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Chickahominy: The Changing Culture of a Virginia Indian Community

Author(s): Theodore Stern

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# CHICKAHOMINY: THE CHANGING CULTURE OF A VIRGINIA INDIAN COMMUNITY

THEODORE STERN

Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon

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## FOREWORD

IN 1941 the late Dr. Frank G. Speck sent a group of students from the University of Pennsylvania down to Virginia to make a survey of research leads among the Western Chickahominy, a populous band descended in part from the Virginia Algonkians. At that time his interests lay in probing the cultural divergency that had been inferred for the aboriginal Chickahominy from their resistance to the Powhatan kingdom. The war intervening, it was not until 1946 that the work could be resumed. As the study developed, I was joined by Mr. Royal B. Hassrick, and we engaged together in investigating the present-day community. It soon became apparent that the very considerable differences between the modern Chickahominy and their aboriginal ancestors could not be ignored, and as time went on this came increasingly to occupy a central position in our research. We had in mind, in brief, the development of a theme already foreshadowed in Speck's own work, *The Rappahannock Indians of Virginia*. It seemed that the studies already published on Indian elements retained by the remnant bands of Tidewater Virginia would gain from a systematic survey of the changing context in which they have appeared. Moreover, we were struck by the successful adaptation which the Western Chickahominy have made in the course of change. We wanted to know why the band reacted to a changing situation differently from, say, the reservation-holding Pamunkey, their neighbors. These concerns will be seen to dominate the study that has resulted.

While the broad implications of Chickahominy culture-history are sufficiently detailed in the fol-

lowing pages, a brief anticipatory word may be ventured here as to its bearing upon the studies already published by Speck and his students upon the Virginia remnant groups. If the history of this tribe in colonial times is at all representative, the present-day bands must be taken as end results of a series of movements and combinations that have incorporated diverse tribal groups and outsiders, to produce a synthesis that cannot except upon the most careful inquiry be identified with the aboriginal namesake of the band. There is, to be sure, warranty for the belief that many features found in common among the tidewater bands and not shared with White or Negro neighbors are indeed part of their aboriginal heritage. It is not at all certain, however, that some of them at least have not been modified in the course of time. Moreover, the interchange between bands during colonial times undoubtedly disseminated elements not shared aboriginally. It would seem, accordingly, that the history of each of the bands ought ideally to be investigated in order to establish the way in which the component features of its culture have changed.

With this point of view Frank Speck was thoroughly in accord. His own interests led him to concentrate upon those facets of survivals from the Indian past, the recording of traits that even today are in the process of disappearing. It is just those aspects which he so ably recorded that endow these remnant groups today with their special interest for us. With his broad comparative interests, this alone would have been enough. But he did more than this: he stimulated his students to take up the task from there, to investigate avenues which he indicated, but from personal inclination did not follow out. Those who worked with him in the field of historical inquiry found his insights often of the highest value as guides. If this study, then, meets in its own field the high standards Speck was wont to insist upon of himself, I shall be more than satisfied.

It should be mentioned that our field research was cut short by the departure of Mr. Hassrick to Oklahoma and of myself to Oregon, and that the data on the present-day Chickahominy are in con-

sequence less full than we should desire. Furthermore, his duties at the Museum of the Southern Plains Indian have prevented Mr. Hassrick from participating in the actual writing of this report. The end product is, of course, indebted to him at very many points—too frequent for any but general acknowledgment—and I had preferred to give him his due as co-author. This office he has repeatedly declined, because he did not set key to ribbon, and I must reluctantly give way.

Several others should be mentioned for their generous assistance. Dr. A. I. Hallowell, of the University of Pennsylvania, gave us several leads which we found valuable. The late Father John M. Cooper drew freely upon his knowledge of the Ojibway for our benefit. Dr. E. G. Swen, librarian-emeritus of the College of William and Mary, has been more than kind in acquainting me with the archival sources in Virginia. Mr. W. J. Van Schreeven, head archivist of the Virginia State Library, has likewise been most helpful. Dr. H. G. Barnett, my colleague at the University of Oregon, has offered many stimulating insights, of which I have been happy to take advantage, and has read the manuscript. Dr. William S. Laughlin, also a colleague, has also gone over several sections of the paper and has given me the benefit of his criticism. Miss Helen McGillicuddy has been kind enough to prepare figure 9. All these have made the work before you stronger; its inadequacies, on the other hand, must be laid at my door.

Undoubtedly, this study owes most to the Western Chickahominy themselves, to those people whose truly Virginian hospitality made memorably pleasant our association. To their chief, O. Oliver Adkins, and his wife, to "J. C." Adkins, L. A. Holmes, Curtis J. Winn, and the late "Johnny" Jefferson, to these and the rest of their band, who gave so freely of time and knowledge, I acknowledge an agreeable debt.

#### INTRODUCTION

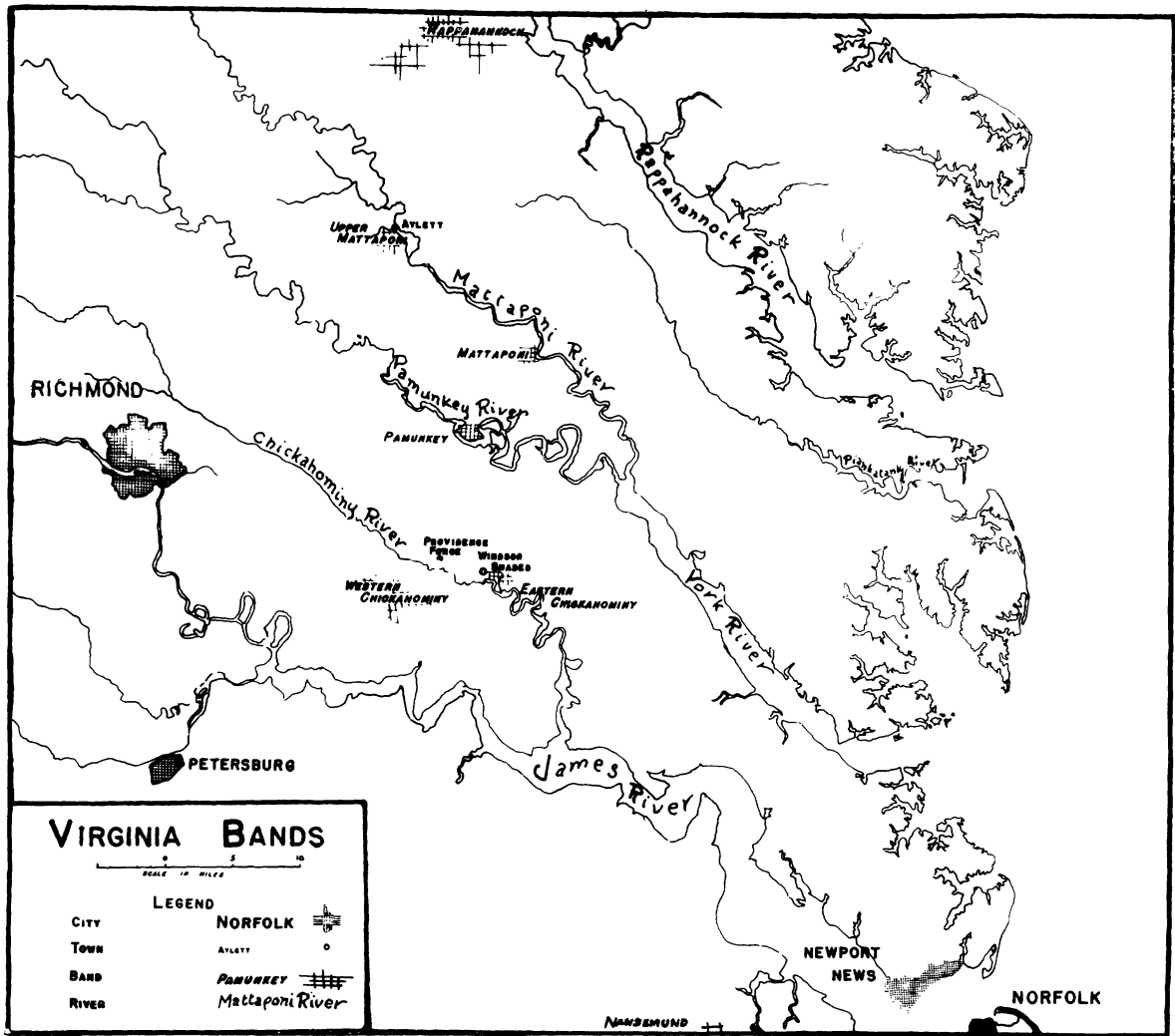
For many years the students of culture change have paid scant heed to the Indians of the Middle Atlantic seaboard, despite the fact that here documentary sources illuminate processes of adaptation extending over a period of more than three and a half centuries. Within this arena three racial groups have met and meet today; here they have made their human adjustments to one another. The Indian communities that survive have made their major concessions, while they

have likewise succeeded in retaining much that is traditional. Indeed, their very existence today challenges the judgment of ethnologists of a former day who, dazzled by the noble savage of the Western Plains, were wont to dismiss the Eastern remnant groups as "mongrels," soon to become extinct.

Within recent years, as opinion has veered, these peoples have come to receive increasing attention, first from Mooney, then from Speck and his students, and latterly from Weslager and Gilbert. The interests of these researchers have, indeed, been bent largely upon traditional characteristics, Indian survivals, so to speak; but they have by no means excluded from their view the modern context in which they have been retained.

It is the purpose of the present paper to make, as it were a pilot run of the course, to follow the history of one such group, the Chickahominy of Virginia. In early days they formed a somewhat alien enclave within the Powhatan tribes of the seaboard. Today they comprise a compact yet diversified community within the Old Dominion state. The course which led them from one setting into the other has been for them an eventful one, a time of stress, but a time of consolidation as well. Their story is an integral part of America's growth.

In viewing the long path along which they have come, we have found that clarity is gained by characterizing major shifts in direction. Chickahominy history opens with an initial period of native vigor, expressed in terms of bellicose resistance to Colonial expansion and marked by selection, from the panel offered, of those items most congruent with native culture; roughly we may say that it extended from the time of first contact, about 1600, to 1644. It is followed by a stage in which, though still retaining many aboriginal structures, the Indian way of life began to disintegrate in the face of determined White assaults. In general, this fell within the following century, from about 1644 to approximately 1750. There followed a time of shifting, of migration, when the Chickahominy had lost their status of reservation Indian, which again extended through approximately one hundred years, from 1750 to the middle of the nineteenth century. Finally, there comes once more a period of regrouping into the present community, marked by extensive diversification of interest in many fields, but gaining cohesion from a heightened consciousness of an Indian heritage. By and large, this shift in



MAP 1.

direction has fallen within the time extending from the Civil War to the present.

Those four major trends in the pathway of Chickahominy culture change must not be taken too literally. After all, the path is a continuous one. Moreover, within each segment there are minor changes of direction that may be extremely deviant from the major trend. The borders along the way owe the sharpness of outline they exhibit to a prevailing community of experience and response among the Chickahominy; and this too has changed with time. Too much, then, cannot be claimed for the periods we have characterized. At best, they may serve to give some sense of order and direction to what may otherwise seem a mass of discontinuous facts.

## I. PERIOD OF NATIVE VIGOR (ca. 1600-1644)

### A. THE ABORIGINAL SETTING

The tribes of the Powhatan empire comprised an important member of an eastward extension of Algonkian-speaking peoples into the coastal plain of tidewater Virginia and North Carolina. The relative recency of their movement, first indicated by Strachey, has more recently been reiterated by Speck.<sup>1</sup> On the west, subsequent drift seems to have been contained by hostile Siouans in the piedmont, while to the south both Siouan and Iroquoian groups served to limit further expansion.

Within the coastal plain, the Virginia Algonkian formed so intimate an adjustment to the river

<sup>1</sup> Strachey, 33; Speck, 1924: 194.

systems that their culture may fairly be termed fluvial. Their principal settlements lay, by and large, along the major water courses or the tributary streams. Here fish were to be taken with hook and line, with well-aimed arrow or bone-tipped spear, with net or fyke and weir; while in the fringing marshes such small fur-bearers as beaver, otter, and muskrat were trapped. Up and down the rivers, the major routes of traffic, passed the dugout canoes. One may gather an idea of the setting of the native villages from the description John Smith gives of two of the Chickahominy settlements. One, Manosquosick, in the lower reaches of the Chickahominy River, lay

. . . a quarter of a mile from the riuer, containing thirtie or fortie houses, vppon an exceeding high land: at the foote of the hill towards the riuer, is a plaine wood, watered with many springes, which fall twentie yardes right downe into the riuer. Right against the same is a great marsh, of 4. or 5. miles circuit, deuided in 2 Ilands, by the parting of the riuer, abounding with fish and foule of all sorts:

Near the heart of Chickahominy country lay

. . . a place called *Moysonicke*, a *Peninsule* of 4. miles ci[r]cuit, betwixt two riuers ioyned to the main by a neck of 40. or 50. yards, and 40. or 50 yards from the high water marke: On both sides in the very necke of the maine, are high hills and dales, yet much inhabited, the Ile declining in a plaine fertile corne field, the lower end a low marsh. More plentie of swannes, cranes, geese, ducks, and mallards, and diuers sorts of fowles, none would desire: more plaine fertile planted ground, in such great proportions as there, I had not seene; . . . fish [in] great plenty, and people [in] abundance: the most of their inhabitants, in view of the neck of Land, where a better seat for a towne cannot be desired: . . .<sup>2</sup>

By contrast with the fertile valleys, the land between the rivers, and in particular in the upper courses toward the piedmont, were termed by the early chroniclers, "deserts"; and here it was that in the winter the Indians would move into temporary camps, to hunt deer by driving them into the river, to dispatch them from canoes, or by surrounding them in the spectacular fire drive; deer likewise might be stalked with bow and arrow by the individual hunter disguised in deerskin, or be caught in a spring snare. At suitable seasons, turkeys, waterfowl, and other birds were

<sup>2</sup> Smith, Arber edn., 11, 12, 13. Tyler (pp. 40n., 41n.) places these towns respectively at Barret's Ferry and the bend at Lanexa along the river. Unhappily, Tyler likewise places (p. 387, n.3) Ozenick at Lanexa, which Smith's map will not permit.

hunted and trapped. In the spring, back once more in the permanent village, the women fell to planting in the fields adjacent to and extending beyond their houses. New fields had to be prepared the year before by the men, who first girdled or charred, then felled, the standing cover, after which the women could move in with their digging sticks to plant such varied crops as maize in four varieties, beans, peas, pumpkins, squashes, gourds, sunflowers, and tobacco. In addition to the plant and animal foods already mentioned, persimmons and grapes, berries, acorns, tuckahoe and groundnuts, and shellfish were gathered. Maize, as well as smoked and dried oysters, fish, and flesh might be preserved into the wintertime, stored in baskets, and kept within the house or in secret storage pits within the woods. In the preparation of meals the cook made use of reed knives, of wooden mortar and pestle, of a wide array of mats and baskets, and of pottery vessels.

The Virginia tribes were among the first in North America to make a direct impression upon the English, and in several cases names of items of their dress passed directly into the English language. Thus with moccasins and with the fur mantle, *matchcore*, which became by folk-etymology, *match-coat*. The fringed and beaded kilt, the feather cloak, the feather headdress; the liberal use of feathers, of copper and shell ornaments; the variety of hairdress, the deerhair roach; and finally the liberal use of body- and face-paint and, in the women especially, of tattooing: all these made a deep impression upon the English. The early writers were quick to see that clothing and adornment served not merely to distinguish the sexes, but to set apart persons of rank and of priestly occupation as well.

The individual houses of the Virginians, while structurally alike, reflected in size, material, and shape differences of function and the rank of the leading occupant. Each was made by setting poles into the ground and bending their tops together, the framework thus formed being covered with bark or mats. In plan, the completed building was either oval or rectangular. The houses of the chiefs were usually larger, and Strachey indicates that only the "principall howses" were covered with bark, which was expensive.<sup>3</sup> Each dwelling had a vent to permit the smoke to escape; in addition to which there were two doors, one at each end, closed by mats. Some houses appear to have had mat partitions and, perhaps, were occupied

<sup>3</sup> Strachey, 70f.

by several families. In summertime, the side walls could be raised to admit air and light. Within, furniture was of the simplest: sleeping platforms covered with mats and skins, storage baskets, and culinary objects seem to have bulked largest. In addition to the dwelling, there were other specialized structures, the arbor, the temple-ossuary, the sweat-lodge, and the temporary hut, each of which had a characteristic form.

The village itself ranged in size from two or three to fifty or a hundred houses. There was no regular plan or form, but dwellings sprawled out over the countryside from a nucleus comprising the temple and chiefly houses. If a palisade fortified the village, it frequently circumscribed only the central buildings. In population the native communities varied. ". . . These wilde naked natiues," writes a contemporary author, "liue not in great numbers together; but dispersed, commonly in thirtie, fortie, fiftie, or sixtie in a company. Some places haue two hundred, few places more, but many lesse . . ." <sup>4</sup> Smith makes specific mention of the following Chickahominy towns: \*Ozenick, \*Manosquosick, Oraniock, Mansa, Apanaock, \*Werawahone, \*Mamanahunt, \*Matanamient, Morinogh, \*Ascacan, \*Movsenock, \*Righkahauck, \*Nechanichock, \*Mattalunt, Attamuspinck, and \*Appocant. Of these, only the towns the names of which are preceded with an asterisk (\*) appear on Smith's map. One of the towns not otherwise mentioned appears on the map as Paspanegh. The inclusion of Mattanamient here is doubtful, since elsewhere Ozenick, which lies above it, is described as the lowest of the Chickahominy towns.

Within the town, the household seems to have been the social unit. Smith asserted that within the house there might be from six to twenty inhabitants, adding that each household knew its own field and gardens, a statement which accords well with the description of the houses standing "in the midst of their fields or gardens; which are small plots of ground, some 20 [acres], some 40, some 100, some 200, some more, some lesse." <sup>5</sup> Such households comprised one or more biological families. These latter were patrilocal. They tended as well to be polygamous, dependent upon the ability of the man to perform bride service or



FIG. 1. The Chickahominy River near Providence Forge.

to pay bride price for his wives. In plural marriage the first wife seems to have held special status. <sup>6</sup> Spelman says, apparently of the Potawomeck, that upon the death of a man his property was divided among his wives and children, his house going to his best-loved wife, passing at her death to a beloved child. <sup>7</sup>

A striking feature of Virginian society was the socio-political stratification. Wealth seems to have validated status attained through personal accomplishments. The very term, *werowance*, applied at times to Powhatan himself, at other times to the subordinate "kings," as well as to other, lesser local chieftains, is derived by Gerard from a root meaning "he is rich." <sup>8</sup> The ostentation in dress and habitation, as well as the exaction of tribute from subordinate rulers, reflect the pertinence of this term. Says Strachey:

Every werowance, knoweth his owne meeres and lymitts to fish, fowle, or hunt in (as before said), but they hold all of their great werowance Powhatan, unto whom they pay eight parts of ten tribute of all the comodities which their country yeldeth, as of wheat, pease, beanes, eight measures of ten (and these measured out in litle cades or basketts, which the great king appoints) of the dying roots, eight measures of ten of all sorts of skyns, and furs eight of ten; and so he robbes the people, in effect, of all they have, even to the deare's skyn wherewith they cover them from cold, in so much as they dare not dresse yt and put yt on untill he have seene yt and refused yt, for what he commaundeth they dare not disobey in the lest thinge. <sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Strachey, 110.

<sup>7</sup> Spelman, in Smith, Arber edn., cx.

<sup>8</sup> Gerard, 111 f.

<sup>9</sup> Strachey, 81. He here enlarges upon a passage in Smith.

<sup>4</sup> Smith's *Generall Historie*, Book 4, in Smith, Arber edn., 577.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, *Description of Virginia* in Smith, Arber edn., 67.

Powhatan's fields were worked for him by his subjects.<sup>10</sup>

The political rule of the *werowance* tended, as far as we know, to be hereditary within the family, sometimes to pass from brother to brother. Powhatan himself declared to Smith that "My brethern, namely *Opichapam*; *Opechankanough*, and *Kekataugh*, my two sisters, and their two daughters, are distinctly each others successors."<sup>11</sup>

The power of the *werowance* relative to his subject seems to have been well-nigh absolute in theory, but was habitually restricted to certain relationships. Behavior on the part of the individual toward persons outside his group was usually subjected to little formal control. Within the group, however, there was vigorous punishment for major crimes. Spelman reports of Pamunkey, the tribe ruled by Opechankanough, that the bones of murderers were broken, after which the unhappy miscreants were burned alive, while thieves were first clubbed, and their bodies subsequently burned.<sup>12</sup> Other forms of punishment ranged from dismemberment to simple cudgelling.

Beneath the *werowance* were officials known as *cockarouses*, whose functions varied widely. At times the *cockarouse* was a war captain, at times an advisor to the *werowance*. The etymology of the term as given by Gerard, "he speaks at some length," suggests both the role of advisor noted above and that of orator, or spokesman, who seems to have occupied a special position.<sup>13</sup>

The empire of some thirty tribes ruled by Powhatan was the product of two generations of conquest. He himself had inherited only six from his father, who had subjugated them. The original tribes lay along the upper and middle course of the James and of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers. Later expansion had subjugated the coastal tribes and had gone both north and south, as well as across Chesapeake Bay to the Eastern Shore. At the time of English contact, the empire was still on the increase.

Between the James and the Pamunkey Rivers, however, the Chickahominy were unconquered, paying only occasional tribute to Powhatan to remain separate from his empire. Their's was a populous and a stable people. Of all the tribes

subject to Powhatan, only the distant Nansemond approached them in fighting strength. For both tribes Smith records an estimate of some 200 warriors, a figure he later raises for the Chickahominy to nearly 250. Judging by the ratio of bowmen to total population applied elsewhere by Smith and accepted by Mook, this might correspond to a tribal strength of some 650 to 800 individuals.<sup>14</sup>

The picture that Smith presents is likewise one of substantial prosperity. In his exploration of the Chickahominy River he was outstandingly successful in bartering for large quantities of maize. At one town, Mamanahunt, "being the hart of the Country" he found "assembled 200. people with such abundance of corne, as hauing laded our barge, as also I might haue laded a ship."<sup>15</sup>

A recent student of this region, Dr. Maurice A. Mook, has recorded his surprise that Smith failed to indicate on his Map of Virginia any chief's town among those of the Chickahominy. "This is anachronistic," he states, "in the light of contemporary textual material, including Smith's own writings, for nothing is clearer from the early accounts than that the Chickahominy constituted a tribe at the time, and in fact one of the most powerful tribes in the area of tidewater Virginia."<sup>16</sup>

The most reasonable explanation for this apparent discrepancy lies in the divergent political structure of the unsubdued Chickahominy. As Smith points out, "In all these places is a severall commander, which they call *Werowance*, except the *Chickahamianians*, who are governed by the Priestes and their Assistants of their Elders called *Caw-cawwasoughes*."<sup>17</sup> More specifically, there were eight elders, styled *mangai* (sing.), the meaning of which appears to be "great," or "great man," who, together with the members of the priesthood, formed the nucleus of government.<sup>18</sup> In at least one case we are told that two of the elders were brothers.<sup>19</sup> To judge from subsequent references, one of the *mangai* seems

<sup>14</sup> Smith, Arber edn., 51, 347; Mook, 1944: 196.

<sup>15</sup> Smith, Arber edn., 12.

<sup>16</sup> Mook, 1943: 25.

<sup>17</sup> Smith, Arber edn., 51. Strachey (p. 61 f.) presents a garbled version of this statement. The *Caw-cawwasoughes* is the *cockarouse* of other writers.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Strachey, 190: *mangoite*, great; Speck, 1928, 275, cites Smith as stating that the headman of the tribe was called *mangoap*, which he analyses as "great man." I have been unable to locate the passage referred to.

<sup>19</sup> Smith, Arber edn., 528.

<sup>10</sup> Spelman, in Smith, Arber edn., cxii.

<sup>11</sup> Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia . . . , in Smith, Arber edn., 135.

<sup>12</sup> Spelman in Smith, Arber edn., cxi.

<sup>13</sup> Gerard, 90. Its later use, as Gerard indicates, was merely to denote a man of accomplishments.

to have acted as head man or spokesman, in a more or less informal character.

Three features at least serve to set apart the Chickahominy political structure. It appears to have been largely devoid of the stratification that elsewhere accompanied autocratic rule. Moreover, the priesthood played a prominent role in government. Finally, but of minor weight, since it rests largely upon etymological reconstruction, leadership status appears to have been less characterized by wealth validation. Because of the failure of early authors to give more than passing reference to this topic, it is impossible to establish with precision the part played by the priesthood. Yet it appears tenable as an hypothesis to infer that the somewhat amorphous type of government described may reflect a survival of an earlier Algonkian structure in which a well-defined chieftainship had not yet made its appearance. The absence of clear-cut patterns of dominance would then gain weight in the corresponding absence of a chief's town on Smith's map.

The role of the priesthood in Virginia at large was intimately bound up with the ruling group. Whether they likewise held hereditary office we do not know. At approximately the age of puberty, a number of the chosen youths underwent an initiatory rite known as the *huskenaw*, during which certain individuals were selected: of these were made the priests and conjurers, to be instructed in tradition by the elder priests.<sup>20</sup> The two classes of heiratic officials were distinguished in dress, but seem at times to have performed functions that were interchangeable. It is possible that the conjurers correspond to what Strachey calls the "inferior priests."<sup>21</sup> Both priest and conjurer utilized the gourd rattle in their office, though the use of this instrument was not confined to them. Both seem to have divined, although it is probable that the conjurer tended to make more use of the trance.<sup>22</sup> In the treating of the sick, it was apparently the priest who administered simples and applied scarification, acupuncture, or cautery to the wound; it may have been the conjurer who exorcised the illness. The distinction, however, is not clearly made by our authorities. On the other hand, it is more certain that the priests officiated at the temples (*machacomuck*, *quioccosan*), in which the idol of the tribal deity was kept. This large oval or

rectangular structure, oriented to the rising sun, was surrounded by posts carved with heads. Within, there was an antechamber, containing a mat enclosure sometimes supported by the posts mentioned above, on which reposed the secondary burials of the leading chiefs along with their dried flesh and much of their wealth. Here, too, was the idol of a major god, perhaps that of a tribal deity, set in a special recess. Beverley states that a conjurer animated this figure, while a priest in the antechamber kept the lay spectators at a respectful distance.<sup>23</sup>

In general, both priests and conjurers seem to have played leading roles in the yearly cycle of ceremonies and upon occasions of distress or triumph. There is mention of a spring purge, lacking however ceremonial association which might permit analogies with the "black drink" of the Southeast. Of significance for understanding the special position of priestly and political leaders is the statement by Strachey that the commoners, who were interred, were believed to have ended their existence, while their *weroowances* and priests, "indeed whom they esteeme half quioughcosughes [minor divinities]" would go to a pleasant world in the West, there to live again to old age, and once more to be reborn in this world.<sup>24</sup>

The foregoing description of aboriginal Virginian life aims less at completeness than at presenting some of the major features of native culture. The reader wishing a fuller picture will find some of the appended references useful. A reservation furthermore must be made in applying the foregoing sketch to the Chickahominy. There are few specific references to the Chickahominy as such, and their known divergence in political structure invites caution in the attribution of other elements of culture present among their neighbors. Nonetheless, even a generalized and approximate picture of the aboriginal setting is indispensable to an appreciation of subsequent changes.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Beverley, 195 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Strachey, 96. Cf. Smith, Arber edn., 78. From the word for god, the name for the temple was sometimes given as *quioccosan*.

<sup>22</sup> Early authorities: Hariot, whose description applies to the Algonkian somewhat south of the Powhatan area; Barlowe and Amidas, of whom the same can be said (in Smith, Arber edn.); Percy, who speaks from direct experience (in Arber edn. and in Tyler), as well as Newport (Arber edn.); Spelman, who lived among the Indians for some years, but whose descriptions may apply especially to the Potawomeck (in Arber edn.); Smith, who speaks from long experience, but with a measure of

<sup>20</sup> Strachey, 95.

<sup>21</sup> Strachey, 91.

<sup>22</sup> Beverley, 212.





FIG. 2. An old farm on the "ridge" at the western limit of the community.

#### B. EARLY CONTACTS

Initial contacts with Europeans came to the Virginia Algonkians through the Spaniards, who discovered a province in Chesapeake Bay called Axacan, which they thereupon attempted to settle, in 1570, only to be virtually wiped out at the hands of the Indians. Subsequently, a relief expedition recaptured the lone Spanish survivor and hanged eight Indians captured with him. Soon afterwards, in 1584-1587, came the abortive attempt to found the Roanoke colony. As Mooney justly sums it up, "The Jamestown colonists landed among a people who already knew and hated the whites."<sup>26</sup>

The initial period of contact was marked on both sides by misunderstandings, overt hostility, and force, overlaid by mutual attitudes of righteousness and peaceful intent. During this time it is evident that the policy of the Colonial government was to monopolize, in so far as possible, the Indian trade, and indeed all contacts with the na-

bias (Arber edn. and Tyler). Strachey's account, while plagiarising Smith extensively, expands on his statements with eye-witness authority; his account is based on observations around 1616. Beverley again follows Smith and others in some degree, but also incorporates the results of direct observations made toward the end of the seventeenth century. John White's drawings, while they relate to the North Carolina Algonkian of the Roanoke region, summon up the indigenous life of the tidewater region more vividly than any other single source.

Of derivative descriptions, perhaps the best are those of Willoughby for the material culture and of Mooney (1907) for details of the political structure. Bruce (1896, vol. 1, ch. 2) has given us a very usable summary of the economic life of aboriginal Virginia, while Swanton (1946, *passim*) has presented extensive quotations from original sources in a monumental, topical comparison of the Indian cultures of the Southeast.

<sup>26</sup> Swanton, 1946: 70-71, 75-76; Mooney, 1907: 129.

tives. The recurrent failure of the crops at Jamestown made it necessary for the English to fall back upon Indian corn, gathered at times by outright extortion or seizure, but whenever possible secured through trade by officials of the Colony. To this end, it was desirable to prevent individual trading ventures, in order to preserve a high and uniform value for European articles. Nonetheless, this policy found more breach than observance at the hands of individual colonists and of sailors, who often sold public supplies for private gain in an effort to make a quick fortune in furs. So blind was this traffic to the public welfare that

. . . within 6. or 7. weekes after the ships returne, of 2. or 300. hatchets, chissels, mattocks, and pick-axes, scarce 20 could be found; for pikeheads, knives, shot, powder, or any thing (they could steale from their fellowes) was vendible. They knew as well (and as secretly) how to convay them to trade with the Salvages, for fures, baskets, mussaneekees [squirrels], young beastes, for such like commodities, as exchange them with the sailers, for butter, cheese, biefe, porke, aquavitae, beere, bisket, and oatmeale . . .<sup>27</sup>

It is probable that much of the illegal trade was conducted with individual Indians, rather than with their rulers. Bearing in mind, however, the authority the latter wielded, it is plain that they must have taken their share of the goods acquired by their subjects.

From the first, then, Indian-White contacts were complicated by a conflict between official policy and private opportunism. Imperfect control of the individual on both sides proved increasingly a source of friction.<sup>27a</sup> And yet, given

<sup>27</sup> Proceedings of the English Colony, in Smith, Arber edn., 128.

<sup>27a</sup> Strachey, an eye-witness during the early days of contact, sheds light on the efforts of Indian leaders, both political and priestly, to stem the growing intercourse between their followers and the colonists. The English, on their part, seem to have cultivated such deviants as ". . . one Kemps, an Indian, who died the last year of the surveye at Jamestowne, after he had dwelt with us almost one whole yeare, much made of by our lord general, and who could speake a pretty deale of our English, and came orderly to church every day to prayers, and observed with us the keeping of the Sabbothe, both by ceassing from labour and repairing to church" (p. 53).

Against this trend, Powhatan set up his checks. They appear clearly in the case (p. 54) of "the Indian Machumps, who was sometyme in England, and comes to and fro amongst us as he dares, and as Powhatan gives him leave, for yt is not otherwise safe for him, no more than yt was for one Amarice, who had his braynes knockt out for selling but a baskett of corne, and lying

the expansionist policies of both Jamestown and Powhatan, ultimate conflict was inevitable.<sup>28</sup>

The autonomy which Chickahominy had secured by unremitting effort was swiftly upset in the cross-currents thus generated. A glance at a map clearly indicates the reason. Jamestown lay on the James River, the seat of Powhatan's realm on the York. Between them lay the Chickahominy. In face of the new threat to their freedom posed by the forays of the English in search of food, the Chickahominy threw in their lot with their native foe. When Opechancanough, king of Pamunkey, surprised Smith in the course of his exploration and took him captive, the Chickahominy formed part of his hunting party. Indeed, Matthew Scrivener testified that the neighboring Powhatan tribe of the Paspahugh had plotted with the Chickahominy to surprise the settlers at work, in order to gain possession of their implements. It is clear that this formed only part of the general plan.

The struggle for balance of power continued, settlers and Indians preserving a precarious peace. Powhatan, in the face of increasing peril, withdrew his capital to Orapaks, a town lying between the Pamunkey and Chickahominy Rivers, well above tidewater, and thus beyond the reach of ordinary foraging parties. The Chickahominy continued to trade with the Whites, although the extortion of maize and other foodstuffs on the part of Smith and others scarcely served to reassure them; while, on the other hand, the thefts

in the English fort two or three daies without Powhatan's leave . . . ."

It was at least the prevailing sentiment of the colonists that the native priesthood formed the core of opposition. ". . . for these their Quiyoughquissocks or prophetts," observes Strachey (p. 84), "be they that perswade their werowances to resist our settlement, and tell them how much their Okeus wilbe offended with them, and that he will not be appeased with a sacrifice of a thowsand, nay a hecatomb of their childrene, yf they permitt a nation, dispicing the ancyent religion of their forefathers, to inhabite among them, since their owne gods have hitherto preserved them, and given them victory over their enemies, from age to age."

<sup>28</sup> Smith, Arber edn., 37. The avowed policy of the English is perhaps best expounded in the instructions received by Sir Thomas Gates, Governor of the Colony: "If you make friendship with any of these nations as you must doe, choose to do it with those that are farthest from you & enemies unto those amongst whome you dwell for you shall have least occasion to have differences with them and by that means a surer league of amity" (Quoted from MS. in British Museum in Bushnell, 1907: 33).

perpetrated by various Indians constituted recurrent sources of irritation.<sup>29</sup>

Matters were finally brought to a head by the seizure of Pocahontas, daughter of Powhatan, and her subsequent marriage to John Rolfe. The strong affection linking father to daughter seem to have served the expected purpose: for he swiftly concluded peace with the colonists.<sup>30</sup> Caught now between two allies, the Chickahominy came to terms and in 1614 signed a treaty with the government of Sir Thomas Dale. As recorded by Ralph Hamor, the picture is a revealing one:

Besides this, by the meanes of *Powhatan*, we became in league with our next neighbours, the *Chickahomianias*, a lustie and a daring people, free of themselves. These people, so soone as they heard of or peace with *Powhatan*, sent two messengers with presents to Sir *Thomas Dale*, and offered them his [*him, their*] seruice, excusing all former iniuries, hereafter they would euer be King *Iames* his subjects, and relinquish the name of *Chickahomania*, to be called *Tassautessus*,<sup>31</sup> as they call vs; and Sir *Thomas Dale* the[i]re Gouvernour, as the Kings Deputie; onely they desired to be gouerned by their owne Lawes, which is eight of their Elders as his substitutes. This offer he kindly accepted, and appointed the day hee would come to visit them.

When the appointed day came Sir *Thomas Dale* and Captaine *Argall* with fiftie men well appointed, went to *Chickahomania*, where wee found the people expecting our comming; the vsed vs kindly, and the next morning sate in counsell, to conclude their peace vpon these conditions:

*First they should for euer bee called Englishmen, and bee true subjects to King Iames and his Deputies.*

*Secondly, neither to kill nor detaine any of our men, nor cattell, but bring them home.*

*Thirdly, to bee alwaies ready to furnish vs with three hundred men, against the Spaniards or any.*

*Fourthly, they shall not enter our townes, but send word they are new Englishmen.*

*Fiftly, that every fighting man, at the beginning of haruest, shall bring to our store two bushels of Corne, for tribute, for which they shall receiue so many Hatchets.*

<sup>29</sup> Smith, Arber edn., 127, 152, 153.

<sup>30</sup> In 1614, then Governor Dale proposed to wed a younger sister of Pocahontas, since, his messenger asserted, "there could not be a truer assurance of peace and friendship, than in such a naturall band of a united union." Powhatan refused, since the daughter was already married (Smith's *Generall Historie*, Book IV, in Smith, Arber edn., 518-519).

<sup>31</sup> Speck etymologizes this name for the English as "shirt wearer" (1928: 272).



FIG. 3. Chief, wearing Plains-type headdress. Indianism is prominent in Chickahominy thought today.

*Lastly, the eight chiefe men should see all this performed, or receiue the punishment themselues: for their diligence they should haue a red coat a copper chaine, and King Iames his picture, and be accounted his Noblemen.*

All this they concluded with a generall assent, and a great shout to confirme it: then one of the old men began an Oration, bending his speech first to the old men, then to the young, and then to the women and children, to make them vnderstand how strictly they were to obserue these conditions, and we would defend them from the furie of *Powhatan*, or any enemy whatsoever, and furnish them with Copper, Beads, and Hatchets; but all this was rather for feare *Powhatan* and we, being so linked together, would bring them againe to his subiection; the which to preuent, they did rather chuse to be protected by vs, than tormented by him, whom they held a Tyrant.

And thus wee returned againe to *Iames* towne.<sup>32</sup>

A treaty planted in such soil could scarcely be expected to take root, let alone to flourish. The very condition most disruptive to its permanence was the—to the Indian—parasitic growth of the English settlement, which, in its unremitting burgeoning threatened to press back or choke out the Indian communities. Both sides realized it: behind the screen of amity both worked with Machiavellian realism to prepare for the next encounter. When, in 1616, Dale was replaced by Captain George Yeardley, it was the Chickahominy again that were the center of strife.

Yeardley sent for the tribute corn and was rebuffed. When he had mustered a force of one hundred of his best shots and sallied forth he met nothing but defiance. The Chickahominy claimed they had made their terms with Dale and they had held faithful to it. But Yeardley was only Dale's man—one thinks of the term, *cockarouse*—to whom they owed nothing.

Yeardley marched to Ozinick (or Ozinies), lowest of the Chickahominy towns, and thence upriver toward Mamanahunt, in the heart of Chickahominy territory. A force of Indians under Kissanocomen, war chief and headman of Ozinick, paralleled their route.

The next day, when the English crossed the river, they found the Indians already there and the newly-gathered maize concealed. Dispute gaining nothing, Yeardley drew his forces together and fired, killing or injuring twelve and capturing twelve more, among them two of the Elders. The Indians capitulated and produced in ransom about one hundred bushels of maize, whereupon the English returned down the river. At Ozinick they met Opechancanough, the head chief of the Pamunkey, one of the most powerful neighbors of the Chickahominy. Despite treaty obligations, Opechancanough had made political capital of the English campaign to secure for himself the subjection of this Chickahominy town, sealed as was customary by tribute of "Beads, Copper, and such trash as they had."<sup>33</sup> From this time on, the Chickahominy gravitated increasingly toward the political camp of Powhatan.

A wary truce set in to endure for two years. Then a party led by one Richard Killingbeck, which had ventured to Chickahominy to conduct some illicit trading, was shot by several Indians, in part as revenge for the losses incurred during Yeardley's campaign, but doubtless also for the goods Killingbeck had brought with him. "But," the narrator continues, "fearing this murder would come to light, and might cause them to suffer for it, would now proceed to the perfection of villanie; for presently they robbed their Machacomocko house of the towne, stole all the *Indian* treasure thereout, and fled into the woods, as other *Indians* related." The renegades proceeded to slay still other colonists, whereupon Opechancanough was called to task by the English; while the Chickahominy, on the other hand, expressed to him the fears they felt that the English would hold them jointly responsible for the depreda-

<sup>32</sup> Smith, Arber edn., 514-515.

<sup>33</sup> *Idem*, 527-528.

tions. Opechancanough reassured the colonists, asking that the innocent townsmen of the renegades be spared and offering to Captain Argall, then Governor, the possession of that town, sending him a "basket of earth, as possession giuen of it." He further offered to present the heads of the killers, a promise he failed to fulfill.<sup>34</sup>

In this revealing incident there are clear signs of the stress through which the Chickahominy were passing. That a group of tribesmen would dare to despoil the temple of their town may be construed as indicative of a break-down of tribal authority; and Opechancanough's free-handed action in bestowing the town upon the English is clear evidence of the degree to which Chickahominy autonomy had lapsed.

The following year, in the course of a routine reaffirmation of a policy of forbearance toward the Indians, it was found proper to make specific mention of the Chickahominy as coming under its terms. Doubtless the actions of the renegades had fully established, in the minds of the English, their hostility to the settlers.<sup>35</sup>

It was at this time that the Colony began to take active measures toward the realization of a long-standing goal, the evangelization of the Indians. Here, as in contemporary Spain, it was considered a holy duty; and yet, as in the baptism of Pocahontas in 1613, political advantages must often have loomed large. The steps taken in 1619-1620 aimed toward the setting up of a college in which, along with the children of colonists, Indians brought up in English households were to be entered. With proper religious instructions, together with training in associated studies, it was hoped that the Indian graduates would be fitted to go out as missionaries to their own peoples. The program had the royal endorsement and considerable public backing. Indeed, by 1620 a teacher had been engaged, and in the same year indentured servants were imported to finance the education of thirty Indian children.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *Idem*, 538-539.

<sup>35</sup> *Jour. House of Burgesses*, 1619-1658/9: 9.

<sup>36</sup> Bruce, 1910: 1, 5 f., 344-346, 362-371.

Among the gifts received by the Colony for that year, the following is recorded:

"Master *Nicolas Ferrar* deceased, hath by his Will giuen 300. pounds to the College in Virginia, to be paid, when there shall be ten of the *Infidels* children placed in it. And in the meane time foure and twenty pounds by yeere, to be distributed vnto three discreet and Godly men in the Colony, which shall honestly bring vp three of the *Infidels* children in Christian Religion, and some good course to liue by." (A Declaration of the state

Hopes for the winning over of the tribes, however, proved tragically vain. Powhatan had died in 1618, and with him went the central figure in the colonial Indian diplomacy. Opitchapan, his brother, succeeded him briefly, but the actual power passed into the hands of the doughty Opechancanough. In him the English had an implacable foe; and it was only a matter of time before the Indians rose up in arms. In 1622 they made their stroke, in a swift upsurge of fury that culminated in the death of some 350 colonists, among them the master of the Indian school. When they had spent their strength, the time had come for merciless reprisals.<sup>37</sup> Conversion must await the day when native resistance had been crushed. Many must have turned to the views expressed the year before by the Reverend Jonas Stockden, who in clear recognition of the core about which Indian values centered, proclaimed that "till their Priests and Ancients haue their throats cut, there is no hope to bring them to conuersion."<sup>38</sup>

There were those who were aware of the new desperation of the Indians. John Smith, their former nemesis, contrasted the days he recalled with the present:

They did not kill the English [then] because they were Christians, but for their weapons and commodities, that were rare nouelties; but now they feare we may beate them out of their dens, which Lions and Tygers would not admit but by force.<sup>39</sup>

As if to echo him, there comes from a colonist the calculation of benefits to accrue:

Moreouer, where before we were troubled in cleering the ground of great Timber, which was to them

of the Colonie and Affaires in Virginia. (1620) *in* Peter Force's *Tracts* 3(5): 12.)

<sup>37</sup> Tardily, and unrealistically, the officials of the Virginia Company in distant London took steps to rectify the consequences of the illicit traffic in arms. The proceedings for August 14, 1622—the Indian uprising had taken place some six months earlier—read,

"... and further it was agreed and thought fit that the bows and arrows which his Majesty had given up to the Virginia Company (in respect the use and scattering of them amongst the Indians might prove a thing dangerous to our own people, and withal make them acquainted with the manner of fashioning the arrow heads), that therefore they should be deposited and kept safe in the Somer Islands [the Bermudas] in a readiness against there should be occasion to use them in Virginia." (Brock, p. 9 f.)

<sup>38</sup> Smith's *Generall Historie*, Book IV, *in* Smith, Arber edn., 564.

<sup>39</sup> *New Englands Trials* (1622) *in* Peter Force's *Tracts* 2(2): 15.

of small vse: now we may take their owne plaine fields and Habitations, which are the pleasantest places in the Countrey. Besides, the Deere, Turkeys, and other Beasts and Fowles will exceedingly increase if we beat the Saluages out of the Countrey . . . .<sup>40</sup>

The role which the Chickahominy had played in the desperate insurrection is plain enough from the record of raids which went forth against them. In 1623 Nathaniel Butler and Captain William Powell, at the head of a force of eighty men, fell upon them, put them to flight, and ravaged their houses and crops.<sup>41</sup> Later in the same year, plans were made for extensive reprisals against the tribes. The force against the Chickahominy, mustered from James City and environs, was led by Captain William Pierce, whose instructions were “. . . to pursue the Salvages with fire and sword, especially to employ himself and his company, in cutting downe and destroying their corne.”<sup>42</sup> The devastating policy of economic warfare thus set up became fixed. When, in 1627, reprisals were resumed, the chief object was to “goe uppon the Indians and cut downe their corne,” the date being set for the first of August, by which time in all probability the crops were advanced in growth. Pierce was again placed in command of the raid against the Chickahominy and Tappahannock.<sup>43</sup>

Meanwhile, instructions went out that no householder was to admit an Indian to his residence, nor was he to carry on any intercourse or unlicensed trading with any native.<sup>44</sup> Other marches followed, in the years 1629 and 1631. At the end of the latter campaign, the Governor conducted parleys with the Chickahominy, and shortly thereafter a peace was proclaimed with both Pamunkey

<sup>40</sup> Master Wimp, in Smith's *Generall Historie*, Book IV, in Smith, Arber edn., 579.

<sup>41</sup> Smith, Arber edn., 603.

<sup>42</sup> Docs. Sir Fr. Wyatt, *Wm. & Mary Quart.*, ser. 2, 7: 3, 1927.

<sup>43</sup> Decisions of Va. Gen. Court, 1626-1628, *Va. Mag.* 4(3): 246-249.

Mooney summarizes reprisal policy thus: "It was ordered that three expeditions should be undertaken yearly against them in order that they might have no chance to build their wigwams, and the commanders were forbidden to make peace upon any terms whatever. A large number of Indians were at one time induced to return to their homes by promises of peace, but all were massacred in their villages and their houses burned. The ruse was attempted a second time, but was unsuccessful. . . . peace was made in 1636." (Mooney, in Hodge, 2: article, "Powhatan," p. 300.)

<sup>44</sup> Bruce, 1910: 2: 72.

and Chickahominy, although it was urged that they not be trusted.<sup>45</sup>

There followed a period of some thirteen years, during which an uneasy peace seems to have settled upon the land. For the Indians, it must have been a time of flux, of recombinations of remnants of shattered tribes, of the incorporation of small groups into the larger surviving bodies. Hard-hit they plainly were, yet there is no evidence of cultural disintegration.

Additions to their ranks came from unexpected quarters. At a session of the General Court held at James City in 1627, deliberation turned upon a group of Carib slaves recently imported by one Captain Sampson. The Court held them a menace to the Colony—the preceding year the ship, *Saker*, had been forced under native attack to abandon a landing party that had gone ashore on the Carib-held island of Matalina, in the West Indies—and directed Sampson to dispose of them, whereupon he passed the matter back to the Court. In the ensuing discussion,

The Court hereupon having had longe & full deliberation of this matter, & being likewise given to understand by good information that the said Indians have runn away & hid themselves in the woods attempting to goe to ye Indians of this country as some of them have revealed & confessed, and for that they have stolen away divers goods, & attempted to kill some of our people as by good probability we are informed: And for that especially they may hereafter be a means to overthrow the whole Colony. have adjudged them to be presently taken & hanged till they be dead.<sup>46</sup>

We hear nothing further of the fugitives: the records are silent as to the success of the manhunt. Yet it seems unlikely either that all were apprehended—by the time the Court had made its decision they may have reached the nearby villages of Pamunkey and Chickahominy, for example—or that, once having gained that sanctuary, they would then be handed over to the common foe. Very possibly their retention may have been one of the reasons for the campaigns of 1629 and 1631. At any rate, their influence upon native culture, while it cannot be assessed at this distance, remains an element to be considered by latter-day ethnologists.

Within this period, too, there began a large-scale occupation of the Chickahominy River, di-

<sup>45</sup> *Min. Counc. & Gen. Court of Col. Va.*, 1622-1632, etc., 480.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 143, 155.

rectly traceable in land grants first in the lower course of the river and moving upstream toward the old stronghold of the tribe. In the main, grants lay within the former territory of the Paspahegh, downstream neighbors of the Chickahominy, but the threat was there. Furthermore, an advancing fringe of unlicensed settlers must have proven a more direct source of annoyance.<sup>47</sup>

Matters came to a head in 1644, when Opechancanough, then almost one hundred years old, launched his last desperate assault. As in 1622, the attack was simultaneous, and like the warfare of that year it netted several hundred English victims. But by this time the Colony had grown to such size that it was never seriously threatened: the attacks were repulsed and Opechancanough captured and slain.<sup>48</sup> Reprisals were then set in motion once again upon the foe. As usual, the English campaign was conducted in the late summer in order to destroy the standing crops, the marches going forth against all the tribes involved in the attack. A body of fifty soldiers was detailed to the Chickahominy raid, suggesting, by comparison with former figures, a falling-off in Indian strength.<sup>49</sup>

Thus, within less than forty years of the founding of Jamestown, the Indian military power was effectively nullified. From this time on, the ephemeral empire of Powhatan's line began to fall apart. And yet, the English, in an early venture at indirect rule, found reason to support the Emperor, and to buttress his claims to speak for the Indian tribes.

During this period of native vigor, there had been economic sufficiency, by and large, and the Indians were able to maintain a certain selectivity

<sup>47</sup> Land grants are listed in Stanard, 1897: 422-424; Anonymous, 1901: 58; Cridlin, 1916: 392; as well as in brief notes appearing anonymously in the following volumes of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*: 2: 310, 313, 1895; 3: 156, 182, 285, 1896; 5: 338, 346-347, 384, 1898; 6: 191, 297-298, 1898-1899; 7: 423, 1900; 13: 64, 1905; 14: 302, 424, 1907; 16: 197, 1908; 19: 285, 1912; 22: 309, 1914; 34: 353, 1926.

<sup>48</sup> A contemporary source states that Opechancanough, having been informed of the current civil war in England, calculated that the mother-country would be unable to come to the relief of her colony. His plan of warfare called for the attrition of English resources, similar to that already experienced by the Indians, and directed especially against livestock and corn-fields. After the initial attack, however, matters got out of hand, the Indians withdrew and thus gave their foe opportunity to organize. (A Perfect Description of Virginia (1649), Peter Force's *Tracts* 2(8): 11.)

<sup>49</sup> *Min. of Counc. Gen. Ct. Col. Va.*, 1622-1632, etc., 502; Hening, 1: 287.



FIG. 4. Chickahominy matron. Her husband ran the local country store, which her son has now taken over.

in the acceptance of alien ideas or properties; moreover language barriers served to screen out much of a non-material character. Swords and guns had been eagerly accepted; indeed, Indians had been employed by the English as fowling and hunters.<sup>50</sup> Knives, hatchets, blankets, and rum were in eager demand. Speaking of the use of the aboriginal stone axe, Strachey as early as 1616 indicated that even at this date it was being abandoned, since ". . . now, by trucking with us, they have thousands of our iron hatchets . . ." <sup>51</sup> The gifts presented to the rulers probably had less effect upon native life. Powhatan received, among other things, such novel items as royal clothes, a bed, a grindstone, a cock and hen, and a house, while his own desires led him to request such practical items as a razor, a frow, a net, fish hooks, and other items. Before the massacre of 1622, one of the Colonial leaders had a house built for Opechancanough in the English style "in which he tooke such pleasure, especially in the locke and key, which he so admired, as locking and vnlocking his doore a hundred times a day, he thought no deuce in the world comparable to

<sup>50</sup> Smith's *Generall Historie*, Book IV, in Smith, Arber edn., 529.

<sup>51</sup> Strachey, 106. The trade hatchets were of inferior quality (*ibid.*, 69).

it."<sup>52</sup> Private trade, which had been permitted since 1619,<sup>53</sup> had increased the accessibility of European goods to the Indians, with certain exceptions, while the admission of Indians to English houses and the earlier lodging of colonists with the Indians during the Starving Time (1609) had permitted an intimacy of contact that was to be less characteristic of later times.

And what of the Chickahominy? Along with the tribes of the James River, they had borne the brunt of the warfare between Powhatan and the English. The English expansion had thrust them out of their ancestral lands and they had withdrawn to less fruitful regions above the powerful Pamunkey. This was the first, but far from the last, time that they have found solution to aggression in removal. In so doing, the Chickahominy were able to maintain their own political structure only in subordination to Opechancanough; their autonomy was gone. Moreover, whatever cultural idiosyncrasies may have characterized their aboriginal culture were now exposed to assimilation to the culture of their Indian neighbors and erstwhile foe. It is, indeed, striking testimony of the vigor of their political system that it was able to maintain its formal structure, with perhaps some concessions to the Powhatan system, for at least another seventy years.

## II. TRIBAL LIFE IN DECLINE (1644—ca. 1750)

With the death of Opechancanough, the Virginia Indians came directly under the rule of the English. The new Emperor, Necotowance, was signatory to a treaty in 1646 by which he held his kingdom as tributary from the King of England, his successors to be appointed or confirmed by

<sup>52</sup> Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia, in Smith, Arber edn., 130; Smith's Generall Historie, Book IV, *ibid.*, 518, 574.

<sup>53</sup> Proceedings of the Virginia Assembly, in Tyler, 269–270. But it was forbidden to sell or give to the Indians large hoes or any English dog or weapons; or to go over twenty miles from home or visit an Indian town without special license.

"For trade with the Indians, buy Dutch or Welch rugged cloth, seven quarters broad, a violet blew or red, at four or five shillings a yard, small hooks and fishing lines, Morris bels, Jewes-harps, Combes, trading knives, Hatchets, Axes, Hoes, they will bring you Venison, Turkeys and Fowles, Flesh, &c. for a pennyworth of corn at twelve pence a bushell" (A Description of New Albion (1648) in Peter Force's *Tracts* 2(7): 32). "By trading with Indians for Skins, Beaver, Furses and other commodities oftentimes good profits are raised . . ." (Leah and Rachel, or the Two Fruitful Sisters Virginia, and Mary-land . . . (1656), *idem* 3(14): 19 f.).

the Governor, while the Assembly, on the other hand, undertook to maintain him securely in office. The Indians were to have free run North of the York, while all the land between that river and the James—including therein the Chickahominy valley—was to be ceded to the English, from the fall line down. It was to be death for an Englishman to harbor an Indian. The English had split the tidewater tribes into two segments, and an effort was made to seal off the northern (Pamunkey, Chickahominy, Nanzatico, Rappahannock, etc.) and southern (Nansemond, Nottoway, Meherrin) segments. The northern tribes were to be permitted access to English territory only as messengers or for purposes of trade, when they might obtain striped coats to attest the legitimacy of their mission from the commandant at Fort Henry or from the interpreter, Captain John Flood. As an aftermath of the war just concluded, the Indians were to bring in

the English prisoners, and all such negroes and guns which are yet remaining either in the possession of himselfe [Necotowance] or any Indians, and that here deliver vpon demand such Indian servants as have been taken prisoners and shall hereafter run away, In case such Indian or Indians shal be found within the limitts of his dominions; provided that such Indian or Indians be vnder the age of twelve years at their running away.

Finally, Indians under the age of twelve might voluntarily live with the English.<sup>54</sup>

In 1648, Necotowance visited Governor Berkeley, "with five more petty Kings attending him," among them doubtless one from the Chickahominy, and brought twenty beaver skins in tribute to King Charles, as required annually by the treaty. While there he delivered himself of a speech, pledging friendship to the English and announcing his decree that it would be lawful to slay an Indian trespassing upon English land, while on the other hand the colonists were free at any time to pass through his domain. This went far beyond the treaty stipulations. The Indians seem to have had little regard for him. A writer of the time remarks,

Insomuch that the Emperour *Nicotowance* saying was, my countrymen tell me I am a liar, when I tell them the English men will kill you if you goe into their bounds, but valiant Captain *Freeman* made him

<sup>54</sup> Hening, 1: 323–326.

no liar, when lately he killed three Indians so without badge incroaching.<sup>55</sup>

Within a year or so he was replaced as chief of the Pamunkey by Totopotamoy.

The treaty of 1646 had attempted to resolve the complications arising out of multiple contacts, uncontrolled in character, between Whites and Indians. It sought to segregate the two populations by permitting Indian entry only at two points, while forbidding the English to hunt and to cut trees or sedge within Indian country without special license from the Governor. Within Colonial society the Indian was to appear only as a servant or slave, as a docile minor, or as an infrequent messenger or trader. For the Indians, it was yet another retreat in the face of the irresistible advance of farms and plantations. For the Chickahominy, it meant the loss of their ancestral lands and a reduction to an area, probably along the upper "freshes" of the Mattaponi River, lying above tidewater and thus above the run of many of the fish upon which they depended.

Yet the treaty was not enough. Barely seven years after its passage, Totopotamoy made formal application to the General Court for land along the York River, a request granted on the condition that he live there. The Court also took this occasion to stipulate that "the commissioners of York are required that such persons as are seated upon the land of Pamunkey or Chickahominy Indians be removed according to a late act of Assembly made to that purpose."<sup>56</sup>

Two years later, in 1655, when the Siouan Manahoac and Nahyssan, driven back by hostile tribes, settled near the falls of the James River, the Colony, marshalling forces to expell them, turned to Totopotamoy and the Chickahominy and other tribes for assistance. A force of over one hundred Indians accompanied Col. Edward Hill on this mission which he so mismanaged that the Virginians were soundly defeated and Totopotamoy, together with most of his warriors, were slain.<sup>57</sup> The widow of the Indian leader succeeded him as Queen Anne of the Pamunkey and at least nominally as successor to Powhatan's sovereignty. The Indians had had a bitter experience in the fallibility of colonial leadership and they had lost heavily in effective males. It was not a reassuring

entrance into the role of "Tributary Indian" which they were henceforth to play.

The Assembly was fully conscious of the need to stabilize the Indian economy and at the same time to align native interests with those of the Colony. Encroaching farms and plantations had led initially to the decrease in large game population upon which the Indians were dependent in the winter months. The Indian reaction had been in part retaliatory, in part the direct consequence of economic necessity: they killed the free-roving livestock of the colonists. The sequestration of the natives above the York River aimed at lessening the occasion for such sources of friction; conversely, however, the concentration of larger populations within a limited area had as its result the overhunting of Indian country. Shortly before the Manahoac fiasco, the Assembly passed three acts designed to counteract the effects of "our extreme pressures on them, and their wanting of something to hazard & loose beside their lives . . ." The Indians were to be endowed with property: for every eight wolf heads brought in—wolves were a constant menace in the countryside—the king or great man was to be presented with a cow. "This will be a step to civilizing them and to making them Christians," ran the earnest declaration,<sup>58</sup> "besides it will certainly make the commanding Indians watch over their own men that they do vs no injuries, knowing that by their default they may be in danger of losing their estates." Secondly, the Indian children brought in as hostages were to be placed by their parents in homes of their selection, not to be treated as slaves but to be instructed in Christianity and in useful trades. Finally, lands granted the Indians by the Assembly were to be inalienable, for otherwise "this will putt vs to a continuall necessity of allotting them new lands and possessions and they will be allwaies in feare of what they hold not being able to distinguish between our desires to buy or inforcement to have, in case their grants and sales be desired."<sup>59</sup>

Well-intentioned though these acts were, they failed to secure their ends. Indian techniques found precedent neither for the care of large domestic animals nor the utilization of dairy products. The cows were ill-tended and, as a matter

<sup>55</sup> A Description of the Province of New Albion (1648) in Peter Force's *Tracts* 2(7): 25.

<sup>56</sup> Hening, 1: 380.

<sup>57</sup> Swanton, 1946: 157; Hening, 1: 402-403.

<sup>58</sup> Bruce (1896: 1: 370) aptly observes of this passage, "The cow has performed both a conspicuous and a useful part in the history of the human race, but probably never before or since has so high a compliment been paid to her capacity for accomplishing good . . ."

<sup>59</sup> Hening, 1: 393-396.





FIG. 5. Elder. He still subsists in part upon the products of trapping and fishing.

of fact, offered so little inducement that two years later other, more direct measures—the hiring of Indian hunters—had to be taken to cope with the wolves.<sup>60</sup>

Nor was the act pertaining to lands effective. Barely two years after its passage, in answer to many complaints, the Assembly passed an act confirming the Indians in the land they held and prohibiting the English from settling without official permission upon tracts already claimed by the tribes. At the same time, the latter clause was not to affect English who had already settled with the permission of the Indians. Commissioners, appointed to supervise the act, were to assist the Indians in moving to vacant lands. Furthermore, Indians were not to sell their lands save at quarter courts. Reference was again made to squatters—“those English which are lately gone to seate neare the Pamunkies and the Chichominyes on the north side of Pamunkie river”—who were to be recalled to settle elsewhere. Finally, Indian hunting rights were defined: the natives were free to hunt in the woods beyond the English plantations, but outside of the area ceded to the English in the treaty of 1646.<sup>61</sup>

By 1660 the colonial Assembly took under consideration the allocation of specified lands to the Chickahominy. The following year, a decision of that body announced,

Upon the petition of Harquip the Mangai of the Chickahominy Indians to have all the lands from Mr. Malorys bounds to the head of Mattaponi river & into the woods to the Pamaunkes. *It is accordingly ordered* that the said land be confirmed to the said Indians by patten, and that no Englishman shall upon any preteñse disturbe them in their said bounds nor purchase it of them unless the major part of the great men shall freely and voluntarily declare their consent in the quarter court of assembly.<sup>62</sup>

Evidently the political structure of the Chickahominy was in all essentials intact, despite the decrease in officials that must have accompanied the consolidation of towns. Both the model of the graded Powhatan system and the Colonial policy of dealing with tribal representatives encouraged the emergence of one of the *mangai* as spokesman, a development which merely reinforced an aboriginal practice. It may be added, parenthetically, that the reference to native leaders as kings and queens reflects European misconceptions of tribal leadership that hardly fit most of the tribes outside of the Powhatan sphere and are inapt as applied within it. The extent to which these erroneous views affected English policy, while doubtless grave, can be assessed today only with difficulty.

The new Chickahominy grant, located in Pamunkey Neck, the land between the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers, along the south side of the upper Mattaponi, included parcels already claimed by others. By the same act that authorized the grant, the Assembly instructed Major General Mainwaring Hammond to purchase or otherwise procure the Indians' consent to retain some two thousand acres of land within the tract. Furthermore, their new neighbor, Philip Mallory, shortly thereafter purchased some 743 acres of land from the reservation, the sale being acknowledged by Harquip for himself and his fellows.<sup>63</sup>

Simple affirmation of the Indian's right to his own land, however, did not avail against individuals who overrode or conveniently ignored the court orders. In the same year it was found necessary to issue a warrant against one Edward Dennis, who “without title or claime, seated himselfe in the Indian town of Chicahomini.” Contingent upon the findings of the Court, the Governor was to order either his removal or his continuance. While the warrant seems to have been based upon a direct complaint on the part of the tribe, the incident of Dennis calls to mind

<sup>60</sup> Hening, 1: 457.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 1: 467–468.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* 2: 34.

<sup>63</sup> *Op. cit.*, 35, 39.

the fact, often overlooked, that all times have seen men who preferred Indian life above that of the colony; and the charms of the women, together with the direct economic advantages of reservation life, have been more than sufficient to appeal to them. We know that intermarriage has long been an important cultural factor in the ethnic history of the Virginia Indians, and while present-day informants can only trace their English surnames back to the end of the eighteenth century, there is little reason to doubt that racial intermixture occurred far earlier as well. Thus while no direct connection with Edward Dennis can be affirmed, his surname is still prominent on the Pamunkey reservation and is alleged to have occurred in the past among the Chickahominy as well.<sup>64</sup>

The irresponsible encroachments of squatters, together with the unscrupulous methods by which the Indians were often persuaded to surrender their lands in exchange for trifles<sup>65</sup> moved the Assembly in 1662 to reiterate its stand on the in-

<sup>64</sup> *Op cit.*, 161 f. In 1665, according to the extracts from the Patent Books on deposit in the Virginia State Library (vol. 25, New Kent County, p. 117), Edward Dennis and Samuel Mottershott acquired five hundred acres of land only described as adjoining the land of Capt. Martin Palmer and Edward Diggs. The 1751 Fry and Jefferson map locates a Dennis's Creek across the upper Mattaponi not far from the place where the Chickahominy reservation probably lay.

The Augustine Herrman map, based upon observations in the year 1670, locates within Pamunkey Neck the Pamunkey, denoted as "Passaomeck Indian," the Mankind (Monacan) Indians, a Siouan group, incorrectly placed on the north shore of the upper Pamunkey River, and a settlement on the south shore of the upper Mattaponi River, approximately in the vicinity of the present town of Aylett. The label, "Indian Land," is the only designation for the upper portion of the Neck. There is little doubt, however, that the Chickahominy are represented by the settlement on the Mattaponi.

<sup>65</sup> A list of some of the resolutions of the Court pertaining to Indians for the year 1661-1662 contains the following (Hening, 2: 152-155):

Col. Moore Fantleroy was disqualified from office and bound to good behavior. He had promised the Rappahannock Indians fifty matchcoats for five hundred acres of land, but had failed to make payment. Moreover, he had bound the king and great men of the tribe, extorting a ransom in roanoke to be applied to the tribute they owed Governor Berkeley. ". . . and for prevention of the further damage the hogs of the said ffantleroy may do the Indians before the fence be made according to act in that case provided, it is ordered that collonel ffantleroy keep one hog-keeper, the indians another for the present year."

In the same set of resolutions, Lt. Col. Goodridge was summoned to appear to answer the complaint of the king of the Mattaponi Indians "concerning the burning

alienable nature of Indian lands and to appoint commissioners to maintain annual surveillance of their boundaries. In the following year, a further step was taken in behalf of the Indians in ruling that they were to have equal justice in the courts with the English.<sup>66</sup>

While thus the Colony strove to defend the Indians against further losses, the economic lot of the Tributaries was growing steadily worse. It will be recalled that the aboriginal subsistence quest entailed group movements reflecting the shifting emphasis upon seasonal staples. For such reasons the introduction of cows into the Indian economy failed, as we have seen. On the other hand, swine proved more acceptable to the natives. Introduced in the early days of the Colony, these were permitted to run wild. Since they foraged for themselves and required no care, they were incorporated with ease within the Indian economy. Indeed, Indians had long been accustomed to hunt the feral swine of the settlers—one of whom remarked that "they have used to kill eight in tenne more than we"<sup>67</sup>—and it had become necessary in punishing this crime to make admissible the testimony of one Indian against another. Meanwhile, another act required every tribe owning hogs to mark them—very probably by ear notch—in a manner distinctive of the tribe.<sup>68</sup>

Despite this addition to their economy, the Indians found themselves sorely handicapped by the alienation of areas upon which they had been formerly dependent for part of their food resources. In their relief, therefore, the Assembly in 1661-1662 ordered

for the better releife of the poore Indians whome the seating of the English hath forced from their wonted conveniences of oystering, ffishing, and gathering tuckahoe, cuttyemions or other wild fruites by which they were wonted for a greate parte of the years to subsist, Be it therefore granted, enacted and confirmed that the said Indians upon addresse made to two of the justices of that county they de-

of his English house . . ."; William Johnson was called upon to show by what authority he detained an Indian boy; and Matappin, a Powhatan Indian, who had been sold for life to one Elizabeth Short by the king of Weyanoke, was freed, since he was of another tribe and thus not under the jurisdiction of that king. The complainant in this latter case is described as "speaking perfectly the English tongue and desiring baptism."

<sup>66</sup> Hening, 2: 138-143.

<sup>67</sup> Master Wimp, in Smith's Generall Historie, Book IV, in Smith, Arber edn., 579.

<sup>68</sup> Hening, 2: 441, 317.

sire to oyster or gather wild fruite in, as aforesaid, they the said justices shall grant a lycense to the said Indians to oyster or gather fruites as aforesaid.

The same act provided that, ". . . because an intervall betweene the Indians and English cannot in the present neerenesse of seating be soe laid out as may wholly secure the English from the Indians comeing in and pilfering things from them if a free intercourse be admitted," special badges in the form of silver and copper plates, engraved with the name of the Indian town, were to be given the Tributary kings, to be issued by them to subjects whose business took them upon English land. Indian malefactors in such cases could thus be traced back to the king or great man of the town, who would be answerable for their misdeeds. An Indian trespassing without such a badge was to be apprehended and brought to the justice of the peace, who would hold him until his king or great man ransomed him with one hundred armlengths of roanoke.<sup>69</sup>

By 1669 the attrition of recurrent warfare, of disease, privation, and rum had reduced the Tributaries to less than one third of their former numbers. In that year an act designed to control ravaging wolves through levies imposed on the Indian tribes furnishes us with a census of native manpower. Each tribe was to return a quota of wolf heads based on the number of bowmen it mustered; the levy might be applied to the payment of annual tribute, and the great man of each town was to be held answerable for its fulfillment.

The census figures paint a consistent picture of decline. Against Smith's total of about 2,330 warriors for the tidewater area, the 1669 value is but 725, and even this aggregate is swelled by tribes—such as the Nottoway, with 90 bowmen—not originally included in Smith's enumeration.<sup>70</sup> Those tribes which can be equated in the two columns demonstrate the same declining trend. The Chickahominy had fallen from almost 200 to only 60 fighting men. The list in full for the tribes in New Kent County is as follows:

Pamunkey	50	bowmen
Chickahominy	60	"
Mattaponi	20	"
Rappahannock	30	"
Totas-chees	40	" 71

<sup>69</sup> *Op. cit.*, 140. Identification badges were, however, not new. See note 55.

<sup>70</sup> See Mook, 1944, *passim*, for a discussion of Smith's figures, which he holds to be only slightly exaggerated.

<sup>71</sup> Hening, 2: 274–275.

As their numbers became diminished, the Indians began to consolidate and combine their towns. Social units that were originally distinct now through fusion were transformed. Such tribes as the Totas-chees seems to represent a new entity formed out of the fragments of shattered groups. The result of all this appears to have been a simplification of the aboriginal political structure, with direct responsibility placed upon the great man of each town, as in the act just cited, rather than upon the Queen, who was the nominal sovereign of the Powhatan empire. For the Chickahominy, the transitional period was marked by internal dissensions, under circumstances that suggest that a single elder was increasingly paramount, in assimilation to the pattern of their neighbors and the requirements of indirect rule on the part of the Colony. Thus, in 1675, the Council and General Court had found it necessary to order

that the Interpreter Geo to the Indians that Belongs to the Great *Munguy* & Charge them to Admitt the Said *Munguy* into the Same degree he use to be in & Restore him his Estate & to tell them if they Deny the Same that the English will take it Amisse the said *Munguy* being allwaies a faithful friend to the English.<sup>72</sup>

Meanwhile, the Assembly had found it essential in the defense of the Colony against hostile Indians—and to keep the Tributaries on their good behavior—to erect several forts, one of them located near the Chickahominy Indian Town Landing on Mattapony River.<sup>73</sup>

The following year was a disastrous one for the Indians. Ill-directed reprisals for the murder of a settler had embroiled both Virginia and Maryland with the Susquehannock, driven back by the Iroquois to the north bank of the Potomac. When the latter succeeded in breaking out of a fortress besieged by joint forces from the two colonies, the plantations in the Virginia piedmont were the first to feel again the Indian terror. In the face of Governor William Berkeley's apparent indifference, the small farmers of the frontier rallied behind a popular leader, Nathaniel Bacon, who led a force southwest, and there did some execution upon both hostile and friendly Indians. Returning, Bacon found himself accused of treason, for which he made penitence and was forgiven. Upon his departure to his home, however, he found

<sup>72</sup> *Ordr vs Chick: Inds. in Min. Counc. & Gen. Ct. Col. Va., 1670–76, 425.*

<sup>73</sup> Hening, 2: 328.

himself again at the head of an army, gathered at the instance of the Indian peril but also in rebellion against the authoritarian excesses of the Governor. Marching again on Jamestown, he secured, at musket-point, commissions for himself and his followers, as well as the passage of a series of measures since known as Bacon's Laws. Several sections of the latter bear upon the campaign projected against the hostile tribes. Act II, prohibiting the Indian trade, made the following exception,

*Provided* nevertheless that it shall and may be lawfull that such Indians who shall serve the English in the warr, and onely such be suppled to the value of their wages and pay for the takeing prisoners in such necessary things as they shall want, armes and ammunition wholly excepted, and it is hereby intended that our neighbour Indian ffriends be not debarred from fishing and hunting within their owne limmits and bounds, using bowes and arrowes onelie. *Provided also* that such neighbour Indian ffriends who have occasion for corne to releive their wives and children, it shall and may be lawfull for any English to employ in fishing or deale with fish, canooes, bowles, matts, or basketts, and to pay the said Indians for the same in Indian corne, but noe other commodities. . . .<sup>74</sup>

The position of the Tributaries was an ambivalent one. Both they and the Susquehannock had been the object of Iroquois raids and might accordingly find common ground against the Whites. Despite the official attitude, the dispersed farmers no doubt bore keen memories of the earlier wars. Even the forts, erected for protection of the frontier, had been located adjacent to Tributary towns. The Indians well understood the public temper: while Bacon was abroad on his foray, Berkeley visited the forts and attempted to locate Indian groups. The Paunkey, he found, had withdrawn northward, deserting their town, and fortifying themselves deep within the Dragon Swamp, at the head of the Piankatank River. Colonel William Clayborne, a neighbor of the tribe, attempted to persuade Queen Anne to return, which she refused to do for fear of Bacon. Nonetheless, she assured him of her friendship to the English and pledged herself to maintain it.

When Bacon had accomplished his *coup d'etat*, Queen Anne was summoned before the committee

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 350. Cf. mention of matchcoats, hoes, and axes as permissible articles of trade earlier in the same year (Hening, 2: 337).



FIG. 6. Elder, sharpening the saw he used in logging operations about the turn of the century.

on Indian affairs. She appeared, flanked by her interpreter and her twenty-year old son, John West. Her dress was that of aboriginal royalty, "she having round her head a plat of black and white wampum peague three inches broad in imitation of a crown, and was cloathed in a mantle of dress't deer skins with the hair outwards and the edge cut round 6 inches deep which made strings resembling twisted frence from the shoulders to the feet." Speaking in her native tongue, she upbraided the English for the death of Totopotamak, her husband, and for their indifference to the sacrifice he had made, since no compensation had been paid her. Cold to her grief, the chairman demanded instead how many men she would contribute in the coming campaigns.

. . . Of this disregard she signified her resentment by a disdainfull aspect, and turning her head h: Eldersidh, sate mute till that same question being press'd a third time, she not returning her face to the board, answered with a low slighting voice in her own language 'six, but being further importun'd she sitting a little while sullen, without uttering a word between said 'twelve, tho' she then had a hundred and fifty Indian men, in her town, and so rose

up and gravely walked away, as not pleased with her treatment.<sup>75</sup>

As soon as Bacon and his forces had taken themselves into the field, Berkeley gathered his troops and declared him a rebel. Meanwhile, hostile Indians had succeeded in carrying their raids down to the very mouth of the York River, convincing Bacon and his followers that the Tributary tribes were either actively or covertly in league with the foe. They thereupon launched themselves into the swamps near the headwaters of the York to seek out the Pamunkey. Led by Captain Thomas Wilford, formerly interpreter to Queen Anne and familiar with Indian matters,<sup>76</sup> and with Indian scouts deployed, the band came at last upon the several Pamunkey cabins on a point projecting into the swamp. The Pamunkey fired upon them, then retreated to the swamp. With them went Queen Anne, leaving behind her "all her goods and Indian corne vessels & c . . ."

Baffled by these tactics and by the dismal weather,<sup>77</sup> Bacon's forces marched at random, at one time capturing the old nurse of the Queen, who promptly led them further astray. Finally they struck a path leading to a swamp "where severall nations of Indians lay encamped . . ." A young woman of the Nanzatico was the first to be captured, in a half-starved condition; and a few others, of both sexes, were slain.<sup>78</sup>

Harrying their foe, the English sought out the Pamunkey within the Dragon Swamp, and here

<sup>75</sup> The Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, in the years 1675 and 1676 in Peter Force's *Tracts* 1 (8): 14f. That the Chickahominy, together with other tribes, were joined with the Pamunkey is indicated by the number of warriors stated to be controlled by Queen Anne: compare the census figures of 1669 cited above.

<sup>76</sup> Berkeley, who later had him executed, characterized him as, "One Wilford, an interpreter, that frighted the Queen of Pamunkey from ye lands she had granted her by the Assembly, a month after peace was concluded with her." (A list of those that have been Executed for the Late Rebellion in Virginia, by Sir William Berkeley, Governor of the Colony in Peter Force's *Tracts* 1 (10): 3.)

<sup>77</sup> ". . . nor had [Bacon] one dry day in all his marches to and fro in the fforest whilst the plantations (not 50 miles distant) had a sumer so dry as stinted the Indian corn and tobacco & c. which the people ascribed to the pawawings i. e. the sorceries of the Indians. . . ." (The Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, in the years 1675 and 1676 in Peter Force's *Tracts* 1 (8): 23.)

<sup>78</sup> The Nanzatico had abandoned their lands two years prior to this, possibly to take refuge with the Pamunkey. (cf. *Min. Counc. & Gen. Ct. Col. Va.*, 1622-32, etc., 400.)

at last found their main settlement. As they charged, the Indians fled, leaving behind them "Plunder of the ffield which was Indian matts, Basketts, matchcotes, parcells of wampampeay and Roanoke (w<sup>ch</sup> is their money) in Baggs, skins, ffurs, Pieces of Lynnen, Broad cloth, and divers sorts of English goods (w<sup>ch</sup> the Queene had much value for), 45 captives . . . the Goodes being 3 horse loades." Once more Queen Anne took flight and remained in hiding in the woods, living upon a terrapin.<sup>79</sup>

When Bacon was dead and Berkeley had been summoned back to England to answer for his deeds, the hapless Tributaries gained redress. Of the Indians captured by Bacon and subsequently enslaved by the Governor, all but five were eventually returned to Queen Anne. At this time she also received from Charles II, as a matter of recompense, a silver headpiece inscribed to the "Queen of Pamunkey."<sup>80</sup> On the other hand, the new Governor, Sir Herbert Jeffreys, deemed it necessary to make them party to a general treaty, defining anew the status of the Indians who had been hostile.

Once more they were declared tributary to the King of England, from whom they were to hold the lands they now occupied for an annual quitrent of three arrows. Furthermore, if that land should prove insufficient, more land might be granted to the needy. In order to avoid friction, no Englishman was to occupy or cultivate land within a radius of three miles of any Indian town. Every year the kings and queens of the various tribes were to make their obedience to the Governor at his residence, on which occasion each was to tender both the royal quitrent and twenty beaver skins. On these visits accommodations were to be provided them. Each tribe was to have one member proficient in the English language to serve as interpreter. Any incipient war between allies was to be brought to the Governor for arbitration.

With the peril of border raids by hostile Indians freshly in mind, the treaty stipulated that no foreign Indian was to approach the Colony save in the company of an allied native, nor were Indians to wear paint when they came in. All chiefs were to keep the Whites informed as to the approach of strange Indians and were to furnish

<sup>79</sup> The major account of the Rebellion follows Wertebaker, *passim*, while the quoted passages derive from Berry and Morysin, 1896: 136-141.

<sup>80</sup> *Exec. Jour. Counc. Col. Va.* 1: 4. See also Speck, 1928: 554-555.

support against hostile tribes. In return, powder and shot were to be supplied them.

The rights of the individual were reinforced. The Indians might secure redress from injustice through the Governor, and they could not be imprisoned without the issuance of a special warrant. No Indian was to be kept as servant without the Governor's license; he was to serve no longer than a White, and could not be enslaved. The English, furthermore, were not to harbor vagrant or runaway Indians. The Indians on their part agreed to restore the children, servants and horses they had seized—a clause that pertained specifically to the Indians of Maryland, who were also signatories to the treaty. Trade was to be continued in a manner calculated to the best interests of the colony; and Indians were to enjoy the privilege of entering private lands for oystering, fishing, gathering such wild plants as tuckahoe, curtenemmons, and wild oats, such materials as rushes and puccoon, and other necessities not used by the Whites.

Of special interest is the 12th article, which states,

That each Indian, King, and Queen have equall power to govern their owne people and none to have greater power then other, except the Queen of Pomunky: to whom severall scattered Indians doe now againe owne their antient Subjection, and are agreed to come in and plant themselves under power and government, whoe with her are alsoe hereby included into this present League and treatie of peace. . . .

The treaty accordingly bears the sign of "Queen Pomunkey on behalfe of herselfe, & the severall Indians under her Subjections."<sup>81</sup>

It was not long before the Chickahominy became restive beneath the yoke of their vassalage. Indeed, in the very year following the signing of the treaty, the minutes of the General Court refer to

THE AGGRIEVANCES OF THE QUEEN OF PAMUNKEY and her son Capt. John West against the Chickahominies who were once under her command and being reduced to a small number were by the Peace, by their own consent annexed again to her Government.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Virginia Colonial Records, etc., *Va. Mag.* 14 (3) : 289-296, 1907.

<sup>82</sup> Sainsbury, in *Va. Mag.* 23 (3) : 302, 1915. Captain John West, whom Colonial gossip made the son of an English colonel, signed or sealed the treaty with his "W". At that time he was approximately twenty-one. It is probable that his father was the "Capt" John West

Since the suit was turned back without notation as to further action, we may suppose that the Court upheld the position of the Chickahominy.

The implementation of the treaty was not always happy. When, for example, the Governor undertook to ensure an orderly trade, he did so by designating certain markets in the Counties of Henrico, Isle of Wight, New Kent, Rappahannock, Lancaster, Stafford, Accomac, and Northhampton, to which the Indians were to bring their wares; and at these places, it was stipulated, free trade might be carried on one day in the spring, one day in the autumn. "But," as Robert Beverley pointed out, "this Method was not agreeable to the *Indians*, who had never before been under any Regulation. They thought, that if all former Usages were not restored, the Peace was not perfect; and therefore did not much rely upon it, which made those new Restrictions useless." Three years after passage they were rescinded, and all restrictions upon trade with friendly Indians were removed.<sup>83</sup>

The last quarter of the seventeenth century saw a continuation of the trend toward population decline; and yet, surprisingly enough, there is no evidence of an over-all collapse of native institutions. From the political point of view, for instance, the Tributaries were a spent force; nonetheless they were in most cases able to preserve their tribal integrity. The colonial government, indeed, found the aboriginal system of "kingship" a convenience in governing the Indians, since they were thus able to deal with a handful of responsible individuals. Powhatan's empire was broken up, to be sure, but we have seen that the Assembly was not unwilling to recognize the claims of dominion presented by Queen Anne. For the rest, the Colony did not concern itself with native practices, so long as they did not work to the disadvantage of the Whites.

For the closing period of the seventeenth century there exist a number of observations on the cultural status of the Virginia tribes. The Rev. John Clayton, responding in a letter to queries sent him by a Dr. Gren, gives what appear to be the results of direct investigation, since he explains his ignorance of the system of familial descent on the grounds that "'they are a sullen close people and will answer very few questions.'" He de-

called Chamockin" listed in 1657 in the Patent Books (extracts therefrom, in the archives of the Virginia State Library, 25, New Kent County, p. 104).

<sup>83</sup> Hening, 2: 410-412; Beverley, 86 f.; Hening, 3: 69.



FIG. 7. Elder, now deceased, displaying an old "rib" basket, minus the handle, made of white oak splints. With him at death he took a vast lore of herbal remedies.

scribes the *Wiochist* (cf. *quioccosuk*), the priest-physician, as being held sacred and ranking only below the king and war-chief. In his role of doctor, this specialist made use of herbs—although laymen, including women, might also possess varying degrees of skill in this field—which he might sell or himself administer. In return, he received fees of wampum, skins, or the like; and "if it be to an Englishman they are sent for they will agree for a match coat or a gallon of Rum or so forth according to the nature of the cure." In his sacerdotal role, the priest-physician was associated with the *Wiochisar* (cf. *quioccosan*), or temple, which contained remains including human skulls, some of them containing herbs, and dedicated according to Clayton to the gods in memory of their conquests.<sup>84</sup>

Of the king, Clayton observes that he received no salary save in service, and that his will "stands for reason and Law." Of the people at large he comments, "They are almost always eating or sleeping unless when they go a Hunting, at all hours of the night whenever they awake they go to the *Hominy pot*, that is, Maze dressed in a manner like our pilled wheat or else a piece of Venison barbecured, that is wrapped up in leaves and roasted in the Embers." The Indians drank only water, unless they could procure rum from the English, preferring the latter only when they got enough for a drinking bout. Tobacco they smoked in clay pipes of their own manufacture;

<sup>84</sup> Clayton is at variance with other observers in regarding these as trophy skulls, and it is probable that he was misinformed.

and pottery also finds mention. The major pursuit of the men is described as being the chase, employing bows and arrows or firearms, while in a second letter Clayton describes the use of a decoy head in stalking deer. The women busied themselves in the planting of corn and weaving of baskets and mats. Dancing and a game of chance played with straws seem to have been prominent recreations. In the second letter mentioned above, Clayton remarks that "The *Indians* have not yet learnt to ride, only the King of *Pomonkie* had got three or four Horses for his own Saddle and an Attendant, which I think should in no wise be indulged, for I look on the allowing them Horses much more dangerous than even *Guns and Powder*." And in the Gren letter he makes an ethical evaluation that forms an interesting contrast with the views of some of his contemporaries. The Indians were, he says, "simple & credulous rather honest than otherwise and unpractised in the European arts of lying and dissimulation; but in the brutal passion they are as sensual as the beast of the field."<sup>85</sup>

An intimate vignette of the Portobago village on the Rappahannock River is afforded by the account of a visit made in 1686 by a French Huguenot. Since a path leading to the Chickahominy town permitted easy communication between the two peoples,<sup>86</sup> there is some justification for regarding the description as broadly applicable to the Chickahominy as well.

These Savages have rather pretty houses made of tree bark the walls as well as the roofs, so well put together with thongs of deerskin that neither rain nor wind disturb them at all. They are a people darker than the Gypsies . . . we have in Europe. They mark their faces with cuts in the shape of a snail shell, in which they put powder, and thus they are marked for life.

The women of the house wear only a deerskin to cover their least decent parts, in winter they wear the hairy side next the skin, and in summer, put skin to skin. They build their fire in the middle of the house, their beds around it they inter-weave a certain strong grass which they find along the river resembling straw, and they do it on four little forks. . . . these serve them for seats to sit upon.

<sup>85</sup> Ms. in the British Museum, quoted in Bushnell, 1907, pp. 41-44, bearing the date 1687. The second letter, dated the following year, was directed to the Royal Society. It appears in Peter Force's *Tracts* 3 (12); the quotation is from p. 35 therein. The so-called King of Pamunkey may in actuality have been John West, since his mother was still the tribal leader.

<sup>86</sup> Extracts from Patent Books (vol. 16: King and Queen County), 184.

In the village the men wear only a wretched shirt of white or blue cloth, and from the time they put it on they never take it off, it falls off of them in tatters, for they never wash anything. Aside from the deerskin the women are entirely naked the rest of their bodies, their little children completely naked, no matter how cold it is. The men do nothing except hunting and fishing, the women raise Indian corn . . . which is common among them, any one takes it who needs it. They make also pots and vases from earth and pipes to smoke, the Christians buying their pots or vases fill them up with Indian Corn and that is the price, they all smoke as well as the men, but they do not raise any tobacco, it is given them in exchange for game or fish.

They marry among themselves but it is only to avoid confusion among the children, for as soon as a young man takes a wife he builds a little house, leaves his father and mother and retires to it. They have some knowledge, but a very imperfect knowledge, of the true God, they believe that he is creator of all that they see, and of the growth of what is necessary to life, but that he does not lower himself so far; that the demons which are inferior to him were created for that purpose, and so they fear them because they are from time to time tormented by them. They have no other ceremony in their marriage unless it be the assembling of the village, and the man having chosen she whom he wished to take gives her a roe's foot or a deer's, and she gives him an ear of corn, which signifies that the husband will keep the house provided with meat and the woman with corn.<sup>87</sup>

The Ministers of this region take no pains to convert them to Christianity and instruct them, although the greater part of them know how to speak English. When we left them they made a present to Mr. Wormeley of a dozen deerskins, and to Mr. Parker and to me a handful of pipes each.<sup>88</sup>

In 1699 the Quaker, Thomas Story, visited the Chickahominy town itself, which he locates on the upper part of the Mattaponi River. His account, while less full than we might desire, adds details to what has already been said.

"The town consisted of about eleven wigwams, or houses, made of the bark of trees, and containing so many families: we were directed to the sagamor, or chief; and when we went to his door, he came out with a piece of cloth about his middle but otherwise naked, and invited us in, and, being set down, several of his people came to look upon us. After a time of

<sup>87</sup> Cf. remark of William Byrd, in his secret diary, under the date of Sept. 23, 1712. Byrd, who was then at Pamunkey for a conference, makes reference to an Indian "who has now his 20 wives" (Byrd, 588).

<sup>88</sup> Voyages d'un François, etc. quoted in Bushnell, 1937: 40-41.

silence and the company increased, we asked him if they were all there for we desired to see as many of them together as we could." This caused the chief some uneasiness, for he "was a grave, serious and wary old man." But they won his confidence and spoke to them of the things of God. When ready to leave "we took them by the hand, one by one, and they seemed well pleased with our visit."<sup>89</sup>

The picture here painted received further amplification from the writings of Robert Beverley, over a long period sympathetic observer and champion of the Indians. While his *History* quite patently borrows many passages from the works of earlier authors, there are additions of detail and incident that make it clear that Beverley is relating what he himself has seen or heard. "How the *Indians* order'd their Tobacco," he remarks, "I am not certain, they now depending chiefly upon the *English* for what they smoak." He points out that the relative position of fishing canoe to weir is incorrect in one of his illustrations, and in the description of a fire drive gives what appears to be an eye-witness account. Of their hunting he says,

The *Indians* have many pretty Inventions, to discover and come up to the Deer, Turkeys and other Game undiscern'd; but that being an Art, known to very few *English* there, I will not be so accessory to the Destruction of their Game, as to make it publick. I shall therefore only tell you, that when they go a Hunting into the Out-lands, they commonly go out for the whole Season, with their Wives and Family. At the Place where they find the most Game, they build up a convenient Number of small Cabbins, wherein they live during that Season.

Equally graphic are his descriptions of religious institutions. The account of a surreptitious examination of a temple (*quioccosan*), with its idol and secondary burials of deceased chieftains, accords strikingly with those from the time of John White on. There is an anecdote regarding his kinsman, William Byrd, for whom a conjurer on the upper portions of the James River had cast a spell for rain, which promptly fell on Byrd's land, but not his neighbors'. Beverley himself describes the convulsive behavior of the conjurer. And he relates at length a conversation which he had with an Indian, who described to him the native belief concerning God and the Devil, and

<sup>89</sup> Thos. Story, Journal, quoted and cited in Weeks, 68. Even if there were outlying habitations beyond the town not included by Story, the population implied is compatible with Beverley's figure for the adult male component cited below.



admitted, moreover, to a certain skepticism as to the role of the priests in imposing doctrine upon the people.

Finally, we may note his description of the use of the sweathouse and his statements, with respect to the puberty ceremony for youths, that the Appomattock had *huskanawed* a group of men in 1690 and had lost none, while the Pamunkey, in 1694, had lost two. Beverley himself had seen thirteen of the Pamunkey initiates in their pen in the latter year.<sup>90</sup>

Taken in conjunction with the preceding accounts, Beverley's testimony stands as evidence that native culture, in structure at least, was virtually intact at the end of the seventeenth century. The ways of life pursued in the Indian towns had undoubtedly incorporated alien elements which were in harmony with a pattern which was essentially that of aboriginal Virginia. Contemporary descriptions reveal only those introduced features of a material sort, and the linguistic barrier without question prevented even the comprehension of many concepts and practices which might best be presented verbally. On the other hand, Beverley's Indian skeptic seems to indicate that some individuals at least were becoming critical of native conceptualizations. Even the objects which replaced native implements sometimes were accompanied by changes that in all probability had not been anticipated. The acceptance of trade goods, in particular of firearms, in many cases placed the Indians in dependency upon the English. The high prestige of the English in many fields and the precedent afforded by those elements already absorbed by the native culture may have lowered the threshold for acceptance of other features less adapted to Indian life. Thus it was that subtly and gradually the native structure was distorted, its inner cohesion destroyed.

Meanwhile, the attitudes engendered in official relations with the English went far to reinforce awareness on the part of the several tribes of their mutual culture, their common, Indian aims. To be sure, it was sometimes difficult to overcome former attitudes, as when the Nottoway, an Iroquoian tribe, accused other Tributaries of being responsible for the disappearance of two of their

tribesmen, a charge later disproved. On the other hand, when the Nanzatico murdered some Whites, the remaining Tributaries were bidden to remain in their towns lest they be drawn into a confederacy against the English. It became Colonial policy to have two great men from each tribe to witness the trial and punishment of Indians accused of murder, thus incidentally affording them occasions for several meetings. The sense of unity among the Tributaries is likewise reflected in the permission, granted in 1708, for two of the great men of the Pamunkey to "go to the Maherine & Nansemond Indians on their particular occasions."<sup>91</sup>

Relations with other Indians groups likewise tended to drive the Tributaries—in the north the Pamunkey, Chickahominy, Nanzatico, Appomattock, and Rappahannock, and the southern Nansemond, Nottoway, and Meherrin—into a closer sense of unity. In 1685 two great men from several of these tribes went with colonists to Albany to seal a peace already concluded between the Colony and the Iroquois. Fourteen years later, several of the northern Tributaries were examined concerning a separate treaty they had secretly attempted with the Tawittawayes (Miami) and other tribes. "Every respective nation of them had prepared a Peake belt (being the token that usually passes between them when they desire a treaty of Peace)" and had transmitted it through the Nanzatico. The treaty was squashed and the belts returned. In 1704 representatives of most of the Tributaries, plus those of the Tuscarora, were sent north to make peace with the Seneca. Seven years later Iroquois raids led the Colony to require that Tributaries wear a special copper badge to identify them to the settlers. At long last, in 1722, the Virginia tribes once more went to Albany to seal a permanent peace with the Five Nations. The limits of hunting and ranging were set on both sides, and mutual agreement was reached to refrain from future warfare on each other.<sup>92</sup>

Recurrently, the Tributaries felt the pressure of land encroachment on the part of their English neighbors. In a period of some twenty-three years, from 1690 through 1713, the *Executive Journals* of the Colony record over twelve dis-

<sup>90</sup> Beverley: tobacco, p. 145; weir, p. 151; fire drive, p. 155; hunting, p. 155; temple, p. 195 ff.; Byrd, p. 204; convulsion, p. 212; belief, p. 200 f; sweathouse, p. 219; huskanawing, p. 208. At the same time Beverley records such innovations as the appearance of windows in the Indian houses.

<sup>91</sup> *Exec. Jour. Col. Va.*: Nottoway (1699, 1702): 2: 22, 275; Nanzatico (1704): 2: 380, 389; trials (Nanzatico, 1704; Tuscarora, 1707): 2: 380; 3: 161; Pamunkey (1708): 3: 198.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 1685: 1: 70-71; 1699: 2: 41; 1704: 2: 380; 1722: Hening, 4: 104.

tinct actions directly concerning the Chickahominy and the Pamunkey; and there were others as well. Their circumstances were worsened by trespasses on the part of other Indian tribes, as when, in 1702, the Tributaries complained that the Tuscarora came in great bodies to hunt in their country, thus depleting the game.

With the passage of time, the official position of the Tributaries deteriorated. Treaties that had been made with an eye to the warlike potentialities of the Indians were now reassessed in terms of their present weakness. In 1705, for example, an act was passed purportedly "for the prevention of misunderstandings between the tributary



FIG. 8. Young Chickahominy couple with their two sons.

Indians, and other her Majesty's subjects," in actuality to abridge the treaty of 1677. The Indians were still disqualified from conveying land—a measure in their protection—but a fine of ten shillings per acre and an additional amount per acre for each year of use was the only penalty upon the purchaser. Only a matter of a year or two before, notation had been made of squatters upon Pamunkey and Chickahominy lands, and it is evident that a fine of this type was but an empty acknowledgment of the treaty provision. Indeed, the text of the Act itself specifically excepted certain claimants against the Pamunkey from this clause! The rule that no Englishmen was to settle within a three-mile radius of an

Indian town was modified to legitimize settlements established across the river; a measure which was to become precedent for regarding the river as terminus of Indian land. Indians might still gather oysters and wild food plants and indulge in fishing under the former terms, but they were prohibited from carrying offensive weapons and were compelled to obtain a license from a justice of the peace on the occasion of each venture. On the other hand, their obligations with reference to notifying authorities of the approach of strange Indians and to furnish the English with auxiliaries in time of war remained unaltered.

Certain protective measures, it must be pointed out, were also set forth. The sale of brandy or rum within Indian towns or upon Indian land was strictly forbidden, in an attempt to control one of the prime agencies in the demoralization of native society. The Tributaries were "defended in their persons, goods and properties . . ." During the same session of the Assembly, certain rights relative to freedom of hunting and ranging upon patented lands were confirmed to them.<sup>93</sup>

Unofficial relations with Whites, aside from land and hunting disputes, were aggravated by the colonial practice of keeping Indian slaves, although by 1691 a law had been passed that in a later reenactment was held to abolish this practice. In 1731 a commission was appointed to enquire into the status of Negro, mulatto, and Indian slaves. Still another potential source of friction was the alleged "rustling" of hogs, leading the Colony to declare that "whereas many of the tributary Indians keep hogs, and are suspected, on pretense thereof, to steal and destroy the stocks of the English," they were to earmark their stock with the crop assigned by the county court to their town. We have already seen earlier instances of friction between White and Indian on this score. Rum, so often the implement of White designs, was a further source of aggravation. A Pamunkey complaint of this time (1706) accused their English neighbors of bringing liquor into the Indian town to sell to the tribesmen, a practice which "hath been of very pernicious Consequence by occasioning frequent quarrells and disorders among them." It was ruled illegal by the Colony, but continued in practice.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Hening, 3: 465-468, 343.

<sup>94</sup> Land encroachments: *Exec. Jour.* 1: 135-136, 320, 338; 2: 94, 226, 259, 271, 455; 3: 272, 353, 359-360, 444, 487. Tuscarora: *ibid.* 2: 275. Slavery: *ibid.* 4: 243;

Already warfare, disease, privation, and rum had taken a fearful toll of the native population. "The *Indians of Virginia*," observed Beverley, "are almost wasted . . . All which together can't raise five hundred fighting men. They live poorly, and much in fear of the Neighbouring *Indians*." The *Executive Journals* (1686) state that "y<sup>e</sup> several Towns of Indians are partly by war, partly by mortality soe wasted and decayed, that many Townes now united, doe not make up the number of one Town . . ." In Beverley's census of tribes and villages the decline is evident. In King William County there remained only the Pamunkey, with about forty bowmen, even then falling off in number, and the Chickahominy, with but about sixteen, although recently on the increase.<sup>95</sup>

The blame for this state of affairs is clear in Beverley's mind: he roundly indicts his fellow countrymen. "*The English*," he states, "have taken away great part of their Country, and consequently made every thing less plenty amongst them. They have introduc'd Drunkenness and Luxury amongst them, which have multiply'd their Wants, and put them upon desiring a thousand things they never dreamt of before."<sup>96</sup>

Beset as they were by forces that sapped their vigor, the tribes also suffered the loss of members drawn away into the ranks of Colonial society. Long before, there had been individuals who had thus divorced themselves from their native culture, sometimes through choice, sometimes as the isolated survivors of moribund tribes. Slavery likewise had resulted in a complete alienation of persons from the Indian community, and their total incorporation within the lowest ranks of the White-Negro structure. Moreover, with the un-

Hening, 3: 69, and note. Hogs: Hening, 3: 278. Liquor: *Exec. Jour.* 3: 81.

<sup>95</sup> Beverley, 232-233; *Exec. Jour.* 1: 77. In recognition of the numerical decrease of the Indians, the annual tribute beaver was dropped successively from 20, to 10, and finally to one skin, (*ibid.* 2: 455).

In a letter dated 1702, the Secretary of Virginia gave comparable figures for the two tribes on the York and its tributaries: Pamunkey, 50; Chickahominy, 30. Some other figures: On James and tributaries: Nansemond and Weyanoke, 10, Meherrin, 60, Nottoway, 80; Rappahannock and its tributaries: Portobago or Nanzatico, 30, Wicomoco (*sic*). These figures must allude to adult male population only (Anonymous, 1894: 362-363).

At the treaty of 1722 at Albany, the Pamunkey claimed 200, the Chickahominy 60. This is probably total population (Mooney, articles, "Pamunkey," "Chickahominy," in Hodge, 1907-1910; also Mooney, 1907: 141).

<sup>96</sup> Beverley, *loc. cit.*

official relaxation of the terms of the earlier treaties, the English began to employ neighboring Indians in servant capacity.<sup>97</sup> By 1691 the hiring had gone so far that it was deemed necessary to order a special investigation of the practice of employing the natives without license. Again, in 1708, the Pamunkey made complaint that English living near the reservation were luring members "away from their Residence at their town and from their being assisting to the s<sup>d</sup> nation . . ." When the interpreter had brought these individuals back to the town, one of them, Robin by name, petitioned the Council to be permitted "to stay among the inhabitants of this Country where he has been bred for severall years past and instructed in a trade whereby he is capable of maintaining himself . . ." On the grounds that Robin had dwelt for so long a time among the English and that his trade would be useless to him if he returned to Pamunkey, the Council approved his petition.<sup>98</sup>

Hand in hand with these activities came official efforts to shape the development of the emergent tribal culture. The Governor himself proposed to the Queen of Pamunkey and the great men of Chickahominy that they deliver hostages to the English as other Tributaries had already done, the hostages to be entered at the College and maintained there at public expense. It was the old hope of the early days of the Colony, so long postponed. The Pamunkey offered to enter two boys, one of them the son of the Queen, and the Chickahominy promised to enroll one boy. Three years later, in 1714, the Governor, commenting upon the settling of observers among the Tributaries to watch their actions toward foreign Indians, added that their Services would no longer be needed "when by the blessing of God they become Christians, according to a Treaty I have this year made with them, for Educating all their children in the faith of our Church . . ." At about this time there were some twenty Indian boys in attendance at William and Mary College,

<sup>97</sup> Thus, for example, the petition (1711) of one Ralph Littlepage, "to hire Into his Service one Indian Woman belonging to the Pamunkey Town, named Mary" as well as "an Indian man from the said Town, to Hunt for him, he being willing to give his obligation to be answerable for all the Injuries and Damages, that the said Indians shall do to the English. . ." The license was granted, with the understanding that the Indians should be immediately discharged upon the request of Queen Anne, and not subsequently rehired without her consent (*Cal. of Va. State Papers, 1652-1781* 1: 150).

<sup>98</sup> *Exec. Jour.* 1: 202; 3: 226, 287.

numbering among them both the son of the Queen of Pamunkey and the son of the Nottoway king. High hopes were entertained that the boys would go forth as missionaries to their people, though it appears that upon their return they reverted to native beliefs.<sup>99</sup>

In another department of learning, the Indians showed more progress; and indeed this was prerequisite to many changes subsequently made. The growing use of English on the part of the Indians in their dealings with white neighbors undoubtedly facilitated their incorporation, either as individuals or as entire communities, within the larger colonial fabric. By the early decades of the eighteenth century, the government had become increasingly reluctant to pay interpreters. In 1727 it abolished the office for the Pamunkey and Chickahominy, seven years later discharging the others, "seeing the tributary Indians understand and can speak the English language very well . . ." <sup>100</sup> The native dialects continued in domestic use at least to the time of Jefferson who (1781) noted the preservation of the language in a small degree by elderly members of the Pamunkey. While Speck's informants assert that individuals who could "speak Indian" survived through the first half of the nineteenth century, it is probable that English had for some time replaced native speech in effective use within the community as well as in external contacts. Isolated words continued in use into later times, to be recorded by various investigators; but they were vestigial forms only, imbedded in an alien matrix.<sup>101</sup>

Thus, during approximately a century following their final military subjection, the Tributaries had witnessed the disintegration of their native culture and a piecemeal replacement from alien systems.

<sup>99</sup> Hostages: *Exec. Jour.* 3: 287-288. Christianity: *Jour. House Burg.* 1712-1726, 79. School: Stanard., 285 (this notice is as of 1712).

The Queen of Pamunkey alluded to was the successor of Queen Anne, upon whose death in 1686 the leadership of the tribe passed by right to her niece. The new ruler was subject to confirmation by the Governor, which seems to have been effected. It is very probable that the transmission of power followed the aboriginal, matrilineal line, but we do not know the manner in which aunt and niece were related. It must also be noted that Queen Anne, who succeeded her husband, represents a break with the traditional pattern of transmission of rule (*Exec. Jour.* 1: 79).

<sup>100</sup> *Jour. House Burg.*, 1702-1712: 266, 310; 1712-1726: 9, 79, 125, 180, 224; 1727-1740: 30; Hening, 4: 461.

<sup>101</sup> Jefferson, 130; Speck, 1928: 251-253, 254. Cf. Mooney, 1907: 146.



FIG. 9. Middle-aged couple standing before their log farmhouse, inherited from a veteran of the Mexican War. Note his long hair and the farrier's knife in his right hand.

Military defeat and tribal displacement had gone hand in hand to produce a people scattered, embittered, reduced to inferior lands that were in many cases ecologically unlike those to which they had previously been adapted. New diseases, economic distress, and new dissipations alike contributed to a further decline in population. The distractions of new interests, the very presence of another culture of exotic cast, produced an inevitable loss of members—the enterprising, the native dissident, or the curious. Tribal life, to say nothing of the claims of the old Powhatan empire, could not maintain integration within the surviving remnants of Indian society. With some success, the English supported the assertions of sovereignty on the part of the Pamunkey ruler, but vitality had left the complex political system. The structure became simpler as various offices atrophied. The debasement of the term, *cocka-*

*rouse*, noted by Gerard, may have accompanied the disappearance of the office. The *werowance*, while he persisted as a great man of a town, lost his extensive power over several towns as the towns themselves came to be amalgamated. Finally, Powhatan's successor was unable, as we have seen, to retain hegemony over such groups as the Chickahominy. The mutual isolation of the tribes by intervening plantations had hastened ultimate fragmentation of the empire, no less than had their numerical decline. Tribal interaction had been diminished almost to the vanishing point, save under the critical gaze of the English.

Likewise, the highly complex religious system collapsed, for many of the same reasons that were fatal to the continuance of the aboriginal political structure. Here the active proselytizing of the Church of England was an additional disruptive force. The priesthood, like the political, felt keenly a lack of eligible candidates for specialized roles, of sufficient participants to carry out the more elaborate rites. To a considerable extent, native culture had persisted in the period of decline largely upon the momentum of the past, so that even in the reduced communities of the time of Beverley there were individuals who retained a major part of the ancestral traditions. With the advance of time they grew fewer, until their specialized knowledge had died out, and after that no population increase could restore what had vanished forever.

In this sense, native culture was to survive in a form which can best be termed truncated, in that the complex, institutionalized patterns of behavior had lost specialized features, along with the specialists themselves. Integration survived on lower levels of complexity, in the town organization, in conjuring and herbal cures, and in many pursuits, both on the individual and informal group level, linked with fishing, hunting, farming, and their associated technologies. The modern Pamunkey and their offshoot, the modern Mattaponi, as the only groups retaining a reservation, are instructive in the native features they retain. This is particularly true of the former, who exhibit today a political structure comprising chief and council (the modern counterparts of the great men) who serve both as governing body and as judiciary. It seems likely that this system is a genuine survival from the aboriginal pattern, although it has undergone alteration. Likewise of native flavor is the system of land tenure, which Pollard in 1894 described as follows:

The reservation belongs to the tribe as a whole. There is no individual ownership of land. The chief and council allot a parcel of cleared land of about 8 acres to the head of each family. The occupant is generally allowed to keep the land for life, and at his death it goes back to the tribe to be reallocated, unless the deceased should leave helpless dependents, in which case the land is rented for their benefit. The houses on the reservation are individual property and can be bought and sold at pleasure.

To this statement Speck has added extensive details on the hunting territories, at present rented yearly to individuals, which appear to be an adaptation to the reduction of hunting grounds in the historic period.<sup>102</sup> It is probable that concepts of land tenure have perdured in essentially aboriginal form.<sup>103</sup>

Against this background of change the developments at Chickahominy in the last years of the seventeenth century acquire relevance. Two major factors affecting their tribal integrity, and doubtless not unrelated, became prominent toward the beginning of the eighteenth century. Once again land troubles arose to plague them, and once more factionalism threatened to split the tribe.

As early as 1690 the board of Indian affairs took note that several of the English had purchased land from the reservation in Pamunkey Neck which had been granted to the Chickahominy about 1660, and that these individuals were erecting buildings upon their holdings. All such purchases were declared void and the Whites were ordered to remove their stock and burn all houses built within the past three years. The following year records a sale and exchange of lands between the Chickahominy and Benjamin Arnold, of King and Queen County. The Indians further petitioned the government for permission to continue on Arnold's land, apparently with his consent.<sup>104</sup>

By 1694 the Chickahominy seem to have realized that the land they had thus acquired, lying on the north side of the Mattaponi, was inferior,

<sup>102</sup> Pollard, 17; Speck, 1928: 312-330. Stern, MS., adds data on the ownership of clay-pits exploited in pottery-making.

<sup>103</sup> Future students of land systems of the Virginia tribes will do well to assess the possible changes wrought by Colonial treaties endeavoring to render Indian land inalienable to outsiders, along with parallel attempts to buttress chiefly authority. It seems unlikely, however, that such policies have given rise to the Pamunkey system.

<sup>104</sup> *Exec. Jour.* 135; Cridlin in *Va. Mag.* 24 (4): 392; *Jour. House Burg.*, 1659/60-1693, entry for 1691.

for in that year a petition presented by the tribal leaders complained

. . . that where they now are Seated on the North Side of Mattapony in King and Queen County the Land is so poore that itt will no longer bring them Corn to Eate, nor yeild them wood for their Necessity's they therefore pray for a Tract of Land Called Quaynohomock that lye's over against them in Pomunkey Neck, not improved and formerly theirs. . . .<sup>105</sup>

The tract requested appears to have been part of their former reservation granted them in 1660 or subsequently secured by exchange with Philip Mallory. The assembly seems to have acceded to the petition, although the tract as delimited by its boundaries was larger than they were aware. Promptly, Roger Mallory, the son of Philip, purchased the land by exchange, for in 1695 he conveyed 2,000 acres of land to the Chickahominy, which the Assembly ordered should be confirmed to the tribe. Only upon his death, when his heirs sold the land he had thus secured and it became the subject of a controversy, was a survey made, when it became apparent that the Chickahominy had exchanged 6,160 acres for the 2,000 made over to them by Mallory.<sup>106</sup>

The claims and counter-claims generated by the movement of English into Pamunkey Neck and the region south of the Blackwater Swamp—lands originally restricted to the Indians by the treaty of 1646—finally led the government to undertake a survey of the situation, and accordingly the interpreters were directed to take up a census of the Indians and their tribal holdings within the areas affected, with a view to patenting to Whites the land remaining.

Accordingly, in 1699 the Chickahominy came forward as claimants to lands in Pamunkey Neck, then in part included in King and Queen County. The decision of the House of Burgesses, as recorded in their Journal, stated:

*Resolved* That it is the opinion of this house That y<sup>e</sup> *Chickahominy* Indians ought to have & Enjoy the Same priviledges & imunities y<sup>e</sup> *Pamunkey* Indians doe

*Resolved* That it is the opinion of this house That According to the Articles of Peace made the twenty ninth Day of *May* one thousand Six hundred Seaventy Seven the *Chickahominy* Indians have their Land laid out in *Pamunkey* Neck between the two *Herring* Creeks. . . .

*Resolved* That it is the Opinion of this house that the *Chickahominy* Indians ought after their land is laid out actually to live upon the same.

The House likewise directed Robert Beverley to present claims for his services in examining titles in behalf of the Pamunkey and Chickahominy Indians.<sup>107</sup>

Soon thereafter, the Governor was addressed by Drammaco, styled "chief Munguy and Ruler of the Chickahominy Indians" in behalf of himself and his great men, indicating the presence of counter-claims upon the new lands. A public hearing was accordingly ordered on the matter. Subsequently, the tribal leaders indicated to the Governor and Council that the surveyor appointed to lay out the reservation was in doubt as to the meaning of certain resolutions,

As whether the two *Herring* Creeks shall bound the Indians Land being in the widest place but three miles a sunder and in some places much narrower when as the Articles of peace gives the Indians three miles round the Indian Towne and likewise what distance round the Center must be allowed for the Indian Towne, the *Chickahominy* Indians living at the time when the Articles of peace were made in a row at least one mile in length and how the Center may be ascertained. . . .

Moreover, the Governor and Council recommended to the House a speedy settlement of the matter, since interlopers had seated themselves on the land even after the decision of the Assembly. The House forthwith sent a copy of their resolutions to the surveyor, Henry Beverley. Upon the completion of his work, the government adjudged the land allotted to the Indians to be excessive—possibly they held their earlier slip in mind—and instructed representatives of the tribe, together with interested claimants, to appear and iron out cross-claims.<sup>108</sup>

There seems little doubt today that the reservation in question lay on the south side of the Mattapony River, just above Ayletts, where two Herring Creeks are still to be found. This probability gains additional interest from the presence in the vicinity of Ayletts of a mixed-blood community known informally as the Adamstown settlement, and designated today the Upper Mattapony band. Although Speck suggests that they may be descended from the Nantaughtacund, it is more

<sup>107</sup> *Op. cit.*, 285f.

<sup>108</sup> Drammaco: *Exec. Jour.* 2: 226. Surveyor: *Jour. House Burg.*, 1695-1702: 349; *Exec. Jour.* 2: 259. Cross-claims: *Exec. Jour.* 2: 271.

<sup>105</sup> *Exec. Jour.*, 1: 320.

<sup>106</sup> *Jour. House Burg.*, 1695-1696 . . . 1700-1702: 286, 317.



FIG. 10. Fishing team of the Eastern and Western bands hauling seine from a reel. Chickahominy River near Windsor Shades.

probable that they represent the former Chickahominy residence in this region.<sup>109</sup>

The second issue, that engendered in internal conflicts within the community, was probably not unrelated to the growing pressures converging upon the tribe from without, pressures that moreover did not present themselves in so dramatic a form that they were likely to meet unified resistance. In the consolidation of towns undoubtedly many divergent points of view had been brought into close contact, and there were moreover many issues in the contact-situation itself that were disruptive to the community. We have already seen an occasion in 1675 on which the English found it necessary to intercede for an ousted *mangai*. In the Spring of 1704 there was once more generated a factional dispute that threatened to split the town. In April of that year, Drammaco, the chief *mangai* of the tribe complained to the government "that they had turned him out of his Town & that one Tom Perry had broke down his Cabbin beaten his woman & threatened his Life." The interpreter was instructed to bring some of the great men before the board of Indian affairs. The next day, the Chickahominy came to town and stated that they had composed their differences with Drammaco that morning. The Governor then instructed them that further quarrels would bring punishment to those responsible. In May of that year further details of the trouble were unfolded. Drammaco, here characterized as one of the chief *mangais* of the Chickahominy, now deposed that

diverse Cabbins have been burnt with Provisions Corn & other goods, that the said Munguy & most of

<sup>109</sup> See Doswell and Aylett Quadrangles, U.S. Geological Survey, 1918. Speck, 1928: 263-267.

the said Nation have been obliged to flee to the Pamunkey Indians for succor, and that whereas Tom Perry one of that Nation had informed his Excell<sup>ty</sup> of certain Indians of the said Nation for having burnt his Cabbin. They thereupon certify his Excell<sup>ty</sup> that the said Perry has been the occasion of this quarrell. Which said Petition comes also attested and signed by the Queen & grat men of the Pamunkey Indians.

The interpreter was instructed to check further into the matter.

The next day a guard brought in by warrant two Chickahominy Indians, James Mush<sup>110</sup> and Cuscohunk, who admitted that "they burnt the Cabbin, splitt the Canoe, and cutt down the Apple & Peach trees belonging to Tom Perry an Indian of the said Nation, but denied that they ever spoke any words tending to the derogation of this her majestys Government and that they said they would go to the Senaquas . . ." It now becomes clear that Perry, elsewhere referred to as "Captain" and later appearing as one of the great men of the tribe, had taken retaliation for what Mush and Cuscohunk had done to him by attacking Drammaco, either because he had not protected Perry or because he actively sided with the two assailants. The House of Burgesses ruled that since the Indians "have Provisions amongst them for punishing any that shall offend against their Laws or Rules," there was no need to intercede in their factionalism; but it moved to consider further the words, denied by Mush and Cuscohunk, threatening to bring the Iroquois down upon the English. Finally, in the fall, it was stated that the two were actually guilty as charged, but because of the penance they had made before the court their punishment was remitted.<sup>111</sup>

The underlying frictions vented in this dispute cannot be recovered with any degree of assurance from the details available. Most of the Chickahominy leaders seems to have sided with Drammaco against Perry. One may infer from the possession by Perry of fruit trees that he inclined somewhat more toward the English than did his fellow-townsmen. Compare for example the poverty alleged by the Chickahominy only ten years earlier, when they petitioned for their reservation. He may, indeed, have been deviant beyond the bounds thought permissible. Among his tribesmen on the other hand there may have been

<sup>110</sup> The name of Mush is of interest as occurring at Pamunkey. One John Mush, born about 1800, visited the Catawba and returned to Pamunkey with a Catawba wife (Speck, 1928: 417f).

<sup>111</sup> *Exec. Jour.* 2: 359, 364, 366-368, 380.

a latent opposition to the English even at this time; in Mush and Cuscohunk at least it flared so hot that they threatened to ally themselves with their ancient enemies—doubtless an empty threat, the raising of a bogey—to revenge themselves on the English and such of their followers as Perry.

Be that as it may, the Chickahominy seem to have been highly disturbed, for during the course of the hearings, as was later deposed by Anthony, one of the "great men and Rulers" of the tribe, some of the Chickahominy made plans to sell their lands. The court of King William County was thereupon instructed to investigate whether "some ill disposed Persons inhabiting near the said Indians" had fomented these plans for their own gain.<sup>112</sup> Nothing more seems to have come of it.

Seven years later, however, Tom Perry, "in behalf of himself and other the Great men" of the tribe protested that Roger Mallory, one of the sons and heirs of the neighbor of the same name, claimed that he had purchased their land from Trabbaco, one of their great men, and threatened to turn them off from the tract where their town stood, although it was land they had procured from his father in exchange for other land of far greater worth. After the passage of another seven years, in 1718, the great men of the Chickahominy again presented a complaint.

They had purchased from Captain Roger Mallory a small tract of land—probably that upon which their town stood—lying on the Mattaponi River adjacent to his plantation, giving him in exchange a parcel of three thousand acres. The latter acreage had already been sold by Thomas and Roger Mallory, the sons of the Captain. Despite this, the two men now laid claim to the land bought back by the Chickahominy from their father. The Mallorys "daily threaten to turn the Pet<sup>rs</sup> [petitioners] off the Land so by them purchased and whereon they have long inhabited, And have Actually made a sale of Part thereof to one John Querles who hath turned the Pet<sup>rs</sup> out of possession thereof . . ." The Court of King William County was instructed to investigate the matter; unfortunately we do not know its findings.<sup>113</sup>

When or under what circumstances the Chickahominy lost their reservation we can only surmise. Against the machinations of the Mallorys, however, and the irresponsible deeds of some of their

own leaders, the tribe was helpless, and it seems only a matter of time before they should be finally ousted. By that time, most of the available land had been patented; and a government already vexed at the recurrent demands of a diminishing tribe may have rejected out of hand a request for new lands. Jefferson, as we shall see, held that they passed from the scene as a distinct people after 1705, but they appear officially for the last time as signatories to the treaty of 1722 made with the Iroquois. The latest map we have seen that designates the region along the upper Mattaponi as "Indian Land" is that of Homann, and bears the date 1759. It may reflect conditions of a few years earlier. In 1768/9, Lieutenant-Governor Fauquier reported on the Virginia tribes (*vide infra*) without mentioning them. It thus becomes strongly probable that at some time before the middle of the century the Chickahominy, once more dispossessed, entered upon a new phase of existence, of demoralized movement, far different from that of the stabler Pamunkey. In this regard their fate was to be more typical of other groups, like them faced with piecemeal assimilation.

### III. DIASPORA (ca. 1750-ca. 1850)

Ever since the time of first contact there had been a wide range in the native reaction to the English. Strachey, in the first years of settlement, sensed this, although imputing to the Indians a general bad faith:

Some of them are of disposition fearefull (as I said) and not easily wrought, therefore, to trust us or come unto our forts; others, againe, of them are so bold and audacious, as they dare come unto our forts, truck and trade with us, and looke us in the face, crying all freinds when they have but new done us a mischeif, and when they intend presently againe, yf it lye in their power, to doe the like.<sup>114</sup>

As against those who rejected out of hand all overtures on the part of the foreigner, there were others who went to the other extreme, like Kemps, who foreswore native life to cleave to that of the English, learning the new tongue and attending church; Machumps, who came and went at will, subject only to the dictates of Powhatan, and visited England; and Pocahontas and her train, who were received as native royalty by the English.<sup>114a</sup> Powhatan sent native deputies to court,

<sup>112</sup> *Op. cit.*, 380.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 380; 3: 272, 487.

<sup>114</sup> Strachey, 69.

<sup>114a</sup> For an account of their reception in England, see Foreman, ch. 2.



notably Namontack and Uttamatmakkin. Relations had been hopeful in those early days and there was a certain equality when the English were weak and dependent upon the natives for food and good-will. English hostages, such as Henry Spelman and Tom Savage, dwelt among the Indians, as did the artisans assigned to build a house for Powhatan and the colonists parcelled out by John Smith among the neighboring tribes during the Starving Time (1609). On the occasion of the massacre of 1622, there were Indians on such terms of intimacy with the Whites that they were "friendly fed at their tables, and lodged in their bed-chambers."<sup>114b</sup>

These cordial relations, potentially fruitful for rapid assimilation, were shattered by the subsequent hostilities, never to regain their former warmth. The effect of the warfare that ran intermittently from 1622 through 1675 and even later was to thrust Indians beyond the pale of Colonial society, to maintain a segregated existence, an isolated tribal culture that tended to rally defensively around traditional native values. So long as Indian society preserved its integration, it was able to channel selectively the course of change.

Two courses thus lay open to the individual in those days, and two ways of life. He might choose to follow a tribal existence and thus retain the privileges of a Tributary and the satisfaction afforded by a way of life sanctioned by useage. For the tribe constituted the major focus of conservatism, preserving, to a degree that diminished with time, the traditional ways of life within a reservation that at least in theory isolated Indian from White. The lot of the tribesman in many ways was ameliorated, by comparison with that of his detribalized fellow. Tribal leaders acted as his intermediary in contacts with the government. He was exempted from the payment of the tithe, could farm within the tribal boundaries and carry on hunting and gathering beyond them. Within the restrictions set by treaty and legislation, he was free to regulate his own affairs. Dissonant groups within the tribe did, indeed, arise from time to time, but, like Drammaco and Perry, they either resolved their differences or split off to form new settlements, as they did in later times. The pressure of latent hostility that surrounded them no doubt was often effective in inhibiting such fragmentation.

The Indian who, on the other hand, chose or

was driven to make his life beyond the reservation moved in another sphere. He then entered what in the eighteenth century had become the inferior components of colonial society. His skin color and identification with a "savage" culture was enough to align him in the popular mind with the Negro and to distinguish him unmistakably from the dominant White. Nor was this all. The practice of binding out Indian children as servants, although hedged about with provisions for their religious instruction and the safeguarding of their rights, incorporated the Indian into the social structure as an inferior. True though it was that the Indian bondsman was supposed to enjoy much the same status as the indentured White, when once his service was at an end he found the avenues of social mobility closed to him. The enslavement of Indians, whether Tributary or hostile, tended to tar all Indians with the general brush of servitude.<sup>115</sup>

The effective degradation of the detribalized native is nowhere more succinctly expressed than in his incorporation into a general class with free Negroes and mulattoes.<sup>116</sup> This group became the object of discriminatory legislation, designed to protect the fabric of colonial society against a "rising tide of color" that was at once real and fancied. The genuine concern felt by the colonists is reflected in the courts of the time by agitation over the laws prohibiting miscegenation between Whites and persons of color. In 1705 Negroes, mulattoes, and Indians were grouped together with persons convicted of capital offenses in a law barring them from holding ecclesiastical, civil, or military office. The threat of slave insurrection led, five years later, to an act enjoining the Indians from levying war, taking up arms, or even harboring weapons, doubtless from the fear

<sup>115</sup> Ballagh (pp. 35, 49-50) notes that legislation passed in 1682 which extended slavery to Indians sold by the Tributaries was avowedly designed to mitigate their unfortunate condition. The act of 1691, legalizing free Indian trade—reenacted in 1705—was to form the essential basis for later rulings which held that Indian slavery was thereby prohibited. Actually, as he is at pains to point out, the ruling of the General Court, in 1777, was based only on the reenactment, thus injuring the status of Indians who had been subject to the original act. As late as 1792 and 1793 there were two cases in which unsuccessful appeals were made from county courts, in an effort to maintain the right to the services of descendants of Indians enslaved subsequent to 1705.

<sup>116</sup> See Bruce, 1896: 2: 54-56, 129-130. Negroes, mulattoes, and Indians are mentioned together in official records at least as early as 1672, in an order referring to tithables (Hening, 2: 296).

<sup>114b</sup> Master Wimp, in Smith's *Generall Historie*, Book IV, in Smith, Arber edn., 573.

that they would side with the slaves; at the same time it forbade the employment of Negroes, mulattoes, or Indians, or other slaves in the capacity of miller or overseer. A bill read before the Council in 1723 dealt with the punishment of slaves and "the better government of Negroes, Mulattos and Indians bond or ffree. All members of this class above the age of sixteen were declared tithables. Children of slave women, mulatto or Indian, were obliged to serve until they attained the age of thirty or thirty-one. Should such a woman have a child after enslavement it was to serve until it had reached the age to which the mother herself was obliged to serve. Finally, free Negroes, mulattoes, and Indians were denied the franchise. Indian slaves are mentioned as late as 1731, when a commission was appointed to look into the matter of slaves of the three racial types. Legislation the following year disabled free members of the non-White groups from being witnesses, save in the trial of a slave. Shortly thereafter, it was found necessary to modify this act to permit Indians to be called as witnesses in criminal cases involving members of their own race, and subsequently it was further abridged to permit a free Negro, mulatto, or Indian to serve, in both civil and criminal offenses, as witnesses against any member of their group, slave or free.<sup>117</sup>

The detribalized Indian thus entered a larger society, but at an inferior level and with racial barriers to upward mobility. With no close-knit group to bolster him, his must often have been a wary, uncertain lot. He lived alone, or with a few of his fellows, as squatter or small farmer along streams and "runs" in the back-country, or on suffrance in similar places on the big plantations. Perhaps he made his way to the environs of villages or towns, or to such cities as Richmond. Wherever he went he became absorbed into that submerged and increasingly disenfranchised segment of society made up of a floating population of free Negroes, mulattoes, and other Indians. Within this group, in intimate contact with rural and lower-class Whites, cultural fusion went on apace, attended by racial blending. Free Indians were to an undetermined extent engulfed in this composite population, although some are known

<sup>117</sup> Miscegenation: *Jour. House Burg.* 1695-1702: 266; 1702/3-1712: 56. Office: *Hening*, 3: 250 f. Insurrection: *Jour. House Burg.* 1702/3-1712: 266. Trial: *Jour. House Burg.* 1712-1726: 368. Children: *Hening*, 4: 133. Commission: *Exec. Jour.* 4: 243. Witnesses: *Hening*, 4: 327, 405; 5: 245.



FIG. 11. Young war veteran pitching hay into barn on his father's farm.

to have succeeded in retaining their identity. Those that eventually chose to make their way back to the tribal settlements and succeeded in gaining readmittance must have formed potential leaven for cultural ferment among their fellow-tribesmen. We have, unfortunately, no inkling of the measure of leadership achieved by such prodigals. Their views, together with the reactions of their townsmen, may have been an important factor in the modification of native culture.<sup>118</sup>

In the days that were before them, the Chickahominy were to be confronted with just such a future: divested of their lands, they saw their settlement dissolve into small bands, perhaps comprising no more than individual families. In a series of tiny, unrecorded migrations they straggled across the countryside, seeking a place along the river where a man might fish and trap, and a family cultivate a little patch of ground. Some of them may have lingered in the vicinity of their old reservation, to form the antecedents of the Adamstown band. Others, according to Jefferson,

<sup>118</sup> The above paragraph rests not so much upon contemporaneous records as upon the traditional accounts of living informants, from genealogies which reach in some instances back to Revolutionary times, and from such studies as those of Bruce. They are therefore more largely interpretative than the remainder of the paper and must be accepted with more reserve. I feel, notwithstanding, that they are essentially correct and thus merit inclusion here.

moved down the Neck to amalgamate with the Pamunkey and Mattaponi. In all probability, it was at this time that they lost their tribal identity, together with the political and social features that up to this time had characterized them. The path of their history is obscured here; written records shed virtually no light upon it and oral testimony reaches back from the present only into the early nineteenth and final eighteenth century.

Isolated groups of this nature had been noted before. In 1715, John Fontaine, travelling from Williamsburg to the German colony on the Rappahannock, encountered a solitary hut on the north bank of the Mattaponi. If it was Chickahominy, its tenants had failed to join their fellows across the river, but it may equally well have been of another, closely related tribe.

"We see by the side of the road an Indian cabin," his journal relates,

. . . built with posts put into the ground, the one by the other as close as they could stand, and about seven feet high, all of an equal length. It was built four-square, and a sort of roof upon it, covered with the bark of trees. They say it keeps out the rain very well. The Indian women were all naked, only a girdle they had tied round the waist, and about a yard of blanketing put between their legs, and fastened one end under the fore-part of the girdle, and the other behind. Their beds were mats made of bulrushes, upon which they lie, and have one blanket to cover them. All the household goods was a pot.<sup>119</sup>

There are innovations present in this picture that were lacking in the descriptions of the Chickahominy and Portobago towns made a few years earlier. It is evident that the several Indian communities, and even their component individuals, showed a selectivity in accepting the new and modifying the traditional that varied from unit to unit. When the group comprised no more than a family or two, like the occupants of the solitary cabin on the Mattaponi, it was free of the compulsions exerted by a compact social group upon its members; there was more opportunity for the individual to follow the bent of personal inclination. Extremes of conservatism, and equally of innovation, were possible. Coercive measures of the sort exhibited in the Tom Perry incident became probably far less frequent and at least of far less general consequence.

<sup>119</sup> Ann Maury, *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, 264, quoted in Bushnell, 1935: 32. The location of the habitation fellows that given by Bushnell.

In the loss of their lands and the consequent dissolving of their community the Chickahominy were passing through a phase common to many other of the Virginia bands, which disappeared into the rural countryside, often in places remote from the intervention of lawless Whites. Dr. Frank G. Speck has related in conversation how, during the course of his Virginia researches in the 1920's, he encountered just such a handful of cabins, known locally as Skeetertown, in the fastnesses of the Dismal Swamp: how all withdrew suspiciously within their cabins and threateningly ordered him away. The dispersion of Indian tribes must have ended often in such tiny settlements, holding apart from an alien world even today; but it led also to the plantation and the town. There appears to have been no such foredoomed attempt at a unified stand against the English as appeared in 1742 among the Indians of the Eastern Shore.<sup>120</sup> Instead, the tribes melted away, until by about 1768/9 it was possible for a colonial official to respond to a questionnaire,

The number of Indians residing in the known parts of this Colony is very small, there being only some remains of the Eastern Shore and Pamunkey Indians, who are so far civilized as to wear European dress, and in part follow the customs of the Common Planters.<sup>121</sup>

Some score of years later, Jefferson made his observations upon the state of the Virginia Indians and painted a doleful picture of decline.

Very little can now be discovered of the subsequent history of these tribes severally. The *Chickahominyes* removed about the year 1661, to Mattapony river. Their chief, with one from each of the Pamunkies and Mattaponies, attended the treaty of Albany in 1685. This seems to have been the last chapter in their history. They retained however their separate name so late as 1705, and were at length blended with the Pamunkies and Mattaponies, and exist at present only under their names. There remain of

<sup>120</sup> Weslager, 49-58.

<sup>121</sup> Lieutenant-Governor Francis Faquier, quoted in Bushnell, 1908: 536. It may be added with some justice that the resemblance between the life of Indian and Virginia farmer was not owing to a one-sided adaptation on the part of the native. In such pursuits as the growing of corn, tobacco, and other indigenous plants, in indulgence in the fire-drive (Hening, 3: 69), in the recipes utilizing maize, and in pipe-smoking, as well as a number of other features, the early colonists had borrowed wholeheartedly from the Indian (see Bruce, 1896: 1, ch. 3). A discussion of the effects of reciprocal borrowing on the part of the English must be omitted, as carrying us too far afield.

the Mattaponies three or four men only, and have more negro than Indian blood in them. They have lost their language, have reduced themselves, by voluntary sales, to about fifty acres of land, which lie on the river of their own name, and have from time to time, been joining the Pamunkies, from whom they are distant but 10 miles. The *Pamunkies* are reduced to about 10 or 12 men, tolerably pure from mixture with other colours. The older ones among them preserve their language in a small degree, which are the last vestiges on earth, as far as we know, of the Powhatan language. They have about 300 acres of very fertile land, on Pamunkey river, so encompassed by water that a gate shuts in the whole.

And he adds remarks upon the Nottoway and upon the system of tribal trustees.<sup>122</sup>

Long before the time (1781) when Jefferson made his observations most of the Virginia Indians had become intermixed in varying degrees with Negro and White strains. The former element is difficult to trace. Racial crossing may have resulted from escaped slaves received into sanctuary in the Indian towns; but the major portion of Negro admixture probably entered through contacts on the part of Indians isolated from Indian society, as slaves or bond servants for the English and as individuals living on soli-

<sup>122</sup> Jefferson, 130-131. Mooney (1907: 143) with justice declares that population figures must be considered too low and points to errors of detail in the size of the Pamunkey reservation. The omission of mention of Nansemond, Eastern Shore, and other remnant groups to which he likewise calls attention is probably to be explained in terms of Jefferson's preoccupation with those tribes still carried on the official records, and doubtless also of his limited Indian contacts.

With regard to the Chickahominy, however, several of Mooney's strictures are unwarranted. Contrary to what he holds, the Chickahominy had made their move to the Mattaponi by 1661, and two men were delegated to attend the treaty with the Iroquois in 1685, although it is likewise true that delegates attended another treaty at Albany in 1722.

Mooney's position is rendered understandable by reference to his own researches in 1889, which agreed with his theory that "the largest bodies of Indian admixture would still be found where the largest tribes had originally resided" (p. 144). Upon these grounds he assumed that the modern groups were to be identified as descendants of the tribes that had once dwelt there. In this assumption he has generally been followed by Speck (1928). Unfortunately, the large-scale movements that took place over three centuries of contact render some, at least, of these identifications dubious. It will require an intensive study of the post-contact history of each group before they can be confirmed. On the other hand, the generic claims to Indian ancestry which Mooney and Speck put forth for the bands they discuss are amply justified.

tary farms, on plantations, and in towns. One does well in this connection to note the explanation offered by Mooney's informants. "This [Negro element] is due largely, according to their own statement, to the fact that intermixture was frequently forced upon them in the old days, with the deliberate purpose of claiming their children in slavery."<sup>123</sup>

Intermixture with Whites is often, but probably not always, implied in English surnames found in various records and in the present-day family lines in the several bands. Most of the family names at Pamunkey, Mattaponi, Upper Mattaponi,

<sup>123</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 145. At the same time, there is evidence that the reservations were at times the scene of similar intermarriages between free Negroes and Indians. Thus, according to Russell (p. 476), White neighbors in 1782-1787 charged that Indian Town on the Gingaskin reservation harbored a population of Indians and Negroes, many of them participants in biracial marriages. It was claimed that those who were not entirely black had at least "half black blood in them." The Whites accordingly proposed that only those Negroes married to Indian women should be permitted to remain in the tribe.

If such charges were not without truth, we must admit that they must often have been prompted by a self-interest that makes them difficult to appraise today. This may well have been true of the Whites who in 1821 stated of the Nottoway that "their wives and husbands are free negroes," and that they had neither prudence nor economy." We know in this case of the desire to annex the Indian lands and can at least suspect the irritation at the presence of that somewhat mobile class, the free Negroes.

These factors are all the more apparent in a petition made to the legislature in 1843 by a sizeable group of citizens of King William County, in which they request that the Pamunkey lands be divided, on the grounds that all but a small part of the tribe had died out, their place being taken by free mulattoes, members having at least a quarter Negro ancestry. Of them it is alleged, "They are so mingled with the negro race as to have obliterated all striking features of Indian extraction. It is the general resort of free negroes from all parts of the country." In a counter-petition, the chief men of the tribe sue to retain their lands. "They admit that some persons not of their tribe are within their boundaries, but claim that the inhabitants generally are of at least half Indian extraction" (Russell: Nottoway, p. 128 f., quotation therein from MS. Petitions, York Cy., 1821. Pamunkey: p. 129 and fn. 22. Quotation therein from MS. Petitions, King William Cy., 1843, B 1207). The legislature seems to have upheld the Indian claims, since the Pamunkey retain their reservation today.

Undoubtedly, then, many of these charges, if not groundless are at least exaggerated, made as they often were to gain a point over the Indian. It is true that they are in agreement with statements, already quoted, made by Jefferson. And yet Mooney in his criticism of Jefferson rightly questions the experience and contacts upon which his statements are based. Can it be that many of Jefferson's data reflect nothing more than the judgments of neighboring planters?

and Chickahominy occur in the Land Books for the counties which those bands are known to have occupied. The simple presence of the name is not to be taken as evidence of admixture, since such customs as the assumption of the surname of an admired personage may well have been in practice. On the other hand, there were undoubtedly instances of casual relations in which the father's name did not pass. There are some lines in which the Indians themselves assert descent from a White ancestor. Speck has recorded a tradition of this sort from the Nelson family of the Rappahannock band and another from the Newton family of the Potomac band.<sup>124</sup> Among the Chickahominy, the Winn family claim as ancestor a man who is said to have passed through the country during the Revolution in George Washington's train. He seems to have settled at Pamunkey, for his descendant in the early nineteenth century is noted as a fisherman from that band. The progenitor of the Jones family is alleged to have married a White woman, in the first half of the nineteenth century, and his case is not an isolated one.

Of particular interest is the tradition surrounding the introduction of the family name, Bradby, found both at Chickahominy and Pamunkey. Mooney cites the late Chief William Terrill Bradby, of the latter tribe, to the effect that all his namesakes in the two bands stem from a White man, his great-grandfather, who lived about the time of the Revolution. This individual married a Chickahominy woman, by whom he had three sons, one of them Chief Terrill's grandfather.<sup>125</sup> A mimeographed form, circulated by E. P. Bradby, chief of the Eastern Division of the Chickahominy, relates the tale of the founder of his lineage:

*Some History of the Bradby Family  
in Eastern Virginia*

In 1720 there came to Virginia a man by the name of Bradby. He was known as a dissenter and had fled from England in order to escape the intolerance of the Established Church and secure freedom for himself and his family in the worship of God. He was doomed to disappointment, however, for he found the struggle in Virginia over religious liberty even more bitter than it was in England. But he settled in Virginia and reared his family, at least one of his children, James, inheriting all his father's deep desire for freedom in the worship of God. In

1793, accordingly, James Bradby, who had in the meantime become one of the despised Baptist, fore-swearing the habitations of white men, choose to make his home with the Chickahominy Indians. They gladly received him, gave him full permission to worship God as he pleased, and listened to his teachings of the Word of God. He was finally adopted into the tribe, married an Indian wife, cast his lot with the Indians and won practically the whole tribe to Christ.

One division of the remnant of the Chickahominy tribe, living in Virginia today, bears the name of Bradby. Not only are there a few Baptist among them, but the whole tribe is distinctly Baptist, as the result of the thorough teaching given in those long ago days by this earnest Baptist who became one of the tribe.

This taken from THE NEW CHALLENGE OF HOME MISSIONS. Written by E. P. Alldredge, in 1927. Sunday School Board, Nashville, Tenn.

*E. P. Bradby Chief*

The new faith, which in the latter half of the eighteenth century was spreading like a crown fire through the small clearings and isolated farms of the Virginia hinterland, was warmly accepted by the Virginia bands, many of which became Baptists. While their evangelisation was doubtless a part of the larger movement whereby the new faith was embraced by their White and Negro neighbors, it is worth our while to consider the several factors that operated toward Indian acceptance. In its time, the Baptist faith has become a source of spiritual elation and a center about which cluster a multitude of values of deepest concern to the community. Its simple, direct appeal, together with the outlet it affords for expressive participation, particularly in the antiphony of preacher and congregation, produces at Chickahominy today a profound effect. There is no doubt that these attractions also were present in the beginning. The fact that their evangelist had taken sanctuary among them, had identified himself with them, and had himself been accepted as a member was an additional force inclining them to adopt the new faith. Other factors—attitudes toward alternative religious doctrines and their proponents, the possible survival of native cult practice that proved to be harmonious with the new faith—cannot be evaluated today.

One of the interesting impressions that arises from the various statements concerning the Bradby line is that even at the end of the eighteenth century there were individuals that were conscious of themselves as Chickahominy. It is

<sup>124</sup> Speck, 1925: 45-48; 1928: 284.

<sup>125</sup> *Op. cit.*, 147.

probable that the group that joined the Pamunkey and Mattaponi had retained a firmer knowledge of their identity than did those units that became separated. To the isolated families or bands, surrounded by Negroes and Whites, their former tribal membership was subordinate to their status as Indians. Among Indian groups, identification went further: the traditional tribal allegiances had a higher visibility and were consequently retained.

It was especially from among these Chickahominy that movements went forth in the early years of the nineteenth century, drifting southward across the narrow neck of land separating the valleys of the Pamunkey and Chickahominy Rivers, to move once more into their ancestral lands.

#### IV. THE TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY (ca. 1850-ca. 1900)<sup>126</sup>

Life along the Chickahominy River in the traditional period—the time spanned by the folk-memory of the present generation of Indians—is in striking agreement with that described in the records we have just passed in survey. Place names clearly delimit the center of population, just above Windsor Shades, lying in and about Wynn's Landing and Oldhouse Landing, Holly Log, and Providence Forge. Family histories, orally transmitted and preserved by memory, indicate a number of units scattered across the neck of land between the Pamunkey and Chickahominy. Within the low valley hunting grounds fingered out along the tributary

<sup>126</sup> Data for this section were gathered primarily from the Western Chickahominy of Samaria Indian Church, Roxbury, Va., during the years 1941 and 1947-1948. A short visit was made in the former year by a party of students including Maurice A. Mook, Sydney Connor, John Kremens, Robert Solenberger, and Theodore Stern. The concentrated field study during the latter period was undertaken jointly by Hassrick and me, and was made possible by a grant in aid from the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania. I gratefully acknowledge the very real assistance thus rendered us. In addition we have profited by visits made to other Virginia Indian communities, including the Eastern Chickahominy. Fellow students in this field, working under the guidance of Dr. Speck, have made their contributions to our knowledge. They include, besides those already mentioned, Louise C. Barrett, Edmund S. Carpenter, George D. Howard, Henry W. Forman, S. W. Penny-packer, Mary Rowell, Claude E. Schaeffer, Anne Schaeffer, F. Staniford Speck, Linville F. Watson, and Carey Williams. One cannot refrain from adding in this connection the names of C. A. Weslager and other members of the Delaware Archaeological Society, and of Anthony F. C. Wallace, currently engaged in a study of the Nanticoke community of Delaware.

creeks, such as that which extended to the north up Jones' Run into Minitree Brook and Rumley—locally called Romlum—Marsh. Major use of the river itself reached past Roxbury to Whiteoak Marsh, but interests, particularly as regards fishing, were centered downstream opposite Windsor Shades, where lay the head of tidewater.

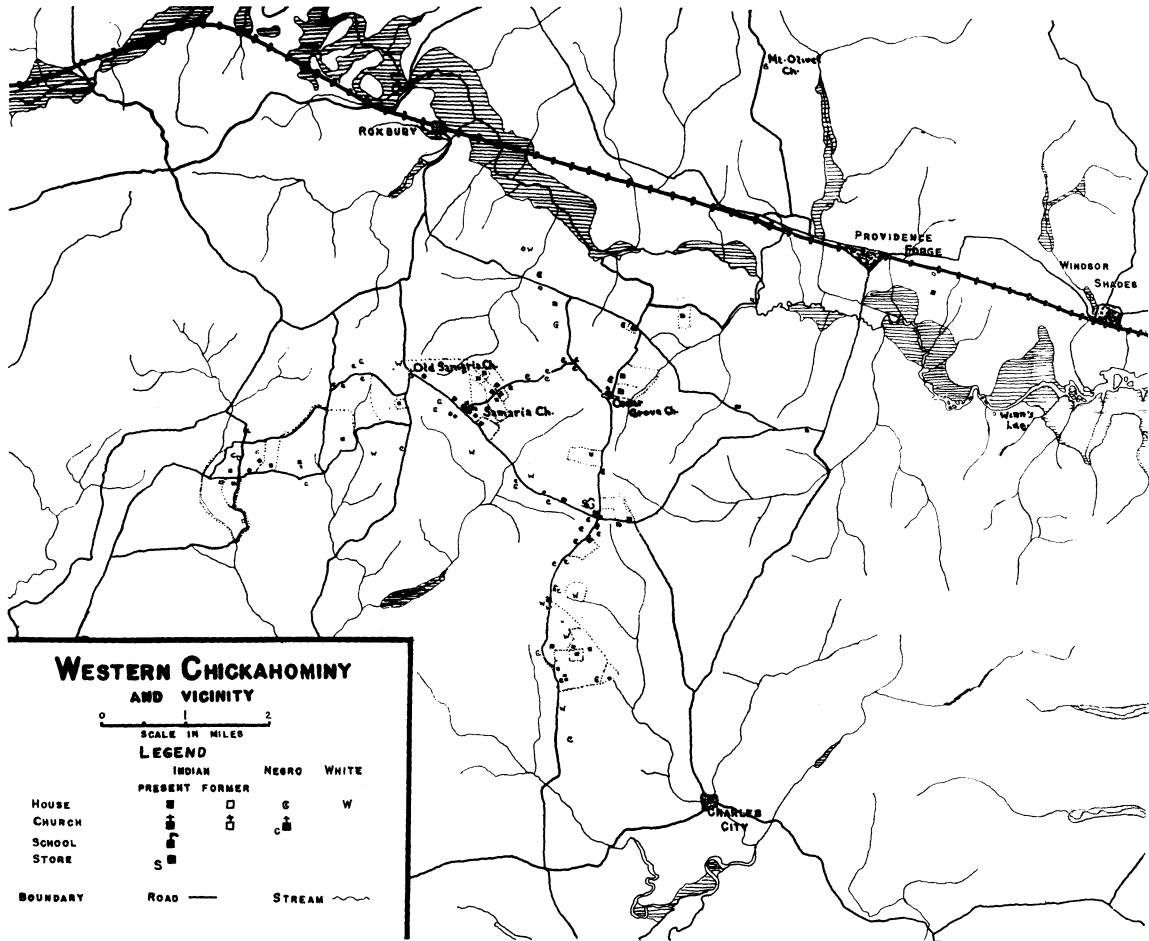
In the lands they came to occupy, the Indians were seated at the upper extremity of their ancestral holdings. When John Smith explored the river in 1607 he had found Appocant at the head of tidewater the highest of the Chickahominy towns. Although he explored beyond for another twenty miles, he found the country "onely a vast and wilde wildernes, and but onely that Towne."<sup>127</sup> The center of their new occupation lay on and above the site of Appocant and adjacent to the marshes and dense cypress swamps. Most of the settlers appear to have come from Pamunkey Neck, but it is not impossible that some may have been the descendants of Chickahominy who had gone into the swamps in 1644 rather than to leave their native valley.

In none of the places where Indians lived was their population dense, save in a relative degree. Their cabins were to be found scattered along the river and on some of its feeder streams on the north side, in small clusters of three or four dwellings, interspersed among the farms and clearings of the Whites. The bottom-lands had long since been parcelled out and the Indians now held their clearings only as squatters or upon the suffrance of the legal owners.

The modern Chickahominy recall in varying depths the life of former days. Unfortunately, their concept of "old Indian" ways, their knowledge of traditional pursuits, is often lacking in historical perspective, so that it becomes difficult to refer a given practice to a definite time and place. In some instances it proved possible to anchor elements of this sort to a genealogical chain, but others are still free-floating. The description that follows, which is far from exhaustive, outlines the culture of the traditional period, roughly ranging from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present, without attempting to delimit with precision the time-range of elements.

The Chickahominy of the early part of this period lived in cabins much like those of other petty farmers, White and Negro, of the tide-

<sup>127</sup> Smith, Arber edn., 14.



MAP. 2.

water plain: their houses were simple, single-storey affairs, with one or two rooms, built of logs or riven planks and roofed with shingles. Virtually no money outlay was involved in their construction, for even the plank building could be erected with no greater expenditure than twenty-five cents for nails. In later times, these structures were replaced by frame houses, built of lumber worked out in the saw-pit. Within, the cabin was of the plainest. Those in later times had a ladder leading to a second-floor garret, but the earlier ones had but a single room, with a floor of tamped clay. At one end was the fireplace, funnelling into a mud-and-stick chimney, where the meals were cooked. Furniture and utensils were simple: a bed covered with a comforter or two, often a spinning wheel and loom; puncheon benches and table; baskets of white-oak splints, worked into rectangular and

cylindrical forms, as well as the melon-shaped "rib basket"; wooden bread-mixing tray and stirring paddles; gourd containers; a few iron pots; domestic pottery made locally into milk-pans, deep pots, small bowls, and three-legged "stew pans"; rush mats on the floor and a broom-straw broom by the fireplace—these constituted the principal equipment for domestic techniques.<sup>128</sup> Outside the door stood the white-gum mortar

<sup>128</sup> Pottery-making is now a lost art among Western Chickahominy, although the mother of one of our informants had been able to make a vessel for Speck, some twenty years ago (1928: 113). However, at sites now occupied by members of the Eastern band at Windsor Shades there are to be found sherds of what has been termed the "hard, historic ware" made by the tribes of the Virginia tidewater during the traditional period. These fragments represent forms used at Pamunkey during the same period, and accordingly I have employed Pamunkey categories in describing them. See Speck, 1928: 394-432; Stern, MS., *passim*.

and its pestle; and nearby, the multi-purpose iron "wash-pot."

Not far from the cabin was the other orbit of woman's interests. Here, a small clearing was made by her husband, and planted with corn, wheat, beans, and "greens." The soil was worked with the hoe, though in later times the mule and plow came in to supplement it; since the man was away hunting and fishing much of the time, the weeding and tending of the crops fell to the woman. It was only within the traditional period that farming became increasingly a masculine occupation. Informants at Chickahominy tend to link this development with their movement away from the river, but the same transition has taken place on the reservations, where no such movement was made. The mode of cultivation followed closely upon aboriginal methods, as indeed did that of non-Indian neighbors. The corn was set in hills with a fish placed in each hill.

A modified form of the traditional planting technique, employed today only as an emergency measure, is still occasionally to be observed. The planter, with a pot of fertilizer on his left arm and hoe in right hand, strides one pace from the last planting and with a stroke of his hoe makes a small pit, into which he sprinkles a little fertilizer. Behind him, his helper—in this instance his son—reaches across his chest into a small bag of grain. In two steps he reaches the pit, drops in a few kernels of corn, and covers it with a sweep of his left foot. So mechanically do the workers move that photographs taken of successive stages of the planting can virtually be superimposed. No spacing device is recalled here akin to the measuring fork reported from Pamunkey, and none is required. Equally close to aboriginal patterns were the details of processing, from the shuckling with a wooden husking-peg to the hulling in the mortar, the storage, and the preparation. To the present day those old dishes, corn pone, hoe cake, ash cake, hominy, and succotash are favorites here, as they are in other homes, White and Negro, across the land.

There were other crops. Gourds, as among the Pamunkey, were sown along fence rows, to grow as they might. When ripe, they were made into various household containers, into dippers, funnels, net-floats, and the musical whistle and "blow-gourd."<sup>129</sup> Most families also had a little

<sup>129</sup> Speck (1941: 59-66) discusses in detail the place of the gourd among the Chickahominy. His principal informant was Chief E. P. Bradby, of the Eastern Band.



FIG. 12. Root cellar still in use on a Chickahominy farm.

patch of cotton, to be gathered and picked over by hand—in later times it was the duty of the small boy to pass it through a hand gin—then carded, spun, and woven on a loom. The greater part of the families made their own homespun clothing, and sometimes their blankets as well. While no specific mention was made of the growing of tobacco it seems likely that a small patch was cultivated for personal use.

About each garden patch ran a fence to protect the crops against the inroads of livestock. In the vicinity of the cabin, a few chickens, dogs, perhaps a mule, and in later times the milk cow with a small boy as satellite tender animated the scene. Ranging afar were the cattle and hogs, which led a quasi-feral existence in the woods, roaming at will, each beast bearing the distinctive ear-crop of its owner. The swine were fed two or three times a week to train them to return. In the fall of the year, several were penned up and fattened until they "flensed out," when they were killed, scalded in the wash pot, and the flesh cured and smoked. Meat was preserved in the smoke house, a small out-building adjacent to the cabin, even as crops such as yams were preserved in the semi-subterranean root-cellar.

The domain of the men, as in former days, lay on the river and in the marshes and cypress swamps that fringe and choke it. In both hunting and fishing aboriginal methods reigned supreme, for here the Indian was undisputed master.

To the categories he lists—water carrier, egg containers, salt bowls, seed bowls, as well as those noted above—our only addition is the funnel. Gourds do not appear to have been eaten.



The key to this watery world was the dugout canoe, which lingered in use on Rumley Marsh as recently as thirty years ago. Hollowed out of a single log of cypress, its "tray" stem, round bottom, and square stern remained unaltered from aboriginal types, although later there crept in such modifications as a pointed bow, or a double-ended craft with keeled hull. Finally, as at Pamunkey and Mattaponi, the dugout was replaced by a plank replica of the older forms. The long, cedar paddles with spatulate blade continued in use into the present, ideally adapted to the combined function of paddling and poling in a muddy bottom.<sup>130</sup>

Both shad and herring formed staples in Chickahominy economy, and both were corned and used throughout the greater part of the year. Other fish, such as pike, rockfish, and catfish, served to augment the diet. The main runs occurred in the Spring, when the fishermen would go down to tidewater to meet them. Only chub and "mud shad" (alewives) sometimes ran upriver beyond that point, and in consequence these fish could sometimes be caught with the bare hands. For the main runs both fixed and mobile taking-devices were employed.

One of the simplest of the latter was the "agate," a drag of cedar brush interwoven with grapevine, which was towed upriver by a canoe or a crew of men, entangling fish as it went. The fixed devices included a variety of "hedges," brush-and-pole fences spanning river-narrows, with conical, oak-splint fyke set in an opening in the middle to receive the fish as they came downstream. The "herring hedge" employed a log barrier set in a bend in the narrows, in such a way as to produce a back eddy. Below it a pen made by thrusting stakes into the river-bottom opened upstream near the outer side of the bend. Herring, as they descended the river, were swept by the back eddy into the pen, from which they were removed by a single sweep of the dip net.

Whether or not the seine was aboriginal in the tidewater area or represents a later introduction from the English remains a moot question, but at least by the time of Robert Beverley the Indians were making use of seines buoyed up with

gourd floats, and they have continued into the present. During the traditional period, the Chickahominy made them from commercial cordage, utilizing however net-needles and mesh-gauges of their own manufacture, ranging in size from herring to sturgeon. The net floats were roughed out of pine bark or the wood of the "popple" gum, or were made from gourds. According to present informants, an early lack of sinkers restricted the setting of seines to places where a weak current prevailed, until the introduction of iron ring-sinkers made feasible a wider use.

In addition to the set devices there were implements used by the individual in taking fish. Angling employed hooks both of native types as well as the bent pin and the commercial fish-hook; perch and jack were thus caught. There was also a fish-spear, tipped with a single spike of iron wire, utilized in the daytime and, by jack-light, at night.

Hunting in marshes and woods was again both a group and an individual pursuit. The Chickahominy retained in use until recently, when they were banned by law, a large variety of traps and snares of aboriginal pattern. These were set along runs in the marshes and uplands to catch small fur-bearers such as coon, muskrat, and possum, game birds, and even deer. In the main, they differ only in minor details from those employed by neighboring Indian groups.

The deadfall took several forms. For small mammals, it comprised a single killing log suspended by a grapevine collar from the nether end of a flying trigger. The latter passed horizontally over a cross-piece and held in place by a line tied to its distal end, which passed beneath the killing log where it has held in place by the baited release. Side stakes to prevent the prey from dodging the falling log might or might not be present.

A simple bird deadfall, baited with grain, was made by propping a heavy board upon an upright stick to which a string was attached. The hunter pulled the string when the game was in position.

The "splint" or "cage" trap, for partridge, snow-bird, and turkey, was an open cage, in form a truncate pyramid, made of white-oak splints held together by nails or by cords running up the corners. It was propped upon the conventional figure - 4 trigger, which authorities generally consider to be European in immediate origin. The

<sup>130</sup> Speck (1928: 374-381) describes dugouts for the Virginia bands in general and illustrates (fig. 82) Chickahominy paddles. Details on the various types of Chickahominy canoe are taken from a letter to Dr. Speck from Chief E. P. Bradby, of the Eastern band, dated Dec. 11, 1939.

same cage might likewise be set up flat upon the ground. A trail of scattered grain led the turkey to squeeze through a small space at the bottom. In scratching about for the grain, once inside, the bird covered over the entrance and was trapped.

Yet another catch-alive was the "trap-pen," a hollow log—later replaced by a box—with a vertically sliding door supported, like the deadfall log, by a flying trigger connected in turn to a similar release in the interior of the log. This was baited for coon, possum, and wild hogs; if it was a neighbor's hog that was hauled, squealing, from the trap it would be recognized by the ear crop and returned.

Snares were attached to a spring pole, sometimes in the form of a sapling. Set along animal runs, the spring pole was bent down, its top held low by a cord that passed to a release like that for the deadfall. The snare was usually baited. Any unwary animal, from small birds and turkeys up to deer, might find itself snatched suddenly into the air by this machine. It is interesting to note that from several informants only a single type of release was described for three types of taking devices. This compares with at least three variant triggers for Pamunkey, where trapping is still widely practiced.

In addition to the taking devices common to the other bands, the Chickahominy possess several as yet unrecorded elsewhere in the tidewater, the source of which is somewhat enigmatic.

Two of these, which may have been adopted from Negro or White neighbors, involve a pit into which the animal is lured by bait suspended above it. One, a muskrat trap, contains a rock in the middle, surrounded by water. The animal, striving for the bait, falls in and climbs upon the rock. Other beasts follow; they cannot get out and some drown in the struggle for the solitary island. The other trap, for rabbits, is covered with a circular lid pivoted upon a cross-bar. When the animal steps upon it, the lid rotates freely, depositing the animal within and resetting itself. An analogous trap is illustrated by Lips (p. 132 and fig. 13) for Siberia.

A third contrivance has a more Indian "feel." It is described as a "breakneck" for squirrels or raccoons, and involves an inclined board ramp with a pair of holes across the outer end. Through these there passes an oak-splint loop which encircles one end of a log weight. The log is prevented from falling only by a baited

trigger tied to its distal end and hooked over the end of the ramp. The victim passes its head through the loop to seize the bait, releases the trigger, freeing the log which carries down the loop and pins the prey to the board. At times this trap was set in tandem, one at either end of a raised log. While other circumstances, soon to be related, suggested that the trap might have been introduced from Canada, and particularly from the Ojibway, the late Dr. John M. Cooper, in a letter dated Dec. 21, 1948, denied an Ojibway origin. Lips illustrates (p. 158, fig. 82) an analogous device from Sumatra.<sup>131</sup>

Aside from his trap lines, which he visited at regular intervals, the hunter stalked deer, turkeys, ducks, and other game, either on foot or from a canoe. Men used a gun or the old bow and arrow, which was cheaper and still retained its effectiveness.

The bow, four feet in length, was made of white oak or hickory. The white-oak arrows were frequently pointed and hardened in the fire. Dr. Frank G. Speck recently obtained from the Eastern Chickahominy arrows tipped with chicken spurs, reminiscent of the aboriginal use of turkey spurs for the same purpose. Statements as to the feathering on the traditional arrows range from one feather to three—probably an index of general unfamiliarity today. Boys frequently made use of the cross-bow, which was particularly lethal against birds. This implement, still made today, is found among most of the Virginia bands, and represents an introduction from the Whites that is widespread along the Atlantic seaboard.

In addition to these weapons, the hunter made use of a duck-call or turkey-call made from the wing-bone of the turkey or from reed. Lacking these, he stimulated the turkey's cry in his throat.

It was very frequent for the hunter to stalk game alone, accompanied perhaps by his dog; though in the canoe it was more usual to go out with a companion, one paddling, the other watching the silent cypress stumps and impenetrable brush for his prey. There is little evidence that the hunter was customarily bound by any restriction to a specific hunting territory, save in accordance with general rights based on freehold or exclusive permission from the owner. Native concepts of hunting territories, if they ever ex-

<sup>131</sup> Cf. discussion of hunting and fishing techniques and implements in Speck, 1928: 330-374; and specifically for Rappahannock, Speck *et al.*, 1946.



FIG. 13. Spot-planting of corn in a field recently eroded by rains. Seed is ordinarily sown by machine.

isted at Chickahominy, did not apparently survive the tribal dispersion.

Group hunting took the form of drives, unlike the ancient fire drives in that dogs, in the European tradition, were employed to run down deer and rabbits, rather than driving them together by firing the underbrush.

In the rabbit-drive, the game was driven to ground by the dogs, in a manner analogous to the individual pursuit of possum and raccoon. A variant took the form of a ring of men, each armed with a rabbit-club made of a sapling with the root serving as a head, closing in upon an area and dispatching the animals trapped within it. In the deer-drive, hunters were stationed on stands by the leader, who was the owner of the pack of dogs used in running the deer. The "driver," as he was known, loosed his dogs and followed them afoot. When the deer approached a stand, the Indian stationed there was expected to drop it; if the animal escaped, the hunter responsible had his shirt-tail cut off and hung on a nearby tree. The man who killed the deer was awarded one of the hindquarters, the driver re-

ceived head, skin, and antler; the remainder was divided evenly by the driver among the other hunters. A similar system is present, not only at Pamunkey and Nansemond, but likewise among many of the Whites and Negroes organized today into hunt clubs. The conviction grows that the European drive with stationary hunters and mobile beaters with their dogs has blended harmoniously with native methods and has, as averred by present-day informants, been successfully transferred from smaller game to deer. (Cf. Speck and Schaeffer.)

Most of the products of woods and river were consumed at home, although the growing need and desire for European goods led inevitably to commercial contacts with a larger world. We have already noted the early trade in furs and in domestic manufacturers, and these continued. Trading ventures of this sort were made through the small stores in the neighborhood, but such contacts seem to have been infrequent. It was the custom for a White or Indian trader—after the Civil War Negroes also entered this occupation—to make the rounds of the countryside two or three times a week, picking up milk, eggs, and sometimes meat as well to sell in town on a commission basis.

For the majority of the men the combination of fishing, hunting, and farming—much of the burden of the latter carried by the women—must have provided a deeply satisfactory way of life, bound up as it was with the ancestral habits of food-getting. Even today there is a small but devoted minority who still look upon it as a vanishing ideal. On the other hand, others were seeking combinations of these pursuits with occupations that were more rewarding financially. One such individual was Alexander Bradby, grandfather of Chief E. P. Bradby, of the Eastern Chickahominy, who became a blacksmith, wheelwright, and boat-builder, while remaining on the river and following the traditional pursuit of fishing. Others went off to the towns and cities for a year or so, to work as hired hands, and then returned. It was men like these that were setting the mode for skilled proficiency in the crafts which later was to become one of the marked characteristics of the Chickahominy.<sup>131a</sup>

<sup>131a</sup> Such developments were not, of course, restricted to the Chickahominy. Thus, Russell quotes an 1825 source with reference to John Dungle, an Indian hailing from King William County (perhaps Pamunkey, though he may have belonged to another group) who was "a

In other areas of their life, the Indians clung closer to native practices. Their plant lore, some of which survives even today, represents a respectable ethnobotanical heritage much of which may go back to indigenous simples. Some of their preparations center about concoctions and plants the names of which resemble those occurring among other bands.<sup>132</sup> Some curatives, on the other hand, suggest an alien source.

For example, the other Virginia bands have no recorded counterpart for the so-called cancer cure that forms the most prominent formula in the Chickahominy pharmacopoeia. A lye is prepared by filtering water through the calcined bark of the blackjack oak, the filtrate subsequently being evaporated. The product is applied to the surface of the "cancer" and covered with grease. In a correlative preparation, the resin from "light-wood" (i.e. pine) knots is distilled beneath an inverted cauldron and collected in a receptacle as a pitch that is pulled like taffy until it reaches a wax-like state, when it is applied over the grease covering the cancer-preparation. Although these interrelated techniques now loom so large in native tradition, they almost surely represent a late introduction.

sailor . . . constantly employed in the navigation of the Chesapeake Bay and Rivers of Virginia" (p. 129).

<sup>132</sup>The author made no attempt to exhaust the traditional plant lore of the Chickahominy, nor was he able to secure plant specimens at the time of his visits. Nevertheless, it may be of some value to record some plant names and the preparations associated with them, noting the occurrence of similar names among the Rappahannock (Speck *et al.*, 1942):

Persimmon bark (tea, with alum added: for sore throat.) *Rapp. cf.* 6a, p. 25. "Pine tag" (needle) from *P.echinata?* (steeped to tea: for cold.) *Rapp. cf.* 14—no similar use.

Snake root (tea in whiskey: to settle stomach.) *Rapp. cf.* 17b: tea, for chills.

Horehound (syrup: for a cold.) *Rapp. cf.* 19: tea or syrup—with cherrybark for colds. (Plant is European.)

Jimson weed (leaf poultice: for headaches.) *Rapp. cf.* 21c,d,e: boiled leaves as poultice for fever, inflammation, and to relieve congestion in pneumonia.

Bloodroot (tea, added to corn whiskey: blood purifier.) *Rapp. cf.* 29. A similar use recorded from Otho Nelson, *Rappahannock* (Stern, field notes).

Mullein (strong tea: cough or cold.) *Rapp. cf.* 28a: tea, external application to swellings.

Everlasting, "old hare 'baccar (tobacco)" (smoke for "shortness of breath") *Rapp. cf.* 32b: dried leaves smoked as relief from asthma.

In the absence of botanical identities for the Chickahominy plants, the foregoing list must be viewed as

In the main, cures such as these were common property, and the individual might be counted on for a stock of remedies to meet the more general ailments. A few individuals among them, however, were more deeply versed in curative lore; and their reputation extended across the countryside. Neighbors, Indian, Negro, and White alike, were wont to call upon them in stubborn or unusual cases. Frequently, no doubt, they were the only medical practitioners for miles around. Their fees cannot have been high, for like their fellows they were hunters, fishers, and farmers by occupation. As is true today, they seem to have formed a focus of traditionalism that set them apart.

Largely unplumbed are the remnants of an extensive folklore, which remain to be gathered. The small sample collected from the Western Chickahominy suggest that it follows much the same lines as does that of the Pamunkey. Toys such as the cross-bow and the "Indian-gun," (a tube of elder with a bent hickory spring which propels a hickory dart) although considered "old Chickahominy" more probably represent introductions which are far from recent.<sup>133</sup> Other elements of which we have brief mention, such as the use of a corn-husk pillow to produce a flattened occiput in infants—a practice reported thus far only for the Rappahannock and Chickahominy<sup>134</sup>—seems possibly to have come down from an aboriginal period. Today such features share alike the patina of age that characterize the "old Indian" practices. In the consciousness of present-day informants the life of their grandfathers, and in part of their fathers as well, becomes an integrated, timeless tradition. When they probe their Indian past, it is here they delve. And when they assert their Indianhood, it is not merely to the old methods of hunting and fishing, of farming and curing that they go, but to the cabin, the pottery, blending European form

merely suggestive of similarities and differences rather than as absolute relationships.

<sup>133</sup>Speck (1928: fig. 59) illustrates a Mattaponi cross-bow; Speck *et al.* (1946: fig. 8), a Rappahannock specimen. Chickahominy examples resemble more closely the former. Rowell describes Pamunkey games, and Davidson, string figures from the Virginia bands. We received accounts of such party-games as "Fish," "Take My Chair," and "Fruit-Basket Upset," but made no extensive inquiries into the subject.

<sup>134</sup>Speck, 1925: 81-83. In both bands, according to this author, the nose of the baby is pinched to lengthen it; the expressed aim of these practices being to enhance the child's beauty.

and native technique, the cross-bow, and other alien features since incorporated as well. In a larger sense, they have reason on their side, for it is only the investigator who is concerned whether the ultimate source of this element or that is to be found in Europe or in aboriginal Virginia. The blending of constituent features which characterizes a given way of life is far from the mere mechanical addition of traits. Traditional Chickahominy represented a culture that was both Indian and European commingled and transformed, and unlike either component.

Throughout the period of their dispersion, the Chickahominy would seem to have retained a consciousness of their heritage and a sense of identity reinforced at many points by bonds of kinship. Proud awareness of an Indian past was bolstered by their closeness, both in proximity and in social relations, with the reservation-holding Pamunkey and Mattaponi, for these bands retained Indian status in the eyes of the State. The intolerance of certain of their neighbors, who may have considered them unduly "uppity," beset them and provided a common ground of resentments upon which they met. Some of the Virginia bands recall that it was the practice of Whites to drive male slaves among them to take the women by force, so that they might later claim the offspring as their property. However infrequent extremes of this sort may have been, they produced a lasting effect, as witnessed by their retention in the memory of Mooney's informants, and they stand for a long-enduring relationship marked by mutual fear and mistrust. When slaves rose in revolt, as they did for example, on the Eastern Shore during the Nat Turner rebellion of 1831, harsh restrictions descended upon all the remnant bands. To underscore their heritage, the Indian men wore their hair at shoulder-length, its straight, coarse strands unanswerable token of their race; and this practice is occasionally to be observed even today among some of the more traditional leaders at Chickahominy, Pamunkey, and Mattaponi.<sup>135</sup> It was in vain: the tax books of the mid-nineteenth century make provision for only two categories, White and colored. Linked by a common fear

<sup>135</sup> The son and successor of the Mattaponi leader is both a "long-hair" and a salesman by occupation; his hair is done up in a topknot under his hat, so that his appearance will not excite comment in the course of his business contacts.

and resentment, the Chickahominy resisted absorption into the lower class.<sup>136</sup>

In the gathering tensions antecedent to the Civil War, the Indians once more found themselves torn between two contending forces. The pressure upon them, in the eyes of modern informants, was incidental to the expansion of Whites in plantation and town, forcing them out of the valley, but it was generated more substantially by the suspicion under which they were held in those days of runaway slaves, the underground railroad, and armed insurrections. The Indians were suspected, probably with some cause, of being disaffected. Gradually they began to move southward across the river into sparsely inhabited upland they call the "ridge."<sup>136a</sup>

<sup>136</sup> Mooney, 1907: 145. For a history of slave rebellions see Apthaker, 1-70.

The following passages quoted from the first (1849) edition of the Code of Virginia (and repeated verbatim in the second, 1860, edition) clearly define the legal status of the tribal Indian.

Ch. 115, sec. 7. "The tributary Indians within this state shall not sell or devise any lands, actually possessed or justly claimed by them, to any other person than some of their own tribe or nation, or their descendants; any such bargain, sale or devise shall be null and void. And if any person, other than the said Indians or their descendants, shall purchase or lease, or occupy or till any such land, whether with or without the permission of the Indians, he shall forfeit two dollars every year for each acre of land so purchased, leased, occupied or tilled." In approximately the same form, this law had been in effect since the treaty of 1705. For the probable implication of the distinction set up between "Indians" and their "descendants," see footnote 123, *supra*.

Ch. 176, sec. 19. "A negro or Indian shall be a competent witness in a case of the commonwealth for or against a negro or Indian, or in a civil case to which only negroes or Indians are parties, but not in any other case." This law, in various forms, had been on the books since 1744, with earlier versions in 1732 and 1734. It is important to note that redress could be had against a White man, on the part of a Negro or Indian, only if the Commonwealth brought suit in his behalf.

Ch. 211, sec. 1. "In a criminal case against an Indian, or a person of Indian descent, (other than a negro,) the proceedings shall be as against a white person." Here, for the detribalized native, proof of Indian descent *without Negro admixture* became essential, since the position of the Negro slave and freedman before the bar was far inferior. Unless some White patron or friend were willing to vouch for him, such evidence might be difficult to establish. It was not until 1887 that the statutes took up the task of defining the status of individuals of mixed descent.

<sup>136a</sup> Despite the greater security offered by their reservation—perhaps because it made them more conspicuous in the eyes of their White neighbors—the Pamunkey seem to have been extremely sensitive to the

The land which drew them had formerly been occupied by Quakers. Today it is recalled that, weakened by strife with a dissident, mixed-breed group known as "Hickory Quakers," the rightful owners withdrew and left the region open to other settlers. It is probable that the account of Quaker schism has a real foundation in the Hicksite separation of 1828, which indirectly weakened the Virginia Yearly Meeting and contributed to its eventual dissolution in 1844. The ensuing decline of individual communities seems, however, to have been more largely a result of the firm anti-slavery stand on the part of the sect, which led at length to withdrawal to new lands in the Middle West. As the Quakers withdrew, other groups, among them the Chickahominy, moved in to take possession of the "free land" thus vacated.<sup>137</sup>

The movement into the new land can best be traced by following the several lineages, both in the genealogies and in the land tax books of the time.<sup>138</sup>

The *Bradby* line as already noted springs from James Bradby, the Baptist evangelist who joined the Indians in 1793. Terrill Bradby, late chief at Pamunkey, told Mooney that he had three sons, one of them Terrill's grandfather. Our genealogies are defective here, but tax records for 1845 show

unrest of the day. A passage quoted by Speck (1928: 453-455) indicates that some time in the early part of the nineteenth century the tribe abandoned its reservation and attempted to move farther toward the west. Their migration may perhaps have taken place at about the time that southern Quakers were moving into the Middle West in an attempt to escape the frictions generated by the slavery issue. The Indians, however, went no further than the estate of Alexander Morson, near Hollywood, Stafford County, in the northern part of Virginia, where sickness and the onset of winter immobilized them. The kindness of the proprietor enabled them to remain until springtime, when they took their departure and apparently made their way back to the reservation. In recompense, the Pamunkey chief offered their benefactor the silver frontlet presented by Charles II to the seventeenth-century chieftainess, Queen Anne; but Mr. Morson insisted upon purchasing it. The frontlet has since passed into the possession of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities; and it is the accompanying description which is the authority for the passage cited.

<sup>137</sup> Weeks, 287-290.

<sup>138</sup> The ravages of the Peninsular Campaign destroyed many of the local records in Charles City courthouse, and others, taken to Richmond for safe-keeping, were consumed in the fires that accompanied the evacuation of that city. As a result, we are largely dependent upon oral testimony for genealogical data. The tax books, which have survived, offer but a partial check upon them. It is reassuring to note that where the two lines of evidence focus upon the same event, they are in reasonable agreement.

a James M. Bradby, listed as a resident of New Kent County, seated upon 250 acres located on West Run, one of two tributaries flowing south into Herring Creek and thence into James River. More probably related to the Chickahominy line is Burwell Bradby, resident of Charles City County, who is noted as holding 50 acres in fee simple on the East Run, the total value of land and buildings being set at \$150. The following year, 1846, he added another 67½ acres, also on East Run, where he was joined by Allen Bradby, with total acreage of 310 units, and Littlebury H. Bradby, with tracts amounting to 75 acres, increased by 150 units in 1851. A Josiah Bradby appears in 1846, in possession of 128½ acres on Oldman's Run, which I have been unable to locate. In 1852 William Bradby purchased 34 acres on East Run, near the land held by Allen and Littlebury. As already mentioned, none of these individuals appears upon the Bradby genealogy; but subsequent Chickahominy settlement in the region of East Run is presumptive evidence of their connection.

The *Adkins* line, today by far the most numerous in the community, runs back in the genealogies to six siblings, three brothers and three sisters. The spouses of five that could be recalled include two Bradby's and three Jones'. The first settler on the ridge was Eli Adkins, eldest of the six, married to a Bradby. In 1850 he obtained by transfer from one of the White residents some 75 acres on Gilley's (now Brady's) Run, valued at \$225 and situated just north of the Bradby holdings on East Run. Two years later Edward Adkins, not noted in the genealogy, purchased 29 acres on nearby Story's Run, with a total value of \$187.50; and William H. Adkins, the brother of Eli and married to a Jones, acquired 59 acres, worth \$147.50, on East Run near the Bradby's.<sup>139</sup> The following year, in 1853, there appear Daniel Adkins, relationship unknown, who together with one M. (Major?) Miles, took up 70 acres, valued in sum at \$175, on North Run near Eli. At the same time, Allen and John Adkins, Jr., sons of a third brother of the original three noted, jointly purchased 90 acres of land, valued at \$225, on East Run. Subsequent settlements tell much the same story. Today the family of this name is to be found almost exclusively at Chickahominy. The presence of the same name in at least one instance among the adjacent Ne-

<sup>139</sup> This bit of information accords neatly with the statement of Mr. Joseph C. Adkins, who asserts that his father, the late chief William H. Adkins, who was the son of the individual here noted, was born "on the ridge" in 1852.

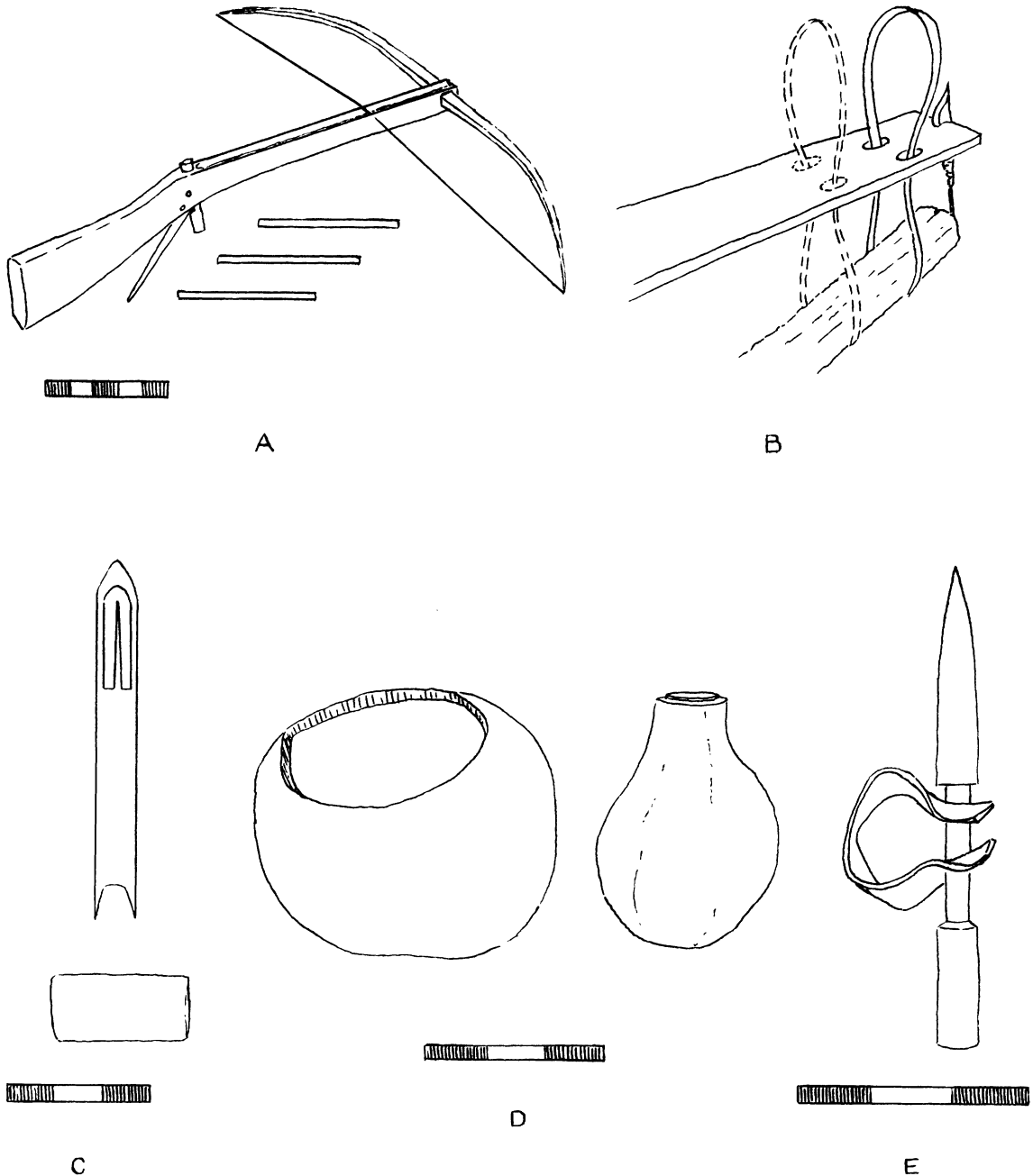


FIG. 14. Some "old Indian" artifacts. A. Crossbow and bolts. B. "Breakneck" trap for squirrel and coon. C. Needle and gauge for herring net. D. Gourd bowl and jar. E. Wooden corn-husking peg. All but B are after specimens collected by the late F. G. Speck from the Eastern Chickahominy. Scale in inches.

groes may reflect an unacknowledged and dis-  
countenanced union in bygone days.

The early *Jones* history can be traced back to two men, possibly brothers, both of whom appear on the ridge. The first of the two was Riley, who wed one of the six Adkins siblings, a sister of Eli,

William, and John. In 1852 he is noted as in possession of 75 acres in two parcels located on Cellar Run (Courthouse Creek?), not far from the courthouse and some two or three miles southeast of the East Run settlement. The statement of conveyance runs, "altered by deed to Wm.

Bradby." The total value of lands and buildings was \$187.50. The next year, Wyatt Jones enters the scene. His wife was a white woman, and two of their children had married two of the original Adkins siblings. Wyatt must accordingly have been past middle age when he moved to the ridge. The land he acquired comprised 114 acres on Story's Run, assessed so low that it totaled in value only \$228. In 1857 he divided this tract into three 38-acre parcels, taking one himself and giving one apiece to his sons, John and Thomas W. At this time each parcel was valued at \$114, indicating a good deal of improvement or a rising land-market. In general, it may be said that this line is well represented at Chickahominy today. The name recurs only at Nansmond, a band in the southern part of the state, but there is no other evidence to confirm recent relations between the bands.

In the *Wynn* (Winn) line there enters one of the most unusual individuals. As related above, the earliest member of the family is said to have passed through the country during the Revolution, in George Washington's troops. He seems to have settled at Pamunkey, for the earliest link in the genealogy is described as a fisherman from that band. He moved to the vicinity of Mt. Olivet Church, near the head of Rumley Marsh and far to the North of the Chickahominy River. Here in 1837 a son, Ferdinand, was born. This individual makes his appearance in 1858, when he purchased 5 acres of land, valued at \$15, on Fishing Run (now Glebe Creek) just northeast of the courthouse. His wife appears to have been a White woman, and he is noted on records of the time as being White himself. The activities by which he subsequently distinguished himself are noted below. Winn's Landing, on the Chickahominy, takes its name from him or his sons, Winslow and Ferdinand, who settled there after the Civil War.

The names of *Holmes*, *Stewart*, and *Miles* testify to intermittent linkages with Pamunkey and other bands. We have already seen that one M (ajor?) Miles acquired land on North Run in 1853 jointly with Daniel Adkins. Only in relatively recent times did another Miles come to the ridge, making his way directly from Pamunkey. The name of Holmes is of particular interest, since the Adamstown band told Speck that "formerly the Adams family had the name of Holmes, that a white man named Adams, just before the Civil War period, settled with the band and gave his

name and identity to most of the members."<sup>140</sup> The earliest member of the line recalled today on the ridge is Moses Holmes, who was hauling on the Chickahominy River during the decade 1880-90, probably in the company of Chickahominy men. He is said to have come from Pamunkey and to have lived on rented land on the river. His sons left to move up the ridge. The Stewarts represent a movement that is even more recent. Today all three lines are minorities at Chickahominy, represented by only a few households apiece.

In the days of slavery, two young brothers, Thomas Henry and William *Jefferson*, were abducted in Albany and brought to Virginia to be sold in the markets. In Richmond, however, their captors were apprehended and the boys released, to be befriended by the Chickahominy and adopted. During the Civil War, as we shall see, William joined a group fleeing to Canada, where he remained. The line founded by his brother included a son who joined the Canadian migration and another who fought with Sherman; and it survives today. A grandson, the late John Jefferson, claimed that the original brothers were Blackfoot, a claim which must be regarded as implausible under the circumstances.

The progenitor of the *Canada* (*Cannada*, *Canada*) line, John Canada, hailed from James City in the early days of Reconstruction. Falling in love with Jane Winn, daughter of Ferdinand, he eloped with her to Charles City, where she soon passed away. Subsequently, he took to wife a woman said to have been of Mattaponi extraction, and made his way to Chickahominy, where he settled down.

*Whitehead* and *Brown* represent unions made beyond the band. The former line springs from the intermarriage of a local White man with a Chickahominy woman, while the latter is merely characterized by informants as being "almost like Whites." Both comprise very recent additions to the band, post-dating Mooney's census of 1899.<sup>141</sup> In a manner of speaking, they replace names appearing there, but no longer represented today: *Thompson*—one individual, undoubtedly Indian—and *Cotman*, whose claims to Indian-White ancestry of a "foreign" tribe we have heard scoffed by some Chickahominy.

The genealogies we have collected testify to a number of social facts. Proud acknowledgment of

<sup>140</sup> 1928: 266 f.

<sup>141</sup> 1907: 149.



a White progenitor reveals how thoroughly the Chickahominy have come to accept the racial ranking of Virginian society. Those party to intermarriage with Negroes, on the other hand, have been dropped from the genealogies, and some lines are "forgotten," perhaps for a similar reason. For a long time the Virginia bands have prohibited such unions, primarily as a means of maintaining their Indian status, and today the Indian partner is expelled from the group.<sup>142</sup> Informants insist that this attitude is of long standing, and it is probably that such admixture as exists took place earlier or came in with the acceptance of individuals claiming to be members of "foreign" Indian groups. Partners in marriage with other Indians or with Whites, on the other hand, retain their tribal standing. Biracial unions have, however, played little part in the community itself, for those marrying Negroes, as already noted, are ostracised, while those who choose White partners, although under no compulsion to leave, frequently move away. The only other marriages beyond the band have been predominantly with the Pamunkey and Mattaponi and have served to strengthen their identification with Indianhood, as represented by the reservation-holding bands.

Despite the importance both numerically and in effect of such outside linkages, it is clear that by far the greatest proportion of unions have been made within the community. Genealogies exhibit the intricately involved web of relationship characteristic of small endogamous populations, although there is no indication that any regular rule has governed the selection of a mate. Locally, among the White population, marriage of first cousins has been frequently favored; the same practice at Chickahominy is present only to a negligible degree, occurring with about equal frequency in cross- and parallel-cousin forms. The majority of unions have been between persons more distantly related. Informants maintain that individual qualities and the personal relations between the families concerned were of foremost bearing in regulating the choice of a spouse.

One practice may be noted, however, that merits special attention. Our tables reveal a striking incidence—at least 20 per cent, and perhaps

<sup>142</sup> An example volunteered by one informant is a woman who married a nearby Negro farmer and who in consequence has been completely ostracised from the band. Once a year, her brothers pay her a visit, probably as much in tacit warning to her husband to treat her properly as to renew affective relations.

higher, in the generation living about the time of the Civil War—of what we have termed "paired-sibling marriage." This practice involves the union of two or more siblings, of the same or opposite sex, with similarly related individuals in another family.<sup>143</sup> Marriages of this sort seem to have been strongly at variance with the practice of their White neighbors, nor does it seem to have been a common Negro practice.<sup>144</sup> One is consequently driven to the view that it may represent a genuinely aboriginal feature that has escaped the notice of early writers, perhaps because of its very unobtrusiveness. At Chickahominy the practice is traceable through four generations of marriage. It will be recalled for the earliest members of the Adkins line that of five remembered unions at least four represented two sets of paired-sibling marriage. In subsequent generations, the proportion of such unions diminishes. They show no tendency to be restricted to special family lines and occur with about equal frequency for cases in which the siblings are of the same sex as for those in which they are brother and sister.<sup>145</sup>

Informants allege that a boy going courting was wont to take his brother or sister along for companionship "so that they wouldn't be left home all alone," though there is no unanimity as to this practice. Courtships accordingly seem to have gone by pairs, without however being followed by double weddings. When the siblings were of opposite sex, there seem to have been a feeling of special fitness and balance in the gain of a bride for the loss of a daughter. As has been remarked, this aspect cannot have been vital, since it was as frequent for the siblings to be of the same sex

<sup>143</sup> I use the term in a more restricted sense than does Kluckhohn, who applies it to the Navaho practice whereby two or more siblings marry into the same family or clan (*in* Sopier *et al.*: 120 f.).

<sup>144</sup> Dr. Melville J. Herskovits in conversation has stated that it does not appear to be a surviving Africanism, and a search through some of the pertinent social studies of negroes in Virginia and elsewhere has failed to turn up analogous practices. The detailed genealogies set forth by Estabrook and McDougale for their tri-racial group in western Virginia reveals only one or two instances in a comparable period and population.

<sup>145</sup> Our figures are based on over 80 marriages for which both spouses are known. I have excluded from computation the earliest generation recorded, as being numerically inadequate, and am of course aware that our sample as a whole is too small for statistical treatment. Moreover, an arrangement on generational levels can be regarded at best as only approximate. On the other hand, could some of the defective genealogies be filled in, I am confident that the percentages for the earlier generations would rise.

as to be of opposite gender. The practice undoubtedly reflects a strong sense of family unity, a unity more recently attested by the fact that when one member of a family marries a White his siblings almost invariably do likewise. Paired-sibling marriage, from the point of view of the band as a whole, can also be regarded as a response to the preponderantly endogamous situation within a small community. It is then significant to note its decrease with each succeeding generation, marking growth in population and the correspondingly wider choice of mate.

It is clear that the Indian occupation of the Quaker lands did not partake of the character of a precipitate migration but was rather a gradual affair that extended over several decades. Others as well participated in the settlement of the ridge, among them free Negroes. A Confederate war map of the region, which gives the names of owners or tenants, notes an Adkins, a few Jones', and a Wynn, as well as greater number of "Negroes" on the ridge. Doubtless some of the latter were mixed-blood Chickahominy, thus classified at the time, but others must have been like the individual listed in the tax books whose county of domicile is laconically labelled "African." The Indians, even before the war, were thus interspersed among Whites and Negroes.

One gains the impression from the method of designating estates in the tax records by reference to rivers, creeks, and runs that settlement of the time was oriented toward watercourses. There is a large element of truth in this, both for White and others, but it is especially true of the Chickahominy, whose entire traditional existence had been set within the frame of the bottom-lands. Conditions on the ridge were different from those they had previously experienced, and led by gradual degrees to an upsetting of former ecological balances. The soil was sandier and markedly inferior to the valley alluvium for farming. Upland hunting grounds in marsh and swamp were poorer, although they continued to be exploited in diminished degree, while those in the valley were largely abandoned upon Indian removal or were utilized by only a handful of hunters. Fishing continued on the river, although the factors of added distance and inconvenience acted as a persistent deterrent which eventually led to the abandoning of this pursuit by all but a determined fraction of the band. Gradually, as the traditional enterprises became no longer dependable, the men began to turn their hand to other occupations.

The transition was a slow one and even now has not run its course. Mooney in 1907 could still observe that "they divide their time about equally between fishing and farming, according to the season," although the census he included in his report indicates that many of the band were even then employed away from the community.<sup>146</sup> To a marked degree, conservative tendencies among the Pamunkey and Mattaponi derive force from the retention of riparian holdings, which has permitted the maintenance of traditional activities in fishing and hunting, along with their farming. This was the life that the Chickahominy had gradually to relinquish; to intensify, in its stead, their dependence upon farming and to seek jobs away from the settlement.

In their gradual diversification, the men had before them the example set by many of their fellows, who had already acquired artisan skills that adapted them to life in non-agrarian contexts. There were likewise additions to their ranks who broadened their horizons and introduced new skills. Such a man was Ferdinand Winn, of White-Indian ancestry, who had set himself up in 1858 on five acres of land not far distant from Charles City courthouse, where he operated a blacksmith shop and foundry. The books listing taxable persons and property for the year 1860 give some idea of his wealth. In that year, William Adkins was taxed only for one "free negro"—himself; Wyatt Jones, for one "free Negro," one mule or horse, valued at \$5, five hogs(?), valued at \$10, three head of cattle, valued at \$25, and household furniture and kitchen utensils worth \$20. Winn, on the other hand, was taxed upon two free Whites—doubtless himself and his wife—one slave over twelve years of age, valued at \$100, and household and kitchen gear worth \$50. The land he held was valued in the same year at only \$15. During the Civil War, however, he flourished, running his foundry at Charles City as well as one at Providence Forge. In 1870 he is still listed as holding only the self-same five acres of land, but its value, including structures erected upon it, was now set at \$515. Moreover he had taken to a rural existence, probably near Winn's Landing on the Chickahominy, and was taxed for the following: three colored inhabitants—he and his family may now have been classified as Indian—four horses, valued at \$150, nine cattle worth \$90, six hogs, for \$18, mineral production—this was probably his foundry

<sup>146</sup> 1907: 148 f.

or blacksmithing gear—estimated at \$40, and household and kitchen furniture, as before, set at \$50.<sup>147</sup>

Both the withdrawal to the ridge and the expansion of horizons were given point and impetus by the onset of the Civil War. The sympathies of the band were overwhelmingly with the North and several youths eventually saw service with Union forces. Most of the families still remaining in the valley stayed there, but some joined their kinfolk on the ridge, fearing the ravages of armed invasion—a fear later realized when the Peninsular campaign swept across the ridge itself. Seeking to evade these dangers and the threat of being drafted into the Confederate forces, a handful of men anticipated the outbreak of hostilities and fled North with their families, journeying first by steamboat to New York, thence to Montreal, and finally to the vicinity of Windsor, Ontario. Here they made their home with a band of Ojibway, and like them eked out an existence by hunting, fishing, and gathering and preparing maple-sugar. When the War ended the little group made its way back to Virginia, leaving behind them William Jefferson, who had separated from them and made his way into eastern Canada, and Eldridge Bradby, who settled in Ontario and married first an Indian girl and later a White woman. A son by the latter union is said to have become a Methodist preacher, and his descendants still correspond occasionally with their Virginia kinfolk. Henry Bradby appears to have brought back with him an Ojibway wife, for she is listed by Mooney as a Canadian Indian.<sup>148</sup> One of the elders of the present generation retains from his mother, a sister of Henry and participant in the migration, a dozen or more words of “Indian” which Speck has pronounced to be Ojibway.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>147</sup> These figures, like those cited in the account of family lines, are taken from the Land Books of Charles City County for the years 1845–1863, and 1865–1870 as well as the County Personal Property Books for Charles City under the years indicated. Page references in the former, for these citations are: 1858: 20; 1870: 19. In the latter, references for the year 1860 are: Adkins, 2, Jones, 15, Winn, 25; 1870: Wynn, 34. The records were consulted in the archives of the Virginia State Library.

<sup>148</sup> 1907: 149.

<sup>149</sup> Speck, 1928: 252 f. What sort of words are retained in this manner? Speck recorded a list of them in the 1920's, and I was able to secure virtually the same list, with few omissions, in 1941, from the same informant. They include words for cat, dog, deer, molasses, butter, boy, girl, good morning (bonjour), and the like. Despite the high prestige accorded to one who is able to “speak

An Indian hymnal which we did not see, may also owe its presence to the same event, and we have been told that a sugar maple tree, brought back by the returning group, is still flourishing on Chickahominy soil. Aside from these elements, the specific effects of the intertribal contact are difficult to discern, but the general broadening of horizons and the pan-Indianism which is implied are important for the subsequent development of the community.

In many ways that community was still nascent, still taking on form and integration. What had drawn the band together in the first place was a parallel interest in the opportunity opening up in the “free lands,” a consciousness of common tradition, and the bonds of kinship. To these factors others now were added. The Confederate war map, alluded to above, shows much the same road system that prevails today, and undoubtedly it was in existence long before the movement to the ridge. Most of the houses within the region are shown clustered upon these roads, and this is as true today as it was then. To some degree, then, it can be said that the structure of the settlement was determined by the existing road system. It may be added that subsequently other, lesser roads have been formed as a short-cut between the East Run and Jones' Run neighborhoods.<sup>150</sup> The ease of intercommunication increased the chances of joint participation, of the exchange of neighborly kindnesses, of reciprocal labors, and shared enterprises on the pattern of the “bee,” serving thus to emphasize and enhance a community of interest.

At the same time, the roads led outward, and in the post-bellum world it was becoming all the more difficult, even were one so minded, to shut out an awareness of membership in a larger society. Beyond the community the Indians participated to a limited extent in neighborhoods that included both White and Negro neighbors. On a formal basis, contacts were largely confined to economic enterprises, as with those individuals that served as blacksmith or shoemaker for a mixed clientele, or in the sharing of a trader by persons over the countryside. Sometimes it involved the transformation of the traditional economic pursuits, as when Chickahominy men entered the commercial market with herring

Indian” we encountered no one who had learned these words from our informant.

<sup>150</sup> Chief Engineers Office, D.N.V., Map of the *Vicinity of Richmond*, etc., 1864; Charles City Quadrangle, U. S. Geological Survey, 1917.

seined from the James River. In disposing of their catch they dealt initially with White middlemen in Richmond, but later began to make their sales directly to wholesalers. Ferdinand Winn built a schooner, manned it with his sons under Winslow Winn as captain, and sent it on coasting runs carrying lumber and grain to Richmond, Norfolk, and Washington. The craft was later lost; and further enterprises of this sort ended upon the advent of the railroad in the 1880's. Others found employment in the rising lumber industry toward the latter part of the century, and more than one man now alive speaks reminiscently of rafting logs down the back streams into the Chickahominy River. The very poverty of the soil made it necessary for many to take part-time employment elsewhere, and some left the settlement for a year or more, bringing back with them on their return new skills and wider horizons.

Properly speaking, the quest for new avenues of life had led individuals away from the traditional modes of existence ever since the time of first contact, but the post-bellum era was perhaps the first time that a considerable segment of an integrated Chickahominy society had departed from the traditional hunting-fishing-farming base, while yet retaining an active membership in the community. Potentially, the augmenting involvement in the greater society of Virginia and the eastern seaboard tended to strip the settlement of its most enterprising individuals. The ready avenue of escape it offered for the dissident made it possible for the community to retain a certain homogeneity, but again at the price of becoming increasingly reduced to a core of conservatives. The fact that neither of these things ultimately resulted is strong corroboration of the very real ties which bound its members, progressive and conservative alike, to the settlement on the ridge.

That none of these bonds represents a new force should not surprise us. Loyalty to kinship allegiances and to the informal associations of childhood and beyond remained a potent force. The womenfolk in general remained at home, probably not because they were inherently more devoted to traditional ways but because rural mores, both White and Indian, gave the woman of that day less opportunity for independent enterprise than she enjoys today. The obligations and interests that were centered in these potential mates were reinforced by the color-caste which made it difficult or undesirable to seek a mate outside the Indian group.

For the mixed population of the ridge, the Civil War had toppled a hierarchy without effecting a fusion of its components.<sup>150a</sup> In the days of Reconstruction liberated slaves joined the freedmen already there to form an aggressive and

<sup>150a</sup> It was not until 1887 that legislation was embodied in the Code of Virginia to deal with the status of individuals of mixed racial descent. Undoubtedly, this need was occasioned by the upheaval in the social order occurring in the days of Reconstruction and thereafter. Section 49 of that Code declared: "Every person having one-fourth or more of negro blood shall be deemed a colored person, and every person not a colored person having one-fourth or more of Indian blood shall be deemed an Indian." In essence, a person having the equivalent of one grandparent of the race in question was adjudged to take his race from that grandparent. Section 4090 further assured the Indian so defined the same proceedings as for a White person, in a criminal case against him; and this passage was retained through subsequent editions of the Code through 1936 (sec. 4968 therein).

In 1910, Section 49 was amended by act of the General Assembly to read that "Every person having one-sixteenth or more of negro blood shall be deemed a colored person," etc., the rest being unchanged (*Acts and joint resolutions*, etc., 1910: 581). As can be seen, the individual in question was now required to show that no ancestor through the great-grandparental level had been Negro, while for the Indian the former standard was retained.

In 1930, probably as a result of concerted efforts on the part of the Pamunkey and their friends, the legislature added a further amendment, incorporated in Section 67 of the Code for that year (and appearing in Section 1-14 of the current, 1950, Code), as follows:

"Every person in whom there is ascertainable any Negro blood shall be deemed and taken to be a colored person, and every person not a colored person having one-fourth or more of American Indian blood shall be deemed an American Indian; except that members of Indian tribes living on reservations allotted them by the Commonwealth having one-fourth or more of Indian blood and less than one-sixteenth of Negro blood shall be deemed tribal Indians so long as they are domiciled on such reservations."

The changing definition of the Indian is further affected by Section 5099a of the 1936 code (20-54 of the 1950 edition), which, after prohibiting intermarriage between Whites or White-Indian crosses and colored persons, adds: "for the purpose of this chapter, the term 'white person' shall apply only to such person as has no trace whatever of any blood other than Caucasian; but persons who have one-sixteenth or less of the blood of the American Indian and have no other non-Caucasic blood shall be deemed to be white persons."

Thus, while the definition of Indian status has been relatively static, that relating to colored status has become increasingly stricter with the passage of time. It must be obvious that concern with laws such as these, to say nothing of the hostility engendered by Negro encroachments, have raised a barrier between the non-reservation Indians and their Negro neighbors.

enterprising Negro community. The Chickahominy, by their very assertion of superior status, afforded them an immediate and accessible target. The Indians at that time shared with the other populations two or three small country stores; but their chief common interest was focussed upon the Cedar Grove Baptist Church, located in the northeast part of their holdings, which they shared, according to present-day informants, with the original White congregation. Here it was that the Chickahominy received their first challenge. Gradually, Negroes began to be admitted, and as their numbers increased the Whites withdrew from membership. The Indians speak of an infiltration. "First one old man would come around during services, and we would let him set at the back of the church. Pretty soon he was bringing friends, and then the church was half full of them. They would make comments and mock the services." Out of the ill-will generated there sprang up altercations that threatened to extend to all realms of life. Strife followed a pattern common in rural conflicts, marked by mutual withdrawal and aloofness. Individuals out alone on country roads were waylaid and beaten up. The matter does not appear to have reached the proportions of actual bloodshed, for the Chickahominy abandoned the Cedar Grove Church and shifted their major community interests to the western portions of their holdings and the Samaria Baptist Church located there, where once more they were admitted by the White congregation. Interestingly enough, it was on the western border that some of the more conservative and influential families lived, along West Run, a region that affords good trapping. Whether the realignment of the Chickahominy was accompanied by abandonment of eastern farmlands is not evident, but it is probable that very little actual movement of populations was involved. Today there are still Indian lands adjacent to the Cedar Grove Church.

It was the continued presence of just such competitive groups upon the ridge that acted to precipitate the diffuse and general loyalties of the Chickahominy, to draw them together into a far more cohesive group. Awareness of their common interests was made manifest when they came into conflict with desires of rival bodies—a process not unlike the density and form taken on by heated iron under the repeated blows of the sledge. Their community of purpose has increasingly been reflected by a knitting together of the

spatial settlement about a nucleus of structures that embody their central formal interests. When the Samaria Baptist Church disbanded in 1888, its fifty-three Indian members obtained permission to use the building until a new one could be built. In 1901, accordingly, they organized themselves as the Samaria Indian Church, under the leadership of Rev. P. E. Throckmorton, then pastor at Pamunkey. Through the agency of a potent friend and neighbor, L. M. Nance, Commonwealth Attorney of the county, they acquired two acres of land central to their settlement and so situated, according to informants, as to be near a small school building that had been in use for some time, and here, in 1910, the new building was dedicated.<sup>151</sup> The rising interest in community enterprise is further evidenced by the upsurge of church membership, which was now ninety. Hand in hand with the nucleation of the physical settlement went a coalescing of holdings, which has not yet seen its end.

Mounting interest in formal structure is reflected in yet another field. In the early days of the ridge, community leadership was based primarily upon prestige and personal effectiveness. At least in the 1890's, the unofficial leader was William H. Bradby, a man of considerable personal forcefulness, who had been born on the ridge in 1852. Beyond him the Chickahominy extended an informal acknowledgment of allegiance to William Terrill Bradby, Chief of the Pamunkey. Whether they thus continued a long-standing practice informants are unable to say, but the formal organization of the Pamunkey, as well as their Indian status, was probably involved.<sup>151a</sup>

With the appearance on the scene of James Mooney and, later, Frank G. Speck the Chickahominy received new stimulation. Both of these men, by the very nature of their research, gave learned support to the claims made for the Indian character of the band. Their patient probing, summoning from the memory of elders traditional ways that were fast fading, brought to the Virginia remnants a renewed awareness of their heritage. They did more: with a genuine interest in the lot of their new acquaintances they became catalysts in the movement toward organization

<sup>151</sup> Pfaus, n.d., 11-12.

<sup>151a</sup> While the small Virginia bands do not exhibit the marked color distinctions noted for the more populous Croatan of North Carolina (Johnson, 523), the reservation Indians tend to regard themselves as superior to the non-reservation groups, an attitude which is somewhat resented.

on the part of the bands. In 1908 the Chickahominy put into effect a formal system patterned after the political structure of the Pamunkey, and with William H. Bradby as their chief. The lesson of organization has made a deep impression: a local version of a well-known fable runs:<sup>152</sup>

*THE HERRING CHOSEN AS KING  
OF THE FISH*

A great council of fish was held one day in the spring. At this meeting the Herring was king of the fish. The Whale was among the invited and the first thing he did was to look for the king. When he was told that the Herring was king, he laughed and swallowed him whole. But the Herring burst the sides of the Whale open and escaped. They returned to the council where the fish were still undecided as to who would be their next king.

The Cat-fish seemed to be the one the fish decided upon, although he had a twisted mouth which was wished on him for his great boasting. But when the Herring returned he was again chosen as leader *because the herrings formed a tribe and an organized group.*

V. THE CHICKAHOMINY TODAY

I

The Williamsburg bus soon puts the broad streets of Richmond behind, winds through the pleasant suburbs, and launches eastward along highway 60. Broad fields and low hills flash past, dotted with bright houses and roadside stands. In three-quarters of an hour the bus reaches the cross-road town of Providence Forge, where the traveller dismounts. Questions here are unavailing: none of the people know of any Indians in the vicinity. Samaria church? The clerk of the store shakes his head, then calls across to a Negro. Yes, that's the Indian church; you go back along the highway toward Richmond and take the first road that cuts south across the railroad tracks.

The road, about a mile out of town, is dirt; under the torrid spring sun of late afternoon its passage beneath the dark pines is inviting. Taking a fresh grip on the handle of his canvas bag, the stranger steps across the tracks along a rutted surface that winds toward the Chickahominy River. As he does, he travels again the way along which the Indians themselves moved in the traditional days, during the last stage of their

migration. The pines give way to oak and gum, and finally to cypress; and here, spanned by a plank bridge, is the river itself, broad and shallow, its surface faintly creased by a thread of movement. This point lies above tidewater, although the Indians say that even here there is still perceptible a slight ebb and flow. Hereabouts are the swamps of the hunter; not far away on the higher ground old Moses Holmes had his cabin.

There are buildings beside the road now, their unpainted sides weathered to a uniform gray: it is part of one of the Negro neighborhoods that dot the countryside. The road begins to rise and the pines—loblolly and "long tag"—come into their own again, with occasional clumps of hardwoods. The soil underfoot becomes redder in hue and sandier of texture. Houses are more regular here, and some of them are painted. Freshly plowed furrows lead back across the fields to end in the fringing woodland. Serried stands of "slash pine" gives evidence that much of the land has been cleared before, though whether by fire or by axe is not evident. The way leads past a church standing in a cluster of Negro homes; there is little to tell from its plain exterior that this is the Cedar Grove Church that once formed the focus of a stormy chapter in Indian-Negro relations.

The sun is setting as our traveller reaches a cross-roads store, a two-story frame building with a row of gasoline pumps standing before it. Two or three cars and a truck are parked in the sandy turn-out in front of the store, while from within a voice can be heard in earnest discourse. As the stranger enters, silence gradually descends and men from their places examine him covertly. It would be impossible to tell which are White and which Indian; most of them are clad in worn overalls or jeans and work-shirts. Two Negroes are sitting together over at one side. Chief Adkins' house? The tension is broken. One of the men is going in that direction—it later appears that he lives far out along another road—and will be glad to "carry" him there. It does not take long, for the road is hard-surfaced and runs straightway through the gloom. The houses along the way belong to Whites, Indians, and Negroes interspersed. Shortly, the car pulls up before a new bungalow that glimmers palely beside the road. From the kitchen window a warm light streams forth. The driver turns off the road and cuts the motor.

<sup>152</sup> Collected by F. G. Speck from J. Holmes. I am obliged to Dr. Speck for permission to use it here. The italics are mine.



FIG. 15. Log cabin built by veteran of Mexican War. The kitchen-dining room at right has been added at a later date.

## II

A visitor to the Western Chickahominy slowly becomes aware of impressions, difficult to quantify but nonetheless of substantial importance. Western Chickahominy today comprises some three hundred individuals who regard themselves as forming the main body of descendants from the early tribe. These people are a varied group in physical terms, and their variability probably reflects not alone the diverse strains which are here compounded but the recency of their blending. In a way, the biological community is a matter of no more than four generations, and meanwhile there have been fresh increments. As a consequence, they do not exhibit the physical homogeneity expectable in a small, inbred population. There are a number of individuals here who would find no difficulty in asserting White status in bus or restaurant; others would find unchallenged place among the population of any Western reservation; while among still others the sporadic appearance of deeply waved hair, or the structure of lips or nose hints at traces of Negro admixture. However, the majority of the Chickahominy are intermediate; beneath the variations there runs a fundamental homogeneity that one is quick to recognize again at Rappahannock, at Pamunkey and Mattaponi, as well as among other remnant enclaves. It is more than an average of the extremes; it reflects the fact that much of the population has been recruited from just those communities, that the greater part of them represent a distinctive racial blend rooted principally in the aboriginal soil.

Within the range of variability which they ex-

hibit, the observer becomes aware of this similarity. Most of the men and women are above average height. Skin color ranges from a light yellow-buff in some women and babies to a medium-brown in the adult farmer exposed daily to the hot Virginia sun. Hair is characteristically black, though sometimes brownish in tinge, and ranges widely in texture and wave. Eyes are prevailingly dark brown in hue. Some of the adults are linear and angular in build, but far more characteristic is the type which is deep-chested, broad-shouldered, of bulky torso and sturdy limbs, fleshy without being fat.

The Chickahominy are pleasant and quiet-spoken. Their speech is unhurried and unlabored. Like others of the remnant bands, they offer a relaxed hand on greeting; theirs is not the burly squeeze of the White neighbor. Even under stress we have not heard them swear; it is an observation that can be repeatedly made of the Virginia groups. Ribaldry takes innocuous forms at suitable male gatherings. They refuse to speak ill even of a man who has repeatedly and viciously challenged their claims to Indian status. It is not merely that they are polite in the presence of the outsider: they are a genuinely devout people, hard-working and peaceable. One of the duties of the tribal council is to deal with slander and the spreading of "improper news." The only arrests in which tribal members have been involved in recent years have been in connection with traffic accidents and with whiskey-making during depression days.

Most of the Chickahominy houses still stand where they were recorded when the 1917 Charles City Quadrangle was surveyed. In all probability, most of them were even then far from new. Few can claim the age of the only log cabin still occupied, built by a veteran of the Mexican war and passed on by him to the present owner. To this one-room structure an addition has been tacked on to provide space for the kitchen and dining facilities of an expanded family. Most of the other old houses are unpainted frame structures, set on blocks above the ground. Frequently they contain a kitchen-dining room, a parlor which may contain the double bed of the head of the family, and an additional room for the children. If the children are grown up, the elderly couple may move into their room and reserve the parlor for formal occasions. In these houses the kitchen is the largest and most-used room. The younger folk, on the other hand, as

they have become more prosperous, have begun to build houses close to the road—not set back from it, as are the older farm-houses—and in modern suburban style. Bungalows, two-story white-painted dwellings with rooms proportioned to non-farming existence, frequently constructed by some of the skilled specialists of the tribe itself, these form a new chapter in domestic architecture at Chickahominy.

Outbuildings of the older houses still comprise those usual to rural Virginia—the barn, shed, root-cellar, smoke-house, and privy. None of the houses seen had a garage, although an empty barn might on occasion serve this purpose. The newer houses, which are smaller, have only one or two outbuildings, although these may still include the privy. Flush toilets are only now beginning to be installed.

With the drift away from farming, few today make their living exclusively from this pursuit. The elder who lives in the log cabin mentioned above, owns 122½ acres, as against the estimated average of 25 to 50 acres for others at the time of our visit, but despite this he had only 3½ acres planted to corn, ¼ to hog feed, and 2 or 3 more to other vegetables. Most of the rest of his sandy land was then fallow. At the same time, he and his brother, together with two brothers from the Eastern Chickahominy owned jointly a large net and boat, and fished out of a camp built upon an island at Pamachree, near Lanexa Station, on the Chickahominy River. Because of the size of the net, they hired two younger men to assist them. Another fishing team, with a smaller net, fished near Rock Hole. The gear was owned by the two Eastern Chickahominy men, who hired a crew of four, including a pair of brothers, an adopted San Blas Indian, and a head man, all from the western band. Another man also eked out much of his existence from traditional pursuits, by running trap lines and by fishing, until state game laws prohibited the traditional taking devices.

A number of men prefer to fish in the James River, which being broader and deeper than the Chickahominy is said to produce more fish and of greater variety. In recent years, however, dredging in the James is said to have "roiled it up" and so altered the flavor of the shad that they are in less demand. The major runs are shad and herring. Shad begin to run about the end of March, reach their peak about the middle of April, and continue about a month or more. Herring reach their peak about the first of May, from which

circumstance the run is called the "May school." As many as eight to ten thousand herring may be taken at a haul. The catch is disposed of through Richmond merchants, with whom the fishermen deal directly. Fishing teams are much like those on the Chickahominy River.

For the majority of the older men farming still makes up an important part of their activities, although it contributes only a portion of their livelihood. The summary for the four individuals following serves to contrast with the subsistence economy of the elder mentioned previously.

"A" farms for his own use, on 50 acres, on which he grows corn, wheat, and potatoes, and cultivates a small truck garden. In addition he has two cows, hogs, hens, and two mules. In the winter he kills three or four hogs. A good butcher, he kills and butchers for Indians, Whites, and Negroes. He makes no special charge to Indians for this service. He is often called in to doctor sick horses and cows. In addition, he holds down a part-time job on a planing machine in a lumber company, making (1948) \$.90 an hour steadily through the winter.

"B" raises hogs for the market, about fifty at a time, feeding them on distillery waste which he buys 1,000 gallons at a time. During the war he made some \$1,200 per year in this way. On the side he does local job trucking.

"C," a somewhat younger man, does contract hauling and contract millwork, providing a local mill with lumber. He has his own team, which includes two trucks and their drivers; five horses, plus a sixth owned by his brother-in-law; with three teamsters, one of them Negro, to handle them; and four cutters. It might be noted that his father was also in lumbering in his youth.

"D," a man in his thirties, makes his living by contract-trucking. He owns—as do a number of other younger men—a large, open-bed truck, with which he engages to obtain materials required and to make delivery. His loads, which he secures himself, comprise lumber or, on occasion, the stakes to which seines are secured by commercial fishermen. He estimates that his average income from this source—probably during war years, however—has amounted to \$3,500 per annum.

These four individuals may be taken as presenting a fair picture of the way in which a diversified economy supports the greater part of the community. In addition, there are skilled carpenters, electricians, and plumbers, among other specialists, and one man has made a name for himself locally by



building several houses on order. These men are in demand in Richmond and in the smaller towns nearer home.

Prevailingly, wives and daughters still find their occupation within the household, but there are some who have moved away to take employment in Richmond, Washington, Philadelphia, and New York. Motivation in at least some instances has probably involved a desire for upward social mobility, through advantageous marriages with Whites. When Indians marry Whites they frequently move away to one of the larger cities mentioned. In the case of the girl, it may be simply a matter of following her husband, but for the man another explanation must obviously be sought.

The bonds that hold the community together still derive much of their strength from family allegiance. As remarked earlier, this is evidenced in the tendency, in out-marriages, for the siblings of the Indian partner preferred likewise to marry Whites. It is even more strikingly evidenced in preferred contiguity within the community. The proximity of the residence of siblings can, of course, be explained in terms of inheritance from their father or adjacent property. In one instance, which we have been able to follow through, the original owner, born in 1838, in his later years divided his land among his sons. Of the six tracts thus transmitted, one still remains in the hands of the original heir, while another has passed by inheritance to the son of a second heir. A third parcel was acquired, probably through purchase, by a man only distantly related to the original donor and was in turn inherited by his own son. The other three lots are now in the possession of two Indian men who have been investing in land in a small way. We have heard of no instance of a daughter inheriting land, though such an occurrence would be theoretically possible in the case of an only child. Two widows, to our knowledge, retain the land and house of their husbands, but whether ultimate ownership is vested in them, or whether sons unobtrusively exercise property rights and manage affairs, I cannot say.

Contiguous residence, however, is more than a mere function of inheritance of adjacent tracts. This is most clearly shown in the case of movement to a new location, when it often appears that the spot selected adjoins that already owned by a brother. Evidently, the warm relationship set up in childhood carries over into adult life.

There are at Western Chickahominy (1948) approximately three hundred persons forming some forty-two households. Most of the land and houses in Indian hands are owned outright by the occupants. There are a few exceptions. Six individuals are mentioned as having purchased the land they now use and five of these at least acquired the property from a member of the community. Eight others lease lands from the owner, two from Whites, two from other Indians, and four from unspecified individuals. One tract of land is unoccupied: it was owned by an old Indian of the band, said to be full-blooded, who would associate neither with any of the other Indians nor with anyone else. Upon his death, some fifteen years ago, the land was supposed to pass to his nephew, but although this man has avidly acquired land in other places within the community, he refused to accept his inheritance.

Of the households, all but a handful comprise no more than a single family, including husband and wife, unmarried children, and perhaps a parent of one spouse. In two cases the family is presided over by widows, and in one by a widower. Multiple, or complex, households number fifteen of the total, and include married couples living temporarily with the man's father (3 instances) or brother (2), with the wife's father (6), mother (1), or brother (1); or with distant kin (2) or persons unrelated (2).<sup>153</sup> As we might expect, living arrangements again corroborate the claims made by family ties upon the individual.

The range of ages of the family heads reveals the preponderant youthfulness of the population. Casual observation, together with the statements of informants, indicates that the age of the wife tends to approximate within two or three years that of her husband; perhaps more frequently she is the younger. The following table is based upon the age of the husband and, since it is based upon oral statements checked only in part, should be received with caution:

Age	No. of Families	Average Number of Children per family		
		M	F	Total
above 80	2	4.0	2.5	6.5
70- 79	2	3.0	3.0	6.0
60- 69	7	3.6	3.1	6.7
50- 59	5	2.8	1.5	4.3
40- 49	8	4.4	3.8	8.2
30- 39	13	1.7	1.6	3.3
20- 29	20	1.1	0.9	2.0

<sup>153</sup> Because of an overlap—two sons-in-law within the same household, a son-in-law and distant cousin, etc.—the number of instances exceeds the number of households involved.

No marriages were reported for men below the age of 20. The figures for number of children are prevailing lower within each age group for girls than for boys. Since our informants included several women who became keenly interested in the task of tracing genealogies the difference seems to be, not sex-biased, but a real one. Nor does there appear to be a decisive tendency to value sons above daughters. Indeed, informants have no explanation to offer for this occurrence. The lower totals in the younger age-brackets reflects in large measure the fact that reproduction has not run its course here. However, there are intimations that a real decline in birth-rate may be in process, attendant upon the elevation of standard of living. It may be added that the high total for the 40-49 age-group is skewed by the inclusion of a family numbering fourteen children. However, five other families within the same group number respectively ten, nine, and eight (three instances) children. Large families, which may be generally equated with the picture for rural Virginia as a whole, are too common here to be said to run in particular lines.

The stability of Chickahominy life is nowhere better indicated than in the persistence of the marriage bond. Divorce is so rare as to be virtually non-existent: of the Indian-Indian unions that existed in 1940, only one was thus terminated by 1948, and it still provoked embarrassed comment during our investigation. When death dissolves a marriage, the surviving partner, if young, tends to remarry, and there are one or two instances in which an individual has been party to three successive unions of this sort. A widow or widower past middle age may continue to live alone; more usually, however, such a person combines households with a married son or daughter.

Marriage is still prevailing within the community, though there is a growing incidence of marriages beyond its limits. Unions with other Indians are not confined today to the other Virginia bands, and indeed such traditional linkages, though perhaps no fewer in number, are percentage-wise far less important than they were a number of years ago. Significant, on the other hand, has been the increasing occurrence of intermarriage with Indians from beyond the State, which has entailed a certain identification with pan-Indian interests. A number of outsiders have married Chickahominy girls and have been admitted to the tribal rolls. They and their families now live in New York City, but retain their tribal



FIG. 16. Two Indian brothers at work on a bungalow they are building near the macadam road.

status, as do many other absentee Chickahominy in good standing. Two of these men are San Blas—locally rendered “Sand Blast”<sup>154</sup>—another claims to be Seminole, while a fourth, of the type sometimes referred to as a “professional” Indian, is said to be the offspring of a Pueblo-Apache union. The Chickahominy have welcomed these men, not alone on their own merits, but because of the way in which such additions reinforce their asserted Indian heritage. Other marriages likewise follow lines advantageous to the community. The schoolteacher, a Chickahominy girl, was the first student to go from Chickahominy to the Indian school at Bacone. There she met a Seneca man, as interested as she in improving the educational lot of the Indian. At the time of our visits, they were planning to marry and to teach together in the Chickahominy school. (See below.)

Other marriages outside the tribe, as in time past, involve Whites and tend to draw siblings of the Indian partner into similar unions. Although the couple is welcome in the community and the Indian member retains his tribal standing, they frequently elect to move to Richmond, Philadelphia, or New York. Undoubtedly, a factor in many of these decisions is the desire to escape the embarrassments and impairments which Indian status still carries with it. What may represent a considerable segment of local opinion has been expressed by a White merchant in a neighboring town who sees in such unions only the desire of an Indian girl to achieve upward mobility. While

<sup>154</sup> Another San Blas lives with the Eastern Band. Unfortunately we did not inquire how these men came to lodge with the Chickahominy. They may have moved inland from the seaport of Newport News.

his attitude undoubtedly does not reflect the more enlightened point of view in the neighborhood, it is important as setting a frame within which Indian-White relations must be carried on.

Relations with neighboring Negroes tend to be restrained, regulated in part by a desire to ascribe to attitudes espoused by Whites, in part arising from the context of past bitterness and present rivalries. As in the past, marriage with a Negro results in ostracism: note has already been taken above of the treatment accorded a woman who married a nearby Negro farmer. Social contacts, save in the casual meeting at the country store run by an Indian, are avoided, perhaps on both sides. A Negro doctor—"a good man"—ministers to the countryside, but some of the Indians are frank in expressing the hope that a White physician will move into the area. The industry of adjacent Negro communities is reflected in a number of neat, painted houses and well-tended yards and fields, the foremost standing, like the more recent Chickahominy homes, in some contrast to the older Indian houses and yards, which conservatively express adherence to other times and other values. During the depression, some of the Indian lands were sold for taxes and were bought and worked by Negroes. Such enterprises on the part of Negroes are viewed by the Indian in terms of encroachment, and the continued stimulus thus set up has served, as in the post-Civil War period, to draw the Chickahominy together.

In recent times there has been a trend to consolidate the settlement itself. The younger generation, as it relinquishes farming, frequently seeks to move across to the main roads which run through the center of the community. These roads, being more easily travelled in inclement weather, reduce physical and social isolation.<sup>155</sup> It is here that the nucleus of church, school, and graveyard stands. Near this, the chief has recently built his house, along the hard-surface road that makes his trucking easier. An older informant said of himself simply that he moved "to be nearer the church." The aim of rendering the community more compact has become a conscious policy. Repeated attempts have been made to buy out two Negroes who have taken lands not far from the nucleus. A White neighbor, who holds extensive farmlands near the church, is said to be on amicable terms with the Indians. "He never locks his henhouse, and he's never lost a thing." In time to come,

<sup>155</sup> Telephones, if they exist at all, are to be found only along the central roads.

the tribe hopes to make a satisfactory offer to his heirs.

In dealing with White neighbors, the Chickahominy walks guardedly. He is aware of considerable hostility on the part of certain neighbors, to whom all persons not White are *ipso facto* Negro; and these look with some derision upon his assertions of Indianness.<sup>156</sup> Probably the great majority of the Whites are indifferent, so long as the Chickahominy does not lay claim to the paramount status of the White. A handful of influential persons have championed their cause. L. M. Nance, Commonwealth Attorney for Charles City County, who presented them with the land upon which the church and school now stand, has been a source of counsel through the years. Mrs. Fred Pfaus, of Richmond, has likewise been mentioned as a firm friend of the Virginia bands; and there are others. Without their active support, the Chickahominy could not have made the gains they have toward better schooling and a strong church.

There has not always been unity in tribal matters. In 1921 the Chickahominy were split by dissection. It is difficult today to reach to the bottom of the matter, since none of the principals will willingly discuss it. The immediate issue is said to have been the retention of the aging White pastor. The decision to replace him set in motion a separatist movement led by a forceful and independent member of the Bradby family. This leader, E. P. Bradby, together with a number of relatives, lives near Windsor Shades and has for some years been station agent of the C. & O. railroad, a position he still holds. A man of character and drive, he had been active in tribal matters for some time prior to the separation. In a letter, he attributes the decision to geographical distances and points out that White friends suggested that the Windsor Shades group was perfectly competent to run their own affairs. Certainly the factor of distance from Samaria has been appreciable. It might be added that the Chickahominy chief died in 1921, and the choice of his successor may have brought to final crystallization the determination to form a separate division. In that year the Eastern Division of the tribe was incorporated with a separate church. As of 1944, the Tsena Commocko Baptist Church had a total membership of fifty-three, of whom thirty-one were resident members.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>156</sup> See, for example, Flannagan's *Amber Satyr* for a considerably exaggerated depiction of this attitude.

<sup>157</sup> Pfaus, n.d., 16.

Once the decision had been taken, relations between the two bands became, at least formally, more amicable. Ties of kinship, of lifelong association, proved too strong to break. Although there lingers some bitterness between the principals, it has not apparently communicated itself with equal force to others. The fishing teams on the Chickahominy River, which continued until the recent construction of a dam put an end to their enterprise, were made up of members of both bands. Individuals from both divisions make up the hunt club. The Sunday school teacher at the Samaria church, as he has been for over twenty years, is a member of the Eastern Division, and indeed a brother of the chief of that band.

Much of the strength of Western Chickahominy community today is most clearly expressed in the formal institutions to be briefly discussed below. Yet it must not be forgotten that the personal ties beyond these associations are equally puissant. The act of growing up together, the occasional Saturday night gatherings, the daily round of activity, all reinforce the sense of community. Add to this the feeling that a future can be found "on the ridge"—not too far from Richmond, it might be added—and there is good reason for confidence in their future. Members of the tribe who have given the matter thought point out that they have a solution to the emigration of youth that is going on at the more conservative reservations at Pamunkey and Mattaponi. They found the answer long ago in land purchase. In 1948 returning veterans had taken up with diligence and energy where they had left off. The prevailing youth of the family-heads, noted above, is convincing proof that at least in the first years of post-war prosperity the Western Chickahominy are flourishing.

### III

#### *Tribal Organization*

The tribal organization in its present form has been in existence since 1908, when it was first set up under the stimulus of Mooney's researches and counsel. Members achieve that status at birth or through adoption into the tribe and retain it even during prolonged absence from Virginia. Thus, there are members in good standing living in several Northern cities. On the other hand, membership is forfeited upon marriage to Negroes. Members elect both chief and council. All men above the age of sixteen vote, and women can vote also "if they want to." Dues are collected from all men above the age of sixteen; they amount to

\$1.50 per annum. Should a member of the tribe die, 20 per cent of the dues collected are given to his next of kin as a death claim.

The tribal leadership is vested in the Council and a panel of officers, comprising chief, assistant chief, clerk, and treasurer. Ordinarily, there are four councillors, but an earlier member who resigned because of poor health, has for the soundness of his advice been retained as a fifth. Aside from this man, the council is made up of his son, who seems to have succeeded him officially, together with a pair of brothers (sons of the first chief), and their first cousin.

The present chief is a young man, in his thirties. He is the third chief chosen in recent times. The first incumbent was succeeded at his death in 1921 by his brother's son, father of the present chief. The assistant chief is brother of the chief; the clerk is a distant cousin, and the treasurer is another son of the fifth councilman.

Given an inbreeding community, it is inevitable that some degree of kinship occurs between officials. However the tendency, particularly within recent years, for members to be chosen within the same family line is to be observed as well among other Virginia bands. At Pamunkey the present chief, after an interval of two men, holds a position long enjoyed by his father. At Mattaponi the chief had virtually retired from the infirmities of age in 1948 and his office was being exercised with general approval by his son. Evidently, the matter is complex and succession is not regularly transmitted in this way. It is probable that at least in part the Virginia bands are beginning to exploit kinship solidarity for the effective fulfillment of these offices.

Elections for all officials are held every four years; and incumbents may be elected to succeed themselves. When a councillor dies, another is elected to fill the vacancy. When the former chief died, two men went around to canvass the people and found that his son was the popular choice to take his place. One of the two men who canvassed at that time was not a member of the council, though since elected.

The officials hold four regular meetings a year, although additional sessions may also be called by councillors or by the chief. Meetings are held in the school-room. The council issues membership cards, which are signed by the chief. Designed to confirm the Indian status of members, each card is signed by the chief and bears a tribal number. The council likewise appoints the building com-

mittee, as well as special, occasional committees, drawing upon any of the men in the tribe. Some of the committees are composed of councilmen. Thus, the building committee is made up of two well-respected elders of the tribe, one of whom is a member of the council. The committee is charged with keeping up the repairs on school and church.

General duties of the council, as outlined to us by the chief, are to promote the social ties, to instruct members about associating with "inferior types of people," and to carry on the general business of the tribe. The council also deals with slander and the spreading of "improper news." The tribe does not maintain a police force, since it is served by the state police. Its primary coercive weapon appears to be the force of public opinion, supported perhaps by the fine.

### *School*

One of the chief sources of frustration, as it has been for other Virginia bands, concerns the education of their children. Virginia schools are classified as White or Colored. The Indian cannot enter the one and, jealous of his status, will not enter the other. Attempts to gain authorization within the school system for a category of Indian schools proved repeatedly unavailing.<sup>158</sup> At length the band built their own schoolhouse and hired their own teacher. When the county accepted the school into its system, paying the wages of the teacher and a token of \$2.00 a month rental on the schoolhouse, there still remained another limitation. The Chickahominy were authorized only grade-school education, through the seventh grade; unless they chose to send their children on to one of the Colored high schools their education came to an abrupt end. In 1948, at the time of our last visit, the school, presided over by a Chickahominy girl together with a White teacher provided by the County system, numbered seventy-four students. At that time so crowded were conditions that three children sat at a desk designed for two, and even the teacher gave up her desk to relieve congestion.

<sup>158</sup> The struggle of a Virginia band—probably the Chickahominy themselves—to gain authorization for their own schools during the latter half of the 1920's has been depicted in novelized form by Flannagan. While local color is well handled, the impression is strong that accuracy in the treatment of historical details and in social relationships has been sacrificed to the demands of dramatic situation. For analogous developments among the Moors and Nanticokes of Delaware, *cf.* Weslager, especially pp. 112-127.

Finally, out of funds raised by White friends, the Indians were enabled to purchase war-surplus supplies, which, together with extra school desks provided by the Board of Education, enabled them to add successively an eighth and a ninth grade. Since the two-story frame school-building lacked sufficient space, permission was granted by the church body to use one of the Sunday school rooms for the upper grades. As matters now (1950) stand, there are eighty-nine students, including six returned veterans enrolled in the high school course and one girl from the Upper Mattaponi community in the ninth grade. Mrs. Pfaus points out that this enrollment is almost double that of the combined number in the other four Indian schools in the state. A school bus, purchased by a White patron and maintained on the part of the parents by small payments per student together with supplementary contributions from the school board, ties the isolated houses of the community together.

One of the figures central to this development has been the Indian girl who, until recently, has served as principal. Orphaned at the age of five, she grew up to center her interests upon the educational needs at Chickahominy. White friends in New York enabled her to attend Bacone Indian Junior College, a Baptist institution at Bacone, Oklahoma, going from there to William Jewell College, Liberty, Missouri, another Baptist school. After her graduation in 1942, she returned to take up teaching duties in the Samaria (Chickahominy) school. Recently, she married a Seneca man, whom she had met at Bacone, and he has since taken over the position of principal, which she formerly held. He now teaches the high school, she the primary grades. A White teacher conducts the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades.<sup>159</sup>

As a result of these developments, the Chickahominy are now able to provide their children with a full high-school education, for they may now go to Bacone when they have completed the local curriculum. Thirteen students from Samaria were in attendance there in 1948, of whom six were on the honor rolls. Recently, the tribe sent \$103.00 to Bacone toward construction of a gymnasium.

School activities are strongly supported by the community. A Patrons' League, made up of the mothers of schoolchildren, meets once a month to

<sup>159</sup> The preceding two paragraphs include information collected by us, together with more recent data in Pfaus, 1949: 2, 7f., 11-14.

discuss student-teacher rapport and the means of bettering it, the improvement of school grounds and building, and the general subject of the better life. The president of the league is the wife of the chief, the secretary is a prominent matron who is also treasurer of the lunch-room fund, while the treasurer of the League at the time of inquiry was the Chickahominy principal. Donations to the League go into the lunchroom fund, in the form both of cash and of home-canned foods. In addition, each family pays one dollar per month (per child attending?) toward the fund. Children are expected to bring their own bread to school, but are credited for this against the amount due. If there is a deficit, the State makes it up. Two of the mothers, a younger and an older woman, prepare the lunch, making use of the second floor of the schoolhouse for this purpose. Each receive ten dollars per month for her services.

To many of the Chickahominy with whom we talked, the school issue has been one of the great tests of their status, and there is heartfelt satisfaction that a way has been found to ensure the opportunity for higher education for their children without sacrificing their claims to special identity. It is significant that they achieved this goal with the active championship of fellow-Baptists, for the church has long occupied a nucleating and stabilizing role within their community. More than this: participation in churchly affairs, of all their external contacts, has been least affected by discrimination. Together with the Pamunkey, Tsena Commocko (Eastern Chickahominy), and Mattaponi Indian Baptist Churches, the Samaria body forms group 7 within the Dover Baptist Association of the Southern Baptist Convention. The Indian churches meet at least once a year, and they tend to share pastors among them. Thus, the Samaria and Mattaponi congregations are both served by a lay pastor, a son of the old chief of the latter tribe. It has already been pointed out that the Sunday school teacher of many years is a member of the Eastern Chickahominy.

The church building is a large frame structure, to which a wing was being added at the time of our last visit. Both outside and within it is neatly painted and well cared-for, in these respects standing in contrast to the older dwellings, upon which much less care has been lavished. Since our visits, the wing has been completed and now houses the high-school class, which has overflowed from the school.

Regular church services are held every second, third, and fourth Sundays. On those occasions when we have been present, attendance has averaged some eighty and more of all ages.<sup>160</sup> The families, dressed in their Sunday best, meet on the steps of the church and chat informally until it is time to go in. Sunday school precedes the regular service, at which time the congregation forms several groups, according to age, for study. Since the new wing had not been completed, there were three or more classes reciting simultaneously in one room; but if the outsider found it somewhat confusing, the members themselves seemed unaffected. At the end of the study period, collections were taken up, and public announcements were made. Here the visitor might be asked to say a few words. The regular service then began, at which time several families slipped in to join their fellows. These were members who because of remoteness or the pressure of chores had found it impossible to arrive in time for Sunday school. The Indian pastor led the service itself and delivered the sermon, which tended toward the traditional "hellfire and brimstone" vehemence. His congregation seemed deeply attentive, though with only an occasional "Amen" from some elder in response. Somewhere in the rear, a fretting babe finally led an embarrassed mother to leave. When the sermon was over, the last hymn sung, and the benediction pronounced, the members lapsed, as congregations do, into the less formal expression of social courtesy: the quiet handclasp as individuals rose to leave; the groups that gathered outside on the steps to inquire solicitously after the health of ailing absentees, to compliment each other on their children, to commend the sermon, to remark upon the excellence of the recent weather.

Beyond the weekly meetings, associations sponsored by the church channel many of the social activities. While those of the Samaria body are standard Baptist auxiliaries, it accords well with local patterns that the women's units are most numerous. There is a Woman's Missionary Union, presided over by the wife of one of the tribal councillors, assisted by two other matrons who are likewise prominent in school matters; a Young Women's Auxiliary; and a Girls' Auxiliary; while the Royal Ambassadors, for boys, is the only masculine organization. Like their coun-

<sup>160</sup> Pfaus, n.d., p. 12, cites the Dover minutes for 1945 to give the resident membership as 135, the total membership as 210.



FIG. 17. The church. Chickahominy children coming out of Sunday school. The regular service, with a Mattaponi preacher, will soon begin. Note the wing being added under the hands of members of the congregation, since completed.

terparts elsewhere, these formal associations are largely secular in their activities. A Sewing Club, linked with the meetings of the W.M.U., meets once a month to work together on quilts and clothing for the needy of the tribe and to rework old quilts for others. Quilting is provided by a woman, a Baptist who has long befriended the Chickahominy. In some contrast to these organizations, the Baptist Training Union is closely bound up with Sunday School activities, and has few other functions.

For the men, the chief social association is the local chapter of the Woodsmen of the World, a benevolent fraternity to which a good segment of the band are said to belong. Members meet in the lodge located on the second floor of the school building, to discuss their plans. The present (1948) council commander of the Woodsmen is the son of a matron who holds three positions simultaneously in women's affairs. Aside from their fraternal activities, the Woodsmen sponsor a hot-dog supper every fourth Saturday; while during the last week of July an open meeting is held to which families and friends are invited.

Only one man belongs to the American Legion. The recently returned veterans may change the picture slightly in this regard, though they have shown little inclination to do so thus far.

The only other men's organization of which we learned is highly specific in its orientation. This is the hunt club, started in 1947 by one of the younger men, who was subsequently elected president. Open only to men above sixteen years of age, the club collects a two dollar entrance fee plus dues of one dollar per month for eight months

from each member. Several of the Eastern Band are said to be participating members. The club rents the hunting ground, secures permits for members, obtains copies of the game laws, and feeds the dogs. The man currently (1948) vice-president owns the dogs used by the club in running deer; others own rabbit dogs and squirrel dogs, no mention being made of coon or possum dogs. The hunt, which entails driving the deer with dogs, while the hunters are stationed at stands, is said to be the same as that practiced by the hunt clubs of neighbor White and Negro groups, while it has much in common with that of the Pamunkey, said to be traditional. The flesh of the kill is divided up between all members of the club, regardless of whether the recipient has taken part in the actual hunt. Members are pre-vaillingly younger men, and almost all of them belong to the Woodsmen. Once a month they meet in the Woodsmen's lodge to talk over plans and reminisce about past hunts.

#### IV

To the interested visitor, Western Chickahominy today is a young and loosely-knit community. He is struck by the forward-looking plans of its leaders, in their confidence that much can be accomplished if they but work together. The preponderant youthfulness of its householders gives warranty that the band will retain its vigor. And yet, there are few external signs of its unity. The observer sees a church, a graveyard, a school, and beyond this merely a handful of dwellings broadcast along the roads, interspersed with the houses of Whites and Negroes.

What at first is hidden from his eyes are the bonds that are no less strong for being unseen. These are old: indeed, their persistence into modern times has ensured the survival of the community. Shared racial and cultural traditions give them a common past to link them together, while the church and school stand as symbols for the future of what continued joint effort can bring. The intertwined skeins of kinship render still more intimate the bonds thus created. To these forces of mutual attraction there have been added the fact of physical propinquity, which has facilitated the interaction between members, as well as the external pressure of the Negro challenge, which has brought them to heightened awareness of their own shared interests. It is the manner in which these factors have been

drawn upon by the Chickahominy that has given their community both coherence and form itself.

Western Chickahominy today represents a successful adaptation to present-day American culture. It is not that it has reached the end of the road. As long as communities like Chickahominy remain sub-cultures in the greater society there will be adjustments to be made. Nonetheless, in the face of trying conditions, these people have preserved an essential unity. That they have built upon a foundation of ethnocentrism and raised about it a defensive wall of discrimination is, in a way, a reflection of the time and place in American culture-history in which their accommodation had to be made. Indeed, in other ways as well, the Chickahominy have exhibited a realistic acceptance of their changing fortune, and have made the transition unassisted, until recently, by either State or Federal governments. With the help of White friends, they have made their own way, with a native industry and self-reliance of which their State and country may well be proud.

## VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS <sup>161</sup>

### I

Even the most causal observer, upon comparison of the modern Chickahominy with their aboriginal namesake, cannot fail to be impressed with the magnitude of the difference between them. At the same time, he will note similarities that are far from unimportant. He may infer from the one that several different cultural strains have contributed to the latter-day community; for the other he may conclude that there have been important carry-overs.

Plausible as this is, it does not go far enough. Even upon so superficial a level we should want to know the nature of the elements involved in the transformation of culture and the manner in which they have been syncretized. Furthermore, we may enquire as to the reasons why, under the given conditions, change was swifter in some fields than in others. Since the data at hand are not sufficiently full, little can be offered here with respect to differential factors of personality, sex, and age, important though their role may have been. Something has been said with respect to them in discussing the traditional period, for

<sup>161</sup> This section has been enlarged and revised from a paper read before the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, held in New York, November 17-19, 1949.

which somewhat more detailed information is available.

Moreover, even where discussion has been ventured, in the present section, the results must be regarded as suggestive, rather than conclusive. If the tenor here is frankly speculative, it is because in the course of formulating the earlier sections certain impressions have been growing upon the writer; and these appear to him to have some value, not only in clarifying the course which culture-change has been taking at Chickahominy, but also in extension to other peoples and places.

It may help to place the essential facts in clearer perspective if we first review briefly the course of Virginian history as it has affected the resident Algonkian tribes.

### II

In aboriginal times, the Virginia Algonkian comprised a stable, village-dwelling people, subsisting on the product of horticulture, fishing, hunting, and gathering, and forming so intimate and adjustment to the river systems of the Tidewater plain that their culture may fairly be termed fluvial. Particularly noteworthy was the degree of centralization attained, and the elaboration that had taken place within the religio-political realm. Each town was formed about a nucleus, made up of the temple and the houses of the chief men. To the temple, which formed the center of a god-cult and at the same time enshrined the remains of earlier chiefs, there was attached an organized priesthood, periodically replenished from the youth of the tribe by a novitiate school. Within the political sphere, there existed an impressive conquest state, the Powhatan kingdom, the result of two generations of consolidation, with an incipient stratification of society and the beginnings of a graded officialdom, and with power concentrated within the hands of a single family. At the time of first White contact, the incorporation of such independent tribes as the Chickahominy was still in progress.

The intrusion of an alien, European culture at Jamestown set in motion a series of diverse reactions. From among the natives, individuals were drawn to the new settlement by eagerness for superior implements and trinkets, from motives of curiosity, perhaps too in discontent under Powhatan. The appeal of the entrant culture, then, drew from the Indians responses that were parallel, while being mutually independent. At the other extreme, the native leaders, both Pow-



hatan and the priesthood, recoiled in bristling aloofness, as they witnessed the displacement and evangelization of native subjects, the heedless encroachment upon Indian domain. Fifteen years of tentative skirmishes were followed in 1622 by a swift irruption of wholesale violence. For almost half a century thereafter, a state of wary hostility ensued, marked by occasional outbreaks of declared war. During those days of tension and challenge, Indian culture retained a certain stability, as evidenced by the persistence of the complex religious and political organizations and by the selectivity exhibited in incorporating only those foreign elements deemed consonant with native ways of life. Indeed, there is reason to assume that the time of strife saw a marshalling of forces and of sentiment around the threatened native values, with heightened resistance to change.

The aftermath of hostility, on the other hand, found Indian society much weakened, through the combined effects of warfare, rum, and disease. Some tribes had been displaced into less productive lands; the shattered remnants of others had recombined to form new, less homogeneous units; and all were much reduced in the areas they held. No longer was there a surplus economy: the Indian now bartered his manufactures for the colonist's corn—to be sure, he was even dependent upon him for his tobacco. White settlers had infiltrated between the tribal groups, increasing their mutual isolation. It was at this time, toward the end of the first century of contact, that contemporary records begin to note the appearance of European innovations among them, ranging from items of dress and of house construction to the introduction of swine in the economy. Bilingualism among the Indians was markedly on the increase, and with it came augmented opportunities to explore non-material aspects of colonial culture. As natives absented themselves from their fellows to take jobs with the Whites as occasional laborers, or as they became impressed into service as slaves or bond-servants, there gradually came into being a class of individuals that grew progressively more diversified in experience and outlook. Traditional accounts from present-day informants suggest that detached individuals such as these, exposed as they were to the novelties of White and Negro life, may on their return have served as important intermediaries in the transformation of native ways.

With the growing heterogeneity of the Indian communities came a breakdown of the religious

and political systems. Contact with Europeans seems to have fostered native skepticism toward the priesthood, while the resumption, on the part of the Church, of the evangelization of the Indian youth gradually undermined the novitiate school, upon which the sacerdotal order was dependent. Finally, the very decline in tribal population, as well as the relative isolation of the survivors, proved likewise fatal. The temple cult declined, until only an unorganized and minor priesthood remained, limited essentially to a curative and perhaps a magical role.

The breakdown of the political system may have been even more directly a function of the isolation, reduction, and impoverishment of the native communities, and of the competition of new ways of life. Like the complex religious activities, the state structure required the participation of specialized individuals, and these under the circumstances could not be supplied. Colonial interests for a time bolstered the kingship, in line with a policy of indirect rule. Meanwhile, the graded officialdom gave place to a simplified order. At length, the kingship itself disappeared, and only the local town chiefs and their councils remained. Indian society had thus lost its religious and political centralization, probably by the middle of the eighteenth century.

The way was now cleared for a more extensive assimilation of entire communities into the lower segments of colonial society. In time, all but two of the tribes lost their lands and, with them, the mutual propinquity of members that made possible formal group integration. Of the bands that today retain their reservations, one, the Pamunkey, also adheres to a political system and form of land tenure which seems to spring from aboriginal soil. In addition, they have been able to preserve to a marked degree such autochthonous pursuits as center about fishing, hunting, and farming, together with associated crafts. The Chickahominy, on the other hand, who lost their reservation within the eighteenth century, underwent marked modification in community organization, while retaining to this day a large body of subsistence-crafts techniques.

### III

If we now return to our original concern, the differential factors of change, a few of these at least begin to emerge. The disparities that appear in a contrast of the ancient with the modern Chickahominy are only in part the result of

simple adaptation to the greater society, White and Negro, of Virginia. Acculturation, for the Chickahominy, has involved a series of successive adjustments within an ever-changing scene. Colonial society, a part of that scene, was likewise in flux. Indeed, it involves little exaggeration to state that a comparison of the culture of present-day Virginia with that of colonial Jamestown would reveal an order of difference almost as great as that between the modern Chickahominy and their sixteenth-century forebears.

It is evident from what has gone before, that the dislocation and strain attendant upon this transformation fell with unequal weight upon the shoulders of successive generations. In the entire range of time within which this study moves, roughly three hundred and fifty years, about a dozen generations were involved—a striking contrast to some of our West Coast tribes, of which members still surviving span the major events of culture-contact with a single lifetime. For the Chickahominy the adjustment was made far more gradually, in part because the aboriginal economic base survived, in part as a result of the measure of insulation from White influences which the reservation system provided. Our historical data reveal that major features of the native culture were beginning to disappear only after about a hundred and fifty years of contact, the equivalent, let us say, of five generations.

Correlatively, among the sequent generations of Chickahominy history, no two were confronted with identical situations. The participants in the original contacts with Jamestown, like the West Coast tribes, received the heaviest impact, made their initial adjustments, and thereby set limits and defined avenues that became part of the total situation within which their successors moved. The alien traits they incorporated tended to become for subsequent generations an integral part of the culture into which they were born. Thus the present-day Chickahominy define the "old Indian" way of life as the manner in which their forebears within memory once lived, despite the inclusion in that traditional culture of many elements which the observer recognizes as European. It may well be that, concomitant with the changing demands of the cultural situation, a different type of leader arose at various times to meet them.

To what degree was the course of change the product of planning on the part of either Indian or White? Some policies do seem to have been important to this end. The English, for example,

initially followed traditional precepts of divide-and-rule, to profit from the rivalries thus incited. To this was coupled a project for detaching and educating selected Indian youths, to serve during their instruction as hostages for the good conduct of their tribesmen, and subsequently to act as a bridge between the two peoples. Again, early policy sought to utilize the kingship for indirect rule. After 1644, the Colony, while not abandoning this principle of action, sought to minimize Indian-White friction by sealing off the Indians in reserved areas. On their part, the native leaders determined at first upon resistance to the Whites whenever the opportunity promised success, and Powhatan himself seems to have placed restrictions upon protracted visits to Jamestown. Only after the beginning of the eighteenth century, when resistance no longer offered any hope, was it entirely replaced by a policy of insulation from excessive intercourse with the English, as in Powhatan's day. In more recent times, it has had its counterpart in a uniform policy which seeks to curtail social contacts with Negroes.

How far did such policies avail to govern the course of change? It must be admitted that frequently they were altered or nullified in their results. The reasons are not far to seek. Sometimes, plans were undermined by individual acts in contempt of them, as in the illicit fur trade of the early days of Jamestown, by which enterprising sailors and colonists enriched themselves while in the same transaction the settlement lost irreplaceable implements and arms to a potentially dangerous foe. In later days, the encroachment of squatters on Indian land was a recurrent source of friction, vitiating treaties and reservations alike. On their part, the Indian leaders often encountered difficulty governing the activities of their young men *vis a vis* the English.

Defects in the plans themselves were another important factor in their failure. Frequently, items imperfectly assessed turned out to be crucial. Often, change in another aspect of life produced an unexpected skewing of the results of planned policy. Population decline among the Indians in the latter part of the seventeenth century led to a devaluation of their obligations to the government. Likewise, in the rapid advance of farms past the Tidewater reservations and up the piedmont, the policy of using the Tributaries as buffers against the invasion of alien tribes became anachronistic. For the Indians, the early trade, on the other hand, had unexpected results in the

abandonment of many native crafts techniques, so that with the passage of time they became increasingly dependent upon the English for necessities that at first were mainly prestige items.

Principally in the first years of contact, the plan of one group was often cancelled by a counter-move by its opponent. With the ascendancy of the Whites, it was they who more and more initiated action, the Indians who made a response, until at length the latter lost even this power.

Thus it is that the culture-change which the Chickahominy have undergone cannot be said to have been successfully regulated by policy. Instead, the regularities that can be observed appear to be the result of other, more general features inherent in the contact-situation itself. The degree and order of contact, for example, exhibit consistent differences in time. In the first days of settlement, when Jamestown and a few outlying plantations comprised the entire English colony, the Indians had access to almost the entire range of European culture represented there, a culture which, in contrast to its later condition, can be characterized as relatively simple and homogeneous. As time went on and the tribes fell off in political importance, they became further excluded and their contacts with Whites were correspondingly reduced both in range and in frequency. Neighboring farmers, squatters, a few traders and bootleggers, a handful of officials, and an occasional missionary or two represented their principal acquaintances. Only through divorcing himself from his group was the individual able to enlarge his horizon. And, as Virginian society grew increasingly heterogeneous, the detribalized native found a wider panel of roles from which to choose, always however among those appropriate to the lower ranks of the class system.

It is along such lines as these, as well as those that investigate the changing content of culture, that clues to the differential factors operative can fairly be sought. There emerges, accordingly, a general principle relating to differences of complexity, which we can conveniently term "truncation." As used here, this term denotes that aspect of differential change in which the complex and highly institutionalized patterns of behavior tend to suffer progressive loss, while components more closely identified with the small group and the individual show a higher degree of persistence. A reciprocal order of events is implied in correlary, with reference to the manner in which novel elements tend to be adopted. Here there is earlier,

and freer, acceptance of the new features on the part of individuals and simple groups, as contrasted with the greater difficulty in lodging corresponding innovation within the same society on levels of higher complexity.

By no means is it meant to imply that truncation is the only principle operative in differential culture change. In the analysis of the Virginia material it happens to emerge clearly, along with other features, and since the span of time within which it operated is somewhat impressive, it has been selected for discussion. Undoubtedly, truncation must be manifested elsewhere in situations of culture-change, although it may frequently be masked by other factors. Mead has made passing reference to its existence among the "Antlers," while Dr. H. G. Barnett informs me of similar findings for the Yakima. Finally, analysis of Klamath data has indicated its operation there as well.<sup>162</sup>

In accordance with this principle, the culture of native Virginia permitted the greatest diversity in those items that concerned primarily the individual, and least to those involved in such specialized, cooperative activities as contributed to the religious and political systems. It was thus possible for persons to acquire new tools without directly affecting their fellows. Correlatively, it has been possible for conservatives to retain old traps or planting practices into the twentieth century. The onset of change was thus earliest in the individualized sphere, where moreover it has not yet run its course. At the other extreme, adaptations within a complex state structure tend to affect many, interrelated individuals. In Virginia the political system proved to be relatively inflexible. It was the rallying point for resistance, but when resistance had sapped its resources it fell apart into progressively simpler components.

Not, of course, that individual choice does not play a role here. After all it is the hunter himself who finally decides whether he will discard the log deadfall in favor of a steel muskrat trap. Likewise, the early English saw clearly that Powhatan's attitude was the key to their diplomacy. However, behind Powhatan was the implacable Opechancanough, and behind both of them were several thousand fighting men. Powerful as he might be, no one man could successfully mediate

<sup>162</sup> Mead, 101; Barnett, Yakima MS.; Stern, Field Notes. Priority in formulation follows this order, although it is worthy of note that each instance was independently evolved.

change in the political system with the same ease that he might decide to acquire a knife or axe for his own use. Clearly enough, then, the complexity of the participant group may be an important factor in determining those elements than can be retained. It may indeed be true for the Chickahominy that at times it was decisive in eliminating certain features, no matter how desirable they might intrinsically be. Furthermore, the practices that are retained may not bear a necessary relationship to each other, save in general terms of the social groups involved. Similarly, the acceptance, rejection, or reinterpretation of an alien element may be affected in analogous manner.

Actually, the Chickahominy seem repeatedly to have syncretized and restructured the diverse elements that were the result of change. It must be stressed that their emergent culture at no time can be considered to have been the result merely of an additive process. New elements and old alike seem to have been subject to reinterpretation and assimilation in terms of general attitudes or values that survived over long periods. Accordingly, the Chickahominy have, until recently, placed predominant reliance upon a mixed horticulture-fishing economy. Even today, when they have had to abandon it as a major means of support, this means of support retains its prestige, so that a man who makes his major living as a mill-hand and cultivates a small plot on the side still proudly refers to himself as a farmer.

A number of other values that have played a role at one time or another can be discerned: to mention a few, they include propositions relating to a man's obligations to his neighbors, his duties to the church, membership in a wider sense in a pan-Indian community. Undoubtedly far more profound in its effects is the persistent emphasis which has been placed upon kinship as an aligning and cohesive principle. We have repeatedly noted its manifestation in the relations between parent and child, in the close affinity of brothers and sisters, as in paired sibling marriage and the current tendency toward mass outmarriage with Whites on the part of a family. It can be perceived in the layout of the community, in which the houses of kinsfolk tend to cluster together. The inheritance of property doubtless bolsters it. Even in the filling of elective offices there seems to be a tendency to consider kinship factors, and in the early days of the ridge settlement common descent was a strong binding force. Indeed, no one, hearing the ease with which these people today move

through the complex skeins of kinship to identify remote relatives, can doubt its enduring values in their eyes.

It is factors such as these which have given continuity to the course of culture change in Virginia.

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