from slavery. The legislation stated that "diverse masters, freed from this doubt, may more carefully endeavor the propagation of Christianity by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth, if capable to be admitted to that sacrament" (Hening 1809-1823:II:260). That is, masters were encouraged to offer religious instruction and could do so without fearing that baptism would make their slave or servant free. In 1670 a law was passed whereby "noe negroe or Indian though baptized and enjoyned their owne freedome shall be capable of any such purchase of Christians, but yet [are] not debarred from buying any of their owne nation" (Hening 1809-1823:II:280-281). In other words, free blacks and Indians could not purchase Christian servants but were not prohibited from purchasing people of their own ethnic group. All non-Christian servants imported into the colony were deemed slaves for life. Although this legislation purportedly was enacted because "some disputes have arisen whether Indians taken in war by any other nation, and by that nation that taketh them sold to the English, are servants for life or term of years," it assured Virginia planters who invested in Indian and African servants that they could keep them for life (Hening 1809-1823:II:283). Maryland's assembly enacted very similar legislation.

The 1669 Census

In October 1669, when a census was made of the colony's Indian population, eighteen Native groups were recognized whose 725 warriors were distributed throughout eight Tidewater counties. In Nansemond County there were an estimated 45 Nansemond warriors, whereas in Surry there were 30 Powchayicks and 15 Weyanokes. In Charles City (presumably on the south side of the river) were two towns of Nottoways that included 90 bowmen and the Appomattocks, who had 50 bowmen. Henrico County had a Native population of 30 Manachees and 10 Powhites. Five Native groups were living in New Kent County, which then encompassed land now within the boundaries of King and Queen and King William Counties. Of these bowmen (warriors were the only segment of the population included in the census) there were 20 Mattaponi, 60 Chickahominy, 50 Pamunkey, 30 Rappahannock, and 40 Totachus. With the exception of the use of the name "Mattaponi-alias-Chickahominy" in reference to an Indian town or path, this appears to be the latest dated reference to the Mattaponi as a distinct group until 1787, when Thomas Jefferson described their population as consisting of two or three old men. The absence of the Mattaponis' name from all public documents (including the 1677 treaty) for a hiatus of 120 years and the absence of land allocations to them by the government, suggests that during that period they may have been absorbed into another Native group, perhaps joining with the Pamunkeys or Chickahominys. Gloucester County was home to 15 Chiskiack warriors, whereas in Old Rappahannock County there were 60 Portobagoes and a total of 50 Nanzattico and Mattehatique. There were 70 Wicomico warriors in Northumberland County and 10 Appomattocks in Westmoreland (Hening 1809-1823:II:151-155, 161-162, 275; II:274-275; Jefferson 1787:96).

Planters' Quest for New Land

As time went on, pressure to extend settlement into Indian lands mounted considerably, for

planters resented the allocation of large, desirable tracts to a population they saw dwindling. As a result, they employed both legal and illegal means to acquire Indian land. In 1667 the burgesses, when asking the governor to allow settlers to move into the territory set aside for the Natives, contended that the availability of good land in Virginia would encourage more people to immigrate, which would relieve the current population of "the tyranny exerted by the colony's Indians" (McIlwaine et al 1905-1915:1660-1693:53). One much sought-after area was the Pamunkey Neck peninsula. Most of the men who laid claim to literally thousands of acres of land were members of the planter elite, who not only were heavily involved in the colony's commerce and trade but also in its political affairs. These men's plantations were massive and according to contemporary accounts, were relatively self-sufficient. Intermingled with the major plantations were farms of small and middling size (Billings et al. 1986:55, 66-68, 122). Competition for land and conflicts over boundaries, livestock, hunting and gathering habitat, fishing rights, and trade continued to strain relations between the settlers and the Indians. Too often, resentment evolved into violence, which predictably led to reprisal.

Anthony Langston's map, prepared in ca. 1662, reveals that several sites in the eastern part of Pamunkey Neck continued to be associated with Native occupation. Shown prominently was "Menmend, an ancient seat of Opachancone [Opechancanough] ye late Emperour." It was located on a large island near Carter's Landing, east of Manquin Creek. Another important site shown on the Langston map was "Pamamomeck — Tatapootamoy ye Indian Kings Seat," the village of Totopotomoy, successor to Necotowance who signed the 1646 treaty. Langston also showed the site of Fort Royall, which he labeled as the "Indian Fort." Other aboriginal names were used to identify locations and waterways along the Pamunkey River ([Langston ca. 1662]). It is probable that during the second half of the seventeenth century, when settlers moved into the Pamunkey Neck in increasing numbers, the old path that extended the length of peninsula developed into a major thoroughfare. At the close of the seventeenth century the College of William and Mary was allocated 10,000 acres of land in Pamunkey Neck as charter lands, acreage that lay within the territory set aside for the Pamunkey Indians. The area was considered extremely desirable and under populated (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:94, 204, 304; Hartwell et al. 1964:71; DesCognets 1958:57-67). A map prepared by Augustine Herrman (1673) in 1670 indicates that plantations then lined the banks of the colony's four major rivers and their navigable tributaries. Natives and planters were living in relatively close proximity throughout eastern Virginia and on the Eastern Shore. Herrman sketched a cluster of Indian cabins that he labeled "Pamaomeck Indian" at a location similar to the site that Anthony Langston identified as Pamamomeck. Further inland, Herrman labeled a site as "Manskin Indian" that was close to the former site of Fort Royall and Captain John Smith in 1608 identified as the town of Cattachiptico (Smith 1610).

Although Governor William Berkeley in 1662 reported that the neighboring Indians were "in the King's power, whenever he shall command them to quit their insurpations or to acknowledge their subjection to him," in 1666 he told King Charles II that he feared the Indians would perceive that the colonists received arms and provisions only once a year and would attack while stores were depleted (Berkeley 1663:6; C. O. 1/20 f 11ro). Clearly, there was reason for concern.

Relations with the Natives of the Northern Neck

A rapid increase in the population of the Northern Neck led to its being subdivided into several new counties and parishes. With the influx of new settlers came an increase in the number of disputes with the Indians. In 1666 members of the Governor's Council resolved to declare war upon the Monzaticon (Nanzattico), Nansemond, Portobago, Doeg, and Potomac Indians, and vowed that they should be "prosecuted with war to their utter destruction, if possible," for the council sought to avenge the murders of several frontier settlers. Governor

William Berkeley informed the officials of Old Rappahannock County that he felt the captives and booty seized from the Indians would more than pay for the cost of the war and that he presumed the young men of the county would be willing to fight in order to obtain a share of the spoils of war. Berkeley's proposition was endorsed cheerfully by county officials, several of whom were patentees of Indian lands (McIlwaine 1924:488; Old Rappahannock Deeds 1663-1668:23).

Early patents and deeds reveal that the Nanzattico Indians' preserve not only encompassed acreage on the upper side of the Rappahannock River, in the area traditionally known as Nanzattico, but also extended across the river into the territory between Portobago and Goldenvale Creeks. In 1669, the Nanzattico and Portobago collectively had 110 warriors, a figure that would have entitled them to an aggregate of 5,500 acres under the system of allocating 50 acres per bowman. To the west of the Nanzattico habitat, on the north side of the Rappahannock River were the Nansemond, whose town in 1667 encompassed an estimated 5,275 acres, an amount that suggests that they had 55 to 56 warriors. [11] Thus, in the Portobago Bay-Nanzattico Bay area, nearly 11,000 acres of land had been assigned to Native Americans as preserves (Hening 1809-1823:II:275).

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[11]The connection between these Nansemond and those who lived on the south side of the James River is unclear.

Court documents that can be related to specific patents reveal that Native-owned lands were cleared and planted at a rapid rate and that tenants and/or slaves often were seated on outlying properties to substantiate their owners' claims. In 1670, Katherine Lunsford (daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Lunsford, who had patented land on Portobago Bay in 1650) received permission to seat her property, as long as she did not disturb the Indians living upon the tract, which was part of the Nanzattico Indians' preserve (McIlwaine 1934:227). One planter and his family reportedly took up residence near Portobago Creek and the Portobago/Nanzattico Indian preserve's boundary line in ca. 1672. By 1676 an estimated 71 plantations were situated in the upper part of Old Rappahannock County's Sittenborne Parish (Andrews 1967:160).

In 1666 John Washington was authorized to take possession of acreage that straddled the boundary line between Old Rappahannock and Westmoreland Counties, which lay just east of the land called Nanzattico. The property he acquired was described as part of the Nanzattico Indians' land; he was given permission to seat the tract as soon as the Indians deserted it (McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1660-1693:41). Research demonstrates that John Washington's acreage lay just east of Jetts (Porteus) Creek. In 1666 John Catlett, as guardian of an orphan named Francis Slaughter, also obtained a patent for land "included within the bounds allocated by the Grand Assembly to the Nanzattico Indians." Catlett, like Washington, was authorized to "have it upon the Indians deserting it" (McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1660-1693:41). The patent for the Catlett/Slaughter property reveals that it bordered Omen or Millbank Creek, to the west of Port Conway, and extended "through part of the Dogges cleare ground" (Old Rappahannock County Deeds and Wills 1663-1668:397). In 1669 the Nanzattico and Mattehatique Indians reportedly had 50 bowmen living in Old Rappahannock County, whereas the Portobago had 60 (Hening 1809-1823:II:274-275). Augustine Herrman's map (1673), drawn in l670, shows the habitation of the Dogue Indians just west of Omen Creek, and identifies the site of Mangomixon, which was to the west of Chinquatuck (Chingoteague or Gingoteague) Creek and just above Nanzattico. It also demonstrates that by 1670 plantations lined virtually all of Tidewater Virginia's navigable waterways.

Patents for land on the southern side of the Rappahannock River demonstrate that Nanzattico

land ran west as far as Port Royal and east to Portobago Creek. Thomas Lucas, whose tract lay "on the south side of the Rappahannock River about two miles above the Portobago Town" included land "which is now within the bounds . . . allocated to the Nanzattico Indians." Lucas was authorized to take possession of his patent as soon as the Indians had deserted the land. The Lucas patent is critically important to determining the southern bounds of the Nanzattico Indians' land, for it lay directly behind the 1650 patent of Sir Thomas Lunsford, which included river frontage and extended one mile inland. Thus, the Nanzatticos' land on the south side of the Rappahannock River ran inland for at least two miles. In 1674, Thomas Prosser received permission to seat Nanzattico land which allegedly had been deserted by the Indians for two years. However, the Nanzatticos later claimed that he had driven them off and that Dr. Lomax (ie. Dr. John Lomax, great-grandson and heir of Sir Thomas Lunsford, patentee of 3,423 acres at Portobago) had taken the rest (McIlwaine 1924:359,400; McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1659/60-1693:41).

In 1674, Sir Henry Chickeley conveyed his land at Nanzattico to Ralph Wormeley of Rosegill, the husband of Katherine Lunsford, who had inherited her late father's land abutting Portobago Bay. Chickeley, in describing the Nanzattico land he was deeding to Wormeley, used as a northwesterly reference point the "Great Indian path to Nansemond Town," indicating that the village was then in existence. Chickeley, as grantor, also noted that the land being sold lay opposite the Portobago Indian Town (McIlwaine 1934:227; Old Rappahannock Deeds 1671-1676:331;1672-1675:490). In April 1680 Wormeley repatented his 2,000 acres, "formerly Indian inhabitation called Nanzattico," which lay between Porteus (Jetts) and Chingoteague (Gingoteague) Creeks (Nugent 1969-1979:II:208-209). Two years later, Wormeley acquired from Cuthbert Potter 2,000 acres (or approximately half) of the 5,275 acre Nansemond-Mangakemoxon Indian Town tract, which lay just upstream from his property at Nanzattico (Old Rappahannock Deeds 1682-1688:36-38; 1668-1672:65-66; Nugent 1934-1979:II:46). Thus, by 1682 Ralph Wormeley owned the 3,423 acre Lunsford tract on Portobago Bay, plus the 2,200 acres at Nanzattico that he had bought from Sir Henry Chickeley and the 2,000 acres he had obtained from Cuthbert Potter. By 1687 he also had acquired 1,500 acres on the south side of the Rappahannock, abutting Peumansend and Cedar Creeks (Nugent 1969-1979:II:313). Almost all of this acreage was land set aside for the Indians.

Mounting Tensions

The Nottoway Indians, who previously had been allocated land by the government and who in 1673 had asked the English for protection, by April 1674 complained that the settlers were planting within their bounds (McIlwaine 1924:365, 518). The Susquehannock Indians in October 1675 also asked the English for protection and were authorized to continue upon the land in their possession if they provided two of their greatmen's children as hostages (McIlwaine 1924:425, 518).

The latter part of the seventeenth century was punctuated by violent confrontations between settlers and Natives, disputes usually provoked by disagreements over land or trade. During the early 1670s, strong, warlike Indian peoples to the north and west of the colonized area began to prey upon the Tributary Indians and frontier settlers alike, particularly those who lived along the fall line. As a result, the Tributary Natives found themselves between the colonists (whose plantations were consuming their subsistence habitat at a rapid rate) and the hostile tribes to their west.

Fear and rumors swept through the colony to the point that one writer reported to British officials that the Indians came into the plantations in broad daylight to kill settlers and that the Natives were outfitted with French artillery (S. P. 29/385 f 11). Another man wrote that the Indians lurked in the forest behind trees and fell upon the planters at work, "destroying

and taking them barbarously" (S. P. 29/383 f 16; 29/385 f 15).

Meanwhile, colonists inhabiting the sparsely settled frontier areas suffered greatly, for sporadic Indian raids terrified those who lived along the upper reaches of the Rappahannock River frontier. Whether the perpetrators were northerly tribes or rebellious neighboring Indians is uncertain. A significant number of settlers, especially those in the upper reaches of the Rappahannock River, abandoned their homesteads. One writer reported that whereas on January 24, 1675/76 there had been 71 plantations in the upper parts of Old Rappahannock County's Sittenbourne Parish (the westernmost part of the county), by February 10th (only 2 1/2 weeks later) only 11 plantations remained occupied. A party of Susquehannocks from Maryland, who had been attacked by a group of Virginia settlers, swept down upon the homesteads of colonists living at the heads of the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers, killing 36. During 1676 an estimated 300 colonists living in that vicinity reportedly died at the hands of the Indians (Andrews 1967:106-107; Hening 1809-1823:II:153, 155; C. O. 1/20 f 11ro; 1/36 ff 67-68; McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:53-54). During this time period King Phillip's War (1675-76) occured in southern New England with devastating consequences to Native and non-Native populations.

During the mid-1670s, rumors of Indian troubles in the New England colonies reached Virginia. The colonists became increasingly nervous as they waited for Governor William Berkeley, who was nearly 70-year-old and in declining health, to take action. When he was queried about the strength of the Natives, he responded that "the Indians, our neighbors, are absolutely subjected so that there is no fear of them." Many people disagreed. In March 1676 Virginia's governing officials declared war on all Natives implicated in the recent attacks on frontier families and ordered the construction of forts at nine sites near the heads of the colony's principal rivers. Two were located within Pamunkey Neck: one on the Pamunkey River near the mouth of Mehixen (Mahixon) Creek and the land of the Pamunkey's interpreter, Cornelius Dabney; one on the lower side of the Mattaponi River, between the Chickahominy Indian town landing and "Yerberyes house," the dwelling of the Chickahominy Indians' interpreter; one on the Potomac River in Stafford County. Forts also were to be built near the falls of the James, Appomattox and Rappahannock Rivers and on the Blackwater River in Surry County, at the head of the Nansemond River, and on the Pocamoke River in Accomac County. The fort near the falls of the Rappahannock was constructed under the direction of Lawrence Smith. Two of these forts were built where fortifications had been erected in 1645-1646: the sites of Fort Henry on the Appomattox and Fort Charles on the James. Each fortified outpost was provided with a surgeon, drums, and drummers, suggesting that they were a relatively elaborate undertaking (Andrews 1967:108; Hening 1809-1823:II:326-328, 448-453; Nugent 1969-1979:III:74, 77, 144, 364).

Men were pressed into service to garrison the forts and supplies and military equipment were procured through public levies. Many colonists complained about the cost of the forts, which they considered relatively useless against roving bands of hostile Natives. In fact, some resentful planters, whose taxes had paid for the forts, dubbed them expensive "mousetraps" that only could catch Indians who came to them (Samuel Wiseman's Book of Record, 1676-1677; McIlwaine 1924:390, 418, 423; Morgan 1975:250-292; Craven 1970:389; Hening 1809-1823:II:513; Washburn 1957:18-19, 32-33, 153-166). Francis Moryson, one of the king's Special Commissioners sent to Virginia in 1677 to investigate conditions in the colony, described the Indians' method of fighting as one of surprise and ambush. He said that the militia might "feel the Indians' attack once a week but we see them once a year . . . they might burn a house or two, and be forty miles away the next day." He recommended utilizing the military strategy of the 1640s: dispatching small parties of horsemen to the frontiers in July and August to burn Indian corn, while simultaneously requiring settlers to erect defenses around their homes (Samuel Wiseman's Book of Record, 1676-1677). On the eve of Bacon's Rebellion the Surry County militia decided to muster, in order to be prepared "to suppress all

violent meetings and insurrections of Indians or other enemies." Nobody was to sell firearms to the Natives and if any Indians were seen with guns, powder or shot, it was to be taken away. Court records document the fact that when Indian goods were plundered, they were divided by the attackers as spoils of war (Surry County Record Book 1664-1671:411, 420; 1671-1691:249).

Bacon's Rebellion

Young Nathaniel Bacon, who arrived in Virginia in 1674, had a plantation called Curles, in Henrico County. When it was attacked by the Natives, two of Bacon's servants were killed. Young, hotheaded, and eager for revenge, Bacon, who was a member of the Council of State, agreed to lead a group of volunteers in an expedition against the Indians. Outlying settlers rallied behind young Nathaniel Bacon and marched upon the nearest Indians, rather than confronting the stronger inland tribes, such as the Susquehannocks and Senecas, who were blamed by some high officials for the incursions. In April 1676 Bacon and his men set out for the southern part of the colony. Although Governor Berkeley ordered him to cease his military operations and report to Jamestown, Bacon responded by demanding a commission to lead a march against the Indians, ignored the governor's orders, and continued on his way. This prompted Berkeley to declare Bacon a rebel and to mobilize his own forces in an attempt to intercept him before he reached the colony's frontier. Once Bacon reached his destination, the village of the Occaneechee Indians, who lived upon an island in the Roanoke River, he approached them as allies, then attacked in order to seize their store of beaver skins. With Nathaniel Bacon's refusal to yield to Governor Berkeley's orders, the popular uprising known as Bacon's Rebellion began. It quickly spread throughout Tidewater Virginia (Washburn 1957:18-19, 42-43, 46-47).

Nathaniel Bacon, upon returning from his march against the Occaneechee, set out for Jamestown with a group of armed men. However, he was captured and brought before Governor Berkeley. Upon presenting a written apology, Bacon was released and restored to his council seat. Berkeley also reportedly promised Bacon a commission to lead an expedition against the Indians (Washburn 1957:51; Neville 1976:71).

Governor Berkeley, who had been in office in 1646 when a treaty was signed with the Tributary Indians, realized how important it was to have allies among the Native population. He also was keenly aware of the resentment that had been generated by the construction of forts along the frontier. For that reason, he sought the assistance of Virginia's Tributary tribes in dealing with the more warlike, outlying Natives who lived above the heads of the colony's rivers. Berkeley summoned Cockacoeske, Queen of the Pamunkey, to Jamestown and asked her to provide guides and warriors to assist the colonists in an expedition against the Natives who were attacking frontier settlements (Force 1963:I:8:14).

Cockacoeske, who had donned the mantle of Powhatan's chiefdom in 1656, governed her people for some thirty years. British archival records suggest that she worked within the context of the Virginia colonial government in an attempt to recapture the power wielded by her people in the early seventeenth century, when Pamunkey leaders politically dominated the Indians of the Virginia coastal plain. Colonial documents contain more personal detail about Cockacoeske than is, perhaps, available on any other Native American woman of her day, and her attempts to reverse the long decline of the Powhatan chiefdom warrant recognition.

An able and politically astute leader, Cockacoeske attempted to assert her dominance while acting within the parameters of the colony's legal system, perhaps perceiving that her people's principal hope of survival lay in re-establishing the political unity of the Powhatan chiefdom. As will be seen, she was able to effectively turn the English political system to her own people's advantage, at least for a time. Evidence of Cockacoeske's considerable influence and

her quasi-political alliances can be found in contemporary correspondence; in the provisions of the 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation, a monumental document that governed relations between the colonists and Virginia Indians for nearly a hundred years; and in the fact that she was singled out for special recognition by King Charles II.

According to an eyewitness account, in June 1676 Cockacoeske, a descendant of Powhatan and Opechancanough and the widow of Totopotomoy, came to Jamestown and appeared before the assembly's Committee on Indian Affairs, which was meeting in the statehouse. She

> . . . entered the chamber with a comportment gracefull to admiration, bringing on her right hand an Englishman interpreter, and on the left her son a stripling twenty years of age, she having round her head a plat of black and white wampum peague three inches broad in imitation of a crown, and was cloathed in a mantle of dress't deer skins with the hair outwards and the edge cut round 6 inches deep which made strings resembling twisted fringe from the shoulders to the feet; thus with grave courtlike gestures and a majestick air in her face, she walk'd up our long room to the lower end of the table, where after a few intreaties she sat down; th' interpreter [Cornelius Dabney]and her son standing by her on either side as they had walked up, our chairman asked her what men she would lend us for guides in the wilderness and to assist us against our enemy Indians, she spake to th' interpreter to inform her what the chairman said, (tho' we believed she understood him) he told us she bid him ask her son to whom the English tongue was familiar, and was reputedly the son of an English colonel, yet neither would he speak to or seem to understand the chairman but th' interpreter told us, he referred all to his mother, who being again urged she after a little musing with an earnest passionate countenance a if tears wer [sic] ready to gush out and a fervent sort of expression made a harangue about a quarter of an hour often interlacing (with a high shrill voice and vehement passion) these words "Tatapatamoi Chepiack," i.e., Tatapatamoi dead [Force 1963:I:8:14].

The chairman of the Committee for Indian affairs ignored Cockacoeske's emotional speech and again asked how many warriors she would furnish to assist the English. This time, she looked away and

> . . . sate mute till the same question being press'd a third time, she not returning her face to the board, answered with a slighting voice in her own language "six," but being further importun'd she sitting a little while sullen, without uttering a word between said "twelve," tho' she then had a hundred and fifty Indian men in her town, and so rose up and gravely walked away, as [if] not pleased with her treatment [Force 1963:I:8:15].

On June 23, 1676, Nathaniel Bacon returned to Jamestown at the head of 500 to 600 supporters. They marched to the statehouse where Bacon demanded a commission, authorizing him to undertake a march against the Indians. Although Governor Berkeley at first declined, when Bacon's men threatened to kill members of the Council and assembly, they decided to cooperate. Shortly thereafter, Bacon prevailed upon the burgesses to include some of the legislation he had formulated. One of those laws offered land-greedy planters a legal means of acquiring Indian land as soon as it was deserted. Thus, if the Natives were driven from the land legally assigned to them it could be claimed by opportunistic planters. In fact, it gave planters an incentive to route the Natives from their land. Indians were permitted to hunt with bows and arrows, but not firearms. Colonists could purchase fish, canoes, bowls, mats and baskets from the Natives, paying them in corn. After the assembly adjourned, Bacon's men sought revenge against all Indians indiscriminately, especially those within convenient range, such as tribes that were tributaries to the Crown (Force 1963:I:18:12-21;

Hening 1809-1823:II:350-351, 361-362). [12]

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[12]In February 1677 the laws made while Bacon was in control of the assembly were repealed (Hening 1808-1823:II:380, 475).

After Nathaniel Bacon issued a "Declaration of the People," a treatise that leveled charges against Governor Berkeley, and a "Manifesto" that justified his own actions, he began to rally support for a march against the Natives who lived on the fringes of the colony's frontiers. However, when he met with little success, he reversed his course and vented his wrath upon the Pamunkey Indians, tributaries who in March 1676 had signed a peace agreement with the Berkeley government. Bacon and his men pursued the Pamunkeys into King and Queen County's Dragon Swamp, on the fringe of the English settlement, and then attacked. The Pamunkeys, in obedience to their queen's orders, failed to return the rebel army's gunfire. According to one record, an Indian interpreter named Wilford, who was executed by Governor Berkeley for his participation in the rebellion, had allegedly "frighted the Queen of Pamunkey from the land she had been granted by the Assembly a month after the peace was concluded with her" (McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1660-1693:89). Bacon's attack may have been inspired by the recently enacted legislation entitling settlers to claim property that had been abandoned by the Indians (Hening 1809-1823:II:251). Riding down upon the Indians' encampment at the edge of a swamp, Bacon's men were impeded by the mire and only succeeded in capturing a small child and killing an elderly woman. Cockacoeske, having ordered her people to refrain from firing upon the English, abandoned her encampment and all of her personal belongings. In their pursuit, Bacon's followers took prisoner an old Indian woman, Cockacoeske's nurse or attendant, ordering her to guide them to the Natives who fled. Later, when they discovered that she had deliberately misled them, they put her to death (Andrews 1915:125-127).

Bacon's men reportedly plundered the Indians' goods, took prisoners and killed men, women and children indiscriminately. As Bacon's attack upon the Pamunkeys drew to a close, he learned that the men he had sent to the Eastern Shore to confront Governor Berkeley had been captured and that those he had left at Jamestown had surrendered. Bacon offered liberty to any slaves or bound servants who would join his popular revolt. He then set out for Jamestown, displaying his Pamunkey captives along the way (Force 1963:I:9:8).

Bacon a short time later came upon the Pamunkeys at another encampment. During the attack that ensued, Cockacoeske escaped with her life, but 45 of her people were captured. Bacon's men reportedly took away three horse loads of plunder, including Indian mats, baskets, parcels of wampum peake, and pieces of linen, broadcloth and other English goods the Queen was said to value highly. According to a report filed by the King's Commissioners, Cockacoeske, though fleeing from Bacon's army, decided to come back

> . . . with designe to throw herself upon the mercy of the English [but] she happened to meet with a dead Indian woman lying in the way (being one of her own nation) which struck such a terror in the Queene that fearing their cruelty by that ghastly example she went on her first intended way into the wild woods where she was lost and missing from her own People fourteen days

nearly starving (Andrews 1915:127-128). It is very likely that Bacon's men also drove the Chiskiack Indians from their village in what was then Gloucester County (McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1660-1693:70).

After Nathaniel Bacon and his men overwhelmed Governor Berkeley's loyalists and entered

Jamestown, the capital city was put to the torch. Bacon then went to Green Spring, where he drafted a protest against Berkeley. However, many of his men were brimming with confidence and spoiling for a fight. They began plundering the estates of those who had remained loyal to Governor Berkeley. Although Nathaniel Bacon attempted to bring his followers under control, he met with little success for his men had turned into an angry mob that made little distinction between friend and foe. On October 26, 1676, the popular uprising was dealt a mortal blow when Bacon died of natural causes. Berkeley's men seized the opportunity to quell the uprising and in November and December 1676, many of the rebel leaders hunted down and captured. Later some of these people were brought before a military tribunal at Green Spring, convicted of treason, and hanged (Hening 1809-1823:II:547-548; III:569).

The Planters' Grievances

King Charles II, concerned about the unrest in the colony, dispatched three special commissioners (Sir John Berry, Colonel Francis Moryson, and Colonel Herbert Jeffreys) to learn what provoked it. Those representatives of the Crown, upon arriving in Virginia on January 3, 1677, addressed the assembly, admonishing the burgesses to act quickly in establishing peace with the colony's Natives. Speaking pragmatically, the commissioners reminded the assembly that the neighboring Indians provided the best guards on the frontier. They also pointed out that it was Governor William Berkeley who had first conquered the Indians and made peace with them, the breach of which was depriving the colony of the benefit of their trade and labors. Berkeley, in turn, reported to the commissioners that the Queen of the Pamunkey Indians, having been driven from her village by Nathaniel Bacon's followers, had returned home and that a good foundation for peace had been laid. The king's commissioners queried county officials about the issues that had fomented the discontent and asked local freeholders to prepare lists of grievances. The responses varied from county to county. However, it was generally agreed that the bloodshed caused by Indian raids never had been revenged and that the forts built by Sir William Berkeley in 1676 were costly and utterly useless. They also alleged that certain high-ranking government officials monopolized the Indian trade and by so doing, had betrayed the settlers. They contended that the Indians captured and enslaved by Bacon should be sold for the benefit of the public, not kept by the governing officials. Another important point made by the citizens of frontier counties was that many outlying settlers lived in fear of *all Indians*, for when the Natives were painted, friendly and hostile individuals were indistinguishable (C.O. 5/1371 ff 171-178).

The citizens of Old Rappahannock County and Sittenbourne Parish complained that they had sustained the brunt of the recent offensive against the Indians and that Rappahannock had been "a bulwarke and defense to other counties . . . and thereby [was] reduced to much poverty." They also said that people who lived upon the frontier were

> lyable to much mischief by reason of the Indians incursions in which time of war are so frequent that they cannot at once tend their crops of corn and secure their own lives from suddain [sic] and surprise assaults." They claimed that the raid upon the Susquehannock Indians, which had been committed by George Mason and George Brent, had been "the original cause of the many murders committed in the county of Rappahannock [C. O. 5/1371 ff 151-152].

Lieutenant Governor Herbert Jeffreys (1677 - 1678)

The Queen of Pamunkey's Petition

On February 20, 1677, Cockacoeske petitioned the assembly for the restoration of her belongings and the land she had abandoned "through the feare of the Rebell Bacon and his

accomplices." The Assembly, however, granted her scant satisfaction, agreeing only to restore those items that she could prove were hers and insisting that she return any horses or goods in her possession that belonged to the English. Cockacoeske asked permission for her people to gather bark from the settlers' land for use in building cabins. She indicated that the Pamunkeys would like to fish at Powhite (on the James) and hunt upon frontier land and the settlers' plantations (McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1660-1693:89). The burgesses were reluctant to comply.

In contrast to the assembly, the King's Commissioners were much more sympathetic to Cockacoeske's plea, for they reported that she had been "driven out into the wildwoods and there almost famished, plundered of all she had, her people taken prisoners and sold, the Queen robbed of her rich matchcoat [matchcoat] for which she had great value." Moreover, they added the Queen of Pamunkey's name to their list of those who had suffered during Bacon's Rebellion, calling her "a faithfull friend to and lover of the English," and they recommended that she be given a gift in recompense for her sufferings and the loss of her belongings (Andrews 1915:127).

The King's Commissioners reported to their superiors that despite the monarch's instructioning Governor Berkeley to establish immediate peace with the neighboring Indians, he had left the colony without attempting to do so. On the other hand, the Commissioners reminded the burgesses that it was not right to deprive the Indians of "a mere lech [lick] of luxury" and they admonished those demanding the Indians' utter extirpation to remember that the friendly Indians on the frontier were the best barrier against "the barbarous Savages of the continent" (Berry et al. 1677a, 1677b).

The 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation

On March 27, 1677, the Commissioners wrote to Secretary of State Henry Coventry that the Kings and Queens of the Nottoways, Nansemonds, Appomattocks and Pamunkeys had met with them, signifying their willingness to conclude a treaty. By the end of April, Herbert Jeffreys, who was appointed to act as lieutenant governor during Governor Berkeley's recall to England, publicly expressed his firm belief that harmonious relations with the nearby Indians were essential to the colony's well-being (Samuel Wiseman's Book of Record; C.O. 5/1355 ff 145-149). Plans also were made for forts or garrisons to be built at the heads of the Potomac, Rappahannock, Mattaponi, and James Rivers so that horse soldiers could maintain surveillance over the Indians (Jeffreys, June 11, 1677; Anonymous [1680]; Hening 1809-1823:II:433-434; C.O. 1/44 f 425).

Soon after Berkeley's departure from Virginia on May 5th, Jeffreys set about concluding a formal peace treaty with several groups of neighboring Indians (Samuel Wiseman's Book of Record; C.O. 1/40 ff 186-187). The King's Commissioners' report states that they "sent to the Queene of Pamunkey who not only came in herself but brought in severall scattered nations of Indians, *whome we afterwards reduc'd (as she desired) under her subjection, as anciently they had beene"* (C.O. 5/1371 f 365).

As a consequence of the commissioners' efforts, on May 29, 1677, King Charles II's birthday and the anniversary of his restoration to the throne, a major peace agreement was concluded between colonial officials and certain tidewater Indian groups. This landmark document, commonly known as the Treaty of Middle Plantation, ushered in peaceful relations between the colonists and the Indians of Virginia's coastal plain, governing their official interactions for nearly a century. As will be seen, Cockacoeske, Queen of Pamunkey, exerted considerable influence over the treaty's architects, for some of the document's terms were greatly to her advantage.

Herbert Jeffreys, as a Special Commissioner, wrote to the king on June 11, 1677, describing the treaty ceremony and the protocol observed. The new guardhouse at Middle Plantation (later the site of Williamsburg) had been especially fitted out for the occasion. Jeffreys wrote that

> silence being Proclaimed, the Articles were openly read before him and the severall Enterpreters sworn to expound each distinct paragraph to them which they openly read to their general satisfaction. Then the Queen of Pamunkey was invited within the Barr of the Court to sign this Treaty on behalf of herself and Severall Nations now reunited under her Subjection and Government as anciently, who (with the rest) subscribed and delivered up the same with the most humble Reverence (as to his Majestie) on her bended knees, all of them publically acknowledging to hold their Crowns and Lands of the Great King of England [C.O. 5/1371 f 365].

This latter sentence is especially significant, for it refers to Article XII of the treaty, which committed several smaller, unspecified Indian nations to Cockacoeske's rule, tangible evidence of her success in manipulating the treaty agreement to her own people's advantage.

Cockacoeske, the Queen of Pamunkey, her young son known as Captain John West (her child by the interim governor John West, deceased in 1659), and several other Native leaders (notably, the King of the Nottoway, the King of the Nansemond, and the Queen of the Weyanoke) came to Middle Plantation, where they "kissed the paper of peace" and endorsed it with their signature marks. Peracuta, the King of the Appomattock, also came to Middle Plantation, intending to sign. However he was turned away because some of his people were accused of murder. The leaders of the Mattaponi, Chickahominy, and Rappahannock did not sign, seemingly because they were among the "scattered nations" united under the Queen of Pamunkey, who signed the treaty on their behalf. Afterward, other Indian tribes, upon hearing about the treaty, reportedly wanted to participate (C.O. 5/1371 f 365).

Herbert Jeffreys concluded his description of the treaty ceremony by saying:

> And myself having signed that part (in behalf of his Majestie) to them they all knelt donne and with low obeysance received it, as from his Majestie's Royall hands, at the same tyme (on their onne free accord) kissing the most acceptable paper of peace one after another. Thus being concluded with the day the Field Pieces were discharged several rounds, with volleys of small shot and Fireworks and Loud Acclamations of Joy all over the Camp and so having Quietly Entertained Our Indian ffriends that night, they departed the next day to their several homes, well satisfied with this treaty [C.O. 5/1371 f 365].

Nicholas Spencer, who later became Secretary of the Colony, reported that a few Nanzattico Indians had attended the treaty ceremony, but departed without signing (C.O. 1/40, ff 249-250). Whether or not they were invited to participate is unknown.

A month after Herbert Jeffreys wrote to England informed the king that the treaty had been executed, Sir John Berry and Colonel Francis Moryson, as commissioners, sent word to the Privy Council that "even the remote Indians when they heard of its [the treaty's] justice of their own accord came forward and asked to be included" (Samuel Wiseman's Book of Record). Thus, if the commissioners' report is to be believed, the Natives thought the treaty advantageous.

The Indians, by signing the Treaty of Middle Plantation, acknowledged their allegiance to the Crown and conceded that they derived entitlement to their land from the monarch. One important provision of the 1677 treaty was that "Noe English shall seate or plant nearer than

three Miles of any Indian towne and whomever hath made an encroachment upon their Land shall be removed." Another was that signatory tribes were entitled to the protection of the colonial government. All Tributary Indians were to have equal power except the Queen of Pamunkey, who ruled "several scattered nations" (C. O. 1/40 ff 202-203).

Meanwhile, in response to the recommendation that Special Commissioners Berry and Moryson had made to the King when the first treaty was newly available, presents were commissioned for the Indians leaders who had signed the original document. As tangible signs of goodwill and symbols of their rank, crowns and royal robes were to be made for the Queens of the Pamunkeys and the Weyanokes and the Kings of the Nottoways and the Nansemonds, "the Indians accompting guifts a kind of sacred pledge of friendship." But Cockacoeske, the Queen of Pamunkey, "who was robbed of her rich matchcoat by the rebells," was singled out for special recognition (Lord Chamberlain's Accounts in Jewel House Warrant Books, Series I, 1677-1709, January 18, 1677/8; Lord Chamberlain's Papers 5/108, f.8; Lord Chamberlain's Department Wardrobe Accounts, Bill Books, Series I, 1675-1679, November 1679 entry; L.C. 9/275 ff 264vo-265vo).

It was recommended that Cockacoeske receive "a crown and robe, together with a stript [striped] Indian gown of gay colours and a Bracelet of falce stones." For her son, "a scarlett coate belayered with gold and silver lace, with breeches, shoes and stockings, hatt, sword and belt suitable, and a pair of good pistols" were deemed befitting. Bill books of the Lord Chamberlain's Department detail the nature of the gifts that were prepared for the Indian leaders. According to the bills, the tailors and clothmakers used scarlet cloth, lined with purple manto, for Cockacoeske's regal robe, and they also prepared for her a silver and gold brocade Indian gown, lined with cherry-colored sarcenet, a soft silk. They made a scarlet suit for her son, young John West, just as Berry and Moryson had recommended, plus stockings of scarlet worsted, the latter embroidered with black silk thread. A white beaver hat trimmed with a gold and silver band, a finely embroidered belt, and a sword and pistols decorated with gold and silver also were made for him. For the Queen of Pamunkey's interpreter, Cornelius Dabney, a suit of gray cloth was tailored, to be worn with scarlet stockings, and her chief counselor, Seosteyn, received a purple robe lined with scarlet shalloon, a twill-woven woolen. Similar purple robes were prepared for the Queen of the Weyanokes and the Kings of the Nottoways and the Nansemonds, demonstrating that their rank was perceived as equal to that of Cockacoeske's chief counselor but not that of Cockacoeske herself (Lord Chamberlain's Accounts in Jewel House Warrant Books, Series I, 1677-1709, January 18, 1677/8; Lord Chamberlain's Papers 5/108, f.8; Lord Chamberlain's Department Wardrobe Accounts, Bill Books, Series I, 1675-1679, November 1679 entry; L.C. 9/275 ff 264vo-265vo).

Lord Chamberlain's Accounts: Jewel House and Wardrobe).

A cap of crimson velvet trimmed with ermine fur was fashioned for each of the four Indian rulers. Royal Jewel House invoices disclose that English craftsmen made "small crowns or coronets of thinne silver plate, gilt and adorned with false stones of various colours, with the inscription 'A Carolo Secondo Magna Brittaniae Rege'" for the Indian leaders. For the Queen of Pamunkey, the Royal Jewel House also created a bracelet of false stones, just as Berry and Moryson had asked, as well as an undescribed necklace, probably the silver "frontlet" that still survives and traditionally is on display in Jamestown. Twenty small silver badges bearing the king's name and the title of each Tributary Indian leader were prepared (Lord Chamberlain's Accounts in Jewel House Warrant Books, Series I, 1677-1709, January 18, 1677/8; Lord Chamberlain's Papers 5/108, f.8; Lord Chamberlain's Department Wardrobe Accounts, Bill Books, Series I, 1675-1679, November 1679 entry; L.C. 9/275 ff 264vo-265vo).

In the more than three hundred years which have elapsed since King Charles II sent gifts to some of Virginia' Tributary Indian leaders, confusion has arisen over whether the silver ornament or "frontlet" that has been preserved and which is inscribed with the name of King Charles II and the crest of the British monarchy is Cockacoeske's crown or whether it is her necklace, for some nineteenth and early twentieth century writers have called it the Pamunkey crown. It should be remembered, however, that according to Royal Jewel House account books, the crowns prepared for the Queens of Pamunkey and Weyanoke and the Kings of Nottoway and Nansemond were, in fact, adorned with false stones, for their maker submitted a bill "for making new screws and fastening several stones in the crowns," evidence that the coronets were indeed jeweled. Moreover, those crowns were never delivered to the Indian kings and queens, but instead, were lost at sea. In 1689 King Charles II sent instructions to Governor Thomas Culpeper, ordering him "to deliver unto them [the Indian rulers] our Royal Presents." Culpeper later noted in the margin of those instructions that he did "exactly execute all but only the Coronets which by advice of Council there I did not deliver and which were cast away with my goods," a reference to the sinking of the ship transporting his baggage back to England. Thus, the silver frontlet that has survived more than three centuries is likely to be the necklace which Jewel House Warrant Books list as being among the items made for Cockacoeske in England (C.O. 5/1355 ff. 243-245).

In May 1677, when the Treaty of Middle Plantation was signed, a variety of restraints were imposed upon the Indians, measures ostensibly designed to lessen tensions even though frontier settlers continued to have problems with the warlike Indian nations above the fall line. In early August John Berry and Francis Moryson set sail for England, leaving Herbert Jeffreys behind as lieutenant governor. The commissioners brought to England not only the report of their investigation into Bacon's Rebellion but also the original treaty document, which they delivered to the Lords of Trade and Plantations at Whitehall. Lord Baltimore, who had just presented to that body a treaty the Maryland government had concluded with the northern Indians, took exception to the fact that Virginia's peace agreement did not extend its protection to his own colony, whereas Maryland's treaty applied to both Maryland and Virginia.

In October l677 the Lords of Trade and Plantations recommended to the king that Lieutenant Governor Jeffreys be ordered to expand the coverage of Virginia's treaty to include Maryland and his majesty's other colonies. The Privy Council, meanwhile, issued a directive for the document then in hand to be printed and distributed. On January 18, 1678, Secretary Henry Coventry was instructed to order Lieutenant Governor Herbert Jeffreys to expand the Treaty of Middle Plantation, a directive that was carried out sometime between April and June 1680 (C.O. 1/41 f. 222; 5/1355 ff 198-200, 243-245).

The Establishment of Trade Marts

In autumn 1677, the officials of Henrico and a few other counties were authorized to establish marts for trade with the Natives. They were to be in operation for 40 days at a time at specific time of the year and all trade with the Natives was to be conducted there. On February 12, 1678, Henrico County's justices of the peace "nominated the Manakin town (so called) on the south side of the James River to be the place for the faire or mart with the Indians." The Henrico County trade mart was discontinued in 1680 and the forts were abandoned in December 1682. In Isle of Wight County there was to be a trade mart at the county courthouse; it was the official one for the south side of the James River, near Hampton Roads. On the York River, the justices of the New Kent County court were authorized to decide where the trade mart should be. The justices of Lancaster County were to determine where the Rappahannock River trade mart should be and it was left to Stafford County's justices to fix the location of the mart for the Potomac River. On the Eastern Shore centers for trade were to be established in both Northampton and Accomac Counties. The

governor had the right to appoint a clerk for each trade mart. [13] Meanwhile, the trajectory of what had become the traditional boundary line on the south side of the James River between the colonists and the Indians was reaffirmed Henrico County Wills, Deeds, Etc. 1677-1692: Book I; Hening 1809-1823:II:410, 432-440, 480).

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[13]No records of the transactions that occurred at these trade marts seem to have been entered into local court records.

Expansion of the 1677 Treaty

By 1680 several more Native leaders had signed an expanded version of the original treaty. The second treaty agreement, also called the Treaty of Middle Plantation and dated May 29, 1677, contained 22 articles, not 21, its extra article extending treaty coverage to Maryland. The enlarged treaty was endorsed not only by the original signatories of the earlier document, but also by Mastegonoe, the King of the Saponi, and Tachapoake, their chief man; Shurenough, the King of the Manakin; Vnuntsquero, the chief man of the Meherrin, and Horehannah, their next chief man; Pattanochus, who signed as King of the Nanzattico, Nansemond [14] and Portobago; and Peracuta, the King of the Appomattock. It should be noted that although the Appomattock had not invited to sign the May 29, 1677, peace treaty because of some accusations against them, in 1680 when the treaty was expanded to include several more Native groups, the Appomattock king signed on his people's behalf (Anonymous 1680; C. O. 1/40 ff 202-203; Hening, Statutes, II, pp.275-277; McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:4.). Conspicuously absent were the Rappahannock, Chickahominy, Mattaponi, and Totachus, probably because they were among the groups then united under the Queen of Pamunkey.

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[14]The Nansemond mentioned with the Nanzattico and Portobago were a Rappahannock River group and should not be confused with the Nansemond living on the south side of the James River.

In June 1680 Governor Thomas Culpeper arrived in Virginia, to succeed Herbert Jeffreys, deceased in December 1678. As noted above, among Culpeper's instructions were orders to deliver the king's gifts to the Indian rulers who had signed the Treaty of Middle Plantation. The Executive Council, however, persuaded him not to do so, particularly objecting to the crowns, for they felt that jealousy and discord would result if some Tributary Indian leaders were to receive gifts *and others did not.* This indicates that by the time the gifts had been brought to the colony, the treaty had been expanded, for when the original agreement was amended, to include Maryland within its protection; it was signed by twelve Indian leaders rather than five, who represented seven Indian groups, rather than four. Besides, the Council asserted, "such Marks of Dignity as Coronets...must not be prostituted to such meane [inconsequential] persons." As noted previously, Culpeper's ship carrying the crowns was lost at sea (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:4).

In May 1679 the king issued an order for the equipment of 200 dragoons or armed horsemen who were to be sent to Virginia to assist the governor in suppressing Indian hostilities. Then, in December 1679 the assembly decided to establish garrisons at the heads of each of the colony's four major rivers (Hening 1809-1823:II:433-434). Unlike the useless forts of 1676, these garrisons were to serve as bases from which armed horsemen could range through the countryside, maintaining a watch over the frontiers. They were supposed to prevent Indian incursions and to protect frontier settlers, for it was felt that the 1677 treaty was being violated frequently. Officials even suspected that some Tributary Indians were committing

violent acts under the guise of "foreign Indians." Again, passage in and out of the colonized area was regulated, surveillance maintained, and admission denied to outlying, non-Tributary tribes. The northernmost of the 1679 forts was to be built on the Potomac River near Occoquan. The garrison on the Mattaponi River, known as Fort Mattaponi, was on the upper side of the river. It was across the river and downstream from the site at which a fort had been built in 1676. On the Rappahannock, the site upon which a fort had been built in 1676 was developed into the base of a garrison in 1679. The fourth fort was to be built on the south side of the James River, above Captain William Byrd's property at the falls. Each of the fortifications was to include a strongly built storehouse (22 feet by 60 feet) and a 10 foot square magazine. A detailed list of the tools and provisions to be furnished to each garrison was made by the assembly and each county was to supply men and horses. Four neighboring Indians were to be assigned to each garrison as guides. Tributary Indians encountering solders ranging in the woods were urged not to flee or make opposition, so that they would not be mistaken for adversaries. Residents of the south side of the James River and the Eastern Shore were given the right of erecting garrisons, if they felt it advisable. This final series of forts was abandoned in November 1682 (Hening 1809-1823:II:433-434, 439; II:449-453).

Governor Thomas Culpeper (1677 - 1683)

The Treaty Sparks Controversy

Despite the optimism sparked by the consummation of the Treaty of Middle Plantation, colonial officials quickly discovered that it was not the panacea for enduring peace and friendship that its proponents had purported it to be. In reality, the Treaty of Middle Plantation provided the Natives with very little protection from land-hungry settlers. Moreover, sporadic outbreaks of violence continued to plague the colony's frontiers. To make matters worse, some of the Tributary Indian groups were threatened by non-tributary tribes. A few Virginia officials claimed that the treaty was of little real value and that it had created more problems than it had solved.

Only a year after the first version of the May 1677 treaty was signed, the Pamunkey Indians' interpreter made a formal complaint about the Senecas, who posed a threat to the Pamunkeys. Also, the Iroquois, who were described as "a very powerful Northern Nation" living in the interior of the continent, had descended to the heads of the colony's rivers. To further complicate matters, the Tributary tribes often quarreled among themselves and took their disagreements to court, a privilege to which they were entitled under the 1677 treaty (C. O. 1/42 ff 177, 276-277; Ludwell, January 30, 1678).

Two of the treaty's articles proved to be particularly troublesome to Indians and colonists alike, at least one of which, Article XII, bore the mark of Cockacoeske's influence. Article XII specified that

> each Indian King and Queen have equall power to govern their owne people and none to have greater power than other except the Queen of Pamunkey to whom several scattered Indian Nations doe now againe owne their antient subjection, and are agreed to come in and plant themselves under her power . . . and are to keep and observe the same towards the said Queen in all things as her Subjects, as well as toward the English.

Article XVIII, on the other hand, stated that "upon any discord or breach of peace happening to arise between any of the Indians in amity with the English . . . they shall repaire to his Majesties Governor by whose Justice and wisdome it is concluded such difference shall be

made up and decided" (Anonymous 1680; Hening 1809-1823:II:275-277). Thus, several of the Tributary Indian groups were to be placed under the rule of the Pamunkeys and all of the tributaries were to resolve their differences through arbitration before the governor.

Correspondence between officials in Virginia and England discloses that Cockacoeske attempted to enforce the terms of Article XII by exacting tribute and servility from the tribes placed under her subjection, in sum, trying to reestablish the chiefly dominance enjoyed by the Pamunkey leaders prior to Opechancanough's death. Though the identity of the Indian groups placed under Cockacoeske's charge is not set forth in either version of the 1677 treaty, the omission of the names of certain prominent tidewater Virginia Indian groups from the list of treaty signatories provides a clue to their identity, especially when viewed in light of the relative propinquity of these groups to the Pamunkey homeland.

Tensions Among the Tributary Tribes

Contemporary correspondence identifies the Chickahominys and Rappahannocks as two of the groups subjugated to the Pamunkey leadership and mention is made of a third Indian nation, perhaps the Mattaponys or Totachus, both of whom, at the time of the 1669 census, were residing in New Kent County, where the Pamunkeys also lived. Another tribe, the Chiskiacks, who at the time of the census were few in number and said to be steadily dwindling, also may have been made subservient to Cockacoeske, though in 1677 they were living in Gloucester County, their home at least since 1629. [15] Some or all of these groups likely comprised the "several scattered nations" subjected to the Queen of Pamunkey's leadership.

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[15]Documentary evidence reveals that the Chiskiack survived until at least August 1677, at which time they were granted the right to conduct trade in Gloucester County, where they lived (Hening 1809-1823:II:411).

Even before the second version of the 1677 treaty had been signed, Virginia officials realized that some of the Indians placed under Cockacoeske's rule, notably the Chickahominys and Rappahannocks, strongly resented the attempt to force their subservience and stubbornly refused to cooperate with her, claiming that they had not intended such subjection by subscribing to the peace treaty. In a list of grievances presented by the Queen of Pamunkey and her son, Captain John West, to the governor and his council on June 5, 1678, Cockacoeske alleged that the Chickahominys were unwilling to pay tribute, obey her orders, or to make her village their home. She said that at "ye Chickahomineys first coming in they desired . . . that they might have Liberty to plant Corne at their Olde Towne" but promised to build at her town. She also accused the Chickahominy of harboring her son's wife, who had run away. Great mutual enmity is apparent in the nine grievances, for the Chickahominys were accused of poisoning one of Cockacoeske's great men and plotting revenge upon eight more, whereas she herself was alleged by the Chickahominys to have "cutt off soe many Chickahominy heads." A prior tradition of close interaction between the two Indian groups is suggested by the fact that the absconded wife of Cockacoeske's son, Captain West, had been "bred and born at Chickahominy though her Parents were Pamunkeys" (C.O. 1/42 f 177).

At the end of June, Cockacoeske described the state of affairs to Francis Moryson in a letter that she dictated to her interpreter. In elegant and courtly language, Cockacoeske professed her loyalty to King Charles II but expressed her dissatisfaction with the Rappahannocks and Chickahominys, "who are very disobedient to my commands." In a politically savvy move, however, she qualified her complaint by assuring Moryson that it was "not that they grudge to be under my subjection" (C.O. 1/42 f 276).

The affection and esteem in which Cockacoeske held Colonel Moryson is evidenced by her addressing him twice as "Netop," an Algonquian word William Strachey's dictionary translates as meaning "my good friend." At the close of the letter, within the words "Cockacoeske Queen of Pamunkey," she affixed her mark, signifying the communication's authenticity, the same W-like symbol with which she had previously endorsed both versions of the 1677 treaty.

The Pamunkeys' interpreter, Cornelius Dabney, also dispatched a personal letter to Colonel Moryson on the same day, corroborating Cockacoeske's allegations against the Chickahominys. He alluded to his own misunderstandings with the current governor and other officials, blaming his problems on the malice of the Chickahominy Indians' interpreter, Richard Yarborough, who, Dabney claimed, was attempting to undermine peaceful relations with the Tributary Indians by his manipulation of various government officials. This allegation, if true, suggests that the Chickahominy (or at least their interpreter) undertook political maneuvering. Dabney declared his intention of resigning as interpreter, when the Virginia Assembly next met.

It should be recalled that prior to the signing of the treaty, commissioners Berry and Moryson wrote a letter stating that certain Indian tribes had been placed under the Queen of Pamunkey's aegis, "reduced (as she desired) under her Subjection, as anceintly they had beene," clearly revealing that Article XII was Cockacoeske's idea. She may also have had a hand in the formulation of Article XVIII, believing that colonial officials, with whom she was acquainted, might weigh justice in her favor. Moreover, the Virginia government's obligation to protect the Tributary Indians, as recipients of English justice, surely would have been perceived as an advantage, given the Natives' diminished strength.

Interestingly, the prose used by Cornelius Dabney when writing on Cockacoeske's behalf, contrasts markedly with the tone of the letter he sent personally. When acting as the Queen of Pamunkey's interpreter, he addressed Moryson as a friend and equal, whereas when writing on his own behalf, he expressed himself with humility and in far simpler language, displaying great deference to Moryson's superior social position. Dabney's letter acknowledges the plight of the Tributary Indians who were caught between the colonists' spreading settlement and hostile outlying tribes, for in response to Moryson's request for an elk, he replied that the "Senecas having put our Indians into a feare, dare not go so high to hunt" (C. O. 1/40 ff 277-278).

Official records reveal that the Tributaries called upon the Virginia government for protection several times during the late seventeenth century and also asked the government to arbitrate disputes. Article XVIII impaled them upon the horns of a dilemma, for in siding with one tribe they automatically alienated another. One man, who failed to sign the letter he wrote to an English official about Virginia's Indians, commented that warring among the Indians might "bring on great disorders if not another rebellion amongst us." Ludwell noted that not only was the Virginia government obliged to settle quarrels among the Tributary Indians, but to protect them against warring tribes, something he also found vexing. "Now," Ludwell argued, "we have a warr with those Irachors [Iroquois] but our Indians have not, because the treaty with them at Fort Albany was ordered before our peace was concluded there" (Ludwell, June 8, 1678; August 3, 1678).

There are several reasons why Cockacoeske would have been able to exert some influence on colonial officials and work within their political system. During the approximately thirty years she ruled as Queen of Pamunkey, she maintained close ties with the English government, representing her people in an official capacity. Cockacoeske's period of leadership, which began more than twenty years before Bacon's Rebellion, would have spanned Francis Moryson's term as deputy governor, March 1661 to December 1661, at

which time Governor William Berkeley was in England. Thus, she would have had an opportunity to establish rapport with Moryson himself, a distinct advantage when he returned to Virginia as a Special Commissioner of the King. Moreover, Cockacoeske's romantic liaison with councilor and interim governor John West, a supporter of Governor Berkeley, may have furthered her insight into the machinations of colonial politics, and the presence of their son as a future go-between may have given her an added measure of influence. The account of Cockacoeske's June 1676 appearance before the Committee on Indian Affairs reveals that she was a person of imposing dignity and that she understood the English language. Cockacoeske's appreciation of European goods is evidenced by her possession of "pieces of Lynnen, Broad cloth, and divers sorts of English goods wch the Queene had much value for" when Nathaniel Bacon's men raided her encampment. But there are equally strong indications that Cockacoeske remained true to her Native cultural traditions.

The colony's secretary, Thomas Ludwell, in writing home to England before the second version of the treaty had been signed, claimed that the peace agreement, by reuniting several Indian groups under the Queen of Pamunkey's leadership, had created turmoil. He explained that because

> . . . several Indian nations again are united under that family...though we are confident the Queen of Pamunkey not mistreats or harms, yet most of the young men of the several townes being dissatisfied, is contemptible at their new subjection to that Queen wch they say was consented to by . . . old men against their [the younger men's] wills.

He noted that these young warriors "doe lie off in hiding in the woods and will not come in. . . . To grant them their former liberty, the Queen will take it as a breach of the peace and we cannot force them to her obedience but by hazarding another warr wch would bring on great Disorders if not another Rebellion amongst us" (Ludwell, January 30, 1678).

Ludwell recalled that

> upon Governor William Berkeley's conquest of Apechancanough it was by him and the government thought the safest way by setting all the lesser nations at Liberty from that obedience they paid to the house of Pamunkey to keep them divided and indeed the effect may be more advantageous to us for they like to warr with each other and destroy themselves more in a year than we can do it.

But, Ludwell said, "since this last war there are severall nations again united under that family which we since find to be troublesome and hazardous." In another letter he declared:

> I could heartily wish those two Articles concerning that subjection and ye making us judges of their differences had been left out, for I never thought it in the interest of this Colony to hinder them from cutting each others throats so we had no hand in it and its plain that upon the conquest of Appechancaenoe and the setting all the tributary nations to that house at Liberty they have weakened themselves more by their Intestine Broyls than ever we could doe by all the Warrs wee have had with them [Ludwell, June 8, 1678].

The resentment generated by placing under the Queen of Pamunkey's dominance certain Indian nations that had been independent since the ca. 1646 death of Opechancanough was very much apparent during the summer of 1678. Thomas Ludwell wrote on June 8th that

> . . . we had at last Court a great contest between the Queen of Pamunkey and a nation which lives neer her whom she takes amongst others to be subjected to her by the last articles of peace . . . upon whom she had imposed a great tax to be

> paid every Spring and Fall besides great servility in hunting and weeding of corn which they refused to perform.

He added that the group claimed "they had never paid it [tribute] since the death of Appechancano, which is about 33 years since and that they intended no such subjection by those articles" (Ludwell, June 8, 1678).

Similarly, Ludwell informed Secretary Coventry on June 28, 1678 that "the Queen [of Pamunkey] lays a great tax to be paid every spring and fall upon a nation who lives near her and are more powerful than she and they not only deny to pay that tax but any such Subjection to her." He added that the Queen "was fair to confess they had not paid such tax above these 30 years." In August 1678 Ludwell reiterated that point, stating that the Queen of Pamunkey was "imposing a tribute upon them such as they never paid these 33 years since the conquest of Appochankeno" (Ludwell, August 8, 1678). Thus, Article XII of the treaty, which bound the Indians subjected to the Queen of Pamunkey to pay her tribute comparable to what she herself paid to the colonial government, was an overt attempt by Cockacoeske to re-establish the Powhatans' old tributary system.

Though relatively little is known about the immediate fate of the Indian groups that Article XII of the treaty attempted to reunite under the Queen of Pamunkey, government records suggest that the Chickahominys and the Rappahannocks retained their independence, though they continued to uphold their groups' commitment to the treaty itself. The Chickahominys continued to reside in a village on the Mattaponi River until at least the first decade of the eighteenth century, an indication that they did not yield to the commands of Cockacoeske to seat at the Pamunkey town.

The allocation of separate tracts of land to the Pamunkeys and Chickahominys during this period further implies that they continued to remain separate entities. The Rappahannocks also appear to have retained their independence, for throughout the last quarter of the seventeenth century they are mentioned, separately, by name and are documented as residing in the York-Rappahannock peninsula, having removed themselves from the Pamunkeys' territory. Cockacoeske, meanwhile, continued to lead her own people while residing in Pamunkey Neck, the land mass lying between the Pamunkey and Mattaponi rivers that had been the traditional home of her people.

On July l, 1686, the Pamunkeys' interpreter, George Smith, informed the Governor that the Pamunkey Queen "was lately dead and that ye Pamunkey Indians did desire that ye late Queen's niece . . . upon [whom] ye right of Government of that Indian nation doe devolve, might succeed." Virginia's governor might have expected to see the succession pass to the Queen's own half-English son, but traditional ideas of inheritance still prevailed among the Pamunkeys. In 1702 the name of "Ms. Betty Queen ye Queen" of the Pamunkey Indians was mentioned in a land transaction and by 1708, that of Queen Ann began appearing in official documents. During the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Queen Ann of the Pamunkeys presented a number of petitions to the governor's council and the assembly, continuing Cockacoeske's policy of working within the framework of the colony's laws (Des Cognets 1958:57; Palmer 1968:I:184-185). But the Pamunkeys never again attempted to reestablish their dominance over the Indians of Virginia's coastal plain.

In 1688 the Rev. John Clayton, a naturalist and rector of the church at Jamestown, said that, "The Indians have not yet learnt to ride, only the King of Pomonkie had got three or four Horses for his own Saddle and an Attendant, which I think should in no wise be indulged, for I look on allowing them Horses much more dangerous than even Guns and Powder (Force 1963:III:12:35). Clayton may have been speaking of Cockacoeske's son and assumed that he had succeeded his mother. In other writings, the Rev. Clayton spoke of the Natives

appreciatively and mentioned skill in making pots and pipes.

Non-Christian Servants Declared Slaves

In November 1682 the Virginia assembly enacted legislation specifying that

> . . . all servants except Turks and Moores . . . whether Negroes, Moors, Mollattoes or Indians, who and whose parentage and Native country are not Christian at the time of their first purchase of such servant by some Christian, although afterwards, and before such their importation and bringing into this country they shall be converted to the Christian faith; and all Indians which shall hereafter be sold by our neighbouring Indians, or any other trafiqueing with us as for slaves are hereby adjudged, deemed and taken to be slaves to all intents and purposes, any law, usage or custom to the countrary [Hening 1809-1823:II:491-492]

Thus, all who were sold as slaves were considered slaves, whether or not they had been converted to Christianity. Moreover, Indians and other non-whites were considered slaves if they had been imported or sold as such. The new law also declared that Indian maid servants who were age 16 or older were considered tithables, i.e., they were considered taxable personal property.

Conditions on the Frontier

Government officials generally agreed that the forts on the heads of the colony's rivers in 1679 were useful. The burgesses informed incoming governor Thomas Lord Culpeper that "the Indians are still murdering the inhabitants, notwithstanding the treaty," and that new forts and garrisons had to be organized. Secretary of the Colony Nicholas Spencer sent word to England in July 1680 that the Indians were then peaceful, but he proffered that "our Garrisons at the heads of the Rivers conduce much being a continual check upon them," each fort having 20 horsemen in readiness at all times. In August 1680 he reported that the Indians were then at peace (McCartney 1985:72; C. O. 1/45 f 284).

However, within two years the governing officials changed their minds about the usefulness of the forts. In December 1682, the garrisons at the heads of the colony's four major rivers were discontinued, as the assembly felt that "the apprehensions of danger from the insurrections of certain Indian enemies . . . [had] for the most part removed by peace concluded with those Indians." Also, it was generally acknowledged that the cost of maintaining the forts was prohibitive. It was then decided that having horse soldiers range throughout the countryside was a practical and more cost effective way of maintaining peace. The burgesses agreed that the need for fortifications had been lessened somewhat on account of a recent treaty with some of the so-called "enemy" Indians, probably the peace agreement made by Sir Edmund Andros at Fort Albany in 1680 on behalf of Virginia and Maryland (Hening 1809-1823:II:498-499; McIlwaine 1918:111, 199, 202-204, 239).

As the seventeenth century drew to a close, the relationship between the Indians and the Virginia colonists continued to vacillate. Hostile Indians, particularly the Senecas, frequented the frontiers and in November 1683 reportedly attacked an Indian town on the Mattaponi River as well as the Rappahannock or Chickahominy Indian fort (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:53). As a consequence, in April and May 1684 payment was made for corn, beef and other provisions delivered for the relief of the Chickahominy and Rappahannock Indians (McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1660-1693:225, 256). Attacks upon Tributary Indians, committed by outlying tribes, let the governor's council to recommend to the Rappahannock and Nanzattico Indians that they unite for their mutual protection and proceed to the Nanzatticos' town or to the Rappahannocks' new fort. However, in 1685, a new treaty that

succeeded in lessening tensions was concluded at Fort Albany between the Five Nations and Virginia Indians (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:53-54, 71; Palmer 1968:I:17; Stanard 1911).

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, competition over Indian land with Pamunkey Neck and on the lower side of the Blackwater River continued to cause problems, particularly during period that both areas were closed to patenting. Although government officials publicly supported the 1677 treaty and refused to issue patents within tracts allocated to the Indians, they openly declared that the Natives were "a people of no faith or credit who at their Pleasure may cut off a Family and pretend it was done by Strange Indians" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:136).

Throughout this period, county militia and horse soldiers patrolled the forest as a means of keeping peace. Each foot soldier was equipped with a musket, bandoliers, and a belt, and each horseman was to have a breast plate, crupper, carbine, pistol and sword, as well as a horse complete with saddle and bridle. Parties of rangers were to be accompanied by one or more Tributary Indians, who were paid as guides. Compensation due an Indian guide for his services was considerably less than the amount paid for the rental of the horse he used, a telling social comment. Tributary Indians were encouraged to act as informants, though giving false information was punishable under the law. The practice of keeping rangers at the heads of the major rivers continued until around 1712-1714, when Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood proposed the construction of Forts Christanna and Germanna as a substitute and more economical means of protecting the frontiers (McIlwaine 1918:111, 199, 202-204, 239, 546, 565; Palmer 1968:I:32, 36, 92).

Meanwhile, the Pamunkeys and other Native groups sold portions of their tribal land to planters, which also confused the issue of property ownership. Some settlers wrongfully tried to take up acreage in Pamunkey Neck, with the result that the Pamunkeys (like the Chickahominys) were subjected to illegal attempts to patent or lease their land. The 1693 allocation of 10,000 acres of Pamunkey Neck land as an endowment for the College of William and Mary increased tensions to the point that when a surveyor tried to lay out the college tract, his markers were uprooted several times and his chain was broken. On the lower side of the James, 10,000 acres were to be laid out on the south side of the Blackwater Swamp. Significantly, the territory from which the college's charter lands were to be carved lay within an area reserved to the Natives occupation, property "not yet legally possessed by any of his Majesty's subjects" (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:115; 1924:370; 1925-1945:I:204, 304; Palmer 1968:105; Nugent 1969-1979:III:36, 56-57, 63, 123; Hartwell et al. 1940:71).

The population of Virginia's Tributary Indians continued to dwindle during the 1680s. They not only suffered from loss of their subsistence habitat, they also had problems with the Senecas, Susquehannocks and Iroquois who reportedly made incursions into the colony. In March l682 Lord Baltimore informed Virginia officials that Northern Indians headed their way to fight with the Pamunkeys and the Nanzatticos of the Rappahannock River (Sainsbury et al. 1964:5:437). Only a year earlier, Baltimore had accused the Nanzattico of committing a murder in his colony, while there on a trading mission. But Thomas Ludwell, usually a harsh critic of Virginia's Indians, countered Baltimore's charge by insisting that the Nanzattico had been 70 miles from the scene of the crime and therefore could not have committed it (Sainsbury et al. 1964:5:184). In October, however, the governor of Maryland requested the extradition of Nehemin, a Nanzattico who stood accused of killing someone at Point Lookout. The Virginia Council responded by ordering the secretary of the colony, to investigate the crime and if he deemed it appropriate, to send Nehemin to Maryland (Sainsbury et al. 1964:5:93-94).

Governor Francis Howard (1683-1692)

Impact Upon Native Lands

By 1685 Virginia colonists' demands to enter and seat upon the land beyond the Blackwater River increased to the point that the House of Burgesses asserted that the boundaries established by treaty in 1646 really were only marching or processioning bounds, not a line defining the Indians' property. Ironically, only 30 years earlier, Natives crossing those so-called "marching bounds" could be lawfully executed (McIlwaine 1918:80-81; Hening 1809-1823:I:416).

During the winter of 1686, a Frenchman named Durand de Dauphine, who was visiting Ralph Wormeley, accompanied him on a trip to his Portobago and Nanzattico plantations. When Dauphine visited the Nanzattico area, he "counted 8 or 9 houses that Monsieur Wormeley had built on his estates or plantations. . . . I noticed also that about two-thirds of the lands were wooded, the other meadows which were . . . *the plantations that belonged to the savages five or six years ago."* Wormeley and his guest were greeted warmly by Indians, who presented them with gifts. Dauphine observed that the Natives' village could be seen on the opposite (i.e., south) side of the river, which site the two men visited the following day (Dauphine 1934:153). Thus, Ralph Wormeley's property at Nanzattico, on the opposite side of the Rappahannock, appears to have been vacated by the Indians in ca. 1680-1681, a few years after Wormeley acquired it. At Wormeley's death his landholdings were distributed among his legal heirs in a complex series of transactions.

On May 1, 1688, Virginia's governing officials asked the king for permission to issue patents for vacant Indian land in Pamunkey Neck and on the south side of the James River, at Blackwater Swamp. The councillors noted that in former times large quantities of land had been laid out for the benefit of the "very considerable nations of Indians, Consisting of great Numbers, but are now wasted and dwindled away, however doe [still] hold and possess [it] by which means those parts of the Countrey lyes open to the Foreign Indians." They claimed that the Tributary Indians had asked them to allow settlers to seat upon their land to prevent foreign Indians from invading. They also alleged that the Indians had found that "Such large Tracts of Land are of noe benefit nor use unto them" and had asked the governor to admit settlers to their property. In July 1690 the Council again asked the king for the right to permit patenting of vacant Indian lands. They repeated their request a few years later. Meanwhile, planters regularly asked the assembly for the right to patent land within the prohibited territory. However, surveyors were ordered not to lay out property within Pamunkey Neck and occasionally, the government evicted settlers from Native land. For example, in 1690 a man who had purchased 1,200 acres from the Pamunkey Indians and built a tobacco house upon it was ordered to burn the structure and surrender his patent. Simultaneously, some people who had seated themselves upon the Chickahominy Indians' land in Pamunkey Neck also were ordered to leave (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:71, 94, 130, 284; 1905-1915:1660-1693:125, 386, 431, 433).

In 1689 the chief rulers of "the distressed remnant of the Chickahominy Indians," whose town was near the head of the Mattaponi River, asked the government's permission to move to Richahock, a tract on the north side of the river and several miles downstream from where they were. The Indian leaders indicated that they had acquired Richahock from a colonist in exchange for their own acreage and said that problems with hostile Senecas had force them to take refuge with the Pamunkeys (Palmer 1968:I:22). Official consent apparently was forthcoming, for in October 1694 the Chickahominys, who were at Richahock, again asked permission to move. This time, they wanted to go to Quaynohomock, land that reportedly had belonged to them earlier on. They indicated that they were unable to subsist where they were. The Indians' request was referred to the justices of the county court (McIlwaine 1925-

1945:I:320; Nugent 1969-1979:I:298-299).

It appears that the Chickahominy never recovered Quaynohomock, for in 1697 they were living several miles upstream, near the Herring Creeks. They were still there in 1698 when Quaker missionary Thomas Story paid them a visit and attempted to discuss religion. Story said that their town was "on the side of the River Mattapony" and he indicated that "it consists of about eleven Wigwams, or Houses, made of the Bark of Trees, and contained so many Families." He indicated that he was "directed to their Sagamor, or Chief; and when we went to his Door, he came out with a Piece of Cloth about his Middle, but otherwise all naked." Thomas Story indicated that one of the Indians he met could speak some English (Story 1747:162).

Lieutenant Governor Francis Nicholson (1690-1692)

Affirmation of Boundary Lines

In 1691, as settlement became more dense on the south side of the James River, formal survey lines were run from the head of the southern branches of the Blackwater River to the upper part of the old Appomattox Town. The boundary line was clearly marked and the assembly enacted legislation that voided the patent of any planter who had attempted to settle beyond that line. Rangers were ordered to patrol the forest as a means of keeping peace. In 1693 the justices of Surry County's monthly court were ordered to assign special markings for the hogs of the Nottoway and Weyanoke Indians, an indication of the Natives' and colonists' propinquity. In 1694, the 1662 law requiring Indians to wear copper or silver badges was repealed. However, the restrictive policy was reinstated in 1711 (Hening 1808-1823:III:85, 109; Stanard 1902b). A copper badge labeled "King of Appomattock," which was recovered in Dinwiddie County during the early 20th century, may have been one of the insignia given to Virginia's tributary tribes. By 1705 the Appomattock reportedly were residing in Colonel William Byrd's pasture in Charles City County. Later, the tribe seemingly faded from view (Beverley 1947:232).

The Consequences of Propinquity

The documentary record indicates that conflict over trade flared frequently. In 1680 Secretary Nicholas Spencer blamed unscrupulous traders for much of the ill-feeling between Indians and colonists, a contention that was still being asserted 30 years later when Lieutenant Governor Spotswood argued for the establishment of the Virginia Indian Company at Fort Christanna (Spotswood 1882-1885:II:99). The employment of Indian servants in settlers' homes, a practice regulated by law, also generated some ill-feeling, for the loss of workers from the already dwindling Indian communities at times brought protests from the Natives (McCartney 1985:74; McIlwaine 1918:81, 287; Hening 1809-1823:II:143). In time, the Native population gradually was forced to yield its land to the burgeoning number of colonists. The records of Henrico County demonstrate clearly that during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, many settlers had Indian servants and that there was a considerable amount of trade with the Natives who lived beyond the official boundary line separating them from the colonists. But there also is evidence that the stronger, more warlike tribes who lived above the fall line continued to prey upon the frontier settlers and Tributary Indian tribes, which were relatively weak and unable to protect themselves (Henrico County Wills, Deeds, 1688-1697: Book V:171, 532-535).

In 1691 Daniel Pugh, a settler in Nansemond County (present-day city of Suffolk), abducted four Tuscarora Indians and sold them as slaves in the West Indies, action for which government officials attempted to prosecute him. Making use of the legal system, eight or ten

Tuscarora great men and a Meherrin testified about the event and one witness said that the missing men had been transported to Barbados. However, in 1705 the Virginia government did the same thing in order to get rid of some people they considered troublemakers. They transported the males of the Nanzattico Indian tribe to Antigua in reprisal for a crime committed by seven men who already had been tried and executed (McIlwaine 1918:147, 425; 1925-1945:I:384) (see ahead). Sometimes, however, the Natives did the kidnapping. In July 1692 William Byrd II testified in court that an African woman and mulatto boy had been abducted from his plantation by "strange Indians" (usually a term applied to Natives who had not signed a peace treaty with the Virginia government). Byrd added that the people taken from him were sold in Philadelphia (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:262).

Governor Edmund Andros (1692 -1698)

The College Land: Vast Tracts of Native Territory

Restrictions upon patenting land in Pamunkey Neck and along the Blackwater River were supposed to be in effect through April 20, 1696, although the College had the right to survey and claim land there. The interpreters assigned to various Native groups were ordered to determine their population and how much land they had. On April 13, 1696, the governor learned that despite the prohibition on patenting land in Pamunkey Neck, "some persons have obtained patents for land in ye said places before the College land [was] laid out, to the prejudice of his Majesty's said grant." Therefore, several individuals' patents for large tracts, containing literally thousands of acres of land, were called in and "surrendered to King William." However, those patentees were given other land. The restrictions on patenting Pamunkey Neck and Blackwater land were continued through June 20, 1697, the date to which King William and Queen Mary wanted the moratorium extended (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:338, 351; Nugent 1969-1979:III:1, 11-12).

When the Council convened on November 1, 1697, it was learned that the College of William and Mary still had not laid out its charter land. Certain councillors, who also were trustees of the college, indicated that the Indian interpreters ordered to determine the size of the Native population and the extent of their land had failed to do so. In June 1699 the Queen of the Pamunkey Indians and several of the tribe's great men presented a petition to the Committee on Claims. They alleged that Ralph Wormeley (a councillor) and others had surveyed and laid off land within the area allocated exclusively to their use. They also said that some of the acreage Wormeley claimed lay within a mile of their town. The Pamunkeys claimed that the settlers' entry into their territory would force them to relocate and they reminded Committee members that the 1677 treaty specified that no English were supposed to seat themselves within three miles of their town. The Indians requested a patent for their land, a document that had been promised to them by the 1677 treaty, astutely pointing out that a clause in the treaty stated that "a Patent should be granted to them as is usually to his Maj'ties Subjects." They added that "which Patent tho' often desired by the said Indians was never yet obtained." The Claims Committee, while acknowledging that the 1677 treaty should be upheld, stated that they deemed it in the king's best interest to permit the patenting of vacant land in Pamunkey Neck. They endorsed the 99 year leases the Pamunkeys had given to 8 people and recommended that leases be given to 36 other individuals as soon as it became legally possible. Almost immediately, prospective patentees submitted requests for literally thousands of acres of land (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:41; II:94-95; Nugent 1969-1979:III:35-92; DesCognet 1958:57, 59-63).

In 1700 the Lords of Trade and Plantations informed Virginia's governing officials that the 1677 treaty was to be upheld. However, the Claims Committee was told that those holding legitimate patents could have "all the land they had actually planted." Some people settled

within the Natives' territory, contrary to law, and were threatened with prosecution. In 1706, both Pamunkey Neck and the Blackwater River area were opened to patenting, at which time numerous claims were recorded (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:119; II:94-95).

Governor Francis Nicholson (1698 — 1705)

The Chickahominy Make a Claim

In June 1699 Drammaocho, a munguy or chief ruler of the Chickahominy Indians, asked that "severall lands in Pamunkey Neck should, by the Articles of Peace, May 1677, belong to them and that any sales or leases they had made of these lands should be confirmed. The assembly's Committee on Claims determined, however, that only land within three miles of the Chickahominy Indians' town was theirs and that any sales or leases they had made were null and void. Even so, the Chickahominys did have the right to all acreage they had acquired through outright purchases (DesCognets 1958:66). In September 1701 the Chickahominys were granted the land between the two Herring Creeks and fronting on the Mattaponi River. It was noted that the land had been assigned to them at the time of the 1677 treaty and that it included the property they had been occupying at the time the peace agreement was signed (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1695-1702).

Other Native Groups Express Their Concerns

In April 1699 the Occahannock, the Nansemond, and the Nottoway presented petitions to the governor, expressing their concern about settlers moving into the territory that had been reserved to the Indians' use. The Occahannock said that they had been ill treated and had been reduced to "very great poverty." The Nansemond indicated that they had learned that colonists intended to seat their old town, which was located between the Blackwater and Nottoway Rivers and feared that they would anger their English neighbors by hunting near their livestock. The Nottoway said that the Tuscarora Indians often entered the territory at the head of the Appomattox River. As they had been furnished with guns, powder and shot, they had depleted the Nottoway Indians' land of its game. The Nottoway also complained that the Tuscarora sometimes gambled with their trade goods and when they lost, claimed that the Nottoway had taken them by force (Palmer 1968:I:64).

Problems Among Neighbors

Surry County court records document the fact that Indians occasionally ran afoul of the law by killing settlers' hogs. It is not surprising that the Indians asserted that they were hunting and the colonists, that they were hog-stealing. In 1671, when the Cappahunek Indians killed two of Christopher Holiman's hogs, their great man, Captain Pipscoe, was obliged to pay Holiman a dozen well dressed deerskins. Some of the colonists who lived within the territory along the Blackwater River complained that the Warnoake (Weyanoke) Indians were killing and driving away their hogs. The Indians were ordered to kill or bring in their dogs, which were thought responsible for the problems that had occurred. Sometimes, one group of Natives blamed another. For example, the Weyanoke Indians and some colonists appeared before the justices of the Surry County court, where they testified that it was the Nottoway Indians who were killing hogs. On at least one occasion, the Nottoway Indians were accused of stealing cattle. Ultimately, specific groups of Indians were assigned marks that they could use to identify their own hogs. Sometimes, the leaders of Native groups were summoned to court, when someone filed a complaint against one of their tribesmen. As the seventeenth century drew to a close, young Indian servants and slaves were brought before county court justices so that their ages could be determined. This was done so that there would be a record of when they were old enough to be deemed tithables (i.e., those who possessed them were

obliged to pay taxes upon all who were age 16 or older). On one occasion, an Indian man, who belonged to Roger Tilman of Charles City County but had fled to Isle of Wight, was captured by a Surry County man. In 1700 an Indian slave named Jamey, who belonged to Thomas Bage of Surry, was found guilty of killing his master. He was sentenced to hang and the murdered man's widow was compensated by the government for Jamey's value, in accord with a reimbursement policy that was in effect well into the nineteenth century (Surry County Court Records 1671-1691:2, 33, 489, 523, 528, 756; 1691-1700:75, 83, 255, 259, 263).

Tributary Indians at Jamestown

As noted above, the 1646 treaty and the 1677 and 1680 versions of the Treaty of Middle Plantation required Tributary Indians to pay annual tribute to the Virginia government's highest ranking official as the monarch's representative. These payments constituted a tangible reminder that the treaty was still in effect. Although little is known about the visits the Natives made to Jamestown, it is certain that in 1682 and 1684 they stayed with ordinary-keeper Henry Gawler, who then occupied a unit (Bay 2) in the three-bay rowhouse designated Structure 17. Gawler was still living in Jamestown during the early 1690s, at which time he was the James City County sheriff. The building he occupied belonged to his wife's late husband, George Marable I (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1660-1693:174, 256-257; 1918:88-89).

In 1691 several Surry County citizens requested compensation for transporting Indians to Jamestown and back, so that they could pay their tribute. Nicholas Witherington testified that on April 25th he had brought six Meherrin Indians to the capital city and two days later he had taken six Nansemonds there. In 1692 Captain Thomas Swann testified that his ferryman had transported nine Weyanoke Indians to and from Jamestown and had made round trips to the capital with ten Appomattocks and five Meherrin. In 1693, Swann requested compensation for his ferryman's taking 29 Indians to Jamestown and bring eight back across the James River. Then, in April 1697 Swann's ferryman transported 20 Indians to and from Jamestown, in February 1697 he carried five. In April 1698 he brought 13 Natives across the river and back. Then in 1700, Thomas Hart was paid for transporting 20 Indians to and from Jamestown (Surry County Court Records 1691-1700:33, 62, 86, 197, 263). These Surry County records suggest strongly that each year (usually in April) small groups of Tributary Indians made their way to Swann's Point, where they were ferried across the James River to Jamestown so that they could pay their annual tribute.

In 1699 the Pamunkeys asked for a reduction in the amount of their annual tribute; it was reduced from twenty beaver skins to ten. Then, in 1705, their tribute was reduced from ten beaver skins to only one. This is a reflection of the tribe's declining wellbeing (McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:81, 455).

In May 1700 the gentlemen of the Nottoway, Meherrin, Nansemond, Chickahominy, Rappahannock and Nanzattico Indians, tribes that were tributaries to the Crown, met with the governor and his council at Jamestown, where they were interrogated about a treaty they wanted to make with some "foreign" or non-Virginia Indians. The Tributaries agreed to deliver to the governor the wampum-peake (or shell) belts they expected to receive when the treaty was consummated. He, in turn, would retain the belts until the next time the Indians delivered their annual tribute. The wording of the dialogue between the governor and the Indians indicates that Jamestown was the site at which the Tributary tribes traditionally presented their annual tribute (Sainsbury et al. 1964:18:79).

An Indian Servant at Jamestown

On August 18, 1697, when William Sherwood made his will, he bequeathed to Dorothy

Jubilee, whom he identified as his Indian servant, her freedom. Sherwood, whose plantation engulfed much of the western portion of Jamestown Island and part of the urbanized area, apparently died shortly after making his will, which was presented for probate in February 1698 (Ambler MS 65, 73; McGhan 1993:873). Nothing more is known about Jubilee.

Maryland Natives Move to Virginia

In July 1697 the Piscataway Indians of Maryland, who periodically had been accused of crossing the Potomac River to attack Virginia settlements, moved to Stafford County. George Mason reported that the Emperor of the Piscataway had brought with him a nation of Senecas and that they considered themselves one people and wanted to live in peace. Though the Piscataways were ordered to return to Maryland promptly, two years later they were still residing in Virginia. The settlers in Stafford County continued to be uneasy about the nearness of the Piscataway, for several colonists living in remote areas had been brutally slain. When Governor Francis Nicholson commanded the Emperor of the Piscataways to appear in Jamestown on April 17, 1699, he declined, indicating that he would meet with Nicholson and his emissaries if he (Nicholson) came to the Piscataway Fort and the appropriate diplomatic protocol were observed (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:206-207, 370; Palmer 1968:55, 62-64).

When Natives crossed from one colony into another to commit a crime, the two governments were supposed to cooperate in bringing the perpetrators to justice. In 1696 an Indian from Maryland was jailed at Jamestown until he could be sent north to stand trial (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:342).

The Native Population in 1702

In 1702, when a census was made of the colony's Tributary Indians, they were described according to the rivers they lived upon. On the James there were 10 Nansemond and Weyanoke Indians (grouped together), 60 Meherrins, and 80 Nottoways. There were 50 Pamunkey Indians and 30 Chickahominy then living within the York River drainage. There were only 30 bowmen ("the Portobago or Nanzattico") on the Rappahannock River; no longer in evidence were the Rappahannock, Moratticund, Doegg, Totusky or Nansemond Indians. On the southern part of the Potomac River were the Wicomico, although they were not innumerated. On the Eastern Shore were the Pungoteague, Matomkin, Gingoteague, Kiquotanke, Matchapungo, Occohannock, Chisonotax, and Gingoes, who collectively were described as "small nations." Conspicuously absent were all references to the Mattaponi (C.O. 5/1312 Part II:221-222).

Three years later, Robert Beverley II, a resident of Jamestown and government official, reported that in Prince George County, the Weyanoke Indians were "almost wasted" and had gone to live with other Natives. As noted above, the Appomattocks in 1705 were living in Charles City County, in Colonel William Byrd's pasture. He said that there were not more than seven families of Appomattocks. In Surry County were the Nottoway Indians, who had about 100 bowmen and were "of late a thriving and increasing People." Beverley said that the Nansemond Indians had about 30 bowmen and had increased in numbers lately. On the Nansemond River were the Meherrin, who had about 30 bowmen. In King William County there were around 40 Pamunkey warriors, whose ranks were decreasing, and the Chickahominy had approximately 16 bowmen, "lately increas'd." Essex County had only a few families of Rappahannock Indians who lived "scatter'd upon the English seats." He said that "in Richmond [County], Port-Tobago has [a]bout five Bow-men, but wasting" and "in Northumberland, [the] Wicomico has but three men living, which yet keep up their Kingdom and retain their Fashion." On the Eastern Shore was a substantial population: the Matomkin, the Gingoteague, the Kicquotank, the Matchopungo, the Occahannock, the Pungoteague, the

Onancock, the Chiconessex, and the Nanduye (Beverley 1947:232-233). By the time Robert Beverley II compiled his observations, the Nanzattico had been permanently banished from their homeland on the Rappahannock River. Although relatively peaceful conditions prevailed in the upper reaches of the Rappahannock River during the early eighteenth century, rangers continued to patrol the frontiers of the colony and as late as 1711, Indians who ventured into settled areas were obliged to carry badges (McIlwaine 1925-1945:II:286).

Robert Beverley II rather sympathetically said that the Native population had "on several accounts reason to lament the arrival of the Europeans, by whose means they seem to have lost their Felicity as well as their Innocence." He said that the English had "taken away great part of their Country, and consequently made every thing less plenty amongst them." He added that they had introduced them to drunkenness and luxury, which "multiply'd their wants and put them on desiring a thousand things, they never dreamt of before" (Beverley 1947:233).

The Pamunkeys and the Chickahominys

In May 1702 a plat of the Pamunkey Indians' land was brought to a meeting of the House of Burgesses along with a petition by the Chickahominy Indians. Records of the House reveal that the Pamunkeys were to be given a patent, something they had been requesting for more than a half-century. The Chickahominys' land, which was in Pamunkey Neck and between the two Herring Creeks, was three miles wide at its maximum. It was reported that in 1677 the Chickahominy Indians were living in a row that was one mile long. In 1702 the burgesses decided that the plat of the land laid out for the Chickahominys encompassed too much acreage. Therefore, settlers were invited to appear before the assembly to document their land claims in that vicinity (McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1695-1702:283, 349).

The Plight of the Nanzattico

In September 1704 an event occurred in Richmond County that had tragic consequences for the Nanzattico Indians. A group of Nanzattico males allegedly murdered and mutilated several people who were at the home of John Rowley; one young girl survived to report what had transpired. The Nanzattico Indians, who were known to have had disputes with the Rowleys, were implicated in the crime. Orders were given for the accused Nanzatticoes to be captured and transported to Williamsburg to stand trial. But ultimately the decision was made to try the case at the Richmond County courthouse. Early in October all but one of the accused Nanzattico males were convicted of murder and sentenced to death. It was agreed that the remaining ca. 40 remaining members of the Nanzattico tribe should be tried on the basis of a 1663 law that made the residents of the nearest Indian town answerable for any local crime that Indians were accused of committing. The Nanzattico were rounded up and transported to Williamsburg, where they were incarcerated until May 1705. At that time government officials concluded that the Nanzattico were implicated in the Rowley murders on the basis of association and determined that all members of the tribe who were age 12 or older should be transported out of the colony and sold as servants. Children under 12 were to be bound out until the age of 24. Although members of the Governor's Council recommended that elderly Nanzatticoes be spared deportation and that women and girls be sold as servants on the Eastern Shore, the House of Burgesses remained adamant. Ultimately, Captain John Martin transported almost all of the Nanzattico to Antigua, where they were sold. Meanwhile, the tribe's 13 young children were distributed among the members of the Governor's Council. Thus, it was during 1705 that the Nanzattico, as a group, seemingly ceased to exist (Morgan 1984:168-173).

Indians From Other Colonies Traded as Slaves

During the first quarter of the eighteenth century quite a few Natives from the Carolinas arrived in slave ships, probably people captured while the colonists there were at war with the Indians supporting Spanish settlers. Minchinton et al. concluded that this practice led to the Tuscarora War (1711-1713) in North Carolina and the Yamasee War (1715-1718) in South Carolina (Minchinton et al. 1984:20-52); Nugent 1969-1979:III:7).

On April 15, 1699, Virginia's governing officials concluded that "His Majesty's Land in this colony ought not to be granted to any others then [sic] His Christian Subjects comeing to reside here" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:347). This change occurred in response to the opening up of the slave trade which had begun to include an occasional Native American and Indians from the Caribbean.

Updating the Legal Code

In 1705 Virginia's legal code was summarized and updated to address the colony's changing needs. This group of laws, which affected all non-whites, deprived Indians of the legal rights they formerly had enjoyed. They also conferred upon blacks the status of personal property and made them slaves for life. Ironically, this occurred at a time when Tributary Indians were making increased use of the colony's legal system instead of settling matters on their own. Under the 1705 legal code, Indians and other non-whites were forbidden to testify in court under any circumstances, a prohibition that prevented them from collecting just debts. Likewise, Indian servants no longer could sue for their freedom if their masters detained them after their contracts expired. Bans against interracial marriage made it illegal for ministers to unite whites and non-whites, thereby discouraging the Natives' assimilation into the white population through marriage. Those who wed despite the law were fined and subject to six months imprisonment. Non-whites were ineligible to hold any public office (whether civil, ecclesiastical, or military) and if they dared to forcibly oppose a white Christian, they could be flogged. Thus the 1705 legislation brought profound erosion of ethnic minorities' civil rights (McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:275, 286, 359, 365, 369, 371, 380).

The Shrinking Horizon of Native Lands

A piece of the legislation enacted in October 1705 cost Tributary Indian tribes a large percentage of their land, if the three-mile buffer zone around their towns protruded across a navigable river. As most Indian towns were on the waterfront, the new law had serious implications. Specifically, the burgesses decided that

> . . . where an Indian town is seated, on or near a navigable river, and the English have already seated and planted within three miles of the said town, on the opposite side of the river, the said clause [of the 1677 treaty] shall not be construed, deemed, or taken, to give the Indian town any privilege on the said opposite side: But in such a case, the privilege of the said Indian town shall be limited by the river [Hening 1809-1823:III:466].

The burgesses called the new law an "explanation of a clause in the articles of peace." However, it clearly was not.

Grasping At Freedom

Local court records dating to the fourth quarter of the seventeenth century reveal that a significant number of planters in Surry, Isle of Wight, and York Counties, had both Indian and African servants and slaves. In Surry their names sometimes were included in lists of tithables. It is not surprising that propinquity sometimes led to cooperation.

In March 1710 a substantial number of enslaved blacks "and others" in James City, Isle of

Wight, and Surry Counties planned to make a break for freedom on Easter Sunday and vowed to overcome all who opposed them. However, one of the slaves disclosed the plan and the escape attempt was thwarted. When the people implicated in the uprising were rounded up and brought before the governing officials, it was reported that "there hath been lately happily discovered a dangerous Conspiracy formed and carried on by great numbers of Negros, and other slaves for making their Escape by force from the Service of their Masters." The governor's council ordered the justices of Surry and Isle of Wight to interrogate those implicated in the plot. On March 24th, Surry's justices reported that they had examined "Sevell [sic] Negro and Indian slaves concerned in a Late Dangerous Conspiracy, formed and Carried on by greate numbers of ye said negroes and Indian slaves." They declared that they had determined that three individuals were the principal perpetrators. One was John Jackman's Indian slave, Salvadore. His Spanish name raises the possibility that he may have been from a Spanish or Portuguese colony. All three men were tried before the General Court and sentenced to death for treason. Salvadore was to be executed in Surry County, at the courthouse, on the first Tuesday in May. Afterward, his head and two of his quarters were to be delivered to James City County sheriff Edward Jaquelin. He was to put the head on display in Williamsburg and to "sett up" one of Salvadore's quarters "at the great guns" (gun platform) in Jamestown. There, the gruesome exhibit would have been close to Jamestown's public ferry-landings and the main road into Jamestown Island. The James City County sheriff was to see that the sheriff of New Kent County was furnished with one of Salvadore's quarters and the remaining quarter was to be displayed in Surry. Later, one official reported that the slaves were executed so that "their fate will strike such a terror" that others would not attempt an uprising (Palmer 1968:I:129; McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:234-236, 242-243; et al. 1964:25:83).

Further Reduction in Native Status

A 1711 law required both Tributary and non-Tributary Indians who ventured into colonized areas to wear badges and three year later, a law was passed prohibiting the use of the titles "king" and "queen" in reference to Indian leaders. These changes suggest that as Virginia's Natives became increasingly acculturated and assumed a more visible but less forceful role in society, and as they declined in population and strength, they became legally susceptible to the same types of discrimination to which blacks and other ethnic minorities were subjected. Legal prohibitions against intermarriage and suffrage attest to the erosion of Native rights (McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:275, 286, 359, 365, 369, 371, 380). The displacement of Native people and the discrimination they endured has left an indelible stain upon American history.

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CHAPTER 5:

Anglo-Indian Relations in the Seventeenth Century

Stephen D. Feeley

This essay outlines relations in the seventeenth century between English settlers and the Indians of Virginia—not just the official policies that Indian and English leaders tried to dictate and enforce, but also the unofficial encounters that sometimes challenged authorities and other times escaped their notice. Attempts to govern the nature of contact had profound affects on life for both groups. Through laws and regulations, Virginia's colonial government endeavored with increasing success to decree particular behaviors among the Indians: where they could travel, trade, or hunt, what treaties they could make with other Indian groups, which weapons they could own. The often-ignored corollary to Indian relations is the behaviors that such rules forced upon settlers themselves. Because of Indians, laws regulated where settlers explored, who they could trade with for furs or food, and even how they buried their dead. Long into the seventeenth century and beyond, seemingly unrelated agricultural choices such as what crops to plant, where to settle, and who would control the government can be traced to the state of Indian affairs. In many cases, official policies ran counter to unsanctioned interactions—both peaceable and antagonistic—that continued all the time between settlers and Indians. Precisely because Anglo-Indian relations had such an all-encompassing affect on the lives of everyone in Virginia, the issue could act as a point of contention not only between Indians and settlers, but also among them.

Preludes

The Powhatans and other Virginia Indians learned about Europeans long before 1607 when 104 Englishmen splashed ashore at the site later known as Jamestown. In 1561 a Spanish vessel commanded by Antonio Valázquez wandered into the Chesapeake Bay and carried away a young chief. Later baptized as Don Luis De Velasco, the Powhatan leader received an education in Mexico, Havana, and King Phillip II's court in Spain before returning to Virginia in 1570 as translator and guide for a hopeful band of Jesuit missionaries. After discovering that European diseases had wreaked havoc on the region's population, Valasco denounced Christianity, took several wives, and led survivors among his tribe in an assault that killed the missionaries. Two years later, another Spanish ship returned to the bay, recovered the lone Spanish survivor, and killed and captured a number of Indians in revenge. For Natives like Powhatan and Opechancanough who lived through the 1560s and 1570s, these early contacts that ended in bloodshed almost certainly helped shape future attitudes towards Europeans. [1]

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[1] Frederic Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 89-97. J. Frederick Fausz, "Opechancanough: Indian Resistance Leader" in *Struggle and*

Survival in Colonial America, eds. David G. Sweet and Gary B. Nash (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981) and Carl Brindenbaugh, *Early Americans* (New York: University of Oxford Press, 1980) argue that Opechancanough and Velasco may have been the same person. I agree with Helen Rountree, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 18-19 that such a direct identification is impossible. In either case it remains likely that through such early contacts the Powhatans and their neighbors were better informed about Europeans in 1607 than is often presumed.

It is unclear how familiar these events in the Chesapeake were to Englishmen whose eyes were fixed on the shining accounts of gold, silver, and souls that the Spanish were reaping elsewhere in the New World. Lured by such wealth, between 1584 and 1587 English captains and adventurers funded by a group of well-connected gentlemen from southwestern England led by Sir Walter Raleigh attempted to create a settlement in Roanoke, "Virginia," as a base for English privateering and exploration, and as a western bastion of Protestantism. The promoters Thomas Harriot and Richard Hakluyt also argued that the colony would further new notions of mercantilism by opening markets for English goods, absorbing unemployed vagrants uprooted by the enclosure of rural lands in England, and providing new sources of raw commodities ranging from tropical dyes and silks to cordage and lumber. [2]

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[2] Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (London, 1590); E. G. R. Taylor, ed., *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* (Cambridge, England: Hakluyt Society). David B. Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke : Voyages and Colonies, 1584-1606,* (Chapel Hill : University of North Carolina Press, 1984); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Roanoke, The Abandoned Colony* (Totowa, N.J. : Rowman & Allanheld, 1984); *Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery/ American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), 6-24.

All of these were high hopes for what turned out to be a sandy spit on the Outer Banks of present-day North Carolina. The island was ill suited for English crops and treacherous shoals made re-supply difficult. Hungry settlers quickly found themselves dependent on bands of Indians who inhabited the island and nearby mainland. Despite favorable portrayals of the Indians by Thomas Harriot and remarkably humane paintings by John White, the harsh military bearing of soldiers and settlers—many of them veterans of genocidal colonizing efforts in Ireland—quickly antagonized the Indians and eliminated chances of peaceful cooperation. Further exasperating tensions, local Indians lured the colonists into ill-advised participation in local conflicts between coastal Algonquian groups and Iroquoian Mangoaks. Colonists realized with horror that wronged Indians could simply move away, take their invaluable caches of corn, and leave the English to starve. Without Indian assistance, dependence on a supply line made unreliable by the vicissitudes of war, weather, and finance left the settlers in a precarious if not hopeless position. When much-needed supply ships did not arrive, the colony and its inhabitants disappeared. Most of the "lost" settlers probably perished of starvation and disease; Mangoaks (probably Tuscaroras) may have captured some; others probably sheltered among the Chesapeake tribe—a group whom Powhatan's forces decimated on the eve of the arrival of English ships in 1607. [3]

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[3] Gleach, *Powhatan's World*, 104; Ian K. Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 39; Rountree,

Pocahontas's People, 21.

Lessons Learned?

In 1606, a group of wealthy London lawyers and merchants (supplanting Raleigh and his compatriots who had fallen out of royal favor at the accession of James I) formed the Virginia Company of London under a crown charter. By selling and raffling shares in the venture, they hoped (unsuccessfully as it turned out) to avoid the funding shortfalls that had hindered the privately sponsored Roanoke colony. Setting their sights further north, they aimed to settle within the Chesapeake Bay, whose shores were more fertile, better accessible by ship—and most intriguingly—controlled by an incredibly powerful and wealthy Indian ruler who supposedly possessed great troves of gold (actually native copper) and pearls.

On April 26, 1607 three company vessels entered the Chesapeake Bay carrying the settlers and, courtesy of their superiors in England, a sealed box of written instructions reflecting lessons from the past and ambitions for the future. The first, a "Letter of Instruction" from the king, entreated that Christianity be "preached, planted, and used" as "much as they may, amongst the salvage people," confidently assuming that once converted (by a process never specified) the Indians would subject themselves to "such sever paines and punishments as shal be inflicted" and live side by side in perfect, well-disciplined harmony with the settlers.[4] A different set of instructions, "given by way of Advice" by the Virginia Company's London Council, offered a less rosy view. Taking it for granted that "you cannot carry your Selves so towards . . . [the Indians] but they will grow discontented with your habitation," the instructions urged the settlers to "in no Case Suffer any of the natural people of the Country to inhabit between You and the Sea Coast." More mindful of the Spanish threat than advice to avoid "a low and moist place because it will prove unhealthful," they selected Jamestown peninsula, a virtual island. For the next several decades, the site's brackish and easily contaminated estuarine water supply would weaken immune systems, contributing to the deadly illnesses that stalked among the settlers. [5]

[4] "20 November 1606, Instructions for Government," in Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Jamestown Voyages Under the First Charter 1606-1609* (Cambridge, England: Hakluyt Society, 1969), 1: 43.

[5] "Instructions given by way of Advice" in Barbour, *Jamestown Voyages*, 1: 50-52.

The instructions further urged the settlers to mask weakness and give the appearance of strength. Soldiers were never to allow Indians to examine or even hold guns, lest they "run from you with your shot." To enhance the Natives' awe and fear of their muskets' killing power, the leaders could let only those settlers "Chosen out of your best Marksmen" shoot in front of the Indians. Otherwise, "if they see Your Learners miss what they aim at they will think the Weapons not so terrible and will be [boldened] to Assailt You." The Instructions also urged the settlers to hide all evidence of sickness or death, partially out of the misguided belief that all Indians considered Europeans to be gods, but more realistically to prevent the large Indian population from seeing the English in a state of weakness. Despite urging precautions, however, the heads of the Virginia Company recognized from the earlier experiences at Roanoke that the settlers could not avoid all contact with the Indians—indeed, they would depend on it. "Not being Sure how your own seed Corn will prosper the first Year," the settlers were instructed to "imploy Some few of your Company to trade with them

for Corn and other lasting Victuals." Accompanying this realization was the almost neurotic fear that the Indians would abandon the settlers. "You must have Great Care not to Offend the naturals if you Can Eschew it," cautioned the Council. [6]

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[6] "Instructions given by way of Advice" in Barbour, *Jamestown Voyages,* 1: 50-53.

The planners were right to assume that the region's Indians, many of them led by Powhatan, would be judging the strange, womanless band of newcomers. Even before the settlers reached Jamestown Island, Indians had wounded a settler and a sailor "recreating" at Cape Henry. [7] After arriving, the settlers hastily dragged tree branches into a half-moon shaped fortification. Two weeks after arriving in Jamestown, another band of Indians (probably Paspaheghs) mounted a "very furious Assault" on the English. Only fire from the ships anchored nearby drove the Indians off. After the completion of a more substantial fort of planks with three bulwarks and mounted artillery, Indians periodically rained arrows into the enclosure. [8]

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[7] George Percy, "Discourse," in Barbour, *Jamestown Voyages,* 1: 133-34; Smith, "Map of Virginia," in Barbour, *Jamestown Voyages,* 2: 379.

[8] Smith, "Map of Virginia" in Barbour, *Jamestown Voyages,* 2: 380; Archer, "A Relatyon," in Barbour, *Jamestown Voyages,* 1:95-96; Percy, "Discourse" in Barbour, *Jamestown Voyages,* 1: 142.

But even as some bands took pot shots at nervous settlers around the fort, others approached in friendship and to trade. Englishmen on expeditions up the James River led by the one-armed ship captain Christopher Newport received friendly welcomes at a number of villages and met several chiefs, including Powhatan's son, Parahunt. [9] To a certain extent the variety of responses met by the English reflected the diversity of a village world. But as subjects of Powhatan, the Indians' wide-ranging behaviors also reflected a policy of testing the newcomers' strength and ineptitude, asserting military strength, and leaving the door open for alliance and trade. [10] Additionally, Powhatan attempted to prevent the English from contacting and making an alliance with his western Monacan enemies. [11]

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[9] Gleach, *Powhatan's World,* 107.

[10] Steele, *Warpaths,* 41; Rountree, *Pocahontas's People,* 29-55. J. Frederick Fausz, "An 'Abundance of Blood Shed on Both Sides,'" *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* 98, no. 1 (January 1990): 16-17.

[11] Fausz, "Abundance of Blood Shed," 12.

The first summer, starvation and disease more than military assault, threatened to destroy the colony until Powhatan sent his people with food to trade. [12] In directing the exchange of corn, fish, and venison in exchange for iron tools, copper pots, and glass beads, Powhatan preserved authority that previously depended in part on his ability to collect and redistribute copper, poccoon [red dye], roanoke [shell beads], and other native wares. Most of all he

sought guns. These would allow him to cement his authority at home and secure his empire's borders abroad.

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[12] Edward Wingfield "Discourse," in Barbour, *Jamestown Voyages,* 1: 217; Percy "Discourse" in Barbour, *Jamestown Voyages,* 1: 144-45.

Planners of the colony had imagined that this reliance on the Indians would last only a single planting season. But in following years, settlers frequently pressured Indians for corn. In return for English goods, corn became the main currency of the Indian trade. When they could not barter for it, the colonists went to war for it, attacking villages and burning houses, to filling the holds of their small boats with the precious grain. When they could do neither, they starved. [13]

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[13] Smith, "Map of Virginia," in Barbour, *Jamestown Voyages,* 2: 437.

In dealings for food the leaders of the colony depended on John Smith, a cocky mercenary with experience in numerous European wars and a knack for seizing hostages to enforce his demands. After being captured by Powhatan's influential brother, Opechancanough, in December of 1607, a month-long captivity among the Pamunkeys gave Smith a smattering of the local Algonquian language and initiated a grudging respect between Smith and Powhatan. The Indian ruler attempted to adopt his captive as a werowance, and by extension assimilate the Jamestown settlers as a new subsidiary tribe in hopes of receiving as tribute two cannons, a grindstone, and promises of military assistance. [14] A year later the English tried to reverse this adoptive ploy by crowning Powhatan as a vassal of James I—a plan that backfired when Powhatan refused to come to Jamestown and kneel to accept a crown and cloak as symbols of his subordination. Instead, Powhatan demanded that the gifts be brought to him as tribute in his capital of Werowocomoco. [15]

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[14] John Smith, "The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles [1626]" in Barbour, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 149-52. Some doubt may be cast on the veracity of this story because Smith omitted this story in several earlier editions of his histories.

[15] John Smith, "The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia [1612]" in Barbour, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith,* 236.

By sending Smith abroad to trade, the settlement's leaders had hoped to relegate the upstart out of important affairs. But by making himself the broker between the two peoples, Smith seized control of the colony. Not forgetting the source of his own influence, he maintained a careful watch over all trade, quashing a minor revolt caused by several German glassblowers among the colonists who sought to smuggle guns to Powhatan. [16] In the winter of 1608-1609, Smith drastically reduced the rate of starvation and disease among the settlers by dispersing them to sites along the James River. But doing so antagonized Powhatans' people. Forced back to Jamestown and confined there by Indian retaliatory raids, unable to plant and ill supplied, 120 of the 220 remaining settlers died during the next winter (1609-1610)—a period infamous as the "Starving Time." [17]

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[16] John Smith, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, ed. Edward Arber (Edinburgh: J. Grant, 1910), 2: 447-67.

[17] Percy, "Trewe Relacyon," in *Virginia: Four Personal Narratives* (New York: Arno Press, 1972).

The First Anglo-Powhatan War and the Peace of Pocahontas

These events marked the beginning of the first Anglo-Powhatan War. Early victory eluded the Powhatans in June when the arrival of ships bearing new supplies, arms, and settlers narrowly prevented desperate survivors from burning the fort and abandoning the colony. [18] The ships also brought the new governor, Thomas West, the Lord De La Warr, one of a succession of militaristic leaders who replaced Smith after a wound from a gunpowder explosion forced him to return to England. De La Warre and the other acting governors during the 1610s (Thomas Gates, George Percy, and Thomas Dale) transformed Virginia into a paramilitary colony under rules that culminated in the draconian *Lawes, Divine, Morall, and Martiall* issued in 1611. Military hierarchy superseded English class structure and every colonist learned to obey commands issued by "the severall sounds of the Drumme." Non-compliance was punishable by death. [19]

[18] Steele, *Warpaths*, 43.

[19] Darrett B. Rutman, "The Virginia Company and its Military Regime," in *The Old Dominion: Essays for Thomas Perkins Abernathy*, ed. Darrett B. Rutman (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1964), 1-20; "Lawes Divine Morall and Martiall" in Peter Force, ed., *Tracts and Other Papers* (New York: Peter Smith, 1947), vol. 3.

During this first Anglo-Powhatan War between 1609 and 1614 the colonists launched expeditions against Indian towns seeking to burn houses, kill inhabitants, and seize valuable cornfields in order to feed themselves and starve the Indians. Hoping again to expand beyond the confines of Jamestown, they successfully fortified garrisons on defensible peninsulas at Henrico, Coxendale, Rochdale, and Bermuda Hundred—often the former sites of prime Indian fields and settlements. Powhatan's people wiped out an English blockhouse that guarded the approaches to Jamestown and later attempted to lay siege to the main settlement. More often they had to fall back before better-armed and better-armored English troops and hope that disease, hunger, and the occasional military victory would deplete the settlers faster than supply ships could replenish them. On both sides instances of cruelty and torture reached new levels as each group jockeyed for dominance in future relations. [20]

[20] Fausz, "Abundance of Blood Shed," 3-56; Percy, "Trewe Relacyon" in *Virginia: Four Personal Narratives.*

But brutality did not signal a wholesale shift to racial violence that precluded an end to all peaceful meetings. Indeed, the colonial government expended great energy to monitor and regulate interactions that nonetheless continued between individual Indians and settlers.

Indians frequented Jamestown selling food—until Governor Thomas Gates ordered several to be apprehended and executed as spies. Moreover, several English runaways took their chances among the Indians. When they were recaptured, Governor Thomas Dale,

in A most sever mannor cawsed [them] to be executed. Some he apointed to be hanged Some burned Some to be broken upon wheles, others to be staked and others to be shott to deathe all these extreme and crewell tortures he used and inflicted upon them to terrefy the reste for Attemptinge the Lyke. [21]

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[21] Percy, "True Relacyon," in *Virginia: Four Personal Narratives,* 280.

Not all contacts were frowned upon. Even during the darkest hours of warfare, the colonial government authorized agents to negotiate and trade with Indian groups outside of Powhatan's direct control along the eastern shore and northern Chesapeake for food and military assistance. These meetings bore fruit in the spring of 1613 when Samuel Argall cajoled Japazaws, a Patawomec werowance, to surrender an invaluable bargaining chip—Powhatan's favorite daughter, Pocahontas. In more peaceable times, Pocahontas had frequented the English settlement and cavorted and cart wheeled with the young boys. After a year of captivity living in the home of Reverend Alexander Whitaker she converted to Christianity, took the biblical name Rebecca, and married John Rolfe.

For both sides the marriage offered a face-saving way of avoiding a final, mutually destructive confrontation between the closely matched Powhatans and the English. "Ever since," reported a settler, "we have had friendly commerce and trade not only with Powhatan himselfe, but also with his subjects round about us." Even the Chickahominies, "a lustie and daring people who have long lived free from Powhatan's subjection," soon afterwards made treaties with the colony. Freed from fear of Indians and lured by the desire to plant tobacco, which became extremely profitable with the introduction of sweeter Caribbean strains and a growing European market, settlers began to come out of their forts. Large numbers of settlers, under relaxed rules allowing them for the first time to privately acquire their own farms, took little heed of official warnings not to settle "straglingly in divers places." [22] As the fortress mentality gave way to less guarded caution, English runaways caught among the Indians more often got away with a whipping, fine, or even pardon rather than torture and execution. By 1619 only servants, potentially the most rebellious segment of society, were restricted from freely trading. Debating how to treat Indians who frequently found employment "in killing of Deere, fishing, beatting of Corne and other workes," Virginia's general assembly finally decided "neither to utterly reject them nor yet to drawe them in." Although "five or six" could be admitted to "places well peopled," "lone inhabitants" were "by no meanes to entertain them"—a precaution that often went unheeded. [23] Guided by Thomas Thorpe, in 1619 the Virginia Company with the help of parish donations from England set aside 1,500 pounds to create a mission college for Indians boys near the falls at Henrico. Even though these plans went awry, this demonstrated a willingness on the part of the government to accept Indians—at least those willing to convert—into colonial society virtually unseen since the first days of settlement. [24]

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[22] Hamor, "A True Discourse," in *Virginia: Four Personal Narratives,* 11; Morgan, *American Slavery/ American Freedom,* 90; Rolf, "Virginia in 1616," in *Virginia: Four Personal Narratives,* 105; Susan Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1933), 3:104.

[23] Hamor, "A True Discourse," in *Virginia: Four Personal Narratives,* 27; Kingsbury, *Records,* 3: 74, 170-71.

[24] Kingsbury, *Records,* 3:102, 165; James Axtell, *Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 179-80.

It would be misguided, however, to accept colonists' views of these years as a golden age of Powhatan-English relations. Increased contact with English clergymen more often taught the Indians to distrust the settlers' cultural intolerance. Rapid settlement spurred by desire for prime tobacco lands reached as far as the fall line and encroached on about half of the Powhatan chiefdom's core area. Epidemics of European diseases—the first since the sixteenth century—further disrupted the population. In 1618 Powhatan died of old age, leaving authority in the hands of Opechancanough, a military leader. [25]

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[25] Rountree, *Pocahontas's People,* 61- 73. Steele, *Warpaths,* 45. Opitchapan, a decrepit, lame, and uninspiring leader, briefly preceded Opechancanough.

Uprisings in 1622 and 1644

At a pre-arranged time on the morning of March 22, 1622, Indians trading and visiting at scattered English homes and plantations along the James, York, and Appomattox Rivers drew carefully concealed weapons and attacked their hosts. By the end of the day's fighting, the Indians had killed approximately 347 of the 1,240 colonists, wiped out settlements at Martin's Hundred and Charles City, and destroyed the colony's iron works. Jamestown narrowly escaped thanks to its fortifications and the last minute warning of a christianized Indian who had befriended his English employer. The death and destruction confirmed Virginia's reputation as a deathtrap for potential settlers in England, ended the financially unstable Virginia Company, and in its stead brought direct crown rule. Locally, the resumption of warfare helped further the careers of a new cadre of councilors and war captains who ascended to and held power by feeding, protecting, and leading into battle ragged bands of refugee-settlers who sheltered within eight fortified strongholds. Wartime commissions gave the commanders "absolute power and command in all matters of warr over all the people." [26]

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[26] Morgan, *American Slavery/ American Freedom,* 98- 130. Fausz, "Merging and Emerging Worlds: Anglo-Indian Interest Groups and the Development of the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake," in Lois Carr, Philip Morgan, and Jean Russo, eds., *Colonial Chesapeake Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 53-56; Smith, *Travels,* 2: 584; Kingsbury, *Records,* 2: 375; 3: 609; 4: 37-39, 89, 186

For much of the decade commanders led raids three times a year on the Indians of the Powhatan Empire reminiscent of the "feedfights" that had characterized warfare during the first Anglo-Powhatan War. Historians such as Alden Vaughan have pointed at this period as crucial to the creation of racial hatred towards Indians in Virginia, an argument supported by the suggestions of the Company secretary, Edward Waterhouse, who urged using

bloodhounds and mastiffs to "teare them, which take this naked, tanned deformed Savages, for no other than beasts." [27] In 1623 settlers reported serving poisoned wine to two hundred or more Indian dignitaries fooled by "manye fayned" English overtures for peace. [28] Shifting away from defending isolated settlements, the Assembly implemented a plan to segregate the region by building a palisade between the James and York rivers anchored in the center by Middle Plantation (now Williamsburg) that would set off approximately 300,000 acres for the exclusive use of settlers and their livestock. [29]

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[27] Alden T. Vaughan, "Expulsion of the Salvages: English Policy and the Virginia Massacre of 1622," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d ser., 35 (1978): 57-84; Edward Waterhouse, "A Declaration of the State of the Colony" in W. Stitt Robinson, ed., *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws,* vol. 4 *Virginia Treaties, 1607-1722* (Frederick, Md: University Publications of America, 1983), 31-40 (hereafter, Robinson, *Virginia Treaties*).

[28] "Letter of Robert Bennett" in Robinson, *Virginia Treaties,* 50-51.

[29] "Governor and Council . . . Urging a Palisade" in Robinson, *Virginia Treaties,* 52-53.

Despite racialized language and deeds, the survival of the colonists during the Second Anglo-Powhatan War again depended largely upon settlers' ability to trade and make alliances with Indian groups not closely allied with Opechancanough, especially the Susquehannocks, Piscataways, and Patawomekes. After the war ended in stalemate with a fragile truce in 1632, William Claiborne and other wartime traders expanded these ties into an extensive fur trading network based on Kent Island in the Chesapeake Bay near the mouth of the Susquehanna River. In 1634 Governor Harvey angered this "interest group" of Indians, traders, and northward-looking planters by upholding the claims of the newly founded colony of Maryland (whose proprietors also sought to monopolize the Indian trade). Discontent towards this expansion policy and resentment at Harvey's indecisive, "dangerous peace" with the Powhatans that had ended the warfare critical to several councilors' rise to power, fueled a coup that ousted the governor in 1735—evidence of the hold that Indian policies had on the lives of the colonists during the uneasy peace of the 1630s. [30]

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[30] Warren M. Billings, ed., *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1689* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 251-54; Erich Isaac, "Kent Island," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 52 no. 2 (1957): 93-119; "Claiborne vs Clobery et als in the High Court of Admiralty," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 26 (1931): 381-404; Fausz, "Merging and Emerging Worlds;" J. Mills Thorton, "The Thrusting Out of Governor Harvey: A Seventeenth-Century Rebellion," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* 76, no. 1 (January 1968): 11-26; "Peace with Indians as One of the Causes of Mutiny . . . ." in Robinson, *Virginia Treaties,* 60-61.

In 1644, war again swept through Virginia. This outbreak in many ways reenacted the same grisly script as the 1622 uprising. As before, the Powhatans felt the pressures of English encroachment, this time as claims north of the York River edged westward toward the Pamunkey capital of Cinquoteck, near the confluence of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers. Revealing the rapidity with which settlers and Indians had reestablished local relations, once

again the Powhatans used the tactics of surprise: coming to the outlying English settlements under the "feigned masque of Friendship" before attacking from within. Nearly five hundred settlers lost their lives, but this represented a smaller proportion of casualties than in 1622; the attacks were mostly successful only along the outskirts of settlement. [31]

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[31] Steele, *Warpaths*, 48; Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 84-87; "A Perfect Description of Virginia" in Force, *Tracts*, 2: 11; Robert Beverley, *History and Present State of Virginia* [1705], Louis B. Wright, ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 62.

Opechancanough—by now crippled and nearly a hundred years old, but still a keen tactician—had timed the attack to take advantage of divisions among the settlers. From loose-lipped settlers and by watching English ships exchanging gunfire in the bay, the chief learned about the Civil War that raged in England and threatened to erupt in Virginia. Rather than collapsing under the pressure, however, settlers put aside their religious and political differences and joined together to mount the familiar retaliatory raids against the Indians' towns and fields. Conscious of their own internal factions, and subject to a General Assembly more dependent on settlers' votes, Virginia's government this time implemented strict laws to subdue opportunities for the rapacious exploitation of one's fellow colonists. Into the former place of over-mighty councilors stepped the recently appointed Governor William Berkeley, who by capturing Opechancanough in a surprise attack cemented his reputation as a war-hero and his grip upon the colonial government for most of the next three decades. In a twisted replay of Pocahontas's journey a generation earlier, Berkeley hoped to ship her aging kinsman to England as a "royal captive" and proof of Virginia's conquest. Before Opechancanough could suffer this final indignity, a vengeful English guard mortally shot the old leader in the back. [32]

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[32] John Winthrop, *Winthrop's Journal: A History of New England 1630-1649*, ed. James Kendall Hosmer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 167-68; "News from Virginny," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 65 (1957), 85-86; "Acts, Orders and Resolutions of the General Assembly of Virginia 1643-1646," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 23 (1915): 229-39; Hening, *Statutes*, 2: 307, 320; Beverley, *History*, 62.

After Opechancanough: The Early Tributary Period

Previous Anglo-Powhatan wars had essentially ended in armistices between equals. But in October 1646 the new Powhatan chief, Necotowance submitted to a treaty that forced the defeated werowance to pay symbolic tribute and "acknowledge . . . [that he held] his kingdome from the King's Majestie of England." The treaty's main points (along with successive addendums) would form the basis of Virginia's Indian relations for the remainder of the colonial period, laying out the theoretical justification for English authority, delineating separate territories, limiting freedom of movement, and curtailing cross-racial contacts. The overarching theme was containment of Indians and settlers into more strictly defined spheres. To this end the Virginia government assigned "Necotowance and his people" an area on the north side of the York River and to the southwest, beyond the Blackwater River. Trade was to be directed through forts at the fall line and only designated Indian messengers bearing badges or wearing special striped shirts were to cross into the restricted territory. English settlers entering Indian lands could also be judged felons. [33] On one hand these restrictions

aimed to prevent infiltrating Indians from launching yet another surprise attack. On the other hand, the laws sought to prevent unregulated English settlers and traders from debasing the value of English goods, or worse, accidentally reviving another war through "ignorance and mistake of language." [34]

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[33] This treaty attempted to simplify Virginia's Indian relations by bolstering failing Powhatan patterns of authority and viewing surrounding Indian groups under Necotowance's control—a fiction that often proved problematic, especially as Virginians expanded beyond the Powhatan core area.

[34] "Treaty of Peace with Necotowance, King of the Indians" in Robinson, *Virginia Treaties,* 67; Hening, *Statutes,* 1: 322-326; Billings, *Old Dominion,* 227; "Acts Orders and Resolutions . . . 1643- 1646," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* 23 no. 3 (July 1915), 252.

Nonetheless, these boundaries quickly proved permeable. As early as 1648 settlers along the York River faced charges that they "doe dayly Entertayne the Indians in their howses both Day and Night." [35] One of the policy's goals had been to prevent runaway servants and slaves from seeking refuge among nearby tribes. But the plan was never entirely successful. In a 1668 court case, an Indian named Norwas, "who hath entertained a run away mayd servant" was ordered held without bail until "they produce the said Mayd." [36]

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[35] Beverly Fleet, ed., *Virginia Colonial Abstracts, York County Records, 1648-1657,* vol. 26 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1961), 10.

[36] "Acts, Orders and Resolutions . . . 1643-1646," 251; Billings, *The Old Dominion,* 231.

Moreover, settlers quickly pushed beyond the boundaries established in 1646. By the late 1640s, colonists established plantations along the Rappahannock River; by the 1650s they reached the Potomac. This geographic growth was fueled by a desire for prime tobacco lands and the immigration of huge numbers of young, male indentured servants who had paid for their passage by contracting for several years of servitude. Despite a high toll taken by disease and a skewed gender ratio, populations continued to grow. In 1624 there had been 1,275 colonists; by 1634 the number was 4,914. In 1640 the population reached approximately 8,000. In the 1660s and early 1670s approximately 41,000 settlers and slaves inhabited Virginia. Policies that granted a fifty-acre "headright" for each immigrant exacerbated colonial sprawl. By comparison, the Powhatan population dropped: they numbered between 13,000 and 15,000 during the colony's first years; in the 1620s and 1630s their population was under 5,000; fewer than 3,000 remained by 1669. [37]

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[37] Gleach, *Powhatan's World,* 169, 195.

As settlers and Indians increasingly lived in close proximity to one another, the government often found itself awkwardly attempting to calm quarreling neighbors. In the face of settlements that pushed beyond and made irrelevant limits set aside by treaty, in 1650 Virginia's government began to survey parcels of land into reservations for the Indians at a

ratio of about fifty acres per adult male—a calculation that wrongly presumed the quick adoption of European agricultural patterns. [38] Despite government precautions, settlers encroached on lands; hogs and cattle trampled native crops; Indians burned forests near plantations during their hunts. Both sides squabbled over trade. On occasion the colonial government organized retaliatory raids against troublesome Indian groups. In 1654 the Assembly ordered the militias of three counties to march in a show of force against the Rappahannock Indians. [39] But often preserving the peace required intervening on behalf of Indians who became increasingly adept at petitioning the Governor's Council. In 1651 after a posse of settlers bound and beat a group Pocomokes, a Virginia court arrested and fined the fifty or so perpetrators and ordered valuable tools and roanoke beads sent to the victims. [40]

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[38] Gleach, *Powhatan's World,* 185.

[39] "Orders For a March Against the Rappahannock Indians," in Robinson, *Virginia Treaties,* 71-72.

[40] "Northampton County Records in the 17th Century," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* 5 (July 1897): 33-34; H. R. McIlWaine, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1659/60-1693* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1994), 14-15.

At such times, Governor Berkeley felt that counseling "humanity and Christianity" prevented further violence. But settlers, observed another official, "breake out into murmurings and repinings against the Governors and the Government for not following their rash humors and immediately involving the Countrey in a destructive warr." [41] In particular, those settlers on the frontier fleeing high land prices or seeking to profit from the Indian trade often felt exposed and vulnerable—an unease exacerbated by a fluctuating tobacco market and a fear that members of the government favored personal gain over public welfare. The government's tax-subsidized forts, thought many, monopolized trade, did a poor job at defense, and limited access to land. Along with the forts, the government depended on the tributary Indians as buffers against hostile tribes. In 1655 nearly a hundred Pamunkey Indians joined a colonial militia to fend off six or seven hundred "Richahecrians" (perhaps Cherokees, piedmont Siouans, or Iroquois) who appeared on the upper James. When combat began, the militia fled, leaving the Pamunkeys to bear the brunt of the casualties. [42] But rather than seeing tributaries as useful allies, many Virginia settlers feared that Indians living in their midst might collude with enemy Indians, allowing a repeat of the attacks of 1622 and 1644.

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[41] Beverly Fleet, ed. *Virginia Colonial Abstracts, Lancaster County Records, 1654-66,* vol. 1 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1961),115; Beverly Fleet, ed. *Virginia Colonial Abstracts, Charles City County Records, 1655-1666,* vol. 43 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co.,1935), 347.

[42] Hening, *Statutes,* 1: 402-03, 422-23; Gleach, *Powhatan's World,* 189-191; Rountree, *Pocahontas's People,* 93.

Bacon's Rebellion and Beyond

These tensions culminated in the series of uprisings known as Bacon's rebellion (1675-1676).

The war began near the Maryland border when squabbles over stray hogs between Virginia settlers and the small Doeg tribe escalated into murders by both sides. Retaliatory raids by the Virginia militia expanded the conflict further by accidentally provoking the Susquehannocks, a powerful tribe that had been forced south into Virginia's borderlands by the Iroquois Confederacy. Angry at the militia's unregulated behavior, Berkeley relied upon the unpopular frontier forts and pursued a diplomatic solution that distinguished between friendly and hostile tribes. However, Nathaniel Bacon, an ambitious planter in Henrico County, continued to lead vigilante posses that struck nearby allied or neutral Indians in addition to vainly pursuing elusive Susquehannocks. "Are not the Indians all of a [single] color [?]" demanded his supporters rhetorically. After Occaneechees assisted an attack against a nearby Susquehannock camp, the militia turned on and killed fifty of their erstwhile allies. His men hunted the Pamunkeys—tributaries since 1646—deep into the Dragon Swamp. When Berkeley declared his actions illegal, Bacon turned around his band of ex-servants, middling farmers, slaves, and discontented planters and sacked Jamestown, burning the capitol. Bacon's death from dysentery and the lousy disease, and the arrival of shiploads of royal troops restored order. In the aftermath of the uprising, and of the nearly simultaneous King Metacom's (Philip's) War in New England, King Charles II took steps to increase supervision of custom revenues and governance in the colonies. [43]

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[43] Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957); Charles M. Andrews, ed., *Narratives of the Insurrections, 1675-1690* (New York: Scribner, 1915); Steele, *Warpaths,* 53-58; "Indian Affairs . . . ." in Robinson, *Virginia Treaties,* 73-81; Morgan, *American Slavery/ American Freedom,* 250-270.

The reestablishment of Indian relations in Virginia was formalized in the Treaty at Middle Plantation (1677). Unlike previous treaties, this document explicitly set out to rectify:

> mutual discontents, Complaints, jealousies, and feare of English and Indians occasioned by the violent intrusions of divers English into their Lands, forcing the Indians by way of Revenge, to kill the Cattle and hoggs of the English, whereby offence, and injuries being given, and done on both sides, the peace of this his Majesties Colony hath bin much disturbed.

Recognizing the wrongful nature of the war, the treaty laid out several explicit protections of Indians' land, "persons, goods, and properties," affirmed their right to bear arms during peace, and made provisions for travel to gather oysters and wild plants. Nonetheless, Virginia's officials were not prepared to reject the military victories that Bacon's illegal troops had handed them. Therefore, the treaty clarified old provisions requiring the tributaries to provide military aid, return runaway slaves and servants, and submit themselves to English courts. Although Virginia's government half-heartedly attempted to revive the old Powhatan Empire under the authority of the Pamunkey Queen, many tribes—some of them Iroquoian groups who were never under Powhatan rule—signed separately. [44]

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[44] "Treaty at Middle Plantation . . ." in Robinson, *Virginia Treaties,* 82-87; also "Articles of Peace," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* 14 (1907): 289-96.

For the rest of the seventeenth century and much of the eighteenth century, Virginia's

officials committed themselves to a frontier policy that depended heavily upon supervision of its tributary Indians. By giving the government a say among nearby Indians in matters of trade, military affairs, settlement, and movement, Virginia's tributary policy gave the highest officials a useful back channel of authority among settlers in a region where churches, courts, prisons, and other emblems of control were few and far between. Of the colony's tributaries, William Byrd supposedly bragged, "how great [an] order they keep them." [45] Virginia's tributary Indians saw innumerable aspects of their lives scrutinized. When word of the Pamunkey Queen's death reached Jamestown, Virginia's councilors asserted their authority by sending the interpreter George Smith to inform the tribe's great men that they needed to come to the capital to have the successor confirmed. [46] If the Nottoways wanted to plant fields outside their original grants, or travel between their main town and their "Quiocosin House," they needed to pass on a petition through Nathaniel Harrison, a council member who lived nearby. [47] Differences between different tributary groups, such as when the Nansemonds complained that two of their men were kidnapped by the Pamunkeys, got settled according to European, not native courts and codes of conduct. [48]

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[45] William Saunders, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina,* 10 vols. (New York: AMS Press, 1968) 2: 251-52.

[46] H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *The Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia,* 6 vols. (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1925-1966), 1: 79. (Hereafter *EJCCV)*

[47] *EJCCV* 3:98; for another example in which the Nottoways cleared and planted outside their reservation and sought permission to hold onto the fields see *EJCCV* 3: 45.

[48] *EJCCV* 2:148.

Virginia's increased reliance on slave labor and consequent racial stratification added pressures on tributary Indians. Enslaved Africans had been in the colony since 1619, when a Dutch ship had first exchanged twenty plus Africans for food at Point Comfort. But for many decades, the small number of Africans coinciding with a heavy use of white indentured servants gave the chattel system a flexibility in both practice and its supporting legal statutes that would later disappear. Within this unformed system, some Indian servants appeared in the records as if they had indentures—albeit for longer periods than typically experienced by whites. Others appeared as slaves. In 1649, 1655, and 1658 the Assembly had to pass laws asserting that Indian children who had been hired out by their parents as servants to settlers were not slaves. The 1670s witnessed a rapid shift away from white indentured servitude and greater reliance on African slavery. Simultaneously, during Bacon's Rebellion, the enslavement of Indians captured during wartime was formally legalized. The practice continued for decades even after being outlawed in 1691. Although technically only Indians captured outside the colony's boundaries—typically from the Carolinas—could be enslaved, other laws that lumped Indians together with peoples of African descent added to the precariousness of the tributaries' position. Further confusing the situation, treaties and laws required the tributaries to help capture runaway servants and slaves—white, black, or Indian. [49]

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[49] Rountree, *Pocahontas's People,* 136-43.

If the tributaries saw their options circumscribed by a paternal government, they partially offset the costs by learning to take advantage of the system. Indian leaders whose titles were confirmed by the colonial government, perhaps festooned in one of the coronets and silver badges sent by the King of England, saw their status become much more unassailable by competitors within the tribe. [50] When William Brown petitioned to evict Indians who moved onto his land, cut the trees, disturbed his servants, and could be heard shouting late into the night, the council decided that the Indians should be allowed to use the fields for the next two years. They had to be restrained from burning Brown's fencing, but could burn trees that they had already "barked." [51] If an interpreter like Thomas Blunt seemed to be overly interested in acquiring Native lands, the Nottoways and Meherrins could "express . . . a dissatisfaction" and refuse to cooperate until another spokesperson was appointed. [52] Moreover, tributaries weakened by warfare and disease could shelter in the lee of heavily armed Virginia troops during incursions by stronger, "foreign" tribes.

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[50] *EJCCV* 1:4, 40.

[51] *EJCCV* 3:172.

[52] *EJCCV* 2: 315.

Beyond the Borders

By weakening tributaries and helping to end the monopoly of frontier forts on trade, Bacon's Rebellion eliminated bottlenecks that had slowed the passage of traders beyond Virginia's borders. The next four decades witnessed the highpoint of Virginia's southwestern deerskin and Indian slave trade into the Carolina piedmont and inner coastal plain. By the end of the century between fifty and sixty Virginia traders annually embarked on the "tradeing voyage" to the Indian nations in the Carolinas and beyond. By 1708 their numbers had perhaps reached as many as one hundred. [53] Before 1711 many of these expeditions made the Tuscaroras along the Neuse, Pamlico, and Roanoke rivers their final destination. Other times they continued further south and west to the Catawbas and Cherokees. Often these expeditions provoked disputes with competing traders from South Carolina, which was established in the 1670s. Bypassed tributary Indians occasionally found employment as guides and porters for these expeditions. More often tributaries scraped out a meager living by farming and hunting on the margins of colonial society, selling crafts locally, and laboring as hunters or hands on nearby plantations.

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[53] Merrell, *Indians' New World,* 29.

At the same time that Virginia's traders were traveling ever-greater distances beyond the colony, increasingly Virginia's government found itself dealing along its borders with powerful, independent, "foreign" Indians—chief among these were members of the Iroquois Confederacy. In the seventeenth century, the Iroquois included five nations: the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks. (After 1713 they adopted the members of the Tuscaroras, originally from near Virginia's southern border, as a sixth nation). Iroquois raiding parties marching against Catawba enemies in South Carolina frequently clashed with frontier settlers and tributary Indians in Virginia. In response to this inter-colonial problem, in 1677, 1679, and 1684 Virginia's government dispatched diplomatic missions to Albany,

New York, the seat of Anglo-Iroquois diplomacy, in conjunction with officials from New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Assuming the role of broker for the colony's settlers and tributary Indians, officials attempted to establish the Appalachian Blue Ridge and the Potomac River as a boundary between the Iroquois and Virginia—a goal not achieved with any lasting success until the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744. [54]

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[54] Robinson, *Virginia Treaties,* 268- 362; James H. Merrell, ""Their Very Bones Shall Fight": The Catawba-Iroquois Wars," in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800,* ed. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 115-133; Daniel K. Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd Ser., 40 (1983): 528-59.

Conclusion

Over the course of the seventeenth century, the Indians of Virginia—many of them former subjects of Powhatan and his kin—saw their political autonomy decline and shift into the hands of the colonial government. At the beginning of contact, however, this process was neither straightforward nor easy to predict. Initially the Powhatans attempted to assert themselves over the tenuous English settlement. For the first half of the century they wielded great influence over the young colony. During peace, settlers depended on local Indians for food and trade. But during war, settlers increasingly learned to reach further out to neutral Indian groups. Moreover, an expanding tobacco trade secured uninterrupted access to supplies and additional settlers from England—an advantage that eventually allowed colonists to move from stalemate to substantial victories. Even after the balance of power had shifted, Anglo-Indian relations remained a crucial and contentious issue capable of propelling governors and other leaders into or out of power. Bacon's Rebellion represented only the most visible example of a time-honored tactic by which aspirants used opportunities presented by the Indians to crush fellow colonists and exalt themselves. The tributary policy, created by the Treaty of 1646 and expanded after Bacon's Rebellion, further offered a potent, if often unpopular, symbol of the colonial government's ability to influence life among settlers and Indians on Virginia's frontiers. Within this system, Indians continued to carve out a space—albeit one under constant pressure from white neighbors, government officials, and "foreign" Indians. A 1697 survey of Indians who had become tributaries counted a population of less than 1,450 people. [55] As the Indian population dropped even further in the eighteenth century, the rapt attention once given to them by colonial observers shifted to discussions of the "disappearing Indian"—a myth partially perpetuated by the Indians' own skillfulness at hiding from authorities' attention. Moreover, colonists were often blind to a third race in a slave society that increasingly viewed race in terms of black and white. Perceptions aside, Indians survived in Virginia beyond the colonial era and beyond the American Revolution. Virginia Indians survive still today.

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[55] Rountree, *Pocahontas's People,* 104-05.

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CHAPTER 6:

A Brief Survey of Anglo-Indian Interactions in Virginia during the Seventeenth Century

Edward Ragan

The first century of Anglo-Indian interaction in Virginia can be understood as a prolonged period of adjustment for both the Native inhabitants and the European settlers. The dominant histories of Jamestown have long told of the challenges faced by the English in the permanent settlement of their "New World." Those histories have frequently overlooked the "New World" realities faced by Tidewater Algonquian communities. Structurally, the seventeenth century marked a dramatic declension in, but not a disappearance of, Native communities as they adjusted to the English presence. Decimated by disease, outnumbered Algonquian warriors were defeated militarily. Once beaten, tribal communities were subjugated politically under the English crown and categorized racially under Virginia law. The focus of this essay is that period of adjustment—physical and social—to English settlement.

Physical Adjustments

Whatever its source, death was the inescapable certainty of the Anglo-Indian encounter in the Chesapeake Tidewater. Old World diseases preyed upon Algonquian communities for at least the first century of English settlement. Infection, along with warfare, murder, and dispossession at the hands of English settlers caused Native populations to decline by about ninety percent across the seventeenth century. Sickness traveled to Native communities with the first English traders to begin the assault, and virgin soil epidemics, such as smallpox, influenza, measles, and tuberculosis, erased entire communities.[1] These contagions tended to hit hardest those between the ages of fifteen and forty: providers, protectors, and perpetuators of their communities. For the very young, these diseases were almost always lethal, if not from infection then from neglect by parents too ill to care for their own. To make matters worse, native treatments, while effective for pre-contact ailments, tended to make virgin soil epidemics more lethal. European disease did not respond to the Algonquian's customary sweatlodge and cold bath treatment, and Natives had no concept of quarantine for the sick.[2] It would take an entire century for Indians to incorporate the "Old World" and its dangers and almost as long for Englishmen to acclimate to the "New."

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[1]Thoms Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (London, 1590; reprint, New York: Dover, 1972), 28.

[2]Alfred Crosby, "Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal

Depopulation in America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 33 (April 1976): 292, 294-95, 296-97; James Merrell, "The Indians New World: The Catawba Experience," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 41 (October 1984): 542-46.

Newcomers to Virginia, required a "seasoning" to their new environment, and still, it was fatal for most, "not one of five escaped the first year."[3] They fell victim to a host of deadly prey: "cruell diseases, ... Swellings, Flixes, Burning fevers, ... Warres [with Indians], and some departed suddenly, but for the most part they died of meere famine."[4] Starvation, disease, and warfare threatened the immigrant daily. Unseasoned immigrants who arrived from England in the summer, when it was "very unhealthy" died "during these months, like cats and dogs, whence they call it the sickly season."[5] One way to improve the immigrants' survival was to import them during the winter when Indian corn had been harvested and was more plentiful for trade, and the cooler climate could ease non-Natives' adjustment to Virginia.

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[3]William W. Hening, ed. *The Statutes at Large, Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature*, 13 vols. (Richmond: Samuel Pleasants, Jr., 1809-23), 2:515.

[4]Alexander Brown, *Genesis of the United States* (Boston: Russell and Russell, 1890), 1:167; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Jamestown 1544-1699* (New York: Oxford, 1980), 45.

[5]David Pietersen de Vries, New-York Historical Society, *Collections*, 2d ser., 3:7, 75, 77, quoted in Bridenbaugh, *Jamestown*, 46-47.

The First Expansion of English Settlement and the First Anglo-Powhatan War

Another solution was to get as many people out of Jamestown as possible. In 1609, John Smith was still the president of the colony, and he devised a plan to extend English settlement from the falls of the James River to its mouth on the Chesapeake Bay. This was a practical solution to feed his starving colonists. The nearby Native communities at Paspahegh and at Kecoughtan refused to sell any more corn to the starving English settlers. By moving the bulk of the population out of Jamestown, Smith hoped to take advantage of Indians further away, the Nansemond who lived downriver from Jamestown and the Powhatan (the ancestral village of the paramount chief with the same name) at the falls. For Smith, this decision was also a military opportunity to gain control of the James River valley.[6]

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[6]For Smith's attempt to limit the disasterous effects of disease at Jamestown, see Carville Earle, "Environment, Mortality, and Disease in Early Virginia," in Thad W, Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society*, 96-125 (Chapel Hill: University of North Caroline Press, 1979), 107-8. For Smith's "politico-military motives," see Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Pklahoma Press, 1990),

52&n.156.

The English sought to establish new settlements along the James River even though they had not treated the Nansemond or the Powhatan any better than they had the Kecoughtan or the Paspahegh. At Nansemond, fighting broke out when Captain John Martin and his men tried to occupy by force an island where the Nansemond had a village. After repeated attacks upon Martin's men by Nansemond warriors, the English abandoned the island and fled to Kecoughtan. Later, when Martin returned to the island to search for survivors, he found the corpses of several of his men, their mouths stuffed with bread. A clear sign of the Nansemond's contempt for Englishman who asked for too much and gave too little in return.[7]

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[7]Ibid., 51-52.

At the falls of the James, the English fared little better. There, Francis West and John Smith tried to make the Indians there pay a tribute to the English in exchange for protection. "To defend him [Powhatan] against the Monacans," West insisted that the paramount chief Powhatan sell to the English the Powhatan tribal "fort and houses and all that countrie for a proportion of copper." In exchange, Powhatan's people would become tributaries of the English crown with the following conditions: "that all stealing offenders should bee sent him [to West], there to receive their punishment: that every house as a custome should pay him [West] a bushell of corne for an inch square of copper, and a proportion of Pocones as a yearly tribute to King James, for their protection as a dutie."[8] Powhatan rejected this bold offer by the English, and his warriors continued to raid the English settlement. By late fall, West gave up and returned to Jamestown.[9]

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[8]John John Smith, *A Map of Virginia* , in *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580-1631)*, vol. 1, ed. Philip Barbour, 119-289 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 270.

[9]Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 52.

By the winter of 1609/10, the English had been at Jamestown for two-and-a-half years, and still they starved. They had yet to grow crops to feed themselves, relying instead on Indians' corn. There were plenty of deer and turkey in the forests, but they did not hunt them, partially due to the Powhatan siege of James fort. Instead, they scavenged the woods for roots, nuts and berries, and they ate all manner of living animals in the fort — horses, dogs, cats, rats, mice, and snakes.[10] Some even resorted to cannibalism. One man chopped up and salted down his wife, and in another case, some settlers exhumed a dead Indian to eat of his corpse.[11] In May 1610, at the end of the "starving time," the new interim governor, Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Gates, sailed up the James River to find "three score persons [at Jamestown] therein, and those scarce able to goe [it] alone, of welnigh six hundred, not full ten months before."[12]

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[10]Smith, *Map of Virginia*, 263-64.

[11]George Percy, "A Trewe Relacyon," *Tyler's Quarterly* 3 (1912), 266-69;

Edmund Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975), 72-73; Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 53, & n.170; Earle, "Environment," 110.

[12]Ralph Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia* (London, 1615; facsimile reprint, 1957), 16; Bridenbaugh, *Jamestown,* 45; William Strachey, "A True Reportory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight," in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Postumus or Purchas His Pilgrims,* [1625], 20 vols. (New York, 1905-7), 19:69; Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Postumus or Purchas His Pilgrims,* [1613] (London, 1613), 632-33.

Gates arrived with instructions to reform the colony, but when he saw its miserable state, he decided instead to abandon Jamestown. He could hardly contain the relieved settlers whom he had to restrain from burning down the fort upon their departure. It was a good thing, too. On their second day under sail, Gates's four pinnaces encountered an English relief convoy loaded with supplies, 300 soldiers, and a new governor, Thomas West, Lord de la Warr. Gates' rag-tag convoy reversed its course and returned to Jamestown. Together, Gates and de la Warr set about to reform the colony and defeat the Indians who constantly harassed the settlers along the James River.[13]

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[13]Percy, "Trewe Relation," 269; Richard Morton, *Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), 26-27; Michael Leroy Oberg, *Dominion and Civility: English Imperialism & Native America, 1585-1685* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 60-61; Rountree, *Pocahontas's People,* 54.

Gates's reforms also included a shift in Indian policy.[14] The Virginia Company instructed Gates to convert the Algonquians of Tsenacomoco (Powhatan's territory) to tributaries of the English crown. This process involved English sovereignty in the land, the education of Indian children as a means to break the "superstitious" influence of Native priests, and conversion to the English mercantile economy.[15] The first component of this plan involved gaining title to Indian land; the remainder were cultural objectives that sought to remake the Powhatans socially and economically.

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[14]Wesley Craven, "Indian Policy in Early Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d ser., 1 (January 1944): 65-82. For Sir Thomas Gates's instructions (1609) on reducing Indians to tributary status, see Susan M. Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company*, 4 vols. (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1906-35), 3:12-24.

[15]Helen Rountree, "The Powhatans and the English: A Case of Multiple Conflicting Agendas," in *Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500-1722*, ed., Helen Rountree (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 188.

In reality, the plan was ambitious and the settlers at Jamestown, who struggled for survival themselves, could do little to entice Indians to join them. In the "necessity" that "Civil peace" could not be restored through conversion, the Virginia Company pronounced to Gates that it was "not crueltie nor [a] breach of Charity to deale more sharpely with them and to

p[ro]ceede even to dache with these murtherers of Soules and sacrificers of gods images to the Divill."[16] Throughout, the English failed to realize that Indians who were dispossessed of their land would be militant against Christianity, English social customs, and English presence in Tsenacomoco.[17] These conflicting goals are apparent in English attitudes about how the Indians ought to be treated as humans and converts to English civilization. The Virginia Company gave the Virginia executive full "discrecion" as to which option he would choose to convert Indians.[18]

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[16]Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company,* 3:14-15.

[17]Rountree, *Pocahontas's People,* 54, 68-69.

[18]Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company,* 3:14-15.

Late in summer of 1610, as the corn that would feed the Englishmen that fall ripened in the fields of Kecoughtan, Paspahegh, and Chickahominy, Gates and de la Warr made their decision. They ordered attacks on these towns to encourage Powhatan's submission to the English crown and church.[19] In August, Gates sailed down the James River to Kecoughtan where he ordered his musician "to play and dawnse thereby to Allure the Indyans to come unto him." When the Kecoughtan heard the music and came down to the river's edge, Gates's men "fell in upon them put fyve to the sworde wownded many others some of them being fownde in the woods wth Sutche extreordinary Lardge and mortall wownds that itt seamed strange they Cold flye so far." The rest of the Kecoughtan scattered. Their abandoned town became English property.[20]

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[19]Frederick J. Fausz, "An 'Abundance of Blood Shed on Both Sides': England's First Indian War, 1609-1614," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* 98 (1990): 3-56.

[20]Percy, "Trewe Relacyon," 270; Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 54-55.

Meanwhile, De la Warr had been negotiating with Powhatan about runaway English servants. De la Warr did not like that Powhatan's acted so "prowde and disdaynefull," so De la Warr sent George Percy and Captain James Davis to attack the two tribes closest to Jamestown, the Paspahegh and the Chickahominy. Percy went to Paspahegh, where his men burned the Paspahegh's entire town, cut down their nearly ripe corn, killed fifteen townspeople, and captured the *weroansqua* and her children. As Percy left Paspahegh, his men grumbled that he had spared "the quene and her Children," so Percy threw the children overboard into the James River, "shooteinge owtt their Braynes in the water." Meanwhile, Captain Davis burned a Chickahominy town and its corn fields. When Percy and Davis returned to Jamestown, De la Warr was angry that Percy allowed the Paspahegh *weroansqua* to live. De la Warr wanted to burn her alive, but Percy had "seene so mutche Bloodshedd that day," that he requested she instead be taken into the woods and stabbed, which she was. The Paspahegh did not recover. Their survivors left to join chiefdoms nearby. As at Kecoughtan, the English now claimed Paspahegh.[21]

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[21]Percy, "A Trewe Relacyon," 271-73; Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 55;

Oberg, *Dominion and Civility*, 62-63.

It seems irrational that the settlers at Jamestown, who could not and would not feed themselves, went so far out of their way to kill Indians who willingly grew corn for the English. The winter of 1610 was not as harsh as the year before, but the English still had to rely on Indian corn to survive. De la Warr continued to prosecute his war up the James River against Algonquian communities until his health—he suffered from dysentery, gout, and scurvy—forced his retreat, first to Jamestown, and then, in March 1610/11, to England.[22]

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[22]Ibid.

In May, 1611, the colony's new governor, Sir Thomas Dale, arrived at Jamestown with 300 soldiers to find that no corn had been planted that year and that the people were at "their daily and usuall workes, bowling in the streets."[23] Dale set about to repair Jamestown, reform the colony, and defeat Powhatan. Under martial law, Dale forced the settlers to grow and stockpile corn. When Indians attacked the English, Sir Thomas Dale ordered that "by divers and sundry executions, in killing, cutting downe, and takeinge away their corne, burning their houses, and spoiling weares, etc."[24] After three years of attacks and counterattacks by both Indian and Englishman, a truce was reached when Powhatan's daughter Pocahontas married the English tobacco entrepreneur, John Rolfe.[25]

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[23]Ralph Hamor, *True Discourse*, 26.

[24]Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company*, 3:270.

[25]Rountree, *Pocahontas's People, 59-64.*

Improved relations lessened the fear of attacks at Jamestown and at Indian villages along the James River. Most settlers moved away from Jamestown to abandoned Indian towns upriver.[26] This relocation helped Englishmen to escape the disease and infestation that remained at Jamestown, but it placed a new pressure on Native communities that suddenly had to turn to the English for food. In 1615, John Rolfe noted that the Indians harvest was so poor that "som of their petty Kings have borrowed this last yeare, 4. or 500, bushelles of wheat [corne], for payment whereof this harvest, they have mortgaged their whole Countries."[27] This began the process whereby Indians traded their homelands for corn and goods that increasingly became necessary for their survival.

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[26]Earle, "Environment," 112; Morgan, *American Slavery*, 82.

[27]John Rolfe, *A True Relation of the State of Virginia Lefte by Sir Thomas Dale Knight in May Last 1616* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1971), 6.

The Tobacco Boom and the Second Anglo-Powhatan War

The Englishmen's survival in Virginia seemed more certain by 1615. John Rolfe had just sent his first sample of tobacco to London. It was the first marketable commodity produced in Virginia so far, and immediately, the colonists set to planting tobacco wherever they could find cleared land. To assist, the Virginia Company approved a plan to provide planters with fifty acre grants of land for every immigrant they transported into the colony.

From the outset of Virginia's land grant program there was fraud and scandal that threatened to upset the slender margin by which the colony survived. There were no surveyors in the colony at this time, so most of the patents were inaccurate. Another problem was the tendency for the grantee to add zeros to his grant to increase his share. One claim, for example, was made by a Captain Martin for five hundred, not fifty, acres per share. Martin's claim was contested for years to come. The combined effect of liberal land grants and a tobacco boom placed a new burden on Indian lands where ambitious men could write their own ticket. By 1618, as tobacco prices soared, the English coveted Indians' land more than ever.[28]

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[28]Wesley Frank Craven (*The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* [Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949]) notes that due to incomplete records, much of Virginia's early land policy must be reconstructed from later action, (121, 122-130); idem., *Dissolution of the Virgnia Company* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1932), 88.

At the same time, the situation worsened for the Algonquian communities along the lower peninsula. An epidemic hit Virginia in the summer of 1617. Samuel Argall wrote that "a great mortality among us, far greater among the Indians and a morrain [plague] amongst the deer" as well. All life suffered in the Chesapeake that year. The "Indians [were] so poor [they] cant pay their debts & tribute."[29] Argall had just arrived as the colony's new governor to discover that most settlers had abandoned their corn fields that flourished under Dale's martial law. Now, they planted the poisonous, profitable sot-weed tobacco instead of life-sustaining corn. Consequently, the English were set to starve come winter.

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[29]Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company,* 3:92.

The next year was no better. In 1618, there was a severe drought that burnt most of the corn. What little corn survived was then battered by a hailstorm before it ripened. Indian and Englishman alike were in danger of starvation. The bad weather had delayed the relief ship from England until August, but even that ship brought little relief as another epidemic swept Virginia the following year.[30]

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[30]John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles, 1624* . In *The Complete Works of John Smith (1580-1631)*, vol. 2, ed. Philip L. Barbour, 25-488 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 263; Rountree, *Pocahontas's People* ; Morgan, *American Slavery* .

Amid these near continuous waves of disease and drought, the Virginia Company devised a new plan to sustain its colony, to feed its starved population, and gain firm control of the James River valley. In their "Instructions to Governor Yeardly," dated November 18, 1618,

the Company laid the foundation for a more stable colony.[31] First, it clarified the colony's land policy. Immigrants who paid for their own passage received a fifty acre grant as a headright upon arrival in Virginia. If they paid for others' passage, then grantees could claim those headrights as well. The headright became the essential element of colonial Virginia's land policy. The promise of fifty acres and the opportunity to possess more stimulated ambitious immigrants to Virginia and pushed settlement farther and farther West, to the fall line of the Chesapeake Tidewater and beyond.[32]

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[31]Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company,* 3:98-109.

[32]Craven, *Dissolution* 87-89; Morgan, *American Slavery,* 97-98; Oberg, *Dominion and Civility,* 68-69.

The Company also established a new government to administer its envisioned expansion. They created a representative government to be centered at Jamestown that consisted of "the Governor, the Counsell of Estate, and two Burgesses elected out of eache Incorporation, & ['Particular'] Plantation."[33] Four boroughs were created along the James River to establish representation and to concentrate settlement for trade and defense. From the falls of the James River to its mouth, the boroughs were Henrico, Charles City, James City, and Kecoughtan (renamed Elizabeth City).[34] Each borough sent two burgesses to the assembly. The "particular plantations"—"Capt. *John Martins* Plantn," *"Smythes Hundred," "Martins Hundred," "Argalls guisse," "Flower dieu Hundred,"* Captaines *Lawnes* Plantation," and "Captain Wardes Plantation"—also sent two burgesses each.[35] These plantations were the largest in the colony. For example, Smith's Hundred included over 80,000 acres along the James River. It was organized in 1617 by Virginia Company adventurers Sir Thomas Smith and Edward Sandys, the Earl of Southampton.[36]

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[33]H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia*, 13 vols. (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1905-1915), 1:7, 10.

[34]It should be noted that these boroughs did not function as county organizations in any independent administrative sense.

[35]McIlwaine, *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, 1:7.

[36]Craven, *Southern Colonies,* 122-29.

When the Virginia Assembly convened in July 1619, one of its first objectives was to encourage "some of the better disposed of the Indians to converse wth our people & to live & labor among them." The assembly instructed planters to employ Indians "in killing of Deere, Fishing, beatting Corne, & other workes" that reflected traditional roles performed by Algonquian men and women in their Native communities. The assembly encouraged Indians to move into the English settlements, although the assembly advised planters that Indians should be housed "apart by themselves, and lone inhabitants by no meanes to entertaine them" and "that a good guard in the night be kept upon them for generally (though some amongst many may proove good) they are a most trecherous people."[37] Thus, the central disjunction between Anglo and Indian communities was set. The Virginia Company in London and the new colonial assembly at Jamestown wanted to depend on Indians' labor to

feed and support the colony, and it also wanted to segregate Indians from English society to avoid the indiscriminate killing of each by the other.

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[37]McIlwaine, *Journal of the House of Burgesses,* 1:9-10.

Reverend George Thorpe, who was sent to Virginia by the London Company in 1620, maintained that Indians were human beings worthy of being brought into English society.[38] Most, in the colonies and in London, remained generally ambivalent about how to deal with the Natives.

> We pray you also to have especial care that no injurie or oppression be wrought by the English against any of the natives of that country, whereby the present peace may be disturbed and ancient quarrels (now buried) might be revived. Provided nevertheless that the honor of our nation and safety of our people be still preserved and all manner of insolence committed by the natives be severely and sharply punished.[39]

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[38]Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company,* 2:94-95; 3:469, 487; Helen Rountree, "The Powhatans and the English," 188-89.

[39]Thorpe quoted in ibid..

On the ground, settlers had little use for Indians, and the idea that "the only good Indian was a dead Indian" became a reality. Thorpe summarized the real attitude of Virginians when he said, "There is scarce any man amongst us that doth soe much affoord them a good thought in his hart and most men with theire mouthes give them nothinge but maledictions and better execrations."[40] Thorpe was a specific target of the Indians due to his efforts to Christianize their children. In this instance, Thorpe vocalized the frustration of trying to effect Indian policy in the face of conflicting ideologies.

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[40]Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company,* 3:346; Christian F. Feest, "Seventeenth Century Algonquian Population Estimates," *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 28:66-79; Rountree, *Powhatan Indians,* 15.

In this setting, Tidewater Algonquians felt little need to acquiesce to English demands. They did not send their children to live among the English, and likewise, Native peoples successfully resisted English culture. But the English appropriated Indian land, and they segregated Indians from white settlement. From the Indians' perspective, the English had been bad neighbors. In response, on March 22, 1622, Opechancanough led a surprise attack to slow the spread of English settlement up the James River valley and to remind the English of their dependence on the Natives. The Pamunkey war chief and his bowmen struck the English colony and killed 347 colonists of the colony's roughly 1,200 residents.

In response to the attack on English settlement, the English declared "perpetual enmity" against Indians.[41] The colonial militia launched annual attacks and seized Indian corn. In fact, for the rest of the 1620s, the colony survived on seized Indian corn. In 1632, a severe drought

left little corn for the English to confiscate, and it probably helped end the second Anglo-Powhatan war.[42] When peace and rain returned, settlers focused their agricultural endeavors, once again, on their precious tobacco.

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[41]H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1622-1632, 1670-1676* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1924), 184-85; Hening, *Statutes*, 1:140, 141, 153; Craven, "Indian Policy," 73.

[42]Martha W. McCartney, "Seventeenth Century Apartheid: The Suppression and Containment of Indians in Tidewater Virginia," *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology,* 1 (1985):56.

To protect the colonists's dispersed plantations and their undefended fields from future Indian attacks, Harvey extended a line of English settlement across the lower peninsula. In 1632, the Assembly offered fifty acres to any man who would settled along this defensive line. When completed in 1633, a six mile palisade stretched from the James River to the York River and enclosed the lower peninsula. This "pale" formalized a pattern of Indian segregation from white settlement that would become a hallmark of the Virginia frontier.[43]

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[43]Hening, *Statutes of Virginia,* 1:139-40, 199, 208; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 8 (1900):157-58; Craven, "Indian Policy," 74; Oberg, *Dominion and Civility*, 177-79. Williamsburg, at this time, marked the half-way point between the two rivers, hence its name, Middle Plantation.

For as long as the English had been in Virginia, the Natives had dominated the power relationship. In 1608, Captain John Smith counted 2,400 Powhatan warriors, or 13,000-15,000 total inhabitants. By 1624, the Algonquian population may have declined to as low as 5,000.[44] Likewise, from December 1606, when the first ships departed England, to February 1624, 6,040 out of 7,289, or six out seven, immigrants to Virginia had died. Between 1621 and 1623 alone, the Virginia Company estimated that over 2,500 colonists' had died from scarcity and disease, while fewer than 350 had been killed in the Opechancanough's attack in 1622.[45] The peace of 1633 helped the English to recover their health and their numbers. However, peace did not stop the spread of infectious diseases and noxious Englishmen into Native communities.

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[44]Rountree (*Pocahontas's People*) estimates the number of Powhatans in 1624 at 5,000, (78-79). Clearly the first two decades of English settlement devastated Indian populations.

[45]Bridenbaugh, *Jamestown*, 48-49. John Camden Hotten, *The Original List of Persons of Quality ... and Others Who Went from Great Britain to the American Plantation, 1600-1700* (London, 1874), 201-65; Wesley Craven, *Red, White, and Black: The Seventeenth-Century Virginian* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1971), 3.

The Third Wave: English Settlement and Anglo-Indian War

The Virginia colony had been at peace with the Powhatan chiefdom since 1633. Sir John Harvey, the governor and captain general of Virginia who crafted the delicate peace, understood the need to expand the Virginia frontier and secure it from those Natives whose homes the Virginians had destroyed. In this mix of frontier expansion and defense, divisions arose between provincial authority and local government. At the top, the governor sat as the crown's representative. The colony's leading men were the governor's council. They were principals in the administrative, political, and financial success of the colony. Beneath them was the House of Burgesses, a body of leading men elected by the freeholders of the colony. The burgesses came from the counties most influential families, and they confirmed the governor's appointees to the local courts. The county court system was designed "to do justice in the redressing of all small and petty matters."[46]

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[46]"A Brief Description, etc.," *Colonial Records of Virginia*, (State Senate Doct. Extra, 1874), 81, quoted in Philip A. Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910), 1:485.

In 1634, in response to rapid population growth and territorial expansion, Governor Sir John Harvey expanded the local court system to provide additional local administrative and political authority. He created eight counties along the lower peninsula (between the York and James rivers) and south of the James River.[47] Harvey designated the region between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers as the Chicacoan district. Harvey hoped to keep the district free of English settlers and avoid another Indian uprising like the one that devastated the James in 1622. For the next fifty years, the county government influenced the local planter more immediately than did the provincial government at Jamestown.[48] This frequently pitted the governor against the county courts, where the Burgesses mediated. Yet the governor was so opposed by the councilors, who, in 1635, "thrust out" Governor Harvey because his conservative, orderly vision of expansion did not correspond to the territorial aggrandizement expected by leading and powerful councilmen, burgesses, and local landowners.[49]

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[47]Hening, *Statutes*, 1:223; Craven, *Southern Colonies*, 169. East from the falls of the James River, the counties were Henrico, Charles City, James City, Warwick River, Charles River (York), Warrosquyoake, and Elizabeth City. The eighth county, Accomac, was on the Eastern Shore.

[48]Warren M. Billings, "The Causes of Bacon's Rebellion: Some Suggestions," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 78 (October 1970), 411; Oberg, *Dominion and Civility*, 187.

[49]For Harvey's "thrusting-out," see J. Mills Thorton, III, "The Thrusting-Out of Governor Harvey: A Seventeenth Century Rebellion," *VMHB* 76 (1968); Oberg, *Dominion and Civility*, 176-79. For a thorough discussion of Virginia's governmental structure in the seventeenth century, see Bruce, *Institutional History*, 1: 463-646 (County Courts); 2: 374-390 (Council), 403-521 (House of Burgesses). Craven, *Southern Colonies* .

Sir Francis Wyatt returned as interim governor, on January 12, 1640/1. His return signaled a renewed expansion of English plantations as the Grand Assembly of Virginia voted to open the Rappahannock River for settlement the following year.[50] The assembly set the entry price high enough to prevent excessive settlement. Each patentee had to purchase at least 200 headrights with at least six "able tithable persons in every family that there sit down."[51] At fifty acres per headright, each patentee would be required to seat 10,000 acres, and before that could be done, the patentee had to demonstrate that he had entered into a formal "Compound with the Native Indians whereby they [both Indian and Englishman] may live more securely."[52] By 1642, when the measure took effect, Sir William Berkeley, Virginia's new governor and captain-general, had arrived. At the June assembly, Berkeley tried to undo this act entirely. He failed outright to stop new patents but succeeded to keep unseated those new patents in the Rappahannock valley. The assembly reserved that "it should and might be lawfull for all persons to assume grants for land there [north of the Rappahannock River]," provided that the land be seated only with the assembly's approval. To encourage rampant speculation on the Rappahannock River, the assembly allowed that, unlike the rest of the colony, patents along the Rappahannock could be made "without exact survey."[53]

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[50]*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 9:53.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Hening, *Statutes*, 1:274, marks the re-enactment of the legislation in March 1642/43.

Within two months, John Carter made the first land patents along the Rappahannock River. On August 15, 1642, Carter patented 1,300 acres near the mouth of the Rappahannock River along its north bank near its junction with the Corrotoman River. Carter was a burgess from Upper Norfolk County who lived on the Nansemond River south of the James River.[54] On November 4, 1642, his Nansemond neighbors, councilman Richard Bennett, William Durand, and Captain Daniel Gookin patented a 4,200 acres, thirty-five miles up the Rappahannock River.[55] The Bennett and Durand patents were on the south side of the river. Durand's patent included the Indian town Neincoucs, which was perhaps a former Opiscopank town. Gookin's patent was on the north side, directly across river from Bennett and Durand and very near the Moraughtacund capital town on Morratico Creek.[56] None of these patents were seated, but each patentee anticipated that the Indians would soon abandon their towns as they had done on the lower peninsula and south of the James. The English coveted Indian towns the most because abandoned villages meant cleared home sites for English settlement, open fields for English crops, and clear paths to the next Indian town.

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[54]Nell Marion Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia's Land Patents* 4 vols. (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1934-1979), 1:132.

[55]Ibid., 1:138-39. Bennett patented 2,000 acres, Durand patented 800, and Gookin patented 1,400.

[56]Thomas Warner, *History of Old Rappahannock County Virginia 1656-1692*

(Tappahannock: printed privately, 1965), 14. The Bennett-Durand property line later became the boundary between Old Rappahannock (1656) and Middlesex Counties (1669).

Continued tension between Indian and Englishmen in the lower Tidewater caused Opechancanough, in 1644, to lead a second attack to check English expansion up the lower peninsula, beyond the Middle Plantation line.[57] Opechancanough's confederates killed nearly 400 colonists. The Virginians struck back against all Indians for they assumed that all were guilty. In June 1644, the Council began to plan their northern neck campaign against the Indians. Without real consideration that the tribes there may not have joined in Opechancanough's attack, the Council voiced strong support for action, except for councilor William Claiborne, whose "opinion [was] different from others in relation to the propriety of War upon the indians between the Rappahannock and Potomac."[58] The pitch for revenge was so great that Claiborne's dissent was noted only in passing. The Council went ahead with their war plans, and on September 3, 1644, voted to attack the Rappahannock's corn.[59] No record exists of the attack, and it is likely that Claiborne's "opinion" gained favor over the winter as the Council realized the advantage it could gain by cultivating good relations with Algonquian communities along the Rappahannock River while making war plans against Opechancanough.

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[57]Oberg, *Dominion and Civility,* 180-81; Frederic W. Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Culture* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 73-84.

[58]McIlwaine, *Minutes of the Council and General Court*, 501.

[59]Ibid., 502.

Accordingly, on February 26, 1644/5, as the Council prepared for another march against Pamunkey, it also sought "the service of some Indians either of Achomack [eastern shore] or Rappahannock [to] be treated with and entertained for further discovery of the enemie."[60] To secure a Rappahannock alliance, the Council commissioned Captain Claiborne to "treat with the Rappahannocks or any other Indians not in amity with Opechancanough, concerning serving the county against the Pamunkeys"[61] Guided by these Native scouts for the next two years, the English struck with a vengeance at the heart of the Pamunkey's Algonquian alliance. They attacked the Powhatan towns, seized their crops, burned their towns, and dislodged them from the James and York river valleys. The defeated Powhatan chiefdom concluded a general peace with Virginia and its governor, Sir William Berkeley.[62] The defeat of this paramount chiefdom meant the degradation of all Virginia's Native people.

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[60]Hening, *Statutes,* 1:293. This is a clear indication that the Rappahannock were not part of Opechancanough's paramount chiefdom and did not take part in the uprising.

[61]McIlwaine, *Minutes of the Council and General Court*, 563.

[62]Hening, *Statutes,* 1:323-26.

In 1646, the Englishmen in Virginia succeeded in their four-decade effort to reduce the Algonquian chiefdoms of Tsenacomoco to tributary status.[63] The articles of peace dated October 5, 1646, asserted English rights of conquest over all Virginia Indians.[64] Defeated, the paramount chief, Necotowance, now held his dominions as a vassal of the English king. He acknowledged the sovereignty of the English crown and agreed to pay an annual tribute of twenty beaver skins.[65] While not a substantial tribute, it was an annual recognition of the crown's dominion, and it was an annual reminder of the responsibilities and rights that tributary status conveyed. Among the responsibilities, the tributaries were required to gain English approval for tribal leaders. More importantly, all Indians were required to vacate the region between the James and York Rivers from Kecoughtan (the tip of the lower peninsula, or, modern day Hampton, Virginia) northwest to the fall line.[66]

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[63]The Indians in Virginia were called "tributaries" after they were defeated militarily and required by English law to pay an annual tribute to the crown

[64]Rountree (*Pocahontas's People*, especially Chapter Five, "A Declining Minority," 89-127) asserts that 1646 marks the beginning of Powhatan decline. For Virginia Indian policy through 1662, see Craven, "Indian Policy," 65-82. For the legal status of Virginia Indians, see W. Stitt Robinson, "The Legal Status of the Indians in Colonial Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 61 (July 1953):247-59. Robinson traces three classes of Indians—tributary, foreign, and individuals living as freemen in the colony without tribal ties—for Virginia's entire colonial period. A subsequent article by Robinson ("Tributary Indians in Colonial Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 67 [January 1959]:49-64) examines tributaries exclusively but concludes that the "mutual benefit evident in the tributary system in Virginia modifies, if it does not refute completely, the glib generalization—in which even scholars occasionally indulge—that for the English the only good Indian was a dead Indian," (64).

[65]Later tributary treaties changed the specific tribute due—animal pelts, arrows, fish, deer, and fowl—but importantly, a tribute is still paid to the governor every Thanksgiving.

[66]Hening, *Statutes,* 1:323-24.

The English were now the sole occupants of the lower peninsula. No Indian could "repaire to or make any abode upon the said tract of land, upon paine of death, and that it shall be lawfull for any person to kill any such Indian,"[67] Points of entry were established at Fort Royall (for the north side—Pamunkey River) and Fort Henry (for the south side—Appomattox River), and Indian messengers had to obtain a permit and a striped coat, which verified the authority of the permit, to travel within this region. In effect, only authorized Indians could enter the area of English settlement. This treaty expanded the cultural and legal segregation of Indian from English, which contradicted the Anglo-Virginians stated desires to remake Indians as Englishmen.

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[67]Ibid.

Necotowance was to encourage the Indians to send their children, "not above twelve yeares

old," to live with the English.[68] Tributary children, especially, were desired as servants. This demonstrates the extent to which the English would go to obtain free labor. By assimilating the children and keeping captive Indians as slaves, Virginians hoped to break traditional Algonquian social influences—of family and religion—and thus, remake Indians in English ways.[69]

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[68]Ibid., 326.

[69]For the earliest plan to convert Indians, see "Instructions Orders and Constitucons to Sr Thomas Gates Knight Governor of Virginia, May 1609," Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company,* 3:14-16.

Of course these responsibilities were not without rights. The tributaries were guaranteed military support against their enemies, and it is in this sense that this relationship is viewed as an alliance. The proximity between white and Indian settlement meant that it was in the colony's interests to defend the tributaries from attacks by "foreign" Indians. The principal right given to the tributaries was the freedom to inhabit the north side of the York River without interference from the English, excepting those parts that were already settled, from Poropatanke downward, or, the southern tip of the middle peninsula, that is, Gloucester County. The 1646 treaty outlined the pattern of expanding white settlement and demonstrated English desires to ensure that settlement continue in a peaceable manner. Given peace with the Algonquians, immigration to Virginia increased, the English population grew, and the 1646 treaty facilitated settlement among tributary Indians.[70]

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[70]The best account of this demographic shift is Morgan, *American Slavery*, 133-57. For greater use of quantitative data, see Richard S. Dunn, "Servants and Slaves: The Recruitment and Employment of Labor," in *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era,* 157-94, eds., Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984). Craven, "Indian Policy," 76-77.

Indians were left to inhabit lands north of the York River, where the English were prohibited from going except to recover their property (i.e, runaway servants). The treaty with Necotowance was Act I of the 1646 legislative session. Act VI, presumably passed not too much later—hours or days—opened settlement north of the York River.[71] Certainly this raises questions as to the Assembly's sincerity in protecting Indian's land. The Assembly's efforts were never intended to defend Indians for long against ambitious settlers. Thus, the pattern was confirmed. Military defeat gave way to greater expropriation of Indian land by Virginians who were not content to remain south of the York River, or for that matter, south of the Rappahannock River.[72]

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[71]Hening, *Statutes,* 1:323-26, 329; Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 87.

[72]Despite continued English encroachment north, there was relatively little movement west. This is due to at least two factors. First, the Indians that lived west of the fall line were notably more hostile. Their warring ability explains, in part, why Powhatan had not extended his empire beyond the fall line. The

English had yet to secure all of Tidewater Virginia. By contrast, northern expansion was facilitated by numerous rivers and creeks.

Shortly after the York River was opened for settlement, the rich farmland there was patented. In every instance, the protection of Indian land was subsumed to white demands for land. Plantations were established in the Rappahannock and Potomac basins, which were still legally off-limits to Englishmen. Eager to gain huge tracts of riverside land, rapacious Virginians paid little attention to the law. In an attempt to reduce the hostility between Indians and Englishmen, the Virginia Assembly was forced to protect Native rights to their land. In 1652, the Assembly passed an act stating that there would "be no grants of land to any Englishman whatsoever *de futuro* until the Indians be first served with the proportion of fiftie acres of land for each bowman."[73] The measure demonstrates the attempt by provincial authorities to codify and regulate Indian land rights. At the same time, that codification was defined in English terms: fifty acres was the headright received by importers for each indentured servant that entered the colony.[74] By apportioning land at the same rate for Indians and Englishmen, the Assembly created an "Indian headright" and actuated a plan to remake the tributary Indians as subsistence farmers. Thus, control of land and the drastic reduction of Indian territory became a primary means through which Indian identity was altered.

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[73]For successive patents see Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers,* 1:324,353, 362, 407, 457, 505. For legislation that guaranteed fifty acres for each bowman see Hening, ed., *Statutes of Virginia,* 1:382, 456-7.

[74]Anyone who settled in Virginia received a headright of fifty acres. In the case of indentured servants, that headright was conveyed to the person who funded their passage. See Kingsbury, ed., *Records of the Virginia Company,* 3:100-1, 107; Morgan, *American Slavery,* 94. For the 1660 to 1705 period, see ibid., 328-37. Morgan lays out the legal status of Virginia Indians to illustrate their role in Virginia's labor system as servants and slaves. My interpretation differs from Morgan, in that, I connect the legal status of Indians to English efforts to create a biracial society.

An Act for Civilizing Indians

On March 10, 1655/6 the Virginia Council passed another plan for civilizing Indians. A central component of this act was the introduction of Indian severalty, or separate property, to the tributaries. First, to combat the wolves that threatened settlers and livestock alike, the Assembly granted to the tributaries one cow for every eight wolf heads delivered to county officials. It was asserted that "this will be a step to civilizing them and making them Christians."[75] The connection between cattle and Christianity is clear in that animal husbandry was a component of settled agriculture, which (by English standards) was necessary for both Christianity and civilization to take root.[76] Implicit here were metropolitan desires to reconstruct the Algonquian economy along English lines.

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[75]The following year (March 1657/8), the colony-funded wolves for cows plan was scrapped in favor of a county-funded wolves for tobacco plan. See Hening, ed., *Statutes of Virginia,* 1:456.

[76]Nicholas Canny, "Ideology of American Colonization: From Ireland to America," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd. ser., 30 (October 1973): 585-6.

While colonial officials were content to influence adult Indians through economic means, they sought to remove Indian children from their native environment and educate them as Englishmen. The second part of this plan restated the education policy laid out by the provisions of 1646 tributary treaty. The Assembly maintained that if "the Indians shall bring in any children as gages of their good and quiet intentions to us and amity with us, then the parents of such children shall choose the person to whom the care of such children shall be intrusted and the country by us their representatives do engage that we will not use them as slaves, but do their best to bring them up in Christianity, civility and the knowledge of necessary trades."[77] In effect, these children were hostages ("gages of their good and quiet intentions") designed to ensure the tributaries good behavior. The daily reality was that children were servants, a source of labor.

[77]Hening, ed., *Statutes of Virginia,* 1:396. This measure was written into 1646 treaty and had been restated in March 1654/5, see ibid., 410.

The Protection of Indian Lands

Concurrently, the colonial legislature enacted measures to ensure some form of protection for Indians against unscrupulous land deals. All sales of Indian land had to be approved by the Assembly.[78] This measure did little else than ease the tensions of the present situation. It did nothing to address English land practices, and by 1658, the Assembly had to reaffirm the 1652 provision guaranteeing fifty acres for each bowmen.[79] This guarantee of land—a *de facto* reservation—while formally acknowledged by the Council, did not last for long. English encroachment continued despite repeated rulings to secure Indian land rights.

[78]Ibid., 396.

[79]Ibid., 456-7.

Anglo-Virginians never doubted the eventual demise of Indian land titles, and they believed that fair legislation both ensured the peaceful transfer of land and kept tributaries within Virginia's settled boundaries—a defensive measure that was necessary for the Virginia plantation to survive. Remember, that according to the 1646 tributary treaty, the Algonquian chiefdoms and the English had a military alliance, and despite English efforts to segregate Indians from whites, the tributaries, reduced numbers notwithstanding, remained an essential defensive component of frontier settlement. In truth, Algonquian decline was real, and by 1669 the tribal populations had fallen by over 60 percent.[80] These losses were due to epidemic disease and warfare and resulted in weakened Algonquian communities. Increasingly, the English perceived the tributaries as less "savage" and more dependent—objects to be pitied, not feared.

In 1669, the colony counted 725 Powhatan warriors. This translates into rough population of 4,000. See Hening, ed., *Statutes*, 1:274-75.

A Changing Native Culture

As tributaries, the Powhatan's began to lose the "savage" personae that Englishmen felt typified the Indian. The tributary Indians continued to pose a danger to Virginia settlement, but Indian attacks during this time were directed at specific individuals, not on the colony as a whole. The Algonquian threat, when compared to non-tributary, "foreign" Indians, had been greatly reduced.[81] Evidence of this decline is apparent in the language of a 1663 act addressed to "Northerne Indians." This specific measure was aimed at the Potomacs, but the message was clear for Doeg, Piscattaway, and Susquehannock, all of whom lived north of the Potomac River, continually raided English plantations, and threatened expansion on the Northern Neck.[82] The language in this measure was harsh and precise:

> [D]eliver such hostages of their children or others as shall be required; and if they or any of them shall refuse to deliver such hostages as shall be required, that the nation to be declared as an enemy and proceeded against accordingly ... . And as we have endeavoured for the future to provide for the safety of the country that such hostages be delivered as shall be required, soe it is also enacted that the hostages to be delivered shall be civilly used and treated by the English to whose charge they shall be delivered, and that they be brought up in the English literature (soe far as they are capable).[83]

[81]This owed both to a reduced Indian population and a tremendous increase among Anglo-Virginians. The numbers are telling: In 1640, Virginia's population was 8,000; by 1650 it had nearly doubled to 15,000; ten years later it approached 40,000.

[82]The Northern Neck is the peninsula that lies between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers.

[83]Ibid., 2:193-4.

Contrast this with the language used for the tributaries in 1656 where Indian children were "gages" of their parents' "good and quiet intentions."[84] The images are similar in that children were seen as the means through which Indian society must be recreated. The differences arise in how each was conveyed. For the tributaries, children were "gages"; for hostile Indians, children were "hostages" who would be educated "soe far as they are capable."

[84]Ibid., 1:396.

Despite this apparent distinction in degrees of perceived savagery, colonial legislators agreed that Indians were to have equal justice with whites.[85] This demonstrates, in some sense, that the English understood that civilizing Indians was a process. Indians were afforded legal rights equivalent to whites because, at this time, Virginians conceived of Indians more in

ethnic-class terms than in racial ones. In that, Indians had equal access to the law, especially those who converted to English ways.

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[85]Ibid., 2:194.

[86]Edmund Morgan (*American Slavery*) argues that white racism toward blacks grew out of white hatred of Indians. He writes that by 1676 the whites "were doubtless prejudiced against blacks as well and perhaps prejudiced in a somewhat greater degree than they were against Irishmen, Spaniards, Frenchmen, and other foreigners. The Englishmen who came to Virginia, of whatever class, learned their first lessons in racial hatred by putting down the Indians," (328).

Detribalized Indians

The English wished to detribalize the Virginia tributary Indians.[87] For most of the seventeenth century it was possible for a detribalized Indian to enter the lower or lower-middle levels of white English society. For this period, however, there is only one extant record of a detribalized Indian participating in white society.[88] In 1665, Edward Gunstocker, or "Indian Ned," of Nanzatico patented 150 acres on the north side of the Rappahannock River. His patent was approved by Governor Berkeley but only after he had paid headright for three Englishmen to come to Virginia.[89] Apparently, Indian Ned developed an equitable relationship with local Virginians and for a time tried to mediate Indian-Anglo disputes in the lower Rappahannock basin.[90] By March 1666, however, opposition from his own tribe necessitated that he be put under English protection.[91] During Bacon's Rebellion, Gunstocker joined the English in their war on the Indians. He made a will leaving everything to his wife Mary, whose ethnic identity is unknown.[92] Again, this is the only extant record of a detribalized Indian in the seventeenth century, and it suggests both reluctance on the part of Indians to leave their cultural roots and tribal identity and establish themselves in English culture and an unwillingness on the part colonists to accept such Indians in white society.

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[87]Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 135.

[88]In all likelihood there were several Indians who detribalized. The problem here is that records from the counties with the largest concentration of Indians (namely New Kent) were destroyed by fire during the Civil War.

[89]Nugent, 1:566; Conway Robinson, "Notes from the Council and General Court Records, 1641-1682," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 8:64-73, 162-70, 236-44, 407-12 237.

[90]Old Rappahannock County, *Deeds*, 2:201-202 (printed in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d ser., 18:297-98); "Stafford County Records, 1664-1668, 1689-1693," *Virginia Magazine of History Biography* 44:192; Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 95).

[91]Old Rappahannock County, *Deeds*, 3:257-8 (printed in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d ser., 16:590).

[92]Old Rappahannock County, *Deeds,* 6:76 (printed in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d ser., 16:593).

Tributary Indians

Just as Virginians moved to secure the legal rights of detribalized Indians, they reinforced their dominion over the tributaries. In October 1665, the Virginia Assembly passed a series of measures designed to further regulate tributary actions. It appointed Indian commissioners for each county to oversee Indian affairs. The assemby also restricted tributary sovereignty and eliminated each group's power "to elect or constitute their owne Werowance or chief commander."[93] This differed from the 1646 provision: in the earlier instance, the tribe retained the power to nominate leaders who were then approved, or rejected, by the governor of Virginia. The 1665 measure arbitrarily transferred the power of appointment to the governors-general who "shall constitute and authorize such person in whose fidelity they may finde greatest cause to repose a confidence to be the commander of the respective townes."[94] In this manner, the English continued their attack on Indian sovereignty.

[93]Hening, *Statutes,* 2:219.

[94]Ibid.

"Lives and Liberties"

Joined to this act was a proviso that stated if an Englishman was murdered, "the next towne shalbe answerable for it with their lives or liberties to the use of the publique."[95] This pointed the way to a pattern of increased dominance whereby Indians were made answerable "to the use of the public." In real terms, this policy justified the wholesale removal of Indians from their land, and the sale of those Indians into involuntary servitude, if not outright slavery. This raises the specter of Indian servitude and slavery.

[95]Ibid.

It had been the policy of the Virginia Assembly to extend servitude to Indians as a means of bringing them to English civility. At the same time, chattel slavery increased as Virginia's labor needs grew beyond what the servant headright system could incorporate. This was particularly true after 1660. While the new slaves were predominantly black, there were a considerable number of Indian slaves — imported from the Carolinas — living in Virginia.[96] To regulate Indian slaves' interaction with white-Virginia, the colony passed laws designed to regulate the personal aspects of Indian life. While frequently directed at "servant" Indians, these laws were applied generally to all Indians.

[96]It is important to understand the premium that Virginians placed on labor. To exploit resources in Virginia, settlers depended heavily upon imported labor. Initially they relied upon indentured servants. High mortality rates and an

expanding economy made social mobility a real possibility. By mid-century a drop in tobacco prices combined with increased production and decreased mortality rates resulted in a large class of restless men who kept Virginia in a constant state of turmoil. This unrest culminated in Bacon's Rebellion, which, in addition to addressing real political grievances, was centered on issues of race and class.

In 1670 the Assembly considered the status of Indian laborers. After debating whether Indians sold in Virginia by other Indians (who captured them in tribal wars) should be slaves for life or for a term of years. At the time it was decided that servants who were not Christians and who were brought into the colony by land (Indians from other regions) should serve for twelve years or (if children) until thirty years of age. The same act stated that non-Christian servants brought in "by shipping" (Negroes) were to be slaves for life. Thus Africans purchased from traders were assumed slaves but Indians were not. In 1682 the Assembly eliminated the difference, making slaves of all imported non-Christian servants.[97]

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[97]Long quote from Morgan (*American Slavery,* 329) is based on Hening, ed., *Statutes, 2* :283, 490-92.

Model Virginians

In 1670, Governor Berkeley reported that there were 6,000 indentured servants and 2,000 slaves in Virginia. The question remains, then, what happened between 1670 and 1682 that precipitated the shift from white indentured servants to non-white chattel slavery and, in the process, so hardened attitudes toward Indians? The answer is Bacon's Rebellion, an event that signaled the demise of English efforts to remake tributary Indians as Englishmen and inaugurated a series of laws that further isolated Indians socially and categorized them racially as non-white. This divergence is best realized by tracing the lives of Baconian partisans, with a particular emphasis on William Byrd I. Byrd was a supporter, first of Bacon, and, then, of those royalist forces who crushed the rebellion, sacked the inept and inefficient Berkeley oligarchy, and paved the way for a royalist resurgence in Virginia. Byrd is exemplary here because he survived the events of 1676 and by the end of the century was the most powerful planter in Virginia—a model of imperial acculturation.

William Byrd, the Elder

William Byrd I arrived in Virginia in 1669 at the age of seventeen. This son of a London goldsmith was the apprentice and sole heir to his maternal uncle Colonel Thomas Stegge, Jr.[98] Stegge, who had been the colony's auditor-general since 1664, was the son of Thomas Stegge, Sr., a commissioner to the county court of Charles City and a member of the Virginia Council from 1642 until his death in 1652.[99] The younger Stegge died in 1670, and his widow, Sarah, married Lt. Colonel Thomas Grendon, also a commissioner to the county court of Charles City.[100] The establishment of this lineage is significant for it lays out the potential for antipathy that existed between Byrd and Berkeley in that the elder Stegge supported the Commonwealth government against the royalist Berkeley and that the younger Stegge's widow was one of the most vocal anti-Berkeleyans.

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[98]The First Gentlemen of Virginia: Intellectual Qualities of the Early Colonial Ruling Class (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1940), Chapter 11, "The Byrds' Progress from Trade to Genteel Elegance," 312-47. Considerably more has been written about Byrds' son and grandson, William Byrd II and III.

[99]Craven, *Southern Colonies,* 268 n16. The elder Stegge was lost at sea in 1652 while returning from England as a commissioner to the Commonwealth government. He was carrying orders "for the reduction of the Virginia colony," (259) and the removal of Berkeley. Needless to say, Berkeley was not endeared to the Stegge family.

[100]Sarah's opposition to Berkeley was well known throughout the colony. See Stephen Saunders Webb, *1676: The End of American Independence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984; reprint, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 5, 6, 20-21, 106, 157.

From Stegge, Byrd inherited a plantation in Henrico County complete with a storehouse of goods for trade with the Indians. Stegge, along with Edward Bland and Abraham Wood had extended trade relations to the south and west, first through the Occaneechee and later with the Cherokee across the Appalachians. When Byrd arrived, Wood maintained the trade monopoly, but Byrd quickly established himself as a master of Indian affairs and was "regarded as a future successor of Colonel Wood."[101]

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[101]Pierre Marambaud, "A Young Virginia Planter in the 1670s," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* 133.

Nathaniel Bacon, the Younger

In 1674, Nathaniel Bacon, the younger, arrived in Virginia with equally favorable connections to gentility but more favorably received by Berkeley than Byrd had been. Bacon was described as

> about four or five and thirty years of age, indifferent tall but slender, black haired of an ominous, pensive, melancholy Aspect, of a pestilent & prevalent Logical discourse tending to atheisme in most companyes, not given to much talke, or to make suddain replyes, of a most imperious and dangerous hidden Pride of heart, despising the wisest of his neighbours for their Ignorance, and very ambitious and arogant.[102]

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[102]"The Royal Commissioners' 'Narrative of Bacon's Rebellion," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* 4 (October 1896): 122. This description of Bacon was given after the rebellion, and they adjectives used to describe him are probably tainted by his actions. Regardless, this excerpt provides valuable insight into Bacon's character as a shrewd and ambitious. Bacon's impatience with neighbors was no doubt indicative of his feelings toward the antiquated Berkeley and his oligarchical cohort.

Bacon's ambitions and pride were not satisfied in Virginia despite being elevated to the Council soon after his arrival. In keeping with Berkeleyan tradition, he was afforded this opportunity as he was cousin to both Lady Berkeley and the councilor Nathaniel Bacon, Sr. He quickly staked out land for himself in Henrico County not too far from Byrd. Both plantations were at the outer edge of the frontier, and Bacon developed a keen interest in the lucrative Indian trade. In September 1675, Byrd and Bacon offered to purchase the Indian trade monopoly held by Wood from Berkeley but were rebuffed.[103]

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[103]Wilcomb Washburn, *The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 17-19.

"A War against All Indians"

Earlier that summer (July 1675) on the Northern Neck, a dispute arose between Thomas Mathew and a band of Doeg Indians living in Maryland. The Doeg claimed that Mathews had cheated them in trade. As retaliation, they raided Mathews' plantation and took some of his hogs.[104] In response, Mathew gathered several of his neighbors and pursued the Indians. He caught up with them, beat some and killed others, and reclaimed his hogs. Again, the Doeg retaliated, this time killing two of Mathew's servants and Mathew's son.

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[104]Virginians, then as now, take their pork very seriously.

Following this, the Northern Neck militia under Giles Brent and George Mason set off in pursuit of the murdering Doeg. In their search, Brent came across a Doeg village, he questioned the *weroance,* who denied any knowledge of the event, and when the *weroance* tried to run away, Brent shot him. A firefight ensued and another ten Indians were killed. Mason, who in the meantime had split off from Brent's forces and surrounded some Indians in their cabin, heard the gunfire. The Indians inside the cabin heard the engagement as well and when they rushed out, Mason's militiamen opened fire killing fourteen Indians. Mason realized that the Indians he had killed were Susquehannocks, a nation who maintained peaceful relations and a lucrative trade with Virginia.[105]

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[105]"Mathew's Narrative," in Charles M. Andrews, ed., *Narratives of the Insurrections, 1675-1690,* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), 17.

In the confusion that followed, Berkeley sent John Washington and Isaac Allerton to investigate.[106] Unable to locate the Doeg, who by this time had dispersed into the backcountry, Washington and Allerton rendezvoused (in late September) at the Maryland fortress occupied by the Susquehannock. There, they met the Maryland militia under Thomas Truman, and it was decided that they would lay siege to the Susquehannock fort. During the siege, five Susquehannock *sachems* came out to negotiate with the Virginians and the Marylanders, but the English "caused the [Indian] Commissioners braines to be knock'd out."[107] The siege continued, and in mid-October the Susquehannock (some 1,000 strong) crept out of their fort while the English slept.

[106]Westmoreland County Records, *Deeds and Wills*, fol. 232, printed in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., 4 (1895-1896), 86.

[107]"The History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion," in Andrews, ed., *Narratives*, 47-48, quoted in Oberg, "Dominion and Civility," 424.

The Susquehannock crossed the Potomac resolving "to imploy there liberty in avenging there Commissioners *[sachems]* blood, which they speedily effected in the death of sixty inossescent souls."[108] Afterwards, the Susquehannocks, displaced from their land base in Maryland, "moved over the heads of Rappahannock and York Rivers, killing whom they found on the upmost Plantations until they came to the head of the James River, where ... they slew Mr. Bacon's Overseer whom He much Loved, and of his Servants, whose Blood Hee Vowed to Revenge if possible."[109] According to Berkeley, "that barbarous Nation kild about six and thirty men, women and children in the freshes of the Rappahannock River, and since that they kild two men at Mr. Bird's House."[110] Both Byrd and Bacon suffered the depredations of Indian warfare on the frontier. It mattered little to them or their fellow frontiersmen that the murder of white Virginians was caused by the impetuosity of their white neighbors on the Northern Neck.

[108]"Cotton's Narrative," in Peter Force, ed., *Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of Colonies in North America*, 4 vols. (Washington D.C.: Peter Force, 1835), 1: no., 9, 3, quoted in Oberg, "Dominion and Civility," 424.

[109]"Mathew's Narrative," in Andrews, ed., *Narratives*, 19-20.

[110]Governor Sir William Berkeley to Thomas Ludwell, April 1, 1676, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 20 (July 1912): 248.

Not long after, Byrd and Bacon gathered with other Henrico planters to discuss their frontier predicament.

> Now this man being in Company with one [James] Crews, Isham and Bird, who growing to a highth of Drinking and making the Sadness of the times their discourse, and the ffear they all lived in, because of the Susquehannocks who had settled a little above the Falls of the James River, and comitted many murders upon them; among whom Bacon's overseer happen'd to be one, Crews and the rest persuaded Mr. Bacon to goe over and see the Soldiers on the other side of the James river and to take a quantity of Rum with them to give the men to drinke, which they did, and (As Crews &c. had before laid the plot with the Soldiers) they all at once in field shouted and cry'd out, a Bacon! a Bacon! a Bacon! which taking Fire with his ambition and Spirit of ffaction & Popularity, easily prevail'd on him to Resolve to head them, His Friends endeavouring to fix him the ffaster to his Resolves by telling him that they would also go along with him to take Revenge upon the Indians, and drink Damnation to their Soules to be true to him, and if hee could not obtain a Commission they would assist him as well and as much as if he had one; to which Bacon agreed.[111]

[111]*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 4 (October 1896): 122-5.

It made little difference that immediately after the Susquehannock had exacted their revenge for the murder of their chiefs, they appealed to Berkeley to conclude a peace.

The governor first rejected the Susquehannock overtures and called out the militia to march against the murdering Indians. Then, Berkeley countermanded his order and disbanded the militia.[112] As late as spring 1676, Berkeley had not acted, and the frontier counties, namely Henrico, New Kent, and Surry, were on the verge of revolt. The frontiersmen wanted the authority to appoint Bacon as their commanders and pursue the Susquehannock, but Berkeley refused.

[112]British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, 5/1371, 189, in Oberg, "Dominion and Civility," 425.

Ignoring the governor's demands, Bacon proceeded, with the encouragement of Byrd, to make preparations and gather men to attack the Indians. Baconians were comprised largely of propertied men with land and power and freemen with neither.[113] Both groups lived on the frontier and were faced with the revenge of "foreign" Indians for injuries done them by frontier militias and the arbitrary acquisition of their lands by colonists. The Baconians rise to power was precipitated by their demands for a war "against all Indians in general for that they were all Enemies."[114] Additionally, Baconians were united by a general feeling that Virginia's antiquated oligarchy, with Berkeley at the helm, was unconcerned with their needs and unresponsive to their calls for a war against all Indians.[115] In short, Bacon wanted to eliminate the northern tribes who had been ravaging the frontier in response to increased white encroachment; to eliminate those tribes within the settled regions of Virginia in order to gain access to their rich lands that could be used for agricultural production; and to eliminate the Occaneechee as a way of destroying Berkeley's control of frontier Indian trade to the West and the South.

[113]Several interpretations of Bacon's Rebellion have prevailed. For its race and class connections, see Morgan, *American Slavery*, 250-70. T. J. Wertenbaker (*Torchbearer of the Revolution* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940]) offers a pro-Bacon perspective while Washburn (*Governor and Rebel*) favors Governor Sir William Berkeley. For the rebellion's imperial implications, see Webb, *1676*, 3-165, 409-16.

[114]"This," Bacon reported, "I have alwayes said and doe maintain." See Nathaniel Bacon to William Berkeley, Coventry Papers, 67:3, quoted in Morgan, *American Slavery*, 255.

[115]Webb, *1676*, 21-25.

The political dimension of Bacon's actions was centered around Berkeleyan social and political control. There was resistance by "substantial planters to the privileges and policies of the inner provincial clique led by Berkeley and composed of those directly dependent on his patronage... . Their discontent stemmed to a large extent from their own exclusion from

privileges they sought." The principal objective in attacking the Indians, aside from the belief that the only good Indian is a dead one, was to lash out at Berkeleyan elites. The two principal recipients of Baconian revenge were the Occaneechee (Berkeley's primary trading partners) and the Pamunkey (Berkeley's principal tributary tribe and historic leader of the Powhatan paramount chiefdom).

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[116]Bernard Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia," in *Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development*, Stanley Katz, *et al*., 4th ed (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1993), 29.

The English crown responded to Berkeley's ineptitude and Bacon's rebellious acts (whose political antics must wait for a fuller description) with royal commissioners and a royal military presence. Charles II appointed Colonel Herbert Jeffreys, Captain Sir John Berry, and Colonel Francis Moryson to investigate the causes of the rebellion. Berry's naval squadron (with Moryson on board) arrived in Virginia on January 29, 1676/7; Jeffrys, who sailed aboard the royal frigate Rose, arrived on February 11. The autonomous Berkeley resented the intrusion into "his" Virginia by royal representatives. In this, Berkeley proved to be just as obstinate as the Baconians. At every turn he endeavored to thwart Jeffrys investigation, and he persisted in exacting revenge against the Baconians despite a general royal pardon. However, Berkeley was able to continue his revenge only for a short time. In May 1677 he was deposed by Jeffrys and returned to England where died in July before facing the charges that had been leveled against him.[117]

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[117]Webb, *1676, 163.*

Pro-Bacon rebels ascended to power after the after 1676 by joining the royalist resurgence in Virginia. Byrd, who fought with Bacon against the Occaneechee in May 1676, was, after Bacon's death on October 26, still part of those Baconian rebels who actively sought to overthrow Berkeley's government. Byrd had established his headquarters at Tindall's Point (Gloucester). "There Captain William Byrd's Baconian quarters were at the plantation of Colonel Augustine Warner." On January 9, 1676/7, "Bacon's first follower, Captain William Byrd of Henrico, redeemed his rebellion."[118] He joined the Berkeleyan Admiral Robert Morris less than three weeks before the royal commissioners arrived in Virginia.

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[118]Ibid., 84, 98.

In the end, the Baconians despised the pre-1676 *status quo* in Virginia more than they opposed royal oversight. Or differently put, Baconians used the royal officers to undermine William Berkeley and his "Green Spring Faction" and enter the positions of power that Berkeley had denied them. In this sense, Bacon's Rebellion heralded the arrival of a new ruling elite. Jeffrys utilized the now-repentant Baconians, such as Byrd, who cooperated with a resurgent royalism in return for a pardon previously issued, to perpetuate the new royal government of Virginia. In October 1677, Byrd was elected to the House of Burgesses (from Henrico County) for the first time. He replaced the rebel Bacon who had been elected at the outset of the rebellion.

Jeffrys promised "imperial action and internal reform" to the complaints made against

Berkeley.[119] He accomplished this objective in three ways. First, the crown's officers imposed royal rule in the form of military and political presence. Second, the royal pardon was extended throughout Virginia as a way to eliminate the rebels hesitation in cooperating with the crown. "Finally, by their collection of both county and individual grievances against the old regime and by their systematic cultivation of revolutionary leaders (and of others outside the Berkeleyan clique), the king's men had built political bases for imperial rule both in public opinion and in a new class of rulers, responsive to royal orders."[120] Thus, in the aftermath of the rebellion, "royal officials recognized the aspirant newcomers to Virginia, the leaders of the revolution, as part of the province's new ruling class."[121]

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[119]Marambaud, "A Young Virginia Planter in the 1670s," 141.

[120]Webb, *1676,* 162.

[121]Ibid., 154.

This is really the critical turning point around which this period hinges. The upshot of all this is that these anti-Indian, anti-Berkeleyan forces were elevated to power by a royalist resurgence that sought to check the excessive independence of Berkeley and his Green Spring faction. In the process, those who ascended to power did so with a tradition of anti-Indian sentiment gained from their experiences on the frontier and in the administration of county affairs. Individuals attuned to closer oversight and now faced with eliminating factional identities in Virginia began to conceive of a biracial system where all whites, regardless of class, were placed in league against all non-whites, regardless of ethnic diversity. These individuals, who had been unable to effect the annihilation of all Indians during the rebellion seized this opportunity to enact legislation that eliminated Indians as threat by categorizing them with other non-whites in an increasingly biracial Virginia.

In the end, the Baconians despised the pre-1676 status quo in Virginia more than they opposed royal oversight. Thus, Bacon's Rebellion heralded the arrival of a new ruling elite.[122] With the Baconians defeated and Berkeley recalled to London, the crown forged a peace with the Indians. In 1677, the treaty of Middle Plantation reaffirmed the Indians' tributary status and recounted their rights and responsibilities. The most significant aspect of this treaty was a three mile boundary that was established around all Indian towns across which no Englishman was to settle.[123] In reality, this, like all previous measures designed to protect the Indians' right to occupy the land, was disregarded by settlers and unenforced by colonial officials. The English moved closer to Indian communities both to oversee Indian activities and to gain legal title to unused Indian land.

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[122]Bailyn, "Social Structure in Virginia."

[123]"Treaty of Middle Plantation," reprinted in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 14 (1906): 289-96. For secondary interpretations, see Rountree, *Pocahontas's People,* 100-1; Martha W. McCartney, "Cockacoeske, Queen of Pamunkey: Diplomat and Suzeraine," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians of the Colonial Southeast*, eds., Peter H. Wood, *et al* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

A Watchful Eye

Increasingly, tributaries were required to submit to the watchful eye of their white neighbors. In April 1679, to ensure that friendly Indians were not mistakenly killed, the Assembly passed a measure

> that all and every Indian towne have speedy notice, that if at any tyme any of them ... shall happen to meet with any of our soldiers ranging in the woods, or shall come neare any our plantations or people in any place or places whatsoever, that they must not flye, hide themselves or make any opposition, and that if they doe, they may be proceeded against with all manner of hostility as enemies; but if they shall stand peaceably and discourse the English, and give true accompt who and what they are, and upon approach lay down their armes, that then they shalbe civilly treated and noe harme shalbe offered or be done to them.[124]

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[124]Hening, *Statutes,* 2:438-39.

Thus, all Indians were subject to white approval of their comings and goings. While the increase in the number slaves—both red and black—over indentured servants resulted in more legislative action with respect to race, Virginia legislators began to categorize free Negroes, mulattos, and Indians as distinct from both slaves and whites. As slavery became more entrenched, and Virginia's society more polarized racially, the tendency was to move toward a biracial classification of white and non-white society.

Biracial Virginia

In November 1682, the Assembly readdressed the status of Indian laborers. In a reversal of the 1670, Virginians eliminated the difference between non-Christian Indian servants and non-Christian Negro slaves by making "slaves of all imported non-Christian servants."[125] This act set the further development of slavery on a squarely racial foundation. Indians and Negroes were henceforth lumped together in Virginia legislation, and white Virginians treated black, red, and intermediate shades of brown as interchangeable. Even the offspring of a mixed Indian and white couple were defined as mulattos... . But Indian blood was evidently considered less potent than that of blacks, since not only a black parent but even a black grandparent or great-grandparent was enough to make a person qualify as mulatto."[126]

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[125]Indian slaves were never used in such numbers to constitute a significant portion of the slave labor force, but successive acts (1670 and 1682) opened the market to Indian slavery. Edmund Morgan has explored the issue of Indian slavery as part of his research on black slavery in colonial Virginia. While Morgan does not offer exact numbers, he concludes that "at the time when Virginians were beginning to buy Negro slaves in large numbers, they were also buying Indians. Indians were thus seen within the settlements more commonly than they ever had before, and they were seen as slaves," (*American Slavery,* 330). This paper does not attempt to address the issue of Indian slavery, only to demonstrate the hardening of racial attitudes that were associated with increased slavery and their effect on the legal status of tributary Indians. See ibid., 328-33;

Hening, *Statutes,* 2:490-92.

[126]Morgan, *American Slavery,* 329, 329 n44.

The leaders of "white" Virginia wanted to keep it that way, and the admixture of African blood came to symbolize that which was non-white. Act II declared that Indian women tithables and ordered "to pay levies in like manner as negroe women brought into this country doe, and ought to pay."[127] This is significant because Indian women were linked to African women in terms of their value as laborers. Both were tithable because they were viewed primarily as field labor. By contrast, white women were generally indentured as domestics, and, in that, they were not tithable.[128] Again, these acts serve to illustrate the intolerance that was made explicit after Bacon's Rebellion, but they also point to the direction of future Indian law. The legal statues continued to erode Indian identity, first as warriors, then as sovereigns. Virginians expropriated Indian land, then moved on Indian labor. The progressive intrusion of English law into the Indian world further segregated Indians from white society and increasingly categorized all non-whites universally.

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[127]Hening, *Statutes,* 2:492.

[128]A few white women were indentured for agricultural purposes; this status was generally reserved for women with tarnished reputations.

Here, the Virginia colony made clear its intent to create a biracial society. In April 1691, Virginia passed its first anti-miscegenation law, "An Act for Suppressing Outlying Slaves." The Assembly banned intermarriage between a free "white man or woman ... [and] any negroe, mulatto, or Indian man or woman bond or free." Those violating this act would be" banished and removed from this dominion forever."[129] A secondary component of this act, which as its title suggests dealt with a variety of slave issues, laid out the penalty for English women who had bastard children "by any negro or mulatto." Interestingly, there was no penalty assessed for having the bastard child of an Indian. This association of Indians with negroes and mulattos in the first instance and the separation from negroes and mulattos in the second suggests the ambivalence that still existed over Indians, there place in society, the propriety of illicit relations with but illegality of marriage to, and their future significance within the colony.

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[129]Ibid., 3:87.

In 1705, the Assembly passed a series of laws, known collectively as the "Black Codes" directed toward the non-white inhabitants of Virginia. Of particular significance, no "negro, mulatto, or Indian" could vote, hold office, or testify in court proceedings.[130] Until 1705, Indians in Virginia had access to English law, although they did not have the status of Englishmen in courts.[131] After 1705, Indian status was markedly altered and reduced to that of other non-whites. The effect was that these "handicaps, together with penalties for miscegenation, successfully dissociated them [Indians] from whites, however poor."[132] Thus, 1705 was a watershed for Virginia-Indian relations. It marked the culmination of sixty years in which the colonial authority tried to remake the Indian, first in English ways, and then, as part of a larger category of non-white other that was systematically segregated from white

Virginia.

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[130]Ibid., 3:250-51.

[131]Rountree, *Pocahontas's People,* 101.

[132]Morgan, *American Slavery,* 337.

Conclusion

This tragic history is one of English settlers who endeavored to incorporate Tidewater Algonquian communities into an emergent Anglo-Virginia. That conversion to English ways included remaking Indian peoples religiously as Christians and socially as servile labor. There were unintended adjustments as well. It took generations of Algonquian children to develop immunity to English pathogens. In addition, conflict and removal from ancestral communities further reduced families already weakened by disease. By the early eighteenth century, the Tidewater Algonquian solution was clear. Slowly, Algonquian communities withdrew and isolated themselves along the sparsely populated peninsular ridgelines. Paradoxically, the place that Tidewater Algonquians found for themselves in Virginia's eighteenth-century was on the margins of the dominant society.

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CHAPTER 7:

A Seventeenth Century Chronology Drawn from Colonial Records with Contemporary Native Perspectives

Danielle Moretti-Langholtz and *Angela L. Daniel*

Introduction

For thousands of years, diverse native societies flourished on a continent later to be known as North America. In the late 16th and 17th centuries, the expansionist ideology of Europe brought change, upheaval and destruction to those indigenous societies. While the history of the colonial encounter has been told primarily from a non-native perspective, a careful examination of colonial documents and recorded history provides a glimpse of the impact of these events had on Native Peoples. These selected events are combined in this chapter with a time line produced from English records in the left column and contemporary Native commentary in the right column.



Detail of "Their sitting at meate," by Theodor de Bry, 1590.

Native Voice

"Virtually all of the early attempts to establish colonies would have failed if the Indians had not assisted the white men from across the waters in obtaining food. The Indians were frequently described by the colonists, upon first contact as friendly and trusting. The encounters soon fell into an all familiar pattern: friendly curiosity, helpfulness and with growing experience, deepening distrust, fear and hostility.

In their attempts to establish a colony on Roanoke Island, the English destroyed what had begun as a friendly, helpful relationship. Sir Richard Grenville burned an Indian village over the alleged theft of a silver cup. Captain Ralph Lane, after receiving a friendly reception, attacked Chief Wingina due to a false allegation that Wingina was planning a large scale attack. Captain Lane's man servant caught and beheaded the wounded Chief Wingina. The English won the battle but lost the war. The "Lost colony" may have been the result."

— Oliver L. "Fish Hawk" Perry
Nansemond Chief Emeritus
September 16, 1989

"You have to start with the Spaniards."

— Kirk Moore
Pamunkey Tribal Member
March 8, 2004



1606

November 20, 1606
King James I grants a charter to the Virginia Company of London, authorizing its investors to establish a colony in "Virginia."[1]

1607

Arrival of English in **Tsenacomoco**, which the English called "Virginia."[2]

April 26, 1607
Captain Newport's three ships, the *Susan Constant, Godspeed,* and the *Discovery,* enter the Chesapeake Bay and land.[3]

April 30, 1607
Indians at the village of Kecoughtan (present-day Hampton Roads) welcome the English after Captain Newport puts his hand on his heart, showing they come in peace. Other villages, such as Paspahegh and Kiskiak also extend hospitality.[4]

May 1607
The English sail up the Powhatan River, and rename it in honor of their King James. They enter a peninsula-like projection of land in the **Paspahegh's** country.[5]

Native Voice

"We welcomed the English. They would not have survived without our assistance."

— Chief Stephen Adkins
Chickahominy Tribe
March 4, 2004

"Why do you think the English built a fort? It was not to keep the Indians out, but to keep the Spaniards out."

— Keith Smith
Nansemond Tribal Member
March 4, 2004

"When the English settlers arrived at Jamestown in 1607, the Tidewater area of Virginia had been inhabited for thousands of years by Native Americans. There were many tribes with very specialized religions, life styles, customs and political structures. The tribes were not nomadic but were very settled with large areas of land cleared for agriculture. The Powhatan tribes were located along the waterways and had observed European ships entering the Chesapeake Bay to capture Indians for the slave trade since the mid-1500s. They had witnessed and experienced the deadly effects of cannons, muskets and hangings. The Indians provided the early settlers with food and taught them how to plant corn, to hunt and fish. The need for land and food supplies increased as more ships and many people continued to arrive and the settlement expanded rapidly. The foreign invaders forced the Indians off their ancestral homeland, confiscated their cleared fields, destroyed their longhouses and canoes, stole their corn and desecrated their temples."

— Oliver "Fish Hawk" Perry
Nansemond Chief Emeritus
September 16, 1989

December 1607
A hunting party, consisting of Opechancanough and other **Powhatan warriors**, captures Captain John Smith and detains him. Two Englishmen die in the struggle. Smith is taken around to the nearby villages and then to **Werowocomoco**, the **Powhatancapital**, to see **Chief Wahunsenacawh Powhatan**, the paramount chief of **Tsenacomoco**. **Chief Powhatan** tells Captain John Smith that Smith is going to be made a *werowance,* a leader. Years later, Smith alleges that **Chief Powhatan's** daughter, **Pocahontas**, saves his life during the four-day ceremony.[6]



Detail of Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia, 1612, depicting Chief Powhatan.

1608

January 2, 1608
True to his word, **Chief Powhatan** releases Captain John Smith within four days. Smith returns to Jamestown.[7]

June 2-July 21, 1608
First Expedition Up the Bay
During Captain John Smith's first expedition up the Chesapeake Bay, he explores various tributary rivers, such as the Patawomeck River. The **Patawomecks** come out with canoes filled with deer and bear meat to share with the English. On their return to Jamestown, the **Patawomeck Chief** provides guides to the English to show them their mine. The

Patawomecks (Potomac) traded the silver-like ore through out the region. As a gift, the Patawomecks allow the English to take back has much of the ore as they can carry.[8]

Native Voice

"There was no need for Pocahontas to 'save' Smith! He was being made a werowance."

— Kirk Moore
Pamunkey Tribal Member
March 8, 2004



"Smith Rescured by Pocahonta," Christian Inger after Edward Corbould, 1870 (William W. Cole collection).

July 24-September 7, 1608: Second Expedition
During the second expedition, when the English ship passes by a Rappahannock village, the **Rappahannock Indians** are dancing and singing. Further up river, the following day, the English receive a volley of arrows. After the assaulting **Indians** flee, the **Powhatan scout**, **Mosco**, pursues the attackers, with Smith and his men. Upon their return, they find a wounded **Indian**. His name is **Amoroleck**. Smith has the English doctor dress **Amoroleck's** wound. Then Smith inquires as to why **Amoroleck's** party attacked them. **Amoroleck** responds that they had heard that the English had "come from the under world to take their world from them." Smith asks him how many worlds he knew of. According to Smith, **Amoroleck** states he "knew no more but that which was under the sky that covered him, which were the **Powhatans**, with the **Monacans** and the **Massawomecks**, that were higher up in the mountains."

Near the end of Smith's second expedition, Captain John Smith first enters the Nansemond River, finding four **Nansemond** villages. Along the river are massive fertile fields producing an abundance of corn. A Nansemond Indian invites Smith into his home. Afterwards, Smith follows a canoe escort further up river, at which time the English encounter seven to eight canoes of **Nansemond** warriors. According to Smith, the warriors start shooting a multitude of arrows at them. The English return fire with their muskets. Recognizing that the firearms shoot a further distance than their bows, the warriors jump into the river and swim to shore. The English seize the warrior's canoes, and begin to cut one into pieces. The **Nansemond** warriors returned asking for peace. Smith tells the **Nansemond** warriors that they must bring

him their Chief's bow and arrows, a chain of pearls, and four hundred bushels of corn, or they **Nansemonds'** homes, villages, corn fields and would burn the destroy their canoes. The **Nansemond** Indians put their weapons down and return with corn. Smith and his men take all they can possibly carry.[9]

Native Voice

The Spanish came here looking for gold. The English came here to conquer. I think Amoroleck knew what he was talking about.

— Chief Kenneth Branham
Monacan Nation
May 19, 2000

"There has been some scholarly debate as to whether these 'volleys of shot' were hostile or intended as a welcome.'"

— Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians Chairman Monacan Nation
July 2004

"This myth about their neighbors, the Monacans, was never an issue. These people did not come here to fight, the Cherokees, the Iroquois, they were all the same."

— Kirk Moore
Pamunkey Tribal Member
March 8, 2004



Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia, 1612

Fall 1608
At the coronation of **Chief Powhatan**, the English present **Chief Powhatan** with gifts from England, such as a basin and ewer, and bed. **Chief Powhatan** in turn, gives Captain

Christopher Newport his mantle and moccasins.[10]

Native Voice

"Captain John Smith first entered the Nansemond River in August 1608 and described the Nansemonds as a proud, warlike nation. He located the four villages of Nand-sa-mund, Mat-ta-nock, Teracosick and Man-tough-que-men-o located on both sides of the river. The river was described as a musket shot wide with a narrow channel three fathoms deep. Smith described his slow progress along the river and noted the island (Dumpling) that would be convenient for a fort.

When he approached the western branch of the river, Captain Smith observed the high plains, abundance of houses, people and 1,000 acres of most fertile, sweet and pleasant ground. He saw large corn fields on the mainland; on the island was an abundance of corn. One of the "savages" invited Smith to his house and told him his house was on the island.

As Smith followed a canoe further up the river, seven or eight canoes full of armed men appeared and the first of many hostile encounters erupted. Captain Smith reported arrows came so fast from each side of the river "as two or three hundred could shoot them and those in the canoes let fly also as fast." When Smith and his men fired their muskets, most of the Indians leapt overboard and swam ashore. It was their first experience with gun fire and they found that muskets shot further than bows.

Smith's men seized the canoes and secured them in the open waters. Having seen the large Indian force and suspecting it might be both the Nansemonds and the Chesapeakes, Smith thought it best to take time to consider the next course of action. Should they burn all [houses, canoes and crops] on the island or take all the corn, which was adequate to feed all the Colony (Jamestown)?

During the lull, Smith began to cut the canoes into pieces, whereupon the Indians put down their weapons and made signs of peace. Captain Smith then stated he would accept peace if they brought the King's bows and arrows, a chain of pearls and when we come again give us four hundred bushels of corn. If not, he would burn their corn, houses, all they had and break all their boats. The Indians put away their bows and arrows and brought corn.

John Smith notes that he took all they could carry and departed good friends. The friendly force arrived back at Jamestown on September 7, 1608."

— Oliver L. "Fish Hawk" Perry
Nansemond Chief Emeritus
July 15, 1988

1609

May 1609
A new charter from the King allows the Virginia Company to transfer the power to governor from the Council over to a Governor.[11]

Fall 1609

Henry Spelman (14 years old) comes to Virginia in August 1609. Shortly afterwards, he was sent to live with the **Powhatan Indians**, until December 1610. He is later hired as an interpreter.[12]

Fall 1609
Captain John Smith is wounded and leaves the Colony, never to return to Virginia.[13]

Winter 1609-1610
The region suffers from drought and famine. The winter of 1609-1610 becomes known by the English as the "Starving Time."[14]

1610

June 7-8, 1610
Sir Thomas Gates decides to abandon the Jamestown Colony. The Virginia colonists meet a supply ship coming up the James River, with Thomas West, Lord De La Warr aboard. The colonists return to Jamestown.[15]

August 1610
English settlers attack the town of Paspahegh. In the raid the Chief's wife and children were killed. The village was completely destroyed, damaging English - Powhatan relations.[16]



Powhatan's mantle, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England.

Native Voice

"The coronation of Chief Powhatan was a political ploy instituted by the English!"

— Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman Monacan Nation, July 2004

"After that he went to trade with the Patawomecks and made them angry by being deceitful, so they killed some of his men."

— Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman
Monacan Nation, July 2004

Some say Henry Spelman was killed by the Patawomecks. That is not correct in our opinion. He was killed by the Anacostians. The Anacostians were not friendly with the Patawomecks. Spelman spoke the Patawomeck dialect after living with them and we believe that he was mistaken for a Patawomeck by the Anacostians and that was the reason that he was killed. We have never found any supported references to a killing by our people of the colonist. We sincerely believe that we were their friends.

— Chief Robert Green
Patawomeck Tribe, October, 2004

1611

1611-1613
John Rolfe conducts tobacco experiments, purchasing tobacco seeds from the Caribbean Islands.[17]

1612

June 1612
Jamestown learns the Vi rginia Company is issued its third charter on March 12, 1612.[18]

1613

April, 1613
In the Patawomeck area, Captain Samuel Argall kidnaps **Pocahontas**, the daughter of **Chief Powhatan**. **Chief Powhatan** immediately offers to pay the ransom. Captain Argall , instead, takes **Pocahontas** to Jamestown, holding her prisoner. Both Powhatan oral tradition and English writings indicate that she was married to a Powahatan warrior, named Kocoum..[19]

June 28, 1613
John Rolfe's first shipment of West Indian tobacco is sent on board the ship, *Elizabeth,* to England.[20]

"According to the records we have read, the Patawomecks actually fed the colony during the "the starving time" against Powhatan's orders. We believe that it was out of the friendship that had developed between Sam Argall and Japazaws."

— Chief Robert Green
Patawomeck Tribe
October, 2004

"There are more details available, and you noted elsewhere that the Indians suffered also."

— Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman
Monacan Nation

"Why do you take by force that which you may quickly have by love?"

— Chief Powhatan, 1608
quoted by Captain John Smith



"Iapassus Persuades Pocahontas to Visit Samuel Argall's Ship," unknown artist, c. 1634.

Native Voice

"Once we apparently formed a relationship with the English, there are very few documented attacks by the Susquehannocks. Because of the pact between Japassus and A rgyle, the

English would defend the Potomacs from other tribes. I am convinced that is why Japassus turned Pocahontas over to Argyle. When you're a chief, you have to either sacrifice one person or you have to sacrifice the whole tribe. I'm sure Argyle, although I cannot find it in any of his writings, probably said, 'You either help us get her on the boat or we're no longer going to defend you against the other tribes. It is interesting that Powhatan's favorite daughter should just get turned over to the English by the Potomac and yet Powhatan never takes any action against the Potomac people. You would think if he was incensed and upset about it that the first thing he would have done was come up here and slaughter us. Wouldn't you think so?

What I think happened is that Argyle said 'Well, if you do not help us, you must be against us, and we will no longer be able to defend you against those attacks by those Susquehannocks, and the Massawomecks, and those other tribes.' I think that is where Japassus had to make a decision: Do I protect one girl or do I protect all my people? I think that Powhatan knew that she was going to be turned over before she was turned over. I think Japassus probably sent a message to Powhatan and said, 'I've got Argyle up here and he wants your daughter, and I'm going to turn her over. Let me know if you've got a problem . ' I cannot think of any other explanation. For one, Powhatan takes no retribution. He [Powhatan] comes here and lives after he gives up the throne with Japassus, the man who gave his daughter away. It just doesn't make sense unless he went and said, 'Look, why don't we try and cool this thing with the colonists? Maybe this is the way to do it. I know she's your favorite daughter.' Remember, in that society, even though things were matrilineal, the warrior was still supreme. And so, here is one 12-year-old girl, and I've got all these warriors being killed with these guns, and I've got battles over land, battles over animals. The copper kettle I think was, 'You did me a favor and I give a you a soda to take home with you with a thank you.' I think it was an afterthought. I think it had nothing to do with the exchange. I don't think the premise that they promised her [Japassus's wife] the copper kettle in return for getting Pocahontas aboard is right. I think it is bull. I think it was, 'Okay, we're still friends. You're helping me, here's a copper kettle as a sign of appreciation.' I think it was the threat of dissolving the protection pact that they had with the English was the driving force behind Japassus's decision, not some copper pot.

Argyle professes his love for Japassus and their friendship and their brotherhood throughout his entire writings. I think that Argyle could have said that I won't consider you my brother anymore if you don't help me, but I still think it was the mutual protection against the Massawomecks and Susquehannocks that was the driving force behind his (Japassus), making that decision. Having said that, I think it is clear that Powhatan knew about it before it happened. There is no other explanation for why he didn't take retribution against Japassus and the Patawomeck. Most scholars don't agree with me, but I do not care."

— Chief Robert Green
Patawomeck Tribe
April 20, 2004

1614

1613-1614
Pocahontas is held in custody at either Jamestown and/or the plantation in Henrico. During **Pocahontas's** confinement, she is provided with personal instruction on the doctrines of the Christian faith. **Pocahontas** converts to Christianity and takes the name "Rebecca."[21]

April 1614
Pocahontas marries John Rolfe.[22]



"Marriage of Pocahontas and John Rolfe" by Henry Brueckner (William W. Cole Collection).

1616

May 1616
Sir Thomas Dale, **Pocahontas**, John Rolfe, and their baby, **Thomas**, set sail for England aboard Captain Argall's *Treasurer*. Ten **Powhatan Indians**, one of which is **Chief Powhatan's** priestly advisor, **Uttamatomokkin**, accompany them. The Virginia Company arranges Pocahontas's voyage. The goal of the trip is to secure financial funding for the Virginia Company.[23]

Native Voice

"In a work published in 1612, William Strachey noted that Pocahontas had been married to a 'private captain' named Kocoum 'some two years' previously. This would place her marriage in 1610, or possibly 1611 if his estimate of time was off. She was kidnapped in 1613. Most of the world does not know that she was married to one of her own people at the time she was kidnapped."

— Deanna Beacham
Virginia Council of Indians, Program Specialist
July 2004

"No one knows what happed to the Indian husband at the time?"

— Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman
Monacan Nation, July 2004

"Pocahontas was kidnapped and held in captivity."

Editors Note: Pertaining to the abduction of Pocahontas Native People used terms such as kidnapped and captivity, which stresses the violence of the English. While the English, and thus standardized history downplays the violent nature of the event, using words such as confinement.

"It should be noted that this is a different tobacco plant from a different botanical species, than that used by American Indians. The West Indian tobacco is related to the tomato family and is poisonous. It is the ancestor of the plant that is cultivated commercially today."

— Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman
Monacan Nation, July 2004

1616-1617
Pocahontas, called "Lady Rolfe" by the English, is received as a royal personage in London. While in London, **Pocahontas** discovers that Captain John Smith is still alive. It is arranged for the two to meet before she returns to Virginia.[24]

1617

Spring 1617
Prior to their return to Virginia, **Pocahontas** becomes very ill and is taken off the ship. **Pocahontas** dies in England. She is buried at Gravesend churchyard. John Rolfe leaves their young son, **Thomas**, in England in the care of an uncle, and returns to Virginia.[25]

1618

June 15, 1618
The *George* sails from Virginia bound for England with about 20,000 pounds of Virginia tobacco.[26]

Spring 1618
Within a year of **Pocahontas's** death, **Chief Powhatan** dies. After his death, **Itopatin** is named the paramount chief. Being a weak chief, **Opechancanough** quickly succeeds Itopatin.[27]



Likeness made of Pocahontas in England from life, "Pocahontas," Simon van de Passe, 1616.

Native Voice

"Somewhere around this time, Powhatan vows that he will not make war on the English again. I think he kept his word."

— Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman
Monacan Nation

1619

Summer 1619
The first English representative government in North America met at Jamestown. In the

subsequent years the General Assembly passes many laws that will affect the Indians.[28]

November 1619
The Virginia Company approves sending a group of 90 to 100 young women to Jamestown to become wives of the settlers. They arrive in Jamestown the following spring.[29]

1622

March 22, 1622
Chief Opechancanough leads the first Indian major attack on the English settlers. At eight o'clock in the morning on Good Friday, the **Powhatan Indians** launch a surprise attack on the settlers. Approximately one third of the 1200 English living on both sides of the James River in Virginia are killed.[30]

1622-1623
The English, suffering from food shortages and the spread of disease, are evacuated to Jamestown Island. Problems are exacerbated by a constant influx of new immigrants. Cattle are pastured on Jamestown Island for safety. A plague follows the Indian uprising, leaving less than 400 English in Virginia in 1623, out of over 5,000 that had immigrated in the past three years.[31]

Native Voice

"Pocahontas expresses her displeasure with Smith for not coming to see her in England."

— Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman
Monacan Nation

"We think Opitchipan [Itopatin] was the Chief of the Potomac. Now, because Opitchipan was crippled, when the English arrived, they were met by Japassus who was apparently a very imposing figure. Japassus was the lesser chief. The English didn't have a name for our chief or king. We believe it's because Opitchipan, being crippled, was kept out of sight of the English. Coincidentally after Powhatan turns over the supreme chiefdom to Opitchipan, Opitchipan suddenly appears at Jamestown and Powhatan comes to the Potomac tribes to live."

— Chief Robert Green
Patawomeck Tribe
April 20, 2004

1623

Chief Opechancanough sends an emissary to Martin's Hundred stating that the **Powhatan people** are hungry because of the retaliatory raids by the English on the communities. The

Indians offer to return English captives and seek a return to peaceful relations. English remain suspicious of Indian intentions.[32]



Detail of "A weroan or great Lorde of Virginia," by Theodor de Bry, 1590.

Native Voice

"If we do not fight, they will destroy us!"

— Opechancanough
quoted by Kirk Moore
Pamunkey Tribal Member
March 8, 2004

"The thing about these time lines is that they do not say why Native People fought. They [the English colonists] took our children. You will fight for your children!"

— Debora Moore
Pamunkey Tribal Member
March 8, 2004

"There were also Indians from the Maryland area who participated."

— Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman
Monacan Nation
July 2004

"I think that we had a totally different relationship with Powhatan than did the other Powhatan tribes. This was in part to the distance we were from his main village. This was demonstrated on several occasions, like our refusal to join Openchancanough's rebellion. The Patawomecks did not participate and refused to join Openchancanough's efforts to get them to join with the others. We did not attack or take part in the attacks against the colony."

— Chief Robert Green
Patawomeck Tribe
April 20, 2004

March 1623 — Acts of Assembly at Jamestown by English —

- March 22 to be observed as a "Day of Thanksgiving" by English to commemorate the 1622 Uprising on March 22, 1622.[32]
- Prohibiting the trade of corn with **Indians**.[33]
- Every dwelling house shall have a palisade built around in defense against the **Indians**.[34]

October 15, 1623
The King of England is advised to assume control over the Colony of Virginia. King James requests the Colony surrender its charter. The Colony refuses.[35]

1624

The Virginia Company is dissolved. Virginia's government requests regiments of 500 soldiers per year to be sent to fortifications and to suppress the **Indians**.[36]

1625

King James I dies. He is succeeded by his son, Charles I.[37]

1628

The English establish a peace treaty with the **Indian**s and terminate it shortly after."[38]

1629

October 1629 — Acts of Assembly—

- The governor shall appoint a commander to several plantations. This commander has the authority to gather a posse of men to attack **Indians**.[39]
- Assembly agrees that attacks be conducted on the **Indian**s three times during the year: November, March and July, to clear the area of **Indians**. Several plantations**,** including Martin's Hundred, listed to attack the **Indians**. The **Pamunkey Indians** are targeted for attack before Christmas and in the summer (June, July or August). Every fit man is to participate in the summer assailment against the **Pamunkeys** in the summer.[40]
- Three **Indians** residing among the Colonists are to be supported.[41]

March 1629 — Acts of Assembly—

- Newcomers to the colony are not required to "march" upon the **Indians** until after being in the colony one year, unless it is necessary.[42]
- The war upon the **Indians** is to be carried out. There will be no peace made with the Indians.[43]

1631

February 1631 — Acts of Assembly—

- Colonists are prohibited from speaking with**Indians**. **Indians** are to be brought to the commander of the plantation or the commander is to be told of the whereabouts of the **Indian(s)**. Failure to do so is a month of service to a free man, and twenty stripes (lashes) to any servant. Exception: in the Eastern Shore area **Indians** are to be treated with good terms, especially the **Mattawombes**.[44]
- All trade with **Indians** is prohibited.[45]
- "For the **Indians** we should hold them our irrecoileable enemies." Commanders are given the authority to "fall out uppon" any **Indians** lurking about or molesting hogs, etc.[46]

1632

1632

Peace treaty concluded with **Chickahominy** and **Pamunkey Tribe**.[47]

September 1632 — Acts of Assembly —

English are not to speak or parley with **Indians**, except in Eastern Shore region.
- Power is given to plantation commanders to raise a posse to attack **Indians** near a plantation or believed to be "molesting" English cattle, hogs, etc.[49]
- Neighboring plantations are to assist each other upon alarms of **Indian** attacks.[50]

1633

August 1633 —Acts of Assembly—

- No arms or ammunition are to be sold or bartered to the **Indians**. Penalty: possessions go to the public, imprisonment, and providing service to whoever turned the person in and to the public.[51]
- Cloth and cotton is not to be traded with the **Indians**. The colonists are to have first bids. If supplies are excessive, the governor can provide a license to trade cloth to the **Indians**.[52]

1630s

In December 1640, Virginia's first Indian reservation was established for the Accomac (Gingoskin) Indians on the Eastern Shore.[53] **Editor's Note:** Today, this area is no longer reservation land, but is still known as Indian town Neck.

1640

January 1640 — Acts of Assembly—

- Price fixing of corn: 16 shillings per barrel.[54]
- Repeal of the 1637 act prohibiting trade or barter with Indians.[55]

1643

March 1643 — Acts of Assembly —

- Felony, with death penalty, for a runaway servant to supply arms and ammunition to **Indians**.[56]
- English are not to sell or barter arms or ammunition to **Indians**. Penalty includes loss of whole estate, half going to the informer and the other half to county the offense occurred in. Lending a weapon to an **Indian** to hunt with carries a lesser fine of giving the arms and ammunition to the informer.[57]



Detail of "An ageed manne in his winter garment," Theodor de Bry, 1590.

Native Voice

"There should be some explanation as to why the Indians are so hostile. This whole list sounds like the English did **nothing** to provoke the attacks!"

— Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman Monacan Nation
July 2004
[emphasis original]

"The Bass prominence in Nansemond history originally goes back to the 1638 marriage of Elizabeth, her Christianized name, to John Bass. She was the king of the Nansemond's daughter. The family still own or still has in its possession the prayer book, which documents this marriage in 1638. Basically, that's where our whole line today descends from, from John Bass."

— Chief Barry "Big Buck" Bass
Nansemond Tribe
May 21, 2004

1644

April 18, 1644
Chief Opechancanough, the aged successor of **Chief Powhatan**, orders a second surprise attack upon the colonists, killing some 400 settlers, mostly on outlying plantations.[58]

October 1644 — Acts of Assembly —

- Men hurt in the recent expeditions against the **Indians** are to be cared for by the county they reside in.[59]
- Six pounds of tobacco was to be taxed on every eligible person to defray the costs of fighting the **Pamunkey** and **Chickahominy Indians**.[60]

1645

February 1645 — Acts of Assembly —

- April 18th to be a yearly day of thanks giving for the deliverance from the **Indians**.[61]
- Three counties: Isle of Wight, Upper North and Lower North, to continue the war with the **Indians**, especially the **Chipoaks**. The Governor and the council of war are given authority to recruit men to fight.[62]
- Three forts are to be built. One at the **Pamunkey**, to be called Fort Royal, another at the Falls of the James River, to be called Fort Charles, and the third at the Ridge of the **Chickahominy**, to be called Fort James. Some **Indians** of the **Accomack** or **Rappahannock** to be of service to the English.[63]

November 1645 — Acts of Assembly —

- Settlers who are not able to defend themselves are not to hunt in the woods or travel.[64]
- Fort to be built at the falls of the Appomattox River, to be called Fort Henry, to prevent the **Indians** from fishing in that river, and to cut down their corn, among other things. In the counties: Isle of Wight, Upper North and Lower North, war is to be undertaken with the **Nansemond Indians**, cutting down their corn and other acts of hostilities.[65]

1646

March 1646 — Acts of Assembly—

- Arrangements for "the great and vast expense of the collony, in prosecuting the warr against our common enemies the **Indians**."[66]
- Captain Henry Fleet is to be paid 15,000 lbs. of tobacco, unless peace is made with "**Opechancanough** or his **Indians**, our enemies." If peace cannot be made, Captain Fleet shall build a fort any where along the Rappahannock River.[67]

October 1646
Opechancanough is captured and held prisoner at Jamestown. He is shot in the back, by one

of the English guards, who acted without orders, and dies.[68]

October 1646
Chief Necotowance succeeds Chief Opechancanough as leader of the Powhatan Chiefdom and signs the October 1646 treaty.[69]

October 1646 — Acts of Assembly — Treaty of Peace with the signatory tribes in alliance with Chief Necotowance, leader of the Powhatan Chiefdom

Article 1) Indians are to submit to the King of England, successors to be appointed or confirmed by the King's Governor; the Colony is to protect **Chief Necotowance** and his people; tribute for such protection of twenty beaver skins, yearly at the going away of the geese, shall be presented to the Governor;[70]

Article 2) Chief Necotowance and his people are to live and hunt on the north side of the York River without any inference from the English, unless the Governor and Council see fit to allow any English to live there;[71]

Article 3) Indians cede all the land between the falls of the James and York Rivers down towards Kequotan. It is lawful to kill any **Indian** in this region, unless he is a messenger from **Chief Necotowance**. **Chief Necotowance** is required to hand over any **Indian** seeking refuge, who escaped the English. To keep the messenger from being killed, a badge of a striped coat is to be worn.[72]

Article 4) A felony for any Englishman to be in the **Indian** territory, unless there is permission from **Chief Necotowance** or the Governor, plus, the English are given until March 1st to seize or kill any cattle or hogs on the north side of the York River.[73]

Article 5) Limitations of **Indian** hunting ground: no closer to the English plantations than the head of the Yapin black water to "the old **Monakin Towne**."[74]

Article 6) Death to any Englishman who entertains or conceals any **Indian** within the English limits.[75]

Article 7) Badges of messengers to be received at Fort Royal for the north side. Death to kill a messenger or one of his party.[76]

Article 8) Badges and striped coat to be received at Fort Henry, alias Appomattox Forte, for the south side.[77]

Article 9) Chief Necotowance to turn over any English prisoners, Negroes, guns, and escaped **Indian** servants, if they ran away under the age of twelve years old.[78]

Article 10) Indian children under twelve years old may live with the English.[79]

Article 11) Commanders of forts to provide the striped coats to **Indians** for trade or messengers.[80]

Indians had to have a pass to travel. They couldn 't testify in court against whites. They couldn't inherit property at one time."

— Oliver "Fish Hawk" Perry
Chief Emeritus Nansemond
1987



Badge for Pamunkey tribal members.

October 1646 — Acts of Assembly —

- The October Assembly ratifies a treaty of peace, which is agreed to by the **Indian** leader **Necotowance**. A significant feature of this treaty is a clause reserving the land to the north of the Pamunkey (York) River to the **Indians** and making it a felony for an Englishman to settle there.[81]
- Captain John Floud to be interpreter for the colony with a salary of four thousand pounds of tobacco yearly.[82]
- Reward of 100 pounds of tobacco to be given to a person for killing a wolf.[83]
- Land grants north of the York River to be inhabited within three years extended. Persons who have not inhabited land north of the York River due to the 1622 Uprising have until December 20, 1647 to move onto the land.[84]
- Previous acts prohibiting any terms of peace with the **Indians** is repealed.[85]
- The act permitting the English to destroy Indian corn fields is repealed.[86]
- The act calling for a march against the **Nansemond Indians** is repealed.[87]
- Extra taxes are to be levied to defray expenses of the late war.[88]

1647

November 1647— Acts of Assembly—

- Additional places for **Indian** messengers to stop for a rest: houses of Captain Edward Hill at Westover, and Captain William Tayler at Chiscake (Kiskiak).[89]

1653

July 1653 — Acts of Assembly—

- **Tottopottomoy** has choice of remaining where he and his **Indians** are at or to go to Ramomak. The **Pamunkey** and the **Chickahominy Indians** are to be moved according to a late act of Assembly. Col. John Fludd to oversee the proceedings with **Tottopottomoy**.[90]
- Gloucester and Lancaster counties are to assign tracts of land for **Indians** as hunting grounds.[91]
- An act of indemnity (a legal exception) to those who have lent guns to the **Indians**.[92]

1654

November 1654 — Acts of Assembly—

- Complaints against the **Rappahan nock Indians**. Assembly authorizes three counties to raise men: Lancaster 100, Northumberland 40 and Westmoreland 30, to meet on the first Wednesday in February to next to Thomas Meades' house. Major John Carter to lead the men to the **Rappahannock town** demanding satisfaction. Following, Carter is to give account to the Governor, who will determine with his Council, as to peace or war. Captain Henry Fleet and David Wheatliff to go as interpreters.[93]
- No person to employ **Indians** with guns unless by license from the county court or the Governor and Council.[94]
- Commissioners of Northampton County may purchase land from the **Indians** there, if the **Indians** desire to sell it, and if the majority of the town agrees. The Governor and Council areto be notified of proceedings.[95]

Native Voice

"We have a lot of interpreters I think that married into our tribe. A lot of the interpreters' surnames show up in our family names, like the name Cox. The families that were in Virginia before 1700 tended to inter-marry a lot. There weren't a lot of English women around. And who did the English kill? The Indian men, not the women. So there were a lot of Indian women and few Indian men for them to marry. So, it made sense that these interpreters married these Indian women since they spent most f their time with the Indian tribes anyway. So, when you talk about blood quantum, I have no idea what my blood quantum is. When somebody tells me they're pure Indian, I doubt that there are any pure Indians in this part of the country. The Spanish went into the southwest, and then the settlers. The trappers in the north either raped the Indian women or married into those tribes. To me, blood quantum doesn't really matter. Its like an older Elder that Mitchell Bush once introduced me to said, "I know white men that are more Indian than some Indians I know. It's what's in your heart and not necessarily what's in your blood that matters. Your heart tells you whether your are an Indian or not. Do you love and respect Mother Earth?""

— Chief Robert Green

1656

March 1656 — Acts of Assembly—

- For every eight wolf heads, the King or Great Man [chiefs] shall be delivered a cow. "This will be a step to civilizing them and to making them Christians."[96]
- **Indians** who bring their children in voluntarily can choose the persons to entrust the care of their children to, not to be slaves, but to do "their best to bring them up in Christianity, civility and the knowledge of necessary trades." The Englishmen will be paid for such service.[97]
- Henceforth, land cannot be purchased from **Indians** without the consent of the Assembly.
- This does not nullify any previous transactions.[98]
- The county of Northampton authorized to enact laws as to **Indians** or manufactures, subject to the revision of the assembly.[99]
- Since shooting off guns is an alarm signal of attacking **Indians**, no guns are to be shot off, except at marriages and funerals. Penalty is 100 pounds of tobacco.[100]
- Six hundred to seven hundred western **Indians** come from the mountains to the falls of the James River. The English consider their presence a threat to the colony, "having cost so much blood to expel and extirpate those perfidious and treacherous **Indians** which were there formerly." Two upper counties under the command of Col. Edward Hill with 100 men are to first try to remove the **Indians** without war. Reciting the requirement of the **Indians** under the Treaty of 1646 to assist the English, the messengers are to be sent to **Tottopotomoy** and the **Chickahominies** regarding their advice on the matter.[101]
- **Indians** are not to be killed within English territory unless they are doing something suspicious.[102]
- No **Indians** to be entertained without license from the county court or two justices of the peace.[103]
- **Indian children** can be servants, by leave of their parents, if the children are educated and brought up in the Christian religion.[104]

Native Voice

"Traditionally, the Chief's role and responsibilities were to make sure that everyone in his village had food, shelter, clothing, and when someone got sick they had someone take care of them."

— Chief G. Anne "Little Fawn" Richardson
Rappahannock Tribe
July 2000

December 1656 — Acts of Assembly —

- Repeal of previous act allowing indiscriminate killing of **Indians** for minor infractions such as trespassing. No **Indian** to be killed unless committing an act that would be a felony for an Englishman. A felony to be proved by two witnesses. No **Indian** is to come within the boundaries of a fenced plantation without a "ticket." **Indians** can fish or gather wild fruits as long as they do not carry arms or come inside of the fenced plantations. All free men may trade with the **Indians**.[105]

1658

March 1658 — Acts of Assembly —

- Penalty for selling arms to **Indians** is the forfeit of one's entire estate, half to the informant and the other half to the County. A gun lent to an Indian may be seized.[106]
- **Indian** servants of 16 years old, male and female, are to be taxed.[107]
- **Indian children** within English custody are not to be transferred to another custodian for any reason. Such children are to be free at age 25.[108]
- No land grants to be issued until each **Indian bowman** receive his 50 acres. Any Indian land within already granted patent must be bought from the **Indians** or relinquished.[109]
- **Indians** to be employed to kill wolves, without English weapons.[110]
- Due to the many complaints coming in about the wrong done to the **Indians** by taking away their lands, the Assembly passes an act stating that the Indians are to keep their lands they now possess and no Englishman can settle a claim there without consent from the Governor and Council or commissioners in that place. Recent settlers near the **Pamunkey Indians** and **Chickahominy Indians** are recalled.[111]
- **Editor's Note:** This one section of the English records is quoted verbatim due to the extensive insights within the text, thus allowing the reader to draw his or her own interpretation.

  "WHEREAS many complaints have bin brought to the Assembly touching wrong done to the **Indians**, in the taking away their land and forcing them into such narrow streights and places that they cannot subsist either by planting or hunting, and for that it may be feared they may justly driven to despaire & to attempt some desperate course for themselves, which inconveniencies though they have bin endeavored to be remedied by former acts of Assembly made to the same purpose, Yet notwithstanding manie English doe still intrench upon the said Indian's land, which this Assembly conceiveing to be contrary to justice, and the true intent of the English plantation in this country, whereby the **Indians** might by all just and faire waies be reduced to civility and the true worship of God, have therefore thought fitt to ordeine and enact, and bee in hereby ordained and enacted, That all the **Indians** of this collonie shall and may hold and keep those seates of land which they now have, and that no person or person whatsoever be suffered to intrench or plant upon such places as the **Indians** claime or desire untill full leave from the Governour and Councill or com'rs. [commissioners] for the place; Yet this act not to be extended to prejudice those English which are now seated with the **Indians'** former consent unless uppon further examination before the Grand Assemblie cause shall be found for so doeing, And the said com'rs. shall be accomptable before the Governour and Councill and the Grand Assembly if any wrong or injurie be done to the **Indians** contrary to the intent of this act, And be it further encated, That the **Indians** as either now or hereafter shall want

seates to live on, or shall desire to remove to any places void or untaken upp they shall be assisted therin, and order granted them, for confirmation thereof, And no **Indians** to sell their lands but at quarter courtes, And that those English which are lately gone to seate neare the Pamunkeys and the **Chickahominies** on the north side of Pamunkie river shall be recalled and such English to choose other seates else where, and that the **Indians** as by a former act was granted them, shall have free liberty of hunting in the woods without the English fenced plantations, these places excepted between Yorke river and James river and between the Black water and the **Manakin towne** and James river, and noe patent shall be adjudged valid which hath lately passed or shall pass contrary to the sense of this act, Nor none to be of force which shall intrench uppon the **Indians' lands** to their discontent without expresse order for the same."[112]

- Against employing **Indians** with guns.[113]
- Northampton Commissioners to take acknowledgement of **Indian Lands**.[114]
- For preservation of the peace with the **Indians** by entertaining **Indians** without leave.[115]
- Due to a problem with **Indian children** being stolen from their parents and sold to the English by other **Indians**, no person shall buy an **Indian** from the English. If a person has done so, ten days are allowed to return the **Indian child** from where he/she was taken. The informant receives 500 pounds of tobacco.[116]
- **Wiccacomoco Indians** allegedly deserted their land, thus it was granted to Samuel Mathewes on November 27, 1657 and confirmed on March 11, 1658.[117]
- **Indians** may carry their own guns within their own territory.[118]
- Upon the death of interpreter Col. John Flood, his son, Thomas Flood, is hired to take his place for the same salary.[119]
- Since both the English and foreigner plantations are trading guns and ammunition to the **Indians** for beaver to their gain, and the colony's loss, free trade with the **Indians** will be permitted starting April 1, 1660.[120]

Native Voice

"Somewhere around this time, a group of Monacans move to a village near Ft. Henry, and a battle occurs between the English (with Powhatan allies) and the Monacans. The Pamunkey Chief Totapotamoi [Tottopotomoy] is killed."

— Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman
Monacan Nation
July 2004



Detail of "On a Religeous men in the towne of Secota," Theodor de Bry, 1590.

1660

March 1660 — Acts of Assembly —

- Because the **Indians** are unaccustomed to English law and imprisonment, and out of fear of inciting a war with the **Indians**, any English trading with the **Indians** who allows an **Indian** to build up a debt, does so at his own risk. The Assembly will not permit English laws of debt recovery be applied to the **Indians**.[121]
- The **King of Weanoak** incurs debt with the English beyond his ability to pay back. He is put in prison. In prison, he petitions the government to grant him protection from arrest until the first of the following March.[122]
- John Beauchamp, merchant, is granted permission to take his **Indian boy** to England, if

county court in Charles City County receives the parent's consent.

Native Voice

"There should be some foreshadowing of this, earlier in the timeline. It is the reason for all of the earlier acts by the English intended to protect themselves. The same is true in Maryland colonial records, except that Indians were allowed to address the colonial government during its meetings. The way this timeline is written, it appears that the Indians were the bad guys for a long time before this Act became necessary!"

— Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman
Monacan Nation, July 2004

October 1660 — Acts of Assembly —

- **Accomack Indians,** also known as **"Gingaskins,"** complaining that the English are getting too close to them, their corn is being damaged. Surveyors are to survey out enough land for them to fish and hunt.[124]
- There is a dispute over whether the land granted to Col. Mathewes was actually agreed upon by the **Wiccocomoco Indians** or not. To settle the dispute the **Wiccocomoco Indians** are to be offered payment for the lands. If they accept, the land will belong to Col. Mathewes' heir. If not accepted, the land will belong to the **Wiccocomoco Indians** until they leave the land. If they leave the land, Mathewes' heir is entitled to the land.[125]
- Col. Fantleroy claims to have the consent of the **Indians** to purchase land from them. However, he does not have any evidence to back it up. The Assembly will take the matter up at the next session. Col. Carter is to defend the rights of the **Indians**.[126]
- John Powell complains of the **Indians** damaging his property. The Northumberland commissioners are to look into the matter and determine if there is enough proof to support Powell's claims. If there is evidence, then the chief of the Indians is to be approached to comply to pay for the damages. If the chief refuses, the court will decide how many **Indians** may be apprehended and sold asslaves in a foreign country.[127]

March 1660 — Acts of Assembly —

- Only persons who have obtained a license may trade with the **Indians**. Penalty for first offense: 500 lbs. of tobacco, 2nd offense 1000 lbs. of tobacco, and 3rd offense 1,500 lbs. of tobacco, along with all trading goods.[128]

Native Voice

"Of course, we would like to have all our land back. You asked for dreams. But we know better. They would have to give us half of the state of Virginia back."

—Ronnie Branham
Chief Emeritus Monacan Nation
1987

1661

March 1661 — Acts of Assembly —

- Lands of the **Chickahominy Indians** confirmed, no purchase to be made from them except by the quarter court or the Assembly. "UPON the petition of **Harquip the Mangai** of the **Chickahominy Indians** to have all the lands from Mr. Malorys bounds to the head of the Mattaponi river & into the woods to the **Pamunkeys**. *It is accordingly ordered* that the said land be confirmed to the said **Indians** by patent, and that no Englishman shall upon any pretence disturbe them in their said bounds nor purchase it of them unless the major part of the great men shall freely and voluntarily declare their consent in the quarter court or assembly."[129]
- Major General Manwaring Hamond claims that 2000 acres within land granted to the **Chickahominy Indians** was granted him by patent. The Assembly states that he is required to either purchase the land from the **Indians** or obtain their consent to preserve the country's honor and reputation.[130]
- In the controversy over land by Col. Fantleroy and **Indians**, the Assembly judged that since Fantleroy had provided some compensation for the land, and Fantleory had constructed buildings and cleared the land, which the **Indians** were unable to pay for, the land would go to Fantleroy. Fantleroy is to pay Mr. Mathew Kempe 30 matchcoats of two yards apiece, with one trimmed in copper lace for the chief, for the service of the **Indians**.[131]
- Because the **Chesskoiack Indians** have been kind to the English and have obeyed English laws, the Assembly grants the continued use of the land they are presently on, as well as holding guns in their possession.[132]
- **Harquip Mangoi of the Chickahominy Indians**, on April 4, 1661, acknowledged efore the Grand Assembly the sale of 743 acres of land from the cliffs to the little creek to Mr. Phillip Mallory.[133]

Native Voice

Editor's Note: The mention of Indian slavery in the English records is significant verification of Native oral tradition, which states that Indian slavery occurred with the English, as well as the earlier Spanish excursions.

"WOW!! This is not the usual information [history] we are usually given."

—Mitchell Bush
Virginia Council of Indians, Indian At Large
Onondaga Tribal Member
July 2004

Editor's Note: Most Virginia Indian Tribes still view many of the acts of the English in the seventeenth century as cruel, and need to presented within the historical narrative.

1662

March 1662 — Acts of Assembly—

- Repeals any acts inhibiting free trade among inhabitants of the colony/country, except with **Indians**. Trade with **Indians** for beaver, otter and other furs must be commissioned by the Governor.[134]
- John Flood's son to take his place as an interpreter, and Henry Newcombe to be interpreter in the northern region.[135]
- This act prohibits the selling or buying of **Indian** lands, any contracts are null and void.[136]
- Any Englishman who cannot produce good evidence of title on **Indians** lands shall be removed by the sheriff; any constructed buildings are to be demolished and burned.[137]
- Englishmen within three miles of the **Indians** are to assist in making a fence around the cornfields of the **Indians**, in order to protect the crops from the cattle and hogs of the English. It is up to the **Indians**, however, to maintain the fence.[138]
- **Indians** may obtain a license to gather oysters and wild fruits for a given period of time. They, however, may not carry any weapons with them. If the English harm the **Indians**, the English are to be prosecuted as if the harm had been done to an Englishman.[139]
- There is to be no trade with the **Indians** whatsoever except by commissions by the Governor.[140]
- The Governor to hear disputes of trades with the **Indians**.[141]
- An **Indian chief** cannot be imprisoned without a special warrant from the Governor and two Council members.[142]
- The Governor is to appoint commissioners without personal interest in the area to go to the **Indian towns** to tell them of the English acts passed for their protection. Commissioners are to go annually to insure that their (**Indians'**) rights are not being violated.[143]
- Silver-plated and copper plated badges are to be provided to the **chiefs** under the protection of the English. **Indians**, or at least one **Indian** within the group, coming into English bounds are to wear one of these badges. If the **Indians** are found in harming any English, the chief associated with the badge will be held responsible. **Indians** found English bounds without a badge are to be apprehended and taken to a justice of the peace, and held in safe custody until the chief, or "great man," pays 100-arm length of roanoke (shell beads) for each **Indian**.[144]
- Any Englishman proven to have taken a badge away from an **Indian** shall be fined two hours in the "pillory" and 5,000 pounds of tobacco. If the Englishman is unable make such a payment, he is to spend six months in prison.[145]
- **Tributary Indian Kings** are to send one of their great men to the English militia at the notice of approaching strange **Indians** to give a report of their knowledge of the **Indian group**.[146]
- The English are not to harbor runaway **Indians** from their respective tribes.[147]
- **Indian servants** are not to be sold as slaves, nor held in service longer than expected of an English servant.[148]
- **Indian servants** are permitted only by license obtained from the Governor. The Englishman with the license is responsible for the actions of the **Indian servant**.[149]
- **Wahanganoche, King of the Patawomeck Indians**, is acquitted of murder charges by Captain Giles Brent.[150]
- **Chief Wahanganoche of the Patawomeck Indians** is to be paid 200 arms length of roanoke by Captain Giles Brent, and 100 arms length of roanoke by other accusers,

Colonel Gerrard Fowke, Mr. John Lord and Captain George Mason. Matchcoats of 20 arms length can be substituted for the roanoke.[151]

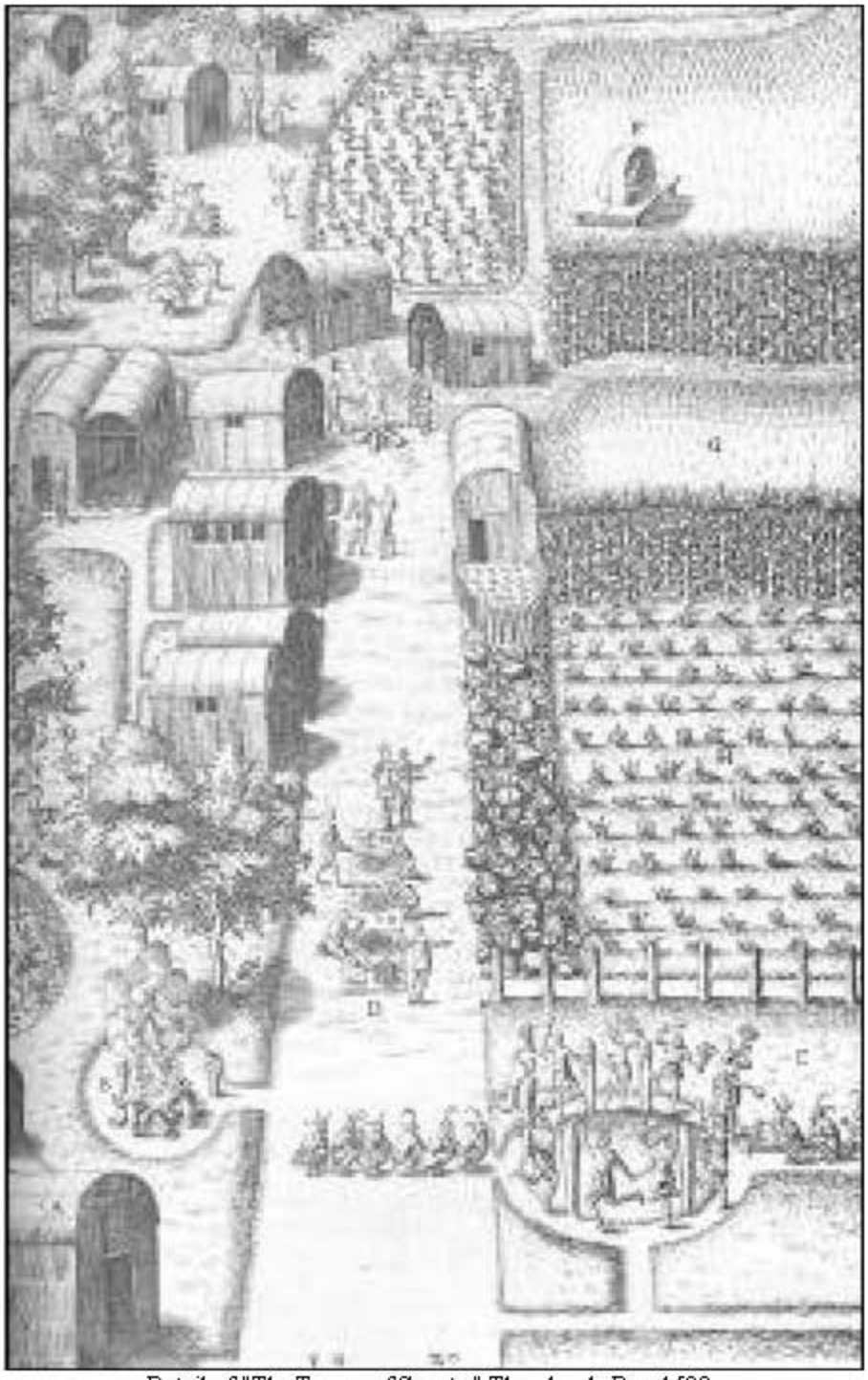
- Colonel Gerrard Fowke is fined 10,000 pounds of tobacco for allowing one of the murderers to escape (presumably an Englishman).[152]
- Captain Giles Brent and Colonel Gerrard Fowke issued an illegal warrant for **Wahanganoche, King of the Patawomeck Indians'** arrest. They are fined 15,000 pounds of tobacco. They can no longer hold civil or military positions. Brent is to pay the costs of the witnesses. Fowke is to pay whatever charges remain.[153]
- Colonel Moore Fantlorey has built a house in the lowland near marshes. It appears that he wants 500 acres of high land ground instead. He is to pay the **King of the Rappahannock** 15 match coats prior to moving and 30 upon acquiring the uplands.[154]
- Colonel Moore Fantlorey falsely accused the **Rappahannock Chief** of not paying tribute to the Governor, Sir William Berkeley. Colonel Moore Fantlorey is relieved of any civil or military office.[155]
- White receives 10,000 pounds of tobacco from the public trust to compensate for the murder of his son and two servants by **Indians**.[156]
- Trade is prohibited with Marylanders and northern **Indians**, such as the **Susquehannocks**. It is feared that the well-worn paths will bring danger from **northern Indians** and they will also trade with the **tributary Indians** in Virginia, which would hurt the colonists trade with **tributary Indians**.[157]
- It appears that Mrs. Mary Ludlow, estate executive for the late Collonel Thomas Ludlow, has encroached upon the **Chiskiack Indian** land at Pyanketancke. The Ludlow heirs are to have only the land as previously surveyed. A commission appointed by the Governor is to settle all disputes.[158]
- **Wahanganoche, King of the Patawomeck Indians**, acknowledged before the committee of Indian businesses [first noticed mention of such a committee] that he has sold a parcel of land to Mr. Peter Austin for matchcoats. Trees will be marked to establish the boundaries of this land.[159]
- Commissioners appointed by the Governor shall settle Land disputes between Colonel Gerard Fowke and **Wahanganoche, King of the Patawomecks**.[160]
- Commissioners appointed by the Governor shall settle Land disputes between Captain Giles Brent and **Wahanganoche, King of the Patawomeck Indians**.[161]
- Lieutenant Colonel Goodridge is summoned to appear before the Governor and the Council to answer complaints by the **King of the Mattaponi Indians** concerning the burning of his English house.[162]
- John Carter to issue a warrant for William Johnsons concerning whether an Indian boy should remain with the English or be returnedto the **Indians**.[163]
- **Metappin, a Powhatan Indian**, sold for a lifetime of service to Elizabeth Short by the **King of the Wainoake** (possibly the Weynoke) **Indians**, is to be set free. The **King of the Wainoake Indians** could not legally sell **Metappin** because he was of another nation. **Metappin** can speak perfect English and desires to be baptized.[164]
- The Assembly upon the advice of the committee appointed for the **Indian** business requests that the Governor appoint uninterested person to enquire on differences between the English and the **Indians**.[165]

Native Voice

"I'm sure that they went to Wahanganoche and wanted land, but he wouldn't give them any land. So, they accuse him of treason and murder, and he gets hauled down to Middle

Plantation, which is Williamsburg today. And he gets tried, and he was found innocent."

-Chief Robert Green
Pal.awomeck Tribe
AFi120, 2004



Detail of "The Towne of Secota," Theodor de Bry, 1590.

1663

September 1663 -Acts of Assembly-

- **Tributary Indians** (Virginia Powhatans) claim that other **Indians**, such as the **Tuscarores**, are committing the diverse thefts on the south side of the James River. English are prohibited to entertain any Indian without a badge. The English who do so will be subject to the same punishment as the Indians who enter English territory without a badge. The informer of such actions will receive half the penalty.[166]
- The **King of the Patawomeck** and other northern *Werowances* and Mangays (chief men) are to deliver such hostages of their children or others as shall be required, if not they will be considered enemies of the English.[167]
- If any Englishman be hurt or killed, the nearest **Indian nation** to the incident is to produce the culprit, or else they will be considered actors in the crime.[168]

  Editor's Note: This shows the English are applying the concept of entire group responsible for the actions of a few.
- If any strange **Indian(s)** shall come into their territory, they are to pursue them as enemies. If they do not have the manpower to deal with the incoming **Indians**, chief men are to be sent to the English, providing information of the situation, and the English will assist them.[169]
- The **Patawomeck Indians** and their neighboring **Indians** are to seek out to the best of their abilities the late murders and those committing other mischief against the English.[170]
- All **Indian nation**s are to join in and pursue the **Doeggs** who confessed to be the actors in the first murders of the **Occaneechis** and the **Monacans**.[171]

  Editor's Note: This is an example of developing English policy whereby the English pressure the tribes to act in their self interest, resulting in factionalism among the tribes.
- If the **Doeggs** come in the future to trade with them, they are to turn the **Doeggs** over to the English.[172]
- The **King of the Patawomeck** is not to hold *Matchacominco* [council] with any strange nation without the militia having knowledge of it beforehand, or before the hostages be delivered as according to this act.[173]
- The **Indian** hostages shall be well cared for and educated. Those caring for them shall receive 1200 pounds of tobacco a year.[174]
- An **Indian**, who carries away such a hostage and does not return the hostage, shall be considered and proceeded against as an enemy.[175]

Native Voice

"Even though colonial records mistakenly call chief 'king,' this timeline should avoid doing so."

—Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman
Monacan Nation, July 2004

Editor's Note: Ms. Wood is not the only person to comment on the English usage of "king." One objective of this time line is to bring these differences of perspective on history to the forefront. Word usage contains many hidden cultural and political perspectives. The usage of "king" verses "chief" distinguishes difference between English and Indian perspective, as well as a difference between the seventeenth century and contemporary language usage.

I think that once he [Fowke] gets back and the Indians don't leave, the English suddenly say, 'Well, if we kill them, they won't be living on the land and we can claim it.'"

—Chief Robert Green
Patawomeck Tribe
April 20, 2004

1665

October 1665 — Acts of Assembly—

- Since the Dutch were trading the **Indians** guns and ammunition the English were allowed to do so, as well. However, now that the Dutch are gone, the General Assembly forbids the sale of guns and ammunition to the **Indians**.[176]
- The 1633 act holding the **northern Indians** accountable for the murders of English on the nearest Indian town is extended to all **Indians**. Commissioners will be appointed to enforce this act.[177]
- **Indians** no longer can determine their own *Werowance* or chief commander, but instead the Governor is to appoint the successor. If the **Indians** refuse, they will be considered enemies.[178]

  Editor's Note: This indicates clearly an emerging policy that the English colonial government will select and appoint tribal leaders according to their own interests.
- Penalty for harboring, employing or entertaining an **Indian** without permit will be 5,000 pounds of tobacco or one year in prison.[179]

Native Voice

"Because our tribe was a matrilineal society, we had female leaders in the seventeenth century. There were actually two Rappahannock Chiefs. But in all actuality in 1684, our tribe was consolidated with the Nanzatico Tribe. The Nanzatico Tribe was actually a sister village of the Rappahannock domain. There was an English family that had been burned out and murdered nearby. The colonial authorities automatically assumed because the Nanzatico were the closest tribe to them that it was them that had done that. So, they went in and they hung all of the young men in the town square. The women and the old men were sold into slavery to Antigua because the Indian commissioner's daughter at the time was engaged to be married to the ambassador to Antigua. They sold them into slavery and the children were bound out to English families to be servants. Since the English were unable to distinguish the Rappahannocks from the Nanzatico, the Rappahannocks claimed a number of Nanzatico people as Rappahannock to prevent them from being murdered or sold into slavery. Because of all the men being taken, there emerged a woman from the Nanzatico that was Chief, and then a Rappahannock woman who was Chief. So, we ended up with two Chiefs, or Queens, as the English termed them, at the same time."

— Chief G. Anne "Little Fawn" Richardson
Rappahannock Tribe
July 2000



Detail of "Their manner of prainge with Rattles abowt te fyer," Theodor de Bry, 1590.

1666

October 1666 — Acts of Assembly—

- The paying of **Indians** for killing wolves has become burdensome beyond benefit. T h e Assembly grants each county to determine the amount of award, if any.[180]
- Realization that holding the closest neighboring Indian town responsible for the murder of an English person does not pertain to probable guilt, the Assembly will make a test case out of Henrico County, being on the frontier. After, the north side of the James River is to be secured with set boundaries, as the south side, any **Indian** entering the English boundaries can be legally killed. If it goes well in Henrico, they will apply the

same principle to other counties.[181]

Editor's Note: Indians must have a permit to work on land that was "native" land at the beginning of the century. The ultimate penalty of this was death.

Native Voice

"This is another neighborly act affirming Indian sovereignty!"

—Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman
Monacan Nation
July 2004

1669

October 1669 — Acts of Assembly—

- **Tributary Indians** are to kill a certain amount of wolves each year.[182]

County	Indian Group	Bowmen	Wolves
Nansemond	**Nansemond**	45	9
Surrey	**Pawchay-ick**	30	6
	Weyenoake	15	3
	Nottoway (2 towns)	90	18
Charles City	**Appomattux**	50	10
	Men-Heyrick	50	10
Henrico	**Manachee**	30	6
	Powhites	10	2
New Kent	**Pamuncy**	50	10
	Chickahomony	60	12
	Mattaponi	20	4
	Rappahanock	30	6
	Totas Chees	40	8
Gloucester	**Chiskiack**	15	3
Rappahannock	**Portobacco**	60	12
Nanzcatico & Mattehatique		50	10
Northumberland	**Wickacomico**	70	14
Westmoreland	**Appomatux**	10	2

Editor's Note: This list gives us some idea of the extent of the tribes population size, by county, in 1669. Modern county lines may differ from seventeenth century boundary lines. Note absence of tribal listings for James City and York counties.

- Counties courts are to appoint a person to take in and keep track of the killed wolves. If the quota is not meet by the **Indian group**, the great man [chief] is to come and

explain the situation for the default, where they shall be warned to meet the quota. If the quota is not met, the contempt will be addressed in the next assembly. If more wolves are brought in than required, they shall be paid 100 pounds of tobacco and cask (a wooden barrel.)[183]
- At the next Assembly they will decide if the wolves brought in can be in lieu of the tribute. Also, since it is unlawful for the Indians to come in among the English, they need to be issued licenses to bring the wolf heads into the English communities.[184]

1670

October 1670 — Acts of Assembly —

- No free **Indian** or Negro can purchase a Christian servant, but can buy any from their own nation.[185]
- The act encouraging the **Indians** to kill wolves and pay their tribute in wolf heads has not produced the desired effects.[186]
- To settle disputes as to whether **Indians** taken in war by other nations can be sold to the English should be for life or a number of years, the Assembly decides that servants, not being Christian, imported into the colony are for life, whereas, servants brought by land, if boys or girls, until the age of 30, if men or women, twelve years and no longer.[187]

1671

September 1671 — Acts of Assembly —

- The act of making it lawful to kill any **Indian** entering Henrico County is repealed. **Indians** are permitted to come into Henrico County for lawful occasions. However, legal permits must be obtained prior to entertaining any **Indians**.[188]

Native Voice

"Most of the Upper Mattaponi people have the last name Adams, including myself, and that came about through an interpreter that lived among the Indian people in the early 1700s."

— Chief Kenneth Adams
Upper Mattaponi, March 17, 2001

Editor's Note: An interpreter with the name James Adams appears in the James City County records on April 26, 1705. See chart.

1674

Septembers 1674 — Acts of Assembly —

- Due to the difficulty of proving hog stealing, the testimony of **Indians** will be admissible and **Indians** are to mark their hogs.[189]

1676

Editor's Note: The Acts of Assembly from 1676 are worth reading carefully. These acts point to the growing frictions and tension that erupt into physical violence between natives and settlers. The friendly tribes suffer at the hands of their English neighbors in what has become known as "Bacon's Rebellion." This is one of the most devastating events of the seventeenth century for tributary Indians.

March 1676 — Acts of Assembly —The English Declare War on the Indians.

- War shall be declared on **Indians** who are notoriously known or shall be discovered to have committed murders, aiders and abettors, **Indians** who refuse to hand over hostages, or other security to show their fidelity and good affections to the English, and **Indians** refusing to aid the English in discovering, pursuing and destroying those enemies.[190]
- The whole colony/country shall help finance this war.[191]
- 500 men shall be pulled out of the colony, especially from the more secure, interior counties to enter into standard pay. Col. Nathaniel Bacon, Esqr. From Yorktown.[192]
- A few **Indians** to be employed and paid with matchcoats for services.[193]
- Certain **Indians** agree to Col. George Mason's request to seek out the murders. For every prisoner brought back alive, three matchcoats will be awarded, for the head of every one killed, one matchcoat.[194]
- Death to English or **Indian** who give private intelligence to the enemy.[195]
- Not only are the colonists being murdered in the frontier regions, but increasingly in the more prominent areas. The Assembly states that the **Indians** have been emboldened by the large amounts of guns and ammunition they have traded for. Thus, this act places a death penalty on trading guns and ammunition with the **Indians**.[196]
- To enforce this act, the Assembly states that no English shall go into an **Indian town,** or carry more than one gun and ten charges of powder outside a plantation. If found with more, the English will be punished as if he was trading guns and ammunition with the **Indians**, whether he was or not. Since there are friendly **Indians** living amongst the English who would perish without the necessities of matchcoats, hoes and axes to tend their corn fields, each county will appoint five commissioners to trade necessities with the friendly **Indians**. Trading with **Indians** is barred exclusively, except for these five commissioners. Penalty for trading with **Indians** is 10,000 pounds of tobacco or one year in prison.[197]

Native Voice

"Even thought treaties had been made and the Indians segregated by means of reservations, the colonists continued to intrude on Indian land. In 1607, the Indian population in Powhatan's realm was approximately 14,000. It had decreased to 2,000-3,000 by 1670 and

the settlers had increased to approximately 40,000."

— Oliver L. "Fish Hawk" Perry
Nansemond Chief Emeritus
September 16, 1989

"Bacon's Rebellion was sort of the same thing (as the taking of land by Fowke). Bacon and his supporters thought that the Governor and the colony were looking out for the Indians too much. Protecting them. That was one of the main reasons for Bacon's Rebellion. When these landowners weren't allowed to take the Indian lands, they felt that the Governor was mollycoddling the Indians. They wanted to be able to take the Indian lands for their own. I think that the attack against the Patawomecks in 1666 was just a lead-up to Bacon's Rebellion."

— Chief Robert Green
Patawomeck Tribe
April 20, 2004

April 1676
Nathaniel Bacon is chosen by frontiersmen to be their leader in a campaign against the natives.[198]

June 1676 — Acts of Assembly—

- War is declared on the **Indians**. However, the English want to distinguish between hostile and friendly Indians.[199]
- **Indians** shall be considered enemies if they have or in the future abandon their customary towns without first obtaining a license from the Governor.[200]
- To be considered friendly, **Indians** must turn in all weapons, excluding bows and arrows.[201]
- All**Indian towns** are to give an account of name and number of all **Indians** in their town. Failure to do so will be considered enemies.[202]
- 1,000 militiamen to be raised, one eighth to be horsemen.[203]
- **Indians** taken captive in the **Indian war** shall be slaves for life.[204]
- The previous act allowing five commissioners to trade with the Indians is repealed due to corruption. All trade with **Indians** is prohibited. However, **Indians** fighting with the English shall have access to guns and ammunition.[205]
- Friendly **Indians** may continue to fish and hunt within their limits with bows and arrows. The **English** may trade fish, canoes, bowls, mats or baskets for corn from friendly **Indians**. If any **Indian** items other than these are found in the houses of the English, the English person shall be fined 1,000 pounds of tobacco, half to go to the public and the other half to the informer. A chief officer must certify **Indian** items taken in war; the justice of the peace is to be notified. Anyone having **Indian** items prior to this act must obtain a certificate from the justice of the peace. Any English person killing a beaver, otter, or wildcat on their own must immediately take the skin(s) to be certified by the justice of the peace.[206]
- Any land deserted by **Indians** shall be put on reserve to sell to defray the cost of the war. The land shall not be patented to the English, but sold.[207]

Native Voice

For over three hundred years, scholars and historians have debated the cause of Bacon's Rebellion without reaching a definitive conclusion. Governor William Berkely and Nathaniel Bacon, Jr. have each been vigorously accused and defended as the villain of the infamous insurrection of 1676-1677. Even though many problems existed in the colony, both real and fictitious, the Governor and the rebel soon agreed on at least one issue — the extermination of the Indians.

— Oliver L. "Fish Hawk" Perry
Nansemond Chief Emeritus
September 16, 1989

June 1676
Governor Berkeley and the Assembly make Bacon the commander-in-chief of the forces to fight the **Indians**.[208]

June 1676
Nathaniel Bacon leaves Jamestown with his followers to march against the **Indians**.[209]

Native Voice

"He [Nathaniel Bacon] also convinced the Occaneechis to attack a Susquehannock fort, and then he attacked the Occaneechis after their victory and murdered almost all of them."

— Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman
Monacan Nation
July 2004

"Because he [Nathaniel Bacon] wanted Gov. Berkeley's job, I heard."

— Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman
Monacan Nation
July 2004

August 1676
Nathaniel Bacon crosses the York and raids friendly, tributary Indians, such as the **Pamunkeys**. Instead of fighting back the **tributary Indians**, who signed the 1646 Treaty of Peace, try to escape and hide from Bacon and his men.[210]

September 1676
Nathaniel Bacon enters Jamestown and sets it on fire, after which he returns to Gloucester. He died a month later in Gloucester of the "bloody flux" and "lousey disease."[211]


ARTICLES
OF
PEACE
Between
The Most Serene and Mighty PRINCE
CHARLES II.
By the the Grace of God,
King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland,
Defender of the Faith, &c.
and several
Indian Kings and Queens &c.
Concluded the 29th day of May, 1677.
PUBLISHED BY HIS MAJESTIES COMMAND
LONDON,
Reproduction of the Treaty of Middle Plantation 1677.

1677

May 29, 1677
After Bacon's Rebellion, the **Queen of the Pamunkeys, Cockacoeske**, approaches the Colonial government to update the 1646 Treaty of Peace. The 1677 Treaty is signed at Middle Plantation in Williamsburg, Virginia.[212]

February 1677 — Acts of Assembly —

- Arms and ammunition may be sold and traded to any colonists, the **Indians** of the eastern shore, and other friendly neighboring **Indians**.[213]
- The cost of the war with the **Susquehanna Indians** shall be born by the public.[214]
- The counties are to pay for the war against the **Indians**.[215]
- **Indians** taken captive in war may be retained as slaves, and the soldiers may retain the plunder.[216]

October 1677 — Acts of Assembly —

- Total prohibition of trade with **Indians** is found to be hurtful. Free trade with all friendly **Indians** is to resume. **Indians** may come to the English region on certain days to trade. Marts or fairs are to be established for this trade. The English are not to trade with **Indians** at any other place, but the deemed markets. There shall be an account kept of all that is traded at the market. Exceptions are made to the **Wiccocomico Indians** in Northumberland and **Chiskiack Indians** living in Gloucester: the respective counties may set up their own times and rules. **Indians** are to come to the markets unarmed, but may carry back arms, if they are recorded with the clerk. **Indians** may be entertained within individual homes with a license to do so.[217]

  Editor's Note: This was treaty between Charles II of England the Virginia Indians, which repeats many of the articles of peace from the 1646 Treaty. Several of the articles from this treaty were enacted into law by the General Assembly.

Native Voice

"The Pamunkey Queen emerged as a very powerful leader. She actually negotiated the Treaty of 1677 on behalf of all the Powhatan tribes. Women were prominent in government."

— Chief G. Anne "Little Fawn" Richardson
Rappahannock Tribe
July 2000

1679

April 1679 — Acts of Assembly—

- Reiteration of soldiers being free to keep plunder from **Indians** and sell Indian captives as slaves.[218]

1680

June 1680 — Acts of Assembly—

- All limitations of trade with friendly **Indians** repealed until the next session.[219]

1682

November 1682 — Acts of Assembly—

- Repeal of Act XII, October 1670 concerning the tenure of slaves. Except for Turks and Moors, any person from a nation not known to be Christian can be sold as slaves,

regardless of where they are from or whether they are converted to Christianity.[220]

Native Voice

"An earlier act prohibited Indian slavery. Now it is okay?"

— Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman
Monacan Nation
July 2004

Editor's Note: Ms. Wood points to an interesting aspect in colonial English culture, which requires further research into the English colonial distinctions between slavery and captivity.

1691

April 1691 — Acts of Assembly—

- Customs and licenses required for exporting **Indian goods**, such as furs, outside the country.[221]
- All former acts limiting trade with the **Indians** repealed. There shall be free and open trade for all persons and all times.[222]
- To prevent the mischief occurring with the English in "fire huntings," the English are prohibited to hunt in remote areas without a license.[223]
- For protection against enemy **Indians** and others, one lieutenant, 11 soldiers and two **Indians** will be stationed at the heads of the great rivers. Horses and ammunition are to be provided for scouting the area for enemies.[224]
- The two **Indians** will be paid eight yards of duffels (woolen material) and two barrels of **Indian corn** per year. Each **Indian** is to have a horse, bridle and saddle. The owners of the horses shall receive 80 pounds of tobacco and cask per month.[225]
- The boundaries given in Act 8 (October 10th, 1665) for the **Indians** on the south side of the James River are clarified further: the line from the head of the principle branch of the black water, to the upper part of the old **Appamattock Indian Town** field, and thence to the upper end of the **Manakin Town** be judged, deemed held and taken to be the said bounds.[226]
- Banishment within three months if an English man or woman marries Negro, mulatto or **Indian**. If an English woman has a child out-of-wedlock with a Negro or mulatto, she is to pay fifteen pounds of sterling. The child is to be a servant of the Church wardens until the age of thirty.[227]

1692

April 1692 — Acts of Assembly—

- Ranger scouts authorized in April 1691 are in service and are to continue.[228]

- Payment for the two **Indian scouts**.[229]
- Any English or **Indians** providing intelligence shall be reserved until ascertained whether the information is true or not. If true the person shall be rewarded, if false it will be considered a criminal act.[230]

1693

March 1693 — Acts of Assembly—

- Act 6 (1674) commanded that **Indians** keeping hogs must mark them according to their town. However, it has been reported to the Assembly that the **Nottoway Indians** and others have diverse marks, and marks similar to the English. **Indians** are killing English hogs. There is a dispute in the courts as to what mark the **Nottoway** and the **Weyanock Indians** should use. Surry County is authorized to assign a mark to the each of the towns of the **Nottoway** and **Weyanock Indians.** The proper mark must be on the hog sold to the English.[231]
- The lieutenant, eleven soldiers and two **Indians** are to continue with their service of scouting.[232]

1696

September 1696 — Acts ofAssembly —

- **Indians** are to be paid 100 pounds of tobacco for each wolf killed. Claims are to made in the county where the wolf was killed.[233]

Native Voice

"What was the reward for killing an Indian?"

— Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman
Monacan Nation
July 2004

"1701. A group of French Huguenots moved into the Monacan town, called Manakin, west of present day Richmond. The town had been attacked by Col. Bourne, who massacred most of the Indian inhabitants."

— Karenne Wood
Virginia Council of Indians, Chairman
Monacan Nation
July 2004

"From the Acts of Assembly, we see discrimination documented in the first laws of Virginia. The seeds of racial discrimination separation of people crossed the ocean with the invaders, they sowed their seeds and it took root in Virginia. Unfortunately, those seeds grew and

infected the nation with much destruction for my people"

—Chief G. Anne "Little Fawn" Richardson
Rappahannock Tribe
Summer 2004

1705

Editor's Note: A few of the early Acts of Assembly from the eighteenth century are included below to show the continuing pattern of relations between Indians and settlers in Virginia.



Detail of "The manner of making their boates," Theodor de Bry, 1590.

October 1705 — Acts of Assembly —

- No Negro, mulatto or **Indian** may bear any office, civil or military, or be in any place of public trust. If such a position is taken there will be a fine of 500 pounds of current money, and twenty pounds of like money for every month he continues. However, an **Indian** may hold such an office if commissioned from Her Majesty.[234]
- Definition of a mulatto: the child of an **Indian**, the child, grandchild or great grandchild of a Negro.[235]
- **Indians** may use adjacent county marks in marking their hogs. One third of the fine of 1000 pounds of tobacco of not possessing proper proof of mark now goes to the Queen and her heirs, and successors.[236]
- Larger reward for English in killing wolves than **Indians**. If the wolf is killed by pit or trap the reward is 300 pounds of tobacco, and 200 pounds of tobacco by other means. **Indians** are only to be paid 100 pounds of tobacco per wolf.[237]
- **Indians**, Negroes, mulattos, and non-Christians are not allowed to be witnesses in cases of law.[238]
- It is unlawful for the English to employ a **Tuscarora**, or other **Indian**, unless a slave or servant, to hunt or kill deer, or furnish them with guns and ammunition, on patent

lands. Penalty is 1000 pounds of tobacco.[239]

- Any person finding an **Indian** hunting illegally on such lands is permitted to take the gun and ammunition into their own possession.[340]
- There is nothing in this act that should interfere with the hunting customs of the **Pamunkey, Chickahominy** or **Eastern Shore Indians**.[241]
- An act to prevent animosities, fears and misunderstandings between the **tributary Indians** and her majesty's subjects.[242]
- **Indian chiefs** are not to sell land allotted to them in the articles of peace on May 29, 1677.[243]
- An act to prevent non-Indians from buying or leasing **Indian lands**, bringing a fine of ten shillings for every acre of land so purchased, leased or occupied.[244]
- Exceptions to the above prohibition of acquiring Indian lands, the following have been granted patents out of **Pamunkey lands**:
    - George Shillings, 300 acres of land
    - Michael Waldrop, 90 acres of land
    - The heir of George Southerland, deceased, 200 acres.[245]
- No construction is to be made within three miles of any **Indian town**, according to the articles of peace (originally Article IV Treaty of Middle Plantation 1677.)[246]

  Editor's Note: The reservation tribes, Pamunkey and Mattaponi, still considered the Treaty of 1677 a viable document.
- If the English have already settled within three miles of an **Indian town** on the opposite side of a river, they may stay.[247]
- **Tributary Indians** are to be protected under English law as any Englishman.[248]
- **Indians** may obtain a license to go oystering, fishing, gathering items not useful to the English, such as **Tuckahoe**, cuttenemons, wild oats, rushes, puckoon, on English lands. If the **Indians** are hurt, the culprits will be punished as if the crime had been against an Englishman.[249]
- **Indians** may not bring guns and ammunition while foraging for oysters, fish, etc, and are not to stay any longer than the license permits.[250]
- All **tributary Indian kings and queens** are to notify the nearest militia officer of any strange Indian movements of war. The **tributary Indians** will be provided aid if needed against the strange **Indians**.[251]
- **Tributary Indians** are to march with the English against foreign Indians.[252]
- Free and open trade is now allowed at all times, with all **Indians**.[253]
- The sale of rum or brandy prohibited in **Indian towns** and on **Indian lands**. Penalty is ten shillings per quart of rum or brandy sold.[254]
- Grants of 14-year trading monopolies may be given to those discovering Indians towns and nations to the west, towards the Appalachian Mountains.[255]
- All acts limiting trade with **Indians** shall be repealed, except one act on the April 18, 1705, concerning the **Nanzatico**, and other **Indians**.[256]

Editor's Note: Despite the pressure of the oppressive legislation and of the 100 years of contact, the descendants of Virginia's original native inhabitants survived in the Commonwealth of Virginia, and are still here today.



Detail of "The Coniuerer," Theodor de Bry, 1590.

End Notes

1. (Abbot 1957:2)
2. (Strachey [1612] 2001: 598)
3. (Abbot 1957:2)
4. (Abbot 1957:2; Rountree 1990: 31; Smith 1986a [1624]: 79)
5. (Percy 1967:15-16; Abbot 1957:2-3)
6. (Smith 2001a [1608]: 156-162; Smith 2001b [1624]: 239)
7. (Smith 2001a [1608]: 162)
8. (Smith 2001b [1624]: 260-2)
9. (Smith 2001b [1624]: 268-273, 275-77)
10. (Smith 2001b [1624]: 282; Smith 1986b: 184; Rountree 1990:47)
11. (Abbot, 1957:5)
12. (Haile 2001:62)
13. (Smith 2001b: 334; Abbot 1957:5)
14. (Tyler 1922:267-269; Brown 1890:I: 392)
15. (Smith 1986b [1624]: 234; Tyler 1922:262)
16. (Rountree 1990:55)
17. (Hamor2001 [1615]: 820)
18. (Abbot 1957:7)
19. (Argall 2001 [1613]: 745-755; Abbot 1957:7; Smith 1986 [1624]: 243-244; Strachey, 1849 [1612]: 54; Townsend 2004)
20. (Abbot 1957:7)

21. (Dale 2001 [1614]: 845; Whitaker 2001 [1614]: 848; Rolfe 2001[1614]: 854; Rasmusse & Tilton 1994: 23)
22. (Abbot 1957:7; Tyler 1946: 237; Smith 1986 [1624:245-246)
23. (Abbot 1957:7; Smith 1986 [1624]: 258-261; Sams 1939:175)
24. (Smith 1986 [1624]: 260-261)
25. (Smith 1986 [1624]: 261-262; Rolfe 2001 [1617]: 888-889)
26. (Abbot 1957:7-8)
27. (Smith 1986 [1624]: 265)
28. (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1660:35; Brydon 1947:83)
29. (Abbot 1957:9)
30. (Abbot 1957:9-10; Smith 1986 [1624]: 294-295)
31. (Abbot 1957:10; McIlwaine 1924:40, 120; Tyler 1907:438)
32. (Henning 1823a: 123)
33. (Henning 1823a: 126)
34. (Henning 1823a: 127)
35. (Stanard 1928: 176)
36. (Abbot 1957:10)
37. (Abbot 1957:11)
38. (Abbot 1957:11)
39. (Henning 1823a: 140)
40. (Henning 1823a: 141)
41. (Henning 1823a: 143)
42. (Henning 1823a: 150)
43. (Henning 1823a: 153)
44. (Henning 1823a: 167)
45. (Henning 1823a: 173)
46. (Henning 1823a: 176)
47. (Rountree 1990:81)
48. (Henning 1823a: 192-193)
49. (Henning 1823a: 193)
50. (Henning 1823a: 198)
51. (Henning 1823a: 219)
52. (Henning 1823a: 219)
53. (Nugent 1960-1979: I: 77, 150, 183; II: 211-212; McIlwaine 1924: 478). Research by Martha W. McCartney, see "Narrative History" in this publication.)
54. (Henning 1823a: 227)
55. (Henning 1823a: 227)
56. (Henning 1823a: 255)
57. (Henning 1823a: 255-256)
58. (Rountree 1990: 84)
59. (Henning 1823a: 287)
60. (Henning 1823a: 287)
61. (Henning 1823a: 290)
62. (Henning 1823a: 292)
63. (Henning 1823a: 293)
64. (Henning 1823a: 300)
65. (Henning 1823a: 315)
66. (Henning 1823a: 317-318)
67. (Henning 1823a: 319)
68. (Beverley 1947: 62)
69. (Force 1963:II:8: 13)
70. (Henning 1823a: 323) Thus, later on in the Acts of the Assembly, the tribes that had signed the treaty of peace are often referred to as "Tributary Indians."
71. (Henning 1823a: 323-324)

72. (Henning 1823a: 324)
73. (Henning 1823a: 324)
74. (Henning 1823a: 325)
75. (Henning 1823a: 325)
76. (Henning 1823a: 325)
77. (Henning 1823a: 325)
78. (Henning 1823a: 325-326)
79. (Henning 1823a: 326)
80. (Henning 1823a: 326)
81. (Henning 1823a: 324)
82. (Henning 1823a: 328)
83. (Henning 1823a: 328)
84. (Henning 1823a: 328-329)
85. (Henning 1823a: 333)
86. (Henning 1823a: 333)
87. (Henning 1823a: 333)
88. (Henning 1823a: 337)
89. (Henning 1823a: 348)
90. (Henning 1823a: 380)
91. (Henning 1823a: 382)
92. (Henning 1823a: 382)
93. (Henning 1823a: 389)
94. (Henning 1823a: 391)
95. (Henning 1823a: 391)
96. (Henning 1823a: 395)
97. (Henning 1823a: 396)
98. (Henning 1823a: 396)
99. (Henning 1823a: 396)
100. (Henning 1823a: 401-402)
101. (Henning 1823a: 402-403)
102. (Henning 1823a: 410)
103. (Henning 1823a: 410)
104. (Henning 1823a: 410)
105. (Henning 1823a: 415)
106. (Henning 1823a: 441)
107. (Henning 1823a: 454)
108. (Henning 1823a: 455-456)
109. (Henning 1823a: 456-457)
110. (Henning 1823a: 457)
111. (Henning 1823a: 467)
112. (Henning 1823a: 467-468)
113. (Henning 1823a: 470)
114. (Henning 1823a: 470)
115. (Henning 1823a: 471)
116. (Henning 1823a: 481-482)
117. (Henning 1823a: 515)
118. (Henning 1823a: 518)
119. (Henning 1823a: 521)
120. (Henning 1823a: 525)
121. (Henning 1823a: 541)
122. (Henning 1823a: 547)
123. (Henning 1823a: 546)
124. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 13-14)
125. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 14)

126. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 14-15)
127. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 15-16)
128. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 20)
129. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 34)
130. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 35)
131. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 36)
132. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 39)
133. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 39)
134. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 124)
135. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 138)
136. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 139)
137. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 139)
138. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 139)
139. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 140)
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142. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 141)
143. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 141)
144. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 142)
145. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 142)
146. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 142)
147. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 143)
148. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 143)
149. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 143)
150. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 149)
151. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 150)
152. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 150)
153. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 150-151)
154. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 152)
155. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 152-153)
156. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 153)
157. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 153)
158. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 153-154)
159. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 154)
160. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 154)
161. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 155)
162. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 155)
163. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 155)
164. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 155)
165. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 155)
166. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 185)
167. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 193)
168. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 193)
169. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 193)
170. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 193)
171. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 194)
172. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 194)
173. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 194)
174. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 194)
175. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 194)
176. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 215)
177. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 219)
178. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 219)
179. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 219)

180. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 236)
181. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 237)
182. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 274-275)
183. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 275)
184. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 276)
185. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 280-281)
186. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 282)
187. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 283)
188. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 289)
189. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 316-317)
190. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 327)
191. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 327)
192. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 327)
193. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 331)
194. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 332)
195. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 336)
196. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 336)
197. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 337)
198. (Rountree 1990:97)
199. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 341-342)
200. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 342)
201. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 343)
202. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 343)
203. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 343)
204. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 346)
205. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 350)
206. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 350)
207. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 351-352)
208. (Rountree 1990:98)
209. (Rountree 1990:99)
210. (Rountree 1990:99)
211. (Washburn, 1957:85)
212. (Rountree 1990:100-101)
213. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 403)
214. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 403)
215. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 403)
216. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 404)
217. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 410)
218. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 440)
219. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 480)
220. (Henning 1969 [1823b]: 490)
221. (Henning 1823c: 69)
222. (Henning 1823c: 69)
223. (Henning 1823c: 69)
224. (Henning 1823c: 83)
225. (Henning 1823c: 84)
226. (Henning 1823c: 84-85)
227. (Henning 1823c: 86-87)
228. (Henning 1823c: 98-99)
229. (Henning 1823c: 100)
230. (Henning 1823c: 100)
231. (Henning 1823c: 109)
232. (Henning 1823c: 115)
233. (Henning 1823c: 141)

234. (Henning 1823c: 251)
235. (Henning 1823c: 252)
236. (Henning 1823c: 278)
237. (Henning 1823c: 282)
238. (Henning 1823c: 298)
239. (Henning 1823c: 343)
240. (Henning 1823c: 343)
241. (Henning 1823c: 343)
242. (Henning 1823c: 464-465)
243. (Henning 1823c: 465)
244. (Henning 1823c: 465)
245. (Henning 1823c: 466)
246. (Henning 1823c: 466)
247. (Henning 1823c: 466)
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252. (Henning 1823c: 468)
253. (Henning 1823c: 468)
254. (Henning 1823c: 468)
255. (Henning 1823c: 468)
256. (Henning 1823c: 469)

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CHAPTER 8:

Bacon's Rebellion, 1676: A Review of the Sources and Interpretations

Thane Harpole

Bacon's Rebellion has given rise to an extensive historiographical dialogue during the three centuries since the events so named transpired. Most sources agree on the character of the events themselves, and the primary participants, but there is little uniformity of agreement about the ultimate causes and effects of this episode, and the motives of the people involved. It has engendered wildly varying interpretations about the social, economic and political situation of Virginia during the 1670s, and equally disparate views about the impact of the rebellion on later generations. This depth of historical inquiry and popular interest underscores the importance of studying Bacon's Rebellion. Despite the extensive research, much remains to be discovered about these important events. The paucity of documentation relating to seventeenth century Virginia reiterates the need to examine all available sources of information, including public and family records, land patents and transactions, archaeological investigations, and oral history in order to arrive at a richer understanding of the events and implications of Bacon's Rebellion. The following paper summarizes the rebellion and reviews the available sources that interpret its events and impacts on Virginia's peoples.

There is little doubt that Bacon's Rebellion was a pivotal event in the history of Virginia. It has long been prominent in the annals of Virginia historiography. It has been memorialized in novels and hailed as an event that foreshadowed the American Revolution. Though the rebellion was short-lived, according to its many chroniclers it had rippling effects that variously changed the nature of Virginia colonial government, altered westward settlement practices, fostered ideas of democracy and English liberties that were drawn on during the American Revolution, and radicalized colonial relations with Virginia Indians. Most contemporary accounts of the rebellion were clearly biased, and many later histories were just as weighted towards one side or the other, casting doubts about their reliability. However, the rebellion probably dramatically altered the relationship between Virginia Indians and the colonists, deepening the mistrust and marginalization on the part of the surviving Indians, and exacerbating racial hatred and violence against Native groups by the colonists.

Ostensibly the events known as Bacon's Rebellion began in the spring of 1676, when Nathaniel Bacon, Jr. agreed, without obtaining a commission from Governor William Berkeley, to lead an attack on some Indian groups that had been raiding farmsteads along the fall lines of Virginia's rivers. However, a series of clashes between frontier colonists and several Indian tribes had begun in July 1675, and the violence was escalating. Both Indians and colonists led raids and attacks and committed atrocities for various reasons, emphasizing the fragility of their peaceful coexistence. It was a pattern continuously replayed during the seven decades of English settlement and expansion in Virginia. It was not an arrangement that could long endure. However, the events that become known as Bacon's Rebellion

differed from earlier wars with the Indians.

Virginia's English population expanded rapidly during the 1650s and 1660s, with settlers pushing the borders in every direction. The economic motivations of the colonists and the continued influx of new arrivals ensured that conflict would occur. Once the raids began, both sides contributed to the violence, and the colonists often confused, or plainly disregarded the differences between friendly Indian tribes and those outside the bounds of any treaties. The Susquehannahs were ranging from the Potomac to the falls of the James River, displaced from their more northern territory, and colonists responded by attacking them, or sometimes friendlier tribes such as the Piscattaways, Appomattox, or Pamunkey. Governor Berkeley had authorized a force to deal with the problem on the Northern Neck, but the colonists murdered five chiefs who apparently had come out to make peace (Carson 1976:1-11; Morgan 1975:250-255).

Worried that more of this would cause a general rebellion among all the Indians, Berkeley was restrained in addressing the Indian threat at the falls of the James. He called a special session of the assembly and they took measures for the erection of several forts along the frontier to be manned with a standing force of 500 soldiers. These measures would be extremely costly, especially to the poor farmers, and many felt that they would be unlikely to have much effect on the Indians (Morgan 1975:253). Farmers on the Southside and on the upper parts of the James River requested a force to subdue the Indians, and when it was not forthcoming, they were compelled to take matters into their own hands.

When Bacon agreed to lead an angered band of settlers in an attack against the Indians in April 1676, he defied the governor, but seemed to be taking an action that many settlers on the periphery of English colonization felt was necessary. He may or may not have underestimated Berkeley's disapproval, but his actions led to an open war on Virginia Indians and an internal struggle for control of Virginia and its citizens. The subsequent events of 1676 are recounted in numerous sources and need not be detailed here. Bacon's untimely death in October allowed Berkeley to quickly recapture the reigns of power and launch a zealous campaign to punish the participants and recoup any losses. When the royal commissioners arrived in January 1677 order had largely been restored, but Berkeley's departure soon after marked the beginning of a new era.

The ultimate causes of this violent outbreak are numerous and necessary for understanding the reasons and implications of this conflict, and are also objects of contention among historians. The roots of the rebellion seem to have been borne of two primary forces: the continued expansion of English colonists onto Indian lands, and the economic and political oppression wrought by Virginia's wealthy planter elite upon the vast number of small farmers, servants and slaves comprising the bulk of the population. Expansion led to increased contact and increased friction with neighboring Indian tribes. Treaties were either poorly enforced, or flagrantly violated. Colonists living along the so-called frontiers balked at the low level of protection afforded them by the governor and his council, and resented the burden of levies and fees that fell disproportionately on them from the General Assembly, county courts, and vestries (Carson 1976:2-3; Morgan 1975:246-49). The policies that encouraged these results were those of Governor William Berkeley, who had ruled the colony for decades prior to 1676, as well as his small circle of long-serving members of the Council and General Assembly. Corruption and favoritism were key components of Virginia's seventeenth century government, and many in the colony had great cause for complaint. But did they have reason for rebellion?

There are dozens of books and articles addressing the issues of Bacon's Rebellion, but only during the latter half of the twentieth century have historians seriously probed the underlying causes and effects of these key events. The contemporary accounts are strongly biased and

influenced by the opinions and atmosphere of Virginia during the 1670s. Historical works of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries tended to either criticize Bacon for subverting the rightful authority of the governor, or conversely praise him for rebelling against tyrannical leadership, without objectively balancing all the evidence on hand. Several of the modern sources have been examined in depth to summarize the dominant viewpoints and interpretations.

In her detailed overview of sources both historical and fictional concerning Bacon's Rebellion, Jane Carson thoroughly reviews the various contemporary accounts, historical works, plays, and novels, analyzing their diverse opinions and conclusions regarding the events and implications of the rebellion. Though not an exhaustive bibliography, Carson's work comes closer than any other to assembling and categorizing the rich literature concerning the events of 1676, and provides the reader with an indispensable tool for conducting further research. Carson provides a fair and objective account of the sources, but stops short of synthesizing the motives of those involved and the legacy of Bacon's Rebellion.

Wertenbaker, in *Bacon's Rebellion, 1676,* and other books, places much of his emphasis on the actions of Governor Berkeley, and his role as servant of the king and leader of the colony. He places blame for much of the discontent on the Navigation Acts, which limited colonial trade and decreased the profitability of tobacco. He also blamed Berkeley for reinforcing a system of political favoritism that enriched a few select men through political positions, lucrative fees and levies, and large tracts of land. Wertenbaker concludes that this forced many small farmers, who did not want to work as servants, to acquire property on the frontier and encroach on Indian lands (1957:2-16). Though Bacon took up arms against the Indians, and then led an assault against Berkeley and his supporters, he is commended as a reformer who sincerely wanted to redress the grievances and oppression of Berkeley's administration. Wertenbaker concludes that the rebellion was "a landmark in the development of self-government in Virginia," and that is persuaded future governors and kings to act cautiously in their management of colonial government, lest they awaken the supporters of "English liberty" yet again (1957:58).

In *American Slavery American Freedom,* Edmund Morgan devotes more than a chapter to the rebellion, from its origin to its implications. His analysis of wealth and social class and structure revealed a number of grievances among the poorer farmers and servants that, if not addressed, could and did threaten the security of the colony. He concludes that the rebellion began as a campaign against Indians that morphed into a rebellion and civil war, and then mostly a looting fest. It did not have many immediate results, but it eventually helped people realize that "resentment of an alien race might be more powerful than resentment of an upper class" (Morgan 1975: 269-270). It influenced the notion of white solidarity against and racism towards other races, namely Indian and African, in order to undermine any feeling of class similarities among the laboring multitude. Racism legitimized slavery and enforced the hegemony of the planter class by labeling poor, Euro-American colonists as better than non-Europeans. It eventually created a cause and an enemy that most white, Euro-Americans could rally around. For Indians and Africans, this realignment of views marginalized them even further, and helped foster an intense emotional enmity towards these groups that continues to be a factor in American society today. The previous system of order in seventeenth century Virginia, based primarily on enforcing deferential attitudes towards the ruling class and created to legitimize its narrow hold on Virginia's economy, was a precarious position which, as Bacon proved, could easily fall to rebellion.

1676, The End of American Independence charts a different course in its explanation of the events of that year. Stephen Webb writes that Bacon's Rebellion was in fact a revolution against the old order, and that its failure ended an era of political independence that would not be achieved again until the American Revolution. He argues that Bacon's Rebellion and

other significant events ranging up and down the eastern seaboard, such as King Phillips War, were part of a much more extensive realignment of power between the imperial forces of the Iroquois Confederacy and England, through the administration of Edmund Andros in New York. The Indian tribes caught between the two opposing powers were largely destroyed or subjugated, and the intensity of the conflict wreaked havoc on all sides. It took several generations to return to a level of prosperity that had been achieved by 1676 Webb 1984:xv-xviii, 3-7). His emphasis on the larger sphere of English imperialism seeks to locate Bacon's Rebellion within a more holistic framework of the struggle for control of eastern North America, and emphasizes the roles of both the English and the numerous Indian tribes.

There are many other histories which discuss Bacon's Rebellion, beginning with a lengthy treatment by Robert Beverly in 1705. Most of the early histories are critical of Bacon, but after the American Revolution, numerous nineteenth century American historians praise Bacon's actions and see in him a foreshadowing of 1776 and an independent United States. For a thorough review of these many histories see Carson's, *Bacon's Rebellion, 1676-1976.* Carson chronicles each work, summarizing the viewpoints they express and the origins of their various conclusions.

In addition to historical works, soon after the conclusion of the rebellion, fictional works began to fill the popular imagination with stories of Bacon and Berkeley. As with nonfiction works, early plays, poems, and stories were often critical of Bacon. With the formation of the United States, authors began to see in Bacon's Rebellion an earlier source for patriotic fervor, and Nathaniel Bacon was turned into a popular hero. They draw a common thread linking Bacon's Rebellion directly to the American Revolution and the ideals of liberty and democracy. A surge of novels appeared in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, all of which, in one way or another, praised Bacon. These romanticized views of colonial life often utilize real characters and events, but most of the stories are highly imaginative. Details of seventeenth-century life, settlement, warfare, and government, are generally inaccurate and have helped to distort the events in the popular imagination. With some exceptions, many of these works also present unflattering views of the Indians and African slaves. In his preface to *The Birth of Liberty* , Lane summarizes some of this sentiment when he states that Bacon was "a patriot of the highest order, and a born leader of men (Lane 1909:3). Again, Carson provides a very thorough overview of the fictional literature concerning Bacon's Rebellion.

Conclusion

In summary, most sources agree on the general chain of events and immediate implications of Bacon's Rebellion. However, there are vastly disparate views about the substance and long-term effects of this event. Some argue that is was struggle for power between the old governing class and a new group of landowners. Others say it was more of a class struggle between the rich and the masses. Warfare with the Virginia Indians played a major role in the conflict, and the struggle may have been about English dominance over a perceived lesser race, and the lands on which they lived. Finally, some view Bacon's Rebellion as a wellspring of democratic principals and the antecedent to events and ideas that would eventually lead to a much larger rebellion and the formation of the United States. These views often have more to say about the authors and the times in which they lived, than they do about Bacon's Rebellion itself. One viewpoint that is largely lacking in the literature, however, is the role that the Virginia Indians played in this conflict, and the effects that this had on their culture and settlements.

Most of the works written about Bacon's Rebellion are Euro-centric, and they take for granted the ultimate control of the land by European-Americans and the diminishing

importance of Indians in colonial and later society. This view minimizes and marginalizes the critical role of Indians in the processes of settlement and conflict, and has allowed historians to largely ignore their contributions. As colonial and American expansionism manifested itself across North America, the Indian inhabitants were removed, either in fact or in print, erasing their roles from the American cultural consciousness. The Euro-centric viewpoint distorts, to some extent, the actual events and fails to show how Bacon's Rebellion affected all of Virginia's cultural and economic groups. The economic exploitation of land and people that drove European colonization of the New World was antithetical to the way of life of most Native Americans. On a smaller scale, many English settlers who came to Virginia for land and profit, settled in a frontier zone where interaction with Indians was commonplace. Differences in language, appearance, foodways, religion, and especially land use and economic motivation, were readily apparent, and perhaps inevitably led to conflict between the different groups.

Based on this review, it appears that there is a lack of consensus among historians about the effects of Bacon's Rebellion. On the one hand, it did usher in a new era of imperial control, but it did not radically change the power structure within the colony. The frontiers shifted further west and Virginia Indians lost more of their lands, power and independence. Though it imparted a disastrous toll on the lives, crops, and livestock of colonial Virginians, Bacon's Rebellion quickly receded behind waves of new English settlement.

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CHAPTER 9:

Pocahontas: A Reflection of Powhatan Culture

Angela L. Daniel

Introduction

>Based on Native oral tradition, [1] Pocahontas, the daughter of the paramount Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca, [2] was a reflection of her Powhatan culture, not an exception, as promoted by the English, many Euro-American scholars, and popular myth. These entities portray Pocahontas to be different, exceptional, extraordinary, a spiritual leader and a peacemaker, beyond the confines of her own people. For example, Lyon G. Tyler, in *Pocahontas, Peace and Truth,* states:

> With these divine attributes she could have never have been really a savage Indian, but, like Joan of Arc, she stood apart from the ordinary conditions of the life to which she was born, the incarnated figure of a lofty and noble civilization (Tyler 1915:8).

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[1]This version focuses on the oral traditions held by the Mattaponi Tribe, and does not claim to represent the oral traditions of all Virginia Indian tribes.

[2]The English often called him "Chief Powhatan" or "Powhatan." However, "Chief Powhatan" or "Powhatan" is a positional name, such as "President," to denote a role in society. Chief Powhatan's personal name was "Wahunsenaca." (Custalow Personal Communication Fall 2003; Strachey: 1849 [1612]: 48) Many Powhatan Algonquian words have various English spellings. In this chapter, "Wahunsenaca" the preferred spelling of Dr. Custalow is utilized.

Scholar Robert S. Tilton, in *Pocahontas, The Evolution of an American Narrative,* provides an historical account in some of the changes in the Pocahontas myth over the preceding centuries. [3] Regardless of the variations in the narrative, both popular myth and English-biased scholarship have propagated long held negative stereotypes about Virginia Indians, such as depicting them as uncivilized savages. Generally, these underlining assumptions have been accepted without critical analysis.

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[3]Recent scholarship that places Pocahontas more in line with her own culture, see Richter 2003 and Townsend 2004.

Three aspects are critical in discussing the life of Pocahontas. Pocahontas's life was ultimately intertwined with that of her father, Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca, Powhatan culture, and the arrival of the English in the early seventeenth century. Because the English did not understand the Powhatan culture, they misinterpreted the actions of the Powhatan Indians, Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca, and Pocahontas. Pocahontas was a Powhatan, living in accordance to her culture. Pocahontas reflects Powhatan culture. She did not transcend her Powhatan culture. She did not betray her Powhatan heritage. Understanding the Native eastern Virginian Indian [4] perspective of the history of the contact period between the Powhatan Indians and the English, requires perceiving Pocahontas as a reflection of her own culture. To remove Pocahontas from her Powhatan heritage distorts history of the contact period between the Powhatan people and the English. According to Native oral tradition, Pocahontas remained loyal to her Powhatan heritage until her death (Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003).

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[4]The Monacan Nation did not have much initial contact with the English in the early seventeenth century. The Monacans lived beyond the fall line of the present-day James River and "are believed to have been a Siouan-speaking group, distinct from the Algonquian- and Iroquoian-speaking groups who surrounded them (Hantman, 1993:95)."

Oral tradition disputes many of the presumptions made by the English in the seventeenth century, which are the foundation blocks of standard American history and myth surrounding the contact period. Two primary presumptions disputed are: 1.) Pocahontas was the sole peacemaker and different from her own people; and 2.) the Powhatan people were violent and attacked the English mercilessly. In place of the English assumptions, Native oral tradition shows that one aspect of Powhatan culture, under the political leadership of Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca, was the desire for peace. In concise terms, the English-biased versions of history and myth are built on the presumption that Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca and the Powhatan Indians were violent and savage-like. Native oral tradition states the contrary. There appears to be a general consensus, among contemporary eastern Virginia Indians that the Powhatan people welcomed the English upon their arrival in Powhatan territory, with statements such as, "We welcomed the English; we fed them." The English at Jamestown would not have survived without aid from the Powhatan Indians (Fieldwork 2003). This position is in direct opposition to the Euro-American versions that have been perpetuated throughout the years. The Euro-American narrative states that the English survived in spite of the hardships, disease, starvation and *Indian attacks.* In contesting the English-biased versions, the seventeenth century writings, such as those of Captain John Smith, can be used to validate the Native oral perspective of Virginia Indians. In doing so, Pocahontas emerges not as person totally different from her people, but a person like her people.

More by Love

> "Why should you take by force that from us which you can have by love? Why should you destroy us, who have provided you with food? What can you get by war?" — Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca, 1608 (Moquin and Doren 1973:111: Edited from John Smith's *The General History, Book 3,* Chapter 8 [1624].)

Captain John Smith's quote of Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca appears to reflect an underlining philosophy of the Powhatan society that one can receive more through friendship and positive relationships, than by force, and warfare. In Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca

proposals to Captain John Smith, there is no denial of human needs for the English colonists. The English needed food to survive and land to live on. Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca offered both to the English (Smith 1998a [1608]: 165). Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca desired trade exchange for European goods, such as guns and metal hatchets. He also needed an ally with compatible weaponry to that of the Spanish (Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003). The political Powhatan leader sought peace and friendship with the English colonists.

However, Euro-American scholarship and popular myth have credited Pocahontas as providing food to the English colonists and as being the peacemaker. Pocahontas, a child of ten years of age [5] when the English arrived in 1607, did not have the ability to accomplish such a task. There was a firm division in Powhatan culture between adults and children, a barrier even the paramount chief's daughter, Pocahontas, could not penetrate (Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003).

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[5]In *A True Relation,* Smith states: "Powhatan, understanding we detained certain savages, sent his daughter, a child of ten years old, ..." (Haile 1998:181 [Smith: *A True Relation,* 1608])

Granted Powhatan children matured early and took on more responsibilities at younger ages than most children in twenty-first century America, but Powhatan children were still closely watched over and protected. They did not "run wild" as the stereotype of Indian children suggests. The perception projected by Euro-American narratives of Pocahontas running freely to Jamestown from her home at the Powhatan political capital, Werowocomoco, is preposterous. Mattaponi historian, Dr. Linwood "Little Bear" Custalow explains, "Pocahontas would not have been able to handle a nearly four hundred pound canoe all by herself to cross the wide present-day York River." [6] Pocahontas did not move outside the realm of restrictions placed on children in Powhatan society. She did not have command over adults (Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003).

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[6]The present-day York River was called the Pamunkey River by Powhatan Indians.

As the favorite daughter of Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca, [7] Pocahontas enjoyed certain degrees of privileges and status, such as being allowed to travel with the Powhatan envoy to the English fort at Jamestown, but not alone. While Pocahontas's freedoms may have been slightly greater than some children, in other ways, her freedoms were more restrictive. Due to Pocahontas's status in Powhatan society, she was under more security and scrutiny. The priests watched over her closely (Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003).

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[7]Both the English writings and oral tradition agree that Pocahontas was considered Powhatan's favorite child (Strachey 1849 [1612]: 111; Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003).

Living in the midst of Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca and the political elite at Werowocomoco greatly, affected the stature and character of Pocahontas. Many of the individual characteristics of Pocahontas, such as her wit and intelligence, were enhanced by the fact she was living in the highest social-political realm of her society. In addition to increased confidence, Pocahontas was instilled with an enormous sense of responsibility to

her people. Living with her father, Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca, produced a stronger, more intensified Powhatan perspective of life within Pocahontas (Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003).

Even with all of Pocahontas's natural and enhanced characteristics, she was still considered and treated as a child, according to Powhatan cultural standards. It was Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca who sent the food to the English colonists. Pocahontas was only allowed to go with the entourage. She neither traveled alone nor ordered adults to take her to Jamestown. Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca would not have permitted Pocahontas to go to Jamestown, if he perceived her to be in immediate danger, by so doing. Pocahontas was continually watched and guarded for her protection (Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003).

English writings by Captain John Smith plainly state that it was Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca providing the food, not Pocahontas:

> The Emperor Powhatan each week one or twice sent me many presents of deer, bread, *raugroughcuns* [raccoons], half always for my father [Captain Newport], whom he desired to see, and half for me, and so continually importuned by messengers and presents that I would come to fetch the corn and take the country their king [Chief Powhatan] had given me [Capahowasick] [8], as at last Captain Newport resolved to see him (Smith 1998a [1608]: 165).

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[8]Capahowasick was the name of the area that Chief Powhatan had given *werowance* Captian John Smith to oversee, as a Chief.

Likewise, contrary to the popularized myth of the Euro-Americans that Pocahontas was the sole peacemaker among the Powhatan people, Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca was the one extending the peace to the English colonists. Again, Captain John Smith provides evidence of such. According to Smith, he became anxious of what he thought was suspicious looking Powhatan Indians close to Jamestown Fort. Smith subdued the Powhatan Indians and put them in confinement (Smith 1998a [1608]: 178). In an attempt to have the Powhatan warriors released, Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca sent Pocahontas with an envoy to Jamestown. According to Dr. Custalow, Pocahontas was placed in front of the posse to communicate a peaceful gesture. A female child, ten-years-old, is not a threatening sign. Pocahontas represented the Powhatan symbol of peace (Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003). However, it was Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca, the paramount chief, not the ten-year-old child, who was extending peace. Pocahontas did not negotiate with the English. Instead, according to Smith, a Powhatan ambassador, Rawhunt, negotiated on behalf of Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca:

> This he [Powhatan] sent his most trusty messenger, called Rawhunt, as much exceeding in deformity of person, but of a subtle wit and crafty understanding. He with a long circumstance told me how well Powhatan loved and respected me and, in that I should not doubt any way his kindness, he had sent his child [Pocahontas], which he most esteemed, to see me, [and] a deer and bread besides for a present...(Smith 1998a [1608]:181).

Overall, the English held no trust in Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca, regardless of the fact that he was providing them with food. The praise for this kindness and humanitarian gestures went to their God. The English did not acknowledge the compassionate character of the Powhatan people providing them food. For example, George Percy writes:

> It pleased God, after a while, to send those people which were our mortal enemies to relieve us with victuals, as bread, corn, fish and flesh in great plenty, which was the setting up of our feeble men; otherwise we had all perished. Also we were frequented by divers kings in the country, bringing us store of provision to our great comfort (Percy 1967 [1607]: 26-27).

???Captain John Smith expresses a similar view, in *The Generall Historie of Virginia*, when he writes that God "changed the hearts" of the Powhatan Indians so "that they brought such plenty of their fruits, and provision, as no man wanted" (Smith 1986b[1624]:143). Although both Percy and Smith admit that the Powhatan Indians supplied the English with food, keeping them alive, they did not credit the Powhatan people for these generous acts of kindness. Instead, credit was bestowed onto the Christian God of the English. Later, Pocahontas would be given the credit for the actions and political directives of Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca and the Powhatan people.

An English *Werowance*

hief Powhatan Wahunsenaca's welcome to the English was also expressed by attempting to incorporate the English into Powhatan society by making Captain John Smith a sub chief, a *werowance* . It was through *werowance* Smith that Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca planned to trade with the English (Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003). He offered Smith land for the English colonists to live on, in addition to providing them the food (Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003, Smith 1998a [1608]: 165).

It was during Captain John Smith's initiation as a *werowance* in the Powhatan society, in the winter of 1607, that Smith alleges Pocahontas saved his life. However, Smith does not mention Pocahontas saving his life during the ceremony in his first written account of the event, in *A True Relation* [1608]. It is not until Smith's *Generall Historie* is published in 1624 that Pocahontas is credited for saving his life:

> **[T]wo great stones were brought before to them, and thereon laid his [Smith's] head, and being ready with their daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her arms, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death.... (Smith 1986b[1624]:151).**

According to Smith's writings, he was going through a ceremony initiating him into the Powhatan society as a *werowance.* Smith was being welcomed into the Powhatan society. Since chiefdom passed through kinship lineages in Powhatan society, it is reasonable to presume that the ceremony was that of adoption (Moretti-Langholtz Personal Conversation 10/2003). [9] If Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca was initiating Smith into a position as a *werowance* , his life was not endangered.

> **[9]Scholars favoring the ceremony as an adoption ritual which was misinterpreted by Captain John Smith, include: Philip Barbour, Francis Mossiker, Karen Ordahl Kupperman, Jean Fritz, Peter Hulme, and J.A. Leo Lemay. Helen C. Rountree is one of the few exceptions, arguing that there is not enough information to support such a claim (Tilton 1994:5).**

Captain John Smith's writings are full of his paranoia of being killed. However, it does not mean, in reality, his life was literally in danger. According to Smith's first account of the ceremony, written in 1608, Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca told Smith that he

would be released in four days:

> **He [Chief Powhatan] kindly welcomed me with good words and great platters of sundry victuals, assuring me his friendship and my liberty within four days (Smith 1998a[1608]:161).**

Still, Smith was constantly afraid Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca was going to kill him. The validity of Smith's fear, expressed in his writings, cannot be completely trusted. They make for an interesting adventure story (Allen Lecture 10/22/03), but they do not necessarily convey an accurate view of what was happening. Since Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca told Smith he would be released in four days, there was no need to be "saved" by Pocahontas.

Path of Least Violence

The Powhatan people, contrary to the English perception and report of them, preferred not to engage in warfare unless necessary. There was a concept within Powhatan culture, which still remains today, that encourages the avoidance of violent conflict if possible (Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003). An Example of this can be seen in the English kidnapping of Pocahontas.

Captain Samuel Argall, an English navigator and administrator, arrived in the Jamestown Colony in 1612. At this time, Pocahontas had come of age and was married to a Powhatan warrior, named Kocoum (Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003, Strachey 1849 [1612]:54). After Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca become aware of an English plot to kidnap Pocahontas, he sent Pocahontas and Kocoum to live among Kocoum's people, the Patawomecks (Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003). Captain Argall learned of Pocahontas's whereabouts (Neill 1869:7 [Argall]). [10] He quickly sailed his ship to the Patawomeck Tribe on the Potomac River. [11] In April 1613, Captain Argall kidnapped Pocahontas by demanding that the Patawomeck Chief Japazaws (Iopassus) turn Pocahontas over to him. After Pocahontas was delivered to Captain Argall, he gave Chief Japazaws and his wife a copper pot (Neill 1869:12 [Harmor]). This parting gesture by Captain Argall has led many to believe that Pocahontas was betrayed by her own people into the hands of the English for a copper pot (Smith 1986b[1624]: 243; Bailey 1956:40; Sheppard 1907:12). However, Native oral tradition does not concur with this view (Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003).

> **[10]In "Argall's Account of the Capture of Pocahontas," Argall writes: I was told by certaine Indians y friends that the great Powhatan's daughter Pokahunits was with the great King Patawomek whether I presently repaired resolving to possesse myselfe of her by any stratagem that I could use for the ransoming of so many Englishmen as were prisoners with Powhatan as also to get such armes and tooles as hee and other Indians had got by murther and stealing some others of our nation, with some quantity of corne for the colonies reliefe.**

> **[11]The present-day Potomac River was called the Patawomeck River by the Powhatan Indians, and the Elizabeth River by the English, in the early 1600s (Strachey 1849 [1612]:38).**

There is no record of the Patawomeck Tribe being punished or attacked by Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca for handing Pocahontas over to Captain Argall, implying that

Chief Powhatan did not ascertain the action as a betrayal of his favorite daughter for a copper pot. Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca understood the reasoning of Chief Japazaws and the Tribal Council as choosing the path of least violence (Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003). Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca likewise chose the least violent response by promptly offering to pay the ransom demanded by Captain Argall. [12] Captain Argall refused the offer and took Pocahontas to Jamestown (Neill 1869:8 [Argall]).

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[12]Argall's writings reveal: This very much grieved this great King [Powhatan], yet without delay he returned the messenger with this answere that he desired me to use [treat] his daughter well and bring my ship into his river and then he would give me my demands, which being performed I should deliver his daughter and we should be friends.

Likewise, Pocahontas chose the path of least violence for the sake of the safety of her own people (Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003). In captivity, Pocahontas attempted to make the most of a difficult situation. She learned the English language. Within a year, Pocahontas apparently converted to Christianity and married Englishman John Rolfe (Smith 1986b[1624]:245-6).

The English hoped that the captivity and later marriage between Pocahontas and Rolfe would maintain peace between them and the Powhatan Chief (Quarles 1939:23-24). [13] However, in the act of kidnapping Pocahontas, the English were trying to obtain what they wanted through force. "The English stole Chief Powhatan's beloved daughter, Pocahontas, the peace symbol of the Powhatan people," states Dr. Linwood "Little Bear" Custalow (Personal Conversation Fall 2003).

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[13]Marguerite Stuart Quarles quotes Governor Dale's writing: She is since married to an English gentleman of good understanding, and his letter to me contained the reason of his marriage to her. You may perceive another knot to bind the peace stronger.

Conclusion

Mainstream American historical narratives and myths about Pocahontas, with their variant twists, over the last four hundred years are predicated on the inhumanness, or savageness, of the Powhatan people. Unlike the mainstream American popular legends of Pocahontas and the national origin myth, the Native oral tradition version of Pocahontas portrays the humanitarian and peace-loving aspects of the Powhatan people. Thus, the Native oral tradition version of Pocahontas puts a damper on the popularized and national myth centering on Pocahontas as a person who transcended her Powhatan culture. Pocahontas cannot be saving people who are not being threatened. She cannot be exalted above her own culture, as a savior of the English, if she is truly a reflection of her own people. Pocahontas's people have been portrayed in an extremely negative light in order for the Euro-American historical narrative and popular myths to resonate with strong emotions.

Strong emotions resonate among Virginia Indians, as well. They know that Pocahontas

was kidnapped, that she was never free to return home to her people, husband or father. As the historical narrative developed and myths arose around Pocahontas's life, she was portrayed as being different from her people. According to a popular Euro-American thought, if all Powhatan people had been like Pocahontas, there would have been peace between the English and Powhatan Indians. This is not true because Pocahontas *was* like her people; she acted and responded according to Powhatan customs and philosophy. The historical narratives and popular myths, which portray her as exceptionally different from her Powhatan heritage, still hold Pocahontas in captivity today.

Pocahontas was indeed a symbol of peace, but she was not the peacemaker many Euro-American narratives and myths indicate. The peacemaker attributes, which have been ascribed to Pocahontas, were actually an extension from Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca and the Powhatan culture, which Pocahontas became a symbol of. The English stole that peace symbol, claiming it would bring peace between them and the Powhatan Indians (Custalow Personal Conversation Fall 2003). But, how can peace be established through a violent act against a symbol of peace? The Powhatan peace symbol, Pocahontas, needs to be returned to her people, for true peace to come about.

It has been nearly four hundred years, now. The Native community is still waiting.

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CHAPTER 10:

Decoding the Documents: "Indians" in Selected Seventeenth Century Documents & Secondary Sources

Danielle Moretti-Langholtz

By the mid-seventeenth century thousands of English men and women crossed the ocean to seek their fortune in North America. Out of this effort came the foundation of the United States and with it the destruction of the lifeways and traditional cultures of the Native peoples of the eastern woodlands. Mancall (1995:v) suggests the success and dominance of the English culture and the loss and decline of Indian culture was not a inevitable outcome of the colonial encounter. An examination of the entries that follow permit us to see more closely the unfolding of the story from the perspective of the Indian populations. Native control of the landscape continued for a time as the Powhatan tribes attempted to exert their control over the invading Europeans, first through trade and later through conflict. The early records show us that there was no single response by Native peoples. Some fought, some negotiated and traded, some fought and then quickly negotiated and traded. Native responses were fluid and varied as Native leaders tried their best to maintain the integrity of their communities during the early years of the colonial encounter.

The lens through which the story of the initial years of the colonial encounter is filtered through the writings of the English thus our understanding of Native responses to the settlement at Jamestown and the impact of that settlement on Virginia's indigenous tribes is too often one dimensional. These earliest accounts may be found on-line as the "Personal Narratives from the Virtual Jamestown Project, 1575-1705" <http://extext.lib.virginia.edu> sponsored by the University of Virginia Library's Electronic Text Center. The comprehensive nature of the Virtual Jamestown Project provides the opportunity to review these often cited works for information on early contacts with Virginia Indians. Richter (2001:9) suggests that we not so much seek to "uncover new information" but rather learn to read old documents in a fresh manner and to "reorient our perspectives on the continent's past." The history of Virginia Indians is not contained solely within the initial contact period documents. Native people continued to be part of the story of Virginia although after the Indian uprisings of 1622 and 1644 the Native narrative is harder to follow in the primary documents.

What follows is a chart containing an extensive compilation of primary source data pertaining in some manner to Indians from James City, Charles City, Isle of Wight, and York Counties. The chart was compiled not as an academic exercise but to begin the process of reading old documents with fresh eyes. While the entries are mere fragments of information we are able to glimpse the shadows of individual Native lives during a period of enormous socio-political change in the Native world. Some Indian names in the records are known to us previously, such as "Opochancano" while others such as "Jamey" and "John the Indian" are less familiar. These records speak of trade and commerce, slavery and captivity (both Indian and non-Indian), peace and conflict, and reveal the words of known personages, such as the Queen of

Pamunkey, who petitions for aid on behalf of her tribe after Bacon's Rebellion. In the space of a few generations Native people move from a position of prominence to petitioning the English for land patents on a continent that was once theirs alone. Documents indicate some Native people seek to live among the English, such as Robin of Pamunkey, while other Natives deemed dangerous are rounded up and sold to plantation owners in the Carribean. Indian access to colonial settlements becomes restricted and the colonists institute a system of metal identity badges for purposes of limiting the entry of Indian into the Jamestown environs.

U.S. government policy was formulated and built upon the English experience with Native peoples (Prucha 1984). It is therefore necessary for us to examine more closely the interactions of the two cultures during the seventeenth century to see the roots of this policy formation. The entries in the chart show us that Native people sought redress for wrongs committed against them through the colonial legal system. The Colony of Virginia attempts to avoid conflicts with tribes and to protect the land base of the extant tribes in the second half of the seventeenth century by setting up definable boundaries around Native lands but the colonial government has difficulty keeping settlers away from Native lands. Colonial officials seek to regulate trade with the Indians and attempts to force subdued tribes to serve as buffers against more aggressive Indian nations thus fostering inter-tribal hostilities under the guise of securing peace for the colonists. During the first century of the colonial encounter a policy of "guilt by association" toward Native people emerges. If a colonist maintains he has been wronged by a Native person retaliation against any Native person of the tribe of the perpetrator is sanctioned and legal.

Fear of Native peoples ebbs and flows throughout these records. The colonists attempt to control Native access to English weaponry, while they build fortifications around settlements and respond to their fears with a growing militarism. Permission is required to "entertain" Native people. Yet by 1699 colonist George Ivie at James City asks for the repeal of the Act of Assembly against the English marrying Indians thus pointing to issues surrounding early attitudes regarding race and ethnicity.

A careful reading of these entries suggests that the indigenous languages were extant throughout the seventeenth century thus the need for the paid interpreters appearing in the records. Moreover, we may assume that the political integrity of the tribes, while weakened by conflicts with the English, is nevertheless intact. Evidence for this appears in the terms of address for individual leaders (as Kings and Queens) when these individuals are brought before colonial officials to answer complaints against their tribes or when they appear as petitioners. Additional evidence for tribal integrity is seen in the Charles City documents when the "Drammacho Mongy a chief ruler" of the Chickahominy is mentioned in 1699. Other tribes are mentioned by name (although with various spellings) Mattaponi, Rappahannock, Nansemonds, Tappahannes, Wayonoke, Potomeck, Nanzaatico, Appamauck, Nottoway, Accomack, Pasbehays, Tuscororas, etc. The system of tribute, formerly an internal tribal flow of goods, is redirected to the colonial political hierarchy thereby suggesting that tribes are functioning political units. Even the Paramount Chiefdom maintains some integrity through the Queen of Pamunkey. Throughout the century the amount of tribute being paid by tribes (primarily the Pamukey) is reduced. This reduction is likely due to the diminished economic circumstances of the tribes; but the colonial government would hardly require tribute payments from non-existent tribes. In fact the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Tribes present tribute to the Governor of Virginia annually to this day.

These entries suggest the settlers' preference for obtaining the rights to "Indian fields" (lands previously cleared for planting by Natives) continues throughout the seventeenth century. Conflicts over the killing of hogs by Indians and the restitution given to colonists suggests the process of subsuming Native subsistence and hunting practices under a colonial system

founded upon private property. Variances in the colonial laws regarding trade frequently reflect the degree of tension and hostilities between the two cultures, whereas changes in the primary currency of the colony were linked closely with trade and the availability of food. Trade, currency, Anglo-Indian relations, economics, as well as other aspects, such as environmental and cultural differences, are all intertwined during the period presented in the records.

Trade restrictions within the colonial records reflect the degree of peace or hostilities between the colonists and Native people. Although the colonists were generally opposed to trading any type of weaponry or accessories to Indians trade between the English and the indigenous population was generally free and open in the first decade of the seventeenth century. The records from James City County on 4 August 1619 support this view. The uprising led by Chief Powhatan's successor, Opechancanough, in 1622, altered the trading relationship between the colonists and the Indians for years. Although tobacco, crops, and the food supplies of the colonists were devastated as a result of the attack the Assembly at Jamestown quickly prohibited the trading for corn with the Indians. The colonists vowed there would be no peace with the Indians after the 1622 uprising. In 1633 only the Governor was permitted to issue licenses to trade cloth with the Indians. Despite the signing of a Treaty of Peace in October of 1646 colonial statutes in 1660 indicate special licenses were required for the Indian trade. During Bacon's Rebellion only Indians fighting along with the English were allowed to possess guns and ammunition. However, with the signing of the Treaty of 1677 total prohibition of trade between Indians and colonists was deemed to be harmful by the Assembly. Free trade with all *friendly* Indians resumed, including trade for arms and ammunition (James City County, Acts of Assembly, February and October 1677). However, as late as 1700 Indians were not allowed to carry guns except while fishing or foraging for oysters; both activities requiring a permit.

The colonial records reveal the adoption and use of Native crops, skins and shell beads as currency in the nascent colony. Tobacco becomes a primary currency among the colonists in the years following John Rolfe's success at growing a West Indian variety of the plant. The English pay their taxes and many of their fines with tobacco during most of the seventeenth century. Corn and animal skins are also used as currency in numerous instances. Initially, there is scant mention of the use of English currency in Virginia. Indigenous currency, such as shell beads: peake and roanoke, are more prevalent than English coinage. The value of tobacco, corn and shell money fluctuates during the seventeenth century. In times of food scarcity corn is more valuable than shell money. By 1650, an entry in Surry County shows that peake is deemed more valuable than corn. Although, there is a gradual increase in the use English currency tobacco remains a dominant source of monetary exchange through out the first century of the colonial encounter.

Indian slavery and servitude is probably the single most understudied aspect of Anglo-Indian relations following the establishment of James Fort in 1607. The story of the African-based Atlantic slave trade has held center stage in recent decades. The importation of Africans into the colony of Virginia had an enormous and lasting impact on the lives of millions and is not to be minimized. However, discussions of Indian slavery are typically limited to the history of the involvement of the Spanish and are superficial at best. English participation in the slave trade is generally limited to the so-called "arrival" of enslaved persons from Africa to the colony of Virginia in 1619. Typically the English colonists are portrayed as passive in the face of slavery rather than as active participants in the buying and selling of human beings. Rarely are the English implicated in the Indian slave trade. Colonial records tell a different story. Virginia Indians are kept as slaves, servants, sold and traded by English colonists. We see also that North American tribes participated in the slave trade to some degree as owners of slaves and enslavers as well. A careful search of the early records may shed light on the Indian slave trade in Virginia and create a more balanced presentation of English involvement

in this practice. The documents also indicate that colonial policy encouraged a "civilizing" process predicated on the raising of Indian children in the households of the settlers with an eye toward conversion of the Indians to Christianity. However, conversion to Christianity was not the primary feature of English colonialization, nor was the goal the assimilation of Indians into English society. The primary goal of the English was to take and control Indian land (Prucha 1984). In this effort the English were completely successful, and this is abundantly clear in documents from the period.

Virginia Indians, once in control of their own destinies, are by the close of the seventeenth century no longer self-sufficient but exist in a condition of dependency. Once rulers of their own societies they are subject to the laws and rules established by the newcomers. However, the story of Virginia Indians does not end in 1700. The descendant communities of Virginia's indigenous tribes live among us still. The story of the Indians and the English during the seventeenth century creates the foundation for the formulation and implementation of U.S. Indian policy up to the current day. The time has come to present a more complete, accurate and Native-centered history of the first century of relations between Virginia Indians and the colonists at Jamestown.

CHAPTER 10:

Decoding the Documents: "Indians" in Selected Seventeenth Century Documents & Secondary Sources *(continued)*

Compiled by Katharine Harbury

Key:

£ = British pound	**Folder** = item in numbered folder	**PB** = Patent Book
bb. or **bbls**. = barrell*s*	**Folio(s** =old term for a page, pages or a pair of pages	**r** = rods
bu. = bushels	**lb.** or **lbs.** = Pounds, either in tobacco or money	**s** = shillings
ch. =chains	**p** = poles	**S** = Source
d = pence		

*Note: The sources for this chart are found in various types of Colonial papers such as; land patents, deeds, wills, court records, inventories, tithables, petitions, grievances, private correspondence, and treaties. The sections of the Acts of Assembly pertaining to Indian-non-Indian relations are included in the time-line in Chapter 10. Records are grouped by type, country and date. The counties are arranged alphabetically and in some instances records are summarized by categories of potential interest such as: Indian goods, tobacco, corn, Roanoke and peake, beaver and animal skins. References pertaining to Bacon's Rebellion, news events of the day and treaties are included by county. A list of primary and secondary references is included at the end of the chart. The "C.O." in the Public Record Office microfilms stands for "Colonial Office."

Note on date entries: Gregorian and Julian Calendars: changed from March to Jan. as the starting point of the new year, which is why some records appear to be out of sequence or appear as 1662/3. Abreviations 7br.=Sept., 8br.=Oct., 9br.=Nov. and Xbr.=Dec.

Abstracts: Acts of Assembly

James City County: See "Native Chronology" for entries.

Abstracts: Colonial Papers (Library of Virginia)

Charles City County: Colonial Papers (Library of Virginia)

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment	Servants	Slaves	Details
Folder 6, 1689, #24	Petition to Francis Howard,	Petition	1689				The Chickahominy Indians and various other tribes asked Lord Effingham for protection

	Lord Effingham by Chickahominy Indians, et al.						against other Indian tribes.

James City County: Colonial Papers (Library of Virginia)

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment	Servants	Slaves	Details
Folder 3, 1681-1683, #17	Cornelius Dabney	Petition	16 9br. 1682	Payment			Cornelius Dabney petitioned the Council regarding payment for his services as an interpreter for the Queen of Pamunkey. Stated that the Assemblies at Middle Plantation had promised to pay him 2,800 lbs. of tobo. w/o caske while the other Assembly at James City also had promised to pay him 1,680 lbs. tobo. w/ caske and 10,000 lbs. tobo. w/o caske. Again supposed to be paid 4,000 lbs. tobo. as allowance per annum... 10,960 lbs. of tobo. is now due to him.
Folder 3, 1681-1683, #15	Moses Davis	Petition	7 Dec.1682	Compensation			Provided meat to Mattaponi Garrison; wants payment from House of Burgesses.
Folder 9, 1691, 1692, #28	Interpreter	Document	April 1692	Notification			To notify Indians of possible alarm.
P.R.O. C.O. 5/1312, Pt. 1, folios 318-319	Betty [Ann], Queen of Pamunkey, et al.	Petition	22 May 1701	Land			Betty [Ann], Queen of Pamunkey and her men requested of Gov. Nicholson that their lands be confirmed and a patent be given.
Folder 14, 1701, #7	Council	Order	23 Aug. 1701	Committee			An order by the Council for a joint committee with the Burgesses to discuss the "Indian problem." The Pamunkey Indians are "praying" for a patent.
Folder 14, 1701, 1702, #30	Governor & Council	Document	22 May 1702				Need for arms and ammunition for the militia against the "enemy."
Folder 16, 1706, #27	The "Queen and Great Men" of the Pamunkey Tribe	Petition	1706	Land			Ann, the Queen of Pamunkey and her great men signed their petition to the Lt. Governor, asking for a patent to their lands.
Folder 20, 1709, #29-30	Robin, Indian and President & Council	Petition	27 Oct. 1709	To stay among the English			Robin, a Pamunkey Indian, requested that he be allowed to stay among the English to practice his trade of shoemaking. He does not wish to return to the Pamunkey village because he does not want to be "barbaric," etc. The Council ordered that Robin be permitted to remain among the colonists.
Folder 22, 1710, #18	Ann and men of the Pamunkey	Petition	1710				As much as they wanted to pay their usual annual tribute, Ann and the men of Pamunkey petitioned in this badly faded document for relief from their annual tribute because of great want and famine. Families are either forced to scatter and live among the English or risk withered and disabled bodies from starvation. [Note: Although this document is dated outside the time frame, the document shows its very importance.]

Surry County: Colonial Papers (Library of Virginia)

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
Folder 8, 1691, #14	Tho. Busby,	Petition	May 1691	List of expenses			Public interpreter to Southern Indians in 1677, Middle Plantation.

interpreter

York County: Colonial Papers (Library of Virginia)

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
Folder 8, 1691, #14	Thomas Busby	Petition	May 1691	List of expenses			Public Interpreter to Southern Indians in 1677, Middle Plantation.

Abstracts: Correspondence

James City County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
Brown 1964: 392 [Vol. 2587, folio 88]	Don Alonso de Velasco to Philip III, King of Spain	Letter	14 June 1610	Hardships of Colony			The ship, *Swallow*, reported that the "Indians hold the English surrounded in the strong place which they had erected there, having killed the larger part of them." The others were left so completely w/o provisions that they believed it was impossible to escape since the survivors ate the dead." And "they also ate one native (died by fighting) by digging him up two days after burial." Almost all those came in this ship "had died from eating dogs, cat skins and other vile stuff " and the Indians had killed swine brought to Virginia. Unless given provisions soon, all of them will perish.
Brown 1964: 519-521 [Vol. 2588, folio 82 (enclosed in folio 81)]	Duke of Lerma to Secretary Antonio de Arostegui	Document	Enclosed w/ a letter dated 13 Nov. 1611	Defense			Four earthworks: first one is at the mouth of the river w/ stockades, posts, 7 pieces of artillery, 2 of 35 quintales & 30, 20 & 18 (all of iron), & 50 men, women and boys. Second one is 2/3 of a league from the first one while the third a musket shot — both have pieces of artillery for defense against the Indians. The fourth/main settlement is 20 leagues up the river from the first fort, w/ 16 pieces of artillery of __ iron and palisades like the others. There are no interaction w/ the Indians due to times of war & peace. Indians are dressed in deerskins, use bows & arrows and cultivate only maise & nuts. However, they do not bring metals like gold & silver.
Thomson 1965:209 #144	John Chamberlain	Letter	9 July 1612	Bad news from Virginia			Two or three ships have arrived from Virginia, but their news bring only "discomfort," and "that Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale are quite out of heart."
Brown 1964:572 [Vol. 2589, folio 61]	Marquess of Flores to Philip III, King of Spain	Letter	1 Aug. 1612	Marriages			Reported by a source that "some of the people who have gone there, think now some of them should marry the women of the savages of that country; and he tells me that there are already 40 or 50 thus married." Also reported that the other Englishmen, after being put among them, have become savages themselves while the women, whom they took out, also have gone among the savages where they have been received & treated well. A minister who admonished them was "seriously wounded in many places" because "he reprehended them."
Brown 1964: 632-633 [Vol. 2572, folio 10]	Don Pedro de Cunega to Philip III, King of Spain	Letter	22 7br 1612	Marriages			A person (of good credit) reported that "they treate and have a determination to marrie some of ye People that goe thether with the Virginians... fortie or fiftie are already married there." And other English intermingled w/them & women "sent over to live among the Virginians are received & used kindly by them." They wounded a minister after

					he reprehended them.
Brown 1964: 633-634 [Vol. 2590, folio 66]	Don Alonso de Velasco to Philip III, King of Spain	Letter	30 May 1613	Hardships of Colony	No news from Virginia for several months; great fears are now entertained that the people there may have died from hunger since the Indians were "holding them in such strict confinement that they could not leave their forts without...great danger."
Brown 1964: 638 [Vol. 2590, folio 52]	Don Alonso de Velasco to Philip III, King of Spain	Letter	12 July 1613	Hardships of Colony	No news from Virginia for more than nine months. According to last reports, it is believed that the people must have perished, from disease and starvation; the country is subject... to diseases "while the Indians kept them so closely besieged that they could not come out" of the fort "to search for provisions."
Thomson 1965:210-211 #180	John Chamberlain	Letter	1 Aug. 1613	Pocahontas' kidnapping & ransom	"They have taken a daughter of a king that was their greatest enemy, as she was going afeasting upon a river to visit certain friends, for whose ransom the father offers whatsoever is in his power, and to become their friend, and to bring them where they shall meet with gold mines. They propound unto him three conditions: to deliver all the English fugitives, to render all manner of arms or weapons of theirs that are come to his hands, and to give them 300 quarters of corne. The first two he performed readily, and promiseth the other at their harvest, if his daughter may be well used in the meantime."
Brown 1964: 659-661 [Vol. 2590, folios 118, 119]	Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña to H.M.	Letter	5 Oct. 1613	Defense & hardships of Colony	Report about five fortifications, named Fort James, Fort Henry (after the prince who died), Fort Charles, Point Comfort and Fort Henry — all surrounded by earth works w/ artillery. Approximately 300 men are there & have nothing to eat other than bread of maize w/ fish and water to drink, contrary to the nature of the English. The Savages & other natives are in "bad relations" with the English, who cannot leave their fort w/o risking their lives; and if the General does go hunting, he takes a guard to protect his person.
MacLean 1860:36	Lord George Carew to Sir Thomas Roe	Letter	June 1616	Pocahontas & John Rolfe and other Indians	Sir Thomas Dale has returned from Virginia, taking with him "divers men and women of that countrye to be educated here" and "one Rolfe, who maried a daughter of Pohetan (the barbarous prince) called Pocahuntus, hathe brought his wife with him into England." The worst of that plantation is now past- there are now good victuals through their industry.
Brown 1964: 789	John Chamberlain to Mrs. Alice Carleton	Letter	22 June 1616	Pocahontas & John Rolfe and other Indians	Sir Thomas Dale brought "some ten or twelve old and younge of that Countrie, among whom the most remarkquable person is Pocahuntas (daughter to Powatan a Kinge or cacique of that Countrie) married to one Rolfe an Englishman."
Thomson 1965:215 #257	John Chamberlain	Letter	18 Jan. 1617	Pocahontas' pending return	"The Virginian woman Pocahuntas, with her father-counsellor, hath been with the King and graciously used, and both she and her assistant well placed at the masque. She is on her return, though sore against her will, if the wind would come about to send them away."
Thomson 1965:216 #259	John Chamberlain	Letter	22 Feb. 1617	Portrait of Pocahontas	"Here is a fine picture of no fair Lady. And yet with her tricking up and high style and titles, you might think her and her worshipful husband to be somebody, if you do not know that the poor company of Virginia, out of their poverty, are fain to allow her four pound a week for her maintenance."
Thomson 1965:216 #262	John Chamberlain	Letter	29 March 1617	Death of Pocahontas	"The Virginian woman whose picture I sent you died this last week at Gravesend as she was returning homeward."
Thomson 1965:225 #411	John Chamberlain	Letter	13 July 1622	1622 Massacre	More news from Virginia: "...ill news that the savages have by surprise slain about 350 of our people there one and other. It was by their own supine negligence, that lived as careless and

							securely there as if they had been in England, in scattered and straggling houses far asunder, whereby they were so easily subject to the surprise of those naked people, who besides other spoil and booty have possessed themselves of arms and weapons; but the best is they have no skill to use them. Among them that are lost is one Captain Barclay and Captain Thorpe, whme I was well acquainted withal and had been a pensioner." The letter also mentioned that the "disgrace and shame is as much as the loss, for no other nation would have been so grossly overtaken."
VMHB 1899:236-237	Francis Wyatt et al. to the Earl of Southampton	Letter	3 April 1623 James City	English captives & 1622 massacre			Twenty captives from the 1622 massacre at Martin's Hundred held by Opechancanough who wishes peace and ability to plant corn on their own lands at Pamunkey. The English put Comoham, an "actor" in the massacre who was not sent by the Great King, was put in chains as leverage. The English to send home their people and they would return "Mrs. Boys (the chief of the prisoners), appareled like one of their Queens." The rest came not because of threatening speeches according to Robert Poole, interpreter. Terms of negotiation given.
Ferrar Papers 1622-1627: Reel 3: #556	Sir Francis Wyatt & Council	Letter	_ Sept. 1624				Lengthy description of the difficulties in connection with the false rumor of "poisoning" the Indians, due to malice by some parties. Also discussion of its connection to the 1622 massacre.
Mass. Historical Society 1871:11, 95, 98-99, 107-108, 110-113	Capt. Thomas Yong	Letter	13 July 1634 James Towne Cittie	Trade for corn & Interpreter			Capt. Thomas Yong described in his long letter what he observed and heard in Virginia. There was a new fort at the mouth of the James and a "great trade for Indian Corne" between the settlers and the Indians. Captain Mathews is an interpreter and ancient planter. The country is abundant w/ milk, cheese, butter & corne. After the early Starving Time in the history of the colony, the colony now can spare 10,000 bu. of corn to New England for relief. The Palisade is nearly 6 miles long but males above age 14 are destitute regarding all manner of arms and ammunition. Rumors of war are circulating about the Indians "gathering heade" to take advantage to "fall on them."
Mass. Historical Society 1871: 131, 143, 145, 150-151	Mr. Kemp Secretary & The Lords Commissioners	Letter	17 May 1635	Fury of the people			Described Francis Potts' presentation- others feared that the "Gouvernour would bring a second massacre among them." Captain Mathews told the Governor that "the peoples fury is vp against you and to appease it is beyond our power, vnless you please to go for england, there to answer theyr Complaint."
Mass. Historical Society 1871: 131[note]	Captain Samuel Matthews & Sir John Wolstonholme	Letter	25 May 1635	Abuse of power & Indian troubles			Stated that the governor had usurped the power into his own hands; shut out every trade, including that of corn, by complying too far with the Marylanders, what w/ 2000 recent new arrivals into the colony; and that he "made a dangerous peace with the Indians." Contrary to the Council & country's advice, the governor took for his own use "the satisfaction made by the Indians" for the 500 hogs they had killed. If the Indians were to "offer any insult," the colonists would not be able to revenge themselves.

York County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
Thorndale 1997:187-188 [Also in	Thomas Ward & John Jackson to N.	Letter	20 May 1625 Martins	Indian dangers			As surviving tenants of Martin's Hundred, they described their desperate conditions and dangers from the Indians. Milk from a cow, more servants, shoes

Ferrar Papers 1622-1627, Reel 3: #569.]	Farrar		Hundred		costing less than 5 pounds and better arrangements for tobo. are needed. Mr. Harwood had taken 6 out of 7 pounds of their tobo. There is no powder or shot to "garde our lyves." One of them can only work the ground while the other served as a guard, "or ellse wee shall be in daunger to be killd of the Indyanse..." They have "worne out all our clothse and shertse" and cannot buy any, and now "will not in dure this kynd of liueing any longer. The letter was signed by "Your slause in Virgenyae."
Thorndale 1997:188-189 [Also in Ferrar Papers 1622-1627, Reel 3: # 569.]	Robert Adams to N. Farrar	Letter	6 June 1625 Martins Hundred	1622 Massacre & terror of Indians	Once lived at Harryhatocke. When the "fear bred by the bluddy masaker heare was blown over" in early 1623, he was ordered by the Governor to go to Martins Hundred to strengthen the settlement. He and his wife got there the same day a woman servant was killed by the Indians and he was "assaulted by them shott wth a bullet in the leg." His wife risked her own life getting to the armed Mr. Harwood at his storehouse in the plantation, but he refused to open the door "out of too much feare and neclect." Although the Indians were ultimately driven away, he was busy constructing a "pale or pallisadoe about my house" and described the need for powder. His letter also referred to the poor management of Mr. Harwood as well as Mr. Carles' neglect regarding the protection of the plantation and its operations.

Abstracts: County Records

Charles City County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
Hotten 1983:190	List of the Dead	Enumeration	16 Feb. 1623	List of the dead at West & Sherlow Hhundred			"2 Indians, one Negar, and Christopher Harding, kild..."
Hotten 1983:192-3	List of the Dead	Enumeration	16 Feb. 1623	List of the dead At Martin's Hundred			John Pattison, ux Pattison and Edward Windor killed.
Hotten 1983:209	List of the Dead	Enumeration	1624	List of the dead at West & Sherley & Sherley Hundred			James Rolfe Liuetennt. Gibb's man, John Michaell and Francis, Capt. Madison's man} slaine by the Indians.
Hotten 1983:215	List of the Dead	Enumeration	1624	List of the dead at Chaplins Choise			Henery Wilson, Nicholas Sutton, Nicholas Baldwin were killed by the Indians.
Fleet, 1945A:10	Indian & Capt. Wm. Rothwell	Employment	17 Sept. 1655 Westover	10,000 lbs. tobo. bond			Allowed to employ Indian to kill wolves & do other service; they are to do no harm to the English & their estates.
Fleet 1945A:41	Indians & James Reyner	Payment for military service	25 June 1656 Westover	700 lbs. tobo to cure wound.			Reyner was wounded during late service agst. Indians. Thomas Culmer is to attempt a cure.
Fleet 1945A:46	Indian & Capt. David Peibils	Employment	25 June 1656 Westover				Permitted to retain & keep Indian according to law.
Fleet 1945A:47	Indians & King of Weynoke and Militia	Intelligence & raising militia	25 July 1656 at Buckland	Militia			Strange northern Indians called Mastehocks have arrived to fight the Richohockans. Reports of a sudden invasion intended and the killing of hogs. In case of war, militia and arms to be raised immediately.
Fleet 1945A:49	Indian &	Keeping Indian	1 Sept. 1656				Allowed to keep this Indian according to law.

	John Dibdall		Westover			
Fleet 1945A:58	Indian & John Banister	To have Indian	27 Oct. 1656 Westover	Service		To have Indian in his service.
Fleet 1945A:58	Indian & Capt. Daniel Llewellyn	To have Indian	27 Oct. 1656 Westover	Service		To have Indian in his service.
Fleet 1945A:58	Indians & Major Abra. Wood	To have Indians	27 Oct. 1656 Westover	Service		To have two Indians.
Fleet 1945A:58	Indian & Capt. Robert Wynne	To keep Indian	27 Oct. 1656 Westover	Service		To keep an Indian.
Fleet 1941A:14	Indian & John Pratt	Employment	20 March 1657 James City			Pratt ordered to employ an Indian under the hands of Mr. Drewe and Mr. Wyatt.
Fleet 1945A:79	"Comon Enemy"	Order	24 June 1657 Merchants Hope	Defense		Every company of this regiment to provide & prepare 10 men "victualld and armed" for offence and defense agst. the Common enemy & expeditions.
Fleet 1945A:82	Indian & George Potter	Employment	3 Aug. 1657 Merchants Hope			Permitted to employ an Indian according to law.
Fleet 1945A:87	Indian & Thomas Drewe	Employment	3 8br. 1657 Merchants Hope			Permitted to employ and keep an Indian.
Fleet 1941A:64	Indian & Capt. Edward Hill	Employment	3 Feb. 1659 Merchants Hope			Permitted to keep an Indian.
Fleet 1941A:43	Indian & John Howell	Employment	3 Aug. 1659 Westover			Allowed to employ Indian.
Fleet 1941A:43	Indian & John Drayton	Employment	3 Aug. 1659 Westover			Allowed to employ Indian.
Fleet 1941A:43	Indian & Richard Parker	Violation of law	3 Aug. 1659 Westover	2,000 lbs. tobo. & costs.		Parker had given a gun to an Indian contrary to law. 1,000 lbs.. penalty to county commissioners. Also 1,000 lbs. of tobo. penalty to Lt. John Howell, informant, and costs of suit.
Fleet 1941A:46	Indian & John Holmwood	Employment	3 Aug. 1659 Westover			Permitted to employ an Indian according to law.
McIlwaine 1914:4	John Beauchamp & Indian boy	Petition	13 March 1659/60 James City	Indian boy		Beauchamp, merchant, wants to bring his Indian boy to England. If he can show consent of the Indian boy's parents to do so to the county court in Charles Cittie County, then his request shall be granted.
Fleet 1941A:97-99	Militia & Indians	Court	12 June 1661 James City	Defense. Penalty for false rumors: 5,000 lbs. tobo. & 1 year imprison-ment		Unsettled militia/uncertainties of alarms and want of fixed arms caused fears and terrors among inhabitants along with rumors of Indians. Issued 8 points dealing with problem.
Fleet 1941B:5	Indians	License	14 Sept. 1661 Westover			Licenses to keep Indians revoked.
Fleet 1941B:48	Thomas Busby & Wm. Rollinson	Deed	4 March 1661/2 [sic]	Sale		Busby of Surry County sold an Indian boy, aged about 5, to Rollinson.
Fleet 1941B:40	Theodrick Bland Esqr. & Maj. Gen. Manwaring Hammond	Judgement	3 Feb. 1662 Westover	Estate		The service of an Indian girl sold to Hoe per contract under hands of Rees Hughes, agent for Hammond.
Fleet 1941B:42	John Monke, 35	Deposition	4 Feb. 1662/3 Westover	Witness	Elizabeth, an Indian woman	While at house of Capt. John Wall, he saw Elizabeth strike Mrs. Wall.
Fleet 1941B:42	Henry Tame, 30	Deposition	4 Feb. 1662/3 Westover	Witness	Elizabeth, Indian	At house of Capt. John Wall & family: Elizabeth was "so violent." She bit Mrs. Wall's breast and thrust her head into a red-hot oven ready for bread.

Fleet 1941B:43	Elizabeth, a Christian Indian	Verdict	4 Feb. 1662/3 Westover	More service	Elizabeth, Indian		Elizabeth has "violently and disobediently resisted and assaulted" her mistress, Mrs. Wall, with "blows and bitings." Additional service as per act provided for such cases for her "insolent resistance and opposicon." [Elizabeth is not "Elizabeth Christianna" as incorrectly cited in the book. The original record revealed the error.]
Fleet 1941B:51	Indian youth & Rice Hoe	Court	20 April 1663 Westover	Complaint			Indian complains of illegal detention by Hoe. To dwell with Mr. Theo: Bland 'till settlement.
Fleet 1941B:56	Thomas, Indian & Rice Hoe	Court	3 June 1663 Westover	Complaint			Case for illegal detention deferred to next court.
Fleet 1941B:62	Thomas, Indian & Rice Hoe	Court	3 Aug. 1663 Westover	Complaint	Served 3 years.		Hoe to provide Thomas two new canvas shirts & one pair of new canvas drawers; and pay all costs of suit.
Fleet 1941B:79	John Compton	Petition	3 Feb. 1663/4 Westover	Exempt from taxes & public services.			Due to great age, industry, and "great hurts losse of blood and the consequent debility"...occasioned "by his service in the last war with the Indians," Compton is to be free of taxes & services except for parish dues.
Fleet 1942:1	Indian & Thomas Tomlinson	Order	3 Aug. 1664 Westover	Bond re gun & Richard Pace, security, 1,000 lbs. tobo.			Tomlinson to keep gun taken from an Indian by him, and Pace to provide security. Also to produce gun if cause requires it.
Fleet 1942:17	Indians & Thomas Marston vs. George Harris	Court	9 Aug. 1664 Green Spring	Suit			Non-appearance in court due to late rumors of the Indians. Requested rehearing in next court.
Fleet 1942:57	Indian boy & Mary Bird, 23, servant	Deposition	10 Oct. 1665 court	Witness	Thomas Hooper, a Gerrard & Indian boy		3 servants of Capt. Edw. Hill drove hogs of Mr. Llewellyn's out of the yard at Shirley Hundred. Dogs killed one barrow by the water-it was then dressed by the servants. They and other servants "did eate it."
Fleet 1942:55	Indians & soldiers	Service	10 Nov. 1665 Westover	Pay for 6 days work			Neighbors of soldiers to pay 6 days work for soldiers pressed or employed agst. Indians.
Fleet 1942:79	Indian & Wm. Irby	Order	Court orders 1672-1674	Security			To entertain an Indian.
Fleet 1942:79	Indian & John Sturdivant	Order	Court orders 1672-1674	Security			To entertain an Indian.
Fleet 1942:82	Thomas Hamlin vs. William Irby	Court	Court orders 1672-1674	Complaint			To appear on complaint of Wm. Irby about Indian.
Ayres 1968:11	Indian & Edward Richards	Court	13 Sept. 1677 Westover	Gun issue			Presented gun in court-pretends he took it from an Indian upon his land. To keep gun until further hearing from Govenor and Council.
Ayres 1968:47	Mr. William Randolph, John Lawrence & Tero, Indian	Judgement	14 Feb.1677/8 Westover	Witness			Reference to Lawrence's non-appearance as a witness in Randolph vs. Tero, an Indian.
Ayres 1968:57	Mr. Henry Batte	Register	3 June 1678 Westover				Two Indian children: George, aged 6 and Bess, aged 5.
Ayres 1968:69	Francis Leadbetter	Informant	15 Aug. 1678 Westover	Sale			Said Henry Newcomb bought 1 horse, 1 mare from the Indians- the latter exchanged with Peter Rowland. Newcomb ordered to appear in next court.
Ayres 1968:77	Henry Newsom	Register	3 Dec. 1678 Westover			Indian boy	Slave for life, aged 7.
Ayres 1968:93	John Smith	Informant	18 Feb. 1678/9 court	Verdict			Said Henry Burton & Ed. Gilley entertained & dealt with the Indians. Verdict: "Not guilty."
Ayres 1968:119	Mr. Henry Batt	Guardianship	3 Dec. 1679 Westover	Estate			Henry Odum, admr. of John Peterson (dec'd.) was removed & replaced by Batt who wants court to remove liability. Mill is the largest estate & subject to attacks by Indians and fire. Batt will only then accept adm. & guardianship of

							orphan.
Weisiger 1992:13-14	Joseph Bradley	Court	7 March 1687 court	Accidental killing of Indian. Bail to be first given-then given liberty.			Wants relief from strict confinement in prison; killing of Indian man was "accidentally done & no malice forethought."
Weisiger 1992:15	Solomon Crooke	Register	3 April 1688 Westover				Matt, Indian, aged 10.
Weisiger 1992:17	Owen Row	Claim	13 April 1688 Westover			An Indian	Indian slave of Wm. Harrison's.
Weisiger 1992:17	Clerk and James Blancks	Certificate	13 April 1688 Westover	Certificate			Blanks lost horse in journey agst. Indians last July.
Weisiger 1992:24	David Williamson	Register	3 Aug. 1688 Westover				Robin, Indian, aged 7.
Weisiger1992:28	Thomas Harnison	Register	3 Oct. 1688 Westover		Ned		Indian aged 8.
Weisiger 1992:33	Capt. Daniel Llewellyn	Payment	4 Oct. 1688 Westover	From Levy			Paid 133 lbs. for inquest on Mrs. Shipley's Indian.
Weisiger 1992:45	Zacheus Ellis vs. Francis Reeves	Suit	3 April 1689 Westover	Claims	2 men & Indian boy		Ellis claimed that Reeves owed him 85 days wages per Ellis' 2 men & 16 days wages per Ellis' Indian boy. Reeves' appeals to next court.
Weisiger 1992:53	James Denson	Register	5 Aug. 1689 Westover		Jenny		Indian aged 5.
Weisiger 1992:61	John Mattux	Register	3 Oct. 1689 Westover		Besse		Indian aged 6.
Weisiger 1992:69	Roger, Indian & Richard Bradford	Runaway	3 Dec. 1689 Westover	To serve 1 mo. for 10*s* & more time per law.			Roger was absent 6 months. Master spent 10*s* on recovery.
Weisiger 1992:84	Ralph Jackson	Register	4 Aug. 1690 Westover				Jenny, Indian, aged 6.
Weisiger 1992:84	Joseph Pattison	Register	4 Aug. 1690 Westover		Jack		Indian aged 8.
Weisiger 1992: 85	John Williams	Petition	4 Aug. 1690 Westover	Case dismissed			Said his Indian woman is guilty of "sin of fornication" & wants "benefit of the law." Case is not w/in their law.
Weisiger 1992:101	John Royston	Insolvency	3 Feb. 1690 Westover	Tax			Jeffrey, Indian boy, is insolvent.
Weisiger 1992:95	John Evans	Register	8 Dec. 1690 Westover				Thomas Mayo, Indian, aged 14.
Weisiger 1992:107	Solomon Crooke	Register	3 Aug. 1691 Westover			Jacke	Indian aged 6.
Weisiger 1992: 107	Rineer Anderson, dec'd.	Court	3 Aug. 1691 Westover	Estate			Robert, Indian, aged 10.
Weisiger 1992:114	William Jones	Court	10 Nov. 1691 Westover	Summons			Jones, a trader in Appomattux, is summoned to show why he is not listed as a tithable.
Weisiger 1992:120	John Fontain	Register	3 Feb. 1691 Westover				Joan, Indian, aged 7.
Weisiger 1992:125	James Parham	Court	24 March 1691 Westover	Certificate		An Indian woman	Certificate from Capt. Batt returned. Indian belongs to Wm Lux of Isle of Wight.
Weisiger 1992:201	Peter Perry	Document	9 Jan. 1692	Receipt			Acknowledged delivery of 4 "shotes" through Capt. Busby's Indian- 393 lbs. in all.
Weisiger 1992:128	James Howard	Register	3 June 1692 Westover		Jenny		Indian aged 6.
Weisiger 1992:128	John Evans	Register	3 June 1692 Westover		Doll		Indian aged 10.
Weisiger 1992:130	William Wilkins	Register	3 Aug. 1692 Westover				Indians named Hannah, aged 8; Jack, aged 12; and Ned, aged 10.
Weisiger 1992:131	Thomas Chapell	Register	3 Aug. 1692 Westover				Jack, Indian, aged 7.
Weisiger 1992:131	Mingo, Negro & Thomas Harnison	Court	3 Aug. 1692 Westover	Complaint. Mingo is not free.			Once belonged to James Blamore whose will states that 4 yrs. after his death, Mingo and an Indian boy "to be free if the law will admit." Otherwise Mingo goes to exors (Harnison). Court notes law barring Negroes their freedom.
Weisiger	Benjamin	Register	15 Sept. 1692				Robin, Indian, aged 5.

1992:134	Foster		Westover			
Weisiger 1992:137	Thomas Harnison	Register	3 Oct. 1692 Westover			Jenny, Indian, aged 11.
Weisiger 1992:148	John Parrish	Claim	16 Feb. 1692 [sic] Westover	Certificate		Certificate dated 10 May 1689 from Maj. Stith, for Hector, Indian, who was taken up 5 miles away from his master Samuel Eale.
Weisiger 1992:150	John Williams	Court	13 April 1693 Westover	Summons		Complaint of Indian woman belonging to Williams.
Weisiger 1992:155	Samuel Tatem	Register	5 June 1693 Westover			Mary, Indian, aged 7.
Weisiger 1992:156	James Jones	Register	3 Aug. 1693 Westover			Indians named as Sue, aged 7, and Sarah, aged 4.
Weisiger 1992:158	Franck, Indian & John Williams	Order	3 Aug. 1693 Westover			Ordered to pay Indian woman Franck accustomed corn & clothes, with costs.
Weisiger 1992:163	John Pybus	Register	4 Dec. 1693 Westover			Thom, Indian, aged 10.
Weisiger 1992:163	John Heath	Register	4 Dec. 1693 Westover			Jack, Indian, aged 7.
Weisiger 1992:169	Joseph Patison	Register	5 Feb. 1693 [sic] Westover			Tom, Indian, aged 4.
Weisiger 1992:174	___Howard	Register	3 April 1694 Westover			Hannah, Indian, aged 5.
Weisiger 1992:176	Daniel Sturdevant	Register	4 June 1694 Westover			Peter, Indian, aged 5.
Weisiger 1992:176	Robert Hix	Register	4 June 1694 Westover			Jenny, Indian, aged 8.
Weisiger 1992:180	John Lewis	Register	3 Aug. 1694 Westover			Sarah, Indian, aged 12.
Weisiger 1992:180	Mathew Parham	Register	3 Aug. 1694 Westover			Dick, Indian, aged 7.
Weisiger 1992:180	John Winingham	Register	3 Aug. 1694 Westover			Jack, Indian, aged 7. Robin, Indian, aged 4.
Weisiger 1992:181	Thomas Thrower	Register	3 Aug. 1694 Westover			Will, Indian, aged 5.
Weisiger 1992:193	Richard Denis	Payment	9 Nov. 1694 court	From Levy		Paid 100 lbs. tobo. for his Indian.

Isle of Wight County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
Hotten 1983:194	List of the Dead	Enumeration	16 Feb. 1623	List of the dead at Warwick's Squarak			
Hotten 1983:243	List of the Dead	Enumeration	1624	List of the dead in Wariscoyack			Servants of Mr. Bennett's men, slain by the Indians}5.
Isle of Wight Co. 2:111	Thomas Harris	Will	31 March 1672				Some of his lands are at the "Indian Towne."

James City County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
Brown 1964: 115	East India Company	Court minute	4 Sept. 1607	£3, 5s			Beads & moth-eaten cloth sold to Gov. Sir Thomas Smythe...for the Virginia voyage.
Brown 1964: 178	Henry Percy, Earl of Northumber-land	Memorandum	1607-1608	3s			"For the rings and other pieces of copper given to the Virginia Prince 3s"
Gray 1937 (1609): [between	Robert Gray	Manuscript: "A Good Spede to Virginia"	28 April 1609				It is believed that "these Savages have no particular propertie in any part or parcell of that countrey, but only a generall residencie there, as wild beasts have in the forest..."

C3-D] Strachey 1953 (1612): Appendix A	William Strachey	Dictionary	1612	Indian Language	Published as "A Short Dictionary, added unto the former Discourses, of the Indian Language, used within the Chessiopioch Bay; more perticularly about the Tract and amongst the Inhabitantaunts of the first River, called by them Powhaton, and by us, the Kings River, whein as yet our Townes, and Fortes, ar seated. By which, such who shall by Imployed thether may know the readyer how to confer, and how to truck and Trade with the People."
Brown 1964:1005	John Smith of Nibley et al. to Sir George Yeardley & George Thorpe's Virginian Indian boy	Indenture & Patent	3 Feb. 1618/19	Patent	John Smith et al. to Gov. Yeardley, 18 Feb. 1619: "Since your departure, we have procured our patent for plantation in Virginia (a copy whereof we herewith send unto you, written by the Virginian boy of me..." [of George Thorpe's]...)"
Thorndale 1995:165, 169	Indians	Census	1619		"Indians in the service of seu[er]all planters."
Ferrar 1936:112-113	Nicholas Ferrar	Will	23 March 1619	Bequest	Will cites £300 for the education of ten "Infidel children in the college now being erected."
McIlwaine 1915:5	Court, seamen & Opochancano	Order	30 July 1619 James City	Complaints & trade	Complaint lodged agst. Capt. Martin for certain outrages which could endanger the Colony. Ensign Harrison affirmed to Thomas Davis of Paspaheighs, Gent. that he had been told under Martin's orders to take the shallop, that they would have made a "harde voiage," if they had not met w/ a canoe coming out of a creek. When the Indians refused to sell their corn, armed men entered their canoe and took the corn by force, measuring it w/ a basket they had into their shallop. They gave them "satisfaction" in "Copper, beades, and other trucking Stuffe." Opochancano made complaint to the Governor about this outrage. Concerned for the safety of the colony as well as the outrage being committed agst. the Indians, the Governor decreed that that Martin should have obtained "leave" to enter the bay to trade and ordered him to take "leave" and give good security to ensure that his men will not commit "no such outrage any more."
McIlwaine 1915:9	Court & Indians	Order	2 Aug. 1619 court	Act	The English shall not make injury or oppression agst. the Indians, thus disturbing the peace and potentially revive "antient quarrels." The Chiccohomini are "not to be excepted out of this Lawe" until further orders from England, or that they provoke us by some new injury.
McIlwaine 1915:10	Court	Order	2 Aug. 1619 court	Assimilation of Indians	Desirable that the "better disposed" Indians learn to converse w/ our people, live & labor among them and convert to Christianity. Indians who voluntarily come to well-peopled places to do service such as killing of deer, fishing, beating corn and other helpful work, then five or six of them can be admitted to each place and no more w/ the Governor's consent. Although "many proove good," a guard should be kept at night since they generally "are the most trecherous people" who quickly disappear when "they have done a villainy." It is also thought fit to provide them a separate house for them to lodge in by themselves. No lone inhabitant is to "entertaine them." Lastly, each town, city, borough or plantation shall take in Indian children to learn Christianity and "civile course of life." The most "towardly boyes in witt & graces of nature" are to be brought up "in the firste Elements of litterature" and thus be fitted for college intended for them.
McIlwaine 1915: 12	Court & Indians	Order	4 Aug. 1619 court	Trade	Every man is free to trade with the Indians but not servants. The offender shall risk whipping or payment "of an Angell" - one fourth each to the Provost Marshall, the discoverer, and "the other moyty" to the public use of the local incorporation.
McIlwaine 1915:13	Court & Indians	Order	4 Aug. 1619 court	Arms	No man is to give Indians any "piece shott, or poulder, or any other armes offensive or defensive." Otherwise, he will be considered a traitor to the Colony and be hanged w/ proof and no redemption.
McIlwaine	Court &	Order	4 Aug.	Canines &	No inhabitant shall give greater "howes" or any English dog

1915:13	Indians		1619 court	hoes	of quality, such as "Mastive, Greyhound, Blood hounde land, or water Spaniel" or any other English dog to the Indians. Punishment is the forfeiture of 5 lbs. sterling for the public use in the local incorporation.
McIlwaine 1915:13	Court & Indians	Order	4 Aug. 1619 court	Indian towns	None of the English are to "purposely goe to any Indian townes, habitations, or places of resort," w/o leave from the Governor or commander of the person's area. Forty shillings towards the local incorporation is the penalty if this decrees is not followed.
McIlwaine 1915:13	Court & Indians	Order	4 Aug. 1619 court	Canoes	Anyone who takes boats, oares or "canoas" w/o leave of his neighbors shall be considered a felon. No one is to take away by violence or stealth any of the Indian canoes or other things. If he does, he shall pay "valuable restitution" to the Indians. He also shall forfeit, if a freeholder, 5 lbs. and if a servant, 40s, or be whipped. Furthermore, anything that is under the value of 13d will be labeled as "Petty larceny."
McIlwaine 1915:14	Court & Indians	Order	4 Aug. 1619 court	Trade in the Bay	No one is to trade in the Bay in any ship w/o license from the Governor and security that he or his company shall not "force or wrong" the Indians. Otherwise, they shall face censure upon their return from the Governor and Council of Estate.
McIlwaine 1915:14-15	Court, Capt. Henry Spelman, Robert Poole & Opochancano	Order	4 Aug. 1619 court	Complaint	Robert Poole, interpreter, vs. Henry Spelman: Spelman spoke "very unreverently & maliciously agst. the Governor" at Poole's meeting (& thus the Governor's honor, dignity, person and Colony be brought in contempt) and mischief by Indians thus might ensue. Spelman confessed to a few of the charges but denied the majority of the complaints. The only exception what that he had informed Opochancano that w/in a year, there will be a more powerful Gov. in a year, who shall replace this one. Since Opochancano and other Indians thus appeared to hold the Gov. in "much disesteem," the Colony may be in "danger of their Slippry designes." Instead of possibly putting Spelman to death according to a law, the General Assembly decided that Spelman was to be demoted from Captain and perform seven years service to the Indians as the Governor's interpreter.
The Antient Planters 1874 (1624):72	Court	Narrative	1623	Defense & Housing	Construction of two small forts was near the mouth of the river at Kicoughtun, with two bark-covered houses built by Indians as well as a few thatched cabins of the settlers. Other Indian houses that were not useful were burnt while twelve or fourteen Indians were killed. The surviving settlers consumed as much corn as they found growing "of their plantinge" and at harvest, reaped 150 bu. of corn. The corn, ordered by Lord La Ware, was sent to Jamestown.
The Antient Planters 1874 (1624):73	Court	Narrative	1623	Indian troubles	Men skilled at finding mines were killed by the Indians while eating meat and other victuals at the invitation of the Indians. As a result, some Indians were killed while their houses were burned as revenge.
McIlwaine 1915:33	Court	Narrative	1623	Defense	Only four pieces of ordinance were mounted for defense agst. the "Salvages." Soon after, the settlers were seated at Charles Hundred and Sir Thomas Dale went to the Pamonkey River to form either a friendship pact or to make war w/ them. While they saw Dale's intent was peace, they agreed out of fear rather than love. In spite of "great want and scarcity" in the settlement, they caught and executed those who mutinied and would have done harm.
McIlwaine 1915:33	Court	Narrative	1623	Defense & departure of Dale	Sir Thomas Dale impaled some necks of land for defense agst. the "Salvages" and for fishing for the settlers relief. He also made "spoile of the Keschiacks and Wariscoyacks" before his departure from Virginia. His successor was Capt. George Yardley who held the helm of government.
McIlwaine 1915:33	Court	Narrative	1623		At Christmas then following, the Indians of Chiquohomini complained of various abuses and derided our demands. They had agreed w/ Sir Thomas Dale to pay a yearly tribute-i.e., a bushel of corn for every bowman and in exchange, receive one piece of copper and one iron tomahawk. Each of the eight chiefs were to receive a suit of red cloth, "which clothes and truckinge stuffe" the English "esteemed of more worth then their corn." These abuses led Yardley to take a company of eighty-four men to revenge themselves "upoon those contemptous Indians." As a result, a "more firm league" was

					concluded and peace was possible for two years. Our people, including women & children, could move freely from town to town w/o arms and lodge in Indians' houses, where they were "every way kindly intreated and noe way molested."
McIlwaine 1915:36-37	Court	Narrative	1623	1622 Massacre	Indians had shown themselves "insatiable and covetous" while "we" were "punished for our greedy desires of present gaine and profit." On March 22, 1622, as we entertained them "friendly" in "our houses," they suddenly took opportunities and "fell upon us, killing and murdering very many of our people." Houses and plantations were destroyed while other accomplishments in the Colony were seriously damaged. "This deadly stroake being given to the great amazement and ruine of our State," and led the Governor & Council to act at top speed to take the rest of the Colony towards safety from further reprisals of the Indians. Survivors were then held at fewer strongholds but the resulting harvest was "slender." We had hoped for relief by trading w/ the more "remote" Indians but supplies had miscarried enroute from England. The Indians instead were "our most treacherus ennemies, cunninglye circumeventing and cruellie murderinge such as were employed abroade to gett relief from them," and led to "great want and scarcity." The Governor & Council and others have since conducted revenge on the Indians, started to restore the Colony and now hope to "clean drive" the Indians "from these partes."
McIlwaine 1915:37	Court	Inquiry	1623	Defense	Inquiries made by the Governor and Council: 1) what places are the best in terms of fortification or maintenance agst. the Indians or enemies by sea and 2) how the Colony now stands w/ respect to the "Savadges."
Hotten 1983:191	List of the Dead	Enumeration	16 Feb. 1623	At James Cittie	William Spence and Mrs. Spence "lost." [Note: They were in captivity.]
Hotten 1983:190	List of the Dead	Enumeration	16 Feb. 1623	List of the dead at the Neck of Land	"Thomas Fernley kid [killed]."
McIlwaine 1915:38	Court	Order	2 March 1623 court	Defense	The best solution for the Colony's defense is to run "a pale from Martins hundred to Chiskiacke wch is not above sixe miles" along with "planting" on both rivers, the Pamunkey river being more defensible. However, the relationship between the Colony and the Indians are "irreconciliable." The nimble-heeled Indians take advantage of the forests and carry out sudden ambushes and incursions. While none of the Englishmen have been killed since the massacre, they could not have a "safe range of the Countrye" for cattle, game, etc. and have to keep constant watch agst. the Indians. To achieve their security, there is a need for a "runninge armye continually a foote" which would prevent Indians from coming near them and enable them to put the arrivals here for the winter w/ a year's supply of cattle and provisions.
Neill 1869: 407-411	Court	Narrative	1623/4	Starving Time	Each man was permitted only 8 oz. of meal and half a pinte of pease for a day, although "mouldy, rotten, full of Cobwebs and Maggots." Starvation forced many to flee "for relief to the Savage Enemy, who being taken againe were putt to sundry deaths as by hanginge, shootinge and breakinge uppon the wheele & others were forced by famine to filch for their bellies." "...many...being weery of life, digged holes in the earth and hidd themselves till they famished." Moreover, after consumption of Doggs, Catts, ratts, Snakes, Toad-stooles, horesehides and wtnott" and cannibalism, the "happyest day that euer some of them hoped to see," was "when the Indians had killed a mare..." The settlers wished, while the mare was being boiled, that Sir Tho:Smith was "uppon her back in the kettle."
McIlwaine 1979B:48	Court, Ensign Thomas Savage & Capt. William Eppes	Order	7 March 1624 court	200 lbs. Sterling per bond	Ensign Thomas Savage is to be an interpreter for the good of the plantation at Accomack under conditions set by Capt. William Eppes, or to enter into bond for 200 lbs. sterling & security to Eppes and not have any conference or familiarity w/ the Indians of those parts.
McIlwaine 1979B:8	Court & Capt. Epps	Order	7 March 1624 court	Trade	Anyone who trades w/ the Indians for corn above the Eastern Shore w/o special license from the Governor & Council shall be sent to "James Cyttie" by Capt. Epps for censure and

						seizure of the corn by measure. If there is any "extreeme" need of corn on that plantation, Epps will be removed like the example with Capt. Hamer.
McIlwaine, 1979B:28	Robert Poole, Gent., et al. and Apochankeno, Coos, Chacrow, Kissacomas (?), Morassane, Nemetenew and other Indians	Deposition	1 Nov. 1624 court	Witness to arms training		During the time of Sir. Thomas Dale, Poole first lived w/ Apochankeno who showed him certain trees where certain bullets had been shot by the Indians who had been personally taught w/ "a small peternell" by Capt. John Smith. Sir Thomas Dale also gave unto Kissacomas (?) a snaphance. The powder & shot was given to him through Poole and Kissacomas (?) often shot fowl & deer. After Sir Thomas Dale's term, an Indian named Coos was taught to shoot w/ a "peece" by John Powell, a servant of Capt. Webb per Webb's "appointment." Another Indian, Chacrow, living w/ Lieut. Skarse, Capt. William Powell and Capt. William Pierce, learned to shoot w/ a "peece." Under Sir Samuel Argall's government, the Indians had killed 6 Englishmen and carried to Pamunkey their pieces & shot where they were used by Morassane and Nemetenew. Poole further testified that Sir George Yardley sent him to "steel a wye the feathers of the locks of those peeces" so that they would be dysfunctional and end up being brought by Apochankeno to him for mending. However, once received, these pieces were kept. Yardley forbade one Indian, employed to shoot by William Pery, to have a piece and had it taken away. Furthermore, he never gave pieces to any Indian.
McIlwaine 1979B:28	Edward Grindon & Nanticos	Deposition	1 Nov. 1624 court	Witness to arms training		Nanticos, an Indian, was the first he knew to be taught to shoot a piece, but by whom he did not know. Another Indian, Coss, was taught to shoot w/ a piece by Capt. Webb at Kickatan during the time of Sir Thomas Dale. Grindon also knew that Shacrow, who lived w/ Lt. Skarse at Jamestown, did use & shoot a piece and so did Kiffacomas (?) who would come to Jamestown to obtain powder & shot during Dale's time as well. However, Grindon never remembered Yardley ever giving a piece to any Indian.
McIlwaine 1979B:36	John Fisher & Apochankeno	Order	13 Dec. 1624 court	Payment		Fisher is to be paid 90 lbs. tobo. For 5 weeks worth of work about Apochankeno's house.
McIlwaine 1979B:51	Thomas Pawlett, Gent., Symon Turgis, Rise Hoe, William Bayley, & Indian	Deposition	4 April 1625 Court	Witnesses	Andrew Dudley	They were living at Sherly Hundred when servant Dudley was "slayne by the Indyans" on 18 March 1623 and had viewed his body after the "enymie was fowle vppon."
McIlwaine 1979B:80	Joseph Chard & ffrancis Michell	Deposition	12 Dec. 1625 court	1622 Massacre		Within three or four days after the massacre, Joseph Chard was in possession of the houses but was forced to leave w/ the others. The houses burned shortly afterwards by the "Indyans" and thus "ffrancis Michell" never possessed the houses.
McIlwaine 1979B:128	George Graves & Robert Lynsey	Deposition	8 Jan. 1626 James City	Inventory		Graves stated that the inventory in court is the true & perfect inventory of Robert Lynsey who was "last spring carried by ye Indians to Pamunky."
McIlwaine 1979B:128	John Jaxson & Robert Lynsey	Deposition	8 Jan. 1626 James City	Goods		Last April, he and Lynsey went from Martins Hundred w/ certain Indians to Pamunky. Jaxson allowed to go home but Lynsey was detained there and told Jaxson that whatever goods he had at home were to go to Sara Snowe, dau of Ellenor Graves if he never came back. Indians also would not let Lynsey give the key to his chest to Jaxson.
McIlwaine 1979B:129	Thomas Harris, Luke Boise, Capt. John Martin & Indians	Deposition	9 Jan. 1626 James City	Cow		Harris sworn that a cow, named "brooken leggs", was in the possession of Luke Boise and killed by the Indians at "Necke of Land." It was one of eight cows once owned by Capt. John Martin.
McIlwaine 1979B:36	Court	Plan	13 Jan. 1626 court	Defense		A sufficient party to be seated at Kiskyacke, to serve as a retreat in case of being overpowered by the "forreine enemy" and to "annoy ye Indians."
McIlwaine 1979B:138	Christopher Barker & Capt. Epes	Deposition	5 Feb. 1626 court	1622 Massacre	Servants	Capt. William Epes received the servants of Capt. John Ward and had nothing after the massacre other than "a bed & a rugg." The houses & goods in them were burned four days later.
McIlwaine	William Munn	Deposition	5 Feb.	1622		There were no tobacco crops reaped the year after the

1979B:139			1626 court	Massacre	massacre, and only half an acre of corn was about the house.
McIlwaine 1979B:106	Assembly	Act	7-8 Aug. 1626 court	Defense	No man can go abroad for fowling, fishing or similar activities w/o a sufficient party of well-armed men. Nor can any man in the Colony go out to his "woorke & labor" w/o arms and a sentinel to watch over him.
McIlwaine 1979B:483	Court	Order	26 Aug. 1626 court	Proclamation	No one is to go abroad but in parties or work w/o a continual watch to be kept at night throughout the Colony. Also powder not to be spent during drinking events.
McIlwaine 1979B:111	William Claybourne	Proposition	4 Sept. 1626 court	Guides	Claybourne's proposal regarding the safe keeping of Indians he planned to use as guides who are "always ready to be ymployed," and other services is accepted. No other man can do the same-only Claybourne's "invention" will be tested presently w/ one Indian.
McIlwaine 1979B:116	Capt. William Epps & Weanoke Indian	Court	10 Oct. 1626 court	Weanoke Indian & Bond 500 lbs. tobo.	A Weanoke Indian, taken at Sherly Hundred in the spring, has since been w/ Capt. Epps who shall bring the Indian from Eastern Shore to Jamestown for the Governor to be employed in any service. Permission granted to Epps to either take Indian w/ him to England next spring or deliver him up to the Governor.
McIlwaine 1979B:120	Assembly	Order	13 Oct. 1626 James City	Defense & Fine of 100 wt. tobo. or more.	All dwelling houses through the Colony is to be "palizadoed or paled about" against the Indians by 1st of May. Fines in tobo. if this is not carried out.
McIlwaine 1979B:147	Court	Plan	3 April 1627 court	Defense	From information shared by other Indians, our Indian enemies are planning to make "a general assault vppon of all the plantations this Spring." Reference to earlier proclamation to "palizadoing the houses." Men are to keep guard, keep sentinel on their workmen and watch at night. Fort gates must be fast and no man shall "stragle abroad" alone to prevent dangers.
McIlwaine 1979B:483	Court	Order	12 April 1627 court	Proclamation	Proclamation: To be careful of the Indians. The English have discovered their intentions to "go to warr next spring."
McIlwaine 1979B:151	Court	Plan	4 July 1627 James City	Attack	All parties from all plantations to go "vppon the Indians & cutt downe their corne" on 1 Aug. Necke of Land & Colledge vs. Tanx Powhatans; Sherley Hundred, Jordaines Jurney, Chaplaines Choise & Perseys Hundred vs. towns of the Weianoacks and Appamatucks; James Citty vs. the Chicahominies & Tappahannaes; Warwicke-River, Warosquoiacke & Newport News vs. Warosquoyacks; and Elizabeth Citty vs. Nansamungs & Chesapeiacks. [Various parties to be led under listed names of men.]
McIlwaine 1979B:151	Court	Plan	4 July 1627 James City	Attack	Lt. Peppet to go in ship *Virgin* into the Pamunky River and put Indians "in expectation of our comeing thither." And beginning in Oct. next, a number of men from all the plantations to go to Pamunkey or other parts to "take & spoile as much corne as they shall light on" and other forms of harm or damage to the Indians.
McIlwaine 1979B:153	Edward Albourne & John Throgmo[r]ton	Deposition	17 Sept. 1627 James City	Will	Albourne testified that Throgmorton was wounded & shot in the body by the Indians on 23 June last. Before his death, he made bequests to certain people concerning his goods, house and servants.
McIlwaine 1979B:155	Court & Capt. Sampson	Court	11 Oct. 1627 court	Carib Indians	Carib Indians: Capt. Sampson had brought into the colony some Indians from the Carib Islands, who have since run away, hid in the woods, joined Indians here, stole goods and likely killed some people according to some Carib Indians who confessed to the same. After some deliberation, it is ordered that these Carib Indians shall be hanged "till they be dead."
McIlwaine 1979B:155	Court & Capt. Mathews	Court	12 Oct. 1627 James City	Voyage	Capt. Mathews is to do his best to procure volunteers throughout the Colony to go to Pamunkey or other Indian enemies. Commission shall then be granted to Mathews for voyage.
McIlwaine 1979B:174	Court	Opinion	18 ___1628 James City	Plan	It is the court's opinion to proceed concerning the same course about the Indians, which had been held back until there was "better opportunity to sett vppon them."
McIlwaine 1979B:184-185	Court & Indians	Order	Last day Jan. 1628 James City	Defense & Treaty	Severe punishment for those who do not follow the rules. Treaty w/ the Indians continued since last August to be disannulled since people are neglecting to keep their guard against Indians and the Indians themselves have become

					"extreamly false and...offered some Iniuries in dyvers of our plantacons." To prevent a second massacre, Indians are to be viewed as enemies after 20th of Feb. and people must not only guard themselves but also not "Ply or Converse" with them. Captains & commanders of these plantations are ordered to make sure no persons or planters work w/o a constant force of men or go abroad w/o sufficient parties. Mr. Secretary also given commission to go to the Susquesahanos.
McIlwaine 1979B:189	Court & Indians	Plan	4 March 1628 James City	Warning	To spread word of plan. A particular Indian came voluntarily and suddenly among us just after our breaking off the former treaty of peace. Reference to the weaknesses of the straggling plantations. Since they have not begun w/ us or killed any of our men first, he shall be "delivered vpp to the hands of his Countrymen. ' He is to inform them that we are resolved to break off the treat of peace since they have been so false unto us in the conditions cited therein. They frequent our plantations, pressed upon our house contrary to the first and principal Article, kill our hogs & cattle, and do "iniuries" to our men hunting in the woods.
McIlwaine 1979B:484	Gov. & Commissioners	Commission	20 March 1628 court	Trade	Gov. signed "Comcons" to trade w/ the Indians in the bay & rivers.
McIlwaine 1979B:172	English captives & Indians	Court	24 April 1628 James City	Plan	Indians at Pasbehayes sent a piece of bark with writing from English captives held at Pamunky. Plan regarding rescue of these captives was discussed. Need to learn where the Indians plant their corn and "make them somewhat secure of us" in order to live more quietly. Opportunity for revenge for their treachery but no peace or dishonorable treaty is to be made w/ them, nor shall any of them come to our plantations.
McIlwaine 1979B:483	Court	Order	30 April 1628 court	Proclamation	Powder not to be spent at meetings, drinkings, marriages & entertainment because "a warr is expected with Indns. next spring" like it happened last summer.
McIlwaine 1979B:484	English captives & Indians	Order	12 Aug. 1628 court	Proclamation	Several Englishmen taken prisoners by the Indians. Peace is to be made until these Englishmen are delivered. It is to be known that the Indians are not to be taken as friends but care must be taken as if they are enemies in actual war.
McIlwaine 1979B:198	Court & Indians	Message	1629 James City	Compensation	In view of the massacre of Mr. Pooly & 4 men w/ him and the fact that an Indian came among us contrary to agreement. Sent him back w/o harm to the great King w/ our strict warning, etc. From now on, Indians come to the Governor or commander — they had been instructed to come to an appointed place at Pasbyhey. Even though the Indians have not followed the rules, we have not yet "offered them any violence but haue vsed them well and Courteously notwthstading all wch they ha[ve] killed five of our men." We demand satisfaction from their King for the theft of hoes, killing of hogs and other damage. If he refuses, then we shall avenge the deaths of the five men and repair "wrongs." In addition, Robert __ is to be an interpreter in court between the Indians "until next Christmas (?)" for 1,000 lbs. tobo.
McIlwaine 1979B:484	Gov. & Commissioners	Order	July (or 6 Nov.) 1629	Plans	Gov. gave Comcons. to go agst. the Indians according to order of court 9th instant & "utterly destroy them." The commander also has power in punishing them, etc. as the King's Comcon. shall give him.
McIlwaine 1915:52-53	Court	Order	16 Oct. 1629 court	Plans & Defense	The commanders of several plantations are given authority by the governor to employ men agst. the Indians if they assault the English or to clear the woods in order to see Indians more clearly if they come near the plantations. Several marches are also to be conducted for the months of November, December, March, June, July or August. The plantations are to "doe all manner of spoile and offence to the Indians that may be possibly bee effected." The plantations at Accawmacke shall assist them agst. the Pamunky Indians in the summer w/ "every fit man out of the inhabitants."
McIlwaine 1915:53	Court	Order	16 Oct. 1629 court	Maintenance of Indians	Three Indians who reside here are to be maintained by the "general charge of the whole colony."
McIlwaine 1979B:480	Court & Indians	Document	9 Jan. 1632 court	Minutes	"...mischiefs done by said Indians & every 20th man sent to Ply wth 'em."

McIlwaine 1979B:480	Governor & Chickahominy Indians	Court	14 June 1632 court	Minutes	"Govr. to Ply with Chickahominy Indians."
McIlwaine 1979:480	Pamunky & Chickahominy Indians	Court	30 7ber 1632 court	Minutes	A "peace" w/ "pamunkys" and "Chicka. Indians but a pcl issues not to Ply wth or trust them."
McIlwaine 1979B:480	Indians & Englishmen	Court	5 June 1633 court	Minutes	"Two men ordd to serve ye Governor each a month for dealing & Pling wth Indians & to give each witness against them a daies work."
McIlwaine 1979B:480	Governor	Exchange	31 Aug. 1633 court	Land	500 acres of land at Archers Hope is given by the Governor in exchange for 500 acres at Powhatan's Swamp, near Powhatan's Tree.
McIlwaine 1979B:481	Court	Order	1634 court	Minutes	Lieutenants to be appointed the same as in England & in a more "especial manner to take care of ye warr agt Indians."
McIlwaine 1979B:484	Indians	Order	July 1634 court [?]	War	Several "Com's" to go to war w/ the Indians, "our irreconcilable enemies in July 1634."
McIlwaine 1979B:481	Court	Order	29 April 1635 court	Minutes	During vacancy of the governor, the secretary...should manage "ye affairs of the Indians."
McIlwaine 1979B:483	Nicholas ffarrar	Will	8 April 1640 James City	Minutes	Will in London: Gave a stock of £300 sterling- the interest to be pd to anyone who would bring up 3 Indian children in learning & Christianity.
McIlwaine 1979B:478	Arthur Price & Indian	Court	23 June 1640 court	Complaint	Price complained and believed that the Indian, who once lived w/ Mr. Anthony Panton, is the one who stole his gun, pair of breeches & shirt. Price has right to detain in his custody the next Indian who comes to his house & inform the Indian his knowledge of that Indian who stole these items — until they be brought back by that Indian.
McIlwaine 1979B:478	John Burton & Indian	Court	23 June 1640 court	Complaint	Burton killed an Indian he thought was the one who stole his goods, but this was not the case. Since much danger may arise to Burton or the other English from some revenge for the death of this particular Indian, Burton shall remove his habitation out of this county where he now liveth and pay a fine 20 lbs. sterling to stay committed and security for good behavior.
McIlwaine 1979B:478	John Burton & Indian	Petition	23 June 1640 court	Fine	Burton fined 20 lbs. sterling last Saturday for his contempt in killing of an Indian. Petition for remission to the board- "some of his great men" interceded to the board on Burton's behalf and stated that they are satisfied concerning the same. Court therefore remitted fine, provided he enters recognizance for good behavior. [Note: footnote #58 indicated that the Indian leader might be Opechancanough.]
McIlwaine 1979B:478	Accomack Indians & Philip Taylor	Order	15 Dec. 1640 court	Patent	Patent granted to Accomack Indians for 1500 acres of land lying upon the easternmost shore of the seaboard side. A new survey to be done, including Taylor's 200 acres, which is not to be infringed. After survey is completed, patent is to be made for the Indians.
McIlwaine 1979B:477	Nicholas ffarrar, Mr. George Menefie, Esqr., Capt. William Perry & Indian boy	Court	31 March 1641 court	Education & maintenance	An Indian boy of the county of Tappahannock was presented by Mr. George Menefie to court. For ten years he was brought up among the English by Capt. William Perry (dec'd.) and Menefie, and is well instructed in the principles of religion, reading and writing per instructions of Nicholas ffarrar of London's will. Menefie wishes to obtain certificate for the better support of Indian boy & instruction. Court granted 8 lbs. per annum for allowance and 24 lbs. for maintenance of youth on 10 June 1640 at James City.
McIlwaine 1915:70	Court	Order	1 July 1642 James City	Peace	General Assembly: The settling of peace w/ friendship w/ the Indians "by mutual capitulation and articles" are agreed, concluded and put in writing after much editorial work.
McIlwaine 1979B:499	Court	Trade	6 Oct. 1642 court	Comission	Commission granted to trade in the bay.
McIlwaine 1979B:500	Court & Indian boy	Permission	10 Oct. 1642 court	Education	Permission to keep an Indian boy and instructing him in the Christian religion.
McIlwaine 1979B:500	Court	Order	1 June 1643 court	Trade	General order: persons cannot trade w/ the Indians w/o commission.
McIlwaine 1979B:501	Court	Order	30 April 1644 court	Order	Particular directions given for marching against the Indians.

McIlwaine 1979B:501	Court	Order	May 1644 court	Estates	Matters concerning the cattle & goods and servants of persons lately slain by the Indians.
McIlwaine 1979B:501	Court	Order	June 1644 court	March	Provisions for various marches against the Indians.
McIlwaine 1979B:501	Court	Opinion	June 1644 court	March	Claiborne's opinion is different from the others regarding the "propriety of War upon the Indians between the Rappahannock and Potomac.'
McIlwaine 1979B:501	Court	Plan	June 1644 court	Prisoners	Many prisoners taken among the Indians. Need to decide what course should be persued.
McIlwaine 1979B:501	Court	Army	29 June-4 Aug. 1644	Militia	"Pticulars of the return of the Pamunky army and about raising another army."
McIlwaine 1979B:502	Court	Order	6 July 1644 court	March	Claiborne, general of the Pamunkey march, requested provisions.
McIlwaine 1979B:502	Court	Session	10 Aug.1644 court	March	Meeting of "lieutenants and deputy lieutenants and 50 soldiers levied to march against the Chickahomonies."
McIlwaine 1979B:502	Court	Order	3 Sept. 1644 court	Attack	"Authority" to go "against the corn" of the Indians.
McIlwaine 1979B:502	Court	Order	23 Oct. 1644 court	March	More soldiers to be levied and prepared to go agst. the Indians.
McIlwaine 1979B:502	Court	Order	3 Dec. 1644 court	Attack	Lt. Nicholas Stillwell is permitted to "go against the Indians."
McIlwaine 1979B:502	Court	Order	20 Jan. 1644 [sic] court	Defense	Men, powder and shot to be sent to "middle plantation" to defend the forest.
McIlwaine 1979B:563	Capt. Claiborne, court, Pamunkey and Rappahannock Indians	Order	Feb. 1644/5 court	March	Court made further arrangements for Capt. Claiborne to conduct another march against the Pamunkeys on York River. He is to "treat the Rappahannocks or any other Indians not in amity with Opechancanough" with respect to "serving the country against the Pamunkeys."
McIlwaine 1979B:564-565	Sir William Berkeley, Kemp & Indians, et al.	Order	7 June-9 Aug. 1645 court	Indians shipped overseas	Upon his return from England, Sir William Berkeley took up the work laid out by Kemp; "prosecuted the expedition against the Indians, designated for the 10th of July; and took several prisoners. On 9 August, it was decided that all prisoners over the age of eleven shall be shipped to the Western Island on Sir William Berkeley's ship. This is to prevent their return and strengthen "their respective tribes." In addition, Lt. Nicholas Stillwell, "an active and intrepid forest ranger," is to have increased forces against the "savage enemy." Berkeley also declined to help Maryland's request for help, citing his own "daily opposition by the Indians" which made such assistance impossible.
McIlwaine 1915:90	Court & Tottopottomoy	Order	1653	Claim	During last Assembly, the land in York River desired by Tottopottomoy, was discussed further and is to remain in force as formerly. He is to live on the same but if he leave it, then the land is to "devolve" to Col. Willaim Clayborne according to an order of court. Clayborne to make clear which of the two choices of land he preferred in the next court, and Capt. John West w/ Mr. William Hockaday are to give a "safe conduct" to Tottopottomoy and his Indians for "their coming to towne and his returne home." In addition, the commissioners of York are required to remove persons who are seated upon the land of the Pamunkey or Chickahominy Indians according to a late Act of Assembly to that purpose. Col. John Fludd also go to Tottopottomoy to "examine" the business proceedings and deliver it upon oath.
McIlwaine 1915:91	Court	Order	1653	Indemnity	An act of "indempnitie" shall be granted to all who have "lent gunns to the Indians." Any offender w/ proof hereafter shall suffer "severely" according to aforesaid act.
McIlwaine 1979B:503	Court & Totapotamoy, Indian	Order	7 June 1654 court	Complaint	Totapotamoy complained that his brother was slain by an Englishman.
McIlwaine 1979B:504	Court	Order	3 Oct. 1654 court	Complaints	Complaints "Orders upon complaints by the indians."
McIlwaine 1979B:504	Court	Order	6 June 1656 court	Land	Land is not deserted until three years after removal of Indians.

McIlwaine 1979B:505	Court	Order	8 Oct. 1656 court	Hunting		"Where Indians may hunt."
McIlwaine 1979B:505	Samuel Mathews, Gov. & Indians	Order	27 April 1657 court	Complaint		Complaint lodged against the "Nessan (?) Indians." Soldiers to be raised.
McIlwaine 1979B:505	Court	Order	6 June 1657 court	Case	An Indian	Case of Indian servant.
McIlwaine 1979B:505	Court	Order	7 Oct. 1657 court	Sale		Case concerning the sale of powder to Indians. Party bound over.
McIlwaine 1979B:505	Court	Order	12 Oct. 1657 court	Servant		Indians who are detaining a servant are to be arrested.
McIlwaine 1979B:505	Court	Order	13 Oct. 1657 court	Hunting		Orders permitting persons who want to keep Indians for hunting.
McIlwaine 1979B:506	Court	Order	17 March 1657/8 court	Protection		Destruction of our friends, the Indians, are to be prevented.
Hening (II) 1823:34	Harquip, Mangai of the Chickahomini	Petition	23 March 1660/1 James City	Lands		Harquip, Mangai of the Chickahomini Indians, wanted to have all the lands from Mr. Malory's boundaries to the head of the Mattaponi River and into woods per patent. He also desired that no Englishman will disturb or purchase the same unless the majority of the "great men" shall "freely and voluntarily" give consent in the quarter court or assembly.
Hening (II) 1823:35 [Also in McIlwaine 1914:12.]	Major General Manwaring Hamond & Chickahomini Indians	Petition	23 March 1660/1 James City	Lands		A grant has been given to the Chickahomini Indians for certain lands, upon which Major General Manwaring Hamond claims a two-thousand acre devident by patent. He is ordered to purchase the same of the Indians or to procure their consent for the preservation of the "countrey's honour and reputation."
McIlwaine 1914:19	Edward Dennis & Indian town of Chickahomini	Order	23 March 1660/1 James City	Warrant for Dennis		Dennis seated himself in the Indian town of Chickahomini w/o title or claim. Warrant issued by governor for him to appear in court to hear his case of "continuance or removal."
Hening (II) 1823: 39	Chesskoiack Indians	Court	23 March 1660/1 James City	Lands		For the benefit of the country by the Chesskoiack Indians who are "kindly used by us." They are "sensible that with the few gunns they have amongst them, "and that "they cannot prejudice us being a small inconsiderable nation." They shall "quietly hold and enjoy the land" that they live on and have the free use of the guns they now have, notwithstanding any order or order to the contrary. This is to show other Indians "how kind wee are to such who are obedient to our laws."
Hening (II) 1823:39	Harquip, Mangoi of the Chickahomini Indians et al.	Court	23 March 1660/1 James City	Lands		On behalf of himself and other Indians, Harquip on 4 April 1661 acknowledged the sale of a parcel of land located between the cliffs to the little creek by Mr. Philip Mallory. It had been surveyed twice by Lt. Col. Abrahall & James Cole and George Morris containing 743 acres for Mr. Mallory.
McIlwaine 1914:16	King of Mattaponi Indians	Court	23 March 1661/2 James City	Complaint		The King of the Mattaponi Indians made complaint about the burning of his "English house." Lt. Col. Goodridge is to appear in the next quarter court to answer the charge and that the King of the Mattaponi will also be present.
McIlwaine 1914:16	King of Wainoke, Mettapin & Eliz. Short	Court	23 March 1661/2 James City	Freedom		The King of the Wainoke Indians did not have the power to sell Mettapin, a Powhatan Indian, to Elizabeth Short, since he was "of another nation." Mettapin is to be free- the court noted that Mettapin could speak the English tongue perfectly and desired baptism.
McIlwaine 1914:16	Court	Order	23 March 1661/2 James City	Lands		The governor is to grant a commission to look into the matter regarding several claims "made to any part of our neighbouring Indians land." The commission shall confirm just cases while removing other persons who do not. All appeals shall be open for all persons who feel "agreived" by such proceedings.
McIlwaine 1979B:493	Attamahune, great king of Noncottecoe	Deed	27 July 1662 court	Land		Attamahune's deed for a tract of land.
McIlwaine 1979B:508	Court	Order	25 March 1663/4 court	Complaints		Complaints of Pamunkey Indians.
Hening (II) 1823:202-	Court	Order	13 Sept. 1663 court	Theft by Indians		On the south side of the James River, the Indians have been stealing hogs, tobacco, and the corn out of the fields as well

						as robbing hedges at night. Neighboring Indians are also "taxed therewith." They said that it is the Tuscarora Indians who are skulking about the English plantations and conducting "underhand dealings" with the English. For these reasons, these Indians cannot come to the English plantations w/o badges, and if found in the house of an Englishman, the Englishman shall pay the penalty of the same value as given to Indians. Half of each party's payment will be given to the informer.
McIlwaine 1979B:508	Court	Order	26 Sept. 1664 court	Lands		Many Indians as possible to be located in one place and enough land laid off for them.
McIlwaine 1979B:508	Court	Order	28 Sept. 1664 court	Compensation		The value of guns taken from the Indians is to be paid to them.
McIlwaine 1979B:509	Court	Order	24 Nov. 1664 court	Interpreter		An interpreter is to live near the Pamunkey Indians.
McIlwaine 1979B:509	Court	Order	12 Oct. 1665 court	Patent		Indian is allowed to patent for land.
McIlwaine 1979B:509	Court	Order	19 Oct. 1665 court	Release		Indians on a pirate's ship are declared free.
McIlwaine 1979B:485	Whiteing & Indians	Order	19 Oct. 1665 court	Release		Whiteing brought in Indians who were taken in a Spanish ship. They are declared free and to have their liberties.
McIlwaine 1979B:509	Court	Order	20 Oct. 1665 court	Complaint		Complaint made by the Queen of Pamunky.
McIlwaine 1979B:510	Court	Order	28 March 1666 court	Survey of lands		No land can be surveyed w/in five miles of an Indian town.
McIlwaine 1979B:510	Court	Order	10 July 1666 court	War		Murders by Indians, contrary to treaty of peace, means war of extermination against them.
McIlwaine 1979B:488	Court	Plan	10 July 1666 James City	Attack		For the last four years, many inhabitants have been killed by the Indians-contrary to the articles of peace. Our demands for satisfaction have not been answered. For their breaches of the peace, revenge, and prevent future mischiefs, the towns of Monzation, Nansimond and Port Tobacco w/ the whole nation of Doegs & Potomacks are to be utterly destroyed, if possible. Their women, children & goods shall be taken & disposed of according to Governor's instructions. War to be managed by officers and men as the Governor shall think fit.
McIlwaine 1914: 37	Court	Order	31 Oct. 1666 court	Proposition		Proposition concerning Indians, criminals and attorneys.
McIlwaine 1979B:510	Court	Order	17 April 1668 court	Confirmation		Confirmation of land granted to Pamunky Indians on the north of James River.
McIlwaine 1979B:513	Court	Order	24 Sept. 1668 court	Lands		"Lands delivered up" by Indians "granted over other side."
McIlwaine 1979B:513	Court	Order	23 April 1669 court	Servitude		Indian is brought in to be free after serving five years.
McIlwaine 1979B:230	Henry Newcomb, William Woodward, John Devorax & John King	Court	14 8br. 1670 court	Interpreters		These four men were sworn in court to be interpreters between the Indians & Col. Scarburgh.
McIlwaine 1979B:517	Court	Order	13 Oct. 1670 court	Horse		Horse, saddle & bridle to be given back to Indian.
McIlwaine 1979B:517	Court	Order	13 Oct. 1670 court	Servitude		Indian servant is to be free after serving six years.
McIlwaine 1979B:233	Gawin, Indian & Mr. Thomas Bushrod	Order	18 Oct. 1670 court	Servitude for 6 more years	Gawin	Gawin, servant to Bushrod, is to serve his master for six more years before he is set free.
McIlwaine 1979B:238	Lt. Col. George Jordan vs. Col. Edmond Scarburgh	Order	25 Oct. 1670 court	Complaint		Upon examination and trial of certain misdemeanors shown by Jordan about the Indians and other charges, the Gov. & Council ordered that Scarburgh is to be suspended from all offices, military & civil, until his future obedience and fidelity is assured & restored by Gov.
McIlwaine 1979B:353	Chingoskin Indians & Thomas Harmonson	Order	24 Oct. 1673 court	Survey		Surveyor in Accomack to survey 650 acres of land belonging to the Chingoskin Indians. If Harmonson has run w/in their bounds, the Indians to have possession and Harmonson is to be turned out.
McIlwaine 1979B:361	Col. Abrahall	Order	8 Nov. 1673 court	Investigation		Abrahall is required to look into the death of the Englishman and the Indian lately killed in the premises and make report. Concerned parties also to be present.

McIlwaine 1979B:518	Court	Order	8 Nov. 1673 court		"Justice done to an indian."
McIlwaine 1979B:365	Court & Notoway Indians	Petition	4 April 1674 court	Trespass	The English who have seated w/in the bounds of the Indians' lands mentioned in an Act of Assembly are to "Come offe." No surveyor is to survey any more land w/ their bounds as aforesaid and sheriffs of several counties are to give public notice & prevent such actions.
McIlwaine 1979B:369	Accomack Indians, Mr. Savage & Mr. Harmonson	Order	7 April 1674 court	Patent	Examination of evidence re Indians' claims vs. bounds of Mr. Savage and Mr. Harmonson by four named men. Theyare to send report back to court.
McIlwaine 1979B:370	Court	Order	7 April 1674 court		Indian lands out of "Great care of the Peace and Safety of this Colony," is enacted an act to prevent encroachments upon bounds so assigned, and that it should "not be in the power of any Indian" to "fell or alienate" any of the lands w/in bounds. Such bargains are by act declared null & void. Heard that several persons have eluded the act by taking lease from the Pomunki and Chickahominy Indians. Ordered that no person take any lease from Indians and seat any lands until cases are determined in next Assembly what course should be taken. This is to prevent any "illegal disturbances of the Indians." Sheriffs in all counties to give public notice to that effect.
McIlwaine 1979B:380	Court	Jury	25 Sept. 1674 court	Verdict: "guilty."	Harry, an Indian, was tried in court for stabbing a person. He is to be hanged by the neck until dead.
McIlwaine 1979B:518	Court	Order	25 Sept. 1674 court	Minutes	Indian to be put to death per sentence.
McIlwaine 1979B:381	Court & Accomack Indians, et al.	Order	28 Sept. 1674 court	Land boundaries	These Indians "have always beene in peace with us" and thus is necessary that they are secured in their possessions. Titles of Savage and Indians to be examined and portion of Savage's land to be given to Indians who shall give Savage and his heirs "one yeare of Indian Corne yearly for Acknowledgement." While Harmonson was acquitted from court, Kendall, who had possessed part of Savage's land, is to give good security. He will no longer threaten, disturb or frighten the Indians.
McIlwaine 1979B:384	Court & Major General Wood	Order	29 Sept. 1674 court	Public notice	Sheriffs who border these Indians were ordered to make public the court's order but failed to do so. Major General Wood is ordered to make inquiry to the same and report back to court.
McIlwaine 1979B:400	Nanzaticoe Indians & Thomas Prosseer	Petition	21 Nov. 1674 court	Lands	The Nanzaticoe Indians have deserted their lands laid out for them by Public Authority and have not lived there last two years. Prosser can have the liberty to seat his land within the said bounds if his petition is true.
McIlwaine 1979B:401	Bartholomew Austin & Guardians of Conquest Wyatt	Order	3 March 1674/5 James City	Suit re lands	The named guardians of Conquest Wyatt vs. Austin: The lease let by the Cheskyake Indians to Austin was found to be good and 150 acres of land is to be laid out by the surveyor.
McIlwaine 1914:64	Court	Act	7 March 1675 James City	Defense	"An act for the Safeguard and defence of the Country against the Indians" was discussed along w/ the distribution of 3051 pounds of ammunition for certain forts.
McIlwaine 1914:64	Court	Order	7 March 1675 James City	Protection	Sir William Berkeley is to be protected w/ a standing guard of twenty-four men who shall be paid at the rate of 1,500 lbs. tobo. w/ cask per annum by the public. 24,000 lbs. shall be paid Berkeley if he is willing to accommodate them at Green Spring w/ provisions.
McIlwaine 1914:64	Peracuta & Appomattuck Indians	Petition	7 March 1675 James City	License	The Appomattuck Indians requested that Peracuta, King of the Appomattuck, be given license to plant and clear any land that is not taken up by the English. They also asked that "their old Towne" be "not fired by the English" and that the English not fire into the woods "to the prejudice of those Indians." They wish to fish and gather rushes on the heads of rivers w/o any disturbance, provided that they come unarmed and in a peaceful manner. Lastly, they wished to have liberty grant "to all other, who are ready to give hostages."
McIlwaine 1979B:518	Court	Order	7 Oct. 1675 court	Complaint	Complaint of an Indian against his master.
McIlwaine 197B:425	Benjamin, Indian &	Order	8 Oct. 1675	Complaint	Benjamin the Indian is to return to his master Dunn, but Dunn must appear in next court to answer Benjamin's

	Charles Dunn		court		complaint.
McIlwaine 1979B:425	George & Chickahominy Indians	Order	8 Oct. 1675 court	Estate	Ordered that Interpreter George to the Indians that belong to the Great Munguy & "Charge them to Admitt the Said Munguy into the Same degree he vuse? to be in & Restore him his Estate." If they deny the same, the English shall take it amiss since Munguy has "always" been a "faithful friend to the English."
McIlwaine 1979B:426	John Rawlins & Indian woman	Jury	9 Oct. 1675 court	Murder	John Rawlins, accused of murdering an Indian woman, was acquitted by proclamation since the Jury found "Ignoramus."
McIlwaine 1914:70	Chesecake Indians & Court	Order	20 Feb. 1676 Green Spring	Peace	The Chesecake Indians may "quietly and safely return to, and abide in their townes, and haue and Inioy equall liberty," w/ all other neighboring friende Indians" as long as they conduct themselves submissively and peaceably.
McIlwaine 1979B:450	Mrs. Sarah Kirkman, dau ffrances & Indians	Petition	21 March 1675/6 court	Lands	They cannot seat lands in Potomock, which belonged to her decd husband Mr. Ffrancis Kirkman, because of "Reason of the Warr with ye Indians." She was given seven years' liberty to seat lands.
McIlwaine 1914:107	Court	Order	N.D. [c. 1676?]	Resolutions	Peace to be made w/ the Indians to the best advantage, w/ the exception of the Doegs- the Indians who make peace to be brought in at a convenient time. After they make peace, no one can keep, directly or indirectly, any Indian to hunt or otherwise. Furthermore, 1000 men should be raised for the Indian wars out of the respective counties in this country. Each county is to pay for their soldiers and provisions- this Act was once nullified by the violence of Nathaniel Bacon, but now the Act be provided again to enable payment to soldiers which is "leavyed against the Indians & for their Provision, &c."
McIlwaine 1914:107-108	Inhabitants of James City County to King Charles II	Petition	6 Feb. 1676?	Trade	They formerly had free access "of the Indians amongst us by their painting, & disfiguring themselves not to be knowne" which caused "agrievance." They now desire that there be peace made w/ their neighboring Indians, have clear boundaries and that the Indians who come among them be required to wear badges as formerly provided by the 4th Act of Assembly in September 1663. They also wish to advance themselves by trading w/ the Indians, but restraint is needed w/ respect to powder, shot and ammunition to the Indians per Act of Assembly in 1665- since the Indians "have bin therewith better p'vided than ourselves." [10 issues enumerated in document.]
McIlwaine 1914:107-108	Inhabitants of James City County to King Charles II	Petition	6 Feb. 1676?		One of the above mentioned 10 issues concerned "several Indian slaves" who were taken by the charge & expense of the whole Cuntry, in the late Indian Warrs, but is in the hands of severall private Psons." Proposal: these Indians should be used only for public, not private, profit.
McIlwaine 1914:69	Court	Order	20 Feb. 1676 Green Spring	War	Each county shall pay for provisions, arms, ammunition, horses, horse furniture, and other necessaries that are raised in their county for the Indian warr.
McIlwaine 1914:69	Court	Order	20 Feb. 1676 Green Spring	Indian prisoners	Soldiers, who have taken or shall take any enemy Indian prisoners or Indian plunder or goods, shall be under "a lawful Comand" that they keep all "such Indian Slaues, or other Indian goods," as they have taken or shall take, to their proper use. This is for "their better Encouragment to such service."
McIlwaine 1914:89-90	Queen of Pamunky	Petition	20 Feb. 1676 Green Spring	List of proposals	The Queen of Pamunky made a number of petitions: 1) that her lands restored to her, provided that she shall comply w/ the Acts of Assembly made last March and other injunctions as these arise by the Grand Assembly; 2) that her Indians may not be entertained or employed by the English; 3) that the goods be restored to her which she had left at her "Towne" when "shee fledd" and were taken away by the English; 4) that not too many of her Indians be required on service at once; 5) that any of her Indians who are now employed in the English service may have the plunder they get from other Indians; 6) that liberty be given to gather bark from trees on any man's land to build cabins; 7) that they be given permission to hunt on the frontier lands and plantations;

					8) that they be given liberty to fish at Powhite; 9) that her Indians not be abused by the English; and 10) that liberty also be given to redeem her Indians and goods. Responses of the court: 1) provided that she complay w/ the Acts of Assembly made last March & other injunctions, it is thought "reasonable" that her lands be restored; 2) no Englishman shall under any pretense employ any of her Indians to hunt or entertain them in their houses above one night w/o certificate from her or by pcuremt since the penality is 30 lbs. tobo. for each night any Indian is entertained; 3) what goods can be found shall be restored and she is obligated to deliver all the horses and goods taken that she or any of her Indians took from the English; 4) no more than one-third of her Indians shall be required regarding service; 5) all Indians employed in the country's service shall have what plunder they can get from other Indians except for horses, arms & ammunition - these are to be returned to the Governor or some other authority; 6) she shall first have leave from the owners of such land to gather the bark; 7) she can hunt on the frontier lands once she has delivered her hostages according to Act, & her other Indians can hunt or walk the same, but not painted; 8) she and her Indians can fish in all "convenient places" as long as they first give notice to Capt. William Bird or others in the area; 9) if the English abuse them, they are to have recourse to the Justice of the Peace whose warrant may command the offender or offenders to court and redress the injury; and 10) if she can, she can have the liberty to redem her Indians and goods, and if she cannot, then the court shall determine the matter.
McIlwaine 1914:115	Queen of Pamunkie	Petition	10 Oct. 1677 court	Lands	The Queen of Pamunkie petitioned to have confirmation of the lands she sold to several of the English for certain payments "in part thereof." Since this is not consistant w/ the Laws of the country or beneficial for the public good & safety, the English purchasers are required to come to court to make good their claims. Those w/ no valid claims shall lose the benefits or payments in connection w/ such claims. Until then, the Queen is not to be molested or have proceedings against her in any way.
McIlwaine 1979B:520	Court	Plan	27 Nov. 1678 court	Sentence & plan	Sentence given for a violent assault upon an Indian. If Indian invasions continue, then war is to be "vigorously" carried out.
McIlwaine 1979B:520	Court	Order	23 Jan. 1679/80 court	Indian problems	Concerning murders committed by Indians and existence of prisoners. Provisions need to be provided for the future.
McIlwaine 1925:40	Court & Indians	Order	13 March 1682 court		Indians shall not come to "Town" at the expense of the counties, except for emergencies.
McIlwaine 1925:488-489	Court & Indians	Court	10 May 1682 court		The present state of the country is extremely poor and forces kept in pay to prevent sudden mischiefs. The people propose that the Indian's trade should be confined under the Governor's direction to two persons of integrity and ability for five years. No Indians should be slaves that "the Bounds of the Country may not be encroacht on as had been attempted by the Md. and N.C. governors."
McIlwaine 1979A:41	Court	Order	8 Xbris 1682 court	Acts	"An Act declaring Indian women servants tythable" and "An Act repealing a former Law making Indians and others free."
McIlwaine 1925:53	Court, Mattapony Towne & Chickahominy Fort	Order	21 Nov. 1683 James City	Indian forts	The Senecas have made "great Spoiles" on the "stocks" of this Government, "riffled" a number of houses, reduced and took the Mattapony Indian Town. At present, they are besieging the Chickahominy Fort. Col. Wm. Byrd is to to either the "Chicahominy or Rappa: Indian Fort" to treat w/ them.
McIlwaine 1914:205	Court	Order	1 May 1684 court	Defense	Question concerns whether the militia officers & soldiers should perform their duties to the utmost w/o pay. Court decreed that they should defend their county to their "utmost power and strength" w/o any allowance from the public for the same.
McIlwaine 1914:233-234	Lord Effingham	Order	16 May 1684 court	Instructions	The issues concerning Indian affairs are the most important concerning the security of the country. Since they were not satisfied w/ his "last well grounded Resolution," they are now

					instructed to conduct a conference w/ the Council as he shall appoint and that they also nominate to him the names of some members to the house. There is to be no further delay since Indian matters must be quickly resolved. Names are given to Effingham as requested.
McIlwaine 1914:234	Court	Order	19 May 1684 court	Amendment to bill	Words "vizt either in burning or forcible entring into our houses or by killing maiming or Carrying away any of ye Inhabitants" are to be inserted between lines 14 and 15 in the bill concerning defense of the country. Bill read three times in court, assented and now sent up to the Governor & Council.
McIlwaine 1925:79	Gov. & Council, George Smith & Successor to the Queen of Pomunkey	Order	1 July 1686 at house of Col. Nathaniel Bacon	Succession & loss of Indians	George Smith, interpreter to the Pomunkey Indians, stated that the Queen of Pomunkey was "lately dead" and the Indians wanted her neice to be the next ruler. The Queen's neice and great men are to come to the Governor at James City. The "Indian Harries wife, being a Pomunkey Indian," is to attend as well to state what she knows of the fate of her husband and other Indians lost "from Col. Byrd's." Smith also to find out what happened to these Indians.
McIlwaine 1925:134-135	Gov. & Council & Chickahominy Indians	Act	24 Oct. 1690 court	Lands	Several persons have purchased & taken leave of Chickhominy Indians to live on the land at Pamunkey Neck. Land was given to the Chickahominies by the Order of Assembly in 1660. These persons are to leave, remove their stocks, etc. Otherwise, their houses built w/in the last three years shall be burnt after the last of January.
McIlwaine 1925:146-147	William Duckingfield, Tuskaroo & Maherin Indians & Daniel Pugh	Complaint & Deposition	26 Jan. 1690/1 York Courthouse	Illegal shipping of Indians	Deposition of William Duckingfield: A Maherin Indian informed the Tuskaroo Indians that their two missing men were not killed by the English but that a Daniel Pugh of Nansimond County had sent four of them to Barbadoes and "other Islands." The Tuskaroo threaten revenge but agree to have Duckingfield talk to the Governor on their behalf to prevent the English warring on them if attacked by them. They shall see the Governor themselves in warmer weather. Pugh is ordered to come to court to answer complaint.
McIlwaine 1925:157-158	Thomas Tyler, Indians & Daniel Pugh	Deposition	19 Feb. 1690/1 James City	Indians on ship	Thomas Tyler, Master of the Brigantine *Swallow* of Barbadoes: He carried out two Indians last year as per instructions and bill of Lading signed to Daniel Pugh of Nansimond County for these Indians. Pugh has absconded and sheriff is to find & take him into custody.
McIlwaine 1914:343	Appamatack Indian Queene	Petition	24 April 1691 court	To dwell among the English	The "Appamatack Indian Queene" petitioned on the behalf of her people and herself to suffer to dwell "among the English." This request was referred to the Governor & Council, read and then sent to "the Committee of grievances & propositions."
McIlwaine 1914:343	Nicholas Witherington	Petition	24 April 1691 court	Claim	Witherington's claim for 980 lbs. tobo. regarding "ferriage of Indians over James River" is read in court and referred to the Committee for Public Claims.
McIlwaine 1914:343	Thomas Busbey	Petition	24 April 1691 court	Payment	Busbey's request for "allowance as interpreter to the Southern Indians to be levyed" so that no deduction is made for cask. Read in court and referred to the Committee of Propositions.
McIlwaine 1914:343	Chicohomimy Indians	Petition	24 April 1691 court	Lands	The Chicohominy Indians' petition to continue living on the land "of Mr. Ben. Arnold" is read in court and also given to the Committee of Propositions.
McIlwaine 1914: 349, 353-354	Court & Indians	Order	5, 7 & 9 May 1691 court	Bill	A bill concerning free trade with the Indians is read in court for the second and third time, and passed.
McIlwaine 1979A:141	Court	Order	8 & 9 May 1691 court	Bill	"A Bill for a ffree trade with Indians."
McIlwaine 1914:359	Court	Order	14 May 1691 court	Bill	Bill concerning free trade w/ Indians was sent to the Council for concurrence and then received w/ a proposal of a clause to be added. The bill w/ the clause sent back to the Council, who agreed to it.
McIlwaine 1979A:144	Court	Order	14 May 1691 court	Bill	"A Bill for a free trade with ye Indians, to which they adhered with ye Several additions."
McIlwaine 1979A:179	Court	Order	16 March 1692 court	Trade	Clerk of the General Assembly is ordered "to carry the following Answer to the Address about the Instruction for the Free trade with the Indians to the house of Burgesses." He is also to carry the answer to the above address.

McIlwaine 1979A:181-183	Court	Order	23, 24 & 28 March 1692 court	Bill re hogs	A Bill which concerned hogs belonging to the Indians was read in court three times, and agreed to, "as Sent."
McIlwaine 1914:426	Committee	Order	16 March 1692/3 court	Propositions	1) No persons shall be admitted to go out to trade but only at certain times and places in every county for the Indians to bring in their "trucke." This became the 9th Act of Assembly. 2) Each town or nation of Indians shall receive certain marks for their hogs to prevent theft. 3) No English person shall trade, deal or receive any pork from any Indian w/o proper mark, the penalty being 1,000 lbs. of tobo. This is in connection w/ the 6th Act of Assembly made in 1674 regarding the same. Dispute lies in what county court should assign the marks to the "Weynonokes & Notoway Indians." And 4) A clause is to be inserted in the bill authorizing Surry County court to assign a particular mark for hogs of the "Weyonoakes & Notoway Indians."
McIlwaine 1914:427-428	E. Andros	Document	16 March 1692/3	Request granted	Free trade w/ the Indians, "preferring ye particular benefit of their people" before any advantage that might "accrew unto them by restraining said Trade" is granted. This would be beneficial for the colony.
McIlwaine 1914: 433-434, 436	Court	Order	20-22 March 1692/3 court	Hogs	Bill concerning the marking of Indians' hogs read three times in court and passed. The title of the bill shall be "An Act Concerning Indians hogs."
McIlwaine 1979A:184	Court	Order	29 March 1693 court	Clerk & bill re hogs	The clerk of the General Assembly shall carry the bill concerning the Indians' hoggs to the House of Burgesses "endorst thus."
McIlwaine 1914:442	Court	Order	30 March 1693	Hogs	Bill concerning the Indians' hogs were delivered at table and then returned from the Court w/o any further amendments.
McIlwaine 1979A:189	Court	Order	3 April 1693 court	Act	"The honoble Councill have been pleased with the Burgesses to agree upon severall Acts which they have Judged Conducible to the Peace Defence and Welfare of this their Mas. Dominion...": "2. An Act concerning Indians hoggs."
McIlwaine 1979A:189	Court	Order	3 April 1693 court	Act	[Same as above but with] "6. An Act for continueing the Rangers at the heads of the four great Rivers."
McIlwaine 1914:454	Comittee	Report	16 Oct. 1693 court	Defense	The Committee's report concerns a proposal that the Rangers at "the heads of Great Rivers" be continued.
McIlwaine 1914:460	Queen of Weyonoake	Petition	21 Oct. 1693 court	Hogs	Queen of Weyonoake and her Indians would like to have two years' time to kill & dispose of their hogs, which at present are under another mark than what was assigned lately by Surry County Court. Petition read in court and referred to the Committee of Public Claims for consideration.
McIlwaine 1914:465	Queen of Weyonoake	Petition	25 Oct. 1693 court	Resolutions	Resolutions to the Queen of Weyonoake's petition are read twice, both before the committee and the court, before being agreed to by the house. They are to add a clause to the Act made at the last Assembly to mention "the same for liberty to ye Weyonoake Indians to kill & dispose of their hogs under ye marke they now are until the last of January 1694."
McIlwaine 1914:474	Court & Indians	Order	30 Oct. 1693 court	Bill	Bill read in court about Indians for the first time.
McIlwaine 1914:473 & 476	Court	Order	31 Oct. 1693 court	Bill	A bill which declared "Negroes, Moores, Molattoes, & Indian slaves" read in court three times and passed.
McIlwaine 1914:475-476	Court	Order	31 Oct. & 1 Nov. 1693 court	Bill	Bill concerning Indians was read in court three times, amended and passed.
McIlwaine 1979A:198	Court	Order	1 Nov. 1693 court	Act	Readings in court of "An Act for Continuing the Rangers att the heads of the four greate Rivers."
McIlwaine 1979A:198, 203	Court	Order	1 & 2 Nov. 1693 court	Act	"An Act declaring Negros, Moores Molatto's & Indian Slaues" read in court more than once.
McIlwaine 1979A:198, 199, 205	Court	Order	1 & 14 Nov. 1693 court	Act	"An Act Concerning Indians" read aloud in court three times.
McIlwaine 1925:320	Court & Chickohomony Indians	Petition	25 Oct. 1694 court	Lands	The lands on the north side of the Mattapony River in King & Queen County are so poor that it will no longer yield corn or wood for the Chickahomonies to survive. They pray to have a tract called Quaynohomock that "lye's over against them in Pomunkey Neck, not Improved and formerly theirs."
McIlwaine	Thomas Blunt	Petitions	2 Oct.	Allowances	Blunt, as interpreter to the Indians on the south side of the

1913:72	& William Stone		1696 court		James River, asked for allowance for his services. Stone had served the Pamunkey Indians as their interpreter and now requested allowance.
McIlwaine 1913:72	Giles Webb and George Mason	Petition	2 Oct. 1696 court	Allowance	As captains for 2 months' worth of service of the "18 Additional Rangers," they also requested allowance.
McIlwaine 1913: 73, 75-76, 78, 82	Court	Order	2, 3, 5, 7,10 Oct. 1696 court	Bill	Bill concerning giving rewards to Indians for killing wolves: the Council agreed w/ the bill, but added one amendment. The same is agreed by the house and made into a bill.
McIlwaine 1979A: 235-237, 244	Court	Order	5, 7, 8, 9, 10 & 13 & 31 Oct. 1696 court	Bill & Act	Readings of "A bill giving a reward to Indians for Killing of Wolves" in court. At one of the last readings, "some amendments assented it." The bill was then presented as final and assented by the House of Burgesses on the 13th.
Duvall 1957:21-22 [Ambler Ms. #65]	William Sherwood	Will	18 Aug. 1697	Freedom & 50s Ster.	"My Indian woman Dorothy Jubille to be free Immediately after my decease being satisfied she is no slave and in full of corn and clothes I give her fifty shill. Sterl."
McIlwaine 1913:105	Indian troubles	Investigation	25 Oct. 1697 court	Murder	Two Indians at Apamatucke were questioned and cleared about the murder of an Englishman from South Carolina by some unknown Indians near Roanoke River. These same two Indians were later killed that evening by other Indians w/in our settlements and habitations.
McIlwaine 1927:41	Gov. & Council & Indian tribes	Investigation	22 Feb. 1699 James City	Indian peace treaty	Court learned that the Great Men of the Nottoway, Meheren, Nansemund, Pamunkey, Chickahomini, Rappahanock, and Nantiatico Indians intended to make peace w/ some foreign Indians w/o the knowledge or consent of the Gov. & Council. Indians confessed that they had designed a Treaty of Peace w/ the Tawittawayes & others & each had prepared a Peake belt (being the token that usually passes between them when they desire a treaty of peace). The Nantiaticos planned to take these to the foreign Indians but since the Gov. & Council are not pleased, they shall not do so. Interpreters to tell each of the nations that the next time they pay their tributes, they shall get back the peake belts.
McIlwaine 1925:415	Court & Indians	Court	25 Feb. 1698/9 court	Tribute	Indian interpreters on 1st of May to bring several nations of Indians in order to pay tribute to his Excellency at Middle Plantation. They to bring some of the "best and most active of the youth of their severall nations" with "their bowes and arrows."
McIlwaine 1979A:261	Court	Order	8 May 1699 court	Clerk & proceedings	Clerk of the General Assembly is ordered "to carry all the papers concerning the Rangers, Indians and their trade to the House of Burgesses."
McIlwaine 1979A:261	Court	Order	9 May 1699 court	Complaint	The complaints of the Queen of Pamunky and other Indian nations are to be referred to the consideration of an appointed committee, which will hear & determine the disputes and controversies with respect to claims & titles to land on Pamunky Neck and south side of Blackwater Swamp. Their opinion to be reported.
McIlwaine 1979A:262	Thomas Davis & Indians	Petition	11 May 1699 court	Allowance	Davis' petition for an allowance to bring Indians & their interpreter over the James river is read aloud by the House of Burgesses for consideration.
McIlwaine 1979A:262	George Ivie et al.	Petition	11 May 1699 court	Allowance	Ivie's request for the repeal of the Act of Assembly agst. the English marrying w/ negroes, Indians or molattoes is read & referred to the House of Burgesses for consideration.
McIlwaine 1979A:262	Committee, Queen of Pamunky and Robert Peasley	Court	12 May 1699 court	Complaint & Interpreter	The Queen of Pamunky complained that several of the English have encroached upon the "Libertyes of her people Contrary to the Articles of Peace" and other Orders of the General Court. Committee requested their Excellency to have two or three great men of the Pamunky Indians & their interpreter to attend and show the said Articles of Peace and Orders as the basis for their complaint. Robert Peasely, "the Indian Interpreter," is to get & bring these great men as soon as possible to James City to prosecute the same and that Peasely is to be w/them.
McIlwaine 1913:169, 172	Court	Order	19 May 1699 court	Bill	A bill declaring whether "the Negroes, Mulatto or Indian Woemen" are bond or free for tithables. Read in court, debated, and passed in the afirmative.
des	Pamunkey	Articles of	June 1699	Claims	Titles & claims of the Pamunkey to be null & void due to the

Cognets 1981:62 [Title Upon Indian Leases]	Indians & Council	the Peace and 136th Act of Assembly	court		true intent of the Articles of Peace and the 136th Act of Assembly. Moreover, the peopling of the colony as well as the claims of many people for lands would improve the colony for the King.
des Cognets 1981:66	Drammacho Mongy, Ruler of Chickahominy	Pamunkey Neck and Blackwater Land (Claims)	2 June 1699 court	Petition	Drammacho Mongy, chief Ruler of the Chickahominy, petitioned that lands in Pamunkey Neck should, by the Articles of Peace May 1677, belong to them. Any sales they had should be confirmed. The Committee rejected the claim on the grounds that only land "within 3 miles of the Indian Town was Indian property." Sales made by them are thus null & void, except in cases for lands they hold by his Majesties' subjects by exchange and confirmed.
McIlwaine 1927:22	Mr. Robert Peasely, Mr. Marshall, the Chickahominy, Pamunkey, et al.	Order	2 Nov. 1699 James City	Interpreter & Indians	Peasely, interpreter to the Indians in the northern parts of the colony to bring to court on the 10th of Nov. the following Indians: Mr. Marshall, a Pamunkey Indian of the Pamunkeys, Chickahominyes, Rapppahanocks, and Nantiaticoes- twogreat men of each Nation. Peasely also to find two Nottoway Indians who went to the northern parts and bring them to court. He himself must also be present in court.
McIlwaine 1927: 154	John Ide & Thomas Bage	Court	April 1700 court	Murder	John Ide, condemned for the murder of Thomas Bage of Surry County, was executed.
McIlwaine 1927:104	Court & Emperor of Pomonker Indians, et al.	Conference	4 Sept. 1700 James City		By command of his Excellency of Md.: Phillip Hoskins & William Dent, Esqrs. of Md. & the Emperor of Pomonker Indians in a conference.
McIlwaine 1927:226	Court & Drammacho, Ruler of the Chicahominies	Order	12 March 1701 court	Petition re lands	Drammacho, Munguy & Ruler of the Chicahominy Indians, on his and his people's behalf, on matters of land. Interpreter to bring them to court and a copy of their petition be sent to the sheriff of King & Queen County.
McIlwaine 1927:148	Court, Nanzsemond & Pomonkey Indians	Complaint	10 June 1701 court	Indian captives	Nanzemond Indians complained that the Pomonkey Indians had carried away two of their men. Court wishes to promote amity, peace, etc. & prevent feuds. Ordered that the interpreter of the Pomonkeys to have them surrender these two captives and return them to their own Nation.
McIlwaine 1979A:298	Thomas Blunt	Petition	14 Aug. 1701 & 24 Sept. 1701 courts	Salary	Blunt, an interpreter to the Nottoway & Nansemond Indians, petitioned for a salary, which was read in court and referred to the House of Burgesses.
McIlwaine 1913:285	Pamunkey & Chickahominy Indians	Order	4 Sept. 1701 court	Claims & Lands	The chain carriers and ax men who laid out the lands for the Pamunkey Indians make claim for their work. Committee for Public Claims shall add the expenses to their book concerning claims. In addition, the Chickahmominy Indians are to enjoy the same priviledges and immunities like the Pamunkey Indians and that they will have land laid out for them in Pamunkey Neck between the branches of Herring Creek. This is in accordance w/ the Articles of Peace made on 29 May 1677.
McIlwaine 1913:169, 172	Court & Pamunkey Indians	Order	4 Sept. 1701 court	Lands	It appeared that the said lands are contained w/in the boundaries of Pamunkey Indians' land. Resolved that a patent should be issued to the Pamunkey Indiuans and their posterity for their lands according to a survey made by Mr. James Ming. Ming is to be paid 3,292 lbs. tobo. for laying out the Pamunkey Indian lands. The same is to be entered to the book of reports of the Committee for Public Claims.
McIlwaine 1913:.285	Pamunkey & Chickahominy Indians	Order	4 Sept. 1701 court	Claims & Bill	Mr. Robert Beverley is to examine the claims for services done in behalf of the Pamunkey & Chickahominy Indians. A bill for the "Quieting the Possessions of the Several persons Seated w/in the bounds of the land" which was laid out for the Pamunkey Indians is considered and prepared. The Chickahominy Indians also shall live on the lands once the lands are laid out.
McIlwaine 1913:290	Two strange Indians	Order	6 Sept. 1701 court	Deportation	Two strange Indians, prisoners sent by Mr. Peter ffield, are considered enemies of this Government. They are to be guarded, brought down and sent to Barbadoes.
McIlwaine 1913:291	Pamunkey Indians and Enemies	Orders	9 Sept. 1701 court	Bills	Bill concerning the quieting of lands w/in the bounds of land laid out for the Pamunkey Indians are read three times and resolved. The other bill, concerning the strengthening of frontiers and discovery of "the approaches of an Enemy" also read in court for the third time.

McIlwaine 1979A:306, 308, 313	Court & Pamunky Indians	Order	9, 10, 12 & 23 Sept. 1701	Bill		"A bill for Quieting ye possescon of Sevll persons Seated Within ye bounds of ye Land laid out for ye Pamonky Indians" is read a number of times in court before it is passed.
McIlwaine 1979A:306	Court	Order	10 Sept. 1701 court	Clerk & Proceedings		Proceedings agst. the "Two Strange Indians Prisoners" and rest of papers and charges are to be carried by the clerk of the General Assembly to the House of Burgesses for their consideration and how the charge shall be paid.
McIlwaine 1979A:308	Court	Order	12 Sept. 1701 court	Defense		House of Burgesses agreed w/ the amendment concerning "an Act or the better Strengthening the ffrontiers, and discovering ye Approaches of an Enimie."
McIlwaine 1979A:308, 313, 324-325	Court	Bill	12, 23 Sept. and 1, 2 Oct. 1701 court	Lands		Bill entitled "An Act for Quieting ye Possession of severall Persons seated wthin ye bounds of ye Land Laid out for ye Pamunkey Indians" read three times and now is agreed to by the Council and ordered to pass w/o any amendments.
McIlwaine 1979A:325	Court & Governor	Bill	2 Oct. 1701 court	Lands		Governor objected to the above referenced bill, since he found this to be "very Contrary to ye Articles of peace made wth ye Indians" and more specifically to the instructions he had received from the Commissioners of Trade and Plantation on this very subject. Thus cannot give his assent to bill.
McIlwaine 1913: 349	Chickahominy and Pamunkey Indians & Court	Document	20 May 1702 court	Message		Will Robertson's presentation to the House of Burgesses from his Excellency and Council: Discussion of the irregular shape of the Chickahominy Indians' lands between the two Herring Creeks. It is 3 miles in one place and narrower in another, so that they are laid out in a row one mile in length. There is a need for a center. This problem must be resolved w/ speed so that the Chickahominy Indians will not be "disappointed of what was intended them...and justly due them." The petition of the Chickahominy Indians was also presented in court along with a plat showing the Pamunkey Indians' land.
McIlwaine 1927:314-315	Court, Thomas Wynne, Thomas Blunt & Indians	C omplaint	24 April 1703 court	Petition		Thomas Wynne is to replace Thomas Blunt as the interpreter of the King and Great Men of the Nattoway and Maherin Indians who are dissatisfied w/ Thomas Blunt.
McIlwaine 1979A:396-397, 399, 407, 415	Court	Order	5, 6, 8, 12 May and 26 April 1704 court	Bill		A bill was introduced and read a number of times as an act to "prevent Indians hunting and ranging upon patented lands."
McIlwaine 1927: 364, 380	Tom Perry et al.	Complaint	3 May & 9 Aug. 1704 court	Damages		Tom Perry, a Chickhominy Indian, complained that Coscotrunk & James Mush, fellow Indians, came to Chicahominy Town & burnt his cabin w/ all of his corn & goods. In view of their submission, their punishment is remitted & forgiven, provided they behave peaceably in the future.
McIlwaine 1979A:401-402	Capt. Perry, Indian vs. James Must and Coscohunk	Suit	10 May 1704 court	Complaint		Capt. Perry, a Chicahominy Indian, against James Must and Coscohunk of the same town re damages: they burned his cabin and had threatened to join the Senequas to help "destroy the English." The House of Burgesses determined that they have "provisions amongst them" to punish those that "offend their Laws or Rules" and that the Governer "will be pleased to consider" the threats agst. the government and give directions as he thinks fit.
McIlwaine 1979A:402	Court & French Refugees	Order	10 May 1704 court	Lands at Manakin Town		The Council agreed to several of the "Resolves" by the House made on the 3rd with respect to lands to be appropriated for the French Refugees at Manakin Town.
McIlwaine 1927:380	King of the Nattoways, etc.	Complaint	9 Aug. 1704 court	Prisoner		The King of the Nattaways was taken captive last summer, presumably by the Senequa Indians. The Nattaways, Maherine, Nansemond, Pamunkie, Chicahominy and Nansiatico Indians each wish to send two men to conclude peace w/ them & get him back by payment of a ransom. Interpreters and two Tuscoruro Indians also to go north w/ them.
McIlwaine 1927:389-390	Court, interpreters & Indian tribes	Order	28 Sept. 1704 court	Trial		The interpreter to the Maherine, Nattoway & Nansemond Indinans & the interpreter to the Pamunkey & Chicahominy Indians are to attend an Oyer and Terminor session concerning the trial of the Nansiatico Indians at Richmond County courthouse on 5th of Oct. next.
McIlwaine 1979A:414	Court & Indians	Plans	26 April 1705 court	Servitude here & overseas for 7	servants	To secure the peace of the country: an old Indian man named Madox Will and woman Betty to be set at liberty. Other men and youths, about 12 years old, and women named Sarah &

			years		Monasta are to be transported "to some of the islands" and sold as servants for seven years. When free, they shall "never return to this Governmt. on pain of forfeiting their Lives." Other women and girls about 12 years old are to go to the Eastern Shore and be bound to servitude also for seven years. They cannot be outside the counties of Accomack or Northampton w/o forfeiting their lives. Those who are under the age of 12 are to be bound out among the English as servants until the age of 24.
McIlwaine 1979A:414	Court & Indians	Order	26 April 1705 court	Injuries to Indians	If an Englishman causes an injury to an Indian upon complaint "made to the next Magistrate," and if the matter is w/in his "Cognizance," he shall carry out the same rights to the Indian as those accorded to an Englishman. However, if not w/in his Cognizance, he shall bind the offender to the next County Court who then will carry out the same redress to the Indian just like an Englishman "upon regular process."
McIlwaine 1979A:415	Thomas Wynne	Petition	26 April 1705 court	Interpreter salary	As "interpreter of the Nottoway Maherine & Nansemd Indians," Wynne asked for "allowance" for his salary.
McIlwaine 1979A:415	James Adams	Petition	26 April 1705 court	Interpreter salary	James Adams, an Interpreter to the Pamunky & Chicahominy Indians" requested "allowance" for his salary.
McIlwaine 1979A:417	John Redwood	Account	8 May 1705 court	Charges	"The accot of the Charges of the Nottoway Maherin & Pamunky Indians" which are due to John Redwood.
McIlwaine 1979A:417	Edward Ross	Claim	8 May 1705 court	Compensation	Ross submitted a claim to the court for ferrying twenty nine Indians over the James River.
McIlwaine 1979A:420	Court	Order	9 May 1705 court	Amendment	While deliberating amendments to a bill concerning "Nansatico & other Indians," a motion was made to expunge the amendment for Madox Will and Betty, Indians, who were declared free. After more deliberations and considerations, Madox Will and Betty are to remain free "from transportation" and are to be "sett at liberty."

Surry County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
Hotten 1983:236	List of the Dead	Enumeration	16 Feb. 1623	At ye Plantacon over against James Cittie			George Gurr & William Comes were slain by the Indians.
Haun 1986:23-24	John Saines & John Berrye	Articles & Agreement	1 Jan. 1653	3 barrells of corn	Indian boy		John Berrye and wife (on occasion) shall cultivate the crops of corn & tobo. and shall not misuse the servants who instead will be persuaded to work by "gentle & quiet means." He also will receive three barrells of corn for his wife's service along with other livestock and a house for his own work.
Haun 1986:18	Thomas Woodhouse & John Zaynes	Deed	22 March 1653	Sold Indian boy			Sold for a valuable consideration.
Haun 1986:16	Henry Randolph & Richard Attkins	Deed	17 May 1653	Sell 5 cows & an Indian boy unless he does pay 5,180 lbs. tobo. on time.			Attkins of Chard, Gloucestershire, England. Agreement to be void if debt is paid on time.
Haun 1986:37	Humpherey, Indian & Robert Warren	Indenture	1 Dec. 1654	To serve master 3 years	Humpherey		Warren to provide meat, drink, apparel & lodgings, washing & other necessaries that are "suffi't for an Indian servant" — i.e., 1 heifer, 1 sow & 3 barrels of corn.
Haun 1986:37	Robert, Indian & Samuel Hubye	Indenture	30 Dec. 1654	To serve master 4 years & receive 1 heifer, 1 sow, & 3 bbls. corn at end of service.	"Robert"		Indian boy of the Seacocks called Highamaccounte, or "Robert." To be provided w/ meat, drink, apparel, washing, lodgings, etc.
Hening (I) 1823:393-395	Grand Assembly	Acts Concerning Indians	10 March 1655 James City	Defense and wolves heads			Due to dangers of potential invasions by bordering Indians due to pressures on them or want of something, and to prevent injuries in the future as well as benefitting the colony, this will help civilise them & make them Christians. Commanding Indians

						will thus watch their own men and do not risk injury. For 8 wolves heads, the King shall receive a cow at public charge.
Hening (I) 1823:396	Grand Assembly	Acts Concerning Indians	10 March 1655 James City	Servitude	Indian children	If Indians bring their children as signs of good intentions and amity towards the English, then parents to choose persons to whom the care of such children shall be entrusted. Children will not be used as slaves but brought up in Christianity and knowledge of necessary trade. Each county do intend the bettering of these children and a salary shall be allowed to such as deserve & require it.
Hening (I) 1823:396	Grand Assembly	Acts Concerning Indians	10 March 1655 James City	Lands		To prevent continual allotment of lands to Indians & possessions, whether by purchase, grants or enforcement. This Act is not to prejudice any Christian who has land already granted by patent. Lands that Indians shall be possessed of, by this or other Assemblies, shall not be alienable or available for purchase by Indians to any man or any Christian who has land already granted by patent.
Haun 1986:82	King of Waineoakes & Elith./ Elizth. Short	Deed	2 July 1659	Sold to Short & heirs a "boy of my nacon" & Short to deliver a young foal aged 1 year.		Indian boy named Weetoppin-to serve until the full term of his life.
Haun 1987:5	Thomas Lillicropp	Petition	5 Sept. 1664	Has Major Marriott's bond agst. him.	Defense	Said he dare not come to court w/o his rapier, pistol & knives in order "to defend my selfe from Indians or any other enemy." Business takes him up & down the county-for want of sword/pistoll, "I may be killed."
Haun 1987:26-27	John Corker, Gent., Capt. William Corker and Mr. William Marriott	Deed	2 Nov. 1665	Sale		John Corker, Gent. and Capt. William Corker sold land to Mr. William Marriott-described the land as "easterly upon Rolph's land."
Haun 1987:44	Richard Lawrence and "Gentem. & Right Wors.:"	Notification	19 Feb. 1667	Journey		Richard Lawrence of "James Citty" cites his "urgent occasions" which compels him "to take a Journey to Rappahannock & Potomack Rivers..."
Haun 1987:89	William Sherwood, Sub Sheriff	Informant	Recorded 6 May 1671	Fine 1,000 or 4,000 lbs. tobo. or 1 yr. Imprisonment for offenders.		Contrary to Act of Assembly, 10 Oct. 1665, Joseph Rogers, tanner, entertained & harbored Indians in his house w/o license in 1670-1.
Haun 1987:100	Governor and Council	Document	N.D.	Articles of peace & safety issues.		To receive new come Indians; neighboring Indians to aid them as part of the Articles of peace. Reference to safety of the English & their arms and ammunition. Gov. & Council to send messages to Totopotomoy, the Chickahominies and other Indians & to treat with them, as they in their wisdoms & discretions think fit.
Haun 1987:102	Com. of Parliament	Document	N.D.	Levy: 6 lbs. per poll.		Men to be commissioners & charge of militia. To suppress all violent meetings and insurrections of Indians or other enemies.
Haun 1987:106	Act of Assembly, 29th.	Document	N.D.	If any servant runaway is found with piece, powder or shot w/o leave with the Indians, he is to be tried.		Danger of seafaring runaways, etc. If lawfully convicted of these crimes, to be judged as felons and suffer death as in cases of felonies.
Haun 1987:106	Act of Assembly [30th?]	Document	N.D.	Persons who sell pieces, powder or shot to Indians shall forfeit their whole estates. Persons who barter		Lending pieces to Indians: half of estate is to go to the informer while the other half is for the use of the county. Divers persons are said to entertain Indians to kill deer or other game by furnishing them with such pieces, powder & shot. Such abuses endanger the

				or trade w/ Indians shall suffer imprisonment at discretion of Gov. & Council. First offense is 2,000 lbs. tobo.	colony. Any man can remove the same from the Indians,and give it to the commissioners for __. The commissioner is to make inquiries about these English offenders and bind them to the Gov. and court.
Haun 1987:116-117	Act, ye 16th.	Act	N.D.	In what case Indians to be killed. Oath of party by whom the Indian shall be discovered or killed shall be full and ___.	Ref. "to act in 6 __ 1656 (?)," which it is lawful for any person to kill an Indian w/in certain limits; except those employed "uppon messages" having badges, now to be restrained. Due to colony's many prejudices "by Reason of the Late __ & gennerallitye of such allowance," and "rashness and unadvised__ of Divers persons... ___some private mallice..." etc., now enacted that no man shall hereafter kill any Indian w/in limits afsd. Unless in case of trespass or other harm.
Haun 1987:117	Act ye 17th	Act	N.D.	Indians not to be assigned over. At age 25, Indian to free, etc. Act to be effective henceforth.	In case Indians dispose of their child to any person or persons for either education, instruction in Christian religion, or learning the English language, or some other cause, the person or persons cannot assign or transport child to anyone else upon any pretence of Rights or during service. Indian child shall be free and at his own disposing at the age of 25.
Haun 1987:117	Act ye 18th	Act	N.D.	Agst. purchase & theft of Indians. No person or persons hall dare or presume to buy any Indian or Indians from or of the English. If transgression of this law occurs (with proof), the person shall return such Indian or Indians w/in 10 days to the place from where he was taken. Offenders who breach the law shall pay informants 500 lbs. tobo., recoverable in any court.	Have information about several persons who have corrupted some Indians to steal and convey away some other Indians' children; and pretending to buy or purchase Indians of their parents or some of the Great men. Have violently or fraudulently forced them from them to the great scandal of Christianity and of the English nation by such "perfidious dealings" and making religion contemptible and the name of Englishmen odious to them. Also dangerous consequences to colony if not timely prevented.
Haun 1987:117-118	Act ye 19th & Indian Kings Asconnowett and Osattaka	Act	N.D.	Patent to Indian Kings. Assembly for many reasons of State thought fit...should be consigned & granted to them according to their petns. Also means and fair opportunities [for] civility & hopeful progress to them [in] their conversion to Christianity, wch. Is the principal & primary intent of this Act.	Asconnowett, King of the South Indians, Vizt: Waianoake, petn . Assembly & subscribed under his owne hand Writinge; and Osattaka (?), King of the North Indians and Totopolomey, Commander and Leader over the Pymanakee Indians by their petns. They acknowledge themselves "tributaries to his Sacred Majestye and ye soveraignitye of the land where they live" and doth belong to his Majesty. They prayed that ancient proportion of land be granted unto them by patent, whereupon they and their people may inhabit and enjoy priviledges of range and hunting and be free of molestation and encroachments of any persons, either Indians or English. Court had enacted & assigned for Asconnowett the Southern King 5,000 acres on south side of James River w/in bounds limited by treaty known & to be called by ye name Warreko (or

					Warrecko), w/ priviledge to hunt upon all waste land thereunto adj. w/out bounds as afsd. Priviledge to be inserted in his patent. Also 5,000 acres to be laid out & surveyed for Totopolomey where he now liveth, and patent granted to him. Also 5,000 more acres to be laid out & surveyed forOsiatticain (?), King of the North Indians, more or less, wherein he now liveth. To be separated from Mr. Heugh __ mer's land by a small creek. Patent to be granted to him. If land is found already given in the form of patents to former patentees, they to receive 1,000 lbs. tobo for every 500 acres from the public [levy?] at the next Assembly. Patentees shall have the same right to take up the like quantity of land any place not formerly granted, along with a reservation of the accustomed rents to his Majesty, with the usual limitations of seven years for payment. Mr. James Cockett (?) to be the surveyor of the lands.
Haun 1987:118	Act ye 8th	Act	N.D.	Granting Indians land in the first place. No grants of land are to be given to the Englishmen in the future until the Indians are first served in the proportion of 50 acres of land for each bowman. The proportion of each particular bowman to lie together to be surveyed as well as wood land & cleared land- to be land not previously pantented w/ liberty of all wasted and unfenced land for hunting for the Indians.	When land of any Indian or Indians are found to be included in any patent already granted for land at Rappahannock or parts adj. to such, the patentee shall either purchase the sd. land of the Indians or relinquish the same. He shall be allowed & satisfied by the English inhabitants of the sd. place, the sd. Satisfaction to be proportioned equally between them.
Haun 1987:119	Act ye 8th	Act	N.D.	Indians hired to kill wolves. Commissioners of each county shall employ Indians or other men for the destruction of wolves. Indians not to be provided with arms or guns, however. Granted to all counties, particularly to Gloucester County.	Multiplying wolf population cause great losses and decrease of cattle & hogs.
Haun 1987:119-120	Act ye 22	Act	N.D.	Frontier counties treating w/ Indians. Anything of greater import to be brought to the Governor and Council- otherwise this is granted to	Request of inhabitants of Northumberland & Northampton that commissioners have power to settle peace w/ the Indians in their counties and to treat w/ them upon all occassions and keeping the peace among them.

				all counties that are frontiers upon the Indians.		
Haun 1987:120	Assembly	Complaint	25 9ber 1652 James City	Wrong done to the Indians in taking away their lands or forcing them to such narrow straits or places that they cannot subsist either by planting or hunting. May justly be driven to despair and attempt some desperate course for themselves- "wch. Inconveniencye though they were Endeavoured to be Remedyed by form_ Acts of Assembly.		Many English still encroach on Indian lands, contrary to justice & true intent of English planters since the Indians might be reduced to cruelty & not know the true worship of God. Therefore all the Indians of this colony shall hold and keep their seats of land that they now have, and no person or persons shall encroach or plant upon such places w/o leave from the Gov.& Council or commissioners of that place. Act is not to prejudice the English on seated lands w/ Indians' former consents. The English who have lately seated near the Pamunckyes and the Chickahominies on the north side of the Pamunckye River shall be recalled and they to choose other seats elsewhere. No patents shall be adj. sufficient or valid wch. has lately been passed or shall pass, contrary to this Act. The Indians who wish to seat to live or remove to any places void or not taken up, they shall be assisted and confirmation granted them. No Indians to sell their land but at Quarter Court. Indians by a former Act granted them shall have the free liberty of hunting in the woods w/o the English fences planted in those places except between York River and James River and the blackwater, the Man _ he_ Towne and James River.
Haun 1987:122	Act	Act	N.D.	Employment of Indians w/ guns. To prevent disorderly employment of Indians w/ guns under pretence of being servants.	Indian servants	No person shall employ any Indian servant w/ guns, unless they have allowance from the county court where they live, or from the Gov. & Council.
Haun 1987:122-123	Act 12? [sic]	Act	N.D.	__ Indians to be killed & Indian children how to __. No Indian or Indians coming w/in our land or bounds shall be killed unless they were taken in any act or acts of mischief. All Indian children by leave of their parents shall be taken as servants for a agreed-upon term by said parents & masters. Such covenants to be confirmed before two justices of the peace.	Indian children as servants	For peace between English and Indians, no person or persons shall entertain or receive an Indian or Indians w/out obtaining leave first from the county court or from two commissioners. Indian children with due respect & care to be educated & brought up in Christian religion.
Haun 1987:127	Act	Act 14th	N.D.	Guns, powder waste & alcohol issues-after publication hereof, no one to have a gun while drinking except for weddings &		Fear of sudden invasions & plots which are encouraged by reason of the English shooting guns under the influence of drinking during celebrations, including weddings and funerals. No "allarums" about any potential Indian troubles would be possible due to wasted powder, etc., an action that needs to be prevented.

				burials. Fine is 100 lbs. tobo. Also to be disposed of by Militia in ammunition towards a county.			
Haun 1987:127-128	Assembly	Act 16th	N.D.	March toward Indians — these new Indians are not to seat themselves there or near us. In respect to our own safety, Col. Edward Hill is to ___in these two counties.			Westward & inland Indians are driven from the Mountains & lately settled by the Falls of the James River, about 600-700 in all. Cost a lot of blood to "expell & extirpate those perfidious and Treacherous Indians" who were there "formerly," and a good place to invade us. Reference to "Just Warr" formerly won by us and reserved at the last conclusion of peace with the Indians.
Haun 1987:129 and Haun 1989:1	Coppahunek Indians & Christopher Holiman	Complaint	5 March 1671 Southwarke	Capt. Pipscoe w/in 3 mos. to pay Holiman 6 bush & 6 doe well drest skins for the killing of his 2 hogs.			Coppahunek Indians killed two of Holiman's hogs. Hereafter, any Indian who kills any Englishman's hog or hogs must pay 20 buck skins for each hog. [Entry was repeated in both books.]
Haun 1989:2	Indian/Mr. Arthur Jordan	Certificate	5 March 1671 Southwarke	Certificate granted to Jordan, who carried slaves to Mr. Place's home.		An Indian	Took up at his plantation at Blackwater -3 slaves of Mr. Rowland Place's- 1 negro, 1 maletto & 1 Indian.
Haun 1989:5	Mr. Nicolas Meriwether & Francis Sorsby	Court	2 July 1672 Southwarke	Plea and Sorsby to pay the penalty thereof & costs to Merriwether			Mr. Nicolas Meriwether impleaded in court that Francis Sorsby was "trading & trucking" with his servants, which is contrary to the Act of Assembly. The court ruled that Sorsby has committed a breach of the Act and is ordered to pay Meriwether the cost of the penalty and court costs.
Haun 1989:8	Arthur Jordan	Payment	5 Nov. 1672 court	From Levy	1 "hd." & 100 lbs. tobo.		Arthur Jordan to be paid for "1 hd. by India."
Haun 1989:8	John Rawling	Payment	5 Nov. 1672 court	From Levy	1 "hd." & 100 lbs. tobo.		John Rawling, miller, to be paid for "1 hd. p: Inda."
Haun 1989:18	Mr. Thomas Busby	Payment	25 Nov.1673	From Levy			2 heads p Indyans}00200
Haun 1989:19	Capt. Baker	Payment	25 Nov.1673	From Levy			3 heads p Indyans}00500 lbs. tobo.
Haun 1989:19	Mr. Harrison	Payment	25 Nov.1673	From Levy			1 head p Indyans}__
Haun 1989:41	Waynoake Indians & the English	Informant	16 March 1674 Southwarke	Mr. John King empowered to go to the Nottaway Indians & charge their allegiance to ensure their appearance in next court. Other Indians concerned also to appear in court.			The Waynoake Indians and several of the English informed the court that several hogs belonging to the English were killed by the Nottoway Indians.
Haun 1989:29	Warnoake Indians/Mr. Arthur Jordan & Lt. Thomas Busby, et al.	Complaint	5 May 1674 Southwarke	Warnoake Indians ordered to kill all of their dogs that can hurt hogs & their remaining dogs shall be judged requisite by next court.			Jordan, Busby & other English inhabitants on the Blackwater suffered greatly by these Indians' killing & driving away of their hogs.
Haun 1989:33	Lt. Thomas Busby	Order	2 7br. 1674 Southwarke	Order is renewed & to be put into execution.			The order obtained by Busby in last court agst. the Indians is renewed.
Haun 1989:48	Richard Harris	Payment	2 Nov. 1674 court	From Levy	2 hds. per Indians		Value missing on document.
Haun	Mr. Harrison	Payment	2 Nov. 1674	From Levy	1 hd. per		Value missing on document.

1989:48			court		Indians	
Haun 1989:48	Col. Jordan	Payment	2 Nov. 1674 court	From Levy	1 hd. per Indians	Value missing on document.
Haun 1989:37	Lt. Busby	Payment	4 9br. 1674 court	From Levy		2 heads p: Indyans}200 lbs. tobo.
Haun 1989:37	Col. Swann	Payment	4 9br. 1674 court	From Levy		1 head p. Indyans}100 lbs. tobo.
Haun 1989:43	Indians/the English	Order	4 May 1675 Southwarke	No inhabitant of this county to go to Blackwater to kill hogs w/o English company "for Pfe. as shall be sufft."		They will answer the contrary at their peril.
Haun 1989:81	Mr. Nicolas Merriwether & Francis Sowerby	Judgement	2 Jan. 1677 court	Sowerby found by previous order "guilty" of a breach of Act re trade		Francis Sowerby declared guilty by the court for trading w/ Mr. Nicolas Merriwether's servants. Merriwether is due 632 lbs. tobo. & cask, but Sowerby appeals to the next court.
Haun 1989:89	Mr. Robert Caufield	Certificate	2 July 1678 Southwarke	Grant certificate for 350 acres of land from Secretary's Office.		7 headrights, one being Jacob, an Indian.
Haun 1989:104	Thomas Turner & Lt. Thomas Busby	Judgement	6 May 1679 Southwarke	Judgement granted Turner agst. Busby for 190 lbs. tobo & cask.		His share of the plunder they took from the Chickahominy Indians with costs, etc.
Haun 1989:106	Act of Assembly	Order	6 May 1679 Southwarke	Act for the defense of this country agst. the invasions of Indians. Men to be paid w/ bushells of corn		Nine Justices of this County w/ Col. Swann who voluntarily offered to ___each: corn. Swann also to divide shot & deliver meat in a chest to a waterman.
Haun 1989:112	Lt. Thomas Busby	Payment	2 7br. 1679 Southwarke	To keep a true intelligence with the Indians & expenses paid by him to several Indians for ranging upon the frontier of this county and for ferriage & provisions for sundry Indians going to & from the Gov. Also paid each of the soldiers who were at Nottoway Town 275 lbs. tobo. & caske for themselves & horses.		Certificate is granted for 6,460 lbs. of tobo. & cask, for due attendance of 15 men & horses with himself, 11 days at the Nottoway Towne by order of Gov. and other related expenses.
Haun 1989:114	Thomas Busby	Deed	4 9br. 1675 Southwarke	Sale of an Indian girl		Acknowledgement of deed concerning sale of Indian girl to Elias Osborne, attorney of William Archer.
Haun 1989:164	Thomas Busby	Payment	7 9br. 1682 Southwarke	Certificate is granted in next Assembly for 1,000 (?) lbs. tobo & cask		For his charge of __ for ye __ fort (?) of the Tuskarora (?) Indians and __ at his house of him & __ attendants & the sd. Busby's going w/ them to James City by Gov.'s Special Order.
Haun 1989:165	Major Swann	Payment	2 Jan. 1682 Southwarke	From Levy		For skins}0318 lbs. tobo.
Haun 1989:165	William Edwards	Payment	2 Jan. 1682 Southwarke	From Levy		For Id., 0318 lbs tobo.
Haun 1989:165	Mr. Maldin	Payment	2 Jan. 1682 Southwarke	From Levy		For Id, 383 lbs. tobo.
Haun 1989:165	Thomas Busby	Payment	5 Jan. 1682 Southwarke	From Levy		Interpreter for 2 yrs. Half of which 1000 (?) & cask is assigned to Mr. William

						Sherwood under his hand}9,000 lbs. tobo.
Haun 1989:165	Thomas Busby	Payment	5 Jan. 1682 Southwarke	From Levy		Indians' accomodations at Doctor Lee's}1330
Haun 1989:165	Thomas Busby	Payment	5 Jan. 1682 Southwarke	From Levy		Indians' accomodations at Rabley's}0340
Haun 1989:165	Thomas Busby	Payment	5 Jan. 1682 Southwarke	From Levy		For "4 M___pd. Ye Indyans by Rt. Honoble the Govrnors. ordr."}0432
McIlwaine 1914:171	Thomas Busby	Payment	10 Nov. 1682	From Levy		Paid for 4 Matchcoates paid Indians by the Governor's order}432
Haun 1990:10	Mr. Benjamin Harrison	Register	6 9br. 1683 Southwarke		Franck	An Indian girl aged 10.
Haun 1990:20	Mr. Robert Caufield	Register	1 (?) July 1684 [sic] Southwarke		Thomas Busby	An Indian boy aged 10.
Haun 1990:37	Waynoake Indians & Richard Washington	Complaint	1 7br. 1685 Southwarke	Queen & great men of Waynoake to appear in next court to answer the sd. complaint.		Agst. Waynoake Indians for several misdemeanors. Mr. Thomas Busby, the Indian Interpreter, to give the Queen & great men of Waynoke notice to appear in the next court & answer complaint.
Haun 1990:37	Edward Greene	Register	1 7br. 1685 Southwarke		George	An Indian aged 5.
Haun 1990:22	James Cane	Register	2 7br. 1685 (?) [sic] Southwarke		Harry	An Indian aged 3.
Haun 1990:49	George Jordan	Complaint	6 July 1686 Southwarke	King & four great men to appear in next court to answer complaint.		The Nottoway Indians have done great harm to him by damaging his cattle & hogs. Mr. Thomas Busby to order the King & 4 great men to appear in next court.
Haun 1990:51	George Jordan	Complaint	16 (?) 7br. 1686 [sic] court	They confessed that they killed his shoat, etc. & offer to pay him for also taking a young calf in the woods to towne (until it died). They to pay in full of all trespass & 10 "good well drest doe skins."		Claimed that the Nottoway Indians had killed his hogs and a shoat-proved the latter. Also claimed that they took his calves from the cows & marked them. Thomas Busby, the Interpreter is to order the King & 4 great men of the Nottoways to appear in court and answer sd. complaint.
Haun 1990:71	Indians & His Excellency	Propositions	8 9br. 1687 Southwarke	Propositions		The Gov.'s propositions to the Indians in New York are read in court.
Haun 1990:99	John the Indian & Mr. John King	Suit	5 Jan. 1688 Southwarke	To pay John King 50 lbs. tobo. w/ costs, etc.		John the Indian did not appear in court to prosecute his account agst. Mr. John King. Case is thus non-suited.
Haun 1990:101	John Barnes	Register	5 Jan. 1688 Southwarke		Tom (?)	An Indian aged 6.
Haun 1990:121	Council & Sheriff	Order	6 Jan. 1690 Southwarke	Proclamation		Sheriff to take account & serve the P__ [Public?] that those found in possession of any Indian trade ___or others be published in court.
Haun 1990:115	William Chambers	Register	1 July 1690 Southwarke		Jack	An Indian aged 8.
Haun 1991:7	Gov. & Council	Proclamation	7 9br. 1691 Southwarke	Published in court.		Proclamations about keeping Indians w/o license and one about rights. Also reference to stones belonging to fort at Tindalls Point.
Haun 1991:14	Nicholas Witherington	Deposition	15 March 1691 Southwarke	Never received satisfaction for his services. Certified to the Genl. Assembly for allowance.		On 25 April 1691, he carried 6 Maherin Indians to James City and back. On 27 April 1691, he also carried 6 Nansimond Indians w/their Tribute to James City & back.
Haun 1991:14	Thomas Davis	Certificate	15 March 1691 Southwarke	Certificate by Mr. Robert Ruffin, 3 Jan. 1690. To be given allowance.		On 22 April 1691, Davis took up an Indian man in Isle of Wight belonging to Roger Tilman of Charles City. Indian more than 10 miles from master.
Haun 1991:26-27	John Page & Mrs. Eliza. Caufield	Complaint	4 Jan. 1692 court	Trade penalty: Page to be imprisoned for 1 month & give bond		According to Mrs. Eliza. Caufield, John Page conducted "tradeing and trucking with her servants contrary to Law" and that she be paid 4 times the value of the items - 500

				w/ security.		lbs. of tobo. She wants Page to be imprisoned for 1 month according to the 105th Act & give bond. Page pleaded not guilty, but court agreed with Caufield. Jury's verdict: value of goods was actually 50 lbs. of tobo.
Haun 1991:27	Capt. Thomas Swann	Deposition	17 Feb. 1692 Southwarke	For April General Court 1692, his ferryman never received satisfaction for services and the same is therefore certified to the Genl. Assembly for allowance.		His ferryman carried 9 Waynoake Indians to James City & back and also 5 Maherin & 10 Appamattock Indians to James City & back.
Haun 1991:34	Thomas Blunt & Nottoway and Weyonoke Indians	Order	4 July 1693 Southwark	Act re Indian hogs. Thomas Blunt, interpreter, is to notify these Indians about marking their hogs.		Act entitled "An Act concerning Indians Hoggs" made "2 March last:" 6 months after proclamation, the court is empowered to assigne a particular mark for the towns of the Nottoways and the Waynoke Indians.
Haun 1991:37	Indians & Act of Assembly	Act	5 7br. 1693 Southwarke	Indians' hogs. Thomas Blunt, interpreter, to give these Indians notice to appear in the next court so that their marks for hogs may be assigned them as Assembly directs.		Genl. Assembly held 2 March last- county court to be appointed, authorized & empowered w/in 6 mos., after publication, to assign a particular mark for hogs to each of the Townes of the Nottoways & Weyonoke Indians.
Haun 1991:37-38	Weyonoak & Nottoway Indians	Court	5 7br. 1693 Southwarke	Weyonoak Indians present in court. Their mark for hogs is a slit in the left ear, the right ear left whole, and the tail cut. The mark for the Nottoway Indians is a slit in the right ear, the left ear intact & tail cut.		Reference to above Act and Thomas Blunt, Indian interpreter. Due to Nottoway Indians' failure to appear in court to learn their mark, Blunt is to give them notice to appear in court on Monday, 18 ___.
Haun 1991:38	Nottoway Indians	Court	18 7br. 1693 Southwarke	Two Nottoways appeared in court & acquainted w/ their assigned mark for hogs.		Reference to previous notice by Blunt and Act. The Nottoways alledge that the Indian who was appointed to come was sick & the rest "a hunting."
Haun 1991:39	Capt. Thomas Swann & Francis Clements	Certificate	18 7br. 1693 Southwarke	Certificated dated 26 June 1693. Certified to Genl. Assembly for allowance according to law.	Doll	Francis Clements took up a runaway Indian woman more than 10 miles from her master, Mr. Peter Goodrich of James City & took up Indian at his own house. Made oath in court.
Haun 1991:39	Capt. Thomas Swann	Deposition	18 7br. 1693 Southwarke	Ferryman never received satisfaction for services. Certified to Genl. Assembly for allowance.		On 16 & 17 April last, his ferryman carried 29 Indians to James City, & on 18 April, carried 8 Indians from James City.
Haun 1991:51	Sheriff & Edward Grantham	Court	Sept. 1694 court	Grantham to appear in next court to answer the same.		Edward Grantham presented by Grand Jury for entertaining Indians contrary to law & not attending church.
Haun 1991:79	William Chambers	Register	Nov. 1696 court		Harry & Ned	Harry aged 7. Ned aged 4.
Haun, 1991:87	John Kicotan, wife Margaret & Robert	Court	May 1697 court	Estate		John Kicotan & wife Margaret, admx. of Robert Swett (dec'd.) failed to present an account of estate. Sheriff to summon them

	Swett						to next court.
Haun, 1991:88	John Kicotan, & Robert Swett	Court	July 1697 court	Estate			John Kicotan's account of Robert Swett's estate is examined by the court & admitted to record.
Haun 1991:90	John Kicotan, wife Margaret and Robert Swett	Court	7br. 1697 court	Estate			Court ordered John Kicotan and his wife Margaret, admrs. Of Robert Swett, to appear at the next court to provide security for the deceased's orphan's estate.
Haun 1991:93	Mr. Benjamin Harrison	Payment	9br. 1697 court	From Levy			1 wolves head — he pd. an Indian}80 lbs. tobo.
Haun 1991:93	Richd. Washington	Payment	9br. 1697 court	From Levy			1 wolves head-he pd. an Indian}80 lbs. tobo.
Haun 1991:107	Capt. Thomas Swann	Deposition	20 April 1699 Southwarke	Ferryman never received satisfaction for services. Certified to Genl. Assembly for allowance.			For April 1697 court, his ferryman carried 20 Indians to Jamestown & back; in Feb. 1697, he carried 5 Indians to Jamestown & back. In April 1698, he also carried 13 Indians to Jamestown & back.
Haun 1991:122	Benjamin Harrison Esqr.	Claim	20 Sept. 1699 court	Surveyor of county to lay out the 300 acres after 6th day of next Genl. Court, he producing such rights as shall be allowed by Genl. Court. Survey to be returned on first Tuesday in April next.			Claims that the 300 acres were purchased from the Waynoak Indians in about the year 1646 (?) — (1686?), and seated ever since in his possession.
Haun 1991:1	Jamey & Estate of Thomas Bage	Murder	March 1699/1700 court	Murder: Jamey to be hanged on Monday the 12th instant.		Jamey	"A Comon. Of Oyer and Terminor" for the "tryall of Jamey an Indian." Indian slave indicted & presented for murder of Thomas Bage. Indian did not have the feare of God before his eyes, but was moved by the instigation of the Devil on 28 Jan. in 11th yr. of Sovereign. Jamey held a gun of the value of 5 shillings, charged w/ powder & loaded w/ shot. With malice forethought, he did feloniously discharge gun... and willfully murder his master. Bage suffered several wounds on his left side, about half an inch below his navel. Bage had languished for two hours before death. Jamey pleaded guilty. A scaffold is to be constructed for him, which was done accordingly.
Haun 1991:139	Jemmy & Elizabeth Bage, Admx.	Petition	Oct.-Nov. 1700 court	Compensation		Jemmy	Jemmy was executed in March- he was part of her dec'd husband Thomas Bage's estate. Widow is to be certified in next Genl. Assembly for allowance regarding loss of Jemmy, Indian slave.
Haun 1991:139	Thomas Hart	Payment	Oct.-Nov. 1700 court	He never received satisfaction for services. Certified to Genl. Assembly for allowance.			On 21 April last, ferried 20 Indians to Jamestown & back.
Haun 1991:143	Capt. Thomas Holt	Payment	11 Jan. 1700/1	From Levy		Jamey	For services as late sheriff about 2 prisoners, one being Jamey, Indian. Paid 2,658 lbs. tobo. for both.
Haun 1991:143	Capt. William Browne	Payment	11 Jan. 1700/1	From Levy		Jamey	For services as sheriff about 2 prisoners-one is Jamey, Indian. Paid 590 lbs. tobo. for both.
Haun 1991:143	Thomas Davis	Payment	11 Jan. 1700/1	From Levy		Jamey	For Ferrying Jamey & guard to Jamestown} 30 lbs. tobo.

York County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details

Fleet 1961A:10	Andrew Whowell	Will	10 March 1631			Barrells of corn and Indian corn.
Fleet 1961A:51-52	Thomas ___	Dues	30 Jan. 1645/6 court	To be paid in corn		Robert Vaus, family & others to pay Thomas. Robert Halsey to be first to pay his salary due for service in 1644 at the Middle Plantation garrison.
Fleet 1961B:9	William Baulke	Estate	24 Nov. 1645 Quarter court James City	Debts & Credits		Augustine Warner: 5 pd. Of beaver & 100 lbs. tobo.}600 Other expenses, etc. at Jamestown, York, & Kiccotan.
Fleet 1961B:11	Edward Percivall	Inventory	24 Nov. 1645 Quarter court James City	Estate		One cannowe 30 foote long.
Fleet 1961A:69	Lt. Smalecombe	Inventory	Last of Feb. 1645/6			20 arms length of Roanoke at __; one Indian girl, aged 3.
Fleet 1961A:73	Thomas Shaw	Suit	26 March 1646 court	Capt. Ralph Wormeley to pay plus 50 lbs. tobo.		Reference to 6 bbl. corn to be "fetched over amediatly after the Masacre from the house of Thomas Shaw on north side of York River."
Fleet 1961A:80	Thomas Doe & Capt. John West	Power of Attorney	27 March 1646 court			To adm. his estate for dau Ann Doe. Writings in chest at Steven Giles' house in Jamestown to be delivered to West- "now finding the tymes Dangerous giving my __ to goe over the forrest alone."
Fleet 1961A:81-82	Lts. and Deputy Lts.	Order	10 April 1646 York			To press 16 men to march agst. the Indians under the command of Lt. Francis Poyethres & to be ready for a rendevouz. Men's crops to be protected as well.
Fleet 1961A:84	William Whitby & Richard Lee	Deed	25 May 1646			"On the North side of Yorke river at the head of tindalls Creek where the said Lee lived before the Massacre"; devident part of land purchased by George Ludlowe Esqr. and William Whitby of Argoll Yeardly, Esqr. This grant of 100 acres is a firm "alienation."
Fleet 1961A:86-87	Thomas Smallcombe	Estate	10 March 1645/6 and 26 June 1646	Debts & Credits		Two bbl. corn; diet at ordinary at James Citty; tobo. is allowed him by Assembly for going at Fort Royall; 2 Indians each sold to Sir Wm Berkeley, John Hammon and Capt. Thomas Pettus.
Fleet 1961A:91	Robert Higginson	Suit	26 June 1646 York			Case vs. John Witherford to be deferred to July 1st. "Dangerousness of this time will not permit his leaving his charge and care at Midle Plantation for this Court."
Fleet 1961B:5	Francis Peper	Order	25 July 1646 court	40 men to make payment of half a day's work upon demand & same regarding 100 lbs. tobo.		40 men ordered & listed to pay work to Peper for his last march agst. the Indians.
Fleet 1961B:26	Divers men	Complaint	5 Nov. 1646 court	Men to pay Higginson 35 lbs. tobo. per pale.		Men at lower end of York are delinquent in sending a man to Middle Plantation in the general work of setting up a pale. Capt. Robert Higgenson forced to put a man "in his Rome" due to men's delinquency.
Fleet 1961B:29	Nicholas Sebriell	Debt	26 Nov. 1646 court	Ordered to pay Brooke 300 lbs. tobo. and 1 bbl corn		Owes Nicholas Brooke Jr. regarding soldiers' wages and diet at Fort Royall in 1645.
Fleet 1961B:33	Council of War	Order	21 Dec. 1646 court	Men to pay 100 lbs. tobo each to Lewis for work.		6 days work for "the soldier which was prest for Rappahannock."
Fleet 1961B:35	Robert Jackson & Edward Adcocke	Bill	22 Dec. 1646 court	Jackson to pay 1,200 lbs. tobo on 10 Nov. 1648.	Mall	Bill dated last day of Nov. 1646. Mall, Indian maid, is security along with 3 cows and 1 heifer.
Fleet 1961B:53	Robert Jackson	Inventory	9 Feb. 1646/7	Estate		3 cows and an Indian girl to Edward Adcock.
Fleet 1961B:65	Thomas Wallis, doctor.	Mortgage	16 Dec. 1647	Secure payment of 6000 , tobo		Of Warwick Co. Wallis binds to George Ludlow, negro Sebastine, an English boy named Nathaniel Chambers, and an Indian woman, beds, etc.
Fleet	Wm. Taylor	Document	25 Jan.		Indian girl	Indian kept by Taylor to serve till 18.

1961B:77			1647/8 court		
Fleet 1961B:88	Constables	Order	25 May 1648 court		To "take exact veiw" of all the corn planted in every plantation and make list of tithable persons, etc.
Fleet 1961B:90	Council of War	Order	12 Aug. 1645	The work of the man "to be made good by those he went for."	A man of Wm. Light was pressed to cut up the Indians' corn. 19 days of work due from a number of individuals as payment of the said work unto said Light re each man's due, share and part.
Fleet 1945B:10	Arthur Price	Informant	25 July 1648 court	It is lawful for anyone to kill such Indians & apprehend or prosecute the offenders any time hereafter.	Said some inhabitants on York River "above Skiminnynoe" do entertain Indians day & night in their houses, which is contrary to an Act of Assembly.
Fleet 1945B:38	Nicholas Brooke, the elder & Samuell Fenn	Indenture	17 Feb. 1651/2	Sells 200 acres out of a 500-acre parcel.	Gives history of ownership of parcel, which is commonly called "Midle Plantation" upon the "old Pallasadoes."
Fleet 1945B:55-56	Samuel Fenn & Wm. Morris	Deed	27 March 1654	Sale of 50 acres out of 200-acre parcel.	By the old Pallyzadoe, near land of Major George Read.
Duvall 1961:73	William Baker & Richard ffare	Deed	13 May 1655	Sale	Baker sold 50 acres in the Parish of Hampton to Richard ffare, formerly called Cheasequiacke.
Fleet 1945B:50	George Read & John Page	Indenture	25 June 1655	Sells 100 acres for 4,000 lbs. tobo.	Gives history of ownership. Land on the Pallizadoe of the Middle Plantation.
Fleet 1945B:55	George Read & John Dickinson	Indenture	24 Sept. 1655	Sells 50 acres for 4,000 lbs. tobo.	Gives history of ownership. 50 acres is on "the Pallyzadoe" of the Middle Plantation.
Fleet 1945B:55	George Read & John Dickinson	Indenture	24 Sept. 1655	Concerns entry error in No. 1 re name.	Same information as above but to John Dickinson.
Duvall 1961:35	Rowland Williams & Robert Jones	Deed	8 Oct. 1655	Sale	For 3,200 lbs. tobo. paid to Robert Jones, Rowland Williams received 130 acres at Chiscake, next to land of Robert Baldrey.
Duvall 1961:65	Stephen Page, Alexander Tire & James Read	Deed	27 Dec. 1655 court	Sale	Page sold land in Hampton Parish to Alexander Tire & James Read, up to Cheesecake Path.
Fleet 1945B:63	James Harris & Thomas Mekins	Deed	4 Jan. 1655/6	Sale of 100 acres.	On old Mill Swamp...over Rickahock Path.
Fleet 1945B:73	Henry Tyler, Robert Bourne & John Horsington	Indenture	24 April 1657	Sale of 300 acres by an amt. of tobo.	Reckahock (Rickahock) Path.
Duvall 1961:5	Adam Holland, Thomas Baxter & Edward Diggs	Indenture	5 Nov. 1657	Sale	Holland sold Baxter for 35 lbs. sterling a 700-acre tract of land on the north side of Mattapony River, once ownded by Edward Diggs in 1653.
Duvall 1961:11-12	Thomas Spencer & John Page	Indenture	4 Dec. 1657	Sale	Spencer sold 50 acres to Page, being located "upon the Pallisado of Middle Plantation," now in the tenure of Spencer. Previous owners mentioned.
Duvall 1961:12	George Read & John Page	Sale	Recorded 20 Dec. 1657 court	Land	Reade sold a parcel of land to Page, and referred to the Pallisado of Middle Plantation and history of ownership
Duvall 1961:41	Thomas Rea	Court	9 Sept. 1658	Inheritance	Portion of orphan Thomas Rea's inheritance includes an Indian woman.
Duvall 1961:57	Rice Jones, Alexander Walker et al.	Bill	13 Oct. 1658	Payment	Jones and Walker are to pay Smith 8,000 lbs. tobo. and cask. The tobacco is to be conveyed to the landing of Richard Thorpe on Queens Creek, and if William Newman lived on the land until the payment is made...otherwise, the tobacco is to be carried to Thomas Pinkethman's tobacco house on Skimino Creek.
Duvall 1961:44	Thomas Baxter & Adam Holland	Order	25 Oct. 1658 court	Estate	Late Mr. Thomas Baxter had purchased land of Mr. Adam Holland on the Mattapony River, w/ general cattle, and 60 lbs. sterling to pay for the

							same. Court ordered Holland to have the land.
Duvall 1961:64	Anne Page, widow	Deed	24 Feb. 1658 [sic]	Land			Page gives her two daughters, named Anne and Dorothy, her right & title to 400 acres of land in Cheesecake in Hampton Parish. Land is to be divided between them.
Fleet 1945B:80	Court	Order	7br. Court & 12 Nov. 1660				Acquomack March.
Weisiger 1989:48	Acquomuck Indians & soldiers	Order	13 Nov. 1660 court	Defense & costs			Soldiers have served for 10 weeks against the Acquomuck Indians last year and either are totally or partly satisfied. Request allowances for their service. Court decreed that they will be paid after 23 Aug. from officers. Any inhabitant who refused to pay the officers shall pay not only the allowance but also 40 lbs. in damages. Cost of Acquomuck March: 3341, thus 30,881 lbs. for James City.
Weisiger 1987:75	Ralph Graves	Will	25 May 1667	Land			Wife to receive the land known as "Indian Field," which later will descend to son Ralph. Mentioned another seat of land located at Mattapony, consisting of 1000 acres.
Weisiger 1987:32	Jack & Mr. John Page	Register	24 Oct. 1672 court		Jack		Indian boy servant, Jack, aged 7, is to serve master Page according to law.
Weisiger 1987:67	Indian, Owen Davis & Robert Penrice	Document	29 Nov. 1673 court	Loss of child			"Whereas it is manifest and apparent that an Indian, through Robert Penrice's means, caused the wife of Owen Davis to miscarry, it is ordered he pay her 1,000 lbs. tobo."
Weisiger 1987:120	Dick & William Backhouse	Register	24 June 1675 court		Dick		Indian boy servant named Dick, aged 6, shall serve his master according to law.
Dorman 1975:67	Edward Foliott	Will	4 March 1683/4	Indian land			Foliott's will referred to a line from Robert Harris...next to the "Indian field on the west side of my land in New Kent County."
Palmer, 1875:19	Crawford, Thomas Ballard et al.	Court	14 April 1685	Petition		Woman, boy & girl	In suit of Crawford by Thomas Ballard vs. Roger Jones: Jones harbored an Indian woman, boy & girl who had been purchased by Crawford & used as slaves.
Dorman 1975:84-85	Council	Order	24 8ber. 1690 court	License			Board is informed that many inhabitants keep Indians w/o license from the Governor, contrary to law, and which may lead to disturbance w/in the Colony. From this point hence, no person shall presume to keep an Indian w/o obtaining a license as the law directs.
Dorman 1976:46	Council	Order	27 Oct. 1691 court	License			Extract from Journals of the Council on required licenses to keep Indians, etc. Published in court.
Dorman 1976:101	Mrs. Elizabeth Diggs	Inventory	24 Sept. 1691 court order	List			Inventory of Diggs referred to an "Indian Field Quarter" w/ 13 slaves and a crop of Indian corn.
Dorman 1977:52	Mrs. Elizabeth Diggs	Estate	11 Xber. 1691 court	Division			Diggs' house is located at "Indian Field."

Patents:

Charles City: (CC) All by Nugent, vol. as indicated; followed by original patent citation.

Source	Patentee	County	Acres	Date	Headrights	Details
Nugent 1992 (I): 21 PB1/162	Thomas Causey	CC	150	18 April 1635		In the "Indian field."
Nugent 1992 (I): 25 PB1/206	David Jones	CC	300	4 July 1635	6	Tapahannock Marsh & Matticoe Creek.
Nugent 1992 (I): 32 PB2/295	Pierce Lemon	CC	300	6 Nov. 1635	5	Near Weyenoke & Matchocoe Creek.

Nugent 1992 (I): 32 PB1/296	James Merriman	CC	150	6 Nov. 1635	1	Near Weyanoke.
Nugent 1992 (I): 34 PB1/314	Edward Sparshott	CC	100	20 Nov. 1635	1	Land at Merchants Hope Creek, and on the north side of the Indian field.
Nugent 1992 (I): 50 PB1/395	Mrs. Elizabeth Stephens	Inheritance	1,000	15 Oct. 1636		Flowerdew Hundred, Weyonoake; inheritance from father Abraham Piersey.
Nugent 1992 (I): 68 PB1/443	John Woodlife	Inheritance	550	24 Aug. 1637		Territory of great Weyanoake; Charles Hundred where the pale ran...is an inheritance from father Capt. John Woodlife Esqr. (in 1620).
Nugent 1992 (I): 74 PB1/495	Thomas Wheeler	CC	200	29 Sept. 1637	4	Weyanoke land.
Nugent 1992 (I): 87 PB1/550	William Hayward	CC	200	5 May 1638	4	Appamattuck River; Conjurer's field.
Nugent 1992 (I): 86 PB1/546	Edward Sparshott	CC	350	6 May 1638	4	Property at the north side of a small Indian field about 2 miles up Merchants Hope Creek.
Nugent 1992 (I): 87 PB1/549	John Merryman	CC	150	10 May 1638		Weyanoke.
Nugent 1992 (I): 87 PB1/550	Thomas Bagwell	CC	150	12 May 1638	6	Apamattuck River;Conjurer's field.
Nugent 1992 (I): 88 PB1/555	Henry Rowan	CC	300	22 May 1638		Weyanoke.
Nugent 1992 (I): 98 PB1/602	Richard Milton	CC	400	3 Oct. 1638	8	Great Weyonoake Towne.
Nugent 1992 (I): 152 PB1/951	Pierce Lennon	CC	200	28 Feb. 1642	4	Land between two creeks at Martins Brandon, opposite against Tapahanna Marsh.
Nugent 1992 (I): 145 PB1/893	Thomas Wheeler	CC	990	23 Aug. 1643	2	Reference to "old towne," near Merchants Hope.
Nugent 1992 (I): 150 PB1/933	James Merryman	CC	100	20 Dec. 1643	2	Martins Brandon, opposite against Weyanoke.
Nugent 1992 (I): 167 PB2/94	David Jones	CC	650	20 Nov. 1646	7	Two creeks opposite against Taphanna Marsh.
Nugent 1992 (I): 175 PB2/140	John Saynes	CC	250	3 July 1648	5	Near Smith's Fort.
Nugent 1992 (I): 183 PB2/248	Capt. Jose Johnson	CC	639	6 June 1649		Reference to former patent in 1643; Weynoke.
Nugent 1992 (I): 199 PB 2/252	George Pace	CC	1,700	1 Aug. 1650	34	On s. side of James River, commonly called Mattocks.
Nugent 1992 (I): 198 PB2/263	Richard Tye & Charles Sparrow	CC	2,500	12 Aug. 1650	50	Next to land called "Weynoake old Town," and trees called "the great Maukes."
Nugent 1992 (I): 202 PB2/263	Richard Jones	CC	950	30 Aug. 1650	19	Mention of "ould Towne"; land back of Merchants Hope.
Nugent 1992 (I): 203 PB2/266	Mr. Stephen Hamelin	CC	1,250	26 Oct. 1650	25	At head of Weynoke or Wionoke, Matshcoes Creek [or Matsrwes?].
Nugent 1992 (I): 226 PB2/___[not given]	Gov. George Yardley & Samuel Jordan, Gent.	CC	50	[No date]	5	To Samuel Jordan, ancient planter, the main land, south upon John Rolfe.
Nugent 1992 (I): 273 PB3/171	Mr. James Warradine	CC	1,070 ½	13 Oct. 1652	12	Patented lands included "an Indian field commonly called Mr. Mathews his upper Indian field &c."

Nugent 1992 (I): 255 PB 3/77	Major Abraham Wood	CC	1,557	9 June 1653	20	Lying at Fort Henry on south side of Appamattuck River. 600 acres part of 1 Oct. 1646 grant by Assembly & 957 acres for headrights.
Nugent 1992 (I): 250 PB3/54	Major John Westrope	CC	600	24 Nov. 1653	12	Old Towne.
Nugent 1992 (I): 303 PB3/322	William Lea	CC	500	6 Feb. 1654	10	On W. side of an Indian Swamp known as Ohoreek.
Nugent 1992 (I): 411 PB4/40 (486)	Col. Abraham Wood	CC	2,073	16 Sept. 1663	10	Fort Henry — part of it is renewal of 1653 patent.
Nugent 1992 (I): 566 PB5/537 (657)	William Justice	CC	21, 2r, 11 p.	20 Oct. 1665		In Weynock; Kittawan Branch; confirmed by order of the Genl. Court.
Nugent 1992 (I): 566-567 PB5/537 (658)	William Justice	CC	143 & 24 poles	20 Oct. 1665		In Weynock...on other side of Kittewan.
Nugent 1977 (II): 3 PB6/7	Edmund Cowles	CC	125	29 Sept. [1666?]		Westover Path, Kemige's Creek are part of devident.
Nugent 1977 (II): 31 PB6/109	Mr. Charles Roane	CC	50	7 Aug. 1667	9	S. side of Kittowan Cr.; lowermost end of Weyanock upon James River.
Nugent 1977 (II): 30 PB6/109	Mr. Charles Roane	CC	401 & 4ch	7 Aug. 1667	9	Kittawan & Moyses Creeks.
Nugent 1977 (II): 95 PB6/265	Mr.Charles Roane	CC	451	7 July 1671	2	Oystershell landing in Mapscoe Cr. and ...Wyanoake.
Nugent 1977 (II): 47 PB6/473	William Pebles	CC	862	3 Nov. 1673	7	Tract near the "old Towne Land &c."
Nugent 1977 (II): 146 PB6/510	Hugh Lee	CC	2,000	8 April 1674	40	Warrick Path on s. side of Appomattock River.
Nugent 1977 (II): 154 PB6/154	Edward Richards	CC	1,528	26 Sept. 1674	16	A "small Indian field" is situated within the parcel.
Nugent 1977 (II): 165 PB6/563	Mr. Thomas Cock	CC	1,983	4 Oct. 1675	40	Mongoies Run; run of Chickahominy.
Nugent 1977 (II): 163 PB6/555	Mr. John Stith	CC	636, 1r, 24p	11 May 1675	13	Land leads to a western "Gr. Branch to the Indian Cabbin point."
Nugent 1977 (II): 170 PB6/590	Rowland Place Esqr.	CC	5,579	24 Feb.1675/6	112	Balistan's Path; Indians named John and Toby.
Nugent 1977 (II): 184 PB6/643	John Turner	CC	1,036, 2r, 32p	20 May 1678	21	Place called Arrow Reads; Chickahominy Path.
Nugent 1977 (II): 223 PB7/101	Mr. John Smith	CC	306	28 Sept. 1681	6	A place called Worrockhocke.
Nugent 1977 (II): 279 PB7/381	John Smith	CC	748	26 April 1684	15	Notoway and Tonotara Paths.
Nugent 1977 (II): 279 PB7/387	Francis Leadbeter	CC	548	26 April 1684	11	S. side of Appomattock River at Worrockhock.
Nugent 1977 (II): 213 PB7/545	Mr. George Blighton	CC	1,010	16 Nov. 1686	21	An old Indian field , not far from Southern Run, was located on this property.
Nugent1977 (II): 341 PB8/38	Major Thomas Chamberlin	CC	856	21 April 1690	18	A place called Rehoweck.
Nugent 1977 (II): 349 PB8/78	Adam Taply & William Harryson	CC	1,068	21 April 1690	22	Arroccock Path.

Isle of Wight: (IW). Includes the earlier name of Warrosqoyack, etc.

All by Nugent, vol. as indicated; followed by original patent citation.

Source	Patentee	County	Acres	Date	Headrights	Details
Nugent 1992 (I): 27 PB1/233	Thomas Jordan	Warras-quioake	900	2 July 1635	18	Land near head of Warrasquioke River, and on the westerly side of an old Indian town "at an oake marked with 3 notches."
Nugent 1992 (I): 26 PB1/222	Thomas Butler, clerk & pastor	Warras-quioake	1,000	11 July 1635	18	Within a river falling into the Nansemond Bay, the land ran southerly by an Indian town and Cedar Point.
Nugent 1992 (I): 47 PB1/382	Christopher Reynolds	Warris-quick	450	15 Sept 1636	9	Reference to Pagan shore and an old Indian field belonging to the land.
Nugent 1992 (I): 51 PB1/400	Richard Young	Warwicks-quieck	350	25 Nov. 1636	7	Up the river, south from the "great Indian field."
Nugent 1992 (I): 53 PB1/407	Richard Preston	IW	150	22 Dec. 1636	2	4 miles up the Warwickquick River...bounded by 2 creeks and land know by the Indian name of Husquamps.
Nugent 1992 (I): 98-99 PB1/605	Lt. John Upton	IW	1,500	10 Nov. 1638	30	Land, adjacent to Ambrose Bennet's, includes an Indian path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 329 PB4/25 (39)	Nicholas Smith, Gent.	IW	200	13 March 1655	2	Indian Spring on the James River is at the beginning point of the parcel.
Nugent 1992 (I): 386 PB4/256 (357)	Thomas Harris	IW	1,000	2 Mar. 1658	20	Upon a swamp by the W. branch of the Nansemond River and 2 Indian fields.
Nugent 1992 (I): 516 PB5/375 (414)	Robert Flack (Flake)	IW	200	18 Oct. 1664	4	Land by marked white oak "by John a Pough his Indian Quarter."
Nugent 1977 (II): 59 PB6/232	Mr. Robert Flake	IW	2,400	21 Sept. 1666	9	By John a pouch quarter below the bridge; reference to former patent.
Nugent 1977 (II):13 PB6/45	Thomas Woodward Jr.	IW or Nansemond	1,100	17 April 1667	22	Chawon or Chawonoe River, old Indian field called Mountsack.
Nugent 1977 (II): 53 PB6/207	Capt. Joseph Bridger	IW	1,000	21 Sept. 1668	20	Tract includes "2 Indian fields."
Nugent 1977 (II): 66 PB6/261	Edward Brantley	IW	675	30 Oct. 1669		The Dancing place, a pocoson, Ashen Swamp, Cart path, mill, etc.
Nugent 1977 (II): 77 PB6/300	Mr. Thomas Moore	IW	2,400	10 May 1670	40	Third swamp of Blackwater, Coppahunk Swamp. Reference to former patent.
Nugent 1977 (II): 205 PB7/18	William Scott Jr.	IW	24	21 Jan. 1679	1	North side of Indian Creek Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 206 PB7/21	Thomas Parnell	IW	1,100	20 April 1680	22	Mention of former owners; Currawaugh Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 207 PB7/25	Richard Book	IW	560	20 April 1680	12	Curawaugh Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 217 PB7/72	John Roberts	IW	1,450	23 April 1681	13	Previous owners mentioned; land at head branches of Indian Creek.
Nugent 1977 (II): 232 PB7/139	Mr. William Bush	IW	390	20 April 1682	8	Branch of Currawaugh Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 236 PB7/156	Charles Man	IW	22	20 April 1682	1	Northeast side of Currawaugh Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 237 PB7/158	John Sellaway	IW	250	20 April 1682	5	Branch of Indian Creek Swamp.

Nugent 1977 (II): 238 PB7/164	Mr. John Moor	IW	490	20 April 1682	4	Reference to an earlier patnet; branch of Indian Creek Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 243 PB7/182	John Drake	IW	100	22 Sept. 1682	2	Southwest side of Currawaugh Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 270 PB7/333	Col. Arthur Smith	IW	1,100	20 Nov. 1683	22	South side of Currawaugh Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 288 PB7/446	Mr. Robert Flake	IW	170	20 April 1685	4	Near the "dancing place."
Nugent 1977 (II): 326 PB7/672	William Baldwin	IW	67	20 Oct. 1688	2	Two headrights were Mary, an Indian, and Lan, a Negro.
Nugent 1977 (II): 358 PB8/128	William Fowler	IW	100	28 April 1691	2	Former owners mentioned; southwest side of Currawaugh Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 366 PB8/174	Major Arthur Allen	IW	170	20 Oct. 1691	4	Near the Daning place; former owner.
Nugent 1977 (II): 390 PB8/347	Mr. Richard Reynolds	IW	720	20 April 1694	15	On Cabbin Branch.

James City: (JC) All by Nugent, vol. as indicated; followed by original patent citation.

Source	Patentee	County	Acres	Date	Headrights	Details
Nugent 1992 (I): 31 PB1/283	Thomas Gray	JC	550	6 Nov. 1635	5	Rolf's Creek & references to the time of Sir Thomas Dale.
Nugent 1992 (I): 40 PB1/354	John Dunston	JC	600	1 June 1636	12	Mention of Arroe Reed Swamp & Chippokes Creek.
Nugent 1992 (I): 40 PB1/372	Humphrey England	JC	200	12 July 1636	4	Chichahominy River & Checkeroes Neck.
Nugent 1992 (I): 58 PB1/428	Richard Bell & Christopher Lawson	JC	500	23 May 1637	5	Indian field.
Nugent 1992 (I): 58 PB1/428	Theodore Moyses	JC	2,000	23 May 1637	40	"Tanks Pasbye hayes" Creek; Chickahominy River.
Nugent 1992 (I): 58 PB1/431	John Dansey	JC	100	25 May 1637	2	"Tanks Pasbye hayes" Creek; Chickahominy River.
Nugent 1992 (I): 61-62 PB1/443	William Mills	JC	350	19 July 1637	7	Smiths Fort.
Nugent 1992 (I): 69 PB1/469	Thomas Ellis	JC	50	24 Aug. 1637	1	Land butts upon Clay bank at the creek mouth and runs up to old Pasbye Hayes called by the name of "Trucking Point."
Nugent 1992 (I): 74 PB1/493	Samuel Curbye	JC	200	29 Oct. 1637	2	Tanks Pasbye Hayes Creek & Chickahominy River.
Nugent 1992 (I): 85 PB1/541	Henry Thompson	JC	150	16 Dec. 1637	2	Previous owners cited; Smith's Fort Creek.
Nugent 1992 (I): 105 PB1/632	Richard Kemp	JC	1,200	3 Jan. 1638	2	Rich Neck, in Archers Hope Cr.; Pallisadoes of Middle Plantation.
Nugent 1992 (I): 106 PB1/635	Edward Whitaker	JC	100	8 Feb. 1638	2	Pallisadoes of the Middle Plantation.
Nugent 1992 (I): 103 PB1/624	Robert Holt & Richard Bell	JC	500	2 March 1638	8	Checqueroes Creek.
Nugent 1992 (I): 89	Christopher Lawson	JC	400	1 May 1638	8	Rolph's Creek.

PB1/564						
Nugent 1992 (I): 98 PB1/604	Thomas Crowtch	JC	150	10 Nov. 1638	3	Tappahannock Creek.
Nugent 1992 (I): 107 PB1/640	Edward Oliver	JC	450	16 April 1639	6	N. side of Chickahominy River, called by Indians "Custipa."
Nugent 1992 (I): 107 PB1/6 41	William Bassett	JC	150	18 April 1639	1	The woods are called Pottacocock by the Indians.
Nugent 1992 (I): 108 PB1/642	Edward Travis	JC	300	25 April 1639	6	Chickahominy River & Warrany Creek.
Nugent 1992 (I): 127 PB1/762	Richard Brookes	JC	189	22 Jan. 1641		Pasbyhaies. 7 ¼ bb. Mer. Indian corne (rent) at State House.
Nugent 1992 (I): 128 PB1/772	Capt. Robert Hutchinson	JC	100	20 May 1642		Pasbyhaies. Lease- 4 bbls. Mer. Indian corn.
Nugent 1992 (I): 128 PB1/775	Jeremiah Grey	JC	150	22 May 1642	3	Old fort.
Nugent 1992 (I): 139 PB1/855	Steven Webb	JC	128	14 Nov. 1642	3	Upon Lower Chippokes Cr.; called by Indian natives "Potoback."
Nugent 1992 (I): 145 PB1/891	Anthony Coleman	JC	82 ½	21 Sept. 1643		3 bbls. & 1 bu. Of Mer. Indian corn at State House. 21-year lease.
Nugent 1992 (I): 147 PB1/905	Georg Gilbert	JC	50	29 Sept. 1643		Powhetan bridge.
Nugent 1992 (I): 145 PB1/889	Capt. Robert Hutchinson	JC	200	30 Dec. 1643		21-year lease. Pasbyhaies, 8 bbls. Mer. Indian corn at State House.
Nugent 1992 (I): 161 PB2/54	George Wiatt	JC	250	4 Oct. 1645	5	Middle Plantation-along the Pallisadoes.
Nugent 1992 (I): 159-160 PB2/46	Thomas Hill, Gent.	JC	600	10 Oct. 1645		Rich Neck, adj. the Pallisadoes.
Nugent 1992 (I): 160 PB2/[between 48-50]	Gov. William Berkeley & place of Governor	JC	1,090 & 3,000	5-6 June 1646	35	Lease of 70 acres for 21 years; confirmation of 1090 acres to Berkeley due to headrights; Chickahominie Path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 175 PB2/140	John Saynes	JC	250	3 July 1648	5	Near Smiths Fort.
Nugent 1992 (I): 176 PB2/145	Thomas Hart	JC	100	3 July 1648	4	Smiths Fort.
Nugent 1992 (I): 177 PB2/151	James Mason	JC	60	8 July 1648	2	Smiths Fort.
Nugent 1992 (I): 177 PB2/150	Wm. Drummond	JC	25	10 Sept. 1648		Annual rent 1 bbl Mer. Indian Corn shelled at Statehouse, James City.
Nugent 1992 (I): 179 PB2/161	Wm. Batt	JC	128	11 April 1649	3	Upon Lower Chipokes Cr., called by "natives of the Indian pacotacke."
Nugent 1992 (I): 202 PB2/264	Edward Knight	JC	400	25 Sept. 1650	8	Richahock Path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 202 PB2/264	Edward Knight	JC	140	25 Sept. 1650	8	Chiskroes Creek and Chickahominy River; reference to Bell's patent.
Nugent 1992 (I): 202	Joseph Knight	JC	1,600	25 Sept. 1650	32	Warrany Creek &Chickahominy River. Location close to Richahock Path.

PB2/264 Nugent 1992 (I): 215	Mr. Robert Holt	JC	470	20 Jan. 1651	10	Ricahoc Path.
PB2/320 Nugent 1992 (I): 228	John Flood	JC	[Not stated]	1 March 1652	3	Powhatan bridge.
PB3/3 Nugent 1992 (I): 277 PB3/200	Mrs. Jane Bland	JC	4,300	9 May 1652		Reference to deceased spouse Edward Bland who purchased former grant to Thomas Hill. Land near head of upper Chippoaks Creek and a path from Swan Bay to the "Indian Fields."
Nugent 1992 (I): 415 PB4/59 (513)	Sir William Berkeley	JC	2,090	9 Oct. 1652		1,090 acres known as Green Spring; 1,000 acres assigned to Berkeley by former owner Robert Wetherell, 11 May 1652. Chickahominy Path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 319 PB3/389	John Bromfeild	JC	650	Last of March 1653	13	Nicadawances Path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 229 PB3/5	Joseph Knight	JC	2,000	1 July 1653		Mention of former owners; reassigned lands. Close to Ricohoake or Rickohoake Path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 282 PB3/225	Richard Vardy	JC	650	Last Nov. 1653	5	Powetan Swamp, Poetan Beaver Swamp, and reference to a patent.
Nugent 1992 (I): 231 PB3/8	Major Robert Holt	JC	1,550	6 April 1654	22	Near Sir William Berkeley; Rickohauke Path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 242 PB3/29	Francis Peale	JC & York	50	21 May 1654	1	By the Pallisadoes.
Nugent 1992 (I): 306 PB4/335	John Lynge	JC	300	1 April 1655	6	At head of branch called Tyascond, and near a great Indian field upon the land of Margaret Barrett.
Nugent 1992 (I): 317 PB3/381	Capt. William Whitacre	JC	90	5 June 1656	2	York Path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 317 PB3/381	William Dormer	JC	1,100	6 June 1656	20	Mr. Rolfe's Indian field.
Nugent 1992 (I): 336 PB4/52 (77)	William Crumpe & Mr. Humphry Vaulx	JC	1,000	26 Jan. 1656	20	Near Richohock Path; begin at Kiseohonsicke Swamp and head of Weekenoskeekicke (?) Swamp.
Nugent1992 (I): 386 PB4/256 (358)	Mr. John Bromfeild	JC	1,000	5 March 1658		History of former owners such as Thomas Towner & reassignment of lands. References to Mattahuncks Neck, Toorihams Branch, Wickwas Run, Nickadewans Path and a small Indian field in the bottom of Musconte.
Nugent 1992 (I): 361 PB4/155 (227)	Mr. Christopher Harris	JC	450	21 April 1658	9	Richohock Path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 378 PB4/219 (316)	John Linge	JC	300	6 Oct. 1658	6	Renewal of patent at head of Tyascond "neere the great Indian field," which is close to the land of Margaret Barrett.
Nugent 1992 (I): 408 PB4/(468) [sic]	Mr. Francis Burnell	JC	1,000	18 Feb. 1660		A branch called by Indian name "Toweywinch"
Nugent 1992 (I): 409 PB4/(478) [sic]	Edmund Price	JC	600	3 May 1661	12	Tract is located near Towywick or Weywick Swamp and begins at "Richard Scruggs corner gum by an Indian path."
Nugent 1992 (I): 392 PB4/281 (384)	Capt. John Underwood	JC	1,200	25 Nov. 1661	24	Land on Ely. Side of Tyascon, Nly. On Rockahock Path. Part of patent, 390 acres, is the remainder of a 7 Feb. 1658 patent by "another."
Nugent 1992 (I): 487 PB5/287 (246)	Major Robert Holt	JC	1,550	8 Jan. 1662		Rickahock Path. Renewal of patent.
Nugent 1992 (I): 474 PB5/247 (174)	Robert Weekes	JC & York	50	18 March 1662		By the Palisadoes.
Nugent 1992 (I): 475	Roger Womsley	JC & Charles City	900	18 March 1662	18	Nickadewans Path above Pease Hill Run.

PB5/250 (181) Nugent 1992 (I): 492	Capt. Daniel Parke	JC	528	24 March 1662/3		Former owners cited. Rickahock and Cart Paths & Path that goes to Chickahominy Gate.
PB5/303 (275) Nugent 1992 (I): 502 PB5/332 (331)	William Peawde & George Sanders	JC	1,000	11 Feb. 1663 [sic]		Reference to the same history & descriptions of property (as PB4/256 above) & Thomas Towner who willed property to parties. Includes Nickadewans Path, Muscout, etc.
Nugent 1992 (I): 540 PB5/452 (545)	William Knight	Inheritance	809, 16 ch, .5	14 Sept. 1665		Old Rockahoc Path, Arrow read Swamp, great cart Road to Yorke. Willed to him from father Mr. Joseph Knight.
Nugent 1977 (II): 25 PB6/90	David Crafford	JC	86	7 Aug. 1667		Martins Hundred; Church path; "Dead Man's Stake."
Nugent 1977 (II): 44 PB6/169	Thomas Maples & William Hitchman	JC	200	10 Sept. 1668	4	Property on branches of Warrany Creek.
Nugent 1977 (II):103 PB6/389	William Drummond	Reassigned	1,442	167_	5	Former owners Wm Taylour and Edmond Cowles w/ Phillip Charles named for the years 1638 and 1666 respectively. 5 headrights due Edmund Cowles & Philip Charles.
Nugent 1977 (II): 103 PB6/389	William Drummond	Lease	200	167_		Lease for 99 years in Pasbehayes. Ref. to act, 14 June 1638, to better strengthen James City; the Mayne Land in Pasbehayes to be leased for 21 yrs. Annual rent of 8 bbls. Merchantable Indian corn shelled, at Drummond's house.
Nugent 1977 (II): 150 PB6/519	Phillip Freeman	JC	650	10 March 1673/4		Westham Path. Originally patented, 2 May 1661.
Nugent 1977 (II): 169-170 PB6/586	Thomas Hone Jr. & Thomas Hone	JC	736	5 Oct. 1675	15	Reference to Warrany Swamp and an Indian field.
Nugent 1977 (II): 200 PB6/690	Mr. Henry Hartwell	JC	736	20 May 1679	15	Mention of Warrany Creek, and an Indian field.
Nugent 1977 (II): 211-212 PB7/49	Gingas, King & Indians	Patent	650	10 July 1680		A long narrative about the land they have possessed since 1641 as appeared per "Ancient Pattent" and made mention of Capt. John Savage, et al. Reference made to a court held at James City, 28 Sept. 1674 to settle issue. The Indians were always "in amity with us." Survey made and patent issued by court.
Nugent 1977 (II): 210 PB7/43	Garrett Johnson	Original lost	1,140	10 July 1680	23	Records search for date of original patent, but "by ye miscarriage of some part of ye Records in ye late troubles many matters are missing..."
Nugent 1977 (II): 22 PB7/96	William Browne	JC	970	23 April 1681	2	The Fort land once Thomas Rolfe's, dec'd. Granted to Rolfe 8 Aug. 1653, 25 April 1656, & 16 Oct. 1658.
Nugent 1977 (II): 229 PB7/124	William Peawde	JC	1,000	20 April 1682		Mattahancks Neck; Nickedewans Path; to Indian field in the bottom of Muskout/Maskout. Due to right of survivorship.
Nugent 1977 (II): 251 PB7/221	Mr. John Dean	JC & New Kent	285	22 Dec. 1682		Rickahack Path and Arrow Reed Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 263 PB7/292	Mr. Edward Chilton	JC	2 & 17 chs.	16 April 1683	1	Down James River bank to stake near the brick fort.
Nugent 1977 (II): 265 PB7/300	Nath. Bacon, Esq.	Forfeited land	3 3/8	29 May 1683		Once belonging to Richard Lawrence, "guilty of high treason...not daring to abide a legal tryal, fled for ye same...all goods forfeited."
Nugent 1977 (II): 280 PB7/388	Mr. John Soanes	JC	710	21 April 1684	14	"...down the sound to potters field..." [Indian?]
Nugent 1977 (II): 293 PB7/481	John Turner	JC	134	4 Nov. 1685	3	Chickahominy Gate; Chickahominy Path.
Nugent 1977 (II): 300 PB7/515	Wm. Peawde	JC	400	30 Oct. 1686	5	1663 patent for 1,000 acres; 250 acres residue...partly surplassage land w/in bounds of patent. Nicketewances Path.
Nugent 1977 (II): 313 PB7/597	John Soane	JC	66	27 April 1687	2	Potters field [Indian?].

Nugent 1977 (II): 331 PB7/701	Henry Hartwell	JC	2, 1 rod, 24 ½ poles	20 April 1689	1	"...trench which faceth 2 of the E. bastions of an old ruined turf fort..."
Nugent 1977 (II): 346 PB8/64	John Wade	JC	34	21 April 1690	1	Rockahock and Arrow Reed Paths.
Nugent 1977 (II): 368 PB8/187	Mr. Henry Randolph	JC	66	20 Oct. 1691	2	Deserted by former patentee Soane. Potters Field [Indian?].
Nugent 1977 (II): 387 PB8/323	Mr. Edward Wade	JC	83	20 April 1694	2	Rockahock Path.
Nugent 1977 (II): 387 8/323	Henry Thomson	JC	10	20 April 1694	1	Rockahock and Hotwater Road.
Nugent 1979 (III): 9 PB9/51	Thomas Nesham	JC	168	29 Oct. 1696	4	Nicketowaneos Path.

Surry Patents: (S) All by Nugent, vol. as indicated; followed by original patent citation.

Source	**Patentee**	**County**	**Acres**	**Date**	**Headrights**	**Details**
Nugent 1992 (I): 267 PB3/140	Nicholas Williams	S	200	12 Oct. 1652	4	Land up Smiths Fort Creek, Reedy Swamp, etc.
Nugent 1992 (I): 281 PB3/222	John Bishop & James Mason	S	50	27 Feb. 1653	1	Land located on S.E. side of Tapahanock Creek.
Nugent 1992 (I): 326 PB4/15 (22)	Samuel Huby & John Carter	S	500	25 Jan. 1655	10	Mention of cart path, bridge and Indian Path along the "black water main branch."
Nugent 1992 (I): 340 PB4/72 (105)	Ralph Dunston	S	350	27 Feb. 1656	7	Reference to Sheapards plantation and an Indian path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 334-335 PB4/47 (71)	Mary Stephens	S	150	17 Dec. 1656	3	Land on a branch of Blackwater; half a mile above the Indian Path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 365 PB4/168 (250)	Thomas Harris	S	850	13 Feb. 1657	11	Reference to former owner Mr. John Holmwood's 300 acres in 1650 & 550 acres for headrights. Chipoaks Path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 374 PB4/206 (301)	John Corker	S	1,150	20 March 1657		On south side of Grayes Creek called Wayer necke; opposite to the mill, over the swamp to Mr. Rolfe's line. 500 acres purchased of John Kemp on 24 Oct. 1639.
Nugent 1992 (I): 353 PB4/120 (178)	William Edwards	S	490	17 Sept. 1657	120	Land on south side of James River, opposite James City, west upon Crouches Creek which divides it from land once Thomas Rolfe's.
Nugent 1992 (I): 487 PB5/289 (249)	Nicholas Williams	S	200	9 Jan. 1662		Renewal of patent dated 12 Oct. 1652. Land situated up "Smiths fort Cr."
Nugent 1992 (I): 511 PB5/360 (386)	Andrew Robinson & Peleg Dunstand	S	30	20 July 1663	7	Nly. On Major Sheppards plantation, about 3 mi. being on branch of Black Water from the Indian Path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 457 PB5/194 (87)	William Seward	S	300	29 Sept. 1664	6	Part of land taken up by Thomas Swan Jr. Located at mouth of white marsh & Indian spring.
Nugent 1977 (II):12-13 PB6/44	Thomas Hunt	S	836	14 March 1666	17	Field known as "King of Weynocks old field."
Nugent 1977 (II):13 PB6/46	Mr. Nicholas Meerewether	S	651	25 April 1667	14	Land begins at white march, upon Indian Spring Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 41 PB 6/155	William Harris	Inheritance	850	2 June 1668		Adj. Rich Neck. Chipoakes Path.
Nugent 1977 (II): 351 8/88	John Whitson	Forfeiture	200	14 Sept. 1672		Real & personal estate to be forfeited. "...so seized committed rebellion & high treason & was for the same legally convicted & executed & also legally attainted, as appears by Act of Assembly of 1680."

Nugent 1977 (II): 125 PB6/452	Bartholomew Owen	S	648	14 May 1673	13	John Chewakins Swamp; previous owners mentioned.
Nugent 1977 (II): 171 PB6/[blank]	Lt. Col. George Jordan	S	690	N.D. [c. 1675/6?]	14	An Indian Path is located on this tract of land near Little Marsh and Cyprus Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 187 PB6/3	Mr. Francis Mason	Inheritance	300	26 Sept. 1678		Tappahannock Creek.
Nugent 1977 (II): 187 PB6/653	William & John Gray	Inheritance	800	28 Sept. 1678		Smith's Fort.
Nugent 1977 (II): 216 PB7/67	Mr. William Edwards	S	590	2 Oct. 1680	1	Tappahannock or Crouche's Creek.
Nugent 1977 (II): 237 PB7/159	Robert Caufield	S	2,250	29 April 1682	26	History of previous owners and deserted lands. Among headrights was an Indian named Jacob.
Nugent 1977 (II): 276 PB7/367	Thomas Smith	S	200	20 April 1684	4	Cypress Swamp of John Chokuck Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 277 PB7/379	Richard Jordan	S	260	20 April 1684	6	Northeast of John Checokuck Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 277 PB7/371	Mr. Henery Baker	S	350	20 April 1684	3	Mention of previous owners & John Chokehocunt Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 278 PB7/376	John Parsons Junr.	S	740	20 April 1684	15	Southwest side of Johnchecohunk Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 287 PB7/439	Mr. Robert Ruffin	S	2,250	20 April 1684	55	Once Joseph Rogers' Pokatinek land.
Nugent 1977 (II): 290 PB7/463	William Rogers & Joshua Proctor	S	900	20 April 1685	18	John Chehockan Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 312 PB7/595	Mr. Henry Hartwell	S	1,960	20 April 1687	40	Previous owners mentioned; Smith's Fort Landing.
Nugent 1977 (II): 329 PB7/671	Richard Jordan	S	200	20 April 1688	4	Johnchounk Swamp.
Nugent 1977 (II): 331 PB7/699	Peter de Berry	S	100	20 Oct. 1688		Previous owners mentioned; escheated land; Smith's Fort.

York County: (Y) Includes the earlier name of Charles River (CR).

All by Nugent, vol. as indicated; followed by original patent citation.

Source	Patentee	County	Acres	Date	Headrights	Details
Nugent 1992 (I): 44 PB1/369	Capt. John West to [unknown person or persons]	CR	50 and 20 by poll	8 Oct. 1630		Fragmentary record: a tract of land called "the forrest" which borders "the cheife residence of the Pamunky King the most dangerous head of the Indian Enemie." Potential settlers are encouraged to seat lands on the south side of the Pamunkye River, now called Charles River, and "then knowne by the Indian name of Chiscake."
Nugent 1992 (I): 79 PB1/513	John Dennett	CR	400	15 Jan. 1637	8	Path from "little Town to Chiskiake," Martin's Hundred.
Nugent 1992 (I):75 PB1/499	John Judson	CR	225	21 Nov. 1637	2	Chiskeiake.
Nugent 1992 (I): 76 PB1/503	John Broche	Y	400	24 Nov. 1637	6	Indian Cabin on Queens Creek
Nugent 1992 (I): 102 PB1/618	Stephen Hamblyn	Y	250	25 Feb. 1638	4	Queens Creek...the marsh to the Pallisadoes.

Nugent 1992 (I): 120 PB1/704	Georg Minifye Esqr.	CR	3,000	9 March 1639	60	Property on W. side of the "Indian fields" and opposite Queens Creek.
Nugent 1992 (I): 117 PB1/686	John Wilsonn	CR	50	8 Oct. 1639		Land on the S. side of the Pamunkie River (also known as the Charles River) is named Chiskiake by the Indians.
Nugent 1992 (I): 161-162 PB2/59	Capt. Richard Popeley, George Lake, & George Wyatt	Y	400	12 April 1642		Lake & Wyatt, coopers...adj. the "Midle House...W. upon the Pallisadoes, etc."
Nugent 1992 (I): 186 PB2/192	Nicholas Brooke Sr.	Y	500	12 July 1642		Middle Plantation...S.W. upon the Palisadoe.
Nugent 1992 (I): 167 PB2/94	John Broach	Y	300	9 July 1646	6	Near the Middle Plantation, upon the Horse Path, and..."E. upon the Indian Spring."
Nugent 1992 (I): 167 PB2/90	Nicholas Brooke the Younger	Y	500	13 Aug. 1646		Lying S.W. upon the Palisadoes.
Nugent 1992 (1): 224 PB2/360	Nicholas Brooke the Younger	Y	500	13 Aug. 1646		Middle Plantation.bound S.W. by the Pallisadoes.
Nugent 1992 (I): 162 PB2/62	Richard Lee, Gent.	Y	1,250	20 Aug. 1646	25	A neck of land between two branches where the "foot company" met w/ the boats "when they went pomunkey March" under the command of "Capt. William Clairborne."
Nugent 1992 (I): 175 PB2/141	William Barrett	Y	700	7 June 1648	14	Easternmost side of Chickahominy River, "Warrany ould town," and Warrany Creek.
Nugent 1992 (I): 187 PB2/195	Manwarring Hamon, Esqr.	Y	3,760	15 March 1649	63	S. side of York River, called Fort Royall.
Nugent 1992 (I): 181 PB2/169	Mr. William Hoccaday	Y	1,346	6 June 1649	18	York River and Warreny Creek.
Nugent 1992 (I): 210-211 PB2/304	Thomas Gibson	Y	900	3 April 1651	6	A branch of the swamp known as Queens Creek includes "some Indian fields."
Nugent 1992 (I): 222 PB2/352	Joseph Croshaw	Y	1,000	10 Dec. 1651	20	Patented lands known as Poplar Neck is S.W. of the Indian field.
Nugent 1992 (I): 272 PB3/165	Henry Tyler	CR	254	7 Jan. 1652	6	Bounded S.E. upon the Pallisadoes.
Nugent 1992 (I): 246-247 PB3/39	James Besouth	Y	98	19 March 1652	1	Indian Spring Path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 258 P B3/93	Capt. John West, Esqr.	"Narrows of Yorke River"	850	3 July 1652	17	Reference to a creek called Tancks Maccadegums and Armogotegue (or Annogotegue).
Nugent 1992 (I): 227 PB3/1	Mr. Joseph Croshaw	Y	700	2 March 1653	14	By old mill...to Ricohock Path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 250 PB3/54	Mr. Joseph Croshaw	Y	700	2 March 1653	14	Ricohack Path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 235 PB3/16	Major Wm. Lewis	"S. side the freshes of York River"	362	1 July 1653	8	"Totopotomoy his fort called Asiskewincke."
Nugent 1992 (I): 242 PB3/29	Francis Peale	Y & JC	50	21 May 1654	1	By the Pallisadoes.
Nugent 1992 (I): 241 PB3/28	Thomas Holmes	Y	434	25 May 1654	3	Tract begins "at head of a branch issueing into Pachimon tree branch" and S. by an "Indian path als. Indian field path."
Nugent 1992 (I): 288 PB3/263	Robert Wild	Y	800	10 June 1654		References to former owners, Old Mill Swamp at head of Queens Creek, Old Mill Path and Richohock Path.
Nugent 1992	Phillip Chesly &	Y	750	10 June	15	Reference to Old Mill on Queens Creek, Skemino Swamp &

(I): 291 PB3/274	Daniel Wild			1654		Ricohock Path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 310 PB3/354	Phillip Chesly & Nicholas Merywether	[Not stated]	1,000	7 June 1655	20	Skemeno Swamp, adj. to Robert Wild; Ricohock Path.
Nugent 1992 (I): 324 PB4/10 (14)	Mr. Robert Bourne & Mr. Daniel Parke	Y	580	8 Oct. 1655	12	Warreny, Hot Water, Richohock Paths.
Nugent 1992 (I): 480 PB5/268 (213)	Lt. Col. William Barber	Y	596	18 March 1662	2	Reference to former patents. Land near the head of Felgates Marsh, the Indian field and next Canoes land.
Nugent 1992 (I): 474 PB5/249 (178)	Daniel Wild	Inheritance	800	18 March 1662		Land granted to Robert Wild & willed to Daniel Wild.
Nugent 1992 (I): 478-479 PB5/263	John Horsington, Gent.	Y	350	18 March 1662	1	Rockahock Path; reassigned land; 1 headright.
Nugent 1977 (II): 34 PB6/123	Daniel Wild	Y	1,484	19 March 1662		Rickahock, Hott Water & Warranie Paths.
Nugent 1992 (I): 440 PB5/140 (7)	Thomas Meekins	[Not stated]	125, 4 ch, .25 decimal parts	20 March 1662		Former owners cited- reassigned land; Mill Swamp, Rickahock Path from Queens Creek.
Nugent 1992 (I): 399 PB4/308 (422)	Capt. Daniel Parke	Y	580	20 Sept. 1662	12	Warrany, Hot Water, Richahock Paths.
Nugent 1992 (I): 480-481 PB5/269 (215)	Gabriell Jones	Y	300	8 Sept. 1664		References made to previous grants and escheated lands. Near Middle Plantation. Land is "N. by E. upon Indian Spring," which once belonged to his father Richard Jones and now granted to him through his mother Elizabeth Jones and court.
Nugent 1977 (II): 122 PB6/441	James Besouth	Y	176	15 Dec. 1672	2	Indian Spring Path.
Nugent 1977 (II): 261-262 PB7/280	John Page, Esqr.	Y	330	16 April 1683		One of Majestie's Council; reference to "old pales and old Pallisado." Long history of land transactions given.
Nugent 1977 (II): 396 PB8/394	Lewis Burwell	Y & Gloucester at Kiskeyack	1,200	26 Oct. 1694		Pamunkey River; once owned by Hon. Nathaniel Bacon, Esqr.; escheated from his wife Elizabeth.

Tithables:

Charles City:

Source	Head of List:	Number of Tithables	Date & Parish	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
McIlwaine 1915:88	County	532	1653	22 lbs. per poll			Public Levy.
McIlwaine 1914:176	County	714	10 Nov. 1682	89 lbs. per poll			Total: 63,546.
des Cognets 1981:11	County	21,327	8 July 1702				169,901 acres in county.

Isle of Wight County:

Source	Head of List:	Number of Tithables	Date & Parish	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
McIlwaine 1915: 89	County	673	1653	22 lbs. per poll			Public Levy.
McIlwaine 1914:177	County	735	10 Nov. 1682	89 lbs. per poll			Total: 6,4515.
des Cognets 198:14	County	876	8 July 1702				130,496 acres in county.

James City:

Source	Head of List:	Number of Tithables	Date & Parish	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
Mass. Historical Society 1871: 162163-	Unknown author of "Virginia's Deplored Condition"	Document	1676	Narrative			Usually met once a year at Jamestown to assess public charge such as the Indian war or other exigencies, which seldom amounts to above 20 lbs. tobo. p poll for every male aged 21 and up.
McIlwaine 1914:176	County	982	10 Nov. 1682	89 lbs. per poll			Total: 87,398.
des Cognets 1981:13	County	1,393	8 July 1702				108,366 acres in Public Levy.

Surry:

Source	Head of List:	Number of Tithables	Date & Parish	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
McIlwaine 1915: 89	County	518	1653	22 lbs. per poll			Public Levy.
Surry Co. Etc. 1:347	Mr. Edwards & John Phillips	2	1669				An Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 2: 147	Mr. Thomas Busby	6	1677 upper end of Southwark				Henry Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 2: 146	Samuell Swann	6	10 June 1677 Lawnes Cr. & Blkwater				An Indian woman.
Surry Co. Etc. 2: 188a	Mr. Thomas Busby	5	June 1678 Sunken Marsh to ye upper end of Surry				An Indyan.
Surry Co. Etc. 2: 188a	William Reade	4	7 June 1678 Sunken Marsh to ye upper end of Surry				Mathias, an Indyan.
Surry Co. Etc. 2: 226a	Mr. Thomas Busby	5	27 May 1679 from Sunken Marsh upwards				Henry, an Indyan.
Surry Co. Etc. 2: 269b	James Cane	5	17 May 1680				Negroes at Indyan Spring.
Surry Co. Etc. 2: 292b	William Browne	10	8 June 1681 Surry				Negroes at Indyan Spring.
McIlwaine 1914:177	County	486	10 Nov. 1682	89 lbs. per poll			Total: 4,325.
Surry Co. Etc. 2: 336a	Mr. John King	3	10 June 1683 above Sunken Marsh				John, an Indyan
Surry Co. Etc. 2: 335a	Mrs. Elizabeth Holt	4	12 June 1683 Lawnes Cr.				Bess, an Indyan.
Surry Co. Etc. 3:5b	Mrs. Elizabeth Holt for Thomas Macklennin (?)	3	5 June 1684 Lawnes Cr.				Bess, an Indyan.
Surry Co. Etc. 3:7a	Mr. Thomas Busby	4	10 July 1684 Sunken Marsh upwards				Con and Ann, two Indyans.
Surry Co. Etc. 3:7a	Mr. John King	3	10 July 1684 Sunken Marsh upwards				Jno: Indyan.
Surry Co. Etc. 3:35b	Mr. John King	2	1685, Upper Sunken Marsh upwards				Jno. Indyan.
Surry Co. Etc. 3:36a	Mr. Thomas Busby	4	1685 Upper Sunken Marsh upwards				Con, an Indyan boy.
Surry Co. Etc.	Mr. John King	2	11 June 1686				Jno. Indyan.

3:68b			above Sunken Marsh	
Surry Co. Etc. 3:68b	Mr. Thomas Busby	6	11 June 1686 above Sunken Marsh	Con, an Indyan.
Surry Co. Etc.4:5a	Benjamin Harrison	21	10 June 1687 Upper Sunken Marsh	An Indian girl.
Surry Co. Etc.4:5b	Mr. William Edwards	7	11 June 1687 Lower Pct. of Southwark	Kiquotan.
Surry Co. Etc.4:65a	Thomas Tyas	4	June 1688, Sunken Marsh upwards	Jno. Indian.
Surry Co. Etc.4:65a	Mr. Thomas & Jeffrey Busby	5	June 1688 Sunken Marsh upwards	Con, an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc.4:65b	Benjamin Harrison	17	June 1688 Sunken Marsh upwards	One Indian.
Surry Co. Etc.4:65b	Coll. William Browne	11	11 June 1688 Sunken Marsh upwards	Negroes at Indian Spring.
Surry Co. Etc.4:66a	Mr. William Edwards	8	9 June 1689 Surry	Jno. Kiketan.
Surry Co. Etc.4:119b	Mr. Thomas & Jeffrey Busby	4	10 June 1689 Sunken Marsh upwards	Con, an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc.4:120a	Benjamin Harrison	22	10 June 1689 Sunken Marsh upwards	One Indian.
Surry Co. Etc.4:121a	Mr. William Edwards	10	15 June 1689 Sunken Marsh	Jack Kicotan.
Surry Co. Etc.4:152a	Thomas Busby	11 [sic — should be 10]	1690 Lower Parish of Lawnes Creek	An Indian.
Surry Co. Etc.4:149b	Mr. Thomas Busby	5	10 June 1690 Surry	Con, an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc.4:150a	Benjamin Harrison	20	10 June 1690 Surry	I Indyan woman.
Surry Co. Etc.4:151a	Mr. William Edwards	11	9 June 1690 Surry	Jno. Kicotan.
Surry Co. Etc.4:218a	Mr. William Edwards	13	8 June 1691 Surry	Jno. Kiquatan.
Surry Co. Etc.4:219a	Mr. Caufield's Qtr.	3	8 June 1691 Sunken Marsh	Tom Indian.
Surry Co. Etc.4:216b	Benjamin Harrison Sr.	22	10 June 1691 Surry	One Indian.
Surry Co. Etc.4:216b	Mr. Thomas Busby	4	10 June 1691 Surry	Con, an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc.4:280a	Phillip Gibbs	7	8 June 1692 at Mr. Canfield's [sic]	Tom: Indian.
Surry Co. Etc.4:280b	Thomas & Jeffrey Busby	4	8 June 1692 above Upper Sunken Marsh	Con, Indian.
Surry Co. Etc.4:280b	John Good	4	8 June 1692 above Upper Sunken Marsh	Herkolus, an Indian [so named due to physique?].
Surry Co. Etc.4:280b	Benjamin & Benajmin Harrison [sic]	20	8 June 1692 above Sunken Marsh	An Indian.
Surry Co. Etc.4:281b	Mr. William Edwards	15	10 June 1692 Surry	Jacke Cickoquotan, Tom Indian.
Surry Co. Etc.4:332a	Mrs. Elizabeth Caufield for Edwd. Broxum	8	10 June 1693 Lawnes Creek	Tom Indian.
Surry Co.	Thomas &	4	10 June 1693	Con, Indian.

Etc.4:332b	Jeffrey Busby		Upper Sunken Marsh	
Surry Co. Etc.4:332b	Mr. John Good	5	10 June 1693 Upper Sunken Marsh	Buriedlions Chappell, an Indian man.
Surry Co. Etc.4:332b	Benjamin Harrison	18	10 June 1693 Upper Sunken Marsh	One Indian woman.
Surry Co. Etc.4:333b	Mr. William Edwards	13	10 June 1693 Surry	Jno. Kiquotan, Tom Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:21b	Benjamin Harrison	19	2 July 1694 Upper Sunken Marsh	One Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:22a	Mr. William Edwards	13	9 June 1694 Surry	Tom Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:23a	Mrs. Elizabeth Caufield Mr.	7	9 June 1694 Lawnes Creek	Tom Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:59b	John Good Benjamin &	4	10 June 1695 Sunken Marsh	Herkilus.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:59b	Nathaniel Harrison	20	10 June 1695 Sunken Marsh	One Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:60b	John Kicotan	1	8 June 1695	An Indian as indicated by name. [Stands on his own from this point onward.]
Surry Co. Etc. 5:60b	Mr. William Edwards	9	8 June 1695	Tho: Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:60a	Thomas Bage	4	10 June 1695 Middle Pct., Southwark	James, an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:61a	Mrs. Elizabeth Caufield	9	15 June 1695 Lawnes Creek	Tho: Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:61b	Richard Bitton	2	15 June 1695 Lawnes Creek	Jack Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:108b	Mr. John Good	3	June 1696 above Upper Sunken Marsh	Herkelus, an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:108b	Benjamin & Nathaniel Harrison	19	June 1696 above Upper Sunken Marsh	One Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:109b	Jno. Keekitan	1	6 June 1696 Southwark	One of many varied spellings of his name.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:109a	Thomas Bage	4	10 June 1696 Middle Pct. of Southwark	James, an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:134b	Mrs. Caufield	8	1697 Lawnes Creek	Tom: Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:135a	William Chambers	3	1697 Lawnes Creek	Jack Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:137a	Thomas Haynes	15	10 June 1697 Upper Pct., Southwark, above Stony Run	One Indian woman.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:137b	Mr. John Good	3	10 June 1697 Upper Pct., Southwark, above Stony Run	Harcolus.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:189a	Thomas Bage	3	10 June 1698 Southwark	Jamey, an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:190b	Edward Green	2	10 June 1698 Upper Pct., Southwark	George, Indian boy.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:190b	Mr. Benjamin Harrison	15	10 June 1698 Upper Pct. Southwark	Frank, an Indian woman.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:190b	Mr. John Good	3	10 June 1698 Upper Pct.	Hercules, Indian man.

			Southwark	
Surry Co. Etc. 5:191a	William Chambers	2	10 June 1698 Lawnes Creek	Jack, Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:191a	John Kicotan	1	10 June 1698 Lower Pct. Lawnes Creek	
Surry Co. Etc. 5:191a	Madam Caufield	9	10 June 1698 Lower Pct. Lawnes Creek	Tom Indian. Tom
Surry Co. Etc. 5:194b	Madam Elizabeth Canfield	8	1699 Lower Pct. of Lawnes Creek	Indian Jemmy, an
Surry Co. Etc. 5:193b	Mr. James Mason	4	3 June 1699 Lower Pct., Southwark	Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:194a	William Chambers	2	9 June 1699 Lawnes Creek	Jack Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:193a	Thomas Bage	3	8 June 1699 Middle Pct., Southwark	Jemmy, an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:208a	Mr. Joseph Jackson	19	8 June 1700 Lawnes Creek	Tom Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:192b	William Edmunds	2	10 June 1699 Upper Pct. Southwark	Umber [?], an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:192b	Edward Green	3	10 June 1699 Upper Pct. Southwark	George, Indian man, and Jone, Indian woman.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:208a	Jack Kickatan	1	8 June 1700 Lawnes Creek	
Surry Co. Etc. 5:208b	William. Chambers	2	8 June 1700 Lawnes Creek	Jack, an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:209a	William Edmunds	2	10 June 1700 Upper Pct. Southwark	Ventur, an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:209a	Edward Greene	4	10 June 1700 Upper Pct., outhwark	George and Joane, Indians.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:232a	Edward Greene	4	1701, Upper Pct., Surry County, above Stony Run	George and Joane, Indians.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:232b	William Edmunds	2	1701, Upper Pct., Surry County, above Stony Run	Venter, an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:234a	Mr. Thomas Drew	8	1701 Lawnes Creek	Tom, Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:234a	William Chambers	2	1701 Lawnes Creek	Jack, an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:234b	John Kecatan	1	1701 Lawnes Creek	
Surry Co. Etc. 5:234b	Mr. Jackman	18	1701 Lawnes Creek	Tom Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:258b	John Kickatan	1	1702 Lawnes	
Surry Co. Etc. 5:359a	Mr. Thomas Drew	8	1702 Lawnes	Peter, Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:359a	William Jackson	1	1702 Lawnes	At (?) Chyoak ("Wm. Jackson Chyoak").
Surry Co. Etc. 5:233a	Mr. James Mason	4	10 June 1702 Middle & Lower Southwark	James, Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:256b	Mrs. Elizabeth Mason ye Younger	6	10 June 1702 Southwark	James, an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:257b	Edward Goff	1	10 June 1702 Southwark	Described as an Indian.

Surry Co. Etc. 5:257b	William Edmund	2	10 June 1702 Southwark				Venter, an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:257b	Edward Greene	6	10 June 1702 Southwark				George & Joane, Indians.
des Cognets 1981:18	County	739	8 July 1702				102,425 acres in all.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:289b	Mr. Ethelred Taylor	4	9 June 1703 Lower Southwark				James, an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:288a	Col. Benjamin Harrison	2	10 June 1703 Upper Pct., Southwark				At Coppahonk.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:288a	William Edmonds	2	10 June 1703 Upper Pct., Southwark				Venter, an Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:288b	Edward Green	4	10 June 1703 Upper Pct., Southwark				George & Joane, Indians.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:290b	William Chambers	3	10 June 1703 Lawnes Creek				Jack, Indian.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:291a	Mr. Benjamin Chapman	9	10 June 1703 Lawnes Creek				Lewis and Lawrence, Indians.
Surry Co. Etc. 5:	John Kickotan	1	10 June 1703 Lawnes Creek				

York County:

Source	Head of List:	Number of Tithables	Date & Parish	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
Duvall 1961:7	Richard Webley, William Barber & Anthony Heynes		Last & 27 Nov. 1657 court	Depositions re abuses			Both Webley and Barber give testimony about Joseph Croshaw, late sheriff of the county, who was appointed to take a list of tithables. Croshaw has taken them to "his own use" and "to the extraordinary abuse of the Colony." Barber added that there were about 1,000 lbs. tobo. According to Anthony Heynes, undersheriff, Croshaw wanted the clerk to deduct from many tithables as would satisfy the amount cited.
Duvall 1961:19	Capt. Ralph Langley, High Sheriff		24 Feb. 1657 court	Levy & overcharges			Langley is allowed for "29 tithables overcast and overcharged this year in the List of Tithables for such tob. as he paid persons levy amounted to."
Duvall 1961:47	Mrs. Frances Bouth, widow, Maj. Joseph Croshaw		26 Oct. 1658 court	Motion			Mrs. Bouth, Maj. Joseph Croshaw & Capt. Langley 's motion: the sheriff to "distreyne for such fees as are due to them or any of them in this County in case of delinquincy or non-payment." Any individuals so charged must show evidence of payment in court.
McIlwaine 1914:179	County	1,041	10 Nov. 1682				Total: 92649
des Cognets 1981:19	County	1,180	8 July 1702				61,196 acres

Virginia Colonial Records Project (Public Records Office):

Charles City:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
Neville 1976: 146 C.O. 5/1371, Pt. II, folios 220-222	William Berkeley & Wm. Hunt	Inventory	1677	2,000 lbs. Tobo. re Taroo and 800 lbs. re boy	Taroo or Teroo and an Indian boy		1 Red trading cloth blanket; 2 tanned deerskins; 2 Negro man & woman servants and 1 English maid servant. Wife named Anne. Berkeley sold Indians to Major White.

Isle of Wight:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
C.O. 5/1371, folios 161-162	Inhabitants of Isle of Wight Co.	Document	1676/77				A complaint was made about sending Indian forces to find out and apprehend their "Christian Neighbours as they terme them." They also want the county to be freed from charges of building forts on the frontiers against the Indians, "which they find fault with."

James City:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
Wyatt 1621/22-1626: 224	Gov. & Council?	Order	3 March 1622/3				Warrant: To keep the 22nd of March in holy remembrance of the 1622 massacre.
Neville 1976: 48 C.O. 1/136, folios 111-112	[Unknown]	Document	[N.D.]				Received June 1676. Present danger is greater than in 1622 when the Indians murdered so many inhabitants. 500 men are under arms w/o commission from the Gov., & disregard Gov.'s proclamation. Objection w/ high taxes on all. People revolted agst. it in 1674 but now the discontent is deeper.
Neville 1976: 49 C.O. 1/136, folio 139	Petitioners to Gov.	Petition	[N.D.]				The Indians have already murdered several people there [at Jordan's?].
Neville 1976: 49 C.O. 1/136, folios 142-143	John Bland of London to the King	Statement	[N.D.]				Since the Dutch do not permit the English to trade w/ their Indians, the English should forbid the Dutch to trade w/ their Indians; and admittance of the Dutch in Va. & Md. spoils the trade.
Neville 1976:143 C.O. 5/1371, folios 134vo-138ro	Commissioners to the King	Letter	[N.D.]				Upon conclusion of peace w/ the Indians, want presents amounting to £120; to consist of crowns, coronets, purple robes & badges for the Chiefs (each described).
Neville 1976:143 C.O. 5/1371, folios 134vo-138ro	Commissioners to the King	Letter	[N.D.]				Upon conclusion of peace w/ the Indians, want presents amounting to £120; to consist of crowns, coronets, purple robes & badges for the Chiefs (each described).
Neville 1976:50 C.O. 1/136, folios 213-218	Petitioners from Md. & Va. to the King	Complaint & Petition	1676				The Indians [in Md.] are induced by "a popish Divell" to come to Va. to do mischief. Sir Wm. Berkeley sent a contingent to Lord Baltimore, requesting assistance agst. Indians. He has raised 1000 men to fight the Indians. Details about the war w/ the Indians included.
Neville 1976:238-239 Pepysian Library 2582, Survey Report 6618 (C.7)	Samuel Wiseman, Principal Clerk	Document	April 1676				Letter to Sir William Berkeley, requesting information about: 1) what forts are w/in his government and "how situated and provisioned" and 2) the condition of their trade with Indians and neighbors.
Neville 1976:44-45 C.O. 1/136, folios 65-66	Sir William Berkeley to ? [sic]	Letter	1 April 1676				Some Indians killed people in Md. & Va. "but we quickly destroyed most of those" while others fled to the mts. Frontiers strengthened so there is no fear of Indians, even if they were ten times stronger. The English, however, still hold too much land, which can't be undone because these are grants by the King. No immediate danger if we can obtain powder & ammunition now.
Neville 1976: 45-46 C.O. 1/136, folios 67-68	Sir William Berkeley to Mr. Ludwell	Letter	1 April 1676				Taxes necessary because of the danger of the Indians, who have killed 2 or 3 men in Patomak as well as in Md. Another party killed about 36 men, women & children and 2 men held at Bird's House were "most foolishly lost." General Assembly ordered 500 men to be raised

					immediately to defend heads of rivers. Hopes "seditious spirits amongst ourselves: will not make it difficult to defeat the enemy..."
Neville 1976: 49 C.O. 1/136, folio 138	William Travers to Mr. Giles Cale	Letter	13 May 1676		The Governor is at the falls of the James River, expecting the enemy. Gave orders for men to be raised.
Neville 1976: 50 C.O./1/37, folio 1	William Sherwood to Sir Joseph Williamson	Letter	1 June 1676		General Assembly decided in March that forts should be built at heads of rivers to protect country agst. Indians, dividing the charges as much as possible.
Neville 1976:339 Pepysian Library 2582, Survey Report 6618 (C.7)	James City County	Grievances	1677	Safety concerns	Newly erected forts, built with great expense, would be of no use. Assembly should examine the great sums levied- they think they are now satisfied.
Neville 1976:339-340 Pepysian Library 2582, Survey Report 6618 (C.7)	James City County	Grievances	1677		1) Indians paint & disfigure themselves, which should be forbidden when peace is made, and 2) that Indian traders be restrained. Trade should be open to them two or three times a year at appointed markets while clerks would record disposal of arms & ammunition. 3) Indian slaves, "taken in the late wars, should be disposed of to public profit," not to be left in hands of private individuals. These slaves were found to belong to the Queen of Pamunkey & other friendly nations, so according to the late peace, the slaves shall be restored to them.
Neville 1976:147 C.O. 5/1371, folio 244	Sir William Berkeley	Inventory	1677	Sold to ship master	Indian girl, 13, taken to England.
Neville 1976:147 C.O. 5/1371, folios 237-8	John Iles	Inventory	1677		Of Isle of Wight-wife Mary. Condemned at Greenspring & executed.
Neville 1976:147 C.O. 5/1371, folio 247	Wm. Berkeley/ Wm. Scarburgh	Inventory	1677		Of Surry. Wife Naomi. 450 seasoned oak plank taken to Green Spring for Berkeley's use in aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion.
Neville 1976:147 C.O. 5/1371, , folio 250	John Turner	Inventory	1677		Condemned at Green Spring. Goods taken to Green Spring.
Neville 1976:147 C.O. 5/1371, folio 248	Robert Stokes	Inventory	1677		Condemned at Green Spring. Executed at Isle of Wight in aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion.
Neville 1976: 75-76 C.O. 1/40, folios 247-248	Thomas Notley to Gov. of Va.	Letter	22 June 1677		Lt. Gov. of Md. States that "Indians give presents w/ every demand or article of peace, which they also expect from the English." Inquired whether Va. Wanted to be included. If so, what presents shall they give?
Neville 1976:122 C.O. 5/1355, folios 240-243	Privy Council to Col. Jeffreys	Circular letter	18 Dec. 1677		Inquiry about the effects of the late rebellion upon planting & trade in Va.
Neville 1976: 87 C.O. 1/42, folios 111-112	Thomas Ludwell to ? [sic]	Letter	17 April 1678		Feels the danger of renewed attacks by the Indians in case of war w/ the French.
Neville 1976:127 C.O. 5/1355, folios 326-356	Privy Council to Thomas Lord Culpeper	Order	6 Dec. 1679		Indians to be allowed English justice & protection; restoration of liberty to the Queen of Wianoke's brother who had been taken to England as hostage by Berkeley; and religious toleration "extended to persons of different persuasions from Protestant one."
Neville 1976:196	Privy Council, Whitehall	Instructions	16 April 1679		150 barrels of gunpowder to be sent to Lord Culpeper in Virginia. Culpeper to return the same

P.C. 2/67, folios 157, 160							amount of old powder in exchange.
Neville 1976: 96 C.O. 1/44, folio 131	Nicholas Spencer to ? [sic]	Letter	18 March 1679/80				Doubtful about any effective treaty w/ Indians. Gov. & Council ordered Col. Wood to negotiate w/ Indians who did not show up on an appointed day at Jamestown. The late murder probably due to revenge in view of the fact that Capt. Byrd killed 7 Indians & imprisoned their wives & children on suspicion of murdering the English. Not surprised at failure of treaty.
Neville 1976:130 C.O. 5/1356, folios 30-61	King Charles II to Lord Culpeper	Instructions	27 Jan. 1681				All planters & "Christian servants" are to be well armed and to avoid too frequent and unnecessary marches." Forts to be constructed.
Neville 1976:133 C.O. 5/1357, folios 20-61	King James II to Lord Howard of Effingham	Instructions	13 Aug. 1685				The killing of Indians & slaves.
C.O. 5/1357, folios 222-224	Gov. & Council to King James II	Letter	1 May 1688				Now that "the Indians have dwindled from a numerous population to a small weak and indigenous one," the Council requests that the lands on Pamunkey-Neck and the Southside of Black-water be surveyed and occupied by Virginians. Waste lands will be utilized and protect the "weak Indians from attacks from foreign tribes."
C.O. 5/1357, folios 214-222	Col. Nicholas Spencer to Lord President [of the Committee for ...Plantations]	Letter	17 May 1688				In Spencer's account of the current state of affairs in Virginia, he stated that the colony is at peace but "suffering froma great drought."

Surry:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
Neville 1976:147 C.O. 5/1371, folio 246	John Whitson	Inventory	1677				Of Surry-executed. Goods include 12 bbls. of new & old corn.
Neville 1976:147 C.O. 5/1371, folio 247	Wm. Berkeley/ Wm. Starburgh	Inventory	1677				Of Surry. Wife Naomi. 450 seasoned oak plank taken to Green Spring for Berkeley's use in aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion.

York:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details
Neville 1976:303-304 Pepysian Library 2582, Survey Report 6618 (C.7)	Nathaniel Bacon the Rebel & his men	Document	1676	March			Bacon marched towards York to pursue the Pamunkey Indians who lived near the English. They were suspected because of their familiarity w/ English customs, advantages of the country, and capable of doing damage. Bacon disregarded of fact that the Queen of Pamunkey & her people had never, at any time, betrayed or injured the English. Marched on path towards a main one, belied to lead to their camps but found nothing. A path led them to several Pamunkey cabins by a swamp. Ten Indians, who were employed by Bacon "to spy out the ground," were discovered by a "contrary party" of Indians whose firing gave the alarm to the English. Bacon and party killed one Indian woman & took one little Indian child. In another march, Bacon & party found another Indian path which led to the camp of Indian Nations and fell upon them. Most escaped except for two or three men and as many women. They took a half-starved young Nanjatico Indian woman.

Neville 1976:304-305 Pepysian Library 2582, Survey Report 6618 (C.7)	Nathaniel Bacon the Rebel & his men & Queen of Pamunkey's grievances	Document	1676	Plunder estimated not less than £600-700.	During Bacon's march to York and raid upon the Pamunkeys, scouts warned the Queen of Pamunkey's of Bacon's approach. She fled, leaving behind all of her goods, Indian corn & vessels, and did all she could to avoid "giving offence to the English, whom she had ever reverenced." Commanded that her people not fire or shoot at the English if they came upon them; her nurse, a decoy, was killed by the English when they realized her ruse; and of her Indians were killed. Bacon attacked another Indian camp the next day, but Indians fled. Some were killed while others were taken prisoners (later sold by Bacon and Berkeley, except for 5 restored to the Queen of Pamunkey by Bacon's general, Ingram). Bacon's forces also took Indian mats, baskets, matchcote, parcels of Wampampeag & Roanoke in bags, skins, furs, linen and other English goods which the Queen valued, along w/ 3-4 horseloads of goods. The Queen of Pamunkey fled for her life; found the body of a Indian woman which so terrified her & continued her flight into the woods; was lost in the woods for 14 days; and nearly starved to death. She survived by eating a leg of terrapin found by a little boy who accompanied her. No necessity could "incline her to adhere to Bacon's overtures."
Neville 1976:360 Pepysian Library 2582, Survey Report 6618 (C.7)	York County	Grievances	1677	Complaints	Complaint of "dilatory proceedings" against the Indians and the "fatal errors" made by the Gov. and Assembly regarding the management of the Indian war.
Neville 1976:316 Pepysian Library 2582, Survey Report 6618 (C.7)	John Berry & Francis Moryson to King Charles II	Report	20 July 1677	Full restitution	Ingram, Walklette and Langston made "full restitution" of the plunder taken from the Indians and the English, w/ the "exception of the Indian plunder. The latter Sir William Berkeley called his own" even though it was taken by ebel Walklett.

Abstracts: News & Ideas Brought Concerning Virginia:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment/ Action	Details
Neville 1976:56 S.P. 29/403, folio 56	Morgan Lodge to Williamson	Letter/Ship's report	[N.D.]	Intertribal warfare	News: Capt. Martin of the ship, *Friends Incress*, reports that all is quiet except that the Indians are at war with one another; they have asked Governor Jeffries not to concern himself w/ either side & they will not give him any disturbance; that the neighboring Indians caused the English to war on all of them; and this along w/ suffering of the Indians in the remoter parts has caused the war.
Brown 1964:604-605	George Chapman	"The Memorable Maske of the two Honorable Houses or Inns of Court"	15 Feb. 1613	Masked event	Performed before the King at White-Hall, 15 Feb. 1613: "The chief maskers were in Indian habits, with high spriged feathers on their heads, their vezirds of olive collour, hayre black and lardge waving downe to their shoulders"...musicians attired like Virginian priests, who were supposed to adore the sun... Two poems concerning the Virginia priests and princes follow this description.
Brown 1964:739-740 [Vol. 2591, folio 115]	Don Diego Sarmiento y Acuña to Philip III, King of Spain	Letter	17 Oct. 1614	Colony's reputation	Conditions in Virginia: the same as I report to Y.M. on the first...those who are there are there against their free will. The Colony now has such ill repute that no human being "can be found to go there in any way whatever." Even two thieves in London, when offered by the Mayor to go to Virginia instead of receiving death by hanging, refused. They preferred to die quickly rather than "die slowly" like "so many deaths as was the case in Virginia."
Brown	Privy Council,	Declaration re	22 Feb. 1615	Lottery	"A Declaration for the certaine time of drawing the great

1964:260-261	Whitehall to Mayor & Aldermen of Canterbury	Lottery			standing Lottery" featured costumed Virginia Indians named Eiakintomino and Matahan w/ their bows & arrows. "Imprinted at London by Felix Kyngston for William Welby, the 22. Of Februarie, 1615."
Brown 1964: 774-776 [Ternaux Compans Catalogue, Grenville Collection]	Unknown	Tract	April 1616	Improved conditions	"State of the Colony and affairs in Virginia:" For the "speedy reducing of that barbarous Nation, and savage people, to a quiet, Christian Common-wealth"; a "poore remnant" of men & women in Virginia are to build up "that intended Colonie." Now it came to pass "a very good and prosperous condition."
Manahan 1946: 244	Sir Thomas Dale, Pocahontas, et al.	Arrival in England	May 1616		Sir Thomas Dale, Pocahontas, other Indians, possibly Angelo ("a negro woman") and other English people arrive at Plymouth, England in May 1616.
Thorndale 1995:169	4 Indians	Enumeration	1619	Census	"Indians in the service of seu[er]all planters."
Brown 1964:890 [Also Farrer 1936:112-113.]	Nicholas Ferrar Sr., skinner	Will	23 March 1619	Bequests	Will stipulated that £300 is be given to the College in Virginia, to be paid "when there are ten of the Infidels children placed in it." Until that occurs, £24 to be given to three "discreete" & "godly men in the Colony," to "honestly bring up three of the Infidels children in the Christian Religion" and "good course to live by."
Brown 1964: 801	Lord Bacon	Bacon's Essay of Plantations.	1620-1624	Treatment of Indians	Plantations: "If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless. Do not win their favor by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defense it is not amiss; and send off of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return."
Chamber of Commerce 1902-3: 6	Grave of Powhatan	Reference	No date		Picture of: "Headstone, Powhatan's Grave, Old Mayo Place, Eastern Suburbs of Richmond."
Neville 1976:204 S.P. 29/380, folio 181	Phi. Lanyon, Plymouth to Williamson	Letter/Ship's report	14 April 1676	Attack	News: Col. Washington commanded a body who met the Indians; fought, beat & drove them to their garrison; overtook garrison; and put all to the sword.
Neville 1976:204 S.P. 29/380, folio 184	Nath. Osborne at Waymouth to Williamson	Letter/Ship's report	14 April 1676	Attack	News: Indians came to Potoxon or Potopan and overcame the English, killing nearly 200, while only 30 of theirs were killed.
Neville 1976: 204 S.P. 29/380, folio 202	Ri. Watts at Deale to Williamson	Letter/Ship's report	20 April 1676	Attack	News: Natives there have risen & destroyed several English families & plantations; and they continue in a body & it is feared that they will do much mischief.
Neville 1976:205 S.P. 29/381, folio 139	Ri. Watts at Deal to Mr. Secretary Williamson	Letter/Ship's report	18 May 1676	Hardships of Colony	News: Ship's master cites much hardship & mischief due to rising of natives.
Neville 1976:205 S.P. 29/381, folio 164	Ri. Watts at Deal to Mr. Secretary Williamson	Letter/Ships' reports	23 May 1676	Indian troubles	News: Ships state that the tyranny of the natives exceeds the rebellion in Ireland; and, if possible, they roast the men and make neighbors eat them.
Neville 1976:212 S.P. 29/393, folio 17	Charles Cogan at Waymouth to Williamson	Letter/Ship's report	11 April 1677	Indian troubles	News: Ship *Marygold* from Virginia mentioned the arrival of Sir John Berry in Virginia. Things quiet before his arrival, except for the fact that the Indians destroyed 16 families, and that the ship came directly from Maryland.
Neville 1976:216 S.P. 29/403, folio 47	John Pocock at Portsmouth to Williamson	Letter/Ship's report	16 April 1678	Indian troubles	News: Ship *Richard and Elizabeth* brought report that all was quiet when they left the country; Indians who had committed violence on one English plantation by killing 5 persons were delivered over to the English by their Governor; and now were being tried for their lives.

Related Issues to Bacon's Rebellion:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Payment/ Action	Servants	Slaves	Details

Haun 1989:23-24	"Company of Giddy Headed & turbulent Psons in Lawnes Creek Psh."	Uprising	12 Xbr. 1673	Barnes led uprising. Bond & 1000 lbs. tobo. as penalty	William Hancock, Michael Upchurch, William Little, Robert Lacy, John Sheppard, John Greene, Mathew Swan, John Grigory, William Tooke, James Chessett, John Barnes, Thomas Cley, George Peters, and Roger Delk were the insurgents who met at the "Divells field" w/ the sheriff. They complained that 3 lbs. of tobo. p poll was too high & the levy thus "unjustly Laid upon them." Some later showed remorse. Others remained stubborn and contemptuous- the latter required a "serious admonition" since this could have "dangerous & mischevious Effects of such unlawfull & factious proceedings." John Barnes described as the "Chiefe projector & Inventor" of the group.
Maxwell (III)1850:63-72, 121-136.	Origin of Bacon's Rebellion	Uprising	1676-1677 [c. 1706]	Massacres, etc.	Written by Thomas Mathew approximately 30 years after what occurred in 1676-1677. He recalled what initiated the uprising. He discussed the massacre by the Doegs up north which triggered these events, including the killing of a son of an Indian king as well as the settlers. [Note: He did not mention his own possible role, which might have led to the killing of his own son.] Mathew discussed the characters of Brent, Mason, Laurence, Drummond, the Governor and Bacon as well as their activities in great detail as well as the Indian fort near the Potomac River. He concluded this lengthy missive with the observation that Bacon was "too young, too much a stranger there, and of a disposition too precipitate, to manage things..."
Maxwell (III) 1850:73-75	Queen of Pamunkey & son John West	Appearance& bearing. during committee	1676-1677 [c. 1706]	Complaints & rights and spouse Tatapatamoi	Mathew observed the appearance and bearing of the Queen of Pamunkey and that of her son, John West. She was a descendant of "Oppechankenough, a former Emperor of Virginia." On her right hand, there was an English interpreter and on her left, her son, aged about 20 years of age. Around her head, she wore a "plat of black and white wampam peaque three inches broad in imitation of a crown" and was dressed "in a mantle of dress't deerskins with the hair outwards and the edge cut round 6 inches deep which made strings resembling twisted fringe from the shoulders to the feet." She made "grave courtlike gestures" and possessed a "majestick air in her face." During the meeting, when the men requested her assistance for guides who would help in the wilderness and assist against "our enemy Indians," she only spoke with the interpreter. Mathew believed that she secretly understood English. Her son, who understood English, was reputed to be the son of an English Colonel. He also would not speak English but did refer all to his mother, according to the interpreter. She then gave an impassioned speech about her deceased husband: "Tatapatamoi Chepiack", i.e., Tatapamoi dead." Col. Hill shook his head and said it was true that Tatapatamoi had helped the English years before against enemy Indians but was killed with most of his men. To this day, no compensation was ever made, to the shame of the English. This was why the Queen of Pamunkey upbraided the English. Given no sign of appeasement, she showed her resentment "by a disdainfull aspect" and sat mute until she was asked a question for the third time. Still refusing to face the committee, she answered that she had 6, then 12, and then

					150 men in her town. She then rose and "gravely walked away, as not pleased with her treatment."
Mass. Historical Society 1871:164-166, 168-169, 171-173, 175-176	Unknown author of "Virginia's Deplored Condition"	Document	1676	Indian troubles	Contentions arise between the English and Indians due to the Articles of Peace. Although boundaries are set between them, the English still encroach and take up the Indian towns and lands, "turneing their Cattell and hoggs on them." If the latter is lost, the English then claim their losses and abuse the Indians, in spite of the Governor's endeavors to the contrary. Very few of the Indians have been converted to Christianity. Governor Berkeley was here for 34 years, and until the outbreak of Bacon's Rebellion, was the reason for the greatest time of peace for the English. Shortly after the attack by the Doegs & Susquehanoes, the Pamunkey offered their assistance agst. all "enemies" to the Governor. Bacon the Rebel saw that the Indian war would continue, and desirous of trade, built a house for that purpose. He requested the Governor to give him a license for only trade w/ the Indians. After being rejected by the Governor, he "soe terrified and thretned the pamunkey Indians that they fled for security." The Pamunkeys were "encompassed w/ trees which they had fallen in the branch of an Impassable swamp." After being located by Col. Claiborne's men, the Queen of Pamunkey stated the she and her people would be willing to return to her "Townes" and be under the Govenor's protection, but she did not understand why the Governor and his men could not protect themselves from Mr. Bacon's "violence." She promised that she and her Indians would continue peace w/o injury to the English or assistance to the Susquenoes. She and her people had been daily threatened to be "cutt off by Mr. Bacon" but they left in time. Bacon also killed more than 100 Ockinagee Indians 200 miles away due to his desire for the beaver trade by shooting them at their fort or blowing up 50 of them w/in their cabins- a fact which did not help matters. The Indians took advantage of the civil disorders and are committing murders daily among the settlers on their plantations. Some of the dead settlers had been roasted alive, etc. and their flesh brought to the English prisoners that they kept. Furthermore, Bacon's soldiers also had a rallying cry:"No Levies." Reminder given that the Governor had taken "ye great Indian Emperour Opechauchenough" prisoner "without loss of English blood" and created peace for years. Feared for the colony's future, since the "once hopeful Country" cannot long resist the cruelty of the Indians or the vulgar people's rebellion.
Neville 1976:387 Egerton 2395, folio 545, Survey Report 62 (62), folio 545	Virginians	Plea	1676	Plea	A plea for opposing Indians.
Neville 1976:387 Egerton 2395, folio 666,	Martin Noel? [sic]	Paper	1676	Trade	Trade to be concentrated at one or two places, and to have priviledges & immunities.

Survey Report 62 (62), folio 666						
Neville 1976:282 Pepysian Library 2582, Survey Report 6618 (C.7)	Francis Morryson to Sir William Jones	Letter	Oct. 1676	Indian methods of fighting		Indian method of fighting: surprise — "so that their offensive war would but be a hunting of wolves'- once a week, once a year; they may burn a house or two during the night & be 40 miles away the next. The present Gov. managed w/ great success in a former war w/ fewer English, commander and fewer opposing Indians. Berkeley's method of sending small parties in July & August to burn the Indians' corn bordering their frontiers should be adopted; prevented men & houses from sudden attacks from Indians; joined two or three English families together w/ defenses around houses; and thus disabled the enemy to the point of requesting peace. Breach of unhappy peace occurred, which the English occasioned by their own fault.
Neville 1976:283 Pepysian Library 2582, Survey Report 6618 (C.7)	Francis Morryson to Sir William Jones	Letter	Oct. 1676	Trade		If the people do not return to their obedience upon the King's Act of Grace, then they will be reduced as done before during the late occupation: two frigates shall be sent to Virginia to prohibit trade.
des Cognets 1981:236	Queen of Pamunkey	Grievance	9 Nov. 1676	Compensation		"The good Queen of Pamunkey suffered greatly and particularly mourns the loss of her Rich Matchcoat."
Neville 1976:274 Pepysian Library 2582, Survey Report 6618 (C.7)	Sir William Berkeley	Warrant	3 Feb. 1676/7	List of persons executed in the Rebellion		[Among others] William Drummond, a Scotch man that we all suppose was the original cause of this rebellion, w/ a common Frenchman that had been very bloody.
Neville 1976: 295-296 Pepysian Library 2582, Survey Report 6618 (C.7)	Grievances of Charles City County	Complaint	1677			Among list of complaints: They could not make distinction between friendly & unfriendly Indians, since the Indians "were of a colour" or "all deformed with paint of many colours." Furthermore, they had never been allowed to trade freely w/ the Indians to get to know them because the Gov. and the grandees monopolized all the trade. The soldiers themselves do not dare go out to relieve any in danger since they were hardly secure themselves; and they would rather be hung as rebels than be at the mercy of the "barbarous enemy" and "be murdered as they were."
Neville 1976:180 L.C. 5/108, folio 8	Lord Chamberlain's Accounts	Warrant & Gifts	18 Jan. 1677	Gifts for Indians in Virginia		4 small crowns or coronets of thin silver plate, gilt and adorned w/ false stones of various colors, w/ the inscription *A Carolo Secundo Magna Brittanniae Rege*, designed by his Majesty for Indian Kings and Queens now tributary to His Majesty. 20 small silver badges w/ His Majesty's name and the names of the tributary princes, vizt., the Queen of Pamunkey, the Queen of Waonoke, King Serraohque of the Nottoways, and the King of Nansemond. A necklace and a pair of bracelets for the Queen of Pamunkey, of false stones.
Neville 1976:147 C.O. 5/1371, folios 450-455 (228-230)	Nathaniel Bacon the Rebel	Inventory	11 May 1677	Estate	13	In the brick "seller": 2 beare skins; in the garret in the brick house: 2 drest buck skins, 12 Ruckoun skins, "1 Red Cloth, fringed with silke: for the Indian weare." In the wooden house: 1 Indian Matchcoat "trimed very well," 2 doz. Tomahauks-Iron; "1 parcell of Indian trade in a trunke being beads Looking Glasses & som Comes &c. ...at 40}"; in the kitchen loft: 2 beare skins. In the negro woman's Room: 4 "Red trading Cloth blankets."

					Servants: Peter Goudown (?), a Dutch smith; 5 negros Peter (40), Hester (25), Jackey (32), Blind Tom (40), Kate (30) and 1 molatta child of Kate's, (1); and 6 Indians described as one "old woman" Joan (40), Tom (16), Nathaniel (11), Dick (9) and two boys (4 & 5).
Neville 1976:287-290 Pepysian Library 2582, Survey Report 6618 (C.7)	King Charles II & Indian Kings and Queens	Articles of Peace, 1677	29 May 1677	Peace Treaty	Treaty made at the camp at Middle Plantation and lists twenty-one points of agreement in detail. Document signed by the Queen of Pamunkey and several Indians "under her subjection."
Haun 1989:67-68	Mary and John Skinner	Court	4 Sept. 1677 & 4 7br. 1677	Sedition	Mary and husband John Skinner both spoke words "tending to Sedition or Mutiny, in favor to the late Rebells or Rebellion." Twenty lashes were to be "well laid on" Mary while John was ordered to give bond and be given his punishment.
Haun 1989:71-73	Mr. Robert Caufield, Mr. Arthur Allen & Individuals	Petition	6 7br. 1677 court	Damages	Mr. Robert Caufield and Mr. Arthur Allen charged certain inidividuals named John Rutherford, John Rogers, Robert Burges, John Clements and John Ironmonger for destroying certain livestock and household items during the "most Horrid Rebellion."
Haun 1989:104	Thomas Turner & Lt. Thomas Busby	Judgement	6 May 1679 Southwarke	Share of plunder	Thomas Turner to have his share of the plunder that he and Busby took from the Chickahominy Indians. The balance is 190 lbs. of tobo. & cask.
Neville 1976:180 L.C. 5/108, folio 17	Lord Chamberlain's Accounts	Warrant & Gifts	13 June 1679	Reward	A chain & medal of gold worth £150 for Colonel Francis Morrison as a gift from his Majesty "for his good services in Virginia."
Neville 1976:182 L.C. 9/275, folio 264ro, No. 87	Thomas Lord Culpeper	Gifts	Nov. 1679 & 12 Dec. 1679	Gifts for the Indian princes in Virginia	Queen of Pamunkey: bracelets & necklaces of false stones}£7; Queen of Pamunkey's son: pair of pistols richly inlaid w/ silver}£8; and for the Queens of Pamunkey & Waonoke and the Kings of Nazymond & Nottoways: several robes}£3, 19*s* .
Neville 1976:182-183 L.C. 9/275, folio 264vo, No. 88	Nicholas Fownes	Gifts	16 Dec. 1679	Gifts for the Indian princes in Virginia	Queen of Pamunkey: 8 yds. Purple mano at 11*s* to line a robe; 7 ½ yds. gold & silver brocard at 20s for an Indian gown; 3 ¼ ells cherry colored sarcenet t 12*s* to line the gown; Queen of Pamunkey's son: 5 yds. sky morella taby at 10 to line a coat; Queen of Pamunkey's councellor, 7 ½ yds. scarlet shalloon at 5*s* to line a robe; Queen of Pamunkey's interpreter: 3 ½ yds. scarlet shalloon at 5*s* to line a coat; and Queen of Waonoake & Kings of Nottowaze and Nazemond: 22 ½ yds. scarlet shalloon at 5*s* to line 3 robes and 3 ells white sarcenet}£1, 10*s*.
Neville 1976:183 L.C. 9/275, folio 265ro, No. 89	James Smithsbey	Warrant & Gifts	Nov. 1679 & 16 Dec. 1679	Gifts	Queen of Pamunkey: 5 yds. scarlet cloth at 26*s* for a robe; Queen of Pamunkey's son: 3 yds. scarlet cloth at 26*s* for a coat and breeches; Queen of Pamunkey's councellor: 4 ½ yds. purple cloth at 15*s* for a robe; Queen of Pamunkey's interpreter: 3 yds grey cloth at 12*s* for a coat & breeches; and Queen of Waonoake & Kings of Nottowaze and Nazemond, 13 ½ yds. purple cloth at 15*s* for 3 robes.
Neville 1976:183 L.C. 9/275, folio 265ro, No. 90	Thomas Templer	Warrant & Gifts from His Majesty	Nov. 1679 & 16 Dec. 1679	Gifts	Queen of Pamunkey's son: pair of fine scarlet worsted stockings with large tops to them and stitched all down the leg w/ black silk}£1, 5*s* ; Queen of Pamunkey's interpreter: pair of scarlet worsted stockings}8*s*.
Neville 1976:183-184 L.C. 9/275, folio 265ro, No. 91	Daniel Deive	Warrant & Gifts	Nov. 1679 & 16 Dec. 1679	Gifts	Queens of Pamunkey & Waonoake and Kings of Nottoways & Nazemond: 4 crimson velvet caps furred w/ ermine & for 4 ermines}£4; Queen of Pamunkey: making Indian gown} £10; Queen of Pamunkey's son: gold & silver

					buttons for coat & breeches}£1, 10*s* ; for 2 oz. gold thread12*s* ; making new screws & fastening several stones in the crowns10*s* ; canvas packing & large chest to put the presents up}£1, 10.
Neville 1976:184 L.C. 9/275, folio 266ro, No. 92	William Terrey	Warrant & a present from His Majesty	Nov. 1679 & 16 Dec. 1679	Gifts	Queen of Pamunkey's son: white beaver hat w/ a gold & silver band}£4.
Neville 1976:184 L.C. 9/275, folio 266ro, No. 93	John Hill, cutler	Warrant & a present from His Majesty	Nov. 1679 & 16 Dec. 1679	Gifts	Queen of Pamunkey's son: rich sword w/ a gold & silver hilt and false scabbard}£4.
Neville 1976:184 L.C. 9/275, folio 266ro, No. 94	William Hart	Warrant & a present from His Majesty	Nov. 1679 & 16 Dec. 1679	Gift	Queen's son: belt richly embroidered w/ gold & silver}£3, 10*s* .
Neville 1976:185 L.C. 9/275, folio 267ro, No. 96	William Gostlin	Gift	Nov. 1679 & 26 Feb. 1679/80	Total expended for gifts 87-94 & 96=£109, 10s, 0p.	Queen of Pamunkey's son: 67 ½ oz. of gold & silver lace at 5*s* .
McIlwaine 1925:4	Francis Morrison & Indian Kings and Queens	Gift	19 June 1680	Articles & gifts	Reference to articles made by King Charles II, the Council and the Indians w/o the King's Council. Shall send "four rich Coronets w/ Robes Silver badges, and sevll other presents to four Indian Kings and Queens here so called." Council fears that the colonists will resent and object to such "marks of dignity" to "such mean persons." Shall wait concerning delivery of coronets until they hear further from King Charles II since the colony has often received "fatal returns" for "considerable presents" and thus always "the wrong way of manageing of those people." Indians see gifts to be effects of fear, not kindness. But the Queen of Pomunkey & others like her deserve these gifts.

Abstracts: Beaver, Buck Skins, etc.

Charles City County:

Source	Name/Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Skins	Amount	Value	Details
Fleet 1941A:8	Thomas Tanner/King of Weynoke	Attachment	20 March 1657 James City	Security	Beaver	15 lbs.		For security of beaver.
Fleet 1945A:41	William Short & James Crewes	Judgement	25 June 1656 Westover	Payment	Baver skins	31		William Short owes James Crewes, merchant, 704 lbs. of "good merchantable tobacco and cask" as well as "thirtie one good large Beaver skins in season." To be paid by 10 Nov. next w/ costs.
Fleet 1945A:45	John Cogan and Rice Hoe	Order	3 Aug. 1659 Westover	Payment	Beaver	15 lbs.		They to pay Lt. John Banister for Thomas Tanner since they engaged themselves for the King of Weynoke, who did not appear.
Fleet 1941A:80	Relict of Thomas Tanner & Mr. William Bird	Order	10 9ber 1660 Merchants Hope	Debt	Beaver	5 lbs.		To pay Mr. Wm. Bird and give acct of estate.
Fleet	Thomas	Attachment	10 9ber 1660	Payment	Beaver	15 lbs.		Due Thomas Tanner, now dec'd.;

1941A:80	Tanner/King of Weynoke		Merchants Hope					case referred to Gov. & Council.
Fleet 1941A:80	Mr. Stephen Hamelin,Martin Quelch & Thomas Busby	Suit	10 9br 1660 Merchants Hope	Payment	Beaver	10 lbs.		At suit of Mr. Stephen Hamelin last October, Martin Quelch had agreed to "produce" the beaver as well as 500 lbs. pork to Thomas Busby; failed to do so; and now ordered to court.
Neville 1976:146 C.O. 5/1371, Pt. II, folios 220-222	William Berkeley & William Hunt	Court	1677	Inventory	Tanned deer skins	2		Inventory of condemned rebel in Bacon's Rebellion.
Ayres 1968:29	Rowland Place of Buckland, James River & Bernard Sykes of James River	Court	19 Nov. 1677 Westover	Goods	Beaver, furs, skins, hides			To collect dues through Sykes per paper dated 6 Aug. 1677. Skykes is to collect all accounts due Place in Md. and Va.: merchandize tobacco, pork, corn, beaver, furs, skins, hides, pipe staves, etc.
Ayres 1968:64	Henry Newcomb & John Ensull	Judgement	5 Aug. 1678 Westover	Payment	Deer and buck skins	9 and 2 respectively		Henry Newcomb "confesses" judgement re 9 deer skins & 2 buck skins to John Ensull.
McIlwaine 1925: 76-77	Gov. & Council & Indians	Order	26 April 1686 James City	Tribute	Beaver & arrows	3 Indian arrows		The Tributary Indians are to pay the Governor for the time being their "Tribute Beaver," and pay in lieu of a quit rent, 3 Indian arrows. The latter is an acknowledgement of lands they now hold of the English king.
Weisiger 1992:193	Richard Bland, Thomas Swann & William Ledbetter	Suit	9 Nov. 1694 Westover?	Payment	Buck & doe skins		Buck skins at 2*s* p skin and does at 18*d* p skin	Richard Bland, assignee of Thomas Swan, charged William Ledbetter (found non est inventus in last court) for £4. Judgement is awarded to Bland in the form of buck and doe skins valued at 2*s* and 8*d* p skin respectively.

James City County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Skins	Amount	Value	Details
McIlwaine 1979B:29	Robert Poole	Deposition	8 Nov. 1624 court	Trade	Skins			Poole did not put away any of Mr. Thresurer's beads or his private use, never mind any other aboard ship. However, all of the ship's "Company" did "truck and trade for skins," but where the truck was, he did not know.
McIlwaine1979B:147	Mr. Secretary & Indians	Plan	3 April 1627 Quarter court James City	Trade	Skins			Mr. Secretary given leave to go up the Bay and rivers to trade w/ the Indians for corn, skins or other commodities.
McIlwaine 1979B:230	Thomas Carter, Capt. Pipscoe & Indian	Order	14 8br. 1670 court	Horse & skins	Deer skins	30		Carter is to deliver to Pipscoe "an Indian his horse bridle and Saddle and return him Thirty good deere Skynns & pay costs als. exec."
McIlwaine 1914: 475	Court	Memorial	31 Oct. 1693 court	Imposition of 7 ½ P Cent re skins & furs				Proposal for the "Memoriall": for a fund to the College, "an Imposition of 7 ½ P Cent might be laid" on all the skins and furs exported out of the Colony. This is to be appropriated towards the support & maintenance of the College. The Committee of Grievances & Propositions are to draw the same.

Surry County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Skins	Amount	Value	Details
Haun 1987:129 and 1989:1	Coppahunek Indians & Christopher Holiman	Complaint	5 March 1671 Southwarke		Dressed buck skins for @ hog			See Surry County table. [Entry was repeated in each book.]
Haun 1987:91-92	Mr. Richard Welbeck & Mr. Thomas Busby	Bond	8 June 1671		beaver & best otter skins	200 lbs. & 6 (respect-ively)		Thomas Busby's bond for 6,000 lbs. tobo., 200 lbs. beaver as well as 6 of the best otter skins and 25 barrels of corn. Due to several attempts and failures re bond, Busby is to be arrested.
Haun 1987:91	Thomas and Grace Busby & Capt. Gray	Document	22 July 1671	Bill	Beaver	150 lbs.		For 150 lbs. beaver owed to Capt. Gray p bill, Thomas Busby arranged to have a mare filly delivered for his daughter Grace Busby at age of ten.
Haun 1989:9	William Duke & Thomas Busby	Suit	29 9br. 1672 Southwarke	Bill	Fox skins	150	Also 15*s*	William Duke vs. Thomas Busby: Payment p bill concerning 150 fox skins & 15*s* Sterling. Liberty to Busby to "discount" what he can show to Capt. Wyat that he had satisifed the debt.
Haun 1989:32	George Lee, Roland Place & Lt. Tho. Busby	Judgement	1? 7br. 1674 [sic] Southwarke	Bill	Otter skins	2		Judgement is granted to George Lee, attorney for Roland Place, to receive the otter skins and 772 lbs. tobo. & costs.
Haun 1989:42	Mr. George Proctor & Lt. Thomas Busby	Judgement	4 May 1675 Southwarke		Buck & doe skins	36 "equally"		Lt. Thomas Busby is to give Mr. George Proctor, "thirty six buck & doe skinns Equally," along with 1,575 lbs. tobo. & 20 lbs. of salt (?) w/ costs. Busby is to receive in turn a broken candlestick & two broken joynrs. tools, if extant.
Haun 1990:51	George Jordan	Complaint	16? 7br. 1686 [sic]		10 dressed doe skins			See Surry County table.
Haun 1989:74	Mr. Arthur Allen & Lt. Thomas Busby	Court	15 9br. 1677 Southwarke	Agreement	Buck & doe skins	12		Lt. Thomas Busby acknowledged his payment to Mr. Arthur Allen in the form of 12 "good well drest" buck & doe skins w/ costs as his satisfaction in case of trespass.
Haun 1989:136	Elias Osborne & Thomas Busby	Attachment	4 Jan. 1680 Southwarke	Estate	Deer skins	8		Elias Osborne is granted attachment to the estate of Thomas Busby in the form of 8 deer skins. Busby "being returned arrested by noate left & failing to appeare."
Haun 1989:157	Thomas Parker & Thomas Melton	Judgement	4 July 1682 Southwarke		Buck skins	2		Thomas Parker granted judgement against Thomas Melton for buck skins along with "six bushels of Indian Corne" and 20 lbs tobo.

York County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Skins	Amount	Value	Details
Fleet 1961B:9	William Baulke	Expenses	24 Nov. 1645 Quarter Court James City	Estate	beaver	5 lbs.	500 lbs. tobo.	"...five pownd of beaver" to Augustine Warner.
Fleet 1945B:46	Capt. Stephen Gill	Inventory	2 Aug. 1653	Goods	Beaver; muskrat skins	43 muskrat skins	14 lbs. tobo.	Also 9 bbls corn; 1 hhd tobo.
Neville 1976:305 Pepysian Library 2582, Survey Report 6618 (C.7)	Bacon the Rebel & his Men & Queen of Pamunkey's grievances	Document	1676		Skins, furs			See York County table-Virginia Colonial Records Project.

Abstracts: Corn

Charles City County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Shelled or Ears	Amount	Value	Details
Fleet 1945A:7	Henry Wentworth & Capt. Thomas Stegge	Judgement	17 Sept. 1655 Westover	Debt		4 "bbls." of good Indian corn		Wentworth's debt is to be paid to Stegge or his assigns.
Fleet 1945A:95	Court & Mrs. Elizabeth Peibils	Order	3 Feb. 1657 Merchants Hope	Payment		3 barrels of Indian corn		Mrs. Elizabeth Peibils is ordered to pay Thomas Huxe 3 barrels of "good Indian corne" at her present house for the service of his wife & costs.
Fleet 1941A:37	Denis Kigan & William Egbrough	Order	3 June 1659 Merchants Hope	Payment		3 barrells of Indian corn		On performance and payment of 24 days work by Denis Kigan, William Egbrough is ordered to pay Kigan 3 barrells of Indian corn and "accustomed clothing" for his services, plus costs.
Fleet 1942:21	John Marshall	Inv.	3 Dec. 1664 Westover	Payment		2 bu. "Indian meall"		Payment due for 2 bu. of "Indian meal."
Fleet 1942:47	Daniel Clarke	Deed	1 July 1665	Sale		7 bbls. of Indian corn		Daniel Clarke of Oldmans Creek sold Thomas Porter for 800 lbs. tobo. & 7 bbls. of Indian corn, land adjourning a horse path that goes to Jamestown.
Fleet 1942:42	George Woodleife, 19	Deposition	3 Aug. 1665 Westover	Delivery		3 bu. of Indian corn		Stated that he carried 3 bu. of Indian corn in two "osonbrig bags" to Mr. Taylor's mill of William Evans; the corn was informed as stolen; and he went at Evans' request to demand the corn of Mr. Taylor. Mr. Taylor could or would not allow it, but if he was sued, he would "sett up at Co'rt door;" and if any more corn is brought to be ground, they would "runne the hazard or else stay the grinding of it..."
Fleet 1942:42	Mrs. Sarah Taylor & William Evans	Order	3 Aug. 1665 Westover	Payment		3 bu. of good Indian corn		Mrs. Sarah Taylor, attorney for Mr. Richard Taylor, is ordered to deliver to William Evans two new "osenbrigg bags" and 3 bu. of good Indian corn, or the full value thereof plus costs.
Ayres 1968:34	Mr. William Duke & Richard Wathen	Judgement	3 Dec. 1677 Westover	Payment		A pocke of Indian corn		Mr. William Duke vs. Richard Wathen: Wathen to pay 6 bu. of wheat, 1 bu. and a pocke of Indian corn, and one new sack-bag to Duke; Wathen said he "was so much short in the grain ground at his mill."
Weisiger 1992:7	Nicholas Lilley & Robert Borar (?)	Suit	24 Jan. 1687 court	Debt		9 bu. of Indian corn		Nicholas Lilley vs. Robert Borar (?): Borar (?) owes Lilley 9 bu. of Indian corn & 4 shillings in money; defendant ordered to present payment w/ costs.
Weisiger 1992:26	Edmund Irby & Samuel Morris	Judgement	3 Aug. 1688 court	Medical treatment		1 barrel of Indian corn		Judgement granted to Edmund Irby agst. Samuel Morris for 500 lbs. tobo. & 1 barrel Indian corn for curing Morris' distemper.
Weisiger 1992:49	William Pully & William Wilkins	Judgement	3 April 1689 court	Payment	Shelled	13 bu. of Indian corn		William Pully confessed judgement to William Wilkins for 12 pairs of men's "french fall shoes" and 13 bu. of shelled Indian corn.
Weisiger 1992:62	James Woodhouse & Ellianore Hodges	Judgement	3 Oct. 1689 court	Estate		7 barrels of Indian corn		Judgement granted James Woodhouse, trustee of Edward Foster's estate; states he was late overseer to Ellianor Hodges' servants & should have the decedent's fourth share, being 7 barrels of Indian corn.
Weisiger 1992:63	Major John Stith, Capt. Daniel	Report	3 Oct. 1689 Westover	Differences		4 barrels of Indian corn		Major John Stith & Capt. Daniel Lewellin, auditors, re differences between Xpher Batty and his widowed

	Lewellin, Xpher Batty & Elizabeth Frost							daughter Elizabeth Frost: Batty was to have his diet at daughter's house from 7th day of this Sept. until middle of April next, in same quality as condition between Batty and John Frost, dec'd.; dau also to maintain stock of cattle which Frost had from Batty until mid-April next & then deliver to Batty; 4 barrels of Indian corn and rest of goods & chattles formerly delivered by Batty to Frost except a stock of hogs; in lieu of these, Batty was content to receive 28 hogs, sows, barrows, and 4 weanable piggs along w/ 4 barrels corn; agrees to acquit his dau of 2,400 lbs. tobo. due him; and yet, Elizabeth refused to abide w/ terms. Cannot proceed any further and thus give written account, 28 7ber 1689. Both Batty and Elizabeth appear in court & submit that agreement will be binding.
Weisiger 1992:67	Capt. William Archer & Mrs. Sara Bland	Suit	3 Dec. 1689 Westover	Payment		3 bu. & 1 peck of Indian corn and 5 bu. of Indian meal.	Total value of goods £21, 14s.	Capt. William Archer vs. Mrs. Sarah Bland: Bland wished to his various goods away from Berkeley plantation according to a deed of 6 Xber 1686, but was denied by Mrs. Bland. She makes exception of listed items: 3 bu. & 1 peck of Indian corn along w/ other itemized household items. After Archer produced proof per bill of sale signed by Bland, court ordered on 11 June 1681 that Archer is to take possession of listed items, including gilded leather hangings & 5 bu. of Indian meal.
Weisiger 1992:73	William Epes & Capt. Charles Goodrich, sheriff.	Judgement	4 Dec. 1689 court	Payment		1 barrel of Indian corn		Judgement granted to William Epes, for the non-appearance of William Pully, to have 18 pairs of men's shoes, 1 barrell Indian corn and 11*s* in cash.
Weisiger 1992:97	Richard Yarnell & Mr. Edward Braine	Judgement	5 Jan. 1690 Westover	Payment	Shelled	3 barrels of Indian corn		"Judgement granted to Richard Yarnell agst. Mr. Edward Braine for three barrells of sound shelled Indian corn due Yarnell for his freedom from Braine."
Weisiger 1992:103	Richard Wathen & John Howard	Judgement	3 March 1690 Westover	Payment	Shelled	20 barrels of Indian corn		Richard Wathen acknowledged judgement to John Howard for 20 barrells of shelled Indian corn to be delivered at Wathen's mill on Ward's Creek. This is the balance that Howard can claim for mill and land sold by Wathen to Richard Clarke, dec'd. Howard had promised to make authentic deed to Wathen.
Weisiger 1992:92	John Everitt & Thomas Bolton	Judgement	3 Oct. 1690 Westover	Estate	Shelled	3 barrels of Indian corn	Corn at 100 lbs. tobo. per barrell.	Judgement granted to John Everitt agst. the estate of Thomas Bolton, dec'd, for 300 lbs. tobo., 3 barrells of shelled Indian corn and 37*s* for this year's levies.
Weisiger 1992:119	Dr. John Pybus & Nicholas Kelley	Attachment	3 Feb. 1691 Westover	Estate		6 barrels of Indian corn		Dr. John Pybus' attachment agst. the estate of Nicholas Kelley for 1,293 lbs. tobo., to be levied on 6 barrels of Indian corn. Also a parcel of tobo. hanging in Kelley's dwelling house.

James City County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Shelled or Ears	Amount	Value	Details
Brown	Duke of	Document	Enclosed w/		Maise			The soils yield only "maise and nuts."

1964: 521 [Vol. 2588, folio 82 (enclosed in folio 81)]	Lerma to Secretary Antonio di Arostegui		a letter dated 13 Nov. 1611					
McIlwaine 1979B:11	Capt. Ralph Hamor & Savage	Deposition	7 March 1623 court	Trade & corn		8 baskets	Each basket 21 "cans"	Hamor stated that the 8 baskets of corn, each containing "21 Cans at Machepongo" appears to be part of the corn brought in by Savage who had purchased them for "truck" paid by Hamor. He also mentioned a thousand "blew beads" on his shallop.
McIlwaine 1979B:11	Capt. Tucker, Ensign Savage & Laughing King	Deposition	7 March 1623 court	Trade & corn		12 bu. corn		According to Tucker, Savage explained that the corn was sent by the Laughing King to their "great King."
McIlwaine 1979B:11	Mr. Pountes, Ensign Savage & Laughing King	Deposition	7 March 1623 court	Trade & corn		20 "tubbs"		Ensign Savage informed Pountes that the Laughing King had sent the Governor the corn, which was affirmed by the Laughing King through his interpreter Savage.
McIlwaine 1915: 22	Indians	Document	1623/1624	Trade & corn	[Indian] corn			Reference to 1622 massacre. Indians did not voluntarily yield themselves as subjects to our Soveraigne, nor show pride in their title. They also did not provide any contribution of corn for the sustenance of the Colony, or respect "correspondency' with us. Only out of fear rather than love did they give us corn, procured by trade or the sword.
McIlwaine 1979B:50	Capt. Epps	Order	14 March 1624 court					Capt. Eppes to review every man's store of corn & have leave to trade w/ the Indians of the shore for needed quantities of corn on the condition that he "dispose of such truck in stuff" as shall be brought in by the planters to him. They are to receive 1/3 of the corn. This will prevent any disorderly trading.
McIlwaine 1979B:17-18	Capt. Thorpe & Mris. Ffrancis West, widow	Court	28 June 1624 court	Payment	Shelled	7 barrels		7 barrels of "good Indyan Corne shealed" to be sent from Barkley Hundred to widow West on 10 Nov. next.
McIlwaine 1979B:29	Robert Poole	Deposition	8 Nov. 1624 court	Trade		2 "tubbs" of corn	10 & 13 arm lengths of beads	See "Indian goods" table.
McIlwaine 1979B:131	Capt. William Pierce	Deposition	10 Jan. 1626 James City	Massacre & food		Ears	20-30 barrels	At the massacre, he was sent down to Martin's Hundred for the relief of those "left alive" & the recovery of any cattle, corn and goods. Recalled bringing ears of corn, which belonged to Richard Staples and Walter Davyes. Capt. William Powell claimed some of the corn at James City in the right of John Davyes, brother of Walter Davyes and 20-30 barrels of ears thus delivered to him.
McIlwaine 1979B:131	Richard Dolphenby	Deposition	10 Jan. 1626 James City	Indian corn	Ears	12 barrels & three score bu.		Dolphenby, servant to Walter Davyes, sworn in court that two days before the massacre at Martin's Hundred, there was 12 barrels of ears in his master's house and at harvest, there were "three score barrells of eares" measured and put up at Richard Staples' house.
McIlwaine 1979B:131	Capt. William Pierce	Deposition	10 Jan. 1626 James City	Indian corn	Ears	20 barrels		Pierce remembered that thee were twenty barrels "of Ears" belonging to Walter Davis, which was stored at the house of Richard Staples.
McIlwaine	Capt. Samuel	Order	13 Jan. 1626	Trade & corn				Capt. Mathews & armed company of

1979B:136	Mathews & men		court					men are to go to the Bay of Chesapeake by boat and trade for corn, in view of great harvest losses due to "ill wether & great wind," and the fears of scarcity of corn in the near future in the Colony.
McIlwaine 1979B:116	Capt. Epps & Indians of Eastern Shore	Court	10 Oct. 1626 James Citty	Compensation in corn				Epps' complaint that the Indians had killed several hogs belonging to the English and wants compensation. The Indians acknowledged the killings and would make satisfaction in corn, but they must be informed that if this happened again, it will be an "occasion of the breatch of the peace between us."
McIlwaine 1979B:147	Mr. Secretary & Indians	Plan	3 April 1627 Quarter court James City	Trade	Corn			See James City County Buckskins table.
McIlwaine 1979B:151	Court	Plan	4 July 1627 James City	Corn				See James City County table.
McIlwaine 1979B:484	Sir John Harvey & Nathaniel Basse	Commission	6 March 1631 court	Trade & corn			25 lbs. p barrel or 15s p barrel if they fetch it	Basse to trade in New England, Nova Scotia, West Indies and other regions "to invite the inhabitants" & offer them at Delaware Bay the corn at certain rates.
McIlwaine 1979B:484	Court	Order	14 Feb/ 1632 court	War, drought & corn				The war w/ the Indians continue and "a great drought" in the summer of 1632 creates a scarcity of corn. Commissioners are ordered to trade w/ the Indians for corn.
McIlwaine 1979B:482	Capt. William Clayborn & Indians	Order	8 April 1640 James City	Minutes				Capt. Clayborn's grant for land at Candaungack on Pamunkey River, where the English under his command first landed. Fought the Indians and cut down their corn in 1629.
McIlwaine 1979B:492	Court	Trade	18 April 1640 court	Goods				Commission granted to persons to trade w/ the Indians for goods and corn.
Nugent 1992 (I)199:177 PB2/150	William Drummond	Document	10 Sept. 1648	Rent	Shelled			See James City County table.
Neville 1976:147 C.O. 5/1371, folios 231-233ro	William Drumon	Inventory	1677					See James City County table.
Duvall 1957:21-22 [Ambler Ms. #65]	William Sherwood	Will	7 Feb. 1697			Corn		Corn for Indian named Dorothy Jubille.

Surry County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Shelled or Ears	Amount	Value	Details
Haun 1986:24	William Rickett & William Marriott	Payment	1 Aug. 1654	Debt	Ears	Crop of corn, 8 barrels of Indian corn		William Rickett bound his crop of corn growing on his plantation to William Marriott, who is not to dispose of it to anyone. Condition is that if Rickett pays Marriott or his assigns "8 barrells of sound Indian Corne in Eares being fower whole barrs. of Corne." Only then is this obligation void.
Haun 1986:33	James Taylor	Inventory	11 June 1655			Total value of inv. After		Among goods listed & their value in tobo.: bushels of oats & wheat; barrells of corn, 5 hogshs: of the crop "neat";

						debts: 7,495 lbs. of tobo.	and Indian corn.
Haun 1987:19	William Skinner & George Watkin	Indenture	7 Jan. 1664	Servitude		3 barrels of Indian corn	William, son of Anthony Skinner, is bound to George Watkin until 1 Dec. 1667 and will be given 3 barrels of Indian corn, two suits of clothes, 2 pr. stockings & shirts,2 hoes, 1 axe and 1 mare.
Haun 1987:65	Dorothy Thorne & Charles Barnham	Indenture	2 Feb. 1666	Servitude		3 barrels of Indian corn	Dorothy Thorne is bound to master Charles Barham and wife until next Christmas come six years. She is not to be put to the ground & be taught to "reed & sow." At end of term, she is to receive 3 barrels of Indian corn, a cotton suit, a peneston suit, and a 2 year-old heifer.
Haun 1987:78	Albert Albertson & David Williams	Document	22 March 1669/70	Bill	Payment	5 barrels of Indian corn	Albert Albertson will pay David Williams 5 barrels of Indian corn along with the tobacco as part of his rent for the mill & plantation at Sunken Marsh.
Haun 1987:79	Thomas Holt, Capt. John Grove & Mr. Robert Caufield	Indenture	15 May 1669	Servitude	Payment	3 barrels of Indian corn	Capt. John Grove & Mr. Robert Caufield, churchwardens, bound out Thomas Holt (b 23 Aug. 1667) to George Watkin as an apprentice. Holt to receive at end of term 3 barrels of Indian corn, 2 suits of apparel, 1 axe and 2 hoes.
Haun 1989:4	Thomas Clark & Mr. Nicolas Meriwether	Court	7 May 1672 Southwarke	Payment	Ears	1 barrel	As assignee of Owen Brady, Thomas Clarke impleaded Mr. Nicolas Meriwether for 7 barrels of Indian Corne. Meritwehter paid the debt w/ 1 barrel of Ears & 18 lbs. of tobo. and cask to several individuals. Judgement is given to Brady to have the "abovesd. Barrel of eares" and the tobo.
Haun 1989:27	George Arnold & John Kindred	Judgement	3 March 1673 Southwarke	Payment		3 barrels of Indian corn	George Arnold vs. John Kindred: Arnold to have 1 cow w/calf, 400 lbs. tobo. & cask, & the corn.
Haun 1989:38	William Jones	Petition	6 Jan. 1674 Southwarke	Infirmity	Levy-free	1 barrel Indian meale	William Jones petitioned the court for relief due to his infirmity. Mr. Benjamin Harrison is ordered to give him 1 barrel of Indian meale while the case is forwarded to the Vestry for reimbursement to Harrison.
Haun 1989:41	Col. Thomas Swann Esqr. & Mr. George Proctor	Attachment	16 March 1674 Southwarke	Estate	Payment	12 barrels Indian corne	Col. Thomas Swann to receive 12 barrels of Indian corn from the estate of Mr. George Proctor, which are the remainder of 18 barrells, as well as 4,200 lbs. of tobo.
Haun 1989:41	Mr. Arthur Jordan & Mr. Brasheires	Petition	16 March 1674 Southwarke	Mill	Payment	Certain quantity of Indian meale	Mr. Arthur Jordan is given judgement to obtain Indian meale against the Mill of Mr. Brasheires. The miller is now in possession of the mill and thus shall pay the corn due to several people.
Haun 1989:41	Mr. Lynney & Nottoway Indians	Order	16 March 1674 Southwarke	Public business, etc.	Payment		Indians at house of Mr. Linney for public business and entertainment to the value of 200 lbs. tobo. Linney is to be "repaired" per court order.
Haun 1989:34-35	Col. Swann & John Whitson	Suit	3 9br. 1674 Southwarke	Differences	Mill	Indian meale	Col. Thomas Swann vs. John Whitson: The difference concerning the accounts of English and Indian meale shall be determined by Mr. Proctor & Mr. Francis Sumner.
Haun 1989:42	David Williams & Albert Albertson	Suit	4 May 1675 Southwarke	Audition	Payment	7 barrels & 2 ½ bu. of Indian Corne	David Williams vs. Albert Albertson: Case audited by Capt. Baker & Capt. Spensor, whose return revealed that Williams is due, (Xmas last) 5,197 lbs. tobo., 9 bu. of wheat and Indian corn from Albertson.

Haun 1989:42	Mr. Arthur Allen & Albert Albertson	Judgement	4 May 1675 Southwarke		Payment	545 lbs Indian meale		Mr. Arthur Allen is to receive the Indian meal from Albert Albertson between now & Xmas next w/ costs.
Neville 1976:147 C.O. 5/1371, folio 246	John Whitson	Inventory	1676			12 barrels corn		See James City County table.
Haun 1989:58	Mr. John Salway & John Legrand	Seizure	4 July 1676 Southwarke	Payment	Indian Corne	3 bu.		Mr. John Salway seized 1 heifer and the Indian corn "for the Levys & fees" of John Legrand. Mr. Robert Burgess tried to invalidate seizure w/o success.
Haun 1989:112	Col. William Browne	Proclamation	16 8br. 1679 Southwarke	Food	Indyan Corne	11 bu.	Same rate as paid for corn	Under the proclamation of the Deputy Gov., Col. Brown gave the corn to the soldiers at the garrison at the head of the James River.
Haun 1989:117	Mr. Thomas Jordan	Proclamation	18 9br. 1679 Southwarke	Food	Shelled Indyan Corne	16 bu.	125 lbs. tobo. in next levy	Under the proclamation of the Deputy Gov., Mr. Thomas Jordan is to deliver to the same garrison "good shelled Indyan Corne- 6 bu. for the horses.
Haun 1989:157	Thomas Parker & Thomas Melton	Judgement	4 July 1682 Southwarke		Indyan Corne	6 bu.		Thomas Parker granted judgement against Thomas Melton for 2 buck skins, 20 lbs. tobo. and Indian corn.
Haun 1990:16	Thomas Bage & Madm. Mary Swann	Suit	8 Jan. 1683 Southwarke	Arrest	Indyan Corne	19 bu.		Arrest of Thomas Bage p note at the suit of Madam Mary Swann. Due to his non-appearance at court, the court granted Swann 900 lbs. tobo. & caske as well as the Indian corn.
Haun 1990:24	John Miniard & John Wopell	Judgement	2 7br. 1684 Southwarke	Payment	Indyan Corne	20 bu.		John Miniard acknowledged this judgement to John Wopell regarding 20 bushels of Indyan Corne "against the Crop" and costs.
Haun 1990:28	Thomas Barker	Court	9br. 1684 court	1,000 lbs. tobo. fine				Thomas Barker was presented by the Grand Jury to the court "for not planting of Corne" and asked to give reason why he should not be fined according to the law. Reason was not given.
Haun 1990:50	William Edwards, Capt. Isaack Foxcroft, Lt. Col. William Brown & James Jordan	Judgement	6 July 1686 Southwarke	Estate	Shelled Indyan Corne	11 barrels, 5 bu. & 3 pecks		William Edwards, as assignee of Capt. Isaack Foxcroft, vs. Lt. Col. William Browne & James Jordan, admrs.: "...good sound shelled Indian Corne" to be paid as part of Jordan's obligation.
Haun 1990:108	Robert Dowling & Mr. John King	Suit	4 March 1689 court		Shelled Indyan Corne	20 bu.		Robert Dowling failed to appear to answer suit against Mr. John King. Judgement granted to King for 400 lbs. tobo. & cask and "good sound shelled Indyan Corne" w/costs.
Haun 1990:129	Jury	Proclamation	3 June 1691 court	Order				"Also those not planting & tending two acres of Corne Indyan or English for every Workeing Pson, and all such Millers as shall take more toll than by Law is appointed."
Haun 1990:128	Noah Barefoot & Richard Wheelehouse	Suit	8br. 1691 court	Arrest	Shelled Indian Corne	13 bu. & 3 pecks		Noah Barefoot "being returned" was arrested at the suit of Richard Wheelehouse and won suit. Wheelehouse to receive "shelled Indian corn" w/ costs.
Haun 1991:17	Abraham Moore, William Edwards & Sheriff Susannah Nash	Suit	17 May 1692 Southwarke	Arrest	Indian Corne	7 barrels		Abraham Moore is arrested by the sheriff in two suits by William Edwards and is ordered to pay "good sound well dressed Indian Corne w/ costs."
Haun 1991:80		Indenture	Nov. 1696-9br. 1696	Servitude	Indian Corne	3 barrels		Susannah Nash, orphan, to serve Nicholas Sessums until 18 or married. At end of term to be given Indian corn, one new serge suit and 1 cow w/ calf.

York County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Shelled or Ears	Amount	Value	Details
Fleet 1961A:10-11	Andrew Whowell	Will	10 March 1631	Bequests		3 barrels Indian corn		Andrew Whowell bequeaths one barrell of corn to Nathaniel Clark; and 3 barrels of Indian corn & 3 barrells of corn to sister Bettris Clark among other real & personal possessions.
Fleet 1961A:17	Joseph Ham	Inventory	12 July 1638			10 barrels of corn	At "fower hundred"	"Tenn Barrells of Corne at fower hundred" lbs. of tobo.
Fleet 1961B:90	Council of War	Criminal action	25 May 1648 court	Damages		Indians' corn		Order dated 12 Aug. 1645: William Light's man was pressed to cut up the Indians corn; the work of the man is to be made good by those he did this for; 19 days work due from a number of men; they to make payment to Light upon demand, "according to one mans Due share and parte."
Duvall, 1657:14	John Hunt & Thomas Heynes	Order	26 Jan. 1657 court	Payment		Indian corn	5 barrels	Hunt is to pay Heynes the Indian corn per bill in front of Col. Christopher Calthorpe or Mr. William Hay.
Watkins 1989:181	Mr. Ballard, Hullet? [sic] & James Goodwin	Deed	1657-1662	Security		Indian corn	5 Barrels	Ballard is to receive 500 lbs. tobo. & 5 barrels Indian corn.

Abstracts: Indian Goods

Charles City County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Trade/ Item	Amount	Value	Details
Neville 1976:146 C.O. 5/1371, Pt. II, folios 220-222	William Berkeley & William Hunt	Inventory	1677		1 Red trading cloth blanket			See Charles City County — Virginia Colonial Records Project table.
Neville 1976:147 C.O. 5/1371, folios 250-255 (228-230)	Nathaniel Bacon the Rebel	Inventory	11 May 1677	Estate				See Related ...Bacon's Rebellion table.

James City County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Trade/ Item	Amount	Value	Details
McIlwaine 1979B:11	Capt. Ralph Hamor & Savage	Deposition	7 March 1623 court	Trade & corn				See James City Co. corn table.
McIlwaine 1979B:50	Capt. Epps	Order	14 March 1624 court	Trade				See James City Co. corn table.
McIlwaine 1979B:29	Robert Poole	Deposition	8 Nov. 1624 court	Trade	Beads, mats, canoe, & various skins			In this trading voyage, as an employee of Mr. Thresurer in the penance *Elizabeth* , Poole gave 10 arms length of some beads for over a "Tubb of Corne he bought of ye Indyans," and 13 arms length of beads for another tub. Capt. Croshaw bought a great canoe for 10,000 of "blew beads" and stated that he would give Mr. Thresurer satisfaction for the beads. No more than 6 tubs of corn was obtained from the Indians for copper. 2,000 more blew beads were also paid for "matts" to seal the ship. The

								great man of Potuxone was paid "6 or 800" blue beads to be their guide to Pocotonck. They stayed at Pocotanck for 23-24 days in the hopes that the Indians would furnish them with corn and that they would find an Englishman. Capt. Croshaw also took charge of the purchased 7 great bear skins, 6 (deer?) skins, 2 wildcat skins, 9 otter skins, 2 young bear skins, "__ skins 8 or 29 muskrat skins," and "1 Lyone skin" which the great man of Potuxsone gave him.
McIlwaine 1979B:165	Robert Browne & Samuell Woolues	Court	8 Feb.1627 James Citty	Warrant				A warrant is to be sent to the Commander at Accomack to make inquiry to Browne & Woolues about selling glass bottles to Indians.

Surry County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Trade/ Item	Amount	Value	Details
Haun 1986:3-4	John Hux, 40	Deposition	__ 7br. 1652 court		Canoe			See Surry County Table.
Haun 1986:130	Robert Stanton	Public notice	4 Oct. 1663		Canoe			Robert Stanton found a great and large canoe, "very good & sound," with old rope and capstan? w/in 20 paces of his land.
Haun 1987:72	Mr. Gregory & Mr. Anthony Allen	Attachment	28 Sept. 1669	Suit	1 ham-maco, 1 Indian Match-cote			Attachment concerning goods of Mr. Gregory at suit of Mr. Anthony Allen.
Haun 1989:112	Col. Thomas Swann	Proclamation	16 8br. 1679 Southwarke	Trade goods	Trading Cloath	4 ½ yards	300 lbs. tobo. or 15*s* English money	Under the proclamation of the Deputy Gov., Col. Swann gave the soldiers at the garrison at the head of the James River salted beef and trading cloth aboard boat.
Haun 1989:136	Elias Osborne & Thomas Busby	Attachment	4 Jan. 1680 Southwarke	Estate	Indian baskets	2		Elias Osborne is granted attachment to the estate of Thomas Busby in the form of 2 Indian baskets. Busby "being returned arrested by noate left & failing to appeare."

York County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Trade/ Item	Amount	Value	Details
Fleet 1961B:11	Edward Percival	Estate	24 Nov. 1645 Quarter Court James City		Cannowe			See York County table.
Fleet 1961B:14	Thomas Privet & John Wilson	Order	25 Sept. 1646 court	Fined 2 bbls. corn	Canoe			Thomas Privet confessed that he borrowed & lost John Wilson's canoe; is ordered to pay Wilson 2 bbl. corn by 1 Nov. next.
Duvall, 1657:20	Samuel Chew & Col. Richard Lee	Attachment	25 Feb. 1657 at George Read's house	Estate	Beans			187 lbs. of beans to be attached by court from estate of Samuel Chew for security purposes and due by Specialty to Col. Richard Lee.
Duvall, 1657:44	Jarrett Hawthorne vs. William Brown	Order	25 Oct. 1658 court	Suit	Canoe			Canoe belonging to Hawthorne was taken from his landing. Case to be deferred to next court, but Brown is to remain in sheriff's custody until he gives good security to appear.
Duvall, 1657:53	William Magahee, 40, et al.	Deposition	17 Nov. 1658 court	Witnesses	Canoe			William Magahee, 40; William Dowglas, 33; Nichaell Spurrier, 44; and Joseph Preston, 21, all gave depositions about the canoe believed to be purchased by William Browne from Hawthorne's

								landing. Browne put the canoe in Spurrier's landing.
Neville 1976:305 Pepysian Library 2582, Survey Report 6618 (C.7)	Bacon the Rebel & his Men & Queen of Pamunkey's grievances	Document	1676		Mats, baskets, match-cote			See York County table-Virginia Colonial Records Project.

Abstracts: Roanoke, Peake, Wampampeag, etc.

Charles City County: none

James City County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Shell/ Color	Amount	Value	Details
Neville 1976:60 C.O. 1/39, folio 28ro	Sir William Berkeley & Mr. Gregory Walkelate	Order	27 Jan. 1676/7	Collection	Roanoke & peake			Mr. Gregory Walkelate is to take into custody "all such Roanoke and Peake" as was taken from the Indians. Any Roanoake & peake, which was not distributed among the soldiers, belongs to the Governor.
McIlwaine 1927:41	Gov. & Council & Indian tribes	Investigation	22 Feb. 1699	Peace Treaty	Peake belts			(See James City County entry, 22 Feb. 1699 for detailed information about the custom of peake belts in Indian peace treaties.)
McIlwaine 1979B:361	Mr. Anthony Arnold & Monguy of Chichahominy	Order	8 Nov. 1673 court	Goods				Arnold is ordered to deliver to the Monguy of Chichahominy "all such Roanoake, skins, bills," and other things that Arnold had received from the said Monguy.
Colonial Papers Folder 18, #14	Tuscarora Indians and President & Council	Complaint	1707	Compensation	Roanoke & peake	600 and 100 cubits respectively		The Tuscaroras complained that an Indian named Porridge was murdered and want compensation only in the form of 600 cubits of Roanoke, 100 cubits of peake, two guns, 6 white "stript blanketts," 6 cloath Coates, 6 thousand "shott," "tenn botles" of powder and 24 prs. of "plaines."

Surry County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Shell/ Color	Amount	Value	Details
Haun 1987:116	Act ye 15th	Act	N.D.	Fixture of rates per white/black peake and roanoke			1 yd.? Peake: 02=00=6; 1 fathom peake: 05=00=0. Reference to black peake wch. Is double the afsd. Rates. To be good between traders & Indians — at pence a part (?). Trade to be free with the Indians to the inhabitants of the colony, provided it be w/ the Gov. & Commission. Previous act/law now repealed & void.	
Haun 1987:118	___	Act ye 3d.	December 1650	Rates	Peake, black &		White peake= no more than 4*s* ye	Pieces of 8 at 5*d* the value of Peake: Believe that advancement

					white		ffathome; black peake= no more than 8*s* ; 2*s* for white peake & 4*s* for black peake; 8 white peake shall "pass for a pennye" & fower of the black "for a pennye."	of the pieces of 8 will encourage adventurers to bring in money & thus better supply the Country; pieces of 8 shall pass in all payments at the value of 5*s* English money. Due to "high esteeme sett uppon Peake may occasion by greate quantityes thereof Late imported, and brought amongst us, and the importation of Coyne consequently more neglected," it is enacted that the following shall be rates for black and white peake.

York County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Shell/ Color	Amount	Value	Details
Neville 1976:305 Pepysian Library 2582, Survey Report 6618 (C.7)	Bacon the Rebel & his Men & Queen of Pamunkey's grievances	Document	1676		Parcels of Wampam-peog & Roanoke in bags			See York County table-Virginia Colonial Records Project.

Abstracts: Tobacco

Charles City County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Payment/ Action	Amount	Value	Details
Fleet 1945A:41	James Reyner	Payment	25 June 1656 Westover	Medical treatment		700 lbs. tobo. & cask.		Thomas Culmer to be paid in tobo. if his offer to cure James Reyner's wounds (from service agst. the Indians) is successful.
Fleet 1941A:5	Charles City	Payment	20 April 1658 Merchant's Hope	Wolves' heads	From Levy	700 lbs. tobo.		To the Appomattock Indians for 8 wolves.
Fleet 1941A:5	Howell Pryse & Appomatock Indians	Payment	20 April 1658 Merchants Hope	Receipt	From Levy	700 lbs. tobo.		Receipt dated 19 Dec. 1657 to Howell Pryse for "1666 lbs. tobo." for this year's levies and "700 lb. tobo. due out of levies to the Appomatock Indians for killing 8 wolves."
Fleet 1941A:97	Court	Order	12 June 1661 James City	County alarm	1 yr. of imprisonment	5000 lbs. of tobo.		Those who falsely raise any rumor or reports about the Indians, which may lead to the disturbance of the country shall be fined 5,000 lbs. of tobo. and suffer one year of imprisonment.
Fleet 1941A:7	Court	Order	10 Oct. 1661 Westover	Poll tax		31 lbs. tobo. per poll.		31 lbs. tobo. to be levied on all tihable persons by sheriff. List of individuals and their payment in tobo. for various services, public duties, expenses & wolves.
Ayres 1968:119	Mr. Henry Batt & Assembly	Document	3 Dec. 1679 Westover	Certificate	Rent	100 lbs. tobo.	Per month for 4 months	Mr. Henry Batt granted certificate to the Assembly for the rent of a house at the rate of

								100 lbs. p month for the "Racengers." (Rangers?)

James City County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Payment	Amount	Value	Details
McIlwaine 1979B:486	Gov. & Council	Court	28 March 1666 James City	Defense	Impost in tobo.		2*s* per hogshead	Consideration of great expense of this colony from building a fort for the defense of shipping and threats from bordering Indians "confederated with remoter nations." Reference to extremely low value of tobacco to either compass those good ends or defray charges, never mind very small revenue which was raised out of the said impost of 2*s* per hogshead.
McIlwaine 1979:351	Mr. John Knowles vs. Henry Sherman	Court	22 Oct. 1673 court	Suit & fine				The 10,000 lbs. tobo. fine obtained by Knowles in Henrico Co. agst. Sherman about Indians is declared void.
Neville 1976:147 C.O. 5/1371, folios 231-233ro	William Drumon	Inventory	1677					See James City County table.

Surry County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Payment	Amount	Value	Details
Neville 1976:147 C.O. 5/1371, folios 231-233ro	William Drumon	Inventory	1677			12 hhd. Sweet sented tobo.		See James City County table.
Neville 1976:146 C.O. 5/1371, 220-220	William Hunt	Inventory	1677			800 lbs. tobo. for Indian boy		See James City County table.

York County:

Source	Name/ Party	Type	Date	Purpose	Payment	Amount	Value	Details
Fleet 1961B:35	Robert Jackson & Edward Adcocke	Debt	22 Dec. 1646 court	Debt		2400 lbs. tobo. total		Bill dated last day of Nov. 1646.One of these 1,200 lbs. of tobo.to be paid 10 Nov. 1648; an Indian maid servant named Mall is security.
Fleet 1961B:39	Steven Gill & Edward Leene (Leeve?)	Attachment	25 Jan. 1646/7 court					See York County corn table.
Fleet 1961B:62	York County	Payment	30 Nov. 1647 court	From Levy		17560 lbs tobo.		This amount of tobo. to be levied in county to pay a list of persons for various services, including the ferry, wolves, runaway servant, prison-related duties and service at Midle plantation. 900 lbs. tobo. is for Hampton Parish-for corn paid to the ferryman.
Fleet 1945B:46	Capt. Steven Gill	Inventory	2 Aug. 1653	Expenses		Total: 33,559 lbs. tobo.		Tobacco paid to various individuals listed in inventory for services and items, such as value of servants, household items, arms, clothing, ribbons, beaver & 43 muskrat skins at 14 lbs. tobo., 90 barrels corn, bills and a physick chest.
Duvall,	Court	Order	Recorded 26	Parish Levy		[Not listed]		"Tobo. of Chiscake."

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CHAPTER 11:
Recommendations

Danielle Mortti-Langholtz

"If the story of our people is going to be told it needs to come from us."
Chief Barry Bass, of the Nansemond Tribe. (July 2004)

1. Of importance to contemporary tribal leaders and tribal members is an exploration and discussion of pre-contact history in order to emphasize and establish the length of time that the ancestors of the Virginia Indians resided in the tidewater region. It is recommended that the presentation of Native history at the Colonial National Historical Park site at Jamestown begin with the pre-contact history of Virginia's indigenous people and include an overview of archaeological information to establish the occupational sequence and lifeways of the indigenous peoples living in the Jamestown area. In other words the Native communities would like the story to begin with the pre-contact history of Virginia's indigenous population.

2. Descendant populations are interested in most current research regarding the rise of the Powhatan Chiefdom and to a larger degree the function and complexities of this Algonquian polity. It is recommended that data and information obtained from recent archaeological excavations at the site of Werowocomoco, the primary residence of the paramount chief on Purton Bay, be included in didactic panels and exhibits at Jamestown. An effort should be made to examine that ways groups living at the two sites (Werowocomoco and Jamestown) interacted with each other during the initial years following the settlement at Jamestown.

3. Tribal leaders and tribal members interviewed for this project agreed that the story of European contact should be placed in the context of the larger Atlantic World and begin with proto-historic contact in the Chesapeake Bay between Native and non-Natives. The Spanish settlement at Ajacan and the implications of the events surrounding the interactions between the Spanish and the Powhatan Indians should be discussed prior to the presentation of the establishment of James Fort by the English in 1607. It is recommended that archival research be conducted in Spanish archives and other European archives (including the Netherlands) to widen the contact-era history to include more than just the English story. A focus on early trading relationships and by Virginia's Native people to Europe prior to 1607 would add to a more complete picture of this early period.

4. Interpretation and representation of Virginia Indian history and the events connected with interactions between Indians and settlers at Jamestown should be a cooperative venture that includes Native perspectives with those of non-Native scholars. However, this can only be accomplished with care and after building a sense of trust among the National Park Service, the current eight state-recognized tribes, supra-tribal organizations such as the Virginia Council on Indians, and the wider Native community in the state and the nation. Issues pertaining to federal recognition should be resolved between federal government agencies and those tribes seeking federal recognition in Virginia. Moreover, a partnership with the

Native community will require a sustained effort on the part of the National Park Service and its employees but over time will be worth the effort. The Native community in Virginia feels that they have been excluded for the past four centuries from presenting their version of history. Museums and historic sites must make the descendant community feel welcome at their institutions and give tribal historians a real voice in the presentation of history. Tribal leaders are apprehensive about museum policies. They have concerns about decisions that will take place if tribal communities disagree with the interpretations of academics and museum professions about the presentation of historical and cultural materials. Tribal communities are reluctant to enter into joint project with museums because they feel their recommendations will be ignored. Many Native people expressed frustration saying, "Why should we tell give our stories away when we will not be respected anyway." Tribal leaders also feel that their history has been co-opted by historians and museum professionals who make a living presenting aspects of Native history to the general public and to one another. One example of this is the way that the story of Pocahontas has been incorporated almost exclusively into non-Native historical traditions. Issues surrounding ownership of history and control of the presentation of history are mentioned frequently in discussions with Native people about history and museum interpretation. Efforts to create new exhibits for the commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the settlement at Jamestown have brought these issues and feelings to the forefront of the Native communities in Virginia. Tribal leaders have concerns that their oral history and Native commentary will not be valued by professional historians and interpreters. Tribal communities need reassurances that their histories and experiences will be respected. If joint projects are proposed tribal leaders want to have their roles and responsibilities clearly defined. This includes having an understanding regarding the type and amount of authority tribal communities will have with any joint projects with the National Park Service and other similar institutions. It is recommended that parameters of such projects should be worked out in advance as well as making an effort to build a positive relationship with the Virginia Indian community before and after such partnerships are established.

5. Efforts should be made to bring tribal leaders "behind the scenes" of the National Park System to demystify the operations of the Colonial National Historical Park. This should include giving tours of the collections areas so that tribal members may view the artifacts, and archival materials. It is recommended that workshops for tribal members (adults and children) be held at Jamestown during which people may re-connect with the material culture of their ancestors in a direct manner. Such workshops should be closed to the general public. There may be a series of workshops...possibly entitled "Native People Return to Jamestown" where tribal members may look at the objects and comment about the objects to the collections staff. Native commentary should be made part of the archival collection. Another workshop may be arranged for Native artists to obtain inspiration for contemporary artwork from the historic pieces. The long range goal should be to make members of the Virginia Indian community feel comfortable and welcome at Jamestown—a location important to their history as well as the history of non-Native people.

6. The primary documents from the colonial encounter are written by non-Natives and contain the biases of the newcomers. Nevertheless these records make it possible to present a more balanced interpretation of the impact of European settlement on the indigenous population as seen in this report. It is recommended that copies of original documents pertaining to the Virginia Indians, such as Acts of Assembly, treaties, land patents, petitions by tribal leaders, etc., be reproduced and used in exhibits along with contemporary comments from tribal members. This would emphasize the impact of colonization to the general public and demonstrate the continuity of the descendant communities in Virginia. Issues of land loss and culture loss are of primary interest to the Native community. Historical interpretation should emphasize the dislocation of Native people and environmental change in the post-colonial world.

7. Research for this report was conducted in the seventeenth century court records of Charles City, Surry, Isle of Wight, and York Counties for entries pertaining to Indians. Sometimes "Indians" are not listed in the indices of various source books but information is included in the books. Therefore, it is recommended that more extensive research in these counties be conducted as well as expanded to include Henrico, Elizabeth City, counties on the Eastern Shore, etc., to gather more data about the lives of Native people in seventeenth century Virginia.

8. It is recommended that an outreach be made by the National Park Service toward tribes with tribal museums and with tribes who may wish to establish tribal museums to develop partnerships with one another. This outreach may include establishing a dialogue about maintaining collections, and issues related to museum operations. It is recommended that National Park Service partnerships with tribal museums include workshops about creating exhibits and caring for collections. An additional goal may be to jointly create and share traveling exhibits among partnering institutions.

9. It is recommended that the Colonial National Historical Park convene a meeting with interested tribal leaders, tribal councils, members of the Virginia Council on Indians, and NPS staff to discuss the data in the report. Special emphasis should be placed upon the Native Time Line/Chronology and the charts with entries from the court documents. It is recommended that the NPS ask for input from the Native community for ways to utilize the data contained in this report and to seek direction regarding future research efforts.

10. Tribal leaders and tribal members feel that the research on Indian slavery is overlooked and under represented in literature and exhibits on the seventeenth century. Virginia Indian slavery included groups being deported to the Caribbean, women and children held as slaves and as servants in the homes of the colonists and slavery practiced among the Native Americans. The introduction of Native slaves from the Caribbean to the region should also be researched. It is recommended that the National Park Service take a leading role in compiling data on the topic of Virginia Indian slavery and in sharing this information with Native communities and the general public.

11. Native people reacted quickly to the geopolitical changes that resulted from the establishment of the settlement at Jamestown. While significant land loss and demographic collapse occurred within two generations after English settlement in 1607 Native people did not disappear from the landscape. The struggle to survive was not just the struggle of European settlers but also was the struggle of the Native community to survive intact after the changes wrought by European colonization. It is recommended that the interpretive plan for the new museum at the Colonial Historical National Park place an emphasis on the continuity of Native people in the Commonwealth of Virginia and remind visitors that descendants of Virginia's First Peoples live among us to this day.

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A sympathetic biography which finds Smith to have been basically honest in his writings, though prone to exaggeration, in keeping with the inflated and exuberant style of his times.

Xix, 553 pp.; illus., tables, maps, portraits, bibliography: 493-527. Includes index.

Bannister, John
1970 The General Natural History and Account "Of the Natives" [ca. 1691] In John Bannister and His Natural History of Virginia, 1678-1692, ed. John and Nesta Ewan. University of Illinois Press: Urbana.

Barker, Alex W.
1992 Powhatan's Purse Strings: On the Meaning of Surplus in a Seventeenth Century Algonkian Chiefdom. In: Lords of the Southeast: Social Inequality and the Native Elites of Southeastern North America. Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association. no. 3:61-80.

Bastow, Thelma Wilkerson de Shields
1975 *What Happened to the Rappahannocks?: The Story of This Once Mighty Tribe of the Great Nation of Powhatan from the Time of the Coming of Those First Englishmen to Jamestown until the Present.* Indian Neck, Va.: Board of Trustees for the Preservation of the Rappahannock Indian History. 108 pp.; illus., maps.

Bath Papers
1607-1778 Marquess of Bath, Longleat, Warminster, Wiltshire, England.

Reference: Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Bacon's Rebellion, 1676,* pp. 59-60:

"The opening to investigators of the Marquess of Bath Papers by the British Manuscripts Project has thrown new light on Bacon's Rebellion. There are several letters from Bacon to Berkeley and several from Berkeley to Bacon. They show that Berkeley went to England during the Civil War to fight for the King, that Bacon was related to Lady Berkeley, that Lady Berkeley was in England during most of the rebellion, and that she corresponded with Philip Ludwell. "The Bath Papers add to the already abundant evidence that Bacon fought partly to end misgovernment in Virginia. The evidence comes not only from Bacon's supporters but from Berkeley himself, Ludwell, and others.

"Berkeley's letters explain why he did not hang Bacon when he had him in his power, why he dissolved the Long Assembly and called for a new election based on a widened franchise, why he evacuated the almost impregnable post of Jamestown. There are several revealing letters by Philip Ludwell."

Berkeley, Edmund and Dorothy Smith Berkeley
1965 The Reverend John Clayton: A Parson with a Scientific Mind: His Scientific Writings and Other Related Papers. The Virginia Historical Society: Charlottesville.

Collection of letters and observations made by the rector of James City Parish from 1684 to 1686. Includes material on native medical practices; with bibliography and index.

Beverley, Robert
1705 *The History and Present State of Virginia, in Four Parts, by a Native and Inhabitant of the Place.* London: R. Parker, 1705. 104, 40, 64, 83, 16 pp.; front., plates, tables.

The first history of the colony by a native Virginian. The four sections deal with the first settlement of Virginia, natural resources and commerce, the Indians, and the present state of the colony. Louis B. Wright, in his introduction to a 1947 reprint (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), describes Beverley's account of the early period as sketchy and inaccurate and the weakest portion of the work. His treatment of the Indians, however, is sympathetic and realistic. In a revised edition published in 1722, Beverley softened his comments on personalities and made an effort to restrain his satirical tone.

Breen, T. H., ed.
1976 *Shaping Southern Society: The Colonial Experience.* Oxford University Press: New York Viii, 265 pp.

Contents include "The Labor Problems at Jamestown, 1607-18," by E. S. Morgan; "The Image of the Indian in the Southern Colonial Mind," by G. B. Nash; "A Changing Labor Force and Race Relations in Virginia, 1660-1710," by T. H. Breen; and "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia," by B. Bailyn.

Bridenbaugh, Carl
1980 *Jamestown 1544-1699.* Oxford University Press: Oxford and New York.

Historian, Carl Bridenbaugh tells a stirring story of America's origins in Jamestown. The book deals with the economic and social life of the community, and assesses the early attempts at self — government in the town. Individuals noted for special attention are Powhatan Opechancanough, John Rolf, Pocahontas, Rev. John Clayton, Nathanial Bacon and Richard Lawrence. Bridenbaugh covers the first legislative assembly, the gradual formation of a Virginia landed gentry, the 1676 rebellion against the government of Sir William Berkeley.

1968 *Vexed and Troubled Englishmen 1590 — 1642.* Oxford University Press: New York.

Brinton, Daniel G.
1885 The Chief God of the Algokins, In His Character as a Cheat and Liar. In *The American Antiquarian,* vol. 7, no. 3:137-139.

Brown. Alexander, ed.
1890 *The Genesis of the United States.* Houghton, Mifflin and Company: Boston 2 vols..

"A Narrative of the Movement in England, 1605-1616, which Resulted in the Plantation of North America by Englishmen, Disclosing the Contest between England and Spain for the

Possession of the Soil Now Occupied by the United States of America; Set Forth through a Series of Historical Manuscripts Now First Printed Together with a Reissue of Rare Contemporaneous Tracts, Accompanied by Bibliographical Memoranda, Notes, and Brief Biographies" [Title page] Includes index, portraits, maps, plans.

Bullis, Ronald K.
1999 The Mattaponi and Powhatan Confederacy. In: *Whispering Wind* (30) no 1: 20-3.

Burke, Edmund, and William Burke
1757 *An Account of the European Settlements in America.* Printed for R. and J. Dodsley: London

"In six parts. I. A short history of the discovery of that part of the world. II. The manners and customs of the original inhabitants. III. Of the Spanish settlements. IV. Of the Portuguese. V. Of the French, Dutch, and Danish. VI. Of the English." 2 vols., maps.

Burns, Marilyn J.
1982 *Pocahontas Blood, Being an Index to "Pocahontas, Alias Matoaka, and Her Descendants through Her Marriage at Jamestown, Virginia, in April, 1614, with John Rolfe, Gentleman."* The Virginia Tree: Silver Spring, Md. 16 leaves.

See: Wyndham Robertson, Pocahontas, *Alias Matoaka*...(ENTRY 360).

Carson, Jane
1976 *Bacon's Rebellion, 1676-1976.* Jamestown: Jamestown Foundation: Jamestown. Includes bibliographical references V. 91 pp.; map.

Cohen, Brenda, and Paul Cohen
1993 Jamestown and Williamsburg: Archaeological Footprints of Our Colonial Past. In: *Journal of College Science Teaching* 22 (March-April): 315-17.

Discusses the use of archaeological remains in the museums and historical institutions of Jamestown and Williamsburg. Jamestown Settlement provides an account of the origins of the town and reveals the technology of the indigenous Powhatan Indians, illus., photo.

Connor, Seymour V.
1951 Sir Samuel Argall: A Biographical Sketch. In: *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 59: 162-75.

Relates Argall's exploits as mariner, fisherman, negotiator with the Indians and the French, Deputy Governor, and focus of accusations. Includes bibliographical references.

Cooke, John Esten.
1884 *Virginia: A History of the People.* Houghton, Mifflin and Co.: Boston.

Primary focus is the colonial period of Virginia history, Xxi, 523 pp.; map.

Cook, Samuel R.
2000 Monacans and Miners: Native American and Coal Mining Communities in Appalachia. University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln.

An examination of the political, economic and social experiences of the Monacan Indian Nation in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia. Includes bibliography and index.

2003 Anthropological Advocacy in Historical Perspective: The Case of Anthropologists and

Virginia Indians. In: Human Organization: Journal of the Society for Applied Anthropology. vol 62, no 2:191-201.

Discussion of contemporary relationships between Virginia Indians and the anthropological community with notes and references.

Copland, Patrick, and Peter Pope
1622*Virginia's God Be Thanked; or, A Sermon of Thanksgiving for the Happie Successe of the Affayres in Virginia This Last Yeare, Preached by Patrick Copland at Bow-Church in Cheapside, before the Honorable Virginia Company, on Thursday, the 18 of Aprill 1622; Hereunto Are Adjoyned Some Epistles, Written First in the Latine (and Now Englished) in the East Indies by Peter Pope, an Indian Youth Who Was Baptised in London, December 22, 1616.* London: I.D. for William Sheffard and Iohn Bellamie, 1622. 36 pp.

Contains information concerning the products of Virginia, the condition of the colony, and its relations with the Indians.

[Cotton, John]
History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion, 1675-1676. Virginia Historical Society: Richmond. 1 vol. (54 pp.)

A literary account of Bacon's Rebellion, written shortly after the event and usually attributed to John Cotton (fl. 1660-1678) of York and Northampton counties. It includes references to Bacon's use of women at Jamestown to protect his supporters from the opposition. The manuscript was published several times in the nineteenth century.

Craven, Wesley Frank
1944 Indian Policy in Early Virginia. In: *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d ser., 1: 65-82.

Includes bibliographical references

1971 *White, Red, and Black: The Seventeenth-Century Virginian.* The University Press of Virginia: Charlottesville. 114 pp.

The James W. Richard Lectures in History, delivered at the University of Virginia in the fall of 1970 and published in this volume "with only an occasional revision of the text." Includes bibliographical references, and an index.

Cullen, Joseph P.
1972 James' Town." *American History Illustrated* 7, no. 6: 26-38.

The settlement of Jamestown was plagued by disease, starvation, mismanagement, and idleness.

Davie, Preston
1627-1846 Papers, [1627-1846] Virginia Historical Society: Richmond.

A lawyer in Louisville, Ky., and New York, Davie collected legal documents and land records relating to England and Virginia. Among the papers are an indentured servant agreement (1627), orders to pay money owed (1660-1665), and land patents and deeds (1679-1777) in several Virginia localities, including Jamestown. Letters (1709-1825) concern business affairs, Indian attacks against the Virginia militia, the removal of forces in the Continental Army from the Southern Department, the sale of coal, and the sale of tobacco. (59 items)

Davis, J.E.
1928 *Jamestown and her Neighbors,* Richmond, Garrett and Massie, Inc.

This book focuses on the earliest settlers in America, who occupied a narrow strip south of the James and the cities of Norfolk, Portsmouth and the harbor of Hampton Roads and Hampton. Covers the Peninsula in the 17th, and 18th centuries, old Williamsburg and present day Williamsburg, Richmond and the James River Plantations.

Davis, John
1805 *The First Settlers of Virginia: An Historical Novel Exhibiting a View of the Rise and Progress of the Colony at James Town, a Picture of Indian Manners, the Countenance of the Country, and Its Natural Productions.* 2d, enl. ed. Printed for I. Riley and Co. by Southwick and Hardcastle: New York. (284 pp.)

1813 *Life and Surprising Adventures of the Celebrated John Smith, First Settler of Virginia, Interspersed with Interesting Anecdotes of Pocahontas, an Indian Princess.* Printed by Cramer, Spear and Eichbaum: Pittsburgh.

Includes "Life of John Robinson": [59]-72.(72 pp.)

Davis, Richard Beale
1955 *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer: A Study in Anglo-American Culture in the Seventeenth Century.* New York: Columbia University Press.

This biography of the colonial official and translator of Ovid includes extensive discussion of Sandys' tenure as Treasurer in Virginia from 1621 to 1625. Sandys, is a member of a family prominent in Virginia Company affairs, was sent to Virginia to collect revenues, oversee policies toward staple crops, and encourage pursuits such as mills, iron works, silk production, and glassmaking. He was in Jamestown during the massacre of 1622 and the transition from Company to royal administration, bibliography: 287-309, includes index, 320 pp.; illus.

Dunham, Gary H.
1999 Marking Territory, Making Territory: Burial Mounds in Interior Virginia. In: Material Symbols: Culture and Economy in Prehistory. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Occasional Papers; no 26: 112-134.

Discussion of ancient burial rituals, rites and ceremonies among Monahoac Indians, Monacan Indians; with references.

Early, Ruth Hairston
1907 *By-ways of Virginia History: A Jamestown Memorial, Embracing a Sketch of Pocahontas.* Richmond: Everett Waddey Co. 429 pp.; front., illus.

Eggleston, Edward, and Lillie Eggleston Seelye
1879 *Pocahontas, Including an Account of the Early Settlement of Virginia and of the Adventures of Captain John Smith.* Dodd, Mead: New York 310 pp.; illus.

Egloff, Keith and Woodward, Deborah
1992 *First People: The Early Indians of Virginia.* The University Press of Virginia: Charlottesville.

An overview of Native American culture with an emphasis on the precontact era.

Fausz, J. Frederick

1990 An Abundance of Blood Shed on Both Sides: England's First Indian War, 1609-1614. In: *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 98: 3-56.

Investigates the actions and motivations of both sides of the early contact period, illus., tables, map.

Feest, Christian F.
1989 *The Powhatan Tribes.* Chelsea House Publishers: New York.

General overview of Powhatan history and culture.

Finestone, Harry, ed.
1956 *Bacon's Rebellion: The Contemporary News Sheets.* The University of Virginia Press: Charlottesville.

Reprint of "two English newspaper [i. e., pamphlet] accounts of the rebellion...Strange news from Virginia, and More news from Virginia" printed for William Harris, London, 1677. With reproductions of original title pages. "Published in honor of the 1957 Jamestown 350th anniversary celebration...under the aegis of the Tracy W. McGregor Library at the University of Virginia."

Bibliographical note: [39]-40, 40 pp.; illus., map.

Finn, Rosemary R.
1987 Belief System of the Powhatan Indians. In: Quarterly Bulletin, Archeological Society of Virginia. vol 42, no 3:150-158.

Force, Peter, comp.
1963 *Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, from the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776.* Washington: Printed by P. Force, 1836-1846. 4 vols.

Items relating to Virginia: Volume 1, no. 6, [Robert Johnson] Nova Britannia (1609); no. 7, [Robert Johnson] The new life of Virginea (1612); no. 8, [Thomas Mathew] The beginning, progress, and conclusion of Bacon's rebellion (1705); no. 9, Mrs. An. Cotton, An account of our late troubles in Virginia (1676); no. 10, William Berkeley, A list of those that have been executed for the late rebellion; no. 11, A narrative of the Indian and civil wars in Virginia, in the years 1675 and 1676; Volume 2, no. 6, Extract from a manuscript collection of annals relative to Virginia; no. 8, A perfect description of Virginia (1649); Volume 3, no. 1, [Virginia Company of London] A true declaration of the estate of the colonie in Virginia (1610); no. 2, [William Strachey, ed.] For the colony in Virginea Britannia: Lawes divine, morall and martiall, etc. (1612); no. 5, Virginia Company of London, A declaration of the state of the colonie and affaires in Virginia, with the names of the adventurors (1620); no. 6, Virginia Company of London, Orders and constitutions (1619,1620); no. 7, Nathaniel Shrigley, A true relation of Virginia and Mary-land, with the commodities therein (1669); no. 10, [Henry Norwood] A voyage to Virginia (1649); no. 11, [Edward Williams] Virginia, more especially the south part thereof, richly and truly valued..., with addition of the discovery of silkworms, with their benefit (1650); no. 12, John Clayton, Letter...to the Royal Society (1688); no. 13, [Samuel Hartlib] The reformed Virginian silk-worm (1655); no. 14, John Hammond, Leah and Rachel, or, The two fruitful sisters Virginia, and Mary-land (1656); no. 15, [Robert Greene] Virginia's cure, or, An advisive narrative concerning Virginia, discovering the true ground of that churches unhappiness, and the only true remedy (1662).

Reprint: Gloucester, Mass., Peter Smith, 1963.

Gallay, Alan
2002 The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717. Yale University Press: New Haven.

A study of an understudied topic for the Southeastern U.S. While Virginia is not the primary focus of this work the discussion of Indian slavery in neighboring states raises questions about this topic in Virginia; with notes and index.

Gallivan, Martin D.
1997 Spatial Analysis of John Smith's Map of Virginia. In: Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology 13:145-160.

George, H. M.
1870?*Jack o' the Feather; or, The Daughter of Powhatan: A Story of Jamestown and Its Environs.* Munro's Ten Cent Novels, no. 348. G. Munro: New York. 100 pp.; front.

Gerson, Noel Bertram
1978 *The Glorious Scoundrel: A Biography of Captain John Smith.* Dodd, Mead: New York Bibliography: 241-43. Includes index, 251 pp.; illus.

Gill, W. J. C.
1968 *Captain John Smith and Virginia.* Then and There; The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Longman: London. 74 pp.; illus., maps.

Gleach, Frederic W.
1995 Mimesis, Play, and Transformation in Powhatan Ritual. In: Papers of the Algonquian Conference. vol 26:114-123.

1993 Powhatan Indians and an Algonquian Aesthetic of War: A Work in Progress. In: Papers, Algonquian Conference vol 24:199-211.

1992 Traditional Story of the Powhatan Indians Recorded in the early 19th Century. In: Papers of the Algonquian Conference. no 23: 234-243.

1977 *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia, A Conflict of Cultures.* The University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln.

Topics include the birth of Virginia in Tsenacommacah, Virginia before the 1622 Coup, The great Massacre of 1622, Virginia between the Coups, The coup of 1644 and its aftermath and a survey of Virginia Indian relations after 1646.

Includes notes, references and index, pp. 206. 1 vol.; maps.

Gooding, Elsie
From Virginia to Willoughby to Remember the Great Capt. John Smith. [196-]. 32 pp.; illus., map, portraits. NO DATE

Gookin, Warner F.
1950 The First Leaders at Jamestown. In: *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 58: 181-93.

Argues that Bartholomew Gosnold played a prominent role in the establishment of the Virginia Company and the Jamestown colony, and that John Smith exaggerated his own contribution. Includes bibliographical references.

Green, Barbara
1987 *Virginia's Indians: Bridging the Centuries.* Reprinted from *The Richmond News Leader*. August 24-28.

Gives a brief introduction to each of the eight state recognized tribes. Divided into five parts: The New Guard of the past, the present and the future; The Old Guard, who are tribal watchdogs drawn back to their roots; Problems in the 1900s; today's concerns; and looking to the future and gaining strength from the past. 30pp. ; illus.

Haile, Edward Wright, ed.,
2001 *Jamestown Narratives, Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony, The First Decade: 1607-1617*. Round House: Champlain, Virginia.

Extremely useful volume of primary source materials on the initial ten years following the the establishment of the fort at Jamestown.

Hamor, Ralph
1971 *True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia.* The English Experience, Its Record in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile, no. 320. Da Capo Press: New York.

Original title page has imprint: Printed at London by Iohn Beale for William Welby dwelling at the signe of the swanne in Pauls Church yard, 1615. The discourse is followed by three letters: (1) from Sir Thomas Dale, Jamestown, June 18, 1614; (2) from Rev. Alexander Whitaker, Virginia, June 18, 1614; (3) from John Rolfe, giving his reasons for marrying Pocahontas, 69 pp.

Earlier reprint, with the title *A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia* and an introduction by A. L. Rowse: reprinted from a copy of the London edition of 1615 in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.; Virginia State Library Publications, no. 3; Richmond, The Library, 1957; xviii, 74 pp.

An original is on file at Swem Library, College of William & Mary.

Hantman, Jeffrey L.
1990 Between Powhatan and Quirank: Reconstructing Monacan Culture and History in the Context of Jamestown. In: *American Anthropologist* 92: 676-90.

Primarily concerned with describing an interior Indian culture, the Monacan, a people who were less complex than, and a principal enemy of the Powhatan. Analysis of ethnohistorical texts, and insights derived from archaeology, leads to a different perspective on the context of the Jamestown settlement.

1993 Powhatan's Relations with the Piedmont Monacans. In: *Powhatan Foreign Relations 1500-1722*. Helen C. Rountree, ed. The University Press of Virginia: Charlottesville.

1991 Caliban's Own Voice: American Indian Views of the Other in Colonial Virginia. In: *New Literary History* 23 (Winter): 69ff.

The writings of William Strachey, probably a source for Shakespeare's character Caliban, described the varied reactions of Virginia Indians to Europeans at the Jamestown colony. This diversity of responses among Powhatans and Monacans contribute to the contradictions portrayed in Caliban.

Hatch, Charles E., Jr
1956 *The First Seventeen Years, Virginia, 1607-1624.*Clearfield Company, Inc.: Baltimore

[Reprint 1993]

Tells the story of the establishment of Jamestown and the spread of the settlement-1607 to 1624. Discusses tobacco, Yeardley, Argall, and Wyatt and plantations.

Includes an appendix and supplies need for Virginia, pp.; illus., maps, portraits.

Hayes, Kevin J.
1991 *Captain John Smith: A Reference Guide.* A Reference Guide to Literature. G.K. Hall: Boston.

A bibliography of resources dealing with John Smith. Includes index, Xxviii, 245 pp.

1991 Defining the Ideal Colonist: Captain John Smith's Revisions from *A True Relation* to the *Proceedings* to the Third Book of the *Generall Historie.* In: *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 99: 123-44.

The varying details among Smith's three accounts indicate that he had different intentionseach time he retold the story of the Jamestown settlement.

Includes bibliographical references, illus.

Henry, William Wirt
1882 The Settlement at Jamestown, with Particular Reference to the Late Attacks upon Captain John Smith, Pocahontas, and John Rolfe [An address delivered before the Virginia Historical Society, February 24, 1882]. In: *Proceedings of the Virginia Historical Society in Annual Meeting,* 1882, 10-63. Wm. Ellis Jones, Steam Printer: Richmond.

Also published separately and in *Addresses of W. W. Henry.*

Hume, Noel Ivor
1978 *Martin's Hundred.* The University of Virginia Press: Charlottesville, [Reprint 1982]

Gives the Jamestown perspective after four years of digging.

1994 *The Virginia Adventure, Roanoke to James Towne: An Archaeological and Historical Odyssey.* Alfred A. Knopf: New York.

Interweaves contemporary accounts with descriptions of excavations and artifacts to reveal the motivations of the first adventurers to Roanoke and Jamestown and tell the story of how the English presence persisted in spite of bad luck, bad management, and bad relations with Indians.

Bibliography: 459-67. Includes index, Xxviii, 491 pp.; illus., maps.

Johnson, Andrew
1999 Powhatan Population Distribution as an Artifact of Contact. In Quarterly Bulletin, Archaeological Society of Virginia 54, no 4: 236-247.

Jones, Howard Mumford
1968 *The Literature of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century.* 2d ed. with the aid of Sue Bonner Walcutt. The University Press of Virginia: Charlottesville.

While formal literary production was small, there was a surprising amount of writing among seventeenth-century Virginians, including firsthand accounts, promotional literature, correspondence, and public records. Includes bibliographical references, and an index of

persons. Originally published in 1946 as one of the *Memoirs* of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (vol. 19, part 2). 124 pp.; illus.

Kennedy, Arthur M.
1949 *Captain John Smith and His Critics.* Athenaeum of Philadelphia: Philiadelphia.

An address presented at the 134th annual meeting of the Athenaeum of Philadelphia.18pp.

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl, editor.
1988 Captain John Smith: A Select Edition of His Writings. The Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill.

Selections of some of Smith's writings with commentary, illustrations, index.

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl
2000 Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America. Cornell University Press.

Analysis of the native response to colonization. Illustrations, references, index.

Lamar, Howard
1984 The First American West: Jamestown, 1607-1699. In: *Yale Review* 74 (Autumn): 64.

Lemay, J. A. Leo
1992 *Did Pocahontas Save Captain John Smith?* University of Georgia Press: Athens.

An analysis of the historiography of the debate over the rescue story. Starting in the 1860s, scholars began to question Smith's published accounts of the Pocahontas incident, and a controversy ensued, with Henry Adams becoming Smith's most famous detractor. Lemay concludes that the incident did in fact occur and that Adams's original attack on Smith, written during the Civil War, was a South-baiting polemic which suppressed pertinent evidence.

Bibliographical references: 123-36. Includes index, Xx, 144 pp.; illus.

Lossing, Benson John
1887 *Description of the Marriage of Pocahontas (with Key Plate) at Jamestown, Va., April 1613.* Joseph Laing: New York 8 pp.; front.

From the original painting, by H. Brueckner; engraved on steel by John C. McRae.

Mancall, Peter C., editor
1994 *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580-1640.*Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's.

Mattaponi Heritage Foundation
2000 *Mattaponi Atlas, Endurance in Tidewater Virginia,* prototype. In press and protected by copyright. Charlottesville: ALC Copiers, 2000.

The Mattaponi oral history told pictorially with photographs, drawings and maps, covering four centuries from 1607 to present day. The Mattaponi trace their history back to the Great Chief Powhatan, the father of Pocahontas who ruled most of Tidewater, Virginia when the Europeans arrived in 1607.

Matthews, Harry Bradshaw
1995 *The Family Legacy of Anthony Johnson, from Jamestown, Va., to Somerset, Md., 1619-*

1995: A Multi-racial Saga in Black, Red and White; the Negro Johnson and Indian Puckham Lineage. Rev. ed. Oneonta, N.Y.

A case study in historiographic genealogy. Includes bibliographical references, map, and index, 59 pp.

McCartney, Martha W.
1984 The Draft of York River in Virginia: An Artifact of the Seventeenth Century. In: Southeastern Archaeology, 3:97-110.

1985 Seventeenth Century Apartheid: The Suppression and Containment of Indians in Tidewater Virginia. In: The Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology, vol 1: 51-80.

An analysis of Powhatan-English relations in the seventeenth century with references.

1989 Cockacoeske, Queen of Pamunkey: Diplomat and Suzeraine. In: Powhatan's Mantle edited by Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M.Thomas Hatley. University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln.

An examination of the leader of the Powhatan Chiefdom in the second half of the seventeenth century; with a figure, and notes.

McCary, Ben C.
1957 *Indians in Seventeenth-Century Virginia.* Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklets, no. 18. Williamsburg: Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corp.

Bibliography: 86-89. Various reprints, including: University Press of Virginia: Charlottesville reprinted for Clearfield Co. by Genealogical Publishing Co. 93 pp.; illus.

McCary, Ben C., and Parke Rouse
1965 *Virginia Indians Before and After Jamestown.* Jamestown: Jamestown Foundation, [1966?] Reprinted from the *Iron worker* 29, no. 3 (Summer). 12 pp.; illus., maps, portraits.

McIlwaine, H.R, editor.
1915 Journal of the House of Burgesses, 13 vols. Virginia State Library: Richmond.

1918 Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia. 3 vols. Virginia State Library: Richmond.

1925 Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia. 5 vols. Virginia State Library: Richmond.

Miller, Lee
2000 Roanoke: Solving the Mystery of the Lost Colony. Penguin Books: New York.

Using documents from the period the author attempts to explain the disappearance of the settlers of the Roanoke colony. Discussions of John White's visit to the region are of interest. Notes, references, bibliography and index are included.

Mook, Maurice Allison
1943 The Ethnological Significance of Tindall's Map of Virginia. In: *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d ser., 23: 371-408; folded map.

Robert Tyndall's 1608 map is significant not only as the first drawn by a Jamestown settler but also as a record of the location of Indian tribes on the James and York rivers.

Mooney, James
1890 The Powhatan Indians. In: American Anthropologist. no 2: 132.

Classic article on Powhatan Indians drawn from Mooney's fieldwork in the early twentieth century; includes descriptions of traditional lifeways maintained over many centuries.

Morgan, Edmund S.
1971 The Labor Problem at Jamestown, 1607-18. In: *American Historical Review* 76: 595-611.

Among the reasons the first settlers failed to grow the food they needed may be their attitudes toward work and their expectations of the New World. The discovery of tobacco finally started the Virginians working, but it may not have erased completely the early attitudes. Includes bibliographical references.

Muscalus, John Anthony
1971 *Historic Jamestown and Pocahontas on Paper Money and Chapman Art.* Historical Paper Money Research Institute: Bridgeport, Pa.

An overview of the history of Pocahontas on paper money, images used primarily during the Civil War. 11 pp.; chiefly illus.

Nash, Gary B.
1972 The Image of the Indian in the Southern Colonial Mind. In: *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d ser., 29: 197-230.

Includes bibliographical references.

1998*Native Peoples Magazine*, "Rivers Run Through Them: North America's First Indian Reservations." Vol. 11, No. 2, February-March-April.

Neill, Edward D.
1890 Captain John Smith, Adventurer and Romancer. In: *Macalester College Contributions,* 1st series, 241-51. Pioneer Press Publishing Co: St. Paul.

A brief account of Smith's exploits and writings, with scant attention to his Virginia period. Smith's veracity is held in low regard.

1890 Virginia Governors under the London Company. In *Macalester College Contributions,* 1st series, 5-35. Pioneer Press Publishing Co: St. Paul.

Brief accounts of early governors and others, supported by quotations from various sources, many of which are available elsewhere. Letters of Francis Wyatt and John West are significant. A patent of Ralph Hamor is incorrectly attributed to Ralph Warner. A patent of Sir George Yeardley, transcribed in full, is important because the original has been lost.

Nesbitt, Marion Belt
1957 *Captain John Smith's Page.* Lippincott: Philadelphia.

Pictures by Douglas Goraline, 79 pp.; illus.

Neville, John Davenport
1976 *Bacon's Rebellion: Abstracts of Materials in the Colonial Records Project.* Jamestown Foundation.

Comprehensive compilation of documents from the Public Record Office and U.S. archives pertaining to Bacon's Rebellion and it's aftermath. Includes index, Xv, 427 pp.

O'Brien, Warren Gregory
1993 The Powhatan Chiefdom until 1622: Dynamism and Opportunism on the Virginia Coastal Plain. Unpublished master's thesis, James Madison University. Bibliography: 89-9.

Paine, Lauran
1973*Captain John Smith and the Jamestown Story.* New York: Hippocrene Books: New York. 206 pp.; illus, bibliography: 200-201.

Payler, Esther (Miller)
1957*Arrows over Jamestown.* [1st] ed. New York: Vantage Press. 83 pp.

Percy, George
1967 *Observations Gathered out of "A Discourse of the Plantation of the Southern Colony in Virginia by the English, 1606,* edited by David B. Quinn. The University Press of Virginia: Charlottesville.

Potter, Stephen R.
1989 Early English Effects on Virginia Algonquian Exchange and Tribute in the Tidewater Potomac. In: Powhatan's Mantle edited by Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M.Thomas Hatley. University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln.

Archaeological analysis of trade goods integrated with contact period history; figures, and notes.

1993 Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs: The Development of Algonquian Culture in the Potomac Valley. University Press of Virginia: Charlottesville.

A synthesis of archaeology and ethnohistory in the Potomac Valley from A.D. 200 to 1650. Illustrations, references, index.

Price, David A.
2003*Love and Hate in Jamestown: John Smith, Pocahontas, and the Heart of a New Nation.*Alfred A. Knopf: New York ..

A narrative of the opening of the first permanent English settlement in the New World. Drawing on period letters and chronicles and on the papers of the Virginia Company existence and hardships of the early settlers. Chief Powhatan and his daughterPocahontas's roles are discussed in depth.

Includes bibliographical references, marginalia and an index, 238 pp.;. map.

Prucha, Francis Paul
1984 *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians.*Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Purchas, Samuel, comp.
1617*Purchas His Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in Al Ages and Places Discovered, from the Creation unto This Present. In Foure Parts: This First Contayneth a Theologicall and Geographicall Historie of Asia, Africa, and America, with the Ilands Adiacent... With Briefe Descriptions of the Countries, Nations, States, Discoveries, Private and Publike Customes, and the Most Remarkable Rarities of Nature, or Humane Industrie, in the Same.* 3d ed. London: Printed by William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone.

Material on Virginia appears in chapters V and VI of The Eighth Booke: America, pages 937-57, as follows: Chap. V: Of Virginia

I. The Preface, Sir Walter Raleighs Plantation, and the Northerne Colonie

II. Of the Southerne Plantation and Colonies, and Many Causes Alleged of the Ill Success Thereof at the First

III. Of the Soile, People, Beasts, Commodities and Other Observations of Virginia

IV. Of the Present Estate of Virginia, and the English There Residing

Chap. VI: Of the Religion and Rites of the Virginians [Indians]

I. Of the Virginian Rites, Related by Master Hariot

II. Observations of Their Rites by Captaine Smith and Others

III. Of the Sasquesahanockes, with Other, and Later Observations of the Virginian Rites An index is appended.

Earlier editions: 1613 and 1614.

The fourth edition (1626) is generally found as volume 1 or volume 5 of the author's *Hakluytus Posthumus.* 1102 pp.

Quitt, Martin H.
1995 Trade and Acculturation at Jamestown, 1607-1609: The Limits of Understanding. In: *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d ser., 52: 227-58. Anglo-Powhatan relations began with expectations on the part of each group that the other would accept or defer to some of its practices and values. Each counted on some degree of influence over the other, on being able to acculturate the other. Over the course of the first two years, however, leaders on both sides came to recognize how unrealistic were their earliest hopes. That recognition was grounded in the most common arena of contact, the field of trade. Settlers and natives would struggle with each other through five stages of exchange during 1607-1609 before their leaders finally grasped and confronted the critical differences between their peoples. Hindered earlier by a limited understanding of each other's ways, at the moment of deep insight Smith and Powhatan realized that neither could peacefully accommodate the other. Following their last fateful meeting, the relationship between the English and the Indians deteriorated inexorably.

Includes bibliographical references.

Rasmussen, William M. S., and Robert Steven Tilton.
1994 *Pocahontas: Her Life and Legend.* Virginia Historical Society: Richmond. 1994.

Published for an exhibition at the Virginia Historical Society, October 1994 through April 1995. Includes bibliographical references: 52-56, 56 pp.; illus.

Readers Digest Association
1995 *Through Indian Eyes, the Untold Story of Native American Peoples.* Pleasantville, New York and Montreal, Reader's Digest Association, Inc.

This book seeks to present American History as it was experienced by the American who were here first, the American Indians. Includes a chronology, suggestions for further reading,

and is extensively illustrated with drawings and photographs. Index, 387 pp.

Richter, Daniel
2001 Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America. Harvard University Press: Cambridge.

Overview of American Indian perspective and response to European colonization in the Eastern Woodlands. Jamestown included in the discussion on pages 42, 60, 65, 70-73, 75, 76, 153; with illustrations, notes, index.

Robertson, Wyndham
1887 *Pocahontas, Alias Matoaka, and Her Descendants through Her Marriage at Jamestown, Virginia, in April, 1614, with John Rolfe, Gentleman; Including the Names of Alfriend, Archer, Bentley, Bernard, Bland, Bolling, Branch, Cabell, Catlett, Cary, Dandridge, Dixon, Douglas, Duval, Eldridge, Ellett, Ferguson, Field, Fleming, Gay, Gordon, Griffin, Grayson, Harrison, Hubard, Lewis, Logan, Markham, Meade, McRae, Murray, Page, Poythress, Randolph, Robertson, Skipwith, Stanard, Tazewell, Walke, West, Whittle, and Others.* J. W. Randolph & English: Richmond.

"...with Biographical Sketches by Wyndham Robertson, and Illustrative Historical Notes by R. A. Brock."Vii, 84 pp.; front., plates.

Index published separately: Burns, *Pocahontas Blood, Being an Index...,* 1983.

Various reprints, including Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1993. For corrections and additions, see Brown and Myers, *Pocahontas' Descendants: A Revision...*

Rolfe, John
1971 *A True Relation of the State of Virginia Lefte by Sir Thomas Dale, Knight, in May Last 1616.* Jamestown Documents. Published for the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities by the University Press of Virginia: Charlottesville.

Earlier printings: 1) *Southern Literary Messenger* 5 (1839): 401-6; 2) *Virginia Historical Register* 1 (1848): 101-13; 3) Edited by J. C. Wylie, F. L. Berkeley, Jr., and John M. Jennings, New Haven, 1951. [Xliv, 15 pp.]

Rountree, Helen C.
1973 Indian Land Loss in Virginia: A Prototype of U.S. Federal Indian Policy. Unpublished dissertation at University of Wisconsin.

1989 *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture.* University of Oklahoma Press: Norman.

A description of the Indian culture encountered by the Jamestown colonists, based mainly on archaeology and such early accounts as those of John Smith, William Strachey, Henry Spelman, George Percy, and Gabriel Archer. Bibliography: 194-206. Includes index, Viii, 221 pp.; illus., maps.

1990*Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries.* University of Oklahoma Press: Norman. Xii, 404 pp.; illus., maps. bibliography: 363-87. Includes index.

1992 Powhatan Priests and English Rectors: World Views and Congregations in Conflict. In: American Indian Quarterly vol16, no 4:485-500.

1998 Powhatan Indian Women: the people Captain Smith Barely Saw. In: Ethnohistory 45, no 1:1-29.

Author uses ethnographic analogy to reconstruct the daily lives of Powhatan women.

Rountree, Helen C., editor
1993 Powhatan Foreign Relations 1500-1722. University Press of Virginia: Charlottesville.

Includes discussions about Powhatan interactions with Monacans, Eastern Shore, and Native groups in Maryland, settlement patterns, subsistence and trading activities; with notes, bibliography, and index.

Rountree, Helen C, and E. Randolph Turner, III.
1999 The Evolution of the Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom in Virginia. In: Chiefdoms >and Chieftaincy in the Americas. University of Florida Press: Gainesville.

1994 On the Fringe of the Southeast: The Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom in Virginia. In: *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South 1521-1704*, Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, editors. The University of Georgia Press: Athens.

Brief overview of Powhatan political structure (pp 355-372) with a map and notes.

2002 *Before and After Jamestown, Virginia's Powhatans and Their Predecessors.* University Press of Florida: Gainesville.

Sams, Conway Whittle
1916 *The Conquest of Virginia: The Forest Primeval; An Account, Based on Original Documents, of the Indians in That Portion of the Continent in Which Was Established the First English Colony in America.* G. P. Putnam's Sons: New York.

Includes bibliographical references, and an index, Xxiii, 432 pp.; illus., maps.

1929 *The Conquest of Virginia: The Second Attempt; An Account, Based on Original Documents, of the Attempt, under the King's Form of Government, to Found Virginia at Jamestown, 1606-1610.* Keyser-Doherty Printing Corp: Norfolk. Xlix, 916 pp.; illus., plates, portraits, maps, plans.

Includes bibliographical references.

1939 *The Conquest of Virginia: The Third Attempt, 1610-1624.* G.P. Putman & Sons: New York . 824 pp.

Shea, William L.
1983*The Virginia Militia in the Seventeenth Century.* Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge.

A study of the militia's role in the military defense and internal affairs of Virginia in the seventeenth century, including confrontations with the Indians, two raids by the Dutch navy, and Bacon's Rebellion.

Bibliography: 141-48. Includes index, Xi, 152 pp.; 2 maps.

Sheehan, Bernard W.
1980 *Savagism and Civility, Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia.* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Sheridan, Eugene R.

1988 Captain Smith Goes to Jamestown. In: *Documentary Editing* 10, no. 2 (June)

A favorable review of Philip L. Barbour's 1986 edition of John Smith's *Complete Works.* Also includes concise summaries of Smith's life and of the controversy in more recent times over his reliability as a chronicler of history.

Includes bibliographical references, 11-15; illus.

Sherwood, William
1871 Virginia's Deploured Condition: Or an Impartiall Narrative of the Murders committed by the Indians there, and of the Sufferings of his Majesties Loyall Subjects under the Rebellious outrages of Mr. Nathaniell Bacon Junior to the tenth day of August Anno Domini 1676. New York Public Library.

This formal statement, prepared for Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State, was formerly part of an extensive correspondence between Sherwood and Williamson now located in the Public Record Office. Several of Sherwood's letters have been published in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography.*

Published transcription: Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections,* 4th ser., 9: 162-76.

Slezkin, L.
1973 Legenda o Dzhone Smite ili pervye gody Dzheimstauna. (The Legend of John Smith, or the Early Years of Jamestown). *Novaia i Noveishaia Istoriia* no. 3: 159-70.

Discusses several incidents in Smith's published accounts in an attempt to assess his veracity. Concludes that Smith was not a hero and that he manufactured part of the legend. Includes bibliographical references.

Smith, James Morton, ed.
1958 *Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History.* Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press. Xv, 238 pp.

Essays based on papers read at the Symposium on Seventeenth-Century Colonial History, a commemorative event sponsored by the Institute of Early American History and Culture to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the Jamestown settlement, Williamsburg, April 7-12, 1957.

Contents include: The moral and legal justifications for dispossessing the Indians, by Wilcomb E. Washburn; Indian cultural adjustment to European civilization, by Nancy Oestreich Lurie; Social origins of some early Americans, by Mildred Campbell; Politics and social structure in Virginia, by Bernard Bailyn; Seventeenth-century English historians of America, by Richard S. Dunn. Includes bibliographical references, and an index.

Smith, John
1884*Capt. John Smith of Willoughby by Alford, Lincolnshire, President of Virginia and Admiral of New England: Works, 1608-1631.* Edited by Edward Arber. The English Scholar's Library, no. 16. Birmingham: Cxxxvi, 984 pp.; maps, facsim.

Smith's works which deal with Virginia include 1) *A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Noate as Hath Hapned in Virginia since the First Planting of That Collony* (1608);2) *A Map of Virginia, with a Description of the Countrey* (1612), with its second part, 3) *The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia since Their First Beginning from*

England in the Yeare of Our Lord 1606, till This Present 1612; 4) *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles..., Divided into Sixe Bookes* (1624), Books 2 and 3 of which are reprints, with variations, of *A Map of Virginia* and *The Proceedings of the English Colony in Virginia*, and Book 4 is a continuation of the history of Virginia from the time Smith left it until 1624; 5) *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith* (1630), which is predominantly about the early years of Smith's life before his Virginia voyage, but which includes a short account of Virginia events from 1624 to 1629. Edward Arber's introduction to this compilation of Smith's works includes the texts of several "Illustrative Documents," such as a) "A Relatyon of the Discovery of Our River, from James Forte into the Maine..., Sincerely Writen and Observed by a Gent. of Ye Colony" [possibly Gabriel Archer], covering the period from May 21 to June 22, 1607; b) "Observations Gathered out of 'A Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia by the English, 1606', Written by That Honorable Gentleman, Master George Percy," taken from Samuel Purchas's *Pilgrimes*; c) "A Discourse of Virginia," by Edward Maria Wingfield (1608); d) "Relation of Virginea," by Henry Spelman (1613). Later edition: *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, Edinburgh, 1910, 2 vols., with a new introduction by A. G. Bradley.

The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles, with the Names of the Adventurers, Planters, and Governours from Their First Beginning, Ano: 1584, to This Present 1624, with the Proceedings of Those Severall Colonies and the Accidents That Befell Them in All Their Journyes and Discoveries; Also the Maps and Descriptions of All Those Countryes, Their Commodities, People, Government, Customes, and Religion Yet Knowne; Divided into Sixe Bookes. London: Printed by I. D. and I. H. for Michael Sparkes, 1624. 248 pp.; plates, maps.

Books 2 and 3 are reprints, with variations, of *A Map of Virginia* and *The Proceedings of the English Colony in Virginia.* Book 4 is a continuation of the history of Virginia from the time Smith left it until 1624.

Facsimile edition: Cleveland, 1966, with an introduction by A. L. Rowse and bibliographical notes by Robert O. Dougan.

A Map of Virginia, with a Description of the Countrey, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion, Written by Captaine Smith, Sometimes Governor of the Countrey; Whereunto Is Annexed the Proceedings of Those Colonies, Since Their First Departure from England, with the Discourses, Orations, and Relations of the Salvages, and the Accidents That Befell Them in All Their Journies and Discoveries, Taken Faithfully As They Were Written out of the Writings of Doctor Russell, Tho. Studley, Anas Todkill, Ieffra Abot, Richard Wiefin, Will. Phettiplace, Nathaniel Powell, Richard Pots, and the Relations of Divers Other Diligent Observers There Present Then, and Now Many of Them in England. Oxford: Printed by Joseph Barnes, 1612. 39, 110 pp.; map.

The second part has a special title page: *The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia since Their First Beginning from England in the Yeare of Our Lord 1606 till This Present 1612...*

The Settlement of Jamestown. Old South Leaflets [General Series, vol. 7], no. 167. [Boston: Directors of the Old South Work, 1906]. 20 pp.

From Smith's *General History of Virginia.* Extracts on Capt. Smith and the Jamestown colony from Edward Arber: 18-20.

A True Relation of Such Occurences and Accidents of Noate as Hath Hapned in Virginia since the First Planting of That Collony, Which is Now Resident in the South Part Thereof,

till the Laste Returne from Thence. London: Printed for Iohn Tappe...by W.W., 1608. [44] pp.

Running title: Newes from Virginia.

Reprints: 1) Boston, Wiggin and Lunt, 1866; with an introduction and notes by Charles Deane; 2) New York, A. Lovell, 1896; American History Leaflets, vol. 2, no. 27; 3) Smith, *Travels and Works...*, ed. by Arber, vol. 1, 1-40; 4) Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia,* 25-71.

The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine Iohn Smith, in Europe, Asia, Affrica, and America, from Anno Domini 1593 to 1629: His Accidents and Sea-fighte in the Straights, His Services and Stratagems of Warre in Hungaria, Transilvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia; Together with a Continuation of His Generall History of Virginia, Summer-Iles, New England, and Their Proceedings, since 1624 to This Present 1629. London: J. H. for Thomas Slater, 1630.

Stanard, Mary Newton
1904? *Jamestown and the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.* Richmond: Printed for the Society by W. E. Jones. 8 pp.; [1] leaf of plates.

1907 *The Story of Bacon's Rebellion.* Neale Publishing Co: New York.. 181 pp. Original sources: 171-81.

1928 *The Story of Virginia's First Century.* J. B. Lippincott Co: Philadelphia. 331 pp.; front., plates, portraits, facsim, includes index.

Steele, Ian K.
1994 Warpaths: Invasions of North America. Oxford University Press: New York.

Chapter 3 entitled English Jamestown and The Powhatan 1607-1677 (pgs 37-58) examines interactions between Amerindians and Europeans in the initial years of contact; notes and index.

Stith, William
1747 *The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia, Being an Essay Towards a General History of This Colony.* Printed by William Parks: Williamsburg.

The first history of the early years of the colony based on extensive documentation. Stith, a minister and future President of the College of William and Mary, relied mainly on John Smith's writings and the copies of Virginia Company records then in the possession of William Byrd. The emphasis, therefore, is on the years 1607 to 1609 and 1619 to 1624, when the narrative ends. Stith champions John Smith and supports the Sandys-Farrar faction of the Virginia Company against the villainous Sir Thomas Smith and James I.

The appendix is separately paged and has its own title page: "An Appendix to the First Part of the History of Virginia, Containing a Collection of Such Ancient Charters or Letters Patent, As Relate to That Period of Time..." Included are the three charters of the Virginia Company and the Company's July 1621 "Ordinance and Constitution...for a Council of State and General Assembly."

Reprint, with a new introduction by Darrett B. Rutman: New York, Johnson Reprint Co., 1969. Viii, 331, 34 pp.

Strachey, William
[1969]*For the Colony in Virginea Britannia; Lawes Divine, Morall, and Martiall, Etc.*

Jamestown Documents. Charlottesville: Published for the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities by the University Press of Virginia.

Edited by David H. Flaherty. Reprint of the 1612 edition, which is also published in Force's *Tracts.* Xxxviii, 101 pp.

The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania [1612]. Edited by Louis B. (Louis Booker) Wright and Virginia Freund. Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2d ser., vol. 103. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1953. Xxxii, 221 pp.; maps, facsim.

"The text is intended to be an exact transcript of the Princeton MS, with original spelling and punctuation retained."

The title page from the manuscript: "The First Booke of the First Decade, Conteyning the Historie of travell into Virginia Britania, expressing the Cosmographie, and Commodities of the Countrie, together with the Qualities, Customes, and Manners of the naturall Inhabitants, in part gathered, and obteyned, from the industrious and faithful Obseruations, and Commentaries of the first Planters and elder Discouerers; and in parte obserued, by William Strachey gent, three yeeres thether imployed, and sometyme Secretary, and of Counsaile..."

Includes a vocabulary of the Powhatan dialect of the Algonquian language spoken by the Indians in the Jamestown region. Also includes an index.

Published previously (1849) by the Hakluyt Society as *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia,* edited by R. H. Major, from the manuscript in the British Museum.

Strong, Lee
1994 *Virginia's True First Family, The Mattaponi Nation Survives.* In: Albemarle Magazine. Kluge Carden Jennings Publishing Company, Issue No. 43, December 1994 - January 1995.

Includes an interview with Chief Webster Little Eagle Custalow, gives some oral history of the tribe, one of the original tribes of the Powhatan Chiefdom.

Swem, Earl Gregg, ed.
1957 *The Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklets.* Williamsburg: Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corp.. 23 vols; illus., portraits, maps (some folded).

1. A selected bibliography of Virginia, 1607-1699, by E. G. Swem and J. M. Jennings; 2. A Virginia chronology, by W. W. Abbott; 3. John Smith's map of Virginia, by B. C. McCary; 4. The three Charters of the Virginia Company of London; 5. The Virginia Company of London, by W. F. Craven; 6. The first seventeen years, Virginia, 1607-1624, by C. E. Hatch, Jr.; 7. Virginia under Charles I and Cromwell, by W. E. Washburn; 8. Bacon's rebellion, 1676, by T. J. Wertenbaker; 9. Struggle against tyranny, by R. L. Morton; 10. Religious life of Virginia in the seventeenth century, by G. M. Brydon; 11. Virginia architecture in the seventeenth century, by H. C. Forman; 12. Mother Earth; land grants in Virginia, by W. S. Robinson, Jr.; 13. The bounty of the Chesapeake, by J. Wharton; 14. Agriculture in Virginia, by L. Carrier; 15. Reading, writing, and arithmetic in Virginia, by S. M. Ames; 16. The government of Virginia in the seventeenth century, by T. J. Wertenbaker; 17. Domestic life in Virginia in the seventeenth century, by A. L. Jester; 18. Indians in seventeenth-century Virginia, by B. C. McCary; 19. How justice grew, Virginia counties, by M. W. Hiden; 20. Tobacco in colonial Virginia, by M. Herndon; 21. Medicine in Virginia, by T. P. Hughes; 22. Some notes on shipbuilding and shipping in colonial Virginia, by C. W. Evans; 23. A pictorial booklet on early Jamestown commodities and industries, by J. P. Hudson. (Most of these titles have separate entries in this bibliography.)

Taylor, Robert T.
1957 The Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition of 1907. In: *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 65: 169-208; illus.

Includes bibliographical references.

Thurman, Melburn D.
1986 Experimental Archaeology and Woodland Indian Houses. In: *Archeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin* 41: 89-96.

Discusses the limits of ethnohistorical sources in helping to reconstruct the Late Woodland house model in an exhibit at Virginia Beach. The article is followed by an exchange of replies between Errett Callahan and Steve W. Edwards (pp. 97-111). Callahan answers Thurman's criticisms of a 1985 paper written by Callahan. Edwards claims that Callahan compromised the larger goals of Jamestown Settlement's living history exhibit by applying overly exacting standards to the replication of the Indian village there. Callahan suggests ways of achieving greater accuracy without jeopardizing the accessibility and goals of the Jamestown project.

Turner, E. Randolph
1985 Socio-political Organization within the Powhatan Chiefdom and the Effects of European Contact, A.D. 1607-1646. In: Cultures in Contact. Smithsonian Institution Press:193-224.

Description of the structure of the Powhatan chiefdom drawn from primary sources; references included.

Tyler, Lyon Gardiner, ed.
1907 *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625.* Original Narratives of Early American History. New York: Charles Scribners and Sons. Xv, 478 pp.; map, facsim.

Contents: Observations by Master George Percy, 1607; A True Relation, by Captain John Smith, 1608; Description of Virginia and Proceedings of the Colonie, by Captain John Smith, 1612; The Relation of the Lord De-La-Ware, 1611; Letter of Don Diego de Molina, 1613; Letter of Father Pierre Biard, 1614; Letter of John Rolfe, 1614; Proceedings of the Virginia Assembly, 1619; Letter of John Pory, 1619; Generall Historie of Virginia by Captain John Smith, 1624, The Fourth Booke; The Virginia Planters' Answer to Captain Butler, 1623; The Tragical Relation of the Virginia Assembly, 1624; The Discourse of the Old Company, 1625.

Vaughan, Alden T.
1974 *American Genesis: Captain John Smith and the Founding of Virginia.* Library of American Biography, edited by Oscar Handlin. Little, Brown: Boston.

"A Note on the Sources": 191-200. Includes index, Ix, 207 pp.; illus.

1977 Expulsion of the Salvages: English Policy and the Virginia Massacre of 1622. In: *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d ser., 35: 57-84.

"This essay seeks to document the patterns of pre-1622 attitudes and policies, to clarify their causal relation to the massacre, and to show the massacre's impact on English perceptions of the Indian and the resultant colonial policy." [Author's note, p. 57] Includes bibliographical references.

Vaughan, Jack Chapline
1990*Jamestowne.* Vaughan's Southern Histories, vol. 1. Little Rock, Ark.: Vaughan.

Includes index, Xv, 240 pp.; plates, illus.

1920 *Propaganda in History.* 2d, rev. ed. Richmond Press: Richmond.

A discussion of selected myths in American historiography, including those involving the settlement of the Jamestown and Plymouth colonies and the character of Abraham Lincoln. First edition published in 1920, 20 pp.

Virginia. General Assembly. Senate.
1874*Colonial Records of Virginia. Senate Document—Extra.* Richmond.

Contents include: The proceedings of the first assembly of Virginia, held July 30th, 1619; Lists of the livinge & the dead in Virginia, February 16, 1623; A list of those killed in the massacre of March 22, 1622; A briefe declaration of the plantation of Virginia duringe the first twelve yeares, when Sir Thomas Smith was Governor of the Companie, & downe to this present tyme, by the Ancient Planters nowe remaining alive in Virginia, 1624; A list of the number of men, women and children inhabiting in the several counties within the colony of Virginia, 1634; A letter from His Majesty, Charles the Second, to Sir Wm. Berkeley, Gov. of Va. acknowledging the receipt of a present of silk..., 1648; A list of the parishes in Virginia in 1680. 106 pp.

Reprints: Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1964 and 1973; Baltimore, Clearfield Co., 1989.

Virginia Journal of Science.
1957*Early Virginia.* [Lexington: Virginia Academy of Science].

"Reprinted from the *Virginia Journal of Science,* volume 8, number 1, [Jan.] 1957 [Jamestown Festival number]."

Contents: Indians of Virginia 350 years ago, by B. D. Reynolds; Geologic ancestry of the York-James Peninsula, by A. Bevan; Seventeenth-century science in old Virginia, by I. F. Lewis; History of Virginia's commercial fisheries: neglected historical records throw light on today's problems, by J. L. McHugh and R. S. Baily; Physicians at early Jamestown, by S. S. Negus.

Includes bibliographies, 73 pp.; illus., portrait.

Washburn, Wilcomb Edward
1957*The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia.* Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press.

"Essay on the Sources": 167-75, Xv, 248 pp.; portrait, maps, facsim,

Includes bibliographical references, and an index.

1957 Sir William Berkeley's 'A History of Our Miseries.' In: *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d ser., 14: 403-13.

Contains the text of Governor Berkeley's account of Bacon's rebellion in a letter dated February 2, 1676/7, to Henry Coventry, one of Charles II's Principal Secretaries of State.

Waterhouse, Edward
1969 *Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia, with a Relation of the*

Barbarous Massacre in the Time of Peace and League, Treacherously Executed by the Native Infidels upon the English, the 22 of March Last; Together with the Names of Those That Were Then Massacred, That Their Lawfull Heyres, by This Notice Given, May Take Order for the Inheriting of Their Lands and Estates in Virginia; and a Treatise Annexed, Written by That Learned Mathematician Mr. Henry Briggs, of the Northwest Passage to the South Sea through the Continent of Virginia, and by Fretum Hudson; also a Commemoration of Such Worthy Benefactors as Have Contributed Their Christian Charitie towards the Advancement of the Colony; and a Note of the Charges of Necessary Provisions Fit for Every Man That Intends to Goe to Virginia; Published by Authoritie. London: Imprinted by G. Eld for R. Mylbourne, 1622. 54 pp.; front. Also appears in Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company of London,* vol. 3, pp. 541-79.

Reprint: Da Capo Press: New York.

Waugaman, Sandra F., and Danielle Moretti-Langholtz
1999 *We're Still Here: Contemporary Virginia Indians Tell Their Stories.* Palari Press: Richmond.

American Indians in Virginia share their unique stories as they address issues of their identity and history in their own voices. This book provides an insight into the history, education and cultural traditions of each state-recognized tribe in Virginia.

Wertenbaker, Thomas Jefferson
1957 *Bacon's Rebellion, 1676.* Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklets, no. 8. Williamsburg: Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corp.

Bibliographical essay: 59-60, 60 pp.; illus.

Reprints: Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1979; Baltimore, for Clearfield Co. by Genealogical Publishing Co., 1994.

???? *The First Americans, 1607-1690.* A History of American Life, vol. 2. New York: Macmillan Co., 1927.

"Critical Essay on Authorities": 317-38, Xx, 358 pp.; front., plates, portraits, map, facsims.

Reprint: St. Clair Shores, Mich., Scholarly Press, 1977.

???? *The Government of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century.* Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklets, no. 16. Williamsburg: Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corp., 1957. 61 pp.; illus.

Includes bibliographical references.

Reprint: Baltimore, Clearfield Co., 1994.

Williamson, Margaret Holmes
1992 Pocahontas and Captain John Smith: Examining a Historical Myth. In: History and Anthropology. vol 5, no 3-4:365-402.

2003 *Powhatan Lords of Life and Death: Command and Consent in Seventeenth-Century Virginia.*University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln.

A portrait of the famous Native leader Powhatan and his realm which encompassed the Tidewater area of Virginia from the James River to the Potomac River. Author Williamson

provides a more complex and culturally appropriate view of the Chiefdom of Powhatan during the crucial early decades of the seventeenth century.

Includes bibliographical references, notes, and an index.

Wood, Karen and Diane Shields

2001 *The Monacan Indians: Our Story.* Madison Heights, Virginia: Monacan Indian Nation, Office of Historical Research.

Tells the history of the Monacan Indian Confederacy from before the Europeans arrived through the twentieth century. 1 vol.36 pp; map, illus.

Wood, Peter H.
1989 The Changing Population of the Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790. In: Powhatan's Mantle edited by Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M.Thomas Hatley. University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln.

A comprehensive overview of changing Native, White and Black populations in the region. Tables, and notes included.

Wood, Peter, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, Editors
1989 *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southwest.* University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln.

The book is divided into three parts, with each editor taking a part. Part One is Geography and Population: part Two is Politics and Economics, Part Three covers Symbols and Society. In *Powhatan's Mantle,* the editors have assembled superb examples of how the history of Southeastern Indians is being rewritten. Subjects range from a single individual to a village to the region as a whole. Authors cover demography, ecology and symbolism in this new interpretation of the native Southeast. This book focuses on the settlers' relations with the Indians; 343pp., maps, illus., photographs ,index, and notes.

Wright, Louis B. (Louis Booker), ed.
1946 *Newes from the New-World, Wherein May Be Seene the Excellent Qualities of the Beastes of the Fields, the Fish, and Fowl, As Well As the Singular and Rare Vertues of the Earth and Air of That Goodly Land.* [Los Angeles]: Imprinted by Anderson & Ritchie for the said Companie of the Friends of the Huntington Library. 29 pp.; facsim.

Four small samples of promotional writings by adventurers to the New World, in support of English colonization. Included are a 1608 letter from Peter Wynne at Jamestown, an excerpt from Alexander Whitaker's *Good Newes from Virginia,* and a 1624 letter by John Smith presenting a copy of his *Generall Historie of Virginia* to the Society of Cordwainers of London.

1964*A Voyage to Virginia in 1609; Two Narratives: Strachey's "True Reportory" and Jourdain's "Discovery of the Bermudas."* Jamestown Documents. Charlottesville: Published for the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities by the University Press of Virginia: Charlottesville.

Xx, 116 pp.

BIBLIOGRAPHY II:

An Annotated Bibliography of Juvenile Literature on Virginia India

Adams, Patricia
1996 *The Story of Pocahontas, Indian Princess.* Famous Lives [series]. Gareth Stevens: Milwaukee.

Illustrated by Tony Capparelli. Includes index, 101 pp.; illus. Original edition: New York, Dell, 1987.

Andrews, Mary (Evans)
1970 *When Jamestown Was a Colonial Capital.* A How They Lived Book. Garrard Publishing Co: Champaign, Ill.

Reveals, through focus on the daily routines and issues of the day, what life was like in colonial Jamestown. Illustrated by Russell Hoover, 96 pp.; illus.

Barksdale, Lena
1945 *That Country Called Virginia.* New York: Knopf: New York.

A history of Virginia for young people, illustrated by Harry Roth. "Good Books about Virginians": 227-28. Colonial period chronology: 229-43. Includes index, Vi, 250 pp.; illus.

Benjamin, Anne
1992 *Young Pocahontas, Indian Princess.* A Troll First-Start Biography. Troll Associates: Mahwah, NJ.

A "simple biography." Illustrated by Christine Powers. Also produced on sound cassette 32 pp.; col. illus.

Campbell, Elizabeth A.
1974 *Jamestown: The Beginning.* [1st] ed. Boston: Little, Brown, [1974].

X, 86 pp.;illus. Describes the founding of Jamestown. Illustrated by William Sauts Bock.

Caselli, Giovanni.
1989 *A Virginian Indian.* 1st American ed. The Everyday Life of...[series]. P. Bedrick Books: New York.

Relates the incident in the life of Matoax, also known as Pocahontas, in which she saves John Smith from death. Illustrated by Gerald Wood. British edition: London, Macdonald, 1987.

Cavanah, Frances
1957 *Pocahontas, a Little Indian Girl of Jamestown.* Chicago: Rand McNally: Chicago.

Illustrated by Manning de V. Lee.

Chesterfield County (Va.) Public Schools.
1977 *Life in Jamestown and Chesterfield County, Virginia.* Chesterfield, Va.

75 leaves; illus., maps, bibliography: 66.

Collier, Christopher, and James Lincoln Collier
1998 *The Paradox of Jamestown, 1585-1700.* The Drama of American History [series]. Benchmark Books: New York

Discusses the circumstances surrounding English colonization of Virginia and the evolution of slavery in that colony.

Cooke, John Esten
1879 *Stories of the Old Dominion, from the Settlement to the End of the Revolution.* New York: Harper & Brothers: New York.

A collection of histories for children; 337 pp.; front.illus., plates, portraits.

Davis, Burke
1971 *Getting to Know Jamestown.* Coward, McCann & Geoghegan: New York. [1971].

Illustrated by Tran Mawicke, 72 pp.; illus. (part col.)

Fishwick, Marshall William.
1965 *Jamestown: First English Colony.* 1st ed. American Heritage Junior Library. American Heritage Publishing Co: New York.

151 pp.; illus., portraits (part col.)

Fox, Joseph L.
1985 *Captain John Smith, Hero and Conqueror.* 1st ed. Great Neck, N.Y.: Todd & Honeywel: Great Neck, New York.

Bibliography: 144-46. Includes index, 150 pp.; illus., map, portraits.

Fritz, Jean
1983 *The Double Life of Pocahontas.* Putnam: New York

A biography of the Indian princess, emphasizing her life-long adulation of John Smith and the roles she played in two very different cultures. Illustrations by Ed Young. Bibliography: 92-94. Includes index, 96 pp.; illus. Various reprints, including New York: Trumpet Club, 1991. Also produced on sound cassette.

Frome, Michael
1966 *Virginia.* States of the Nation [series]. Coward-McCann: New York.

Visits such Virginia landmarks as Jamestown, Williamsburg, Richmond, Mount Vernon, and Civil War sites, 127 pp.; illus., maps.

Gerson, Noel Bertram
1967 *Survival: Jamestown, First English Colony in America.* Milestones in History. New York: Messner: New York.

Maps and drawings by Barry Martin. Bibliography: 187, 192 pp.; illus., map.

Gleiter, Jan, and Kathleen Thompson
1985 *Pocahontas.* Raintree Children's Books: Milwaukee.

A biography of the Powhatan Indian woman who befriended the English settlers at Jamestown and helped maintain peace between her tribe and the colonists.

Illustrated by Deborah L. Chabrian, 32 pp.; col. illus. Various reprints, including Austin, Tex.: Raintree Steck-Vaughn Publishers, 1991 and 1995. Also produced on sound cassette.

Gourse, Leslie
1996 *Pocahontas.* Childhood of Famous Americans [series]. Aladdin: New York.

Examines the life of Pocahontas and her contact with English settlers, especially John Smith.

Graves, Charles Parlin
1965 *A World Explorer: John Smith.* World Explorer Books. Garrard Publishing Co: Champaign, Ill.

A biography of the seaman and explorer who helped settle Jamestown and who charted and sailed the New England coastline for England. Illustrated by Al Fiorentino, 96 pp.; col. illus. Reprint: Junior World Explorers [series], New York, Chelsea House Publishers, 1991.

Greene, Carol
1988 *Pocahontas: Daughter of a Chief.* A Rookie Biography. Children's Press: Chicago.

A brief biography of the Indian princess who saved John Smith from death at the hands of her father, and later was very helpful to the colonists at Jamestown. Includes index, 45 pp.; col. illus.

Hanes, Mari Dunagan
1995 *Pocahontas, True Princess.* Questar Publishers: Sisters; Or.

The story of the Indian woman who captivated the heart of John Smith and was converted to Christianity. Illustrated by David Danz, 150 pp.,illus.

Hanff, Helene, and Eddie Chan
1965 *Early Settlers in America: Jamestown, Plymouth, and Salem.* Schooled. A Who, When, Where Book. C. E. Merrill: Columbus 61 pp.; illus.

Text by Helene Hanff; pictures by Eddie Chan.

Holmes, Mary Z.
1992 *Two Chimneys.* History's Children [series]. Raintree Steck-Vaughn Publishers: Austin, TX.

Fiction. Illustrated by Geri Strigenz, 48 pp.; col. illus. Having lived in Virginia for six years since 1622, Katherine does not want to leave her family's tobacco plantation after learning of her betrothal to an English heir.

Hunt, Priscilla.
1947 *A Children's Color Book of Jamestown in Virginia.* Dietz: Richmond.

On cover: The story of old Jamestown in words and pictures. Illustrated by F. Richard Vranian. [44] pp.; illus.

1994 "Jamestown." *Cobblestone, the History Magazine for Young People* 15, no. 4 (April 1994).

Describes the founding of Jamestown and the struggle of the colonists to survive. The effects the English had on the native peoples and the roots of slavery in the New World are discussed. Bibliography: 44-45, illus., map. 48 pp. (special issue)

1992 *Jamestown Children's Activity Book.* Gettysburg, Pa.: Thomas Publications.

A cooperative effort of Jamestown Settlement and Colonial National Historical Park, with original artwork by Shawn Heiges. Includes bibliographical references, 40 pp. illus.

Jamestown Foundation (Va.)
1963 *Teacher's Guide to Jamestown.* Williamsburg.

5 items in a kit, including maps.

Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation, Education Department
Living with the Indians: Education Program, Jamestown Settlement. Williamsburg: The Foundation, [199-].

Bibliography: [6]. [31] leaves; illus.

Jassem, Kate
1979 *Pocahontas, Girl of Jamestown.* Troll Associates: Mahwah, N.J.

A brief account of the life of the Indian princess who befriended Captain John Smith and the English settlers of Jamestown. Illustrated by Allan Eitzen, 47 pp.; illus. Also produced on a sound cassette narrated by Peter Thomas, with a teacher's guide.

Johnston, Johanna
1972 *The Indians and the Strangers.* Dodd, Mead: New York.

Biographies include "Powhatan and the Settlers at Jamestown." 109 pp.; illus.

Kay, Alan N.
1992 *Jamestown Journey.* Thomas Publications: Gettysburg, Pa.

Bibliography: 53-54, 56 pp.; illus.

Knight, James E.
1982 *Jamestown, New World Adventure.* Adventures in Colonial America. Troll Associates: Mahwah, N.J.

Two English children are told the story of their grandfather's experiences as one of the original Jamestown colonists of 1607. Illustrated by David Wenzel, 32 pp. illus. Also produced on sound cassette.

Latham, Jean Lee
1957 *This Dear-Bought Land.* [1st] ed. Harper: New York.

In 1607 a fifteen-year-old boy joins the expeditionary force that hopes to establish a permanent English colony in Virginia. [Fiction.] Pictures by Jacob Landau, 246 pp.; illus.

Logan, John.
1962 *Tom Savage: A Story of Colonial Virginia.* Encyclopaedia Britannica True-to-Life

Books. Britannica Books: Chicago.

Text adapted by John Logan. Illustrated by Dan Siculan, Unpaged; illus.

Nee, Kay Bonner.
1977 *Powhatan: The Story of an American Indian.* Dillon Press: Minneapolis.

A biography of the Algonquian chief who assured the survival of the Jamestown colonists and is remembered as the builder of the Powhatan Confederacy of Indian tribes. 60 pp.; illus.

Norfolk County (Va.) Public Schools.
1907 *Jamestown Exposition.*

Bound volumes contain original samples of student assignments from Norfolk County Schools. (Norfolk County later became part of the city of Chesapeake.) Contents: Grades 1 and 2; Grades 5 and 6; Grades 10 and 11; Stenography [and] Typewriting. 4 vols., illus.

O'Dell, Scott
1987 *The Serpent Never Sleeps: A Novel of Jamestown and Pocahontas.* Houghton Mifflin: Boston.

In the early seventeenth century, Serena Lynn, determined to be with the man she has loved since childhood, travels to the New World and comes to know Pocahontas and the hardships of colonial life. Illustrated by Ted Lewin, 227 pp.; map.

Also, Fawcett-Juniper ed., New York, Ballantine Books, 1989. German translation: *Serena und der Schlangenring,* translated by Anja Asmus; Cham, Switzerland: MŸller RŸschlikon Verlags, 1992.

Old Dominion Pilgrimage Committee
1903 *School Boys' Pilgrimage to Jamestown Island and Historical Cities on the James River, April 9th to April 14th, 1903.* [New York]. [12] pp.

Otis, James [pseud.]
1910 *Richard of Jamestown: A Story of the Virginia Colony.* American Book Company: New York. 165 pp.; illus.

Parker, Lois M.
1984 *Miracle at James Towne.* Review and Herald Pub. Association: Hagerstown, Md.

A history of the early years of Jamestown, with narrative of the lives of its inhabitants. 96 pp.

Pearson, Jim, and Bryna Watkins
1991 *Early Jamestown: A Unit of Study for Grades 5-8.* UCLA, National Center for History in the Schools: UCLA.

Includes bibliographical references. 56 pp.; illus.

Prolman, MarilynG1969 *The Story of Jamestown.* Cornerstones of Freedom. Children's Press: Chicago.

A brief account of the history of Jamestown. Illustrated by Chuck Mitchell, 31 pp.; illus. (part col.)

Raphael, Elaine, and Don Bolognese
1993 *Pocahontas, Princess of the River Tribes.* Drawing America [series]. New York:

Scholastic: New York.

Robinson, Gertrude
1957 *Mooring Tree: A Story of Jamestown.* Oxford Books for Boys and Girls. Oxford University Press: New York.

Fiction. 168 pp.

Rountree, Helen C.
1995 The Young Pocahontas in the Indian World. J & R Graphics: Yorktown, VA.

Biography and social customs of Pocahontas as a young woman.

Ruemmler, John
1992 *Smoke on the Water: A Novel of Jamestown and the Powhatans* normal'>. Shoe Tree Press: White Hall, Va.

Near Jamestown in 1622, a young English boy and the son of a Powhatan Indian chief find themselves caught up in the growing animosity between their peoples. Bibliographical references: 173-75, 175 pp.

Sakurai, Gail
1997 *The Jamestown Colony.* Cornerstones of Freedom. New York: Children's Press: New York.

Includes index, 30 pp.; col. illus.

Santrey, Laurence
1985 *Pocahontas.* Troll Associates: Mahwah, N.J.

A biography of the seventeenth-century Indian princess whose friendship toward the English settlers at Jamestown was a key factor in making the colony a success. Illustrated by David Wenzel. Also produced on a sound cassette with a teacher's guide.

Scrofani, E. Robert, and Robert Tideman
1990 *Jamestown and Disneyland: Two Places in Time.* ERIC Document Reproduction Service.

A geography and economics unit for high school students that uses two dissimilar places to examine the question of where humans choose to locate and why. (80 pp)

Seymour,Flora Warren
1946 *Pocahontas: Brave Girl.* The Bobbs-Merrill Company: New York.

The author was the first woman member of the Board of English Commissioners and is a good storyteller. She tells the story of Pocahontas' childhood and friendship with Captain John Smith with simple directness. The book, written is 1946, depicts Pocahontas as saving Captain John Smith's life and adopting him. Chief Powhatan, Pocahontas' father, is characterized as a cruel man who didn't like the English men with pale faces. Illustrated by Charles V. John, 192 pp.

Shaughnessy, Diane
1997 *Pocahontas, Powhatan Princess.* Famous Native Americans [series]. Power Kids Press: New York.

Includes index.

Smith, C. Carter
1991 *The Jamestown Colony.* Turning Points in American History. Silver Burdett Press: Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Describes the founding of Jamestown and the struggle of the colonists to survive in the New World. Bibliographical references: 64. Includes index, 64 pp.; illus. (some col.), maps

Stewart, Pat Ronson
1995 *Pocahontas.* Dover Little Activity Books. Dover Publications: New York.

Tells the story of the Powhatan Indian woman whose influence contributed to the success of the Jamestown settlement.

Syme, Ronald
John Smith of Virginia. Morrow: New York. Illustrated by William Stobbs, 192 pp.; illus.

Thane, Elswyth
1969 *The Virginia Colony.* A Forge of Freedom Book. Crowell-Collier Press: New York.

Traces the history of colonial Virginia from the first settlement at Jamestown to the War for Independence in 1776. Bibliography: [124]-125, 136 pp.; illus., facsims., maps., portraits.

U.S. National Park Service
1980 *Jamestown, a Beginning.* Colonial National Historical Park: Yorktown, Va.

Bibliography: 10, 10 pp.; illus.

19—? *Jamestown, a Beginning: Teacher Resource Guide.* Edited by Sandy Groves.

Bibliography: 101-3, 103 pp.

1985? *Jamestown Archeology.* Yorktown, Va.: The Service. Bibliography: 14. 14 pp.;

illus., map, forms.

1976 *Virginia Indian Life.* Washington: GPO, for Colonial National Historical Park

Bibliography: 9, 9 pp; illus.

Waring, Gilchrist

1948 *Three Ships Come Sailing: A Child's Story of Our Country's Birthplace, Jamestown in Virginia.* Dietz Press: Richmond

Pictures by Elmo Jones, 34 pp.; illus., maps.

Watson, Virginia, and Karla Dougherty
1995 *The Legend of Pocahontas.* Children's Classics: New York.

Illustrated by George Wharton Edwards, 208 pp.; illus. Originally titled *The Princess Pocahontas.*

Wellman, Manly Wade
1967 *Jamestown Adventure.* New York: Washburn: New York.

Fiction, 194 pp.

APPENDIX A:

Natives in the Landscape: Images and Documents of Seventeenth Century Virginia Indians

Compiled by Buck Woodard

Indigenous Material Culture Imagery

Purpose: To document and summarize select extant primary and secondary sources of American Indian imagery and material culture in relationship to the period of the first permanent English Settlement at Jamestown. Evaluation of resources to be included: 1) Annotated list of image sources containing content on Mid-Atlantic American Indians, with emphasis on the Southern Algonquians in the Chesapeake and Albemarle drainage; 2) description, location, and catalogue of select contact period material cultural items relative to the scope of study; 3) catalogue of images of seventeenth-century documents and maps relative to Native populations.

I. Annotated List of Image Resources

The Paintings of John White

Virginia's first colony was actually located in what is today Roanoke Island, North Carolina. White was the artist and cartographer of the first Virginia colony in 1585 and later the governor of the famed 1587 "Lost Colony". He recorded much of what he saw of Albemarle Natives in the form of watercolor paintings and select field descriptions. While the images of Native life have been listed below, White's record of the flora and fauna of the Carolina Coast has been omitted. The following list of originals are owned and copyrighted by the British Museum in London.

*only select images have been visually reproduced because of the familiarity with most of the White / DeBry paintings and engravings.

1) "The manner of their attire and painting them selues when they goe to their generall hunting, or at theire solemne feasts." Reg. # LB 13. ECM 48. 1906.5 9.1 (12). Neg. # 5254. British Museum

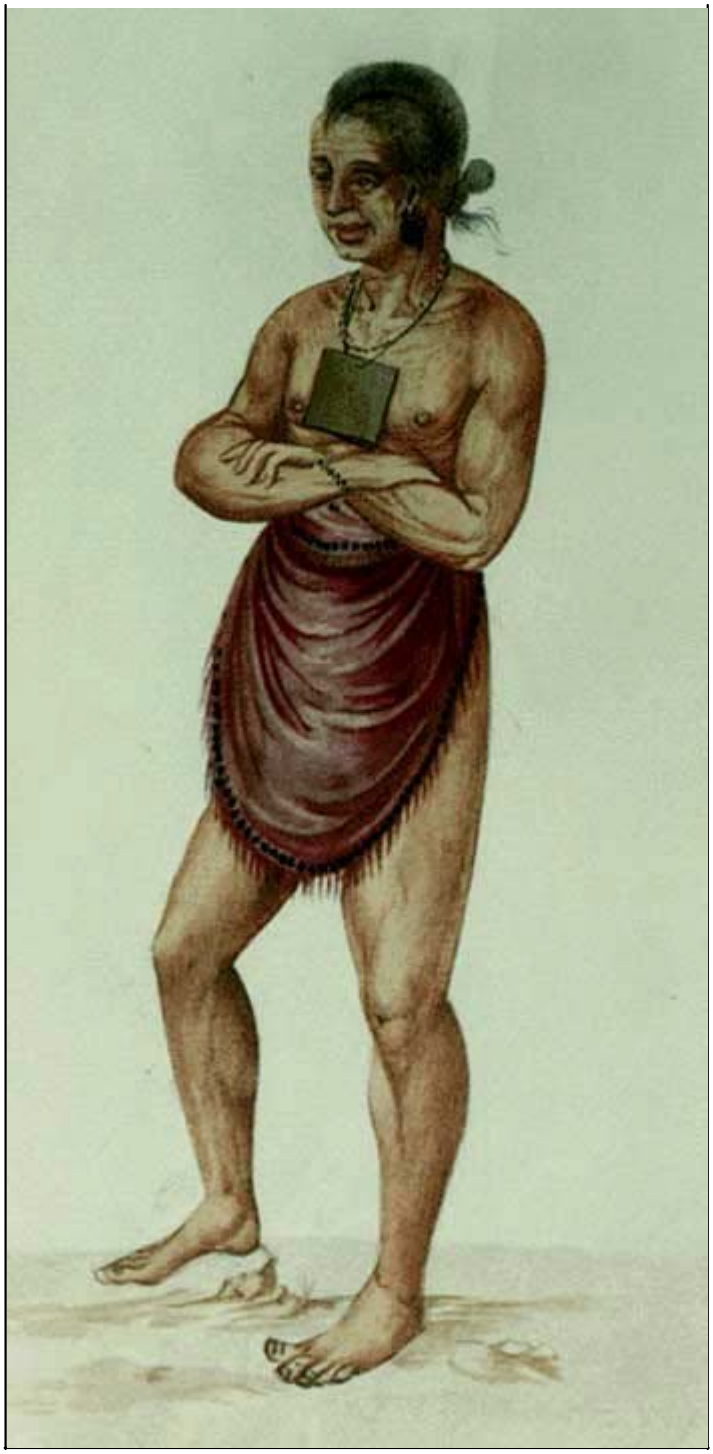
2) "The wyfe of an herowan of Secotan." Reg. # LB 19. ECM 37. 1906.5.9.1 (18). Neg. # 5260. British Museum

3) "One of their religious men." Reg. # LB 15. ECM 42. 1906.5.9.1 (14). Neg. # 5256. British Museum



4) "One of the wyues of Wyngyno." Reg. # LB 18. ECM 47. 1906.5.9.1. (17). Neg. #5259. British Museum

5) " Chiefe Herowan." Reg. # LB 22. ECM 46. 1906.5.9.1 (21). Neg. # 5263. British Museum



6) "A Chiefe Herowan wyfe of Pomeoc and her daughter of the age of 8 or 10 years." Reg. #LB 16. ECM 33 1906.5.9.1 (13). Neg# 5257. British Museum

7) "The aged man in his winter garment." Reg. # LB 20. ECM 34.1906.5.9.1(19). Neg. #5261 British Museum

8) "The Wyfe of An Herowan of Pomeiooc" Reg. # LB 14. ECM 34. 1906.5.9.1(15) Neg. # 5255. British Museum

9) "The Flyer" Reg. #LB 17. ECM 49. 1906.5.9.1 (16). Neg. # 5258. British Museum

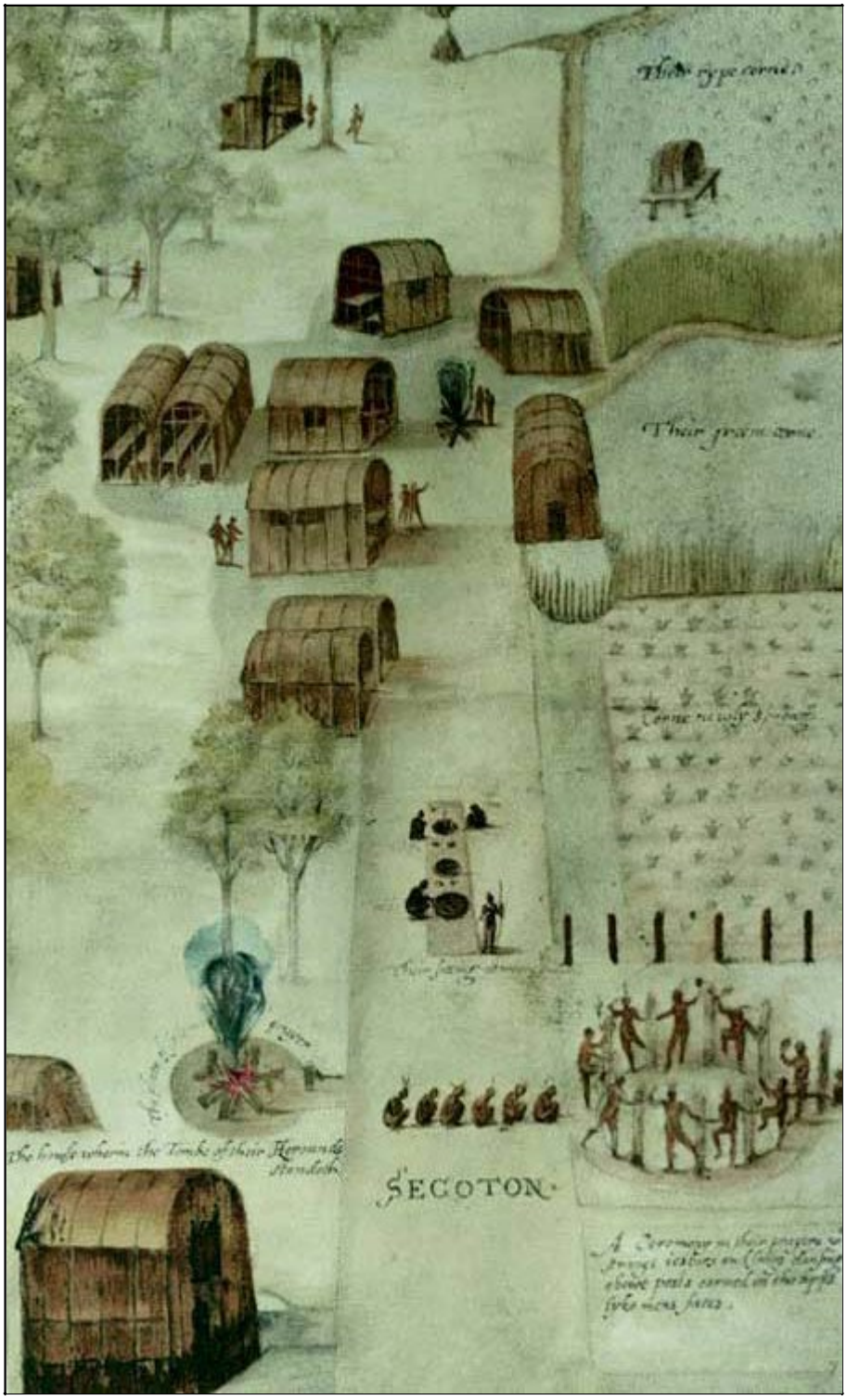
10) "The Manner of Their Fishing." Reg. # LB 5. ECM 43. 1906.5.9.1 Neg. # 5246. British Museum

11) "Their Sitting at Meate." Reg. # LB 5. ECM 41. 1906.5.9.1 (20). Neg # 5262. British Museum

12) "Ceremony of Sitting Round A Fire" Reg. # LB 10. ECM 40. 1906.5.9.1 (11) Neg. #5251. British Museum

13) "Religeous Dance" Reg. # LB 9. ECM 49. 1906.5.9.1 (16). Neg. # 5250. British Museum

14) "Secotan" Reg. # LB 6. ECM 36. 1906.5.9.1 (7). Neg. # 5247. British style='mso-tab-count:3'> Museum



15) "The Tombe of Their Cherounes or Cheife Personages" Reg. # LB 8. ECM 38. 1906.5.9.1 (9). Neg. # 5249. British Museum

16) "The Town of Pomeiock and True Form of Thier Houses" Reg. # LB 7. ECM 32. 1906.5.9.1 (8). Neg. # 5248. British Museum

The Engravings of Theodore de Bry

Theodore de Bry was a Flemish engraver and goldsmith. He worked primarily in Frankfurt and never actually saw the American continent that he is so well remembered for depicting. For his 1591 publication, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, De Bry produced 23 engravings after John White's watercolors. His additional 1591 publication of *Brevis Narritio Eorvm Qvae in Florida Americae Provicia,* a narrative after paintings produced by Jaques le Moyne de Morgues of a French Huguenot colony, make these the earliest published images of Native life in what is today the Southeastern United States.

Titles and Descriptions for engravings taken from the 1893 edition of *Hariot's Narrative of the First Plantation of Virginia in 1585...,* Compliments of the New York Public Library.

* only select images have been visually reproduced because of the familiarity with most of the White / DeBry paintings and engravings.

1) "A WEROAN OR GREAT LORDE OF VIRGINIA." Engraving number 3 from De Bry, 1590. 8 3/4 x 5 7/8 inches.

2) "ONE OF THE CHEIFF LADYES OF SECOTA." Engraving number 4 from De Bry, 1590. 8 3/4 x 5 7/8 inches.

3) "ONE OF THE RELIGEOUS MEN IN THE TOWNE OF SECOTA." Engraving number 5 from De Bry, 1590. Engraved by G. Veen. 8 3/4 x 6 1/4 inches.

4) "A YOUNGE GENTILL WOEMAN DOUGHTER OF SECOTA." Engraving style='mso-tab-count: 2'> number 6 from De Bry, 1590. Engraved by G. Veen. 8 3/4 x 5 7/8 inches.

5) "A CHIEF LORD OF ROANOAC." Engraving number 7 from De Bry, 1590. 8 3/4 x 6 3/8 inches.

6) "A CHIEF LADYE OF POMEIOOC" Engraving number 8 from De Bry, 1590. 8 1/2 x 5 3/4 inches.

7) "AN AGED MAN IN HIS WINTER GARMENT." Engraving number 9 from De Bry, 1590. 8 5/8 x 6 inches.

8) "THEIR MANNER OF CAREYNGE THER CHILDREN AND ATYERE OF THE CHEIFFE LADYES OF THE TOWN OF DASAMONQUEPEUC" Engraving number 10 from De Bry, 1590. 8 3/8 x 5 5/8 inches.

9) "THE CONIUERER" Engraving number 11 from De Bry, 1590. Engraved by G. Veen. 8 1/2 x 6 inches.

10) "THE MANNER OF MAKINGE THEIR BOATES" Engraving number 12 from De Bry, 1590. 8 1/2 x 5 7/8 inches.

11) "THEIR MANNER OF FISHYNGE IN VIRGINIA" Engraving number 13 from De Bry,

1590. 12 1/2 x 10 3/8 inches.

12) "THE BROVVYLINGE OF THEIR FIFHE OUER THE FLAME" Engraving style='mso-tab-count:1'> number 14 from De Bry, 1590. 8 3/8 x 5 1/4 inches.

13) "THEIR FEETHEYNGE OF THEIR MEATE IN EARTHERN POTTES." style='mso-tab-count: 2'> Engraving number 15 from De Bry, 1590. Engraved by G. Veen. 81/4 x 5 5/8 inches.

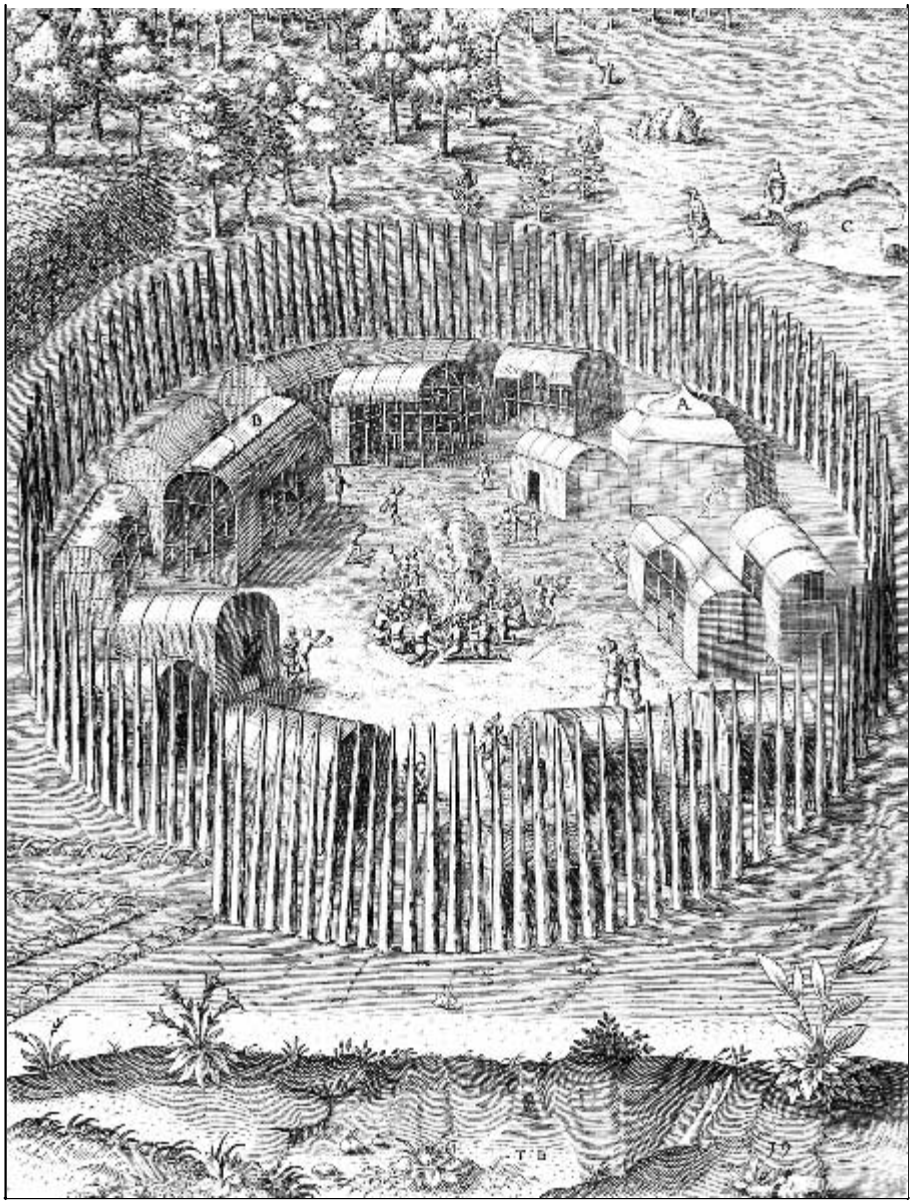
14) "THEIR FITTING AT MEATE." Engraving number 16 from De Bry, 1590. 8 1/2 x 6 inches.



15)"THEIR MANNER OF PRAINGE VVITH RATTELS ABOWT THE FYER" Engraving number 17 from De Bry, 1590. 10 1/8 x 7 1/4 inches.

16) "THEIR DANFES THEY VFE ATT THEIR HYGHE FEAFTES" Engraving number 18 from De Bry, 1590. 12 5/8 x 10 1/2 inches.

17) "THE TOWNE OF POMEIOOC." Engraving number 19 from De Bry, 1590. 8 3/4 x 11 1/2 inches.



18) "THE TOVVNE OF SECOTA." Engraving number 20 from De Bry, 1590. 9 x 12 1/4 inches.

19) "THE TOMBE OF THEIR WEROVVANS OR CHIEF LORDES." Engraving number 22 from De Bry, 1590. 9 x 12 3/4 inches.

20) "THER IDOL KIVVAFA." Engraving number 21 from De Bry, 1590. 8 1/2 x 6 1/8 inches.

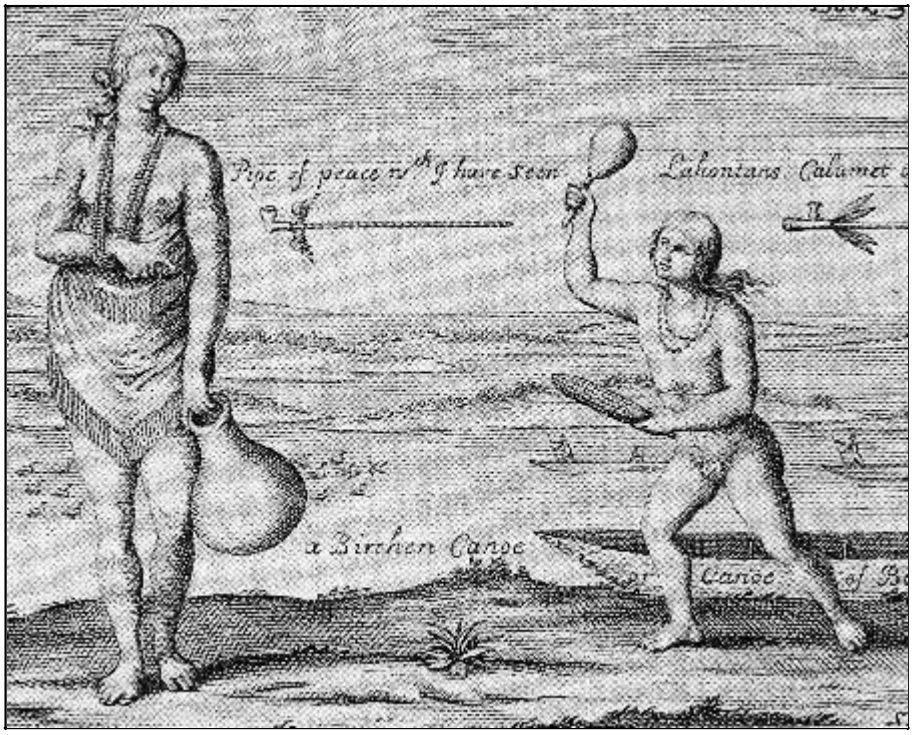
21) "THE MARCKES OF FUNDRYE OF THE CHEIF MENE OF VIRGINIA." style='mso-tab-count: 2'> Engraving number 23 from De Bry, 1590. 8 3/4 x 6 3/8 inches.

* Images based on Theodore De Bry's engravings of John White's watercolors dominate the majority of the Virginia Indian visual representation for the 17th and 18th Examples of these reproductions have been included below.

Robert Beverly used Simon Gribelin as his engraver for the 1705 publication of "The History and Present State of Virginia". While Gribelin copied directly from DeBry, he added various elements at Beverly's request. Beverly felt that the new engravings adequately illustrated the Virginia Natives as well as added to the understanding of Virginia's Indians.

Simon Gribelin

1) "A Woman and a Boy Running after Her," Engraving by Simon Gribelin. From Robert Beverly, History and Present State of Virginia, London 1705.



2) "A Priest and a Conjurer in their proper Habits," Engraving by Simon Gribelin. From Robert Beverly, History and Present State of Virginia, London 1705.

Georg Keller

Georg Keller worked for both DeBry and for their competitor - Hulsius, as an engraver and illustrator. His work appears in several publications however, the material is colored by his experiences in Asia and Africa.

Examples from Hulsius (Abelius):

1) "Pocahontas meets her brothers" from a translation by Abelius of Ralph Hamor's "Present State of Virginia" as "Thirteenth Navigation", Hannua, 1617.

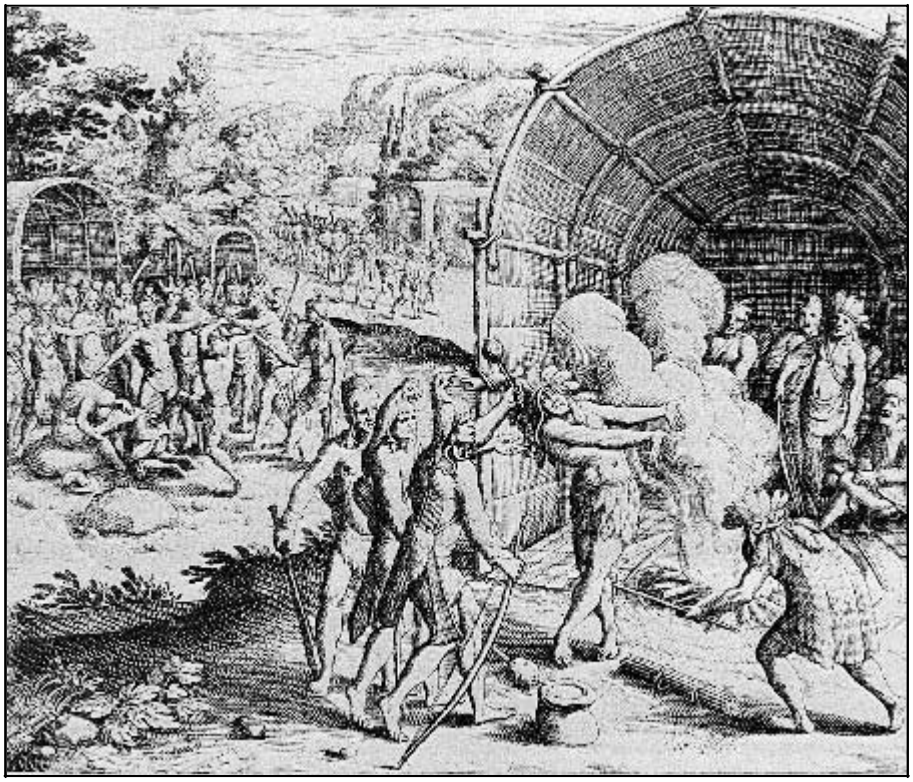


2) "Making a treaty with the Chickahominy Indians." from a translation by Abelius of Ralph Hamor's "Present State of Virginia" as "Thirteenth Navigation", Hannua, 1617.



Examples of the same material produced later by the De Bry engravers:

1) "Captain Smith Saved by Pocahontas" Discovering the New World, based on the works of Theodore De Bry, Micheal Alexander, ed. 1976



2) "The abduction of Pocahontas" Discovering the New World, based on the works style='mso-tab-count:1'> of Theodore De Bry, Micheal Alexander, ed. 1976





3) "Pocahontas is visited by her brothers" Discovering the New World, based on the works of Theodore De Bry, Micheal Alexander, ed. 1976



4) "The Chickahominy become 'New Englishmen'" Discovering the New World, based on the works of Theodore De Bry, Micheal Alexander, ed. 1976



5) "Ralph Hamor tells how he was sent for Powhatan's other daughter" Discovering the New World, based on the works of Theodore De Bry, Micheal Aleander, ed. 1976



6) "The massacre of the settlers" Discovering the New World, based on the works of Theodore De Bry, Micheal Aleander, ed. 1976



Robert Vaughan

Robert Vaughan worked as an illustrator during the middle of the seventeenth-century. His work is based on De Bry and White, however his earliest work was for John Smith. He corrects some of De Bry's mistakes in coordination with Smith's requests.

1) "Their triumph about him", General Historie, John Smith, London, 1624



2) "A Coniurer", General Historie, John Smith, London, 1624



3) "C: Smith Taketh the King of Pamaunkee prisoner 1608." General Historie, John Smith, London, 1624



4) "C: Smith takes the King of Paspehegh prisoner." General Historie, John Smith, London, 1624



Simon Van De Pass

MATOAKA (POCAHONTAS). Line engraving 6 3/4 x 4 1/2 inches. London. 1616 British Museum. Reg. No. 1863.5.9.625.



Artist Unknown (British)

Lottery Broadside featuring Eiakintomino and Matahan, 1615.


Eiafintomine.

Artist Unknown (British? School)

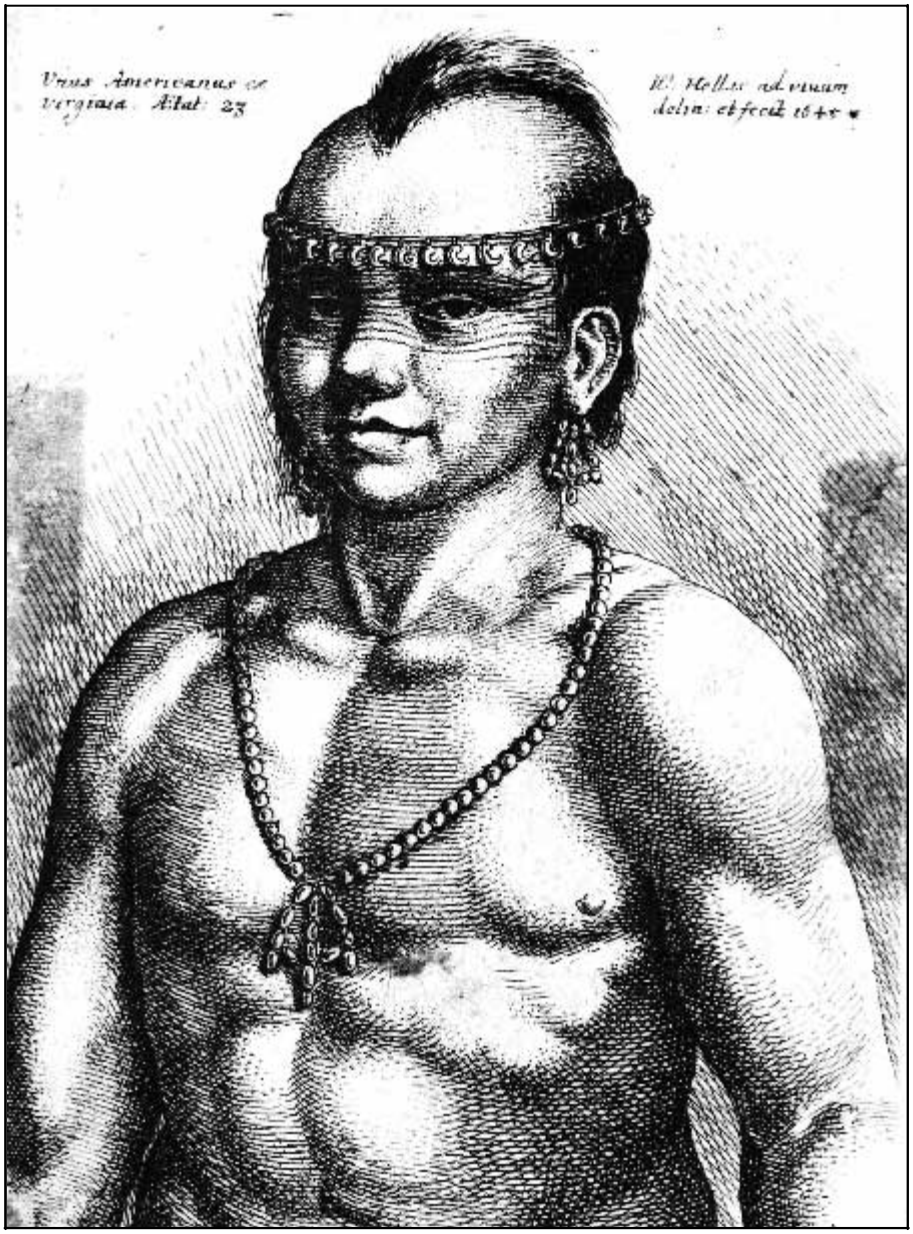
POCAHONTAS. The "Booton" portrait. Oil on Canvas. 30 x 25 inches. England. 1616. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Mellon Collection, NPG 21.

This portrait was owned by the Rev. Whitwell Elwin, Booton Rectory, Norfolk, England. The family was supposedly related to the Rolfe family, and they maintain that this painting was created by an Italian Artist.



Wencelaus Hollar

INDIAN OF VIRGINIA, MALE. ("Vnus Americanus ex Virginia, Aetat: 23 (age 23) W. Hollar ad viuam delia: et fecit., (made from life) 1645")

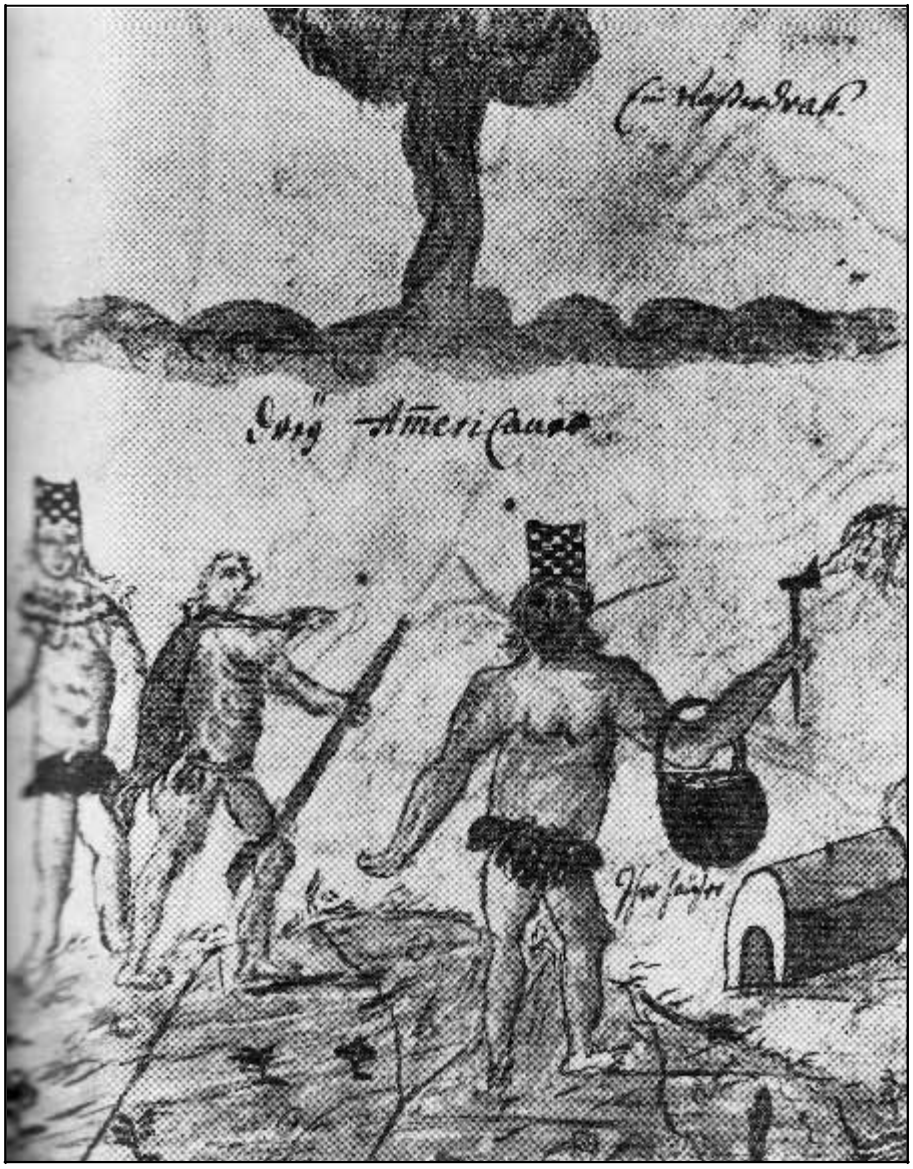


Francis Louis Michel

"DREY AMERICANS." Three Americans. Powhatan? Southern Algonquian. Original pen drawing washed with watercolor, Found in "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701 - December 1, 1702.

The original manuscript is lost. This document is a contemporary copy made by Michel's brother, John Louis Michel. Size 16 x 13.5 cm, Call Number: Burgerbibliothek Bern, Mss. hist. helv. X.152, fol. 64a.

Michel's image depicts several Algonquians wearing a combination of animal skins and plant fibers. Their hats are described in Beverly's account of the "The History and Present State of Virginia" as being made of bark, round and open on the top and wrought with shell peak to make designs. The baskets are mentioned as being carried on the arms as shown in Michel's account, along with comments on singing, dress, and customs.



William Byrd II

Detail of the lower third of the print of the Williamsburg public buildings showing American Indians, floras, and fauna. Early 18th century publication, apprentice engraver.

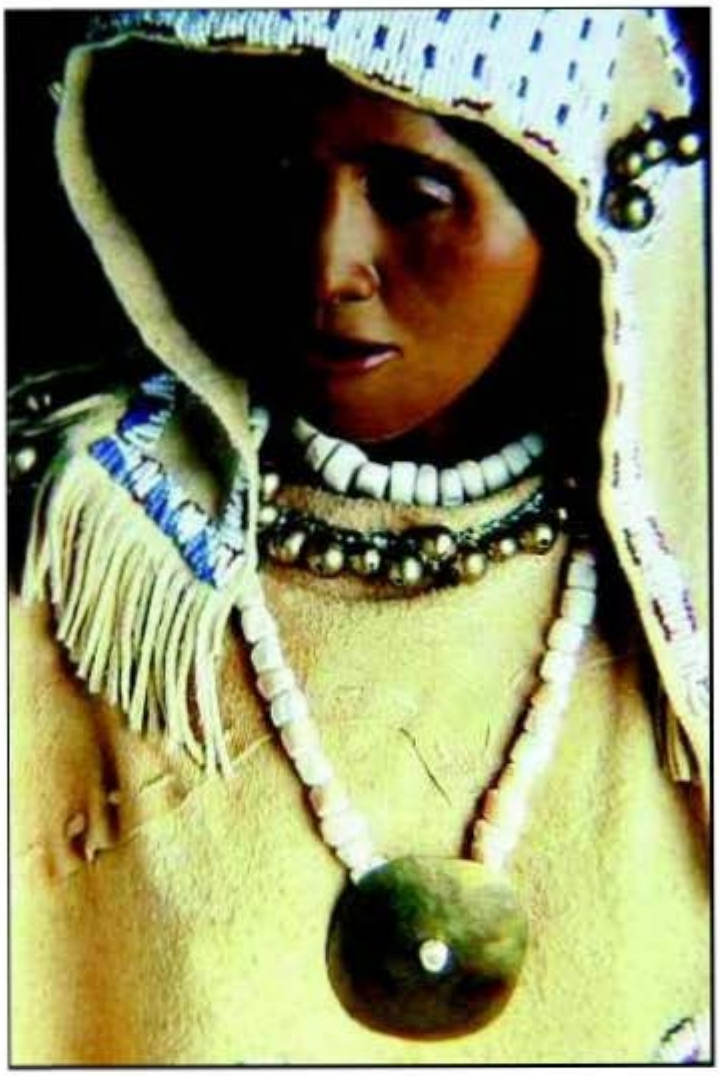
Copied from "William Byrd II and His Lost History: Engravings of the Americas", Pritchard and Sites, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation



North Carolina Museum of History

The collection of images from the North Carolina Museum of History are of a reconstructed regalia and life model of a Carolina Siouan woman believed to be from the Saura tribe. The

seventeenth -century site was believed to have been heavily traded with by the coastal English settlers during the contact period, evidenced by the high count of trade materials present. Within the image series, red, white, and blue glass trade beads, brass and copper pendants, brass bells and chevron beads can be seen adorning the buckskin clothing. Shell beads are also present, indicating the transitional materials of the period.





APPENDIX A:

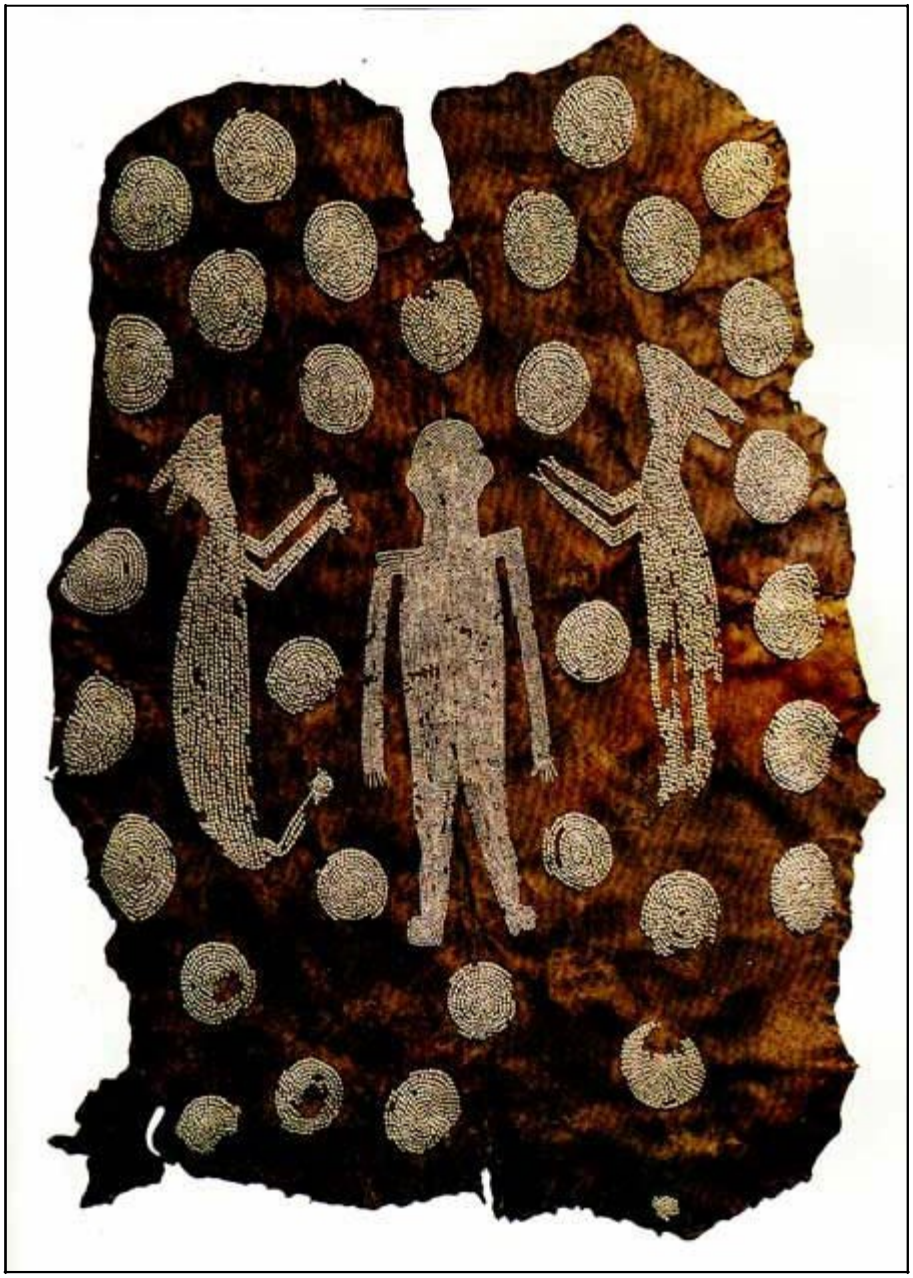
Natives in the Landscape: Images and Documents of Seventeenth Century Virginia Indians

Compiled by Buck Woodard

II. Description, Location and Catalogue of Select Contact Period Material Cultural Items

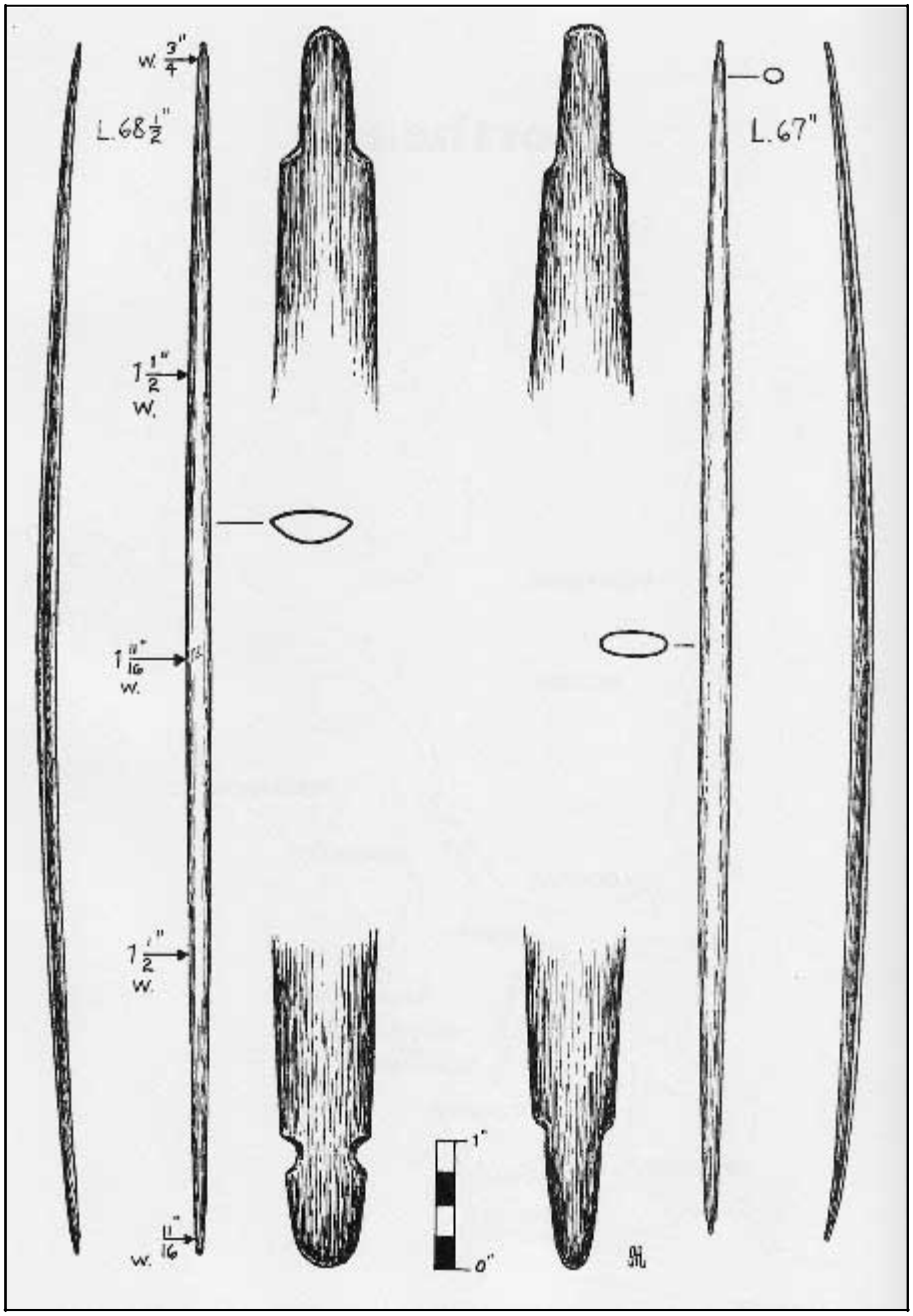
1) Powhatan's Mantle
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England

This item is constructed of four deerskins measuring a total of 7ft. 8 1/2 in. x 5ft. 3in. The embroidery is constructed of sewn Marginella shells in several configurations. There are 34 disc shapes surrounding two animals and one central human figure. The animals appear to be that of a cougar and a deer. The top of the piece has a V-shaped opening, but it is supposed by scholars that this item was not worn, but rather hung in a temple or palatial interior. Documented by at least 1634.



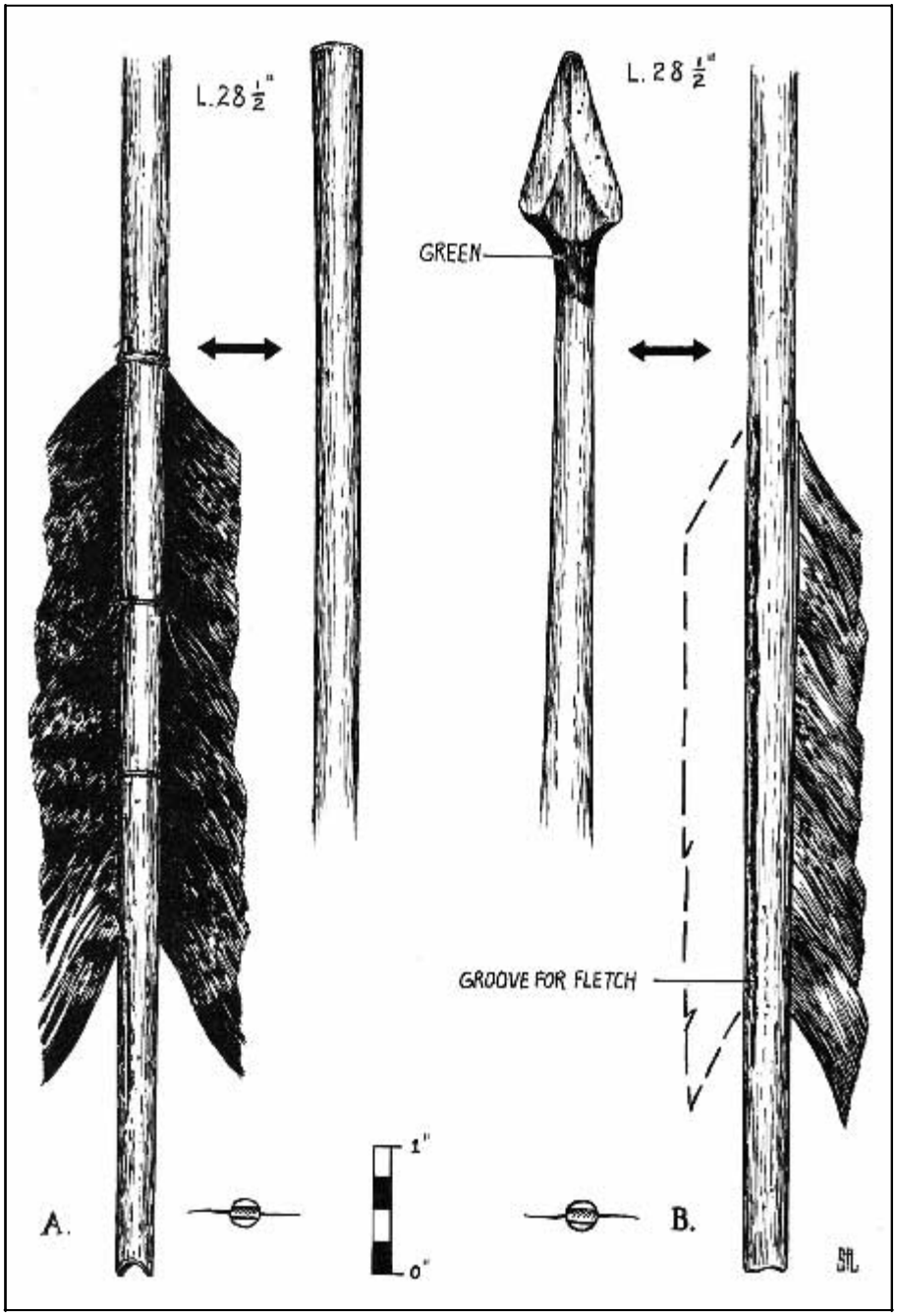
2) Powhatan Bows
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England

Two early bows constructed of probably mulberry. Both bows have rounded tapering limbs from the center of the handle area, although no clear designation for the handle is indicated. In a sense, the handle area is a "working" portion of the limb. One bow measures 68 1/2 in. long, at a maximum of 1 11/16 in. at the handle thickness. At that point, a cluster of five dots is present on the back of the bow. The belly is less severe in cross section, giving a rounded appearance to the bow from the archer's point of view. The second bow measures 67 in. lengthwise, and appears to be more elliptical in the center cross section. Both bows are notched with a corner cut peg at the uppers; while one bow mimics that construction for the bottom; the other has a simple side notch from the tapered end. Collected in 1665 in the Virginia Colony.



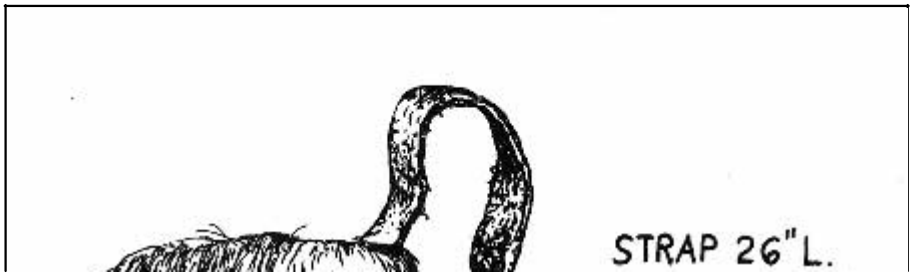
3) Powhatan Arrows
American Museum of Natural History, New York, New York

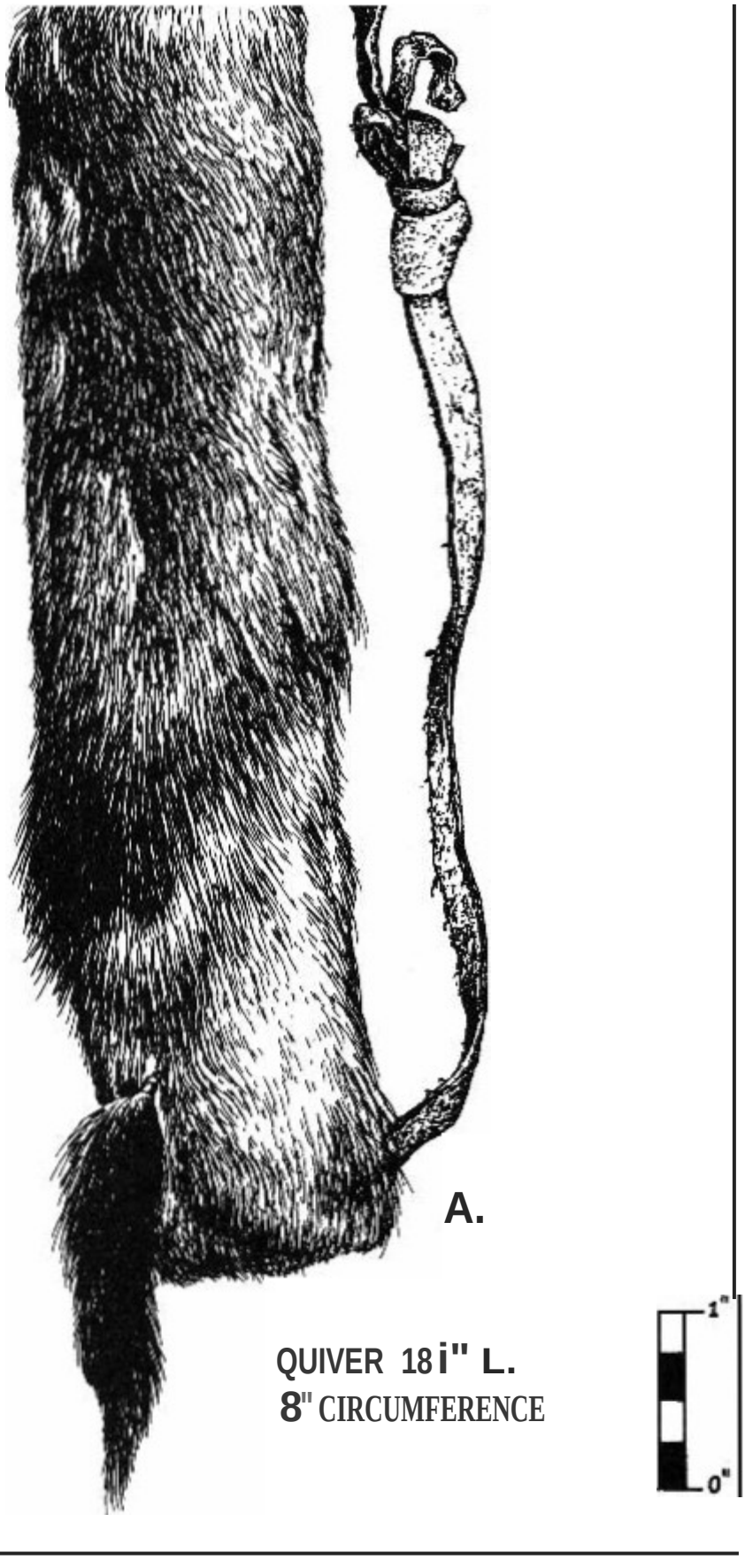
Two arrows of an unknown date from the Powhatan. One arrow is a "blunt" from a hardwood shoot, fletched with two turkey feathers. Shallow grooves are cut in the shaft, in which the feathers have been glued and sinew wrapped. The notch has been cut parallel to the fletching. The other arrow is from split hickory. In this case, there is a broad woodenhead left on the arrow as the shaft was reduced. The fletching is glued in grooves, with the nock being cut parallel to the feathers. The tip of the arrow shaft is dyed green beneath the head. The both arrows measure 28 1/2 in. While there is no date associated with these arrow's construction, the technology is indicative of long standing archery traditions in the Mid Atlantic, especially where cane is not present.



4) Powhatan Quiver
American Museum of Natural History, New York, New York

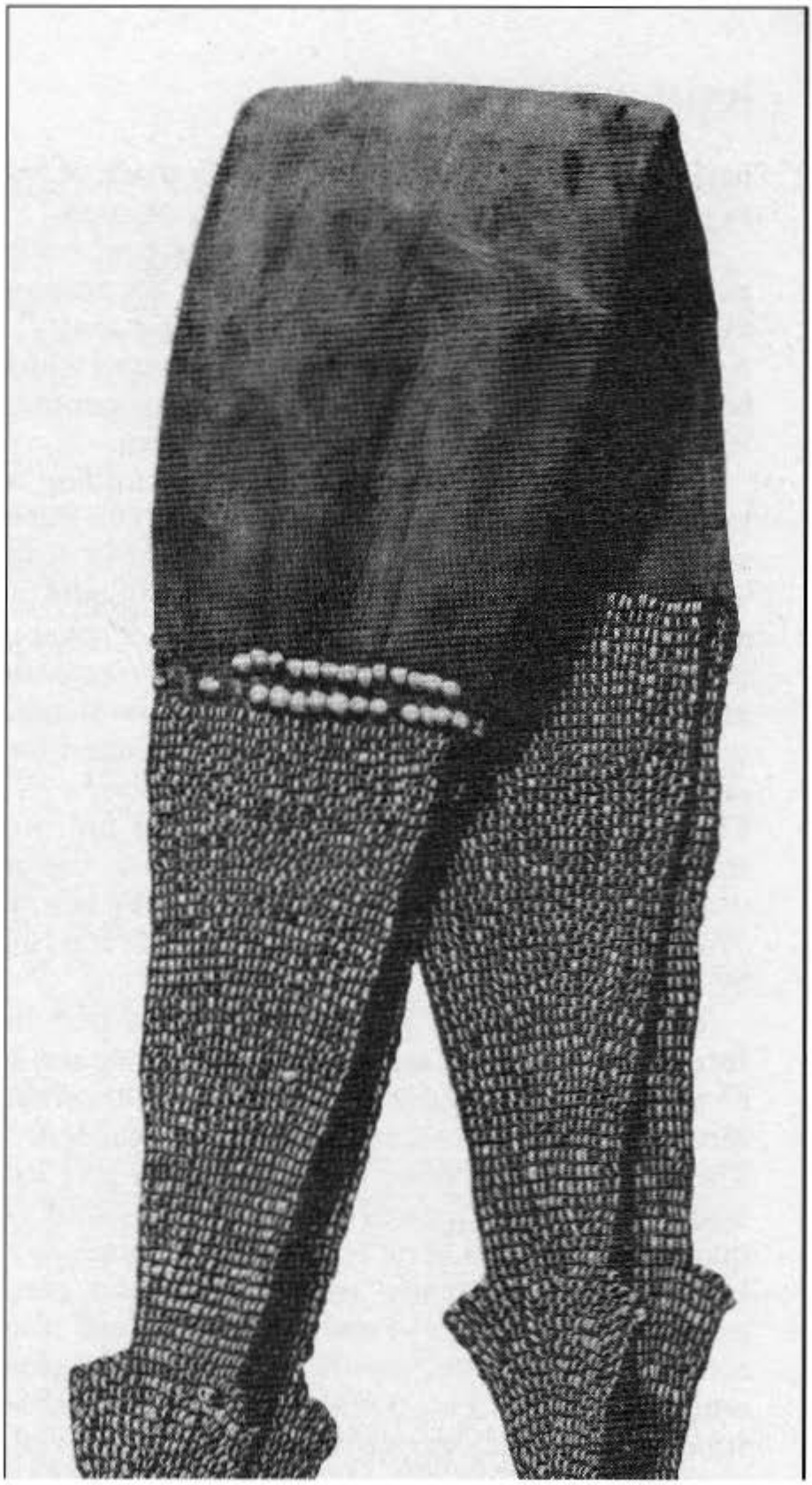
Deer hide quiver of an unknown date. Hair side out, tail tide to bottom, buckskin strap with overhand knot. Total strap length is 26 in. The quiver is 18 1/2 in. long with a 8" circumference. Probably collected in the late 19th century / early 20th century, this quiver is similar to ones depicted in early engravings of Powhatan warriors.

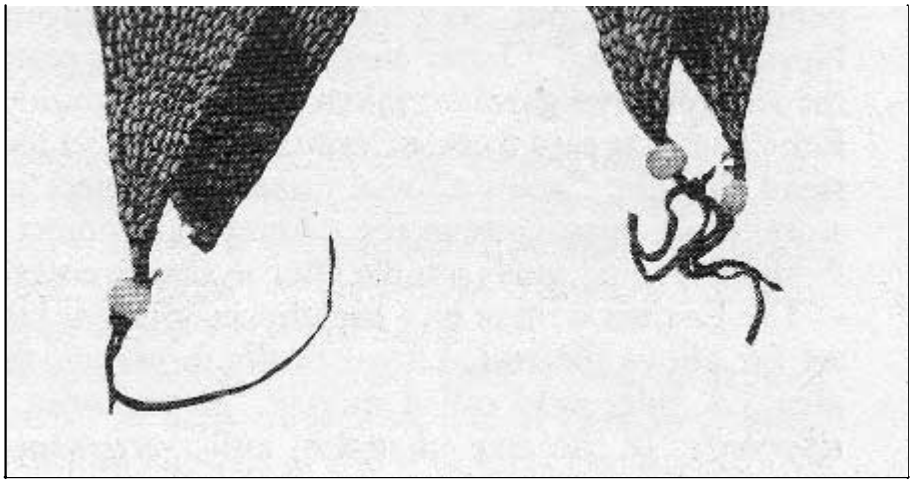




5) The Virginia Purse
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England

The bag was constructed by folding a long piece of deerskin and sewing the mid section together. After which, the ends were cut into strips. An additional piece of leather was inserted into the long tube to form a bottom. Shells beads were sewn between the strips, forming an embroidered weft and the created flaps were triangle shaped at the ends. This bag was worn over a belt, as early engravings indicate was the custom. This item is 2ft. 6 1/2 in. by 4 1/3 in. The bag was collected during the mid seventeenth-century from the Virginia Colony.





6) Removed

7) Bone Hair pins
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
Late Woodland / Contact Period

Series of bone hairpins from a variety of Late Woodland / Contact village sites. All have been carved and altered in preparation for use in personal adornment. One from 44VB7 has a series of joining diamond patterns; another piece from the piedmont of Virginia has been heavily carved and polished to a sheen.



8) Bone Adornments
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
Late Woodland / Contact Period, 44MY3 (Trigg Site)

A collection of bone adornment items from a seventeenth-century contact period site near Radford Virginia. Articles include polished bird bone and carved / polished bone beads, squirrel jaw pendant, raptor beak pendants, scapula pendants, drilled mammal canines, and carved tabs.



9) Bone / Antler Tools
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
Late Woodland / Contact Period, 44MY3 (Trigg Site)

A collection of bone and antler tools from a seventeenth-century contact period site near Radford Virginia. Shown are a deer cannon bone "beamer" for fleshing hides, a turtle shell cup, bone fish hooks, awls, and beads, a bone set quartz blade, antler projectile points, and a large antler tool (hoe, adze, or scraper).



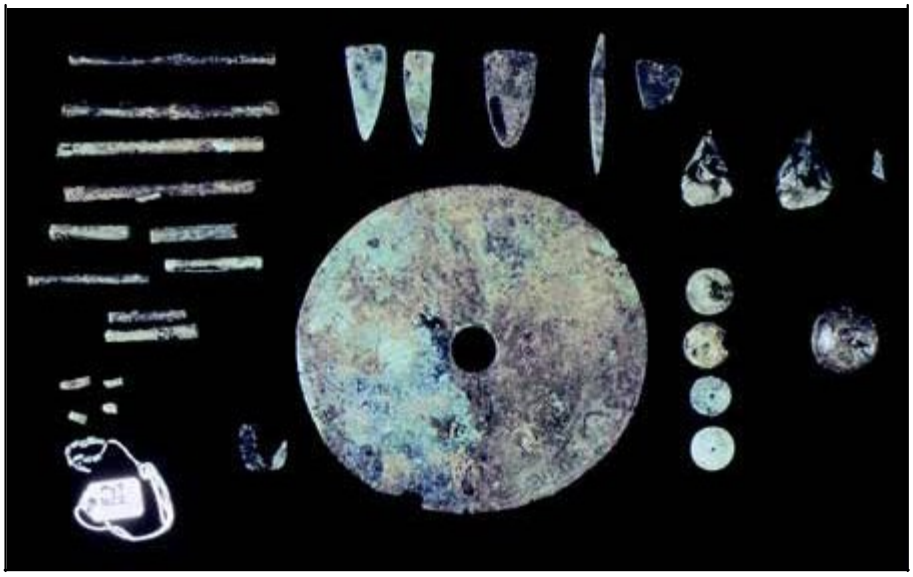
10) Copper Pendants
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
Late Woodland / Contact Period, 44VB7 (Great Neck Site)

Native copper was a prized commodity of the Tidewater region during the Late Woodland period. These examples of copper pendants come from a coastal village where controlled trade was important to the exchange of resources denoting cultural status.



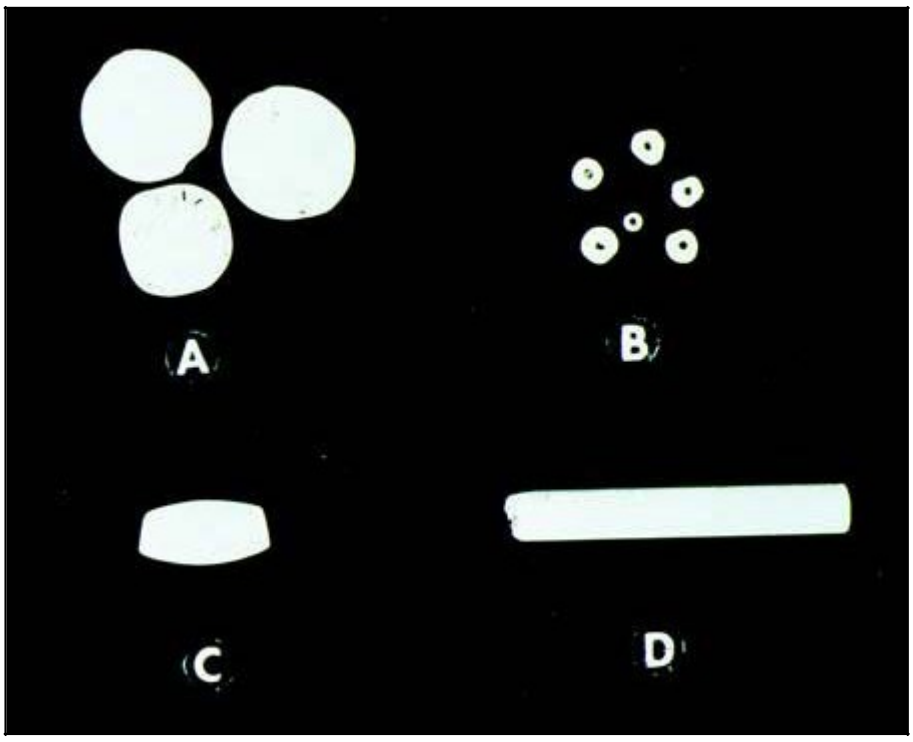
11) Copper Adornments
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
Late Woodland / Contact Period, 44MY3 (Trigg Site)

A sample of the type of copper adornments excavated at the Trigg site are indicative of Native produced copper found throughout the Virginias during the Late Woodland. Large and small tube beads, tab pendants, trinkets, and geometric pendants or gorgets dominate the copper artifacts from this period.



12) Shell Bead Types
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
Late Woodland / Contact Period

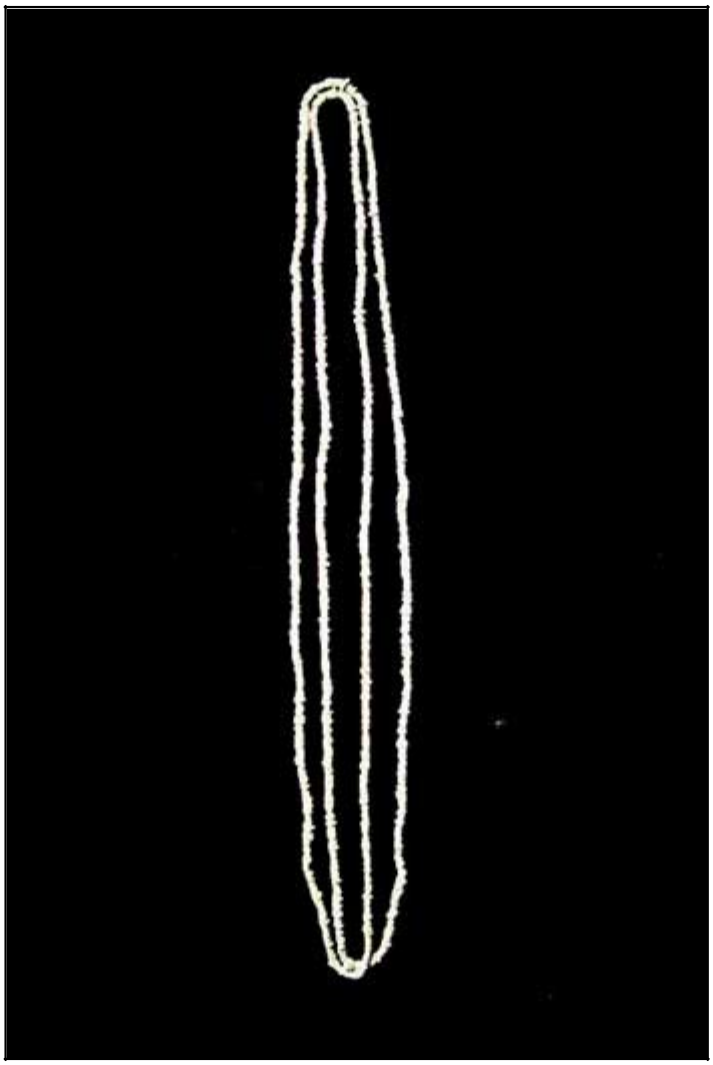
Different types of shell beads were produced throughout the Chesapeake region prior, during, and after the settlement at Jamestown, Virginia. Grouped by types, the beads are known variously as A) Moons, B) Peak, C) Roanoke (also called Wampum, stubbier ones were also called Runtees), D) Hairpipe Tube.



13) Shell Bead (Peak) Necklace
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
Late Woodland / Contact Period

Strung shell beads were very common until colonial times in Virginia. Strands of peak were

used mostly as adornment, but later as monetary elements during the Colonial period. Values of commodities were loosely established and could be traded based on lengths of peak or roanoke.



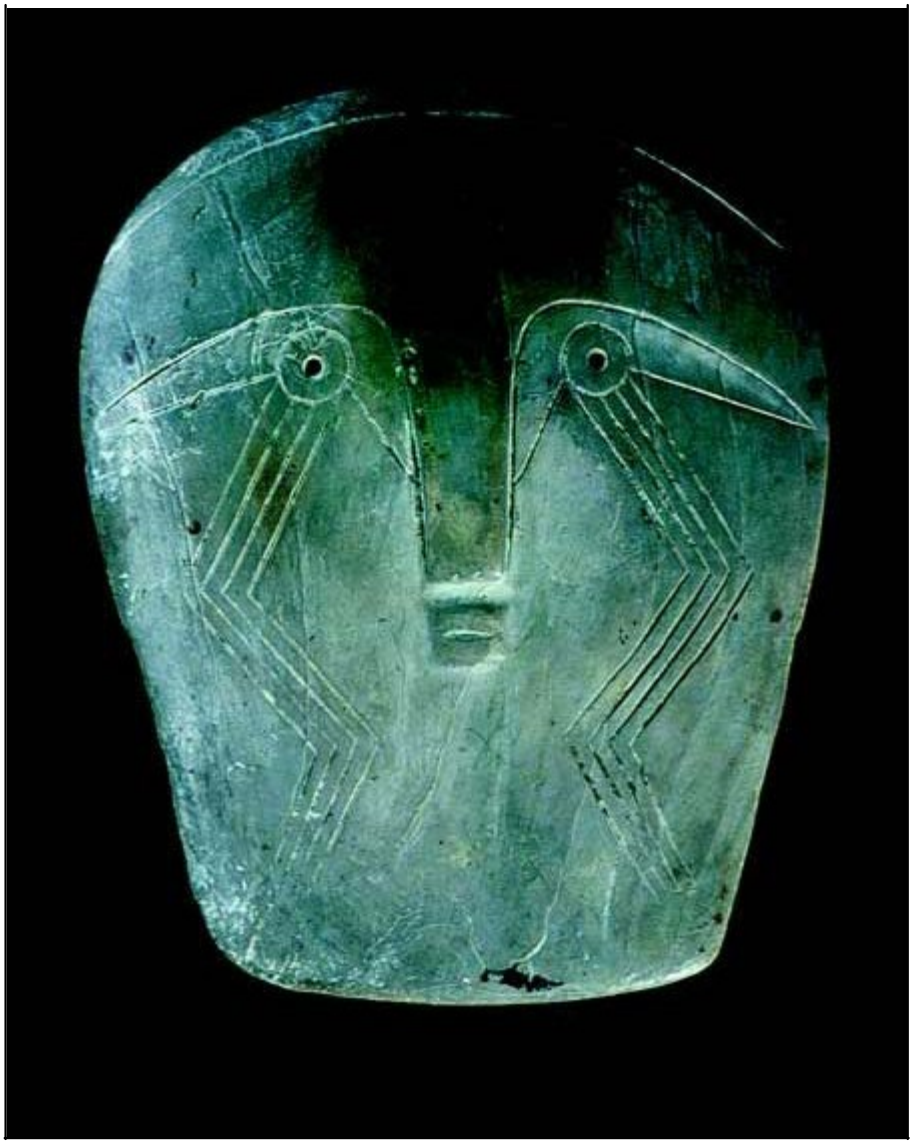
14) Shell Bead Necklace
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
Late Woodland / Contact Period

An example of peak, runtee, and hair pipe beads strung on a necklace thought to have belonged to a shaman. Beads were laboriously produced and traded to compliment personal adornment throughout the Virginias at the time of contact.



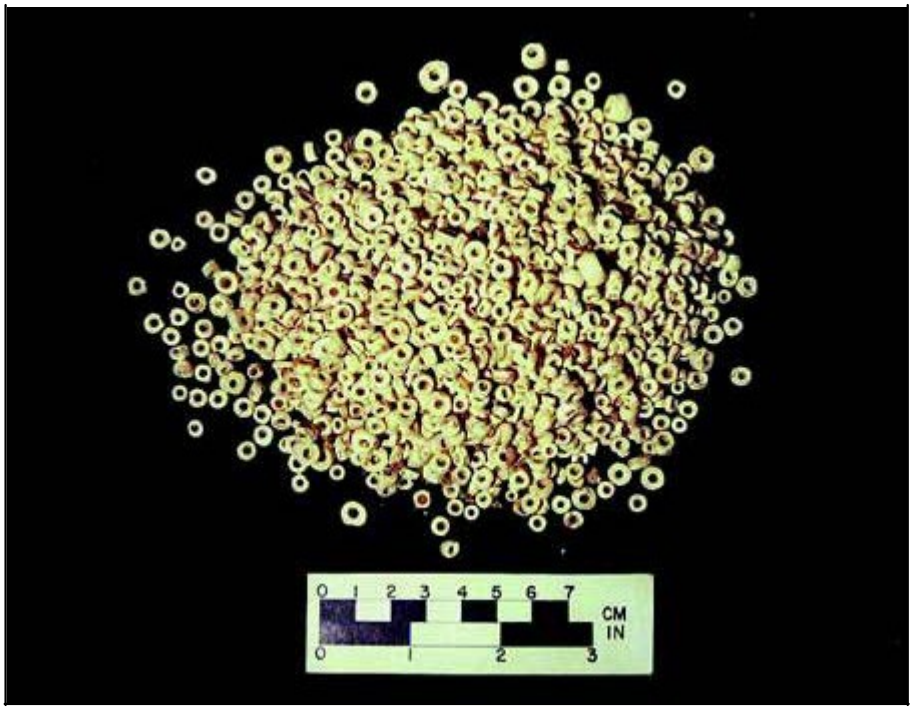
15) Shell Face
Late Woodland / Contact Period, 44ST1

A rare example of a "maskette" found within the Patowomeke territory, in Stafford County, Virginia. Several other examples have been found, made from the exterior of whelk or conch shells. These masks are smaller than life-size, and are of a ceremonial nature. They usually are highly polished and carved to imitate faces with eyes, mouths, ears, etc. Other examples are found throughout the Southeast with similar markings, such as the "weeping eye" motif as found with this piece.



16) Shell Beads
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
Late Woodland / Contact Period

This mass of shell beads found in the Piedmont of Virginia is an example of the predominant shell bead type for the region. Slightly thicker than peak, these beads were strung together to create a larger necklace. Similar constructions could be made using these beads for embroidery.



17) Shell Pendants
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
Late Woodland / Contact Period

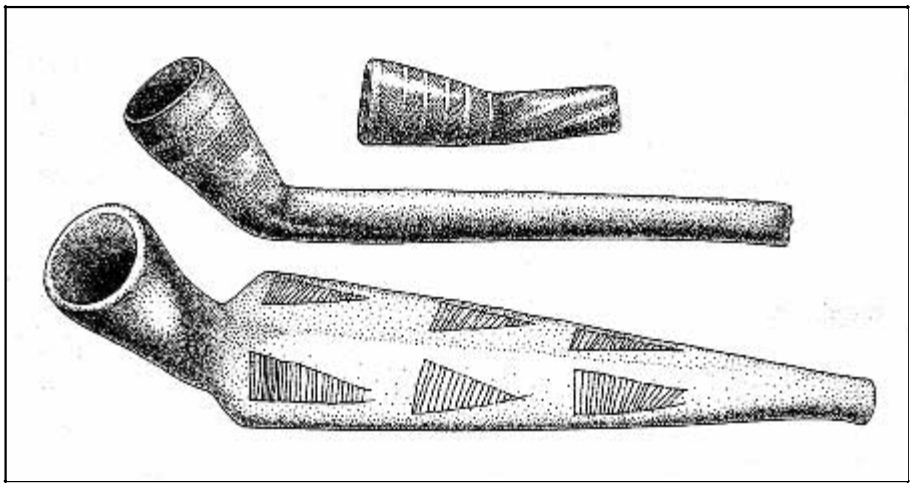
A series of shell pendants common during the Late Woodland. Often referred to as "moons" by later Colonial traders, the shapes vary from circular to elongated triangles.



18) Patowomack Pipes
Illustration from Smithsonian Institute
Late Woodland / Contact Period

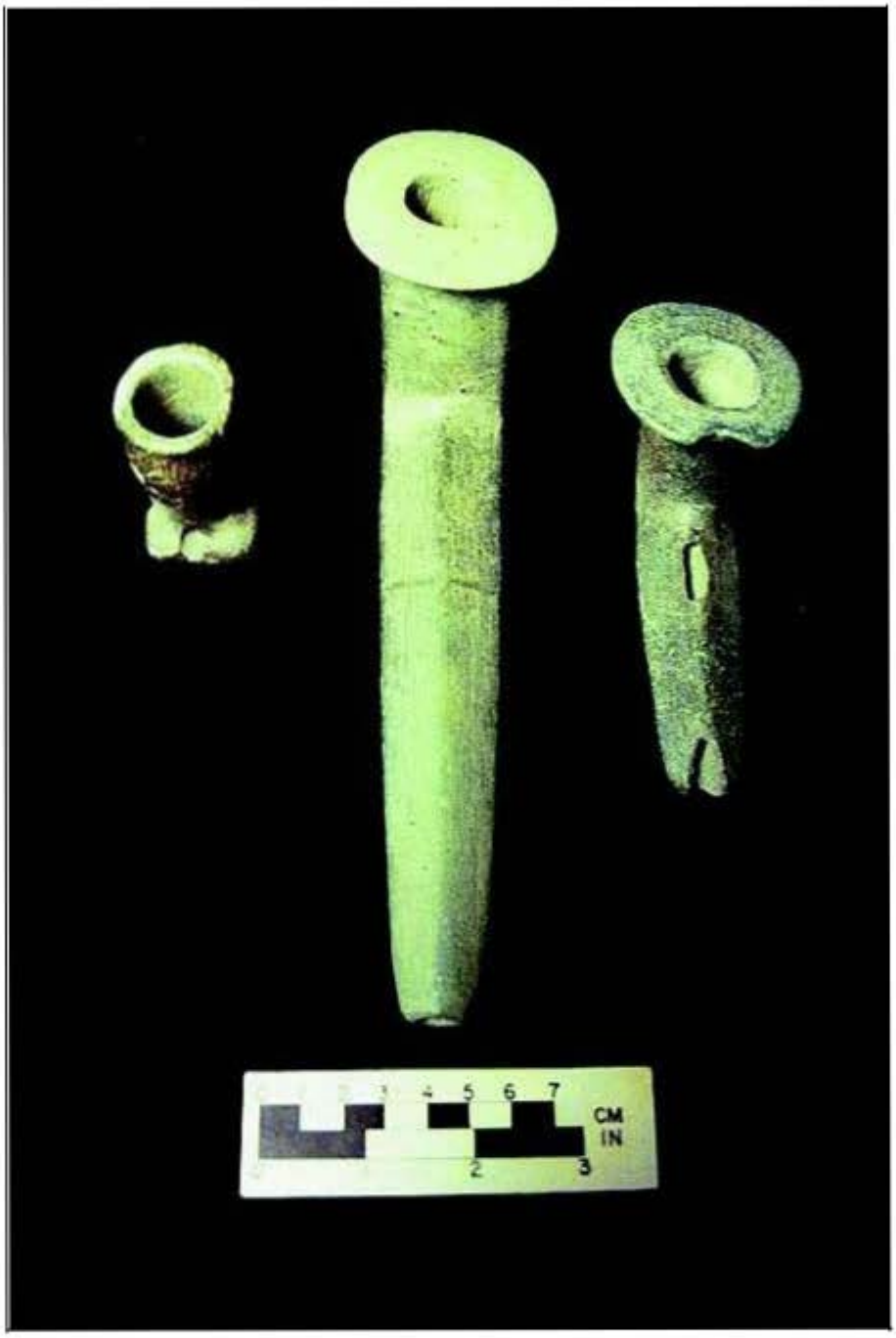
A sample of the type of smoking utensils found during the earliest contact and post contact periods in Virginia. The upper image is of "tube" pipe of ceramic material, the middle of another clay "bowl" pipe that early Europeans emulate to make the caolin pipes, and the third

of a steatite (stone) pipe. All examples found within the Patowomack territory in coastal Virginia.



19) Nottoway Pipes
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
Late Woodland / Contact Period, 44SN22 (Hand Site)

Examples of finely crafted steatite pipes. The one to the left is a platform pipe with several holes for the addition of a reed stem; the other two the stems are of stone and have flared bowl heads. All three are from a seventeenth-century contact period Nottoway context.


5 6 7
CM
IN
2 3



20) Stone Gorgets
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
Late Woodland / Contact Period, 44SN22 (Hand Site)

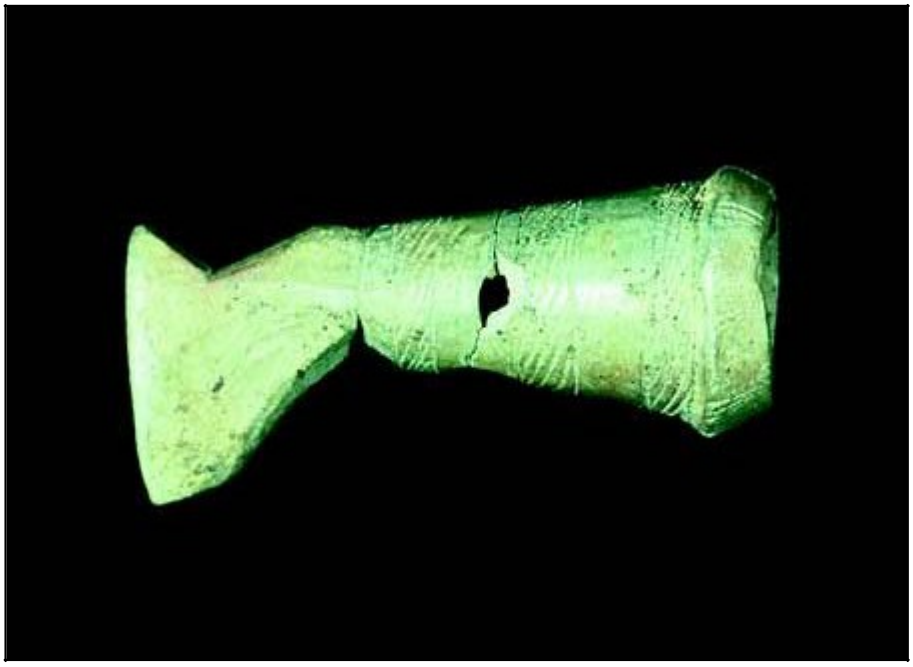
A series of stone gorgets or pendants, drilled for suspension. All examples have been damaged, however their roughly rectangular shape can be discerned. These examples come from a seventeenth-century contact period Nottoway context.



21) Stone Pipe Tomahawk
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia

Late Woodland / Contact Period, 44JC33

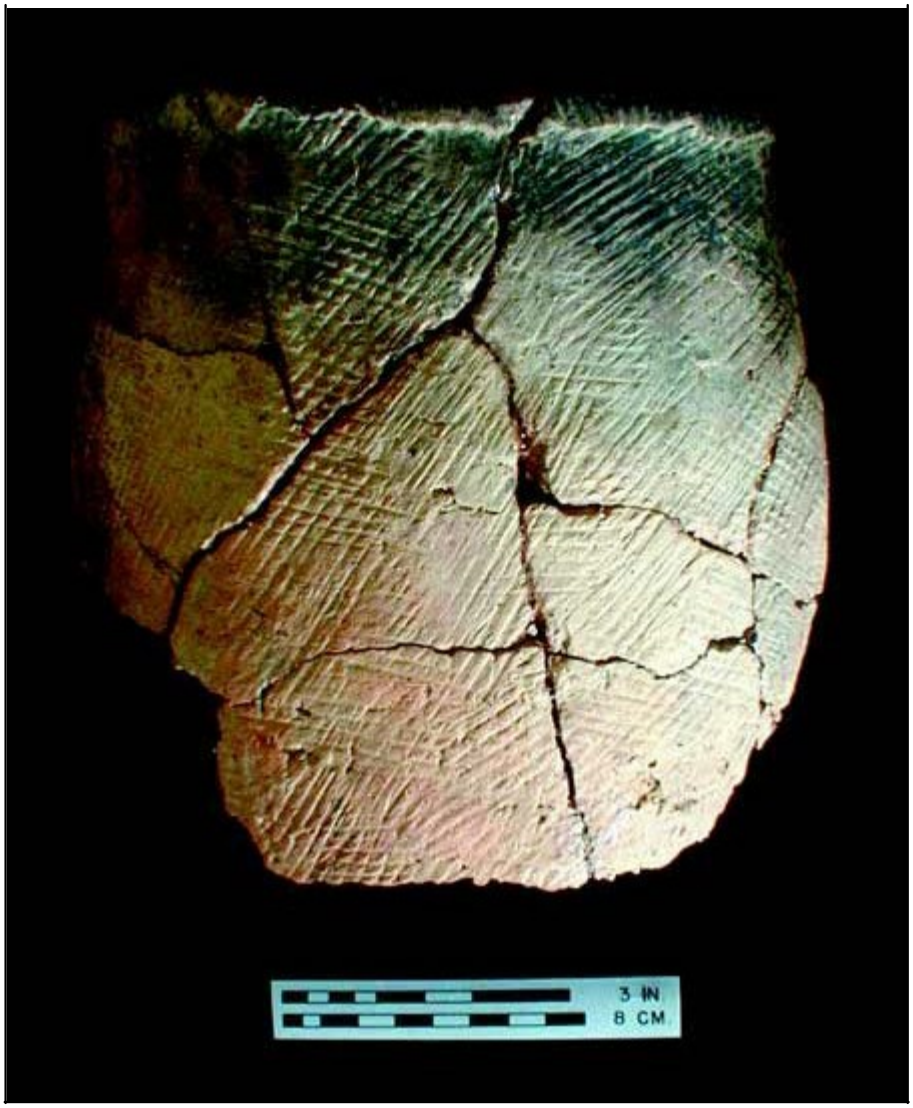
A rare example of a European trade item reproduced in Native material. This pipe is constructed to mimic the metal trade pipe tomahawks exchanged with Native populations beginning in the seventeenth-century. Unearthed in James City Co., Virginia, this item has been carved from steatite and was found in a European context.



22) Ceramic Late Woodland / Contact Period Vessels
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
Late Woodland / Contact Period

A collection of reconstructed vessels and large fragments of ceramic wares. Shell and sand tempered clay bodies are predominant with examples of simple stamp, fabric, and cord paddle marks. Referred to as Roanoke, Townsend, and Gaston Wares.

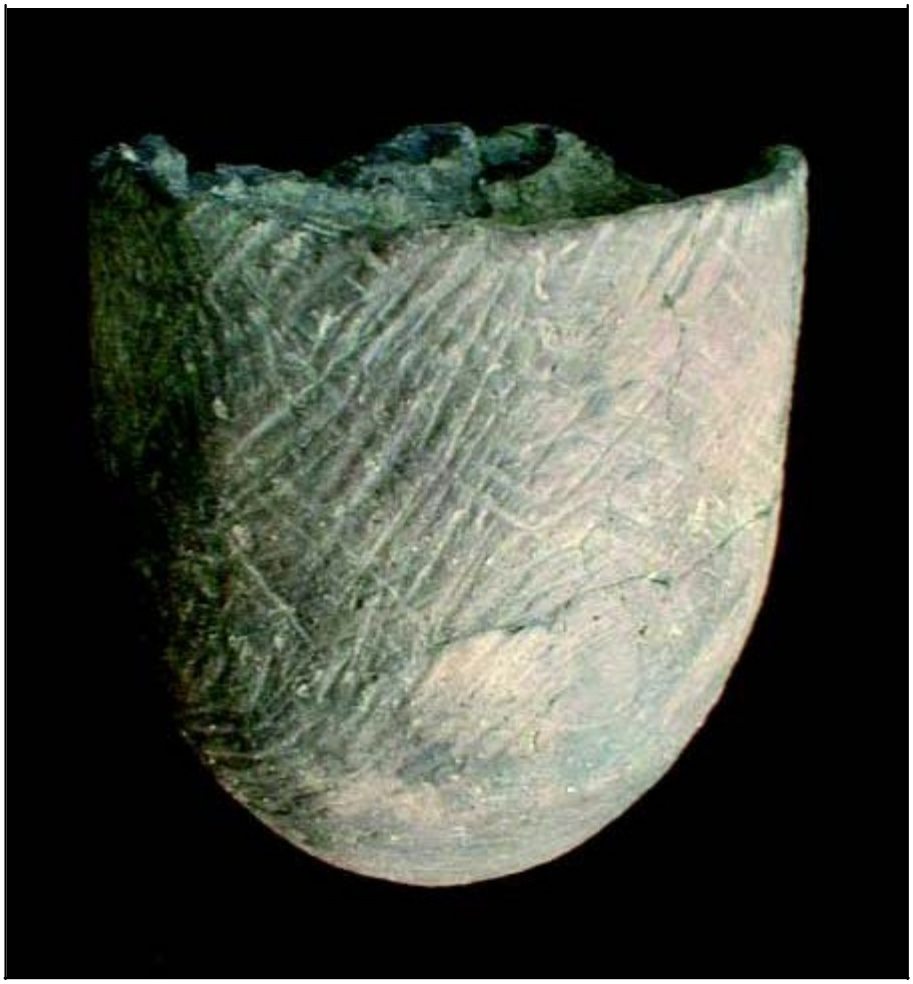
Typical of ceramics found at Indian settlements during the time of first European settlement.



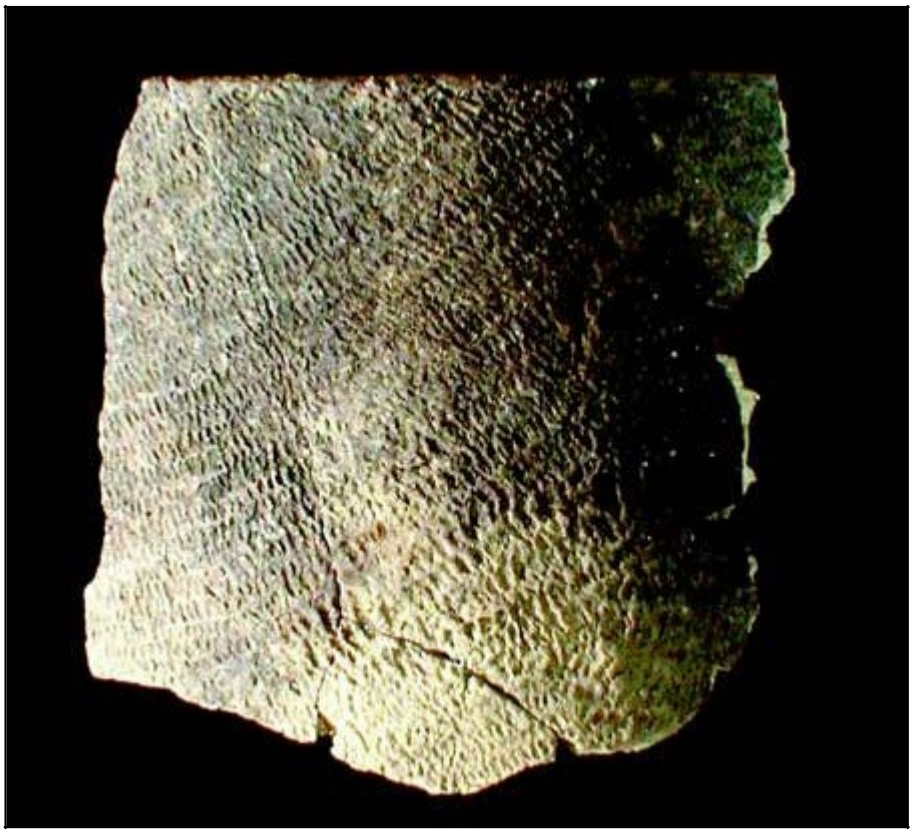
Gaston Ware Vessel



Roanoke Ware Vessel



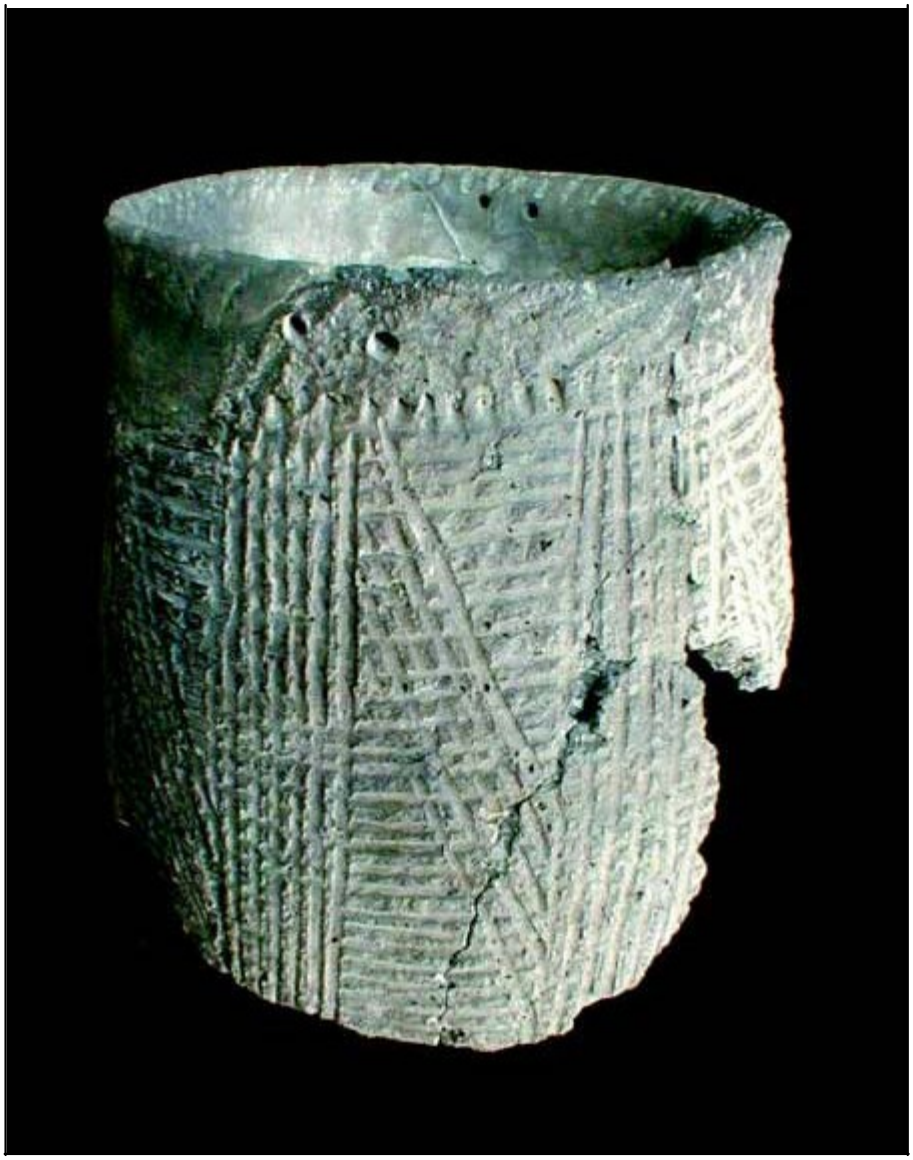
Roanoke Simple Stamped VB7



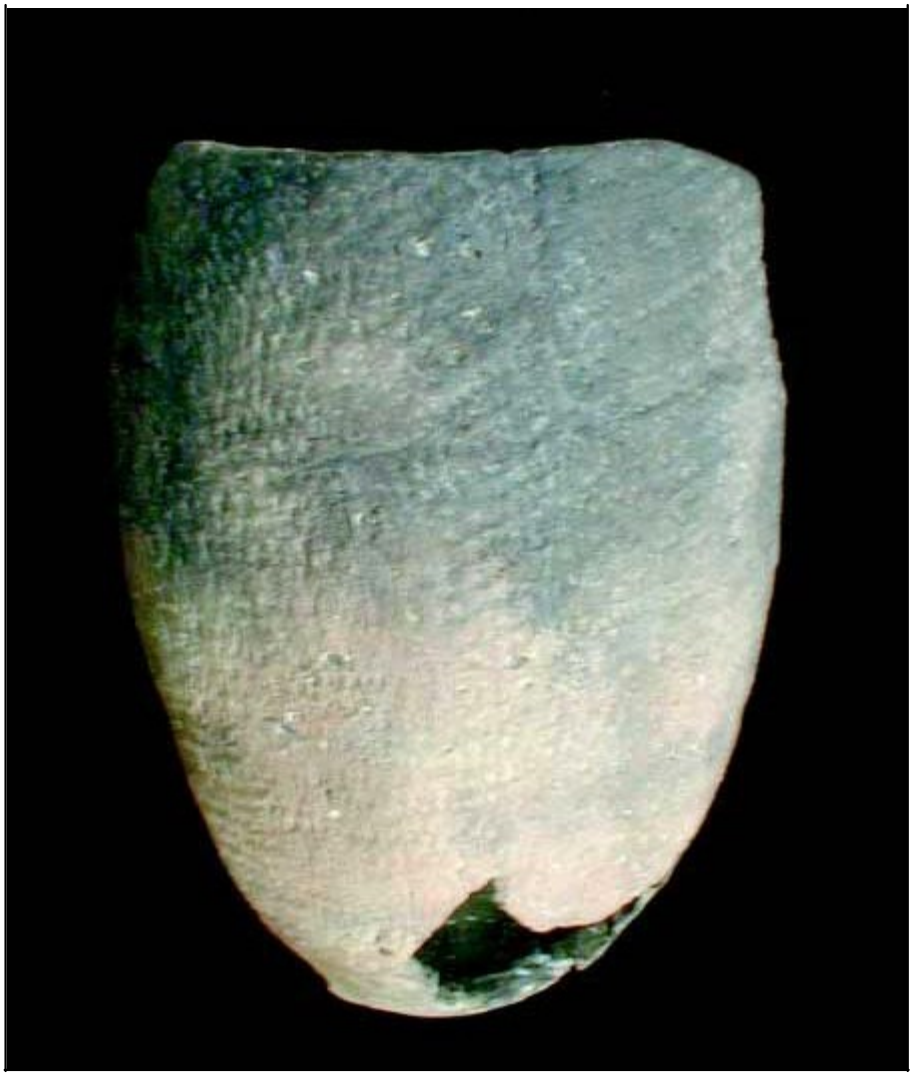
Townsend WareSN22



Townsend VB5



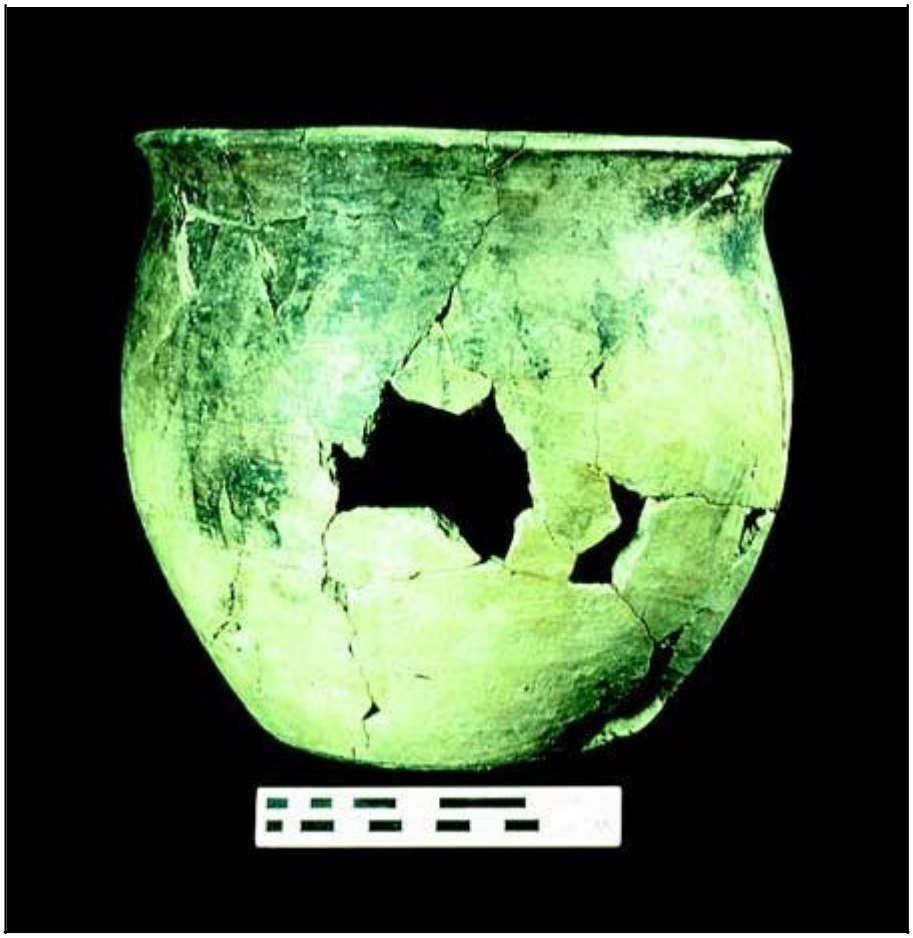
Townsend Vessel



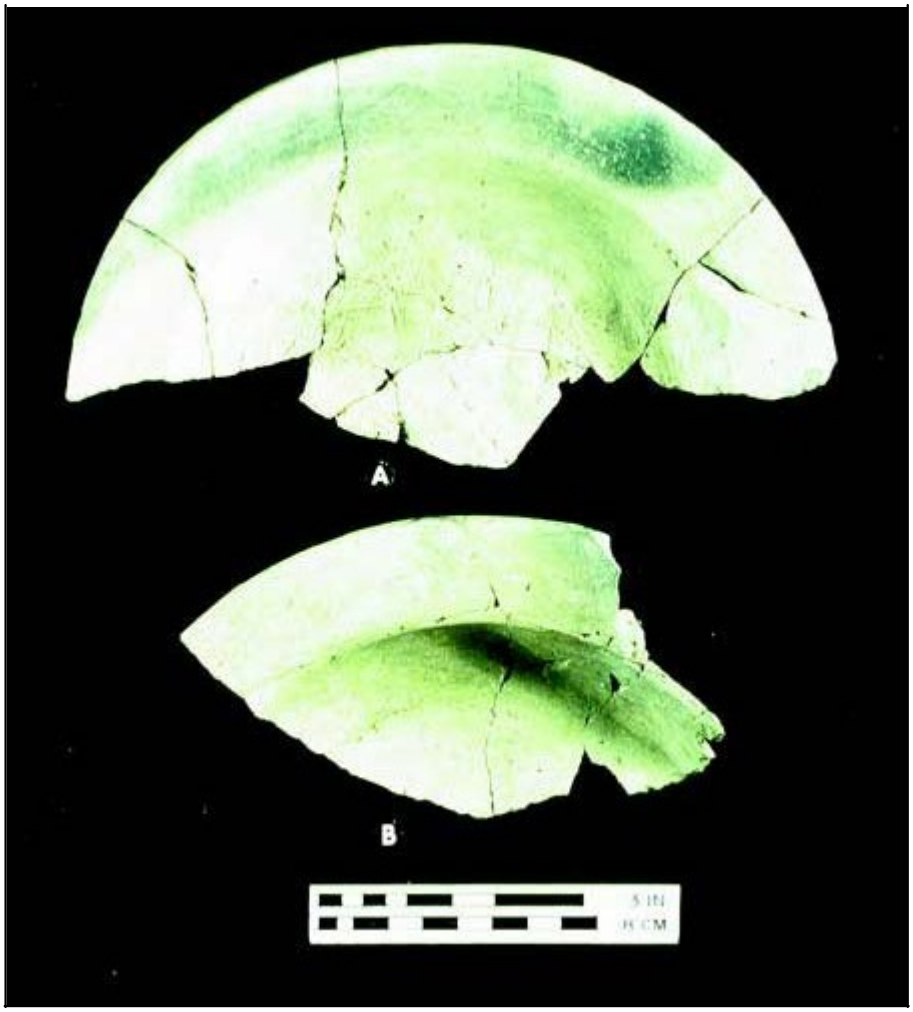
Townsend Ware

23) Contact / Historic Period Vessels
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
Late Woodland / Contact Period

A sample of reconstructed and fragmentary ceramic wares referred to as Colono-Ware. These examples come from King William Co., produced by American Indians during the later period of English Colonial occupation. The wares were documented as being sold at the market in Williamsburg during the late seventeenth-century.



Colono Jar 44KW29



Colono Plate 44KW29

25) Glass Trade Beads
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
Late Woodland / Contact Period, 44MY3 (Trigg Site)

A collection of European glass beads uncovered at a Late Woodland to Contact Period site near Radford Virginia. These seventeenth-century examples of trade into the interior of Virginia document the variety of ways in which contact with Native communities spread through the region. While person-to-person contact may not have occurred, trade commodities from other Native groups had spread from Virginia's English settlers to the interior by the mid to late seventeenth-century.



26) Colonial Badges
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia (44CE3)
Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, Richmond, Virginia
seventeenth-century

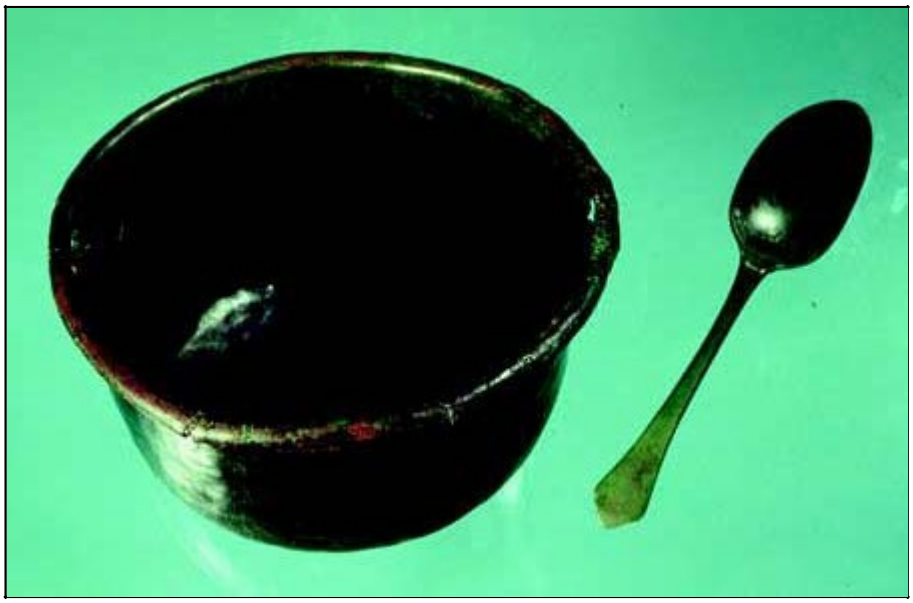
Badges presented to Indian leaders during the time of the 1677 treaty of Middle Plantation. Badges were issued as tokens of alliance to leaders who were "cooperative" or deemed "friendly" and were to be worn when delegations entered into English controlled areas.



27) Copper Pot and Spoon
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
(44GV1) seventeenth-century

Trade goods of metal found their way into Native communities almost immediately after

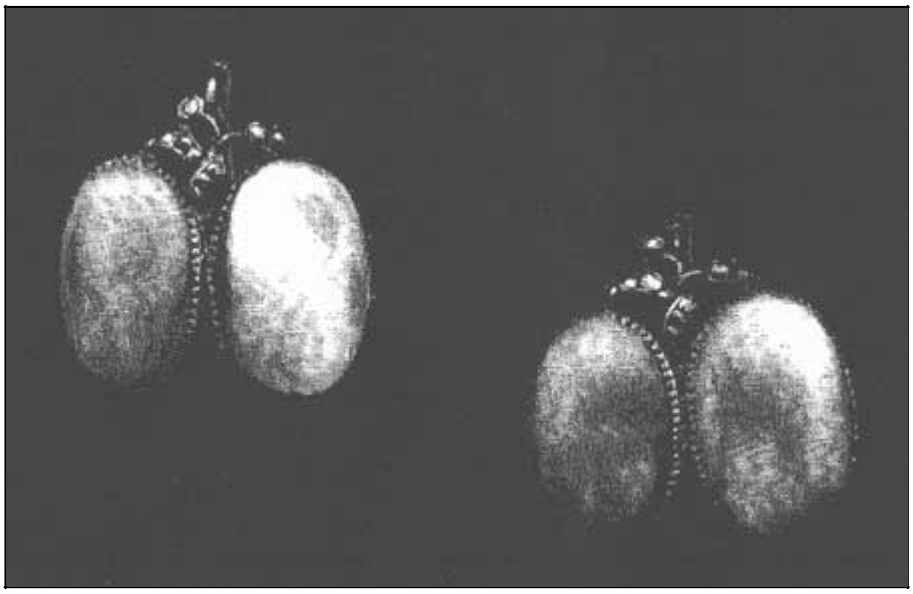
contact. This example of a copper pot and spoon were excavated in Greenville Co., Virginia from a Late Woodland through Historic Period Indian site context.



28) Pocahontas's Earrings
Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, Richmond, Virginia
seventeenth-century (?)

Fresh water mussel shell earrings set in precious metal bezels. The pair of earrings has been reported to have belonged to Pocahontas, according to the APVA.

Further researches into the origination of the materials and provenience have not been firmly established.



29) House Pattern
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
(44VB7) Late Woodland

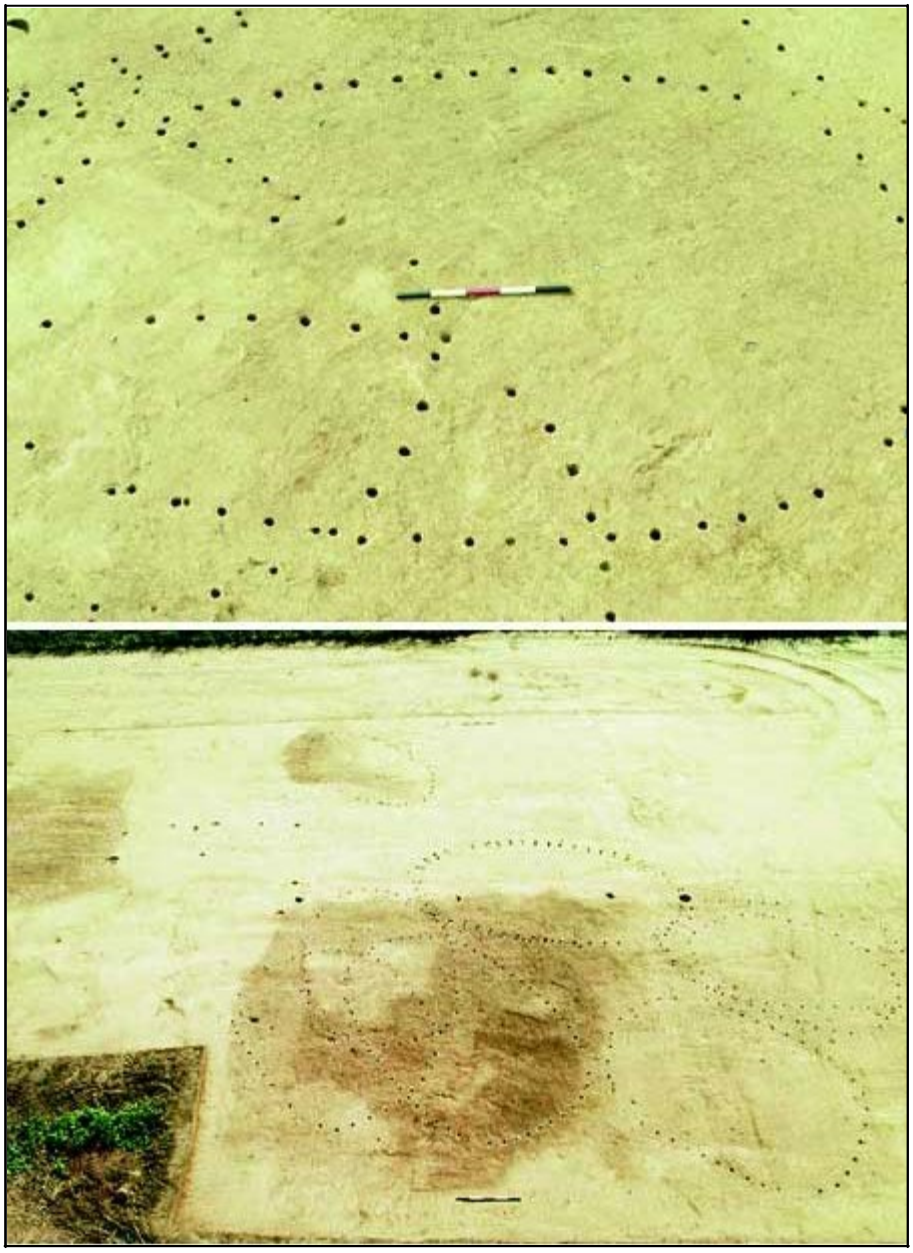
The image is of a probable chief's home in the present city of Virginia Beach. The structure

was large and had a several entrances. Rare for the coastal plain, two storage pits can be seen on the interior.



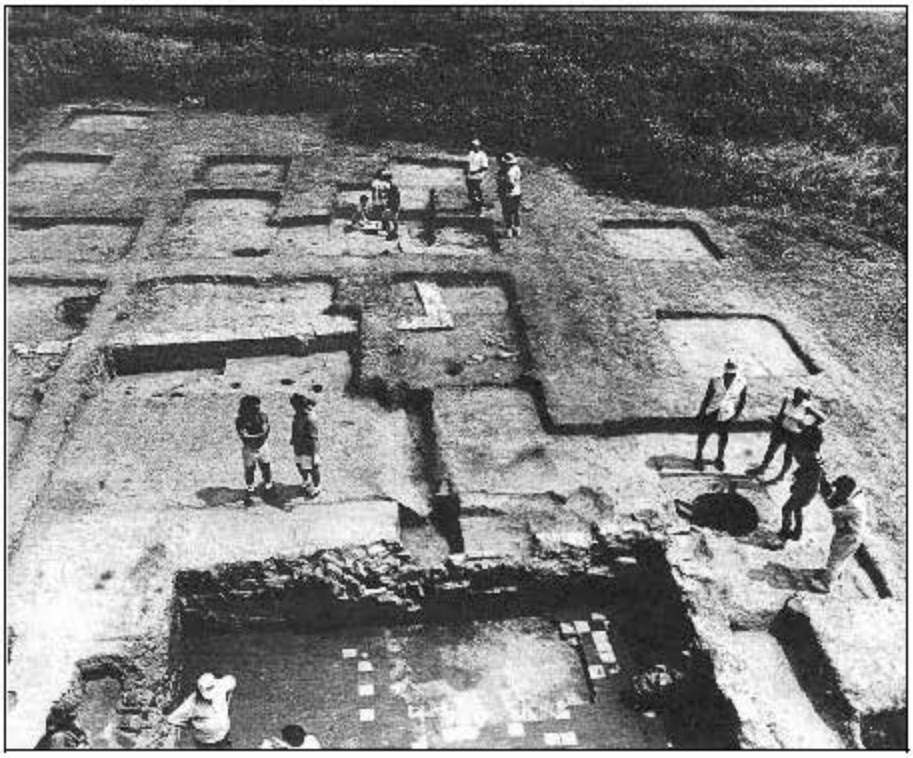
30) House Patterns (Close up and Expanded)
Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia
(44PG303) Late Woodland / Contact Period

This collection of house patterns comes from an area known as Jordan's Point in Prince George Co. Virginia on the James River. It is supposed that the remains are from the seventeenth-century village of Weanock.



31) Nathaniel Bacon's Home
Foundations of Nathaniel Bacon the Rebel's House (Curles Neck, Va.)
From "Colonial Virginia's Cooking Dynasty" by Kathy Harbury

In the foreground are the foundations of Nathaniel Bacon's home with its square tile brick floor and well at the corner. The white foundations in the rear are the first home and then kitchen of Richard and Jane (Bolling) Randolph.



APPENDIX A:

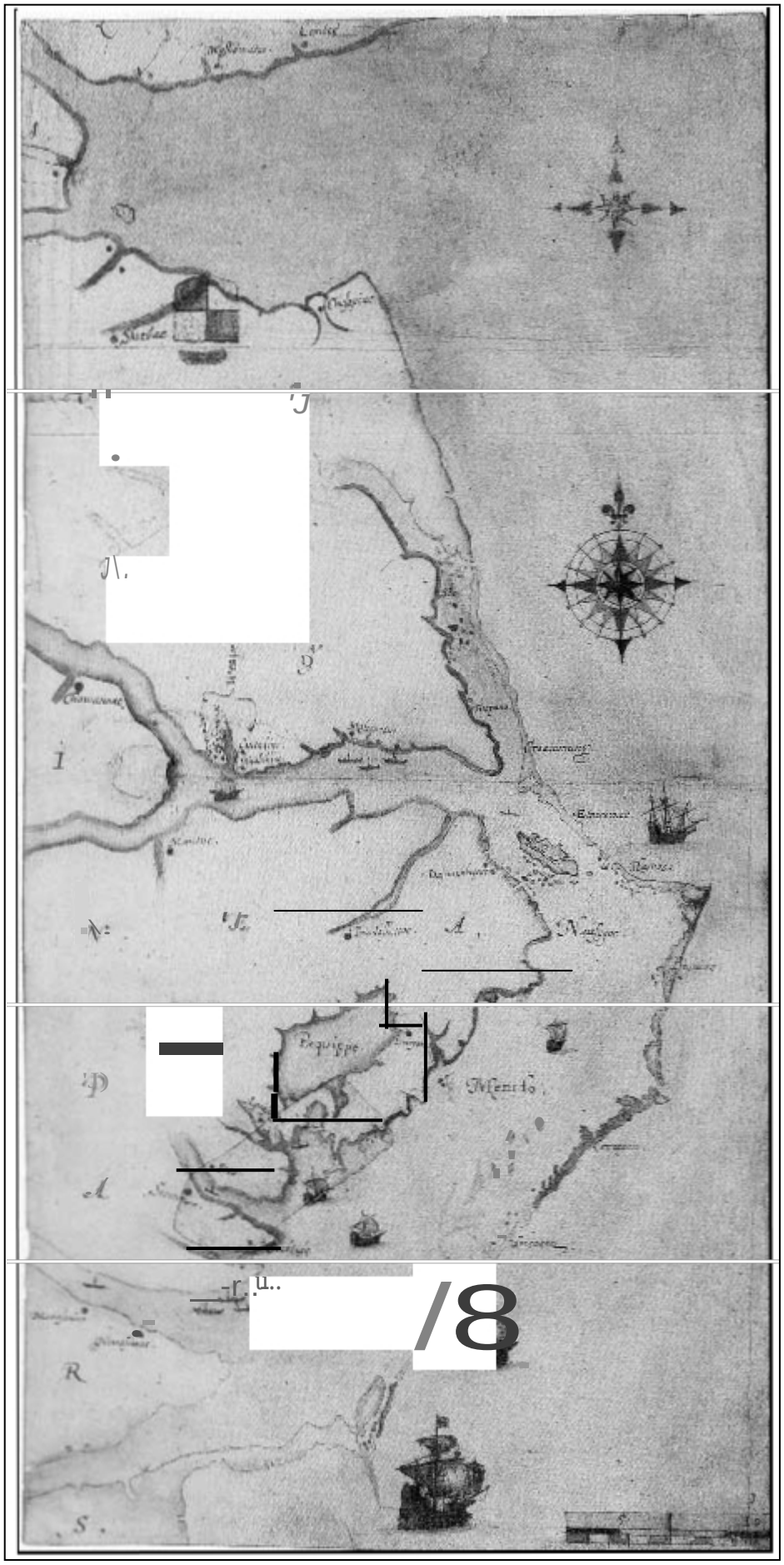
Natives in the Landscape: Images and Documents of Seventeenth Century Virginia Indians

Compiled by Buck Woodard

III. Image Catalogue of seventeenth-century Maps and Documents

1) John White and Thomas Harriot, "La Virginea Pars." c.1585. Prints and Drawings Dept., ©The British Museum, London.

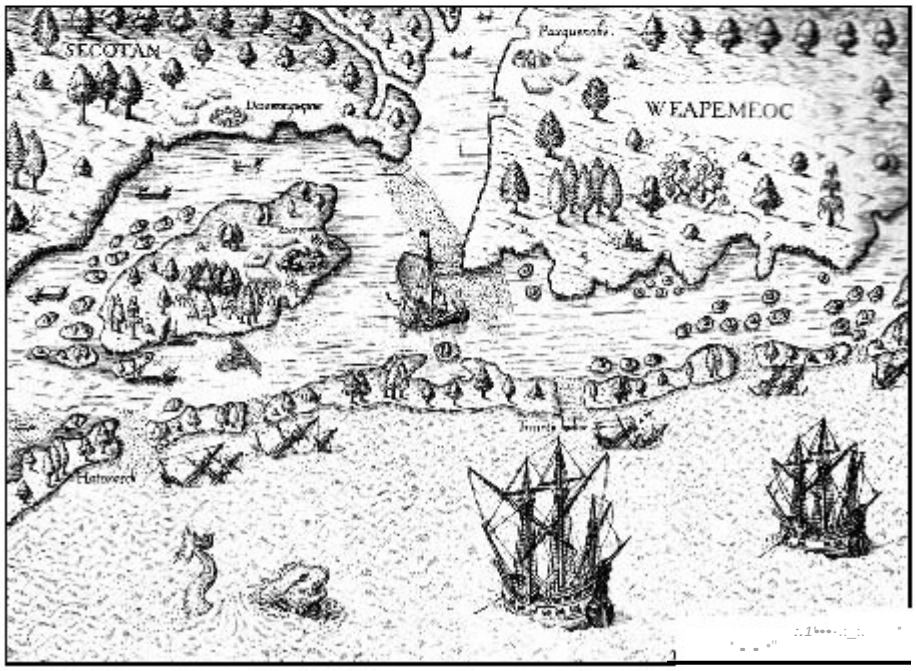
From the 1585 English expedition to the North Carolina coast of North America. The map illustrates major bodies of water from the region, Including the Albemarle and Pamilco Sound as well as the Chesapeake Bay (unnamed). The mouths of the York and James Rivers are also depicted in the northern section of the map. Careful attention was paid to the names and locations of local American Indian settlements.


Stielae
Pequigne
Mesnil

2) Theodore DeBry, 1590, plate 1. Volume I of Theodorous de Bry, Collectiones Pergrinationun in Indiam Occidentalem. Frankfort: T. De Bry, 1590-1634. LVA-Map (Vorhees Collection).

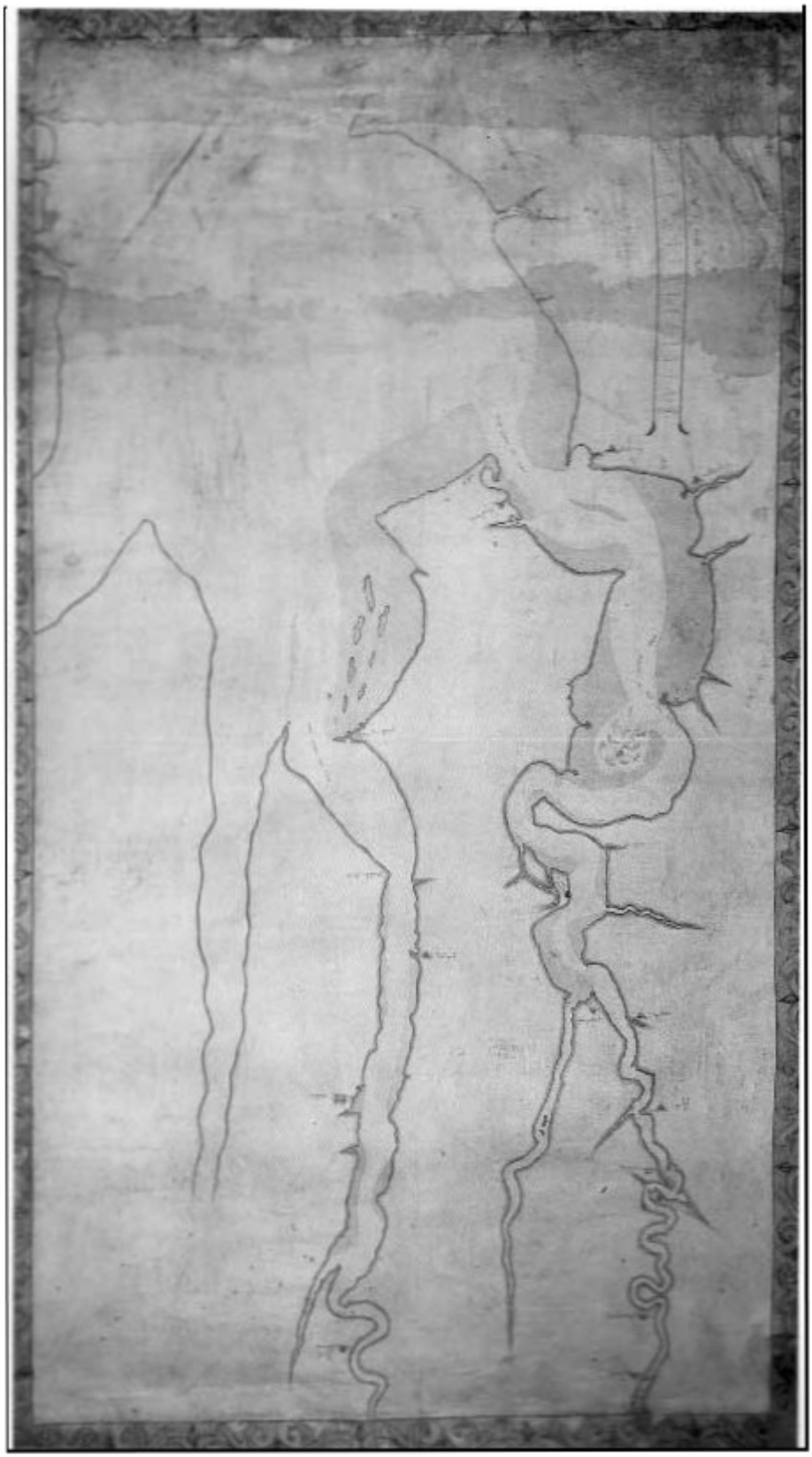
A revised map of John White's original. In this version, the Chesapeake Bay appears named for the first time and the orientation has changed to the west at the top. Another map was created as a close-up of the Roanoke area specifically.





3) Robert Tindall, "The draught by Robert Tindall of Virginia Anno 1608." The British Museum, London.

The earliest survey map by a Jamestown colonist, Tindall's draught is an important reference to the early locations of Indian villages. It includes content based on the 1607 and 1608 expeditions of Christpher Newport.



4) John Smith, Virginia Discovered and Described by Captain John Smith. Graven by William Hole. 1606. 8th state, c.1624. LVA-Map (Voorhees Collection)

Smith's map is the first published map of the Chesapeake region. Oriented with the west at the top, the map has excellent detail and accuracy oflndian villages and imagery. The Smith map is themost significant visua! document from the period.



*Listed below are two of a dozen or so renditions based almost entirely on Smith's map. These releases include Smith's format but often change images, add longitude lines, change, add, or delete place names, and alter the geographic image. The altered reproductions of Smith's original stay in print for most of the 17th and 18th centuries.

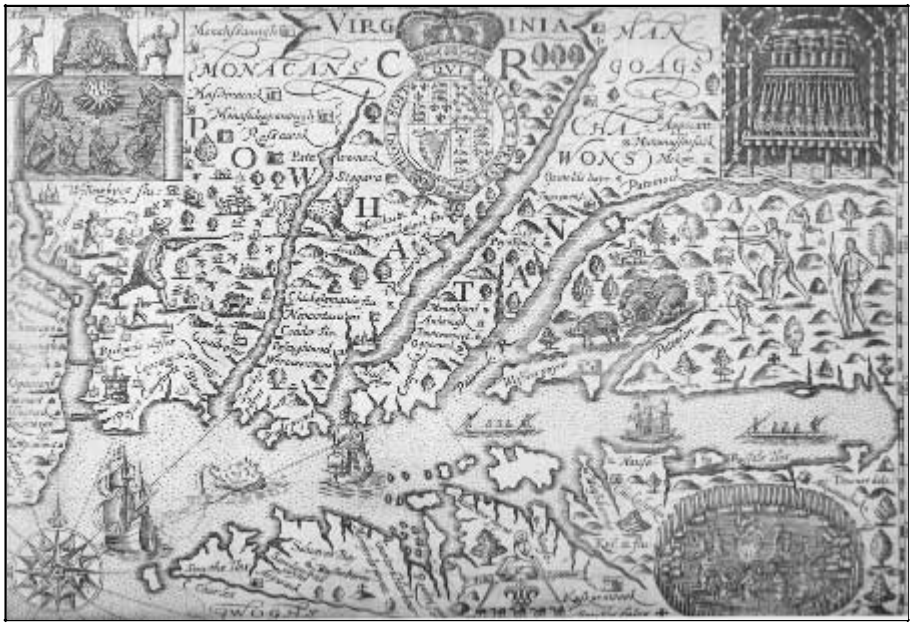
1) Arnold Montanus and John Ogilby, Nova Virginiae Tabula. Amsterdam, 1671; style='mso-tab-count:2'> also America: Being Latest, and Most Accurate Description of the New World. style='mso-tab-count:2'> London, 1671. LVA-Map.

Derived from Smith, this map replaces accuracy with stereotypes developing at the time. Powhatan and the Susquehanna have been removed and replaced with cherubs and two African Natives admiring a llama, a unicorn, and a goat. However, the map's contents remain accurate.



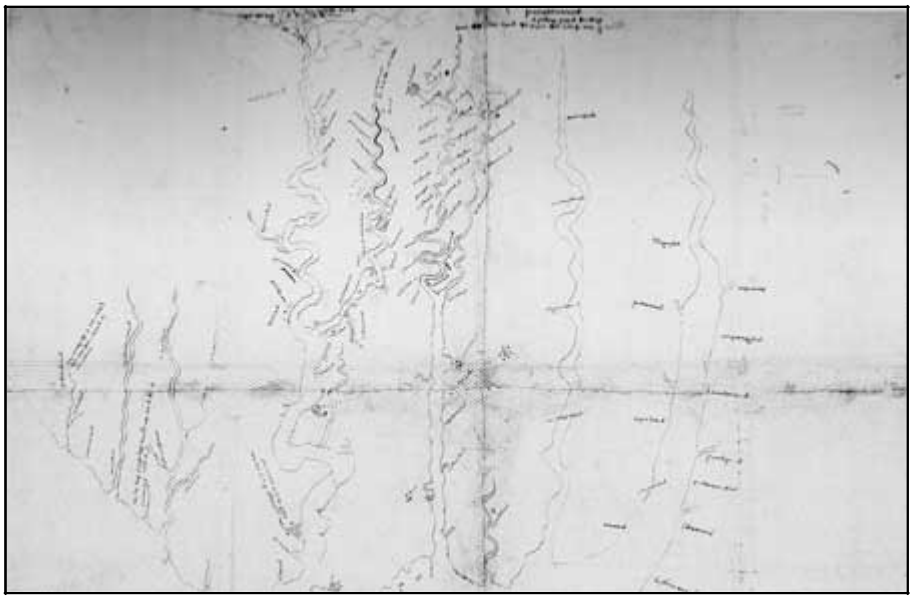
2) Ralph Hall, Virginia, 1636. Inserted in Gerardus Mercator, Historia Mundi: or style='mso-tab-count:2'> Mercator's Atlas. London: Printed by T. Cotes for Michael Sparke and Samuel style='mso-tab-count:2'> Cartwright, 1635. LVA-RBR.

Hall's map is a poor copy of Smith's earlier work. Accuracy was not the intent; most of the geography is only reminiscent of reality, as are some of the creatures (wild boar and leopards). New renditions of DeBry's engraving have been included in the bizarre landscape.



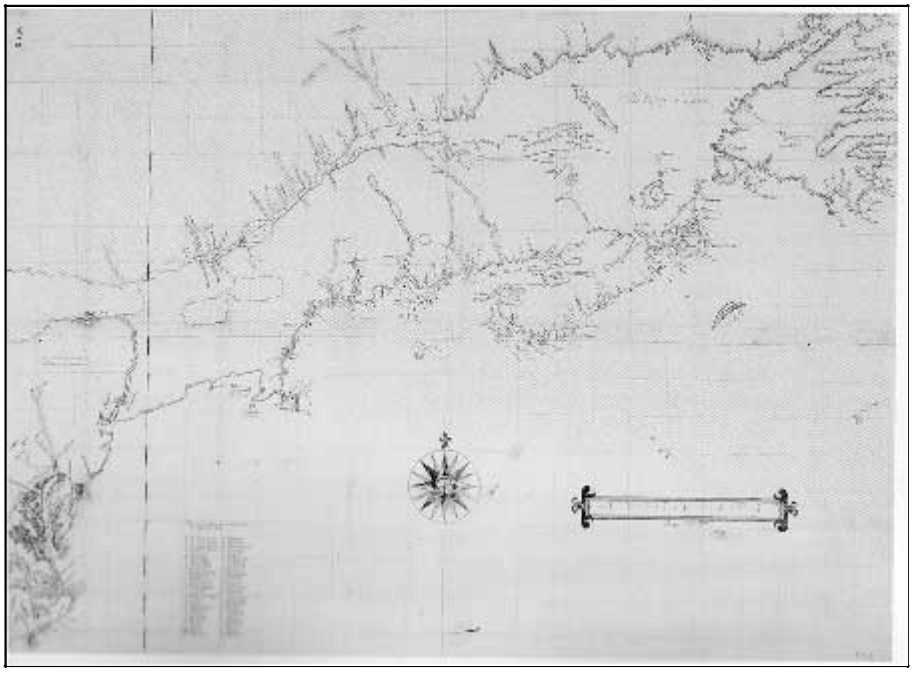
5) Don Pedro de Zuniga, Map of Virginia, before September 15, 1608. Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid, Spain.

The famous Zuniga map offers a hand drawn version of the Jon Smith map, and the information contained there in. It also includes content on the travels to the south and west in search of Lost Colonists of Roanoke.



6) Don Alonso de Velasco, Map of the East Coast of North America, 1611. Archivo de Simancas, Valladolid, Spain.

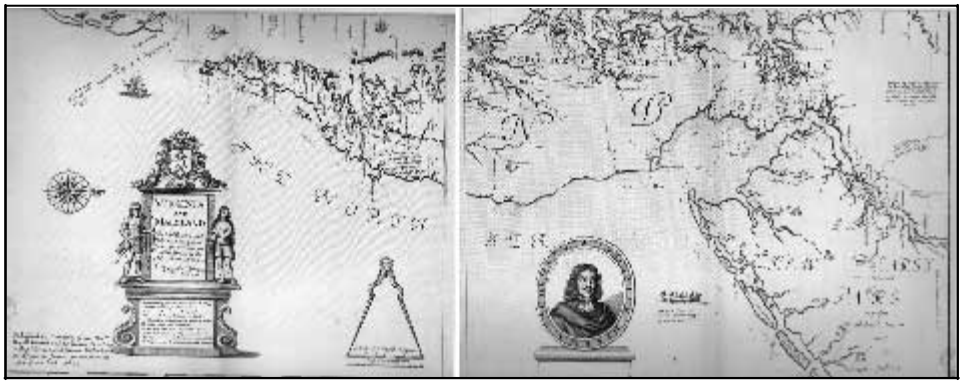
A very detailed map collected by the Spanish Ambassador to England. The map illustrates the English understanding of the coast of N.A. from Newfoundland to the Outer Banks. Some Indian and English names appear as a list and then correlate to numbers on the drawings of rivers systems.



7) Augustine Herrman, Virginia and Maryland As it is Planted and Inhabited this present Year 1670. Published in London, 1673. LC-G&M

Four sheet survey of the Chesapeake Bay area, the best rendition since John Smith's original map published 50 yrs. earlier. The illustrations are detailed and outline the expanding European settlements and declining Native communities.





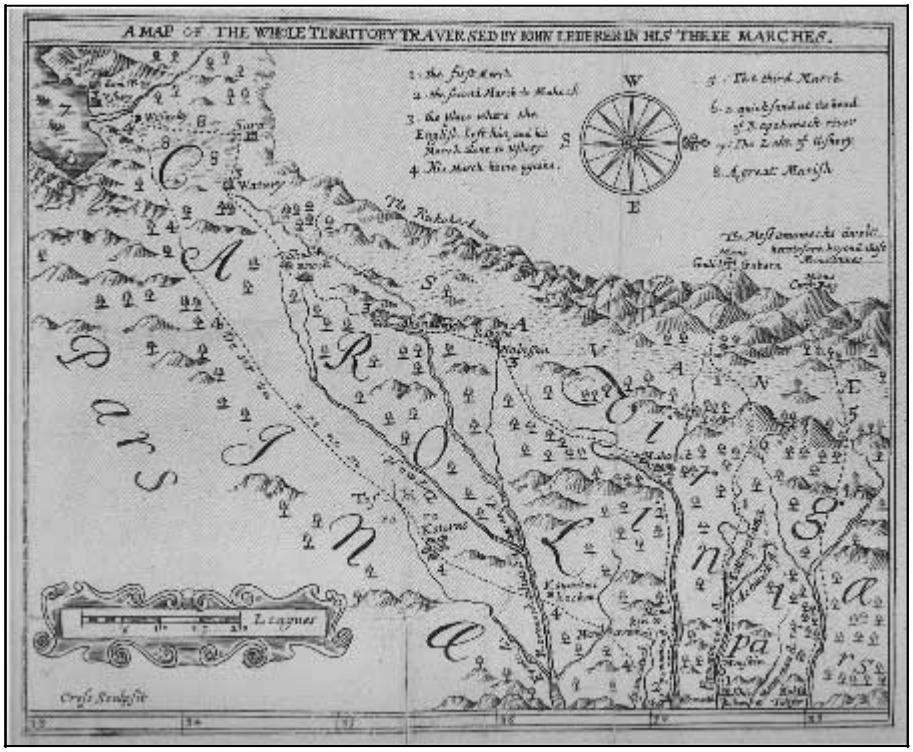
8) Francis Lamb, A Map of Virginia and Maryland, c. 1676. Published by Basset and Chiswell, 1676. LC-G&M

Lamb's map is a combination of Smith's earlier work and the Herrman map. Less detail is present; however some settlements of English and Native are displayed for the period.



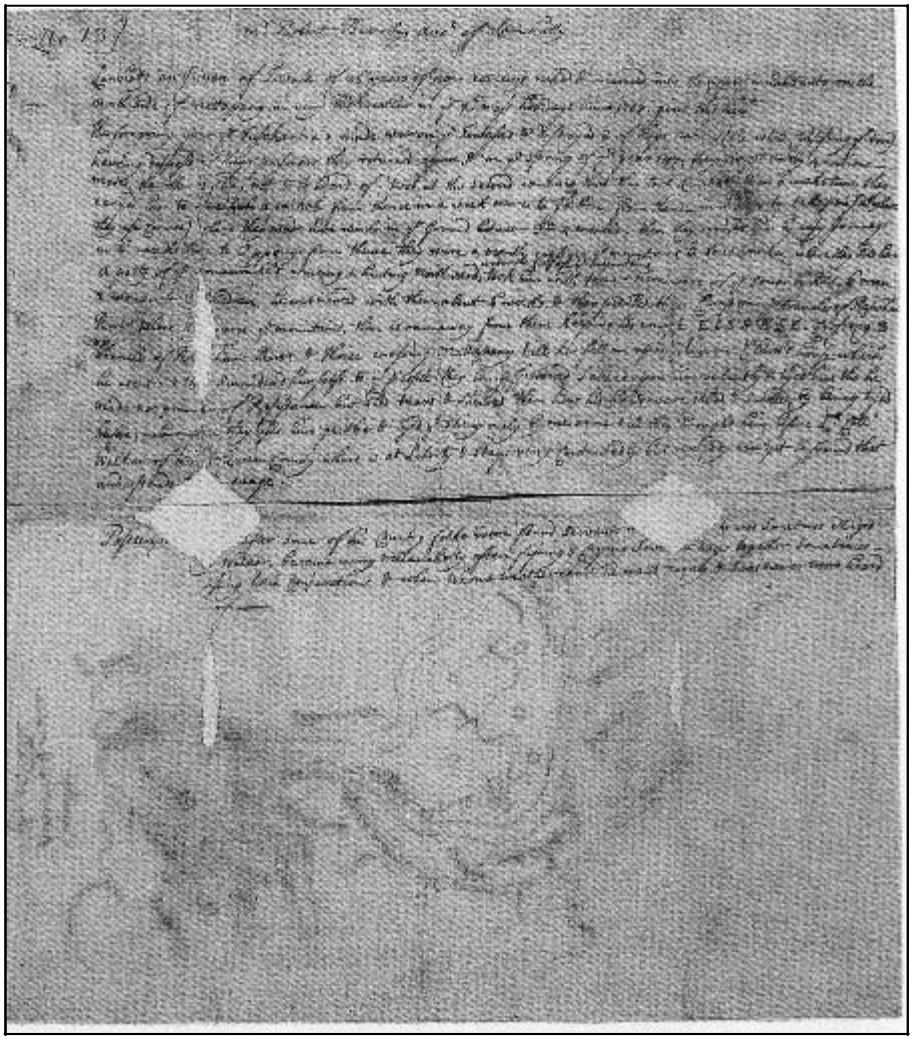
9) John Lederer, A Map of the Whole Territory Traversed by John Lederer in his Three Marches. London, 1672. LVA-RBR.

Lederer's map was the first to illustrate the far interior of Virginia and Carolina. He includes several "mistakes" in his work, such as the "South Seas" and "Desserts" that are not present in reality. He includes a variety of Indian villages, of mostly Siouan extraction, with the exception of the Iroquois and Algonquians mentioned from the earliest part of his expedition.



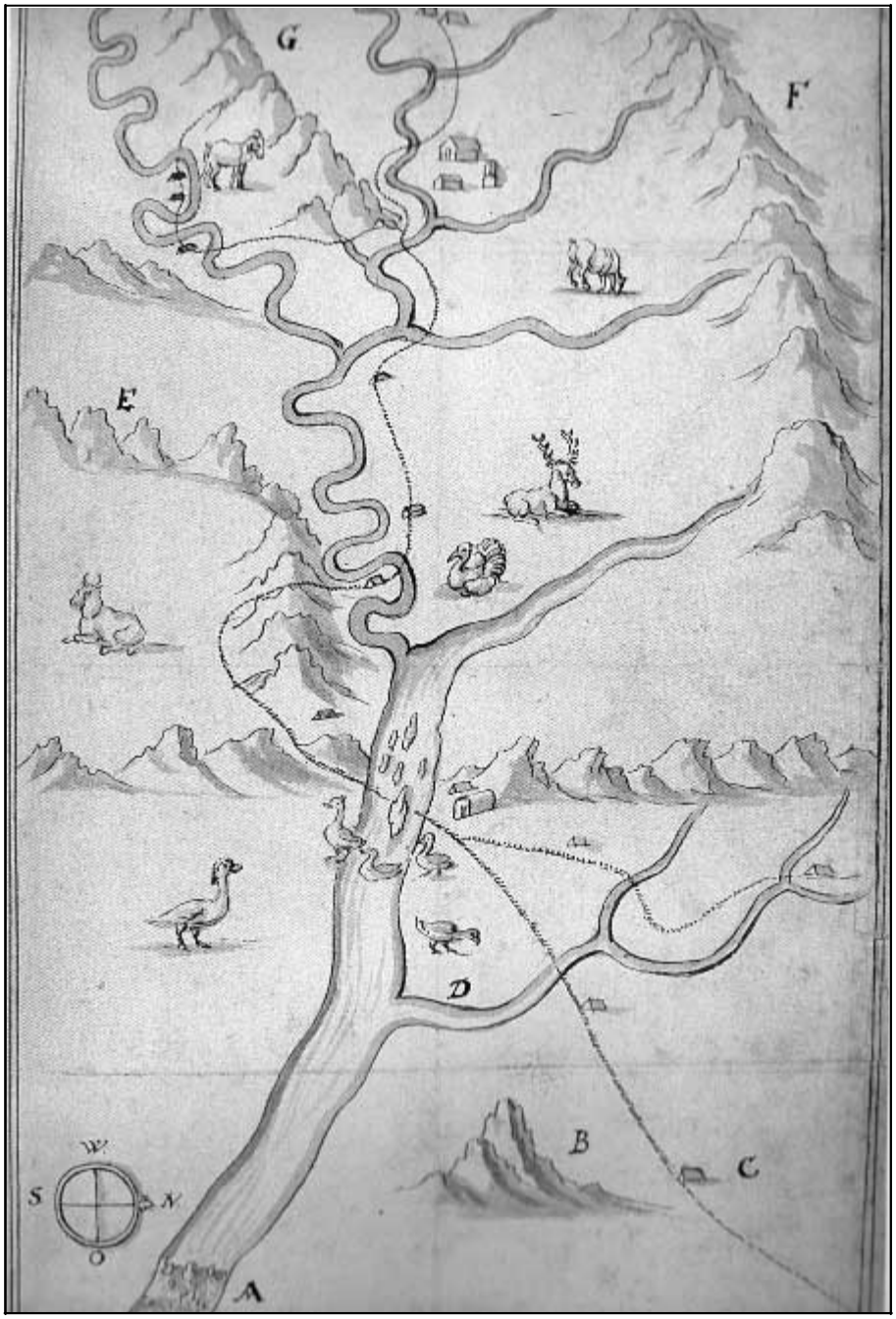
10) "Mr. Robert Beverlys Account of Lamhatty." c.1708. Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

This map is an example of Indian knowledge of diverse groups and territories. Lamhatty was a Towasa, captured by Muskogees and sold into slavery to consorting Shawnees. He breaks free and makes his way to the edge of English settlement on the Mattaponi, where his story was recorded by John Walker. The map appears on the reverse of the letter to Robert Beverly, and is supposedly in Lamhatty's own hand.



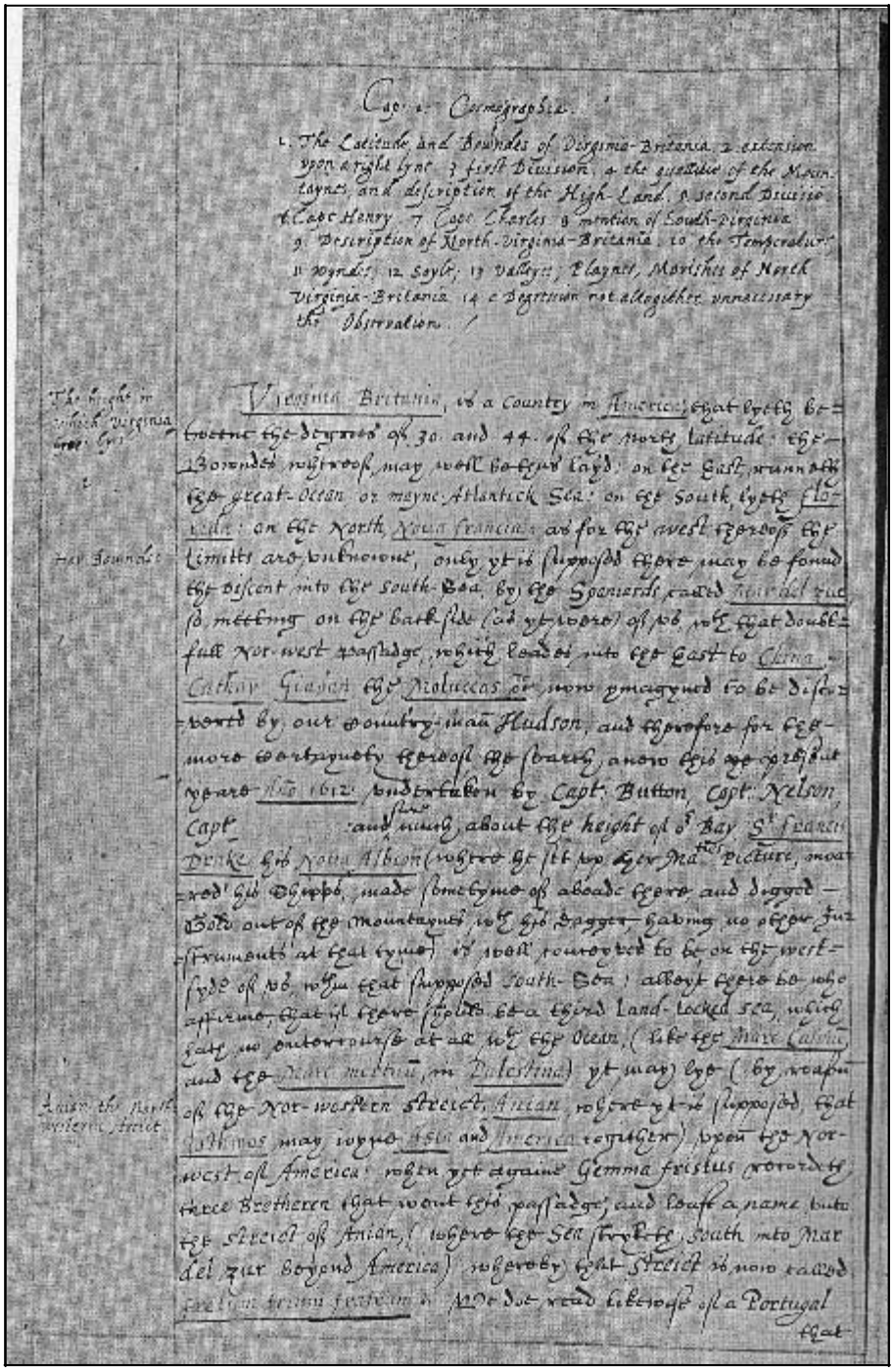
11) Franz Ludwig Michel [Map of the Shenandoah Valley and Upper Potomac River, 1707], Public Record Office, London.

The first recorded exploration of the lower Shenandoah Valley, undertaken in 1706. Michel was in search of land suitable for a Swiss colony in the region. Several of the rivers and mountainous areas are named using the local Indian dialect.



12) William Strachey, Excerpt from the "Strachey Vocabulary", the Princeton Manuscript. The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania (1612)

This page from the Princeton manuscript are thought to at least have the heading and marginal notes in Strachey's hand. The entire collection is available for reproduction; two copies are extant, one at the British Museum, the other in the Bodleain Library.



Cap. 2. Cosmographia.

1. The Latitude and Bounds of Virginia-Britania. 2 extension upon a right line 3 first Division. 4 the quantity of the Mountaynes, and description of the High-Land. 5 second Division & Cape Henry. 7 Cape Charles. 8 mention of South-Virginia. 9 Description of North-Virginia-Britania. 10 the Temperature. 11 Woods. 12 Soyle. 13 Valleys, Playnes, Marishes of North Virginia-Britania. 14 a Digression not altogether unnecessary the Observation.

The height in which Virginia lyes.

Virginia Britania, is a Country in America; that lyeth between the Degrees of 30 and 44. of the North Latitude: the Bounds whereof may well be thus layd: on the East runneth the great Ocean or mayne Atlantick Sea: on the South lyeth Florida: on the North Nova Francia: as for the west thereof the Limitts are unknowne, only yt is supposed there may be found the discent into the South-Sea, by the Spaniards called Estrecho de Anian meeting on the back side (as yt is hoped) of 48. wch that double full North-west passadge, which leadeth into the East to China, Cathay Giapan the Molucccas &c. now imagyned to be discovered by our Country-man Hudson, and therefore for the more certainty thereof the search and this we hope shall ere long be undertaken by Capt. Button, Capt. Nelson, Capt. and much about the height of S. Jeames Drake his Nova Albion (whose Ile we have in the Kings Ma.ties picture, most rudely his Shape, made sometyme of about there and digged out of the Mountaynes wch his Dagger, having no other fit instruments at that tyme) it well remembred to be on the west-syde of 48. wch that supposed South-Sea: about there do some affirme, that there lyeth a third Land-locked sea, which hath no entercourse at all wch the Ocean. (like the Mare Caspium and the Mare mortuum in Palestina) yt may be (by reason of the North-western streict, Anian, where yt is supposed that Isthmos may joyne Asia and America together) upon the North-west of America: which yet againe Gemma Frisius recordeth three Brethren that went this passadge, and found a name into the streict of Anian, (where the Sea streicheth South into Mar del Zur Beyond America) whereby that Streict is now called Freton de tres hermanos &c. Nor doe read likewise of a Portugal that

Anian the North western streict.



ARTICLES
OF
PEACE

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CHARLES II.

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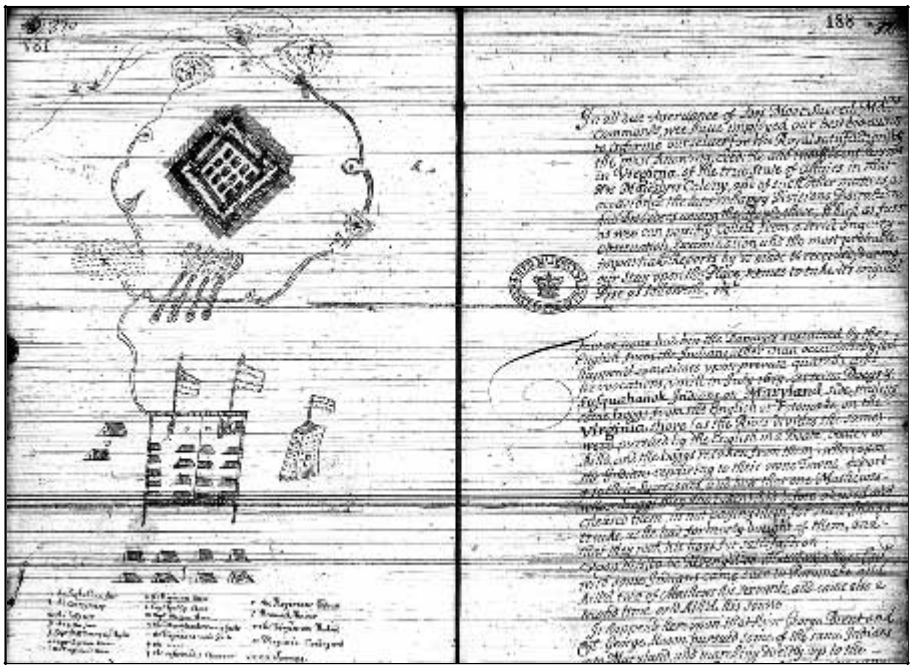


Of tht Nancymond Iri'dians.

14) The Susquehana Fort

"A True Narrative of the Rise, Progress, and Cessation of the Late Rebellion in Virginia Most Humbly and Impartially Reported By His Majesties Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Affairs of the Said Colony." p.370 / 188 (stamped), Library of Virginia, Reel 32. Virginia Colonial Records Project.

A description and illustration of the fort at Susquehanna. An account of a July 1675 conflict is described in the article next to the map, mentioning Susquehanock and Doeg Indians in the Potomack River district.



Recommendations:

The image collection provided is a sample of the materials available for use by the National Park Service. The seventeenth-century documents are limited in number, and their use in museum work and educational publications has been extensive. Further material may be revealed in the libraries and record houses of Europe and the Caribbean. Resources in Madrid, Rome (the Vatican), Bermuda, and Barbados may await the studious researcher. Additional seventeenth-century documents are available for scanning from courthouses that are complete in their record collection, like those of the Eastern Shore of Virginia. Further studies of seventeenth-century documents pertaining to Virginia's Indians may reveal margin notes, tribal character signatures, and descriptions left out by earlier archivists. The use of seventeenth-century handwriting in museum display may be a new way to present the American Indian of Virginia. Panels dedicated to documents exclusive to Indians could offer an insight into chronology, fluctuating terms of treaties, land loss, conflict, and cultural activities. Maps that illustrate the changing face of Virginia's landscape could be used to focus on a particular area through time; detailing the changing Native names, village sites, and political control. Additional photographs of archeological study collections from across the state may provide further imagery for NPS consideration. Archeological images could be used not only in informational publications, but as design elements in larger formats for exhibitions. A display of seventeenth-century house patterns and interpreted recreations of exact local housing could be used in a dramatic way for exhibit design or just for information's sake. As an example of future image research consideration, an extensive

catalogue of seventeenth-century ceramic vessel incised rim design patterns has never been done for this region. Further investigation of design elements in existing Late Woodland / Contact period archeological collections may reveal a wealth of indigenous patterned designs available for use in exhibit borders, banners, and publications or even as an exhibit focus. As a final consideration, new images could be commissioned for development. Contemporary illustrations of the Virginia Indians of the seventeenth-century are far and few between. Completed ethnographic and archeological research could provide the suitable inspiration for new imagery to be created, based on the primary materials present in this image collection.

APPENDIX B:

Exhibition of Early Images of Pocahontas

From the Collection of William W. Cole

Compiled by Angela L. Daniel

Plates



A. Pocahontas and John Smith, Jamestown, Virginia, 1607-1957

Royal China under glaze, '56

This image of the Indian maiden, Pocahontas, rescuing colonist John Smith in 1607 is one of the most highly related stories in American history. Whether a legend or a true biographical incident, this story immortalized the memory of Pocahontas and Captain John Smith.



B. Princess Pocahontas Begs Life of Captain John Smith, Jamestown, Virginia

(T) Williamsburg Commemorative Ware
(Y) Williamsburg Restoration, Inc.

Wedgwood of Etruria and Barlaston, Made in England Princess Pocahontas begs life of Captain John Smith who had been allegedly sentenced to death by King Powhatan. The border shows: the ships which brought the colonists to Jamestown in 1607; the old church tower at Jamestown; the Moorehouse at Yorktown where articles of capitulation were crafted; Washington firing the first cannon at the siege of Yorktown; the Capital and Governor's Palace at Williamsburg.



C. Jamestown, 1607-1957

David J. Gregory, Jr.
Bernard J. Davis
Manufactured by Conrad Crafters, Inc., Wheeling, West Virginia
Reg. No. GU25978 Dec. 2, 1955.

On the border of this plate are shown the portraits of colonist Captain John Smith, and Pocahontas, daughter of the great Chief Powhatan. The plate illustrates Pocahontas pleading for Smith's life when Powhatan allegedly wanted him put to death. This story, widely popular

in America and England, remains controversial.



D. Man in Wintertime

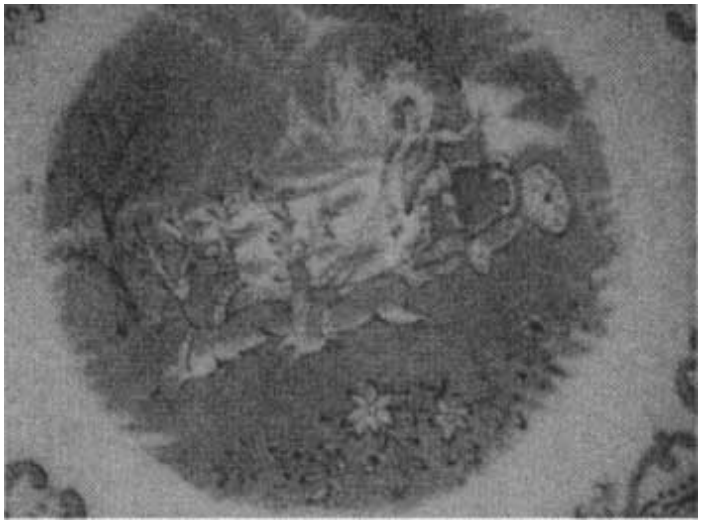
Wedgwood Eturia and Barlaston, Made in England, Queensware.

A Commemorative Edition on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the Roanoke Voyages to North Carolina and in celebration of our American Indian heritage, Ivey's Carolinas commissioned Wedgwood to create this North Carolina coastal Indian motif plate.

This Queensware fine earthenware plate is composed in part of western North Carolina Cherokee clay first used by "The Father of English Potters," Josiah Wedgwood in 1768. Iveys.

Illustration is from a Theodor de Bry engraving, based on watercolors by John White. Theodor de Bry (1528-1598) was a Flemish emigrant in Germany, who produced America, a series about the New World.

The de Bry prints of John White's illustrations are widely accepted today by Virginia Indians. White's watercolors portray a lifestyle of North Carolina Algonquian Indian women, similar to that in which Pocahontas was raised. She would have been taught how to be independent as a child.



E. Pocahontas

Staffordshire, England

Pocahontas was a popular figure in the mid-nineteenth century, both here and in England and France. Believed to be ten to eleven years old, when the colonists arrived, Pocahontas was an icon of the "good Indian." She risked her life carrying food and information to the colonists and later converted to Christianity. This unique plate, with the reindeer image, is reminiscent of mythological scenes. Produced mid 19th century, only 2000 plates and a bowl are said to exist.



F. Jamestown, 1607-1907

Vienna Art Plates. Pat. February 21, 1905
Copyrighted by WH Owens and Co., Manchester, Virginia

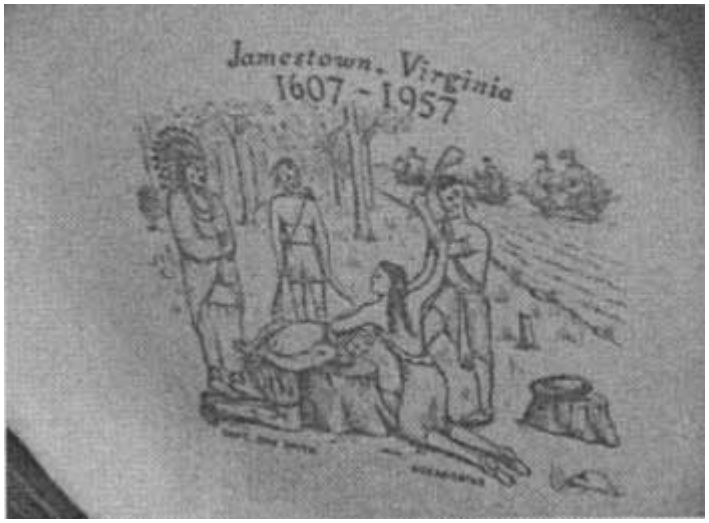
This is one of the pieces selected for the 1907 tercentennial celebration of the settlement of Jamestown. The image was duplicated fifty years later for the 350th anniversary of Jamestown. Captain John Smith was instrumental in the establishment and survival of the British colony at Jamestown. His allegedly miraculous salvation by Pocahontas in 1607 has become legendary. In 1624, Smith recorded this adventure in his writings, greatly enhancing and embellishing it from his earlier report in 1608. This historical event has become a popular choice for artists and illustrators both here and in Europe.



G. Jamestown, 1607-1957, 350th Anniversary

Wheeling Decorating Glass China, West Virginia. PM—A

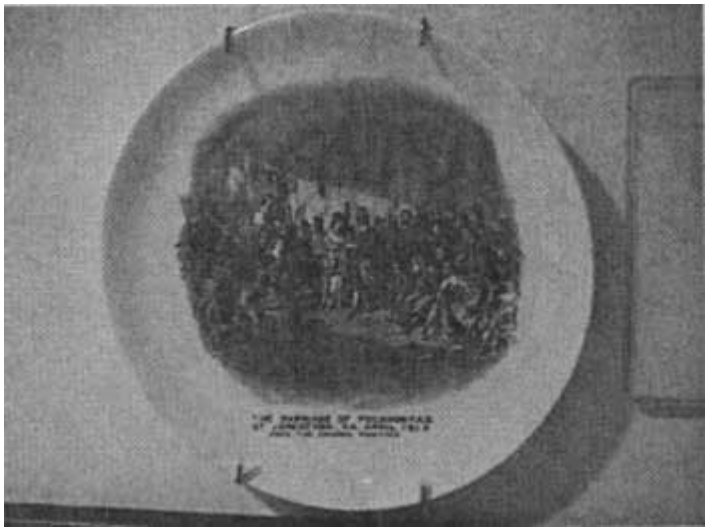
The best known exploit recounted of John Smith, adventurer and soldier, is the story of his rescue by Pocahontas. According to legend, her father, Chief Powhatan, had ordered Smith's head to be crushed between two stones, when Pocahontas intervened and pleaded for his life to be spared. The story is controversial and Pocahontas was never able to tell her own version, as she died from an illness at the young age of about 22, prior to Smith's written account being made public.



H. Jamestown, 1607-1957

No identification on this plate as to origin of manufacture.

Illustration of Captain John Smith's story of the Indian Princess Pocahontas rescuing him in 1607, from death at the hands of her father, Chief Powhatan of the Algonquian Nation. A Powhatan intertribal hunting party captured Smith, an adventurer, when he wandered too far along the banks of the Chickahominy River, west of the Jamestown settlement. Smith's captor was Opechancanough, Powhatan's half brother. He escorted the English Captain through a number of Indian villages, where he was displayed, until he was finally taken to Powhatan's capital, *Werowocomoco.*



H2. The Marriage of Pocahontas at Jamestown, Virginia, 1813

Nuesbaum Book and Art Co. 100-102 Granby Street, Norfolk, Virginia, F.B. & Co. 3-07

This plate is misdated. The wedding of Pocahontas, April, 1614, took place in Jamestown, or possibly Henrico. This commemorative plate was made in 1907 to commemorate the tercentennial of the settlement of Jamestown.

This is an idealized, fantasy image of Pocahontas's marriage in 1614, by artist Henry Brueckner. It was the first recorded marriage in the New World between an Indian and a colonist. Pocahontas's father, Chief Powhatan, who hoped it would bring peace between the colonists and the Indians, blessed the marriage. By the time of her marriage, Pocahontas had been converted to Christianity, and given the name Rebecca. Conversion was a requirement by the Church, before she could marry John Rolfe.

Coin



Pocahontas, 1607-1907

Gilt coin, so called Dollar. A U.S. Mint Official Medal, 1907 Struck in US. Mint for the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition in 1907

One side of the coin depicts the head of Pocahontas; the other side is sailing ships. The Jamestown Exposition, celebrating the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of this Nation, was held from April 26 to November 30th, 1907, on the shores of Hampton Roads, in Virginia.

"There is no land so fair
As Old Virginia,
So full of song, so free from care,
As Old Virginia,
And I am sure that happy land The
Lord prepared for mortal man, Is
built exactly on the plan
Of Old Virginia."

Jamestown Exposition, 1907

Antique Prints



I. Pocahontas

Reproduction of an engraving by L. C. Buttre
Engraved expressly for Ladies' Repository by L. C. Buttre, New York
Published in 1861

This image depicts Pocahontas in dress (regalia) traditionally worn by adult Indian women in Pocahontas's day. It is still worn today for powwows, and on special occasions, such as Tribute Day, when Virginia's Pamunkey and Mattaponi tribes visit the State Capital in Richmond and present the Governor with gifts of wild game in a ceremonial payment of taxes.

Early 1585-1586 watercolors by John White depict Powhatan girls before the age of puberty

as wearing no clothing. As young teenagers, they wore a simple deerskin apron. On occasion, they wore feathers or flowers in their hair.

When the colonists landed in 1607, Pocahontas is documented in English writings as running through the settlement naked. The conclusion is she was under 12 years of age, a child.



J. The Marriage of Pocahontas and John Rolfe

An original print from the initial 1855, oil on canvas, painting by artist and printmaker, Henry Brueckner.

This rendition is imaginary, yet astonishing in historical details and observations. It gives a fascinating portrayal of the marriage of Pocahontas to Colonist John Rolfe. The original engraving by John McRae is 24x34. Joseph Laing, who at mid century began distributing large prints in New York, London and Edinburgh, published it. This rendition is largely a fantasy, as little was known of the actual event. It is noteworthy that most of the wedding guests are English, though a number of Indians are depicted, such as Pocahontas's two brothers and her Uncle Opachisco. John Rolfe represents the best of English gentlemen and Pocahontas is portrayed as fairly exotic looking. The marriage brought peace between the colonists and the Indians, at a time when relations between the English and the Indians were hostile.



K. Captain John Smith Rescued by Pocahontas

E. Corbould, artist
T. Knight, engraver

The artist has romanticized the legendary story of John Smith's rescue by depicting the Indian Princess in this engraving, complete with a waterfall and horse. An exploration party captured Smith in 1607, west of Jamestown, along the Chickahominy River. Smith, in his writings, describes being taken to the mighty Chief Powhatan, Pocahontas's father, and sentenced to death. Pocahontas successfully pleaded with her father to save his life. The story that Powhatan wanted Smith put to death is controversial.

No Image

L. Pocahontas

Colored engraving
Artist and engraver unknown
Circa 1940

This lovely forest scene is typical of many artistic depictions of Pocahontas as a woodland "creature." Her future English husband, John Rolfe, referred to Pocahontas as a "lovely creature" in a letter he wrote. She is wearing traditional Indian dress, called "regalia" by Indians. A popular 19th century nickname for Pocahontas was "Child of the Forest." Known to the Colonists as "Pocahontas," her own people called her "Matoaka." The English named her "Rebecca." Americans later came to revere Princess Pocahontas, daughter of Chief Powhatan, as the "Mother of the Nation."



M. Pocahontas

Reproduction of an engraving, 1840
G. Staal, artist; E. Charden, engraver
Imp. E. Charden, Frenchaine, 30r. haute feuille, Paris, France, Pocahontas

Staal, as many artists during the past four centuries, depicted Pocahontas differently from the way she actually was. In this reproduction of an engraving, Chief Powhatan's daughter seems to be a member of French high society. Note how differently the Indian girl has been depicted. How might a Virginia Indian have depicted her?

Algonquian women customarily tattooed themselves. They valued jewelry highly, often wearing multiple necklaces, bracelets and earrings of pearl, copper, shell or bone. Powhatan's wedding gift to his daughter was a large single strand pearl necklace. He did not attend her wedding for fear of capture by the Colonists.



N. Pocahontas

Copy of an engraving produced by Thomas McKenney and James Hall for their three volume collection; Indian Tribes of North America; circa 1844. William Cole donated one of these original prints to the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond; Virginia. The image in the various editions varies slightly.

The large colored lithograph from which the above mentioned print was made of Pocahontas, was drawn, printed and colored by Daniel Rice and James G. Clark and produced at the Lithographic & Print Coloring Establishment in Philadelphia, in 1842.

Known as "The Turkey Island Portrait," the original painting was acquired circa 18th c. in England by the Randolph family and brought to their ancestral home on the James River, Turkey Island. In 1830, at the urging of the well-known portrait artist Thomas Sully, his nephew Robert Mathew Sully made a copy of the painting. It would be ten years or so before Daniel Rice and James Clark made their lithograph of Sully's copy.

This lithograph proved controversial. Originally, both Sully and McKenney believed the *Turkey Island Portrait* to have been painted from real life. However, the dress worn by Pocahontas did not exist before the second half of the 19th c. Also, many thought the image course. The legendary Indian Princess is generally perceived in our mind's eye, to have been thin, beautiful, with straight black hair and darker skin. The *Turkey Island Portrait* is a Europeanized depiction.



O. The Crowning of Powhatan

Colored etching
J. G. Chapman, artist,
R. Hinshelwood, engraver
Engraved for Graham's Magazine, from an original picture.

Europeans called the mighty Chief Powhatan "a king," which made his daughter, Pocahontas, a Princess. Chief of the Algonquian Nation, Powhatan ruled a chiefdom of thirty-plus tribes in what is today, Henrico County and eastern Virginia. According to Virginia Indian oral history, Powhatan is buried on the Pamunkey Reservation in King William County, Virginia.



P. Captain Smith and Pocahontas

Colored Etching
Drawn by J. Morton; Esq.
Engraver unknown

This image represents the legend of Pocahontas rescuing Captain John Smith from death at the hands of her father, Chief Powhatan. Pocahontas pleads for Smith's life as he is about to be clubbed to death. According to Indian lore, Pocahontas saved others, as well as Smith. This is also acknowledged in a letter written by Smith in which he states that *more than any other person, an Indian child named Pocahontas has saved the colonists from death and starvation.*



Q. Captain John Smith Rescued by Pocahontas

Drawn by A. C. Warren
Engraved by D. G. Thompson

This antique print is a rendition of the popular legend of Chief Powhatan's dearest daughter, Pocahontas, saving the life of Captain John Smith, a leader of the English Colonists. One theory among modern scholars, as well as Native oral history, is that the event was an adoption ritual. Smith and Pocahontas remained life long friends. A brotherly/sisterly affection would explain why Pocahontas was distraught over Smith's lack of communication with her, while she was in London. Others have interpreted Pocahontas's reaction as being a romantic rejection.



R. A Song of Old Jamestown

1907 Sheet Music
By N. Brant Robertson
Published by F. P. Robertson, 108 S. Howard Street, Baltimore, Maryland

The celebration of the 300th anniversary of the Jamestown Settlement in 1907 was the impetus for the creation of *A Song of Old Jamestown.* The sheet music prominently features an image of Pocahontas, a marketing tool of the era.

No Image

R2. Pocahontas Saving the Life of Captain John Smith

Colored Print
Engraving by Kellogg and Thayer
Circa 1830

Did Pocahontas rescue Captain John Smith? Some believe John Smith's life was never in danger, the "rescue" being seen as a test of manliness, even an adoption ceremony or ritual misunderstood by Smith. The question may never be answered definitively. The "Pocahontas Saving Captain John Smith" narrative has been told and retold, enhanced and embellished for nearly four hundred years. Today, it is one of the best known episodes in American history.

Memorabilia

No Image

S. Pamunkey Indian Reenactment of Pocahontas Saving Captain John Smith's life, Jamestown, Virginia

A stereoscopic card for a stereoscope, an optical instrument (1850-1855), Keystone Viero Company Manufacturer. No. 14196

This card depicts Pocahontas pleading for the life of Captain John Smith. Pamunkey Indian tribe at the Jamestown Exposition, 300 years after John Smith was allegedly rescued, re-enactment 1907.



Front (left), Back (right)

T. Grind Your Own Coffee

Advertising collectable card depicting many small historic scenes or vignettes referencing John Smith, the Jamestown colony. Arbuckle Bros. of New York City. This is one of a series of fifty cards giving a pictorial history of the United States and Territories: The Ruins of the Old Church First Settlers at Jamestown, 1607 Pocahontas Saving the Life of Captain John Smith, Punishment by Pillory in Colonial Days, the fight between the "Monitor and the Merrimac."



U. Powhatan brand label for applesauce and apple rings



Front (left), Back (right)

V. Playing Card

Radioslip Joker card Playing card from a deck used on the Norfolk & Western "Pocahontas Train."


Front (left), Back (right)

W. Postcard for Hotel Pocahontas

Dated July 22, Newport News, Virginia
Uses a one-cent stamp
Hotel Proprietor, Tmos. J. Hundley

Postcard scene is overlooking Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry-dock Co. and Hampton Roads, Virginia.



X. Pocahontas Creamer Packets

APPENDIX C:

Algonquian Language of Virginia: Powhatan Dialects of the Seventeenth Century and Beyond
Select Annotated Bibliography and Notes

Compiled by Buck Woodard

Virginia Algonquian:

Barbour, Phillip L.
1967 "Chickahominy Place Names in Captain John Smith's True Relations," Names, XV, 216-227.

Barbour, Philip L. ed.
1969 *The Jamestown Voyages Under the First Charter, 1606-1609.* 2 vols. Cambridge: University Press.

Within this edition of Barbour's larger volumes on the early Jamestown accounts, appear notes on Smith's map of Virginia. Included are discussions on the place names of Indian settlements, which are expanded in his article for the Virginia Magazine of History an Biography (see below).

Barbour, Philip L. ed.
1986 *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580-1631)*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press

Babour's volume is an invaluable collection of primary documents authored by Capt. John Smith from the early period of European settlement in Virginia. Linguistically, Smith includes many of the personal names, place names, and commonly used words of the Powhatan dialect throughout his writing. The most important contribution, aside from his extensive mapping and township name collection, can be found in his brief word list. The list includes common items from his experience as well as a counting system for the Powhatan people. Additionally, Smith offers a series of phrases that give an indication of the grammatical structure of the language. Those phrases may prove to be the more important aspect of his language content if future reconstruction work is carried out by the dedicated linguist. A sample of phrases is listed below:

Ka ka torawincs yowo. What call you this?
Casacunnakack, peya quagh acquintan uttasantasough. In how many dais will there come hether any more English ships?
Utteke, e peya weyack wighwhip. Get you gone, and come again quickly.

Beyond the reproduction of Smith's writings, Barbour also labors over the Smith map with

his "Schedule B. Indian Villages and River Names". This list extracts the afforementioned name collection and easily separates the townships in order of their appearance on the various river drainages. He also includes a "Schedule C" that evaluates the tribes on the periphery of the Powhatan area.

Barbour, Phillip L.
1971 & 1972 "The Earliest Reconnaissance of the Chesapeake Bay Area: Captain John Smith's Map and Indian Vocabulary", Pt. I&II, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol.79 and 80.

Within the first section (vol. 79) of this extract, Barbour sets the stage for his inquiry into the writings of Captain John Smith. For this article, he was particularly interested with Smith's handling of the Algonquian words, phrases, and place names. He reviews the challenges of phonetic writing using Elizabethan English and discusses some of the shortcomings of the untrained linguistic writers of the period. The references and sources for the primary material are outlined and evaluated for challenges in penmanship and multiple recordings (and recorders). Barbour also includes a bibliography of sources cited and the locality of the primary documents consulted. Then, listed in alphabetical order the village names are discussed for pronunciation, spelling variations, comparisons to other Algonquian place names, and for possible meanings. An example of Barbour's entries has been included below:

MAMANASSY, village (map only). First element probably means "junction, joining;" N. Mattapanient (C&GS 496, near Burnt Mill Creek). Zuniga, Mamenasi, compare: Abenaki, mamnw-, "join (of water);" Mamanasco Lake, Conn., "joined outlets."

Within the second edition (vol. 80) Barbour begins his discussion with outlining the best primary sources of John Smith and William Stratchey, along with describing both men and their backgrounds. He also mentions several other sources for Virginia / Carolina Algonquian, either which have now been lost or which are variations of already published material. He continues with some notes on the relationship between Powhatan and Proto Algonquian; Barbour decides to omit the PA because of the possible difficulty for the layman in using roots and instead uses related forms or "cognates". Further, he discusses some of the phonetic values found within the Smith and Strachey recordings. This section is particularly useful, as it outlines (generally) the English pronunciation of the 1600s, which was in a great state of flux and different from today. Example:

-ea-, with exceptions modern -ay- ("sea" and "say" were normally indistinguishable)
-ow-, probably usually as in "crow", "low" (Powhatan almost certainly poh-a-tan')

Additional content has been included discussing the phonetic values in other primary sources for Algonquian for the 17th and 18th centuries. Information about pronunciation is included and descriptions of the ligature used. A bibliography and abbreviation list appears, giving more information on comparative work in the field and sources used for the early transcriptions. There is a complete review of the words found in Smith's writing; each word is listed as it appeared in Smith, with relationships in meaning to Strachey and other period sources for other Algonquian. The entire list is phonetic in organization, representing the Powhatan consonants and vowel sounds. Notes are made about pronunciation, etymology, and primary recording challenges. Following the Powhatan material are New England Algonquian words found in Smith, and finally an index in English for reference. Example of the Powhatan from Smith:

23. KERAGH "you"
WS quier, "you" [William Strachey]
quire, the same

kear, the same
keir, the same
GA chirah, no meaning given, but surely the same [Gabriel Archer]

Common Algonquian pronoun. Compare:
Nat. ken, "thou," kenauau, "you"; [Natick]
Del. (Len.) kiluwa, "you"; [Delaware, Lenape]
Woods Cree kila (plural kilawaw), "thou"
Smith's keragh (to rhyme with Vera) is undoubtedly plural

Barbour, Philip L.
1973 "The Function of Comparative Linguistics in the Study of Early Transcriptions of Indian Words," Studies in Linguistics, XXIII, 3-11.

Philip Barbour's article presented before the Big Moose Conference on Algonquian Research is a valuable source for common problems in reviewing early documents and pitfalls of contemporary linguists. Without hesitation, Barbour discusses Rev. Geary's work of 25 yrs. earlier and points out many flaws in Geary's approach and mistakes in his interpretations based on sound linguistics alone. He adequately demonstrates the need to work word by word in comparing Powhatan and Carolina Algonquian to other Algonquian speakers such as Natick and Abenaki. He offers some examples of both mistakes and misprints by previous linguists as well as mistakes and errors made by Smith and Strachey. Of interest is his insistence on approaching Powhatan through comparative Algonquian as oppose to face value trust of the early recorder's penmanship interpretation and the Proto Algonquian root sounds.

Barbour, Philip L.
1976 "Ocanahowan and Recently Discovered Linguistic Fragments from Southern Virginia, c. 1650," in William Cowan, ed. Papers of the Seventh Algonquian Conference (Ottawa), pp.2-17.

Dalrymple, (Reverend) E.A. for "C.C." of Petersburg, Va.
1858 Dalrymple's short vocabulary of the language of the Pamunkey. Historical Magazine, 1st series. London

In 1844 Rev. E. A. Dalrymple collected the following seventeen words from the Pamunkey Indian Reservation in King William County, Virginia. When published, most supposed this was all that was left of the Pamunkey Algonquian. Other than the list of words, we know very little about the collection of the sample, the author, informants, or the actual relationship of the language to "true Powhatan". Most scholars have been puzzled by this collection and have placed it in a group as an "unknown" element in the Eastern Algonquian language surveys. As with some other entries, this list has been reproduced because of its brevity.

Nikkut, one
Orijak, two
Kiketock, three
Mitture, four
Nahnkitty, five
Vomtally, six
Talliko, seven
Tingdum, eight
Yantay, ten

Tonshee, son
Nueksee, daughter
Baskonee, thank you
Kayyo, thankfulness
O-ma-yah, O my Lord
Kenaanee, friendship
Petucka, cat
Eeskut, go out, dog

Forbes, Jack D.
1972 Wapanakamikok Language Relationships: An Introductory Study of Mutual Intelligibility Among the Powhatan, Lenape, Natick, Nanticoke, and Otchipwe Languages
Native American Studies, Tecumseh Center, University of California, Davis, CA

Forbes' article is one that is unlike many of his predecessors; he includes an audio tape as a companion to his findings of the Powhatan language. Many contemporary scholars have had misgivings about Forbes' work; although intriguing, he neglects to give references or explanations for many of his findings. As not to enter into scholarly debate, it may be best to discuss Forbes' work at face value, and let further studies iron out incongruencies or differing opinions among linguists.

At first glance, Forbes appears to be differing greatly in his view of the ultimate common terms for distinct dialects (the word Wapanakmikok in place of Eastern Algonquian and the term Manitowinini to replace the term Algonquian). He further disagrees with many of the other contemporary evaluations of the language, namely Tooker, Gerard, and Siebert. However, based upon his evaluation of the similarities of Powhatan to Natick, Lenape, Nanticoke, and Ojibwa Forbes has provided some interesting findings. These ideas include the theory of mutual intelligibility after a few weeks of exposure, a greater relationship between Natick and Powhatan to be considered dialects of the same language, that Lenape is close enough to be considered one with the two previous groups (but late comers to their historic geography), and that there is no great divide between Great Lake and Atlantic languages - only a slow transition.

Further, Forbes elected to survey a random sample of 135 words from Natick, Powhatan, Lenape, and Ojibway. Nanticoke was included for 88 words, but because of a poor, short word list, could only be partially used. Forbes also included the scanty recorded Pamlico dialect into Powhatan as one group. From this random sampling and evaluation, the following ratios concerning Powhatan were developed:

1) Powhatan, Natick, Lenape, and Ojibway are 41% mutually intelligible
2) Powhatan and Ojibway are 54.8% mutually intelligible
3) Powhatan, Natick, and Lenape are 58.5% mutually intelligible
4) Powhatan and Lenape are 66.6% mutually intelligible
5) Powhatan and Natick are 71.6% mutually intelligible

Using this survey as a base, Forbes deconstructs the Powhatan language into root words and reconstructs new words based on linguistic patterns and knowledge gleaned from the other Algonquian languages he surveyed. Of course this technique leads to debate and one has to approach the concept with that in mind. Some of Forbes' new words do not reflect the primary documents at all. However, some of the Forbes words make more sense linguistically than what the early Europeans recorded. As for practicality, Forbes succeeds in providing a beginning to what a possible reconstruction of the language might look and sound like.

Gerard, William R.
1904 "the Tappahanek dialect of Virginia". American Anthropologist ns 6(2):3 13-30

Gerard, William R.
1907 *American Anthropologist,* "Virginia's Indian Contributions to English". New Series 9, pp.87-112, 1907.

William Gerard's brief, but interesting, article discusses the terms adopted into English from Virginia's aboriginal population. The list is incomplete, but it does include the majority of the Powhatan loan words seen in the Colonial and present day English language. Gerard's format is to name the word in it's many variations, followed by the description and definition of the item or idea, and then to elaborate on the etymology of each word and it's relations in Algonquian. Much information presented here is of good use, and the associations to other Algonquian languages is very helpful. The complete list from Gerard is listed within the entry on Edward Wright Haile, however a brief example is listed below:

CUSHAW, CASHAW, KERSHAW. - The crooked neck squash *(Cucurbita Pepo,* var.), called also, by market gardeners, "cashaw pumpkins". *Cushaw* was first mentioned by Beverly (1705) as the name of one of the plants which the Virginia Indians had growing near their towns, along with pumpkins and melons.

Etymology: A word of uncertain meaning. Perhaps short for a form of *askushaw,* from the root *ask,* "to be green," "unripe" (the state in which squashes are gathered for food); but the meaning of the suffix -*ushaw* (probably miswritten) is not clear.

Gleach, Frederick
1997 American Language Reprints, Vol. 4 Powhatan

This volume of the group published by Evolution Publishing includes material from John Smith (1624), Edwin A. Dalrymple (1858), and James Mooney (1907). Discussion in the volume's introduction by Frederick Gleach outlines the limits of the primary references, but also details some of the anthropological and linguistic work that has been done using those documents. Of note is his admission of little new research being done on the language for the majority of the 20th century. He explains the systematic thinking of scholars in dealing with poorly recorded Native languages and the urge to work on either better-recorded material or groups with living speakers. However, as Siebert's 1975 article demonstrates, new investigation and reconstruction work can be done and is worthy of future research and consideration. Aside from the documented writings of Smith, the volume includes the already mentioned Dalrymple Pamunkey (see above), but also includes Mooney's brief word list from his fieldwork published in 1907 ("The Powhatan Confederacy" American Anthropologist, Vol. 9, p.146.). Within that brief list, William Weaver, a Nansemond, recalls six words from the Powhatan language. The comments from his son (who was about 50) says that some parents and relatives had conversational capacity about 50 years ago (in 1907). The brief lists is usually never discussed in other remarks on the Powhatan language and has been reproduced below for convenience:

Nikatwin, one
Nakatwin, two
Nikwasati, three
Toisiaw, four
Misha naw, five
Marimo, dog

Gleach, Frederick

1999 American Language Reprints, Vol. 8 Powhatan

Within this volume, reproductions of work by William Strachey (1624), Gabriel Archer (? attributed, published 1860), and Robert Beverley (1705). The forward is by Frederick Gleach. As with the other forwards in this series, Gleach discuses challenges with the early recordings of Powhatan and the other languages in proximity, and the need for additional contemporary investigation into the area. He offers two volumes of interest, George Aubin's 1975 A Proto-Algonquian Dictionary (Ottawa: National Museum of Man) and John Hewson's 1993 A Computer Generated Dictionary of Proto Algonquian (Ottowa: Canadian Museum of Civilization) as examples of reference for future work in Powhatan language studies. To aide the review of the Strachey material, examples of both the Bodliean and British Library copies have been listed next to each other where needed. Beverly's original complete content has not been reproduced, instead offering just the language section.

Goddard, Ives
1978 "Eastern Algonquian Languages" In Handbook of North American Languages vol 15 northeast, Ed. Bruce G. Trigger. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Goddard's Algonquian chapter from the Smithsonian offers a glimpse at the relationship of Powhatan to its Eastern Algonquian neighbors. Each known dialect is grouped and described according to their relative location and supposed language group. The typical frustrations are expressed concerning Powhatan: the lack of consistency between the vocabularies of the Potomac and York River drainages, as well as the differing recordings that may be attributed to the European recorders as much as the indigenous dialectic differences. The more useful section of the article is probably the description of the Proto and Proto Eastern Algonquian relationships to all of the Algonquian languages and the description of the phonological innovations between the Eastern groups.

Within Volume 17 of the same series, Goddard discusses the chronological recording of North American Indian languages, including Virginia and Carolina. Notes on all of the primary recordings of the Tidewater languages are present, as well as comments about the linguists who have studied them.

Hale, Edward E.
1860 (Notes by.) Ind Proc. Amer. Antiqu. Soc., April 25, pp.38-41, 42-47.

(from Harriot - White's word list)

Haile, Edward Wright
1998 *Jamestown Narratives Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony* pp. 79-80, 1998.

Haile's brief chapter in his much larger volume of first decade accounts of the Virginia colony discuses the language of both seventeenth-century English and recorded Powhatan words / phrases. He relies mostly on Powhatan's contributions to English from an article by William Gerard as a matter of curiosity. His brief descriptions of linguistic material include Smith and Strachey, the now lost Harriot from the North Carolina Algonquians, and the Princeton Manuscript studied by Geary, Harrington, and Siebert. Haile uses the chapter to review some words heard repeatedly in his collection of records, as well as a reminder of many place and food names still used in the region. The list makes up the majority of the section and has been reproduced here due to its brevity.

From Haile's list (notes) on Gerard [brackets mine]

English	Powhatan

attamasco lily	atamasku ("under grass")
chinquapin	chichinkwemen ("rattle nut")
cockarouse (elder)	kakarusu ("he speaks at length")
cushaw (yellow squash)	askushaw ("unripe" +?)
hickory	pakahikare ("it is brayed")
hominy	usekutehemen ("crushed by pounding")
huskanawing (rite of puberty)	huskinaweu ("he has a new body")
maycock, maypop	makak ("hollow receptacle")
matchcoat	machikor (robe, "bad skin")
moccasin	makasin (shoe)
nondo (angelica)	wondeu ("it is boiled")
opossum	apasum ("white animal")
persimmon	pasimenan ("dried fruit")
poquoson, pocosin [high place in swamp]	pakwesen ("slightly drained")
pokeberry	pokan ("blood")
pone ([version] of cornbread)	apan ("baked")
puccoon	pakon ("blood")
raccoon	arakun ("he scratches with the hands")
roanoke (thin shell-bead money)	rarenawok ("smoothed shells")
rockahominy (pemmican meal)	rokehamen ("softened")
terrapin	turupeu (sea turtle) tomahawk
	tamehakan ("chopper")
tuckahoe	p'tukwen ("it is round")
werowance	wirowantesu ("he is wealthy")

From Haile's list:

chum (friend [or canoe companion from *chemah* or *chemay* in *Jamestown Voyages])*
pecan [Siebert notes as a later northern Algonquian addition]
squaw [as in *werowansqua]*
peak (thick shell money)
wow! (from "waugh, their word of wonder" (Strachey word list)

And a previously unpublished addition:

[Kekitchuchun — (Smith and Strachey) — to tickle one. Kitchi Kitchi Koo]

Harrington, John P.
1955 The Original Strachey Vocabulary of the Virginia Indian Language. Smithsonian Institution: Bulletin of American Ethnology, #157, pp.193-202.

This publication by Harrington is the first for Strachey's original manuscript. The original document is housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, England. The manuscript is of significant historical importance, being the largest collection of primary source Powhatan Algonquian. Harrington discusses the previous publication of another copy in 1849 by the Hakluyt Society as well as a brief history of the known information about William Strachey and his travels.

On linguistics, Harrington shares the woes of many; Strachey's cramped writing style has confused scholars for generations. With this publication, Harrington hoped to give the reader a "best guess" contemporary deciphering as well as Strachey's original penmanship in the form of facsimile. Harrington also lists the primary source material at the point of his publication (White, Smith, Strachey, Anonymous, & Dalrymple). In addition, Harrington briefly discusses some pronunciation, linguistic relationships (such as Cree), and the content of the known source materials. He further breaks the collection of words into several "semantically classified" lists. The new lists gives Strachey's definitions, Harrington's deciphering of Strachey's letters, and a numerical reference to the original entry. Below is an example of Harrington's glossary:

Phenomena
Astronomy
Kethowefe, sun, 14
Nepaufche, sun, 10
vmpfquoth, moon, 15
Suckimma, new moon, 11
Attaugwaffowk, star, 14

It should be noted that later scholar's dealing with interpretation of Strachey's word list do not give much credence to Harrington's translations. The more important credit to Harrington is the publishing of the original Strachey manuscript.

Howell, Benita J., Levy, Richard S., and Luckenbach, Alvin.
1979 "What is Dalrymple's Pamunkey," International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 45, pp.78-80.

A brief article discussing the contents of Rev. Dalrymple's Pamunkey collected in King William Co. in 1844. The article has a table that includes comparison of the numbers 1-10 from the Dalrymple Pamunkey, Powhatan Strachey, Powhatan Smith, Powhatan reconstructed by Siebert, Pamlico from Lawson, Delaware from Briton, and Proto Eastern Algonquian reconstructed from Siebert. Several immediate points are made:

1) only the Dalrymple Pamunkey numeral one corresponds to both Powhatan and Delaware;

2) the other recorded words from 1844 show no resemblance to any known Algonquian;

3) however, one interesting point may save the list - previously Siebert demonstrates that PA /*l/ becomes Powhatan / r/, and PA /*?l/ becomes Powhatan /ss/. None of the early recordings of Powhatan show an instance of borrowed / l/ and Delaware shows no acceptance of / r/. Conversely, Dalrymple's examples demonstrate two instances of! / r/ and two instances of / l/.

4) It is noted by the authors of this article that the Dalrymple Pamunkey may not be Pamunkey or Algonquian entirely and that it may represent a pidgin of an ethnic mixture of an acculturated descendant Pamunkey community.

McCartney, Martha W.
1984 "The Draft of York River in Virginia: An Abstract Artifact of the Seventeenth Century," Southeastern Archaeology 3(2) Winter, 97-110.

McCartney's article is primarily archival research centered on a discovery of a map drafted by Anthony Langston in the seventeenth century. McCartney describes in detail describing the historical and archeological implications of the map's content; however for Algonquian's

sake, McCartney gives the reader a taste of long gone place names. Throughout the paper, Indian names are mentioned in the context of people, villages, and waterways associated with the York River. The final few pages take time to further describe geographical elements - including a comparison of original place names (Algonquian), changed place names (loan blend Powhatan-English), and contemporary names of either indigenous, loan / blend, or English. McCartney's observations take the place names to the oldest that can be found, many references dating to the first half of the seventeenth century. McCartney's research is thorough and leaves the reader curious about further place name evaluation, given Virginia's heavy extant Algonquian geographical name collection.

Michelson, Truman
1933 The linguistic classification of Powhatan. American Anthropologist 35(3):549

Truman's article is actually a letter to the American Anthropologist, within which, he describes some of the conflict among linguists in discussing Powhatan. Truman points out that Gerard and Tooker had a controversy brewing over the relationship of Powhatan to Cree, and that he (Truman) feels both were wrong in their conclusions. While maintaining Powhatan to be close to Cree, Truman does not think that they are dialects of each other, rather that they are related from a migration that occurred long ago. He lists several words that are the same in both languages as well as discusses the relationship to other Algonquian groups such as Fox.

Mook Maurice A.
1943 "A newly discovered Algonkian Tribe of Carolina." American Anthropologist 45; 635-637.

Maurice Mook discussing convincingly, that the Moratuc of the South Roanoke River were most likely Algonquian speakers. He discusses the primary sources of Ralph Lane and the maps of Smith (1624), Horne (1666), Ogilby (1671), and Lawson (1709) as designating the river by that name until the 18th century. He also offers that James Mooney misidentified the group as Iroquoian and that mistake had persisted unchecked. Both Swanton and Speck agreed with Mook's new revision. This material is evidence of the relationship to the southern portion of Powhatan's influence and kinship extending further the southwest than had been previously reviewed with much interest. While no language samples remain, all the authorities feel the name Moratuc and the relations of the early Europeans point to an Algonquian designation.

Mook, Maurice A.
1943 "Virginia Ethnology From an Early Relation", William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. 23, (2) pp.101-129.

A larger dedication of this article is to ethnology (as described in title), however a brief section gives attention to place names and words attributed to Archer (1607). Within the brief section, Mook lists place names with their variable historical spellings and contemporary versions, and then relates Archer's word list and the context in which they were recorded. Mook leaves the analysis to more studied linguists, but does give the original meaning of the words recorded.

Quinn, David Beers ed.
1955 "The Map of Raliegh's Virginia & The Language of the Carolina Algonkian Tribes," The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590, II

David Beers Quinn published the most primary references on the first English attempts to inhabit the mainland of the Mid Atlantic. Accordingly, his work is reflective of the interactions between the "Carolina" Algonquian speakers and the various English parties.

Included in his much larger double volume set are several chapters of interest in relation to the Indian languages of the region.

First, Quinn's sections on maps are very informative in comparing the early attempts to catalogue the land and people for future European voyages into the region. He includes the resources of those cartographers and the mistakes and inventions they made. From this collection we have our first look at Indian place names in the Virginia / Carolina region. Quinn has an area for commentary on the "Map of Raleigh's Virginia" that proves to be very helpful in evaluating variations of English spellings and understanding of the Algonquian they heard. Quinn discusses at some length about the village locations and does provide some etymology where available. This work also provides references for further reading or to document his findings. An example is listed below:

20. *Chawanoac* (De Bry), *Choanists, Choanokes, Chawanooks, Chaonists, Chanoists,* a Carolina Algonkian tribe of the Chowan River, occupying from the junction of the Meherrin and Nottoway Rivers almost down to Albemarle Sound (Mook, "Algonkian ethno-history", pp. 189-92). The name is said to be Carolina Algonquian for "people at the south", i.e. a tribe which had only recently gone south, which in turn, may reflect a fairly recent migration of the whole Carolina Algonquian group of tribes (cp. Swanton, Indians, p.217, Indian tribes, p.77).

The following chapter (Appendix II) is authored by the Rev. James A. Geary. Geary provides an introduction into the study of "The Position of the Indian Language of Virginia and North Carolina in the Algonquian Family". His discussions address the challenges faced by reviewing Elizabethan and Jacobean texts (see elsewhere in this appendix) and the troubles with "extinct" language reconstructions. Geary also mentions the northern Iroquois movements as being a further intrusion into the already developed dialectic divergences, creating further drift from a more geographic homogeny for Eastern Algonquian. Additional information is provided for consonants, consonant clusters, vowels, and chief phonetic divergences of the Algonquian languages. Most of this section is consistent with other linguists' findings with only a few exceptions (while Geary's work is intriguing, some later linguists [such as Ives Goddard] are not convinced with his etymologies). Geary further provides some examples of his understandings of the variations in dialects and language groups, such as follows:

(7) *punguy, pungwe* 'ashes', from PA **penkwi,* as in Fox *pekwi.* Ojibwa-Algonquian *pingw-,* Delaware *punk,* Abenaki *pegui,* Natick *pukque,* Cree *pihk-*.

(11) *uhpoocan* 'a tobacco-pipe', from PA **uxpwakani,* as in Fox *uhpwakani,* Cree *aspwakan.*

Additional commentary by Geary is comprised of a list of Indian words found in the documents of Harriot, White, Lane, and from various Spanish sources. This section results in 82 distinct words gathered between 1584-1590, 56 distinct tribal and place names, as well as 19 personal names. Several examples of this glossary are listed below:

Maco'cqwer, Car. Alg.; general term for pumpkins and gourds (Harriot). *Macocqwer* is apparently related to Fox *mahkahkwi,* pl. *mahkkahkoni,* 'box, barrel, etc. = container', with parallel forms in Ojibway, and Cree. The *-er* may be a misreading of *-or* (as in *chapacor* 'roots'). As gourds were actually used as containers, this seems satisfactory.

Menatoan, Car. Alg.; man's name (Lane) Looks like **minaw-ehtaw-an* 'he listens attentively to him (it)', from **minawi* 'carefully' + *-ehtaw* - 'listen to animate object'. The final *-n* I cannot explain (as in several cases), the name has no doubt, reference to a totem, some animal; it is useless to speculate which.

Quinn, David B.
1970 "Thomas Harriot and the Virginia Voyages of 1602." William and Mary Quarterly 3d. ser. 27(2):268-281.

Rountree, Helen C.
1989 The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their traditional Culture. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A comprehensive guide to Powhatan tradition and material culture, Rountree's volume excels in providing the reader with an introduction to Virginia's Algonquians. Of notice is the prologue, which combined with the endnotes, gives a very good view of Algonquian village names and meanings. Rountree continues throughout the volume to place Algonquian in the appropriate locations, allowing the layman to sift through the content without having to be either an archivist or linguist to attain comprehension of primary references to the language. While the book's aim is a broader ethnohistorical view, the language content is significant.

Rountree, Helen C.
1997 Appendix A-B: "Indian Personal Names on the Virginia Eastern Shore", "Indian Personal Names on the Maryland Eastern Shore," Eastern Shore Indians of Virginia and Maryland. University of Virginia Press. pp.219-36

These two appendix guides offer a look at Algonquian personal names on the Delmarva Peninsula from the first two centuries of prolonged contact. The appendices are organized alphabetically in Algonquian, followed by date recorded, the community or tribe of the individual, and reference location for the source material. Combined with examples from Rountree's earlier work (1989, 1990) these chapters could provide more insight for the studious linguist into Powhatan naming practices.

Rountree, Helen C.
2001 Powhatan Indian Words. Compiled by Helen C. Rountree and based on the work of Frank T. Siebert (1912-1998). Limited publication, United Indians of Virginia.

This brief extract is a simplified version of Frank Siebert's 1975 "Resurrecting..." paper. Rountree added an introduction, a few minor notes, and some conclusions. The importance of this work lies in the nature of it's construction: it is designed to be read by the layman without relying on too much linguistic knowledge. For the most part, Rountree stays the course and deals with the "confirmed" Algonquian words Siebert felt comfortable with as exact renditions. She uses a simplified pronunciation guide and worked very hard to extract the proper pronunciation from Seibert's more technical volume. However, there is more anthropological opinion in this publication than has previously been seen in the linguistic category. Rountree additionally gives the readers a "parting shot" to discuss some of the challenges in Algonquian Language studies. Rountree explains the challenges faced by small communities and isolated language groups in a sea of English speakers. The paper notes that across the Eastern Seaboard, Algonquian speakers lost most of the traditional dialects over centuries of European contact. In the final pages of this word list, Rountree laments the loss of Algonquian in Virginia and additionally states that she, and the leading linguists in Algonquian (Goddard and Siebert) feel that it cannot be resurrected as a living, fluent language.

Salvucci, Claudio R. (series ed.)
1999 American Language Reprints, Vol. 13 Roanoke

ALR offers a handy miniature of several primary document recordings of the Powhatan and Roanoke languages. The guides are easily navigable through a dictionary format (English to Roanoke, Roanoke to English) and include some introductory notes as well as a bibliography

for each reference made. The Roanoke issue discusses the relative relationship of the group to the Powhatan and distinguishes the Roanoke and Pamlico as a separate Algonquian cultural group and the languages as being on the one hand unintelligible to Virginia Powhatan (based on Harriot - Beverley, 1705) and maybe of the same language but a separate dialect (based on all the sources - Goddard, 1978). Further, the volume identifies the various sources for recent identification of birds names and select phrases as well as Lawson's 1709 input from Pamlico (as well as Tuscarora and Woccon).

Siebert, Frank T. Jr.
1941 Certain proto-Algonquian consonant clusters. Language, vol. 17, No. 4 pp.298-303.

Frank Siebert Jr.'s position paper is extremely technical in linguistic method and discussion. His personal description sets his key concepts in motion, "(Leonard) Bloomfield has set up the Proto-Algonquian clusters *xk and *xp, using x to represent an undetermined phoneme preceding k and p. This paper proposes to show that *xk consists of two clusters in the parent language, namely *øk and *xk. In addition to establishing the validity of a new Proto-Algonquian cluster, it gives the reflexes for the principal Eastern Algonquian languages and postulates the stages of development. Further, Siebert provides dozens of examples of Powhatan and other Algonquian language consonant clusters divided into sections of *øk, *xk, and xp. Of Powhatan specifically, he states that Powhatan "is like Cree in having PA *øk and *k fall together to sk, but agrees with most Algonquian in having hp as a reflex of *xp, as opposed to Cree sp."

Linguistic analysis lead Siebert to believe that reasonable deductions could be made about the movements of early Algonquians based on their language patterns. Due to these patterns, relationships between Eastern and Central Algonquian can be inferred. It would seem that Powhatan and Cree both experienced slight phonetic changes that would be different from their Proto Algonquian cousins. Unlike the other groups, both Powhatan and Cree languages shifted *xk to sk, however they appear at extreme opposite ends of the Algonquian language area. Therefore, an early migration is assumed for the Powhatan to the Atlantic coast from the St. Lawrence region while the remainder of the Algonquians resided west of the Appalachians. Before the Powhatan-Cree separation, both groups underwent similar phonetic shifts and can be then related to shifts seen within other groups like the Ojibway and Delaware. Successive waves of invading Algonquians pushed the Powhatan to the southern extreme of the linguistic region; first by the Abenaki-Penobscot, then by the Massachusetts, and finally the Delaware. However, the groups interacted enough to have all of the languages still retain traces of Powhatan influence, indicating their former locality. These several shifts occurred through time and a sequential phonetic pattern can be seen by how closely the languages relate in recent centuries.

Siebert, Frank T.
1975 "Resurrecting Virginia Algonquian from the Dead: The Reconstituted and Historical Phonology of Powhatan." Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages, edited by James M. Crawford, University of Georgia Press. pp. 285-453

By far the most scientific and well-documented author, Siebert deservedly was the leading linguist in Powhatan phonology. His 1975 volume has yet to be surpassed in thorough study, documentation, and evaluation of the extant primary Powhatan sources and contemporary Algonquian relationships. Siebert dedicates the first portion of this article to discuss Powhatan and European interaction during the 16th and 17th centuries. He outlines the exchanges of language, customs, warfare, and materials between the groups as well as long-term effects of such interactions. As with other academics discussing the Powhatan primary sources, Siebert takes time to discuss the character of the handwriting available for review, and then elaborates on the challenges found within. Other brief sections are dedicated to

discussing his reconstituted Powhatan phonology and his approach to establishing dialects within the language. He then reviews ideas of comparative languages to Powhatan and the understandings gleaned since the unveiling of Proto-Eastern Algonquian as a root language for all Eastern Algonquian.

To begin his evaluations of Powhatan, Siebert elaborates on the numerical systems of the coastal Algonquian and compares the contemporary languages to each other for an understanding of the variety numerical methodologies. He discusses the quinary, decimal, fused quinary-decimal, and a descriptive system using fingers as counting instruments. The language of the Powhatan begins with a numeric lexicon 1-10. Example below:

10. TEN

a) /ka - ski - k/

b) kaskeke (Smith), koske (Harriot)

c) There is a cognate in Pamlico (Pampticough cosh, Lawson 1709, p.226; misprint for cosk or coshk?) which suggests a southeastern PEA /*ka - skyekwi/ 'ten' formed with the decimal system abstract final PA /*-yekwi/.

Siebert uses the above format for reviewing the other phonetic collections from Powhatan. Section "a" is the phonetic spelling, "b" is the primary document record, and "c" is an area for comparison to other languages or a discussion about the construction elements of the word.

Siebert's lexicon is alphabetical and relies only on the words he "confirms" based on other Algonquian comparisons.

132. MOTHER

a) /nek/ 'my mother', /kek/ 'thy mother'.

b) kick "mother" (H8), neck "mother" (H10)

c) PA /*nekya/ 'my mother'; F /nekya/; M /nekiah/ or /neki-yah/; S /nekiya/; Mi /ninkia/; mD /nkek/. PA /*wekyali/ 'his mother': F /okye - ni/; M /okian/.

In the later sections of the article, Siebert discusses syncope among the Powhatan word examples; he offers several examples of major and minor instances. Then, he begins to discuss some other features, such as the beginning of grammar. Siebert was more comfortable discussing the historical phonology of Powhatan than he was the grammar. He creates a series of charts for both sections, however his phonetic work has been definitive for the last half century. Siebert gives examples of major shifts from PA to PEA and reviews in detail phonological innovations within Powhatan.

In conclusion, Siebert discusses the history of phonetic shift within the Algonquian groups and the creation of PEA and PEA-A (Proto Eastern Algonquian Archaic). He makes very convincing cases for the arrival and displacements of groups based on phonetics. Further, he revisits the Classification chart of Eastern Algonquian and breaks the PEA and PEA-A groups down even further into supposed dialects. While not as dynamic in discussion and heavy on the charts and comparisons, Siebert's reference is by far the standard for the Powhatan evaluation.

Strachey, William

1953 (1612) The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania. Edited by Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund; Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, England. pp.174-207; pp.208-214 (James A. Geary)

Rev. James A. Geary evaluates Strachey's recordings and makes a useful list illustrating the variety of either dialects recorded within Virginia or the garbled transcriptions Strachey made. Geary identifies the error factors with Strachey's manuscript as:

1) the irregular spelling of English at that time makes pronunciation of an Indian word doubtful;
2) one is not sure that the Indian words were correctly heard;
3) one is not sure that the Indian words were exactly understood;
4) there are evident errors in the copying of Strachey's MS.

Geary continues to group the list into several dialect categories and provides evidence to support his claims from other Eastern Algonquian sources; he identifies five dialects within the Strachey manuscript. The dialects are referred to by their consonant replacements of *ø and *l. Therefore, Geary calls these the t-r dialect, the r-r dialect, and the n-n dialect. He also identifies two dialects that deal with nasal clusters; one that has retained the *mp, *nt, *nk clusters - referred to as the nk dialect, the other is described as a dialect that lost the nasal clusters all together. Further, he gives examples of word groups based on ease of intelligibility. However, later linguists and experts in the field find fault with many of Geary's findings, and should be viewed with that in mind. Listed below are excerpts from Geary's five lists:

Class 1: Plainly Evident *pungwe* -
"ashes", PA **penkwi. maiawh* -
"straight", = Fox *mayawi*
neppe - "wet", PA **nepi, **nepyi*, water.

Class 2: Easily Amended
ahsemuns, assimmins - "walnuts", legs *assinimin-s* (Eng. pl. -s), PA **a'seni-mini*, stone fruit.
accowson - "to step or go up"; cf. Fox *akosi-*, "climb".
keshowse - "sun"; legs *keshoswe,* from **kiceswa*

Class 3: Garbled, but perhaps explainable with more or less drastic emendation:
nahayhough - "I have it"; from **neo-nah-ayohi* (with haplology).
tanaowaam - "where have you been?"; lege *-ni* for *-m;* cf. Fox *tan ahawiyani,* "idem".
opaivwh - "white"; probably = **wapyawi,* 'it is white (inanimate)'

Class 4: Plausible Algonquian forms, but not yet recognized in other languages:
pussagwunn - 'clay '
tuttascuc - 'a crab'
meihsutterask - 'a creek'

Class 5: spellings that are simply bewildering - though they may ultimately be emended so as to be placed in Class 2 or 3:
howghweyhtakon neire - "I am hungry"; neire = "I"
opykerough - "a brent, a fowle like a goose"
ushoccohomen - "to beat corn into meal"

Swanton, John R.
1934. "Newly Discovered Powhatan Bird Names." Journal of the Washington Academy Sciences, 24 (2):96-99.

Tooker, William Wallace
1893 The Kuskarawaokes of Captain John Smith [From the American anthropologist for October, 1893, Vol. VI]

Tooker's article is one of brevity, dedicated primarily to analyzing the name "kuskarawaokes" and describing the historical account in which the name was recorded. Basically, the name is divided up by Tooker (kusca-wau-anau-ock) to mean "a place of making white beads". He further describes the people who later become known as the Nanticoke, as businessmen in the lucrative shell trade.

Tooker, William Wallace
1901 The Algonquian names of the Siouan tribes of Virginia, Francis P. Harper, New York

Tooker's original publication appeared as a conference paper in 1895. Within the short discussion, Tooker attempts to evaluate the Algonquian words for their Siouan neighbors. His investigations have been viewed with varying degrees of success - and should be considered for the time in which they were written. However, he makes some interesting points as exampled by the following:

Monacan or Monahacan can be divided into "mona" - verb signifying "to dig" and "- hacan" an instrumentive noun suffix used to denote things artificial (from Cree). "Mona-ack-anough" can be seen as "mona = to dig", "ack = land or earth", and a generic term "-anough" for "nation or people". The collection gives the idea that the Monacan name indicated they were miners or diggers.

There are other translations Took invests himself in, working his way through all of the early references to Siouan speaking tribes of seventeenth-century Virginia / Carolina. He includes some historical and ethnographical notes throughout the publication and offers fairly good footnotes to explain his ideas.

Tooker, William Wallace
1901 The Algonquian terms Patawomeke (Potomac) and Massawomeke, New York, F.P. Harper.

In this volume, Tooker explains the challenges with looking at Algonquian place names at face value. He discusses the nature in which Europeans adopted names being quite different from their original source intentions. He argues that on New England Algonquian is closer to the Powhatan version; he also feels it is a mistake to look at Delaware too closely when evaluating Powhatan material. He looks at two Powhatan Algonquian words (Patawomeke and Massawomeke) for complete evaluation.

Tookers is credited with saying the meaning of Patow-om-eke as "those who travel to bring again" " to bring again they go and come" or in free translation, traders or peddlers. This deciphering comes from "Patow" in several root varieties to mean "to bring again", and Tooker relates this as a root to "Powhatan" as well. He offers "Patau, Paudtow, Pautow, Peta, and Peytow" from Massachusetts, Narragansett, Delaware, and Cree as examples of "to bring in" and "he brings it". Further, he looks at the second component of "om" to relate to "going again, or going forth" and "eke" to be the animate plural affix, both corresponding to the afore mentioned groups. Antimony was recorded as a valuable trade commodity controlled by the Patawomeke - however Tooker believes the goods in question to be graphite. Tooker continues to expand, much in the same way about Massawomeke. He suggests the meaning is "those who come and go by boat".

Tooker, William Wallace

1901 The Names Chickahominy and Pamunkey, New York, F.P. Harper.

Tooker devotes the beginning of this issue of his series to reviewing the historical record with Chickahominy and John Smith. Eventually, he divides the word Chickahominy into "Chick-aham-min-anough" as to mean "coarse ground corn people". He believes this to be as "chick = large, great, coarse", "aham = he beats or pounds", "min = small grain, fruit, berry", "anough = nation or people". For Pamunkey, Tooker discusses the primary documents surrounding Pamunkey's first mentioning, followed by an etymology. The description of Pamunkey is probable, but less convincing than all of Tooker's other evaluations. He believes the name to mean, "a place of mystery"

Forty Versions of the Lords Prayer in Algonquian

Trumbull, J. Hammond
"Notes on Forty Versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonquian Languages," Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1872, V. III-IV, p.119. (From Bergman, Gustav Von, Editor)
1789 Das Gebeth des Herm...in Hundert Zwey und Funfzig Sprachman, p.65 Ruein (Livland).

J. Hammond Trumball reviewed the earlier published "Forty Versions of the Lord's Prayer" to elaborate on the content and to make some distinctions about the material recorded. While many of the extracts come from Eastern Algonquian, none of the material appears to come directly from the Powhatan. However, Trumball does mention the language briefly, "I have placed by themselves the dialects which have been called 'Delaware' - the one of which, at least, seems to have closer affinity with languages of the interior than with those of the Atlantic seaboard. There is less difference between the dialects of the New England and the Powhatan of Virginia, than between either of these and the 'Lenni-Lenape' of Zeisberger". Hence, another relation made to the New England versions of the language being closer to Powhatan than the Delaware is to either group. Trumball goes into detail with each version of the Lord's Prayer, dissecting the translations and evaluating the condition in which it was recorded and the proficiency of the material translated and how well it was organized. Of particular interest are the sections on Niantic, Pequot, and Mohegan as examples of close linguistic relatives to Powhatan.

APPENDIX D:

Indigenous Language Content in Place Names: Southern Algonquian Emphasis

Compiled by Buck Woodard

Introduction

The Native language of the area surrounding Jamestown has today been traditionally referred to as Virginia Algonquian or Powhatan Algonquian. While there may have been several dialects divided by the Tidewater river systems, it is generally thought that the language was mutually intelligible from North Carolina to Maryland. From these closely related dialects, Europeans at Jamestown would begin a long term relationship with the Powhatan language. Because Jamestown formed the first permanent English speaking colony in North America, interactions with Virginia Algonquian comprised the majority of the European experience with Native languages in their earliest period of settlement. Hence, Powhatan enjoys the prestige of having provided more loan words into English than any other single Native language. Europeans naturally adapted Algonquian names for plants, animals, and land forms that they encountered in foreign territory.

Despite almost four hundred years of occupation by Europeans, the landscape of Virginia has retained some Algonquian in varous forms within the area of place names. Additional content can also be seen in various forms of Eastern Siouan, Southern Iroquois, and few stray Muskogean words for places within the state. The nature of this appendix is merely to illustrate the enormity of material present and to offer a list, available for further research. It can be said assuredly that there are errors and overlooked content, however the majority of the analyzation would eventually lie on the more studied linguists and archivist. For a further, more thorough investigation of place names retaining the original Algonquian in situ, see McCartney and Rountree (forthcoming).

Methods

The collection of contemporary place names for Virginia can be best observed in the form the United States Geological Survey. The Commonwealth can be viewed in full using topographic quadrangles and a complete index of all cultural and geographic names is available for analysis. Accordingly, this appendix follows the established categories of features used by the Department of Conservation and Economic Development, Division of Mineral Resources with some minor modifications. From the more than 30,000 names reviewed, six categories of indexed material have been listed. The first section is dedicated to a brief list of independent counties and cities. The next category is referred to as "Place Names". This section contains mostly man made features such as towns and landings. "Water Features" is the title of the following section, and is comprised of the waterways in the state including rivers, streams, swamps, inlets, etc. The fourth section is titled "Land forms",

listing the various land masses such as hills, mountains, valleys, etc. The final two categories has been dubbed "Select Religious Features" and "Select Municipal Features". Within these categories, choice churches and roads have been mentioned according to their relevance in this survey. The "Municipal" section only gives two examples, the total state content needing further review.

While many names have been extant since contact, many others have been replaced or anglicized to conform to English speech patterns. The index includes not only those original Algonquian names for the features, but also Virginia Algonquian that has made it's way into names through loan and loan-blend words. In as much, "Moccasin Creek" is probably not the indigenous name for that water feature, but is included because "moccasin" is Powhatan Algonquian. No separation has been made between extant indigenous names for features and loan or loan blend Algonquian that has made way into Virginia place names. Additional language listings have been included because they represent other indigenous groups within the Jamestown arena during the seventeenth century. These mostly come in the way of non-Powhatan Algonquian, Eastern Siouan and Southern Iroquois. However, the non-Powhatan words have been marked as (*) and as a collective whole. That is to say there has not been a distinction made by this author to group non-Powhatan words into language families. Many names are much later additions and would not reflect indigenous names for the select features. The importance of including as many of these words as possible may allow further evaluation of non-Algonquian place names extant in the geographic record, as well as illustrate the prevalence of Native language content in the English language and within the state of Virginia. Further, many names that appear within the record are denoted as of questionable origin (**). These words are those that appear suspect, but may have not been fully studied and are included as a matter of curiosity. Some words appear several times in several areas of the state. These repetitive situations have been reproduced within each section as a means of being inclusive rather than exclusive. With that idea in mind, it would seem appropriate to illustrate not only the prevalence of the use of Native based words, but also complete indexing as a means to future evaluate multiple localities retaining the same Algonquian word for a feature i.e., "Rickahock, Rocky Hock, Ricahock", etc. While less relevant, multiple later additions (both Powhatan and non-Powhatan) have also been included for the same reasons and to remain consistent. Only select names have been listed for roads and churches as these are only relevant either in their locality or in their language content; roads and churches tend to be the least stable mapping cultural elements, tending to change and have more additions frequently. In the case of roadways, some extant Powhatan Algonquian appears in road names and is worth mentioning. Within the two examples mentioned, two types of relevance can be seen. "Arrahateck Lane" in Henrico Co. is an example where place names have left the geographical record, however the domestic road name is in place at the site of the former village. The same can be said for other sites, and further review is needed. The second example is "Acquinton Church Rd." in King William Co. This road is another type of resource database needing further investigation as well. "acquinton" is the Powhatan word for canoe and would represent extant Algonquian in the roadway networks. Very few other sites retains this name (not including an Elementary School nearby) and other examples of this type of naming activity are present in other areas, bearing merit for further investigation.

While the principal of this index is to compile all relevant Native words within the state place names, some exclusions have taken place. Those localities that have the words "Indian" or "Redman" have not been included. Language being the content and not Indian styled names is the sole reason for this choice. Inferences can be made about these localities on an individual basis.

The word list is organized alphabetically by feature. County names appear in the column to the right, Native based words appear on the left. When a feature stretches over more than one

county or city, all of the joining areas are listed; the right hand column lists them alphabetically as well. In some cases, alphabetizing the list proves elusive for some names. Such a case would be a "C" listing for "Camp Pocahontas" as opposed to the "P" listing one would expect.

Conclusions

From reviewing this simple list, several observations can be immediately made while others require more perception. It is hoped that future evaluation of these features can continue to produce a comprehensive review of Eastern Algonquian feature names from the Maryland Eastern Shore south to the Pamilco Sound in North Carolina. The collection of Algonquian words is truly amazing and could expand some word lists that we have from the seventeenth century chroniclers. While we do not have definitions or adequate evaluation, we do have large collections of Algonquian available to study phonological patterns and possibly meaning can be gleaned from those that have continued in situ. Further, it can be said that additional heavy research and development is needed in this immediate area (Mid-Atlantic) by the studied Algonquianist trained in Eastern Language patterns and culture. To date it has only been truly investigated at length, with convincing concrete results in phonology, by one linguist — Frank Siebert, Jr. Other evaluations have been carried out by other researchers, but they have only evaluated the surface of the language (there is so little to work with) or left more questions than answers. Solid research in Proto Eastern Algonquian migration patterns and geographic variations in dialects would help to begin the evaluation of the Powhatan grammar. Jack Forbes began work in this area in the 1970's but published little on the subject and left even fewer references for his findings.

Of the naming pattern itself, it is interesting to look at the frequency of Algonquian names in the landscape. By far the heaviest county would be Accomack on the Virginia Eastern Shore. Additional counties with high name counts are Westmoreland, Northampton, Fairfax, and King William. As can be imagined, predominance of Algonquian is centered in areas of Powhatan occupation; the majority of Iroquoian name content is more prevalent in areas of Southwestern Virginia; Siouan name collections are found in places where Siouans had higher numbers in the piedmont. However, names of some features defy that immediate generalization. This trend can be seen as situations where Algonquian language is used to describe a Siouan group or feature, hence placing the Algonquian outside of the traditional area of influence ("Nottoway" in Lunenberg Co). Another situation that has already been mentioned is Native loan words and loan blends. By the eighteenth century, the western part of the state was being settled and many generations of Europeans had been exposed to indigenous languages. Some transfer of words occurred early and by the time some features were named, the Indian words had become common in the developing American dialects of English. Hence, names such as "Hickory Run" (from Powhatan: pawcohiccora) and "Coon Branch" (from Powhatan: Ararahcun) had transferred into English and Anglicized to suit English needs very early in the settlement. Other names from Cherokee (Iroquoian - like Stonega Gap) and Creek (Muskogee - such as Osceola) had been adapted through the centuries and used across the region as well (i.e. Paw Paw from Arawak word for a papaya).

By far, the Native name list is heavily tilted toward the Algonquians along the Eastern Seaboard. This can be attributed to the initial reception of the Native culture and language. The English were unsure of their footing and attempted to moderate the usage of local and European names, even if subconsciously. As the colony grew and a stronghold developed, names tended to be more European inspired and ironically named for those families or benefactors involved in occupying the new settlements. So, in the beginning, Powhatan was often used to describe and name places, objects, living things, etc. As the Powhatan became less populous than the English, Powhatan names were replaced, anglicized, or kept — depending on the area. The Lower and Middle Peninsula were the major areas of expansion

— and they accordingly lost Powhatan inhabitants and interaction earlier. The Northern Neck was farther along in the settlement pattern and thereby retained Native culture and interaction for a longer period of time. The final Eastern area to be heavily (by the period's standard) settled was the Eastern Shore. Hence, a larger foothold of Native names has been retained. That is to say, the Natives stayed on the Shore longer than the other areas because of the isolation created by the Chesapeake Bay. They were contacted and settled among, but not nearly as heavily. Low European population over a longer period of time and continued interaction with Natives in the area produced the Algonquian names being established, understood, and accepted by the English. Today, the Eastern Shore Algonquian names are more numerous than any other area, or any other specific group in Virginia. The next heaviest concentration lies on the Northern Neck. The lowest Algonquian name collection appears along the James and York River drainage. The naming practices in pattern would of course be apparent:

1) Eastern areas heavily occupied by the English quickly, contain less names than areas that were gradually or later settled.

2) Areas that lost the Native population and where interaction declines quickly, retain less Native inspired or original names in the physical features.

3) Areas that are settled by the English but remain "remote" and continued to be occupied by Natives for longer have more Indian names in the landscape.

4) Areas where there is longer interaction and more even populations for longer periods tend to carry more Indian place names.

5) Once the English become comfortable with their place in the Virginias, dominate the Native population, less Indigenous names are used or kept in naming practices. Mostly loan words from Virginia

Algonquian are used after this period.

There is a segment of the Native word list that is Algonquian from outside of Virginia. In some cases it is unclear whether the names were loaned into English before they become place names or if the words were used in relationship to the cultural experience on the frontier. Some words included in this category would be "Wabash, Shawnee, Pecan, Wigwam, Shenandoah, etc.".

Iroquoian and Siouan content is marginal in comparison to the overwhelming Algonquian material in the state. Of that content, most of it comes in the way of marginal place names in a virtual "sea" of European feature names. Of the first section in the index, "Independent Cities and Counties", none retain a Siouan or Iroquoian language component — Virginia Algonquian carries 9 cities and/or counties, Algonquian language materials from outside the state claim 2 counties. Most Iroquoian or Siouan names are remnants of important cultural features or place names, as opposed to arbitrary Algonquian retained names in situ. Cherokee words like "Keokee and Hiawassee" are found in the far southwest as indications of their town's place in the region. "Sappony and Totero" are Siouan based words that have retained some indigenous placement, even if they are not the original Indian place names in situ. However, the ratio of Indian to English is extremely different from the Tidewater to the Piedmont. In the Piedmont, and Western part of Virginia, the Europeans dominate the landscape, historically and linguistically.

Recommendations

By far the most valuable recommendation would be funding for future research in Eastern

Algonquian grammar reconstruction, especially material that would help shed light on Southern Algonquian languages like Powhatan. While some small amounts of investigation have been done, a working formula for sentence reconstruction is absent from the record. In relation to Virginia place names, many of the extant and loan words are actually composite words combined to create meanings much like short sentences or phrases in English. The ability to review words in the landscape and historic word lists with ideas about sentence structure and grammar would be invaluable to the descendant community and academics alike. Research in those areas would help revise the way in which the Algonquian material can be viewed from a Native perspective at a specific point in time and a specific place in the geography.

A more comprehensive look at the extant Algonquian place names has been conducted by Dr. Helen Rountree and Martha McCartney. That volume is dedicated to historical research for each Algonquian name from it's earliest recording to the present. Publication of that research will be a great addition to what we know of the Algonquian content from Virginia, as well as a better understanding of the transformation of Virginia's place names over time. By looking at each place name in time and space, speculation can be made about the way in which land and power have been transferred over four hundred years. That is to say, one could see how the names either changed, morphed, or stayed the same and review the transfer of ownership through time. By evaluating the results of such research, conclusions can be made about the greater Tidewater area and the various ways in which marginalization of the Native people occurred — both in land holdings and language usage. A more concise record can be established using the exhaustive historical research methodology.

In the area of exhibit use for the National Park Service, the place name list can be used in more than one facet. While the intention of the target area is the first one hundred years of the Jamestown Settlement, the Native word list could be used by NPS at any exhibit that deals with pristine landscapes on the Eastern Coast of Virginia — Chesapeake and/or Atlantic. An immediate use of the word collection might be to highlight Native names from a contemporary map of the region in focus. This concept would be best served in an exhibit space centered on the Native impact or placement in the landscape. Further evaluation of each selected name may reveal more information pertinent to the exhibit outlines. Additional recommendations of exhibit features may be to trace earliest place names from a select area to present. In some watershed areas, a pattern of change would be established, as slowly, Native based names are anglicized and/or replaced by Europeans — just as the people themselves would have been. Ideally several small period to period maps would show the landscape ownership population change, the place names change, and eventually a shift in power across the board. Further use of the place names as language attributes would be to include them as a display themselves. Visitors to any National Park Service facility could appreciate the place names as examples of remaining Native content in the exhibit focus area. Visitors familiar with Virginia will recognize the place names — and thereby associate the familiar with an area that may be unfamiliar — Powhatan Algonquian. One suggestion would be to use the words as design elements by themselves. Any exhibit wall could be used to layout the language elements, differing in scale and possibly font. The design could be a background for other 2-dimensionsal or 3-dimensional exhibit materials. Ideally the names would flow across a large area of exhibit space, possibly grayscaled or muted close to the exhibit wall colors. These types of layouts would allow NPS to use language in a complimentary way, bringing Virginia Algonquian back into a contemporary agenda. The use of Native language is a valuable resource component and an important way to view landscape feature — from the people who inhabited in the past as well as the present.

Appendix A

(*) denotes non Powhatan Algonquian (probable Iroquoian, Siouan, Muskogean or non

Southern Atlantic Algonquian Families)

(**) denotes questionable origin or clarification needed by author

List of Independent Counties and Cities

Accomack Co.
*Allegheny Co.
Appomattox Co.
Nansemond Co.
Nottoway Co.
Powhatan Co.
Rappahannock Co.
Roanoke Co.
*Shenandoah Co.
Chesapeake City
Roanoke City

Place Names	**County**
Acca	Richmond City
Accomac	Accomack Co.
Accopatough Beach	Richmond Co.
Accotink	Fairfax Co.
Accotink Heights	Fairfax Co.
*Allegheny	Allegheny Co.
*Allegheny Springs	Montgomery Co.
*Appalachia	Wise Co.
**Aquia	Virginia Beach City
Atoka	Fauquier Co.
**Attoway	Smyth Co.
**Brodnax	Brunswick Co.
	Mecklenburg Co.
Camp Pocahontas	Washington Co.
Capahosic	Gloucester Co.
*Catawba	Halifax Co.
	Roanoke Co.
Chericoke	King William Co.
Chesapeake	Northampton Co.
	Chesapeake City
Chesapeake Beach	Northumberland Co.
	Virginia Beach City
Chesapeake Heights	Hampton City
Chesconessex	Accomack Co.
Chesopeian Colony	Virginia Beach City
Chickahominy	Henrico Co.
Chickahominy Haven	James City Co.
Chickhominy Shores	New Kent Co.

*Chilhowie	Smyth Co.
Chincoteague	Accomack Co.
Chinquapin Village	Alexandria City
Chippokes	Surry Co.
Chuckatuck	Nansemond Co.
*Chula	Amelia Co.
Coan	Northumberland Co.
Coan Stage	Northumberland Co.
*Cohassat	Fluvanna Co.
Cohoke	King William Co.
Currioman Landing	Westmoreland Co.
Currituck Farms	Henrico Co.
Diascund	James City Co.
Dogue	King George Co.
Fort Nottoway	Sussex Co.
Fort Powhatan	Prince George Co.
*Hiwassee	Pulaski Co.
**Ka	Scott Co.
Kecoughtan	Hampton City
*Kentuck	Pittsylvania Co.
*Keokee	Lee Co.
Kiptopeke	Northampton Co.
**Lecato	Accomack Co.
Machipongo	Northampton Co.
Machadoc	Westmoreland Co.
Manakin	Goochland Co.
Manakin Farms	Goochland Co.
Manassas	Prince William Co.
Manassas Park	Prince William Co.
Mangohick	King William Co.
Manquin	Southampton Co.
Mantapike	King and Queen Co.
Manteo	Buckingham Co.
Mantua	Fairfax Co.
Mantua Ferry	King William Co.
Mantua Hills	Fairfax Co.
Marumsco Acres	Prince William Co.
Marumsco Hills	Prince William Co.
Marumsco Village	Prince William Co.
Marumsco Woods	Prince William Co.
Massanetta Springs	Rockingham Co.
Massaponax	Spotsylvania Co.
Matoaca	Chesterfield Co.
Mattaponi	King William Co.

Mattaponi Indian Reservation	King William Co.
Mattoax	Amelia Co.
Mechums River	Albermarle Co.
Meherrin	Lunenburg Co.
	Prince Edward Co.
Menokin Landing	Richmond Co.
Messongo	Accomack Co.
Messongo Bridge	Accomack Co.
Metomkin	Accomack Co.
Moccasin Gap	Scott Co.
Moccasin Siding	Scott Co.
Monaskon	Lancaster Co.
Moran	Prince Edward Co.
Moran Wharf	Lancaster Co.
Morattico	Lancaster Co.
**Nandua	Accomack Co.
Nansemond	Nansemond Co.
Nansemond Shore	Nansemond Co.
Nassawadox	Northampton Co.
Nokomis	Northumberland Co.
**Nomini	Westmoreland Co.
**Nomini Grove	Westmoreland Co.
Nottoway Court House	Nottoway Co.
Occoquan	Prince William Co.
*Omaha	Dickenson Co.
Onancock	Accomack Co.
*Ocoonita	Lee Co.
Opequan	Frederick Co.
Orapax Farms	New Kent Co.
*Oriskany	Botetourt Co.
*Osceola	Washington Co.
**Osso	King George Co.
Pamlico	Norfolk City
Pampa	Gloucester Co.
Pampatike Landing	King William Co.
Pamunkey Indian Reservation	King William Co.
Passapatanzy	King George Co.
*Pawpaw	Buchanan Co.
*Pecan Gardens	Virginia Beach City
Persimmon Point	Accomack Co.
Piankatank Shores	Middlesex Co.
Pocahantas Village	Virginia Beach City
Pocahontas	Tazewell Co.
	Petersburg City

Pohick	Fairfax Co.
Pohick Estates	Fairfax Co.
Pohick Hills	Fairfax Co.
Poquoson	York Co.
Poquoson Shores	York Co.
Possum Trot	Highland Co.
Potomac Beach	Westmoreland Co.
Potomac Hills	Fairfax Co.
Potomac Mills	Westmoreland Co.
Potomac Valley	Fairfax Co.
Pottomoi	Hanover Co.
Powcan	King and Queen Co.
Powhatan	Powhatan Co.
Powhatan Place	York Co.
Pungo	Virginia Beach City
Pungoteague	Accomack Co.
Quantico	Prince William Co.
Quinton	New Kent Co.
Raccon Ford	Culpepper Co.
Rappahannock Academy	Caroline Co.
Rickahock	King and Queen Co.
*Seneca	Campbell Co.
*Shawnee Land	Frederick Co.
*Shenandoah	Page Co.
*Shenandoah Acres	Augusta Co.
*Shenandoah Farms	Warren Co.
*Shenandoah Hills	Frederick Co.
*Shenandoah Shores	Warren Co.
Shockoe Bottom	Richmond City
Shockoe Slip	Richmond City
**Skimino	York Co.
**Skimino Farms	York Co.
Tappahannock	Essex Co.
*Totaro	Brunswick Co.
*Totuskey	Richmond Co.
Tuckahoe	Henrico Co.
Tuckahoe Village	Henrico Co.
Upper Pocoson	Greene Co.
**Wakema	King William Co.
**Wan	Gloucester Co.
*Watauga	Washington Co.
Weyanoke	Charles City Co.
	Fairfax Co.
Wicomico	Gloucester Co.

Wicomico Church	Northumberland Co.
Wingina	Nelson Co.
*Zuni	Isle of Wight Co.

Water Features	**County**
Accokeek Creek	Stafford Co.
Accotink Bay	Fairfax Co.
Accotink Creek	Fairfax Co. (& City)
Acquinton Creek	King William Co.
*Alabama Creek	Buckingham Co.
Albermarle and Chesapeake Canals	Chesapeake City
	Virgina Beach City
Appomattox River	Amelia Co.
	Appomattox Co.
	Buckingham Co.
	Chesterfield Co.
	Cumberland Co.
	Dinwiddie Co.
	Powhatan Co.
	Prince Edward Co.
	Prince George Co.
	Colonial Heights City
	Hopewell City
	Petersburg City
**Aquia Creek	Fauquier Co.
	Stafford Co.
Assamoosick Swamp	Southampton Co.
	Sussex Co.
Assateague Bay	Accomack Co.
Assateague Channel	Accomack Co.
Assawoman Creek	Accomack Co.
Assawoman Inlet	Accomack Co.
Big Moccassin Creek	Russell Co.
	Scott Co.
*Canoe Branch	Washington Co.
*Catawba Creek	Botetourt Co.
	Halifax Co.
	Roanoke Co.
*Catoctin Creek	Loudon Co.
*Cherokee Lake	Chesterfield Co.
Chesapeake Bay	Eastern Seaboard
Chesapeake Channel	Northampton Co.
Chesconessex Creek	Accomack Co.
**Chetocric Swamp	Greensville Co.
	Sussex Co.

Chickahominy River	Charles City Co.
	Hanover Co.
	Henrico Co.
	James City Co.
	New Kent Co.
Chincoteague Bay	Accomac Co.
Chincoteague Bay	Accomac Co.
Chincoteague Inlet	Accomac Co.
Chinguapin Swamp	Sussex Co.
Chinquapin Branch	Rockbridge Co.
Chinquapin Swamp	Sussex Co.
Coon Branch	Washington Co.
	Buchanan Co.
	Dickenson Co.
	Grayson Co.
	Pittsylvania Co.
	Tazewell Co.
Coon Flat Branch	Buchanan Co.
Coppahauk Swamp	Sussex Co.
Corrotoman River	Lancaster Co.
Corrowaugh Swamp	Isle of Wight Co.
	Nansemond Co.
**Coscorie Branch	Southampton Co.
Curratuck Branch	Accomac Co.
Currioman Bay	Westmoreland Co.
Currioman Creek	Westmoreland Co.
Cypress Pocosin	Surry Co.
Diascund Creek	James City Co.
Diascund Creek Reservoir	New Kent Co.
Dogue Creek	Fairfax Co.
Dogue Run	King George Co.
East Branch Tuckahoe Creek	Henrico Co.
*East Little Seneca Creek	Campbell Co.
*East Sappony Creek	Chesterfield Co.
Eastern Branch Corrotoman River	Lancaster Co.
Gingoteague Creek	King George Co.
Great Machipongo Channel	Accomack Co.
	Northampton Co.
Great Machipongo Inlet	Northampton Co.
Great Wicomico River	Northumberland Co.
Hickory Creek	Albermarle Co.
	Campbell Co.
	Louisa Co.
	Nelson Co.

Hickory Forest Creek	Pittsylvania Co.
Hickory Hollow Branch	Botetourt Co.
Hickory Lake	Bedford Co.
Hickory Lick	Alleghany Co.
Hickory Run	Brunswick Co.
	Page Co.
Hickory Spring	Augusta Co.
Hickory Swamp	Greensville Co.
Hickorynut Cove	Mathews Co.
Johnchecohuk Swamp	Surry Co.
*Kanawha Canal	Henrico Co.
	Richmond City
Kegotak Bay	Accomack Co.
Kegotak Creek	Accomack Co.
Lake Accotink	Fairfax Co.
Lake Pasbehegh	James City Co.
*Lake Shawnee	Powhatan Co.
*Lake Shenandoah	Rockingham Co.
*Lake Tecumseh	Virginia Beach City
*Left Fork Pawpaw Creek	Buchanan Co.
*Little Catawba Creek	Botetourt Co.
Little Moccasin Creek	Scott Co.
	Washington Co.
Little Nottoway Creek	Nottoway Co.
Little Occoquan Run	Fairfax Co.
Little Opossum Creek	Campbell Co.
*Little Pawpaw Creek	Buchanan Co.
Little Raccoon Creek	Fluvanna Co.
Little Tomahawk Creek	Chesterfield Co.
Little Totuskey Creek	Richmond Co.
Little Tuckahoe Creek	Goochland Co.
	Henrico Co.
*Little Tussekiah Creek	Lunenburg Co.
Little Wicomico River	Northumberland Co.
Machipongo River	Accomack Co.
	Northampton Co.
**Manassas Run	Warren Co.
Mantapike Creek	King and Queen Co.
Mapisco Creek	Charles City Co.
Maracossic Creek	Caroline Co.
	King and Queen Co.
Marumsco Creek	Prince William Co.
Masaponax Creek	Spotsylvania Co.
Mat River	Spotsylvania Co.

Matadequin Creek	Hanover Co.
	New Kent Co.
Matchotak Creek	Accomack Co.
Matoaka Lake	Williamsburg City
	James City Co.
Matta River	Caroline Co.
	Spotsylvania Co.
Mattaponi River	Caroline Co.
	King and Queen Co.
	King William Co.
Mattawoman Creek	Northampton Co.
Mechumps Creek	Hanover Co.
Mechums River	Albermarle Co.
Mechuk Creek	Albermarle Co.
	Fluvanna Co.
*Meherrin River	Brunswick Co.
	Greensville Co.
	Lunenburg Co.
	Mecklenburg Co.
	Southampton Co.
	Emporia City
**Mehixen Creek	King William Co.
Menokinn Bay	Richmond Co.
Messongo Creek	Accomack Co.
Metomkin Bay	Accomack Co.
Metomkin Inlet	Accomack Co.
Middle Branch Chopawasmic Creek	Stafford Co.
Middle Fork Moccasin Creek	Russell Co.
Middle Meherrin River	Charlotte Co.
	Lunenburg Co.
*Mingo Creek	Prince Edward Co.
**Mobjack Bay	Gloucester Co.
	Mathews Co.
Mocassin Branch	Carroll Co.
	Wythe Co.
*Mohawk Creek	Powhatan Co.
Moncuin Creek	King William Co.
Moncuin Pond	King William Co.
Morrattico Creek	Richmond Co.
**Musgrave Branch	Southampton Co.
Muskrat Branch	Wythe Co.
Namozine Creek	Dinwiddie Co.
	Nottoway Co.
**Nandua Creek	Accomac Co.

Nansemond River	Nansemond Co.
Nanzatico Bay	King George Co.
Nassawadox Creek	Northampton Co.
Ni River	Caroline Co.
	Spotsylvania Co.
**Nickawampus Creek	Accomac Co.
North Branch Chopawasmic Creek	Prince William Co.
	Stafford Co.
North Branch Onancock Creek	Accomac Co.
*North Fork Catawba Creek	Botetourt Co.
*North Fork Catoctin Creek	Loudon Co.
North Fork Hickory Creek	Louisa Co.
North Fork Moccasin Creek	Russell Co.
North Fork Nottoway River	Prince Edward Co.
North Fork Roanoke River	Montgomery Co.
	Roanoke Co.
*North Fork Shenandoah River	Rockingham Co.
	Shenandoah Co.
	Warren Co.
*North Meherrin River	Charlotte Co.
	Lunenburg Co.
Northwest Yeocomico River	Westmoreland Co.
Nottoway River	Brunswick Co.
	Dinwiddie Co.
	Greensville Co.
	Lunenburg Co.
	Nottoway Co.
	Prince Edward Co.
	Southampton Co.
	Sussex Co.
Nottoway Swamp	Southanpton Co.
Occahannock Creek	Accomack Co.
	Northampton Co.
Occoneechee Harbor	Mecklenburg Co.
Occoquan Bay	Fairfax Co.
	Prince William Co.
Occoquan Reservoir	Fairfax Co.
	Prince William Co.
Occoquan River	Fairfax Co.
	Prince William Co.
Onancock Run	Accomack Co.
*Oneida Branch	Tazewell Co.
Opequon Creek	Clarke Co.
	Frederick Co.

Opossum Branch	Fairfax Co.
	Halifax Co.
Opossum Creek	Campbell Co.
	Grayson Co.
	Hanover Co.
Opossum Quarter Creek	Brunswick Co.
Pamunkey Creek	Orange Co.
	Spotsylvania Co.
Pamunkey River	Caroline Co.
	Hanover Co.
	King William Co.
	New Kent Co.
**Pantico Run	Richmond Co.
	Westmoreland Co.
Passapatanzy Creek	King George Co.
*Pawpaw Creek	Buchanan Co.
Persimmon Branch	Dickenson Co.
Persimmon Creek	Bedford Co.
Persimmon Run	Rockingham Co.
Persimmon Tree Branch	Mecklenberg Co.
Pettit Pocosin	Isle of Wight Co.
Peumasend Creek	Caroline Co.
Piankatank River	Gloucester Co.
	Mathews Co.
	Middlesex Co.
Piscataway Creek	Essex Co.
Po River	Caroline Co.
	Spotsylvania Co.
**Pocaty River	Chesapeake City
	Virginia Beach City
Pocomoke River	Accomack Co.
Pocomoke Sound	Accomack Co.
Pocoshock Creek	Chesterfield Co.
Pohick Bay	Fairfax Co.
Pohick Creek	Fairfax Co. Pompco
Creek	Accomack Co.
Poquoson River	Gloucester Co.
Poropotank Bay	King and Queen Co.
	Gloucester Co.
Poropotank River	Gloucester Co.
	King and Queen Co.
Portobago Bay	Essex Co.
	Caroline Co.
Portobago Creek	Caroline Co.

	Essex Co.
Portobago Run	Caroline Co.
	Essex Co.
Possum Branch	Russell Co.
Possum Creek	Scott Co.
Possum Jaw Creek	Bland Co.
	Smyth Co.
Possum Run	Charles City Co.
	Rockbridge Co.
Potomac Creek	King George Co.
	Stafford Co.
Potomac Mills Pond	Westmoreland Co.
Potomac River	Arlington Co.
	Fairfax Co.
	King George Co.
	Loudon Co.
	Northumberland Co.
	Prince William Co.
	Stafford Co.
	Westmoreland Co.
	Alexandria City
Potomac Run	Stafford Co.
Powhatan Creek	James City Co.
Powhatan Lakes	Powhatan Co.
Powhite Creek	Chesterfield Co.
	Hanover Co.
Pungoteague Creek	Accomack Co.
Quantico Creek	Prince William Co.
Quiocassin Creek	Essex Co.
Raccon Branch	Orance Co.
	Scott Co.
	Smyth Co.
Raccoon Creek	Fluvanna Co.
	Northampton Co.
	Southampton Co.
	Sussex Co.
Raccoon Run	Rockingham Co.
Racoon Branch	Wise Co.
Rappahannock River	Caroline Co.
	Essex Co.
	Fauquier Co.
	King George Co.
	Lancaster Co.
	Middlesex Co.

	Rappahannock Co.
	Richmond Co.
	Spotsylvania Co.
	Stafford Co.
	Westmoreland Co.
	Fredericksburg City
Rickenaw Creek	King and Queen Co.
Roanoke Creek	Charlotte Co.
Roanoke River	Bedford Co.
	Campbell Co.
	Charlotte Co.
	Franklin Co.
	Halifax Co.
	Mecklenberg Co.
	Montgomery Co.
	Pittsylvania Co.
	Roanoke Co.
	Roanoke City
	Salem City
Rock-a-Hock Bar	New Kent Co.
Rohoic Creek	Dinwiddie Co.
	Petersburg City
Ross Pocosin	Isle of Wight Co.
*Rowanty Creek	Dinwiddie Co.
	Sussex Co.
*Sappony Creek	Chesterfield Co.
	Dinwiddie Co.
	Sussex Co.
Seacock Swamp	Southampton Co.
	Sussex Co.
**Seacorrie Swamp	Sussex Co.
*Seminole Lake	Campbell Co.
*Seneca Creek	Campbell Co.
*Shawnee Spring	Winchester City
*Shenandoah Alum Springs	Shenandoah Co.
*Shenandoah River	Clarke Co.
	Warren Co.
Shockoe Creek	Bedford Co.
	Henrico Co.
	Pittsylvania Co.
	Richmond City
**Skimino Creek	James City Co.
	York Co.
**Skimino Pond	York Co.

South Branch Chopawasmic Creek	Stafford Co.
South Branch Onancock Creek	Accomack Co.
South Branch Potomac River	Highland Co.
South Fork Appomattox River	Appomattox Co.
South Fork Catoctin Creek	Loudon Co.
South Fork Hickory Creek	Louisa Co.
South Fork Moccasin Creek	Russell Co.
South Fork Quantico Creek	Prince William Co.
South Fork Roanoke River	Montgomery Co.
South Fork Shenandoah River	Page Co.
	Rockingham Co.
	Warren Co.
South Fork South Branch Potomac River	Highland Co.
South Meherrin River	Charlotte Co.
	Lunenburg Co.
	Mecklenburg Co.
South Yeocomico River	Northumberland Co.
**Spotico Creek	Norfolk City
String of Logs Pocosin	Isle of Wight Co.
*Suanee Creek	Appomattox Co.
Ta River	Spotsylvania Co.
*Tarrara Creek	Southampton Co.
Taskinas Creek	James City Co.
Terrapin Creek	Amherst Co.
	Bedford Co.
Terrapin Swamp	Southampton Co.
	Surry Co.
	Sussex Co.
Tomahawk Creek	Campbell Co.
	Chesterfield Co.
	Louisa Co.
	Orange Co.
	Pittsylvania Co.
Tomahawk Pond	Shenandoah Co.
Tomahund Creek	Dinwiddie Co.
Tommeheton Creek	Nottoway Co.
	Dinwiddie Co.
Tommeheton Lake	Dinwiddie Co.
**Tonyham Swamp	Charles City Co.
*Totaro Creek	Brunswick Co.
Totopotmoy Creek	Hanover Co.
Totuskey Creek	Richmond Co.
*Townwanda Lake	Appomattox Co.
Tuckahoe Creek	Goochland Co.

	Henrico Co.
Turpin Creek	Buckingham Co.
*Tuscarora Creek	Essex Co.
	Loudon Co.
Upper Appomattox Canal	Dinwiddie Co.
**Upper Chippokes Creek	Prince George Co.
	Surry Co.
Upper Machdoc Creek	King George Co.
*Wabash Creek	Giles Co.
Wachapreague Channel	Accomack Co.
Wachapreague Inlet	Accomack Co.
**Wahrani Swamp	James City Co.
	New Kent Co.
Wancopin Creek	Loudon Co.
**Waqua Creek	Brunswick Co.
	Lunenburg Co.
West Yeocomico River	Northumberland Co.
	Westmoreland Co.
Western Branch Corrotoman River	Lancaster Co.
Western Branch Nansemond River	Nansemond Co.
Whipponock Creek	Dinwiddie Co.
Wintocomack Creek	Amelia Co.
	Nottoway Co.
Yeocomico River	Westmoreland Co.

Land Features	**County**
Accaceek Point	Richmond Co.
*Arkansas Hill	Tazwell Co.
Assateague Island	Accomack Co.
Assateague Point	Accomack Co.
Assawoman Island	Accomack Co.
Big Hickory Hollow	Allegheny Co.
*Cacapon Mtn.	Frederick Co.
*Catawba Mtn.	Roanoke Co.
*Catoctin Mtn.	Loudoun Co.
Chincoteague Island	Accomack Co.
Chincoteague Point	Accomack Co.
Chippokes Point	Prince George Co.
Chopawasmic Island	Prince William Co.
Coon Gap	Wise Co.
Coon Hollow	Nelson Co.
Corrotoman Point	Lancaster Co.
Hickory Cove	Patrick Co.
Hickory Flats	Lee Co.
Hickory Hill	Allegheny Co.

	Augusta Co.
Hickory Hill Hollow	Allegheny Co.
Hickory Hollow	Bath Co.
	Bland Co.
	Botetourt Co.
	Rockbridge Co.
Hickory Knob	Allegheny Co.
	Franklin Co.
	Grayson Co.
	Henry Co.
Hickory Log Hollow	Highland Co.
Hickory Point	Westmoreland Co.
	Newport News City
Hickory Ridge	Grayson Co.
	Smyth Co.
Hickory Stand	Bedford Co.
	Rockbridge Co.
Kingcopsico Point	Westmoreland Co.
Kiptopeak Beach	Northampton Co.
Little Moccasin Gap	Russel Co.
	Washington Co.
Machodoc Neck	Westmoreland Co.
Manassas Gap	Fauquier Co.
	Warren Co.
*Massanutten Caverns	Rockingham Co.
*Massanutten Mtn.	Page Co.
	Rockingham Co.
	Shenandoah Co.
Massanutten Peak	Rockingham Co.
Matahunk Neck	Charles City Co.
Maycocks Point	Prince George Co.
**Messick Point	York Co.
Metomkin Island	Accomack Co.
Metomkin Point	King George Co.
Moccasin Gap	Scott Co.
	Washington Co.
Moccasin Ridge	Russell Co.
	Scott Co.
Moccasin Ridge Tunnel	Scott Co.
Moccasin Valley	Russell Co.
	Scott Co.
Monadox Point	Accomack Co.
**Monasco Mtn.	Amherst Co.
Muskrat Bluff	Nansemond Co.

Nassawadox Pt.	Northhampton Co.
**Nomini Cliffs	Westmoreland Co.
Occahannock Neck	Northampton Co.
*Opechee Peak	Shenandoah Co.
Opossum Hollow	Bland Co.
	Botetourt Co.
	Highland Co.
	Pulaski Co.
	Rockbridge Co.
Patowomack Island	Fairfax Co.
*Pawpaw Gap	Buchanan Co.
Persimmon Mtn.	Albermarle Co.
Persimmon Point	Accomack Co.
	King George Co.
Persimmon Pond Hollow	Shenandoah Co.
Persimmon Ridge	Shenandoah Co.
Pocosin Hollow	Greene Co.
Poquoson Flats	York Co.
Possum Hollow	Augusta Co.
	Floyd Co.
	Lee Co.
	Russell Co.
	Smyth Co.
	Tazwell Co.
	Washington Co.
	Wise Co.
Possum Knobs	Scott Co.
Possum Nose	Prince William Co.
Possum Point	Prince William Co.
Possum Trot Hollow	Wise Co.
Purtan Island	Gloucester Co.
Raccoon Island	Northampton Co.
Raccoon Valley	Washington Co.
Rappahannock Mtn.	Fauquier Co.
Roanoke Mtn.	Roanoke Co.
**Rocky Neck	Lancaster Co.
*Seneca Hollow	Montgomery Co.
*Shenandoah Caverns	Shenandoah Co.
*Shenandoah Mtn.	Augusta Co.
	Bath Co.
	Highland Co.
	Rockingham Co.
*Stonega Gap	Wise Co.
Terrapin Mtn.	Bedford Co.

Terrapin Point	New Kent Co.
Tomahawk Mtn.	Rockingham Co.
Tuckahoe Island	Henrico Co.
**Waonaze Peak	Shenandoah Co.
**Wassum Valley	Smyth Co.
*Watauga Valley	Washington Co.
Weyanoke Point	Charles City Co.
Whipasawasons Point	King George Co.
*Wigwam Mtn.	Rockbridge Co.
Yeo Neck	Accomack Co.

Selected Religeous Features

Appomattox Church	Prince Edward Co.
**Aquia Church	Stafford Co.
Chickahominy Church	Hanover Co.
	James City Co.
Chincoteague Church	Accomack Co.
Coan Church	Northumberland Co.
Corrotoman Church	Lancaster Co.
Gaskins Church	Accomack Co.
Ketoctin Church	Loudon Co.
Manakin Church	Powhatan Co.
Mattaponi Church	King and Queen Co.
Mattoax Church	Amelia Co.
Metomkin Church	Richmond Co.
Morattico Church	Lancaster Co.
Namozine Church	Amelia Co.
North Pamunkey Church	Orange Co.
Old Opequon Church	Frederick Co.
Old Powhatan Church	Powhatan Co.
Pamunkey Church	King William Co.
	New Kent Co.
Pocomoke Church	Accomack Co.
Pohick Church	Fairfax Co.
Poroporone Church	King and Queen Co.
Potomac Church	King George Co.
	Loudoun Co.
	Westmoreland Co.
Pottomoi Church	Hanover Co.
Powhatan Church	Powhatan Co.
Rappahannock Church	Essex Co.
	Richmond Co.
Rappahannock Indian Church	King and Queen Co.

Roanoke Church	Charlotte Co.
Rocky Hock Church	Surry Co.
*Sappony Church	Dinwiddie Co.
	Sussex Co.
Tomahawk Church	Chesterfield Co.
Totuskey Church	Richmond Co.
Tsena Commoko Church	New Kent Co.
Tuckahoe Church	Henrico Co.
Wicomico Church	Northumberland Co.
Yeocomico Chapel	Westmoreland Co.
Yeocomico Church	Westmoreland Co.

Examples of Domestic Features

Acquinton Church Rd.	King William Co.
Arrahateck Ln.	Henrico Co.

APPENDIX E:

Virginia Ceramic Studies, A Brief Overview

Jennifer Ogborne

Archaeologists have long been fond of ceramics because of their abundance in the archaeological record. Unlike their other artifact class cousins, ceramics exhibit a certain tenacity when confronted with the ravages of time; despite the fact that a whole pot may only last a short while before it's dropped and shattered, its pieces can survive thousands of years. Therefore, ceramics have often become diagnostic artifacts for many culture groups, indeed, many ancient cultures are known only by their ceramic assemblages. Because of their durability and abundance ceramics are key pieces in archaeological analysis.

Ceramic analysis begins with basic description. Some of the initial categories include color, temper, or the objects added to the clay, and portion. These categories can then be broken down into more detailed discussions of temper, such as size, and more exact morphological descriptions. When whole pots are recovered then a description of the pots' shape can be added. Other initial categories are various measurements, such as thickness, length and curve of the walls. One can also examine the activity on the surfaces of the sherds or vessel. Surfaces can be treated with objects such as, in the case of Virginia, nets, fabrics or burnishing, which leave impressions on the surface. Or, they can be painted.

From these basic descriptive categories one can then proceed to more sophisticated analyses. The first of these is the construction of typologies. Archaeologists, who are rather fond of typologies, group ceramics exhibiting similar attributes into sets, or wares, and can describe relationships among groups of people based upon their ceramic differences and similarities. Typologies coupled with stratigraphic analysis and scientific dating can then provide insights about the changes in ceramic technology and also the movements and interactions of people. In the past, archaeological analysis of ceramics has relied heavily on typological schemes that assemble ceramics into groups based on characteristics and geographic area. However, more recent work has begun to show the value of attribute analysis as a better alternative. When whole pots are available functional analysis is possible, in which the various shapes can be connected with their specific uses in the domestic or ceremonial contexts, for example. When only sherds are available, which is usually the case, the curvature measurements and residue analysis can also indicate vessel morphology. Surface treatment and decorative analysis can be among some of the most complicated elements of ceramic analysis. Examinations of shapes and patterns can lead to the development of styles and motifs. These styles are then used to discern movements of peoples, reconstructing trade networks and change over time. These sorts of analytical categories are then incorporated into larger questions about settlement patterns, ceremonial analysis, foodways reconstruction and social interaction spheres. Ceramics play an important part of larger questions because of their durability and the potential for highly sophisticated analyses.

Steatite Vessels and Marcy Creek Pottery

The appearance of ceramics around 1000 BC has long been one of the indicators of the Woodland Period in the Mid-Atlantic region. Before the development of ceramic technology, containers were constructed of a variety of materials, such as wood and skins, which are far more vulnerable to the ravages of time. Vessels of steatite and fashioned into rectangular shapes with lug handles survive in far larger numbers. The relative scarcity of these vessels relative to later prolific ceramic numbers has led some researchers to link steatite bowls to ritual feasting and long-distance exchange relations dominated by higher-status individuals (Hantman & Gold 2002: 278). The earliest ceramic forms, such as Marcey Creek Ware (950±95 B.C., uncallibrated) and Bushnell Ware (1110±60 B.C., uncallibrated), exhibited a steatite temper and were constructed in very similar shapes. This shift has been characterized by Jeffrey Hantman and Debra Gold (2002) has a democratization of the steatite trade. They suggest that peoples with easy access to soapstone undercut the trade and elitism by constructing vessels from clay using the steatite as a temper, thus giving greater access to the same shaped vessels to all levels of society (279-280). The quadrangle vessels were replaced with connoidal shapes constructed using coil and scrape methods. During the Early (1000 B.C.-500 B.C.) and Middle (500 B.C. - A.D. 800) Woodland periods widespread experimentation appears to have occurred wit surface treatments and tempers. Surface treatments included net impression, cord marking and smoothing. Sand and lithic materials were the most common temper added to these early ceramics. Clifford Evans (1955) attempted to systematize the observed variations of ceramic types, which was later refined. Evans also defined later ceramics consisting of a shell temper, which were codified into Mockley Ware (about 200 AD), which was present in coastal and interior Virginia and up into New Jersey and Delaware.

Unlike their earlier steatite cousins, these ceramic forms were not reserved for special events or person but were rather used and manipulated in everyday contexts. Of course, variation existed in these ceramic traditions that indicated vessels associated with exceptional circumstances. This shift has been linked with the significant movements in social development discerned in the Mid-Atlantic region. Hantman and Gold link this transition from steatite to clay vessels to the cyclical nature observed in status objects associated with mortuary ritual (2002: 287-289). The tradition of shell tempered wares continued into the Late Woodland, with some exceptions, with noted decreasing in sherd thickness over time. Changes in surface treatment were also noted, moving from cord and net impressions to fabric and simple-stamped paddle markings, or Townsend and Roanoke Wares. The development of these codified ceramic traditions began not in Virginia, but in Delaware.

Townsend Wares

Perhaps the most critical contribution to the development of ceramic traditions in the Mid-Atlantic region were the two publications by Margaret Blaker (1950, 1963). Her first contribution was a brief article concerning the ceramics recovered from excavations at the Townsend site in Delaware. During her analysis she had discerned a homogeneous ceramic tradition that she dubbed Townsend Ware and subdivided it into five classes. These initial five classes were denoted by their surface treatment and decorative elements. They included: Townsend herringbone, corded horizontal, Townsend incised band, Rappahannock incised and Rappahannock fabric impression. Blaker dated these ceramics from the late prehistoric to the historic and suggested an Iroquoian influence. Further analysis of these ceramics (Blaker 1963) produced more detailed descriptions of the classes. She concluded that she could not determine the chronology of the classes from the stratigraphic record of the Townsend site, however, she suggested that the Rappahannock incised and fabric impressed, being the most frequently occurring, had the longest lifespan of the classes.

Not long after Blaker's initial publication, Clifford Evans responded to what he saw as a paucity of prehistoric consideration in the archaeological musings of the state of the Virginia (1955). Drawing from a total of ninety-six sites, Evans embarked on an extensive and highly detailed analysis of the Native ceramic traditions of Virginia with the goal of reaching beyond basic description and building ceramic series and complexes for the state. He began by sorting each site's ceramics by temper, followed by temper characteristics, firing features and finally by surface treatment. Each series he discerned from the mountains of sherds was meticulously documented and described in his text. However, his devotion to detail and intricacies resulted in so many diverse ceramic series, almost all defined by the river systems, that synthesizing his work is a rather daunting task. While there is something to be said about paying strict attention to the nuances of ceramic attributes, his analysis resulted in a "Virginia ceramic tradition" that was disjointed and overly meticulous. Evans' series and complexes would later be revised and reworked into a more manageable and comprehensive typology.

One of the more significant series for Evans was the Chickahominy Series, which he separated into eight classes based on the surface treatments. Including in the series were the ceramics recovered from the Potts site, significant for its fantastic stratigraphic attributes. It was from this site, and hence from the Chickahominy Series, that Evans formed his chronology of Virginia ceramic traditions. Evans concluded that net impressed and roughened surfaces were the earliest manifestations of surface treatment, which subsequently declined over time, giving way to plain and cord-marked surfaces, the latter of which declining with the onset of fabric impression. Similarly, Evans noted a decline in gravel temper as shell became more popular (1955: 93-94, 97). Unfortunately, current theoretical trends at the time of Evans' publication did not allow for the types of studies that would later emerge in the Middle Atlantic, specifically in Delaware.

Evans also proposed several hypotheses for connecting Virginia ceramics to those of nearby states. His review of archaeological literature indicated that the spread of design ideas was suspected to have originated in the middle Delaware River Valley, disseminating northward towards New York and Connecticut and southward to Virginia. Evans likened early Virginia ceramics to those of New Jersey and Maryland through the attributes he assigned to the Chickahominy Series. These sherds were similar in their basic attributes as well as the incised "V" designs and cord-wrapped dowel impressions Evans saw in the Chickahominy, the main difference being the color of the Maryland sherds. Evans even went so far as to suggest that all shell tempered varieties conformed to Chickahominy Series attributes. Drawing on a rather cursory survey of Maryland studies, Evans concluded that the Virginia coastal tradition extended northward into Maryland and Delaware (1955: 113-114, 117, 120-121). Subsequent research would reveal this to be the case.

While studies of this nature in Virginia were limited to Evans' thorough contribution, research in Delaware continued in which numerous ceramic studies were produced. The first of these significant contributions was by Daniel Griffith (1977). Much of Griffith's discussion of Delaware ceramics is bogged down in explicating the importance and applicability of processual archaeology. Hence, his emphasis on his analysis was on developing a chronology of the ceramic traditions. He places great emphasis on tight data control, especially upon context. He found Blaker's original typology to be lacking, and sought to alleviate the earlier lack of sophistication. While much of his analysis is overburdened with processual dogma, his methodology of ceramic analysis has proved invaluable. Griffith's conclusions about the Townsend chronology have proved to be applicable to those of Virginia and his analysis of the stylistic trends a source of comparative consideration.

As previously stated, one of the key goals of Griffith's thesis was to develop a chronology of Townsend ceramics and corresponding motifs for Delaware. Griffith (1982), as well as Evans

(1955), noted that prior to the 1948 excavations at the Townsend site ceramic analysis was confined to pure attribute description, often incomplete. Blaker's analysis was the first step towards a more temporally-conscious analysis. Subsequent analysis of her conclusions and other site analyses refined her early assessments with increasing sophistication and expanded them to include a larger geographic area. Unfortunately, Griffith noticed that this attention to the development of the Townsend typology created a bias against non-Townsend ceramics. With a nod to himself, Griffith stated that this had begun to change, beginning with his thesis and his work with Richard E. Artusy (1977).

Other significant contributions to the Delaware ceramic traditions were produced by Jay F. Custer. In one of his early works Custer suggested that plotting stylistic attributes over areas and across time would better outline prehistoric social interaction spheres (1985). Later collaboration with Griffith led to the conclusion that style had the greatest potential of all ceramic attributes to reveal changes of peoples and cultures through time. Using Griffith's methods from his thesis they examined Townsend and Minguannan ceramics. They noted that between these two ceramic traditions of Delaware there were marked similarities in the observed motifs, despite the possibilities of technical variation. They then turned to Overpeck and Bowmans Brook ceramic types also noting significant similarities. Their comparison culminated in a call for an increase in regional comparisons of ceramic designs: "ceramic designs, when analyzed at this level, are not 'badges' of ethnic groups or common 'traditions,' They are simply stylistic attributes that are sensitive to intergroup interaction" (Griffith & Custer 1985: 18).

Ceramic Studies in Virginia

These significant Delaware contributions brought into sharp focus the need for comparative consideration, and while this was significant for the state of Delaware, it left Virginia in the dark. Prehistoric cultures, obviously, did not obey modern state boundaries. Ergo, if numerous similarities were noted among the Townsend ceramics in Delaware, then conceivably some discernable stylistic relationship would be manifest with those ceramics in Virginia. This is not to suggest that there was a consistent ethnic identity along the Mid-Atlantic coast, but as Custer and Griffith suggested, an analysis of the technical and stylistic attributes from both states contain the great potential for further explication and elaboration of the social and political relationships of Middle-Atlantic peoples, especially in light of the rise of the Powhatan chiefdom. Presumably, if the technical ceramic traditions can be traced from Delaware to Southern Virginia, then certain stylistic elements would travel as well.

The work of Evans in Virginia long stood as the source for ceramic analysis. However, his exhaustive descriptions of ceramic types were refined in 1982 by Keith Egloff and Stephen Potter. While they concentrated on the coastal plain of Virginia, their descriptions and accompanying photographs combined many of Evans' series into more manageable classes. Their analysis in affect "cleaned-up" the rather unwieldy typology which differed for each river. This resolved the fractious tone of Evans' study and created a more cohesive picture of Virginia Native ceramics.

While work in Delaware appears to have reached a state in which comparison and conclusions regarding the social interaction spheres as well as ethnic and social boundaries could be discerned from the ceramic typological evidence, as it stands now, this may not be the case in Virginia. While a great deal is known about some of the attributes, such as surface treatment, motifs have been limited to attribute description. Current work in Virginia has focused on elucidating social interaction spheres as they relate to ceramic types, not specifically motifs, but focusing on attributes rather than types. Michael Klein's (1994) dissertation employed an absolute seriation method in order to more accurately define

ceramic typology. Work conducted by Klein (see also 1997), Hantman and Gold (2002) and Gallivan (2003) have highlighted the fluctuating social hierarchies of Virginia Indians using vessels and their attributes to explicate elite activity. As previously mentioned at the outset of this review, steatite vessels were linked to specialized activities and elite exchange. In looking at the rise of social inequality in the James River system, Gallivan concluded that increased stylistic variation in the Woodland period indicated small social networks. The increase of permanent settlements led to stylistic exchange on the local level to express shifting inequalities. He also found that social interaction between the smaller, discrete units, was becoming more unrestricted. The subsequent increased social heterogeneity necessitated more prestigious goods (Gallivan 2003: 127-142, 151, 175).

Research currently being conducted at the College of William and Mary will undoubtedly contribute significantly to the ceramic knowledge of Virginia. The first of these is a sizeable collection of artifacts resulting from the survey of the Chickahominy River conducted by William and Mary Professor Norman Barka in the late 1960s and 1970s. While final analysis of the ceramics contained therein has not yet been completed, the corpus of sherds suggests the possibility for significant contribution. Current studies in progress include detail morphological and stylistic ceramic analyses as well as the development of a comprehensive GIS database of the survey's results. Also currently under consideration are the ceramics unearthed after the first field seasons at the Werowocomoco site. Among the artifacts resulting from 2003 excavations were numerous examples of Townsend and Roanoke Simple-Stamped Wares, as well as a check-stamped sherd, a rare find in this area of the east coast.

Due to the unfortunate weather occurrences caused by hurricane Isabel in September of 2003, the Jamestown collection of Native ceramics is not currently available for study. However, preliminary perusing of some of the collections and the results of the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment (Blanton, Kandle and Downing 2000) indicate an abundance of shell tempered sherds, most with unidentifiable surface treatments, as well as a few grit and sand tempered pieces (Appendix 1). A brief perusal of some of the sherds contained within the collection before the onset of the storm yielded mostly shell tempered sherds. Surface treatments were either completely eroded, not present or the sherds were too small in size to reach any definitive conclusions. A few cases of Townsend Ware were noted. It is suspected that additional examination of the collection will yield more detailed information. Further conclusions will have to remain in abeyance during the hurricane recovery project.

It appears then that ceramic studies in Virginia have begun to move away from typological construction and into attribute based approaches. The developments of these typologies were a key step in analytical processes, and have been refined to a point that they are logical and wieldy enough to be applied. These typologies have been employed in discerning settlement fluctuations and ceremonial analysis. With the additions of the rather substantial Chickahominy collection and the possibility of a rather significant corpus from the Werowocomoco site, Virginia ceramic analysis will be able to move beyond the typological discussions and apply the extant literature utilizing these typologies and synthesize the information and provide even greater insight into the cultures and practices of the people of the Virginia.

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