



# Quarterly Bulletin

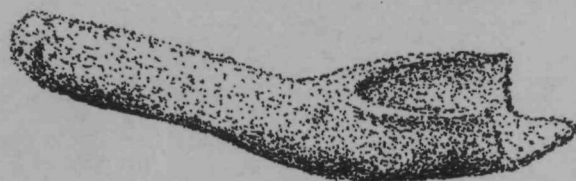
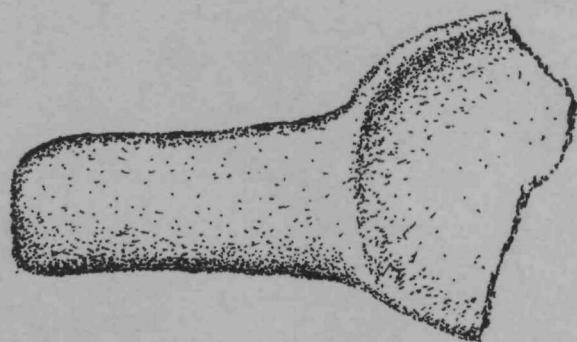
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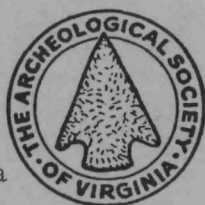
## The CAMDEN SITE Report

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Archeological Society of Virginia



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## Your Bulletin articles are the lifeblood of our Society activities.

Graphic standards should be generally those outlined in Grinsell, Warhurst, and Rahtz, *The Preparation of Archaeological Reports* (London 1966).

Drawings for publication should be made in black ink on white paper or board. Standard page size (printed area) is 6"x9", and pictures should be this size or in multiples of it, such as: 12"x18" or 18"x27".

No picture of an artifact will be accepted unless it contains a graphic scale or other indication of size.

Photographs should be clear, large, glossy prints.

Site reports must contain maps and scaled layout.

Manuscripts for publication should be submitted to the Editor. Papers should be double-spaced and typed on one side only. Leave adequate margin for editing.

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# CAMDEN:

## a postcontact Indian site in Caroline County

Howard A. MacCord, sr.

The Camden Site (44 Ce 3) lies on the right (south) bank of the Rappahannock River, 2.6 miles east-southeast of the bridge over the river at Port Royal. (Figure 1) The site lies in pasture lands nine-tenths of a mile east of the historic plantation house, Camden (built ca. 1770; rebuilt 1859) (Waterman, 1945). Camden has been owned by the Pratt family since the eighteenth century, and the present owner is Mr. Richard T. Pratt, to whom we are indebted for permission to make the excavations described in this report.

The site, measuring only 30' x 50', is on the north edge of an extensive terrace, at an elevation of twenty feet above mean sea level. The Rappahannock River at the site is tidal, with a tide range of about three feet. Between the foot of the terrace and the open river is a marsh about a thousand feet wide. This marsh undoubtedly results from silting of the river in historic times and the subsequent establishment of typical marsh vegetation, including trees. No source of potable water is found near the site, but river-bank springs probably existed in earlier times, or could have been developed with little effort.

The soil at the site is loose sand, overlying deposits of clay and gravel. While most of the terrace has been pasture in recent years, it had been under cultivation at some time in the past. The site proper was covered with a sparse growth of young trees when excavated. Mr. Pratt was in the process of having the land cleared for pasture improvement, when the site was first noticed.

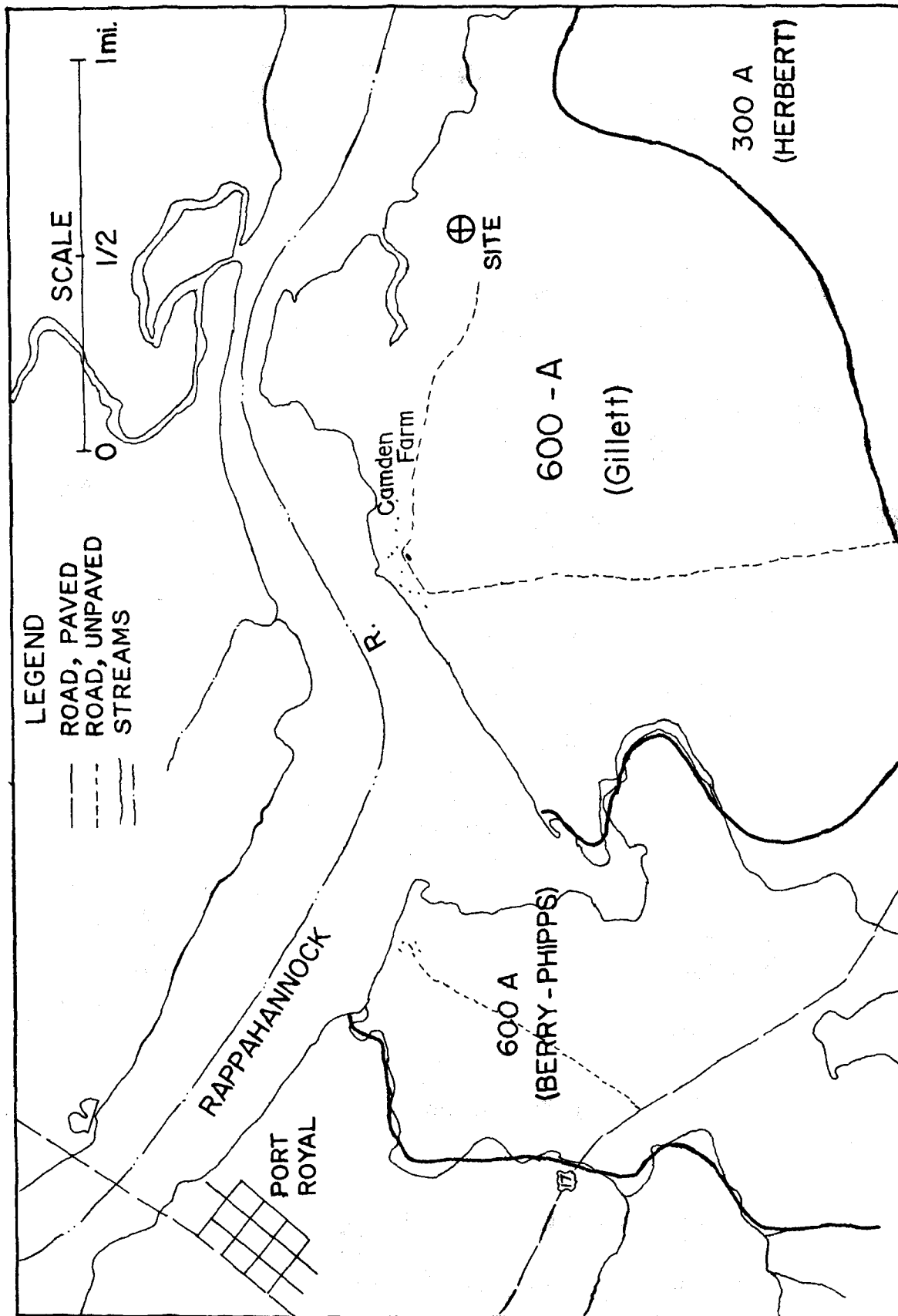


Figure One: Area Map, showing approximate early land boundary lines.



The site was found in the spring of 1964 by Mrs. J.M.H. Willis, Jr., of Fredericksburg, the granddaughter of Mr. Pratt. She noticed oyster shells, bones and Indian pottery lying in an eroded portion of a logging road close to the river bank. She collected a sample of the exposed materials, and in addition, found an English copper farthing dated 1672.

Mrs. Willis, a member of the Upper Rappahannock Chapter of the Archeological Society of Virginia, reported her discovery to Dr. L. Clyde Carter, Professor of Anthropology at Mary Washington College in Fredericksburg, and at his suggestion notified the author of her finds. Dr. Carter arranged for a weekend of test digging at the site by members of the Upper Rappahannock Chapter in October 1964. A row of five-foot squares was laid out parallel to the river bank, and a shorter row was extended down the bank. Digging was done on subsequent weekends and at other times, as workers could take part in the work. A total of fifty five-foot squares was dug. Figure 2 shows the layout of the excavated area. Members of the Upper Rappahannock and Greater Richmond Area Chapters combined one weekend in March 1965 to complete the site's excavation. The author was present for about half of the work and assumed the task of cleaning and analyzing the materials and preparing this report.

All digging was done by five-foot square units, and most squares were dug in two levels. The upper (plowed) level was six inches of black, humus-filled sand, which contained most of the cultural material. Below this level, Level Two was dug from six to twelve inches deep. In most cases, sterile yellow sand was met at or above the twelve-inch depth. In two squares, some humus and cultural material extended somewhat deeper. All materials below 12" deep were above the eighteen-inch level, and these were recorded as Level Three. Materials were kept separate by square and level pending analysis. The soil from each level was trowelled and then sifted (in screens of about one-fourth inch mesh), so that very little cultural or refuse material escaped. All materials were collected, except oyster shells, of which only a representative sample was saved. All bones, stones, and suspected artifacts were saved. Potsherds and pipe fragments were numerous in Levels One and Two. The materials collected are described below.

As each square was cleared, it was examined for pits, graves and post-molds. Two features were found: a shallow refuse-filled pit and a small burned area, interpreted as a hearth. One post-mold was found in square 2D. The two features were:

Feature One - an oval refuse pit, 3.3 feet long and 2.5 feet wide, with the longer axis east and west. The pit extended partly into Squares 3D and 3E. It extended two inches into the subsoil, to a maximum depth from the surface of fourteen inches. The base of the pit was flat, and the sides sloped uniformly from the base to the point where the outlines faded into the disturbed topsoil. The pit contained refuse bones, oyster shells and the following:

Chip, quartzite	1
Potomac Creek Cord-impressed Pottery	3
Potomac Creek Plain Pottery	11

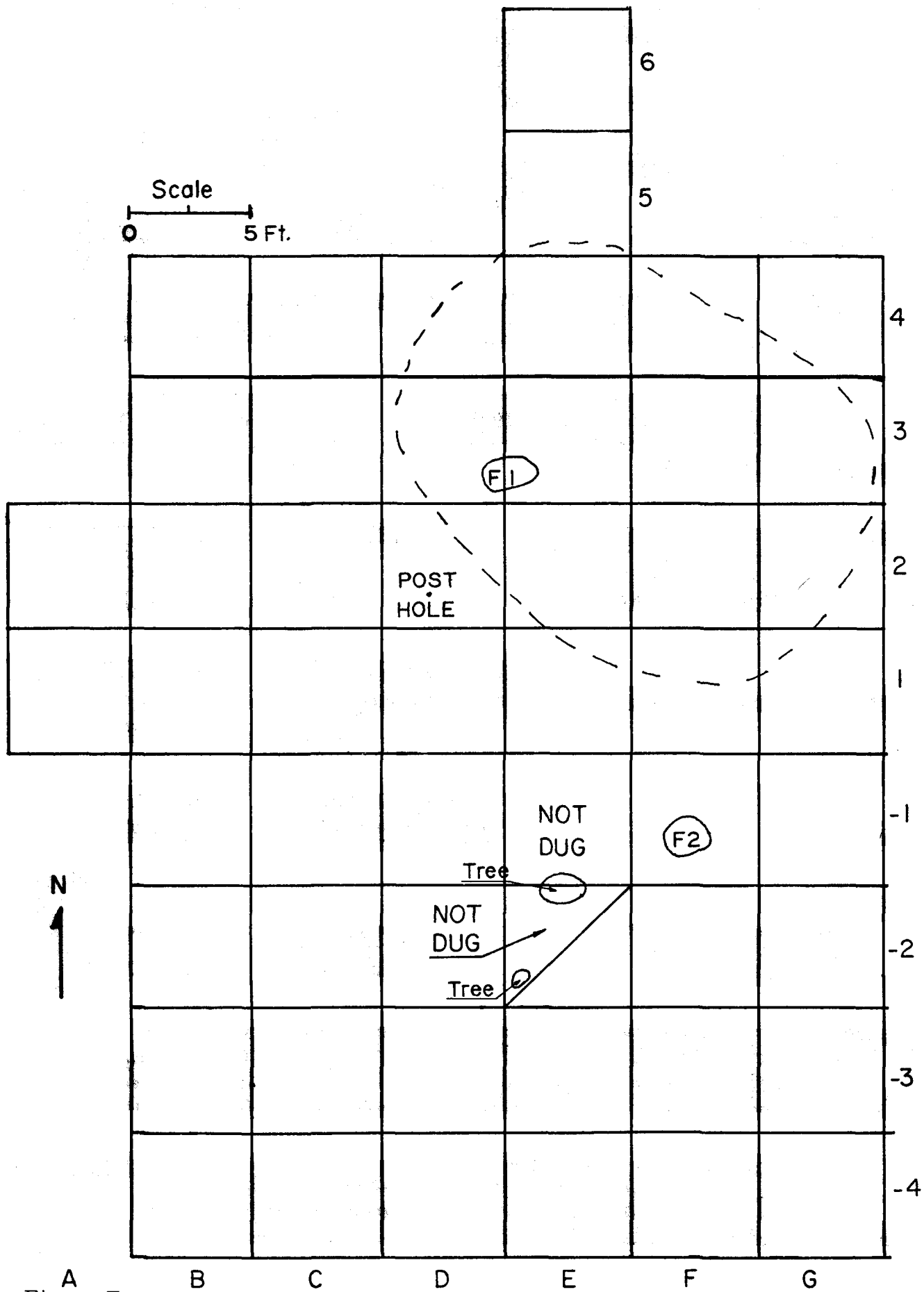


Figure Two: Excavation Diagram, showing subsurface features

Feature Two - a small burned area in the subsoil at a depth of six inches in Square -1F. The hearth was circular, two feet in diameter, and was lens-like in cross-section. It was three inches thick in the center and consisted of sand, obviously reddened by fire. No mass of charcoal or concentration of refuse was present. Mixed in the sand of the hearth were the following:

Fragments of deer bone	7
Chip of greenstone	1
Potomac Creek Cord-Imprinted Pottery	7
Potomac Creek Plain Pottery	7

No pattern of post molds was found, and no graves were found in the area excavated. If graves exist elsewhere on the terrace, no surface evidence of them is apparent. Refuse bones and shells were found most thickly in the area outlined by the dotted line on Figure 2. It appears from this localization of refuse that this part of the site was a surface dump for the site's inhabitants, probably directly in front of the doorway of their house. Other evidence will be cited in support of this hypothesis.

### FOOD REMAINS

Shells and animal bones were found scattered lightly over most of the excavated area, with the one concentration indicated in Figure 2. No vegetal food remains were found, although hickory and black walnuts of recent vintage were found on the surface and in the topsoil. No agricultural tools were found. The shells collected have been identified by Dr. J.P.E. Morrison, U.S. National Museum, as follows:

oyster	<i>Crassostrea virginica</i>
clam	<i>Elliptio complanatus</i>
river snail	<i>Littorina irrorata</i> Say

The clams and snails are native to the river at the site, but oysters do not now live in the Rappahannock nearer to the site than Tappahannock, some 45-50 miles away. The oysters therefore represent imported food.

Animal bones were identified as the following species:

Deer	<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>
Raccoon	<i>Procyon lotor</i>
Squirrel	<i>Sciurus carolinensis</i>
Duck	probably mallard
Turkey	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>
Snapping Turtle	<i>Chelydra serpentina</i>
Loggerhead turtle	<i>Caretta C. caretta</i>
Box tortoise	<i>Terrapine carolina</i>

In addition to the foregoing food remains, fifteen charred crab claws were recovered.

There was evidence for the use of both the bow and fire-arms by occupants of the site. Iron knives and native-made dishes and pots were used in food preparation.

## INDUSTRIAL REFUSE

Evidence of the manufacture of stone implements consisted of chips of the following types and quantities of materials:

<u>Material</u>	<u>Level 1</u>	<u>Level 2</u>	<u>Level 3</u>
Quartz	120 (32.3%)	51 (40.0%)	2
Greenstone	116 (31.3%)	66 (50.7%)	
Chert	52 (14.0%)	5 (03.8%)	
Quartzite	45 (12.1%)	4 (03.1%)	
Argillite	32 (08.7%)	4 (03.1%)	
Rhyolite	6 (01.6%)	-	7
totals	<u>371</u>	<u>130</u>	<u>9</u>

How much of the chippage shown can be attributed to the main occupation of the site cannot be ascertained. Undoubtedly some of the chips pertain to earlier occupations, as do some of the chipped stone artifacts and some of the ceramic remains. Since some of the chert chips are the same material as that from which gun-flints were made, it is probable that some chipping (or rechipping) of these essential artifacts was done at the site. No firm conclusions can be drawn from the chips tabulated above. Nine chert chips and one of quartz show edges with secondary chipping. These are classed as scrapers and will be described under that category.

No hammerstones, chisels or axes of Indian manufacture were found. Since several tools made of iron were found, it is probable that most work in wood and other workable materials was done with these acquired tools. To maintain edged metal tools, sharpening tools would have been needed. Two iron files and several fragments of sandstone, probably served this purpose. The latter are native sandstones of rather poor quality for honing sharp edges, but they would probably have sufficed for rough sharpening.

Several scraps of lead and copper indicate that some working was done at the site with these materials. The lead may have been raw material for bullets. Two pieces of lead with serrated edges seem to have been used to impress roulette-like designs on clay pipes.

Amorphous pieces of baked clay are probably waste material from the manufacture of pottery and indicate that pots and pipes were shaped and fired at the site.

## DOMESTIC REFUSE

The bulk of the refuse can be attributed to household activities. The food remains (shells and bones) are almost assuredly kitchen scraps. The great amount of broken pottery, both cook pots and dishes, show that the active life of such wares was probably short and precarious. The varieties of pottery types found intermixed indicate that wares of several styles were in use concurrently. Some of these may represent dishes brought to the

site by the occupants when they first came there. Other dishes were undoubtedly made at the site, while others were obtained from neighboring Indians and Europeans. Detailed descriptions of the various pottery wares are included in the sections on artifacts.

Broken and worn-out tools constitute another important element of the refuse. These include files, knives, stone abraders, gun-flints, links of chain, and scrapers made from flakes of chert. These items are further described in the sections on artifacts. Scraps of iron, lead and copper may have been raw materials lost or discarded as refuse.

Objects of personal adornment were probably accidentally lost about the house, rather than discarded. These include buckles, coins, pendants of silver and brass, and beads made of shell, porcelain, glass and copper.

The great number of pipe fragments, both Indian-made (229) and European-made (23), are probably discards. Wasters found indicate that brown-clay pipes were made at the site. From the great number of pipe fragments, one might conclude that smoking was a favored pastime in the home.

Objects related to the structure of the house itself were found in the refuse deposits. These include forged nails, fragments of iron hardware (straps, hinges, rings, etc.), and burned clay mortar or daub. No bricks were found. The following list shows the structural items found, and Figure 3 shows the horizontal distribution of the nails found.

#### ARCHITECTURAL REFUSE FOUND

<u>ITEMS</u>	<u>LEVEL 1</u>	<u>LEVEL 2</u>	<u>TOTALS</u>
Iron nails	88	4	92
Eye of strap hinge	1	-	1
Part of door lock	1	-	1
Burned sandstone (hearth?)	11	-	11
Burned clay (daub?)	7	-	7

#### ARTIFACTS

Artifacts were found in every square excavated, although the quantities per square diminished as the perimeter of the excavated area was approached. This concentration in the center of the excavated area seems to pin-point the location of the habitation. The evidence for this will be summarized below. Smaller tests as near as ten feet outside the edge of the excavated area showed no trace of occupational refuse, except on the very edge of the terrace, where there seemed to be some thin, lateral spreading of the refuse along the river bank. This may indicate scattering by the site's habitants, as they dumped and tossed refuse toward and over the edge of the terrace.

The artifacts may be lumped into two major categories - aboriginal and European. In the following paragraphs, we describe and compare the

artifacts in each major category by materials from which made. The significance of these artifacts and their occurrence together in a small site will be reserved for the Discussion section of this report. In most instances a three-part number is shown after the designation of an artifact. This number is the Accession Number by which the artifact is catalogued in the files of the Virginia State Library. With the exception of a few artifacts retained by Mr. Pratt and Mrs. Willis, or deposited in the Virginia Historical Society collections, all other materials are stored at the Virginia State Library in Richmond, pending establishment of a proper museum.

## ARTIFACTS - ABORIGINAL

Artifacts of unquestionably Indian manufacture show a wide range of types and varieties. Some of these undoubtedly represent occupations of the site during the Archaic and various Woodland Periods. The majority of the artifacts, however, are attributable to the main occupation, which can be dated in the Historic Period, probably about 1680 AD, as will be shown subsequently. The ceramics of the Historic Period occupation share characteristics which prove that the wares are identical with or directly descended from the Late Woodland wares of the Potomac Valley. The following paragraphs contain descriptions of the various artifacts of aboriginal origin.

### STONE ARTIFACTS.

Many of the stone artifacts are whole or broken projectile points. The following shows the types and provenience of these:

1. Projectile point of yellow-tan quartzite. (311 a 196) Found at a depth of 18" in a test hole dug about fifty feet west of the main excavation. The point resembles Coe's Morrow Mountain I point, and also could be classed as Holland's Type K. It resembles, too, the Rossville Point of Ritchie. (Fig 8, Plate 26, Ritchie, 1961) This point is illustrated in Figure 4 a.

2. Three lanceolate points of quartz. Two are from Level One, and one is from Level Two in the excavations. They appear to be variants of Coe's Guilford Point, but fit the description of Holland's Type F. They are also similar to the Poplar Island Point of Pennsylvania. (Ritchie, 1961). Two are illustrated in Figure 4 c-d.

3. Two stemmed or notched projectile points made of white quartz. Both were found in Level One in the excavations. Both seem to be variants of Coe's Halifax Point and Holland's Type I. Illustrated in Figure 4 b & e.

4. Two triangular points, both found in Level One of the excavations. One is made of Harper's Ferry quartzite, a flinty quartzite in which the separate sand grains are easily seen. The other is made from a black trap-rock. Both are small, less than one inch long. Both can be classed as small variants of Coe's Clarksville Large Triangular point and as adjacent areas. (Ritchie, 1961). These are illustrated in Figure 10.

5. Two fragments of larger blades made of quartz came from Level One in the excavations. These are so fragmentary that their original shapes and sizes cannot be ascertained.

With the possible exception of the two triangular points (Fig 10), which may have been made and used during the Historic Period, the stone projectile points seem to be of Archaic and Early Woodland age and are proof that the site was occupied intermittently during these earlier periods.

Another fairly numerous type of chipped stone artifact is the flake scraper, of which ten were found. One is of white quartz and the remainder are chert. All were found in the top level of the excavated area. One (31l a 97) is a typical "thumb-nail" scraper, and the others are utilized flakes, showing sharpening or use chipping along one or more edges. None seems to have been hafted.

One uniface pebble tool (31l a 78) of white quartz might have been used as an end scraper, or it might be merely a rejected core from the making of other stone implements.

One flat slab of fine-grained sandstone 4.5" x 3" shows polish on both faces, probably resulting from the stone's use as a whet-stone. Faint striations on one face support the supposition that the stone was so used. Two other irregularly-shaped pebbles of coarse sandstone seem to have been used as abraders. One (31l a 153) shows ten parallel cuts at one edge, as if this area of the stone had been used to sharpen a tool of metal to a point.

Another stone artifact of uncertain use is a small fragment of mica schist which shows one smoothed edge. This may have been part of a stone pendant. (31l a 158)

One complete and two fragments of fossil shark teeth found in Level One of the excavations do not seem to have been modified in any way.

### SHELL ARTIFACTS

Two beads made from shell were found at the site. One is a tubular bead, 27 mm long and 8 mm in diameter, (31l a 62) found in Level One of the excavation, Fig 11e. A small disk bead (31l a 164) was found on the surface of the sifted soil after a rain. This bead is 3.5 mm across and 1.3 mm thick.

### CERAMICS

The most plentiful of all artifacts found were potsherds. A total of 9055 were recovered in the excavations and on the surface. Those from the surface (31l p 49) were found on spoil heaps and on eroded edges of the excavations after the winter of 1964-65. They cannot be used to support seriation of pottery types, since they seem to have originated at all depths. A total of 223 potsherds were from the surface. The remainder came from the three excavated levels and from Features One and Two. The bulk of the pottery (8900) represent three major related types, which have much in common. The remaining 155 sherds represent a variety of wares and a considerable time-depth. The following table shows only the minority types, according to tempering, surface treatment and depth at which found. (Classification according to Evans, 1955).



<u>Pottery types</u>	<u>Level 1</u>	<u>Level 2</u>	<u>Level 3</u>	<u>Comment</u>
Soapstone temper				Marcey Creek
Plain		1		Plain
Clay & quartz temper				Unknown type
Net-impressed	1			
Plain	1			
Sand temper				Stony Creek
Plain	3			Series
Net-impressed	5	4		
Indeterminate	12	1	1	
Crushed quartz temper				Albermarle Series
Cord-marked		1		
Plain	3			
Shell temper				Chickahominy
Cord-marked	2			Series
Plain	76	13		
Burnished	13	1		

The great variety of the minority wares and smallness of the sample indicate occasional occupancy of the site throughout the pottery-using periods. None of the above seems definitely related to the wares of the majority types, except possibly the shell-tempered burnished ware which seems to be a shell-tempered counterpart of Potomac Creek Plain, especially the scraped variety. This shell-tempered ware is probably the colono-Indian ware of the nearby Nanzatico Indians.

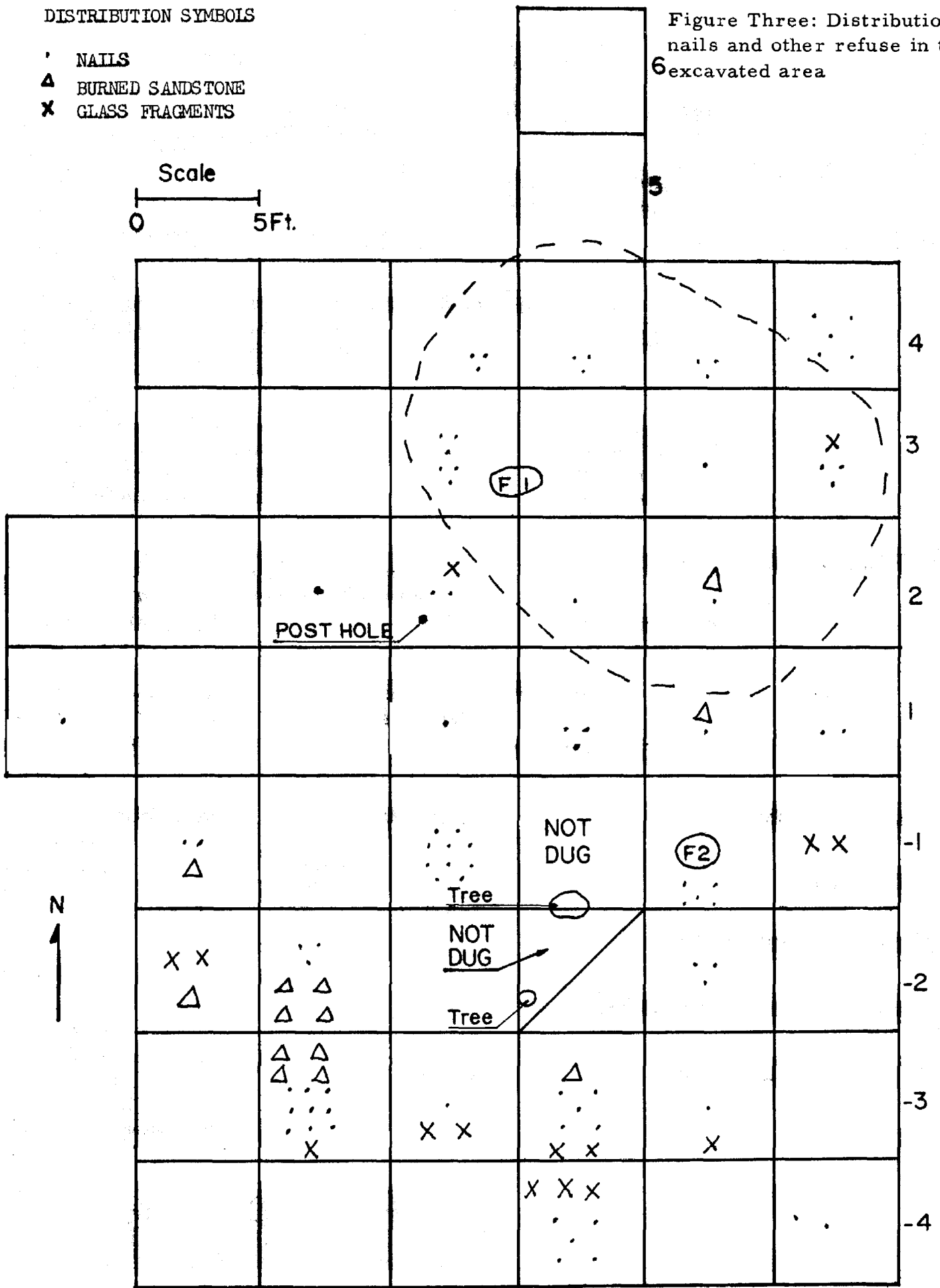
The majority of the pottery is of the Potomac Creek Series (or ware) as defined for the Accokeek Site in Maryland (Stephenson, 1963). The most numerous type within the series is the Potomac Creek Plain - 60%, (Fig. 5a). This ware fits the descriptions provided by Stephenson so closely that to repeat the description here would be a needless waste of space. In the current work no whole or restorable bowls were found but, from the fragments we can derive a few additional data. Most bowls measured 10 to 12 inches (25-30 cm) in diameter at the rim. Bases were sub-conoidal and round, with definite flattening noticeable in a few samples. Seven vessels which had an added rim strip are represented by twenty-seven sherds. Rim treatment shows the following characteristics:

Added rim strip	27
Straight	46
Everted	87
Incurved	2
Too small to classify	107
	<hr/> 269

# DISTRIBUTION SYMBOLS

- ' NAILS
- Δ BURNED SANDSTONE
- X GLASS FRAGMENTS

Figure Three: Distribution of nails and other refuse in the excavated area



As a rule the rims are completely undecorated and they are usually square in section. A few are rounded. Two sherds bear a single line impressed by a twisted cord. Some sherds (16%) had been scraped smooth and there is a good likelihood that these eventually might be separated into a new pottery type.

The second most numerous type, as determined from the fragmentary pottery found, is Potomac Creek Cord-marked - 38% (Fig 5b). While this type, too, fits the published descriptions, a few additional comments on the sample from the Camden Site might be appropriate. No whole or restorable pots were found. From the rims, the sizes of the pots seem to be from six to twelve inches (15 to 30 cm) in diameter at the mouth. Thirteen rims bear small notches or slight cord impressions on the upper surface. Most are straight sided, self-rimmed vessels. Rim treatments are as follows:

Added rim strips		
Straight	150	
Everted	18	(14 vessels)
Flared sharply	6	(2 vessels)
Incurved	2	(1 vessel)
Total	178	

Twelve sherds representing seven vessels are decorated with three or four lines parallel to the rim, impressed with a twisted cord. One sherd has two rows of crescent-shaped punctates parallel to the rim. Most rims are square in cross-section, although a few are rounded and others are pointed. No intact bases were found, but from the fragments, we can class the bases as sub-conoidal, rounded, and partially flattened. Which bases belong to the various rims is not known. Outer surfaces are covered with cord-impressions, usually from fine twisted cords, although a few show coarse cord-markings, and on a few others, the cord-markings are largely obliterated by having been smoothed over.

A third pottery type, sharing many attributes with Potomac Creek Plain, is probably related, and this has been named Camden Plain (new type). This ware seems to be an out-growth of Potomac Creek wares, possibly influenced by neighboring, shell-tempered wares, and with some influence from European dishes. Following is the customary detailed description of the type.

#### Camden Plain

Summary definition: The type Camden Plain is a coiled pottery with smooth exterior and interior surfaces, and a tan to cream color, with frequent smoke-clouding. The ware is untempered, except for unintentional inclusions, and is soft, compact, and well-made. Vessels are shallow bowls, with slightly flattened bases. Most rims are straight, although a few show a slight outward flare and still fewer are sharply flared. The ware is undecorated, Figure 6.

## Type Description

Method of manufacture. - Coiled with few signs of paddle malleating.

Breakage is usually parallel to the rim, although sometimes the breaks are jagged and irregular.

Paste. - The clay is untempered, except for accidental inclusions of such trash as may have littered the pottery-making area. A few sherds show mineral inclusions, which may be impurities native to the clay used.

A few contain thin plate-like holes typical of leached shell tempering, but these are too few and too random to be intentional shell-tempering.

Hardness in Moh's scale is 2.0. Soft.

Texture is predominantly smooth, with a distinct clayey feel. With almost no tempering particles or other inclusions to break the surface, the ware has an almost burnished appearance.

Color. - Exteriors are usually buff to tan, with occasional sherds of creamy color. Large areas of some sherds show smoke blackening. These dark areas seem to be firing irregularities, as opposed to soot-blackening. Interiors are usually the same colors as the exteriors, with some sherds lighter and others somewhat darker than the exterior surface of the same sherd. As a rule the colors are uniform completely through the sherd.

Firing. - Firing seems to have been done at a fairly low temperature, but for sufficient time for the heat to effect all parts of the ware uniformly. The fire was probably an open fire, with ample supplies of oxygen, and all carbonaceous impurities in the ware have been burned away. Since interiors show the same colors as the exteriors, as a rule, the bowls were probably fired right-side-up, or supported in such a way that there was free circulation of the heated air around and into the vessels.

Surface treatment. - Exterior surfaces are uniformly smoothed, although a few show faint indications of having been paddled with a cord-wrapped paddle, following which, the surfaces were scraped and rubbed to remove the cordmarkings. On a few surfaces, the parallel striations left by the scraping tool may be seen. Interior surfaces are uniformly smoothed, although many show faint striations parallel to the rim, which are probably marks left by the scraping tool used.

Vessel form. - The dominant form is that of a shallow, self-rimmed bowl with a slightly flattened base. Most rims are straight, although nearly half show a slight eversion. None was incurved. Most lips are square in cross-section, with a slight slope to the outside surface of the vessel. A few are slightly rounded at the top, and none is pointed. The sides of the bowls are usually straight, although a few show slight roundness in vertical cross-section. The bases are flattened, but with no well-defined heel between the sides and the base.

Thickness of the body sherds ranges from 8mm at the base to 4mm near the rim. As a rule, the body thickness varies but little on the individual vessel.

No lugs or other adornments are found on this ware, and no repair perforations were noted in the sample recovered.

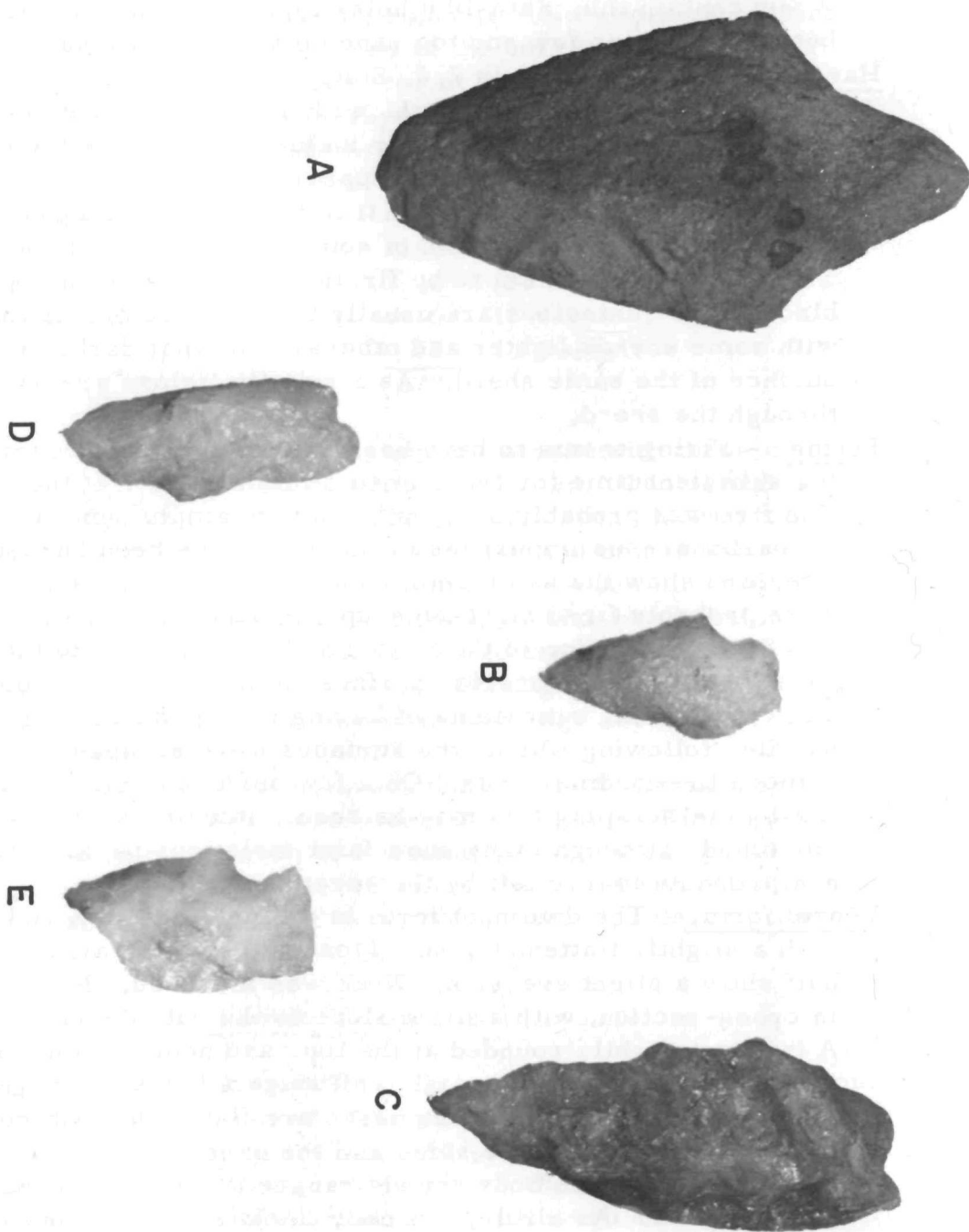
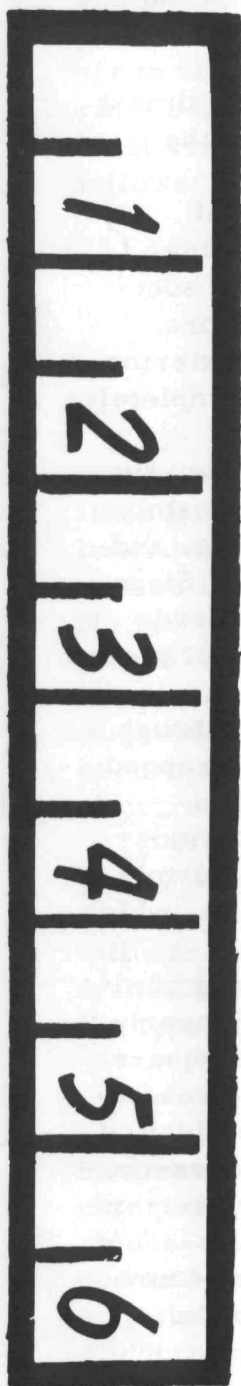


Figure Four: Archaic Period Projectile Points

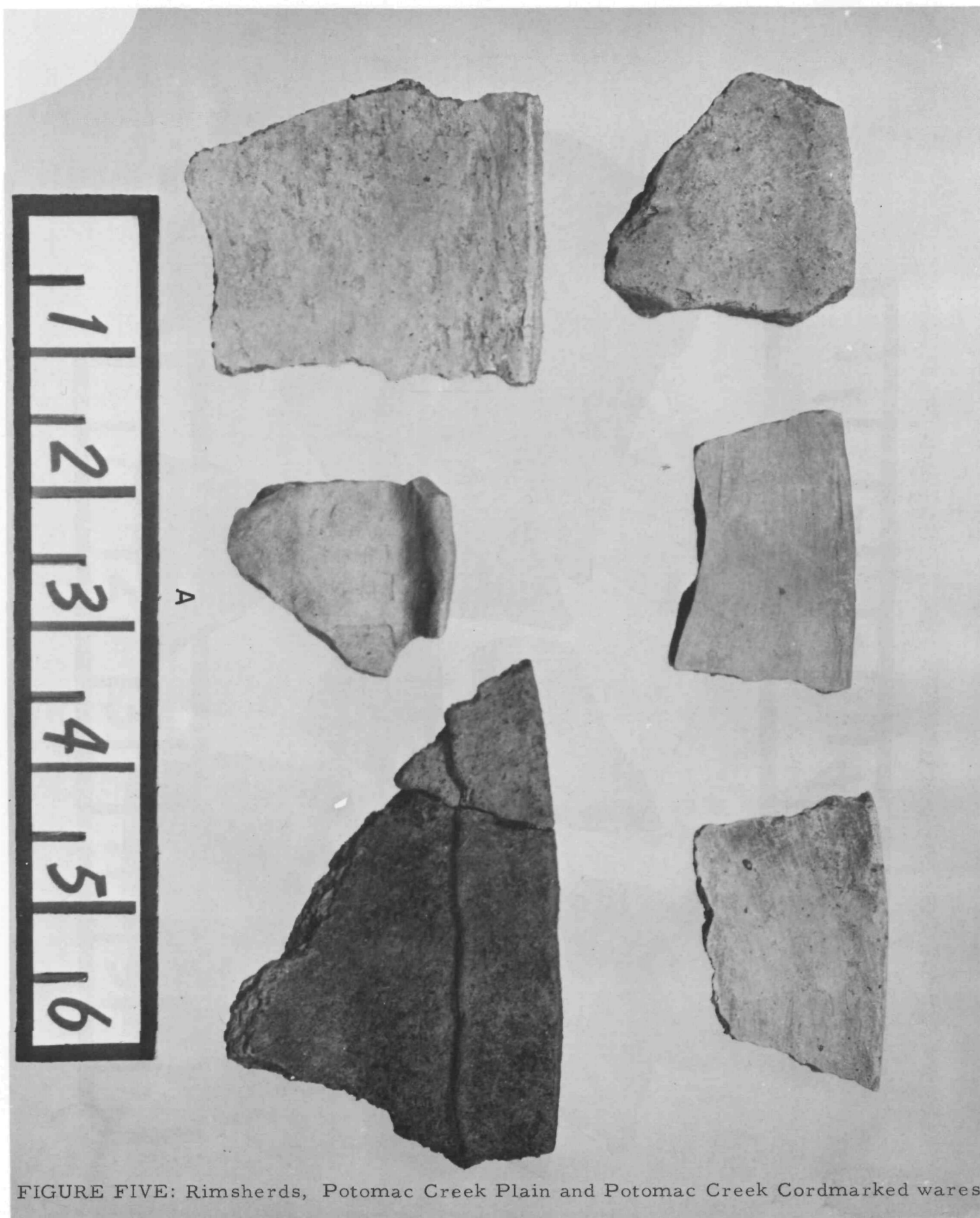


FIGURE FIVE: Rimsherds, Potomac Creek Plain and Potomac Creek Cordmarked wares

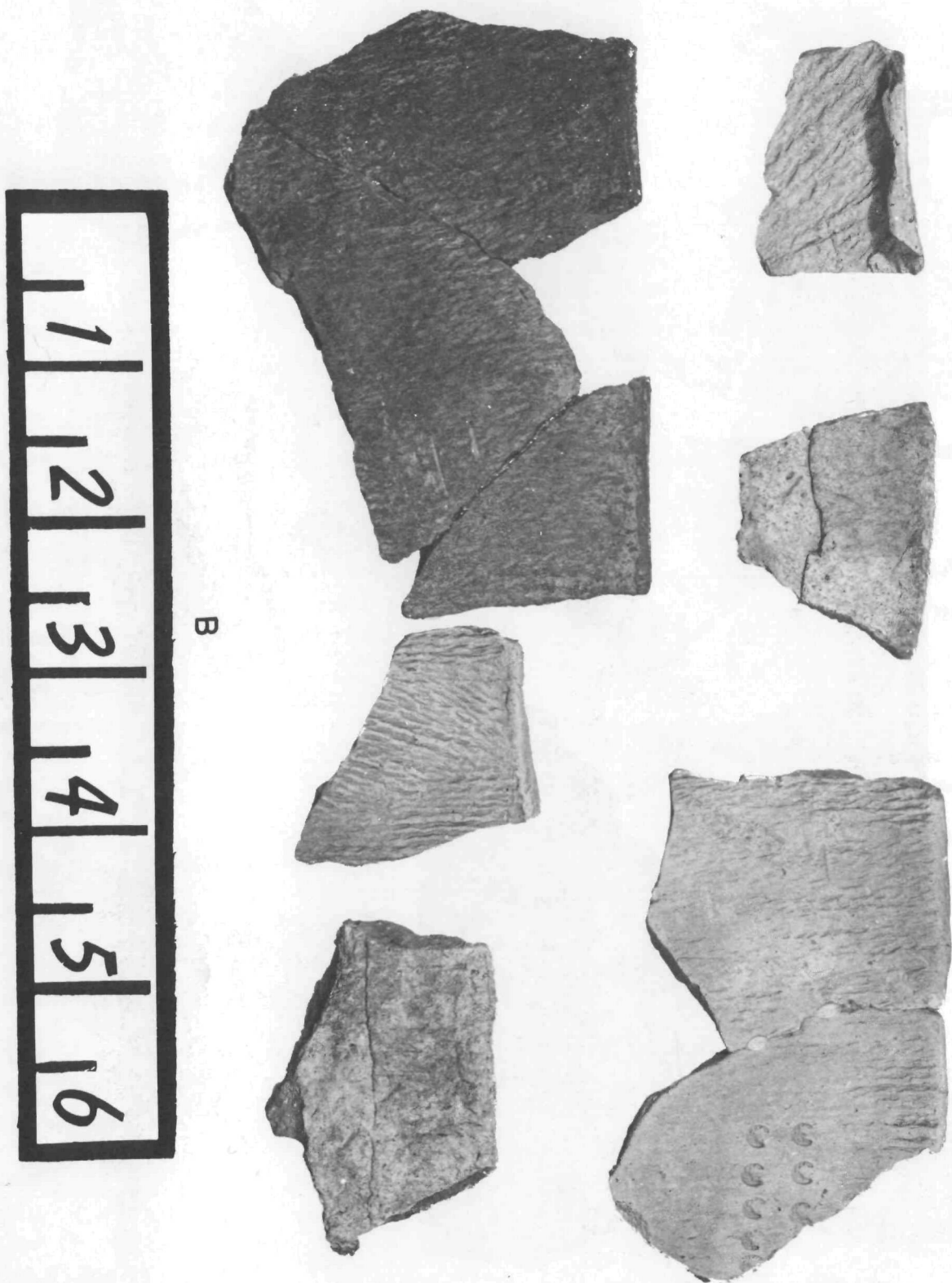


Figure Five: Potomac Creek Wares, continued



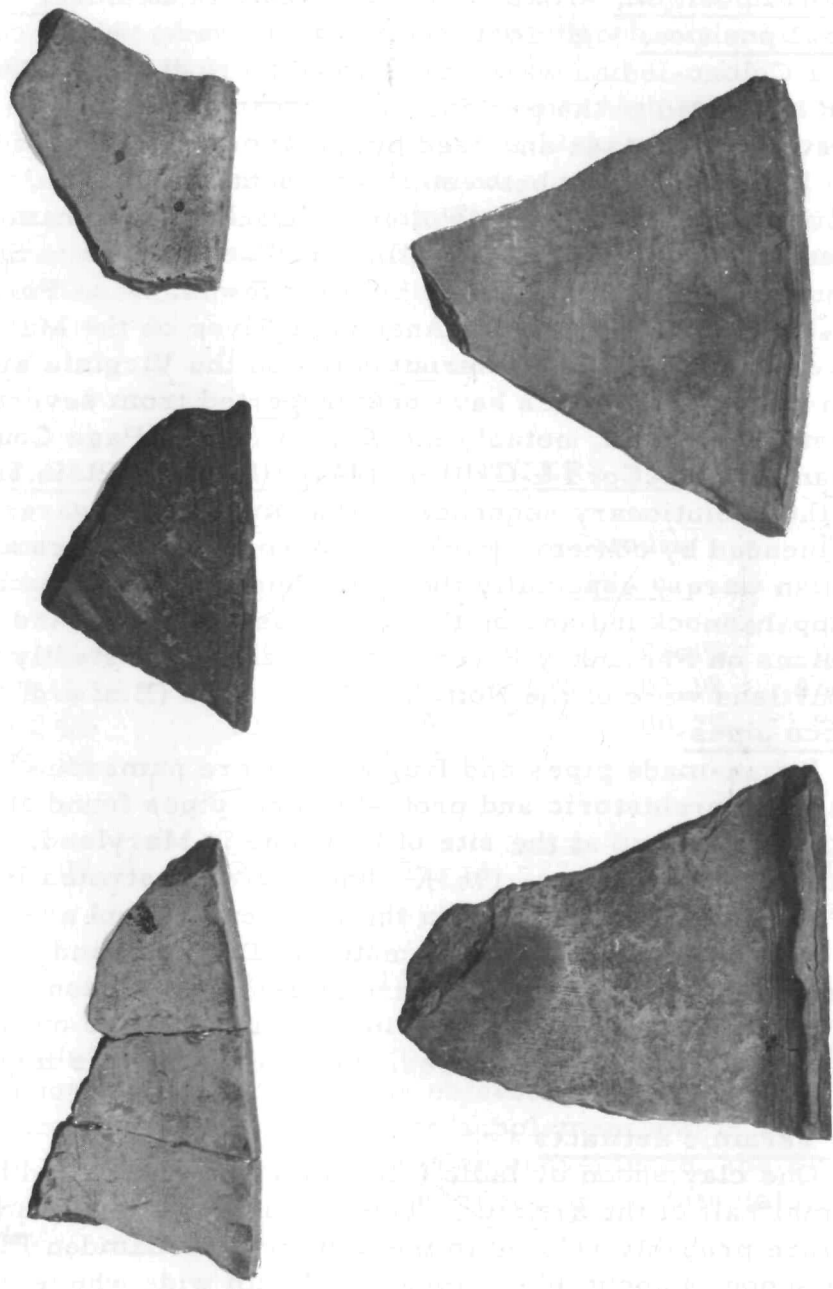
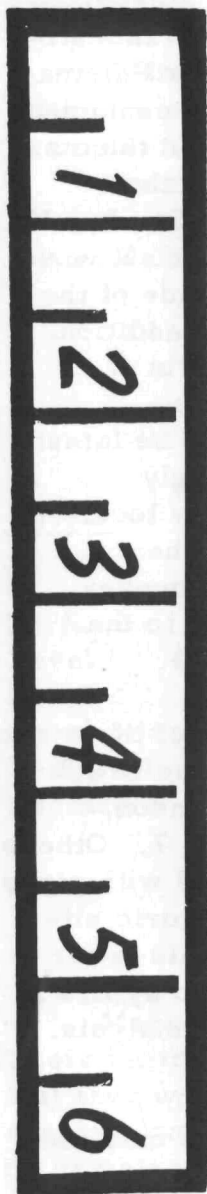


Figure Six: Rimsherds, Camden Plain Ware

MacCord: Camden

Decoration. - No decorations were applied to these vessels. The simplicity in shape and the fineness of texture may have sufficed to satisfy the esthetic requirements of the maker.

Vessel size. - The bowls of Camden Plain were of medium size, of unknown height, but with oral diameters of seven to twelve inches, (17 to 30 cm). They seem to have been shallow, open bowls, possibly copied from contemporary English bowls.

Sample size. - A total of 177 sherds attributable to this type was found. Thirty-four were rimsherds of varying sizes, and the remainder were body sherds. No vessel could be reconstructed from the sherds recovered.

Temporal position. - Last quarter of the 17th Century.

Cultural position. - Historic Indian-made ware, which can be categorized as a Colono-Indian ware, as defined by Noel Hume (1962). Its ancestry can be traced to the prehistoric and proto-historic ware of the Potomac Creek types, made and used by Indians at the time of English contact in the Potomac Valley between the present Washington, D.C. and the mouth of the river. The Potomac Creek ware is named from the Potomac Creek site of the village of Patawomeck in Stafford County, Va. Identical wares are found at historic townsites on Port Tobacco River, Piscataway Creek and the Anacostia River on the Maryland side of the river, as well as at numerous sites on the Virginia side. In addition, Potomac Creek wares have been reported from several sites in western Virginia, notably the Keyser Site in Page County, Va. (Manson, MacCord & Griffin, 1944). Camden Plain seems to be latest in the evolutionary sequence of Potomac Creek wares, strongly influenced by contemporary English-made ceramics and other local Indian wares, especially the shell-tempered wares made by the Rappahannock Indians on the Rappahannock River and the Pamunkey Indians on Pamunkey River. It may also be distantly related to the Courtland ware of the Nottoway River area (Einford, 1965).

#### Tobacco pipes

Indian-made pipes and fragments were numerous. Some of these are identical to prehistoric and proto-historic pipes found at Potomac Creek (Schmitt, 1965) and at the site of Moyaone in Maryland. (Stephenson, Ferguson and Ferguson, 1963). These are illustrated in Figure 7. Others seem to be types made later in the 17th century and are identical with pipes found in datable contexts at Jamestown, Denbigh, and other historic sites in eastern Virginia. The designs, styles and relationships of this latter class of pipes will be described in a separate paper on this topic by E. F. Heite, to whom we again express our thanks for this important analysis.

#### Other ceramic artifacts

One clay spoon or ladle (311 a 149) was found, and this was only the proximal half of the artifact. The clay is untempered and the spoon is therefore probably related to the pottery type Camden Plain. The handle of the spoon is about 40mm long and 25mm wide where it attaches to the bowl of the spoon. The handle is from 10 to 12mm thick, and it has a blunt

end 12mm wide. The bowl of the spoon is at least 45mm wide and is of unknown length. The fragmentary condition of this artifact precludes exact measurements. See Figure 8a and 9.

Other ceramic artifacts include: a small-diameter cup (31l p 19 and p 29) of unknown height, shown in Figure 8b. It is made of untempered clay, fired to a pale red color. It has a flat base about 40mm in diameter.

Two fragments (31l p 2 and p 27) of a slightly larger cup, of unknown height or diameter. It is made of untempered clay and has a buff-tan color. It seems related to the pottery type Camden Plain.

A miniature hand-modelled cup on a circular pedestal (31l a 71). The overall height is 23mm and the oral diameter is 16mm, while the basal diameter is 17mm. The bowl is about 10mm deep. The clay is untempered and the surfaces are all hand-smoothed. The cup is probably related to the pottery type Camden Plain. See Figure 8c.

A small squarish pedestal 6mm x 8mm and 6mm high is probably the base of a similar hand-molded miniature cup (31l a 124). As in the preceding example, the clay of this fragment is untempered.

Six amorphous pieces of wadded clay probably represent waste material from the manufacture of pots, bowls and pipes. These are in addition to six pieces definitely identifiable as waste from the manufacture of pipes.

TABLE I  
VERTICAL DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY TYPES

<u>Levels</u>	<u>Potomac Creek Plain</u>		<u>Potomac Creek Cord-Marked</u>		<u>Camden Plain</u>		<u>Totals</u>
Surface	143	65.4%	69	31.5%	7	03.1%	219
Level 1	4884	59.1%	3210	38.8%	167	02.1%	8261
Level 2	281	72.5%	104	26.8%	3	00.7%	388
Level 3	3	75.0%	1	25.0%			4
Feature 1	11		3				14
Feature 2	7		7				14
	5329	60.0%	3394	38.1%	177	01.9%	8900 100%

### EUROPEAN ARTIFACTS

Many of the artifacts found can be identified as European-made items. Their intimate association with Indian-made objects in the same refuse prove that they were contemporary and were used to supplement and in some cases supplant comparable Indian-made artifacts. For convenience, the European-made objects will be identified and described according to materials from which they are made.

## STONE ARTIFACTS

Nine gunflints were found. These are square, rectangular, circular or oval, and the largest is less than 25 mm across, at the longest dimension. Most are smaller than 20 mm long. All are roughly flaked, and it is likely that they were made, or at least re-worked, by the user at the site. All show one or more abraded edges, the result of repeated striking of the flint against the battery or frizzen of a firearm. The type of firearm available to the occupant of the site was probably that known as the snaphance, as evidenced by the finding of two iron parts, identified as the buffer and the powder pan (311a 92 & 43 respectively) of a snaphance, (Peterson, 1956). Two of the flints are shown in Figure 10.

## GLASS ARTIFACTS

One triangular arrowpoint (311 a 195) was found in Level 1 of Square-2F. The point is about 15mm long and 6mm wide at the base. It is made of clear, transparent glass. At Mr. Pratt's request, the point was presented to the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond, where it is displayed with other objects from the Camden Site.

One spiral bead (311 a 17) made of translucent green glass was found in Level 1 of Square 1G. It is 28mm long and 4.5 mm in diameter. The twist shows four facets, probably resulting from the gentle twisting of a square, extruded ribbon of molten glass. The perforation is about 1.5mm in diameter and is straight from one end of the bead to the other. Since the ends of the bead had been broken, its original length cannot be determined. See Figure 11F.

Eleven small fragments of thin green glass are probably fragments of so-called "Dutch gin bottles". No piece is large enough to show shape or size of the original object, and no piece of either the neck or the base is in the collection. Several pieces have a blistered surface, possibly resulting from having been burned. Five other fragments of dark-green, almost-black glass are probably parts of wine bottles. Again, no fragment is large enough to show the original shape or size.

## GLAZED EARTHENWARE

Compared with the quantities of native-made pottery at the site, the use of European-made dishes, jars, and so on was quite limited. A total of twenty-four miscellaneous fragments were found, in addition to most of the fragments of a Bellarmine bottle (Figure 12) of Rhenish stoneware. The miscellaneous fragments found show the following types:

Majolica	12 fragments
Salt-glaze stoneware	8 fragments

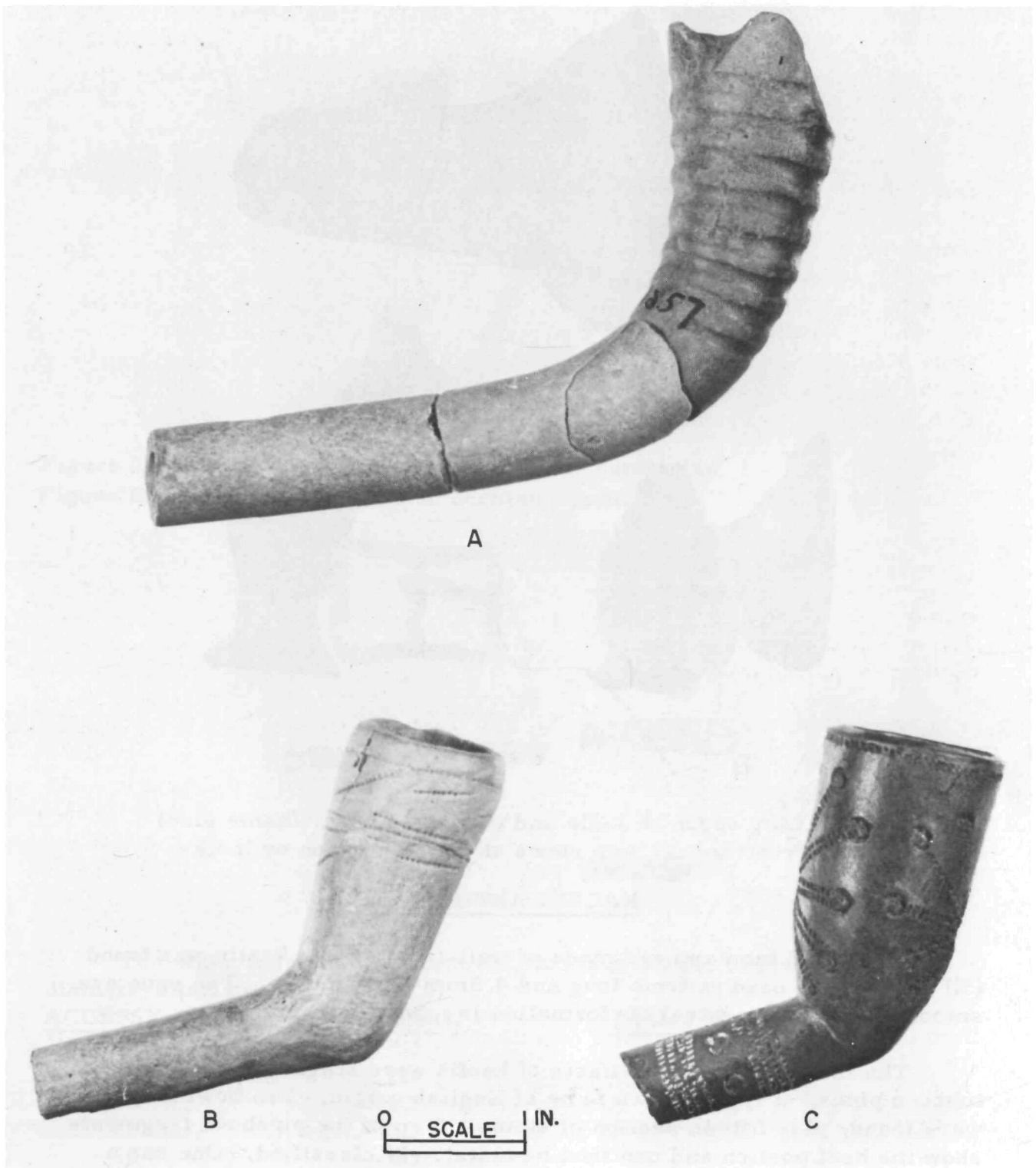


Figure Seven: Virginia-made clay tobacco pipes, to be discussed separately

Four fragments of an unidentified glazed ware are badly warped and blistered, as if they had been burned after breaking. The Bellarmine jug is similar to one illustrated by Noël Hume (1963), which he attributes to the period 1660-1680, but the face and seal on the two jars are dissimilar. The 38 pieces of the Bellarmine were found scattered over nine five-foot squares in the excavation, with horizontal distribution as shown in Figure 13.

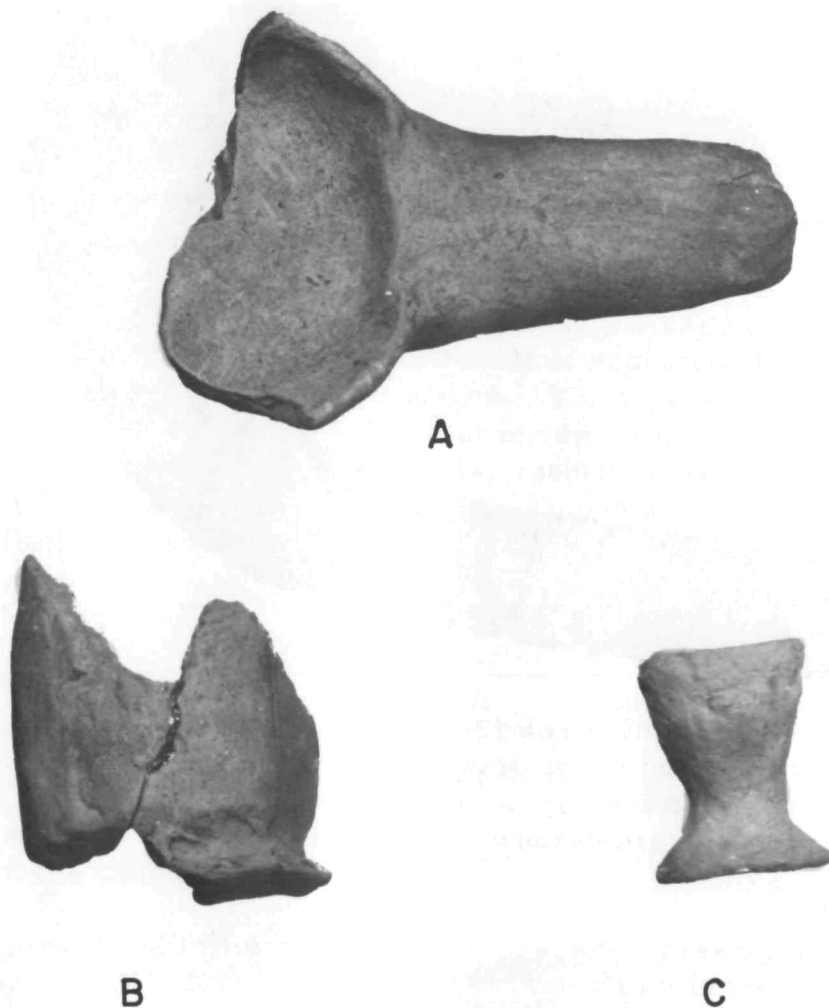


Figure Eight: Clay spoon or ladle and miniature cups (same size)  
 Figure Nine (Front Cover): two views of the clay spoon or ladle

#### KAOLIN ARTIFACTS

One small tubular bead made of well-fired, white kaolin was found (311 a 70). The bead is 6mm long and 4.5mm in diameter. The ends are smoothed, and the central perforation is 1.5mm across.

The most numerous artifacts of kaolin were fragments of white tobacco pipes, of types known to be of English origin. Ten bowl fragments were found, plus fifteen section of stems. Two of the pipebowl fragments show the heel portion and can thus be tentatively classified. One has a large flat heel parallel to the stem and seems identical to one dated by Noel Hume (1961) to the period from 1650 to 1680. The other has a rounded base without a heel, and this type seems identical to one which Noel Hume dates between 1680-1740. One stem with part of a heel is of yellow-tan color and may be a locally-made pipe datable to the period 1650-1700. This latter stem bears a maker's mark on the upper side of the stem, near the start of the bowl. This mark is a wide letter V containing a capital S. An identical fragment found at Clay Bank in Gloucester County was dated to 1650-1690 (Noel Hume, 1966).

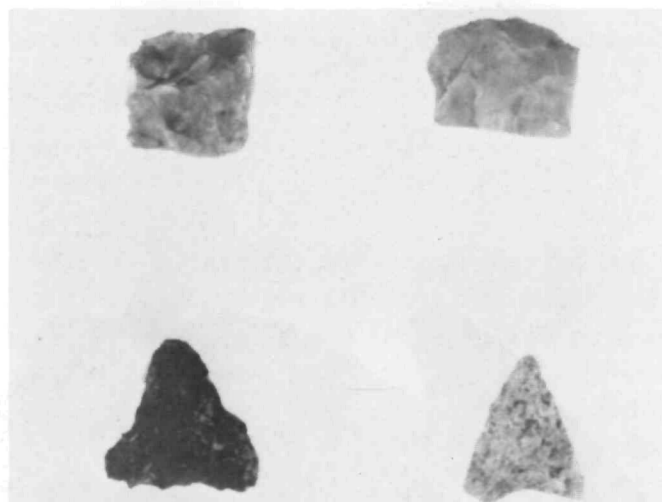
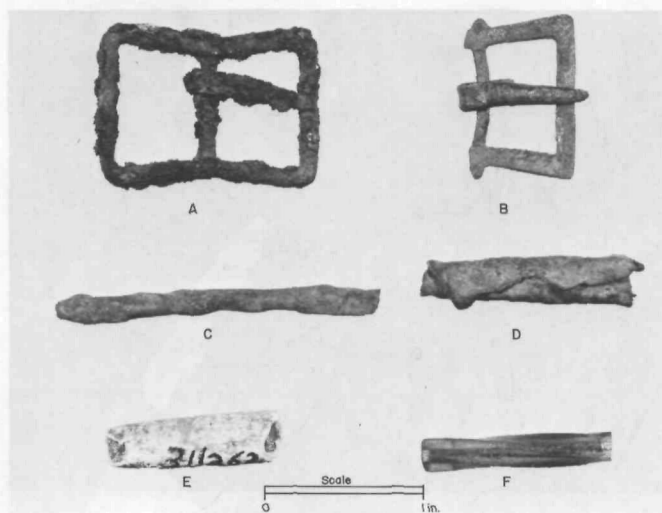


Figure Ten: Gunflints and triangular points, same size  
Figure Eleven (below) Beads and buckles, reduced



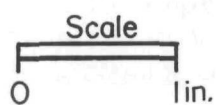
The other fourteen pipestem fragments show the following stemhole diameters (all are from Level 1):

<u>ACCESSION#</u>	<u>SQUARE</u>	<u>DIAMETER IN 64THS</u>
311 a 7	4D	7
15	1E	7
18	1G	7
22	-1D	7
60	4G	6
69	2F	9
77	-4E	9
89	-1C	8
104	1F	7
113	3G	6
131	4F	7
131	4F	7
138	3E	7
191	3D	8
		<u>102 -average 7.3/64ths</u>





Figure Twelve: Bellarmine jug



The distribution of sizes in the above sample yields the following percentages:

2 at 6/64th	8 at 7/64ths	2 at 8/64ths	2 at 9/64ths
14%	58%	14%	14%

These percentages indicate a date for the occupancy of the site between 1650 and 1680. Use of the Binford formula yields a date of 1653, which is too early, according to other datable artifacts. It is probable that the larger-stemmed specimens (8 and 9/64ths) should be disregarded in this instance, due to an "heirloom factor," thereby changing the Binford date to 1672, which is more in keeping with dates yielded by other artifacts. One pipestem fragment (311 a 60) was definitely unusable as a pipe, as it contained a short length of soft iron wire embedded in the stem hole at one end. This seems to have been a defect in manufacture. Since the pipe was shipped to the colonies and eventually sold to a user, it appears that no tests or inspection for serviceability were applied to the product. We can imagine the dismay and chagrin of the Indian customer, when he first tried to smoke the pipe with the hole thus obstructed!

### METAL ARTIFACTS

Artifacts found had been made from pewter, lead, copper, brass, silver, and iron. Iron was the metal most commonly used, primarily for utilitarian items. Some pieces are mere scrap, which cannot be identified, but the majority are identifiable, and these are:

Nails. The most numerous iron artifacts were nails. These can be sorted into four size groups, and some data can be determined from them. Figure 3 shows the horizontal distribution of the nails found, and this distribution presumably shows the rough dimensions of the original house or cabin. Note that there seems to have been a concentration of nails in the -1 to -4 rows of the excavated area. These total 45, or 54.9%. The other nails found seem to have been included in household trash in the refuse accumulation in the squares adjacent to the river bluff, with a few scattered nails elsewhere in the excavated area.

The nails found are all hand-wrought and fall into the following four type sizes:

Type 1. A large spike with a square, pyramidal head. The over-all length is uncertain, since no complete specimen was found. The shaft dimensions at the head end are 3/16 by 1/4", and the length exceeds three inches. The heads are 3/8 and 7/16" square. Five of this size were found.

Type 2. The next largest size varied somewhat in length from 2 1/4 to 3 1/4", with a flattened point. The heads are squarish and vary from 5/16 to 7/16" across, with a flattened pyramidal shape. The

shafts usually measure 1/8" by 1/4" immediately below the head. Thirty of this size were found.

Type 3. The next size were most numerous and totalled thirty-eight nails or identifiable fragments. These measure from 1 1/2" to 2" long, with flattened points. The shafts measure 1/8 to 3/16" across. Heads are frequently pyramidal, but many are also flattened, possibly through hammering when used.

Type 4. A fourth size is a small nail under 1 1/2" long, with the shortest 7/8" long. The heads on these small nails vary considerably in size and most are flattened. Nine nails of this size were found.

In addition to the 82 nails described above, twelve unidentifiable fragments were found, plus one anomalous type. This latter was similar to a modern roofing nail, with a stem 3/8" square, but with an oval, flattened head which measured 1" by 1 1/4" across. The overall length cannot be determined, since the shaft is broken about one inch from the head. This artifact may be an unused rivet.

Some of the nails had been burned, and the outer surface was thereby tempered and resisted subsequent rusting. Those so burned were:

Type 2	2
3	6
Unidentified	2

Some nails were bent in a fashion that indicates they had been clinched after penetrating one or more boards. Some of these are shown in Figure 14. Assuming that the clinching indicates the thickness of the boards penetrated, the following measurements might prove interesting:

Clinching 3/4" from head	4
1" " "	5
1 1/4" " "	1
1 1/2" " "	5
2" " "	1

Since the nails were still bent, in many instances at a right angle and one with a second bend still present, it appears that the nails had not been withdrawn, since the action of withdrawal would have somewhat straightened the bends. It is probable that the nails remained in the driven and clinched position until the wood had decayed, at least enough for the nail to be removed without being straightened in the process.

Knives At least five iron knives are represented in the refuse. These are the proximal ends of the blades, showing the transition from the blade proper to the tang, on which a handle must have been placed. None of the

blades is complete, and the longest blade section found is 1 5/8" long. The tangs present are 1 7/8" long or less, depending on the amount which has rusted away. Two fragments are from the tip or a mid-section and show the curved edge of the blade. One blade is bent into a right angle. A typical knife fragment is illustrated in Figure 15b.

Files At least two files are present. One (311 a 125) is a segment of a half-round file (Fig 15a) with the cut of the file worn almost entirely smooth on the flat and the half-round sides. The portion present is 1 1/2" long, 5/8" wide and 1/4" thick. The other file (311 a 30) is a slim tapered file with elliptical cross section. The overall length is five inches, and the widest portion is 5/16" across, Fig. 15c.

Gun parts At least two pieces of a snaphance (a form of flint-lock) are present. One (311 a 43) is the external pan, into which the powder was poured for the spark to ignite. The other piece is the buffer (311 a 92), an internal part which absorbed the shock of the forward movement of the cock on which the flint was fastened. Other, unidentifiable pieces of iron might also be parts of fire-arms, but this cannot be demonstrated.

Building hardware One eye of a strap hinge (311 a 171) was found. This is a hinge with the eye coiled upon itself one and a half turns. The strap portion is one inch long and is broken through the first hole. The hinge was 1 1/4" wide at the broken edge and is 3/16" thick. Several other pieces of cut and perforated sheet iron (311 a 8) seem to have been parts of a door-latching system. Five small iron links are of unknown use, but may have been used around a kitchen. They are of heavy iron wire and the links are 1/2" in external diameter.

Buckle One iron buckle (311a 163), such as might have been worn on a shoe or at the knee of breeches, was found. It was found on the surface but seems to be part of the cultural debris of the site. The buckle is 1 3/8" long and 1" wide and the pin of the buckle is 3/4" long. (Figure 11a).

Loops Three iron loops were found. One (311 a 16) is a piece of heavy wire bent on itself to form an oval loop 1" x 1 1/4". Another loop (311 a 175) is a ring 1 1/2" across of heavy wire. The ring is complete, and the place at which the ends were joined is not visible. Another loop (311 a 185) is elliptical, 1" x 5/8", and may have been a band on a weapon, used to hold wooden parts of the weapon together.

Miscellaneous Many small scraps of iron which cannot be identified as artifacts were found. Several are large plates of heavy iron and may have been stock for making other objects. One such piece 1 1/2" x 2 1/2" has four nail holes in it, though its original use cannot be determined. One heavy bar of iron 3 1/2" x 1 3/4" thick (311 a 102) may have been used as a heating element in a primitive pressing iron. If it was so used by the

occupants of the house, it indicates that European-style clothes were ironed, although the piece may well have been used for some other tasks.

Copper objects Three pieces of scrap sheet copper (Accession Numbers 311 a 10, 188 and 192) show that some copper working, particularly cold-working was done at the site. The three pieces show hammering and folding along thin edges, along with marks of cutting, perhaps with a knife. One piece of bent copper wire (of about #8 wire gauge) is 4 1/2" long. Another piece 2" long (311 a 117) has both sides folded to the center, making a strip 1/8" wide (Fig 11c). Two diamond-shaped, thin pieces of copper were obviously parts of ornaments. One is unperforated, but the other has two small holes at opposite ends. Both are 3/4" x 5/8" across. An identical diamond-shaped, perforated piece was found at Rosewell in Gloucester County (Noel Hume, 1962).

Other pieces of copper are made into identifiable objects. One (311 a 182) is a bracelet, with a 2" diameter. (Fig 16a) It was made by bending a trianguloid strip of thin copper on itself to make the bracelet. The strip is 1/2" wide at the wide end and tapers to a point 5 3/4" from the wide end. Another copper ornament is a rolled tubular bead (311 a 103). It is 1 1/4" long and 5/16" thick at the wide end, tapering to 1/8" at the opposite end. The bead or bangle (Fig 11d) had been made by rolling a roughly-cut sheet of copper on itself so that there was about 1/4" of overlap between the two edges. Another copper object was an English copper farthing (Fig 16b) of 1672(?). The coin has the head of Charles II on one side and Britannia on the other. The date is partly obliterated by wear and by a perforation punched through the coin at the center of the date, thereby rendering the date somewhat uncertain.

Brass objects Three artifacts of brass were found. One is a small buckle (311 a 128), 1" long and 5/8" wide, with the pin of the buckle operating across the shorter dimension. The buckle is shown in Figure 11b. Two other brass objects are illustrated in Figure 16c & d and seem to have been broken from another object, possibly parts of furniture hardware. One is 1 1/2" long and has three perforated lugs, as if made to be attached to some other article (311 a 94). An incised design is on the face and the other side is plain. A trace of silvering shows on the front. The other object (311 a 98) is 1 5/8" long and had four perforations. The distal end shows a jagged broken edge, indicating that this was formerly part of some other object, possibly a 17th Century hat ornament known as an aigrette. The face is slightly convex and has white and green enameling. The reverse is slightly concave and is plain.

Lead objects One lead bullet (311 a 61) is 3/8" in diameter and is roughly spherical. It was probably used in a snaphance. Two other artifacts of lead were probably used in the manufacture and decoration of pipes. One is a strip, two inches long and one-fourth inch wide, with a wedge-shaped cross section at the mid-point (311 a 105). The thin edge is fairly sharp and is the

right size and shape to have been used in making short, thin, wedge-shaped incisions on clay pipes, while the clay was still plastic. Part of the thin edge is serrated, with individual serrations of irregular spacing and depths. The other tool is a roughly trapezoidal sheet of lead one-twentieth of an inch thick, with one end bent at a right angle (311 a 118). The entire piece of lead, if straightened, would resemble a guitar pick. The two opposite and parallel sides are serrated, with what seems to be knife-cut marks, irregularly spaced and of non-uniform depths and widths. The serrated edges seem ideally suited to have made the rouletted designs found on some of the clay pipes, although this cannot be demonstrated on any of the pipe fragments found in the excavations. The two lead tools are shown in Figure 17b and c.

Pewter objects One conical object made of pewter (311 a 112) is either a pipebowl, or a pouring spout, made to be crimped inside a gin bottle neck and then stopped with a cork. It is illustrated in Figure 17a. It is 1 1/4" long, walls are 1/16" thick, and the diameter of the rim is 15/16". The exterior is corrugated, with individual corrugations 1/16" from center to center. The rim is roughly finished and is slightly concave when viewed from one side. A jagged hole in one side may be fortuitous, or it may indicate that the object had seen use as a pendant ornament before it was lost or discarded. A lead tobacco pipe was found in Structure 19A at Jamestown (Cotter, 1958), and three pewter pipes were found at Minisink Island in the Delaware River, (Heye and Pepper, 1915). The latter dates from the second half of the 17th Century, but none is just like the object found at Camden. Other pewter and lead pipes are reported from various sites in New York (Beauchamp, 1902). A pewter pipe bowl has recently been found in a colonial trash dump near Lightfoot, in James City County (Kelso, 1967).

Silver objects One silver coin (311 a 190) was found in Level 1 of Square -1B. It was identified by Mr. Vladimir Clain-Stefanelli (Civil History Division, Museum of History and Technology, Smithsonian Institution) as a real, minted in Potosi, Bolivia in 1662. At the request of Mr. Pratt, this coin, the glass arrowpoint and the silver medallion described below, were given to the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond, where they are displayed.

The silver medal illustrated in Figure 18 was sifted from the soil of Level 1 in one of the first squares dug at the site in the Fall of 1964. The exact square number is uncertain, but it was either 4E or 4F, which places the find-spot in the area of scattered refuse adjacent to the edge of the edge of the terrace on which the site lies.

The medal is 2 1/2 inches long and 1 3/4 inches wide. It is 1/16 inches thick, and it is made of coin silver (somewhat less pure than Sterling). One end is perforated to permit the object to be worn suspended as a pendant. The outer edge of the perforation is nearly worn through, indicating that the medal was worn for a considerable length of time. On one face is a variety of floral designs somewhat resembling the flower and ear of corn (*Zea mays*) and the words "Ye King of." On the reverse are additional floral

Each symbol represents a square in which jar fragments were found.

## Scale

A horizontal line segment with vertical tick marks at each end. Below the left tick mark is the number '0'. Below the right tick mark is the text '5 Ft.'

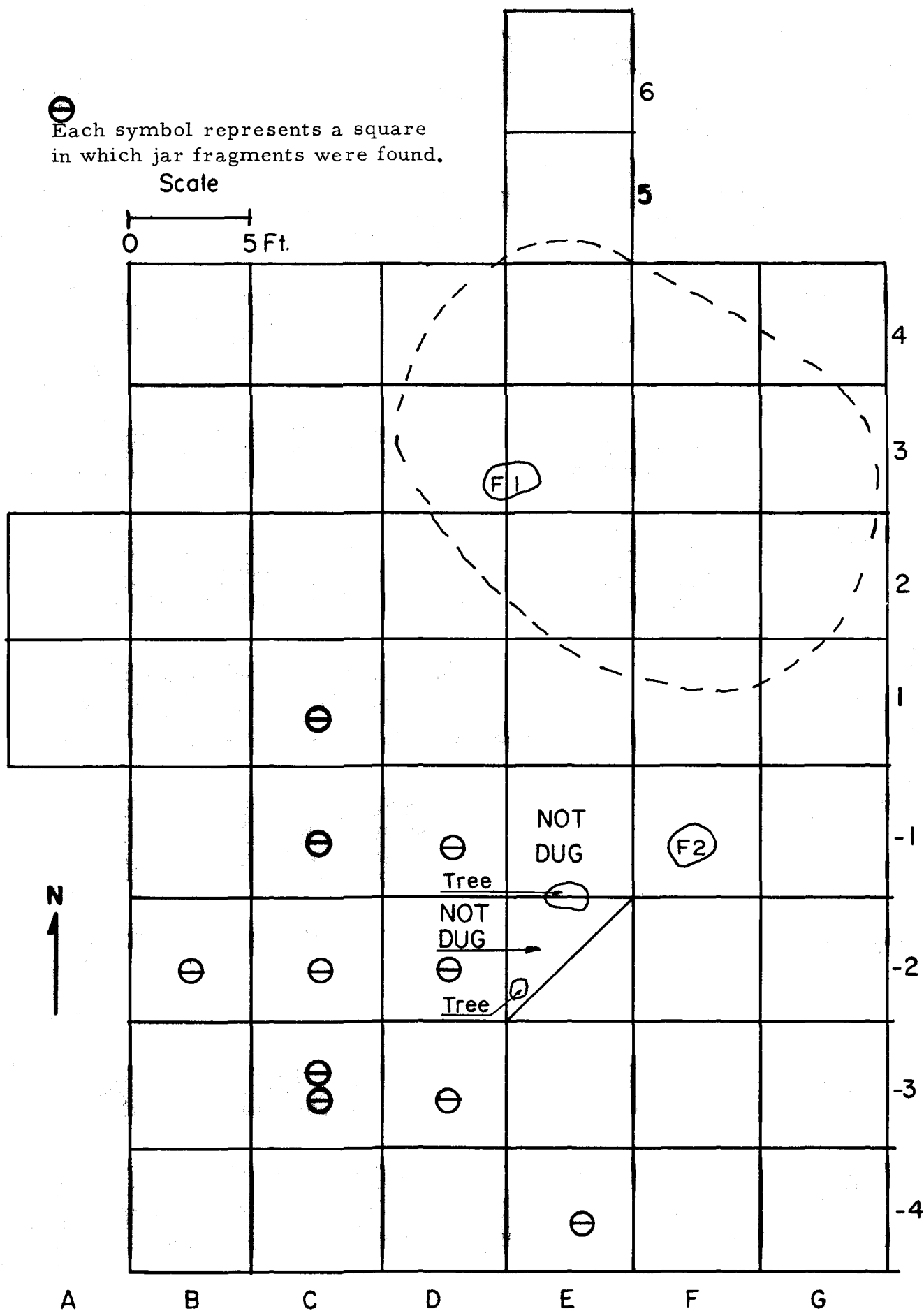


Figure Thirteen: Horizontal distribution of Bellarmine jar fragments



engravings and the word "Machotick." The flower resembles that of tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*), although the lower part of the plant has the anthropomorphic shape of the mandrake (*Atropa mandragora*). One senses that the flowers shown are not intended as exact resemblances, but that the spaces tastefully, which was a common art practice during the second half of the 17th Century.

The medal resembles in many respects a similar silver medal which has been in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society since 1834 (Figure 19). This medal was likewise found on the Camden tract, (in 1832) but its exact find-spot is not currently known. The latter medal is 2 1/2" long and 2 1/4" wide, somewhat more circular than the Machotick medal. It is likewise perforated, but the perforation shows almost no wear. The medal is engraved with floral designs resembling but not duplicating those on the Machotick medal, although the human-resembling lower part of the main flower on each side of the medal seem identical to that on the Machotick medal. This medal carries the inscription "Ye King of" and "Patomeck." The identity of the kings and the possible significance of the two medals having been found on the Camden tract will be discussed below.

The two medals were examined by an experienced engraver, Mr. John C. Lundin, of Richmond. He determined the medals to be of coin silver, with the following weights:

Machotick medal	18 grams	90+ carats
Patomeck medal	18.4 grams	91.8 carats

He also determined by detailed examination that the two medals had not been engraved by the same person. This finding was based on the numerous differences in details of the designs and lettering on the two medals. He also stated that the engraving on each medal was of a poor quality, and that there were many extraneous lines in the designs which resulted from slips of the engraving tool, and that sometimes the floral design was changed to incorporate such slips into the design. The obvious mis-spelling in the name "Patomeck" and the insertion of the omitted letter are evidence of somewhat careless or hasty workmanship. The fact that the name "Machotick" is engraved on a small plate which was then riveted on the basic medal, is also evidence of careless work. The corrected name plate probably covers mistakes which were too gross to correct in the simpler manner. Although the basic designs are similar in many respects, Mr. Lundin is of the opinion that the designs were done by apprentices, possibly working side-by-side, copying from the same designs onto medals which were basically similar in shape and size. One the Machotick medal are two design elements resembling the letter "k" tipped forward, and these may be a mark of the individual engraver, although no comparable mark is noted on the Patomeck medal.

## DISCUSSION

The identity of the occupant of this site can with some assurance be stated to be an individual who had been King of the Machotick Indians or his heir. He may also have been heir to the chief of the Potomac Indians, but this cannot be stated with as much certainty. The large quantities of Potomac Creek types of pottery prove that the family or at least the woman of the family, was from the Potomac River Valley someplace between the Falls and the mouth of the river. In this area, Potomac Creek pottery is found on both the Maryland and Virginia shores, with most concentrations of the ware at the sites of Patawomeck at the mouth of Potomac Creek in Stafford County, Virginia (Schmitt, 1965) and at the site of Moyaone on the Maryland side of the river, just south of the mouth of Piscataway Creek, across Mount Vernon, (Stephenson, Ferguson and Ferguson, 1963). The prehistoric pottery typical of the Rappahannock River valley east of the fall-line is the shell-tempered pottery of the Chickahominy Series (Evans, 1955), from which the shell-tempered colono-Indian ware seems to have developed. (Noel Hume, 1962).

The Machotick Indians have not heretofore been well-known to students of Virginia history. They were not noted by Captain John Smith in 1608 in his explorations of the Potomac River, nor in writings of other early chroniclers. The earliest reference found is in a land grant of 600 acres to Capt. Thomas Davis in January 1652, one boundary of which is upper Mathtotiqs town. Numerous later land grants refer to Matchotick town, Matchotick path, etc. with a wide variety of spellings. A 1650 reference to Upper Machodoc Creek seems to be the first use of this geographic term. Latest reference to the town or tribe seems to be 1669, when they are listed in the Indian Census of 1669 jointly with the Nanzattico Indians, and their combined strength is shown as fifty bowmen (or hunters).

The Potomack Indians are known to have lived (1608-1634) at the mouth of Potomac Creek, between the Potomac River and the mouth of Accokeek Creek, at the site excavated by Judge William J. Graham and Dr. T. Dale Stewart in the late 1930's, and reported by Schmitt (1965). The extent of their territory is not know, but they are supposed to have dominated their neighbors down-river, at least as far as the present Upper Machodoc Creek. The Potomacs seem to have vacated their Potomac Creek village soon after 1634, but to what new site they may have moved has not yet been determined. The King of the Potomacs, Wahanganoche, was tried at Jamestown for treason and acquitted in 1662 (Gilliam, 1963). According to a letter written by Col. John Catlett in 1664, the "King of Potomacs died on his way home" from the trial at Jamestown. There is no record showing that there was ever a successor to the title of "King of the Potomacs." The identity and dating of the kings of Potomac and Machotick are important in ascertaining or fixing the dates of the two silver medals, as will be shown below.

There seems to have been two occasions on which silver medals or badges were made and given to the various Indian kings tributary to the Virginia colony. In March, 1662, the General Assembly (Hening, Vol 2, pp 138-143) passed several laws concerning the Indians. In one law, it was directed that "badges (vizt) silver plates and copper plates with the name of the twon graved upon them, be given to all the adjacent kings within our protection." Such badges were to be used by the kings or their emissaries when they came into the settled parts of the colony, so that they could be identified as being friendly. While there is no record that such medals were actually made and presented, there are several cases later in which the Indians were rebuked for not wearing the identifying medals. Presumably, some sort of medals or badges had been issued to the Indians, but whether copper or silver, is not known. It appears likely, however, that the Matchotick and Patomeck medals are attributable to this period of Virginia history.

In May 1677 at the Treaty of Middle Plantation, following the close of Bacon's Rebellion, the Indians were given presents, including twenty silver badges with the names of the kings engraved thereon. See Appendix II for a fuller synopsis of the Treaty of Middle Plantation and the gifts to the Indians. Since no list of the Indian kings to whom badges were given has come down to us, we cannot know if either the King of Machotick or Patomeck were among the recipients. While we do know that neither was a signer of the treaty, we do not know but what they were represented by one of the other, more prominent kings, such as Pattanochus, King of the Nanzatticoes, Nanzemums and Portobaccoes, all of whom lived along the Rappahannock River not far from the Camden Site, during the period from 1650 until after 1700. In view of the lack of confirming data, as explained in Appendix II, the medals from Camden were probably not part of the twenty.

Since the second half of the 17th Century saw the decline and disappearance of many of the tribal groups in eastern Virginia, it is quite likely that the weaker, less populous groups were being absorbed into the more powerful groups, for their mutual protection. Even in such a situation, though, it is likely that the absorbed remnants kept some modicum of their former independence, and possibly their own chief or headman, at least for a while.

In any event, even though we cannot be certain of the date of presentation of the silver medals, we are reasonably confident that the occupation of the house-site was centered around 1680, possibly as much as ten years earlier or later. The evidence for this dating is varied, but it includes the two coins, dated 1662 and 1672, the evidence for a flint-lock firearm, usually attributed to a post-1660 period, and the dating provided by the kaolin tobacco pipe stems and bowls.



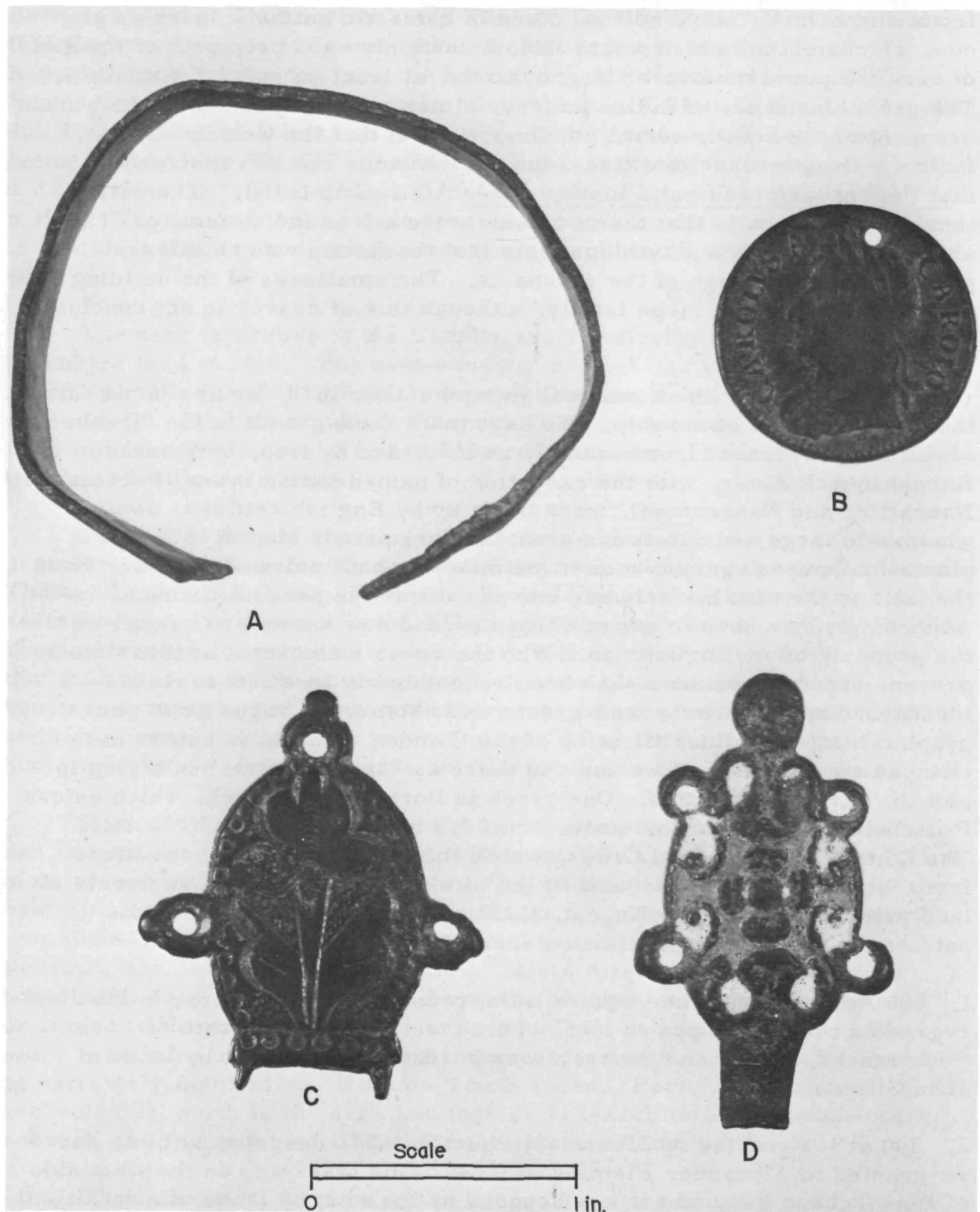


Figure Fourteen (left above): Nails, showing varieties of size and clinching  
 Figure Fifteen (left below): Iron files and knife fragment  
 Figure Sixteen (above): Objects of copper and brass

MacCord: Camden

We can be fairly certain that the occupants were Indians and not African slaves nor impoverished English. The refuse animal bones are from wild animals only, with no trace of domestic animals, such as pig, cow, chicken, etc. which would almost certainly have been part of the diet of even the poorest white or Negro family, at least on special occasions. The great abundance of Indian pottery, almost certainly made by the woman occupant of the house, seems conclusive proof that the woman was an Indian. The presence of a fire-arm and the coins can be construed as proof that the occupant was not a slave, either African or Indian. The only tenable conclusion is that the occupants were a free Indian family. The absence of children's playthings hints that the family was childless, possibly due to the age of the occupants. The smallness of the building also is evidence against a large family, although this of course is not conclusive proof.

Assuming that the house was occupied after 1670, we are faced with the matter of land ownership. We have many land-grants in the "fresches of the Rappahannock" from as early as 1650, and by 1665, both banks of the Rappahannock River, with the exception of named Indian towns (Portobacko, Nanzattico and Nanzemund), were taken up by English settlers, some of whom held large and numerous grants. Herrmann's Map of 1671 shows plantation houses every two or three miles on both sides of the river from the falls to the mouth, including one at or near the present Camden. Accordingly, we have to assume that the land now known as Camden was the property of an Englishman. Who the owner was cannot at this time be proven, but some evidence has been assembled in an effort to fix his identity. Since the early land-grants were somewhat vague as to geographic limits, the identification of the Camden Site whose names have not changed since 1660, and we can use these as "anchor points" in trying to plot the early land-grants. One creek is Port Tobago Creek, which enters Port Tobago Bay from the south, some 1.5 miles southeast of the site. The other is Peumensend Creek, which enters the Rappahannock River from the south, two miles west of the site. According to the abstracts of land patents published by Nugent, (1934) we have the following tracts patented in the Camden area at an early date:

1. 600 Acres (almost one square mile) granted to Henry Berry in 1664 and regranted to John Phipps in 1665. This tract was at the mouth of Peumensend Creek, and the tract was bordered on the east by lands of John Gillett.
2. 300 acres granted to Clement Herbert in 1657, deserted by him, and re-granted to Alexander Fleming in 1664. This tract was on the west side of Port Tobago Bay, and it was bounded by the west by lands of John Gillett.
3. John Gillett was granted 600 acres on April 21, 1657(Nugent, p 344). He died in 1659, and the grant was renewed to his widow, Jane, April 1, 1659.

The same lands were patented to Thomas Button in 1662 when he married the Widow Gillett. Button died about 1669. There is a record that Jane Button, widow of Thomas, married Thomas Gordon in 1674. On April 21, 1695 Captain John Battaile was granted "600 acres on south side of Rappahannock River, opposite the lower part of Nansimond Town; NW on Best's Creek, SE on Cedar Creek. Granted John Gillett 21 April 1657 and due Thomas Button, Gent. as marrying the relict of said Gillett, as by patent dated 18 March 1662; deserted and now granted for the improtation of 12 persons..." (Patent Book 7 in Abstracts of Land Patents, 1666-1732, p 399). The record for the next several decades is obscure, but the writer is confident that further, more intensive search would disclose the missing data.

The next reference to the Camden tract indicates that Oliver Towles owned the land in 1736. The next owner of record was Captain Edward Dixon, who died in 1779, probably leaving Camden to his son Harry, who died in 1784. His widow, Alice Fitzhugh Dixon, married John B. Pratt, in 1784, who thereby came into possession of Camden. The farm has been in the Pratt family ever since.

The Indian family residing at the site excavated in the current work, probably was a tenant family for one of the owners during the period between Thomas Button and Oliver Towlers. It would be interesting to know for certain who the land-owner was, because, if he were known, we might find some reference to an Indian tenant in his will or other papers. We know that Indians were frequently engaged to live on plantations to serve as hunters, trappers, fishermen, messengers, interpreters, and so on. In addition, some Indians were kept as slaves or as indentured servants. Some references to such diverse relationships are cited in Appendix I.

Since the Indian occupant of the house site possessed a fire-arm and had accumulated some "hard cash," it is unlikely that he was a slave. It is most probable that he was a tenant, living on the plantation to hunt, fish, oyster, etc. for the land-owner in exchange for powder and shot, clothing, iron tools, perhaps some food items, and possibly other considerations. Perhaps, too, some of the domestic products made by the woman of the household, such as mats, bowls, baskets, brooms, and pipes, were sold or traded to the plantation owner or to other non-Indian neighbors. The story remaining untold concerning these people and their activities would be extremely fascinating, if it could be learned. Perhaps additional archeological work in the area and further research into the documentary sources will in the future illuminate this picture better.

What eventually became of the occupants of the house is unknown. Since valuable objects, such as coins and the silver medal, were found in the household debris, along with other objects, including bent nails, which had probably dropped out of decaying wood, the impression is given of simple abandonment. No evidence suggesting a structural fire was seen,

and had the silver medal gone through a house fire, it is not likely to have survived. What seems most likely is that the occupant (or at least the male occupant) died or moved away abruptly, leaving the cabin still standing, perhaps with his medal and other valuables secreted in the walls. As time passed, the wood succumbed to rot and to termites, and the imperishable objects simply settled into the humus. Limited plowing of the site during the ensuing three hundred years mixed the humus and the artifacts to a depth of about ten inches, but cultivation was not of sufficient duration that the conspicuous artifacts had been found. A possible exception to this is the King of Patomeck medal, found on the Camden tract about 1832, although not necessarily at the exact site from which the Machotick medal came.

### CONCLUSIONS

The Camden Site was the site of a single cabin, occupied about 1680 by an Indian family which had come to the site from the Potomac Valley. Assuming that the silver medal found in the site belonged to the occupant, we can identify him as the chief of the Machotick tribe. The family was in an intermediate stage of acculturation between the barbarism of prehistory and the civilized state of his European neighbors. The styles of tobacco pipes and domestic ceramics were undergoing change from prehistoric wares to the Colono-Indian wares, known to have continued in use well into the 18th Century in Tidewater Virginia. Stone tools were gradually being supplanted by European-made metallic tools, and the house or cabin was at least partially nailed together, as contrasted to the lashings typical of prehistoric wigwams. Since the custom of having Indian tenants on English plantations was widely followed, we can expect to find many similar sites in eastern Virginia in the future, and excavation of such sites will go far to round out our knowledge of this interesting period of Virginia's history.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer is indebted to many people for their assistance to him in studying this site and its ramifications. Many are named in the text, and we hasten to re-affirm this debt. In addition, we wish to thank Dr. George H. Reese and Mr. George H. S. King for their help in tracking down obscure genealogical and historical data. We also thank the Virginia Historical Society for allowing us to study and photograph the King of Patomeck medal. We especially thank Mrs. Barbara Willis for recognizing and bringing this site to our attention. Her intelligent appraisal of the site's worth is commendable. We are profoundly grateful to Mr. Richard T. Pratt for permitting us to work on this site and for his interest and concern in this study. We thank, too, the many members of the Archeological Society of Virginia who helped with the field-work. We apologize for the



four-year delay between the excavation work and the publication of this report and hope that whatever merit the report has will tend to offset this inconvenience. Special acknowledgement is due to Mr. Kirby Smith, of Richmond, who executed the site plan drawings and map.

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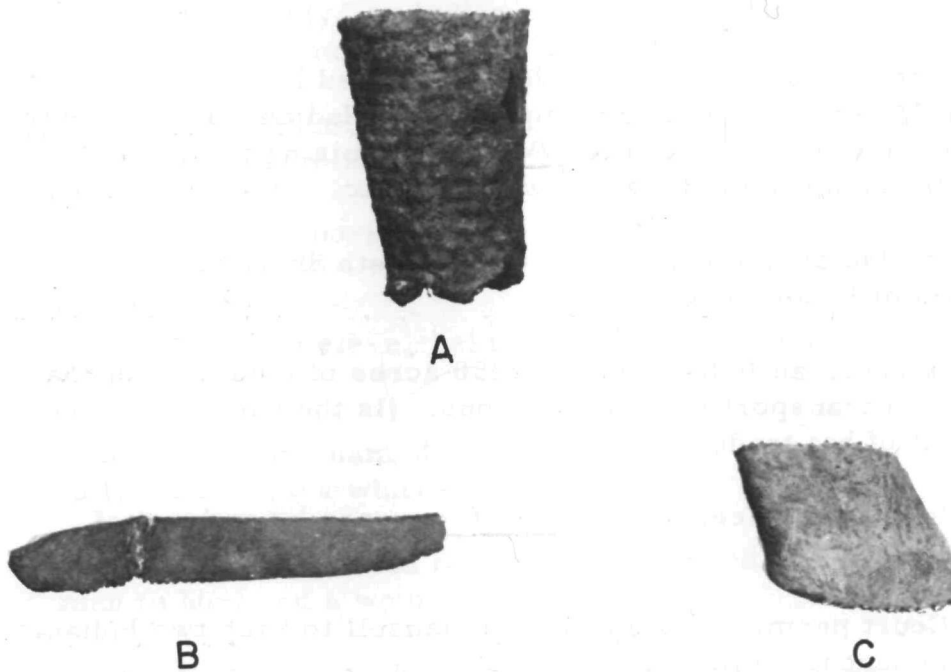


Figure Seventeen: Lead tools and pewter pipe bowl (?) (same size)

## APPENDIX I

### INDIAN SERVITUDE IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA

The Indians of eastern Virginia played many roles vis-a-vis the English colonists during the 17th and 18th Centuries. Their roles as friends, benefactors, converts to Christianity, enemies, refugees, vagrants, and lastly poor mixed-blood remnants surviving in the dominantly White culture are fairly well known. Less well known are their roles as hunters, fishermen, guides, interpreters, servants, tenant farmers, artisans, suppliers of everyday needs, and as scouts and rangers, which duties required the skills normally acquired by people living close to nature. In view of the likelihood that the occupants of the Camden Site occupied some such niche in the economy of the plantation, it is of interest to note a few of the many references to these practices in Colonial Virginia. The following examples from several documentary sources illustrate some of the many variations, including temporal and regional, which existed.

- 1619 General Assembly approves the hiring of Indians to "hunt, fish, beat corn, do other works. "
- 1654 Giles Brent gives his wife, Mary, several servants, including one Thomas Conapesock.
- 1655 Surry County Records show an indenture, dated 1 December, 1654 between Robert Warren and Humphrye, the Indian - the Indian to be in his employ for three years, Warren promising to furnish him meat, drink, apparel, lodging, washing, etc.
- 1662 A Powhatan Indian unlawfully sold to Elizabeth Short by the King of the Wainokes ordered freed.
- 1665 Ned Gunstocker, an Indian, granted 150 acres of land in Rappahannock County, for transporting three persons. (Is the name Gunstocker the result of his trade?)
- 1668 General Court sentences an Indian to five years labor (rest of circumstances not given).
- 1668 General Court permit issued to David Mansell to keep two Indians to work and hunt for him.
- 1676 Indian slavery made legal by Bacon's Assembly, but repealed later in year. Again made legal in 1679, but repealed in 1691.
- 1682 General Assembly passed law making Indian women servants subject to tithes.

- 1685 Complaint to Governor that three Indians were being held as slaves by Roger Jones, when they rightfully belonged to a Mr. Crawford.
- 1691 William King, a Nanzattico Indian, servant to Vincent Cox of Westmoreland County, presumably taken prisoner during Bacon's Rebellion. Tribe begs that he be freed.
- 1691 Council orders county sheriffs to check on people keeping Indians without a license.
- 1691 Capt. Lawrence Washington ordered to certify that "his" Indian killed a wolf in Westmoreland County (in order to qualify for the bounty on wolves?).
- 1692 Pay to Rangers for "ranging" the frontier:  
     One Indian - 8 1/2 months pay   561 lbs. of tobacco  
     Owner of horse for the Indian   734 lbs. of tobacco  
     Pay for ordinary soldier       2295 lbs. of tobacco each such soldier
- 1692 Lt. John Taliferro paid an Indian for eight months service as a Ranger:  
     12 yards of duffel cloth  
     3 barrels of Indian corn
- 1694 In Accomac County, an Indian slave woman, named Jenny, sentenced to death for killing her illegitimate child.
- 1695 Council encouraged hiring Indian men as Rangers, as they were better for the work than Englishmen.
- 1699 Gawen Corbin authorized to allow the Rappahannock Indians to live on his land.
- 1700 Jamey, an Indian slave, held in Surry County jail on a charge of murder.
- 1709 Pamunkey Indian, named Robin, trained as a showmaker, allowed to to live among the whites.
- 1711 Richard Littlepage asked for and got permission to hire a Pamunkey man to hunt and a woman to be a servant.
- 1709-1712 Diary of William Byrd of Westover contains numerous entries concerning Indian servants. Individuals named are Harry, Henry, Ned, and Peter. Examples of duties and treatment of Indian Peter (Redskin Peter) by Byrd are:  
     1709 July 5 Brought mail from Williamsburg  
         July 6 Took mail to Williamsburg  
         Sept. 6 Brought message from Williamsburg

- 1710 Aug 3 Took messages to Williamsburg
- Aug 11 Brought messages from Williamsburg
- 1711 Jan 22 Feigned sickness, was made to wear a "bit"
- Jan 27 Brought venison from the Falls
- Mar 9 Took messages to Kecoughtan
- 1712 Jan 10/11 Feigned falling and injuring leg. Punished by wearing "bit"
- Feb 16-24 Sick but got better
- May 12 Feigned sickness, but was tied up by one leg and "cured."
- Sept 7 Message brought by Peter, who was given medicine.

Diary for period 1739-1741 contains no references to Indian servants, indicating a change in the availability of Indians, possibly.

- 1722-1726 Register of vital statistics of St Peters Parish contains several entries:
- 1722 Oct 9 Charles, an Indian belonging to Capt Goodrich Lightfoot died.
- 1723 Oct 18 Indian Will, a slave belonging to Mr Ebenezer Adams died.
- 1726 Dec 15 Enoss, Indian died at Robert Moore's

Other, similar records may be found which illustrate the role of individual Indians in the economy and life of Colonial Virginia. The subject is one which might well justify a more intensive study. Anyone wishing to pursue this subject further is urged to begin with the book: "Indian Slavery in Colonial Times within the Present Limits of the United States," by Almon Wheeler Lauber, published in 1913 by Columbia University as Number 134 of the series, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Additional data may be gleaned from Philip A. Bruce's, "Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century," published in 1896.

## APPENDIX II

### THE TREATY OF MIDDLE PLANTATION, MAY 1677 -

- Its circumstances and aftermath.

Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 is a landmark event in Virginia history. The social, economic, military, and political repercussions of this brief civil war have been the subjects of many studies. For an excellent study done without bias, the reader is referred to Wilcomb E. Washburn's "The Governor and the Rebel," published in 1957. The impact of this relatively brief period of disorder on the Indians of eastern Virginia was extremely painful. Even such staunch friends of the English as the Pamunkeys were harried, persecuted and killed, and the Pamunkey Queen herself sought refuge in the swamps along the Piankatank River's headwaters.

When the rebellion collapsed following the death of Nathaniel Bacon, peace and stability were restored, at first by the harsh measures of Governor Berkeley and then through the efforts of the three Commissioners, sent from England to investigate the rebellion and its causes.

Among other acts of the Commissioners was a move intended to restore feelings of amity and security between the Indians and the Colonists. To this end, the rulers of the Tributary Indians were invited to attend a meeting at the military camp at Middle Plantation (the present Williamsburg) and there join in a renewed treaty signing. The meeting took place on May 29, 1677 and lasted most of the day. Presumably all of the Tributary Indian tribes were represented there, either by their own chiefs or by the chief of a larger, more powerful tribe to which the weaker tribes had subordinated themselves. The text of the treaty provided for many specific actions by the Indians and assurances by the colonists. The text is not duplicated here but can be read in its entirety in Vol. 14, No. 3 of the Virginia Magazine for History and Biography, published in 1907. It is also copied in the DeJarnette Transcripts #108, in the Virginia State Library.

The treaty was signed by the following chiefs, using the marks indicated:

The Signe of	the Queen Pomunkey on behalfe of herselfe, and the severall Indians under her Subjection
The Signe of the King of	the Nottowayes
The Signe of Capt John West	Sonne to the Queen of Pamunkey
The Signe of Peracuta King	of the Appomattox

The Signe of the Queen	of Wayonoake
The Signe of the	King of the Nanzemund Indians
The Marke of Pattanochus	King of the Nanzatticoes, Nanzemunds, and Portobachoes
The Signe of Shurenough	King of the Manakins
The Signe of Mastegonoe	young King of the Sappones
The Signe of Tachapoake	Chief man of the Sappones
The Signe of Ununtsquero	Chief man of the Maherians
The Signe of Horehanna	Next Chief man of the Maherians

Shortly after May, 1677, two of the Commissioners, Sir John Berry and Col. Francis Moryson, petitioned the king to award presents to the Indian leaders who had signed the Treaty at Middle Plantation. This petition was presented to the King when the two Commissioners reached England, and they also carried with them a letter from the other Commissioner, Herbert Jefferys, who remained in Virginia as Acting-Governor, as well as Commander of the troops. The Petition presented by the two Commissioners follows: (It is copied from Winder Papers, Vol II, p 398-402, Va. State Library)

To the Kings most excellent Majesty :

Most humble proposals on behalfe of the Indian Kings and Queens, now tributary to your most sacred Majesty within your Colony of Virginia.

That seeing by the late peace concluded with the Neighbor Indians there, the severall Indian Kings and Queens included in that Treaty have been brought to acknowledge, and by the Articles of Peace doe expressly owne to have their immediate dependance, to owe all subjection and allegiance, and to hold their crownes of and from your Majestie (to whom they most justly give the name and title of the great King) more than was ever stipulated of, or owned by them in any former treaty had, or peace made with them.



It is therefor most humbly offered, that as they all owne to hold their crownes immediately of your Majesty, that your Majesty will please to bestow small crownes or coronetts with false stones of various colours with this or some other circular inscription "A Carolo Secundo Magnae Brittaniae Rege" to import that they actually as well as confessarily hold these their very crownes from your Majesty that they may have also each a purple Robe of strong cloath sent to them ready made.

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>PRESENTS</u>	<u>CARACTER (sic)</u>
For the Queen of Pamunkey who was robbed of her rich matchcoat by the rebels.	One Crown and robe together with a striped Indian gown of gay colours and a bracelet of false stones.	She is of a meane or indifferent stature and somewhat plump of body.
That the Prince her son and successor (John West) who also subscribed to the Articles of Peace may have:	A scarlett coate belayed with gold and silver lace with breeches, shoes and stockings, hatt, sword and belt suitable, and a pair of good pistoles.	He is a good brave young man pretty full of stature and slender of body, a great warr captaine among the Indians and one that been very active in the service of the English and for your Majesty's interest in Virginia.
That Seosteyn, Chief Councillor to the Queen of Pamunkey may have:	A purple garment or mantle and as much cloath as will make a suite for Dabany (Cornelius Dabany) the Queen's Interpreter.	He is a man of a goodly presence and long of stature in great esteeme with the Queen and her people and a constant lover and friend to the English.
For the Queen of Waonoke (Weyanoake) subscriber to the late peace.	One crowne and purple robe.	A woman of a most exact proportion of parts pretty tall of stature and slender of body, also of a pleasing aspect and demeanor. On her coming to us we asking her by what name she distinguished herselfe she demanded to know of us by what name our Queene was called and

and upon our telling her  
your Majesties Royall  
Consort's name she  
presently chose to be  
called after her Majesties  
name, and charged all  
her people to remember  
that she had taken to  
herselfe the name of  
Queen Catherine which  
she often repeated and  
seemed very proud of  
the honour of so great a  
name.

For Serrahohque, King  
of the Nottoways a  
subscriber to the press

A crowne and  
purple robe.

He is a very old man and  
one that govern his  
people with prudence and  
good discipline, so that  
they are very obedient  
unto him and inoffensive  
to the English. He is a  
big-boned man streight  
and tall of stature.

For the King of  
Nancemond

A crowne and  
purple robe.

He is of indifferent  
stature and very friendly  
Indian and much conver-  
sant amongst the  
English.

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It was also to be wished that small silver Badges to the number of twenty with the names of your Majesty and the Tributary Princes inscribed be made and sent over to be worne for distinction by the Indians as by their former peace was injoynd, and now desired by those of Virginia to be renewed by which meanes the former peace was and the present peace may by much preserved by reason it served to denote the severall Nations of Indians that come in, one of which Nations being always obliged to wear a Badge in company with the rest, by means wherefor upon any breach of the peace, theft, murder or outrage committed the badge was still a discrimination to other Indians and distinguished our friends from our enemies.

Now may it please your Majesty these matters being but of smal charge, the whole not exceeding above 120<sup>l</sup> it will not only greatly exalt their sense of your Majesties favour and indulgency towards them most infinitely endeare your Royall name and memory amongst them, but begett

a reverence to them from their own people as well as your Majesties subjects in Virginia when they shall see thereby that they are in your Rouall esteem as well as protection, and may tend to the making of the Peace the more firm and inviolable. The Indians accompting guifts a kind of sacred pledge of friendship, which that there may ever be betwixt them and your Majesties subjects of Virginia is the earnest desires as well as endeavors of:

The most humble proposers  
Your Majesties ever Loyall and  
Obedient Subjects and Servants,

John Berry  
Fra. Moryson

(End of transcript)

Along with the foregoing proposal, the two Commissioners brought to England the following letter from the third Commissioner, Herbert Jefferys to Sir Joseph Williamson, Principal Secretary of State:

"Right Honorable,

I hope your Honour will be pleased with a short Relation of this late solemnitie in Virginia of the Indian Peace, with which we celebrated the most joyfull Birthday of His sacred Majestie at the camp at Middle Plantation. The severall Indian Kings and Queenes being come to the Place assigned, wee received them at the New Guard-house there, which I caused to be fitted for this occasion, where my Fellow-Commissioners and Councill being Present and silence Proclaimed, the Overtures of Peace were openly read over before them, and the Enterpreters sworne to expound every distinct Paragraph to them, which proved very acceptable to the Indians and satisfactory to all Present. After they were all well informed of the severall Articles of this Treatie, the Queene of Pomunckey (being invited to come within the Barr of the Court to signe this Treatie on behalfe of herself and those scattered remnants of Nations anciently and now againe united under her subjection) performed the same with all cherefulness, and having signed the Instruments of Peace, on her knees with the rest, in great Reverence delivered up the same all of them Publickly acknowledging to hold their crownes and landes of the Great King of England. I then signed on his Majesties part to the Indians, and informed them that that Paper (under the seale of this Colony) was to bind this Peace strongly betwixt us, which they (all kneeling againe) received at my hands as from his Majesty; of their owne accord kissing the most acceptable Instrument from hand to hand. This being Finished (with the day) the Field Pieces were all discharged several rounds with Volleys of small shott, and general acclamations of Joy, and so having Entertained them that night the next day

our Indian friends went to their severall homes, well satisfied with this treaty, which comes home with my fellow-Commissioners at their Returne."

Your most humble Servant

Swanns Pointe the  
11th of June, 1677

Herb. Jeffreys

(Extracted from Winder Papers, Vol II, p403-404. Colonial Papers #63, Virginia).

What actions, if any, were taken on the treaty and its ratification during the summer and early fall of 1677 are unknown. On 18 October 1677, the treaty was read in the regular meeting of the Committee of Trade and Plantations at Whitehall, and on 19 October, the treaty was favorably reported to the King. The treaty was read in the King's Council on 20 October and ordered to be printed and copies sent to Virginia "for the better publication and observance thereof."

On 1 January, 1678, the Earl of Arlington, using the King's authority, directed the Right Honorable Ralph Montagu, Master of His Majesty's Wardrobe (or his deputy) to have made and delivered to John Jeffrey of London, the articles enumerated in several papers annexed to the memorandum. The memorandum bears a marginal note that the items are "presents to Indian Kings and Queens," and another note states "The silver crowns and badges are to be prepared by the Jewel House, for which I have given my warrant." This paper apparently pertains to the presents to be sent to Virginia pursuant to the request made by the Commissioners Berry and Moryson.

Subsequently, bills were presented to be paid by the Lord Chamberlain's Department, and these are recorded in the Bill Books for this Department for the years 1676-1679, as follows:

No. 87	November 1679	Thomas, Lord Culpeper
Presents for the Indian princes in the Colony of Virginia.		
For the Queen of Pamunkey, bracelets and necklaces of false stones		
		7. 0. 0.
For the said Queen's sone, a pair o f pistols richly inlaid with silver		
		8. 0. 0.
For making several robes for the Queen of Pamunkey, the Queen of Waonoke, the Kings of Nazymond and Nottowayes		
		3. 19. 0.

(12 December, 1679)

No. 88                      November 1679                      Nicholas Fownes.  
Presents to the Indian princes in the Colony of Virginia  
For the Queen of Pamunkey:  
    8 yds. purple manto at 11s to line a robe;  
    7 1/2 yds. gold and silver brocard at 20s for an Indian gown;  
    3 1/4 ells cherry colored sarcenet at 12s to line the gown.  
For the said Queen's son,  
    5 yds. sky morella taby at 10s to line a coat.  
For the said Queen's concellor,  
    7 1/2 yds. scarlet shalloone at 5s. to line a robe.  
For the said Queen's interpreter,  
    3 1/2 yds. scarlet shalloone at 5s. to line a coat.  
For the Queen of Waonoke and the Kings of Nottowaze and Nazemond:  
    22 1/2 yds. scarlet shalloone at 5s. to line 3 robes, and 3 ells  
    white sarcenet £1. 10. 0.

(16 December, 1679)

No. 89                      November 1679                      James Smithsbey.  
For the Queen of Pamunkey,  
    5 yds. scarlet cloth at 26s for a robe.  
For the said Queen's son, 3 yds. scarlet cloth at 26s for a coat and  
    breeches.  
For the said Queen's councellor, 4 1/2 yed. purple cloth at 15s for  
    a robe.  
For the said Queen's interpreter, 3 yds. grey cloth at 12s for a coat  
    and breeches.  
For the Queen of Waonoke and the two Kings of Nottowaze and  
    Nazemond, 13 1/2 yds. purple cloth at 15s. for 3 robes.

(16 December, 1679)

No. 90                      November 1679                      Thomas Templer.  
Presents from His Majesty.  
For the Queen of Pamunkey's son in Virginia, a pair of fine scarlet  
    worsted £1. 5. 0. stockings with large tops to them and stitched  
    all down the leg with black silk.  
For the said Queen's interpreter,  
    a pair of scarlet worsted stockings.                      £0. 8. 0.

(16 December, 1679)

No. 91                      November, 1679                      Daniel Deive  
Presents likewise to Virginia  
For the Queen of Pamunkey, Queen of Waonoake, King of the  
    Nottowayes, King of Nazemond, for 4 crimson velvet caps furred  
    with ermine and 4 ermines,                      £ 4. 0. 0.  
For making an Indian gown for the Queen of Pamunkey. 0. 10. 0.

For the Queen of Pamunkey's son: gold and silver buttons	
for the coat and breeches	1. 10. 0.
For 2 oz. of gold thread	0. 12. 0.
For making new screws and fastening several stones	
in the crowns.	0. 10. 0.
For canvas packing and for a large chest to put the	
presents up	1. 10. 0.

(16 December 1679)

No. 92.	November 1679	William Terrey
A present from His Majesty		
For the Queen of Pamunkey's son, a white beaver hat		
with a gold and silver band		
		4. 0. 0.

(16 December 1679)

No. 93.	November 1679	John Hill, cutler
Present from His Majest.		
For the Queen of Pamunkey's son, a rich sword with a gold and		
silver hilt and false scabbard		
		4. 0. 0.

(16 December 1679)

No. 94	November 1679	William Hart
Present from His Majesty.		
For the queen's son, a belt richly embroidered with gold and		
silver.		
		3. 10. 0.

(16 December 1679)

No. 96.	November 1679	William Gostlin
For the Queen of Pamunkey's son in Virginia,		
67 1/2 oz. of gold and silver lace at 5s		

In another portion of the Lord Chamberlain's Accounts there are Jewel House Warrant Books, covering the period from 1677 to 1709. One of these warrants (page 8 in the Warrant Books) lists the following:

p. 8      "Crowns, etc. for 4 Indian Kings and Queens. Warrant 18 January, 1678, to prepare and deliver to John Jefferys, Esq., of London, the following:

4 small crowns or coronets of this silver plate, gilt and adorned with false stones of various colors, with the inscription "A Carolo Secondo Magna Britanniae Rege, " designed by His Majesty as presents for Indian Kings and Queens now tributary to His Majesty in the Colony of Virginia.

20 Small silver badges with His Majesty's name and the names of the tributary princes, vizt. the Queen of Pamunkey, the Queen of Waonoke, Serrapohque King of the Nottoways, and the King of Nansemond.

A necklace and pair of bracelets for the Queen of Pamunkey, of false stones. "

The foregoing presents were assembled late in 1679 and delivered to Lord Culpeper, who had been named Governor General of Virginia. In the MacDonald Papers, Vol. V, pp 295 (copy at Virginia State Library) there is a long set of instructions dated 6 June 1679 from the King to Lord Culpeper. One of the instructions is as follows:

Item 12 (page 298) "And whereas we have thought fit to take the Native Indians into our especial protection and in testimony thereof have directed you to deliver unto them our Royal Presents. You are therefore to take care that they be allowed the same measure of Justice in matters relating to the English and our other subjects as by law is due and belonging unto them, from the Indians in like cases. "

In a marginal note to the foregoing instructions, apparently entered by Lord Culpeper following his return to England in 1680, there is the following:

"Did exactly execute all but only the Coroners (coronets) which by advise of Council there I did not deliver and which were cast away with my goods. Did exactly execute Justice to the Indians' content a great inducement to their quiet since. "

Lord Culpeper departed from England in the spring and arrived in Virginia 3 May 1680. One of his first acts was to call a General Assembly, which convened at Jamestown on June 8th. On June 9th, the Governor addressed the Assembly and set forth some of his instructions from the king and some of the policies he would follow. Among other statements, Lord Culpeper stated his duty towards the "Indians, to severall of whom on the return of Sir John Berry and Col. Moryson I am to deliver presents from his Majesty. "

Following this session, the Council of Virginia sent the following petition to the Governor: (19 June, 1680)

"Whereas his most sacred Majesty upon the Representation of the Affaires of this Colony by his Honorable Commissioners Sir John Berry and Coll. Fran. Morrison and their advice and Council thereupon, in relation to the articles made by them with the Indians here . . . was pleased to send four rich Coronets with Robes Silver badges, and severall other presents to four Indian Kings and Queens here so called, which accordingly this day his Excellency brought hither with intent to deliver to them accordingly. The Councill being all present and considering, and fearing those people may be

MacCord: Camden

heightened thereby especially by such Marks of Dignity as Coronets, which they humbly conceive ought not to be prostituted to such mean persons, doe therefor crave leave to offer their opinions to his Excellency in this weighty Affaire, and do unanimously desire his Excellency at least to forbear the delivery of the said Coronetts until his Majesties Pleasure be further known which they conceive will be an acceptable service to his Majesty and tend to the Welfare of this his Colony. This Country haveing in its minority received from the Indians fatal returns for considerable presents given unto them, and it hath alwayes been found a wrong way of manageing of those people they esteeming presents to be the effects of fear, and not kindness besides which severall other Neighboring and more considerable Indian Nations who have deserved of the English at least as well as the called Queen of Pamunkey or any of the rest, will be infinitely dissatisfied therewith, and if not to the English themselves will shew their Resentment at least against them which is almost as bad, Wee being by the Articles of Peace bound to protect them will necessarily invollve us againe in their defence, in a most dangerable and chargeable Warr."

It appears from the foregoing sequences, therefore, that the presents authorized by King Charles to the signers of the Treaty of Middle Plantation in 1677 were finally brought to Virginia in the summer of 1680. Since Lord Culpeper departed from Virginia on August 11, 1680, it appears that he made the presentations to the Indian chiefs sometime between the 20th of June and August 10, 1680. The four coronets were never presented to the Indians but were lost in the sinking of a ship carrying Lord Culpeper's baggage back to England. Except for the coronets (crowns), the remaining gifts seem to have been presented as planned. Since no record has come to light attesting to this fact, this necessarily is only an assumption. It would be interesting to know more about these events, and one also wonders whatever became of the sword and the pair of good "pistoless" presented to John West, the son of the Queen of Pamunkey.

A silver badge or frontlet (made to be worn as part of a hat or a headband) has survived and is displayed in the National Park Service Visitor's Center at Jamestown. This frontlet is owned by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, which acquired it about 1900 from the Morson family, which had owned it for the previous century or so. How it had come originally into the ownership of the Morson family is not known. Presumably it had passed from the Queen of Pamunkey at her death to her son, John West. The lack of available data on the Virginia Indians during the 18th and 19th Centuries exasperatingly hampers the study of many matters such as these.

There is a strong likelihood that the Queen of Pamunkey badge is one of the twenty made and distributed to the rulers of the Tributary Tribes, although this cannot be conclusively proven at this time. Since the 20 small silver badges prepared as gifts to the Virginia Indian carried the King's name or arms, and since there is insufficient evidence to link either the king of Matchotick with the Treaty of Middle Plantation, we are forced to



conclude that the silver medallions from the Camden Farm were not part of the twenty badges authorized and made as part of the treaty settlement. We can hope, though, that future research will bring to light new evidence to completely prove or disprove these conclusions.

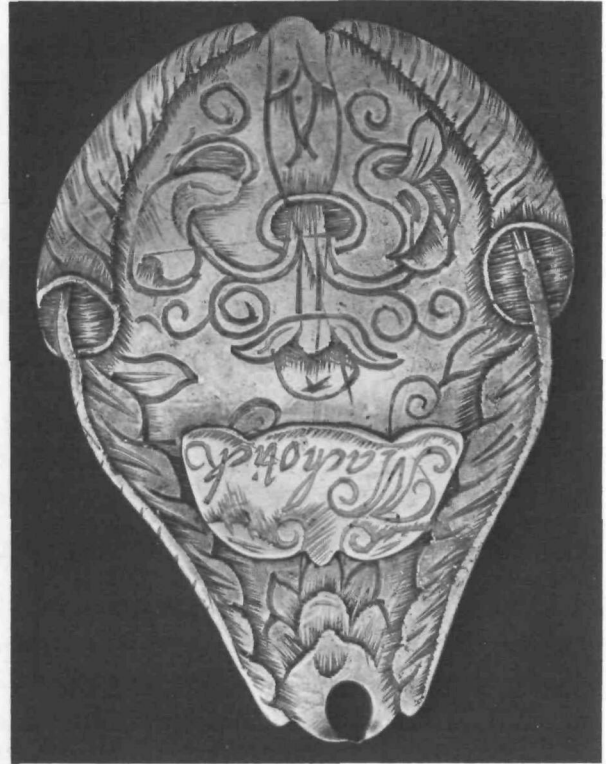
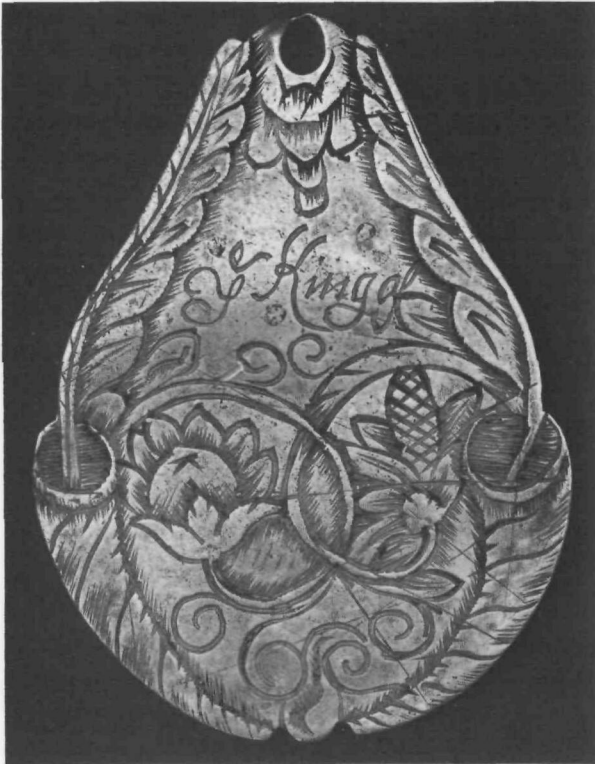


Figure Eighteen: Machotick medal, slightly reduced

Figure Nineteen: Patomeck medal, slightly reduced

