2020

Recovering Lost Voices: The Rappahannock Tribe and the Jamestown Festival of 1957

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts at Virginia Commonwealth University

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Approved May 5, 2020

Abstract

This thesis employs the interdisciplinary methodologies of ethnohistory and oral history to examine the legacy of the 1957 Jamestown Festival through the experiences and memories of Rappahannock people. “Recovering Lost Voices: The Rappahannock Tribe and the Jamestown Festival of 1957” adds to the historiography of Virginia Natives by revealing that Rappahannock participation in the Jamestown Festival was the culmination of centuries of cultural preservation, greatly influenced and made immediate by their experiences in “Jim Crow” Virginia during the twentieth century. This research establishes that the enduring legacy of the Festival for the Rappahannock Tribe was political influence, culminating in state and federal recognition of their community. For the first time in a scholarly setting, contemporary members of the Rappahannock Tribe share their memories of the Festival, and the meaning they give to the experiences of their relatives who worked there. Narrators include Chief Anne Richardson, Tribal Member Jamie Ware-Jondreau, and Tribal Council Chair Barbara Williams. These oral histories complement archival sources by documenting Rappahannock voices revealing how their involvement in the Festival built upon an existing sense of community, and inspired efforts on the part of longtime Rappahannock tribal members to publicly assert their Indianness.

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Acknowledgements

It is appropriate to recognize some of the many people who supported and contributed to this research. Dr. Gregory Smithers from Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU) provided invaluable feedback as my thesis advisor. His knowledge of Native American history, oral history, and sense of humor kept this project focused – and made it fun. Dr. Kathryn Shively, also from VCU, generously gave her time and expertise and reminded me to never forget the "big picture." Dr. Edward DuBois Ragan, from Centenary College of Louisiana, is the longtime historian of the Rappahannock Tribe. The idea for this thesis started with him and I am grateful for his patient guidance. Any shortcomings in this project are mine alone. Dr. Jason Sellers, from the University of Mary Washington, has been a mentor since my days as an undergraduate. Without his influence, this thesis would never have been written. Nancy Egloff from the Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation, and Dr. Danielle Moretti-Langholtz from the College of William and Mary, provided archival material and personal contacts with a sense of fellowship that left me humbled and grateful. Dr. Emilie Raymond, Director of Graduate Studies for the VCU History Department, provided guidance and kindness throughout my graduate experience. My oral history narrators, Chief Anne Richardson, Barbara Williams, and Jamie Ware-Jondreau, shared personal memories and gave meaning to this project. I hope I have done justice to their family members, who made Powhatan's Lodge a turning point in the history of Virginia's Native communities. Lastly, I want to thank my daughters, Jessica and Holly, who give meaning to every day of my life.

Introduction

On a bright summer day in 2017, members of the Rappahannock Tribe gathered near Warsaw, Virginia, to celebrate a donation to the tribe of nearly one acre of land in their ancestral homeland. A consortium of environmentalists, local officials, former politicians, and journalists attended the event. Tribal representatives included singers, dancers, drummers, and Chief Anne Richardson, the fourth generation of her family to lead the Rappahannock people. Standing just downstream from Fones Cliffs, a thousand-acre, environmentally-sensitive tract of land rising more than one hundred feet above the river, Chief Richardson called the donation, "An important symbol for the tribe, to be able to be back on the land of our ancestors for the first time in more than 350 years."[1] She described the enduring relationship Rappahannocks have with the natural environment, sentiments made even more poignant because Fones Cliffs, one of the most important Bald Eagle nesting sites in the Chesapeake Bay region, was under serious threat from development as a golf and equestrian resort. Bald Eagles have important spiritual significance for Rappahannock culture. The threat to their habitat inspired Virginia Warner, daughter of former U.S. Senator John Warner, to purchase the 0.8-acre parcel and donate it to the tribe. Chief Richardson acknowledged the team that coordinated the purchase, which included the Chesapeake Conservancy, and said the land would be used in support of the tribe's Return to the River program. Assistant Chief Mark Fortune said Return to the River is part of the tribe's cultural preservation efforts, educating young tribal members about plant life and wildlife, and how their ancestors

[1] Rob Hedelt, "Rappahannock Tribe renews ties with ceremony," *The Free Lance-Star*, Fredericksburg, Va., July 2, 2017.

depended on the river ecosystem for sustenance. In closing, Chief Richardson pledged to protect the eagles and the river:

> Oh, it's beautiful here. Everything is lush and green. It's kind of untouched. And untouched is why the eagles have come here to nest. And we are here to stand to protect the eagles and their nesting ground, and the lush beauty of this place, and the river.[2]

There are multiple levels of significance in this moment, layered in spirituality and a coordinated effort to conserve a precious natural resource. Rappahannocks consider the eagle as a "sacred bird" and a "messenger from the Creator."[3] It's a transcendental connection deeply entwined in their cultural traditions. Concern for eagle nesting habitat today is a meaningful extension of their historical and spiritual connection to the land, informed by modern ecological concerns. The land donation meant Rappahannocks could literally Return to the River, preserving and passing on their culture in a place where their ancestors lived long before European contact. It is also important to recognize that by this act, Senator Warner and his family, government officials, and the conservation community in general, affirmed the Rappahannocks as a cultural community with a vested interest in the conservation of their homeland.

Writers like the journalists who chronicled the Return to the River celebration have been telling the story of the Rappahannock people, and their relationship with the river that bears their name, for more than four hundred years. A more complete story, a tale of humans interacting with the tidewater environment of Virginia, extends back another ten thousand years. It's a story of the first Americans, and the world they

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[2] Inigo Howlett, "With Gift of land Near Fones Cliffs, Rappahannock Tribe Expands Return to the River Initiative," *Virginia Currents* for WCVE News, Norfolk, Va., July 27, 2017.

[3] For more about contemporary Rappahannock spiritual connections to the environment, see Chief Anne Richardson, "Life Along the Rappahannock: An Oral History Project," interviewed by Woodie Walker, Aug. 21, 2017, at Kendale Farm, Port Royal, Virginia. Hereafter cited as Richardson, "Life Along the Rappahannock."

inhabited. Geography defines this landscape and influences the cultures that dwell there. The landscape is dominated by four rivers and three peninsulas extending into the Chesapeake Bay. Like four fingers, the Potomac, Rappahannock, York, and James Rivers flow from west to east into the Bay. In between those fingers are three peninsulas. From north to south, they are the Northern Neck, the Middle Peninsula, and the Peninsula. Over the centuries, geography influenced Indigenous cultures, like the ancestors of the Rappahannock. These people adapted to life in a land of tidal rivers, sandy soils, and a warm climate.

Spanish explorers were documenting their travels around the Chesapeake Bay, and its tributaries, by the late sixteenth century. At the time of Jamestown's founding in 1607, the principal Rappahannock village was Tappahannock Town, located on the south side of the river, most likely along Piscataway Creek. It's important to understand the fluid nature, not only of their riverine environment, but also their relationships with neighboring communities like the Moraughticund. Archaeological evidence supports Rappahannock oral traditions that they utilized both sides of the river, taking advantage of soil quality differences, and the seasonal availability of fish, wildlife, and plant foods. Their home territory on the north side of the river in 1607 was likely inland, perhaps shifting between Little Carter Creek and Cat Point Creek, across from today's Town of Tappahannock. Its rich soil produced better crops of corn, beans, and squash than that found on the marshy south side of the river, an area which offered better seasonal foraging. Alliances with neighbors like the Moraughticund also shifted, sometimes due to external pressures like raiding Susquehannocks from north of the Potomac River, or the

increasing dominance of Powhatan to the south. Powhatan was the paramount Indian leader in tidewater Virginia at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[4]

Contemporary Rappahannocks assert that locating their historical homeland on both sides of the river fulfilled two purposes: one was planting crops on the best available soil; the other was creating a protective barrier between themselves and Powhatan. Powhatan's principal chiefdom included lands to the south of the Rappahannock River, extending below the James River into present-day North Carolina. The Rappahannock River thus also served as a semi-protective barrier when the English arrived in Virginia. The river provided protection from Powhatan's authority and the English, for at least the first few decades after establishment of Jamestown in 1607. The Rappahannocks stayed out of the Anglo-Powhatan wars that occurred from 1609-1614, and from 1622-1632, but were increasingly pressured by the colonists as the English began to seat land patents along the lower Rappahannock River in the early 1640s. Despite that pressure, the Rappahannocks did not play an active role in the Third Anglo-Powhatan War, when Indians led by Opechancanough sought to drive the English from the lower Peninsula in 1644. During the latter half of the seventeenth century, the Rappahannocks adopted a strategy of accommodation regarding the colonists, initiating decades of land loss, inter-tribal consolidation, and gradual removal to the ridgeline on the Middle Peninsula, between the York and Rappahannock rivers, where they still live today.[5]

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[4] An extensive early history of the Rappahannock Tribe can be found in Edward DuBois Ragan, "Where the Water Ebbs and Flows: Place and Self among the Rappahannock People" (Unpublished book manuscript, 2019). A recent archaeological study is incorporating Rappahannock oral histories into a mapping project identifying locations of their historical community. See Scott M. Strickland, Julia King, et al., *Defining the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape* (St. Mary's City: St Mary's College of Maryland, 2016). Richard Moncure to Woodie Walker, field notes from April 7, 2020. Moncure is River Steward for Friends of the Rappahannock and a partner in the 2016 *Indigenous Cultural Landscape* study.

[5] Ragan, "Where the Water Ebbs and Flows," 146-193.

Scholars can glean this much of the Rappahannock story from the historiography of Virginia's Native Americans. Largely missing from the historical record, however, are the voices of the Rappahannock themselves. There are no sources documenting their reasons for avoiding much of the early conflicts with the Virginia colonists. The Rappahannocks were ultimately driven to coalesce with kindred indigenous communities in response to English colonization of their homeland. In one example, Chief Richardson said contemporary Rappahannocks are likely descended from kinship groups that included members of the Nanzatico Tribe, most of whom were executed or exiled to Antigua in 1705. While acknowledging such historical links, contemporary tribal members simply refer to themselves as Rappahannocks.[6] Following the ordeal of the Nanzatico, Rappahannocks spent much of the next three centuries devising strategies to protect their community from racist laws and assimilation policies targeting their culture for extinction.[7] Contemporary Rappahannocks call the era from the early eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century the Silent Years, because they adopted new customs aimed at collective defense, often keeping apart from their white and African

[6] "And so it completely disbanded the whole group (Nanzatico), but my tribe grabbed a bunch of these people because I'm sure they were marrying back and forth and had kin on both sides of the river." For more, see Richardson, "Life Along the Rappahannock."

[7] Beginning in the mid-seventeenth century, Rappahannocks gradually coalesced with remnants of neighbor communities, creating new social formations. These neighbors included the Nanzatico, Moraughticund, and Portabago communities, who pre-contact with Europeans occupied land just upstream from the Rappahannocks. See Strickland, et al., *Defining the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape*, 46. Stephen Kowalewski argued that coalescent societies form "from remnant or refugee groups under the pressure of demographic collapse." Coalescent societies are "quite distinct" from their precursors, and typically involve attraction of newcomers forming larger towns or villages; movement to new places for security; changes in the social means of production (such as men assuming greater responsibility for growing food, a role previously dominated by women); community integration via kin groups; and collective leadership (including councils). For more on the concept of coalescence among Native American communities, see Stephen A. Kowalewski, "Coalescent Societies," Robbie Ethridge, Franklyn Robbie, Thomas J. Pluckhahn, and Charles M. Hudson, eds., *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 94-122.

American neighbors in order to maintain their racial purity (the measure by which white society judged their "Indianness" for all matters social and political).[8]

For generations, Rappahannocks maintained their Indian identity in relative seclusion, communicating oral traditions and passing along knowledge like basket-making, and hunting and fishing skills (See figure 1). It wasn't until the early twentieth century that Rappahannock leaders began to assert their *public* Indianness, breaking a self-imposed silence and demanding that their community be recognized in the same way as some of the other Virginia tribes. The Pamunkey and Mattaponi tribes maintained treaty agreements with the Virginia government dating to the mid-seventeenth century, but the Rappahannock never enjoyed the benefits, and protection, of such political recognition. That began to change in the 1920s, when the Rappahannock people organized as a political faction and incorporated under Virginia law. By the end of World War II, the Rappahannock people had endured the worst of the "Jim Crow" era in Virginia, and developed relationships with ethnographers, archaeologists, and members of the legal community. These developments set the stage for one of the most important events for the Rappahannock people during the twentieth century – the Jamestown Festival of 1957.

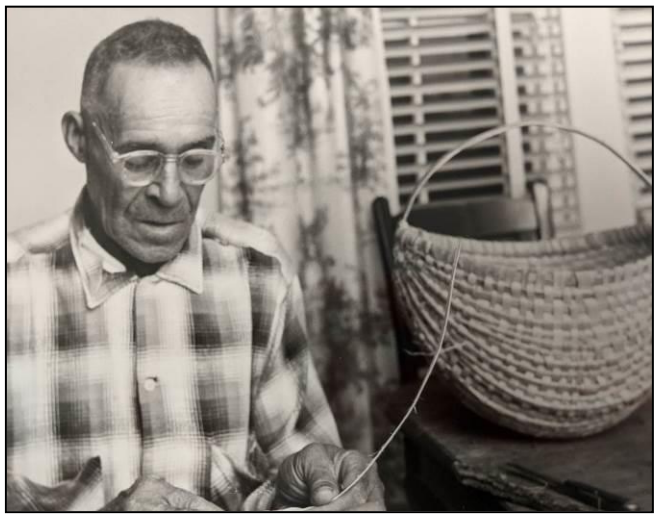

Figure 1. Rappahannock Elder Judge Nelson making a ribbed basket for use at Powhatan's Lodge, 1950s. *Photo courtesy Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation.*

[8] For more on the "Silent Years," see Richardson, "Life Along the Rappahannock."

Rappahannock people took jobs at the Festival, which celebrated the 350th anniversary of the founding of the first permanent English colony in the New World, and forever changed the way the world would view their community. Coupled with the social awakening of the Civil Rights movement, and the embrace of liberal social values during the immediate years that followed, Rappahannock participation in the Festival forced their neighbors, their state and federal governments, international sovereigns, and American Indians in general, to accept that they were indeed descendants of the historical Rappahannock Tribe.

This fact was supported by the work of academics who documented their culture and history. The Rappahannocks were part of a blossoming of Virginia Indian pride, which by the 1970s staked claims of cultural authenticity alongside those of their more numerous – and more famous – cousins, like the western tribes who formed the nucleus of groups like the American Indian Movement (AIM).[9]

This thesis adds to the historiography of Virginia Natives by revealing that Rappahannock participation in the Jamestown Festival of 1957 was the culmination of centuries of cultural preservation, greatly influenced and made immediate by their experiences in "Jim Crow" Virginia during the twentieth century. This research establishes that the enduring legacy of the Festival for the Rappahannock Tribe was political influence, culminating in state and federal recognition of their community. For the first time in a scholarly setting, contemporary members of the Rappahannock Tribe share their memories of the Festival, and the meaning they give to the experiences of their relatives who worked there. Narrators include Chief Anne Richardson, tribal

[9] Throughout this essay I use the terms "Native American" and "Indian" interchangeably, as do members of the Rappahannock Tribe.

member Jamie Ware-Jondreau, and Tribal Council Chair Barbara Williams (see transcripts in Appendices). These oral histories complement archival sources by providing a Rappahannock perspective.

This project's production of oral histories addresses several recommendations made by archaeologists and tribal members in *Defining the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape* (ICL), a geospatial analysis published in 2016 by St. Mary's College of Maryland. ICLs identify indigenous homelands during the colonial era and in modern times along the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail. The Rappahannock ICL documented the tribe's historical homeland of more than five hundred square miles in the lower half of the watershed, and "reveals (their) extensive and sophisticated levels of ecological knowledge." The report's recommendations included the development of oral histories with tribal members, and educational materials for tribal members and non-tribal members. This thesis, along with its oral history videos and transcripts, will be archived with the Rappahannock Tribe for such purposes.[10]

"Recovering Lost Voices: The Rappahannock Tribe and the Jamestown Festival of 1957" utilizes the memories of these narrators and archival evidence to argue the Rappahannock people were primed by decades of fighting "Jim Crow" racism to publicly assert their cultural identity at Jamestown, in a radical departure from generations of self-imposed seclusion.

This thesis is organized chronologically and illustrated with photographs documenting Rappahannocks interpreting their culture at Jamestown. Chapter One provides context, telling the story of the Rappahannock people in the centuries and

[10] Strickland, et al., *Defining the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape*, iii-iv.

decades leading up to the Festival. It argues the organizers of the Festival were influenced by the prevailing racial attitudes of the time, which marginalized Virginia Indians, and did not foresee the degree of authenticity Rappahannocks could bring to Jamestown. This chapter relies upon the oral history of Chief Richardson.

Chapter Two focuses on the Festival itself, digging deeply into primary sources to document how organizers largely overlooked the historical role of Virginia Indians, producing a one-sided consensus narrative of white Europeans overcoming the danger of savage natives. This is the first in-depth analysis of the state archives from the Festival, adding substantially to the historiography of the event, and illustrating the role Rappahannock people played in its success.[11] Virginia Natives were essentially excluded from Festival planning, but this allowed the Rappahannocks a degree of autonomy to assert their public Indianness in accordance with their own cultural knowledge. This chapter also prepares the reader for the political changes that occurred in the decades that followed. The oral history of Ware-Jondreau is central to this section, because her parents spent more years working at Jamestown than any other members of the Rappahannock community.

Chapter Three analyzes the legacy and meaning of the Festival, arguing that Rappahannock participation greatly enhanced their political influence, along with that of all Virginia Indians. Virginia officials were persuaded of the Rappahannock's cultural integrity after witnessing their authenticity at Jamestown. In 1957, Festival organizers had dismissed the idea that Virginia Indians had knowledge of their own culture. Only

[11] Virginia archives related to the 1957 Festival are maintained by the Library of Virginia in its State Government Records Collection. The most comprehensive collection is Records of the Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission, 1953-1958, Accession 25869. Additional documents can be found in Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation, Correspondence and Subject Files of the Director's Office, 1954-1986, Accession 44897.

thirteen years later, Jamestown officials were hosting events like the Chickahominy Tribe's annual Fall Festival and planning an Indian Pavilion for interpretation of all Virginia Indian history. In the decades that followed, Rappahannocks increasingly engaged with the growing environmental advocacy movement. By 2017, when Chief Richardson celebrated the tribe's Return to the River with Senator Warner, the Rappahannocks routinely advocated on behalf of their watershed. Federal recognition a year later added strength to their role as stewards of the environment.

Chapter One

Twentieth-Century Activism

> It was an opportunity for them to open their voices up and be heard, and to let the public know that we're still here, and that we're still operating as a Tribe, and all these traditions are still very prevalent within our community.[12]
>
> *Chief Anne Richardson, Rappahannock Tribe, 2019*

In 1957, members of the Rappahannock Tribe donned Algonquian regalia at Jamestown, Virginia, and declared to the world, "We're still here."[13] The moment and its meaning still reverberate among the Rappahannock people, their state, and their nation. After 1957, the Rappahannock connection to their ancestors was beyond question, giving the tribe an emboldened sense of political influence. After centuries of shielding their Indianness from a hostile world, Rappahannocks publicly asserted their identity, forcing Americans to accommodate the tribe's role in the nation's history, and its future. The story of the Rappahannock struggle to reclaim their culture, preserve their traditions, and reassert their collective identity is largely missing from the dominant historical narrative. Historians have nearly always written about the Rappahannocks as part of the Powhatan Chiefdom, and almost never as the sole focus of scholarly analysis. This chapter begins to reframe the story of the Rappahannock people by examining their history during the twentieth century. This focus makes it possible to gain new insights into Rappahannock history, including uncovering their role in the Jamestown Festival of 1957.

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[12] Anne Richardson, Chief of the Rappahannock Tribe, "Recovering Lost Voices: The Rappahannock Tribe and the Jamestown Festival of 1957," interviewed by Woodie Walker, Nov. 14, 2019, at the Rappahannock Tribal Center in Indian Neck, Virginia. Hereafter cited as Richardson, "Recovering Lost Voices."

[13] The phrase "We're still here" is often used by Indians in answering the question, "Are there any Indians left?" The answer is especially relevant in places like Virginia, where Indianness was vigorously refuted for centuries. For more on the phrase, and its relevance to contemporary Virginia Indian communities, see Sandra F. Waugaman and Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, *We're Still Here: Contemporary Virginia Indians Tell Their Stories* (Richmond: Palari Publishing, 2000).

The Commonwealth of Virginia marked the 350th anniversary of Jamestown's founding with the Jamestown Festival, an eight-month celebration running from April through November 1957. The Festival featured a range of exhibits including Powhatan's Lodge, the central piece in a reconstructed tidewater Algonquian village that interpreted Indian culture for attendees from around the world. Members of the Rappahannock Tribe, a community of Native Americans from Virginia's Middle Peninsula, helped create and staff the village.[14] The Lodge became a permanent exhibit the following year, and grew into today's Powhatan Indian Village, part of the contemporary visitor experience at Jamestown. This research argues the Rappahannock people broke centuries of silence at the Jamestown Festival of 1957, reclaiming their role as curators of their own culture, and setting the stage for their successful fight for legal recognition. Jamie Ware-Jondreau, daughter of a Rappahannock couple who worked at Jamestown in 1957, discussed the meaning of the event during a 2020 interview:

> I think it was an impetus for change, because our people could make a public appearance in a state-based business or organization, to educate who they really were, and they became more visible in the eye of Jamestown Festival Park."[15]

Ware-Jondreau's emphasis on the public nature of the Festival, and the fact that it was a state-sanctioned project, is vital to understanding the long-term effects of the experience for the Rappahannock people. Interpreting history with indisputable authenticity earned the Rappahannocks a new measure of respect from Virginia officials. The cumulative effects did not happen overnight. Rather, Rappahannock presence at Jamestown over much of the next two decades slowly but inexorably modified the public's perception of

[14] Richardson, "Recovering Lost Voices."
[15] Jamie Ware-Jondreau of the Rappahannock Tribe, "Recovering Lost Voices: The Rappahannock Tribe and the Jamestown Festival of 1957," interviewed by Woodie Walker, February 28, 2020, at the Ware-Jondreau home in Norge, Virginia. Hereafter cited as, "Ware-Jondreau, Recovering Lost Voices."

all Virginia Indians. This led to increased political influence, and finally, legal recognition.

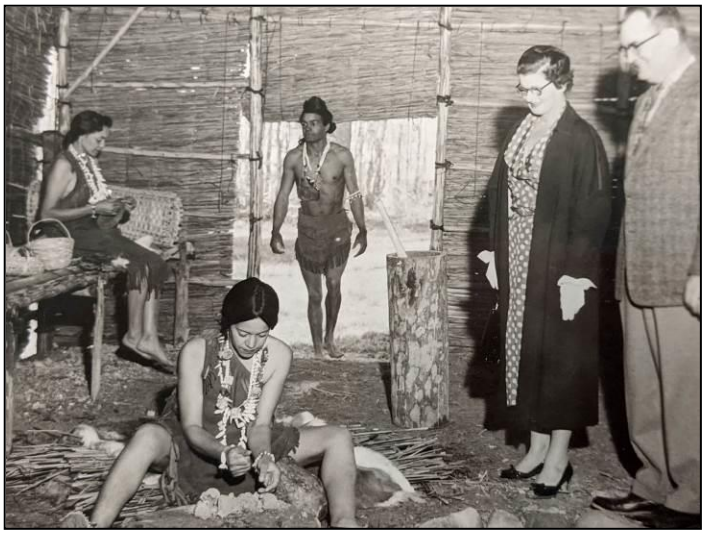

Figure 2. Gladys Nelson, left, Doris Ware, and James Ware interpret Rappahannock culture at Powhatan's Lodge in 1957 for unidentified visitors. *Photo courtesy Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation.*

The Rappahannock people were not invited to help organize the Festival, however, because they were not yet considered experts of their own culture. Archival evidence suggests that Native Americans at the 1957 Jamestown Festival were meant to be props in a white celebration of settler colonialism. Two governmental entities planned the Festival. The Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Celebration Commission, authorized by Congress in 1953, provided Federal coordination. The Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission, created in 1954 by the Virginia General Assembly, was the lead agency.[16] There is no evidence of Native American members on either commission. The Rappahannock people overcame this slight. Members of the Nelson and Ware families, longtime leaders of the Rappahannock Tribe, made Powhatan's Lodge look and feel real when they were invited to staff the exhibit (See figure 2).[17] Ultimately, members of the Ware family used the Festival as a stepping-stone to years of employment interpreting Native American culture at the contemporary Jamestown Settlement.

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[16] The Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Celebration Commission, *The 350th Anniversary of Jamestown, 1607-1957* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958), 29-30. Hereafter cited as Celebration Commission, *Anniversary of Jamestown*.

[17] "They were still using traps to fish with at that time, and also to trap birds. And so all of these indigenous tools were taken down to Jamestown and to be able to be utilized in the Indian village." Richardson, "Recovering Lost Voices."

Issues of identity, "Indianness," and legal recognition of the Rappahannock community as direct inheritors of their historical culture are central to this chapter, especially in the context of the social and political struggles of the times. In 1957, the Commonwealth of Virginia was guided by its Racial Integrity Act of 1924, also known by its common name, the "one-drop rule." In effect, anyone with more than one drop of non-white "blood" was considered "colored," and thus subject to "Jim Crow" segregation laws. This profoundly affected Virginia Indians, who were often categorized by authorities as "colored," because they had "other than white blood." Members of Virginia's indigenous communities spent much of the next thirty-plus years establishing their "Indianness," which relied on demonstrating racial purity, to avoid segregationist laws that so profoundly impacted African Americans.[18] This helps explain the racial attitudes that Rappahannocks navigated and the relative lack of Indian involvement in planning the 1957 Festival. Under Plecker's "one-drop" rule, Indians were largely considered "colored," and like African Americans, socially and politically marginalized. This extended to commemorating the nation's history, as evidence suggests only white people served on the Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission. There is a list of African Americans recommended for the state commission, but no evidence demonstrates that any of them ever served on the panel.[19]

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[18] Richard B. Sherman, ""The Last Stand": The Fight For Racial Integrity in Virginia in the 1920s," *The Journal of Southern History* 54 no. 1 (1988): 69-92; Lisa Lindquist Dorr, "Arm in Arm: Gender, Eugenics, and Virginia's Racial Integrity Acts of the 1920s," *Journal of Women's History* 11 no. 1 (1999): 143-166; Brendan Wolfe, "Racial Integrity Laws (1924-1930)," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Racial_Integrity_Laws_of_the_1920s, accessed Feb. 15, 2020. For more on the 1924 Act's impacts on Virginia Indians, see chapter 9, "The Racial Integrity Fight," in Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 219-242. More discussion of the "one-drop rule" follows later in this chapter.

[19] Harold O. DeWitt to Parke Rouse Jr., March 30, 1955. Box 5, folder 6. Records of the Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission, 1953-1958. Accession 25869, State Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Va. 23219. Hereafter cited as Virginia Commission Records. Harold O. DeWitt was an African-

Rappahannock involvement at the Festival was limited to that of cultural interpreters. Among the Rappahannocks to perform this work were Captain Chawanta Nelson; his wife, Gladys; his wife's sister, Luethel Nelson Trickett; his wife's sister, Doris Nelson Ware; and her husband, James Running Deer Ware.[20] Working at Jamestown allowed them to breath renewed life into Rappahannock culture as living history interpreters. Doing so was an affirmative declaration of community, crucial to understanding late twentieth-century expressions of their collective identity and public Indianness. (See figure 3).

Figure 3. Captain and Gladys Nelson during the Jamestown Festival with an unidentified young visitor. *Photo courtesy Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation.*

Methodology

This research uses the interdisciplinary tools of ethnohistory and oral history to examine the legacy of the 1957 Jamestown Festival through the experiences and memories of Rappahannock people. In general, ethnohistory analyzes and interprets the experiences and identities of "indigenous, diasporic, and minority peoples" marginalized in the historiography of their larger political community.[21] Drawing on archival records, and first-person accounts from three living tribal members, this thesis explores the story of the Festival and what it continues to mean to the Rappahannock people. Narrator

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American community leader who retired from the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Parke Rouse Jr. was Executive Director of the Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission and the first Executive Director of the Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation (1954).

[20] Ware-Jondreau, "Recovering Lost Voices."

[21] For more on the concept of ethnohistories of the Americas, see *Ethnohistory*, the journal of the American Society of Ethnohistory, https://read.dukeupress.edu/ethnohistory, accessed May 7, 2020.

voices reveal how Rappahannock involvement in the Festival built upon an existing sense of community and inspired efforts on the part of longtime Rappahannock tribal members to publicly assert their Indianness.[22] There are, of course, methodological questions related to the limited number of oral histories analyzed for this thesis. However, each narrator offers important and varied perspectives on the Festival and its legacy.

Historiography

There are several major elements that historians need to address regarding the story of the Rappahannock people. Conceptual issues include identity politics, connections to place and environment, and the tension between private assertions of Indianness versus public assertions of Indianness. This thesis addresses those gaps in the historiography through the story of the Jamestown Festival.

The historiography of the Rappahannock Tribe spans more than four hundred years. Europeans exploring and colonizing the Chesapeake Bay in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries provide nearly the entire archival record. Spanish Jesuits and soldiers visited the lower Peninsula between the James and York rivers in the middle decades of the sixteenth century. This is the source for the story of Paquiqueneo, also referred to as Don Luis de Velasco, a young Virginia Indian who was possibly kidnapped (he also may have been sent by his tribe, or volunteered to go), and taken to Mexico, Spain and Cuba before making his return to the Chesapeake Bay region.[23] Jamestown colonist Captain John Smith authored the most extensive early references to the

[22] Rappahannock Tribal Council Chair Barbara Williams to Woodie Walker, field notes from Small Finds Work Group at the Rappahannock Tribal Center, April 5, 2019. Chief Richardson also addressed this point. "We were definitely not to be heard in Virginia still in the '50s, and so this was an avenue for them to, number one, practice their culture in an open and public forum, and to teach other people about the history and traditions of our people." Richardson, "Recovering Lost Voices."
[23] Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 15-20.

Rappahannock people, including his visit in late 1607 to their village near modern-day Tappahannock, after he was captured by an Indian hunting party. This was the beginning of Smith's association with the various tribes along the Rappahannock River. In 1608 he led a small expedition that mapped and named native villages from the river's mouth upstream to the fall line at today's Fredericksburg. Smith's report described inter-tribal political alliances and recorded his party's battle with the Rappahannocks near Tappahannock.[24]

The Rappahannocks are missing entirely from the eighteenth-century record, due in part to the destruction of relevant county records during the 1861-1865 Civil War, and loss from fire and neglect in several county clerk offices. Rappahannocks during the 1700s survived colonization and coalesced with people from other tribes, seeking refuge from Virginians. The Silent Years of the nineteenth century followed as the tribe remained secluded along the ridgeline of the Middle Peninsula.[25] It was not until the early twentieth century that Rappahannocks reemerged in the archives and historiography. Since the 1920s, most writers of Virginia history have situated the historical Rappahannocks as part of a larger political structure, the Powhatan Chiefdom, a concept first imposed upon the Rappahannocks by colonial-era Europeans. For generations, Rappahannock oral traditions disputed the idea that the historical tribe was subservient to Powhatan, stating that any alliance with Powhatan was voluntary and a response to fifteenth-and-sixteenth-century threats from northern tribes like the Iroquois,

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[24] Philip Barbour, ed., *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia and Admiral of New England, 1580-1631*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 51-53, 145-149, 175-177.
[25] Ragan researched Rappahannock history for more than two decades and continues to serve as Rappahannock Tribal Historian. Ragan's doctoral dissertation and unpublished monograph manuscript examined the Rappahannocks during the Colonial Era and Early Republic and was the basis for the Tribe's successful petition for federal recognition, granted in 2018.

Susquehannock, and Piscataway. Recent ethnohistorical studies and archaeological evidence support the oral traditions.[26]

Anthropologist Frank Speck played a pivotal role in shaping early twentieth-century historical interpretations of the Rappahannocks. Just after World War I, Speck visited their community and conducted interviews. Rappahannock leaders cited his work when they began fighting for legal recognition and political sovereignty in the 1920s. Speck's work is valuable to this analysis because it documented Rappahannock people employing traditional woodworking skills, such as basket-making during the 1920s. Until recently, Speck's work was the only twentieth-century scholarly study to focus solely on the Rappahannock people.[27]

Two researchers bridge the gap between Speck and contemporary New Indian histories. Linguist and avocational archaeologist Dr. Ben C. McCary from The College of William and Mary led digs in Virginia after World War II, which resulted in his meeting the Rappahannocks. McCary authored a concise summary of Virginia Indian history published as part of the Festival, identifying the Rappahannocks as an "important tribe" under Powhatan's rule or influence, and having a population of about 380 at the time of contact.[28] Social changes and political movements during the 1960s inspired a resurgence of interest in Virginia Indians, led by anthropologist Helen Rountree. Since the 1970s, Rountree's narratives of Virginia Indians are most prominent in the historiography of the

[26] Chief Anne Richardson to Woodie Walker, field notes from Small Finds Work Group at the Rappahannock Tribal Center, April 5, 2019. Ragan, "Where the Water Ebbs and Flows." For more on the supporting archaeological evidence and tribal oral tradition regarding autonomy from Powhatan, see Strickland, et al., *Defining the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape*, 13-17. For more from contemporary tribal members, see Gregory Schneider, "The Indians were right, the English were wrong: A Virginia tribe reclaims its past," *The Washington Post*, November 21, 2018.

[27] Frank G. Speck, *The Rappahannock Indians of Virginia* (New York: Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, 1925).

[28] Ben C. McCary, *Indians in Seventeenth-Century Virginia* (Baltimore: Clearfield Company, 1957), 3-6.

tidewater Algonquians. Her work has focused on the "Powhatans," a grouping of eastern Virginia tribes, in which she included the Rappahannock people. Rountree's research led to several books that constitute much of the existing twentieth-century scholarship on the Rappahannocks, though always as part of the Powhatan chiefdom. The most relevant to this thesis, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries*, was published in 1990 but does not mention the 1957 Jamestown Festival. It is, however, a valuable primer on the cultural preservation efforts Virginia Indians initiated during the twentieth century. My research builds on Rountree's scholarship by accessing contemporary Rappahannock memories to focus on this particular community. Rountree does provide context for Virginia Indian resistance against racially discriminatory laws – what she terms the "racial integrity fight" – of the early-to-mid-twentieth century. During this era, Rappahannocks like Chief Otho Smoot Nelson led the efforts of Virginia Indians to resist the "one-drop rule."[29]

More recently, New Indian scholarship on Virginia's Native peoples has employed methodologies of anthropology, environmental history, oral history, gender studies and archaeology. In the 1990s, anthropologists Keith Egloff and Frederick Gleach expanded upon Rountree's work.[30] Since then, historians James Rice, Ethan Schmidt, and Kristalyn Marie Shefveland wrote extensively about tidewater Indians during the colonial era, and archaeologist Jeffrey Hantman examined Monacan Indian history in the

[29] Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*. For Rountree's work on pre-contact gender roles, see Helen C. Rountree, "Powhatan Indian Women: The People Captain John Smith Barely Saw," *Ethnohistory* 45, no. 1 (1998): 1-29. For a synopsis of Virginia Indians and racial oppression in the twentieth century, see Helen Rountree, "The Indians of Virginia: A Third Race in a Biracial State," Walter L. Williams ed., *Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Era* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1979), 27-48.

[30] Keith T. Egloff and Deborah Woodward, *First People: The Early Indians of Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992); Frederick W. Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

piedmont. Together, these writers broadened our knowledge of Virginia Indians in general, adding experiences beyond the Powhatan Chiefdom and employing methodologies of environmental history, but none of their efforts focused solely upon the Rappahannocks. Rice's 2009 environmental history, *Nature & History in the Potomac Country*, drew on a great deal of seventeenth-century, post-Smith archival data about the Rappahannocks. Shefveland's 2015 article, "Cockacoeske and Sarah Harris Stegge Grendon: Bacon's Rebellion and the Roles of Women," focused on gender roles among Virginia Indians, and was an informative source for considering matrilineal leadership in the contemporary Rappahannock Tribe.[31]

Two recent projects merged ethnohistory and archaeology to focus solely on Rappahannock culture and history. A 2016 archaeological study by researchers from St. Mary's University in Maryland worked with tribal members to reexamine evidence of historic Rappahannock culture in the area around Tappahannock, Virginia. One result of the project was increased recognition of the value of Rappahannock oral traditions, particularly with regard to the locations of seasonal settlements.[32] Meanwhile, Edward Ragan's research for the tribe's federal recognition application combined ethnohistory and archeology to "sidestream" and "upstream" Rappahannock history in the colonial era. Ragan's work led to a doctoral dissertation and an in-progress book manuscript

[31] James D. Rice, *Nature & History in the Potomac Country: From Hunter-Gatherers to the Age of Jefferson* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Ethan A. Schmidt, "Cockacoeske, Weroansqua of the Pamunkeys, and Indian Resistance in Seventeenth-century Virginia," *The American Indian Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (2012): 288-317; Kristalyn M. Shefvaland, "Cockacoeske and Sarah Harris Stegge Grendon: Bacon's Rebellion and the Roles of Women," Cynthia A. Kierner and Sandra Gioia Treadway, eds., *Virginia Women: Their Lives and Times* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2015); Jeffrey Hantman, *Monacan Millennium: A Collaborative Archaeology and History of a Virginia Indian People* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2018).
[32] Strickland, et al., *Defining the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape*, iii.

unpublished as of 2019.[33] Again, these are the first scholarly works focused solely on the Rappahannocks since Speck, and they focus almost entirely on the colonial era.

Excluding Ragan, most contemporary work continues to examine the Rappahannock story primarily through their historical connection to the Powhatan Chiefdom, and even his focuses largely on the era before 1900. This positioning of the Rappahannocks is at odds with tribal oral traditions, which maintain the river was used as a buffer from Powhatan's authority.[34] Positioning the Rappahannocks as part of the Powhatan Chiefdom obscures their independent history, and contributes to scholars overlooking their experiences in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This thesis corrects two patterns in the historiography: first, it shifts the focus away from the colonial era; second, it recognizes the Rappahannocks as a unique and distinct community. The most in-depth Virginia Native American histories published after the New Indian movement of the 1960s do not even mention the Jamestown Festival of 1957. Virginians are currently investing tremendous amounts of time and resources into preservation of the Commonwealth's diverse history, yet the story of Rappahannock involvement in the Festival, and the legacy of that experience, remains to be told.

Primary sources

Archival documents from Festival organizers provided context for analyzing the event itself. Photographs and films recorded during 1957, and through the 1960s, informed this research more specifically about the Rappahannock experience. The Library of Virginia possesses two archives containing agency histories related to the

[33] Ragan, "Where the Water Ebbs and Flows," 23. Ragan defines sidestreaming as the technique of inferring information about a people by examining their cultural and geographic neighbors. Upstreaming, according to Ragan, involves interpreting historical sources "alongside ethnographic materials collected in later periods."
[34] Richardson, "Life Along the Rappahannock."

Festival. The official *Records of the Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission, 1953-1958*, detail the event's background, planning, financing, and execution.[35] *Director's Office Correspondence and Subject Files of the Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation, 1954-1986*, contains correspondence and files from Parke Rouse Jr., executive director of the 350th Anniversary Commission.[36] Rouse was a journalist and historian from Virginia, and the first executive director of Jamestown Festival Park, which later became the Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation. The Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation archives contain photographs of Rappahannocks interpreting history at Jamestown from 1957 through the early 1970s.

I enrich written archival sources with oral histories I conducted with members of the contemporary Rappahannock community. Narrators included Chief Anne Richardson, Tribal member Jamie Ware-Jondreau, and Tribal Council Chair Barbara Williams. The three narrators are cousins, and share connections to the Festival through family members. Richardson and Ware-Jondreau grew up in Virginia, and their mothers, fathers, and aunts and uncles, were among the Rappahannocks who worked at Powhatan's Lodge in 1957. Members of both families continued working at Jamestown until the early 1970s. Ware-Jondreau's parents are most often represented in the post-1957 archival documents, photographs, and films. Williams grew up in New Jersey, coming home to Virginia for summer vacation and holidays. Her parents and grandparents stressed the family's Rappahannock heritage, but did not work at Jamestown. Richardson, Ware-Jondreau, and Williams shared similar views on the meaning of the 1957 event: it was a

[35] Virginia Commission Records.
[36] Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation, Correspondence and Subject Files of the Director's Office, 1954-1986. Accession 44897, State Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Va., 23219. Hereafter cited as Files of the Director's Office.

chance for Rappahannock people to publicly embrace their Indianness, and interpret their culture as living historians for thousands of visitors to Powhatan's Lodge.

Of great value are approximately a half-dozen films recorded during the 1957 Festival and at Powhatan's Lodge during the 1960s. These films have been digitized and are accessible via YouTube. Most of these are "home movies," recorded by families on vacations to Jamestown. A few are television documentaries, produced specifically to relate the Jamestown story. Locating these films for this thesis added to the primary source records available to the Rappahannock people and future researchers. Links to these films will be provided to the Rappahannock Tribe, along with the archival photographs and the new oral histories, for use as educational resources in a virtual museum exhibit hosted by the tribal website.

Setting the Stage

To best understand what happened in 1957, and what those events continue to mean to the Rappahannock people, it is important to get a clearer sense of their history before the Jamestown Festival. Archaeological evidence suggests that the first humans moved into the Chesapeake Bay region about 15,000 years ago. Over the ensuing millennia, people adapted to climate changes that influenced the development of the Chesapeake watershed that we know today. This region is generally referred to as tidewater, because of the Bay's tidal influence on the downstream segments of its tributaries that form in the Appalachian Mountains two hundred-to-three hundred miles

inland to the west. Archaeological evidence indicates that the earliest human habitation along the Rappahannock River occurred from about 8000-6000 B.C.E.[37]

The Rappahannocks are descended from central Algonquian-speaking Woodland cultures, which developed distinctive traits beginning around 900 C.E. An important aspect of that evolution was the development of the *weroance*, a tribal leader who mediated between life inside the village, and the world outside the village, which included the village priests. *Weroances* developed into what we refer to today as tribal chiefs. Another important development was the gradual transformation of these cultures from hunter-gatherers to agriculturalists. Corn, beans, and squash became important food staples, and allowed villages to remain more rooted in central locations and develop homelands. Distinctive funeral practices also evolved, and further distinguished Algonquian cultures like the Rappahannock from their upstream neighbors, the Siouan-speaking Manahoacs.[38] By the time the Jamestown colonists arrived in 1607, the Manahoacs and their relatives, the Monacans, occupied land immediately above the fall line on the Rappahannock and James Rivers, thus creating a transition zone of competing cultures where the piedmont met tidewater.[39] Powhatan's ascendency as the prominent

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[37] Rice, *Nature & History in the Potomac Country*, 16. For more on the development of indigenous cultures in Virginia, see Egloff and Woodward, *First People: The Early Indians of Virginia*. A 1997 study published by the City of Fredericksburg presents archaeological evidence specific to the Rappahannock watershed. See Fredericksburg (VA), Office of Planning & Community Development and American Battlefield Protection Program, *Historic Resources Along the Rappahannock and Rapidan Rivers* (Fredericksburg, VA: City of Fredericksburg, 1997).

[38] Ragan, "Where the Water Ebbs and Flows," 39-60, and field notes to Woodie Walker from March 28, 2020. Ragan argued that, as early as 900 C.E., three significant advancements connected people to place and gave rise to Woodland cultures. The first was the development of the bow and arrow, shifting power from communal to individual (hence the rise of the *weroance* as a singular position of power). Second, the development of corn-based agriculture gave women newfound power, promoting increasingly settled community structures. Third, new burial customs were adopted, in the form of secondary burial ossuaries.

[39] The fall line is also an ecotone, or edge habitat, marking the physical transition from upstream piedmont to tidal-influenced marsh. Ecotones are generally rich in food sources, and attracted indigenous peoples to the region because of the seasonal availability of game and fish, like migrating waterfowl and anadromous fishes. For a

Algonquian *weroance* in the Virginia tidewater likely occurred just prior to European colonization. His chiefdom served as a protective alliance between the tidewater tribes against their enemies upstream (and others from the north, such as the far-ranging Iroquois).

The name Rappahannock means, "the people who live where the water rises and falls," and by the time of European contact they had developed into an autonomous community unified by kinship ties. Richardson believes the Rappahannocks allied themselves with Powhatan when it was prudent to do so, and at other times maintained their independence by utilizing the river as a buffer.[40] Rappahannocks adapted the river buffer strategy to the increasing presence of colonists, surviving the first decades post-1607 without the level of conflict experienced by other tribes located closer to Jamestown. The colonial government opened the Rappahannock River valley to land patents in the 1640s, initiating the process of intrusion that eventually unseated the tribe from its principal village on the north shore of the river. Throughout the seventeenth century, the Rappahannocks accommodated colonization as peacefully as possible, coalescing with remnant populations of kindred villages. By the early eighteenth century, the Rappahannocks had settled along ridgeline of the Middle Peninsula, the same land they still live on today. This initiated the beginning of the Silent Years, as the community insulated itself from the increasingly racist laws that underpinned slavery in Virginia. It was a period that lasted well into the nineteenth century.[41] During an interview at the

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discussion of ecotones and the elements of bioregional history, see Dan Flores, "*Place: An Argument for Bioregional History*," Environmental History Review 18, no. 4, (1994): 1-18.

[40] Richardson, "Life Along the Rappahannock."

[41] Ragan, "Where the Water Ebbs and Flows," 146-275

Rappahannock Tribal Center in Indian Neck, Chief Richardson described the Silent Years:

> It's the years that we went underground because of English encroachment and racial oppression. And so we hid out in various places and lived in communities that were kind of like this place, far away from the beaten path where everybody was at, doing commerce or whatever. Survival.[42]

Rappahannocks using "the Silent Years" is their eloquent way of describing a strategy for maintaining autonomy and cultural integrity during a perilous time, in which some of their indigenous neighbor communities were simply absorbed, or worse, exterminated. Silence in this sense was a way to be overlooked, of occupying space 'underground" from the mainstream, and surviving as individuals and as a distinct community.

The immediate post-Civil War period included the development of "Jim Crow" segregation laws, by which Virginia officials increasingly sought to discount the indigenous lineage of Rappahannocks and other Virginia Indians by lumping them into the "colored" category with African Americans. Rappahannocks resisted by maintaining close kinship networks.[43] Many became farmers. Most continued subsistence practices like netting herring each spring, which were salted and stored as a nearly year-round supply of protein. Farming and fishing allowed a degree of self-sufficiency. Beginning in the early twentieth century, ethnohistorians and anthropologists contacted Virginia Indian tribes, including the Rappahannock, documenting their culture and community.

Anthropologist James Mooney referenced oral and written sources in 1907 to estimate the Rappahannock population near Indian Neck at 120 people, and his comment

[42] Richardson, "Life Along the Rappahannock."
[43] Rountree, "The Indians of Virginia: A Third Race in a Biracial State," 36-37.

"the most common name being Nelson" indicated the kinship ties that continued to unify the community. He described the Rappahannock people as "apart from both white and negro, and are represented as fairly prosperous and intelligent." Mooney conducted field trips to some of the Virginia Indian communities around Richmond, but did not visit the Rappahannocks at Indian Neck. He appraised the situation of Virginia Natives in general as "notwithstanding the large percentage of negro blood, the Indian race feeling is strong." Mooney concluded that the existing Virginia Indians had little in common with their Powhatan ancestors. "This aboriginal population is now entirely extinct, with the exception of the 700 mixed-bloods of Powhatan stock," he wrote.[44] Mooney assumed Native cultures at this time were not dynamic, and identified Indianness as primarily biological, rather than cultural and political.

In contrast with Mooney's characterization, Virginia Indians were publicly asserting their Indianness and demonstrating that they were still a vibrant community. Their efforts at events such as the 1907 Jamestown Exposition were only moderately successful, but for the first time in generations descendants of the tidewater Powhatans stepped out from the shadows and engaged with an international audience. Led by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA), the commemoration of the 300th anniversary of Jamestown's founding was held near Norfolk and included members of the Pamunkey Tribe. The Pamunkeys, and their neighbors, the Mattaponi, were the only state-recognized tribes in Virginia at that time. According to historian Frederick Gleach, the Pamunkeys took a lead role in the Exposition, which featured dramatic and dubious reenactments of Pocahontas rescuing John Smith. The most

[44] James Mooney, "The Powhatan Confederacy, Past and Present," *American Anthropologist* 9, no. 1, (1907): 129-152.

prominent Native American activities featured Plains Indians, not Virginia Indians. Gleach argues the Exposition was a "somewhat qualified failure" for the Powhatans. "They may have still existed," said Gleach, "but the ways they were presented were not ones that would contribute to improved recognition and social standing in the modern world." Pamunkeys at the Exhibition were forced to present a narrative grounded in white culture – Pocahontas saving John Smith from the savages – rather than one demonstrating their cultural (and biological) ties to the original Powhatans. No evidence has been found of Rappahannock participation in the Exposition, but Gleach pointed out the Pamunkey's involvement was part of an emerging "two-pronged defensive strategy" on the part of Virginia Indians to combat classification as "colored" in the segregated South. Native Virginians were determined to assert their Indianness. By the 1920s, the Rappahannock Tribe was taking a leadership role in this fight for recognition.[45]

The story of the Rappahannock Tribe during the nearly forty-year span from the end of World War I until the Jamestown Festival of 1957 is about two enduring battles with their state and the federal governments. The first fight was against the racial oppression of Walter Plecker and Virginia's Racial Integrity Laws. The second fight was to prove their Indianness to the United States government, primarily through the U.S. Census. The Rappahannocks were rarely successful against Plecker's determined efforts to identify them as "colored" on documents like birth certificates. They had more success with the U.S. Census, an important tool in their struggle for legal recognition of their indigenous identity.

[45] Frederick W. Gleach, "Pocahontas at the Fair: Crafting Identities at the 1907 Jamestown Exposition," *Ethnohistory* 50, no. 3 (2003): 419-445.

The Rappahannock Tribe was officially incorporated in 1921, and elected George L. Nelson as chief. Nelson formally initiated the tribe's fight for legal recognition and political agency that same year, when he petitioned the federal government "to address indigenous people's civil rights." Incorporation did not confer legal recognition, such as that enjoyed by the Pamunkey and Mattaponi tribes, which had legal relationships with Virginia – and reservation land – dating back to the late seventeenth century. Incorporation was an important avenue to legal standing, however, and the Upper Mattaponi community completed the same process. Doing so established a formal name for the tribes, and facilitated organizational processes, such as electing chiefs. The Rappahannocks were hesitant to organize in such a public manner, "fearing retaliation from neighboring whites," but with Speck's encouragement they successfully completed the process.[46] Richardson said:

> Incorporating solidified our tribal government. It was a platform in our fight for identity and legal recognition of the tribe, and through incorporation, the tribe was reconstituted. It brought people back together.[47]

The Rappahannock community had persisted informally throughout the Silent Years, but not having an official organizational basis made challenging policies like the one-drop rule more difficult. Incorporation as a tribe was a central touchstone to legal identity, facilitating Rappahannock ability to publicly assert their Indianness via a communal institution.

George Nelson's brother-in-law, Otho Smoot Nelson, continued Rappahannock efforts for recognition, and against the one-drop rule, after "Big" Otho was elected chief

[46] Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 216-217.
[47] Richardson to Walker, field notes from March 27, 2020.

in the early 1930s.[48] Rappahannocks continued asserting their public Indianness during the Depression years, fighting the one-drop rule, and reshaped scholarly assessments that bridged the gap from Mooney's misunderstanding of their cultural authenticity to McCary recognizing it in 1957.

With the tribe incorporated, Chief Otho Nelson focused his attention on the way Rappahannocks were identified in the U.S. Census. In 1930 he notified the Census Bureau that the Rappahannock Tribe consisted of 218 people who "wished to appear as Indians in the census of that year." Plecker fought back, also writing to census officials, and complaining of people "passing" themselves off as Indians. Plecker had implemented a policy of changing data on forms like birth certificates, so the threat he posed was real. It was a difficult issue, as some census officials were sympathetic to the Indian cause, but the best they could promise was that the actual census enumerators were to use their discretion when deciding if a person was to be listed as "Indian" or "Negro." That was not enough of a promise for the Rappahannocks, who met in Fredericksburg with the supervisor of the Fifth Census District of Virginia and convinced him, apparently on the basis of their charter of incorporation, to record them as Indians.[49]

Census records from 1930 and 1940 substantiate this story and offer clues into the lives of one Rappahannock family during the Great Depression. The census of 1930 documented that Otho Nelson, head of household, lived in King and Queen County. He was 47 years old, and married to Susie P., aged 40. They both could read and write,

[48] Ragan expanded on the traditional of matrilineal leadership among Algonquian cultures, and how that relates to Rappahannock history. George Nelson was elected chief of the tribe when it incorporated in 1921. At that time, Susie Pearl Nelson was the matriarch of the Nelson family. She was George's sister. George moved away from Virginia at the end of the 1920s, and Susie Pearl Nelson's husband, Otho Nelson, was elected chief. Otho Nelson's granddaughter is Chief Anne Richardson. "Group leadership advanced through the matriarch to brothers, then to husbands, and thirdly to females within the matriline," said Ragan. See "Where the Water Ebbs and Flows," 7-8.
[49] Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 226-228.

important to note at a time when Virginia Indians were banned from attending white public schools. As a result, most attended church schools, or were otherwise educated within their communities.[50] The Nelsons had one child, Captain, aged 6. Otho was a farmer, working on his own account. Susie was a homemaker, and they had been married for twenty years. Column 12, "Color of race," identifies each of the Nelsons as "In," for Indian. Each of the Nelsons had Virginia listed as their own place of birth, but the "father" and "mother" columns for all three persons - Otho, Susie and Captain - appear to have been altered from some original wording. The phrase "Mixed blood" is entered for place of birth of their fathers, and the word "Rappahannock" is entered under place of birth for their mothers. This is important because everyone in Virginia, from the Rappahannock people themselves to Walter Plecker, referenced the census as proof of race, arguably more important than state-issued birth certificates because the census was a federal document. The census became increasingly important a decade later, as the U.S. prepared for yet another World War.[51]

The 1940 census offered more clues into Rappahannock society at the time, and underscored the difficulties of getting an education. The Nelson family still consisted of Otho, Susie (listed as Susan), and their son, Captain, now 16. A new column on the census describes the extent of their education. Otho listed three years of school, and Susan had seven. It appears they had to convince the enumerator, however, because a "0"

[50] Ibid., 236 and 241. Obtaining a formal education for Indian students was never easy during this period of history, but the Rappahannocks actively sought opportunities for their children. Rountree references a letter written in 1945 by Susan Nelson, as tribal secretary, requesting help from the area superintendent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to enroll a Rappahannock young lady into the Haskell Institute, a residential school in Kansas for Indian students. According to Rountree, the Rappahannocks did not establish a "private" school of their own until 1962. In 1964 this school was closed, and some Rappahannocks attended the Sharon School, first established in 1919 for Mattaponi students. Sharon School closed in 1967 after integration of Virginia's public schools.

[51] United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. "Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930 Population Schedule." Newtown Magisterial District, King and Queen County, Virginia. FamilySearch.org, accessed Jan.23, 2020.

was listed for both Otho and Susan, before being written over with the actual number of years. The 1940 census also asked many questions about living conditions and employment, not surprising considering the economic strife associated with the Depression era. The Nelsons were living in the same house as in 1935 (a specific census question). Otho was a farmer, Susan was a homemaker, and Captain was a helper on the farm. Otho and Captain had recently worked "for pay or profit in private or non-emergency government work." In all, the censuses of 1930 and 1940 align with the general description of the Rappahannock community provided by Speck in 1925. They were working-class people, tied to their land, and ready to defend their Indianness when threatened by governmental bureaucracy. When the U.S. entered World War II, the Rappahannocks were ready to defend that government, but on their own terms.[52]

Just like Walter Plecker, Rappahannocks understood that Indianness in the eyes of the government depended on perceptions of racial purity. Terms like "one-drop" were recent extensions of older racial expressions like "half-blood" and "mulatto," and Virginia tribes like the Rappahannocks had for generations resisted being made part of a community that was first enslaved and later segregated by "Jim Crow" laws. A Rappahannock who consented to being legally identified as "colored" not only went to the literal back of the bus, they also found their lives constrained. In 1941, when Rappahannocks joined other Virginia Indians in serving with the U.S. military, racial designations limited their choices in how they would defend their country. Nearly two-dozen Rappahannock men fought in World War II, but their service was complicated because they lived in segregated Virginia, which operated white military units and

[52] United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. "Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940 Population Schedule." Newtown Magisterial District, King and Queen County, Virginia. FamilySearch.org, accessed Jan.23, 2020.

"colored" military units. Some Virginia Indians served with whites. Some served in units comprised mainly of African Americans. Three Rappahannock men were ultimately convicted and sentenced to two years in federal prison because they refused to serve with "colored" troops. Aided by Speck and a white attorney, the Rappahannock men successfully overturned their convictions by arguing they were conscientious objectors, and spent the remaining war years working in military hospitals. The essential component of their case, however, was first establishing themselves as Indians, which then became the basis of their conscientious objector claims.[53] In cases like this, census data and birth certificates took on increased importance. In many cases, respected legal documents had been maliciously changed by state officials seeking to deny Virginia's first peoples their legitimate identity as Indians.

The immediate post-World War II years brought generally positive changes to the lives of most Rappahannock people. One immediate cause was the retirement of Walter Plecker from the Virginia Bureau of Vital Statistics in 1946. For more than twenty years, Plecker had worked tirelessly to deny the existence of Virginia Indians. His retirement helped open the door for new attitudes, influenced by the experiences of men and women who had served together in the military for a common cause. Racial bigotry, especially in the southern United States, was far from gone, but changes were happening. By the late 1940s, more Indians all across the United States were exercising their right to vote due to policy changes at the Bureau of Indians Affairs (BIA), stemming from a case that made it illegal to deny reservation Indians suffrage in Arizona.[54] In 1954 Virginia amended its

[53] Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 233-234.
[54] Dean Chavers, "A History of Indian Voting Rights and Why It's Important to Vote," *Indian Country Today*, Oct. 29, 2012. https://indiancountrytoday.com/archive/a-history-of-indian-voting-rights-and-why-it-s-important-to-vote-IQ2lTgiylkiC9GQ98IvhWA, accessed March 27, 2020.

definition of Indianness to include people who had "one-fourth or more of Indian blood and less than one-sixteenth of Negro blood."[55] This did not completely eradicate the Racial Integrity Act of 1924, but it did mean that non-reservation Indians in Virginia, like the Rappahannocks, could be recognized by the state as a distinct race.

As Walter Plecker's contemporaries gave way to a new generation of state officials, bureaucratic records also acknowledged Virginia's Indians. A Virginia Board of Education report published in 1950 addressed Virginia Indian populations, including the Rappahannock. According to the report, the tribe consisted of 225 people, 160 of whom lived near Indian Neck. Eighteen Rappahannock students were enrolled away from home. Two Rappahannocks were in college. Most of the men were farmers. The total population was half what Speck reported in 1925, but Speck based his estimate on informal numbers provided by Chief George Nelson. The education report was likely based on more technical data. Another factor is the Rappahannock diaspora that occurred in the decades before 1950, as community members left home to find opportunities elsewhere. As modern researchers have pointed out, the fact that any Virginians at all were identified as Indian after Plecker's stint at the Bureau of Vital Statistics is evidence of the resilience of the tribes.[56]

The person who would bring the Rappahannock Tribe to Jamestown in 1957 was William and Mary's Ben McCary, who obtained assistance in the early 1950s from Chief Otho Nelson and his son, Captain, at an archaeological dig on the Rappahannock River near the community of Leedstown. A friendship developed, and when McCary was

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[55] *Acts and Joint Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth Virginia. Session 1954 Which Commenced at the State Capitol, Richmond, on Wednesday, January 13, 1954*, (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Print, 1954) 905; Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 239.
[56] Strickland, King, et al., *Defining the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape*, 55.

named to a Jamestown Festival advisory committee, he invited the Rappahannocks to help interpret their culture at Powhatan's Lodge. Chief Richardson recalled:

> When Ben McCary came into our community and visited, he found that we were still using a lot of the indigenous tools in everyday life… like weaving the baskets and making traps. And so all of these indigenous tools were taken down to Jamestown to be utilized in the Indian village.[57]

Unlike Mooney, who defined Indianness solely on biological considerations, McCary recognized Rappahannock lineage *and* their knowledge of traditional Indian culture. McCary first sought out the Nelsons because they had knowledge of historical Rappahannock town locations. McCary wanted to access that same knowledge in 1957, so he invited the Rappahannocks to bring authenticity to Jamestown.

There is footage available on YouTube today, several of which are 8-millimeter "home movies" recorded in the 1950s, of Rappahannock people interpreting history at Powhatan's Lodge. For them, this was a public assertion of their culture, the very identity that had for so long been denied them. After the Silent Years, after the one-drop rule and the repressive policies of Virginians like Walter Plecker, the Rappahannock people could finally say, "We are still here." The Rappahannock people broke centuries of silence at the Jamestown Festival of 1957. They brought their indigenous wares and established themselves as curators of their own culture. They met people from around the world who wanted to know more about them and their history.

The Rappahannock story at the Jamestown Festival was not a perfect partnership, however. The organizers wanted Indians, but not necessarily Virginia Indians. Leaders from the tidewater tribes were courted for support, but not included in planning. Still, as

[57] Richardson, "Recovering Lost Voices."

Chief Richardson said, Jamestown 1957 was very important to her people. A new day was dawning:

> It meant a lot to them because of the marginalization of the tribe that had (existed) for so many years. We were definitely not to be heard in Virginia still in the '50s, and so this was an avenue for them to be able to, number one, practice their culture in an open and public forum, and to teach other people about the history and traditions of our people.[58]

Richardson said the Rappahannocks are "the people who live where the water rises and falls." Like their river, the Rappahannock people have ebbed and flowed in the historical record for centuries. "In some eras," said Ragan, "their activity was visible and noteworthy. Sometimes they secluded themselves in preparation for their resurgence."[59] This chapter demonstrated the Rappahannock community persisted through the Silent Years of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, keeping their Indian identity to themselves, while maintaining kinship ties and cultural knowledge. Their resurgence in the twentieth century relied on increased use of the legal system to demand their civil rights as indigenous peoples. By the time of the Jamestown Festival of 1957, the Rappahannocks were ready to assert their public identity as Indians through the cultural knowledge of their ancestors.

[58] Ibid.,.
[59] Ragan to Walker, field notes from April 7, 2020.

Chapter Two

Asserting Identity: The Jamestown Festival of 1957

> I think it was an impetus for change, because our people could make a public appearance in a state-based business or organization, to educate who they really were, and they became more visible in the eye of Jamestown Festival Park.[60]
>
> *Jamie Ware-Jondreau, Rappahannock Tribe, 2020*

The members of Virginia's 350th Anniversary Commission viewed Native people as important only if they fit commissioners' understanding of an authentic "Indian." In 1957, the Commission wanted Native Americans represented in the same way Hollywood represented them: in generic terms. For example, the Pamunkey, the most visible tribe on Virginia's Peninsula, wore Plain Indian headdresses fifty years earlier during the 1907 Jamestown Exposition. Gleach has criticized this performance for reducing Virginia Indians to "historical stereotypes of generic Indians," without demonstrating how the Pamunkey maintained their community in the nineteenth century.[61]

For the 1957 Festival, planners wanted Indians, but they wanted the "white man's Indian."[62] The prevailing perception of Virginia Indians had not changed since 1907. "For your celebration don't forget to bring in the Pamunky [*sic*] Indians. We need a good Indian show in Virginia," an advisor to the Commission wrote early in the planning process.[63] Further evidence underscored how the attitude of some scholars in the 1950s reflected a racialized belief that descendants of the Powhatans had little in common with

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[60] Ware-Jondreau, "Recovering Lost Voices: The Rappahannock Tribe and the Jamestown Festival of 1957."
[61] Gleach, "Pocahontas at the Fair: Crafting Identities at the 1907 Jamestown Exposition," 432.
[62] Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Knopf, 1978).
[63] August Dietz Jr. to Parke Rouse Jr., July 23, 1954. Box 10, folder 1, Virginia Commission Records. Dietz owned Richmond, Va.-based The Dietz Press Inc.

their historical ancestors. Their romantic understanding of who Native people were in 1950s America did not necessarily include living Virginia Indians. Lester J. Cappon, director of the Williamsburg-based Institute of Early American History and Culture, explained:

> While it would be most appropriate to use local Indians, it might also be possible to get the cooperation of certain Iroquois Indians in New York State, who I believe are more conscious of their traditions and history than the surviving Indians of Virginia.[64]

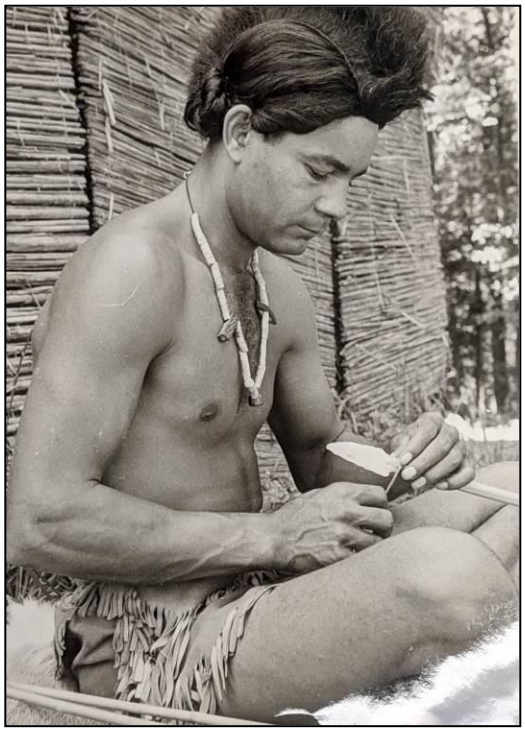

Figure 4. James Ware demonstrates arrow-making at Powhatan's Lodge. *Photo courtesy Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation.*

Cappon admirably recognized the importance of including Indians in the Jamestown Festival, but still prescribed to generic ideas held by most white Virginians of that time about who qualified as a "real" Indian. He did not recognize the authenticity of twentieth-century Virginia Indians as inheritors of their historical traditions, and was willing to turn to indigenous people from a completely different culture – Iroquoian instead of Algonquian – to get the effect he desired.

The Rappahannocks demonstrated otherwise when they arrived at Jamestown in 1957. Photographs and videos demonstrate they wore traditional Algonquian regalia and brought skills like basket-making and archery to Powhatan's Lodge (See figure 4). This chapter argues that because the Commission had no faith in Rappahannock cultural

[64] Lester J. Cappon to Parke Rouse Jr., Feb. 10, 1956. Box 5, folder 10, Virginia Commission Records. Cappon was director of the Williamsburg-based Institute of Early American History and Culture, the forerunner of today's Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture.

authenticity, it marginalized their potential contributions to the Festival. They were not involved in the planning process. They were not consulted about how to portray the resilience of Virginia's indigenous communities. Most importantly, this chapter reveals what the Rappahannocks did do: they used the Festival to assert their public Indianness for the first time in centuries, reclaiming their role as curators of their own culture. It was a historic assertion of their Indian identity.

Surviving archival evidence suggests that a Native American presence at the 1957 Festival was secondary to nearly every other consideration by the Commission. Powhatan's Lodge was not mentioned in an early planning document from May 1955 as one of the "fine historic exhibits" intended for use beyond 1957 in the area that became known as Jamestown Park. Instead, the writer emphasized replicas of the three ships used by the Jamestown settlers to venture across the Atlantic Ocean to Virginia in 1607. The letter expresses concern that the Park will have "little of real interest to the less cultured visitor, and practically nothing for the children." The absence of the Lodge in this letter suggests it was not intended, at least in early 1955, to become the permanent Powhatan Indian Village that Jamestown visitors still experience today.[65]

Another archival letter from the same planner includes the first specific mention of an "Indian Lodge." The letter is undated, but formatting and handwritten notes in the margin indicate it was also written during the early planning stage. It reveals the Lodge was intended to "briefly inter-relate the Indian with the Jamestown story." Like exotic wildlife, the Commission felt that a few "costumed Indians" would help to "add

[65] King Meehan to Parke Rouse Jr. and Lewis McMurran, May 24, 1955. Box 14, folder 12, Virginia Commission Records. Meehan was Director of Special Projects for the Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission.

atmosphere and be of particular interest to children."[66] The Lodge and an Indian presence was intended to reinforce the nationalist mythology that civilization in America started at Jamestown amidst the context of savages who only *benefitted* from colonization, and never became major players in the story of American history.

Budget documents substantiate the argument that Powhatan's Lodge, and the people who staffed it, were far from the organizers' most pressing concerns. In February 1956, just over a year before the opening, the capital outlay forecast for the Festival Park included only $10,000 for Powhatan's Lodge. It was the final item on a total budget amounting to $260,000 for "special projects," which included $170,000 for construction of the three ships and a pier, and $80,000 for a reconstructed James Fort.[67] The $56,000 personnel budget developed in May 1956 for the Park covered wages for twenty-four attendants, with two interpreters at the Lodge working six-hour shifts, but "not necessarily Indians."[68]

In December 1956, less than four months from the Festival's opening, organizers communicated with a Chicago-based film company about costumes needed for living history interpreters. The letter specifically mentioned costumes for women, artisans, laborers, gentlemen, soldiers, and sailors. Perhaps the planners knew by then that the Rappahannocks were able to provide their own regalia, but there was no mention of clothing for interpreters at Powhatan's Lodge.[69]

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[66] King Meehan to Parke Rouse Jr. and Lewis McMurran, undated. Box 14, folder 14, Virginia Commission Records.
[67] King Meehan to Files, February 21, 1956. Box 14, folder 13, Virginia Commission Records.
[68] The personnel budget is in Parke Rouse Jr. to King Meehan, May 22, 1956. Box 14, folder 13, Virginia Commission Records. The "not necessarily Indians" direction is from Parke Rouse Jr. to Files, June 25, 1956. Box 14, folder 13, Virginia Commission Records.
[69] Will Molineux to Mel Waskin, December 5, 1956. Box 9, folder 7, Virginia Commission Records. Chief Richardson said the appropriate term for the traditional clothing tribal members wore during the 1957 Festival is

A four-page press release issued before the Festival opened provides further evidence that the Eurocentric story received top billing in 1957. The two million anticipated visitors to Jamestown would get a "thrilling glimpse into the life of its founders." The press release highlighted the replica ships, James Fort and its "quaint thatched shelters," the great glasshouse of 1608 and its costumed glass blowers. Potential attendees were assured that no expense was being spared to recreate Virginia's founding with a total overall budget of $23 million touted in advertising material. There was no mention of Powhatan's Lodge or Virginia Indians.[70]

In contrast to the evidence from Commission staff members, suggestions from event supporters documented a more open approach to Native American involvement than that taken by the official organizers. One of the earliest proposals linking the Festival to Native American history centered on the story of Pocahontas. The Church of St. George in Gravesend, England, is the final resting place of Pocahontas, who died in England in 1617. In 1955 the Rural Dean of Gravesend offered to bring the church's Pocahontas-related antiquities to Virginia in response to an invitation from a private citizen to attend the Festival. The principal antiquity mentioned was the church's Register of Burials for 1617, which contained details about the burial of Pocahontas. The substantiating letter is in the Commission archives, but there is no evidence the suggestion came to fruition.[71]

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regalia, not costumes. "They both knew how to make regalia, my mom and aunt. So, she (Doris Nelson Ware, Chief Richardson's aunt) did a lot of the work and that was one of the reasons she worked there for twenty years." Ware was a seamstress and made costumes for the historical interpreters working as colonists at Jamestown during the 1960s and early 1970s. Richardson, "Recovering Lost Voices."

[70] No author, no date. The writer was likely Parke Rouse Jr., who authored *The Jamestown Festival Official Program*. Box 14, folder 14, Virginia Commission Records.

[71] Dean Selwyn Gummer to Mrs. Wilson Brooks, February 15, 1955. Box 1, folder 15, Virginia Commission Records.

Other recommendations were made for Native content during the Festival. For example, in February 1956 the Institute of Early American History suggested organizers reenact the 1677 signing of a peace treaty between Virginia Indians and the colonists. Like the Pocahontas tribute, no evidence survives to indicate that the treaty reenactment ever occurred.[72] The chairman of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA) also made a suggestion. Although ultimately unsuccessful, the APVA proposed the idea of securing a loan of Powhatan's Mantle from the Ashmolean Museum in England.[73] The APVA did make available two items for display during the Festival. The first was a silver frontlet presented in 1677 to Cockacoeske, Queen of the Pamunkey Indians, by King Charles II of England. The second was a pair of earrings passed down through the Rolfe family, said to have been worn by Pocahontas.[74]

Archival evidence related to Pocahontas reinforces the difficulties Rappahannock historical interpreters faced in trying to impress on their audiences the dignity, vitality, and adaptiveness of indigenous culture. Instead, the Commission remained focused on commemorative events that celebrated a narrative of Anglo settlement. For instance, planning began in 1955 for a Pocahontas Day ceremony commemorating the marriage of Pocahontas and John Rolfe, and recognizing the many descendants that they purportedly had in Virginia.[75] Invitations were sent to individuals known to claim lineage from Pocahontas, including members of many of Virginia's famous "first families." There are,

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[72] Lester J. Cappon to Parke Rouse Jr., Feb. 10, 1956. Box 5, folder 10, Virginia Commission Records.
[73] Ellen M. Bagby to Parke Rouse Jr., Sept. 15, 1956. Box 1, folder 15, Virginia Commission Records. Bagby's father, George W. Bagby, was a physician who edited the *Southern Literary Messenger* during the Civil War. Ellen edited reprints of her father's books and served on the Jamestown Committee for the Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission.
[74] Celebration Commission, *Anniversary of Jamestown*, 80-81.
[75] For a synopsis of Pocahontas's story, including her kidnapping, marriage to Rolfe, and death in England, see Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas, Powhatan, Opechancanough: Three Lives Changed By Jamestown* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005) 158-167. For a more detailed biography, see Camilla Townsend, *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004).

however, no tribal names listed in a letter to playwright Paul Green suggesting descendants be recognized during a performance of his planned outdoor drama. The language of the invitation does recognize their connection to indigenous culture, however. The draft invitation states proudly:

> The numerous tribes of Pocahontas descendants will gather in Jamestown… in a joyous powwow. There will be a religious ceremony in the little church followed by a box luncheon for small wampum. We shall have a gala time on hallowed ground as we smoke the peace pipe… In 1607 we Algonquins had an estimated population of 10,000 persons in tidewater Virginia. Won't you beat the tom-tom and call the braves, the squaws, and the papooses from their hiding places?[76]

The prevailing mindset of many whites, even some of those with purported connections to the "princess" Pocahontas, found it unremarkable to claim Indian heritage and trade in stereotypes of Native culture. Doing so diminished the dignity of Native people, literally replacing them with white people who had no real tribal ties. Pocahontas Day underscored the Eurocentric Festival narrative. Once again, Virginia Indians were left out of the conversation.

In contrast to Pocahontas Day planners, Festival Commission Executive Director Parke Rouse Jr. appreciated the idea of Indian authenticity at least to some degree, and attempted to work with museums and local Native leaders. Rouse consulted with the Heye Foundation at the New York-based Museum of the American Indian about the Lodge in 1955, but the museum responded that nothing could be offered beyond the use of its research facilities. That same year Rouse talked with Chief Ozias Oliver Lone

[76] Pocahontas Day Chairman Eudora Ramsay Richardson to Mrs. John Doe, March 4, 1957. Box 3, Rolfe-Pocahontas Wedding Program folder, Files of the Director's Office. Ramsay's invitation used language contemporary readers may find culturally insensitive. However, she was a noted author and suffragette, and edited New Deal publications that sought to capture the stories of formerly enslaved African Americans from Virginia. Her story illustrates the complexities of race consciousness in 20th-century Virginia.

Eagle Adkins of the Chickahominy Tribe, and attempted to contact Chief Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook of the Pamunkey Tribe. No documents survive to suggest their further involvement in Festival planning.[77] There is later documentation in the Director's Office Correspondence from Chief Adkins, who presented a flag to the Jamestown Festival in April 1957. The presentation occurred prior to the church service commemorating the marriage between John Rolfe and Pocahontas. No evidence survives of Chief Adkins's involvement in other Pocahontas Day activities.[78] Interestingly, there is no archival evidence regarding Chief Otho Nelson of the Rappahannock Tribe, although at least McCary certainly knew how to contact him.[79]

A third local Indian leader, Chief Otha Thomas Custalow of the Mattaponi Indian Reservation, contacted Virginia Governor Thomas B. Stanley in September 1957. Chief Custalow explained he was a lineal descendant of Chief Powhatan, "who greeted the first English settlers on the shores of Jamestown Island." In recognition of Queen Elizabeth II's scheduled appearance the following month, Chief Custalow asked to present the Queen with a gift, "a trinket symbolic of the early gifts of my ancestors to those first

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[77] Parke Rouse Jr. to Mary Burnley Gwathmey, Oct. 28, 1955. Box 10, folder 1, Virginia Commission Records. Chief Tecumseh Deerfoot Cook was also known as Chief George Major Cook. Contemporary Pamunkey Tribe members prefer the former name. Gwathmey was a teacher and artist from an old Virginia family and served with the Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission. This is among the earliest known mentions of the Lodge in the Commission archives. For more on Adkins, see Michael J. Puglisi, "Ozias Oliver Adkins (1911-1987)," *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, Library of Virginia. https://www.lva.virginia.gov/public/dvb/bio.php?b=Adkins_Ozias_Oliver, accessed March 31, 2020.

[78] Parke Rouse Jr. to Chief O. Oliver Adkins, March 4, 1957. Box 3, Rolfe-Pocahontas Wedding Program folder, Files of the Director's Office.

[79] Richardson to Walker, field notes from Nov. 12, 2019. Chief Richardson described the leadership tradition of the Rappahannock Tribe since its formal incorporation in the 1920s. The Rappahannocks were led in 1925 by Chief George L. Nelson, who was succeeded in the late 1920s by his brother-in-law, Otho Smoot Nelson. The son of "Big Otho," as he was known to family, was Captain Chawanta Nelson. Captain Nelson was elected chief upon his father's death in 1963, and died in 2003 after thirty-two years in office. He was recognized in 2004 by House Joint Resolution No. 209 of the Commonwealth of Virginia General Assembly, which recalled his work at the Jamestown Festival Park as a history. Captain Nelson was succeeded by his daughter, Anne Richardson, who was elected chief in 1998, and continues to serve in that capacity.

white settlers."[80] Festival organizers declined Chief Custalow's request, citing time constraints and "already crowded itinerary." They suggested that the Mattaponi people instead attend the Queen's public visit to the Festival Park.[81] To be fair, the request was made only a month before the Queen's visit. However, Chief Custalow making this presentation to Queen Elizabeth would have been a dramatic and public acknowledgement of the historical relationship between her Crown and the Native people of Virginia, a relationship with legal standing derived from numerous colonial-era treaties. Instead, the Commission reinforced the idea that the role played by descendant Indian communities in the Festival was purely incidental, reducing Chief Custalow to a spectator of his own tribal history, essentially no different than other visitors to Jamestown.

Despite preliminary contacts with several contemporary Native communities in Virginia, evidence suggests Festival organizers relied primarily upon non-Indian authorities for the initial design of Powhatan's Lodge. Ben McCary was elected to the state advisory committee in May 1956. The federal Commission's 1958 report to Congress credited him with designing the Lodge, and reported it was constructed by J.W. Atwell, a builder from Hampton, Virginia.[82] To date, design drawings or construction plans have not been found, but there are numerous photographs of the Lodge from 1957 showing members of the Rappahannock Tribe working as interpreters and wearing

[80] Chief O. T. Custalow to the Honorable Thomas B. Stanley, Sept. 12, 1957. Box 19, folder 12, Virginia Commission Records. Stanley served as Virginia governor from 1954 to 1958.
[81] Lewis A. McMurran Jr. to Chief O. T. Custalow, Sept. 16, 1957. Box 19, folder 12, Virginia Commission Records. McMurran was chairman of the Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission and served in the Virginia House of Delegates from 1948 to 1978.
[82] Lewis A. McMurran Jr. to Dr. Ben C. McCary, May 5, 1956. Box 5, folder 7, and Parke Rouse Jr. to Admiral Alvin Duke Chandler, June 11, 1956, Virginia Commission Records. For McCary's role in designing the Lodge, see Celebration Commission, *Anniversary of Jamestown*, 65-66.

regalia. McCary also authored two booklets for the Festival, including an annotated version of John Smith's 1622 map and a history of Virginia Indians during the seventeenth century.[83]

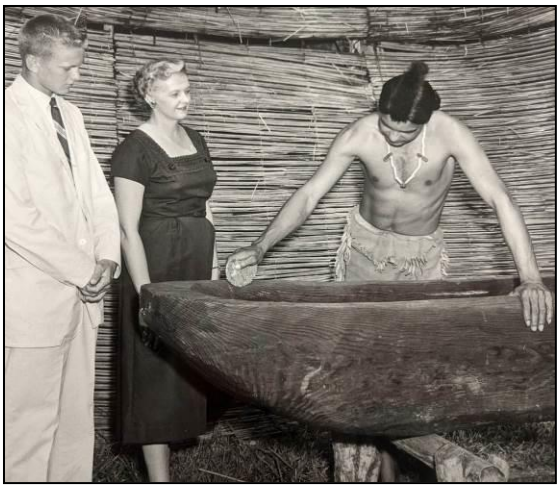

Figure 5. Visitors observe James Ware scraping a dugout canoe at Powhatan's Lodge. *Photo courtesy Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation.*

In a 2019 interview, Chief Richardson recalled how her family became involved with the Festival:

> When Ben McCary came into our community and visited, he found that we were still using a lot of the indigenous tools in everyday life, so he was wanting to hire people to come in and create crafts and to furnish wares and things for the (Jamestown) Indian Village.[84]

McCary's relationship with the Rappahannocks predated the Festival by several years. His recognition of Rappahannock authenticity explains why he saw no need to involve others, such as out-of-state Iroquois communities, in the planning and staffing of Powhatan's Lodge. Unfortunately, the Commission's written archives do not document the Rappahannock role in the leadup to the Festival opening. The Rappahannocks are almost entirely missing from the files of the planning stages. However, evidence from after the opening, in the form of photographs, film reels, and oral histories, document the Nelsons and Wares possessed traditional skills vital to developing the Lodge. The finished exhibit included an oval longhouse, typical of Algonquian people, covered with reed mats. A dugout canoe was situated outside the main entrance, and seven vertical poles formed a circle in a clearing in front of the Lodge (See figure 5). A photograph

[83] McCary, *Indians in Seventeenth-Century Virginia.*
[84] Richardson, "Recovering Lost Voices."

from the 1958 federal report showed a Rappahannock tribal member observing Boy Scouts from Surry, Virginia, performing a ceremonial dance.[85] The exhibit was thus a mix of Rappahannock and non-Indian influence. A builder from Hampton may have constructed the exhibit, but at least parts of it were historically accurate, and it provided a venue in which the Rappahannocks could display cultural knowledge and interpret history.

Speck's book, *The Rappahannock Indians of Virginia*, supports the argument that Rappahannocks brought cultural knowledge to Powhatan's Lodge. Rappahannocks no longer relied extensively on subsistence hunting when Speck visited them in 1925, but they remained connected to traditional forms of material culture through the making of hickory or white oak bows, and baskets from white oak splints. These "rib baskets" had stout handles used for hulling dried corn. Speck was particularly impressed with baskets the Rapphannocks made of what they called "rushes," of which common examples include bulrushes and cattails, and described these reed baskets as "undoubtedly of ancient origin." He linked them to descriptions from John Smith. Speck also described a Rappahannock named Robert H. Clarke as having a "considerable interest in ethnological survivals among his people." Clarke demonstrated the use of mulberry bark fibers to attach stone points to arrows, described the use of native plants like poke for purple dye, and cultivated gourds as water receptacles and food containers.[86] Photographs of the

[85] Celebration Commission, *Anniversary of Jamestown*, 52. The ceremonial circle was informed by John White's watercolor, "Indians Dancing Around A Circle of Posts." A virtual collection of White's watercolors, including "Indians Dancing," can be found at http://www.virtualjamestown.org/images/white_debry_html/white38.html, accessed Nov. 13, 2019.

[86] Speck, *The Rappahannock Indians of Virginia*, 53-83. "So many of the things that he (Speck) saw we were still doing as a part of our everyday lives (in 1925). Like weaving the baskets, and making traps. They were still using traps to fish at that time, and also to trap birds. And so all of these indigenous tools were taken down to Jamestown and to be able to be utilized in the Indian Village." Richardson, "Recovering Lost Voices."

Rappahannocks at Powhatan's Lodge show them using cooking methods and tools documented in Speck's ethnography.[87] Many of those photographs include visitors observing the Rappahannocks. These images capture Rappahannocks asserting their public Indianness in a setting in which they were rightfully recognized as curators of their own culture.

In a 2020 interview, Jamie Ware-Jondreau from the Rappahannock Tribe recalled the role her parents and family members played in the initial development of Powhatan's Lodge. Ware-Jondreau is Chief Richardson's first cousin. Her father, James, and her mother, Doris, moved to Williamsburg in 1957 to be the first full-time Rappahannock employees of the Festival. It was a relationship that lasted for nearly twenty years. Ware-Jondreau has many memories of her family interpreting history at Jamestown throughout the 1960s and into the early 1970s. Most of the archival photographs and news reels from the Festival and the years that followed include James and Doris Ware. Ware-Jondreau's memories demonstrate the Rappahannock role in developing the exhibit:

> Prior to the opening, the grand opening, of Jamestown Festival Park, my family came down, to include all of my family, my aunts and uncles, and helped build the Indian village there that (could have) housed thirty people, at least five or six families. So it was a long Indian lodge, that they… showed to the public, to the visitors.[88]

Rappahannock memories such as this are at odds with their virtual absence from the written records of the planning stages, but supported by the visual record of the photographs and films. It is unclear exactly what roles McCary, the Hampton contractor Atwell, and the Rappahannocks each played in the specific construction of the exhibit.

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[87] Celebration Commission, *Anniversary of Jamestown*, 94.
[88] Ware-Jondreau, "Recovering Lost Voices."

Rappahannock participation may not have been totally visible, but it was another public assertion of their cultural knowledge.

The Jamestown Festival of 1957 opened April 1 to great acclaim. Concerns among the Commissioners that the three ships might not be ready proved unfounded, and over the next eight months nearly two million people attended the event. The Festival Park represented an investment by the Commonwealth of Virginia of more than $2 million, and featured the three ships and their pier, James Fort, Powhatan's Lodge, an information center, a gift shop, a restaurant, Old and New World pavilions, and a memorial tower. Much of this infrastructure is still used today.[89] The operational plan for the opening listed the distinguished guests who were coming, including the Governor of Virginia, the British Ambassador to the United States, and various United States cabinet members. No Native Americans were listed, and the itinerary for the guests set aside fifteen minutes at the Fort, one-half hour at the ships, but no time for visiting Powhatan's Lodge, which was located adjacent to the ships. There appear to be no Native Americans listed among the women who served as special guides for the distinguished guests.[90]

Powhatan's Lodge did feature prominently in *The Jamestown Festival Official Program*, edited by Rouse. The program provided a map of the park showing the location of the Lodge, downstream from the contemporary Jamestown Ferry dock. It included a physical description of Powhatan's Lodge, which was based on a late-sixteenth description by Thomas Hariot, a member of the 1585 English expedition to North

[89] Celebration Commission, *Anniversary of Jamestown*, 65.
[90] Operational Plan for the Events of the Opening of the Jamestown Festival, Undated. Box 1, folder 19, Virginia Commission Records.

Carolina, and informed by a drawing from John Smith's 1622 map. It was thirty-six feet long, sixteen feet wide, and covered with mats made from cattails.[91]

Program illustrations depicting seventeenth-century Virginia Indians drew heavily on John White's watercolors from the ill-fated 1585 English expedition to North Carolina. The Indians who met the colonists were described as "redskins" who did not prove loyal to the newcomers, even though the English crowned Chief Powhatan "King of Virginia." In reciting the story of Pocahontas, it skipped the part about her kidnapping, but celebrated her conversion to Christianity. The program also quoted Smith's assessment of Virginia Indians: "Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, some cautious, all *Savage*" (Rouse's italics).[92] After describing the social structure of the Powhatan Chiefdom, the *Official Program* closed with a description of contemporary Virginia Indians, declaring:

> Today, the remnants of Powhatan's people chiefly live on the reservations of the Mattaponi and Pamunkey tribes in Tidewater, Virginia. A few others are scattered in small groups nearby.[93]

There was no mention of the Rappahannocks who staffed Powhatan's Lodge.

The Rappahannock presence on opening day and throughout the Festival was well-documented in photographs and in the press, despite their omission from the official program. A newspaper article published just before the grand opening explained that the Lodge was located off a forest trail, near a primitive dance circle for ceremonial rites. The writer appreciated the authenticity of the Rappahannock presence, stating, "Inside

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[91] Parke Rouse Jr., ed., *The Jamestown Festival Official Program* (Richmond: The Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission, 1957), 38.
[92] Ibid., 13.
[93] Ibid., 38.

are real Indians – descendants of those who three centuries ago challenged the colonial intruders."[94]

According to Ware-Jondreau, tribal members on opening day included James Ware and his wife's sister, Luethel Nelson Trickett. Doris Ware was supposed to work that day, but became ill. Over the next several years, the Wares, Trickett, and Captain and Gladys Nelson, worked full-time as interpreters at Powhatan's Lodge. Trickett married and moved to California in the early 1960s. Captain and Gladys Nelson interpreted into the late 1960s, balancing time at Jamestown with running their farm in Indian Neck.[95]

Photographs from the Festival documented the Rappahannock interpreters dressed in regalia, cooking fish over an open fire, and using traditional tools to grind corn. In May they attended a social event and met U.S. Vice President Richard Nixon and the Duke and Duchess of Denmark. Five months later Gladys Nelson, Dolores Ware Nelson, and Luethel Nelson Trickett interpreted Algonquian culture for Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip of the United Kingdom. Contemporary Rappahannocks fondly recall the pride their families took in these opportunities to assert their Indianness in front of important officials.[96]

An outdoor play that opened in the spring certainly raise a question about cultural authenticity in the context of 1957. *The Founders* was written by noted playwright and Pulitzer Prize winner Paul Green, who wrote other well-known Native American-themed

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[94] *The Free Lance-Star*, Fredericksburg, Va., April 30, 1957, Box 33, folder 17, Virginia Commission Records.
[95] Ware-Jondreau, "Recovering Lost Voices;" Richardson to Walker, field notes from April 9, 2020. Ware-Jondreau recalled how her parents became involved at Jamestown. "Their knowledge to me was, an invitation was extended to all the tribes in Virginia to come and participate in Jamestown's history, and tell the oral history there. My parents took the bite, and left King and Queen County."
[96] Richardson, "Recovering Lost Voices,"; and Ware-Jondreau, "Recovering Lost Voices."

outdoor dramas.[97] Green's *The Lost Colony* debuted in 1937, and is credited as the longest-running outdoor drama in the U.S. *The Founders* opened May 13, exactly 350 years after the colonists arrival at Jamestown. It was the official drama of the Jamestown Festival and performed daily through October at the Cove Amphitheater in Williamsburg. The central characters included Pocahontas and John Smith, played by June Moffatt and her husband, James. A *New York Times* preview made no mention of any Native American actors (there were about one hundred cast members). *The Founders* centered around a depiction of the English as benevolent newcomers and the Indians (other than Pocahontas) as murderers who ultimately committed the "tragic massacre" of 1622, which was the play's conclusion.[98] The play began with Pocahontas saving the first hero, John Smith, who unsuccessfully tried to make peace with Powhatan. This act made Pocahontas the "guardian angel" of Jamestown. She later married the "pious planter" and second hero, John Rolfe. According to the *Times* preview, the narrative focused on the civilizing aspect of the colonists, but at least the savage Indians were credited with providing some food to the colonists - when not killing them during the first two Anglo-Powhatan wars.[99]

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[97] Paul Green, *The Founders: A Symphonic Outdoor Drama* (New York: French, 1957).

[98] According to Rountree, James River tribes affiliated with the Powhatan Chiefdom attacked the English settlements on March 22, 1622. The "Great Assault" of 1622 was organized by Opechancanough, who was possibly the brother or half-brother of Powhatan. Powhatan died in April 1618 and was succeeded by Opechancanough as the local Native American leader. Rountree states the Rappahannock River tribes were sympathetic to Opechancanough and may have participated in raids on outlying English settlements. For more, see Rountree, *Pocahontas, Powhatan, Opechancanough*, 212-215.

[99] Jay Walz, "Staging History: Huge Cast Stands Ready to Re-enact the Settlement of Jamestown," *The New York Times*, May 12, 1957. Box 24, folder 3, Virginia Commission Records. Modern historians have disputed whether the Pocahontas and John Smith story ever happened. If the story is to be believed at all, some historians argue John Smith was not making peace with Powhatan, because the two sides were not yet at war. Rather, Smith was Powhatan's captive, and the intervention by Pocahontas was part of an Indian adoption ritual. For more see Ragan, "Where the Water Ebbs and Flows."

A review in the *New York Times* of the play's opening stated the colonists were most interested in gold, and "set a glorious example of courage and determination" while establishing democratic institutions in the New World. "Not all the settlers were heroes" as they fought starvation, malaria, and massacre by hostile Indians. There was no hint of colonists as intruders, but attendees could enjoy "whooping Indians" daily, except Mondays.[100] There was no mention of the attendance of Vice President Nixon, who was at Jamestown on the day the play opened, but a photo in the Commission archives documented him meeting the actors who portrayed Pocahontas and Rolfe.[101]

The *Daily Press* reported Nixon's speech that day at the Festival Park apparently in its entirety, but the Commission archives contained no record of him visiting Powhatan's Lodge. Nixon said America was a great nation because "from the time of our foundation we have recognized the individual dignity of men and women." His words were hollow even in 1957, in the context of the ongoing Civil Rights struggle, the indignity of Virginia's "one-drop-rule," and the growing anti-Communist paranoia sparked by McCarthysim.[102]

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[100] Lewis Funke, "Theatre: The Founders," *The New York Times*, May 14, 1957, Box 24, folder 3, Virginia Commission Records.
[101] Photo of Vice President Richard Nixon with "The Founders" cast, *Daily Press*, Newport News, May 14, 1957, Box 16, folder 7, Virginia Commission Records.
[102] Lloyd H. Williams, "Nixon Links Jamestown to Key Ideals; Bids Historic Rededication to Freedom," *Daily Press*, Newport News, Va., May 13, 1957, Box 16, folder 7, Virginia Commission Records.

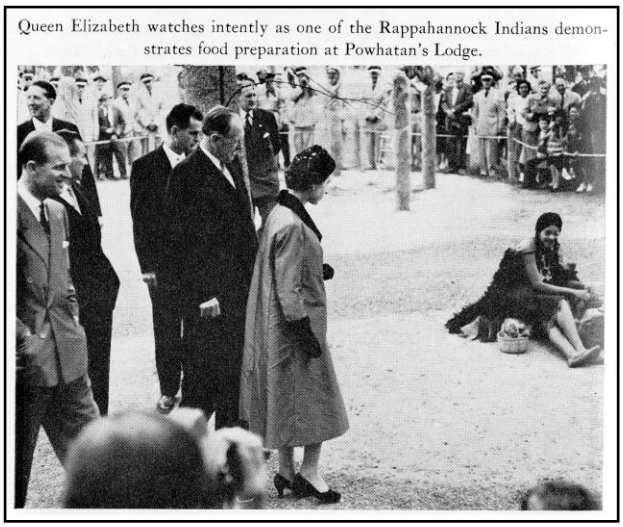
Queen Elizabeth watches intently as one of the Rappahannock Indians demonstrates food preparation at Powhatan's Lodge.

Figure 5, top. Figure 6, bottom.

The most memorable visitors to the Festival were Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip of England. Five months after Nixon attended opening day, the Royal couple toured Powhatan's Lodge. Substantial archival documentation exists of the October 16 event, including photographs of the three female Rappahannock interpreters dressed in regalia and interacting with the Queen and Prince. One photograph captured the Royal couple observing a seated Doris Nelson Ware shell corn into a rib basket (See figure 5).[103] A second photograph documented Gladys Nelson standing next to Ware, roasting fish as the Queen and Prince watched (See figure 6).[104] The fish were placed whole across a small fire, a near-perfect replica of the technique depicted in John White's watercolor, "Cooking Fish."[105] In the third photograph, the Queen and Virginia Governor Thomas B. Stanley watched closely as Luethel Nelson Trickett ground

[103] "Queen Elizabeth watches intently as one of the Rappahannock Indians demonstrates food preparation at Powhatan's Lodge," Celebration Commission, *Anniversary of Jamestown*, 94.
[104] Photo courtesy Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation.
[105] A virtual collection of John White's watercolors, including "Cooking Fish," can be found at http://www.virtualjamestown.org/images/white_debry_html/white44.html, accessed Nov. 13, 2019.

corn with traditional tools (See figure 7).[106] This moment was also recorded in a newspaper article, the only documentary evidence of the Queen talking with Rappahannocks. A reporter noted, "As she passed by the Indian Village, the monarch stopped to chat with the Indian maid grinding corn."[107] It is worth mentioning again that these three Rappahannock women were sisters. Their memories of meeting the Queen and Prince are recalled with great pride by their descendants.


ge PO-10 THE VIRGINIA GAZETTE, WILLIAMS

Queen At Indian Village

Queen Elizabeth, left, escorted by Virginia's Governor Thomas B. Stanley, examines In
ods of grinding corn at the Indian village, Jamestown Festival Park, in 1957.

Figure 7

Chief Richardson's parents remembered the Queen as "a very gracious woman, and that she was very interested in the history of the tribes."[108] An enlarged photograph of the Royal couple watching Gladys Nelson tend the cooking fire is featured prominently in the Rappahannock Tribal Center in Indian Neck. It was an important moment in the history of the Rappahannocks. After enduring the indignity of Plecker's policies and the one-drop rule, the Rappahannocks could assert their Indianness to the visiting Royals, in a public forum, for all the world to see.

These and other photographs, along with digitized newsreels and film footage uploaded to YouTube, document Rappahannocks as historical interpreters in 1950s

[106] "Queen At Indian Village," June 1966, *The Virginia Gazette*, Williamsburg, Va., Box 2, folder 1966, Virginia Commission Records. The caption reads, Queen Elizabeth, left, escorted by Virginia's Governor Thomas B. Stanley, examines Indian methods of grinding corn at the Indian village, Jamestown Festival Park, in 1957."
[107] "Queen, Still Radiant, Ends Visit Here: Governor Stanley Sees Elizabeth Board Plane After Peninsula Events," Oct. 17, 1957, *The Times-Herald*, Newport News, Va., Box 20, folder 3, Virginia Commission Records.
[108] "I think they were just thrilled to have met the Queen, and had time to interact with her, as a world power. Britain was really at the top of the heap in 1957, so they were thrilled about that." Richardson, "Recovering Lost Voices."

America. A home movie from July 1957, for example, documents the Wares interpreting for a largely white audience. The camera operator zooms in on a sign explaining that the totem circle was historically used for religious ceremonies, then captures a middle-aged white man "war-whooping" and dancing in the circle. The dignity of the ceremonial circle was lost on the visitor.[109] Another video captured James Ware standing patiently while a white woman and children reach out to examine his necklace. The video raises questions about his needing to portray the "stoic Indian" stereotype in the face of audiences who viewed him as an exotic object to be touched and inspected.[110]

The Festival closed soon after Queen Elizabeth's visit. As the 1950s ended and the 1960s began, Rappahannocks continued interpreting history at Powhatan's Lodge. James and Doris Ware took on additional tasks. James helped maintain the Lodge, and Doris expanded her work as a seamstress. Captain and Gladys Nelson continued working at Powhatan's Lodge, as did Luethel Nelson Trickett.

More than sixty years have passed since the Jamestown Festival of 1957. The archival evidence, and the words of contemporary tribal members, demonstrate the Rappahannock people broke centuries of silence by publicly asserting their Indianness at Jamestown. Ware-Jondreau recalled what it meant for her family to serve as curators of Rappahannock culture for people from across the world :

> I could watch the pride, when I would go there on the weekends with my Aunt Gladys, sharing the history and seeing my Aunt Luethel, just very pridefully working on pottery and stuff. I could see the pride in their eyes, of my Uncle Captain when people would ask him questions about the Rappahannock Tribe, so

[109] 19king14 Film2Video Memories & Services. "The Jamestown Settlement Old Home Movie from July 16 1957." YouTube Video, 18:24. October 27, 2018. The segment showing Powhatan's Lodge begins at 18:21. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GF7h4IL1A38

[110] Recordpickers. "A Short Clip of Williamsburg and Jamestown in the 1950s." YouTube Video. 2:41. August 13, 2017. The segment showing Powhatan's Lodge begins at 2:33. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=znyi7t9cZvk

> indeed it was very much with pride that they could represent not only their people but share their history with the public.[111]

For the first time in centuries, Rappahannocks felt safe publicly demonstrating the pride they shared in their community. Each day they interacted with an audience at the Lodge, explaining how their ancestors extracted a living from the forests and rivers of tidewater, Virginia. Each day they answered questions about the contemporary Rappahannock Tribe. "We're still here," they said. There would be no more hiding.

Through projects like "Recovering Lost Voices," the memories of events like this, and the meaning Native people attach to them, are finally being captured for use by researchers and tribal members. After the Festival closed, Rappahannocks increasingly asserted their public Indianness, attending powwows, wearing regalia to community festivals, and maintaining their struggle for legal recognition. As a result, their fellow citizens in Virginia were forced to recognize their existence and open a new dialog about the history of the Commonwealth.

[111] Ware-Jondreau, "Recovering Lost Voices."

Chapter three

Silent No More

> This is my first regalia that I received. I happened to come down here to Virginia at the time, and they were having a festival in Tappahannock, Virginia, and they invited some members of our tribe that were dancers to participate in this. I didn't have a regalia at that time, but apparently my aunt contacted my mother and told her my sizes and everything, and when I came down here my aunt showed me, 'This is what you're wearing to the festival,' and I was like, 'OK, really?' and she said, 'Yes, all my children are going and you're going along with them.[112]
>
> *Barbara Williams, Rappahannock Tribe, 2019*

The legacy of the Jamestown Festival of 1957 has two components: its meaning to the Rappahannock people today, and the way it affected perceptions of their public identity as descendants of the historical Rappahannock Tribe. This chapter begins with the story of Powhatan's Lodge after 1957, as Virginia officials decided to keep Jamestown Festival Park open as a tourist attraction. The continued connection of Rappahannock people to the Park, and the memories of their descendants, follows this introduction. Over the years, Rappahannocks remained engaged in interpreting their culture at Jamestown. James and Doris Ware transitioned to permanently living away from Indian Neck shortly after the Festival ended, working full-time as historical interpreters at Powhatan's Lodge. They stayed in these positions until the early 1970s. Captain and Gladys Nelson, and Luethel Nelson Trickett, continued working part-time at the Lodge after 1957. Trickett

[112] Barbara Williams, Chair of the Rappahannock Tribal Council, "Recovering Lost Voices: The Rappahannock Tribe and the Jamestown Festival of 1957," interviewed by Woodie Walker, Oct. 25, 2019, at the Rappahannock Tribal Center. Hereafter cited as Williams, "Recovering Lost Voices." The increasing engagement of Rappahannock people in public events during the 1960s stands in stark contrast to the Silent Years. Williams is a cousin of Chief Richardson.

married and moved to California early in the 1960s, but Captain and Gladys Nelson remained active at Jamestown until 1968 or 1969.[113]

The memories of Tribal Council Chair Barbara Williams illustrate the event's legacy for members of the extended Rappahannock community. Williams grew up during the 1960s in New Jersey, increasingly influenced by her family's assertive declarations of Rappahannock public identity. Decisions made by Jamestown Park and Virginia officials during this era demonstrate a new degree of political influence for the Rappahannock Tribe. Ultimately, this contributed to state recognition in 1983, and federal recognition in 2018, meeting a goal the Rappahannocks first articulated in 1921. In conclusion, this chapter explores the enduring racism that Virginia Indians confront today. Public understanding of their authenticity is far greater than when Speck visited Indian Neck in the 1920s, but their struggle continues. State and agency officials bungled the role of Virginia Indians when Queen Elizabeth returned for the 400th Anniversary of Jamestown in 2007, a point Chief Richardson makes clear when she reflects on the two events.

Virginia quickly recognized the success of the 1957 Festival, and Jamestown Park's future economic potential. In November 1957, just as the Festival closed, two sub-committees of the Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission recommended the Park remain open for 1958. Powhatan's Lodge was not mentioned specifically, but the more costly fort and ships were slated for continued operation.[114] Virginia Governor Thomas B. Stanley approved the measure, and in early 1958 Commission Executive Director

[113] Richardson to Walker, field notes from April 9, 2020.
[114] Virginia Senate sub-committee to Senator Lloyd Bird, Nov. 6, 1957. Box 1, folder "Report on Future Status of Park," Virginia Commission Records.

Parke Rouse Jr. announced "all exhibits and historical reconstructions" from the $2,500,000 Festival Park would remain open for the coming year.[115]

Historical tourism expanded rapidly during the 1950s and 1960s. This proved particularly true of Native-themed tourism and outdoor drama.[116] In Virginia, for example, Paul Green's outdoor drama, *The Founders,* received approval for another run, daily from July through August.[117] A memorandum from April confirmed Powhatan's Lodge would open daily, the same as the fort and ships.[118] Another memorandum in December stated the Lodge and other exhibits would open daily, with interpretative staff assigned maintenance duties.[119]

Officials increasingly recognized the authenticity of Rappahannocks interpreting history at Powhatan's Lodge. Unlike the press releases from 1957, which often failed to mention Powhatan's Lodge or the Rappahannocks who worked there, the Lodge and its staff received more notice as the 1960s progressed. "Close by the fort, descendants of Virginia's Rappahannock Indians may be seen in Powhatan's Lodge," a release from early 1963 stated. The use of the qualifier "descendants" was both an admission of their lineage, and a subtle (and perhaps unintended) denial of their contemporary formal tribal affiliation. It is clear that by the early 1960s Jamestown officials realized the public relations value of authenticity at Powhatan's Lodge and made the most of it in advertising for the Park.

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[115] No author, no date. Box 8, folder "1958 Press Releases," Virginia Commission Records.
[116] For more, see Andrew Denson, *Monuments to Absence: Cherokee Removal and the Contest over Southern Memory* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017); and Tiya Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).
[117] No author, no date. Box 8, folder "1958 Press Releases," Virginia Commission Records.
[118] E.E. Best to All Personnel, April 12, 1958. Box 3, folder "Jamestown Festival Park," Files of the Director's Office.
[119] Ernest Best to Parke Rouse Jr., Dec. 3, 1958. Box 1, folder "Report on Future Status," Files of the Director's Office.

The Lodge was among "new and improved" exhibits that would educate an estimated 300,000 visitors that year. Admissions to Jamestown in 1962 totaled more than 286,000, the most since approximately 1,200,000 people attended the 1957 Festival.[120] Insight into how the Lodge furnishings evolved over time can be gleaned from a 1964 inventory, which included one stuffed deer, "a pile of deer skins," an assortment of small game furs, and three buffalo hides in "extremely poor" condition.[121]

Over time the Rappahannocks, and Virginia Indians in general, gained respect in the wider community. In 1964 Parke pitched an idea for a *Today* show segment, specifically mentioning "real Indians" representing the history of early Jamestown.[122] That same year Jamestown Park's 1966-1972 Capital Outlay Budget Request to the state included $2,000 for unspecified work at the "Indian lodge." Most importantly, this budget makes first mention in the archives of a proposed "museum of the Virginia Indian, as originally contemplated in the Festival Park ensemble." The Park's Executive Committee supported the museum idea, but no specific funding request was listed.[123] There was no archival evidence documenting a proposed Indian museum prior to this reference, suggesting earlier discussions of such a project were at best informal. This more formal consideration for an Indian museum at Jamestown underscores the argument that indigenous history garnered newfound respect among Virginia officials by the mid-1960s. Support for the idea of a Virginia Indian museum in 1964 stood in vast contrast to

[120] No author, no date. Box 8, folder "1963 Publicity Releases," Files of the Director's Office.
[121] Storehouse Inventory, undated. Box 4, folder "Grounds & Buildings - James Fort, 1964," Files of the Director's Office.
[122] Parke Rouse Jr. to Al Morgan, June 1, 1964. Box 5, folder "Special events – general 1964," Files of the Director's Office.
[123] Cdr. Hobbs to Parke Rouse Jr. and Col. Williams, Oct. 27, 1964. Box 4, folder "Grounds & Buildings - James Fort, 1964," Files of the Director's Office. It is reassuring that a Virginia Indian museum at Jamestown received consideration as early as 1957. Unfortunately, no archival evidence was found to document this proposal.

the Racial Integrity Act of 1924, and Walter Plecker changing the birth certificates of Indian babies to designate them "colored."[124]

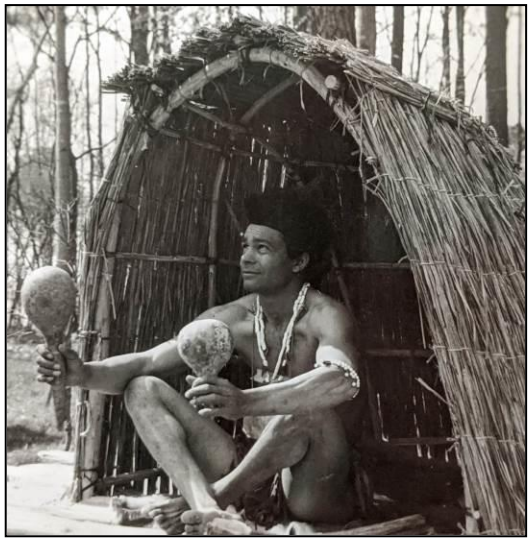

Figure 8. James Ware guards the cornfield at Powhatan's Lodge. *Photo courtesy Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation.*

James and Doris Ware liked interpreting history at Powhatan's Lodge during the 1960s, finding the work economically empowering and intellectually stimulating. It was also vastly different from the lives they led before the Festival. Ware-Jondreau recalled:

> Both were farmers. My maternal grandfather was a farmer. He used mules to plow with, and my mom told me stories of how she would go out with him as a little girl and help plow the fields to grow the produce that we had that grandma canned. My dad was also the same. On his land, it was all using not your big Farmall tractors today, or the John Deeres, but they had mules to plow the land with. So, they both came together with the same skills.[125]

James used many of these same skills at Powhatan's Lodge, planting corn each spring to illustrate indigenous agriculture.[126] However, there was an important difference. Rather than farming for food to support his family in an economy that was at times constrained, James commodified his agricultural knowledge at Jamestown, earning cash wages while reviving traditional farming methods that interpreted Rappahannock culture for visitors. For example, he spent time each growing season in a covered structure, scaring away birds and other pests from the cornfield (See figure 8). The practice was informed by

[124] For more about Plecker changing county records and birth certificates, see Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 222-223.
[125] Ware-Jondreau, "Recovering Lost Voices."
[126] W.D. Williams to Parke Rouse Jr., April 7, 1958. Box 3, folder "Indians," Files of the Director's Office.

another John White watercolor, "Indian Village of Secoton."[127] Doris did much the same, utilizing her sewing skills to take on additional work at Jamestown, crafting regalia for the Lodge interpreters, and making colonial costumes for interpreters at the fort and ships. It was a job she continued doing into the early 1970s.[128] There is some irony in the fact that by this time a Rappahannock Indian was actually shaping the appearance, and thus the narrative, of colonial history at Jamestown.

The experience of the Wares and Nelsons at Jamestown influenced the next generation of Rappahannocks to proudly assert their public Indianness, too. The veil had been lifted, and even though she lived in New Jersey, Barbara Williams bonded with the growing numbers of Rappahannocks attending community celebrations and powwows, often wearing traditional Algonquian dress. Williams's mother was Ethel Nelson Byrd, first cousin of Captain Nelson. Williams's parents never worked at Jamestown, but as a youth she visited Powhatan's Lodge several times with relatives. "We youngsters basically ran around playing at the village and the fort," she recalled.[129] Williams received her first regalia in the late 1960s, so she could join cousins at a local community celebration. Regalia is the term used for traditional clothing, often worn by Indian dancers at powwows. Attending that community event led to a lifetime of dancing for Williams (See figure 9).[130]

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[127] A virtual collection of John White's watercolors, including "Indian Village at Secoton," can be found at http://www.virtualjamestown.org/images/white_debry_html/white35.html, accessed April 25, 2020.
[128] Parke Rouse Jr. to D.M. Hawks, Oct. 4, 1971. Box 11, folder "Costumes," Files of the Director's Office. "Doris has done an excellent job and stays busy," Hawks said in a handwritten reply.
[129] Williams to Walker, field notes from April 22, 2020.
[130] Williams, "Recovering Lost Voices."

The story of the Williams family provides additional insight into the legacy of the Jamestown Festival of 1957 for the Rappahannock community. In the years leading up to the Festival, Williams's parents and grandparents endured racism, and diaspora. One survival technique involved never letting go of their kinship connection to Indian Neck. After the Festival, that connection to community was passed to Barbara, who was nine the year Jamestown Park opened. Childhood holidays and vacations meant long drives from New Jersey, to visit family in Virginia.[131]

Figure 9. Barbara Williams and her grandson in regalia, preparing to dance at a powwow. *Photo courtesy Barbara Williams.*

Like scores of Native families across the United States, Rappahannocks became scattered across the country during the twentieth century as a result of colonial pressures – especially federal Indian policy. Williams's paternal grandparents fled "racial purity" policies in Virginia, and sought better economic opportunities, by relocating to Pennsylvania before World War II. Williams's father, Joseph Byrd, graduated from Temple University in Philadelphia, and served during the war as a paratrooper with the U. S. Army's 101st Airborne Division. Afterward, he married and moved to New Jersey. Williams said her father did not talk much about his service, but he did experience racism in the military, and at times had to confront the

[131] Ibid.,.

issue. “When he did, it changed things within his area of the army,” she recalled. Joseph Byrd became an advisor to the Rappahannock Tribe, working on issues like health programs and federal recognition. “When he was growing up, his parents (knew) that he would actually be a spokesperson for the tribe,” Williams recalled.[132]

There was certainly a Rappahannock diaspora before the twentieth century, but laws like Virginia’s “one-drop” rule made leaving Indian Neck even more attractive after the 1920s. Interracial marriages could lead to classification as “other than Indian,” so some Rappahannocks moved north to escape Plecker’s policies, going so far as to change their names. Diaspora stories also raise issues about derived places of origin, as communities living away from ancestral lands develop the idea of far-away cultural homelands. The Rappahannock diaspora did not lead to the idea of Indian Neck as the Rappahannock place of origin, however. It was *always* their homeland, said Williams. The Rappahannock Tribal Center is built on their historical winter hunting grounds, evidence of permanence upon their ancestral land.[133]

Rappahannock oral traditions often stress the importance of maintaining a spiritual connection with nature, which strengthens ties to a homeland. Williams’s maternal grandparents, James Otha and Elizabeth “Lizzie” Nelson, instilled in her a deep appreciation for the environment. They owned a farm in Indian Neck, and shared Rappahannock oral history in the evenings when the family gathered on their front porch.

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[132] Ibid.,.

[133] Ibid,. For more on Native American diasporas, see Gregory Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora: An Indigenous History of Migration, Resettlement, and Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); and Sami Lakomaki, *Gathering Together: The Shawnee People through Diaspora and Nationhood, 1600-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

Running around the farm was far different than city life for a young suburbanite like Williams, trying to better understand her Indian heritage:

> I used to wonder also why we are so different from everyone else, and sometimes we weren't very well-liked. Even as a child I could feel that. But they (grandparents) would tell us that we had a special purpose for being here, and basically it was for (teaching) others to know how to live and survive where nature was concerned. We're people of the land.[134]

Even in diaspora, Williams developed a relationship with her Rappahannock homeland through connections to family members. She moved permanently to Indian Neck in 1973 and started a family, eventually taking on leadership roles for the tribe. She has served on the Tribal Council for more than thirty years. For the past eleven years, she's served as chair of the Council, a reflection of the Rappahannock's matrilineal leadership tradition. A focus of her leadership today is passing along cultural knowledge to young tribal members. One avenue for this is developing an interactive virtual museum on the tribal website, utilizing oral histories and archival photographs to document the Rappahannock experience at the Jamestown Festival.

As the 1960s gave way to the 1970s, Virginians increasingly recognized the identity of its Native American communities, setting the stage for the Rappahannock's greatest victories in their fight for cultural preservation and recognition.[135] Jamestown officials grappled again with the idea of an Indian museum in 1969, and considered whether it might be more appropriate to locate such a facility elsewhere, with

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[134] Ibid.,.

[135] Chief Richardson said Rappahannocks working at Powhatan's Lodge demonstrated their enduring cultural identity to "people all over the world," correcting the prevailing attitude in Virginia that the state's indigenous communities had disappeared. "I think that they (Rappahannocks at Jamestown) would have definitely felt that this was an important part of the survival of their people." Richardson, "Recovering Lost Voices."

interpretation expanding beyond tidewater Indians.[136] The Jamestown Foundation, which by then administered the Festival Park, decided in 1970 to pursue state funds for an "Indian pavilion." The building would house "items related to Tidewater Virginia Indians." The project was to be funded over eight years and completed in time for the U.S. Bicentennial Celebration in 1976. No archival evidence documenting the building's construction survives.[137] Still, Jamestown did open the Park for Native American events like the Chickahominy Indian Fall Festival. Archival evidence documents how the Chickahominy Tribe held fall gatherings at the Park in 1970 and 1971. By year two, Jamestown Executive Director Rouse needed to borrow 1,500 chairs from the College of William and Mary for the event.[138] This same Rouse had received a letter in 1957 suggesting Virginia Indians did not know their "culture and history." By 1971 attitudes had shifted, and Rouse offered Park assistance for a Virginia Indian festival. The Park recognized the Indianness of Virginia's Native communities, those Indians found opportunities to share their culture, and the wider public responded in large numbers. Consider also Jamestown's early 1960s references to Rappahannocks as "real Indians," and it becomes evident that attitudes were changing about Indianness in Virginia.

Unfortunately, there is also archival evidence that Jamestown officials in 1970 still wanted to cast Rappahannock history interpreters at Powhatan's Lodge in terms they felt their audiences could relate to, regardless of authenticity. An article Rouse wrote that

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[136] Carlisle H. Humelsine to Parke Rouse Jr., June 9, 1969. Box 8, folder "Indian Museum (Proposed) 1966," Files of the Director's Office.
[137] Author unknown, "For Festival Park: Board Considers Indian Pavilion," *Daily Press*, Newport News, Va., Dec. 6, 1970. Box 10, folder "Publicity-Clippings-1970," Files of the Director's Office.
[138] J. Chapman to Parke Rouse Jr., Sept. 3, 1970. Box 10, folder "Indian Fest 1970," Files of the Director's Office; Parke Rouse Jr. to Robert T. English Jr., Sept. 8, 1971. Box 11, folder "Indian Fest 1971," Files of the Director's Office. The 1970 Fall Festival featured Chickahominy Chief Ozias Oliver Lone Eagle Adkins as master of ceremonies, who introduced visiting chiefs and distinguished guests. Unfortunately, there is no evidence who was included in those groups. The letter also says an "Indian" would lead the Pledge of Allegiance.

year and published in the Stockton, California, *Record*, invited tourists to make "A Pilgrimage to the Pocahontas Love Nest." Rouse identified the host of Powhatan's Lodge as Chief Running Deer, a "full-blooded Indian of the Rappahannock tribe," and descendant of the "tribesmen who fought early settlers" until the marriage of Pocahontas to John Rolfe brought peace.[139] The article featured a photograph of James Ware in a dugout canoe.[140] His daughter said James Ware was not a chief, however. Ware-Jondreau explained the problem with Jamestown officials using this title:

> It was a stage name, indeed. It actually caused a rift a little bit in the tribe, because they assumed that my father took the name of chief. He did not. I think it just was for publicity that they called him chief. His name was James Ware, and they (the Rappahannocks) called him Running Deer.[141]

Thus, in spite of the growing public acceptance of Virginia Indian identity, questions of authenticity remained. Jamestown officials recognized this, using outdated colonial concepts to enhance the *perceived* authenticity of Powhatan's Lodge, based on common stereotypes. They felt that labeling James Ware "chief" legitimized his Indianness better that simply calling him Running Deer, his actual Rappahannock name. However, doing so reinforced false public perceptions. This practice was far different than John Smith and others using titles like chief, king, and queen to identify *weroances* and *weroansquas* three centuries earlier. In the 1670s Cockacoeske was a *weroansqua*, a female leader of her community. However, the Virginians identified Cockacoeske as "Queen of the Pamunkey," to make her more relatable to English royalty. By contrast, Jamestown

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[139] As noted on page 6 of the Introduction, the Rappahannocks largely stayed out of the Anglo-Powhatan wars. Describing the Rappahannocks in this way conflates the different communities of the Powhatan Chiefdom, treating them as undifferentiated Indians. It appears certain that, at least in the case of this article, Rouse was more concerned about dramatic effect than historical accuracy.

[140] Parke Rouse Jr., "A Pilgrimage to the Pocahontas Love Nest," *Record*, Stockton, Ca., Nov. 1, 1970. Box 10, folder "Publicity-Clippings-1970," Files of the Director's Office.

[141] Ware-Jondreau, "Recovering Lost Voices."

officials in the 1970s knew that James Ware was not a chief. They also knew that Captain Nelson was at that time the elected chief of the Rappahannock Tribe. They decided James Ware must be labeled a chief to suitably impress visitors to Powhatan's Lodge, regardless of the truth. Doing so speaks not only to the attitudes of Jamestown officials, but also the way they perceived the public's understanding of Indianness in 1970.[142]

Despite such lingering aspects of colonialism at Jamestown, Rappahannocks capitalized on the growing awareness of Virginia Indian identity to increase their political influence. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, some members of the Rappahannock Tribe joined the "Red Power" movement, exemplified by the 1969 takeover of Alcatraz Island in California and the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, by supporters of the American Indian Movement (AIM).[143] In Virginia, tribal leaders increasingly demanded legal recognition by the state and federal governments.

Anne Richardson's election as Assistant Chief in 1976 constituted an epochal shift in the leadership of the Rappahannock Tribe. Her father, Captain, continued in his role as chief, and she took on efforts to coordinate with other Virginia tribes calling for the establishment of a state recognition process. This effort was a regionalized version of the pan-Indian cooperation at the core of the Red Power movement. Virginia Indians mutually supported each other's claims of Indianness and authenticity. In 1979, the Rappahannock Tribe filed paperwork with the Bureau of Indian Affairs to begin the

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[142] It is understandable that the early colonists used terms like king and queen to identify Native leaders. Doing so was simply a matter of using titles they understood to express leadership. For example, John Smith used the term "King" to describe the *weroance* Powhatan. See Rountree, *Pocahontas, Powhatan, Opechancanough*, 76. However, in the more enlightened 1970s, it was unnecessary to confer authenticity through the use of misappropriated titles.

[143] Rountree documented the participation of two Rappahannocks from New Jersey traveling to Wounded Knee and joining "the occupying force." For more about Powhatan activism in this era, see Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 247.

federal recognition process. State recognition was achieved in 1983. It would take another eighteen years to achieve federal recognition.[144]

The years between 1983 and 2018 witnessed several important moments in Rappahannock history. Chief Richardson became executive director of Mattaponi-Pamunkey-Monacan Inc. in 1991, providing job training and services for all Virginia Indians. Cultural preservation and public education efforts that existed before 1957 received new focus. Rappahannocks established a Harvest Festival and Powwow, now held annually in October at the Tribal Center they built in 1995. The Harvest Festival features the Rappahannock Native American Dancers and the Maskapow Drum Group. In 1998 Chief Richardson succeeded her father, Captain Nelson, as the elected leader of the tribe. That same year the tribe purchased nearly 120 acres of land in Indian Neck, expanding the site of the Tribal Center and established a housing development for tribal members. The Rappahannocks maintained their connection to the river, increasingly lobbying with groups like the Chesapeake Conservancy for increased environmental protection of places like Fones Cliffs.

All of these activities are meaningful public expressions of Indianness. Chief Richardson's regional leadership of training and service activities strengthened ties among all the participating Virginia tribes. Specific Rappahannock activities, like their Fall Festival, was a public event that centered on cultural practices. The tribe's housing initiative facilitated Rappahannock residence in their homeland, while their increasing environmental advocacy advanced public perceptions of Indians as stewards of a

[144] Ragan, "Where the Water Ebbs and Flows," 8-9. For more on the state recognition process, see Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 250-254. In January 1983, Virginia House Joint Resolution 54 extended state recognition to the United Rappahannock Tribe, Chickahominy Tribe, Chickahominy Tribe-Eastern Division, and Upper Mattaponi Tribal Association.

biologically-interrelated community. The results of these actions increasingly asserted Rappahannock influence on political matters, as well. In 2018, nearly a century after Chief George Nelson initiated the drive for federal recognition of his own people, the Thomasina E. Jordan Indian Tribes of Virginia Recognition Act of 2017 conferred federal status on the Rappahannock Tribe, opening new opportunities for education and cultural preservation.[145]

There is an important story that bookends Rappahannock history between the 1957 Festival through the era of state and federal recognition. It gets to the heart of the meaning Rappahannock contemporary people attach to their participation in the Festival. On one end is the 1957 visit by Queen Elizabeth II to Powhatan's Lodge. On the other end is her return for America's 400th Anniversary: Jamestown Virginia 1607-2007. The Queen came back for the 2007 event, and by her actions, proved her public commitment to all of Virginia's indigenous peoples. Her recognition affirmed their significance in American history, and as cultural communities today.

Planning for the 2007 event began well before the actual anniversary. According to Chief Richardson, organizers of the 400th Anniversary met with officials of the Virginia tribes and requested their participation years in advance. The planners did not allocate funding for tribal representatives, however, and the idea of Indian participation took a back seat to planning for events at Jamestown Settlement (the contemporary name for Jamestown Festival Park) and Colonial Williamsburg. Planners also invited Queen Elizabeth, and concurrently in 2006 Virginia tribal officials visited London, where they held a powwow and toured historic sites of special significance to the relationship

[145] The Rappahannock Tribe, *A Brief History of the Rappahannocks.* Accessed May 3, 2019. https://rappahannocktribe.org/tribal-history/

between their ancestors and the British monarchy. The success of the London visit resulted in the Queen's representatives traveling to Virginia to inquire about the details of the 2007 Anniversary. They discovered there were no exhibits planned for Jamestown about the historic Virginia tribes. The British delegation reported the situation to Queen Elizabeth. According to Chief Richardson:

> She sent word to (President) George (W.) Bush at the time, that she was going to the Kentucky Derby instead of coming to Virginia, because she was upset there were no exhibits on the Powhatan tribes.[146]

The Queen's message triggered a flurry of activity on the part of the Anniversary planners to increase tribal participation. Representatives of some tribes responded, but Richardson ultimately declined to help with a Jamestown exhibit. She did, however, attend a reception at the Virginia Governor's Mansion, where the tribes presented Queen Elizabeth with a replica of a cameo brooch originally given to Pocahontas by Queen Anne of England in 1616. Richardson said microphones were not made available, so there is no record of the conversation between Queen Elizabeth and the Virginia tribes. Richardson also pointed out that the Queen asked to meet with the tribal representatives before meeting with state and federal officials.[147]

Later, when the Queen addressed the Virginia General Assembly, Chief Richardson made a presentation of her own, through Lord Alan Watson, whom Richardson met during her 2006 trip to London. It was a framed copy of the 1957 photograph taken at Powhatan's Lodge, showing the Queen with Chief Richardson's

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[146] Richardson, "Recovering Lost Voices."
[147] Rountree makes no reference to the original brooch in her record of Pocahontas's time in England. See Rountree, *Pocahontas, Powhatan, Opechancanough*, 176-186. However, the artist who made the 2007 replica does provide historical details. See https://portraitcameos.com/the-royal-cameo/, accessed Dec. 9, 2019.

mother, Gladys Nelson. Richardson said the Queen's visits to Virginia in 1957 and 2007 demonstrated her interest in the culture of all descendants of the Powhatan Chiefdom:

> Looking at the photographs from '57, and hearing the stories about the Queen's interest in our culture and history, was just reiterated in 2007 when she came, and how she took the stand not to visit Jamestown until they had exhibits that reflected our history and culture there. And it just let me know how much she cared about the tribes here and the treaties that her Crown had made with our tribes, that she was not going to ignore us. She cared then, and she cares now, and she has supported us all the way through our recognition. She is an amazing woman. She's an amazing leader, and I'm privileged to have encountered her and met her in my lifetime, kind of carrying on the legacy of my parents and Jamestown.[148]

Chief Richardson's memories of the 2007 anniversary illustrate that Virginia's Native communities continue to struggle with issues of marginalization. In spite of the progress made since the Jamestown Festival of 1957, the voices of indigenous communities are still often overlooked in the "official" quest for a consensus narrative. Federal recognition has somewhat changed that dynamic, however. Federal laws require Native input on environmental issues, provide financial assistance for education and cultural preservation, and mandate that indigenous concerns be addressed throughout the political process. The Rappahannock centuries-long struggle to be heard, a struggle greatly enhanced by their participation in the Jamestown Festival, has hopefully turned a corner. It remains to be seen how much their own country will follow the example of the British monarch who twice came to Jamestown. The Queen showed great respect for the descendant voices of people her Crown treated with during the colonial era, while their own governments, reminiscent of the Silent Years, did not. It is also important to note that, as Rappahannocks were asserting the public identity and sovereignty at the Jamestown

[148] Richardson, "Recovering Lost Voices."

Festival, there existed no better opportunity to do so than when meeting head of state of the country that several hundred years earlier tried to colonize them.

Epilogue

I met Chief Anne Richardson because she is concerned about the health of the Rappahannock River watershed. In 2016, I was an organizer for Friends of the Rappahannock (FOR), a non-profit based in Fredericksburg, Va., advocating for the river. She and I communicated several times about issues like the proposed commercial development of Fones Cliffs, a four-mile stretch of hundred-foot bluffs on the north shore of the Rappahannock. Fones Cliffs is perhaps the best, and most-used, Bald Eagle nesting habitat in the Chesapeake Bay region. Chief Richardson was angry. So was I. At some point, I said I had been living in the watershed since 2013. Chief Richardson said her people had been there since before the first white people ever saw the Rappahannock River, or something to that effect. I knew then I wanted to work with Chief Anne Richardson.

The idea for this thesis started with those conversations. In time, my relationship with Chief Richardson expanded beyond environmental activism to include documenting the story of the Rappahannock people. For me, the most impressive aspect of the Rappahannock Tribe is their authenticity. Their story is in the archaeological record, the archives, and the secondary sources, dating back to… well, before the first white people ever saw the Rappahannock River.

There is a hole in the historiography of the Rappahannock people, however. First, there has been limited scholarly study of their twentieth century experience. Dr. Helen Rountree's groundbreaking work with Virginia Indians certainly included the Rappahannock Tribe, but almost always under the umbrella of the Powhatan Chiefdom. Second, and most importantly, the Rappahannock story is almost always told in the

voices of outsiders. In their 2000 work, *We're Still Here: Contemporary Virginia Indians Tell Their Stories,* Sandra F. Waugaman and Dr. Danielle Moretti-Langholtz addressed this shortcoming. "Recovering Lost Voices: The Rappahannock Tribe and the Jamestown Festival of 1957," builds upon *We're Still Here*. Four interviews with oral history narrators utilize the memories of contemporary Rappahannocks and archival evidence to document, for the first time, the Native experience at the Jamestown Festival.

This thesis documents how Rappahannock people spent the first half of the twentieth century fighting "Jim Crow" racism, only to find their authenticity still questioned, and themselves still marginalized, by Virginians organizing the Jamestown Festival of 1957. Such were the prevailing attitudes of the time. Many Virginians in 1957 judged Rappahannocks to be more African American than Indian – in spite of the ethnographical record compiled by scholars like Frank Speck. Festival organizers scripted a narrative overlooking the role and cultural value of historical Native communities, instead focusing on a story of white Europeans battling savages for survival. This narrative persisted at Jamestown into the 1970s, when officials insisted on falsely calling a Rappahannock man a "chief" to legitimize his presence as a historical interpreter of his own culture.

The Rappahannock people endured all of this at Jamestown, creating a legacy of public Indianness that has impacted every member of their community in the decades since the Nelsons and the Wares said to the world, "We're still here." The Festival experience legitimized the Rappahannocks, and all Virginia Indians, in the eyes of the Jamestown officials and the wider public. Eventually the Rappahannock Tribe gained

political influence beyond Jamestown, and the generation after the Nelsons and Wares finally achieved state and federal recognition by building on the legacy of 1957.

The Rappahannock struggle for acceptance of their Indianness did not end with state and federal recognition, however. There are still many people today who question the identity of anyone claiming to be a Virginia Indian, regardless of tribal affiliation. Blood-quotient remains for many Americans the be-all identifier for racial purity, and thus Indianness. Attachment to place and family heritage take a backseat to skin, hair, and eye color. Even people who supposedly accept the validity of tribes like the Rappahannocks, such as politicians, have needed recent reminders that Virginia's Indian voices should be heard and given proper consideration. The story of Queen Elizabeth II's return to Jamestown in 2007, and her enduring respect for Virginia's Native communities, is an example of how this should be done.

It is important to note that the three narrators interviewed for the oral histories substantiating this thesis do not remember the Jamestown Festival as the singular turning point in their successful fight against oppressive racial attitudes. Rather, they see the tribe's Jamestown experience as the continuation of a struggle that has lasted for centuries. It was an important and influential event, but their struggle continues. This thesis establishes their Festival memories in the scholarship of Virginia Indians, an addition long overdue.

The environmental history component of this thesis is appropriately understated. This thesis relies more on methodologies of ethnohistory, but the Rappahannock connection to the environment is a valid and essential aspect of their story, and the legacy of their participation in the Festival. The political influence they earned by interpreting

history at Powhatan's Lodge contributed in no small part to their state and federal recognition. The status thus conferred gives the Rappahannocks, and all recognized Virginia Indian communities, a mandated voice in the protection of the natural environment that will have important impacts in the years to come. The Rappahannocks today are an important partner in the effort to preserve air and water quality, and valuable ecological niches, throughout the watershed their ancestors lived in long before the establishment of Jamestown in 1607. Chief Richardson said her father, Captain Nelson, took her on long walks in the forest when she was a child. Together they discussed the plants, the birds, and cycles of nature. "He would talk about it on the way back about how beautiful nature was," she recalled. "We are part of nature, but most people don't know it, but we are and it's a very delicate balance."[149]

Through programs like Return to the River, the Rappahannock Tribe is passing that knowledge to their young people, connecting them to the place and culture of their ancestors. Immersion in their historical culture will ground the next generation in their heritage as Rappahannocks, said Chief Richardson, and that may be the most enduring legacy of the Jamestown Festival of 1957.

.[149] Richardson, "Life Along the Rappahannock."

Appendix 1

Chief Anne Richardson

Life Along the Rappahannock: An Oral History Project

This interview series was funded in part by a grant from
The Duff McDuff Green Jr. Fund of
The Community Foundation of the Rappahannock River Region, and with the support of the
University of Mary Washington and other community partners.

Interview conducted by
Woodie Walker
Aug. 21, 2017

Since 2016, Friends of the Rappahannock has been interviewing individuals with unique knowledge related to significant events affecting the Rappahannock River watershed, and the communities that inhabit it. This project's goal is to collect and preserve significant and endangered oral histories of people living along the Rappahannock River, from the Blue Ridge Mountains to the Chesapeake Bay. These audio-visual documentaries will be available for generations to come.

Oral history refers both to a method of collecting information through recorded interviews of informed narrators with singular perspectives on significant historical events, and to the product of that process. Recordings are transcribed, and reviewed by the narrator, to provide researchers with primary source material. These accounts reflect the narrator's experiences, perspectives, and historical understandings rather than a definitive account of history.

Friends of the Rappahannock is a non-profit, grassroots conservation organization based in Fredericksburg, Virginia. It works to educate everyone about the river and to advocate for actions and policies that will protect and restore the Rappahannock River. This project is a collaborative effort with the University of Mary Washington Department of History and American Studies.

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This interview's use is covered by a legal agreement between Friends of the Rappahannock and Anne Richardson, dated Dec. 1, 2018. That agreement makes the audio/visual and transcripts available for research purposes. Literary rights, including the right to publish, are reserved to the Friends of the Rappahannock. Researchers may quote excerpts up to 500 words from this interview for publication without seeking permission as long as they properly cite. Requests for permission to publish longer excerpts should be directed to Friends of the Rappahannock, 3219 Fall Hill Ave., Fredericksburg, VA 22401.

Please cite this oral history as follows, contingent on any guidelines specific to a discipline or publisher:

Chief Anne Richardson, "Life Along the Rappahannock: An Oral History Project," interviewed by Woodie Walker, Aug. 21, 2017, at Kendale Farm, Port Royal, Va. Friends of the Rappahannock and the University of Mary Washington. Digital transcript and recording at https://www.riverfriends.org/oralhistory/, physical transcripts at the Historic Fredericksburg Foundation Inc., Central Rappahannock Regional Library Virginiana Room, Fredericksburg Area Museum, and the University of Mary Washington Special Collections and University Archives.

Friends of the Rappahannock requests that researchers submit a bibliographic citation of any published work in which "Life Along the Rappahannock" interviews are used, and, if publishing in a digital medium, include a link back to the project's homepage.

Chief Anne Richardson

Chief Anne Richardson is the fourth consecutive generation of her family to lead the Rappahannock Tribe, the "people who live where the water rises and falls," and one of 11 such entities to be officially recognized by the Commonwealth of Virginia. During the pre-contact and early-colonial eras, the Rappahannock Tribe was among those affiliated with the Powhatan Confederacy. For more than three centuries, the Rappahannock people have been centered geographically in the Indian Neck area of King and Queen County, about three miles from the Rappahannock River, as the crow flies. During her interview, Chief Anne discussed her people's spiritual relationship with the river, their physical connection to places like Fones Cliffs, and their feelings concerning recent conservation efforts, such as the removal of the Embrey Dam, near Fredericksburg.

Woodie Walker: My name is Woodie Walker, and I am the community conservationist for Friends of the Rappahannock based in Fredericksburg, Virginia. This interview is part of an oral history program called Life Along the Rappahannock. It's a combined effort by Friends of the Rappahannock and the University of Mary Washington's Department of History and American Studies. I am joined today by Doctor Jason Sellers, Professor of History at the University of Mary Washington, and our program intern, Matthew Griffiths, also from the university. Also with us are our host, Hill Welford and Richard Moncure is not here today, but I was hoping Richard could be here, we'll miss you Richard. Our narrator today is Chief Anne Richardson of the Rappahannock Tribe. We are at Kendale Farm, the home of Mr. Welford, near Port Royal, Virginia. It's 5:30 p.m. on Monday, August 21, 2017 and it is important to note that we are recently today, just this afternoon, experienced a total solar eclipse, the first to be visible across the entire United States, from coast to coast, since 1918. It is an honor to be with you, Chief Anne, in this beautiful setting on the Rappahannock River on such a momentous day. Chief Anne, will you please tell me a little bit about yourself. When and where were you born?

Chief Anne Richardson: I was born in Indian Neck, in King and Queen County, about 60 and-a-half years ago, haven't gotten to the 61 yet, to Chief Captain and Gladys Nelson, and I'm a fourth-generation chief in my family, and I have remained in that location my entire life.

Walker: Thank You. Tell me about your family. I understand you're the fourth generation of your family to serve as chief of the Rappahannock Tribe. Tell me how that honor, that rank, is bestowed upon an individual.

Chief Anne: Well historically it was hereditary ascension, which would have come through the line of the woman. As a matrilineal tribe, we had native women leaders for as long as we have been around, and they have been revered and celebrated as leaders. Right now, currently I am the chief, a female, and I have a male assistant chief, which balances out the authority levels for both sexes in the community, and really seems to work real well.

Walker: Thank You. I read on the tribal website about land that you purchased in 1998 that includes planned housing, a retreat center, where is this located and do you consider it the cultural center or home of the Rappahannock Tribe?

Chief Anne: Well, Indian Neck is the home. After we were removed off of the river we were escorted into New Kent County at the time, because King and Queen didn't become a county until 1691, but after that then King and Queen became a county and Indian Neck and that general area in King and Queen, Caroline, and Essex is where our people settled, and I suspect that from the village up in this area people went, and from Portobago, they went west over to Central Point in Caroline County and then in Champlain in Essex County, and then over to Indian Neck in King and Queen.

Walker: Tell me more about where Indian Neck is.

Chief Anne: Well, as the crow flies you know we have to look at things from that perspective and know not roads, but as the crow flies, we are three miles, Indian Neck is three miles, from the Rappahannock River on the east side. So, the Treaty of 1677 declared that there would be a three-mile buffer zone from around the native lands to the settlers, where the settlers were. And so that is the three miles to the river that's around our community.

Walker: And that is King and Queen County?

Chief Anne: King and Queen County.

Walker: Wow, Okay. How many people are considered as members of the Rappahannock Tribe?

Chief Anne: We have about 300 members right now.

Walker: I've read that the official name of the tribe is United Rappahannock Tribe, but I've also seen it simply as the Rappahannock Tribe. What is the proper name that you wish us to use?

Chief Anne: The Rappahannock Tribe. We changed our name in like the early '70s or something, simply because I think it had been united because people were being gathered from all the different places that they had been scattered to up north and everywhere, and that was a better name that described the tribal people and the community. But after we got everyone back, so to speak, it just became Rappahannock Tribe.

Walker: Okay, thank you, I just wanted to make sure, you know, with the transcripts and our written stuff, I want to make sure I use the proper name. So, I've organized my following questions into two general areas of interest. The first concerns the pre-contact era, before English colonists and people like John Smith visited your land. So, I want to start there and I want to talk to you about Rappahannock tribal culture and history. And where I want to start is, What is the meaning of the name Rappahannock?

Chief Anne: The word Rappahannock means, "the people who live where the water rises and falls."

Walker: And that's interesting because I've seen other things and I want to make sure that I understand that, you know, from your perspective.

Chief Anne: And from my perspective it's really indicative of the historical continuity of the tribe. There are times when we rose into power for purposes of war, or for purposes of survival, or for purposes of fighting for our rights, and other times we flowed and ebbed, so to speak, as a community and just peacefully lived among ourselves.

Walker: Did your ancestors call themselves Rappahannock, or is that a name that the Europeans gave to them? I'm just curious.

Chief Anne: Well, you know, in my lifetime everybody has called themselves Rappahannock, but who knows? I think that in the early narratives this river was called Pispitumic. But when the English came, of course, they called us Rappahannock. And they also said that this was the Queen's river. So that was interesting.

Walker: The Queen of England at the time?

Chief Anne: I don't know, because interesting, because as Strachey is describing this, he talks about the Powhatan River, which is the James, being the King's river. And then he talks about the Pamunkey River being the Prince's river. And then he talks about the Rappahannock being the Queen's river, so whether he was talking about native people and those ranks, and that's what I suspect.

Walker: Interesting. So I've read of Cockacoeske and so the 1670s, and a leader of, I'm trying to remember which tribe she was with.

Chief Anne: Pamunkey.

Walker: Pamunkey. The Pamunkey, okay. And someone referred to you as the first female chief of a Powhatan-affiliated Algonquian tribe here, since Cockacoeske.

Chief Anne: Well, actually, Beverly stated that there were two queens on the throne at Rappahannock in 1705.

Walker: Okay. Oh, I like this, this is interesting, good stuff. And Beverly, historian writer?

Chief Anne: Yes. Historian.

Walker: Okay, do you think, when we think about the name Rappahannock, people who live by the river that rises and falls. Are there deeper meanings, associations with that that you feel like, how does that, you know, as far as the name itself, are there other connotations to that your people talk about?

Only the fact that we were scattered in so many different places in so many different times on migrations and that the people scattered to three different communities, then people scattered north during the Civil War, then people scattered north in the early ‘20s to get away from all of the racial prejudice that was here. And so I just feel like, you know, over time we have risen and fallen as a tribal group of community people and I think it's really interesting now that, you know, in George's time, he was collecting people and trying to get people back that had been scattered from the Civil War. And then, during the ‘20s we were getting people back that were migrating out in the late 1800s and the early ‘20s and tribal people migrate to certain places and cities, certain communities in cities, where they lived together communally almost like they did here. It was really interesting to see how the migration patterns have been and then they would work and send money back to Indian Neck to pay for lobbyists and lawyers and people that were fighting for our rights as native people here. And so it would have been something that probably historically would've been done. They would divide up and pool their resources to fight for everybody. So I thought that was really interesting, and that's something that came into contemporary times probably from historic times.

Walker: Thank you. Please describe the areas of the river where your tribe lived during the early 1600s, when we're thinking about that contact era, where were the Rappahannocks located?

Chief Anne: Well, they said they were all over Warsaw. But I think that they were probably other places and I think that, you know, Hill was asking earlier about where, you know, where were we at on Cat Point Creek, probably all over the creek, but it was a king's town and then we had Accapataugh Beach which was the home of King Accapataugh. And then there were other places as well, Nandtaughtacund on the south side, Papiscone on this side.

Walker: So, obviously, so habitation and use of the river on both the Northern Neck side and the Middle Peninsula side.

Chief Anne: Yes, yes we have documentation of a palisaded fort on the south side. And during this project that we are working on now, we're hoping to find the exact locations of these places.

Walker: And that is the Indigenous Culture…

Chief Anne: Landscape Project.

Walker: Landscape Project. I’ve seen some of that. I was looking at some of it online yesterday. I think it’s amazing.

Chief Anne: It is amazing.

Walker: I’m anxious to see... when I have time to look at the whole report. But I think it's really, really amazing that you’re finding so much and documenting this history.

Chief Anne: Yes. Very important.

Walker: Don't let it get lost.

Chief Anne: Don't worry.

Walker: Right, right. Speaking about that because it kind of ties into this question, were there particular areas of the river or geographical features like Fones Cliffs, or maybe the fall line in Fredericksburg, that held special significance for the Rappahannock Tribe? Do you know of places that were special?

Chief Anne: Yeah, we do know of some places, there were sacred places on the river that were used for burial grounds and for worshipping, and that kind of ceremony. And then there were places that, you know, that we gathered food, and we were cyclical people, so we flowed with the cycles of the river and the seasons where the fish, certain fish would come in and then you'd have certain foodstuffs that would come in. And so, you know, it was much like a farm. But that's how the people lived, along those lines.

Walker: I'm curious, I've been examining the fall line of Fredericksburg, the fall line at Hunter's Island. I've been examining that for a history project this summer, and I'm wondering, Is there any tradition that you are aware of, of the Rappahannock Indians, the tribe, being active that far up the river? Was that too far?

Chief Anne: I don't think so.

Walker: Must have traveled. Yeah.

Chief Anne: Yeah, I think we traveled everywhere. I don't think that there are limitations to where we were. In the early records they recorded a town called Rappahanna and Tappahanna on the James River.

Walker: On the James River?

Chief Anne: At Jamestown.

Walker: Right, okay.

Chief Anne: And then, Christopher Newport describes this werowance, this Rappahannock werowance who met him, and he went to his town. He describes all that he was wearing, how he treated him when he went there. So, you know, I don't think that we're limited to any geographical space. I think that we were people who moved according to what resources were, makes perfect sense that we would do that. In the summertime we were on the river where we could fish, swim, and eat oysters, and all the things that you do in the summer, like everybody else, and gather the food things that come in and out. In the wintertime time we were back inland away from the storms of the river and the bad weather.

Walker: I think it's interesting like, as a student, I'm learning about trade patterns and we see things from the oceans like the Pacific Ocean being found on the plains.

Chief Anne: Right.

Walker: So, things were moving a long ways and to think about the Rappahannocks being affiliated with the Powhatan Confederacy, speaking a similar language or the same language. Obviously, there's a lot of movement and it's not really that far to Jamestown from here.

Chief Anne: It really isn't, as the crow flies, you see, and as the rivers go, because they were the highways. And we know that there were at least three dialects here of the language.

Walker: Tell me more about that.

Chief Anne: Well, I really don't want to talk about it because it's a real bad word that has survived and I don't want it on my YouTube video. But I will tell you, if you cut it out.

Well, we'll come back to that. Let's come back to that. So three dialects. So that's still, as a student, I learned these people spoke the Algonquin language, whereas this other group of people may have spoken a Siouan-based language. So it's interesting to me to think about, that as the crow flies, it's not very far to the James River, but there would have been different dialects amongst some of the tribes. And I've read there were more than 30 Algonquian tribes in this region?

Chief Anne; Yes. yeah. And you know people of today, scholars even, assume that if a tribe speaks a certain language, they all speak the same. But that's not really the case. Different tribes and regions have different dialects.

Walker: And people from the United States have different regions have different accents and uses of words. Okay, very interesting. So about that, that leads me to, tell us about the relationship of the Rappahannocks with other tribes along the river. What was it like in the 1600s? You had allies? Maybe you had enemies. Tell me about what was that like?

Chief Anne: Surely, we had allies and I would imagine that the Powhatan tribes were all allied together. And then we had enemies, as well. The Susquehannock out of Pennsylvania were fierce warriors that come down and infringe on our hunting grounds and cause skirmishes. And then also once we had been moved to Indian Neck, which was our winter hunting ground, it was recorded that the Seneca came down and seized our fort. And Colonel William Byrd had to come and negotiate a treaty so that they would let our people go. And so we were really up on the front of the Virginia frontier for all of the warring tribes that were coming down trying to get territory and hunting and fishing.

Walker: I don't want to lose this point. I want to make sure I understand about Indian Neck. Tell me, Indian Neck was, tell me about Indian Neck and when your people went there. I want to make sure I understand more about it.

Okay, well it looks like, according to record, we were at Portabago Bay, which is where all of the tribal groups from our tribe came and all the different towns and people came in, maybe other

tribes from up north, we don't know, but it was like a contemporary town, so to speak. And once we were moved out of there by order of the Public Council we were escorted into King and Queen, where we are today, through Essex County it says, into New Kent County which is today, Indian Neck. And we were in 1683, the 1677 treaty was ratified to include the Rappahannock town. Reservation.

Walker: Okay, so it's been there since then.

Chief Anne: It's been there since then.

Walker: Wow. Tell me about the Powhatan Confederacy. We know so much about that. How did the Rappahannocks fit into that? And I wonder if did Powhatan had like a, I wonder if he had this overwhelming authority, he goes, "everybody does what I say," or if the tribes sometimes acted independently. What do you think about that?

Chief Anne: Well just, so this is an interesting question because in reading historical accounts of our tribe and in leading today the contemporary tribe, there are character traits from history that have come through time that are still here, you know, which I think is really interesting. And so I feel that we would be more independent as a tribe simply because we are still that way. But I think we were allied with him and we could have been under him. We were certainly at Jamestown and interacting with the colonists when they came. And so you know whether this was the Queen's river because there was a woman chief here that was prominent, or who knows? But I think that this project that we have with Julian King is going to help tease a lot of that out. So I hope to be able to answer those questions more completely. But we were certainly allies of Powhatan, if we were not in the Confederacy itself.

Walker: Because Smith was brought here.

Chief Anne: Absolutely, Smith was brought here because we think it was Samuel Mace, Captain Samuel Mace who came here in 1603 and met the Rappahannocks and came aboard. They made a feast for him and his people and he killed the king and kidnapped a bunch of men and took them back to England. And so when we went to England in 2006, we found documentation of these native men doing canoe demonstrations on the Thames River in 1603 in the winter. So you know, just to be able to go there and find that your people were there. My bucket list is to find what happened to them. If they ever came back.

Walker: Right, yeah. There's some interesting things through my studies, I learned a story about a Native American from the Peninsula who was captured and taken away and spent years before coming back home.

Chief Anne: Yes. So you know it it's interesting that Powhatan…

Walker: Don Luis.

Chief Anne: Yes, Don Luis, I know the story.

Walker: Yes, so I was just fascinated by that.

Chief Anne: It's highly possible because Opechancanough was a serious war chief. And he had a lot of knowledge and skill about him and how to train his men. But Powhatan was asking the English for… they wanted something from him. I can't remember what it was now. They wanted something from him and he says, "Well if you give me a carriage and horses like you carry your great men in England as my men have come back and told me."

Walker: So he knew?

Chief Anne: So yeah, he knew all about England, because his men had been there and come back and told him all about it.

Walker: I think that's an interesting thing for people like me that are students today to realize that it did not all start the day that they dropped anchor at Jamestown. That was not the start of the day. There were a lot of things going on for a long time.

Chief Anne: Before that.

Walker: Right, and so I think that's really important and the more I learn about that, the more interesting I find it. So I'm going to transition a little bit, I want to talk about the river. I'm from Friends of the Rappahannock and we've been working for three decades as an environmental group trying to do good deeds for the river. We pride ourselves in saying that we work from the mountains to the bay and we really do, we try to have projects from the mountains to the bay each year, and we're lucky to have a presence in the tidal section with the office at Tappahannock and Richard Moncure is River Steward and people who support our kinds of work like Hill Wellford so you know, we're here about the river and for this project I call it, Life Along the Rappahannock and I want to learn about people who have spent their lives along the river and how they're how they are connected and their communities. So tell me about how did the Rappahannock tribe use the river historically such as avenues for travel or food? Tell me about the river and your relationship with the river.

Chief Anne: Well, we of course used it for travel, we used it for food, we used it for training our warriors. We used it to gather medicinals. We used it for the various seasons that came in. There would have been feasts and celebrations and ceremonies around various occurrences of the seasons and the river. And so it was a very focal point of our community. And even in contemporary times Landing was one of the places that our people frequented and when we did the ICL project we found that the places that we frequented on the south side of the river coincide with towns on the north side of the river, which we found fascinating.

Walker: Which ties in with this question, we think about geopolitical boundaries. You know, this is my territory. This is your territory. Do you think the river functioned that way, as a boundary between, this is my side of the river and you stay on your side of the river? But apparently not.

Chief Anne: I don't think so. Not at all. Because when the Nanzatico group was disbanded because of a false charge. They were brought up on charges of killing and burning a settler's home, which they found out later it was the Nottoway. They didn't even have anything to do with it. But Colonel William Byrd went in and took the young men to Jamestown and hung them in the town square and he bound out the children to English families in the local area and then the old men and the women were taken into slavery into Antigua, because his daughter's fiancé was the ambassador to Antigua. And so it completely disbanded the whole group, but my tribe grabbed a bunch of the people because I'm sure they were marrying back and forth and had kin on both sides of the river they took them over to our side of the river. And so when we were escorted into what is now today King and Queen, they said there were now Nanzatico, Portabago, and Rappahannock, which is probably really accurate.

Walker: Thank you. Did your ancestors have a spiritual relationship with the river? And if so, tell me about that.

Chief Anne: Well I'm sure they did. The river would have been the first place they would have gone in the morning when they got up. They would have gone out and taken their bath and said their morning prayers for our blessings of the river. We believe in blessing from the creator. And as the river is blessed then there is a bounty there, a harvest of food and things that we need to survive and we understood that life is not about us that we lived here upon a land that did not belong to us, it belonged to the creator, didn't belong to us, and our job was, as your job is, to be stewards over what the creator has made, and that was the way that we believed and still believe. This is why it was so foreign for us to understand people owning land. So Powhatan says, "Who can own the mighty sea or the stars in the sky? Who can own land?" It belongs to the creator.

Walker: Are there oral traditions you know, one of the things we look for as history students is oral traditions. Stories about where did people come from, you know, origin stories. I wonder, do the Rappahannocks have stories about… an origin story?

Chief Anne: We really don't have an origin story, but there are some out there. I think there was one recorded concerning the Patawomeck. And it was actually a story that is depicted on Powhatan's mantle, if you've ever seen that. And so when I went to England and went to the Ashmolean Museum to view it, I told the story and spent the afternoon training the interpreters.

Walker: I want to know more. Powhatan's mantle, would that be a like a robe?

Chief Anne: That was a robe, that was a robe he would have put around his neck and would have flowed down. You know people question how many tribes he had. There are 32 rings on his mantle and it describes the Great Hare and the Great Deer and Man, which is the creation story of the Patawomeck.

Walker: I've read Ahone the story of the Great Hare and it's an Algonquin tradition. It's probably some sort of tradition there that passed on to the Rappahannocks.

Chief Anne: Sure.

Walker: Are there stories, oral tradition stories, anything about the river? Maybe people, maybe even in your family that, fishing stories or the big storm, or maybe something that may have happened in the early 1900s or 1800s. I'm thinking of stories with the river.

Chief Anne: Well, the stories that I know about the river is that you know, the herring were a very big part of our sustenance. And so there would have been much activity around the herring runs, which we used Occupacia Creek, which was full of herring when I was a kid. All the men in the community got together and came down, dipped herring and then they'd come back and every little community would go together cleaning, salting down the herring, so that we could have it for the winter. And all of the families could eat well.

Walker: But the herring run has changed?

Chief Anne: Drastically. It's very sad.

Walker: So, first of all, when you salted your herring, did you call it corning the herring or did you call it just salt herring? Because some places around here, we call it a corned herring. Right, so it's changed?

Chief Anne: That's probably an English term.

Walker: Okay, yeah, okay. But the herring run is not what it was, even in my lifetime. That was a community gathering to gather the herring.

Chief Anne: Yes, we did communal hunts in the early 1900s. They had an annual rabbit drive, when the rabbits came out. And then they had an activity around the herring, everybody would work, processing food to make sure that we had sustenance for the winter.

Walker: I'm thinking of those days as more recently days, more recent days. You know, the herring run that maybe your grandfathers would talk about or you saw as a young child. Now, were there activities like that, communal activities around agricultural stuff? Did people farm together or work together? You know, "it's time to raise the barn, or get the corn in." I'm just curious.

Chief Anne: Yeah, they did. They shared in food processing and food gathering and planting and celebration. You know, we held a Green Corn ceremony with the Piscataway Tribe, the whole time I was a child, until I got to be married.

Walker: Is that still happening?

Chief Anne: No, because of all the, I guess, political things that have happened with the tribes, kind of broke down, which is really sad. More Western thinking coming upon the tribes.

Walker: Okay, lessons for us all. So let's move into the modern era, post-contact. One more question I think is important, it says, Are there community stories or memories about early contact with Europeans such as first encounters with people like John Smith or later explorers, traders and settlers. Once again, I've gone back into that oral tradition thing, I want to know if there's stories about you know, Smith coming here, the story that Strachey tells about, with "were you the guy who killed our king?" Are there stories like that amongst the Rappahannock people?

Chief Anne: No, we've lost all those stories and the only thing that we have now are just narratives from those who were here that wrote them down. The oral tradition doesn't exist anymore. Not in the sense, that far back. But we do have some things that were passed down about places that we've lived and colonial families that we interacted with or aligned with.

Walker: So it seems, I'm just curious, there seems to be a lot of good data about the 1600s because the English were writing down things and at least there's something there we can, there's some documentation. But beyond that, once we get into the 1800s, there seems to be a you know, not much stuff about the tribe. Do you have stuff about where your people were and what they were doing? Family, just family stories, family genealogy?

Chief Anne: Yes, we do. And we call that the Silent Years.

Walker: The Silent Years?

Chief Anne: Because it's the years that we went underground because of English encroachment and racial oppression. And so we hid out in various places and lived in communities that were kind of like this place, far away from the beaten path where everybody was at, doing commerce or whatever. Survival.

Walker: The Silent Years. Thinking again in terms of relationships to the river, do people, many people, are there people from the Rappahannock Tribe who developed as fishermen, or working the river, harvesting fish or crabs?

Chief Anne: We don't have a lot of watermen in our tribe. There used to be more when I was a young girl, men who fished all the time. But to say they ever processed and sold commercially, that never happened.

Walker: Something that I like to bring up is when we're thinking about oral traditions and those stories from the past. Tell me about the significance of the eagle, and maybe, you know, where we see the eagles today. They've made a dramatic comeback since the '70s. Fones Cliffs is just right across the way and it's such a beautiful place and such a great habitat. Tell me about the importance of the significance of the eagle and the importance of preserving that habitat.

Chief Anne: Well, the eagle to us is a sacred bird and we believe that he is a messenger from the creator sent to give us messages to confirm things that we're doing and there is a major spiritual

connection to them when we see them. It's like watching an angel come in. You're in awe of the majestic bird that comes in and you know that he’s come to be with you. You don't just see them every day. There's a purpose that they have come to visit you.

Walker: Would you use a phrase like, It’s a sign?

Chief Anne: Absolutely.

Walker: So, do you have an eagle memory that happened to you?

Chief Anne: Many. Walker: Tell me a good story.

Chief Anne: This is really interesting. So, the place they call Belmont, I was there one day, I was coming down the road, I don’t even know where I was going. I think I was going to Montross. And I was on this road and suddenly in front of my car there's this huge eagle and he just goes up the driveway and another one comes in and goes up the driveway and another one comes in it goes up the driveway and I'm just stopped on the road like this. Oh my God, I’m crying. And I call my assistant chief and I'm like what is going on here. And he says I don't know, I'm going to come over and we're going to pray about this and see what this message is. And so, we did. And then I had some friends come in from the Navajo Nation and a friend from Israel came. I have a ministry, as well. So, I have a revival in my center and I wanted those people to come there and pray because I still had not gotten an answer about these three eagles. And we were there standing on the cabin on the front of the porch that looks out down to the creek and the man from Israel, had never seen an eagle before in his life. And he's standing there by the rail and two eagles come and they fly like right here in front of him, wingtip to wingtip, and you feel the wind brushing by and he just, you know, he fell back. He was just in awe of what had happened. And I just felt like this is our reconnection to the river that we're supposed to be back here. The creator is bringing us back here and that is what's going to eventually happen and it has. So, we know that they come to bring messages and to cause us to pray and to seek the message that is meant for us.

Walker: Thank you for sharing that. That's really beautiful. I think there are majestic, too, and I think they bring me messages, too.

Chief Anne: Yeah, they do. They speak to us if we have an ear to hear.

Walker: That's beautiful. Thinking in terms of today still, the river has changed so much in recent years. Virginia oysters nearly went extinct a decade ago. And they're making a comeback today, striped bass and blue crab populations plummeted about the same time. I remember when striped bass, they were worried about pfiesteria and were we going to lose our striped bass and I love to fish.

Chief Anne: And I love to eat.

They’re so good. But today you know, these populations are rebounding. We did save our native Virginia oyster, at least for now. There’s improvements in the Bay and crab populations are rebounding and striped bass are coming back. So there's hope. Are there community memories among the Rappahannocks about these changed ecological natures? I think maybe about that point about the herring is one of those but when we think about bird and fish, game populations, and vegetation, changes that you’ve seen in your lifetime and that people in your tribe talk about.

Chief Anne: Well, we know that the early settlers recorded that there was such an abundance you can walk on the fish. We didn't have any problem eating. And of course oysters are our favorite and Rappahannock oysters are the best in the world and so, we still enjoy those very much. When the population from the pfiesteria came to a screeching halt, there was a group of us that went to actually Fredericksburg and did a ceremony of healing for the river to cleanse the river and to pray that the creator would come and heal the river. And, I saw one day in The Free Lance-Star, a whole two-page article on the river is now being healed and it went on to describe all the different things that are coming back to the river. So, yeah, it was very exciting for us.

Walker: Tell me about the day that you went to Fredericksburg and that ceremony. I want to know more about that. It seems really interesting.

Chief Anne: Well, we had a tradition of pouring salt in the water to cleanse and so we went and poured salt in the water and prayed that the creator would come because he created this river it belongs to him, not us. And so we asked the purification and healing and he did it.

Walker: When was that time frame, Chief Anne? Was that recently?

Chief Anne: Now, that was probably, maybe 15 years ago.

Walker: Wow, so many good things. Chief Anne, I'm curious if recent events, relatively recent events, that have affected the river so, we’re talking about the health of the river, the things that you’ve seen change in your lifetime. There have been recent events upriver that have affected the Rappahannock and things like the Embrey Dam removal, or the City of Fredericksburg establishing the conservation easement, where there’s the riparian buffer on each side of the river. Do you have… being downstream, in the middle section of the river, are you connected? Do you feel connected to projects like that, that happen in the middle section, up there around the fall line?

Chief Anne: Absolutely, very much so.

Three minutes redacted at the request of the narrator

Walker: Okay, I'd like to discuss another issue that's happening more here is hydrofracturing, fracking. Are you comfortable discussing that with me, a couple of things about it?

Chief Anne: Oh, I'm comfortable discussing it.

Walker: So, it's raising concerns about potential impacts to the environment, in particular, the health of the Rappahannock River. Friends of the Rappahannock worked this year with American Rivers, a national group, and we explained to them some of the things that are happening here related to fracking. How many acres have been leased? 86,000 acres. The things that are going on with that. And the Rappahannock was judged because of the threat of fracking to be the fifth most-endangered river in the United States because of fracking proposed in the Taylorville basin. Local governments are working on this and they're talking about it. But I'm curious, what are your feelings about fracking and the health of the river?

Chief Anne: Well, my feelings about fracking in general - not just the health of this river, but everywhere that it's being done. I'm going to begin with a proverb that my dad used to say all the time, and it's not all that great. It's not all that nice, but he would say it, he had these, we have these proverbs that are traditional in the tribe. People… there are little things that they give you and they are signposts to live by. And he would say, we would go out in the woods as I was a little girl and he would take me out in the woods and he told me we were going hunting but we really weren't because he didn't want to kill anything in front of me. But we would scout and so we go out and sit and watch, you know, and he would describe to me what was taking place with the animals as they would come in, whether they were mating, or whether they were building a nest, whatever they were doing, and he would talk about it on the way back about how beautiful nature was, because nature has been given to us to enjoy and to be a part, we are part of nature, but most people don't know it, but we are and it's a very delicate balance. So, if we go in and destroy the things that have been given to us by the creator, then we mess up the balance that is there and then all the things can't become as fruitful and productive as they should be. And he would say you know human beings are the only animals on the planet that poop where they eat. They're like pigs. And I thought, that stuck in my mind my whole life, you know. And so if you're fracking the ground that you're walking on, that you're planting, that your rivers are running on, what are you doing? You're destroying your own self. I mean, it's such crazy thinking. And yet for the greed of money, people will do anything, and they don't understand the treasure that they have already and what God has given.

Walker: Are there efforts by the tribe to bring about awareness of conservation issues? You know, when we think about, whether it's fracking, or protecting certain areas. What kind of conversations are being held?

Chief Anne: Well, you know, we speak on that all the time. But I understood with this project, and I go to Israel about once every other year or so, and I meet with government officials there and one of my friends in the government there created a program for the IDF and this is the soldiers, the army of Israel. And it was called an immersion program, because the young kids coming out of high school, at 18 years old, are required to go into service for two years but they were coming in knowing nothing about their history or their heritage. And so he created this immersion program for them to be able to learn about taking them back to these places and telling them stories of the patriarch's road and the different things that happened for Israel and it

indoctrinates these children. And it gives them a greater sense of belonging to the land. And so in my youth, my assistant chief and I sat down when I came back like a couple of years ago and sat down and started brainstorming what could we do to emulate that program for the kids who are now walking around with iPhones and iPads and everything is about me and they're off you know playing football when they should be at a powwow or a dance practice or drum practice they're off you know with so many distractions for them and so that's how we developed the Return to the River project before we ever knew we were going to get any land on the river, or anything else. But just to be able to bring our kids to these historic places and to be able to tell them the things that happened there and have them reconnect to the land and the river and to understand the traditions and the history of their people. This is going to ground them and we have this proverb that says, if you don't know where you come from you can't possibly know where you're going. And so this was an effort to get these children immersed into their culture and their history and their traditions so that they know where they come from and that they could be focused on where they're going. And so when all of that began to occur we really began to talk about more of the ecological traditions of the tribe and being able to preserve and not take more than we give to the land or to the people or to the animals or anything. And so that whole reciprocity that we live by it is a mindset, a way of living, thinking. We wanted to give to other people because we realize it's not just our kids that need to know that, it's everybody's kids that need to know that because if they did we wouldn't be dealing with fracking and all this crazy stuff that's going on to make a dollar. And I don't have anything against money, but there is a way to make money. And there's a way not to make money. You don't make it at the sacrifice of your own self or your own family and that's what so much of corporate America has been doing.

Walker: I want to know more about the Return to the River project. Tell me, tell me about that.

Chief Anne: Well, like I said this came out of that visit with him and they took me on a tour of the whole program while I was there and we want to be able to immerse our kids back into the culture of the river. We've been removed off of the river for two generations. And these kids don't know anything about the medicinals that they can walk along the river and find and when they can find them. They don't know when the huckleberries come in or when the blackbirds come in or when the striped bass come up you know, they don't know any of those things and I realize I knew I remember it from being a child and going places with my dad because I went with him everywhere and but these kids don't know my daughter didn't go with me everywhere. She doesn't know half of the things I do. If she did, she'd probably say I never want to do this job you know. But so many of the children are now just you know their parents working in urban areas and they're running around doing what everybody else's kids are doing and when we have to pull them in for Indian school they don't want to come because they've got all these other activities that they want to do.

Walker: So are you actively bringing the kids in for classes or field trips and things like that?

Chief Anne: Well, we've had classes with them but we realized that sitting around listening to me or to my assistant chief or to or dance coordinator isn't really the thing that catches their attention. I want to instill passion in them for their tribe, for their land, and for their river. And you don't do that just by lecture. You probably already know that.

Walker: Okay, that's interesting because I think you're right. We've got to keep young people engaged.

Chief Anne: And connected.

Walker: And connected to nature. And so you know Friends of the Rappahannock we work very hard at it. We have a lot of summer camps and 6,000 kids come through our facility each year. It's all about the children. So I think it's really wonderful that you guys are doing this, working at that. I read about a powwow on your tribal website, are you still… it was like in October. Is that still something that you've brought back, there was a year where you may have skipped it or something but?

Chief Anne: No, we have not brought it back. We had two major sponsors of that event and we lost them because their focus of the corporations changed of their foundations and we have not reinstituted that. But what we have done as we are doing a powwow at George Washington's birthplace on the river, every year in July, and then we do another one in Northern Virginia up in Great Falls, Virginia, in September. And so our dancers and the whole community goes out and sets everything up and have a powwow these places because we realized we do powwows but we have difficulty getting people to come back to where we are located. And so we can have you know, we'll get five or six hundred people but it really takes more than that to really make a nice-sized powwow. And so we go out to places that are public where we know we can gather larger crowds of people.

Walker: Good, good, I hope I can attend something like that someday soon. I think I'm going to wrap up with the ICL. Tell me because it's new, and it's fresh and it's doing such amazing things and we're going to document places where the Rappahannocks were. Tell me a little about that project and your role. How are you involved with that?

Chief Anne: Well, it was really interesting that it was right after my conversation with my assistant chief, I do something called my mappings a lot. He's talking and I'm writing and seeing how all this is going to flow together and then I turn around to the computer and write a grant application, a proposal for a grant application. And about maybe a month later I get a contact from the park service saying they are interested in the possibility of doing this ICL project to map their territory and they send Julia King down for a meeting and I'm telling her about this project that we've just kind of come up with. And she goes "well let me have a copy of your proposal" so I give it to her. The Park Service wanted to copy of it. Then Joel comes in and he wants a copy. So now copies of this proposal were all over the place to help fund this, to buy canoes and camping equipment and build a lodge over near Fones Cliffs.

Walker: Well, that's really exciting. That’s very exciting. You know we planned this event for this interview for a couple of weeks. Is there anything I haven’t asked you about that you would like to bring up or mention about the river, about your tribe, your people?

Chief Anne: Well, that we are just blessed to have been able to return to the river and we know that you know it is the plan of the Creator for us to return and return our children to their heritage. We never know what the things that are being restored to us are going to do. Not just for us, but for the land and for the people that are around us. And you know that's what we hope to do, is to be able to teach young people about the way that we think and the traditional beliefs of the people because our Mother Earth is what keeps us alive and without her and defiling her will make people sick they don't get that. And that's the one thing that we’d really like to teach younger generations of people so we don't have to deal with corporate takeovers of, and development of, places that are sacred or places that provide for us the things that we need as human beings.

Walker: Thank you. Thank you for being here for us today. On behalf of all of us here today and Friends of the Rappahannock, this is a really amazing interview. And thank you again.

Chief Anne: And thank you, the Friends of the Rappahannock for all the work that you do to preserve and protect the Rappahannock River. We appreciate it.

Wellford: One thing that we didn’t touch and I don’t know whether it’s necessary or not, but of course the recent event, where the chief appeared and was granted the land there on Carter’s Wharf Road, and then they got on a pontoon boat that the Conservancy and U.S. Fish provided, and went down on a pontoon boat with the tribe and Senator Warner and his daughter and the pontoon boat went along the edges of Fones Cliffs and the eagles appeared. It’s also that educational aspect. The tribe participated in that, and it was really a grand event. Richard and his children were there. Many people were there. Among the people who were there, the National Park Service was there, Joe McCauley, who was with the Conservancy, the Friends of the Rappahannock, former secretary of natural resources Tayloe Murphy.

Walker: Chief Anne, tell me about the ceremony that occurred recently where some land was dedicated and set aside for the tribe in the Fones Cliffs area off Carter’s Warf Road. Tell me about that day and what happened.

Chief Anne: Well, it was a very beautiful day. So Senator John Warner and his daughter, Virginia, donated the money to buy the land for us. And it's an acre of land on Carter’s Warf Road. And our tribe was so thrilled that we were able to get back close to the river. And so it was an opportunity to dedicate the land and to exercise traditional protocol of the tribe. And so we gave gifts, which is what we do. That's our tradition. And so when someone comes in to do something for us, we give gifts to them to acknowledge their friendship and what they have done for us and to solidify that friendship from time on. And so we have had bolo ties made up for all of the partners that have made possible that amazing transfer of land. Senator Warner gave us a

piece of Fones Cliff in return and that was just thrilling. You know, he's such a conservationist and we really appreciate everything that he's done not only for us but for the Chesapeake Bay, and Rappahannock River and all the things that he's worked on over the years. And it was an opportunity to honor Joel Dunn at the Chesapeake Conservancy and the people at the Fish and Wildlife and the National Park Service and Hill and all the people who made it possible. And so our tribe was really moved, it was a very moving and touching dedication, that our people were, after 350 years, able to return to the river. Very significant day. And so as a part of that we went out into the river on the pontoon boat with Joel and Joe and all the guys from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife and the National Park Service, all the partners were out there together and able to view the cliffs, that magnificent white cliff from the river view and being out there with tribal members and council members. And here comes the eagle, comes in and he swoops down as if to say, we're so glad you returned. You know, I felt like they called us there and then the Creator made it happen. And it was a very powerful day for us. And powerful in the sense that we were so grateful to all the people who made it possible.

Walker: Thank you for sharing that.

Chief Anne: You’re welcome.

Appendix 2

G. Anne Richardson
Chief, Rappahannock Tribe

"Recovering Lost Voices:
The Rappahannock Tribe and the Jamestown Festival of 1957"

This project was funded through The Community Fund

by Gail Williams Wertz and L. Andrew Ball,

with support from the Rappahannock Tribe

Interview conducted by
Woodie Walker,
Nov. 14, 2019

In 2019, Woodie Walker began interviewing members of the Rappahannock Tribe in relation to his Master of Arts thesis for the Virginia Commonwealth University Department of History. The project aimed to collect and preserve significant and endangered oral histories of the Rappahannock people, especially their memories of the 1957 Jamestown Festival. Related subjects include the Rappahannock diaspora of the mid-twentieth century, cultural preservation efforts of the late-twentieth century, contemporary tribal leadership (including the continuation of matrilineal leadership traditions), and the Rappahannock Tribe's successful fight for legal identity, culminating in state recognition in 1983 and federal recognition in 2018.

Oral history refers both to a method of collecting information through recorded interviews of informed narrators with singular perspectives on significant historical events, and to the product of that process. Recordings are transcribed, and reviewed by the narrator, to provide researchers with primary source material. These accounts reflect the narrator's experiences, perspectives, and historical understandings, rather than a definitive account of history.

This interview is an archival oral history. Narrators are members of the Rappahannock Tribe, sharing stories about their lives and memories of events like the 1957 Jamestown Festival. Archival oral histories are particularly suited to American Indian history, because Indigenous knowledge can include stories that have been passed down for generations. As historian Jan Vansina explained, archival oral histories are "documents of the present, because they are told in the present," but with "a message from the past at the same time."[150] The goal of "Recovering Lost Voices" is to "preserve the integrity of the knowledge, and to keep it safe from appropriation, destruction, deformation, and extinction."[151]

This project is in every way a collaborative effort with the Rappahannock Tribe.

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Please cite this oral history as follows, contingent on any guidelines specific to a discipline or publisher:

> G. Anne Richardson, Chief of the Rappahannock Tribe, "Recovering Lost Voices: The Rappahannock Tribe and the Jamestown Festival of 1957," interviewed by Woodie Walker, Nov. 14, 2019, at the Rappahannock Tribal Center. Woodie Walker and the Rappahannock Tribe. Digital transcript, recording, and physical transcript at the Rappahannock Tribe.

[150] Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), xii.
[151] Angela Riley, "Straight Stealing: Towards an Indigenous System of Cultural Property Protection," *Washington Law Review* 80 (Feb. 2005): 88.

Rappahannock Chief G. Anne Richardson

Woodie Walker: My name is Woodie Walker, and I'm a graduate student in the Virginia Commonwealth University Department of History. My graduate thesis is titled, "Recovering Lost Voices: The Rappahannock Tribe and the Jamestown Festival of 1957." Today is Nov. 14, 2019, and we are at the Rappahannock Tribal Center in the Indian Neck community. Indian Neck is located in King and Queen County, on the Middle Peninsula of Virginia. My guest and narrator today is Chief G. Anne Richardson of the Rappahannock Tribe. This oral history explores Rappahannock tribal history, particularly during the 20th century, and ideas of cultural preservation, diaspora, and places of origin. Through "Recovering Lost Voices," we hope to uncover the memories and meaning the Rappahannock people attach to events like the 1957 Jamestown Festival. Chief Richardson, thank you very much for being here today.

Anne Richardson: You're welcome.

Walker: Chief Richardson, I want to explore some of your memories about the role of the Rappahannock people in the Jamestown Festival of 1957. How did your family and other tribal members get involved?

Richardson: Well, I think they were involved with Dr. Ben McCary who had done the excavations at the Leedstown site, where they uncovered a number of artifacts and shared some of those artifacts with my dad, my granddad at the time also, and formed a friendship. When Ben McCary came into our community and visited, he found that we were still using a lot of the indigenous tools in everyday life, and so he was wanting to hire people to come in and create crafts and to furnish wares and things for the Indian Village.

Walker: Thank you. Drawing upon resources like Frank Speck's 1925 book, I believe that Rappahannock people brought cultural knowledge and authenticity to Chief Powhatan's Lodge, which was the formal name of the exhibit. Do you agree?

Richardson: Absolutely. So many of the things that he saw we were still doing as a part of our everyday lives. Like weaving the baskets, and making traps. They were still using traps to fish with at that time, and also to trap birds. And so all of these indigenous tools were taken down to Jamestown and to be able to be utilized in the Indian village.

Walker: Tell me about some of your family memories, and of working at Jamestown during that time.

Williams: Well, I can remember my mom talking about having the big party that they had, where they had all the dignitaries come, and there were photographs that my mom had taken with my dad with Richard Nixon and the Duke and Duchess of Denmark, and had interpreted history for the Queen of England, and so it was a big deal. It was a big celebration.

Walker: I understand that some of your family members and other Rappahannock tribal members were working there after the festival, on until the 1960s. Can you tell me a little bit about that?

Richardson: Well, I think one of the reasons is because of the notoriety that they received from having the Indian Village there, and real Indian history interpreters there, and so it gained Jamestown validity as a historical exhibit, so to speak.

Walker: A big question for historians concerns the meaning behind memories. What did it mean to your family, and the Rappahannock people in general, to be part of this living history interpretation?

I think it meant a lot to them because of the marginalization of the tribe that had been marginalized for so many years. We were definitely not to be heard in Virginia still in the ‘50s, and so this was an avenue for them to be able to, number one, practice their culture in an open and public form, and to teach other people about the history and traditions of our people.

Thank you. I want to explore the idea that, because of the 1957 Festival, and tribal members working there in the years that followed, Rappahannock people were reinspired about cultural preservation, and reenergized in their fight for identity. What do you think of that idea?

Richardson: Well, I don't think they were reenergized. I think that Jamestown afforded them an opportunity to be free, to practice their culture on a daily basis, and to highlight that culture and the voices that had been hidden, and the history that had been marginalized. It was an opportunity for them to open their voices up and be heard, and to let the public know that we’re still here, and that we’re still operating as a tribe, and all these various traditions are still very prevalent within our community.

Walker: One of the documents that I uncovered in my research of the archives references the Virginia Indians that were here in 1957, and says they really didn’t know their history or their cultural traditions, and it even goes so far as to suggest that the festival organizers should reach out to some Iroquois Indians from New York who knew their history better. What do you think of that idea?

Richardson: Well, I think it’s very typical of Jamestown. Jamestown has the colonized version of history, and they stick to that to this day. I remember, I think it was in 2007, when they wanted to bring some Cherokee in or something. It’s very typical of them to not acknowledge the tribes here in Virginia and not want to work with them. I remember over the years of, you know, while my parents and my aunts and uncles took the jobs at Jamestown because, like I said, it afforded them the freedom to practice their culture and to interpret history for people all over the world, and let people know to open the voices so that we’re still alive and we’re still here, instead of what basically Virginia wanted everyone to think, we’re all dead, so it afforded them that opportunity, and I think that they would have definitely felt that this was an important part of the survival of their people. This was an important part of the recognition of our people as tribes. It would have been important to us, but we also at the same time, they experienced the same discrimination working at Jamestown. In their pay, they often were overlooked for raises, they were paid minimal money, so much less than everyone else that worked there, and treated pretty poorly as employees.

Walker: How long did the Rappahannock people work at Jamestown? Was it well into the ‘60s?

Richardson: It was. I know my aunt and uncle worked there 20 years or more.

Walker: So maybe on into the ‘70s?

Richardson: Yeah, maybe.

Walker: Thank you. Did the Jamestown experience influence other Rappahannock people to get more involved with tribal functions in the years that followed? I'm thinking about the idea that the Jamestown experience reinforced Indian Neck as the Rappahannock place of origin.

Richardson: No, definitely not. Indian Neck has always been the place of origin since our last treaty here. It's always been where the chiefs and tribal council members lived, and the people who were movers and shakers in the tribe, and advocates. We worked from this land base, and I think that Jamestown didn't really energize people. I think that the next generation of people saw it as our parents had seen it, as an opportunity, and so they wanted to make the exhibit better, because it was all that we had, and so we wanted to make sure that there were native people working there, and so my dad recommended people from Chickahominy, and people from Mattaponi, and tried to get those people to come in and work there so we would have real Native Americans, from Virginia, working in that exhibit, because he understood the importance of having the authenticity for the people who would come through and learn the history.

Walker: Thank you. Chief Anne, please describe your memories of Queen Elizabeth II coming to Jamestown in 1957?

Richardson: Well, I don't have any memories, because I was only a year old, but I can only relate the stories that my parents had about how interested she was, how nice she was, and how beautiful she was. Those were the things that they remembered about her. The word "gracious" came about, that she was a very gracious woman, and that she was very interested in the history of the tribes.

Walker: I found a couple of photographs in the archives, one has your mother, Gladys Nelson, cooking fish, over an open fire, very much reminiscent of a John White watercolor. The other photo has your aunt, Doris Nelson Ware, and she's shelling some corn into a basket sitting beside the fire, and you can see that the Queen is very interested, and I'm just curious, did your family members ever talk about that? Did they talk about the idea that the Queen had really paid attention to what she saw?

Richardson: Well, I think they were just thrilled to have met the Queen, and had time to interact with her, as a world power. Britain was really at the top of the heap in 1957, so they were thrilled about that.

Walker: I can imagine. The photographs were amazing and I'll include some close-ups of those in this interview. I know about the Queen returning in 2007 for the 400th Anniversary. It was a big deal and I remember it well. I know that you have some memories of her visit then in 2007. Can you share some of that with me?

Richardson: Sure, so there was quite a stir, as you might have guessed, around the 2007 commemoration, and they started planning years in advance, and they came to talk to us about what we would like to see in terms of our participation. They wanted us to participate, that was the big deal. They wanted us to participate in this event, but we weren't given any money, no money was ever talked about. We weren't given any kind of resources. Everything was focused

on Jamestown and Colonial Williamsburg, so it was clear that they had no inkling that she would be interested in ever visiting our communities, or she would have any interest in seeing us. So everything just became like a lull in working with the tribes, until she sent her people here. I guess probably in 2006 we were invited to go there, and so we held a pow wow there in London, and it was just phenomenal, the people that showed up for it. Everybody was buzzing about it. It was an amazing tour, we were there for eleven days, and I'm sure the Queen (had) reported to her all that had taken place, so she sent her people here to find out what was here for 2007, what was being prepared. I don't know, I can't remember the millions of dollars the state gave to that commemoration event, but it was up there, and I remember having lunch at the Governor's Mansion, with then Governor (Mark) Warner, and him saying he wanted us to participate, and so I asked the question, "How do you propose that we do that when we haven't been given any resources, we haven't been given any funds? How are we supposed to prepare for the Queen to come?" He made a commitment that day that money that had been given to Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation for the commemoration, would be given to the tribes to do whatever they wanted to do. And so, here again, Jamestown and their controlling way that they have with them, decided that we were going to do a pow wow with that money, and so they had a pow wow down at the Coliseum in Hampton, which was a really nice pow wow, all of the tribal people worked in it and never got paid anything. It was just something that we did. We never got paid for anything we did for any of this stuff. We always just gave of our time and our travel, and all of that, to get these things done, because they were important to be done for the tribes. But, here again, the whole attitude towards the tribes was this paternalistic attitude that you've been given money, but we have to control what goes on here because we have to control the story. We can't let you have money so you tell whatever story you want. Whether it's accurate or not. And so, consequently, there were things that I didn't participate in for 2007, but when we were visiting, the Queen was scheduled to come in. I had copied the photograph of my mother and the Queen in 1957, and had it framed and matted for her and a presentation to her, and I was not allowed to give that to her. Again, the Queen came, so we had BBC and CNN and all of the news networks were there, but we had no mics. The tribal chiefs had no mics, and the Queen had no mic when she came over to be protocoled for us. She had sent her people in advance.

Walker: I want to know more about that moment, because when you say protocoled, where were you? Where did this take place?

Richardson: Well, she was scheduled to go to Jamestown. She sent her people forth to Jamestown, and they had no exhibits on the tribal people, and so she sent word to (President) George (W.) Bush at the time, that she was going to be going to the Kentucky Derby instead of coming to Virginia, because she was upset that there were no exhibits on the Powhatan tribes. So, then all of a sudden, we all started getting calls from Jamestown Yorktown Foundation saying, 'oh you guys have to come down and help us make an exhibit,' which I didn't do. There were some people that worked with them, I think primarily Pamunkey, but I didn't have time for that, and because of the way I'd been treated, I wasn't interested in doing it. When she came, actually the ceremony was held in Richmond at the Governor's Mansion, at the Capital, instead of Jamestown. I think she did go down there, but it wasn't the big brew-ha-ha that they had planned for it to be. So, she came to Richmond, she would not meet with any of the officials until she had first met with the chiefs for a protocol ceremony. Senator Warner I believe...

Walker: That would be John Warner?

Richardson: John Warner, yes, had a replica of the broach that was given to Pocahontas, and he had that struck for the tribes to be able to give to her as protocol gift, and we presented that to her and had very meaningful conversation with her, except for there were no mics to record any of it, so that anyone could know any of that what was going on. And then she left and then went to meet with all of the state officials and the federal officials that were there.

Walker: Were you able to give her the picture of her and your mother?

Richardson: I was, but not because of what happened with my state. Part of the commemoration was her speaking to address the General Assembly of Virginia, and I was invited into that, and so as I had already met Lord (Alan) Watson in England (Baron of Richmond), and he had become very fond of all of us, I asked him if he would give that to the Queen and he took it and gave it to her.

Walker: Well I think that's a remarkable story. Couple of follow-up questions: You know that my research has to do with the Jamestown event, especially in 1957, and I'm curious about something. Photos from Jamestown show Rappahannock interpreters dressed in traditional Algonquian clothing. Who made their traditional dress, and is it accurate to refer to that as costumes?

Richardson: No, it would have been regalia, and they probably already had regalia, but they both knew how to make regalia, my mom and my aunt. My aunt went to work later as a seamstress for Jamestown and she made all of the regalia for the Indian Lodge, and also for the colonists, the ships, and the Fort people. So, she did a lot of the work and that was one of the reasons she worked there for twenty years. But they would have made their own regalias.

Walker: So, and there may not be a way to get an exact number, but I'm curious about this. How many people from the Rappahannock tribe worked there in '57 and into the '60's? Give me an idea, I know your mother was there, and your Aunt Doris. Tell me some of the other names that worked there during that time period.

Richardson: Ok, that was my mom, Gladys, and my dad, Captain Nelson, and then my aunt Doris, Ware was her last name, and her husband James Ware, worked there, and then my aunt Luethel Nelson (Trickett) worked there.

Walker: OK. Chief Anne, is there anything else that you'd like to mention, or have I forgotten to ask an important question?

Richardson: Well no, I'd just would like to say that I grew up in Jamestown, because I was a year old when the commemoration happened. My parents worked there on weekends, and so I grew up going through all the exhibits and standing and listening to all of the history that was being interpreted at Jamestown

Walker: How long, how many years did this take place?

Richardson: Years. Probably until I was about 13 or 14 years old, I was down there. So I knew all of the people that worked there, I went into their exhibits and listened to the history. And so that's probably where I get a lot of the history that I have, is by going there and meeting those amazing people that were dressed in costume and doing things from the time period that would have been done.

Walker: Like the people in the fort...

Richardson: People in the fort...

Walker: On the boats, on the ships...

Richardson: On the boat, yeah, and the glass blowers, and the guys that worked with the iron. All of that was just really amazing to me. To learn the history of it all and see the techniques that they were using was very intriguing to me.

Walker: I want to thank you very much for being part of this project. It's an honor and a privilege for me to be able to talk to you about this, and I look forward to future conversations.

Richardson: Thank you Woodie. I appreciate you doing this project.

Walker: Chief Anne, are there any more memories you want to share about the meaning behind Queen Elizabeth and her visits in 1957 and 2007?

Richardson: Well, Woodie, looking at the photographs from '57 and hearing the stories about the Queen's interest in our culture and our history, was just reiterated in 2007 when she came, and how she took the stand not to visit Jamestown until they had exhibits that reflected our history and culture there. And, it just let me know how much she cared about the tribes here and the treaties that her crown had made with our tribes, that she was not going to ignore us, that she was not going to allow the state of Virginia to ignore us. She cared then, and she cares now, and she has supported us all the way through to our recognition. She is an amazing woman. She's an amazing leader, and I'm privileged to have encountered her and met her in my lifetime, kind of carrying on the legacy of my parents and Jamestown.

Walker: Well that's a powerful story, Chief Anne, I appreciate you sharing with us.

Richardson: Thank you.

Walker: Thank you.

Appendix 3

Barbara Williams
Chair, Rappahannock Tribal Council

"Recovering Lost Voices:
The Rappahannock Tribe and the Jamestown Festival of 1957"

This project was funded through The Community Fund

by Gail Williams Wertz and L. Andrew Ball,

with support from the Rappahannock Tribe

Interview conducted by
Woodie Walker,
Oct. 25, 2019

In 2019, Woodie Walker began interviewing members of the Rappahannock Tribe in relation to his Master of Arts thesis for the Virginia Commonwealth University Department of History. The project aimed to collect and preserve significant and endangered oral histories of the Rappahannock people, especially their memories of the 1957 Jamestown Festival. Related subjects include the Rappahannock diaspora of the mid-twentieth century, cultural preservation efforts of the late-twentieth century, contemporary tribal leadership (including the continuation of matrilineal leadership traditions), and the Rappahannock Tribe's successful fight for legal identity, culminating in state recognition in 1983 and federal recognition in 2018.

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Please cite this oral history as follows, contingent on any guidelines specific to a discipline or publisher:

Barbara Williams, Chair of the Rappahannock Tribal Council, "Recovering Lost Voices: The Rappahannock Tribe and the Jamestown Festival of 1957," interviewed by Woodie Walker, Oct. 25, 2019, at the Rappahannock Tribal Center. Woodie Walker and the Rappahannock Tribe. Digital transcript, recording, and physical transcript at the Rappahannock Tribe.

[152] Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), xii.
[153] Angela Riley, "Straight Stealing: Towards an Indigenous System of Cultural Property Protection," *Washington Law Review* 80 (Feb. 2005): 88.

Ms. Barbara Williams

Woodie Walker: My name is Woodie Walker and I'm a graduate student in the Virginia Commonwealth University Department of History. My graduate thesis is titled, "Recovering Lost Voices: The Rappahannock Tribe and the Jamestown Festival of 1957." Today (Oct. 25, 2019) we are at the Rappahannock Tribal Center in the Indian Neck Community. Indian Neck is located in King and Queen County on the Middle Peninsula of Virginia. My guest and narrator today is Ms. Barbara Williams, Chair of the Rappahannock Tribal Council. This oral history explores Rappahannock tribal history, particularly during the 20th century, and ideas of cultural preservation, diaspora, and places of origin. Through "Recovering Lost Voices," we hope to uncover the memories and meaning the Rappahannock people attach to events like the Jamestown 1957 Festival. Ms. Williams, thank you very much for being here today. I really appreciate it.

Barbara Williams: You're quite welcome.

Walker: Please tell me a little bit about yourself. I'd like to know more about who you are before we get into more formal questions.

Williams: OK. Again, my name is Barbara Williams and I was born in New Jersey. That was where I lived at until I moved here in Virginia. I went to high school, went to college. In fact, I went to Rutgers University and I graduated from there, and it wasn't too long after that that I got engaged to get married and I came down here to Virginia in 1973.[154] During these times that I was here in Virginia, it's been a very inspiring and interesting time for me. During my childhood, I was living in a suburban area. I went to a church, a Baptist church that was there, and had a very good childhood. Just like any teenager, and as you're growing up, you have your own problems with other students and other people that were in the area, but it was good to be able to associate with others and also to understand your own lifestyle. Even though I wasn't integrated a whole lot up there, but I felt more at home when I would come home to be with my mom and dad. I felt very secure there than I did anywhere else, but I appreciated the time that I had there because of the education that I was able to get and to bring that knowledge back here to Virginia and able to help further on with the tribe and my family.

Walker: Thank you, thank you very much. You've got some photos you'd like to share with us. I'm interested in seeing now what they are and some of the stories you've got about that.

Williams: The very first one I'd like to show you, this is my first regalia that I received.[155] I happened to come down here to Virginia at the time, and they were having a festival in

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[154] Barbara Williams was born June 29, 1948, in Woodbury, New Jersey.

[155] See Figure 1, "Barbara Williams in regalia for a late-1960s festival in Tappahannock, Va." This was a local community festival, not a Native American powwow. Williams said regalia is the appropriate name for traditional clothing, not "costume." Many Native American tribes use powwows as social gatherings, where members dance, sing and honor their cultures. For more on the history and culture of powwows, see Clyde Ellis, Luke E. Lassiter and Gary H. Dunham, *Powwow* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), and Ann M. Axtmann, *Indians and Wannabes: Native American Powwow Dancing in the Northeast and Beyond* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013). From Ellis: "Held on and off reservations, in rural and urban settings, powwows provide an important way for Native peoples to gather regularly. Although sometimes a paradoxical combination of both tribal and intertribal identities, they are a means by which many groups maintain important practices." Each autumn the

Tappahannock, Virginia, and they invited some members of our tribe that were dancers to participate in this. I didn't have a regalia at that time, but apparently my aunt contacted my mother and told her my sizes and everything, and when I came down here my aunt showed me, 'This is what you're wearing to the festival,' and I was like, 'Ok, really?' and she said, 'Yes, all my children are going and you're going along with them.' When you had your aunt or uncle, anyone of your families saying you're going to be involved in something, you don't argue with it, and this is what I had and wore at that Tappahannock festival, and I really appreciated her doing that. It kind of inspired me later on because after seeing what that was actually all about, it caused me to have more interest in being a traditional dancer, which is what I am now. And this is a photograph of probably something even more recent at one of our own pow wows where I had actually made my own regalia, and this is a photo of me being in our own pow wow here at the Rappahannock Tribe.[156] This photograph here, which a lot of people have probably seen in articles, or magazines, or advertisement, this is when we went to England in 2007 with the 400th anniversary celebration, and this is considered the Canoe Dance that the Rappahannock Tribe has always done and it was a very good pleasure of being there and being able to participate in doing our traditional dances for that time.[157]

Walker: Thank you Ms. Williams. Will you tell us a little bit about your parents and grandparents, who they were, and some of your memories about them?

Williams: Yes, I would. First of all, I'd like to start off with my own parents. This is a picture of them in their in their backyard when we lived in New Jersey.[158] They were very traditional, but when it came to associating with the public and society, kind of grew into all of that and they were very elegant in things that they did and very inspirational to me when I would see them going out to different functions, and they were just an inspiration to me as in to keep up with how things were being done, not only in society, but when we were at home, we were always back to our original culture of things and of doing. This photo right here is a picture of my father when was probably about 12 years old.[159] He was born in Doylestown, Pennsylvania, and how he got there, my grandmother and my grandfather, they both lived here, but because of work and trying to get a job, they ended up going to Doylestown, Pennsylvania, and she was a homemaker up there and my grandfather was a farmer, but he made more money up there because of the economy that was going on, and that's where my father was born. He had two siblings and one was born in Doylestown, the other stayed here in Virginia. My other grandmother and grandfather, this is a photo of them.[160] They lived here in Virginia here in Indian Neck and their house is still here. In fact, my cousin actually lives in that house and one of the things that I

Rappahannock Tribe hosts a Harvest Festival and Powwow at their Cultural Center in Indian Neck, Virginia. For more, see https://rappahannocktribe.org/tribal-history/, accessed Nov. 21, 2019.

[156] See Figure 2, "Barbara Williams in regalia at the Rappahannock Tribal Center, St. Stephens Church, Va."

[157] See Figure 3, "Barbara Williams performing traditional Canoe Dance in London, England, 2007." Members of the Rappahannock Tribe visited England as part of the Jamestown quadricentennial, "America's 400th Anniversary: Jamestown, Virginia 1607-2007.

[158] See Figure 4, "Barbara Williams' parents, Joseph Byrd and Ethel Nelson Byrd."

[159] See Figure 5, "Barbara Williams' father, Joseph Byrd."

[160] See Figure 6, "Barbara Williams' maternal grandparents, James Otho Nelson and Elizabeth Nelson Nelson." James and Elizabeth are on the list of heads of families and dependents provided by Chief George L. Nelson in 1923 to ethnographer Frank G. Speck. See Frank G. Speck, *The Rappahannock Indians of Virginia* (New York: Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, 1925), 51.

remember about them, especially my grandmother when we would come down to visit her, she had very long hair and I remember sitting out on the porch and she would be brushing her hair every evening on the porch and I came out and asked her if I could brush her hair, and she just adored that, knowing that her granddaughter was just there to communicate with her and just to be with her. My grandfather, one of the memories I remember with him, too, is the land that he had and it was so large. It was a farm area and I remember being able to feed the chickens, and he had cows. I went and milked the cows with my grandmother. They had pigs there, so I was able to help with all of that. All that was fascinating to me because I didn't live on a farm. I lived in a suburban area and so when I came down here, it was like being in a whole new atmosphere and it was very refreshing. I had an aunt and uncle also here that were very close, that lived across the street from my grandparents, and they had a lot of children, so they were basically my brothers and sisters. I only had one sister, her name is Marie, and so it was good to be able to associate with some of my cousins and we had a good time playing on the farm, especially at nighttime. We would be running around outside trying to scare each other during the dark times, and so that was very good. Being able to have fun and feeling free and it made me be able to associate more with nature, which I was not able to do up there, even though we had some areas where we could visit, but it was not like being down here and being able to be taught what some of the herbs were that were down here and some of the animals that were down here, and so it was fulfilling for me and it taught me how to appreciate what we have and the culture that we had before and the culture that we have now concerning preservation of our culture and atmosphere.

Walker: Ms. Williams, I want to make sure that I get this. I want to make sure that I have your parents' names, and your grandparents', and if there are any memories related to your parents or your grandparents, just about memories of them being involved with the Rappahannock community and the Rappahannock people.

Williams: OK

Walker: Thank you.

Williams: My grandmother and (grand)father here, her name was Lizzie Nelson and (his) Otho Nelson, and they would sit and talk with us quite often about the history of the tribe and where they came from, and how it should be going, and never forget who you are and that we had an identity and a purpose for being here. I used to wonder also why are we so different from everyone else, and sometimes we weren't very well liked, even as a young child I could feel that, but they would tell us that we had a special purpose for being here and basically it was for others to know how to live and survive where nature was concerned. We're people of the land and we're supposed to be taking care of the land and this reflects into today because of things that I see that are being so destroyed, and they always told us that we had to take care of Mother Nature, because if we took care of Mother Nature, she would take care of us. And that's what I see during that time. The photos here with my mother and father, my dad's name was Joseph Byrd and my mother's name was Ethel Nelson Byrd, and they believed in the same things even though they were away from home for many years. They had the same teachings and so those teachings were actually brought back to us.

Walker: Your grandfather Otho Nelson, he was Chief of the Rappahannock Tribe for a while, am I correct in that?

Williams: No, he wasn't chief. The chief lines actually went into Chief Anne Richardson's line.[161]

Walker: Got it, thank you, because the name Otho is part of that history that I've read about and I get confused.

Williams: Yeah, there's a couple of them, a couple of the names there, but he was not the chief, no.

Walker: Thank you.

Williams: You're welcome.

Walker: Will you tell us a story of coming home to Indian Neck for holidays during your childhood? What did it mean to you and your family?

Williams: Coming back home was the most exciting thing for me. When I grew up in New Jersey, I felt very isolated. I had friends, I had a very good friend, but it was not like coming back home. I felt more secure when I was at home. I felt more of the love and the friendship that we had with all of our people and so when we would come home for holidays, it kind of inspired me. I felt protected because I had all my relatives that were here, especially my aunts and uncles and grandparents. It was like I wasn't even supposed to be in New Jersey. I felt that sooner or later I would be coming back down here. But one of the memories of coming here to, like I said, with my grandfather being on the farm, it taught me a whole lot of preservation and how to survive my own self, and I tried to instill these in my children, too, and my grandchildren. My parents, that was the only time they got to see their parents and especially with my father, if it was holidays, vacation time, personal days, any time unless they were sick, we made it down here. We never went on vacation anywhere else except for here in Virginia. And a lot of times if he was needed to come here for a special occasion of some sort, whatever they were working on as far as maybe something in the school system, or if it was something that was political, they would call on my father and I believe it was because of the knowledge that he had. He was a graduate from Temple University and he also went to a Bible university and was very much into the Lord, and he was very helpful in trying to get information that was needed for some of our activities that we were having down here.

Walker: Ms. Williams, when you talk about your dad coming down to help with school issues, or legal issues, are you referring to things like for the Rappahannock people?

Williams: Yes, I am.

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[161] Otho Smoot Nelson was elected chief after George L. Nelson relocated to California in the late 1920s. Otho S. Nelson's son, Captain Chawanta Nelson, was elected chief in 1963, upon the death of his father. Captain Chawanta Nelson's daughter, G. Anne Richardson, was elected chief in 1998.

Walker: Can you tell me a little more about that?

Williams: There were times when we were always trying to get either some health issues that needed to be done, or things that needed to be worked in the schools as far as the history being told. If we had federal recognition, that was something that we had been working on for almost 20 years, and when he was needed, he would come down.[162] He would do a lot of research before he would even get here, so he would know how to deal with a lot of these things. But he was always there to help out in any kind of way that he needed to. When it came to racial issues of some sort, he was also involved in that part of it too, and he was very inspirational I think for the Rappahannock Tribe and the chiefs and assistant chiefs, or his parents, or whatever, would actually make it a fact to let him know. Even when he was growing up his parents always had in mind of knowing that he would actually be a spokesperson for the Rappahannock Tribe, just from his young childhood, and so as he grew older, that dream came true for my grandparents, and he was even doing that even as he got older and was able to come down for any occasions, he would be a spokesperson for the Rappahannock Tribe.

Walker: Thank you for sharing that.

Williams: You're welcome.

Walker: Native Americans historians are very interested in stories of diaspora, meaning the dispersion of a people from their original homeland. Social and economic causes for diaspora are often analyzed. Possible causes for diaspora often involve racial persecution, such as Virginia's Racial Integrity Act of 1924. Do you think the Rappahannock people underwent a diaspora in the 20th century, especially after World War II?[163]

Williams: Yes, I do. Mainly because of things that I went through when I was a youngster, but also, I remember my father talking about this, and he was a World War II veteran. He was in the army. He was with the 101st Airborne, a paratrooper. He did not talk too much about some of the incidents that happened while he was in war, but he did say that there was racism even in

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[162] The Rappahannock Tribe Inc. was recognized by the United States of America January 29, 2018, under Congressional House Resolution 984, the Thomasina E. Jordan Indian Tribes of Virginia Federal Recognition Act of 2017. Additional tribes recognized included the Chickahominy Indian Tribe, Chickahominy Indian Tribe – Eastern Division, Upper Mattaponi Tribe, Monacan Indian Nation, and Nansemond Indian Tribe. The United Rappahannock Tribe was recognized March 25, 1983, by Commonwealth of Virginia Joint Resolution 54. Additional tribes recognized by J.R. 54 included the Chickahominy Tribe, Eastern Chickahominy Tribe, and Upper Mattaponi Tribe. Virginia had recognized the Pamunkey and Mattaponi tribes since the colonial era. This resolution reinforced that historical recognition.

[163] For more about Native American diasporas, see Gregory Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora: An Indigenous History from Origins to Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019), and Sami Lakomaki, *Gathering Together: The Shawnee People through Diaspora and Nationhood, 1600-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014). For more about the Virginia Racial Integrity Act of 1924 (also known as the "one-drop" rule), see Richard B. Sherman, "'The Last Stand': The Fight for Racial Integrity in Virginia in the 1920s," *Journal of Southern History* 54, no. 1 (February 1988): 69-92; Lisa L. Dorr, "Arm in Arm: Gender, Eugenics, and Virginia's Racial Integrity Act of the 1920s," *Journal of Women's History* 11, no 1 (1999), 143-66.

there.[164] There were times where he said he would have to be quiet and not try and get too involved, but then there were times where he felt he had to stand up for himself. When he did, it changed things within his area of the army. When he got out and he got married and then moved to New Jersey, but even coming down here, it was very noticeable about racism. In fact, even when I was growing up, it was said that there were no Indians here in Virginia. I remember even when I was young and visiting in a church, we had a Native American pastor that had come there, and when they left, the pastor and his wife, the pastor's wife was from Virginia, she said, 'I didn't even know there were Native Americans in Virginia at all.' When she said that, I'm thinking, How could she not know that there were any Native Americans in the area when we've been giving our services up there, knowing that my parents were from Virginia, so that got me thinking, 'What was going on here?' So, as I got older, I found out what that really was, and it continued on even with my parents. So, they were there to try and change things because the change would actually have a lot of influence on the rest of the Rappahannock Tribe. My father would actually tell us not to really say a whole lot about that, to keep it to yourself, and to do the best that you can, because you were here for a purpose, and you have identity, and being a racist is not part of your identity, that we are a special people, and God has many things for us to be doing. So that kind of rang in my mind because I felt that we're to love everyone and that we are not different from anybody else, but we are people, and we have a right to be heard and be seen, and that we have an identity, just like anybody else.

Walker: Thank you for sharing that as well. I'm curious if you know about Rappahannock people leaving the Indian Neck area to escape racism, persecution. Do you have any stories that you could share about that? Were there people that left here just to get away from Virginia?

Williams: I believe there were some of our people that did that. Basically because of, maybe if they didn't marry their own people and they married another race, that they would be classified as something else, and I believe that it was the only way they could get work. I know with some of our people that went north, they actually changed their identity so that they would be able to get a job. This is what I would hear, my parents would say, so I do believe that some left because of that.

Walker: Something that I'm interested in are the idea of Indian Neck being identified by the Rappahannock community as a place of origin, that this is home. Tell me about your memories, or thoughts about the development of Indian Neck as a Rappahannock place of origin.

Williams: Yes, it is a place of origin. This actually is our winter hunting grounds. The (Tribal) Center is built on the grounds, and this is where our people would stay during the winter time, and they would be near the river, the Rappahannock River, during the summer, because that's when they would have more herbs to be there, the fish, more hunting that would take place in

[164] Contemporary tribal members recall the memory of four Rappahannock men who refused to serve in World War II as "colored" troops from Virginia. They sought to serve with white troops. Three Rappahannock men, including Oliver Fortune, were prosecuted and sentenced to two years in a Richmond, Va., federal prison. With assistance from ethnologist Frank Speck, the convictions of Fortune and two other Rappahannock men were overturned. All three were recognized as conscientious objectors and served in hospitals during the war years. See Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990). Fortune was assistant chief of the Rappahannock Tribe during the 1970s. His family remains active in contemporary tribal leadership.

that part, but we would leave from there and actually come here for hunting and being more secure during the winter months. So yes, this is where we are right now.[165]

Walker: Thank you. Did your parents talk with you about the Rappahannock story and Rappahannock history? Did they discuss Rappahannock culture with you when you were a child?

Williams: They did to a certain extent. They really didn't dwell a lot on that. We would try and listen to what they would say if they were talking to other adults, but when adults were talking, you and your friend or your sibling or whatever, were not sitting around listening to their discussions unless it was something that they actually wanted you to hear. We would be out playing or doing homework or what-have-you, if we were around other adults. That was out of respect for them, and they felt that children should be children and adults be adults during that time.

Walker: When they were talking with other adults, and you're listening, and you're hearing things about Rappahannock culture and Rappahannock identity, how did it make you feel? Did it make you feel part of that community?

Williams: It did. I remember my mom when she was constantly having contact with her siblings or other members of the tribe. They were always concerned about their welfare. Mom was always sending things, mailing things down here. I call them care packages. She loved to sew, and she would sew things, and clothes, and she would buy food, or whatever was necessary that she found out that this person needed that. That was really something that I couldn't figure out at first, why she was always sending things away. I'm thinking, 'We need it here!' But sometimes she would make that sacrifice, especially during the Christmas holidays. I felt that was part of our tradition and our culture too, that we're supposed to look after one another, and make sure that everybody is well preserved as possible. So, when I saw her doing that, she would always be giving, not necessarily always wanting something back. Dad was the same way. If there was something that needed to be done at the tribe or at the church of some sort, and they needed him to do, he would make arrangements so he could be down here for that. I felt that those things, I mean, when we think of a tribe, we're thinking about dancing and maybe warfare, or constantly making pottery or beadwork, which are things that we actually did. I had an aunt that actually did pottery and some beadwork, but it's concerning family and watching the culture that we have

[165] Rappahannock oral traditions have for centuries contrasted with colonial-era Eurocentric accounts regarding their historical place of origin and relationship to Powhatan, leader of the Algonquian tribes in 1607 that occupied the region near Jamestown on the James River. Rappahannock tradition states the tribe occupied land on both sides of the Rappahannock River near modern-day Tappahannock, Va., with their principal village along Cat Point Creek, on the north shore near modern-day Warsaw on Virginia's Northern Neck. European accounts from the colonial era place the Rappahannocks as principally occupying land on the south shore, on Virginia's Middle Peninsula. Contemporary archaeological studies have provided evidence that the Rappahannock principal village was indeed along Cat Point Creek, strengthening the Rappahannock argument that they were more loosely-affiliated with Powhatan than as described by the early European colonists. See Scott M. Strickland, Julia A. King, G. Anne Richardson, Martha McCartney, and Virginia Busby, *Defining the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape.* (St. Mary's City: St. Mary's College of Maryland, 2016). For more on this from contemporary tribal members, see Gregory Schneider, "The Indians were right, the English were wrong: A Virginia tribe reclaims its past," *The Washington Post,* November 21, 2018.

and preserving things and being loving towards one another, and that's what I see within my family. That's how I can see things going.

Walker: Do you talk about the Rappahannock story and culture with younger members of your family?

Williams: Yes, I do. I feel that if we don't talk about that, it would get lost. The information that's been given to us throughout the years, I feel that we should continue to pass that down to our next generation so that they will not forget who they are, even though these times now are quite different from even when I was growing up. It's more open, they're more out into this society, even though there are things that they participate in, but there's so much more to that, and now that we have federal recognition, it's very important for them to know what we're doing and how they can be a benefit and how they're going to benefit for the future.

Walker: Thank you. Ms. Williams, please describe your role as chair of the Tribal Council. Tell me a little bit about what your work with the Tribal Council means.

Williams: Being the chair of the Tribal Council has been rewarding. I've been actually on the council for thirty-one years, and actually chair of the council for eleven. As time progressed from the time that I actually started, and to now, it's been a real learning experience, because there's not anything that happens at these council meetings that are routine. It's something new all the time, and how to actually make decisions with the council that's going to benefit the entire membership of the Rappahannock Tribe. One of the things that I feel is very important is to listen. One of my mentors was my uncle, Daniel Fortune, and he was chair of the council. I remember when I came on as being an officer with the government. I started out as a secretary and then was on the council, and then became chair after he passed away, but one of the things I remember him saying is, "Listen. Don't say anything. Just be quiet, and that way you learn." And so he mentored me as I was coming along in this, and I watched him, and he would never really say a lot. He would look, he would listen to what the other council members would be saying, what the membership of our tribe wanted to have during the times that he was there, and once he heard everything, then that's when he would voice his opinion, his favoritism, or negativism on certain subjects, and I find that I'm doing the same thing. I want to know what our people are doing, I want to know what our people are looking for the council to approve or not approve, and as we're in a process of looking at different benefits that might belong to the tribe, especially through the federal recognition, especially now, it's a lot of responsibility, but we want to know what's best for the membership. It's not just us as a council. We're not there to serve ourselves. We're there to serve the people, and that's what we're looking at, and if our members have any questions at all about anything within the tribe, it doesn't matter whether they need to come here to the tribe to use the drum, or to use the office. We want them to talk with us, and the only way we'll know what they want to have done is to listen. So, I feel as the chair, that's one of the things that I try to do, is to listen first, not interrupt, let them speak. Even with the council people, if they've gotten any messages from any of our members, I listen to them, and then we work things out. There's been many times that I didn't agree with what was coming about, but I had to go with whatever the majority voted for, but I would also give my own opinion, and I think by doing that I feel that we actually have moved ahead in a lot of areas, and now that we have federal recognition, it's even more important to be able to listen to our people

as to what things they want to have. We have the Indian House Services now that's being brought up. We have the Human and Health Services, and two different types of services out there. It's very intricate, it's confusing, but we're learning with them, and they're learning with us as to what's supposed to be done on the federal side of it. There's the housing. One of the things that I'm looking at, as well as Chief Anne, is rehabilitation of elder homes and what can be done to help serve them, being caregivers of some sort. Is there a program for that? And our young people, we're constantly stressing about the education for them, is there any way that there can be any other kind of funding so they don't have to be worried about payments afterwards, and how do we direct them into the areas that they dream of? And one of the things that we express to them is once you're out there and get your education, don't forget where you came from, to bring that information back, and your talents, and your gifts, bring it back to the tribe to serve your people. And I feel that that's one of my goals as a council, especially for the next generation. We try to help the generations that we have now, but most of us are elders now and we still have a lot to give, and we still have a lot to learn, but we want our younger people to realize that even though they're out there in the world and society, that whatever they do, to bring it back to the Rappahannock Tribe, to serve their own people, and to see them advanced and continue that legacy throughout the next generations. And I think it's important that I work with the tribe even though I'm a female and we have a female chief, too. It's been challenging, but it's been interesting also because nothing like this has happened, that I know of, since the 1700s, when they had the first female chief during that time. So it's interesting how time has changed somewhat, but I'm glad that we have members in our council that are male, too, to feel like they're giving us some covering, but they also grew with what's going on and they see the accomplishments that are being made. So, I think it's very important of a position, but again, it's the listening factor that I've been mentored.

Walker: Thank you for that, can you tell me a little bit about the Tribal Council history? How did it come about? When did it come about? How long has there been a Rappahannock Tribal Council?

Williams: The Tribal Council has always been in existence, when we even had the chief and assistant chief. The chief and assistant chief did not make all the decisions. There's always someone that was there, and as far as I know, there may be updates as to some of the rules and regulations that may have been done during that time, but as far as I know, there's always been one, and they just couldn't work without having somebody else to give them guidance.

Walker: So, your comment about having elected a woman as chief, and a woman as council chair, I'm really interested in these connections to matrilineal leadership traditions of the Rappahannock people in general. You must be proud to be serving in that role.

Williams: I am proud to be able to have done this, and I'm sure it does have to do with that lineage, because the women were very important. Throughout history, as far as I know, they always had some say, even though the men during those times, they gathered together, they'd talk with one another, and they communicated and had their own circles going on, it was always the women that took care of everything else: the longhouse, the feeding, the gardens, the children, and what-have-you, and I feel it's kind of still like the same thing, only it's a little bit more free now, to be able to trust the women and with their abilities to continue on to rule, but

you also have a male leadership, too.[166] We have a male assistant chief, so I feel that kind of keeps it in order so that we can continue on to make a voice within ourselves, and I think it opens it up so that our young people will see that. There's no prejudice from male to female, that each of them have an opportunity to work towards being some type of official within the government, so I think it's more freedom in that way and it allows you to hear all sides of what needs to be done.

Walker: When I talk with some of my peers about my research, often times they ask me, "Well, how many Rappahannock tribal members are there?" In general, how should I answer that question?

Williams: I would say we probably have maybe 240 to 250 members now. We used to have more even, by our elders passing away or other things that might cause those deaths, or whatever, but we have found that a lot of members that had not been involved with us, now are finally getting there, so I feel that as time goes on, our membership will increase as long as they continue having their children.

Walker: Thinking in terms of identity, what does it mean to be a Rappahannock Indian?

Williams: Well, I feel like the Rappahannock River. I feel for myself that we have an ebb and flow, that it rises and falls, and that's how I feel personally, in my life, that it never goes all the way good, never goes all the way bad, but there's always a place in there where there's resting, there's a place for strength, for renewal, and I feel that my identity is important for myself, knowing who I actually am, and I think that we have a lot to offer.[167] I feel that I had a lot to offer throughout my life, and even though I may have thought I was going to be doing something else, I feel very pleased that I accomplished what I was able to do, and I think it's important for the legacy to continue on, and I'm part of that legacy, and I hope to see that continue on in the future.

Walker: Well, I want to thank you sincerely for letting me be part of this conversation, for working with me and helping me with this research project. I am honored and very grateful to be here today.

Williams: The pleasure is all mine. I really enjoyed being with you today, and if there's anything else I can help you with in the future, please let me know.

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[166] For more on historical matrilineal leadership traditions among the Virginia tribes, see Helen C. Rountree, "Powhatan Indian Women: The People Captain John Smith Barely Saw," *Ethnohistory* 45, no. 1 (1998): 1-29, and Kristalyn M. Shefveland, "Cockacoeske and Sarah Harris Stegge Grendon: Bacon's Rebellion and the Roles of Women," Cynthia A. Kierner and Sandra Gioia Treadway, eds., *Virginia Women: Their Lives and Times* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2015).

[167] According to Rappahannock Chief G. Anne Richardson, the name Rappahannock means, "the people who live where the water rises and falls." See Chief Anne Richardson, "Life Along the Rappahannock: An Oral History Project," interviewed by Woodie Walker, Aug. 21, 2017, at Kendale Farm, Port Royal, Va. Friends of the Rappahannock and the University of Mary Washington. Digital transcript and recording at https://www.riverfriends.org/oralhistory/, physical transcripts at the Historic Fredericksburg Foundation Inc., Central Rappahannock Regional Library Virginiana Room, Fredericksburg Area Museum, and the University of Mary Washington Special Collections and University Archives.

Walker: Thank you, Ms. Williams.

Williams: You're quite welcome.

Barbara Williams Family Heirlooms Interview

Williams: I'm sitting here today just looking at some of the things that I have gotten when I was young. All of this actually means a lot to me, because they belonged to my grandparents, and a great-grandparent, and I'd like to share this with you. The first thing over here is a coconut dipper that my grandfather, on my mother's side, her father, actually made this himself, and I remember as a young child coming down to visit my grandmother, because we lived in New Jersey, but we made it an effort every year, no matter what kind of day that we had, vacation times, holiday times, we would make the effort to come down to visit my grandparents here in Indian Neck, Virginia. One of the things that I really was intrigued with was this dipper, because my grandfather lived on a farm and he had a well, and I remember always looking in the well, and looking at the water down there, and I would always holler down in the well so that I could hear it echo, and that fascinated me because we didn't have a well where I lived at, and so I would just constantly be talking down into the well, but he always had a dipper beside the well so that when they, or us children would play, we would always have a bucket that was there that we could put down in the well, bring the water up, and he had this dipper so that we could drink from it. When he passed away and some of the things from the home place were divided among the siblings, this was still left on the well, and I didn't want to take it without someone knowing about it, so I asked my aunt, who was the daughter of my grandfather, and she said, 'Please take that in order to preserve it,' and I've had it ever since, and it really means a lot to me. This here is a headpiece that my grandmother on my father's side, his mother, made herself. I treasure this because this was the only thing that she would wear sometimes, even when I would come to visit her, and she would wear that just to let me know, 'This is who I am, Don't forget it,' and I would always laugh at her concerning something like this, and so I always said to her, 'Can I wear this myself?' and she would let me put that on, as I'm sitting there watching her, I think we just completely enjoyed being with one another, and she would share a lot of things with me, but this is one of the items that she made herself. This here is very precious to me. It's a pouch that was handmade by my great-grandmother on my mother's side. She passed it down to my mother's mother, and then my grandmother gave it to my mother, and it's been passed down to me, and I have a daughter and it will eventually be passed down to her. She's already seen this, and I've tried to let her know this will be hers to pass down also. It's very precious, it's handmade, and it has stayed in very good condition considering the time factors that this has been with us. This here is a necklace that's beaded also, and this was, and this little necklace here, that looks like it has a little cross on it, this also was made by my grandmother on my father's side, and I treasured this also because I used to try and do some beadwork myself after I saw this necklace here, and I kind of modernized my beadwork while I had this, and so it was an inspiration to me. When I look at all the beadwork that's here, it just tells me of the intelligence that they had, but also being able to have something like this and it come out so beautifully, and they were very talented where this was concerned, but they also had meanings for everything that they would do, and especially this pouch here with the flowers on it. That was part of our traditions anyway,

because of being Algonquin, we actually were in the forest, but we also had a lot of natural flowers that we admired, and even with our tribe, you'll see a lot of families are engaged into a lot of flowers. And this headpiece here was also made by my grandmother on my father's side. She actually made this for my grandfather, and he told her, he said, 'That looks too feminine, so you need to take it back,' but I treasure it anyway because I know of the things that it meant to them and also to me. I hope that you'll enjoy this, and it's really been a pleasure of being able to present this to you.[168]

Walker: Thank you Ms. Williams for being willing to share some of your family treasures with us.

[168] See Figure 7, "Barbara Williams' family heirlooms." These heirlooms cover six generations of Ms. Williams's family. The long-handled dipper is made from a coconut. There is also a photograph of a coconut dipper in Speck, *The Rappahannock Indians*, page 66. It is possible the same dipper is in both photographs.

Appendix 4

Jamie Ware-Jondreau
Rappahannock Tribe

"Recovering Lost Voices:
The Rappahannock Tribe and the Jamestown Festival of 1957"

This project was funded through The Community Fund

by Gail Williams Wertz and L. Andrew Ball,

with support from the Rappahannock Tribe

Interview conducted by
Woodie Walker,
Feb. 28, 2020

In 2019, Woodie Walker began interviewing members of the Rappahannock Tribe in relation to his Master of Arts thesis for the Virginia Commonwealth University Department of History. The project aimed to collect and preserve significant and endangered oral histories of the Rappahannock people, especially their memories of the 1957 Jamestown Festival. Related subjects include the Rappahannock diaspora of the mid-twentieth century, cultural preservation efforts of the late-twentieth century, contemporary tribal leadership (including the continuation of matrilineal leadership traditions), and the Rappahannock Tribe's successful fight for legal identity, culminating in state recognition in 1983 and federal recognition in 2018.

Oral history refers both to a method of collecting information through recorded interviews of informed narrators with singular perspectives on significant historical events, and to the product of that process. Recordings are transcribed, and reviewed by the narrator, to provide researchers with primary source material. These accounts reflect the narrator's experiences, perspectives, and historical understandings, rather than a definitive account of history.

This interview is an archival oral history. Narrators are members of the Rappahannock Tribe, sharing stories about their lives and memories of events like the 1957 Jamestown Festival. Archival oral histories are particularly suited to American Indian history, because Indigenous knowledge can include stories that have been passed down for generations. As historian Jan Vansina explained, archival oral histories are "documents of the present, because they are told in the present," but with "a message from the past at the same time."[169] The goal of "Recovering Lost Voices" is to "preserve the integrity of the knowledge, and to keep it safe from appropriation, destruction, deformation, and extinction."[170]

This project is in every way a collaborative effort with the Rappahannock Tribe.

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Please cite this oral history as follows, contingent on any guidelines specific to a discipline or publisher:

> Jamie Ware-Jondreau, "Recovering Lost Voices: The Rappahannock Tribe and the Jamestown Festival of 1957," interviewed by Woodie Walker, Feb. 28, 2020, at the Rappahannock Tribal Center. Woodie Walker and the Rappahannock Tribe. Digital transcript, recording, and physical transcript at the Rappahannock Tribe.

[169] Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), xii.
[170] Angela Riley, "Straight Stealing: Towards an Indigenous System of Cultural Property Protection," *Washington Law Review* 80 (Feb. 2005): 88.

Jamie Ware-Jondreau

Woodie Walker: My name is Woodie Walker, and I'm a graduate student in the Virginia Commonwealth University Department of History. My graduate thesis is titled, "Recovering Lost Voices: The Rappahannock Tribe and the Jamestown Festival of 1957." My guest and narrator today is Jamie Ware-Jondreau of the Rappahannock Tribe, and we are at her home in Williamsburg, Virginia. Actually, we're in Norge, aren't we? Got it. This oral history explores Rappahannock tribal history, particularly during the 20th century, and ideas of cultural preservation, diaspora, and places of origin. Through "Recovering Lost Voices," we hope to uncover the memories and meaning the Rappahannock people attach to events like the 1957 Jamestown Festival. Ms. Ware-Jondreau, thank you very much for being here today.

Jamie Ware-Jondreau: Thank you for being here, Woodie.

Walker: I want to begin with just, kind of, tell me about yourself, I want to some background, some biographical details. When and where were you born? Tell me about your siblings. Tell me who were your parents.

Ware-Jondreau: I was born in the Medical College of Virginia in 1959 to my parents, James and Doris Ware, Nelson-Ware. I had two siblings, Deborah Kay Ware, and Sonja Dale Ware, both are deceased. We have been living in Williamsburg, we had been living in Williamsburg even before I was born in 1957, and still I live here today as the only living relative of that family. I have two daughters from my family. One from my marriage to Robert Anthony Ware-Jondreau, and my other daughter I claim is my sister's child, who lost her mother many years ago. So I, they're both on their own, they're very adult children living on their own, so I've enjoyed the time I've had here to myself, working and taking care of my home.

Walker: And tell me their names, the daughters.

Ware-Jondreau: My daughter's name is Meno Jondreau, and my sister's child, who is also my daughter, is Teshena Moore.

Walker: And your husband, Robert, tell me about his background. He was a veteran of the military.

Ware-Jondreau: Yes, he was 26 years U.S. Air Force, and when he retired from Desert Storm, he landed at Langley AFB, and started attending and working at the Hampton University Museum, and attended as a student there, it's where I met him. And we made a history there, and we married on the campus, and both got our degrees from Hampton University.

Walker: And what was his tribal affiliation?

Ware-Jondreau: Bob is from the Keweena Bay Indian Reservation in up-state Michigan, on the Ojibwe Reservation, where he's buried at today.

Walker: Ok. So your family has multiple connections to Native American heritage.

Ware-Jondreau: Absolutely. All of my life, from the time that I was born up until present, my families have been involved with their culture and cultures of other native tribes. I started dancing when I was 15 years old, and my first powwow was the Haliwa Saponi powwow in North Carolina, and from that point on I began dancing, and I've been dancing ever since.

Walker: When did you start?

Ware-Jondreau: I was 15.

Walker: OK. Wow. That's so, that's just amazing, I love it. OK. I want to explore some of your memories about the role of the Rappahannock people in the Jamestown Festival of 1957. How did your family and other tribal members first get involved? Tell me about your parents getting involved and how that happened.

Ware-Jondreau: They're knowledge to me was, an invitation was extended to all the tribes in Virginia to come and participate in Jamestown's history, and tell the oral history there. My parents took the bite, and left King and Queen County, and were the first native history interpreters at Jamestown Festival Park in 1957. At that time, they needed added history interpreters on the weekends, so my Uncle, Captain, and Aunt Gladys were invited in to come in as well and give the weekend history there doing the same thing, and additional, on the day when the park opened May 7, I think it was, in 1957, my mother became ill, and so my Aunt Ethel (Luethel) was invited to come and sew. The five of them made the first history at Jamestown as interpreters, making the crafts, and interpreting the history.

Walker: Thank you. Now, when were you born?

Ware-Jondreau: I was born in 1959.

Walker: So you don't have memories of being there. This is some stuff and memories that your parents shared with you.

Ware-Jondreau: Only in books. I had lots of magazines that my father had gathered over the years, of, like, covers of Virginia magazines where he made world history interpreting the Jamestown history. So I had pictures, and as I was going through college, and after I did interpretive work in the school systems, and I would share all those pictures of him at Jamestown.

Walker: Well it's a fascinating story. What kind of things did your family do? I know they worked as history interpreters, interpreting not just Rappahannock history, Algonquin culture, have I got that terminology correct?
Ware-Jondreau: That is correct.

Walker: And what kind of things did they do?
Ware-Jondreau: Mom actually was hired there to interpret in the village and they would show the people, the guests who would come in, how they grinded corn to make the meal, how they would tan the hides to make the clothing for them to wear, and the skins that kept on their beds, and dad

would also be working in the hut, to scare the crows away from the corn because they planted their gardens there, they showed how they did the slash and burn corn, and they would just, how they had their agrarian life in the Indian village. In addition to making fish traps, dugout canoes, arrowheads, he did a lot of the crafts there, as well as my mom.

Walker: There's some really amazing photos of your family members. Not just your parents, your aunt and uncle, aunts and uncle, as well. Some of the photos that I see of your father and mother, I can see that they took a lot of pride in the fact that they were working there.

Ware-Jondreau: Yes.

Walker: Well, it can be seen. Do you recall Dr. Ben McCary from The College of William and Mary?

Ware-Jondreau: Again, I was very young, but only through a lot of ethnohistory and photographs and things that my parents had, and the documents that he did, did I know of him.

Walker: One of the things I'm interested in is the development and construction of what they called, "Powhatan's Lodge," back in 1957. And so I'm curious about your father's role, or other Rappahannock tribal members, their role in helping. I know Dr. McCary, had some, had a role.

Ware-Jondreau: He did.

Walker: In designing that lodge.

Ware-Jondreau: He did.

Walker: I'm curious about the role that tribal members played.

Ware-Jondreau: Prior to the opening, the grand opening of Jamestown Festival Park, my family came down to include all of my family, my aunts and uncles, and helped build the Indian Lodge there that housed 30 people, at least five or six families. So it was a long Indian Lodge that they lived in, and they showed to the public, to the visitors, how they were able to live a life there in the winter months and the summer months. But Dad and Mom were very instrumental in starting that.

Walker: Drawing upon resources like Frank Speck's 1925 book, about the Rappahannock people, I believe that the Rappahannock people brought cultural knowledge and authenticity to Powhatan's Lodge in 1957. Do you agree with that?

Ware-Jondreau: I do. They demonstrated to the public, through interpretive work, and also through demonstration of how they lived daily lives, of baking their fish on the grill, or using the stones to grind the corn, or make the arrowheads, or tan the hides, to having the beds, to live. They demonstrated that, during the day, as they interpreted the work. So they were in a living village, for which the work they interpreted daily.

Walker: So how did your family have these skills? How did they know these things? Were they passed down from their fathers and grandfathers?

Ware-Jondreau: Absolutely. They were all very rural agrarian people, and generally came from the King and Queen Carolina area, and they had lived learning how to make fish traps and canoes, and arrowheads, and learning how to fish, not from bass pro shop, but making those arrowheads and using bamboo poles to fish in the lakes that we had, and the rivers.

Walker: What kind of work did your parents do prior to coming to Jamestown?

Ware-Jondreau: Both were farmers. My maternal grandfather was a farmer. He used mules to plow with, and my mom told me stories of how she would go out with him as a little girl and help plow the fields to grow the produce that we had that grandma canned. My dad was also the same. On his land, it was all using not your big Farmall tractors today, or the John Deeres, but they had mules to plow the land with. So, they both came together with the same skills.

Walker: And when did your parents meet, and how did they meet, and when did they get married? Did this happen in the 1940s? Early 50s?

Ware-Jondreau: My parents were both born in ‘28, mom a little older than dad. But they were both farmers, and dad was tasked to come down, invited to come down by my grandfather to work on his farm.

Walker: And what was your grandfather’s name?

Ware-Jondreau: Judge Nelson. He wasn’t a judge, but that was his name. He came down to work on the farm for my daddy, Judge, because that’s what everybody called him, and when he came down, he would help in work in the fields and harvest the produce, and everything that went to market, and went for sale. And, in so doing, he met my mom, who was very flirtatious, and they fell in love and got married.

Walker: And what year did they get married?

Ware-Jondreau: They got married in 1948.

Walker: 1948, so they’d been married a while before they came to Jamestown.

Ware-Jondreau: Absolutely.

Walker: Okay. Well thank you for sharing that with me. I think that part of the value of interviews like this, is to capture some of that family history, for people in the future, when they want to look back, some of the Rappahannock tribal members might want to look back, and know a little bit more about Judge Nelson, and James Ware, and those Nelson girls, Gladys, Doris, and Ethel (Luethel).

Ware-Jondreau: That’s correct.

Walker: Wow. Fascinating story.

Ware-Jondreau: Very vivacious people.

Walker: Tell me about your family and others from the Rappahannock Tribe working at Jamestown after the 1957 Festival. I understand there were Rappahannock people working there well into the 1960s. I want to know more about who did that and what kind of work they were doing.

Ware-Jondreau: Well, my mom continued to work there as a seamstress during the winter months, so she was tasked to make the 17th century costumes, and she did have a seamstress with her, who was a Portuguese seamstress, in this sewing room. And, during the winter months, they would make all the 17th century costumes, and then also make the native regalia, preparing for the winter months, they would make the winter outfits, and then the breechcloth and off-the-shoulder dresses for the spring months.

Walker: Okay. Now, I want to back up a little bit. It's 1957. Your parents come to work there. Was this a part-time job? Full time? Five days a week? What was their work schedule like?

Ware-Jondreau: Well, my parents were the first interpreters to go, and then of course they needed weekend helpers, so then my uncle, Captain, and Aunt Gladys, and Luethel came, but of course, Luethel came the day the park opened because my mom was sick. So Luethel and my mom, Doris, and my father, Jim "Running Deer," they worked Monday through Friday, and then Gladys and Captain Nelson were there on the weekends as weekend relief, so we all kind of lived together in the same house and they would come down and stay with us on the weekends.

Walker: You mentioned your father's Indian name of Running Deer.

Ware-Jondreau: Yes.

Walker: Now, some of the literature that I've seen, especially from the 60s and early 70s, they call your dad Chief Running Deer, and I'm curious about that, because I'm wondering if that is, like, a stage name, or was Running Deer his Indian name? Tell me more about that.

Ware-Jondreau: It was a stage name, indeed. It actually caused a rift a little bit in the tribe because they assumed that my father took the name of Chief. He did not. I think it just was for publicity, that they called him Chief, just to make the tabloids happier. But he was in fact not a chief. His name was James Ware, and they called him Running Deer.

Walker: Yeah, it's interesting. I think that I can just see the people, the marketing people from Jamestown, thinking possibly, "We just can't possibly just have Running Deer, James Ware, here working, he has to be a chief."

Ware-Jondreau: Right.

Walker: So, anyway.

Ware-Jondreau: Of course.

Walker: Kind of interesting context from the times, you know?

Ware-Jondreau: Yes.

Walker: The 1950s and ‘60s. Okay. A big question for historians concerns the meaning behind memories. I’m really grateful that you’re sharing these intimate memories of your family. This is important stuff, and I’m grateful you’re sharing that with me. And I want to think about some big-picture things. What did it mean to your family, and Rappahannock people in general, to be part of this living history interpretation?

Ware-Jondreau: I could see the pride as a little girl, because I would do the changing of the guard, and I'd see him working there all day. Of course I’d get a little bored standing in the village, so I’d wander around, but I could see the pride when he would present history, on not just his people, but all the Powhatan people in Virginia. I could watch the pride, when I would go there on the weekends with my Aunt Gladys, sharing the history and seeing my Aunt Ethel (Luethel), just very pridefully working on pottery and stuff, I could see the pride in their eyes, of my Uncle Captain when people would ask him questions about the Rappahannock Tribe, so indeed it was very much pride that they could represent not only their people, but share their history with the public.

Walker: When I think about the context of the times, 1957, really, Virginia is just starting to come out of Jim Crow Laws, segregation laws, the one-drop rule. It was difficult to embrace your Indianness, from what I’ve read, prior to Jamestown ‘57, and on into the ‘60s, so this seemed like an important moment for people to be able to say, “We are Indian.”

Ware-Jondreau: We were met with a lot of questions, you know, but certainly there at Jamestown, they even put the “Whites Only” signs down at the bathrooms when the Queen was to come. We’ve been met with prejudice in the school systems here. My sister and cousins came down here to go to one of the first white catholic schools, and to see if they could ‘absorb the knowledge,’ and indeed my cousin Earl Ware, who graduated from Walsingham Academy, did love the school. My sister and my other cousin did not, but we’ve met with the prejudice here even today, it’s less subtle, but it’s still there. You know, just to present to people, we’re very proud of who we are, we’re still here. A lot of where I live knows who I am and what I stand for because of how my people stood up and represented themselves.

Walker: Well, thank you for sharing that. Before I move on to the next story about Jamestown, I’m intrigued by the story of some of your family members attending school. Tell me a little bit about what kind of educational opportunities there were back at home, maybe in Indian Neck, and why some of your siblings and family members decided to attend a school in Williamsburg.

Ware-Jondreau: Well, when my parents came down here, and when our family came down here, I should say, the kids were invited because the school they were attending was a little small

Indian school, in the area of the Rappahannock Tribe, Indian Neck Road, was a little small Indian school. The materials that were used to teach the kids was very sub-level to all of the other schools that the non-Indian kids were using. It was actually used books from the non-Indian schools that were gifted to the Indian schools, and that's what they were using. And, so, very often times, the education wasn't as great. Most times it was not. So, when the invitation came to them to come to Walsingham, they took advantage of it even though it was as if an experiment to see if they could 'absorb the knowledge.'

Walker: Thank you. Historians are very concerned today with the stories of Indian children being removed from their families, forcibly; that happened a lot, especially out west, and so it's important for us to understand today, what kind of educational opportunities there were for our Virginia Indians here prior to the 1960s, and the end of Jim Crow, and racism, and based on one-drop rule. And so, it's important for us to understand what that was like.

Ware-Jondreau: You're saying after.

Walker: Yes.

Ware-Jondreau: Well, we were actually in the same schools at that point. I mean, when I went to school, everything was segregated. My sister was at the cusp of desegregation. She was in a predominantly white school here in Williamsburg, and they were having racial riots because the two dichotomies, the African and Anglican race were fighting. They had a mixed couple, and there was a major riot in the school, and she was asked to be on one side or the other, and in fact she called my dad and asked him to come get her. She said 'this is not my fight.' And she came home.

Walker: And when would that be? Was that in the early '70s?

Ware-Jondreau: That was in the '70s.

Walker: So it seems like a tough place for our Virginia Native Americans, where, right, you're not on one side or the other. You're an Indian.

Ware-Jondreau: It was tough in the schools because we would always get the question, 'Well you don't look like a text-book Indian.' Well, I'm not a Nez Perce, or a Cheyenne, or a Lakota. I am a Rappahannock. And I'm Powhatan. And this is the history of our people here. I even did that when I did outreach in the schools after my degree, I talked to kids about the importance of knowing yourself, and it just dispelled a lot of myths when I started doing outreach in the schools. But also as a student in the school I would educate the students on my ethnicity, and why I look like I look, and why I feel like I feel, and I think we were all met with that.

Walker: Well, thank you for sharing. I want to explore the idea that, because of the Jamestown Festival of 1957, and tribal members working there, Rappahannock people became more engaged in the years after the '57 Festival, with things like cultural preservation, maybe attending powwows, those kinds of things, and being a part of Jamestown reenergized

Rappahannock people in the fight really to reclaim their Indian identity. What do you think of that idea?

Ware-Jondreau: I think it just, solidified, you know I think it was an impetus for change, because our people could make a public appearance in a state-based business or organization, to education who they really were, and they became more visible in the eye of Jamestown Festival Park, but my parents certainly took me to powwows at a very young age. I was 15 when I went to my first powwow in North Carolina and started dancing there, and I've been dancing since I was 15, so, in fact, I think working at Jamestown was an impetus for change, but the feeling was there, because many of our people had already started dancing within their own tribes and going to events and activities that weren't as publicized.

Walker: Would that be in the 1960s?
Ware-Jondreau: Yes, and prior, actually, because I have memories of my mom telling me that a group of them went to Luray Caverns, and up there at the time they were doing some kind of festival, and they were asked to dance up there, and they did in fact dance up there, and I think it was many small events around, but they weren't as public, and certainly well known as the impetus for change when Jamestown Festival Park opened.

Walker: I'm intrigued by the idea. I know that you are a dancer. Tell me more. I want to know you said that you first started your first powwow and first dance was when you were 15?

Ware-Jondreau: Yep.

Walker: Tell me more about your interest in this and how you've been involved over the years.

Ware-Jondreau: Well, I love the sound of the drum and I love to dance, so as I met my first friends at the Haliwa Saponi Powwow, they invited me to come in and pay attention to the drum, and dance with the drum. It is the heartbeat of our Mother Earth. And as it started feeling really good, I began. Of course my mom was a seamstress, so she started making our outfits for us, our regalia, and she made me my first dress and I started wearing them at Pow Wows. She did much of the beadwork. Of course we know that beadwork didn't come along until later post-colonization, but I wore a lot of jewelry and a lot of beadwork when I danced. I started when I was 15, and I still wear dresses very similar to what the Powhatan women wore at Jamestown, or what Powhatan women wore, period. I dance now traditional. I have danced fancy, which required a lot more of the post-colonization materials like silk and glass-bead work, but today I dance traditional.

Walker: Are you going to some powwows and dances this summer?

Ware-Jondreau: Yes, I am. My two favorites are the Chickahominy and the Upper Mattaponi, and I love the Mattaponi Powwow. The Rappahannocks are going to host a powwow this year. I want to be very much a part of that because I have been dancing. I actually did the first little Junior Dance group when I was probably in my 20s, and those kids now are older than me, I guess. Anyway, I enjoy teaching them because I always enjoyed working with kids. So, I still dance.

Walker: And that would be, when you said you started working with kids when you were in your 20s, those were Rappahannock.

Ware-Jondreau: Yes.

Walker: Community members.

Ware-Jondreau: They were my cousins, and we all danced together. We would go to special events, but people enjoyed watching the little kids dance. The powwows I've traveled to have been as far north as New York, as far south as Florida, as far northwest as the Keweena Bay reservation, where my husband took me to, I've danced traditional by Ojibwe women there and felt very honored to be with them, and learn their culture and tradition from their tribe. My goal one day is go out west and dance with some of the Natives in California, and maybe up west, I think. Well, I did travel to Washington, and we did dance at powwows in Washington State when I worked in the Indian Program with our Chief Anne Richardson. I love dancing, and I've danced tradition all my life, just about.

Walker: I have not attended a powwow in a long time. I probably went to a Nansemond, the Nansemond Tribe over in Suffolk. I went to one of their powwows probably 20 years ago. So I want to know when the Rappahannocks do something so I can attend and learn more, so I'll be paying attention for that.

Ware-Jondreau: Well, they're saying at our last tribal meeting, October-ish, because the Chickahominy is in September, Mattaponi is in June, the Upper Mattaponi is Memorial Day weekend, the Monacan's is the weekend before, and the Nansemond's is in August, so what a better time than harvest? I'm hoping it doesn't mess up my harvest feast I have here every year, but we're planning one in October.

Walker: I think it's fascinating when you just reeled that off. I'm hearing the names of our Virginia Native tribes today, and everyone seems to have a powwow or a festival planned, celebrating their heritage. I think that's just wonderful.

Ware-Jondreau: Well it's honoring our people. It's honoring our families. And that, to say to each other, 'We're still here. Let's share food, let's share culture, let's share love, let's share our religion. Let's share our tradition, because it's not just Christianity, which we do pray at our powwows, but it's also that drum, and that drum represents our Mother Earth, and it emanates a lot of spirituality that brings our people together in a circle.

Walker: Well, thank you for that. I'm going to bounce back to 1957 again, because I'm really intrigued with the story of Queen Elizabeth's visit. So Queen Elizabeth II comes to Jamestown in 1957. There are photographs of the Queen observing your mother, Doris Nelson Ware, and your aunt, Gladys Nelson, and I can see a lot of interest on the Queen's face. There is a newspaper account I found in the archives, of the Queen stopping and chatting with your mother during her visit. So I want to ask you about, did your family members ever talk about meeting the Queen or

other dignitaries during their work, and what did they think of that? What kind of memories do you have of that, that they had?

Ware-Jondreau: I understand Richard Nixon was here. I understand, I do have a photograph of my parents with the Turkish ambassador. There have been others because I know that in traveling to Colonial Williamsburg, which is right by Jamestown, that other dignitaries have come through Jamestown to Colonial Williamsburg, I just didn't hear of them.

Walker: Well it's just interesting, and I know that you were involved in a celebration when the Queen came back in 2007. Tell me a little bit about what you and the Virginian Indian community here did when the Queen returned here in 2007.

Ware-Jondreau: Well, we were invited to reincarnate what Jamestown was like, not just from the colonial end, but from the historical end of Jamestown, and the original site, Jamestown Settlement, or Jamestown Indian Village on the Jamestown Island. We all came together at the settlement and reincarnated what it was like. The only living relative at that time to re-participate in visiting the Queen was my aunt, Ethel (Luethel) Nelson Trickett, and her son, Earl Ware, and they invited me in honor of my mother and father, and then certainly I also brought by daughter, who is Ojibwe and Rappahannock, into the commemoration of honoring the anniversary and return.

Walker: I also want to know more about you visiting England and France. When did that happen and what kind of activities did you participate in?

Ware-Jondreau: Well, from the trip to England, it was simply through the Southern Baptist Mission trip that we were invited, so a lot of the Native Southern Baptist churches were invited. Me and my cousin, Nokomis were invited to go from our church, the Rappahannock Church, because we were two of the single ones there, and we traveled over to Gravesend and saw the original Saint John's Church where Pocahontas and John Rolfe are buried, and the original statue there. We stayed in London for a bit, and Harrods department store is wonderful, but we also traveled the Queens Court and did a little historic travelling, went into the schools, educated the students about the public, the public and the students about the Native history here of the Powhatan Indians, and then the tabloids showed the "Red Indians" who came over, so we made a little history there. But it was fun networking with the other churches there from the Southern Baptists, and seeing some of the Baptismal pools and meeting the ministers. We had a wonderful time.

Walker: And when did that happen, Ms. Ware-Jondreau?

Ware-Jondreau: That happened in 1986? 7? 3? It was in the '80s, it was in the 1980s.

Walker: So long before the 2007 visit.

Ware-Jondreau: Oh, absolutely.

Walker: Interesting. Okay.

Ware-Jondreau: We did, I forgot to mention we did see the mayor, and he was aware that his Queen had come to visit Jamestown in 1957, and we had a little chit-chat about that.

Walker: This is the Mayor of London?

Ware-Jondreau: The Mayor of Gravesend.

Walker: The Mayor of Gravesend.

Ware-Jondreau: Yes.

Walker: Got it.

Ware-Jondreau: We didn't stay in London too long. We ventured out to the Heatherdown area, you know, we stayed more in the little flats around there, and that's where we did the missionary work, but we also incorporated in the missionary work, our Native culture. So, we did a lot of, I think Nokomis did the Lord's Prayer actually in the church in Native sign language, and we wore regalia while we were there, but we were also in our church outfits, if you will.

Walker: Well, thank you, thank you for sharing that. I am just really honored that you would open up and share these memories and stories with me. I want to make sure that we take the opportunity, is there anything else that I haven't asked about, or that you just have thought of while we're having our conversation, anything else you want to share today?

Ware-Jondreau: I think if we honor each other, regardless of the culture, that we live a more content, peaceful life. I want to, as a Rappahannock woman, but a Native woman, a spiritual woman, honor my people, and honor people around me. As a therapist, I incorporate my culture into practice in therapy all the time. I think it's very important to do that. And, I think a lot of my clients appreciate that. I carry my husband's blanket that we had wrapped around us when we got married at Hampton University. I carry that. It's in my office, and I use it as a part of my therapy, to not give up, even though we've lost people we loved. In our culture, in our path, we still stick to who we are. We never lose sight of where we came from, or who we are as an individual.

Walker: Well, thank you, thank you very much for allowing me to be here today.

Ware-Jondreau: You're very welcome.

Walker: And I look forward to talking with you again in the future.

Ware-Jondreau: Likewise.

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