Defining the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape

Prepared By:
Scott M. Strickland
Julia A. King
G. Anne Richardson
Martha McCartney
Virginia Busby

Prepared For:
National Park Service Chesapeake Bay
The Chesapeake Conservancy
The Rappahannock Tribe of Virginia

St. Mary's College of Maryland
St. Mary's City, Maryland
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Prepared By:

Scott M. Strickland
Julia A. King
G. Anne Richardson
Martha McCartney
Virginia R. Busby

With Contributions From:

The Rappahannock Tribe of Virginia
G. Anne Richardson, Chief
Cochise Fortune
Faye Fortune
Colonel John Fortune (USA, ret.)
Judith Fortune
Mark Fortune
Dana Mulligan
Barbara B. Williams

Prepared For:

The National Park Service Chesapeake Bay
The Chesapeake Conservancy
Annapolis, Maryland

The Rappahannock Tribe of Virginia
Indian Neck, Virginia

St. Mary's College of Maryland
St. Mary's City, Maryland

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of this project was to identify and represent the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape between Port Royal/Port Conway and Urbanna, Virginia. The project was undertaken as an initiative of the National Park Service Chesapeake Bay office, which supports and manages the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail. The project was administered by the Chesapeake Conservancy and the fieldwork undertaken and report prepared by St. Mary's College of Maryland.

One of the goals of the Captain John Smith Trail is to interpret Native life in the Middle Atlantic in the earliest years of colonization by Europeans. The Indigenous Cultural Landscape (ICL) concept was developed as an important tool for identifying Native landscapes along the Smith Trail, both as they existed in the early 17th century and as they exist today.

The Rappahannock River watershed was identified as a priority watershed area for ICL mapping in 2015. For this project, then, the mapping effort assembled a mix of qualitative and quantitative data, including tribal and non-tribal stakeholder input, documentary research, and archaeological, environmental, and ecological evidence. All of this material was included in a Geographic Information System (GIS) database which allowed the mapping and analysis of spatial relationships between various categories of data.

Limited archaeological and documentary evidence points to the Rappahannock as serving as a borderland in the colonial period and perhaps before colonization. Before contact, limited evidence suggests that, while people were in the river valley 10,000 years ago, populations were low until ca. 200 CE. By the time Smith arrived in the Rappahannock, he found at least 43 relatively densely populated communities, indicating a rich if unknown history. After contact, the records reveal that the many groups encountered by Smith, while displaced, resisted removal from their greater homeland, eventually coalescing into two groups: the Rappahannock and the Nanzatico. The Nanzatico were ultimately deported to the Caribbean while the remaining Indians appear to have retreated into their communities.

The project more precisely defined the Rappahannock ICL, found to consist of some 552 square miles. A sensitivity model based on the evidence from the Rappahannock watershed reveals the extensive and sophisticated levels of ecological knowledge of the groups Smith encountered in the river valley in 1608. A viewshed analysis suggested that ecologically-based decisions for settlements were also incorporated in indigenous systems of communication and meaning. The data analysis also forced a reconsideration of the 1608 Zúñiga map. Rappahannock tribal members noted that names of creeks crossed from one side of the river to the other, with settlement driven principally by seasonal demands and opportunities. The Zúñiga map, which shows creek names straddling the river, suggests this practice was real and stretched back at least four centuries.

One important discovery concerns the distribution of Native towns along the river's shoreline, with most towns located on the river's north bank. Traditional explanations for this observation focused on the Rappahannock groups' efforts to avoid Powhatan by placing a river between the two groups. The analysis undertaken for this project has found that ecological factors, not necessarily political ones, drove settlement to the north bank. Good agricultural soils, clay suitable for pottery manufacture, and access to

marshes and transportation tributaries were found in greater numbers and more closely associated than on the river's north bank. The north bank included most if not all of the areas first patented by the English, suggesting settlers recognized the values of the land, too.

Places of contemporary significance to the Rappahannock were also identified and include their tribal center in Indian Neck, Central Point, places east toward Tappahannock, and rural farming and trading communities. In addition to the information and data found in the report, an appendix includes all Indian place names encountered in historic documents within the Rappahannock ICL.

The report concludes with seven recommendations for future work:

1. Development of an oral history program for Rappahannock tribal members.
2. Development of a detailed culture history of the Rappahannock River groups, 10,000 BCE-present, including archaeological collections-based analysis and regional survey.
3. Connect modern-day places to 17th-, 18th-, and 19th-century landscapes.
4. Development of educational materials for Rappahannock tribal members, including the youth.
5. Development of educational materials for non-tribal members, including local residents and visitors.
6. Conduct a gap analysis of key parcels to prioritize land conservation goals.
7. Expand the ICL study to other watersheds, including the York and extended Rappahannock rivers.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Defining the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape was possible only because of the very generous assistance received from a number of people and organizations. Foremost among them is the Rappahannock Tribe of Virginia, including Chief G. Anne Richardson and advisors Cochise Fortune, Faye Fortune, Judith Fortune, Col. John Fortune (USA, ret.), Mark Fortune, Dana Mulligan, and Barbara B. Williams. The Rappahannock shared with us information on contemporary and historic landscapes, graciously piled into vans for driving tours, put us in contact with individuals with collections and properties of significance to the tribe, and hosted meetings at their tribal center. We hope that the results of this study are useful to the Rappahannock Tribe for any number of purposes and thank them for their participation in this project.

The National Park Service Chesapeake Bay and the Chesapeake Conservancy provided the support necessary to propel this project forward. The Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail has provided an important rallying point for recognizing the significance of the Chesapeake's many indigenous groups in the centuries preceding and following that firt meeting with Smith. For NPS, Charles Hunt, Jonathan Doherty, Suzanne Copping, Cindy Chance, Christine Lucero, Deanna Beacham, and Carolyn Black, and for the Chesapeake Conservancy, Joel Dunn, Jeff Allenby, Joe McCauley, and Colleen Whitlock, each contributed to the success of this project through their participation in a variety of forums for assembling, analyzing, and interpreting the information available for the Rappahannock drainage. Deanna Beacham was especially helpful with making contacts and locating places to visit as part of the project.

Landowners and individuals with collections in their possession heeded our call for assistance and invited us to visit their properties and/or see their collections. Mr. Hill Wellford provided a tour of his property at Beverly Marsh and showed us archaeological collections in his family's possession. Mr. Wellford was also helpful introducing us to other property owners in the area. Mr. R. Carter Wellford provided access to the property at Sabine Hall, where we were able to tour what this study indicates is a "hotspot" for Native settlement in the centuries before Smith's visit. Mr. Andrew Packett welcomed us to his family's property at Accapataugh Beach, where Rappahannock tribal members had previously mined clay for making pots in the 20th century.

The Menokin Foundation also welcomed us to their property, already a destination stop on the Smith Trail, sharing with us the results of recent archaeological investigations on their property. Mr. Ben Rennolds and Ms. Leslie Rennolds hosted a visit at their property where oral history recalls a Rappahannock fort may have been located. Mr. John Rennolds graciously showed us materials he had previously collected from the property. Mr. Turner Smith invited us to his property to see his impressive collection of materials and then provided a tour of his property and another farm on Totuskey Creek. Dr. GayleWertz, Mr. Miles Hastings, and Ms. C. Elena Ellis hosted on their farms in the Port Conway vicinity, pointing out landforms and sharing collections from their lands. In addition, Dr. Wertz shared the results of her own analyses of projectile point types she has recovered from her property known as Millbank.

Many other people assisted with the work of this project by helping with coordination, attending meetings, or both. Lisa Hull, the Economic Development and Tourism Coordinator for the Northern Neck Planning Commission, provided meeting space at her office and joined us on our driving tour' her assistance was critical. Mrs. Ed Haile provided meeting space at the Essex Public Library in Tappahannock. Our subject matter experts, including Dr. Mike Barber, Mr. Michael Clem, Mr. Christopher Egghart, Mr. John Mullin, Dr. Helen Rountree, Dr. E. Randolph Turner, and Ms. Amy Wood freely shared with us their information and data about Native life in the Rappahannock. Ms. Hannah Overton was especially helpful tracking down information about important Rappahannock sites, and we thank her for making our work easier.

A number of stakeholders made the effort to attend our public meeting and share with us information on land conservation and preservation, heritage development, and other topics focused on the Rappahannock River valley. We thank them for their interest and hope they find this report useful.

This work has revealed just how rich the Rappahannock River valley is, with a history stretching back millennia. It also revealed how much more remains to be learned about this extraordinary river valley. We thank everyone who participated in this project, in small or large ways, and we hope this information can be put to immediate use.

Scott M. Strickland, *St. Mary's City, Maryland*
Julia A. King, *St. Mary's City, Maryland*
G. Anne Richardson, *Indian Neck, Virginia*
Martha McCartney, *Williamsburg, Virginia*
Virginia Busby, *Reston, Virginia*

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The Rappahannock Indians of Virginia, one of eleven state-recognized Indian tribes in the Commonwealth, are the descendants of the indigenous people who met with and engaged Captain John Smith during his voyage to map the Chesapeake Bay in 1608. Smith encountered at least 43 Native towns and hamlets along both shores of the Rappahannock River (Figure 1) and heard relation of many more to the west. Smith found relatively densely populated communities located primarily on the river's north bank. These communities had roots going back thousands of years. After Smith's visit and with the arrival of English encroachment, the Rappahannock Indians were forced to develop strategies of survival as they adapted to English occupation in their ancestral homeland.

The purpose of this project is to identify and represent the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape (ICL), in the past and in the present. This project was specifically undertaken as an initiative of the National Park Service Chesapeake Bay, the unit which supports and manages the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail (NHT). The Smith Trail was established by Congress in 2006 to commemorate the then-upcoming 400th anniversary of Smith's exploration of the Chesapeake Bay (1607-1609). Given that what Smith and the other explorers saw in 1608 was a wholly indigenous landscape, identifying, mapping, and representing that landscape is critical to the modern-day interpretation of the Smith Trail.

The Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail Comprehensive Management Plan (CMP) identifies three key areas of applicability for the ICL concept: land conservation, public access, and preservation of the Chesapeake Bay (National Park Service [NPS] 2011). The CMP's ICL model is a tool for public engagement, particularly with regard to educational benefits. Those benefits include learning about descendant indigenous communities and the relationships of these communities with the land.

The ICL concept is also intended as a tool for indigenous communities, serving to level the playing field in land and water conservation. The ICL concept "recognizes that these indigenous communities still exist and that respecting them and their cultures is a valid and central goal of any land/water conservation effort." Perhaps most importantly, the CMP notes that descendant indigenous groups should participate in selecting and prioritizing culturally significant landscapes (NPS 2011:Appendix Q1-Q2). This study uses these principles, in this case, to document the historic and contemporary landscape associated with the Rappahannock Tribe of Virginia.

As Smith sailed up the Bay and into its tributaries, he encountered hundreds of hamlets, towns, and territories populated by nations whose histories, like the Rappahannock's, extended back centuries and even millennia. Smith's visit looms large in the modern national consciousness because of the extraordinary map and report he created trying to make sense of the Native cultures and polities he saw, all part of an effort to send information about the promise of colonization in this region back to investors in England. Despite Smith's biases and incomplete understandings of what he and his crew observed, his

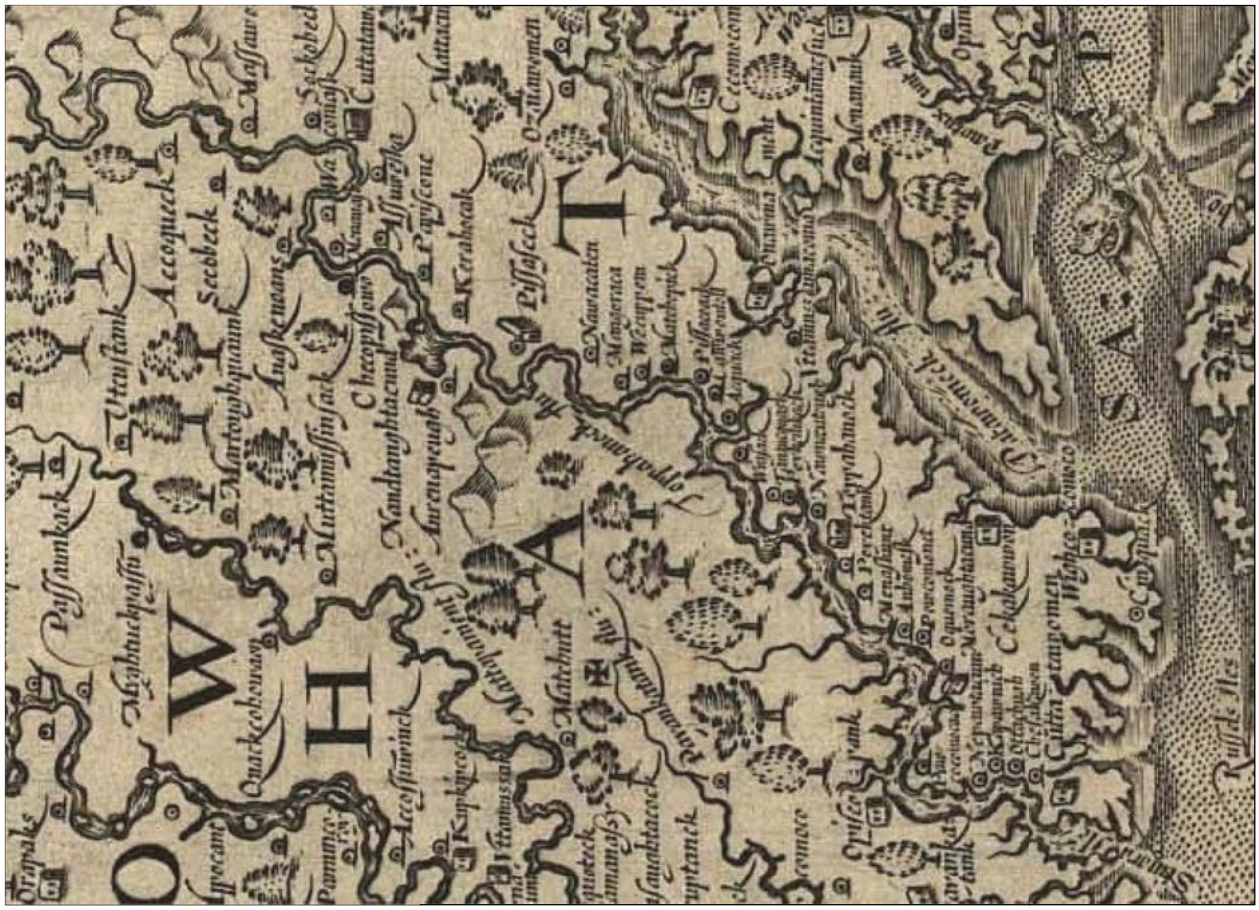

Figure 1. Smith's Map of Virginia (1608, published 1612) showing the Rappahannock River, here called "Toppahanock."

map and report are considered foundational primary documents in American history, revealing the extent of indigenous occupation in a land Europeans would nonetheless go on to characterize as "uncultivated," vacant, and ready for appropriation.

From a Native perspective, Smith's exploration of the Chesapeake may not have been so momentous. Acknowledging the biases of surviving records, almost all created by English chroniclers, it is still the case that few if any of the indigenous groups Smith claims he encountered ever mentioned Smith or his visits in later tellings. No doubt to Native eyes, Smith was one of many strangers plying the waters of the Chesapeake at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries. These nations almost certainly sized Smith up as he did them, perhaps contemplating just how they could take advantage of this wily stranger's technologies to leverage their own position. Smith was experiencing a dynamic landscape, a landscape that did not disappear but transformed; a landscape that remains visible today if we choose to see it.

While the landscapes Smith witnessed and mapped have changed over the ensuing centuries, many nonetheless retain a visually evocative quality of the land before European invasion. Still others contain vibrant, modern-day places important to the Rappahannock community. For the Smith Trail,

Indigenous Cultural Landscapes represent "the contexts of the American Indian peoples in the Chesapeake Bay and their interaction with the landscape" (National Park Service 2010:4.22). ICLs either contain or have a high potential for containing pre- and post-Contact Native American archaeological sites with large and relatively undisturbed surrounding landscapes. These landscapes should accurately reflect the culture and lifeways of the communities who lived within them (and often still do). These are dynamic landscapes, with broad and diverse areas used in different ways across seasons and over considerable time periods.

The Middle Rappahannock River, which includes the project area, has already been defined as a "high potential trail segment" in accordance with the National Trails System Act (NTSA) (NPS 2011:Section 2.4.2). This designation recognizes the Middle Rappahannock's exceptional potential to provide a high quality trail experience for visitors. High potential sites and segments identified in accordance with the NTSA, like the Middle Rappahannock, are a priority for protection. Further, the Interpretive Plan for the Smith Trail calls for building a broad range of stakeholders for a solid support base for a holistic and broad-reaching trail experience (NPS 2015: 39-40).

The Rappahannock River was also identified as a priority for ICL mapping by NPS Chesapeake Bay and the Chesapeake Conservancy. In 2015, St. Mary's College of Maryland developed this list by identifying variables within each watershed, including the presence of contemporary Native communities, the density of settlements depicted on Captain John Smith's map, the amount of undeveloped space, the growth rate of development over a 10-year period, the level of impact due to sea-level rise, and whether or not the watershed represented an important and/or pivotal landscape during the early Contact-period. Environmental variables indicative of ICLs, informed through the analysis of Late Woodland and Contact-period archaeological sites relative to their surroundings, were also used in the ICL priority study. The Rappahannock River watershed emerged as a top priority for study (Strickland and King 2016).

In 2016, Preservation Virginia included the Rappahannock River on its annual list of Most Endangered Historic Places; this designation was made in response to the potential visual impact of a utility line proposed near the mouth of the river at White Stone. In its announcement, Preservation Virginia noted that the Rappahannock River looks "nearly as [it] did when the first English settlers came to Virginia" (Preservation Virginia 2016). The Chesapeake Bay Foundation, the Chesapeake Conservancy, and the Audubon Society have also recognized the importance of the Rappahannock River for its natural and cultural history, especially Fones Cliffs, an area internationally known for its bald eagle habitat. Fones Cliffs is also one of the few verifiable locations documented by Smith of an encounter between Indians and explorers in the Rappahannock.

The National Park Service Chesapeake Bay's plan to identify the Rappahannock ICL presents an opportunity to serve the Rappahannock Tribe, as well as to collect information critical for land conservation, natural and cultural resources preservation, education, and tourism. As Preservation Virginia noted, the Rappahannock watershed does indeed remain relatively undeveloped even with the city of Fredericksburg and Interstate 95 located at the fall line of the river. The Rappahannock watershed contains some of the most ecologically important land in the Chesapeake and, as we shall see, was of tremendous importance to indigenous groups through history.

CHAPTER II
THE INDIGENOUS CULTURAL LANDSCAPE CONCEPT: PROJECT METHODOLOGY

The effort to identify the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape follows a methodology previously developed by researchers from the University of Maryland (UM) for the Nanticoke (Maryland) Indigenous Cultural Landscape (Sullivan, Chambers, and Barbery 2013) and then revised for a project focused on the Nanjemoy and Mattawoman watersheds in Maryland (Piscataway Indigenous Cultural Landscape). Through a cooperative agreement with the National Park Service and the University of Maryland, UM researchers Kristin Sullivan, Erve Chambers, and Ennis Barbery (2013) reviewed the ICL concept and its history and developed a methodology and criteria for identifying and representing ICLs. The UM team applied the methodology in the identification of the Nanticoke ICL on Maryland's Eastern Shore. The methodology was later adapted and revised by researchers at St. Mary's College of Maryland to fit the specific conditions and circumstances of the Nanjemoy and Mattawoman creek watersheds in southern Maryland (Strickland, Busby, and King 2015).

Both the Nanticoke River and the Nanjemoy and Mattawoman creek studies revealed the value of defining ICLs along the Chesapeake Bay using a watershed-by-watershed focus, emphasizing the specific groups who made particular watersheds their home. In the case of the Nanjemoy and Mattawoman project, the Piscataway people, whose homeland contains the project area, noted that the Piscataway homeland was and is much larger than the two creek watersheds. Nonetheless, a watershed approach recognizes that the greater Chesapeake Bay watershed is highly variable and that the Native groups who occupied this region beginning some 12,000 years ago both shaped and were influenced by these local environments and ecologies. The watershed approach is also useful for keeping projects manageable in an era of scarce public funds (Sullivan, Chambers, and Barbery 2013; Strickland and King 2016).

Establishing the parameters for the Rappahannock project area revealed similar concerns as those expressed by the Piscataway. Using watershed boundaries only, a project area of 356,143 acres (556 square miles) was established along both banks of the Rappahannock, extending roughly from the area around Port Royal east towards the modern town of Tappahannock. This watershed marks the ancestral and historic homeland of the Rappahannock and associated subgroups such as the Totuskey, Moraughtacund, Pissaseck, Portobago, and Nanzatico. The Rappahannock consider other areas outside the arbitrary project area, however, as important, including areas extending to the southwest into King and Queen County (in the Mattaponi River watershed) and points southeast towards Totuskey Creek and possibly beyond. Sullivan, Chambers, and Barbery's (2013) recommendation to focus on individual watersheds represents an understandable effort to make the process of identifying ICLs manageable, and this report follows that recommendation. Nonetheless, while the project area does cover a great portion of the Rappahannock ICL, it represents only a portion of it. Care was taken to include these additional areas in the final ICL boundary as discussed in this report.

The Study Area: Geographical and Chronological Boundaries

The project area's spatial extent includes the entire Rappahannock watershed from Moss Neck located west of Port Royal to Wares Wharf and Accokeek Point east of Tappahannock (Figure 2). In total,

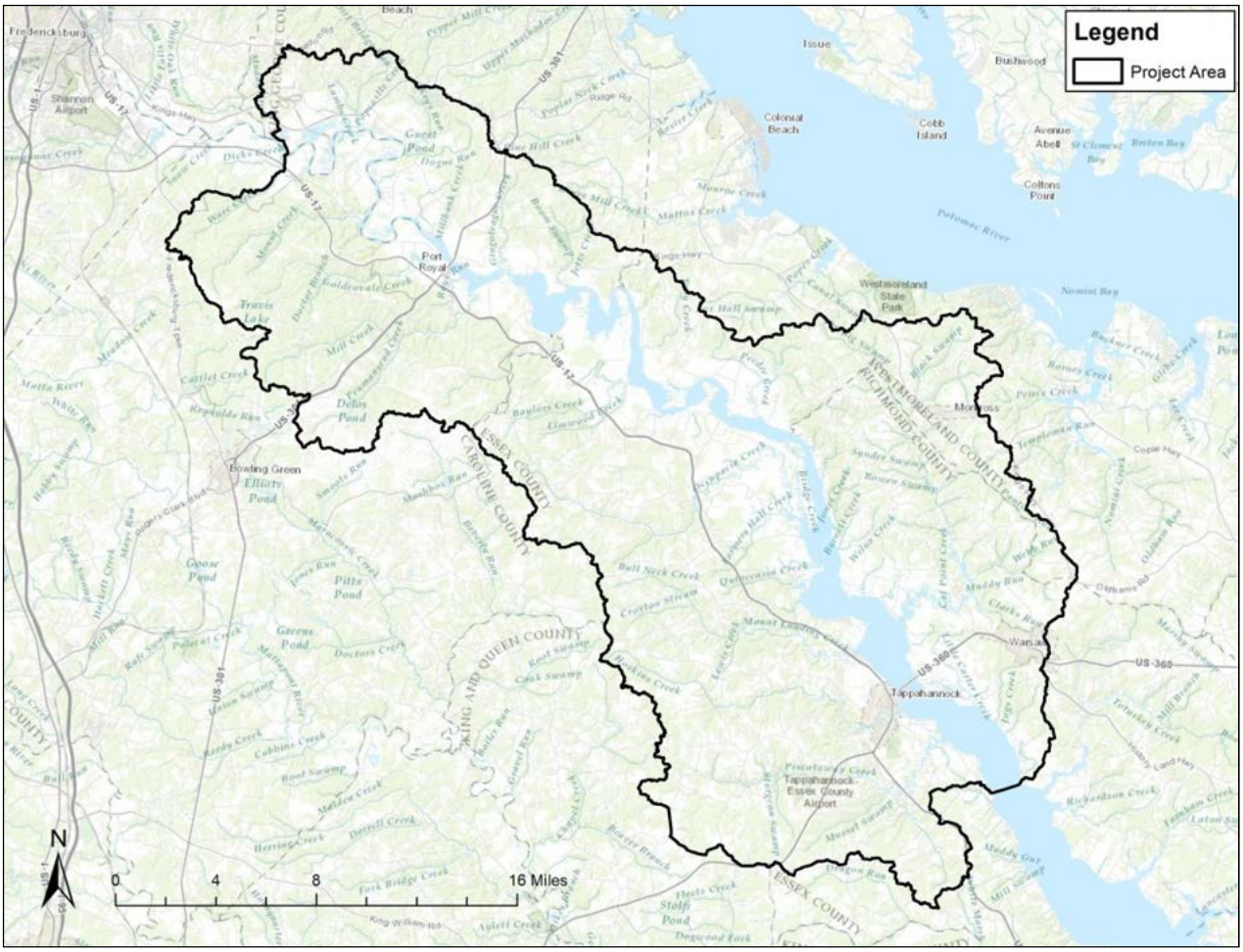

Figure 2. Project area.

the project area forms approximately 556 square miles (the largest ICL project to date) and includes shorelines observed and documented by Captain John Smith in 1608.

The project area includes 30 settlements depicted on the Smith Map (published in 1612). These villages include Accoqueck in the far western reach of the project area and Poyektank in the far eastern end. Just outside the project area, at the mouth of Totuskey Creek, is the conjectured location of the settlement of Menaskunt. A total of four large settlements, referred to by Smith on his map as "King's Howses" and including Toppahannock, Pissaseck (near Leedstown), Nandtaughtacund (Nanzatico), and Cuttatawomen, are included in the project area. Other settlements in the project area include 17th-century settlements such as the Camden site (44CE0003), the Doeg Indian settlement, the Mt. Airy Ossuary (44RD0050), Leedstown (44WM0022), the later Nanzatico Town (44KG0006), and the Portobago Town (44EX0003/5).

The project's chronological boundaries range from about 900 CE through the present (archaeologically, the Late Woodland and Contact/post-Contact periods). The beginning date of 900 CE was defined on the basis of available archaeological evidence. Previous researchers have suggested that

the paucity of pre-900 CE sites is culturally real, and that, at least for Richmond County, Native people were not in the lower Rappahannock valley much before then (Turner 1982; Sanford and Klein 1994; Klein and Sanford 2004). The overall lack of archaeological survey in this portion of the Rappahannock, however, makes this interpretation difficult to test and a problem for further investigation. Similarly, the lack of reported post-Contact sites (particularly those dating from the 18th century on) is probably a result of "[archaeologists not] looking for the correct artifact assemblages" rather than because of an absence of population during that period (Baumgartner-Wagner 1979:54). This observation belies a critique that archaeology in the Chesapeake and elsewhere has been constrained by a focus on sites rather than on landscapes, and a limited and limiting definition of what "Contact" means (Busby 1995, 2010:90-94).

Project Methodology

The methodology used to identify and represent the Rappahannock ICL included interviews and meetings with members of the Rappahannock Tribe and with non-tribal stakeholders as well as the collection and manipulation of large sets of data available online for free or through inexpensive pay-walls. The Rappahannock Tribe continues in their homeland, with the Rappahannock tribal center located in the Mattaponi River watershed. Stakeholders included land use planners and managers from county, state, and Federal agencies, land conservationists, and historic preservationists/archaeologists. Meetings with members of these groups included two day-long driving tours, site visits, non-tribal stakeholder meetings, and individual and group meetings. Additionally, project staff conducted a webinar to discuss the methodology and application of ICLs through the National Park Service's "Scaling Up" webinar series. Project staff also attended a meeting of the Captain John Smith Advisory Committee to update them on the ICL work being conducted in both Maryland and Virginia. A complete list of project participants can be found in Appendix I. Table 1 lists the meetings held, their dates, and each meeting's principal focus.

Date	Group/Organization	Location
04/11/2016	Rappahannock tribal site tour	Various sites, north bank, Rappahannock River
04/28/2016	Virginia Land Conservation Conference	Fredericksburg, VA
05/09/2016	Rappahannock tribal site tour	Various sites, south bank, Rappahannock River
05/11/2016	Webinar, ICL	n/a
06/16/2016	Non-tribal stakeholder meeting	Essex County Library, Tappahannock, VA
06/28/2016	Archaeological stakeholders meeting	DHR, Richmond, VA
07/07/2016	Ethnohistorian/archaeological stakeholders mtg	Williamsburg, VA
08/01/2016	Briefing, CAJO Advisory Council	Columbia, PA
08/17/2016	Site Visit, Nanzatico	King George County, VA
08/19/2016	John Rennolds, Chief Anne Richardson	Rennolds property, Essex County
08/23/2016	Briefing, ICL Core Advisory Group	Teleconference
08/30/2016	Virginia Outdoors Plan Meeting	Warsaw, VA
11/03/2016	Turner Smith and other properties	Totuskey Creek
12/01/2016	Final Rappahannock tribal stakeholders meeting	Indian Neck, VA

Table 1. Meeting dates, groups, and locations.

Details of the steps taken to collaborate with these various partners were as follows:

Rappahannock Engagement

Some of the most important information for this project was provided by members of the Rappahannock Tribe. This information was collected during three driving tours, including two scheduled and one un-scheduled. Formal and informal meetings were also held, including two on the days of the driving tours and two additional unscheduled meetings with individual members of the Rappahannock Tribe. Rappahannock Tribal Chief Anne Richardson served as the primary contact for the project and the Rappahannock Tribe served as a consultant on this project.

To ensure that the approach, procedures, and data management of the project were in keeping with applicable standards, indigenous traditional knowledge and intellectual property rights statements and considerations were reviewed (Christen 2015; Hardison 2014; United Nations 2007) along with ethics statements of the American Anthropological Association (2012) and the Oral History Association (2009). Project staff also reviewed the National Park Service's legal mandates (Crespi and Mattix 2000). Tribal participants were provided a consent form prior to participation. The consent form signed by tribal participants can be found in Appendix II.

The formal meetings with tribal representatives and NPS were held at the conclusion of each driving tour. The first driving tour and meeting took place on April 11, 2016. This meeting consisted of an introduction to the project and to project staff, and pre- and post-tour discussion. The meeting/tour began and ended at the Northern Neck Planning District Commission conference room in Warsaw, Virginia. The driving tour visited properties on the northern side of the Rappahannock, including Sabine Hall, Accopatough Beach, Totuskey Creek, Menokin Bay, and Cat Point Creek (Figure 3). During the post-tour discussion, a series of maps for the project area were shown in a PowerPoint presentation. Rappahannock tribal members were then invited to mark up large-scale paper maps with places and areas they considered important to the tribe.

The second meeting with Rappahannock members was held on May 9, 2016 at the Rappahannock Indian Tribal Center in King and Queen County. The driving tour preceding this meeting included points along the south side of the Rappahannock, including a possible 17th-century fort location (Rennolds property) and land opposite Fones Cliffs on Beverly Marsh (Hill Wellford property; see Figure 3). At the conclusion of this tour and during the second meeting, project staff presented preliminary findings concerning the ICL using slides and hard copy large-scale maps. The presentation and maps incorporated information collected from the Rappahannock representatives throughout the project as well as from non-tribal sources. Materials for review were also made available electronically to tribal members in order to solicit further consideration and comments. The final draft of this report was also reviewed by tribal members.

Non-Tribal Stakeholder Engagement

Non-tribal stakeholders were identified by seeking out points of contact from local, state, and Federal land managers within the project area. Organizations and individuals involved in tourism, community development, cultural and historical resource management, land use and recreational planning, and land and resource conservation were also contacted and invited to participate. Non-tribal subject

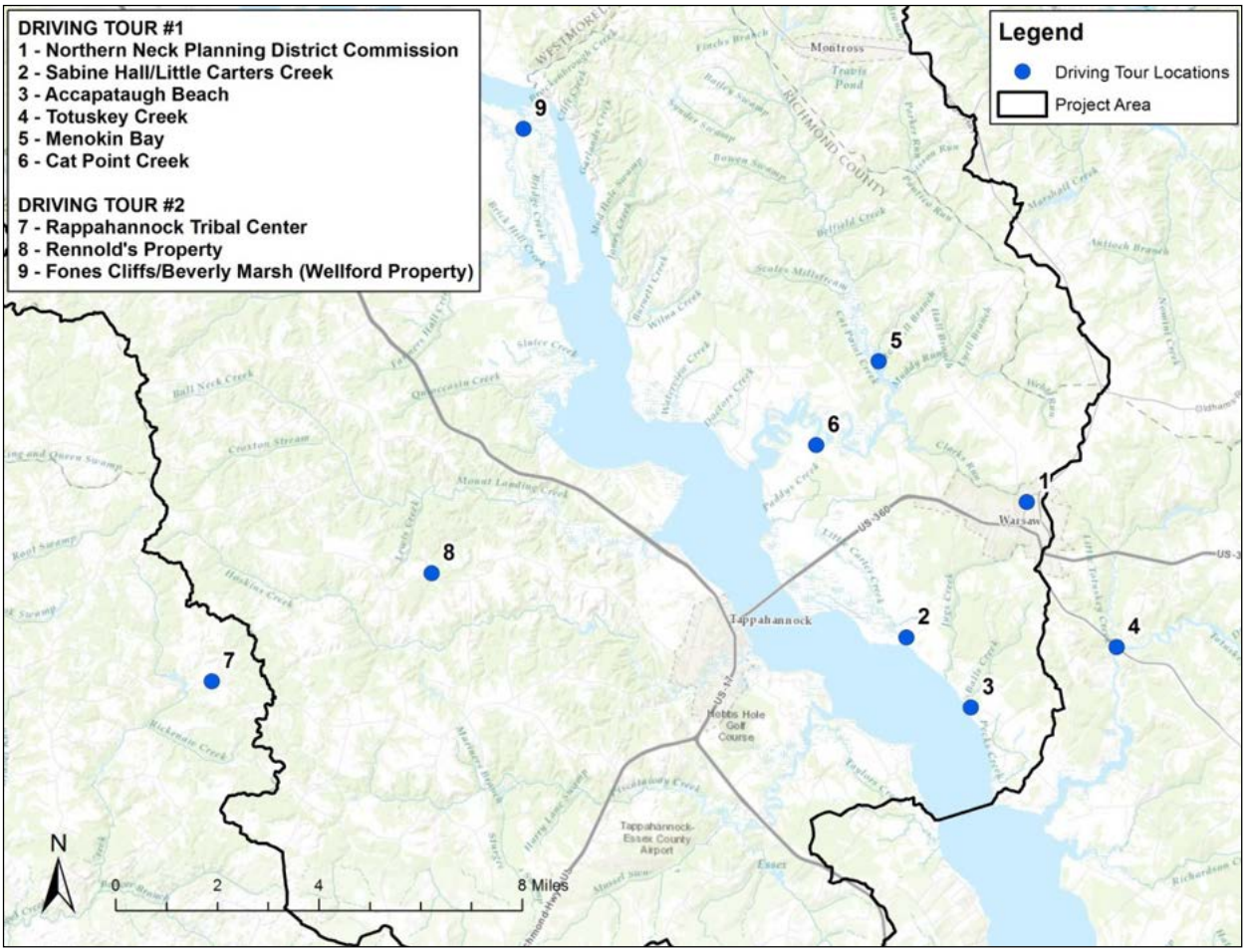

Figure 3. Driving tour routes, April 11, 2016 (Driving Tour #1) and May 9, 2016 (Driving Tour #2).

matter experts in archaeology, history, ethnohistory, and Chesapeake ecology were also contacted. Private property owners of significant parcels and private owners of collections were contacted and visited. Additional non-tribal stakeholders were identified through recommendations of initial stakeholders. All were invited to comment and attend stakeholder meetings. A list of non-tribal stakeholders can be found in Appendix I.

In-person meetings with non-tribal stakeholders involved a presentation by project staff about the scope, goals, and preliminary observations of the project. Large-scale hard copy maps were placed on tables for viewing and marking. Input was also collected through oral comments provided at meetings and by subsequent electronic sharing of data by stakeholders.

To facilitate the greatest participation of non-tribal stakeholders, given the large size of the project area, two non-tribal stakeholder meetings were initially planned. Email invitations were sent to the contact list; this invitation introduced the project and invited recipients to respond to a "Doodle Poll" for preferred meeting dates: June 9, 2016 at the Northern Neck Co-op's auditorium in Warsaw and/or June 16,

2016 at the Essex County Public Library in Tappahannock. Only one meeting, held June 16 at the Essex County Public Library, was scheduled based on the results of the Doodle poll.

The following organizations were represented at the June 16 meeting:

- US Fish and Wildlife Service, Eastern Rivers Complex;
- The Army Compatible Use Buffer Program and Cultural Resources Program at US Army Garrison at Fort A. P. Hill;
- The Economic Development and Tourism Coordinator of the Northern Neck Planning District Commission;
- Essex County Parks and Recreation;
- The Essex County Geospatial Program;
- The Essex County Planning Commission;
- The Essex County Countryside Alliance;
- The Rappahannock Wildlife Refuge Friends;
- The Friends of the Rappahannock; and
- Private landowners from King George County.

Additional public presentations were made in forums where key non-tribal stakeholders were in attendance. These included the Virginia Land Conservation Conference, a meeting of the Advisory Council of the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail, and a Virginia Outdoors Plan Meeting of the Northern Neck Planning District Commission. Another significant opportunity for engaging non-tribal stakeholders was provided during landscape tours for Rappahannock Tribal members with private landowners, site managers, and governmental entities.

GIS Mapping and Modeling Methodology

Geographic Information Systems (GIS) have revolutionized the collection, analysis, and interpretation of spatial and geographic data. Using digital technologies, GIS can be used to manage and model large amounts of spatial data, with much of this data available online and free of charge. GIS technologies have transformed the study of cultural landscapes and, not surprisingly, GIS proved indispensable to this project, not only for managing information, but for revealing meaningful relationships among various types of landscape data. GIS also allowed the creation of a legacy database for the National Park Service, the Rappahannock Indian Tribe, and other stakeholders to use to test the findings of this report or to develop new avenues of inquiry.

Certain data themes emerged during meetings and other forms of engagement with tribal and non-tribal stakeholders. In GIS, a data theme is "a collection of common geographic elements such as a road network, a collection of parcel boundaries, soil types, an elevation surface, satellite imagery for a certain date, well location," and so on (ESRI 2015). For the Rappahannock ICL project, information noted on the hard-copy maps by the Rappahannock tribal members, land planners, land managers, land conservationists, and historic preservationists was important for identifying data themes specific to the Rappahannock project area. The information from this exercise was digitized within GIS using the Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) grid for zone 18N and measured in meters as the coordinate system. These data were then analyzed along with other data themes.

Many other data themes used in creating the ICL GIS came from third-party sources, with some of these sources requiring special data licensing agreements. The Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR), for example, requires a one-time fee (good for one-year access) and a data licensing agreement in order to protect confidential archaeological site location information. Other data layers were provided through state and Federal avenues with restrictions limited only to the liability held by those offices in terms of data accuracy. This data was free and did not require any written data use agreement. These datasets, many of which are very large, have a wide range of applications and are essential for the modeling of the environmental and land use variables examined as part of this project. A summary of the environmental and land use data can be found in Table 2.

Data	Source	Post Processing
Soils	USDA-NRCS	Querying crop yield estimates and clay content. Analysis of statistical correlations.
Land Use	NLCD	Raster reclassification of wetland, forested, and developed/farmed areas
Wetlands	NWIS	Identification of marsh wetland types
Digital Elevation Model	USGS 3D Elevation Program	Raster reclassification into quantiles. Analysis of statistical correlations.
Protected Lands	VDCR	-
Archaeology Site/Survey	DHR/Fort AP Hill	Manual identification and confirmation of period specific sites. Conversion to centroid points for statistical analysis.

Table 2. Sources of data used in this project. Key: USDA-NRCS: United States Department of Agriculture, Natural Resources Conservation Service; NLCD: National Land Cover Database; NWIS: National Wetland Inventory Survey; USGS: United States Geological Survey; VDCR: Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation; DHR: Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

Soil data acquired from the United States Department of Agriculture's Natural Resource Conservation Service included both spatial and tabular data in the form of shapefiles and Microsoft Access databases. Comprehensive soil attribute data is stored within the Access database, including (but not limited to) information on potential agricultural yield information and physical properties of each soil. Yield information used in this project was taken from estimated potential yields of corn in a non-irrigated setting. These estimates are generated based on yearly reported averages of individual soil types and conditions. Locating source material for pottery production was also noted as important to historic and modern Rappahannock tribal members. Soil physical properties were parsed to identify the percentage of clay in the underlying layers of different soil types as part of an effort to identify potential clay sources for the production of pottery.

Wetlands data, particularly information about marshes and marsh environments, was taken from the National Wetland Inventory Survey. How this data was parsed and analyzed is described in more detail in Chapter V of this report.

The identification of protected and unprotected areas within the project area was important to all stakeholders. Protected areas within the project area are important for their ability to represent the rural and less developed nature of the landscape in a way that may be considered evocative of the ICL. Protected lands include Federal, state, and local lands. Various easements held on privately owned land

are also considered a form of protected land as part of this project. These data were made available through the Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation (VDCR). Data from VDCR is not updated as frequently as data from individual counties, so an effort was made to contact planning offices from each county in the project area for the most recent data layers. Only one county, Essex County, responded to this request. This data is more particularly described in Chapter V of this report.

Defining "Indigenous Cultural Landscape"

The Indigenous Cultural Landscape concept and its potential uses are described by the National Park Service Chesapeake Bay in the report, *Indigenous Cultural Landscapes Study for the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail* (Sullivan, Chambers, and Barbery 2013). This report along with the Captain John Smith NHT's Comprehensive Management Plan (CMP) states (as previously noted) that ICLs represent "the context of the American Indian peoples in the Chesapeake Bay and their interaction with the landscape." These landscapes include "both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife therein associated with the historic lifestyle and settlement patterns and exhibiting the cultural and aesthetic values of American Indian peoples in their totality" (NPS 2011).

A set of basic criteria for identifying landscapes found within an ICL was devised by the National Park Service in 2011. These criteria include:

- Good agricultural soil (fine sandy loam, 1-2% grade);
- Fresh water source (river or creek water may be brackish);
- Transportation tributary adjacent;
- Landing place (confluence of tributaries optimal);
- Marshes nearby (for waterfowl, shellfish, reeds, tubes, muskrat, turtles);
- Brushy areas (for small game, berries);
- Primary or mixed deciduous forest (for larger game, nuts, bark, firewood);
- Uplands that could support hunting activities (and a variety of wildlife);
- Proximity to known American Indian communities (documented through ethno-history or archaeology; may be post-Contact);
- Protection from wind; and
- High terrace landform.

Criteria for smaller or connective parcels include:

- Areas of recurrent use for food or medicine acquisition (shell middens, plant gathering sites);
- Areas of recurrent use for tool acquisition (quarries);
- Places with high probability for ceremonial or spiritual use (even if not documented), or known by descendent community to have been used for ceremony;
- Trails used as footpaths (usually became colonial roads, sometimes are today's highways and local roads);
- Parcels that can be interpreted as supporting activities of Indian community sustainability, such as trading places or meeting places; and

- Places associated with ancestors, or part of a descendent community's past known through tribal history, ethno-history, or archaeology.

An additional set of criteria tailored to the Rappahannock watershed emerged from comments and suggestions made by project stakeholders and include:

- Areas associated with indigenous use in the past;
- Places known through historical records (including settlements as mapped by John Smith);
- Ecologically significant areas;
- Archaeologically significant areas/sites;
- Spiritually significant areas/sites (including burial sites);
- Frequented waterways;
- Places with wide viewsheds of the river landscape;
- Lands that are threatened/need protection;
- Land/soils conducive for pottery production; and
- Places good for interpreting indigenous culture and history.

Of particular interest to the NPS is identifying landscapes which both meet ICL criteria and are evocative of the historical Rappahannock watershed. Fortunately, much of the Rappahannock remains relatively undeveloped, free of urban and suburban development with minor exceptions around the towns of Port Royal, Warsaw, and Tappahannock. These towns, though developed to varying degrees, may contain archaeological sites, be situated on historical tracts associated with indigenous people, or be part of a greater landscape meeting the criteria for being included as part of the ICL. While these more developed landscapes are not particularly evocative of the pre-Contact or early 17th-century indigenous landscape, the National Park Service nonetheless recognizes these areas as places of importance to modern tribal members and therefore contributing to the ICL.

CHAPTER III
THE RAPPAHANNOCK PEOPLE: A HISTORY

In late August 1608, Captain John Smith and a crew of 12 men sailed into the Rappahannock River in their quest to document and map the Chesapeake Bay and its hinterlands. The tidal Rappahannock, separating Virginia's Northern Neck from its Middle Peninsula on the Bay's western shore, was home to at least eight indigenous groups or towns in 1608 with more towns, unseen by Smith, west of the river's fall line. Despite Smith's early visit, colonial encroachment came later to the Rappahannock than to the James and York rivers, and the Rappahannock's Native groups, while displaced, were never completely forced from their homeland (despite colonial efforts to do so). Indeed, the Rappahannock River became a destination for Native groups pushed out of the Potomac River valley by encroachment in that region. By the end of the 17th century, at least some Native groups in the Rappahannock valley appear to have adapted to these new conditions by merging with other groups, limiting interaction with colonizers, and maintaining Native material, social, and cultural practices (Galke 2004; Flick et al. 2012; King et al. 2016). Despite the legal machinations and physical violence visited on the Rappahannock, they continued in the region through the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries and are, today, a vibrant Native community centered around Indian Neck, Virginia.

Smith's report of his travels reveals that the Rappahannock valley was densely populated, perhaps more so than the York River to the south, home of the eponymous Powhatan Indians (Turner 1976, 1982). Smith and, later, others also described communities and events indicating well-organized, successful polities, ready to deal with a character like Smith but involved in their own regional politics of conflict and cooperation. Nonetheless, the Rappahannock River, with its long record of indigenous occupation, remains one of the least studied watersheds in the Middle Atlantic region. South of the Rappahannock, the Powhatan and Chickahominy chiefdoms on the York and James rivers have been the focus of extensive research (e.g., Rountree and Turner 2002; Gallivan 2003, 2016) while, to the north, the Patawomeck and Piscataway on the Potomac have commanded attention (e.g., Cissna 1986; Potter 1993; Tayac 1998; King et al. 2016; King and Flick in press). No doubt a dearth of archaeological survey along the generally undeveloped Rappahannock has contributed to this situation, and 17th-century chroniclers' focus on their closest neighbors, the Powhatan and the Potomac River nations, has left gaps in the documentary record that are not easily filled. Therefore, with some important exceptions (Speck 1925; Turner 1976, 1982; Klein and Sanford 2004; McCartney 2004; Ragan 2006), the Rappahannock groups remain known principally through their presumed relations with the Powhatan and the Maryland nations and not necessarily on their own terms.

This chapter outlines a history of the Rappahannock Indians using these limited sources. It is not anticipated to be exhaustive, but it does raise interesting questions about the Rappahannock River's indigenous history beginning some 10,000 years ago and continuing through the present.

Pre-Contact History

When Captain John Smith explored the Rappahannock River and its surrounding areas in August 1608, he described eight groups living below the fall line, each with its principal town, and an additional

35 “ordinary towns” (Rountree et al. 2007:290-297). These numerous communities presuppose a long history but, in fact, the antiquity of settlement in the Rappahannock is unclear. Paleo-Indian sites dating some 10,000 years ago and identified by fluted projectile points are rare in the Rappahannock valley. Only two Paleo-Indian sites are known for Richmond County, located on the north bank of the river at Warsaw and the one jurisdiction in the river valley with some systematic archaeological survey. The paucity of such settlements may be real (and not a function of little survey); in his study of Chesapeake prehistory, archaeologist Richard Dent (1995) observed many more Paleo-Indian sites south of the James, where higher water tables and lower land forms created an abundance of marshes in an overall cooler climate; marshes that had yet to form in any number north of the James.

With warming temperatures, sea level rise, and the increasing formation of marshlands beginning ca. 8000 BCE, people began moving into the regions north of the James. That movement, however, was almost certainly uneven. Turner (1976:241, 244) argued that, even as groups were colonizing the north banks of the James and the York rivers beginning 10,000 years ago, it wasn’t until 1000 BCE that people moved into the Rappahannock valley in any significant number. Turner’s evidence is based on a survey of only one county in the Rappahannock: Richmond County. Klein and Sanford’s (1996:245) later and expanded survey of Richmond County found more pre-1000 BCE sites, but in small enough quantities that they argue humans were not in the river valley much before 200 CE, the date some archaeologists have postulated a large migration of Algonquian people into the Middle Atlantic.

Our preliminary survey of archaeological collections, conducted as part of this study, has found that human settlement of the Rappahannock River valley does indeed appear to have been uneven. For example, collections in the possession of private landowners in the Port Royal/Port Conway vicinity (some 30 miles northwest of Richmond County as the crow flies) include dozens of Archaic-period (8000-1200 BCE) projectile points and Early Woodland ceramics (1200-500 BCE). Later dating triangular points, however, while present, are in much fewer numbers. Not only does this evidence suggest that migration into the valley probably came from the west, it may also indicate that this portion of the river may have been more attractive to hunters-foragers. The soils in this area are not as productive for corn as those below Port Conway, but the river is narrower (and more easily crossed) with marshlands and uplands that would have been of economic importance to the hunters-foragers in the area.

Little is known about the Early Woodland (1200-500 BCE) and Middle Woodland I (500 BCE-200 CE) periods in the Rappahannock valley. Elsewhere in the region, the Late Archaic was a period of population growth, reflected in plant use intensification, including those species which would evolve into domesticates. The surveys undertaken in Richmond County, however, have led archaeologists to conclude that population density in the Rappahannock in the Early Woodland and Middle Woodland I remained low or even declined in comparison with the same periods in the James and Potomac valleys. The lack of systematic survey in the Rappahannock makes it difficult to assess whether this interpretation applies across the board; evidence from the Archaic period cited above would suggest not.

By the end of the Middle Woodland I (ca. 200 CE), archaeologists have argued for an Algonquian migration into the region based on the replacement of a variety of crushed rock- and sand-tempered ceramic types with a single shell-tempered type known as Mockley (Fiedel 1987; Potter 1993). The Richmond County survey data provides limited support for this event, at least in the Rappahannock valley,

as the numbers of settlements (reflected by archaeological sites) do in fact dramatically increase after ca. 200 CE, beginning the period known as the Middle Woodland II (200-900 CE). Studies of the Middle Woodland II and the Late Woodland I (900-1200 CE) periods in both Maryland and Virginia have shown that these centuries were a transitional period of increasing sedentariness (living in one place for periods at a time), population growth, and the emergence of larger group territories, economies, and polities. These changes may have been spurred by increased access to reliable (that is, domesticated) food sources, including corn, which appears to have arrived in the region from Mexico ca. 900 CE (Sperling 2008:24).

A growing dependence on domesticated foods required different structures for ensuring adequate food supplies, including the ability to store resources for future use in subsurface pits, ceramic pots, or above-ground granaries and rules for determining the distribution of surpluses. The increased time necessary for boiling starchy plants, many archaeologists argue, and the importance of ceramic vessels for communicating social information is reflected in the replacement ca. 900-950 CE of Mockley ceramics with four Late Woodland types, including, in the James River valley, Townsend, Potomac Creek, Gaston, and Roanoke wares. Interregional exchange networks, which had been bringing rhyolite and other non-local stone materials into the Coastal Plain, also constrict or even collapse about this time (Turner 1993:83; Gallivan 2003:128; Klein 2003). Both Turner (1993:83) and Gallivan ((2003:128) interpret these changes as evidence of the development of "spatially compact social networks."

Acknowledging these changes, Gallivan (2003) has nonetheless questioned the common understanding that there was a sudden and dramatic shift toward greater sedentariness at the Middle-Late Woodland break or in the early part of the Late Woodland. Using architecture and patterns of household ceramic discard to measure site population density and duration of occupation, Gallivan found that it was only after 1200 CE (and not 900 CE) that more permanent and substantial settlements appear in the archaeological record, at least in the James River valley (his principal focus). Mobility, he argued, which had previously worked as a solution to economic and social problems, was no longer effective. Instead, these problems were addressed by "multiple community hierarchical polities," or the emergence of chiefdoms. He notes that ceramic decorations and surface treatments – what archaeologists call "style" – are found across ware types, suggesting regional interactions (Gallivan 2003).

Similarly, archaeologist Stephen Potter (1993:102) noted a shift in archaeological site types and their distributions from the earlier part of the Late Woodland to the later part in the Virginia side of the lower Potomac. What he described as sites of "intermediate" size were generally supplanted by a single large site containing internally dispersed residential settlements. The chief's residence, identified by greater quantities of artifacts and animal bone as well as shell and copper artifacts, came to form a "core settlement" within the larger, dispersed village. Clusters of houses as well as hunting and gathering camps were located within a 2-km range of the core (Potter 1993:88-89). Potter's observations of a shift of some kind at this time are reinforced by an unusual oral history account in the Maryland records. In 1660, a Piscataway great man (advisor) told the Maryland governor that, 13 generations previously or ca. 1250 CE, a Piscataway leader had come from the Eastern Shore (Archives Md. 3:402-403). The arrival of this leader corresponds with the appearance of ossuary burials (communal graves) on the western shore; ossuaries were already part of the mortuary programs on the Eastern Shore. At about the same time, however, grit- and/or sand-tempered ceramics appeared in the Potomac valley, with some archaeologists arguing that they were related to types made west of the fall line. They point out that palisaded towns also

appear at about this time and may indicate what one archaeologist has called "nervous migrants" (Blanton et al. 1999; Potter 1993). Other archaeologists have argued that palisaded enclosures were not necessarily for defense but to demarcate sacred space (Shepard 2009).

The archaeological evidence from the James River valley may suggest an apparent decline in sedentariness, caused perhaps by political instability, an extended dry period (as revealed by tree ring evidence), or both, with large settlements abandoned (Gallivan 2002:549-552). The standard argument for this decline has been Native populations stricken with disease brought by earlier European explorations. Such explorations would have included the 16th-century Spanish forays into the Chesapeake as well as the English settlement at Roanoke (Potter 1993:161-164; Loker 2010). Some researchers, however, contend that there is little archaeological evidence, at least in the Potomac valley, to support the notion that European diseases impacted the region's population to the same extent as elsewhere along the Eastern seaboard (Potter 1993:165). A study of a Late Woodland ossuary in the Potomac drainage, for example, suggests that there may have even been an increase in population size (Ubelaker 1974:68). The abandonment of major settlements in the Potomac may have dated to the first decades of the 17th century and not the 16th century, a response to European settler communities. The communities "abandoning" these settlements appear to have moved inland along creeks or less exposed waterways (Potter 1993:166).

Early European Contact

Before Captain John Smith made his famous voyage, the first party of European seafarers known to have made contact with the Chesapeake region's Native people included Captain Vicente González, a former governor of La Florida, and Juan Menéndez Márquez, a future interim governor of Florida. González and Menéndez Márquez visited the Chesapeake Bay in June 1588 in search of English settlements in the vicinity. González's ship ventured inland as far as the head of the Chesapeake Bay, tracing its westerly shoreline. When the explorers were in the vicinity of the Northern Neck and Potomac River, they encountered Indians and captured one of them (Lewis and Loomie 1953:186-202). The seafarers made no mention of the river that would come to be known as the Rappahannock.

Although Samuel Mace had set sail for Virginia in 1602-1603, historical records indicate that he did not proceed further than 34 degrees north of Cape Hatteras (Quinn 1974:413-431). It was not until 1607 when the English established a permanent settlement on the Chesapeake Bay, this time at Jamestown (on what was then known as the Powhatan River). It was this voyage that brought Captain John Smith to Virginia. The most prominent Native leader Smith and the other colonists met in Tidewater Virginia – at least to their eyes – was Powhatan, who Smith assumed was a monarch.

Powhatan lived at Werowocomoco, his "capital" on the north side of the York River at Purtan Bay (Barbour 1986:I:146-148). Powhatan could trace his growing influence to the 1570s, when he inherited a leadership position with six groups. The earliest English colonists, including Smith, believed that Powhatan held sway as far north as Piscataway territory. They soon came to believe his authority only extended from the fall line of the James River, north-northeast to the York River. Today, at least some scholars argue that, at the time of contact, Powhatan was the leader of almost all of the groups within Virginia's coastal plain (Rountree 1990:10-11; Potter 2006:219; Barbour 1986:II:126). This view,

based entirely on the views of the early colonial writers, is disputed today by many descendant groups and others (Deanna Beacham, personal communication, 2016).

Tree-ring data from a bald cypress still standing near Jamestown Island revealed that the first European colonists arrived during a period of severe drought lasting from 1606 to 1612: the driest period in 770 years. Conditions were particularly harsh in eastern Virginia. Drought conditions created a crisis for both Natives and colonists, with plant foods, especially corn, in short supply. Plant food shortages would have also affected the availability of game animals and fish, and water quality would have been at its poorest. When the Virginia colonists arrived in 1607, the Native people were almost certainly dealing with food shortages (Stahl et al. 1998:566). In fact, Captain John Smith, who had ventured into the areas of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi (at the head of the York) demanding corn, reported that "the people imparted that little they had, with such complaints and teares from the eyes of women and children" that anyone would have been compassionate (Barbour 1986:II:205).

Smith's first visit to the Rappahannock River was involuntary. In December 1607, he was captured by the members of several Indian groups hunting together near the head of the Chickahominy River (a tributary of the James). After leading Smith overland to Orapaks (in what is today New Kent County, Virginia), his captors then took him to several other Native settlements. Smith reported that he was taken overland

> . . . to a place called Topahanocke, a kingdom upon another River northward. The cause of this was that the year before, a shippe had beene in the River of Pamaunke, who having beene kindly entertained by Powhatan, their Emperour, they returned thence, and discovered the River of Topahanocke: where [the ship's captain] being received with like kindnesse, yet he slue [slew] the King, and tooke of his people, and they supposed I were hee. But the people reported him a great [large] man that was Captaine, and using mee kindly, the next day we departed [Barbour 1986:I:51-53].

Smith added that:

> This River of Tapahanock seemeth in breadth not much lesse then that we dwell upon [that is, the James]. At the mouth of the River is a Countrey called Cuttawomen: upwards is Marraugh tacum, Tapohanock, Appomatuck, and Nantaugs tacum: at top, Manahocks, the head [of the river] issuing from many mountains (Barbour 1986:II:146-149).

Later, Smith commented that the Rappahannock River was navigable for approximately 130 miles (Barbour 1986:II:104).

Smith's Map and the Towns Seen on the Rappahannock

According to his report published in 1624, Smith and his men set out to explore the rivers to the north of the James. On their return voyage from the head of the bay, the party sailed first toward the head of the Potomac River and then ventured into "the river of Rapahanock, by many called Tappahanock"

(Barbour II:169).[1] Near the river's mouth, they were "kindly entertained by the people of Moraughtacund" and encountered Mosco, a Wicomico Indian whom Smith described as an old friend. Smith recounted, that as they continued upstream, Mosco cautioned him about hostility on the part of the Rappahannock Indians. According to Smith, the Rappahannocks were enemies of the Moraughtacund, with whom Smith and his party had just visited. Despite this warning, Smith crossed the river to the Rappahannock Indian Town, who, as Mosco had predicted, attempted to repel Smith and his party.

The next morning, the explorers "sailed up Rappahanock [River] passed Pisacack [Pissacoack], Matchopeak, and Mecuppom, three towns on high white clay cliffs, the other side a low plain marsh and the river there but narrow." After being fired upon by Rappahannock Indians who had hidden in the marsh in another attempt to repel them, the party continued onward, meeting "the Kings of Pissassack, Nantaughtacund and Cuttatawomen [who] used us kindly." Further upstream they made note of the villages of Secobeck and Massawteck. The following day, they went as far as their vessel could carry them, "there setting up crosses and graving our names on the trees" (Barbour 1986:II:146-149).

Although Smith could not make it past tidal waters, Mosco described the Indian nations beyond the mountains and mentioned Monhaskahod, "a hunting town of the bounds betwixt the Kingdome of Mannahocks and the Nantaughtacunds." His statement suggests to some scholars that the influence of the Nandtaughtacund extended inland to the falls, where Monhaskahod was located (Barbour 1986:II:177).

When Smith later wrote his description of Virginia, he reported that, at the head of the Rappahannock River, were

> . . . the people called the Mannahoacks amongst the moutaines, but they are above the place we described. Upon this river on the North side are the people Cuttatawomen, with 30 fighting men. Higher are the Moraughtacunds, with 80. Beyond them Rapahanock with 100. Far above is another Cuttatawomen with 20. On the south is the pleasant seat of Nantaughtacund having 150 men. This river also as the two former [James and York] is replenished with fish and foule [Barbour 1986:I:147].

Smith's party then sailed back downstream, taking along an Indian captured during an armed encounter with the Mannahoac, who they had met near Monhaskahod. Smith claimed that when he reached the territory of the Moraughtacund and Rappahannock Indians, reputed enemies, he negotiated a peace agreement between them (Barbour 1986:II:175).

Archaeologists and historians have used both Smith's maps and his writings – while there is much overlap, each source contains information not found in the other – to describe the towns, their locations, and the numbers of their inhabitants.

Table 3 lists all of the Indian towns either shown on Smith's map or mentioned in his writings, numbering 43 in all. The last column includes the estimated populations of the various nations, although estimating the population of Native groups in the late 16th and early 17th centuries is a tricky business.

[1] William Strachey, who does not cite his sources, reported that the Indians originally called the Rappahannock River "Opiscatumeck" (Rountree et al. 2007:293; Barbour 1986:I:53; Haile 1998:605).

Name of Town	Nation	Location	County	Population
On Smith's Map				
Accoqueck	Cuttatawomen II	Near Hollywood Bar	Caroline	85 (20 warriors)
Cuttatawomen	Cuttatawomen II	Vicinity Hop Yard Landing	King George	(see above)
Massawoteck	Cuttatawomen II	Across upper side Moss Neck	King George	(see above)
Secobeck	Cuttatawomen II	Near Moss Neck east of Dick's Creek	Caroline	(see above)
Sockobeck	Cuttatawomen II	Near Popcastle Creek	King George	(see above)
Anaskenoans	Nandtaughtacund	West of Skinker's Neck	Caroline	640 (150 warriors)
Anrenapeugh	Nandtaughtacund	Southwest side of Green Bay	Essex	(see above)
Assuweska	Nandtaughtacund	Near mouth Millbank Creek	King George	(see above)
Checopissowo	Nandtaughtacund	West of Goldenvale Creek	Caroline	(see above)
Kerahocak	Nandtaughtacund	Near Blind Pt; mouth of Jetts Creek	Westmoreland	(see above)
Monanask	Nandtaughtacund	Near Cleve	King George	(see above)
Nandtaughtacund	Nandtaughtacund	Southeast side of Portobago Bay	Caroline	(see above)
Papiscone	Nandtaughtacund	West of Gingoteague Creek	King George	(see above)
Waconiask	Nandtaughtacund	West of Cleve, below mouth of Jones Top Creek	King George	(see above)
Unknown	Nandtaughtacund	Vicinity Dogue Run	King George	(see above)
Mangoraca	Pissaseck	Near Smith Mount Landing	Westmoreland	Not Estimated
Nawacaten	Pissaseck	Near mouth of Peedee Creek	Westmoreland	(see above)
Pissaseck	Pissaseck	Near Leedstown	Westmoreland	(see above)
Wecuppom	Pissaseck	E. of Brockenbrough Ck/Fones Cliffs	Richmond	(see above)
Unknown	Pissaseck	Drake's Marsh & Leedstown	Westmoreland	(see above)
Acquack	Rappahannock	Near Cat Point Creek	Richmond	425 (100 warriors)
Cawwontoll	Rappahannock	Near mouth Wilna's Creek	Richmond	(see above)
Matchopick	Rappahannock	Vicinity Lukes Island	Richmond	(see above)
Nawnautough	Rappahannock	Near mouth of Little Carter's Creek	Richmond	(see above)
Pissacoack	Rappahannock	Near Smoots Landing	Richmond	(see above)
Poykemkack	Rappahannock		Richmond	(see above)
Tantucquack	Rappahannock	Near head Little Carter's Creek	Richmond	(see above)
Toppahannock	Rappahannock	Northeast Little Carter's Creek	Richmond	(see above)
Winsack	Rappahannock	Southeast Cat Point Creek	Richmond	(see above)
Auhomesk	Moraughtacund	East side Totuskey Creek	Richmond	340 (80 warriors)
Mensakunt	Moraughtacund	West side Totuskey Creek	Richmond	(see above)
Moraughtacund	Moraughtacund	Near Tarpley Point	Richmond	(see above)
Oquomock	Moraughtacund	West side Farnham's Creek	Richmond	(see above)
Powcomonet	Moraughtacund	East side Richardson Creek	Richmond	(see above)
Poyektank	Moraughtacund	Vicinity Wellford's Wharf	Richmond	(see above)
Chesakawon	Cuttatawomen I			135 (30 warriors)
Cuttatawomen	Cuttatawomen I	Northeast of Mosquito Pt	Lancaster	(see above)
Kapawnich	Cuttatawomen I	West of State Route 3 bridge	Lancaster	(see above)
Nepawtacum	Cuttatawomen I	On Orchard Point	Lancaster	(see above)
Ottachugh	Cuttatawomen I	On Cherry Point	Lancaster	(see above)
Pawcocomocac	Cuttatawomen I	West of Bertrand	Lancaster	(see above)
Opiscopank		East side Urbanna Creek	Middlesex	
In narrative				
Appamatuck		Between Tappahannock and Nawnautough	Richmond	

Table 3. List of towns and hamlets reported by Smith along with population estimates for the Rappahannock River groups (Rountree 1990:10-11; Rountree et al. 2007:173, 293-297; Potter 2006:218-219; Haile 1998:117, 615, 628; Barbour 1986:I:53, 147, 173; II:104, 256)

Most estimates are of necessity based on assumptions that may or may not be accurate. Historian Edward Ragan (2006:118-119), for example, assumes that one out of every five members of the Native population was a warrior. Ragan's work was based on estimates calculated by E. Randolph Turner (1976, 1982) and Christian F. Feest. A reported count of 20 warriors, then, would yield an estimated population size of 100 individuals. Helen Rountree and her colleagues use a smaller multiplier of 4.25 (Rountree, Clark, and Mountford 2007). A count of 20 warriors could yield a population of 85.

In 1613, Captain Ralph Hamor described his adventures in Virginia during the years Sir Thomas Dale was governor of the colony (1611-1616). Among the people he mentioned was a man named Simons who "was run away to Nonsowhaticond," a reference to Nandtaughtacund (Hamor 1957:54). During the fall of 1622, while Captain Isaac Madison was living at Patawomeck, an Indian town on the Potomac River, two of his men also ran away, reportedly fleeing to "Nazatica." In pursuit, Madison

> . . . sent Master John Upton and three more with an Indian guide to Nazatica, where they heard they were. At this place was a King beat out of his Country by the Necosts, enemies to the Patawomecks; this expulsed King though he professed much love to the Patawomecks, yet he loved not the King because he would not helpe him to revenge his enemies [Barbour 1986:II:312].

Scholars, notably Feest (1978) and Barbour (1969), have assumed that Nazatica (Nanzatico) and Nandtaughtacund were synonymous.

European Intrusion into Native Territory

During the first quarter of the 17th 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. By 1622, this steady encroachment into Native territory prompted Indians led by Opechancanough to attack settlements outside the bounds of an agreement previously made with Powhatan to settle in Paspahegh.

Although the 1622 Indian attack eliminated an estimated one third of the English 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 all Natives by laying waste to their towns 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 poisonous wine. By the close of 1623, the colonists 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 1901:I:140; Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:556-557, 652-653, 708-710; IV:37, 221-223, 236-237).

Captain John Martin, a Virginia Company hard-liner who presented officials with a plan for subduing the Indians, thought that Opechancanough's influence extended northward to the lower shore of the Potomac River, including the Rappahannock (Kingsbury 1906-1935:III:708-710). But the Patawomeck willingness to assist the English against the Pamunkey after the 1622 attack suggests that they were in fact not closely allied. During the first quarter of the 17th century, a number of expeditions to procure corn were made into the northerly portion of the Middle Peninsula (the region between the

York and Rappahannock rivers) and into the Northern Neck, but relatively little military or socio-political interaction with Natives in those areas was documented.

In 1629-1630, plans were made to expand the colony's frontier northward into the homeland of the Kiskiack Indians, and to cordon off the lower part of the James-York peninsula, reserving it to the colonists' exclusive use. Settlers quickly swarmed into the region and the displaced Kiskiack took refuge on the Middle Peninsula, seating themselves on the lower side of the Piankatank River, a tributary of the Rappahannock (Hening 1901:II:208-209; Nugent 1934:I:239).

Virginia planters were eager to stake claim to lands they knew would yield substantial crops. By the 1630s, settlement had begun to spread up the lower side of the York River. In 1641, a vast sweep of land on the north side of the York River was opened to settlement, territory that bordered the Chesapeake Bay and extended in a northerly direction to the Piankatank River and ran inland toward its head. Those who established homesteads within that region were supposed to seat themselves in groups of one hundred or more (Stanard 1902:52-53). In 1639, officials of the Bermuda Company of London, keenly aware that the Virginia colony's riches lay in the cultivation of tobacco, asked officials in England to assign them "a large proportion of land between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers, not yet granted or inhabited by his Majesty's subjects . . . in consolation of the great defect in the quantity of land in the Somers Islands" (Lefroy 1981:I:557-558).

In 1642, the Grand Assembly gave settlers permission to patent land along the Rappahannock River

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

In response, John Carter, a resident of the Nansemond River, patented 1,300 acres on the Corrotoman River, on the north side of the Rappahannock River's mouth. Shortly thereafter, Richard Bennett, William Durant, and Daniel Gookin II patented large tracts further upstream. In March 1643, the assembly reiterated the fact that land on the Rappahannock River could be patented but neither surveyed nor seated until a later date. However, before long, planters claimed many thousands of acres of land in the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck, paying little heed to the Native inhabitants or their needs (Nugent 1934:I:131-132, 135, 149-159, 239, 264, 278; Patent Book 1:804, 847, 850; Hening 1901:I:274; McCartney 2012:62-63, 101, 175).

Renewed Hostilities

Despite an April 1642 reference in minutes of the colony's assembly to a treaty "of peace with friendship with the Indians," the Natives made a second attempt to punish those settlers who had broken previous agreements. Attacks taking place on April 18, 1644 claimed the lives of an estimated four to five hundred colonists. Opechancanough was again credited with leading the assault. The worst attacks were on English settlers who had moved onto the upper reaches of the York River and on the lower James

River near Hampton Roads. Retaliatory marches were undertaken against specific Native groups, especially the Pamunkey and the Chickahominy, and the English 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 in England, that, during the previous summer, Governor 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 led a large and well-equipped army against the Pamunkey Indians' stronghold in Pamunkey Neck, was convinced that the Indians of the Northern Neck were not involved in the attack. According to the June 1644 minutes of the Governor's Council, Claiborne's opinion was "different from the others in relation to the propriety of war upon the Indians between the Rappahannock and Potomac" (McIlwaine 1924:501). That statement strongly suggests that the region's Natives had not participated in the assault and implies that they were not allied with those groups paying tribute to Opechancanough.

Despite Claiborne's dissenting views, in September 1644, English plans were made for a march against the Rappahannock Indians (McIlwaine 1924:502). Eventually, however, Claiborne's argument seems to have prevailed, for in February 1645 he received a commission "to treat with the Rappahannocks or any other Indians not in amity with Opechancanough, concerning serving the country against the Pamunkeys" (McIlwaine 1924:563). Shortly thereafter, Claiborne's attention was diverted to his interests in Maryland's Kent Island in the upper Chesapeake Bay (McIlwaine 1924:501-505, 562-564). After hostilities ceased, the Indians withdrew into the forest and disappeared from view. It was around this time that the Mattaponi crossed the Mattaponi River, eventually settling at the head of Piscataway Creek, and the Chickahominy left their homeland and moved to Pamunkey Neck.

In March 1646, when the Grand Assembly convened, its members complained about the costliness of the wars against the Indians and "the almost impossibility of a further revenge upon them, they being dispersed and driven from their towns and habitations, lurking up and downe the woods in small numbers." Some burgesses proffered "that a peace (if honorably obtained) would conduce to the better being and comoditie of the country." They resolved to raise an army of 60 men from the north side of the James River and mount another offensive, led by Captain Henry Fleet and Lieutenant Francis Poythress. If the mission failed to achieve "the aforesaid intended peace with Opechankeno or his Indians our enemies," Fleet and Poythress were not to be reimbursed for participation in the expedition. Also, "if it shall soe happen that a peace may not or cannot be concluded, that then they the said Fleet and Poythers shall erect and build a forte in any convenient place in Rappahannock River, or before if they shall soe think fit" (Hening 1901:I:318-319).

The 1646 Treaty

The offensive appears to have been successful. On October 5, 1646, Necotowance, Opechancanough's successor, agreed to a formal peace agreement with Virginia's governing officials, promising to protect the Natives from their enemies. He agreed to pay an annual tribute to the Crown's representatives, thereby acknowledging their submission to the king in the English view. He also indicated the Natives' willingness to allow the colony's governor to appoint or confirm their leaders. The

treaty required the Natives to withdraw from the James-York peninsula, move inland as far as the fall line, and abandon their territory on the lower side of the James down to the Blackwater River. Indians entering their former territory could be lawfully slain, unless they were garbed in "a coate of striped stuff," signifying that they were official messengers; all trade with Indians had 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 and were given until March 1, 1647 to remove or slaughter their cattle and hogs, to fell trees, or cut sedge: marsh grass they could use for thatching roofs or perhaps weaving baskets or mats. Settlers who disregarded the new policy were to be deemed guilty of a felony. The 1646 treaty specified that if Virginia's governing officials decided to allow colonists to move into the territory east of Poropotank Creek, the Indians' leaders were to be notified (Hening 1901:I:323-329).

There was, however, at least one notable exception to the restriction on settlement. In November 1647, Captain Edward Hill of Shirley Hundred received permission to seat at Nanzatico, in the upper reaches of the Rappahannock River, where he and his associates would be granted "a convenient proportion of land." They also were awarded "the sole trade of the Bay of Chisopeake [sic] within the Lymitts of Virginia," with the exception of trading which might be done by certain residents on the colony's Eastern Shore. Hill was entitled to enjoy his trade monopoly for eleven years, with full authorization to seize vessels and goods of other traders found bartering with the Natives (Stanard 1915:250-255). To date, no documentary records have come to light revealing whether or not Hill established a fortified trading post at Nanzatico and, if he did so, how long it survived. However, Hill's attempt to patent the land five years later, using headrights, suggests that he failed to fulfill the terms of his agreement with the assembly (Hening 1901:I:323-329, 354).

Colonists who held patents for land on the north side of the York River must have been angered by the treaty's requirement that they abandon their property. In fact, in 1648, a group of planters claimed that many people were being forced to expend their labor "upon barren and overwrought ground" instead of new and fertile soil and asked the Grand Assembly to allow settlement to expand into the territory north of the York River. Ultimately, the burgesses succumbed to political pressure and, on September 1, 1649, the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck were opened to settlement, despite the terms of the 1646 treaty. This policy change occurred 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 one house built to substantiate a claim to new land. At first, patentees were given three years in which to seat their acreage, but after a short while, that time frame was lengthened to seven years (Hening 1901:I:322-327).

Virginia Land Office records reveal that throughout Tidewater Virginia, the Natives and the English lived in relatively close proximity as acreage was patented near most Indian settlements. In 1649, Ralph Wormeley I patented more than 3,000 acres of land along the south side of the Rappahannock River in what would become Middlesex County. The acreage he claimed was on the east side of what was then known as Nimcock Creek and encompassed the land that contained the Old and New Nimcock Indian towns (Nugent 1934:I:181-182, 206; McCartney 2012:457-458). Leonard Jones secured a patent for a place known as Onachymoyes, located on the west side of Totuskey Creek about three miles inland.

In 1650, Moore Fauntleroy claimed land at a place called Mangorick, located on the east side of Little Carter Creek, and John Stephens patented a tract on Manakin or Menokin Creek (Patent Book 4:208, 282; Old Rappahannock County Deeds, Wills, Inventories &c 1656-1664:52).

It is likely that the settlers' encroachment led to an outbreak of hostilities that prompted the colonists of Lancaster, Northumberland and Westmoreland counties to make a retaliatory march against the Rappahannock Indian towns in 1654. Upon reaching the Rappahannock towns, the English commander-in-chief was to demand "such satisfaction as he shall thinke fit for the several injuries done unto the said inhabitants not using any acts of hostility but defensive in case of assault" (McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1619-1659/60:94). As local officials traditionally were their jurisdiction's largest landowners, this law gave them a legal opportunity to act aggressively.

Intrusion into the Rappahannock Indians' Homeland

By 1650, settlers were claiming land on both sides of the Rappahannock River and inland as far west as Portobago Bay. It is uncertain how quickly the region's earliest patentees attempted to occupy the lands they claimed or to settle servants or tenants on their property. However, several patents that were issued for land abutting the upper side of the Rappahannock River, between Cat Point and Farnham creeks, suggest that the Rappahannock Indians' homeland was considered desirable.

All of these patents, which were endorsed by Governor William Berkeley, extended along the Rappahannock River and ran inland for a distance of 320 poles (5,280 feet) or one mile. In May 1650, William Underwood, a burgess and a merchant, patented 1,400 acres of land abutting the east side of Milbeck (Millbeck), later known successively as Fleets, Rappahannock, and Cat Point creeks. His patent extended along the Rappahannock River in a straight line for 2.03 miles, reaching Bushwood or Little Carter Creek. Underwood's business partner and brother-in-law, James Williamson, had two patents located just east of Underwood's claim. Williamson had an 1,800-acre parcel whose western boundary line abutted Underwood's land and extended downstream for 14,850 feet or 2.81 miles. Contiguous and to the east, Williamson had a 1,150-acre patent that ran downstream for just over 1.56 miles. To the east of that was a 550-acre patent that belonged to Anthony Jackman. His acreage extended downstream for a mile and abutted the west side of Jackman's (later Balls or Pecks) Creek. To the east of Jackman's land and running in an easterly direction across New Haven (later Totuskey) Creek was a 700-acre tract that belonged to Moore Fauntleroy. His patent ran for a distance of 1.09 miles along the Rappahannock River. Below that was a large tract Fauntleroy purchased from the Rappahannock Indians in April 1651 (Patent Book 2:211-212). It extended for 4.06 miles, reaching the west side of Farnham Creek (Patent Book 2:211-212, 232; McCartney 2012:418, 449). None of these patents mentioned the Rappahannock or Tanks Rappahannock Indians who were living on or in close proximity to the land being claimed. In August 1663, James Williamson's executors sold part of his waterfront land (Old Rappahannock County Deeds &c 1656-1664:250).

The Rappahannock Leaders Convey Land to Moore Fauntleroy

In 1651, Moore Fauntleroy was intent on securing a patent for more acreage on the Rappahannock, including 2,600 acres on the upper (west) side of Farnham Creek and 2,750 acres

extending toward the mouth of New Mencocund (Morraticund) River. Fauntleroy relinquished the 700-acre patent for land at the mouth of Totuskey Creek he had received in 1650. probably so that he could use those headrights toward the 5,350 acres straddling Farnham Creek, and, significantly, he secured a conveyance of land then in the possession of the Rappahannock Indians.

Papers found among the unbound court records of Lancaster County document Fauntleroy's purchase of the land from the Rappahannock Indians in April 1651. That conveyance, transcribed by Bishop William Meade in the mid-19th century, was executed a little over a year and a half before the assembly passed a law requiring those who purchased Indian land to obtain the Council of State's approval. The deed between the Rappahannock Indian chief and counselors and Moore Fauntleroy for land on the east side of Totuskey Creek is one of a few surviving documents describing a land transfer between the English and a Native leader [some parts of the deed, including standard legal language found in most deeds, has been left out of this transcription]:

> At a machcomacoi held the 4th of April 1651 at Rappahannock, Accopatough, Wionance, Toskicough, Coharneittary, Pacauta, Mamogueitan, Opathittara, Cakarell James, Minniaconaugh, [and] Kintassa-hacr.
>
> To all people to whom these presents shall come, boyth English and Indians, know ye that I, Accopatough, the right-born and true king of the Indians of Rappahannock Town and Townes, and of all the land thereto belonging, do hereby, for and in consideration of ten fathom of peake and goods, amounting to thirty arms-length of Rohonoke already in hand received, and for the love and affection which I the king, and all my men, do bear unto my loving friend and brother, Moor Fantleroy, who is likewise now immediately to go with me unto Pasbyjeies unto the governor, and safely to convey me and my men back again hither unto Rappahannock, for which and in consideration thereof I do hereby bargain and sell, give, grant, and confirm … a certain p'cell of land situate, lying, and being in two necks on the north side of Rappahannock Creek, beginning for breadth at the southernmost branch or creek of Macaughtions [Morraticund] bay or run, and so up along by the side of the said river of Rappahannock, unto a great creek or river which run – Totosha or Tanks Rappahannock Town; for length extending easterly with its full breadth unto the bounds of the Potowmack River at the uttermost bounds of my land…
>
> My heirs and successors fully assuring the said Fantleroy, his heirs and assigns, forever peaceably and quietly to enjoy all and every part and parcel of the said land without any manner of let, losses, molestations, or disturbance whatsoever proceeding from me or any Indian or Indians whatsoever, now or hereafter, may or shall belong unto me or any of my heirs, assigns, or successors, hereby giving unto my said brother full power, leave, license, and authority to punish, correct, beat, or kill any Indian or Indians whatsoever, which shall contrary to the intent of this my act and deed presume to molest, harm, or offer any manner of harm, wrong, injury, or violence upon the said land, or any part of it, unto the said Fantleroy, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns…
>
> In witness whereof, and to the true and full intent and meaning is hereof, with a full knowledge and understanding of this present act and deed, I the said king, in the presence of my said great men and diverse others of my Indians, have hereunto signed and sealed, the fourth day of April, one

> thousand six hundred and fifty-one. Signed, sealed, and possession given by tree and turf. Accopatough (seal) (Meade 1966:II:478-479).

While en route to Jamestown to certify the transaction, Accopatough died (Rountree 1990:118). With Accopatough dead, Fauntleroy apparently sought confirmation by having two of the four men who had witnessed the transaction attest to the validity of the sale:

> This eleventh of May, one thousand six hundred and fifty-one, we, Touweren, the great King of Rappahannock and Moratoerin, do hereby fully ratify the above act and deed unto our loving brother Fantleroy, his heirs and assigns. Witness our hand and seals the day above (Meade 1966:II:478-479).

On May 22, 1651, Fauntleroy was issued a patent for the land.

On May 27, 1658, two years after Old Rappahannock County had been created,[2] Naeheoopa, chief of the Rappahannock, and the tribal council appeared before Old Rappahannock's justices and affirmed the agreement that the tribe's late chief, Accopatough, had made with Moore Fauntleroy. They said that Accopatough, at his death, had asked them to do no harm to Fauntleroy and to allow him to "plant live on & Enjoy as well his land as Mangorick and that of Marattico" as long as "the Son & Moon should indure." They went on to say that Captain Fleet had caused trouble and excited others against them (Old Rappahannock County Deeds &c. 1656-1664:26-27).

An Attempt to Control Native Land Loss

So intense was the pressure on the Rappahannock groups to relinquish their land that, in November 1652, a few months after the Virginia colony had come under the Commonwealth government, the Grand Assembly resolved to assign tracts reserved exclusively for Native occupancy and "all the Indians of the collonye shall hold and keep those seats of land that they now have." No English person was 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 the many "wrongs done to the Indians in 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 also stipulated, however, that the Indians could not sell this land without the Council of State's approval. Natives were authorized to hunt and gather outside the area ceded to the colonial government in 1646, with the exception of plantations enclosed with fences (Nugent 1934:I:239, 264, 278; Billings 1975b:65-73). Many officials, however, ignored the new policy or tried to shape it to their own advantage.

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[2] "Old" Rappahannock County, which straddled the Rappahannock River, was formed from the westernmost portion of Lancaster County in 1658. In 1692, that county was subdivided into Richmond County, located on the upper side of the Rappahannock River, and Essex County, located on the south side of the river. In 1720, King George County was created from part of Richmond County's territory, and a portion of Westmoreland County was added later on. In 1728, Caroline County was formed from portions of Essex, King and Queen, and King William Counties (Hening 1901:I:427; III:104). Old Rappahannock County should not be confused with today's Rappahannock County, which was established in 1833 and formed from Culpeper County; today's Rappahannock County is also located outside the project area.

Meanwhile, on the Rappahannock, settler John Sherlock had, on November 15, 1653, obtained a patent for a portion of Fauntleroy's relinquished 700 acres on Totuskey Creek. Sherlock's patent for 200 acres was reported to abut east upon the creek and northwest by north upon the acreage of John Williamson. It also extended northeast-by-north to a small branch "dividing this land from land allocated to the Rappahannock Indians." Within a relatively short time, Sherlock patented another 210 acres; once again, reference was made to the "branch or gut" that separated his land from that of the Indians, i.e., the Totosha or Tanks Rappahannock Town (Patent Book 2:232; 3:58; 4:235).

The Allocation of Preserves

Just as specific tracts were assigned to the Accomack Indians on the Eastern Shore in 1640 and to the Pamunkey, Kiskiack, and Weyanoke in 1649, records indicate that acreage eventually was allocated to Indian groups within the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck. Deeds and patents referring to the preserves' boundaries suggest that some (if not all) of them were surveyed and physically demarcated. Many of these pieces of property, however, had already been claimed by colonists, and settlers often ignored the Indians' boundaries and intruded upon their land (Hening 1901:II:34-35, 39, 151-152, 161-162; Billings 1975a:65-72; 2007:133; Lancaster County Orders 1653-1660:125-126; McIlwaine 1924:365, 493, 499, 504, 508, 518; McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1660-1693:11; Nugent 1934:III:19; Old Rappahannock County Deeds, Wills, Inventories, &c 1656-1664:II:250).

In August 1653, the Grand Assembly ordered the justices of Lancaster County's monthly court to allocate land to the Indian groups within their jurisdiction (Hening 1901:I:382). Specifically, they were "required to settle the INDIANS inhabitinge within the Countie *in such places where they now live* & to p:portion them such quantities of lande as is by a formr: Act of Assembly is allowed them" (emphasis added; Lancaster Orders 1656-1666:125). Therefore, on September 14, 1653, the justices assigned a tract of land to the Rappahannock Indians, specifying that there would be given:

> Unto Towerzen, otherwise called Tawcren Kinge of Rappahannocke all the lande from the N:W: side of Mr. Willm: Underwoods Lande to Rappahannocke Creeke & likewise from the upp: side of Jo: Sherlocks Lande all the N:W: side of that Creeke, on wch: the sd: Sherlocks lande is now bounded, being the lande on which they now live, the N:E: Branch of the sd: Creeke to bee understood the name Tosuke [Totuskey] Creeke & have likewise ordered that the aforesd: Towerzen bee King of all the Indians of the Rappahannock Nation & that an English house of this Countrys fashion[3] shalbee builded [sic] for hym accordingly to the request of the sd Towerzen & his Great Men, & for the p:servacon of Peace betweene them & the inhabitants of this River, & that a faire correspondence may bee carried, as well by the Inhabitants towards them, as by them to the Inhabitants, who have agreed & confirmed unto them these following acts [Lancaster Orders 1656-1666:125-126].

The conveyance provided remedies for any injuries committed by the English, including adjudication within the County's court.

[3] No information was provided about the "English house" that Towerozen requested. However, the Mattaponi chief asked for one in 1662 (see below) and, as early as 1620 or 1621, an English-style house was built for Opechancanough by some of Sir George Yeardley's men (Smyth of Nibley Manuscript #43).

The act also provided that, if any Indians were found to be stealing or driving away the settlers' hogs or cattle, they were to be seized and brought before a county court justice. The chief of the Rappahannock or his council would be notified and could attend a hearing if one was held. If Towerozen discovered that any of his people returned home with hogs or cattle that had been shot with an arrow, he was to interrogate them and then require the guilty to make restitution. If an Indian were caught in the act of killing hogs or cattle, he could be slain. If the Rappahannock apprehended an absconded servant, they would be paid for returning the runaway (Lancaster Orders 1656-1666:125-126). Curiously, the agreement between Towerozen, his council, and the justices of Lancaster County was not included in court records until September 12, 1660, by which time Old Rappahannock County had been carved out of the western part of Lancaster[4] (Lancaster County Orders 1656-1666:126).

Sometime prior to October 24, 1653, Towerozen was slain. According to the minutes of Lancaster County's monthly court, Thomas Williamson was paid "for his paines amongst ye Indyans when Taweeren was kild." A man named Jesper also was paid "for his paines amongst ye Indyans" (Lancaster County Deeds and Wills 1652-1657:95).

On July 16, 1660, Governor William Berkeley informed Lancaster County's court justices of the many complaints he was hearing from the Rappahannock River Indians:

> So many & so various have been the complaints to me of & from the Indians of Rappah. River that I know not at the distance what Judgmt. to make of either of their grievances. I do therefore by this writing earnestly desire you to make diligent enquirey what unnecessary injurys are done to the Indians & how our Articles of Peace are kept wth: them & to make report to me of it agt: the next Court which I wil shew to the Council that wil then meet. I beseech you to be careful of this, for both in humanity & Christianity we ought not leave them without a possibilitye of sustenance. In doing this you wil discharge your duties to God & the County & oblige (Lancaster County Deeds and Wills 1661-1702:380).

On August 4, Governor Berkeley informed Colonel John Carter that he had received a letter describing what the county justices had done "in the business of the INDIANS" (Lancaster County Deeds and Wills 1661-1702:380). On September 12, 1660, this message was recorded by the clerk of court.

In November 1662, the Rappahannock Indians were reassigned their land between Rappahannock and Totuskey creeks and reference was made to John Sherlock's plantation:

> The bounds of the Lands belonging unto the Rappa. Indians being at Rappa. Creek extending to the North East Branch of Totuskey Creek including all the lands between the Creek unto the head thereof, also three miles without the said bounds according to Act Excepting these Plantations foll. vizt. Five hundred acres now Surveyed by Mr. Moseley beginning from the Creek adjoining the Court House & so running [sic] upwards alongst the River side & the Marsh lying before the said Five hundred acres which land was appointed unto Coll. Fantleroy according to Order of Assembly by the Comrs. for the Indians Addairs, also from the said Creek all the plantacons [sic] downward by the River side unto Totuskey Creeke including the old Plantation of John Sherlock.

[4] See footnote 2.

> It is ordered that Mr. Moseley measure out five hundred acres of land for Coll. Fantleroy according to Act beginning at the Creek next the Court House running a mile into the woods & the rest along the Rivers side & that the Indians enjoy the rest of it being formerly given by the authority of the Assembly [Old Rappahannock County Deeds &c. 1656-1664:189-190].

That some of Moore Fauntleroy's dealings with the Rappahannock Indians were duplicitous is evidenced by his false claim that their chief and council had failed to present their annual tribute to Governor Berkeley. Minutes of the Grand Assembly for 1662 reveal that the Indians presented Fauntleroy with roanoke or shell money that he was to pass along to the governor, but instead, he kept it and claimed that the Rappahannock had not paid. Fauntleroy was publicly censured and barred from holding any civil or military offices. In March 1662, the assembly ordered Fauntleroy to give 15 matchcoats to the Rappahannock chief, half the number he had agreed to pay for the 500 acres he had purchased but had failed to pay (Hening 1901:II:154). He was also ordered to have his fences rebuilt and to have a hog-keeper tend his swine. The Indians were also ordered to control their own swine (Old Rappahannock County Deeds &c. 1656-1664:188-189).

As time went on, some of the parcels along the riverfront between Cat Point and Totuskey Creeks changed hands. For example, in 1657, George Bryer acquired 400 acres west of James Williamson's patent and, in February 1662, he claimed half of the 1,400 acre tract that William Underwood had received in 1650. Then, in 1663 and 1664, Bryer patented tracts of 1,300 and 1,000 acres on the east side of what had become known as Rappahannock (formerly Fleets) Creek (Patent Book 4:232; 5:11, 138, 198, 257).

Clearly, English encroachment was well underway by the end of the 1650s and into the 1660s. Patents issued in March 1663 and September 1664 for large tracts at the head of Cat Point Creek made reference to the Rappahannock Indians' town, evidence that members of the tribe were still there (Patent Book 5:138, 239). By 1669, however, when a census was made of the colony's Indians, most of the Rappahannock appear to have moved to New Kent County (Hening 1901:II:275). Some of the Rappahannock (possibly those referred to as the Little Rappahannock or Totusky) remained behind and were still living near Totuskey Creek when Henry Clarke, Old Rappahannock County's sub-sheriff, warned a settler named John Alloway to get "off the land at the Indian Towne on Totuskey Creek & further not to cleare or fall any more timber nor commit any further trespass" (Old Rappahannock County Deeds &c 1668-1672:117).

Resistance to English Policy

English authorities may have thought that consolidating Native people into groups would mean more land and easier management, but the Natives had other ideas. When, during the early 1650s, Northumberland County officials attempted to unite the Chicacoan and the Wicomico under Machy-wap, a Chicacoan leader, some of the Wicomico became so hostile that Machy-wap required physical protection from the people he was supposed to govern (Northumberland County Order Book 1652-1665:34).

English chroniclers were well aware of the ongoing resistance and they understood why. The most attractive sites for settlement often were the Indians' towns or cornfields, aspiring patentees rarely hesitated to claim them, and local officials did little to curb such land speculation (Washburn 1957:47-49, 51; Waselkov and Potter 1994). In 1656, members of the Grand Assembly acknowledged that the Indians' failure to cooperate was "because of our extreme pressures on them," which "left them with nothing to lose but their lives." The Assembly nonetheless required Indians – in their homeland – to carry passes or badges whenever they went hunting or foraging within settled areas. In 1662, the law required tributary Indians to wear badges inscribed with the name of their town whenever they entered colonized areas and Natives lacking such badges were subject to arrest (Hening 1901:I:393).

In March 1658, members of the assembly decided to allocate each Indian tribe 50 acres per bowman to be taken as an aggregate. They also placed a moratorium on patenting land until each Native group had been assigned acreage. Because each headright entitled a patentee to 50 acres of land, historian Ed Ragan (2006:181) has suggested that the allocation of 50 acres per bowman was an attempt to encourage the Indians to become subsistence farmers. Four years later, this land allowance was generalized as a three mile ring around each Indian town, or 18,096 acres. English seated within three miles of an existing Indian town were to vacate the land unless they could produce legal title.[5]

Colonial law also required settlers to pay Natives for any land they acquired and to build fencing to protect Native fields. Indians were at first "allowed" to sell land and then prevented from doing so. (Force 1963:I:8:14-15; Hening 1901:I:141, 457, 467-468; Hening II:34, 39, 139, 141-143, 151-152, 155, 161-162, 171-172, 393-396, 415-416, 457-458; McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1619-1660:75, 94; McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1660-1693:111, 320, 343; McIlwaine 1924:361; Nugent 1934:III:76; Palmer 1968:I:22)

The Moraughtacund or Morattico Indians

On the east side of Totuskey Creek and downstream from the land assigned to the Rappahannock Indians was the preserve allocated to the Moraughtacund Indians. Although the Moraughtacund had been living in that area when the first colonists arrived, by 1651, Moore Fauntleroy and other European settlers had begun patenting land on the upper side of the Rappahannock River, along Morraticon (Moraughtacund, Morattico) or Lancaster Creek. The Moraughtacund Indians, who in 1651 had allowed the Rappahannock king, Towerozen, to represent them, responded by moving to the Middle Peninsula and settling at the head of Piscataway Creek, where the Mattaponi were also then living. The Moraughtacund, like the Mattaponi, had problems with aggressive settlers in their new location, with some squatters ordered by the county court to pay the chief of Moraughtacund for his acreage in that vicinity (Old Rappahannock County Deeds, Wills, Inventories, &c 1656-1664:249-252; Hening 1901:II:274-275; Patent Book 3:172).

In response to a directive from the assembly, on November 5, 1662, the justices of Old Rappahannock County reviewed the "Orders Concerning the King of Morraticund," whose people had returned to the north side of the Rappahannock River. The justices ordered that any English illegally

[5] European use of legal instruments and other methods can lead modern readers, with our commitment to the rule of law – to construe that European settlement – or encroachment – was somehow "legitimate" and to overlook indigenous claims to the homeland (Tomlins 2001).

seated, that is, with "no right & title," within three miles of the Morraticund Town pay the chief or king one matchcoat for every one hundred acres taken and assist the chief with building and maintaining fencing of the town's fields. Further encroachment was forbidden and Edward Lewis was directed to remove a quarter he had built "between the woods & the Indians."

The order further stipulated that the Morraticund Indians have 2,000 acres for their town and cornfields, "beginning at the upper bounds of Thomas Robinson & from thence Extending upwards alongst the Creek & for length running a mile into the woods & from thence bounds three miles interval according to Law within which Intervalls severall men are already seated by consent of the King of Moraticond & the Great Men, they paying a Matchcoat for every hundred acres within their limits & fencing." A Mr. Moseley was ordered to bound and measure the land and mark trees [Old Rappahannock County Deeds &c 1656-1664:189-190].

Several months before the Moraughtacund had been "given" their 2,000 acres, Edward Lewis and Thomas Robinson had patented a 1,140 acre tract abutting the east side of Totuskey Creek. In June 1663, Lewis patented an additional 498 acres in the same vicinity (Patent Book 5:149, 242). These patents were issued after word had reached the colony that King Charles II had given the Northern Neck – the land between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers – to some of his favorites. At this point, Virginia's Northern Neck became what was known as the Northern Neck Proprietary (Billings 2007:182).

If the policy of allocating 50 acres per bowman was applied to the Moraughtacund in 1662, it can be inferred that they had 40 warriors at the time they received their land. In October 1667, a colonist named John Hull reportedly purchased both the Moraughtacund and Totuskey Indian towns (Old Rappahannock Deeds 1663-1668:139). In 1669, the Moraughtacund were omitted from the census of the colony's Indians, raising the possibility that they had merged with or were living with another group (Hening 1901:II:275). In 1685, when John Ascough patented 1,400 acres on the southeast side of Mattaponi Run at the head of the Mattaponi River, his acreage reportedly was "part whereon the Mattaponi & Morattico Indians formerly lived" (Patent Book 7:439).

Other Algonquian Groups Withdraw to the Middle Peninsula

The Chickahominy, who had left their homeland during the mid-1640s and moved to Pamunkey Neck, again experienced pressure from encroaching European settlement. At first, they moved to a site near Rickahock, on the upper side of the Mattaponi River in what became King and Queen County, and they may have spent some time in the vicinity of Harquip (now Heartquake) Creek. The Chickahominy leader, Harquip, accepted some land the group was offered in 1661. The land extended toward the head of the Mattaponi River and included acreage in the upper part of Pamunkey Neck, perhaps near modern-day Aylett (Hening 1901:II:39; McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1659/60-1693:11). Later in the 17th century, the Chickahominy returned to the lower side of the Mattaponi River and settled between the two Herring creeks near modern Adamstown, on land they had been assigned (Nugent 1934:II:268; McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1659/60-1693:11; 1695-1702:349; Hening 1901:II:39).

By the early 1650s, the Mattaponi Indians had also left their homeland bordering the Mattaponi River and settled at the head of Piscataway Creek in what was then Old Rappahannock County, later

Essex. In 1657, Tupeisens, the chief of the Mattaponi, and their council made a treaty with the justices of Old Rappahannock County, acknowledging that some of their people had trespassed or stolen livestock. The group's leaders agreed that if any Mattaponi did so in the future, they would be tried under English law. In return, county officials promised that colonists who committed offences against the Mattaponi would be prosecuted. 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. The Indians agreed not to harbor fugitives and, if they surrendered fugitives to the authorities, they were to be rewarded with arms' lengths of roanoke. If the Mattaponi 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' lengths of roanoke (Old Rappahannock County Deeds &c. 1656-1664:28).

For a while, the Mattaponi seemed to have maintained a working relationship with the local justices and some of their European neighbors. In fact, in 1660, the Mattaponi chief and council, who met with the justices at the tribe's quiocassin house (or mortuary temple), testified that Francis Brown, who had patented land near their acreage on Piscataway Creek, had not disturbed them. However, the relationship seems to have soured within a relatively short time and, in 1661, Brown, James Vaughan, and Thomas Cooper were summoned to appear before the justices of Old Rappahannock County, where they agreed to pay the chief of the Mattaponi 50 matchcoats for the land in the Indians' "old town." Moreover, Browne and three other settlers were ordered to give the "King of the Mattaponi" six matchcoats in compensation for the "Severall skins stolen from the Quiouhise house" (Old Rappahannock County Deeds &c. 1656-1664:111, 142, 249-250).

In 1662, the Mattaponi chief filed a legal complaint against Colonel Thomas Goodrich, who reportedly had set the chief's English-style house ablaze in an attempt to drive him from his land at the head of the Piscataway Creek. Although the governor and his council ordered Goodrich to appear before the next session of the Quarter Court (the colony's highest ranking judiciary body), little seems to have been done in the way of legal redress. Goodrich, who had begun patenting land on the lower side of the Rappahannock River in 1657, enlarged his holdings until he owned literally thousands of acres in what became Old Rappahannock County. Between 1671 and 1680, Goodrich sold off the portion of land containing the old Mattaponi ("Pattipany") Indian town, but he kept part of the property, which his heirs retained until 1686 (Old Rappahannock County Deeds &c. 1671-1676:7-8; 1677-1687:124; Essex County Deeds and Wills 1695-1699:50; McCartney 2012:175).

By 1667, the Mattaponi Indians had abandoned their town on Piscataway Creek. Francis Brown, who failed to make his court-ordered payment to the Mattaponi, sold his 750 acres that the Indians purportedly had deserted to Thomas Goodrich in March, 1667. A year later, Thomas Cooper conveyed his portion (1,100 acres) of what he called "Old Matapony . . . part of the Lands where formerly & lately the Mattapony Indians did Inhabit" to Goodrich, who was supposed to pay the Indians the matchcoats Brown owed (Old Rappahannock County Deeds &c. 1663-1668:381-383, 425-426; Hening 1901:II:274-275).

At first, the Mattaponi settled in King and Queen County at Hashwamankcott Swamp below the mouth of Deep Creek, a stream now known as Garnetts Creek. Contemporary land patents imply that the Mattaponi and Chickahominy Indians were living together in one town, and that they had a path that ran toward the Nanzatico Indians' town, on the lower side of the Rappahannock River, bordering Portobago

Bay. By 1672, Goodrich had succeeded in securing his claims to the land on Piscataway Creek where the Mattaponi chief's house had been located in 1662 (Old Rappahannock County Deeds &c 1663-1668:425). Property owners like Goodrich would often place their servants and slaves on frontier properties to legitimize their claims (Hening 1901:II:151-155, 161-162; McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1659-1693:16; Patent Book 6:64, 95, 150, 425, 560; Nugent 1934:II:19, 27, 40, 87, 116, 142, 222, 268, 275; III:97).

The Region's Other Natives at Mid-Century

Virginia Land Office records reveal that, by 1655, the Portobago Indians were living in what eventually would become Caroline County. Their town was close to the west side of Portobago Creek's mouth, upstream and relatively close to the site of an earlier settlement, Nandtaughtacund (Patent Book 4:10, 43; 5:317). Across the Rappahannock River in what would become King George County were the Nanzatico, whose village bordered Nanzatico Bay. Their town, which was downstream from Port Conway, was situated between the locations of two earlier villages: Papiscone, which was on the west side of Gingoteague Creek, and Kerahocak, which was near Blind Point. In 1654, there was an Indian town called Nansemond located to the west of the Nanzatico town, in an area that lay between Papiscone and Assuweske, which in 1608 had been located near the mouth of Millbank Creek. There is no confirmed connection between the Nansemond of the Rappahannock and those in southeastern Virginia. By 1654, the area the Nansemond Indians occupied had become known as Nansemond Neck (Patent Book 3:275, 280, 310; 4:10, 51, 245). However, by 1664 the Nansemond Indian town had become known as Manga Kemoxon (Mangokemoxon) (Old Rappahannock County Deeds &c 1668-1672:228).

Within the upper reaches of the Rappahannock River was land that had been allocated to the Nanzatico Indians sometime prior to 1662, when their leader, Attahune, conveyed part of it to a colonist (McIlwaine 1924:493). Early patents and deeds reveal that the Nanzatico reservation or preserve not only encompassed acreage on the upper side of the Rappahannock in the area traditionally known as Nanzatico, but also extended across the river and ran as far west as Goldenvale Creek and in an easterly direction to Portobago Creek. Just west of the Nanzatico preserve and also on the north side of the Rappahannock River were the Nansemond (also called the Mattehatique or Mangokemoxon) Indians, whose town in 1667 encompassed an estimated 5,275 acres. Thus, within the Portobago Bay-Nanzatico Bay area, nearly 11,000 acres were held by Virginia Indian tribes as preserves (Nugent 1934:II:399; Patent Book 4:245; 5:236; Old Rappahannock County 1668-1672:65-66; 1672-1675:490).

Further up the Rappahannock were the Dogue, whose town was situated between Millbank Creek and Dogue Run in the vicinity of the vacated towns known as Monanask and Waconiask. Historic place names reminiscent of Indian occupation include Quiruck Point (near Checopissowo), on the western side of the mouth of Goldenvale Creek near the site of the old village called Checopissowo, and Uzenin Swamp, still further upstream, which was east of Skinkers Neck and the old site of Anaskenoans.

Although, not in the project area, the Ozaiawomen Indians, who, in 1608, had been living on the lower side of the Potomac River on both sides of Upper Machodoc Creek, were still there. By 1650, the Onawmanient Indians had become known as the Machodoc or Appomattox Indians. Their settlement was in relatively close proximity to the Nanzatico and Nansemond Indian towns. Also near at hand was the

Chotank Indian town, on the east side of Chotank Creek. In time, the Machodoc moved closer to the upper side of the Rappahannock River.

In 1658, members of the Assembly formally acknowledged that the Wicomico Indians in Northumberland County had deserted their land, approving Governor Samuel Mathews' 1657 patent as long as his claim didn't intrude upon that of Colonel Richard Lee. Later, the burgesses approved several land transactions the chief of the Patawomeck had made with various settlers. During the early 1660s, colonists claimed portions of the Machodoc town and the Dogue Indians' islands in the Potomac River and on the mainland (McIlwaine 1905-1915:1619-1659/60:117; 1660-1693:16; Nugent 1934:I:384, 404, 490; II:74).

In October 1669, when a census was made of Virginia's tributary Indians, 30 Rappahannock and 40 Totuskey bowmen reportedly were living in New Kent County, which then included the western part of King and Queen County. This suggests that, for a time, these Natives had moved into the western part of the Middle Peninsula, or perhaps even further south, vacating the land they had been assigned (Hening 1901:II:275). It may be significant that the Totuskey Indians were mentioned as a tribal entity. They may have been the Tanx Rappahannock or Totosha, who had been previously considered by the English to be included in the Rappahannock.

The same census credited the Portobago, Nanzatico, and Nansemond Indians with 110 warriors. The Nansemond, not to be confused with a group of a similar names living on the south side of the James River, maintained a comparable holding (5,000-5,275 acres) with the Portobago and Nanzatico holdings combined (5,500 acres). By the terms of colonial policy allocation, 50 acres per bowman, the Nansemond appeared to have had a significantly larger population than the Portobago or Nanzatico.

On the lower side of the Rappahannock River and in the immediate vicinity of Broad Creek, Robert Tomlin (Tomlyn) Sr. patented a large tract in 1662 known to the Indians as Mattum Sarkin, including a point of land at the mouth of Broad Creek then known as Quioquinson or Quioccasin Point but now called Blandfield Point. A year later, Tomlin expanded his holdings in that area and acquired some land on the south side of Mount Landing (then Gilsons) Creek. By 1663, he had begun patenting land on the upper side of the Rappahannock River (Patent Book 3:222; 4:304; 5:271; 10:14; Old Rappahannock County Deeds &c. 1656-1664:192-193; www.essexmuseum.org).

The Corrotoman (originally Cuttatawomen) Indians, who, at the time of Captain John Smith's visit had as many as six communities on the upper side of the Rappahannock River's mouth, were also impacted by the spread of European settlement. In 1650, Edward Grimes laid claim to Quiacomack Neck, located on the lower side of the Corrotoman River's mouth near Corrotoman Point. By 1649, the Corrotoman Indians had moved to the lower side of the Great Wicomico River in Northumberland County, possibly on Harvey's Neck. From 1656 through at least the 1670s, they resided on the upper side of Indian Creek, a tributary of Fleets Bay (Patent Book 2:183; 4:82). Rountree (1990:123) speculated that some of the Corrotoman who had settled between the upper side of Indian Creek and the Corrotoman River's Eastern Branch may have joined the Wicomico, who had been living close to Dividing Creek (Patent Book 3:45).

A Labyrinth of Paths and Trails

During the early-to-mid-1650s, when Virginia colonists began patenting land in the northerly part of the Middle Peninsula and in the Northern Neck, they sometimes made reference to Indian paths and other cultural features associated with the Native population. A 1651 patent for land in the Middle Peninsula, for example, mentions the Mattaponi path originating at the Mattaponi Indian town at the head of Piscataway Creek in Essex County and dividing into two branches. The trail's lower branch skirted the head of the Poropotank River in Gloucester County while the upper branch paralleled the Piankatank River and Dragon Run on its way toward the head of Nimcock Creek in Middlesex County and Occupacia Creek in Essex County (Patent Book 2:338; 5:199).

Patentees in 1653 made reference to what they called the "Rappahannock path," a series of trails that ran from the upper side of the York River to the upper side of the Rappahannock River, intersecting with one or more pathways skirting the river's lower bank (Patent Book 3:90; 6:84).

During the mid-1660s, an Indian trail known as the Portobago path paralleled the lower side of the Rappahannock River and extended toward Portobago Bay. One of the places it approached was Tignors (Tigners) Creek, a natural harbor that later became known as Hobbs Hole (Patent Book 5:397; 6:13). Some Native thoroughfares probably followed high ground whereas others passed close to the banks of waterways.

When Henry Hackery patented land in Lancaster County in 1651, reference was made to the Morattico path leading from Morattico to Wiccocomico, probably a reference to the Moraughtacund and Wiccocomico Indians' town on Indian Creek (Patent Book 2:335). Two years later, John Edwards mentioned the same trail, noting that it was at the head of the Corrotoman River. Edwards called the trail the "Wicomico path" and said that it ran from the Wiccocomico village on Indian Creek to Morattico (Patent Book 3:45).

Another Indian trail running through the Northern Neck during the early 1650s was the Nanzatico path. This path appears to have run from Nanzatico in King George County to the lower side of the Potomac and Nomini rivers, passing through Westmoreland County (Patent Book 4:313). By 1664, this trail appears to have become known as the Potomac path, which led from King George County to the Patawomeck Indian town.

In 1652, the so-called Cowawoman path in Northumberland County ran close to the lower side of the Potomac River and passed close to Lower Machodoc Creek (Northumberland County Wills and Inventories 1652-1658:3). That same year, Edward Coles mentioned the Chicacoan path, which approached the head of the Little Wicomico River, also in Northumberland County (Patent Book 3:131).

The Machodoc path, mentioned in patents dating to the early 1660s, seems to have consisted of a network of Indian trails passing through the Northern Neck and connecting the lower side of the Potomac River with the upper side of the Rappahannock River. Contemporary sources indicate that the Machodoc path passed close to Totuskey Creek and the Wicocomoco River and also approached Popes Creek (Patent Book 4:102)

The Nomini path passed through Machodoc Neck, connecting the area between Lower Machodoc Creek and the Nomini River (Patent Book 4:314). William Dudly (Dudley), who laid claim to some acreage in Lancaster County near the head of the Corrotoman River, indicated that his land was close to an Indian bridge and a nearby swamp (Patent Book 5:249). During the early 1660s, a trail known as the Dogue path ran between the upper side of the Rappahannock River and the lower side of the Potomac River, passing close to the headwaters of Passapatanzy Creek (Patent Book 5:271; 6:122). By the close of the 17th century, settlers were still making references to Indian trails, such as the Nantypoyson path, which was in the immediate vicinity of Antipoison Creek, and probably used the trails when visiting their neighbors and the county seat (Lancaster County Deeds and Wills 1661-1672:399-400).

Aggressive Frontier Expansion

As previously noted, Edward Hill I had, in 1652, patented 4,000 acres of land at Nanzatico, acreage that lay directly across the Rappahannock from Portobago. The acreage to which he laid claim reportedly included the Asasaticon (Nanzatico) Town and was near the Warisqucock or Nansemond Indian Town. Hill obtained his patent on the basis of 80 headrights, which suggests that he had failed to establish a fortified trading post on the property in 1647.

In December 1656, Sir Henry Chicheley patented 2,200 acres, also at Nanzatico "opposite to Port Tobacco" and abutting east on Poythress (Jetts) Creek. Hill and Chicheley appear to have lodged conflicting claims. When Colonel Hill's son and heir, Edward Hill II, repatented his late father's 4,000 acres at Nanzatico in 1664, the Ausaticon (Nanzatico) Town was again mentioned (Nugent 1934:I:324, 334, 457). Chicheley, like the Hills, tried to strengthen his claim to the "land called Nanzattico," obtaining a court order in 1674 contending that the acreage adjoining his patent had been deserted (McIlwaine 1924:365). Whether the land was truly vacant is unclear: in 1669, the Portobago, Nanzatico, and Mattehatique (likely the Mangokemoxon or Nansemond) Indians were living in Old Rappahannock County and collectively had 110 warriors (Hening 1901:II:275).

In 1666, John Washington, great-grandfather of the first president, was authorized to take possession of some acreage that straddled the boundary line between Old Rappahannock and Westmoreland counties, just east of the land traditionally called Nanzatico and on the east side of Jetts Creek. The property he acquired was described as part of the Nanzatico Indians' land. Washington was given permission to seat the tract as soon as the Indians deserted it. In 1666, John Catlett, on behalf of the orphaned Francis Slaughter, obtained a patent for land "included within the bounds allocated by the Grand Assembly to the Nanzattico Indians." Catlett, like Washington, was authorized to "have it upon the Indians deserting it" (McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1659/60-1693:41). The Catlett/Slaughter patent bordered Omen or Millbank Creek, to the west of Port Conway, and extended "through part of the Dogges cleare ground" (Old Rappahannock County 1663-1668:397).

In 1662, when Thomas Lucas received the title to his land, its western boundary was said to be two miles from the Portobago Town, which had also been mentioned in 1657 when the property was originally granted to Lucas and a partner, Valentine Allen (Nugent 1934:I:362, 497). Lucas, whose land lay "on the south side of the Rappahannock River," included land "which is now within the bounds . . .

allocated to the Nanzattico Indians." Lucas, like John Washington and John Catlett, was authorized to take possession of his patent as soon as the Indians had deserted their acreage.

The Lucas patent is important for determining the southern bounds of the Nanzatico Indian land, for it lay inland and directly *behind* the 3,423 acre patent issued to Thomas Lunsford in October 1650 (Lunsford's land bordered Portobago Bay and extended one mile inland) (Nugent 1934:I:200; McIlwaine 1924:227, 517). In 1670, Lunsford's daughter and heir, Katherine, received permission to seat the property her late father had patented at Portobago as long as she did not disturb the Indians then living upon the tract (McIlwaine 1924:227; Nugent 1934:I:200). Thus, the Nanzatico land on the south side of the Rappahannock River ran inland for at least two miles (McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1659/60-1693:41). The Portobago Indian Town was mentioned in several other early patents for land east and west of the Lucas tract.

In 1667, when James Coghill claimed 1,050 acres on the east side of Portobago Creek, his patent made note of several paths to the Portobago Town. It also used as a reference point "the Indian line" at Portobago Creek (Nugent 1934:II:18). Seven years later, when Frederick Coghill re-patented part of his late father's land, he noted that it crossed the main branch of Portobago Creek and ran "along the Indian line" (Nugent 1934:III:91-92). A sale of the Coghill property in 1711 revealed that it was in what is now Essex County (Essex County Deeds and Wills 1707-1711:400-401). Land transactions during the early 1700s for property at the mouth of Portobago Creek mentioned the Gravel Walk and Indian Town Island, a marshy neck protruding from the eastern side of Portobago Creek's mouth, between Portobago and Meadows (now Green) bays (Nugent 1934:III:83; Essex County Deeds and Wills 1711-1714:1). Thus, besides the Portobago Indian town that was located near the mouth of Portobago Creek during the second half of the 17th century, there was evidence of Native use of nearby Indian Town Island.

In 1674, Henry Chicheley conveyed his land at Nanzatico to Ralph Wormeley II of Rosegill, who had married Katherine Lunsford and come into possession of her property on Portobago Bay. When Chicheley described his Nanzatico acreage, he used as a northwesterly reference point the "Great Indian path to Nansemond Town," an indication that the Nansemond town was then in existence. He also noted that the 2,200 acres he was deeding to Wormeley was across from the Portobago Indian town (McIlwaine 1924:227; Old Rappahannock County 1671-1676:331; 1672-1675:490). In April 1680, when Ralph Wormeley II re-patented the former "Indian inhabitation called Nanzattico," it was described as lying between Porteus (Jetts) and Chingoteague (Gingoteague) creeks. Two years later he acquired approximately half of the 5,275 acre Nansemond-Mangakemoxon Indian Town tract which lay upstream and to the west of Nanzatico. His land was in close proximity to Tacopacon Spring which was on the west side of Chingoteague Creek (Nugent 1934:[II]46, 208-209; Old Rappahannock County 1668-1672:65-66; 1682-1688:36-38; Richmond County Deed Book 1 [1692-1693]:79-80).

Early patents for land on the west side of Peumansend Creek made note of the Indian habitations that were located directly across the river. Clement Herbert's 300 acre patent, issued in 1657, fronted on the Rappahannock River and was said to lie across from a point between the Nansemond and Nanzatico Indian towns (Nugent 1934:I:346). In 1664, when Herbert's land was assigned to another patentee, the acreage was described as lying "in the upper side of the Codd of the Bay, opposite to a point between Nansemond and Nansatiquand Townes boundary" (Old Rappahannock Deeds &c. 1672-1676:299). To

the west of Herbert's patent was the land John Gillette patented in 1657, which reportedly was across from the lower end of the Nansemond Indian town and abutted west on Best's or Goldenvale Creek (Old Rappahannock Deeds &c. 1663-1668:393).

On the west side of Goldenvale Creek was some riverfront land that was claimed by James Yates in 1654 and then sold to William White. That acreage included Quiruck or Wiccoquack (Wiccaqunck) Point at its easternmost limit and was bound on the east by Goldenvale Creek. It extended west to Uzenquin (Massingine) Swamp (Nugent 1934:I:300, 316, 345). The Yates-White patent most likely included the site formerly occupied by the Indian town called Checopissowo that Captain John Smith visited in 1608. In 1661, three colonists there were killed and their deaths were attributed to the Nanzatico Indians (Old Rappahannock Deeds &c. 1656-1664:I:201-202). In 1665 the White property plus an additional 885 acres was granted to John Paine whose patent described it as including "Wiccoquack [Winaquack] Poynt, lying over against Nansemond Town." The Paine property abutted northwest on Uzenquin or Massingine Swamp, the eastern boundary of Abraham Moon's land, to the east of Buckners (now Skinkers) Neck, formerly Buckner's (Old Rappahannock Deeds &c. 1656-1664:I:57, 95; 1672-1676:268; Nugent 1934:II:3). In 1666, Robert Taliaferro of Gloucester County bought the White property. It was from that location that John Lederer, Colonel John Catlett, and several other men set out on a journey of exploration in August 1670 (Old Rappahannock Deeds 1663-1668:31; Lederer 1958:34).

During the 1660s some of the patents for land on the south side of the Rappahannock River mention the Nansemond or Mangomixen Indian towns that lay on the opposite shore. John Prosser and John Wright together patented 1,700 acres of riverfront land east of and adjacent to Goldenvale Creek. Later, in December 1664, when Prosser sold part of his 850 acre share to Roger Richardson, the land was described as lying "right against the Mangecommunnkson Towns of Indians . . . called in the Indian tongue Automi[obliterated]" (Old Rappahannock Deeds 1656-1664:II:432; 1668-1672:5, 41-42). The 1655 patent of Edward Hill I identifies an Indian town in this same area as Ausaticon (Nugent 1934:I:324).

In 1670, when John Prosser sold 1,000 acres of land on the north side of the Rappahannock to Anthony Savage, he described it as "pte of a Devidt of Land of 5000 acres called by the name of Nanzemond, formerly granted to me the sd. John Prosser and Mr. Thomas Chetwood but the part where this thousd. acres now lyeth is comonly [sic] knowne by the Indian name of Mange comuson" (Old Rappahannock Deeds &c. 1668-1672:228). In 1678, when Savage sold part of the Nansemond land to Francis Thornton, he called it "Manga Kemoxon" whereas cartographer Augustine Herrman (1673) labelled it "Nangemocxen" (Old Rappahannock Deeds 1676-1682:64). When Sir Henry Chickeley conveyed his land at Nanzatico to Ralph Wormeley II in 1674, he used the "Great Indian path to Nansemond Town" as a northwesterly reference point, thereby indicating that the town was still viable (Old Rappahannock Deeds &c 1671-1676:331). Chickeley, as grantor, also noted that the land being conveyed to Wormeley was across the Rappahannock River from the Portobago Indian town (Old Rappahannock Deeds 1672-1675:490). In 1682, when Cuthbert Potter, an assignee of John Prosser's partner, Thomas Chetwood, conveyed Chetwood's share of the Nansemond-Mangakemoxon tract to Ralph Wormeley II, the property was described more fully. Called the Nansemond Indian Town, the tract was said to have originally included 5,275 acres and had been acquired by Prosser and Chetwood on July 26, 1667. In 1682 when Potter prepared a deed of conveyance, he estimated that 2,000 acres comprised

approximately half of the original tract. He also noted that the land included the Nansemond Indian town itself and the plantation associated with it, thereby indicating that the Natives were still in residence on the property (Old Rappahannock Deeds 1682-1688:36-38; 1668-1672:65-66; Nugent 1934:II:46).

To the west of the Nansemond Town and on the upper side of the Rappahannock River, John Catlett patented 500 acres at the mouth of Omen Creek in June 1666. His acreage was described as extending "through part of the Dogges cleare ground" (Old Rappahannock Deeds 1663-1668:397). Augustine Herrman's map (1673), shows the Dogue Indians' habitation just west of Omen Creek and extending along the Rappahannock River. The land John Catlett claimed in 1666 on behalf of an orphan, Francis Slaughter, was considered part of the tract officially allocated to the Nanzatico Indians. The legitimacy of his patent was contingent "upon the Nanzatico Indians deserting it" (McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1659/60-1693:41). Thus, in 1666, the Dogue were occupying what was loosely defined by government officials as Nanzatico land, just as were the Nansemond (Mangomixen) and Portobago. A patent dated 1654 referred to part of the property as Nanzemund Neck, a promontory that corresponds to the neck of land rimmed by Cleve Marsh, which in 1608 was the site of two Indian villages (Nugent 1934:I:292; Old Rappahannock Deeds 1663-1668:397).

Heightened Tensions

Some legal changes that occurred at the October 1665 session of the colony's assembly had some serious consequences for Virginia Indians. A 1663 law required the inhabitants of the nearest Indian town to assist the authorities in tracking down any native or Natives suspected of killing a colonist. Legislation passed in 1665 automatically held the nearest Indian town responsible for a settler's murder. Other changes to the legal code gave the assembly the power to choose each tribe's leader and if the Indians rejected their choice or killed him, they were to be considered enemies of the government (Hening 1901:II:218-219).

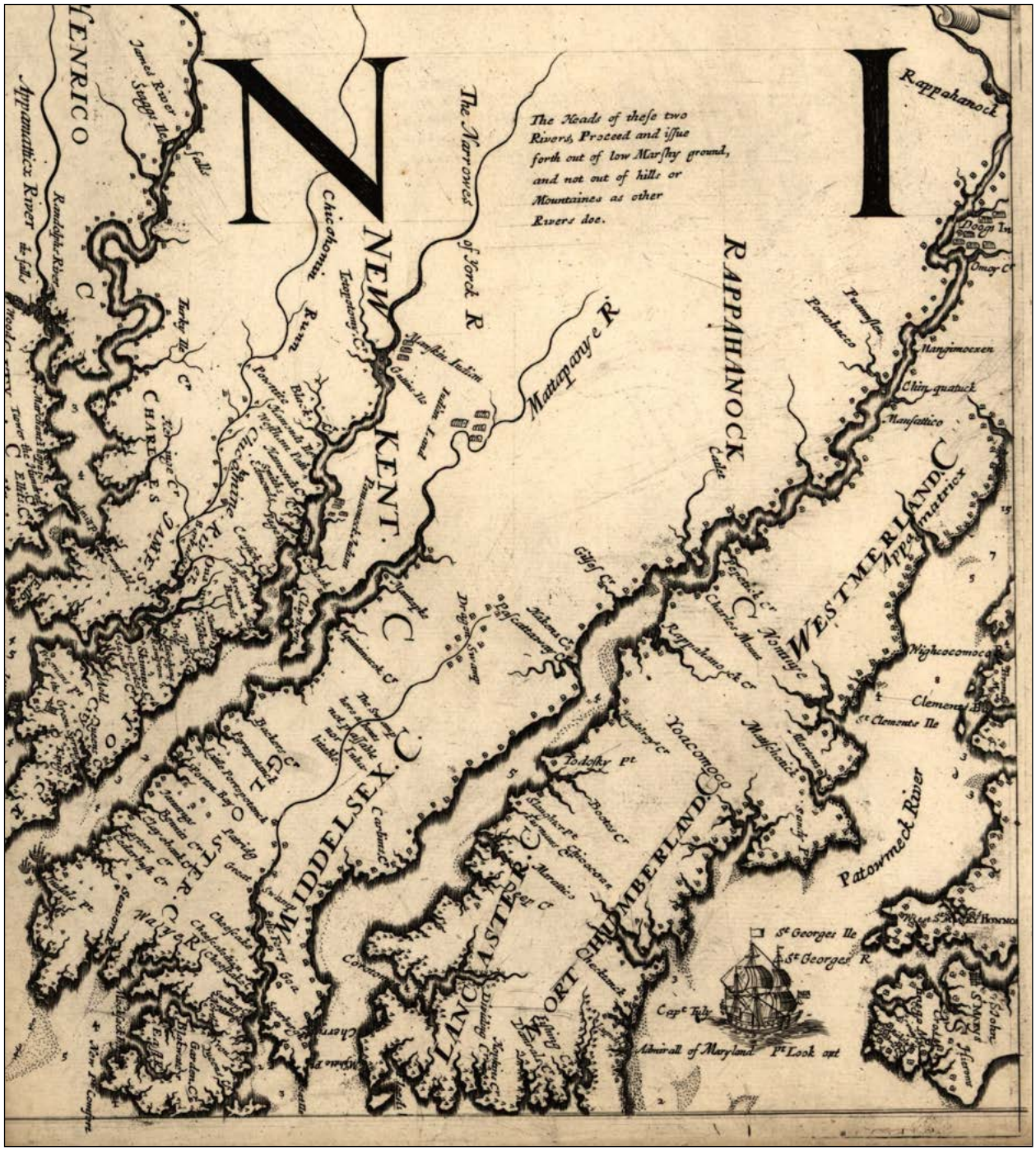
During the summer of 1666, members of the Governor's Council resolved to declare war upon the Monzaticon, Nansemond, Portobago, Doeg, and Patawomeck Indians, vowing that they should be "forthwith prosecuted with war to their utter destruction, if possible." The councilors were determined to avenge several murders allegedly committed by those tribes during the previous four years, crimes for which the Indians had not paid. The Council left the disposal of captured Indian women and children and their belongings to the discretion of the governor, Sir William Berkeley (Sainsbury 1964:XI:93-94, 184; McIlwaine 1924:488-489). Although the Rappahannock Indians weren't mentioned by name, it is likely that they were affected. On June 22, 1666, Governor Berkeley sent word to the officials of Old Rappahannock County that he felt the value of the captives and booty seized from the Indians would pay for the cost of the war waged against them and that he presumed that the young men of the county would be willing to fight in order to obtain a share of the spoils of war (Old Rappahannock Deeds 1663-1668:23). County officials responded by writing Major General Robert Smith that "execrable murders are and have bin committed by a combination of our Northern Indians, particularly the Doaggs, joint with our neighbor Indians . . . With the assistance of Almighty God by the strength of our Northern Parts, [we hope] utterly to destroy [them], with no Further encouragement than the spoyles of our Enemies" (Old Rappahannock Deeds 1663-1668:23). Virtually all of the men involved in these communications (John Catlett, John Weir, Robert Smith, and Thomas Goodrich) patented Indian land between 1662 and 1666.

Other notables in the colony, such as Ralph Wormeley II, Moore Fauntleroy, and Samuel Mathews also had much to gain. This raises the issue of whether the encroachment of planters into Indian lands had sparked violence, or whether the colonial government's officials simply undertook a war against the Natives for the purpose of seizing their lands and possessions, not to mention captives to potentially enslave. Also warranting consideration is whether northern tribes were making incursions into the area, exciting the animosity of settlers against all Indians.

By the 1660s, the Moraughtacund had sold off their officially allocated land, and that of the Nansemond, Nanzatico, Portobago and Mattaponi had been patented by men who, for the most part, were government officials. The Dogue had been driven southward by English settlement along the Potomac River and the Patawomeck Indians themselves had lost land (Nugent 1934:II:45; Hening 1901:II:154-155). Thus, although many Native groups had retreated to the upper reaches of the Rappahannock River and the Middle Peninsula, the prospect of destroying the Indians to "their utter extinction" had distinct advantages for the colonists, who coveted their land. In 1670, when Augustin Herrman (1673) 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. Herrman indicated that a substantial number of Indians were living at the heads of Dragon Swamp and the Mattaponi River. Meanwhile, plantations dotted the banks of the Rappahannock nearly to its head and settlement had spread inland along the banks of the Mattaponi, Chickahominy, and Pamunkey Rivers, and on the Eastern Shore (Figure 4). In 1673, Robert Beverley I patented 7,000 acres on the Mattaponi River's main swamp, which successively became known as the Mattapony Run and Beverley Run. His acreage, which he had had since 1669, was near the path that ran from the Mattaponi Indian town to the Portobago Indian town on the Rappahannock River (Nugent 1934:I:56; II:142).

According to court documents that are associated with specific patents, the clearing and planting of native lands was well underway and tenants were settled on many outlying tracts. For example, a male colonist and his family had been living on James Cogwell's (Coghill's) patent near Portobago Creek and the Portobago/Nanzatico Indian line, for twenty years since around 1672, according to a law suit pending in 1692. In 1661, when William White and his son and servant were killed, they were living west of Goldenvale Creek. Katherine Lunsford received permission to seat her property in 1670 and, in the 1680s, Ralph Wormeley had developed his landholdings on both sides of the Rappahannock, constructing houses on his property (Palmer 1968:I:41; McIlwaine 1924:227; Dauphine 1934:153, 157-158). Inland, at the head of Peumansend Creek, slaves were living on the land behind that of Thomas Lucas (Essex County Deeds and Wills 1706-1707, 1717-1721:226). In one case instance, planters living near Indians attempted to recruit them as workers. In July 1655 Gerard Fowke made an agreement with the chief of the Patowomeck for land on which Fowke could build a house, seat English servants, plant tobacco and corn, and keep cattle. In exchange, he gave the chief of the Patawomeck a horse, with saddle and bridle, and one milk cow. He also proposed that "if the Kinge of Potomeck cause any Indian to joyne in [growing[the crop hee shall have one moiety according to their [his] labor" (Westmoreland County Deeds and Wills, &c. 1661-1662:56).

Pressure on the Indians continued to mount, as new settlers moved in, seated their patents, and encroached upon the Natives' officially assigned territory. They also significantly reduced the Indians' subsistence habitat. In 1674, Thomas Prosser received permission to seat part of the land the Nanzatico


The Heads of these two Rivers, Proceed and issue forth out of low Marshy ground, and not out of hills or Mountaines as other Rivers doe.
NEW KENT
RAPPAHANOCK
WESTMERLAND
MIDDLESEX
NORTHUMBERLAND
Rappahanock
Mattapanye R
Patowmeck River
Appamattocx
Nanzimoxen
Chinquatuck
Nanfatico
Nighcocomoco
Clements Ile
Yoacomoco
Todoster Pt
St Georges Ile
St Georges R
Admirall of Maryland
Pt Look out
Appamattocx River
James River
Chickahomini
The Narrowes of Yorck R
Mattapanye R
Rappahanock
Portobacco
Charles Mouse
Rappahanock Cr
Gilles Cr
Dragon Swamp
Pas Cattawang
Nanjemoy Cr
Mattaponi
Pamunkey
Chickahomini
Tropidamy Cr
Mangoshus Indian
Little Land
Pocoshock Cr
Mattaponi
Pamunkey
Blackwater
Nottoway
Nansemond
Chickahominy
Warwick
Elizabeth
Nansemond
Chickahominy
Warwick
Elizabeth
Nansemond
Chickahominy
Warwick
Elizabeth

the James River at Blackwater Swamp and throughout the 1690s, the governor and council repeatedly asked the king to permit vacant Indian lands to be patented. This came after Native groups persisted in asking for patents and for the boundaries of their land to be clearly defined.

Bacon's Rebellion

By the early 1670s, Natives to the north and west of the colonized area began to prey upon Virginia Indians and frontier settlers, especially those who lived near the fall line. As a result, the Indians found themselves trapped between the colonists, whose plantations were engulfing their habitat at an alarming rate, and raiding groups. One writer reported that, whereas on January 24, 1676, there had been 71 plantations in the upper parts of Old Rappahannock County's Sittenbourne Parish (the westernmost part of the county), by February 10, only 11 plantations remained occupied. A party of Susquehannock Indians from Maryland, avenging an attack upon their people by some colonists from Virginia (including John Washington, the great-grandfather of the first president), descended upon settlers at the heads of the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers, killing 36 people. An estimated 300 colonists in that region were reportedly killed by Indians in 1676 (Andrews 1967:106-107).

Because Virginia's governing officials were obliged to offer protection to the colonists and to the tributary Indians, in 1676 they decided to construct forts, whose costs were underwritten by tax levies, at nine locations considered strategically important. One was to be built on the Rappahannock near the falls under the direction of Major Lawrence Smith. Men and horses were pressed into service and substantial quantities of powder, shot, medical supplies, tools, and provisions were allocated to each fort at public expense. In exchange for his service, Smith was to be given a tract that extended for more than five miles along the lower side of the Rappahannock River (Andrews 1967:108; Hening 1901:II:326, 448-453). The Rappahannock fort, like others built on the colony's major rivers, was viewed disdainfully by most colonists, who considered all of them nothing more than expensive "mousetraps" useless against a mobile enemy whose strategy was one of ambuscade. According to one contemporary source, the forts were "made up of mudd and dirt, yet were they of great expense to the people" (Colonial Office 1312 Part I ff 318-319).

Nathaniel Bacon, whose upper James River plantation was attacked by Indians, agreed to lead an unauthorized march against the Native population. The uprising known as Bacon's Rebellion spread throughout Tidewater Virginia and deeply affected the Natives. 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 acreage used for subsistence (Hening 1901:II:326-329, 351; Washburn 1957:32-33).

Colonel Thomas Goodrich had informed Governor Berkeley that Indians had attacked some settlers living near the falls of the Rappahannock River, suggesting that Virginia's tributary Natives were allied with the Susquehannock, which was not true. Goodrich, who grew dissatisfied with the Berkeley government's response, became sympathetic to the views of the rebel Nathaniel Bacon and, in February 1677, he was among those Berkeley declared exempt from the king's pardon because of their active role in the popular uprising. Goodrich, who was incarcerated, insisted that he was innocent of the charges against him (McCartney 2012:175).

In September 1676, Bacon and his band of vigilantes attacked a group of Pamunkey Indians who had taken refuge in Dragon Swamp and killed men, women and children indiscriminately, took captives, and plundered the Natives' goods. According to a narrative written by Charles II's commissioners, Bacon's men happened upon a path that "led them to a main Swamp, where several nations of Indians lay encamped." The first captive taken "was a young woman belonging to the Nanzaticoe Indians, half-starved, and so not able to escape." Most of the other Indians were able to flee from the scene, although two or three men and a like number of women were taken prisoner. A Rappahannock Indian woman was captured during Bacon's Rebellion and sold to John Clerk as a servant; she appears to have been freed in 1685. The 1677 treaty stipulated that tributary Indians could not be made to serve longer terms than European servants (Old Rappahannock County Orders 1683-1685:77; Andrews 1967:125).

In 1677, in a list of grievances prepared for the Special Commissioners investigating the causes of Bacon's Rebellion, settlers complained that, when the Indians were wearing paint, they were unable to distinguish friend from foe. Residents of some counties proposed that the Indians taken during the "late war" be made slaves. They also proposed waging "continuall war with Indians" or "war with all nations and families of Indians." Two counties in the Northern Neck asked that the charge of the war against the Susquehannock be borne by the Virginia colony as a whole and that Lord Baltimore be required to keep his colony's Indians out of Virginia.

Documents submitted separately by the people of Old Rappahannock County and Old Rappahannock's Sittenbourne Parish reflect the residents' fears of Indian attack. Old Rappahannock County's citizens asked that, if there were to be an Indian war, "that it be not managed so that they sustain the brunt as they did this time," and added that Rappahannock "has been a bulwarke and defense to other counties against the Indians and thereby reduced to much poverty." Colonists "upon ye Frontiers [were] lyable to much mischief by reason of the Indians incursions in which time of war are so frequent that they cannot at once tend their crops of corn and secure their own lives from suddain and surprise assaults." They also asked who had authorized George Mason and George Brent to go into Maryland and kill several Indians, which many Rappahannock County people believed to be "the original cause of the many murders committed in the country of Rappahannock" (Colonial Office 5/1312 Part I ff 318-319; 5/1371 ff 149-153, 159).

Grievances submitted by the people of Sittenbourne Parish were similar, but included a request for someone to command the forces in their area. They also asked for a proportionate part of the arms and munitions sent over by the King and "complayne of the approach of the Nansatticoe Indians within 20 miles of the plantation of Lt. Colonel Cadwallader Jones and feare their committing some outrages on them" (Colonial Office 5/1312 Part I ff 318-319; 5/1371 ff 151ro-153). This statement suggests that the Nanzatico were roaming the frontiers at the head of the Rappahannock River and had left their preserve, which was relatively close to Jones' patent near Goldenvale Creek.

The Treaty of Middle Plantation

In May 1677, the colonial government and the tributary Indians executed a formal peace agreement at Middle Plantation. The queens of Pamunkey and Weyanoke and the "kings" of Nottoway and Nansemond acknowledged their allegiance to the Crown and conceded that their entitlement to land

was derived from the British monarch. The treaty provided that "Noe English shall seate or plant nearer than three Miles of any Indian towne" and signatory groups were entitled to the protection of the colonial government. Natives wearing body paint were prohibited from entering colonized areas.

Pattanochus, who lived in Old Rappahannock County, signed on behalf of the Portobago, the Nanzatico, and the Nansemond. The Nansemond, living in the vicinity of Port Conway, were most likely the Natives known as the Mattehatique or Mangokemoxon (Hening 1901:II:274-275). The other signatories were the leaders of the Appomattock, the Saponi, the Manakin (Monacan), and the Meherrin, all groups living beyond the Rappahannock River valley (McCartney 2006:257-258).

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, Kiskiack, and Totachus (Totuskey) (McCartney 2006:249-251). Although both the Rappahannock and Chickahominey chafed at Cockacoeske's position, documentary evidence suggests the Rappahannock retained their independence. They continued in their home in the Middle Peninsula beyond the Pamunkey sphere of influence. The Rappahannock upheld their commitment to the Treaty of Middle Plantation and to function as tributaries to the Crown (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:71; McCartney 2006:256-259).

Although the 1677 treaty was expanded in 1680 to include several other Native groups, it provided the signatory tribes with little protection from land-hungry settlers and non-tributary tribes. In fact, Virginia officials claimed that the treaty created more problems than it solved. The tributary tribes often quarreled among themselves and whenever they took their disagreements to court, the justices made enemies of whomever they sided against (Hening 1901:II:275, 410; McCartney 2006:257-258).

The Establishment of Trade Marts

In October 1677, the assembly established "trade marts" in locations where all trade with the Indians was to be conducted at specific times of the year. These marts or fairs were to last for 40 days and to be held twice annually, commence at specifically designated times, and be held at specific sites. On the Rappahannock River, a trade mart was to be operated biannually, commencing April 20 and September 20, at a site selected by the justices of Lancaster County's monthly court. Careful records were to be maintained by county clerks, documenting all transactions, but to date, none of these registers have come to light (Hening 1901:II:410-411).

Important Regional Changes

By 1680, English settlement was firmly entrenched in the middle portion of the tidal Rappahannock. Efforts were underway to establish a town on the south side of the Rappahannock River. The town of New Plymouth was ironically renamed Tappahannock in 1706 (Reps 1972:67-71). Meanwhile, on November 25, 1682, Virginia's governing officials assigned 4,000 acres to the Rappahannock Indians near the head of Piscataway Creek and Indian Neck (Descognets 1958:63; Patent Book 9:214).

In December 1679, the assembly established defensive garrisons at the heads of the colony's four major rivers in an effort to control non-tributary nations west of the fall line. In 1682, when John Taliaferro and Cadwallader Jones explored the periphery of the Piedmont, they "saw an Indian yt made a periauger at the mountain and brought her down to the garrison with skins and venison, where the said Jones commanded." This suggests that the forts functioned as trading posts as well as places of security (Hening 1901:II:498-499). In December 1682, the assembly voted to replace these garrisons with horse soldiers patrolling the frontier (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:136; Hening 1901:II:411, 433-434, 452, 498-499; McIlwaine 1918:111, 199, 202-204, 239; Palmer 1968:I:110).

In 1681, Maryland authorities accused the Nanzatico of committing murders near Point Lookout, Maryland while there engaged in trade, "as they have done so annually" (King et al. 2016). Thomas Ludwell, usually a harsh critic of Virginia's Indians, countered Maryland's charge by insisting the Nanzatico had been at a site 70 miles from the scene of the crime only the preceding day, and therefore could not have been the perpetrators (Sainsbury 1964:XVII:184). In October, however, the Maryland governor requested the extradition of Nehemin, a Nanzatico accused of murder. The Virginia Council instructed Secretary of the Colony Nicholas Spencer to investigate the crime and, unless Nehemin was exonerated, to send him to Maryland. Spencer reportedly was "well acquainted with the carriages of the Nanzatico this last summer," an indication that there had been some behavior on their part that displeased the colonists (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:13).

Virginia's tributary Indian groups suffered at the hands of non-tributary nations resentful of the English intrusion. According to one contemporary source, the Pamunkey were fearful of going into the uplands to hunt elk for fear of the Iroquois and, during the early 1680s, the Seneca, Susquehannock and other Iroquois nations were reportedly making incursions into the colony. The Mattaponi and the Moraughtacund Indians, who seem to have banded together for mutual support, were then living on the southeast side of the Mattaponi River's main swamp, in the western part of what was to become King and Queen County (Nugent 1934:II:287, 299; III:108; Patent Book 7:439, 514; 9:736). At that location, their town would have been close to the path that ran to the Portobago Indians' town (Nugent 1934:I:56; II:142).

The colony's tributary Indians continued to be vulnerable to the incursions of raiding nations from the west and the north. On November 21, 1683, Nicholas Spencer, then president of the Council of State, reported that the Seneca were attacking frontier settlers and that they also had "redced and taken ye Mattapony Indian Town, and att present besieged ye Chickahominy fort" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:53). The Rappahannock were advised to unite with the Nanzatico for their own protection and provisions, including corn and beef, were delivered to the Rappahannock as well as the Chickahominy, an indication that both nations had also been attacked (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:54). All of the colonists who supplied the tribes with relief lived near the mouth of the Mattaponi River (McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1659/60-1693:256). After the attack, the Chickahominy seem to have moved to Pamunkey Neck, where they sought refuge with the Pamunkey (Nugent 1934:II:267, 286-287; McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:71; Palmer 1968:I:22).

If the Rappahannock refused to join with the Nanzatico, the Virginia Council urged them to "remove to their new fort." The "new fort" would have almost certainly been on the 4,000 acre tract of

land they were assigned in November 1682. (Descognets 1958:63; Patent Book 9:214; McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:54).

The Rappahannock Indians Move to Nanzatico Town

In late November 1683, when the Governor's Council encouraged the Rappahannock and Nanzatico to unite, the Council offered to have the Rappahannock escorted to their new home. According to Council minutes, "a party of horse is ordered to be in motion and to conduct ye Rappahannocks to such place for security as they make choice of, either to their new fort or ye Nanzattico Town" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:54).

Between January 5 and February, 1684, the Rappahannock Indians were accompanied by a party of horsemen when they left their fort. John Price and William Ball, who were involved in transporting the Rappahannock from their fort to the riverside, lived near the Indians' preserve. Approximately 32 male colonists and their horses were pressed into service for more than a week to transport the Indians and their belongings across the Middle Peninsula. Some of the men were armed and were prepared "to Gaurd [sic] the Rappa. Indians from their fort to the River side." Official records indicate that the Indians' corn and lumber were kept for a month at the home of Robert Tomlin Sr. Tomlin's dwelling, shown on an 1680 plat, was located on the lower side of Mount Landing (Gilsons) Creek, to the east of Rexburg and northwest of Hobbs Hole (New Plymouth or Tappahannock). In order to travel from Indian Neck to Hobbs Hole, the group would have taken the forerunner of County Route 623 to County Route 620, crossed the Cheatwood Millpond, and continued on to the forerunner of County Route 627 at Rexburg. At that point they would have turned right and continued in a southeasterly direction, pausing at Robert Tomlin Sr.'s home, and then headed toward Hobbs Hole.

Tomlin had five of his men, some oxen, and his cart transport the Rappahannock Indians to the harbor at Hobbs Hole. He and Henry Awbrey, a burgess, used their boats to ferry the Indians across the Rappahannock River to another piece of property that Tomlin owned. The Rappahannock would have been moved temporarily to familiar territory close to their former preserve between Rappahannock (Cat Point) and Totuskey Creeks. Tomlin's son, Robert Tomlin, Jr., then transported 70 Rappahannock Indians 35 miles upstream in his sloop, taking them to Portobago (Old Rappahannock County Order Book 1683-1685:14-18; Patent Book 4:416, 606). Historian Ed Ragan (2006:260) estimated the Rappahannock population at approximately 350 people, noting that only the very young, old, and disabled would have needed assistance with transportation.

By early February 1684, the Rappahannock Indians were living at Portobago on part of the acreage that had been assigned to the Portobago and Nanzatico Indians as a preserve. It is also possible that some Rappahannock had remained behind at their "new fort" or joined with other nations along the Pamunkey and Mattaponi rivers.

In May 1685, the Nanzatico along with Appomattox (Machodoc), Chickahominy, and Pamunkey sent two representatives each to Albany, New York, to confirm a peace agreement with the Mohawk, Coquoge, Annadoca and Seneca. That agreement was formalized on July 30, 1684. Although the

Rappahannock tribe was not mentioned, its members may have been represented by the Nanzatico with whom they had taken refuge (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:71).

An Eyewitness Account

During the winter of 1686, Durand de Dauphine, a French Huguenot visiting Virginia, stopped at Ralph Wormeley II's plantation, Rosegill, near what would become Urbanna. Later, Durand, Wormeley, and several other gentlemen crossed the Rappahannock River at Hobbs Hole (Tappahannock) and then went by boat to Wormeley's plantations at Nanzatico and Portobago Bay. Durand noted that Indians were then living on Wormeley's property:

> . . . [A]bout two-thirds of the lands were wooded, the other meadows which were, as I have already mentioned, the plantations that belonged to the savages five or six years ago; three of these savages came to visit him [Wormeley] as soon as we had arrived. They brought him two wild turkeys and a domestic one. The wild turkeys surely weighed 40 pounds each. We could see their [the Indians'] village on the opposite bank of the river, so the next day, having expressed a wish to see them at home, Monsieur Wormeley had three horses taken across the river, and ordered an early dinner. Monsieur Parker, Monsieur Wormeley and I got into the boat that had been sent back for us, and then mounted the horses. We rode all over the lands on this side of the river, which are greater in extent than those on the north side, where we had our quarters. I counted six houses and saw a great abundance of wild grapevines trailing along the ground and so many peach trees that when they are ripe, so they told me, the hogs will not budge from them as long as they last, not even to drink, for they are always drunk, and that they fatten better than on acorns and chestnuts. After having gone all over this section, we went to the village of the savages.
>
> These savages have rather pretty houses, the walls as well as the roofs ornamented with trees, and so securely fastened together with deer thongs that neither rain nor wind causes them inconvenience. These people are darker than the Egyptians that we see in Europe. They brand their faces with scars in the shape of snail-shells, into which they put powder and so are marked for life. The women, in the house wear only a deer skin to cover the less mentionable parts. In winter they wear the fur against their skin, and in summer the skin against their skin. They build their fire in the center of the house, their beds are made all around. They interweave a kind of strong, coarse grass that grows along the river to make a sort of mat, held up by four little forks. They use these as seats. The men in the village wear only a shabby shirt of blue or white linen and from the time they put it on they do not remove it until it falls in rags, for they never wash anything. Except for this fur, the women have the rest of their bodies nude. The little children are always entirely naked, however cold it may be. The men do nothing but hunt, and fish, while the women plant Indian corn. The crop belongs to the community, each taking whatever he needs. The women also make pots, earthen vases and smoking pipes. The Christians buying these pots or vases fill them with Indian corn, which is the price of them. They all smoke, as do the men, but as they grow no tobacco, they give game or fish in exchange for it. They marry only to avoid confusing the parentage of their children; as soon as a young man has taken a wife, he builds a small house and leaving his father and mother, goes to live in it. They have some knowledge, but a very imperfect one, of the true God; they believe Him to be the author of what they see and of the productions of

> the earth necessary to their life but that He is not concerned in their conduct and that He does not stoop so low; that Demons inferior to Him were created for this purpose and these they fear, being from time to time abused by them. They have no other marriage ceremony than to have the village assemble and the young man, after choosing her he wishes for a wife, gives her a hind or hart foot, while she offers him an ear of Indian corn, signifying that the husband will provide the house with meat and the wife with corn. The ministers in this country take no pains to convert them to Christianity or to instruct them, although most of them know how to speak English. When we left they gave Monsieur Wormeley a dozen deer skins as a present, and Monsieur Parker and myself a handful of pipes each.
>
> As it was already night, we had the boat come in order to return; it took some time to cross for the river is very wide, and at this point it is navigable by vessels of a hundred and twenty tons, although thirty leagues distant from the sea. Meanwhile I was extolling upon the beauty of the place we had seen, the same lovely hills whence flow fountains and brooks, and broad meadows below, always covered with wild grapevines [Durand 1934:151-154].

A day or so later, Durand and Wormeley decided to visit some of the plantations along the Potomac River. Durand said that when they were getting ready to depart,

> . . . all those savages, men, women and little children, came to return our visit; those who had been able to procure jerkins from the Christians were wearing them, as also the women who wore some kind of petticoats, others wore some pieces of shabby blue cloth from which were made the blankets they traded on some ships in exchange for deer skins. They had made a hole in the center to put their heads through and fastened it around their body with deer-thongs. The women were wearing theirs as a mantilla, like the Egyptian women in Europe, and their children were entirely naked. They had taken to adorn themselves, some kind of pure white fish bones, slipping a strand of hair through a bone, and so on all around their head. They also wore necklaces and bracelets made of small grains which are found in the country. Beads of which rosaries are made in France were also brought over for them, and the cleanest and wealthiest took away as many as they could slip upon their necks and arms, from elbow to hand, for these are their treasures. We left soon after, and they were sorry to see us go, for I felt they had taken great pleasure in our company [Durand 1934:157-158].

Durand de Dauphine's diary provides a detailed eyewitness account of the manner in which this community of Natives was living in 1687. The account also establishes the fact that Indians were still in residence on the old Lunsford patent on Portobago Bay as well as on Ralph Wormeley II's land just above Nanzatico, on the north side of the river. The Nansemond town's inhabitants may have been the first to greet Wormeley and a party of visitors when they arrived at his Nanzatico plantation in 1686 (Durand 1934:151). Durand quoted Wormeley as saying that "the woods are easy to clear but without taking the trouble to do this, it is enough to buy lands in the territory formerly occupied by the savages; half of it can be plowed immediately and they are the best in the country" (Durand 1934:177).

Archaeological investigations at the Camden site, believed to be the place or near the place visited by Durand and Wormeley, indicate that, while the Native people may have been excited to receive

the two visitors, they lived in settlements provided almost entirely by Native-made material culture (MacCord 1969; Galke 2004; King et al. 2016). While it is a tricky business to read identity out of objects, the fact that the Indians living there had been displaced and relocated from their nearby homelands but still managed to find clays and produce Indian pots and build houses clearly in the Indian style suggest the resilience indigenous people managed to express in the face of the relentlessly aggressive English. Durand's representation of his Native hosts' enthusiasm may reflect Durand's position as much as it reflects Native perceptions.

The Rappahannock Indians' Response to Displacement

The artifacts recovered from Camden suggest that the Rappahannock people resisted, accommodated, and adapted to the colonial realities they experienced between 1650 and 1700. Responses to colonization found in the archives also reveal strategies of accommodation and resistance. For example, in June 1690, William Harwood filed a complaint with the justices of Old Rappahannock County, alleging that the Rappahannock were concealing two of his Indian servants, a woman and a boy, who had absconded about 14 months earlier. In response, the county justices ordered the chief of the Rappahannock to appear (Old Rappahannock County Deeds &c. 1656-1692:231; Orders 1689-1692:21). This reference is also remarkable because it suggests that, despite relocating with the Nanzatico, the Rappahannock maintained their tribal identity.

A significant number of Native people were employed as servants in planter households. In 1684, William Lloyd, an Old Rappahannock County justice and burgess, acknowledged in court that his maid servant, Margaret, had had a child with an Indian man. In order to prevent Margaret from being fined and punished and in order to keep the child from becoming a ward of the parish, Lloyd offered to maintain the child until he was 24 (Old Rappahannock County Order Book 1689-1693:22). Because the law specified that illegitimate children automatically took on the status of their mother, Lloyd stood to gain a servant; therefore, his motives may not have been altogether altruistic.

In November 1690, Robin Andrews, an Indian whose tribal affiliation is uncertain, filed a legal complaint alleging that he had been detained beyond his agreed-upon term of service. His master was ordered to appear in court to answer the complaint. If he failed to appear, Robin would be freed (Old Rappahannock County Order Book 1689-1692:42-43, 263-264).

In June 1689, a Rappahannock Indian named Tom, who sensed that his death was approaching, asked a settler named Daniel Disking to keep his son. A month later the county court's justices approved the arrangement (Old Rappahannock County Order Book 1687-1689: 74, 118; 1689-1692: 151).

In 1666, the Virginia government rewarded Ned or Edward Gunstocker, a Nanzatico, for his assistance as an intermediary when some of the upper Rappahannock River nations were harassing some white families. That same year, Gunstocker received a patent for 150 acres in Old Rappahannock County on the basis of three headrights, an indication of his ability to adapt to life under the Virginia government's rules. In his will made in 1676, Gunstocker professed his Christian faith, stating that he was preparing to go on "an Expedition with the English against my Cuntrymen, the Indians," clearly Bacon's Rebellion. Gunstocker bequeathed his 150-acre plantation and all of his personal property, including his

household goods and livestock, to his wife, Mary, and named her as his executrix. Gunstocker survived his participation in Bacon's Rebellion. In September 1683, two men successfully sued him and, in August 1684, he made a claim in court against the estate of Robert Gullock. During the winter of 1685-1686, Gunstocker (sometimes known as Indian Ned) was killed by two male Indians he had employed as servants. According to court testimony given in 1686, Samuel Read of Westmoreland County, in the woods searching for his livestock, had been fired upon by two Indians "that had murdered their master Indian Ned and an Englishman in Rappahannocke."

Gunstocker's widow, Mary, described as "Mary Gunstocker Indian," served as her husband's executrix. In early 1688, when two colonists sued in an attempt to retain possession of some acreage they had leased from Edward Gunstocker or "John," the justices upheld their right to occupy the land. By October 1688, Mary was dead and the property transferred to his heirs. In April 1697, an Indian man named Numpskinner, his wife, Betty alias Nonomisk (Nonomiske), and Pattiawaske sold the Gunstocker's 150 acres to Nathaniel Pope alias Bridges. The deed mentions that Gunstocker was Betty's uncle. Funstocker's land appears to have been located near "the Clives," that is, near Cleve Marsh in modern King George County, a considerable distance upstream from the land allocated to the Nanzatico as a preserve (Old Rappahannock County Deeds &c. 3:257-258; Will Book 1682-1687:41, 100-101; Order Book 1683-1686:74, 166; 1687-1692:13, 49, 92, 71; Richmond County Deed Book 3 [1697-1704]:1-2; Westmoreland County Order Book 1676-1689:517; McIlwaine 1924:488-489; Northern Neck Grants 2:264-265; Nugent 1934:I:566).

While Edward and Mary Gunstocker appear to have embraced English practices, other Natives used the English legal system to preserve their safety. In 1699, a Rappahannock man came to Jamestown to respond to a complaint that had been made about him and, in February 1700, when some northern Indians were threatening to attack, representatives of the Rappahannock, Pamunkey, Chickahominy, and Nanzatico tribes appeared before the governor and his council, requesting permission to pursue a peace treaty (McIlwaine 1925-1945:II:22, 41).

Closing out the Century

In 1691, "the Indians' land" on the main branches of the "Mattapony Run," the main swamp or "run" at the head of the Mattaponi River, was mentioned in a patent for acreage in King and Queen County and an "Indian path" was nearby (Nugent 1934:II:369; Patent Book 8:190). As late as 1703 an Indian town was located in the freshes of the Mattaponi River. In fact, a 1705 patent for land in the Middle Peninsula made reference to the path from Portobago to the "Mattapony Indian towne or Chicahominy" (Nugent 1934:III:97).

The Dogue Indians, who were living near the Nanzatico during the 1670s, apparently were still in close proximity in 1692 when the Nanzatico were forced to make satisfaction for a crime allegedly committed by the Dogue. By the early 18th century, the Dogue had moved to the headwaters of the Mattaponi River. In 1714, they were living at a site on the south side of the Mattaponi River's northernmost branch, where they were still residing a decade later (McIlwaine 1925-1945:I:216; Herrman 1673).

In 1697, Governor Edmund Andros reported that there were two Indian groups living on the Rappahannock River. One was likely the Rappahannock and the other probably was the Nanzatico. He indicated that there were three groups living on the York River, but failed to identify them by name (Colonial Office 5/714 ff 61v-62r). In November 1699, the tribal leaders of the Chickahominy, the Nanzatico, the Pamunkey, and the Rappahannock were summoned to Jamestown along with interpreter Robert Peasley and, in February 1700, the great men of the Chickahominy, Meherrin, Nansemond, Nanzatico, Nottoway, Pamunkey, and Rappahannock were queried about a peace treaty they planned to make with the Tawittaway and other Indian nations outside Virginia without the Virginia government's consent. The peace belts the tributary Indians intended to take to the peace conference were confiscated temporarily by government authorities (McIlwaine 1925-1945:II:22, 41).

In October 1702, the great men of the Chickahominy, Nanzatico, and Pamunkey informed the Governor's Council that the Tuscarora were coming to the colony "in great bodies . . . to hunt whereby the game which is their chief support is destroyed and also they are in danger of being assaulted" (McIlwaine 1925-1945:II:275). Nearly two years later, in August 1704, the Nottoway, Meherrin, Nansemond, Pamunkey, Chickahominy and Nanzatico applied for passes that would authorize two men from each of those nations plus two Tuscarora men to go north to secure a peace treaty with the Seneca. Permission was granted as long as the meetings were held at Virginia's border and officially approved Indian interpreters were present at the conference (McIlwaine 1925-1945:II:380-381). In April 1704, James Adams asked for two years' pay for serving as the Rappahannock's interpreter (McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1702-1712:49).

On July 8, 1702, when Governor Edmund Jennings indicated that there were 30 Indian warriors on the Rappahannock River and attributed them to "the Portobago or Nanzattico." He said that the Wicomico (Wighcocomoco) were living on the south side of the Potomac. He did not mention the Doegg, Moraughtacund, Nansemond, Rappahannock, or Totuskey (Colonial Office 5/1312 Part II:221-222).

In 1705, Robert Beverley II reported that the Rappahannock, who were living in Essex County, were "reduc'd to a few Families, and live scatter'd upon the English seats." As Essex then included the land surrounding Portobago Bay, encroached upon by Europeans for half a century, the Rappahannock may have been living in the same vicinity since around 1684. Although some Rappahannock Indians are known to have become servants in homes of settlers, others stayed together as a group and managed to preserve their tribal identity. Beverley said that the Portobago Indians were living in Richmond County and had around "five Bow-men, but [were] Wasting." He added that the Wicomico, who resided in Northumberland County, had only three men but "keep up their Kingdom, and retain their Fashion." He said that "they live by themselves, separate from all other Indians, and from the English." When Beverley updated his narrative in 1722, he declared that the Rappahannock and Portobago were "extinct" (Beverley 2013:184, 323). In reality, the Rappahannock and other Rappahannock River nations were probably living in areas where they would be less likely to be disturbed.

When the legislation commonly known as the slave code was formulated in 1705, chattel slavery became official and all non-whites, whether or not they were of African descent, were deprived of additional rights. Non-whites were banned from holding government offices nor could they sue for their

freedom. Moreover, they lost the right to file a complaint about any abuse they received (Hening 1901:III:251, 289, 449-450, 459).

A Tragic Event

In April 1704, the Nanzatico Indians filed an official complaint, claiming that Thomas Kendall of Essex County had broken down their fences and had run them off of their land. The Nanzatico also claimed that Dr. John Lomax (the grandson and heir of Thomas Lunsford, patentee of 3,423 acres at Portobago) had taken the rest of their property, a clear indication that he had seized their legally allocated land bordering Portobago Bay. When the Nanzatico filed a complaint against Kendall and Lomax, they asked to be assigned some new acreage, a matter that the Council agreed to consider (McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915: 1702-1712:49; McIlwaine 1925-1945:II:359; McIlwaine 1918:I:391). As it turned out, the Council failed to act in time.

In September, a group of Natives attacked the Richmond County home of John Rowley and several English people were slain. A young girl who survived the attack described it to the authorities. As the Nanzatico were known to have had disagreements with the Rowleys, they became prime suspects with the Piscataway also implicated. Several Nanzatico men were apprehended, questioned, and confessed to the killings. Other members of the group (men, women, and children) were detained separately, reportedly on Colonel William Tayloe's plantation, so that they could not influence the testimony of the alleged assailants.

When Richmond County's court convened, five of the accused Nanzatico men were convicted of murder and promptly hanged. Two others, who had served as informants, were sentenced to death, and one Indian, a man named Frank, was acquitted. In mid-October 1704 and again on March 6, 1705, Mrs. Jane Cammell,[6] "Interpreter from the Tryall of the Nanzatico Indians," presented a claim for compensation, requesting 1,000 pounds of tobacco for "my attendance on severall 5 days & night." In December 1705 she was authorized to receive 800 pounds of tobacco in payment for her services (Richmond County Order Book 4 [1704-1708]:40,100; Miscellaneaous Records 1699-1724:33).

The justices decided that the 40 or so other Nanzatico who remained in custody should be brought to Williamsburg to stand trial in accord with the 1663 law that held all of a tribe's members accountable for wrongful actions committed by others in their group. Captain Nicholas Smith and his troop of horsemen, who were from Richmond County, conveyed the Nanzatico to the riverside opposite Hobbs Hole (Tappahannock). After the Indians crossed the Rappahannock River and arrived in Essex County, Lieutenant Colonel Richard Covington and the Essex County militia escorted them as far as the border of King and Queen County. At that point, King and Queen County Sheriff Robert Bird conducted the Indians to New Kent County, where New Kent sheriff John Moss took over.

The Nanzatico were to be incarcerated at various county jails as they made their way to Williamsburg to be tried by the colony's highest court. Williamsburg jailor John Redwood was to make a list of the Indians who entered his prison and to note any deaths that occurred during incarceration. He was to secure matchcoats for the Indians who lacked clothing and to furnish them with the type of

[6] Mrs. Cammell is the only female Indian interpreter yet identified in colonial Virginia.

provisions they were accustomed to, including a portion of meat once a week (McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915: 1702-1712:94, 97-98, 118-119; McIlwaine 1925-1945:II:397-400, 456; Essex County Order Book 1703-1708:245; Richmond County Miscellaneous Records 1699-1721:30-33).

In May 1705, after the Nanzatico had spent the winter months in Williamsburg's jail, the House of Burgesses concluded that the entire group was implicated in the Rowley murders on the basis of association and decided that those who were age 12 or older should be transported out of the colony and sold as servants. Those under the age of 12 were to be bound out until age 24. Although the Council of State recommended that an elderly couple, Maddox Will and Betty, be spared deportation and that the group's women and girls be sold as servants for seven years on the Eastern Shore, the burgesses were adamant that they be removed from Virginia. It is likely that the burgesses – and some of the citizens they represented – were eager to be rid of the Nanzatico, for the governor and his council had agreed to uphold the Indians' claim to their Essex County preserve or find other acreage for them. In 1704, John Lomax, Gawin (Gawen) Corbin, John Taliaferro, John Catlett, Ralph Wormeley II, and others who owned Indian land, were in positions of power in the House of Burgesses or were county justices (Nugent 1934:III:149, 151, 167, 202, 226).

The same day the governor and his council decided the fate of the adult Nanzatico Indians, they had the group's children brought before them in an effort to determine their age. Afterward, youngsters ranging in age from 9 months to 11 years were distributed among the governor and members of his council by means of drawing lots; then, indentures were prepared for each child. All of the officials receiving Nanzatico Indian children lived on the James-York peninsula or close by. Two weeks later, the adult Nanzatico, who were in prison in Williamsburg, petitioned the Council for the return of their skins, wampum peake, and other chattels "lately taken from the Indian town," an indication that they were living in a clustered settlement at the time of their arrest. Although the Council agreed that the Nanzatico's belongings would be returned to them before they were transported, that never happened. Colonel William Tayloe was ordered to sell the Indians' perishable goods and take custody of the rest. Later, the proceeds were used to cover the expenses involved in dealing with the Nanzatico (McIlwaine 1918:414, 420, 425; 1925-1945:II:384-388, 396-398, 400; III:5, 12, 20, 37, 50, 98; McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905-1915:1702-1712:97-99; Winfree 1971:43).

On May 12, 1705, John Martin, a sea captain, posted a bond guaranteeing "the transportation of the Nanzattico Indians" to Antigua (McIlwaine 1918:425). Then, on May 23, 1706, he presented a certificate from Antigua's lieutenant governor, Daniel Parke, verifying that he had taken the Nanzatico there and sold them into seven years of servitude (McIlwaine 1925-1945:III:98). No records have come to light that disclose how many of the Indians survived the ocean voyage or what happened to them after they arrived on an island with numerous sugar plantations.

The Rappahannock and Portobago Indians, who had seen the Nanzatico forcibly removed from their preserve on the lower side of Portobago Bay, no doubt felt in danger of further aggression from the English. That may have been the reason that they withdrew further inland, reoccupying the preserve that had been allocated to the Rappahannock in 1682.

Aftermath

In 1707, Robert Beverley II expressed his concern about non-tributary Indian nations invading the upper reaches of King and Queen County, saying 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 tributary Indians' situation, for when speaking of the Pamunkey and Chickahominy, he noted 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 Native people's loss of land, for his father, Robert Beverley I, worked in the Secretary's Office for many years and would have handled the numerous patents that were recorded (Nugent 1934:I:70-71; Patent Book 9:531; Palmer 1968:I:110; Beverley 1947:232-233).

When Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood rendered an account of the tributary groups in 1712, he mentioned the Chickahominy, Meherrin, Nansemond, Nottoway, Occoneechee, Pamunkey, Saponi, Stukanock, and the Totero (Beverley 2013:182, 184; Spotswood 1982:I:167). Spotswood, who was focused on maintaining peace on the colony's frontiers when he built Fort Christanna on the Meherrin River and Fort Germanna on the Rapidan River, failed to mention the Indians who lived east of the Rappahannock River's fall line, possibly because that area was relatively peaceful or because he mistakenly included the Rappahannock and the Portobago with the Pamunkey and/or Chickahominy tribes.

In mid-November 1715, John Fontaine, who was visiting the upper reaches of the Mattaponi River, saw an Indian cabin close to the side of the road as he approached Robert Beverley II's home, Beverley Park, near Mattapony and Beverley runs and modern Salvia Post Office. Fontaine reported 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" (Fontaine 1972:85; Bagby 1940:508). In light of the house's location, the Indians living there may have been Rappahannock.

Although relatively peaceful conditions prevailed in the upper reaches of the Rappahannock River during the early 18th century, rangers continued to patrol the frontiers of the colony and, as late as 1711, Indians who ventured into settled areas were obliged to carry badges (McIlwaine 1925-1945:II:286). As planters moved into the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck in increasing numbers, the Natives faded from the written reports, as did their claims to the land that had been set aside for their use. In 1787, when Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* was published, he used the demographic information that had been compiled in 1669. Although he mentioned the Totuskey and failed to specifically refer to the Rappahannock Indians, he indicated that there had been a group with 30 warriors on Rappahannock (now Cat Point) Creek in Richmond County (Jefferson 1972:95).

Whether this archival silence means physical absence, however, is doubtful. One strategy of resistance among many displaced people well beyond the early modern Middle Atlantic was simply to "hide in plain sight."

Modern Times

The Rappahannock Indians as a political entity were not mentioned again in the records until anthropologist James Mooney (1907) took an interest in them at the turn of the twentieth century. Mooney reported that he had heard the Rappahannock were "fairly prosperous and intelligent" and that they probably were "the descendants of the old Nandtanghtacund tribe, known later, with others, under the name Portobacco."

The Rappahannock Indian tribe became incorporated in 1921 as part of an attempt to attain federal and state recognition. Those efforts were spearheaded by Chief George Nelson, who submitted a petition to the United States Congress, asking for recognition of the Rappahannock's civil and sovereign rights (excerpt provided by the Rappahannock Indians, in Wood ed. 2008:43).

Anthropologist Frank Speck was the first to undertake ethnographic fieldwork with the Rappahannock, who he found to number some 500 individuals, higher than any other Native group in Virginia at that time. Speck (1925) reported that the Rappahannock traced their survival to a Revolutionary War officer, Carey Nelson, who had saved three Indian girls during a raid. Nelson married one of them, a man named Johnson married another, and a man named Spurlock wed the third. The Nelson and Johnson surnames are still to be found among the Rappahannock, who also recognize Susan Spurlock as an ancestor (Rountree 1989a:207, 215-217).

Speck noted that the Rappahannock were wary of their English neighbors. His observations were made in the context of Virginia's recently passed Racial Integrity Act of 1924, which required every birth in the state to be recorded as either "white" or "colored." The first registrar of Virginia's Bureau of Vital Statistics and advocate of the new law was Walter Plecker, who believed that no Indians survived in Virginia. Indeed, Plecker tried to prevent the publication of Speck's research (Feller2009)

Speck found a large community of Indian people who farmed, fished, and harvested lumber, living in farmhouse-style homes furnished with baskets, handmade clay pots, feather-work, and gourds as well as goods from mail-order catalogs. The Rappahannock, Speck noted, maintained a strong sense of identity and related to him many stories of their origin and lifeways.

Virginia's Racial Integrity Act was a "Jim Crow" law, legal instruments mandating principles of racial segregation which came to permeate everyday life. The Rappahannock, like other Virginia Indian tribes, were not immune. In 1950, G. W. J. Blume of the State Board of Education reported that the Rappahannock had a population of 225; this was down from the 500 people Speck had reported in 1925; that any Rappahannock were reported may be considered impressive in the face of Plecker's work as director of the Bureau of Vital Statistics although, by 1950, Plecker was dead).

The majority of the Rappahannock lived in their home area in King and Queen County and many of the men were farmers. In 1982, when a project got underway promoting state recognition of non-reservation Virginia Algonquian tribes, the Rappahannock were among the groups involved. In January 1983, the Virginia General Assembly introduced a resolution to recognize the nation listed as the United Rappahannock Tribe as well as three other non-reservation tribes. The two state reservation tribes

(Pamunkey and Mattaponi) were also listed in the resolution. On March 25, 1983, the Rappahannock Tribe was formally recognized as one of the Commonwealth of Virginia's historic tribes.

Initially, a dwelling donated by a member of the tribe served as the tribal center. In 1985, however, the Rappahannock undertook construction of their cultural and tribal center at Indian Neck, an impressive facility completed in 1997 with meeting rooms, exhibits, a catering kitchen, and offices. In 1989, the United Rappahannock Tribe had around 150 members who resided in King and Queen, Essex, and Caroline counties, plus another 70 or so members who lived elsewhere (Rountree 1989a:226, 233, 238, 253, 266).

In 1998, the Rappahannock tribe elected its first woman chief, G. Anne Richardson. She is the first female chief to lead a Virginia tribe since the 18th century. Chief Richardson, whose forebears have led the tribe for four generations and who served as assistant chief while her father was chief, brought to her position a lengthy legacy of traditional leadership and service. Under Chief Anne Richardson's leadership, the Rappahannock purchased 119 acres and established a land trust with which they intended to build housing. They completed and sold their first home in 2001 (Wood ed. 2008:43; Rountree 1989a:266).

In recent years, the Rappahannock Tribe has frequently hosted an annual Harvest Festival and Powwow in October. They have a dance group, the Rappahannock Native American Dancers, and a drum group called the Maskapow Drum. These groups put on performances as a means of educating the public about Rappahannock history and cultural traditions. The Rappahannock Tribal Center, located in Indian Neck, Virginia, displays pre-Colonial and historic period artifacts, historical photographs, and other cultural material. The Richmond County Museum, located in Warsaw, Virginia, also has exhibits that feature the story of the Rappahannock tribe (Wood 2008:43, 52, 58).

CHAPTER IV
INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENT MODELS OF THE CHESAPEAKE BAY REGION

There have been a number of ways by which researchers have attempted to model the settlement of people in the Chesapeake and other Algonquian-speaking regions. Studies of the Middle Woodland (500 BCE-900 CE) and early Late Woodland (900-1200 CE) periods in both Maryland and Virginia have shown that these centuries were a transitional period of increasing sedentism (living in one place for periods at a time), population growth, and the apparent emergence of larger group territories, economies, and polities. These changes may have been spurred by better access to reliable food sources, including corn, which appears to have arrived in the region ca. 900 CE (Sperling 2008:24). A growing dependence on domesticated foods requires different social and material structures for ensuring adequate food supplies, including rules to distribute food surpluses and the ability to store resources for future use, including subsurface pits, ceramic pots, or above-ground granaries. Availability of resources appears to be the major contributing factor to this transition and many archaeologists see an important shift in the archaeological record ca. 900 CE, with Native communities entering a different phase of development known as the Late Woodland.

Archaeologist Martin Gallivan (2003) has challenged the common understanding that there was a sudden and dramatic shift toward greater sedentariness in the early part of the Late Woodland, or at the Middle-Late Woodland break. Gallivan argues that sedentary practice at the beginning of the Late Woodland period differed only slightly from the end of the Middle Woodland period. Examining site population density and duration of occupation through an examination of house patterns and ceramic discard, Gallivan found that it was only after 1200 CE (and not after 900 CE) that more permanent and substantial settlements appear in the archaeological record, at least in the James River valley.

Gallivan's observations accord with shifts seen in the archaeological record in the Potomac River valley, with support for these shifts provided by an unusual oral history account. In 1660, a Piscataway Great Man told then-Governor Philip Calvert of Maryland that "long agoe," or 13 generations earlier, a leader had come to the Piscataway from the Eastern Shore, or ca. 1350 CE. This shift appears to be reflected in the archaeological record. Prior to about 1300 CE, the predominant ceramic type in the Coastal Plain Potomac was Townsend ware, a shell-tempered ceramic produced from about 950 CE through the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Beginning about 1300 CE, however, grit- and/or sand-tempered ceramics, including Potomac Creek and, later, Moyaone ware types, also appear in the river valley's archaeological record.

A number of archaeologists have pointed out that, at about the time grit-tempered Potomac Creek ceramics began to appear in the inner coastal plain, palisaded towns in the Piedmont on both sides of the Potomac River were being abandoned; the inhabitants of these towns made and used a crushed quartz-tempered ceramic analogous to Potomac Creek types. As these towns were being abandoned, others in the piedmont were being established by people producing predominantly limestone-tempered ceramics. Archaeologists infer that the appearance of Potomac Creek ceramics in the Middle Potomac valley may reflect migrations from the Piedmont into the Coastal Plain, possibly spurred by migrations into the Piedmont from the west. While this seemingly contradicts the Piscataway Great Man's account, ossuary

burials, present on the Eastern Shore, begin appearing on the western shore coastal plain slightly later. Archaeologist Stephen Potter (1992:126-138) has reconciled these accounts, and most archaeologists currently accept that, sometime about 1300-1350 CE, important transitions were taking place in the Potomac valley just north of the Rappahannock.

Gallivan also found that, at least in Virginia between 1500 and 1607, there was an apparent *decline* in sedentariness, caused perhaps by political instability, an extended dry period (as revealed by tree ring evidence), or both (Gallivan 2002:549-552). The standard argument for this decline has been disease brought by earlier European explorations. Such explorations would have included the failed Spanish Jesuit Ajacán Mission of 1570 (probably on the York River) and earlier expeditions by Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón in 1525 and Ángel de Villafañe in 1561 (Loker 2010; Potter 1993:161-164). Populations in parts of New England in the early 17th century were apparently decimated by European diseases before permanent English settlement took place in that region (Marr and Cathey 2010). European-borne diseases could have conceivably had an impact on populations in the Chesapeake, leading, for example, to the destruction of populations at Shenks Ferry in the Susquehanna Valley (Pendergast 1991:45)

Other researchers, however, contend that there is little archaeological evidence, at least in the Potomac valley, to support the notion that 16th-century European contact had brought any epidemics to the Native population in this region (Potter 1993:165). Studies of Late Woodland populations in the Potomac drainage in particular suggest that there was actually an increase in population size (Ubelaker 1974:68), and the abandonment of major settlements may date more recently, to the first decades of the 17th century; in some cases, these settlements moved inland along creeks or less exposed waterways. In order to fully resolve questions about the impact of European-borne epidemics in the 16th century, further study is clearly needed (Potter 1993:166).

Potter (1993:102) noted a shift in archaeological site types and their distributions from the earlier part of the Late Woodland to the later part in the Northern Neck of Virginia. Sites of "intermediate" size distributed across river necklands were generally supplanted by a single large site containing dispersed residential settlements. During the later Late Woodland, the chief's residence apparently formed a "core settlement" within the larger, dispersed town. Clusters of houses as well as hunting and gathering camps would be located within a 2-km range of the core (Potter 1993:88-89).

Potter's systematic study provides an estimate of the size of what could reasonably be called a catchment area for a community and provides a robust starting point for defining Smith-era ICLs. Similar work on the dynamic nature of Late Woodland regional indigenous landscapes can be found in the work of E. Randolph Turner III (1976) and Helen Rountree (1989b). These communities, while essentially "permanent" and centered around river drainages, often shifted throughout the landscape in response to resource availability (good soil, firewood), climate and weather, trading relations, and unfriendly neighbors.

Jay Custer and Daniel Griffith (1986) examined Late Woodland settlement patterns on the Delmarva Peninsula (the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, including Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia), through a focus on the seasonal mobility of macro- and micro-band base camps. Custer and Griffith

developed five models of seasonally-based settlement patterns on the peninsula (Table 4). They found that macro-band base camps are typically found in floodplains along the major drainages of the Delmarva Peninsula, close to marshes on land between saltwater and freshwater environments. A minority of macro-band settlements, however, are found on bluffs overlooking drainage sections with low terraces and marshes. Conversely, micro-band base camps are noted as appearing along marshes, lagoons, and bays as well as in the floodplains of major drainages.

Model	Winter	Spring	Summer	Fall
1	Micro-band base camp; interior	Micro-band base camp; mid-drainage	Micro-band base camp; coastal	Micro-band base camp; mid-drainage
2	Macro-band base camp; interior	Macro-band base camp; mid-drainage	Macro-band base camp; coastal	Macro-band base camp; interior
3	Macro-band base camp; interior	Macro-band base camp; coastal		Macro-band base camp; interior
4	Macro-band base camp; mid-drainage		Micro-band base camp; coastal	Macro-band base camp; mid-drainage
5	Macro-band base camp; mid-drainage			

Table 4. Settlement types and seasonality based on Custer and Griffith's (1986) study of the Delmarva Peninsula.

Sites classified as procurement sites or short-term camps have more subtle distribution patterns. These sites are found in poorly drained woodlands along small sand ridges near low-order ephemeral streams. There are also regional differences, as small procurement sites appear along both major drainages (adjacent to swamps and marshes) and small bays and drainages (adjacent to barrier islands along the Atlantic coasts and the Chesapeake shoreline). These sites are presumably located in areas good for hunting, gathering, and shellfish collecting (Clark 1976; Custer and Griffith 1986).

Evidence from Virginia's piedmont communities reveals the great variation that existed in the Native landscape (Hantman 1993). Piedmont groups exhibited dispersed communities and isolated homesites away from the major river drainages. Late Woodland settlement patterns on the Delmarva Peninsula ranged from diffuse to concentrated (Thomas et al. 1975; Custer 1989). Busby's (2010) examination of Nanticoke settlements on Maryland's Eastern Shore showed a nucleated "core settlement" with smaller sites across a broad 3-km-plus area during the later Late Woodland giving way to more dispersed linear settlements along secondary drainages in the early Contact period. The point is, even within this relatively constricted area of the Chesapeake drainage on the Eastern Shore, variation existed in the expression of communities across the landscape.

Previous Settlement Modeling of the Northern Neck

GIS-based approaches to human settlement have emerged as a powerful tool for understanding the relationship of settlement locations to the environment and other natural, social, and cultural factors. GIS technology allows a far greater amount of data to be collected, processed, and analyzed, with models based on a more rigorous foundation than earlier efforts, leading to strengthened interpretations. A number of different GIS-based studies have been undertaken throughout the Chesapeake, although not on a broad, Chesapeake-wide scale. Nonetheless, these growing numbers of studies have served to inform researchers about variables correlating (or not) with Native settlement in the broader Chesapeake region.

Little extensive research has been undertaken within the Rappahannock in regards to this kind of settlement modeling, though the few studies that have been completed provide insights into approaches taken within this report. Examples of settlement modeling in nearby river drainages, such as the Potomac, highlight a number of variables considered major determinants of settlement location. Stephen Potter (1993:94) identifies five major variables, including:

- Proximity to rivers and streams;
- Nearness to freshwater springs;
- Location upon the rise of a hill or ridge;
- Nearness to marshlands;
- Proximity to sufficient land suitable for slash-and-burn cultivation.

Strickland (2012) examined the nature of Native settlement on the lower and middle Potomac's north shore using archaeological site typologies defined by the Maryland Historical Trust (MHT). Not surprisingly, these typologies can be problematic, especially for those sites identified as "short-term camps" and "procurement sites." These types of sites appear with the largest frequency in MHT's archaeological site inventories, and the label appears to function as a catch-all term for Native sites with as-yet-unknown settlement activity. Nonetheless, Strickland's analysis revealed statistically significant correlations of Late Woodland sites with proximity to wetland areas such as the Potomac River and inland waterways. He also found that there was a range of correlations between site types, agriculturally-productive soils, elevation, and slope. Strickland was able to identify four types of Native settlement on Maryland's lower western shore and the attributes of each type. A summary of the results and interpretation of the statistical correlative studies of typologies can be found in Table 5. A proposed settlement model based on this data can be found in Figure 5.

Building on Stephen Potter's work on the south side of the lower Potomac, Doug Sanford and Mike Klein (1994) undertook an assessment of the archaeological resources of Richmond County, located on the north bank of the Rappahannock River. Sanford and Klein translated Potter's determinants into

Typology	Attributes
Villages/Towns	Strong association with proximity to shore
	Low elevations
	High potential crop yields
	Within close proximity to the most productive soils for corn
Base Camps	Close proximity to shore but with a longer range
	Range of elevations for its shore proximity
	No observed correlations to tested soil attributes
Hamlets	Close proximity to the shore
	Higher elevations than villages, but not a longer range
	Range of different soil productivity attributes
	Close proximity to villages and base camps
Short-term Camps/ Procurement	Close proximity to shore but with a longer range
	Range of elevations for its shore proximity
	Slight association with agriculturally productive soil types
	Range of travel times from villages and base camps, but still clustered with them

Table 5. Attributes of settlement types (Strickland 2012).

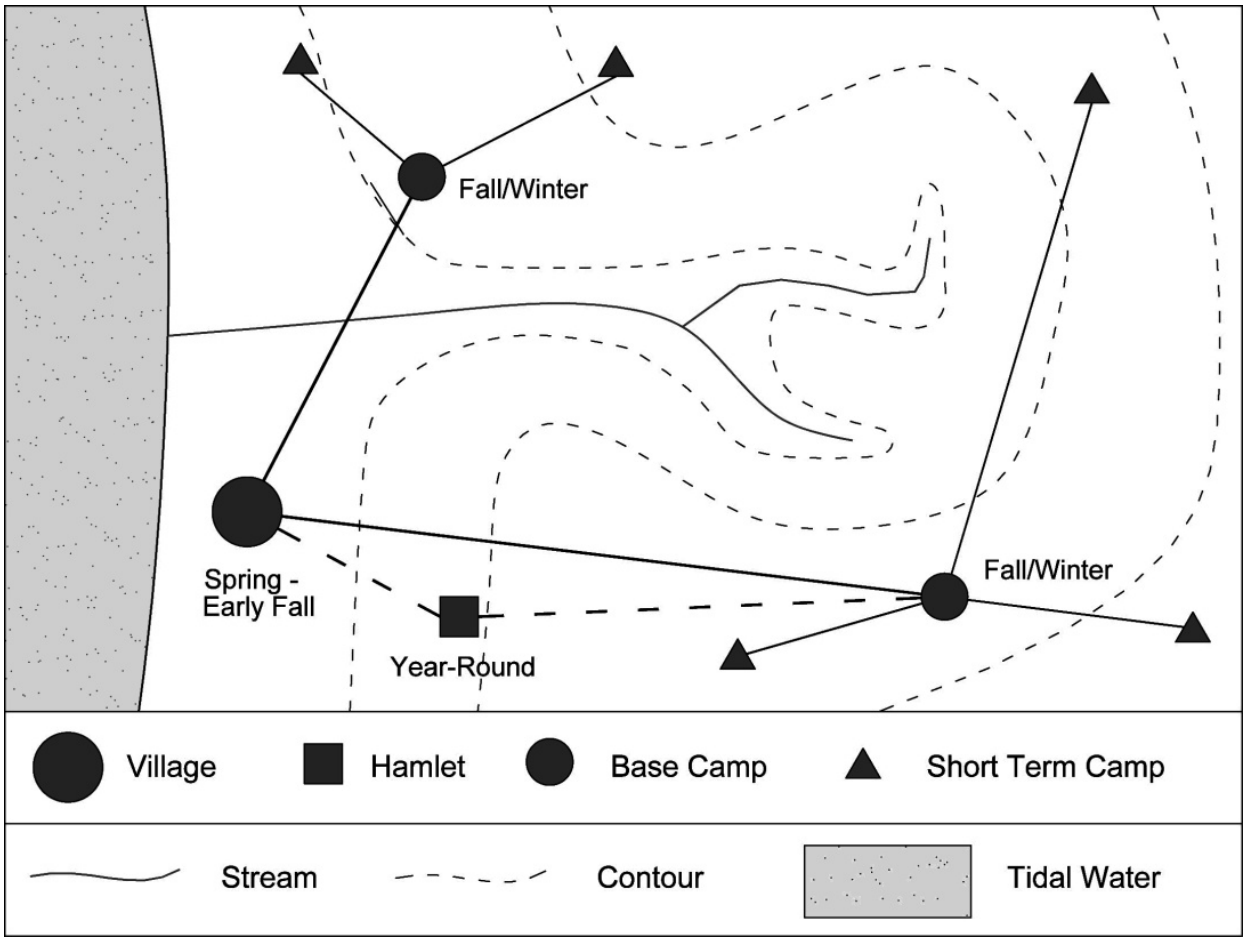


Figure 5. Settlement model for the Potomac valley (Strickland 2012).

testable variables within GIS and performed statistical analysis of these variables as it related to recorded site data and newly collected survey data. Sanford and Klein were not focused solely on the Late Woodland, but on the whole of prehistoric occupation in Richmond County. At the time, few archaeological sites had been identified in Richmond County. Their data was supplemented with newly collected data as part of that assessment to examine the efficacy of Potter's Potomac model for the Rappahannock. Sanford and Klein (1994:207) suggested a reduction of the number of relevant variables, from Potter's five, to the following four factors:

- Distance to a rank 4 or great drainage;
- Distance to the Rappahannock;
- Distance to a marsh; and
- Type of landform.

Taking into consideration the above-mentioned studies, a number of similarities between ecological variables are evident. First, there is an emphasis placed on proximity to wetland resources, whether freshwater springs or tidal marshes. Proximity to major water bodies is another trait considered conducive to settlement, particularly during the Late Woodland period. E. Randolph Turner (1976:86)

argues that the Mattaponi-Pamunkey watersheds were the first in the Virginia Coastal Plain to move away from inland zones towards coastal areas along the major river waterways. This transition, Turner argues, took place in the Mattaponi-Pamunkey drainages between the Archaic and Woodland periods. For the Rappahannock and Potomac river valleys, however, Turner argues that the move to coastal areas came at the end of the Woodland period. By the Late Woodland and at the time of contact, coastal areas appear to have been the preferred zone of settlement. Additional attributes to consider include landforms as they relate to elevation, slope, and agricultural productivity. Given the growing population during the Late Woodland, the demands for subsistence agriculture would necessitate the locations of settlements on landforms and soils that are flat, well-drained, and agriculturally productive but that also provide some sort of protection from coastal flooding.

The Curious North Side of the Rappahannock River

Captain John Smith gets the credit for the original settlement model of the Rappahannock. Although colonizers would go on to represent the Chesapeake region as an uncultivated and uninhabited wilderness, Smith's 1608/1612 map (see Figure 1), with its representation of a rich and extensive indigenous landscape, gives the lie to that justification. To be sure, Smith's famous map is a problematic representation that must be approached cautiously, but it is nonetheless one of the very few documents surviving from a period of first encounters, at least on the part of the English invaders and the Chesapeake nations that stood in their way.

Although Smith may have recognized the extent of Native occupation in the region, he intended for the map to be used by the Crown to promote colonization, and it was: in the description of Lord Baltimore's patent that appears in the 1632 Charter of Maryland, landmarks are described that are also depicted on the Smith map. While the Smith Map cannot be taken at face value (no historical document can be), it does have some relationship to a past reality and can provide insight, albeit limited, into an important period in American history.

For example, the Smith map depicts towns in greater or lesser density within the whole, suggesting the explorer made an effort to accurately represent the landscape as he saw it. Augustine Herman's Map of Maryland and Virginia, prepared decades later in the 1670s (see Figure 4), depicts 17th-century colonial settlements evenly across the landscape, a representation that has not been borne out by historical and archaeological research. Smith's map, however, shows obvious clustering of Native settlements. This variation could be real or it could be due in part to something as pragmatic as a waterway's width and what Smith and his men could see from their ships (see below). Nonetheless, it suggests that Smith was trying to map this strange new world as realistically as any 17th-century explorer could.

An important example of the settlement variability Smith reports observing concerns the representation of towns along the north bank of the Rappahannock River (see Figure 1). Smith shows many more towns and hamlets on the river's north side than on its south side. Native settlements shown on the map on the river's south bank begin only at present day Port Royal. Few towns are located on the south side below Port Royal.

The absence of towns on the Rappahannock's south side has been used to speculate about the political power of the Powhatan polity. As early as the first decades of the 20th century, this pattern of settlement was interpreted as evidence of Powhatan's growing political reach, with the Rappahannock groups putting distance between themselves and Powhatan demands (Saville 1919:36; Speck 1925:32, 36; Turner 1976:161; Potter 1993:177; Gallivan 1997:156; Ragan 2006:66).

This interpretation dovetailed with Randolph Turner's (1976:161, 254) and, later, Klein and Sanford's (1996) studies of ceramic and projectile point types from Richmond County (on the north shore of the lower Rappahannock), which suggested that the region's high population density was a relatively recent phenomenon, the result, perhaps, of Native groups crossing the river to escape Powhatan. Klein and Sanford (2004:63-64) further suggested that the Rappahannock River groups were also avoiding the Piscataway to their north. They note that the "median size of catchment territory" in the lower Rappahannock is the lowest for the Virginia nations, a finding they suggest corroborates the inference that "Native Americans clustered in this region to avoid the demands of [Piscataway] and Powhatan chiefs" (Klein and Sanford 2004:63). The picture is one of groups, if not under, siege, certainly under greater political pressure than elsewhere in the region.

Klein and Sanford's (2004) examination of the estimated catchment territory for the Rappahannock is based on Martin Gallivan's (1997) re-creation of Smith's map. Using what Smith called "King's Howses" as centers of power, catchment areas were drawn using Thiessen polygons (Figure 6). Thiessen polygons, also known as Voronoi tessalation, are a process which generates polygons from sample points (think of sample points as towns and polygons as catchment areas). Each polygon is meant to represent the area of influence around the sample point, so that any area within the polygon is closer to that polygon's sample point than any other sample point. A legitimate criticism of using Thiessen polygons in archaeology is the fact that, methodologically, it is solely based on geometric allocation and does not factor in social and/or geographic influences in the allocation of this geometry (Wheatley and Gillings 2002:136).

A second criticism of this technique is rooted in the inaccuracies found in Smith's map. With some exceptions, the locations of settlements shown on this map for much of the Chesapeake have not been definitively confirmed. Conjectured settlement locations from the map vary widely from researcher to researcher. Smith's interpretation of what was and was not important to map is also likely distinct from Native realities. The efficacy of its use as a map can be debated until the end of time, but the context of the map should warrant caution when trying to extrapolate spatial statistics of any kind.

Nevertheless, Klein and Sanford's results of the Thiessens polygon exercise revealed a number of differences between the James, York, Rappahannock, and Potomac rivers. The resulting catchment area data was divided per river drainage and plotted using summary statistics in a box and whisker plot (Figure 7). Klein and Sanford noted that "the median size of catchment territory in the lower Rappahannock falls below that of all but the lower Potomac Valley, and the range is far below that of all other drainage basins." They argue that this can be interpreted as "Native Americans clustered in this region to avoid the demands of Conoy [Piscataway] and Powhatan chiefs, rather than environmental reasons" (Klein and Sanford 2004:63). Recreation of these results as part of the present project, however, revealed something very different.

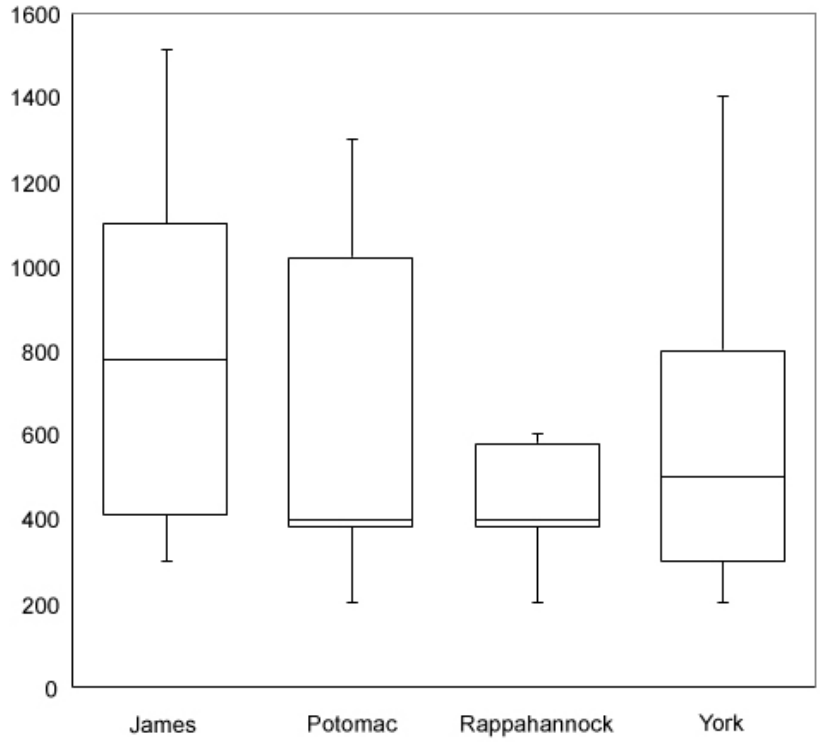


Figure 6. Catchment areas estimated by Klein and Sanford (2004) using Thiessen polygons.

Thiessen polygons require a number of points to derive catchment areas. The size of these areas can vary greatly depending on the distribution of these points and the influence of unwanted edge effects. For example, Klein and Sanford's plot of the catchment area data depicts the James River as having the largest median catchment size, and the greatest range overall in catchment area (ranging from about 300 to about 1,500 square kilometers). The James River, however, is at the southern edge of the area represented on Smith's map, and what lay beyond or south of the James in terms of settlement is unknown. There are simply no points beyond the James to the south to be able to define the edge of catchments, rendering the results shaky at best.

The same exercise was recreated for this project, but omitting Thiessen polygons that were affected by edge effects such as along the James River's south bank (Figure 7). This reanalysis indicates that it is the York River, where Werowocomoco is located, with the smallest median catchment area (the Rappahannock valley has the smallest range in catchment sizes, but not as notable in Klein and Sanford's estimation). The Potomac drainage has the highest median catchment area.

Explanations for these variations go back to Smith's interpretation of the landscape. A visual interpretation of Smith's map indicates that there are very few native settlements along the Chesapeake Bay and the lower Potomac River. These bodies of water are also the widest in the Chesapeake. The lack of settlements in these areas may be a result of the bay's and river's width, with Smith simply missing settlements. It is notable that the number of settlements depicted along the Potomac River increases when he reaches portions of the river where it is not as wide.

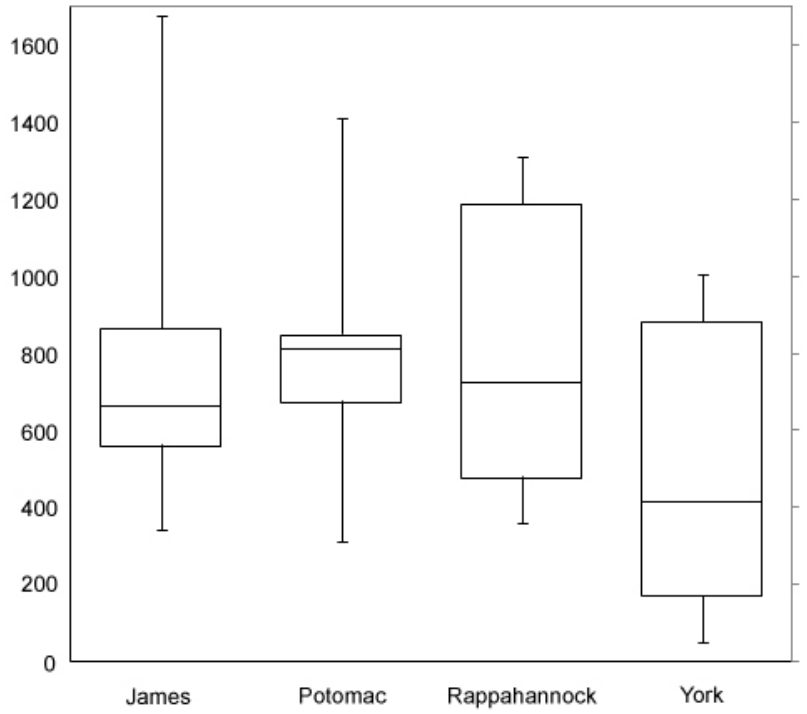


Figure 7. Catchment areas using Thiessen polygons with James River edge effects omitted.

The usefulness of Thiessen polygons now called into question, what other data supports the assertion that the Rappahannock moved to the north side to escape Powhatan?

The landscape sensitivity model developed for the Nanjemoy and Mattawoman watersheds suggests an economic (or ecological) – not a political – motivation for this pattern (contra Klein and Sanford [2004]). A greater number of marshes and low-lying adjacent flat land are found on the river's north bank while, on the south side, the landscape consists of high terraces and steep slopes. The sensitivity model not only confirms an observation made by Smith, it suggests an ecological interpretation for the variation.

CHAPTER V
ASSEMBLING THE EVIDENCE

Consultation with a wide range of stakeholders, including members of the Rappahannock Tribe, land planners and managers, members of land conservation and historic preservation organizations, and property owners with an interest in the Rappahannock, was critically important for mapping the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape. As a result of this consultation, a wealth of information about the two watersheds was generated from a range of perspectives. Also important were the online sets of data available for this area, including natural and ecological information, archaeological site data, and information gleaned from historical records.

This chapter pulls together the information derived through stakeholder input as well as archaeological, documentary, geological, and environmental evidence to define not just the landscape of the Rappahannock people who were warily eyeing Smith in 1608 but the landscape of the contemporary Rappahannock. An array of maps were generated to represent all of this information and to identify high probability areas containing the physical traces of the historic Rappahannock ICL in the Rappahannock watershed. These maps were then used to build a composite map in order to delineate not just the ICL boundary but the varied uses by the Rappahannock within this landscape.

Rappahannock Stakeholder Information

The Rappahannock representatives participating in this project identified 20 locations of significance on a printed map of the project area. These 20 locations, shown in Figure 8, are numbered sequentially starting just east of Port Royal at Portobago Bay and extending eastward along both sides of the Rappahannock to Totuskey Creek, just east of Warsaw. The legend for each location is shown in Table 6 and describes the importance of the identified areas. Notably, certain areas that were not marked but that were part of group discussions are better shown through other data themes discussed later in this chapter – particularly archaeological sites well known to the Rappahannock tribal community.

The Lands End Wildlife Management Area, on the north side of Portobago Bay, was not marked as part of this exercise, although the Nanzatico Town site and nearby ossuaries were discussed at length. A visit to the property was conducted with project staff and Chief Anne Richardson in August 2016. In addition to this property, information about archaeological sites at Leedstown and Woodlawn (Papiscone) was reviewed.

The Rappahannock Tribe had previously worked with local students to study historical and contemporary indigenous plant use for species found throughout the Rappahannock drainage. Although beyond the scope of this project, an inventory of information about plant use would augment interpretation of the Rappahannock ICL. The same was true of the Piscataway and the Nanjemoy/Mattawoman Creek watersheds, further highlighting the importance of Native plant species to the indigenous peoples of the region.

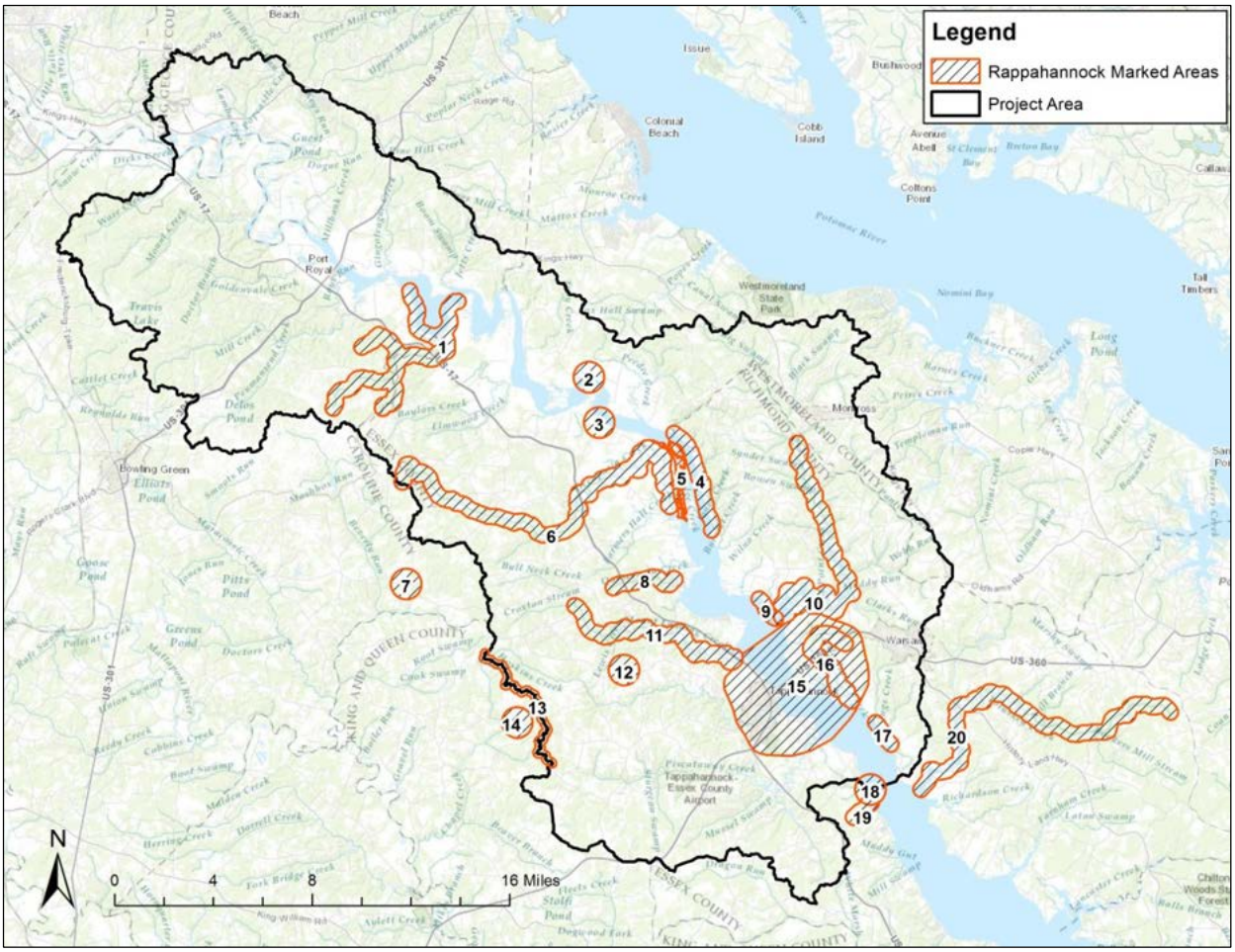


Figure 8. Areas marked by Rappahannock tribal members

Conversations with the Rappahannock tribal members provided important insight into tribal members' senses of place. Marsh and creek environments were identified as important places, with perceptions clearly rooted in past understandings of the landscape. For example, notwithstanding Smith's observations and the results of the sensitivity modeling exercise, tribal members expressed the cultural importance of both sides of the river. The settlement of Tappahannock is recalled in Rappahannock memory as having been located on both sides of the river depending on the season. In addition, place names, even today, carry on this tradition of the dual sense of the north and south sides of the river. Discussion revealed that Cat Point Creek and Mt. Landing Creek, though on opposite sides of the river, are interpreted by the Rappahannock as being one and the same. The same was also said of Totuskey and Tuscarora creeks.

More recent settlement locations known through oral traditions were also discussed. One such settlement location includes a property not far from the present Rappahannock Tribal Center. The Rennolds family, former owners of a large tract located between Mt. Landing Road and Lewis Creek, had previously brought to the attention of Chief Captain Chawanta Nelson a possible fortified settlement on their property. No recorded archaeological sites are located here though one of the former owners has a

Area	Place	Significance
1	Portobago Bay/Creek	Location of settlement(s)
2	Leedstown	Location of settlement(s)
3	Layton's Landing	Community, River access
4	Fones Cliffs	Habitat, Known Smith location
5	Beverly Marsh	Habitat, Resources, Known Smith location
6	Occupacia Creek	Fishing, Resources
7	Central Point	Community, Church
8	Quioccasin Creek	Means "Place of Worship"
9	Naylor's Beach	Community, Fishing
10	Cat Point Creek	Resources, Ancestral homelands, Location of settlement/ ossuary
11	Mt. Landing Creek	Extension of Cat Point Creek
12	Rennold's Property	Possible fort location
13	Ridgeline between Hoskins and Rickenaw Creek	Known path
14	Tribal Center	Current meeting place
15	Tappahannock	Homeland, Historic "capital"
16	Little Cat Creek/Sabine Hall	Resources, possible location of historic Tappahannock
17	Accopatough Beach	Clay procurement; named for historic werowance
18	Ware's Wharf	Community, river access
19	Tuscarora Creek	Extension of Totuskey Creek
20	Totuskey Creek	Edge of reserved lands; location of historic Totuskey and Moraughtacund settlements

Table 6. Areas of importance identified by Rappahannock tribal members and keyed to Figure 8.

small collection of lithic artifacts. Possible future archaeological work on the property is currently in discussion.

Non-Tribal Stakeholder Information

Non-tribal stakeholders provided a range of valuable input for this project. This included information directly related to defining the Rappahannock ICL; partnership opportunities; information on regional and local conservation, preservation, and tourism priorities and economic impacts; and input regarding the implementation of the Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT. Data and suggestions related directly to defining the ICL have been included in appropriate sections of this report.

Stakeholder comments at the Essex County public meeting held June 16, 2016 included the sharing of information regarding specific locations and sites that may not be a part of state or federal cultural resource databases; information regarding the existence of early 20th-century aerial photographs of the area; mapping of key natural areas for wildlife viewing; information about local trail and trail interpretation development; and observations about the lack of representatives from all counties within the study area. Preservation of fragile and significant natural and cultural resources was identified as very important by members of the Essex County Countryside Alliance, including Fones Cliffs, located on the north bank of the Rappahannock near Singerly. The economic and community benefits of recreational and heritage tourism, including that related to the Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT, was emphasized by

many attendees. Army representatives made arrangements to transfer current Compatible Use Buffer data and to investigate additional aerial mapping data.

At the Archaeological Subject Matter Experts Meeting, held June 8, 2016, a consensus emerged regarding the lack of systematic archaeological survey in the project area, leaving an incomplete picture of the range of cultural resources in the vicinity and their preservation. The lack of research-based archaeology in the area in addition to a lack of compliance-based archaeology was noted. Suggestions were made regarding potential state survey efforts that could be directed toward prioritized areas. The disposition of several key private collections was discussed with efforts initiated to track down related collections. The level of detail on state archaeological site forms and how sites are defined was discussed, including the quality of data and uniformity of site definitions and site nomenclature.

Discussion also centered around the value of factors such as agricultural soil quality, clay resources, and other natural resources for predicting archaeological sites. Research now being done by archaeologists at Longwood University for the Middle Peninsula and the Northern Neck (Bates n.d.) was suggested as potentially providing data to inform understandings of the archaeological record within the project area.

The Camden archaeological district in Caroline County was discussed, with Mary Ellen Norrisey Hodges providing detailed information about survey work she had conducted at Camden and the location of Late Woodland-Contact period sites during the meeting and in a subsequent email.

A non-tribal subject matter expert meeting held in Williamsburg on July 7, 2016 began with a project overview and the examination of large-scale hard copy maps to record location data. A discussion took place of reasons for the spatial arrangements of Rappahannock villages through time and the impacts of Powhatan on Rappahannock settlement patterns, the location of natural resources, and Rappahannock choices on that arrangement. E. Randolph Turner provided a map and recommendations regarding key areas for tourism and interpretation. Helen Rountree provided information regarding settlements and ethnobotanical information.

Through the coordination of Ms. Lisa Hull of the Northern Neck Planning District Commission and at the invitation of Ms. Janit Llewellyn Allen, Programs Planner for the Department of Conservation and Recreation, one of the authors (Strickland) made a presentation to the annual Northern Neck Regional Meeting on August 30, 2016. Attendees included representatives from Cat Point, Inc., the Dahlgren Railroad Heritage Trail, Friends of the Rappahannock, the Menokin Foundation, the Northern Neck Land Conservancy, the Northern Neck Soil and Water Conservation District, the Northern Neck Tourism Office, the Virginia Department of Forestry, the Virginia Department of Transportation, Virginia State Parks including Belle Isle State Park and Westmoreland State Park, and the director of Planning and Community Development for Westmoreland County. Attendees voiced favorable comments regarding the project. Many if not all groups expressed interest in working with the Rappahannock Tribe directly to learn more about tribal oral history. In particular, the Menokin Foundation expressed a desire to increase their indigenous interpretation.

Summary of Comments

Several non-tribal stakeholders inquired about how this section of the Rappahannock River was chosen and how far the study area and ICL extend away from the river. Project staff explained that the project area was defined based on several factors, and these factors were shared with stakeholders. Project staff noted that this should not be taken to imply that there is a lack of cultural, environmental, recreational, educational, or similar values for areas outside of the project area. Finally, staff explained that the project area will probably change before the end of the project based on tribal and non-tribal stakeholder input.

Numerous conservation organizations and agencies identified key aspects of the study area that contribute to the definition of the Rappahannock ICL. The pristine condition of the Rappahannock River in this area had previously led the National Audubon Society (2013) to observe that, "[c]ompared to all other major tributaries of the Chesapeake Bay, the reach of the Rappahannock River between Tappahannock and Port Royal remains the most pristine."

Fones Cliffs is a four-mile stretch of sandstone bluffs along the north bank of the Rappahannock in Richmond County. The fossil-rich diatomaceous cliffs rise in some locations at least 100 feet above the river. As noted in the introduction, Fones Cliffs is also one of the few verifiable locations documented by Smith of an encounter between Rappahannock River Indians and English explorers under his command.

Fones Cliffs are part of the National Audubon Society's Lower Rappahannock Important Bird Area (IBA) (2013) based on the high concentration of bald eagles and the presence of other rare avian species or species of conservation concern. The IBA is wholly contained within the ICL study area and extends from just north of Cleve Marsh at its northern terminus to an area about 3.5 miles south of Tappahannock and the Route 360 bridge (NAS 2013). These species include a range from the shoreline up to 1.86 miles (3 kilometers) inland (USFWS 2009:3-42). In 2008, the Lower Rappahannock IBA was elevated to Global Importance status (NAS n.d.; USFWS 2009:3-41-42). Avian species co-occur with and are attracted by major fish spawning and nursery areas, including striped bass, shad, and sturgeon at the fresh water/salt water interface in the vicinity of Fones Cliffs.

Non-tribal stakeholders identified Fones Cliffs as a significant aspect of the ICL for both its natural and cultural resources. On-going efforts by a number of conservation organizations have sought to monitor land use change in the area (Middleton 2015).

Potential Partners for the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail

The Menokin Foundation expressed a strong interest in partnering with the Rappahannock Indian Tribe. Menokin is an existing interpretive site with recreational and water access. The Foundation's mission is to preserve and interpret the home and life of patriot Francis Lightfoot Lee, a signer of the Declaration of Independence from Virginia. The Menokin Foundation has also been identified by NPS as an Indigenous Cultural Landscape. Water access at Menokin is the result of NPS and the Chesapeake Conservancy partnering with the Foundation for the creation of an ADA-accessible kayak launch on Cat Point Creek; the launch opened in December 2015 (NPS 2013). NPS has also provided an interpretive

kiosk with information about the Rappahannock Tribe and the region's indigenous history; the kiosk is located on the property near Cat Point Creek.

During the Rappahannock Tribal tour of the Menokin property, Chief Anne Richardson observed the "X" carved into the center of the wooden fireplace mantel in the Visitor Center as being the same "X" symbol of the Rappahannock Indian Tribe and which is part of their tribal seal. This manifestation of a tribal symbol on a colonial mantel spurred questions and discussion and deepened the appreciation of Menokin as an ICL. Discussions among tribal members and Menokin staff during this visit and during subsequent landscape tours enabled direct communication about the tribe, this landscape and the ICL among the stakeholders.

The process of identifying county and local tourism and recreation planners and managers as part of the non-tribal stakeholders revealed that there is a lack of funding for positions of this type. This lack of funding has the potential to negatively impact implementation of the Smith Trail at the county level. This gap was revealed by the lack of participation of most county governments in the stakeholder process. Only Essex County sent staff to the non-tribal stakeholder meeting.

The Essex County Countryside Alliance, a private, non-profit organization, identified the benefits of heritage and recreational tourism as a vital element in growing and sustaining the county's economy.

The US Forest and Wildlife Service's Rappahannock River Valley National Wildlife Refuge has a long record of support for the Smith Trail. The Refuge's non-profit supporting organization, the Rappahannock Wildlife Refuge Friends, expressed its strong interest in working with the tribe and participating in tribal events. The Refuge's Vision Statement (2009:iii) lists the stewardship of species and species habitat and support and appreciation of forestry, hunting, fishing, and agriculture as priorities. The Refuge is intended to "serve as an outdoor classroom, where students of all ages will study nature's complexity, contributing to our understanding and appreciation of the natural world and the National Wildlife Refuge System. All those who visit will find enjoyment in the presence of healthy and abundant fish, wildlife, and plants, and will leave with a renewed personal commitment to land conservation and stewardship" (USFWS 2009: iii).

Historical Record Data

Historical records, beginning with John Smith's map of the Chesapeake region (see Figure 1), contain important clues about Native use of the landscape, and these documented features are included in the ICL (see Figure 9 for conjectured locations). Even though it is a remarkable representation of the Bay and its tributaries, the Smith map cannot be used to precisely locate Indian towns on the ground. The Smith map is, at best, a rough representation of the landscape and one viewed through European eyes. Many researchers, including the authors of this report, have digitized the Smith map in an effort to place it on modern maps. These efforts invariably result in different interpretations of where settlements may have been located. For the purposes of this project, settlement locations were digitized according to interpretations depicted by the National Park Service Chesapeake Bay and edited to reflect archaeological identifications available in the site inventories on file with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR).

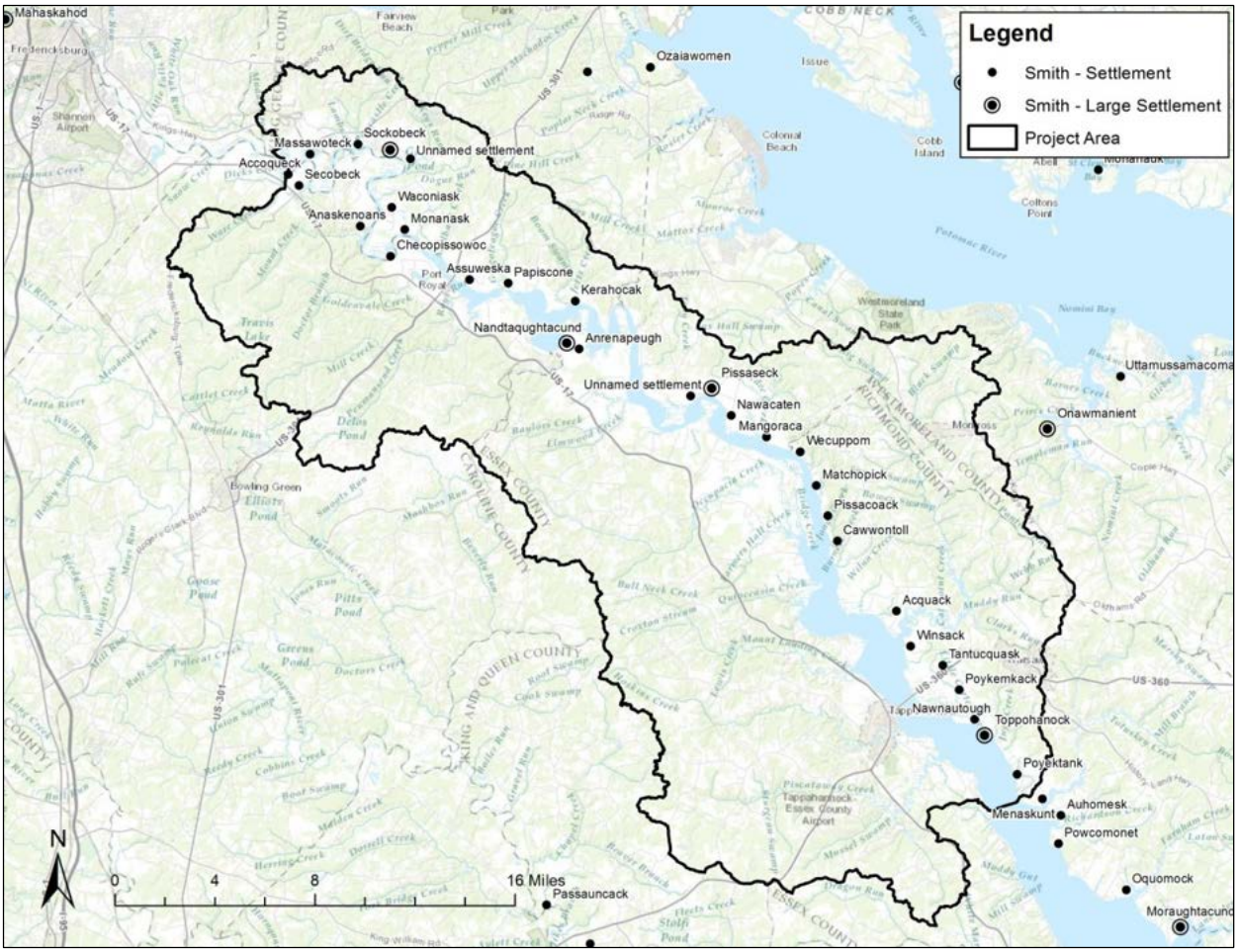


Figure 9. Conjectured locations of Native settlements shown on the Smith Map.

Indeed, a number of archaeological sites have previously been identified that may represent towns shown on Smith's map (see Figure 11). These sites include Nandtaughtacund (44EX0003, 44EX0005, and 44EX0017), Cuttatawomen (44KG0003), Papiscone (44KG0019), and Pissaseck (44WM0032 and possibly 44WM0022). Several other Late Woodland period sites may also represent settlements shown on the Smith map. Two sites, including 44CE0433 and 44CE0437, appear to be in the vicinity of the settlement known as Anaskenoans. Three sites appear to be in the vicinity of Anrenapeugh (44EX0221, 44EX0227, and 44EX228). One site is located near the conjectured location of Massawoteck (44KG0004) and another near the conjectured location of Monanask (44KG0007). The settlement of Acquack has one site near its conjectured location (44RD0014). One site is located near the conjectured location of Menaskunt (44RD0019). West of Fones Cliffs is a site that may be the location of Mangoraca (44WM0027).

While they have not been identified archaeologically, the locations of the settlements of Wecuppom, Matchopick, and Pissacoack are known from Smith's accounts as being east of Mangoraca, on the top of Fones Cliffs. It was near a marsh by these cliffs (today known as Beverly Marsh) that Smith and his companions came under fire by arrows as they made their way up the Rappahannock past

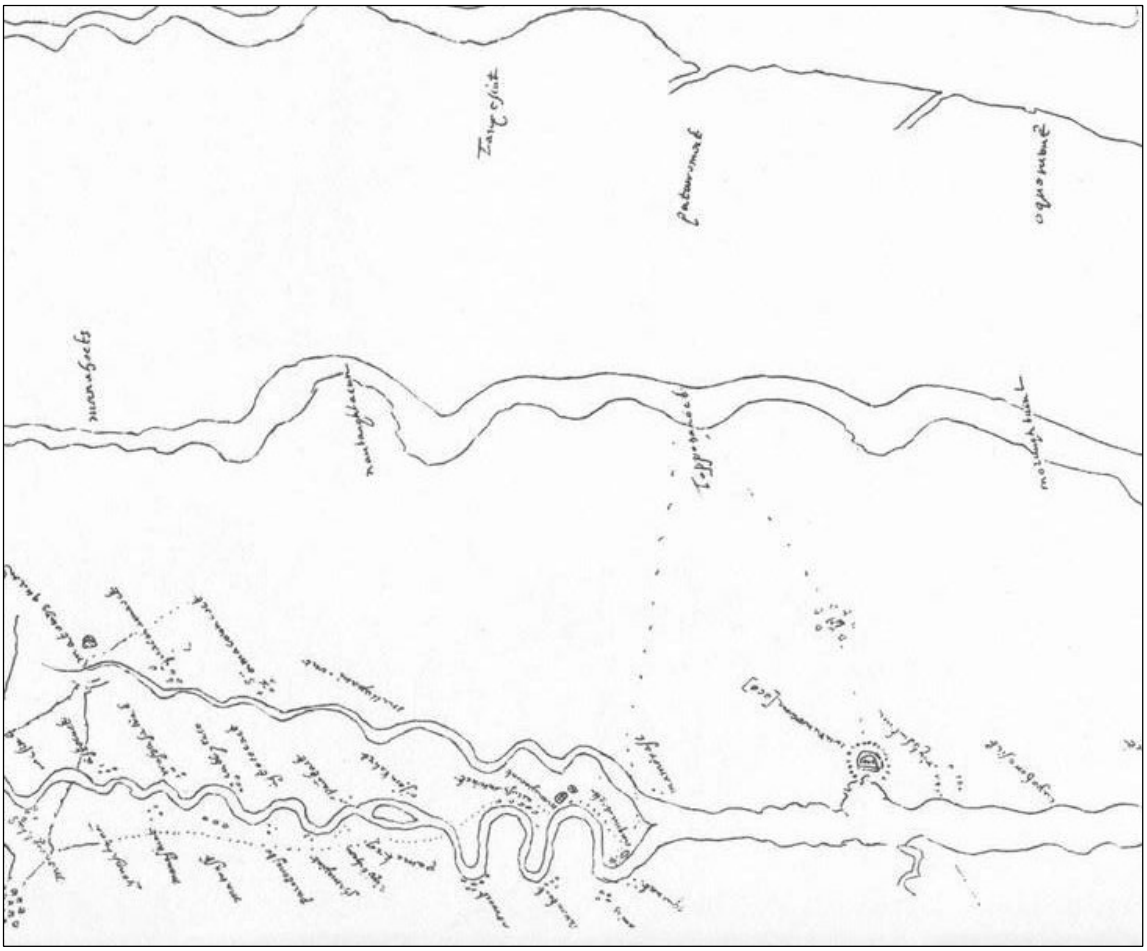


Figure 10. The Zúñiga map, 1608.

Wecuppom, Matchopick, and Pissacoack. These three towns are the only sites that can be definitively placed in the landscape, a result of their unique landscape features and location on Smith's map.

Of possible value to the interpretation of settlement locations is the Zúñiga Chart (Figure 10). This map, which gets its name from Don Pedro de Zúñiga, the Spanish ambassador to England, is a copy of a map that may have been drawn by Captain John Smith in 1608. Zúñiga delivered this map to King Philip III of Spain in September 1608. The map is considered a copy of an unpublished manuscript by Smith due to its similarities with the settlements shown and their descriptions in Smith's *A True Relation*. The map is most famous for its accurate depiction of the location and form of James Fort and Powhatan's settlement at Werowocomoco.

As it concerns the Rappahannock, the map contains interesting depictions when compared to those shown for the James, York, and Potomac rivers. The James and York river settlements are clearly shown and labeled on one side of the river or the other. The Potomac River settlements are shown only vaguely but on one side of the river or the other. The depiction of the Rappahannock River, however, differs, with labels spanning across both sides of the river. The Zúñiga map depicts the settlements of

Moraughtacundt, Tappahannock, Nantaughtacund (Nanzatico), and Manahocks (Mannahoacks on Smith's 1608/1612 map). Only Manahocks is shown as being on a single side of the river, on the north side.[7] This stands in contrast to Smith's map published in 1612.

Smith's map was likely informed at least in part by his time as a captive of Powhatan beginning in December of 1607. Smith was taken to the settlement of Tappahannock sometime during his captivity, having traveled there over land from the Pamunkey River before going to Werowocomoco. This trip is depicted on the Zúñiga map. Smith's map of 1612 was based on his voyages in June, 1608. These accounts and depictions could therefore be used to argue the seasonal migration of the Rappahannock between the north and south banks of the river, with Smith having been to both locations of Tappahannock, one in the winter (during his captivity) and the other in the spring or early summer (during his voyage).

Additional historical records include land records making reference to Indian towns, paths, and places. A list of Native place names found in today's modern landscape can be found in Appendix III. The sheer size of this list is a testament to the fact that Rappahannock place names were not entirely Anglicized, especially in comparison with other areas of the Chesapeake. Where possible, the descriptions of historic tracts were plotted as further evidence for an indigenous landscape that may not be known either archaeologically or through other written accounts. All applicable patents were plotted in GIS as polygon shapefiles and given attributes for tract name, patentee/owner, and year of record. Placement of these tracts in some cases serves as a best guess given the vagueness of some early patent records, describing the location of tracts with phrases such as "in the forest..." (Figure 11).

Though Virginia was first colonized by the English in 1607, it wasn't until the 1640s that the Rappahannock River valley was opened up to settlement (see Chapter III), albeit with restrictions. At this time, patents could only be issued on the north side of the river, and each patent was to remain unseated for the time being (Hening 1901:53). The first such patent was for 1,300 acres to John Carter in 1642 near the mouth of the Rappahannock along the Corrotoman River (Patents 1/804). In 1651, Accopatough, the "king of the Indians of Rappahannock Town and Townes" and his "great men" granted land between Totuskey and Morattico Bay/Run (now Lancaster Creek) to Moore Fauntleroy in exchange for "ten fathom of peake and goods, amounting to thirty arms-length of Rohonoke" (Meade 1966:478-479). Fauntleroy ultimately settled in the middle of this land grant near Farnham Creek. It was this land transfer that represented the first instance of an Englishman taking out a patent and establishing a household on Rappahannock land.

The following year, in 1652, Henry Fleet, an interpreter who had worked with the Maryland English in 1634, patented 750 acres near the "great Rappahannock Town where the Indians are at present seated 2 miles up Fleets Cr," which was also called Rappahannock Creek and is now called Cat Point Creek (Patents 3:97). Near this tract is the Mt. Airy site, a post-Contact ossuary located where Newland Road crosses Cat Point Creek. This site is located approximately 2.5 miles from the mouth of Cat Point Creek. In 1651, the Virginia Assembly had passed an act stating that there would be "no grants of land to

[7] The Mannahoac are shown as a "region" (labeled "Mannahoacks") on Smith's map rather than as a town. The Zúñiga copier could not have known that.

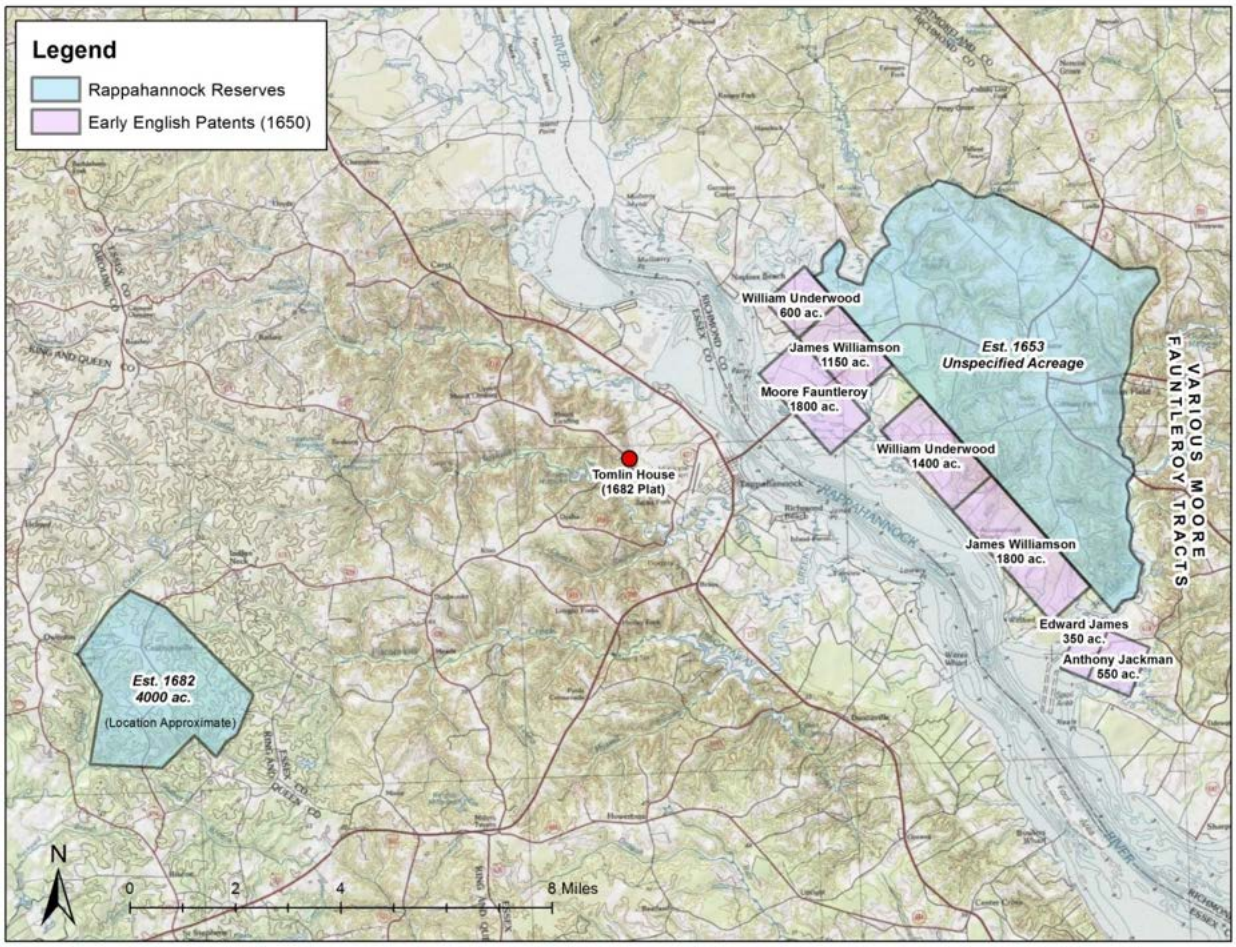


Figure 11. Locations of historic tracts.

any Englishman whatsoever *de future* until the Indians be served with the proportion of fiftie acres of land for each bowman" (Billings 1975a:68, 72-73).

Given the pressure on the Rappahannock from encroachment by English patentees and the English desire to avoid violent conflict (at least violent conflict directed toward them), in 1653, the commissioners of Lancaster County entered into a treaty with the Rappahannock which confirmed the bounds of the land upon which they lived "from the N.W. side of Mr. William Underwood's lande to Rappahannocke Creek" (Billings 1975a:71). The land was further described in 1662 as beginning "at Rappa Creek Extending to the north East branch of Totuskey Creek including all the lands between the Creeks into the heads thereof also three miles with the same bounds," with the exception of Englishmen already present such as Fauntleroy and Fleet (Old Rappahannock County Deeds 2:279-282).

As the English began to move westward along the Rappahannock, the Rappahannock groups were displaced, not unlike what had happened in the James and York rivers. By October 1667, the Rappahannock had abandoned their town on Totuskey Creek (Old Rappahannock County Deeds 3:356). The last straw came in the form of a series of consecutive natural disasters that year. In April, a severe

and devastating hailstorm struck the Chesapeake destroying newly planted crops, breaking windows, and tearing holes through the roofs of people's homes. Later that summer a deluge of rain lasting 40 days drowned and flooded any remaining crops. To make matters worse, in August, a hurricane completely flattened fields of corn (British Public Records Office; Morton 1960:193). This series of natural disasters may have pre-empted a move by the Rappahannock to relocate to higher ground on the south side of the river.

In 1684, the Rappahannock relocated yet again to the banks of the river. It was also in that year that the Rappahannock moved to Portobago Indian town on the south side of the Rappahannock just south of Port Royal. They settled on land surrounded by parcels that had already claimed by English patentees for almost two decades. In 1662, Thomas Lucas was issued a patent for 934 acres of land described as being "two miles above Port Tobacco Town" (Patents 5/302). This land contained 640 acres that had been previously granted to Lucas and Vallentine Allen in 1657. The Lucas and Allen patent describes the land as being "about two miles below Nanzemum Town" (Patents 4/237). These descriptions place this tract just east of the Camden site (44CE0003).

One land record describes a path between Mattaponi and Portobago Indian towns in 1667 (Patents 6/64). A 1691 record describes the path from Portobago to Chickahominy Indian town (Patents 8/130). This same path is described yet again in a 1696 patent to Robert Beverley "in the forrest and between Rappahannock River and the head or run of Mattapony River" (Patents 9/35). The importance of this path as a landmark for the English persisted into the 18th century when the path was mentioned in 1705 in a patent granted to Augustine Smith. The land was described as being on the "path from Portobacco from Mattony or Chickahominy Indian Towne" (Patents 9/672). Another path described earlier in 1700 is simply called the "Rappahannock Indian path near the pocoson" (Patents 9/250). The word pocoson is a Native word meaning a great marsh. This deed was recorded in Essex County and is described as adjacent to the land of Beverley. This tract, given its reference to the pocoson, is likely located where Beverley owned other tracts in Essex County. The pocoson referred to is probably present-day Beverly Marsh, the same marsh where the Rappahannock shot arrows at John Smith's shallop as he came up the river in 1608.

Robert Beverley owned thousands of acres of land in Essex and King and Queen counties and lived on a 6,000 acre tract known as Beverley Park inherited from his father, Major Robert Beverley. This latter tract was said to be near the path between Mattaponi and Portobago (Ragan 2006:277; Nugent 1934: 2:56). This tract would have been located about 20 miles south of the Portobago Town and 10 miles north of the Mattaponi and Chickahominy Towns (Ragan 2006:277). In 1705, when Beverley published *The History and Present State of Virginia*, he described his encounters with the Native people living around Beverley Park, describing their spiritual practices after breaking into a quioccasin, or temple, when no Indians were around. Beverley (1947:195-196) coerced one Indian into revealing secrets about his religion after giving him "plenty of strong Cyder." Beverley also gave an account of Native populations at various villages. Given Beverley's constant exposure to the Native peoples and his proximity to the main thoroughfare connecting the Rappahannock and Mattaponi rivers, identifying his land became integral for reconstructing where the path ran. This path very likely followed much of present-day Route 625 (Byrd's Mill and Passing roads), which passes just east of the community known as Beverly.

Route 625, or the path from Mattaponi to Portobago, passes through the community of Central Point. This community remained an important trading community for the Rappahannock into the 20th century (Speck 1925:39). When James Mooney described the Rappahannock in 1907, he stated that they resided "about Lloyd or Battery post-office, in upper Essex County" (Mooney 1907:141). This area is six miles east of Central Point and about 4 miles north of Indian Neck, where the present Rappahannock Tribal Center is located. The Tribal Center itself is located four miles east of Route 625, the likely path from Mattaponi to Portobago.

Archaeological Site and Survey Data

Online archaeological site and survey data (Figures 12 and 13) was provided by the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR). Additionally, access was granted to site files and collections at DHR. One non-tribal stakeholder meeting was held there with regional archaeologists to gather insights for interpreting the Rappahannock Landscape. At one of the meetings, the most recent site files and reports from Fort A.P. Hill were provided by John Mullin, the Cultural Resource Manager for the installation.

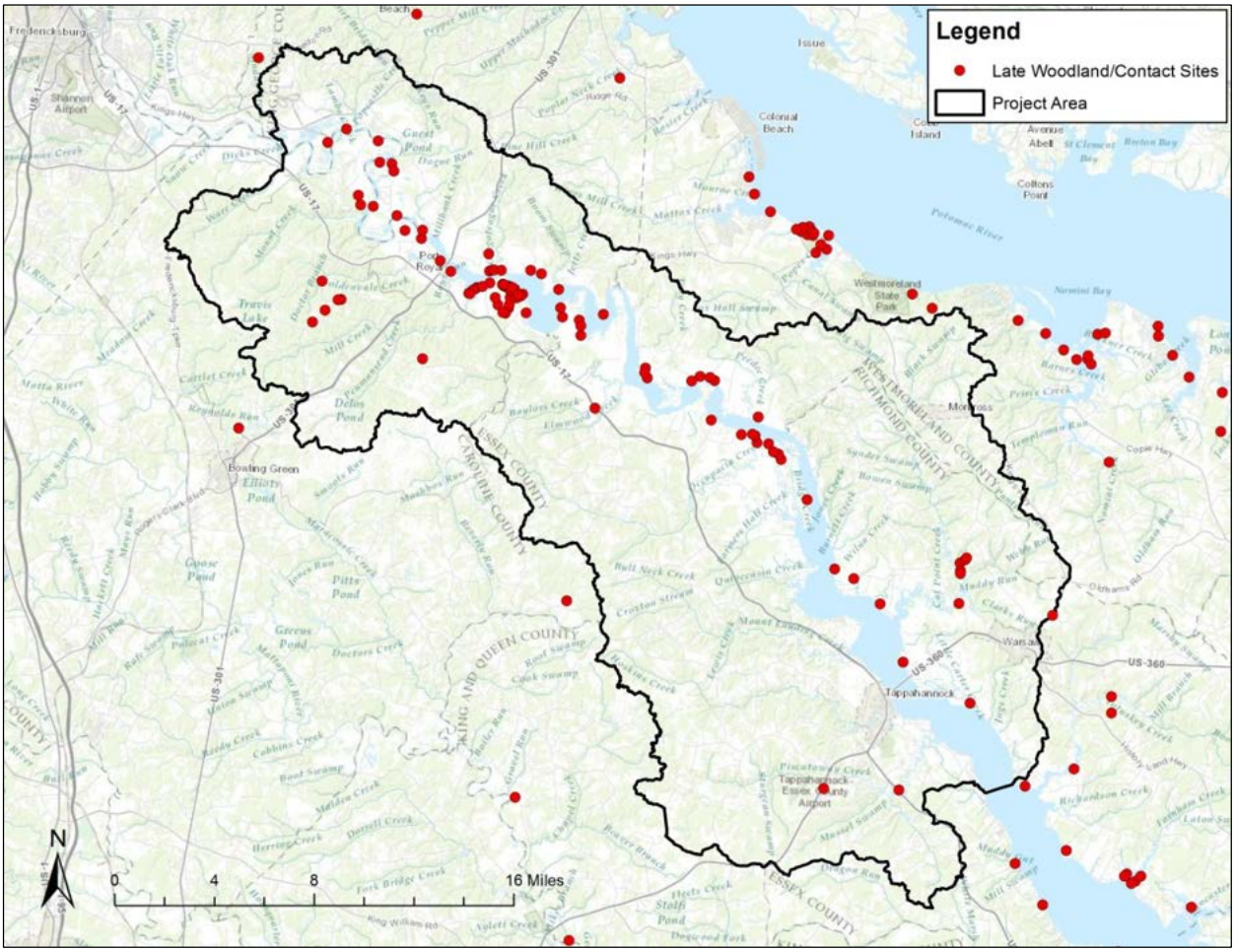


Figure 12. Late Woodland/Contact period archaeological sites in the project area.

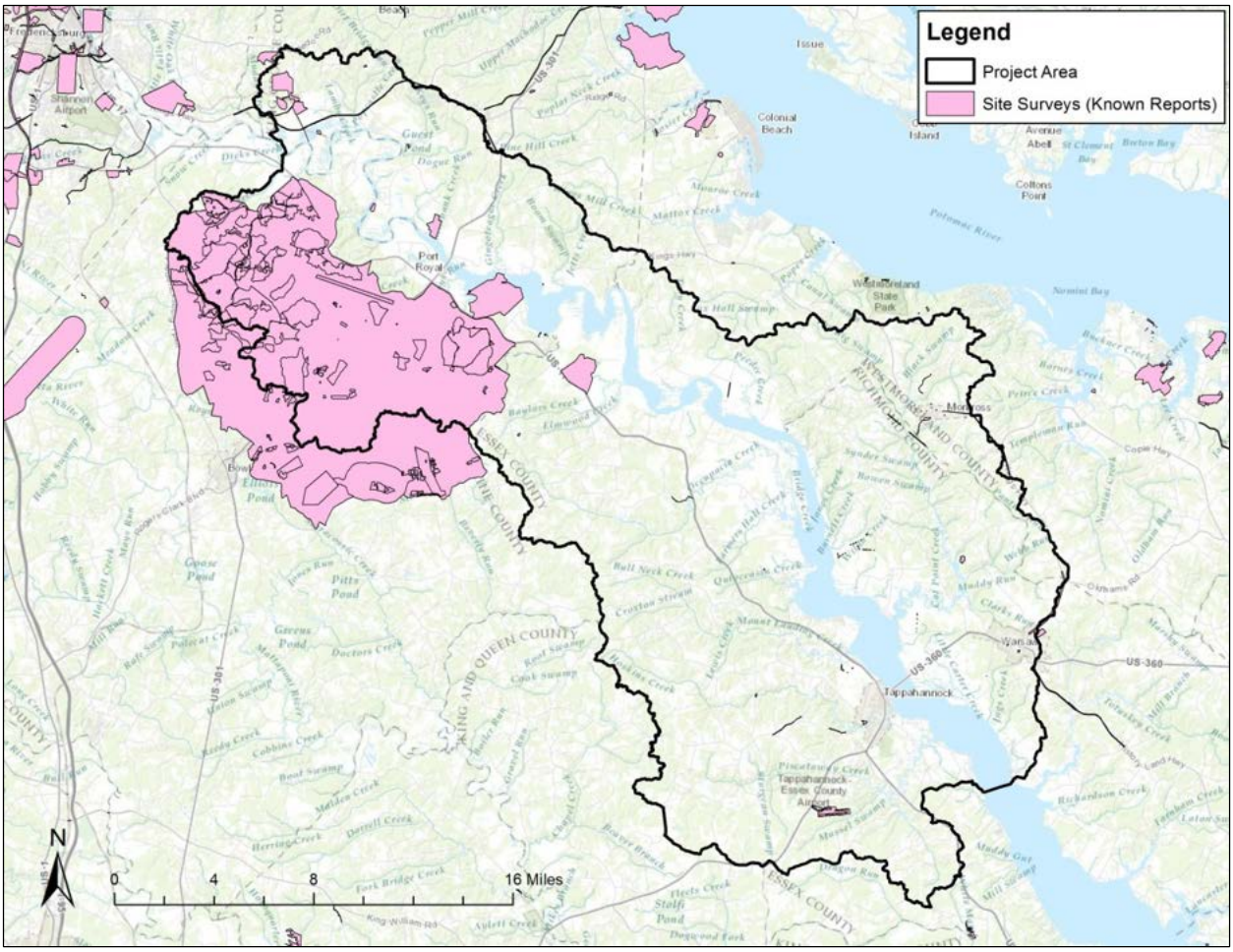


Figure 13. Areas of archaeological survey in the project area.

Only archaeological sites with occupations dating to the Late Woodland and Contact periods were selected for analysis. Site data was not separated out by site type (such as town or hunting camp) given the variable and incomplete nature of the level of detail in existing site forms. In order to maintain accuracy of data used for this project, every site within the project area was scrutinized to include only those where definitive Late Woodland/Contact period occupations could be established. This was done mainly by reviewing each site form and noting all diagnostic materials from each site to determine whether or not artifacts from the site could be dated to 900 CE or later. Site boundaries in the form of GIS polygon shapefile data were converted to points based on the polygon centroids for each site. This was done for both analytical use and for printing of maps at large scales. All maps presented publicly and in this report are shown at a scale so as to protect site location data while maintaining the ability to depict their locations for drawing ICL boundaries.

The maps show obvious concentrations of archaeological sites in the Fort A.P. Hill-Camden area. As previously noted, DHR files only show and describe sites that have been formally reported to the agency. The concentration of archaeological sites south and east of Port Royal reflects increased survey at Fort A.P. Hill, a Federal military installation subject to Sections 106 and 110 of the National Historic

Preservation Act. The Camden area has also been extensively surveyed. Much of the relatively undeveloped Rappahannock valley outside of Fort A.P. Hill has not been systematically surveyed but this should not be interpreted as meaning that archaeological sites do not survive. Areas that have not yet been surveyed no doubt contain archaeological evidence of past Native occupations.

Soil Productivity and Composition

After ca. 1300 CE, corn was becoming ever more essential to the indigenous diet, an important staple for many months of the year, and productive soils for the cultivation of corn have long been recognized as a critical variable for Late Woodland settlement (Rountree and Turner 2002; Rountree, Clark, and Mountford 2007:__). Using USDA soil spatial and tabular data, each soil type within the project area was mapped according to its agricultural potential. Specifically, the estimated yield of corn in a non-irrigated setting for each soil type was given as bushels per acre. Those soils with estimated potential yields of 160 bushels per acre or more represent the most productive on either side of the Rappahannock River (Figure 14).

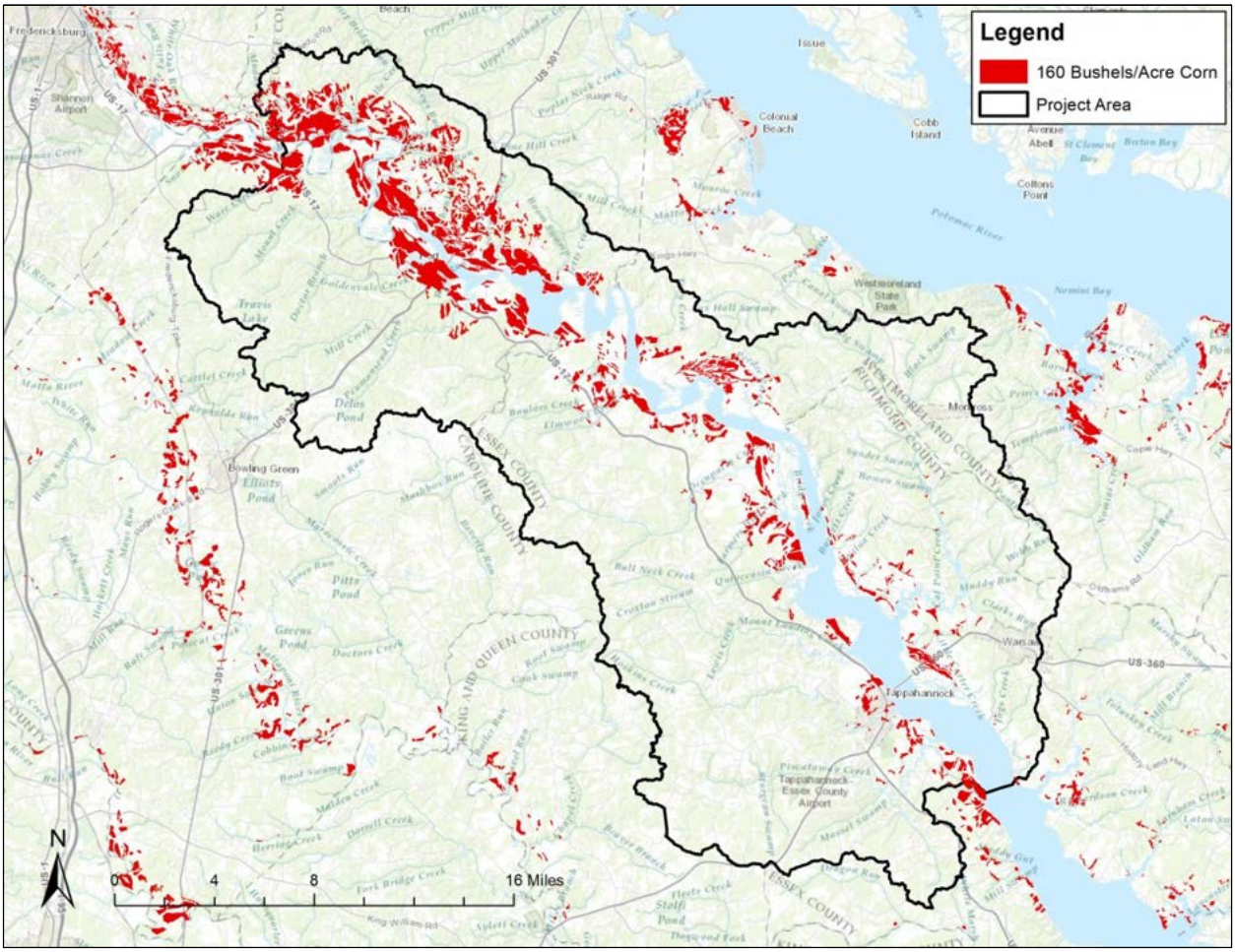


Figure 14. Soils yielding 160 bushels of corn or more per acre.

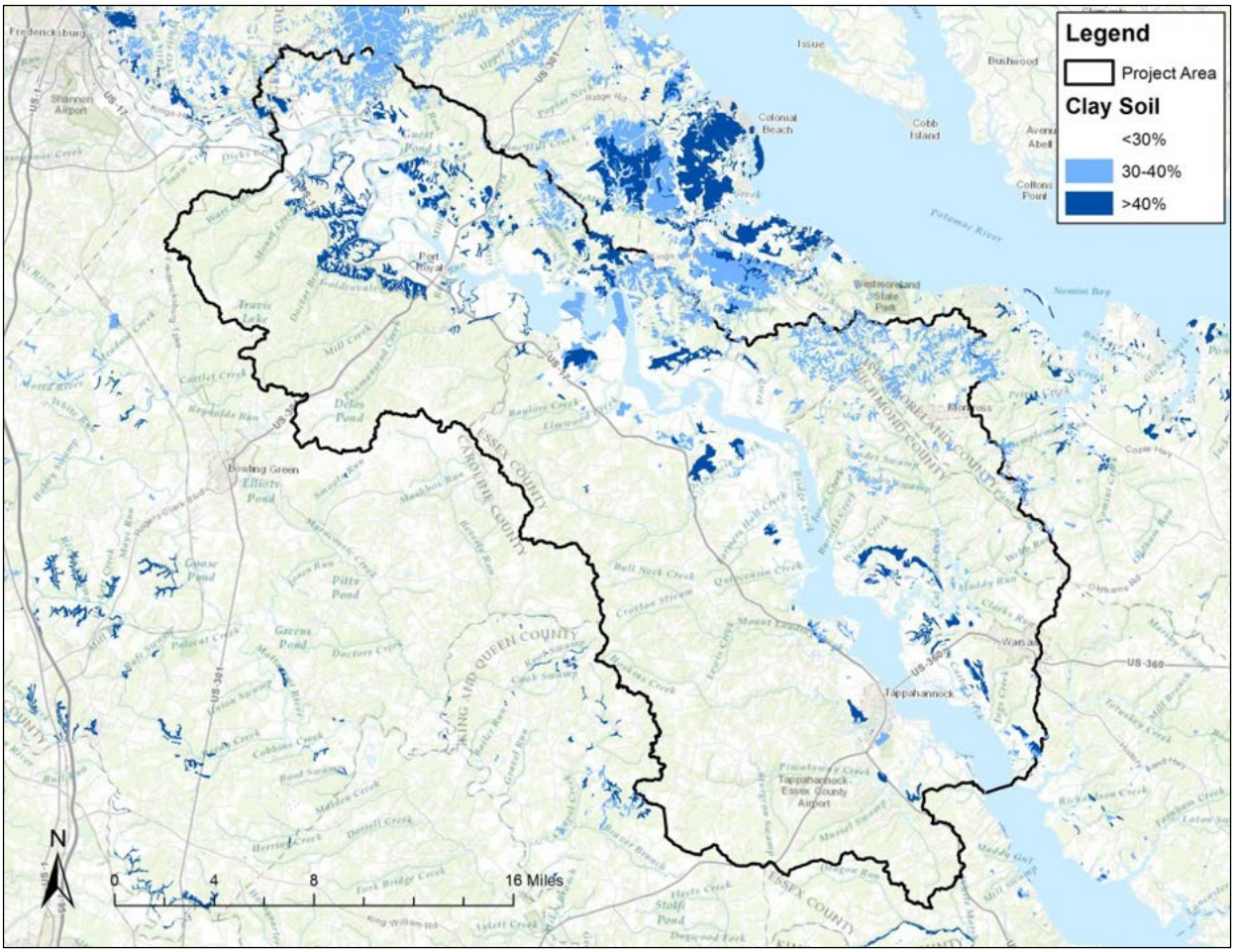


Figure 15. Soils containing 30 percent or more clay content per acre.

Clay deposits are a necessary source material for the production of ceramics. The Rappahannock continue their tradition of ceramic production, though their previous source of marine clay lies on private land no longer accessible to them. To identify clay sources and outcroppings possibly used in the past and to identify potentially publicly accessible clay sources for the future, USDA soil data was used, in this case tabulating the percent clay for each soil type for depths between one and two feet. A map showing percent clay within the project area is shown in Figure 15.

Land Use Classification

Figure 16 depicts the extents of forest cover, barren land, wetlands, and developed, farmed, and open areas (dubbed "Current Activity"). Land use data from the National Land Cover Database (NLCD) from 2011 was used and reclassified according to the numerical land use codes used by the dataset. The data consisted of 15 codes that were reclassified as shown in Table 7.

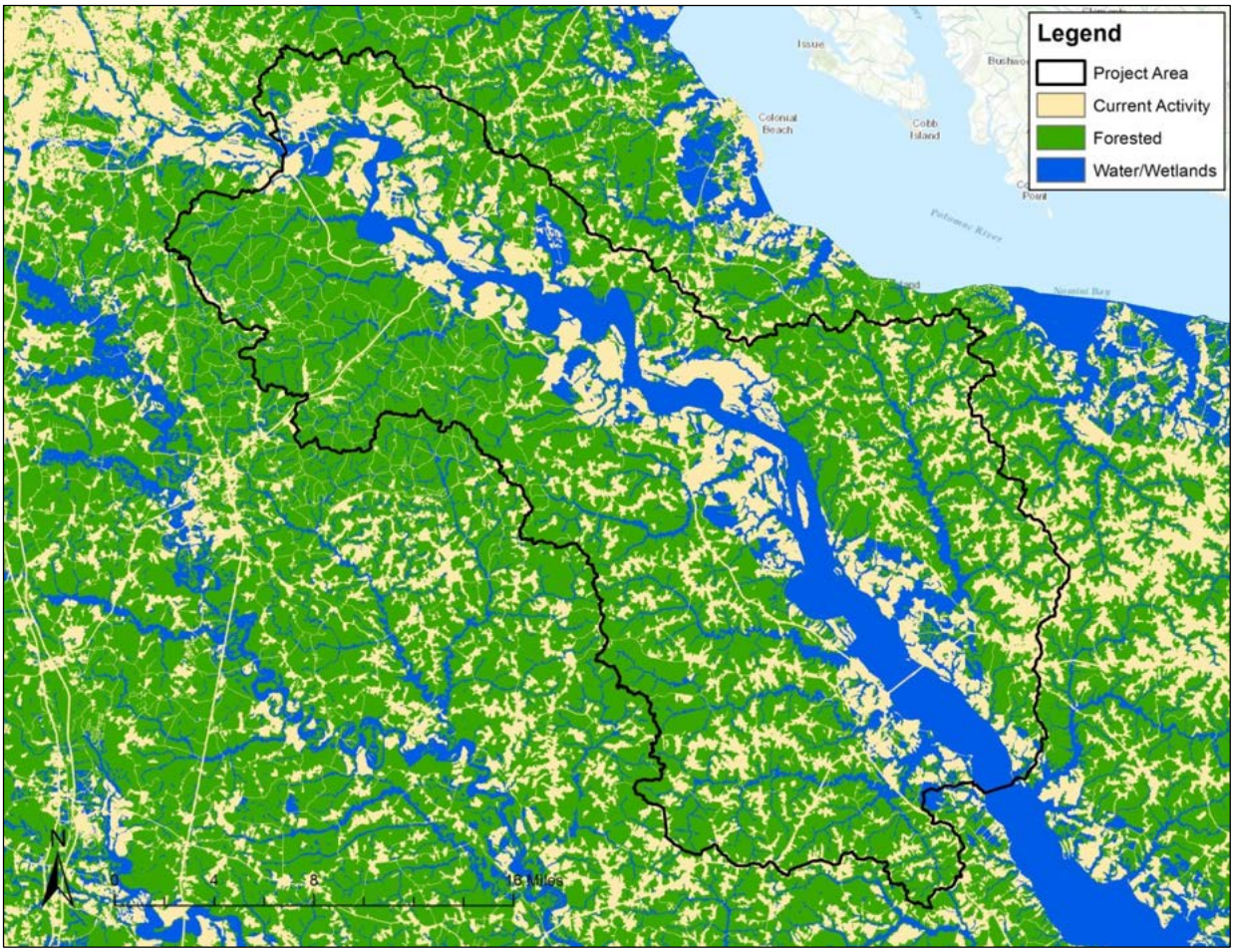


Figure 16. Forest cover, barren land, wetlands, and developed, farmed, and open areas.

NLCD Code	NLCD Type	Reclass Code	Reclass Type
11	Open Water	2	Wetland
21	Developed, Open Space	0	Current Activity
22	Developed, Low Intensity	0	Current Activity
23	Developed, Medium Intensity	0	Current Activity
24	Developed, High Intensity	0	Current Activity
31	Barren Land	1	Forest Cover/Barren
41	Deciduous Forest	1	Forest Cover/Barren
42	Evergreen Forest	1	Forest Cover/Barren
43	Mixed Forest	1	Forest Cover/Barren
52	Shrub/Scrub	1	Forest Cover/Barren
71	Herbaceous	1	Forest Cover/Barren
81	Hay/Pasture	0	Current Activity
82	Cultivated Crops	0	Current Activity
90	Woody Wetlands	2	Wetland
95	Emergent Herbaceous Wetlands	2	Wetland

Table 7. Reclassified land use data codes.

Wetland/Marsh Data

Wetland data was acquired from the National Wetland Inventory Survey (NWIS) and is depicted in Figure 17. Wetland data from NWIS is designated by code, which is broken down by wetland system type (marine, estuarine, riverine, lacustrine, and palustrine), and then by subsystem, class, and subclass (see Appendix IV for classification system). Sub-systems within the marine and estuarine types include subtidal and intertidal. Riverine systems include tidal, lower perennial, upper perennial, intermittent, and unknown. Lacustrine consists of limnetic and littoral subsystems. Palustrine wetland types have no subsystem, and are broken down only by class and subclass.

The most common marsh wetland types associated with the Rappahannock watershed are estuarine and palustrine systems, specifically, the estuarine intertidal emergent (E2EM), palustrine forested (PFO), palustrine emergent (PEM), and the riverine tidal emergent (R1EM). These specific wetland designations are what might be subjectively considered visually reminiscent of indigenous landscapes encountered by Captain John Smith. Conservation groups argue that wetlands all along the

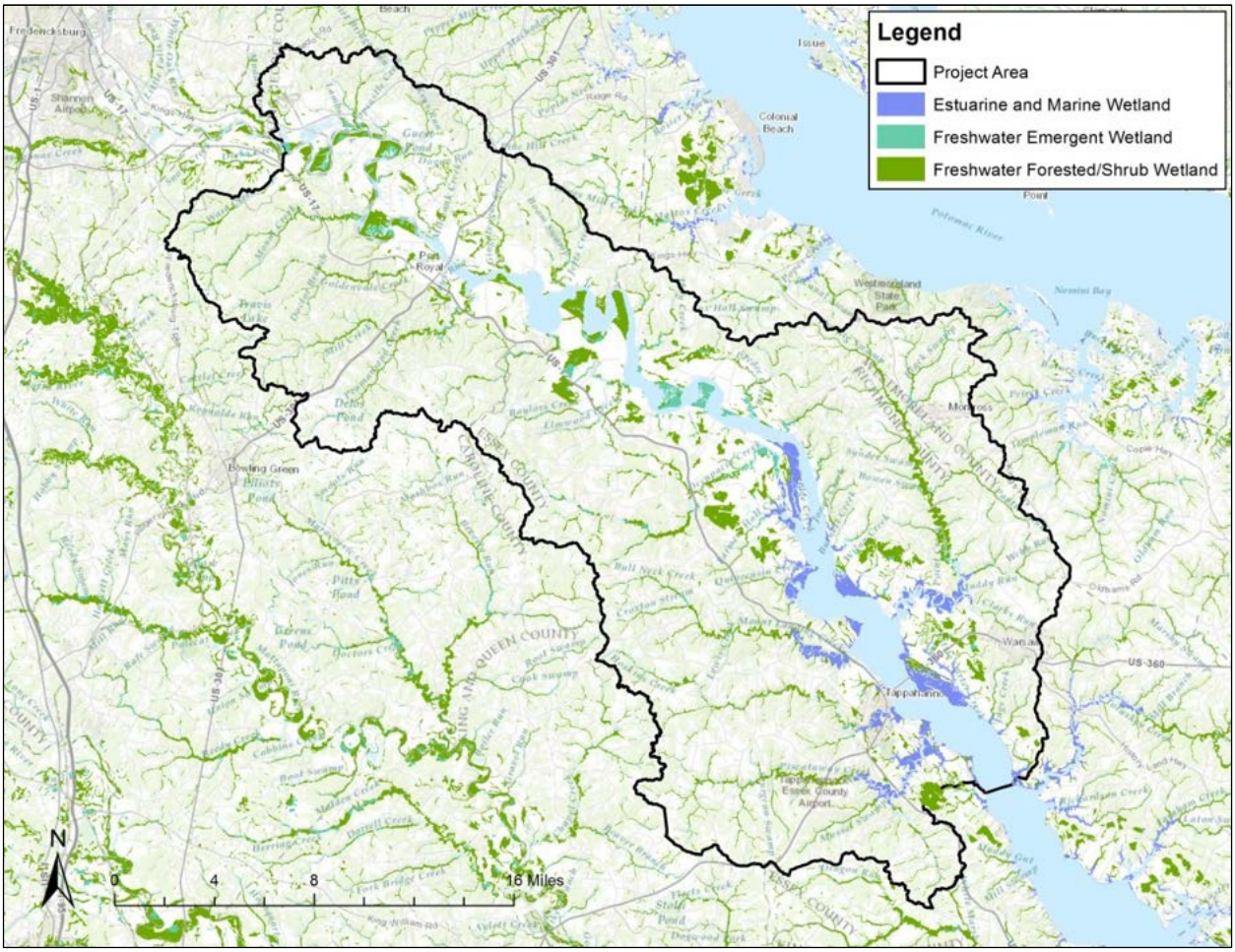


Figure 17. Wetland data from the National Wetland Inventory Survey.

Rappahannock, but specifically Cat Point and Totuskey creeks, are indicative of the state of tidal and estuarine environments that were once present throughout the Chesapeake.

Protected Lands

Protected land data from the Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation (VDCR) identifies several types of protected lands broken down into two types, including conserved lands and easements (Figure 18). Conserved lands consist of Federal, State, local, and private lands, including parks, wildlife management areas, refuges, and sanctuaries, military installations, and a number of other land-use types. The majority of conserved land in the project area consists of Federally-owned land, including Fort A.P. Hill and the Rappahannock River Valley National Wildlife Refuge. Private lands acquired for conservation include two properties owned by the Nature Conservancy, the Voorhees tract, and parts of the marshlands along Occupacia Creek.

Easements also consist of Federal, State, local, and private easements. The majority of conservation easements in the project area are held by the Virginia Outdoors Foundation, a publicly-

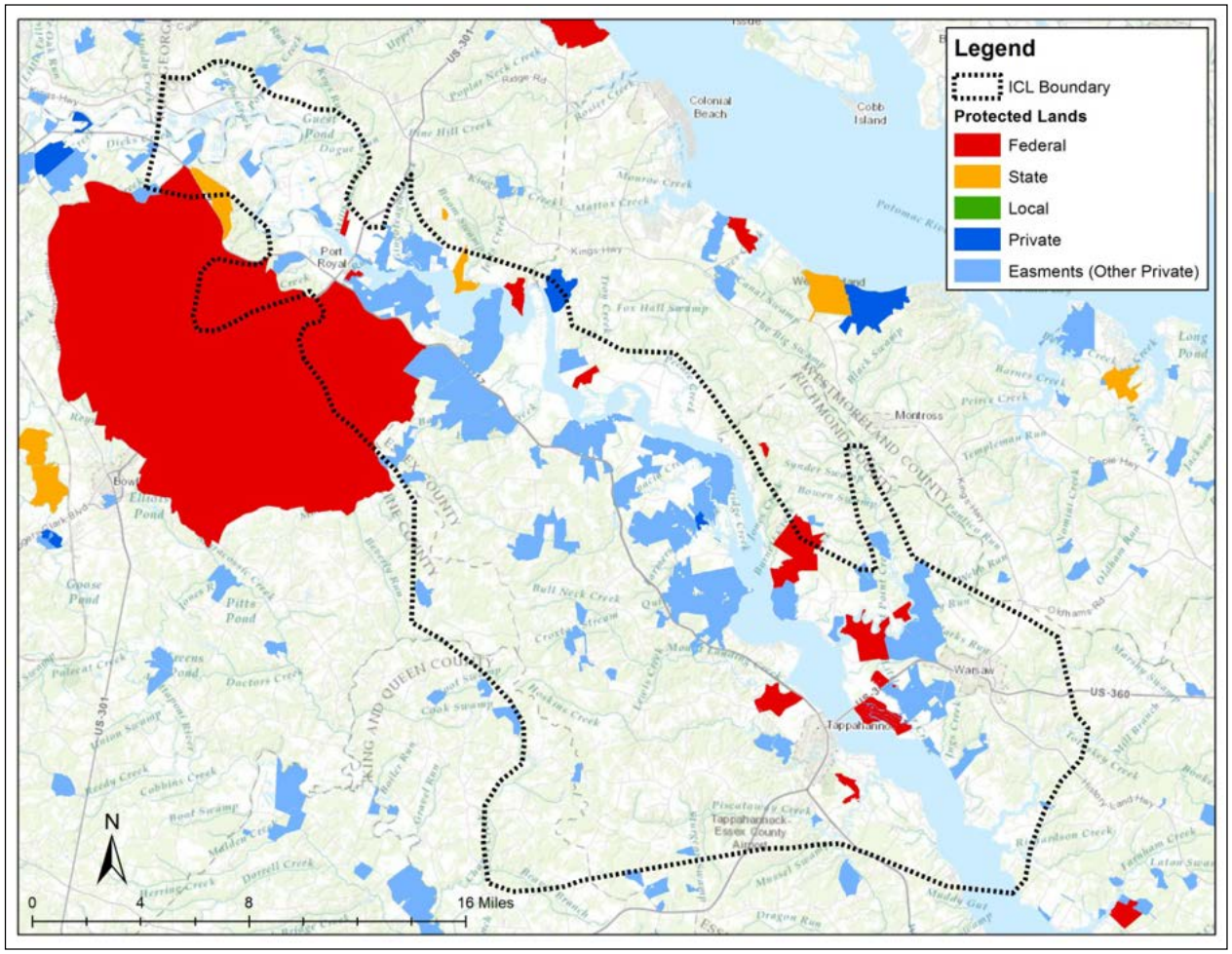


Figure 18. Protected land data from the Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation.

chartered organization. Other easements include those held by the Rappahannock River Valley National Wildlife Refuge and by the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

Site Visit Findings

A total of seven properties were visited during the tribal stakeholder driving tours. Most of the places visited on these tours are privately-owned tracts with owners as interested in the Rappahannock story as they were generous and hospitable. The first tour, targeting the north side of the Rappahannock, included stops at Sabine Hall, Totuskey Creek, Cat Point Creek, Acapataugh Beach, and Menokin Bay.

Sabine Hall, owned by a brother and sister of the Robert Carter Wellford family, is located where Little Carter's Creek empties into a great marsh along the Rappahannock (Figure 19). The owners are descendants of Landon Carter, the original builder of the still standing early 18th-century house. Landon Carter was the son of Robert "King" Carter, once acting governor of Virginia. Carter owned 300,000 acres of land, much of it in the Northern Neck and along the Rappahannock River. Robert Carter's father, John Carter, was the first patentee along the Rappahannock, receiving his land grant in 1642. John Carter was the commander-in-chief of 170 men from the Lancaster, Northumberland, and Westmoreland counties militias. In 1654, Carter led a defensive march against the Rappahannock, killing their werowance, Towerzen.

Figure 19. View of Little Carter Creek from Sabine Hall.

One of the current owners of the Sabine Hall tract, Mr. Robert Carter Wellford, described an extensive collection of Native artifacts found on his property. Mr. Wellford described the site as located in an agricultural field near the intersection of Little Carter's Creek and Bushwood Creek. The property is considered one of the possible locations of part of the town of Tappahannock visited by Smith in 1608, though this has not been determined at this time. Another possible candidate is along Cat Point Creek some four miles upriver.

Less than two miles southeast of Little Carter's Creek is Accopatough Beach at Cobham Park Farm, presently owned by the Packett family. This stretch of beach (Figure 20) derives its name from the Rappahannock werowance, Acapataugh, who was the Rappahannock tribal leader at the time Moore Fauntleroy took up land in the Rappahannock homeland east of Totuskey Creek. More recently, in the 1970s/80s and earlier, this property was publicly accessible as a campground for local residents. The Rappahannock used to hold gatherings here and would also use clay found along the eroding bank to make pottery. It was during this site visit that Chief Anne Richardson expressed her desire that the ICL team identify clay sources for defining the Rappahannock ICL.

Figure 20. Accopatough Beach at Cobham Park Farm.

East of Accopatough Beach is Totuskey Creek. As stated in Chapter III, Totuskey Creek served as the boundary between Moore Fauntleroy's holdings and the land reserved for use by the Rappahannock. This river was also home to the Totuskey (Totas Chees/Totosha) Indians and the Moraughtacund during the early to mid-17th century. The creek today is accessible via a public boat ramp off of Route 3, History

Figure 21. Virginia historical marker on Route 3 near Totuskey Creek (JT-10).

Land Highway, maintained by the Virginia Department of Game and Inland Fisheries. Located directly north of the boat ramp on Route 3 is a historical marker highlighting the Rappahannock Indians. Marker JT-10 was dedicated in 2006, and states:

> Prior to the 17th century, the Rappahannock Indians maintained seasonal residences on the banks of Totuskey Creek. They fished for spawning shad and herring each spring, trapping fish in weirs in the creek's narrows and preparing them for the tribe to consume or trade. When the Rappahannock were forced to begin selling their lands to the English in 1651, part of the tribe moved here to 'Totosha' town. In 1667, the Rappahannock sold this town and moved to their hunting grounds on the south side of the Rappahannock River, where they continue to live today (Figure 21).

Equally significant is that this spot lay on the Chickacone path that connected the Totuskey town to Chickacone on the Potomac River. The path ran mostly along the ridgeline separating the Rappahannock drainage from the Potomac. The path ran from Totuskey Creek along Richmond Hill Road, just opposite Route 3 from the boat ramp, following east on US Route 360 from Indian Field to Totuskey Church Road in Haynesville. The path picks up again, following present-day Ridge Road, which marks the ridge line and boundary between Richmond and Northumberland Counties before heading northeast along present-day Walmsley Road towards the Coan River, the site of the Chickacone town.

Figure 22. Cat Point Creek, Tayloe property, Rappahannock River Valley National Wildlife Refuge.

Another stop on the first driving tour took us west to Cat Point Creek on the Tayloe property of the Rappahannock River Valley National Wildlife Refuge (Figure 22). This tract measures over 1,000 acres on the south bank of Cat Point Creek near Naylor's Beach. In the past, as mentioned in previous chapters, the creek had been known variously as Rappahannock Creek and Fleet's Creek. The creek was home to the "Great Rappahannock Town" in the 17th-century, as previously noted in a patent for Henry Fleet in 1652 (Patents 3:97). This patent stated that the town was located two miles up the creek, which would be near the northeastern boundary of the Tayloe property. Approximately ¾ of a mile from the Tayloe property is the Mt. Airy ossuary site associated with the post-Contact Rappahannock town.

Within sight of the Mt. Airy ossuary, about a mile further up Cat Point Creek, is Menokin Bay, owned, operated, maintained, and conserved by the Menokin Foundation (Figure 23). Several Late Woodland period sites have been identified on the property, including 44RD0035, which has been described as having "evidence of a 17th-century Native American camp site," likely associated with the occupation of the Rappahannock town just down the creek. The community was likely sprawled out along the creek in places such as Menokin rather than in just one central place.

The second driving tour, on the Rappahannock's south side, was limited to two properties given the distance between the sites. The first stop was the Rennolds property along Mount Landing Road near Tappahannock (Figures 24 and 25). One of the owners of the property, Leslie Rennolds, is currently the Interim Executive Director of the Menokin Foundation. The property came to the attention of the ICL

Figure 23. Rappahannock tribal members at Menokin Bay.

team through Chief Anne Richardson's accounts of her father, Chief Captain Nelson, visiting the property in the 1960s/70s. At the time, the property was owned by a Benjamin Rennolds, whose son of the same name now owns a portion of the property. Mr. Rennolds had contacted Chief Nelson about what he believed to be the remains of an Indian fort there. Later contact following the driving tour was made with Mr. John Rennolds who remembered the location of the site and gave the ICL team an account of its precise location located on a high terrace near dry springs that fed into Lewis Creek (see Figures 24 and 25). Further confirmation is pending, but if proven to be a palisaded settlement, it could possibly indicate the location of the Rappahannock settlement occupied from 1667 to 1684, that has vaguely been described as being located along the ridgeline straddling Essex and King and Queen Counties.

The final stop of the two driving tours was the property of Mr. Hill Wellford and his family. Mr. Wellford is a cousin of Robert Carter Wellford, the owner of Sabine Hall. Mr. Wellford's property, Kendall Farm, is located directly opposite from Fones Cliffs near Chance in Essex County. His property includes Beverly Marsh and Occupacia Creek. Beverly Marsh and Fones Cliffs (Figures 26 and 27) are important places in the narrative told by Captain John Smith. Of all places Smith mentioned in his writings about the Rappahannock, only Fones Cliffs and Beverly Marsh can be definitively pinpointed on the ground without archaeological survey. Smith describes this small stretch of the Rappahannock River during his voyage in June of 1608:

Figure 24. Property formerly owned by the Rennolds family.

Figure 25. Property formerly owned by the Rennolds family, stream valley.

Figure 26. View of Fones Cliffs.

Figure 27. Beverly Marsh.

> ...as we passed by Pisacack, Matchopeak, and Wecuppom, three Townes situated upon high white clay clifts [Fones Cliffs]; the other side all a low playne marsh [Beverly Marsh], and the river there but narrow. Thirtie or fortie of the Rapahanocks, had so accommodated themselves with branches, as we tooke them for little bushes growing amond the sedge, still seeing their arrows strike the Targets, and dropped in the river: where-at Mosco [Smith's Native guide] fell flat in the Boat on his face, crying the Rapahanocks, which presently we espied to be the bushes, which at our first volley fell downe in the sedge: when wee were neare halfe a myle from them, they shewed themselves dancing and singly merrily (Smith 1624).

Much of Mr. Wellford's land is under conservation easements, and the cliffs themselves are home to a vast bald eagle habitat. This habitat is noted by the Chesapeake Bay Foundation (n.d.) as having the "largest concentration of bald eagles in the Mid-Atlantic Region." As previously noted, the Audubon Society (2008) designated the cliffs as an Important Bird Area (IBA) with "global significance," while the National Geographic Society identifies it as one of the Treasured Landscapes of the Chesapeake Bay. Further, the Audubon Society designates the whole of the Rappahannock River from Tappahannock to Port Royal as an IBA of global significance due in part to the eagle habitat at Fones Cliffs, stating that of all other tributaries in the Chesapeake, the Rappahannock remains the most pristine. The Rappahannock River in this vicinity supports the only known breeding population of Coastal Plain Swamp Sparrows in the entire state of Virginia, the densest breeding population of bald eagles in the state, and the largest summer/winter concentration of bald eagles in the entire eastern North America (Audubon 2008).

Several smaller and informal visits were also conducted along both sides of the Rappahannock. These included the Nanzatico Town site (Figures 28 and 29), Leedstown (Figures 30 and 31), the Mt. Airy ossuary site (Figure 32), and Millbank. All additional site visits took place on the north side of the Rappahannock.

The Nanzatico Indian Town site (44RD0006) is located at the Land's End Wildlife Management Area, conserved and maintained by the Virginia Department of Game and Inland Fisheries. The site lay in a field on the north side of Portobago Bay, situated near Long Point. The fields at Land's End were not in cultivation at the time of the site visit. The site is reportedly the location of an unknown number of ossuaries.

Approximately 6.5 miles (in a straight line) downriver from the Nanzatico Indian Town site is the location of Leedstown. Leedstown was the site of the pre- and post-Contact village known as Pissaseck. Captain John Smith writes of a friendly meeting after being fired upon by the Rappahannock at Beverly Marsh and Fones Cliffs. Here Smith said, "the Kings of Pissassack, Nandtaughtacund [Nanzatico], and Cuttatawomen, used us kindly..." (Smith 1624). He described encountering the Pissaseck and Nanzatico once again days later, when they helped broker amity between the English and the Rappahannock. The area around Leedstown continued to be occupied by Native people through much of the 17th-century, as evident by a number of European trade items excavated there, including large amounts of glass beads of Italian origin.

At a non-tribal stakeholder meeting, the ICL team came in contact with Dr. Gail Wertz, who lives at a property known as Millbank across the river from and west of Port Royal. Dr. Wertz had indicated

Figure 28. View of creek from Nanzatico Indian Town.

Figure 29. Quartz cobbles on beach at Nanzatico Indian Town.

Figure 30. View of Rappahannock River from Leedstown (Pissaseck)..

Figure 31. State historical marker at Leedstown (Pissaseck) (J-98).

Figure 32. View of Mount Airy ossuary.

on her property years ago. In addition, Dr. Wertz indicated her neighbor Mr. Miles Hastings, who had participated in the excavations on the Wertz property, had an extensive collection. While few diagnostic Late Woodland materials were present, there were some materials from both collections that could date to the mid- and late 17th-century. Many items from the Wertz collection dated primarily to the early 18th-century, among the items in the Hastings collection is a flintlock gun part of early design. The flintlock gun plate in the Hastings collection is a type known as a Bellied Lock Plate type. This type of lock plate is a form derived from earlier Dutch wheel locks. They were first developed in the 1620s and were produced up into the 1680s, however, such an artifact most typically dates from 1625 to 1655 (Puype 1985).

The property is notable because of its proximity to the land of Edward "Indian Ned" Gunstocker. Gunstocker is an enigmatic figure in Anglo-Native relations in the Rappahannock. A Nanzatico Indian, Gunstocker sought English protection after he was shunned by his own people for working too closely with the English in 1666 (Old Rappahannock County Deeds 3/257-258). Previously, in 1665, Gunstocker had patented 150 acres near Cleve Marsh on the north side of the river, west of present-day Port Royal. In 1676, during Bacon's Rebellion, Gunstocker fought alongside the English, recording a will which left his estate to his wife should he die (Old Rappahannock County Deeds 6/76). Whether or not Gunstocker lived on the property collected by Mr. Hastings is not yet known at this time and warrants further study of the particular tract history.

A neighbor of Dr. Wertz's and Mr. Hastings', Mr. Morris, has a collection including many 17th-century glass beads of identical types found at Leedstown (Figure 33). Mr. Morris (now 92 years old) describes the site as having been collected by his mother (b. 1901) from a "burial mound" located off the east side of Route 638 as one travels towards Leedstown from Route 3, somewhere between the present-day Ingleside winery and the Rappahannock River (a stretch of road approximately 4 miles in length). Assuming these beads were found from a site other than Leedstown further inland off of Route 638, it presents an interesting contrast to other known ossuaries located by the waters side, such as the Mt. Airy site.

Figure 33. Glass beads from Leedstown, private collection.

CHAPTER VI
GIS ANALYSIS

This chapter describes the results of analyses attempting to identify and define spatial relationships between the many variables shaping indigenous settlement preferences and decision-making in the Rappahannock River valley. Some of the discussion is admittedly technical – GIS technologies rely on the power of spatial statistics to elucidate patterns and relationships otherwise invisible or difficult to discern through visual means only. While the technical discussion is necessary, every effort has been made to summarize the findings in plain language.

Environmental Variables

Strickland (2012) and others have demonstrated that, in the Middle Atlantic, a correlation exists between archaeological sites (especially town sites) and agriculturally productive soil. There may be other soil attributes attractive for settlement during the Late Woodland period. Therefore, as part of this study, sites within the project area were examined for any statistically significant correlations between soil attributes from soil data from the United States Department of Agriculture's (USDA) Natural Resource Conservation Service (NRCS).

Data from the USDA usually comes in two forms: State Soil Geographic data (STATSGO) and Soil Survey Geographic data (SSURGO). For the purposes of this exercise, we used the SSURGO data. Attempts by Sanford and Klein (1994) to use STATSGO data to identify culturally significant "soil associations" in Richmond County proved to be less useful than they had anticipated. Sanford and Klein's work was informed by Stephen Potter (1993:35) who argued that specific soil types (such as SSURGO data) was too specific for use in predicting site locations. On the other hand, it appears that soil associations, or STATSGO data, are far too broad a categorization to be of use.

The previous ICL study of the Nanjemoy and Mattawoman Creek watersheds along the Potomac found that specific soil types identified through SSURGO data proved useful in identifying sites on particular soil types (Strickland, Busby, and King 2015). These soils were generally found to have similar characteristics, including moderately well- to well-drained sandy and silty loams on predominantly flat landforms.

Soil productivity has also been demonstrated to be important for determining settlement location. For the project area, certain soil types are capable of producing up to 160 bushels per acre. These areas of excellent corn growing soils are noted by Rountree, Clark, and Mountford (2007) in their analysis of settlements as identified by Captain John Smith.

The relationship between soil productivity and other factors, however, is complicated. In the lower Potomac valley, Strickland (2012) found that recorded sites were more closely correlated to soils with productivity values between 100 and 120 bushels per acre, though there were many places in the project area exceeding those values, up to 140 bushels per acre.

The Nanjemoy/Mattawoman ICL study found that archaeological sites are generally found in areas of high agricultural productivity, but productivity appears to be just one of several drivers for determining settlement location. Soils in the Potomac valley with high agricultural potential but that are not well drained have fewer archaeological sites located on them.

Several factors, then, including not just well-drained agriculturally productive soils but access to waterways, are among the main environmental forces for shaping settlement location. It should be noted that that assessment serves only as a generalization among all site types. Were there to be separate analyses for specific site types with specialized use, then different conclusions may yet be drawn. For the purposes of this project a similar approach was replicated for the Rappahannock ICL.

To begin testing site locations for associations with agricultural productivity, SSURGO data was parsed via the Soil Data Viewer extension for ArcGIS developed by the USDA. This allowed the estimated yield tabular data to be combined with the spatial data layer for analysis. Further processing of this data was done by reclassifying the data according to five categories set at arbitrary intervals (Table 8)

Reclass. Cat.	Yield Estimates (Bushels/Acre)
1	0-39.99
2	40-79.99
3	80-99.99
4	100-139.99
5	140-160

Table 8. Reclassified SSURGO soil data for use in ArcGIS.

The on-site values of the reclassified soil data at each archaeological site point served as the basis for the analysis. Statistical correlations were test using a Kolmogorov-Smirnov test (KS-test). A KS-test aims to compare and measure the cumulative percentages of observed instances (archaeological sites) against the land area of each rank order class of a given variable, such as yield estimates. Ordinal data like this is best tested using a KS-test rather than the traditional chi-square test, which is best used with nominal data. A total of 105 archaeological sites within the project area were tested for their associations with soil productivity in the KS-test. These sites would be tested against the background population derived from the land area within each productivity category. This test would serve to identify whether there was a statistically significant deviation from what would be expected from a random distribution of points. This was done first by creating a set of hypotheses to test as laid out below:

H0: Late Woodland/Contact period sites are not distributed according to soil productivity.
H1: Late Woodland/Contact period sites are distributed according to soil productivity.

The results of the test revealed that there was a statistically significant correlation between the two datasets at a significance level of 0.001 (99.9% confidence level). This allowed for the rejection of the null hypothesis (H0) and the acceptance of the alternative (H1), indicating that Late Woodland/Contact period sites are distributed according to soil productivity.

While the test is used to determine whether or not there is a correlation between the two variables, it cannot explain the cause(s) of the correlation. The average estimated yield among all 105 site points is 104.5 bushels per acre, similar to the results of the Potomac drainage. When examining the difference between observed points in each of the 5 categories vs. what was to be expected, it becomes apparent that Category 5 (140-160 bushels per acre) was overrepresented compared to a random distribution. This

category makes up 8.5% of the total project area, while accounting for 35.2% of known archaeological instances. In other words, there does appear to be a strong correlation between settlement location and high yield corn growing soils.

The same concept used to determine correlations between sites and corn soils was also applied to other environmental variables such as elevation and proximity to wetlands. To test correlations between elevations, a digital elevation model was reclassified into 5 categories based on quantiles, or partitions of roughly equal area. These reclassified values are shown in Table 9.

Reclass. Cat.	Elevation Values (Feet)
1	0-9.3
2	9.3-26.4
3	26.4-39.1
4	39.1-46.7
5	46.7-80

Table 9. Reclassified elevation data for use in ArcGIS.

The results of the KS-test demonstrated a correlation between archaeological sites and elevation. The average elevation for the 105 sites was 10 feet above mean sea level. A total of 70% of sites were found in category 1 (elevations between 0 and 9.3 feet) despite each category being of roughly equal land area. The highest elevation of any site was 58 feet above mean sea level. The statistics demonstrate a high correlation between recorded sites and low lying elevations, typically around 10 feet in elevation.

Proximity to wetlands such as marshes, freshwater creeks, and streams was also tested. Proximity to these features used National Wetland Inventory Survey data to calculate distance from these resources to archaeological sites using Euclidean distance models. Euclidean distance is the most fundamental distance calculation used with spatial data. Within GIS, this creates a raster dataset wherein each pixel or cell represents the distance to a source location. The source location in this instance are wetland features. As with the digital elevation model, this Euclidean distance raster was reclassified into 5 quantiles of roughly equal area and are more particularly described in Table 10.

Reclass. Cat.	Proximity Values (Meters)
1	0-66.5
2	66.5-177.4
3	177.4-303.0
4	303.0-480.4
5	480.4-1877.1

Table 10. Reclassified proximity values for use in ArcGIS.

The results of this test also revealed a statistically significant correlation between the two variables. The average distance to wetlands from the sites was 185 meters. Sixty-nine percent of all sites were located between 0 and 177.4 meters (categories 1 and 2). The median distance was 150 meters. Only one archaeological site was found less than a meter from wetlands; this short distance may be due to later inundation of the site. Other than this outlier, the closest sites were within 30 meters of wetlands. Only six sites (or 5.7%) were found to be located in the last category, with the furthest site from wetlands lying about 764 meters away, a distance of nearly half a mile.

While proximity to wetlands plays an important role in settlement decision-making, it is also the case that sites are not located directly adjacent to wetlands but are somewhat removed from them. Wetland areas are susceptible to flooding during storms and soils directly adjacent to marshes often have high water tables with poor draining characteristics. These factors may have led Native people to locate near but not directly adjacent to wetlands.

One of the goals of the ICL priority report (Strickland and King 2016) was to identify the ICL sensitivity of the tidal Chesapeake region. This was based in large part on testing recorded archaeological resources against ICL criteria such as flat slopes, elevation, proximity to marshes, and proximity to transportation tributaries. High or Moderate ICL sensitivity reflected where these criteria co-occurred most frequently. The model was assessed with the ultimate goal of being able to predict 80% of known archaeological sites while keeping area coverage of the model at or below 25% of the entire land area. The results of the model, using ICL criteria, came close to this goal, accurately identifying 77% of sites within 25% of the entire land area.

In the Rappahannock River valley, the sensitivity model (from a visual perspective) appears to indicate that areas of high sensitivity were more numerously located on the north bank of the river from its mouth to Fones Cliffs (Figure 34), corresponding well with how John Smith depicted settlements along the river. To further examine these ICL sensitivity areas and some light on these casual visual observations, a hot spot analysis was performed to identify clusters of ICL sensitivity within the project area. The results of this exercise (Figure 35) correspond with the visual observations, indicating hotspots of ICL sensitivity on the north bank of the river from near the mouth to Fones Cliffs, before being found in roughly equal distributions on the north and south banks heading upriver towards Fredericksburg.

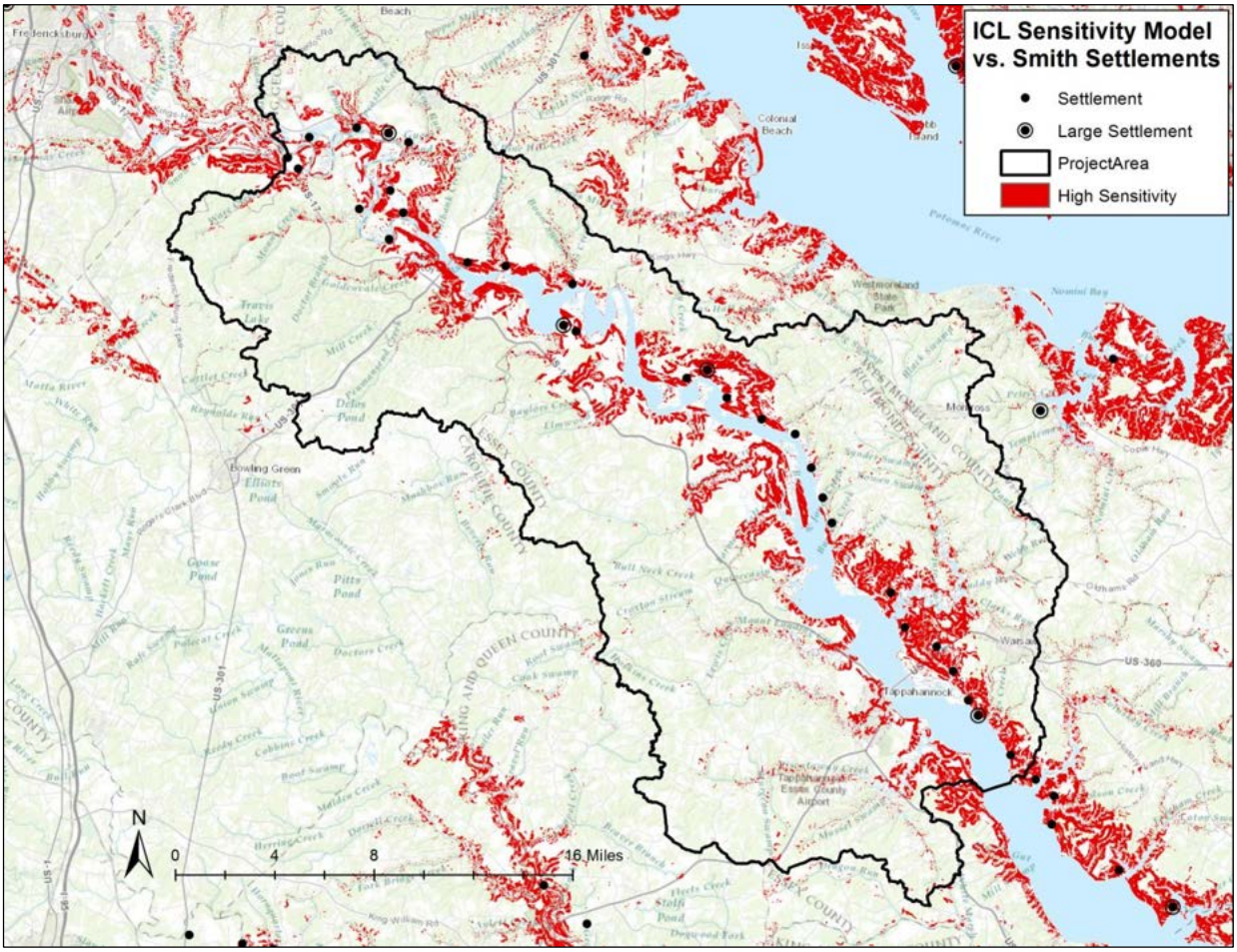


Figure 34. The ICL Sensitivity Model.

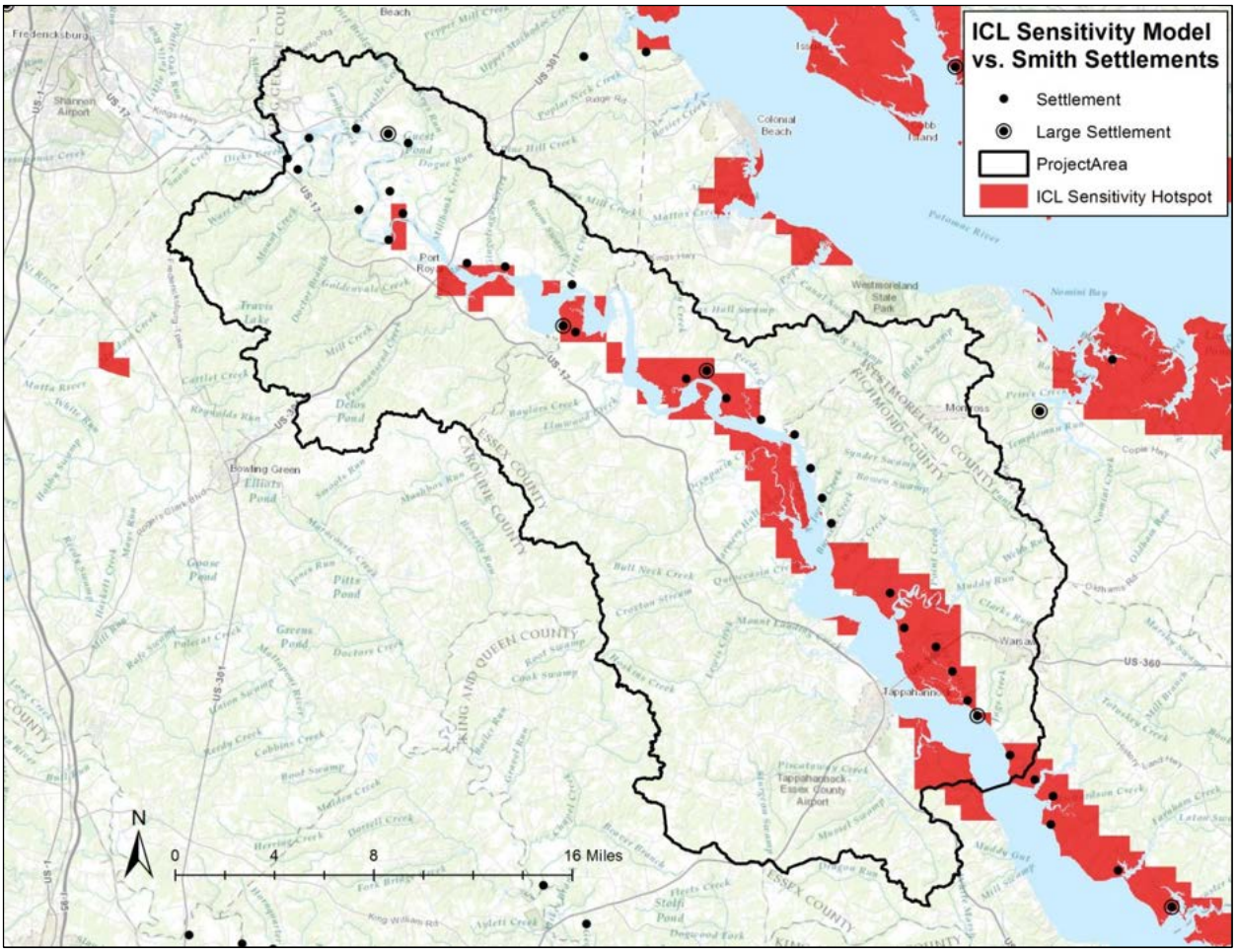


Figure 35. Hotspot analysis.

Viewshed Analysis

Discussions with stakeholders at DHR revealed the possibility that Late Woodland towns may have been distributed in areas with open vistas and large viewsheds along the Rappahannock shore (Chris Egghart, personal communication, 2016). Viewshed analysis has proven to be a useful tool for examining archaeological resources as they relate to "intervisibility," or two places being visible from one another. This visibility could be between places of spiritual and/or ritual significance, stewardship of economic and environmental resources, and perhaps defensibility. A similar approach to the Rappahannock may prove useful in interpreting known archaeological resources or identifying areas of future archaeological investigation.

Viewshed analysis within GIS is used to identify visible areas within a landscape from user-specified locations, known as observer points. The required inputs for this type of analysis include both the observer points and a digital elevation model (DEM) (O'Sullivan and Unwin 2003; Wheatley and Gillings 2003). A DEM is a raster map wherein each grid (which can be imagined as a pixel in a digital image) represents a certain elevation value. Viewshed analysis uses observer points as a point of origin

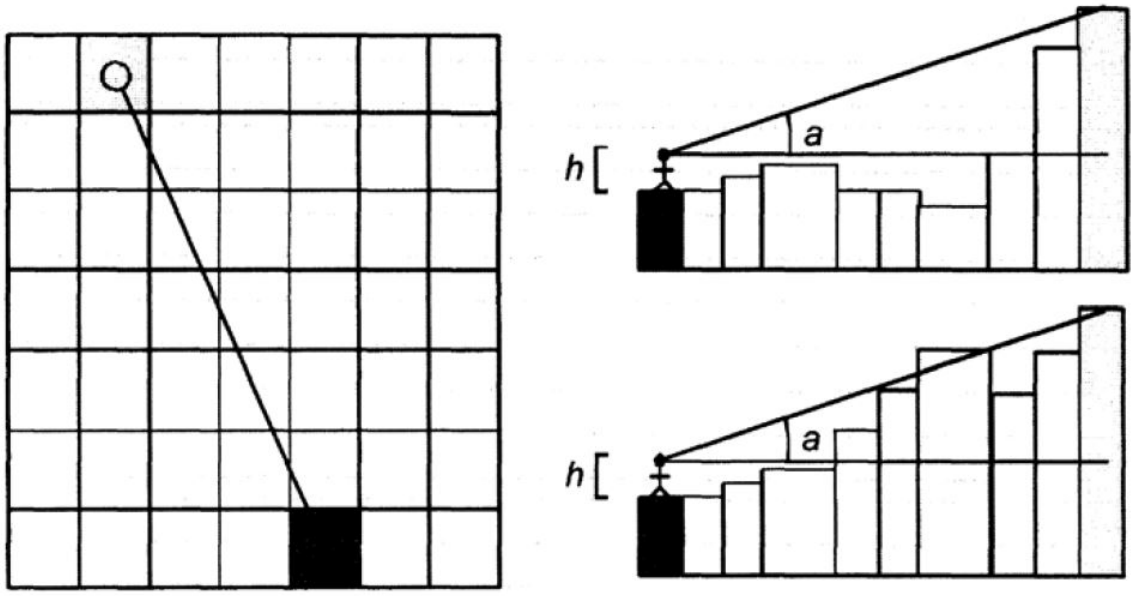


Figure 36. DEM.

where profiles are examined between every grid cell within the DEM (Figure 36). Observer points can be modified to include attribute data that relates to how the viewshed function is processed and restricted. These attributes include height of the observer above ground level (OFFSETA), the height of a target object or place (OFFSETB), the viewable radius from observer points (RADIUS1, RADIUS2), and the field of view (AZIMUTH1, AZIMUTH2).

Using observer points with this additional data, fields of view from each point are computed throughout the DEM landscape as either visible or not visible. Additionally this data can be further manipulated to show cumulative viewsheds, or places in the landscape that are visible from multiple observer points. Cumulative viewsheds can be used to determine the intervisibility between places of importance, or to identify places in the landscape with wide views.

The concept of applying viewshed analysis to Late Woodland settlements is not new, and there are several examples of its application in the Northeast. Eric E. Jones (2006) performed a viewshed analysis to explore settlement choices for the Onondaga Iroquois in New York. This case study focused on sites dating from about 1500 to 1700 CE. Jones's objective was to demonstrate whether settlements were visible from one another, a concept known as intervisibility. The results of this study revealed that recorded Onondaga archaeological sites did display a degree of intervisibility, but the explanation for this phenomenon is a bit more complicated. Jones (2006:537) concluded that intervisibility of settlement sites could have served as a strategy for communication and defensibility, arguing "mutual defense would have been more effective because of decreased response time in the event of an attack on a neighboring village" (Jones 2006:537).

Settlements along the Rappahannock were tested using a similar methodology to determine if intervisibility played a part in the location of settlements. In Jones's study, he observed that visibility

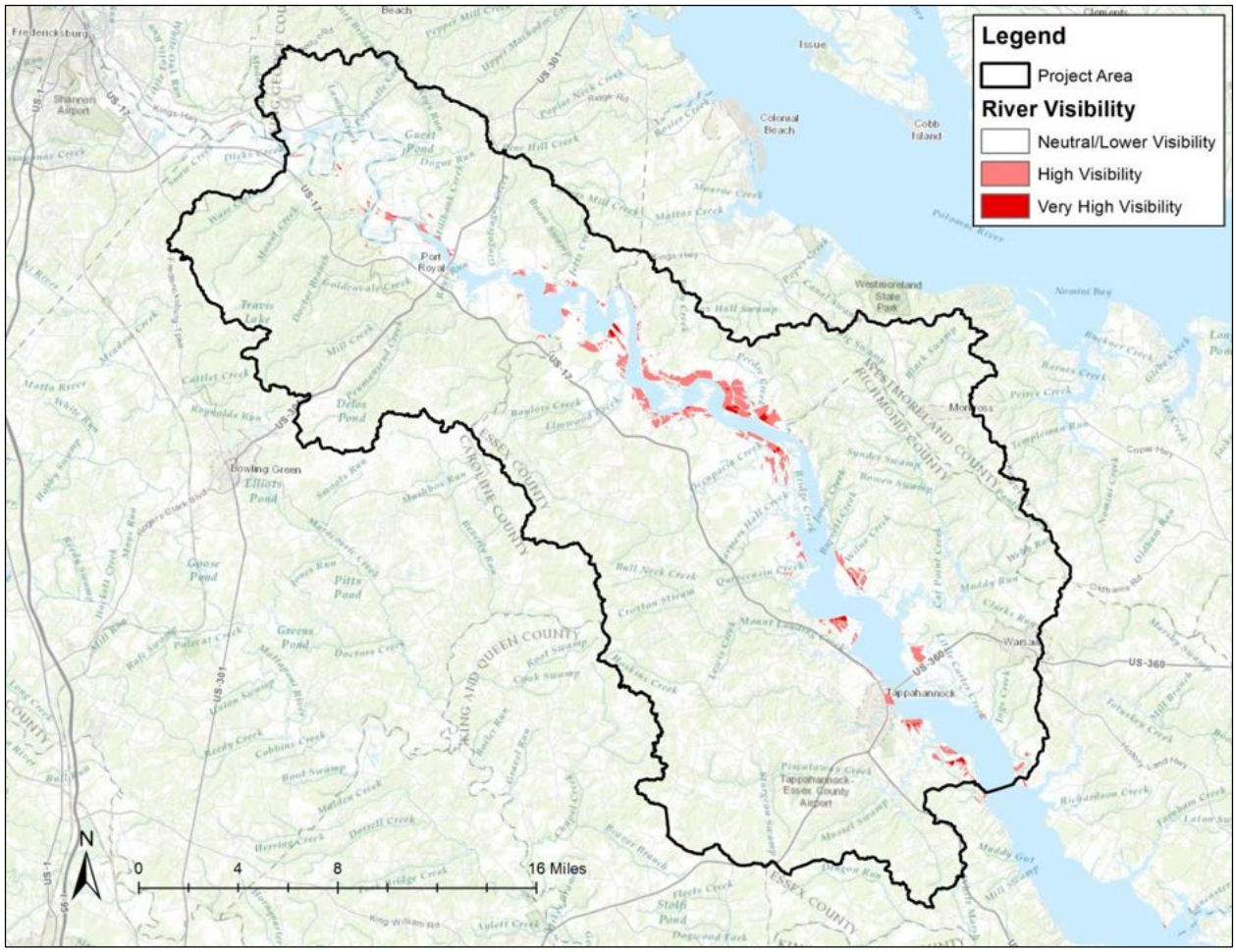


Figure 37. Results of viewshed analysis.

between settlements was not the only variable considered for settlement, and that environmental attributes such as soil quality should not be sacrificed for the sake of increased visibility.

As previously noted, known Native archaeological sites dating to the Late Woodland and Contact periods were the only sites considered for this analysis. Unfortunately, the lack of details about these sites makes it difficult to parse differences in settlement choices between the two periods as was done in the Onondaga study. With that in mind, site data in GIS format from the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR) was converted from polygon shapefiles into point shapefiles based on the centroid of each polygon. The site points were given Offset values of 1.75 meters for the observer and 2 meters for the target. Radius values were given a range of 0 to 4,700 meters. The value of 0 represented those areas of the landscape directly visible at the observer location. The radius value of 4.7 kilometers (specified as 4700 meters within the GIS calculations) represents the distance to the horizon from an observer looking out over flat ground. The azimuth, or field of view, was left unrestricted at the default values of 0 to 360 degrees. The resulting cumulative viewshed raster is used to depict where multiple observer points are visible in the landscape by giving a sum total of the number of points visible from any given location.

Given the overall lack of survey along the Rappahannock and in the interest of broadening the use viewshed analysis, identifying places with wide views of the river could be used to inform where settlements may have been located. Settlements located along portions of the river with wide views may be advantageous for several reasons such as the ability to see approaching threats, communication, or for symbolic or spiritual purposes.

To identify areas with expansive views of the river, a DEM of the study area was clipped to only include areas extending 500 meters from dry shoreline. This was done to restrict the data being analyzed to just the river and to emulate seeing over low lying marshes. Sample points to calculate the cumulative viewshed were placed along the shoreline at even intervals of 2.5 kilometers (roughly 1.5 miles). These sample points would serve as observer points in the viewshed analysis. The 2.5 kilometer interval was chosen as means of making the data simpler to compute within GIS, while still maintaining multiple observer points to test throughout different parts of the landscape. The sample points were given offset, radius, and azimuth values as the archaeological site data points previously mentioned.

The resulting cumulative viewshed raster was used not for determining intervisibility among the sample points, but to identify areas in the landscape where the greatest number of sample points were visible in the landscape. In short, this would identify the areas with the widest views of the river and shorelines. This, in conjunction with models based on ecological attributes, may help identify areas for future archaeological survey in this drainage.

In addition to settlement choice, the placement of other monuments or places can be of interest. Ossuary sites are of particular significance in terms of viewshed and visibility. Ossuaries are inherently spiritual places with important symbolic meaning in many Native cultures. Analysis of ossuaries in Maryland (Curry 1999; Maureen Kavanagh, personal communication, 2015) suggests that ossuaries are typically found facing open water and, in particular, open water facing west. Many ossuaries have also been found on areas of locally high elevations, particularly on sand ridges with high visibility. A number of ossuary sites have been found in soils with high gravel content.

Only one ossuary is located within the project area; this ossuary is known as the Mt. Airy site. This site is located along Cat Point Creek near the crossing of the creek by Newland Road, west of Warsaw. Whether the characteristics of ossuary sites in Maryland are true for Virginia is unknown and cannot be determined through the single ossuary site along the Rappahannock. The Mt. Airy site was examined to compare it with those known for Maryland. This was partly done through the use of viewshed analysis. The viewshed was calculated from the DEM at the centroid point of the site as recorded by the VDHR. Once more, the ossuary site was tested using the same offset, radius, and azimuth values as done all previously mentioned data.

The Mt. Airy site was first identified after having been disturbed by a gravel mining operation at the site, exposing the ossuaries. It is unknown to what extent the gravel mining operation altered the terrain of the site, but it would be reasonable to assume that the destruction of the site by gravel mining indicates that whatever landform existed there is but a remnant. Elevations at the site as recorded are likely lower than the current grade. This does not mean that a viewshed analysis from the site would not yield interesting results.

To test the intervisibility between archaeological sites in the project area, a set of hypotheses were developed similar to what was used for the environmental variables previously in this chapter. These hypotheses are as follows:

H0: Late Woodland/Contact period sites are not distributed according to intervisibility.
H1: Late Woodland/Contact period sites are distributed according to intervisibility.

The values from the cumulative viewshed raster created as a result of the viewshed analysis was then extracted to each archaeological site point. This raster image contains pixel values throughout the landscape that represent the total number of points visible from any location. The values extracted to each point represents the total number of other points (including itself) visible from that particular site location. Because the data is in ordinal form (1 site visible, 2 sites visible, etc.) a KS-test was performed to identify any statistical correlations between visibility and site location.

The results of this test allowed for the rejection of the null hypothesis, therefore indicating that the distribution of sites was not an act of random chance. If one were to take this result at face value, one could assume that intervisibility between sites played a part in indigenous decision-making. There are several problems with the underlying dataset, however, that make these results skewed. First among these problems or concerns is the survey coverage over the project area. Much of the project area has had little survey, while the area at and surrounding Fort A.P. Hill has been surveyed extensively, with many more archaeological sites identified than at any other location along the river. Many of these sites are close together, further skewing how much intervisibility there is among all sites. Secondly, these calculations were based on a digital elevation model representing bare earth topography, meaning no tree cover. Without knowing the extent and location of forests in the past, it makes this exercise less useful. Because of these considerations, identifying where the widest views of the river are located and comparing it to known site locations may prove more useful in examining the role of sight in the Rappahannock.

Using the methodology developed for identifying places with the widest views of the landscape, a number of places have been identified that could be considered particularly advantageous (Figure 38). As stated within this methodology, certain considerations were taking in regard to emulating environmental conditions. The most notable places (from west to east) are listed below:

- The land above Cleve Marsh west of Port Royal;
- The Nanzatico Indian Town site at the Land's End Wildlife Management Area;
- Portobago Bay;
- The south side of the Rappahannock River at Devil's Elbow to the east of Portobago;
- From Leedstown to Fones Cliffs;
- The land west of and opposite Fones Cliffs by Beverly Marsh;
- Near the mouth of Mt. Landing Creek at Mallory's Point;
- Naylor's Beach northwest of Cat Point Creek;
- Near Ferry Point at about the crossing of Route 360 as it leads from the Northern Neck to Tappahannock; and
- The mouth of Piscataway Creek.

It probably comes as no surprise that a number of these places were identified by the Rappahannock as places of importance and that we see these places repeatedly mentioned in the historical record and indicated through archaeological evidence. This type of viewshed analysis may help serve to create new interpretations of the landscape and of specific sites. For example, Smith's account that the Rappahannock were using Beverley Marsh to scope out Smith's approach, concealing themselves in the marsh as sedge bushes, reveals how the Rappahannock, masters of their domain, knew the most advantageous locations from which to mount a sneak attack. The spiritual importance of places like the purported ossuaries at Nanzatico Indian Town and Leedstown is underscored by the wide viewsheds they possess.

The individual viewshed of the Mt. Airy ossuary site is shown in Figure 38, along with recorded Late Woodland/Contact sites. The placement of this ossuary at the bend in Cat Point Creek appears to be intentional. Sites along Menokin to the north and the "Great Rappahannock Town" to the west would likely have been within the viewshed of this ossuary site, which would have served as an important landscape monument.

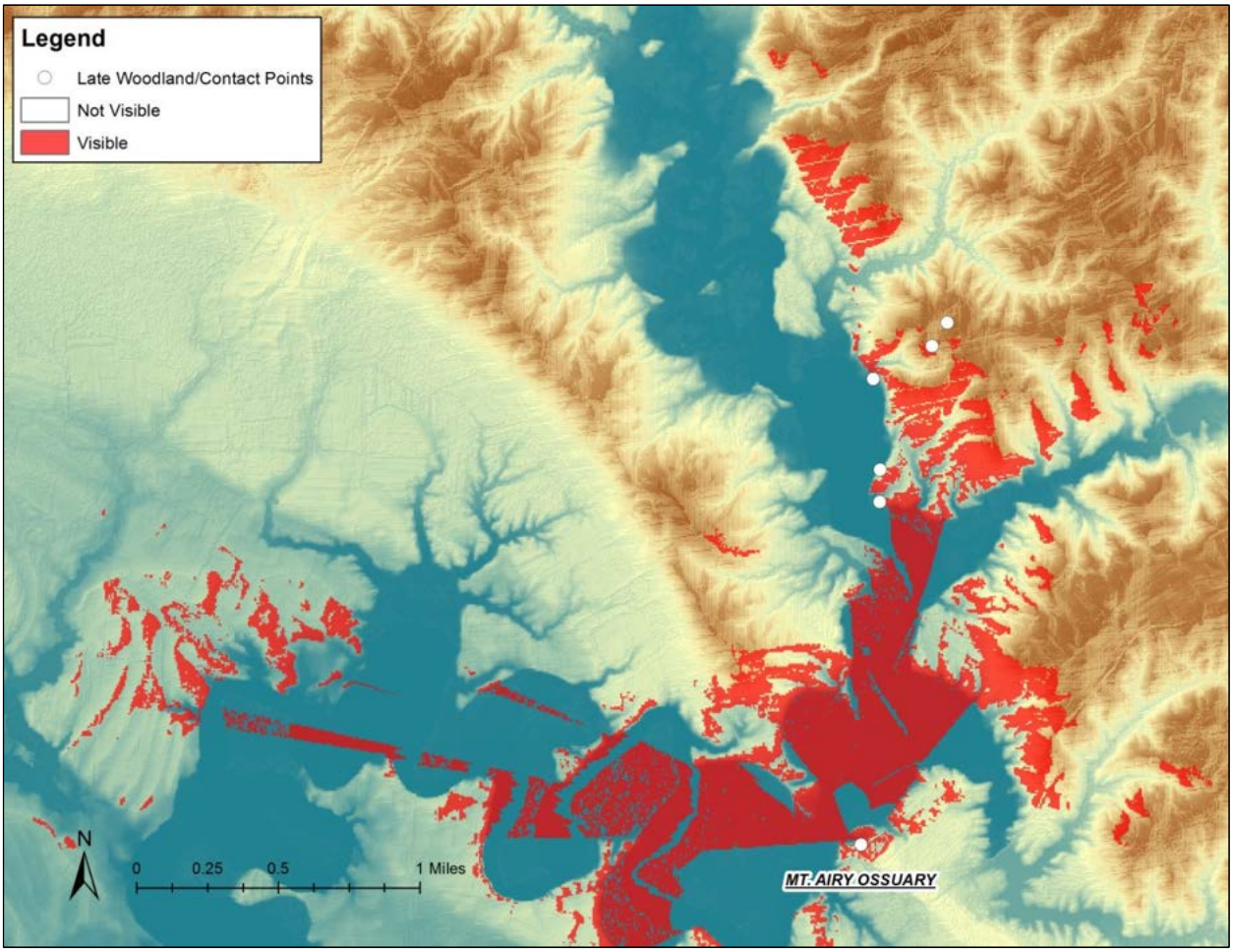


Figure 38. Viewshed analysis of the Mt. Airy ossuary.

CHAPTER VII
MAPPING THE RAPPAHANNOCK ICL

Rappahannock tribal members emphasized that the original boundaries proposed for the ICL project did not encompass all of the areas considered important by the tribe today and in the past. On the basis of these recommendations, the project area boundary was adjusted to extend to the southeast to Totuskey Creek and west to include areas of King and Queen County, where the Rappahannock Tribal Center is located today.

A challenge for this project was the representation of time, especially given the dynamic nature of all landscapes. Indigenous uses of and attitudes toward the landscape have changed from the Late Woodland period through the present. Culturally meaningful places and landscapes have also shifted over time. The challenge of depicting temporal or chronological variability is a common criticism of mapping and of GIS in particular. Rappahannock tribal members, for example, were cautious about placing an undue emphasis on coastal settlements as mapped by Captain John Smith, given that they do not account for the richness of Native culture evident through the historical record, archaeological evidence, and oral traditions. Tribal members were also concerned that this sort of emphasis could shift attention towards the notion that the Rappahannock existed primarily into the 17th and early 18th centuries. Reconciling the large amounts of available information while also working to address Rappahannock concerns about representation became a major focus for determining what should be included in the Rappahannock ICL. This is particularly reflected in the places identified as important landscapes by individuals within the Rappahannock tribe.

This chapter presents a summary of the analysis done for determining the final boundaries of the Rappahannock ICL. It begins with a discussion of the analytical results of the previous chapter and the compilation of spatial information from archaeological and documentary evidence. This analysis reveals the important ecological knowledge of the historic Rappahannock as they located settlements to take advantage of natural resources and then fashioned a landscape around those settlements rich in cultural meaning. Other preliminary findings suggest that viewsheds and the role of the visual experience played an important role in this historic landscape.

Next, using ethnographic and stakeholder information along with extensive online datasets mined for this effort, the historic and contemporary Rappahannock ICL is presented. Recognizing the entire watershed of the Rappahannock as an ICL, this exercise focused on identifying meaningful landscapes within those boundaries. These are places to which the contemporary Rappahannock and their ancestors have been tied for centuries These are nonetheless dynamic landscapes even as they tell a story that connects past events and histories to the present.

Finally, a predictive model of ICLs previously developed for the Chesapeake as a whole is examined to identify landscapes that were not physically visited during this effort. This model provides further insights into the ecological differences between the north and south banks of the Rappahannock River, potentially challenging previous notions of politics and power in the Virginia Tidewater.

A Settlement Model for the Rappahannock Watershed

As previously noted, a number of variables have commonly and repeatedly informed indigenous decision-making in the Chesapeake and beyond. In Chapter IV, a statistical correlation was demonstrated between site presence and agricultural or soil productivity for the project area. But what of the characteristics of the individual soil types?

In Chapter IV, 105 Late Woodland/Contact period archaeological sites are found within the project area, and these sites are located on 40 different soil types. A total of 195 soil types are found within the Rappahannock project area between five counties (Caroline, Essex, King George, Richmond, and Westmoreland), suggesting that 155 soils types were not preferred for settlements (or at least those settlements that would leave an archaeological signature). This could also reflect the lack of extensive survey in this part of the river drainage. Soil types within the project area are defined by individual county, so soils of same/similar type may have completely different designations just over the county line. For the purposes of this exercise, soils were examined by their unique identification code within the SSURGO data and later analyzed for their county-level soil survey designations and names.

A chi-square test – a non-parametric statistical test for nominal data – was used to identify any correlation between soil classifications and site location. Like the KS-tests covered in Chapter IV, chi-square tests aim to compare the differences between the number of observations versus what would be expected from a random sample. The following null hypothesis and its alternative were developed for this test:

H0: Late Woodland/Contact period sites are not distributed according to soil type.
H1: Late Woodland/Contact period sites are distributed according to soil type.

The results of the test revealed that there is a statistically significant correlation between the two datasets (archaeological sites and soil type) at a significance level of 0.001 (99.9% confidence level). This allowed for the rejection of the null hypothesis and the acceptance of the alternative, indicating that Late Woodland/Contact period sites are indeed distributed according to soil type. This test, however, does not explain the relationship between these two variables.

To discover what the relationship is, the difference of the percent of sites observed at each soil type and the percent of land for each soil type were tabulated. Those with an absolute value above the standard deviation were noted and separated as soils associations with Abnormally High and Abnormally Low frequencies (Figure 39; Tables 11 and 12). This was done to identify the deviation from what would be expected for a random distribution of sites. The soil properties for each soil type were then examined to try and locate patterns (if any). Soil properties included how well drained the soil types are, their texture/compositions, estimated yield of corn (non-irrigated) in bushels per acre, and Land Capability Class (non-irrigated). Land Capability Classes are broad simple designations given to soil types according to their agricultural potential. They range from I (best) to VII (worst), with classes I-III being considered soils conducive to agricultural activity.

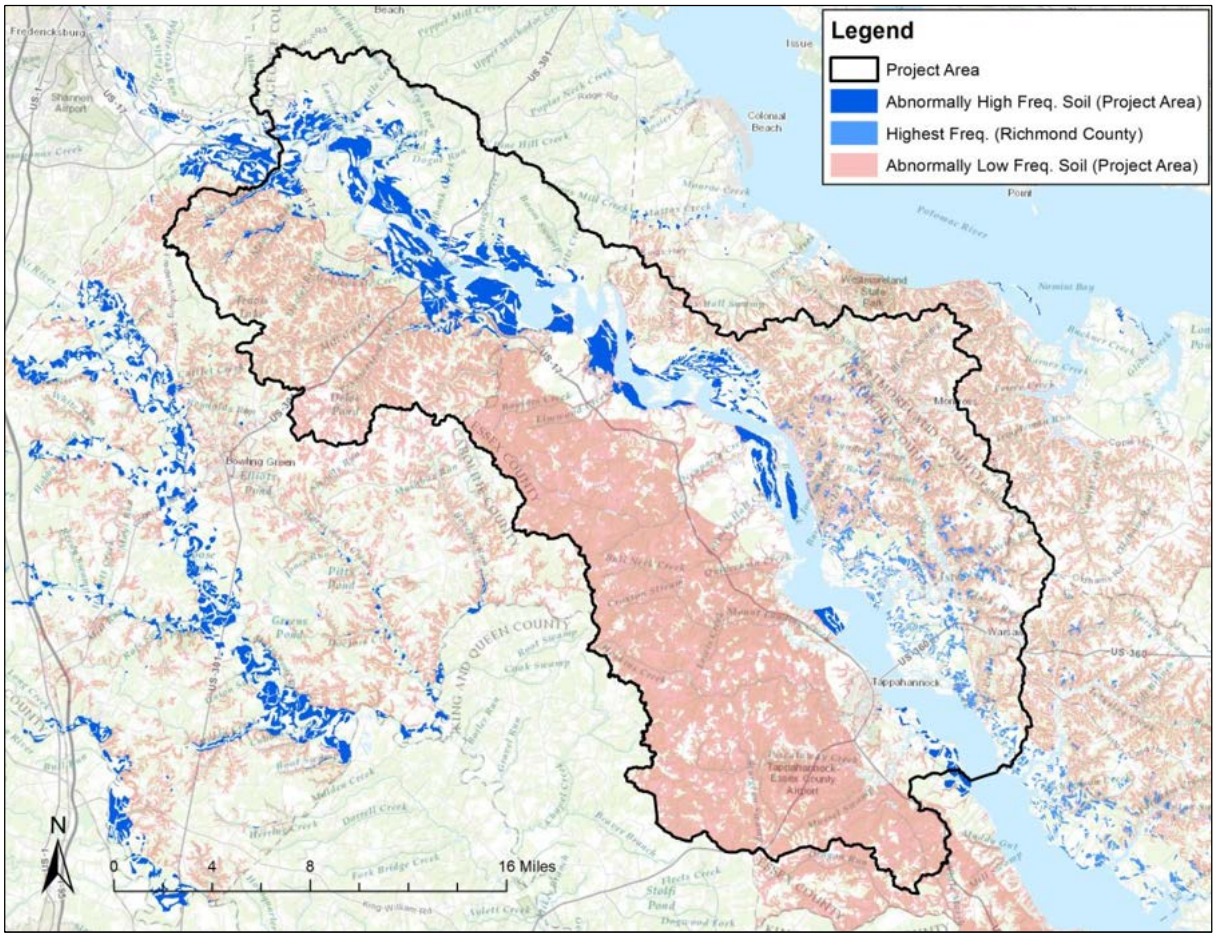


Figure 39. Soils with abnormally high and abnormally low site frequencies.

County	Soil	Name	Yield	Description	Drainage Capability	Capability Class
Caroline	5B	Bojac	85	Sandy loam	Well drained	II
Essex	12B	Molena	65	Loamy sand	Well drained	I
Caroline	29B	Wickham	160	Fine sandy loam	Well drained	II
Caroline	23B	State	160	Fine sandy loam	Well drained	II
King George	Wna	Wickham	160	Sandy loam	Well drained	I
Caroline	25B	Tarboro-Bojac	72.37	Sandy loam	Well to somewhat excessively drained	II-III
Westmoreland	5B	Catpoint	65	Loamy sand	Somewhat excessively drained	III
King George	WnB	Wickham	160	Sandy loam	Well drained	II
Westmoreland	13	Pamunkey	160	Fine sandy loam	Well drained	I
Essex	12A	Molena	65	Loamy sand	Somewhat excessively drained	III
Essex	15A	Pamunkey	160	Loam	Well drained	I
Caroline	1B	Altavista	150	Fine sandy loam	Moderately well drained	II
King George	WmA	Wickham	160	Fine sandy loam	Well drained	I

Table 11. Soils with abnormally high occurrences of archaeological sites.

County	Soil	Name	Yield	Description	Drains?	Capability Class
Essex	19E	Rumford & Emporia	0	Marine deposits	Well drained (erodible)	VII
Caroline	10E	Kempsville-Emporia-Remlik	0	Loamy marine deposits	Well drained (erodible)	VII
Essex	20D	Rumford & Slagle	77.53	Marine deposits	Well drained (erodible)	IV
Essex	23B	Suffolk	110	Sandy loam	Well drained (erodible)	II
Westmoreland	17E	Rumford	0	Marine deposits	Well drained (erodible)	VII
Essex	10B	Kempsville	120	Sandy loam	Well drained (erodible)	II
Richmond	15E	Rumford	0	Marine deposits	Well drained (erodible)	VII
Essex	3A	Bibb	0	Sandy loam	Poorly drained	V
Essex	9B	Emporia	120	Sandy loam	Well drained (erodible)	II

Table 12. Soils with abnormally low occurrences of archaeological sites.

The types of drainage for the soils with abnormally high frequencies of sites range from moderately well drained to somewhat excessively drained. The level of drainage in soils with Abnormally Low site frequencies range from well drained (but erodible) to poorly drained. There appears to be at least some pattern with sites being located on fairly well drained soils, while erodible and poorly-drained soils have lower site frequencies.

There are several noticeable differences between soil texture. Soils with high frequencies of sites consist of loam, loamy sand, sandy loam, and fine sandy loams, whereas soils with low site frequency consist of marine deposits and sandy loams. Fine sandy loams only appear associated with abnormally high frequencies of sites, whereas soil complexes of marine deposits are demonstrated to have abnormally low site frequencies.

It comes as no surprise that soils with abnormally high site frequency are demonstrably better suited for agriculture than abnormally low site frequency soils. Estimated corn yields in bushels per acre vary from 65 to 160 (the highest throughout the project area) for soils with abnormally high site frequency. Estimated corn yields in abnormally low frequency soils do go as high as 120 bushels per acre, but there are many instances where this value is 0, representing that the soil is not suited well at all for corn production. This is reflected again in the Land Capability Class of each soil, wherein high abnormally frequency soils range from I to III, while low frequency soils range from II to VII.

All the soils with abnormally high site frequencies have between three and twenty-two archaeological sites located on those soil types. Most soil types with low frequencies have no sites on them at all. In fact, the abnormally high frequency soil types account for 64.8% of all known sites in the project area, while only covering 5.2% of the total land area. Meanwhile, low frequency soil types themselves account for roughly 42.5% of the total land area. This suggests that using soil types alone

serves as a moderately efficient predictive model for known archaeological sites. The varying degrees of survey throughout the project area, such as over-representation at Fort A.P. Hill, and under-representation in Richmond and Essex counties, causes skews in the data due to the lack of consistent data. No soils from Richmond County appeared as having Abnormally High site frequencies due to this under-representation, but two soils with the highest site frequencies within the county are depicted in Figure 42.

While it is the case that sites are generally found in areas of abnormally high agricultural productivity, this appears to be just one of several drivers for determining settlement location. Soils with high agricultural potential that are easily erodible have demonstrably fewer sites located on them. A combination of factors, including wetland proximity, slope, and elevation in conjunction with agriculturally productive soils, are among the main environmental forces shaping settlement location in the Rappahannock river valley. This assessment serves as a generalization among all site types and not an assessment of sites with specialized uses, such as winter hunting and base camps. These sites have been found to exist further from waterways (though still relatively close) without any statistical correlation between them and agricultural productivity (Strickland 2012). This notion is understandable given the types of subsistence activities performed at those sites.

In addition to the statistical analysis of archaeological site spatial data, documentary records provide details into the year-round settlement of Native population during the colonial period. In 1608, when Captain John Smith explored the Chesapeake and its tributaries in voyages lasting from early June through early September, he and his fellow Englishmen often traded items for food. Smith's recounting of these trades appears in his publication *A True Relation of...Virginia*. In his recounting, Smith mentions food items a total of 87 times. A summary of all food items mentioned can be found in Table 13. Among the food items mentioned, corn-related foods appear to have been the most important, forming 68% of all food references by Smith. The largest protein source came from waterfowl and turkey (15%).

Category	Food Type	# of Ref.	%
Corn (67.82%)	Corn	39	44.83%
	Bread	20	22.99%
Fowl/Poultry (14.94%)	UID Fowl	6	6.90%
	Turkey	3	3.45%
	Duck	1	1.15%
	Swan	1	1.15%
	Crane	1	1.15%
	Goose	1	1.15%
Fish/Shellfish (10.34%)	Fish	7	8.05%
	Oysters	1	1.15%
	Mussels	1	1.15%
Other Meat (4.60%)	Deer	3	3.45%
	UID Meat	1	1.15%
Other Plants (2.30%)	Berries	2	2.30%

Table 13. Mentions of food in Smith's *A True Relation*.

Smith's record provides a general view into the diet of the groups the English encountered throughout the summer of 1608. Corn, of course, requires suitable soils for its cultivation. Meat resources (including duck, swan, crane, geese, fish, oysters, and mussels) come primarily from wetland environments. This evidence implies a settlement strategy during these months that required close proximity to both wetland resources and agriculturally productive soils.

E. Randolph Turner (1976) examined the availability of key wild food resources throughout each season and within three possible zones of habitation (Inland, Transition, and Coast) within the Virginia Coastal Plain. A summary of this data is presented in Table 14. This em-

Season	Inland	Transition	Coast
Spring	Freshwater fish/shellfish	Anadromous fish	Marine fish/shellfish
Summer	Freshwater fish/shellfish, fruits, grain	Fruits, grain	Marine fish/shellfish, fruits, vegetables
Fall	Deer, turkey, freshwater fish/shellfish, nuts, fruits, starchy grain substitutes	Migratory fowl, turkey, nuts, fruits, starchy grain substitutes	Marine shellfish, fruits, starchy grain substitutes
Winter	Deer, turkey, freshwater fish, nuts, starchy grain substitutes	Migratory fowl, turkey, nuts, starchy grain substitutes	Bear, starchy grain substitutes

Table 14. Key wild food resources in three zones of habitation (Source: Turner 1976).

phasizes the intra-regional and seasonal nature of the different kinds of food resources available. This does not account for agricultural resources such as corn.

Mary Kate Mansius used archaeological data and primary and secondary historical data to develop a model of Piscataway settlement patterns in the lower Potomac valley. Mansius (2013) noted food resources used at the time and the type of occupation taking place during each month (Table 15). These data imply corn was an ever-present part of the subsistence strategy, serving as a major plant food source beginning in August (the start of the harvest season) and lasting until stored reserved were depleted sometime in February. The cultivation of corn would begin in late April and May and would be grown along with beans and squash. Throughout the year oysters would have been consumed, though in greater quantities during the late summer and early fall months (Mansius 2013).

Month	Plants	Animals	Settlement Type
Jan	Dried food	Deer, oysters	Hunting camps; Hamlets
Feb	Dried food	Deer, oysters	Hunting camps; Hamlets
Mar	Fruits, berries	Fish, oysters	Fishing stations; Long term sites
Apr	Fruits, berries	Fish, oysters	Fishing stations; Long term sites
May	Fruits, berries, greens	Fish, oysters, available wildlife	Long term sites; Procurement camps; Fishing stations
Jun	Fruits, berries, greens	Fish, oysters, available wildlife	Long term sites; Procurement camps
Jul	Fruits, berries, greens	Fish, oysters, available wildlife	Long term sites; Procurement camps
Aug	Corn	Oysters, available wildlife	Long term sites
Sep	Corn	Oysters, available wildlife	Long term sites
Oct	Corn, nuts	Oysters, available wildlife	Long term sites
Nov	Dried food	Deer, oysters	Long term sites; Hunting camps
Dec	Dried food	Deer, oysters	Hunting camps; Hamlets

Table 15. Piscataway seasonal dietary schedule (Source: Mansius 2013).

The National Park Service's base criteria for defining ICLs (listed in Chapter II) addresses the general settlement patterns of indigenous groups, primarily those present at the time Captain John Smith made his voyages in 1608. By researching the settlement patterns of Late Woodland/Contact period sites on a micro-regional basis, the ICL criteria can be adjusted according to the findings therein. Given the importance of corn agriculture, good agricultural soils can be defined to mean agricultural soils ideal for

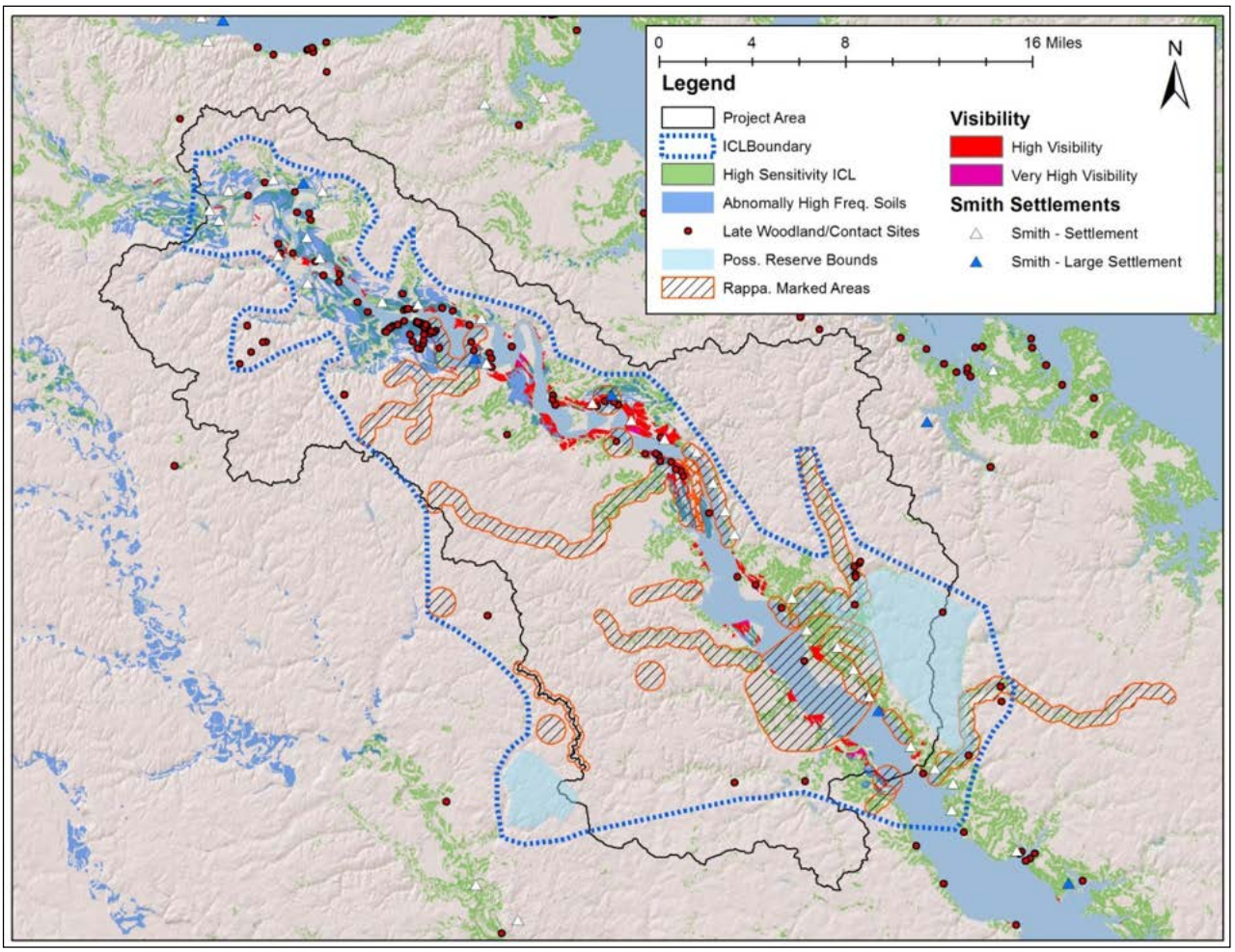


Figure 40. Composite map of data sets showing proposed Rappahannock ICL boundary.

corn production. This research informs which criteria may be considered having the greatest impact with regards to settlement location.

The Historic and Contemporary Rappahannock ICL

All relevant data layers, including the archaeological, documentary, ethnographic, and land use information compiled as part of this project, were brought together to produce a single composite map (Figure 40). This map was used in the determination of the ICL boundary within the project area. While the entirety of the project area can be considered a part of the greater Rappahannock ICL, this composite map highlights particular areas of more or less use by the Rappahannock, historically and in the present.

The proposed ICL boundary shown in Figure 43 includes all areas of interest identified by the Rappahannock consultants, recorded archaeological resources with Late Woodland and Contact period contexts, places revealed during historical background research, wide viewshed areas, concentrations of highly productive soil for corn, important wetland/marsh areas, and areas identified by the ICL sensitivity model as harboring a co-occurrence of several important environmental variables. These areas are

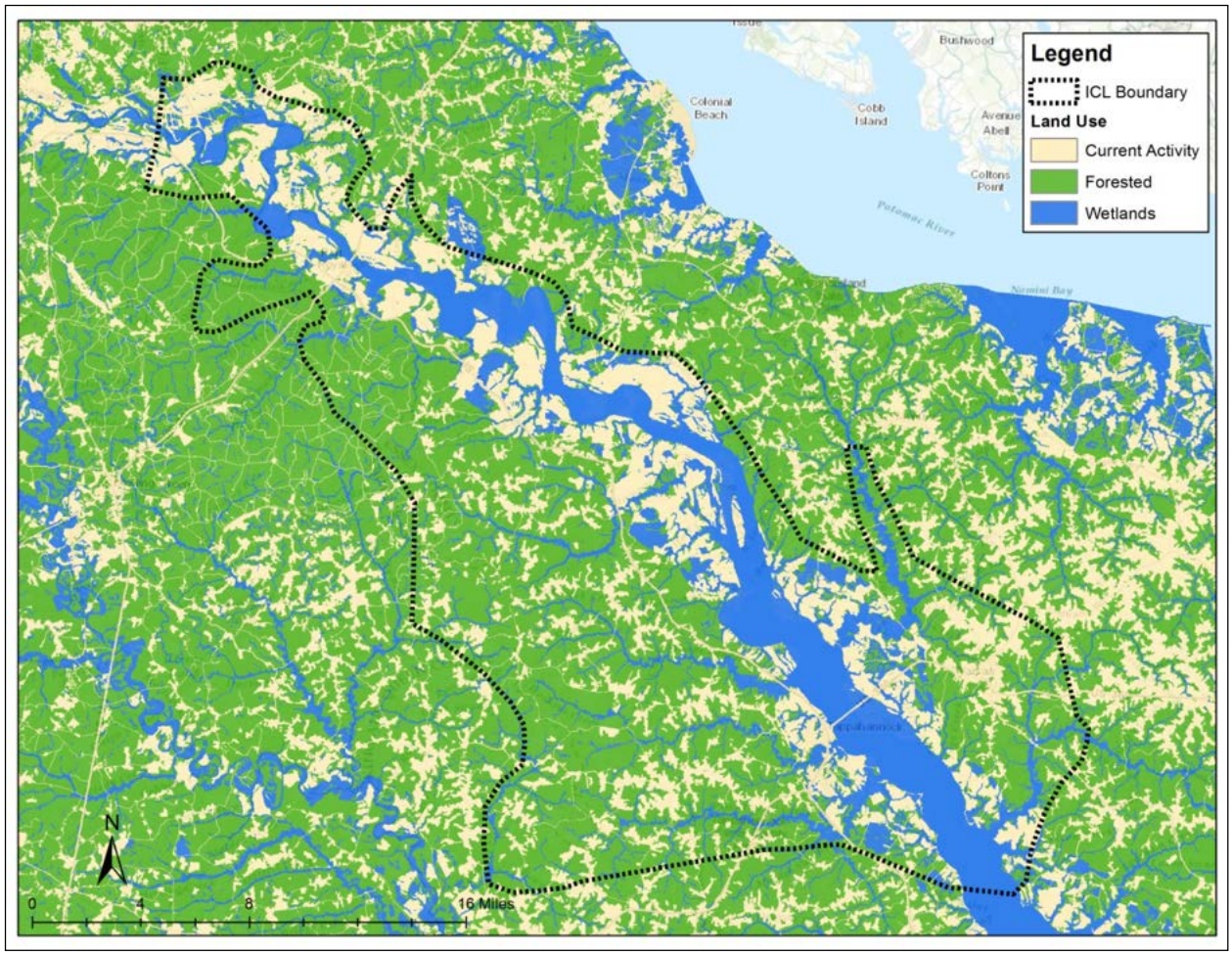


Figure 41. ICL boundary and current land uses.

considered "hot spots" for interpretation and preservation. Not surprisingly, nearly all of the project area is included with the ICL boundary. Notable exceptions to this are upland areas located on the north edge of the project area.

The ICL boundary was examined in comparison with current land use data as well as with protected land areas (Figure 41; see Figure 18). The reclassified land use data depicts the areas with undeveloped (forested) and developed (labeled as current activity); developed land includes residential, agricultural, or commercial uses. Much of the ICL consists of agricultural land, particularly along the shores of the river. Generally, nearly the entire project area, save for the towns of Port Royal, Tappahannock, and Warsaw, is rural and undeveloped apart from intense agricultural activity.

Given the rural nature of the project area and the amounts of county-, state-, and Federally-owned land within it, along with conservation easements on private property, it is not surprising that approximately 27% (96,953 acres) of the ICL area is considered to be at least somewhat protected. Federally-owned land managed by the US Army at Fort A.P. Hill and US Fish and Wildlife with the Rappahannock River Valley National Wildlife Refuge make up the bulk of protected land within the ICL

followed by conservation easements on individual properties. Protected lands are located primarily along the south bank of the Rappahannock, though the area immediately around the town of Warsaw is protected along the north bank. A notable gap in land conservation is located on the north bank at Fones Cliffs, which is considered a nationally and internationally important habitat for bald eagles, among other rare species.

Finally, it should be noted that much of the data acquired from the Rappahannock stakeholders and from the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR) site spatial data contains sensitive location information. As such, locations of specific sites are left intentionally vague. As part of the data licensing agreement with DHR, all archaeological site location is to be protected. To safeguard against any destruction of sites depicted in this report, archaeological sites are denoted by selected symbols and depicted only on large scale maps. Sites shown are also not depicted according to typologies such as towns or burial sites, which could easily become targets.

Summary

Using stakeholder input (including from the Rappahannock Indians, land use planners and managers, land conservationists, historic preservationists, and archaeologists), environmental and land use datasets available online, and clues found in primary source documents, the Rappahannock ICL was identified and mapped. The ICL boundaries as mapped represent the areas of known historical and contemporary use. No doubt these boundaries will change as more information becomes available. What the current representation provides is an area in which to focus conservation and interpretation efforts related to the development and management of the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail.

While the focus on the John Smith Trail is in large part the early 17th-century ICL, the presence of a vibrant contemporary Native community along the Rappahannock provides an outstanding opportunity to draw visitors' attention to the persistence of the Rappahannock people, and the reality that American Indian peoples did not just disappear or even move very far away.

CHAPTER VIII
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape project constituted an effort to bring together tribal and non-tribal stakeholder input with large quantities of data in a variety of forms for the purpose of identifying places and landscapes meaningful to the historic and contemporary Rappahannock. This model of an important but all too often overlooked landscape will ideally serve as a starting point for any future discussions about how this landscape can be used for educational, preservation, conservation, and economic development purposes, beginning with the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail. This chapter organizes the major findings of this project and presents recommendations for future work.

Following the recommendation of Sullivan, Chambers, and Barbery (2013) and as applied by Strickland, Busby, and King (2015), the project area was delineated according to watershed boundaries. These boundaries are considered ecological management units by the Environmental Protection Agency (1997) as well as watershed scientists. In addition, indigenous use of rivers and other waterways, from sources of food to routes of travel, fostered a deep knowledge and understanding of specific watersheds. The fact that many of the points, places, creeks, streams, and other waterways still bear the names given to them by the Native inhabitants suggests that, while watersheds may be an arbitrary boundary for undertaking ICL projects, watersheds did have an economic and social reality for the historic Rappahannock and related groups. Even so, with a combined watershed of 556 square miles, this portion of the Rappahannock watershed, which we refer to as the project area, is large. This makes the Rappahannock ICL project the largest project in scope to date completed for the National Park Service. Given these constraints as well as the National Park Service's goal to define "hot spots" of past and present indigenous use of the landscape, the proposed Rappahannock ICL represents those areas of greatest interest to the many stakeholders in the project, especially the Rappahannock.

The Rappahannock ICL

This analysis of the Rappahannock watershed has revealed the extensive and sophisticated levels of ecological knowledge understood by the historic Rappahannock. Soil quality, for example, was only one of several factors influencing settlement choice in the Late Woodland. The role of the visual experience within the landscape played an important role for both practical reasons and for ritualistic functions such as the construction of ossuaries. Perhaps most important were locations with these features and adjacent wetlands. Less clear are the desirable attributes for inland hunting quarters or other short-term settlements, in large part because of the relatively low frequency of archaeological site survey within the Rappahannock watershed.

Documents suggest the historic presence of the Rappahannock, and also includes other prominent groups such as the Moraughtacund, Totuskey, Nanzatico (Nandtaughtacund on the Smith map), and later the Portobago These documents reveal how these groups interfaced with one another, and how they interacted and coped with ever encroaching English. Some documents note the locations of paths between Indian towns, providing links to a much broader landscape, including to other watersheds such as the

Mattaponi and Potomac Rivers. Archaeological and documentary evidence suggests that, even well after European invasion and occupation, these groups maintained familiar practices, continuing to use Native-made pots, to live in Native-style dwellings, and consume Native foods. In some cases, Native people used English material culture and English law to their advantage, taking up grievances against individuals within the colonial system of law; in other cases, the dispossession of their lands was accomplished through legal documents that had little meaning to the land's first occupants.

Places of contemporary significance to the Rappahannock include their tribal center, Acapataugh Beach, and the town of Tappahannock. Their tribal center, though located in King and Queen County, lies within the Mattaponi watershed, but is included within the ICL. While historically located along the banks of the river, following the abandonment of the town on Portobago Bay, the Rappahannock through much of the 19th-century through today have lived, worked, and raised families in this area. This area includes the town of Central Point and places east towards Tappahannock. Places like Central Point were also important as being farming and trading communities in which the Rappahannock were engaged. Acapataugh Beach, while bearing the name of a 17th-century Rappahannock werowance, was used in recent decades as a place to gather clay for use in making pottery. The town of Tappahannock today holds significance as being where many of today's Rappahannock work.

Recommendations

As with the study of the Nanjemoy/Mattawoman Creek watershed, the Rappahannock ICL project has been presented as an opportunity to serve the Rappahannock community by documenting its members' relationship with the watershed and identifying areas that stakeholders, including and especially the Rappahannock Indians, might target for land conservation, the preservation of natural and cultural resources, education, and tourism. Within the state of Virginia, no other watershed is as untouched by the heavy hand of development and suburban sprawl. Given its unique position as being well removed from urban centers such as Washington, DC and Richmond, VA, the Rappahannock remains a predominately rural locale. It is no wonder that the Audubon Society classifies this portion of the river as Important Bird Area of global significance, and the National Geographic Society has dubbed it one of the Treasured Landscapes of the Chesapeake. Many other organizations, including government agencies and non-profits, maintain an interest in this watershed for its environmental and ecological importance.

The following recommendations have emerged from this study. They are loosely prioritized by their order, and some can proceed hand-in-hand:

1. Develop an oral history program for Rappahannock tribal members.

During our final meeting with the Rappahannock Indians, the National Park Service, and the Chesapeake Conservancy, Chief Anne Richardson and other tribal members lamented the lack of a oral history archive. Tribal members noted the passing of elders with knowledge stretching back to the first half of the 20th century. Oral histories are perhaps the single most important source of information about people whose lives are omitted from or under-represented in archives. This recommendation should be

implemented to the extent possible without delay. This program should include background research, collection of oral histories, and creation of a permanent (and possibly digital) archive.

2. Connect modern-day Rappahannock people to 17th-, 18th-, and 19th-century landscapes.

What the present project has revealed is that there has been little work to connect modern-day Rappahannock landscapes to historic landscapes. This has long been a criticism by Native peoples throughout the Chesapeake, who see the focus of historians and archaeologists as often linked to the Contact period or 17th-century (but see Rountree 1990 for exceptions). This is a focus that, if not approached critically, tends to reify narratives of Native disappearance. This project has revealed just how necessary that criticism is and how it remains a problem, not just for the Rappahannock, but for non-indigenous citizens who often have an incomplete understanding of the Native past.

One avenue by which this recommendation can be implemented is through a focus on sub-regions. Detailed micro-histories, that is, histories focused on particular places, can bring together multiple lines of evidence to connect past and present peoples in a way that broad brush histories often cannot. While the Rappahannock no doubt already have a deep sense of these connections, documenting these stories can be useful as educational tools for non-tribal people. Including decision-makers at the local, state, and Federal levels. The Captain John Smith Trail provides an exceptional place in which to tell these stories, linking landscapes evocative of the early 17th century to the vibrant Rappahannock present.

3. Development of a detailed culture history of the Rappahannock River Native groups.

The cultural history of the Rappahannock watershed remains woefully under-documented, and the hope is that this study will in some small part raise awareness of the project area's long, rich, and unique indigenous history and its present. New approaches and ways of thinking about the Rappahannock and its original inhabitants are beginning to emerge, providing further interpretation of the history Anglo-Native relations in the Chesapeake and the role the Rappahannock played in shaping that history. Equally important is the narrative of how groups like the Rappahannock managed to not only survive invasion, occupation, and displacement, but to keep intact their cultural identities and vast understanding of their ancestral landscape.

4. Develop educational materials for Rappahannock tribal members, especially the youth.

Rappahannock tribal members noted that aerial views of the landscape helped to reframe their understanding of the landscape, especially as they could see how sites, places, and other landscapes were related and connected by roads, many of which remain in use today. They are very interested in keeping this information in their memory and in the greater public memory, and suggested educational programs that would target younger tribal members.

5. Develop educational materials for non-tribal members, including residents of the river valley as well as those who visit the area, including via the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail.

All of the participants in this project became excited by a reframing of what is known and, just as importantly, what remains to be known. Participants were emphatic that this rich history deserves wide dissemination and should be incorporated into local educational programs and heritage tourism.

6. Gap analysis of key parcels.

A gap analysis of key parcels not under conservation should be performed. While it has been established that 27% of the project area is conserved, it is important to note areas within the ICL that are not conserved. Areas where archaeological resources are anticipated and areas where historical data indicates important indigenous affiliations should be prioritized for acquisition or easements. Further, any areas with these cultural values that are places into conservation management or ownership should have explicit protection and management measures put in place for the cultural resources. Any areas that will be developed for visitor experiences should have sufficient provisions in place to prevent destruction of the authentic resources that provide the reason for the visitation.

7. Expand the focus to other watersheds.

In their development of a methodology for identifying and representing ICLs, Sullivan, Chambers, and Barbery (2013) recommended a watershed-by-watershed approach, which we have found useful both for the Rappahannock ICL and an earlier project focused on the Nanjemoy and Mattawoman creek areas in Maryland (Strickland, Busby, and King 2015). A watershed analysis serves to keep projects focused and create greater certainty in the expenditure of scarce public funds.

Nonetheless, problems do arise with a focus on a single watershed. In fact, for this project, we have included a portion of the Mattaponi River watershed in our study because that is where the Rappahannock Indian Tribal Center is located today, and many Rappahannock today live in Mattaponi watershed. Historically, considerable mixing of groups occurred in this area and it is an important locus for understanding resistance and adaptation to colonization; it is this watershed that may be most useful for connecting the contemporary Rappahannock Indians with archaeological evidence of the more recent past.

Indeed, Chief Anne Richardson recalled the importance of lands where "lost" meanders feeding the Mattaponi are located between Indian Neck (King and Queen County) and Bowling Green (Caroline County), areas Chief Richardson remembered as teeming with wildlife. Chief Richardson notes that the State of Virginia may own the lands her family and fellow tribal members visited. Because of the scope of the present project and other constraints, this portion of what is obviously within the Rappahannock ICL could not be documented in the same detail.

In the ongoing interest of the National Park Service to document priority watersheds throughout the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail, it is recommended that expansion to other watersheds such as the nearby York (including the Mattaponi and Pamunkey) and James rivers in Virginia be undertaken. Indeed, the York River, including the Pamunkey and Mattaponi rivers which feed the York, were identified as a priority watershed (Strickland and King 2015). Since the development of

that list, the National Park Service has acquired Werowocomoco, Powhatan's capital on the York, and an ICL study could go a long way to build a data-rich interpretive context for this new national park.

Finally, the present project looked at a swatch of the Rappahannock River extending only from just west of Port Royal to just southeast of Tappahannock. The area extending east towards the mouth of the river will no doubt yield additional important ICL data. This area of the Rappahannock includes other important settlements such as Moraughtacund and some of the earliest English patents along the river. Of equal importance may be areas west of the project area extending to the west to the land of the Mannahoac, of which very little is known.

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APPENDIX I
LIST OF PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

Staff

1. Virginia R. Busby
2. Julia A. King
3. Martha McCartney
4. Scott M. Strickland

Rappahannock Consultants

5. Chief Anne Richardson
6. Cochise Fortune
7. Faye Fortune
8. John Fortune
9. Judith Fortune
10. Mark Fortune
11. Dana Mulligan
12. Barbara B. Williams

National Park Service

13. Deanne Beacham
14. Carolyn Black
15. Cindy Chance
16. Suzanne Copping
17. Christine Lucero

Chesapeake Conservancy

18. Jeff Allenby
19. Joe McCauley

Non-Tribal Stakeholders

The following non-tribal stakeholders were invited to participate in this project. A diamond symbol (♦) indicates participation.

County Planning and Zoning, Community Development Entities

1. Caroline County Department of Planning and Community Development
2. Caroline County Planning Commission
3. Essex County Planning Commission♦
4. Essex County Building and Zoning, Environmental Office♦
5. Essex County Geospatial Program♦
6. King George County Community Development Office
7. Richmond County Planning Office
8. Westmoreland County Office of Planning and Community Development

County Tourism Offices and Programs

9. Caroline County Tourism Office
10. King George Chamber of Commerce (Tourism)
11. Office of Community Development, King George County
12. Richmond County Museum and Tourism Info Center
13. Westmoreland County Museum and Visitors Center

County Parks and Recreation Programs

14. Caroline County Parks and Recreation
15. Essex County Parks and Recreation♦
16. King George County Parks and Recreation
17. Richmond County Parks and Recreation
18. Westmoreland County Parks and Recreation

Regional Entities

19. Middle Peninsula Planning Commission
20. Northern Neck Chesapeake Bay Public Access Authority
21. Northern Neck Planning District♦
22. Northern Neck Soil and Water Conservation District
23. Northern Neck Tourism Commission

State Agencies

24. Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation, Office of the Director
25. Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation, Division of Natural Heritage
26. Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation, Planning and Recreation Resources
27. Virginia State Parks
28. Belle Isle State Park
29. Westmoreland State Park♦
30. Virginia Department of Forestry
31. Virginia Department of Game and Inland Fisheries
32. Virginia Department of Environmental Quality
33. Virginia Department of Environmental Quality, Cultural Resources♦
34. Virginia Department of Environmental Quality - Northern Regional Office
35. Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Review and Compliance Division♦
36. Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Virginia State Archaeologist♦
37. Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Eastern Regional Archaeologist♦
38. Virginia Department of Transportation, Preservation Programs District Coordination Office♦
39. Virginia Department of Transportation, Fredericksburg District, Environmental Management Office
40. Virginia Outdoors Foundation♦

Federal Agencies

41. National Park Service, National Capital Region, Regional Archeologist
42. US Army, Fort A. P. Hill, Environmental Programs♦
43. US Army, Fort A. P. Hill, Army Compatible Use Buffer Program♦

44. US Army, Fort A. P. Hill, Cultural Resource Management Program♦
45. US Fish and Wildlife Service, Rappahannock River Valley, National Wildlife Refuge♦
46. US Fish and Wildlife Service, Eastern Virginia Rivers Refuge Complex
47. US Fish and Wildlife Service, Regional Historic Preservation Office
48. US Navy, Naval District Washington, Encroachment Management Program
49. US Navy, Community Planning Office, Naval Support Activity South Potomac

Non-governmental and Other Non-tribal Stakeholders

50. Cat Point, Inc. ♦
51. Chesapeake Bay Foundation
52. The Chesapeake Conservancy♦
53. Chesapeake Conservation Partnership
54. The Conservation Fund
55. Dahlgren Railroad Heritage Trail♦
56. Essex County Countryside Alliance♦
57. Friends of the Rappahannock♦
58. Menokin Foundation♦
59. The Nature Conservancy
60. Northern Neck Land Conservancy
61. Rappahannock Wildlife Refuge Friends♦
62. Scenic Virginia
63. Trust for Public Land
64. The Wetlands Project

Subject Matter Experts

65. Thomas E. Davidson, PhD, Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation, Sr. Curator
66. Martin D. Gallivan, PhD, Professor, Department of Anthropology, College of William & Mary
67. Mr. Edward Wright Haile, Historian
68. Michael Klein, PhD, Archaeologist♦
69. Stephen R. Potter, PhD, Regional Archaeologist, National Capital Region, National Park Service
70. Helen C. Rountree, PhD, Ethnohistorian♦
71. E. Randolph Turner, PhD, Archaeologist♦
72. Mr. John Page Williams, Naturalist / Writer♦

APPENDIX II
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD CONSENT FORM

RAPPAHANNOCK INDIGENOUS CULTURAL LANDSCAPE PROJECT
St. Mary's College of Maryland
St. Mary's City, Maryland

You are invited to participate in a project related to the identification of the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape. This project aims to gather information about past and contemporary land use by the Rappahannock people in the Rappahannock River watershed between Port Royal and Tappahannock. You will be asked to attend two all-day meetings and participate in a driving tour during one of those meetings in an effort to identify landscapes and properties important to the Rappahannock. The information collected as part of this project will be included in a report prepared for the Chesapeake Conservancy and the National Park Service Chesapeake Bay Office and will be used to develop land preservation and interpretive strategies. You and the group you represent will receive copies of all final reports generated for this project.

Your participation is voluntary and you may choose not to participate at any time. Your decision whether or not to participate will not jeopardize your future relations with SMCM. You will be interviewed about land use in the Rappahannock watershed, and this interview will be recorded. While we do not foresee any risks to participating, you may refuse to answer any question that you do not wish to answer.

Please direct questions about the project to Julia A. King, professor, at jking@smcm.edu, (240) 895-4398, 47645 College Drive, St. Mary's City, MD 20686. Please direct questions regarding your rights as a project participant to, Anna Han, Chair of the Institutional Review Board, at irb@smcm.edu, 240-895-4426, 18952 East Fisher Road, St. Mary's City, MD 20686.

In consideration of the recording and documentation of information related to Rappahannock tribal use of the Rappahannock watershed by St. Mary's College of Maryland, I, the participant,

(print name) _____, hereby grant, assign, and transfer to SMCM the rights to report, publish, duplicate, or otherwise use and dispose of the information recorded on
(date) _____. This includes the rights of publication in any form, including electronic.

Note any restrictions:

Narrator's name: _____

Narrator's address: _____

Narrator's phone number: _____

Signature of Narrator: _____ Date: _____

For SMCM: _____

Signature for SMCM: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX III
INDIAN PLACE NAMES WITHIN AN INDIGENOUS CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

ACCOKEEK

Creek: Stafford County; upper side of Potomac Creek; lower side of the Potomac River (1669)
Indian Town: Stafford County (1611).
Place: Stafford County, at the head of Potomac Creek (1665).
Point: Richmond County; upper side Rappahannock River; above the mouth of Totuskey Creek (1747).

ACCOQUECK

Indian Town: Caroline County, on lower side the Rappahannock River near Hollywood Bar and Olney Corner (1610).

ACQUACK

Indian Town: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; short distance to the northeast of Cat Point Creek (1610).

ANASKENOANS

Indian Town: Caroline County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; west of Skinkers Neck and across from Corbin's Neck (1610).

ANTOMMCASEWORD

Creek: Caroline County; Goldenvale Creek; lower side of the Rappahannock River, across from Port Conway and the site of the Mango-kemoxon Indian town (1665).

APPOMATTOX

Creek: Westmoreland County; lower side of the Potomac River, just west of Bridges Creek; later shortened to Mattox (1657).
Indian Town: Richmond County; on upper side of the Rappahannock River; between the Tapohanock Indian Town on the east side of Little Carter Creek, and the Nawnautough Indian Town, north of the mouth of Little Carter Creek (1610).
Indian Town: Westmoreland County; at the head of Mattox Creek (1656).

ASSUWESKA

Indian Town: King George County; on upper side Rappahannock River near the mouth of Millbank Creek; possibly the same location as Nanzattico (1610).

ATTAPIN

Creek: boundary between Westmoreland and King George Counties; lower side of the Potomac River; now called Rosier Creek (1650).

AUHOMESK

Indian Town: Richmond County; below the mouth of Farnham Creek (1610).

AUREUAPEUGH

Indian Town: Essex County; east of Portobacco Creek and west of Green Bay (1610).

CAWWONTOLL

Indian Town: Richmond County; on upper side of Rappahannock River; upstream from the mouth of Wilna Creek (1610).

CHACOMA

River: King George County; probably Upper Machodoc Creek, a tributary of the Potomac River (1650).

CHAPPAWAMSICK

Creek: tributary of the Potomac River that forms the boundary between Stafford and Prince William counties; modern Chopawamsic Creek (1686).

CHECKTANCK

Creek: Northumberland County; a tributary of the Potomac River; probably Hulls Creek (1670).

CHECOPISSOWO

Indian Town: Caroline County; on the lower side of the Rappahannock River, to the west of Goldenvale Creek (1610).

CHESAKAWON

Indian Town: Lancaster County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; near the head of Tabbs Creek (1676).

CHESTUXEN

Creek: Essex County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; southeast of Occupacia Creek; possibly Margaret Lee Swamp or Sluice Creek (1672).
Run: Richmond County; on upper side Rappahannock River, near the mouth of Totuskey Creek and Accokeek Point (1663).

CHONAMUN

Branch: Richmond County; probably a branch of Totuskey Creek near Warsaw (1696).

CHICKACONE

Indian Town: King's House; Northumberland County on the Coan River (1610).
Path: Lancaster and Northumberland Counties; led to Morattico and Totusky towns (1652).

Place: territory bordering the Potomac River, on the west side of Hull Creek's mouth (1646).
River: a tributary of the Potomac River; by 1751 known as the Coan River; Northumberland County (1649).

CHINGOHAN

Creek: Northumberland County; originally applied to Presley Creek but later to the eastern branch of Cod (Mottram) Creek; lower side of the Potomac River; defines the west side of Bay Quarter Neck (1649).
Place: Northumberland County; a neck of land defined by Presley Creek and Hull Creek's tributaries, Bridgeman Creek and Fountain Cove; also known as Newman's Neck (1655).

CHOPAWAMSIC

Creek: boundary between Stafford and Prince William counties; tributary of the Potomac River (1653).

CHOTANK

Creek: King George County; lower side of the Potomac River (1650).
Indian Town: King George County; on east side of Chotank Creek, a tributary of the Potomac River (1650).

CHOWOMAN

Branch: King George County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; two miles inland (1680).

CINQUACK

Indian Town: Northumberland County; upper side of the Great Wicomico River's mouth, near Reedville; on the Chesapeake Bay (1608).

COMISTANCK

Branch: King George County; upper side of Rappahannock River, near a poquoson and Weequionedike Branch; vicinity of Cleve Marsh (1665).

CORROTOMAN

Bay: Lancaster County; at the mouth of the Corrotoman River (1650).
Creek: boundary line between Lancaster and Northumberland Counties; tributary of Fleets Bay; interchangeably known as Chesticon or Corrotoman Creek; became known as Indian Creek by the mid-eighteenth century (1751).
Creek: Lancaster County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; now known as Carters Creek (1642).
Indian Town: King George County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; in the vicinity of Hop Yard Landing, above Popcastle Turn; a king's house (1610).
Indian Town: Lancaster County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; downstream from Mosquito Point; a king's house (1608).
Indian Town: Northumberland County; on the upper side of Indian Creek, a tributary of Fleets Bay; occupied from 1656 through at least the 1670s (1656).
Indian Town: Northumberland County; lower side of the Great Wicomico River, near the Chesapeake Bay; possibly on Harvey's Neck (1649).

Place: Northumberland County; location mentioned in a patent for land on the lower branches of the Great Wicomico River; probably on the west side of Barrett Creek (1658).
Point: Lancaster County; east of the Corrotoman River's mouth, near Weems (1857).
River: Lancaster County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; flanked by Weems and Towles Point (1649).

COSS COSS

Creek: Westmoreland County; tributary of the Nomini River; probably present Pierce Creek (1662).

COWAWOMAN

Path: Northumberland County; trail on the lower side of the Potomac River; near Hollowes Creek (1652).

CURRIOMAN

Bay: Westmoreland County; on the lower side of the Potomac River; west of Nomini Bay; near Currioman Landing (1651).
Cliffs: Westmoreland County; on the lower side Potomac River; at the head of Cat Point (formerly Great Rappahannock) Creek; probably present Horsehead Cliffs (1655).
Creek: Westmoreland County; lower side of the Potomac River; emanates from Currioman Bay; near Brent Town (1650).

DOGUE

Branch: King William (later Caroline) County; located above the fork of the Mattaponi River and near the Doeg Indian town (1718).
Creek: Fairfax County; lower side of the Potomac River; near Mount Vernon (1664).
Indian Town: upper reaches of the Potomac River area; probably in Maryland, on the Potomac's upper side, in Doeg's Neck, near Piscataway Creek (1654).
Indian Town: King George (formerly Stafford) County; upper side of the Rappahannock River between Millbank Creek and Dogue Run; in the vicinity of the sites formerly occupied by the towns known as Monanask and Waconask (1664).
Indian Town: Prince William County; at junction of the Potomac River and Occoquan Bay; located on Dogue or Myomps Island (1617).
Indian Town: probably Stafford County; in upper Potomac River area (1691).
Indian Town: King William (later Caroline) County; located near the fork of the Mattaponi River (1714).
Island: Prince William County; submerged island at junction of Potomac River and Occoquan Bay; also known as Myomps Island during the 1650s and 1660s (1653).
Path: King George County; trail that ran between upper side of the Rappahannock River and the lower side of the Potomac River, near headwaters of Passapatanzy Creek (1663).
Run: King George County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; near Keys Run Creek and the modern community called as Dogue (1888).

ENOCOMOE

Place: Northumberland County; probably near Cherry Point Neck (1652).

GIBSEY

Creek: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; toward the head of Cat Point (formerly Great Rappahannock) Creek; land patents state that the creek was "called by the Indians" Gibsey or Gibson (1655).

GINGOTEAGUE

Branch and Creek: King George and Richmond Counties; upper side of the Rappahannock River, to the east of Port Conway (1668).
Swamp: head of Gingoteague Creek (1695).

INDIAN BRIDGE

Place: Lancaster County; Indian-built footbridge over a swamp in the headwaters of the Corrotoman River (1664).

INDIAN CREEK

Creek: Richmond County; on the upper side of the Rappahannock River; probably to the east Rappahannock Creek (1650).
Creek: Northumberland County; a tributary of Fleets Bay (1751).

INDIAN FIELD

Neck: Lancaster County; present Fleets Bay Neck, between Indian and Dymer Creeks (1649).

INDIAN POINT

Point: Northumberland County; on the lower side of the Great Wicomico River, upstream from Knight Run (1917).

INDIAN SPRING

Spring: Lancaster County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; on the Corrotoman River (1650).

INDIAN TOWN ISLAND

Place: Essex County; east side of Portobago Bay and west of Green Bay (1704).

KAPAWNICH

Indian Town: Lancaster County; upper side of the Rappahannock River, probably west of the Route 3 bridge, between Carters Creek and Corrotoman River (1610).

KECOUGHTAN

Place: Northumberland County; lower side of the Potomac River (1655).

KERAHOCAK

Indian Town: Westmoreland County; on upper side of the Rappahannock River; near Blind Point and Jetts Creek's mouth; across from Baylor's Creek (1610).

KINGCOPSICO

Point: Westmoreland County; on the lower side of the Potomac River, in Machodoc Neck and near the Maryland line; promontory on the east side of present Nomini Bay (1747).

LAICHECOHANCK

Neck: Northumberland County; a neck of land between the branches of a creek southwest of Newman's Neck (1655).

MACHEZAN

Place: Westmoreland County; caves on upper part of Chopawamsic Creek (1662).

MACHIPONGO

Creek: Middlesex (formerly Lancaster) County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; in the vicinity of the Piankatank River's upper reaches; probably near Urbanna (1653).
Indian Town: Stafford County; lower side of the Potomac River; possibly the same village as Mattacunt, identified by Captain John Smith (1610).
Place: Middlesex (formerly Lancaster) County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; in the vicinity of the Piankatank River's upper reaches; probably near Matchapungo Creek and Urbanna (1663).

MACHODOC

Creek (Lower): Westmoreland (formerly Northumberland) County; lower side of the Potomac River; to the east of Ragged Point (1650).
Creek and River (Upper): King George (formerly Westmoreland) County; lower side of the Potomac River from south; near Dahlgren; also known as the Trent River (1650).
Indian Towns: King George (formerly Northumberland and Westmoreland) County; on both sides of Upper Machodoc Creek (1650).
Indian Towns: Caroline and King George Counties; upper and lower side of the Rappahannock River; vicinity of Portobago Bay and Nanzattico (see **MATTEHATIQUE**) (1669).
Neck: King George County; south side of the Potomac River; west of Upper Machodoc Creek; probably Mathias Neck or Point (1650).
Neck: Westmoreland County; south side of the Potomac River; neck of land bound on the east by Lower Machodoc Creek and on the west by Nomini Creek (1653).
Path: Lancaster, Northumberland, and Old Rappahannock Counties; lower side of the Potomac River and upper side of the Rappahannock River; trail or pathway that traversed the Northern Neck, passing close to Totusky Creek and the Wicocomoco River (1662).
Place: Northumberland County; lower side of the Potomac River; near Machodoc Creek (1668).
River: Westmoreland (formerly Northumberland) County; lower side of the Potomac River; borders the east side of Machodoc Neck, near Coles Point (1650).

MACKSOOMUCK

Path: Westmoreland County; trail near Popes Creek; possibly a variant of **NANZATICO** (1660).

MANGA KEMOXON

Indian Town: King George County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; near Port Conway; a portion of the Nansemond Indian town (1664).

MANGORACA

Indian Town: Westmoreland County; upper side of the Rappahannock River, above Brockenbrough Creek; near Smith Mount Landing (1610).

MANGORIGHT

Point: Richmond County; on the upper side Rappahannock River; near McGuire Creek and opposite the town of Tappahannock (1917).

MANGORIKE

Place: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; east side of Little Carter (Bushwood) Creek; near Sabine Hall (1659).

MASSACOON

Creek: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River in the freshes (1696).

MASSAPONAX

Creek, Swamp, and Run: Spotsylvania (formerly Essex) County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; below Fredericksburg and near New Post (1666).

MASSAWOTECK

Indian Town: King George County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; across from the upper side of Moss Neck (1610).

MASSIPONEY

Creek: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River (1691).

MATCHEMAPPS

Branch: Lancaster County; at the head of Morattico Creek (1653).

MATCHOPICK

Indian Town: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; downriver from mouth of Brockenbrough Creek and in the vicinity of Luke's Island (1610).

MATCHYCOMICOE

Branch: Richmond County; near Totusky Creek (1691).
Place: Stafford County; location at which Indians were meet (1692).

MATTACUNT

Indian Town: King George County; on the lower side of the Potomac Creek; near Bull Bluff; downstream from Patawomeck, which was located between Marlboro and Indian Points (1610).

MATTAPONI

Creek: King and Queen and Essex Counties; a tributary of Piscataway Creek (1699).
Path: Essex, Gloucester, and Middlesex counties; in two branches emanating from post-1644 Mattaponi Indian town in Essex County; the lower path ran along the head of Poropotank River in Gloucester County; the upper path paralleled the Piankatank River and Dragon Run, touching the heads of Nimcock Creek in Middlesex County and Occupacia Creek in Essex County (1651).
Place: King George County; upper side of Upper Machodoc Creek near present Dahlgren (1662).
River: Northumberland County; south branch of the Yeocomico River; probably with Lodge Creek (1653).
Run: King and Queen County; the Mattaponi River's main swamp (1705).

MATTEHATIQUE

Indian Town: Caroline and King George (Old Rappahannock) counties; vicinity of Portobago Bay and Nanzattico (1669).

MATTUM SARKIN

Place: Essex County; lower side Rappahannock River near an island; vicinity of Quioccasin Creek, the head of Broad Creek (1663).

MAZAPIN

Swamp: Essex County; lower side of the Rappahannock River (1665).

MENASKUNT

Indian Town: Richmond County; on upper side of the Rappahannock River; west side of Totuskey Creek (1610).

MENCOCOCOND, NEW

River: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; below Farnham Creek; possibly Morattico Creek (1650).

MENENASK

Indian Town: King George County; on the upper side Rappahannock River near Cleve (1610).

MENOKIN

Bay, Run, and Swamp: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; a tributary of Cat Point Creek (1657).
Place: Richmond County; near Cat Point Creek (1692).

METOMKIN

Point: King George County; lower side of the Potomac River; adjacent to Jones Pond and upstream from Chotank Creek (1657).

MITCHAMOXEN

Creek: Caroline County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; at the bottom of Portobago Bay (1747).

MORATTICO

Creek or River: Richmond County; located on the upper side of the Rappahannock River; Lancaster Creek (1651).
Indian Town: Richmond County; above mouth of Lancaster (Morattico) Creek; near Tarpley (Hales) Point; opposite Tappahannock (1608).
Indian Town: Richmond County; on Totuskey Creek (1662)
Path: Lancaster County; trail leading from the Morattico Indian Town to the Wiccocomico Indian Town on Indian Creek (1651).
Point: Lancaster County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; east side of the mouth of Lancaster Creek (1747).

MOROTSNY

Creek and Branch: Westmoreland County; lower side of the Potomac River; in the vicinity of Popes (Hallowes) Creek (1662).

MYOMPS (see DOGUE)

Place: Fairfax or Prince William County; in the vicinity of Myomps or Dogue Island (1609).

MUZAZIN

Swamp: Caroline County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; near Peumansend Creek and opposite Nansemond Neck (1657).

MYGHTUCKPASSUN

Indian Town: King William County; on the lower side of the Mattaponi River; across from the mouth of London Swamp and west of White Bank (1610).

NANDTANGHTACUND

Indian Town: Caroline County; southeast side of Portobago Bay; king's house (1608).

NANZAMOXEN

Creek: King George County; Millbank Creek; north side of the Rappahannock River (1747).

NANSEMOND

Indian Town: King George County; north side Rappahannock River, just downriver from Port Conway (1654).
Neck: King George County; north side Rappahannock River near Port Conway; site of Indian Town (1654).

NANTYPOYSON

Creek: Lancaster County; Antipoison Creek, a tributary of Fleets Bay's tributary, Little Bay (1657).
Neck: Lancaster County; land form overlooking Nantypoyson Creek (1663).
Path: Lancaster County; vicinity of Antipoison Creek (1700).
Point: Lancaster County; vicinity of Antipoison Creek (1850).

NANZATICO

Bay: King George County; upper side of the Rappahannock River, across from Portobago Bay (1776).
Indian Town: near falls of Potomac River, probably on Maryland side (1624).
Indian Town: King George County; upper side of the Rappahannock River, near Nanzatico Bay (1655).
Path: King George and Westmoreland Counties; from Nanzattico to the lower side of the Potomac and the Nomini River (165).

NAWACATEN

Indian Town: Westmoreland County; upper side of Rappahannock River, above mouth of Peedee Creek (1610).

NAWNAUTOUGH

Indian Town: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; north of the mouth of Little Carter Creek (1610).

NEPAWTACUM

Indian Town: Lancaster County; on the upper side of the Rappahannock River on Orchard Point (1610).

NESUMS

Creek: Lancaster County; vicinity of White House Creek and west of the Corrotoman River (1747).

NIMCOCK

Creek: Middlesex County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; now known as Urbanna Creek (1650).
Indian Towns (Old and New): Middlesex County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; east of Rosegill Creek (1649).

NOMINI

Bay: Westmoreland County; lower side of the Potomac River; at Kingcopsico Point and Currioman Bay (1649).
Indian Town: Westmoreland County; west side of Nomini River; king's house (1608).
Path: Westmoreland County; near Lower Machodoc Creek (1661).
River: Westmoreland County; lower side of the Potomac River; tributary of Nomini Bay (1650).

OATSPAKETY

Creek: upper side of the Rappahannock River; vicinity of Totuskey Creek (1662).

OCCUPACIA

Creek: Essex County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; near Bottoms Neck (1664).

OMOY

Creek: King George County; Millbank Creek, a tributary of the Rappahannock River (1670).

ONACHYMOYES

Place: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; three miles up Totuskey Creek (1654).

OPISCATUMECK

River: Rappahannock River (1612).

OPISCOPANK

Creek: Middlesex County; a tributary of the Rappahannock River; possibly Lagrange Creek (1643).
Indian Town: Middlesex County; lower side Rappahannock River; between Lagrange and Urbanna Creeks; a king's house (1610).

OQUOMOCK

Indian Town: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; upper side of Farnham Creek's mouth (1610).

OTTACHUGH

Indian Town: Lancaster County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; between Cherry and Mosquito Points (1610).

OZAIAWOMEN

Indian Towns: King George County; lower side of the Potomac River; on both sides of Upper Machodoc Creek (1610).

PAPISCONE

Indian Town: King George County; upper side of the Rappahannock River, west of present Gingoteague Creek (1610).

PAPATACON

Creek: Essex County, near Beaverdam and Green Swamps (1697).

PASATINCK

Creek: Caroline County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; Mount Swamp Creek (1654).
Run: Essex County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; two miles inland (1702).

PASSAPATANZY

Creek and Run: King George County; lower side of the Potomac River between Belvedere and Fairview Beaches (1652).
Place: King George County; lower side of the Potomac River; forested area (1688).
Indian Town: King George County; lower side of the Potomac River in the vicinity of Belvedere Beach (1610).

PAWCOCOMOCAC

Indian Town: Lancaster County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; west of Bertrand (1610).

PECKATOWNS

Place: Westmoreland County; north-northeast of the head of Lower Machodoc Creek (1664).

PERPERTOCKS

Creek: King George County; upper side of the Rappahannock River from north; Peedee Creek (1652).

PEUMANSEND

Creek: Caroline County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; headwaters of Mill Creek and east of Port Royal (1663).
Swamp: Caroline County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; headwaters of Peumansend Creek (1728).
Run: Caroline County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; at the head of Peumansend Creek (1725).

PHOTOMOKE

Creek: Northumberland County; tributary of Lower Machodoc Creek (1650).

PISCATAWAY

Creek and Swamp: Essex County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; east of Tappahannock (1652).
Place: Essex County; vicinity of Piscataway Creek (1662).

Neck: Stafford County; lower bank of the Potomac River; west side of Aquia Creek; neck of land terminating in Brent Point (1658).

PISSACOACK

Indian Town: Richmond County; upper bank of the Rappahannock River; near Smoots Landing; across from lower end of Paynes Island (1610).

PISSASECK

Indian Town: Westmoreland County; upper bank of the Rappahannock River at Leedstown; a king's house (1610).

POCHINK

Place: Stafford County; lower side of the Potomac River; on the east side of Potomac Creek (1656).

POHICK

Bay or Creek: Fairfax County; a tributary of Gunston Cove, Accotink Bay, and the Potomac River (1656).

POPOEMAN

Creek: Essex County; a branch of Occupacia Creek (1696).

POPOMAR

Branch: Essex County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; Handpole Creek on the west side of Occupacia Creek (1704).

POQUOSON

River: Northumberland County; lower side of the Potomac River (1657).
Swamp: a probable reference to the Dragon Swamp, which separates Middlesex and Gloucester Counties (1659).

PORTOBAGO

Bay: Caroline County; lower side of the Rappahannock River (1663).
Creek and Swamp: Caroline County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; a tributary of Portobago Bay (1665).
Indian Town: Caroline County; on Portobago Bay; upstream from the site of an earlier village, Nandtanghtacund (1655).
Path: Essex County; path paralleling the lower side of the Rappahannock River (1665).

POTANK

Creek: Westmoreland County; lower side of the Potomac River; east of Lower Machodoc Creek; probably Gardner Creek (1747).

POTOMAC

Creek: King George (formerly Westmoreland) County; lower side of the Potomac River; boundary between King George and Stafford Counties (1651).
Indian Town: Stafford County; lower side of the Potomac River; upstream from Potomac Creek and near the headwaters of Accokeek Creek; a king's house.
Path: King George County; leading to the Patawomeck Indian town (1608).
River: boundary between Virginia and Maryland; a tributary of the Chesapeake Bay (1612).

POWCOMONET

Indian Town: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; east side of Richardson Creek (1610).

POWETRIDGE

Creek: King George County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; now known as Jetts Creek (1662).

POYEKTANK

Indian Town: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; west of Wellfords Wharf (1610).

POYKEMKACK

Indian Town: Richmond County; north of Little Carter Creek's midpoint (1610).

QUIACOMACK

Neck: Lancaster County; lower side of the Corrotoman River's mouth; environs of Corrotoman Point (1650).

QUICHECOHANEK

Place: Northumberland County; lower side of the Potomac River; a small neck of land between Bridgeman Creek and Fountain Cove, which are branches of Hull Creek (1650).

QUIOCCASIN

Creek: Essex County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; headwaters of Broad Creek and above Blandfield Point; *not found in historic records*.
Place: Essex County; site of a house or mortuary temple located on the Mattaponi Indians' land near the head of Piscataway Creek (1660).
Point: Essex County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; near the mouth of Broad Creek; possibly Blandfield Point (1663).

QUIOKSA

Branch: Northumberland County; a branch of Presley (formerly Chingegan) Creek; a tributary of the Potomac River (1649).

QUIRANK

Place: the Blue Ridge Mountains (1607).

QUIOXTERS

Branch: Northumberland County; vicinity of the Coan River (1666).

QUIRUCK

Point: Caroline County; lower bank of the Rappahannock River; upper side of the mouth of Goldenvale Creek (1666).

RAPPAHANNOCK

Bay: Lancaster and Middlesex Counties; located at the mouth of the Rappahannock River; a tributary of the Chesapeake Bay (1642).
Creek: Richmond and Westmoreland Counties; upper side of the Rappahannock River; now known as Cat Point Creek (1655).
Indian Town: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; lower side of Little Carter Creek; a king's house (1608).
Path: Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck; a series of trails running from the upper side of the York River to the upper side of the Rappahannock River and beyond (1653).
Point: Lancaster County; upper side of the Rappahannock River's junction with the Chesapeake Bay; at the tip of Fleets Island; now called Windmill Point (1650).
River: boundary between the Middle Peninsula and the Northern Neck; tributary of the Chesapeake Bay (1608).

RHOTANOKE

Neck: Westmoreland County; between two branches of the Yeocomico River, a tributary of the Potomac River (1651).

ROATANK

Creek: Northumberland County; lower side of the Potomac River; below the Yeocomico River; vicinity of Cherry Point Neck (1665).

SECOBECK

Indian Town: Caroline County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; in Moss Neck; below Dicks Creek (1610).

SOCKOBECK

Indian Town: King George County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; near Popcastle Creek; across from Skinkers Neck (1610).

TACOPACON

Spring: Westmoreland and Richmond Counties; upper side of the Rappahannock; above Gingoteague Creek and east of Port Conway (1681).

TANTUCQUACK

Indian Town: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; inside the bend of Little Carter Creek's headwaters (1610).

TEAGUE

Creek: Lancaster County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; probably Midway Creek (1747).

TOTUSKEY

Creek: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; below Accokeek Point (1652).
Indian Town: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River and west of Totuskey Creek (1667).

TUCKAHOE

Creek and Swamp: Northumberland County; lower side of the Potomac River; a main branch of the Coan River's head (1664).

TUCKQUAKO

Swamp: Stafford County; lower side of the Rappahannock River near the falls (1675).

UTTAMUSSAMACOMA

Indian Town: Westmoreland County; east of Nomini Creek; near Whiteoak Point; lower side of the Potomac River (1610).

WACONIASK

Indian Town: King George County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; west of Cleve and below the mouth of Jones Top Creek (1610).

WASSANASSON

Branch: Essex County; lower side of the Rappahannock River; at the head of Occupacia Creek; possibly a branch of Black Water Swamp (1655).

WECUPPOM

Indian Town: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; on Fones Cliffs, below Brockenbrough Creek (1610).

WEEQUIONEDIKE

Branch: King George County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; vicinity of Cleve Marsh (1665).

WERONAUGH

Branch: Essex and King and Queen Counties; in the vicinity of Mattopanny Creek and the head of Piscataway Creek (1699).

WICCAQUNCK

Point: Caroline County; above Goldenvale Creek; close to Gouldman Pond (1658).

WICOMICO

Indian Town: Northumberland County; on the lower side of the Potomac River; at the head of the Little Wicomico River; a king's house (1610).
Indian Town: Northumberland County; between the upper side of Indian Creek and the Eastern Branch of the Corrotoman River (1654).
Island: Northumberland County; probably an island in the Great Wicomico River (1653).
Place and Ferry: Northumberland County; location probably in the vicinity of the Great Wicomico River (1640).
Path: Lancaster and Northumberland Counties; trail between the Wicomico and Morattico Indian towns; vicinity of Indian Creek and the head of the Corrotoman River (1653).
River, Great: Northumberland County; a tributary of Ingram Bay and the Chesapeake Bay (1643).
River or Creek, Little: Northumberland County; lower side of the Potomac River; a tributary of the Chesapeake Bay (1649).

WINAPARTON

Place: Lancaster County; vicinity of Indian Creek and the head of the Corrotoman River (1693).
Swamp: Lancaster County; vicinity of Indian Creek and the head of the Corrotoman River (1687).

WINKEPIN

Swamp: King & Queen County; a tributary of Dragon Swamp (1658).

WINSACK

Indian Town: Richmond County; upper side of the Rappahannock River; on the southeast side of Cat Point Creek's mouth (1610).

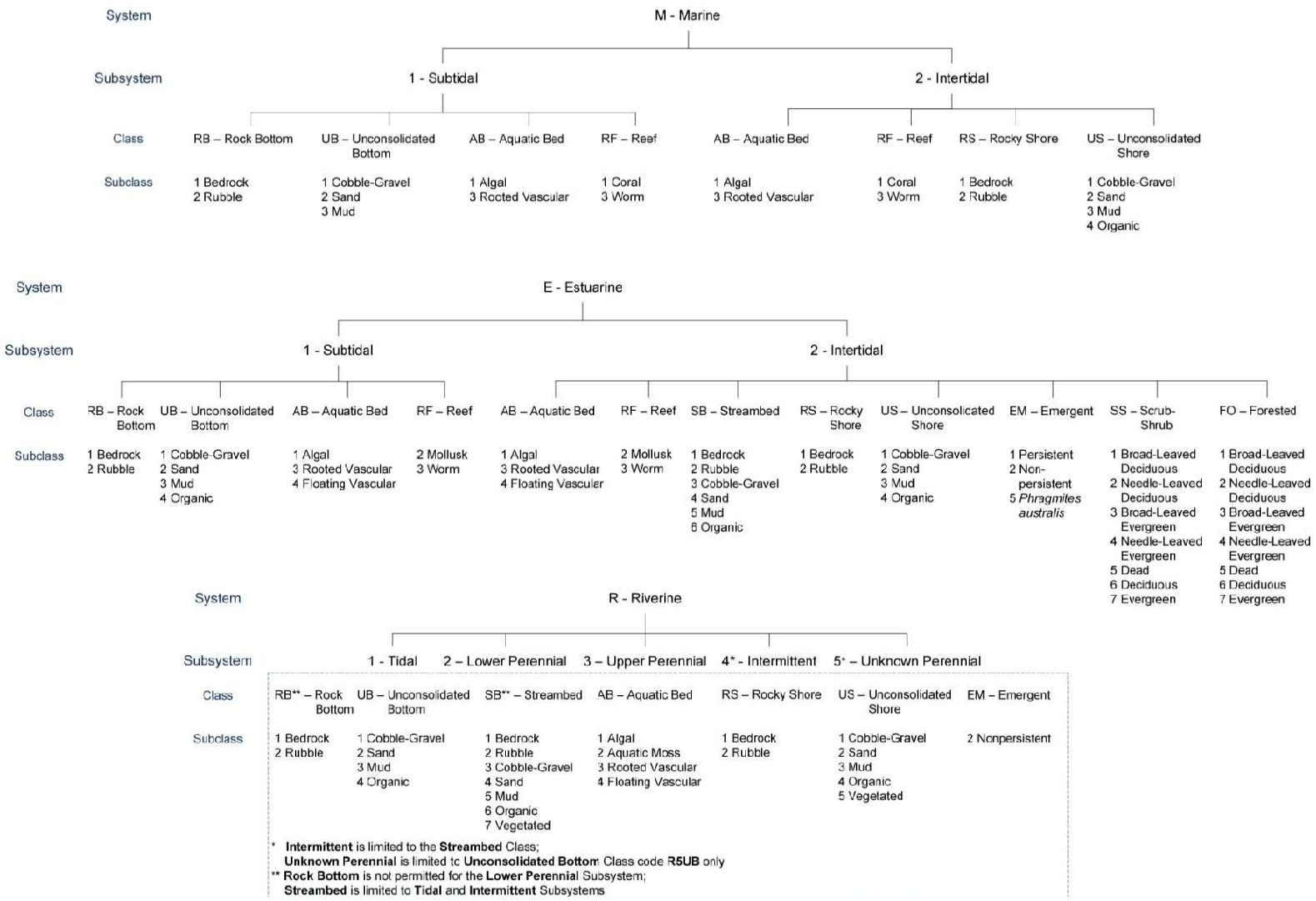
WIPSEWASIN

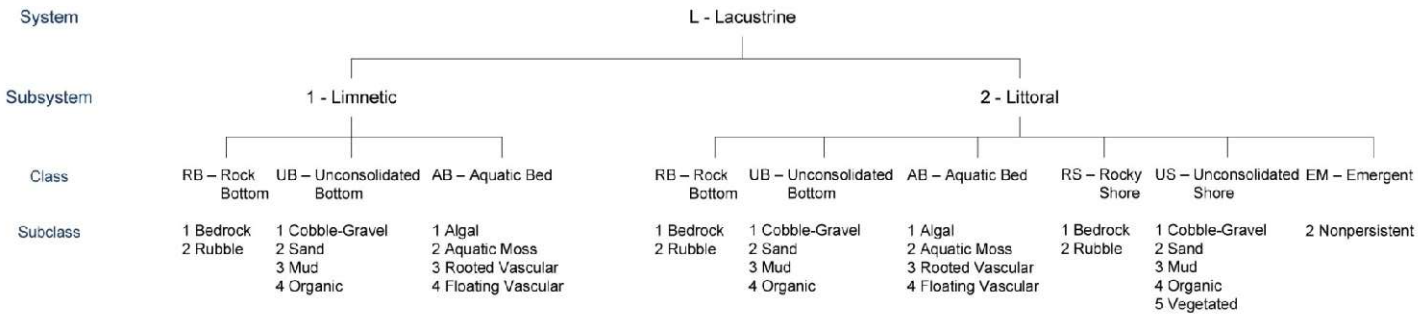
Creek: Stafford and King George Counties; lower side of the Potomac River; a tributary of Potomac Creek; Black Swamp Branch, which forms part of the boundary between Stafford and King George Counties (1665).
Point: King George County; lower side of Black Swamp Branch's mouth [185-].

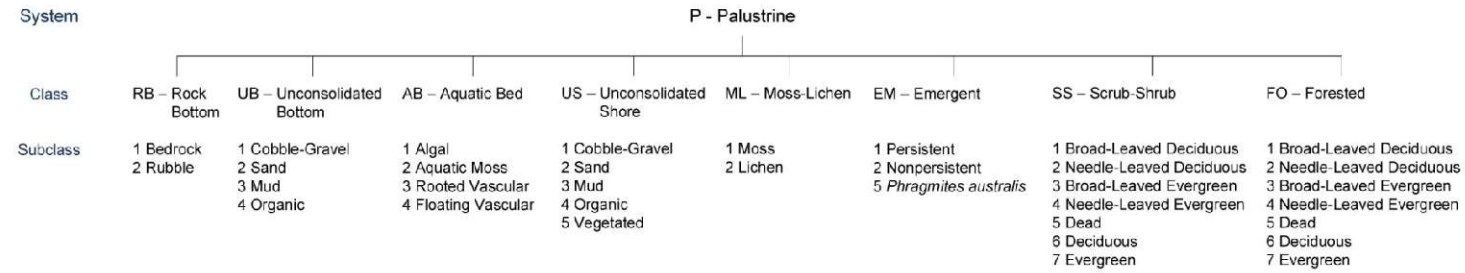
YEOCOMICO

Neck: Northumberland County; upper side of the Yeocomico River; now called Sandy Point Neck (1653).
Place: Northumberland County; near Cherry Point Neck and the glebe land; on the lower side of the Yeocomico River (1654).
Point: Northumberland County; upper side of the Yeocomico River; the tip of Sandy Point Neck; a promontory now called Lynch Point (1652).
River or Creek: boundary between Northumberland and Westmoreland Counties; lower side of the Potomac River (1643).

APPENDIX IV
NWIS WETLAND CLASSIFICATION SCHEMA







MODIFIERS

In order to more adequately describe the wetland and deepwater habitats, one or more of the water regime, water chemistry, soil, or special modifiers may be applied at the class or lower level in the hierarchy. The farmed modifier may also be applied to the ecological system.

Water Regime			Special Modifiers	Water Chemistry			Soil
Nontidal	**Saltwater Tidal**	**Freshwater Tidal**		**Coastal Halinity**	**Inland Salinity**	**pH Modifiers for all Fresh Water**	
A Temporarily Flooded	L Subtidal	S Temporarily Flooded-Tidal	b Beaver	1 Hyperhaline	7 Hypersaline	a Acid	g Organic
B Saturated	M Irregularly Exposed	R Seasonally Flooded-Tidal	d Partly Drained/Ditched	2 Euhaline	8 Eusaline	t Circumneutral	n Mineral
C Seasonally Flooded	N Regularly Flooded	T Semipermanently Flooded-Tidal	f Farmed	3 Mixohaline (Brackish)	9 Mixosaline	i Alkaline	
E Seasonally Flooded/ Saturated	P Irregularly Flooded	V Permanently Flooded-Tidal	h Diked/Impounded	4 Polyhaline	0 Fresh		
F Semipermanently Flooded			r Artificial	5 Mesohaline			
G Intermittently Exposed			s Spoil	6 Oligohaline			
H Permanently Flooded			x Excavated	0 Fresh			
J Intermittently Flooded							
K Artificially Flooded							

APPENDIX V
PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

SCOTT M. STRICKLAND

EDUCATION

Master of Science (Distinction) — 2012
Archaeological Computing – Spatial Technologies
University of Southampton, Southampton, United Kingdom

Bachelor of Arts — 2008
Sociology/Anthropology
St. Mary's College of Maryland, St. Mary's City, Maryland

Associates Degree — 2006
Social Sciences
College of Southern Maryland, La Plata, Maryland

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND RELATED EXPERIENCE AND EMPLOYMENT

Project Archaeologist/GIS Specialist — January 2016-Present
St. Mary's College of Maryland, St. Mary's City, Maryland

Project Researcher/GIS Manager (NPS - Nanjemoy Indigenous Cultural Landscapes) — March 2015-December 2015
St. Mary's College of Maryland, St. Mary's City, Maryland

Contract Archaeologist (Maryland Historical Trust CLG grant) — Jan. 2015 - Present
St. Mary's County Department of Land Use & Growth Management, Leonardtown, Maryland
St. Mary's College of Maryland, St. Mary's City, Maryland

Project Archaeologist (NEH – Colonial Encounters, Potomac)/Adjunct Instructor — Jan. 2013 – May 2015
St. Mary's College of Maryland, St. Mary's City, Maryland

GIS Technician — July 2014-Oct. 2014
Duke Cultural Resource Management, Rancho Santa Margarita, California

Archaeological/Records Consultant — 2012-Present
Self-Employed, Lexington Park/California, Maryland

Historical Researcher/Project Archaeologist (Zekiah Archaeological Survey) — 2009-2012
Smallwood Foundation, Waldorf, Maryland

Historical Researcher/Archaeologist (Zekiah Archaeological Survey) — 2008-2009
Wetherburn Associates LLC., Waldorf, Maryland

Field Supervisor — 2008
St. Mary's College of Maryland, St. Mary's City, Maryland

Survey/CAD Technician — 2003-2008
Offenbacher Land Surveying, Lexington Park, Maryland

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

GIS: Humans and their Environment — 2015
Department of Anthropology/Environmental Studies – St. Mary's College of Maryland

GIS for the Social Sciences 2013-2014
Department of Anthropology – St. Mary's College of Maryland

SELECTED REPORTS

- 2015 Strickland, Scott M., Virginia Busby, and Julia A. King
  Defining the Indigenous Cultural Landscape for the Nanjemoy and Mattawoman Creek Watersheds. Report prepared for the National Park Service Chesapeake Bay and the Chesapeake Conservancy.
- 2015 Strickland, Scott M.
  Archaeological Assessment and Review of St. Mary's County, Maryland's Cultural Resources. Report prepared for the St. Mary's County Historic Preservation Commission and the Maryland Historical Trust.
- 2012 Strickland, Scott M.
  A GIS Approach to Late Woodland Settlement Patterns along Maryland's Lower Potomac River. [Thesis] Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton. Southampton, United Kingdom.
- 2012 Flick, Alex J., Skylar A. Bauer, Scott M. Strickland, D. Brad Hatch, and Julia A. King
  "a place now known unto them" The Search for Zekiah Fort. Report prepared for Michael & Virginia Besche, Mr. & Mrs. Don Eckel, Mr. & Mrs. Gaylord Hogue, Mr. & Mrs. Michael J. Sullivan, and Mrs. D.H. Steffens. Report on file, Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory, Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum
- 2011 Strickland, Scott M., and Julia A. King
  An Archaeological Survey of the Charleston Property: Josias Fendall's Dwelling Plantation. Report prepared for Mark & Barbara Hoy, James & Betty Jackson, and The Smallwood Foundation. Report on file, Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory, Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum

JULIA ANN KING

EDUCATION:

Ph.D., 1990, Historical Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
M.A., 1981, Anthropology, Florida State University, Tallahassee.
B.A., 1978, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

EXPERIENCE:

2013-present, Professor of Anthropology, St. Mary's College of Maryland
2006-2013, Associate Professor of Anthropology, St. Mary's College of Maryland.
1996 to 2006: Director, Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory, Maryland Historical Trust, St. Leonard, Maryland, 20685.

OTHER POSITIONS:

2003 President, Society for Historical Archaeology (www.sha.org)
2003-2011 Member, President's Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (www.achp.gov)

SELECTED GRANTS, AWARDS, and FELLOWSHIPS:

2016 Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture / Jamestown Rediscovery Fellowship. Project: *Political Development and Virginia's Plantation Landscape.*
2012-2016 National Endowment for the Humanities, Division of Collaborative Research: *Colonial Encounters: The Lower Potomac River Valley at Contact, 1500-1720 AD.*
2005-2007 National Endowment for the Humanities, Division of Preservation and Access. Project: *Developing a Records Database for the State of Maryland's Archaeological Collections*.
2002-2005 National Endowment for the Humanities, Division of Collaborative Research. Project: *A Comparative Archaeological Study of Colonial Chesapeake Culture*.
2002 Research Fellow, Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware.
2000 Andrew Mellon Fellow, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.
1994 Fellow in Landscape Architecture Studies, Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University, Washington, D.C. Project: *Landscape and the Use of History in 19th Century America*.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS:

2012 *Archaeology, Narrative, and the Politics of the Past: The View from Southern Maryland*. Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press.
2010 The Challenges of Dissemination: Accessing Archaeological Data and Interpretations. In Lynne Sebastian and William D. Lipe, eds., *Archaeology and Cultural Resource Management: Visions for the Future*, pp. 141-168. Santa Fe, School for Advanced Research Press.
2009 Archaeological Collections, Government Warehouses, and Anxious Moderns: The Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory. *Archaeologies, Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* 4(2):264-285.
2007 Still Life with Tobacco: The Archaeological Uses of Dutch Art. *Historical Archaeology* 41(1):6-22.
2006 Household Archaeologies, Identities, and Biographies. In M. C. Beaudry and D. Hicks, eds., *Cambridge Companion in Historical Archaeology*, pp. 293-313. CUP, New York.
1997 Tobacco, Innovation, and Economic Persistence in Nineteenth Century Southern Maryland. *Agricultural History* 71(2):207-236.

with Edward E. Chaney

2011 Passing for Black in Seventeenth-Century Maryland. In Mary C. Beaudry and James Symonds, eds., *Interpreting the Early Modern World*, pp. 87-112. New York, Springer.

2004 Did the Chesapeake English Have a Contact Period? In Dennis B. Blanton and Julia A. King, eds., *Indian and European Contact in Context: The Mid-Atlantic Region*, pp. 193-221. Gainesville, University Press of Florida.

1999 Lord Baltimore and the Meaning of Brick Architecture in Seventeenth Century Maryland. In Geoff Egan and Ronald L. Michael, eds., *Old and New Worlds*, pp. 51-60. Oxford, Ct., Oxbow Books.

with James G. Gibb

1991 Gender, Activity Areas and Homelots in the Seventeenth Century Chesapeake Region. *Historical Archaeology* 5(4):109-131.

with Mary Kate Mansius and Scott M. Strickland

2016 "What Towne Belong You To?" Landscape, Colonialism, and Mobility in the Potomac River Valley. *Historical Archaeology* 50(1).

with Henry M. Miller

1987 The View from the Midden: An Analysis of Midden Distribution and Composition at the van Sweringen Site, St. Mary's City, Maryland. *Historical Archaeology* 21(2):37-59.

with Thao T. Phung and Douglas H. Ubelaker

2009 Alcohol, Tobacco, and Excessive Animal Protein: The Question of an Adequate Diet in the 17th-Century Chesapeake. *Historical Archaeology*.

G. ANNE RICHARDSON
5036 Indian Neck Road, Indian Neck, VA 23148, chiefannerich@aol.com

PERSONAL

G. Anne Richardson is the first woman to be elected to lead her Tribe since 1705 and she is a fourth generation Chief in her family. Her academic background is in business and her employment history has been in business management and non-profit administration. Anne has one daughter and four grandchildren.

PROFESSIONAL

Ms. Richardson was elected Assistant Chief to her father in 1980. She served as Assistant Chief for eighteen years before she was elected Chief in 1998.

In 1989 Anne helped to organize the United Indians of Virginia, which was established as an inter-tribal organization represented by all tribal Chiefs. This organization's mission was to facilitate greater inter-tribal communication, engage in joint projects/initiatives benefiting all the tribes and formulate directives for the state Commission to act upon. Ms. Richardson acted as a consultant to the United Indians of Virginia securing funding and staff while managing their project to document the historical and genealogical data required for the Virginia tribes to gain federal recognition through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. She continues that work in the congress for six tribes in Virginia.

In 1995, Anne began an aggressive campaign to culturally, socially and economically revitalize her community. This campaign included the development of the 6000 sq. ft. Rappahannock Cultural Center and the re-purchasing of 200 acres of land for the Tribe. In 1998 she launched a housing program and established a land trust for housing and future tribal development. Ms. Richardson serves on numerous boards and is affiliated with many organizations building partnerships to further the goals of her community.

In 1999, she returned to MPM, Inc., as Executive Director, where she had previously worked for ten years as Chief Financial Officer. MPM is a consortium of Virginia tribes formed to advocate higher education programs for Native Americans throughout the state. Recognizing the gross educational deficiency existing among the Native people in Virginia, Anne became an advocate for higher education. As a result, she was appointed by the Secretary of the U.S. Department of Labor to their National Advisory Council on Indian and Native American Programs where she continues to serve today. While there, she was elected as the national Chairwoman by her peers and served in that position for two years.

In 2001, she ran for the Republican nomination for the House of Delegates in Virginia and was appointed to the State Advisory Council for the U.S Commission on Civil Rights and the Virginia Council on Indians.

Anne remains politically active and her work continues to concentrate in the areas of cultural recovery, community development and building leadership programs for her tribal youth.

Martha Waldrop McCartney
109 Quaker Meetinghouse Road
Williamsburg, Virginia 23188
telephone: 757-565-1740
email: sitesleuth@verizon.net

Education: B.S., College of William and Mary; post-graduate work (history, fine arts, and computer science) at the University of Virginia, American University, and the College of William and Mary.

Current Employment: 1986 to present, self-employed research historian licensed in York County; registered as woman-owned small business.

Research Projects: Consultant to the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (project historian, Jamestown Archaeological Assessment and other studies); to the Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation (Jamestown Settlement Museum, Yorktown Victory Center); consultant to the National Park Service and numerous contract archaeology groups (including the College of William and Mary, James Madison University, and Virginia Commonwealth University); and to the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, private historic preservation groups and individuals; and the Native American Rights Fund. Guest lecturer in Documentary Archaeology, Anthropology Department, College of William and Mary; James Madison University, Rappahannock Community College, the History Channel. Recently completed eleventh book. Ethnohistory is a special interest.

Previous Employment: 1973-1986, employed by the Commonwealth of Virginia. Historian for Virginia Research Center for Archaeology, 1973-1986; coordinator of National Register and Review and Compliance programs; 1976-1986; prepared 50 National Register nominations; conducted historical research for the agency's archaeological projects.

Affiliations: Williamsburg Land Conservancy; Archaeological Society of Virginia; Virginia Historical Society; Rosewell Foundation Archaeological Advisory Board; Friends of the National Park Service for Green Spring Advisory Board; Preservation Virginia; Jamestowne Society; Colonial Dames, XVII; Hickory Neck Episcopal Church Historic Preservation Committee (chair); Heritage Humane Society board (Board president 2003-2006); former member of the Council of Virginia Archaeologists.

Grants: Grants from the Eastern Monument Association in 1993 and 2001 to do a book length popular history of Jamestown Island and research on the Poor Potter site in Yorktown, VA; grant from the Virginia Foundation for the Arts and Humanities in 2000 for research in support of the African-American Heritage Trails Project.

Honors for Professional Work: Historic Preservation Award from Henrico County, 1981; Historic Preservation Award from James City County, 1996; Award of Excellence from American Society of Landscape Architects, 1998, for a cultural landscape study of the National Park Service's Colonial Parkway; Historic Route 5 Association's Distinguished Service Award, 1999; Daughters of the American Revolution's National History Award, 2001; book award from NPS for *Jamestown Island: American Legacy,* 2004 (best in the field in book/cultural history category); Preservation Virginia's Outstanding Preservation Project 2010 (team member); nominated for Library of Virginia's Virginia Literary Award for best non-fiction book, 2010.

Archival Experience: Major records repositories throughout the United States, including the Huntington Library, Library of Congress, and National Archives, and in Great Britain (Cambridge and Oxford Universities, British Public Records Office, British Museum), Bermuda, Ireland and more than half of the 100+ city and county courthouses in Virginia.

Selected Publications and Technical Reports: Eleven books (*James City County: Keystone of the Commonwealth; With Reverence for the Past: Gloucester County, Virginia; Jamestown: An American Legacy; Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers 1607-1635: A Biographical Dictionary; Jordan's Point: Archaeology in Perspective*; *Hanover County: Nature's Bounty, Nation's Glory; Jamestown's People: Public Officials, Minorities & Native Leaders; The Kingston Parish Register, Mathews County, Virginia: The Enslaved In Mathews, Gloucester, and Middlesex Counties, 1746-1827; Mathews County, Virginia: Lost Landscapes and Untold Stories; Eppington on the Appomattox* [in press]*; Powhatan Indian Place Names in Tidewater Virginia* [with co-author Helen C. Rountree, in press]*); essays in seven books, including The Encyclopedia of American Colonial Wars, Powhatan's Mantle,* and The *Dictionary of Virginia Biography;* approximately 50 published reports and articles, including the *Journal of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts* (MESDA), *The Journal of Southern History*, and *Ceramics in America*; more than 200 historic site reports and popular articles.

Virginia R. Busby, PhD
Hillside Consulting, LLC

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

2011-present	Principal/Owner, Hillside Consulting, LLC.
2009-2011	Program Manager, Army Compatible Use Buffer (ACUB) Program, U. S. Army Environmental Command, APG, MD.
2004-2009	Program Manager, Archaeology and Native American Affairs, US Army Environmental Command, APG, MD.
2002 – 2004	Historic Preservation Specialist, Advisory Council for Historic Preservation
1999-2002	Executive Assistant for Native American Affairs/Archaeologist, Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs, Department of State, Dover, DE.
1999-2001	Senior Scientist/Archaeologist, Parsons Engineering Science, Inc., Fairfax, VA
1994-2000	Director, Chicone Indian Town Research Initiative, Dorchester Co., MD
1998	Archaeologist, The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Monticello.
1992-1997	Archaeologist/Principal Investigator, The Cultural Resource Group, Louis Berger & Associates, Inc.
1992	Museum Assistant, Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Brown University
1989-92	Field Assistant/Instructor, St. Mary's College, St. Mary's City, Maryland. *Archaeological Field School at Historic St. Mary's City.*
1989	Lab Assistant, Nautical Archaeology Labs, Texas A &M University.

TEACHING and CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE

2012-2014	Elementary school homeschool teacher focus on Chesapeake Bay culture & ecology.
2009-2011	Mentor, U.S. Army Environmental Command/Oakridge Institute for Science and Education, Aberdeen Proving Ground, Md.
2002-09	Instructor, U.S. Army Environmental Command/Oakridge Institute for Science and Education, Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland.
2006	Course developer, Dept of Sociology, Harford Community College.
2001	Adjunct Professor, Dept of Anthropology, University of Virginia
1997-98	Lecturer, Sociology & Anthropology Dept, Washington College, Chestertown, Md
1998	Adjunct Professor, Dept of History, Salisbury State University, Salisbury, Md

1995-97 Instructor, Dept of Anthropology, University of Virginia

EDUCATION

2010 Ph.D. Anthropology, University of Virginia, Charlottesville
1998 M.A. Anthropology, University of Virginia, Charlottesville
1992 M.A. Anthropology, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island
1990 B.A. Anthropology, Texas A & M University, College Station

COMMITTEES, BOARDS, ADVISORY POSITIONS

2014 – present Chair, Board of Trustees, Accokeek Foundation, Prince Georges County, MD
2012 - present Chesapeake Conservation Partnership, MCIA representative
2010 – present NPS Capt. John Smith and Chesapeake Water Trail, Advisory Council member
-member Indigenous Cultural Landscape working group
-member land conservation working group
2007-present Governor appointed Commissioner, Maryland Commission on Indian Affairs
-Lead, Indigenous Landscape Initiative
-Chair, Appropriate Place of Repose Working Group

AWARDS

2012 Wilcomb E. Washburn Delmarva History Prize, Edward H. Nabb Center for Delmarva History and Culture at Salisbury University. Dissertation recognized.
2011 National Trust for Historic Preservation/Advisory Council for Historic Preservation Federal Partnership Award for Innovative Preservation partnering between US Army, Virginia SHPO, Rappahannock Tribe, and The Conservation Fund for preservation of off-post National Historic Landmark Native American settlement/landscape combined with land conservation and Army mission buffering at Ft. A. P. Hill, Va.