

## **Rick and Jerrilynn MacGregor sent the following series of emails to the Stafford County Board of Supervisors between Feb. 7 and 24, 2023.**

### **#1—Feb. 7, 2023—17<sup>th</sup> century**

Greetings and Happy New Year!

Jerrilynn and I have been continuing our research into the Patawomeck/Potomac Indians of 17<sup>th</sup> century Stafford and their connection (or lack thereof) to the current Patawomeck Indian Tribe of Virginia, Inc. (PITV). I am personally interested since I, myself, share the same ancestors with many members of the current group.

The information provided in this email has been gleaned primarily from the publications of anthropologists Frank G. Speck (whose writings are often quoted by the “tribe”) and by James Mooney. To this, we have added text from signage at the “Medicine Wheel” near Aquia Landing and the 1666 order to annihilate the Potomacks as found in the minutes of the Virginia Council. The entries are presented in chronological order.

Our objective is to help each of you better understand our concerns regarding the absence of a link between the 17<sup>th</sup> century Indians and the modern-day group. As a matter of fact, the only post-17<sup>th</sup> century mention of Indians in the White Oak area of Stafford that we have yet found is in the writings of Frank Speck who said in his monograph that they “**may** be the residue of the Indians who are recorded to have inhabited Potomac creek.... **We have not, however any clear proof that these descendants are actually of Potomac identity, although they now bear the name.**”- p. 282, Speck. Jerrilynn and I can find no primary source documentation that the White Oakers visited by Speck did, indeed, bear that name. And we know for certain that **many of the family members never knew it.**

This first installment in what will be a series of emails pertains to the 17<sup>th</sup> century history of the Patawomeck Indians. It is not all-inclusive. Some early records were not necessary for making our point, such as the kidnapping of Pocahontas. There is no doubt that the Potomac Indians lived in what is now Stafford County early on. However, we have found no solid proof that they remained in this area much after the mid-1660s.

Please feel free to question, comment, or correct us with any documentation we may have missed. We continue to offer an open invitation to anyone who can provide primary source documents pertaining to this subject that we may have overlooked.

**1607**—In a chart showing tribe-by-tribe estimates of the Powhatan population of fighting men during the first century of colonization, John Smith recorded in 1607 that there were over **200 Patawomecks** - chart, p. 290, “Chapters on the Ethnology of the Powhatan Tribes of Virginia,” Frank G. Speck, vol. 1, no. 5 (1928).

**1612**— John Smith estimated the number of **Patawomecks at 160**— p. 130, “The Powhatan Confederacy, Past and Present,” James Mooney, *American Anthropologist*, vol. 9, no. 1, (1907).

**1613**--“In 1613 they (Chickahominy) went so far as to renounce their allegiance to Powhatan, and Appealed to the English, whom they called Tassautessus Uttasantasough, ‘shirt wearer,’ to allow them to use that name for themselves, as a sign of affiliation” p. 270-275, Speck. **Where were the Patawomecks?**

**1616** – William Strachey listed **zero Patawomecks** -chart, p. 290, Speck.

**1622** – Opechancanough **massacred** 347 English men, women, and children. The “**people of Potomac** remained friendly until driven to hostility...” In retaliation for the attack, orders were given to “root out (the Indians) from being any longer a people...” – p. 138, Mooney.

**1623**—According to signage at the “Medicine Wheel” near Aquia Landing, “Capt. William Tucker held a ‘peace’ party at Patawomeck Village [now Stafford County] in order to make Opechancanough believe that the English wanted to make peace. The Indians were tricked into drinking poison which killed over 150 of them, including several chiefs. Chief Japasaw probably died at that time.” This same information is also included on the website, Historical Marker Database ([HMdb.com](http://HMdb.com)). **The problem is that multiple primary source documents place this event on the Pamunkey River in what is now King William County, NOT in Stafford.**

**1623**— “...the Virginia Council reported to the home office that they had anticipated instructions by setting upon the Indians in all places, and that by computation and by the confession of the Indians themselves, ‘we have slain more of them this year than hath been slain before since the beginning of the colony’” – p. 139, Mooney.

**1644**—Another **massacre** for which few details were recorded, but a 1646 report by the Virginia Assembly states that the Indians were “so routed and dispersed that they are no longer a nation and we now suffer only by a few starved outlaws” – p. 139, Mooney.

**1646**—Opechancanough was killed and his unknown successor “made a treaty of submission by which the Indians agreed to abandon” some of their territory” - p. 139, Mooney.

**1654**—“...a large force was ordered against the Indians on the Rappahannock river, but no details or the result are given. In the next year, the Indian lands were made inalienable except by permission of the Assembly” – p. 140, Mooney.

**1656**—The “Richahecrians (possibly Cherokee) had come down from the mountains... apparently to start a friendly acquaintance for trade purposes. A force of 100 men under Col. Edward Hill, was sent to drive them back. Totopotomoi, chief of the Pamunkey, joined the expedition with 100 of his own men...The English were defeated, the Pamunkey chief and most of his men were killed, and Hill was obliged to make terms with the Richahecrians” p. 140, Mooney.

**1658**— As regards the Mattaponi Indians, “their deed (for reservation), in the possession of the chief, dates also to 1658” p. 249, Speck.

**1666**—An order was given by the Council of Virginia “that the towns of Monzation, Nanzimond, and Port Tobacco with the whole nation of the Doege and **Potomacks** be forthwith prosecuted with war to their utter destruction if possible and that their women and children and their goods or as much of it as shall be taken to be disposed of to such instructions as shall be issued” by the Governor. – *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia*, Richmond, VA, Virginia State Library, 1931, p. 488. **Contrary to the unsourced information in the Virginia Department of Education’s History and Social Studies curriculum and on page 3-4 of the Business Plan, Patowomeck Indian Tribe Inc. (which was submitted to Stafford County in 2019), NO documentation has yet been found corroborating that this order was ever carried out, nor are there any known documented details. The Indians could very well have simply left the area. There is no record of any orphaned children, nor of any of Wahanganoche’s daughters marrying English colonists as “tribal historian” William L. Deyo claims. Also note that Frank Speck does not mention this massacre in his book, though he lists on page 289 the wars of 1622, 1644, and 1675.**

**1669** - Virginia Census, **zero Patowomecks** chart p. 290, Speck. **Note that they were also listed by Strachey as zero in 1616.**

**1675** - “Bacons Rebellion”—“In 1675 came another Indian war, involving Maryland as well as Virginia, and known in history as Bacon’s Rebellion from the fact that the leader of the Virginia volunteers acted in direct opposition to the colonial governor, Berkeley” p. 140, Mooney.

**1677**—“...the war was brought to a close by a general treaty of peace with all the tribes in relation with the Virginia government...the signatory tribes were the Pamunkey, Appomattoc, Weanoc, Nansemond, Nantaughtacund, and Portabaccos ----all of the old Powhatan confederacy; with the Nottoway, Meherrin, Monacan, and Saponi,” p. 141, Mooney. **Where were the Patowomecks?**

1677—The Pamunkey “exacted a deed for their reservation from the Virginia assembly” p. 238, Speck. **Where were the Patowomecks?**

1699—Accohanock Indians complained, “the English have seated upon all the lands which were reserved to the Indians by Articles of Peace (1677) p. 142, Mooney. **Why weren’t the Patowomecks complaining? Where were they?**

\***Red** denotes massacres listed by Mooney and/or Speck.

More to follow!

Sincerely,

Rick and Jerrilynn MacGregor

## #2—Feb 9, 2023—18<sup>th</sup> century

To the Supervisors of Stafford County:

Tuesday's email provided you with some historical background on the Patawomecks during the 17th century when they were living in what are now Stafford and King George Counties. Based upon the available period documentation, the Patawomecks were no longer in this area after the mid-1660s. In this communication, we will share with you the historical record of the 18th century.

Any discussion of the Patawomeck Indians will focus on the geographical area that includes the Marlborough peninsula (the Patawomeck village at Indian Point), the White Oak area of Stafford, and Passapatanzy. This latter site, which is now included in King George County, was at one time part of Stafford and, during the early 17th century, was occupied by a Patawomeck village under the rule of Chief Japasaws.

Because White Oak remains relatively rural, it is understandable that some have assumed it was always a secluded area where little of importance happened and where, for generations, its residents were largely cut off from the rest of the county, the colony, the state, and the world. It is also now stated to be the place where a remnant of the 17th century Patawomeck Indians were able to quietly hide for some four centuries and pass down their Indian traditions and lifestyle. All of this is open for debate.

The land patent/grant books reveal that most of this area was claimed by English settlers between 1651 and 1692. These records contain no mention of the local Indians, though they certainly were here for at least part of that time. While a few patentees claimed tracts of 1,200 to 15,000 acres each, most took up smaller parcels ranging from about 150 to 600 acres. In addition to these property owners, there were many tenant farmers.

There is no mention of the Patawomecks in any 18th century historical records that we have seen, nor was the existence of this tribe during that century commented upon by later writers such as Frank G. Speck, James Mooney, or Dr. Helen C. Rountree. **Where were the Patawomecks during the 18th century and why are they missing from the Virginia records?** We have only one 18th century reference to local Indians to share with you and will do so shortly. Interestingly, while the Indians are conspicuously absent from the historical record, there are abundant references to many White Oak families, descendants of whom now claim to be Indians, mingling with and participating in Stafford activities. We will share that with you in a subsequent email.

Since there is so little documented material pertaining to the tribe during this century, we will take this opportunity to describe life and activities in White Oak during this time period. You may be surprised by what you learn.

Since the earliest English settlement in the area, what we know as White Oak has been occupied by plantations/farms of various sizes; multiple county courthouses; a government-run tobacco

inspection station/warehouse; at least two commercial wharves; and multiple fisheries. **Where were the Patawomecks when all this was going on?**

Transportation was as much of an issue in the 18th century as it is today. In Virginia, from the 17th through the 19th centuries, most transportation was by water because the few existing overland roads were notoriously difficult during wet weather. Navigable water was the equivalent of our modern interstate highways and White Oak was flanked on its north and south sides by Potomac Creek and the Rappahannock River, both of which could (and did) accommodate ocean-going sailing vessels. One early road, now U. S. Route 3, provided an overland link between Falmouth, an important and busy international shipping point, and the Northern Neck and Middle Peninsula. All along this route were many farms, towns, wharves, and businesses.

Another equally important early road ran east-west through White Oak and followed the top of the ridge that separates Potomac Creek and the Rappahannock. Called the “Potomac Path” by colonists, it was a well-worn Indian trail prior to English settlement and extended from the Indian village of Passapatanzy up into northern Virginia. The Stafford segment, now designated as White Oak Road (Route 218), remains in use today. These four transportation routes within the White Oak community brought a continuous flow of people and commerce to the doorsteps of early residents.

While the navigable portion of Potomac Creek wasn’t as long as that of Aquia Creek, both were used extensively for shipping for much of the region’s history. One of the earliest commercial landings on Potomac Creek was built and in use by 1742 and was located at what was called the “head of navigation.” This was as far upstream as keeled vessels could go at low tide. This landing was near a plantation called Salvington and was about two miles above the later, and now more familiar, Belle Plain. This second landing, an important deep-water commercial wharf, long served sailing vessels and, later, steamships. Commercial shipping of agricultural produce, timber products, freight, passengers, and mail was conducted on Potomac Creek for most of the county’s history and until well after the Civil War. From at least the early 19th century, a road linked Belle Plain with one of the Fredericksburg ferries. **Where were the Patawomecks while all this was going on?**

Counting the present judicial complex, since 1664 Stafford has had a total of ten courthouses (which included jails), most of which were lost to fires. Six of these were located on the south side of Potomac Creek in White Oak. One of these was in use from 1690 to circa 1691, and five others functioned between circa 1719 and circa 1777. The third courthouse, which was in use from circa 1692 to 1718, was built on the Marlborough Peninsula (north side of Potomac Creek) adjacent to the Patawomeck settlement visited by John Smith in 1607. The reason that most of the courthouses were located on Potomac Creek in White Oak is because they were centrally located to the county’s population at that time and because of the commerce and activity in that area. Please note that these courthouses were all located in the area that had been occupied by the Patawomeck Indians during the 17th century. When the court was in session, residents and visitors came to buy, sell, and trade wares, livestock, and land; to listen to court cases being argued; to pay their taxes and other fees; to record legal documents; and to drink, fight, catch up

on the news, and otherwise socialize. **Where were the Patawomecks during the century that White Oak was the judicial center of Stafford County?**

Visitors to the court, warehouse, and landing needed food, a place to sleep, and accommodations for their horses. By 1753, there was at least one tavern operating within yards of the courthouse. From circa 1753 to at least 1768, the Ohio Company held their meetings in the courthouse. This group was responsible for the settlement and development of the Ohio Valley and some of the region's most influential men were members of this group that regularly came and went from this building. **Where were the Patawomecks?**

By 1742, an official tobacco inspection station, called Cave's Warehouse, was standing at the uppermost landing on Potomac Creek and quite close to the courthouse. At the nearby wharf ocean-going sailing vessels picked up tobacco stored in the warehouse and transported that product to dealers in Europe. Cave's was one of five official tobacco warehouses in Stafford during the 18th century.

By law, planters were required to bring their tobacco to an official warehouse where court-appointed inspectors viewed the product, graded, and taxed it. Since tobacco functioned as legal tender, the warehouses were the equivalent of banks and the inspectors were the equivalent of bankers. The warehouses and inspectors were critical to maintaining the stability of Virginia's economy.

Cave's operated from around 1742 to 1779. In 1776, the Virginia Assembly authorized James Hunter of Hunter's Iron Works near Falmouth to use Cave's for the storage and shipping of naval stores for the war effort. While this use seems to have been temporary, it brought yet more activity to Potomac Creek. By 1779, Cave's Warehouse had been abandoned because silting had made the water too shallow to accommodate large vessels; the county boundary between King George and Stafford had been changed to Muddy Creek; the magistrates had moved their meetings closer to the site of the present courthouse; and shipping had shifted to Belle Plain, about two miles downstream where the water was deeper. Obviously, the White Oak area was not the secluded backwater that some would have us believe. **Where were the Patawomecks?**

So, here is the one 18th century Indian-related record we have to share with you. In 1724, the Rev. Alexander Scott (1686-1738), rector (minister in charge) of Overwharton Parish, reported to the Bishop of London on the particulars of his parish. He wrote that it "is inhabited near 80 miles in length and in some places near 3 miles, in others near 20 miles in breadth and about 650 families. There are no Indians nor other Infidels among us [emphasis added by this writer] but Negro Slaves, the Children of whom and those of whom can speak and understand the English Language we instruct and baptize if permitted by their Masters" (King, Register of Overwharton Parish, p. 183). Scott was not fresh off the boat when he wrote this. He became rector of Overwharton in 1711, so he had been ministering to his congregants for about 13 years when he reported on the absence of Indians. At that time, the parish included the Passapatanzy and White Oak areas and extended northward toward what is now Washington, DC. According to this first-hand report from a man who was intimately familiar with the people in his parish, there were no Indians here. **Where were the Patawomecks?**

As we have previously stated, please feel free to question, comment, or correct us with any documentation we may have missed. We continue to offer an open invitation to anyone who can provide primary source documents pertaining to this subject that we may have overlooked.

### **Timeline**

- c.1664—first Stafford Courthouse, apparently at Passapatanzy
- 1690—Stafford court moves to Thomas Owlsey’s house on the south side of Potomac Creek
- 1692—courthouse built at Marlborough. Burned 1718.
- c.1719—new courthouse built at head of navigation on south side of Potomac Creek.  
Burned 1731.
- c.1721—uppermost landing on Rappahannock River begins to be used as shipping point for goods and produce coming and going from the Shenandoah Valley
- 1724—Rev. Alexander Scott reports that there are “no Indians” in his parish
- 1728—Falmouth and Fredericksburg formally laid out as towns
- c.1732—another courthouse built on or near site of the previous building. Burned 1744.
- c.1742—opening of Cave’s Tobacco Warehouse
- c.1750—brick courthouse built on or near same site. Burned by arson in 1751
- c.1753—structure rebuilt and used until c.1777
- c.1753—a tavern was built within yards of the courthouse
- c.1753 to at least 1768—courthouse used as meeting place for the Ohio Company
- 1776—James Hunter authorized to use Cave’s Warehouse for storage and shipping of naval stores
- c.1777—small building next to Garrard’s Tavern near the current judicial complex was used by the magistrates while a new courthouse was being constructed.
- 1777—final boundary change between Stafford and King George
- 1779—closing of Cave’s Warehouse
- 1783—new brick courthouse completed on site of the present judicial complex

Throughout the 18th century, multiple ferries carried people and goods across the Rappahannock River and connected the White Oak area with Fredericksburg.

More to follow!

Sincerely,  
Jerrilynn and Rick MacGregor

### **#3—Feb. 13, 2023—19<sup>th</sup> century**

Dear Dr. Yeung and the Members of the Board:

The first two emails in our series on the Patowomeck Indians of Virginia shared with you the early historical record of this tribe. As you no doubt noticed, records from the 17th century clearly show that this tribe did reside in the southeastern part of Stafford, a significant part of their settlement extending from Indian Point on the Marlborough peninsula southward to Passapatanzy, which is now included in King George County. Archeological evidence, which

we have not yet addressed, also supports their presence here. Evident from the paper records is the lack of any reference to the tribe after the mid-1660s. Note that while many of Stafford's records were lost during the Civil War, volumes of minutes and orders generated by the county court and spanning from 1664 to 1668 and from 1689 to 1693 do survive. Additionally, deeds filed in the Stafford Clerk of Court's office from 1686 to 1693 and from 1699 to 1709 are also available. These latter volumes are of value to the researcher because the descriptions of the land tracts contained therein have the potential of mentioning adjoining or nearby "Indian" land. *But they do not.* Also surviving are most of the records from the colonial Virginia government, including those from the House of Burgesses, the General Court, and the Council. *Note: Hening's Statutes at Large, vol. 2, p. 154, a summary of the early laws of Virginia, does include entries for the 1662 conveyance of two parcels of land from Chief Wahanganoche to Englishmen Henry Meese and John Ashton. We found no entries for these conveyances in the Westmoreland County records; nor did we find in the Stafford deeds any later transfers of property that mention Indians.* A study of all these records yields nothing indicating that the Patowomecks remained in this area after the mid-1660s. Noted Virginia Indian scholar, Dr. Helen C. Rountree, wrote to us, "What I do think—from archeology—is that the Patowomecks abandoned their town on the Potomac River and moved south to a multiracial refugee town (usually called Portobacco) on the south bank of the Rappahannock River" (Dr. Helen C. Rountree, email communication, Feb. 2, 2022).

Thursday's email was an attempt to show you how busy the White Oak area was during the 18th century. Existing there were four major transportation routes (two by water and two overland); many farms, both large and small; seven of Stafford's ten county courthouses; a government-run tobacco warehouse; at least two commercial wharves; and multiple fisheries (which will be discussed in a later email). One of our objectives was to encourage you to think about how a traditional Indian enclave could have been functioning there in the midst of all that English activity and yet not a single comment, note, or observation is known to have been written about it. If you recall, we located only one primary source record from that period that made any mention of Indians in Stafford. That was the Rev. Alexander Scott's 1724 report to the Bishop of London in which he stated, "There are no Indians nor other Infidels among us."

So, both the Stafford County and colonial Virginia records after the mid-1660s do not mention the Patowomeck Indians and Alexander Scott said there were none in his parish in 1724. We believe this is significant. If you remain skeptical, we will now share what we have found for the 19th century. We believe some of this material will be of interest.

While we wanted something from the first half of the 19th century to share with you, we were unable to come up with anything. That may be significant in its own right.

### **1861 – 1865—Civil War**

In 1862/1863, White Oak was occupied by tens of thousands of Union troops. Their time in Stafford is well documented and was the focus of D. P. Newton's White Oak Civil War Museum. There is no need for us to repeat that history here. However, we will examine some observations made by others that relate to Virginia's Indians during this period.



In 1907, anthropologist James Mooney published, “In 1859, under the alarm produced by the John Brown raid, they [the Indians] again fell under suspicion, and the Pamunkey, in spite of state recognition as Indians, were temporarily disarmed, while the unorganized bands were subjected to worse treatment. In the Civil War a number joined the Union service as soldiers, guides or seamen, while some fled to Canada to avoid conscription in the Confederate service” (p. 145, Mooney).

The Virginia Humanities website carries a similar observation: “During the Civil War, a number of Pamunkey men chose to serve the Union Army as pilots [guides], in an effort to protect their community from Virginia authorities who had repeatedly attempted to disarm and dispossess them of their reservation. These men were thrown off the rolls of the Colosse Baptist Church for serving the Yankees. The group included Terrill Bradby, who went on to become a Union spy and gunboat pilot, and who received a pension for his war service” ([virginiahumanities.org](http://virginiahumanities.org), “Virginia Indians: Our Story”).

So, let’s take a look at what the situation was like in White Oak amongst the supposed Patawomeck Indians. A sampling of the men who served in the Confederacy, whose lineages are now claimed to be Indian, includes (but is not limited to):

James H. Ball	Alexander E. Bloxton
Peter B. Bowen	Raleigh T. Brown
Raleigh T. Chinn	Samuel L. Chinn
Stapleton F. Chinn	Arthur F. Clift
James Clift	John F. Clift
John H. Clift	George L. Cox
Isaac V. Cox	James M. Cox
John Cox	John B. Cox
John S. Cox	Thomas A. Cox
Walter M. Cox	William J. Cox
Alexander M. Curtis	Isaac S. Curtis
John F. Curtis	William Curtis
William G. R. Curtis	John Deshazo
Daniel L. Fines	Elijah L. Fines
Isaac Fines	John J. Fines
William T. Fines	Charles J. French
Uriah French	John F. Fugett
George Grigsby	George W. Grigsby
Isaac Grigsby	J. W. Grigsby
Seymour M. Hudson	Alvarado D. Jett
Elliot B. Jett	John S. Jett
John T. Jett	Peter N. Jett
Stapleton C. Jett	William A. J. Jett
George W. Lightner	Thomas Lightner
Amos K. Monteith	John Monteith
Robert E. Monteith	William Monteith
Abraham F. Newton	George W. Newton

J. C. Newton	Jesse Newton
John R. Newton	Joseph B. Newton
Peter Newton	William B. Newton
Alexander Pratt	Mace C. Purkins
Robert S. Purkins	Charles H. Roberson
James A. Roberson	Thomas W. Roberson
John W. Rowe	George W. Shelton
James M. Shelton	John Shelton
Charles M. Sterne	Daniel Sullivan
Frederick Sullivan	James H. Sullivan
John Sullivan	Jonas Sullivan
Monroe Sullivan	Peter Sullivan
Peter L. Sullivan	Presly J. Sullivan
Simeon Sullivan	

(Source: Homer Musselman, *Stafford County, Virginia Veterans and Cemeteries*, pp. 22-42.)

*Note #1: The above men lived in the White Oak area of Stafford and/or had family there. They also had extensive family in King George County, but we have not taken the time to research in that jurisdiction because, quite frankly, we felt it was unnecessary.*

*Note #2: John C. Cox was noted in the 1910 Stafford census as a Union Army veteran. Isaac Silver, a northern transplant and a White Oak resident, was believed to have been a Union spy. We are also aware of a few Unionists in the northern and western parts of the county. There may have been other Union-leaning White Oakers whose names might be revealed should someone do further research.*

Union soldiers were prolific writers and we will state that we are unaware of any letters or journals generated by these men that mention the presence of an Indian tribe or Indians in White Oak during the time those soldiers were here. (The National Park Service facility at Chatham has a large collection of such documents.) **Might it be that the “Patawomeck Indians” were in Confederate service?**

Between September of 1868 and April of 1869, a series of newspaper articles was published about Indian bones, beads, and other relics having been discovered at Indian Point on the Marlborough peninsula. This is the site of the Patawomeck Indian village visited by John Smith in 1607. A burial mound that stood next to the shoreline had eroded to the point that human remains and other items contained therein were spilling out. A search of the old newspapers provided us with 8 of these articles, the texts of which are included below. Note that this information was published in Richmond, Fredericksburg, Alexandria, Washington DC, and Philadelphia—the discovery certainly was not kept secret. **Where were the Patawomecks?** Supposedly, they were living just on the opposite side of Potomac Creek in White Oak and were fishing and catching eels in the creek and the Potomac River on a constant basis, so they should have been aware that some of their ancestors were washing out of the bank. Well, according to the newspaper articles, they were aware. Note that the articles report on relics removed from the site by John M. Luck and John G. Pollock. Also, a “Mr. Ashton, who lives close by” was included in the mix. All three of these men lived in White Oak. Luck was married to Mary Ann

Rowe, who is supposed to be a descendant of the Patawomecks. John G. Pollock was a generational resident of White Oak, and, according to former “tribal historian” William L. Deyo, the Ashtons are supposed to directly descend from one of Chief Wahanganoche’s daughters.

**When the Patawomecks learned about the desecration of their ancestors’ burial mound, why didn’t they come across Potomac Creek to defend it and to rectify the damage? Why didn’t any of the newspaper articles mention that the descendants of those buried in that mound were still living in an enclave just across Potomac Creek?** Shouldn’t Mr. Luck have known that the bones tumbling out of the deteriorating mound belonged to some of his wife’s ancestors? Other than some looting, no organized study of this site seems to have been conducted until the 1930s. The bones from this burial mound will feature prominently in a future email. The texts of the articles are provided below:

“Indian Relics. We were yesterday shown an Indian necklace which had recently been found by Mr. John M. Luck in a mound at Marlboro’ Point, Stafford county. It is supposed to have been deposited there by the aborigines” (*The Daily Dispatch* (Richmond), Sept. 18, 1868).

“The Indian Catacomb on the Potomac. We presume that some interesting explorations will soon be made of the Indian mound recently discovered near Marlboro Point, on the Potomac. Letters of inquiry have been received from the scientific branch of the U. S. Government, and from another quarter, in reference to the discoveries. There appears to be a large cave or something of the kind, in which the bodies have been placed—it may be after the order of the catacombs of the Appian Way. We have seen several specimens of the bone beads, which would indicate the burial place as one of great antiquity” (*Virginia Herald* (Fredericksburg), Oct. 5, 1868).

“INDIAN REMAINS. -- On Friday last, while Messrs. Simpson, Knight, and others, fishermen, were hunting in the woods bordering Potomac Creek, they discovered an Indian mound about ten feet square, which had been uncovered by the crumbling of the bank, and which contained a large number of skeleton bones, beads, and other relics peculiar to the ancient inhabitants of the Potomac. Some of the beads were of glass, while others were made of shells – a fact which indicates that trade intercourse was kept up between the tribes and their more civilized brethren. The announcement of the discovery excited much attention in the neighborhood, and a large number of the adjacent inhabitants visited the spot to gratify their curiosity” (*Daily Evening Bulletin* (Philadelphia), Mar. 2, 1869; *Washington Star*, Mar. 4, 1869; *The National Republican* (Washington, DC), Mar. 2, 1869; and *Alexandria Gazette*, Mar. 4, 1869).

“RELICS OF THE PAST. – Mr. J. G. Pollock informs us that millions of beads are to be found at the Indian mound recently discovered on a bluff where Accokeek empties into Potomac creek – a short distance from where the creek empties into the river. Mr. P. has quite a large strand of beads taken from the spot, and says it appears to have been used as a place of sepulture for old and young, as all-sized bones are found. He obtained a large copper coin, but was unable to trace the representations on it, and Mr. Ashton, who lives close by, saw what resembled a breastpin that had been taken from the mound” (*The Daily Dispatch* (Richmond), April 21, 1869). Note: The Richmond paper copied this from the *Fredericksburg Herald* of Apr. 19, 1869.

Not to be overlooked are the “Messrs. Simpson, Knight, and others, fishermen” who are mentioned in the article titled “Indian Remains.” The Simpson family had been living on Aquia Creek since the 1600s and the Knights are documented in that area for nearly as long. Note that the article describes them as fishermen who were out hunting. Because these families lived on the water, they fished. Like everyone else around them, they hunted. That’s how they put food on their tables. Those activities were requisite to survival—these folks were not Indians because they lived on the water and were hunters and fisherman.

Throughout Virginia’s existence, ancient Indian relics have been discovered in various places and many newspaper articles were published about them. A Richmond newspaper of 1873 reported, “In colonial times King William [County] was occupied by the Mattaponi and Pamunkey tribes of Indians, and a remnant of the latter tribe still linger at Indiantown. The remains of several Indian mounds still exist and Indian relics are occasionally dug up by the farmers. Only the other day an Indian pipe, with a wigwam and other devices curiously carved upon it, was ploughed up on one of the farms” (*The Daily Dispatch* (Richmond), Apr. 12, 1873). Somehow, the writer of this article was aware that the descendants of the pipe’s owner still lived nearby. **Why didn’t the authors of the articles about the Marlborough discovery mention that those buried in the mound had descendants living nearby? Maybe because there weren’t any descendants?**

Moving forward, in 1889, anthropologist James Mooney commenced his study of the descendants of the Powhatan tribes by sending out “1000 circular letters, requesting information in regard to Indian local names, ancient remains, and survivors of pure or mixed Indian origin.” This mailing extended from the Delaware River to the Savannah River (p. 144). In his article titled “The Powhatan Confederacy, Past and Present” that was published in *American Anthropologist*, 1907, the Patawomecks were not included as an existing group. In fact, Mooney mentioned them only twice, both of which referred to John Smith’s count of their warriors in 1607. **If the Patawomecks still existed in 1889, why would Mr. Mooney have failed to include them in his study?**

Repeated, close intermarriages within a limited population are never healthy and must be addressed in order for that group to perpetuate itself. This has certainly been a concern for Native Americans who have tended to live in close communities for hundreds of years. Mere survival requires that they find mates outside of their communities and this is the reason that there are few people today who can claim to be “full-blooded” Indians. In 1894, anthropologist John G. Pollard in his monograph, “The Pamunkey Indians of Virginia,” reported on that tribe’s plan to address the problem. Pollard wrote, “No one who visits the Pamunkey could fail to notice their race pride. Though they would probably acknowledge the whites as their equals they consider the blacks far beneath their social level. Their feeling toward the negro is well illustrated by their recent indignant refusal to accept a colored teacher who was sent them by the superintendent of public instruction to conduct the free school which the State furnishes them. They are exceedingly anxious to keep their blood free from further intermixture with that of other races and how to accomplish this purpose is a serious problem with them as there are few members of the tribe who are not closely related to every other person on the reservation. To obviate this difficulty the chief and councilmen have been attempting to devise a plan by which they can induce immigration from the Cherokee Indians of North Carolina,” p. 11.

The Pamunkey's problem was of great enough concern that a Wisconsin newspaper reported on it stating that the chief of the "Virginia Pamunkey Indians called on Gov. O'Ferrall recently and told him that in the tribe numbering 102 there are only thirty squaws." This was "a source of much worry to them, as they did not wish members of their tribe to marry into another race. He stated that there were about 4,000 Cherokee Indians in North Carolina, and that the Virginia Indians had about determined to send a representative to the old North state to try and induce some of the Cherokee squaws to emigrate to Virginia and marry among the Pamunkeys." The governor hoped the trip "would meet with success" (*Grant County Herald* (Wisconsin), May 23, 1895). **Why didn't the Pamunkeys work out an arrangement with the Patawomecks? They were only a short distance north of the Pamunkey Reservation—far closer than North Carolina.** The Patawomeck's former "tribal historian," William L. Deyo, mentioned "our Patawomeck Tribe and its strong connection to the Pamunkey Indians" in his article titled "Our Patawomeck Ancestors" (p. 6 of the "genealogies" posted on the PITV website). **What strong connection?** The Pamunkeys don't seem to have considered choosing mates from the nearby Patawomecks in 1894/95 and Pollard, who studied and wrote about the Pamunkeys, didn't mention the Patawomecks.

As you can see from the information thus far presented, we were unable to find any evidence of the Patawomecks during the whole of the 19th century. As previously noted, they disappeared from the 17th century records after the mid-1660s. In 1724, Rev. Alexander Scott said there were no Indians here and we found no primary source documentation to contradict him. **Now we are unable to find any mention of them in the 19th century.** Our next emails will focus on the 20th century and will include information about what the surviving tribes of the Powhatan Confederacy were accomplishing during that period. We will also share with you what the residents of White Oak were doing.

As always, please feel free to question, comment, or correct us with any documentation we may have missed. We continue to offer an open invitation to anyone who can provide primary source documents pertaining to this subject that we may have overlooked.

More to come!

Sincerely,

Rick and Jerrilynn MacGregor

#### **#4—Feb. 15, 2023—20<sup>th</sup> century, re-formation**

Dear Dr. Yeung and Members of the Board:

Having now shared with you the historical records for the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, it's time to address the 20th century. Despite our sincere efforts to weed out all but the most vital elements of this discussion, there is such a mass of information for the 20th century that we will have to break it down into manageable-sized servings.

In this installment, we will share with you a collection of documents spanning from 1899 to 1931 that show the remnants of the Powhatan tribes, those with or without reservations, reorganizing themselves, setting up Indian associations, electing chiefs, making appearances in parades and

other celebrations, many of which were open to the public. These groups were NOT hiding in an effort to avoid racial discrimination. They were loudly proclaiming their existence to the rest of the world. **Where were the Patawomecks? They could have been working jointly with the other Virginia tribes all of whom could have supported each other's efforts.**

Not long before D. P. Newton passed away in 2019, Jerrilynn and I had a pleasant visit with him and a long chat. Eventually, the conversation turned to the Patawomecks. D. P. said, "Ricky, weren't no Indians in White Oak when I was growing up. Now they're everywhere." I knew D.P. was right. There weren't any Indians in Stafford when I was growing up, either, because of what I had learned from my grandparents, great grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, friends, at school, and at church – not to mention that I'm related to quite a few of those who now claim to be Indians. D. P. said that if he survived the cancer he was battling he was going to try to address the matter. I told him I would help him. D. P. lost his fight, but I'm keeping the promise I made to him.

As we begin, please keep in mind that the 17th century Patawomecks were part of the Powhatan Confederacy, a group of approximately eighteen affiliated tribes. Many of these disappeared over time, but a few survived. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, several of these surviving tribal groups set about to reorganize themselves and gain recognition by the state of Virginia. Let's explore some of their activities.

**1899**—"Virginia Indians Want to Exhibit at Paris. The tribe of Pamunkey Indians, who live on a reservation twenty-five miles below Richmond, through their chief, W. T. Bradley, known as "Great Diver" will send a committee of several of their council, to make an official call upon Governor Tyler to tell of their grievances. One of the principal matters to be brought to Governor Tyler's attention will be the appeal of the tribe to have suitable representation at the Paris Exposition. They want the State to give them financial aid to enable them to send over a creditable company to produce a play representing the saving of Capt. John Smith's life by Pocahontas. It is understood that the cast of characters has already been selected. Among these who it is proposed will take part are Dead Shot Panther, Big Smoker, and Lone Trailer, all of whom occupy high official places in the council of the tribe" (*Free Lance*, July 13, 1899).

**1907**—Anthropologist James Mooney named the Pamunkey, Mattaponi, Nansemond, and Chickahominy as Powhatan survivors. He also mentioned several other "small groups or detached families of mixed-blood stock of the same Powhatan origin, numbering altogether possibly 120 souls." Some of these resided on the Mattapony River in King William; a second group south of the Rappahannock River in Essex County that he believed to be the descendants of the old Nantaughtacund Tribe. A third small group lived at the head of Pocason River in York County. A fifth group lived at Gloucester Point and another near Accomac Courthouse (Mooney, pp. 147-152). **Where were the Patawomecks?**

**1908**—"Chickahominy effected a citizen Indian organization under William H. Adkins" and have been "strengthening their position and numbers as well as their tribal consciousness" (Speck, *Ethnology*, pp. 277, 278).

**1910**—U. S. Census—“Even the liberal 1910 U. S. Census doesn’t list any of them [members of the White Oak community] as Indian – and that’s a census in which almost anybody who told the enumerator ‘Indian’ got listed as such” (Rountree, email communication, Feb. 1, 2022).

**1913**—“Virginia Indians at Fair. Pamunkey Indians from the reservation twenty miles from Richmond are to come to the state fair and take part in the entertainment of the public. They have arranged to portray Pocahontas saving the life of Capt. John Smith, and for some time they have been engaged in rehearsing that production...The Indians are only about one hundred strong, have their own schools and are given to much the same life as their ancestors – hunting, fishing, trapping and acting as guides for fishermen who go to that section on trips” (*Evening Star* (Washington, DC), Sept. 28, 1913).

**1919**—“In 1919 they effected an organization which has since been incorporated under the laws of Virginia as The Rappahannock Indian Association. They maintain friendly relations with the Pamunkey, Mattaponi, and Chickahominy, and visit back and forth among these bands, with whom, to a slight extent, they intermarried in the past” (Speck, Rappahannock, p. 38). **Where were the Patawomecks?**

**1921**—“MD. Indians In Association...The 200 or more descendants of the once great tribe of Nanticoke Indians have announced the completion of the Nanticoke Indian Association. Fifty signers to the charter completed the organization at this little place so replete with associations for that tribe. The association, probably the only one of its kind in the country, elected these officers: Chief, W. Russell Clarke; assistant chief, E. L. Harmon; secretary, Mrs. E. A. Johnson; treasurer, W. H. Johnson; council, Warren Wright, Clinton Johnson, Frederick Clark; field agent, Isaac Johnson. The object of the association is to secure recognition as descendants of the Nanticoke tribe and obtain social benefits held due them as such, separate schools and church, which they already have in some measure and wish to maintain” (*Evening Journal* (Wilmington, DE), Dec. 19, 1921). *Note: The Nanticoke lived on the Eastern Shore and extended into Delaware, but they were affiliated with the Powhatan Confederacy.*

**1921**—“Indians Assert Rights...The Rappahannock Indians, once the terror of Virginia colonists and later constituting the only monarchy within the confines of the United States, have asked the state to grant them a charter for a quasi-republic. The charter was prepared for the tribe by a member of the Philadelphia bar and an artist of this city has been commissioned to design a seal which will be used by the reorganized tribe...Of the many tribes under the control of old Powhatan in 1620, there are at least five still represented by descendants, even though their names have been almost forgotten...The surviving members of the tribe will be incorporated under the name of ‘The Rappahannock Indian Association,’ thus reviving an Indian tribal name which has been out of use for almost two centuries” (*Washington Herald*, Mar. 27, 1921). **Where were the Patawomecks?**

**1921**—“Indians to Parade. Lending a touch of color and uniqueness to the Foch Day parade, the several tribes of Indians in Virginia will march in Wednesday’s pageant, if negotiations being conducted by Governor Westmoreland Davis are successful. It is purposed by the State’s chief executive to have the Chickahominy and Pamunkey tribes of red men assigned a special place in

the parade, to march in full war dress” (*Richmond Times-Dispatch*, Nov. 18, 1921). **Where were the Patawomecks?**

**1922**—“Indians in Virginia Hold Annual Fish Fry. Many Officials Attend Feast of Tribes – Flag Raising Exercises Feature. The annual fish fry and picnic of the three original tribes of Virginia Indians, the Chickahominy, the Pamunkey and Mattaponi, the reservations of which are located near the mouths of the rivers for which they are named, was held on the fishing grounds of the Chickahominy tribe, near Windsor Shades, several days ago. Large representations from each tribe, including the wives and children, were present. Many prominent men and women of the various departments of the state government and a delegation from the Order of Red Men also attended. After the crowd had assembled, Chief Adkins of the Chickahominy tribe, called for the song ‘America,’ which was followed by the raising of a large United States flag...Fried fish, catfish chowder, turtle soup, fried chicken and cool lemonade were served” (*Evening Star*, Aug. 3, 1922). **Where were the Patawomecks?**

**1922**—“Nanticoke Indian Association Observes First Anniversary” (*Evening Journal* (Wilmington, DE), Dec. 8, 1922).

**1923**—“During Mooney’s contact with the Powhatan enclaves he frequently had occasion to think of the Adamstown people, and in 1907 he noted their existence in the following terms referring to the detached bands of Powhatan origin scattered through the tidewater counties...Having been recognized for many years as Indians by the state school authorities, the Adamstown people have always been allowed a separate school. At present (1923) they are effecting an Indian organization like the other awakening Powhatan divisions” (Speck, *Ethnology*, p. 266). **Why weren’t the Patawomecks amongst “the other awakening Powhatan divisions?”**

**1923**—“The descendants organized a Nansemond Indian Association with 58 enrolled members to cooperate with the other organized bodies of Indians in their state” (Speck, *Ethnology*, p. 279).

**1923**—“The number forming the body known as the Rappahannock Indian Association embraced only some 200 who were carrying over the name and tradition of the old tribe. They were led by Chief George L. Nelson, who was very active in matters of Indian reconstruction in Virginia” (Speck, *Ethnology*, p. 281). **Where were the Patawomecks during this “Indian reconstruction in Virginia?”**

**1924**—Walter Plecker’s “Act to Preserve Racial Integrity” forced the categorization of every Virginia resident as either black or white. Indians were automatically designated as black, which resulted in their children being forced to attend schools set aside for black students. Article 5 of the Act made an exception for whites who had one-sixteenth Indian blood because many influential whites claimed descent from Pocahontas. This became known as the “Pocahontas Clause.”

**1925**—Dr. Speck includes a footnote, “This small band, which, for the want of actual identity, we **may** call Potomac, is engaged in farming and fishing. A few articles of home manufacture and some folklore **may** later, when better known, establish the **supposition** with more certainty



that the ethnology of the Potomac region was in general somewhat more uniform with that of the Nanticoke and Conoy” (Speck, Rappahannock, p. 35).

**1928**—Dr. Speck spent one night with Luther Newton in White Oak and mentioned that in his monograph, “Ethnology of the Powhatan Tribes.” His brief description of his stay included, “**We have not, however, clear proof** that these descendants are actually of Potomac identity, although they now bear the name...At present the Potomac group still remains unstudied. As usual, considerable folklore and some ethnological survivals may be expected to reward the labor of the patient investigator” (Speck, *Ethnology*, pp. 282-283). While Speck spent years patiently studying other Powhatan groups/tribes, he did not expend that same energy on the “Potomac band.” Speck added to his monograph, “Several other bands of Powhatan descendants are waiting to be explored, about whom we now know practically nothing more than the mere fact of their location and family names. Some of them still have independent schools and do not associate with colored people in school or church” (emphasis added by this writer) (Speck, *Ethnology*, pp. 284-285). In an email to us, Dr. Helen Rountree wrote, “The first time the group [Patawomecks] appears after 1666 is in 1928: Dr. Frank Speck’s mention of them in his monograph. I’ve gone through his papers, up in Philadelphia, and ‘Potomacs’ are not mentioned in any of them. In 1970, I hunted up the daughter of his main informant, Luther Newton. She told me that Speck stayed exactly one night at their house (she remembered seeing him) and she also insisted that none of her kinfolks had, in her lifetime, ever claimed to be Indian. N.B.: Even the liberal 1910 U. S. Census doesn’t list any of them as Indian – and that’s a census in which almost anybody who told the enumerator ‘Indian’ got listed as such” (Rountree, email communication, Feb. 1, 2022).

In his very brief stay in White Oak, Speck procured 1 woven white oak splint basket made by Luther Newton; 2 wooden fishnet shuttles; and 1 woven white oak splint eel trap, all of which he subsequently sold to the Smithsonian. We will address these eel traps in a future email. Speck’s publications abound with drawings, photographs, and detailed descriptions and explanations of cultural items that he collected during his visits with other Powhatan tribes. The above four items that he gathered while in White Oak are not mentioned or photographed in his monograph. We believe this to be significant.

**1929**—“Virginia Indians Wed at D. C. Ceremony. Two real, ‘first families of Virginia’ were united by marriage here yesterday when William Custalow and Elsie Nelson, members of the Mattaponi and Rappahannock tribes, respectively, appeared before Judge Robert E. Mattingly, in Municipal Court, to be married. Both the bridegroom and the bride are members of the families of tribal chieftains. Custalow, who is 27 years old, is the son of Chief George F. Custalow, of the Mattaponi Indians, who are living on a tribal reservation, pay no taxes and do not vote. The bride, however, is a daughter of Chief Otho Nelson, of the Rappahannocks, ‘citizen Indians,’ who pay taxes and vote and everything. Mrs. Custalow is 21 years old.” They left the judge’s chambers, but “They soon returned, however, to have their certificate marked ‘Indians,’ and after that was done they left” (*Washington Times*, Aug. 7, 1929).

**1931**—“Final preparations have been completed for the Yorktown Sesquicentennial. The celebration will open tomorrow. Chief O. W. Adkins, king of the Virginia Indian Confederacy, will head a group of Virginia Indians in one of the pageants” (*Washington Times*, Oct. 14, 1931).

## **Where were the Patowomecks? Why weren't they part of the Virginia Indian Confederacy?**

As always, please feel free to question, comment, or correct us with any documentation we may have missed. We continue to offer an open invitation to anyone who can provide primary source documents pertaining to this subject that we may have overlooked.

There's still more great material to come!

Sincerely,  
Rick and Jerrilynn MacGregor

## **#5—Feb. 17, 2023—Tribal Continuity**

Dear Dr. Yeung and Members of the Board:

In today's email, we are going to temporarily break from our timeline format in order to take a look at the critical matter of "tribal continuity." Our previous communications have been setting the stage for this.

Being recognized as an Indian tribe requires (or should require) proof that "the group's members have retained a specifically Indian identity through time" and that they have been recognized as such by local "non-Indians" (Virginia Tribal Recognition Criteria, 2006). In other words, they must have documentary evidence that they have identified within their own group as Indians and that nearby "non-Indian" communities have also viewed them as such – throughout history. Entities such as the Virginia Council on Indians (VCI) and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) require proof of tribal continuity as part of the recognition process.

The "Tribal Recognition Criteria" and Dr. Rountree's "Guidelines for Preparing a Tribal Recognition Case in Virginia" both express an understanding that finding early Indian records in Virginia to support a recognition petition can be difficult, yet sufficient documentation must be presented in order to prove that the petitioning group existed as a known tribe throughout history. Oral history and "knowing who we are" cannot substitute for paper documentation (Rountree, "Guidelines," p. 1). Documents that may provide this proof include:

--Colonial, local, state, or federal records that show that the group, or individual members of it, were identified as Indian or as their ancestral tribe; ideally, this kind of identification should be continuous from early historical times to the present. Examples of acceptable records include official land records such as deeds, surveys, and tax records that mention such things as "Indian land," "Indian Town," "Indian School," "Indian Church," or documents/entries from official records that include the specific name of the tribe. Deeds of trust, and court order books may also be of help.

--Documents relative to the formal organization of a group corporation, school, church, or other such institution, if that institution included the word "Indian" or a tribal name. "Records showing that the group either had or attempted to organize a school for its children, separate

from the white and black ones, are a strong argument for an ethnic identity distinct from those of the neighbors. Getting such a school with county funding is an argument for the neighbors agreeing that the group was neither white nor black” (Rountree, “Guidelines for Preparing a Tribal Recognition Case in Virginia”, p. 2). Community cemeteries may also provide supporting evidence, about which Dr. Rountree states, “Until the Civil Rights Era, whites, blacks, and Indians tended to bury their dead in separate cemeteries (often adjacent to their separate churches)” (Rountree, “Guidelines”, p. 1). *Note: With regard to the existence of Indian schools and churches in White Oak, Dr. Rountree informed us, “Robert Green also told me (reluctantly) that the group members attended neighborhood churches and schools – which isn’t at all the same as a third-race community struggling for and getting their own tribal churches and schools”* (Rountree, email communication, Feb. 3, 2022).

--Documentary evidence of the group’s members identifying themselves as “Indians” among themselves, such as correspondence; diaries; family Bible entries; birth certificates showing a significant number of babies were given traditional “Indian” names; marriage and death certificates; newspaper obituaries that show an “Indian” identity, etc.

--Census records noting that certain individuals within the group were Indians. These records are unpredictable because the enumerators were not always consistent in their ideas concerning racial identity. *Note: A special effort was made in the 1910 U. S. Census to determine the identities of Indians and pretty much anyone who wanted to be identified as an Indian could do so* (Rountree, email communication, Feb. 1, 2022).

--Genealogical proof that the current members of the petitioning group actually descend from the historic tribe. *Note: We will address the matter of Patowomeck genealogy in a future email.*

As is evident from the above, for the most part, Indian groups long tended to stay to themselves. We were curious to know how isolated the PITV (Patowomeck Indian Tribe of Virginia) had been over the years. As a part of her research in Stafford, Jerrilynn has been collecting the names of elected and appointed officials here for at least the last thirty years. She has also collected the names of people who fulfilled various other functions in the county. We have attached to this email a list of White Oak residents who held elected or appointed positions in Stafford County between 1665 and 1947. (We also tossed in the names of those running taverns; selling liquor; who were included on the mid-18th century voter lists; serving as postmasters; signers of two 18th century Virginia Legislative Petitions; slave owners in 1784, 1790, and 1830; and those who were members of the Falmouth and Fredericksburg Masonic Lodges.) We selected those names based upon former “tribal historian” William L. Deyo’s “genealogies” posted on the PITV website. The attached list contains approximately 220 names, far too many to simply imbed in this email. A few of these folks also held state-level elected offices. *Note: We stopped collecting the names in 1947 because that was the year William E. Curtis ended his tenure as Stafford County Sheriff. (He was replaced by my grandfather, Alaric R. MacGregor, Sr.) Mr. Curtis is supposed to have descended from Ontonah, one of the alleged survivors of the alleged 1666 massacre.*

Keep in mind that the PITV claims they had to hide their Indian heritage, especially after Walter Plecker’s “Act to Preserve Racial Integrity.” After sharing the attached list with Dr. Rountree

recently, her comment was, “I have a hard time believing that ANY of those White Oakers during the Jim Crow Era would’ve been elected to any county office whatever if the larger county population had had any inkling that they were ‘Indians.’ I know that in Charles City Co., the only time any Indian-descended persons holding such positions got them [was] during Reconstruction” (Rountree, email communication, Feb. 2, 2023). **In our opinion, the attached list shows that the White Oak residents, whose descendants now claim to be Indians, were fully integrated and participating citizens of the Stafford community. We find no evidence of them having been a subset of the population that suffered from racial discrimination and that were forced into hiding as the PITV so often claims.**

Major gaps in the records for tribal continuity matter. Dr. Rountree said of them, “Gaps like that are standard procedure for wannabes, and to me, they’re a big, flapping red flag. Thus my response to the ‘Patawomecks’ gap between 1666 and 1928” (Rountree, email communication, Feb. 4, 2022). Additionally, there is another gap (or simply a continuation of the first one) from 1928 to 1995 that will be discussed in a future email. Our first four emails presented the historical records relative to the Patawomecks and other Virginia Indians that we succeeded in uncovering. Unless someone can bridge this 329-year gap we do not see how the group can prove tribal continuity from the colonial period to the present. It was this lack of documentation for tribal continuity that forced the VCI to table the PITV’s petitions in 1997 and 1998 (Rountree, “Recognition Cases in Virginia, 1981 – 2000”, p. 4-5).

To be fair, we must address the fact that Dr. Speck did refer to the group he visited in White Oak as the “Potomac band,” but we have been unable to discover where he heard that name. As we mentioned in our fourth email, Dr. Rountree found no mention of the Potomacs in Speck’s papers, which she personally studied in Philadelphia (Rountree, email communication, Feb. 1, 2022). Perhaps that reflects the fact that he spent only one night investigating the group. Further, as you noticed in our Feb. 15 mailing, we found no documentation after 1928 pertaining to or mentioning the Potomacs/Patawomecks.

Based upon our research, Dr. Speck seems to have been the only one who used that name. If he heard it from someone else, he didn’t disclose his source and we’ve been unable to find it.

Perhaps the most revealing evidence of a lack of continuity is found in Chief Robert Green’s letter to members of the “Patawomeck Indians of Virginia.” Dated Feb. 16, 1998, the opening line reads, “The time has finally arrived for the first tribal meeting of the Patawomeck Indians in 350+ years.” **What does this say about tribal continuity?**

The two documents upon which the PITV places much of their reliance are Speck’s *Chapters on the Ethnology of the Powhatan Tribes of Virginia* (1928) and an anthropological research paper written in 2009 titled “The Watermen of White Oak & The Patawomeck Tribe.” We certainly have not exhausted our comments on Speck’s writings but, by now, you have a sense of what we have to say about them. The second resource mentioned above is an undergraduate research paper that reported on anthropological investigations in White Oak that were conducted by William Clark Foster while he was a student at the College of William & Mary.

Should you have any interest in reading Mr. Foster's 59-page paper for yourself, you will find it at scholarworks.wm.edu or on the PITV website where a link to the paper is listed in the "Resources" section. The citation for this resource is: Foster, William Clark. "The Watermen of White Oak & The Patowomeck Tribe." Williamsburg, Virginia: College of William & Mary, Apr. 28, 2009.

Mr. Foster's paper is pertinent to this current discussion because of the many inconsistencies he found in the attitudes of those he interviewed and of those he wanted to interview, but felt he was denied access to. Keep in mind that this was an undergraduate student, young and, as he himself noted, a conscious effort was made on the part of his "host" to limit his contact to carefully selected members of the White Oak community. It's important to note what he said on page 50, "In Spring of 2008, I was able to meet Chief Robert Green and Assistant Chief Gary Cooke when they visited the College to speak at a senior seminar, further strengthening my desire to carry out fieldwork in the community." That set the stage for another statement on page 30, "The community *is* [WCF's emphasis] descended from the historic Patowomeck; this is not a point that anyone would be right to contend." So, at the outset of his investigations, he was operating under the **assumption** that the people with whom he was going to be working were, indeed, Indians. He used pseudonyms for the people he interviewed, but we know the identities of most of them. His "PITV host, Gary" carefully selected who Mr. Foster could talk to and steered him away from others that the young man wanted to interview. As you read through the sections of his paper that I have quoted below, you will understand why the dichotomy between those who did NOT support what they called the "Indian Thing" and those who did concerned him to the point that he felt it necessary to write an addendum in an effort to explain it.

### **Selected Quotes from "The Watermen of White Oak & the Patowomeck Tribe" by William Clark Foster**

p. 1—"While the Patowomeck Tribe, reformed in March 1995 under the leadership of Robert "Two Eagles" Green, may find some of the information I have collected and presented here useful toward furthering their pursuit of state recognition as an Indian tribe, this research was never intended to assist directly in the pursuit of a political goal."

p. 1—The tribe "boasts over 500 enrolled members today, though not every individual who is eligible for Tribal membership has chosen to enroll."

p. 2—"Though many of the Tribe's members worked as watermen at some point in their lives, they have had difficulty engaging currently active watermen and convincing them to enroll."

p. 7—"While in the field, I saw with clarity a divided community; there seemed to be disagreement or dispute between the oldest men and the active watermen on one side, and the Tribe and its constituent members on the other, with regard to the community's Indian identity and the purpose or legitimacy of the Tribe itself. I found myself constrained in my ability to cross from one camp into the other, however, and struggled to exert necessary control over my primary informant."

p. 8—"Nonetheless, to study the watermen, who seemed at best unsure of how they fit into the process of tribal reorganization...proved predictably problematic. Unfortunately, there was no

way for me to anticipate this problem, as the Tribe's rocky relationship with the active watermen and Gary's leading role in tribal matters were unknown to me prior to my arrival in the field. Looking back on the earliest phases of my research, I see the warning signs. At the time, though, I simply didn't know what I was looking at, and this problematic potentiality of limited data channels slipped by me unnoticed."

p. 9—"Why do some individuals who identify as watermen enroll in the Tribe while others don't?"

p. 11-12—"Regrettably, I may never know how many active watermen chose not to speak with me as a result of my relationship with the Tribe, or what they might have been able to tell me had the opportunity become available."

p. 16—"Today, the old men's knowledge of the 'old times' will not be used to strengthen 'White Oak', a community they know and have been raised to love, but rather to bolster and buttress a newly formalized [*emphasis added by this writer*], and in a sense, unfamiliar community: The Patawomeck Tribe. As tribal reorganization moves forward, a new, community-wide identity [*emphasis added by this writer*] is taking shape. 'The Indian thing,' that is, their shared descent from an indigenous group, though certainly known by all of the community members, did not serve as the community's overarching vision of group identity until only very recently [*emphasis added by this writer*]."

p. 17—"There is another debate underway in White Oak, however, that lies just below the surface. Research carried out by previous students indicates that there were, and are, members of the broader White Oak community who, while related by blood to enrolled tribal members and thus eligible for membership, have refused to step forward and enroll themselves. This issue has not been directly or adequately investigated; it is, however, a very real and anthropologically noteworthy one."

p. 18—"For others, though, including all of the eldest men I spoke with, the 'Indian thing' was rarely mentioned, and when my questioning vis-a-vis the community's indigenous past became more direct, their equivocality became all the more marked and measured."

p. 26—"J. B.'s (DP Newton) exhibit illustrates the deep history of fishing and crabbing in the community, but the disengagement of today's active watermen with the Tribe undermines the claim, no matter how true-to-life it may be."

p. 28-29—"However, not once in the field did I hear a present or former waterman refer to himself as a 'Patawomeck waterman' as Chief Green does above. The men who utilized this terminology were those who had long since set aside their nets and traps in lieu of other forms of employment, or in some cases, had never been watermen in any capacity."

p. 30—"The community *is* [WCF's emphasis] descended from the historic Patawomeck; this is not a point that anyone would be right to contend."

p. 32—"This is the thread that connects the old men of today, who by and large refuse to participate in tribal reformation efforts, and contemporary watermen who, again, by and large, do the same."

p. 33—“In White Oak, however, there is a dispute regarding whether tradition is truly in need of protection, and more fundamentally, what the community’s tradition really is.”

p. 50—“In Spring of 2008, I was able to meet Chief Robert Green and Assistant Chief Gary Cooke when they visited the College to speak at a senior seminar, further strengthening my desire to carry out fieldwork in the community.”

p. 52—“Throughout this process, however, I became aware of some complications. First, the oldest men, those 80 years old or more, spoke of the ‘Indian Thing,’ as they called it, in a very different fashion than the younger men, even 15 years their junior, did...Most of the currently active watermen were not enrolled in the Patowomeck Tribe. However, with the Tribe as my host and liaison, it proved extremely difficult to engage these active watermen, or frankly, get in touch with them at all, or to delve into *why* the eldest men did not situate themselves relative to their Indian heritage in the same way as the younger generation.”

Our comment: Throughout the fieldwork that culminated in this paper, Foster recognized that his PITV host “Gary” was very selective in who he allowed him talk to. During the summer of 2008, Foster’s visits to White Oak were carefully choreographed and designed to support the legitimacy of the “tribe,” which at this time was about two years away from obtaining state recognition. He also noticed that a significant number of the White Oak residents did not believe the “Indian thing” (p. 52) was real, nor had they joined the “tribe.” Foster’s addendum attempted to explain why this was so, but he was operating under the belief, “The community *is* descended from the historic Patowomeck; this is not a point that anyone would be right to contend” (p.30). In the addendum, he notes that the older White Oak residents were less likely to claim to be Indians than the younger ones. This seems backwards to us. We would have expected the old ones to have had stronger ties than the younger ones to their supposed historical roots and the oral history that was claimed to have been passed down to them by their own grandparents. Foster recognized the warning signs, commented on them frequently throughout the course of his paper, yet failed to understand their significance. It is our opinion that the PITV was not being “reformed” (p.1) from an earlier Indian tribe, but was being newly formed from the ground up, claiming ties to indigenous people who had disappeared centuries ago.

As always, please feel free to question, comment, or correct us with any documentation we may have missed. We continue to offer an open invitation to anyone who can provide primary source documents pertaining to this subject that we may have overlooked.

We still have lots more to share!

Sincerely,  
Rick and Jerrilynn MacGregor

**Attachment to this email:****White Oakers Who Held Elected or Appointed Positions  
in Stafford County, 1665 Through 1947**

*Note: The family names included in this list are drawn from William L. Deyo's "genealogies" that are posted on the PITV website. This listing does NOT include the more than 200 White Oakers who served in the Stafford County militia between 1790 and 1853. These additional names can be provided upon request. Nor did we take the time to look at the King George County records to see what members of these same families held positions in that jurisdiction. This information shows that these families were fully integrated and participating citizens of Stafford County and the state of Virginia, which is NOT typical of Indian groups elsewhere.*

1665	Henry Meese	County Lieutenant, Ferry Operator
1666	Henry Meese	Justice, Burgess, Ferry Operator
1667	Henry Meese	Justice, Burgess, Overwharton Parish Vestryman
	Col. Peter Ashton	Justice
	John Ashton	Court-appointed Commissioner of Accounts
1668	Henry Meese	Justice, Burgess
1669	Henry Meese	Burgess
1680	John Ashton	Justice
1690	Joseph Newton	Overseer of the Road
	John Waugh, Jr.	Overseer of the Road
	Benjamin Newton	Served on a jury
	David Waugh	Served on a jury
1691	Joseph Newton	Served on a jury
1692	John West	Justice
	Joseph Newton	Served on a jury
	Richard Bryant	Served on a jury
1699	John Waugh, Jr.	Justice
1701	Thomas Gilson	Justice (married Elizabeth Newton)
	John Waugh, Jr.	Sheriff
	John West	Justice
1702	John Waugh, Jr.	Justice
1703	Dade Massey	Sheriff (married Rose (Grigsby) Newton)
1704	John Waugh, Jr.	One of four court-appointed men to review county's financial records
1705	Joseph Waugh	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1706	John Grigsby	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1707	Benjamin Newton	Appointed by county court to divide estate of William King
1710	John Waugh, Jr.	Burgess
1711	John Waugh, Jr.	Burgess
1712	John Waugh, Jr.	Burgess
1713	John Waugh, Jr.	Burgess
1714	John Waugh, Jr.	Burgess, Coroner, Tobacco Inspector
	John West	Coroner
1725	Joseph Waugh	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1726	Robert Alexander	Justice (mother was Priscilla Ashton)



1729	Thomas Grigsby	Justice
1731	Thomas Grigsby	Sheriff
1733	Joseph Waugh	Court-appointed estate appraiser
	John Waugh	Court-appointed estate appraiser
	David Waugh	Court-appointed estate appraiser
	James Waugh	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1734	Philip Alexander	Justice (mother was Sarah Ashton)
1735	Thomas Grigsby	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1736	James Waugh	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1737	William Redman	Court-appointed estate appraiser
	Charles Grigsby	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1738	John Waugh	Justice
	John Grigsby	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1739	John Waugh	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1740	John Waugh	Deputy Clerk of Court
	William Grigsby	Court-appointed estate appraiser
	James Grigsby	Court-appointed estate appraiser
	John Grigsby	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1741	David Waugh	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1742	James Waugh	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1743	David Waugh	Court-appointed estate appraiser
	William Grigsby	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1745	Mott Doniphan	Sheriff, Overwharton Parish Vestryman
	James Waugh	Justice, Overwharton Parish Vestryman
1746	Mott Doniphan	Justice
	James Waugh	Justice
1747	Mott Doniphan	Justice
	James Waugh	Justice
1749	Mott Doniphan	Justice
	James Waugh	Justice, Coroner
	James Waugh	Ordered to try the weights at Cave's Tobacco Warehouse
1750	Mott Doniphan	Justice
	James Waugh	Sheriff, Church Warden (Overwharton Parish)
	Moses Grigsby	Served on a jury
	William Grigsby	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1751	Mott Doniphan	Justice
	Solomon Waugh	Served on a jury
1752	Mott Doniphan	Justice
	David Waugh	Served on a jury, Court-appointed estate appraiser
	Solomon Waugh	Served on a jury
	John Grigsby	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1753	Mott Doniphan	Justice
	Moses Grigsby	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1754	Gowry Waugh	Served on a jury
	William Porch	Served on a jury
1755	Mott Doniphan	Justice

	Gowry Waugh	Justice
	Moses Grigsby	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1756	Mott Doniphan	Justice
1756	James Grigsby	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1757	Mott Doniphan	Justice, Overwharton Parish Vestryman
1758	Mott Doniphan	Justice
	Gowry Waugh	Justice
1759	Mott Doniphan	Justice
1761	Capt. William Newton	Tobacco Inspector at Falmouth Warehouse
1762	Mott Doniphan	Justice
	Solomon Waugh	Court-appointed estate appraiser
	William Bourne	Court-appointed estate appraiser
	Peter Jett	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1764	Thomas Porch	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1765	Gowry Waugh	Justice
	Capt. William Newton	Tobacco Inspector at Falmouth Warehouse
1766	Gowry Waugh	Justice
	Capt. William Newton	Tobacco Inspector at Falmouth Warehouse
1767	Gowry Waugh	Justice
	Capt. William Newton	Tobacco Inspector at Falmouth Warehouse
1768	Gowry Waugh	Justice
	Capt. William Newton	Tobacco Inspector at Falmouth Warehouse
1769	Gowry Waugh	Justice
	Capt. William Newton	Tobacco Inspector at Falmouth Warehouse
1770	Capt. William Newton	Tobacco Inspector at Falmouth Warehouse
1771	Capt. William Newton	Tobacco Inspector at Falmouth Warehouse
1772	Gowry Waugh	Justice
	Capt. William Newton	Tobacco Inspector at Falmouth Warehouse
1773	Gowry Waugh	Justice
	Capt. William Newton	Tobacco Inspector at Falmouth Warehouse
1778	Thomas Jett	Virginia State Senator <sup>1</sup>
	Jonathan Finnal	Assistant Tobacco Inspector at Cave's Warehouse (married a daughter of Thomas Monteith)
1779	Thomas Jett	Virginia State Senator
1780	Francis Jett	Tobacco Inspector at Dixon's Warehouse
1781	Gowry Waugh	Justice
	Raleigh T. Brown	Justice (married Million Waugh)
	Francis Jett	Tobacco Inspector at Falmouth Warehouse
1786	John Ashton	Court-appointed estate commissioner
1787	Francis Jett	Tobacco Inspector at Falmouth Warehouse
1789	John Curtis	Deputy Sheriff
	Francis Jett	Tobacco Inspector at Falmouth Warehouse
1790	John Curtis	Deputy Sheriff
	William Jett	Constable, Tobacco Inspector at Falmouth Warehouse
	Jonathan Finnall	Court-appointed estate commissioner

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Jett was also sheriff and a justice in King George County for many years.

	George L. Waugh	Court-appointed estate commissioner
	Samuel Hudson	Served on a jury
	William Jett	Served on a jury
	Darby Sullivan	Served on a jury
1791	William Jett	Constable, Tobacco Inspector at Falmouth Warehouse
	Isaac Newton	Court Commissioner, Assessor of Lands
	Elisha Grigsby	Served on a jury
1792	John Newton	Served on a jury
	Thomas Newton	Served on a jury
1793	Thomas Porch	Served on a jury
	George Curtis	Served on a jury
1794	Isaac Newton	Court-appointed estate commissioner
1797	Joel Mason	Court-appointed estate commissioner (married Sarah Bourne)
1800	Isaac Newton	One of five Presidential Electors
1807	Joel Mason	Justice, Court-appointed estate commissioner
1808	Joel Mason	Justice, Court-appointed estate commissioner
1809	Elijah Curtis	Court-appointed estate appraiser
	Thornton Curtis	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1810	Joel Mason	Justice
	Isaac Newton	Justice
	Edward Shelton	Constable
	Jonas Sullivan	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1811	Joel Mason	Justice, Court-appointed estate commissioner
	Edward Shelton	Constable
1812	John P. Bowen	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1813	John P. Bowen	Court-appointed estate commissioner
	Isaac Newton	Court-appointed estate appraiser
1814	John P. Bowen	Court-appointed estate commissioner
1815	John P. Bowen	Court-appointed estate commissioner
1817	Edward Shelton	Constable
1820	James Roberson	Court-appointed estate commissioner
	John P. Bowen	Court-appointed estate commissioner
1826	Walter H. Finnall	Court-appointed estate commissioner
1831	George Curtis	Overseen of the Roads
1832	Thornton Curtis	Constable
	Raleigh T. Brown, Jr.	Overseer of the Roads (mother was Million Waugh)
1833	Fielding Peyton	Constable (married Mary Jane Curtis)
1834	Fielding Peyton	Constable
	Charles Peyton	Overseer of the Roads
	William Bryant	Overseer of the Roads
	Eastham Coppage	Overseer of the Roads (married Marian Curtis)
	Thomas Monteith	Constable
	James Monteith	Overseer of the Roads
	Thornton Shelton	Overseer of the Roads
	Jesse Payne	Overseer of the Roads (married Sarah Curtis)
1835	Fielding Peyton	Overseer of the Roads

1841	Burkett Pratt Bowen	Justice (mother was Elizabeth Curtis)
1844	Burkett P. Bowen	Justice
1846	Burkett P. Bowen	Justice, School Commissioner
1847	Burkett P. Bowen	Justice, School Commissioner
1848	Burkett P. Bowen	School Commissioner, Overseer of the Poor
1849	Burkett P. Bowen	School Commissioner
	Thompson J. Sullivan	Overseer of Streets in Falmouth
1850	Burkett P. Bowen	Justice, School Trustee
	Arthur F. Clift	Overseer of the Roads
	Simeon C. Peyton	Overseer of the Roads (mother was a Chinn)
1851	Burkett P. Bowen	Justice
1852	Arthur F. Clift	Justice
1853	Arthur F. Clift	Justice, Crier of Elections
	James Monteith	Constable
	John Newton	Crier of Elections
	James G. Rowe	Crier of Elections
	Charles H. Roberson	Overseer of the Roads
	William Sullivan	Overseer of the Roads
1854	Arthur F. Clift	Justice
	James Monteith	Sheriff
	Walter M. Cox	Constable
	Simeon C. Peyton	Constable
	Isaac Fines	Crier of Elections
	John E. Green	Overseer of the Roads (married Parthenia Newton)
1855	Arthur F. Clift	Justice
	James Monteith	Sheriff
	Walter M. Cox	Deputy Sheriff
1856	John G. Rowe	Justice
	Arthur F. Clift	Justice
	James Monteith	Sheriff
	John S. Monteith	Constable
	Walter M. Cox	Deputy Sheriff
	James H. Ball	Overseer of the Poor (mother was Elizabeth Bowen)
	George Sullivan	Overseer of the Roads
	Robert T. Peyton	Overseer of the Roads
1857	Arthur F. Clift	Justice
	James Monteith	Sheriff
	Walter M. Cox	Deputy Sheriff
1858	Arthur F. Clift	Justice
	James Monteith	Sheriff
	Walter M. Cox	Deputy Sheriff
	James S. Monteith	Constable
	John Newton	Overseer of the Roads
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Roads
	James Cox	Overseer of the Roads
1859	Fielding L. Clift	Justice

	James Monteith	Justice, School Commissioner
	Arthur F. Clift	Coroner
	Arba R. Packard	Overseer of the Roads (married Frances R. Elkins)
	Simeon C. Peyton	Overseer of the Roads
1860	Arthur F. Clift	Justice
	James Monteith	Sheriff, School Commissioner
	John S. Monteith	Constable
1861	Arthur F. Clift	Justice
	James Monteith	Justice, School Commissioner
	John S. Monteith	Constable
	James Cox	Overseer of the Roads
	Richard E. Monteith	Overseer of the Roads
	Charles H. Roberson	Overseer of the Roads
1862	Arthur F. Clift	Justice
	William Chinn	Crier of Elections
	Isaac Fines	Crier of Elections
	James S. Monteith	Crier of Elections
	James Monteith	Justice
1863	James Monteith	Justice
	John C. Shelton	Justice
1864	Arthur F. Clift	Justice
	James Monteith	Justice
	William Monteith	Constable
	Marshall Payne	Constable (married Harriet A. Curtis)
1865	James Monteith	Magistrate
	John C. Shelton	Magistrate
	William E. Carter	Magistrate (married Margaret E. Shelton)
	James Chinn	Commissioner of Elections
	William Chinn	Commissioner of Elections
	Isaac Fines	Commissioner of Elections
	Simeon C. Peyton	Commissioner of Elections
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Roads
	James Cox	Overseer of the Roads
	Richard E. Monteith	Overseer of the Roads
1866	James Monteith	Magistrate
	William E. Carter	Magistrate
	John C. Shelton	Magistrate
	Charles W. Roberson	Trustee of Falmouth
	Robert E. Limbrick	Trustee of Falmouth
	Gustavus B. Newton	Overseer of the Roads
1867	James Monteith	Magistrate, School Commissioner
	Arthur F. Clift	School Commissioner
	James Cox	Overseer of the Roads
	Charles M. Sterne	Overseer of the Roads (married Fanny Curtis)
1868	James Monteith	Magistrate
	William E. Carter	Magistrate

	John C. Shelton	Magistrate
	Charles W. Roberson	Trustee of Falmouth
	Robert E. Limbrick	Trustee of Falmouth
	Henry L. Deshazo	Overseer of the Roads
	Charles P. W. Limbrick	Overseer of the Roads
	Arba R. Packard	Overseer of the Roads
1869	John C. Shelton	House of Delegates
	Harry Clark	Deputy Sheriff (grandmother was Elizabeth Bowen)
	Charles W. Roberson	Trustee of Falmouth
	Robert E. Limbrick	Trustee of Falmouth
	Absalom P. Rowe	Overseer of the Roads
1870	Thomas W. Franklin	Magistrate (married Gissie Ashton)
	Charles W. P. Limbrick	Constable
	Mace C. Purkins	Constable (married Marion Monteith)
	Harry Clark	Deputy Sheriff
	Isaac Fines	Clerk of the Falmouth Township
	James O. Lee	Collector of Taxes for Falmouth Township
	James Monteith	Commissioner of Elections
	Ferdinand S. Pratt	Overseer of the Poor
1871	Richard E. Monteith	Constable
	J. Bailey Jett	Judge of the Stafford County Court
	Charles J. French	Justice (mother was Sarah A. Curtis)
	Arba R. Packard	Tax Collector for Falmouth District, Free Bridge Commissioner
	George W. Lightner	Judge of Elections (married Mary Roberson)
	James Monteith	Judge of Elections
	Francis Curtis	Commissioner of Roads
	Charles H. Roberson	Overseer of the Roads
	John Roberson	Overseer of the Roads
	Albert Clift	Free Bridge Commissioner
1872	J. Bailey Jett	Judge of the Stafford County Court
	George J. Lightner	Judge of Elections (married Eliza T. Cox)
	James Monteith	Judge of Elections
	Arba R. Packard	Overseer of the Poor, Free Bridge Commissioner
	Francis Curtis	Commissioner of Roads
	Albert Clift	Free Bridge Commissioner
1873	Thomas W. Franklin	Magistrate
	Charles J. French	Magistrate
	J. Bailey Jett	Judge of the Stafford County Court
	Richard E. Monteith	Tax Collector for the Falmouth Township
	James Monteith	Judge of Elections
	John C. Newton	School Trustee
	Arba R. Packard	Overseer of the Poor
	Francis Curtis	Commissioner of Roads
1874	Richard A. Curtis	Judge of Elections
	Arthur F. Clift	Judge of Elections

	James Monteith	Judge of Elections
	John C. Newton	School Trustee
	Arba R. Packard	Overseer of the Poor
	Simeon C. Peyton	Commissioner of Roads for Falmouth District
1875	Thomas W. Franklin	Magistrate
	J. Bailey Jett	Commonwealth's Attorney
	Simeon C. Peyton	Supervisor Falmouth District
	Richard A. Curtis	Judge of Elections
	Arthur F. Clift	Judge of Elections
	James Monteith	Judge of Elections
	John C. Newton	School Trustee
	Richard E. Monteith	Overseer of the Poor
	Levi Deshazo	Overseer of the Roads
	Robert A. Chinn	Overseer of the Roads
	Absalom R. Shelton	Overseer of the Roads
1876	J. Bailey Jett	Commonwealth's Attorney
	Simeon C. Peyton	Supervisor Falmouth District
	James Monteith	Judge of Elections
	Richard A. Curtis	Judge of Elections
	John C. Newton	School Trustee
	Richard Monteith	Overseer of the Poor
1877	George J. Lightner	Magistrate
	Thomas B. Reamy	Magistrate (married Harriet Curtis)
	James H. Monteith	Constable
	Alexander E. Bloxton	Constable (mother was Lucy Clift)
	J. Bailey Jett	Commonwealth's Attorney
	Albert Clift	Supervisor Falmouth District
	James Monteith	Judge of Elections
	Richard A. Curtis	Judge of Elections
	Richard E. Monteith	Overseer of the Poor
	Franklin P. Clift	Overseer of the Roads
	Thomas Clift	Overseer of the Roads
	Amos K. Monteith	Overseer of the Roads
	Isaac Silver	Overseer of the Roads
1878	James H. Monteith	Constable
	J. Bailey Jett	Commonwealth's Attorney
	Albert Clift	Supervisor Falmouth District
	Harry Clark	Tax Collector for Falmouth
	Richard E. Monteith	Overseer of the Poor
1879	Thomas W. Franklin	Magistrate
	Fielding L. Clift	Constable
	James H. Monteith	Constable
	James Monteith	Jailer
	J. Bailey Jett	Commonwealth's Attorney
	Albert Clift	Supervisor Falmouth District
	James Monteith	Judge of Elections

	Richard E. Monteith	Overseer of the Poor
1880	Fielding L. Clift	Constable
	John H. Monteith	Constable
	J. Bailey Jett	Commonwealth's Attorney
	Simeon C. Peyton	Supervisor
	James Monteith	Judge of Elections
	Richard E. Monteith	Overseer of the Poor
1881	Thomas W. Franklin	Magistrate
	James Monteith	Magistrate
	Ajalon C. Clift	Constable
	Franklin P. Clift	Constable
	John C. Newton	Registrar of White Oak Precinct
	Richard M. Shelton	Judge of Elections
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	Stapleton C. Jett	Overseer of the Roads
	Charles P. W. Limbrick	Overseer of the Roads
1882	Albert Clift	Supervisor Falmouth District
	Richard A. Curtis	Judge of Elections
	Charles M. Sterne	Judge of Elections
	Richard M. Shelton	Judge of Elections
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	Joseph B. Embrey	Overseer of the Roads (married Rebecca Jett)
	Amos K. Monteith	Overseer of the Roads
	R. A. Monteith	Overseer of the Roads
	John Redman Newton	Overseer of the Roads
1883	Albert Clift	Supervisor Falmouth District
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	Charles W. P. Limbrick	Overseer of the Roads
1884	Albert Clift	Supervisor Falmouth District
	John C. Newton	Registrar White Oak Precinct
	William Deshazo	Overseer of the Roads
	George J. Lightner	Free Bridge Commissioner
	John I. French	Free Bridge Commissioner (mother was Sarah A. Curtis)
1885	Thomas W. Franklin	Magistrate
	Ajalon C. Clift	Constable
	William S. Monteith	Constable & Deputy Clerk of Court
	Charles M. Sterne	Electoral Board
	Franklin P. Clift	Registrar
	John F. Farmer	Registrar (married Mary E. Deshazo)
	James M. Monteith	Judge of Elections
	Dr. Lawrence Ashton	School Trustee
	Simeon C. Peyton	School Trustee
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	Rolly T. Shelton	Overseer of the Poor
	Fielding L. Clift	Overseer of the Roads
	John C. Newton	Overseer of the Roads



	George G. Curtis	(Stafford Court approved his building a bridge over Accokeek Run)
	George J. Lightner	Free Bridge Commissioner
	John I. French	Free Bridge Commissioner
1886	Fleet S. Cox	Constable, Overseer of the Poor, Overseer of the Roads
	William S. Monteith	Constable
	Charles H. Ashton	Judge of the Stafford County Court
	Simeon C. Peyton	School Trustee
	Stapleton C. Jett	Overseer of the Roads
	Charles P. W. Limbrick	Overseer of the Roads
	Richard E. Monteith	Overseer of the Roads
	Richard O. Monteith	Overseer of the Roads
	Isaac Silver	Overseer of the Roads
	George J. Lightner	Free Bridge Commissioner
	John A. Jett	Keeper of the Falmouth Bridge
1887	Thomas W. Franklin	Magistrate
	William H. Curtis	Constable
	Rolly T. Shelton	Constable, Overseer of the Poor
	Charles H. Ashton	Judge of the Stafford County Court
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	Harry Clark	Road Commissioner
	Levi Deshazo	Overseer of the Roads
	Alvarado D. Jett	Overseer of the Roads
	James Monteith	Overseer of the Roads
	James Roberson	Overseer of the Roads
	George J. Lightner	Free Bridge Commissioner
	John A. Jett	Keeper of the Falmouth Bridge
1888	William H. Curtis	Constable
	Rolly T. Shelton	Constable, Deputy Treasurer
	Charles H. Ashton	Judge of the Stafford County Court
	Isaac Silver	Overseer of the Roads
	James Clift	Overseer of the Roads
	Absalom R. Shelton	Overseer of the Roads
	Jesse R. Anderson	Overseer of the Roads (married Delphia Curtis)
	George J. Lightner	Free Bridge Commissioner
	John A. Jett	Keeper of the Falmouth Bridge
1889	Thomas W. Franklin	Magistrate
	Rolly T. Shelton	Constable, Overseer of the Poor
	James T. Chinn	School Trustee Falmouth District
	Simeon C. Peyton	School Trustee Falmouth District
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	Peter S. Jett	Overseer of the Roads
	Peter N. Jett	Overseer of the Roads
	James Clift	Overseer of the Roads
	Thomas A. Clift	Overseer of the Roads
	George J. Lightner	Free Bridge Commissioner
	John A. Jett	Keeper of the Falmouth Bridge

1890	Charles H. Ashton	Judge of the Stafford County Court
	William A. Clift	School Trustee
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	Rolly T. Shelton	Overseer of the Poor
	John F. Clift	Overseer of the Roads
	George J. Lightner	Free Bridge Commissioner (Manager)
	John A. Jett	Keeper of the Falmouth Bridge
1891	Thomas W. Franklin	Magistrate
	Rolly T. Shelton	Constable
	Charles H. Ashton	Judge of the Stafford County Court
	John C. Cox	Notary Public
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	George J. Lightner	Free Bridge Commissioner (Manager & Treasurer)
	John A. Jett	Keeper of the Falmouth Bridge
1892	Charles H. Ashton	Judge of the Stafford County Court
	Rolly T. Shelton	Constable
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	George J. Lightner	Free Bridge Commissioner (Manager & Treasurer)
	Mollie (Jett) Hancock	Keeper of the Falmouth Bridge
1893	Thomas W. Franklin	Magistrate
	Rolly T. Shelton	Constable
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	George J. Lightner	Free Bridge Commissioner
	Mollie Hancock	Keeper of the Falmouth Bridge
1894	Charles H. Ashton	Judge of the Stafford County Court
	William A. Clift	School Trustee
	Peter N. Jett	Overseer of the Roads
	George J. Lightner	Free Bridge Commissioner
	Mollie Hancock	Keeper of the Falmouth Bridge
1895	Thomas W. Franklin	Magistrate
	Rolly T. Shelton	Constable, Deputy Treasurer
	Charles H. Ashton	Judge of the Stafford County Court
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	Larry M. Jett	Overseer of the Roads
	Amos K. Monteith	Overseer of the Roads
	Broaddus T. Sullivan	Overseer of the Roads
	George J. Lightner	Free Bridge Commissioner
	Mollie Hancock	Keeper of the Falmouth Bridge
1896	Charles H. Ashton	Judge of the Stafford County Court
	Rolly T. Shelton	Constable
	John C. Cox	Notary Public
	Thomas W. Franklin	School Trustee
	Simeon C. Peyton	School Trustee
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	Amos K. Monteith	Overseer of the Roads
	George J. Lightner	Free Bridge Commissioner

	Mollie Hancock	Keeper of the Falmouth Bridge
1897	Thomas W. Franklin	Magistrate
	Welford B. Sullivan	Constable
	Charles H. Ashton	Judge of the Stafford County Court
	Edward L. Sterne	School Trustee (mother was Fanny Curtis)
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	John A. Clift	Overseer of the Roads
	George J. Lightner	Free Bridge Commissioner
	Mollie Hancock	Keeper of the Falmouth Bridge
1898	Welford B. Sullivan	Constable
	William A. Clift	School Trustee
	Thomas W. Franklin	School Trustee
	Edward L. Sterne	School Trustee
	Simeon C. Peyton	School Trustee
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	Mollie Hancock	Keeper of the Falmouth Bridge
1899	Thomas W. Franklin	Magistrate
	Rolly T. Shelton	Constable
	William H. Curtis	Constable
	William A. Clift	School Trustee
	Edward L. Sterne	School Trustee
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	Charles P. W. Limbrick	Overseer of the Roads
	Mollie Hancock	Keeper of the Falmouth Bridge
1900	Rolly T. Shelton	Constable
	John C. Cox	Notary Public
	Harry Clark	Commissioner of Valuations
	William A. Clift	School Trustee
	Edward L. Sterne	School Trustee
	Dr. Elliott T. Jett	Board of Health
	John A. Sullivan	Road Inspector
	Mollie Hancock	Keeper of the Falmouth Bridge
1901	William A. Clift	School Trustee
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
1902	Howard K. Cox	Registrar
	William A. Clift	School Trustee
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	William T. Peyton	Registrar, Pension Board (Chairman)
1903	William A. Clift	School Trustee
	Edward L. Sterne	School Trustee
	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	John F. Clift	Pension Board
1904	Fleet S. Cox	Overseer of the Poor
	John F. Clift	Pension Board
	Simeon C. Peyton	School Trustee
1905	Luther D. Cox	Constable

	William A. Clift	School Trustee
	Fielding B. Hudson	Overseer of the Poor
	John F. Clift	Pension Board
1906	Luther D. Cox	Constable
	Harry Clark	School Trustee
	Fielding B. Hudson	Overseer of the Poor
	John F. Clift	Pension Board
1907	Luther D. Cox	Constable
	William A. Clift	School Trustee
	Fielding B. Hudson	Overseer of the Poor
1908	Luther D. Cox	Constable
	William A. Clift	School Trustee
	Fielding B. Hudson	Overseer of the Poor
1909	Luther D. Cox	Constable
	William A. Clift	School Trustee
	Fielding B. Hudson	Overseer of the Poor
1910	Luther D. Cox	Constable
	George H. Newton	School Trustee (Chairman & Clerk)
	Edward L. Sterne	School Trustee
	Fielding B. Hudson	Overseer of the Poor
	Dr. Edward T. Jett	Board of Health
	John B. Bourne	Overseer of the Roads
1911	William A. Clift	School Trustee
	Fielding B. Hudson	Overseer of the Poor
	Dr. Edward T. Jett	Board of Health
	Henry C. Olive	Game Warden (mother was Shady Jett)
1912	Whit D. Peyton	Virginia House of Delegates
	Thomas S. Deshazo	Deputy Sheriff
	Fielding B. Hudson	Constable, Overseer of the Poor
	John F. Clift	Pension Board
	Dr. Edward T. Jett	Board of Health
	George H. Newton	Road Commissioner
1913	Thomas S. Deshazo	Deputy Sheriff
	William A. Clift	School Trustee
	Henry C. Olive	School Trustee
	Edward L. Sterne	School Trustee
	Dr. Edward T. Jett	Board of Health
	Fielding B. Hudson	Overseer of the Poor
	John F. Clift	Pension Board
1914	Thomas S. Deshazo	Deputy Sheriff
	William T. Peyton	Commissioner of the Revenue
	William A. Clift	School Trustee
	Henry C. Olive	School Board
	Fielding B. Hudson	Overseer of the Poor
	Dr. Edward T. Jett	Board of Health
	John F. Clift	Pension Board

1915	Thomas S. Deshazo Price G. Edwards Henry C. Olive Dr. Edward T. Jett Fielding B. Hudson John F. Clift	Deputy Sheriff Board of Review of Assessments (married Annie Deshazo) School Trustee Board of Health Overseer of the Poor Pension Board
1916	William E. Curtis Lawrence R. R. Curtis Price G. Edwards Edward L. Sterne William A. Clift Henry C. Olive Fielding B. Hudson Dr. Edward T. Jett John F. Clift	Deputy Sheriff Master Commissioner in Chancery Board of Review of Assessments Board of Review of Assessments School Trustee School Trustee Overseer of the Poor Board of Health Pension Board
1917	Price G. Edwards Edward L. Sterne William A. Clift Henry C. Olive Fielding B. Hudson Dr. Edward T. Jett John F. Clift Whit D. Peyton Willard L. Sullivan	Board of Review of Assessments Board of Review of Assessments School Trustee School Trustee Overseer of the Poor Board of Health Pension Board Agricultural Council of Safety Game Warden
1918	Price G. Edwards Edward L. Sterne Whit D. Peyton William A. Clift Henry C. Olive Dr. Edward T. Jett Fielding B. Hudson John F. Clift	Board of Review of Assessments Board of Review of Assessments Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George School Trustee School Trustee Board of Health Overseer of the Poor Pension Board
1919	William E. Curtis Lawrence R. R. Curtis Price G. Edwards Edward L. Sterne Whit D. Peyton William A. Clift Fielding B. Hudson Dr. Edward T. Jett John F. Clift	Sheriff Commissioner in Chancery Board of Review of Assessments Board of Review of Assessments Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George School Trustee Overseer of the Poor Board of Health Pension Board
1920	William E. Curtis William T. Peyton Whit D. Peyton William A. Clift	Sheriff Supervisor Falmouth District Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George School Trustee

	Henry C. Olive	School Trustee
	Fielding B. Hudson	Overseer of the Poor
	Claude W. Bourne	Game Warden
1921	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	William T. Peyton	Supervisor Falmouth District
	Thomas S. Deshazo	Judge of Elections
	Amos K. Monteith	Judge of Elections
	Whit D. Peyton	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
	William A. Clift	School Trustee
	Charles M. Sterne	School Trustee
	Fielding B. Hudson	Overseer of the Poor
	John F. Clift	Pension Board
	Claude W. Bourne	Game Warden
1922	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	William T. Peyton	Supervisor Falmouth District
	Whit D. Peyton	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
	Fielding B. Hudson	Overseer of the Poor
1923	Charles W. Newton	Magistrate
	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	Claude W. Bourne	Constable
	William T. Peyton	Supervisor Falmouth District
	Whit D. Peyton	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
	Price G. Edwards	School Board
	Fielding B. Hudson	Overseer of the Poor
1924	Claude W. Bourne	Constable
	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	William T. Peyton	Supervisor Falmouth District
	Whit D. Peyton	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
1925	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	William T. Peyton	Supervisor Falmouth District
	Thomas Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools (mother was a Pratt)
1926	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	William T. Peyton	Supervisor Falmouth District
	Annie E. Shover	Notary Public (father was a Curtis)
	John W. Sullivan	Notary Public
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
1927	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	Lawrence R. R. Cutis	Commonwealth's Attorney
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
1928	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	Annie E. Shover	Notary Public
	Lawrence R. R. Curtis	Commonwealth's Attorney
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
1929	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	Lawrence R. R. Curtis	Commonwealth's Attorney
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George

1930	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	William F. Hart	Constable (married a Bryant)
	Lawrence R. R. Curtis	Commonwealth's Attorney
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
1931	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	Paul T. Lightner	Constable
	Annie E. Shover	Notary Public
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
1932	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	William F. Hart	Constable
	Frances Lightner	Electoral Board
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
	J. Wesley Sullivan	School Board (Chairman)
1933	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	William T. Sullivan	Constable
	Frances Lightner	Electoral Board
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
	John W. Sullivan	School Board (Chairman)
1934	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	Frances Lightner	Electoral Board
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
	John W. Sullivan	School Board (Chairman)
1935	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	Aubrey S. Sullivan	Magistrate
	William T. Sullivan	Constable
	Annie E. Shover	Notary Public
	J. Wesley Sullivan	Notary Public
	Frances Lightner	Electoral Board
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
	John W. Sullivan	School Board (Chairman)
1936	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	Paul T. Lightner	Special Police Officer in Falmouth
	William T. Sullivan	Constable
	George H. Newton	Finance Board
	Frances Lightner	Electoral Board
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
	John W. Sullivan	School Board (Chairman)
1937	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	Paul T. Lightner	Notary Public
	Frances Lightner	Electoral Board
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
1938	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	William T. Sullivan	Special Police Officer
	Frances Lightner	Electoral Board
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
1939	William E. Curtis	Sherriff

	William T. Sullivan	Constable
	Frances Lightner	Electoral Board
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
1940	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	William T. Sullivan	Constable
	Frances Lightner	Electoral Board
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
1941	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	Lawrence R. R. Curtis	Acting Trial Justice
	Frances Lightner	Electoral Board
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
1942	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	J. Wesley Sullivan	Notary Public
	Lawrence R. R. Curtis	Acting Trial Justice
	Frances Lightner	Electoral Board
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
	William C. Curtis	Civilian Defense Council
1943	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	William T. Sullivan	Constable
	Frances Lightner	Electoral Board
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
1944	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	Joseph S. Chinn	Electoral Board
	Frances Lightner	Electoral Board
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
1945	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
	Frances Lightner	Electoral Board
1946	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	J. Wesley Sullivan	Notary Public
	Lawrence R. R. Curtis	Substitute Trial Justice
	Thompson W. Sterne	Assessor of Lands
	Frances Lightner	Electoral Board
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George
1947	William E. Curtis	Sheriff
	Frances Lightner	Electoral Board
	T. Benton Gayle	Superintendent of Schools for Stafford & King George

(Source: Eby, Jerrilynn. *Men of Mark of Stafford County, Virginia, 1664 – 1991*. Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 2006, and also drawn from a vastly expanded edition of the 2006 volume that will be ready for publication soon.)

### *A Sampling of Other Activities Involving White Oak Families*

#### **Postmasters**

Frederick E. Curtis                      postmaster at Coakley's Post Office 1887-1893



George J. Lightner	postmaster at Falmouth 1889
Harry G. Lightner	postmaster at Falmouth 1889-1894
John A. Sullivan	postmaster at Fine's 1902-1908
Minnie P. Hudson	postmistress at Fine's 1908
Ada J. Jett	postmistress at Leeland 1914-1916
James Monteith	postmaster at Monteithville 1851-1853
James T. Chinn	postmaster at Monteithville 1879-1910
Marion W. Purkins	postmistress at Monteithville 1910-1913

(**Source:** Eby, Jerrilynn. *Men of Mark of Stafford County, Virginia, 1664 – 1991*. Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 2006, and also drawn from a vastly expanded edition of the 2006 volume that will be ready for publication soon.)

### Selling Liquor

1830	Thomas Finnall Daniel Jett
1833	William P. Bowen & 1834
1849	Thompson J. Sullivan & 1850, 1851, 1853, 1857
1853	Isaac Grigsby
1859	Joseph Roberson
1861	George W. Lightner
1867	George J. Lightner & 1868, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1879, 1880, 1881
1876	Fleet Cox & 1878, 1879, 1881, 1882, 1884
1882	James T. Chinn & 1884, 1885
1886	Broaddus H. Chinn & 1888, 1889

(**Source:** Eby, Jerrilynn. *Men of Mark of Stafford County, Virginia, 1664 – 1991*. Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 2006, and also drawn from a vastly expanded edition of the 2006 volume that will be ready for publication soon.)

### Tavern Licenses

1752	John Leewright & 1753, 1754 (married Mary Kitchen)
1805	Archibald Rollow
1818	James Curtis
1821	Thornton Chilton & 1822 (married Susan F. Roberson)
1825	Stephen Pratt Bowen & 1828 John Curtis & 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1832
1840	Alexander Bowie & 1841 (married Muriel Monteith) Daniel S. Coakley (mother was Mildred Sullivan) & 1841 - 1854
1851	Thompson J. Sullivan & 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857
1852	James Monteith & 1853, 1855, 1856, 1857
1860	Joseph Roberson
1867	George J. Lightner

(**Source:** Eby, Jerrilynn. *Men of Mark of Stafford County, Virginia, 1664 – 1991*. Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 2006, and also drawn from a vastly expanded edition of the 2006 volume that will be ready for publication soon.)

### Signers of the Leedstown Resolutions, 1766

John Ashton  
Thomas Jett  
John Newton

*Note: These men signed as representatives of Westmoreland County, but they are members of the same families that lived (and still live) in Stafford.*

### Virginia Legislative Petitions

1776 Signatures on the Virginia Legislative Petition to make Muddy Creek the boundary between King George & Stafford Counties, Oct. 15, 1776:

Nasey West	George Curtis
Joseph West	Lawrence Ashton
John West	Thomas Jett

**(Source:** Vogt, John and Kethley, T. William. *Stafford County, Virginia Tithables: Quit Rents, Personal Property Taxes and Related Lists and Petitions, 1723 – 1790*, pp. 537 – 539.)

1779 Signatures on the Virginia Legislative Petition to move Stafford Courthouse closer to the center of the county, May 24, 1779:

William Newton	Martin Sullivan
William Newton, Jr.	William Sullivan
John Newton	John Sullivan
Abraham Newton	Vincent Cox
George Curtis	David Hudson
John Curtis	Archibald Rollow
Francis Jett	Edward West
William Jett	John West
Henry Grigsby	John West, Jr.
Thomas Bowen	

**(Source:** Vogt, John and Kethley, T. William. *Stafford County, Virginia Tithables: Quit Rents, Personal Property Taxes and Related Lists and Petitions, 1723 – 1790*, pp. 542 - 549.)

### Fredericksburg & Falmouth Masonic Lodge Memberships

Revolutionary War period	Gowry Waugh member of Masonic Lodge #4 in Fredericksburg
War of 1812 period	Jesse Curtis member of Masonic Lodge #4 in Fredericksburg
	Thomas Pratt member of Masonic Lodge #4 in Fredericksburg
	Edwin W. Jett member of Masonic Lodge #4 in Fredericksburg
1826	Peter P. Cox member of the Falmouth Masonic Lodge
1836 – 1848	Jesse Curtis member of Masonic Lodge #63 in Fredericksburg
1855 – 1861	Thomas A. Curtis member of Masonic Lodge #63 in Fredericksburg
1858	John G. Rowe member of Masonic Lodge #4 in Fredericksburg
1861	George W. Lightner member of Masonic Lodge #63 in Fredericksburg
1888	Absalom P. Rowe member of Masonic Lodge #4 in Fredericksburg

**(Source:** Walker, J. Travers. *A History of Fredericksburg Lodge No. 4, A. F. & A. M., 1752 – 2002*. Fredericksburg, VA: Sheridan Books, Inc., 2002.)

### White Oakers on the Stafford County Voter List of 1758

Tyler Waugh	William Grigsby
Birket Pratt	Charles Grigsby
John Grigsby	Gowry Waugh
Thomas Pratt	Moses Grigsby
Anthony Kitchen	

(Source: Stafford County Deed Book P, 1755 – 1765, pp. 181-185)

### White Oakers on the Stafford County Voter List of 1786

Darby Sullivan	Vincent Cox, Jr.
Benjamin Sullivan	John Grigsby
Cagby Waugh	Thomas Porch
George Waugh	Francis Jett
Vincent Cox, Sr.	

(Source: Stafford County Deeds and Wills, 1780 – 1786, pp. 381, 381a, 381b.)

### A Sampling of Slave Ownership by White Oak Families Now Claimed to be Descendants of the Patawomeck Indians

		1784	
Name	Slaves	Names	Slaves
Abraham Newton	5	Richard Curtis	1
Benjamin Newton	2	Sarah Berry	4
Charnock Cox	1	Thomas Roberson	1
Francis Jett	2	Thomas Porch	18
Francis Sullivan	3	Thomas Bowen	5
Gowry Waugh's estate <sup>43</sup>		Thomas Berry	4
Gerrard Doniphan	12	Vincent Cox	1
Jonathan Finnall	16	William Newton	14
John Newton	12	Merryman Kitchen	7
Patrick Fines	1		

		1790	
Name	Slaves	Names	Slaves
John Bryant	3	Isaac Newton	7
Thomas Berry	3	Thomas Newton	4
Burkett Bowen	5	Thomas Porch	13
Vincent Cox, Jr.	1	Esom Porch	3
Jonathan Finnall	7	Archibald Rollow	1
Elizabeth Hudson	1	Daniel Sullivan	1
Francis Jett	4	Darby Sullivan	1
James Monteith	2	Francis Sullivan	1
John Newton	7	George L. Waugh	18

Margaret Newton 2

### 1830

Name	Slaves	Names	Slaves
Isaac Newton	15	Yelverton Porch	1
Benjamin Sullivan	3	Charnock Cox, Jr.	4
James Fines	4	Charnock Cox, Sr.	2
John Curtis	5	Peter Jett	2
Samuel Cox	1	Thomas H. Newton	8
John T. Bowen	29	Daniel Jett	1
James T. Rowe	25	George Curtis	14
Samuel Monteith	7	Walter H. Finnall	26
Jonathan Finnall	3	Elijah Sullivan	1
James Roberson	2	Fielding Curtis	2
Jean Curtis	9	Maria Porch	4
Jemima Cox	9	Lethe Shelton	20
Esom Coppage	1	Francis Curtis	8
John F. Cox	1		

(Source: Vogt, John and Kethley, T. William. *Stafford County, Virginia Tithables: Quit Rents, Personal Property Taxes and Related Lists and Petitions, 1723 – 1790.*)

## #6—Feb. 20, 2023—Oral History

Dear Dr. Yeung and Members of the Board:

You get a bit of a reprieve today because this email isn't nearly as long as the previous ones. Despite the brevity, however, the content is critical to our argument, which is: the Patawomeck Indian Tribe of Virginia, Inc. (PITV) did not exist **prior to 1995**. We will expound upon that in more detail in the next email, but we ask that you to be aware of the dates on the material we are including in today's communication. We promise to pull it all together very soon.

For the last 13 months, Jerrilynn and I have been immersed in researching both the 17th century Patawomeck Indians and the PITV – and we have been shocked by the amount of documentation we have unearthed. In an effort not to completely overwhelm you with our findings, we have attempted to organize and condense it into what we hope are more manageable blocks, thus, the series of emails we have been sending.

In today's email, we want to consider what we can learn from oral history.

In 2002, Dr. Rountree prepared a packet titled "Guidelines for Preparing a Tribal Recognition Case in Virginia." This was intended to assist petitioning groups in locating and collecting the documents required to fulfill the VCI's recognition criteria and to aid them in preparing their applications. The first paragraph of this document states, "When a group gets state recognition as an Indian tribe, it means that the people have persuaded others that their group is and has been 'Indian' through time. That is a different matter from a group's members 'knowing who we are.'

Proving it to outsiders, who may have known nothing at all about the group before now, is the central issue in getting recognized.”

With regards to the value of oral history, Dr. Rountree expressed her opinion, “I stick to the contemporary documents, which are legally safe, and those ARE MOST DEFINITELY more reliable than oral history (especially detailed oral history) across three centuries. (Most scholars agree with that, by the way)” [Emphasis added by HCR] (Rountree, email communication, May 30, 2022).

Dr. Frank Speck encountered oral tradition when he was conducting his research on the Powhatan tribes in the 1920s. In an assessment of the value of such material, he related a story told him by one of the Rappahannocks. According to the speaker, Capt. Carey Nelson, who had participated in various wars against the Indians, “drove them from river to river, and killed many of them. Finally, he thought that he had either killed or driven them all away and that the country was free of them.” While out riding one day, Capt. Nelson came upon a large log lying in the woods and was surprised to see three little Indian girls hiding in the log. He took them home and raised them, eventually marrying one of them. The other two girls married Englishmen of excellent families, too. The Indian who related this story to Dr. Speck traced his own genealogy back to Capt. Carey Nelson through four generations, calling each by name. Dr. Speck noted that the informant’s age allowed a basis for dating the Nelson event, **“first assuming, of course, that it is founded on partial truth.”** Capt. Nelson’s Indian bride would have been born around 1750, at which time the great struggles with the Virginia Indians had ceased. Doubtful, Speck concluded, **“Until, however, Captain Carey Nelson be found in Colonial documents, one feels that the Nelson legend may be hardly more credible than other romantic family legends, and with such a conclusion we may close our remarks concerning it”** (Speck, Rappahannocks, pp. 47-48).

Please note that the oral histories quoted below were done nearly 20 years after desegregation, Walter Plecker was long gone, and the threat of children being forced to attend schools designated for black children would not have been a factor in what the interviewees discussed in their recorded oral histories.

**So, let’s look at some of our local oral history that pre-dates 1995:**

In 1985, the Central Rappahannock Regional Library set about to collect oral histories of older members of the community. Mary Washington College assisted with this project and volunteers from the Stafford County Historical Society interviewed a number of the older county residents. Two of these, Archie Newton and James T. Chinn, were from White Oak and are now considered to be Indians. Preparatory to doing the interviews, a committee convened and brainstormed names of potential interviewees. Next to each name was a brief biography that supported why he/she would be a good candidate. Archie Newton was described as “fisherman; waterman; works out of Bell Plains. Farmer; wife works as sub. teacher at Staff. Middle.” **Why was nothing said about Archie being an Indian?** In this same document, James T. Chinn was described as “in his 80s but has good memory; lives in White Oak in area formerly called Monteith Post Office; served in W. W. I; served on school board; wife was a school teacher in 20s, 30s and maybe 40s; worked in city post office many years” (“Stafford County Oral History

Project, Potential Interviewees,” May 1985, SCHS Miscellaneous records). **Why was nothing said about James being an Indian?** But it gets better.

Mrs. Lou Silver was the SCHS volunteer assigned to interview and record both of these men. In her conversation with Archie Newton, she asked NO questions and made NO comments about Indians and he said nothing about them either. She interviewed James T. Chinn during which time she asked NO questions and made NO comments about Indians and he said nothing about them either. Now, Lou calls herself Louellen “White Feather” Silver and is a “Proud Patawomeck.” **What happened?**

SCHS volunteer, Margaret Mock, interviewed T. Benton Gayle, age 87, who had been Superintendent of Schools from 1925 to 1965 and, for much of that time, he was responsible for all schools in both Stafford AND King George Counties. His mother was a Pratt and his second cousin was M. B. Rowe of Fredericksburg. The Pratts and Rowes are both supposed to be related to the Indians. Yet Mr. Gayle never said a word about Indians. He did talk at some length about Passapatanzy, where he had spent a good deal of his life, **but no Indians**. Nor did he mention any Indian schools. **Why not?** He, above all people, should have been aware of Indian schools in Stafford County, had they existed.

Ms. Mock also interviewed Ida Deacon Brooks of Falmouth. While she may not tie directly to the “Indians” of White Oak, her family were generational residents of the area, they knew most of the people between Falmouth and White Oak, and she attended New Hope Methodist Church in White Oak, many of whose members were supposed to be Patawomecks. **Ida didn’t mention a single Indian.**

Finally, Ms. Eileen Charters interviewed John Fitzhugh, age 69, of Poplar Grove in Hartwood. For several centuries, most of the Fitzhugh family lived in King George and southeastern Stafford, but marriages with the Curtises and Frenches put John’s family in residence at Poplar Grove. According to the PITV, the Curtis family is supposed to descend from a young Indian girl named Ontonah who was orphaned by the massacre of 1666. If you will refer back to our first email, you will see our explanation of that “event.” Mr. Fitzhugh told Ms. Charters that the Fitzhughs, Curtises, and Frenches, were “F. F. V.s – the First Families of Virginia.” **What happened to the Indians? If John Fitzhugh was an Indian, wouldn’t he have included the Patawomecks amongst the First Families of Virginia?**

*Note: Transcriptions of the oral histories quoted above are available in the Virginia Collection at the Central Rappahannock Regional Library in downtown Fredericksburg.*

If you would like to compare the remarkable differences between the 1986 oral history interviews and those done after 1995, please check out the “Voices of Stafford” recordings on the Stafford County Historical Society’s website.

The PITV clings to their “oral traditions,” which, as we’ve discussed, can never take the place of primary source documentation. Unable to produce documentation to the VCI in 1997 and 1998 that proved their tribal continuity, in 2010 the PITV decided to bypass that entity and appeal

directly to the General Assembly for state recognition. With the help of Wayne Newton and his medallion, the Assembly granted their request – no documentation required.

The chart below was created by Dr. Rountree following the 2012 dissolution of the Virginia Council on Indians, “after the genuine tribes refused to sit at the table with people they considered phonies” (Rountree, email communication, Feb. 9, 2023). Distributed to the members of the General Assembly, the chart “showed the Assembly members how sloppy they’d been by giving state recognition to the phonies without checking their backgrounds first...and it’s based upon 20th century recorded facts, not on the unreliable ‘oral tradition’ that the PITV loves so much” (Rountree, email communication, Feb. 9, 2023).

INFORMATION CHART ON RECOGNIZED NON-RESERVATION INDIAN TRIBES IN VIRGINIA  
Helen C. Rountree, Ph.D.  
Professor Emerita of Anthropology  
Old Dominion University

<u>Name of group</u>	<u>Formally incorporated in</u>	<u>State recognition in</u>	<u>Tribal Church organized in</u>	<u>County support for tribal school received in</u>	<u>Fed. Gvt. asked to help</u>
Chickahominy	1901	1983	1901 (Baptist)	1922	1934, 1946
E. Chickahominy	1924	1983	1924 (Baptist)	[w/ Chickahominy]	1946
Monacan	1989	1989	1908 (Episcopal)	1890s-1908, 1946-63	
Nansemond	1984	1985	1850 (Methodist)	1890s, 1922	
Rappahannock	1921	1983	1964 (Baptist)	1962 (bused to U. Matt. School 1964-65)	
Upper Mattaponi	1923	1983	1942 (Baptist)	1892, 1917	1892, 1946
Cheroenhaka	2006	2010	none	no Indian school	
Nottoway of Va.	2006	2010	none	no Indian school	
Patawomeck	1997	2010	none	no Indian school	

SCHOLARS WHO WORKED WITH AND PUBLISHED ABOUT THEM:

	Chickahominies	Monacan	Nansemond	Rappahannock	Up. Matt.	Nottoways	Patawomeck
James Mooney (1899)	X		X				
Frank Speck (1919-50)	X		X	X	X		X (1 night)
Bertha Pfister Wailes (1920s)		X					
Theodore Stern (1938-40)	X						
Catherine Seaman (1970s)		X					
Helen Rountree (1969- )	X	X	X	X	X	*	
Sam Cook (1990s)		X					
Edward Ragan (2000s)				X			

\* In 1971 and again in 1973, Rountree went looking for Nottoway descendants in Southampton County – without result.

As always, please feel free to question, comment, or correct us with any documentation we may have missed. We continue to offer an open invitation to anyone who can provide primary source documents pertaining to this subject that we may have overlooked.

More to come!

Sincerely,  
Rick and Jerrilynn MacGregor

## #7—Feb. 22, 2023—Pre-1995 timeline

Dear Dr. Yeung and Members of the Board:

We took a temporary hiatus from developing our timeline in order to discuss the critical concept of tribal continuity as well as the oral history upon which the PITV heavily leans. Having now provided you with that important background, we will return to the timeline. We know this has been a long and perhaps painful process, but we hope to share our summary with you on Friday.

We recently found buried in the mountain of newspaper articles we collected for this project several from the early 20th century that were too good not to share, so we will backtrack briefly.

Also, [items printed in blue](#) are drawn from a list of sources provided us on Apr. 22, 2022 by the PITV's attorney, Charlie Payne. They were arranged in chronological order on his list, so we are including them in our timeline below. We have not taken the time to review each one of these in-depth. However, if this same material was presented to the Virginia Council on Indians in 1997 and 1998, why did they NOT accept it as proof of tribal continuity?

**1900**—"The annual fish fry of the farmers of Stafford and King George counties took place yesterday on the Potomac near Belle Plains" (*Richmond Times*, Aug. 18, 1900). **Weren't the Patawomecks invited?**

**1905**—"The best fish-fry of the season was given at Belle Plains, on the Potomac, in Stafford, last Friday, by Messrs. Geo. H., Bennie and Lee R. Newton, three of the most successful fishermen at that place. By 12 o'clock 123 people were on the shore. Fish, crabs and coffee steaming by a large log fire, and the air filled with the joyous voices of merry boys and girls. Half an hour later dinner was spread, and such a feast! Full enough of every kind of solid to feed as many more as were present; and liquids, anything from ice to boiling coffee. The feast closed with lemonade and confectioneries. Then two large sailboats filled with lads and lassies set sail toward the shores of Maryland, while the older persons lolled around on the grass and talked of the past, present and future." The article included a list of some of the attendees, most with the familiar names of Newton, Green, Jett, Deshazo, Peyton, Fines, Henderson, etc. (*Free Lance*, Sept. 21, 1905). **These folks were having a great time, but by the PITV's current standards, all of them should have been Indians. So why wasn't that mentioned?**



**1910**—Mr. and Mrs. Luther Newton were presented with twins as a Christmas gift. Since then Mr. Eddie Peyton has been made a proud father for the third time. On the 3rd inst. Mr. and Mrs. Alonzo Newton were honored by the presentation of twins. All are doing nicely. This causes a rapid increase in the Newton family, but as they are all fishermen and farmers, they doubtless have no uneasiness as to the high prices prevailing at present” (*Free Lance*, Feb. 12, 1910). **The Newtons are supposed to be Patawomeck Indians. Why didn’t the writer of the article mention that the Indian population of White Oak was increasing? Could it be because Dr. Speck hadn’t told them that they were Indians yet?**

**1911**—“The annual fish fry, an event of great interest in Stafford county, was held yesterday at Belle Plains, on Potomac Creek, about seven miles from this city. It was given by George Newton and Lee Newton, with Mrs. Joseph Green, daughter of George Newton, as woman manager. More than 200 guests were present, including several from this city. The dinner was a great feast, including everything out of the water, fish, crabs, oysters, cooked in every style, vegetables, meats, pies, cakes and puddings” (*Times Dispatch* (Richmond), Sept. 23, 1911). *Note: This article was originally carried in the Fredericksburg newspaper and was of enough interest that it was picked up and published by the Times Dispatch in Richmond.* **Since this fish fry was a local and annual event, why didn’t the newspapers ever mention that it was for the Indians and by the Indians?**

Now we continue where we left off on Feb. 15.

**1928**—Reminder—Dr. Speck published his monograph titled *Chapters on the Ethnology of the Powhatan Tribes of Virginia*. **Based upon our research, Dr. Speck seems to have been the only one who thought the White Oakers might have been Indians.**

**1930 - 1940**—Dr. William Harlan Gilbert, Jr. wrote a paper for the Smithsonian Institute titled “Surviving Indian Groups of the Eastern United States” in which he noted “two State reservations, occupied by the Pamunkey and the Mattaponi tribes, both in King William County. Other survivors of Indian tribes in the Tidewater area of Virginia are the Chickahominy and Rappahannock; these groups do not occupy reservations. Smaller groups include the Potomac Indians, the Accohannock, the Nansemond in Southampton County...” Dr. Gilbert does not source his inclusion of the Potomacs that we could find.

**1934**—Hugh Stabler and Richard G. Slattery, young amateur archeologists from the Washington area, explored the Indian Point site that we mentioned in the previous email as having been discovered in 1868 (“Archeological Exploration of Patawomeke, The Indian Town Site (44St2) Ancestral to the One (44St1) Visited in 1608 by Captain John Smith,” p. 1).

**1935 - 1937**—Judge William J. Graham learned of the Indian Point site, came down from Washington, and began excavating. He was a relic hunter, not a trained archeologist. During his digging, he unearthed European artifacts, Indian artifacts, human skeletons, post molds from a palisaded enclosure, etc. (“Archeological Exploration of Patawomeke, as above). **Where were the Patawomecks while all this digging was going on at their sacred burial ground?** *Note: Graham’s private collection also included bones and other artifacts he collected from the Maryland side of the Potomac River and these are also held by the Smithsonian.*

**1936**—Graham invited T. Dale Stewart, a trained archeologist, to join him at the site. Graham died in 1937, the items he had found at Indian Point remaining part of his personal collection. Stewart continued digging there for the Smithsonian until 1940 (“Archeological Exploration of Patawomeke,” as above). **Where were the Patawomecks? Please note that this was pre-1995.**

**1938**—A Washington, DC newspaper reported, “The site of Patawomeck, on a neck of land between Aquia and Potomac Creeks, has long been known to archeologists as the site of a large Indian settlement...Excavations were started about four years ago by the late Judge Graham of the United States Court of Customs Appeals and have been continued by the Smithsonian since his death. About a year ago, before the identification with Patawomeck was made, the site came into considerable prominence when Judge Graham found there the largest human skull yet known. It was an entirely normal skull. The owner, who may have been potentially one of the greatest intellects the world has known, may well have been living there at the time the place was the retreat of Pocahontas” (*Evening Star*, Dec. 18, 1938). **Why didn’t the Patawomecks, who were supposed to be living just across Potomac Creek from this site, intervene to stop the digging in their sacred burial place or, at a minimum, protest loudly about it?**

**1940s**—Lovingly called the “Mayor of Falmouth,” some of St. Clair Brooks’ recollections about events in that town were recorded in a book of local history. This includes, “In the late 1940s Brooks was one of the Staffordians instrumental in founding a Stafford Ruritan Club, and he worked long hours on projects that would fund the county’s first fire department, the still-existing Falmouth Fire Department. Among his projects was a carnival held on a roped-off area of Carter Street. The carnival’s main attraction was two young men from White Oak who played the guitar and sang—Wayne Newton and his brother, aged 8 and 10” (*Foundation Stones*, vol. 1, p. 21, 1991). **In 2010, Wayne Newton testified at the meeting of the Virginia General Assembly in support of the PITV. He even showed the Assembly a copper or bronze peace medal that he claimed George Washington had given his great grandfather. While the “peace medal” is a separate matter on its own, we must remain focused and ask: Why was there no mention of Wayne being an Indian in the *Foundation Stones* article? Please note that this book was published pre-1995.**

**c.1950**—William F. Stiles collected an "eel trap/pot basket" made by Gordon Bullock of Stafford that was added to the Smithsonian Institution’s National Anthropological Archives. **During his brief visit to White Oak, Dr. Speck collected an eel trap from Luther Newton and sold it to the Smithsonian (along with a few other items), but his monograph included no mention of the trap or other home-made items he saw in White Oak. Might that have been because he was aware of these woven splint oak eel traps being manufactured in the northeastern United States during the late 19th and early 20th centuries? We have many newspaper articles about the making and use of woven oak splint eel traps. These date from 1888 though 1909 and were printed in newspapers from Pittsburg, PA; New Haven, CT; Portland, ME; Bloomsburg, PA; Wilmington, DE; McConnellsburg, PA; Washington, DC; Danville, PA; Scranton, PA; and New York, NY. The ones we printed are only a sampling of those that are available. If you care to see them, we will make them available to you.**

**1945 - 1961**—Daniel B. Kennedy collected an "eel trap/pot basket" from Barefoot Green of Stafford that was added to the Smithsonian Institution's National Anthropological Archives. **Same as above.**

**1952**—Dr. Theodore Stern wrote an article titled "The Changing Culture of a Virginia Indian Community" for the journal, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*. This article pertained specifically to the Chickahominy and drew upon the writings of Dr. Frank G. Speck. We have expounded on Dr. Speck's writings and feel no further comment is necessary.

**1960s**—Desegregation. *Note: The PITV has long claimed they spent generations in hiding in order to avoid the racial persecution caused by Walter Plecker's 1924 Act for Racial Integrity. If that had actually been the case, certainly, after Desegregation there would have been no reason for them to remain in hiding. It is our contention that their claim of generations of secrecy was used to explain why the group suddenly appeared on the scene in the 1990s.*

**1960**—"VIRGINIA'S INDIANS: Easily the best-known Indian in the Old Dominion is Chief O. (for Otho) T. (for Thomas) Custalow of the Mattaponi tribe (see pages 10 and 12). But he's not the only chief; there are four other Indian communities still in the State. The Mattaponis live just a few miles from the Pamunkeys, who have the only other reservation. Living off-reservation, but largely to themselves in villages of Tidewater Virginia, are the Chickahominies, the Rappahannocks and the Upper Mattaponis. The reservation Indians are wards of the State, but they govern themselves generally, making and enforcing their own laws" (*Evening Star*, Mar. 20, 1960). **Where were the Patawomecks? Please note that this was pre-1995.**

**1972**—Daniel B. Kennedy of the Smithsonian Institute wrote "Indian Notes" that "Documents the Potomac fishermen of Belle Plains in Stafford County, extant American Indian material culture." The Smithsonian was operating under the belief that the makers of the eel traps were Indians. As we believe we have demonstrated, we have found no documentation proving this assumption.

**1980**—The Smithsonian's Museum of Natural History featured an exhibition titled "Powhatan Tribal Artisans: Contemporary Virginia Indian Potters." The exhibition ran from May 23 to July 6, 1980 and included over 90 pieces of pottery described as being on loan "from the Powhatan Cooperative, involving 5 tribes: Chickahominy, Mattaponi, Pamunkey, Rappahannock, and Upper Mattaponi" (Smithsonian website, [si.edu](http://si.edu)). **Where were the Patawomecks? Today, they proudly sell their crafts. Why weren't they part of the "Powhatan Cooperative" in 1980? Perhaps because this exhibition was held pre-1995?**

**1981**—The annual Fredericksburg Dog Mart was eagerly anticipated each year by residents throughout this entire region. The Pamunkeys were regular participants and in 1981 they were to "display and sell their authentic crafts during the Dog Mart. As part of the recently-organized Powhatan Tribal Artisans, they have revived many of the almost forgotten techniques used in pottery, bead and leather work and have been featured at the Smithsonian's Natural History Museum Shop" (*Fredericksburg Times*, Oct. 1981, p. 33). **Please note that the Patawomecks were not mentioned as having been involved and that this was pre-1995.**

**1983**—Barbara Crookshanks’ book review of *Indian Artifacts of the East and South* by Robert Swope, Jr. was published in the *Tide Land Times Magazine* of July 1983. The article included photographic images of a number of beautiful stone arrowheads. One of these was captioned “Virginia Clovis Point made of conglomerate quartzite found by Leroy Sullivan along the Rappahannock River” (p. 59). Leroy was a Stafford resident and qualifies to be a Patawomeck Indian, by the PITV standards. **Why didn’t Mr. Swope or Ms. Crookshanks mention that he was an Indian who was showing off a point made by his ancestors? Please note that this was pre-1995.**

**1990**—“In 1990 Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), directing 5,000 government agencies and federally funded institutions to return skeletal remains, funerary, and sacred objects to American Indian tribes and Native Hawaiians” (Conner, *A History of Our Own*, p. 257.) **This included the Graham collection of bones that had been removed from the Indian Point site in the 1930s and, at the time of the NAGPRA Act, were held by the Smithsonian.**

**1991**—Stafford County authorities “contracted with Tracerics and PMA Consulting Services to conduct a survey of the county’s historic resources and prepare an archaeological assessment report...The goal of the project was to conduct a comprehensive survey of Stafford County, identifying the area’s historic resources including buildings, structures, and sites 50 years or older. The contract required Tracerics to survey and document 300 of these identified properties—250 to a reconnaissance level and 50 to an intensive level. The principal purpose of the project was to provide the county with an accurate listing and assessment of the area’s resources in order to ensure that future development is planned in a way that protects resources of historic significance” (Tracerics, p. 1). In this report, which contains 92 pages, John Smith’s 1608 visit with the Indians at Marlborough is briefly mentioned on p. 9. Indians are conspicuously absent from the rest of the document. The section titled “Subsistence/Agriculture” briefly discusses the tobacco era, and then moves quickly to the 19th century—**no Indians** (Tracerics, pp. 21-26). The report’s writers visited and included mention of what should have been the Indian sites and lands of Marlborough Point, Sherwood Forest, Ferry Farm, the Curtis house, Chapel Green, Albion, Hickory Hill, Hollywood, Little Whim, Little Falls, Eastwood, White Oak Baptist Church, and New Hope Methodist Church. **Where were the Patawomecks? The report contains no mention of them. Please note that this was still pre-1995.**

**1992**—In the forward in volume 2 of *Foundation Stones of Stafford County, Virginia*, editor Lisa Anderson wrote, “Central to Stafford’s growth and change are her people, who themselves change over time – not in the sense of births and deaths, but in the sense of ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Stafford County, which at the turn of the century was a community of people of mostly European descent, has more recently been broadening its horizons to include people of Asian, Eastern European, and Central/South American descent” (pp. xi-xii, *Foundation Stones*, vol. 2, 1992). **Why didn’t she include the Patawomecks? Please note that this was pre-1995.**

**1992**—In that same volume, Dr. Stewart H. Jones wrote, “We, on our plateau of 1992, strain our sight to discern happenings of the past, but our vision grows dim. Only clouds surround us as we grope for facts and artifacts that could help us flesh out the life of Powhatan, the Algonquin

emperor of his 17th century confederacy of Native Americans. The empire was there, and the conqueror's wide outreach tightened on Stafford's streams and forests, also touched by the Iroquoians as the result of alliances and incursions. But what is that of which we catch a glimpse? The 16th century wind moans the names of the villages of Pamacocack and Matchipongo, settlements of from 30 to 60 families each. Later, we stumble upon Marlborough. Came the English with a different way of life – land ownership rather than simple hunting rights. The frustrated Native Americans had a choice – fight or befriend. They did some of each, but slowly their moccasined feet turned west as they passed noiselessly through Stafford's forests" (pp. 1-2, *Foundation Stones*, vol. 2, 1992). **Where were the Patawomecks and why wasn't Dr. Jones aware of them?**

**1992**—Retha W. Gambaro was the wife of Stephen A. Gambaro. She was an actual Native American from a western tribe. While living in Washington, DC, she had run a gallery for Native American artists and was herself an internationally acclaimed sculptress. She and Steve were also involved in some of the early planning for the National Museum of the American Indian. After Steve retired, they bought a home in Stafford. In *Foundation Stones*, she wrote an article titled "Whence We Came" in which she said, "The gentleness of Virginia is especially felt in Stafford County. The lingering spirits of the Rappahannock, Mattaponi, Pamunkey, Chickahominy, and other nations of this area are comforting...May the Great Spirit that has brought us here continue with us, our children, and our children's children. May we always be thankful for the gentle grandeur of our county. May those lingering spirits be at peace with our role as caretakers" (pp. 9-10, *Foundation Stones*, vol. 2, 1992). **Why didn't Retha mention the Patawomecks? Perhaps because it was pre-1995?** *Note: Steve and Retha Gambaro were friends of ours. We spent time in their home and we knew them for years. It was Retha who wanted the Indian Point bones to be reburied in Stafford from whence they came.*

**1993**—"In 1993, Stephen A. Gambaro, Barbara Kirby, and other concerned citizens began searching for appropriate American Indian reburial sites in Stafford. One was found about two miles from the original Potomac village. Located at Brooke Road and Canterbury Drive, the Indian Memorial and Reburial Site at Aquia Landing was dedicated on July 1, 1995. Cooperation between county government, which leased out the site for one dollar a year for five years, renewable at ten-year intervals, and the American Indian Society, which cleared land and cut a trail, was essential" (Conner, p. 257). This became known as the Medicine Wheel. Eventually, the county transferred the lease to the PITV, but **where were the Patawomecks in 1993 when the site was being arranged for? The bones that were intended for re-burial there were supposed to belong to their ancestors. Why weren't they a part of the initial lease agreement rather than the American Indian Society of Washington, DC? Perhaps because it was pre-1995?**

**1995**—"The 1995 NAGPRA inventory disclosed the Smithsonian alone held some 14,000 Indian remains, 2,000 of which had already been returned to tribes or reburial" [emphasis added by this writer] (Conner, *A History of Our Own*, p. 258). Problem—**there was no tribe in Stafford County** to take possession of Indian remains. **Now what?**

**March 1995**—"...the Patawomeck Tribe, *reformed* in March 1995 under the leadership of Robert 'Two Eagles' Green..." [emphasis added by this writer] (Foster, "The Watermen," p. 1).

We discussed Mr. Foster’s paper at length in the Feb. 17 email. As we explained at that time, it is our contention that the PITV was not “reformed” in 1995, but was “formed” and we have found nothing to contradict that theory. **The purpose behind creating a tribe was to facilitate the return and reburial of native bones excavated in Stafford in the 1930s. If such reburial was to occur, it could not do so in the absence of a recognized Indian tribe.** *Note: We are well aware that creating the “tribe” was a process, not an event, and that the process was ongoing from around 1993 to 1997. We have chosen to focus on 1995 because that was the year specified by Mr. Foster in his college paper.*

**1996**—The Stafford County Historical Society printed a driving tour brochure titled “Drive Through Stafford County’s History.” In the section that provided a brief, overall history of Stafford (with which Jerrilynn and I had no input) it reads, “Native American Indians roamed and settled in the area known as Virginia centuries before the first documented Indian settlement in Stafford County. Indians lived here as early as 1,000 B.C., hundreds of years before Indian princess Pocahontas and English Captain John Smith visited these shores...By the early 1700s, the Indians having dispersed, [emphasis added by this writer] the county experienced a growth of farms, small plantations...” **Yes, this is post-1995 but, apparently, the Stafford County Historical Society wasn’t yet aware that the PITV had recently been created.**

**1997**—The PITV formally incorporates.

**Fall 1997**—PITV submits its first petition to the VCI for state recognition. It was tabled for lack of documentation (Rountree, “Recognition Cases in Virginia, 1981 – 2000,” May 2002).

**1998**—On Feb. 16, 1998, Chief Robert Green sent a letter to the members of the “Patawomeck Indians of Virginia,” the opening line of which reads, “The time has finally arrived for the first tribal meeting of the Patawomeck Indians in 350+ years.” **What does this say about tribal continuity?**

**Fall 1998**—The PITV re-submits its petition to the VCI for state recognition. It was again tabled for lack of documentation (Rountree, “Recognition Cases in Virginia, 1981 – 2000,” May 2002).

**February 2010**—House Joint Resolution No. 150 grants the PITV recognition as an official Virginia Indian tribe. Interestingly, House Joint Resolution No. 150 states, “RESOLVED FURTHER, That the General Assembly of Virginia, by this resolution, does not address the question of whether the tribe has been continuously in existence since 1776...”

So, we circle back to D. P. Newton’s comment to me, **“Ricky, weren’t no Indians in White Oak when I was growing up. Now they’re everywhere.”**

We will also remind you that on Apr. 22, 2022, the PITV’s attorney, Charlie Payne, emailed us a packet of materials and wrote, “Thus, I believe the attached, which is just a few materials I have in my file, strongly supports the legitimacy of the Patawomeck Tribe and may address any questions previously raised” (Charlie Payne, email communication, Apr. 22, 2022). His attachment included a copy of House Joint Resolution No. 150 along with an assortment of letters of support, all of which were written **after 1995**. (One of these was from the Stafford

County Board of Supervisors.). Obviously, those documents didn't even begin to address the concerns Jerrilynn and I have with this group. As per Mr. Payne's request, on Apr. 23, 2022, we emailed him our packet of information and questions and we presume he passed that material on to the group for them to review and respond to. This was the same material we emailed to the Stafford County Board of Supervisors on Sept. 6, 2022. To date, we are still waiting on answers from the PITV.

As always, please feel free to question, comment, or correct us with any documentation we may have missed. We continue to offer an open invitation to anyone who can provide primary source documents pertaining to this subject that we may have overlooked.

We're nearly done!

Sincerely,

Rick and Jerrilynn MacGregor

## **#8—Feb. 24, 2023--Summary**

Dear Dr. Yeung and Members of the Board:

Where were the Patawomecks? A summary.

We apologize for taking so long to share the information we collected, but we hope our concerns about the legitimacy of the PITV are now plainly evident. Obviously, we sincerely believe this issue to be worthy of our time and your consideration. Because of the massive amount of material we collected over the course of our research and the complexity of the issue, we could think of no better way to present it to you. Due to the importance of this matter, we have been and plan to continue sending this material to anyone who might listen to our concerns. Essentially, one must ask how a group that is supposed to have been in existence from the 1600s to the present can be so conspicuously absent from 329 years of historical records.

In conclusion, we would like to leave you with some important questions and answers.

**Was the Patawomeck tribe originally here?** Yes, it is historical fact that there was a Patawomeck tribe here when the English arrived. Several early English explorers wrote about them, but we have found no link between the 17<sup>th</sup> century Indians and the current PITV group.

**What happened to the original tribe?** We do not know. There are no documents that tell us what happened to them, but as the records show, there was NO tribe here from around 1666 to circa 1995 – a span of 329 years. NO tribe!

**Why did Frank Speck come to White Oak?** Because he was scouring the Virginia countryside looking for remnants of the old Powhatan tribes. Since those with which he had already worked lived in small settlements along various waterways, he checked Potomac Creek and the White Oak area.

**But what about Speck’s monograph?** He noted that the White Oakers “represent what may be the residue of the Indians who are recorded to have inhabited Potomac creek” BUT there was no “clear proof” that they were. He took a few photographs, collected a few homemade items (that he subsequently sold to the Smithsonian), and went on his way. He left the matter to some future “patient investigator” to figure out. Most importantly, there is NO documentation proving or even indicating that the White Oakers ever believed they were Indians BEFORE Speck and none AFTER Speck.

**What if someone says that Granny always told them they came from the Indians?** That was because granny’s dad told her because Dr. Speck told him. The White Oakers never believed or acted like a tribe before Speck nor after Speck. It is borne out in the records. The tribe was not here! Of critical importance is the fact that the Virginia Council on Indians did NOT recognize oral tradition as proof of tribal continuity.

**When did the present “tribe” first appear?** Right after the need for one to get the bones back from the Smithsonian. No one had ever heard of a tribe existing in Stafford before 1995. But, necessity is the mother of invention and, voila! A tribe is born!

**Why do they say that they had to hide for generations?** They hoped that would explain why they just suddenly appeared after three centuries. But as you can see from our research, it DOES NOT ADD UP. The lengthy list we presented to you in the February 17 email proves that they did all the things white people did and their neighbors considered them to be white people – for 282 years.

**What was the process for attaining state recognition supposed to look like?** Groups wishing to be recognized as tribes by the Commonwealth of Virginia were first required to petition/apply to the Virginia Council on Indians. This entity had been created by the General Assembly for the purpose of establishing uniform recognition criteria and evaluating petitions submitted. Each group was required to provide documentation for all of the criteria. Once a group’s petition was approved by the VCI, that entity informed the General Assembly and recognition was voted upon by that body.

**Why didn’t the Virginia Council on Indians accept the PITV’s petitions in 1997 and 1998?** One of the most critical of the VCI’s criteria pertained to tribal continuity and this was the only criterion the PITV could not satisfy. In the absence of historical documentation proving tribal continuity, they hoped their “genealogies” would bridge the gap between 1666 and 1997. But the genealogies are based upon supposition, conjecture, and wishful thinking and were devoid of documentation. Without primary source documentation proving tribal continuity, the VCI was unable to convey their blessing on the recognition.

**Then how did they get their state recognition?** Unable to convince the VCI of their legitimacy, the PITV bypassed that entity and appealed directly to the General Assembly. Despite being advised ahead of time by representatives of the VCI that the group lacked credible documentation, the Assembly granted recognition. This was based primarily on the supposed family genealogies and research by the tribal historian that claimed to have traced the White Oak families back to the original Indians.



**What about those genealogies?** Yes, they do have genealogies, BUT.... All one has to do is spend a few moments looking at them to understand why they were rejected by the VCI in 1997 and 1998. Critically, there is absolutely NO documentation for English colonists having married any of Chief Wahanganoche's daughters; nor is there documentation for a massacre in 1666 that left a handful of Indian orphans to marry the English. The PITV's genealogies are based upon these two foundational events. In the absence of solid links to the 17<sup>th</sup> century Patowomeck Indians, the genealogies fall flat. Should you question our assessment of the validity of the genealogies, we suggest you contact a genealogist that is certified through the Board for Certification of Genealogists (BCG). We have already done that for our own information, but you may wish to check for yourselves.

**Why is this being taught as Stafford history in Virginia's public schools?** WE DO NOT KNOW! There is NO documentation for it. On the contrary as we have shown, there is abundant proof that there was no tribe here from circa 1666 to circa 1995.

**Why does this have to be addressed now?** Because the PITV's narrative was NEVER part of Stafford's history and we cannot stay silent and let it become accepted as such. Too many people have already accepted it. As another historian recently said, "If this isn't stopped soon, in 50 years it will be considered fact." It's already been about 28 years since this group was organized and they are marching steadily toward federal recognition, and that SHOULD NOT happen.

**Why is everyone so supportive of this group?** They should not be supporting them, but why wouldn't they? First, the PITV is recognized as a tribe by the Virginia General Assembly. If Jerrilynn and I didn't know better, we would support them, also. Second, because the current group claims to have the documentation to back up their narrative. THEY DO NOT! As we have attempted to show you, the only meaningful documentation they have dates from the 1990s and after. Third, because they have made themselves so visible at public events and in organizations throughout the region that many people do not realize they weren't always here.

We hope you now understand that the result of all our months of research has only confirmed our belief that this group is NOT a remnant of the original Patowomeck Indians and it brings us back to what **D. P. Newton** said, "**Ricky, weren't no Indians in White Oak when I was growing up. Now they're everywhere.**"

If we have missed any questions that are important to you, please don't hesitate to ask us.

Sincerely,  
Rick and Jerrilynn MacGregor