

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM**

FOR NPS USE ONLY

LISTED ON:

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VLR 10/21/1980

DATE ENTERED

NRHP 09/16/1982

SEE INSTRUCTIONS IN *HOW TO COMPLETE NATIONAL REGISTER FORMS*  
TYPE ALL ENTRIES -- COMPLETE APPLICABLE SECTIONS

**1 NAME**

HISTORIC

Pamunkey Indian Reservation Archaeological District (preferred)

AND/OR COMMON

Pamunkey Indian Reservation

**2 LOCATION**

STREET &amp; NUMBER

Pamunkey Indian Reservation

CITY, TOWN

Lanesville

VICINITY OF

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

1st, Paul S. Tribble, Jr.

STATE

Virginia

CODE

51

COUNTY

King William

CODE

101

**3 CLASSIFICATION**

## CATEGORY

 DISTRICT BUILDING(S) STRUCTURE SITE OBJECT

## OWNERSHIP

 PUBLIC PRIVATE BOTH

## PUBLIC ACQUISITION

 IN PROCESS BEING CONSIDERED

## STATUS

 OCCUPIED UNOCCUPIED WORK IN PROGRESS

## ACCESSIBLE

 YES: RESTRICTED YES: UNRESTRICTED NO

## PRESENT USE

 AGRICULTURE COMMERCIAL EDUCATIONAL ENTERTAINMENT GOVERNMENT INDUSTRIAL MILITARY MUSEUM PARK PRIVATE RESIDENCE RELIGIOUS SCIENTIFIC TRANSPORTATION OTHER**4 OWNER OF PROPERTY**

NAME

Pamunkey Indian Nation c/o Chief Tecumseh Cook

STREET &amp; NUMBER

RFD 3

CITY, TOWN

Lanesville

VICINITY OF

STATE

Virginia

**5 LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION**COURTHOUSE,  
REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC.

King William Courthouse

STREET &amp; NUMBER

CITY, TOWN

King William

STATE

Virginia

**6 REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS**

TITLE

Virginia Research Center for Archaeology Site Survey Inventory

DATE

1978

 FEDERAL  STATE  COUNTY  LOCALDEPOSITORY FOR  
SURVEY RECORDS

Virginia Research Center for Archaeology

CITY, TOWN

College of William and Mary, Wren Kitchen, Williamsburg, Virginia

## 7 DESCRIPTION

CONDITION		CHECK ONE	CHECK ONE
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> EXCELLENT	<input type="checkbox"/> DETERIORATED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> UNALTERED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ORIGINAL SITE
<input type="checkbox"/> GOOD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> RUINS	<input type="checkbox"/> ALTERED	<input type="checkbox"/> MOVED DATE _____
<input type="checkbox"/> FAIR	<input type="checkbox"/> UNEXPOSED		

### DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (IF KNOWN) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The Pamunkey Indian Reservation Archaeological District in King William County lies eighteen miles west of the town of West Point, Virginia. A marsh-rimmed peninsula of 1,700 acres, the Pamunkey Indian Reservation has been the site of Indian habitation for at least 7,000 years.

Fifteen archaeological sites, distributed throughout the Pamunkey Reservation, have been identified by Pamunkey tribesmen and survey archaeologists from Virginia Commonwealth University and the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology (Figure 1). Much of the terrain consists of farmland and is essentially undisturbed. Therefore comprehensive archaeological survey of the property is likely to yield many more previously unidentified sites, revealing past settlement patterns within the area (Figure 2).

The prehistoric artifact assemblages from the Pamunkey Reservation suggests multi-component occupation of the area ranging from the Archaic Period (8,000 to 1,000 B.C.), through the Woodland Period (1,000 B.C. to European Contact), and into the post-Contact Period. The artifacts described were unsystematically collected by residents of the Reservation from the surface of sites 44KW17, 44KW22, 44KW23 and 44KW21.

The earliest evidence of occupation derived from these collections dates from the Middle Archaic Period (5,000 - 3,000 B.C.) as seen in Morrow Mountain-type projectile points (5,000 - 4,000 B.C.) recovered from 44KW17. Guilford projectile points, also dating to the Middle Archaic Period were found at 44KW17 and 44KW23. Late Archaic (3,000 - 1,000 B.C.), or Transitional, occupation is indicated by the presence of several side-notched projectile points from 44KW21 and 44KW22, as well as parallel-sided blades from 44KW23.

The Early Woodland Period (1,000 B.C. - 1 A.D.) is well represented in the collection. A large number and variety of side-notched projectile points, similar to the Pott's type, were recovered from 44KW23. In addition, two drills, one side-notched and the other, pentagonal, were found at this site.

All four sites yielded lithic debitage and utilized flakes in a variety of materials: quartz, quartzite, jasper and chert. These artifacts are of indeterminate age, but are associated with lithic reduction and, possibly, domestic or hunting activities.

These four sites are especially significant for the archaeological evidence they may provide toward understanding the variation and development in ceramic wares representative of the Woodland Period in the Middle Atlantic Seaboard area. Study of these ceramics may lead further to an understanding of the broader behavioral systems which influenced the manner of their production.

A full range of Woodland ceramic types is represented in the assemblages. Early Woodland development of ceramic technology is reflected in the presence of one small sherd of steatite tempered pottery, Marcey Creek Series, recovered from

(See Continuation Sheet #1)

# 8 SIGNIFICANCE

PERIOD	AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE -- CHECK AND JUSTIFY BELOW			
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PREHISTORIC	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ARCHEOLOGY-PREHISTORIC	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNITY PLANNING	<input type="checkbox"/> LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> RELIGION
<input type="checkbox"/> 1400-1499	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ARCHEOLOGY-HISTORIC	<input type="checkbox"/> CONSERVATION	<input type="checkbox"/> LAW	<input type="checkbox"/> SCIENCE
<input type="checkbox"/> 1500-1599	<input type="checkbox"/> AGRICULTURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ECONOMICS	<input type="checkbox"/> LITERATURE	<input type="checkbox"/> SCULPTURE
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1600-1699	<input type="checkbox"/> ARCHITECTURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> EDUCATION	<input type="checkbox"/> MILITARY	<input type="checkbox"/> SOCIAL/HUMANITARIAN
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1700-1799	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ART	<input type="checkbox"/> ENGINEERING	<input type="checkbox"/> MUSIC	<input type="checkbox"/> THEATER
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1800-1899	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> COMMERCE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> EXPLORATION/SETTLEMENT	<input type="checkbox"/> PHILOSOPHY	<input type="checkbox"/> TRANSPORTATION
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1900-	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNICATIONS	<input type="checkbox"/> INDUSTRY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> POLITICS/GOVERNMENT	<input type="checkbox"/> OTHER (SPECIFY)
		<input type="checkbox"/> INVENTION		

SPECIFIC DATES

BUILDER/ARCHITECT

Pamunkey Indians

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Pamunkey Indian Reservation Archaeological District in King William County, Virginia, is a broad, geographically distinct peninsula which is nearly surrounded by the Pamunkey River. Archaeological sites representing at least 7,000 years of aboriginal occupation are present within the 1,700 acre tract which has been continuously occupied by the Pamunkey Indian tribe since the early seventeenth century. Scientific excavation of the archaeological sites within the Pamunkey Indian Reservation Archaeological District could trace the cultural evolution and adaptation of the Pamunkey Indians from the time of their initial contact with the British Colonists, throughout all the subsequent phases of American history. As the Pamunkey Indians were known to have been living in the vicinity of the nominated acreage prior to the arrival of the first colonists, archaeological excavations potentially could yield invaluable research data about the evolution of the Pamunkey Indians into a component of the Powhatan Chiefdom and also reveal much about the early antecedents of the tidewater Virginia Indian culture.

BACKGROUND

When Captain John Smith explored the upper reaches of the York River in 1607, he found the Pamunkey Indian tribe living on the neck of land formed by the division of the York River into two major branches, the Pamunkey and the Mattaponi. He wrote that "where the River is divided the Country is called Pamaunkee, and nourisheth neare 300 able men."<sup>1</sup> He further noted that the Pamunkey Indians were a part of the chiefdom of the "Emporor" Powhatan and were numbered among the groups over whom Powhatan had inherited control, each of which had its own subsidiary leaders, whom the English called kings and queens. Smith and three other seventeenth century cartographers, Zungia, Robert Tyndall, and Henry Hondius, in mapping tidewater Virginia, labeled the land of the Pamunkey Indians (Figures 4 and 5).

George Percy, who accompanied John Smith in the first party of English colonists, described the land of the Pamunkeys as being replete with deer and other game animals and amply planted with the Indians' agricultural crops. As well, he found that the Pamunkeys "inhabit a Rych land of Copper and pearle."<sup>2</sup>

Soon after his arrival in the colony, John Smith encountered Opechancanough, the leader of the Pamunkeys. Although their relationship began on a note of hostility, Smith's daring apparently won the begrudging respect of the natives and resulted in several years of tenuous peace, largely founded on fear, distrust and occasional mutual

(See Continuation Sheet #4)

## 9 MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Anonymous, "A Briefe Declataion of the Plantations of Virginia Duringe the first Twelve Years and downe to this present tyme by the Ancient Planters nowe remaininge alive in Virginia" (London, 1624).

Anonymous, "Countryside Along the Pamunkey River," ca. 1646-1656.  
(See Continuation Sheet #15)

## 10 GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Scale 1:24000

ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY 1700

New Kent and Tunstall Quads

UTM REFERENCES

(See Continuation Sheet #18)

A 18 | 322660 | 4161440  
 ZONE EASTING NORTHING  
 C 18 | 32870 | 4160240  
 ZONE EASTING NORTHING

B 18 | 321450 | 4160880  
 ZONE EASTING NORTHING  
 D 18 | 321970 | 4159190  
 ZONE EASTING NORTHING

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION Bounded on the north by the confluence of Williams Creek and on the east, south and west by the Pamunkey River, extending to the county line in the middle of the river, being the boundaries of the Pamunkey Indian Reservation.

LIST ALL STATES AND COUNTIES FOR PROPERTIES OVERLAPPING STATE OR COUNTY BOUNDARIES

STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE

## 11 FORM PREPARED BY

NAME / TITLE

Martha McCartney and Mary Ellen Norrisey Hodges, Research Specialist and Technician Laboratory

ORGANIZATION

Virginia Research Center for Archaeology

DATE

October 1, 1980

STREET & NUMBER

Wren Kitchen, College of William and Mary

TELEPHONE

804-253-4836

CITY OR TOWN

Williamsburg

STATE

Virginia

## 12 STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER CERTIFICATION

THE EVALUATED SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS PROPERTY WITHIN THE STATE IS:

NATIONAL X

STATE X

LOCAL X

As the designated State Historic Preservation Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service.

STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER SIGNATURE

TITLE

DATE OCT 21 1980

FOR NPS USE ONLY

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THIS PROPERTY IS INCLUDED IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER

DATE

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

ATTEST:

DATE

KEEPER OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
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44KW22. Both 44KW21 and 44KW22 yielded Pope's Creek Net Impressed and Pope's Creek Cord Marked wares, Early Woodland sand tempered wares post-dating the Marcey Creek Series. Middle Woodland (1 - 900 A.D.) ceramic types, Mockley Net Impressed and Prince George Cord Marked, shell tempered and pebble tempered wares respectively, were found at sites 44KW21 and 44KW22. A few sherds of Potomac Creek Cord Marked pottery, a ware tempered with crushed rock, were found at sites 44KW21 and 44KW23. The Potomac Creek Series is usually associated with the Late Woodland Period (900 A.D. - European Contact), but the tradition may have continued through the early Contact Period. Sherds representing the development of a Late Woodland shell tempered ceramic tradition are especially plentiful on the Reservation. The presence of Chickahominy Cord Marked, Rappahannock Fabric Impressed, Townsend Incised, and Roanoke Simple Stamped pottery sherds reflects this development. Because Historic Period Colono-wares seem to have developed in part from these earlier traditions, a study of the pre-Contact Period ceramics would be especially valuable.

At another site within the nominated district, 44KW29, limited excavation exposed the remains of two archaeological features. Feature 22, a trash pit, dates to the early nineteenth century, a terminus post quem derived from the predominance of European and Euro-American artifacts recovered from the pit. The presence of such diagnostic artifacts in the pit as pre- or early-Contact Period Indian ceramics and eighteenth and nineteenth century European ceramics, suggests earlier occupation in the general area. Their presence in Feature 22 is most likely the result of nineteenth century redeposition.

Feature 23, a trench, intersects the northern edge of the trash pit. The trench, alligned approximately east-west, was probably used for drainage toward the river. It appears to have been backfilled during the first half of the nineteenth century, and post-dates the trash pit.

The primary significance of 44KW29 lies in the research data it could potentially provide on the Indian ceramic industry during the post-Contact Period. Of particular interest are the Colono-ware ceramics, similar types of which have been found on numerous colonial sites in Virginia and other states. The origins of these variously styled wares have not yet been definitely established. Current hypotheses suggest possible manufacture by Native American or Afro-American peoples in an early period of acculturation to European modes. The Colono-ware artifacts recovered from 44KW29 provide good examples of vessel shapes which are found on the Reservation: flat bottomed jars, plates, large washbasins, cups, jugs, shallow bowls, and small painted pots. In addition, archaeological evidence suggests that these ceramic vessels as well as pipes, were manufactured at

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the site, as unfired shell tempered clay and fixed-clay wasters were found in the trash pit. These artifacts should assist in the identification of Colono-wares found on other sites in Virginia, and, additionally, should demonstrate the degree to which post-Contact Indian ceramics were influenced by European ceramic form and function.

The presence of bricks, iron nails, an iron door lock and a set of keys indicates that a European-influenced structure was located in the vicinity of 44KW29. Household utensils include not only Colono-Indian vessels, but a variety of European ceramics such as white salt-glazed stoneware, Staffordshire slipware, pearlware, and Rhenish stoneware. Glass bottles, iron and pewter colanders and upholstery tacks were found as well as lead sprue, shot and gunflints, reflecting a transition from a pre-Contact lithic technology to a colonial technology.

The personal adornment of the individuals associated with 44KW29 appears to have been influenced by both native and colonial traditions. Indian ground and cut shell beads were found in the same context as metal buttons and clothing ornaments, brass straight pins, glass beads, metal buckles and a brass clothing hook. Locally made pipes and English kaolin pipes were found at the site.

Lead-glazed earthenware fragments characteristic of vessels manufactured ca. 1677 by Westmoreland County, Virginia, potter, Morgan Jones were found at 44KW29. In addition, sherds of eighteenth century coarse earthenware, manufactured in Pennsylvania also were located. Given the range of these objects, an extensive archaeological excavation of 44KW29 could yield valuable information on seventeenth and eighteenth century intra- and inter-colonial trade patterns as well as additional information on the acculturation of native Americans.

Seven other multi-component archaeological sites on the Pamunkey Reservation contain prehistoric, Colono-Indian, and historic period ceramics ranging in date from the Late Woodland Period to the nineteenth century. One such site, 44KW18, contains Colono-Indian ware exclusively, while 44KW27 includes diagnostic artifacts ranging from net- and fabric-impressed pottery to historic delftware, Rhenish, brown, and white salt glazed stonewares, pearlware and whiteware.

44KW13, 44KW24, and 44KW25, also multi-component sites, include diagnostic artifacts from the prehistoric and historic periods. Two sites, 44KW14 and 44KW15, are located near the southern periphery of the Reservation in the vicinity of a structure labeled with the name Langston on the 1863 Gilmer map of King William County. 44KW14, which contains both prehistoric artifacts and historic ceramics dating to the nineteenth century, may be the Langston site (Figure 3).

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The site of an early Pamunkey Church, designated 44KW16, has been identified to the rear of the presently used Church, which was built ca. 1865. Two other archaeological sites, 44KW11 and 44KW26, have been identified but not tested. Site 44KW11 is prehistoric while 44KW26, a submerged shipwreck which lies in the Pamunkey River adjacent to the Reservation, is alleged to be the remains of a nineteenth century schooner. Both warrant further testing.

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need. Whereas the Indians were ill-prepared to cope with injuries caused by the colonists' firearms, the colonists were greatly weakened by malnutrition, disease and fatigue and realized that they were outnumbered.

Contention soon grew between the colonists and Indians over their respective rights to the land. While some contemporary writers, such as Robert Johnson, maintained that the objective of the English was to settle in the Indians' country "yet not to supplant and roote them out,"<sup>3</sup> others contended that "the salvages have no particular propertie...but only a general residencie, as wild beasts in the forest."<sup>4</sup> Although in 1616 John Rolfe wrote that most Indian land was acquired through purchasing, in fact, King James I tacitly assumed his sovereignty over all the Virginia land as evidenced in all three charters he issued to the Virginia Company of London.

After the death of Powhatan in 1618 the relationship between the colonists and Indians deteriorated subtly but steadily. Powhatan's brother, Opitchapan, inherited his chieftdom but a younger brother, Opechancanough, the Pamunkey district chief, quickly emerged as the more dominant leader. The letters written in 1619 by John Porey, Secretary of the Colony, reflect the settlers' wariness of the native inhabitants: no more than five or six Indians could be admitted to the British settlements at any one time and they must be closely guarded; no firearms, English dogs, or houses were to be traded to the Indians; and no one was to go to any Indian town without permission from the Governor or the Commander of his settlement.

Precipitated in part by the slaying of one of Opechancanough's chief warriors, Jack of the Feather, violence erupted on March 22, 1622, the Good Friday Massacre. The Powhatan Indians made a concerted effort to obliterate the British colonists en masse. In one day's time, 347 men, women and children were slain. The Pamunkeys led the attack against MartinsHundred, a settlement on the James River several miles below Jamestown, where the death toll was great. Prisoners were taken and transported overland to Pamunkey, the male captives killed and the women, kept as slaves.

As word spread of the magnitude of the tragedy, shock and dismay quickly turned to anger and revenge. Edward Waterhouse wrote with bitterness in 1622 that "the Countrey is not so good as the Natives are bad, whose barbarous Savagenesse needs more cultivation then the ground itself."<sup>5</sup> A treatise authored by the Ancient Planters, or those who had survived the first years in the colony, stated that the settlers "have used their uttermost and Christian endeavors in prosecuting [prosecuting] revenge against the bloody salvages...employinge many forces abroad for the rooting them out."<sup>6</sup>

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In March 1623, two Pamunkey Indians came to Martins Hundred, offering to return their prisoners if the settlers would allow them to plant their crops in peace. Although a prisoner release was eventually effected, the peace proposal was discovered to be a ruse and over the next several years the settlers continued to make regular expeditions against the Indians, burning their houses and crops.

That the Pamunkeys were considered a particularly formidable adversary is evidenced by the fact that in 1627, when all of the colony's ablest men were mustered in a campaign against the Indians, the first offensive was directed at all of the Indian towns, with the exception of the Pamunkeys', whose attention was engaged by the presence of a ship in the upper reaches of the York River. A second campaign, waged a month later, was calculated to direct the colony's full strength against the Pamunkeys. Captain John West, writing in 1630, referred to the Pamunkeys as the most dangerous of the enemy Indians.

Although an informal peace was concluded between the English and the Pamunkey and Chickahominy Indians in 1632, in 1644 the two tribes together with the Mattaponies, the Pasbehays, and the Waresqueakes, made a second attempt to annihilate the English colony. Opechancanough, nearly blind at age 100, was carried into battle on a litter, a living symbol of the Indians' hatred of the colonists. Nearly 400 settlers were slain in the 1644 massacre, mostly in the area along the upper reaches of the York River.

Again, the settlers retaliated. The Minutes of the Executive Council record for posterity "that wee will forever abandon all formes of peace and familiarity with the whole nation and will to the uttermost of our power pursue and root [them] out."<sup>7</sup> In a subsequent offensive against the Pamunkeys, Opechancanough was captured and taken to Jamestown. He was assassinated by a guard angry at the injuries he believed the chief had personally inflicted upon the colony.

In 1645 the Assembly decided to establish four forts or blockhouses at strategic locations near the Indian settlements. A blockhouse named Fort Royall was constructed on the Pamunkey River near the village of the deceased chief, Opechancanough. Because of the expense of manning and maintaining these forts was burdensome for the colony, the Captain of each fort was offered ownership of the acreage adjacent to the fort as well as its buildings, boats and provisions, if he would agree to maintain the fort and staff it with ten men for a period of three years. Roger Marshall accepted the Assembly's proposition and thereby acquired the Fort Royall tract of 600

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acres. In addition to providing surveillance of the nearby Indian settlements, Fort Royall was intended to serve as the center of Indian trade for the country on the north side of the James-York peninsula and as the colony's military post in that region. Indians needing to go to Jamestown could obtain at Fort Royall the striped coats which served as badges of safe conduct on their journey.

An anonymous cartographer's map dating to ca. 1646-56, depicts the location of Fort Royall and as well labels the "seate of ye late Emporor Opechancanough" and that of his successor, Totopotomoy. Of particular significance is the fact that Totopotomoy's village lay in the area occupied ever since by the Pamunkey Indians, the land of the Pamunkey Indian Reservation.

In 1646 a treaty was concluded between the British and Necatowance, "emporor" of the Indians, making his people tributaries to the British king. One of the terms of the treaty was the preservation of the land north of the York River, west of Poropotanke, for the exclusive use of the Indians. In return, the Indians ceded to the British all land between the falls of the James River and the York.

Despite the 1646 treaty, settlement soon spread into the Indians' land. In July 1653, Totopotomoy, the husband of the Pamunkey Queen, Cockacoenoe, requested legally defined ownership of a tract of land. It was agreed that he should have his choice between Ramomak (near modernday West Point) or "the Land where he is now seated,"<sup>8</sup> so long as he would live on the land he selected. Totopotomoy decided to stay at his original seat on the Pamunkey River, in the area now occupied by his twentieth century descendants called the Pamunkey Indian Reservation. As a part of the 1653 agreement, all English settlers living on the land of the Pamunkey Indians were to be removed.

During the 1650's and 1660's tensions eased between the English inhabitants and Indians. A law was passed permitting Indian children to be reared as Christians in the homes of the colonists, with the legal consent of the Indian parents. By 1656 the colonial government began to assume its stewardship of the land of the Pamunkey Indians and in March 1656 made it illegal for the Indians to sell any part of their land without the consent of the Assembly. Thus, action by the Assembly in 1653 established the Pamunkey Indian Reservation as an entity and in 1656 set the precedent for the collective tribal ownership of the land, under the administration of the colonial government.

In 1658 the Assembly passed an Act suspending granting land to British settlers "until the Indians be first served with the proportion of fiftie acres of land per bowman and the proportion for each particular town to be together...privilege

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of all waste and unfenced lands for hunting."<sup>9</sup> By 1662 the Assembly further defined the Tributary Indians' land boundaries as a ring three miles from their towns. Any colonists already seated within the three mile bounds were ordered to help the Indians fence in a cornfield adequate to sustain the population of the Indian town. Moreover, the Tributary Indians, if unarmed, could hunt and gather within the British settlements, if they would wear special engraved badges of copper or pewter, which identified them as friendly.

By the 1670's the colonists' greed and need for land had intensified to the point that certain individuals took advantage of a legal loophole in the act preventing the sale of Indian land by obtaining leases from the Pamunkey and Chickahominy Indians. Consequently, a 1674 act was passed outlawing such leases. The maps of Augustin Herrman (1670), F. Lamb (1676) and others demonstrate that most of the land within the so-called Pamunkey Neck was attributed to the Pamunkey Indians (Figures 6,7, and 8).

Relations between the colonists and Indians were essentially peaceful on the eve of Bacon's Rebellion. However, because of the close proximity of the Pamunkeys to the British settlements, Nathaniel Bacon directed his attack against them early in his campaign. Although the Queen, Cockacoenoe, escaped with her life by fleeing into the woods, Bacon's army killed many of her people, including women and children, and took plunder and prisoners. Later she petitioned for the restoration of her belongings and was included in the list of sufferers in the Rebellion when an accounting was made to the government in England. Queen Cockacoenoe had already suffered greatly as a result of her association with the English, for in 1656, her husband, Totopotomoy and many Pamunkey warriors had been killed while assisting the British in a campaign against some foreign Indians.

In 1677 a major peace treaty was executed, the Treaty of Middle Plantation. It established that the "Indian Kings and Queens...shall hold their lands and have the same confirmed to them and their posterity by Patent without fee...paying yearly in lieu of a Quitrent...three Indian arrowes"<sup>10</sup> and reiterated that "no English shall seate or plant nearer than three miles to any Indian town."<sup>11</sup> The Tributary tribes agreed to lay all disputes with settlers and among themselves before the colony's courts of law, rather than seeking justice independently.

As a tangible display of friendship between the British government and the Tributary Indians, coronets, or crowns, and royal robes were ordered for the Queen of the Pamunkeys and three other major Tributary Indian rulers. To Cockacoenoe alone King Charles II gave several elaborate gifts, including a necklace, bracelets,

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and clothing, as well as several garments for her son, her interpreter and her chief councilor. Although the Council in Virginia successfully blocked the giving of the coronets to the Indian rulers, believing that they would be misinterpreted as gifts of fear rather than friendship, the other gifts were delivered by Thomas, Lord Culpeper, in 1680. One of these gifts, a silver frontlet inscribed with the names of King Charles and the Queen of the Pamunkey, is owned by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities and is currently on display at Jamestown Island. Twenty silver badges, inscribed with the names of the major Tributary Indian leaders, were bestowed by King Charles, to be displayed by the Tributary tribesmen when coming into the English settlements (Figure 9).

Land office records for the years after 1677 reveal an influx of settlers into Pamunkey Neck, outside the Indian bounds. By 1680 the inhabitants of Pamunkey Neck petitioned the House of Burgesses to designate the area a parish. Pressure quickly mounted to plant on vacant Indian land, and in 1688 the Executive Council asked the King to open up the land in Pamunkey Neck and south of Blackwater Swamp, where many Indians used to live "but are now wasted and dwindled away, however doe [still] hold and possess."<sup>12</sup> The Council alleged that the vacant land lay open and vulnerable to the incursion of foreign Indians.

No decision had been reached by 1693 when King William granted a Royal Charter to the College of William and Mary and with it, an endowment of 10,000 acres of land in Pamunkey Neck and an equal amount in the area south of Blackwater Swamp. A moratorium was placed on all patenting in those two areas until the College land was laid out. Due to various delays, these lands were not officially opened for settlement until 1706. In the meantime the House of Burgesses repeatedly went on record supporting the settlers' right to patent land in the restricted area. While patents were not actually issued, the House recommended that specific tracts be granted to certain individuals as soon as patenting became legal. The Governor's Claims Committee also went on record in support of the legality of the 99 year leases given by the Pamunks to various persons and like the House, enforced the registration of claims for literally thousands of acres of land. The registration of claims, however, was contingent upon a survey of the land within the three mile Indian bounds occupied by the Indians, as well as the designation of the College's 10,000 acre endowment.

In 1715 Queen Ann of the Pamunkey Indians petitioned for protection from three men who had purchased acreage from them within their lands but who "doe every year clear, build, and occupy our Land which is beyond that we sold them."<sup>13</sup> She described her people as a poor, small nation.

(See Continuation Sheet #9).

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The living conditions and population of the Pamunkey Indians at the opening of the eighteenth century have been described by Robert Beverley, who worked at Court on the land claims of the Pamunkey Indians in 1703-3, and who wrote in 1705 that the Pamunkeys had only forty bowmen and were declining in population. Beverley also wrote that not only was the Indians' land less abundant as a result of the arrival of the Europeans, but that they had lost their innocence and had had their desire for luxury awakened.

Francis Louis Michel, a Swiss who toured the colony in 1702, noted that the Indians were not greatly acculturated, having "no clothes except they get through trade with the English; they wear them when they have to go to the Christians... once a year at the muster of the troops."<sup>14</sup> Michel also wrote that they "like strong drink or rum beyond all measure,"<sup>15</sup> words which were paraphrased by the Pamunkey Queen in 1706 when she complained about the English inhabitants retailing liquor in her town.

Another indication of the declining welfare of the Pamunkeys is their three requests for a reduction in the amount of their annual tribute, from twenty beaver skins to ten in 1699, from ten skins to one in 1705, to none in 1708. As English settlement and planting made further inroads into the Indians' traditional game and foraging habitat, they experienced increasing difficulty in supporting themselves from the land. Squatters continued to enter land within the Pamunkeys' bounds and one member of the Executive Council, John Lightfoot, attempted to "lay Claime to the land on which their town stands... and hath threatened to turn them off the said land."<sup>16</sup> Several times during the first quarter of the eighteenth century the Pamunkey Indians complained about the encroachment of the settlers.

In 1708, Ann, the Pamunkey Queen, claimed that her people were starving, although some few Indian women had found homes with the settlers. She asked that several Pamunkey men, who had been lured away to live with the local British inhabitants be returned to aid in the support of her Indian community. Yet she agreed in 1711 to enroll her son at the College of William and Mary. That living with the colonists and adapting their cultural habits made the Indians less fit and/or willing to subsist as they formerly had was an idea voiced by William Byrd, Benjamin Franklin and others and reaffirmed by various Indian leaders throughout the eighteenth century.

By 1727 Governor Gooch estimated that the Pamunkey Indians had declined to only ten families. The degree to which they were enculturated is evidenced by the fact that in 1734 the Council discharged their official interpreters to the Indians, stating that "their service being of little use, seeing the tributary Indians understand and can speak the English language very well."<sup>17</sup>

(See Continuation Sheet #10)

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In 1748 a group of Pamunkey Indians petitioned the House of Burgesses for permission to sell an eighty-eight acre tract of land non-contiguous to the reservation, which they claimed neither they nor their ancestors "have ever yet made any use"<sup>18</sup> but which was greatly wasted by nearby inhabitants. The Pamunkey delegation said that they desired to pay off the heavy indebtedness incurred by their people due to their being "afflicted with long and grievous Sickness which led to an accumulation of debts for medicines, Drs attendance, Corn, Cloathing and other Necessaries."<sup>19</sup> Although an act was passed permitting sale of the land at public auction, in 1759 the Pamunkeys petitioned for the right to lease the same acreage. On March 27, 1759 an Act was passed establishing a Board of Trustees whose duty was to oversee the leasing of the Indians' land and protect their interest. Throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century the Pamunkey tribe continued to rely upon the land management recommendations of their Trustees.

The Reverend Andrew Burnaby in 1759 described the Pamunkey Indians as having "dwindled away through intemperance and disease...living in little wigwams or cabins upon the River...their employment is chiefly hunting or fishing for the neighboring gentry,"<sup>20</sup> a description not unlike their way of life in the mid-seventeenth century.

During the years of the American Revolution the Pamunkey Indians were spared all but minimal involvement in the conflict. A 1781 map by a French cartographer shows the presence of an American battery on the northeastern edge of the Pamunkey Reservation, a fortification constructed to assure the American troops safe passage across the Pamunkey River (Figure 10).

Thomas Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia described the Pamunkey Indians ca. 1781. He wrote that "they are reduced to ten or twelve men, tolerably pure from mixture with other colours. The older ones among them preserve their language in a small degree, which are the last vestiges on earth, as far as we know, of the Powhatan language. They have about 300 acres of very fertile land on the Pamunkey River, so encompassed by water that a gate shuts in the whole."<sup>21</sup> He estimated their total population at 100 persons.

Throughout the eighteenth century the Pamunkeys, like other Virginia Indians and blacks and mulattoes, had few civil rights. As a result, little evidence of them survives in the public record. Indians, by 1705, were not allowed to hold any civil, ecclesiastical or military offices nor were they allowed to vote. During part of the eighteenth century they were unable to testify in court cases. Although an 1808 act was passed forbidding the enslavement of Indians, because they had been given the right to trade, the accounts of William Byrd and others demonstrates that such slavery occurred, although it was not widespread.

(See Continuation Sheet #11)

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During the nineteenth century the Pamunkey Indians continued to live on their tribal land in King William County. Their population remained stable, being an estimated 100 persons in 1850. References to the Pamunkey Indians in the nineteenth century documentary record are scarce, with the exception of the 1802 petition of Saqiaresa, an Indian chief, who requested the appointment of new Trustees for the Pamunkeys.

An 1863 map of King William County by a Confederate cartographer included the Pamunkey Indian Town and shows the presence of several streets and three structures within the nominated acreage. At the southern limit of the Pamunkey land the residence of a Langston family is identified. About 1862, four Union cartographers sketched the terrain in detail and labelled the Indian Town. The upper limit of the Pamunkey property is shown as being traversed by the tracks of the Richmond and York River Railroad (Figures 3, 11, and 12).

In 1893 when J.G. Pollard of the United States Bureau of Ethnology visited the Pamunkey Indian Reservation, he assessed the population at approximately 100 persons, 90 of whom were residential. Pollard noted that all of the houses in the Pamunkey Town were weatherboarded and one and one-half stories high, consisting of one to four rooms. A Baptist church supported by the tribe constituted the most substantial structure on the reservation. Pollard stated that the Pamunkeys' native crafts had died out and that no artisans were present on the reservation at that time.

In 1893, as in colonial times, the Pamunkey tribe was exempt from taxation and paid an annual symbolic tribute to the Governor, a tradition which is maintained in 1980. The Pamunkeys are governed by an elected Chief and Council, under the supervision of Trustees appointed by the State. Two twentieth century studies have been done on the Pamunkey Indians, one by Frank G. Speck in 1928 and the other by Helen C. Rountree in 1972.

Certain family surnames still survive among the Pamunkey tribe, notable those of the Cook and Langston families, who are mentioned in the eighteenth century documentary record. Other surnames present on the reservation in 1980 include Miles, Bradley, Bradby, Collins and Page. At present, 67 individuals reside on the Pamunkey Reservation, with approximately 1,000 additional persons living elsewhere but still associated with the tribal lands. Chief Tecumseh Cook is presiding Chief of the Pamunkey Indian Nation.

(See Continuation Sheet #12)

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Thirty buildings are present of the Pamunkey Indian Reservation in 1980, twenty-six modern dwellings, a ca. 1865 church, and four other modern buildings which house an exhibition of Pamunkey Indian artifacts and the tribal archives, a craft center, pottery house, and a schoolhouse (Figures 13 and 14).

In 1977, 1978 and 1979, Catholic University in association with the Pamunkey Indian Nation, conducted a program in experimental living on the Pamunkey Reservation. Students of anthropology and modernday Pamunkey Indians explored together the primitive technologies used by Late Woodland Period Pamunkeys to manufacture stone tools and pottery. As well, Late Woodland agricultural practices and house-building techniques were researched and put into practical applications, thereby enabling the Pamunkey Indians themselves to rediscover their native crafts and lifeways, which they can, in turn, share with the American public.

Inclusion of the Pamunkey Indian Reservation Archaeological District in the National Register of Historic Places would assure the preservation of at least 7,000 years of American aboriginal culture and officially recognize the home territory of the Pamunkey Indians. Scientific excavation of the archaeological sites within the nominated acreage could yield unique research data on many aspects of Pamunkey life both before and after European contact. Specifically, the cultural evolution and adaptation of the Pamunkey Indians and their ancestors could be traced, thereby providing knowledge on numerous facets of Indian life. Areas of research include documenting, through excavation, changes over time among the Pamunkey and their predecessors regarding subsistence, technology, socio-political/religious organization, and settlement patterns. Because of the Pamunkey Indians' prime importance within the Powhatan Chiefdom, excavation of the Pamunkey Indian Reservation sites could provide invaluable information on the development of that larger hierarchical group of Late Woodland Indians, research data which would be of both regional and national importance. Similarly, the archaeological district serves as an ideal location to document changes in Pamunkey life resulting from contact with European society from the seventeenth to the twentieth century A.D.

(See Continuation Sheet #13 for Footnotes).

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**United States Department of the Interior  
Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service**

**National Register of Historic Places  
Inventory—Nomination Form**

Pamunkey Indian Reservation Archaeological District, King William  
County, Virginia

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10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA (cont.)

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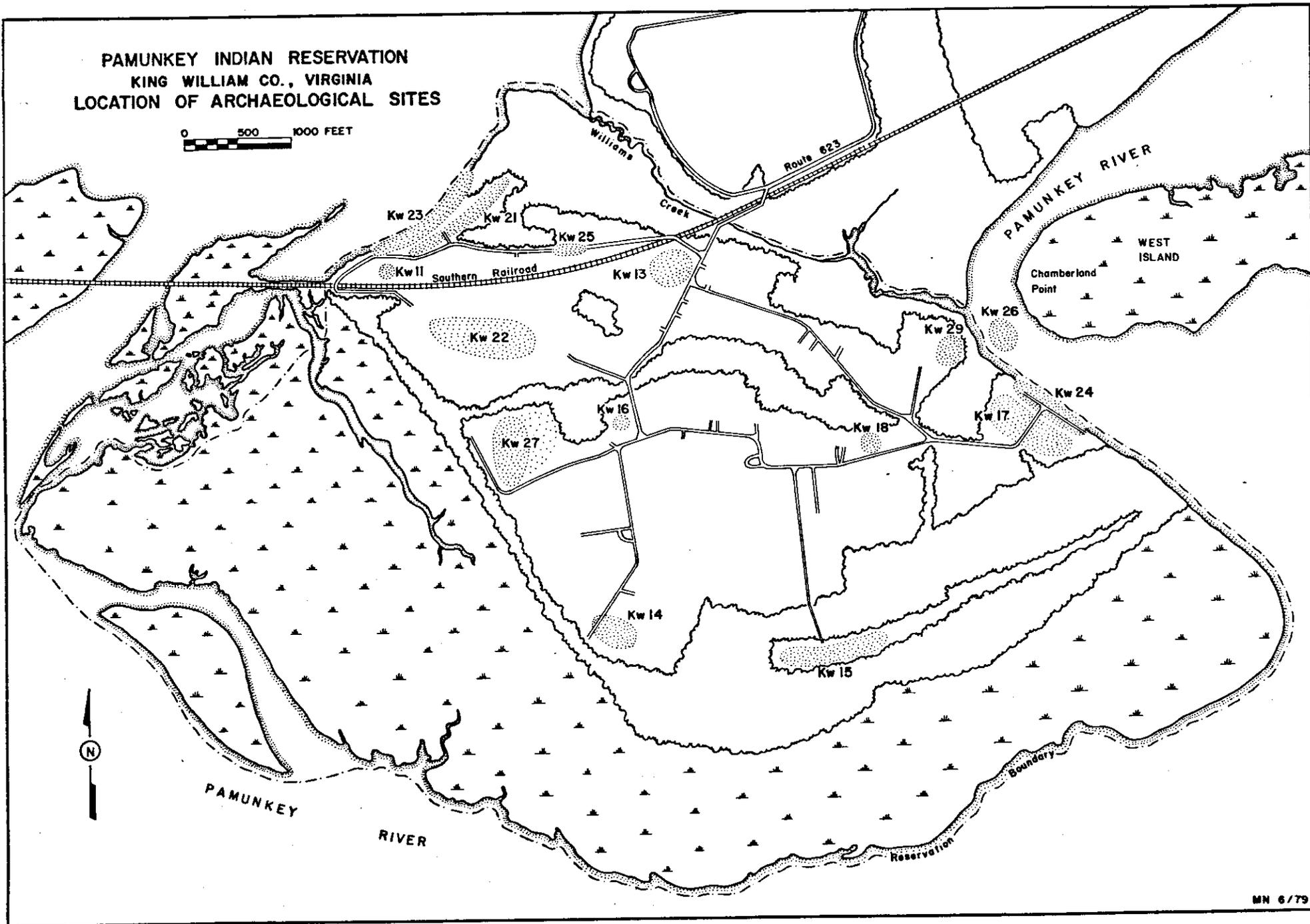
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PAMUNKEY INDIAN RESERVATION  
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LOCATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

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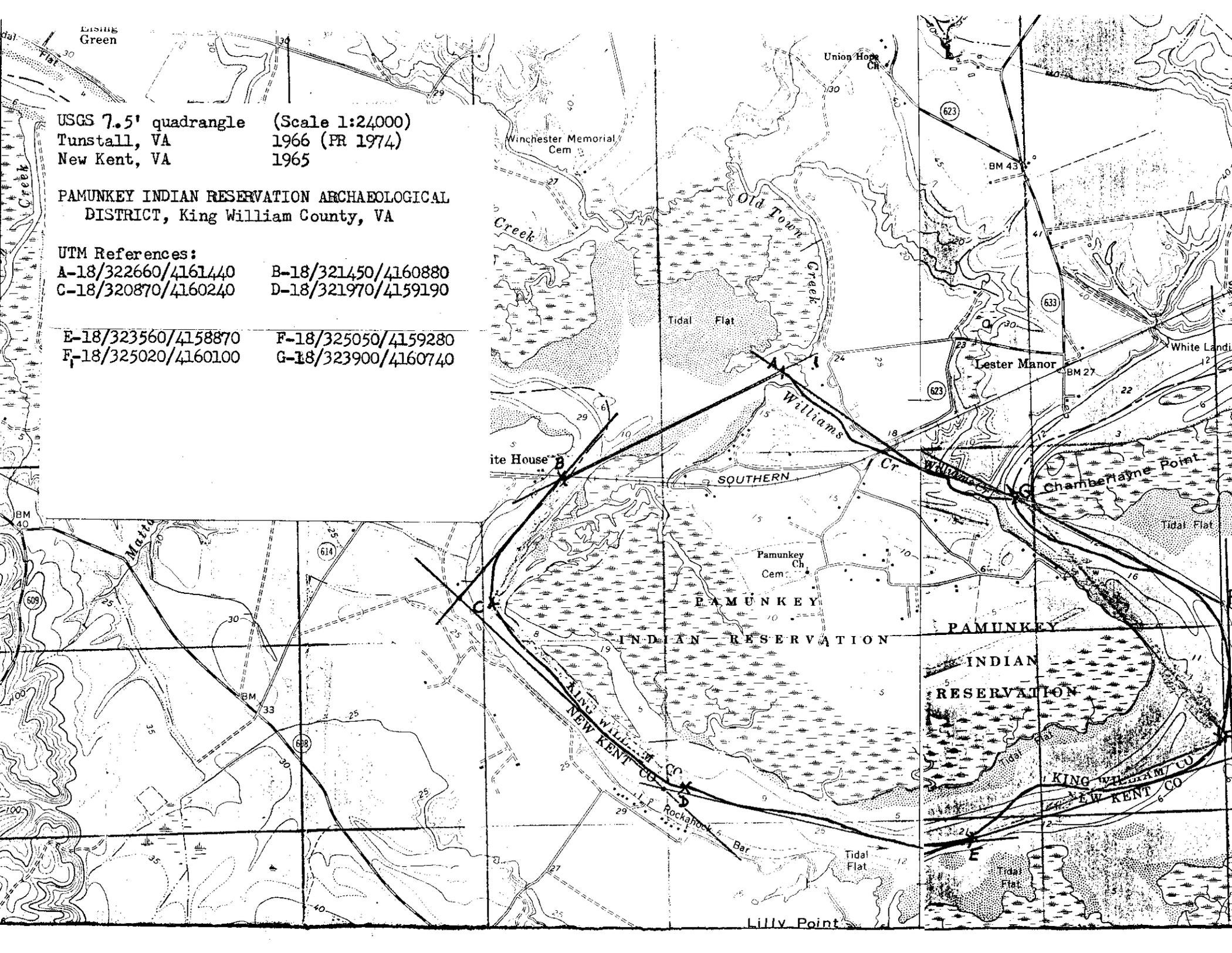
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Tunstall, VA 1966 (PR 1974)  
New Kent, VA 1965

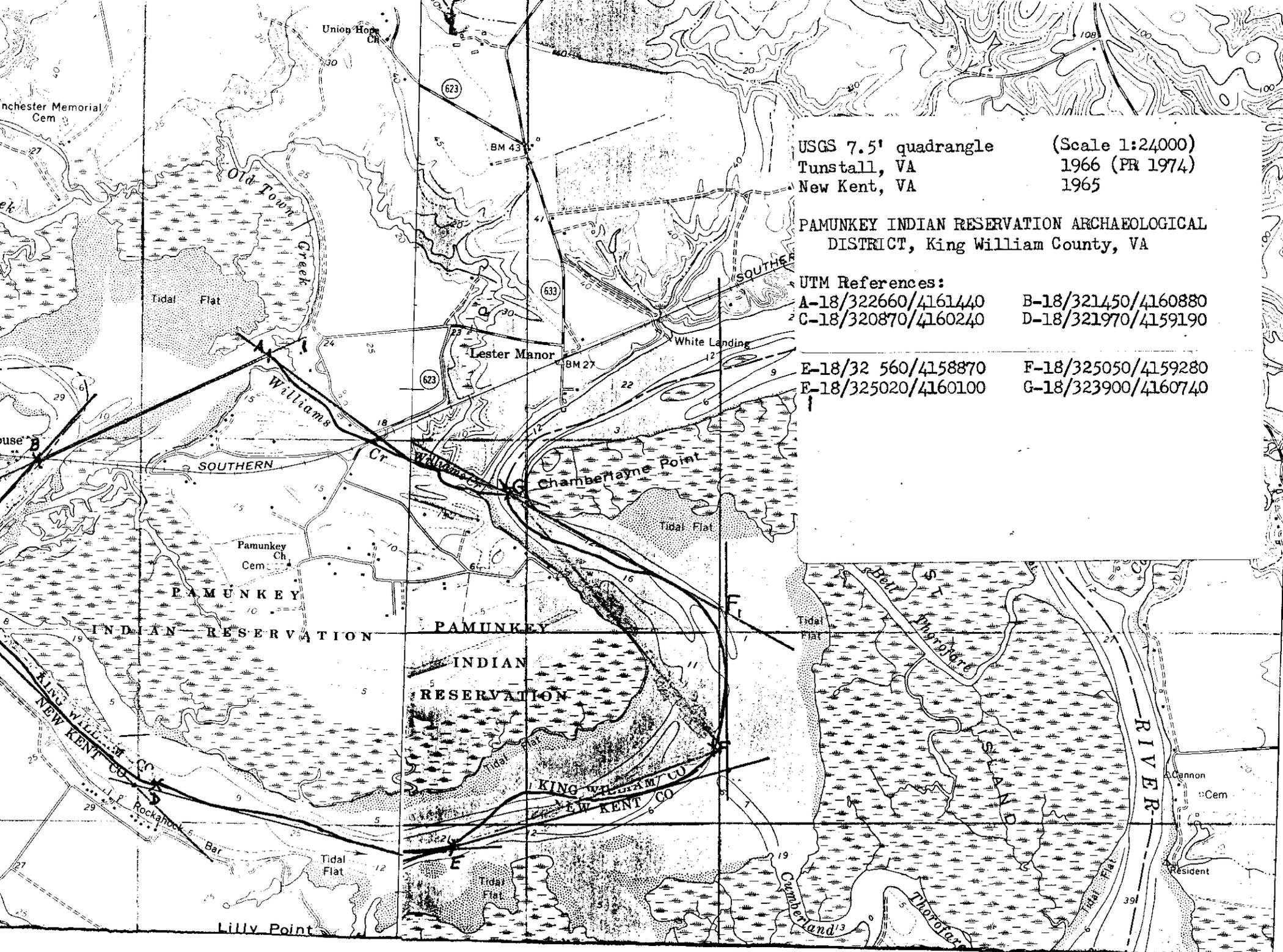
PAMUNKEY INDIAN RESERVATION ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
DISTRICT, King William County, VA

UTM References:

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C-18/320870/4160240 D-18/321970/4159190

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USGS 7.5' quadrangle (Scale 1:24000)  
Tunstall, VA 1966 (PR 1974)  
New Kent, VA 1965

PAMUNKEY INDIAN RESERVATION ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISTRICT, King William County, VA

UTM References:  
A-18/322660/4161440 B-18/321450/4160880  
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