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THE DRAFT OF YORK RIVER IN VIRGINIA: AN ARTIFACT OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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Abstract

Archival research in British Public Records Office documents, conducted in support of archaeological field investigations at the Pamunkey Indian Reservation in King William County, Virginia, led to the discovery of a previously unknown map of the upper York River and its tributary, the Pamunkey River. This map, which is entitled ‘The Draft of York River in Virginia,’ is both unsigned and undated. Graphic analysis has positively identified this document as the work of seventeenth-century entrepreneur Anthony Langston, whereas archival research indicates that it was prepared ca. 1662. Three major archaeological sites are depicted on Langston’s map: the village of Opechancanough, the Pamunkey Indian leader Virginia colonists held responsible for leading the 1622 and 1644 Indian uprisings; the habitation of Totopotomoy, his second successor; and a rectangular feature labeled as “The Indian Fort,” which research indicates was the site of Fort Royall, a frontier military outpost constructed in 1645 as a defense against the Indians. Anthony Langston’s map also identifies several prominent geographical features according to their aboriginal names, which predate the spread of English settlement into the land along the upper York and Pamunkey rivers. These natural landmarks, which are given as reference points in Virginia Land Office records, are useful in site identification and the definition of settlement patterns along the upper York River, thereby demonstrating the potential value of archival research to post-contact period archaeological investigations.

Introduction

Between 1978 and 1982, archaeologists from the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission’s Research Center for Archaeology conducted test excavations at the Pamunkey Indian Reservation, on the Pamunkey River in King William County, Virginia, with the objective of nominating the reservation tract to the National Register of Historic Places and the National Landmarks Register. Archival investigations performed in support of this nomination included research designed to determine how long the Pamunkeys had occupied the acreage being nominated and the extent of their landholdings at the time of their initial occupancy. Research was impeded by the fact that the public records of King William County, like those of many other eastern Virginia counties, were destroyed during the Civil War in the burning of Richmond. Therefore, a thorough and systematic search was made of seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century Virginia governmental records, correspondence between British officials and colonial authorities, narrative accounts, and several major collections of historic maps.

Included in the records groups examined were government documents contained in the collections of the British Public Records Office (BPRO), available on microfilm in the Library of Congress and other major libraries in the United States. Access to appropriate records groups was facilitated by survey reports indexed by the Virginia Colonial Records Project (VCRP), whose archivists had compiled them from abstracts of the documents in each collection.

One of the categories of BPRO records examined was a class of Colonial Office documents entitled Maps and Plans General (MPG), a group of oversized cartographic works that had been removed from their original context for storage purposes and subsequently reacquired. "The Draft of York River in Virginia" was discovered during a perusal of the MPG maps, which range in date from 1608 to 1857 and include cartographic works from much of eastern North America. As the map designated MPG 311 was recognized as including the environs of the Pamunkey Indian Reservation and was drawn in what appeared to be a seventeenth-century hand, it assumed special importance in our research, for it placed the Pamunkey Indians in the vicinity of the Reservation property at a very early date and, as well, it depicted the villages of two important Pamunkey leaders and a fort site. The fact that the map was both unsigned and undated, however, severely limited its value to the investigation then underway and provided the impetus for additional archival research into the map itself, which was studied as a seventeenth-century artifact. Ironically, "The Draft of York River in Virginia" was the only unsigned, undated map in the MPG collection and the only document whose origin was undisclosed in the VCRP survey reports.

Physical Description

"The Draft of York River in Virginia," which is long and narrow and oriented on a west-east axis, depicts the lower part of the Pamunkey River and the upper portion of the York River, into which the Pamunkey flows (Fig. 1). The map is headed by two paragraphs describing the merits of a site on Manskind Creek, a tributary of the Pamunkey River, where the cartographer proposed the establishment of an iron manufacturing complex:

The creek called Manskind creek being the uppermost of all on the southward side of the River hath on all sides of it for at least six or seven miles into the woods great quarreys of good Iron stone and great quantities of good wood fit for fuell both for an Iron work and potable. And upon the creek within a quarter of a mile of the River a naturall conveniency to seat as many Millers as can be used; either furnaces, forging mills or any other. The creek hath water enough to drive ten wheels winter or the summer or any labor night and day.

In Ironwork will require at least six score men to erect it, keep it at work and plant provisions for them that work at it. They will be transported at the rate of the Scale I gave you formerly with some extra ordinary charge

for articles and utensils for the several Mills wch may with the Mones of ye Artistes be soon compared (Anonymous n.d.; emphasis added).

These two paragraphs provided important clues to the cartographer's identity, for his final sentence gave evidence of previous correspondence between himself and the person for whom the map was intended, whereas the text as a whole suggested that he hoped to stimulate interest in the development of an iron manufacturing complex at a specific site he considered optimal.

The cartographer's identification of two Indian villages, "Menmend an ancient Seat of Opachancone [Opechancanough] ye late Emperour" and "Pamaonmeck-Tatapootamoy [Totopotomoy] ye Indian Kings Seat," both of whom were Pamunkey leaders, suggested that the map had been drawn in the mid-seventeenth century, for the former Indian leader ("ye late Emperour") was killed in 1646 and the latter in 1656. A site labelled "The Indian Fort" was shown opposite the mouth of Manskind Creek, a feature previous documentary research suggested might be Fort Royall, a small military outpost constructed in 1645 (Fig. 2).

The cartographer who drew "The Draft of York River in Virginia" identified by name several creeks and land masses, particularly along the south side of the Pamunkey and York rivers. The labeling of these geographical features was of particular interest because many of the names given on the map became obsolete during the late seventeenth century, as English settlement spread into the land along the upper York and Pamunkey rivers and the region's aboriginal names were supplanted by those of the newcomers. This Anglicization of aboriginal names, a component of the frontier process, can also be observed in Land Office records pertaining to other parts of eastern Virginia, a phenomenon that occurred soon after the native population yielded its lands to European occupation. Because the geographical features given on "The Draft of York River in Virginia" appear in some of the Virginia Land Office's older patents and land grants, their association with specific locations is of great value in archaeological research focusing upon seventeenth century settlement patterning.

Research Methodology

Research into "The Draft of York River in Virginia" was initiated with a written inquiry to the British Public Records Office in an attempt to ascertain the map's archival context before it had been reaccessioned into the MPG classification. BPRO personnel reported that the map had been bound up with a dispatch dated June 20, 1671, sent from Virginia to England by Governor William Berkeley, in response to the Committee for Trade and Plantations' queries on the state of the colony, an annual progress report required of Virginia's governors by the Committee, which responded directly to the King's Council (Beech 1982). Though Berkeley made no reference to the map in the text of his official reply, one question raised by the Committee was the extent to which iron manufacturing had been promoted in the colony. Berkeley, by sending only the map, failed to provide a direct response to that particular question, but his enclosing it did imply that he was carrying out the King's directive to develop an iron industry in Virginia (Berkeley 1671).

Still left with the need to date “The Draft of York River” and identify its cartographer, archival investigations next focused upon the writings of seventeenth century Virginians known to have expressed their interest in iron manufacturing. Among the several documents examined was Anthony Langston well-known treatise entitled *Towns and Corporations; and on the Manufacture of iron*, which had been transcribed in a 1921 issue of the *William and Mary Quarterly*. Significantly, Langston’s syntax and mode of expression mirrored the writing style of the anonymous cartographer who had prepared “The Draft of York River.” Utilizing a microfilm copy of the original Langston treatise, which was available at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation’s Research Archives, a visual comparison was made between microfilms of the treatise and the map (Langston 1662). Similarities in penmanship were striking.

Through a local law enforcement agency, the name of a handwriting analyst was procured: Mr. Lawrence M. Farmer of Virginia Beach, Virginia, for 23 years a Special Agent with the United States Secret Service, an expert in the examination of questioned documents. Handwriting specimens from the anonymous cartographer’s map and Langston’s treatise, which was signed, were submitted to Mr. Farmer for analysis. He reported positively that both documents had been executed by the same individual, Anthony Langston (Farmer 1982).

Having thus established that Langston was the anonymous cartographer, it remained to be learned when the map had been prepared, why, and for whom it had been intended. Because the paragraphs at the top of the map appeared to be a continuation of the dialogue developed in Langston treatise, the possibility existed that the map might have been an addendum to it, perhaps intended as an illustration. As the treatise had been sent to England in 1662 and the map in 1671, the latter as part of Governor William Berkeley’s official correspondence, BPRO documents were examined with special attention to that decade. We also inquired into Anthony Langston’s role in Virginia history and focused in particular upon his entrepreneurial interests. Finally, an effort was made to determine to what extent a connection might have existed between Anthony Langston and Governor William Berkeley.

Historical Background

Anthony Langston arrived in Virginia ca. 1648. Like many other Englishmen who remained loyal to the monarchy despite the beheading of King Charles I and the institution of the Commonwealth Government, he accepted Governor William Berkeley’s open invitation to take refuge in the colony, for Virginia was considered a loyalist stronghold (Hyde 1888:V:263). Between 1653 and 1655 Anthony Langston began patenting land in the upper reaches of the York River, including 1,000 acres (405 ha) along Manskind Creek, near the grants of several other loyalist officers who had immigrated to Virginia, notably Manwarring Hammond, Phillip Honywood, and William Lewis (Nugent 1969— 1979:1:312, 509). In 1657 Langston and Lewis were commissioned by the Grand Assembly of Virginia to discover natural resources in the

western country, one of several exploratory expeditions authorized by colonial officials during the 1650s (Hening 1809— 1823:1:381, McIlwain and Kennedy 1905—1915:1659/60—1693:106).

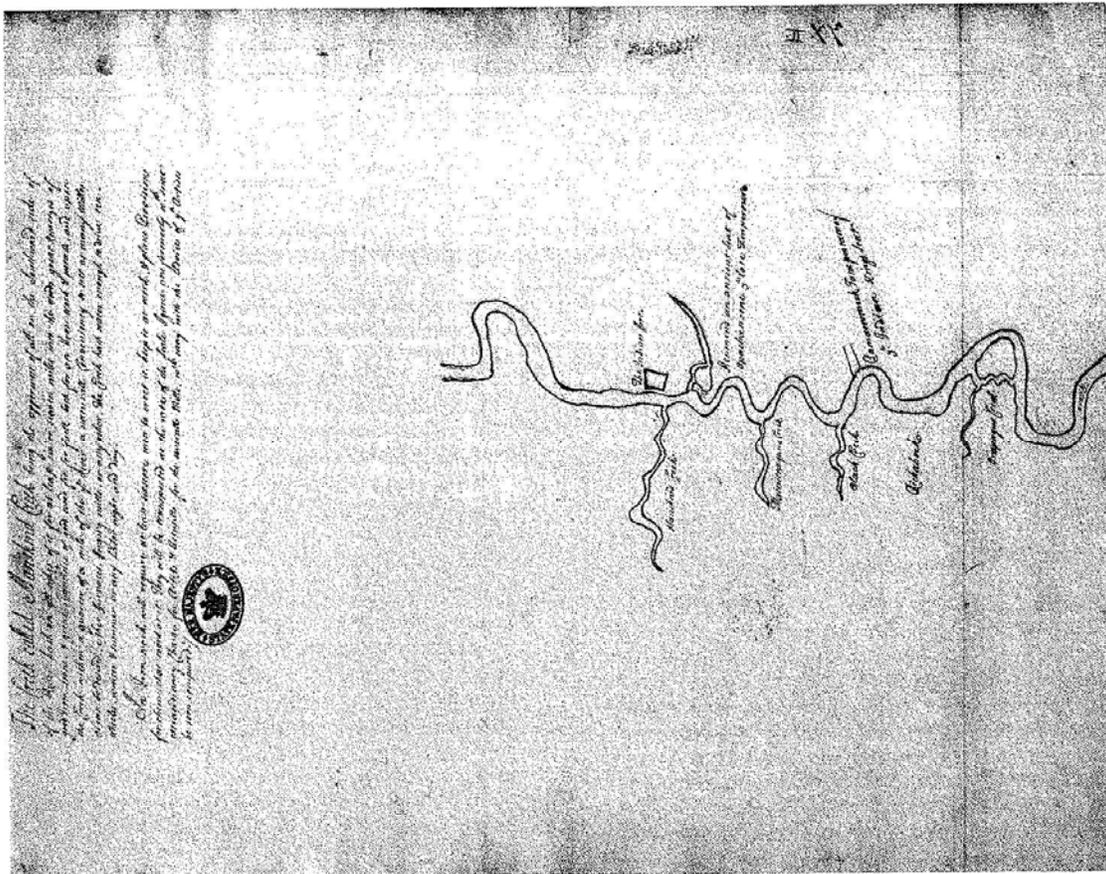
Meanwhile, William Berkeley, who had relinquished his governorship and surrendered the colony to the Parliamentary fleet when it arrived in the James River in 1652, had chosen to remain in Virginia and reside at his home, Greenspring Plantation. There, Berkeley enjoyed the fellowship of many loyalist émigrés and it is not unlikely that he became acquainted with Anthony Langston or heard of his entrepreneurial interests (Carson 1951:39; Hyde 1888:V:263).

In March 1660, William Berkeley, in accord with Virginia's Commonwealth laws, was elected governor by the Grand Assembly, a commission which in July was confirmed by King Charles II, who had been restored to the throne of his deceased father (King Charles II 1660; McIlwaine and Kennedy 1905— 1915:1659/60—1693:3—4; Smith 1893:114). The following February, the King's Council for Foreign Plantations dispatched a letter to Virginia officials, enclosing a set of questions addressing the circumstances and needs of the colony, in order that 'his Majesty's service and your advantages may be the better endeavored and promoted by us' (Council 1661). Rather than framing a written response, William Berkeley, in accord with the wishes of the Virginia Assembly, set sail for England on March 23, 1661, to represent the colony's views and interests in the policymaking of the newly formed Restoration government, leaving behind Francis Moryson to function as deputy governor (Hening 1809— 1823:11:17; Smith 1893:15).

During the summer of 1661 Governor William Berkeley appeared many times before the Council for Foreign Plantations (Leonard 1967:49). On August 5, 1661, they ordered him to produce a written accounting of the colony's economic state and prospects, a report he presented orally on July 21, 1662, along with a request for permission to have it printed (Berkeley 1662a; Sainsbury 1910:296). Berkeley's *Discourse and View of Virginia*, which argued the colony's need for the Crown's financial and political support in diversifying its economy, promoted its development with the assertion that England's best hope of economic supremacy lay in making Virginia the keystone of its empire. Berkeley claimed that the greatest impediment to the colony's development was its lack of skilled workers, capable of producing staple commodities such as silk, flax, hemp, potashes and iron, from natural resources, all of which, he proffered, were potentially available in Virginia. He proposed modestly increasing the tax on exported tobacco as a means of subsidizing the development of an iron industry, which he viewed as too costly a venture for Virginians to undertake without public support (Berkeley 1662a; 1662b).

Interestingly, many of the ideas that Governor William Berkeley advocated in his *Discourse and View* also were advanced in Anthony Langston's treatise on town development and iron manufacturing, a document that had already been sent to England, thereby raising the distinct possibility that Berkeley's *Discourse* may have been based upon Langston's treatise. The text of Langston's *Towns and Corporations* commences "Right Honorable and my Gracious Lord, I have since your Lordships Command

according to my weak capacity seriously weighed what his Majesty in order to his gracious favor toward the Plantation of Virginia may do for us [and] I find, with humble submission to your Lordships great wisdom, Townes and Corporations stored with Trades and Manufactures the onely defect wee have to make us the most flourishing and profitable Plantation his Majesty hath.” Thus, Langston clearly indicated that he had prepared his treatise at the request of a high ranking official charged with informing the King about how the colony’s interest might be served (Langston 1662). As this was a task which William Berkeley had been assigned by the Council for Foreign Plantations, it logically follows that Anthony Langston very probably prepared his treatise at Berkeley’s command.



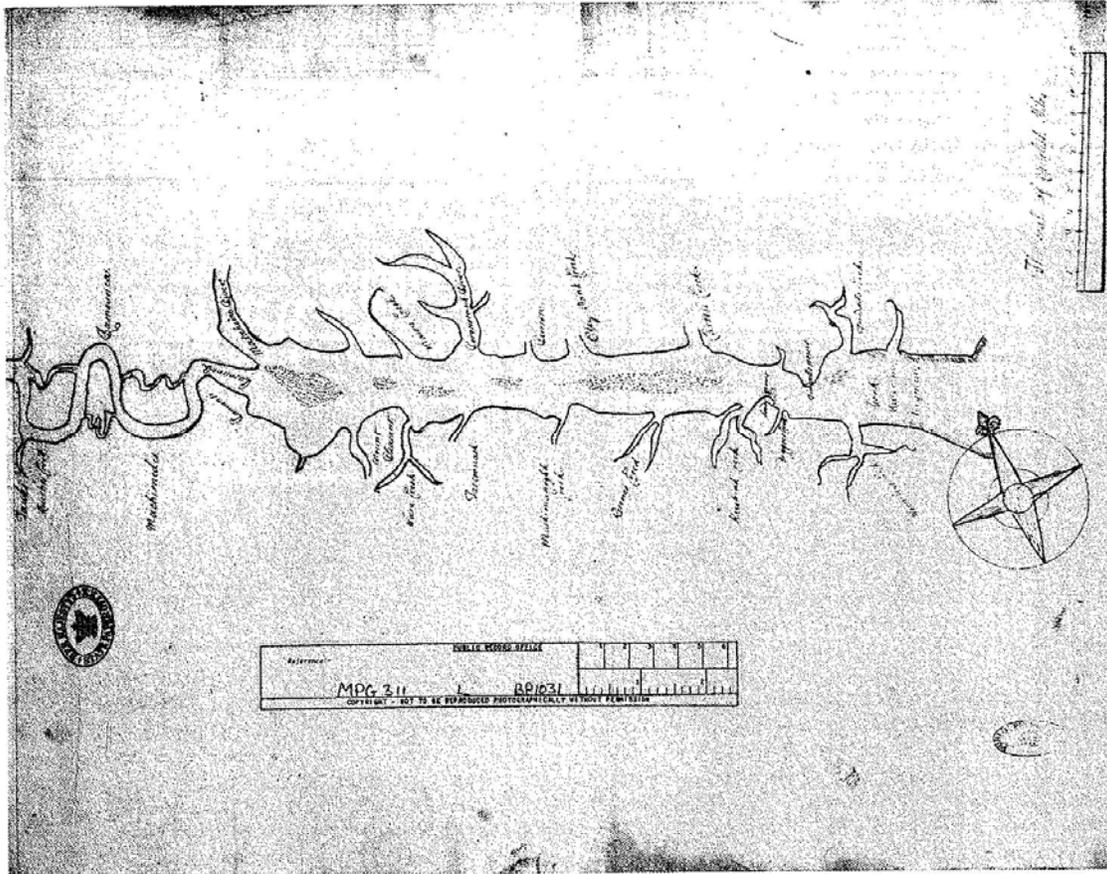


Figure 1. The Draft of York River In Virginia by Anthony Langston, ca. 1662. British Public Records Office: Maps and Plans General 371. (Reproduced by permission.)

Both William Berkeley's and Anthony Langston's dissertations emphasize the colony's natural advantages and stress the need for skilled workers and the development of towns and industries, including a publicly supported iron manufacturing enterprise. Both men praised Virginia's broad, navigable rivers, asserting that upstream town development would permit ships fresh water anchorage where they would not be subjected to the worm damage that plagued vessels lying in brackish water. Both also decried Virginia's dependence upon a tobacco economy, a crop they insisted had become a drug on the market (Berkeley 1662b; Langston 1662). Langston, though couching his arguments in generalities, appeared to have in mind the development of a specific site, for he wrote that "the River within the Freshes is narrow and deep that vessels may ride before the Town, and near the shore wch is steep too." As to iron manufacturing at the site, he added that "the stone lyes convenient to the Topp of the ground, and therefore a man may well dig a load in a day." Patent research into the ownership of the land Anthony Langston had described in the paragraphs heading his map and proposed for use as a manufacturing site reveals that he had been subtly promoting the development of his own property, the 1,000 acres of land he had acquired in 1655 on Mankind Creek, property he retained for several years (Nugent 1969—1979:1:312,509). Langston's patent, which is now included within the bounds of Hanover County, lies along the eastern side of Mankind (Totopotomoy) Creek. The area still possesses many of the environmental attributes

essential to colonial iron manufacturing, notably ore, waterpower, and wood (Herbert G. Fisher, personal communication, May 20, 1982).

In late July, 1662, subsequent to his presentation before the Council for Foreign Plantations, Governor William Berkeley was ordered by King Charles I to return to Virginia to promote the development of staple commodities (Sainsbury 1880:V:332—333). Berkeley's official instructions from the King's Privy Council, dated September 12th, included a directive to investigate the feasibility of setting up an iron industry in the colony, of greater magnitude than the Virginia planters could attempt without the assistance of the Crown (Bruce 1896:15—20). Thus, Anthony Langston's map and the paragraphs heading it, which supply details on the potential for developing an iron manufacturing complex on Manskind Creek, may constitute what in modern parlance is called a feasibility study, prepared at Berkeley's command, in accord with the instructions the latter had received from the King and his Council.

Governor William Berkeley arrived back in Virginia on December 23, 1662, after Anthony Langston had already departed for England, never to return (Glencross 1920:139; Sainsbury 1880:V:405; 1910:412—413). The map, which apparently was left behind in the colony and came into the possession of William Berkeley, was not forwarded to England until nearly a decade later when Berkeley, as governor, responded to the Committee for Trade and Plantations' queries on the state of the colony. No evidence exists to suggest that an iron manufacturing complex was ever built on Manskind Creek. Similarly, though town development in the colony was promoted by the 1680 Act for Cohabitation and Encouragement of Trade and Manufactures and twenty prospective town sites were designated, Anthony Langston's patent, which by then had fallen into other hands, was not one of the sites chosen (Hening 1809—1823:11:471—478). Most likely, his departure from the colony late in 1662 signaled the end of interest in his project, which was probably quickly superseded by other schemes whose proponents were on hand to advance their own interests.

Archaeological Significance

Langston's "Draft of York River in Virginia" is of considerable value to archaeological research, for the map, when compared with modern United States Geological Survey quadrangle sheets, provides major clues to the locations of three significant archaeological sites and as well, identifies streams and land masses by name which are referenced in early patent records but which are now obsolete. Thus, documentary research leading to the identification of archaeological sites and, as well, identifies streams and land greatly facilitated by the information shown on Langston's map. In the following discussion, three archaeological sites, the locations of which are identified on "The Draft of York River in Virginia," are described in the order in which they occur on the map, proceeding downstream, or west to east, as the map was drawn. All three sites date to the mid-seventeenth century and are interrelated. Each site possesses great research potential for use in acculturation and ethnohistorical studies, as, for example, reflected in trade interactions and settlement patterns.

The Indian Fort

Located opposite and immediately above Manskind (Totopotomoy) Creek in King William County, this site has been identified by historical research as Fort Royall, a frontier military outpost constructed in 1645 “at Pomunkey.”

In the aftermath of the April 18, 1644, massacre, an Indian uprising that took a heavy toll among colonists along the upper reaches of the York River and represented the natives’ final concerted attempt to curb expanding settlement, Virginia’s Grand Assembly resolved to “forever abandon all formes of peace and familiarity with the whole [Indian] nation and to the uttmost of our Power pursue and root out those which have in any way had their hand in the shedding of our blood and Massacring of our People” (Burk 1804—1816:11:53; McIlwaine 1915:229). In February, 1645, they ordered the construction of forts at three locations they considered strategic in the colony’s defense against the Indians: Fort Charles at the falls of the James River; Fort James on the Chickahominy; and Fort Royall “at Pomunkey.” Carpenters and other workmen were pressed into service, as were the men who were to garrison the forts, soldiers armed from public levies upon local inhabitants. The documentary record strongly suggests that these early forts were built of wood, for a detailed reference to Fort Charles notes that its proprietor, upon completion of the period the fort was to be maintained, could use its timber or burn it for its nails (Hening 1809—1823:1:293—295).

The May 15, 1645, edition of the *Mercurius Oivicus*, a newspaper published in England, reported that “wee are now providing forts in the middle of the Country being in the Kings Territory, which is not far from us, so that we may have a power amongst them able to destroy them and deprive them of their livelihood so that wee may follow our businesse in the summer. Although we shall be at the charge of halfe our Labours to maintain these forts. . . this way is thought to be the most convenient to extirpate and subdue this people that doe so much annoy us” (Frank 1957:85). A series of carefully organized retaliatory expeditions were undertaken against the Indians and in March, 1646, the Grand Assembly authorized the construction of a fourth military outpost, Fort Henry, near the falls of the Appomattox River. The Assembly’s professed strategy consisted of weakening the Indians by depriving them of their subsistence (Hening 1809—1823:1:315). Sometime after the passage of that legislation and before October, 1646, Opechancanough, the Pamunkey Indian leader whom the English both hated and feared, was captured and soon after slain while imprisoned at Jamestown (Beverley 1947:49—50).

In October, 1646, the Virginia government concluded a formal peace agreement with Necotowance, successor to the deceased Opechancanough. According to the terms of the treaty, the Indians under Necotowance’s leadership agreed to abandon the James- York peninsula as far inland as the falls of both rivers and to vacate the lower side of the James as far south as the Blackwater River and from its head to the Old Manakin Town. Any Indian caught trespassing within the ceded territory could be lawfully executed.

Were Necotowance or his people to require entry into the ceded area in order to communicate with the governor regarding trade, “a coate of striped stuff” was to be worn as a badge of safe conduct. An Indian proceeding from the north side of the James-York peninsula was to procure his striped coat at Fort Royall, or if he came from the south of the James, at Fort Henry, outposts which were also to serve as the conduits of all Indian trade. These coats, intended to guarantee the safety of official Indian messengers, were to be returned upon the completion of their journey. Killing such Indian messengers was a capital offense (Hening 1809—1823:1:324—326). In November, 1647, two additional entry posts were established: at Captain Edward Hill’s Shirley Plantation in Charles City County, on the north side of the James River, and Captain William Taylor’s house at Chiskiack on the lower York River, accessible to Indian groups living on the north side of the York River, relatively near its mouth and a great distance from Fort Royall (Hening 1809—1823:1:348).

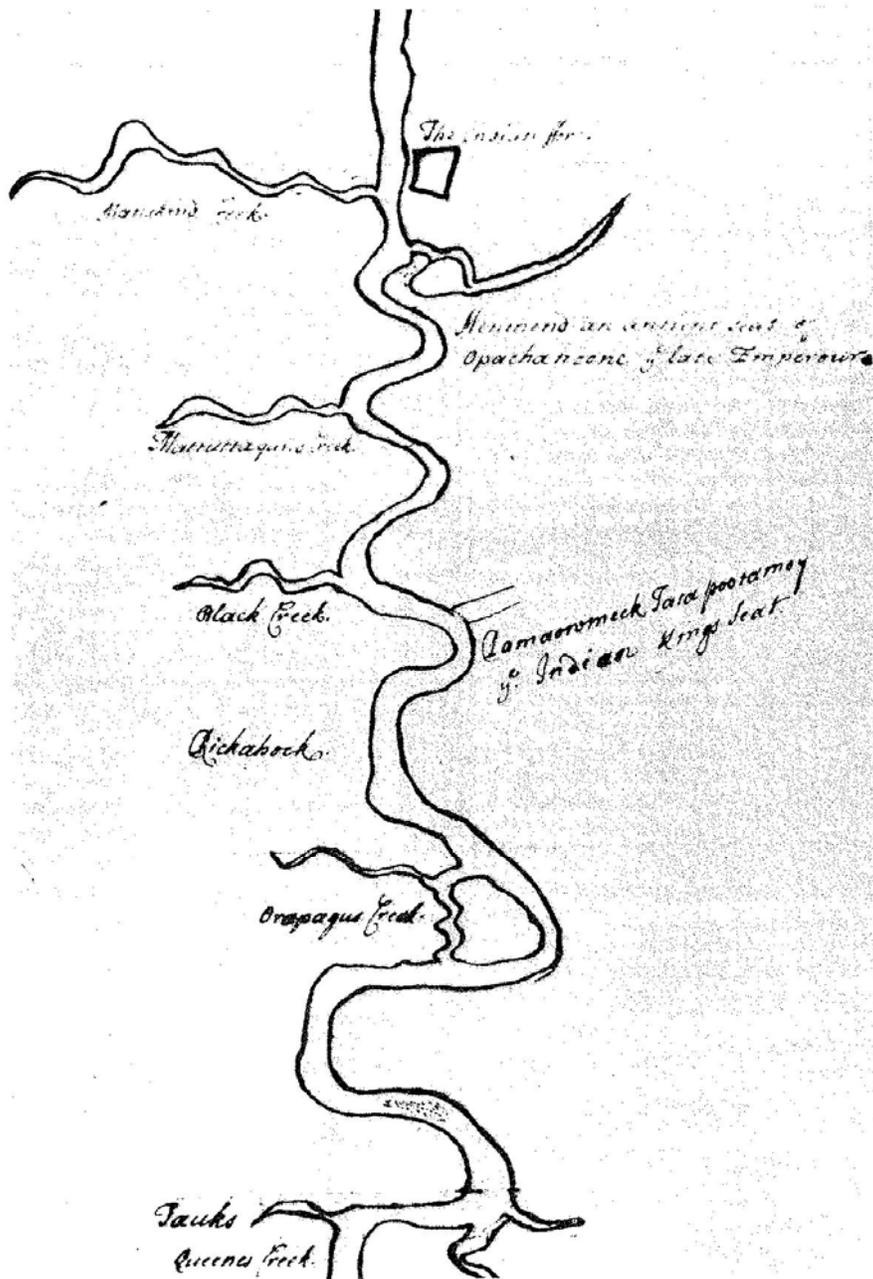


Figure 2. The Indian Foil (Fort Royall) and the villages of Opechancanough and Totopotomoy as depicted on The Draft of York River in Wrginia.

That the policy of requiring Indian messengers to wear striped coats was actually enforced is revealed by the contemporary testimony of one writer who quoted Necotowance as saying “My countrymen tell me I am a liar when I tell them the English will kill you if you goe into their bounds,” to which the writer added, “but valiant Captain Freeman made him no liar when lately he killed three Indians without badge encroaching” (Force 1836—1846:11:8:25). Thus, by the enactment of the 1646 treaty and acts establishing specific checkpoints for entry into the ceded territory, the Grand Assembly resolved to control the native population by surveillance, regulation of their

subsistence habitat, and containment, a sort of ancient Apartheid in that the aboriginal population was denied access to the land that had once been its own and could only reenter by means of passes and admission through designated checkpoints (Fig. 3).

Concurrent with the establishment of Fort Henry on the Appomattox River, the Assembly concluded that the cost of maintaining the four Indian forts was prohibitive. Legislation was enacted whereby “the said forts with the proprietary of a competent quantity of land bee granted to particular undertakers, to be maintained . . . with a sufficient strength of people.” Captain Roger Marshall was to ‘have and enjoy for himself and his heirs forever fort Royall alias Rickahock Fort with six hundred acres of land adjoining to the same, with all houses and edifices belonging to the said fort and all boats and ammunition belonging to the same fort; provided that he . . . shall keep and maintayne ten men upon the place during the terme and time of three years during which time he . . . for himself and the said ten men are exempted from publique taxes” (Hening 1809—1823:1:324—326). Marshall’s name appeared in York County court records in November, 1648, when a warrant was issued for his arrest, charging him with not having paid for a gun, a debt that may have been attributable to his agreement to maintain the fort (York County Deeds, Wills, and Orders 1648:11:428—429).

Virginia Land Office records reveal that Captain Roger Marshall successfully fulfilled his obligation to the Grand Assembly, for Manwarring Hammond’s March 14, 1649/50 patent for 3,760 acres (1,522 ha) along the York River, “land commonly called Fort Royall,” included “600 acres purchased of Captain Roger Marshall to whom it was granted 14th this Instant March . . . upon condition that he .. should mayntayne ten men upon the Same duringe the tyme of three years which Condition being performed” (Nugent 1969—1979:1:187). Hammond’s vast landholdings, which extended for several miles along the south side of the Pamunkey (upper York) River from the eastern branch of Black Creek toward Manskind (Totopotomoy) Creek, included “on the other side of the Bay one neck contayning 350 acres,” land which is the approximate size of the small peninsula corresponding geographically to “the Indian Fort” site (Nugent 1969—1979:1:198). A 1664 patent for land at the mouth of Totopotomoy Creek mentions that it lay “a lift le below the fort of Manskin,” suggesting that “The Indian Fort” was still a well-known landmark (Nugent 1969—1979:1:514).

In 1682, Manwarring Hammond sold a 1,060 acre (429 ha) portion of his Fort Royall tract, the latest date at which patents mention the fort by name (Nugent 1969—1979:11:241, 249, 252). In January, 1670, he had conveyed to Captain William Bassett “all of Hammond’s plantation on the upper part of York River including land commonly called ‘Captain Anthony Langstons plantation,’” which Langston’s patent describes as extending west on Totopotomoy (Manskind) Creek, behind that of Manwarring Hammond, whose older patent followed the Pamunkey River shoreline. This deed is significant, for it reaffirms the fact that Manwarring Hammond’s property ran west as far as Totopotomoy Creek, further defining the bounds of his Fort Royall tract (Bruce 1894:453—456). A letter written in 1705 by John Lightfoot from his Fort Royall plantation discloses that the land in the vicinity of Totopotomoy (Manskind) Creek was still remembered for its association with the early fort. Lightfoot’s landholdings then

included acreage he had acquired from William Bassett's estate ca. 1686: specifically, Anthony Langston's plantation, part of Manwarring Hammond's old Fort Royall tract, plus land to the east of Manquin Creek (Davis 1688; Nugent 1969—1979:1:187,190; 11:290,306).

That cartographer Anthony Langston's "Indian Fort" was the site of Fort Royall is feasible militarily, for the garrison was located just upstream from the village of the Pamunkey Indian leader Opechancanough, against whose people the English had directed the brunt of their retaliatory raids in 1644 and 1645. Although Opechancanough was captured and killed in 1646, it should be recalled that he was alive in 1645 when Fort Royall was built (Beverly 1947:49—50). Thus, "The Indian Fort" site would have been an ideal location for a military base of operations and later, after the signing of the 1646 treaty, an outpost charged with the Indians' surveillance and containment. Conversely, had Fort Royall been built downstream on the lower part of what by 1649 had become known as Manwarring Hammond's Fort Royall tract, the stronghold of Opechancanough, known to the English as that Bloody Monster," would have been at the garrison's back, seemingly an unsavory option (Force 1836—1846:11:8:7).

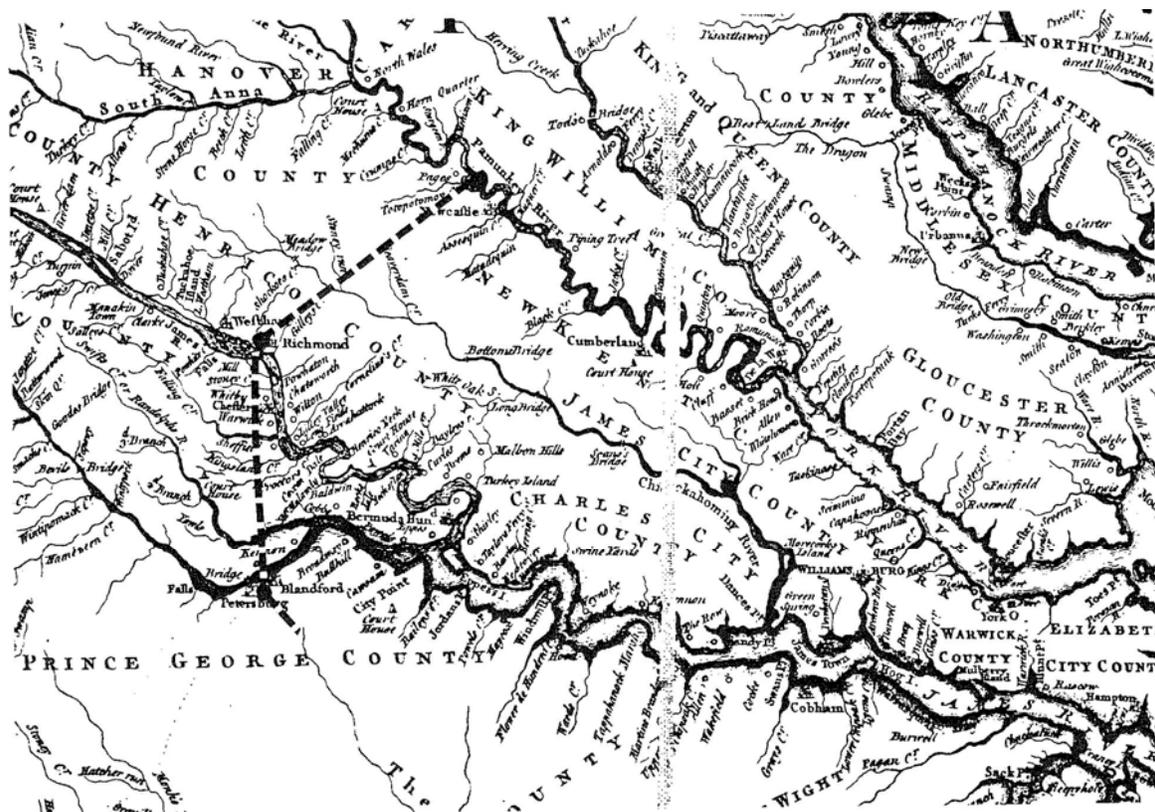


Figure 3, The line of fortifications that spanned the James-York peninsula, ca. 1646: Fort Royall on the Pamunkey River; Fort Charles on the James River; and Fort Henry on the Appomattox River. Fort James on the Chickahominy River at Moysenac lay downstream, at the periphery of the settlement in that area. (Base map: Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson's 1751 map of Virginia.)

In December, 1980, archaeologists from the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission's Research Center for Archaeology visited a location in King William County corresponding geographically to "The Indian Fort" site. The area was found to be topographically well suited for surveillance and defense. The elevation at the site, an agricultural field which lies between the 40 and 60 foot (12.2 and 18.3 m) contour lines, provides a commanding view of the Pamunkey River, and is environed on three sides by water, a situation favored by Virginia's seventeenth century military tacticians. A natural boat landing and fresh water spring are available at the site. Although winter wheat obscured the surface of the field, one fragment of glass was recovered, identified by VRCA curators. as seventeenth century case bottle or window glass. Based upon archival data and the site's research potential, the location has been designated 44KW34 in the state's official archaeological site survey inventory.

A field survey of the area across the Pamunkey River from 44KW34 led to the location of a site designated 44HN34, which dates artifactually to the second half of the seventeenth century. Locally made clay pipestems found on archaeological sites dating ca. 1625—1700 were recovered from the surface of the site, in association with one English kaolin clay pipestem fragment, dated to ca. 1650—1680 by means of its bore diameter. Other ceramics recovered from the site included fragments of low-fired earthenware vessels, the majority of which were tempered with shell, whereas others were tempered very finely or lacked temper. These ceramics are most likely of aboriginal manufacture, as shell tempered wares are characteristic of the Late Woodland culture of the Virginia Coastal Plain. Although these ceramic sherds are extremely fragmentary and weathered, approximately two-thirds can be positively identified as having a smoothed exterior surface, a pre-contact or historic aboriginal characteristic. The presence of flattened bases, characteristic rim profiles, and a loop handle in the collection further identifies the majority of the ceramics as colonoware, earthenware vessels shaped in European styles, yet produced employing aboriginal techniques. Several researchers have proposed that colonowares were produced by Indian peoples for trade with the colonists (Noel Hume 1962:XVIII:4:2—14; Mary Ellen N. Hodges, personal communication, July, 1982). The discovery of aboriginal artifacts with European characteristics in association with a European item dating to the second half of the seventeenth century, at a location in close proximity to "The Indian Fort" site, suggests that 44HN34 may be related to Fort Royall's official function as a trade center.

In March, 1676, when the Grand Assembly again resolved to construct forts for the garrisoning of men "on the heads of rivers" as a defense against the Indians, they decided to build one "at or neare Mahixon upon Pomunkie River," a location several miles upstream from "The Indian Fort" Anthony Langston depicted as being opposite Manskind Creek and which patent records describe as Fort Royall or "fort of Manskind" (Fry and Jefferson 1751; Hening 1809—1823: 11:327—328; Nugent 1969—1979:11:74,77,144,364; Tyler 1904—1905:105). Significantly, official records for the period 1645—1676, which are relatively complete, make no mention of fortifications being erected in defense against the Indians during that period other than the Fort Royall and Mahixon Fort series.

Anthony Langston's "Indian Fort," which is depicted as rectangular in shape, is unlike any aboriginal fortification yet discovered in Coastal Virginia archaeologically or in ethnohistoric literature. Such features, which are consistently circular in form, are depicted on John Smith's map and in Theodorick deBry's engravings and have been excavated at several locations in coastal Virginia (Hariot 1972; Smith 1612; Turner 1983).

Menmend, an ancient seat of Opachancone ye late Emperour

The village of Opechancanough, the second successor to Powhatan and a Pamunkey Indian leader whose influence extended from the south side of the Potomac River to the south side of the James, is shown as being on or in close proximity to a large island near Carter's Landing, east of Manquin Creek (Kingsbury 1906—1935:11:708—710). The area's marshy habitat would have provided an abundance of fauna and flora for the subsistence of the village's population and the island itself would have been a strong, readily defensible position (E. Randolph Turner, personal communication, October, 1983). According to Virginia Company records, Opechancanough was living on an island in the Pamunkey River by 1623 (Kingsbury 1906—1935:111:708—710).

Anthony Langston's identification of Menmend is the sole reference to this village in ethnohistoric literature. As it may have been the settlement in which Opechancanough was residing at the time of the 1644 massacre, evidence of the effects of English interaction as a result of a conflict situation may be present at the site. Although the area has not been tested archaeologically, "The Draft of York River in Virginia" pinpoints the site of Menmend within an approximately 200 acre (80 ha) tract.

In 1649, patents were issued for this island, then called Warranucock, and the land immediately adjacent to it. Later in the century, both the island and creek became known as Goddins and by the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the creek itself was called Manquin (Fry and Jefferson 1751; Hermann 1670; Nugent 1969—1979:11:210,306; Thornton 1698). In 1705, the land east of Manquin Creek was included in John Lightfoot's Fort Royall plantation (Bruce 1894:268;

Pamamomeck-Tatapootamoy ye Indian Kings Seat

The village of Totopotomoy, who led the Pamunkey Indians ca, 1649—1656, is depicted as being located just east of a small unnamed tributary later known as Jack's Creek, west of the narrow neck peninsula that now comprises the Pamunkey Indian Reservation. Totopotomoy, successor to Necotowance who had signed the 1646 treaty, was living in the area by 1653 when he was required by the Grand Assembly to choose between where he was then living and Roman-coke, land near the division of the York River into the Pamunkey and Mattaponi (Gilmer 1863; Hening 1809—1823:1:380).

Geographical features suggest that Totopotomoy's village lay between Jack's and Necotowance (Harrisons) creeks, in an area likely to have been occupied by Necotowance, Opechancanough's immediate successor. Totopotomoy, who perished in

1656 while assisting the English in a conflict later known as the Baffle of the Bloody Run, was succeeded by his wife, Cockacoeske, who historical documents indicate was a descendant of Opechancanough. Cockacoeske led the Pamunkey Indians for over twenty years and may have continued to live at the same village formerly occupied by her husband (Force 1836—1846:11:8:13; McIlwaine 1925—1945:1:79).

Pamamomeck, which Anthony Langston identifies as “ye Indian Kings Seat,” is unreferenced by name in ethnohistoric literature, though its location appears on *The Draft of York River in Virginia*. Virginia Land Office records, however, suggest that Totopotomoy had a fort somewhere in that general vicinity. Although the area which corresponds geographically to Pamamomeck has not been tested archaeologically, the Langston map identifies the acreage which should be investigated. As the village site may have been occupied from ca. 1646 to ca. 1686, a period during which the Powhatan chiefdom disintegrated, the potential for ethnohistorical and acculturation studies is unique.

Geographical Analysis

Because Anthony Langston’s map is oriented on a west-east axis, with west at its head, the geographical features identified on it are discussed in the order in which they appear, or west to east. The previously described archaeological sites are referenced in their geographical sequence but are not discussed.

Mankind Creek: Totopotomoy Creek. This creek probably derived its earlier name from its proximity to the region called Mankind or Mankind Indian land, which, according to the maps of John Lederer (1672) and John Thornton (1698), lay opposite the mouth of the creek. By 1663 the stream became known as Totopotomoy Creek, in possible commemoration of that Pamunkey Indian leader who had lost his life defending the English.

The Indian Fort: the probable site of Fort Royall.

Mattatuck Creek: Mattaquidine Creek, also called Mattadequain in 1651 land patents (Nugent 1969—1979:1:213).

Black Creek: Black Creek, known as such since 1651 (Nugent 1969—1979:1:212).

Rickahock: the land between Black and Orapagus creeks. Mid-seventeenth century patents reveal that the country between the Chickahominy and York rivers was generally known as Rickahock (Nugent 1969—1979:1:215,229,231,passim). Early maps and Land Office records suggest that the word “rickahock” or “rockahock” was of Indian origin and may have been descriptive in nature, perhaps relating to vegetation. In 1664, an Indian field in the vicinity of Black Creek was known as Rockahockaw (Nugent 1969—1979:1:457).

Orapagus Creek: Big Creek. The prominent western branch of this creek is now known as St. Peter’s Swamp. The phonic similarity between the name Orapagus and Orapakes, the

name of the village to which Powhatan retired after abandoning Werowocomoco, may be connotative of his association with the area. The maps of Smith (1612) and Zunigia (1611), when interpreted according to the shoreline features depicted on Langston's map, suggest that Powhatan's village, Uttamussack, lay northeast of Orapagus Creek, on the north side of the Pamunkey River and west of Sweet Hall Landing.

Tankes Queenes Creek: Mill Creek. "Tankes," according to seventeenth century chronicler William Strachey, meant little or small in the Algonquin Indian dialect (Strachey 1953:203).

Ramounca: Romancoke. This name was applied to the lower, more southerly portion of Pamunkey Neck since at least 1653, when Totopotomoy was asked to choose between it and the area he then occupied (Hening 1809—1823:1:380).

Machimedes: the region between Tankes Queens (Mill) and Ware (Matchemeedes) creeks.

Pamunn: a rounded lobe of land adjacent to Eltham Marsh. Mount Pleasant a rounded promontory west of Ware Creek, in the vicinity of Holly Forks. Although Mount Pleasant, per Se, is unmentioned in Virginia Land Office records, Langston may have been referring to the Mount Folly tract, an early patent located to the east (Nugent 1969—1979:1:249,254,442).

Masons Creek: Hockley Creek, neither of which is identifiable by a synonym in early patent records.

Ware Creek: Ware Creek, mentioned by name in patent records as early as 1642 (Nugent 1969—1979:1:130). It was also known as Matchemeedes Creek until the 1680s.

Taskoonask Creek: Taskinask Creek, mentioned in patents by 1662 (Nugent 1969—1979:1:496).

Poropotank River: Poropotank Creek, so-called by 1642 (Nugent 1969—1979:1:131).

Muskimoughk Creek: Skimino Creek. In patent records of the late 1660s this stream was called Muskimino, a phonically similar name (Nugent 1969—1979:11:27,42,51,58). By the late seventeenth century, however, it became generally known as Skimino Creek. Clay Bank Creek: Clay Bank Creek, a name dating to ca. 1642 (Nugent 1969—1979:11:293).

Queenes Creek: known as Queens (Nugent 1969—1979:1:62). Langston Creek as a two pronged tributary including together the creek and mouth, now known as Cheatham Pond.

Carters Creek: Carters Creek, a stream which bordered Lewis Burwell's April, 1654, patent (Nugent 1969—1979:11:215).

Keeskiah Creek: Chiskyack Creek or Kings and Felgates Creeks, collectively. The Chiskiack Indians' village, which was located nearby, is shown on John Smith's maps of Virginia. By 1647 it was the site of a checkpoint to be used by Indians desiring entry to the James-York peninsula. Chiskiack Creek is mentioned in patents by 1648 (Nugent 1969—1979:1:178).

Sandy Point: Sandy Point, a prominent sand bar which is still in evidence.

Digges Creek: Indian Field Creek. This creek's name is attributable to Edward Digges, whose patent encompassed acreage along its eastern (Nugent 1969—1979:1:214).

Tindalls Point later known as Gloucester Point. This promontory was named by Robert Tyndall (1608), who prepared a chart of the James and York rivers.

Tindalls Creek: located near Tindall's Point, this creek became known as Sarah Creek during the eighteenth century.

Wormeley Creek: a York River tributary that had received its present name by 1638 (Nugent 1969— 1979:1:99).

Conclusions

As has been demonstrated, the historical documents used routinely by historians contain many data of potential value to archaeologists. The comparative analysis of land grant and patent records, historical maps, narrative accounts, and a wide variety of official government records, both American and European, can provide substantial and significant data on colonial trade and settlement patterning, cultural interaction, and a myriad of other questions pertinent to archaeological research. The papers contained in the collections of British repositories are a relatively untapped but readily available source of new information on the post-contact period, particularly for research involving the Coastal Plain of North America. The use of historical documents in site identification can considerably advance the objectives of archaeological field work by enabling archaeologists to place the sites they locate within their proper regional and historical context.

For example, Anthony Langston's map, "The Draft of York River in Virginia," reveals new insights into settlement patterning along the seventeenth century Virginia frontier and, by identifying three historically significant archaeological sites, each of which has great research potential, facilitates their preservation. Archival research conducted as a means of dating the map and ascertaining the cartographer's identity has provided new data on seventeenth century domestic military strategy and has further defined the frontier process and relations between colonists and the native population.

The exclusion of the Indians from the James-York peninsula by virtue of the 1646 treaty and the construction of a line of fortifications along the fringes of the colony's frontier to

police the natives' admission to the ceded area, brought to fruition a concept voiced in 1611 by Sir Thomas Dale, who recommended that the English take over the peninsula inland to the falls of the James and York rivers (Dale 1890). This policy of racial exclusion, surveillance, and containment was replicated later in the seventeenth century as colonists continued to restrict the native population's access to settled areas rather than attempting to live among them. Conversely, the observable withdrawal of Virginia's natives further inland, as they experienced increasing pressure from expanding settlement, exemplifies an adaptive strategy they employed until substantial loss of population through disease and coercion, significantly decreased military strength, and marked loss of subsistence habitat forced them to seek the protection of the colonial government.

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