

U. S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service

Werowocomoco
Gloucester, Virginia

5. Classification

Ownership of Property (Check as many boxes as apply)

- private
- public-local
- public-State
- public-Federal

Category of Property (Check only one box)

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	buildings
<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	sites
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	structures
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	objects
<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 0

Name of related multiple property listing (Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.) N/A

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions (Enter categories from instructions)

Cat: DOMESTIC Sub: Village Site
GOVERNMENT Capital

Current Functions (Enter categories from instructions)

Cat: AGRICULTURE Sub: Agricultural Fields
DOMESTIC Single Dwelling

7. Description

Architectural Classification (Enter categories from instructions)

N/A

Materials (Enter categories from instructions)

foundation N/A
roof N/A
walls N/A

other N/A

Narrative Description (Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

8. Statement of Significance

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Applicable National Register Criteria (Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing)

- A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations (Mark "X" in all the boxes that apply.)

- A owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B removed from its original location.
- C a birthplace or a grave.
- D a cemetery.
- E a reconstructed building, object or structure.
- F a commemorative property.
- G less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance (Enter categories from instructions)

Archaeology - Historic/Aboriginal; Archaeology - Prehistoric;
Exploration/Settlement

Period of Significance A.D. 1607-1609 (Early Contact Period)

A.D. 900-1607 (Late Woodland Period)

Significant Dates A.D. 1607-1609

Significant Person (Complete if Criterion B is marked above) Powhatan and Pocahontas

Cultural Affiliation Powhatan Indians

Architect/Builder N/A

Narrative Statement of Significance (Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS)

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary Location of Additional Data

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other

Name of repository: Virginia Department of Historic Resources and College of William and Mary

10. Geographical Data

Acreeage of Property 45 acres

UTM References (Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet)

Zone	Easting	Northing	Zone	Easting	Northing
1 18	353180	4141680	2 18	353660	4141620
3 18	353720	4141440	4 18	353340	4141060

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title E. Randolph Turner, III, Archaeologist/Director, Tidewater Regional Office (see continuation sheet)
organization Virginia Department of Historic Resources date October 1, 2005
street & number 14415 Old Courthouse Way, 2nd Floor telephone 757-886-2815
city or town Newport News state VA zip code 23608

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

Photographs Representative black and white photographs of the property.

Additional items (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name Robert F. and C. Lynn Ripley
street & number 3051 Ginny Hill Road telephone _____
city or town Gloucester state VA zip code 23061

=====
Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including the time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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7. Description

Summary Paragraph

The Werowocomoco Archaeological Site (44GL32) is a Native American village situated on Purtan Bay along the York River in Gloucester County, Virginia and which dates to the Late Woodland (A.D. 900-1607) and Early Contact (A.D. 1607-1609) periods. When the English founded Jamestown in 1607, it served as the capital of the Powhatan chiefdom and the principal residence of the chiefdom's paramount chief, Powhatan. In 1609 Powhatan abandoned Werowocomoco and moved his capital further west to put additional distance between him and the English at Jamestown. Werowocomoco has been documented through archaeological surveys and excavations since 2002 to encompass 45 acres. It is in an excellent state of condition, being largely in pasture, agricultural fields, and forest as well as extensive lawns associated with a residence on the property.

Background

Situated at Purtan Bay on the York River in Gloucester County, Virginia, the Werowocomoco Archaeological Site encompasses 45 acres of land currently in pasture, agricultural fields, forest, and residential lawns (Photo 1). This well-preserved site is the location of the capital of the Powhatan chiefdom in 1607 when the English arrived at Jamestown and served as the principal residence of the chiefdom's paramount chief Powhatan until 1609. At that time he moved the capital further west due to the closeness of the English at Jamestown and growing hostilities between the English and Powhatans.

As the capital of the Powhatan chiefdom at the time of the founding of Jamestown, Werowocomoco is of national significance. Its location at Purtan Bay is clearly established in historic maps and descriptions dating to the initial years of the Jamestown settlement.

Efforts to identify Werowocomoco's location draw on the Jamestown narratives and early maps of the region. Primary cartographic sources for Werowocomoco's location include Tindall's 1608 Draft of Virginia, the 1608 Zuñiga Map, and Smith's 1612 Map of Virginia. Tindall's Draft represents the oldest surviving map prepared by a Jamestown colonist (Mook 1943). The enigmatic Zuñiga Map was originally identified in a Spanish archive with an accompanying 1608 letter to

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Philip III of Spain from Don Pedro de Zuñiga, Spain's ambassador to England, informing him of developments at Jamestown. The map appears to be a copy of a sketch John Smith sent to England along with his *True Relation* (Barbour 1969:238). Smith's formal Map of Virginia was subsequently published in 1612 accompanied by text describing Powhatan society. This well-known map went through at least eleven revisions and multiple printings (Stephenson and McKee 2000:28). The Zuñiga, Smith, and Tindall maps are oriented such that west is at the top, reflecting a reference point from the Chesapeake Bay or the Atlantic Ocean. Portions of each of these maps for the York River environs, provided at the same scale, can be seen in Figure 1. Using known landmarks such as the confluence of the Mattaponi and Pamunkey rivers at modern-day West Point, the village of Kiskiack at the U.S. Naval Weapons Station (see below), and Gloucester Point at the mouth of the York River, the maps clearly place Werowocomoco at Purtan Bay.

Robert Tindall, one of the original colonists, accompanied Christopher Newport to the villages of Powhatan and Werowocomoco (Barbour 1969:104-107). Tindall describes himself in a letter as "gunner to Prince Henry" and later references indicate he became a master mariner (Mook 1943:373). Tindall's map includes a remarkable amount of accurate detail given its early date, depicting the James from its mouth to the village of "Poetan" (i.e., Powhatan) symbolized with an icon of a yihakan (house). "Prince Henry's River" (i.e., the York) extends from its mouth to a location west of the Pamunkey – Mattaponi confluence. The village of "Pamonke" (i.e. Pamunkey) appears in a location west of this confluence that approximates the area of the contemporary Pamunkey Reservation. Downstream from the Pamunkey – Mattaponi confluence on the north side of the York, Tindall depicted a second village labeled Poetan, this one signified by four Native houses. The shoreline at Poetan suggests a bay fed by three streams that enter in the vicinity of the village. Scholars (e.g., Brown 1890:151,188; Tyler 1901; Mook 1943:379) have long agreed that "Poetan" represents another name for Werowocomoco given that the village was known primarily as Powhatan's residence, and Tindall was known to have visited the location. The only other York River settlement depicted on the map is "Chescoyak" (i.e., Kiskiack), a village that functioned almost as a gateway to Werowocomoco for the English who generally traveled by boat (Underwood et al. 2003). Consistent with other early maps, Kiskiack is placed on the southwest side of the York upstream of its mouth. Recent research conducted by the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research (Underwood et al. 2003) has identified the archaeological site of Kiskiack on the grounds of the Naval Weapons Station, a location that corresponds closely with Tindall's Draft.

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Tindall's Draft lacks a scale, making distances on the map unclear. However, by using the approximately 25 mile distance from the Mattaponi-Pamunkey confluence (today's West Point) to "Tindall's Point" (today's Gloucester Point) as a gauge, distances from Poetan / Werowocomoco to other reference points on the York may be estimated accurately. The distance from Pamunkey village to the Pamunkey – Mattaponi confluence is approximately 5 linear miles or 10 – 15 miles by river. The distance from the Pamunkey – Mattaponi confluence to Poetan / Werowocomoco is 11 miles, while the distance from Poetan / Werowocomoco to Chescoyak / Kiskiack is approximately 10 miles, and the distance to Tindall's / Gloucester Point is approximately 14.5 miles. These closely match distances from Purton Bay as measured on a modern map of the York: Purton is 11 miles below West Point, 11 miles above the Naval Weapons Station at Indian Field Creek, and 14 miles upriver from Gloucester Point. Tindall's Map also accords well with the York River shoreline at Purton Bay, which is fed by Purton, Leigh, and Bland creeks. Given this rather remarkable congruence, it is not surprising that scholars have long agreed that Purton Bay represents the location of Werowocomoco.

The Zuñiga Map adds additional detail to the York River landscape and expands the region covered to include areas to the south of the James described by Roanoke colonists as well as the Rappahannock and Potomac drainages. The map is consistent with Tindall's in the relative placement of Jamestown, Werowocomoco, Kiskiack, and the Mattaponi-Pamunkey confluence. The Zuñiga Map includes the names of 68 villages Smith visited prior to June 1608 and additional names beyond the core James / York area apparently drawn from Native informants and from reports of the Roanoke Colony (Barbour 1969:238). Notations on the map include the expression "20 miles above this C. S. [word crossed out] was taken" and dotted lines that trace the route on which Captain Smith was taken during his captivity. Several villages, including Kiskiack on the York, are identified as a scatter of dots (apparently depicting houses) lining the riverfront or embayed areas along the river. Additional notation on the map includes the path Smith took during his December 1607 - January 1608 captivity and scattered dots that appear to represent dispersed house locations in some Powhatan villages. At Werowocomoco the cartographer added an unusual set of symbols that appear as dots surrounding a double "D" shaped pattern. Within the two "D"s are three additional dots. The significance of this notation is unclear, but its large size clearly conveys its strategic importance alongside Jamestown.

Clearly a detailed sketch drawn by someone with much greater familiarity with the James and York than areas beyond these rivers, the document is particularly valuable as an informal map

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drawn by hand “in the field” rather than as a formal, engraved map. The map apparently reflects Smith’s recordation of a Chesapeake landscape that he experienced first-hand more broadly than any other colonist while Powhatan resided at Werowocomoco. As Turner and Opperman (1993:72) have noted, the chaotic mix of dots, blobs, and odd marks on the Zuñiga map likely reflects Smith’s efforts to characterize an unfamiliar landscape of dispersed Native villages and community forms with which he was unfamiliar.

Smith’s later Map of Virginia clearly evolved out of some version of the Zuñiga Map, though the later document had changed considerably as it was standardized according to the formal mapmaking style of early seventeenth-century England. Where Smith had experienced the Chesapeake landscape while passing through it (as indicated by the captivity trail on the Zuñiga Map) the formalized Map of Virginia effectively obscured the events leading to its creation. This concealment parallels a broader colonial process: beginning in the fifteenth century European colonists’ narrative accounts of new places were replaced by maps, documents that “colonized” space in the process (de Certeau 1984:118-122). Named places associated with varied topologies, histories, and memories were conflated through their inclusion on the same Cartesian plane. Smith’s *Map of Virginia* achieves this by excluding much of the detail found on the Zuñiga Map, detail that may prove valuable in understanding the Chesapeake cultural landscape circa 1607.

Even so, Smith’s 1612 Map of Virginia is invaluable for its comprehensive coverage of the Chesapeake region and its accurate rendering of Virginia tidewater physiography. Distances on the map from Werowocomoco closely match those on the Tindall Map. Werowocomoco is depicted as 14 miles upstream from Tyndall’s Point and 9 miles above Kiskiack. It is also 11 miles below the confluence of the Pamunkey River (labeled here as the “Youghtanund”) and the Mattaponi. The shoreline includes a bay and indentations suggesting three creeks. The map has, however, excluded most of the notations found on the Zuñiga Map. Settlements are depicted as either points (ordinary houses) or yihakans (kings’ houses). The map implies a uniformity and spatial boundedness to Native settlements that fail to match the archaeology of Contact period settlements. Such settlements generally consist of dispersed villages with variable communal organization (cf. Turner and Opperman 1993).

The cartographic sources may be combined with other written references to Werowocomoco’s landscape in order to determine whether Purtan Bay matches these descriptions.

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From Smith’s second (1986a:63) visit to Werowocomoco we learn that the village was situated on a shallow bay some 12 miles from Jamestown that was choked with “ooze” and fed by three creeks all

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“within lesse then a mile” with the York River channel being 1 ½ miles away. In the text of his Map of Virginia (1986b:173) Smith modifies the distance from Jamestown slightly to 14 miles. Smith described the confluence of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi rivers and Native settlements in this region, noting “Where this river is divided the Country is called Pamaunke, and nourished 300 able men. About 25 miles lower on the North side of this river is Werawocomoco, where their great king inhabited when Captain Smith was delivered him prisoner” (1986b:147). Smith also offers some indications of Werowocomoco’s layout by describing Powhatan’s house as situated thirty score from the water. Whether this refers to a distance of 600 feet or 600 paces (or roughly 1,500-1,800 feet) is left unclear in the text, yet the implication is that Powhatan met Smith and Newport in a structure spatially removed from the riverfront.

Smith’s references to the shallow bay fed by three creeks fits the Purtan Bay area well with Purtan, Leigh, and Bland creeks being present here. These three creeks are all within less than one mile of each other, and the York River channel is over one mile to the east of the mouth of Leigh Creek. Smith’s comment on the “ooze” here is a well know feature of Purtan Bay and its broad but very shallow nature. Purtan Bay is located 13 miles northeast of Jamestown, again, according with the Map of Virginia. On first glance, Smith’s reference to Werowocomoco as 25 miles below “where the river is divided” is puzzling. Traveling 25 miles below the Pamunkey – Mattaponi confluence on the York takes one to Gloucester Point. The three early seventeenth-century maps of the area described above consistently place Powhatan villages (including Werowocomoco) well upstream of this location. In fact, if the village of Kiskiack was indeed roughly 10 miles downstream of Gloucester Point that would place it at the York River mouth. Returning to the text, though, it is clear from the first sentence in the passage that Smith is referring to the “Country called Pamunkey” rather than the confluence of the Mattaponi and Pamunkey rivers (Montague 1972). The core of Pamunkey territory was located some distance west of the Pamunkey River’s mouth. In fact, the village labeled “Pamonke” on Tindall’s map of the York was located approximately 21 – 26 miles upstream from what is today Purtan Bay.

A related and intriguing explanation to Smith’s 25 mile reference can be found on the Zuniga map. Roughly 25 miles upstream from the location of Werowocomoco, the map shows an island in the Pamunkey River with the river here dividing around the island. It is conceivable that this location, in the heart of Pamunkey territory, was what Smith was referring to in his reference on “where the river is divided.”

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Despite the overwhelming evidence for Werowocomoco being at Purtan Bay, one additional location needs review. William Stith in his 1747 *History of Virginia* suggests that Werowocomoco

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was in the Shelly-Timberneck area to the east of Purtan Bay based upon a misreading of Smith. This appears again in publications by Charles Campbell and Henry Howe dating to 1845 and 1846 which in turn was repeated by William Meade in 1857. As documented by Montague (1972), focus was placed on a ruined chimney that was named "Powhatan's Chimney" and attributed to be what remained of a house the English were to build for Powhatan in 1609.

Stith's mistake was in taking a quote by Smith (see above) about Werowocomoco being 25 miles below Pamunkey territory and assuming that the measurement began at the confluence of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi rivers, which is modern-day West Point. Following this approach, others have assumed that the ruined chimney at Timberneck Creek marked the location of Werowocomoco.

However, measuring 25 miles from West Point places one at modern-day Gloucester Point (but not at Timberneck Creek which is over three miles to the west), a location totally inconsistent with the early 17th-century maps noted above. Further, and critical here, is the remainder of Smith's statement, which advocates of the Timberneck location ignore; Smith specifically notes that the village of Kiskiack is 10 to 12 miles below Werowocomoco which if located at Timberneck Creek would place Kiskiack well past Gloucester Point, a position totally inconsistent with the Tindall, Zuniga, and Smith maps! In actuality, the village of Kiskiack has been recently identified as being at the U.S. Naval Weapons Station which as noted above, is 11 miles below Purtan Bay, a perfect fit with the Smith quote and consistent with the location provided on the above-noted maps (see Figures 1 and 2).

Additional inconsistencies can be found when comparing the location of Timberneck Creek with Smith's description of the bay and three creeks at Werowocomoco. As discussed above, Smith notes Werowocomoco being in a shallow bay with three creeks all of which were within less than a mile distance. This is a perfect fit for Purtan Bay and the three creeks there. The same is not true of Timberneck Creek which is not part of a bay with the two nearest creeks, Cedarbush and Carter. Further, the distance from Timberneck Creek to Carter Creek is approximately three miles and not the "within less than a mile" distance Smith notes and what actually occurs at Purtan Bay.

Even the actual marl chimney at Timberneck Creek is inconsistent with what one would expect for English construction in 1609. As recent archaeological research at Jamestown has

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documented, early structures were of simple construction with chimneys typically not made of brick or stone. Had the massive chimney (made of marl blocks that had to be quarried from the York River cliffs and then brought to the site) been constructed in 1609, it would have been far superior to

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anything at Jamestown and certainly would have been commented on (Montague 1972). Finally, the limited archaeological research at the chimney does not support an early 17th-century construction date (Brown 2001). In short, there simply is no evidence to suggest that “Powhatan’s Chimney” was ever actually associated with Powhatan or even built during the initial years of the Jamestown settlement.

Taken together, the documentary and cartographic sources leave no doubt that the Purtan Bay vicinity represents the location of Werowocomoco. Besides Montague’s contribution noted above, other scholars confirming the Purtan Bay location include Brown (1890), Tyler (1901), Gray (1934), Mook (1943), Lewis and Loomie (1953), Noel Hume (1994:225), Rountree (1989, 1990, 2005), Haile (1998), and McCartney (2001). This view also has been presented in recent publications by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (Kelso and Straube 2004:24; cf. Packer 1989:7 and Lindgren 1993:42-43.), Virginia Department of Historic Resources (Turner 2003; Gallivan et al. 2005), National Park Service (Rountree et al. 2005), and National Geographic Society (Borne 2005:49).

While historians have long identified Purtan Bay as the location of Werowocomoco, it was not until 1977 that the site first appeared in the Commonwealth of Virginia’s archaeological inventory files as 44GL32. It was then that Virginia Commonwealth University archaeologist L. Daniel Mouer visited the property and upon finding Native American artifacts dating to the Late Woodland/Contact period identified the site as the “possible location” of Werowocomoco. A brief survey by the Gloucester County Archaeological Project followed in 1978-79. Just over two decades later, Gloucester-based archaeologists David Brown and Thane Harpole visited the site and met with the owners Bob and Lynn Ripley to discuss the 1978-79 survey. At that time, Lynn Ripley showed them a remarkable collection of Native American artifacts she had amassed over the years as she walked her property. Recognizing the potential significance of this collection, Brown and Harpole contacted the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR) in 2001. At that time Randolph Turner visited the site and confirmed that many of the artifacts dated to the Late Woodland/Contact period (ca. A.D. 900 to the early 17th century). The sheer volume of the collection clearly indicated to him that the site could only be Werowocomoco.

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With the enthusiastic encouragement and support of the owners and assistance from the DHR, Harpole and Brown (2003) conducted a comprehensive archaeological survey of the site. Through a combination of screened shovel tests at a 50 ft. interval and selected test excavations, the site was documented to encompass approximately 45 acres. This area includes an entire lower

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terrace facing Purtan Bay to the west and with Leigh Creek to the north and Bland Creek to the south. The site's western, northern, and southern edges are defined by a 20 ft. AMSL contour line, while its eastern boundary is at the eastern edge of an upper terrace at 30 ft. AMSL. Late Woodland period artifacts (ca. A.D. 900-1607) were found throughout the surveyed area. In addition, the survey results, combined with surface collections gathered by Lynn Ripley, document Early and Middle Woodland (ca. 1200 B.C. – A.D. 900) and Archaic (ca. 8000 – 1200 B.C.) occupation as well as later post-Werowocomoco occupation dating from the late 17th through 20th centuries A.D.

As additional confirmation of 44GL32 as the location of Werowocomoco, the DHR conducted earlier in 1989 a comprehensive archaeological survey of the sole other location inside Purtan Bay, a small neck of land immediately to the north and defined by Leigh Creek to its south and Purtan Creek to its north. Much to the surprise of the archaeological survey team, the property contained no significant Late Woodland/Early Contact period occupation. This is in graphic contrast to what the survey of 44GL32 encountered.

In late 2002, knowing that 44GL32 was indeed Werowocomoco, DHR entered into a partnership with the owners, Brown and Harpole, and the College of William and Mary, forming the Werowocomoco Research Group. In addition to Brown, Harpole, and Turner, additional members include Martin Gallivan, an archaeologist with the College of William and Mary, and Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, head of the American Indian Resource Center at the College of William and Mary.

The Werowocomoco Research Group met with the Virginia Council on Indians in November 2002 and Virginia Indian tribal leaders in February 2003 to inform them of what the group believed to be a firm identification of Werowocomoco and to solicit their advice on how to proceed. At their suggestion, an advisory board was formed of representatives of the descendent community tribes to take an active part in formulating research goals and policy for future investigations at the site. This board has since played a critical role in the Werowocomoco project, both in terms of subsequent field investigations and public outreach projects.

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Archaeological excavations began in 2003 and have continued to the present. A combination of exploratory test units and block excavations have documented intact Late Woodland/Contact period deposits virtually throughout the 45 acres nominated (Figure 3).

As expected, and typical of Powhatan villages, intensive occupation is found along the

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waterfront at Purtan Bay. Here have been documented literally hundreds of postholes from former structures in addition to other cultural features as well as well preserved faunal and botanical remains (Photo 2). It also is here that one finds the highest density and diversity of Native American artifacts on the site, with the Late Woodland/Contact period date being confirmed by the presence of shell tempered fabric impressed, simple stamped, and plain ceramic shards as well as triangular projectile points (Photo 4).

Unexpected, however, was continuation of intact Late Woodland/Contact period deposits to the east away from Purtan Bay. Here at a distance of approximately one thousand feet from the waterfront, two parallel ditches were discovered, each being approximately 2-3 feet wide and 1.5 feet deep (Photo 3). These ditches virtually bisect the property in a north-south direction, thereby dividing the site into a western portion nearest the water and an eastern portion bordering an interior upper terrace edge. The presence of solely Native American artifacts in all but the very tops of the ditches suggest they are indeed of Native American origin. This is further confirmed by two radiocarbon dates, one from each ditch, A.D. 1400-1450 and A.D. 1400-1460 (both calibrated ages at the two sigma range; cf. Gallivan et al. 2005). Intriguingly, Smith (1986a:69) describes Powhatan's house at Werowocomoco as being "some thirtie score" from the waterfront. If one assumes he was referring to paces, this places the structure ca. 1,500-1,800 feet from the waterfront as it existed in 1607-1609, and clearly to the east of these ditches. Limited test excavations to the east of these ditches have documented the presence of Late Woodland/Contact period occupation here in association with intact postholes which are undoubtedly the remains of former structures.

Given the virtual uniqueness of the ditches in tidewater Virginia archaeology from the perspective of their location away from the waterfront, it is possible that they serve as a divide between the secular portion of the site nearest the water and perhaps a more restricted, possibly sacred, area to the east. This interpretation is consistent with descriptions of Powhatan temples which are documented as having their entranceway and associated sacred fire facing east. It also is consistent with the use of Werowocomoco as the capital of the Powhatan chiefdom and principal

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residence of its paramount chief, who was at the pinnacle of not merely secular but also sacred power in the chiefdom.

Further confirming 44GL32 as the location of Werowocomoco is a unique cache of European artifacts found by a relic collector in 1997 and which dates to the first half of the 17th century. The cache is remarkably consistent with early English accounts of items desired by the Powhatans during the initial years of the Jamestown settlement and includes a copper-alloy pot, fragments of a copper-

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alloy 'seal-top' spoon, two copper-alloy 'King's Touch' tokens dating to the reign of James I, nine complete and three fragments of small copper-alloy beads, over 3,500 small white beads and 300 small blue glass beads, one larger spherical blue/white chevron bead, and one wrought iron lathing hammer with hatchet end (Gallivan et al. 2005). It is precisely such types of items that Powhatan and his district chiefs attempted to maintain a monopoly on during trade with the English to further enhance their status.

Related, 20 copper artifacts found elsewhere at Werowocomoco have been tested by chemical analysis and found to be markedly similar to a group of copper and copper-alloy artifacts excavated from the early 17th century English settlement of Jamestown (Hudgins 2005). They also display a similar composition to other copper artifacts found at the Contact period village of Kiskiack downriver from Werowocomoco and a Paspahegh village near Jamestown. In all cases, these artifacts likely were obtained through trade with the English at Jamestown during the early 17th century. Selected examples of copper fragments found at Werowocomoco, including one rolled bead, are illustrated in Photo 5.

To date, less than 5% of Werowocomoco has been archaeologically excavated. While excavations will continue through at least 2007, the 400-year commemoration of the founding of Jamestown, the vast majority of the site's acreage (well over 75%) will remain preserved for future generations. As part of its public outreach program, the Werowocomoco Research Group has maintained since 2004 a web site (<http://powhatan.wm.edu>) which is updated on a regular basis to convey to the public the results of ongoing archaeological investigations at Werowocomoco.

Situated within the nominated acreage are four non-contributing buildings: a residence, workshop/garage, equipment shed, and dog kennel. All date to the mid-20th century. Given the minimal area encompassed by them and the 45-acre size of Werowocomoco, these buildings have not significantly impacted the archaeological resources here.

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8. Statement of Significance

Summary Paragraph

The Werowocomoco Archaeological Site (44GL32) is significant in that it can address important historical and archaeological issues related to the evolution and structural organization of chiefdom societies as well as the effects resulting from interactions between indigenous Native American societies and the initial English settlements in North America. Werowocomoco meets the following three criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places:

Criterion A. The site is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history, namely

- * The site was the capital of the Powhatan chiefdom and the principal residence of its paramount chief, Powhatan, at the time of the founding of Jamestown in 1607 by the English.
- * The site represents the sole location where Powhatan and Captain John Smith met face-to face, and where according to Smith Pocahontas saved his life in 1607.

Criterion B. The site is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past, namely

- * The site served as the principal residence of Powhatan from at least 1607 until 1609 and as the capital of the Powhatan chiefdom reflects his role as paramount chief.
- * As the dominant Native American leader in coastal Virginia, it was at Werowocomoco, and there alone, that Powhatan met with the English during the initial years of the Jamestown settlement, a period critical to the history of our nation.
- * Werowocomoco represents the sole site currently identified as to precise location that is known to have been a residence of Powhatan during his adult life.

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- * The site is directly associated with Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, being the location where Captain John Smith claims that she saved his life during his captivity in December 1607.

Criterion D. The site has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in history, namely

- * The site contains well preserved archaeological deposits that can provide significant new information on Native American lifeways during the Late Woodland and early Contact periods, including adaptive changes associated with the evolution of a chiefdom society.
- * The site, being the location of historically documented interactions between the Powhatans and English during the initial years of the Jamestown settlement (1607-1609), is likely to contain significant new information on such interactions and their effects on both Powhatan and English society.

Background

The earliest, and best known, events recorded at the village of Werowocomoco began during December of 1607 when Captain John Smith was captured, brought to the village, and released after a period of captivity lasting roughly four weeks (Smith 1986a:43-59, 1986c:212-213, 1986d:146-151). Nearly half of the original colonists were dead by this time as a result of starvation, disease, and hostilities with the Powhatans. The paramount chief Powhatan was apparently carefully following the colony's struggles to acquire food, sending gifts of maize and other provisions at strategic moments that kept at least some of the colonists from starvation. He received copper objects, glass beads, and iron hatchets in return. In a contentious move with Smith at the center, Edward Wingfield had recently been replaced as president of the colony's ruling council. The new president, John Ratcliffe, placed Smith in charge of relations with the Natives.

On December 10th Smith took nine men and the colony's shallop westward five miles up the James to the mouth of the Chickahominy River. His principal intention was to explore the Chickahominy River for a possible route to the Pacific, though it is also clear Smith sought to reconnoiter as much of the surrounding territory as possible. After Smith's party passed a series of

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villages, the densely populated Moysenec peninsula, and the village of Apocant 50 miles from the Chickahominy's mouth, the river became too narrow for the shallop. Smith arranged for two men from Apocant to guide him and two other colonists, Thomas Emry and John Robinson, further upriver.

The next day the five men set forth in a canoe. After traveling another 12 miles upriver, the group came to shore to eat. In the meantime and unbeknownst to Smith, the men he had left behind at Apocant were attacked by a group of Chickahominies when they went ashore. One of the colonists, George Casson, was captured, tortured, and killed. Upriver, Smith was on foot with one of his guides and separated from Emry and Robinson when he heard a loud cry from their direction. Thinking that his guide had betrayed him, Smith trained his gun on the man, who immediately urged him to run. At this point Smith was struck with an arrow in the leg. After returning fire with his pistol several times, new attackers appeared, sending volleys of arrows in his direction. Seizing his guide as a shield, Smith was immediately surrounded by a force of 200 Natives led by Opechancanough, the Pamunkey weroance (chief) and brother of Powhatan. The guide shouted that Smith was a leader of the English and therefore should not be killed. A standoff ensued as Smith demanded that he be allowed to return to the canoe while Opechancanough insisted that Smith lay down his arms or be killed just as his two compatriots had already been slain. This ended when Smith, still holding his guide, fell into the mud and became stuck. Smith promptly threw down his weapon and surrendered.

Brought before Opechancanough, Smith pulled out his compass and began to explain its use and the motion of planets in the solar system. This effort to impress and mystify Opechancanough apparently drew from the experiences of the Roanoke colonists years earlier (Barbour 1986:102). Smith was then conducted to a hunting camp named Rassawek six miles from where he was seized. At the camp the Powhatan men formed a ring and performed a dance. Smith noted that the men were painted red on their heads and shoulders with animal skins on their arms and bird wings tied to their hair. After being fed well, Smith conversed with Opechancanough about English ships, James Fort's defenses, and a place called Ocanahonan where men wore English clothes—possibly a reference to refugees from the Roanoke colony. Opechancanough agreed to Smith's request that he be allowed to write a letter to Jamestown about his status. In the letter, which was brought to Jamestown by some of Opechancanough's men, Smith mentioned his fear of an imminent attack on the fort. Subsequently Smith was conducted along a circuitous route that included a series of locations along the Pamunkey and Mattaponi rivers where he was brought before several weroances.

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At one settlement he was asked to demonstrate the effectiveness of his pistol from a distance beyond its range. In order to hide its limitations, Smith covertly broke the weapon. At the village of Toppahannock on the Rappahannock River Smith was presented to the weroance in order to determine whether Smith was in fact the European who had previously killed a Toppahannock leader. On finding that he was not the man, the Powhatans turned toward Werowocomoco.

Before entering Werowocomoco Smith faced a ceremony apparently intended to determine the colonists' intentions (1986d:149). This ceremony occurred either sometime prior to his tour of Powhatan villages or during his stay at the village of Pamunkey, Smith's various accounts are inconsistent on the timing. Smith was placed before a fire in a longhouse, his guards leaving his side. A "great grim fellow" entered painted black, his head adorned with stuffed snakes and weasels surrounded by feathers. The man, evidently a Powhatan priest, began his invocation and surrounded the fire with a circle of corn meal. Six more priests entered the structure in groups of three, painted half black and half red with white paint around their eyes. Next the priests sat down with Smith. After singing a song, the man Smith identified as the chief priest began to encircle the corn meal with two rings of corn kernels, all the while alternating between short speeches and songs. The priests then added short sticks between the rings of corn kernels. They continued the ceremony for three days, resting and eating only during the evenings.

In a welcome bit of exegesis, Smith (1986d:150) offers his understanding of these events: the ceremony was a means of determining whether Smith intended the Powhatans any harm. As a cosmological map of the Powhatan world, the circle of meal stood for Tsenacommacah, the Powhatans' domain. The circles of corn represented the edge of the ocean and the sticks represented the colonists' country. Smith notes that the Powhatans' imagined the world to be flat and round, like a platter, with tidewater Virginia in the center. Smith was then brought before Opitchapam, Powhatan's brother and heir. After a feast, Smith's captors then took him to Werowocomoco where he confronted Powhatan for the first time.

Arriving at Werowocomoco, Smith reported that he was met by 200 "courtiers" who studied him closely as Powhatan prepared to receive him (1986d:150). Elsewhere Smith numbered the "able" male population of Werowocomoco at 40, a relatively small number compared to other villages Smith visited (Smith 1986c:147, 1986d:104). Smith was eventually taken to Powhatan's house where he met Powhatan and his impressive retinue of men and women. The length of

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Powhatan's residence impressed Smith (1986d:126), stretching as it did some 30 to 40 yards on the long axis. Other colonists confirmed that the houses of chiefs were broader and longer than those of ordinary Powhatans (e.g., Spelman 1998:487). In describing this initial encounter, Smith (1986a:53) notes:

Arriving at Werawocomoco, their Emperour proudly lying upon a Bedstead a foote high upon tenne or twelve Mattes, richly hung with manie Chaynes of great Pearles about his necke, and covered with a great Covering of Rahaughcums: At his heade sat a woman, at his feete another, on each side sitting upon a Matte upon the ground were raunged his chiefe men on each side the fire, tenne in a ranke, and behinde them as many yong women, each a great Chaine of white Beades over their shoulders, their heades painted in redde, and [he] with such a grave and Majesticall countenance, as drave me into admiration to see such state in a naked Salvage.

In his original account (1986a) Smith describes events at Werowocomoco as including feasting and a series of conversations between Powhatan and his captive. When Powhatan inquired as to why the colonists had come, Smith replied that they had been driven by Spanish enemies, bad weather, and damaged vessels to the area. His recent exploration, Smith explained, was aimed at discovering a passage to the west and at avenging the death of one of the colonists at the hands of the Monacans, enemies of the Powhatans. Powhatan responded by describing the coastal region, Tsenacommacah, under his command and the people within and around these domains. Smith answered with an account of the territories of Europe and the ferocity of Captain Newport, Smith's "father." Powhatan next insisted that Smith and the English leave Jamestown and move their settlement to Capahosic, downstream of Werowocomoco. Powhatan would see to it that the colonists were fed and protected if they followed these instructions and provided Powhatan with hatchets and copper. Smith then was released and escorted back to Jamestown.

In a later version of these events published in 1624 as part of the *Generall Historie* Smith added an account of his "rescue" by Pocahontas from execution by Powhatan. Considering the amount of attention that has been paid this event, it is remarkable how little Smith wrote about it. Smith refers to himself in the third person:

[H]aving feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many

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as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, Pocahontas the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him as well of all occupations as themselves (Smith 1986d:151).

Two days later Smith experienced a final ceremony involving Powhatan before being released. Powhatan brought Smith to a large structure in the woods and sat him before a fire, alone once again. Soon thereafter Powhatan appeared from behind a mat in the structure with two hundred others, all painted black. Powhatan approached Smith, promising friendship and instructing him to obtain two cannons and a grindstone at Jamestown as recompense for the territory of Capahosic. Powhatan declared that he would “for ever esteeme him [i.e. Smith] as his sonne Nantaquod” (Smith 1986d:151). Smith departed for Jamestown soon thereafter.

In February 1608 the Jamestown colonists received word from Powhatan that he wanted to meet his “father” Newport (Smith 1986a:63-79, 1986c:215-217). Newport and Smith soon left by boat for Werowocomoco with 30 to 40 men. Arriving at Werowocomoco, Smith led 20 armed men ashore to revisit Powhatan while Newport remained behind. Smith (1986a:63) offers a brief description of Werowocomoco’s setting at this point in the narrative. Werowocomoco was situated on a bay fed by three creeks. The bay itself was “all ooze.” As Smith and his men attempted to enter the village, they found themselves mistakenly on one of the three creeks located within a mile of the village itself. Smith was then guided into the village by one of Powhatan’s sons.

Upon arriving at Powhatan’s house, Smith gave him a suit of red cloth, a white greyhound, and a hat. Three of his “nobles” accepted the gifts with speeches of alliance and friendship. Powhatan inquired as to Newport’s location, and Smith replied that he would arrive the following day. When invited inside to eat, Smith warily allowed his men to enter the structure in pairs only. Powhatan then asked Smith and his men to lay down their arms, noting that as his subjects, this was expected. Smith countered that only enemies would demand such an action. In an apparent effort to assure Powhatan, Smith explained that the colonists’ planned to hand over a boy to live among the Powhatans. Smith also offered to subjugate the Monacans and Susquehannocks for Powhatan. This evidently pleased Powhatan, and he declared Smith to be a Powhatan weroance. The colonists were no longer to be considered Tassantasses (strangers) or Paspaheghs (the territory in which Jamestown

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was located) but Powhatans. As Powhatan’s people, the colonists would be allowed to have corn,

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women, and land.

Smith then spent the evening in one of Powhatan's lodges, feasting and conversing with Powhatan. The following day, Powhatan brought Smith to the river and, pointing to his canoes, described the system of tribute through which he received shell beads, copper, and deer skins. Seeing that Newport was coming ashore, Powhatan left Smith so that he could receive Newport at his house. Upon meeting Powhatan, Newport offered to have Thomas Savage live with Powhatan as his son. When Powhatan repeated his request that the colonists lay down their arms, Newport sent his men back to the water. This occurred despite Smith's objection to their retreating the considerable space from Powhatan's residence to the water, a distance that Smith (1986a:69) described as "thirtie score."

On their third day at Werowocomoco, Newport began to trade with Powhatan, seeking to obtain food for hatchets and copper pots. Objecting to the idea of haggling, Powhatan demanded that Newport lay out all of the items the English brought for trade. Powhatan, as paramount chief, would choose what he wanted and reciprocate with corn as he saw fit. Newport went along with this arrangement and received an unimpressive four bushels of corn from Powhatan. Annoyed at Newport's perceived ineptitude at negotiating with Powhatan, Smith pulled out some blue beads. Powhatan demanded that Smith offer the beads in trade, but Smith answered that they were far too valuable for this. Piquing Powhatan's interest in the beads, Smith was eventually able to obtain 200 – 300 bushels of corn in return for the beads. On the fourth day at Werowocomoco, Smith had difficulty getting back to his ship. Becoming mired in the ooze once again, Smith waited until midnight for the tide to rise.

During the next days the colonists discussed with Powhatan plans for a joint attack on the Monacans. They also received several invitations from Opechancanough to visit him. Eventually Newport acquiesced and the colonists traveled up the York River to visit Powhatan's brother at Pamunkey. After several days of feasting and trading with Opechancanough (trade centered on Smith's blue beads), the colonists traveled back down the river, briefly stopped at Werowocomoco, then returned to Jamestown.

By the fall of 1608 Smith had been made president of the Jamestown colony and Newport had returned to Virginia with a second relief supply. Newport brought more colonists, including
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Germans and Poles who would come to play a role at Werowocomoco. Newport also carried instructions from the Virginia Company to find something of value in the colony and to crown

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Powhatan as a vassal to King James. Smith (1986c:235-236, 1986d:182-183) objected vehemently to the coronation as a time-consuming distraction, objections that were overruled by Newport. Smith was able to convince Newport that Smith should travel to Werowocomoco to invite Powhatan to come to Jamestown for the coronation, thus minimizing the colonists' efforts somewhat.

Smith took an overland route from Jamestown to Werowocomoco, a distance he reported as 12 miles. Upon arriving, Smith and his four men learned that Powhatan was not present but would be sent for. While waiting, Smith experienced a remarkable ceremony he labeled a "Virginia maskarado." Smith was brought to a field and placed before a fire. Soon he heard a "hideous noise" as thirty Powhatans ran shrieking from the woods and into the field. Assuming that he was under attack, Smith prepared to defend himself. In one (though not all) of Smith's (1986d:182-183) versions of the events, Pocahontas then appeared and explained to Smith that no harm was intended. Noting the men, women, and children in attendance, Smith let down his guard. Presently the thirty young women formed a ring around the fire and began to dance and sing. The women were clothed only with a few leaves and adorned with white, red, and black paint. The group's leader wore deer antlers on her head while others wore bows and arrows, clubs, and swords. After an hour of impassioned and solemn performance, the women left the same way they arrived. Smith reported that the women then offered themselves to him with the entreaty, "Love you not me"?

The next day, Powhatan arrived. Smith offered him presents and assistance in attacking the Monacans, Powhatan's enemy. He also invited him to come to Jamestown for the coronation. Powhatan angrily refused the invitation and the military assistance, insisting that he could avenge the injuries caused by the Monacans on his own. Powhatan demanded that Newport travel to Werowocomoco in eight days for the ceremony. Smith returned to Jamestown with the message.

The fourth event at Werowocomoco recorded in the Jamestown chronicles entailed Powhatan's coronation, a ceremony Smith describes in a single paragraph (1986c:237, 1986d:184). During a ceremony that must have been somewhat strange for all involved, Christopher Newport presented gifts to Powhatan, including a pitcher, a basin, a bed, and a red cloak. Powhatan did not completely comply with the English efforts to crown him:

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but a foule trouble there was to make him kneele to receive his Crowne, he neither knowing the majesty nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, endured so many perswasions, examples, and instructions, as tyred them all; at last by leaning hard on his

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shoulders, he a little stooped, and three having the crowne in their hands put it on his head, when by the warning of a Pistoll the Boats were prepared with such a volley of shot, that the King start up in a horrible feare, till he saw all was well (Smith 1986d:184).

Powhatan then gave his shoes and his mantle to Newport in return. He also provided seven or eight bushels of corn and admonished the colonists not to pursue their plans to travel west to the Monacans' territory. Smith's tone here is clearly one of contempt for Newport and bemusement with the turn of events.

The next event involving the colonists at Werowocomoco occurred late in December 1608 through January 1609, following a period when Powhatan had commanded his people to cease trading with the colonists and allow them to starve (Smith 1986c:245-250, 1986d:205-206). In a situation of growing desperation, Smith led a party to a Nansemond village and obtained a large quantity of corn by firing muskets, burning a house, and threatening to burn the entire village. Seeking to repeat this successful tactic, Smith argued that the colonists should return to Werowocomoco in order to capture Powhatan and all of his provisions. Other members of the colonial leadership opposed the plan as overly provocative. Powhatan nonetheless provided an opening for another visit to Werowocomoco when he sent word to Jamestown that he would provision the settlement if the colonists built an English-style house for him at Werowocomoco and send a grindstone, fifty swords, guns, a rooster, a hen, copper, and beads. The colonists decided to send the requested assistance and materials minus the swords and guns. Smith sent three "Dutchman" (i.e., recently-arrived German glassmakers) and two Englishmen to build the house, thinking that the project would provide an opening to surprise Powhatan. Before setting out for Werowocomoco, Smith sent an additional fourteen or fifteen colonists to assist in the house construction effort.

On December 29, 1608, a year away from his original visit to and captivity in Werowocomoco, Smith traveled by river back to Powhatan's residence, arriving on January 12, 1609. Once again, the tide was out, forcing Smith and his men to slog through the mud (covered with ice this time) to enter the village. Smith and his men quartered in the first house they found. The next day Powhatan met the colonists and asked when they planned to leave, feigning ignorance

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of his offer of provisions. When Smith reminded him of this, Powhatan repeated his demand for guns and swords, pointing out that corn was more valuable than these items since corn could be eaten. Smith responded that he had no swords or guns to spare but had sacrificed to have his men build Powhatan a house and expected friendship in return. Powhatan promised to provision the

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colonists and raised his own doubts about the purpose of their settlement:

Some doubt I have of your comming hither, that makes me not so kindly seeke to relieve you as I would: for many doe informe me, your comming hither is not for trade, but to invade my people, and possesse my Country, who dare not come to bring you corne, seeing you thus armed with your men. To free us of this feare, leave aboard your weapons, for here they are needlesse, we being all friends, and for ever Powhatans (Smith 1986d:195).

Smith soon learned that the German craftsmen had informed Powhatan of the colonists' plans and how to counter them.

Powhatan then gave the colonists corn in return for a copper kettle and discussed war and peace with the colonists, urging that they choose the latter:

Captaine Smith, you may understand that I having seene the death of all my people thrice, and not anyone living of those three generations but my selfe; I know the difference of Peace and Warre better then any in my Country. But now I am old and ere long must die, my brethren, namely Opitchapam, Opechancanough, and Kekataugh, my two sisters, and their two daughters, are distinctly each others successors. I wish their experience no lesse then mine, and your love to them no lesse then mine to you. But this bruit from Nandsamund, that you are come to destroy my Country, so much affrighteth all my people as they dare not visit you. What will it availe you to take that by force you may quickly have by love, or to destroy them that provide you food. What can you get by warre, when we can hide our provisions and fly to the woods? whereby you must famish by wronging us your friends. And why are you thus jealous of our loves seeing us unarmed, and both doe, and are willing still to feede you, with that you cannot get but by our labours? Thinke you I am so simple, not to know it is better to eate good meate, lye well, and sleepe quietly with my women and children, laugh and be merry with you, have copper, hatchets, or what I want being your friend: then be forced to flie from all, to lie cold in the woods, feede upon Acornes, rootes, and such trash, and be so hunted by you, that I can neither rest, eate, nor sleepe; but my tyred men must

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watch, and if a twig but breake, every one cryeth there commeth Captaine Smith: then must I fly I know not whether: and thus with miserable feare, end my miserable life, leaving my pleasures to such youths as you, which through your rash unadvisednesse may quickly as miserably end, for want of that, you never know where to finde. Let this therefore assure you of our loves, and every yeare our friendly trade shall furnish you with Corne; and now also,

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if you would come in friendly manner to see us, and not thus with your guns and swords as to invade your foes (Smith 1986d:196).

Whether Powhatan was referring to waves of death from epidemics, starvation, or warfare or whether he was reflecting on his own seniority is unclear. His description of successors implies a matrilineal descent pattern in which his sisters' children represented the next generation. The violence at Nansemond apparently left a strong impression on Powhatan, or so Smith (chief proponent of these tactics) would have us believe.

Powhatan implored Smith to disarm. Sensing a pending ambush and concerned that he was vulnerable in Powhatan's house with only one other colonist (John Russell) at his side, Smith refused and quietly sent word for more of the colonists to come to shore in order to ambush Powhatan before he had the opportunity. Immediately after Powhatan slipped away, Smith began to hear Powhatan's men surround the structure. Smith and Russell rushed out, fired a warning shot, and ran to meet the other colonists assembled nearby. Powhatan quickly sent an "ancient orator" to Smith with a gift of pearls to explain that Smith had misunderstood their intentions, which were simply to guard the corn Powhatan had given to the English. Cocking their weapons, the colonists convinced the Powhatans to transport the corn to barges waiting on the shore. As the tide was out and the barges were stuck in the mud, the colonists waited until evening in the village.

At this point in the narrative, we find another discrepancy in Smith's writings about the role played by Pocahontas in events at Werowocomoco. Where she is not mentioned in Smith's initial recounting of this visit to Werowocomoco, Pocahontas intervenes once again in a later account (Smith 1986d), written in 1624 after she had died. In this account Smith reported that as the evening meal approached, Pocahontas secretly approached him and reported that her father planned to have him killed at dinner. Urging him to flee, Pocahontas became upset when Smith tried to reward her with a small gift, possibly of copper or beads (Smith did not specify). Pocahontas responded that she would be killed if she were seen with the objects. When food was brought to him, Smith had the

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Powhatans taste it first. Smith sent word (with a double meaning, perhaps) that he was ready for Powhatan, yet no attack came.

After Smith left Werowocomoco in January 1609, interaction between the colonists and the Powhatans on the York River became particularly violent. Upon Smith's departure from Werowocomoco, Powhatan sent two of the Germans to Jamestown to collect weapons (Smith

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1986c:250-256, 1986d:199-206). The Germans claimed, falsely, that Smith had requested the weapons, and Councilor Winne at Jamestown agreed to the request. At the same time, several other colonists decided to abandon the “misery” of Jamestown for Werowocomoco. The day after the Germans departed for Werowocomoco, six or seven men stole swords, pike heads, firearms, shot and powder as gifts for Powhatan.

In the meantime, Smith and his party sailed upstream from Werowocomoco in an effort to obtain corn from Opechancanough at Pamunkey. The colonists met Powhatan’s brother and obtained the corn through trade. In the midst of a subsequent speech delivered by Opechancanough, Smith realized that several hundred warriors were quietly assembling nearby. Fearing an attack, Smith seized Opechancanough and threatened to shoot him. The Pamunkeys immediately backed down. While Smith later slept at Pamunkey, some warriors attempted unsuccessfully to surprise and kill him. An additional attempt to kill Smith and his men, this time through poisoning, succeeded only in making the men sick. The colonists then traveled along the Pamunkey and Mattaponi rivers and forcibly obtained corn at several villages, refraining from doing so only when moved by the tears of women and children.

Smith then headed back downstream for Werowocomoco. After sending two men ashore to reconnoiter the town, Smith learned that Powhatan had abandoned his new house and the village entirely. Apparently, the Germans had convinced Powhatan that he should leave the settlement with all of his provisions. The colonists returned to Jamestown with the enormous store of food they had obtained on the trip. Subsequently, Powhatan moved westward to Orapax located on the upper reaches of the Chickahominy River. Smith (1986d:126) described Powhatan’s departure from Werowocomoco in the following way:

At Werowocomoco on the Northside of the river Pamaunkee, was his residence, when I was delivered him prisoner, some 14 myles from James Towne, where for the most part, he was

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resident, but at last he tooke so little pleasure in our neare neighbourhood, that he retired himselfe to Orapakes, in the desert betwixt Chickahamania and Youghtanund.

It is at this point that Werowocomoco disappears in English accounts, never to be mentioned again.

From 1609 until his death in 1618, Powhatan’s centrality to Powhatan politics and interaction

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with the English declined with his move west. By 1614, Powhatan apparently shifted his residence once again, this time to Matchcot on the Pamunkey River (Smith 1986d:245). Reference to Matchcot, “the chiefest residency Powhatan had” (Hamor 1998: 807), came amidst another well-known episode in the Jamestown chronicles that featured Pocahontas, but not John Smith. After (apparently) saving Smith at Werowocomoco on the two occasions described above, Pocahontas was kidnapped by colonist Samuel Argall in 1613 and brought to Jamestown in an effort to force Powhatan to return English prisoners and stolen arms and to send additional supplies of corn. Powhatan paid part of the ransom and requested that Pocahontas be treated well. The following year, Thomas Dale brought Pocahontas and 150 men by ship up the York River seeking Powhatan, the remainder of the ransom, and compliance from the Powhatans.

Their destination, Powhatan’s “chief habitation” in Smith’s (1986d:244-245) retelling of the event, was likely not Werowocomoco since he had left the village several years earlier. Dale’s party came under attack from bowmen on shore as they headed up the York. Responding in kind, Dale’s men went ashore and burned forty houses in an unnamed town on the York. Though they never reached Powhatan, the colonists were able to meet with two of Pocahontas’ brothers who were allowed to see their sister. Pocahontas assured her brothers that she had been treated well and told them of her desire to marry Englishman John Rolfe. After the colonists met with Opechancanough at Matchcot on the Pamunkey River and received promises of peaceful relations, the colonists returned to Jamestown with Pocahontas. Powhatan subsequently sent word that he approved of the proposed marriage. Rolfe and Pocahontas married on April 5, 1614 after Pocahontas was baptized, ushering in a period of relative harmony between the colonists and the Powhatans. Pocahontas, her husband, and their young son traveled to England in 1616 in an effort to raise funds for the Virginia Company. She died in England of pneumonia or tuberculosis in 1617 as the family was embarking on the voyage back to Virginia.

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Archaeological investigations have documented that the 45-acre site of Werowocomoco is in an excellent state of preservation with intact features found throughout the site. Principal occupation of the site was during the Late Woodland period (ca. A.D. 900 – 1607) and early Contact period (A.D. 1607-1609). Given the site’s excellent preservation, it can provide significant new information on Native American lifeways in coastal Virginia during these time periods, including adaptive changes associated with the evolution of the Powhatan chiefdom. Of particular importance, Werowocomoco served as the capital of the Powhatan chiefdom and thus is unique as a site type within the region. The presence of parallel ditches separating the site into two zones is indicative

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archaeologically of this uniqueness, providing a likely glimpse of the secular-sacred dichotomy in Powhatan liveways and the internal organization of the chiefdom itself. That these ditches predate the birth of the paramount chief, perhaps by 100 years or more, similarly document the site's potential in studying adaptive processes involved in the evolution of the Powhatan chiefdom, both before and during Powhatan's life.

Of further importance, the site of Werowocomoco already has been documented to contain archaeological deposits denoting Powhatan-English interactions dating to the initial years of the Jamestown settlement. Further archaeological investigations at Werowocomoco are likely to significantly expand our knowledge of the interactions and their effects on both Powhatan and English society. The recent chemical identification of Jamestown-derived copper at Werowocomoco graphically illustrates this potential. Because Powhatan is known to have abandoned Werowocomoco as his capital in early 1609, the site serves as a virtual time capsule of a two-year duration for examining such interactions.

Following a May 2003 press conference announcing the beginning of archaeological excavations at Werowocomoco, the project received international attention. Articles appeared statewide in Virginia as well in such other newspapers as the *Baltimore Sun*, *The New York Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Times of London* as well as television coverage on "CBS Evening News" and "Discovery Channel-Canada." Similarly within recent years alone, a number of publications from both scholarly and popular perspectives have appeared on Powhatan and Pocahontas (cf. Allen (2003), Price (2003), Rountree (2005) and Townsend (2004)) as well as two internationally distributed movies, Walt Disney's *Pocahontas* and New Line Cinema's *The New World*. This scholarly and public interest graphically illustrates the importance of Werowocomoco

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and its role in the nation's history as reflected both before and during the initial years of the Jamestown settlement.

Indeed, the Werowocomoco Archaeological Site is considered to be of national significance. This assessment is based on (1) it representing the capital of the Powhatan chiefdom from at least A.D. 1607 to 1609, (2) its direct association with early English exploration in North America and Native American/English interactions during the initial years of the Virginia Company period, (3) it being the sole location anywhere in present-day Virginia where the paramount chief Powhatan and Captain John Smith met face-to-face, (4) its association with Pocahontas, with it being here that

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Smith describes Pocahontas as saving his life, and (5) its excellent state of preservation. This evaluation is consistent with the contextual requirements for national significance established in the National Park Service's 1992 National Historic Landmark Theme Study entitled "Historic Contact: Early Relations Between Indians and Colonists in Northeastern North America, 1524-1783."

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10. Geographical Data

Verbal Boundary Description

The Werowocomoco Archaeological Site encompasses approximately 45 acres with Purtan Bay and the York River to the west, Leigh Creek to the north, and Bland Creek to the south; the western boundary is defined by the edge of an upper terrace edge approximately 1,500 feet to the east of the Purtan Bay shoreline.

Boundary Justification

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Boundaries were determined through a series of screened shovel tests at a 50 foot interval documenting intact archaeological deposits existing throughout the 45 acre site area being nominated. Extensive archaeological test excavations have since further confirmed these boundaries.

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