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Knowing the River, Working the Land, and Digging for Clay: Pamunkey Indian Subsistence Practices and the Market Economy 1800-1900

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Knowing the River, Working the Land, and Digging for Clay: Pamunkey Indian
Subsistence Practices and the Market Economy 1800 – 1900

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the requirements for the degree of

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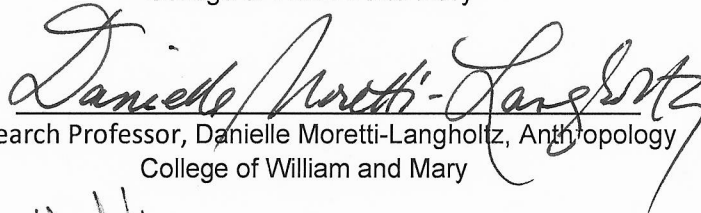
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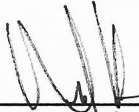


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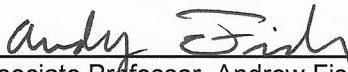


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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the responses and engagement of the Pamunkey Indians with an expanding capitalist economy in nineteenth century Tidewater Virginia. Framed by theoretical discourses of political economy and landscape, I investigate the Pamunkey community's Reservation subsistence economy, and the transitional effects the infiltration of industrial capitalism had on the economic life and experiences of Pamunkey people. Evidence uncovered from archaeological investigations on the Reservation, archival resources, and oral testimony from tribal members reveal how the Pamunkey community structured their engagement with the market. Pamunkey market engagement formed a mixed economy that followed an annual seasonal round grounded in the Reservation landscape. The annual round combined traditional subsistence practices of pottery making, fishing, hunting, trapping and horticulture with migratory wage labor. It is apparent these processes and the relationships that fueled them are still at work within the contemporary Reservation community. Thus, this dissertation and the questions that inform it are also shaped by the historical consciousness of the Pamunkey people. Pamunkey economic experiences throughout the nineteenth century highlight the persistence, creative agency, and ingenuity of an Indigenous community that was socially, economically, and politically marginalized. The Pamunkey community's ability to strategically adapt these practices structured the community's engagement in the capitalist economy to the Tribe's advantage, while simultaneously ensuring these practices and the knowledge required to do them survived for future generations.

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This Ph.D. is dedicated to:
Pamunkey ancestors who came before,
Pamunkey people of the here and now,
Pamunkey generations yet to come

Chapter 1: Introduction

In 2008, one year following the 2007 commemoration of Jamestown's founding in 1607, I sat down with several members of my community, the Pamunkey Indian Tribe, to reflect on this celebration of colonial history, and the centuries proceeding European colonial expansion. These conversations highlighted community members' profound interest in the historical experiences of their ancestors over the last four centuries. They revealed various, but common threads in our perceptions about the history of the past 400 years, and the complicated landscape the Pamunkey¹ community faced during this time. That complicated landscape encompassed numerous points of reference for Pamunkey individuals that extended well beyond the year 1607. They included an adamant recognition that our history spans thousands of years, not hundreds; a regard for important Indigenous historical figures; reflections on how the wider public perceives our community; and an insistence that traditional subsistence on our Reservation lands sustained Pamunkey persistence despite the past 400 years. This last element is of tremendous importance to Pamunkey people, and this dissertation in particular. Despite the political and social erosion that took place within the Virginia Indian world, the Pamunkey were able to hold onto

¹ Through out this dissertation I use the term *Pamunkey* to reference, 1) the community – a people comprised of enrolled tribal members at present, and 2) a place, the Reservation. Importantly, these references traverse the past and present. I argue for continuity in my use of “Pamunkey people” and “Pamunkey community” as they signify a connection through ancestry, place, shared experiences, and a shared past.

central elements of their traditional subsistence economy that have come to serve as identifying features of the Pamunkey community.

During these conversations, one statement in particular epitomized Pamunkey interest in documenting the processes through which our practices in traditional subsistence became marketable, cash earning activities. Former Pamunkey chief, Kevin Brown, explained “Pottery for sale was a way of carrying tradition on, if it wasn’t for sale it would have stopped somewhere along the line,” (personal communication January 13, 2008). This statement struck me as a profound recognition that our ability to persist was bounded in the intersections between traditional subsistence practices supported by the Reservation landscape, and the rise of industrial capitalism that began in the southern United States during the nineteenth century. Moreover, it demonstrates Pamunkey priorities related to documenting and critically understanding our history lie well beyond the outsider perceptions that our historical value and significance began and ended in the seventeenth century. However, for the rest of America, the seventeenth century defines Pamunkey history. Our historical significance and recognized contributions to the history of Virginia are book ended between 1607, with the arrival of the English, and 1677 with the signing of our last treaty. Thus, in general, this dissertation attempts to open and expand the seventeenth century frame of reference that has unfortunately come to define Pamunkey history.

Importantly K. Brown’s declaration brings to light the very real and complex intersections between postcolonial social changes in American Indian

communities and the rise of an industrial capitalist economy. Scholars in the past have, at times, treated Native participation in a market economy as detrimental to Indigenous knowledge and destructive of cultural, economic, and political systems. But the perspective held by many other Pamunkey people, epitomized in K. Brown's comment, challenges such interpretations. Moreover, particular anthropological perspectives developed in response to such acculturation models provide a framework to examine Indigenous responses with the conjuncture of colonial expansion and the infiltration of an emerging market economy as founded within deeply structured systems of knowledge (Fogelson 1989; Sahlins 1985, 1993, 1999).

Thus, this research broadly questions how the Pamunkey community negotiated both a colonialist system, and that system's ideological practices, which encroached upon their way of life, their Reservation lands, and most importantly, their right to equal treatment as human beings. To help answer this overarching question I turned to the concerns, and questions Pamunkey people expressed about the historical intersections between the community's traditional subsistence practices, Reservation homestead economies, and the rise of industrial capitalism in Virginia during the nineteenth century. In order to uncover the story behind these intersections I employed several methodologies, including archaeology, oral history interviews, and documentary research, to trace the history of Pamunkey responses to, and engagement with, an expanding capitalist economy in nineteenth-century Tidewater Virginia.

In particular, I examine the ways Pamunkey responses to the rise of industrialism structured their interactions with the dominant society through systems of knowledge regarding the Reservation landscape. Pamunkey economic experiences throughout the nineteenth century highlight the persistence, creative agency, and ingenuity of the Pamunkey, all of which were forged through the relationship they had with the Reservation landscape and corresponding economic practices that centered on fishing, hunting, trapping, guiding, craft production, horticulture, and supplemental forms of wage labor. Despite a societal system that sought to socially, economically, and politically marginalize them, the Pamunkey community's ability to strategically adapt these practices structured the community's engagement in the capitalist economy to the Tribe's advantage, while simultaneously ensuring these practices and the knowledge required to do them survived for future generations.

During the seventeenth century the Pamunkey people comprised a community of Algonquian speakers that formed the core of the Powhatan chiefdom first encountered by English colonists in 1607. The chiefdom, led by paramount chief Wahunsenacawh, was located within the Tidewater region of present-day eastern Virginia. At the heart of Powhatan territory, referred to as Tsenacomoco, was the Pamunkey homeland that encompassed the flood plains of the York River and its tributaries, the Pamunkey and Mattaponi rivers. However, the establishment of a permanent English colony within Tsenacomoco, in 1607, altered relationships to and practices associated with the Pamunkey ancestral landscape. English colonists' incessant expansion into Pamunkey

territory led to the seizure of their lands, separating the tribe from the majority of their homeland and subsequently fracturing access to the places and resources needed to maintain the recursive relationship between the land and Pamunkey religious and sociopolitical systems. Colonial expansion also ignited conflict and retaliation (Gleach 1997; Rountree and Turner 2002; Potter 2006). Eventually treaty negotiations, most notably the 1646 Treaty of Peace with Necotowance, King of the Indians, and the Treaty of Middle Plantation, signed in 1677, established Pamunkey allegiance to the English crown and defined the separation between English and Indian lands (McCarthy 1985; 2006).

As Tsenacomoco fell under English domination, the land was increasingly defined along racial lines as “appropriate” spaces for African, Native American, and European communities were demarcated across the landscape. Colonial organization of the landscape created a hostile environment for Native people venturing outside of spaces marked as Indian lands or territory. By the close of the seventeenth century, the Pamunkey faced increasing land loss and racial prejudice that deeply affected the community’s subsistence, traditional cultural practices, and outsider perceptions of their claims to an Indigenous identity (Moretti-Langholtz 1998; Rountree and Turner 2002; Hauptman 1995).

Transitioning into the eighteenth century the Pamunkey maintained a functioning tribal government that continued to negotiate with Virginia colonial leaders concerning treaty rights, encroachment upon their lands and importantly, the colonial education of their young boys at the Brafferton, the Indian school at William and Mary. These experiences supported Pamunkey conversion to

Christianity, and participation in the Revolutionary War as supporters of American independence. Despite their further integration into non-Native society, and continual loss of Reservation lands, the Pamunkey community developed a mixed economy that integrated traditional subsistence practices and the infiltration of market concepts such as cash earnings and wage labor.

The nineteenth century proved to be a complex period for the Southern United States that bore witness to a myriad of social, political and economic changes that significantly affected the course of Virginia history. During this time the Commonwealth experienced the devaluing of their once influential status in the country's political affairs, and the rise and fall of its plantation/agricultural economy wholly supported by an enslaved labor force. By the mid-nineteenth century Virginia welcomed the infiltration of industrialism and manufacturing with the construction of railway lines throughout the state (one such line passes through the Reservation), and the building of factories in the capitol of Richmond. Following these attempts came the devastation of the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the unfortunate rise of the Jim Crow era and the Eugenics Movement; events from which the country is still facing the consequences and aftermath. The Pamunkey community was forced to deal with all these historical events and processes through direct and indirect ways. In particular, this dissertation focuses on the intersections between the Reservation subsistence based economy during this time, and the transitional effects the infiltration of industrial capitalism had on the economic life and experiences of Pamunkey people.

At the center of Pamunkey economic life was their ability to maintain a Reservation within their original homeland. Residing on the Reservation was integral to not only the survival and reproduction of the Pamunkey community, but also determined the activities employed by the community to engage the market economy. The Reservation was a land base that provided a degree of autonomy, and fostered continuity in the community's political organization, and specifically related to this research, continuity in the Tribe's subsistence economy. As a safe haven, the Reservation land was communally owned, but organized by the Pamunkey chief and council, and continual access to important marshland and riverine resources allowed for a relatively self-sufficient lifestyle. Access to their Indigenous homeland enabled the Pamunkey to engage and maintain their existing knowledge of the landscape. Most notably, the Pamunkey developed a market based in the traditional subsistence practices of hunting, fishing, trapping, farming, and ceramic production that structured and secured Pamunkey engagement in the developing capitalist economy.

While the Pamunkey faced limits in the ways they could engage this emerging economy, they also retained a great deal of agency in this domain. The data uncovered from archaeological investigations on the Reservation, archival resources, and oral testimony from tribal members reveal the Pamunkey community strategically structured market engagement in terms of a mixed economy that formed an annual seasonal round grounded in the Reservation landscape. At the center of this landscape was the Pamunkey River that forms the Reservation's boundaries. The annual round comprised a variety of activities

that coupled traditional subsistence practices of pottery making, fishing, hunting, trapping and horticulture with local wage labor, and more permanent employment in urban centers located along the eastern seaboard of the United States. While, for the most part Pamunkey people operated at the margins of the capitalist economy, it is important to note they were not necessarily marginalized by that economy (Silliman 2009, 2010; Littlefield and Knack 1996; Hosmer 1998, Moore 1993).

By exploring Pamunkey marketing strategies to ensure traditional subsistence practices were lucrative, and cash earning, I will shed light on facets of Pamunkey economic life experienced throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Kinship and gender played an integral role in shaping how these activities were practiced. As the Tribe's economy began to transition towards an emphasis on wage labor, community members were forced to move away from the Reservation core throughout the twentieth century to find cash-earning opportunities. Still, women continued to make pottery, and men hunted, fished, trapped, and served as hunting guides. These activities were organized in reference to kinship ties, defined through the generational knowledge passed from mother to daughter and from father to son. As is the case with many communities enmeshed within colonialist societies, the experiences of men tend to dominate the documentary record; therefore, we have numerous references on the subsistence practices marketed by Pamunkey men. While the documentary record is limited in highlighting the economic role of Pamunkey women, we have a tangible, material object easily identified in the archaeological

record that illuminates the role women played in marketing Pamunkey produced earthenware ceramics.

Rather than disconnecting the Pamunkey from the landscape, these market processes and experiences sustained the community's sense of place, creating connections, which fostered social agency and cultural practice. In this way, the Pamunkey experience differed from those of many other American Indian communities along the eastern seaboard during the centuries after European colonization. The most important factors shaping the Pamunkey experience during these centuries included a deeply rooted sense of place and a selective engagement with the infiltration of industrial capitalism. Ingenuity, agency, and selective choice are elements that emerge as prominent in the economic experiences of Pamunkey people, rather than the more widely accepted understanding that market forces were a universally dominating force of assimilation and uniformity (e.g. Silliman and Witt 2010).

Thus, scholars should place more emphasis on the recursive nature that has existed between the Reservation landscape and the Pamunkey people that have inhabited it for centuries, as one could not exist without the other. The Pamunkey Indian Reservation was and is 1) a place that defined the Pamunkey community and shaped their choices to employ traditional subsistence practices for market purposes, and 2) a place whose meaning was reciprocally defined by generations of tribal members that called this place home as they created both a sense of place and self through continually engaging traditional subsistence practices. Importantly, wrapped into this complex relationship was the creation of

the Reservation not just as a place, but a context in which complex labor, gender, economic, racial, and market relationships were and still are at work (Silliman and Taft 2010).

Recognizing that these processes and the relationships that fueled them are still at work within the contemporary Reservation community, this dissertation and the questions that inform it are also shaped by the historical consciousness of a Pamunkey community that is not fully integrated into the capitalist economy. However, the transition in economic practices that shifted the focus of the national economy toward wage labor after the Second World War created a crisis at Pamunkey where tribal members recognized they could not devote the time necessary to ensure these practices were continued. While reactions, responses and adaptations to change are insular they too are shaped and impacted by outside economic influences. This shift in the nation's economy that has unfolded at Pamunkey for six decades hit the community particularly hard. Many tribal members have expressed anxiety over losing the ability to practice these traditional subsistence activities because they are forced to engage the capitalist economy in ways that are considered more lucrative. Contemporary Pamunkey perspectives highlight the ways in which their history of participation in the capitalist economy bridges the past and present by focusing on changes in traditional subsistence practices engaged for market purposes on the Reservation. Community members continue to practice traditional subsistence, and while they have no doubt been altered since the nineteenth century, the act of learning these practices, and engaging them for market purposes, frames

Pamunkey historicity. I use the term historicity to refer to the ways Pamunkey people connect the past to the present, and draw on these connections to think about the future.

Thus, I seek to examine contemporary community members' perspectives on the history of Pamunkey economic practices, as well as the various ways they continue to reference knowledge of the Reservation landscape. Moreover, I present Pamunkey reflections on the various components involved in this research process ranging from archaeological research on the Reservation and the literature affiliated with this research topic, to the ways they understand this past as intimately connected to the present and future generations of Pamunkey people.

As a member of the Pamunkey Indian Tribe who has observed these very processes at work within the lives of my great-grandparents and grandparents, I knew how critical it was that fellow tribal members have a platform in this dissertation through which to express and discuss their own perspectives. It was those shared reflections that shaped my research questions and my own understanding about the evidence I uncovered to answer those questions.

Importantly, the historical processes shaping Pamunkey economic history and a Pamunkey sense of place are ongoing. They are informed and shaped by the economic experiences of Pamunkey relatives and ancestors from the nineteenth century and earlier. Moreover, the contemporary Pamunkey community is facing a crisis as elder members of the tribe make up the majority of individuals that have the knowledge and skills necessary to successfully execute and engage the

traditional subsistence practices that are at the center of this discussion. These few elder members cannot and should not have to take on the burden of recording and passing on this knowledge alone. The tribal community recognizes this as a dire issue facing future generations, and they are actively contemplating how to successfully mitigate the potential loss of this knowledge so that it can be maintained and shared. Therefore, ensuring this research is applicable and useful to our community today is critically important to this dissertation research. I contemplate how this research on the economic history of the Pamunkey community will influence the kinds of economic decisions the Pamunkey Tribe will make for the future. We envision making the Reservation, once again, an economically viable place to live, attracting youth and young families to augment the population of retirees that comprise the majority of Reservation residents.

To explore my research questions, I sought to triangulate three methodologies that included archaeological investigation, archival and documentary research, and oral history. Uncovering data from these sources revealed patterns in the economic life of the Pamunkey Indian community during the nineteenth-century, the subsistence practices that formed the community's economic foundation, and the transition away from those practices throughout the twentieth century. These patterns included:

- 1) Economic life on the Reservation comprised a seasonal round of practices dominated by subsistence activities that provided both sustenance and cash. Included in the seasonal round were

varying forms of migratory wage labor that supplemented the subsistence practices on the Reservation.

- 2) Economic activities employed to engage the market were located both on and off the Reservation. Those practices associated with the Reservation landscape included fishing, hunting, trapping, craft production, and farming that occurred during the months of Spring, Summer and Fall. Wage labor practices off the Reservation were engaged during Winter months and were located throughout Virginia, and in cities along the East Coast. Wage labor opportunities typically included positions that incorporated knowledge affiliated with Reservation subsistence practices such as fishermen, and boat captains.
- 3) Kinship and gender played an integral role in shaping how these economic activities were practiced. Subsistence practices were organized and defined through the generational knowledge passed from mother to daughter and from father to son. Pamunkey boys and girls learned at young ages the practices typically assigned to their gender to ensure they became skilled practitioners as adults. Men were taught to engage hunting, trapping, fishing, particular aspects of horticulture, and migratory wage labor affiliated with their skill set based in landscape practices. Women were taught to manage the farmstead, household and family affairs, and supplemented subsistence

from the land with cash earned from pottery and other artistic or craft items they produced for sale. Women too, particularly at the turn of the twentieth century, engaged wage labor jobs.

- 4) The mixed economy on the Reservation dominated by subsistence practices and supplemented by wage earnings persisted through out the entire nineteenth century.
- 5) By turn of the twentieth century a transition away from the Reservation subsistence homestead economy begins to unfold as wage labor becomes the predominant means through which young Pamunkey people engaged the capitalist economy.
- 6) There are patterns in the ways Pamunkey people today understand and perceive this history, whether it be opinions related to archaeological research conducted on the Reservation, literature addressing Powhatan history, or varying perspectives on the meaning of these economic practices and their fundamental connection to the place that has fostered them for centuries.

While my understanding of the Pamunkey past and present is influenced primarily by Pamunkey voices, I am also influenced by anthropological theorists whose discussions of political economy and landscape provide a vocabulary useful for describing the patterns previously outlined. Particularly relevant are social theories that highlight the agency, endurance, and persistence of our nineteenth-century Pamunkey relatives. Because Pamunkey perspectives and

opinions were essential to this research endeavor and structured how I explored the patterns outlined above, I strived to incorporate theoretical discourses that effectively framed the opinions of contemporary tribal members on their community's economic history as well as perspectives on the community's role and place in the modern capitalist world. Thus I integrate theoretical approaches that not only frame and define the organization and operation of the larger capitalist world (e.g., Gunder Frank 1967; Wallerstein 1979) that bounded, and in many ways shaped the economic and cultural decisions/choices of peripheral communities (Wolf 1982), but I include those that articulate the role Indigenous systems of knowledge played in structuring colonial and capitalist expansion (Sahlins 1985, 1994, 1999).

In particular, these theoretical approaches speak to the rise of capitalism as an aspect of the colonial experience, and recognize Indigenous responses to the pressures and forces of an emerging market economy were shaped by deeply grounded cultural systems of knowledge. Knowledge of the landscape, kinship relationships, and traditional subsistence practices were employed by Pamunkey men and women to engage, appropriate, and structure the expansion and infiltration of industrial capitalism in nineteenth-century Tidewater Virginia. Moreover, anthropological theories of landscape and the experience of place and space are particularly relevant to understanding the central role the Reservation landscape played in structuring Pamunkey responses to this expansion (Basso 1996; Bender 2002; Bender et. al. 2007; Bowser and Nieves Zedeño 2009). Social theories framing the experience of creating space and a sense of place as

a multivalent and recursive process are integral to deconstructing Pamunkey economic life. They provide a useful frame through which to understand the complicated intersections between Pamunkey systems of knowledge, and the bounding force of the dominant colonialist world that shaped their economic choices and experiences from the nineteenth through the twenty-first centuries.

This dissertation is organized into eight focused chapters that explore the breadth and complexity of my research. I open with an in depth discussion of the specific methodologies and theoretical discourses employed to explore, answer, and frame the proposed research questions, the patterns uncovered in the data, and the conclusions drawn from those patterns. I continue by investigating the many facets that comprised nineteenth-century Pamunkey economic life.

Subsistence practices were divided along gender lines as certain activities were affiliated with Pamunkey men, and others affiliated with Pamunkey women.

Consumer choices are considered as Pamunkey tribal members residing on the Reservation used the cash earned from their economic endeavors to support the constant feedback loop that characterized the Reservation subsistence

homestead economy. Money earned was employed not only to purchase the necessary staples for one's family, but the materials and supplies that made the practice of these activities at the heart of the Reservation economy possible. The economic practices engaged to earn a supplemental wage off the Reservation in urban centers along the Atlantic Coast are also investigated. The transition away from the Reservation-based subsistence economy that began in the early

twentieth century is explored, as wage labor became the predominant means through which young Pamunkey people engaged the capitalist economy.

I conclude the dissertation by summarizing the questions, arguments, and conclusions drawn from the patterns in the archaeological, oral history, and documentary evidence. Highlighted are the contributions this dissertation research offers to the Pamunkey community, to Native history in the region, and to the discipline of anthropology. Most importantly, the dissertation's conclusion comes full circle to share the diverse value and meaning the contemporary community attributes to the Reservation as a place that maintained Pamunkey persistence and survival, and bore witness to their ancestors' lives and historical experiences.

Chapter 2: Methodologies and Theoretical Framework

This dissertation employs multiple methods and theoretical frameworks to uncover the historical relationship between Pamunkey traditional subsistence practices and the development of industrial capitalism in Tidewater Virginia during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Firstly, as a member of the Pamunkey Indian Tribe, my research agenda is broadly informed by methodologies in collaborative archaeology forwarded by scholars including Blakey (2008), Watkins (2000), Colwell Chanthaphohn (2008, 2009), Silliman (2008) and many others. These scholars employ a range of methodologies from client-based models (Blakey 2008), to engagement with descendent communities (Kerber 2006; Lippert 2006, Watkins 2000, Ferguson et. al. 2006, Biolsi and Zimmerman 1997, Colwell – Chanthaphohn 2008), to the inclusivity of Native worldviews, and Native notions of history and time (Atalay 2006, Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2008, Lippert 1997, Silliman 2008, Watkins 2000). Thus, collaborating with the Pamunkey community across various levels within the research process is the methodological foundation that informs all aspects of this research. For example, I have worked with the Chief and Council in developing both the archaeological and oral history research conducted on the Reservation. Interests and questions from tribal members have directly influenced the questions proposed in my dissertation research. I have hired and worked closely with tribal members in conducting archaeological fieldwork on the Reservation and material culture analysis in the laboratory. The Tribe's integral role in this project offers an entirely new perspective on the colonial narratives in Virginia.

This project also begins to address the almost complete lack of archaeological research on historic period Native communities in this region.

To explore questions surrounding Pamunkey strategies to market traditional subsistence practices, I triangulated methodologies (Denzin 1970:291) that employed historical archaeology (Lightfoot 2005; Rubertone 2000; Silliman 2004, 2005; Schieber and Mitchell 2010), oral history (Vansina 1965, 1985; Echo-Hawk 2000; Mason 2000; Trimble et. al. 2008), and archival research (Bernard 2006). These methodologies revealed evidence on nineteenth century Pamunkey economic life across multiple levels: 1) Archaeological analysis of a colonoware production site on the Reservation that speaks to Pamunkey women's engagement in the local earthenware market. 2) Community knowledge gleaned from Pamunkey people's life histories and memories of the community's responses to the market economy's infiltration. 3) The level of the outside observer uncovered from the documentary record that provided evidence on the market pressures experienced by the Pamunkey community.

The archival and documentary record provided data focused predominantly on Pamunkey men's economic practices of fishing, hunting, and trapping. The records were also particularly informative in highlighting the role urban centers played in their migratory movement along the Atlantic Coast as Pamunkey men engaged seasonal wage labor opportunities. Data from archaeological excavations conducted on the Pamunkey Indian Reservation at the Raymond Bush Site (44KW29) in 1979 and in 2010 revealed the central role Pamunkey women played in the region's local earthenware market. Ethnographic research

conducted by a variety of anthropological professionals and institutions over the past 120 years has revealed Pamunkey tribal members' intimate relationship with the Reservation landscape, and the various methods through which they used that relationship to engage the market economy. The early ethnological and ethnographic materials on Pamunkey by James Mooney (1907), Albert Gatschet (1893), John Pollard (1894) and Frank Speck (1928) were particularly useful and informative. Of these ethnographic works, Speck's ethnography yielded a wealth of information on the economic practices of the Pamunkey during the first decades of the twentieth century. Speck, a student of Franz Boas, first arrived in Virginia in the nineteen-teens looking to study the Powhatan descendent communities across the state. The Pamunkey, being one of the only tribal communities to still have a treaty relationship with the Commonwealth, served as Speck's informants and provided the introductions necessary for Speck to establish a working relationship with the non-reservated Indigenous communities in the state. The result was his 1928 ethnography *Chapters on the Ethnology of the Powhatan Tribes of Virginia* in which the Pamunkey were predominantly featured.

Oral history collected from tribal members over the past four decades discloses the personal experiences elder tribal members had in learning and practicing Pamunkey traditional subsistence activities. The oral history also highlights how these elder members understood the community's on-going transition within a capitalist economy. Importantly these interviews also present the varying opinions Pamunkey tribal members expressed about the topics

affiliated with this dissertation research. These opinions ranged from reflections on the field of archaeology, perspectives on the literature affiliated with their history, and personal understandings about the history and contemporary reality of their community.

Documentary Research

I explored a variety of archival resources ranging from census records, magazine and newspaper articles, legislative petitions, published recollections from Reservation visitors, personal correspondence, ethnographic fieldwork notes, and tribal meeting minutes. The sources allowed me to unearth information on economic practices employed by Pamunkey Indian people throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I acquired this evidence from a variety of sources and institutions that included the Library of Virginia, the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian's National Anthropological Archives, the American Philosophical Society, King William County Courthouse, and the Pamunkey Indian Tribe. While documentary resources and materials provide insight into the seventeenth and eighteenth century experiences of Pamunkey people, Pamunkey people are particularly interested in documenting the traditional subsistence practices that have characterized Pamunkey economic life over the past 150 years. As a result, I focused my attention on those documents that traversed the nineteenth century through the present-day. This time period is significant to tribal members because they look to this period of Pamunkey history as a time when the community experienced the most rapid change in their economic practices over a relatively short period of time.

Visitors' accounts of the Reservation also revealed compelling information on the natural landscape and the subsistence practices of Pamunkey families during the first half of the nineteenth century. Newspaper articles provided exceptionally detailed information on various aspects of Pamunkey life throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They described the Reservation landscape and provided detailed information on the economic role Pamunkey men played within and outside of the Reservation community. In particular, newspaper articles proved vital to piecing together economic ventures outside of the Reservation's boundaries, including the various jobs Pamunkey men held in cities located along the country's eastern coast. They also highlighted the link between Pamunkey men fishing these cities' ports for shad, and the decisions made by several of these same men and their sons to engage in wage labor in those same cities.

Nineteenth century archival records, from Hustings and Chancery Court Cases (Richmond and Petersburg for example) involving Pamunkey individuals, and legislative petitions filed by the Pamunkey Indian Tribal Government, also revealed the larger social contexts in which the Pamunkey were enmeshed throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The ways Pamunkey people navigated the surrounding dominant society were evident in numerous attempts to infringe on the few rights tribal members had. The most frequent efforts involved their right (as stipulated by treaty) to reside on their Reservation lands. In fact, this right was consistently threatened until the end of the nineteenth century. These documents further illuminate both legislative and

coordinated attempts by the White southern elite to draw lines between what was considered white and colored. This caused confusion (at best) over the racial identity of Pamunkey people. All of these factors greatly impacted the ways in which the Reservation community, particularly those who ventured off for wage labor work, navigated and participated within the capitalist economy.

To uncover the ways economic engagement manifested itself at the household level observed in the consumer practices of Pamunkey people, I carefully examined the claims individuals filed with the United States Southern Claims Commission (SCC). Beginning in 1871, the Tribe pursued a coordinated effort to file claims with the SCC to receive compensation for property that was conscripted by several Union encampments that frequented the Pamunkey River on and around “Indian Island” throughout the Civil War. After the Confederacy was defeated, the United States created the Southern Claims Commission to ensure those individuals who were loyal to the Union were compensated for their losses. The Pamunkey Indian Tribe began filing claims as soon as the Commission was established. However, the process was demanding as claimants were interrogated regarding their loyalties to the Union, and the details of their property losses. These detailed interviews provide unprecedented insight into the management and functioning of Pamunkey homesteads that speak to Pamunkey consumer practices as well as the gendered division of labor at the household level. Importantly, several Pamunkey Indian women filed claims or served as witnesses on claims, so several documents exist that speak to the

economic role women played in organizing and managing the day-to-day activities affiliated with the household during the mid-nineteenth century.

Census records for Pamunkey families and individuals living both on and off the Reservation proved useful in discerning job occupations tribal members held during the decades between 1850, and 1920. According to these records, the occupation overwhelmingly listed for Pamunkey women was “Keeping House.” Those listed for Pamunkey men centered on landscape and riverine activities including Farmer, Farm Laborer, Fishermen, and Sailor. Census data were particularly informative for revealing occupations Pamunkey men engaged off the Reservation or when living in urban centers including Petersburg and Richmond, Virginia. Census records demonstrated that knowledge of the riverine landscape was central for Pamunkey men as the majority of their occupations were listed as Fisherman and Sailor.

The archival materials created and collected by tribal members reveal, on a very personal level, the experiences of Pamunkey people during this time. Collections from the Tribe and individual members included an array of documents ranging from the Tribal Government’s meeting minutes, personal correspondence between family members, and between tribal leaders and representatives from various institutions, and newspaper articles featuring the Tribe or tribal members. The newspaper articles collected by tribal members are particularly telling about the community’s economic and social relationship with the city of Richmond. Interestingly two social columns, *Pamunkey Reservation* and *White House News*, distributed to Reservation residents from the 1920s to

the 1940s, speak to the social and economic life of Reservation residents and those living off the Reservation.

The documents outlined above provide a glimpse into both the personal lives of Pamunkey individuals and families as well as the Tribe's engagement with state institutions and political leaders. They offer clues on the economic environment and social pressures that faced the community. Importantly they shed light on broader tribal affairs including Reservation landscape management, the struggles to uphold their treaty rights, and the larger socioeconomic and sociopolitical concerns that confronted the community.

Oral History

Oral history is a source of knowledge regarding the past that has raised questions over its accuracy, perceived limitations, and applicability as a "legitimate" historical source. However, since the 1980s the significance of oral history as a valuable form of historical and cultural information has been consistently recognized (Vansina 1985; Grele 1991; Trimble et. al. 2008; Abrams 2010, etc.). The concept of oral history as both methodology and historical record encompasses collective cultural memories, personal narratives and individual stories told from first - person experiences (Trimble et. al. 2008:15). Its methods are currently employed in a variety of contexts, ranging from the academic (anthropology, sociology, history, psychology etc.) to the community level as a tool for grass roots organizations and educational programs. Oral history projects often contribute to practical, political or historical purposes (Abrams 2010:2).

Today scholars recognize oral history as both a methodology of choice and necessity for uncovering the experiences of historically underrepresented groups and communities. For the purpose of this research I follow Abram's (2010:2) conceptualization of oral history as the process of conducting and recording interviews with people in order to elicit personal stories, experiences and opinions from them about the past. More specifically, framing the oral testimony from Pamunkey tribal members collected between 2008 and 2016 took form as both life histories and project histories. As defined by Trimble et.al. (2008:15), life history refers to a series of interviews with one person about many aspects of that person's life. Project history encompasses a series of interviews with several people about a specific topic, place or theme (Ibid).

To uncover why knowledge of the Reservation landscape and the community's subsistence economy played such an important role in structuring Pamunkey engagement in the market, I conducted oral history interviews with elder members of the Tribe. These interviews uncovered details about their life experiences growing up on the Reservation, as well as memories and stories about the experiences of their parents and grandparents. I suggest their experiences of Reservation life during the early to mid-twentieth century provided a significant line of evidence to extrapolate on the ways Pamunkey people during their lifetime, and from previous generations, responded to market engagement and expansion. I also made the decision to interview contemporary Pamunkey potters. There are a number of Pamunkey women on the Reservation who continue to make pottery for sale in response to the market in tourism. These

women have firsthand knowledge of pottery production for exchange. Their experiences of making and selling pottery are pertinent because learning to make pottery is a trans-generation tradition. Thus, Pamunkey potters may be incorporating production and ceramic knowledge first used by their great – grandparents during the nineteenth century who also created pottery in response to market forces.

In addition to collecting life histories with individual tribal members, I also conducted project histories that went beyond employing oral history to reconstruct the history of Pamunkey economic experiences in nineteenth century Tidewater Virginia. This research was specifically focused on garnering the opinions and perspectives of tribal members on various topics including those related to the field of anthropology and archaeology, and the academic literature written about the Powhatan past. I was also concerned with uncovering tribal members' research interests related to our community's history, as well as the meaning and value they ascribe to the Reservation as a place of importance.

The life histories, stories and perspectives of the past shared in the oral testimony of tribal members are documents in their own right providing first-hand insight into Pamunkey market economic history. As Vansina explained, they are “documents of the present, because they are told in the present. Yet they also embody a message from the past, so they are expressions of the past at the same time. They are representations of the past in the present” (1985:xii). This framing of oral history foregrounds my understanding of the past as always encompassing the present-day because the past does not exist within a vacuum

devoid of contemporary perceptions. Both our individual and communal understandings and perceptions of the past are consistently formed by experience and memory that shape our perceptions and interpretations of the past.

The interviews I conducted between 2009 and 2016 were recorded with a digital hand-held recorder in the privacy of either the interviewer's or interviewee's homes. Rather than have participants sign a consent form, which I felt was too formal and would negatively alter the tenor of the interview, I chose to obtain verbal consent from tribal members.² Prior to recording the interviews I verbally communicated to tribal members that I would use their testimony for this research, and their statements would be referenced using their names. All tribal members quoted in this dissertation consented to the interview, and to the referencing of their statements and names. During the interview, my goal was for each participant to feel as comfortable as possible, and for the interview to follow a conversational cadence. I did have a set of prepared questions to guide the interview, but from previous oral history research with my tribal community, I knew that strictly following a line of predetermined topics and questions would not create an environment conducive for meaningful conversation. This of course lends itself to participants sharing beyond the topic of study. In my experiences though, and as advised by experts in the field of oral history scholarship (Trimble et. al. 2008), this is where some of the most interesting stories, memories and

² This explanation was accepted and approved by the College of William Mary's Protection of Human Subjects Committee.

information are shared. It all matters because so many of those interviewed were elderly. These elder members have lived lives that younger generations will not experience, and will only learn about through those stories shared by their grandparents. Any information they were willing to share, I was willing to listen and record.

It is my hope that these interviews will join the tribal archives; however, each interviewee will be asked to sign a deed of gift conveying permission for the Tribe to take ownership, and for it to be used for educational purposes³. Having these interviews accessible to the Pamunkey community is important because they document an economic way of life that rapidly transformed following the Second World War. For centuries, so many generations of Pamunkey families practiced the traditional subsistence activities that are the focus of this research. But within the blink of an eye, in less than half a century, it almost all unraveled, and was lost to so many of the generations born after World War II. Oral history conducted with the Pamunkey Indian Tribe for and beyond this research, provides us with the means to document cultural change on the one hand, while on the other, retaining the information of elder generations who witnessed this rapid transition so that these economic practices, that were once an intimate component of Pamunkey life, are not lost to future generations.

In addition to conducting my own interviews with tribal members I reviewed the oral historic record of the Pamunkey community garnered from

³ Currently these recorded interviews are safely secured on a flash drive that is locked in a safe box located in my personal office to which only I have access.

several sources. For example, imbedded in Frank Speck's ethnography were memories and stories shared from tribal members born during the mid-nineteenth century, and earlier in some cases. Their references to certain activities were particularly telling because they were less practiced during the early twentieth century; fishing for the market in sturgeon, and producing dugout canoes for example (Speck 1928:359-360;374-381).

During the 1980s the Tribe began a coordinated effort to document the memories and life experiences of its eldest tribal members. Referred to as the *Pamunkey Indian Oral History Project*, dozens of interviews were conducted by anthropologist Thomas Blumer, well known for his work with the Catawba Nation in South Carolina (2004, 2007). Transcripts of the interviews from the *Oral History Project* proved to be an invaluable component to my research as those interviewed were born at the turn of the twentieth century. These tribal members as children and young adults were the last generation to participate in Pamunkey economic life that emphasized traditional subsistence practices to engage the market economy. Importantly, this generation was also the first to initiate the transition towards market participation that became dominated by wage labor and was supplemented by traditional subsistence. Being that the majority of tribal members interviewed were in their eighties or older, they witnessed the unfolding of this transition for nearly a century.

I also reviewed transcripts of the oral history interviews conducted among tribal members during the first decade of the twenty-first century when

anthropologist, John Moore⁴, was completing the Tribe's petition for federal acknowledgement. Dr. Moore interviewed individuals on a variety of topics ranging from their feelings towards the 2007 commemoration of Jamestown's 400th anniversary to perspectives on the importance of both teaching and learning Pamunkey/Powhatan history from Pamunkey Indian perspectives.

Oral history proved to be a particularly meaningful methodology for uncovering and weaving together the Pamunkey past from the collected life histories of Pamunkey people. Not only did oral testimony of tribal members mirror the archival record, but they were particularly relevant in revealing the practices affiliated with the material culture uncovered from the Reservation's archaeological record. Thus, the oral history of the Pamunkey Indian Tribe proved to be an invaluable component to telling the story of the economic experiences, choices and reactions of Pamunkey people. As no other source could do, they revealed subjectivities associated with the historical processes of transitioning traditional subsistence practices to marketable endeavors.

More than just individual memories or personal reflections, "the information in the memories of community members, whether unchanging or

⁴ During the last decade of his career before retiring in 2010 Dr. John Moore was Research Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at the University of Florida. Known for his decades of work among and service to Native American communities, the Pamunkey Indian Tribe hired Dr. Moore to serve as the head anthropologist for our efforts in the process to obtain federal acknowledgement. He was the lead author of the Pamunkey Tribe's petition for federal acknowledgement. On January 28, 2016, the Pamunkey became the 567th federally recognized tribe in the United States. We are indebted to Dr. Moore for his dedication and exemplary scholarship. Sadly, Dr. Moore passed away on August 10, 2016 and he will be forever honored and remembered as a friend and advocate of the Pamunkey Indian Tribe.

adapted, first personal or traditional, reflects how people understand and shape experiences, power and identity” (Trimble et. al. 2008: 21). This “social construction of memory” as revealed through oral testimonies not only highlights historical particularities related to the Pamunkey past. It also provides the personal and emotional foundation to understand the meaning and value contemporary tribal members ascribe to this past, the place that has bared witness to it all, and how it all relates to their future. And this comes as no surprise, given that oral history is the method through which tribal members learn Pamunkey history. It is the personal memories of our family members, and the stories they share of the lives lived before us, that inform our understanding of what is intrinsically valuable and meaningful to defining important events, moments, and people in Pamunkey history. This way of learning about our history, and what is considered valuable about our past foregrounds the importance of oral history as coming “from the inside” (Vansina 1985:197). As Vansina expressed, “whether memory changes or not, culture is reproduced by remembrance put into words and deeds. The mind through memory carries culture from generation to generation” (Ibid:xi). The traditional subsistence activities at the heart of the Pamunkey economy were taught, practiced, and learned from one generation to the next. The knowledge needed to execute them was not written in a document, but was taught and learned through memory, verbal communication, and practice.

Archaeology

The archaeological investigations on the Pamunkey Indian Reservation build upon approaches centered on collaboration and civic engagement. My fieldwork on the Reservation represents an example of Indigenous Archaeology, and the historical archaeology of Native Americans. As a member of the Pamunkey Indian Tribe, the archaeological research conducted for this dissertation is influenced by the debates and discussions surrounding the notion of a collaborative Indigenous Archaeology (Silliman 2008) that is informed by Native values and carried out by, for, and with Native peoples (Nicholas 2008). In addition, my research is dedicated to subverting earlier studies focused on change and continuity among historic Native societies as if they could be tangibly and objectively measured. Rather, cultural continuity can be seen within cultural change because the fusion of different belief systems allowed cultural traditions to be preserved rather than erased.

However, the concept of collaborative archaeology is a relatively new addition to the field as ethical predicaments of ownership, authorship, participation and privilege (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2009) have paralleled post-modern discussions on discourse and deconstruction (i.e. Foucault 1969; Derrida 1978) and post-colonial theories (Spivak 1995, Bhabha 1994; Said 1978). These theoretical perspectives respond to the discipline's history and practice as grounded within Western ways of knowing and understanding the world (Smith and Wobst 2005:5). And it is the history of archaeological science and the intertwining of Native people (and their protests to archaeological investigation) that have

formed “archaeology’s intellectual architecture” (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2009:6). Today Native people use history and culture as political tools to readdress the imbalances inherent in America’s construction of an unequal, one-sided history (Thomas 2000). Moreover, the discipline is witnessing the rise of archaeologists, a number of them who are Native, publishing on the discipline’s history with Native communities (Colwell-Chanthaphohn 2009; Thomas 2000; Ferguson et al 1996; McGuire 1992; Schmidt et. al. 1995; Trigger 1985) and on the theoretical, methodological and ethical importance of collaborative research with descendent communities (Atalay 2006; Kerber 2006; Nicholas 1997; Norder 2007; Silliman, Lippert 2006; Watkins 2000, Wilcox 2010; Ferguson 2006; Biolsi and Zimmerman 1997; Colwell – Chanthaphohn 2008).

Related to these issues is the rising interest in the historical anthropology (Sahlins 1985, 1993, 1999) and historical archaeology of Native Americans (Lightfoot et. al. Silliman 2003, 2009; Rubertone 1994, 1996, 2000, 2001) that provides a parallel and useful framework on Indigenous peoples’ responses to colonialism as contextual, innovative and subsumed within their own deep-seated belief systems. These scholars are responding to earlier historical analyses that evaluated degrees of acculturation, and served as a means to providing a backward glance into earlier cultural periods rather than focusing on the reality of Native lifeways during the historic period (e.g. Herskovits 1938; Quimby et. al. 1951; Beals 1953; Cusick 1998a, 1998b; Hoover 1989; Fitting 1976).

As with the rise of decolonizing methodologies and Indigenous Archaeologies, recent archaeological and ethnohistorical literature on post A.D. 1500 Native American communities has been directly influenced by post-modern, postcolonial and post processual discourses. These literatures address colonial meta-narratives of passive Native acculturation and of scholarly and public assumptions about Native change and continuity. Pioneering scholars in the rising field of the historical archaeology of Native Americans are interested in moving beyond colonialist assumptions and narratives to better illuminate Native experiences of colonialism as understood through materiality, memory, identity, oral history, the inventiveness of tradition and contemporary Native perspectives (Lightfoot 1995, 1998; Rubertone 2000; Silliman 2005, 2009, 2010; Cusick 1998; Jordan 2010; Scheiber and Mitchell 2010; Wagner 2010; Wesson 1999; and Greene and Plane 2010). Others highlight the social, political, and economic environments faced and experienced by Native people during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries particularly within the contexts where race, cultural identity, tribal history and the marketplace intersect (Mandell 2008; Hosmer 1999; Usner 2009; Littlefield and Knack 1996; Rountree 1990, 2002; O'Brien 2010; Perdue 2003; and Rubertone 2001). All of these scholars engage in discussions on the history of studying Native people and societies post – A.D. 1500 that have been marked by shifts in theoretical and methodological perspectives. These perspectives include the direct historical approach, acculturation theory, debates over the terminology employed to categorize the Native past, and the

incorporation of multiple lines of evidence and theoretical perspectives on change and continuity within Native communities.

These scholars are looking to multiple and differing frameworks to ask: How do archaeologists change these narratives that are ingrained in the discipline, and the American consciousness? What does our archaeological language convey about the Native American past and our own assumptions? How can we better understand Native experiences with colonialism and further illuminate the realities of Native change and continuity following European contact? Other scholars including Silliman, Scheiber and Mitchel, and Rubertone look to temporal scale and memory to address the questions listed above. For example, Scheiber and Mitchel view archaeology as long term history in that Native communities, like European ones, were rooted in their histories shaped by long standing social relations, and value systems that differed across landscape from society to society (Stein 2005; Scheiber and Mitchel 2010:18). Silliman (2009, 2010) however, convincingly cautions overemphasizing the long-term vision of archaeology at the expense of the short term. Archaeology can also look deeply into the short term lived experiences of people where we can observe the development of new traditions that operate on smaller scales of history and social memory. According to Rubertone (2001:xii) memory is also important to how the past is understood because different ways of remembering the past represent significant reservoirs of knowledge. Importantly, the ways in which this knowledge is regulated or contained is crucial to comprehending Native peoples' colonial histories. The frameworks outlined above are particularly

relevant for archaeological research on the Pamunkey Indian Reservation. Change and continuity are not viewed as a static dichotomy; they are rather understood as interrelated processes. Change is observed in continuity as market forces, and the adoption of European made materials were subsumed within Pamunkey Indian knowledge of local and environmental resources, craft production, and within their own ways of utilizing technology.

Literature on the historical archaeology of Native Americans informs the archaeological research conducted on the Reservation. In this literature, post A.D. 1500 Native communities are seen to have complex histories of persistence and survival and enduring connections to community and place. Moreover, scholarship on the reciprocal intersections between Native identity and economic change provide counter narratives in Virginia. The Pamunkey were creative negotiators in their attempts to survive and persist through employing traditional knowledge of landscape and subsistence to garner entry into Virginia's market economy. Thus, we can observe not only evidence of continuity AND change, but continuity IN change because the incorporation of European traditions within Indigenous people's deep seated systems of knowledge was as a means of cultural continuity and survival.

Members of the Pamunkey Indian Tribe are no strangers to archaeology as a useful method in uncovering important information about our tribal history. Collecting archaeological material and initiating archaeological research to uncover more about our past has, in many ways, become a Pamunkey tradition in its own right. In fact, our history of collecting and using archaeological

material, and engaging professionals to conduct archaeological investigations on the Reservation served as the foundational support in the Tribe's decision to establish our museum that opened to the public in 1980. The Pamunkey Indian Museum and Cultural Center has displayed our material culture, ranging over a period of 10,000 years, to tribal members and Reservation visitors for over three decades.

Coming across material culture made and used by Pamunkey ancestors is a common occurrence on the Reservation because we are living on 1200 acres of land that has been occupied by Pamunkey people for countless generations. Despite the onslaught of colonial expansion in the region, our Reservation lands have never been occupied by anyone other than Pamunkey people. Not only did we continue to dwell within the landscape that has an extensive temporal archaeological footprint, but there is ethnographic and oral history evidence of Pamunkey people using archaeological materials for particular practices. For example, in his 1928 ethnography, Frank Speck discussed the art of constructing bow and arrow and recorded that "occasionally the Pamunkey mount stone arrowheads found in their fields upon such shafts fixing them with a cord or mulberry bark wrapping in a way which cannot much differ from the method of several centuries ago" (1928:349). He also mentioned that when descaling shad fish, women preferred to use the stone scrapers they would collect from old house sites (Ibid:372). Interestingly, they also used archaeological material to decorate their regalia.

In addition to reusing and repurposing archaeological material, Pamunkey people have also been avid collectors of the Reservation's archaeological record. George Major Cook, born in 1861 and Chief of the Pamunkey from 1902 until his death in 1930, held one of the largest collections. George Major's collection was on full display in a designated space within his home for visitors to view when on the Reservation. This collection was comprised of artifacts from the Reservation, ethnographic objects produced by tribal members, and other objects and artifacts from the region given to George Major as gifts from fellow tribal members, acquaintances, and even anthropologists (personal communication with Warren Cook, June 20, 2013). George Major's grandson, Warren Cook, explained that his grandfather,

"Had a lot of artifacts and turned a whole room in his house where he would display them. Hundreds of artifacts, not all from the Reservation; anthropologists and archaeologists would bring him things, and other people on the Reservation would give him things they found... [because] he was the chief and he was supposed to have it" (Ibid).

When I asked my grandfather Warren why George Major valued these objects so highly as to dedicate an entire room to their display, he responded,

"I think he was keeping up part of the tradition and part of the culture... part of the history, and I think he wanted to really keep a part of that in his house to share with people, and he did share. He had hundreds of people come to his house, and then he gave it all to my father, and then my father gave it me, and then I gave it to the museum" (Ibid).

George Major's collection served as the foundation to establish our tribal museum, and it is still on display today for the public to view, and to learn about the history of the Pamunkey people.

Due to this respect our relatives gave to the archaeological record of our ancestors, and due to the efforts of tribal members and archaeologists to establish our museum to share our history, many Pamunkey people have been exposed to the field of archaeology. We have had the rare opportunity to directly observe the value and importance archaeological research can bring to our community. Unfortunately, this relationship and our belief that archaeological research should be a collaborative endeavor is in stark contrast to the majority of archaeological research conducted in Virginia. Our anthropological and archaeological work on the Reservation serves as a research model shaped and molded through community engagement. With this research model, coupled with our new status as a federally recognized tribe, it is my hope that our participation, perspectives and voices will be more adequately represented in research focused on Powhatan and Pamunkey history. Tribal member participation in archaeological investigations demonstrates that we are not only capable of conducting archaeological research, but that we have a significant and interesting story to tell about our past. As one of the most archaeologically investigated places on the Reservation, the Raymond Bush Site provides the ideal platform from which to tell the story of Pamunkey economic life and experiences in Tidewater Virginia during the nineteenth century.

Raymond Bush Site (44KW29)

In this dissertation, I utilize archaeological evidence of colonoware ceramic production on the Pamunkey Indian Reservation at the Raymond Bush Site. The Site was first identified in 1979 by an archaeological survey led by the Virginia

Research Center for Archaeology in connection to the Reservation's nomination to the National Register of Historic Places as an archaeological district. The features excavated at 44KW29 consisted of a large trash pit and intersecting trench dating to the mid eighteenth through early nineteenth centuries. Artifacts from these features included colonoware sherds and vessel fragments, unfired shell-tempered clay, fired-clay wasters, bricks, iron nails, a variety of European ceramics, glass bottles, shot, gunflints, led sprue, kaolin pipes, and local Chesapeake pipes. Because I believed this site provided material evidence of the Pamunkey peoples' efforts (women in particular) to negotiate their role within an economic world dominated by Euro-Americans, I decided, with approval and permission from the Pamunkey Chief and Council, to conduct a preliminary field season during the summer of 2010. Along with many volunteers from the community, this investigation, funded by the Society for American Archaeology's Native American Graduate Student Grant, employed three members of the Pamunkey Tribe, one member of the Mattaponi Tribe, and one colleague, Christopher Shephard, hired as a research assistant to conduct field research.

Because the Reservation has evidence of occupation of up to 7,000 years, and due to the site's adjacent location to the Pamunkey River, it was likely that it held evidence of multiple occupations. Therefore, to better define the site's spatial and temporal dimensions I conducted a ten-meter internal shovel-test survey. (See Figure 2-1). After we determined three particular areas of interest based on the type and amount of post seventeenth century artifacts and the potential for features, we initiated a Phase Two excavation, opening six, two

meter by two meter units in three specific locations: 1) on the site's eastern edge along the Pamunkey River bank, 2) at the site's northern boundary located edge of the tree line bordering the site, and 3) at the site's western boundary on top of the hill that marked the highest elevation point (See Figure 2-1). The Raymond Bush Site revealed an expansive temporal depth with tens of thousands of artifacts revealing a date-range of occupation within the site boundaries over a 5,000-year span of time⁵. All artifacts, soil samples and flint samples⁶ were taken to the archaeology laboratory at the College of William and Mary to be processed, and catalogued.



Figure 2-1. Aerial Image with STP and Test Unit Location

⁵ This date range was determined by the presence of several Morrow Mountain I projectile points uncovered from the sheet midden present in the test unit located at the site's western most boundary.

⁶ Soil samples were collected, but they have not been analyzed. Flot samples were also collected and processed into light and heavy fraction; however, they too have not been analyzed. These samples could yield a wealth of information on the ethnobotanical component to the site revealing information on the types of plants (domestic and wild) that were present during the early nineteenth century occupation.

Due to lack of funding and constraints on time and research scope only the artifacts were analyzed. There were over 20,000 artifacts uncovered from the Raymond Bush Site that ranged from a variety of Indigenous and European made ceramics, lithics, nails, brick, oyster shell, glass beads, buttons and other adornment items, farming equipment, glass fragments, kaolin and Chesapeake pipes, lead shot and sprue, and animal bone fragments.⁷

The four adjacent units excavated along the riverbank proved to be the area of particular interest. Within these units were two large pit features (Ft. 3 and Ft. 5, see Figure 2-2) both approximately one and half meter in diameter. Both features were bisected on an East to West axis, with the northern and southern portions excavated separately at

an arbitrary ten-centimeter interval. Feature 3 encompassed portions of all four adjacent test units (TU 2, 4, 5 and 6) and reached a maximum depth of

sixty centimeters. Feature 5 was located within TU 4 and reached a maximum depth of seventy

centimeters. While both features yielded a wealth of artifacts of Indigenous and European origin, there was an overwhelming amount of colonoware ceramics.



Figure 2-2. Four Excavated Units. Feature 5 is the pit located in the northeast corner of the block and Feature 3 is located immediately below in the center of the block. Photo courtesy of author.

⁷ I am not a zooarchaeologist, but I have had enough exposure to recognize the presence of bone fragments from various animals including pig, cow, muskrat, deer and fish.

Feature 3 yielded more evidence of ceramic production as it held the fragments of approximately five partially mendable vessels. Vessel types appeared to include one jar, one plate, one pipkin (footed cooking pot), one shallow bowl, and one handled bowl or cup (See Figures 2-3 and 2-4). These vessels were associated with unfired clay, clay wasters, ceramic sherds, and charcoal, further



Figure 2-3. Shallow Bowl excavated from Feature 3. Photo courtesy of author.

suggesting this area along the river was a pottery production site. Feature 5 took on a rectangular shape as the excavation proceeded. When compared to similar features uncovered across Virginia⁸ and particularly from a contemporaneous



Figure 2-4. Base of pipkin excavated from Feature 3. Photo courtesy of author.

Catawba Indian site located in South Carolina, it appears both features could have originally served as root cellars. While further archaeological research needs to be conducted to prove this argument, there is evidence of a possible contemporaneous structure affiliated with the root cellar pits. This interpretation is supported by the presence of a posthole and mold (Ft. 4), and various additional post molds

⁸ Archaeologists in Virginia that have published on root cellars or subfloor pits argue these features are affiliated predominantly with enslaved African American living quarters on plantations in Virginia (Samford 2007).

scattered throughout adjacent test units 2,4,5 and 6. Furthermore, the root cellar or subfloor pits excavated at historic Catawba sites located along the Catawba River in present day Lancaster and York Counties, South Carolina⁹ are identical to those uncovered from Pamunkey. As depicted in Figure 2-5, this interesting characteristic is demonstrated in the large granite boulders located at the bottom of the pits, as uncovered from Feature 5 at the Raymond Bush Site. Catawba is a fitting comparison given the similar cultural affiliations associated with Native communities of the Eastern Woodlands. More specifically though, the Pamunkey and Catawba communities have historical connections that are supported in the documentary record, and in their similar pottery production traditions that are linked through ethnography and oral history.¹⁰

To obtain a relative date for the occupation and use of the site I analyzed the European-produced ceramics uncovered from Features 3 and 5 to establish a relative date of 1804. It appears these features were contemporaneous as the majority of ceramics uncovered were pearlware fragments whose vessel forms

⁹ See *Archaeology in the Old Catawba Nation* by the Catawba Project (Steve Davis and Brett Riggs)

¹⁰ It is plausible that this connection between both communities developed as each sent boys to be educated at the Brafferton Indian School at the College of William and Mary throughout the eighteenth century. Both communities also had men serve in the American Revolution. One Pamunkey man in particular, Robert Marsh, attended the Brafferton with Catawba students and was imprisoned during the American Revolution as a prisoner of war in Charleston, South Carolina with fellow Catawba soldiers. Robert and his wife Elizabeth (also a Pamunkey Indian) moved to the Catawba community after the war where Robert served as the community's Baptist minister. He and Elizabeth had a total of nine children, five of which survived to adulthood. They all married Catawba tribal members. These cross connections are taking place during the same time pottery is being produced at the Raymond Bush Site.

indicated the dominant presence of plates¹¹. Even though the dates affiliated with the diagnostic European ceramics ranged from 1733 to 1860, the overwhelming presence of pearlware points to the site being most heavily occupied and used during the early nineteenth century.



Figure 2-5. Granite boulder at the bottom of Feature 5. Photo courtesy of author.

It appears that this space adjacent to the Pamunkey River served multiple purposes during the early nineteenth century. What purpose se the structure located next to the two pit features may have served can only be answered with further archaeological research. However, this area appears to have served two distinct purposes: 1) a place to construct root cellars for the storage of perishable or valuable goods that were later used as refuse pits to discard trash, and 2) a space heavily used by Pamunkey women to produce colonoware ceramics for both market and household reasons.

Furthermore, this space and the purposes they served were more than likely affiliated with a Pamunkey homestead that was likely operated by a Pamunkey family (or families) over multiple generations. This assessment is based on several factors including: 1) The presence of artifacts typically related to

¹¹ It is important to note that European ceramics uncovered from the plow zone fill in TUs 2, 4, 5, and 6 where the pits features were located was also dominated by the presence of pearlware. Vessel forms included plates, tea cups and serving dishes. This indicates that most of the pearlware ceramics were table forms traditionally used for serving, and for not food preparation or storage.

household and farming activities such as personal adornment items (buttons, garment clasps, glass beads), building materials (brick, nails, window pane glass), farming and livestock equipment (bridle fragments, and metal hoes), and various objects affiliated with household life (European ceramics, glass bottles, metal cutlery, sewing materials and animal bone fragments). 2) Oral history from several elder tribal members revealed that pottery was both produced and sold within the individual households of female potters (personal communication with Warren Cook December 30, 2007; personal communication Joyce Krigsvold January 2, 2008). 3) Oral history also reveals that household sites on the Reservation have been continually utilized and occupied for generations by the same families.

Importantly, houses and other structures were often built on top of previous ones. Remnants of the old orchard are still located on the site, and the oldest structure currently standing on the site is a residential two-story farmhouse constructed during the 1890s. Given that this historic house is strategically located at the highest elevation point on the site, it was mostly built on top of the house structure occupied by the family who utilized this during the earlier half of the nineteenth century. It is also feasible that descendants of these early nineteenth century residents still reside on site. The current residents are two sisters, one in her eighties and the other in her nineties. Both women are the daughters of Ada Bush, a well-known Pamunkey potter who spent her lifetime at this site. The Tribe did not document the names of family members living on these allotted homesteads across the Reservation. However, given the

generational patterns in both the production of pottery, and homestead residence on the Reservation, it is very likely members of Ada's family were residing there. Therefore, it is plausible that women from her family, Ada's grandmother for example, were producing pottery at this site.

There is immense potential for further analysis to address questions about the organization of this early nineteenth century Reservation homestead. These questions could cover a range of topics including the role of domesticated plants and animals in comparison with wild varieties in Pamunkey diets, and the number and types of structures affiliated with a nineteenth century Pamunkey homestead. For the purpose of this research analytical attention was given to the colonoware ceramics. Analysis focused on uncovering patterns in the extent and level of production (how much was being produced), the form, type and number of vessels, vessel technology (how the vessel was constructed), tempering agents, and decorative treatments. The colonoware analysis revealed the Raymond Bush Site informs scholarly discussions surrounding colonoware as a noteworthy material culture type. Not only is it one of the few known production sites in the Chesapeake region, the period of production occurs well into the nineteenth century. Most importantly, archaeological evidence of every stage necessary to produce a ceramic vessel is clearly observed.

Unfired raw clay was uncovered from the two most prominent features. The texture and color of this clay is consistent with clay extracted today from the veins historically exploited by Pamunkey potters for the past 150 years. Tempering agents included sand, grog, mica flakes (micaaceous temper), and

shell, which was the most preferred temper type. Evidence of manufacturing methods from fragmented vessels point to potters coiling or stacking slabs of clay on top of one another that were shaped through scraping and smoothing both the interior and exterior. Evidence also points to Pamunkey potters producing a wide range of vessel types used for activities typically affiliated with a nineteenth century household. Between the 1979 and 2010 excavations approximately twenty-nine fragmented vessels were recovered with forms ranging from plates, mugs, pipkins, porringers, to footed cooking pots, jars and jugs.

An assortment of decorative techniques was also observed including stylized rims, clay slipped exteriors, and burnished exteriors were the most popular treatment. Painted exteriors were the most unique decorative technique discovered. To my knowledge of the known archaeological sites in Virginia where colonoware is present, the only painted examples have been uncovered on the Pamunkey Indian Reservation. The process of firing was observed in the non-uniform coloring of the fragmented vessels, which points to varying levels of oxidation. In fact, evidence of firing errors was uncovered in the form of clay wasters.

While the archaeological record and oral history place this production site at the household level there are several markers that speak clearly to ceramic production for market. The number of colonoware sherds, a total of 10,629 uncovered from the 2010 excavations alone, point to production that extended well beyond use for a single household. This assessment is further supported when compared to the total of European produced ceramics uncovered, 952.

This colonoware to European-made ceramic ratio, and the total number of colonoware fragments, unique in Virginia¹². The variety in both vessel type/function and decorative techniques uncovered from the site further indicates Pamunkey women were not making pottery for household use alone. They were producing in response to market demands in earthenware needed for nineteenth century households, and in some instances potentially to the aesthetic sensibilities of consumers as well.

Why are these data and the conclusions they render particularly significant to the historical archaeology of the region in general, and in particular, to the discussions of colonoware as a significant type of material culture? At its most basic, the term colonoware has been typically defined as “a general term used to refer to numerous varieties of low-fired, locally produced, hand-built earthenware recovered from sites dating from the late seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries in the eastern United States” (Singleton and Bograd 2000:4). The majority of archaeologists who have come across evidence of colonoware production (i.e. Deetz 1996, 1999; Ferguson 1992; Kelso 1984; Epenshade and Kennedy 2002) have tended to treat colonoware as a creolized object associated with African American ethnicity. The ware has been subject to heated debates

¹² This statement is based on the number of colonoware ceramic sherds queried among all Virginia plantations sites and their various contexts included in the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS). Only a total of 2,165 colonoware ceramic fragments have been uncovered from various contexts affiliated with eleven Virginia plantations dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Colonoware uncovered from archaeological collections at Colonial Williamsburg could outnumber the amount collected from the Raymond Bush Site; however, this would be a comparison between a rural production site and various contexts affiliated with an urban population center.

regarding the notion that some objects may serve as ethnic markers (e.g., Ferguson 1992; Mouer et al. 1999). Colonoware first came to light as an interesting form of material culture affiliated with colonial Virginia in 1962 when Ivor Noel Hume presented his publication, *An Indian Ware of the Colonial Period*. Noel Hume was designated as the first archaeologist to define the smoothed/burnished earthenware vessels encountered in excavations at Williamsburg, Jamestown, and plantations along the James and York Rivers. He referred to these types of ceramics as “Colono-Indian ware”(1962:7), concluding that Native people, the Pamunkey in particular, were the sole producers.

Interestingly though in reviewing Frank Speck’s 1928 *Chapters on the Ethnology of the Powhatan Tribes of Virginia* it appears Speck was the first to identify this type of pottery and its relationship to the Pamunkey community forty years prior to Noel Hume’s 1962 publication¹³. In his 1928 ethnography Speck described the pottery fragments uncovered from surface finds on the Reservation, artifacts archaeologists today would refer to as colonoware. He referred to the,

“Abundance of a thinner, light-drab ware, very smooth both inside and outside and other wise characteristic by an absence of incisions or impressions of any kind on the body. And besides these characteristics the clay out of which the latter ware was made contains no pebbles and not grit, but, on the other hand, a large portion of the powdered shells. For convenience, I shall label the ... unmarked gritless, refined material which is so abundant on the reservation, the *Smooth Ware* ” (1928:401).

¹³ It is important to note that Noel Hume does reference Speck’s contribution, and another manuscript on Pamunkey pottery published in 1951 by Theodore Stern.

This collection of *Smooth Ware* comprised “numerous angular bottoms, parts of curved handles or lugs, legs and knobbed lids, together with evidence of flat bottoms and the exclusive lipped rim style are indications of modifications in form bringing them into correspondence with the common European forms” (Ibid:403-404). Speck surmised that this *Smooth Ware* “came into being after the natives had changed their economic habits resulting from contact with the English” (Ibid:402)

Nevertheless, Speck’s contribution and Noel Hume’s theory were eventually challenged when archaeologists working in South Carolina uncovered colonoware in high frequencies within slave quarter contexts (Ferguson 1992:7-9). Arguing for a West African connection to the pottery based on manufacture technique and incised cosmological motifs that frequented these pots, Ferguson’s findings led to increased attempts by historical archaeologists (i.e. Deetz, 1996, 1999; Kelso 1984) to trace the African American origins of Chesapeake colonoware. Despite Mouer and colleague’s 1999 publication that stressed colonoware as a creolized object, reemphasizing the contribution of Native potters, enslaved African Americans continue to be viewed as the primary, if not sole, producers of colonoware ceramics.

Attempts at tracing an "authentic" ethnic identity to colonoware production, and placing its manufacture within the category of a creolized object born out of culture contact privileges an event-level framework of cause and effect that dismisses the deep structure of the social processes tied to these objects created, used, and sold by both African and Native communities. Importantly, it

also overshadows the role class played in the development of colonoware. Class is arguably the more relevant tie that bound colonoware production, Native Americans, enslaved African Americans, and according to some arguments, poor white producers. We cannot ignore the role class played in the creation of this material type as it manifested within the bounds of a colonialist society where people of color were not considered socially, economically, or politically equal, and in the in the case of enslaved individuals, were denied their humanity.

The Raymond Bush Site resituates Pamunkey contributions to the creation of colonoware, and to the market in local earthenware that these potters undoubtedly engaged, and potentially dominated in Tidewater Virginia throughout the nineteenth century. Moreover, in triangulating the archaeological record with the oral historic and documentary records, this Reservation homestead colonoware production site provides the evidence necessary to move beyond the stifling debate surrounding the ethnic identity of producers. Rather we can shift focus to tell the story of a marginalized community that created a unique form of material culture that incorporated both Native and non-Native technology and ideas demonstrating the inventiveness of a tradition that changed in order to continue.

Furthermore, data uncovered from the Raymond Bush Site that aid in exploring Pamunkey marketing of traditional subsistence practices can shed light on transformations in kinship ties and gender roles. The pottery production component to this site is significant in providing evidence of Pamunkey Indian engagement in the regions market economy, particularly those of Pamunkey

women who were the predominate producers of pottery. Women made pottery and men hunted, fished and trapped. These tasks were organized around kinship ties and defined through the generational knowledge passed from mother to daughter and from father to son. As is the case with many communities enmeshed within colonized societies, the experiences of men tend to dominate the documentary record and we have numerous references on the subsistence practices marketed by Pamunkey men. While the documentary record is scarce in highlighting the economic role of Pamunkey women, we have a tangible, material object easily identified in the archaeological record that illuminates the role women played in marketing Pamunkey subsistence practices. Women have traditionally been the producers and teachers of pottery making. Thus, this practice informs us about the transfer of knowledge, and the role women had and continue to have as bearers of the community's ceramic tradition.

The Raymond Bush Site is one of only a few historic Native American sites that have been archaeologically investigated in Virginia.¹⁴ This is important because archaeological analyses tend to focus on the Late Woodland and Contact periods examining the rise, and expansion of the Powhatan chiefdom as well as the chiefdom's social, political and economic organization prior to or at

¹⁴ While historic sites occupied by Indigenous people in Virginia have been archaeologically investigated, they are unfortunately few and far between, and the majority of those investigated are from the seventh century. Camden (44CE3) is a well-known historic site located south of the Rappahannock River in Caroline County that was occupied by Virginia Indians ca. 1650-1690 (McCord 1969). There has also been minimal archaeological survey on the former Nottaway (Binford 1965) and Gingaskin Reservations (Chris Shephard's 2011 Surface Survey).

the event of European contact (Stewart 1998, 2004; Egloff and Potter 1982; Dent 1995; Klein 1994, 1997; Potter 1993, 2006; Gallivan 2003, 2005, 2007; Hantman 1990; Gleach 1997; Williamson 2003). Following theoretical shifts within the discipline (i.e. Steward 1955, Rappaport 1968, 1971; Sahlins and Service 1960; Sahlins 1964) much of the archaeological research conducted in Virginia continues to favor a cultural ecological framework, and tends to privilege the English colonial narratives through which to understand Powhatan life ways. This has led some scholars in the region to understand Indigenous culture change in terms of an erasure of connections to their culture, traditions, landscapes and communities.

This research has tended to employ an event level focus where European colonial expansion is framed as “contact” between two cultures. Rather colonialism should be understood as a process where Indigenous communities referenced their deep-seated systems of knowledge to structure responses to colonial expansion and interaction. The Raymond Bush Site, coupled with the oral historic and archival records, provides a counter narrative to these assumptions about Indigenous communities following the onslaught of European colonial expansion. This place also provides a rare glimpse into the lives, responses, negotiations of Pamunkey Indian people in particular as they devised an economic strategy to meld and incorporate both traditional and novel practices. This ingenuity created an environment that fostered Pamunkey persistence, survival, and continuity as they adapted traditional subsistence practices into marketable industries, services, and sellable objects.

Theoretical Framework

To frame the patterns uncovered in the data from the lines of evidence previously outlined, as well as Pamunkey reflections on these patterns and approaches, I employed a tool kit comprised of anthropological discourses that address theories of political economy and landscape. Inspired by Pamunkey memories, perspectives, and reflections on their community's history of engaging the capitalist economy, I chose to employ a vocabulary centered on political economic experiences of uneven development (Roseberry 1989) and the role landscape plays in shaping society and culture.

It was important that I incorporate social theories that allowed me to place the tribal community as the central point of reference in structuring my questions, arguments and conclusions. I wanted to engage a theoretical framework that recognized and emphasized the centuries-old knowledge of the Reservation landscape in shaping the tribal community's ability to engage the infiltration of a capitalist economy. However, I would be remiss if I did not also recognize the lives and economic choices made by Pamunkey people were in many ways bounded and informed by the dominant society that assumed their peripheral status.

I experienced difficulty in determining the theoretical perspectives that were most useful in structuring my arguments and understanding of this material. It was particularly difficult to find the best approach through which to frame the ways Pamunkey people understood and placed meaning on this research. Therefore, I situate my theoretical frame (or frameworks) within an overarching

understanding that social theory is a form of “discourse” (Gregory 1993). The term discourse emphasizes the “embeddedness of social theory in social life” (Ibid:274). Underscoring social theory as a form of discourse brings to the forefront the politics of social theory where knowledge and power intersect to structure questions, methodologies and conclusions within a Western worldview (Ibid).

Bender takes this a useful step forward in referring to social theory as “western” discourses. The term western “not only locates them geographically, but also locates the historical source of their power. These discourses are located in the post-Enlightenment, expansionist, capitalist worlds” (2002:S104). Highlighting this overarching perspective on the concept of social/anthropological theoretical discourse stresses the very real struggle I faced in framing both Pamunkey economic history, and contemporary perspectives the tribal community has on this history. Therefore, I constructed a theoretical “tool kit” that address the macro and micro scale of processes at work to outline: 1) the overarching political economic impacts of uneven development on marginal communities (macro), and 2) the methods through which peripheral communities engaged, appropriated, incorporated and negotiated these impacts on the ground (micro).

At its foundation, my research is concerned with taking an anthropological approach to understanding the “economic life” (Carrier 2005:3) of Pamunkey people in nineteenth century Tidewater Virginia. Economic life comprises “the activities through which people produce, circulate and consume things...[and] the

ways that people and societies secure their subsistence or provision themselves” (Ibid:3). An anthropological approach to understanding economic life is concerned with placing people’s economic activities, their thoughts and beliefs about those activities, and the social institutions implicated in those activities, all within the context of the social and cultural world of the people being studied (Ibid:4).

Because the theoretical realm of economic anthropology is a vast one, I incorporate theoretical discourse that addresses economic life and experiences framed through the lens of political economy (Gunder Frank 1967; Wallerstien 1979; Wolf 1982; Sahlins 1985, 1994, 1999; Roseberry 1989). Influenced by the work of Karl Marx, the concept of political economy in the discipline of economic anthropology has evolved, and is varied. For the purpose of this research I situate the concept of political economy as an endeavor to understand societies and markets as interrelated, historically evolving phenomena that encompass intersections between the social, political, cultural and ideological components of society (Wolf 1982). Political economy situates economies as historically grounded taking into account different contexts of industrialization, power relations between societies, and processes of conflict and exploitation (Shades 2005:27). In particular, I strove to incorporate theoretical frames of political economy as they recognize sufficient attention needs to be paid to cultural differentiation, and to the social and political inequalities that affect peoples’ understandings of the world, other persons, and themselves (Roseberry 1989:13-14). Situating a political economic framework for this research illuminates the

unequal development that characterized Pamunkey economic life during the nineteenth century. Furthermore, it frames Pamunkey experiences with an understanding that economy is politically defined, culturally relative, and hierarchically organized between the powerful and marginalized.

Questioning the modernization¹⁵ approach to economic development in the 1960s, Andre Gunder Frank (1967) and later Immanuel Wallerstein (1979) responded with developing World Systems theory. Influenced by Fernand Braudel's three-tiered concept of historical time conceived during his tutelage with the Annales school, Gunder Frank and Wallerstein developed theoretical perspectives concerned with the capitalist world system, and how this system came into being as the relationship between the capitalist metropolis/core, and the marginalized satellite/periphery unfolded. Gunder Frank articulated that development and underdevelopment were not separate phenomena, but were closely bound as the capitalist center extracted the surplus generated from the labor exercised in the dependent satellites. Wallerstein understood the growth of the market and the resulting worldwide division of labor generated a distinction between the core countries and the periphery. The two are linked by unequal exchange where high wages, high profit, and high capital-intensive goods are produced in the core and exchanged for low wage, low profit, and low capital-

¹⁵ Modernization theories of economic development became popular following the Second World War. They assumed that so-called third world countries' lack of development was their continual adherence to traditionalism rather than their historical relations with, and exploitation by the Western wealthier countries (Shades 2005:27).

intensive goods produced in the periphery. In sum, both social theory scholars articulated the development of the capitalist world system, and the arrangement of its developed and underdeveloped parts, were products of historical processes.

Economic anthropologist Thomas Patterson (2005) argued economic relations that existed in peripheral communities differed in their diversity from the relations that prevailed in communities that were dominated by industrial capitalism, and the capitalist mode of production. For example, many communities on the periphery were unable (or chose not to) to subsist exclusively on the basis of wages due to the unequal distribution of economic opportunity. Thus, they were forced to supplement their unequal economic circumstances with traditional subsistence activities that 1) yielded food, and goods, and 2) supported a small cash income when these activities were also utilized as commodities to be sold. Patterson concludes peripheral communities were more than likely manifesting both capitalist and non-capitalist modes of production and doing so in creative and innovative ways.

World Systems characterizations of the capitalist core and marginalized periphery provide a macro scale framework useful for situating the Pamunkey community. Pamunkey people were enmeshed within the larger worlds of the market economy and the dominant society in which they had no choice but to negotiate and navigate. On several levels the dominant society structured the ways in which the Pamunkey could economically engage and shaped Pamunkey economic choices in terms of: 1) The places they could practice economic

activities, 2) The economic practices in which Pamunkey people could participate, 3) The choices they made as consumers, and 4) How they responded to and managed economic uncertainty. The objects and services Pamunkey people produced, sold and consumed were not just about money or providing sustenance. They were reflective of power relations that not only influenced the economic choices made by Pamunkey people, but their objects and services also held the power to define the Pamunkey people to the outside world, and to those who consumed their products. Pamunkey producers yielded this power of definition strategically as they offered goods and services that could be readily produced given their location, and easily identified with their status as Indian people.

Importantly, Pamunkey people did not have a choice but to seek out spaces that provided a degree of safety and autonomy when engaging the market economy. For the Pamunkey these safety zones of economic engagement took place on the Reservation, on the waterways of the Atlantic Coast, and within urban communities of color. In nineteenth century Virginia Pamunkey people employed “safe” economic practices that were founded in their traditional subsistence practices tied to the land and water providing both food and cash. The Pamunkey community’s peripheral status affected their choices as consumers and limited access to the materials they could not produce themselves. Tribal members also had to face economic uncertainty as they transitioned towards an economy more reliant on wage labor opportunities at the turn of the twentieth century. The pull of the capitalist economy coupled with an

increasingly racially stratified and segregated South pushed a younger generation of Pamunkey tribal members to find wage labor jobs in the cities of Richmond, Virginia and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

While it is important to understand how peripheral communities mitigated the impacts wrought by the unequal relationship with capitalist cores, it is equally critical to uncover how these communities were able to shape these impacts in ways that supported their survival and persistence. Economic life among peripheral communities was developed through the strategic use, reference and adaptation of what was familiar and available, thus structuring the bounds and limitations enforced by the core to their advantage.

Unfortunately, archaeologists and the general public have typically seen the increasing reliance of Native people on market goods as evidence of cultural change or acculturation (Silliman 2009:213). However, these same judgments and assumptions have not been applied to Euro-Americans as their engagement in an increasingly global market has been viewed as persistence and progress. Earlier scholarship and popular opinion have argued Indian participation in the market and wage labor initiated wholesale assimilation, and the dissolution of Indian identity. However, recent scholarship has emphasized the historical contingency of the relationships between the capitalist world system and Indigenous locals. These theories caused a shift in thinking away from the idea of culture change as acculturation, to a much more complex study of the political, economic, and cultural impact of Western expansion (Wilk and Cliggett 2007).

For example, in his groundbreaking publication, *Europe and the People without History*, Eric Wolf shifted Worlds Systems theory to emphasize the notion that global processes should be studied within their local context. Local worlds, as understood by Wolf, are marked and sometimes dominated by transnational economic processes, but they adapt in flexible ways retaining, adopting, and transforming culture as they move along (1982:x). Through modifying theories of capitalism to fit local circumstances, Wolf demonstrated the great transformative power of the capitalist systems of production, consumption, and distribution, and more specifically, how trade and later industrial production on a massive scale, transformed local communities worldwide (Ibid:xiv).

It is important to note that despite the advances made in highlighting capitalist expansion as a historical process and situating those processes at the local level, discussions of Indigenous reactions to this expansion have tended to invoke a top-down narrative. This top-down approach situates capitalist expansion as acting upon Indians as passive objects to their historical circumstances (Sahlins 1994). Archaeologist Chris Gosden eloquently articulated this divide,

“World systems approach offers a world-historical view that is useful in the identification of long term trends and processes, but postcolonial theory offers a complementary perspective focusing on the local rather than the global on the contingent rather than the inevitable and on the agency of the colonized rather than the power flowing from the imperial centers” (2004:7).

Situating this perspective within a discussion of Indian agency further highlights the importance of local histories in the explorations of colonial and postcolonial eras. The daily experiences of Indigenous communities where these colonial and market processes unfolded, but were culturally and structurally situated, are

observed and uncovered through memory, oral history, archival research and the archaeological record. They provide the bottom up narratives necessary in more fully understanding the processes of colonial and market expansion Indian people had to negotiate in order to create a viable economic life for themselves and their families.

Exploring the experiences of Pamunkey Indian people and the role knowledge of traditional subsistence practices played in shaping Pamunkey responses to the infiltration of a capitalist market economy is best approached through an ethno-ethnohistorical (Fogelson 1989). This framework articulates the role Indigenous systems of knowledge played in structuring the conjuncture of colonial expansion (Sahlins 1985, 1994, 1999). Responding to debates within the field of economic anthropology surrounding materialist versus idealist perspectives, and the political economy of the world system, Marshal Sahlins (1976, 1985, 1994) supported a theoretical approach that foregrounded local or Indigenous responses to colonial expansion by considering deep-seated and logical structures of knowledge. Sahlins (1994:412) argues that World Systems scholars (e.g. Andre Gunder Frank [1967] and Immanuel Wallerstein [1979]) have presented colonized (peripheral) people as passive objects of history and not its authors in which “colonized societies no longer possess their own laws of motion without any structure or system to them except that given by Western capitalist domination.” Despite Wolf’s (1982) attempts to examine the ways in which local communities organize expansion in their own cultural terms, Sahlins argues that he actually demonstrates the ways in which colonized peoples were

drawn into the larger colonial system to suffer its impact and become its agents (1994:413).

To better articulate his argument that colonial and capitalist forces are socially constituted and their effects culturally determined (1976:14), Sahlins developed an approach that took seriously the “structure of the conjuncture” (1985). The structure of the conjuncture refers to “the practical realization of the cultural categories in a specific historical context, as expressed in the interested action of the historic agents” (Ibid:xiv). These actions are meaningful in reference to a particular cultural structure, and they are eventful as the consequences of these actions reproduce and transform the cultural structure that constitutes and shapes the action to begin with (Gleach 1997:10). While reproduction and transformation may be externally induced, Sahlins argues persuasively that it is indigenously orchestrated. The process is creatively and meaningfully inventive as externalities are indigenized, engaged in local configurations becoming different from what they were (Sahlins 1999:412).

Influenced by Sahlins’ theoretical approach, Fogelson recognized the limitations of ethnohistorical scholarship that relied heavily on documentary sources authored by those who were the agents of colonial and market expansion. Fogelson’s ethno-ethnohistorical approach provides an alternative method by taking seriously “Native theories of history as embedded in cosmology, in narratives, in rituals, and ceremonies and more generally in native philosophies and worldviews” (1989:134-135). Sahlins and Fogelson provide a framework that articulates the rise of capitalism as a colonial experience. The

approach they support recognizes Indigenous responses to the pressures and force of an emerging market economy were referenced through deeply grounded cultural systems of knowledge. These systems are observed in relationships to the landscape, kinship relationships and daily practices; all of which were invoked to structure the market's infiltration. Sahlins concepts of structure of the conjuncture and the inventiveness of tradition provide the micro lens through which to view Pamunkey responses to, and engagement with the market through a bottom up perspective

In coupling these macro (World Systems) and micro (structure of the conjuncture and inventiveness of tradition) frameworks, I recognize they can be at odds with one another, or as others would argue, incompatible (Roseberry 1989:13). Ultimately though, for framing the patterns uncovered from the archaeological, oral historic and archival data, I follow an approach (e.g. Silliman's work with the Eastern Pequot [2010]) that explores the economic life of peripheral communities as encompassing dual components. In the context of Pamunkey Indian community, economic practices served a dual function that comprised: 1) The constraints of the market capitalist economy, and 2) Their negotiation of those constraints. Those negotiations aided the Pamunkey in their ability to maintain an autonomous, self-sufficient community whose sense of belonging and being was founded in the Reservation landscape. It is this relationship to the Reservation landscape that supported the practice of traditional subsistence activities, and served as the community's tools of negotiation.

Sahlins' understanding of structure of the conjuncture is useful in framing the dual components of peripheral communities' economic experiences as they structured the conjuncture of an infiltrating capitalist economy within their own systems of knowledge. For the Pamunkey, this theoretical concept situates the Reservation landscape, and the subsistence practices tied to it, as the foundation of their systems of knowledge that defined their relationship with the processes at work in the rise of the capitalist economy. Undoubtedly the dominant world that surrounded the Reservation community shaped their ability to engage a cash economy. However, they appropriated this economy in ways that were defined and determined through their relationship to traditional subsistence practices passed from one generation to the next for centuries.

It is important to note that I am not referencing Pamunkey systems of knowledge that existed prior to European colonization. The period prior to colonial expansion should not be referenced as the steadfast baseline from which to measure change and continuity among economic practices and the material culture related to them. Following Silliman's argument, we

"Cannot assume that the cultural practices of Native Americans immediately before Europeans arrived on the scene in any give area are necessarily the baseline against which to measure all subsequent periods. Using such baselines makes sense for looking at immediate postcontact changes, but perhaps not for those two or three centuries later" (Silliman 2009:217).

It is detrimental to Indigenous people to employ a precolonial baseline that remains stagnant and does not move forward in time just as Indigenous communities and all communities across the globe have done. These negative consequences are observed in the unfortunate ways non-Native people view

Indians as existing only in the past. And if modern Indian people do not visually display this direct “unchanging” connection to their pasts than they are deemed to not truly be Indigenous. As Silliman stressed, Native peoples are still judged by non-Native individuals, anthropologists and the federal government based on how much they have changed or not changed “and these judgments directly impact issues of authenticity, sovereignty, land and other aspects of everyday life” (Ibid:213).

I fully recognize that the systems of knowledge present and expressed within the Pamunkey community during the nineteenth century were adapted, shifted and reconfigured in many ways. However, there is sufficient evidence to support the argument that the land, and the practices tied to it, remained at the center of these systems. Moreover, they were the foundation to how that knowledge was expressed in kinship relationships and gendered divisions within these practices. As Sahlins eloquently stated, “the strongest continuity may consist in the logic of cultural change” 1994:415).

The Reservation landscape is central to unpacking and understanding nineteenth century Pamunkey economic life. It played a fundamental role in shaping the expansion of the capitalist economy, and it is essential to uncovering how the Pamunkey today understand their history, and reference their connections to this past. For Pamunkey people the land also holds the key to ensuring traditional subsistence activities continue to be taught and practiced among future generations. It is the foundation to cultural continuity in the past, present, and future. While there are gaps in the history of the Tribe that makes

for spotty links between our past and present, the Reservation provides the substance needed to fill these gaps.

There are temporal gaps or silences in the data between the archaeological record, the oral history and the archival sources. The archaeology provides a glimpse of economic life in early nineteenth century, particularly as it relates to Pamunkey women. For the oral testimony, living memory does not reach back two hundred years. Rather the oral history represents experiences at the turn of the twentieth century and the first half of the twentieth century. The documentary record does help fill these gaps in some instances between 1800 and 1900. However, they are sporadic and appear to be concentrated during the middle part of the nineteenth century, and again at the turn of the twentieth century.

These silences and gaps no doubt exist for various reasons, and were most likely influenced by racial inequality, and outsider misunderstandings about Indigenous identity in Virginia and the American South in general. Throughout the nineteenth century the country and its inhabitants witnessed an array of federal Indian policies and historical events that had devastating effects on Indian people. The policies and events included Indian removal in the South, the Civil War, and the Indian Wars that placed mounting pressures on Indigenous communities west of Mississippi River. The Pamunkey were no strangers to these unfolding events (and in some cases were direct participants). Perhaps silence was an active strategy for the community, a concerted effort and choice to keep to themselves.

As I have witnessed on several occasions, silence can serve as an act of survival, resistance or defiance despite the outside tendency to understand it as inaction, subordination or weakness. Whatever the reasons that contributed to the silence or gaps among the data we can look to the Reservation landscape, and the many lifetimes that have unfolded within its boundaries as the connecting tissue between these silences and gaps. There may be gaps in the documentary record, and in Pamunkey people's memories, but there is no gap in the Reservation landscape because it has never been occupied by anyone other than Pamunkey Indian people. They have dwelled there for centuries affording them the ability to be actively silent. The Pamunkey Indian Tribe's ability to retain residency on their Reservation lands is the quintessential example of continuity.

The Reservation, and the level of continuity it represents can be usefully framed in terms of the "temporality of the landscape" where the land constitutes "an enduring record of, and testimony to, the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in doing so, have left there something of themselves" (Ingold 2000:189). The connective tissue the landscape represents can be literally uncovered from the earth, the land beneath our feet, as many Pamunkey people look to the archaeological record to connect the dots of Pamunkey history in general, and economic life of the Reservation community in particular as it existed two hundred years ago.

The Reservation landscape provides the foundation that weaves the story of Pamunkey economic life during the nineteenth century. Landscape as a theoretical frame reveals the ways humans create and express their worldviews,

and how these expressions are wrought on the land in space, place and time (Basso 1996; Bender 1993, 2002; Ingold 1993, 2000; Tilley 1994). While various perceptions prevail on what landscape encompasses, I agree that landscape “encompasses both the physical and conceptual” (Gosden and Head 1994:113). Expressions of the recursive relationship between the physical and conceptual undoubtedly look different from one context to the next. But they are all multivalent, varied and articulated in differing ways across time and space. Keith Basso (1996) best described the concept of landscape, and the central role a “sense of place” plays in fostering landscape as a quintessential component of the human experience. For Basso, places usher “in a stream of symbolically drawn particulars – the visible particulars of local topographies, the personal particulars of biographical associations, and the notional particulars of socially given systems of thought” (Ibid:84). In short, places are “created and known through common experiences, symbols and meanings,” (Tilley 1994:18) all of which are developed through people’s engagement with the world around them (Strang 1999).

Basso’s characterization grounds the understanding of landscape in terms of the “plurality of place” (Bender 2002). This concept captures the multivalent nature of the Reservation as a landscape that incorporated multiple layers of meaning defined along ancestral, historical, kinship, economic, generational and ethnic lines. In the words of Barbara Bender, the plurality of a place “is always in the making, and how it is used, and perceived depends on the contours of gender, age, status, ethnicity and so on, and upon the moment” (2002:S107).

Places that are “actively sensed amount to substantially more than points in physical space. As natural ‘reflectors’ that return awareness to the source from which it springs, places also provide points from which to look out on life, to grasp one’s position in the order of things, to contemplate events from somewhere in particular” (Basso 1996:108-109).

For residents living on the Reservation throughout the nineteenth century, the landscape provided a place that fostered their ability to create an economic space for themselves centered on the practice of traditional subsistence. These practices made possible by relationships with the landscape were “acts of performance” (Basso 1996) that concurrently expressed and reproduced the Pamunkey’s sense of place on the Reservation and who they were members of a community. Moreover, these acts of performance, whether one would define them as habitual, accidental or subversive, they were simultaneously “of the moment” and extensions reaching forward and backward in time and place (Bender 2002:S107).

The acts of hunting, fishing, trapping, farming, pottery making, managing the household, and engaging wage labor were all practices of the moment as Pamunkey people created an economic life on the Reservation that incorporated knowledge of traditional subsistence practices and the market economy. These practices too were extensions of Pamunkey people who came before as educators teaching their knowledge to the next generation. They too were part of future generations who would not all have the access or the ability to continue this way of life. Importantly, these practices forged from the land have come to

define the value of the Reservation as a place that represents Pamunkey history, memory, persistence, and survival for contemporary tribal members.

A sense of place “surfaces in an attitude of enduring affinity with known localities and the ways of life they sponsor” (Basso 1996:83). The Reservation landscape provided, and continues to provide, a sense of place for the Pamunkey community that fosters their ability to practice a particular way of life that was, and to some degree still is irrevocably tied to the land. It was a way life fostered by generations of shared knowledge about the place on which they were able to maintain a cohesive community, live their everyday lives, bury their loved ones in the same ground as their ancestors, and create a home that was safe from outside encroachment. It provided them with the ability to structure the infiltration of an expanding capitalist economy that strategically placed them at the periphery. They structured this infiltration through practices that made cultural sense to them, a sense that was bounded in their traditional subsistence practices made possible by the marshland peninsula they inhabited for centuries.

Through the lens of a political economic approach, a framework that takes seriously Indigenous structures of knowledge, and the role landscape plays in shaping that knowledge, this research attempts to uncover Pamunkey responses to an emerging industrial capitalist economy during the nineteenth century. The community’s ability to employ landscape knowledge and traditional subsistence practices to engage this emerging economy grounded the larger processes of colonization, racialization and the expansion of capitalism within a Pamunkey-centered perspective.

The following chapters take the data uncovered from the archaeological, oral history, and archival record, framed in terms of political economic and landscape discourses, to bring the economic experiences of the Pamunkey Indian Tribe to life. They cover in depth the traditional subsistence practices of the Pamunkey as men hunted, trapped, fished and engaged seasonal wage labor. Pamunkey women employed their knowledge of craft production to earn cash, made choices as consumers managing the household, and sustained knowledge of the Reservation's indigenous plants to feed and care for their families. Examining Pamunkey economic life through the lens of these practices foregrounds how Pamunkey systems of knowledge transformed foreign notions into something culturally significant and intelligible, and in the process socially reproduced a Pamunkey community that inventively created a space for themselves within the postcolonial world.

Chapter 3: Pamunkey Men and the Reservation Economy

In 1836 a traveler described the Pamunkey Reservation as “almost an island, formed by a bend of the river. The river winds in such a way that there is only a narrow neck of a few rods in width across to the island, or rather peninsula, which is its proper name... This island, or peninsula, consists of several acres of land, some of which is pretty good; and it is all very level... and is inhabited by the most curious intermixture of every colour and class of people. These people are generally rather poor, and live much on fish, wild fowls, and quadrupeds; though a few of them raise corn, cotton etc.” (Rambles of Richard Rover Parley’s Magazine Jan 1, 1836: 366). Richard Rover’s description of the Reservation in 1836 offers a brief glimpse into the economic life of Pamunkey people during the first half of the nineteenth century that was intimately connected to the riverine and landed ecosystems fostered by the Reservation landscape. Importantly though, and not referenced in Rover’s “Ramble,” the Reservation’s geographic isolation was a key element in the development of the homestead and subsistence-based livelihood that characterized Pamunkey economic life in Virginia during the nineteenth century.

The Social, Political, and Economic Climate of Nineteenth Century Virginia

The nineteenth century was a period of great economic change for the nation spurred by the rise of the “market revolution” that began in America during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Sellers 1991; Stokes and Conway 1996). The market and industrial growth that characterized the revolution was driven by various phenomena that included rapid population

growth, westward expansion (Louisiana Purchase), and technological advances such as the cotton gin, water powered textile mills, and the steam engine (Ibid). These expansions opened broader participation in the developing global economy thus increasing the amount and variety of consumer goods available to a larger segment of the American populace (Greene and Plain 2010:5).

These market phenomena unfolded in Virginia spurring economic and social change that was, at times, not favorable to the prosperity of the Commonwealth where political influence had reigned unchecked throughout the eighteenth century. The westward expansion that characterized the revolution on a national scale culminated in the exodus of hundreds of thousands of Virginians from their home state during the first half of the nineteenth century (Bryan 2016). Tobacco, the most lucrative cash crop in the Commonwealth for over a century, had run its course. By the early nineteenth century tobacco had leached and exhausted the once fertile Tidewater and Piedmont soils. Thus, Virginia planters sought economic opportunity in their agricultural trade in states further south and west of the Commonwealth (*Rural Life in Virginia*, Virginia Historical Society).

Soil exhaustion and the decline in tobacco also took a toll on property values in the eastern half of the state. The agricultural depression caused by the decline in crop and land values prompted the exodus of large numbers of enslaved Africans and African Americans (Bryan 2016). With the rise of cotton's importance for the plantation economy of the Deep South, the demand and thus prices for the enslaved dramatically increased, prompting Virginia plantation owners to sell their slaves to markets further south and west at greater prices.

Virginia became a frontrunner in the business of slave trading with Richmond leading only second to the markets in New Orleans, Louisiana by 1850 (Ibid). Despite success in the sale of enslaved human beings, the agricultural depression and population movement out of the state cost Virginia its political prominence and influence in Washington D.C. by mid-century.

One reaction to the decline included attempts to transform Virginia into a more industrialized state that would be less dependent on the uncertain business of agriculture. Virginia legislatures supported the building of canals that, by the 1850s, gave way to the construction of railway lines throughout the state. Manufacturing also became an increasingly important part of the economy as large factories were built in the Commonwealth's cities, particularly in the capitol of Richmond. Even agricultural endeavors were modernized with the introduction of scientific farming methods that included crop rotation and the use of fertilizer.

While the history surrounding Virginia's rural nineteenth century economy has focused on tobacco, cotton, plantation life, and the enslaved, these components were not central to Pamunkey economic life during the nineteenth century. During a time that marked the economic and political downfall for the Commonwealth, the Pamunkey were holding strong through their ability to strategically implement a mixed subsistence and cash economy that was not reliant on slave labor or cash crops. Importantly, the Reservation's remoteness afforded community members the literal and figurative space to determine how they would engage the capitalist economy as it began to intersect their lives. Without their homeland on the river, the Pamunkey would likely have

experienced and responded to this encroaching economic process in very different ways. Pamunkey people utilized this place, their home, and the traditional subsistence practices it supported to negotiate the rise of the “market revolution.” As the Pamunkey faced unequal economic development and all of the social and political baggage that followed in its wake, they turned to the Reservation as the social, political, and economic core of the Pamunkey tribal community. It provided the means of support for the community to engage and structure their participation in a cash economy that was defined through practices founded in their knowledge of the landscape that included, hunting, fishing, trapping, farming and pottery making.

Industrial growth and the rise of manufacturing did come to play a meaningful part in the economic life of Pamunkey people as they readily engaged the opportunities brought forth by railway access, steam engines, and manufacturing jobs in Virginia’s cities. The construction of railway lines in Virginia greatly impacted Pamunkey economic life in both positive and negative ways. Completed in 1854, the construction of the Richmond and York River Railroad that passes through the center of the Reservation, created a direct connection between the Reservation, West Point (the closest population center to the Reservation) and Richmond. With two train depots located immediately outside of the Reservation the rail line provided a transportation route the Pamunkey regularly engaged. The Richmond and York River Railroad provided Pamunkey men with direct access to markets in northern ports located along the East Coast, improving their ability to market, sell, and transport their fish, game, and furs.

Railroad construction did not have the same positive effects on the most lucrative economic practice employed by Pamunkey women during this time. Prior to the railroad, Pamunkey women supplied the rural households of the county, including their own, with their hand built earthenware. However, with a direct line between West Point and Richmond, mass produced ceramics and other household wares were made more accessible to the county residents who once served as the predominate customers for Pamunkey pottery. While this form of industrialization diminished the market in Pamunkey utilitarian wares, it did come to serve a positive role in the tourism market for Pamunkey ceramics that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century.

The expanding capitalist economy was also entangled with changing gender roles, increasingly strict racist ideologies, economic marginalization, dispossession, and unequal power relations (Greene and Plane 2010:5). This was no more relevant then during the Civil War, and almost a century following its aftermath. The Civil War devastated not only Virginia, but completely collapsed the agrarian plantation economy that supported the entire southern United States. It was a time during which the Pamunkey Tribe supported the Union cause. Pamunkey men enlisted as spies, guides, and gunboat pilots, while Pamunkey women and the elderly provided food, property, and safe passage to Union troops encamped on and around the Reservation throughout the war (Hauptman 1995; Bradby, Terrill [6306] SCC Settled Case Files). The community's decision to openly and actively support the Union was a dangerous one as Pamunkey people, living on a land base surrounded by Confederate

supporting plantation owners, feared for their freedom if the Confederacy was to succeed.

These intersections between the social, political, and economic spheres of nineteenth century Pamunkey life forced community members to negotiate and engage the market within “safe” spaces of economic practice. These safe spaces were integral to their ability to develop an economic life based on traditional subsistence as Virginia became an increasingly hostile place for free people of color to live. These places that provided a degree of autonomy and safety for the Pamunkey included the Reservation, and urban neighborhoods comprised of predominately non-white residents in Richmond, Norfolk, and Petersburg, Virginia and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

From the 1830s through the 1890s the Pamunkey Indian Tribe suffered repeated, but failed, attempts to both terminate their status as an Indian tribe, and to expel them from their Reservation land (Pamunkey Indian Tribe Petition, January 12, 1843, Virginia State Archives; More Cases of Smallpox¹⁵, *Staunton Spectator*, January 9, 1895). This phenomenon was not unique to Virginia, but rather was common along much of the eastern coast (Mandell 2008; O’Brien

¹⁵ There was a smallpox outbreak on the Reservation in 1895 where at least two tribal members died from the disease. It was believed that a tribal member working seasonally in New York City brought the virus back to the Reservation. The Governor’s office ruled the Reservation be placed under quarantine, and measures were taken to protect the city of Richmond in case of a potential outbreak beyond the Reservation boundaries. This was plausible given the passenger train depots adjacent to the Reservation at both White House and Lestor Manor were located on a railway with direct connections to the city (Three More Cases: Further Outbreak of Small-pox Reported at Indian Town, *The Richmond Dispatch*, January 3, 1895; Edward Bradby, interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6, 1983).

2010). The catalyst for termination was white perceptions of an increasingly strict racial hierarchy that was perpetuated in predominately eastern coastal states. Political leaders from the New England states of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts for example, claimed they no longer had an obligation to the communities they perceived to no longer be “authentic” Indians (Mandell 2008:51; O’Brien 2010:xxi).

By the early nineteenth century Indians became increasingly subsumed within the larger population of people of color in the minds of white New Englanders and southerners. The issues and laws that plagued African Americans in the region also affected Indian communities (O’Brien 2010:xxi). These racist ideologies, policies, and environments were readably observed in the Pamunkey community throughout the nineteenth century, and in so many ways shaped the economic lives of Pamunkey people. Because Pamunkey negotiation and navigation of the racial environment and policies of the nineteenth century could serve as a singular research topic I provide a few examples to foreground the bounded, restricted, and at times dangerous world Pamunkey people inhabited.

The animosity toward all people of color, enslaved and free, reached fervor after Nat Turner’s failed uprising in 1831. For example, attempts were made to influence Virginia’s General Assembly to pass a law expelling all free people of color from the state (*North Carolina Free Press*, November 1, 1831). Just five years later in 1836, the Pamunkey were victim to the first petition attempting to expel them from the Reservation (Pamunkey Indian Tribe

Legislative Petition, February 18, 1836 Petition, Virginia State Archives). This sentiment deeply affected the Pamunkey community as they were denied the right to establish their own Baptist congregation on the Reservation, were unlawfully disarmed on more than one occasion (1857, 1859), and could not safely travel outside of the Reservation's boundaries without free papers issued by their state appointed Board of Trustees.

These "free Indian papers" did not stop the confusion expressed by state and local government officials over the identity of Pamunkey individuals. In some documented cases, when presented, the papers and thus the identity of the Indian individual were met with disbelief (The Grape Top Indian, *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, December 1, 1853). This was particularly true for tribal members living off the Reservation in Virginia cities including Richmond, Norfolk, and Petersburg. King William County, home to the only two Reservations in the state, was a rare exception. Cognizant of the large Indian population in their county, officials did not require Pamunkey Indian individuals to join the Free Negro and Mulatto Register (Lavinia Sampson Free Papers, *Petersburg Free Negro and Slave Records, 1787-1865*, Library of Virginia). To further secure safe passage across the Virginia landscape for themselves and their families, Pamunkey people attempted to join the Free Negro and Mulatto Registers in the various cities previously mentioned¹⁶ (Ibid; Lost, *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, June 20, 1855).

¹⁶ It is important to note that these circumstances informed the community's decision to support the Union during the Civil War.

The Pamunkey people were not strangers to the dominant society that structured their interaction with the market economy. They found themselves outwardly defined by a societal structure that dispossessed, disenfranchised, confined, marginalized, racialized, and persecuted them. While the Pamunkey economy was shaped by the larger emerging capitalist economy, it is only part of this story. Pamunkey economic life was entangled with all of the processes mentioned above that were systematically imposed to deny equal opportunity to engage this larger society around them. And yet, the generational knowledge of economic practices tied to the land still provided the platform through which the Pamunkey were able to structure their interactions with and appropriation of this outside world.

This knowledge was expressed in an annual seasonal round that included off and on Reservation economic practices. The economic practices on the Reservation relied on the natural resources readily and immediately available to them in the river, forest, and marshland. The supplemental wage labor engaged off the Reservation included a wide array of jobs that more often than not integrated Pamunkey people's knowledge of the landscape. This type of mixed subsistence economy was not necessarily unique to the Pamunkey alone, but was observed within other Reservation communities along the Eastern Seaboard including the Mashpee, Pequot, Narragansett, Mohegan, and many more (Silliman 2009,2010; O'Brien 2010; Mandell 2008).

The approach put forth in this research, influenced by the historical anthropological and archaeological work focused on the intersections between

historic Native communities and the capitalist economy, has rarely been addressed in the context of Virginia Indian history. However, there are examples of scholarship focused on this very topic that exists outside of the Southern and Middle Atlantic regions. This body of scholarship focuses on the intersections between social and economic change as Native reactions to the market economy encompassed far reaching responses that included wage labor participation in whaling and canning industries, as well as marketing knowledge skills of basket making and medicine procurement, (Mandell 2008; Littlefield and Knack 1996; Hosmer 1999; Hosmer, and O'Neill 2004; O'Brien 2010; Usner 2009). Broadly, these ethnohistorians are concerned with falsifying the colonial narrative that Indigenous people, along with their cultures and identities, were engulfed by the sweeping changes of market and capitalistic enterprises. They look to uncover the ways in which social, political, and economic experiences including land loss, encroachment upon subsistence, intermarriage, and narratives of both the vanishing Indian and inauthentic Native identities, effected their decisions to join the market economy.

While there is no monolithic Indigenous experience of colonial expansion there are parallels between the experiences of Native people along North America's East Coast during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Indians negotiated the expanding market economy during the nineteenth century through practices such as the creation and maintenance of markets for the sale of craft items, the selective acceptance of European goods and foods, and the maintenance of tribal lands (Green and Plane 2010:3). Throughout the

eighteenth century Native communities from Maine to Florida were experiencing increasing encroachment upon their traditional homelands and many communities were relegated to reserved areas of the colonies designated as Indian Towns or Indian Land. Increasing expansion, theft of land, and tribal land sales to colonists out of necessity quickly diminished access to traditional subsistence areas including marshland, rivers, and woodlands. These circumstances created incentive for Native people to participate in regional market economies that either allowed community members to borrow upon traditional knowledge of hunting, fishing, and craft production (Mandell 2008) or forced community members to faraway places as they traveled out to sea for whaling, moved with timber companies for lumber wood or journeyed to urban centers to partake in a variety of jobs (McClurken 1996, Mandell 2008; Hosmer 1999). Many of these wage labor jobs were dangerous and required men to work long distances from their communities. Participating as wage laborers did encompass challenges and sacrifices, but these scholars offer nuanced perspective on the reciprocal nature of economic change as participation in the economy led to change in cultural values, and cultural values informed Native people's adjustment and adoption of economic change.

Scholarship on Native people and market dynamics helps reveal Pamunkey experiences of Virginia's market economy. My goal for the majority of this chapter was to document and analyze the various ways in which Pamunkey men and women structured the conjuncture of an encroaching colonialist society that brought with it the introduction to a market/cash economy. Traditional

subsistence activities of fishing, hunting, trapping, guiding, and producing pottery were practiced centuries prior to, and during English colonial expansion, well before the period of interest for this dissertation research. For example, Indian men were hired as hunters and guides, and the merchants that conducted business within the colony and across the Atlantic negotiated with the Commonwealth's Indigenous communities for the trade of skins, furs, and other goods (Vaughn 1983). Thus by the nineteenth century, one would have clearly observed that Pamunkey people were no strangers to the concept of a cash-based economy as they conducted seasonal practices of hunting, fishing, trapping, and farming for market that were supplemented with wage work among the men and craft production among the women. This learned knowledge was also drawn along gendered lines where particular activities were affiliated and expected of men that differed than those expected of women. Most importantly these practices, based in the Reservation landscape and the knowledge Pamunkey people had of that landscape, were taught, learned, and solidified through centuries of kinship ties passed from one generation to the next.

For thousands of years, the Pamunkey River that surrounds the Reservation has served as the foundational support and center of the tribal community's landscaped-based economy that had come to strategically incorporate components of a cash-based market by the nineteenth century. Throughout this chapter I will trace how the Pamunkey River 1) provided the transportation for these activities, 2) provided habitats for the animals that were exploited for household consumption and sale, 3) ensured the abundance of clay

that was mined from its banks, and 4) supported wage labor employment opportunities off the Reservation where Pamunkey men worked additional waterways not only in Virginia, but up and down the Eastern Seaboard of the United States. They engaged these practices to carve a life for themselves in the region's market economy that was rooted in the Pamunkey community's sense of place. This sense of place (Basso 1996) was created out of connectedness to the past observed in the community's economic practices that were established from generational knowledge accumulated over centuries. It promoted the tribal community's self sufficiency, autonomy, and sovereignty, and created an economic and social core for the Pamunkey fostered by the important role the Reservation's landscape, played in structuring their lives throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

This chapter, and the three that proceed, follow a structure that details the many facets of Pamunkey economic life during the nineteenth century centered around traditional practices that included hunting, fishing, trapping, and pottery production. These chapters address four particular themes that include: 1) How each practice was tied to the Reservation landscape, 2) The material culture employed (and in many instances produced) to practice each activity. Importantly, the production and use of material culture for these traditions also demonstrated their relationship to landscape, 3) The role kinship played in passing knowledge and skills from one generation to the next that made the practice of these activities possible and, 4) Description and detail on the characteristics of the market affiliated with each practice.

This chapter in particular covers the economic practices on the Reservation engaged by Pamunkey Indian men during the nineteenth century. As previously mentioned, Pamunkey economic life throughout the nineteenth century consisted of an annual seasonal round in which the elder male, considered the family head, was expected to be skilled at performing a number of economic activities. These activities included hunting, fishing, trapping, and serving as guides, as well as wage labor opportunities that took Pamunkey men away from their Reservation homes for periods of time during the year. Hunting, trapping, and fishing provided food for the household, and all tasks generated a cash income. Money was earned specifically by selling game, fish, and furs, and by employing their knowledge of the landscape to guide non-Indians who wished to hunt the bountiful marshlands within and adjacent to the Reservation's boundaries.

Hunting, Trapping and Serving as Hunting Guides

Hunting and trapping for food and cash took place during the fall and winter months of the annual seasonal round. The marshlands surrounding the majority of the Reservation provided the best environment for hunting waterfowl and trapping fur-bearing animals. To ensure fair access for hunters and trappers, the Pamunkey Chief and Council organized the marshlands and their affiliated creeks into six hunting territories that were assigned to individual male tribal members through a bidding system. This division, bidding, and assignment of hunting grounds were reportedly organized as far back as the early nineteenth century (Speck 1928:330). Anthropologist Frank Speck, who wrote extensively

on Pamunkey economic practices during the 1920s, referred to this practice as the “Algonquian hunting territory institution” (Ibid: 314). The marshland hunting grounds were separated by the intervals between well-known creeks, locally termed “guts,” and each ground was leased to one individual tribal member for the season that had the highest bid (*Pamunkey Indian Tribal Meeting Minutes Ledger No. 2 1901-1917*). This territory organization ensured Pamunkey men could hunt and trap without competition (Speck 1928:314).

Hunters would also bid for the trapping grounds, which were considered separate from the hunting grounds. Even though grounds were located in the same marshes, the boundaries were drawn differently based on the two different methods of obtaining game (personal communication with Warren Cook July 7, 2013). Assigned territories for trapping were designated to the shorelines of a creek, while for hunting, creeks marked the outer boundaries of a tract of the marshland (Warren Cook Interviewed by John Moore, June 1, 2002). Different tracts provided access to different natural resources, which determined the methods used for securing game within that particular tract. For example, certain tracts were good for duck blinds, others for trapping muskrats, and still others for hunting raccoons and other small game (Speck 1928: 314-330). Pamunkey men would place their traps on the shorelines of the marshland creeks for raccoons, muskrats, otter, and mink, while they hunted the marshes for waterfowl and other birds including turkey, sora, geese, and duck. With the exception of sora, waterfowl animals were typically hunted from duckblinds. Duckblinds are rough structures that were hand constructed in the marshes from plank boards and

local woods. They are enclosed on three sides and the opening of the blind is typically covered with brush and other dead plants so as to camouflage the hunter.

Importantly, not all tracts were rented every season to ensure the fragile marshland/creek ecosystem had repose from hunting so that game could be replenished (personal communication with Warren Cook, July 7, 2013). This practice demonstrated the intimate knowledge Pamunkey hunters and trappers had of the Reservation's landscape and their duty to ensure it would be protected for wildlife to thrive and thus continually provide food as well as economic stability for future generations. This practice also demonstrated the community's ability to protect their economic assets as they created measures to ensure their cash producing riverine ecosystem was not overly exploited.

The highest bidder never had ownership of the hunting and trapping grounds; they were (and still are) owned by the Tribe. Being the highest bidder only ensured your lease of one particular tract for that season, which began in the fall and ended with the impending arrival of spring (Speck 1928:317). This bidding system was and continues to be managed by the Pamunkey Tribal Government comprised of the Chief and eight Council members. Only men were allowed to bid on hunting territories. It is important to note that this gendered characteristic of the organized hunting and bidding system was not to disempower women. It was the accepted gendered organization of the tribal community where men were expected to hunt and trap to feed their families and to make cash to supplement these subsistence practices. Before hunting clubs

became solidly established in the area, Pamunkey hunters who obtained a hunting or trapping ground for the season would guide paying customers through the marshes and to the blinds they rented. Hunters were paid cash on the day they guided their customer (personal communication with Warren Cook, July 7, 2013).

As mentioned earlier this bidding system is still practiced by the contemporary community. Today the territories and boundaries are the same, but rather than Pamunkey hunters guiding customers out to their tract to hunt, they sublet the duckblinds within the tract to non-Pamunkey customers for the season who take it upon themselves to travel and hunt from the duckblind. Bidding takes place in August while hunting does not begin until December (*Pamunkey Indian Books of Record No. 2*, Tribal Meeting Minutes 1901-1917). The chief leads the bidding where each individual marsh is called up for bid, much like an auction. The bid money goes directly to the tribe. However, to ensure profit on their bid, the winners charge their customer double or triple the bid price. Typically, the marshes are sublet for thousands of dollars and some have sold to customers for up to four and five thousand dollars for the season (personal communication with Warren Cook, July 7 2013). Until recently only Pamunkey men could bid. This male dominated practice ended on July 12, 2012 when Pamunkey women finally gained the right to have a voice and vote in tribal affairs, including for example, the right to bid on hunting tracts and trapping grounds.

Understanding the ways in which the Pamunkey organized and distributed access to the prime hunting territories on the Reservation demonstrates their intimate knowledge of the landscape. It also sheds light on the central role the landscape, the river in particular, played in all facets of Pamunkey life. The landscape was not simply something that individuals exploited when they saw fit. It was the central entity to shaping and sustaining Pamunkey lifeways. It was the economic, political, and social core of the community, and was thus treated as a communal resource, to which all tribal members had access, albeit, regulated by the Tribal Government in particular circumstances. Importantly, Pamunkey governmental policies and regulations were created to ensure equal access to the land so that all hunters and trappers could have the opportunity to economically exploit its riches for both subsistence and cash earning purposes. Ensuring equal and communal access to the land was paramount to their survival. Without it, and the systems of knowledge surrounding the methods and practices needed to extrapolate sustenance from it, the Pamunkey people would not have had the ability to maintain an autonomous, self-governing community.

Hunting encompassed all areas of the Reservation landscape, taking place on the water, in the marshes, and on land. Hunting was engaged by Pamunkey men and their sons in order to 1) obtain food for their families, to acquire game that was sold for cash, and 2) as a form of wage labor to those who employed themselves either as independent hunting guides or guides employed by one of the several hunting clubs near the Reservation. In terms of

hunting for household consumption, Pamunkey hunted for deer, squirrel, rabbit, and other land animals.

Deer hunting in particular employed a unique communal method of hunting that had been recorded in the documentary record by colonist John Smith, as early as the seventeenth century. While this practice had surely been modified over the centuries, anthropologist Frank Speck described the same method of deer hunting over three hundred years later. This communal hunting of deer was referred to as the “deer drive” by Pamunkey tribal members. A party of Pamunkey hunters were divided

into two crews where “one [crew] is to occupy boats at stations in the river where they are to wait for the deer to be driven out of the swamp to be shot, the other [crew] is obliged to plunge into the swamp with dogs and drive the game toward



Figure 3-1. Wooden sticks used for the deer drive ca. 1920, collected by Frank Speck. Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian

the river where the animals will be intercepted in the traverse” (Speck 1928:338).

There was a particular method for assigning and selecting whom would participate in either the first or second crew of hunters. The chief or captain would hold as many sticks (See Figure 3-1) as there were men on the drive where half of the sticks were shorter than the others. The hunters who drew the short sticks (referred to as “shorts”) remained in the boat, and those who drew

the long sticks (“longs”) were the driving party (Speck 1928:338). In addition to defining hunting crews, the sticks were also used in drawings to determine access to hunting lots or areas with stands for deer hunting. The longest stick entitled the one with the luck to draw it the best stand for hunting. When speaking with tribal members about the practice of hunting and guiding for market, former chief Kevin Brown made it a point to mention that the concept of communal hunting was actually an Indian tradition that was practiced by the Pamunkey well before the establishment of the local hunt clubs by wealthy white men (a topic I discuss subsequently). “Today a lot of guys are into hunting and join hunt clubs, but we’ve had a hunt club here for 10,000 years,” Brown said.

The chief was considered the hunt master in charge of organizing hunts and dividing the meat among the hunters (personal communication with Kevin Brown, July 24, 2013). Former Assistant Chief, Warren Cook, remembers his father describing the deer drive before they used hunting dogs. It was much the same method as described by Speck. Pamunkey hunters “would go in the woods and drive the deer out, holler, scream and bang on things, instead of having dogs do it, the men would do it... the point was to stir up the deer, the drivers would do this, and then another group that would be ready to shoot as the deer ran.” By the time Warren was born in 1937 the deer drive employed hunting dogs (personal communication with Warren Cook, July 7, 2013).

The “Governor’s hunt” or “tribute hunt” was, and continues to be a special occasion communal hunt where Pamunkey hunters were tasked with killing a deer, preferably a buck, for the annual treaty tribute presented to the governor of

Virginia (personal communication with Warren Cook, July 7, 2013). If the hunters were not successful at killing a deer during the hunt, they would secure different animals for the presentation, predominately geese, duck, quail, or turkey. The Chief and Council have always decided the date for the communal hunt, but for the past century, the treaty tribute has taken place the week of Thanksgiving. Before the hunt commenced the hunters would meet “downtown” at the river to determine the deer driver and assign people to the various deer stands located throughout the Reservation. The Pamunkey hunters were assigned to the best stands, and the non-Indian hunters invited by the Chief were assigned to the remaining stands. Warren Cook described the annual deer hunt:

“After the men are assigned their stands, they are supposed to remain at the stand until the deer driver tells them to move. The deer driver and dogs are put in one area of the woods. Deer stands are along both sides of the area. One of the deer drivers is in the low ground and on one side of the river. We will send two boats to go along the side of the marsh of the river to make the deer go back to the high land and not cross the river. The people in the boats are not supposed to kill the deer that try to cross the river... it is unlawful to kill deer in water – this is a white man law, not an Indian law. We did not adhere to this law in the past, but we go along with it now. We will hunt for four to six hours. We usually kill between two and four deer on a hunt. We choose the biggest buck deer to take to the Governor” (Cook, Warren *Deer Hunting on the Pamunkey Indian Reservation*).

Deer is still a popular animal hunted today by Pamunkey men, and the main purpose for hunting deer continues to be for household consumption.

Today, instead of the Chief acting as hunt master, he will appoint one for the year (personal communication with Kevin Brown, July 24, 2013). While hunting is still a communal practice it is no longer done via the deer drive, with the exception of the Governor’s Hunt. If a Pamunkey hunter wants to “have a hunt” (organize a

communal hunt) on the Reservation, they have to sign up with the Chief and inform every hunter on the Reservation, and any of the hunters can decide whether they wish to join (Cook, Warren *Deer Hunting on the Pamunkey Indian Reservation*).

Over half a century ago, Pamunkey hunters still practiced a centuries' old method for dividing the meat obtained from a large hunt. The deer meat would be cut up into sections and laid out on a long wooden board. The best cut, the tenderloin, was given to the Chief, and the hindquarters were given to the hunter that killed the deer. To assign the remaining cuts, one person, with a list of the participants, would stand with their back to the meat while another would be at the table to place their hands on the individual cuts. When the hunter's name was called from that list they would receive whichever cut the person at the table happened to lay their hand on (Cook, Warren *Deer Hunting on the Pamunkey Indian Reservation*). This method of meat sharing is no longer practiced; however, the meat is still shared among the hunters and with residents of the Reservation, particularly elders and women, who do not hunt, or do not have hunters in their families.

In addition to various types of wild mammals, birds of various species were also popular sources of meat and cash for most Pamunkey families. The most popular birds hunted for household consumption included geese, turkey, duck, and sora. While the majority of rural King William residents hunted these types of birds, the Pamunkey hunted a variety of birds for their personal consumption that most of their surrounding non-Native neighbors would have

thought twice about consuming. These included various species of song birds such as meadow-larks, robins, flickers, dove, quail, cedar-birds, snow-birds, starlings, blackbirds, and goldfinches (Speck 1928:343; Kremens, Jack to Frank Speck July 19, 1940). They even hunted birds-of-prey including the “bull-bat” or nighthawk (Speck 1928:343).

In terms of hunting for market, duck was the most popular type of bird hunted to earn cash. Throughout the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, Pamunkey men would use live ducks as decoys to attract additional flocks, in addition to using corn as a popular baiting practice (Edward Bradby, interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6, 1983). The late Edward Bradby (known by tribal members simply as Ed) born at the turn of the twentieth century recalled hunting ducks for market with his father, James.

“At that time you could kill ducks for the market... we used to ship the ducks, you could ship ducks, we shipped a lot of ducks out of Lestor Manor [the train depot immediately adjacent to the northeastern boundary of the reservation]¹⁷ right to the River Hotel, in Richmond. We used to get a dollar and a quarter. Sometimes we shipped thirty to forty ducks...” (Ibid).

However, it was during Bradby’s early adulthood that the practice of duck hunting for market was greatly impacted. In his own words, “but of course this law went into effect around 1919 or 1920 and it was a law between Great Britain and the United States on migratory birds, migratory game, that you have to use

¹⁷ Lestor Manor has a long and interesting history with the Pamunkey community, particularly in terms of Pamunkey economic practices. Lestor Manor is referred to frequently in the memories of Pamunkey people who have been interviewed for oral history purposes over the past four decades. I will provide a more detailed discussion of Lestor Manor and its importance to the Pamunkey later in this chapter.

artificial decoys, you couldn't use live decoys... " (Ibid). The law to which Bradby referred was the Migratory Bird Treaty Act of 1918. This treaty between the United States and Great Britain was enacted to protect migratory birds. Specifically, the Act regulated the taking, possession, transportation, sale, purchase, barter, exportation, and importation of bird species listed in the treaty as "migratory birds" (*Migratory Bird Treaty Act of 1918*, United States Fish and Wildlife Service website). Based on Bradby's statement, it appears Pamunkey hunters complied with the law (perhaps because it was federal) as evidenced in oral history interviews with Pamunkey elders that describe duck hunting with the use of wooden duck decoys after the 1920s. I mention this apparent conflict-free compliance with the law because there are many examples, which I will discuss subsequently, where the Pamunkey government fought the implementation of state laws they perceived as having the potential to negatively impact their hunting and fishing rights as guaranteed in the 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation.

Waterfowl hunting of geese, duck, and sora was also very popular, but as a sport, among elite, wealthy men who lived in not only Virginia, but up and down the Eastern Seaboard. These men would travel to game preserves that were eventually established as hunting clubs during the latter half of the nineteenth century located along the Pamunkey River in New Kent and King William counties. These wealthy men did not spend all day hunting like Pamunkey men, and therefore did not know the landscape. They would hire Pamunkey hunters as guides to traverse the landscape, to manage the hunting club grounds, and perform maintenance on the affiliated buildings and hunting gear. Several

hunting clubs were located within close proximity to the Reservation providing Pamunkey men employment as hunting guides, an additional method through which to employ their skills if they were unsuccessful at obtaining a bid to occupy one of the Reservation hunting tracts.

Pamunkey men and other Virginia Indians had practiced the economic activity of employment as hunters and guides for non-Native for centuries. As observed in a 1706 ruling by the Virginia General Assembly, “no person presume to employ any Indian to hunt for him...without first obtaining a License from the Governor for so doing” (Vaughn 1983: 148). By the nineteenth century, licenses were no longer legally required, and the hiring of hunting guides was more formally organized with the establishment of hunting clubs. Clubs that hired Pamunkey men to manage the grounds and guide their members included Lily Point Marshes and Hunting Club, Cohoke Club, Holts Creek Club, Lestor Manor, and Old Town.

Lily Point Marshes and Hunting Club was one of the oldest hunt clubs near the Reservation, and was the first establishment to hire Pamunkey men as hunting guides. The Lily Point Marshes comprised approximately 500 acres and were originally treated as a game preserve. The marshes were northeast and opposite the Reservation midway between Lestor Manor and White House. The marshes were known to abound in geese, duck, reed and rail birds (sora), and the highland was stocked with quail, turkey, and deer. Richmond businessman, Capt. A.G. Babcock, first secured the marshes for club purposes in 1875. By 1886 the club was purchased by wealthy New York sportsmen D.G. Yuengling,

Jr. The New York owner greatly improved the property by constructing a large, upscale clubhouse in order to cater to, and entertain a wealthy clientele. In 1901 the club was once again under local ownership with a syndicate of Virginia sportsmen that referred to themselves as the Richmond Shooting Club (Lily Point Marshes: Pamunkey Hunting Grounds Purchased by Richmond Sportsmen, *Richmond Dispatch*, April 24, 1901; George Major Cook, *Verdict of Chief and Council*, March 8, 1920).

The club employed several Pamunkey men to guide for sora and duck (one of the more popular forms of hunting among the clients). For example, Albert Page was the head guide during the late nineteenth century. Page would push the boat for sora (a practice I describe in greater detail below) and maintain the duck blinds. The club was typically frequented during the fall, and when the members were ready to start their hunting retreat they would notify the head guide through writing with the date of their arrival and the number of guides they would need. When Lestor Manor acquired a telephone, (a popular commodity as it was the only one available for miles) they would call for the head guide at the train depot (as no tribal member owned a telephone at this time) to request his services (James Page, interviewed Thomas Blumer, September 3, 1983).

Lily Point, during the time of Page's employment, had anywhere from twelve to fifteen members who would typically bring several guests with them. Members and guests included senators, attorney generals, millionaires, doctors, colonels and generals, and judges. This type of clientele from New York and Richmond remained constant well into the twentieth century. When these

reputable wealthy men would come to the clubs and hire Pamunkey people it was worth note to the community as demonstrated in the tribal newsletter, *Pamunkey Reservation*, authored by tribal members: “Several doctors from the Medical College Hospital were sora hunting here Saturday. Ex-Chief Miles, Mr. James Miles and Mr. Augustine Allmond acted as their guides” (*Pamunkey Reservation*, Dora Cook Bradby Historical Papers). While the community felt it had cause to mention the arrival of these wealthy white men, James Page, who guided with his father as a young man and worked as a guide into adulthood complained how these rich men would try and cheat them out of money, “They try to pull your leg, tell them, I said, alright, two men, thirty dollars. Here come three men! You tell them you got to pay extra for the man. They said, ‘oh you said thirty dollars a blind.’ And so I ask them then, I said, do three people get in the theater, go and see the movie for the price of two? He can’t answer that... doctors and lawyers is the tightest people I ever guided for” (James Page interviewed by Thomas Blumer, September 3, 1983).

Of the several local hunt clubs listed, Holts Creek was the largest with a thirty-person membership. The club was accessed by a thoroughfare located across the northeastern portion of the Reservation referred to as “downtown” that ran into Holts Creek from which the club received its name. Holt was an historic Pamunkey surname dating as far back as the eighteenth century, and Edward Bradby had heard from the “old folks” that the creek was named after a Pamunkey Indian man named William Holt (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6, 1983). Tribal member, James Bradby (Edward’s father) had the longest run as head guide at Holt’s Creek for over three decades, and by the 1920s he was managing five additional Pamunkey guides (Ibid).

Warren Cook, James Bradby's grandson, remembers his grandfather describing what it was like to be the head guide at the turn of the twentieth century. J. Bradby and the other guides under his management were in charge of several tasks that included much more than just guiding the hunt club members. For example, they worked up to twelve hours a day caring for the decoys (as mentioned earlier the decoys were live ducks prior to 1918, and following this date they were made from wood which required less maintenance); they constructed and maintained the duck blinds, and also cared for and maintained the boats. The boats (known locally as "plank canoes") and paddles were constructed by Pamunkey men. J. Bradby, however, was the first Pamunkey guide to purchase and utilize a gas boat motor (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, May 10, 1985). And by the 1940s, when motor boats were in regular use, the guides were in charge of maintaining the motors ensuring they had sufficient amounts of gasoline (personal communication with Warren Cook, July 7 2013).¹⁸

The act of guiding also encompassed numerous tasks in addition to directing members to duckblinds or hunting territory. Pamunkey guides would take the hunters to blinds and then set out the decoys to ensure the birds were "getting on the bait." This was the local term used by guides to explain the process of attracting the duck or geese so that their employers had something to hunt (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6, 1983). In

¹⁸ I provide a more detailed discussion on boat types in the section, *Fishing and other River Practices*.

addition to the decoys, the guides would also attract or “bait” the birds by calling them. Once the guide observed baiting was successful as the duck or geese were headed their way, they would alert the hunters. Pamunkey guides would then collect the game that had fallen from a successful shot (personal communication with Warren Cook, July 7, 2013). The guides were paid with money. First, it was with cash—around five dollars a day—and by the 1950s, guides were paid with checks for up to twenty-five dollars a day (Ibid).

Edward Bradby remembered guiding with his father, James, at Holt’s Creek Club during the first decade of the twentieth century when he was a young boy,

“There was about thirty people that belong to the club and they all have their set dates when they were coming down. So, we’d have to meet them at Lestor Manor with a row boat, three or four, and row them over there [to Holt’s Creek Club], and then, they would cook a supper and go to bed about ten 10 o’clock, get up at four o’clock, get breakfast. Then we have to row a mile and a half to the duck blinds up the creek... And we would leave about one o’clock, come back to the club house, eat dinner, and row them back here to get the train at five-thirty to go back to Richmond” (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6 1983).

James Bradby served as the head guide at Holt’s Creek until 1936 when he suffered a stroke and was bed ridden for the remainder of his life. His sons who had worked as guides under their father’s direction, particularly Jimmy, Russell and Ernest Bradby, took over as lead guides for several years after their father’s illness. Ernest and Jimmy also took the time to work with their sons and nephews, and taught them the roles and responsibilities of managing the hunt club and guiding its members along the Pamunkey River.

Discussed above were the guiding methods employed for geese and duck hunting. Another popular game bird, the sora (also known as reed birds) required a different set of guiding skills and materials to successfully bait and capture the bird. In 1894 a participant of the sora hunt reported his observations to a local newspaper reporter:

“In the autumn they hunt reed birds in a very curious fashion. They have what they call a ‘sora horse’ resembling a peach basket in size and shape, and made of strips of iron. Before they had iron, clay was utilized as the material. The ‘horse’ is mounted on a pole stuck in the marsh or placed upright in a boat. At night a fire is kindled inside of it. The light attracts the reed birds and they fly around it while the Indians knock them down with paddles. Every year white hunters visit the reservation for the purpose of shooting reed-birds employing the Pamunkeys as guides” (Pamunkey Indians Remnants of a Once Powerful Tribe, *Los Angeles Sunday Times*, June 1894).

The Pamunkey have referred to this activity as “pushing for sora” for over two hundred years and it is a well-documented practice throughout the entire nineteenth century. The term “pushing for sora” referred to the method of tracking and hunting the bird where the Pamunkey guide would be tasked with pushing a boat called a skiff that was constructed particularly for navigating the heavily vegetated marsh at mid-tide. The skiff was a narrow, shallow, flat-bottomed boat with a flat vertical board at one end so that the boat’s navigator could brace their weight and stand to push the vessel through the marsh (personal communication with Warren Cook, October 27, 2011). The skiff was pushed through the marsh with a “shovel,” a sixteen-foot pole with three prongs at the end. The prongs grabbed the muddy bottom of the marsh so that the guide could push the boat forward. The pronged pole or “shovel” was also used to collect the birds that had been struck dead (James Page interviewed by Thomas

Blumer, September 3, 1983). Pushing for sora was considered hard and difficult work. It was a physically demanding task as it took immense strength to push a boat with several adult men through the shallow marshes. In fact, Warren Cook's uncle suffered a heart attack and died while guiding and pushing for sora (personal communication with Warren Cook, July 7, 2013).

To attract the birds a fire was lit within a metal basket balanced on pole in the center of the skiff. As the 1894 reference mentioned, these metal baskets were at one point constructed from clay. The ceramic sora horses were constructed by Pamunkey women from clay mined on the banks of the Pamunkey River. Figure 3-2 is an example of a Pamunkey constructed ceramic sora horse collected by John G. Pollard that was registered among the Smithsonian collections in 1892. Figure 3-3, a photograph published in Speck's 1928 ethnography on Powhatan descendant communities, depicts the metal sora horses used during the early twentieth century.



Figure 3-2. Sora horse (top far right). Courtesy of the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian.



Figure 3-3. Chickahominy boy with sora horse (Speck 1928:341).

Sora season took place during the fall months, particularly right before the first frost when the wild rice, or “wild oats,” prevalent in the marshes surrounding the Reservation, were ripe for harvesting. The sora is a migratory bird that would travel to the Reservation marshes during this time to consume the wild rice, a primary food source for the birds. Many elder tribal members remember the sora as the “best eating bird” with especially sweet meat, which was attributed to their diet of wild rice (Ibid). Thus, in addition to guiding non-Native hunters to the marshes to hunt sora, Pamunkey people exploited these birds for household consumption as well. Edward Bradby recalled his memories of a sora hunt when he was a young man during the early twentieth century:

“At one time we used to hunt sora here, in the fall of the year, about September. The tides make high and the sora feed on the wild oats. We had crowds that belonged to the club.... [who] would come down from New York. These people were New Yorkers. They would stay for two or three weeks, and.... hire shovels to shove these boats in the marsh and to pick the birds up. And at that time there wasn't any limit, you kill as many as you want. I see them go out in the afternoon... and some of them would kill a hundred sora” (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6 1983).

Interestingly though, the white hunters used a different method of hunting sora than the methods practiced by the Pamunkey guides they employed. Unlike Pamunkey guides who attracted the sora with fire-light and knocked them dead with paddles, the white hunters that visited the Reservation "... use[d] the slower but more sportsmanlike method of shooting them on the wing" (Pollard 1894:15). Even though hunting and consuming the bird were popular for over a century, the popularity of both practices gradually ended by the mid-twentieth century (personal communication with Warren Cook, July 7, 2013).

Guiding was a popular method to earn a wage among Pamunkey men for several reasons. The hunting clubs that hired tribal members were immediately and easily accessible. The numerous clubs in close proximity to the Reservation were either in walking distance or accessed by traveling the river (personal communication with Warren Cook July 7, 2013). Importantly, even though the Reservation had distinct boundaries, the landscape (marshes, woodland, and river ecosystems) that encompassed the Reservation was typical throughout the tidewater region of King William County and beyond. Pamunkey men had intimate knowledge of the immediate landscape that was carved by the Pamunkey River. This knowledge of the land and waterways was a marketable trait held exclusively by Pamunkey men whose survival depended on their generationally acquired and expert knowledge of the places and animals the wealthy, white patrons of the hunt clubs wished to exploit for sport and entertainment. Thus being a member of the Pamunkey tribal community provided

the unofficial means through which they marketed themselves and their skills. As tribal member Warren Cook explained, “They were here, and we had the environment for the practice and they were all raised hunting and fishing. It was all word of mouth, and different guides were known for different attributes. For example, one would be known for calling the geese and duck in, or one was really reliable [and] never late” (personal communication with Warren Cook, July 7, 2013).

Some elder tribal members who worked as guides explained the appeal of serving as a Pamunkey Indian hunting guide with more humor. The late Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook, who served as Chief for over forty years explained that, “pale faces don’t have any better sense, and think he can’t kill nothing unless he’s got an Indian guide” (Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook August 6, 1983 interviewed by Thomas Blumer). This sentiment was repeated by Tecumseh’s son, Warren, who remembered his father explaining to him that all the white people wanted an Indian guide because they thought Indians really knew how to hunt and fish (personal communication with Warren Cook July 7, 2013). The statement made by Chief Cook fits a pattern in statements made by other elder tribal members who have now passed, but were participants in the hunting guide business at the turn of the twentieth century. This pattern in the way Pamunkey men marketed their skills as hunters, guides, fishermen, and trappers was, in many ways, shaped by their ability to promote themselves as “Indians.” This advertisement of one’s self as an Indian was not marketed in an overt way (i.e. outward expressions such as wearing regalia). It was folded into the entire

marketable package of an individual who knew the landscape like the back of one's hand not simply because he was an "Indian," but rather that he was a *Pamunkey* Indian raised on the Reservation with a lifetime of experience founded in centuries of generational knowledge that engaged the landscape and its various ecosystems.

Anthropological literature has more recently recognized Indian crafts and knowledge produced for trade or sale as commodities, but they also serve as important markers of Indian identity and tradition to both producers and consumers (Deloria 1998; Raibmon 2005; Greene and Plan 2010; Phillips and Steiner 1999; Phillips 1998). Importantly, this discourse reflects the degree to which the negotiations of identity functions within processes of production and exchange as ethnic communities utilize their identities to develop an economic niche or an "identity economy" dependent on some thing, a product, an object, or knowledge that is uniquely theirs (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:8,10).

Commodities representing Indian identity not only generated income for Indian producers, but also played an important role in identity formation, for both American Indians and white citizens of the new American Republic. Indians used the market to sell their products to "survive culturally and carve a niche for themselves in this new economy" (Greene and Plane 2010:11). Pamunkey men marketed themselves and their skills in a dual fashion that appealed to white clientele looking for a knowledgeable local guide where their "Indianness", and the stereotypical conceptions affiliated with that identity (i.e. Indians and their apparent closeness to and knowledge of nature), were emphasized along with

the very real knowledge and skills garnered through their lifetime as Reservation residents and members of the Pamunkey community¹⁹.

If a Pamunkey hunter did not have the opportunity of employment at one of the local hunt clubs, they could hire themselves out as an individual hunting guide and the territory in which they would guide their customers was within the immediate boundaries of the Reservation. The clientele of the independent Pamunkey guides were not from the same pool of wealthy businessmen, politicians, and doctors that held membership in the local hunt clubs. They were typically local men from Richmond or the surrounding counties who came to the Reservation as individuals. Apparently, if one did not belong to a club it was difficult to find willing property owners who would allow individuals to hunt their land. But the Pamunkey saw this as another opportunity to use their skills and knowledge to create a market for themselves that they could not only easily exploit, but control, unlike those working as employees of the local hunt clubs. They would charge individuals by the day and issue them a one-day permit to hunt various game that included rabbit, deer, quail, and dove. The daily fee reached five dollars a day by the mid twentieth century. However, the tribal government put a stop to the practice by the 1950s because the game that

¹⁹ The late Chief Cook, known affectionately as Peach among family and close friends, was one of the last Pamunkey men who worked as a guide for a local hunting club. He was employed at Old Town Farm for over five decades and retired during the 1990s at the age of ninety-five. However, the corporate owners of Old Town¹⁹ being extremely fond of Chief Cook, kept him on their pay roll as the club's hunting guide until his death in 2003 at the age of 103 (personal communication with Warren Cook June 1, 2015).

frequented the Reservation was being killed off, and was thus less available to tribal members who also hunted the land.

While various types of game had been available for non-Natives to hunt on the Reservation through the guiding of Pamunkey hunters, fur-bearing animals, trapped within the Reservation territories defined by the tribal government, were only accessible to the Pamunkey men. In particular, they were available to those who had successfully bid and won the marshland tracts home to mink, otter, beaver, and muskrat. By the nineteenth century, the Pamunkey were no strangers to the market in furs. The market or trade in fur and skins played a significant role in the development of colonial America, and the Virginia colony was no exception. During the seventeenth century, various fur-bearing animals were exploited for market and they were classified as either fancy or staple. Beaver, considered the prime staple fur (muskrat and rabbit were also used), was in high demand during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries due to the rise in popularity and demand for hats in Europe (Carlos and Lewis 2008). Wool felt, a strong durable material made from compressing the softer shorter hairs that grow next to the animal skin, was needed for the construction of these hats (Ibid). Thus beaver were some of the first fur-bearing animals the Pamunkey and other Powhatan Indians trapped for market. The colonial trade in furs was referred to as "Indian traffique" and the colony's demand for beaver skin is evident among the articles listed in the 1646 Treaty of Peace with Necotowance King of the Indians (Hening's Statutes at Large Vol. 3 1823:68). The last sentence of Article One states, "This Assembly on the behalfe of the collony,

doth, undertake to protect him or them against any rebels or other enemies whatsoever, and as an acknowledgment and tribute for such protection, the said Necotowance and his successors are to pay unto the King's Govern'r the number of *twenty beaver skins* att the going away of Geese yearely" (Ibid:323, emphasis added by author).

While the market in furs naturally changed and fluctuated over the centuries, trapping remained a steady economic practice up until and throughout the twentieth century as Pamunkey men responded to a demand in furs for both fashionable and practical cold weather clothing. Despite the lack in documentation and living memory of trapping for market during the nineteenth century, we do have snapshots of the economic practice and the materials utilized by Pamunkey trappers during this period. This snapshot is based on ethnographic evidence of the activity collected by Speck from tribal members and trappers during the early twentieth century. And while we do have a more detailed picture of trapping for market during the first half of the twentieth century, we can speculate the practice of trapping, and the specialized knowledge employed to ensure trapping was successful, was a much older skill rooted within an intimate understanding of the Reservation landscape that was learned across centuries and passed down from father to son, generation to generation.

Pamunkey men trapped several types of fur-bearing animals. While the demand for beaver had fallen, most likely due to population decline and changes in fashion choices among the wealthier classes who could afford wearing fur for fashion's sake, Pamunkey trappers continued to ensnare beaver, otter, mink, and

the more popular muskrat and raccoon. Trapping these animals took place during the winter months (November through February). During the winter months, the Reservation landscape is devoid of greenery and dotted with barren, leafless trees with the exception of the great tall pines along the marshlands that have stood untouched for centuries. While the river rarely freezes over (the last recorded freezing of the entire river was in 1917), fragmented sheets of ice float along the edges of the creeks, marshland, and riverbanks. Various migratory birds including geese and swans can be observed wading and feeding in the river among the floating fragments of the frozen river.

Trapping within the Reservation marshlands required specialized knowledge in navigating the ecosystem and in producing and using specific materials needed to successfully trap. For example, navigating the marshland was an invaluable skill. Even though trapping was practiced during winter when the mud flats were frozen and easier to walk on, one could still become stranded in the mud. The marshland high grounds, where the animals fed and where traps were placed, were practically islands separated from the shore by soft mud flats or bars. If one walked upright in the mud flats you could sink into the mud up to your hips (personal communication with Warren Cook, April 4, 2012). Thus in order to reach their traps, or to secure game that had fallen while duck or geese hunting for example, a Pamunkey trapper/hunter had to first determine what type of mud he was dealing with, based on its firmness, which would dictate the method of navigation. There are two different types of mud, firm and floating. Floating or soft mud required one to proceed “turtle fashion” on the stomach in a

continuous motion and at a consistent speed. In the firm mud you could not proceed upright, but would carry your weight on the shins (Speck 1928:336-337; personal communication with Warren Cook, April 26, 2012). Warren Cook witnessed his father's ability to navigate the mud flats and learned himself as a young boy.

In addition to navigating the marsh, knowledge in the various methods and materials needed to ensnare the animal was required. Hunting the fur-bearing animals was one such method. The late and former Chief Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook remembered the stories his father, George Major Cook, also a former chief, shared with him about hunting. "Back then in his younger days, you could shoot muskrats all night long... they would take an old muzzle loader gun... and they'd go out at night... shooting muskrats, raccoons... they'd just sell them, sell the meat, sell the hides," Cook said (Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6, 1983). George Major's "younger days" took place during the 1880s. During this period, as well as centuries before, and decades after, trapping these fur-bearing animals was considered the most popular method of taking. To trap the animals, Pamunkey men preferred to construct and employ a special mechanism referred to as the dead fall. While Pamunkey trappers employed several different types of traps, dead falls were the most popular and had been used by tribal members for centuries (personal communication with Warren Cook April 26, 2012). Traps were placed on the muddy high grounds of the marsh during the day based on the tide where

muskkrat, mink, otter, and raccoon passed through to reach their feeding grounds (Speck 1928:317; personal communication with Warren Cook April 26, 2012).

As Figure 3-4 demonstrates, the traps were constructed using a log and wooden stake or plank method where the stakes/planks were driven upright into the mud into two parallel rows (approximately seven to eight stakes/planks per row)



Figure 3-4. Deadfall trap constructed by Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook. Photo courtesy of Warren Cook.

with enough space in one of the rows for the animal to fit through. This construction created a roughly hewed box, or pen. Located inside the pen was the trigger system constructed from three large branches (typically arrow-wood) and twine or rope that was situated in such a way that had one end of the log suspended within the twine or rope. When the mink, muskrat, raccoon, or otter would enter the trap through the small opening, enticed by the bait inside, it would hit the trigger that released the large log to fall on top of the animal (Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6 1983).

While some trappers utilized steel traps, the hand-constructed wooden traps were preferred because they were considered to be more efficient for three

reasons: 1) wooden traps did not rust, 2) they did not damage the fur, and 3) if the animal were to escape from the wooden trap, he would at least not be maimed, unlike with steel traps (Speck 1928:318; Fast and Kerhoer 1999). Traps were always checked at night because this was an active time for feeding and “puddling” (working) especially for the muskrat (personal communication with Warren Cook April 26, 2012).

Different types of animals required fall weights of different sizes. For example, because raccoons were heavier, the dead fall required a larger and heavier log like a railroad tie. The muskrat or mink required a smaller log or some would use a board with the weight of a brick or rock on top. However, according to Edward Bradby, because otters were too smart for the trap, trappers rarely caught one (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, June 28, 1985). In addition to different fall weights, different animals required specific types of bait to lure them into the traps. It was recorded by Speck’s assistant that muskrat preferred the roots of wild parsnip, wild celery, and “dock” (Kremens, Jack to Frank Speck July 19, 1940). “Dock,” slang for spatterdock (yellow water lily), and the other plants mentioned, were gathered on and around the Reservation (personal communication with Warren Cook, June 20, 2013). Raccoon and otter on the other hand were baited with various types of fish.

Speck recorded that some of the dead falls in use during the 1920s were actually constructed during the mid-nineteenth century, around the time of the Civil War. This was due to the common practice of repairing the traps rather than replacing them. For example, some traps were still in use during the 1990s that

were first built during the mid-nineteenth century (Fast and Keroher 1999). These traps, some reported to be as old as two hundred years, were continually used until the end of the twentieth century and remnants of them can still be found in the Reservation marshes today.

The continual use of a particular type of material culture for traditional subsistence activities was a common practice among the Pamunkey, and I provide more examples throughout the dissertation of the practice. In highlighting these examples, I unpack the important role material culture played in providing not just tangible evidence of these practices, but how these objects can also be viewed as documents. Like the dead fall example, several of which experienced over a century of use, these objects were not discarded, but were rather continually used from one generation to the next. Within these objects is documented the history of the practices for which they were used. One can also observe the central role the Reservation landscape played in defining the Pamunkey as a persistent, self-sufficient, and inventive community. The importance of generational knowledge is embedded in these objects as parents taught their children subsistence traditions that ensured these practices would continue to provide economic and cultural support for the Pamunkey. Moreover, these objects make tangible not only kinship relationships, they also signify the far and outward reaching relationships with the outside world.

These relationships were forged in the community's market participation and made possible through their ability to take their knowledge of these traditional subsistence practices and redefine them in ways that provided the

Pamunkey with the ability to appropriate a marginalizing economic system in beneficial ways. And most importantly, in turn, these processes created a platform through which the traditional practices of hunting, trapping, fishing, and pottery making persisted and continued in ways that not only fostered economic stability, but also created a sense of place and community defined by the Pamunkey themselves. The dead fall trap as a material object used for the economic practice of trapping epitomizes the complicated relationships and processes between the Reservation landscape, knowledge of the subsistence practices embedded within that landscape, and the use of that knowledge to secure market participation. It also embodies the various ways in which all of these factors combined to recreate and continually redefine the Reservation landscape as the core of the Pamunkey community, and what it meant to be a member of that community.

By the turn of the twentieth century there was an increasing demand for fashion furs from people of all different social classes. By this time, the popularity of wearing the fur on the outside of one's garment had already been established, but this fashion statement reached its peak during the 1920s and 30s (Mahe 2012). By the First World War, the United States, specifically New York City, assumed the lead in both the manufacture and distribution of furs (United States 1920:539). This rise in popularity was connected to the increasing ability of middle class Americans to purchase motorcars. During this period, motorcars typically had open carriages and no heating system, which required warm, protective clothing (Mahe 2012). Typical fur garments of the period included

coats, capes, jackets, stoles, neckwear of various sorts, and trimmings (United States 1920:538).

While mink, one of the more popular luxury furs at the turn of the twentieth century, was trapped on the Reservation, muskrat, raccoon, and otter were more readily available and therefore more frequently trapped by Pamunkey men. Otter skins were less expensive than mink, but more desirable than raccoon and muskrat, which were considered more affordable furs. During a time when wage labor for cash was still considered a supplemental practice, earning money per fur was immensely attractive, and Pamunkey trappers readily exploited the increased demand in these cheaper furs. For example, in 1915 otter skins were being sold at eighteen to twenty dollars a pelt (Edward Bradby, interviewed by Thomas Blumer, June 28, 1985). This was a large sum of money for the period.

Muskrat, while cheaper, was trapped in greater numbers, anywhere from eight to fifteen a night, and could also yield a large sum of money at the end of the trapping season. For example, from 1900-1940 muskrat pelts ranged in price from two to five dollars per fur (personal communication with Warren Cook April 26, 2012). There were two types of muskrat furs, brown and black, that were separately priced based on the color of the fur. Black muskrat furs were considered more valuable than brown. Tribal member Russell Bradby recalls one story about how he and a friend attempted to make more money by tricking a buyer into thinking he was purchasing black fur muskrats. R. Bradby was only sixteen at the time, and stated that "I regret it now, but we had a guy who was about thirty years old at the store at Lestor Manor, and the brown rats was the

highest at a dollar and the black rats was two dollars. So me and my buddy, we thought it'd be slick... if we wetted these rats, they'd settle for black rats... We took them up to the store and told him we got oh five or six black rats... and he paid us two dollars a piece for it... But they dried up then and turned back brown." (Russell Bradby interviewed by John Moore, June 2, 2006).

R. Bradby trapping at the age of sixteen demonstrates that this practice was learned at a relatively young age and included participation from Pamunkey males of all ages. Education on trapping began at a young age under the tutelage of one's father or male Pamunkey family member (if one's father was not a Pamunkey tribal member for example). They learned all of the necessary skills from tracking the animal's movement to determining where traps should be placed, to traversing the marsh, to maintaining the traps, to processing and tanning the furs. They all learned these skills that were central to successfully engaging the market in fur bearing animals. Some boys were skilled trappers by the age of eight. For example, by the time he was eight years old, in 1909, Edward Bradby was already successfully bidding on the marshes and creeks. He would trap his rented territory using both dead fall and steel traps. E. Bradby would then spend his money on items that would appeal to most eight-year-old children, candy and soda that were purchased at the Lestor Manor general store. (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, May 11 1985).

All furs were sold in bulk at the end of the trapping season. Given the average range of trapping eight to fifteen fur-bearing animals per night during the four month season, it is perfectly feasible that trappers were selling bulk units that

ranged anywhere from five hundred to nine hundred pelts to fur buyers (personal communication with Warren Cook, June 20, 2013). This culminated in the ability for some trappers to earn thousands of dollars at the end of the trapping season (Ibid). While Pamunkey trappers could have sold their furs piecemeal throughout the season, they most likely waited to sell in bulk because trappers processed the skins themselves rather than sending them off to the large factory establishments that specialized in the process.



Figure 3-5 Warren Cook holding muskrat pelt attached to stretchers. Photo courtesy of Warren Cook.

However, the pelts sold by Pamunkey men did undergo further dressing once purchased as the long hairs from the pelt needed to be removed to expose the soft under-fur, a technological feat only the large fur industries possessed (United States 1920:538).

Pamunkey trappers would remove the fur, scrape the fat from the skin and then attach them to wooden “stretchers” that were hand carved. The stretchers ensured the skins were efficiently and evenly dried (See Figure 3-5). The skins attached to the stretcher were hung to dry. Warren Cook remembered hundreds of skins hanging in the kitchen of his boyhood home throughout the trapping season (personal communication with Warren Cook, January 8, 2016).

There were multiple methods through which Pamunkey trappers would sell their furs. Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, trappers would package their bulk furs and ship them via railway from Lestor Manor to commission houses in Richmond and Baltimore (*Pamunkey Indians Remnants of a Once Powerful Tribe*, Los Angeles Sunday Times, June 1894). While I do not have specific evidence pointing to this practice, it is feasible that furs were also been taken to Richmond for sale at the market located on 17th Street, as this was a common venue through which Pamunkey families sold shad and herring, surplus produce, and other items.

During the boom in producing fashionable furs from 1900-1940, Pamunkey and other Virginia Indians (Chickahominy for example) established a far-reaching reputation as proficient trappers who attracted fur buyers from companies such as Sears and Roebuck (personal communication with Nellie Adkins June 20, 2015). At the end of the trapping season fur buyers would also travel to King William County on a designated day and set up buying stations at general stores located throughout the county. Lestor Manor was one such store to which trappers would travel to sell their furs. However, being the nearest general store to the Reservation, Pamunkey trappers typically sold their furs to the buyer that frequented Lestor Manor. Expert Pamunkey trappers who accumulated hundreds of furs by the season's end, did not have to travel to these local general stores to sell because fur buyers traveled directly to their homes to purchase furs (personal communication with Warren Cook July 7, 2013).

While the fur of the muskrat was the primary marketable component, other parts of the animal were also considered economically viable. Trappers and their families ate the meat of the muskrat, which was considered sweet meat that got its flavor from the plants they consumed in the marsh. After the fur and skin had been removed and the necessary innards were cleaned, Pamunkey women would prepare the meat by boiling the muskrat, either whole or disarticulated, in salt water (personal communication with Warren Cook, January 8, 2016). This process both flavored and softened the meat. Once the muskrat was finished boiling, the women would cover it with corn meal and pepper and then pan-fry it.

Pamunkey women would also save the muskrat heads for two particular reasons; 1) the muskrat brains were considered a delicious delicacy, and 2) the muskrats' skull and teeth were easily removed after boiling and were employed to make jewelry, referred to locally as muskrat necklaces (Ibid). Muskrat meat was also sold to people off the Reservation, predominantly the African American residents of King William County, for pennies off the dollar. For example, by the 1940s the meat from one muskrat was worth approximately \$.25. Warren Cook remembers his father Tecumseh, would give the muskrat meat money to him and his two sisters as their allowance. Cook saved his muskrat meat allowance and was able to buy his first car, a used 1950 Mercury, when he was just a teenager (Ibid, June 20, 2013).

In addition to processing the meat of the muskrat for consumption and sale, the bones, teeth, and skulls of the animal were used by Pamunkey women to make muskrat necklaces. The women would make these necklaces for

themselves and their family members to be worn with regalia on special occasions. To earn cash, Pamunkey women would also sell the necklaces. Before the establishment of an artisan's guild on the Reservation in 1932 that consolidated Pamunkey artists and their marketing practices, women sold the muskrat necklaces from their homes along with additional craft items that included pottery and beadwork (personal communication with Joyce Krigsvold and Warren Cook June 20, 2013). Figure 3-6 depicts one such necklace constructed from muskrat mandibles and ceramic beads. The necklace is described as being made for a man; the Pamunkey artist is unknown and the necklace was collected by Frank Speck during the 1920s.

While a few Pamunkey men continued to trap up until the 1990s, the decline in this economic practice began decades earlier. Speculative theories on the waning popularity of fashion furs range from the widespread adoption of central heating in automobiles, to changing ideals and perceptions of femininity, to the rise of the animal rights movement (Dyehouse 2011). No doubt all of these factors played a part in the decline of fashion furs, which would have undoubtedly affected the practice of trapping on the Reservation. Today, there are no men who consistently trap for the fur market on the Reservation,



Figure 3-6. Pamunkey Muskrat Necklace. Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian.

and the Pamunkey point to several reasons for why this particular economic practice declined. For example, Ed Bradby argued closed and heated automobiles killed the fur industry. People would have to wear their furs and blankets to keep warm when the cars were open, but with the advancement of these automobiles, there was no longer practical reason to wear fur today. In fact, he commented on those who continued to wear furs in the later half of the twentieth century, “these women today [who] are buying fur coats... what the hell do they need fur coats for?... they’d put on a mink coat if it was a hundred and two degrees just to show it” (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, May 11, 1985)

While former Pamunkey trappers recognize the larger social impacts on why fur trapping declined on the Reservation, they also point to local factors they argue directly and negatively impacted the mink, muskrat, and otter populations. When asked why trapping was no longer practiced on the Reservation, former trappers referenced the non-existent muskrat population. James Page blamed the state for reintroducing beavers in the area to create dams because some people were requesting ponds for farm use. He believed the beavers quickly multiplied and intruded upon the muskrat habitat (James Page interviewed by Thomas Blumer September 3, 1983). Ed Bradby commented on his observations that the use of insecticide on the neighboring Old Town farm, administered via aircraft, had killed game and birds. He argued the “insecticide that they put on these farms is running into the marsh, and maybe that killed them [the muskrat]” (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer May 11, 1985). Even though

remnants of the deadfall traps are spotted throughout the Reservation marshland today, Pamunkey men no longer repair or set those traps to ensnare the muskrats, raccoons, mink, and otter that once provided Pamunkey men with the necessary cash to feed their families and maintain their households.

Hunting, guiding, and trapping were subsistence activities practiced by Pamunkey men throughout the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century. These practices served dual economic purposes that 1) provided food for Pamunkey households and, 2) provided a supplemental cash income earned through the sale of furs, meat, and specialized knowledge. Market engagement through hunting, trapping, and serving as guides encompassed many facets of Pamunkey life that included the gendered division of labor, and the importance of kinship in teaching necessary skills from one generation to the next. At the center of these practices that fueled and sustained Pamunkey economic life was Pamunkey people's specialized knowledge of the Reservation landscape, the Pamunkey River, the wildlife that traversed both, and the affiliated markets. Pamunkey economic life of the nineteenth century, as documented in this research, and the practices that supported it, would not have been possible, let alone continued, without access to their tribal land and the surrounding waterways. The next section continues the focus on the economic activities practiced by Pamunkey men, but highlights the practices and markets tied to the water.

Fishing and Other River Practices

The practices of fishing, turtling, and bullfrog hunting were not different from those previously discussed as they too were dependent on generational knowledge tied to the Reservation landscape--the riverine landscape in particular for these water-based activities. The Pamunkey River lies at the center of the Pamunkey community's success at engaging multiple modes of production to create a mixed economy that incorporated both traditional subsistence and seasonal wage labor. As I will discuss in Chapter 6, the riverine landscape and Pamunkey men's ability to navigate Virginia waterways also served as the dominant factor in their ability to find wage based employment in urban centers. This knowledge also took Pamunkey men and their sons on the rivers along the Eastern Seaboard to follow the shad runs from Florida to New York. Importantly, during the first decade of the twentieth century the waterway practices, fishing in particular, became a platform to negotiate and fight for Pamunkey sovereignty and treaty rights as they fought to practice these activities without impediment from county or state law. In sum, the Pamunkey River served as a lifeline of the community and formed the foundation upon which Pamunkey economic life was built.

While fishing for various types of fish was the predominant economic activity practiced on the Pamunkey River, turtling and hunting for bullfrogs were also considered lucrative economic practices. "Turtling" and "dredging for terrapin" were common practices among Pamunkey fishermen during the winter months. Pamunkey men dredged for terrapin and they were adamant in

distinguishing what constituted a turtle versus a terrapin. Ed Bradby explained that “a turtle is a snapping one, it will take your finger off if you poke it, a terrapin won’t bite you. Turtles sink in the mud, but terrapins don’t go down that deep, also terrapins will sun themselves” (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6, 1983). Pamunkey men who “dredged for terrapin” focused on catching the painted turtle, known locally as the “slider.” “Dredging” was the method Pamunkey fishermen employed to catch terrapin and E. Bradby described this method in detail:

“Well the dredge... was about six foot long. It was made out of two iron rods and at the end, it was an iron loop. And of course that fastened on these rods. Then you put a net on, behind this dredge, about three foot long, a sort of a bag that hung behind the dredge... Then you’d put a sort of a wire rope on the dredge, one at each end and you’d pull it with your oars and it would go to the bottom and this would just skim along the bottom very slowly, see. We would dredge for terrapins right here [the area along the river known as Downtown to residents where the current hatchery and shanties are located] “...in the fall of the year they go deep, you know... when the weather starts to get cold... and then every now and then you’d pull it up and take the terrapins out, in those days you could sell terrapins (Ibid).

Dredging was practiced during the winter months due to market demand during this season (James Page interviewed by Thomas Blumer, September 3, 1983). The demand for terrapins came from the upper class that frequented expensive restaurants and ballrooms that served terrapin soup as a delicacy. E. Bradby explained, “see back in them days, in those ballrooms... they made terrapin soup. That was a big deal to them old men in those days, go in the ballroom and get terrapin soup” (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6, 1983). The terrapins were shipped live to Baltimore, but Pamunkey fishermen were not compensated for their catch until they had reached the city.

This specific issue raised concern among Pamunkey fishermen who felt they were not treated fairly by the Baltimore commission houses in terms of receiving fair and honest prices for their catches. For example, Warren Cook remembers a story told by his father Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook who had, on more than one occasion, shipped turtles to Baltimore only to receive, in lieu of payment, a bill for the cost of shipping that was more than what the turtles were worth (personal communication with Warren Cook, July 7, 2013).

Unlike most of the game and fish sought after by Pamunkey men, terrapins were not consumed among members of the household. Rather, Pamunkey people preferred to eat snapping turtles (personal communication with Warren Cook, July 7, 2013). The snapping turtle, like the terrapin, was also consumed in the form a soup. For example E. Bradby stated that his mother, Elmyra Page Bradby, would frequently make turtle soup for her family that was much like Brunswick stew (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6, 1983). "Turtling" for snappers required a different method than dredging and was practiced throughout the year. The Pamunkey would construct wooden poles made from arrow wood (Kremens, Jack to Frank Speck July 19, 1940) that were cut in the marsh where a hook would be attached and then baited with eel (Fast and Kerhoer 1999:26). The poles were stuck firmly into the bottom mud and left for a day or overnight (Ibid). Today, consuming turtle meat, and thus, the associated market, appear to be a vestige of an older American diet that no longer exists except sporadically on the menu of restaurants throughout the southern United States. However, as the late and former Chief

Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook explained, turtles have several different kinds of meat with tastes that range from beef, pork, and chicken. And, as I have witnessed and tasted, an occasional snapping turtle is still caught and snuck into a Pamunkey community pot of Brunswick stew.

Bullfrog hunting was an additional economic practice that took place on the Pamunkey River. Even though they knew the frogs were edible, Pamunkey people did not eat them and rather chose to ship them live via railroad to restaurants in Richmond that were frequented by the city's upper class (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6, 1983). Warren Cook remembers bullfrog hunting as a child when their population was booming on the Reservation. As a child, along with his father and sisters, Cook remembers they would catch dozens of frogs at night and his father would sell them to restaurants in Richmond (personal communication with Warren Cook, September 11, 2013). Ed Bradby hunted frogs for market as a young adult at the turn of the twentieth century and recalled he would catch up to three or four dozen a night. Bullfrogs are most active at night so this was the natural time to hunt for them. Hunting for bullfrogs did not require any sort of weapon; all that was needed was a boat, bright light, and a burlap covered barrel. Ed Bradby described a bullfrog hunt during his youth:

"At that time we didn't have the lights they have today. We used to have a reflector in the back of an old kerosene lamp, that's how we got them. You had a barrel in the boat covered with burlap with a slot in it. All you had to do was catch a frog and put him in there... you blinded them with the light, paddled up to them and picked them right up" (Ibid).

This practice, like many I have discussed, became less popular around the mid-twentieth century as the market in delicacy foods like frog legs also waned. However, like the muskrat, a decline in the bullfrog population more than likely affected the ability of Pamunkey fishermen to respond to market demands as well. Throughout my life, I have frequently observed elder tribal members lament on how loud bullfrog croaking used to make evenings on the Reservation. Unfortunately many of the younger generations, myself included, have never experienced these vociferous nights because a bullfrog has not been seen or heard for over three decades. Again, like the muskrat, Ed Bradby also believed the use of insecticides on neighboring farms killed the bullfrog population that today no longer has a presence on the Reservation landscape (Ibid).

While dredging for terrapin, turtling, and bullfrog hunting were all cash producing practices focused on the Pamunkey River, fishing for market was the predominant means through which Pamunkey people, specifically men, were able to engage the market economy. The Pamunkey River, home to numerous fish species exploited by Pamunkey fishermen for sustenance and cash, was the lifeline of the Pamunkey community. Pamunkey fishermen exploited a variety of fish species including sturgeon, perch, American shad, catfish, eel, and herring. Like the other practices previously discussed, different species of fish required different methods and techniques that were practiced during different seasons. Some of the earlier methods of fishing practiced throughout the nineteenth century, such as shooting fish with bow and arrow from the riverbank, fell out of practice by the turn of the twentieth century. Elder men of the tribe shared their

boyhood memories with anthropologist Frank Speck of watching their fathers and other male relatives with bow and arrow shooting cowfish and stiff backed perch that had been trapped in the tidal ponds and pools during the evening low tide (Speck 1928:365).

Cowfish, catfish, and stiff back perch were predominantly caught for household consumption and locally sold to county residents. Stiff back perch was a cold weather catch that were most easily caught when ice was present on the river. The ice along the riverbanks and in the creeks would make the water more crowded causing the perch to run in the main river. Fishermen would catch them using the “beat” method (personal communication with Warren Cook, September 11, 2013). The “beat” method of fishing comprised finding a pocket of water where one could place their net at the opening. Once the net was placed, the fishermen would get behind the net in the pocket of water and beat the water with their paddles to scare the fish to the opening where they would get caught in the net. Warren Cook remembers that his father and his father’s generation would say “let’s go out and make a beat” when they were planning to fish using this particular method (Ibid).

Cat fishing was a summer season practice that required a particular method of taking with the use of set – lines (also referred to as trot lines). Catfish typically follow the river’s channel that is swift and fast on the Pamunkey. In order to catch this particular fish a specific method was developed to traverse the river’s channel. As demonstrated in Figure 3-7, the lines were made from heavy cord and were typically up to 300 feet long with hooks strung from the line at



Figure 3-7. Pamunkey cat fishing line, ca. 1920s. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian

approximately eighteen-inch intervals (Speck 1928:370). Tied between the hook lines were stone sinkers to weigh down the line so that it could reach towards the river's bottom where catfish feed.

To keep the line from being carried away by the channel one end of the line was attached to a wooden pole

stuck in the mud along the river bank (Fast and Kroher 1999:25). The other end of the line was attached to a glass bottle so that the line could move and float with the shifting tide. The task for checking the lines was referred to as "haul and bait." The fishermen would check their line every day and as they removed the hooked catfish they would re-bait the hook, typically with minnow, worms, crab meat, and other types of fish (Speck 1928:371; Fast and Kroher 1999:25). One "haul" could average between sixty to one hundred catfish (Speck 1928:371). An additional method of taking included the use of fish pots specially constructed for the trapping of catfish. They were rounded cylinders approximately six feet long that were baited with the same types of bait mentioned above and weighted to reach the river bottom (personal communication with Warren Cook, September 11, 2013). Preparing the catfish in a stew was the preferred method among the Pamunkey for consuming this particular catch (Speck 1928: 363,371).

Sturgeon, herring, and shad comprised a larger market traversing the Eastern Seaboard of the United States that Pamunkey fishermen readily and expertly engaged throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Sturgeons, for example, are a prehistoric fish species that have existed for over one hundred million years (Murdy et. al. 1997). They are an anadromous fish spending most of their lives in the saltwater of the Atlantic Ocean. They migrate to freshwater rivers to spawn from spring through the summer, leaving freshwaters at the start of autumn (*Atlantic Sturgeon*, Chesapeake Bay Field Office, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service website). Harvesting Atlantic sturgeon was an important industry along the East Coast from the seventeenth century to the turn of the twentieth century as sturgeon meat, eggs, and oil were exported to Europe. However, the roe was considered the most valuable part of the fish and was prepared as caviar. The roe were a highly demanded delicacy in Europe, but it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that sturgeon meat and roe became popular in the United States (Ibid).

Fisherman from various communities along the East Coast exploited the market in sturgeon and the typical method in taking was through the use of large drifting gill nets. While Pamunkey fishermen also employed this method, throughout the nineteenth century they used a centuries old method of trapping sturgeon first documented by English colonists in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Pamunkey fishermen constructed and utilized “water fences” (also referred to as bush nets, bush fences, fish ponds, hedges, and weirs) in order to trap fish, making it easier for the men to secure their catch.

Noted colonists such as John White (1585), William Stratchey (1612) and Robert Beverly (1705) observed the use of these traps among Algonquian Indians of the region from the late sixteenth through early eighteenth centuries. Interestingly, it was recorded in Norfolk and Accomack counties during the mid-seventeenth century that Englishmen were hiring Indians to build weirs for them (Rountree 2014).

Rountree stated that the use of weirs eventually died out, but were “rediscovered by non-Indian watermen in the nineteenth century” (Ibid). However, this statement is not completely accurate based on Pamunkey oral history on fishing practices shared with anthropologist Frank Speck during the 1920s. John Langston, an informant to Speck, shared memories of his father constructing fish fences seventy-five years prior to the anthropologist conducting his research, which places the relative date around the 1850s when this method of taking sturgeon and other fish was practiced among the Pamunkey. Importantly, the construction of “water fences” was discussed throughout the Tribal Meeting Minutes Ledger that dates from 1901 through 1918.

Fish ponds or hedges (see Figure 3-8) were constructed at the entrance of “guts” (smaller creeks located off the main river). At the opening of the creek a barrier of wooden poles were driven into the mud several feet apart during low tide (Speck 1928:359). Natural materials such as marsh grasses or pliable sapling branches were woven together around the poles to construct a lattice patterned barrier or fence that was intentionally sloped in the direction of the river’s upstream (Ibid:360). The hedges were made low enough so that fish could

pass over the top at high tide and as the tide retreated the fish would be caught behind the hedge, and thus were unable to return to the main river channel (Ibid). With the tide being low Pamunkey fishermen would then secure their catch by spearing the fish with bow and arrow or iron pronged spears.

However, sturgeon are bottom feeders that seek

refuge in the deep pools of water during low tide, and due to their boney plated exterior, they were caught with a "jig-hook" rather than with arrow or spear (Ibid).

Each fisherman laid claim to their own pond that were typically located about a mile apart from one another. However, occasionally two or three men would form a partnership to work together at one another's hedge while also recognizing and respecting each other's rights to ownership of the catch secured from their respective traps (Ibid). It was also reported by ethnologist John Pollard, who conducted research among the Pamunkey in the 1890s, that sturgeon were also caught with drift nets (seines), a common method of taking used by

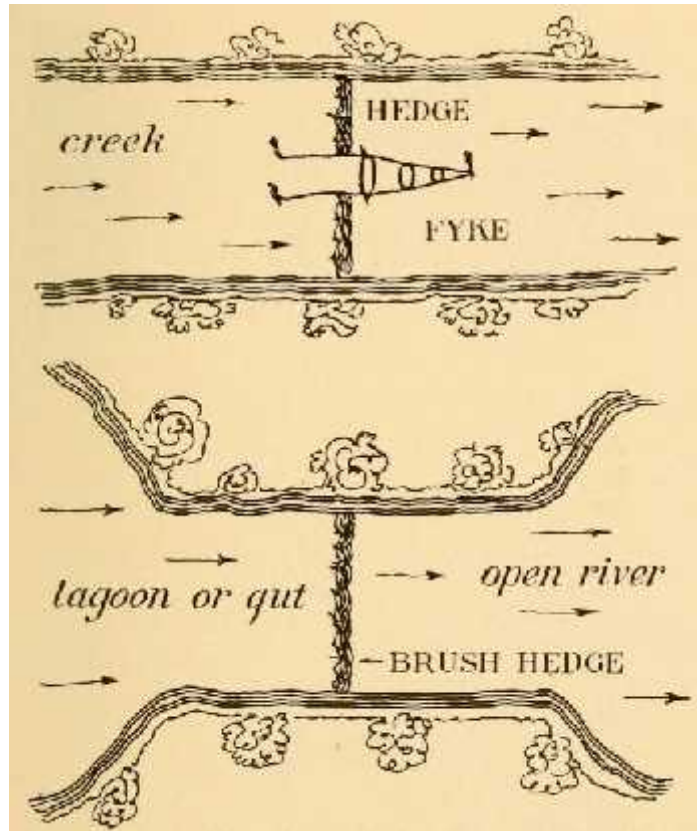


Figure 3-8. Illustration of Pamunkey "bush-fences" (Speck 1928:361).

Pamunkey men for snaring large numbers of fish such as the popular shad and herring (Pollard 1894:15).

There is limited documentary or oral history evidence that point unequivocally to the Pamunkey's participation in the market of sturgeon meat and roe. However, given the community's history with shad fishing for market (that I describe in greater detail below), coupled with the fact that the Chesapeake Bay supported the second greatest caviar fishery in the United States during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (*Maryland Fish Facts*, Maryland Department of Natural Resources website), it is likely Pamunkey men were not fishing sturgeon for household sustenance alone. For example, a 1908 reference described the Pamunkey as deriving "their living almost entirely from the water, taking large quantities of herring and shad by seine according to the season, shooting ducks and reedbirds, and catching an occasional sturgeon for disposal to Baltimore commission houses" (*Surviving Indian Tribes, American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 1908:342).

Importantly, the construction and use of specific types of material culture to catch large numbers of sturgeon provide evidence that Pamunkey men engaged in the practice for market purposes. The time, effort, and skill engaged to construct the fish fences previously described point to this probability. Importantly, fishermen employed extra large gill nets (seines) that were referred to specifically as "sturgeon nets" to entrap large numbers of this species. Fishermen also carved wooden netting needles in corresponding sizes for the construction and repair of the sturgeon nets (Speck 1928:368-369). Moreover,

oral history of Lestor Manor from local county residents who frequented the train depot and store, recalled fishermen, including Pamunkey men, catching hundreds of shad and herring that were deposited at the depot to be shipped off to commission houses. On rare occasions the fishermen would also haul sturgeon to Lestor Manor. As one former resident recalled their memories of childhood during the early twentieth century, “the sturgeon would be so large that the men would have to tie them to the side of the boat to bring them in. They would put the sturgeon in a crate with a lot of ice until it could be taken to Richmond and sold to a hotel” (Greggs 2010 *Lestor Manor: A Historical Overview*). Archaeological evidence from the Reservation points to the potential household consumption of sturgeon as well. For example, the 2010 excavation of the Raymond Bush Site, the refuse pits (Features 3 and 5) in particular, yielded several sturgeons “scales” or bone platelets.

Frank Speck reported the Pamunkey fished intensively for sturgeon until about the 1890s when the sturgeon harvest from the Chesapeake Bay and its tidal watersheds reportedly peaked (Speck 1928:359-373; *Atlantic Sturgeon*, Chesapeake Bay Field Office U.S. Fish and Wildlife Services website). Sturgeon stocks began to dwindle after this decade, and by the 1920s the average annual harvest for the region was reduced by more than ninety percent. Therefore, by the time the Lestor Manor visitor, quoted above, witnessed fishermen hauling sturgeon, this practice was a rare occasion (*Atlantic Sturgeon*, Chesapeake Bay Field Office U.S. Fish and Wildlife Services website). The high harvest rates generated by the peak in popularity of sturgeon meat and roe in Europe and the

United States, combined with the increasing degradation of the Chesapeake Bay ecosystem, drastically reduced the sturgeon population in the region (*Maryland Fish Facts*, Maryland Department of Natural Resources website). Today, Pamunkey fishermen no longer engage in catching sturgeon; although, there is a small spawning population that exists in Virginia's James River and York River systems, including the Pamunkey River (Ibid). There are current efforts by Virginia Commonwealth University to engage the Pamunkey in developing a grant funded stewardship program that will aid in tracking and monitoring the spawning sturgeon population in the Pamunkey River. This program will also include efforts to ensure the spawning population is protected and sustained for the future (personal communication with Jamie Atkins August 1, 2013).

While the various types of fish previously mentioned contributed economically to the Pamunkey household, herring and shad were undoubtedly the most important catch exploited by Pamunkey fishermen for both subsistence and market exchange throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Both species, like the sturgeon, are anadromous, living in salt water during cold weather months, but spawning in fresh water during the warmer ones. With runs starting as far south as Florida during January, herring and shad are early spring arrivals to the Pamunkey River. However, the timing of their appearance is dependent on the severity of the winter season, which determines the water's temperature and triggers spawning. The herring run typically begins in early March. Pamunkey fishermen would note their arrival by the white flowering blooms of the dogwood and locust trees (Speck 1928:363). The shad run follows

the herring by a couple of weeks arriving late March or early April. And like the herring run, Pamunkey fishermen would (and still do) look for the white blooms of the shad bush (a small deciduous tree), locally referred to as the shad flower, to predict the arrival of the shad (Speck 1928:362; Kremens, Jack to Frank Speck, July 19, 1940).

While fishing with various methods of taking, including the use of nets, has been practiced by Pamunkey fishermen for thousands of years, the use of large drift nets (also referred to as seines or gillnets) to catch bulk numbers of shad and herring became the most popular method of taking throughout the past two centuries. The Pamunkey's use of seines has been documented as early as 1812 (Pamunkey Indian Tribe, December 4, 1812). Throughout the nineteenth century Pamunkey fishermen would traverse the river in their dugout canoes to place their cotton nets (handmade and purchased) within the "reaches" of the river. Unlike hunting tracts, the reaches were not assigned, but were first come, first served. A "reach" is a stretch of river between two bends or curves in the river (Warren Cook's personal notes on the practice of shad fishing). On either side of the river bend there would be deep places in the water, referred to as "holes," where fishermen would prefer to drift their nets. Pamunkey fishermen referred to this practice as "fishing the hole" (Ibid). Because two to three boats could fish one reach at a time, there was a specific centuries old protocol followed by Pamunkey men when fishing a reach. The place in the reach where the fishermen cast their nets to drift was referred to as the "throwing out place" (Ibid). The first fisherman to arrive at the throwing out place would get the

advantage of casting his nets to drift first, and once his nets were drifting, the second to arrive would set his to drift, and so on.

Nets were typically cast 200 to 300 yards apart and once all participating boats had cast them there was typically thirty to forty minutes left before the tide was over. However, before a fisherman would place his net in the water, he would have to determine the movements of the tide. Pamunkey men would fish day or night depending on the tide which required intimate knowledge of how the river “moved.” For example, a fisherman had to know when the tide was going to “make” which refers to “the end of the tide before it goes back down the river [low tide] or when it starts up the river [high tide]” (Warren Cook’s personal notes on the practice of shad fishing).

For nighttime fishing, the fishermen would camp in their fish shanties constructed along the riverbank located at Downtown (the north eastern boundary of the Reservation where the river is easily accessed). Tracking the tidal movements and drift distance of their nets at night required a method of lighting the seines so the fishermen could see the end of their nets and where they moved on the river. To see and track the nets as they floated down river wooden floats with lit candles were used during much of the nineteenth century (personal communication with Warren Cook June 1, 2002; June 20 2013). With the increased use and popularity of kerosene lamps, they substituted the use of candles during the later half of the nineteenth century. It was also recorded by anthropologist Frank Speck, that Pamunkey fishermen believed the call of the barred owl in the night could help them determine the timing of the tide. For

example, the owls' call marked the quarter, half and full tides (Speck 1928:362).

Speck poetically described Pamunkey shad fishing one April evening in 1924:

“The seines at night are provided with board floats at each end carrying a lighted lantern... Six or seven seines with their lights riding on the river, the seiners' campfires on the shore, and the somber wooded swamps on both sides make an impressive picture on an April night... The great barred owls call forth the quarter, half, and full tides... it is a rare hour when one or more of the resounding human-like series of whoops does not echo from the swamp, so loud that it rises above all other sounds of the night” (1928:362-363).

Fishermen had several methods for “fishing a tide.” One such method was to “do a drift” on a slow moving tide. Pamunkey fishermen argued one could catch more fish when the tide was moving slowly. Therefore, the majority of fishermen would typically drift their nets two or three hours before the tide was “made” or over (Warren Cook's personal notes on the practice of shad fishing). It was also believed that the largest of shad runs would come on a full moon, and thus one could maximize their catch on a slow moving tide during the presence of a full moon (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6, 1983). Fishermen would also drift on a “hot tide” or fast running tide. When the tide starts or stops it does so slowly, but after approximately half an hour the tidal movements of the river begin to pick up speed with the tide (low or high) peaking at around four hours. It generally takes six hours to achieve high tide and seven for a low tide (Ibid).

If a Pamunkey man wished to fish for only a short period of time, “casting when the tide is short,” he would need to construct and use a gauge to mark the movement of the tide. The tide gauge was used to determine the final hour of tide left. As demonstrated in Figure 3-9 a tide gauge was constructed using three

sticks, one placed at the water line, a second stick placed six to nine inches above the water line, and a third placed six to nine inches below the water line. In his notes on this gauging method, Warren Cook described how the tide was timed:

“When the tide starts to rise on the third stick above the water line, the men know that they have forty-five minutes to an hour left of the tide. When the tide drops below the water line, the men know the tide has longer to go. After the tide drops, when it again rises to the water line and starts up to the third stick or stick number one, the men know they have forty-five minutes to an hour of tide left” (Warren Cook’s notes on the practice of shad fishing).

According to Pamunkey oral history, this method of gauging tidal movements of the river was distinct to the Indian people of the region and has been used among Pamunkey fishermen for over two hundred years. Having the ability to gauge the tide was extremely important because in addition to measuring the time left on a short tide, fishermen also had to avoid their nets reaching a bend. If a fisherman failed to take up his net before the river bend it could either tangle or snag on the shoreline. A Pamunkey waterman was

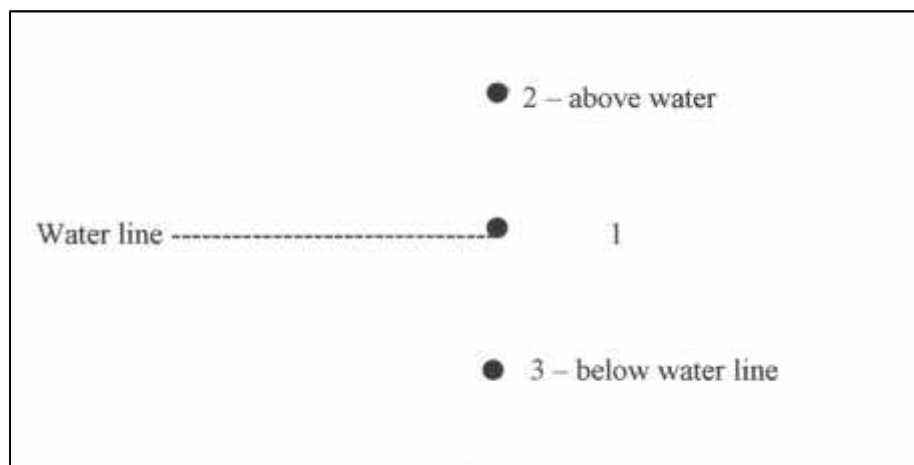


Figure 3-9. Illustration of tide gage used by Pamunkey fishermen. Courtesy of Warren Cook.

required to master several fine-tuned skills to be considered a “hard fisherman” (James Page interviewed by Thomas Blumer September 3 1983) Those skills included having the ability to 1) position the net correctly, 2) time the tide and 3) determine the direction of the wind to ensure the net was taken up before the bend. Not all Pamunkey fishermen had the ability to master all three skills (Warren Cook’s notes on the practice of shad fishing). The “hard fisherman” caught higher yields of shad than others and his ability to master these skills was based on the larger amount of time dedicated to fishing (James Page interviewed by Thomas Blumer September 3 1983).

As demonstrated by the information shared by tribal member, Warren Cook, knowing the tide and the movements of the river was not information a person could learn in one day. It was a skill garnered during boyhood and perfected throughout one’s lifetime. Importantly, these skills taught by fathers to their sons, were passed from one generation to the next. They were founded in the deep seated systems of knowledge forged from the relationship Pamunkey people had with the Reservation landscape, and the river in particular. However, despite their years of experience with the centuries old tradition of fishing shad, fishermen, like Edward Bradby, made it a point to comment that “a shad always knows more about the river than what we do” (Interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6, 1983).

Nets used by Pamunkey fishermen ranged in size depending on the size of the fish they planned to catch. Drift nets for catching shad ranged from 150 to 250 yards long, fifteen to twenty-five feet deep with five and one quarter to five

and one half inch spacing” (Warren Cook’s notes on the practice of shad fishing). During the first half of the nineteenth century Pamunkey men living on the Reservation made their own seines out of cotton. By the 1860s Reservation residents that were more economically sound, and those living off Reservation, began to purchase their nets (Southern Claims Commission Settled Case, Box 371 [Pamunkey Indian Claims]).

During the Civil War residents of the Pamunkey Reservation experienced the arrival of several Union encampments that settled for periods of time on the Reservation and close by at White House and Cumberland Landing²⁰. The Reservation was referred to as Indian Town or Indian Island during this time. During those encampments Union soldiers conscripted property owned by the Pamunkey Indians who lived on and around the Reservation. The Pamunkey who had property conscripted petitioned to be compensated for their losses with the Southern Claims Commission in the 1870s. Among the property taken were fishermen’s drift nets. In fact, some of these fishermen had their catch and nets conscripted by Union soldiers while they were on the river fishing. In several cases those fishermen were actually commanded to fish to provide food for the soldiers (Langston, Holt [15144] Southern Claims Commission, Settled Case Files). For example, Holt Langston was one of several Pamunkey who filed compensation claims for conscripted property. Being one of the fishermen that had their fishing gear taken, he listed his drift net that was purchased for \$30,

²⁰ 1862 General George B. McClellan’s Army of the Potomac. 1863 General John Adams Dix, 1864 and 1865 General Phillip Sheridan’s Calvary (Southern Claims Commission Settled Case, Box 371 [Pamunkey Indian Claims]).

weighed six pounds, measured 150 yards in length and was made of forty-thread cotton (Ibid).

By the 1920s when Speck was conducting his field work among the Pamunkey, he mentioned that most fishermen bought their cotton nets, but that poorer men at times had to make their own (1928:367). Coupling the Southern Claims Commission files of Pamunkey claimants (particularly those living outside of the Reservation boundaries) and Speck's observations we see the possible existence of economic differences and inequalities. Whether men are purchasing or making their nets, they are all engaged in the same economic practices. Perhaps some of the men who could afford to purchase their nets were better skilled fishermen than the men who had to produce their own nets. There is also a possibility that the men that bought their nets were more successful at engaging seasonal wage labor located off the Reservation, and were able to earn more supplemental cash to purchase these types of items.

At the turn of the twentieth century anything and everything pertaining to fishing nets were sold on 14th Street in Richmond, Virginia (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, May 10 1985). In particular several Pamunkey men did business with L. Lichtenstein's Sons Fishing Nets and Seines located at 8 South 14th Street in Richmond (Virginia Polytechnic Institute 1912:86). However, whether or not a fisherman had the economic means to purchase their nets, all who engaged in fishing with seines had to know how to repair them. Therefore, even though the majority of fishermen had the ability to purchase their

nets by the turn of the twentieth century, the knowledge of net construction was still known and practiced by all that engaged in commercial fishing.

Nets would often tear and snag on drifting wood that frequent the Pamunkey River. To save money from buying new nets, Pamunkey fishermen, and in some cases, their wives, had to mend those snags and tears. Repairing the nets was referred to locally as

“hanging” where the fishermen would literally hang one end of the net at its total length. This way the net would hang allowing the fisherman, or his wife if she was doing the repairs, to easily see and mend the tears and snags in the netting. The repairs were completed through a method of knitting the net with



Figure 3-10. Netting needles collected by Frank Speck. Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian

wooden netting needles. As demonstrated in Figure 3-10, the netting needles were tonged and carved from wood by the fishermen themselves. The size and type of fish determined the mesh size of the net needed, and thus the size of the netting needles that were used to repair the net (Speck 1928:368-369). The late Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook remembered when he was a boy that his mother, Theodora Dennis Cook “knitted the nets in the winter with Indian needles made of wood” (Fast and Kerhoer 1999:24).

The drift nets were of the utmost importance when fishing for shad, but without their boats, the ability of Pamunkey men to catch shad in bulk would have

been compromised. Pamunkey men have crafted their own boats for centuries, and for the majority of this time the dugout canoe has been their watercraft of choice. One of the first documented recordings of the Algonquian Indians of the region making and using dugout canoes was Theodore de Bry's engraving "The Manner of Makinge Their Boates" in Thomas Harriot's 1588 publication, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*. John Smith also provided a description of the construction and use of canoes among Powhatan Indian men in his 1608 *A True Relation*.

While variations in the production of dugout canoes no doubt occurred during the 200 years that spanned the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, Pamunkey fishermen continued to make and use dugout canoes. One such change to the practice was the adoption of metal tools among Pamunkey boat makers. Pamunkey fishermen continued to create and use "dugouts"²¹ until the end of the nineteenth century. As one reporter from the *New York Sun* explained in 1895, "they spend their time largely in hunting and fishing, using dugout canoes of their own making in their aquatic sports" (Wholesale Matrimony: Between the Pamunkey and the Eastern Cherokee. *The Sun*, New York, NY. April 21, 1895). Warren Cook remembers stories that his grandfather, George Major Cook born in 1860, and great grandfather Thomas Major Cook born

²¹ For the rest of this chapter I refer to dugout canoes as "dugouts." I was affectionately chastised, and then informed by my grandfather, Warren Cook, that canoe was the incorrect term. The correct term used among Pamunkey fishermen was "dugout." (personal communication September 11, 2013).

around 1830, both knew the art of constructing a dugout and used them for fishing (personal communication with Warren Cook June 20, 2013).

With Frank Speck's arrival to the Reservation around 1920, only two decades had passed since Pamunkey fishermen had stopped constructing and using the dugout. Speck made it a point to mention, "their use and manufacture have ended only with the last generation; so we have first-hand knowledge of details of make and use" (1928:375). The elder men of the tribe, who served as informants to Speck, constructed and used dugout canoes their entire lives and provided valuable information on the practice. Moreover, several of the dugouts that had been made prior to his arrival were still preserved, giving the anthropologist a tangible example to observe how these boats were created.

The canoes were typically sixteen feet long and were constructed from logs of yellow pine that frequent the Reservation's wooded areas. Throughout the centuries following European colonial expansion, Pamunkey men used an iron adz (edge tool used for carving wood) to hewn down the interior of the log (Pollard 1894:18). As shown in Figure 3-11 Speck observed that, "the bottom of the dugout is nearly flat; the interior has a flat bottom and vertical sides and the ends project a little over the waterline" (1928:377). Interestingly, to construct the dugout in the desired shape, Pamunkey boat makers employed curved, forked branches as patterns to achieve the preferred shape and angle (Ibid). Speck commented that the method of manufacture was nearly identical to the descriptions published by John Smith more than three hundred years earlier (Ibid:374-381). Importantly, in an 1893 document recorded by ethnologist John

Pollard, and authored by the Pamunkey chief and council, the Pamunkey themselves pointed to “following the customs of our forefathers, hunting and fishing, partly with our dugout canoes” (Pollard 1894:11).

Fishermen did not sit on the boat's bottom, but employed moveable seats made of wooden boards that allowed them to move and change position easily. The paddles used to drive the



dugouts ranged from five to seven feet long

Figure 3-11. Chief George Major Cook and Paul Miles construct a dugout canoe (Speck 1928:375).

and were constructed from red oak, ash, chestnut, and white oak. Different paddles were used for different purposes that included steering and driving at the boat's bow (Ibid 379-380). The smallest paddle, at five feet long, was reserved for the young Pamunkey boys who would accompany their male family members to learn the skill of netting shad.

The late Edward Bradby recalled that the older men of the tribe used dugouts, but when he was a boy (during the 1910s) fishermen were using “flat bottom boats” (Edward Bradby interviewed Thomas Blumer May 11, 1985). By the turn of the twentieth century, Pamunkey fishermen, old and young, ended the

construction and use of the dugout, and developed in its stead a new method of boating technology the Pamunkey referred to as the “plank canoe” (Speck 1928:379). This particular boat got its name from the method of construction used by Pamunkey men. The plank canoe averaged a length of sixteen feet and was made from four wooden planks (hence the name). Two planks formed the boat’s bottom, and the two remaining planks formed the two sides of the boat that were tapered at the boat’s stern and bow (personal communication with Warren Cook September 11, 2013). The moveable seats and paddles carved from local woods carried over with the switch from dugouts to the plank canoe (Speck 1928:379).

Why this switch in boat technology and why did it take place at that particular time? I do not have a definitive answer to that question, but I can speculate based on statements made by elder members of the tribe and on the construction used to build the plank canoe. Even with the introduction and adoption of metal tools, hollowing and carving a large tree log was extremely labor intensive. Building a boat with only four planks of wood that, whether constructing the planks or purchasing them, could be more easily and quickly assembled. This was undoubtedly much less labor intensive and thus a more attractive alternate to the process of creating a dugout. Edward Bradby claimed that you wanted a boat that would “run” on the river, and when you pulled the plank boats on the river they were “alive” (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, June 28, 1985). With the plank canoe being lighter it could “run” faster on the water thus making the task of netting shad more efficient. The

easier construction coupled with more efficiency on the water most likely influenced Pamunkey men to change their boat technology as they had done with materials and technology affiliated with other economic practices.

The plank canoe became popular among not only Pamunkey fishermen, but other Indian and non-Indian fishermen in the region. Its popularity created a market for men from the community who had become proficient boat builders. The plank canoes were sold by Pamunkey craftsmen to other Indian groups and to non-Indians during the first half of the twentieth century. Among the craftsmen who produced these boats were George Major Cook, Silas Langston, Murphee Bradby, Grover Miles, and Walter Miles (Cook, Warren, June 1, 2002 and June 20 2013. Bradley, Ivey, June 2, 2002; and Langston, George Alfred, June 7, 2002). Examples of the dugout and plank canoe are currently on display at the Pamunkey Indian Museum and Cultural Center.

An important component of shad fishing was timing the arrival of the shad runs not just in Virginia's waterways, but in the coastal rivers that traversed the Eastern Seaboard of the United States. Engaging the shad industry ensured Pamunkey fishermen were prolific travelers as they followed the shad runs that started in January in Florida and ran as far North as New York's Hudson River when the runs ended in June. Following the shad run along the Eastern Seaboard throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth century fostered a close relationship between Pamunkey people and East Coast metropolitan centers that included Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York City. As one reporter from the Washington Post recorded in 1903:

“Once among the Pamunkeys the ethnologist felt that he was indeed among a primitive people. When in talking with a rather bright and intelligent member of the tribe he was surprised to find that Mr. Pamunkey seemed to know as much about Washington, New York, and Boston as he did. The ethnologist wanted to know how he came by such knowledge, and when had he visited these great cities. The Pamunkey thus addressed replied, that there was a certain kind of fishing in Long Island Sound and the Chesapeake, which, in certain seasons, he and others of the tribe found very profitable. In fact, his people had been engaged in this fishery for years, numbers of them going every year to Long Island Sounds to ply a craft as old as their ancestors, the Powhatans. This, then, was how he came to be familiar with this and the other great Eastern cities” (Demand for Sea Food: Fishermen Get Good Prices for their Catches this Year. *The Washington Post*, August 24, 1903).

Several men who were born around the mid-nineteenth century and raised to learn the practices that sustained the Pamunkey way of life were known to start fishing for shad as far south as the St. Johns River in Florida beginning in January. Some of these men included my great, great grandfathers, George Major Cook, and James Bradby (Fast and Keroher 1999; Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6, 1983). One of the more popular routes to fish after the shad run had ended on the Pamunkey was along the Hudson River, from Brooklyn to Rhinecliff, and Rhinebeck, New York (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6, 1983). In the 1890s, a reporter for the Brooklyn Daily Eagle documented that groups of Pamunkey men had been traveling to the shores of Fort Hamilton in Brooklyn, New York since the 1880s to set up huts at the foot of Third Avenue to shad fish. “They are known all over town as the Indians... [and their] stay here is limited to the period when shad are running lively in the bay. They will follow the fish up the Hudson and their camping ground will be at Reincliff” (Indians at Fort Hamilton, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 5, 1895)

Warren Cook remembers stories about his grandfather, George Major Cook and uncle, Edward Bradby who traveled north to follow the shad run after the season in Virginia had ended. They would fish the Hudson and stay in little huts or shacks right on the river and sell their catch (personal communication with Warren Cook, September 11, 2013). The reporter for the Brooklyn Daily Eagle described these makeshift huts in May of 1895:

“The fisherman’s hut on the shore is a very rough primitive affair. It was built of rough boards nearly ten years ago and about the only repairing that has since been made is to recover the roof with tar paper. Inquisitive boys have enlarged some of the crevices with the aid of their jackknives and over these pieces of tin or small boards have been nailed. The men sleep in shelf like bunks, and one small stove is used for both cooking and heating.”

While Pamunkey oral history and the historic newspapers referenced here do not mention the specific location where Pamunkey fishermen sold their catch in New York, I can only infer they most likely sold their catch to the Fulton Fish Market, one of the oldest fish markets in the United States. In operation since the 1830s and originally located in Lower Manhattan, the Fulton Fish Market sat on the East River just south of the Brooklyn Bridge at the edge of South Street Seaport between Beekman and Fulton Streets (*A Last Whiff of Fulton’s Fish, Bringing a Tear* The New York Times, July 10, 2005). The fish market was a short boat ride away from the Pamunkey’s Third Avenue fishing camp in Brooklyn, and even though more research needs to be conducted, the Fulton Fish Market was the most likely place the fishermen sold their catch.

The late Edward Bradby began fishing with his father, James Bradby, as a young child. By 1918, as a young man Ed was given the opportunity to fish the

Hudson with his father. As soon as the shad run had ended on the Pamunkey, typically during mid April, they would begin their trek north to New York. E.

Bradby said:

“We would fish here [Pamunkey River] up until the fifteenth of April and we’d go up there [New York] and the season would just be starting there... we’d catch a train here, Lestor Manor, go to West Point, get the Baltimore Boat... we’d go from Baltimore to New York.” And when they were done with the shad run around Manhattan, they would “catch the train from New York on the grand central, up to where we would get off [at Rhinecliff], ninety miles above New York City” (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6 1983).

The typical run along the Hudson also lasted, on average, five to six weeks. One of Bradby’s most prevalent memories of fishing the Hudson was his shock at the way northern fishermen treated the shad roe. Consuming shad roe was prized among the Pamunkey. Not to mention the popularity of shad roe among southern restaurant goers that earned Pamunkey fishermen more cash if they had roe to sell along with the catch. In stark contrast, and to Bradby’s shock, the northern fishermen “didn’t eat the roe up there, when they cleaned the shad, they would cut up the roe and throw the roe away... The southerners are real roe eaters. The northerners are not roe eaters” (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6, 1983).

To the Pamunkey, shad roe was (and still is) considered a delicacy, so to throw it away unused would have been unheard of during the shad runs on the Pamunkey. The only time a Pamunkey fisherman would willingly let the roe go was during a ritual many believed aided in not only the spawning of shad, but would quicken the maturing of the fry (shad that recently hatched). Fishermen

believed this ensured a larger shad population that survived to adulthood, and thus a better future yield for Pamunkey fishermen. Bradby described the practice:

“They can hold their spawn. Sometimes the shad is ready to spawn... pick him up out of the river, the little silver beads are running out of him. So we have buckets that we squeeze this into, then we take the buck shad and squeeze some of his buck milk into the bucket and then on the River, I guess it was a superstition. After they do that... then we'd stir it with the buck tail... they claimed it would make them mature much earlier” (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6, 1983).

This method of submerging the eggs in buckets filled with river water and then manually mixing the shad sperm with the roe was the precursor method to aid in the sustainability of the shad population that eventually led to the establishment of the Pamunkey Indian Fish Hatchery in 1918 (I discuss this in greater detail later in the chapter).

Pamunkey families had numerous methods for preparing and consuming shad roe. Methods of preparation that are still popular today included scrambling the roe with eggs, pan frying the roe sack with salt and pepper to taste, and the most popular, oiling the roe sack and wrapping it in parchment paper to be grilled or baked in the oven (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6, 1983) There was also local and market demand for salt roe, and salt fish, specifically herring and shad. Bradby described the process,

“You soak it over night, shad and herring roe. We put up maybe fifteen or twenty gallons of herring roe and maybe five or six gallons of shad roe. And we put up maybe five or six hundred salt shad and herrings... Throughout the summer we could sell them or we would eat them, but we'd sell them rather than eat them, you know... we used to put them in crocks here, two gallon crock. You put a layer of salt, and a layer of roe, layer of salt, and a layer of roe... as long as the roe was covered with brine, it was safe” (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer May 10 1985).

Warren Cook's parents told him when they were children their families would live the entire winter off a barrel of salted fish which is why he rarely observed his parents eating salted fish when he was growing up (personal communication September 11, 2013). Interestingly, Bradby and his nephew, Warren's, stories are also corroborated by the archaeological evidence excavated from the Raymond Bush Site. My grandfather, Warren, and I were excavating the northern portion of the large pit feature (Ft. 3) when we began to uncover large sherds of American salt glazed stoneware. When my grandfather observed what we were pulling from the ground he commented that Pamunkey people used these large ceramic vessels for salting fish that were also referred to as crocks or barrels.

Despite its boney texture, shad was one of the most popular "eating fish" among Pamunkey Reservation residents, as Bradby commented, "the only thing about a shad, a shad's a little bit boney you know, but its got a wonderful taste and in the spring of the year people go for that (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6 1983). Plank cooking was a popular and older technique of preparing shad that is no longer practiced today. The late and former chief, Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook, described the process, "after you take the roe from him, you split him right down his backbone... split the shad and nail it to a board, the plank. Put it not too close to the fire. It takes hours to smoke it," Cook said (Fast and Keroher 1999:24-25).

Shad fishing and preparing the shad and roe was a family affair that included women and Pamunkey males of all ages. Men were the fishermen of the community and their sons would join their fathers as early as the age of six to

start their education on how to net shad (Fast and Keroher 1999). The young boys would help with various tasks during the shad season, such as rowing the boats so the men had a better ability to focus on their nets. Additional tasks given to Pamunkey boys included salting the shad fish and roe, and transporting the barreled shad to Lestor Manor to ensure the fish made it on the train where they would be transported to Richmond and Baltimore (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, May 10 1985; Fast and Kroher 1999:6).

William Dennis remembered how he and his brother Thomas would help row the boat for the late and former chief, George Major Cook, during shad season when they were young. He would also pay them to meet the train with the fish barrels. "He used to [pay us] to meet the train, and he give us ten, fifteen cents extra to buy candy to get there on time to meet the train," Dennis said (William Dennis interviewed by Thomas Blumer, September 4 1983). Dennis' boyhood memory of shad fishing demonstrates that children's roles in these practices were a way for young people to make money and importantly to learn the market through their participation in these activities. The youth were not only learning traditional practices, but also knowing and engaging the market (even if it started with fifteen cents used to purchase candy) were an inseparable part of their education in learning the trade of becoming seasoned fishermen, hunters, and/or trappers.

After a Pamunkey boy had several seasons learning with the elder men in their family, the younger men could go out on their own, but they had to be careful of the older, seasoned fishermen. James Page remembered they had to

watch out for the old men because, “they would try to fool you, pull tricks on you.” For example, they would put their nets in front of a younger, less experienced fisherman, they would lie to them about how long the tide was, and they would even move the tide marker so they were unable to read the tide causing them to pull their nets in at the wrong time sabotaging their efforts (James Page interviewed by Thomas Blumer, September 3, 1983). And, as mentioned, when they were sufficiently experienced, typically in their teenage years, some would travel with their fathers to fish the Hudson River in New York.

Women’s roles in the practice of shad fishing rarely took place on the river. In addition to helping mend their husbands’ nets, Pamunkey women were tasked with dressing and cooking the shad fish and roe that were not sent to market (Edward Bradby May 10 1985, Fast and Kroher 1999:6) Bradby remembered when his mother was ready to cook the roe for the household to eat she would soak it in freshwater first to take the salt out (Interviewed by Thomas Blumer May 10, 1985). Pamunkey women would also scale the shad fish. As shown in Figure 3-12, Speck noted that women preferred to scale using a stone scraper because it removed the scales without cutting the fish or fingers (1928:372). Importantly, Speck commented, “Mrs. Cook found her scraper at an old house site.” Here again we have Pamunkey people utilizing and refurbishing objects made and used by previous generations in their present day activities. In this particular example, an object was collected from an archaeological site, and was likely used for the same or similar purposes. This ability of a tribal member to determine where they could obtain or find these kinds of reusable objects



Figure 3-12. Stone scrapers used by Pamunkey women to scale fish. Collected by Frank Speck. Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian.

demonstrates the intimate knowledge Pamunkey people had of their landscape, not only in terms of survival and economic engagement, but also of their history and the physical remnants of past lives lived on that landscape.

Interesting exceptions, although rare, to the gendered pattern in fishing practices did arise. Pamunkey potter, Debra Martin, remembers stories that her mother Douglas Miles Martin shared about growing up on the Reservation. Debra's grandfather, Walter Miles, would typically fish with James Page as his partner, but when Page could not help he would enlist the help of his daughters. Debra's mother would row the boat and would help bring in the nets. Douglas aided with these tasks so frequently that her father nicknamed her Jack. Debra commented how rare it was for her mother to do these tasks because women were not part of Pamunkey fishing culture, but because Walter's son, Grover Miles, was born over a decade later, he had the four daughters helping in the fields and with fishing (personal communication with Debra Martin, August 2, 2013).

To become a successful fisherman, one not only had to practice the skills needed to successfully catch, but one had to know the various paths through which to market and sell that catch. Pamunkey fishermen throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth century engaged numerous methods to

market and sell their fish that ranged from 1) traveling to markets, 2) engaging commission houses in the Middle Atlantic region, 3) direct sale to local fish buyers and Richmond restaurants, and 4) through word of mouth, as Pamunkey men had garnered a reputation as expert fishermen in the region. During the first half of the nineteenth century, prior to the construction of the Richmond and York River Railroad that provided a direct transportation route to Richmond, Pamunkey men, and occasionally their wives, would travel via horse and buggy or ferry and boat to Richmond to sell their fish and other products such as game and produce. For example, Thomas Cook, my great, great, great, great grandfather, stated in his Southern Claims Commission interview that he had “gotten passes to go to and from Richmond. I sold fish and game in the market” (Cook, Thomas [6305] SCC Settled Case Files).

The market in Richmond that Cook (and other Pamunkey men who also filed claims) referred to was the Seventeenth Street Market in the Shockoe Bottom District of Richmond. Since 1737, the site of the Seventeenth Street market, located at the corner of Main and 17th streets, has been a public gathering place and is considered one of the nation’s oldest public markets. In 1779 a public market was formally established when the Virginia General Assembly officially moved their governing seat to Richmond. Due to the site’s close proximity to the James River and with Main Street serving as the main road between Richmond and Williamsburg, this street corner was particularly poised for commerce. Items for sale at the market ranged from fish, various types of game, produce, and

everyday household items, and prior to the Civil War, the auctioning of enslaved African Americans.

In 1854, the market expanded with the construction of a larger market building, referred to as the First Market House once located on the corner of 17th and Main Streets (*Farmer's Market: History*, Richmond Government website). As shown in Figure 3-13, this building would have been the place Thomas Cook and other Pamunkey were

selling their goods when interviewed by the Southern Claims Commission in 1874, on their travels in the region during the Civil War. In addition to traveling on land to sell and market fish, fishermen would also send boat loads of pickerel, bass, shad, and other fish to



Figure 3-13. Richmond's 17th Street Market ca. 1854. Courtesy of the Valentine Richmond History Museum, Cook Collection.

commission merchants in Richmond where they were sold at the prevailing market prices (Gatschet 1893). There are also references of Pamunkey traversing by boat to Richmond via schooner, ferry, and steamboat (Lost Notice posted by Edward Bradley, *Richmond Daily Dispatch* 1855).

As previously mentioned, in 1874 several Pamunkey were awarded compensation from the Southern Claims Commission for the property they lost

through conscription from the various Union encampments settled on and around the Reservation from 1862-1865 during the Civil War. The money awarded to several men was pooled together to establish a joint stock company in order to operate a general merchandise store on the Reservation. As mentioned in a correspondence discussing the Pamunkey from Roger Gregory to William Palmer on August 24, 1875, "sometime during last year, several of them, with money they received from the Federal Government as compensation for property taken from them by the Federals during the war, started a small store..." This store served various purposes and provided cash income not only for the store owners, but for Pamunkey people who sold their surplus produce, furs, fish, and game here as well. In addition to tribal members, the store was apparently patronized by white residents of the county as well (*Independent Pamunkeys. An Indian Tribe that Has No Relation with the United States Government. New Haven Evening Register, May 11 1899*). For example, it was reported that anything "from needle to plow" could be purchased at the store (*Indians at Fort Hamilton. The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, May 5, 1895*).

While the general store was initially owned and operated by several men compensated by the U.S. Government, by 1899 it appears that the Tribal Government or members from the Government may have operated the store. As stated in the New Haven Evening Register, "these native officials... conduct a cooperative merchandise store...". It is unclear as to why ownership may have shifted, whether it was bequeathed to the tribal government as a whole or if the individual stock owners were at this point and time also elected officials in the

Tribal Government. Thus, it is also unclear as to whether the profits transferred to the Tribe's treasury or if profits went to the individual joint stock owners.

There is also mention of a Reservation store in an interview with William Dennis who remembered his uncle, John Dennis, operated a Reservation store where he sold bread, candy, cigarettes, tobacco, etc. It was called a penny catcher where much of the merchandise was sold for a penny (William Dennis interviewed by Thomas Blumer September 4 1983). This store, run by John Dennis, was also referenced in the Tribal Meetings Ledger on March and June of 1915. The ledger notes that John Dennis had to pay a monthly rent to the Tribe in order to run the store. If this is indeed the store first established in 1875 it appears that Chief and Council did take control as they were authorized to rent it out to tribal members. But it appears that while the Tribe received compensation for rent, the profit garnered from product sales went to the individual who rented and managed the store. For example, William Dennis stated that his uncle John would make up to \$0.15 a week. It is unclear as to when this store stopped operating.

When construction of the Richmond and York River Railroad (currently known as the Southern Railway), which traverses the center of the Reservation, was finished in 1854 an additional method through which to market, sell, and transport fish, game, and furs was made available to Pamunkey producers. With the railway established, a direct connection between the Reservation, West Point (the closest population center to the Reservation) and Richmond was created, a transportation route the Pamunkey regularly engaged. Pamunkey people who

had goods to sell and ship were able to do so through the two train station depots established directly outside of the Reservation's boundaries at Lestor Manor and White House. Both depots had adjacent public general stores where Pamunkey people sold their wares with direct access to potential customers. The White House depot and store was located in New Kent County across the river from the southwestern shore of the Reservation and was adjacent to the railway bridge that connected the southern and northern banks of the Pamunkey River. The residents that lived closer to the Reservation's western boundary where the bridge crossed into Indian Town would either sell their catch at the White House store or ship it from the depot (personal communication with Warren Cook, June 20, 2013).

Lestor Manor was a larger establishment and more frequented by Pamunkey fishermen than the depot at White House. In addition to the train station and public store, Lestor Manor housed ticket, telegraph, freight, and post offices, a hotel that adjoined the store, a livery stable, and a stagecoach service. Lestor Manor, also referred to as "Fish Hall" by elder members of the tribe, has a long history with the community. Adjacent to the Reservation's only landed boundary to the north, the Pamunkey Tribe has not owned the land that comprises Lestor Manor since the mid seventeenth century. By the early 1700s, the Robinson family owned the property and established it as one of the largest fresh water fish packaging businesses on the Pamunkey River. This industry led many to nickname Lestor Manor, Fish Hall, a name still used by elder tribal members.

Fish were salted or pickled here and then shipped in barrels and crocks across the northeastern region of the country (Greggs 2010:2).

In addition to the fishing business, the area was used for industrial and mercantile purposes throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that ranged from cotton and wood production, to fruit and vegetable canneries (Greggs 2010:3-4). Warren Cook remembers the old warehouses were still standing when he was a child growing up on the Reservation during the 1940s (personal communication February 25, 2015). It wasn't until 1859 that the Lestor Manor remembered by many of the elder tribal members was established with a train depot, store, hotel, post office, and buggy rental. Lestor Manor also provided a venue for Pamunkey fishermen and hunters to hire themselves as guides, and by 1930 the establishment was converted to an exclusive hunting and fishing club (Greggs 2010:15). During that same decade the Richmond and York River Railway stopped its passenger train pick up at Lestor Manor. A bus station providing transportation to and from Richmond was established in its stead (personal communication with Eleanor Fields, Betty Allmond and Warren Cook, June 22 2015). Many of the historic buildings and warehouses associated with the long history of Lestor Manor were demolished in the early 1970s (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, May 10 1985).

The two depots located adjacent to the Reservation also provided Pamunkey fishermen with the ability ship shad and other fish in barrels from Lestor Manor to Richmond where they were purchased by commission merchants for a wholesale price by the barrel. Elder tribal members remember their fathers became close

with several of these Richmond merchants and developed long friendships. For example, as a boy Edward Bradby remembers his father James Bradby sold shad to the merchant, William Temple. Temple was born in King William County and served as a merchant in Baltimore (an additional market Pamunkey fishermen exploited) before returning to Virginia to work in Richmond where he established accounts with Pamunkey fishermen.²² Bradby has memories of Temple coming to the Reservation frequently to join his family for Sunday dinners. (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer May 10, 1985).

In addition to the direct line to Richmond, the Richmond and York River Railroad established a new line to Baltimore, Maryland. The railway would stop at the last depot in West Point and from there passengers could access steamboats heading north that had been operating since the 1840s (Warner 1848). With the new shipping lane established via water and now land, Pamunkey fishermen, hunters, and trappers could ship their catch from both White House and Lestor Manor to commission merchants in Baltimore (James Page interviewed by Thomas Blumer, Sept 3 1983). This transport route was referred to locally as the “boat train.” Bradby recalls the practice of processing the fish for shipment and the route used by Pamunkey for travel and market purposes:

” We used to ship fish to Baltimore at one time. We had an ice house down there that everybody went together would get a lot of ice in the wintertime, you know, and pack it in saw dust and then we’d pack the shad in ice. Got good prices for

²² These accounts were also most likely standing in Baltimore as well, but more research needs to be conducted to explore the extent of the relationship between Temple and the Pamunkey Indian Tribe.

shad in Baltimore. But at that time²³, the Baltimore boat was running... had two points running from West Point to Baltimore... And the train would come [Lestor Manor Depot] at five-thirty in the afternoon and they would be in West Point inside of half an hour. And it would ship to Baltimore and people would have the fish. The commission merchant would have the fish the following morning, see, so they were fresh." (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6 1985).

Warren Cook also explained that the boat train was the same route used by tribal members to travel to and from Philadelphia (I describe the community's relationship to this city in Chapter 8). They would take the train to West Point, board a boat from West Point to Baltimore and then grab the train from Baltimore to Philadelphia (personal communication with Warren Cook June 1 2013).

An additional method through which Pamunkey fishermen would market and sell their catch included direct sale to fish buyers who traveled to the Reservation at the end of the herring and shad seasons. While this method was common throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, it became the predominant means through which fishermen sold their catch after the depots at Lestor Manor and White House closed in the 1930s. The fish buyers worked for companies that sold the product they purchased at wholesale prices to local Richmond restaurants. The same fish buyers would come to the Reservation every year from Richmond (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6, 1983; personal communication with Warren Cook September 11, 2013). One such business was the Spotless Co. who had fish buyers that would frequent the

²³ I do not have a specific date to which Bradby is referring, but this specific passage is in the context of him remembering how he would help his father with the fishing business as a boy. He was born in 1901 so this would put his description around the first decade of the twentieth century.

Reservation to buy herring. They sold the herring salted at two Richmond locations: 1205-07 E. Cary St. and at the corner of 7th and Bainbridge Streets (*Cut Your Meat Bill – Eat Fish*, advertisement for the Spotless Co. Richmond Times Dispatch March 2 1919; Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, May 10, 1985).

P.T. Hastings was another large Richmond based buyer of Pamunkey fish. Powell Tilghman Hastings established the company in 1921 on Main Street. They directly marketed fish throughout the city, but they also ran several of their own seafood restaurants located throughout Richmond. P.T. Hastings still operates a seafood market located on Old Parahm Rd. in Henrico, Virginia (personal communication with Warren Cook Sept 11, 2013; *Veteran Seafood Seller Dies at 74*, Richmond Times Dispatch January 4, 2013). R.P Martin Seafood Company, Inc. was an additional buyer whose business was located along 18th street adjacent to the 17th Street Market in Richmond's Shockoe Bottom district. R.P. Martin was established by two brothers who had long lasting relationships with the Pamunkey community. They married Pamunkey women who were the daughters of a well-respected Pamunkey fisherman, Walter Miles. Debra Martin tells the story of how her mother, Douglas Miles Martin, met her father. Douglas and her sisters would frequent the 17th St market with their father to sell their catch. With R.P. Martin Seafood Company being a popular buyer, Douglas and one of her sisters began romantic relationships with the brothers and both couples married in 1940s. In addition to buyers affiliated with seafood markets and companies, Pamunkey fishermen would also sell to individuals not just from

King William, but also throughout the region. People came to the Reservation to purchase fish and shad roe. Edward Bradby reported that many of these individuals were customers for decades and some would travel from hundreds of miles to Pamunkey to buy shad fish and shad roe (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, May 10 1985).

The market in shad, and the roe in particular, waned considerably after the mid-twentieth century. The market today only serves a small niche as a delicacy in local restaurants or among individual buyers from the Tidewater region that have engaged in the local tradition of consuming shad roe throughout their lifetime. Warren Cook (personal communication September 11, 2013) attributes this drop in roe's popularity to the lack of interest in consuming it among younger generations; people just do not eat it anymore. Individuals still come to the Reservation during the run to buy directly from Pamunkey fishermen, sometimes in bulk as they will resell to earn for themselves. Fish buyers no longer frequent the Reservation; rather, fishermen take their catch directly to the buyer or they sell directly to restaurants in Richmond. Today, P.T. Hasting purchases the majority of the Pamunkey catch (Ibid).

While the market has waned and the practice of fishing may look a bit different than it did over a century ago, shad fishing is still an important part of Pamunkey life today. Fishing is still practiced as younger Pamunkey men are beginning to learn the practice from the elder generation. However, fishermen no longer construct their own boats, they all use aluminum johnboats today, and purchase monofilament nets rather than construct or buy cotton nets.

Fishermen also give part of their catch to fellow Reservation residents, and to the annual fish fry where Pamunkey tribal members gather to consume the shad and roe to celebrate the end of the shad season. The annual fish fry is a tradition that has been practiced on the Reservation for over a century.

However, one tribal member explains the consistent threats that continually make it difficult for Pamunkey people to engage in shad fishing as an economic opportunity. “They [the state] closed the river so to speak for shad but we still continue to fish and we worked at the hatchery to raise the population back up. The population comes back up, but they still haven’t actually opened the river officially. And so, it’s getting harder and harder for us to go out there and fish when we want to fish.... And other boats that have permits from the fishing institute of marine sciences and they’re out there fishing and then people don’t want to buy the fish anymore...there’s some legalities as far as even buying shad... they could be breaking the law in buying it so it’s kind of hard to sell and you kind of have to sell on the hush hush” (Kevin Brown interviewed by John Moore June 6, 2006). Fortunately, the Pamunkey Indian Reservation Fish Hatchery established in 1918, and a well-respected institution in the region, keeps the skill for netting shad alive, as the fish have to be caught in bulk for the hatchery to function.

However, the 2016 shad season is the first in decades to witness a complete loss in the catch. There were so few shad caught on the Pamunkey River this year, we could not open the hatchery, and we could not serve it at our annual fish fry. This has been deeply concerning to the community particularly as many

believe the institutional research being conducted on the Reservation is hurting our shad population. Apparently for several years researchers have been taking shad from the Pamunkey to stock other hatcheries on different river systems. This is concerning because the fry released within a particular river will return the following year to that same river to spawn, thus effectively removing future generation of shad to return, spawn and populate the Pamunkey River.

Pamunkey fishermen not only engaged this market, but they made attempts to ensure one of their most lucrative exploits from the Pamunkey River remained profitable. As mentioned earlier in this section, Pamunkey fishermen had performed varying attempts during each fishing season to ensure the next generation of shad fry made it to adulthood. These attempts included the manual fertilization of the roe in buckets. However, by the turn of the twentieth century Pamunkey fishermen, always astute to the river that provided their livelihood, began to notice a drop in their catch compared to previous seasons (James Page interviewed by Thomas Blumer September 3, 1983). Understanding that larger circumstances were at work (beyond natural causes) contributing to the loss of the fish populations in Virginia's waterways, Pamunkey leaders took it upon themselves to petition to Virginia's legislature for the protection of fish, which they argued contributed significantly to their livelihood. For example, it was reported in 1908 that "Chief George Cook of the Pamunkey Tribe of Indians, was present [at the Senate Fish and Game Committee Hearing] and made an able appeal for the protection of fish" (Here and There in the Legislature: Senate Fish and Game Committee Opposed to Bill Abolishing Baylor Survey. *The Times Dispatch*,

Richmond, VA February 13, 1908). However, they also recognized that appeals made to Virginia's legislature could only reach so far. Thus, to better ensure the vitality of the shad fish, the Tribe decided to officially organize and mechanize their manual attempts at fertilizing the roe.

Walter Bradley was tasked with the mechanization efforts and his successful attempts established what became known as the official Pamunkey Indian Reservation Fish Hatchery in 1918. At the time, Bradley was one of the only fishermen with access to a gas motor that was used to pump water from the river for the makeshift hatchery (personal communication with Warren Cook, September 11, 2013). While aspects of the process had become automated, the practice of manually fertilizing the eggs remained virtually the same. The eggs were placed in buckets with river water, and the buck shad was "milked" for his sperm that was deposited directly into the bucket containing the roe. Once the eggs had grown larger and become harder, the fishermen knew they were fertilized.

Prior to the hatchery, the fertilized eggs would have been transferred directly back into the river. With the technology provided by the gas motor to pump water consistently from the river, the Pamunkey established additional steps to ensure the fry reached maturity. Once fertilized, the eggs were then transferred to glass jars also filled with river water where the fishermen would monitor them to watch for emerging fry. Once the fry hatched, they were then moved to large tanks where the gas motor and piping system pumped and moved water into the tanks (Ibid). This process provided a safe and monitored environment where the fry

could spend time to become more mature before they were released back into the river. This method and concept is still practiced today by the contemporary hatchery albeit with modern technology. This extended maturation time provided increased assurance that the roe was not consumed by predators providing the mature fry with a better chance for survival as they made the return journey to their salt water habitats.

When asked about the importance of the fish hatchery to the Pamunkey community, Warren Cook responded it was, “to improve the shad population...it was a big part of our economy, shad, and everybody fished. Everybody made money on the shad, so everybody wanted to improve it. The more fish you had the more money you made, so everybody wanted to improve the shad population so they could make more money” (personal communication with Warren Cook Sept 11, 2013). Importantly, while one of the main incentives for the hatchery was economic, the tribe also recognized the responsibility they had to ensure the shad population thrived. On May 22, 1917, the Chief and Council made a resolution to aid in the efforts to establish the hatchery, but they also made it a point to limit the number of nets per boat so as to better control the intake of shad. “We the Pamunkey Indians will use every available effort in assisting the fish hatchery. Be it resolved that we fishermen live by--that we will not fish but three nets to a boat.” (Pamunkey Indian Books of Record No. 2, Tribal Meeting Minutes, 1901-1918). What had originally been the responsibility of individual fishermen to conduct on their own accord, stewardship of the river became both an economic and sustainability endeavor managed by the Tribe.

After just four years they observed an increase in the shad population (James Page interviewed by Thomas Blumer, September 3, 1983). The Tribe's efforts prior to, and with the establishment of the hatchery, demonstrated the community's dedication to maintaining a healthy shad population, while also retaining the ability to engage economically. They understood that a balance between conservation (respect for the river and its living creatures) and engaging in a profitable economic practice was needed to maintain this economic endeavor.

The Pamunkey Indian Reservation Fish Hatchery has contributed substantially to increasing the health and viability of the American shad population in the Tidewater region. The shad population has waxed and waned for the past century, but the numbers have plummeted since the 1970s due to overfishing, pollution, and dams and fish blockages that have prevented shad and other anadromous fish from reaching their upstream spawning grounds. Since then, restoration projects have focused stocking the Bay's tributary streams with fish fry, and many of those fry came directly from the Pamunkey hatchery (Pamunkey Indian fish hatchery continues shad restoration efforts, *Bay Journal*, April 22, 2014).

Recognition and praise for the Pamunkey's efforts came to a head during the early 1990s when they coupled their efforts with the Virginia Department of Game and Inland Fisheries as attempts were made to stock American shad in other river systems of the region that included the James, Potomac and Susquehanna rivers. Moreover, during the period of increased restoration efforts

the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration awarded grant funds to modernize both the Pamunkey and Mattaponi fish hatcheries (Pamunkey's history of giving back to the river goes back to 1900s, *Bay Journal*, October 20, 2014). While the 1990s was a time of mutual reliance and cooperation between tribal efforts and the state, the allocated state budget that helped the continual maintenance and operation of the hatcheries was dropped during Governor McDonnell's administration in 2012. There are no future plans to support the Indian hatcheries, but as former Chief Kevin Brown stated, "We started the hatcheries on our own, and we'll keep running them. We don't just fish for ourselves. We're fishing for everyone" (Ibid).

The history of the hatchery and the community's continual efforts in operating the hatchery, despite the lack of support, demonstrates Pamunkey were stewards of the river, for several reasons that included: 1) Survival and subsistence - it provided the economic means to support Pamunkey families both monetarily and as household sustenance to feed Pamunkey families. The river had to be protected because it was the center of their livelihood and their existence as Pamunkey Indian people. 2) A sense of duty to *act* as stewards of the river that went beyond just economic means. The practices associated with the river were Pamunkey traditions that, despite changes in material and the addition of new traditions, had been practiced by their parents, grandparents, great grandparents, and countless generations beyond. The river was the glue that cemented the Pamunkey community and secured their persistent presence on the landscape beyond European colonial expansion.

This stewardship and staunch protection of the river, and importantly the tribal community's rights to the river, is no better observed than in the multi-century attempts made by Pamunkey leaders to uphold those rights, as guaranteed by treaty. With the Reservation landscape being at the center of the Pamunkey economy, it is understandable that at the center of revering and protecting this place, and its affiliated economic practices, would be one of the most important tribal documents, the 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation. This treaty negotiated between the Pamunkey and English monarchy has been consistently and continually invoked for the past three centuries to protect Pamunkey Indian rights. Article Seven of the treaty specifically addresses rights to engaging the landscape for subsistence, "that the said *Indians* have and enjoy their wonted conveniences of Oystering, Fishing, and gathering Tuchahoe, Curtenemons, Wild Oats, Rushes, Puckoone, or anything else (for their natural support) not useful to the *English*." The treaty was and continues to be viewed as the ultimate arbiter and protector of Pamunkey rights to the land; in particular the economic practices of hunting and fishing made possible through those treaty rights that do not necessarily follow the same laws and rules as their non-Native neighbors.

While the community has had a continual struggle with the Commonwealth in upholding Pamunkey treaty rights to their lands as early as 1708 (which of course directly affected access to the hunting and fishing rights affiliated with those lost lands, thus negatively impacting economic subsistence), it is not until the late nineteenth century do we observe concerted efforts from the

state to intervene in the fishing and hunting rights of Pamunkey men. As documented in the Pamunkey's Petition for Federal Acknowledgement, neither commercial nor recreational licenses were required of fishermen until 1893, and in 1911 we observe one of the first documented attempts by the Commonwealth to challenge Pamunkey fishing rights. In 1911, Pamunkey men who owned fishing nets were, for the first time ever, assessed with a license tax (Governor William Mann to McDonald Lee, May 5, 1911). W.A. Post, a fish inspector from King and Queen County, began to insist "that the Indians shall pay to the state a tax on their nets when engaged in fishing" (*Kicking on Fish Tax: Chief of Pamunkeys Appeals to Great White Father*, no date or publication, Dora Cook Bradby Historical Papers).

The Pamunkey Tribal Government did not sit idly by, as observed in several appeals made by Chief George Major Cook to address the Commonwealth's General Assembly and governors to argue for the economic and subsistence rights of the Pamunkey. His appeals were strategic and they deliberately referenced the Pamunkey's tributary status as defined by treaty as legal proof against the various bills that would directly inhibit tribal members to engage in the few economic practices available to them as Indian people. In reference to the fish inspector's attempts to tax Pamunkey fishermen, Chief George Major Cook addressed Governor William Mann over the issue contending that "he and his people are not assessable with taxes of any kind and as the fishing industry which lasts but a few weeks is their only means of getting any cash into the exchequer of the tribe, he wants to have the officers restrained

from interfering with them...” And in Chief Cook’s own words, he referenced the relationship between the Tribe and state,

“We are about 160 souls all together... we have never been called on to pay taxes... All the men folks in the tribe are engaged in fishing when there is anything for them to do, and it would be a great hardship on us to have to pay taxes... the state has...freed us from all taxes and there has never before been any attempt to collect from us” (*Kicking on Fish Tax: Chief of Pamunkeys Appeals to Great White Father*, no date or publication, Dora Cook Bradby Historical Papers).

Chief Cook’s visit left an impression on Governor Mann, and even though the issue was passed to the state’s Attorney General to contemplate an official opinion, he expressed in a letter to McDonald Lee, Commissioner of Fisheries, that he trusted the Attorney General “will find that the Indians are exempt” (Governor William Mann to McDonald Lee, May 5, 1911).

Soon after this first attempt to tax and license Pamunkey fishermen, another attempt, set in motion by white King William residents, was made to interfere in their method of taking for shad and herring. At the request of local county citizens who complained the Pamunkey were monopolizing the river, King William County Delegate T.C. Commins presented “a bill in the House to tax the Indians for their fish seines, if laid outside the Reservation waters” (Peninsula Enterprise, February 28, 1914). Even though this may not have raised any issue when fishing around the Reservation, this bill was particularly problematic to the economic endeavor of netting shad and herring, a practice that relied on Pamunkey fishermen’s ability to net on waterways beyond the Pamunkey River. When the bill was up for consideration at the General Assembly Chief Cook and other Pamunkey men visited the House of Delegates and the Attorney General to

argue against the bill that was “directed against their ancient fishing rights.” The house committee on the Chesapeake and its tributaries ultimately refused to report the Commins Bill. After the decision the “committee was greeted by the Pamunkey Indians with a resounding war whoop that reverberated through the corridors of the capital for some minutes” (*Indians Rejoice*, Dora Cook Bradby Historical Papers).

While these attempts to deny Pamunkey their treaty rights to the land and water ended positively for the community, they began a century long pattern (specifically in 1933, 1962, 1982, 1993, and 2013) where the Pamunkey continually found themselves at odds with the state of Virginia where their rights to fishing were concerned. The 1982 example is particularly interesting due to Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook’s (George Major’s son) response to the threat made against the Tribe’s fishing rights. Aged 82 and chief at the time, Tecumseh was incensed when “the Virginia Marine Resources Commission recommended closing the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers to all net fishing in an effort to preserve the dwindling numbers of striped bass...” (*For Pamunkey, Fishing’s an Ancient Sport*. Washington Post, May 3 1983). Chief Cook claimed “if they take the fishing on the Pamunkey River away from us, they might as well shoot us.” And when he attended a public hearing on the proposal Chief Cook informed law makers that “if this law goes into effect I guess I’ll just spend the rest of my life in jail because I’m going to keep on fishing” (Ibid). Eventually, due to Chief Cook’s fervent and uncompromising response, the regulation was relaxed to allow the

netting of shad and herring, and it was reported that spring he was particularly pleased to be on the water again (Ibid).

The same issue was again raised in 2013 when the heads of Virginia's Department of Game and Inland Fisheries and Virginia Marine Resources Commission inquired about an opinion from then acting Attorney General Kenneth Cuccinelli as to whether or not Virginia Indians were subject to Virginia's fishing and wildlife laws and regulations. Cuccinelli's opinion acknowledged that Virginia Indian people did not need a license to hunt or fish in the state. The Attorney General even cited the 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation to demonstrate those Native communities who were parties to the treaty were not required to obtain a license to fish or oyster in Virginia's tidal waters as well, provided the activity is limited to harvesting for sustenance (Cuccinelli, Kenneth to Robert Duncan and Jack Travelstead July 19, 2013, pg. 2). However, his opinion did not sit favorably with the Pamunkey on the stipulation that they had to comply with the laws and regulations with respect to seasons, moratoria, minimum size limits, possession limits, and method of taking to the same extent as anyone required to obtain a license.

Possession limits, moratoria, and method of taking were particularly relevant to not only the Pamunkey, but the Mattaponi community as well, as both tribes have a long and continuing tradition of netting shad for food, for market (which can be arguably considered a form of sustenance), and for the ability to stock our respective shad fish hatcheries. Stocking the shad hatcheries is particularly relevant to restrictions on possession limits because a higher yield per catch is

required than the twenty lawfully permitted. Despite the fact that Cuccinelli submitted an opinion that was in no way, shape, or form an actual law or regulation, Virginia Marine Resources Commission police delivered a warning to tribal fishermen on the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Reservations that the opinion would be “enforced” (*Legal Ruling Challenges VA Tribes’ Traditional Fishing Rights* by Leslie Middleton, Bay Journal October 16, 2014). Fortunately, the Tribe’s treaty rights again prevailed as King William Commonwealth Attorney, Matt Kite, claimed that if an Indian “was cited for a violation for a right they have under the treaty, I would dismiss the charge. The former attorney general’s opinion is just an opinion, not a regulation” (Ibid). And according to former Chief Kevin Brown, after Kite made his position clear, the problem dissipated and Pamunkey fishermen were left alone to fish the remainder of the shad season (Ibid).

There is no doubt that the number of Pamunkey people practicing these economic activities tied to the land and water has diminished over the past century since the first legislative attempt to interfere in 1908. However, these continual struggles with the Commonwealth demonstrate not only the importance the community has continually placed on these traditions, but they also reveal the community continues to operate within a world system that marginalizes them. Importantly, with each attempt to deny Pamunkey treaty rights over the past one hundred years, the Pamunkey were successful in upholding those rights as well

as their economic interests tied to these rights. With each incident²⁴ they successfully reminded state officials of their treaty and tributary status with the Commonwealth (whether state officials understood or respected that status or not) by directly presenting and referencing their rights as stipulated in the 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation.

The Pamunkey Tribe's tax-exempt status, and the rights related to that status, was first outlined in the 1646 Treaty of Peace with Necotowance, King of the Indians. This status and related rights, however, were predicated on a stipulation that required Pamunkey leaders to present an annual tribute (tax or quit rent) "to pay unto the King's Govern'r. the number of twenty beaver skins att the goeing away of Geese yearly" (Hening Statutes at Large 1814:323). These terms were renegotiated in the 1677 Articles of Peace following the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion. As stipulated in Article II, "that thereupon the said *Indian* Kings and Queens and their Subjects, shall hold their Lands... and enjoy their Lands and Possessions, paying yearly for and in lieu of a Quit Rent, or Acknowledgment for the same, onely Three *Indian* Arrows," and in Article XVI, "that every *Indian* King and Queen in the Moneth of *March* every year, with some of their Great Men, shall tender their Obedience to the Right Honourable His Majesties Governour at the place of his Residence, whereever it shall be, and then and there pay the accustomed Tribute of Twenty Beaver Skins to the

²⁴ 1933 reference Hill Montague to Governor John Pollard, March 23, 1933, Pollard's papers, Va. State Archives, John Garland Pollard, 1930-1934, Box 69. 1962 reference *Indians Seek Hunting Rights*. New York Times, February 8, 1962. 1982 reference *For Pamunkey, Fishing's an Ancient Sport*. Washington Post, May 3, 1983

2013 reference Attorney General, Kenneth Cuccinelli, Opinion addressed to Robert Duncan and Jack Travelstead. July 19, 2013

Governour, and also their Quit-Rent aforesaid, in acknowledgment they hold their Crowns and Lands of the Great King of *England*.”

The Pamunkey, with exceptions during various years in the eighteenth century, have presented the annual tribute to Virginia’s governor since the 1677 signing of their last treaty. This physical act of presenting tribute ensured their presence, tribal status, and treaty rights to their land and water had to be acknowledged at least once a year. Importantly the treaty tribute reminded the Commonwealth of their government-to-government relationship with the Pamunkey.

This physical act of presenting tribute was not the only aspect of this practice that reinforced Pamunkey’s tributary positioning in the state. The treaty was tied to the Reservation landscape, and the Pamunkey economy through the Tribe’s use of the document to protect their rights to those lands and affiliated subsistence practices. Importantly this 353-year practice, which has become a revered Pamunkey tradition, also solidified our treaty status and inherent rights to the land as we presented tribute in the form of animals and objects extracted from the Reservation landscape. Tribute has been presented in several forms over the past three centuries including the presentation of fish, deer, waterfowl, and handcrafted objects. These items were representative of not only the landscape, but also the foundation of the Pamunkey economy, and thus the community’s survival. This document in many ways has become an inseparable component of the Pamunkey economy, even though it was signed over three centuries ago. Its invocation to protect those practices throughout the twentieth century demonstrates the complex and skilled understanding Pamunkey people,

and their leadership, had in protecting their economic, social, and community interests in spite of the second-class citizenship placed upon them by the dominant society.²⁵

This chapter, focused on the economic practices of Pamunkey men, emphasizes how the Pamunkey community creatively made use of the Reservation and the surrounding waterscape to provide for themselves, and to bring in cash through selective engagement with the market economy. This detailed ethnographic analysis of Pamunkey men's role in the Reservation's economy demonstrates the immense skill and knowledge required to practice these activities. Despite their social, political, and economic engagement of society's periphery in nineteenth century Tidewater Virginia, Pamunkey tribal members were (and continue to be) active participants within those relegated margins. Ironically, in many ways it was these strict social and economic boundaries dictated by the dominant society that provided a degree of social agency and economic autonomy.

Even though the traditional subsistence activities of hunting, trapping, guiding, and fishing were practiced within a market dictated by the dominant

²⁵ It is worth noting that these early twentieth century attempts to challenge Pamunkey fishing rights fall in line with the stricter enforcement of Jim Crow laws and the rising fervor of the Eugenics Movement. Perhaps the timing of these various events as related to Pamunkey's struggle are coincidence, but all of these factors come together to interfere with the community's ability to engage the market. Tribal members point to these culminating factors as the impetus that moved Pamunkey people to find work off of the Reservation and outside of Richmond in places like Philadelphia, a phenomenon I discuss in greater detail in Chapter 8.

society, they provided tribal members with the ability to develop and market a niche for themselves based in their specialized knowledge of the Reservation's riverine landscape. Moreover it is truly fascinating that while the Pamunkey community was rooted in the Reservation, their economic relations had far reaching opportunities. These opportunities were exploited through the ability of Pamunkey men to navigate the waterways beyond Virginia to engage the lucrative shad industry housed in the urban centers dotted along the country's Eastern Coast.

This chapter emphasized the male dominated practices affiliated with the Pamunkey economic seasonal round tied to the Reservation land and surrounding Pamunkey River. Trapping, hunting, guiding, fishing, and other river practices were the domain of Pamunkey of men, and in the next chapter I present the economic practices dominated by Pamunkey women. Chapter 4 discusses Pamunkey women's contribution to the Reservation economy at the household and regional market levels. Pamunkey women were prolific producers of craft and utilitarian products they sold throughout the Tidewater region, in addition to using them within their own households. As heads of the household and family, Pamunkey women provided the glue that held together the central economic unit of the Pamunkey economy. Importantly Pamunkey women produced tangible objects of the community's engagement in the market, thus supplying a unique material representation of Pamunkey economic life that we can still touch and observe today.

Chapter 4: Pamunkey Women and the Reservation Economy

To fully unpack the ways in which the Pamunkey negotiated their engagement in the rising capitalist economy, we must also explore the contributions Pamunkey women made in the production of Pamunkey economic life on the Reservation during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As gleaned from the archaeological, ethnographic and oral historic evidence, the economic roles Pamunkey women served during this time were closely tied to their management of the Pamunkey homestead that comprised the household and the associated farm (livestock and horticulture). Economic practices of Pamunkey women included household affiliated activities (child rearing, cooking), labor affiliated with farming and gardening (planting, harvesting, canning), knowledge of the landscape's wild plant life, and craftwork that was dominated by the production of ceramics.

As mentioned in Chapter One, work dominated by Pamunkey women was not visible in the documentary record like that of Pamunkey men. Scholars (Littlefield and Knack 2010; O'Brien 2010; Mandell 2008) have argued that much of Indian women's work was invisible to those documenting anything that would have been subject to public record. The United States Census is a particularly relevant example as census takers throughout the nineteenth century tended to ignore Indigenous women's work that was focused around housekeeping, wild plant gathering and gardening, craft production and seasonal agricultural jobs (Littlefield and Knack 2010) However, Indigenous women not just in this region, but across the United States, found a growing market for traditional skills that

ranged from their knowledge of wild plants, gardening, and craft production. For example, baskets produced by women from various Indigenous communities in New England connected an Indigenous subsistence practice with New England's economy. These baskets, much like pottery produced by Pamunkey women, stood at the center of the intersections between the market economy, intimate knowledge of native places of traditional importance where materials were collected, and the kinship networks integral to supporting these Indigenous craft industries (Mandell 2008; O'Brien 2010). It's important to note, that while Indian men's work during this time periodically took them away from their Reservation communities, the work of Indian women kept them closer to the community (Littlefield and Knack 2010).

Pamunkey women followed in this pattern with their ability to market both their knowledge of the landscape and the craft items they produced for sale. To uncover the economic contributions of Pamunkey women I relied heavily on archaeological evidence uncovered from the Reservation, ethnographic evidence collected in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and oral histories shared by Pamunkey tribal members and contemporary craft producers. These sources shed light on the various roles Pamunkey women played in shaping Pamunkey economic life.

Pamunkey women were designated heads of the household and were skilled at various tasks affiliated with household and family life. These practices included household activities such as cooking, and taking care of the children; various tasks affiliated with horticulture that included planting, harvesting, and

canning; as well as additional tasks that ranged from caring for livestock, gathering wild plants for food and medicinal purposes, and, importantly, supplementing the families cash income through producing craft items for sale. While these practices may not be as overtly connected to the Reservation landscape as those practiced by the men in terms of market engagement, women's knowledge of the landscape was equally intimate to that of their male counter parts. That familiarity was observed in concrete ways expressed most notably in their ability to produce craft objects for both household consumption, and for sale to garner a supplemental cash income. Most importantly, it was the craftwork of Pamunkey women that created a tangible platform for Pamunkey cultural expression that continues to resonate with the community today. Pamunkey pottery, which continues to be produced and marketed, has become one of the only practices that are visible and tangible to the general public. Thus Pamunkey people point to this practice as producing *the* object that is representative and symbolic of the community's ability to persist.

Pottery Production

The production of craft items for sale was an economic practice dominated by Pamunkey women and their skill set ranged from beadwork, gourd-work, basketry, jewelry, and of particular importance to this research, ceramics. The leading impetus for production was the ability it created in developing an additional avenue through which women could earn cash to supplement both the subsistence lifestyle of surviving off the landscape, and the cash income earned by their husbands' seasonal wage work. Pottery production is the predominant

focus here for four reasons. First, the Pamunkey emphasize that pottery is the one signifier to the outside world that points to who we are as an Indigenous community. Simply put, making and selling pottery it is what we are known for. Secondly, local, hand-built pottery comprises the majority of the archaeological assemblage collected from the Raymond Bush Site, supporting my inference that the site was a space for producing pottery specifically affiliated with a Pamunkey homestead during the first half of the nineteenth century. Thirdly, the ceramics produced at Pamunkey are literally of and from the Reservation landscape, as the clay and other materials used to produce pottery was extracted from the banks of the Pamunkey River. Finally, pottery making continues to be a traditional practice employed by Pamunkey women to engage today's capitalist economy.

Archaeological evidence of ceramic production for utilitarian purposes on what eventually became the Pamunkey Indian Reservation points to centuries of production prior to the arrival of European colonists. It is possible that Pamunkey potters began to shift production from a utilitarian focus to one for market purposes during the first century of intensive European colonial expansion, though the evidence for Pamunkey pottery production for the market dates from the early nineteenth century through the twenty-first century. It is important to note there are various forms of evidence collected from across the region that point to the potential for Pamunkey pottery production for trade beginning as early as the seventeenth century. For example, archaeological sites affiliated with seventeenth century Native occupation located across the Tidewater region of

Virginia and Maryland provides evidence of colonoware use and potential production.²⁷

In the 1960s archaeologist Ivor Noel Hume, who had conducted investigations of servant and slave quarter sites affiliated with Williamsburg, Jamestown and Tidewater plantations, concluded that “Colono-Indian Ware” (1962) was made on the Pamunkey Indian Reservation, and purchased primarily for servant and slave use. In addition, there are numerous documentary sources, particularly probate inventories, from the seventeenth century that point to Indian production of colonoware in the region²⁸. Although they are not directly attributed to Pamunkey producers, given the extensive amount uncovered from the 1979 and 2010 archaeological investigations on the Reservation, I feel comfortable inferring that Pamunkey women contributed to the market as early as the seventeenth century, and most likely played a central role in the regions local earthenware market that peaked for the community during the first half of the nineteenth century.

To give a true sense of how the practice of producing ceramics was intimately connected to the Reservation landscape I provide a detailed description of the production technology employed by Pamunkey potters²⁹ as

²⁷ For further inquiry into these archaeological investigations see Binford 1965; MacCord 1969; Hodges and McCartney 1985; Barse 1985

²⁸ Mouer et. al. 1999 provides a comprehensive discussion of these various seventeenth century documentary sources.

²⁹ This process, gleaned from the archaeological and ethnographic records that ranged approximately from the first half of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, has remained relatively unchanged through the end of the 20th

evidenced in the archaeological and ethnographic records³⁰. The first step in producing ceramics was extracting raw clay pulled from a local source that is still regularly exploited by contemporary Pamunkey potters. These veins of raw clay are located at the Reservation's "Downtown" along the river shoreline where the current fish hatchery and community dock are located. Amateur ethnologist, John G Pollard, recorded in 1894 that many years prior to his study of the Pamunkey, the "opening of a clay mine was the occasion of a great feast. The whole tribe, men, women and children were present and each family took home a portion of the clay" (1893:17). It is believed this celebration was held during the spring (personal communication with Warren Cook December 16, 2014). By the time



Figure 4-1. 1918 Photograph taken by Frank Speck of Pamunkey men digging clay on the banks of the Pamunkey River. Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian.

Pollard's study was published Pamunkey men were recruited to dig the clay (Figure 4-1), which took place during the warmer months (Warren Cook, personal communication December 16 2014). They

would return continually to the

century as specifically related to Pamunkey women's methods in constructing hand built earthenware.

³⁰ Evidence of every step of production needed to create pottery vessels was uncovered from the Raymond Bush site during both the 1979 and 2010 excavations. And, while ethnographic evidence on the practice of pottery making was recorded approximately fifty to seventy years following the time from which the Raymond Bush Site dates, it can help us further understand the ways in which pottery was produced during the nineteenth century.

same vein until it was depleted (Ibid). Unfired raw clay was uncovered from Features 3 and 5 at the Raymond Bush site and the consistency and color of this clay is consistent with that found today from the clay veins historically exploited by the Pamunkey for the past century.

Before a vessel could be produced with the clay collected from the Pamunkey riverbank, the clay had to be dried, pulverized and beaten to a powder like consistency, and then sieved to remove impurities that typically included pebbles or rocks (Pollard 1893:18). Once the clay was free of impurities a tempering agent would be added. Based on the archaeological evidence, a variety of tempering agents were used to strengthen the clay for the firing process. They ranged from sand, grog, shell, to no temper and rarely, crushed lithic. However, the evidence clearly points to shell temper being the most popular tempering agent used by Pamunkey potters. While there was a small quantity of oyster shell uncovered at the Raymond Bush site during the 2010 excavation, it is likely that the majority of the shell present in the sherds and mended vessels was that of local mussels that frequent the Pamunkey River.

The use of mussel shell is likely given that oyster was not immediately available to potters because oyster beds would be not located along the freshwater Pamunkey River. They would have had to travel long distances well into the York River where salinity levels are conducive for providing suitable conditions for oysters to thrive. Given that shell beads were uncovered from Raymond Bush site during the 1979 excavation however does point to the

possibility that oyster shell, given that it was difficult to access, could have potentially been used for the production of jewelry and other adornment items.

Ethnographic evidence also points to the use of mussel shell as the dominant tempering agent employed by Pamunkey potters. Mussels, a favorite food of the muskrat, were (and still are) immediately and readily available on the shores of the Pamunkey River that surround the majority of the Reservation. In fact, Speck reported the feeding grounds of muskrats were sought after by potters to obtain large quantities of mussel shells (1928:410). Prior to being added to the pulverized clay, the shell was first burned and crushed into a powder like substance. The preference for calcined mussel shell temper appears to be unique to Pamunkey potters and their ancestors. While this practice is documented in the archaeological record possibly as early as A.D. 200-300 (Mouer et al 1999: 88) and with little doubt during the first half of the nineteenth century, it is not mentioned until 1877 by anthropologist, Otis T Mason, “Dr. Dalrymple³¹ of Baltimore has made an exhaustive study of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Indians of Eastern Virginia... The most interesting feature of their present condition is their preservation of their ancient modes of making pottery. It will be news to some that the shells are calcined before mixing with the clay and that at least one third of the compound is triturated shells” (Mason 1877:627).

³¹ Reverend E.A. Dalrymple collected numerous vessels from the Reservation during the nineteenth century, several of which are currently housed with the National Museum of Natural History. They all have an accession date of 1878. While their specific date of manufacture is unknown the accession card for the lidded pipkin (see Figure 4-2) notes Dalrymple collected the vessel from Pamunkey in 1861.

This same practice was also documented by Pollard in the 1890s, and the same ratio of clay to calcined mussel shell was again recorded by Speck in the 1920s.

Speck described the process of creating the mussel shell temper,

“Shells are placed in layers alternating with dry cornstalks forming a pile the size of which depends on the quantity of shells. The combustible pile, the top layer being stalks is then fired and allowed to burn out. The burnt shells are then pounded with a stone. Often being very much softened they may be crushed in the hands” (1928:410).



Figure 4-2. Lidded pipkin (top center). Courtesy of the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian.

Once the desired ratio of burned mussel shells was achieved the temper would be added to the dry pulverized clay where water would be added, and the mixture kneaded until the desired consistency had been met (Pollard 1894:18; Speck 1928:410). Coupling the archaeological and ethnographic evidence we can observe a centuries' long practice of Pamunkey potters employing a particular method of tempering their ceramics with burned pulverized mussel shells. Perhaps this pattern could be observed in additional colonoware collections uncovered across the region that could point to Pamunkey manufacture, and thus aid in determining potential trade and market networks.

The actual building and construction of the vessel would of course be dependent upon the individual preferences of potters, but archaeological and ethnographic evidence point to manufacture technique of building vessels through coiling or stacking, and smoothing slabs of clay on top of one another. Potters would then shape and smooth the vessel into the desired form. For example, the larger sherds³² uncovered in all contexts and, and the mended vessels excavated from Feature 3 do not show any evidence of wheel thrown or molded technology. There is obvious scraping on the interior of numerous sherds, and ethnographic evidence points to the use of shell to scrape, shape and smooth the vessel. Small quantities of oyster shell were unearthed, but as discussed, ethnographic and oral history evidence point to the predominate use of mussel shells for shaping the vessel. For example, the use of mussel shell scrapers was recorded by Pollard during the 1890s (1894:18) and again by Speck during the 1920s (1928:411). Examples of mussel shell scrapers collected by Speck during his fieldwork among the Pamunkey are currently housed in the Smithsonian collections of the National Museum of the American Indian.

The archaeological and ethnographic evidence points towards Pamunkey potters producing a wide range of vessel types used for a variety of purposes typically affiliated with the activities of a nineteenth century household. Between the 1979 and 2010 excavation approximately twenty-nine fragmented vessels have been recovered from the Raymond Bush Site. Vessel forms included a

³² I determined “large” sherds to be ceramics fragments that measured larger than two centimeters in length and width.

variety of types that ranged from plates, mugs, pipkins, porringers, to footed cooking pots, jars and jugs. The vessels collected by Reverend Dalrymple, John Pollard and Frank Speck over a seventy year period from the time pottery at the Raymond Bush site was produced included varyingly sized shallow bowls, a pipkin with a scalloped rimmed lid, various types of cups/mugs,³³ and a sora horse (Pollard 1894; Speck 1928; Mouer et. al 1999). These vessels are currently located in the Smithsonian collections at the National Museum of Natural History and the National Museum of the American Indian.

Interestingly though Speck mentioned “the walls [are] built up by adding thin layers of clay paste, or if the vessel is a small one, pressing it into shape from a soft lump of material. *The coiling was not followed in recent times*” (1928:411 emphasis added). During this time, it is likely Pamunkey households were rarely using the pottery produced on the Reservation as Speck observed only a smaller number of the elder women still practiced the art (I discuss this transition in further detail later in the section). I argue that if the local handmade pottery was rarely used in the house, then those producing would not need to invest as much time or skill into creating a durable, meticulously created vessel that would need to weather the wear and tear of being a actively used household item. Moreover, it appears during Speck’s field work a small market in curio or souvenir ceramics (referred to as “catch-alls” by Speck [1928:415]) was engaged

³³ These cups varied in style, some had handles, others were footed and one had a tapering cylindrical shape with a flat bottom, but no handle. All vessels were tempered with shell (Smithsonian Institute Online Collections Database: Pamunkey Search, www.collections.si.edu/search/).

by these elder Pamunkey women. The local residents, their former customers, also likely no longer had use for the local hand built ceramics in their households with easy access to mass – produced ceramics. This practice in producing souvenir ceramics became a full-fledged tourism market with an established pottery school and potters guild by the 1930s through the help of state officials. Importantly, mentioned in the potter's guild meeting ledger was the requirement that members continue to produce pottery using the hand-built method of coiling the clay to produce the vessel so that the practice would not be forgotten (Pamunkey Pottery Guild Ledger, 1939-1942). That particular entry in their meeting minutes demonstrated traditional knowledge of hand coiling ceramic vessels was still present and accessible among Pamunkey potters even though Speck may have failed to observe it a decade earlier during his time among the community.

One of the final steps in completing a vessel before firing was decorative application. Decoration can encompass various methods and there is a variety observed among the pottery uncovered from the Raymond Bush Site during both the 1979 and 2010 excavations. Stylized rims appear to have been a popular method of decoration and they ranged from scalloped, folded punctate, and finger pinched, to everted and inverted rims. The most popular rim type used by Pamunkey potters based on the 2010 evidence included scalloped and everted rims. One unusual decorative technique evidenced from the site was the use of a clay slip, or paste applied to the exterior and/or interior of the vessel. Thirteen sherds actually had a red or rust colored slip or paint applied. I do not know of

any such examples in Virginia, but similar types of pottery with red paint have been uncovered from historic sites once occupied by Catawba Indians from the mid eighteenth century to the turn of the nineteenth century in present day Lancaster County, South Carolina. Red-painted pottery made by the Catawba was uncovered in cellar pits almost identical to those uncovered at Pamunkey. In addition, red sealing wax was also uncovered in the same context as the painted pottery leading Davis and Riggs (2004) to infer they were using the wax to paint their pottery.

To my knowledge of the known archaeological sites in Virginia where colonoware is present, the only painted examples have been uncovered on the

Pamunkey Indian Reservation³⁴. For example, during the 1979 excavation at the Bush site, archaeologists uncovered three sherds that appear to form a small shallow bowl or perhaps a



Figure 4-3. Painted Colonoware sherds uncovered from the Raymond Bush Site in 1979. Courtesy of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources

³⁴ The presence of these painted sherds could also point to the presence of Catawba people and even potters on the Reservation. This would not be unlikely given the documented relationship between both communities forged through their attendance at the Brafferton Indian School, mutual participation in the Revolutionary War, intermarriage, and mutual involvement in establishing the Baptist faith within their respective communities. Speck mentioned the relationship between the Catawba and Pamunkey as well (1928:414).

teacup with a black painted floral motif on the exterior (See Figure 4-3). While these examples are particularly interesting they are extremely rare as the dominant decorative method employed by Pamunkey potters was that of burnishing to create a shiny exterior and/or interior on the vessel. The burnished exterior, and/or interior, of the vessel were “rubbed with a stone for the purpose of producing a gloss” (Pollard 1894:19). Speck also witnessed this practice of burnishing with a “smooth pebble,” and even mentioned “specimens of the rubbing stones are not uncommon on Pamunkey and Mattaponi [archaeological] sites” (1928: 411). In fact, several examples of these burnishing stones were collected by Speck and are currently housed in the Smithsonian collections at the National Museum of the American Indian (Figure 4-4).

Once decoration was completed the vessel was ready to be fired. It is apparent the pottery uncovered from the Raymond Bush Site was fired openly (most likely within a covered pit), rather than within a kiln.

This conclusion is observed in

the non-uniform coloring of the sherds uncovered which points to varying levels of oxidation. For example, where oxygen is sufficiently lacking the coloring on the vessel will range from hues of gray to a deep black, and if there is more oxygen



Figure 4-4. Burnishing stones collected by Speck. Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian

present then the coloring will be much lighter and can range across varying colors of orange, bisque or light beige. In addition to the evidence observed in the coloring of the sherds, there was evidence that fire was present at the site in the form of demarcated stains of extremely hard, apparently burned, compact soil located in the approximate centers of both pit Features 3 and 5. Within these stains was the presence of large amounts of charcoal and ash, with raw unfired clay also present.

Prior to the vessels being placed in the pit to be fired they were first organized in a circle at a distance surrounding the open fire. Potters would then rotate the pots so that each side could face the fire at some point. This drew out excess moisture from the clay to ensure a more productive firing process because moisture pockets in the clay, if heated too fast, can cause the clay to expand, leading to cracks and spalls in the vessel. In fact, evidence of firing errors was uncovered from Raymond Bush in 1979 and 2010 in the form of clay wasters, which are blistered or deformed vessel fragments. Once the vessels were pre-fired they were then placed in a shallow pit with a cooled smoldering fire. The vessels in the pit were then typically covered with various types of tinder that ranged from pine bark, pine needles, and corn stalks (Pollard 1894:17-19; Speck 1928:411). Pollard observed the process of firing at Pamunkey in the 1890s.

“The dishes bowls jars etc as the case may be are then placed in a circle and tempered with a slow fire then placed in a kiln³⁵ covered with dry pine bark and burnt until the smoke comes out in a clear volume. This is taken as an indication

³⁵ Speck refers to it as an “open fire-hearth: (1928:411).

that the ware has been burnt sufficiently. It is then taken out and ready for use” (Pollard 1894:17-19).

There is archaeological and documentary evidence that a market in colonoware ceramics produced by the region’s Indigenous people began during the seventeenth century (see Hume 1962; Binford 1965; MacCord 1969; Beaudry 1980; Rountree 1990; Hodges 1993; Mouer et. al. 1999)³⁶. And while the archaeological record of the Reservation cannot explicitly tell us pottery was produced for market, it does point to an extensive production in ceramics prior to the Civil War. However, paired with information gleaned from documents and the oral history shared by Pamunkey people, we can observe that pottery was produced predominantly for market purposes.

Like the economic practices dominated by Pamunkey men, a seasonal round also most likely dictated ceramic production. For example the festivities that were once associated with the opening of a clay vein were believed to have taken place in the spring, and later men were recruited from the community to collect clay also during the warmer months of the year (personal communication with Warren Cook December 16, 2014). Ceramics were produced at the households of individual potters all year round (Ibid). Thus pottery production was a component of the functioning Pamunkey homestead. While archaeological

³⁶ Given the continual and uninterrupted occupation of the 1,200 acre Reservation, it is highly likely that seventeenth and eighteenth century colonoware pottery production sites exist. For example, seventeenth and eighteenth century ceramics were uncovered during both excavations. There is potential for an extensive archaeological investigation at Raymond Bush that would undoubtedly yield invaluable information on Pamunkey life-ways during those centuries and more specifically the community’s development of a marketable ceramic tradition.

and oral historic evidence tell us pottery was produced at the household of individual Pamunkey potters, there was no doubt a communal aspect to making this object, particularly in the practice of teaching and learning the art passed between women from the same family.

As discussed in Chapter 2 the archaeological footprint at the Raymond Bush Site points to occupation ranging centuries, and it reveals in particular the presence of a multi-component homestead that functioned well into the twentieth century. For example, we uncovered the partial footprint of an historic period structure adjacent to the space where pottery was being produced. In addition to the colonoware ceramics, a range of household affiliated artifacts dating to the nineteenth century was also uncovered. These items included those affiliated with structures such as hand wrought and cut nails, brick fragments, and metal door hinges. There were artifacts indicative of a rural farm including various wild and domesticated animal bone fragments, metal implements utilized for domestic farm animals such as mouth bits, eggshells, and a metal hoe. Personal adornment items such as buttons, fasteners and glass beads were also present indicating people were frequently present within this space. Pearlware was the dominant European ceramic type comprised mostly of table forms including plates, tea-cups and dishes that were traditionally used for serving, not food preparation or storage.

Oral history also tells of multiple generations living at the same allotment or within the vicinity of the same allotment for more than a century at times. Currently there is a late nineteenth century farmhouse standing at the highest

elevation point of the Raymond Bush Site. In fact, tribal members have stated that new structures would have often been placed on top of where older structures once stood (personal communication with Warren Cook January 30, 2016). While the pottery production component of the site is older than the current standing structure (ca. 1890), based on the oral history we can infer that a homestead existed in the vicinity during the same period colonoware was being produced there during the first half of the nineteenth century. Importantly, while knowledge of the family who resided at the Bush site during the first half of the nineteenth century is unclear, we do know that Raymond Bush's mother, Ada Bush, born during the early twentieth century, was a skilled and well-known potter (personal communication with Warren Cook, October 14, 2015). Based on the generational pattern of both homestead residency and pottery production knowledge, it is highly likely that Ada's family resided there during the first half of the nineteenth century. Perhaps it was Ada's great-grandmother who produced the colonoware ceramics?

There are several markers in the archaeological record pointing toward ceramic production for the market in addition to production for the household. The sheer number of pottery sherds, a total of 10,629 uncovered from the 2010 excavations alone points to production that extended well beyond use for a single household. To my knowledge this is the largest number of colonoware pottery fragments uncovered from any site affiliated with colonoware use and production in Virginia. The variety in both vessel type/function and decorative techniques uncovered from the site further indicates Pamunkey women were not making

pottery for household use alone, but were producing in response to market demands in wares needed for a nineteenth century rural household, and potentially to the aesthetic sensibilities of consumers as well.

Importantly, the Raymond Bush Site yields some of the largest colonoware to European ceramic ratios in the state. This ratio from the 2010 excavations consisted of 10,629 colonoware ceramic sherds to 952 European produced ceramic sherds. And out of the non-Pamunkey made ceramics pearlware comprised the majority (popularity of this ware peaked between 1780-1840). Furthermore the presence of decorative pearlware vessels including tea cups and serving ware with scalloped and embossed shell edged rims indicates these ceramics were purchased and used within the household, undoubtedly though, alongside the hand built pieces made by the household's matriarch. Importantly, the period of production occurs well in to the nineteenth century, which according to colonoware scholars, is a rare occurrence, but the site's particular significance is realized in the fact that it is one of the only known colonoware production sites in the Chesapeake region (Ferguson 1992, 1999; Bamann et. al. 2005). These findings perhaps support Noel Hume's argument first presented in 1962 that Pamunkey potters were the predominate contributors to the regions market in local hand built earthenwares.

Ethnographic and oral history evidence also provides a glimpse into the local earthenware market actively engaged (and quite possibly dominated) by Pamunkey potters during the nineteenth century. Allie Page, listed by Speck as the oldest living woman on the Reservation shared her memories that when she

was a girl women constructed clay pots milk-pans, and stewing jars and carried them to the trading stores in the country bearing the crockery upon their backs in cloth sacks to exchange for small wares, groceries or cash (Speck 1928: 409). In addition to being produced at home, pottery was sold from the home of individual potters as well. The sale of these wares was not a communally organized endeavor, nor was it actively advertised. Rather the market in Pamunkey ceramics was shared predominantly through word of mouth from one consumer to another (T.D. Cook interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6, 1983; personal communication with Joyce Krigsvold June 20 2013). During his 1893 visit Pollard recorded (1894:17) that Pamunkey women sold their pottery to their white neighbors. Several tribal members including contemporary potters believe this was due to the probable lower cost of Pamunkey earthenware pots compared to other ceramics produced and shipped from Europe as well as from American ceramic manufacturing companies (personal communication with Layne Cook, June 3 2013). Others argue that in terms of functionality, Pamunkey pottery might have been superior and performed better within the context rural farming households that dominated (and continues to dominate) King William's nineteenth century economic environment potentially making Pamunkey ceramics more appealing than European made pottery (personal communication Jamie Atkins, June 3, 2013).

While there is little to no documentary evidence to provide detailed information on nineteenth century Pamunkey pottery production we look to the archaeological record to support the argument that Pamunkey women

extensively and intensively engaged the region's local earthenware market at least during the first half of the nineteenth century. However, based on ethnographic evidence, this intensity appears to have waned considerably due to the construction of the York River and Richmond Railroad in 1854 that connected Richmond and West Point. It was recorded that since the railway's establishment, which opened the "eastern Virginian woods to modern enterprise, the Pamunkey have not made earthenware for their own use" (Speck 1928:409). Speck argued that it ultimately "strangled the Pamunkey potter's trade by placing within the reach of the countryside the tin and crockery ware of commerce"(Ibid).

The construction of the railroad appears to be an interesting phenomenon related to the Pamunkey Indian Reservation economy particularly along gender lines as it speaks to the different markets available to and engaged by Pamunkey men versus Pamunkey women. As discussed earlier, the railroad opened market opportunities for Pamunkey men making particular markets more accessible to sell fish, game, furs and produce. Importantly, it provided an additional transport route connecting Pamunkey men to markets in urban centers along the eastern seaboard allowing them to access markets well outside of Virginia's local Tidewater region, and the capitol city of Richmond. However, as demonstrated by the ethnographic evidence, the railroad effectively closed the market most accessible and expertly engaged by Pamunkey women. While women no doubt held additional positions outside of the household and Pamunkey ceramic industry, this does not appear to become more common until the early twentieth century; however, with some exceptions that I discuss subsequently.

While the railroad may have had ended a centuries long market in locally made utilitarian earthenware, it is important to highlight that the skill and knowledge affiliated with ceramic production on the Reservation did not disappear. While Pollard (1894:19) recorded that only the oldest of the Tribe retained the art, Speck (1928:409) mentioned that several women remembered the ceramic industry and were still able to fashion small pottery vessels. Moreover, testimony from elder tribal remembers points to the continual practice of this knowledge and skill that was still utilized for economic purposes. For example, Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook described the role his mother, Theodora Dennis Cook played in their lives,

“She was a hard-working woman, and she was a house wife. And she did a lot of beadwork, and a lot of pottery work to supplement the income of my daddy. Because there wasn’t a whole lot around here to do to make a living. People just had to, their living was fishing and hunting and that wasn’t too good, so we did pottery making and beadwork, and that’s what my momma would do and fishing’s what my daddy would do and what little farming he’d do. And it’d make ends meet some sort of way” (interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6 1983).

As demonstrated in Tecumseh’s quote, women continued to utilize their skills in ceramic production to meet the rising demand for “Indian trinkets” as tourism became an increasingly popular pastime during this time period. The rise of tourism, and the market in making memories of your tour tangible provided incentive for Pamunkey women to continue the practice of producing ceramics.

Not only did this knowledge continue in practice by the elder women of the Tribe at the turn of the twentieth century, but it remained a practice based in kinship relationships between multiple generations of women within the same family. They passed this knowledge to their daughters to ensure it survived and

persisted in a way that defied its anticipated demise. The late Daisy Stewart Bradby, a prolific and well known Pamunkey potter throughout her lifetime, (she was born in 1914) recalls her mother's (Hattie Collins) ability to produce pottery, a skill she learned and taught her daughter decades before the state-sponsored pottery school was established in 1932,

"She [Hattie] didn't make the glazed ware, she made the bisque... she got clay from the river banks, she made ashtrays, tiny bowls and pipes, she did not paint her pottery, they used, you know, twigs anything you could decorate with... like bark and indentation into the clay (Daisy Stewart Bradby Interviewed by Thomas Blumer September 3 1983).

Daisy made it a point to note her mother was a potter that employed the coil and slab method of constructing the pot, and pit fired her pottery (Ibid). This method was taught to Daisy as a young girl before she became a student of the pottery school and a lifelong member of the Pamunkey Indian Pottery Guild.

The late Dora Cook Bradby, daughter of Theodora Dennis Cook (and brother to Tecumseh) was a childhood and lifelong friend of Daisy's, and she too learned to make pottery from her mother. She would make trinkets that included frogs, ducks, turtles, fish and pinch pots, and employed the decorative technique of incising to embellish her work (Dora Cook Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, March 4, 1985). Dora also earned the reputation as a highly skilled Pamunkey potter, and she passed this knowledge to her daughter, the award winning potter, Joyce Bradby Krigsvold.

As demonstrated in the shared memories discussed above, this existing knowledge of ceramic production was the impetus that drove the community's ability to engage, with aid from state officials, in a tourism market focused on the

communal and systematic organization of production, marketing and sale of Pamunkey made ceramics. This endeavor was made possible with the 1932 establishment of the Pamunkey Indian Pottery School and the Pamunkey Indian Pottery Guild. While the consumer base, and the production, decorative, and marketing techniques practiced among earlier generations were altered, Pamunkey women continued to produce pottery for market purposes. This economic endeavor based in tourism is still engaged by Pamunkey potters today for the same reasons their mothers, grandmothers and great grandmothers participated; as a means to contribute to their household. Importantly though, it was an endeavor to supplement their own incomes, which in some instances was the only cash being earned within their households.

An important component to unpacking the history behind the tradition of ceramic production on the Reservation is to highlight the ways in which contemporary Pamunkey potters perceive this past and what it means to them to have learned this multi-generational knowledge from the Pamunkey women in their families. Importantly, for the purposes of this dissertation I explore how they viewed this tradition as a marketable, economic endeavor that undeniably shifted the ways in which it was created, sold, and valued over time. Market economic infiltration into Native societies, and the ensuing commercialization of Indigenous traditions has been viewed as a negative process that degrades the “authenticity” of the tradition, and in many cases the communities that bear those traditions. However, Pamunkey tribal members, and for this discussion in particular, Pamunkey potters, believe the economic component to pottery production over

the past several centuries has ensured the tradition's survival. In the trajectory of this object's history, replete with alterations, retentions and transformations, they observe continuity through change.

Award winning and exhibited potter, Joyce Krigsvold, argued that making pottery for sale expanded the practice because it was a way for women to make their own money (personal communication with Joyce Krigsvold, June 20 2013.)

Pamunkey potter, Debra Martin, expressed that making pottery for sale

“Kept it alive, because they wouldn't be doing it if they weren't getting any income... it's what helped keep tradition alive because of the need to make that bit of extra income, and I think they needed that to supplement what their husbands were bringing in down here, so actually it's been a good thing. And even now it's good, that's how I made my down payment on my car was from when I saved from not only the pottery but the beaded bracelets... in three years I had \$6,000 to put for the down payment on my car” (personal communication with Debra Martin, August 2 2013).

And for potter Layne Cook, this practice of making pottery for market was an economic strategy where responding to market forces was a mechanism of literal and community survival,

“I feel like they had a plan, this was a way to sustain ourselves and we have to think about the future with doing this because we need to be here and this is a way to sustain ourselves and to feed ourselves and the world is changing around us and if we're going be here in the future we need to do what we can to survive” (June 3, 2013 interviewed by author)

As stated by anthropologist Keith Basso, “although the self-conscious experience of place may at base be a private affair, tangible representations of it are commonly made available for public consumption” (1996:56). No practice on the Reservation embodies this statement more than that of pottery production. Pottery was predominantly made for public consumption, but its very essence,

the clay dug along the banks of the Pamunkey River, is of the Reservation landscape. And molding that clay into a shape was, and is, the outward expression of that Pamunkey person's knowledge of their individual relationship to the Reservation as place –survival, community, kinship, ancestry and importantly, home. Pottery was the tangible expression of this knowledge and connection to the Reservation landscape. It was this place and the economic practices tied to it that made it possible for the Pamunkey community to maintain a degree of economic autonomy and self-sufficiency. Ultimately pottery objectifies Pamunkey tradition, history, continuity and the Pamunkey as an Indigenous community. As Warren Cook explained, pottery is a “part of our tradition, which goes way back. We can dig it up and look at it from two, three hundred years ago and we can still make it today and we can get the clay today from the same place... they used three, four hundred years ago... its one more thing that I think that kind of identifies you... [it's] a piece of our history that we can hold (personal communication with Warren Cook, June 20, 2013).

Warren's statement describing pottery as a piece of Pamunkey history you can hold speaks to the unique character of this practice and the product created from it that is tangible, visible and accessible in a way that no other Pamunkey economic practice is or was. Interestingly though, the tangible character of Pamunkey pottery brings with it an irony that can be observed in the juxtaposition between the domestic roles that dominated Pamunkey women's lives, (which were typically closed to public observance), and the object they created in this domestic sphere that had a very public component to it as it was consumed off

the Reservation by non Pamunkey people. Moreover, pottery developed to become *the* outward and publicly visible signifier of the Pamunkey community and their ability to persist. Importantly, of all the economic activities practiced during the nineteenth century by Pamunkey women and men, it is the object of pottery that has remained predominantly intact. It is embedded within the Reservation landscape as a part of the archaeological record, and it is an object that tangibly expresses the continuity of our community to both tribal members and outsiders who tour the Pamunkey Indian Museum and often purchase a piece of that expression to take home with them.

The irony is also observed in the issue that Pamunkey women and their economic contributions are rarely observed in the documentary record. Pamunkey pottery is dominantly referred to as the object that expressively represents the Pamunkey as an Indigenous community, and its presence dominates the archaeological record at the Raymond Bush Site. In short, it is the economic contribution of Pamunkey women that is expressed most concretely as it materially signifies their invaluable contributions to the persistence of the Pamunkey community. In this object we observe the connections and intersections between the past and present, and the historical trajectory of the community's persistence and continuity. These processes were made possible by the willingness of Pamunkey people to ingeniously adapt and change their systems of knowledge tied to the Reservation landscape for market purposes.

And for Pamunkey people these connections and the adeptness of the Pamunkey community is no better observed than in the vessels uncovered from

the Raymond Bush Site. Importantly when viewing images of the excavated pottery contemporary Pamunkey potters expressed they could easily observe the connections between the past and present because they “show we were using the same methods and techniques to create even though the purpose was different” (personal communication with Joyce Krigsvold, June 20, 2013). Potter Layne Cook observed in these archaeological pieces, both the changing life ways of the Pamunkey community and a resilient community that was able to take a practice they were well versed in to make a *choice* to produce pottery for market. This choice to make and market pottery was “probably because they were really good at it, and it’s not labor intensive even though the process is long, and clay can be formed any way you want to, for example, into something Europeans would want or find useful” (personal communication with Layne Cook, June 3, 2013). For Layne, it makes perfect sense that Pamunkey women would choose to market their pottery skills and the objects they created to European colonists for example. They would probably have needed “Native pottery at the beginning of English colonialism in Virginia because they were having to import pottery from across the ocean and that makes me think that obviously they were also eating Native foods... prepared using Powhatan Indigenous techniques and methods” (Ibid).

Those who viewed images of the fragmented vessels felt they could observe in them both the trajectory of a centuries’ long tradition, and a snap shot in time in terms of how pottery was constructed 200 years ago. Importantly, for contemporary potters vessels were observed as manuals that could be utilized to

inform the current practice of producing pottery. Warren Cook believes the excavated vessels “gives us some answers on how it was done and we can learn a lot from doing this type of pottery because we’re still learning” (personal communication with Warren Cook, June 20, 2013). He also believes Pamunkey can learn from the archaeological materials to help revitalize and bring back some of those techniques used by Pamunkey people in the past.

While it may not have been the conscious outcome for Pamunkey women producing pottery throughout the nineteenth century, over time, the majority of work women engaged to earn cash created a tangible platform for Pamunkey cultural expression. As tribal member Jamie Atkins expressed, selling pottery “for cash helped transform it to become more of an art form. As time went on it became more of an artistic form and a symbol of the Pamunkey community rather than for functionality” (personal communication, June 3, 2013). For others, the vessels represent a lifeline for Pamunkey families. This was particularly true for Pamunkey women engaging the market through the limited economic venues that were open to them and beneficial to their respective households. The continuous trajectory of making pottery not only demonstrates the community’s ability to change with market demands, but their capability to continue a tradition, and view it as such, even though outside influences were integral to the practice’s persistence. For example, Warren Taylor stated that pottery was a “Lifeline for a long time especially probably for the women... that’s what they were contributing to the household, just to do their part, that was probably really important especially at certain times... as of now it shows up-keep of culture and tradition of how we do things, and how we do still know how to make pottery like

we did back then. It has changed a lot though, but that's just out of demand of what people want" (personal communication with Warren Taylor, July 6, 2013).

For others the mended vessels uncovered from the site had personal meaning. Pamunkey potter Debra Martin expressed that "it's a part of who we are. Pottery fishing, hunting, whatever, this is a part of it, but this [pottery] is something tangible, and that is what is so important to me. All the other things are just things that you do, but this [pottery] is something that you have in hand" (personal communication with Debra Martin, August 2 2013). To the Pamunkey women who make pottery today, these ceramic sherds and mended vessels uncovered from the Raymond Bush Site represent more than just a component to telling the story of the Pamunkey economy. It is an extension of the land that has sustained the Pamunkey people for centuries. Pottery is "something of the earth, it's something from the banks of the river that our people have lived on and survived by living off of it and what comes out of it" (Ibid).

Importantly the ceramic remnants are also extensions of the women who made them. They understand the process it takes to create a piece of Pamunkey pottery, and they all agree that a part of you, as a Pamunkey person, is embodied in the object you created. And that embodiment does not disappear; it stays intact wherever that piece of pottery may end up, whether in the home of someone who purchased it, or in the ground, discarded over two centuries ago by the woman who made it. Debra Martin expressed that "when I'm dead and gone maybe someone will be selling my stuff on Ebay too, just like you see now

with all of our folks that are gone, and I think that's just cool, to leave a part of who you are here" (Ibid).

Additional Forms of Craft Production

In addition to pottery making Pamunkey women produced various types of craft items for sale that ranged from beadwork, jewelry, gourd-work and basket making. Other than the rare mention of craft/artwork in a newspaper article³⁷ or the interesting 1910 census vocation listing for Custalo Cook as "Basket and Bead Work," this type of economic practice is practically non-existent in the documentary record, and thus warrants further research than the attention I can presently give. However, I would like to briefly present the evidence that does shed light on these lesser-known activities practiced by Pamunkey women. Adornment items and jewelry constructed from beads and various other materials were made by Pamunkey women for personal wear and for sale. They used beads made of various materials that ranged from shell, bone, and glass. Pamunkey women also made clay beads produced on the Reservation. One popular item worn and sold by Pamunkey women included the infamous "muskrat necklace." As depicted in Figures 4-5 and 4-6 these necklaces were made by stringing the bones, teeth and skulls of the muskrat together along with various beads.

³⁷ The Alexandria Gazette on September 6, 1870 in the article *Indians at Indian Town*, mentioned basket making as a form of subsistence, "The Pamunkeys as they are called have more many years gained a scanty subsistence on the Pamunkey River, by hunting, fishing, basket making and perhaps a little pilfering."

Pamunkey women also employed the skill of beadwork as a form of adornment. In terms of archaeological evidence shell and glass beads were uncovered from feature contexts at the Raymond Bush Site dating approximately during the first half of the nineteenth century. Shells beads of cylindrical, small and larger disk and tubular shapes were excavated from the 1979 excavations. Glass beads uncovered from both excavations included various shapes and colors ranging from tubular, oval, and cylindrical and from red, green, blue and black, to multi-colored compound beads. Beadwork was sold by women for cash to supplement the subsistence economy that supported their households (Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6, 1983). And in 1910 it was reported that Pamunkey women and even school age children made “all kinds of pretty things of beads and sell them as souvenirs” (Will Teach Indians at Pamunkey School, *The Times-Dispatch*, September 18, 1910).



Figures 4-5 and 4-6. Muskrat Necklaces ca. 1940. Necklace to the left made by Alberta Bradby and necklace to the right made by Paul Miles. Courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

In addition to selling beadwork, women constructed regalia for themselves, their children and spouses. Regalia typically included threaded embroidery, feather work and extensive amounts of appliqued beadwork. The



Figure 4-7. The Pamunkey Players ca. 1880s. National Anthropological Archives.

earliest observable examples of nineteenth and early twentieth century Pamunkey regalia are evidenced from various photographs depicting Pamunkey social and political events that included pageants, the annual treaty tribute, and interestingly,

images of the theatrical group known as the Pamunkey Players (see Figure 4-7) that was comprised of tribal members from both Pamunkey and Tuscarora. The group was active from the 1880s until first decade of the twentieth century.

The Players traveled the region performing well-known events related to Pamunkey history such as the notorious story Pocahontas' rescue of John Smith's³⁸. The design of the regalia is reminiscent of multiple Indigenous clothing traditions, the most notable being the raised, or bumpy beadwork well known among Iroquoian communities. This is not surprising given the presence of several individuals from the Tuscaora community residing on the Reservation at

³⁸ It is worth noting that the establishment of the Pamunkey Players is contemporaneous with the immensely popular Buffalo Bill's Wild West show that had become an international phenomenon during the 1880s. I have no doubt Pamunkey leaders took inspiration from the show's popularity and foresaw within it not only an economic opportunity, but a platform through which to showcase their indigeneity and its connection to the beloved American myth that was and still is Pocahontas. I provide more detail on the Players in the chapter on economic endeavors engaged by tribal members off the Reservation.

the turn of the twentieth century (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, June 28, 1985). This important clothing was worn at special public events such as the annual treaty tribute, for Pamunkey Players performances, and during pageants (precursor to modern day powwows) held at various Indian communities and places throughout Virginia. Several early twentieth century examples worn by Pamunkey women and chiefs are currently on display at the Pamunkey Indian Museum and Cultural Center. Feather work is another centuries old art form practiced by Pamunkey women. There are various colonial references (Smith 1612, Stratchey 1622) of capes or cloaks woven with feathers. No apparent mention of this art form surfaces though until Speck's 1928 ethnography. However, it is important to note that Speck references a Mrs. Langston who produced feather worked textiles. She claimed that during her mother's time, sixty years prior to Speck's visit (around the 1860s), feathered clothing items were not infrequently worn by tribal members (Speck 1928:439). The various feather worked items produced by Pamunkey women included yokes (See Figure 4-8), moccasins, capes, pouches, and headdresses. Feathers from wild and domestic turkeys, ducks, guinea fowls, cardinals, northern flickers, and great blue herons were knitted into a base textile made of homespun cotton (Ibid:436). Women used both steel and bone needles (specifically the leg bones from great blue herons) for knitting the feathers (Ibid). Although, it is important to note that Speck does not mention whether these items were ever sold or marketed. Perhaps that was the defining factor in the decline of feather working as economic viability appears to be a predominant determinant in the

continuation of the other practices previously discussed that were particularly lucrative for engaging the region's market economy. An example of Pamunkey feather work collected by Speck was on display for a decade at the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian in the Pamunkey exhibition of *Our Lives: Contemporary Life and Identities*

Basket making is an additional form of craft production that needs further inquiry. In his 1852 *Historical Collections of Virginia*, Henry Howe observed that the Pamunkey "manufacture pottery and baskets very neatly" (1852:349). Thus it is apparent tribal members were constructing baskets during the first half of the nineteenth century. Because this traveler mentions baskets and pottery in tandem could speak to the possibility that basket making was an equal production practice to that of ceramics, and thus potentially an additional avenue through which Pamunkey women earned cash. However, Speck does mention that a man, Ezekiel Langston,

made baskets for the purpose of carrying fish that were woven with a common technique from white oak splits (1928:384). This could point to a gender division in the production of baskets, and thus their marketing (if they were marketed at all). Based on this



Figure 4-8. Woven feather (turkey, duck and goose) collar ca. 1910s. National Museum of the American, Smithsonian.

preliminary evidence, it may be likely that baskets made by Pamunkey women

were mostly done for household/domestic use and for market, if we are to follow the example of Pamunkey women producing ceramics. Pamunkey men most likely made baskets as accessories for the activities affiliated with their gender, such as Ezekiel Langston's fish baskets. Of course the materials affiliated with the production of baskets would not have survived archaeologically.

Ethnographic and oral history evidence also points to women raising gourds to produce containers for personal use, and to produce decorated craft items for sale. For example, Daisy Stewart Bradby remembered her mother, Hattie Collins raised gourds that were painted and sold (interviewed by Thomas Blumer, September 3, 1983). In addition, the employment of gourds for personal use as containers was documented by Speck. As he mentioned in his 1928 ethnography, "The use of gourds as receptacles... were and still are occasionally put into service for seed containers and water cups, and one was found employed as a soap dish" (1928:385). Interestingly he also mentioned the unique way in which women planted and raised their gourds, "The Pamunkey... do not plant gourd-seeds, but strew them about on rich soil, leaving them to find a rooting themselves. They think it 'wrong' to sow them" (1928:388). However, while Pamunkey women practiced gourd art throughout the twentieth century, and the community currently boasts a prolific, male gourd artist, there has been little documentation of gourd production and use during the nineteenth century. While sufficient evidence on the production of pottery by Pamunkey women residing on the Reservation exists, unfortunately, there is minimal archaeological, ethnographic, documentary and oral history evidence to supply us with a

cohesive picture of the Pamunkey craft production economy in its entirety. That is not say these references do not exist, and thus the history of these practices warrants further research.

Knowledge of Reservation Plants for Medicinal Purposes

As demonstrated in Speck's recording of planting gourd seeds, Pamunkey women had specialized knowledge of Reservation plant life. Just as Pamunkey men hunted, trapped and fished the wildlife that frequented the Reservation landscape, Pamunkey women utilized their knowledge of that landscape to gather and collect its' wild plants, procured particularly for medicinal purposes. In particular, they were the bearers of knowledge pertaining to the gathering and use of the Reservation's medicinal plants employed to care for their families. Colonial writers John Smith and William Strachey first recorded the gathering and collecting of indigenous plants during the seventeenth century. However, we do not observe documentation of this practice among Pamunkey people until the nineteenth century. In 1862 journalist George Alfred Thompson with the New York Herald was covering Major General George McClellan's Peninsula campaign to capture the Confederate capital of Richmond. During his sojourn in Virginia Townsend visited "Indiantown Island" and encountered a Pamunkey woman named "Mag" to whom he referred to as a medicine woman. According to Townsend she had "great repute at medicines, powwows and divination," and described his encounter with her where she "brought from the house a cup of painted earthenware [and] pretended to read the arrangement of the grains within the cup." (1950:58-60).

Use of plants for divination or medicinal purposes were not recorded again until over three decades later when ethnologist Albert Gatschet's began research among the Pamunkey. During his visits Gatschet worked with an informant named Lavinia Cook and recorded "medicines known by the Indians," a two page list with detailed information documenting the name of plants collected on the Reservation, their preparation as medicines and the ailments those medicinal plants were meant to cure. Here are a few examples recorded by Gatschet in his *Pamunkey Notebook*: "dandelion – against consumption and cough; catnip – as a tea against high fevers in children and sweetened with peppermint; golden rod or gold weed for purifying blood, drink it as bitters."

This knowledge coupled with the desire to avoid the expenses affiliated with the services of medical doctors no doubt aided in the perpetuation of this practice dominated by Pamunkey women. For example, Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook remembers that his mother, Theodora Dennis Cook, had knowledge of using local herbs and plants to treat illness, "she didn't believe in taking us to doctors. She'd go down to the swamp and dig roots and herbs and keep us from having to go to the doctor" (Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook interview by Thomas Blumer August 6, 1983). Tecumseh shared a memory of his mother soaking poplar leaves in vinegar that were bound to the head to reduce fevers or to temper headache pain (Ibid).

Midwifery was an extension of this female dominated practice where knowledge of the landscape and its plant life were employed, trusted, and considered more economical. Women from Theodora's generation (born during

the 1860s and 1870s) either served as midwives delivering babies on the Reservation, or employed the services of their fellow female tribal members who were practiced in the skill of midwifery. Theodora was a practiced midwife and she also employed a fellow Pamunkey midwife to help deliver all ten of her children born during the late nineteenth century. (Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6, 1983; personal communication with Warren Cook, June 20 2013).

Another five decades would pass before additional documentation was recorded on the knowledge and use of plants that frequent the Reservation landscape. While this evidence collected during the early 1940s is outside the timeline for this research, it is valuable knowledge whose foundation came from previous generations of women who taught this knowledge to their children. Importantly, it demonstrates that Pamunkey women, like the men had an intimate knowledge of the Reservation landscape that may not have been employed directly to engage the market, but did have an economic component as it was utilized to circumvent the expenses tied to employing medical doctors.

At the urging of Frank Speck, Jack Kremens collected evidence of community members' knowledge of gathering and using plants on the Reservation. Kremens worked with Paul Miles, one of the informants Speck had a relationship with during his investigations on the Reservation. His findings included the use of plants for utilitarian purposes ranging from dye to use for smoking meats, to creating a variety of objects such as boat oars. However, for the purpose of this discussion I focus on his findings surrounding plant gathering knowledge

affiliated with food, and medicine. The following is pulled from the detailed lists

Kremens generated and sent to Speck on July 19, 1940:

“Medicines made from trees – Red Oak--tea from bark used for general health, Poplar--leaves on forehead for headache, □Catalpa--pods dried to relieve asthma, Sumac--leaves used to make dye, Wild Cherry--medicine to aid appetite Sassafras-tea from root beneficial for blood.

Medicines made from flowers and shrubs [the list is extensive, only a portion is listed] Yarrow--makes poultice for boils and fever, Blue Flag--roots relieve indigestion, Mullein--makes poultice to relieve swelling, Jamestown weed--smoked to relieve asthma, □Pennyroyal--makes tea to relieve stomach-pains, Sun briar--makes tea to cure sores, □Catnip--tea for children’s stomach aches, Milk weed--for sores, especially cancer, Polkberries--to make wine for rheumatism and itching, Jussamoke weed--seed used for deworming children”

Kremens’ lists also reveal that Pamunkey people harvested the Reservation’s plant life for food as well. Some examples included edible nuts and fruit trees such as Walnut, Chinquapin (a species of chestnut), Damson (plum), Wild Water Plum, and Persimmon. Edible shrubs and flowers included Ground cherry, Elderberry, Skeetner berries, Blackberries, Gooseberries, Sloeberries, Bird-grapes, Fox-grapes, Strawberries, Huckleberries, and Prickly pear.

Interestingly though, it is actually around the time of Kremens documentation during the Second World War that we observe an increasing number of Pamunkey families entrusting their health and money to medical doctors. For example, published social columns, *Pamunkey Reservation* and *White House News*, dispersed to Reservation residents from the 1920s through the 1940s, mentioned several incidents of tribal members receiving house calls from local doctors, and tribal members traveling to the Medical College Hospital in Richmond (Medical College of Virginia) for the treatment of various ailments. The

excerpts typically read as followed “Alma Miles was in Richmond on Friday to see her doctor,” or “Douglas Miles is still in Richmond under a doctor’s care...” While, the practice of employing plant knowledge for medicinal and food purposes fell to the wayside, the traditional cultural properties document prepared by Danielle Moretti-Langholtz and Kathleen Bragdon for the King William Reservoir Project demonstrates this knowledge was still alive and well among the elder members of the tribe. Importantly, I have experienced and learned bits and pieces of this knowledge first hand through my grandfather, son of Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook and grandson of Theodora Dennis Cook. I will never forget the phrase “sedges have edges” that my grandfather taught me as we walked the riverbank in front of his house when I was a young girl. Sedges are a type of marsh grass that have three hard edges that form a triangular shape. The liquid that oozes from the plant’s insides, (much like aloe Vera) was believed to help cure upset stomachs. And speaking of upset stomachs, when I conducted the first interview with my grandfather for this dissertation research, he had sweet flag or flagroot drying outside on the porch. He explained that you can chew the root or make a tea from the root to help with healthy digestion (personal communication with Warren Cook, June 20, 2013).

The contribution of Pamunkey women to the economic life on the Reservation during the nineteenth century comprised a variety of practices tied to the management of their family’s homestead. These practices ranged from the use of local plant knowledge for medicinal purposes to the production of textiles and container wares that included ceramics, gourds and baskets. Archaeological,

ethnographic and oral history evidence all point to pottery production being the predominant means through which Pamunkey women engaged the market economy. They did so through ingeniously adapting a centuries old practice to develop a ceramics industry that incorporated Indigenous vessel technology and English forms creating a ware that archaeologists today call colonoware. Recognizing that a production in colonoware ceramics did not develop or exist within a vacuum, we can observe in the context of the Pamunkey community colonoware was only one component of a much larger historical trajectory that encompassed a centuries long experience of Pamunkey people making pottery for the household, market purposes, or for tourists. Thus, I look to colonoware as grounded in the historical trajectory of the Pamunkey Indian Reservation community where this object, and the practice of producing it, solidified the central role landscape played, and continues to play, in structuring the community's engagement in the capitalist economy as Pamunkey women make pottery today for the tourist market.

Pamunkey Reflections: Why did our relatives choose these traditional practices to make money?

With the emergence of the market economy, Pamunkey men and women utilized and employed systems of knowledge that were inextricably bound to their relationship with the Reservation landscape. The community's responses structured the conjuncture (Sahlins 1985) of negotiating the overarching world system in Pamunkey terms that were based in the land, in generational knowledge, gender roles, and in kinship ties. Without this place, currently and

fondly referred to as the “Rez,” the Pamunkey community and the economic life they were able to maintain would have generated an entirely different narrative than the one I have been able to weave from documentary, ethnographic, archaeological and oral history evidence. In addition to chronicling and detailing the traditional subsistence practices supported by the Reservation landscape, we must also ask the question as to why these specific practices were employed by Pamunkey people to engage the market economy in the first place.

Importantly, to help unpack this question, I asked tribal members to reflect on the reasons behind our relatives’ decisions to employ the practices of trapping, hunting, fishing, guiding and pottery making. Their reflections inform my arguments and conclusions, and they provide a sense of how the contemporary Pamunkey community conceptualizes the role these economic practices have played in shaping the history of our community. Pamunkey tribal members discussed a variety of factors they believe were at play in shaping the economic decisions made by our ancestors and relatives to engage the market. These factors included the ecology of the Reservation landscape, the generational knowledge attached to exploiting this ecology, the Reservation’s geographic isolation, and a lack of access to educational opportunities. In their reflections we observe numerous internal and external factors that shaped and formed the economic decisions made by tribal members throughout the nineteenth century.

Pamunkey people struggled with the impacts of European colonial expansion, particularly during the first century as they faced enslavement, warfare, disease and encroachment upon their lands that negatively impacted their ability to

subsist. By the nineteenth century, however, they had expertly negotiated and carved for themselves a niche in the wider postcolonial world. This negotiated niche incorporated, for their benefit, Pamunkey systems of knowledge and a worldview that shaped their ability to create a viable economic life. Tribal artisan Debra Martin speculated about the community's engagement in the market economy,

"Well, I think it was probably good for us and it was something that needed to be done because everybody evolves, cultures evolve and they had to...[there was] the importance of, yes we did need cash flow too, so you use what you've got and what you know... pull the white man on into it and earn some cash" (personal communication with Debra Martin August 2, 2013).

This society, demarcated in terms of a racial and gendered caste system, was the predominant external factor imposed upon the Pamunkey community. This system relegated them socially, economically and politically to the latter rungs of society, a society that did not consider them citizens. These outside forces dictated, in the majority of cases, the economic venues through which Pamunkey people, especially Pamunkey women, could engage. It was a system that did not quite understand how to treat and categorize members of this Indian community who had in many instances intermarried with white, African American and mixed race people.

The inconsistency through which the outside understood the Pamunkey community's racial and ethnic background unfortunately created an environment in which they were continuously defending their identity as an Indian community. A community that had rights to their tribal status and their Reservation lands defined by the treaty relationship subsumed under the Commonwealth. A

relationship the state and its officials either ignored, or of which they were completely ignorant, a tendency that still exists today. The practices employed by Pamunkey people to engage the market most likely served a dual purpose to also remind the outside world of their identity as a tribal community.

As highlighted by contemporary tribal members, the racist treatment of people of color was most clearly observed in the lack of educational opportunities available to Pamunkey Indian people during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Tribal council member Warren Cook, who attended the segregated school on the Reservation and graduated from the Bureau of Indian Affairs Boarding School on the Eastern Band Cherokee Reservation, points to denial of education as the principal grievance experienced by our community, “they [the state] cut us off at the seventh grade, only a small group of Indians went to school beyond that and it was a struggle... when you stop your education, you stop a lot, it effects your entire life” (personal communication with Warren Cook June 20, 2013). The impact of this lag in educational opportunities still impacts the community today, as my generation is the first to have had several tribal members to obtain college degrees. As tribal artisan Debra Martin explained, “you do what you’ve got to do and you do what you know, and because they didn’t have education it’s not like they were going to get jobs someplace else” (personal communication with Debra Martin, August 2, 2013).

The lack of educational opportunities based in racism and racist policies, has directly affected the community’s economic situation. As tribal member and employee at the National Museum of the American Indian, Ben Norman,

expressed “we never went to public schools... that’s why a lot of people are at such a disadvantage is because there wasn’t any education provided, and if they were going to get an education they had to go to other states” (Ben Norman interviewed by John Moore, May 31, 2006). It is important to note that painting a picture of the Pamunkey Reservation economy provides a lens through which to view the ways Native, African, and European communities were understood as increasingly racialized identities forged and determined through “appropriate” avenues of social, economic, educational and political engagement. The Pamunkey community’s ability to engage the market economy through producing fish, furs, and pottery was defined by landscape, exchange, and imposed racial identities, gender dynamics and traditional subsistence.

Coupled with these external limitations were internal factors that shaped Pamunkey negotiations of a cash economy based in kinship that informed the passing of generational knowledge. The traditional subsistence practices at the center of this research were based on generations of knowledge tied to the landscape. Pamunkey people exploited what was readily available to them and they did so through specialized knowledge of exploiting the landscape passed and practiced from one generation to the next. We do not observe a break in this generational knowledge until the mid-twentieth century. Access to their Indigenous homeland, and the river that surrounded it, enabled the Pamunkey to continually express their existing knowledge of the landscape most notably in the traditional subsistence practices of fishing, hunting, trapping and pottery making.

These activities were altered and adapted in order to both structure and secure Pamunkeys' engagement in the Commonwealth's market economy.

Through the continual reference to and use of their Indigenous land, we can observe "the structure of the conjuncture" (Sahlins 1985) in the ways the Pamunkey drew upon this knowledge to transform their traditional subsistence practices in response to an expanding economy. Tribal member Warren Cook candidly stated, "I don't know what else we could have done to make money, we sold fish, muskrat, we sold what other people wanted, people wanted it so we made it" (personal communication with Warren Cook, June 20 2013).

For the late Jeff Brown, a Pamunkey tribal member and fellow archaeologist, it was the ecological environment, particularly the river, and the natural abundance supported by the Reservation landscape that provided the impetus. He explained, "The Pamunkey River surrounding the Rez has created the perfect environment for shad to spawn, the bends in the river that surround the Rez, and we have always done this [shad fishing]. The clay is abundant so it's always been there to make the pottery. We have the marsh, the Rez is a wildlife haven" (personal communication with Jeff Brown October 19, 2013). The accessibility of the Reservation's natural resources has supported a Pamunkey way of life for centuries whether for subsistence and/or market purposes. Warren Cook explained "the marsh was right here, the river is right here, you know we're surrounded by water, it was the natural thing to do. And of course that's what they always did, that comes from all the way back, you know three, four hundred

years, the same way of life” (personal communication with Warren Cook, June 20, 2013).

Importantly, Pamunkey tribal members believe the Reservation is the central component to both the survival of these practices and of the community itself. As tribal member Kim Cook Taylor expressed, “If we didn’t have a Reservation Pamunkey pottery would not exist today... I think they would have lost everything... There would be no more community... we wouldn’t have the fishing, the pottery and things like that, if everybody had just spread out, went their own way I think it would have been lost” (personal communication with Kim Cook Taylor June 19, 2013). Taylor’s statement underscores that the Reservation landscape was essential to their cultural survival and persistence as a cohesive community. As anthropologist Barbara Bender observed, “the landscape represents the time that has passed and the ways in which native people have survived” (e.g. Bender 2002), This is clearly observable at Pamunkey as the Reservation and the River that surround it, have provided safety, isolation, tradition, marketable practices, survival, and most importantly, a central place Pamunkey people could call home to shape their lives and community as they saw fit.

Importantly, reflecting on why these practices were employed by the Pamunkey to earn cash, contemporary tribal members also provided their opinions on how practicing these traditions for money affected the community. It is important to note that while those responses and opinions varied, they were positive across the board. Contemporary tribal members do not view the history

of our community negotiating and engaging in the market economy as a negative experience. Rather, many believe that without market or cash incentive, these traditional subsistence practices would not have persisted. However, the economic motivation to employ these practices operated (and still does) on a fine balance. When these activities proved to no longer be economically lucrative, their practice waned considerably, particularly following the Second World War. For Warren Cook, engaging traditional subsistence practices for market purposes,

“Helped them have money, money makes the world turn... it kept things going. [But] that’s why no one is trapping anymore because it has essentially become an economic thing, because we made a living at it, that’s why it continued here more so than other places, its kept these practices alive, doing these things for different reasons than our ancestors did.... [but] whatever you’re doing now I call it culture (personal communication with Warren Cook, July 7 2013).

Moreover, these traditional economic practices, and the central role they played in supplementing the Pamunkey lifestyle of living off the land, came to define and exemplify the Pamunkey community to both tribal members, and the outside world. As Warren Cook commented, these practices, pottery in particular “kind of helped identify the community... because if the women hadn’t made pottery, it’s one of the things that distinguishes yourself from other communities, it helped preserve part of the old history and preservation of the culture...” (personal communication with Warren Cook, June 20, 2013). These activities were also engaged simply because they provided cash that had become integral to maintaining the Pamunkey lifestyle of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Pamunkey potter, Joyce Krigsvold believed earning cash “helped them a

lot way back. When Grandma was coming up they didn't have anything and just the little bit of money they made would help so much " (personal communication with Joyce Krigsvold June 20, 2013). However, practicing these activities for market did not alter the core reasons for why Pamunkey people employed them, "they didn't do it just for the money they did it too because they loved doing it, it was just a part of their lives, but the money did help" (Ibid).

We can observe that for contemporary tribal members, these practices cannot be compartmentalized into categories of traditional versus non-traditional, as the general public may tend to do. The traditional subsistence practices would not have survived if they had not been altered in ways that generated a market demand for them. We can observe in these practices, as contemporary tribal members readily do, the recursive relationship that exists between the Reservation landscape, subsistence practices on that landscape, and the market economy. They all worked in tandem to generate an economic life that supported, and later came to define, the Pamunkey community. In short, we observe in the relationships (defined along lines of kinship and gender) that encompassed these practices, as well as the material culture employed to make them possible, continuity within change. In the following chapter I explore how Pamunkey producers, both women and men, also acted as consumers utilizing the cash earned from their traditional subsistence practices for the purpose of maintaining and managing their family homesteads.

Chapter 5: Pamunkey Consumer Practices and the Reservation Homestead

Economy

Pamunkey people creatively engaged the capitalist economy by employing their knowledge of traditional subsistence practices wedded to the Reservation landscape and waterways. The Reservation land and the knowledge tied to it enabled the Pamunkey to structure the market economy's infiltration in ways that were skillful, creative, and familiar. However, I strive to not only understand why these practices were employed to engage a cash economy, but how they also informed and dictated Pamunkey consumer practices. In other words, how were community members spending the money they earned and making choices as consumers. Like opportunities that were open and available to them, Pamunkey forms of consumption were no doubt also structured (socially and politically) in reference to what was considered "appropriate" for communities and people of color.

Consumption, the acquisition of goods through the market economy "has tangible and observable consequences... and it manifests the choices that people made as individual participants in a larger economic and social system" (Silliman and Witt 2010:49). In other words, while consumers have choices in the goods they choose to acquire, those choices are constrained and impacted by a variety of factors that involve cultural identity, class, geography, legality, and social political and economic contexts (Ibid; Dietler 1998; Stahl 2002). While contexts can shape consumer practices in drastic ways, anthropological and archaeological studies (Mullins 1999; Wikie and Farnsworth 1999; Brighton 2001;

Pezzarossi 2008) have demonstrated that such contexts do not entirely dictate those decisions, and can provide a way of navigating and resisting strictly bounded economic contexts (Silliman and Witt 2010:50). Like the practices that formed the economic foundation of the Reservation community, Pamunkey people had to negotiate these factors in order to make astute consumer choices that ensured their household and families were supported. Those choices were also made to ensure they provided the ability for Pamunkey people to maintain a self-sufficient and autonomous lifestyle. Therefore, we can observe Pamunkey consumer practices as actions that reveal creativity and cultural survival. This chapter places the consumer practices of the Pamunkey within the social and political contexts that influenced their consumption of goods, examines the range of goods Pamunkey people chose to consume, and reflects on what these details reveal about economic life on the Reservation during the nineteenth century.

Based on archaeological, documentary and oral history evidence I argue the money earned by Pamunkey people was predominantly redistributed within the Pamunkey family *homestead* that also comprised a market component equally steeped in community members' relationship to the Reservation landscape. Here, I define the Pamunkey homestead as comprising a broad mix of economic practices that involved two interrelated units that functioned in tandem with one another. These units that encompassed the homestead included the household (dwelling and affiliated structures) and the farm (land that was cultivated and the affiliated structures for farm-use).

Practices affiliated with the homestead's seasonal and everyday upkeep were divided along gender lines, but managing the homestead was a domain of Pamunkey life dominated by women. We observe that dominance in the 1870, 1880 and 1900 census records (previous censuses did not list women's occupations) as the occupation of the eldest Pamunkey woman in the household was listed as "Keeping House." Pamunkey men were frequently away from the Reservation following the shad run along the east coast or working as wage laborers in the urban centers the fishermen typically encountered. Therefore, it would not have been unusual to find a Pamunkey woman managing the household on her own during certain times of the year. For example, Edward Bradby remembered that his mother, Elmyra Page Bradby (my great, great grandmother), would not travel with her husband when he fished or worked in New York because she had nine children to care for and a demanding household to run.

While Western cultural ideas about gender have tended to define the economic roles of women (they stay home), and men (they work) into "universal scientific laws" (Wilk and Cliggett 2007:17), contemporary economic anthropologists call for the rejection of this division between economic and domestic because the household is where the economic and the social interact everyday (Ibid:19). The Pamunkey homestead was the central social and economic unit of the community that incorporated contributions from every practice discussed in this dissertation. The traditional subsistence practices provided sustenance for the family that managed and resided on the homestead.

Cash earned from these practices and seasonal wage labor was utilized to 1) purchase the objects, materials and supplies needed for the function and maintenance of the homestead and 2) purchase the materials and supplies needed to ensure the traditional subsistence activities employed to earn cash could be successfully and continually practiced. Importantly, practices affiliated with managing the homestead, farming and gardening in particular, provided additional market opportunities for Pamunkey families that included cultivating corn and cotton, and selling produce from gardens grown specifically for market purposes.

The cash earned from both men and women's economic practices was subsumed into the literal construction of the homestead and was used to purchase wood, nails, and brick for houses, agricultural buildings and for the post and rail fences that served as boundary markers between fields. Cash was also employed to make purchases necessary for the daily management of a household that depended on various goods that ranged from furniture, clothing and shoes, lamps and the oil needed to light them, firearms, metal farming implements (plows and hoes), canning materials to store food for the winter, and flour for the bread that was baked daily. All of these components comprised a typical Reservation family homestead

The majority of Reservation homesteads were small ranging from ten to forty acres per unit.³⁹ Rail fences made of ash and cedar separated plots for farming

³⁹ This median range in acreage was determined from the claims filed by Pamunkey tribal members with the Southern Claims Commission in 1871 that

and hedge groves lined the roads and demarcated the boundaries of family allotments where the house, and various associated outbuildings for farming and other functions were located (Warren Cook interviewed by John Moore, June 1, 2006; Robert Gray interviewed by John Moore, May 30, 2006). Based on the testimony from Pamunkey tribal members given during interviews by the Southern Claims Commission in 1871, it appears that extended families were either residing together in one household that had belonged to that particular family for generations. If the extended family (children and grandchildren for example) were not residing within the same household, they were dispersed within the immediate vicinity of the homestead from which they spent their childhood. Thus, it would have been common place to observe parents running one homestead while their children with families of their own would be running additional units just hundreds of yards from the one in which they were raised. Moreover, these children who established and ran homesteads of their own would also work to help maintain the one managed by their parents (Langston, Nancy [15145] SCC Settle Case Files).

Every person in the family had a role to play in running the household and farm. But those families who needed additional labor, and could afford it, hired outside laborers. But family members from neighboring homesteads would assess that work to make sure it had been done correctly (Ibid: Testimony of

give detailed information on the acreage of land each family occupied during the time Union troops were encamped on and around the Reservation between 1862-1865. The reference is E.732, Southern Claims Commission, Settled Case Files, Box 371 U.S. National Archives.

John Langston). Importantly, while the land affiliated with the homestead could have been occupied, utilized, and cultivated by the same family for generations only the “improvements” to the land (i.e. the house, affiliated structures and fences) would belong to those individual family members, and thus passed down from generation to generation or bought and sold between Pamunkey male individuals. The land itself was not owned by those occupying it, and could not be bought or sold as it belonged to the Tribe with the allocation of allotments dictated by Chief and Council. (Ibid: Testimony of Holt Langston; Cook, Caroline [21816] SCC Settled Case Files). This method of allotting the land and allocating property is still practiced on the Reservation today. For example, the Cook family has occupied the land upon which my grandfather, mother and aunt currently live, for over one hundred and fifty years.

The typical range of structures and buildings affiliated with the household unit throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries included the main residence, the detached kitchen, barn, corn crib, smokehouse, and out house. During the early nineteenth century, the majority of residences were most likely residing in log cabin constructions. For example, a visitor to the Reservation during the 1830s recorded that Indian Town is “quite populous, containing more than thirty log huts or rather cabins” (Rambles of Richard Rover Parley’s Magazine Jan 1 1836:366). Moreover, Edward Bradby, (born in 1901) stated that his grandfather and mother’s uncle (Jake Miles) lived in log cabins (Interviewed by Thomas Blumer, May 11 1985).

By the mid nineteenth century a shift in housing material and type appears to occur as the testimony of tribal members in their Southern Claims Commission (SCC) files points to the majority of Pamunkey families living in structures that were approximately fifteen-foot square, one and half to two stories, and framed and weather boarded from wooden planks typically made of pine. The interior of the homes was lathed and plastered, and consisted of two rooms, one room downstairs and the second upstairs. Houses were heated with one or two brick chimneys⁴⁰ (Bradby, Terrill [6306] SCC Settled Case Files). Some tribal members reported to the Claims Commission that their homes were actually log constructed, but covered with clapboard (also referred to as weatherboard). During this time, it was typical for kitchens to be separated from the primary dwelling. Also of framed and pine plank weatherboard construction, kitchens were slightly smaller than the main house, measured fourteen-foot square and had two stories. The interior of the kitchen, like the main dwelling, was also lathed and plastered (Bradby, Terrill [6306] SCC Settled Case Files).

While the SCC testimony from tribal members does not provide detailed information on the materials and objects that would have frequented a Pamunkey house, one such document, the 1846 Last Will and Testament of John Langston, provides a glimpse into the purchasing decisions made for an 1846 Pamunkey Reservation household. Items listed in the Will and Testament included three bedsteads, one table, one cupboard, seven chairs, two chests, one loom, and

⁴⁰ It is worth noting that nearly complete bricks and brick fragments were uncovered from the Raymond Bush Site during the 2010 excavations.

two looking glasses. Archaeological evidence also provides insight into the materials used within household that were most likely purchased with cash or exchanged for other goods or services. These included European and American made ceramics (that were no doubt utilized alongside those made by the women of the household), metal cutlery, and brass furniture tacks (Langston, William [81949] SCC Settled Case Files).

The barn, also referred to as the corncrib, was utilized for both household and farming purposes. Averaging in size around twenty-five feet by fifteen feet, barns were constructed and framed with logs and then covered with weatherboard and were utilized to hold various household and farming implements. In the barn's loft, foodstuffs such as bacon and edible corn were kept in addition to fodder⁴¹ (Bradby, Terrill [6306] SCC Settled Case Files; Edward Bradby Interviewed by Thomas Blumer, June 28, 1985). On the ground floor farming equipment such as plows and hoes were kept, and foodstuffs including salted shad and herring, were housed in large "sugar hogsheads" (water tight barrels). The fish were caught by the men in the spring and immediately salted down in the barrels to provide food for the winter. Each household typically had one large sugar hogshead filled with about 500 herring or 500 shad (Miles, Archie [21814] SCC Settled Case Files).

Connected to the barn were stables or stalls for holding livestock and transportation equipment. For example, Edward Bradby explained that his

⁴¹ Fodder refers to the leaves and stalks from the corn plant that were used to feed horses and cows.

family's barn "had two stalls and in front we had a sort of a push, or stall for a wagon and a buggy (Edward Bradby Interviewed by Thomas Blumer, June 28, 1985). Some households had separate stables for their horses that were also typically constructed from logs (Bradley, Edward [14976] SCC Settled Case Files). Hen houses were also included in the array of structures one could find on a nineteenth century Pamunkey homestead as each homestead raised chickens for eggs and meat for both household consumption and market, (Ibid).

An additional, but absolutely necessary feature that no homestead could function without was access to clean drinking water. Access was made possible through the construction of wells to reach the Reservation's ground water. As one tribal member described there were differing well types that included pitcher pumps and open wells that were constructed by tribal members. They would dig the wells by hand and curve the well tunnel to keep the walls from collapsing. Those with money would use brick to line the well and those with less, used wood (James Page interviewed by Thomas Blumer September 3, 1983).

By the late nineteenth century the affiliated out-buildings were generally unchanged. While the houses were constructed in the same way (framed and weather boarded with pine plank) they were slightly larger consisting of five rooms with two downstairs, two upstairs and another detached room that served as the kitchen (*Wholesale Matrimony: Between the Pamunkey and the Eastern Cherokee*. The Sun, April 21, 1895; James Page interviewed by Thomas Blumer, September 3, 1983). This pattern in housing during the latter half of the nineteenth century is currently observable on the Reservation as four houses

from this time period are still standing and currently occupied. They are all framed structures with weatherboard exteriors, two stories high and while they have several additions, the oldest portions of the buildings host the original four rooms, two downstairs and two upstairs. These additions are kitchens added to the back of the structures suggesting that kitchens during the late nineteenth century were still detached at this time.

Many of the men residing on the Reservation during this time were self-taught skilled carpenters, and it was reported that everyone used to build their own houses with help from other Reservation residents (personal communication with Warren Cook, September 11, 2013). Even though labor to construct their houses and homestead structures was free of charge, money was needed to buy the supplies necessary for their construction (Ibid June 20, 2013). In addition to using their carpentry skills for household purposes, some Pamunkey men were able to supplement their lifestyle of farming, trapping, fishing and hunting by hiring themselves out as carpenters (Langston, William [81949]: Testimony of Allen Morse). During the Civil War, the Confederate Army pressed one such Pamunkey man, William Langston, into service after learning he was known locally as a skilled carpenter. In his testimony to the Southern Claims Commission as to whether he had ever served the Confederacy, Langston replied,

“In the second year of the war I was pressed by the rebels and taken to Yorktown and forced to work at my trade, I’m a carpenter, on the hospital buildings. They kept me two months and then let me go on account of a hurt to my hand... They paid me very little wages, nothing to speak of. I was under guard all the time and could not have got away” (Langston, William [81949] SCC Settled Case Files).

Pamunkey men were also contracted out by the Tribe to build and construct structures affiliated with public use on the Reservation. This included construction of multiple schoolhouses built by tribal members from the 1870s through 1909⁴². Pamunkey men were also contracted to construct public lavatories for the school children and for use by Reservation residents, as well fences erected to define boundaries on and around the Reservation that were not affiliated with individual property allotments. The men contracted by the Tribe were compensated for their time with cash (Tribal Meeting Minutes Ledger No. 2 Sept. 3, 1910; Oct. 18, 1911). It is important to note that while the men constructed buildings affiliated with the household and farm units, it was the Pamunkey women who ran the household. Their duties included everyday

⁴² The 1909 schoolhouse that is still standing and was recently renovated appears to be an interesting exception to this rule. While Pamunkey men no doubt aided in the building's construction, James Page in an interview with Thomas Blumer stated the schoolhouse was built by the "Trimmer boys," (Lucas and Harry Trimmer). When pressed as to why his grandfather, Robert Miles, a prominent Reservation carpenter who helped build many of the Reservation's houses (during latter half of the nineteenth century), was not contracted for the schoolhouse construction, Page replied, "... the state board of education built it. My grandfather could not read blue print... It had to be by blue print... if you can't read blue print, you can't get a job... [it is a] state building... they got an architect to write it up or a draftsman" (James Page interviewed by Thomas Blumer September 3, 1983). This provides further insight into the surrounding economic social and political world Pamunkey people had to engage. In so many ways, it was a world, that was systematically and structurally closed to them and to which they did not have equal access. Even though he was considered a skilled carpenter (he was also hired off the Reservation for his skills), Robert Miles did not have the necessary educational foundations in architecture because he did not have access to the educational opportunities needed to earn those credentials in order to warrant his hiring as the chief carpenter for constructing the school house erected in 1909.

routines of cleaning and cooking, maintaining the farmed land, gardens and livestock, and tracking the maintenance of the homestead's affiliated structures.

The most important activities affiliated with the homestead included farming, gardening and raising livestock. These practices provided food (in addition to the wild game and gathered foods), and they provided an additional means to earn cash through selling excess produce to county residents, and at Richmond's Seventeenth Street Market. We can observe the importance of farming the Reservation land in the 1850 and 1870 census as it appears that farming was the predominant occupation listed for Pamunkey men living on the Reservation (U.S. Census, 1850 and 1870, Virginia, Schedule of Inhabitants, King William County). This is not to say additional economic practices were not also taking place, but rather the census data points to the possibility that farming was more lucrative during these decades than fishing, hunting or trapping. For example, by 1900, the predominate male occupation among Reservation Residents was listed as Fisherman (U.S. Census, 1900 Virginia, Indian Population, King William County). By this time, the train had scheduled stops at the White House and Lestor Manor depots giving Pamunkey men easier and quicker access to markets located along the East Coast where their fresh catch could be shipped daily.

The farmland affiliated with a Pamunkey homestead ranged between fifteen and forty acres. This land was used for cultivating corn, cotton and grain, predominately oats (Southern Claims Commission Settled Case, Box 371 [Pamunkey Indian Claims], National Archives). And depending on the homestead, eight to seventeen of those acres were specifically set aside for the

purpose of cultivating corn, an important staple of Pamunkey homesteads. Every farmed parcel was enclosed with fences made of wooden rail and stub construction. The rails were maulled from ash wood and the stubs, constructed by Pamunkey men, were made from the wood of cedar and dogwood trees (Miles, Archie [21814] SCC Settled Case Files; Bradby, Thomas [15142] SCC Settled Case Files; Jack Kremens to Frank Speck, July 19, 1940).

Corn cultivation was practiced on the majority (if not all) of Pamunkey homesteads throughout the nineteenth century. It provided food for the families, feed for livestock and cash as the excess was sold. For example, it was stated in a Pamunkey petition presented to the Virginia General Assembly in 1843, "in good crop years, we make more corn than will serve us by two hundred barrels." This practice of cultivating and selling corn was again mentioned in the 1855 account of a visitor to White House who observed Reservation residents with, "small farms which they cultivate; and almost every year have corn to sell" (Crockett 1855:44). In addition to selling the surplus, corn was also used to feed Pamunkey families, particularly in the form of processed corn meal. The stalks and leaves from the plant ("fodder") were harvested to feed the cows and horses raised by those families. The importance of corn's contribution to the Pamunkey homestead was also demonstrated in the claims tribal members filed with the Southern Claims Commission. A total of twenty-two Pamunkey Indians filed claims with the Southern Claims Commission for property taken by the Union in the Civil War. Every one of those claims requested compensation for corn that was listed in various forms including shelled ears, corn meal, and fodder.

Corn meal was a staple of the Pamunkey diet throughout the nineteenth century and its popularity continued up until the mid-twentieth century. Pamunkey families had two methods to obtain corn meal for daily household use: through patronizing the local gristmill located near the Reservation, and through manual use with hand constructed wooden mortars and pestles. The mill, powered by water, was located at Cohoke, a small creek (now a pond) tributary to the Pamunkey River. Pamunkey farmers would take their shelled corn, pack them in barrels or sacks, transfer the corn on their boats and travel by water the mill (personal communication with Kevin Brown, July 24, 2013). The mill owner would grind the corn into meal, and his price for that service was to take half of the customer's yield so that he could then sell it for profit (Ibid). Edward Bradby shared his memories of the mill, "... we used to take our corn down there to get it ground... then the man that operated the mill would take a certain percentage of the corn. That's how he made a living " (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer May 10, 1985).

This mill operated for over a century, and interestingly during the mid-nineteenth century, a Pamunkey man by the name of William Langston operated it at one point during the Civil War. Langston was not a Reservation resident, but rather lived across the river and rented farmland in St. Peters Township in New Kent County. William ran the mill in 1863 for owner N.M. Sherman and was compensated for his labor not with cash, but rather with a percentage of the corn accumulated by the mill. In his own words, recorded in 1871 by the Southern Claims Commission, William explained, "this corn [conscripted by Union soldiers]

was some I had earned as toll corn at the corn mill which I ran in 1863 for... Sherman. I ran the mill for one third of the toll and this corn was some of my share which I had taken to my house” (Langston, William [81949] SCC Settled Case Files).

Pulling fodder for animal feed was practiced throughout the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. Fodder included the cornstalk leaves that were dried to make feed for the homestead’s livestock. When the corn was ripe for picking, Pamunkey boys would remove the leaves from the corn stalks, and bundle them. Another person (usually their father) would follow behind on a wagon to load the bundles of fodder that were stored in barns. Pamunkey families living on the Reservation did not have frequent access to hay so they would use the corn leaves to feed the horses and cows during the winter months (personal communication with Kevin Brown July 24, 2013). Kevin Brown remembers his grandfather and uncle talking about how much they hated the arduous task of “pulling for fodder” when they were young boys.

An additional, but less documented, method used by Pamunkey to process their corn into meal was through manually grinding the corn with handmade wooden mortars and pestles. While there is little evidence of this practice Speck did mention the previous use of such material culture decades prior to his arrival. He referred to them as “log corn mortars” that were of “gum-wood, about three feet high, some with straight sides, others hewed narrower toward the bottom with a disc-like base” (1928:383-383). An example is currently held in the Smithsonian’s collection at the National Museum of Natural History.

Corn cultivation by Pamunkey families was no longer practiced by the mid twentieth century for a variety of reasons. There was a lack in the need for corn meal because it was easier and cheaper to purchase it from a store. This actually contributed to the local grist mill's closing. And because raising livestock had fallen out of practice as well, fodder was no longer needed for feed (Ibid; personal communication with Warren Cook, July 7, 2013). Moreover, tribal members used their farmable land to make money in another way; it was (and still is) leased to local farmers who would pay a fee to till and plant the land for their own market benefits⁴³. However, most families continued to plant and harvest small gardens for household use while selling the excess produce for cash. In short, the lifestyle that had supported the need to cultivate corn on a large scale was no longer practiced as the Pamunkey homestead became a less lucrative economic unit, and wage labor became the predominant means through which to earn a living (I discuss this transition in Chapter 7).

Gardening was an additional summer and early fall activity that contributed to the economic survival of the Pamunkey homestead and the families that managed them. Many families tended two gardens (also referred to as "patches") that had specific purposes: one was planted for household use to feed the family, and the other was planted specifically for market purposes (personal

⁴³ A tribal system was developed to organize this activity and it is still practiced today. The Chief and Council must give permission to an individual with a Reservation allotment if they wish to lease their land for farming. Once permission is granted the farmer pays a fee per acre to the individual that resides on the allotment. The Tribe does not make any revenue from this system of leasing farmlands.

communication with Kim Cook Taylor, June 19, 2013; personal communication with Warren Cook July 7, 2013). Pamunkey families grew a wide variety of vegetables ranging from black-eyed peas, potatoes (sweet, and white), green peas, cabbage, watermelon, cantaloupe, turnips, green beans, butter beans and tomatoes (Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6, 1983; Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, June 28, 1985; personal communication with Warren Cook June 20, 2013).

Pamunkey people had various ways of preparing and preserving their garden yields to ensure their families had enough to eat throughout the year, but for winter in particular. For example, the root vegetables including turnips, and potatoes were cooked in “kilns.” Several pits were dug approximately waist deep throughout the yard surrounding the house. The vegetables were placed around a roughly hewed smoke stack situated at the bottom of the pit. Pine needles were piled on top, and the pit was packed over with dirt. They were essentially smoking or slow cooking their root vegetables, and some households would have up to four kilns or smoking pits in the yard (James Page interviewed by Thomas Blumer September 3, 1983). These “kilns”⁴⁴ were also dug in the household yard to act as root cellars to preserve vegetables through to the winter. The pits were lined with straw where melons, potatoes, tomatoes and cabbages were placed and then covered with dirt. This ensured families would have fresh produce to eat for the winter holidays of Thanksgiving and Christmas (personal communication

⁴⁴ It is worth noting that the pit features uncovered during both excavations at the Raymond Bush Site could very likely be remnants of these kilns or root cellars mentioned in these interviews that were then used as refuge pits.

with Kevin Brown, July 24, 2013). Pamunkey women would also can their produce to preserve it for winter consumption. For example, Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook commented that his mother “did a lot of canning, she canned tomatoes and string beans and all the things that were raised in the garden. We always raised a big garden” (Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6, 1983).

Excess produce and produce grown specifically for market were sold in the surrounding area at local stores, and at market in Richmond (Langston, William [81949] SCC Settled Case Files; personal communication with Warren Cook, July 7, 2013). Marketing produce at Richmond's Seventeenth Street Market located on Main St. (in addition to fish, game and furs) was a common practice throughout the nineteenth century and well into the latter half of the twentieth century. In fact, most families raised a garden specifically for market to sell produce in Richmond (personal communication with Kim Cook Taylor, June 19, 2013). During the nineteenth century Pamunkey men were permitted, literally, to bring produce to the Richmond market to sell as long as they had obtained a license for permission to do so. For example, William Wheely stated in his Southern Claims Commission interview that during the Civil War “I got passes to go home from Richmond where I used to go to carry truck to market.” Wives, who aided in selling their goods at market, would often accompany their husbands to Richmond. (Wheely, William [19202] SCC Settled Case Files).

“Carrying truck to market” or “truck farming” referred to the practice of raising produce for sale that was hauled in wagons (and later trucks) to markets located

across the region (personal communication with Kevin Brown, July 24, 2013). Truck farming was commonly practiced until the latter half of the twentieth century. Kim Cook Taylor, a young girl during the 1970s would accompany her grandfather, Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook, on his trips to Shockoe Bottom to sell his produce grown specifically to sell (watermelon for example) at the Seventeenth Street Market (personal communication with Kim Cook Taylor June 19, 2013). Black-eyed peas were also raised for food and money. They were dried at the house and then processed by manually removing the shelling through a makeshift mechanism. The peas were sold at two dollars per bushel during the first decade of the twentieth century (T.D. Cook August 6 1983; Edward Bradby, May 11, 1985)

Even though tending to the vegetable garden was a family affair they were predominately planted by women and children. This division of labor was based on the timing of when seeds needed to be sowed which generally coincided with the start of the shad fishing season where men would be away from home (Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6, 1983). However, immediately prior to the shad season, men would prepare the land for planting. They did not have mechanized farming equipment and in order to till the soil, cultivators were attached to their horses (Bradley, Edward [14976] SCC Settled Case Files; personal communication with Kevin Brown July 24 2013). Importantly, cash was needed to purchase the necessary farming equipment. For example, John Langston's 1846 will listed one plow and three hoes as items of

value. A metal hoe was also excavated from Feature 3 at the Raymond Bush Site.

Interestingly, there were also specific beliefs affiliated with the best time to begin planting one's garden. Edward Bradby stated in his 1983 interview with Thomas Blumer, "There's a lot of people here that would plant butter beans or potatoes only by the moon" (August 6, 1983). Tecumseh Cook's mother, Theodora, also planted based on the cycle of the moon, "she wouldn't think about planting on an increased moon." And she would only "plant by the moon" for certain plants including butterbeans, Irish potatoes, string beans and watermelon. Theodora taught these methods to her son and he remained an avid gardener well into his nineties. Tecumseh claimed that when planting, "I go by the moon. I don't plant nothing that I don't plant on the moon" (interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6, 1983). In fact, his son, Warren Cook, also makes sure he plants by the moon. He fervently explained that "it makes a difference, I forgot to do it and it really makes a difference between what the moon does... [Plants] grow better, if you didn't do it, it wouldn't grow" (personal communication with Warren Cook, June 22, 2015).

In addition to corn cultivation and raising gardens with a variety of vegetables, Pamunkey homesteads also maintained orchards, nut trees and grape arbors for harvesting. For example, orchards included a variety of fruit trees ranging from apples, peaches and pears that were typically located at the back of the main house (personal communications with Warren Cook June 20, 2013, and Layne Cook June 3, 2013). The nut trees harvested by Reservation residents included

pecan, chestnut, and walnut. Walnuts for example were both consumed, and used as a dye (Jack Kremens to Frank Speck July 19, 1940).

Interestingly some homesteads had grape arbors used for the purpose of producing homemade wines/liquors (personal communication with Warren Cook June 20 2013). Grapes, both wild and cultivated, were not the only fruits used for making alcoholic beverages. During his visit to the Reservation in the 1890s anthropologist Albert Gatschet (1893) mentioned the Pamunkey made a fair wine from blackberries and wild grape. It appears Pamunkey people also sold their wines and liquor for profit as well. As mentioned in 1875, "Several of them, with money they received from the Federal Government as compensation for property taken from them by the Federals during the war, started a small store and do retail ardent spirits for which privilege they pay the retail liquor tax" Roger Gregory to William Palmer, August 24, 1875). And in 1903 a Pamunkey man was arrested for illegally selling alcohol on Sunday, "Ezekiel Langston, a Pamunkey Indian, was sentenced in Portsmouth yesterday to pay a fine of \$100 and go to jail for fifteen days for selling liquor on Sunday" (*Virginia*. The Washington Post, September 11, 1903).

Raising livestock such as cows, hogs, chickens, and horses also comprised a central component of a functioning Pamunkey homestead that would not have been possible if Pamunkey families did not have the cash needed to purchase these animals ⁴⁵. On average for example each homestead housed

⁴⁵ The averages and approximate ranges pertaining to livestock numbers per Pamunkey household were compiled from the lists of property conscripted by the

approximately sixteen chickens, but their numbers ranged from twelve to twenty-four. The leading purpose for raising chickens, while occasionally butchered and consumed, was for laying eggs. Horses were used for various labor purposes, most notably for plowing farmland, but also for transportation. Each family typically had at least one horse and spring wagon, referred to locally as horse and buggy (Southern Claims Commission Settled Case, Box 371 [Pamunkey Indian Claims], National Archives). Spring wagons were four wheeled vehicles with a square box that had two to four removable seats. They were popular throughout the nineteenth century among rural farmers for transporting passengers and or goods. Horse and buggy was the predominant means through which Pamunkey people traveled within the surrounding region before the railroad was constructed. This transportation method was employed by Pamunkey people up until the early 1940s as several elder tribal members from my grandfather's generation were children at this time and have distinct memories of traveling the region via horse and buggy (personal communication with Warren Cook June 20, 2013; Joyce Krigsvold June 20, 2013)

Each homestead had on average five hogs, but their numbers ranged from between three and eight. Pamunkey families butchered their own hogs to produce bacon and hams smoked in their kitchens or in separate smoke houses (Langston, William [81949] SCC Settled Case Files). Edward Bradby commented

Union Army throughout the Civil War provided by Pamunkey claimants applying for compensation from the Southern Claims Commission (SCC). While not all Reservation households are represented in the twenty-two household claims, given their relative similarity, I argue they are representative of the majority of homesteads that comprised the Reservation during the mid-nineteenth century.

that “in those days, we made our own lard... and our own ham and sold it, and everything was salted and hung up in the smoke house and was smoked with hickory wood” (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer May 10, 1985). They would even can the pig meat. Sausages were smoked, then cooked, and canned for later consumption during winter months (personal communication with Warren Cook, June 20, 2013).

The number of dairy cows used to produce milk and butter ranged from one to three cows per household. As Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook remembered during his childhood,

“We always had as many as three cows. And they give milk and butter and I had to do the milking. And the very interesting thing about the milk was the churning. She [his mother, Theodora] never would churn butter, only on a rising tide. She’d send me to the river and find out whether the tide is coming in or going out. And if I came back and tell her, says the tide is going, she said, ‘well, we’ll hold up on the churning...’ And then the tide started to come in again, she said, ‘okay churn’, then I had to get that old churn, you know, churn, and churn and the butter would come real quick. But otherwise, the tide was going out, you churn yourself to death to get the butter” (Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6, 1983).

Interestingly, everyone’s cows, pigs and horses were branded with a specific symbol that marked the owner. Because these animals were often left to freely range on the Reservation, it was important to have a system to identify their owners. To keep track of the various markings, the symbol for each owner was recorded in the “Reservation Book” (Pamunkey Indian Tribal Meeting Minutes Ledger No. 2 Sept 17, 1908 entry). The branding system to lesson confusion over ownership demonstrates the value these animals had as important household and economic investments for Pamunkey families. This value is also

observed in the SCC lists of conscripted property, and in the 1846 Will and Testament of John Langston that listed one calf, one heifer and one mare (Last Will and Testament of John Langston, [15145] SCC Settled Case Files). Union veteran and SCC claimant, Terrill Bradby, listed the worth of the cow conscripted from his property in 1862 at twenty dollars (Bradby, Terrell [6306] SCC Settled Case Files). And Thomas Bradby, employed as a pilot for Colonel Ingalls under General McClellan's Army of the Potomac in 1862 listed the three hogs conscripted from his property at ten dollars apiece (Bradby, Thomas [15142] SCC Settled Case Files). Not only did the animals cost money to purchase, but the materials needed to shelter and harness them had to be purchased as well. Some of these implements, including fragments of a horse bit and bridle, were uncovered at the Raymond Bush Site.

Consumption, consumer choices, subsistence, cash earning practices, and daily life all intersected and intertwined in interesting and complicated ways within the context of the Pamunkey homestead. The examples presented in this chapter demonstrate that Pamunkey families had the means and ability to produce almost everything needed on a day to day basis to run both the household and farm units of their family homesteads. Whatever they could not use, they would sell for cash. In addition to earning cash, Pamunkey people would also trade and barter with household produced items such as butter, eggs, and corn, in exchange for items such as sugar, and coffee (personal communication with Warren Cook June 20, 2013; July 7, 2013). The materials needed that could not be produced on site, they would purchase with the cash

earned from engaging the market economies tied to industries affiliated with traditional subsistence practices and supplemental wage labor. Importantly, tribal members argued that earning cash to purchase the supplies necessary to practice traditional subsistence activities was one of the primary forces behind the continuity of those practices. Without the cash needed to purchase essential supplies these practices would not have survived.

Managing a homestead on the Reservation like the ones depicted above remained relatively unchanged through the first decades of the twentieth century. However, by the first half of the twentieth century county roads were improved and more tribal members were able to purchase vehicles. These factors provided easier and more immediate access for tribal members to travel to places like West Point or Tappahannock. This enabled Reservation residents to purchase many of the items they once produced at their Reservation homesteads. As Edward Bradby recalled, “we had cows up until 1930, something like that. But after that we didn’t have any more cows. When the roads got so that you could go to the giant stores and buy milk or buy anything that you want, by then, that’s when everything changed. We don’t need horses, we don’t need cows” (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer September 3, 1983).

The purpose in briefly highlighting Pamunkey consumption was to provide a glimpse into the consumer choices of Pamunkey tribal members, and the complex relationship they had with the capitalist economy. Pamunkey consumer choices contributed to the efficient and effective running of the Pamunkey homestead. They also encouraged the continuation of traditional economic

practices allowing the Pamunkey to creatively negotiate the market economy paving the road for community and cultural persistence. It is important to view consumer choices through the lens of cultural and community preferences rather than through blind acceptance of the outside economic world and the goods it provided, even though those choices were limited and constrained by the dominant society, (Silliman 2011). By highlighting the consumer choices made by Pamunkey people, and the role they played in supporting their family homesteads, we observe Pamunkey economic life as a consistent and balanced feedback loop that supported survival and persistence through compromise, agency, tradition, adoption and adaptation.

However, Pamunkey people also recognize engaging the market economy “brought more of the outside world in and part of the reason a lot of people left the Reservation was to go make more money and then they moved up north to make money and to get away from the prejudice down here” (personal communication with Layne Cook June 3, 2013). Layne Cook’s statement pushes us to think about the ways Pamunkey people engaged the market economy not just in terms of their knowledge of the Reservation landscape, but how this knowledge was used for wage labor opportunities off the Reservation. In the following chapter I discuss the various ways Pamunkey people, men in particular, engaged the cash economy off the Reservation during the nineteenth century. To earn supplemental cash Pamunkey men worked the waterways of Virginia and the country’s eastern seaboard or resided for periods of time in urban centers including Richmond and Petersburg. These wage labor opportunities were

seasonally engaged, and the cash income they provided supplemented the traditional subsistence practices on the Reservation.

Chapter 6: Wage Labor and the Pamunkey Economy

Chapters Three, Four, and Five focused on the intersections between the Pamunkey community's traditional subsistence practices, market engagement, Reservation homestead economy, and consumer practices. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the role wage labor played in shaping the economic life of Pamunkey people off and on the Reservation. However, few studies of Native American economic life have focused on Native people's participation in wage labor even though it has been essential to the survival of Indigenous individuals and communities (Littlefield and Knack 1996; Homser et. al. 2004; Hosmer 1999). Some scholars that have touched on issues of Indian labor have concluded that it was of little importance or consequence to the development of the North American economy (Cornell 1988; Jacobson 1984; Snipp 1986). A common assumption being that Indian people were "unable to meet the rapidly expanding labor needs of the burgeoning capitalist economy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and their labor therefore lacked economic or political significance" (Littlefield and Knack 1996:5).

While prominent narratives of Indian participation in wage labor have prevailed, these existing studies do not adequately describe the Pamunkey experience. Participation is predominately treated as a twentieth century development resulting from New Deal reforms, migrations in response to labor demands of World War II, and Federal Indian policies related to termination and relocation. Assumptions and dominant narratives addressing Native engagement

in labor opportunities exist within archaeological research as well. As archaeologist Kent Lightfoot eloquently stated,

“While there is a plethora of excellent studies on the archaeology of urbanism and capitalism, immigrant communities, and ranching and mining technology in the Western United States, Indian peoples comprise only a minor component of this research, if they are present at all. In contrast to the wealth of information on indigenous encounters with European explorers and colonists, Native people essentially disappear from the archaeological literature with the advent of American colonialism” (Lightfoot 2006:282).

This trend is apparent in Virginia, as the overwhelming majority of scholarship addressing Indigenous history in the state does not extend beyond the seventeenth century.

Silences on the significance of Native wage labor participation have been underscored by the restrictive definition of Native economics as an issue of natural resources extracted from the land (Littlefield and Knack 1996:4). While land issues are extremely important to understanding Native economic experiences, as I demonstrate with this dissertation, Indigenous people also possessed an additional resource, their labor, that was marketed in ways to advantage their families and communities. Thus I join scholars (Silliman 2010, 2011; Lightfoot 2006; Littlefield and Knack 1996; Homser et. al. 2004 etc.) in challenging such dismissive narratives to provide an example of wage labor participation among Pamunkey individuals that was critical to the economic, social, and political lives of the Pamunkey community during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Extending beyond the comprehensive examination of Pamunkey economic life on the Reservation during the nineteenth century, this chapter highlights the

wage labor opportunities Pamunkey people engaged beyond the Reservation's boundaries. Despite its rural location, the Reservation community experienced the ebb and flow of larger and wider events of the outside world that impacted Pamunkey people and the Reservation landscape. Like the river's course that has slowly, but steadily changed over thousands of years, so too has the Pamunkey community. Pamunkey people responded to the changing world around them in ways that made sense within their systems of knowledge. Those responses were, and still are, defined by the land upon which they live, and the river that surrounds them. Combining factors of an increased need to engage the cash economy, the rise of Jim Crow and the Eugenics Movement, environmental changes, and changing tastes in consumer choices, emboldened tribal members to seek economic opportunity outside of the Reservation's boundaries. Importantly, these off-Reservation jobs located in city centers along the East Coast incorporated knowledge of the traditional subsistence practices Pamunkey people acquired throughout their the lifetime as Reservation residents.

Documentary and oral history evidence reveal the Pamunkey economy throughout the nineteenth century was based on a migratory seasonal round. Pamunkey people, predominantly men, would leave the Reservation to work in urban centers as wage laborers. They would return to their homes for the majority of the year to engage seasonal subsistence practices that included shad fishing, farming, trapping, and guiding. These Reservation- based subsistence practices provided the predominant means through which Pamunkey people developed, maintained, and sustained their families and homesteads. The cash

earned by Pamunkey men as seasonal wage laborers supplemented the money and sustenance acquired through those practices. One 1895 newspaper account reported, “not one of them will establish for himself a home outside of the reservation. He is too loyal to do that. He retains his little cottage and plot for his family and most of them manage to spend at least the winter months in [Indian] town” (Indians at Fort Hamilton. *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*. May 5 1895).

As discussed in Chapter Three, Pamunkey men would follow the shad run to fish the major river systems from Florida to New York. Thus I return to the 1903 Washington Post article on Pamunkey watermen:

“The fishermen who are engaged in supplying the Boston, Providence, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington and Norfolk markets with fish, oysters, crabs and clams and who are always much in evidence on the local wharf, are, without doubt, as interesting a class of men as one will encounter in the length and breadth of North America. It is surprising the long distances these men travel in order to participate in certain kinds of fishing and the following story is a good illustration. Some years ago one of the government ethnologists made a journey to the swampy tidewater country about Norfolk, Va. to visit the remnant of the Pamunkey Indians living therein. The Pamunkeys are largely mixed with the whites, and are for the most part fishermen and duck hunters. Once among the Pamunkeys the ethnologist felt that he was indeed among a primitive people. When in talking with a rather bright and intelligent member of the tribe he was surprised to find that Mr. Pamunkey seemed to know as much about Washington, New York, and Boston as he did. The ethnologist wanted to know how he came by such knowledge, and when had visited these great cities. The Pamunkey thus addressed replied, that there was a certain kind of fishing in Long Island Sound and the Chesapeake, which, in certain seasons, he and others of the tribe found very profitable. In fact, his people had been engaged in this fishery for years, numbers of them going every year to Long Island Sounds to ply a craft as old as their ancestors, the Powhatans. This, then, was how he came to be familiar with this and the other great Eastern cities” (Demand for Sea Food: Fishermen Get Good Prices for their Catches this Year. Washington Post August 24, 1903).

The waterway-based labor that Pamunkey men engaged along their fishing and market routes reveals the practice of fishing was fundamental to also

establishing wage labor opportunities and connections to the eastern cities listed above. Because Pamunkey men had long standing economic and market relationships with these urban centers, they too were chosen as ideal places to engage wage labor. Pamunkey men who worked in these cities also attracted other community members to come work as they provided both familiarity and connections to potential job opportunities. Kinship relationships were not only important to the organization and demarcation of practices and spaces on the Reservation. They were also important to engaging wage labor markets in the cities of the Eastern Seaboard. In addition to being hired for their knowledge and expertise of navigating and working riverine environments, the Pamunkey obtained jobs through kin/community connections. In some instances, as we will observe in the Philadelphia example (Chapter Seven), Pamunkey people recreated and established community and kin relationships within these cities.

These off Reservation economic activities practiced by the Pamunkey during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries invoked the knowledge of the Reservation landscape that was essential to their upbringing as tribal members and Reservation residents. This relationship to the Reservation landscape, specifically knowledge of working the river, was crucial for Pamunkey people to engage and intercept markets located well beyond King William County in places like New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Washington D.C., and Petersburg, Richmond, and Norfolk in Virginia.

Those who moved off the Reservation to find work, but did not engage in landscape related wage-labor⁴⁶ returned to the Reservation to engage in seasonal subsistence practices. Shad fishing was the dominant practice that drew Pamunkey men to return. If they were unable to come home for shad fishing, tribal members came regularly to visit their families, and frequently sent portions of their wages back home to help support parents and siblings. Place-making, and tribal members' sense of place, generated through a lifetime spent on the Reservation, did not stop or end with the Reservation landscape. Creating a place for themselves, and a sense of community that place-making can engender, was formed within the urban spaces frequented by Pamunkey people. Pamunkey kin settled in the same neighborhood, attended the same church, and were employed together. These shared circumstances created a sense of community that was reinforced with frequent visits to the Reservation, which remained the social and familial core of the Pamunkey community.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ This pattern picks up speed at the turn of the twentieth century and becomes the norm following the Second World War; I discuss this transitional pattern in Chapter 7.

⁴⁷ It is important to note that the predominant focus of this dissertation research has been to document the economic practices on the Pamunkey Indian Reservation throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In recognizing that off-Reservation seasonal wage labor was a part of this economy, I do attempt to provide an overview of those off-Reservation labor practices engaged by Pamunkey men. However, I have barely skimmed the surface, as there is great potential for extensive research on this topic, particularly the work engaged by Pamunkey people in Petersburg, Richmond, and Philadelphia. I plan to expand this research in the future to obtain a more comprehensive study of Pamunkey economic practices experienced off the Reservation.

Wage Labor on the Water

The most popular form of wage labor engaged by Pamunkey men throughout the nineteenth century took place on the waterways of Virginia and the Eastern Seaboard. The term “sailor” was frequently used to describe Pamunkey men who worked the rivers. For example, Civil War veteran Terrill Bradby commented in his 1871 interview with the Southern Claims Commission, “When the war broke out my sympathies were with the Union cause. I had been a sailor for years out of Northern ports, as a great many of our people were” (Bradby, Terrill [6306] SCC Settle Case Files). This would have likely placed Bradby and other Pamunkey men in this type of service during the 1850s and earlier. In fact, the decennial census (1850) lists several Pamunkey men as sailors under the column for “Profession, Occupation or Trade.” These same men are not listed as having owned any real estate. This trend points to their probable residency on the Reservation and to this work having a seasonal component. While the census does not list where their occupation as sailors took place, they were most likely hired seasonally, finding work in the North as mentioned by Bradby and newspaper sources. They could have also worked locally given that the Pamunkey River was a “commercially active waterway during this time boasting commercial docks in close proximity to the Reservation at White House, Cumberland, and Smith’s Ferry” (Pamunkey Petition for Federal Acknowledgement: Narrative 2010, Chapter 9 pg. 6).

The most notorious work on the waterways took place during the Civil War when the Union army recruited Pamunkey men as scouts and gunboat pilots to

navigate the James, York, Pamunkey, and Mattaponi Rivers (Hauptman 1995; Cook, Caroline [21816] SCC Settled Case Files). Up to fourteen Pamunkey men served the Union in various forms under the Quarter Masters Department or Navy as sailors, boat pilots, land and water scouts and even as spies under Allan Pinkerton's Union Intelligence Service (Bradby Terrill [6306] SCC Settled Case Files). Bradby was the most storied tribal member to join the Union and he described his military service to the Southern Claims Commissioner in charge of his case file:

"My first military [service] was as a land guide and servant under General McClellan, ... Army of the Potomac. I enlisted May the 24th 1862 and I served as a land guide and scout for General McClellan until the 26th of July. Then I enlisted under Major Allan [Pinkerton] commanding the secret services. After that I was transferred from the land to the water under General Ingall's Chief Quartermaster General of the Army of the Potomac... I stayed in his employment from the 6 of July until the next May. Then I was transferred under General Witten's command. I went and took charge of the Gunboat Meredith Briggs, her name was. The Captain was John Lee of New York. My fleet was called General Witten's Fleet of the James River Flotella. I served there until May 1863 and then I enlisted in the U.S. Navy and received my appointment from Gideon Welles as a second class Pilot and served until the war was over" (Bradby Terrill [6306] SCC Settled Case Files).

Bradby's military record on land and water demonstrates the intimate knowledge he and other Pamunkey had of the Reservation landscape. His record also highlights Pamunkey people's ability to market themselves as expert watermen and land guides--skills that were based on generations of knowledge and a lifetime of experience that were employed to earn cash well beyond the Reservation.

Interestingly, some of the men who served as pilots during the Civil War were arrested by Union officers when netting for shad on the Pamunkey River.

Holt Langston explained, “In 1862 while fishing in the Pamunkey River I was arrested by four Union soldiers belonging to Gen. McClellan’s army and kept three days fishing for them and kept me under guard by order of the Captain everyday” (Langston, Holt [15144] SCC Settled Case Files). Witnessing Pamunkey men’s skill on the water may have provided the incentive for Union officers to recruit them as sailors and pilots. Importantly, those water and landed skills did not go unnoticed by the Confederates or by their sympathizers that resided in King William County and surrounded the Reservation. As reported by the Richmond Daily Dispatch in 1862 from the Confederacy’s capitol, “We learn that the Yankees, while operating on line of the Pamunky [sic] and Chick [ahominy] rivers, received much assistance and information from the Indian tribe in King William, who are familiar with every inch of the country, and therefore expert guides.”

In addition to piloting gunboats for the Union during the Civil War, Pamunkey men were also hired to guide and pilot the commercial barges that traversed the Pamunkey River, other Virginia rivers, and waterways in New York. As mentioned in an 1895 article, Pamunkey men were “...employed in service as boatmen on steamers plying the Virginia Rivers...” (*Wholesale Matrimony: Between the Pamunkey and the Eastern Cherokee*. The Sun, April 21 1895). They were hired to pilot barges and vessels that carried lumber, corn, and passengers. Edward Bradby, whose father James Brady was a seasoned boat pilot, explained that Pamunkey men were sought after for these jobs because one had to know the river channel in order to successfully direct the vessels. No

one knew the intricacies and complexities associated with river navigation better than Pamunkey men. The barges came out of Philadelphia, and traveled as far north as Maine (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6, and May 11, 1985). Russell Bradby, the youngest of James' children, remembered his father was hired to guide the barge that carried cans for the canning factory located approximately one mile from Lestor Manor. His father would receive four to five dollars for the job. Russell explained that James "would tie his boat to the barge and board the barge. He would man the tugboat wheel to guide it into the fair pass [channel]" (Russell Bradby interviewed by John Moore, June 2, 2006).

During the late nineteenth century James Bradby also worked in New York as a pilot for the Fall River Line on the barge *Three Masters* (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6, and May 11, 1985). The Fall River Line was a combination steamboat and railroad connection between New York City and Boston that operated a fleet of steamships for passengers and freight services from 1847 to 1937 (Phillips 1944:78). Evans Bradby (most likely a relative of James and a reason to why they both worked for the same company) also lived and worked in New York as an employee of the Fall River Line. And while his life ended tragically⁴⁸ Evans was promoted by the company and earned

⁴⁸ According to the Richmond Times Dispatch 1902 article that reported his death, Evans Bradby, while working on the passenger liner, the *Priscilla*, began a relationship with the white daughter of the luxury liner's chief engineer. When she stopped returning his letters he became unstable and turned to petty crime for which he was arrested and was in the process of being sent to jail (he was charged with the theft of a woman's purse). However, and very interestingly, Harriett Maxwell Converse, a Six Nations political advocate, personal friend to Ely Parker, and Seneca Nation adoptee, intercepted on Evans' behalf to argue

a well-respected position. By 1902 he was serving as the assistant steward on the *Priscilla*, one of the Fall River Line's most luxurious passenger liners. *Priscilla* was launched in 1894, and at the time, was the largest side-wheeler afloat, capable of accommodating 1,500 passengers. (Phillips 1944:181). The Richmond Times Dispatch reported in 1902:

"It was about a year ago when ambition burned in the breast of the young Indian [Evans Bradby], and caused him to leave the reservation at White House, in King William County, to seek his fortune in the great world. He went to New York. He was so handsome and so courteous in his ways that he quickly found employment with the Fall River Line, and won rapid promotion until he reached the position of assistant steward of the *Priscilla* vessel on which he worked" (*Virginia Indian Who Loved White Maiden: His Love Was Returned, Then Rejected and Yesterday he Died in New York a Lunatic – Full Blooded Indian*. The Richmond Dispatch May 30, 1902).

In addition to Pamunkey men traveling seasonally throughout Virginia and along the East Coast, there appears to have been individuals who took up residence in central and coastal cities in Virginia for certain periods of time. They engaged in both water-based employment and various forms of available wage labor that ranged from factory work, to retail jobs, small business management and even theatrical performance. During the middle to latter half of the nineteenth century there were several Pamunkey families and individuals residing in the City of Petersburg's East Ward, also referred to as Pocahontas Island. The town of Pocahontas (which was legislatively united with the City of Petersburg in 1784)

he should not be sent to prison on account he was mentally unstable. Due to her "proof that Evans was demented," he was instead admitted to the Insane Pavilion at Bellevue Hospital. He died soon after he was admitted, but unfortunately there is no mention of his exact cause of death (*Virginia Indian Who Loved White Maiden: His Love Was Returned, Then Rejected and Yesterday he Died in New York a Lunatic – Full Blooded Indian*. The Richmond Dispatch May 30, 1902).

was first laid out in 1749, and was originally frequented by a predominantly white demographic (Nelville and Salmon 2006). Eventually by the first half of the nineteenth century, population demographics had shifted to a community comprised of predominantly African Americans and other peoples of color (Ibid).

Petersburg was a thriving inland port during this time and played a vital role in commerce and trade within the region (Scott and Wyatt 1960). Given the riverine setting of Petersburg, its success as a commercial port, and Pocahontas' welcoming demographics as a community of people of color, it no doubt would have attracted Pamunkey families. Incentive was ample for Pamunkey men to reside in Petersburg with their families given the opportunities to work as watermen fishing for market or working the waterways as boatmen and sailors. For example, the 1860, 1870, and 1880 United States censuses recording East Ward residents reveal the dominant occupations for men were related to the water. The occupations listed included "Master of Schooner," "Sailor," and "Fisherman." (U.S. Census, 1860, 1870, 1880 Virginia, Schedule of Inhabitants, Dinwiddie County)

The 1860 census in particular lists two Pamunkey families both with the last name Dennis. John and Thomas Dennis (Thomas is my great, great, great grandfather) were brothers, both married with children, and the occupation recorded for both was "Sailor." Both families also appeared to have been either neighbors or closely located to one another as they are listed correspondingly in the 1860, 1870, and 1880 censuses. In 1865 John Dennis purchased and resided with his family at lots no. 40, 41, and 42 located on Pocahontas Island

(Lavinia Sampson vs. ADMR of John S Dennis Petersburg Court Records Chancery Causes 1869). Interestingly, John Dennis was able to purchase these lots with help from another Pamunkey Indian, Lavinia Sampson, who loaned him fifty dollars for the purchase of property (Ibid). Unfortunately, John passed away in 1867 before he could repay his debt to Sampson and a court case followed as she sued the administrator of John's estate for the fifty dollars (Ibid).

Sampson was either a neighbor or living in very close proximity as her household was listed before both Dennis families. The 1860 census recorded Sampson's age at fifty-one years old, and she was listed as the head of household. Her personal estate was recorded at \$100, but the value of her real estate was listed at \$3,400 because she owned several lots at Pocahontas (U.S. Census, 1860, Virginia, Schedule of Inhabitants, Dinwiddie County, pp. 235; Nelville and Salmon 2006). In 1853 she purchased the northern half of Lot 29 on Pocahontas Island, which was her place of residence when the U.S. Census recorded her household in 1860. In 1862, wishing to own the entire property, Sampson purchased the southern portion of the lot containing the other end of the brick house in which she lived.

Lavinia Sampson as a Pamunkey woman provides an interesting snapshot into an economic endeavor that was rare for women in general, let alone an Indigenous woman, to engage in during the nineteenth century. If we look closely at the 1860 census listing for her household there are four additional people recorded, all with different last names. Elizabeth Graves, a thirteen-year-old mulatto, lived in the house, as did a seventeen-year-old mulatto sailor named

Major T. Duncan. The other individuals listed were John O. Tyree, a white fifty-three year old master of schooner, and Edward Stevens, a forty-five year old African American sailor. It appears Sampson was managing a boarding house from her own residence. Given the other properties she owned on the island that equaled \$3,400 worth of real estate, she could have been landlord to several other tenants as well. Interestingly, Pamunkey women owning and managing boarding houses appears to be a small, but evident pattern well into the first half of the twentieth century. I discuss this unique pattern in more detail in Chapter Seven.

Sampson remained in Petersburg until her death in 1877 (Nelville and Salmon 2006). By the 1880s it appears Thomas Dennis was no longer living, but his son, John T. Dennis, now an adult, followed in his father's footsteps working the water as a fisherman (U.S. Census, 1880, Virginia, Schedule of Inhabitants, Dinwiddie County). During the 1880s several members of the Dennis family moved from Petersburg to the Reservation. For example, Theodora Dennis (daughter of Thomas and Kezziah Dennis) married George Major Cook in 1887, and they both resided on the Reservation until their deaths.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ It is important to note that the race of these Pamunkey individuals residing in Petersburg is not listed consistently between the 1860, 1870, and 1880 censuses. For example, both Dennis families, and Lavinia Sampson are listed as mulatto in the 1860 census. The 1870 census then lists the same two Dennis families as Indian. However, the 1880 census that only lists the wives and children of both Dennis families (John Dennis died in 1867 and presumably the other brother, Thomas, had passed as well) describes one Dennis family as mulatto, and the other as Indian. Thus it would be difficult for other researchers not intimately familiar with the popular surnames of Pamunkey people to tease out Pamunkey or other Indian families that were residing in Petersburg

In addition to Petersburg, there are brief references pointing to the possibility of Pamunkeys living and working in and around the Portsmouth/Norfolk area. For example, Albert Gatschet's 1893 field notes mention that twenty or thirty Pamunkey people were potentially residing in the area (Gatschet, Albert S. Manuscripts 1893, Pamunkey notebook). Given that the Portsmouth/Norfolk area boasts a long and prominent history of commercial enterprise made possible through the presence of various ports with immediate access to the waterway, Pamunkey residency there would not be surprising. Gatschet's reference takes us back to the 1903 Washington Post article quoted earlier that mentions the Pamunkey community supplying the Norfolk markets with fish and other estuarine foods.

In recognizing the presence of a prominent number of Indian residents, the legislative officials of Norfolk County between 1833 and 1860 took it upon themselves to issue and grant certificates to "the descendants of Indians and other persons of mixed blood, who are not free negroes or mulattoes, in like manner as certificates of freedom are granted to free negroes and mulattoes, which certificates shall exempt such persons from the penalties in force against free negroes and mulattoes" (Norfolk County [Va.] Free Negro and Slave Records, 1718-1862). For example, the Norfolk County Register of Free Negroes

throughout the nineteenth century. I would also like to mention that the Dennis families and Lavinia Sampson are just the beginning to exposing the nineteenth century Pamunkey presence in Petersburg. There is extensive research potential on this subject, as I have documented evidence that several other Pamunkey people were living, working, and attending church in the city throughout the nineteenth century.

and Mulattoes from 1809 to 1861 lists several individuals and families with the popular Pamunkey surnames of Cook, Miles, and Collins as being of Indian descent (Ibid, 1809-1861). Moreover, they are listed among other individuals of Indian descent with known Virginia Indian surnames including Bass, Newton, and Turner that frequent the Nansemond, Patawomeck, and Nottaway communities. Given the preliminary and brief evidence provided, there is a strong probability that Norfolk County, like that of Pocahontas Island, provided a somewhat insulated enclave for people of color looking for a safe place to engage social and economic opportunities.

Other forms of Wage Labor

The predominate form of supplemental wage labor throughout the nineteenth century centered around Pamunkey men's familiarity and expert skills traversing and working the waterways of Virginia and the Eastern Seaboard. However, forms of wage labor engaged by Pamunkey men, and more increasingly, Pamunkey women, at the turn of the twentieth century shifted to a variety of occupations. They included various forms of factory work, business management, retail employment, and even theatrical performance. At the turn of the twentieth century Pamunkey wage laborers shifted their focus of economic engagement from Petersburg to the city of Richmond. Engaging wage labor opportunities in Richmond during this time was still based on migratory movements between the city and Reservation. However, during the first decades of the twentieth century we can observe the beginnings of an economic transition among the Pamunkey. This transition was characterized by a new emphasis on

wage labor engagement that eclipsed the traditional subsistence practices based in the Reservation landscape.

Performance was undoubtedly one of the more interesting methods through which Pamunkey people earned money. Several Pamunkey tribal members along with members from the Mattaponi and Tuscarora communities formed a traveling performance troupe known as the Pamunkey Players.⁵⁰ (See Figure 6-1) The group began performing during the 1880s and their performances included cultural demonstrations and reenactments of historical events related to

Pamunkey history that were discernable to the general public. As demonstrated in Figure 6-2, a typical show included performances of the Green Corn Dance, a Pamunkey Indian

Marriage,



Figure 6-1. Pamunkey Players ca. 1880s. Courtesy of the Smithsonian National Anthropological Archives

⁵⁰ The Tuscarora component to the Pamunkey Players is an interesting one. The Tuscarora and Pamunkey mostly became acquainted during the eighteenth century when both communities served as tributaries to the colony, and both sent boys to be educated at the College of William and Mary's Brafferton Indian School. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries several Tuscarora men resided on the Reservation and even married Pamunkey women. The most infamous of them being Peter Cusick who was known among the Reservation residents as Dr. Ioma. He was reputed to be an "herb doctor." (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, June 28, 1985).

Snake Dance, War Dance, and the most popular performance, a reenactment of Pocahontas saving the life of Captain John Smith (*Notice! Powhatan's Pamunkey Indian Braves Will Perform*, 1898). They earned cash with these performances by charging an admission fee or earning a percentage of the admission fee for shows performed at particular venues (Ibid; *May Exhibit the Pamunkey Indians: Fast Disappearing Tribe in Virginia is very Enlightened and Resourceful*,

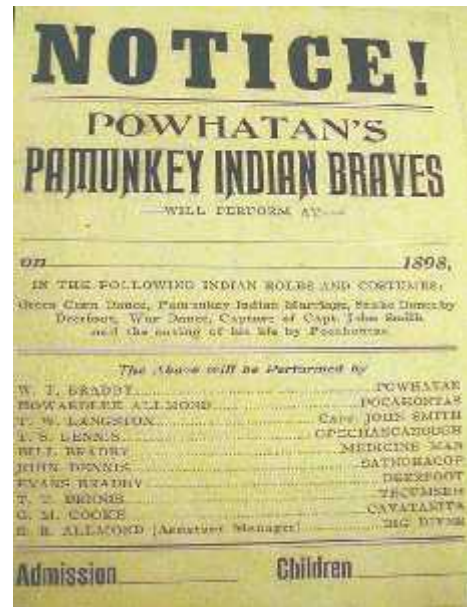


Figure 6-2. Pamunkey Players Playbill, 1898. Courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives.

The Philadelphia Inquirer, January 8, 1906). As one observer reported,

“In times of carnival and State fair, shrewd managers engage these people to go en masse and become one of the many side shows and not one of the side shows is more popular. These managers pay the Indians a small percentage of door receipts. They dress in approved costumes, with paint, beads, feathers, etc. and show off their tomahawks, moccasins, pipes-of-peace, bows and arrows. After showing them as Indians in their varied roles of kindling fires from flint and tinder, giving blood curdling war-whoops, dancing the war dance, green corn dance, harvest dance and other contortions and races, they impersonate in a most realistic manner ‘The Rescue of Captain John Smith by Pocahontas’” (*May Exhibit the Pamunkey Indians Fast Disappearing Tribe in Virginia is Very Enlightened and Resourceful*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 8, 1906).

The most publicized performance occurred in 1907 (see Figure 6-3) when the Players performed two shows daily at the Jamestown Exposition over a two-week period (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, June 28, 1985). The Players traveled and performed for more than three decades entertaining audiences on the Reservation, in the city of Richmond, and at various locations

throughout Virginia. In fact, plans were made to take the Players on the road and across the Atlantic. In July of 1899 it was reported the tribal government was to send several of its representatives to Richmond, “to make an official call upon Governor Tyler... to have suitable representation at the Paris exposition. They want the state to give them financial aid to enable them to send over a creditable company to produce a play representing the saving of Capt. John Smith’s life by Pocahontas” (*Pamunkeys Want a Sea Trip* Washington D.C. Morning Times, July 6, 1899).



Figure 6-3. Stereoscope card of Pamunkey Players’ reenactment of Pocahontas saving the life of Capt. John Smith at the 1907 Jamestown Exposition. Author’s personal collection.

While the creation of the Pamunkey Players was no doubt an economic endeavor, the troupe and their performances had a clear social and political message. Throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth century the Pamunkey faced constant opposition to their identity as Indian people. This opposition was not complacent; it came with very real, and dire consequences.

Several attempts by King William residents and state officials were made to terminate the Pamunkeys' tribal status and dispossess the community of their Reservation lands. These claims for termination were based on beliefs that the Pamunkey were no longer a "racially pure" or "authentic" Indigenous community, and therefore, no longer had treaty or land rights. Furthermore, at the time the troupe was established, emancipation was only decades old, and support of Jim Crow laws was gaining fervor in the southern United States. Performing as the Pamunkey Players provided a publically safe platform for the Pamunkey to differentiate themselves as being separate from other people of color. It was a reminder to the white public of their legacy as the descendants of Powhatan and Pocahontas.

As tribal member Ken Bradby explained in his 2006 essay, the Pamunkey began these performances "if only to remind white Virginians of the debt they owed to the maiden who saved Jamestown and subsequently Virginia, and to remind them her people remain among them" (*A Comparison of 17th-Century Pocahontas Narratives and the Play by "Powhatan's Pamunkey Indian Braves"*). During a time when the authenticity of Pamunkey people was under constant scrutiny, their performance as the Pamunkey Players legitimized their Native identity to the outside world that had forgotten Indian communities still existed in Virginia. While expressing a Pamunkey identity played a part in the various subsistence practices employed by tribal members for market purposes, the Pamunkey Players demonstrated an overt attempt at expressing their identity as Indian people.

In addition to the unique example of money earned through theatrical performances, there are numerous examples of seasonal wage labor engaged off the water by Pamunkey men in the city of Richmond. During the 1890s, tribal member, Sterling Sampson was employed by the Pennsylvania Railroad during the summer months, but would reside at home on the Reservation during the winter months (*Indians at Fort Hamilton*. Brooklyn Daily Eagle, May 5 1895). It is worth noting that the Pennsylvania Railroad traversed much of the Northeastern Seaboard with major stations in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington D.C., and New York City (Schafer and Solomon 1997). These are places that were frequented by Pamunkey people during the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

By 1900 Sampson also had economic dealings in the city of Richmond as reported in his marriage announcement that same year “he came to Fulton to sell and buy” (White Girl Marries an Indian: Her Parents Made No Objection, and She is Adopted into Pamunkey Tribe. *The Sun*, November 28, 1900). Former Chief, Paul Miles, who became a close informant to anthropologist Frank Speck, was a “motor man” operating trolley cars in Richmond as a young man (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer May 10, 1985). Tribal member, P.S. Dennis, worked alongside a W.E. Stearns “operating the Pamunkey Fish and Oyster Market, at 1245 West Cary Street” (Full Blooded Indian Charged with Theft: James Kelly, Former Carlisle Student, Locked up at First Station, *The Times Dispatch*, August 3, 1914). In the context of this cited reference, the James Kelly (a Kootenai tribal member from Montana) mentioned in the article’s title was a

resident of Fulton, and was a known acquaintance of Dennis'. Dennis most likely lived in the Fulton suburb of Richmond as well, given that several members of the tribe, the Dennis family in particular, resided in the neighborhood throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

Fulton is a Richmond neighborhood located in the city's East End and was originally divided into two communities known as Fulton Hill and Fulton Bottom. Unfortunately, Fulton Bottom, where many Pamunkey families lived during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was a victim of the city's urban renewal initiative that took hold during the 1960s. The neighborhood was completely demolished in the early 1970s. However, during the late nineteenth century and throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Fulton was a thriving working class community and Indian people, not only from Virginia, but also from other tribal communities, frequented Fulton as a popular place to work and live. Fulton being a popular choice for Pamunkey people to work was no mistake, but rather a strategic decision. The neighborhood was adjacent to Rocketts, a once busy inland commercial port during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It boasted a thriving industrial center during the early twentieth century. These culminating factors no doubt attracted Pamunkey wage laborers as it had attracted other people from migrant communities and from other communities of color. Fulton, specifically the area referred to as Fulton Bottom, was particularly attractive to Pamunkey people as a place to live because it was only a short walk to the industrial center of Rocketts where the majority of Pamunkey men worked.

The predominant reason why several Pamunkey men sought paying jobs in this specific community was attributed to the increasing difficulty of finding work in the majority of Richmond's neighborhoods (Grover Miles interviewed by John Moore, June 6 2006). At the turn of the twentieth century Richmond, and the Southern United States in general, became increasingly stringent with enforcing Jim Crow laws. For example, there were several instances where Pamunkey people openly fought the enforcement of the "Epps Bill" that had gone into legal effect on July 1, 1900 relegating people of color to separate railway cars (Jim Crow Car Bill, *Virginia Pilot*, January 27, 1900; Pamunkey Indians Angry: Virginia Tribes Object to Riding in "Jim Crow" Cars. *The New York Times*, July 29, 1900). The tribal government was successful in their coordinated efforts to fight this law. The officials of the Southern Railway Company⁵¹ ruled that Pamunkey tribal members would no longer be forced to ride in the "Jim Crow Cars," and were thus entitled to ride alongside whites (*Indians to Ride with Whites: Pamunkey Tribesmen Will Not Be Forced Into the Jim Crow Cars*. *The Washington Post*, August 21, 1900).

⁵¹ The Southern Railway was used frequently by Pamunkey Indians as it bisects the Reservation, and was the only line available for travel between Richmond and the Reservation. This ruling by the Southern Railway Company, however, did not extend beyond this specific line. Sisters, Betty Cook Allmond and Eleanor Cook Fields, remember when they were young women taking the train frequently between Richmond and Philadelphia. When they attempted to head to the white-only cars, they were told they needed to move to the cars designated for people of color. However, while laughing and giggling, they explained that they pretended not to hear the man, and continued to the white-only cars (personal communication with Warren Cook, Betty Cook Allmond and Eleanor Cook Fields, June 22, 2015).

Unfortunately, Pamunkey people were not as successful in gaining rights to equal access to employment opportunities as there were only a few workplaces in the city that were known to openly hire Indians⁵². Richmond Cedar Works Manufacturing Company was one such place attracting numerous Pamunkey laborers during the first half of the twentieth century. Richmond Cedar Works, first established in 1885, used steam-powered equipment to produce wooden ice cream freezers, buckets, barrels, and decorative woodenware (*Richmond Cedar Works*, Virginia Commonwealth Libraries website). Daisy Stewart Bradby recalled that Cedar Works hired many Pamunkey men, her grandfather and father included. She recalled when she was a very young girl that her and her family lived in Fulton and her father worked at Cedar Works. They only stayed for a short time, about four years, before they returned to the Reservation where she spent the rest of her childhood (Daisy Stewart Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer September 3, 1983).

Tom Dennis was a well-known Pamunkey employee at Cedar Works because he managed a commissary (grocery and lunch room) for the company that was located across the street from the factory (William Dennis interviewed by Thomas Blumer; September 4 1983; Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook interviewed by

⁵² In his interview with John Moore tribal member Grover Miles mentioned that Southern Stove Works was another factory that was known by the Pamunkey to openly hire Indians. More research needs to be conducted on the Pamunkey men employed at Southern Stove Works that operated in various facilities throughout the city from 1880 until 1950 when ownership changed hands and the company was then incorporated as the Southern Steel and Stove Company (Grover Miles interviewed by John Moore June 6 2006; Nelville and Salmon 2007).

Thomas Blumer, August 6 1983). Tom Dennis' son, William, followed in his father's footsteps and began working at the factory at the age of fourteen. He remembered manufacturing wooden ice cream freezers, wooden ice tubs, clothes pins, and mop buckets (William Dennis interviewed by Thomas Blumer, September 4, 1983).

Indian employment at Cedar Works had made the Fulton neighborhood so attractive to Indian families; there were enough children to justify the opening of an Indian school in the community. However, the Indian school in Fulton was not established out of charity or a sense of responsibility to Indian children. Initially, the Indian children living in the neighborhood attended the white Robert Fulton School, but in 1928, the parents of those white students objected to their presence (Lewis Stewart interviewed by John Moore, June 2, 2006; *Indian School in Fulton*. Virginia Department of Historic Resources Highway Marker). The Indian children were moved to a house owned by Richmond City Schools located on Nicholson Street, which was overseen by the same principal who supervised the Robert Fulton School. The Indian school in Fulton housed between eight and ten Pamunkey and Chickahominy students, and it was closed in 1930 when those families moved from the neighborhood (Ibid).

One of those Pamunkey students was Lewis Stewart and he remembered when he and the other Indian children were sent to the Indian School. He explained, "we got chased out of Robert Fulton school and then they made a Indian school up there [Fulton], and after they made the Indian school I went to that school for maybe two, three years" (Lewis Stewart interviewed by John

Moore June 2, 2006). Stewart had an excellent memory and could also recall some of his classmates from the Dennis and Collins families (Lewis Stewart interviewed by Kevin Brown, January 22, 2010). When he finished school, Stewart secured his first job at Cedar Works where he made mop buckets, clothespins, and ice cream freezers (Ibid). He would purchase his meal ticket and would eat frequently at Tom Dennis' commissary across the street from the factory (Ibid).

While the Pamunkey families living and working in Richmond resided there for the majority of the year, their wage labor cycle was still in many ways based on seasonality. Many of the men would return to the Reservation during the shad run, and others would return to work as guides during the hunting season (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, May 10, 1985). For example, John Collins was a Cedar Works employee, but he would return to the Reservation for three months out of the year to work as a guide at Cohoke Club (Ibid). Stewart also spent his childhood and young adult years moving back and forth between Richmond and the Reservation before he joined the Pamunkey community in Philadelphia in 1941. When interviewed for the tribe's petition for Federal Acknowledgement, Stewart mentioned that he attended school at both Fulton and the Reservation. While it is unclear what Stewart's father did for work in Richmond (he most likely worked at Cedar Works as well), he did mention his father was a well-known sora bird guide. Given that Lewis lived with his grandfather when he attended school on the Reservation, it is likely his father would take the family to the Reservation to live with his parents during the fall

months to earn money as a guide “pushing for sora” (Lewis Stewart interviewed by John Moore, June 2, 2006).

It is important to note, the historical papers from the estate of Warren Cook and Dora Cook Bradby held clippings from the Fulton social column published in the *News of Suburbs* section in the Richmond Times Dispatch. Several of the article clippings mentioned family members traveling from the Reservation to visit their relatives living in the neighborhood. They also reported on marriages between Pamunkey people who either lived in Fulton or went to the neighborhood to get married. These newspaper stories, and the fact that Pamunkey people collected them, demonstrate the role kinship and family played in attracting Pamunkey people to seek economic opportunities available to them. Given these kinships ties between the Reservation and Richmond, Pamunkey people developed a familiarity with this part of the city that extended well into the twentieth century.

Like Pocahontas Island, and later, Philadelphia, these references demonstrate Pamunkey people did not typically engage in economic opportunities on an individual basis, but rather did so in reference to kinship and community ties. Importantly, for those that did work and live in city neighborhoods like Fulton, they kept close ties with relatives and friends who lived on the Reservation. These close ties were demonstrated in the collecting of newspaper clippings about Pamunkey relatives, and in the correspondences shared between friends (Debra Martin Historical Papers). They were observed in family returning to the Reservation to fish and guide, and in the gesture of

sending money back to family members still living on the Reservation. Young tribal members sent a portion of their wages to their parents living on the Reservation who were most likely engaging the market through subsistence practices and welcomed the supplemental cash.

In contrast to the factory work of Pamunkey men, it appears working in retail was a popular form of wage labor for Pamunkey women living in Richmond at the turn of the twentieth century. For example, two young Pamunkey sisters, Ruth and Katy Bradby, left the Reservation during the 1910s to work in the city, and lived with their aunt, Louise “Aunt Lou” Bradby. They resided in the city’s East End on a stretch of road (Government Road) that connected the neighborhoods of Churchill and Fulton. Both women worked in the retail business at department stores located on Broad Street in the heart of downtown Richmond. Katy worked in the offices at Miller and Rhodes and Ruth worked the sales floor at Thalhimers (personal communication with Warren Cook, Betty Allmond and Eleanor Fields, June 22, 2015). Unfortunately, Pamunkey women too were not immune to the racist environment of the city. Ruth was ultimately fired from Thalhimer’s on the account of her Indian identity. Her son, Warren Cook, recalls the story of how she was fired. When the wife of a local King William resident went to the department store and recognized Ruth on the sales floor, she “told the manager she wouldn’t come in there no more to buy anything because he had that Indian woman working there. And they fired her” (Ibid).

Tribal member Lula Collins provides another unfortunate example that ultimately had a happy ending. Collins was a seventeen-year-old young

Pamunkey woman who was arrested for allegedly stealing a dress from her employer located at 387 E Leigh Street. While it is unclear as to whether Collins worked as a housekeeper or in a clothing shop, it was reported her earned “wages were five dollars a month and she sent half of that to her mother” (*Indian Raid in Richmond*, 1906, publication unknown, Dora Cook Bradby Historical Papers). Her mother lived on the Reservation, and when the tribal government learned of Collins’ pending imprisonment, Chief George Major Cook went to court to speak on her behalf (Indian Chief Pleads for Girl, *The Washington Post*, February 16, 1906). The tribal government’s efforts to lobby on Collins’ behalf were ultimately successful as she received a full pardon from the governor (*Indians Bring Gifts of Game*, 1906, publication unknown, Dora Cook Bradby Historical Papers).

These examples of Pamunkey women living and working in Richmond demonstrate the vulnerable position in which they could sometimes find themselves as people of color living in a city that was becoming increasingly racially stratified. Collins’ act of sending half her earned wages to help support her mother, and the efforts made by the Chief to support a fellow tribal member, demonstrates the close ties and connection tribal members maintained with their Reservation community and family. These acts reinforced the importance of the tribal community and the Reservation as a familiar and familial place to those who chose to leave the Reservation (or felt they had no other option) to engage more fully as wage labor participants in the market economy. Moreover, these stories echo the racist sentiment prevalent in Richmond at the time, a defining

factor which many elder Pamunkey believe pushed young tribal members to leave the state all together to find work further north in places like Philadelphia.

Examinations of Indian lives on and off reservations have been treated as being isolated and separated from one another, creating a false dichotomy that undermines the complexities of Native peoples' experiences beyond the colonial period. There was a constant interchange of resources, information, and kin relations between reservation and non-reservation locations. Indian workers in the city had close ties to their homelands that reinforced a sense of community, even if many miles separated members of that community (Littlefield and Knack 1996:28). Rather than disrupting Native lifeways and communities, wage labor participation was in many ways instrumental to maintaining a sense of community, and ethnic identity (Peters 1996; Prins 1996).

Pamunkey engagement in wage labor opportunities on the region's waterways and in Virginia cities, including Petersburg and Richmond, was informed by the Reservation landscape. Pamunkey men strategically chose these positions because they were closely tied to the knowledge they had of the Reservation landscape and the Pamunkey River. By the turn of the twentieth century Pamunkey men and women looked to certain neighborhoods in the city of Richmond to engage wage labor opportunities. Men focused on factory work and women worked retail and domestic jobs that were socially acceptable during this time. Continued connections to the Reservation community were observed in the seasonal nature of the jobs and in the actions of tribal members sending wages back to families on the Reservation for their support.

However, as the twentieth century took hold, a younger generation of Pamunkey people placed new emphasis on wage labor engagement that began to eclipse the traditional subsistence practices based in the Reservation landscape. The catalyst for this transition was the migration of several young Pamunkey individuals and families to the city of Philadelphia to find jobs as early as 1914. This migration set in motion a transition that moved focus away from the Reservation landscape as the community's economic core. The subsistence based economy on the Reservation could no longer provide Pamunkey families and households with the economic stability they experienced throughout the nineteenth century, forcing many to leave and find economic security elsewhere. This phenomenon picked up speed following the Second World War as economic engagement off the Reservation provided the only viable means for Pamunkey people to make a living in the modern world. The following chapter considers this transition in detail and reveals the emergence of a Virginia Indian community in the heart of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Chapter 7: The Pamunkey Economy in Transition

Between 1900 and 1980 the American Indian population of the United States underwent significant changes in their residency from rural reservation settings to urban, industrial locations (Littlefield and Knack 1996). Throughout the twentieth century focus shifted from rural employment, characteristic of the nineteenth century, to the urban, industrial, and service sectors (Snipp 1989:83). Importantly, Indian women participated more than ever in the formally recognized labor force (Littlefield and Knack 1996:15). The push to migrate to urban centers in the twentieth century fluctuated, ranging from opportunities created from wars, economic depression, growth and decline of industries, mechanization and shifting federal policies. With this shift, wages and salaries became the major source of income for Native people. In many places Indian employment became significantly urban and became dominate during the industrial boom of World War Two (Littlefield and Knack 1996; Homser 1999). By the 1930s there were small identifiable concentrations of Native people living in cities across the United States.

Like many Indian communities across the country, the Pamunkey were not invulnerable to these societal shifts so they too participated in this Native migration to urban centers for the purpose of finding wage labor opportunities. For much of the nineteenth century, an economic seasonal round characterized the Pamunkey economy on the Reservation. The seasonal round incorporated their knowledge of traditional subsistence practices based in the Reservation landscape that was supplemented by wage labor engaged throughout the

Commonwealth and along the country's eastern coast. However, by the turn of the twentieth century we observe a transition away from the landscape-based economy that had dictated the lives of Pamunkey people for centuries. While the Pamunkey economy was still characterized by a seasonal round of subsistence and cash earning activities, the weight of those practices began to shift. Wage labor jobs became the dominant means through which Pamunkey people earned cash, while subsistence practices based in the land and water became supplemental. This transition moved at an increasingly rapid pace following the Second World War as Pamunkey people increasingly navigated outside of the Reservation to engage the market. This discussion on the twentieth century economic transition is a central component to documenting the history of the Pamunkey Indian Tribe, and could easily serve as an independent research topic. However, I address the transition because not only did it affect the economic practices engaged by Pamunkey people, but also it significantly altered a way of life that had defined the Pamunkey community for over a century.

This transition was also observed in the role the Reservation had once played in providing economic stability for Pamunkey people. The land, its isolated location, and its ability to identify residents as Indians, had provided the community with the ability to have a self-sustaining economic life on the Reservation. However, as wage labor became the predominant means through which to make a living, the Reservation, and all it represented, became a negative force that held community members back from cash earning opportunities. For example, Debra Martin explained that for her mother, the

Reservation “wasn’t a place that she seemed to be particularly proud of coming from, but I understand why just because... it was something to hold you back, you’re Indian... it was something to put behind you because it was just something that set you apart and held you back more than anything” (personal communication August 2, 2013).

This transition towards dependence on wage labor did unfortunately undermine traditional subsistence practices that had come to define Pamunkey economic life in the nineteenth century. The activities of pottery making, hunting, fishing, and trapping became less lucrative, and less economically viable. The decision made by a younger generation of Pamunkey people to become full-time wage laborers was underscored by several factors. Elder tribal members interviewed in the 1980s, whose lifetimes spanned the entire twentieth century, pointed to changes in the environment as being a dominant factor behind this transition. They believed these changes were caused by human interference that negatively impacted the Reservation’s land and water ecosystems. These negative impacts (over-hunting, the introduction of poisonous pesticides, etc.) affected the wildlife populations of fish, fur-bearing animals, and other game that were exploited by the Pamunkey for household and market purposes. With more Pamunkey people engaging the cash economy outside the Reservation for longer periods of time, coupled with the changing landscape, a dynamic force was created that many young Pamunkey people could not afford, literally, to ignore.

Constructing Community in the “City of Brotherly Love”

Migration to the city of Philadelphia was the principal catalyst in the transition away from the landscape-based economy that characterized the Pamunkey economy during the nineteenth century. This migration began as early as 1915, and continued through the Second World War. Approximately forty to fifty Pamunkey people moved to the city of Philadelphia during these decades (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer August 6, 1985). The earliest migrants to Philadelphia were predominantly men as it was harder for women to find jobs. The women that did travel north to work were paid less than their male counterparts, leading many to stay on the Reservation (personal communication with Jeff Brown October 19, 2013 interviewed by author). Pamunkey men worked various jobs in the city to include factory work, carpentry and construction, mechanic or garage work, and on more rare occasions, small business ownership. In fact, one man, Dickie Stewart, established his own moving business and helped many Pamunkey people move to the eastern portion of northern Philadelphia (Elmira Jean Gray interviewed by John Moore May 12, 2010; personal communication with Warren Cook, September 11, 2013).

When they initially arrived to the city, the majority of Pamunkey men worked their first job at Pennsylvania Range Boiler Company located between 2024 and 2026 N. 10th Street (Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry 1920:278). The factory was located only a few blocks from where the majority of Pamunkey people had settled around the 2100 block of N. 8th Street (Elmira Jean Gray interviewed by John Moore, May 12, 2010). The Pamunkey men employed

at the factory labored as welders to produce water heaters (Lewis Stewart interviewed by John Moore, June 6, 2006). When one Pamunkey worker learned that a friend or family member from the community was moving to Philadelphia to find work they would vouch for him. Many siblings worked together at the factory.

More research needs to be conducted to uncover the role Pamunkey women played as wage laborers in Philadelphia. Once the Indian community in the city was established by the 1920s, and with the support of family, it became a more attractive place for Pamunkey women to find work. However, an interesting outlier to the pattern of predominantly male workers in Philadelphia can be observed in the example of Pamunkey woman, Ida Miles. Like the nineteenth century example of Lavinia Sampson in Petersburg, Miles earned an income by running a boarding house in Philadelphia. She frequently boarded young, single Pamunkey men who had recently moved to the city (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, October 6 1985).

All of the Pamunkey people who moved to northern Philadelphia over this thirty-year period lived in the same neighborhood and were either working at the same businesses or doing similar types of jobs. As mentioned, this group of migrant Pamunkey tribal members (and other Virginia Indians as well) all resided in town houses within blocks of one another clustered around the 2100 block of 8th Street, just south of Susquehanna Avenue, the neighborhood's main thoroughfare (Elmira Jean Gray interviewed by John Moore, May 12, 2010). This community of predominantly Pamunkey Indians referred to their area of settlement as the "Indian Village" (Lewis Stewart interviewed by Kevin Brown,

January 22, 2010). The late Lewis Stewart was one of the last tribal members to make the move to Philadelphia. When he arrived there had been an established community of Pamunkey people living in the area for over two decades. He explained that it was “like our Indian Reservation... at eighth and [south of] Susquehanna... Susquehanna was a big street, and everybody worked there...” (Lewis Stewart interviewed by John Moore, June 2, 2006). They also attended church together at Lehigh Baptist Church located at 12th and Lehigh Streets (Ibid).

Lewis’ memories of the “Indian Village” in Philadelphia, as well as the experiences of those discussed subsequently, reveal the importance of community, family, and kinship intimately tied to the movement of Pamunkey people from the Reservation. In addition to the neighborhood being home to many Pamunkey and other Virginia Indian people, it provided a safe haven or cloak of safety. The majority of their neighbors appear to have been immigrants from European countries including Romania, Russia, and Italy. The 1930 census record for the household of Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook⁵³, who labored in the Campbell’s Soup factory at the time, reveals the majority of neighbors were either immigrants, or the children of immigrants from the countries listed above. In fact, some of their Italian neighbors aided Pamunkey people in finding jobs in the city (Elmira Jean Gray interviewed by John More May 12, 2010). This corresponds with the community’s oral history that tribal members chose to pass

⁵³ His household included his wife Ruth Bradby Cook and two daughters, Betty and Eleanor.

as Italian in Philadelphia as they were no doubt still wary of how potential employers would view them if they outwardly identified as Indian people. Tribal member Elmira Jean Gray, whose parents moved to the city in the 1920s, explained that “you didn’t tell people you were Indian,” it wasn’t something shared with people outside their circle of friends, family and kin (Ibid).

Working in an urban environment came with its own set of vulnerabilities that Pamunkey people negotiated with the creation of “Indian Village,” and by hiding their Native identity to ensure Philadelphia provided a safe space for Pamunkey people to live and work. Since, Pamunkey tribal members could not fully express who they were in Philadelphia, the Reservation remained the social core of the Pamunkey community. Tribal members living in the city would return several times a year for both social and economic reasons. Socially, they would return to visit family for the holidays and during the summer. Homecoming hosted by the Pamunkey Indian Baptist Church during August was a particularly popular event that ensured the return of community members who had moved away. Alfred Langston remembers that Homecoming “was like a family reunion... that’s why they called it Homecoming because most everybody... that lived away, came home to the Reservation...” (Interviewed by John Moore, June 7, 2006).

Wage labor was the predominate means through which the generation born around the turn of the twentieth century earned a living. However, they continued to supplement that income through engaging traditional practices affiliated with the Reservation landscape. Edward Bradby, whose brothers and sisters had all lived and worked in Philadelphia, moved to the city around 1920.

Bradby explained that he always kept close ties to the Reservation throughout the five decades he migrated between the Reservation and Pennsylvania. He said, “over the years I came back... in the spring to fish two or three times. I'd come back at hunting season for a week around Thanksgiving. Always came back for a week or so... I always kept my contacts here” (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6, 1983). Bradby would take off during fishing season to follow the shad run with his father, traveling from the Pamunkey River to the Hudson River in New York. Those who were not able to travel home during shad season on the Pamunkey River remained connected with this practice by at least following the shad runs on the Hudson River in New York (Cook, Ottigney Pontiac to George Major Cook, June 20th 1917). They also remained connected by providing money for their families still residing on the Reservation. The parents of this younger generation continued to engage in the economic practices fostered by the Reservation landscape. But they were likely reaching an age where this lifestyle was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain as much of it required demanding physical labor. In a 1917 letter to his father, George Major Cook, Ottigney Pontiac Cook wrote “...enclosed you will find a check for \$75.00, take it to Lestor Manor, have it cashed. You take \$30.00 to pay on a horse, put \$15 on the table if it is needed, and keep the rest for me” (Ibid).

While Pamunkey people were interested in wage labor opportunities, there were several motivating factors that encouraged tribal members to make the move to Philadelphia. As demonstrated in the way Pamunkey people chose to

settle and work in the city, the economic pull to Philadelphia was also entangled with the role Pamunkey kinship played. Witnessing the economic success of their family in the city drew other community members to join them. Importantly, many were compelled to make the journey to escape the racist environment in Richmond that Pamunkey blamed for the lack of job opportunities available to them. Several of the elder Pamunkey tribal members interviewed in the 1980s pointed to racism as the main reason for why they could no longer turn to King William County or Richmond to find decent work.

Tribal member Russell Bradby, who lived and worked in Philadelphia as a young man, claimed he made his decision after he attempted to apply for a job in Richmond. When R. Bradby told the boss he was from the Reservation, he refused to hire him (interviewed by John Moore June 2, 2006). To others, Philadelphia offered opportunities that required more skill and better pay than the manual labor that was more readily available to Pamunkey men. Some of those men argued they were the only jobs offered to them on account of their Indian identity. For example, James Page believed more Indians went to Philadelphia at the turn of the century because it was too hard to get a job due to discrimination as they were offered, in his opinion, only baseless jobs. He recalled, "You could go down there [Philadelphia] and get a job. You go down and asked a guy in West Point about a job and he said he was going to have some woodcutting... Who in the hell wants to cut wood all their life?" (James Page interviewed by Thomas Blumer, September 3, 1983). Tribal member Grover Miles explained it was difficult for Indians to find work in West Point

because businesses were not willing to hire Indian people. The social environment in West Point was just as unfriendly. Miles remembered that at the age of sixteen he tried to go to the carnival in West Point, but he was turned away at the gates. They refused to let him enter knowing he was from the Reservation. Miles also made it a point to mention that the city of Richmond was not much friendlier (Grover Miles interviewed by John Moore, June 6, 2006).

As with many Pamunkey people who experienced racism, these acts that completely disregarded Pamunkey people as equal citizens had lasting impacts on the ways in which they carried themselves beyond Reservation boundaries.

Miles shared:

“As a kid, when I crossed over the tracks you wasn’t considered an Indian and you didn’t really want anybody to know you was an Indian, but people knew it... Then when you go to... a restaurant and things, most of the time you were put out, you was turned down... across the tracks I don’t feel like I’m right. I don’t feel like I’m a person (Ibid).

These examples of racist attitudes and treatment towards Pamunkey people should unfortunately come as no surprise. For centuries, Virginia Indians, African Americans, and other mixed races or people of color endured political, social, and economic marginalization that was enforced by the legal system of the time.

The early twentieth century was no different from the preceding centuries.

However, you have the rise of the Eugenics Movement in the country with Virginia leading the way in creating and implementing eugenic policies.

Pamunkey migration to the north during this time was no coincidence, especially given that the passage of the Racial Integrity Act in 1924, the decade during which a majority of young Pamunkey people moved to Philadelphia.

As the world was becoming increasingly connected, Pamunkey people were drawn into the livelihoods they witnessed could be achieved through engaging more deeply in the capitalist economy. For example, while Miles chose to stay in Virginia, he also chose to engage in predominately wage labor jobs located throughout the county and in the city of Richmond.⁵⁴ He did this specifically to provide for his parents and what he believed was a better quality of life. One goal towards achieving this better quality in their everyday lives was to earn enough money to provide electricity for his parent's Reservation home. "We didn't have electricity in here and I worked enough to save money to put electricity in the house" (Grover Miles interviewed by John Moore, June 6, 2006).

But for most Reservation residents born at the turn of the twentieth century, Philadelphia provided the social and economic climate tribal members' felt was conducive for both living and working. Walter Bradby who began working in Philadelphia in 1915 provides an example of this interest among tribal members to engage in a trade or skill outside of the subsistence practices available on the Reservation. W. Bradby was a student at Carlisle Indian Industrial School from September 1911 through August 1914. Blacksmith was the primary "trade" or skill acquired during his tenure (Walter Bradby Trade

⁵⁴ Grover Miles was born to a younger generation of Reservation residents that did not engage in work in Philadelphia like their parents. The various jobs he worked in King William County were the same ones typically engaged by young Pamunkey people born in the 1920s and 1930s before many of them left the Reservation and the county to find skilled labor opportunities. These included the local apple orchard and tomato factory that hired many young Reservation residents. Miles ultimately moved to Richmond and worked at Reynolds Metals Company and Richardson Lumber Company before he joined the Navy (Grover Miles interviewed by John Moore June 6, 2006).

Record. Walter Bradby Student File, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center). W. Bradby also worked as an assistant to the school engineer learning various skills in addition to blacksmithing that included plumbing, pipefitting, electrical and general repair (H.K.M Supervisor in Charge to John Wanamaker, April 16, 1915. Walter Bradby Student File, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center). In fact, in a letter home to W. Bradby's parents, the "Supervisor in Charge" at Carlisle commented that Bradby "has had excellent training in the work at his trade and I trust he will have an opportunity to go to work for himself without delay. He should not have any difficulty at all about holding a good job in any blacksmithing establishment (H.K.M. Supervisor in Charge to Mr. C.S. Bradby August 11, 1914, Walter Bradby Student File, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center). By April 1915 W. Bradby was living in Philadelphia at 2105 N. Warnock St. This is the same neighborhood, and within walking distance, of the 2100 block of N. 8th St. where the majority of Pamunkey people lived when working in the city. While his exact form of employment in the city is unclear, Bradby did apply for a position with the prominent Philadelphia based retailer, John Wanamaker. However, by 1916 he was living in Wilmington, Delaware and commuting across the Delaware River to work as a pipe fitter in Carneys Point, New Jersey earning \$4.50 a day (Bradby, Walter to Mr. Lipps February 22, 1916. Walter Bradby Student File, National Archives and Records Administration, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center).

Walter Bradby's⁵⁵ experience of acquiring an education beyond the years available at the state sponsored Reservation school speaks to this trend of Pamunkey people looking beyond the Reservation landscape to other economic endeavors. At the age of twenty-eight, tribal member Ottigney Pontiac Cook soon followed in Bradby's footsteps and was established and working in Philadelphia by 1917. In a letter to his father, George Major Cook, Ottigney wrote, "I have a night job with the boys at the garage" (Cook, Ottigney Pontiac to George Major Cook June 20, 1917). During this time, Ottigney lived at 2337 N. Carmac St. only a few blocks from where Walter Bradby had lived on Warnock St. Eventually Ottigney would join the steel working labor force at Pennsylvania Range Boiler Company. Many of his brothers, sisters, and cousins soon followed to engage in similar economic opportunities. While not all of the Pamunkey people who moved to Philadelphia stayed, Ottigney continued to work in the steel mill for decades. He eventually married and started a family at 7th and Lehigh streets, living in the city for the remainder of his life. His daughters remembered the nightly ritual of removing little pieces of steel from his hands "that were like leather" (*Old Indian Heads Home for Burial* by Bill Reinecke 1979).

⁵⁵ Walter had two brothers that also received educations beyond the state-sponsored school on the Reservation. Herbert was also a student at Carlisle and if he had continued his education, it appears he would have graduated with a trade skill in shoemaking (Report of Herbert Bradby Pupil of Carlisle Indian School 1912, Herbert Bradby Student File, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center). The third brother, Ivy, graduated in 1913 from Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute with a degree in carpentry (Commencement at Hampton Institute, *The New York Age*, June 5, 1913).

Tribal member Edward Bradby chose to move to Philadelphia around 1920. He too wanted to make a living beyond laboring the Reservation landscape. In his own words:

“I was young, I was about twenty years old I believe... and I knew I wasn't going to make this my life down here [at the Reservation]. I knew darn well, I was going to get out and learn myself a trade, I made up my mind. I was going to learn myself a trade... the old man always told me, he says 'If you don't have a trade, you'll be a laborer...' I didn't see nothing on the farm here for me, nothing at all. I wouldn't have starved, but I would've, at the end of 15, 20 years, I'd be walking around here with twenty cents in my pocket” (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, May 11, 1985).

Bradby chose Philadelphia as a place to live and work because he knew Pamunkey people were already there who would help him find a job. Even though Bradby had aspirations of apprenticing to learn the trade of becoming a mechanic, those wishes were not initially or easily realized when he arrived. Because he was unable to secure a position with a mechanic, fellow tribal member Andrew Collins helped him find work at a linoleum plant where he labored for six months until he found a garage that agreed to hire and train him as a mechanic. He earned five dollars per week during his training. Bradby eventually became a master mechanic and was able to afford his own house (Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, May 11 1985; August 6 1983). Unfortunately, this was in 1929, and following the stock market crash, Bradby lost his job and his home. He, and many other Pamunkey that lost their jobs in the city returned to the Reservation.

Because most of those who had moved to Philadelphia were barely in their twenties, they did not have homes of their own on the Reservation to which

they could return. So like generations before them, they, with their spouses and children, lived with their parents. My great grandparents Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook and Ruth Bradby, for example, moved to Philadelphia during the 1920s like so many other community members. By 1933 Cook and Bradby were married with two children. They too moved back to the Reservation and lived for years with Cook's mother, Theodora, and many of his siblings. Even at the age of six, their eldest daughter, Eleanor Cook Fields, who was born in Philadelphia in 1927, remembers what a full house it was, "bursting at the seams." Despite her young age at the time, Fields insisted she remembered "the reason they moved back [to the Reservation] was because of the recession and no jobs (personal communication with Eleanor Fields, June 22, 2015). The Reservation, as always, remained the core of the Pamunkey community. It continued to provide an economic advantage where traditional subsistence practices and the knowledge needed to execute them were still deeply ingrained. This knowledge was invoked during the Great Depression to support Pamunkey families and individuals who lost their wage labor jobs in Philadelphia. The return of Pamunkey people to the Reservation during an economic crisis that devastated the lives of so many Americans, demonstrated the central role the Reservation's subsistence lifestyle, and the economic anonymity it fostered remained the lifeline of the Pamunkey people.

Pamunkey men traveling to urban centers to engage supplemental wage labor was by no means a foreign practice among community members. Philadelphia fits the pattern of Pamunkey (mostly men) working in urban

environments. However, it marks the beginning of a century long transition away from the nineteenth century Pamunkey economy that was characterized by a seasonal annual round dominated by practices made possible through the Reservation land and riverine resources. Philadelphia also demonstrated a generational shift in the Reservation community as the generation born at the turn of the twentieth century during America's "Gilded Age" no doubt caught glimpses of the economic prosperity in the country that could be achieved through participation in skilled and well paid wage labor. The Pamunkey migration to Philadelphia signaled the beginning of a transitioning Pamunkey economy where wage labor became the predominant means through which tribal members engaged the market, leaving the land based practices to provide the supplemental income.

The Pamunkey Economy in Transition 1950-2016

Despite the Great Depression and the brief reprieve in Reservation residents looking for cash-based economic opportunities off the Reservation, the transition previously outlined picks up rapid speed following the Second World War. These activities, with the exception of trapping, never fall out of total practice, but they wane considerably over the next six decades as off – Reservation economic practices become the way of life for the Pamunkey community. There were countless factors that contributed to this transitional process ranging from 1) the invention of the automobile, 2) the human interference with the landscape that negatively affected the animal population exploited by the Pamunkey, and 3) the industry based economic shift that takes

place in the southern United States with the increase of factories and corporations that relocated to the region following the Second World War (Oakley 2008:62). In short, as described by tribal member Warren Cook, “we were in the era of money... you had a garden... because you want to eat, with money you didn’t have to go out there and make a garden, you could buy it, it’s much easier” (personal communication, June 20, 2013).

Movement away from the Reservation to secure employment became the normal practice for tribal members by the mid-twentieth century. As Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook explained “people often ask me about why our people move away... it’s simple, they have to do that to make a living” (For Pamunkey, Fishing’s and Ancient Sport, *The Washington Post*, May 3, 1983). This transitional phenomenon also changed the demographics of the Pamunkey Reservation community as younger generations moved away to engage more lucrative cash based economic opportunities, leaving behind an elder generation of tribal members. Moreover, the majority of those who did leave as young adults did not return to live. They created lives for themselves and started families within the communities they chose to live and work. For example, there are still a large number of Pamunkey people living in and around the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania area, and they are all descended from those tribal members that chose to migrate there in the early twentieth century. The majority of those that did make their way back to the Reservation did so to retire, reinforcing the predominantly elder population of Reservation residents.

However, there was an interesting component to this retiree population. Those who were retired had the time to engage traditional practices because they were no longer directly engaging the capitalist economy. As demonstrated in one tribal member's statement, "most of the guys who fish are retired" (For Pamunkey, Fishing's and Ancient Sport, *The Washington Post* May 3, 1983). This interesting trait also characterized Pamunkey potters. The four current potters living on the Reservation witnessed their grandmothers and great aunts making pottery throughout their childhood. However, they were not able to engage in this practice until they were older, their children were grown, or they too were on the verge of retirement. The slowing down of these life events, including work and raising children, coupled with their movement back to the Reservation, provided the time needed to engage these practices. While the practices of hunting, fishing, and pottery making are still observed on the Reservation, in most cases (and there are exceptions) they are practiced by elder members of the Reservation ranging in age from fifty years and older. The fact that these traditional activities are continually practiced is extremely positive. However, given that only elder members hold this information and reside in a community also comprised of an older generation, it leads one to wonder where will this knowledge go? Who is it shared with? And where will it go when they pass on? In short, how will these practices pass on to the next generation? This is a serious dilemma that currently faces the contemporary Pamunkey community.

The children of those who chose to move away had close contact to the Reservation community through visiting grandparents and other family members. However, for many from the generations that followed, those deep and generational kinship connections were severed. This contributed to the lack of young tribal members learning the traditional subsistence practices employed by their grandparents. The problem was underscored because this education began at a very young age, and continued throughout one's lifetime. With the lack of children living on the Reservation following the Second World War, the knowledge was not frequently passed on. These ruptures from the landscape based lifestyle, however, were in many ways strategic. That strategy is observed in Pamunkey parents who worked hard to ensure their children had access to educational opportunities beyond the Reservation.

Because there were no secondary educational opportunities available to Pamunkey children beyond the seventh grade, parents had to make the hard decision to send their children hundreds of miles from home to Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools located throughout the United States. Pamunkey parents believed if their children had access to education they would lead a better life than them. For many, that better life was moving away from the landscape based economy on the Reservation. My grandfather Warren Cook explained that his father did not want him to learn traditional subsistence practices because he believed his son would have no need for them. His parents, Tecumseh Deerfoot and Ruth Bradby Cook were determined their children would be educated and lead a life beyond the limited opportunities offered on the

Reservation. All three of their children were sent to Bureau of Indian Affairs schools. The eldest daughter Eleanor Cook Fields attended Haskell in Kansas, the other daughter Betty Cook Allmond attended Bacone in Oklahoma, and the youngest, my grandfather Warren, attended boarding school on the Eastern Band Cherokee Reservation. Those who pushed their children to engage economic opportunities off the Reservation did not anticipate the negative impacts their efforts would have on the tribal community in general, and the individual expression of Pamunkey identity in particular. Those negative effects did not go unnoticed by elder tribal members. Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook commented, “younger ones now don’t pay no attention to anything about Indians... and some don’t even want to put on Native costume... they want to be pale faces, they want to dress like a pale face, and they think this here [the Reservation] is something in the past and forget about it.” His statement was recorded in an interview with anthropologist Thomas Blumer on August 6 in 1983 at time when the overwhelming majority of enrolled tribal members under the age of fifty were no longer residing on the Reservation.

These practices based in the landscape once provided my great grandfather’s generation and the generations before with the ability to practice traditional subsistence, while also engaging the market in profitable ways. But, this economic way of life is no longer a contemporary reality for Pamunkey people today in the twenty-first century. However, the contemporary Reservation community is in many ways still enmeshed within this transition. Several Reservation residents are not fully integrated in the capitalist economy because

they continue to earn a supplemental income through fishing, hunting, or pottery making. While they are still negotiating the World System, the Reservation community is facing the end of this transition because it is impossible for Pamunkey people to subsist via the Reservation land. Importantly, community members do not view this economic transition negatively. Rather the transition is indicative of the change that is inevitable within all communities; change is in itself viewed as a cultural and historical constant. As anthropologist Marshall Sahlins argued, “The strongest continuity may consist in the logic of cultural change” (1994:415). Tribal member, Warren Cook’s statement further speaks to this sentiment, “Like I keep saying everything changes, it’s a completely different world now” (personal communication, July 7, 2013). While Pamunkey people understand and even expect this transition and change, it is much more difficult for the general public to do so. They do not have daily interactions with present-day Indigenous communities to understand that Native people and the communities from which they come are modern and operate in the contemporary world. For example, Kim Taylor, an employee at the Pamunkey Indian Museum and Cultural Center, tells a story about a particular visitor who became agitated because she was not able to observe any “real” Indians. The visitor asked Taylor, “where are the Indians?” and her response was “Oh, they’re probably at work” (personal communication, June 19, 2013).

On January 28, 2016 an unprecedented event occurred for the Pamunkey people. The Bureau of Indian Affairs issued a final determination acknowledging the Pamunkey as the 567th federally recognized tribe. It is important to also

consider what this new relationship with the United States might mean for the Pamunkey community in general, and Pamunkey economic life in particular. Only time will tell, but there are two paths that the tribal community could potentially follow. One direction could follow the path of other federally recognized reservation communities who have lucrative economic institutions (supported by gaming revenue, for example). These institutions support the production of predominantly high-end Native objects for sale; while the smaller industries focused in traditional knowledge typically managed by individuals fall out of practice. On the other hand, federal recognition has the potential to encourage economic development on the Reservation. If this development is strategically focused it could potentially reverse some of the outcomes caused by participation in the capitalist economy. The most invasive outcomes include the inability of Pamunkey people to engage traditional practices because they cannot afford to do so, and Pamunkey people leaving the Reservation community to have greater access to economic opportunities.

Perhaps having access to the resources provided through federal recognition could help remedy this situation where the Tribe can employ people. Employment opportunities with the Tribe can create incentive for Pamunkey people, youth in particular, to live and work on the Reservation, providing an opportunity for them to also learn traditional subsistence practices. For example, economic and applied Indigenous studies scholar Dean Howard Smith explained that “developing reservation economies is vital to sustaining and developing Native American cultural identities” because a lack of economic resources “has

an adverse influence on cultural activity” (2000:110-111). This is true for the Pamunkey community today. While it was once lucrative to employ traditional subsistence practices, these activities became less sustainable leaving Pamunkey people with the inability to rely on the Reservation landscape. With only a handful of elder members continuing these practices, and the majority of the tribal population living off the Reservation, developing a tribal economic infrastructure is absolutely crucial. Economic advisor and member of the Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma, Robert Miller, asks, “If Indian families cannot find adequate... living wage jobs on or near their reservations, how are they going to support themselves and the development and continuation of their governments, homelands, and cultures?” (2012:135).

The Pamunkey do not have an answer to that question though many tribal members have contemplated it. One thing is clear though, the community looks to the Reservation as the central place for the Tribe’s future to unfold. Tribal members express that economic opportunities and stability need to be developed on the Reservation if the community is to remain strong and viable for future generations. Most importantly, economic opportunity must be made attractively available, in particular, to younger generations and Pamunkey youth. It is my hope that we treat Federal Recognition as a venue through which to continue our traditional subsistence practices because, in my opinion, they are the path to being and staying Pamunkey. Our new status as a federally recognized tribe provides an opportunity through programming and grant projects to still engage these practices even though they are no longer economically viable.

But for tribal member Ethan Brown, Pamunkey economic life of the nineteenth century is still, in many ways, represented on the Reservation. This past way of living is not mutually exclusive from the contemporary ways of life that are more deeply embedded in a capitalist and global economy. For Brown it is about connecting the past in our present, and understanding that the past and present are intermingled. As the community moves forward into the future we should always do so with reference to our history and culture. "I'm not suggesting we should try to live like that again, but sort of create a contemporary culture that is based on the past, that's what we have here [on the reservation]... A lot of people here still have big gardens, go hunting, and fish, it's sort of a mixture. I'm all for business, and for improvement and using new contemporary ways of doing things, but I feel it should be tied to our culture... we should do businesses that incorporate our beliefs" (personal communication with Ethan Brown, August 29, 2013). And really this is exactly what Pamunkey people have been doing for generations.

Echoing Ethan's sentiment, former Chief Kevin Brown was particularly interested in grant funding for agricultural activities so that Reservation residents could return to farming their own land again for profit. "I'd like to see somebody from the Reservation be able to farm the land. Have some sort of crop. A cash crop. You know make somebody self-sufficient so they don't have to leave the Reservation to work all the time" (Kevin Brown interviewed by John Moore, June 6, 2006). Interest was also expressed in developing viable economic opportunities to engage Pamunkey youth; a demographic that needs to be

courted if the community hopes to move successfully toward economic self-sustainability. While tribal member Kirk Moore did not point to specific traditional subsistence practices, he did raise interest in the Tribe investing in environmentally sustainable and alternative renewable energies like solar and wind power. His suggestion was to teach the youth how to manage the renewable energy resource, where the Tribe would charge each household a low stable monthly fee. For Moore this particular investment would help Pamunkey “youths get jobs within the community so everyone doesn’t have to leave to look for jobs” (Kirk Moore interviewed by John Moore, June 4, 2006).

Ultimately all of these aspirations and their potential success are in the hands of the younger generations. And many, old and young alike, recognize that continuing the traditional subsistence practices, and developing Reservation based economic opportunities, are central to the community’s future. Within the past couple of decades families with younger children have begun to make their way to the Reservation, and some of those children have learned to shad fish, and have participated in the Governor’s Hunt. Elder tribal members believe the flow of Pamunkey youth into the resident community needs to occur. Russell Bradby compared his generation of tribal members who left the Reservation, to the younger ones that he argues have the ability to stay on the Reservation and still find work. For him, young Reservation residents are a necessity “because the older generation is dying” and they have the option to stay and work. This was an option Bradby felt his generation did not have because for them it was stay or

leave.⁵⁶ Bradby expressed, “Well there was no work. Now they got cars to go work in Richmond or Williamsburg or different places... We didn’t have no car. We didn’t have the money to buy a car with. Things were tough” (Russell Bradby interviewed by John Moore, June 2 2006).

Documenting this transitional period in the economic practices of the Pamunkey Indian community over the past century is a topic worthy of focus on its own. Importantly, it is a part of Pamunkey history that elder and youth alike are particularly interested in documenting. Several younger tribal members have expressed interest in knowing more about this transition. For example, tribal member Lauren Porter asked “how did we go from using horse and buggy to driving cars in just under two decades?” (Personal communication July 8, 2013). In other words, what was the impetus behind the rapid change that occurred on the Reservation in a relatively short period of time when the lifestyle that existed prior to the transition did so for centuries? The elder tribal members who were, and still are a part of this transition, have memories and life experiences that can help answer this question. Most importantly they want to ensure that it is documented. They remember and experienced a lifetime that many from my generation and beyond cannot even begin to comprehend. We all feel that the traditional subsistence practices witnessed by the older generation when they were children are important components of Pamunkey history and contemporary culture.

⁵⁶ Russell Bradby, born in 1914, was raised on the Reservation, but he left during his teenage years to find work. He worked at Cedar Works in Richmond and at Pennsylvania Boiler Range Company in Philadelphia.

This past needs to be documented, and the memories of tribal members recorded, but how do these practices fit into the future of the Reservation community? While they are not practiced or engaged on the same level, they are still viewed as an integral component to the Reservation community. Even though not all community members have answers to that question, they know one thing: no matter the method, these practices that so many believe have come to define the Pamunkey community, whether they continue to serve an economic purpose or not, will continue; they will not be lost. For example, Pamunkey potter Debra Martin's solution to ensure pottery production continues is to share one's knowledge of the practice. She shares her knowledge with her granddaughters "because they always come down wanting to make something with clay." Martin's son Gordon, who recently moved to the Reservation, is making pottery. According to Martin not everyone has to be an artist, just the process of sharing that knowledge to guarantee it is passed on is the most important component of working with clay. In her own words:

"I think it's important to me because it's about keeping traditions alive and I am so glad that there is a pottery tradition because I don't particularly care to go out and hunt or to fish with nets [she is laughing]... this is the way that I can carry forward part of our traditions even through what I do does not look like anything what... my other ancestors have done. I can change it up but it's still part of me as being a Pamunkey woman and in my artwork and how I express myself and it's something I can carry forward and can share with my children and grandchildren and hope to keep this tradition alive. But this is a part of who we are as a people (personal communication August 2, 2013).

And for contemporary potter, Layne Cook, learning pottery was something she was exposed to at a young age when she would spend time at the pottery school with her great aunts. However, it was not until she moved back to the

Reservation in 2007 that Cook personally felt as a Pamunkey woman, she had a responsibility to learn this art and pass it along to others willing to learn. She said to herself, “ok this [making pottery] is what you’ve got to do, I mean you have to do it, and it was an interest on a couple different levels... making sure the tradition goes on because at the time only two women on the Reservation made it... and they’re elderly so I felt like it was a responsibility... I felt like I had a responsibility to learn it so I can pass it on... because it’s what we’ve always done” (personal communication with Layne Cook June 3, 2013).

Former Chief Kevin Brown looked to other tribal communities to explore how their experiences in the tourism industry could inspire and direct Pamunkey. In referencing the Eastern Band of Cherokee, Brown explained, “if you didn’t have tourism coming there [Eastern Band’s Reservation] they wouldn’t have the vehicle or the money to put into continuing the traditional stuff” (personal communication, July 24, 2013). Interestingly enough tourism has been the key to the continuation of pottery production on the Reservation for the past eight decades. Perhaps the tribal community could also look to the tourism industry to help revive other practices like fishing, hunting, trapping, and medical/edible plant knowledge. For example, eco-tourism could be engaged as an economic endeavor to introduce visitors to the Reservation landscape where they can observe and participate in these practices. This could generate an income for those involved and ensure that they are taught to younger generations and continued in the future. As Joyce Krigsvold expressed, “I think it’s important because we need to realize this was the way of life of our ancestors and

hopefully we can continue doing it. It's good to know how people lived, I'm just happy that it's being kept up. It's important to know and to tell other people how we lived and to let them know that we're still here and we're still doing some of those traditions." But most importantly for Krigsvold Joyce, she has seen that "some of our younger people are getting interested in doing some of these traditions so they won't be lost" (personal communication, June 20, 2013).

For tribal member Kim Cook Taylor the community does not necessarily need to make a choice in deciding which lifestyle to engage. "We live the same lives that they [non-Natives] do, and yes we have this history and we, you know, want to try to keep the culture going, but we still have bills to pay, and we can do both" (personal communication, June 19, 2013). Layne Cook follows the same sentiment as her sister Kim. For Layne even though the community does not engage the lifestyle that was practiced for many centuries, these activities remain important because "it's a way of honoring our ancestors because we in some ways try to live or do things that they did. I think it's also a form of separating us.... Because we still respect and live off of the land to a certain extent, and the land has always been important because it's the lifeblood of the people" (personal communication, June 3, 2013). For many tribal members it is the inherent and palpable connections between our past, present, and future that are observed daily on the Reservation. And it is the traditional subsistence practices tied to the land and river that have provided the glue to those connections.

The continuity within change they embody has been the survival mechanism through which the Pamunkey community has persisted. They are

what has sustained the Reservation community for all this time. And for tribal member Warren Taylor, we must ensure these practices survive so that the struggle for survival and persistence fought by our ancestors and relatives was not done so in vain. Taylor explains, the Reservation is “so old and we’ve been here so long it would be just a shame to disappoint our ancestors and let their sacrifice go to waste like that” (personal communication, July 6, 2013). Our Pamunkey ancestors and relatives took what they knew best, their knowledge of the Reservation landscape. They molded that knowledge into economically viable practices that supported their families, ensured the survival and persistence of the Pamunkey community, and created a place and history that contemporary Pamunkey people can look to with reverence and with honor.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

“Places possess a marked capacity for triggering acts of self-reflection, inspiring thoughts about who one presently is, or memories of who one used to be, or musings on who one might become” Keith Basso 1996:58

At the heart of this research is the Reservation land and the surrounding Pamunkey River. This riverine landscape weaves together the past and present lives, experiences, practices, and knowledge of the Pamunkey Indian people, telling a story of community persistence. This persistence was made possible through their creative ability to develop economic institutions that incorporated and melded both traditional subsistence and market practices. Without immediate access to their ancestral lands and the river that surrounds them, the history and contemporary reality of Pamunkey people would undoubtedly look different. Without that immediate access tribal members would have engaged the rise of the industrial capitalist economy during the nineteenth century in drastically different ways. The land and river provided much needed access to not only fish, but to the sustenance provided by the marshlands, and the clay extracted from the riverbank. Knowledge of the riverine landscape was equally important in providing Pamunkey individuals with the ability to market themselves for jobs located off the Reservation.

By combining documentary evidence, archaeology, and oral history, clear patterns emerged in Pamunkey economic responses during the post-colonial era. These choices provide insight into the role Pamunkey people played as workers, producers, buyers, sellers, and consumers at the intersection between the

subsistence/homestead economy on the Reservation and the rise of industrial capitalism in Tidewater Virginia during the nineteenth century. To explore patterns in Pamunkey economic life and experiences as they mitigated this intersection, I employed a dual-lensed approach. My study has been grounded in community perspectives and a framework that acknowledged the constrained role of the capitalist system within some marginalized communities of color. I have also taken seriously Pamunkey centered knowledge of the Reservation landscape as they engaged and navigated that system. Specifically, I explored transformations in the Pamunkey community's subsistence economy as tribal members developed markets related to their knowledge of the Reservation landscape to structure and negotiate their participation within a cash-based economy. These responses were shaped by historical processes and patterns that included the importance of landscape knowledge and the adaptability of traditional subsistence practices of hunting, fishing, trapping, horticulture, and pottery production. These activities grounded the larger processes of colonization, and the expansion of capitalism within a Pamunkey-centered perspective. Importantly, Pamunkey people's ability to alter and adapt these practices ensured their persistence, and fostered a process of continuity through change.

Throughout their engagement with European colonial expansion and the evolving American nation, Pamunkey systems of knowledge transformed the foreign notion of a cash-based economy into something culturally intelligible, meaningful, and significant. This cultural, social, and economic adaptability

continued as the community faced the turn of the twentieth century with a new focus on engaging wage labor opportunities in cities along the Atlantic Coast. The community is still transitioning today as some tribal members continue to engage the Reservation landscape, the river in particular, for economic opportunity. However, the majority of those who employ this knowledge and practice these activities are elder members with few youth following in their footsteps.

Thus this research is significant to the Pamunkey community on many levels. In fact, tribal members have a vested interest in uncovering knowledge about nineteenth-century Pamunkey economic practices and choices. The Pamunkey want to access and reclaim knowledge about their history specifically in terms of how past and present engagement in the market economy informs and transforms traditional subsistence practices so that this knowledge is not lost to future generations. Therefore, as a member of the Pamunkey community, I accept the challenging responsibility in acting as mediator between the community's interests and the role the discipline of anthropology can play in accessing knowledge about Pamunkey heritage. Most importantly, I commit to using the discipline as a platform from which the community can build their ability to influence the ways in which their history, and its importance in shaping the history of Virginia, is represented.

Interestingly enough, anthropology has played this very role at particular points in time for the Pamunkey community, and it is a role I hope to reprise as we remind ourselves that those communities that serve as the focus for

anthropological research should be the ones who benefit from such studies. Documenting and presenting the historical specifics of the economic practices and experiences of the Pamunkey community is but one component of the multifaceted purposes I endeavor this research to serve.

The discipline of anthropology has served the community in positive ways from the 1890s through the 1970s. Specifically, the outcome of Frank Speck's ethnographic fieldwork in the 1920s, and Erett Callahan's experimental archaeological field school in the mid 1970s were particularly relevant, useful, and beneficial to the Pamunkey community (Speck 1928; personal communication with Warren Cook June 1, 2013). They were conducted at the behest and request of the Tribe to serve particular purposes: Speck's work was published during a time when Jim Crow was solidified in the South and the Eugenics movement had reached a fervor in the country, with the state of Virginia leading the way. Speck's work on the Powhatan descendent communities of Virginia served as a deliberate reminder to those bent on furthering eugenic thinking and policies that denied Virginia's Indigenous people their right to claim an Indian identity. Callahan's field school and the related archaeological research conducted by the Virginia Center for Archaeological Research in the 1970s were done in conjunction with the Tribe's efforts to establish an economic plan that included tourism as a central focus. For varying reasons the discipline of not only anthropology, but history, lost its usefulness to

the Pamunkey people after the 1970s (with some notable exceptions⁵⁷) as the postcolonial history of Virginia Indians has not been treated as a worthy research topic. Moreover, the Pamunkey were increasingly alienated from their right to have a seat at the table to raise concerns and interests with the ways their history was being authored and presented to a wider public by non-Native academics. I would not hesitate to tie this alienation with the increasing insular nature of the discipline as the majority of research conducted and published for scholars is produced for fellow academics and not for those who serve as the subjects of anthropological and historical analysis. Unfortunately, this trend is in direct contrast, ironically, with some of the earlier anthropological research conducted at and with Pamunkey from the 1920s through the 1970s.

When asked their opinions and perspective about on how Pamunkey/Powhatan history has been written and presented to the public, many Pamunkey people described their observations of an inherit, imbalanced bias that is perpetuated in the literature. For many this bias has had an unfortunate consequence in permeating predominately negative public perspectives about Virginia Indians. This bias is described as Pamunkey history being told from the “white man’s perspective” where the value of their ancestors has been predominantly understood in relation to the “inevitable” rise and dominance of the English in North America, creating the false sense that Pamunkey history began and ended with colonial contact. The most egregious outcome of this

⁵⁷ Martin Gallivan’s work with Powhatan descendant communities at Powhatan’s capital, Werowocomoco, Danielle Morretti-Langholtz’s various projects with Virginia Indian tribes.

perpetuated perspective is the belief that Indians no longer exist in Virginia, that our communities' contributions to history and society ceased to matter after English colonists had finally garnered a permanent place in this land by the end of the seventeenth century. For example, Pamunkey potter, Layne Cook, explained that she is exasperated with the story of Pocahontas and John Smith as it epitomizes the predominant focus the public and scholars in the region have on the early colonial period of Virginia's history. She explains that she does not "want the focus to always be on when there was contact, I'd like to know what was going on before contact... everything starts with the contact period, everybody's perception is that's when it all began" (personal communication June 3, 2013). Because outsiders have written this history and our story, Pamunkey potter, Joyce Krigsvold, believes that "a lot of things have gotten misinterpreted by other people, by the white perspective instead of the Native perspective... and if we could change some of that it would be beneficial to us" (personal communication June 20, 2013). Debra Martin, also a producer of Pamunkey ceramics, echoed the same sentiment. She said, "I think it leaves a lot to be desired because it has been told from the white man's view so it's biased. Are we moving forward in changing this? I'm not really aware of that, history should be told like it is, not just from one color's view" (personal communication August 2, 2013).

Tribal members shared how they could envision a change in the status quo relating to the ways in which Indigenous history in Virginia has been treated. Tribal member and historical interpreter of Native history at Colonial

Williamsburg, Warren Taylor, would prefer to see our history represented in a less biased way. “I feel like we’re treated as the bad guys, [where] negative names and terms are used to describe Native people as a whole,” Taylor said (personal communication July 6, 2014). Warren not only suggests a more positive and fair representation of our history, but he would like to see it treated as a viable topic of discussion where more attention is paid to not only Virginia Indian history, but Indigenous communities located along the East Coast. For Warren, this lack in scholarly focus is due to the fact that our communities were some of the first to be targeted, and our members killed, in the name of colonialism and expansion. According to Warren, people “don’t want to talk about that, for example, so many people don’t even know that there’s Reservations in Virginia” (Ibid).

The late Pamunkey archaeologist, Jeff Brown, played an integral role in researching the Pamunkey past. J. Brown expressed his opinion about the literature that addresses Virginia Indian history by saying, ““*His*-story, that’s what I think of it.” (personal communication October 19, 2013). To remedy this precedent, J. Brown claimed that he would like to see a Pamunkey tribal member publish on our history. “I know its hundreds of years later, but it still would be from a tribal perspective instead of just the European way,” J. Brown said (personal communication October 19, 2013). When tribal members were asked what they would like to see researched and published on Indian history in Virginia, many Pamunkey people responded they would prefer research that emphasized the strength of Pamunkey and other Indian communities in Virginia

as demonstrated in their ability to survive for the past 400 years. That strength and persistence can be depicted through emphasizing various components of our history. J. Brown observed that strength in the Pamunkeys' warrior status within Powhatan society and the central role they played in expanding Powhatan's influence throughout the Tidewater region (personal communication October 19, 2013). J. Brown also noted that an anthropological and historical focus on important Native places of power will provide the counter narrative to the colonial discourse that has dominated conversations about Virginia's history, and has for so long, ignored Virginia Indian experiences. His experiences, as well as my own, working with the Werowocomoco Research Group⁵⁸ at the capital of the Powhatan chiefdom, demonstrated that research emphasizing the importance of an Indigenous place established centuries prior to English colonial expansion could provide a counter to this colonial dominated discourse. When asked to respond to the celebratory nature of the 400th commemoration of Jamestown's founding in 2007, J. Brown replied, "I feel very strongly that I'll be here, Werowocomoco, during that celebration (interviewed by John Moore, June 8, 2006).

Another Indigenous place of immense importance with immeasurable potential to tell the story of the Pamunkey people is the Pamunkey Indian Reservation. From archaeology, to oral history, to archival and ethnographic

⁵⁸ The Werowocomoco Research Group was established in 2003 and includes Director Martin Gallivan, archaeologists Dave Brown and Thane Harpole, Department of Historic Resources archaeologist Randolph Turner, and cultural anthropologist Danielle Moretti-Langholtz.

materials, there is no place that can more effectively counter the dominant discourse in the region than the place that has been occupied by Pamunkey people for over 7,000 years. Most importantly, the Reservation houses *the* tribal institution, our museum and cultural center, which provides a space for the Tribe to control the ways in which our history is disseminated to the public. The Pamunkey have a long history of collecting and displaying our history through material culture. For example, the majority of objects exhibited in the museum are from the collection of my great-great- grandfather George Major Cook, who displayed Pamunkey artifacts and ethnographic objects in his home for visitors to observe. This collection was passed down through the family until my grandfather, Warren Cook, chose to include the collection, along with artifacts and materials donated from tribal members, archaeologists, and state institutions, to serve as the material foundation for the museum that opened to the public in 1980. The Pamunkey cannot continue to rely on others to tell our story; it is our responsibility and we have access and ownership to the only place that can support those endeavors. However, this is enormously challenging as we currently attempt to operate the museum (and our other tribal institutions) with an extreme lack in resources, particularly when compared to the million dollar institutions that exhibit the colonial history of Virginia. Despite the existence of the Reservation community as an immense historical and cultural resource, little focus or recognition has been given to the Reservation's archaeological, ethnographic, and oral historic potential to contribute to our understanding of Virginia history.

However, this lack in resources does not hamper the importance the museum carries as a central tribal institution for the Pamunkey community. For example, Joyce Krigsvold expressed, "I want people to come to our museum and see that we have all these wonderful artifacts here that tell people, that gives them a glimpse into the past about how we lived" (personal communication June 20, 2013). While the current exhibitions were heavily influenced by archaeological thought of the 1970s that emphasized a cultural ecological theoretical perspective, they were created with guidance of the Pamunkey community. Most importantly, it is a place where Pamunkey people go to be immersed in our history that in so many ways is much more tangible than any publication written about us. As a member of the Pamunkey community myself, I know that our history is taught "from your family life, and being a part of the household, stories are always being told... I can look at some of these [family] pictures and I feel like I know them, but really they're passed away before I was born" (Ben Norman interviewed by John Moore May 31, 2006). These stories are our history, they are told from our perspectives, and it is the oral histories and memories of our family members and their life experiences from which we tend to learn and reference, not text written in a book. Tribal member Warren Taylor commented he felt it strange for non-Natives to write about Indian people, particularly because it has been traditionally passed down orally. "With our culture, you know, it's all oral... its passed down orally, and to write it down in a book seems to go against the way that things have been done, in all Native cultures," Taylor said (personal communication July 6, 2013). For Warren, oral

history presents a method for learning our history first-hand because “there’s different ways of gathering knowledge... and doing it firsthand is better because you’re not going to get everything from reading a book” (Ibid). For him, being Pamunkey, residing on the Reservation, and simply living everyday life is a way of conducting and gathering firsthand knowledge, not just about the Pamunkey past, but as a means to perpetuate and share our contemporary culture.

Increasing the range and focus on Pamunkey and Virginia Indian history is important to tribal members to counter the dominant discourse of English colonization. However, they also advocate a fine balance between the focus on the past and present. An overwhelming majority of the anthropological research and literature on Virginia Indians is based in the seventeenth century, and this imbalance has contributed to an unfortunate and inaccurate perception that Indian people are relegated to the past because they no longer exist. Even with recognition of their continued existence, the general non-Native public expect Indian people to live and look like their ancestors did 400 years ago. In addition to learning about our past from a Pamunkey perspective, tribal members would like to see discussion on the contemporary reality of Pamunkey people that highlight the current economic world in which the community operates. Tribal member Kim Cook Taylor explains,

“Today we live just like anyone else and we still get people that come on the Rez expecting to see Indians in regalia sitting by a fire, making pottery, cooking fish, or beading or doing baskets... and I think they need to understand that we have the exact same bills to pay that they do and so we need to have income... we have to be out there working blue collar, white collar jobs that most of us here on the Reservation do... I’ve got a cell phone, I’ve got electric, I need to put food on my table too” (personal communication June 19, 2013).

For tribal member Lauren Porter, this lack of understanding by the general public of our current, everyday lives, coupled with the scholarly community focusing little attention to that reality, is hard for Pamunkey people to process “because we grew up being a part of this community... [it is] also hard for them to understand we are still living and that we had to adapt in order to survive” (personal communication July 8, 2013). She and other community members place blame on the lack of intersections between the general public, the scholarly community, and the public school system. Several members reminisce about the lack of education they received on American Indians in the country, but particularly in Virginia. The general education on Indians in North America ranged from a local discussion on John Smith and Pocahontas to a more national focus with mentions of the Trail of Tears and Lewis, Clark, and Sacagawea. For Porter, “it’s kind of frustrating that... there’s two Reservations in the county and there’s all this history in the area and none of it’s taught... so I don’t understand, we have so much history and so much to teach the kids, but nothing’s really being taught and the little that is, is like a paragraph about Cherokee or the [Lewis and Clark] expedition” (Ibid). Porter believes this lack of education on Native history and the contemporary realities of Native communities is purposeful.

“Because it was so bad, they just want to forget it, it’s the only thing that the government hasn’t said they’re sorry for so they just want to sweep it under the rug and forget about it and if they don’t teach it then they’re hoping after so many years people will stop asking or remembering,” Porter said. (Ibid).

This saddens Pamunkey people because in addition to this lack of understanding, disbelief follows when non-Natives encounter Pamunkey tribal members who attempt to share their stories. Porter shared with me her sister's experience when she was recently enrolled in King William County public schools. Her sister was sharing the history and importance of the Pamunkey treaty tribute explaining this was her Tribe and her family members, but the class refused to believe that she was telling the truth. Lauren, her sister, myself, and countless other tribal members have had this same experience throughout our lives.

"It's sad and it's hard to explain to people, when they ask you about your family or where you're from because you have to reference all of it, the past, and explain everything that goes along with it because no one knows it . . . how are you supposed to talk about things like that as a child when your teachers or kids' parents don't believe you?" (Ibid).

To remedy this problem Porter suggested teachers attend a course or a cultural learning day on Virginia Indians before the beginning of the school year to ensure "we don't have teachers denying kids their heritage" (Ibid). It is important to ask though, why this emphasis among the community on the importance for young people, Indian or not, to learn the correct version of Pamunkey history? Tribal member Kirk Moore responded, "it matters in a number of ways, one, to educate the mainstream American so you could get the truth out. That truth helps bring about respect with your own community especially children... if you bring the truth out then you open another door for pride (Kirk Moore interviewed by John Moore, June 4, 2006). Porter, Moore, and other Pamunkey tribal members simply want people to understand that while we are still a community and have

remained so for the past four centuries, the Pamunkey have had to change and adapt by taking the past traditions of our family members and making them our own today.

I present this issue in such great detail because I want to emphasize the very real, everyday consequences that both a lack in engaging descendant communities about their past and the lack in the literature focusing on the history of Virginia Indians beyond the seventeenth century creates for Native people in the mid-Atlantic region. Importantly, presenting this discussion in the Conclusion highlights one of the more critical contributions of this research, to provide a platform for the Pamunkey community specifically and Virginia Indian communities in general to demonstrate that anthropology can serve as a useful tool in bridging these gaps discussed above. My hope is that this dissertation research, while significant to the Pamunkey people, will also provide an example for the scholarly community to observe that intersections between academic research, the descendants of the people they research, and educating the general public about both, can be conducted successfully, and with benefits to the people they study without compromising one's academic credentials. What we say about the past reverberates in the present, what we ignore—whether intentional or not—in how that past is perceived and connected to the present reverberates within those communities who are still living and have legitimate rights to be at the table to shape how that past is being published and presented to the public or other academics. This history is real to us, it is important, and is a part of our everyday lives, so to be denied those stories about our ancestors and

families that others simply compartmentalize as something of the past, can be frustrating, hurtful, and can negatively affect the way Pamunkey people, particularly the youth, view themselves.

Despite this lack in communication and incorporation, the scholarly community possesses the tools and skills necessary to help remedy these issues. In many ways this dissertation, while focused on specific historical research questions, is an example of a rigorous academic endeavor that not only incorporated the documentary and archaeological records, but was also inclusive of both Pamunkey oral history and perspectives of the contemporary community. Pamunkey interests, questions, and opinions about the economic experiences of their nineteenth-century relatives also served to further highlight the lack of work that does incorporate Indigenous perceptions. This recognition is particularly relevant because the discipline has the capabilities of not only addressing gaps and misconceptions in the historical literature, but addressing real life issues currently facing Native communities, such as healthcare, social justice, economic inequity and inequality, poverty, and unequal access to educational opportunities. Unfortunately, there is little momentum in the scholarly community in this region to address them. As anthropologist Fred Gleach states,

“Lacking professional value in the market of difference, Virginia Indians, and eastern Indians in general, are highly marginal to the modern discipline of anthropology... Ironically at the same time, anthropology has become potentially relevant to many eastern Indian groups. As native communities that had been politically and socially isolated, marginalized, or defined out of existence have begun to reawaken in recent decades, there has arisen a need for professional experts to work in legal claims, in the courts and the legislature. Communities also seek help in working on a variety of problems that the tools of anthropology

can be usefully applied to, from health, to injustice, to poverty to invisibility. Academic anthropology, too, often turns its back on this kind of work.” (2002:504)

There is a perceived gap among Pamunkey people between the ways in which they learn their history and experience everyday life, and the ways in which the scholarly community presents that history through the written word that ignores Pamunkey experiences in the recent past or contemporary times. But as a member of both communities, I ask, how do we work towards bringing these two worlds together for the mutual benefit of both parties, and not just the scholars who receive economic benefits and academic capitol from writing and selling our history? With this dissertation I attempt to situate my research within multiple contexts that range from the scholarly to the tribally focused. I believe that these two contexts, while seemingly different, are not mutually exclusive, nor at odds with one another. Both communities have similar goals and agendas when it comes to uncovering and sharing the Native past. I believe we have been isolated from one another for so long that the more recent attempts towards collaboration and civic engagement in Virginia (which are unfortunately few and far between) have barely begun to bridge the gap between academic and tribal communities.

Open, reciprocal, and sustained communication is key. As both a scholar and Pamunkey tribal member, perhaps I also occupy the position of bridge builder, with the capability to operate in both worlds and thus bring them together. I feel I have partially succeeded in that many Pamunkey people recognize, and have for decades, the value of the discipline to serve their

community on various fronts. Unfortunately, I have much more work to do in the scholarly community to convince its members that the kind of work presented in this dissertation, for example, is a rigorous anthropological and academic endeavor that contributes to the methodological, theoretical, and practical underpinnings of the discipline. While more Native scholars may help open the lines of communication to unite the academic and tribal worlds, perhaps these lines can be opened immediately with research that recognizes the mutual goals and objectives held amongst members in both communities. The discipline's colonialist foundations contribute to the myth that rigorous academic anthropology cannot also provide sensitive, dynamic, and civically engaged research of Indigenous history and contemporary life. It is my hope that my efforts here provide such a successful effort, and join the ranks of those anthropologists who are attempting similar research endeavors. However, I have witnessed in my own anthropological research and the various examples provided by my advisors, mentors,⁵⁹ and other scholars who have inspired my work⁶⁰ that the discipline has the resources, tools, and capabilities required to engineer this bridge. We just need more willing participants from the scholarly community to provide the brick and mortar for the bridge's foundations so that others can follow suit in its creation.

Engaging in a multi-disciplinary approach that combined archaeology, ethnography, oral history, documentary research, and collaboration with the

⁵⁹ Martin Gallivan, Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, Brad Weiss and Michael Blakey

⁶⁰ Joe Watkins, Whitney Battle-Baptiste, Marshall Sahlins, Sonya Atalay, Stephen Silliman, Chip Colwell-Chanthaphon and so many others

Pamunkey Indian Tribe uncovered the important role Pamunkey knowledge of the Reservation landscape played in structuring the conjuncture between market expansion and Pamunkey systems of knowledge. Thus the significance of this research reaches beyond importance to just the Pamunkey Indian community, providing meaningful contributions to both the fields of historical anthropology and archaeology. Importantly, it contributes to the growing body of academic literature that focuses on the historic and contemporary economic experiences of Native communities as they negotiated and continue to define their roles within the nation's growing capitalist economy. No example of an historical anthropological endeavor structured along the lines of this research exists in the Middle Atlantic region. In Virginia there are virtually no archaeological or anthropological projects focused on the historical archaeology of Native Americans, let alone through the lens of linkages between economic and social change.

Thus this project contributes on a regional level to the increased visibility of the Virginia Indian past beyond the seventeenth century, and expresses the importance and usefulness of contemporary Native perspectives in anthropological research. This research promises to contribute to anthropology as an increasingly collaborative endeavor because it involves the inclusion of oral history and concerns of tribal members, and the funding of field technicians and research assistants from the community. Moreover, it is my sincere hope this dissertation presents to the discipline a positive example of how anthropological research outside the realm of traditional academia can strive to be as rigorous,

important, and valuable, if not more so, given that we are using our tools at the request of a community that is in need of the discipline's support.

My efforts to document and unpack Pamunkey economic life during the nineteenth century and its transition throughout the twentieth century, and my attempts to place this research within the realm of anthropological scholarship, are all important and necessary. However, Pamunkey reflections on the past, and traditional economic practices and the place that fostered them, are the key and core to understanding the historical particulars of Pamunkey economic life during the nineteenth century. These contemplations also bring to light the meaning and value tribal members place on the Reservation as the place that has bore witness to our history created through the lives lived by our ancestors and relatives over thousands of years. As I have demonstrated, the practices of hunting, fishing, trapping, pottery making, and participating in wage work are not merely viewed by tribal members as things that Pamunkey people did at one point and time, or still do in some capacity. They are acts that represent the past, present, and future, which are folded into their relationships to, and perceptions of the Reservation as a place where ancestors lived, where community members currently dwell, and where future generations will make their home. So, I cannot conclude without sharing the meaning Pamunkey people attribute to the Reservation and the historical trajectory of their relatives' and ancestors' lives that transpired within and upon this landscape for thousands of years.

The one question I asked every tribal member either interviewed for this dissertation research, or during conversations about our history was simple: What does the Reservation mean to you? As expected, the answers to this relatively simple question proved to be complex. They ranged from the Reservation representing a place to call home, a connection to the people of the past, a symbol of survival and persistence, a spark or trigger for memories, to the Reservation representing the conflict between staying linked to a place that is a part of you, while also engaging in the modern economic world, that for most, takes them away. For almost all tribal members, the Reservation's value was defined in terms of it being a space that meant home, whether they were residents or not. When tribal member Warren Cook was asked this question, he smiled and laughed. He explained that the Reservation was "home, it's a place that feels safe. You're really a part of this little community, it's a part of you, you're a part of it... I lived in Richmond for twenty something years, I never thought of that as home, it's where I lived, but this is home" (personal communication June 20, 2013). More than just being a place to call your current home, the Reservation was meaningful to the Pamunkey family members that came before us. Warren speculated on what this place meant to his parents and grandparents. "It was a place, home, this was our land, and we were totally immersed on the land, it was a piece that we had, and my grandfather said that, in his speeches... it was a place that was ours, something the white man didn't own," he said (personal communication July 7, 2013). Tribal member Ben Norman echoed the same sentiment,

“I love it here because...this is our home and our ancestors’ home and we’re the only people that have been here so that’s why its extremely important to me and I think the whole community. This Reservation is a place that we are connected to... come back to for our entire life knowing... we will always come home” (Ben Norman May 31 2006).

For others, the Reservation also represents connections to the past, to family members no longer with us, and to the memories that remind us that we are many generations, including those not raised on the Reservation, linked through this common space that has always served as the core of the Pamunkey community. For Pamunkey potter Joyce Krigsvold, the Reservation is particularly meaningful

“Because I know that all of my family lived here before me, and I can look at the different places here and see where my grandparents lived.... its like a sacred place because I know when you come here you’re safe and you have family here, and its just a feel good place. I love it, and you know, before when I was a child, I couldn’t wait to leave this place and as I got older I noticed, I realized, that this is a great place to live and there’s just so many memories here” (personal communication June 20, 2013).

Many of those who were not raised on the Reservation as children were educated by their parents and grandparents who were residents with a lifetime of understanding the importance of the Reservation. So “it’s a place people come back to, [even] people that have never lived here. This connection that their parents had, or grandparents had, and they’re coming, I think trying to recapture something of what their parents or grandparents had,” Cook said (personal communication with Warren Cook June 20, 2013). Those who did not spend their childhood as Reservation residents were still raised with close ties to it. For them, myself included, the Reservation’s meaning is replete with memories of visiting family and engaging the landscape on those visits. Central to those experiences

and memories is the river; it is where we non-resident Pamunkey children spent most of our time when visiting. Lauren Porter explained, "It would have been a lot different if we were more inland and we weren't by the river... Growing up, whenever I would come to the Reservation we would always go down to the river... Grandpa would take us out in his canoe or we would fish. I feel like fishing has always been a big part of that because of the river, and if we were somewhere else, things would have been a lot different..." (personal communication July 8, 2013).

Many tribal members recognize survival and persistence as the center of the Reservation's value, highlighting the role it played in providing safety, seclusion and sustenance for the Pamunkey over 300 years. For example, tribal member Ethan Brown believes the strong sense of community engendered Pamunkey persistence.

"I feel like the community aspect of it is the biggest aspect for it surviving. A community has always been here even if they had to adapt to survive... [And] since they had to adapt to outside culture to survive, even way back in the past... they were rediscovering themselves too and celebrating their earlier culture." (personal communication August 29, 2013).

When speaking with Kevin Brown about the Reservation's meaning he mentioned a conversation with anthropologist John Moore about the reasons behind Pamunkeys' ability to survive despite our location at the center of English colonial expansion in the Americas. They both agreed it was due to

"Location, location, location, it was almost an island, it was secluded enough that we didn't have anybody trying to come through, but with commerce on the river we could get supplies and had a life line for trade. We had just the right mixture of seclusion and... contact" (personal communication July 24, 2013).

K. Brown even speculated about these characteristics playing a factor in the decisions made by our ancestral leaders in choosing this place to settle during the colonial period. "I wonder, did the Queen of Pamunkey think about that, and know that this would be the place... I think maybe she had the knowledge or the vision to pick this place," he said (Ibid). Water has been central to our community's existence. J. Brown explained, "It's all about the river and it always has been," (personal communication October 19, 2013). Warren Cook shared that the Pamunkey "hold wetlands as one of our almost sacred sites because the wetlands is what fed us all the way back, we got medicine from the wetlands, we got animals, fur-bearing animals, food. So we have stated that wetlands is one of our traditional cultural properties" (interviewed by John Moore, June 1, 2006).

The seclusion and bountiful landscape the Reservation continues to provide for the Pamunkey are still referenced, and demonstrate that the community has not quite completed the transition, initiated over a century ago, of being totally immersed within the contemporary capitalist economy. This transition is not complete because Pamunkey people continue to engage the Reservation landscape in ways that could ensure their ability to operate and subsist outside of it if the need were to arise. As K. Brown described, "It's just kind of nice to know if times really got hard that you could make it here, just like your ancestors made it, and just about everybody on the Reservation could... you don't have to worry too much about the economy or the rest of the world" (personal communication July 24, 2013).

For other tribal members the Reservation inspires conflicting feelings developed over a lifetime that fluctuate between feelings of honor and pride to have come from this place, on the one hand, to feelings of restlessness and agitation on the other, as many residents were eager to create a life away from the seclusion. Reservation resident and potter, Debra Martin, speculated about the meaning the Reservation had to her grandparents and mother.

“It was just a place they lived... I look at with Mama, it wasn’t a place that she seemed to be particularly proud of coming from, but I understand why just because... it was something to hold you back, you’re Indian... it was just something that set you apart,” Martin said (personal communication August 2, 2013).

This sentiment in some ways still rings true for the younger residents; they too face the decision between living on the Reservation with limited availability to economic opportunities or moving to a place where jobs are more easily accessible. When Warren Taylor was interviewed in 2013 he was a Reservation resident commuting to and from Williamsburg for work, and he explained that the Reservation was a peaceful home where one can escape from mainstream society. “It’s kind of a place where I imagine I would just like to spend the rest of my life, but money wise I don’t know if I can do that” (personal communication July 6, 2013). Warren has since moved from the Reservation to live in Williamsburg, VA.

Interestingly, tribal member Ethan Brown moved to the Reservation with his family and has embraced a lifestyle that incorporates both subsistence practices and wage labor, much like the generations of our grandparents and great-grandparents. E. Brown argues that the ways of life in the past, that are in many

ways still represented in the Reservation landscape, are not mutually exclusive from contemporary life that is more deeply embedded in a capitalist and global economy. For him, it is important to connect the past to our present with an understanding that the past and present are mingled, and as the community moves forward into the future, we should always do so with reference to our history and culture. Although, E. Brown claims he is

“Not suggesting we should try to live like that again, but sort of create a contemporary culture that is based on the past, that’s what we have here... A lot of people here still have big gardens, go hunting, and fish, its sort of a mixture. I’m all for business, and for improvement and using new contemporary ways of doing things, but I feel it should be tied to our culture... we should do businesses that incorporate our beliefs” (personal communication August 29, 2013).

In these shared reflections we observe the ways Pamunkey people place value on the Reservation landscape, a landscape defined by reciprocal interactions between the land and the cultural practices tied to it, which in turn transformed this space into a culturally defined place for expressing community (cf. Heidegger 1971). These processes and the relationships they generated, and continue to create, are observed on the Reservation as the landscape and the community exists in constant reciprocity, and for many Pamunkey people, one could not have persisted without the other. I believe Pamunkey people from all generations referenced and defined themselves and the community to which they belonged in terms of both the past, present, and future, all of which are enmeshed in the various roles the Reservation landscape has played in each of those generations over time. These roles ranged from everyday subsistence, to the engagement and appropriation of the market economy, to engendering a

sense of tradition, remembering, home, and security offered by the landscape's continual seclusion from mainstream society.

Landscape archaeologist Barbara Bender states that, "landscape is time materializing: landscapes, like time, never stand still" (2002:104), and this declaration rings true for the Reservation landscape. Just as the Pamunkey community has experienced transition in their economic practices over the past 400 years so too has the Reservation landscape itself experienced transition. No longer do the post and rail fences stand to demarcate family farming plots, nor do the hedge groves continue to grow for the purpose of distinguishing one family's allotment from the other. The groves were removed when the Tribe began leasing its land to outside farmers living in the surrounding county (Robert Gray interviewed by John Moore, May 30, 2006). These allotment boundaries were never recorded or mapped, and like so many aspects of the Pamunkey past, they exist only in the memories of those who have lived long enough to remember them. The roads are paved, electrical lines (first erected in the 1940s) haphazardly dot the land, and almost all of those weatherboard farmhouses that once sheltered Pamunkey families over 150 years ago have been replaced by modern construction or modular homes. And even those aspects of the Reservation that one could define as steadfast, the river, and the ground beneath our feet, are transforming. The land is eroding into the river at a rapid pace, and the sediment building up in the river has begun to host new plants and wildlife that were not readily observed decades earlier. But these processes, while surely

impacted by human activity, are natural, like the movement of time, and the inevitable changes following the wake of that movement.

While some might read this passage as a depressing description of change, to many Pamunkey it is simply evidence of our community's ability to adjust and adapt with the moving tides of time, as those who came before us have always done. But in the midst of this changing landscape you can still see men netting the river for shad in March and April, and we continue to honor and celebrate the watermen's catch with our annual end-of-the-shad-season fish fry. One can still hear the bubbling water of the Pamunkey River as it is pumped in and out of the fish hatchery to support the newly hatched shad fry. The tribally owned duck blinds are used and bid upon every year. Pamunkey women continue to produce ceramics for sale to those visiting our museum. During the last week of November you can hear the shot gun sounds of Pamunkey hunters searching the Reservation's woods for the deer we present to the governor at the annual treaty tribute. The wetlands continue to be the most breathtaking component of the Reservation's natural landscape, and the sun's cyclical movement and the river's flowing current remain constant. The sun sets and rises where it always has for thousands of years at two points along the river that are today, important gathering places for the Pamunkey community. And the river, while its direction has shifted over the centuries, continues to wind its way around the land and lives of Pamunkey people. But most importantly this place is still our home, and for the Pamunkey people, that is the one truth that will always remain constant.

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