

# Mattaponi Indian Reservation King William County, Virginia

## *Heritage Properties of Indian Town: The Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church, School, and Homes of Chiefly Lineages*



October 2017

College of William & Mary  
Department of Anthropology  
Williamsburg, Virginia  
Anthropological Research Report Series  
Number 7



Commonwealth of Virginia  
Department of Historic Resources  
Richmond, Virginia  
Research Report Series  
Number 23



PAGE IS INTENTIONALLY BLANK

# Mattaponi Indian Reservation King William County, Virginia

## *Heritage Properties of Indian Town: The Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church, School, and Homes of Chiefly Lineages*

### Authors

Buck Woodard, Ph.D., Co-Principal Investigator  
Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, Ph.D., Co-Principal Investigator

### Contributors

Martha McCartney  
Megan Victor, MA  
Nicholas Belluzzo, MA

College of William & Mary  
Department of Anthropology  
Williamsburg, Virginia  
Anthropological Research Report Series  
Number 7

Commonwealth of Virginia  
Department of Historic Resources  
Richmond, Virginia  
Research Report Series  
Number 23

This material is based upon work assisted by a grant from the Underrepresented Communities Grant Program administered by the Department of the Interior, National Park Service. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of the Interior.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY	9–12
<i>Methodology</i>	
<i>Field Visits to the Mattaponi Indian Reservation</i>	
<i>Civic-Engagement and Ethnography</i>	
<i>Archival and Historical Research</i>	
II. THE MATTAPONI INDIANS' EARLY HISTORY (BY MARTHA MCCARTNEY)	15–23
<i>Early European Contact</i>	
<i>The Mattaponi Indians' Territory, 1607-1610</i>	
<i>The Spread of Settlement</i>	
<i>Expansion and Exclusion</i>	
<i>The 1646 Articles of Peace</i>	
<i>The Creation of Tribal Reserves</i>	
<i>The Mattaponi Make a Treaty</i>	
<i>Changes in English Policy</i>	
<i>Native Land Sales</i>	
<i>Bacon's Rebellion and the Treaty of Middle Plantation</i>	
<i>Competition for Land</i>	
III. INDIAN TOWN AND COUNTRY: NATIVE PLACEMAKING AND SETTLEMENTS	27–32
IV. LIFEWAYS ON THE MATTAPONI AND PAMUNKEY, c.1700-1800	33–43
<i>Colonial-Era Native Dress</i>	
<i>Participation in the Market Economy</i>	
<i>Early Education and Christianity</i>	
V. MATTAPONI TOWN, c.1800-1900	45–66
<i>The Early Republic and Antebellum Era Settlement</i>	
<i>The American Civil War and Reconstruction</i>	
<i>Mattaponi Town at the End of the Nineteenth Century</i>	
VI. MATTAPONI CHIEFS, INDIAN SCHOOL, AND INDIAN BAPTIST CHURCH, c.1880-1980	67–86
<i>Chiefs and Headmen</i>	
<i>Heritage Properties of Community and Chiefly Lineages, c.1880-1950</i>	
<i>The Allmond House</i>	
<i>The Langston House</i>	
<i>The King-Custalow House</i>	
<i>The O.T. Custalow House</i>	
<i>The Curtis Custalow House</i>	
<i>Mattaponi Education and Religion: Churches and Schools, c.1917-1966</i>	
<i>The Mattaponi Indian School</i>	
<i>The Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church</i>	
VII. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	87–88
WORKS CITED	89–101
APPENDIX I: HISTORICAL MATERIALS AND FIELDWORK PHOTOS	103–135
APPENDIX II: MATTAPONI HISTORIC DISTRICT SURVEY	137–154



## CHAPTER ONE

---

### INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

The oral history of the Mattaponi people and the documentary record of the Mattaponi Indian Reservation identify multiple historically significant heritage properties that reflect broad patterns of Native American history within the Commonwealth of Virginia. Surrounded by the Mattaponi River and King William County, the Mattaponi Indian Reservation is home to Algonquian descendants of Tidewater's indigenous peoples and is one of only two extant Native settlements that have been continuously occupied since colonial times. The reservation's hamlet, historically called Indian Town, is the location of the community's Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church, their former Indian School, and the residences of the tribe's chiefly lineages. Through the National Park Service's Underrepresented Communities Grant Program, and in collaboration with the state-recognized<sup>1</sup> Mattaponi Indian Tribe, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources [DHR] seeks to identify, research, and nominate minority populations' historically significant locales to the state and national registry of historic places. The DHR project *Continuity Within Change: Virginia Indians National Register Project* moves that effort forward, through an archival, ethnographic, and oral history investigation of the Mattaponi people, with attention to the tribe's historic church and school, and the pre-1950 residences of their tribal membership, including those of their chiefly lineages. This study, conducted by the Department of Anthropology's American Indian Resource Center at the College of William & Mary, provides the supporting materials necessary for nominating historical Mattaponi heritage properties to the National Register of Historic

Places. The activity that is the subject of this report has been financed in part with federal funds from the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior, nor does the mention of trade names or commercial products constitute endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior.

Special thanks and recognition are in order for the Mattaponi Tribe, who completed a 2016 Memorandum of Understanding [MOU] with DHR in advance of the conducted research. Mattaponi Chief Mark T. Custalow, Assistant Chief Leon Custalow, and Julie V. Langan, State Historic Preservation Officer and Director, Virginia Department of Historic Resources were signatories to the agreement. Mattaponi Tribal Reviewers Brandon Custalow, Mark T. Custalow, and Denise Custalow Davis offered guidance on the research report, with Councilman Brandon Custalow acting as liaison for the project. Formal and informal individual and group interviews and commentary, included members listed above, as well as Christine Custalow, George W. Custalow, J.V. Custalow, Peggy Custalow, Mark Custalow, and Susie Custalow. Other members of the broader community, including Debbie Cook, Cynthia Allmond Dunne, Lois Tupponce, and Sheereen Waterlily, provided commentary on select family histories and photographs. They are thanked for their contributions and service, and through verbal agreement and MOU, agreeing to share the oral history of the Mattaponi people.

---

<sup>1</sup> In 1983 The Virginia Legislature passed Joint Resolution 54, extending "state-recognition" to six tribes within the Commonwealth, which included the Mattaponi. However, through the tributary system, Virginia has acknowledged the Mattaponi tribe's reservation lands and governing body since colonial times. The 1983 legislative recognition has remained a contentious topic for contemporary Mattaponi leaders, as their reservation land and annual tribute to the government of Virginia asserts their continuing sovereignty and treaty status.

The Mattaponi are indigenous to the tide-water coastal plain of Virginia, and closely related to the region's other Algonquian speakers, including the neighboring Chickahominy, Nansemond, Pamunkey, Patawomeke, and Rappahannock. In historical documents the community's name appears in several forms, including "Mattapanient," "Mattapony" and "Mattaponie," etc. The contemporary spelling of the name "Mattaponi" has been in standard usage for over a hundred years, both for the name of the community and the river. Collectively, the Algonquian speakers of the Chesapeake have been referred to in the historical literature and by scholars as the "Powhatan," based on the seventeenth-century chiefdom of which many of them were a part. As an outcome, confusion can exist about the use of multiple terms to describe the Natives of the tide-water; the Mattaponi and Pamunkey are both "Powhatan," and both riverine communities are "Algonquians." It is evident from the historical record that the Mattaponi and Pamunkey riverine communities formed the polity known as the Powhatan chiefdom, alongside communities living on the upper James [Powhatan] River. However, chiefly lineages from Pamunkey were in power during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which was the state of affairs when the English established a permanent settlement at Jamestown.

After intermittent contact with Algonquians of the region c.1584-1605, English entrepreneurs and adventurers invaded the territory in 1607, founding the settlement of Jamestown and the colony of Virginia. For the next seventy-five years the indigenous population engaged in warfare, trade, and treaty making with the English. The Pamunkey, on behalf of the "Powhatan" chiefdom, along with the Nansemond, Nottoway, and Weyanoke, were signatories of the 1677 *Articles of Peace* negotiated at the Camp of Middle Plantation, later established as the colonial capital of Williamsburg. Through the articles in the agreement, the Queen of the Pamunkey and "severall scattered nations of Indians... under her subjection" became "tributary" to the English king – a quasi-alliance – that forced the Pamunkey and other indigenous polities to acknowledge the dominion of the Crown, but confirmed

Indian governments and territories as dependent sovereigns. As stipulated in this and earlier treaties, the Pamunkey and "severall scattered nations" under them were granted lands to inhabit within "Pamunkey Neck" between the Mattaponi and Pamunkey rivers. These communities established multiple "Indian Towns" within the confines of this geography, including settlements on the Mattaponi River.

As with other nearby Native communities, the Mattaponi River "Indian Town" became engaged in the agricultural cycles of the region and fully invested in the mercantile economy. Like the Indian settlements on the Pamunkey River, the Mattaponi River Indians became primarily market-based watermen and farmers and developed a rural lifeway similar to that of their non-Native neighbors. By the nineteenth century, corn and fish were the major Mattaponi staples, alongside the adoption of animal husbandry. Christianity became a part of community life in the eighteenth century, and eventually developed into an affiliation with the Baptist Church. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Virginia funded separate schooling for the Mattaponi Indians, and upheld their tributary status and reservation lands alongside the Pamunkey. Fishing and hunting rights, exemption from taxation and military draft, separate racial classification as Indians, and free schooling were all issues bitterly fought for by Mattaponi tribal leaders in the twentieth century. With increased urban migration after World War II, and desegregation in the 1960s, socio-political and socio-economic shifts impacted aspects of Mattaponi life. The move away from fishing and farming to wage-labor jobs, increased education, the rise in American Indian activism, and the correlated availability of state and federal services, completely shifted the community's political economy by 1980. The Mattaponi Indian Reservation's historical resources represent the broad patterns of Native American history within the Commonwealth of Virginia, and as such are heritage properties of both the Mattaponi people and the citizens of Virginia.

The Underrepresented Communities grant *Continuity Within Change: Virginia Indians National Register Project*, aims to research and include the Mat-

taponi Indian Reservation within the recognized places of cultural and historical significance to the Commonwealth of Virginia. The *Mattaponi Heritage Properties* study is the only Virginia state-sponsored ethnographic research conducted on reservation architectural resources within the Commonwealth to date. As there have been limited anthropological or historical investigations of Virginia Indians beyond the seventeenth century, the *Continuity Within Change* project adds significant knowledge to our understanding of an overlooked and underrepresented period of Virginia Indian culture and history.

## METHODOLOGY

Today, the Mattaponi Indian Reservation is a living community, with multiple primary residences, shared use areas, and contemporary spaces. It is also a location of archaeological sites, architectural and heritage resources, and an historic Indian cemetery at Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church [both still in use]. On the reservation, Mattaponi living memory – or oral history – connects multiple families, events, and places. Family homes, the community church and cemetery, the former Indian school, the riverfront landing and shad hatchery are all heritage properties of the Mattaponi people. Archival materials available from the Library of Virginia, King William County, and other repositories document the colonial and more recent past. Previous ethnographic fieldwork and historical inquiry adds much to the portrayal of the Mattaponi community from the decades and centuries past. Thus the research approach employed multiple methodologies to establish the heritage resources of the reservation and to make clear historical linkages of the properties to the Mattaponi community:

- Ethnographic field visits to multiple properties on the Mattaponi Indian Reservation
- Ethnographic interviews and oral history collection from the tribal community
- Archival research at multiple repositories
- Extensive review of the existing literature on the Mattaponi

## *Field Visits to Mattaponi Heritage Properties*

The Mattaponi Indian Reservation has never received a complete archaeological survey of its historical cultural resources. Architectural properties and sites within the Mattaponi Indian Town are identified, and recorded with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources [DHR] under historic district number 050-5092. Sites contributing to the proposed National Register Historic District include:

- The Allmond House  
DHR 050-0105 (Figure 1)
- The Curtis Custalow House  
DHR 050-0107 (Figure 2)
- The King-Custalow House  
DHR 050-5074 (Figure 3)
- The Langston House  
DHR 050-5092-0014 (Figure 4)
- The O.T. Custalow House  
DHR 050-0109 (Figure 5)
- The Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church  
DHR 050-5075 (Figure 6)
- The Mattaponi Indian School  
DHR 050-0106 (Figure 7)

Field visits with community members allowed for guided tours of the historical and cultural landscape, and the collection of multiple cognitive maps of the Mattaponi Reservation environment (Figure 8). Through this methodology, multiple cultural resources of the community were identified, including historical Indian home sites [archaeological and standing] and former church and school locations [archaeological]. These sites were in addition to the tribe's current Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church and cemetery, and council house / former Indian school. Combined, these resources create a matrix of heritage locations, sites of practice, and lived experiences of Indian families of the Mattaponi Indian Reservation. Informal interviews, attendance and observation of social and civic functions, site orientation, and visual surveys were part of this methodology. One task for the potential NRHP and DHR site listings was to accurately identify the



Figure 1. The Allmond House, c.1880.



Figure 2. The Curtis Custalow House, 1947.



Figure 3. The King-Custalow House, c.1900-1925.



Figure 4. The Langston House, c.1900-1920.



Figure 5. The O.T. Custalow House, c.1915 (left) and the O.T. Custalow Radio House, c.1930-1946 (right).



Figure 6. The Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church, 1935

multiple properties associated with the reservation, their general boundaries through GIS identification, and the potential for future research.

There are multiple contemporary stakeholders associated with the Mattaponi heritage properties. The Mattaponi Tribe controls the church, associated cemeteries [active], and former Indian school [now council house]. Individual tribal members own the residential structures, but the tribe collectively “owns” the allotments, as well as the reservation landing area and shad hatchery.

#### *Civic-Engagement and Ethnography*

Today, there are two Indian reservations within Virginia, one on the Mattaponi River recognized by the Commonwealth of Virginia as the Mattaponi Indian Reservation, the other on the Pamunkey River recognized by the U.S. government. Both of the communities are heavily intermarried and related through extended families. Mattaponi tribal members retain direct memories of the heritage properties described herein, and the community’s relationship to the historical leaders of the Mattaponi settlement is well documented. The Mattaponi and DHR entered into a Memorandum of Understanding prior to the ethnographic and archival investigations, and the Mattaponi are commentators and reviewers of the research report.



Figure 7. The Mattaponi School House, 1929

The civic engagement with the Mattaponi community has informed the project’s methodologies, which have been conducted to the highest ethical standards of anthropological research. As such, all principal investigators and graduate student researchers completed extensive training and updated state-certified credentials [2015, 2016-2018] for working with human subjects through the Collaborate Institutional Training Initiative [CITI]. Within the report, three bodies of late twentieth-century and early twenty-first century ethnographic data contain the memories of the Mattaponi people: the published works of Dr. Helen C. Rountree [cited as Rountree 1990], Rountree’s field notes and correspondence at the National Anthropological Archives [cited as HCR Papers], and the 2016-2017 field notes of Dr. Buck Woodard and senior graduate students Megan Victor, MA and Nick Belluzzo, MA [cited as Woodard Field Notes]. Earlier bodies of data from Albert Gatschet, James Mooney, and Frank G. Speck were also consulted, and these documents date prior to the Second World War.

Field interviews and observations by Woodard, Victor, and Belluzzo were conducted under Mattaponi verbal agreement and the MOU secured by DHR. Interviews were conducted in person, by phone, and by email. Interviews were both formal and informal, and engaged in one-on-one and group settings. In all of the ethnographic citations for the



Figure 8. 2016-2017 Fieldwork with Mattaponi reservation community members: Virginia Department of Historic Resource's Mark Wagner (left) with tribal reviewers Brandon Custalow, Chief Mark Custalow, and Denise Davis; George Wahunsenacock Custalow (right) reflecting at the O.T. Custalow House.

Mattaponi *Heritage Properties* report, most of the names of the quoted Mattaponi interlocutors have been withheld for privacy, and for clarity of the data presented. In cases where the historical data are older than seventy years and in public record, such as census schedules and courthouse documents, direct names have been used where appropriate. However, some individuals are mentioned in the document, particularly concerning the Mattaponi Indian School prior to 1966, and these conservative uses are deemed acceptable.

#### *Archival and Historical Research*

Documentary records pertaining to the Mattaponi require varying degrees of interpretation, and many documents need historical context to explain the absence or presence of some types of historical evidence. Of the extant materials, the Pamunkey dominance of the former Powhatan Chiefdom and the Pamunkey's central role in the colonial-era diplomacy with the English create an historiographical situation whereby the Pamunkey appear more often in the records than any of the other tributary Algonquians. The English, and later the British, also had a preference for dealing with as few Native leaders as possible, and thus supported the Pamunkey speaking on behalf of other Native constituents. So too, the Virginia shorthand for the Indians living on the upper York River called all

Native peoples settled within Pamunkey Neck "Pamunkey," even while describing multiple Indian inhabitations on the Mattaponi and Pamunkey rivers. Thus historical records of the eighteenth and nineteenth century tend to emphasize the Pamunkey over other tribal names, and the Mattaponi are mentioned almost always in reference to the Pamunkey. Further, during the mid-nineteenth century the railroad came through Pamunkey Neck, with a stop at Lester Manor – just outside of the Pamunkey Reservation – and therefore White travellers and local Virginians more often encountered the Pamunkey rather than the more isolated Mattaponi (Map 1).

During more recent times, the Jim Crow-era Virginia Registrar of Vital Statistics, Walter A. Plecker, ushered in a period of great hostility toward Virginia's Indian reservations, leading a campaign to strip reserve residents of their indigenous rights and classify them as "colored" on multiple official records. Under Virginia's 1924 Racial Integrity Act, Plecker's binary state created only White and "Negro" categories, with a consequence of limited maneuverability for the Commonwealth's Native people. Thus, some residents removed from Virginia to northern cities such as Philadelphia and New York, which were less restrictive racial environments. As a consequence, some demographic and vital records pertaining to the Mattaponi may be found in Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia, rather than Virginia.



Map 1. Detail of Benjamin Lewis Blackford's map of King William County, c.1865; north is top. White House, and the railway line adjacent to Pamunkey "Indian Town," is at the bottom of the page; Fraser's Ferry and Indian Town on the Mattaponi are top right. Source: Library of Congress

Of those documents found in Virginia during the post-Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras, racial categories can betray the Mattaponi identity of their subjects. While not fully discussed in this document, an overview of the era of Racial Integrity and the impact of the Eugenics Movement on Virginia Indians can be found in Moretti-Langholtz (1998).

For this report, research of historical records and more recent public documents was conducted at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Rockefeller Library, the Library of Virginia, the National Anthropological Archives, Swem Library at the College of William & Mary, the University of Richmond's Boatwright Memorial Library, and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. Historical sources from the colonial era, the early Republic, Antebellum, and Reconstruction eras are located in Executive Papers, Federal Census records, King William County Legislative Petitions, Marriage Registers, Virginia State Papers and Statutes, among others. Many individual names from King William's Native-related community can be found among the records of Colossee Baptist Church, formerly Lower College Baptist Church, at the Boatwright Library. Noteworthy records of the Mattaponi relationship to the twentieth-century government of Virginia can be found in the Indian School Files, 1936-1967, from the Virginia Department of Education, housed in the Library of Virginia. Another productive source for infor-

mation regarding the tribe's nineteenth- and twentieth-century public affairs was historical newspaper databases, available through Swem Library. Tribal sources for documents included private collections from the Mattaponi Indian Museum and the Mini-Ha-Ha Education Center. Additional archival materials were checked and reviewed from digital sources at [www.Ancestry.com](http://www.Ancestry.com) and [www.FamilySearch.org](http://www.FamilySearch.org).

Of the secondary sources, previous work consulted included Feest (1978), McCartney (1984, 2005, 2006), and Rountree (1986, 1990) on Mattaponi ethnohistory of the seventeenth through the mid-twentieth centuries. Other discussions of colonial-era Native activity and occupancy included Gallivan (2016), Gleach (1997), and Moretti-Langholtz (2005). The Bureau of Indian Affairs' Office of Federal Acknowledgment's 2015 release of their proposed findings on the Pamunkey Tribe's petition for federal recognition was sourced for nineteenth-century research and narrative (cited as Pamunkey PF 2015). Vernon (1998) highlighted an important nineteenth-century Mattaponi document, as well as provided some contextual background. Ethnographic data were drawn from Gatschet (c.1893), Mooney (1907), Pollard (1894), Rountree (1990), Sams (1916), and Speck (1928). Rountree (1990) remains the most comprehensive inventory for Mattaponi documentary records.

## CHAPTER TWO

---

### THE MATTAPONI INDIANS' EARLY HISTORY MARTHA MCCARTNEY

#### *Early European Contact*

In 1607 when the English established a permanent settlement on Jamestown Island, Tidewater Virginia's Native population was under the sway of Wahunsenacock or Powhatan, a chief who governed his people in a manner Captain John Smith described as monarchical. Powhatan lived at Werowocomoco, on the north side of the York River, at Purtan Bay (Barbour I:146-148). Most scholars agree that the Powhatan Chiefdom took form during the 1570s, when Powhatan inherited the right to lead six or more populated territories within a vast region that extended from the fall line of the James River, north-northeast to the York River. By the close of 1608 Powhatan had expanded his territory and brought under his control almost all of the simple chiefdoms or districts located within Virginia's coastal plain, with significant influence as far north as the lower bank of the Potomac River (Barbour II:126; Potter 2006:219; Rountree 1990:10-11). The University of Arkansas' study of tree-ring data from a bald cypress near Jamestown Island reveals that the first European colonists arrived during a period of severe drought that lasted from 1606 to 1612: the driest period in 770 years. Conditions were particularly severe in eastern Virginia. Drought conditions would have created a crisis for both Natives and colonists, because plant materials would not have been readily available for subsistence. That deficit, in turn, would have affected the availability of game animals and fish, and water quality would have been at its poorest. Thus, when the first Virginia colonists arrived, the Natives they encountered would have experienced a bad crop year and almost certainly were dealing with food shortages (Stahl et al. 1998:566).

In fact, when Captain John Smith ventured into the territories of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi, demanding corn, "the people imparted that little they had, with such complaints and teares from the eyes of women and children" that anyone would have been moved by compassion (Barbour II:205).

In December 1607 several Native communities, including Mattapanient or Mattaponi River townsmen, were hunting together when they captured Captain John Smith near the head of the Chickahominy River. They led him to Orapaks and then took him to several Native settlements, venturing as far north as the Potomac River. One of the habitations they visited was a town of the Mattaponi territory. Ultimately, the Indians took Smith to Powhatan at Werowocomoco (Barbour I:21, 91; II:146-150, 166-167).

Captain Smith, when describing Virginia's indigenous peoples and territories, indicated that the Mattaponi region was a district Powhatan inherited during the late sixteenth century and identified their tributary village as Mattapanient. In 1607 Gabriel Archer identified the headman as the "king of Matapoll" whereas William Strachey said that his name was Werowough and noted that his territory, Mattapanient, was located in the upper reaches of the Pamunkey [later, York] River. Strachey surmised that Werowough had 140 warriors under his command, but Captain Smith claimed that the Mattaponi had only 30 fighting men. Rountree and colleagues have concluded that the Mattaponi, as a collective group, had eight settlements and approximately 360 residents (Barbour I:147, 173; II:104, 256; Haile 1998:117, 615, 628; Potter 2006:218-219; Rountree 1990:10-11; Rountree et al. 2007:173).

*The Mattaponi Indians' Territory, 1607-1610*

When English explorers under the direction of Captain Christopher Newport sailed up the York River in 1608, they made note of the sites at which Native Americans were living. They also observed that the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Indians' territory was in the vicinity of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers (Barbour I:146-148). Although the schematic charts prepared by Robert Tindall [Tyndall] (1608), Velasco (1610), and Zuniga (1608) indicate that numerous Indian villages were located along the York, Pamunkey, and Mattaponi Rivers, it is Captain John Smith's (1610) more topographically sensitive rendering that provides the most detailed coverage of Eastern Virginia. Smith used a sketch of an Indian longhouse to identify the site of what he called a "king's seat" or chief's village and a circle to symbolize what he categorized as "ordinary howses" or less important towns. When the Indian communities shown on the Smith map (1610) are compared with topographic quadrangle sheets, it is possible to discern their approximate locations.

Captain Smith identified three Indian towns on the upper side of the Mattaponi River, within what by 1691 had become King and Queen County. Moving inland from the Mattaponi River's junction with the York, Smith identified the site of Mamanassy, which was located on the upper side of the Mattaponi River, near contemporary Brookshire. Zuniga (1608), on the other hand, called the village site Mamanast. Upstream and also on the upper side of the Mattaponi River was Matchutt, which was located between the mouths of modern-day Heartquake and Old Mill Creeks. Another town depicted on the upper side of the river was Muttamussensack, which was located near Rickahock. Velasco called this same settlement Muttamussensack and indicated farther upstream was Amacaucock. Further inland and just above contemporary Walkerton was a village that Smith called Utenstank and Velasco called Utcustank. The Zuniga Map (1608) shows an additional settlement on the upper side of the Mattaponi River in King and Queen County, Quacohamaock, which Smith called Quackcohowaon and indicated it was on the lower side of the river.

Smith's map (1610) suggests that much of the countryside on the lower shores of the Mattaponi River, between the river's mouth and contemporary White Bank, in what is now King William County, was devoid of Native settlements, perhaps because he was unable to see them from the river. However, moving upstream he identified the site of Quackcohowaon, which appears to have been located near modern-day Peavine Island and Horse Landing, just below Walkerton. In 1694 when the Chickahominy Indians asked the Virginia government's permission to move to Quaynohomock, they described it as a place on the lower side of the Mattaponi River that formerly had been theirs (McIlwaine 1925-1945 I:320). Further west, according to Smith's map, was the village called Myghtuckpassu. It was situated on the lower side of the Mattaponi River, across from the mouth of what is today London Swamp and just west of White Bank. Further upstream was Passaunkack, located west of the contemporary community of Aylett. By 1677 a Chickahominy Indian town was located in this vicinity, a village that in 1698 was described as being located between the two Herring Creeks, probably the streams now known as Aylett and Herring/Dorrell Creeks (McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1695-1702:349, 358; Nugent III:76; Story 1747:162-163). Between Passaunkack and Utcustank was a village that Smith identified symbolically but failed to name. In 1698 when the Quaker missionary Thomas Story visited the Chickahominy Indians' town, he said that it consisted of "about eleven Wigwams, or Houses, made of the Bark of Trees, and contained so many Families." Story would have stopped at the Indian village that was between the two Herring Creeks (Story 1747:162). Perhaps significantly, none of the Indian villages Smith and his contemporaries showed on the Mattaponi River were identified as a king's seat.

*The Spread of Settlement*

During the first quarter of the seventeenth century Virginia colonists established plantations along the banks of the James River, inland to the fall line, and across the Chesapeake Bay on the Eastern Shore. As the colony's population grew and the

tobacco economy took hold, settlement spread rapidly. This steady encroachment upon Native territory prompted the Indians, then lead by the forceful and charismatic Pamunkey chief Opechancanough, to make a vigorous attempt to drive the European colonists from their soil. Although the 1622 Indian attack decimated an estimated one third of the colony's population, it did little to stem the tide of expanding settlement. Afterward, a more militant attitude emerged on the part of the colonists, who set out to extirpate the Natives by laying waste to their villages and destroying their food supply. In early April 1623, when the Natives made an overture for peace, the colonists agreed, toasting a spurious treaty with a cup of poisoned wine. As 1623 drew to a close, official prodding influenced the colonists to began returning to the outlying plantations they had abandoned. They also continued to press their offensive against the Indians in an attempt to force them into submission (Hening I:140; Kingsbury III:556-557, 652-653, 708-719; IV:37, 221-223, 236-237).

In December 1624 the colony's leaders informed their superiors that the incumbent governor, Sir Francis Wyatt, had gone to the Mattaponi River where "he had hassarded the Starvinge of all those nations." The account of this retaliatory expedition reveals that the main fighting that occurred involved the Pamunkey, who were assisted by other Native groups (Kingsbury IV:508). Retaliatory raids were undertaken against Indians from time to time and in 1626 consideration was given to colonizing Chiskiack, the Native territory on the York River, and to running a palisade across the peninsula. Tensions were high and in April 1627 the governor issued a warning that the Indians were expected to attack at any time (McIlwaine 1924:147).

In April of 1628, when some Indians brought a message to Jamestown from several colonists held captive by the Pamunkey, the governor decided to secure their release while using the opportunity to learn where the Natives were planting their corn. This led to the consummation of a dishonorable peace treaty, an agreement Virginia officials deemed binding only until "ye English

see a fit opportunity to break it." By late January, the settlers had become lax about maintaining their own defenses, and officials thought it advisable to "maintayne enmity and warres with all the Indians of these partes." In March 1629, they apparently found an excuse to break the treaty and when a lone Indian entered the territory seated by the colonists, he was sent home with word that the treaty was being terminated because the Indians had violated the terms. The Indians were now forbidden to enter the colonized area, although emissaries from their "greate King," Opechancanough, could make contact at "the appointed place at Pasbehey," just west of Jamestown Island, if a message was being sent to Virginia's governor (McIlwaine 1924:172, 184-198, 484).

### *Expansion and Exclusion*

In 1629-1630 plans were made to expand the colony's frontier northward into the homeland of the Chiskiack Indians, and to cordon off the lower part of the James-York peninsula, reserving it to the colonists' exclusive use. In February 1633, fifty acres were offered to every man willing to settle along the corridor through which the palisade was to extend and within a month construction got underway (Hening II:208-209). Settlers swarmed into the region, establishing homesteads at Middle Plantation [now known as Williamsburg], the region between the York and Rappahannock rivers, and seated themselves on the lower side of the Piankatank River (Nugent I:239).

As Virginia planters quickly learned that the soil type best suited to the production of sweet scented tobacco occurred along the banks of the colony's major rivers, they rushed to stake claims to land they knew would yield substantial crops. Sweet scented tobacco was the most marketable variety, and therefore the most valuable strain, of colonial Virginia's first cash crop. Settlement soon spread up the lower side of the York River. In 1641, a vast sweep of land on the north side of the York was also opened to settlement, territory that extended northward to the Piankatank River and ran inland to its head. Those who established homesteads with-

in that region were supposed to seat themselves in groups of one hundred or more (Stanard 1902:52-53). The Grand Assembly's minutes for April 1642 make note of "the settling of peace and friendship with the Indians by mutual capitulation," perhaps an indication of the Natives' willingness to tolerate the colonists' presence (Hening I:237). From 1642 on, planters claimed literally thousands of acres of land in the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck, the home of multiple Native groups. They also entered and seated new territory south of the James and to the west, paying little heed to the Native inhabitants (Nugent I:131-132, 135, 149-159, 239, 264, 278).

The Indians of the Powhatan Chiefdom probably watched uneasily as increasing numbers of European colonists ventured into their remaining territory. Despite the 1642 reference to a treaty "of peace with friendship with the Indians," the Natives made a second attempt to drive the colonists from their land. The attack, which occurred on April 18, 1644, claimed the lives of an estimated four hundred to five hundred settlers. Again, Opechancanough was credited with leading the assault. Especially hard hit were those who lived in the upper reaches of the York River and on the lower side of the James River near Hampton Roads. Retaliatory marches were undertaken against specific Native groups, especially the Pamunkey and Chickahominy, and the inhabitants of relatively remote areas were ordered to withdraw to positions of greater safety.

In February 1645, Richard Kemp informed Governor William Berkeley, who was then in England, that during the previous summer, Captain Leonard Calvert of Maryland had taken his ship into the Chickahominy River and helped the colonists attack the Chickahominy Indians in their homeland (McCartney 2000:I:101). Captain William Claiborne, who was convinced that the Indians of the Northern Neck were not involved in the attack, led a large and well-equipped army against the Pamunkey Indians' stronghold in Pamunkey Neck, destroying their villages and cornfields. Afterwards, the Indians withdrew into the forest and disappeared from view. It was in the wake of these attacks that the Chickahominy Indians moved to Pamunkey Neck,

the traditional home of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi, and the Mattaponi withdrew to the upper side of the Mattaponi River.

In October 1644 legislation was enacted that authorized all but those who lived "in places of danger" to go back to their homes. Settlers whose return would place them at risk were allowed to reoccupy their property as long as they had the local military commander's approval and there were at least ten able-bodied men in the group equipped with arms and ammunition. Some people were reluctant to return to their acreage and after a few months the colony's governing officials declared that those who failed to reoccupy their patents would be presumed to have abandoned them. This may have impelled some settlers to return to their homesteads despite fear of being attacked. In February 1645, the colonists continued to press their offensive. Because so few military supplies were on hand and the colonists were unable to procure more, members of the assembly decided to build forts or garrisons in strategic locations along the frontier. These outposts, located near Indian towns, were built for the purpose of maintaining surveillance over the Natives. When a search party sighted Opechancanough, whom they had been sent out to capture dead or alive, Governor Berkeley rallied a party of horsemen and set out in pursuit. The aged Indian leader was captured and brought back to Jamestown. During the summer months the colony's leaders decided that Native warriors, age 11 or more, who had been taken prisoner during Berkeley's expedition against the Indians, were to be loaded into his ship and taken to the "Western Island" (Tangier Island) "to prevent their returning to and strengthening their respective tribes." According to early eighteenth-century historian Robert Beverley, while Opechancanough was incarcerated at Jamestown he was shot in the back by a soldier whose family had perished at the hands of the Indians. It was an inglorious end for a Native emperor whose people accorded him a god-like status, but it also was an important turning point in the colonists' relationship with the Indians of the Virginia Tidewater (Beverley 1947:62; Hening I:285-286, 291-294; McIlwaine 1924:227, 296, 501).

*The 1646 Articles of Peace*

On October 5, 1646, Necotowance, the late Opechancanough's immediate successor, concluded a formal peace agreement with the Virginia government, whose officials promised to protect his people from their enemies. The Indians, in return, agreed to pay an annual tribute to the Crown's representatives, thereby acknowledging their subservient "tributary" status. They also indicated their willingness to allow the colony's governor to appoint or confirm their leaders. This treaty represents an especially significant shift in Euro-Indian power dynamics, and hastened the disintegration of the Powhatan Chiefdom. The treaty's design dismantled the stratified configuration of Native leaders, undermined the authority of the Pamunkey, and scattered the Native population.

Under the terms of the 1646 *Articles of Peace* the tributaries agreed to withdraw from the James-York Peninsula, inland as far as the fall line, and to abandon their territory on the lower side of the James River, down to the Blackwater River. Indians entering the territory ceded to the Virginia government could be lawfully slain, unless they were garbed in "a coate of striped stuff" that official messengers were to wear as a badge of safe passage. All trade with the Indians was to be conducted at specific "checkpoints." Colonists who had seated land on the north side of the York prior to the signing of the treaty were supposed to withdraw from that area. However, they were given until March 1, 1647 to remove or slaughter their cattle and hogs, to fell trees, or cut sedge; that is, the type of marsh grass they could use for thatching roofs or perhaps for making baskets or mats. The treaty also specified that if Virginia's governing officials decided to allow colonists to move into territory east of Poro-potank Creek, the Indians' leaders would be notified. Settlers who disregarded the new policy were to be deemed guilty of a felony.

It is likely that colonists holding patents for land on the north side of the York River were angered by the order to abandon their property. In 1648 a group of planters, who claimed that many

people were being forced to expend their labor "upon barren and overwrought ground" instead of new and fertile soil, asked the Grand Assembly to allow settlement to expand into the vast territory north of the York River. Ultimately the burgesses acquiesced to political pressure and on September 1, 1649, the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck were opened to settlement and colonists swarmed into the territory that the 1646 treaty had reserved for the Natives. This policy change occurred in sync with official abandonment of the military outposts established in 1645 and 1646. Seating requirements were extremely lax and only one acre had to be placed under cultivation and only one house built to substantiate a claim to the new land. Initially patentees were given three years in which to seat their acreage, but after a short while that timeframe was extended to seven years (Hening I:322-327).

*The Creation of Tribal Reserves*

In October 1649, Virginia officials allocated 5,000 acres of land apiece to the leaders of the Pamunkey, the "south" Indians or Weyanock, and the "north" Indians or Chiskiack. Their decision came in response to the Natives' acknowledgement "that the Sovereignty of the land whereon they live doth belong to his most Excelent Majestye." Native leaders' also requested that a "convenient proportion of land may be granted unto them by Patent, whereon they, and their people may Inhabitt" (Billings 1975a:229). However, patents weren't issued and prominent officials had few qualms about claiming the acreage set aside for the Indians.

So great was the pressure upon the Natives to relinquish their land during this period, the Grand Assembly resolved in November 1652 to assign them tracts reserved exclusively for Indian occupancy. Henceforth, no one was supposed to "Intrench or plant upon such places as the Indians claim" without the consent of the governor or the locality's justices (Billings 1975b:73). The burgesses admitted that many complaints involved "wrongs done to the Indians taking away their lands or fforcing them into such Narrow Streights...that they cannot Subsist, either planting or hunting" (Billings

1975b:72). The 1652 law stipulated that the Indians could not sell their land without the Council of State's approval. Settlers who had seated acreage near the Pamunkey and Chickahominy Indians were ordered to abandon it, and Natives were authorized to hunt and gather outside the area ceded to the colonial government in 1646, with the exception of plantations enclosed within fences (Billings 1975b:65-73; Nugent I:239, 264, 278).

Despite these efforts to accommodate the Native population, many officials continued to use the new policy to their own advantage. This led some tributary Indians to begin making use of the colony's legal system, a privilege to which they were entitled under the terms of the 1646 treaty. Just as specific tracts were assigned to the Pamunkey, Chiskiack, and Weyanock, archival records indicate that acreage eventually was allocated to the Mattaponi and at least nine other Native groups. Most of the preserves or reservations lay within the Middle Peninsula or the Northern Neck, although the Nansemond received acreage within their original territory. The Chickahominy were given land in Pamunkey Neck but their acreage seems to have extended across the Mattaponi River. Deeds and patents that refer to the Native preserves' boundary lines suggest strongly that some [if not all] of them were surveyed and physically demarcated (Billings 1975a:65-72; Hening II:34-35, 151-152, 161-162; Lancaster County Orders 1653-1660:125-126; McIlwaine 1924:365, 493, 499, 504, 508, 518; McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1660-1693:11; Nugent III:19; Old Rappahannock County Deeds, Wills, Inventories, &c. II:250).

In 1653 colonists began patenting land in the vicinity of an "ancient Indian ferry" on the Mattaponi River. Land records research suggests strongly that this ferry ran from modern-day Gleasons Marsh in King William County to the immediate vicinity of Davis Beach and the mouth of Grass Creek in King and Queen County, a location that is a relatively short distance downstream from the contemporary Mattaponi Indian Reservation (Nugent I:229, 240, 276, 295). There also may have been a small Native community at Mantapike [Mantpoy-

ick] upstream from the Mattaponi Reservation and on the east side of Mantapike Creek (Patent Book 3:32). Meanwhile, in 1653 Edward Diggs patented a large tract of land that he called the Matapony Fort. His property was adjacent to Pockatamano Run, today a nameless stream on the upper side of the Mattaponi River, just east of Walkerton. In 1665, when the Diggs property was claimed by a successor, he too called it the Matapony Fort (Nugent I:236, 555). In 1656, the assembly voiced its concern that the Indians often failed to cooperate "because of our extreme pressures on them," which "left them with nothing to lose but their lives" (Hening I:393). This statement came at a time when the colony's population growth had begun to soar.

### *The Mattaponi Make a Treaty*

A 1652 law authorized county justices to make peace agreements with their Indian neighbors. In 1657, Tupeisens, the King of the Mattaponi, and his great men, Owmohowtne [or Ownohowtne / Owmohowty], Mennenhcom [or Meimeichcom], Eriopochke [or Eriopohke], and Peponngeis [or Peponugeis], who were then living at the head of Piscataway Creek in Old Rappahannock County, made a treaty with the county's justices. Today, Piscataway Creek lies within the bounds of Essex County. The headmen acknowledged that some of their people had trespassed or stolen livestock and agreed that if any of them did so in the future, they would be tried under English law. In return, county officials promised that if the colonists committed offences against the Mattaponi, they would be given speedy justice. The Mattaponi had the right to hunt and gather outside of the colonists' fenced ground as long as they didn't disturb the settlers' livestock. Beginning in 1656, Indians had to carry passes or "tickets" whenever hunting or foraging within the English settled areas. The Indians also agreed in the 1657 treaty not to harbor fugitives, and if they brought them to the Virginia authorities, they were to be rewarded with an arms' length of roanoke [3-6mm flat shell beads]. On the other hand, if the Indians were to trespass or commit other offences, they were to be brought to the house of Owmohowtne, where they would be tried and made to forfeit some arms' length of

roanoke (Old Rappahannock County Deeds, Wills, Inventories, &c. 1656-1664:28; Stanard 1930:391).

### *Changes in English Policy*

In March of 1658, the Assembly decided to allocate each Indian tribe 50 acres per bowman to be taken as an aggregate and placed a moratorium on patenting until each Native group had been assigned acreage. Four years later, the land allowance was generalized as a three-mile ring around each Indian town. From the colonists' perspective, it was preferable for the Indians to congregate within their preserves, leaving open spaces into which English settlement could expand almost uninhibited. Although the quantity of land the Natives were allowed may have seemed adequate by European standards, it was far less than what was needed for subsistence and restricted their ability to hunt and forage. Colonists seated within three miles of an existing Indian town were supposed to vacate their land unless they could produce legal titles. Those legitimately seated within Native territory were ordered to assist the Indians by enclosing a cornfield large enough to meet the aboriginal community's needs. This preventative measure was intended to keep the settlers' livestock out of Indian gardens. A 1662 law required tributary Indians to wear silver or copper badges inscribed with the name of their town whenever they entered colonized areas. Natives lacking such badges were subject to arrest (Force 1963:I:8:14-15; Hening I:393-396, 415-416, 457; McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1619-1660:75, 94).

### *Native Land Sales*

In March 1662 the Virginia Assembly enacted legislation forbidding Native leaders to sell land without official approval and ordering colonists not to buy their acreage. Special commissioners were supposed to visit each Indian town to "settle the bound between us." The issue of boundary definition was clouded by a multitude of old property transactions, legal and illegal. Although the colony's officials acknowledged that disputes over land were at the root of most disagreements with the Indians, they also realized that the Native population had

dwindled and assumed that their territory eventually would be open to settlement (Hening I:141, 457, 467-468; II:139, 141-143, 151-152, 161-162).

Often, the legality of the patents issued to frontier settlers hinged upon the Indians deserting their land and unscrupulous colonists would drive Native peoples from their homes. Competition for the fertile land occupied by the Chickahominy, Mattaponi, and Pamunkey Indians was particularly keen. However, in some instances, the Indians seem to have eagerly divested themselves of their land. In 1661, for example, the Chickahominy asked for acreage on the lower side of the Mattaponi River, a tract that ran from the land of Phillip Mallory to the head of the Mattaponi River, and extended in a southerly direction into the woods to the land of the Pamunkey. Then, just as soon as the Chickahominy request was granted, they sold nearly 750 acres to Mallory, land that ran "from the cliffs to the little creek." In 1662, on the other hand, one man brazenly "without title or claime, seated himselfe in the Indian towne of Chickahomini" (Hening II:34, 39; McIlwaine 1924:361; McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1660-1693:111, 320, 343; Nugent III:76; Palmer I:22).

The Mattaponi, who by 1657 were living on the upper side of the Mattaponi River at the head of Piscataway Creek, seem to have been able to maintain a good working relationship with the local justices. In 1660 the Mattaponi king and great men testified that their neighbor, Francis Brown, who had patented land near their acreage on Piscataway Creek, had not disturbed them. The meeting was held at the Mattaponi Quiocasin [or mortuary temple], which probably was located on their land (Old Rappahannock County Deeds, Wills, Inventories, &c 1656-1664:111, 142). A year later Brown, James Vaughan, and Thomas Cooper appeared before the justices and agreed to see that the King of the Mattaponi was paid 50 matchcoats for the land in the Indians' "old town." Moreover, Francis Browne, Robert Armstrong, John Burnett, and Jane Vallentine were ordered to pay to Toppyninoun, King of the Mattaponi, six matchcoats in exchange for the "Severall skins taken from the Quiouhise house"

of the Indians (Old Rappahannock County Deeds, Wills, Inventories, &c 1656-1664:249-250). Brown seems to have failed to make payment and in March 1667 he sold Thomas Goodrich the 750 acres that the Indians purportedly had deserted. A year later, Thomas Cooper sold his portion [1,100 acres] of what he called "Old Matapony...part of the Lands formerly & lately the Mattapony Indians did inhabit" to Thomas Goodrich, who was supposed to pay the Indians the matchcoats Brown owed them (Hening II:274-275; Old Rappahannock County Deeds, Wills, Inventories, &c 1656-1664:381-383, 425-426). The Morratico Indians, who were living in close proximity to the Mattaponi at the head of Piscataway Creek, also seem to have had problems with settlers intruding upon their land, for some accused squatters were ordered by the county court to pay the King of Morratico for his acreage (Hening II:274-275; Old Rappahannock County Deeds, Wills, Inventories, &c 1656-1664:249-252).

In 1662 the Mattaponi King filed a legal complaint against Colonel Thomas Goodrich, who reportedly had set his English-style house ablaze in an attempt to drive him from his land at the head of the Piscataway Creek. By 1667 the Indians had vacated their town on the Piscataway and moved to the upper side of the Mattaponi River. Their new village was situated at Hashwamankcott Swamp, below the mouth of Deep Creek, a stream now known as Garnetts Creek. Contemporary patents suggest that the Mattaponi and Chickahominy Indians were living together in one town, and that the Natives had a path that ran to the Nanzattico Indians' town on the lower side of the Rappahannock River bordering Portobago Bay. By 1672 Thomas Goodrich had succeeded in patenting the land on which the Mattaponi king's house had been situated in 1662 (Old Rappahannock County Deeds, Wills, Inventories, &c 1656-1664:425). Native-owned lands were cleared and seated at a rapid rate and tenants, servants, and slaves often were placed upon frontier properties to substantiate owners' claims (Hening II:151-155, 161-162; McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1015:1659-1693:16; Nugent II:19, 27, 40, 87, 116, 142, 268, 275; III:97; Patent Book 6:64, 95, 150, 425, 560).

Pressure to open Native lands to English settlement intensified as time went on and planters resented the allocation of large, desirable tracts to a population whose ranks obviously were diminishing. A 1669 census of Virginia's Natives identified eighteen recognized groups whose 725 warriors were distributed throughout eight Tidewater counties. At that time, the Mattaponi Indians, who were enumerated with 20 warriors, were said to be living in New Kent County, a vast territory that included what later became King William County. In 1670, when Augustin Herrman toured Tidewater Virginia and Maryland by boat and prepared a detailed map, Natives and planters were distributed along the banks of eastern Virginia's navigable waterways and on the Eastern Shore. He indicated that a large Indian settlement was located on the lower side of the Mattaponi River, at a site that appears to have been in the vicinity of contemporary Aylett and Aylett Creek (Map 1). Herrman's map also reveals that numerous Indians also were living at the head of Dragon Swamp. In 1673 Robert Beverly patented 7,000 acres on the Mattaponi River's main swamp, what later became known as Mattapony Run or Beverley Run. His acreage, which he had since 1669, was near the path that ran from the Mattaponi Indian town to the Portobago Indian town (Nugent I:56; II:142).

#### *Bacon's Rebellion and the Treaty of Middle Plantation*

By the early 1670s militarily strong Native nations to the north and west of the colonized area began to prey upon Virginia's tributary Indians and frontier settlers, especially those who lived near the fall line. As a result, the tributaries found themselves trapped between hostile tribes and the colonists, whose plantations were engulfing their habitat at an alarming rate. Because the government was obliged to offer protection to the colonists and to the tributary Indians, in 1676 forts were constructed at nine locations that were considered strategically important. One was built on the lower side of the Mattaponi River, in the vicinity of Indian interpreter Thomas Yarborough's house and the Chickahominy Indians' village, then located between the two Herring Creeks in the vicinity of Aylett. The forts, which were funded by tax levies, were costly to build

and maintain, and as it turned out, they were useless against a highly mobile enemy whose strategy was one of ambush. Young Nathaniel Bacon, whose upper James River plantation was attacked by Indians, agreed to lead an unauthorized march against the Native population. Thus began the popular uprising known as Bacon's Rebellion, which spread throughout Tidewater Virginia and deeply affected the region's Native peoples. Bacon and his followers marched on Jamestown, forcing the burgesses to enact a group of laws, one of which made it legal to patent Indian land as soon as the Natives abandoned it. This provided the colonists with a new incentive to drive Indians from their lands (Hening II:326-329, 351; Washburn 1957:32-33).

In May 1677 the colonial government and the tributary Indians made a formal peace agreement at Middle Plantation. The Queens of the Pamunkey and Weyanock, and Kings of the Nansemond and Nottoway, by endorsing the Articles of Peace, acknowledged their allegiance to the Crown and conceded that their entitlement to land was derived from the English 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 encroachment upon their Land shall be removed." Further, signatory tribes were entitled to the protection of the colonial government. All tributary Indian leaders were to have equal power except Cockacoeske, the Queen of Pamunkey, under whose rule were placed "severall scattered nations," notably the Chickahominy, Rappahannock, and probably the Mattaponi, Chiskiack, and Totachus. In October 1677 the colony's assembly decided to establish trade marts in strategic locations where all trade with the Indians was to be conducted at specific times of the year. The site of the trade mart or fair on the York River was to be established by the justices of New Kent County where the exchange of goods was to occur on April 10th and November 10th. In 1680, the treaty signed at Middle Plantation was expanded to include several other Native groups. Again, the names of the Mattaponi and the other communities in league with the Pamunkey were conspicuously absent, probably because they were represented by the

Pamunkey Queen. The treaty of Middle Plantation provided very little protection from land-hungry settlers and non-tributary tribes, and some Virginia officials claimed that the treaty created more problems than it solved, for the tributaries often quarreled among themselves and when they took their disagreements to court, the justices made enemies of whomever they sided against (Hening II:275, 410; McCartney 2006:243-266).

Tributary Indians and frontier settlers continued to have problems with more remote hostile Natives who lived above the fall line. Therefore, in December 1679 the assembly decided to establish defensive garrisons at the heads of the colony's four major rivers. One of these strongholds, called Fort Mattaponi, was built on the upper side of the Mattaponi River near Walkerton, in King and Queen County, on the same acreage that in 1653 was called the Matapony Fort. In December 1682, the assembly voted to replace these garrisons, which continued to be expensive to maintain, with groups of horse soldiers who were given the task of patrolling the frontier. Competition over Indian land continued to cause problems, particularly within areas technically closed to patenting. Although government officials publicly supported the 1677 treaty, they refused to issue patents within tracts allocated to the Indians. They also showed their disdain for the Natives by declaring that they 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" (Hening II:411, 433-434, 452, 499; McIlwaine 1918:111, 199, 202-204, 239; McIlwaine 1925-1945 I:136; Palmer I:110).

### *Competition for Land*

Land patents reveal that by the early-to-mid-1680s the Mattaponi Indians were obliged to relocate at least twice. They moved toward the head of the Mattaponi River, in what was known as its "freshes," that is, well above the interface of fresh and salt water. The Mattaponi and the Morratico Indians, who seem to have banded together for mutual support, were then living on the southeast side of Mattapony Creek Run, or Beverley Run, in the up-

per part of what became King and Queen County (Nugent II:287; III:108; Patent Book 7:439; 9:736). Again, they were vulnerable to the incursions of “northern Indians” from the interior of the continent. On November 21, 1683, Nicholas Spencer, the president of the Council of State, reported that the Seneca had been attacking frontier settlements and also had “redced and taken ye Mattapony Indian Town, and att present besieged ye Chickahominy fort” (McIlwaine 1925-1945 I:53; Nugent II:299; Patent Book 7:514). According to Thomas Jefferson, whose *Notes on the State of Virginia* was published in 1787, a Mattaponi chief, along with a Pamunkey and Chickahominy chief, went to Fort Albany to attend the Treaty of Albany in 1685 (1972:96).

In May 1688 Virginia officials asked their monarch’s permission to issue patents for vacant Indian land in Pamunkey Neck and on the south side of the James River at Blackwater Swamp. The councilors noted that in former times large quantities of land had been laid out for the benefit of the “very considerable nations of Indians...now wasted and dwindled away, [who] however doe [still] hold and possess [it].” They claimed that the tributary Indians had asked them to allow settlers to seat their land to prevent foreign Indians from invading and added that the Indians had found “such large Tracts of Land are of noe benefitt nor use unto them.” Throughout the 1690s, the governor and council repeatedly asked the king to permit vacant Indian lands to be patented. This came after Native groups had asked for patents and requested that their lands be clearly defined. In 1693 the College of William & Mary was awarded land grants that were expected to generate income: 10,000 acres in Pamunkey Neck and a like amount below the Blackwater River – essentially the lands of the tributary signatories of the 1677 *Articles of Peace*. Some legislation enacted in October 1705 cost tributary tribes a large portion of their land, for the assembly 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...to give the Indian town any privilege on the said opposite side” (Hening III:466;

McIlwaine 1925-1945 II:304, 311, 337). The burgesses minimized the new law’s significance by calling it an “explanation of a clause in the articles of peace.” However, its implications were much more serious, for most of the Indian towns or preserves were on the waterfront. Thus, it quickened the pace of Native land loss (McIlwaine 1925-1945 I:71, 94, 130, 284; McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1660-1693:125, 386, 431, 433).

In 1697 Governor Edmund Andros reported that three Indian tribes were then living on the York River. Although one of those groups may have included the Mattaponi, they were not among the tribes that Robert Beverley listed when writing his history of Virginia. Similarly, they were not mentioned specifically in an official report of the tribes living in each county in 1702 or in the correspondence of Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood, who rendered an account of the tributary Indians in 1712 (Beverley 1947:232-233; C.O. 5/714 ff 61v-62r; Spotswood I:167). In 1691 “the Indians’ land” on the main branches of the “Mattapony Run” was mentioned in a patent for acreage in King and Queen County, as was “the Indian path” (Nugent II:369; Patent Book 8:190). As late as 1703 an Indian town was located in the freshes of the Mattaponi. In 1707 Robert Beverley expressed his concern about hostile Indians invading the upper reaches of King and Queen County and said that he was going to build a fort and invite his neighbors to take refuge with him. Beverley seems to have been sympathetic to the local Indians’ plight, for when speaking of the Pamunkey and Chickahominy, he said that, “The English have taken away great part of their Countrey and consequently made everything less plenty among them.” He would have had firsthand knowledge of the tribes’ loss of land, for his father Robert Beverly, Sr. worked in the Secretary’s Office for many years and would have handled various patents that were recorded (Beverley 1947:232-233; Nugent I:70-71; Palmer I:110; Patent Book 9:531).

The Chickahominy Indians were assigned some land in Pamunkey Neck in 1701. When the House of Burgesses convened on May 20, 1702, its members were presented with a plat showing the



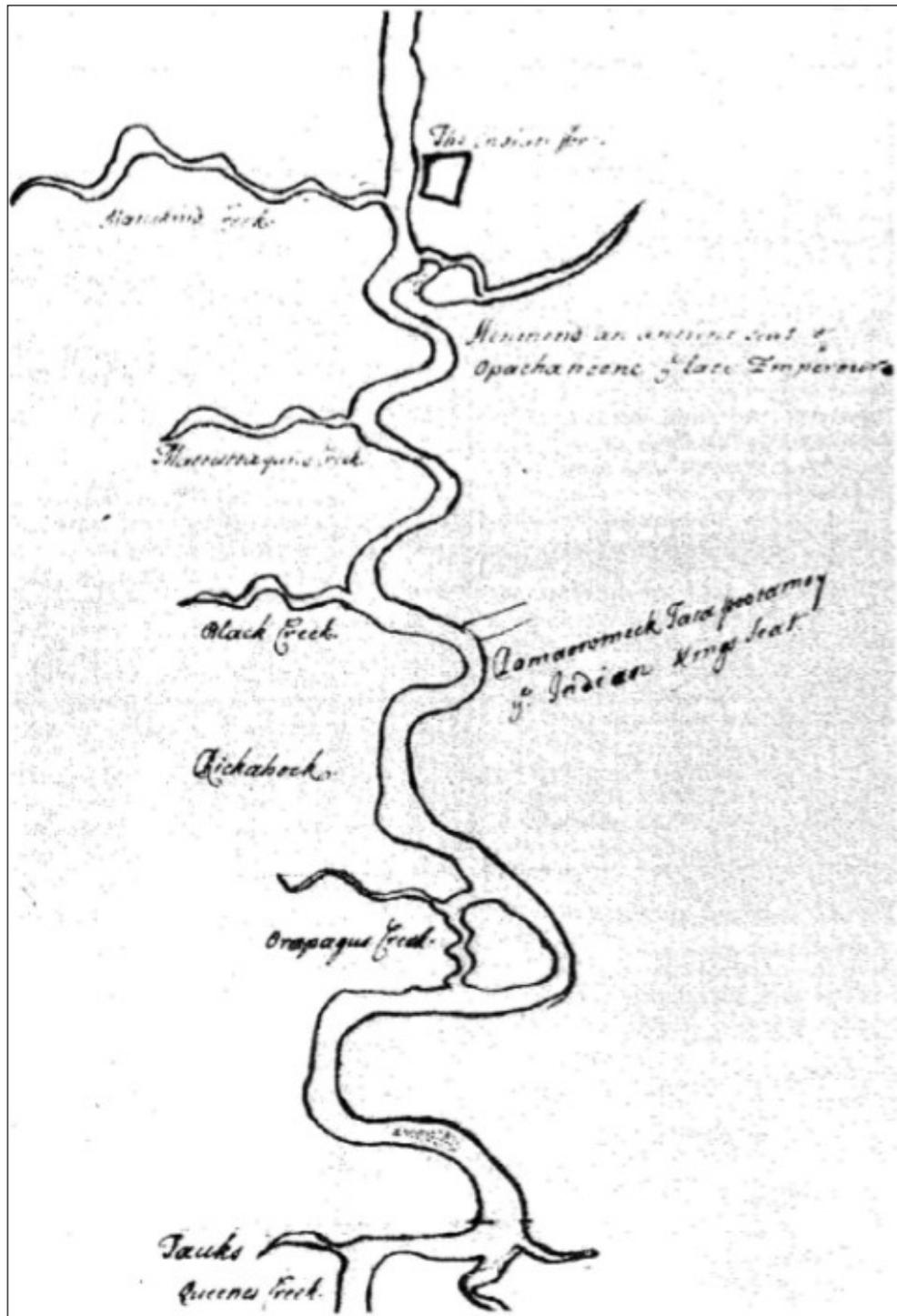
Map 2. Detail of Augustin Herrman's map of Virginia (1673), rotated to north at top, showing "The Narrows of Yorck R[iver]" and the Indian settlements within Pamunkey Neck. Source: Brown University.

Pamunkey Indians' land. Simultaneously, it was reported that due to the width of the Chickahominy land, which was at its widest point (three miles) between the two Herring Creeks, the Indians were said to be living in a row, or line, that was one mile long (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1695-1702:285, 349). A 1705 patent for land in the Middle Peninsula made reference to the path from Portobago to the "Mattaponi Indian towne or Chickahominy" (Nugent III:97). This reference may reflect the coalescence of Native communities or colonial officials' uncertainty about the identity of the Native group.

While visiting the upper reaches of the Mattaponi River in mid-November 1715 John Fontaine approached Robert Beverley's home, Beverley Park. There, he saw an Indian cabin close to the side of the road. He said that it "was built with posts put into the ground, the one by the other, as close as they could lay, and about seven feet high all of an equal length." He indicated that, "It was built four square and [had] a sort of roof upon it covered

with the bark of trees. They say it keeps out the rain very well." Fontaine described the way the Indian women were dressed and said that their beds were mats made of bull-rushes. He noted that they had "one blanket to cover them" and added that, "All the household goods they had was a pot" (1972:85).

Thomas Jefferson observed in 1787, "There remain of the Mattaponies three or four men only." He added, "They have lost their language, have reduced themselves by voluntary sales to about fifty acres of land, which lie on the river of their own name, and have from time to time, been joining the Pamunkies, from whom they are distant but 10 miles" (1972:96). The name of the Mattaponi people was omitted from public documents for nearly a century, and the records reflecting their land transactions are missing. These two facts raise the possibility that the Mattaponi were part of one or more other Native groups during the early- to mid-eighteenth century; probably the Pamunkey and Chickahominy.



Map 3. The Draft of York River In Virginia by Anthony Langston, c.1662. Fort Royall is the square at the top, adjacent to "Mankind Creek," later known as Tottopotomoy Creek. Menmend, Opechacanough's "ancient seat," is below the confluence of Tottopotomoy Creek on an island in Moncuin / Manquin Creek, the island later known as "Warranuck Island." Tottopotomoy's seat is situated below Black Creek on Harrison Creek, the general vicinity known today as "Old Town." Source: British Public Records Office: Maps and Plans General 371

## CHAPTER THREE

### INDIAN TOWNS AND COUNTRY: NATIVE PLACEMAKING AND SETTLEMENTS

Native peoples' historical record in Tidewater during the eighteenth century is fragmentary, due in part to the burning of the King William County Courthouse during the Civil War, and again in 1885, as well as the paucity of colonial documents dealing with Virginia's tributary Indians. The following discussion reviews select materials related to Pamunkey Neck during the colonial era, a time and place when and where multiple Native communities coalesced and made a living on decreasing amounts of Indian-controlled land, surrounded by English colonial occupiers and their enslaved laborers. The documentary record is decidedly one-sided, offering little in the way of Native self-representation. As well, it may be assumed that the violence and hostility of the period encouraged some Native communities to shirk colonial bureaucratization and formal engagement, particularly with regard to representing military strength and population counts. So too, Virginia officials had multiple reasons to portray the Native population as decimated and their lands available for survey and settlement. As an outcome, scholars are at the mercy of the archival sources – intermittent and poorly recorded bits of information. The Mattaponi Indians and the reservation on the Mattaponi River are thus inconsistently discussed within the colonial record, which has less to do with their community, and everything to do with the character of the Colonial Encounter.

This caveat being offered, from the extant historical record, it is clear that multiple tracts of land within Pamunkey Neck were controlled by Indians and inhabited by resident Indian towns. During the 1680s, the Chickahominy, Mattaponi, Morratico, and Pamunkey were all documented as being domiciled within Pamunkey Neck. Augustin Herrman (1673) illustrated three concentrations of Indian settlements

during his survey of the region: an unnamed group of Indian houses near Aylett Creek on the south side of the Mattaponi River, another named the “Manskin Indian” community adjacent to the mouth of Totopotomoy Creek, and a third named “Pamaomeck Indian” town near Harrison Creek on the north side of the Pamunkey River. (Map 2). These settlements likely represented the extant “reservation” lands accorded the Algonquian speakers in the aftermath of the 1644-1646 Anglo-Indian War, and constituted the geographies of colonial discourse during the early eighteenth century.

Herrman's map is a primary document from the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and is illustrative of the interpretive challenges associated with the region's Indian land tenure, population movements, and political identities of the period. For example, Herrman illustrates the “Manskin” Indian Town adjacent to Totopotomoy Creek, which until 1662 was known as “Manskind Creek.” Researchers have remarked that the “identity of the Manskin Indians is uncertain” (Rountree 1990:315), which is accurate to a degree. The river region was known as “Youghtanund” during the early seventeenth century, with the territory's principle village of “Maskunt,” and neighboring settlements named Enekent, Menoughtass, Manaskunt, and Askecack (Zuniga 1608). Opechancanough was strongly affiliated with the Pamunkey region, as described by William Strachey (1612), “all three Powhatan's brethren, and are the triumviri, as yt were, or three kings of a country called Opechanekeno, upon the head of the Pamunky [York] river.” Later in the century, Opechancanough made his principal town in the vicinity of Herrman's “Manskin Indians.” By the mid-seventeenth century, Indian population movements obscure the full identity of the Manskin In-

dian settlement, but clearly the name was based in the indigenous toponyms, and the occupants were coalescent Algonquian speakers.

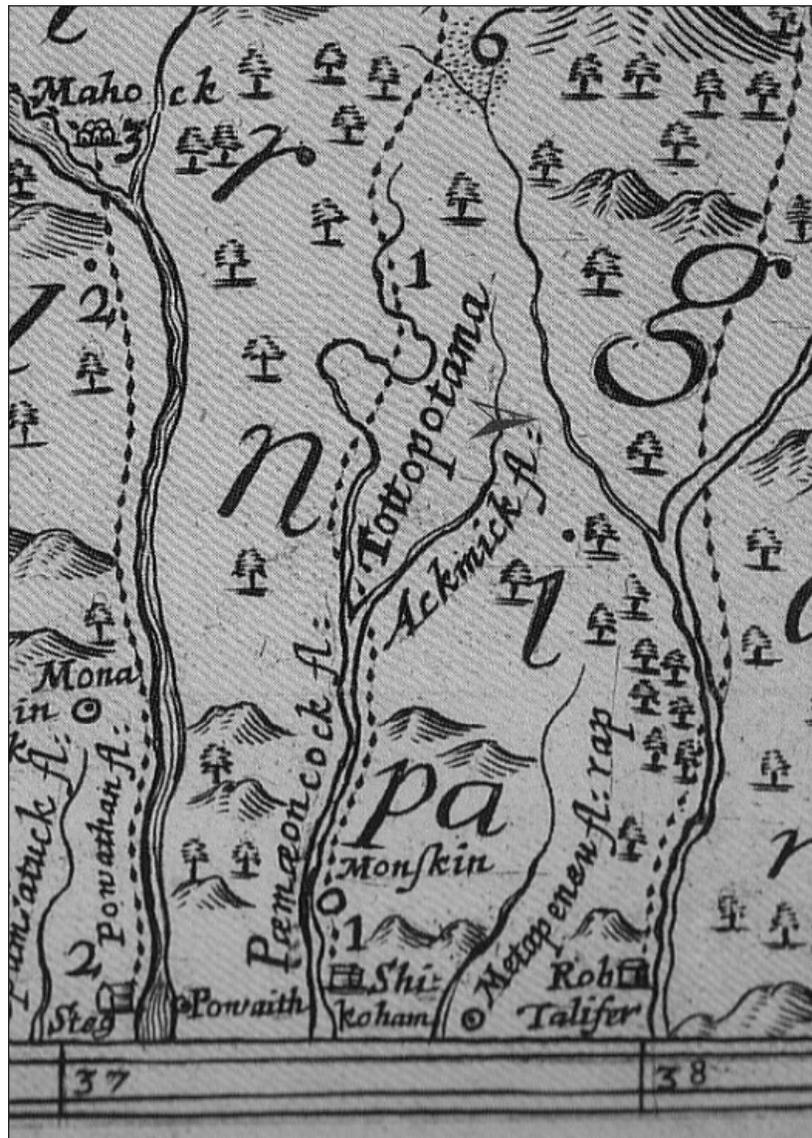
Following the Mankind example, in 1644 Opechancanough's nearby "ancient seat" was on an island in the Pamunkey River, at the mouth of Moncuin / Manquin Creek, named "Menmend" (Map 3) (McCartney 1984:15). By the conclusion of the 1644-1646 war, the Chickahominy had taken refuge within Pamunkey Neck and were settled amongst the Indian inhabitants. As early as 1616 the Chickahominy villagers at Warraniock [also known as Oraniock and Wahrani] were paying Opechancanough tribute. The "Warranty ould town" was the last Chickahominy occupation on the Chickahominy River; they were driven away by the "Cheychohominy march" carried out by the English in 1644 (Hening I:287; Nugent I:175). When the Chickahominy settled on "land in York River," it was likely in proximity to Opechancanough. Following his slaying by the English, the island stronghold of Menmend became known as "Warranucock Island," a transfer of the Chickahominy village name to their new locale (Hening I:380; McCartney 1984:15).

Ten years later, the Chickahominy remained "on the north side of Pamunkie river," but some removed to the headwaters of the Mattaponi River by 1661. Colonial records confirm they also remained situated along the area of the "Mankind Creek" and "Mankind Fort" (Hening I:287; II:34, 35, 39; McCartney 1984:12-13). By 1669 when John Lederer's western exploratory expedition left the "Shikoham" town with several Chickahominy guides who spoke the "Warrennuncock dialect," he illustrated and described their location on the "Pemaconcock" River. A trail from "Shickehamany" led northwest to "Monskin," suggesting some Chickahominy then occupied a position below Mankind, but Lederer's graphics are not to scale or proportionate (Map 4). On the opposite side of the peninsula, Lederer marked the "Metapeneneu fl; rap" with a village on the north side (1670:6). When Herrman's map was published several years later (1683), he illustrated the Indian settlements within Pamunkey Neck as "Mankind" on the upper Pamunkey River, "Pamao-

meck" farther south, and a series of Indian houses on the south bank of the "Mattapanye." Based on the evidence, one may argue "Chickahominy" Indians were living in all three locales c.1670. They carried their old river name [Chickahominy], their old town name transferred to a new geography [Oraniock / Wahrani / Warrennuncock], and utilized local names [Mankind / Maskunt / Manaskunt]. This situation likely occurred for all coalescent residents of Pamunkey Neck, including Mattaponi River residents.

With regard to the Indian polities or recognized leaders active in Pamunkey Neck during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, a list of tributary Indians' presentation of beaver skins included all three of the "Chickahominies," "Mattaponies," and "Pomonkies" in 1681 (Blathwayt Papers). These tributary offerings occurred prior to the Iroquois attacks on the towns in 1683. Thus, when the Council reported in that year that the Seneca had reduced the Mattaponi and were besieging the Chickahominy, it is inferred that the two towns had coalesced and were defending themselves against "northern Indian" attacks (Rountree 1990:114). A 1685 patent mentions a tract of land "whereon the Mattapony & Morratico Indians formerly lived," and the following year records begin referring to only "the Indian Town" in that vicinity (Nugent II:287, 299, 369; III:68-69). However, Jefferson indicates that the three most organized polities, the Chickahominy, Mattaponi, and Pamunkey, attended the subsequent treaty meetings in Albany in 1684-1685.

During the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the colonial reports of Indian villages in Pamunkey Neck evidence multiple "groups" of Native people, such as the "Mattapony & Morratico" cohabitating with one another, in multiple locations. A good example of the crosscutting residences of the Chickahominy and Pamunkey is that of John West, son of the Pamunkey Queen Cockacoesque and signatory of the 1677 *Articles of Peace*. Conflict and disagreement about political representation amongst the groups occurred, as the Pamunkey Queen signed on behalf of "severall scattered nations of Indians...under



Map 4. Detail of John Lederer's map of Virginia, west is top; note the settlements and trail on the "Paemaencock fl," with a "Schikoham" longhouse as the starting point "1" and a dot for the "Monskin" settlement. On the opposite side of the neck, another settlement dot is on the north side of the "Metapeneu fl." Source: Lederer (1670)

her subjection," which included the Chickahominy (McCartney 2006:249, 255). West had married a woman "bred and born at Chickahominy though her Parents were Pamunkeys." Following the treaty, West's wife left him and the Pamunkey Town, and ran back to Chickahominy. Subsequently, the Chickahominy attempted to oust her Pamunkey mother and make her return to "her people." The woman refused to leave her daughter. A series of other hostile acts took place between the groups, including poisoning and beheading (C.O. 1/42 f 177; McCartney 2006:256).

Another example of crosscutting residences includes petitions from the Chickahominy and Pamunkey c.1704, when conflict between members of the groups again occurred. A Chickahominy headman "Drammaco" complained of another Indian resident named Tom Perry, who had burned Drammaco's home, beat his wife, and caused him to flee with his kin to Pamunkey Town. In response, two men, Coscohunk and James Mush, torched Perry's Chickahominy Town cabin, cut down his orchard, and split his canoe. The surname Mush / Mursh / Marsh later appeared among the Pamunkey in the

mid-eighteenth century; as well, Drammaco later signed a petition as a Pamunkey “Great Man” “Tra Macco” in 1710 (McIlwaine 1925-1945 II:271, 364, 359, 367, 380; Nugent III:50; Palmer 1875:I:127-128). Thus despite identifications of Chickahominy and Pamunkey towns, lands, a “Queen” and “Mangai” [Great Man] as leaders, and even separate interpreters in the 1670s, the resident populations were much intermingled.

By 1697 Governor Edmund Andros reported that three Indian tribes were then living on the York River. Andros’ statement can be analyzed as meaning three Indian towns were settled on the Pamunkey and Mattaponi rivers – tributaries of the York – and that these settlements represented the remaining Indian occupants of Pamunkey Neck. However, from the data presented, only two “named” polities of this geography appear in the colonial records of the early 1700s – that of the Chickahominy and Pamunkey. Most scholars have suggested that the two entities represented coalescent Indian peoples from multiple geographies, to include the Chickahominy, Chiskiack, Mattaponi, Morratico, Nanzatico, Pamunkey, Rappahannock, and Totachees (McCartney 2006:255; Rountree 1990), although as Fontaine noted in 1715, there were Indian cabins scattered throughout the region. The Rappahannock, for instance, moved in proximity to Nanzatico at Portobacco, and became the dominant political entity of that region by 1690 – well out of the influence of Pamunkey. However, ten years later, the Rappahannock were noted as “reduc’d to a few Families, and live scatter’d upon the English Seats” and at least one neighboring colonist applied for permission “to allow some Rappahannock Indians to live upon his land” (Beverley 1947:233; Sainsbury XVII:576). The factions present amongst Pamunkey and Chickahominy c.1700 may reflect remnants of the older divisions, such as the Mattaponi, which played out in the colonial records as disagreements about community action, particularly with land sales and leases.

The Chickahominy tried to sell or lease portions of their reserved lands in 1674 and

1690. After the disorder caused by the Seneca attacks of 1683, some “Chickahominy” residing among the Pamunkey requested the governor provide them lands at Rickahock on the north side of the Mattaponi River (Rountree 1990:115). This was adjacent to Hashwamankcott Swamp, near contemporary Garnetts Creek, and the same geography of the Mattaponi Indian settlement in the late 1660s. The “Chickahominy” again requested lands in 1694, at “Quaynohomock,” stating that Rickahock was “so poore that itt will no longer bring them Corn.” The newly requested location was on the south side of the Mattaponi River, and corresponds to the same town location named and marked by Smith (1610) and Zuniga (1608) almost 100 years earlier, near modern-day Peavine Island and Horse Landing, just below Walkerton. Alluding to the complexities of “tribal” names recorded in the colonial records, the “Chickahominy” told the Virginia government that the Mattaponi town of “Quaynohomock” had been “formerly theirs,” indeed suggesting that Mattaponi territory residents were coalesced with the Chickahominy and Pamunkey (McIlwaine 1925-1945 I:320).

By 1701 the Chickahominy were granted the reservation between the two Herring Creeks, a place some Chickahominy were formerly situated in the 1670s prior to the Seneca attacks. As early as the late 1690s, some Chickahominy had resettled at Herring Creek (McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1695-1702:349, 358; Nugent III:76; Story 1747:162-163). The conflict that arose in 1704 between the leader Drammaco and Tom Perry was a result of disagreements concerning the sale of the Herring Creek land; Perry’s faction wished to retain the land, Drammaco’s wished to sell (Rountree 1990:159). The fact that there were two factions, partially crosscut by Pamunkey, may again indicate the remnants of formerly more distinct political divisions, such as a subsumed Mattaponi population. The 1705 land patent that referenced the path from Portobago to the “Mattapony Indian towne or Chickahominy” (Nugent III:97), strongly suggests a composite group then living at Herring Creek. The sale of the 3,000-acre Herring Creek reservation was successful, but as of 1711, Perry’s “Chicahom-

iny” faction had not vacated the tract “where their Town now Stands.” Drammaco’s band apparently organized the sale, in exchange for a “Small Tract of Land lying on Mattaponi River,” according to deliberations recorded in 1718 (McIlwaine 1925-1945 III:272, 487). It is possible that this smaller parcel was the tract mentioned by Thomas Jefferson sixty years later as, “about fifty acres of land” occupied by one of two Indian towns. Jefferson called the settlement’s residents “Mattaponies” and again made reference to the “Chickahominies” who “were at length blended with the Pamunkies and Mattaponies” (1787:154).

However, with the lack of King William County records prior to 1885 and limited colonial-era documents on Indian land sales in Pamunkey Neck, the movements of peoples and exact land tenure is not completely clear. By c.1750 the “Pamunkey” controlled at least three tracts of land, including their main town on a peninsula of about 1,100 acres. A second 2,000-acre parcel was contiguous – a portion today called “Old Town” – at the entrance to the Pamunkey town, and another small tract of 88 acres was four miles away. Old Town abuts Harrison Creek, formerly named Necotowance Creek, the geography of “Pamamomeck Tatapootamoy ye Indian Kings Seat,” and may have also been the location of Cockacoesque’s residence prior to Bacon’s Rebellion (McCartney 1984:16). Other Indian-controlled parcels may have been counted, but records are lacking on specifics, such as one “small,” “separate,” and “greatly wasted” plot of land used for logging. The specific size and location were not recorded. A 125-acre tract on the Mattaponi River, today the Mattaponi Indian Reservation, is about ten miles distant from the Pamunkey. Thomas Jefferson remarked that the Pamunkey had “about 300 acres of very fertile land, on the Pamunkey river,” which may have only referenced the arable land of Pamunkey Town. So too, his comment about the “Mattaponies” who were settled on “about fifty acres of land, which lie on the river of their own name” and “distant but 10 miles” may refer to the arable land of Mattaponi Town. By 1812, the Pamunkey leased a 300-acre tract that was two miles from their settlement and

in 1828 received permission from the General Assembly to sell that parcel or one of similar acreage. These tracts may have been part of the 2,000-acres mentioned in the eighteenth century. Interestingly, the enacting language indicated some Indians were living on the separate lot c.1800 (Acts of Assembly 1827-1828:109-110; Hening VII:298-299; LP Dec. 1, 1812; Rountree 1990:164-166; Winfree 1971:416-418).

From the above documentary sources, the Indian land holdings in Pamunkey Neck c.1750 may be summarized as follows:

- Pamunkey Town – 1,100 acres [today the Pamunkey Indian Reservation]; 300 arable acres; on the Pamunkey River
- Old Town – 2,000 acres contiguous to the Pamunkey Town peninsula
- Small tract – 88 acres four miles away from Pamunkey Town
- Logging tract – small, unknown location, either on the Mattaponi or Pamunkey rivers
- Mattaponi Town – 125 acres [today the Mattaponi Indian Reservation]; possibly Jefferson’s 50 arable acres, both contemporary and historical references are 10 miles away from Pamunkey Town; both are on the Mattaponi River
- 1812 tract – 300 acres about two miles from Pamunkey, possibly part of Old Town
- 1828 tract – approximately 300 acres; possibly the 1812 tract; possibly part of Old Town; occupied c.1800

Of the above references, only the Pamunkey Town, the Mattaponi Town, and the nineteenth-century tract were noted as being occupied by Indian settlements. Jefferson described the Pamunkey and Mattaponi identities of the river town inhabitants, with the Chickahominy who “were at length blended” and who “exist at present only under their names.” Intriguingly, in the 1850s G.F.H. Crockett reported that the Indian Town on the Pamunkey River across from “White House” was “a settlement of the Chick-

ahominy Indians,” of whom he said, “are now called Pamunkey, from the river, upon which they have resided.” He further remarked that, “some ten miles from the Chickahominy are...Indians, who are called Mataponi, from the river on which they are settled” (Christian Advocate and Journal 1855:44, emphasis in original; Jefferson 1787:154). Thus, one may argue a strong referential relationship exists with all of the Algonquian settlements based on a sense of landscape and place names, which may or may not be related to “tribal” groups (Woodard 2007 in Gallivan 2016:66).

Similarly, it may be that the factionalism of the Indian towns shifted political leadership among remnant populations, as when coalescent Chickahominy Town factions under Drammaco and Perry split, with Drammaco settling on a “Small Tract of Land lying on Mattaponi River,” while leaving Perry’s “Chickahominy” at Herring Creek. Prior to that division, the coalescent “Chickahominy” arguing for the granting of Mattaponi River lands which were “formerly theirs,” and the reemergence of Jefferson’s “Mattaponies...which lie on the river of their own name,” strongly suggest a close relationship between landscape locality and Algonquian identity over time.

The Pamunkey and Chickahominy were both mentioned as tributaries until 1727, when their interpreter James Adams was dismissed, but beginning in 1730 Governor William Gooch listed “only the Pamunkeys on York River, and they not above tenn familys” (Sainsbury XXXVII:217-218). Thus by the mid-eighteenth century, as during the earlier period of Cockacoesque’s reign, there was a tendency of colonial officials to categorize all of the Natives living within Pamunkey Neck under the predominant heading of “Pamunkey.” This shorthand likely had as much to do with control of Indian land (Rountree 1990:164) as it did with the Indian names of the geography – linking Indian towns to place names where they resided. Thus,

Gooch modified his report to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantation in 1740, “there remain only the *Pamunkey or York River Indians* and they not above ten familys” (C.O. 5/1327 ff.75-83, emphasis added), and thus collapsing one, two, or three Indian towns into the “York River Indians.” The observation of Gooch’s 1740 essentialism is an important one, when also considering Jefferson’s comments from 1781 [1787], “There remain of the Mattaponies three or four men only...have reduced themselves, by voluntary sales, to about fifty acres of land, which lie on the river of their own name, and have from time to time, been joining the Pamunkies, from whom they are distant but 10 miles.” In 1832 Samuel J. Drake reported that of the “Chickahominies, on Mattaponi river in Virginia,” they were “but 3 or 4 in 1790,” possibly confirming or conflating Jefferson’s writing with other local knowledge (Drake 1832).

Collectively, the late colonial-era documents indicate that exterior perceptions of these Indian Towns linked the settlements’ names to their riverine geography – as “the York River Indians,” or “Indians...now called Pamunkey, from the river, upon which they have resided,” and “Mattaponies...which lie on the river of their own name.” The political organization of the Native residents appears to have been linked to hereditary lineage leaders, however crosscut by territoriality. As residential groups became intermarried, political factions remained. Families moved in and out of settlements, on smaller and smaller parcels of Indian land. Crosscutting Indian town residences were the families “scattered” in private cabins across the peninsula, who joined or left communities from year to year, or decade to decade. Through hereditary rights and the sheer force of some personalities, Mattaponi and Pamunkey river Indian towns maintained lineage leaders, noted as “three or four men,” the “surviving men,” or the “headmen and chiefs” (Jefferson 1787:154; LP Dec. 4, 1812; Winfree [1749] 1971:416).

## CHAPTER FOUR

### LIFEWAYS ON THE MATTAPONI AND PAMUNKEY, c.1700-1800

After 150 years of continued trade, warfare, and diplomacy with Europeans, by 1750 the Algonquian-speaking “York River Indians” were intimately acquainted with the materiality and lifeway of colonial Virginia. The previous era was one of great change for the Native peoples, with significant population loss and reduction of territory. Early in the colonial period, the Algonquians acquired European goods, tools, and weapons through trade in deerskins and beaver furs, which completely shifted the composition of their material culture. By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, Tidewater Algonquians were also indentured, servants, and hired laborers for Virginia’s planter class; some were enslaved and lived their life in bound servitude. The residents of Indian towns along the Mattaponi and Pamunkey rivers maintained aspects of Algonquian material culture and lifeways, but also adopted cultural practices of their European neighbors. So too, the colonial settler population assumed indigenous foodways, place names, and some subsistence practices. African-descended free people and African-imported slaves also contributed to the local milieu. Thus, the culture of the Virginia tidewater was a bricolage of influences framed by English colonialism in North America.

#### *Colonial-Era Native Dress*

The physical transformation of Algonquian materiality took multiple forms – the contours of culture change were uneven – but crossed nearly every aspect of life. Native dress, house construction, personal and domestic possessions, and subsistence were all impacted, as were ritual and quotidian cycles. With regards to clothing, Robert Beverley wrote in 1705 that Tidewater Natives were wearing English textiles as wrap skirts and loincloths, mantles and cloaks, but continued to make moccasins

out of leather. He further outlined the use of English-sourced materials:

“[The Indian] wears the [wool] Duffield match-coat bought of the English; on his head is a coronet of [wampum] peak, on his legs are stockings made of Duffields: that is, they take a length to reach from the ankle to the knee, so broad as to wrap round the leg; this they sew together, letting the edges stand out at an inch beyond the seam. When this is on, they garter below the knee, and fasten the lower end in the moccasin ([1705]1947:130).

Another observer noted finished garments, as well as lengths of cloth, among the Tidewater Natives:

“One had a shirt on with a [wampum] crown on his head, another a coat and neither trousers, stockings nor shoes. Others had a red skin or red cover around them” (Michel [1702] 1916:132).

“He had nothing but his rifle, knife and powder horn, except a linen rag which covered his sexual parts a little, and a deer skin protecting his feet...He had also a tuft of feathers behind his ear” (ibid).

These descriptions indicate local Natives adopted English materials and modified them to accommodate Indian aesthetics and cultural practices. So too, Native women were described as dressing in a similar fashion as the men, “They commonly go naked as far as the navel...[with a] necklace and bracelet of peak...a wreath of furs on her head, and her hair bound with a fillet of peak and beads” (Beverly 1947:131). Fontaine, when crossing

the Mattaponi River, visited an Indian lodge along the road in King and Queen County, where he described the resident “Indian women,” who wore “only a girdle...tied round the waist, and about a yard of blanketing put between their legs, and fastened one end under the fore-part of the girdle, and the other behind” ([1715] 1852:264).

Through the first decades of the eighteenth century, the tributary Algonquians were occasionally described as “all handsomely cloathed after the Indian fashion” (Neil 1893:216). Yet increasingly, onlookers mentioned the use of full English-style clothing in some contexts:

“the young queen...who was wearing nice clothes of a French pattern. But they were not put on right. One thing was too large, another too small, hence it did not fit” (Michel 1916:133).

“[They] think of themselves very fine in such Coats as our common Soldiers wear, or any taudry Colours” (Jones [1724] 1865:10).

“those that have plenty of Deer Skins frequently buy the English made Coats, Blankets, &c. yet few are ever known to buy or wear Breeches (except their Kings and great Men) saying they are too much confined in them” (Brickell 1737:314).

During one tributary visit to the British, two Algonquian leaders were described as dressed in the English manner, one having “an old Blue Livery [top coat], the Wastecoat [sleeveless vest] having some remains of Silver Lace [trim], with all other Necessaries fit for wearing Apparel such as Shirt, Stockings, Shoes, &c. made after the English manner” and another who donned “a Soldiers red Coat, Wastecoat, and Breeches, with all other conveniences for wearing Apparel, like the former.” These clothes were more elaborate than those of everyday wear, and used as a means of dressing up for political affairs with the colonial officials. Multiple period observers stated that, “after their return home to their Towns, that they never wear these

Cloaths till they make the next State Visit amongst the Christians” (1737:283-284). By the midcentury, the Algonquians of the Mattaponi and Pamunkey rivers dressed as the colonial Virginians and their enslaved laborers – in finished English wardrobes of a varying quality.

#### *Participation in the Market Economy*

Andrew Burnaby, who traveled through the middle Atlantic colonies in 1759, noted the culture change of the Algonquian speakers from their indigenous character to one of the market economy:

“The character of the North American Indians is not to be collected from observations upon the Pamunkey, or any other Indian tribe living within the boundaries of the British settlements. These are in many respects changed, perhaps not for the better, from their original customs and moral habits” (1760:154).

Burnaby’s shorthand strongly suggests that many aspects of Algonquian culture had changed in the 150 years since the English colonized the indigenous Chesapeake. However, in some aspects, change came more slowly – such as for Native subsistence practices. It is clear from the historical record and later documents that the Mattaponi and Pamunkey river Indian towns continued a strong lifeway reliance on the forest, the marshland, and the water. Instead of using these resources exclusively for their own productions, most began extracting materials for sale or trade within the markets. Modifications of indigenous forms became strategies for adaptation in the colonial economy.

The travel record from Burnaby provides several key insights into this period of transformation. He stated that on the tributaries of the York River,

“stands the Pamunkey Indian town; where at present are the few remains of that large tribe...They live in little wigwams or cabins upon the river; and have a very fine tract of land of about 2000 acres...Their employment

is chiefly hunting or fishing, for the neighboring gentry. They commonly dress like the Virginians, and I have sometimes mistaken them for the lower sort of that people...they were out into an adjoining marsh to catch soruses [marsh birds]; and one of them, as I was informed...caught near a hundred dozen...the Indians go out in canoes and knock them on the head with their paddles” (1760:32-33).

These statements indicate the “York River Indians” had shifted their hunting and fishing labor toward providing goods for sale. Currency was exchanged for finished goods used at Indian towns. Burnaby’s travel diary is one of the few narratives for the Algonquians’ lifeway of the mid-to-late eighteenth century. Other records can be found in ledger and registrar entries, legislative petitions, receipt books, and a few additional correspondences and personal papers. From those materials, further evidence of Algonquian participation in the market economy is revealed. For instance, Indian land leases from near the turn of the century indicate an “Island” reservation was sufficient “for their agricultural purposes,” but leased land helped support the men “with boats, seins, & other articles which contribute greatly to their support” (LP Dec. 4, 1812).

Native men’s chief employment remained “hunting or fishing,” which is supported by Burnaby’s statements and the land leases, but also from documents near the American Revolution when several “Pamunkey Indians” sold the Governor’s kitchen “Wild Fowl” for “[£]1.1.6” or were paid similarly, “as Pr. Order. [£]1.0.0” (Dayly Account Expenses 11/09/1769; 9/21/1775). Other arrangements with gentry or tavern keepers likely paid in coin too, which the Indians used to purchase manufactured goods for the home, or weapons or tools such as hunting tackle: “the Men always use Fire-Arms, which with Ammunition they buy of us” (Jones 1865:9). Some Williamsburg taverns had an increased menu for wild fish and game during the 1760s, when it was considered fashionable in colonial society – a time that coincides with the documentary evidence for the tributary Indian game sales to “neighboring gentry” and the Governor’s

kitchen. Faunal remains from Williamsburg tavern sites also evidence increased wild foods (Noack 2008). Possibly “York River Indians” contributed to the urban table fare.

King William Algonquians, listed as either “Indian” or “Pamunkey,” regularly sold Indian-made earthenware to local plantations, and to merchants, shopkeepers, and kitchens in Yorktown and Williamsburg. Known in the historical literature as “Colono-Indian ware” or “colonoware,” the low-fire pottery appears on multiple archaeological sites associated with colonial-era agriculture and enslaved domesticity, but also in market centers, such as Yorktown. Estate inventories in the 1750s include bowls, plates, and Indian pans (i.e. YCR Samuel Holdcroft 3/17/1755). Archaeological assemblages of colonoware are also present in large quantities on tributary Indian lands, in the form of Native production sites (Spivey 2017), as well as on individual house sites on the Mattaponi (Speck 1928) and Nottoway reservations (Woodard et al 2017). So ubiquitous was the Indian ware, as a low cost domestic ceramic – shaped variously as English-style bowls, cups, pans, plates, and porringers – it appears in every archaeological district of Williamsburg. Even the Governor’s Palace kitchen has documentary receipts “To the Indians for Earthen pans. 0.0.6” or “To 2 Pamunkey Indians. [£]1.0.0,” and Yorktown merchants advertised “Indian ware” alongside “pewter plates, spoons, and basons [basins]” (Dayly Account Expenses 2/16/1769; 3/03/1769; Virginia Gazette 12/27/1776:3).

Women were likely the makers of the colonoware, although possibly not the sellers. Beverly (1705) illustrated Algonquian women twining baskets, which also may have been offered for sale. Reports of tributary visits to Williamsburg in the early 1700s included mentions of baskets as part of the retinue of goods carried to the capital for sale. Indian men were described as those haggling over the prices, sales, and trades. Michel noted that in addition to skins,

“They also brought a large number of baskets, carried on the arms, of different colors,

made very artistically. The material is a kind of root. They weave into them all kinds of animals, flowers and other strange things, very beautifully” (Michel 1916:130).

The Algonquians were not the only tributary purveyors of Indian handicrafts, so it is possible that Michel spoke of Nottoway or Saponi baskets, although the illustrations provided in his text appear to conform to Beverley’s round bottom construction of twined baskets. Nonetheless, Indian baskets were available in Williamsburg and Yorktown as “curiosities intended for sale,” at the cost of ready coin for “a basket[, which cost] half a dollar,” or traded “baskets for powder and knives” (Burnaby 1760:156; Michel 1916:134). Like the colonoware, Indian baskets are found in the documentary record of local estate inventories. For example, Lewis Holland of York County, a store merchant, had seventeen “Indian baskets” in stock when he died; more modest household inventories included “2 Indian baskets [£]1/” or “one Indian Baskett” within those used in domestic spheres (YCR Elizabeth Cobbs 9/22/1685; Henry Tyler 2/16/1729; Lewis Holland 9/20/1731).

Women feature prominently in the home production of baskets and pottery during the colonial era; later in time, it is possible men also participated in these activities. A shift in basket making from coiled and / or twined techniques occurred during the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. The oldest ethnographic examples of baskets collected among the Tidewater Indians date to the nineteenth-century and are exclusively split-wood or wicker, both techniques common among Virginians. While women may have contributed to a changed basket market by employing split oak, men may have also modified some of their fishing tackle using basketry techniques (Speck 1928).

Indian women acted as domestic laborers in other areas as well. Daniel Parke Custis, who lived across the river from Pamunkey Town at White House, hired Indian women to sew and make clothes for his plantation’s enslaved work force. “Sarah & Molly Cook” were paid “£3.4,” “Eliza Langston”

received “£2.4” for her share of the work. Another woman, “Ann Smith” also contributed, and was paid “£1.” The record of these females’ wages for the Custis family to make “Negroes cloaths vizt Stockings of Burbidge & ca” is one of the few documents of its kind (GWP Schedule B: General Account of the Estate 10/1759). Further, the use of Indian women’s labor to make Virginia-style clothes indicates that they not only knew how to make them, but that they were likely wearing them as well.

Indian participation in the market did not change all aspects of their material life. Dugout canoes described by Fontaine (1715) and Burnaby (1760) continued to be made well into the twentieth century, as observed by Speck (1928). With regards to housing, based on Burnaby’s description, it is evident that Native dwellings remained organized as “wigwams or cabins,” covered in bark. However, as early as the 1650s, Tidewater Native houses had begun mimicking the square, and gabled roof houses of the English, framed in poles and covered with bark sheeting. Multiple examples of English-style houses were also recorded for Indian headmen of the region, “the civilized Kings, who of late have Houses fashioned and built after the manner that the Christians build theirs” (Brickell 1737:291), such as the “King of Mattaponi,” who in 1661 complained that his “English house” had been burned (McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915 II:16). Sometime during the late eighteenth century, houses at the Pamunkey River town began to use brick, likely indicating a transition to hewn log or frame construction. The legislative petition of 1759, the same year Burnaby visited the town, indicated the Algonquians used a small tract of land “to furnish them with timber to build their houses.” Archaeological assemblages from Pamunkey, dated to at least the eighteenth century, include: brick, a door lock, keys, nails, and window glass; all strongly suggesting frame structures were present by that time. Moreover, as an insight into Native consumption of the colonial period, Indian sites in King William included the remains of non-Native seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ceramics: delftware, brown, Rhenish, and white salt-glazed stoneware, pearl ware, and Staffordshire slipware. Glass bottles, iron

and pewter colanders, upholstery tacks, lead sprue and shot, and gunflints all point to the transition of indigenous materiality with that of the European-based economy (Hodges and McCartney 1980:2).

Combined, the evidence confirms King William's indigenous inhabitants of "ten familys" of "York River Indians" dispersed "two miles" across several tracts on the Pamunkey, with "three or four men...distant but 10 miles" on the Mattaponi, were "in many respects changed" from their cultural orientation described at England's first colonization of the region. These changes were not only marked by shifts in material culture, residence, and subsistence practices, but also ideology.

### *Early Education and Christianity*

The interpretation of early education and the rise of Christianity among the Mattaponi and other riverine Algonquian communities requires an examination of documents that link historical evidence of the Chesapeake's Native population to English-styled schooling and the Church. Virginia's documentary record of early Native American education and Christianity focuses more on "Indian" students and converts than tribal specificities, and of those Algonquian pupils and congregations discussed, the Pamunkey are most often described in the historical record. However, the Mattaponi engagement with early education initiatives and the Baptist Church is clearly an outcome of the colonial-era Indian affiliations with formal schools and Baptist teachings. Thus, an interrogation of colonial-era educational efforts and Christianity among Native peoples historically related to the "York River Indian" settlements can preface education initiatives and the emergence of Christianity specifically amongst the Mattaponi.

During the late seventeenth century, multiple court records of the counties surrounding King William indicate Algonquian residents of the Tidewater were engaged in labor contracts with Virginia planters (Moretti-Langholtz 2005). The practice continued into the eighteenth century, such as when an Indian man hired himself out as a hunter to

Ralph Littlepage in 1711, or when "Mary," an "Indian Woman belonging to the Pamunkey Town" did the same (Palmer I:150; McIlwaine 1925-1945 I:202; III:226, 287). Some of those Natives bound in service were instructed in trades and educated, as part of their labor agreement, "to receive a Christian" or "English" education. Robin, a Pamunkey shoemaker, petitioned the Governor in 1709 to allow him to stay in the English settlements, where his trade was most useful (McIlwaine 1925-1945 III:226). Indian labor aside, it had been part of the earliest English interests in colonizing Virginia to create schools and missionize the indigenous population. The College at Henricus and the East India School were early attempts by the English at this effort. At the creation of the College of William & Mary in 1693, the original chartering document charged the institution with educating and Christianizing the Indians of North America. Among the first Indian students of the College, those from the Algonquian tributaries were the best represented (Land 1938; Morpurgo 1976; Stuart 1984).

In 1711 Lt. Governor Alexander Spotswood remitted annual treaty tribute, in favor of each local tribe sending one or two students to the school at William & Mary. The Pamunkey Queen agreed to send four, which included an older proctor. A year later, the College hosted twenty tributary students, plus four students that had come a decade earlier. In these early years, named tribal groups with students at the school include the Catawba, Chickahominy, Meherrin, Nansemond, Nottoway, Pamunkey, Saponi and Tuscarora, although there were others in attendance. The majority of early Indian students were from the chiefly families of the Indian leadership, "sons" / nephews and "cousins" of "the King of the Nansemonds," of a "Chief man" or the "Queen of Pamunkey," and from the "Chiefe Rulers" of the "Meherine and Nottoway nations" (Spotswood I:127, 174). Thus, during this era, an Indian student's residence at the College had a strong relationship to the annual treaty tribute from the tribes allied to Virginia. The Queen of Pamunkey sent the largest number of students, indicating Pamunkey positionality within Tidewater's Indian politics. Alongside the pupils from Chickahominy,

it is probable that all of the leadership lineages of Pamunkey Neck – towns from the Mattaponi and Pamunkey rivers – were well represented. The earliest known named Indian student at the College was likely a close relative to the tributary Pamunkey leadership – John West – noted as an Indian of the College in 1726 among the Bruton Parish records. West was a probable descendant of Cockacoesque’s lineage, possibly named for her son John West, the other Pamunkey signatory of the 1677 Articles of Peace. After the Brafferton building was constructed to house the Indian school in 1723, the pupil numbers were decreased. However, Algonquian students remained dominant numerically, and the majority of the four to eight students annually lodged at the Brafferton Indian School 1723-1779 were from the “York River Indians.”

The early curriculum for the College’s Indian school included reading and writing, arithmetic, literature, and mechanical arts, as well as instruction in the “principles of the Christian Religion.” Of the latter, students were to work with the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, “thoroughly [learn] the Catechism,” and take prayers twice daily. They attended services in the Wren Chapel each week, and Williamsburg’s Bruton Church once a month (Statutes...1942:290; Stuart 1984; Grove et al 1977:25). Governor Spotswood reported in 1715 that the Indian students could “read and write tolerably well, repeat the Church Catechism, and [knew] how to make their responses in ye Church, [and] both the parents and the boys themselves, have shewn a great desire they should be admitted Baptizm” (Spotswood I:91).

The College statutes crafted in 1727 stated, “that some of the Indian Youth are well-behaved and well-inclined,” and after being “well prepared in the Divinity School,” stipulated that they “may be sent out to preach the Gospel to their Countrymen in their Own Tongue, after they have duly been put in Orders of Deacons and Priests” (Statutes...1942:287). Creating Native preachers to proselytize their natal communities had been a long-term British hope for the Brafferton students. Though the concept of creating Christian Indian emissaries was an educational goal, William & Mary

did not have early success in creating lay preachers, “sent out [as] missionaries among their own country-folks” and few, if any, Christians had come from Brafferton students “converting the rest” (Byrd 1901:99; Jones 1865:19).

The influence, however, of the Anglican Church on generations of King William Indian leaders was substantive. Decades of immersion in Christian ideology, church doctrine, and urban living in Williamsburg influenced the Algonquian lineages, as did close association with the elite sons of Virginia gentry. As male leadership figures from the Algonquian families became literate or semi-literate, English was the primary language of religious, political, and economic discourse. Close association with the Virginia elite – Anglican slave owning landed gentry – also impacted the Algonquians’ perspective on their position within the system. By the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century, some Indian Town residents were slave owners (Rountree 1990:174).

Community members may have also accepted the collapsing of Algonquian leadership categories, such as that of the indigenous priests, with the traditional hereditary leaders. Literate chief men with Christian training may have emerged as both spokesman and religious leader. With the Virginia Church, the College, and the colonial government so intertwined – and the encouragement of Indian lay preaching by the Brafferton – possibly the conflation of religion and politics was seen as plausible in the new order of things. However, Indian community organization under a Christian denomination did not take place until later in the eighteenth century. Encouraged by seeds long planted by the Anglicans, when the Baptist movement began to spread into rural counties like King William, itinerant preachers found an interested Indian population, well-suited to hear their messages, including those ideas that posited preachers would emerge from within the Indian community (Moretti-Langholtz 2002).

Indian attendance of Anglican churches in King William during the mid-eighteenth century is speculative. Students of the Brafferton attended ser-

vices in the Wren Chapel and Bruton Parish Church. They were baptized, received communion, and regularly read the religious literature. By the midcentury, English patronymic surname use had become normative, likely reinforced by Christian practice. Possibly as adults, those Brafferton alums attended Anglican services in King William County. Pamunkey Neck Chapel [no longer extant in contemporary West Point] served Anglicans during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. St. John's Parish was established in 1680, and an "Upper Church" was constructed in 1685 along the main King William road. During the 1730s, a brick sanctuary, St. John's Church (1734), singularly replaced the older dilapidated structures. In the upper county, Cattail Chapel (1751) and Mangohick Church (1730) served the areas above Herring Creek. Acquinton Church (1734) was built southwest of Walkerton. Across the Pamunkey River, St. Peter's Church (1701) was on the high ridge in New Kent, near Cumberland Town. Of these Anglican churches, St. John's was the closest proximity by land to the Indian settlements; St. Peter's was a canoe ride across the river.

The oral history of Baptist Christianity coming to the Indians of King William suggests the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century as a time in which the faith was spread to the community. E.P. Bradby stated in 1927 that a Baptist missionary named James Bradby settled among the "Chickahominy Indians" in 1793, and that "They gladly received him...listened to his teachings of the Word of God...[he was] adopted into the tribe, married an Indian wife...and won practically the whole tribe to Christ" (Alldredge 1927, quoted in Stern 1952:192). Pamunkey headman Terrill Bradby confirmed this tradition, but his oral history framed the timing closer to the War for Independence. Bradby reported to James Mooney in 1899 that the Bradbys "all have descent from a white man, his great-grandfather, who, about the Revolutionary period, married a Chickahominy woman, by whom he had three sons, one of whom was Terrill's grandfather" (Mooney 1907:147). Records [discussed below] indicate two adult men, Patrick and Richard Bradby [sometimes Bradley or Bradberry], were from Pamunkey Town in the 1790s and also Baptists. A third man, John Bradby, b.1780,

"probably came from Pamunkey," as he was "the ancestor" of the Indian Bradbys of Charles City and New Kent County Baptists, including E.P. Bradby quoted above (Rountree 1990:172, 333).

If these men were indeed brothers, as Terrill Bradby's oral history indicates, possibly their father was a White man named James Bradby, who attended the College of William & Mary in the 1750s alongside King William Indians (Bursars Book 1745-1770:11). Likely confirming the oral history of "James Bradby" as a Baptist minister during the Revolutionary era, the "Baptist Interests in...Virginia" were published in 1791, with a list of churches, dates of their constitutions, and the names of their ministers. In "Charles City, 1776, James Bradley" is listed as the preacher, thereby strongly suggesting him as the potential missionary to the Indian towns' residents, and the source of the surname amongst the late-century Pamunkey. In the "County of King William" the Baptist Interests identified a place called "Upper College" as the earliest meetinghouse, with an organization of 1774. "J. Levi Abraham [and] John Whitlock" were listed as the ministers. No meetinghouse or ministers were listed for New Kent County until the 1790s (American Quarterly Register 1840:184, 186).

Thus, by the beginning of the American Revolution, a small Baptist congregation had formed in King William, and called themselves the "Upper College Baptist Church." The meeting shared space with the Cattail Chapel and Acquinton Church congregations. After the War for Independence, there was widespread suspicion and prejudice against the high Church as a British loyalist institution. Public support, in the form of taxation, had ceased in 1776, and the General Assembly disestablished the Church in 1784. During this period, Indian support for the Baptist movement grew, and in 1791, Lower College Baptist Church was organized out of the Upper College congregation. Multiple baptized King William Indian couples were among the organizers listed on the charter roll (Colosse Baptist Church Minute Book 1814-1834; Rountree 1990:175-176). Based on the surnames of Indians noted as "Pamunkey" in earlier documents, many

of the 1791 “Free Coloured Members Names” are affiliated with the county’s Indian towns. So too, the surnames represented exogamous marriages of families beyond the Indian community, such as the Bradbys and those marked “NK,” possibly for New Kent [as written in original]:

Lower College Baptist Church	
1791	
Free Coloured Members Names	
John Collins	Elizabeth Gunn
William Cooper	Jane Collins
William Gunn	Sally Cooper
John Langston	Francis Sampson
James Langston	Agnes Custelow
Gideon Langston	Mary Bradby
Patrick Bradby	Keziah Bradby
Willis Langston	Lucy Langston
Edward Brisby	Ann Brisby
William Sweett	Piercy Gurley
Richard Bradby	Betsy Sampson
William Sampson	Anny Driver
Archibald Langston	Elizabeth Holt
Phillip Scott NK	Leah Langston
William Pearman NK	

Absent from the early Lower College lists are most of the recorded Brafferton students from the 1750-1770s, who if living, were adults in the 1790s. Of the fifteen men listed above, only two of the names match Brafferton alums [John and Gideon Langston]. Conspicuously missing are the leadership surnames of Cook, Tawhaw, and Mush – all Brafferton students and signatories of mid-century Indian legislative petitions. The Brafferton students were all enculturated to the Anglican Church ideology, and most if not all, received baptism. The above listed individuals were also baptized under the emergent Baptist faith and officially “received” into the Lower College Church at its founding. Possibly the discrepancy in church membership reflected existing divisions within the King William Indian community – plausibly based on the Anglican versus Baptist denominations – but equally plausibly based on preexisting socio-political factions or rivalries, such as crosscutting lineages of Chickahominy and Mattaponi among the “Pamunkey.”

In 1759 some of the Pamunkey asked the House of Burgesses permission to lease “a small quantity of land, separate from the said tract [whereon they live], which is of no other use to them...that the said separate lands may be vested in trustees, to be leased out at reasonable rents, to be applied to their use” (Hening VII:298-299). Apparently, not all of the Indians were in agreement. By the next session “William Tawhaw and others, Part of the Tribe of Pamunkey Indians” petitioned the legislature to reverse the previous year’s act. The request was one of the few for tributary Indians, and in particular for the Pamunkey, where Indian leadership figures disagreed publicly and through legislation over a land lease. The incident was reminiscent of the 1704 Chickahominy divisions that resulted in Drammaco removing first to Pamunkey, and then to a “Small Tract of Land lying on Mattaponi River.” While speculative, the disagreement from “Part” of the tribe may actually reflect the internal divisions of the old chiefdom, whether by residence or lineage.

Similar to Chickahominy Drammaco signing a 1710 petition as a “Pamunkey” “Great Man,” it is possible that “William Tawhaw and others, Part of the Tribe of Pamunkey Indians” were in fact, an unrecognized division, such as that of Mattaponi. Tawhaw indicated that the petition to lease the “separate” lands “was obtained at the Solicitation of a few” and that “only of those Indians” would the lease “benefit.” Tawhaw’s faction stated the request was made “without ever consulting the [present] Petitioners on the Subject.” The House reversed the order, in agreement with Tawhaw and his petitioners (McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915 IX:166, 201, 222). Nearly fifty years later, Pamunkey petitions stated that some band members previously lived on lands they were then requesting to lease. In a parallel situation, “Tawhaw and others” may have also resided elsewhere, on one of the other “Pamunkey” tracts of land – maybe even on the lands being targeted for rental in 1759. While the evidence is inconclusive, it is plausible that Tawhaw’s “Part of the Tribe” was a non-Pamunkey element, such as at Jefferson’s 1781 settlement at Mattaponi.

Neither William Tawhaw nor George Tawhaw, both petitioners [1760, 1749] from “Pamunkey,” were ever represented in the Lower College Church records. John Tawhaw, a Brafferton student in 1765, should have been an adult when the Upper College Church was organized in 1776. His fellow Brafferton alums from the 1750s, John and Gideon Langston, were both listed on the 1791 Lower College charter rolls. There may be some explanation as to why the Tawhaws were not represented, such as surname shift or mortality, but nonconformity or factionalism also may have been factors.

The most surprising absence from the 1791 charter rolls is the Mush family. Robert Mush [also known as Mursh / Marsh] was a Brafferton student from 1769-1775, and served during the American Revolution in the Virginia ranks, until he was discharged in 1783. Mush’s nineteenth-century pension application details his movements, service, and life after the war. According to documents presented within the appeals, Mush married his wife Elizabeth in 1783, and had their “marriage bonds” published three times in their “Church or Missionary Station.” These actions were under the auspices of itinerant Baptist preachers. By the 1790s, Mush had become more strongly taken by the Baptist gospel, and he was recognized as a Baptist preacher by 1798 (Mush, Robert, Pension File W.8416). However, Mush’s name does not appear within the Minute Book for the Lower College Baptist Church, although he may have been among the sermon leaders, “Elder Thomas Courtney with other ministering Brethren attended occasionally until July 22nd 1798 when Brother John Mill was ordained and being chosen by the Church and assumed the Pastoral charge” (Colosse Baptist Church Minute Book 1814-1870:1).

Like the Tawhaws, Mush may have been part of a faction, or not in agreement with the organizers of Lower College. However, it should also be recalled that Mush was a surname associated with the Drammaco division at Chickahominy. As far as cultural practice, to recognize that “Tawhaw” and “Mush” were the last vestiges of original Algonquian names Anglicized to surnames, may be import-

ant. After 1800, Mush relocated to the Catawba in South Carolina. He and his family were admitted into that tribe’s Flint Hill Baptist Church in 1806 and Mush served as assistant pastor. In South Carolina, Mush rejoined his Brafferton classmate and fellow war veteran John Nettles, who served as interpreter to the Catawba.

Following the supposition that there were factions at Pamunkey which impacted religious institution membership, the Cook surname was present as a leadership element of a 1748 petition [Thomas Cook] and among the 1754-1755 listed Brafferton students [William Cooke], but absent from the founding names of the Lower College Baptist Church. Several Cook family members appear on Revolution-era documents from King William (Figure 9) (LP John Quarles 1779), tax rolls at Pamunkey in 1787, and on one record at Lower College in 1794 [John Cook], but not elsewhere between then and 1812. Of note, considering Mush’s relocation to Catawba, a “Captain Thomas Cook” also appears at Catawba during this era, signing every petition presented by that tribe between 1792 and 1812. Afterwards, he disappears from the Catawba records (Watson 1995:28-29), but reappears at Pamunkey in 1812, as does “John Mush,” Robert Mush’s adult son (LP Dec. 4, 1812). Pamunkey documents suggest that the Cook surname that appears after 1812, “Thomas Major Cook,” “Major Cook,” and “George Major Cook” are related lineage names (Pamunkey PF 2015).

If divisions were of a congregational or denominational nature, some were reconciled between the American Revolution and the chartering of Lower College Baptist Church. John and Jane [nee Richardson] Collins appear on the 1791 “Free Coloured” church rolls. John Collins served in the American Revolution, 1777-1780, and fought in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, and Camden. He received a pension while living in King and Queen County in 1818; at his death in 1822, his wife applied for the benefit. From these documents one learns that John Collins was “born and raised and lived in King William County,” but was married to Jane [sometimes called “Jinny”] in

Williamsburg in April of 1780 by “Parsons Bracken.” Rev. John Bracken was the Anglican rector of Bruton Parish Church, the last Brafferton Indian Schoolmaster, 1777-1779, and eventually the President of the College. In what manner John and Jane Collins came to be married by Bracken is not clear, nor how he was acquainted with the couple. Collins was not a Brafferton student, according to the extant documents, although he may have been among the anonymous pupils enumerated but not listed, 1771-1776, a time when John Collins was a teenager. James City County court officials discounted the Collins’ marriage, as they had no record of a license, but multiple affidavits affirmed the Collins’ nuptials under the Anglican minister in Williamsburg, and that “Jinny Richeson” followed John Collins for the remainder of his enlistment, “washed [clothes] for the officers,” and was present at the Battle of Camden and Hillsborough. Statements to the sanctity of the marriage focused on the character of their relationship as “man and wife” but also to the couple’s religious affiliation. As recalled by Mrs. Jane Hargrove, wife of Billy Hargrove, a Baptist preacher:

“John Collins...and his wife were members of the Baptist Church. He was in the habit of praying and exhorting in public...and [seen] at public meetings...When John returned home from service he lived with Jane in her immediate neighborhood for many years and continued his religious exercises in public” (Collins, John [Jane], Pension File, S.39356; W.6736).

Collins’ affiliation with the Anglican Church, such as demonstrated by his marriage in Williamsburg under Rev. Bracken, transitioned to the Baptist denomination. He was a founding member of the Lower College Baptist Church, alongside dozens of Indians. Unlike Robert Mush or Thomas Cook, John and Jane Collins became stalwart supporters of the Baptist movement among the post-Revolutionary Indians in King William. Contemporary documents from the Pamunkey indicate the present community identifies John Collins as an historical member of the tribe, although he is not described as “Pamunkey” in related period documents (Pamunkey PF 2015:25-28). Collins was listed under “mem-

bers present” in the church records of 1791 and under “Excluded free members” in 1812. By 1836, “Richard Collins a descendant of the Indian Tribe” had his name added to the reorganized Lower College rolls (Colosse Baptist Church Minute Book 1814-1870:20). Thus by the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the Collins family were recognized members of both the Baptist church and the Indian community. Whether John or Jane, or both, were of Native descent is less clear. However, 1837-1838 affidavits in support of Jane’s pension continuance were made by King William Indians James Langston, Joanna Sweat, Mary Bradley, Polly Holt, Ellis Major, and William Major, several of whom were in their seventies, indicated they knew the Collins their “entire life,” and “resided in the same neighborhood” with them ever since they “first could remember” (Collins, John [Jane] Pension File, W.6736). Subsequent Collins families appear as residents either on or adjacent to the Mattaponi and Pamunkey Indian reservations during the mid-nineteenth century (C1850-1860). Based on other records (i.e. Pamunkey PF 2015) James Langston, Joanna Sweat, Mary Bradley, and Polly Holt may be counted as “Pamunkey,” but Ellis Major [Key?] and William “Billy” Major were Mattaponi, and of dominant lineages on the reservation.

In 1796, the Lower College Baptist congregation moved to use the “Old West Point Meeting House” of St. John’s Church, possibly by chance, a location closer to the Indian towns. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, church members began using a tract of land called “Canton,” which had a wooden frame structure. The church was not composed of an exclusively Indian congregation, but rather had “White,” “free Coloured,” and “slave” members. However, many of the names listed as “free Coloured” appear in other period documents as “Pamunkey,” and a few as “Mattaponi.”

Multiple “free Colored” members matching the nineteenth-century Indian surnames of Collins, Cooper, Bradberry / Bradby, Brisby, Dungey, Gunn, Gurley, Langston, Sampson, and Swett were recorded on church enrollments, exclusions, tithes, and deaths between 1812 and 1821. The Dover Associ-

ation “excluded” the Lower College congregation in 1832 because of “radical” tendencies, seen as a dissension from the tenets of the Baptist Association. “In the year of Christ 1835” the church reorganized, and made new enrollments, during which time “a communication was received, from the descendants of an Indian Tribe on Indian Island, requesting to be received into the church,” which was “granted.” Soon thereafter, the name of the reorganized church was changed to Colosse Baptist Church. In the subsequent years, additional “free Colored” or Indian-related names were added to the 1835 rolls, as the

congregation grew: Acre, Adams, Allman, Arnold, Cook, Custalow, Davis, Dickey, Fortune, Hanes, Harris, Hill, Holmes, Major, Miles, Page, Tuppence, Wheely and Winn were all surnames that appeared within Colosse’s minute books before the end of the Civil War. In 1850 the old wooden structure at Canton was destroyed by fire. Land was donated to the congregation and a new brick sanctuary was erected in 1852 on the King William Road (Figure 10), about three miles from the Mattaponi Indian Reservation (Colosse Baptist Church Papers, n.d.; Colosse Minute Book 1814-1834; 1814-1870).



Map 5. Mattaponi River Indian Town detail of Benjamin Lewis Blackford's c.1865 map of King William County; note the proximity of the Brooks and Hill farms, and Colosse Church on the King William Road. Indian Town c.1865 had multiple compounds and a landing road, clearly marked on multiple Civil War-era maps. Source: Library of Congress



Map 6. King William County map detail by Jedediah Hotchkiss, c.1863, illustrating the "Indians" near Sharon on the Court House Road, just below Catfish Church near Aylett; the map is a rare documentation of non-reservation Indians living out in the county. Source: Library of Congress

## CHAPTER FIVE

### MATTAPONI TOWN, c.1800-1900

#### *The Early Republic and Antebellum Era Settlement*

During the nineteenth century, multiple Native peoples were identified in historical Virginia records, but sometimes unattached to tribal identities. They appear as “Indians” or of “Indian descent” but not otherwise identified as “Pamunkey” or “Mattaponi.” The reservations had more historical security in the use of those names, but their off-reservation kindred and allies did not always share in those labels, nor did they have lands in state trust. Thus, Indians appear in the Caroline, Essex, and King and Queen county records – who later compose the “Rappahannock” tribal peoples – and Indian families appear in upper county King William records, later identified as “Upper Mattaponi.” The legitimacy of these individuals and families as of “Indian” origin is not problematic, however their relationship to the Mattaponi and Pamunkey reservations is less than clear. Both reserves pulled from “out in the county” populations for labor pooling, marriage mates, and political alliances during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, a fuller portrait of the peoples identified c.1885-1930 as “Rappahannock” and “Upper Mattaponi” by James Mooney and Frank G. Speck of the Smithsonian’s Bureau of Ethnology await further historical research. So too, other communities and kindred identified in Gloucester and Hanover counties have not been reported upon (but see Stern 1952 for Charles City and New Kent). Thus, the 1800-1900 narrative is conservatively restricted to the Mattaponi reservation and correspondence to the Pamunkey, but with the understanding that other Native communities have genealogical and historical connections to both.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Mattaponi community becomes clearer in

the documentary record, with references building on Jefferson’s slight portrait from the 1780s. The “Mattapony Indians in King William,” resided on a tract of riverine Indian land and occupied a small hamlet, more remote by comparison to the town on the Pamunkey River. Situated on about 150 acres, the Mattaponi “Indian Town” was scattered along a bluff above the river, bordered by higher forested and cleared ground, a creek, and an estuarine swamp. At the base of the bluff was a landing area for canoes.

In the eighteenth century, one of the nearest neighbors was George Brooke, who had a gristmill situated upon the higher land along Indian Town Creek, the perceived border of the Mattaponi’s settlement. Brooke’s name is still affixed to the adjacent modern-day Brooks Creek that forks west toward Colosse Baptist Church from the Mattaponi River (Map 5). Brooke’s dam and mill were destroyed at some point, and in 1812 local planter John Hill, who owned “land only on one side of the said run” applied to King William County “to have an acre of land on the opposite side [of] the property[,] of the Mattapony Indians, laid off for an abutment to his dam” in order to build “a water grist mill across the swamp[,] the middle of the bed.” The court ordered a jury to “view the said land,” investigate the matter, and determine “what damage it will be” to “home,” “Garden,” or whether “Orchards will be overflowed, to inquire whether and in what degree fish of passage and ordinary navigation will be obstructed” or if the dam would be any annoyance to the neighbors (LP Dec. 1, 1812).

The jury found the Hill proposal for a gristmill and dam appropriate, and recommended purchasing one “acre of high land for the abutment of the dam” and “an acre of low land” from the “Mat-

tapony Indians.” In the interim, Hill went about preparing all of the framing required. However, the residents of Mattaponi Town objected to the mill and the loss of possibly an acre or so of Indian land. The King William Court wavered at this point, declined to summon the Indians and stated “the court being of the opinion that no Land owned by or in the possession of Indians can be legally located for the creation of a Mill.” Possibly county versus state jurisdiction was called in as issue (Rountree 1990:166), as John Hill petitioned the state legislature by December of 1812, stating the “mill would be of public benefit to the neighborhood and more so the Indians.” Moreover, Hill suggested that the old mill “was the property of said Brooke” but Hill wasn’t clear “on what terms this [old] mill stood, except by consent [and] nor did he know that the mill stood upon his land[,] the run being so near the line.” Hill proposed passing a law allowing him access to the Indian acreage “to abut his dam to their land and also to lay of[f] one acre on the hill for the use of the mill, where the dirt was taken” from the old dam. The Assembly deemed the plan “reasonable,” but the bill drawn from the petition did not pass (LP Dec. 1, 1812).

From the foregoing information, one learns that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, King William neighbors and the local court recognized the Mattaponi Indian Town, including the boundaries of the Indian tract, and that there were extant laws governing Indian land and political discourse. As well, the community was engaged in agriculture, and fish passage was deemed an important consideration. The community cooperated with some neighbors, but not all, and resisted intrusion, suggesting an ability to navigate the social and political climate of early nineteenth-century Virginia. How many residents there were at Mattaponi Town c.1810 remains unclear. However, from their agency, it is clear leadership figures were in place and a sense of corporate peoplehood claimed ownership of the land; the 1812 documents repeatedly refer to “lands owned by the Mattapony Indians.”

As Jefferson stated in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the Mattaponi settlement had a

small number of male heads, with movement between Mattaponi and Pamunkey occurring from time to time. Jedidiah Morse’s 1822 report on Indian affairs to the War Department, enumerated the “Pamunkies & Mattaponies” as only about twenty individuals, “all that remain of those numerous tribes, who once constituted the formidable Powhatan” (Morse 1822:31, 364). Later documents posit that several families were associated with the early nineteenth-century Mattaponi Town, including the surnames Key, Major, and Tuppence. The latter surname, a possible corruption of the Mattaponi name “Tupeisens,” also appeared in the historical record as “Two Pence.”

The 1820 Virginia census did not enumerate residences on Indian reservation lands, although some renters and outsiders were recorded (Woodard 2013:367); Indians living off-reservation, out in the county, were typically reported under “white” or “free colored” headings. Residents of the Indian towns also regularly travelled and stayed beyond King William’s bounds; such as had been the case in the eighteenth century when trucking in Yorktown or Williamsburg, or following the watermen’s catch of the tidewater. David Twopence, identified in later documents as a Mattaponi Indian, was counted in the city of Richmond’s 1820 census. Brothers Richard and John Bradberry were enumerated off the King William reservation in 1820, both counted as “white males,” likely as a result of their prominent father, both siblings with large households of children and a few enslaved persons. Richard had paid taxes at Pamunkey in 1798-1802, as did his other brother Patrick, 1797-1799, and both Patrick and Richard Bradby were counted among the “free coloured members” at Lower College in 1791. As well, a waterman named John Dunge, “descended from the aborigines of this Dominion...the land of his forefathers,” petitioned the legislature from King William County “his Native land” in 1825. The plea for his case outlined his travels and extensive knowledge as a “sailor...employed in the navigation of the Chesapeake Bay and the Rivers of Virginia” (LP Dec. 19, 1825), thus confirming the travels and movements of King William Indians during the era.

According to an 1818 newspaper, the “Pamunkey Tribe of Indians” consisted of “near 200 persons,” which based on the comparative figures may have included both Mattaponi and Pamunkey reservation towns, or the estimated number of Indians in the county. The article stated that the “present chief is a member of the Baptist church,” and that “Two brothers of the name Bradberry, have lately married into the tribe, and settled among them; but a meeting has been called to see whether they will permit them to stay. The elder B. is said to be worth several thousand dollars.” Based on the oral history from less than 100 years later, the Bradby brothers were descended from the Baptist minister James Bradby and a Chickahominy woman; possibly the eighteenth-century factionalism recorded among resident remnant populations continued to play out at Pamunkey. The 1820 census record of two of the Bradby brothers living out in the county may indicate the resolution to their residence was resolved by relocation. It is tempting to link the potential inheritance of the sons of Baptist Rev. James Bradby to the 1818 wealth noted about the Pamunkey “brothers of the name Bradberry,” and the off-reservation slave owning stature of the sibs by 1820. John Bradby, the “elder B.,” owned a small family of enslaved persons, based on the census data, which would have elevated his wealth assessment to “several thousand dollars” (New England Palladium 9/1/1818).

Financial difference or other factors may have caused the Bradby exodus from Pamunkey, but within a few years the Bradby descendants were situated at Mattaponi, Charles City County, James City County, and New Kent County, as the children of John, Patrick, and Richard came of age. The earliest Charles City County “free colored” Bradby head of household, not enumerated, but taxed for slaves in 1810 was Smallwood Bradby. By 1820, a “Free Colored... Boldin Bradby” was identified in the Charles City census. Some resolution to the 1818 conflict must have been reached, because by 1830, there were three Bradby heads at Pamunkey [Edward, Jesse and William]. Beyond these, four more households in Charles City [Alexander, John, Rebecca, and Smallwood] and one at Mattaponi [Miles Brad-

by] indicate divergent socio-political, and possibly religious, practices unfolding within a small Native geography. Born in c.1780, the elder John Bradby became the patriarch of the Bradby families living south of the Pamunkey River (Stern 1952; Rountree 1990:333)

Two residences listed on the 1830 King William Census may reflect that era’s Mattaponi households: Billy Key, about twenty-five years of age with a small family of five; and Miles Bradberry/Bradby 24-36 with a young female. By then, “David Toupence” was back in the county managing a household of five, although living beyond the Mattaponi Township. A curiosity news article published in 1836 mentions “the Pamunkey and the Mattapony” and “some remnants of tribes of Indians living along the banks of these rivers.” While the news brief focuses on the Pamunkey Town, the shorthand remarks about the living arrangements may be taken to account for both Indian settlements “in the very heart of this older part of the state.” The “populous” Pamunkey Indian settlement contained “more than 30 log huts or rather cabins, and is inhabited by the most curious intermixture of every colour and class of people.” The narrator continued, “These people are generally rather poor, and live much on fish, wild fowls and quadrupeds; though a few of them raise corn, cotton, &c. In fact several families live much in the style of the lower class of the Virginians, but are most miserably dissipated.” Indian hunting dogs were described as “large and fierce” and serving the planters and Indians alike in the taking of deer (Rover 1836:366).

By 1840, the Mattaponi Town increased in residents to include “David Tuppence,” Billy Key who remained, and a new resident “Thornton Alman.” Miles Bradby moved across the neck to Pamunkey Town. Thornton Allmond had married Elizabeth Major [b.1811], the daughter of William “Billy” Major who was taxed at Pamunkey in 1799. According to Mattaponi oral history, Eliza Major’s mother was a White woman named Betsy Welch, who like Richard and John Bradby, appeared in the 1820 King William census as Betsy Major, marked as “White.” In contrast, Allmond hailed from

Gloucester County near Guinea, and may have been the son of Miles Almond. Thornton Allmond was taxed among the Gloucester “free negroes and mulattos” in 1833 and 1834, and was living in King William by 1835 (Vernon 1998:258). Multiple intermarriages from Pamunkey and Mattaponi with Gloucester families occurred during the nineteenth century, and some communion existed amongst watermen surrounding fishing and oystering activities. These migrations and intermarriages, as well as the ambiguous identity of Allmond as a “mulatto,” led previous researchers to indicate there was a remnant Indian population in Gloucester during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most, if not all them, came from King William County (Mooney 1907:152; Speck 1928:285-286; but see Rountree 1990:216, 350). The surnames of Acre, Allmond, Langston, Major, Sampson, and Spencer contributed to the nineteenth-century Gloucester watermen neighborhood (C1860-1870), and some connections to Gloucester Point and Almonds Wharf remain within the oral history of the Mattaponi and Pamunkey to the present day (Woodard Field Notes).

During the 1830s and 1840s, White residents and visitors in King William commented on the intermarriage of the Indian towns with “mulattos,” and some slave-owning planters complained to the General Assembly that the Pamunkey and Mattaponi tracts were havens for undesirables, a “resort for free mulattoes...abandoned whitemen [and]... the ready asylum of runaway slaves.” Some resented the non-White population retaining status on the lands set aside for Indians, and claimed that every resident of the Indian Towns were statutory “free mulattoes” “by the laws of Virginia...in any Court of Justice.” In 1843, Thomas W.S. Gregory submitted a petition to the Assembly requesting the reservation lands be sold, the proceeds divided amongst “those occupants as can show their descent from the Indian stock,” and the population dispersed. Gregory indicated the specifics of the lands and peoples in question:

“The two tracts of land referred to, are each called and known by the name of Indian

Town. One situated on Pamunkey River, containing the estimated quantity of fifteen hundred acres...the other situated on Mattaponi river, containing less than one hundred acres, on which persons are now living.”

In response to several years of accusations and threats, the Pamunkey wrote the Governor in 1836 and sent a counter petition to the General Assembly in 1842. The tribe refuted all claims to their lack of moral character, and argued that they were law abiding and productive members of King William. They discussed their productivity in agriculture, “we make more corn than will serve us by two hundred barrels,” and the lifestyle of their men “living by fishing and hunting,” and women who “can make their wares to support them without any expense to the county.” And while they acknowledged, “there are several mulattos married amongst us,” they stressed that “there are many here that are more than half-blood Indian.” The three “Chief Men of The Pamunkey Indians” decried the White petitioners as not living near them, and having no just cause for attempting to remove them from their “native land.” The General Assembly agreed with the Pamunkey; Gregory’s petition to sell the Mattaponi and Pamunkey land was rejected (LP February 18, 1836; January 20, 1843; January 21, 1843).

Based on the 1836 letter and 1842-1843 petitions, as well as period observers of both Indian towns, it is clear that Mattaponi-Pamunkey intermarriages had occurred with Whites and other “Free Coloured” residents of Tidewater. Unlike the Rev. James Bradby example, it is less clear when, and with whom, other exogamous unions occurred. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, there were multiple English surnames associated with the two towns, some of them only one or two generations deep, based on the extant records. An 1845 author, Henry Howe, briefly described the towns’ demography:

“There is the remnant of the Mattapony tribe of Indians, now dwindled down to only 15 or 20 souls. Further up on the Pamunkey, at what is called Indian Town, are about 100 descen-

dants of the Pamunkeys...Their land is in the hands of trustees appointed to hold it for the tribe. They manufacture pottery and baskets very neatly” (1845: 349-350).

Census data are more detailed beginning in 1850, and with a lack of other courthouse-related King William documents, the 1850 census returns for population and agriculture are particularly helpful for illustrating the people and lives of antebellum Mattaponi Town. Howe’s assessment of the population size was fairly accurate, from 1840 when there were three Indian households on the reservation, to 1850 when there were four, if not five, Mattaponi households. The established residences of Thornton and Eliza [Major] Allmond and David Twopence remained, and were joined by several families with the last name of Dungee. As early as 1818 and 1821, “Jessey,” Henry, and “Isabal Dungey” were members of Lower College Baptist Church, and like the 1825 Indian waterman petitioner “John Dungie,” multiple Dungees were described as “Indian” in mid- and late-century documents. Two were marked as at “Indian Town” in Lower College records in 1831-1832, and as of 1850, an extended family of Dungees lived on the edge of Pamunkey Town. The matriarch, born c.1787, Elizabeth or Betsy [Collins] Dungee, was possibly the daughter of John and Jane Collins – the first couple with that surname recorded in association with King William Indians; Mattaponi William Major, along with other Natives, had vouched for Jane Collins in 1838, stating she had “resided in the same neighborhood” with him ever since he “first could remember.” Elizabeth [Collins] Dungee’s adult children neighbored her along the outskirts of the Pamunkey settlement (C1850; Collins, John [Jane], Pension File, S.39356; W.6736; Colosse Baptist Church Minute Book 1814-1834; 1814-1870).

Several of Elizabeth [Collins] Dungee’s relations also resided at Mattaponi Town in 1850. Her son, Spotswood Dungee, his wife and family, along with John Dungee and Lydia Fortune, resided adjacent to David Twopence’s compound. Opposite of Thornton Allmond, the laboring family of Elwood Collins was situated. Absent from the King Wil-

liam census were the members of the Key family, possibly removed to an urban center or mobile as a waterman, “sailor,” “mariner,” or “oysterman.” The total household count for 1850 was twenty-two, or as Howe stated “15 or 20 souls” dwelling at Mattaponi (C1850; Howe 1845: 349-350)

According to the 1845-1851 tax records for the county, Thornton Allmond paid tithes each year for one or two horses, as did “Davy Twopence.” John and Spotswood Dungee appear to have alternated paying the tax, each recorded with and without a horse 1849-1850. Beginning in 1846, Allmond was also taxed for owning enslaved laborers. There were at least two slaves at Mattaponi, and like the horse tax, Allmond rotated the slave tax with John Dungee, 1850-1851. Allmond also likely rented the slaves out in 1847-1849, when the tax was reduced from two slaves to one slave, then to no slaves in 1849, and back to two slaves in 1850. Alternatively, the discrepancy may indicate the Mattaponi slaves were sold and new enslaved labor purchased. The King William taxation information suggests Allmond, the Dungees, Twopence, and probably Collins, were cooperating and labor pooling during the agricultural cycle (King William Tax Rolls, 1782-1875).

The 1850 Agricultural Census counted two owners of farms at Mattaponi; Pamunkey was also enumerated. Through this document, one learns that Allmond and Dungee – those sharing slave labor and splitting taxes – were the household heads listed as “owner,” however only Allmond was recorded as “Farmer” in the regular census; Dungee was listed as a “laborer,” as were Collins, S. Dungee, and Twopence. The agriculture data [Table 1] indicate the partners were farming about thirty-five acres, with 115 “unimproved” acres between them. The unimproved land appears to be private property; whereas it is possible the arable land reflects the open portion of the Mattaponi reservation. Equally, the assessor may have reported the reservation tracts as divided among the families, as thirty-five acres is close to earlier reports of Mattaponi farming, and the sum total of acreage [150 acres] is approximately the size of the reservation. For sure,

NAME OF OWNER	ACRES		CASH VALUE OF FARM	VALUE OF FARM TOOLS	LIVESTOCK JUNE 1, 1850							PRODUCE DURING THE YEAR					
	IMPROVED	UNIMPROVED			HORSES	ASSES & MULES	MILCH COWS	WORKING OXEN	OTHER CATTLE	SWINE	VALUE OF LIVESTOCK	WHEAT, BUSHELS	INDIAN CORN, BUSHELS	IRISH POTATOES, BUSHELS	SWEET POTATOES, BUSHELS	BUTTER, POUNDS	VALUE OF SLAUGHTERED LIVESTOCK
AMBROSE ACRE	50	210	\$1300	\$30	1	-	7	-	-	9	\$100	20	200	5	10	50	\$30
<u>THORNTON</u> <u>ALLMOND</u>	20	50	\$350	\$15	-	2	3	3	5	-	\$80	-	100	-	10	20	\$10
<u>JOHN</u> <u>DUNGEE</u>	15	65	\$300	\$13	-	-	2	-	1	4	\$35	-	80	-	-	20	\$25
ROBERT POWERS	15	10	\$125	\$25	1	-	-	-	-	2	\$35	60	200	-	-	-	\$20

Table 1. Mattaponi Indian Town and Neighbors' Agricultural Produce, 1849-1850. Indian households are underlined; neighboring White households are comparatives. Source: AG1850:431-432.

the value of the farming implements and livestock was tracked individually. Interestingly, Allmond was reported with \$350 value of real estate in the regular census, but Dungee was listed as property-less. Neither men were recorded as having horses in 1850, although Dungee paid tax on one in 1849 [Spotswood paid for 1850] and Allmond paid tax on two horses 1849-1850. Possibly Allmond's two "Asses & Mules" listed on the Agricultural Census reflect the two taxed "horses." Both Allmond and Dungee were engaged in other animal husbandry, besides the farm workhorses or mules. At least five milch cows were at Mattaponi in 1849-1850, and each household produced approximately twenty pounds of butter apiece. There were six beef cattle, with Allmond have the higher proportion; he also used three oxen to drive carts, plow, or carry timber out of the woods. Dungee balanced his beef deficit with swine, no doubt for bacon, lard, hams, and other pork for the table.

In terms of agriculture, both households likely had small kitchen gardens, but produced larger crops for market and as fodder for their livestock. A modest return of 180 bushels of In-

dian Corn provided hominy, meal, tops and blade fodder. Allmond raised ten bushels worth of sweet potatoes, which was a source of income in the coastwise trade that shipped through Hampton Roads to northern ports. River pilots, such as the 1825 petitioner "Capt, John Dungee...Commander of a Vessel," assisted King William planters to "ship Grain or other articles from the shores of Pamunkey and Matapond Rivers" (LP Dec.19, 1825). Based on other documents, it is also clear that Spotswood Dungee was a waterman (C1860 New Jersey; C1870 New York). All of the households at Mattaponi Town likely also had a heavy subsistence from fishing.

Through the remainder of the Antebellum period public identification of the Indian towns continued, both at the local and state level. An 1851 legislative committee was charged with reviewing "what provisions are necessary" for the "Mattaponi and Pamunkey Indians, or any other remnants of the old tributary Indians, who may be still remaining in the commonwealth," as the Assembly was drafting a new bill of rights for a revised state constitution (Richmond Enquir-

er 2/7/1851). Father William, a pseudonym, first published his *Recollections and Rambles at the South* in 1845, but had a second edition printed in 1854, where his slighting statement concerning the Indian towns was repeated:

“Not very far distant from the place where I met with uncle Tom Cooke, I visited the miserable remains of an ancient tribe of Indians, called the Pamunkey. My readers may know, already, that York River, in Virginia, is formed by two principle branches – the Pamunkey and the Mattopany; but they are not, probably, all of them aware that along the banks of these rivers, in the very heart of the state, there are, even now, the remnants of several tribes of Indians. Few of them, however, deserve the name Indians, so mingled are they with other nations by intermarriage” (1854:129).

It is possible Williams’ figure “Tom Cooke” was influenced, at least in name, by his visit to Pamunkey, where several “Thomas Cooks” resided, one born in 1791 (Pamunkey PF 2015:101). Williams’ recognition of two settlements of Indians on both rivers, was also receiving popular acknowledgment, although Mattaponi Town remained more remote. Public discourse about the tribes many times focused on their standard of living, lamented their small numbers, and derided the intermarriage of the Indians with outsiders. One of Thornton and Eliza [Major] Allmond’s daughters, Betsy, married a Pamunkey in the late 1850s, William Terrill Bradby, and one of Eliza’s kindred, Thomas Major, lived at Pamunkey Town in 1850. However, several other close Major relatives followed the river to Gloucester. Sarah [Major] married Thomas Acree, first as “Indians” in 1854. Upon his death, Sarah married waterman Warner Smith of Gloucester. Both were listed as “White” in 1870. Her sister, Frances “Parky” Major married fisherman Banks Spencer, and both families contributed to a mixed-Native “fishing” settlement of “oystermen” and “sailors” near “Mr. Joseph Seawall’s” in Gloucester County. Sarah and Parky Major’s brother, Elston Major, was later “Chief of Tribe of Mattaponi Indians”

(C1860-1870; King William Marriage Register, 1853-1859; LP May 8, 1868).

Following the threats to the Mattaponi and Pamunkey communities in the 1830s and 1840s, a stronger identification as “Indian” and being “members” of tribes became important internalized ideas, and major outward facing political statements (Pamunkey PF 2015:31-34; Rountree 1990:195-196). Through several subsequent decades, the Pamunkey held their Trustees and the Governor responsible for enforcing the laws that allowed them privileges as “tributary Indians,” including the right to bear arms (Executive Letter Book 1857). So too, “free papers” from the Trustees identified the members of the tribes as “Indians.” Richard Bradby, supplied the Richmond court in 1853 with his identification papers issued by the “Trustees of the Pamunkey Indians,” which described his physical appearance and stated he was “entitled to all the privileges immunities, etc. to said tribe appertaining.” At issue was whether Bradby was classified as an Indian or “free negro,” and subject to Free Negro and Mulatto laws. Parthenia Twopence, likely a relation of David Twopence at Mattaponi, was described following her 1854 death near Rockets Landing by a Richmond City coroner and constable as “one of the Pamunkey tribe of Indians.” The next year, Edward Bradby placed an add in a Richmond newspaper for the return a lost small tin box, misplaced at Rockets or onboard a schooner “containing my FREE PAPERS, together with an Indian Register, from the Trustees of the Pamunkey tribe of Indians” (Daily Dispatch 12/1/1853; 11/8/1854; 6/20/1855).

Collectively, the racial identification of the King William Indians, the laws surrounding tributary status, and the dangers associated with fraternizing with “Free People of Colour,” who were not members of the tribes, forced community members to carefully self regulate and segregate social and political interactions. The climate of racialized hostility was not solely aimed at Mattaponi and Pamunkey. Nottoway reservation descendants from Southampton County

also registered for their “papers” during the late 1830s through the early 1860s, and used them as necessary, particularly when in urban centers like Petersburg and Richmond (Woodard 2013:360-362).

A visit in the mid-1850s to the Mattaponi and Pamunkey towns by a Baptist missionary provides additional details on the communities’ religious sensibilities, as well as some demographic data. The trip included visits to both Indian towns, so the author’s general comments can be taken to be representative of both settlements. G.F.H. Crockett arrived at White House and was entertained by the local gentry before exploring “the King William side.” Among the Pamunkey, “There are here nearly one hundred souls; some eight or ten are engaged as sailors; and a few are living in the surrounding country.” Crockett described, “sixteen families,” at Pamunkey, “thirteen are mixed with white, and three have some individuals of a darker colour.” Across the peninsula, “some ten miles” away, “are six families, altogether about twenty-five Indians, who are called Mattaponi... They have about seventy acres of land. None of them are pure Indian blood; being mixed, some with white, and others a darker hue.” The Pamunkey Town consisted of “small houses and cabins scattered over the settlement, on small farms, which they cultivate; and almost every year have corn to sell. Some of them seem to be industrious and managing, for an uncultivated people. The river abounds with fish, which they take with seines, and sell in Richmond and the regions round about” (Christian Advocate and Journal 1855:44). Here, Crockett provides key information about the mixed agriculture and watermen economy of the two hamlets, and that the sales of fish targeted urban markets. Combined with crop yields for sale, such as Thornton Allmond’s sweet potatoes and Pamunkey corn, the communities’ “industrious” and full engagement with the commodity chain supply is evident.

Crockett’s “The Last of the Virginia Indians” continued, and described an evening of preaching and prayer. The missionary called upon the Pamunkey, and about “twenty-five were assembled” to hear,

“the 2d of Hebrews; and after singing and prayer, spoke of salvation by Christ, its greatness, importance, the danger of neglecting it, &c. After the hymn, I called on one of them, who made a sensible and fervent prayer. I never saw a more orderly company. They seem to sing with the spirit and the understanding, and during the prayers to be engaged.”

The Pamunkey who “profess religion are members of a [Colosse] Baptist Church a few miles from them.” Crockett confirmed the wider community’s Revolutionary-era transition to the Baptist faith: “They say their first baptisms were about seventy years ago...they are now forty-two in fellowship.” According to Crockett, John Langston, who was literate, led the local meetings “among themselves, when they read the Scriptures, exhort, sing, and pray.” Otherwise, they attended Colosse once a month, but aimed to build a meetinghouse “on their land...and desire that the General Association will send them a preacher.” The Mattaponi were less engaged with the Church, although “a wife and daughter of one of these Indians have recently united with the Colosse Church, to which the other Indians belong.” Crockett observed that at Mattaponi, “Some of these Indians spend the Lord’s day in revelry and dancing” (ibid).

The missionary’s remarks indicate that Pamunkey was mostly invested in the Baptist Church, with nearly half of the residents attending Colosse. However, some were not as involved, and multiple members were “excluded” during the 1850s for disciplinary and religious reasons. Some of these divisions may have motivated the interest in forming a meetinghouse at Pamunkey. Nonetheless, the Colosse records show decidedly fewer “Mattaponi” surnames over time, and combined with Crockett’s observations, the small cluster of Mattaponi families may have been more traditional or less inclined to comingle with the Colosse congregation. Mattaponi marriages from the 1850-1860s, which were performed under a Christian minister, tend to show a different preacher presiding than those of Pamunkey matrimones. While not definitive, the earlier divisions between the bands, and

possibly crosscutting within the bands' lineages, appears to have continued.

Near the end of the Antebellum era, the Mattaponi Town's population was increased, and the 1860 census recorded that multiple related households were clustered on and adjacent to the Mattaponi land. Six houses were situated on the ridge above the creeks and river, and four more households were nearby. Returned to the reservation were members of the Key family, heading two households. David Twopence was dead, but his daughters and grandchildren remained. Emeline Twopence [23] and William Archer [22] Key formed a household together, with daughter Lucy. Coly and Henry Major lived next door, each with their own dwelling, and kinsman Eliza [Major] and Thornton Allmond had the largest family within their community. John Dungee lived a short distance away, as did Elston Major. Another family of Dungees lived next door. William Collins, who lived just outside the Pamunkey reserve next to Isaac Miles in 1850, moved closer to Mattaponi by 1860. His children would later be well represented on both reservations [see Table 2].

Few Indians were recorded on the 1860 Agriculture Census; in contrast to 1850, Pamunkey was completely overlooked. Thornton Allmond appeared as the only farmer from the Mattaponi land, with an increased base of private property. The census estimated he had fifty acres under plow, with an additional 167 undeveloped, total value \$800. He had two working oxen and ten pigs, valued at \$100. Three hundred bushels of Indian Corn were raised by Allmond in 1859. He produced ten bushels of Irish potatoes for market, and 30 bushels more of sweet potatoes – both likely for export. While the record did not reflect any milch cows, Allmond showed fifty pounds of butter, two tons of hay, and \$50 worth of culled livestock for the year. Comparatively, Allmond was on the lower end of the property owning income, but he was economically well above the propertyless laborers, and the enslaved.

Based on the census order in Table 2., it is evident that most of the households were laborers for neighboring White planters, at least for seasonal

work. In between the breaks in household numbers were White landowners with substantive farms, and most landless Whites and “Free People of Colour” worked these middling and plantation farmsteads, in addition to their own household garden plots. There were some smallholding exceptions. Nearby Allmond in the 1860 Agriculture Census, but fairly distant in the county population census, was the small but productive farm of Jack Custalow, who had sixteen acres valued at \$200 under plow. Custalow resided out in the county “away from any reservation” and was identified as a “person of color” or “Mulatto” on county documents. Born c.1790, he was probably the son of Agnes Custalow, one of the founding 1791 “Free People of Colour” members of Lower College Baptist Church (Rountree 1990:342). Jack Custalow's wife was Nancy Holmes, and members of both the Custalow and Holmes families were represented in the ranks of Colosse's “free Colored members.” As well, both families are documented to have intermarried with the Pamunkey during the third quarter of the nineteenth century (Pamunkey PF 2015). While unclear in the record, it may be that Agnes Custalow's husband was Indian, or that she was Indian with a “Custalow” married name. The same may be said of Nancy Holmes' parents. Both the Mattaponi and Pamunkey towns considered these families legitimately suitable for intermarriage, as several unions occurred in both hamlets. By 1860, Jack Custalow's son Norman had married Adeline Allmond, daughter of Thornton and Eliza [Major] Allmond (C1860; Pamunkey PF 2015).

From the foregoing information, it can be demonstrated that on the eve of the America Civil War the Mattaponi Town was increasing in families and residential lineages were centered around the original surnames of Key, Major, and Twopence, with in-marriages or associated families of Acre, Allmond, Bradby, Collins, Custalow, Dungee, Fortune, Holmes, Langston and Welch before 1860. The established households of Major and Twopence appear to be the dominant lineages, the former of which may be traced back to William “Billy” Major, b.1760 and Ellis [Major?] Key, b.1761. Despite some ambiguity, in broad strokes, it can be argued

FAMILY	NAME	AGE	SEX	RACE	OCCUPATION	NOTES
557	BILLY KEY	45	M	B	LABORER	
	ELLIS KEY	90	F	B		POSSIBLY ELLIS MAJOR
	CLARBORN [KEY]	47	M	B		1868 MATTAPONI PETITION
	AUSTIN [KEY]	30	M	B		1868 MATTAPONI PETITION
558	THORNTON ALLMAN	40	M	M		LISTED AS FARMER IN 1850
	ELIZA [MAJOR]	46	F	M		
	WILLIAM [ALLMOND]	25	M	M		
	THORNTON [ALLMOND]	18	M	M		
	DICK [ALLMOND]	14	M	M		
	JOHN [ALLMOND]	12	M	M		
	MARY [ALLMOND]	8	M	M		
559	FARLEY TWOPENCE	32	F	B		1868 MATTAPONI PETITION
	ELIZABETH [TWOPENCE]	15	F	B		1868 MATTAPONI PETITION
	ROBERT [TWOPENCE]	10	M	B		1868 MATTAPONI PETITION
	FRANCES [TWOPENCE]	5	F	B		
	FARLEY [TWOPENCE]	3	F	B		
560	WA KEY	22	M	B		WILLIAM ARCHER KEY
	EMLINE [TWOPENCE]	23	F	B		1868 MATTAPONI PETITION
	LUCY [TWOPENCE]	6	F	B		1868 MATTAPONI PETITION
561	COLY MAJOR	35	F	B		1868 MATTAPONI PETITION
	JOHN [MAJOR]	8	M	B		1868 MATTAPONI PETITION
562	HENRY MAJOR	36	M	B		1868 MATTAPONI PETITION
	EGBERT LIPSCOMB	35	M		LABORER	\$300 / \$330 REAL & PERSONAL
	CORNELIUS LIPSCOMB	33	M			
569	EVELYN DUNGEE	48	F	M		
	SARAH	23	F	M		
	MARY	18	F	M		
	LUCY	17	F	M		
	CATHERINE	11	F	M		
	EVE	4/12	F	M		
570	ELSTON MAJOR	25	M	M		1868 MATTAPONI PETITION
	CAROLINE LANGSTON	64	F	M		
	POLLY [MARY] MAJOR	40	F	M		1868 MATTAPONI PETITION
	MARGARET FORTUNE	9	F	M		
	CATHERINE FORTUNE	4	F	M		
576	JOHN DUNGEE	50	M	M		LISTED AS LABORER 1850
	ANNA	25	F	M		
	LYDIA FORTUNE	50	F	M		
580	WILLIAM COLLINS	35	M	M		PAMUNKEY NEIGHBOR 1850
	ELIZABETH	36	F	M		
	JOSHUA	16	M	M		
	WILLIAM	14	M	M		
	ETHLEN [ESTER / HESTER]	11	F	M		MRS. JOHN B. ALLMOND, MATTAPONI RESIDENT
	AMMON	2	M	M		"UNION" PAMUNKEY RESIDENT 1900-1910
	SIMON	9/12	M	M		"SIMEON" PAMUNKEY RESIDENT 1900-1930

that the small tract of Indian land on the Mattaponi River was occupied from the time of Thomas Jefferson in 1781, through the era of 1812 when John Hill wished to repair a dam and build a gristmill adjacent to the Mattaponi Indian land. The extant 1820-1860 records illustrate a probable continuing presence of either a Key, Major, or Twopence occupancy of a tract of land near the Pamunkey households, with outside correspondence confirming at least two Indian settlements on the Mattaponi and Pamunkey rivers. Moreover, the role of trustees for the Mattaponi Indians appears to have been well established by the beginning of the nineteenth century, and engaged as needed in state- and county-level discourse throughout the Antebellum. Indian education and religiosity was not accepted by all residents of the Mattaponi and Pamunkey towns, but literacy among headmen and a wider Baptist affiliation can be documented for the collective community between the Revolutionary and Civil War eras. By the mid-nineteenth century, both hamlets were extensively engaged in the market economy of the region, with a focus on mixed agriculture, fishing, and animal husbandry.

#### *The American Civil War and Reconstruction*

Mattaponi Town residents, like all other Virginians, were unable to avoid entanglement with the warring sides of the American Civil War. The region was completely decimated and in upheaval as armies of North and South moved through the Virginia Tidewater. In early 1862 Confederate “detective George W. Thomas, was dispatched... with a squad of men” to arrest the Pamunkey “engaged in the business” of supporting the Union. Newspaper reports stated “The party entered the village...and captured eleven, one of whom escaped on the way back, and three more were discharged after an examination at King William Court House while the remaining seven were brought on to Richmond, where they...[were] held prisoners.” The Pamunkey acknowledged the charges, but suggested, “they were forced into the Federal service” (Yorkville Enquirer 8/7/1862). Pressed to work

on Confederate fortifications, the Pamunkey sued for their freedom on the grounds that as tributary Indians, they could not be conscripted (Richmond Daily Dispatch 3/10/1862). Released, they returned to Indian Town to find a massive Union force mobilizing along the Pamunkey River. During the 1862 Peninsula Campaign, General George B. McClellan made his base of operations at White House, directly across from the Pamunkey Indian Town. As a consequence, the Pamunkey were completely inundated by Union forces, and multiple men were conscripted as river pilots and scouts, and women washed laundry and cooked for the soldiers. Terrill Bradby served the Union as a pilot for the remainder of the war. Throughout this period, Bradby’s wife, Betsy Allmond from Mattaponi, continued to reside at Pamunkey Town. The Union Army stripped the Pamunkey of most of their material possessions, livestock, wood, and general household facilities, resulting in a plethora of Southern Claims Commission filings after the war (Pamunkey PF 2015:40).

While multiple Pamunkey served in the Union forces, loyalties may have been a matter of convenience. In January of 1863 a unit of Union soldiers descended on Lanesville and Indian Town, capturing multiple wagons containing “blockade goods” “destined for Richmond.” At Pamunkey, Major William Hall reported he “found two wagons, loaded with meal, awaiting ferriage to White House.” Across the river, Hall proceeded to destroy the “ferryboat, two sloops loaded with grain, two barges, four pontoon boats, steamer Little Magruder, the storehouse, containing one thousand bushels of wheat, commissary stores...&c.” (New York Herald 1/14/1863). In evidence of the complicated alliances and the importance of loyalty “appearances” to one side or another, a letter from Major Gen. Benjamin F. Butler to the commanding officer at Yorktown, Col. Robert West described the situation for the local Indians:

“There is, residing just opposite the White House at Indian-town, a Mr. Evan Bradbury,

Table 2 (left). Mattaponi Town residents and neighbors 1860. Highlighted rows indicate a break in the residence enumeration. All Indians were identified as "B[lack]" or "M[ullatto]" in 1860. Those noted as "1868 Mattaponi Petition" were identified by the Trustees as "members" of the tribe. Source: 1860 Census.

who is the chief man of the place, an Indian by descent, who has befriended several of the escaped officers from Richmond on their way to our lines. The five who reached me yesterday were hid by him for three or four days. Mr. Bradbury acted as guide for General Keys up the Peninsula, but was never paid for his services. He was afterwards taken by the Rebels and imprisoned in Castle Thunder for seven weeks, but for want of real proof against him was released by the Rebel authorities. Of course he and his fellow-townsmen, many of whom are Unionists, are obliged to keep on good terms with the authorities of Virginia and of the Confederacy, and we should do nothing to compromise them. Mr. Bradbury, however, I desire to see, and wish you would send there and have him arrested. This should of course be done so as not to excite suspicion among the Rebels, but I desire that the officer whom you send in charge of the party making the arrest should say privately to Mr. Bradbury that. I *wish* to see him upon a little business, and that the arrest is made *only* to *lull all suspicion*" (emphasis in original, Butler to West, Feb. 25, 1864; 1917:467-468).

At Mattaponi, Thornton Allmond made a deposition after the war, that he served as a pilot aboard the gunboat *Strong Lucord*. While he was in service "on the York River," a "valuable horse" was taken from "his farm in King William." Allmond found the horse after the war in King and Queen County. He entered suit to recover the property, but feared that "he will not get the justice done him, owing to his being in the Union & Lucord in the rebel service." Allmond requested assistance from the Freedmen's Bureau or military authorities, as he was identified as "an Indian refuge" and gave his address as "Indiantown. King William Co Va." Referred from Richmond back to King William's agent in 1868, the report stated that, "John Morris of King & Queen Co. now has possession of the horse" but that a suit could not be brought because Morris had filed bankruptcy and the law prevented "any suit being tried against a Petitioner in Bankruptcy." Allmond was referred to the Registrar of

Bankruptcy for redress (FB Letters received and endorsed, May 5, 1868 and May 15, 1868). Thus, both Mattaponi and Pamunkey households were impacted by the war, serving in Confederate and Union ranks in one capacity or another, and suffering losses of property.

The cartographers of the wartime geography created detailed maps of Virginia, including multiple plats of King William County c.1862-1865 (Map 1 and 5). Both Mattaponi and Pamunkey "Indian Town" appear on these maps, among a network of roads, mills, churches, and plantations. Clusters of houses were illustrated at both settlements. As well, Indians living "out in the county" were noted on at least a few maps, with a grouping near Sharon Church listed simply as "Indians" (Map 6). Locales familiar to the Mattaponi, such as the ferry landings at Walkerton and Frazer's, King William Courthouse, and nearby Colosse Baptist Church were also illustrated in detail (Edward Porter Alexander 1863; Benjamin Lewis Blackford 1865; Jeremy Francis Gilmer 1863; Jedediah Hotchkiss 1863).

Other outcomes of the war included divisions within the Colosse Baptist Church, which until that time had been a congregation of Whites, "Free Colored," and slaves. The Pamunkey wanted a separate church for some number of years, and as of 1859 received services from the Colosse minister at Indian Town. In the aftermath of the war, the Pamunkey asked in 1866 to remove from Colosse, were granted dismissal, and formed the Pamunkey Baptist Church (Pamunkey PF 2015:35-37). According to the *Richmond Dispatch* the church organized the year before, and "sent up a letter applying for membership" to the Baptist Dover Association. "This letter caused an earnest discussion. The church was received on the condition that it should be represented by white delegates" (*Richmond Dispatch* 9/15/1866). Some of the Colosse churchgoers from Mattaponi were also dismissed, excluded, or restored during this era as well. Eliza [Major] Allmond was excluded as of 1864, and her son William Allmond was excluded in 1867. He was restored in 1869, and brother John Allmond was also listed as a member. Jack Custalow, and a number of other

Custalow women were dismissed in 1863-1867, including “Mary J. [Custalow] Dungee” wife of Jese Dungee, who was dismissed by letter in September of 1868 (Colosse Minute Book, 1817-1870; DC Robert Jessie Dungee 6/27/1925). Thereafter, many of the Mattaponi residents attended church at Pamunkey (Rountree 1990:201).

Following the war, Jesse Dungee – brother of Spotswood Dungee, who in the 1850s resided at Mattaponi – was active in the Reconstruction efforts in King William County. Both men were sons of Betsy Collins Dungee, who had a farming compound on the edge of Pamunkey Town in the 1850s. In 1867, Jesse Dungee proposed erecting a schoolhouse with support from the Freedmen’s Bureau, joining similar efforts afoot in King William and throughout Virginia. He was also interested in the Temperance Movement. The local agent reported:

“Jesse Dungee (Colrd) a man of property and universally respected pledges himself to erect a school house in a month with only a little help in getting windows and as in all the other places Books. he can read and write and could himself teach a school. Of course it would be much better could Northern Teachers be sent here” (FB Letter received and endorsed, Sept. 8, 1867).

“Jessie Dungee who gave the Land and rough lumber for the School at West Point Church. for it has raised \$100.00 besides and they are at work preparing lumber for a fine building... Nothing has been done for the Temperance Movement...I can find but one colored man in the County who does not Drink & that is Jessie Dungee. When he gets his school & church in order he will start” (FB Letter received and endorsed, Oct. 31, 1867).

The August 1869 memo from the teacher’s monthly school report, indicated that Dungee’s schoolhouse was named the “Grant School” and that the American Missionary Association was partially supporting the endeavor. However,

in response to “Who owns the School-building?” the teacher replied “It is Deeded to the Col. Pl. [Colored People] by Jese Dungee.” Twenty-five pupils’ tuition was paid, and twenty were regularly in attendance out of the twenty-seven enrolled. About twenty students could “spell, and read easy lessons,” with six considered “advanced readers.” Geography, arithmetic, and writing were offered as subjects (FB Superintendent of Education...August 1869, King William County).

As a deacon out of Colosse Baptist, Dungee’s philanthropy is noteworthy. Dungee owned private land outside of the Pamunkey Town, along the Cohoke Road and Lanesville, which at his death amounted to 248 acres. He was a boot and shoemaker, and “in addition to paying taxes on his real estate and livestock, he was assessed for above-average-quality wagons, furniture, clocks, watches, and sewing machines.” Dungee was reported to have taught the Grant School in 1868, and in 1869 his daughter Mary E. Dungee was the instructor of record (FB Superintendent of Education...1869, King William County; Jordan 2015).

For a brief time after the Civil War, former slaves and free people of color had a measure of power in Reconstruction Virginia. The agents of the Freedmen’s Bureau managed many legal and jurial aspects of county life, and resources were available post war to non-whites. No doubt, reservation residents, such as the “Indian refugee” Thornton Allmond, took advantage of opportunities where they could be found. Other residents of Virginia reservations did the same, such as at Nottoway where monies were allocated from Northern philanthropic societies through the Freedmen’s Bureau to assist with a schoolhouse, which reservation children then attended (Woodard et al 2017). Creating “free schools” eventually supported by state and local taxes, as well as charitable sources, was part of a wider effort in post-war Virginia. That individuals, and tribal leaders from Mattaponi and Pamunkey, sought support for schooling in the 1870s and 1880s, should be seen in this post-Civil War context, which firmly links the eventual creation of a school at Mattaponi to wider trends in Virginia history.

Access to Freedmen's Bureau funds required working within the "new order" of Virginia society, which did not exclude American Indians, but more fully embraced African Americans. However, a telling shift in the dominant society's perspective can be seen in the 1870 census. For over forty years Virginia's reservation residents had been listed as "Mulatto" or "Free Colored Persons" on census returns; in 1870 all three Virginia reservations' residents were listed as "Indian" for the first time. Sorting out the "new order" of racial identity and hierarchy in Virginia likely also motivated some individuals' actions, as well as required developing further strategies, to navigate what eventually became a restrictive Jim Crow Virginia.

As an example of choices individuals made during an era of uncertainty, despite their earlier affiliation with Colosse Baptist Church, and Pamunkey and Mattaponi, Jesse and Mary Dungee did not continue their engagement with either Indian town. In fact, Dungee later ran for public office and represented King William County in the House of Delegates. From the end of the Civil War forward, his ambiguous identity of "Colored" emerged or merged with that of African Americans. However, his near relatives made other choices, and continued identifying as American Indian – Pamunkey and Mattaponi. For instance, in 1866, James Dungee applied for and received a rental property in West Point from the abandoned Confederate properties confiscated by the Union. In multiple Freedmen's documents, Dungee was recorded as "James Dungee (Indian)." He was unable to maintain the rent, and defaulted on the contract. By 1870 James Dungee, "Ind[ian] sailor," was residing at Mattaponi, and listed along with his family of four (C1870; FB Roll 99, Monthly returns...1866-1868).

The Reconstruction era was a time of difficulty for the Mattaponi, as it was for all rural counties in Virginia – in some cases families were stripped of everything except for their land. Recovery of material goods and livelihood took decades, and the "new order of things" had to sort out the economic, political, and social roles of freed slaves and former slave owners in Virginia society. Tensions over

access to resources were noted in every locale, with the federal authorities and the Freedmen's Bureau carefully monitoring and policing each county. As an example of the tensions present, in 1868 Mattaponi residents argued over an unknown matter, with the result that Thornton Allmond announced he was closing the small road from the main thoroughfare that led to Indian Town. Allmond apparently owned private property near the entrance to the town, and forbade certain residents access. Fifteen years earlier, the county had ordered another resident who had placed gates across the road to remove them. Allmond wished to deprive some members of the town from access to the road, and from crossing his property.

The Trustees were called upon to resolve the internal dispute and provide some redress. They in turn wrote the Governor, and the Secretary of the Commonwealth asked the Commonwealth's Attorney for King William County to look into the matter. In addition to the letters, the "Trustees for the Mattaponi Tribe of Indians" submitted "A List of Chiefs, Headmen and members...April 1868." The list excluded all immediate members of Allmond's family, a political maneuver that likely reflected existing conflicts and personal differences [Table 3].

Some resolution to the conflict may or may not have been sorted out, but another development that unfolded by the end of April 1868 was surely related. A May 11th newspaper reported:

"Thornton Allman, colored, was arrested in Richmond Saturday, charged with having killed another colored man named William Archer Key, in an altercation at Indian Town, on the Mattaponi. The prisoner stated that he did not fly the county (King William) to escape justice, but came to deliver himself up" (Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser 5/11/1868).

Since no discussion of the explosive incident was included in the letters to the Governor, it can be assumed the altercation occurred afterward. Allmond's existing case to recover stolen property was also not continued, the Bureau agent in Tappahan-

Chief	
Ellston Major	
Headmen	
Austin Key Robert Toopence	
Members of Tribe	
K	F
Key, Claiborn Austin Jno Anderson	Franklin, Nancy
T	M
Toopence, Park Farley Elisabeth Robert Emeline Laura Mary Catherine James C. Lucy J.	Major, Henry Ellston Ellwood Lee Franklin Coley Mary Parkey John

Table 3. April 1868 list of Chief, Headmen and Members of the Mattaponi Tribe of Indians.

nock wrote on May 25th that “Allman is now in jail for murdering a colored man in King William County” (FB Unregistered Letters Received May 25, 1868).

The King William agent reported to his superiors that there were “no disturbances with the exception of the shooting of Wm Archer Key (Col’d) by Thornton Alman (Col’d). Almon is in jail awaiting trial at the June term of the County Court – He can if he chooses delay the trial until the November term of the Superior Court. He has property & has retained able counsel.” The agent elaborated that Allmond “was arrested on the 17th for the alleged murder...on the 18th he was sent to jail after a preliminary examination...On the 19th the Grand Jury found a true bill & he now awaits trial” (FB Letters Sent May 31, 1868). In June, Allmond pleaded not guilty and his case was continued into July 1868. The trial lasted a week, with the jury “finding the prisoner guilty of Murder in the second degree & sentenced him to ten years imprisonment in the Penitentiary.” According to the Bureau report “The trial was dignified & impartial throughout” and Allmond’s law-

yers Beverly Douglas and Robert Montague “made a strong effort in his defense.” The jury was hung for period, partially in favor of manslaughter, partially in favor of murder in the first degree, and others voting for the second degree (FB Letters Sent July 31, 1868).

Thus as an outcome of an internal debate at Mattaponi, Thornton Allmond shot William Archer Key dead, turned himself in to authorities in Richmond, was tried in King William, and found guilty of murder in the second degree. Sentenced to ten years, Allmond appealed to the Governor’s Office for a pardon several times after serving half his term, in 1873 and 1874. Two governors twice denied his pardon petition (Daily State Journal 12/27/1873; Daily Dispatch 8/18/1874). Allmond appears to have served his full term, but was failing in health by December 1878 when he made out his will, and died Dec. 16, 1878 (CC 1909 Thornton Allman et al vs. John Langston and wife; Vernon 1998). From the records of the will and the eventual division on property among his heirs, it is clear that Thornton and Eliza [Major] Allmond’s children intermarried with Mattaponi- and Pamunkey-affiliated men and women, and thereby extensively crosscutting the kinship of the two towns:

William Allmond = Esther / Hester Collins,  
daughter of William and Elizabeth Collins

Betsy Allmond = William Terrill Bradby, son of  
William Bradby and Dicey Sampson

Adeline Allmond = Norman Custalow, son of Jack  
Custalow and Nancy Holmes

Ellen Allmond = John Bradby/[later married  
Page], son of William Bradby and Dicey Sampson

Thornton Allmond, Jr. = Elizabeth Tuppence,  
daughter of Farley Twopence

Elexander Richard Allmond = Alice [?] and  
Emeline Langston [thereafter lived at Pamunkey]

John B. Allmond = Mary Catherine Sampson,  
daughter of Farley Twopence

Mary Eliza Allmond = John H. Langston, son of  
William Cooper and Nancy Langston

As evidenced by later documents, the Allmond-Key conflict led to continual friction at Mattaponi, but despite the infighting, Indian Town grew in size and households, with increased personal property and stability. The 1870 census recorded nine separate households of Mattaponi “Indians not taxed,” with thirty-three residents. Elston Major was chief, and heads of houses included Adeline [Allmond] Custilo, Mary E. Aldman, Eliza [Major] Aldman, Austin Key, Hester [Collins] Aldman, Farley Tuppunce, Emeline [formerly Key] Tuppunce, and James Dungy, all listed as “Ind[ians].” While the real estate and personal property of Eliza Allmond far outstripped the other residences [\$1400 real / \$125 personal], most heads claimed their houses as valued at \$100, and about half claimed \$100 personal property (C1870). The Agriculture Census of 1870 reported that Elston Major and Thornton Allmond, Jr. were the main farmers of the settlement with Major the more productive of the two (AG1870).

Some outsiders however, described the “remnants” of the “Virginia Indians” as maintaining a “constant fight with poverty.” On the “Pamunkey and on the Mattaponi there are Indian towns where the few survivors of once powerful tribes” remain with “scattered little huts that dot the plain” (Alexandria Gazette 5/28/1872). Others reported “the remnant” had “good comfortable, framed buildings and fine gardens, with teams, and are in comfortable circumstances... [At Pamunkey] they have a chapel of their own, and regular Baptist preaching among them. They have a schoolhouse and a young white woman is teaching a school, which is attended by all the Indian children. They also keep a Sunday school” (San Francisco Bulletin 8/26/1871). However, not all of the students attended school as regularly as described; seven from Pamunkey and one from Mattaponi “were at school” “within the year” in 1870. Those numbers may have soon increased, as Pamunkey leaders were lobbying Richmond for schoolteachers and financial aide in the early 1870s (Pamunkey PF 2015:41-44), possibly with the assistance of King William delegate Jesse Dungee, 1871-1873.

The overall character of Mattaponi had not changed, only increased in population. Lifeways of farming and fishing remained central to the community,

“there are plenty of fish in the rivers...these they catch and find a ready market for at any time when they take more than are needed among themselves...there is plenty of small game, such as deer, rabbits, raccoons, wild turkeys, partridges, quails, ducks, and often in the winter wild geese, besides foxes” (San Francisco Bulletin 8/26/1871).

“Among the Mattaponi, one man, Almond, has rented from whites over 200 acres for cultivation...Sustentation. Hunting birds & animals, trapping. Fishing a great industry, selling perch, herring, shad to Richmond & (in season) to Baltimore” (Gatschet MS 2197).

Ten years after the end of the Civil War, the Mattaponi were interested in starting a new church. According to Rev. E.A. Dalrymple, who visited and corresponded about the Indian towns off and on from at least the 1840s through the 1870s, the Mattaponi were living “in a land of promise.” He wrote in 1877 that, “When in Virginia last I visited both the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Indian towns... Some of their clergymen...tell me that they wish to build some churches, and I have promised to assist.” Since the Pamunkey Baptist Church was established and erected a decade before, Dalrymple must have been referring to the Mattaponi. He was interested in American Indian linguistics, artifacts, and reviving “traditional” activities among the Tidewater Natives. In the 1840s, he circulated a short word list he collected from King William Algonquians, and in 1870s discussed other missing linguistic collections dating to the turn of the nineteenth century, “a collection of all the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Indian words that were known in his day [possibly from John Wood, c.1800]. I heard of this vocabulary over thirty years ago [c.1840s].” Dalrymple’s 1877 visit to “Pamunkey and Mattaponi” focused on pottery constructing, “I have not yet succeeded in reviving their ancient pottery-manufacture, but cherish

good hopes that I may succeed at last.” Since the Pamunkey were still making wares, and provided some specimens to ethnologists during the same era, Dalrymple may have been speaking of the Mattaponi specifically or of the older Algonquian shell tempered, net impressed, conical vessels as opposed to colono-Indian ware. Strengthening the argument for the remark to have been about Mattaponi, who may not have continuously made pottery during the era, Dalrymple suggested he would support building a church, “on the condition that the application is accompanied with some clay vessels of their traditional fashions.” A dozen years later, correspondence to James Mooney confirmed Dalrymple “had a number of pieces of pottery made by the Mattapony Indians, and he informed me afterward [before 1888] that he deposited some of them in the Smithsonian Institution” (Daily Dispatch 2/8/1876; 4/9/1877; Howell, Levy, and Luckenbach 1979; Mooney MS 2190).

Infrastructure development at both Indian towns, in the way of churches, roads, and schools, were continuing themes after the Civil War. In the same year that Dalrymple supported the idea of building a church at Mattaponi, the Pamunkey leadership applied to the Governor and General Assembly for assistance with providing a schoolteacher, “furnished to us by the State, but so as not to bring us under the head of taxation.” As the reservations remained untaxed, the Pamunkey support request was for “our annual annuities, as we [had] in former times.” Governor James Kemper responded that the “tributaries to the Commonwealth...hold lands which are inalienable...they are exempt from taxation,” and that he fully supported a “free school,” if the Indians agreed to “become subject to the payment of lawful school taxes...without forfeiting their exemption from other taxation, and without impairing or altering their other relations as tributary Indians.” Kemper stated that the total residents of the “Pamunkey and Mattaponi tribes” were “less than two hundred souls,” and that he recommended, “that the Board of Education be specially authorized to maintain public schools among the Pamunkey and Mattaponi tribes of Indians.” Despite the discussions at Mattaponi and Pamunkey for a new church, and support for a “free schoolteacher,”

neither idea generated substantive backing, and no legislation was passed (Daily Dispatch 3/12/1877; Pamunkey PF 2015:43-44).

### *Mattaponi Town at the End of the Nineteenth Century*

Three bodies of potentially important King William County records for the end of the nineteenth century are unavailable for the Mattaponi and Pamunkey Indian communities. The 1880 Federal Census takers did not record the residents of either Indian reservation. Some members of the communities were enumerated in the general population of the county, but otherwise the census takers overlooked both Indian towns. Most of the 1890 Federal Census was destroyed by fire, including the section for King William. The King William County courthouse burned in 1885, destroying most of the county records prior to that time. While unfortunate losses, other extant period documents, provide insight into the Mattaponi community.

Of the Mattaponi-related households that were working property off reservation, “Norman Custilo,” who had previously married Mattaponi Adeline Allmond, worked a private farm out in the county, and was remarried to Pamunkey Nancy Langston, daughter of William Cooper Langston. Custalow’s children by Adeline Allmond [then deceased] resided with the new couple, the oldest son Christopher “work[ing] on [the] farm.” Three children, Elizabeth [12], “[George] Efarris” [12], and Solomon [5] attended school in 1880. In a change from the “Ind[ian]” designation of the family in 1870, all were listed as “M[ulatto]” in 1880 (C1870-1880). Norman Custalow was farming twenty private acres with an additional twenty acres in wood, valued at \$300 with about \$15 worth of farm equipment, and \$60 worth of livestock. He had two milch cows, a beef cow, ten pigs, and about 40 birds for poultry. Of the acreage, he put fifteen in Indian Corn, yielding 500 bushels, and the balance rotated to produce fifteen bushels of sweet potatoes and thirty of Irish potatoes, valued at \$150 total (AG1880). Neither prosperous nor destitute, Custalow provided for his family, including marrying another Indian woman af-

ter the death of the mother of his children, Adeline Allmond. The Custalow family grew in importance at Mattaponi, as the leadership positions eventually shifted toward Custalow and his children.

A short article in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* provides a glimpse of reservation life from 1887. Written by a traveler through King William, the article focused on the historical homes and figures of the county, including "the last remnant of King Powhatan's fierce Pamunkeys and Mattaponies." The author visited "what is styled in the neighborhood 'Pamunkey Town,'" but the description and illustrations are probably reflective of the Mattaponi settlement as well, "a curious collection of log huts and cabins, situated on the banks of the river" (Figure 19). The Indians were said to "still make pottery after the fashion of their ancestors, and it is said that their jars, whether from the peculiar quality of the clay or the making process, have the advantage of keeping milk sweet for a long time." The author confirmed that the Algonquian language was dormant, "Not a trace of Indian language is to be found in their speech, which consists of corrupt English." Of the settlement's tract of land, the writer described it as a "government reservation...which they cultivate, and upon which they hunt and fish...The land on which they reside is exempted from taxation by the State government...A habit of yearly sending presents of game and fish to the Governor of Virginia is one of the very few old customs they adhere to" (Daniel 1888).

Another portrait of Mattaponi comes from the U.S. government's special 1890 census report on American Indians. The survey tallied and described indigenous populations residing within each state. Under the Virginia heading, the "general census," which is now lost, recorded "137" Indians in King William. A narrative description of the "Pamunkey and Mattaponi Indians" was provided by "Colonel William R. Aylett, of Aylett's post office, King William county, Virginia." The following abbreviated excerpt was included in the report:

"The Mattaponi tribe, about 50 in number, live on the Mattaponi river, about 10 miles from

the Pamunkeys, on a like reservation of about 500 acres...Both of these tribes have tribal government. They each have a chief, or headman, who is aided in administrative matters by a council of 5 braves. They still retain much of their Indian blood, features, hair, and characteristics, though there has been considerable mixture of white and black blood, principally the former. They subsist mainly by fishing and hunting, raising a little corn and a few vegetables. They annually, about Christmas, send to the governor of Virginia a present of game and fish as tribute and as evidence of fealty and loyalty. They have their own schools and will not mix with the blacks. They are exempt from taxes and do not vote...they still make their own pottery and prefer canoes to modern boats. The young Indians exhibit great taste for and skill in archery. They have their own churches and preachers, and are Baptists. If one of the tribe marries outside of his people he must leave, and if any one marries an Indian outside of the tribe, he or she must come and dwell with the tribe. These requirements are enforced..." (C1890:602).

From the above account, several statements can be made. First, the report of 500 acres may have included private property owned by the Majors and Allmonds, adjacent to the reservation. Second, the note about tribal governments in both communities supports the notion that the Mattaponi continued to govern their own affairs, with a headman or chief, and councilmen. Third, the tribal presentation of an annual tribute to the Governor appears to have included the Mattaponi, beginning or continuing sometime during the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century; the reservation tax exemption had been mostly maintained since colonial times. Lastly, the mention of the tribes having "their own churches and preachers" seems to imply that the Mattaponi had formed a meetinghouse on the reservation, however informal with or without a designated structure.

According to an 1884 newspaper article, the Pamunkey built a new church in 1883 (Figure 13),

and Thomas W. Langston was the minister from 1879-1885. Another ordained Pamunkey was Silas Miles. Possibly the Pamunkey pastored at Mattaponi as well. Virginia began funding a reservation school in 1882, and during this same era, the Pamunkey requested permission to send students to Hampton Institute, a petition which was denied several times. It is unclear how often the reservation petitions included members of both groups, but as described by Gov. Kemper and reported by Col. Aylett, the Mattaponi were considered tributaries, and some portion of the school discussion included their interests. That joint visits to Richmond occurred may be exemplified by an 1889 notice in the *Alexandria Gazette*. The report dealt with squatters or possibly unwanted relatives or factions residing at both Indian Towns: "Delegations representing the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Indians called on Gov. Lee yesterday and complained that persons with negro blood were living on their reservation in violation of law." The outcome of the complaint or who specifically was targeted, is however, unknown (*Alexandria Gazette* 7/31/1889; *Richmond Dispatch* 9/28/1884; Pamunkey PF 2015:49-50).

Albert S. Gatschet from the Bureau of American Ethnology [BAE] visited the Mattaponi c.1888. He counted thirty or thirty-five Indians living on sixty or seventy acres of reservation land. They were reported to be in regular communication with the Pamunkey, and to share a church and school. At that time, the "headman" was John B. Allmond, although his mother, "Liza Allmond, over 80 years old" was reported as possibly "a chief." The BAE's James Mooney heard similar comments through his circular responses from Virginia in the late 1880s, with remarks such as "There is a small reservation on Mattapony river, J.M. Allmand is chief," "also a settlement on the Mattapony, but very few are left," "Southwest bank of the Mattapony, is a reservation of land occupied by the remnant of the tribe of Mattapony Indians," "they elect their chiefs" (Gatschet MS 2197; Mooney MS 2190). As well, multiple short writings were drawn from the 1894 published report of John Garland Pollard concerning the Pamunkey; to this monograph, Gatschet

and Mooney added brief bits of Mattaponi data. Mooney described the tribe in the *Handbook of America Indians* as, "on a small reservation on the river of their name...the name is still preserved by about 45 persons of mixed blood on a small state reservation on the s. side of Mattapony r. in King William co" (Figures 14-18] (Mooney 1911:822). Another report stated, "Mooney gives the following interesting account... There are, however, two small bands of so-called Indians living on two small reservations in King William County, northeast of Richmond...These bands of Indians are known by two names: the larger band is called the Pamunkeys (120 souls); the smaller goes by the name of the Mattaponies (50). They are both governed by chiefs and councilors, together with a board of white trustees chosen by themselves" (Hendren 1895:53-54). Mooney's short article on the Indians of Tidewater, added little more about the Mattaponi, "They live principally by lumbering and farming...They number 40 souls" (1907:148).

The issue of residency at Mattaponi was a continuing theme of the late 1880s and 1890s. The 1889 delegation to Richmond to deal with expelling individuals from the Indian Towns may have in part motivated an 1893 petition and 1894 bill in the General Assembly, or at least signaled an ongoing issue. *An ACT to appoint trustees for the Mattaponi tribe of Indians* was passed, with five White trustees identified for Indian Town. The trustees were governed by the state laws regarding the Indians and reservation, and alongside a majority vote of the chief and members of the tribe, were given authority to expel "any person who has no right upon said reservation or any member of the tribe who shall be guilty of any unlawful offence." The bill further stated that the Mattaponi could appeal any decision of the trustees to the county court (Acts passed, 1893-1894:973-974).

The law has been interpreted to indicate a political and legal separation of the Mattaponi from the Pamunkey tribe (Rountree 1990:211), and as early as the 1890s, Mooney suggested the Mattaponi had "no chief or council, but combine their affairs

#	Name	Relation	Born	Age	Notes
11	Norman Custalow	Head	1834	66	Listed on Mooney census as Mattaponi
	Solomon	Son	1872	28	Mother Adeline Allmond
	Neva Tuppence	None	1886	14	m. William Earnest Collins, son of Simeon
10	Thornton Allmond	Head	1842	58	Jr. mother Eliza Major Allmond
	Elizabeth	Wife	1845	55	Mother Farley Tuppence
	Minnie R	Daughter	1889	11	
	Pocahontas	Daughter	1893	7	
1	George Custalow	Head	1867	33	Mother Adeline Almond; future chief; [see Figure 27]
	Emma L.	Wife	1873	27	Father William King; [see Figure 33]
	Emma L.	Daughter	1891	9	
	George F.	Son	1893	7	m. Eliza Langston 1915 / Mary Langston 1930
	Norman	Son	1896	4	
	Otha	Son	1897	3	Future chief O.T. Custalow; [see Figure 32]
	Elbert	Daughter	1900	3/12	
	Junius L. Custalow	Head	1863	37	Mother Adeline Allmond
2	Florence A.	Wife	1874	26	
	Florence A.	Daughter	1894	6	
	Hattie B.	Daughter	1897	3	
	Ida B.	Daughter	1898	2	
	Enoch C.	Son	1900	0	[see Figure 23]
	Nannie Tuppence	Head	1855	45	Mother Farley Tuppence [see Figure 29]
4	John H. Langston	Head	1846	54	Pamunkey, Father William Cooper Langston
	Mary Eliza	Wife	1855	45	Mother Eliza Major Allmond
	Otto T.	Son	1881	19	
	Florence H.	Daughter	1881	19	
	Maguire	Son	1884	16	[see Figure 22]
	Mary	Daughter	1885	15	[see Figure 15, 23]
	Nora L.	Daughter	1887	13	[see Figures 15, 18]
	Mantley H.	Son	1889	11	[see Figure 22]
	Ulysses Grant	Son	1891	9	"Deal" Langston, built the Langston House
	Theo John	Son	1894	6	
	Alexander	Son	1896	4	
6	Eliza	Daughter	1900	2/12	
	Hesta Almond	Head	1850	50	Recorded by Mooney as "Esten"
	James W.[allace]	Son	1881	19	Built the O.T. Custalow House
	Austin Key	Nephew	1833	67	Mattaponi petition of 1868, as a headman
	Mary C. Almond	Head	1840	60	Wife of John B. Allmond
7	Kalie	Son	1872	28	Marked on Mooney census as Head
	Tommie	Son	1874	26	
	Luzelia	Daughter	1878	22	
	John W.	Son	1889	20	
	Arthur	Son	1883	17	Headman and Asst. Chief in the 1910s
	Martha	Daughter	1889	11	
	Lucian B.	Son	1892	8	Last Allmond resident of the 1880 family house

with the Pamunkey” (1907:148). However, there are multiple extant nineteenth-century references to a governing body among the Mattaponi band, with no evidence suggesting the chief or headmen of either Indian Town had any influence or authority over the others’ settlement. In fact, what the 1894 law enabled, was the appointment of separate trustees for the Mattaponi, who had been previously served by the trustees appointed for Pamunkey Neck. The Virginia government already recognized the Mattaponi band as “tributary” to the Commonwealth, as described by Gov. Kemper in 1877. The *Act* was not a “law that created the Mattaponi Tribe,” (contra Rountree 1989:211) it was a law that created separate trustees. The amendment to the law two years later clarified that a majority of trustees also had to agree to any action. Combined, the emphasis appears placed on regulating residency and some measure of control over trustee actions, more so than separating from the Pamunkey. The contemporary community maintains that the Mattaponi have had separate chiefs governing their reservation, and that historically, trustees acted separately on their behalf. That legislative petitions (i.e. LP April 1868) and other period observations (i.e. C1890:602) identify both “Trustees for the Mattaponi Tribe of Indians” and “a chief, or headman” and “a council,” supports the community’s perspective.

With regard to the 1894 law, a series of incidents at Mattaponi motivated the 1896 amendment, and likely reflected some of the existing complaints, as well as older factional rivalries. A dispute arose between Austin Key and George F. Custalow concerning the occupancy of a house and tract of land, which resulted in suits in King William for the eviction of Custalow. Key apparently controlled interest in a house and lot, and requested the trustees to remove Custalow from the property. Custalow responded:

“that he [Custalow] is a member of the Mattaponi Indian tribe...born on the Mattaponi Indian reservation of land & has resided there

all his life and that his wife Emma L. Custalow is also an Indian and has been admitted into the Tribe; that [he] resides on said reservation by the same right & holds & occupies land by the same right & title as all other Indians in and on the said Mattaponi reservation” (CC George F. Custalow v. James S. Robinson, Trustee).

Custalow complained that only one trustee had filed against him in King William, and that the trustee and Key had no right to repossess property, to deprive “him & his wife & family out of house & home in midwinter before he can establish his legal right to the disputed premises.” The trustee responded that the body of trustees decided the “lot should be occupied by the said Austin Key and not the said Geo F. Custaloe,” that they had asked Custalow to leave twice, that he did not, and that he “continued to trespass upon the said lot of land so allotted to the said Austin Key.” In addition, the trustee added, “Key is an old Indian, has lived for many years upon the said reservation & is entitled to the lot in controversy by the virtue of his age & occupancy for many years, by virtue of the vote of the tribe, & the decrees of the Trustees.”

Apparently the 1894 law authorized the removal of persons, but not the repossession of property, and the 1895 case was dismissed. The following year, a bill amended the 1894 to ensure that a “majority” of trustees agreed to any action. While the internal resolution cannot be known, the 1900 Federal Census listed Austin Key as residing in the household of his aunt Hester [Collins] Allmond, and George Custalow as a head of a household next door to his brother Junius Custalow, uncle Thornton Allmond, Jr., and father Norman Custalow (C1900; CC George F. Custalow v. James S. Robinson, Trustee).

What sparked the issues surrounding the removal of persons at Mattaponi, and the appointment of separate trustees may never be fully known, but the Custalow-Key case provides insight into ex-

Table 4 (opposite). Mattaponi Town residents 1900. In 1900 and 1910 the Federal Census Bureau created "Special Indian" censuses, which included Mattaponi and Pamunkey. Future and past chiefs, as well historic homebuilders, are marked in notes Source: 1900 Census.

isting internal disputes. Mattaponi oral history sheds some light on the factions, but also complicates the lines of alliance. According to the oldest members of the tribe, “the Custalows were not allowed on the reservation by the Almonds.” This statement needs clarification, because Adeline Allmond married Norman Custalow, and thus was herself an Allmond. Therefore, it may be that some element of her family did not approve of the union, but this is speculative. The documentary record does, however, reveal that Adeline Custalow was living alone on the reservation with a household full of children in 1870, and that Norman Custalow lived off reservation in the county in 1880.

The oral history indicated, “the Keys shared half of their lot with Adeline...the house where the Majors stood...the place where the Keys lived.” Confirming this report, the 1870 census shows “Adeline Custilo” living next to Chief Elston Major, a household also shared by Clairborne Key. While speculative, that Adeline’s father Thornton Allmond killed one of the Keys two years earlier, and the report that the some Allmonds objected to Custalow’s reservation residence, identifies logic to the allowance of Adeline [Allmond] Custalow and her children to reside with the Majors/Keys. Moreover, the complaints of the 1880s and the legislative activity of 1893-1894 both point to some faction of the tribe wishing to oust another from the reserve. The court activity of 1895 between Austin

Key and George Custalow, must have surely been related, even as the alliance lines may have shifted or changed. By 1900, the Custalows, including Norman Custalow, made up a significant block of the reservation households (C1870-1900; Woodard Field Notes).

Between Mooney’s fieldwork in the 1890s and the Federal Special Indian Census of 1900, a construction of Mattaponi households can be made [Table 4]. This list, combined with that of the Special Indian Census of 1910 represents the dominant household lineages of the twentieth-century Mattaponi reservation. As had been the case in the previous century, some residents removed and returned to both Mattaponi and Pamunkey, with a common theme related to employment opportunities in urban centers like Petersburg, Richmond, Philadelphia, and New York. Based on later records from Pennsylvania, this pattern was true for both Virginia reservations, and multiple twentieth-century Mattaponi can be located in the Philadelphia region (C1940; DC M. Elizabeth Allmond 3/24/1922; DC Abbie Collins 5/4/1950; DC Ioway Custalow 5/9/1938; DC Alexander Langston 10/11/1927; DC Nanaquas Major 8/22/23; DC Mattie [Allmond] Walker 1/28/1921). Two returned lineages from earlier times were Acree and Dungee. The 1910 Indian census reported an Indian household headed by Kate Dungee, with Robert Acree [son-in-law] and daughter Lucy’s family (C1910).

## CHAPTER SIX

### MATTAPONI CHIEFS, INDIAN SCHOOL, AND INDIAN BAPTIST CHURCH, c.1880-1980

#### CHIEFS AND HEADMEN

Tribal sources indicate that after the death of Chief Elston Major in 1877, Eliza [Major] Allmond became the headwoman, with her senior sons acting as councilors in the 1880s, “Major” Thornton Allmond and John B. Allmond. Remembered today as “Eliza Mobley Major Allmond,” the matriarch lived her last years with Major Thornton Allmond, dying in 1891. Headman John B. Allmond identified in Mooney’s circulars was also deceased by c.1892. Afterward, there was some ambiguity over which men were leading the band, as evident by the conflicts in the mid-1890s, the 1893-1894 / 1895-1896 legislation that appointed separate trustees for the tribe, and Mooney’s remarks about the reservation lacking leadership. However, it is clear senior man Austin Key [age 67 in 1900] had regular correspondence with the trustees, and one would anticipate the other elder men of tribe c.1900 also had positions of influence – Major Thornton Allmond [58], Norman Custalow [66], and John H. Langston [54] (C1900; Mooney 1889-1907; Woodard Field Notes).

Mattaponi oral history suggests that Norman Custalow was chief for a time in the 1890s. Competition among the next generation of men – Lee Major [38], Kalie Allmond [28], and Tommie Allmond [26] may be evidenced by the power struggles between George Custalow and Austin Key c.1895 (see Figures 14, 22, 27, 30). The position of John Langston, a lineage from Pamunkey for at least one generation, is unclear. He was a resident of Mattaponi for multiple decades, as were thereafter his descendants (Figures 15, 22). In a similar manner, Mattaponi E.R. Allmond married a Pamunkey woman, and lived at Pamunkey for many years (Figure 17). He signed an 1893 document as

one of the “members of the tribe,” and had some prominence among them (Pollard 1894:11). Norman Custalow’s role as Mattaponi chief may have been traced through his maternal line [nee Holmes] or paternal descent from his grandparents’ generation. His sons, however, descended from Adeline Allmond through Eliza Major, and they became chief men during the twentieth century. Arthur Allmond, son of John B. Allmond, was a young chief for a while in the early century, but by 1914 George Epharis [F.] Custalow was the chief man at Mattaponi (Figure 27) (Woodard Field Notes). Afterward, Allmond appeared periodically in official correspondence as a “chief,” likely in the capacity of assistant chief or councilman (Attorney General 1917:161). Custalow was mentioned in a short article in the *Times-Dispatch*, “The Governor Accepts Tribute from Chief Custalow,” which noted that the Mattaponi tribe sent a “time-honored” envoy headed by Chief George F. Custalow, to deliver “a string of chub and rockfish...and a huge wild turkey” as an annual tribute “received with due form and ceremony” (Richmond Times-Dispatch 11/19/1914).

During this era, Mattaponi and Pamunkey men argued with game wardens and the state that their treaty status exempted them from purchasing hunting licenses, an argument with which the attorney general disagreed. Local practice varied thereafter from administration to administration; a law was eventually passed in 1962 exempting reservation Indians from the licenses. The issue of Native hunting and fishing rights has continued to be an on-again-off-again fight for the Virginia reservations into the present time (Rountree 1990:213; Richmond Times-Dispatch 9/30/16; Woodard Field Notes). Another topic put before the state by the chiefs was reservation Indian military service,

to which the attorney general ruled they were exempt from the draft. Afterward, some volunteered and served in World War I (Rountree 1990:213; Sunday Star 8/19/17). George F. Custalow also advocated for a separate free school at Mattaponi, for “about thirty of the Indian children,” and indicated the tribe could contribute “to pay a part of the money necessary to engage a teacher.” By 1916, an agreement was reached to employ a teacher at Mattaponi “on a similar plan to the one among the Pamunkeys...which has proven successful for many years.” One of the first teachers was a “Miss Sallie Henley of Tappahannock,” who taught the 1918 session at Mattaponi. Thus from the 1880s until c.1917 the Mattaponi attended the Pamunkey school (Figure 18), and thereafter, had separate funding for a schoolteacher (Richmond Times-Dispatch 12/10/1914; 6/28/1916; 6/9/1918).

Outside pressures impacting the Mattaponi, such as the military draft and hunting licenses, continued to threaten the reservation in several ways. First, Chief Custalow protested agents of the Chesapeake Pulp and Paper Company using the reservation landing. The company was loading wood at the Mattaponi wharf and shipping it down river to the factory, against the wishes of the tribe. The trustees and state’s attorney general were called upon during multiple years to intervene. Ultimately, the Mattaponi’s trust status was upheld, and the trustees were instructed to pursue legal actions against the Chesapeake Company (Attorney General 1917:161; 1918:86-87). Second, King William officials pursued taxation of reservation businesses. Private property of tribal members had been taxed in years past, including property held on the reservation. Chief Custalow was the target of the c.1917 county taxation initiative; Custalow owned a general store and two-story house on the reservation, built sometime after the 1895 lot argument (Figure 35). The attorney general again ruled in the Mattaponi’s favor, stating that the “Pamunkey and Mattaponi Indians were exempt from all taxes, State, local, and otherwise” (Attorney General 1917:160). Family members recalled that at one time, Custalow had three stores in operation, “one at Mattaponi, one at Lanesville and one at White House.” The fight

for Indian rights in Virginia, led by Mattaponi Chief George F. Custalow and Pamunkey Chief George Major Cook, remains a community memory:

“If it hadn’t been for ... grandpa [George F. Custalow] and George Major [Cook] we wouldn’t have reservations! They fought for all the Indians, not just their own. They fought for the schools, the taxes, and the rights of Indians to be counted and accorded ... Grandpa [George F. Custalow] asked the General Assembly [Attorney General] to allow him to not be taxed on his stores ... and he won” (Woodard Field Notes).

In 1916 Frank G. Speck began visiting Virginia Indian communities. A professor at the University of Pennsylvania, Speck carried out fieldwork with multiple Native groups across the east. Prior to his Virginia research, he had published monographs on the Yuchi (1909), Northeastern Algonquians (1914), and Nanticoke (1915), among others. During his first visit to Mattaponi, probably about 1919, Speck observed seventy-five residents on the reservation, with a half-dozen or so counted as “living away.” The community remained relatively unchanged in the twenty years since Mooney had visited, and were “less in touch with the outside world than the Pamunkey, and so exhibits a somewhat more rural aspect of culture than the other groups” (1928:362).

Both bands remained heavily engaged in fishing, hunting, and trapping, and Speck collected most of his data on these topics. Speck noted Mattaponi fisherman remembered previous generations constructed “bush-nets” at the entrance to small creeks and guts branching off the main. Hedges of poles and woven brush “as to slope upstream,” and were made to enclose, maneuver, and trap fish. However, shad fishing with nets was then one of their principle harvests.

“Drift seines are employed...day and night... tended by the men who bivouac in camp huts of boards along the shore. For several weeks many of them are not home for a night’s sleep.

The seines at night are provided with board floats at each end and carrying a lighted lantern. By this their position is known when it is thought time to haul them. Six or seven seines with their lights riding on the river...make an impressive picture on an April night. The great barred owls call forth the quarter, half, and full tides, so the Indians of all the Virginia tribes say and believe...Herring also forms a spring catch of importance. These fish are looked for when the locust and the dogwood commence to bloom” (1928:362-363).

Elders recalled Will Custalow as the last full-time fisherman, to “make his living off of hunting, fishing, and trapping...he built his boats” (Figure 41). Custalow ran the oldest of the shad hatcheries, built in the second quarter of the century. Others remembered Mattaponi men fishing “at night, they placed lanterns atop boards attached to the nets... those nets moved with the tide...that type of fishing was ‘round-the-clock’ when the fish runs were in” (Figure 42). When in season, “his four sons [came] in from the city to help him, and they go out with the tide as many as three times a day...the boat be knee-deep in fish” (Woodard Field Notes).

The Mattaponi fishermen consulted the “natural signs...for the timing of the industry...for instance, they believe eels may be more productively caught in the full moon...shad arrive in the river at the time when the white violet blooms...[and] a fondness for catfish in the form of stew is increased by a belief that it stimulates sexual desires. Nothing could exceed their relish for it” (Speck 1928: 363-364). The Mattaponi employed “set-lines for catfish” a practice followed by “practically all the men on the reservations...250 to 300 feet long. At a distance of 18 inches apart are tied the hooks on string leaders 12 inches in length...at each average haul of such a line 60 to 100 catfish are taken. Oftentimes mussels attach themselves to the bait and are brought up. Then the fisherman takes them home to be made into stew” (370-371). The whole year the Mattaponi drew upon the river for a portion of their food supply, “Shad, drum, roach, perch, gar, catfish, eels, formerly sturgeon, oysters,

and of recent years carp and yellow catfish abound in Pamunkey and Mattaponi rivers....At Mattaponi it is said, “The river is the Indian’s smoke-house; it is open all the time except for a short period in the winter,’ meaning when it is frozen” (372).

Speck also noted the Mattaponi made “neat” wicker baskets of honeysuckle, used corn pegs and mortars, as well as repaired fishnets the old way and made archery tackle. Some colono-style pottery was being made at Mattaponi in 1919, as well as the carving of wooden paddles and containers. Mary E. [Allmond] Langston remembered featherwork weaving, and while no longer practiced she produced a few pieces for Speck’s collection. There continued to be “much intercourse between the Mattaponi and Pamunkey” and he noted “several families [have] a common origin.” Speck found the small reservation “near the hamlet of Wakema. Their own settlement is called Indian Town...It is a picturesque village of whitewashed houses on a high bluff above the river and commands a fine view” (Figures 19, 21) (Rountree 1990:215; Speck 1928:254-263). Speck’s field photos illustrate key figures in the Mattaponi genealogy, including school-age children, and photos of residential and agricultural architecture and a wide view of the town. Combined with the few images Mooney captured in c.1899 and tribal collections, a visual portrait of Mattaponi people and their settlement c.1900-1925 is possible (Figures 11-29).

#### HERITAGE PROPERTIES OF COMMUNITY AND CHIEFLY LINEAGES, c.1880-1950

##### *The Allmond House*

Situated overlooking the Mattaponi wharf landing, the c.1880 Allmond House (DHR 050-0105) is the oldest structure standing on the reservation (Figures 1, 11, 52). Mattaponi oral histories differ on the house’s original builder; some suggest Chief John B. Allmond, while others attribute his brother “Major” Thornton Allmond (DHR 1979 50-105; Woodard Field Notes). It was the last residence of their mother, “Queen” Eliza [Major] Allmond, for several years at the end of her life, 1888-1891.

At that time, she was living with Major Thornton Allmond, strengthening the attribution of his being the original builder, as John B. Allmond was dead by 1892 (CC 1909 Thornton Allman et al vs. John Langston and wife). However, the lineage associated with the final occupancy of the home was that of John B. Allmond. Alfred and Margaret Allmond were the last Allmond family members to occupy the house. Alfred was the son Lucian B. Allmond and Cora Stewart (Figure 35). Lucian B. Allmond served as assistant chief under George F. Custalow, and was the son of Chief John B. and Mary C. [Sampson] Allmond (Woodard Field Notes).

Based on 2014 and 1979 Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission surveys (Figure 52), the Allmond House is considered significant because of its association with Native American events that have made contributions to the broader patterns of history within the Commonwealth, specifically the Mattaponi reservation and its tribal leadership. While the residence is the oldest on the reserve, it “is not an outstanding example of late nineteenth century architecture,” and thus is more notable for its cultural heritage to the community. As described by the architectural survey, the Allmond House is a:

“two story clapboard L’shaped home with a broken pediment, rolled tin gabled roof and exterior brick fireplace. The first floor is five bays across with a porch. Both doors, second and fifth bays, are wood framed with horizontal wood panels in lower half and glass top half. The doorway frame on the northeast façade has three pairs of glass panels over wood. The second floor is three bays across. All windows are 6/6 DS except first floor southwest bay which is 4/4 DS. The building is two bays deep. A brick fireplace divides the north side of the house and has two sets of weatherings with a chimney cap. The roof cornice is broken by a 1930’s addition with the north and south walls having cornices. The porch, also a 1930s addition, has a half gable on the north and south ends with a vertical board tympanum” (DHR 1979 50-105).

According to oral history interviews, the Custalow family purchased the house from the Allmonds, and Kenneth “Ken” and Peggy Custalow [both deceased] were the last residents of the homestead. The late Peggy Custalow, interviewed in April of 2016 recalled that, “it hurt the Allmonds to sell the house to a non-family member.” She and her husband moved into the home after Ken retired. Two Allmond brothers who grew up in the home are living off reservation, one of which is Milton Allmond of Richmond. Lucian B. and Cora Allmond had eleven children, and at one point, used sheet dividers in one bedroom, “girls on one side, boys on the other.” Allmond grandchildren, now in their sixties, recalled playing on the porch and the lack of steps associated with exterior door to the south side of the house, called “the door to nowhere.” Other memories were of similar child-age recollection concerning meals, the exterior sheds, and stories about when portions of the house were added [i.e. 1930s], but in general, elders stated “no one kept records in those days,” and the few memories that remain are quotidian (Woodard Field Notes).

### *The Langston House*

Built c.1900-1920, the Langston House is situated in the northwest corner of the reservation (Figure 50). Mattaponi oral histories differ on the builder and original occupants. One source from the Langston family suggests the property was purchased about 1918 for approximately \$100, and that the previous occupant was Thornton Allmond, Jr. If so, the resident during the 1910s was his widow Elizabeth Allmond, as Thornton was deceased by that time. An elder in the community believed Ulysses Grant “Deal” Langston, son of John H. and Mary Eliza [Allmond] Langston, built the house about 1918. Prior to that time, Langston and his wife lived in the old house, or “really a shack or chicken shed of Lee Major,” which stood for a while behind the Langston House. The Langston House supplanted most of Lee Major’s lot, but it is unclear whether the “shed” was literally a chicken shack or whether a description of the rough construction of Lee Major’s house, which is pictured in Speck’s c.1919 photos (Figure 22). What can be de-

terminated from the documentary record, is that Deal and Helen [Collins] Langston were married about 1916, that the Lee Major family was present during Speck's 1919 visit, but mostly removed by the time of the 1920 Census, and that Deal Langston was head of a separate household next door to Wallace Allmond in 1920. Whether Langston built the house, or purchased it from the Allmonds, the structure dates to the first decades of the twentieth century, and supplanted the residential lot of Lee Major, son of Chief Elston Major (C1900-1930; Woodard Field Notes).

Deal Langston first married Pamunkey Helen Collins, daughter of John Temple and Harriet [Bradby] Collins, and raised sons John and Roy; Langston's second wife was Liza Custalow (Figure 37), daughter of Solomon Custalow [brother of Chief George F. Custalow]. Deal and Liza Langston had a son Ernest Langston, who married June Custalow [daughter of Chief O.T. Custalow]. Ernest and June Custalow had three children: Ernest Jr., Darlene, and Cynthia. The youngest child – Deal Langston's granddaughter – Cindy Gordon, is the current occupant (HCR Papers; Woodard Field Notes).

The Virginia Department of Historic Resources has not formally surveyed the Langston structure, but a visual reconnaissance was conducted in April of 2016. The property was determined to be of the same age and design as the neighboring structure, the O.T. Custalow House, which was briefly surveyed in 2014 and given the DHR designation 050-0109. While not a notable architectural example of early twentieth century construction, the property is significant for its cultural heritage to the Mattaponi tribe. Moreover, as the site of the Lee Major family, and possibly Chief Elston Major, the potential for future archaeological research on the identified lot is substantive. To date, no archaeological survey work has been conducted on the reservation, and thus the whole reserve is a significant area for future historical inquiry. The Langston House is a two-storied rectangular frame structure with a composite roof, visible clapboard in the gables, and some form of composite tiled siding overlaying

the wooden clapboard. Wooden clapboard, which originally covered the structure, is visible in the area where the electricity feed meets the house and the composite overlay is removed. The first floor has three bays, with a wooden door in the second bay. The doorway is wooden-framed but covered with an aluminum storm door. The second floor has three bays, and all windows are 4/4 and wooden framed. In the rear of the structure, there is a later twentieth-century one-story addition to the house (Woodard Field Notes).

#### *The King-Custalow House*

Today, the c.1900-1925 King-Custalow House [DHR 050-5074] is the first residence off Indian Town Road as one enters the reservation (Appendix II, Map 2). According to Mattaponi oral histories, the allotment was that of Solomon D. and Lillie B. [King] Custalow (Figure 28), who formerly occupied a “rickety house...which moved when the wind blew too hard.” Solomon Custalow was the brother of Chief George F. Custalow, and the brothers married sisters Lillie B. and Emma L. King, respectively. The King sisters were part of what Frank Speck called the “Hanover” band of Algonquian descendants, a “community I have only recently chanced upon, dwelling just north of Richmond in Hanover county, which may be the relic of the Powhatan sub-tribe” (1925:50-51). In 1970, Mattaponi Chief Curtis Custalow told anthropologist Helen C. Rountree “that his grandmother and her sister (surname: King) were Hanover County Indians who married two Custalow brothers. All the Custalows living on the reservation are descendants of those brothers and sisters” (HCR Papers). The King girls' parents were married by Pamunkey Rev. Thomas W. Langston in 1881, at which time they were listed as “Indians,” although the couple had been married in common law for at least a decade (Pamunkey Baptist Church, Old Register). Lilly Barlow King married Solomon Custalow in 1901. King and Custalow were both described as “colored” on the Hanover County register and “colored (Indian)” on the marriage license. In an affidavit included with the marriage register, Rev. P.E. Throckmorton stated:

“I personally know Mr. Solomon Custalow and he is an Indian and I believe Miss King is Indian and White and By this request Will Ask that you clk = correct the above License to Read as Such[,] Respectfully PE Throckmorton” (Marriage License, Solomon Custlow and Lilly B. King, Hanover County).

At this time, Rev. P.E. Throckmorton pastored Indian Town’s Pamunkey Baptist Church, as well as Samaria Baptist Church in Charles City. A White man, Throckmorton was an advocate for Indian peoples in Tidewater Virginia (Rountree 1990:213). A notice appeared in Richmond’s newspaper *The Times*, in which Throckmorton was identified as performing the service “at the residence of Mr. William King.” The short, but revealing, “Another Indian Wedding” continued:

“Miss King is a very pretty Indian maid and is the daughter of Mr. Wm. King, a very popular farmer... The house was filled with spectators, both Indians and whites. The Mattaponi and Pamunky tribes were both represented, and a large number of white people were there; also a good many from Richmond” (*The Times* 6/29/1901).

The 1910 King William “Indian Population” census listed Solomon [40] and Lilly B. [28] as “Powhatan” and “Indian,” residing at the “Mattaponi Indian Reservation,” with six, of seven, children living. Solomon’s occupation was recorded as “fisherman.” By 1920, Lilly King Custalow was widowed with seven children at home, all listed as “Indian” at the “Mattaponi Indian Town” (C1910-1920). Their children, Will, Iway, Dewey, Eliza, Grace, Curtis, and Alice were all raised in the “old house” (Figure 23). Of these children, Will Custalow “was the last [Mattaponi] to hunt, fish, and trap” for his full time occupation, and Curtis Custalow became chief of the tribe in 1969. Dewey Custalow lived in the house in later years, and older members of the tribe refer to the home as “Dewey’s” (Figure 36). The oral histories differ, as does the survey report of the King-Custalow House, as to when the house was constructed. One

Mattaponi version states the old house was torn down to make way for the new structure, about 1925; another elder relayed they were “very sure the house was built ‘around’ the old one,” c.1920 (Woodard Field Notes). An interior survey of the home may reveal more information. Complicating the chronology, the 2014 DHR survey of the house stated:

“The c.1900 residence...includes a modest five-bay dwelling with some alterations including the addition of vinyl siding, and enclosed porch, and several early twentieth century agricultural outbuildings. The dwelling, as well as the outbuildings, is a common style for its time period of construction” (DHR 2014 050-5074).

A state site number of 050-5074 was issued in 2014. During a 2016 follow up DHR review of the exterior’s architectural style, the house was described as having “1890s details and features” (Appendix II). A further description from the report stated:

“The house is a one-and-a-half-story, frame, five-bay dwelling supported by stuccoed piers with concrete block infill. The exterior walls are sheathed in vinyl siding, and the gable roof is covered with seamed metal. A central front gable projection features gable end returns. Visible fenestration includes two-over-two wood double-hung sash windows, and a wood raised panel main entrance door with four-light lunette window. The dwelling also features an interior brick chimney flute, and an enclosed rear porch with a hipped roof” (DHR 2014 050-5074).

Archival photos from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology revealed an image of the house from about 1942, when Frank Speck was last conducting a field visit. In that image, the brick piers, original wooden clapboard, and wooden steps are clearly visible, as are the original windowsills and screen door, now both replaced with exterior aluminum

storm coverings. Two of Dewey's children, twins Ken and Calvin Custalow at about six years of age, stand in front of the structure (Figure 34).

According to further oral history collected about the home, Lillie B. [King] Custalow constructed the residence, after the death of her husband [1918] and mother [1925]. Eliza King left substantial amounts of money to her children, including Lillie and Emma [King] Custalow. Some suggest the daughters inherited \$10,000, which was used to finance the construction of the King-Custalow House, and support George and Emma [King] Custalow's mercantile business. An African-American builder named Fack White may have been the foreman for the house's construction. At the death of Lillie in 1927, her son Will Custalow became the de facto man of the house. However, by 1930, Grace Custalow was married to a Pamunkey man named Alfred Collins, son of John Temple and Harriet [Bradby] Collins, and the couple lived in the King-Custalow house with their four children, as did Grace's siblings Dewey, Curtis, and Alice. Will Custalow had his own residence across Indian Town, with his wife Elsie Nelson, daughter of Rappahannock Chief Otho Nelson. By 1940, however, Grace was divorced and living in Philadelphia alongside other Mattaponi, and Dewey Custalow and wife Pocahontas Bradby headed the King-Custalow House on the Mattaponi Reservation (C1930-1940; Woodard Field Notes). Later in time, Dewey's cousin Harvey Custalow, son of Chief George F. Custalow, built the upper floor out of the attic space. The indoor plumbing was added at the back of the house, which today is on the end of the porch. The current owners of the home are brothers Malcolm "Mack" and Calvin Custalow, sons of Dewey Custalow (Woodard Field Notes).

Based on the DHR analysis, the house is not a significant architectural resource in and of itself. It is however, notable for its affiliation with the Custalow chiefly lineage, the broader patterns of Native American history within the Commonwealth, and as a heritage resource of the Mattaponi Indian reservation.

### *The O.T. Custalow House*

Built near the time of the neighboring Langston House, the O.T. Custalow House [DHR 050-0109] is situated on the western side of the reservation (Appendix II, Map 2). Wallace J. and Mary F. [Bradby] Allmond were the original occupants of the home, and Wallace Allmond is suggested to have built the structure about 1915 (Figure 24). Allmond was the son of Chief John B. and Mary C. [Sampson] Allmond. His wife, Mary Florence Bradby, was described as "Chickahominy," according to a newspaper announcement of their wedding, and the "sub-chief Bradby's daughter." At the time of the wedding Wallace Allmond was described as a "Mattaponi living on the Pamunkey reservation," possibly with his brother E.R. Allmond who was a Pamunkey resident before 1887 through 1910. The 1906 ceremony was officiated by Rev. P.E. Throckmorton of the Pamunkey Baptist and Samaria Baptist Church, at the New Kent Bradby house. By 1910, the new couple was living with Allmond's mother at Mattaponi in a large household with siblings and grandchildren (Daily Press 4/27/1906; C1900-1910; Woodard Field Notes).

During Frank Speck's 1919 visit to Mattaponi, he interviewed Wallace Allmond at his home, photographing the front entrance, a family grouping, and Allmond and his son in a field with lumbering hardware (Figures 24 and 26). Speck's monograph on the Powhatan tribes featured one photo of a "Mattaponi man and Chickahominy wife and children" in the Mattaponi section of the text. The Allmond household listed at Mattaponi in the 1920 Census included the couple, Wallace [40] and Mary F. [33], and their children Gladys E. [11], Alan W. [10], Ruby M. [8], and Ethel L. [2 5/12], all described as "Indian." However, Wallace J. Allmond died of tuberculosis in 1921, and soon thereafter, his widow Mary F. Bradby returned to New Kent to be closer to her family. She sold the Mattaponi house to Marie Custalow. In 1930 Mary Bradby headed a household in New Kent (C1920-1930; DC Wallace J. Allmond 3/15/21; Speck 1928:261; UPA Speck Papers; Woodard Field Notes).

In 1916 Otha Thomas Custalow [1897-1969], son of Chief George F. Custalow, married Marie Miles from Pamunkey (Figure 25). Marie Miles was the daughter of Jacob and Gertrude Miles. After Jacob died c.1905, Gertrude remarried widower Simeon Collins at Pamunkey, and in effect broke up her household of children. Marie Miles was taken in by John T. and Elizabeth Dennis and raised as an “adopted daughter.” Two older brothers – Joe and Opechancanough – moved in with Simeon Collins. At sixteen, Marie married O.T. Custalow and moved to Mattaponi, where the couple lived with Chief George F. Custalow who had a large two-story house and store. For a short period of time the couple lived in a small cabin behind the house, the couple’s first home outside of his parents. For many years the little wooden house behind the store, now gone, was called the “O.T. House” (C1900-1920; Woodard Field Notes).

After the favorable resolution of the 1917 Mattaponi and Pamunkey challenge to the Virginia military draft, Indian men volunteered for service during World War I, including Marie’s brother Joseph “Joe” Irvin Miles; he served in Company L, 2nd Battalion Infantry, 82nd Airborne. At age twenty-four, Pamunkey Joe Miles was killed in France on Nov. 9, 1918 during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, just days before the armistice and the war’s end. His sister, Marie [Miles] Custalow, was the beneficiary of his death benefits. She used the money to buy the Mattaponi house from Mary [Bradby] Allmond, paying \$200 to the widow (Woodard Field Notes).

O.T. and Marie [Miles] Custalow had the following children in the house:

Otho Irvin	b.1921
Gertrude Elizabeth	b.1923
Jacob Vincent	b.1924
Norman Theodore	b.1925
Allison Grant	b.1926
Virginia Mayflower	b.1927
Sitting Bull	b.1930
Geneva La Val	b.1932
George Wahunsenacock	b.1933
June Red Wing	b.1935
Isaac Chanco Red Cloud	b.1936

Matoaka Rosebud	b.1938
Marie Jane	b.1943

(C1940; HCR Papers; Woodard Field Notes)

During the 1943 delivery of their thirteenth child, Marie [Miles] Custalow died in childbirth, devastating the large family. Near this time c.1944, O.T. Custalow began serving as assistant chief, following Lucian Allmond in the role under Chief George F. Custalow. Eventually, O.T. took over many of the chiefly responsibilities as George’s health failed (Figures 30–32). At his father’s death in 1949, O.T. Custalow became chief of the Mattaponi. Tribal members recall that Chief O.T. Custalow was charismatic, and had a magnetic personality. He conversed well with preachers, politicians and school officials, and made many Indian presentations and public displays in Richmond. In Fredericksburg, O.T. met Elizabeth Newton during one of the Dog Mart festivals that featured the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Indians. Elizabeth was the daughter of Broady Newton, a resident of White Oak in Stafford County. The Newtons were fishermen of the Belle Plains along Potomac Creek, and were referred to by some as the “Newton Indians” and “Patamacks.” Frank Speck reported in 1928 that their community carried the name Potomac, and posited that they may have been the remnants of the historical Patawomeke. O.T. and Elizabeth [Newton] Custalow were married c.1949, and had one child at the Mattaponi house, Keith “Blue Wing” Custalow (Speck 1928:282-284; Woodard Field Notes).

At some point in his employment history, O.T. had been a “professional wrestler,” but afterward became a career traveling salesman. He acquired property in the Oregon Hill district of Richmond, and used the two residences as bases for his sales, as well as for networking and public service. Remembered by his son George Wahunsenacock as a “huckster” who “sold radios from Motorola,” O.T. built a shed in front of the house at Mattaponi, “to store and work on his radios. The first part he built early on, then the second around 1946 (Figure 5). The shed has been known as the ‘radio house’ for at least 80 years.” Chief Custalow sold battery-pow-

ered radios by Philco and hand-cranked record players by Victrola. The radios sold for approximately \$39.95, which O.T. offered on extensive credit for .50 per month. He targeted low-income rural households between the reservation and Richmond, and used the credit to have continual income as he made his rounds. The batteries sold for \$14 and were offered on credit in the same way. He would often set the antenna up for customers and let the music sell the radio (Woodard Field Notes).

George Wahunsenacock, now one of the most senior members of the community, recalled that Chief O.T. Custalow made a living in a way not typical for the Mattaponi up until that time. George related, “He used his mind, not his brawn to make a living...some criticized that, because he didn’t work cutting timber and haul[ing] pulp for the mill... he sold Victrolas.” O.T. was known not only to be charismatic, but also forward and outspoken for all Indians, not just the Mattaponi, “No banana peel down his back, he didn’t have a yellow streak...some people called him a shaggy long hair, because he wore his hair long – but he did that for his people and to be recognized...No sir. He was no coward; worked hard for the people and knew everyone” (ibid).

Schoolteachers, civic administrators, mayors, and governors alike publically welcomed Chief O.T. Custalow. As outgrowth of his public engagements, O.T. Custalow built a museum in front his house and began to collect Native memorabilia – artifacts, heirlooms, curiosities, and many newspaper clippings and photographs. He created faux wigwams, round houses, and tipis in the front of the yard, and sold postcards and other small items to visitors. School children came regularly throughout the 1950s and 1960s. As evidence of his engagements, the following briefs were transcribed from the Mattaponi Museum’s display of framed newspapers and photographs, which demonstrate the breadth of time Chief O.T. Custalow was in the public sphere and the diversity of his engagements (Figures 31, 32, 38):

“March 11, 1931 – Indians in Full Regalia Wed in Capital – In full tribal regalia, Dewey

Custalow, Mattaponi Indian, and Pocahontas Bradby, belle of the Chickahominee tribe, startled a staid Washington, D.C. court when they applied for a marriage license and an immediate ceremony there...Chief Custalo, who accompanied them, is pictured with the newly married pair”

“May 24, 1935 – Mayor Bright Joined Chief O.T. Custalow of the Mattaponi Indians at exercises yesterday on Powhatan’s Hill. With the Mayor, the Chief and the Pipe of Peace are shown”

“June 20, 1938 – Inauguration of Governor James H. Price, Chief George F. Custalow [and] Assistant Chief O.T. Custalow”

“April 28, 1944 – Chief O.T. Custalow of the Mattaponi Indian Reservation in King William County displays a 25lbs Rockfish which he caught in the Mattaponi River while Shad fishing with a gill net. Presented to Governor Colgate Darden”

“November 27, 1958 – Thanksgiving Tribute – Chief O.T. Custalow of the Mattaponi tribe and Chief Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook of the Pamunkeys delivered the Virginia Indians’ traditional gift of fish and game to Governor Almond on Thanksgiving eve...Mattaponi hunters brought in a 19-pound wild turkey, plus some rockfish, while Pamunkey marksmen...bagged the 100-pound buck. Custom of Indians’ Thanksgiving tribute to Governor dates back to Colonial times”

“July 15, 1959 – Indian Chief Warmly Greeted on Visits to Playgrounds Here...Prior to making his tour of the playground Chief Custalow and the members of this party were guests of the Recreation Board at a luncheon in the Elks’ Home...Another highlight of the tour included a special program in honor of the chief and his party at the Harding Street Recreation Center. Wherever Chief Custalow went he was greeted by cheers...”

“February 27, 1962 – Chiefs Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook of the Pamunkeys and O.T. Custalow of the Mattaponi joined Del. R.R. Gwathmey III of Hanover outside the House of Delegates yesterday to look over Gwathmey’s bill that would assure Indians of the right to hunt and fish without buying state licenses...House members passed the bill, 96 to 0 and sent it to the Senate.”

While O.T. Custalow acted in leadership capacities in the 1930s and 1940s, his activism as the formal chief of the Mattaponi began post World War II, and Custalow was the dominant Mattaponi politician and outward facing tribal representative c.1945-1969. Aside from his other accomplishments, he was successful in negotiating electricity for the reservation in 1950, a state road lease and paving in 1956, and telephone service in 1967 (Rountree 1990:239, 248). This period of Mattaponi public and political history is within living memory, and not carried in to great detail for the present report. For a more in-depth overview of themes and patterns of Virginia Indian history during the second half of the twentieth-century, consult Rountree (1990) and Waugaman and Moretti-Langholtz (2006).

O.T. Custalow is remembered as an educator, for leading the tribe through the difficult era of Racial Integrity in Virginia, as an advocate for fishing and hunting rights of the reservations, and as a leader in maintaining the tributary relationship between the Mattaponi Indian Town and the Commonwealth of Virginia. Not only a civic leader and chief of the reservation, Custalow was ordained as a minister of the Baptist Church in 1960. He died in 1969. Afterward, his wife Elizabeth [Newton] Custalow maintained the reservation house for many years. O.T. Custalow’s son George W. Custalow is the current occupant, and the curator of the Mattaponi Museum (Figure 47).

The O.T. Custalow House [DHR 050-0109] is a rectangular, frame, two-storied farmhouse, with a seamed metal roof, and two internal chimneys. Contemporary siding covers the original wooden clapboard, and all the doors and windows were re-

placed through a HUD program in the 1970s. The first floor has three bays, with an aluminum door in the second bay. The second floor has three bays, all windows. Behind the house there are a series of agricultural sheds, dating to the same period as the original house. Adjacent to the home is the “Radio House,” an enclosed shed, with wooden clapboard and a seamed metal roof. The construction of this structure dates from c.1930 through 1946, in two phases. None of the O.T. Custalow House facilities are remarkable as architectural examples of their kind from the early twentieth century. However, the heritage resource of the property is significant to the Mattaponi because of its affiliation with Chief O.T. Custalow, and thus is a notable site representing Native American history within the Commonwealth (Figures 5, 48).

#### *The Curtis Custalow House*

Of the heritage structures identified by the Mattaponi tribe and the DHR 1979 and 2014 architectural surveys, the Curtis Custalow House [DHR 050-0107] is the most recent construction. Built 1946-1947 by Chief Curtis Custalow, the narrative of the house’s construction and the overview of the Chief’s life represent broad patterns in Virginia history and the reservation’s political economy during the mid-twentieth century (Figures 2, 51).

Born at the site of the King-Custalow house in 1916, Curtis Custalow was raised and educated on the Mattaponi reservation. His parents died when he was young: his father, Solomon D. Custalow, when he was two years old, and his mother, Lillie B. [King] Custalow, when he was eleven (Figure 28). As a young adult in the 1930s, Curtis Custalow lived in Pennsylvania for one year. While Mattaponi and Pamunkey labor migration was not uncommon during this era, Custalow’s move was a result of significant local conflict with White men in King William County who were members of the Klu Klux Klan [KKK]. The oral history of the events surrounding 1934-1935, reflect the racial tensions and climate of Virginia during Jim Crow, and reservation-state relations under the ideology of the Racial Integrity Act of 1924 (see Morretti-Langholtz 1998).

According to oral histories collected in 2016 about the Mattaponi chief men, their families, and their homes, the 1934 incident surrounding the death of Powhatan Major, crossed all of the chiefly lineages and was a reoccurring narrative among interlocutors. Powhatan “Tan” Major, son of Lee Major and grandson of nineteenth-century Chief Elston Major, was the last man of the Major lineage to reside on the reservation. Tan was considered to be a likable person, and was “somewhat of a lady’s man.” He appeared in Speck’s 1928 volume on the Powhatan, and several historical images were taken of his family, c.1899-1920 (Figures 14, 22, 29). The narrative of Tan’s death is paraphrased below, taken from multiple 2016 Mattaponi interviews:

Some of the “local White men” in King William took exception to “Tan Major” fraternizing with White women, objecting to rumors of liaisons “with a darker skinned man.” Tan Major lived on the Mattaponi River in a boat. One day, the local Whites had “a party down the river from the reservation” and “invited Tan to come out.” There, “the Whites ambushed him” and “he was shot, three times.” One of the men “drove Tan around for a day or two while he groaned and slowly died.” The men then took his body down to the river, waited “until Mattaponi men were out to fish,” and placed the body next to a fallen tree so it wouldn’t float away with the tide. The “fishermen saw the body, and roped it in,” taking it to the reservation landing. Chief George F. Custalow told the fisherman to “bring Tan Major up out of the river.” The White men “must have been watching the whole thing, as soon as Tan was pulled up in front of the Church, the Whites were [seen] standing on top of the hill” at the entrance to the reservation, as if to claim responsibility or receive acknowledgement. The fishermen told the others that Tan had drowned, “but when Curtis Custalow picked up the body by the belt, blood could be seen oozing out” of three holes. “Drowned with bullets” was the expression of the Mattaponi reservation. The death certificate stated, Powhatan Major was “Found in Mattaponi River near Wakema on May 16, 1934, apparently been dead several days.” In the same hand, the coroner wrote in quotation marks “Drowning,” as if to imply, but question, drowning as the stated cause of death.

Later, Curtis Custalow encountered the White men at the country store at Hall’s Crossroads. He “took them to task” for disparaging and derogatory remarks about Chief George F. Custalow and others. “The White men made it clear that Curtis, O.T., Will, and George’s names” were “on a list.” Moreover, the police were seen to be a part of the KKK organization, as were county officials and judges. However, “the White men paid the widow [Nannie Tupence] about \$400 for the funeral expenses, as a way of hushing things up.” Thus, Curtis Custalow left Virginia for Pennsylvania until “things calmed down” (DC Powhatan Major 5/12/1934; Woodard Field Notes).

The forgoing narrative illustrates the Mattaponi’s sensibilities of the tensions and threats to their families during the Segregation Era, as well as provides additional explanation for the northern migration to locales such as Philadelphia and New York, in an attempt to escape the Virginia hostility towards people of color. However, some Mattaponi and Pamunkey returned to the reservations following spans of time in urban centers. Custalow left Philadelphia for Mattaponi in the late 1930s and began working in the logging profession, cutting and loading pulpwood for the plant in West Point. He married Gertrude Custalow in 1942 (Figure 33). Gertrude was the daughter of O.T. and Marie [Miles] Custalow and named for her grandmother Gertie Miles-Collins. The couple’s first child, Curtis Jr., was born in 1943. Subsequent children were Marvin, Veronica, Denise, and Michael (HCR Papers; Woodard Field Notes).

Curtis Custalow served in the armed forces during World War II, fought in the European Theater, and was wounded at the Battle of the Bulge. While in France, he was driving a jeep and ran over a land mine, the explosion of which rendered him unconscious and severely injured. In the chaos, he was “left for dead in the triage, tagged, and covered with a sheet.” After work had been completed on other wounded, “someone noticed movement under the sheet,” and they mobilized to save Custalow. He had a severe skull fracture, but survived and recovered. Decorated beyond the Purple Heart, he was awarded three Bronze Stars, as well as the E.A.M.E. Campaign Medal, Good Conduct Medal, and a Marksmanship

Medal (Daily Press 9/9/2001; Woodard Field Notes).

After the war, Custalow drove a bus for Fort Lee. During this post-war period, Custalow “called for a lot on the reservation.” He was given the division of “Miss Lucy’s Lot,” who was originally a Pamunkey Miles and the deceased widow of Kallie Allmond. The lot was “covered in blackberries,” which Curtis and his wife Gertrude “cleared by hand.” As a driver for Fort Lee, Custalow collected the discarded wooden shipping containers, in which military materials arrived at the base. He dismantled the wooden crates, sorted the lumber for size, and transported the pallets to the reservation; he then hired Mattaponi boys, including Gertrude’s younger brothers, to remove and straighten the nails. Once he acquired enough lumber, Custalow started framing his house, from his own design. Driving the road between the reservation and Fort Lee “allowed for many miles of scouting” for additional surplus construction materials. The “surplus” came from the post-war building surge in American single-family homes, where construction jobs had been completed and roadside debris existed. These sites provided scrap sheet rock and other supplies, which were added to Custalow’s recycled lumber and nails. The  $\frac{3}{4}$  basement was dug by hand, and again, Custalow hired Mattaponi boys to help, “he hired a mule to help move the earth up and out” of the basement. Inside the home, Custalow left an exposed serial number from the military containers, which remains visible today. He and Gertrude moved into the house in 1947 (Woodard Field Notes).

Curtis Custalow is remembered as having a “very strong work ethic...he gave Mattaponi jobs in timbering, logging and hauling wood for the pulp mill. He taught many how to work hard, and how to carry themselves as men...He garnered much respect for being honest, fair, and caring about his men,” qualities that carried over well to being chief (ibid).

At the death of O.T. Custalow in 1969, Curtis Custalow was “unanimously elected chief of the Mattaponis.” Custalow was regarded as “a humble man, always looking out for the interest of the tribe...He was always quiet – he never argued. When

he was chief, he obtained positions in national First American organizations. He had a broad outlook, not just for our tribe but for all First Americans.” Custalow was a founding member of the United Southeast Tribes of America, a founding member of the steering committee for the Coalition of Eastern Native Americans, and active on the board of the Native American Rights Fund. “Among the chief’s accomplishments were federal revenue sharing for the Mattaponi and Pamunkey reservations.” Continuing the work first carried out by Chief O.T. Custalow, Curtis Custalow supported the King William County School Board providing funding for reservation students, and further, “was instrumental in obtaining other federal funds for the schoolchildren.” Chief Custalow withdrew from his position of leadership in 1977, due to health concerns, but remained a member of the tribal council until his death in 2001. In 1977 Webster Custalow, youngest son of Chief George F. Custalow and brother of Chief O.T. Custalow, succeeded Chief Curtis Custalow, and remained chief for the next twenty-five years (Daily Press 9/9/2001; Rountree 1990:243-248).

From the 1979 DHR survey of the house, the “Chief Curtis house” was described:

“The rectangular, asbestos covered home of retired Chief Curtis L. Custalow is three bays across and three bays deep; of one and a half stories. The wood roof covered with asphalt shingles has three gabled dormers with 2/2 DS windows; atop each dormer are lightning rods. Two interior chimneys of brick are set to the rear of the gables peak; located on the east and west side of the house. Each gable end has a single window 4/4 DS. The center bay door of horizontal wood panel has four lights at the top. This house has a full basement... Curtis Custalow built the home from his own plan out of ‘surplus army crates’” (DHR 1979 50-107).

In the 1980s the house was “bricked up.” The porch in front was closed in, and the porch on the back was also enclosed; a covered deck was added to the rear in 2017. Inside the enclosed back en-

trance, the former exterior can be seen – asbestos or composite siding. The rooms inside are multi level in terms of the floor plan [a step up, a step down, etc.]. The entranceway to the upstairs is framed in a bulky, angled, trim (Woodard Field Notes).

The Curtis Custalow House “is a typical example of mid-twentieth century architectural style,” but is not noteworthy as an historic property on an architectural basis. However, due to the structure’s affiliation with the Mattaponi tribe as the residence of Chief Curtis Custalow, it is significant to the Commonwealth’s Native American history, and as a heritage resource of the Mattaponi reservation (DHR 2014 50-107).

#### MATTAPONI EDUCATION AND RELIGION: CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS, c.1917-1966

##### *The Mattaponi Indian School*

As early as the 1890s the Mattaponi petitioned the state government in Richmond for a separate teacher, as were allowed the Pamunkey, likely an outcome of the ten-mile distance between the Mattaponi reservation residences and the Pamunkey Indian School. Intermittent education had been provided to the Mattaponi children, through the joint efforts of both reserves’ leaders during the 1870-1890s. However, it was not until Chief George F. Custalow’s term in 1916 that the state department of education agreed to fund a separate teacher at Mattaponi. During the 1917-1918 school year, a sum of \$1012.43 was expended on school operations at the two reservations. The schools operated under Virginia’s segregated system, in which the Indians were not allowed to attend White schools, and during this era, they refused to attend Black schools (*Evening Times* 8/21/1899; Pamunkey PF 2015:41-44; *Richmond Times-Dispatch* 12/10/1914; 6/28/1916; 6/9/1918; *San Francisco Bulletin* 8/26/1871; Indian School Files, 1936-1967, Series I: Administrative Files).

The first Mattaponi school was located near the present Church, situated in between the old graveyard and the bluff over looking the river (Figure 20,

Appendix II, Map 2). The school faced the grave-stones and was about twenty yards away from the road. A walkway of jonquils formerly lined the path to the school. It was a wooden structure that “had a second story, of some kind,” possibly a loft, and stairs. Aside from “Miss Sallie Henley of Tappahannock,” who taught the 1918 session, the Mattaponi oral history of early schoolteachers included a “Mr. Edwards” who “skated [on ice in winter] from the ‘Flats,’” as known to the Mattaponi from the area commonly known as Custis Millpond. Possibly “Dora Bradby from Pamunkey taught at Mattaponi” for a short while. Another early teacher was named “Ms. Pilcher, paid for by the state.” Some of the students that attended this first, state-funded schoolhouse were “Curtis Custalow, Gertrude Custalow, Norman Theodore Custalow, Jacob Vincent Custalow, Otha Irving Custalow,” among many others (*Richmond Times-Dispatch* 6/9/1918; Woodard Field Notes).

Once the new schoolhouse was constructed in 1929, the old schoolhouse fell out of use. Elders recalled that in the spring, Easter eggs were hidden around the church and old schoolyard. The older children would pay attention to the adults selecting the locations; while the boys were out fishing they could see the schoolyard action from the river and would use the information to their advantage to collect the treats. Later in time Curtis Custalow “used the old schoolhouse for Sunday school lessons.” Eventually the structure was dismantled. Some suggest Rev. Harvey Custalow “took boards away from the school” as he needed them “for his own uses,” as he was the preacher of the church, “and that was what became of the old schoolhouse” (Woodard Field Notes).

The new Mattaponi Indian School [DHR 050-0106] served the tribe for the 1st through 8th grades (Figures 7, 49). The schoolhouse was at first, a one-room classroom, equipped with a woodshed and a woodstove, for which “the students cut and chopped the wood.” The woodshed was to the southeast, and two outhouses were to the northeast of the school (Appendix II, Map 2). The school’s teachers were stern, the first one “replaced after being too physical with the children” and causing a

general complaint by the mothers. The instruction was individual or by grade; students could work on homework while the teacher was with another class or student. From the first decade, former students remembered “Ms. Patty Jeter Timberlake” as an early instructor (Woodard Field Notes).

Elders recalled that the classroom was organized with “a small table and small chairs for beginners at the front...seven and eight year olds were at a little bigger table and slightly larger chairs on the side of the room...desks were used for those nine years old and up, and these were in rows in the middle” of the schoolhouse. The seats were “sorted into rows by grade and the desks and chairs got a bit bigger as the grades went up, with the 8th grade at the back in the largest of the desks.” The teacher moved to each grade throughout the course of the day, and “each grade would place their homework on the teacher’s desk at the beginning of the day” and then would work on the assignments given to them. Each grade would simultaneously work on their assignments, “as the teacher moved about... the littlest children were there only part of the day and the teacher worked with them first...then they’d go out and play and then be done for the day.” A teacher would work at the school for a couple of years, and then a new one would take over, “Miss Dixon and Miss Martin were two of the teachers” (ibid).

For high school “during the early years,” students would have to attend “private schools or the Indian high school in Cherokee, North Carolina” or “Oak Hill Academy in the mountains.” For most, upper-level coursework required leaving Virginia; some went to Bacone College in Oklahoma, which was supported by church and state funding streams. One student from Mattaponi, “received help which enabled him to go to Bacone for the 1945-46 session, the parents being financially unable to do more than supply incidental expenses” (Pfaus 1948:22; Woodard Field Notes).

Former students from the Mattaponi School’s 1930s and 1940s ranks recalled that the building’s first addition was “added in the 40s, straight out off the frame.” This addition was to fa-

cilitate living quarters for the resident teacher, if the instructor were not from the neighborhood. Two teachers, Ms. Field and Mr. Johnson, in succession, lived in the apartment addition, c.1945-1947, while the next teacher, Ms. Sue Martin, lived close by in the county. In 1945 the State Director of Instruction, George J. Oliver, reported that the “Mattaponi Indian Reservation” operated “One Elementary school[,] Grades 1-7, inclusive[,] One Teacher[,] Enrollment, 19[,] State Appropriate per Pupil, \$96.66” (Indian School Files, 1936-1967, Series I: Administrative Files; Woodard Field Notes). A 1949 school pamphlet stated:

“Good school buildings, with necessary equipment, are furnished by the state for the Pamunkey and Mattaponi reservations...For a number of years the children from Mattaponi reservation attended Pamunkey school, one white teacher, Mrs. Julia Kyle, having served there for twenty years, until retired.

...[The] Mattaponi School, Sweet Hall, Virginia[,] This school building which is well equipped has an apartment built and furnished by the State, to provide living quarters for the teacher; but even with this inducement, the school had been without a qualified teacher for many months. Last year [c.1947-1948] a very fine teacher was secured – one who lived in the community; and the school has made progress. Two girls who finished eighth grade last year, are now in Bacone high school in Oklahoma, and making good grades, having been on the dean’s honor roll the first semester.

There are twenty-two now in school; one boy finishing eighth grade, will got to Bacone to enter high school next year. These children range in age from seven to sixteen years. Most of them are average students, some being above average. Since Bacone has the twelve-year system, the State Board of Education requires eighth grade in the school.

The teacher writes: ‘With the aid of the County and Home Demonstration agents we

have organized a 4-H Club. We have a nicely furnished kitchen and an apartment where the students can be taught home-making and home care, also we do some cooking. The Home Demonstration agent is planning to take up sewing with the 4-H Club girls. There is a good machine at the school which is furnished by the State. We use the apartment whenever is needed.' The teacher drives to and from school, leaving the apartment free for other activities" (Pfaus 1949:6-7, 9-11).

The Mattaponi Indian School continued to be funded by the state. Examples of the source locations and expenses incurred to support the school included:

Food for lunchroom:

Daily items – W.C. Paul's store  
 Case lots of canned goods – York Wholesale Co., West Point  
 Meats – George H. Meyers and Sons, Inc. Richmond  
 Milk – Northern Neck Creamery, Warsaw  
 USDA Commodities – King William County

Purchase of Services:

Bottle gas for cooking – Humble Oil and Refining Company, Richmond  
 Fuel oil for heating – Mr. Glenn L. Reynolds, Cities Service Co., West Point  
 Plumbing, Heating, repairs and maintenance – Jean's Plumbing Heating and Cooling, West Point  
 TV Service and repair – Mr. Vest, Northside  
 TV and Radio Service, Richmond

School bus maintenance and servicing:

Daily Service – Rumford Highway Department Lot  
 School bus inspections and repairs – Tappahannock Residency Highway Shop  
 Emergency repairs – Taylor's Esso Service Center, King William  
 Medical examination – Dr. Harris in West Point

(Indian School Files, 1936-1967, Series I: Administrative Files).

G. Fred Poteet, Assistant Supervisor of Secondary Education, was an advocate for the Indian schools during the midcentury, facilitating multiple students' placement in upper grade institutions, and lobbying for financial support and improved facilities. George Wahunsenacock, one of the students supported by Virginia for out-of-state education, recalled that Poteet personally ensured he was enrolled and delivered to the Bureau of Indian Affairs School in North Carolina, "Mr. Poteet drove me and my cousin [Pearl Jean Custalow] to Cherokee in 1949 in a brand new Chevrolet...Poteet was a true advocate for the community...Yes Sir" (Woodard Field Notes).

It was through the leadership of the reservation chiefs that much headway was made in education during the midcentury. The Virginia Department of Education ran counter to the ideology of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, as stated by State Registrar, Walter A. Plecker in a 1945 letter, "The Department of Education...seems to treat them [the reservation Indians] as deserving of special consideration and furnishes them industrial education which is not furnished to the other negro schools of the state nor to the white schools." Following Plecker's death in 1947, a shift began at the state level regarding segregation, and soon, there was a national-level conversation about race laws in America. As evidence of this trend, in 1954 the legislature redefined Virginia's code for who was deemed an Indian: "Members of Indian tribes existing in this Commonwealth having one-fourth more of Indian blood and less than one-sixteenth of Negro blood shall be deemed tribal Indians," effectively recognizing non-reservation Indians within the state (Acts of Assembly 1954:703, 905; Indian School Files, 1936-1967, Series I: Administrative Files; Rountree 1990:230). As related to Indian education and desegregation, these actions were part of wider currents in American politics of the era, including the watershed 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* and the 1964 Civil Rights Act that ended public segregation.

During the 1949-1950 session, a lunch program was added to the Mattaponi school, but by June of 1950, the Pamunkey and Mattaponi voted to consolidate their schools in order "to offer a

broader and better program for grades 1 through 8.” In the summer of 1950, the Mattaponi school building was completely renovated with new facilities added through state funds and donations from the Society of Friends and the Richmond Dietetics Association. Thus, in 1951 the Pamunkey Indian School closed, and students were bussed to Mattaponi, thereafter called the Mattaponi-Pamunkey Indian School (Indian School Files, 1936-1967, Series I: Administrative Files).

Through the early 1950s the state continued to pay the tuition and transportation costs for out-of-state high school education at Bacone College or the Cherokee Reservation School. For the 1953-1954 school year, there were three at Bacone and two at Cherokee, for a total expense of \$8900. However, the state ceased funding for out-of-state placement of high school students by the end of the 1950s. In response Charles City County School Board agreed to fund tuition and boarding to support Indians in its county, as well as assist with constructing a secondary school. The Mattaponi were invited to send their students to Charles City; some accepted, while others took advantage of scholarships and religious funding from the Baptist Church to attend Cherokee, Bacone, and Bluefield College. Another teacher was hired for the Mattaponi reservation in 1958, and thereafter high school courses were offered at the Mattaponi-Pamunkey consolidated school, drastically reducing the need for out-of-state placement of upper level students (Indian School Files, 1936-1967, Series I: Administrative Files; Rountree 1990:240-241).

Following the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the end of public segregation, the Mattaponi-Pamunkey School operated for several more years (Figure 39). The tribes were resistant to integration, fearing a loss of status and accommodations bitterly fought for over so many years. The Mattaponi perspective was that the “reservation students were forced, over protest from the tribe, to attend county public schools.” As the reservation residents paid no taxes, a negotiation was required to shift Indian students to King William County

schools. The state agreed to subsidize the county expenses for sending Indian students to public schools, including cafeteria meals, school fees, and textbooks. Thereafter, the Mattaponi-Pamunkey School was closed and the commencement of the last graduating class was held in May of 1966 (Figure 40). Two senior girls, Joyce Glen Custalow and Veronica Faye Custalow, received their diplomas at a ceremony held at the Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church. In attendance were Chiefs O.T. Custalow and Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook, who gave the invocation and benediction, respectively, the last state Administrator for Virginia’s Indian Schools, Henry M. Hambrecht, Jr., who awarded the diplomas, and Catherine H. Hook, Member of the State Board of Education who gave the keynote address (Indian School Files, 1936-1967, Series I: Administrative Files; Rountree 1990:241; DHR 1979 50-106). The ceremony marked the end of specialized Indian education in Virginia, an effort that had been a part of Tidewater society, in one form or another, during four centuries.

Following the closure of the school, the tribe continued to use the structure for council meetings, but it eventually converted into a residence. The apartment-turned-home-economics’ kitchen became the cooking area for the home and the large classroom was transitioned to a bedroom. The high school annex was also converted into bedrooms. Christine Custalow lived in the building, as a home, for approximately eight years. However, the tribe still held council meetings at the building, “in the kitchen and living room.” In the 1970s a HUD program “came to fix up several buildings on the reservation...they added bathrooms to the schoolhouse.” From the late 1970s until today, the community uses the building for council meetings, funeral dinners, revival dinners, and workshops (Woodard Field Notes).

The 2014 and 1979 DHR survey of the Mattaponi Indian school identified its present use as a council house for the band, and as an auxiliary meeting place for craft instruction and cultural classes. The architectural description of the structure:

“The council house is a square clapboard structure six bays across and three bays deep. The façade has a band of five 6/6 DS windows and double doors, which are horizontally wood paneled. The east side of the building has a single door entranceway[,] which is horizontally paneled wood. The rolled tin gabled roof shows as a 1954 addition in having a double cornice on the east and west side of the building (DHR 1979, 50-106).

An updated 2014 description overviewed modifications since the previous survey:

“The school is a one-story, frame, multi-bay building supported by concrete piers. The exterior walls, previously recorded as sheathed with weatherboards, are now in vinyl siding. The side gable roof is covered with seamed meta. Visible fenestration includes six-over-six wood double-hung sash windows. The building also features a small front stoop at the main entry. No chimney is present. Appears relatively unaltered since the previous survey. A one-story, frame, side addition features a wood access ramp” (DHR 2014, 050-0106).

Despite the vinyl siding, the structure is considered to be noteworthy under the category of education and Native American history of the Commonwealth, and as a property of cultural heritage for the Mattaponi reservation.

#### *The Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church*

As early as the 1870s some members of the Mattaponi Indian Town were interested in erecting a church for the community. While some residents had been members of nearby Colosse Baptist Church, and their ancestors among the founding members of Lower College Baptist Church, the Mattaponi engagement with Colosse was less pronounced than that of the Pamunkey residents. With some members receiving letters of dismissal in the 1860s alongside the Pamunkey membership, some Mattaponi residents became members of the newly organized

Pamunkey Baptist Church (Christian Advocate and Journal 1855:44; Colosse Minute Book 1814-1870; Pfau 1948; 1949; Daily Dispatch 4/9/1877). However, based on scant references during the 1890s of the Mattaponi and Pamunkey having “their own churches and preachers,” which seems to imply a plurality of meetings, and with the availability of ordained Pamunkey ministers, the Mattaponi may have organized a separate Baptist gathering. The public familiarity of the Mattaponi leadership with the White and Indian leaders of the Baptist churches at Pamunkey and Samaria, strengthens the interpretation of stronger Mattaponi Baptist ties during the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century (Marriage License, Solomon Custlow and Lilly B. King, Hanover County; Pamunkey Baptist Church, Old Register).

Chief George F. Custalow is credited with bringing a more robust Christian prayer life to Mattaponi and tribal devotion to the Baptist Church (Figure 30). During the mid-1910s, Custalow formally invited “Brother W.B. Tyler to come and preach to them every second and fourth Sundays,” and Custalow began offering a Sunday school on the reservation in 1922. Elders recall that Nannie Tuppence also held a Sunday school at her home c.1925, along “Nannie’s Creek,” today named Shanty Creek, in the northeastern section of the reservation (Religious Herald 6/6/1935; Woodard Field Notes).

Some of the religious activities were performed in the structure being utilized for the Indian School, which was situated overlooking the river between the graveyard and the bluff. Early dates in the tribal cemetery include 1877, 1887, 1891, 1900, 1905, and 1918, thus more strongly affiliating the structure associated with the early school as a general meetinghouse. Combined, the timeline for the closer affiliation of the wider Mattaponi community with the Baptist Church, the internment dates and locations of the burials, and the proxemics of the structure to the graves and the river overlook, all point toward the “old schoolhouse” as being a multipurpose building for Indian Town gatherings, including religious meetings (Figure 20). A brief mention of the use of the frame building came nearly

ten years later in a *Religious Herald* article, which stated, “During these years the school and church had been using a small building, altogether inadequate.” In the 1920s another structure was erected from the banks of the landing over the Mattaponi River, “a wooden pavilion that was covered and stretched out into the river like a pier” (Figure 21). This space was used as the church meetings grew in size, and “the tribe held services” over the river. The structure was also used as general meeting hall for “social events and fish fries.” While indicative of Baptist ideology, the Mattaponi’s religious orientation to the river may also represent older indigenous ideas about the river’s bounty and the lifeway that it provided. Speck’s work with the Mattaponi during this era did not reveal religious perspectives per se, but plenty of folklore and beliefs existed about the riverine environment (*Religious Herald* 6/6/1935; Speck 1928; Woodard Field Notes).

Rev. Tyler served the Mattaponi for four years, after which George Custalow, Jr., R.G. Trimmer, and A. Nicholas Reynolds acted as pastors. “During the Ministry of Rev. A Nicholas Reynolds, the congregation decided to organize a Baptist church and requested the Dover Baptist Association, in its annual session...to assist them in it.” Once considered by committee, the association agreed and organized the Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church in June of 1932. The twelve charter members of the tribal church, with letters from Pamunkey Baptist included:

Chief George F. Custalow	George F. Custalow, Jr.
Mrs. Emma K. Custalow	Mrs. Mary W. Custalow
Asst. Chief O.T. Custalow	Mrs. Eliza C. Langston
Mrs. Marie J. Custalow	Harvey N. Custalow
Curtis Lee Custalow	J.C. Custalow

Like the state-supported free school, the formal organization of a church at Mattaponi was an anchoring event and significant achievement – creating additional institutional backing for the tribe. One elder recalled the impact on the Mattaponi people:

“These young ones don’t understand what that church meant for us. Dover accepted US! We were accepted by the Whites, without

having to prove who we were or be degraded. We were proud to be accepted in the Dover Association, and it made our FELLOWSHIP STRONG during a time when many other people would not accept us. It helped maintain who we were!” (Woodard Field Notes, emphasis in original).

Rev. A. Nicholas Reynolds, of Floyd Ave. in Richmond, was called upon and accepted to pastor the congregation. Elders recall stories of “Nick Reynolds” and how “he hitchhiked from Richmond or caught rides[,] preached every Sunday,” and was highly respected. Reynolds served for a little over one year, a “brief but successful ministry,” during which time the membership grew to twenty-six. Reynolds also facilitated the erection of the “new schoolhouse,” and encouraged the congregation to consider “a better building for worship.” In 1934, Harvey N. Custalow was invited from the tribal ranks to serve as acting pastor, and under his leadership the congregation formed a building committee (*Religious Herald* 6/6/1935).

A site was selected for the church, overlooking the river landing, adjacent to the “old cemetery” and “old schoolhouse” (Appendix II, Map 2) The lot had been where John H. and Mary E. [Allmond] Langston resided, both deceased as of 1926 and 1928, respectively. Next door stood the c.1880 Allmond House, and both homes dated to the same era. Marking the four corners of the Langston lot, were three stately trees: a walnut by the old cemetery, a sycamore beyond the “new cemetery,” a walnut now in the midst of the new cemetery, and a fourth tree [a walnut, destroyed in 2011 by Hurricane Irene], making almost a near square. The congregation selected this parcel for the location of the new church (Woodard Field Notes).

Work on the building started that summer, with “the Mattaponi men [giving] the labor for the majority of the construction.” A “Mr. ‘Tapley’ Trimmer brought the mill down” to the reservation, and “cut all the pine for the church.” The

family name of Trimmer is associated with early pastoring, the millwork, and the finishing work for the church. Trimmer put “the sawmill used to mill the wood for the church...up at ‘Nealya’s’ [Nee-aya Lane],” an area of the upper northwest corner of the reservation. Private funds and donations were solicited from the region to assist with the details of the church construction. Citizens and Farmers Bank donated the original fixtures and chandeliers, and the press tin ceiling was donated from Richmond. The congregation called for the interior to be “white walls and ivory ceiling,” and the “first carpet in the church was maroon.” Oil lamps formerly lit the walls, a space still seen today on the sconces. Harvey N. Custalow “made the original communion table for the church”. Completed in early 1935, the Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church [DHR 050-5075] was dedicated in May of that year “with Pamunkey, Chickahominy and Rappahannock...and many prominent citizens of the county, of Richmond, and other places” in attendance. Also present was Lieutenant Governor James H. Price, who became governor of Virginia in 1937 (*ibid*).

Harvey N. Custalow continued as pastor of the church during its first years. Baptisms were made in the Mattaponi River (Figure 38), and Gracie Custalow was the first baptism of the church. A new burial area was designated behind the church (Appendix II, Map 2). Oral tradition suggests there were internal politics that precipitated the “new cemetery;” the first interment was Emma L. [King] Custalow, wife of Chief George F. Custalow, in April of 1936, less than a year after the church’s dedication. By 1944-1945, the Mattaponi Indian Baptist congregation had grown to thirty-six members, and a Woman’s Missionary Society was organized. At the time they were finishing building their house, Curtis and Gertrude Custalow provided the church a set of new concrete steps in 1947, replacing the worn wooden originals. The church’s organizer and chief of the tribe, George F. Custalow died in 1949, and was buried next to his wife in the new cemetery, with a double headstone and wrought iron fence around the burial area (Pfaus 1948:18; Woodard Field Notes).

The wrought-iron gate seemingly designated George F. and Emma L. [King] Custalow as the lineage pair of the new cemetery, which countered a similar configuration in the old cemetery across the street, under the cedars. Custalow created the break in the burial location and started the tradition of the second cemetery, “he did not want to be buried alongside some of his lifelong rivals.” While not exclusive, the majority of the interments in the new section come from George F. Custalow’s children, their marriage mates, and their descendants. These burials include those of former chiefs and assistant chiefs, such as O.T. Custalow, Curtis Custalow, Webster Custalow, and Linwood Custalow (Woodard Field Notes).

The old cemetery is dominated by the Allmond, Langston, Major, and Tuppence lineages – the older surnames of the reservation. There are unmarked graves in this section, thus the total number of interments is not known. The burial ground’s marked graves date to the third quarter of the nineteenth century, with the life span of a few of the individuals dating back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. There are multiple unmarked graves in the Old Cemetery, and some of the cedar trees identify interments. The most prominent burial is that of Eliza Major and her husband Thornton Allmond. With single headstones, the burial plot is fenced with a wrought and cast iron partition, seemingly a counter lineage pair to George F. and Emma L. [King] Custalow’s new cemetery (*ibid*).

After the 1940s, Harvey N. Custalow preached less often, and there were interim pastors. Curtis Custalow was the era’s director of the Sunday school. Chief O.T. Custalow became heavily involved in the 1950s, and carried out ministry work across the region under the sanction of the Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church – Harvey Custalow, as pastor, and Dewey Custalow, as deacon, provided the certificate of license. O.T. Custalow was officially ordained at the church in the presence of seven ministers of the Dover Baptist Association in January 1960. The ordination committee reviewed O.T. Custalow and recommended ordination in Nov. 1959. Rev. W.E. Cullen, executive secretary of the association, preached the ordination sermon at Mattaponi. Thereafter, O.T. Custalow was the pastor of Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church until his death in

1969. Rev. Colonna preached after Rev. Custalow and was later succeeded by Rev. Hughes (ibid).

With regards to changes in the building over time, older photos of the exterior of the church show a dark green trim (Figure 30), which was based on a donor's efforts, "before and after, the church has been [painted] all white." Aluminum siding sheathed the old wooden clapboard "sometime in the 1970s," and remains today [2017]. The church retains all of its original windows. "Gertrude [Custalow] donated the porch off the right side of the church [facing the chapel], in honor of her husband Curtis." When the bathrooms and wheelchair ramp were added in the 1990s, the Men's Group at Adamstown assisted, as did many non-Indians who had an interest. The front doors were "remade during the eightieth anniversary [2014], of mahogany, but in the same fashion as the old ones." The doors were commissioned through Peggy Custalow. On the interior, the church retains the original lighting fixtures and doorknobs, the first communion table and chairs, and a cowbell that was used to call the services. Portraits of Rev. Nicholas Reynolds and O.T. Custalow are prominently hung. The original pews of the church were replaced after "two or three years of fundraising," during the mid-1960s. Pocahontas [Bradby] Custalow subsidized "new" green carpet, installed close to the same time. Grove Ave. Baptist in Richmond donated their "used pew cushions forty years ago [1970s]" as a result of "Dewey, Calvin, Kenneth, and Mack [Malcolm] Custalow attending the church. They sang." There is a mural now in the vestibule, which was "painted by Mr. Neidre of Newport News, in the 1970s. Most of children portrayed were youngsters of the tribe at the time. Reverend Hughes, one of the pastors, his daughter gave the stained glass that hangs behind

the pulpit, soon after he died" (Woodard Field Notes).

The 2014 DHR assessment of the church issued the identification number 050-5075 and gave the following analysis of the structure and its value as a cultural property:

"The Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church... is significant for its association with early twentieth-century religious reform of Native American people...specifically the Mattaponi Tribe...The church is a one-story, frame, three-bay building supported by a parged foundation. The exterior walls are sheathed in aluminum siding, and the front gable roof is covered with seamed metal. The roof also features a steeple. Visible fenestration includes two-over-two wood double hung sash windows, and a transform over the two-leaf recessed panel wood main entrance door in the single-bay entry vestibule. The building also features an exterior side brick chimney flue, and gable-roofed additions featuring two-over-two wood double-hung sash windows" (DHR 2014 050-5075).

The church is recognized as a significant cultural property for its relationship to the Mattaponi reservation, as well as wider trends in Virginia history and Native American history. So too, the historical cemeteries are heritage resources of the Mattaponi people, containing the interments of family members and significant tribal leaders, some born over two hundred years ago. The research potential for the site is significant, as the boundaries of the two cemetery plots are not defined, and the historical archaeological resources of the Langston lot and adjacent Allmond House are unstudied.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The *Heritage Properties* report identifies multiple Mattaponi cultural resources located on the Mattaponi Indian Reservation. Each property is situated within the Indian Town of the approximately 150-acre reserve (Appendix II, Map 2). These include the domestic home sites of the Allmond House [DHR 050-0105], the Curtis Custalow House [DHR 050-0107], the King-Custalow House [DHR 050-5074], the Langston House [DHR 050-number pending], and the O.T. Custalow House [DHR 050-0109]. Three of the structures are associated with chiefs: Chief Eliza Major for the Allmond House, Chief Curtis Custalow for his home, and O.T. Custalow for his residence. The other domestic structures are affiliated with leadership families of the early to mid-twentieth century. The Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church [DHR 050-5075] and associated “old” and “new” cemeteries are all active community spaces. The Mattaponi Indian School [DHR 050-0106] continues to be used as a council house and a lodge for community gathering. In addition to these properties, the Mattaponi fishing shore and wharf landing can be considered other focal spots on the reserve. The remains of several fishing shanties dot the shoreline in varying degrees of preservation. So too, the shad hatchery and the remains of its historical predecessors are situated adjacent to the wharf landing.

Based on the historical and ethnographic data, multiple archaeological sites were identified. These resources are in addition to the likely presence of unknown prehistoric and historic sites on the reserve. The conjoined lots of the Allmond House and the c.1880 former John H. Langston House, now the churchyard, have not been tested archaeologically and may yield important data about Mattaponi cultural and economic practices of the

nineteenth century. So too, the “old cemetery” boundaries have not been mapped through non-invasive techniques, such as ground penetrating radar [GPR], which could assist the tribe with defining the resource for future growth. Mental maps derived from oral history identified the locations of Chief George F. Custalow’s home and associated store, the residence of John and Hattie [Custalow] Acree, the site of Lee and Sarah [Langston] Major’s home – and possibly that of Chief Elston Major – now the location of the Langston House, the site of Will Custalow’s c.1900-1915 home, and the location of Nannie Tuppence’s house site. Other “named” archaeological domestic spaces for potential research include the home site of brothers Austin and Claiborne Key, located in the area called “Nealya’s,” which is also the site of “horse heaven,” where Mattaponi deposited the remains of farm animals on the edge of Indian Town Swamp. Based on the Keys’ role in Mattaponi history, and the possible remains of multiple domestic deposits, “Nealya’s,” has the potential for future research. The location of the former meetinghouse-turned-school-and-church on the edge of the “old cemetery” and river frontage is another locale for possible survey.

Due to the paucity of county documents as a result of several nineteenth-century courthouse fires, an archaeological survey of the reservation would likely yield important information about continuity of occupancy, as well as establish a relative chronology for the hamlet. Frank G. Speck identified the archaeological remains of colono-Indian ware at Mattaponi, a “series of...smooth ware sherds from the places where they abound on the present Pamunkey and Mattaponi reservations... rubbing-stones are not uncommon on...Mattaponi sites.” These artifacts were collected at Mattaponi,

and were separate specimens from the c.1919 “modern ware of the ...Mattaponi” (1928:402, 404, 411). As colonoware easily dates to the seventeenth century and was important to the subsequent century’s Native economy, an exploration of sites with colonoware could also more fully demonstrate colonial-era occupancy, particularly if relative stratigraphy can control for chronology.

The potential for future research on the Mattaponi Indian Reservation is substantial. The community’s nineteenth- and twentieth-century documentary record remains mostly under researched and unpublished. The archaeological resources of the community have also not been documented, and no excavations of historical Mattaponi sites have occurred. These resources are not endangered. The Mattaponi living memory of the era before 1950 is waning more quickly, however. Community memories about farming, fishing, and urban-rural mobility are fading. The oral history of Segregation and the Indian School is currently more stable, at least for the later years prior to 1966. The strongest recommendation is for further research, whether archival, archaeological, ethnographic, or preferably, a combination of methodologies. Further fieldwork and time spent collecting ethnographic data would preserve these oral histories, and by linking them to cultural resources, ensure the collections would be utilized for the benefit of the community and of the Commonwealth.

A potential Mattaponi nomination to the National Register of Historic Places is important for the recognition of Native American history

within Virginia – not only for the Native community – but also for the wider citizenry of the Commonwealth. The Mattaponi report demonstrates the relevance of Indian people within the broader patterns of national history, and also the specific narrative of an indigenous population that remain a pillar of Virginia’s heritage. By acknowledging the Mattaponi people and their cultural properties as historically significant, the *Underrepresented Communities* grant fulfills its goal to identify and increase the number of historically recognized places and landscapes of minorities in Virginia.

Based on the evidence presented, it is the opinion of the research team that the Mattaponi heritage properties are worthy of consideration for nomination to the state and national registry of historic places, and meet the objectives set forth by the *Underrepresented Communities* grant and DHR’s *Continuity Within Change: Virginia Indians National Register Project*. Due to the compacted nature of the Mattaponi settlement, and the proximity of the resources, the research team recommends nominating an historic district, rather than individual nominations. However, there are advantages to both strategies, including the explicit tribal control of two of the structures [Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church and the former schoolhouse]. The research report, *Heritage Properties of Indian Town: The Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church, Indian School, and Homes of Chiefly Lineages*, provides the supporting materials necessary for nominating historical Mattaponi Reservation sites, individually or collectively as an historic district, should DHR be able to secure third party and / or tribal agreement for the properties described herein.

## WORKS CITED

## ABBREVIATIONS

AG	Agricultural Schedule [U.S. Federal]
C	Census [U.S. Federal]
CC	Chancery Cause [County]
DC	Death Certificate [State]
DHR	Virginia Department of Historic Resources
FB	Freedman's Bureau [Virginia]
GWP	George Washington Papers Digital Edition
HCR	Helen C. Rountree Papers
LP	Legislative Petitions [State]
UPA	University of Pennsylvania
YCR	York County Records Project

Alexander, Edward Porter

- 1863 *Map of the counties of Charles City, Goochland, Hanover, Henrico, King William, New Kent, and part of the counties of Caroline and Louisa, Virginia.* Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, D.C.

*Alexandria Gazette*

- 1872 May 28th edition. Alexandria, Virginia.  
1889 July 31st edition. Alexandria, Virginia.

*Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser*

- 1868 May 11th edition. Alexandria, Virginia.

*American Quarterly Register*

- 1840 American Education Society. Boston: Press of T.R. Marvin.

Barbour, Phillip L.

- 1986 *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia and Admiral of New England, 1580–1631.* 3 vols. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Beverly, Robert

- 1705 [1947] *The History and Present State of Virginia.* Louis B. Wright, ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Billings, Warren M.

- 1975a Some Acts Not in Hening's Statutes: The Acts of Assembly, April 1652, November 1652, and July 1653. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 83:22-76.  
1975b *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

- Blackford, Benjamin Lewis  
1865 *Map of King William County, Virginia*. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, D.C.
- Blathwayt, William  
1631-1722 Papers. John D. Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.
- Brickell, John  
1737 *The Natural History of North-Carolina*. Dublin: James Carson.
- Bursar's Book  
1745-1770 College of William & Mary, Office of the Bursar Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William & Mary.
- Butler, Benjamin F.  
1917 *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, During the Period of the Civil War*. Norwood, MA: Plimpton Press.
- Byrd, William II  
1901 *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*. New York: Dover.
- Burnaby, Andrew  
1760 *Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North-America: In the Years 1759 and 1760. With Observations Upon the State of the Colonies*. London: T. Payne.
- Crocket, G.F.H.  
1855 'The Last of the Virginia Indians. *Christian Advocate and Journal* 30:44.
- Collins, John  
Pension File, John Collins S.39356 and Jane Collins W.6736. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files. NARA M804. The National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- Colosse Baptist Church  
n.d. Loose Papers. King William County, Virginia.
- 1814-1834 Minute Book. Lower College Baptist Church. Boatwright Memorial Library, University of Richmond.
- 1814-1870 Minute Book. Lower College Baptist Church / Colosse Baptist Church. Boatwright Memorial Library, University of Richmond.
- Colonial Office  
Colonial Office papers, volume 5. British Public Records Office, Kew, England, Survey Reports and microfilm, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.
- Maps and Plans General 371. British Public Records Office, Kew, England.

- Custalow, George Wahunsenacock  
1916-1969 Papers and photographs. Mattaponi Indian Museum, Mattaponi Indian Reservation.  
King William County, Virginia.
- Custalow, Linwood and Angie L. Daniel  
2007 *The True Story of Pocahontas: The Other Side of History*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing.
- Daily Dispatch*  
1853 December 1st edition. Richmond, Virginia.  
1854 November 11th edition. Richmond, Virginia.  
1855 June 20th edition. Richmond, Virginia.  
1874 August 18th edition. Richmond, Virginia.  
1876 December 8th edition. Richmond, Virginia.  
1877 March 12th edition. Richmond, Virginia.  
1877 April 9th edition. Richmond, Virginia.
- Daily Press*  
1906 April 27th edition. Newport News, Virginia.  
2001 September 9th edition. Newport News, Virginia.
- Daily State Journal*  
1873 December 27th edition. Richmond, Virginia.
- Daniel, Frederick S.  
1888 A Visit to a Colonial Estate. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 76:517-524.
- Dayly Account Expenses  
Governor's Palace Daily Account Expenses. Originals transcribed in the *Taking Possession*  
resource manual. Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.
- Drake, Samuel J.  
1832 *A Book of the Indians of North America*. Boston: Josiah Drake.
- Evening Times*  
1899 August 21st edition. Washington, D.C.
- Feest, Christian F.  
1978 Virginia Algonquians. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 15, Northeast. Bruce G.  
Trigger, ed. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.
- Fontaine, John  
1972 *The Journal of John Fontaine: An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia, 1710-1719*. Edward  
Porter Alexander, ed. Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.
- Force, Peter, comp.  
1963 *Tracts and Other Papers, Relating to the Origin, Settlement and Progress of the Colonies in North  
America*. 4 vols. Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith.

## Freedmen's Bureau

- 1866-1872 [FB] Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (King William County). National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.  
 Roll 84, Register of letters received, Jan-Dec 1868  
 Roll 99, Monthly returns, leases and indentures, 1866-1868  
 Roll 120, Endorsements sent vol. 1-5, Aug 1865-Feb 1869  
 Roll 162, Letters sent, vol. 1-3, Jun 1866-Apr 1869  
 Roll 168, Unregistered letters received, Jun 1865-Dec 1868  
 Roll 177, Letters received and endorsements sent and received, Jan 1867-Dec 1868  
 Superintendent of Education for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-70; August 1869 memo from King William County teacher's monthly school report

## Gallivan, Martin D.

- 2016 *The Powhatan Landscape: An Archaeological History of the Algonquian Chesapeake*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.

## Gatschet, Albert S.

- post-1893 *Pamunkey Notebook*. MS 2197. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Suitland, Maryland.

## Gilmer, Jeremy Francis

- 1863 *Map of part of Essex, King and Queen, and King William Counties, Virginia*. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, D.C.

## Gleach, Frederick

- 1997 *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

## Grove, William Hugh, Gregory A. Stiverson and Patrick H. Butler, III

- 1977 Virginia in 1732: The Travel Journal of William Hugh Grove. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 85(1):18-44.

## Haile, Edward Wright, ed.

- 1998 *Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony, The First Decade: 1607-1617*. Champlain, VA: Round House.

## Hanover County

- (incomplete until) 1865-present. Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court, Ashland, Virginia.  
 Marriage Register

## Hendren, Samuel Rivers

- 1895 *Government and Religion of the Virginia Indians*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.

## Hening, William Waller

- 1809-1823 *The Statutes at Large, Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature*. 13 vols. New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow.

Herrman, Augustin

1673 *Map of Virginia and Maryland As it is Planted and Inhabited this present Year 1670*. John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.

Hodges, Mary Ellen N. and Martha McCartney

1980 Pamunkey Indian Reservation Archaeological District. National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form. Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond.

Hotchkiss, Jedediah

1863 *Map of King William County, Virginia*. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, D.C.

Howe, Henry

1845 *Historical Collections of Virginia*. Charleston, SC: Babcock & Co.

Howell, Benita J., Richard S. Levy, and Alvin Luckenbach

1979 What Is Dalrymple's Pamunkey? *International Journal of American Linguistics*. 45:78-79.

Jefferson, Thomas

1787 [1972] *Notes on the State of Virginia*. London: John Stockdale.

Jordan, Ervin L., Jr.

2015 Jesse Dungey. *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*. Richmond: Library of Virginia.

Jones, Hugh

1724 [1865] *The present state of Virginia: giving a particular and short account of the Indian, English and Negroe inhabitants of that colony: shewing their religion, manners, government, trade, way of living &c. with a description of the country: from whence is inferred a short view of Maryland and North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.

King Family Collection

c.1870-present Papers and photographs in family possession. Copies collected by Buck Woodard.

King William County

(Incomplete until) 1885-present. Clerk's Office, King William, Virginia (copies in the Library of Virginia, Richmond).  
Chancery Causes  
Legislative Petitions  
Marriage Register  
Tax Rolls, 1782-1875; 1876-1900

Kingsbury, Susan M. ed.

1906-1935 *Records of the Virginia Company of London*. 4 vols. Washington: Government Printing Office.  
Lancaster County

1653-1660 Orders. Microfilm, Library of Virginia, Richmond.

Land, Robert Hunt

1938 Henrico and Its College. *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd series, vol. 18.

Lederer, John

1670 [1958] *The discoveries of John Lederer*, with unpublished letters by and about Lederer to Governor John Winthrop, Jr. and an essay on the Indians of Lederer's *Discoveries* by Douglas L. Rights and William P. Cumming. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

McCartney, Martha W.

1984 The Draft of the York River in Virginia: An Artifact of the 17th Century. Unpaginated MS copy from DHR, originally published in *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Journal* Vol. 3, No. 2.

2000 *Documentary History of Jamestowne Island*. 3 vols. Yorktown: National Parks Service.

2005 *Narrative History*. In *A Study of Virginia Indians and Jamestown: The First Century*, Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, ed. Williamsburg: National Park Service.

2006 Cockacoeske, Queen of Pamunkey: Diplomat and Suzeraine. In *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians of the Colonial Southeast*. Peter Wood, Gregory Wasilkov, and Thomas Hatley, eds. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

McIlwaine, H. R., ed.

1918 *Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*. 3 vols. Richmond: Library of Virginia.

1924 *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia*. Richmond: Library of Virginia.

1925-1945 *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*. 5 vols. Richmond: Library of Virginia.

McIlwaine, H. R. and Kennedy, et al. eds.

1905-1915 *Journal of the House of Burgesses*. 13 vols. Richmond: Library of Virginia.

Michel, Francis Louis

1702 [1916] Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701-December 1, 1702. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24:1-43, 113-141, 275-303.

Mini-Ha-Ha Education Center

c.1890-present Papers and photographs. In the possession of Denise Davis, Mattaponi Indian Reservation, King William, Virginia.

Mooney, James

1889-1907 Papers. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Suitland, Maryland.

1889 MS 2190. Circulars and other material concerning Indians and traces of Indians in Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and North Carolina, 1889-1912. National Anthropological Archives, Suitland, Maryland.

1907 The Powhatan Confederacy, Past and Present. *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol.9, No.1.

1911 Mattaponi. In *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Frederick Webb Hodge, ed. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology.

Moretti-Langholtz, Danielle

1998 Other Names I Have Been Called: Political Resurgence Among Virginia Indians in the Twentieth Century. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oklahoma.

2002 "The Rise of Christianity Among Virginia Indians in the Eighteenth Century," Paper presented at the Middle Atlantic Archaeological Conference, Virginia Beach.

2005 *A Study of Virginia Indians and Jamestown: The First Century*. Williamsburg: National Park Service.

Morse, Jedidiah

1822 *A report to the Secretary of War of the United States, on Indian affairs: comprising a narrative of a tour performed in the summer of 1820, under a commission from the President of the United States, for the purpose of ascertaining, for the use of the government, the actual state of the Indian tribes in our country*. Washington: Davis & Force.

Morpurgo, J.E.

1976 *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge: William and Mary in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Williamsburg: College of William & Mary.

Mush, Robert

Pension File (Elizabeth Mush) W.8416. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files. NARA M804. The National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Neil, Edward D.

1893 Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of William and Mary College. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 1(4):214-224.

*New England Palladium*

1818 September 1st edition. Boston, Massachusetts.

*New York Herald*

1863 January 14th edition. New York, New York.

Noack, Kelsey J.

2008 "The Coffee House (Where I Occasionally Sometimes go):" Examining Diversity in the Urban Meat Diet of Williamsburg in the Mid-Eighteenth Century. MA Thesis, College of William & Mary.

Nugent, Nell M., et al., comp.

1969-1979 [1934] *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants*. 3 vols. Richmond: Dietz Press; reprinted Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company.

## Old Rappahannock County

1656-1692 Deeds, Wills, Inventories, &c. Microfilms, Library of Virginia, Richmond.

## Palmer, William P.

1875 *Calendar of State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652-1781*. 11 vols. Richmond: Library of Virginia.

## Pamunkey Baptist Church

Old Register. Pamunkey Indian Baptist Church, Pamunkey Indian Reservation, King William, Virginia.

## Pamunkey PF

2015 Proposed Finding for Acknowledgment of the Pamunkey Indian Tribe (Petitioner #323). Office For Acknowledgement, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

## Patent Books

1619-1660 Virginia Land Office, Patent Books. Microfilm, Library of Virginia, Richmond.

## Pfaus, Mrs. Fred

1948 *Our Indian Neighbors*. Indian School Files, 1936-1967. Library of Virginia, Richmond.

1949 *Our Debt to Virginia Indians*. Indian School Files, 1936-1967. Library of Virginia, Richmond.

## Pollard, John Garland

1894 *The Pamunkey Indians of Virginia*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

## Potter, Stephen R.

2006 Early English Effects on Virginia Algonquian Exchange and Tribute in the Tidewater Potomac. In *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians of the Colonial Southeast*. Peter Wood, Gregory Wasilkov, and Thomas Hatley, eds. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

*Religious Herald*

1935 June 6th edition. Richmond, Virginia

*Richmond Daily Dispatch*

1862 March 10th edition. Richmond, Virginia.

*Richmond Dispatch*

1866 September 15th edition. Richmond, Virginia.

1884 September 28th edition. Richmond, Virginia.

*Richmond Times-Dispatch*

1914 November 19th edition. Richmond, Virginia.

1914 December 10th edition. Richmond, Virginia.

1916 June 28th edition. Richmond, Virginia.

1916 September 30th edition. Richmond, Virginia.

1918 June 9th edition. Richmond, Virginia.

*Richmond Enquirer*

1851 February 7th edition. Richmond, Virginia.

## Rountree, Helen C.

1969-1990 [HCR] Papers. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Suitland, Maryland.

1986 Ethnicity Among the "Citizen" Indians of Virginia, 1800-1930. MS. Oliver Perry Collection, American Indian Resource Center, College of William & Mary.

1990 *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

## Rountree Helen C., Wayne E. Clark, and Kent Mountford

2007 *John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages 1607-1609*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

## Rover, Richard

1836 The Rambles of Richard Rover. *Parley's Magazine*, Vol. 4.

## Sainsbury, W. Noel, comp.

1860 *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*. 60 vols. London: Longman, Green, and Roberts.

## Sams, Conway Whittle

1916 *The Conquest of Virginia: The Forest Primeval; and Account, Based on Original Documents, of Indians in that Portion of the Continent in which was Established the First English Colony in America*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.

*San Francisco Bulletin*

1871 August 26th edition. San Francisco, California.

## Smith, John

1610 *Virginia Discovered and Discribed*. Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond.

## Speck, Frank G.

1908-1950 [UPA] Frank Gouldsmith Speck Papers. 1085 MS. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

1909 [2004] *The Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*. Jason Baird Jackson ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

1914 *The Double-Curve Motive in Northeastern Algonkian Art. Anthropological Series 1, Memoirs of the Canadian Geological Survey* 42. Ottawa.

1915 *The Nanticoke Community of Delaware*. New York: The Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation.

1925 *The Rappahannock Indians of Virginia Indian Notes and Monographs*. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

- 1928 *Chapters on the Ethnology of the Powhatan Tribes of Virginia*. Indian Notes and Monographs. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

Spivey, Ashley Atkins

- 2017 *Knowing the River, Working the Land, and Digging for Clay: Pamunkey Indian Subsistence Practices and the Market Economy 1800-1900*. Ph.D. dissertation: College of William & Mary.

Spotswood, Alexander

- 1885 *The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710-1722*, 2 vols. Richmond: Virginia Historical Society.

Strachey, William

- 1612 [1953] *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania*. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund, eds. The Hakluyt Society, Glasgow: The University Press.

Stahl, David W. et al.

- 1998 The Lost Colony and Jamestown Droughts. *Science* (April): 280, 564-567.

Stanard, William G.

- 1902 Virginia Assembly of 1641: A List of Members and Some of the Acts. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 9:50-59.
- 1930 Old Rappahannock County Records, Vol. 1656-1664. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 38:391.

Stern, Theodore

- 1952 Chickahominy: The Changing Culture of a Virginia Indian Community. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* XCVI. Philadelphia.

Story, Thomas

- 1747 *The Journal of the Life of Thomas Story*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Isaac Thompson.

Stuart, Karen A.

- 1984 "So Good A Work": The Brafferton School, 1691-1777. Master's thesis: College of William & Mary.

*Sunday Star*

- 1917 August 19th edition. Washington, D.C.

*The Times*

- 1901 June 29th edition. Richmond, Virginia.

Tindall, Robarte

- 1608 *Draught by Robarte Tindall of Virginia: Anno 1608*. Prints and Drawings Department, The British Museum, London.

## United States Bureau of the Census

- 1820 Fourth Census. Population Schedule.  
Charles City County, Virginia  
King William County, Virginia  
Richmond City, Virginia
- 1830 Fifth Census. Population Schedule.  
King William County, Virginia
- 1840 Sixth Census. Population Schedule.  
King William County, Virginia
- 1850 Seventh Census. Agricultural Schedule, Non-Population.  
King William County, Virginia
- Seventh Census. Population Schedule.  
King William County, Virginia
- 1860 Eighth Census. Agricultural Schedule, Non-Population.  
King William County, Virginia
- Eighth Census. Population Schedule.  
Gloucester County, Virginia  
King William County, Virginia  
Ocean County, New Jersey
- 1870 Ninth Census. Agricultural Schedule, Non-Population.  
Gloucester County, Virginia  
King William County, Virginia  
New York, New York
- Ninth Census. Population Schedule.  
King William County, Virginia
- 1880 Tenth Census. Agricultural Schedule, Non-Population.  
King William County, Virginia
- Tenth Census. Population Schedule.  
King William County, Virginia
- 1890 Eleventh Census. Report. Indian Taxed and Not Taxed.
- 1900 Twelfth Census. Population Schedule.  
King William County, Virginia

1910 Thirteenth Census. Population Schedule.  
King William County, Virginia

1920 Fourteenth Census. Population Schedule.  
King William County, Virginia  
New Kent County, Virginia

1930 Fifteenth Census. Population Schedule.  
King William County, Virginia  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
New Kent County, Virginia

1940 Sixteenth Census. Population Schedule.  
King William County, Virginia  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
New York, New York

Pennsylvania, Commonwealth of  
Bureau of Vital Statics. Death Certificates. Philadelphia.

Velasco, Don Alonso de

1610 *Map of the East Coast of North America, 1610*. Archivo de Simancas, Valladolid, Spain.

Vernon, Robert

1998 Mattaponi Indian Tribe, King William County, Virginia, April 1868 Membership Roll.  
*Magazine of Virginia Genealogy* 36(4):257-260.

Virginia, Commonwealth of

*Acts Passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia*. Library of Virginia, Richmond.  
Attorney General Reports. Library of Virginia, Richmond.  
Department of Historic Resources [DHR]. Richmond.  
Bureau of Vital Statics, Death Certificates. Richmond.  
Legislative Petitions, King William County. Library of Virginia, Richmond.  
Executive Letter Books. Library of Virginia, Richmond.  
Indian School Files, 1936-1967. Library of Virginia, Richmond.  
State Papers and Statutes. Library of Virginia, Richmond.

*Virginia Gazette*

1776 December 27th edition. Williamsburg, Virginia.

Washburn, Wilcomb E.

1957 *The Governor and the rebel: a history of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Washington, George

2008-2017 [GWP] Papers of George Washington Digital Edition. Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press.

- Watson, Ian  
1995 Catawba Indian Genealogy. *Papers in Anthropology*, No. 4. The Geneseo Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, State University of New York at Geneseo.
- Waugaman, Sandra F. and Danielle Moretti-Langholtz  
2006 *We're Still Here : Contemporary Virginia Indians Tell Their Stories*. Richmond: Palari Publishing.
- William, Father  
1845 [1854] *Recollections and Rambles at the South*. New York: Carlton & Porter.
- Winfrey, Waverly K., comp.  
1971 *The Laws of Virginia, Being a Supplement to Hening's Statutes at Large, 1700-1750*. Richmond: Library of Virginia.
- Woodard, Buck  
2007 "Powhatan Essentialism." Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Williamsburg, Virginia.  
  
2013 *The Nottoway of Virginia: A Study of Peoplehood and Political Economy, c.1775-1875*. Ph.D. dissertation: College of William & Mary.  
  
2015-2017 Field notes on the Mattaponi with Nicholas Beluzzo and Megan Victor; formal and informal interviews in King William County, VA; Hanover County, VA; Richmond, VA; Philadelphia, PA.
- Woodard, Buck, and Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, with Megan Victor, and Berek Dore  
2017 *The Millie Woodson-Turner Nottoway Reservation Allotment and Farmstead*, Research Report Series, No. 20 / Anthropology Research Report Series, No. 5. Richmond: Virginia Department of Historic Resources and the College of William & Mary.
- York County  
1633-1815 [YCR] York County Records Project. Abstracts and microfilm of original documents, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Yorkville Enquirer*  
1862 August 7th edition. Yorkville, South Carolina.
- Zuniga, Don Pedro de  
1608 *Map of Virginia*, before September 15, 1608. Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid, Spain.



## APPENDIX ONE

## HISTORICAL MATERIALS AND FIELDWORK PHOTOS

*True Pay to 21<sup>st</sup> 17th Decemr to the following 100 quoy  
 names & names & names to order of the names laws etc.*

<i>Nelly Howard</i>	<i>12.0.0</i>
<i>Sarah Smith</i>	<i>12.0.0</i>
<i>The Pay</i>	<i>25.0.0</i>
<i>Erin Christopher</i>	<i>12.0.0</i>
<i>Nelly Goby</i>	<i>12.0.0</i>
<i>Nancy Cook</i>	<i>12.0.0</i>
<i>Jenny Langston</i>	<i>12.0.0</i>
<i>Jenny Jacobs</i>	<i>12.0.0</i>
<i>Sarah Mush</i>	<i>12.0.0</i>
<i>Jenny Sampson</i>	<i>12.0.0</i>
<i>Erin Samson</i>	<i>12.0.0</i>
<i>Sarah Howard</i>	<i>12.0.0</i>
<i>Sarah Morris</i>	<i>37.10.0</i>
<i>Ambrose Samson</i>	<i>37.10.0</i>
<i>Nancy Harsh</i>	<i>25.0.0</i>
<i>Elizabeth Crossley</i>	<i>25.0.0</i>
<i>Jenny Archer</i>	<i>25.0.0</i>
<i>Nancy May</i>	<i>12.0.0</i>
<i>Sarah May</i>	<i>12.0.0</i>
<i>Mrs. Abraham</i>	<i>25.0.0</i>
<i>Nancy King</i>	<i>50.0.0</i>
	<i>418.0.0</i>

*June 23<sup>rd</sup> 1779*

*The Above have been Allowed  
 by the board of Auditors this Day*

*J. Randolph Clerk*

Figure 9. A Revolutionary-era document requesting aid for widows and children of Virginia soldiers; among those names listed include Cooke, Edwards, Langston, Major, King, Mush, and Sampson, surnames with close association to the post-war Mattaponi and Pamunkey Indian reservations. Source: LP John Quarles 6/23/1779 (King William)



Figure 10. Colosse Baptist Church, c.1852. Originally Lower College Baptist Church when formed in 1791, this 1852 structure replaced previous wooden sanctuaries. Approximately three miles from the Mattaponi River Indian Town, Colosse's midcentury congregation included Mattaponi and Pamunkey members.

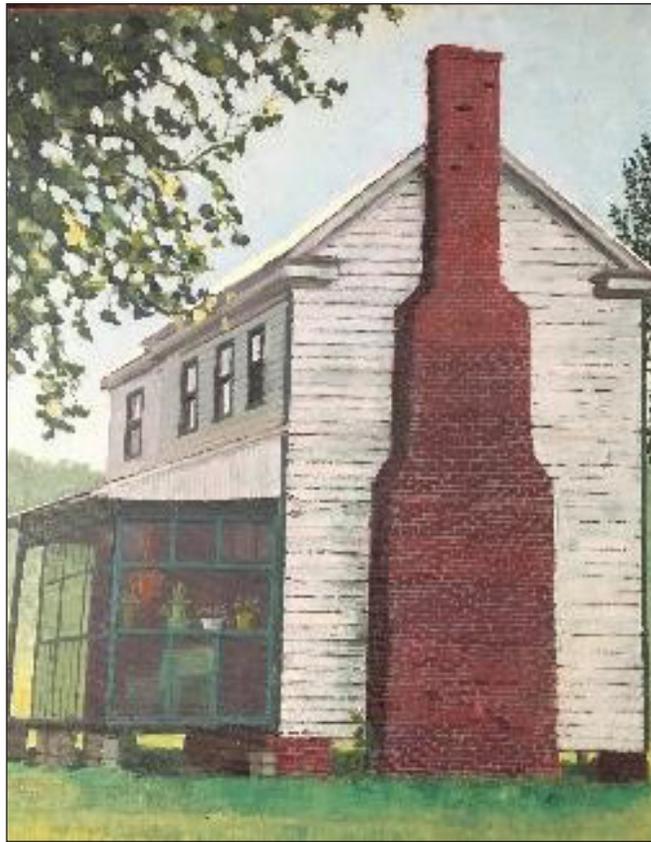


Figure 11. A third-quarter twentieth century painting of the c.1880 Allmond House (top) compared against a similar house photographed on the reservation c.1940 by Frank G. Speck (bottom and opposite top). Possibly built during the same era [note the similar chimney and roof patterns] by the same builders. Source: Mini-Ha-Ha Education Center (top)



Figure 12. Nineteenth-century Mattaponi farmhouse, photographed c.1940 by Frank G. Speck; based on the similarity of the c.1880 Allmond House, this compound may have been typical of the reservation during the post-Civil War era. Source: UPM.



Figure 13. Pamunkey Indian Baptist Church established 1865 and rebuilt 1883. The photograph dates to before 1948 and is part of the Indian School Files at the Library of Virginia.



Figure 14. The Lee and Sarah [Langston] Major family, c.1900; children Powhatan aged eleven (standing left), possibly Nantaquod [Natty Guard] aged seven (crouched), and Opitchipan aged two (standing next to mother); absent is a fourth son Opechancanough "Chan" Major, aged eight. Note the feathered necklace on Sarah Major, the fowl cap of Lee Major, and the background of farm structures and stacked hewn timber. Source: James Mooney, National Anthropological Archives



Figure 15. Mattaponi children of John H. and Mary Eliza [Allmond] Langston, c.1900, possibly Nora L. Langston aged thirteen (left), sister Mary Langston aged fifteen (right), and brother Ulysses Grant "Deal" Langston aged nine (center). Source: James Mooney, National Anthropological Archives



Figure 16. A Mattaponi girl c.1900, possibly Pocahontas Allmond aged seven, daughter of Thornton Allmond, Jr. and Elizabeth [Tuppence] Allmond; note the shifted vantage of Mooney's photograph allows for additional views of livestock sheds and outbuildings (left) and the photo's contrast reveals corn cobs from shucking sessions around the tree. Source: James Mooney, National Anthropological Archives



Figure 17. The Elexander Richard [E.R.] "Dick" Allmond family, c.1900: Leah Langston (left, b.1846), Virginia [Allmond] Miles (b.1883), Ellen Allmond (born 1880), E.R. Allmond, son of Mattaponi "Queen" Eliza [Major] and Thornton Allmond (right, b.1849), Howard Lee Allmond (in front of bible, b.1887), E.R. Allmond's second wife Emeline Allmond (seated left, b.1863), and Delliah [Allmond] Hawks (seated right, b.1877). E.R. Allmond was from Mattaponi, but married two successive Pamunkey wives, Alice and Emeline, and long resided at Pamunkey. Source: James Mooney, National Anthropological Archives



Figure 18. Mattaponi and Pamunkey schoolchildren with teacher, outside of the Pamunkey Indian School, c.1899; top center right is Howard Lee Allmond, daughter of E.R. Allmond, and to the right of her is possibly first cousin Nora L. Langston, daughter of Mary Eliza [Allmond] Langston. Source: James Mooney, National Anthropological Archives



Figure 19. Mattaponi Indian Town, c.1919; riverside view from below the Mattaponi landing (left) and arriving into the town from the Indian Town Road bluff (right); both photographs were taken by Frank G. Speck during his early fieldwork with the Mattaponi. Sources: Speck (1928) and UPM



Figure 20. A replica of the "old" Mattaponi church, meetinghouse, and school (top), constructed by Kenneth Custalow and presented to Chief Curtis Custalow. The original building dated to at least the first quarter of the twentieth century, and possibly the last decades of the nineteenth century based on the headstones of the adjacent cemetery. The former location of the structure, which remains as an archaeological site (bottom), was between the "old cemetery" and the river bluff.



Figure 21. The Mattaponi landing, shad hatchery, and river pavilion, c.1920 (top); note the fishing boats near the hatchery at left and the logs in the foreground; fishing and timberwork remained important sources of Mattaponi subsistence through the third quarter of the twentieth century. A photo of the contemporary Mattaponi landing and shad hatchery (bottom) shows the approximate location of the former structures, based on the vantage and the river's bend. Source: Mini-Ha-Ha Education Center

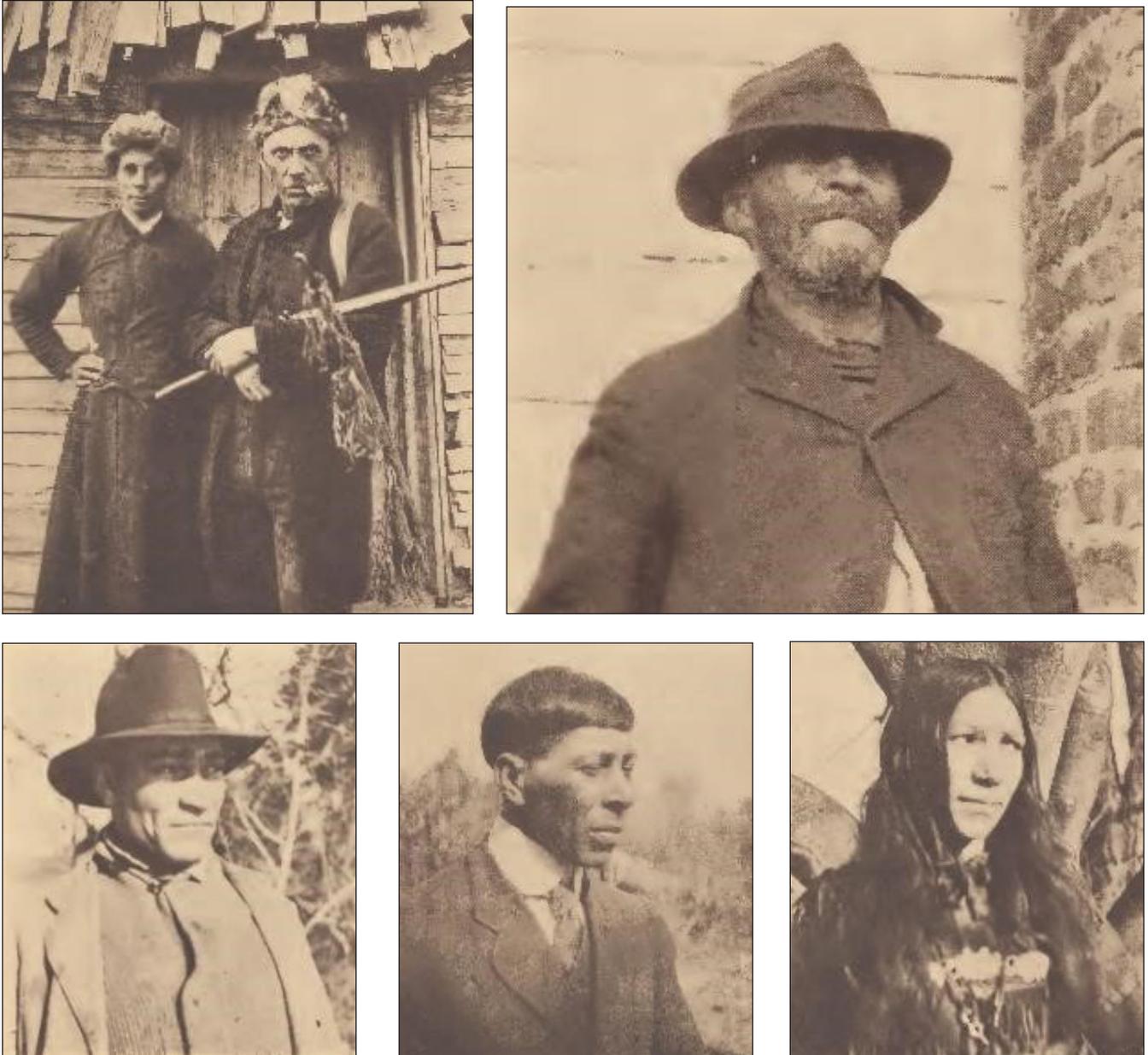


Figure 22. Portraits from Frank G. Speck's 1919 Mattaponi fieldwork: Sarah [Langston] and Lee Major outside of their cabin (top left), today an archaeological site at the location of the Langston House; note the timber frame, clapboard, and split shingle roof, feather caps, and bow and quiver set; John Langston (top right), a Pamunkey, a longtime Mattaponi resident, and husband of Mary Eliza [Allmond] Langston; the Langston's grown children Mantley Langston (bottom left), Maguire Langston (bottom center), and Mary Langston (bottom right). Source: Speck (1928)



Figure 23. Group portraits of Mattaponi young women (top) and men (bottom) from Frank G. Speck's 1919 fieldwork; the bottom photo is of (left to right) Dewey, Enoch, Will, and Saul Custalow. Source: Speck (1928)



Figure 24. Wallace James Allmond (top) wife Mary Frances [Bradby] Allmond, son Alvin W. aged ten, Ruby M. aged eight, Gladys E. aged eleven, and Ethel L. aged two, the builders and first occupants of the O.T. Custalow House; Wallace and son (bottom left) with logging equipment and Wallace astride a horse (bottom right), possibly in front of the O.T. Custalow House, c.1919. Sources: Speck (1928) and UPM



Figure 25. A young future chief Otha Thomas "O.T." Custalow (left) photographed by Frank G. Speck c.1919, and wife Marie [Miles] Custalow (right) near the time of their marriage in 1916. Sources: Speck (1928) and George Wahunsenacock Custalow

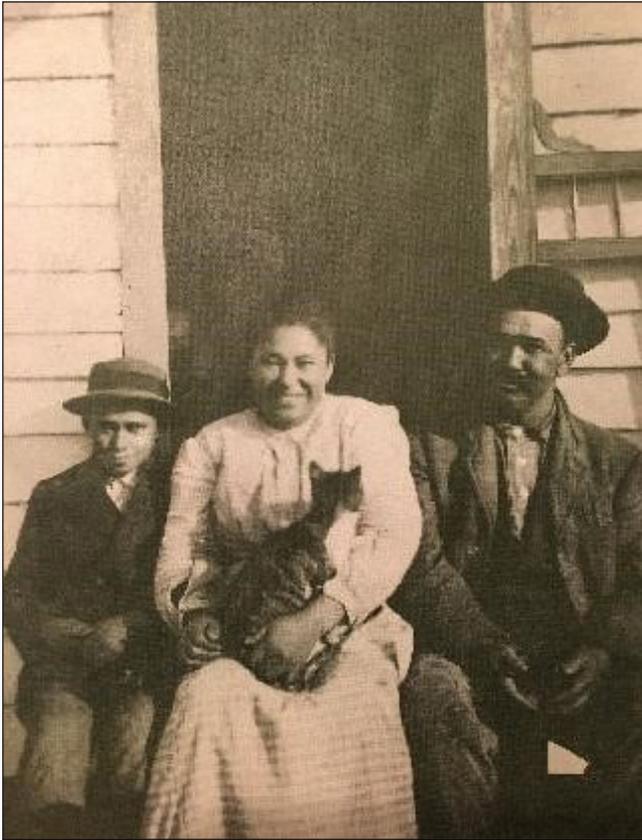


Figure 26. The entrance of the O.T. Custalow House c.1919, with the Wallace Allmond family, the original builders and occupants (left), and second occupant O.T. Custalow and children c.1940 (right). Sources: UPM and George Wahunsenacock Custalow



Figure 27. Chief George F. Custalow (left) c.1925, wife Emma L. [King] Custalow (center) c.1900, and Emma and child c.1920 (right) outside of the family's Mattaponi home and general store. Sources: Custalow and Daniels (2007) and King Family Collection

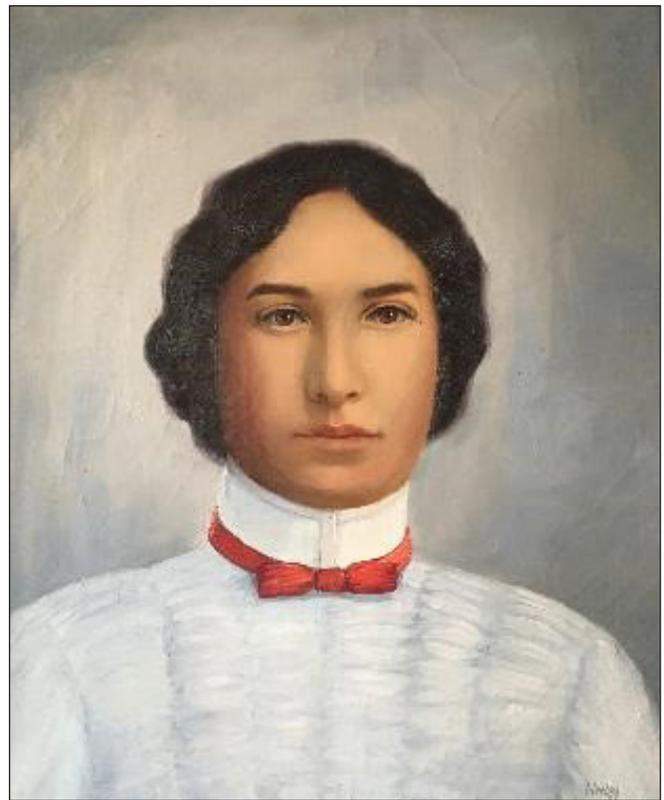


Figure 28. Solomon Custalow (left) and Lillie B. [King] Custalow (right) painted by "Mr. Niedry," based on photographs c.1900 near the time of their marriage, which hang in the Curtis Custalow House. Source: Mini-Ha-Ha Education Center

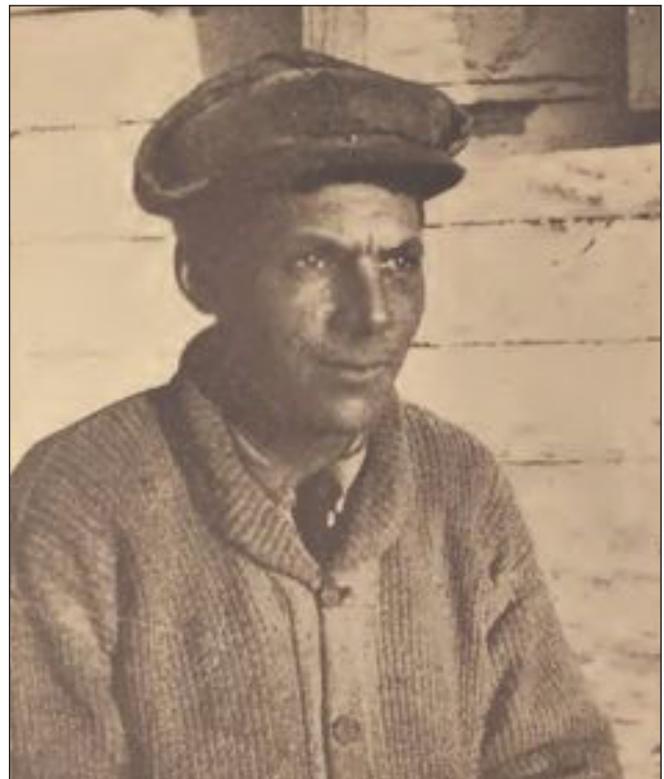
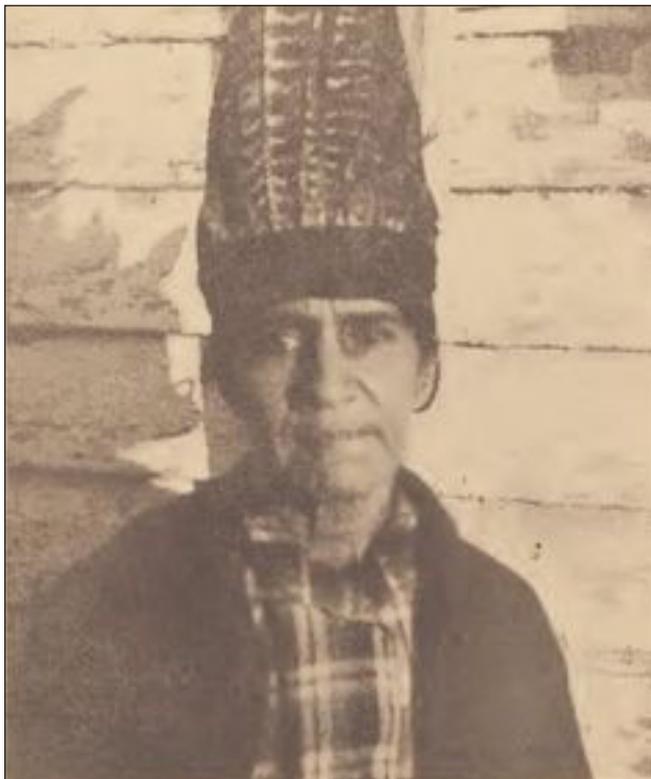


Figure 29. Nannie [Tuppence] Major (left) and husband Powhatan "Tan" Major (right) c.1919, possibly outside their home on "Nannie's Creek," also known as "Shanty Creek." Source: Speck (1928)



Figure 30. Chief George F. Custalow, founder of the Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church (right), pictured c.1945 in white clapboard with green trim. Source: Mini-Ha-Ha Education Center.



Figure 31. Chief O.T. Custalow during public events: with Richmond Mayor Bright at Powhatan Hill in 1935 (top) and alongside Chickahominy Chief P.E. Bradby and Pamunkey Chief Walter Bradby c.1935. Source: George Wahunsenacock Custalow



Figure 32. Chief O.T. Custalow witnessing the 1931 Washington D.C. marriage of Dewey and Pocahontas [Bradby] Custalow (top left); presenting a rockfish to Governor Colgate Darden in 1944 (top right); with his father Chief George F. Custalow and family in Richmond in 1938 (bottom). Source: George Wahunsenacock Custalow



Figure 33. Chief Curtis Custalow c.1942 (left) and wife Gertrude Custalow with their first child Curtis Custalow, Jr. (right) in 1943. Source: Mini-Ha-Ha Education Center



Figure 34. An archival photo of the King-Custalow House taken c.1942 by Frank G. Speck (top); twins Calvin and Kenneth Custalow, sons of Dewey and Pocahontas [Bradby] Custalow stand in front; the entrance as it appeared in 2016 (bottom). Source: UPM



Figure 35. Chief George F. Custalow standing in front of his general store (left). The photograph at right is of Assistant Chief Lucian Allmond and his wife Cora [Stewart] Allmond. Source: Mini-Ha-Ha Education Center



Figure 36. The King-Custalow House also known as "Dewey's" c.1970, by Neidre. Source: Mini-Ha-Ha Education Center



Figure 37. Liza [Custalow] Langston, second wife of "Deal" Langston, working her garden in front of the c.1900-1920 Langston House. Source: Mini-Ha-Ha Education Center



Figure 38. O.T. Custalow with Virginia Department of Education officials in front of the Mattaponi Indian School, prior to 1954 (left); the baptism of Elizabeth [Newton] Custalow in the Mattaponi River c.1949. Source: George Wahunsenacock Custalow



Figure 39. Mattaponi Indian School students in 1964 (top) and 1965 (bottom). Source: Indian School Files, 1936-1967



Figure 40. The last commencement service of the Mattaponi-Pamunkey Indian School, held at the Mattaponi Baptist Church, May of 1966 (top left); students arriving for the graduation ceremony (top right), Chief Curtis Custalow is pictured in the audience, right side of the frame; a choral performance of "America the Beautiful" (bottom left); high school graduates Joyce Glen Custalow and Veronica Faye Custalow (bottom right), flanked by Mattaponi Chief O.T. Custalow on the left and Pamunkey Chief Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook on the right. Source: Indian School Files, 1936-1967

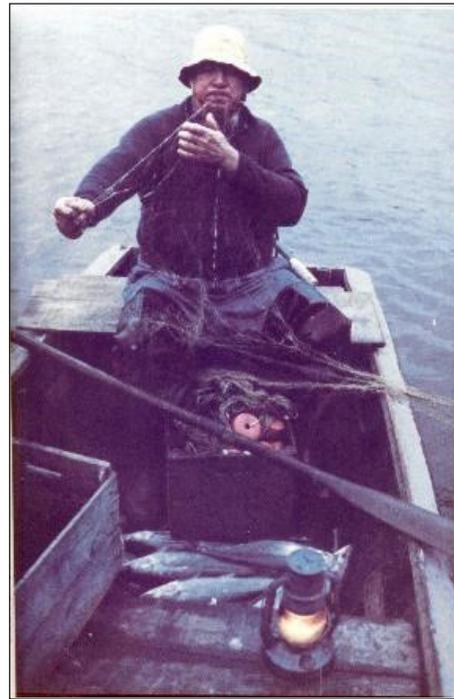
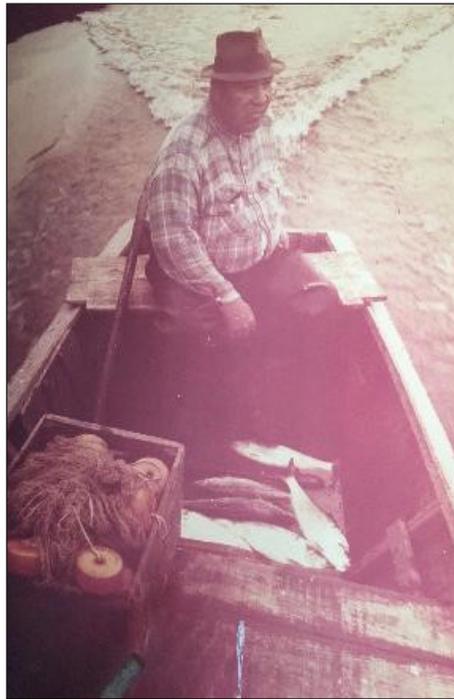


Figure 41. Will Custalow, the last fulltime Mattaponi fisherman, hunter, and trapper (top left, right, and bottom left); Source: Mini-Ha-Ha Education Center



Figure 42. Shad fishing at night with seine nets and lanterns on boards, by John Neidre  
Source: Mini-Ha-Ha Education Center



## APPENDIX TWO

### GIS SURVEY AND DHR HISTORIC DISTRICT INVENTORY OF CONTRIBUTING AND NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES



Map 1. Mattaponi Indian Reservation. Location and position in relation to King and Queen Courthouse. Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS).



Map 2. Mattaponi Indian Reservation Historic Buildings and Sites. Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS)



Map 3. Mattaponi Indian Reservation Properties by DHR ID Number. Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS)

RESOURCES EVALUATED BY THE VIRGINIA DEPARTMENT OF HISTORIC RESOURCES AS CONTRIBUTING TO THE  
MATTAPONI INDIAN RESERVATION HISTORIC DISTRICT  
DHR 050-5092  
VIRGINIA LANDMARKS REGISTER LISTING PENDING  
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES LISTING PENDING

The Mattaponi Indian Reservation of today is composed of a portion of the original allotment of land given to the Mattaponi Tribe by the Virginia Assembly in 1658. The reservation meets National Register Criterion A in the area of Ethnic Heritage at the state level for its ability to convey the importance of Native American people within the broader patterns of Virginia's and more specifically, by solidifying the tribe's connection to the tidewater lands they have resided on throughout the state's history.

Though the Mattaponi have long occupied the area along the Mattaponi River, the period of significance begins in 1878, with the burial of Thornton Allmond, whose grave marker was the first in the "old cemetery" and is the earliest resource still extant on the reservation. Because of the continued occupation of the tribe's descendants on the reservation and the importance the reservation still holds as the ancestral home and cultural lands of the Mattaponi people, the period of significance extends through to 1967, fifty years prior to its most recent survey in 2017.



DHR 050-5074  
Other DHR ID 050-5092-0034  
1093 Mattaponi Reservation Circle  
The King Custalow House and Outbuildings.  
Circa 1900  
Primary resource: Single Dwelling  
Secondary resource: Garage  
Secondary resource: Shed  
Figure 43



DHR 050-5092-0001  
1108 Mattaponi Reservation Circle  
Circa 1940  
Primary resource: Single Dwelling  
Figure 44



DHR 050-5092-0005  
1178 Mattaponi Reservation Circle  
Circa 1930  
Primary resource: Single Dwelling  
Figure 45



DHR ID 050-5092-0006  
1189 Mattaponi Reservation Circle  
Secondary resource: Garage  
Secondary resource: Shed  
Secondary resource: Shed  
Figure 46



DHR 050-5092-0010  
1271 Mattaponi Reservation Circle  
Mattaponi Indian Museum  
Circa 1950  
Primary resource: Building  
Figure 47



DHR 050-0109  
Other DHR ID 050-5092-0033  
1281 Mattaponi Reservation Circle  
The O.T. Custalow House  
Circa 1900  
Primary resource: Single Dwelling  
Secondary resource: Shed  
Figure 48



DHR 050-0106  
Other DHR ID 050-5092-0031  
1314 Mattaponi Reservation Circle  
1929  
Primary resource: School  
Figure 49



DHR ID 050-5092-0014  
1365 Mattaponi Reservation Circle  
The Langston House  
Circa 1918  
Primary resource: Single Dwelling  
Figure 50



DHR 050-0107  
Other DHR ID 050-5092-0032  
1409 Mattaponi Reservation Circle  
Curtis Custalow House  
1946  
Primary resource: Single Dwelling  
Figure 51



DHR 050-0105  
Other DHR ID 050-5092-0030  
Mattaponi Reservation Circle  
The Thorton Allmond House  
Circa 1880  
Primary resource: Single Dwelling  
Secondary resource: Garage  
Figure 52



DHR 050-5075  
Other DHR ID 050-5092-0035  
Mattaponi Reservation Circle  
Church  
Circa 1935  
Primary resource: Building  
Secondary resource: Cemetery  
Figure 53

VIRGINIA DEPARTMENT OF HISTORIC RESOURCES  
HISTORIC DISTRICT INVENTORY  
CRYSTAL CASTLEBERRY AND THOMAS BLAKE McDONALD

This inventory report, generated by the Virginia Department of Historic Resources' V-CRIS, can be used to complete Section 7 of the National Register nomination form. All data should be checked carefully by the author of the nomination. Though deemed reliable, DHR makes no guarantee as to its accuracy. An architectural description of the primary resource for each property is provided below, followed by a summary of all resources on the property.

MATTAPONI INDIAN RESERVATION

*Mattaponi Reservation Circle*

1093 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5074 Other DHR Id#: 050-5092-0034

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 1.5, Style: No discernible style, Ca 1900

Contributing Total: 1

April 2014: The house is a one-and-a-half-story, frame, five-bay dwelling supported by stuccoed piers with concrete block infill. The exterior walls are sheathed in vinyl siding, and the side gable roof is covered with seamed metal. A central front gable projection features gable end returns. Visible fenestration includes two-over-two wood double-hung sash windows, an a wood raised panel main entrance door with a four-light lunette window. The dwelling also features an interior brick chimney flue, and an enclosed rear porch with a hipped roof.

January 2018: No architectural changes have occurred since the dwelling was last surveyed on 2014.

Secondary Resource : Garage (Building) Contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Contributing Total: 2

1108 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0001

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 1.5, Style: Minimal Traditional, Ca 1940

Contributing Total: 1

January 2018: This is a one-and-one half story house. The original section of the house has an asphalt shingle side-gable roof with that extend to the rear at a shallower pitch than the main gable/upper floor. The original section appears to date to circa 1940, while a rear addition, marked by contrast-colored vinyl siding was added at a later date. The home has vinyl, double hung in three configurations; 6/6 on the first story of the original portion, 2/2 on the second floor, and 1/1 horizontal sliding windows on the addition. A one story porch occupies the entire front of the house and is supported by square, wooded posts. There is a single, concrete block chimney on the west end of the house. The entire home sits on a concrete block foundation.

Secondary Resource : Carport (Structure) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Gazebo (Structure) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Pool/Swimming Pool (Structure) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Non-contributing Total: 2

## 1158 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0003

Primary Resource: Mobile Home/Trailer (Building), Stories 1, Style: Other, Ca 1970

Non-contributing Total: 1

January 2018: This circa 1970 mobile home is clad in aluminum, with an aluminum side-gable roof. It appears to rest on piers and is covered with corrugated metal skirting. A small wooden stoop/deck leads to the front door.

Secondary Resource : Carport (Structure) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Gazebo (Structure) Non-contributing Total: 1

## 1178 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0005

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 1, Style: Minimal Traditional, Ca 1930

Contributing Total: 1

January 2018: One-story house with side gable roof that extends at a shallower pitch from the rear of the house and is covered with asphalt shingles. Two common-bond brick chimneys can be seen projecting from the interior of both ends of the house. The vinyl windows are a double-hung, 6/6 configuration. The front porch has three bays and is supported by turned wood posts. The house rests on a concrete block foundation.

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Non-contributing Total: 2

## 1179 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0004

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 1, Style: Ranch, Ca 2000

Non-contributing Total: 1

January 2018: January 2108: This is a one-and-one half story, Ranch-style, house. The house has an asphalt shingle side-gable roof with that extend to the rear at a shallower pitch than the main gable/upper floor. The home is clad in vinyl siding and has vinyl, double-hung, sash windows in a 2/2 configuration. The windows are flanked by vinyl plantation shutters. A brick interior-end chimney sits toward the west end of the home. The foundation is clad in brick veneer and a brick stoop leads to the front door.

Secondary Resource : Carport (Structure) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Garage (Building) Non-contributing Total: 3

## 1184 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0029

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 1, Style: Ranch, Ca 1980

Non-contributing Total: 1

January 2018: One story house cross gable house with asphalt shingles. The front length of the roof has a cutout to allow for a clerestory window above the front entrance, under which is a shingled awning above the front porch. The house is clad in vinyl siding and primarily has horizontal, double-hung windows. The perpendicular gable extends from the rear of the house and has three fixed arch windows on its end wall and with wrap around deck surrounding it.

Secondary Resource : Garage (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

## 1189 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0006

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 1, Style: Ranch, Ca 1970

Non-contributing Total: 1

January 2018: This is a one-story Ranch style home. It has a cross gable, asphalt-shingled roof with the length of the gable resting above the main house and a perpendicular gable above the two-car attached, garage. The home appears to have been built in two phases, with the original portion on the west end and an addition added to the each end of the property that included an inset, glassed in porch and the garage. The home is frame construction with running-bond brick veneer. It has aluminum triple-hung windows and a single fixed picture window on the front facade. Windows are flanked by false vinyl shutters. Two brick chimneys are visible projecting from the roof.

Secondary Resource : Garage (Building) Contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Outbuilding, Domestic (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Contributing Total: 5

Secondary Resource : Shed - Vehicle (Building) Contributing Total: 1

## 1209 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0007

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 1, Style: Ranch, Ca 1990

Non-contributing Total: 1

January 2018: This is a one story ranch-style wood frame house. It has a side gable roof covered in asphalt shingles. A metal flue projects from the western interior end of the roof. The house is clad in vinyl siding and has double hung vinyl windows in a 6/6 configuration. A wooden stoop leads to an inset front porch and the entire structure rests on a concrete block foundation.

Secondary Resource : Garage (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Outbuilding, Domestic (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

## 1221 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0009

Primary Resource: Mobile Home/Trailer (Building), Stories 1, Style: No discernible style, Ca 1970

Non-contributing Total: 1

January 2018: Aluminum clad mobile home with an aluminum side gable roof. The home has double hung, 1/1 windows and appears to be resting on piers covered with aluminum skirting. A covered porch leads to the front door.

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

## 1271 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0010

Primary Resource: Museum (Building), Stories 1, Style: Vernacular, Ca 1950

Contributing Total: 1

January 2018: Museum constructed primarily of cinder block with a red brick front facade. The building has a side gable roof covered in standing-seam metal. Windows visible on the side of the building are 2/2, double hung and constructed of wood, while windows on the front are fixed. The building has two entrances on the front, both accessed by concrete stoops.

Secondary Resource : Privy (Building) Non-contributing Total: 2

## 1281 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-0109 Other DHR Id#: 050-5092-0033

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 2, Style: Vernacular, Ca 1900

Contributing Total: 1

April 2014: The house is a two-story, frame, three-bay dwelling supported by concrete block piers. The exterior walls are sheathed in aluminum siding, and the side gable roof is covered with seamed metal. Fenestration includes single and paired six-over-six wood double-hung sash windows. The house also features an interior brick chimney.

January 2018: rectangular, frame, two-storied farmhouse, with a seamed metal roof, and two internal chimneys. Contemporary siding covers the original wooden clapboard, and all the doors and windows were replaced through a HUD program in the 1970s. The first floor has three bays, with an aluminum door in the second bay. The second floor has three bays, all windows.

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

## 1307 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0011

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 1, Style: Minimal Traditional, Ca 2000

Non-contributing Total: 1

January 2018: Manufactured home clad in vinyl siding with an asphalt-shingled, side gable roof. The house rests on piers with a concrete block facade. Vinyl windows are double-hung in a 2/2 configuration. A wood stoop leads to the front door and is covered by a small, pediment awning.

Secondary Resource : Carport (Structure) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Garage (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Non-contributing Total: 2

## 1314 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-0106 Other DHR Id#: 050-5092-0031

Primary Resource: School (Building), Stories 1, Style: Vernacular, 1929

Contributing Total: 1

April 2014: The school is a one-story, frame, multi-bay building supported by concrete block piers. The exterior walls, previously recorded as sheathed with weatherboards, are now sheathed in vinyl siding. The side gable roof is covered with seamed meta. Visible fenestration includes six-over-six wood double-hung sash windows. The building also features a small front stoop at the main entry. No chimney is present. appears relatively unaltered since the previous survey. A one-story, frame, side addition features a wood access ramp.

January 2018: No architectural changes have occurred since the school building was last surveyed in 2014.

Secondary Resource : Sculpture/Statue (Object) Non-contributing Total: 1

## 1325 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0012

Primary Resource: Mobile Home/Trailer (Building), Stories 1, Style: No discernible style, Ca 1970

Non-contributing Total: 1

January 2018: This circa 1970 mobile home is clad in aluminum, with an aluminum side-gable roof. It appears to rest on piers and is covered with pressed aluminum skirting. A wooden stoop/deck leads to the front door.

1349 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0013

Primary Resource: Mobile Home/Trailer (Building), Stories 1, Style: No discernible style, Ca 2000

Non-contributing Total: 1

January 2018: Modern, double wide trailer with an asphalt shingled, side gable roof. The mobile home is clad in vinyl siding and has vinyl, double-hung windows in a 1/1 configuration. A wooden stoop leads to the front entrance. The home appears to rest on piers concealed by concrete blocks.

Secondary Resource : Garage (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

1365 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0014

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 2, Style: Vernacular, Ca 1918

Contributing Total: 1

January 2018: This house is a two story, rectangular structure with a cross gable roof, covered with asphalt shingles. The original portion of the house is clad in asbestos tiles over the original weatherboard siding (visible at the upper right front of the house where electrical lines feed into the home). Vinyl siding replaces the section asbestos siding below each of the gables. The front gable has louvered vent at its center. The wood windows appear to be original and are double hung in a 2/2 configuration. A single concrete step leads to the front door. At the rear of the house, a one-story shed roof addition clad in vinyl siding is visible along with a single double hung, wood window in a 4/4 configuration. the entire structure rests on a brick foundation.

Secondary Resource : Carport (Structure) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Garage (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

1409 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-0107 Other DHR Id#: 050-5092-0032

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 1.5, Style: Minimal Traditional, 1946

Contributing Total: 1

April 2014: The house is a one-and-a-half-story, frame, multi-bay dwelling. The exterior walls are clad in brick veneer, and the side gable roof is covered with asphalt shingles. Dormers are set in the front roof slope, and there are two interior capped and corbeled brick chimneys. The house also features two-over-two vinyl double-hung sash windows in the dormers, and one-over-one vinyl double-hung sash windows in the enclosed shed-roofed front porch.

January 2018: January 2018: No architectural changes have occurred since the dwelling was last surveyed in 2014.

Secondary Resource : Carport (Structure) Non-contributing Total: 3

Secondary Resource : Exhibition Hall (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Garage (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Privy (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Non-contributing Total: 3

## 1439 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0023

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 1, Style: Minimal Traditional, Ca 1970

Non-contributingTotal: 1

January 2018: One story, Minimal Traditional house with a side gable roof covered in asphalt shingles. A concrete block chimney can be seen projecting from the roof. The house appears to have been extended in two phases with the first addition extending approximately one foot lower than the main house toward the east, having a slightly lower gabled roof and a glass sliding door. A second addition extends further east and houses a one-car garage under a shed roof. The earliest portion of the house rests on a concrete block foundation, while the remaining two sit on a poured concrete slab. The entire house has been clad in vinyl siding. Windows are vinyl 1/1, with the exception of a double-hung, sliding window on the garage.

Secondary Resource : Carport (Structure) Non-contributingTotal: 3

## 1465 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0024 Other DHR Id#:

Primary Resource: Mobile Home/Trailer (Building), Stories 1, Style: No discernible style, Ca 1970

Non-contributingTotal: 1

January 2018: Circa 1970 mobile home, clad in aluminum siding and with an aluminum, side gable roof. Double hung, aluminum windows are visible in 1/1 and 2/2 configuration. The house appears to rest on piers concealed by concrete cinder blocks. Its front entrance is accessed by a wood deck.

Secondary Resource : Carport (Structure) Non-contributingTotal: 1

## 1467 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0021

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 1, Style: Ranch, Ca 2005

Non-contributingTotal: 1

January 2018: One-story, brick veneer, side gable home with roof terraced in three sections. The tallest portion is in the center with an awning that extends to cover the four-bay front porch. Two lower wings extend out on both sides forming wings to the north and south. The roof is covered in asphalt shingles. Three brick chimneys are visible projecting from the roof. Double-hung windows are barely visible. Aerial photos dating to 2002 show that the house at that time had a single rear ell projecting northwest from the north end of the house. A second ell has since been added that projects northwest from the south end of the house. House was not accessible and only partially visible from the right of way.

Secondary Resource : Boathouse (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

## 1570 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0002

Primary Resource: Mobile Home/Trailer (Building), Stories 1, Style: No discernible style, Ca 1970

Non-contributingTotal: 1

January 2018: This circa 1970 mobile home is clad in aluminum, with an aluminum side-gable roof. It appears to rest on piers and is covered with pressed aluminum skirting. A small wooden stoop/deck leads to the front door.

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Non-contributingTotal: 1

## 1570 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0026

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 1, Style: Minimal Traditional, Ca 2003

Non-contributing Total: 1

January 2018: One-story house with an asphalt-shingled, side gable roof. The house appears to rest on piers concealed by concrete cinder block. The roof awning extends over the front of the house to cover a wood deck/porch that extends the length of the house and has been enclosed with screen. Visible windows are vinyl, 1/1, double-hung.

Secondary Resource : Carport (Structure) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Mobile Home/Trailer (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Non-contributing Total: 2

## 1581 Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0027

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 1, Style: Colonial Revival, Ca 2017

Non-contributing Total: 1

January 2018: Modern cross-gable home with Craftsman style decorative elements an asphalt shingled roof with multi-level eaves on the front facade. Front-facing gable pediments are clad in faux wood-shake-style siding, the house is clad in vinyl siding and has a brick veneer foundation that may conceal piers. Eaves are clad in wood-look shake/shingle siding. The front door is accessed by a brick porch with square columns. Faux muntins on in the windows mimic prairie styling, double-hung vinyl windows. An enclosed back porch is partially visible from the right-of-way.

Secondary Resource : Boathouse (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Garage (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Outbuilding, Domestic (Building) Non-contributing Total: 2

## Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-0105 Other DHR Id#: 050-5092-0030

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 2, Style: Vernacular, Ca 1880

Contributing Total: 1

March 1979: Architecture Summary: L-shaped home with broken pediment.

April 2014: The house is a two-story, frame, multi-bay dwelling supported by a parged foundation. The exterior walls are sheathed in aluminum siding, and the side gable roof is covered with seamed metal. Visible fenestration includes four-over-four and six-over-six wood double-hung sash windows. The house also features an exterior end brick chimney, and an interior brick chimney at rear ell. The previously recorded screens on the front porch have been removed.

January 2018: No architectural changes have occurred since the dwelling was last surveyed in 2014.

Secondary Resource : Garage (Building) Contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Non-contributing Total: 2

## Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5075 Other DHR Id#: 050-5092-0035

Primary Resource: Church/Chapel (Building), Stories 1, Style: Colonial Revival, Ca 1935

Contributing Total: 1

April 2014: The church is a one-story, frame, three-bay building supported by a parged foundation. The exterior walls are sheathed in aluminum siding, and the front gable roof is covered with seamed metal. The roof also features a steeple. Visible fenestration includes two-over-two wood double-hung sash windows, and a transom over the two-leaf recessed panel wood main entrance door in the single-bay entry vestibule. The building also features an exterior side brick chimney flue, and gable-roofed additions featuring two-over-two wood double-hung sash windows.

January 2018: No architectural changes have occurred since the church was last surveyed in 2014.

Secondary Resource : Cemetery (Site) Contributing Total: 2

## Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0008

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 1.5, Style: Colonial Revival, Ca 2000

Non-contributing Total: 1

January 2018: One-and-a-half story Colonial Revival house, built circa 2000. The house has a side-gable roof covered in asphalt shingles. Three gabled dormers can be seen projecting from the roof with double hung, 3/3 vinyl windows. The house is wood frame, clad in vinyl siding, and rests on a foundation that is covered with a veneer that resembles uncoursed stone. The Vinyl windows are double hung in a 6/6 configuration. A bay window is visible on the front of the house, offset toward the right with three three-light transom windows are situated above. A wooden stoop leads to the front door and a wood deck can be partially seen extending from the home's rear.

Secondary Resource : Garage (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Mobile Home/Trailer (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

## Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0025

Primary Resource: Research Facility/Laboratory (Building), Stories 1, Style: No discernible style, Ca 2000

Non-contributing Total: 1

January 2018: One-story building with a front gable, asphalt shingled roof. The building has vinyl, double-hung windows in 1/1 configuration. The building is in two section a large main portion and a smaller, gabled extension on the rear. The entire structure is clad in vinyl siding. The entrance is accessed by a wrap-around wood deck with a dock extending east, into the river and an observation point built onto the south end.

Secondary Resource : Boathouse (Building) Non-contributing Total: 1

Secondary Resource : Other (Other) Non-contributing Total: 1

## Mattaponi Reservation Circle

050-5092-0028

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 2, Style: Dutch Revival, Ca 2010

Non-contributingTotal: 1

January 2018: Two story Dutch Colonial Revival house with a gambrel roof. The top gable extends east to form a two-story porch. Two gabled dormer, double hung, 6/6 windows are visible projecting from the south face of the roof which is covered in asphalt shingles. The house is clad in siding and has double-hung, multi-light windows that are obscured by plantings.

Secondary Resource : Garage (Building) Non-contributingTotal: 1

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Non-contributingTotal: 3

*Nee-A-Ya Lane*

## 122 Nee-A-Ya Lane

050-5092-0020

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 1.5, Style: Neo-Eclectic, Ca 2000

Non-contributingTotal: 1

January 2018: Modern 1.5-story, side gable home with a terraced, side gable, asphalt shingle roof. the roof has three gabled dormers projecting from the front slope and three from the rear. The center dormer on the front of the house is substantially larger than the others. It has a large, fixed 30-light window with a small fan light above it. The 5-bay porch is covered by the larger center gable which forms a large awning supported by turned wood posts. The vinyl windows are double hung and in a 9/9 configuration on the first floor and 6/6 on second floor dormers. The whole house rests on concreted cinder blocks which may conceal piers.

Secondary Resource : Carport (Structure) Non-contributingTotal: 1

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Non-contributingTotal: 1

## 133 Nee-A-Ya Lane

050-5092-0018

Primary Resource: Mobile Home/Trailer (Building), Stories 1, Style: No discernible style, Ca 2000

Non-contributingTotal: 1

January 2018: Mobile home With a side gable roof covered with asphalt shingles. the house is wood frame, clad in vinyl siding. The vinyl windows are double hung in a 1/1 configuration. The house appears to rest on piers concealed by aluminum skirting. A wood deck leads to the front door.

Secondary Resource : Pool/Swimming Pool (Structure) Non-contributingTotal: 1

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Non-contributingTotal: 2

## 35 Nee-A-Ya Lane

050-5092-0015

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 1, Style: No discernible style, Ca 2000

Non-contributingTotal: 1

January 2018: Modern one-story home with an asphalt-shingled, center gable roof. The house is clad in vinyl siding and visible windows are double hung in a 1/1 configuration and are also vinyl. The home rests on piers concealed by concrete blocks and has a wood stoop that leads to the front door.

Secondary Resource : Carport (Structure) Non-contributingTotal: 1

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Non-contributingTotal: 1

## 53 Nee-A-Ya Lane

050-5092-0016 Other DHR Id#:

Primary Resource: Mobile Home/Trailer (Building), Stories 1, Style: No discernible style, Ca 2000

Non-contributingTotal: 1

January 2018: Prefabricated home with a side gable roof covered with asphalt shingles. The house is wood frame, clad in vinyl siding. The vinyl windows are double hung in a 1/1 configuration. The house appears to rest on piers concealed by concrete cinder blocks. A wood stoop leads to the front door.

Secondary Resource : Carport (Structure) Non-contributingTotal: 1

Secondary Resource : Garage (Building) Non-contributingTotal: 1

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Non-contributingTotal: 2

## 94 Nee-A-Ya Lane

050-5092-0017

Primary Resource: Mobile Home/Trailer (Building), Stories 1, Style: Other, Ca 1970

Non-contributingTotal: 1

January 2018: Mobile home With a side gable roof covered with asphalt shingles. the house is wood frame, clad in aluminum siding. The vinyl windows are double hung in a 1/1 configuration. The house appears to rest on piers concealed by concrete cinder blocks. A wood stoop leads to the front door.

Secondary Resource : Carport (Structure) Non-contributingTotal: 1

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Non-contributingTotal: 1

## Nee-A-Ya Lane

050-5092-0019

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 1, Style: Ranch, Ca 2016

Non-contributingTotal: 1

January 2018: Modern manufactured home with a stepped, side gabled roof covered with asphalt shingles. The house is clad in vinyl siding, the vinyl windows are double hung in a 6/6 configuration. The 5-bay wood porch is protected by the front overhang from the center/tallest section of roof and supported by square posts. Two wings extend out from the center portion of the house with a roof sections approximately one foot lower than the center. The east wing extends into a rear ell which houses an attached two-car garage. The entire structure rests on a rusticated concrete foundation which may conceal piers.

## Nee-A-Ya Lane

050-5092-0022

Primary Resource: Single Dwelling (Building), Stories 2, Style: Vernacular, Ca 1970

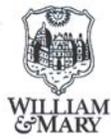
Non-contributingTotal: 1

January 2018: Two story house with an irregular, side-gable roof reminiscent of Shed Style with a front extension that forms an awning over the front porch. The roof is covered in asphalt shingles. The house is clad in T-11 siding and has double-hung windows in a 1/1 configuration. One octagonal window is visible from the right-of-way. The house rests on a concrete block foundation, while the porch rests on concrete piers.

Secondary Resource : Carport (Structure) Non-contributingTotal: 1

Secondary Resource : Shed (Building) Non-contributingTotal: 3

College of William & Mary  
Department of Anthropology  
Williamsburg, Virginia  
Anthropological Research Report Series  
Number 7



Commonwealth of Virginia  
Department of Historic Resources  
Richmond, Virginia  
Research Report Series  
Number 23

